

**RELIGIOUS
SECTS OF
THE HINDUS**

H. H. WILSON

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RELIGIOUS SECTS OF THE HINDUS

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By

H. H. WILSON

Edited by Ernst R. Rost



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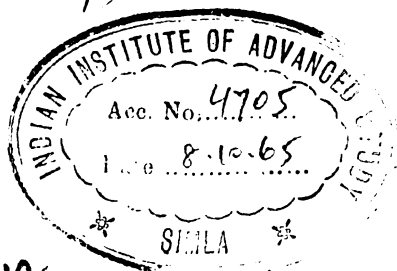


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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume is a reprint with minor alterations here and there of the author's *A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus* which appeared in 1862 in the Vol. I of works of H. H. Wilson, published by Trubner & Co., London. This essay was first published in two parts in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVI 1828 and Vol. XVII, 1832.

These articles were reprinted by the Bishop's College Press in 1846. Ernst *Reinhold* Rost (1882-1896) collected and edited these papers for the Trubner's two-volume edition of Wilson's *Essays and Lectures*, chiefly on the religion of the Hindus.

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON

Born Sep. 26, 1786: educated in Soho Square, London, and at St. Thomas's Hospital: arrived in Calcutta in 1808, in the medical service of the E.I.Co.: was at once attached to the Mint at Calcutta, for his knowledge of chemistry and assay: was Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1811-33, with short intervals. He studied Sanskrit steadily and translated the *Meghaduta* of Kalidasa in 1813. In 1816 he was appointed Assay-master of the Calcutta mint, and he held the appointment until he left India in 1832. He published the *Theatre of the Hindus* and *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (two editions), besides contributing to *Asiatic Researches*, the Journals of the Asiatic, Medical and Physical Societies, and other Oriental Literature. He wrote an Historical Account of the Burmese War: catalogued Col. Colin Mackenzie's MSS: was Secretary to the Committee of Public Instruction, introducing the study of European Science and English Literature into native education: and was visitor to the Sanskrit College. He became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford in 1833, Hon. M.A. at Exeter College; Librarian of the India House in 1836, Examiner at Haileybury, and Director, of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1837 till his death: F.R.S., 1834. He continued his labours on Indian subjects, publishing the *Vishnu Purana*; *Lectures on the Religious and Philosophical Systems of the Hindus*, 1840; a Sanskrit grammar; the *Ariana Antiqua*; a new edition of Mill's *History of British-India*; a translation of *Rig-Veda*; a Glossary of Indian Terms, and an edition of Macnaghten's *Hindu Law*: the greatest Sanskrit scholar of his time, combining a variety of attainments as general linguist, historian, chemist, accountant, numismatist, actor and musician: died May 8, 1860.

PREFACE

In the year 1813 Horace Hayman Wilson, then Assistant Surgeon in the service of the East India Company, published his translation of the *Meghaduta*, the first fruits of his literary labours in the mine of Sanskrit Literature. During the nineteen following years, while engaged in various official capacities, chiefly at Calcutta and Banaras, and from the time of his return to England in 1832 till his death (on the 8th of May 1860) he continued to pursue his studies and researches on the literature, history, antiquities and religious systems of the Hindus with indefatigable industry. Ever zealously availing himself of the opportunities which were afforded him by his long residence in India and subsequently by his easy access to the rich stores of Manuscripts, accumulated both at the East India House and the Bodleian Library, for extending, deepening, and consolidating his investigations in Indian lore, he produced a large number of works of various extent, which for usefulness, depth of learning, and wide range of research show him to have been the worthy successor of Sir W. JONES and H. T. COLEBROOKE. The just appreciation of his merits, contained in the sketches of his life, character and labours, in the *Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1860*, and in the "Rapport" of the Societe Asiatique for the same year, re-echoes but the meed of admiration and gratitude with which every student of Sanskrit acknowledges the obligations he owes to WILSON's works. Many of these however, ranging as they do over a period of nearly half a century, were originally published in periodicals and transactions of oriental Societies not generally accessible, or have otherwise become scarce, while they still are the standard, and in some instances the only, authority on the various topics of which they treat...

The first portion of *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, appeared in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1828, and the second in the volume for 1832.

On account of the variety of manuscript sources in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali and different dialects of Hindi, from which the author gleaned the materials for his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, thorough consistency and uniformity in the transliteration of Indian names would have been beyond what could be expected by anyone ever so slightly acquainted with the various graphical, and still more phonetical, changes to which Sanskrit words are liable when passing into the vernacular idioms of modern India. No improvement in this respect was aimed at in the reprint of this work which appeared at Calcutta in the year

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CORRECTIONS

- Page 27 Folio Heading, for *Hixdus* read *Hindus*.
 „ 69 Para 2, line 2, for *his juvenile forms* read *his more juvenile forms*.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS

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

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

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

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

¹ One division of some antiquity is the preferential appropriation of the four chief divinities to the four original castes; thus Siva is the Adideva of the Brahmans, Vishnu of the Kshatriyas, Brahma of the Vaisyas, and Ganesa of the Sudras.

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recognise implicitly the authority of the Vedas, the worshippers of Siva, or of Vishnu, and the maintainers of the Sankhya or Nyaya doctrines, consider themselves, and even each other, as orthodox members of the Hindu community.

To the internal incongruities of the system, which did not affect its integral existence, others were, in time, superadded, that threatened to dissolve or destroy the whole : of this nature was the exclusive adoration of the old deities, or of new forms of them ; and even it may be presumed, the introduction of new divinities. In all these respects, the Puranas and Tantras were especially instrumental, and they not only taught their followers to assert the unapproachable superiority of the gods they worshipped, but inspired them with feelings² of animosity towards those who presumed to dispute that supremacy : in this conflict the worship of Brahma has disappeared³, as well as, indeed, that of the whole pantheon, except Vishnu, Siva and Sakti, or their modifications ; with respect to the two former, in fact, the representatives have borne away the palm from the prototypes, and Krishna, Rama, or the Linga, are almost the only forms under which Vishnu and Siva are now adored in most parts of India⁴.

2 Thus in the Bhagavat: "Those who profess the worship of Bhava, (Siva,) and those who follow their doctrines, are heretics and enemies of the sacred *Shastras*. Again: "Those desirous of final emancipation, abandoning the hideous gods of the devils, pursue their devotions, calm, blameless, and being parts of Narayana.

The *Padma Purana* is more personal towards Vishnu: "From even looking at Vishnu, the wrath of Siva is kindled, and from his wrath, we fall assuredly into a horrible hell; let not, therefore, the name of Vishnu ever be pronounced."

The same work is, however, cited by the Vaishnavas, for a very opposite doctrine. "He who abandons Vasudeva and worships any other god, is like the fool, who being thirsty, sinks a well in the bank of the Ganges."

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

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

3 Siva himself, in the form of Kala Bhairava, tore off Brahma's fifth head, for presuming to say, that he was Brahma, the eternal and omnipotent cause of the world, and even the creator of Siva, notwithstanding the four Vedas and the personified Omkara, had all given evidence, that this great, true and indescribable deity was Siva himself. The whole story occurs in the *Kasi Khand* [c. 31] of the *Skanda Purana*, and its real signification is sufficiently obvious.

4 The great text-books of the Vaishnavas is the *Bhagavat*, with which it may be supposed the present worship, in a great measure,

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The varieties of opinion kept pace with those of practice, and six heretical schools of philosophy disputed the pre-eminence with their orthodox brethren : we have little or no knowledge of these systems, and even their names are not satisfactorily stated : they seem, however, to be the Saugata or Buddhist, Arhata, or Jaina and Varhaspatya, or Atheistical, with their several subdivisions⁵.

Had the difference of doctrine taught in the heretical schools been confined to tenets of a merely speculative nature, they would, probably, have encountered little opposition, and excited little enmity among the Brahminical class, of which latitude of opinion is a very common characteristic. The founder of the Atheistical school, however, Vrihaspati, attacks both the Vedas and the Brahmans, and asserts that the whole of the Hindu system is a contrivance of the Priesthood, to secure a means of livelihood for themselves⁶, whilst the Buddhists and Jainas, equally disregarding the Vedas and the Brahmans, the practice and opinions of the Hindus, invented a set of gods for themselves, and deposed the ancient pantheon : these aggressions provoked resentment : the writings of these sects are alluded to with every epithet of anger and contempt, and they are all anathematised as heretical and atheistical : more active measures than anathemas, it may be presumed, were had recourse to : the followers of Vrihaspati, having no worship at all, easily eluded

originated, although the Mahabharat and other older works had previously introduced this divinity. The worship of the Linga is, no doubt, very ancient, although it has received, within a few centuries, its present degree of popularity: the Kasi Khand was evidently written to enforce it, and at Benares, its worship entirely overshadows every other ritual.

⁵ In a work written by the celebrated Madhava, describing the different sects as they existed in his day, entitled the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, the Varhaspatyas, Lokayatas, and Charvakas are identified, and are really advocates of an atheistical doctrine, denying the existence of a God, or a future state, and referring creation to the aggregation of but four elements. The Buddhists, according to the same authority, admit of four subdivisions, the Madhyamikas, Yogacharas, Sautrantikas and Vaibhashikas. The Jains or Arhats, as still one of the popular divisions, we shall have occasion to notice in the text.

⁶ Vrihaspati has the following texts to this effect, quoted in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, Calcutta edition, pp. 3 and 6, and with a v. I. *Prabodhaak*, ed. Brockhaus, p. 30: "The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the Tridanda, the smearing of ashes, are only the livelihood of those who have neither intellect nor spirit." After ridiculing the Sraddha, shrewdly enough, he says: Hence it is evident, that it was a mere contrivance of the Brahmans to gain a livelihood, to ordain such ceremonies for the dead, and no other reason can be given for them.

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

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the storm, but the Buddhists of Hindusthan were annihilated by its fury, and the Jainas apparently evaded it with difficulty, although they have undoubtedly survived its terrors, and may now defy its force.

The varieties thus arising from innovations in practice and belief, have differed, it may be concluded, at different eras of the Hindu worship. To trace the character of those which have latterly disappeared, or to investigate the remote history of some which still remain and are apparently of ancient date, are tasks for which we are far from being yet prepared : the enquiry is, in itself so vast, and so little progress has been made in the studies necessary to its elucidation, that it must yet remain in the obscurity in which it has hitherto been enveloped ; so ambitious a project as that of piercing the impenetrable gloom has not instigated the present attempt, nor has it been proposed to undertake so arduous a labour, as in the investigation and comparison of the abstruse notions of the philosophical sects⁷. The humbler aim of these researches has been that of ascertaining the actual condition of the popular religion of the inhabitants of some of the provinces subject to the Bengal Government ; and as a very great variety prevails in that religion, the subject may be considered as not devoid of curiosity and interest, especially as it has been left little better than a blank, in the voluminous compositions or compilations, professing to give an account of the native country of the Hindus.

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

The works alluded to are in the Persian language, though both were written by Hindu authors ; the first was compiled by Sital Singh, Munshi to the Raja of Banaras ; the second by Mathura Nath, a librarian of the Hindu College, at the same city, a man of great personal respectability and eminent

⁷ Something of this has been very well done by Ward, in his account of the Hindus: and since this Essay was read before the Society, the account given by H. T. Colebrooke, in the first part of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, of the Sankhya and Nyaya Systems, has left little more necessary on this subject.

acquirements : these works contain a short history of the origin of the various sects, and descriptions of the appearance, and observances, and present condition of their followers : they comprise all the known varieties, with one or two exceptions, and, indeed, at no one place in India could the enquiry be so well prosecuted as at Banaras⁸. The work of Mathura Nath is the fullest and most satisfactory, though it leaves much to be desired, and much more than I have been able to supply. In addition to these sources of information, I have had frequent recourse to a work of great popularity and extensive circulation, which embodies the legendary history of all the most celebrated Bhaktas or devotees of the Vaishnava order. This work is entitled the *Bhakta Mala*. The original, in a difficult dialect of Hindi, was composed by Nabhaji, about 250 years ago⁹, and is little more than a catalogue, with brief and obscure references to some leading circumstances connected with the life of each individual, and from the inexplicit nature of its allusions, as well as the difficulty of its style, is far from intelligible to the generality even of the natives. The work, in its present form, has received some modifications, and obvious additions from a later teacher, Narayan Das, whose share in the composition is, no doubt, considerable but cannot be discriminated from Nabhaji's own, beyond the evidence furnished by the specification of persons unquestionably subsequent to his time. Narayan Das probably wrote in the reign of Shah Jehan. The brevity and obscurity of the original work pervade the additional matter, and to remedy these defects, the original text, or Mula, has been taken as a guide for an amplified notice of its subjects, or the Tika of Krishna Das ; and the work, as usually met with, always consists of these two divisions. The Tika is dated Samvat, 1769 or A. D. 1713. Besides these, a translation of the Tika, or a version of it in the more ordinary dialect of Hindusthan, has been made by an anonymous author, and a copy of this work, as well as of the original, has furnished me with materials for the following account. The character of the *Bhakta Mala* will best appear from the extracts of translations from it to be hereafter introduced : it may be sufficient here to observe, that it is much less of a historical than legendary description...

⁸ The acknowledged resort of all the vagabonds of India, and all who have nowhere else to repair to: so, the *Kasi Khand*: "To those who are strangers to the Sruti and Smriti (Religion and Law); to those who have never known the observance of pure and indispensable rites; to those who have no other place to repair to; to those, is Benares an asylum." [Compare *Prabodhagh.* ed. Brockhaus, p. 19.]

⁹ *Journ. As. Soc. Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 4.

CHAPTER II

STATE OF THE HINDU RELIGION, ANTERIOR TO ITS PRESENT CONDITION

Although I have neither the purpose nor the power to enter into any detail of the remote condition of the Hindu faith, yet as its present state is of comparatively very recent origin, it may form a not unnecessary, nor uninteresting preliminary branch of the enquiry, to endeavour to determine its existing modifications, at the period immediately preceding the few centuries, which have sufficed to bestow upon it its actual form : it happens, also, that some controversial works exist, which throw considerable light upon the subject, and of which the proximity of their date, to the matters of which they treat, may be conjectured with probability or positively ascertained. Of these, the two principal works, and from which I shall derive such scanty information as is attainable, are the *Sankara Digvijaya* of Ananda Giri, and the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* of Madhavacharya, the former a reputed disciple of Sankara himself, and the latter a well known and able writer, who lived in the commencement of the 14th century.

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

The various sectaries of the Hindu Religion then existing, are all introduced to be combated, and, of course, conquered, by Sankara : the list is rather a long one, but it will be necessary to go through the whole, to ascertain the character of the national faith of those days, and its present modifications, noticing, as we proceed, some of the points of difference or resemblance between the forms of worship which then prevailed, and which now exist. The two great divisions of Vaishnavas and Saivas were both in a flourishing condition, and each embraced six principal subdivisions : we shall begin with the

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former, who are termed Bhaktas, Bhagavatas, Vaishnavas, Chakrinās, or Pancharatrakas, Vaikhanasas and Karmahīnas.

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

The Bhaktas worshipped Vishnu as Vasudeva, and wore no characteristic marks. The Bhagavatas worshipped the same deity as Bhagavat, and impressed upon their persons the usual Vaishnava insignia, representing the discus, club, &c. of that divinity; they likewise revered the Salagram stone, and Tulasi plant, and in several of their doctrinal notions, as well as in these respects, approach to the present followers of Ramanuja, although they cannot be regarded as exactly the same. The authorities of these three sects were the *Upanishads* and *Bhagavad Gita*. The names of both the sects still remain, but they are scarcely applicable to any particular class of Vaishnavas: the terms Bhakta, or Bhagat, usually indicate any individual who pretends to a more rigid devotion than his neighbours, and who especially occupies his mind with spiritual considerations: the Bhagavat is one who follows particularly the authority of the *Sri-Bhagavat Purana*.

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

The Chakrinās, or Pancharatrakas were, in fact, Saktas of the Vaishnava class, worshipping the female personifications of Vishnu, and observing the ritual of the *Pancharatra Tantra*: they still remain, but scarcely individualised, being confounded with the worshippers of Krishna and Rama on the one hand, and those of Sakti or Devi on the other.

The Vaikhanasas appear to have been but little different from the Vaishnavas especially so called; at least Ananda Giri has not particularised the difference; they worshipped Narayana as supreme god, and wore his marks. The Karmahīnas abstained, as the name implies, from all ritual observances, and professed to know Vishnu as the sole source and sum of the universe, they can scarcely be considered as an existent sect, though a few individuals of the Ramanujya and Ramanandi Vaishnavas may profess the leading doctrines.

The Vaishnava forms of the Hindu faith are still, as we shall hereafter see, sufficiently numerous; but we can scarcely identify any one of them with those which seem to have prevailed when the *Sankara Vijaya* of Ananda Giri was composed. The great

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divisions, of Ramanuja and Ramanand—the former of which originated, we know, in the course of the 11th century, are unnoticed, and it is also worth while to observe, that neither in this, nor in any other portion of the *Sankara Vijaya*, is any allusion made to the separate worship of Krishna, either in his own person, or that of the infantine forms in which he is now so pre-eminently venerated in many parts of India, nor are the names of Rama and Sita, of Lakhmana or Hanuman, once particularised, as enjoying any portion of distinct and specific adoration.

The Saiva sects are the Saivas, Raudras, Ugras, Bhaktas, Jangamas, and Pasupatas. Their tenets are so blended in the discussion, that it is not possible to separate them, beyond the conjectural discrimination which may be derived from their appellations: the text specifies merely their characteristic marks: thus the Saivas wore the impression of the Linga on both arms; the Raudras had a Trisula, or trident, stamped on the forehead; the Ugras had the Damaru, or drum of Siva on their arms, and the Bhaktas an impression of the Linga on the forehead—the Jangamas carried a figure of the Linga on the head, and the Pasupatas imprinted the same object on the forehead, breast, navel, and arms. Of these sects, the Saivas are not now any one particular class—nor are the Raudras, Ugras, or Bhaktas, any longer distinct societies: the Jangamas remain, but they are chiefly confined to the south of India, and although a Pasupata, or worshipper of Siva as Pasupati, may be occasionally encountered, yet this has merged into other sects, and particularly into that of the Kanphata Yogis: the authorities cited by these sects, according to Ananda Giri, were the *Siva Gita*, *Siva Sanhita*, *Siva Rahasya* and *Rudra Yamala Tantra*: the various classes of Yogis are never alluded to, and the work asserts, what is generally admitted as a fact, that the Dandis, and Dasnam Gosains originated with Sankara Acharya.

Worshippers of Brahma, or Hiranyagarbha, are also introduced by Ananda Giri, whom now it might be difficult to meet with: exclusive adorers of this deity, and temples dedicated to him, do not now occur perhaps in any part of India; at the same time it is an error to suppose that public homage is never paid to him. Brahma is particularly revered at Pokher in Ajmir, also at Bithur, in the Doab, where, at the principal Ghat, denominated Brahmavartta Ghat, he is said to have offered an Aswamedha on completing the act of creation: the pin of his slipper left behind him on the occasion, and now fixed in one of the steps of the Ghat, is still worshipped there, and on the full moon of Aগ্রহাযানা (November-December) a very numerous attended Mela, or fair, that mixes piety with profit, is annually held at that place.

The worshippers of Agni no longer form a distinct class, a

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few Agnihotra Brahmins, who preserve the family fire, may be met with, but in all other respects they conform to some mode of popular devotion.

The next opponents of Sankara Acharya were the Sauras, or worshippers of the sun, as the creator and cause of the world: a few Sauras, chiefly Brahmins, still exist as a sect, as will be hereafter noticed; but the divisions enumerated by Ananda Giri, are now, it is believed, unknown: he distinguishes them into the following six classes.

Those who adored the rising sun, regarding it as especially the type of Brahma, or the creative power; Those who worshipped the meridian sun as Iswara, the destructive and regenerative faculty; and those who revered the setting sun, as the prototype of Vishnu, or the attribute of preservation.

The fourth class comprehended the advocates of the Trimurti, who addressed their devotions to the sun in all the preceding states, as the comprehensive type of these three divine attributes.

The object of the fifth form is not quite clearly stated, but it appears to have been the adoration of the sun as a positive and material body, and the marks on his surface, as his hair, beard, &c. The members of this class so far correspond with the Sauras of the present day, as to refrain from food until they had seen the sun.

The sixth class of Sauras, in opposition to the preceding, deemed it unnecessary to address their devotions to the visible and material sun: they provided a mental luminary, on which they meditated, and to which their adoration was offered: they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons; a practice uniformly condemned by Sankara, as contrary to the laws of the Vedas, and the respect due to Brahmanical flesh and blood.

Ganesa, as well as Surya, had formerly six classes of adorers; in the present day he cannot boast of any exclusive worship, although he shares a sort of homage with almost all the other divinities: his followers were the worshippers of Maha Ganapati, of Haridra Ganapati, or Dhundi Raj, who is still a popular form of Ganesa, of Uchchhishtha Ganapati, of Navanita Ganapati, of Swarna Ganapati, and of Santana Ganapati. The left hand sub-division of the Uchchhishtha Ganapati sect, also called Hairamba, abrogated all obligatory ritual and distinction of caste.

The adorers of the female personifications of divine power, appear to have been fully as numerous as at present, and to have worshipped the same objects, or Bhavani, Maha Lakshmi, and Saraswati: even as personifications of these divinities,

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however, the worship of Sita and Radha, either singly, or in conjunction with Rama and Krishna, never makes its appearance. The worshippers of Sakti were then, as now, divided into two classes, a right and left hand order, and three subdivisions of the latter are enumerated, who are still well known—the Purnabhishiktas, Akritarthas, Kritakriyasamas.

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

The next classes of sectaries, confuted by Sankara, were various infidel sects, some of whom avowedly, and perhaps all covertly, are still in being: the list is also interesting, as discriminating opinions which, in the ignorance subsequent to their disappearance from Hindusthan, have very commonly been, and, indeed, still are frequently confounded. These are the Charvakas, or Sunya Vadis, the Saugatatas, the Kshapanakas, the Jainas, and the Buddhists.

The Charvakas were so named from one of their teachers, the Muni Charvaka. From Vrihaspati—some of whose dogmas have been quoted from the work of Madhava, they are termed also Varhaspatyas. The appellation Sunya Vadi implies the asserter of the unreality and emptiness of the universe, and

1 See the *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, translated by Taylor (especially Act. III, Sc. 8 and ff.).

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another designation, Lokayata, expresses their adoption of the tenet, that this being is the Be-all of existence : they were, in short, the advocates of materialism and atheism, and have existed from a very remote period, and still exist, as we shall hereafter see.

The Saugatās are identified even by Madhava with Buddhists, but there seems to have been some, although probably not any very essential difference : the chief tenet of this class, according to Ananda Giri, was their adopting the doctrine taught by Sugata Muni, that tenderness towards animated nature comprehends all moral and devotional duty, a tenet which is, in a great measure, common to both the Buddhist and Jaina schisms : it is to be feared, that the personal description of the Saugata, as a man of a fat body and small head, although possibly intended to characterise the genus, will not direct us to the discovery of its origin or history. The Kshapanaka again has always been described by Hindu writers as a Buddhist, or sometimes even a Jaina naked mendicant : in the work before us he appears as the professor of a sort of astrological religion, in which² time is the principal divinity, and he is described as carrying, in either hand, the implements of his science, or a Gola Yantra, and Turya Yantra, the former of which is an armillary sphere, and the latter a kind of quadrant, apparently for ascertaining time³ ; from the geographical controversy that occurs between him and Sankara, it appears that he entertains the doctrine regarding the descent of earth in space, which is attributed by the old astronomers to the Buddhists, and controverted by the author of the *Surya Siddhanta*⁴, and subsequently by Bhaskara : the former is quoted by Sankara, according to our author. These doctrines, the commentators on Bhaskara's work and even he, himself, commenting on his own text, say, belong to the Jainas, not to the Buddhists ; but, possibly, the correction is itself an error, it does not appear that the Kshapanaka of Ananda Giri argues the existence of a double set of planetary bodies, which is, undoubtedly, a Jaina doctrine⁵, and the descent of the earth in space may have been common to all these sects.

The Jainas that existed in the time of Ananda Giri appear as Digambaras only ; he does not notice their division into

² Time is the Supreme Deity. Iswara cannot urge on the present. He who knows time knows Brahma. Space and time are not distinct from God.

³ The Turya Yantra is the fourth part of an orb.

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

⁴ At least implicitly in the sloka XII: 32. *Asiatic Researches* XII: 229.

⁵ *Asiatic Researches*, IX: 321.

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Digambaras and Svetambaras, as they at present are found, and existed indeed prior to the age of Madhava. The Buddhists are introduced personally, although it may be questioned whether they were very numerous in India in so comparatively modern a period : according to Ananda Giri, a persecution of this sect, and of the Jainas, took place in one part of the peninsula, the state of Rudrapur, during Sankara's life time, but he, as well as Madhava⁶, excludes Sankara from being at all concerned in it. He ascribes its occurrence to the same source, the instigation of a Bhatta, from the north, or, in fact, of Kumarila Bhatta, a Bengali or Maithili Brahman.

A long series of sectaries then ensues, of a more orthodox description, and who only err in claiming primeval and pre-eminent honours for the objects of their adoration—none of these are to be found ; and, although, to a certain extent, the places of some of them may be supplied by the local deities of the villagers, and by the admission of others to a participation in the worship paid to the presiding deities of each sect, yet there can be little doubt, that a large portion of the Hindu pantheon formerly enjoyed honours, which have for some centuries past been withheld. In this predicament are Indra, Kuvera, Yama, Varuna, Garuda, Sessa, and Soma, all of whom, in the golden age of Hindu idolatry, had, no doubt, temples and adorers : the light and attractive service of the god of love, indeed, appears to have been formerly very popular, as his temples and groves make a distinguished figure in the⁷ tales, poems, and dramas of antiquity : it is a feature that singularly characterises the present state of the Hindu religion, that if in some instances it is less ferocious, in others it has ceased to address itself to the amiable propensities of the human character, or the spontaneous and comparatively innocent feelings of youthful natures.

Besides the adorers of the secondary divinities, we have a variety of sects who direct their devotions to beings of a still lower rank, and of whom none, at present, exist as distinct bodies, although individuals may be found, either detached or comprehended in other classes, who, more or less, reverence similar objects. Thus, the worship of Akasa⁸, or Ether, as the supreme deity, is still occasionally met with : all classes pay daily homage to the Pitris or Manes, and a few of the Tantrikas worship the Siddhas, or Genii, in the hope of acquiring super-human powers : the same class furnishes occasional votaries of the Vasus, Yakshas, and Gandharvas, and even of the Vetalas

⁶ Preface to Wilson's *Sanskrit and English Dictionary*.

⁷ In the *Vrihat Katha*, *Dasa Kumara*, *Malati Madhava*, *Mrichchhakat*, &c.

⁸ I have encountered but one Professor, however, of the faith, a miserable mendicant, who taught the worship of Ether, under the strange name of Baghela.

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and Bhutas, or goblins and ghosts, and the latter also receive still, from the fears of the villagers, propitiatory adoration. It does not appear, that in any form, the worship of the moon and stars, of the elements, and divisions of the universe, is still practised, although that of the Tirthas, or holy places and rivers, is as popular as ever.

We have thus completed the enumeration of the sects as described by the author of the *Sankara Vijaya*, and have had an opportunity of observing, that, although the outlines of the system remain the same, the details have undergone very important alterations, since the time at which this work was composed: the rise of most of the existing modifications, we can trace satisfactorily enough, as will hereafter appear, and it is not improbable, that the disappearance of many of those, which no longer take a part in the idolatry of the Hindus, may be attributed to the exertions of Sankara and his disciples: his object, as appears from the work we have hitherto followed, was by no means the suppression of acts of outward devotion, nor of the preferential worship of any acknowledged and pre-eminent deity: his leading tenet is the recognition of Brahma Para Brahma⁹, as the sole cause and supreme ruler of the universe, and as distinct from Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, or any individual member of the pantheon: with this admission, and in regard to the weakness of those human faculties, which cannot elevate themselves to the conception of the inscrutable first cause, the observance of such rites, and the worship of such deities, as are either prescribed by the Vedas, or the works not incompatible with their authority, were left undisturbed by this teacher¹⁰; they even received, to a certain extent, his particular sanction, and the following divisions of the Hindu faith were, by his express permission, taught by some of his disciples, and are, consequently, regarded by the learned Brahmans in general, as the only orthodox and allowable forms in the present day¹¹. The *Saiva* faith was instituted by Paramata Kalanala, who is described as teaching at Banaras, and assuming the insignia that charac-

⁹ As in these texts of the Vedas *sadeva saumyedadagra asit. and atma va idameka evagra asit.* [quoted by Sankara: in his *Brahmasutrabhashya*, Calcutta, 1854, p. 54. See also *Brihad Arany. Upanishad*, I, 4, 1. p. 125.]

¹⁰ "Ordinances founded on the Tantras, the Puranas, or historical record, are admissible if accordant with the Vedas; they must be rejected if repugnant."

¹¹ "In the present impure age, the bud of wisdom being blighted by iniquity, men are inadequate to the apprehension of pure unity; they will be apt, therefore, again to follow the dictates of their own fancies, and it is necessary for the preservation of the world, and the maintenance of civil and religious distinctions, to acknowledge those modifications of the divine spirit which are the work of the Supreme. These reflexions having occurred to Sankara, he addressed his disciple, &c."

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terise the Dandis of modern times. The Vaishnava worship was taught at Kanchi, or Conjeveram, by Lakshmana Acharya and Hastamalaka ; and the latter seems to have introduced a modified adoration of Vishnu, in the character of Krishna. The Saura sect was continued under the auspices of Divakara, Brahmachari, and the Sakta, under those of the Sannyasi, Tripurakumara : the Ganapatya were allowed to remain under the presidency of Girijaputra, and from such persons as had not adopted either of the preceding systems, Batukanath, the professor of the Kapalika, or Bhairava worship, was permitted to attract followers : all these teachers were converts and disciples of Sankara, and returned to his superintending guidance, when they had effected the objects of their missions.

The notice that occurs in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* of any of the sects which have yet been mentioned, has been already incidentally adverted to : this work is less of a popular form than the preceding, and controverts the speculative rather than the practical doctrines of other schools : besides the atheistical Buddhist and Jaina sects, the work is occupied chiefly with the refutation of the followers of Jaimini, Gautma, and Patanjali, and we have no classes of worshippers introduced but those of the Vaishnavas who follow Ramanuja, and Madhwacharya, of the Saivas, the Pasupatas, the followers of Abhinava Gupta, who taught the Mantra worship of Siva ; and the alchemical school, or worshippers of Siva's type in quick-silver, and the Rasendra Linga : most of these seem to have sprung into being in the interval between the 10th and 13th centuries, and have now either disappeared, or are rapidly on the decline : those which actually exist, we shall recur to in the view we are now prepared to take of the actual condition of the Hindu faith.

CHAPTER III

PRESENT DIVISIONS OF THE HINDUS, AND OF THE VAISHNAVAS IN PARTICULAR

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

The worshippers of Vishnu, Siva, and Sakti, who are the objects of the following description, are not to be confounded with the orthodox adorers of those divinities : few Brahmans of learning, if they have any religion at all, will acknowledge themselves to belong to any of the popular divisions of the Hindu faith, although, as a matter of simple preference, they more especially worship some individual deity, as their chosen, or Ishta Devata ; they refer also to the Vedas, the books of law, the Puranas, and Tantras, as the only ritual they recognise, and regard all practices not derived from those sources as irregular and profane : on the other hand, many of the sects seem to have originated, in a great measure, out of opposition to the Brahmanical order : teachers and disciples are chosen from any class, and the distinction of caste is, in a great measure, sunk in the new one, of similarity of schism : the ascetics and mendicants, also in many instances, affect to treat the Brahmans with particular contempt, and this is generally repaid with interest by the Brahmans. A portion, though not a large one, of the populace is still attached to the Smarta Brahmans, as their spiritual guides, and are so far distinct from any of the sects we shall have to specify, whilst most of the followers, even of the sects, pay the ordinary deference to the Brahmanical order, and especially evince towards the Brahmans of their own fellowship, of whom there is generally abundance, the devotedness and submission which the original Hindu Code so perpetually inculcates.

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

VAISHNAVAS : (1) Ramanujas, or Sri Sampradayis, or Sri Vaishnavas, (2) Ramanandis, or Ramavats, (3) Kabir Panthis, (4) Khakis, (5) Maluk Dasis, (6) Dadu Panthis, (7) Raya Dasis, (8) Senais, (9) Vallabhacharis, or Rudra Sampradayis, (10) Mira Bais, (11) Madhwacharis, or Brahma Sampradayis,

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(12) Nimavats, or Sanakadi Sampradayis, (13) The Vaishnavas of Bengal, (14) Radha Vallabhis, (15) The Sakhi Bhavas, (16) Charan Dasis, (17) Harischandis, (18) Sadhna Panthis, (19) Madhavis, (20) Sannyasis, Vairagis and Nagas.

SAIVAS : (1) Dandis and Dasnamis, (2) Yogis, (3) Jangamas, (4) Paramahansas, (5) Urdhabahus, Akas Mukhis, and Nakhis, (6) Gudarais, (7) Rukharas, Sukharas and Ukharas, (8) Kara Lingis, (9) Sannyasis &c.

SAKTAS : (1) Dakshinis, (2) Vamis, (3) Kanchuliyas (4) Kararis.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS : (1) Ganapatyas, (2) Saurapatas, (3) Nanak Shahis of seven classes—(a) Udasis, (b) Ganjbakhsis, (c) Ramrayis, (d) Suthra Shahsi, (e) Govind Sinhis, (f) Nirmalas, (g) Nagas.

(4) Jainas of two principal orders—(a) Digambaras, (b) Svetambaras, (5) Baba Lalis, (6) Pran Nathis, (7) Sadhs, (8) Satnamis, (9) Siva Narayanis, (10) Sunyavadis.

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

VAISHNAVAS

SRI SAMPRADAYIS, OR RAMANUJAS

Amongst other divisions of less importance, the Vaishnavas are usually distinguished into four principal Sampradayas, or sects²;

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

Amongst the Brahmins,	..	..	..	24
Sannyasis	..	..	..	12
Vairagis,	..	..	..	12
Sauras,	..	..	..	18
Jangamas,	..	..	..	18
Yogis	..	..	..	12

2 Thus the *Bhakta Mala*: "Hari, in preceding ages, assumed twenty-four principal shapes, but four were manifest in the Kali Yuga: the magnanimous Ramanuja, a treasure of Ambrosia and terrestrial tree of plenty: the ocean of kindness and transporter across the sea of the universe, Vishnu Swami: Madhu Acharj, a rich cloud in the autumnal season of piety: and Nimbaditya, a sun that illumined the cave of ignorance; by them acts of piety and obligation were divided, and each sect was severally established." There are also Sanskrit texts authorising the different institution, and characteristic term of each Sampradaya, one of these is from the

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of these, the most ancient and respectable is the Sri Sampradaya, founded by the Vaishnava reformer Ramanuja Acharya, about the middle of the twelfth century³.

The history of Ramanuja, and his first followers, is well known in the south of India, of which he was a native, and is recorded in various legendary tracts and traditional narratives.

RAMANUJA

According to the *Bhargava Upapurana*, Ramanuja is said to have been an incarnation of the serpent Sesha, whilst his chief companions and disciples were the embodied Discus, Mace, Lotus, and other insignia of Vishnu. In a Kanara account of his life, called the *Divya Charitra*, he is said to have been the son of Sri Kesava Acharya and Bhumi Devi; and, as before, an incarnation of Sesha. He was born at Perumbur, and studied at Kanchi, or Conjeveram, where also he taught his system of the Vaishnava faith. He afterwards resided at Sri Ranga, worshipping Vishnu as Sri Ranga Natha, and there composed his principal works; he then visited various parts of India, disputing with the professors of different creeds, overcoming them of course, and reclaiming various shrines, then in possession of the Saivas, for the worshippers of Vishnu, particularly the celebrated temple of Tripeti.

On his return to Sri Ranga, the disputes between the Vaishnava and Saiva religions, became exceedingly violent, and the Chola monarch, who according to some accounts, was at

Padma Purana: "Those Mantras, which belong to no system, are of no virtue; and, therefore, in the Kali age, there shall be followers of four sects. Sri, Madhwi, Rudra and Sanaka, shall be the Vaishnavas, purifying the world, and these four, Devi, (Siva speaks,) shall be the institutors of the Sampradayas in the Kali period." We may here observe in passing, that if this text is genuine, the *Padma Purana* must be very modern: another similar text is the following: "Lakshmi selected Ramanuja; Brahma Madhwacharya; Rudra gave the preference to Vishnu Swami, and the four Sanaka to Nimbadiya." The cause of the election is not very evident, as the creeds taught by those teachers, have little connection with the deity who lends the appellation to the sects.

3 The *Smriti Kala Taranga* places the date of Ramanuja's appearance in Saka—1049 or A. D. 1127. A note by Mackenzie on an inscription, given in the *Asiatic Researches* 9, 270, places the birth of Ramanuja in A. D. 1008: various accounts, collected by Buchanan, make it 1010 and 1025 (Buchanan's *Mysore* 2, 80) and 1019 (*ibid.* 3, 413). Inscriptions make him alive in 1128, (*ibid.*) which would give him a life of more than a century: according to Wilks, indeed (*History of Mysore* 1, 41, note and appendix), he was alive in 1183. The weight of authority seems to be in favour of the more recent date, and we may conclude that he was born about the end of the eleventh century, and that the first half of the twelfth century was the period at which his fame, as a teacher, was established.

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that time Kerikala Chola, subsequently named Krimi Konda Chola, being a devout worshipper of Siva, commanded all the Brahmanas in his dominions to sign an acknowledgement of the supremacy of the divinity, bribing some of the most refractory, and terrifying others into acquiescence. Ramanuja, however, was impracticable, and the king sent armed men to seize him. With the assistance of his disciples, he effected his escape, and ascending the Ghats, found refuge with the Jain sovereign of Mysore, Vitala Deva, Vellala Raya. In consequence of rendering medical service to the daughter of this prince, or in the terms of the legend, expelling an evil spirit, a Brahma Rakshasa, by whom she was possessed, he obtained the monarch's grateful regard, and finally converted him to the Vaishnava faith. The Raja assumed the title of Vishnu Vardhana. Ramanuja remained several years in Mysore, at a temple founded by the Raja on Yadava Giri, now known as Mail Cotay, for the reception of an image called Chavala Raya, a form of Rana-chhor, or Krishna, which the local traditions very ridiculously pretend he obtained from the Muhammedan sovereign of Delhi. Ramanuja resided here twelve years, but on the death of his persecutor, the Chola king, he returned to Sri Ranga, on the Kaveri, and there spent the remainder of his life in devout exercises and religious seclusion.

RAMANUJIYIAS

The establishments of the Ramanujiyas are numerous in the Dekhan still, and the same country comprehends the site of the Gaddi, the pillow or seat of the primitive teacher; his spiritual throne, in fact, to which his disciples are successively elevated⁴. This circumstance gives a superiority to the Acharyas of the Dakshina, or south, over those of the Uttara, or north, into which they are at present divided.

The worship of the followers of Ramanuja, is addressed to Vishnu and to Lakshmi, and their respective incarnations, either singly or conjointly; and Sri Vaishnavas, by which general name the sect is known, consist of corresponding subdivisions, as Narayana, or Lakshmi, or Lakshmi Narayana, or Rama or Sita or Sita Rama, or Rishna, or Rukmini, or any other modi-

⁴ According to information obtained by Buchanan, Ramanuja founded 700 Maths, of which four only remain; one of the principal of these is at Mail Cotay, or Dakshina Badarikasrama, the Badari station of the south. Ramanuja also established 74 hereditary Guruships amongst his followers, the representatives of which still remain and dispute the supremacy with the Sannyasi members of the order; these last, however, are generally considered of the highest rank (Buchan. *Mysore* 2, 73). In another place (1, 144), he says that 89 Guruships were established, 5 in the Sannyasi class, and 84 in the secular order: the Madams of the five former are Ahobblam, Totadri, Ramesvara, Sri Rangam, and Kanchi.

fications of Vishnu, or his consort, is the preferential object of the veneration of the votary⁵. Sri Vaishnava worship in the north of India, is not very popular, and the sect is rather of a speculative than practical nature, although it does not require, in its teachers, secession from the world : the teachers are usually of the Brahmanical order, but the disciples may be of any caste⁶.

Besides the temples appropriated to Vishnu and his consort, and their several forms, including those of Krishna and Rama, and those which are celebrated as objects of pilgrimage, as Lakshmi-Balaji, Ramnath, and Ranganath, in the south ; Badarinath, in the Himalaya, Jagannath, in Orissa, and Dwaraka, on the Malabar Coast, images of metal or stone are usually set up in the houses of the private members of this sect, which are daily worshipped, and the temples and dwellings are all decorated with the Salagram stone and Tulasi plant.

The most striking peculiarities in the practices of this sect, are the individual preparation, and scrupulous privacy of their meals : they must not eat in cotton garments, but having bathed, must put on woollen or silk : the teachers allow their select pupils to assist them, but, in general, all the Ramanujas cook for themselves, and should the meal during this process, or whilst they are eating, attract even the looks of a stranger, the operation is instantly stopped, and the viands buried in the ground : a similar delicacy, in this respect, prevails amongst some other classes of Hindus, especially of the Rajaput families, but it is not carried to so preposterous an extent⁷.

⁵ Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches* 7, [Essays &c. London: 1858, p. 124.] says the Ramanujas are of three classes, those who worship Rama alone, Sita alone, and Sita and Rama conjointly. One of my authorities, Mathura Nath, says, they worship Maha Lakshmi, and other information agrees with his; from the texts quoted in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, [Calcutta: 1858, pp. 54, 55,] Vishnu as Vasudeva, is the deity to be worshipped, but no doubt all the varieties exist: without, however, affecting the identity of the sect, the real object of whose devotion is Vishnu, as the cause and creator of the world, and any of his, or his Sakti's more especial manifestations, are consequently entitled to reverence. The term Sri Vaishnavas, most commonly applied to them, denotes an original preference of the female deity or Maha Lakshmi: the worship of Rama is more properly that of the Ramanandis, and they may be the persons intended by Colebrooke's informants, as those of the Ramanujiyas who worship Rama only (*Asiatic Researches* 7, 281). It may also be observed, that the Ramanujiyas unite with Krishna, Rukmini, not Radha, the latter being his mistress only, not his wife, and being never named in the Bhagavat, except in one ambiguous passage.

⁶ The Mantra, and mark, are never bestowed on any person of impure birth.—Buchan. *Mysore* 1, 146.

⁷ It is said, however, that there are two divisions of the sect, one called Avarani, from Avarana, screening, or surrounding, and

The chief ceremony of initiation in all Hindu sects, is the communication by the teacher to the disciple of the Mantra, which generally consists of the name of some deity, or a short address to him ; it is communicated in a whisper, and never lightly made known by the adept to profane ears. The Mantra of the Ramanuja sect is said to be the six syllable Mantra—*Om Ramaya namah* ; or *Om* salutation to Rama⁸.

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

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

The marks of the Ramanujas are two perpendicular white lines, drawn from the root of the hair to the commencement of each eye-brow, and a transverse streak connecting them across the root of the nose : in the centre is a perpendicular streak of red, made with red Sanders, or Roli, a preparation of Turmeric and Lime ; they have also patches of Gopichandana, with a central red streak on the breast, and each upper arm : the marks are supposed to represent the Sankha, Chakra, Gada, and Padma⁹, or Shell, Discus, Club, and Lotus, which

the other Anavarani, from the members not observing such punctilious privacy.

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

9 The Vaishnava is thus described in the *Bhakta Mala*, the text is probably that of the *Bhagavat*—"They who bear the Tulasi round the neck, the rosary of Lotus seeds, have the shell and discus impressed upon their upper arm, and the upright streak

Vishnu bears in his four hands, whilst the central streak is Sri, or Lakshmi¹⁰. Some have these objects carved on wooden stamps, with which they impress the emblems on their bodies, and others carry their devotion so far as to have the parts cicatrized with heated metallic models of the objects they propose to represent, but this is not regarded as a creditable practice¹¹: besides these marks, they wear a necklace of the wood of the Tulasi, and carry a rosary of the seeds of the same plant, or of the Lotus.

The principal authorities of this sect are the comments of the founder on the Sutras of Vyasa, and other Vaidika works: they are written in Sanskrit, and are the *Sri Bhashya*, the *Gita Bhashya*, the *Vedartha Sangraha*, *Vedanta Pradipa*, and *Vedanta Sara*: besides these, the works of Venkata Acharya, are of great repute amongst them, as the *Stotra Bhashya*, and *Satadushini*, and others: the *Chanda Maruta Vaidika*, and *Trinsatadhyanam*, are also works of authority, as is the *Pancharatra* of Narada: of the *Puranas* they acknowledge only six as authorities, the *Vishnu*, *Naradiya*, *Garuda*, *Padma*, *Varaha* and the *Bhagavat*: the other twelve are regarded as Tamasa, or originating in the principles of darkness and passion, as we have already observed. Besides these, the Ramanujas have a variety of popular works in the dialects of the South, one of which, the *Guru Para*, containing an account of the life of Ramanuja, was procured by Buchanan, in the course of his statistical researches in *Mysore*.

The chief religious tenet of the Ramanujas, is the assertion

along the centre of the forehead, they are Vaishnavas, and sanctify the world."

10 The efficacy of these marks is very great: we are told in the *Kasi Khand*, that Yama directs his ministers to avoid such as bear them, and the same work observes, that no sin can exist in the individuals who make use of them, be they of whatever caste.

Brahmanah Kshatriyo Vaisyah Sudro va yadi vetarah.

*Vishnubhaktisamayukto ksheyah sarvottasca sah
sankhacakrankitanuh strasa manjandharah
gopicandanaliptango drshtaseettadadham kutah !*

11 The *Vrihan Naradiya Purana* sentences every Brahman adopting the practice to endless degradation, and even to the internal regions.

*Tathahi samtaptasankadilingacihna tamurnarah,
sa sarvapatakabhogi candalo janmakotibheh,
tam dvijam taptasankhaditingankitatanun Harah,
sambhavya Rauravam yati yavatindras caturdasa !*

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

*Brahmunasya tamurjneya sarvadevanamasrita
sa cetsamtapita rajan kimu vakshamahe vayam !*

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that Vishnu is Brahma ; that he was before all worlds, and was the cause and the creator of all. Although they maintain that Vishnu and the universe are one, yet, in opposition to the Vedanta doctrines, they deny that the deity is void of form or quality, and regard him as endowed with all good qualities, and with a two-fold form : the supreme spirit, Paramatma, or cause, and the gross one, the effect, the universe or matter. The doctrine is hence called the Visishtadwaita, or doctrine of unity with attributes. In these assertions they are followed by most of the Vaishnava sects. Creation originated in the wish of Vishnu, who was alone, without a second, to multiply himself : he said, I will become many ; and he was individually embodied as visible and etherial light. After that, as a ball of clay may be moulded into various forms, so the grosser substance of the deity became manifest in the elements, and their combinations : the forms into which the divine matter is thus divided, are pervaded by a portion of the same vitality which belongs to the great cause of all, but which is distinct from his spiritual or eterial essence ; here, therefore, the Ramanujas again oppose the Vedantikas, who identify¹² the Paramatma and Jivatma, or etherial and vital spirit : this vitality, though endlessly diffusible, is imperishable and eternal, and the matter of the universe, as being the same in substance with the Supreme Being, is alike without beginning or end : Purushattama, or Narayana, after having created man and animals, through the instrumentality of those subordinate agents whom he willed into existence for that purpose, still retained the supreme authority of the universe : so that the Ramanujas assert three predicates of the universe, comprehending the deity : it consists of Chit, or spirit, Achit, or matter, and Iswara, or God, or the enjoyer, the thing enjoyed, and the ruler and controller of both. Besides his primary and secondary form as the creator, and creation, the deity has assumed, at different times, particular forms and appearance, for the benefit of his creatures : he is, or has been visibly present amongst men, in five modifications : in his Archa, objects of worship as images, &c. ; in the Vibhavas, or Avatars, as the fish, the boar, &c. ; in certain forms called Vyuhas, of which four are enumerated, Vasudeva, or Krishna, Balarama, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha ; fourthly, in the Sukshma form, which, when perfect, comprises six qualities : Virajas, absence of human passion ; Vimrityu, immortality ; Visoka, exemption from care or pain ; Vijighatsa, absence of natural wants ; Satyakama, and Satyasankalpa, the love and practice of truth ; and sixthly, as the Antaratma, or Antaryami, the human soul, or individualised spirit : these are to be worshipped seriatim, as the ministrant

¹² See, however, Colebrooke: *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1858, p. 169.

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ascends in the scale of perfection, and adoration therefore is five-fold ; Abhigamanam, cleaning and purifying the temples, images, &c. Upadanam, providing flowers and perfumes for religious rites : Ijya, the presentation of such offerings, blood offerings being uniformly prohibited, it may be observed, by all the Vaishnavas ; Swadhyaya, counting the rosary and repeating the names of the divinity, or any of his forms ; and Yoga, the effort to unite with the deity¹³. The reward of these acts is elevation to the seat of Vishnu, and enjoyment of like state with his own, interpreted to be perpetual residence in Vaikuntha, or Vishnu's heaven, in a condition of pure ecstasy and eternal rapture.

The Ramanujas are not very numerous in the north of India, where they are better known as Sri Vaishnavas ; they are decidedly hostile to the Saiva sect, and are not on very friendly terms with the modern votaries of Krishna, although they recognise that deity as an incarnation of Vishnu¹⁴.

RAMANANDIS OR RAMAVATS

The followers of Ramanand are much better known than those of Ramanuja in upper Hindustan : they are usually considered as a branch of the Ramanuja sect, and address their devotions peculiarly to Ramachandra, and the divine manifestations connected with Vishnu in that incarnation, as Sita, Lakshmana, and Hanuman.

Ramanand is sometimes considered to have been the immediate disciple of Ramanuja, but this appears to be an error : a more particular account makes him the fifth in descent from that teacher, as follows—the pupil and successor of Ramanuja was Devanand ; of Devanand, Harinand ; of Harinand, Raghanand, and of this last, Ramanand, an enumeration which, if

¹³ *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, p. 54-56.

¹⁴ Dubois in his 8th Chapter, has some details of the Vaishnava mendicants, as met with in the Dekkan: his account, however, does not apply to the Ramanuja, or any other Vaishnava sect, as known in these provinces, although a few of the particulars may be true, if confined to the Vaishnava Vairagis—the Dakshini Vaishnavas must be, therefore, a very different class from those that are met within any other part of India, or the Abbe must have mixed, as is not unusual with him, a small quantum of truth, with a very large portion of error: it is, indeed, impossible to think him correct, when he states, that "the sectaries of Vishnu eat publicly of all sorts of meat, except beef, and drink spirituous liquors without shame or restraint, and that they are reproached with being the chief promoters of that ... sacrifice, the Sakti Puja:" now, it is not true of any sect in Upper India, that the practices the Abbe mentions occur at all, except in the utmost privacy and secrecy, and if even in that way they do occur, it is certainly not amongst the Vaishnava Vairagis, but with very different sects, as we shall hereafter see.

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correct, would place Ramanand about the end of the 13th century¹⁵. There is great reason, however, to doubt his being entitled to so remote a date, and consequently to question the accuracy of his descent from Ramanuja we shall have occasion to infer, hereafter, from the accounts given of the dates of other teachers, that Ramanand was not earlier than the end of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century.

According to common tradition, the schism of Ramanand originated in resentment of an affront offered him by his fellow disciples, and sanctioned by his teacher. It is said, that he had spent some time in travelling through various parts of India, after which he returned to the Math, or residence of his superior : his brethren objected to him, that in the course of his peregrinations, it was impossible he could have observed that privacy in his meals, which is a vital observance of the Ramanuja sect, and as Raghavanand admitted the validity of the objection, Ramanand was condemned to feed in a place apart from the rest of the disciples : he was highly incensed at the order, and retired from the society altogether, establishing a schism of his own.

The residence of Ramanand was at Banaras, at the Pancha Ganga Ghat, where a Math, or monastery of his followers, is said to have existed, but to have been destroyed by some of the Mussulman princes : at present there is merely a stone platform, in the vicinity, bearing the supposed impression of his feet, but there are many Maths of his followers, of celebrity at Banaras, whose Panchayat, or council, is the chief authority amongst the Ramavats in Upper India : we shall have frequent occasion to mention these Maths, or convents, and a short account of them may, therefore, here be acceptable.

Most of the religious sects of which we have to give an account, comprise various classes of individuals, resolvable, however, especially into two, whom (for want of more appropriate terms) we must call, perhaps, Clerical and Lay : the bulk of the votaries are generally, but not always of the latter order, whilst the rest, or the clerical class, are sometimes monastic, and sometimes secular : most of the sects, especially the Vaishnavas, leave this distinction a matter of choice : the Vallabha-charis, indeed, give the preference to married teachers, and all their Gosains are men of business and family : the preference, however, is usually assigned to teachers of an ascetic or coenobitic life, whose pious meditations are not distracted by the affections of kindred, or the cares of the world : the doctrine that introduced similar unsocial institutions into the Christian

¹⁵ The enumeration in the *Bhakta Mala* is different: 1. Ramanuja, 2. Devacharj, 3. Raghavanand, 4. Ramanand; making him the fourth.

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

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

The Maths, Asthals, or Akhadas, the residences of the monastic communities of the Hindus, are scattered over the whole country : they vary in structure and extent, according to the property of which the proprietors are possessed ; but they generally comprehend a set of huts or chambers for the Mahant¹⁶, or Superior, and his permanent pupils ; a temple, sacred to the deity whom they worship, or the Samadhi, or shrine of the founder of the sect, or some eminent teacher ; and a Dharma Sala, one or more sheds, or buildings for the

16 The following description of the residence of Mandana Misra, from the *Sankara Vijaya* of Ananda Giri, is very applicable to a modern Math.

"At the distance of four Yojanas, west from Hastinapur, was a square plot of ground, extending a kos on each side; in the centre of it stood a large mansion, constructed of the timber of the Tal, and exactly facing it another a hundred cubits in length; upon the top of this last were many cages full of parrots, and within it resided five hundred pupils, occupied in the study of various Sastras: the first was the dwelling of the Teacher, like Brahma with four heads, like the Serpent King, with a thousand faces, and Rudra, with a five-fold head, amongst his disciples like the waves of the ocean, and enabling them to overcome the universe in unparalleled profundity and extent of knowledge: he was attended by numerous slaves of both sexes: attached to his dwelling were wells and reservoirs, and gardens and orchards, and his person was pampered with the choicest viands procured daily by his disciples. In his court-yard were two Temples, on a circular mound, for the worship of the Visvadevas and the Salagram, in the form of Lakshmi Narayana."

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accommodation of the mendicants or travellers, who are constantly visiting the Math : ingress and egress is free to all ; and, indeed, a restraint upon personal liberty seems never to have entered into the conception of any of the religious legislators of the Hindus.

The Math is under the entire control of a Mahant, or Superior, with a certain number of resident Chelas, or disciples ; their number varies from three or four to thirty or forty, but in both cases there are always a number of vagrant or out-members ; the resident Chelas are usually the elders of the body, with a few of the younger as their attendants and scholars ; and it is from the senior and more proficient of these ascetics, that the Mahant is usually elected.

In some instances, however, where the Mahant has a family, the situation descends in the line of his posterity : where an election is to be effected, it is conducted with much solemnity, and presents a curious picture of a regularly organised system of church policy, amongst these apparently unimportant and straggling communities.

The Maths of various districts look up to some one of their own order as chief, and they all refer to that connected with their founder, as the common head : under the presidency, therefore, of the Mahant of that establishment, wherever practicable, and in his absence, of some other of acknowledged pre-eminence, the Mahants of the different Maths assemble, upon the decease of one of their brethren, to elect a successor. For this purpose they regularly examine the Chelas, or disciples of the deceased, the ablest of whom is raised to the vacant situation : should none of them be qualified, they choose a Mahant from the pupils of some other teacher, but this is rarely necessary, and unless necessary, is never had recourse to. The new Mahant is then regularly installed, and is formally invested with the cap, the rosary, the frontal mark, or Tika, or any other monastic insignia, by the president of the assembly. Under the native Government, whether Muhammadan or Hindu—the election of the superior of one of these establishments was considered as a matter of sufficient moment to demand the attention of the Governor of the province, who, accordingly, in person, or by his deputy, presided at the election : at present, no interference is exercised by the ruling authorities, and rarely by any lay character, although occasionally, a Raja, or a Zamindar, to whose liberality the Math is indebted, or in whose lands it is situated, assumes the right of assisting and presiding at the election.

The Mahants of the sects, in which the election takes place, are generally assisted by those of the sects connected with them : each is attended by a train of disciples, and individuals

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of various mendicant tribes repair to the meeting ; so that an assemblage of many hundreds, and sometimes of thousands, occurs : as far as the resources of the Math, where they are assembled, extend, they are maintained at its expense ; when those fail, they must shift for themselves ; the election is usually a business of ten or twelve days, and during the period of its continuance, various points of policy or doctrine are discussed in the assembly.

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

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

The especial object of the worship of Ramananda's followers is Vishnu, as Ramachandra : they, of course, reverence all the other incarnations of Vishnu, but they maintain the superiority of Rama, in the present or Kali Yug ; hence they are known collectively as Ramavats, although the same variety prevails amongst them, as amongst the Ramanujas, as to the exclusive or collective worship of the male and female members of this incarnation, or of Rama and Sita, singly, or jointly, or

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Sita Rama¹⁷ : individuals of them also pay particular veneration to some of the other forms of Vishnu, and they hold in like estimation, as the Ramanujas, and every Vaishnava sect, the Salagram stone and Tulasi plant ; their forms of worship correspond with those of the Hindus generally, but some of the mendicant members of the sect, who are very numerous, and are usually known as Vairagis, or Viraktas, consider all form of adoration superfluous, beyond the incessant invocation of the name of Krishna and Rama.

The practices of this sect are of less precise nature than those of the Ramanujas, it being the avowed object of the founder to release his disciples from those fetters which he had found so inconvenient : in allusion to this, indeed, he gave, it is said, the appellation Avadhuta, or Liberated, to his scholars, and they admit no particular observances with respect to eating or bathing¹⁸, but follow their own inclination, or comply with the common practice in these respects. The initiatory Mantra is said to be Sri Rama—the salutation is Jaya Sri Rama, Jaya Ram, or Sita Ram : their marks are the same as those of the preceding, except that the red perpendicular streak on the forehead is varied, in shape and extent, at the pleasure of the individual, and is generally narrower than that of the Ramanujas.

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

The twelve chief disciples of Ramanand are named, as follows—Asanand, Kabir, the weaver, Raindas, the Chamar, or currier, Pipa, the Rajput, Sursuranand, Sukhanand, Bhavanand, Dhanna the Jat, Sena, the barber—Mahanand, Paramanand, and Srianand¹⁹, a list which shows, that the school of

17 Amongst the temples of this sect at Banaras, are two dedicated to Radha Krishna, although attached to Maths belonging to the Ramavat order, and not at all connected with the followers of Vallabha, or of Chaitanya and Nityanand.

18 The Vairagis of this sect, and some others, eat and drink together, without regard to tribe or caste, and are thence called Kulatut, or Varnatut.

19 The *Bhakta Mala* has a rather different list : 1. Raghunath, 2. Anantanand, 3. Kabir, 4. Sukhasur, 5. Jiva, 6. Padmavat, 7. Pipa, 8. Bhavanand, 9. Raidas, 10. Dhanna, 11. Sena, 12. Sursura. His successors, again, were somewhat different, or 1. Raghunath, 2. Anantanand, Yoganand, Ramdas, Sri Ranja, and Narahari.

Ramanand admitted disciples of every caste : it is, in fact, asserted in the *Bhakta Mala*, that the distinction of caste is inadmissible according to the tenets of the Ramanandis : there is no difference, they say, between Bhagavan and Bhakta, or the deity and his worshipper ; but Bhagavan appeared in inferior forms, as a Fish, a Boar, a Tortoise, &c., so therefore the Bhakta may be born as a Chamar, a Koli, a Chhipi, or any other degraded caste.

The various character of the reputed disciples of Ramanand, and a consideration of the tenets of those sects which they have founded, lead to a conclusion, that this individual, if he did not invent, gave fresh force to a very important encroachment upon the orthodox system : he, in fact, abrogated the distinction of caste amongst the religious orders, and taught, that the holy character who quitted the ties of nature and society, shook off, at the same time, all personal distinction—this seems to be the proper import of the term Avadhuta, which Ramanand is said to have affixed to his followers, and they were liberated from more important restraints than those of regimen and ablution : the popular character of the works of this school corroborates this view of Ramananda's innovation ; Sankara and Ramanuja writing to and for the Brahmanical order alone, composed chiefly, if not solely, Sanskrit commentaries on the text of the Vedas, or Sanskrit expositions of their peculiar doctrines and the teachers of these opinions, whether monastic or secular, are indispensably of the Brahmanical caste—it does not appear that any works exist which are attributed to Ramanand himself, but those of his followers are written in the provincial dialects, and addressed to the capacity, as well as placed within the reach, of every class of readers, and every one of those may become a Vairagi, and rise, in time, to be a Guru or Mahant.

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

PIPA, THE RAJPUT

Pipa, the Rajput, is called the Raja of Gangaraun : he was originally a worshipper of Devi, but abandoned her service for that of Vishnu, and repaired to Banaras to put himself under

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the tuition of Ramanand. Having disturbed the sage at an inconvenient season, Ramanand angrily wished that he might fall into the well of his courtyard, on which Pipa, in the fervour of his obedience, attempted to cast himself into it to accomplish the desire of the saint. This act was with difficulty prevented by the by-standers, and the attempt so pleased Ramanand that he immediately admitted the Raja amongst his disciples.

Pipa, after some time abandoned his earthly possessions, and accompanied by only one of his wives, named Sita, as ardent a devotee as himself, adopting a life of mendicity, accompanied Ramanand and his disciples to Dwaraka. Here he plunged into the sea to visit the submarine shrine of Krishna, and was affectionately received by that deity : after spending some days with him, Pipa returned, when the fame of the occurrence spread, and attracted great crowds to see him. Finding them incompatible with his devotions, Pipa left Dwaraka privately : on the road some Pathans carried off his wife, but Rama himself rescued her, and slew the ravishers. The life of this vagrant Raja is narrated at considerable length in the *Bhakta Mala*, and is made up of the most absurd and silly legends. On one occasion the Raja encounters a furious lion in a forest ; he hangs a rosary round his neck, whispers the Mantra of Rama, and makes him tranquil in a moment ; he then lectures the lion on the impropriety of devouring men and kine, and sends him away penitent, and with a pious purpose to do so no more.

Of Sursuranand we have a silly enough story of some cakes that were given to him by a Mlechchha being changed when in his mouth into a Tulasi leaf. Of Dhanna, it is related that a Brahman, by way of a frolic, gave him a piece of stone, and desired him to offer to it first, whatever he was about to eat. Dhanna obeyed, looking upon the stone as the representative of Vishnu, who, being pleased with his devotion appeared, and constantly tended the cattle of the simple Jat : at last he recommended his becoming the disciple of Ramanand, for which purpose he went to Banaras, and having received the Mantra, returned to his farm. Raghunath, or in the text Asanand, succeeded Ramanand in the Gaddhi, or the seat of the Mahant.

NARAHARI OR HARYANANDA

Narahari or Haryanand was also a pupil of Ramanand, whom it is difficult to identify with any one in the list above given : we have a characteristic legend of him.

Being one day in want of fuel to dress his meat, he directed one of his pupils to proceed to a neighbouring temple of Devi, and bring away from it any portion of the timber he could conveniently remove : this was done, to the great alarm, but

utter helplessness of the goddess, who could not dispute the authority of a mortal of Haryanand's sanctity. A neighbour who had observed this transaction laboured under a like want of wood : at the instigation of his wife, he repaired also to the temple, and attempted to remove one of the beams, when the goddess, indignant at his presumption, hurled him and broke his neck : the widow hearing of her husband's fate, immediately hastened to the temple, and liberally abused the vindictive deity. Devi took advantage of the business to make a bargain for her temple, and restored the man to life, on condition that he would ever afterwards buy fuel for Haryanand.

The legends of such other disciples of Ramanand as occur in the *Bhakta Mala* will be given in their proper places, and it will be sufficient here to confine our further extracts from that authority to Nabhaji, the author, Sur Das, and Tulasi Das, to whose poetical talents the late version of it is largely indebted, and Jayadeva, whose songs have been translated by Sir William Jones.

NABHAJI

Nabhaji, the author of the *Bhakta Mala*, was by birth a Dom, a caste whose employ is making baskets and various sorts of wicker work. The early commentators say he was of the Hanuman Vansa, or Monkey tribe, because, observes the modern interpreter, Banar, a monkey, signifies in the Marwar language a Dom, and it is not proper to mention the caste of a Vaishnava by name : he was born blind, and when but five years old, was exposed by his parents, during a time of scarcity, to perish in the woods : in this situation he was found by Agradas and Kil, two Vaishnava teachers : they had compassion upon his helplessness, and Kil sprinkled his eyes with the water of his Kamandalu, or water pot, and the child saw : they carried Nabhaji to their Marh, where he was brought up, and received the initiatory Mantra from Agradas : when arrived at maturity, he wrote the *Bhakta Mala* by desire of his Guru. The age of Nabhaji must be about two centuries, or two and a half, as he is made contemporary with Man Singh, the Raja of Jaynagar, and with Akbar. He should date much earlier, if one account of his spiritual descent which makes him the fourth from Ramanand²⁰ be admitted, but in the *Bhakta Mala*, Krishna Das, the second in that account, does not descend in a direct line from Ramanand, but derives his qualifications as teacher from the immediate instructions of Vishnu himself : there is no necessity, therefore, to connect Nabhaji with Ramanand. The same authority places him

20 1. Ramanand, 2. Asanand, 3. Krishna Das, 4. Kil and Agradas, 5. Nabhaji. See the next division of this section.

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also something later, as it states that Tulasi Das, who was contemporary with Shah Jehan, visited Nabhaji at Brindavan. It is probable, therefore, that this writer flourished at the end of Akbar's reign, and in the commencement of that of his successor.

SUR DAS

The notices we have of Sur Das are very brief : he was blind, a great poet, and a devout worshipper of Vishnu, in whose honour all his poems are written : they are songs and hymns of various lengths, but usually short, and the greater number are Padas, or simply stanzas of four lines, the first line forming a subject, which is repeated as the last and the burden of the song, Padas being very generally sung, both at public entertainments, and the devotional exercises of the Vaishnava ascetics. Sur Das is said to have composed 125,000 of these Padas : he is almost entitled to be considered as the founder of a sect, as blind beggars carrying about musical instruments, to which they chant stanzas in honour of Vishnu, are generally termed Sur Dasis. The tomb of Sur Das, a simple mound of earth, is considered to be situated in a tope near Sivpur, a village about two miles to the north of Banaras. There is also an account of a saint of the same name in the *Bhakta Mala*, who is possibly a different person from the blind bard. This was a Brahman, Amin, or collector of the Parganah of Sandila, in the reign of Akbar, and who with more zeal than honesty made over his collections to the shrine of Madana Mohana, a form of Krishna, at Brindavan, and sent to the treasury chests filled with stones²¹ : the minister Todar Mall, however, although a Hindu, was not disposed to confirm this transfer, and he had the defaulter arrested and thrown into prison. Sur Das then applied to Akbar, and the good natured monarch, who probably thought his collector more fool than knave, set him at liberty. He retired to Brindavan and there continued to lead a religious and ascetic life.

TULASI DAS

The account of Tulasi Das in the *Bhakta Mala* represents him as having been incited to the peculiar adoration of Rama by the remonstrances of his wife, to whom he was passionately

²¹ He accompanied them also with the following rhyme which may be thus rendered:

The Saints have shared Sandila's taxes,
Of which the total thirteen lakhs is,
A fee for midnight service owen,
By me Sur Das to Madan Mohen.

[Price's *Hindee and Hindustani* Selections. Calc., 1827. I, p. 100.]

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attached : he adopted a vagrant life, visited Banaras, and afterwards went to Chitrakuta, where he had a personal interview with Hanuman, from whom he received his poetical inspiration, and the power of working miracles : his fame reached Dehli, where Shah Jehan was emperor : the monarch sent for him to produce the person of Rama, which Tulasi Das refusing to do, the king threw him into confinement ; the people of the vicinity, however, speedily petitioned for his liberation, as they were alarmed for their own security : myriads of monkies having collected about the prison, and begun to demolish it, and the adjacent buildings. Shah Jehan set the poet at liberty, and desired him to solicit some favour as a reparation for the indignity he had suffered : Tulasi Das, accordingly, requested him to quit ancient Dehli, which was the abode of Rama, and in compliance with this request the emperor left it, and founded the new city, thence named Shah Jehanabad. After this, Tulasi Das went to Brindavan, where he had an interview with Nabhaji : he settled there, and strenuously advocated the worship of Sita Rama, in preference to that of Radha Krishna.

Besides these legendary tales of this celebrated writer, whose works exercise more influence upon the great body of Hindu population than the whole voluminous series of Sanskrit composition, we have other notices of him collected from his own works, or preserved by tradition, that differ in some respects from the above. From these it appears, that Tulasi Das was a Brahman of the Sarvarya branch, and a native of Hajipur, near Chitrakuta ; when arrived at maturity, he settled at Banaras, and held the office of Diwan to the Raja of that city : his spiritual preceptor was Jagannath Das, a pupil, as well as Nabhaji, of Agradas : he followed this teacher to Govardhan, near Brindavan, but afterwards returned to Banaras, and there commenced his Hindi version of the *Ramayana*, in the year of Samvat 1631, when he was thirty-one years of age. Besides this work, which is highly popular, Tulasi Das is the author of a *Sat Sai*²², or collection of one hundred stanzas on various subjects : of the *Ram Gunavali*, a series of verses in praise of Rama, of a *Gitavali*, and *Vinaya Patrika*, poetical compositions of a devotional or moral tendency, and of a great variety of Hymns—as Ragas, Kavits, and Padas in honour of his tutelary deity and his consort, or Rama and Sita. Tulasi Das continued to reside at Banaras, where he built a temple to Sita Rama, and founded a Math adjoining, both which are still in existence : he died in the year of the Samvat era, 1680, or

22 [The word *Sat Sai* rather implies a collection of seven hundred stanzas or slokas, such as e. g. the *Devimahatmya*. See *Sabdakalpadruma* s. v.]

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A. D. 1624, in the reign of Jehangir²³, and the legendary story of his intercourse with Shah Jehan, is consequently an anachronism.

JAYADEVA

Jayadeva was an inhabitant of a village called Kinduvilva, where he led an ascetic life, and was distinguished for his poetical powers, and the fervour of his devotion to Vishnu. He at first adopted a life of continence, but was subsequently induced to marry. A Brahman had dedicated his daughter to Jagannath, but on his way to the shrine of that deity was addressed by him, and desired to give the maiden to Jayadeva who was one with himself. The saint, who it should appear had no other shelter than the shade of a tree, was very unwilling to burden himself with a bride, but her father disregarded his refusal, and leaving his daughter with him departed. Jayadeva then addressed the damsel, and asked her what she proposed to do, to which she replied : "whilst I was in my father's house, I was obedient to his will ; he has now presented me to you, and I am subject to your pleasure ; if you reject me, what remains for me but to die ?" The saint finding there was no help, turned householder, and removed the image he had worshipped in the air into his dwelling, by desire, it is said, of the object of his adoration. In his new condition he composed the *Gita Govinda*, in which Krishna himself assisted, for on one occasion, Jayadeva being puzzled how to describe the charms of Radha, laid down the paper for a happier moment, and went to bathe. Krishna, assuming his person, entered his house, and wrote the requisite description, much to the poet's astonishment on his return home.

Of the *Gita Govinda* it is said, that the Raja of Nilachala (Orissa) composed a poem similarly named, but when the two works were placed before Jagannath, he took the work of Jayadeva to his bosom, and threw that of the Raja out of his temple. It is also said, that the *Gita Govinda* was sung in the court of Vikrama, thus assigning to it an antiquity which there is no reason to suspect it can justly claim.

Jayadeva being desirous of performing a particular rite for his idol, resumed his erratic habits and succeeded in collecting a considerable sum of money for this purpose : on the road he was attacked by Thags, or thieves, who robbed him, and cut off his hands and feet. In this state he was found by a Raja who took him home, and had his wounds healed. Shortly afterwards the thieves, disguised as religious mendicants, came to

²³ According to this memorial verse:
samvat solaha say asi Gangake thr,
Savan sukla saptami Tulsi taffyan sartr !

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the court of the Raja. Jayadeva recognized them, and overwhelmed them with benefits. On their departure, two of the Raja's people were sent to attend them to the confines of the Raj, who on their way asked them how they had merited the saint's particular regard. To this they replied, that they had been his fellows in the service of a Raja, who had ordered them to put him to death : they however only mutilated him, and his gratitude for their sparing his life was the reason he had treated them so kindly. They had no sooner uttered these words, than the earth opened and swallowed them. The servants of the Raja returned, and reported the occurrence, when a fresh miracle took place—the hands and feet of Jayadeva sprouted forth again. The Raja being filled with astonishment, requested the saint to explain these events, which he did by narrating what had befallen him.

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

RAMANAND

The ascetic and mendicant followers of Ramanand, known indiscriminately as Ramanandis or Ramavats, are by far the most numerous class of sectaries in Gangetic India : in Bengal they are comparatively few : beyond this province, as far as to Allahabad²⁴, although perhaps the most numerous, they yield in influence and wealth to the Saiva branches, especially to the Atits : hence, however, they predominate and either by themselves, or their kindred divisions, almost engross the whole of the country along the Ganges and Jamuna: in the district of Agra, they alone constitute seven-tenths of the ascetic population. The Ramanandis have very numerous votaries, but they are chiefly from the poorer and inferior classes, with the exception of the Rajputs and military Brahmans, amongst whom

²⁴ Some of the principal Maths at Banaras are the following: Ramjit, Mahant, a temple of Rama. Maya Ram, Mahant, a temple of Rama. Ramanuja, Khaki, Mahant, a temple of Sita Ram. Purushottama Das, Khaki, Mahant, a temple of Rama. Pitambara Das, Mahant, Sita Ram; this is the Mandir of Tulasi Das. Govind Das, Mahant, Radha Krishna. Ramacharan, ditto, ditto.

At a late meeting (1820) to elect a Mahant of one of the Vaishnava Maths, in the vicinity of Banaras, about 5000 Mendicants of the various branches of the sect attended; of these at least 3000 were Ramavats, the rest were Sri Vaishnavas, Kabir Panthis, and others.

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the poetical works of Sur Das and Tulasi Das maintain the pre-eminence of Rama and his Bhaktas.

KABIR PANTHIS

Amongst the twelve disciples of Ramanand the most celebrated of all, and one who seems to have produced, directly or indirectly, a greater effect on the state of popular belief than any other, was Kabir : with an unprecedented boldness he assailed the learning of the Pandits, and doctrines of the Sastras, in a style peculiarly well suited to the genius of his countrymen to whom he addressed himself, whilst he also directed his compositions to the Musalman, as well as to the Hindu faith, and with equal severity attacked the Mulla and Koran. The effect of his lessons, as confined to his own immediate followers, will be shown to have been considerable, but their indirect effect has been still greater ; several of the popular sects being little more than ramifications from his stock, whilst Nanak Shah, the only Hindu reformer who has established a national faith, appears to have been chiefly indebted for his religious notions to his predecessor Kabir²⁵. This sect therefore claims particular attention.

The origin of the founder of this sect is variously narrated, although in the main points the traditions are agreed : the story told in the *Bhakta Mala* is, that he was the son of the virgin widow of a Brahman, whose father was a follower of Ramanand : at his daughter's repeated request, he took her to see Ramanand, and that teacher, without adverting to her situation, saluted her with the benediction he thought accept-

²⁵ Malcolm says, that Nanak constantly referred to the writings of the celebrated Muhammadan Kabir, (*Asiatic Researches* XI, 267.) and the Kabir Panthis assert, that he has incorporated several thousand passages from Kabir's writings. As to Kabir's being a Muhammadan, I shall allude to the improbability, I may say impossibility, of this in the text; nor is Malcolm more accurate when he calls him a celebrated Sufi, for his doctrines have nothing in common apparently with that sect; indeed I think it not at all improbable that no such person as Kabir ever existed, and that his name is a mere cover to the innovations of some freethinker amongst the Hindus: perhaps some one of those considered as his principal disciples: his names are very suspicious, and Jnani, the sage, or Kabir, the greatest, are generic rather than individual denominations: at any rate, even if the individual were distinct, we must suppose that the name which occurs in his writings is nothing more than the Takhallus, or assumed name, under which both Musalman and Hindu poets have been accustomed to send their compositions into the world. To return, however, to the obligations which the popular religions owe to the real or supposed Kabir, I find him avowedly or unavowedly cited by Baba Lal, and in the writings of the Sadhs, the Satnamis, the Sri Narainis and Sunyavadis, and I am told that the Dadu Panthis, and Darya Dasis are equally indebted to him.

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able to all women, and wished her the conception of a son : his words could not be recalled, and the young widow, in order to conceal the disgrace thus inflicted on her, contrived to be privately delivered, and exposed the child : it was found by a weaver and his wife, and brought up as their own.

The followers of Kabir do not admit more than the conclusion of this legend : according to them, the child, who was no other than the incarnate deity, was found floating on a Lotus in Lahartalab, a lake, or pond near Banaras, by the wife of a weaver, named Nima²⁶, who, with her husband Nuri, was attending a wedding procession : she took the child up, and showed it to her husband, who being addressed by the child, and desired to take him to Kasi, fled with terror, thinking they had got hold of some incarnate demon : after having run to the distance of about a mile, he was surprised to find the child before him, by whom his fear was tranquillised, and he was persuaded to return to his wife, and bring up, without anxiety or alarm, the infant they had so marvellously discovered.

All traditions concur in making Kabir the disciple of Ramanand, although various stories are narrated of the method by which he obtained that distinction, and overcame the objections started to him as a man of low caste, or, according to very general belief, of the Muhammadan persuasion : he succeeded at last by surprise, having put himself in the way of that teacher on the steps of the ghat down which he went at day-break to bathe, so as to be struck with his foot, on which Ramanand exclaimed, Ram, Ram, words that Kabir assumed, and Ramanand acknowledged to be the initiatory Mantra, which forms the bond of union between a Guru and his disciple.

The story of Kabir's being a disciple of Ramanand, however told, and, although perhaps not literally true in any fashion, may be so far correct, that Kabir was roused by the innovations of that sectary to adopt and extend the schism, and seems to place at contiguous periods the eras at which they flourished : according to the Kabir Panthis, their founder was present in the world three hundred years, or from 1149 to 1449,²⁷ but of these dates we cannot admit the accuracy of more than one at most as the latter is the more recent, it is the more probable : agreeable to this is the connexion of Kabir's writings with the faith of Nanak Shah, who began to teach about 1490, and it

26 According to the text of the *Bhakta Mala*, as printed in Price's *Hindee and Hindustanee Selections*, Calcutta: 1827. Vol. I, p. 84, Kabir was found by a weaver of the name of Ali (a Muhammadan?), *Ali julaha ne paya*.

27 "In the Samvat 1205 Jnani meditated, was manifest at Kasi, and declared the text called Taksar: in the Samvat 1505 he journeyed to Magar, and on the 11th of the light fortnight of Aghan, air mixed with air."

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also confirms a particular account, current amongst his followers, of his openly vindicating his doctrines before Sekandar Shah²⁸, in whose time Ferishta has noticed, that some religious disputes, possibly connected with the history of Kabir, or that of some of his disciples, did occur.

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

According to one account, Kabir was originally named Jnani, the knowing or wise. The Musalmans, it is said, claim him as one of their persuasion, but his conversancy with the Hindu Sastras, and evidently limited knowledge of the Muhammadan authorities in matters of religion, render such a supposition perfectly unwarrantable: at any rate tradition represents

28 There is a *Ramaini* to that effect, and the following story is told, with the usual marvellous embellishments, in the *Bhakta Mala*; in that work it is said, his mother complained to Sekandar Padshah of her son's having deserted the true faith, on which the king sent for him; he appeared with the Tika and Mala, and when told to make the customary Salam, he replied, "I know none but Ram, what use is there in prostrating myself to a monarch?" Enraged at his behaviour, the king ordered him to be chained hand and foot, and thrown into the river. The water bore him to shore. He then commanded him to be cast into fire, but the flames played harmless round him. He then directed him to be trodden to death by an elephant, but as soon as the animal saw the sage, he turned tail and ran away. The king mounted his own elephant, resolved to execute his commands in person, but when he approached, Kabir transformed himself into a lion. The Monarch then convinced of his divine character alighted, and falling at his feet, offered him any lands and villages he might choose: these offers he declined, saying, "Ram is my wealth: of what avail are worldly possessions, but to set father, and son, and brother, at deadly variance?" He returned to his abode, and remained unmolested. Price, *Hindee and Hindustanee Selections* I, 86.

Malcolm in the note before cited, places him in the reign of Shir Shah; this is, however, at variance with his own statements; Nanak was in the height of his career in 1527, *Asiatic Researches*, XI, 206.) then imparting to Baber tenets which he had partly borrowed from the writings of Kabir, and which must consequently have been sometime previously promulgated: but Sir Shah did not commence his reign till 1542, and it was therefore impossible for Kabir to have lived in his reign, and at the same time to have instigated by his own innovations the more successful ones of Nanak. Kabir's being contemporary with Sekandar, is also mentioned in Priya Dasa's expansion of the *Bhakta Mala*: it is likewise stated in the *Kholassat al tawarikh*, and is finally established by Abulfazl, who says that Kabir, the Unitarian, lived in the reign of Sultan Sekandar Lodi (*Ay: Ac: 2, 38*). G. de Tassy, *histoire de la litterature Hindoui et Hindustani*. Paris: 1839 & 47. Vol. I, p. 275. II, 6.

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it to have occasioned a contest between them and the Hindus respecting the disposal of his corpse, the latter insisting on burning, the Musalmans on burying it ; in the midst of the dispute, Kabir himself appeared amongst them, and desiring them to look under the cloth supposed to cover his mortal remains, immediately vanished : on obeying his instructions, they found nothing under the cloth, but a heap of flowers : one half of these Banar Raja or Birsinha Raja, then Raja of Banaras, removed to that City, where they were burnt, and where he appropriated the spot now called the Kabir Chaura to the reception of their ashes, whilst Bijili Khan Patthan, the head of the Muhammadan party, erected a tomb over the other portion at Magar near Gorakhpur, where Kabir had died. This latter place was endowed by Mansur Ali Khan with several villages of the followers of this sect.

The Kabir Panthis in consequence of their Master having been the reputed disciple of Ramanand, and of their paying more respect to Vishnu, than the other Members of the Hindu triad, are always included amongst the Vaishnava sects, and maintain with most of them, the Ramavats especially, a friendly intercourse and political alliance : it is no part of their faith, however, to worship any Hindu deity, or to observe any of the rites or ceremonies of the Hindus, whether orthodox or schismatical ; such of their members as are living in the world conform outwardly to all the usages of their tribe and caste, and some of them even pretend to worship the usual divinities, although this is considered as going farther than is justifiable. Those however who have abandoned the fetters of society, abstain from all the ordinary practices, and address their homage, chiefly in chanting Hymns, exclusively to the invisible Kabir : they use no Mantra nor fixed form of salutation ; they have no peculiar mode of dress, and some of them go nearly naked, without objecting however to clothe themselves in order to appear dressed, where clothing is considered decent or respectful—the Mahants wear a small scull cap : the frontal marks, if worn, are usually those of the Vaishnava sects, or they make a streak with Sandal, or Gopichandan along the ridge of the nose : a necklace and rosary of Tulasi are also worn by them, but all these outward signs are considered of no importance, and the inward man is the only essential point to be attended to²⁹.

²⁹ To avoid unnecessary contention, and its probable concomitant in other days, persecution, was the object probably of the following prudent maxim, one of the *Sakhis* of their founder: "Associate and mix with all, and take the names of all; say to every one, yes Sir, yes Sir. Abide in your own abode."—They do not admit that taking the names of all implies the invocation of the illusory deities of the Hindu Pantheon, but means that they should reply as they are addressed, whether the phrase be *Bandagi*,

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

(1) *Sukh Nidhan*, (2) *Gorakhnath ki Goshthi*, (3) *Kabir Panji*, (4) *Balakh ki Ramaini*, (5) *Ramanand ki Goshthi*, (6) *Anand Ram Sagara*, (7) *Sabdavali*, containing 1,000 Sabdas, or short doctrinal expositions, (8) *Mangala*, 100 short poems, amongst which is the account of Kabir's discovery as given above, (9) *Vasant*, 100 hymns in that Raga, (10) *Holi*, 200 of the songs called Holi, (11) *Rekhtas*, 100 odes, (12) *Jhulanas*, 500 odes, in a different style, (13) *Kaharas*, 500 odes, in different style, (14) *Hindolas*, 12 ditto. The subject of all these odes, or hymns, is always moral or religious, (15) *Barah Masa*, the 12 months in a religious view, agreeably to Kabir's system, (16) *Chancharas* 22. (17) *Chautisas* 2 : the 34 letters of the Nagari alphabet, with their religious signification. (18) *Alefnamah*, the Persian alphabet in the same manner, (19) *Ramainis*, short doctrinal or argumentative poems, *Sakhis* 5,000, these may be considered as texts, consisting of one stanza each, (20) *The Bijak*, in 654 Sections³⁰.

Dandavat, or *Ram Ram*: the proper salutation of an inferior to a superior amongst them, if any be particularly proper, is *Bandagi Sahib*, Service, Sir: to which the latter replies, *Guru Ki Daya*, the mercy of the Lord be upon you.,

³⁰ There are two *Bijaks*, however, only differing in the occasional omission of some passages and introduction of others; the longer of the two, they say, was communicated by Kabir himself to the Raja of Banaras. I rather suspect, however, that the varieties are only those common to most Hindu Manuscripts, and that many more than two varieties are to be found. A curious Italian work on the Kabir Panthis, entitled, but not accurately, *Mulapanai*, intending no doubt *Mulapanthi*, or Radical disciple, not as rendered, *Della Radice*, is published in the third volume of the *Mines of the East*: It was found amongst the papers of the Propaganda, and is communicated by Monsignore Munter, Bishop of Zealand, in Denmark; an eminent Scholar, the author of a valuable work on the Sahidic Version of the New Testament &c. It is to be presumed, that it is intended to be a translation of some Kabiri work, but how correctly it deserves this character, may be questioned; much of the phraseology of the sect is indeed closely followed, but the minute and ridiculous details of its cosmogony are, with very few exceptions, exceedingly different from those

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

The author or compiler of the *Bijak* or *Vijak*, was Bhagodas⁸¹, one of Kabir's immediate disciples : it is the great authority amongst the Kabir Panthis in general ; it is written in very harmonious verse and with great ingenuity of illustration : its style, however, is more dogmatical than argumentative, and it rather inveighs against other systems than explains its own : in the latter respect it is, indeed, so inexplicit and obscure, that it is perhaps impossible to derive from it any satisfactory conclusion as to the real doctrines of Kabir. The followers of the Sect admit this obscurity and much difference of opinion prevails amongst them in the interpretation of many passages : some of the teachers have a short work professedly written as a key to the most difficult parts, but this is in the hands of a chosen few : it is of no great value, however, as it is little less puzzling than the original, of a few passages of which the following translations will best exemplify the description thus given :

Ramaini the 1st—God, light, sound, and one woman : from these have sprung Hari, Brahma, and Tripurari. Innumerable are the emblems of Siva and Bhavani, which they have established, but they know not their own beginning nor end : a dwelling has been prepared for them : Hari, Brahma, and Siva, are the three headmen, and each has his own village : they have formed the Khandas and the egg of Brahma, and have invented the six Darsanas—and ninety-six Pashandas : no one has ever read the Vedas in the womb, nor has any infant been born a

notions entertained by the followers of Kabir, as explained in the *Bijaks*, or *Sukh Nidhan*. The extract published in the *Mines*, appears to be a portion, the second book, of some work thus described: "Il libro primario dei Cabiristi (Specie di riforma della gentilità,) si chiama *Satnam Kabir*: questo libro e fra le carte di Propaganda."

⁸¹ Of the shorter work: it is undoubtedly the one most generally current.

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member of Islam. 'The woman', relieved from the burden of the embryo, adorned her person with every grace. I and you are of one blood, and one life animates us both ; from one mother is the world born : what knowledge is this that makes us separate? no one knows the varieties of this descent, and how shall one tongue declare them? nay should the mouth have a million of tongues, it would be incompetent to the task. Kabir has said, I have cried aloud from friendship to mankind ; from not knowing the name of Rama, the world has been swallowed up in death.

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

The style of the *Bijak* is of this kind : straggling allusions to the deceits of Maya, to the errors of other sects, and the superiority of their own, being strung together with very little method : it will not, however, be necessary to analyse any more of the passages, and they will become clear by reference to the general view of the system, with which we shall be furnished from the *Sukh Nidhan* : it may be sufficient here to observe, that the doctrines of Kabir are said to be conveyed in four-fold language or that of Maya, Atma, *Man* or intellect, and the Vedas.

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

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Sabda the 56th.—To Ali and Rama we owe our existence, and should, therefore, show similar tenderness to all that live : of what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream ; whilst you shed blood you call yourself pure, and boast of virtues that you never display : of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart. The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Musalman during the Ramazan. Who formed the remaining months and days that you should venerate but one. If the Creator dwell in Tabernacles, whose residence is the universe ? who has beheld Rama seated amongst images, or found him at the shrine to which the Pilgrim has directed his steps ? The city of Hara is to the east, that of Ali to the west ; but explore your own heart, for there are both Rama and Karim. Who talks of the lies of the Veds and Tebs ; those who understand not their essence. Behold but one in all things, it is the second that leads you astray. Every man and woman that has ever been born is of the same nature with yourself. He, whose is the world, and whose are the children of Ali and Ram, He is my Guru, He is my Pir.

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

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

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

The *Sakhis* of Kabir deserve, perhaps, a more copious exemplification : they are very gradually current even amongst those not his followers ; they contain much curious matter, and they have often been referred to without their character being

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duly understood ; there are some thousands of them, which the *Bijak* comprehends between three and four hundred : one hundred will be sufficient, as a specimen of the whole : they are taken with one or two exceptions, from the *Bijak* of the *Kabir Chaura*, in the order in which they occur.

SAKHIS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12. If you know how mankind pass their lives, you will live according to your knowledge ; fetch water for your own drinking, nor demand it from others and drink.

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

14. The goose (the world or life) sells pearls ; a gold vessel

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is full of them ; but with him who knows not their value, what can be done ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

30. The road that Sanaka and his brethren, that Brahma,

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Vishnu, and Mahesa have travelled, is still traversed by mankind : what advice can I bestow ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

39. From the contests of swinging and being swung no one has escaped. Gorakh (the founder of the Yogis) was stopped at the city of time ; who shall be called exempt ?

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

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

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

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

44. Although not subject to fine, a heavy fine has been imposed upon the world : it has proved unprofitable : avarice

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has disposed of it, the juice of the cane yields both clayed and candied sugar.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

58. When fire blazes in the ocean, the thatch of the house

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falls to pieces. Mankind weep as they resign their breath, and the inestimable jewel is lost.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

74. Life has been destroyed by the repeated falsehoods of

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the tongue ; it has strayed on the path of pride, and been whirled in the swing of time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

81. Life is the philosopher's stone, the world is of iron : *Parsi* (*Maya*) comes from *Paras* (God), the mintage is of the former.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

92. This pride of intellect is manifold ; now a swindler, now a thief ; now a liar, now a murderer ; men, sages, gods, have run after it in vain ; its mansion has a hundred gates.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The *Sukh Nidhan* is supposed to be addressed by Kabir himself to Dharmadas, his chief pupil, and a follower of Ramanand's doctrines ; it is said to be the work of Srutgopal, the first of Kabir's disciples.

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

The Paramapurusha was alone for seventy-two ages, for after the Pauraniks the Kabir Panthis maintain successive and endless creations : he then felt a desire to renew the world, which desire became manifest in a female form³², being the *Maya*, from whom all the mistaken notions current amongst mankind originate : with this female the *Adi Bhavani Prakriti* or *Sakti*, the Paramapurusha, or first male, cohabits, and begets the Hindu triad, *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Siva* : he then disappears, and the lady makes advances to her own sons : to their questions of her origin and character, she tells them, she was the bride of the first great invisible being, without shape and void, and whom she describes agreeably to the Vedanta nations ; that she is now at liberty, and being of the same nature as themselves, is a fit associate for them : the deities hesitate, and *Vishnu* especially, putting some rather puzzling queries to *Maya*, secured the respect of the Kabir Panthis, and excited the

³² These notions are common to the whole Hindu system—diversified according to the favourite object of worship, but essentially the same in all sects ; we shall have occasion to discuss them more fully under the division *Saktas*, or worshippers of *Sakti*.

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

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

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

The moral code of the Kabir Panthis is short, but if observed faithfully is of a rather favourable tendency. Life is the gift of God, and must not therefore be violated by his creatures ; Humanity is, consequently, a cardinal virtue, and the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a heinous crime. Truth is the other great principle of their code, as all the ills of the world, and ignorance of God, are attributable to original falsehood. Retirement from the world is desirable, because the passions and desires, the hopes and fears which the social state engenders, are all hostile to tranquillity and purity of spirit, and prevent that undisturbed meditation on man and God which is necessary to their comprehension. The last great point is the usual sum and substance of every sect amongst the Hindus³³, implicit devotion in word, act, and thought to the Guru, or

33 The *Bhagavat* declares the Deity and Guru to be the same:

*acaryam mam vijaniannavumanyate karkheit
na Martyabuddhyasuye'u sarvadevamayo guruh*

Nabhaji declares the Deity, Guru, worshipper, and worship, to be four names and one substance.

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spiritual guide : in this, however, the characteristic spirit of the Kabir Panthis appears, and the pupil is enjoyed to scrutinize his teacher's doctrines and acts, to be first satisfied that he is the sage he pretends to be, before he resigns himself to his control. This sect, indeed, is remarkably liberal in this respect, and the most frequently recurring texts of Kabir are those which enforce an attentive examination of the doctrine, that he offers to his disciples. The chief of each community has absolute authority over his dependents : the only punishments he can award, however, are moral, not physical—irregular conduct is visited by reproof and admonition : if the offender does not reform, the Guru refuses to receive his salutation ; if still incurable, the only further infliction is expulsion from the fraternity.

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

1. Srutgopal Das, the author of *Sukh Nidhan* : his successors preside over the Chaura at Banaras, the Samadhi at Magar, an establishment at Jagannath, and one at Dwaraka.
2. Bhago Das, the author of the *Bijak* : his successors reside at Dhanauti.
3. Narayan Das, and 4. Churaman Das ; these two were the sons of Dharma Das, a merchant of the Kasaundhya tribe, of the Sri Vaishnava sect, and one of Kabir's first and most important converts ; his residence was at Bandho near Jabalpur, where the maths of his posterity long remained : the Mahants were family men, thence termed Vans Gurus : the line of Naryan Das is extinct, and the present successor of Churaman, being the son of a concubine, is not acknowledged as a Mahant by all the other branches.
5. Jaggo Das ; the Gaddi or Pillow at Cuttack.
6. Jivan Das, the founder of the Satnami sect, to whom we shall again have occasion to advert.
7. Kamal.—Bombay : the followers of this teacher practise the Yoga. Kamal himself is said to have been the son of Kabir, but the only authority for this is a popular and proverbial phrase³⁴.
8. Tak Sali.—Baroda.
9. Jnani.—Majhni near Sahasram.
10. Saheb Das.—Cuttack : his followers have also some distinct

³⁴ "The Race of Kabir became extinct when his son Kamal was born." Kamal adopting, on principle, a life of celibacy, or being a person of worldly appetites.—Roebuck's *Proverbs*, II, 1, 656.

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notions, and form a sect called Mula Panthis. 11. Nityanand. 12. Kamal Nad : these two settled somewhere in the Dekhan, but my informant could not tell me exactly where. There are also some popular, and perhaps local, distinctions of the sect as Hansa Kabiris, Dana Kabiris, and Mangrela Kabiris, but in what respect, except appellation, they differ from the rest has not been ascertained.

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

KHAKIS

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

The Khakis, as the name implies, are distinguished from the

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other Vaishnavas by the application of clay and ashes to their dress or persons : those who reside in fixed establishments generally dress like other Vaishnavas, but those who lead a wandering life go either naked or nearly so, smearing their bodies with the pale grey mixture of ashes and earth, and making, in this state, an appearance very incompatible with the mild and decent character of the Vaishnava sects : the Khakis also frequently wear the Jata, or braided hair, after the fashion of the votaries of Siva, and, in fact, it appears that this sect affords one of the many instances of the imitative spirit common amongst the Hindu polytheists, and has adopted, from the Saivas, some of their characteristic practices, blending them with the preferential adoration of Vishnu, as Raghunath or Rama : the Khakis also worship Sita, and pay particular veneration to Hanuman.

Many Khakis are established about Furukhabad, but their principal seat on this side of India is at Hanumana Garh, near Ayodhya, in Oudh : the Samadhi or spiritual throne of the founder, is said to be at Jaipur : the term Samadhi applied to it, however, would seem to indicate their adopting a like practice with the Yogis, that of burying their dead, as the word is more generally used to express a tomb or mausoleum³⁵.

MALUK DASIS

The Maluk Dasis form another subdivision of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas, of comparatively uncertain origin and limited importance : they are generally traced from Ramanand in this manner : 1. Ramanand, 2. Asanand, 3. Krishna Das, 4. Kil, 5. Maluk Das ; making the last, consequently, contemporary with the author of the *Bhakta Mala*, and placing him in the reign of Akbar, or about 250 years ago.

We had occasion, in the notice taken of Nabhaji, to show that the spiritual genealogy now enumerated could scarcely be correct, for as Ramanand must have flourished prior to the year 1400, we have but three generations between him and the date even of Akbar's succession 1555, or a century and a half : it was then mentioned, however, that according to the *Bhakta Mala*, Krishna Das was not the pupil of Asanand, and consequently

³⁵ The little information given in the text, was obtained from the Superior of a small, but neat establishment on the bank of the river, above Visranta Ghat, at Furukhabad. The Ghat and Math had been recently erected by a merchant of Lucknow: the tenants, three or four in number, were a deputation from Ayodhya, in Oudh, and were but little acquainted with their own peculiarities, although not reluctant to communicate what they knew; other Khakis encountered here were Nagas and Brahmacharis, with whom no satisfactory communication was attainable; there were other establishments, but time did not permit their being visited.

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the date of succession was not necessarily uninterrupted : we might therefore place Maluk Das, where there is reason to place Nabhaji, about the end of Akbar's reign, as far as this genealogy is to be depended upon, but there is reason to question even its accuracy, and to bring down Maluk Das to a comparatively recent period : the uniform belief of his followers is indeed sufficient testimony on this head, and they are invariably agreed in making him contemporary with Aurangzeb.

The modifications of the Vaishnava doctrines introduced by Maluk Das, appear to have been little more than the name of the teacher, and a shorter streak of red upon the forehead : in one respect indeed there is an important distinction between these and the Ramanandi ascetics, and the teachers of the Maluk Dasis appear to be of the secular order, Grihasthas, or householders, whilst the others are all coenobites : the doctrines, however, are essentially the same : Vishnu, as Rama, is the object of their practical adoration, and their principles partake of the spirit of quietism, which pervades these sects : their chief authority is the *Bhagavad Gita*, and they read some small Sanskrit tracts, containing the praise of Rama : they have also some Hindi Sakhis, and Vishnu Padas attributed to their founder, as also a work in the same language, entitled the *Dasratan* : the followers of this sect are said to be numerous in particular districts, especially amongst the trading and servile classes, to the former of which the founder belonged³⁶.

The principal establishment of the Maluk Dasis is at Kara Manikpur, the birth-place of the founder, and still occupied by his descendants³⁷ ; the present Mahant is the eighth in descent from him : the series is thus enumerated :

1. Maluk Das. 2. Ramsanahi. 3. Krishnasnahi. 4. Thakur Das. 5. Gopal Das. 6. Kunj Behari. 7. Ramsahu. 8. Seoprasad Das. 9. Ganga Prasad Das, the present Mahant.

The Math at Kara is situated near the river, and comprises the dwellings of the Mahant, and at the time it was visited, of

³⁶ A verse attributed to Maluk Das is so generally current, as to have become proverbial, it is unnecessary to point out its resemblance to Christian texts: "The snake performs no service, the bird discharges no duty. Maluk Das declares, Ram is the giver of all." Roebuck's *Proverbs*, II, 1, 36.

³⁷ There is some variety in the accounts here, Mathura Nath says, the Tomb is at Kara; Puran Das asserts, that it is at Jagannath, and the birth-place at Kara—he has been at both: the establishment at Jagannath is of great repute; it is near to a Math of Kabir Panthis, and all ascetics who go to this place of pilgrimage consider it essential to receive the Maluk Das ka Tukra, from the one, and Kabir ka Tarani, from the other, or a piece of bread and spoonful of sour rice water. This and most of the other particulars were procured for me from the present Mahant by a young officer, Wilton, stationed for a short time at Kara.

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fifteen resident Chelas, or disciples, accommodations for numerous religious mendicants who come hither in pilgrimage, and a temple dedicated to Ramachandra : the Gaddi, or pillow of the sect, is here, and the actual pillow originally used by Maluk Das is said to be still preserved. Besides this establishment, there are six other Maths belonging to this sect, at Allāhabad, Banaras, Brindavan, Ayodhya, Lucknow, which is modern, having been founded by Gomati Das, under the patronage of Asaf-ud-Daulla, and Jagannath, which last is of great repute as rendered sacred by the death of Maluk Das.

DADU PANTHIS

This class is one of the indirect ramifications of the Ramanandi stock, and is always included amongst the Vaishnava schisms : its founder is said to have been a pupil of one of the Kabir Panthi teachers, and to be the fifth in descent from Ramanand, according to the following genealogy : 1. Kabir. 2. Kamal. 3. Jamal. 4. Vimal. 5. Buddhan. 6. Dadu. The worship is addressed to Rama, but it is restricted to the Japa, or repetition of his name, and the Rama intended is the deity, as negatively described in the Vedānta theology : temples and images are prohibited.

Dadu was a cotton cleaner by profession : he was born at Ahmedabad, but in his twelfth year removed to Sambhar, in Ajmeer : he thence travelled to Kalyanpur, and next removed to Naraina, in his thirty-seventh year, a place four kos from Sambhar, and twenty from Jaipur. When here, he was admonished, by a voice from heaven, to addict himself to a religious life, and he accordingly retired to Baherana mountain, five kos from Naraina, where, after some time, he disappeared, and no traces of him could be found. His followers believe he was absorbed into the deity. If the list of his religious descent be accurate, he flourished about the year 1600, at the end of Akbar's reign, or in the beginning of that of Jehangir. The followers of Dadu wear no peculiar frontal mark nor Mala, but carry a rosary, and are further distinguished by a peculiar sort of cap, a round white cap, according to some, but according to others, one with four corners, and a flap hanging down behind ; which it is essential that each man should manufacture for himself.

The Dadu Panthis are of three classes : the Viraktas, who are religious characters, who go bare-headed, and have but one garment and one water-pot. The Nagas, who carry arms, which they are willing to exercise for hire, and, amongst the Hindu princes, they have been considered as good soldiers. The third class is that of the Vistar Dharis, who follow the occupations of ordinary life. A further sub-division exists in this sect, and the chief branches again form fifty-two divisions,

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or Thambas, the peculiarities of which have not been ascertained. The Dadu Panthis burn their dead at dawn, but their religious members not infrequently enjoin, that their bodies, after death, shall be thrown into some field, or some wilderness, to be devoured by the beasts and birds of prey, as they say that in a funeral pile insect life is apt to be destroyed.

The Dadu Panthis are said to be very numerous in Marwar and Ajmeer : of the Naga class alone the Raja of Jaipur is reported to entertain as soldiers more than ten thousand : the chief place of worship is at Naraina, where the bed of Dadu, and the collection of the texts of the sect are preserved and worshipped : a small building on the hill marks the place of his disappearance—a Mela, or fair, is held annually, from the day of new moon to that of full moon in Phalgun (February-March) at Naraina. The tenets of the sect are contained in several Bhasha works, in which it is said a vast number of passages from the Kabir writings are inserted, and the general character of which is certainly of a similar nature³⁸. The Dadu Panthis maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Kabir, and are frequent visitors at the Chaura.

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

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

THE CHAPTER ON FAITH

1. Whatever Ram willeth, that, without the least difficulty, shall be ; why, therefore, do ye kill yourselves with grief, when grief can avail you nothing ?

2. Whatsoever hath been made, God made. Whatsoever is to be made, God will make. Whatsoever is, God maketh,—then why do any of ye afflict yourselves ?

³⁸ I had prepared a list of the contents of one of their manuals, and a translation of a few passages, but the Manuscript has been mislaid. The work was lent me for a short time by one of the

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3. Dadu sayeth, Thou, oh God ! art the author of all things which have been made, and from thee will originate all things which are to be made. Thou art the maker, and the cause of all things made. There is none other but thee.

4. He is my God, who maketh all things perfect. Meditate upon him in whose hands are life and death.

5. He is my God, who created heaven, earth, hell, and the intermediate space ; who is the beginning and end of all creation ; and who provideth for all.

6. I believe that God made man, and that he maketh every thing. He is my friend.

7. Let faith in God characterize all your thoughts, words, and actions. He who serveth God, places confidence in nothing else.

8. If the remembrance of God be in your hearts, ye will be able to accomplish things which are impracticable. But those who seek the paths of God are few !

9. He who understandeth how to render his calling sinless, shall be happy in that calling, provided he be with God.

10. If he that perfecteth mankind occupy a place in your hearts, you will experience his happiness inwardly. Ram is in every thing ; Ram is eternal.

11. Oh foolish one ! God is not far from you. He is near you. You are ignorant, but he knoweth every thing, and is careful in bestowing.

12. Consideration and power belong to God, who is omniscient. Strive to preserve God, and give heed to nothing else.

13. Care can avail nothing ; it devoureth life : for those things shall happen which God shall direct.

14. He who causeth the production of all living things, giveth to their mouths milk, whilst yet in the stomach. They are placed amidst the fires of the belly : nevertheless they remain unscorched.

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

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

sect, who would on no account part with it. The above notice was taken partly from a statement in Hindi, procured at Naraina by Lt. Col. Smith, and partly from verbal information obtained at Banarás. Dahu is not mentioned in the *Bhakti Mala*, but there is some account of him in the *Dabistan*. Engl. translation, II, p. 233.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

26. He that partaketh of but one grain of the love of God, shall be released from the sinfulness of all his doubts and actions. Who need cook, or who need grind ? Wherever ye cast your eyes, ye may see provisions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

50. Kabir left Banaras and went to Mughor in search of God. Ram met him without concealment, and his object was accomplished.

51. Dadu sayeth, My earnings are God. He is my food and my supporter ; by his spiritual sustenance, have all my members been nourished.

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

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

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

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

THE CHAPTER ON MEDITATION

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

He that knoweth not delusion is my God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. Dadu loved Ram incessantly ; he partook of his spiritual

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essence and constantly examined the mirror which was within him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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32. There is fire in water and water in fire, but the ignorant know it not. He is wise that meditateth on God, the beginning and end of all things.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RAI DASIS

Rai Das was another of Ramanand's disciples, who founded a sect, confined, however, it is said, to those of his own caste, the Chamars, or workers in hides and in leather, and amongst the very lowest of the Hindu mixed tribes : this circumstance renders it difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether the sect still exists : the founder must once have enjoyed some celebrity, as some of his works are included in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs ; he is there named Ravi Dasa, which is the Sanskrit form of his name : some of his compositions also form part of the collection of hymns and prayers used by that sect at Banaras : there appears to be but little known of him of any authentic character, and we must be contented with the authority of the *Bhakta Mala*, where he makes a rather important figure : the legend is as follows :—

One of Ramanand's pupils was a *Brahmachari*, whose daily it was to provide the offering presented to the deity : on one of these occasions, the offering consisted of grain, which

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the pupil had received as alms from a shop-keeper, who supplied chiefly the butchers with articles of food, and his donation was, consequently, impure : when Ramanand, in the course of his devotions, attempted to fix his mind upon the divinity, he found the task impracticable, and suspecting that some defect in the offering occasioned such an erratic imagination, he enquired whence it had been obtained : on being informed, he exclaimed, *Ha Chamar*, and the Brahmachari soon afterwards dying was born again as Rai Das, the son of a worker in hides and leather.

The infant Rai Das retained the impression left upon his mind by his old master's anger, and refused to take any nourishment : the parents, in great affliction, applied to Ramanand, who, by order of the deity, visited the child, and recognising the person at once whispered into his ear the initiating Mantra : the effect was instantaneous : the child immediately accepted the breast, and thrived, and grew up a pious votary of Rama.

For some time the profits of his trade maintained Rai Das, and left him something to divide amongst the devout ; but a season of scarcity supervening reduced him to great distress, when Bhagavan, in the semblance of a Vaishnava, brought him a piece of the philosopher's stone, and showing him its virtue made him a present of it. Rai Das paid little regard to the donation, replying to the effect of the following Pada, as since versified by Sur Das.

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

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

The reputation of Rai Das was further extended by its attracting a persecution, purposely excited by Vishnu to do honour to his worshipper, the deity well knowing that the enmity of the malignant is the most effective instrument for setting open to the world the retired glory of the pious : he therefore inspired the Brahmans to complain thus to the king.

Sloka (Sanskrit stanza). "Where things profane are revered, where sacred things are profanely administered, there three calamities will be felt, famine, death, and fear³⁹."

A Chamar, oh king, ministers to the Salagram, and poisons the town with his Prasad⁴⁰; men and women, every one will become an outcaste; banish him to preserve the honour of your people.

The king accordingly sent for the culprit, and ordered him to resign the sacred stone. Rai Das expressed his readiness to do so, and only requested the Raja's presence at his delivery of it to the Brahmans, as, he said, if after being given to them it should return to him, they would accuse him of stealing it. The Raja assenting, the Salagram was brought, and placed on a cushion in the assembly. The Brahmans were desired to remove it, but attempted to take it away in vain: they repeated hymns and charms, and read the Vedas, but the stone was immoveable. Rai Das then addressed it with this Pada:

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

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

³⁹ *apujya yatra puhyante puhyapuja vyatikramah
tatra trini pravartante durbhiksham muranam bhayam.*

[See *Panchatantra* III, 202].

⁴⁰ The Prasad is any article of food that has been consecrated by previous presentation to an idol, after which it is distributed amongst the worshippers on the spot, or sent to persons of consequence at their own houses.

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Such are the legends of the *Bhakta Mala*, and whatever we may think of their veracity, their tenor, representing an individual of the most abject class, an absolute outcaste in Hindu estimation, as a tacher and a saint, is not without interest and instruction.

SENA PANTHIS

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

Sena, the barber of the Raja of Bandhogarh, was a devout worshipper of Vishnu, and a constant frequenter of the meetings of the pious : on one of these occasions, he suffered the time to pass unheeded, when he ought to have been officiating in his tonsorial capacity, and Vishnu, who noticed the circumstance, and knew the cause, was alarmed for his votary's personal integrity. The god, therefore, charitably assumed the figure of Sena, and equipping himself suitably, waited on the Raja, and performed the functions of the barber, much to the Raja's satisfaction, and without detection, although the prince perceived an unusual fragrance about his barber's person, the ambrosial odour that indicated present deity, which he supposed to impregnate the oil used in lubricating his royal limbs. The pretended barber had scarcely departed, when the real one appeared, and stammered out his excuses : his astonishment and the Raja's were alike, but the discernment of the latter was more acute, for he immediately comprehended the whole business, fell at his barber's feet, and elected for his spiritual guide an individual so pre-eminently distinguished by the favour and protection of the deity.

RUDRA SAMPRADAYIS OR VALLABHACHARIS

The sects of Vaishnavas we have hitherto noticed are chiefly confined to professed ascetics, and to a few families originally from the south and west of India, or, as in the case of the Ramavats and Kabir Panthis, to such amongst the mass of society, as are of a bold and curious spirit ; but the opulent and luxurious amongst the men, and by far the greater portion of the women, attach themselves to the worship of Krishna and his consort Radha, either singly, or conjointly, as in the case of Vishnu and Lakshmi, amongst the Ramanujas, and Sita and Ram, amongst the Ramavats. There is, however, another form, which is perhaps more popular still, although much interwoven with the others. This is the Bala Gopala,

the infant Krishna, the worship of whom is very widely diffused amongst all ranks of Indian society, and which originated with the founder of the Rudra Sampradaya sect, Vallabha Acharya ; it is perhaps better known, however, from the title of its teachers, as the religion of the Gokulastha Gosains.

The original teacher of the philosophical tenets of this sect is said to have been Vishnu Swami, a commentator on the texts of the Vedas, who, however, admitted disciples from the Brahmanical caste only, and considered the state of the Sannyasi, or ascetic, as essential to the communication of his doctrines. He was succeeded by Jnana Deva, who was followed by Nama Deva and Trilochana, and they, although whether immediately or not does not appear, by Vallabha Swami, the son of Lakshmana Bhatt, a Tailinga Brahman : this Sannyasi taught early in the sixteenth century : he resided originally at Gokul, a village on the left bank of the Jamuna, about three kos to the east of Mathura : after remaining here sometime, he travelled through India as a pilgrim, and amongst other places he visited, according to the *Bhakta Mala*, the court of Krishna Deva, king of Vijayanagar, apparently the same as Krishna Rayalu, who reigned about the year 1520, where he overcame the Smarta Brahmins in a controversy, and was elected by the Vaishnavas as their chief, with the title of Acharya : hence he travelled to Ujjain, and took up his abode under a Pipal tree, on the banks of the Sipra, said to be still in existence, and designated as his Baithak, or station. Besides this, we find traces of him in other places. There is a Baithak of his amongst the Ghats of Mathura, and about two miles from the fort of Chunar is a place called his well, Acharya kuan, comprising a temple and Math, in the courtyard of which is the well in question ; the saint is said to have resided here sometime. After this peregrination Vallabha returned to Brindavan, where, as a reward for his fatigues and his faith, he was honoured by a visit from Krishna in person, who enjoined him to introduce the worship of Balagopal, or Gopal Lal, and founded the faith which at present exists in so flourishing a condition. Vallabha is supposed to have closed his career in a miracle : he had finally settled at Jethan Ber, at Banaras, near which a Math still subsists, but at length, having accomplished his mission, he is said to have entered the Ganges at Hanuman Ghat, when, stooping into the water, he disappeared : a brilliant flame arose from the spot, and, in the presence of a host of spectators, he ascended to heaven, and was lost in the firmament.

The worship of Krishna as one with Vishnu and the universe dates evidently from the *Mahabharat*⁴¹, and his juvenile

41 The well-known passage in the *Bhagavad Gita* [XI, 26—30], in which Arjuna sees the universe in the mouth of Krishna, establishes this identity.

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forms are brought pre-eminently to notice in the account of his infancy, contained in the *Bhagavat*⁴², but neither of these works discriminates him from Vishnu, nor do they recommend his infantine or adolescent state to particular veneration. At the same time some hints may have been derived from them for the institution of this division of the Hindu faith⁴³. In claiming, however, supremacy for Krishna, the *Brahma Vaivarta Purana* is most decided, and this work places Krishna in a heaven, and society exclusively his own, and derives from him all the objects of existence⁴⁴.

According to this authority, the residence of Krishna is denominated Goloka ; it is far above the three worlds, and has, at five hundred millions of Yojanas below it, the separate Lokas of Vishnu and Siva, Vaikuntha, and Kailas. This region is indestructible, whilst all else is subject to annihilation, and in the centre of it abides Krishna, of the colour of a dark cloud, in the bloom of youth, clad in yellow raiment, splendidly adorned with celestial gems, and holding a flute. He is exempt from Maya, or delusion, and all qualities, eternal, alone, and the Paramatma, or supreme soul of the world.

Krishna being alone in the Goloka, and meditating on

⁴² Particularly in the tenth book, which is appropriated to the life of Krishna. The same subject occupies a considerable portion of the Hari Vamsa section of the *Mahabharat*, of the Patala section of the *Padma Purana*, the fifth section of the *Vishnu Purana*, and the whole of the *Adi Upapurana*.

⁴³ Thus in the Vana Parva of the *Mahabharat* [v. 12895 ff.], Markandeya Muni, at the time of a minor destruction of the world, sees, "amidst the waters, an Indian Fig tree of vast size, on a principal branch of which was a bed ornamented with divine coverings, on which lay a child with a countenance like the moon." The saint, though acquainted with the past, present, and future, cannot recognise the child, who therefore appears of the hue, and with the symbols of Krishna, and desires the sage to rest within his substance from his weary wanderings over the submerged world.

In the *Bhagavat* [X, 3, 9, 10.] it is stated, "Vasudeva beheld that wonderful lotus-eyed child of the hue of a cloud, with four-arms, dressed in a yellow garb, and bearing the weapons, conch shell, club etc. and the Kaustubha jewel, the diadem of Vishnu adorning the neck. His locks were shining with the rays of the costly Vaidurya diamonds which were set in his head and ear ornaments, the jewelled girdle, armlets and bracelets were tinkling as he moved his limbs." The same work describes Yasoda, his adoptive mother, as seeing the universe in the mouth of the child [X, 7, 38, 37, (30, 31, Calcutta edition)].

*prītaprayasya janani rucirasmitam
mukham lalayiati rajan irmbhato dadrse idam
kham radusi jyotiranikamasah suryenduvahnīvasa-
nambudhimsca
dvīpannagamstadduhitrarvanani bhutani yani
sthirajangamani.*

⁴⁴ [Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 217-37].

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the waste of creation, gave origin to a being of a female form endowed with the three Gunas, and thence the primary agent in creation. This was *Prakriti*, or *Maya*, and the system so far corresponds with that of the other *Vaishnavas*, and of the *Puranas* generally speaking. They having adopted, in fact, the *Sankhya* system, interweaving with it their peculiar sectarian notions.

Crude matter, and the five elements, are also made to issue from Krishna, and then all the divine beings. *Narayana*, or *Vishnu*, proceeds from his right side, *Mahadeva* from his left, *Brahma* from his hand, *Dharma* from his breath, *Saraswati* from his mouth, *Lakshmi* from his mind, *Durga* from his understanding, *Radha* from his left side. Three hundred millions of *Gopis*, or female companions of *Radha*, exude from the pores of her skin, and alike number of *Gopas*, or companions of *Krishna*, from the pores of his skin : the very cows and their calves, properly the tenants of *Goloka*, but destined to inhabit the Groves of *Brindavan*, are produced from the same exalted source.

In this description of creation, however, the deity is still spoken of as a young man, and the *Purana* therefore affords only indirect authority in the marvels it narrates of his infancy for the worship of the child. Considering, however, that in this, or in any other capacity, the acts of the divinity are his *Lila*, or Cycle, there is no essential difference between those who worship him either as a boy or as a man, and any of his forms may be adored by this class of *Vaishnavas*, and all his principal shrines are to them equally objects of pilgrimage. As the elements and chief agents of creation are thus said to proceed from the person of *Krishna*, it may be inferred that the followers of this creed adopt the principles of the *Vedanta* philosophy, and consider the material world as one is substance, although in an illusory manner, with the sureme. Life is also identified with spirit, according to the authority of a popular work⁴⁵ None of the philosophical writings of the chief teachers of this system have been met with.

Amongst other articles of the new creed, *Vallabha* introduced one, which is rather singular for a Hindu religious innovator or reformer : he taught that privation formed no part of sanctity, and that it was the duty of the teachers and his disciples to worship their deity, not in nudity and hunger, but in costly

⁴⁵ According to the *Vartta*, *Vallabha* advocated this doctrine with some reluctance, by the especial injunction of the juvenile *Krishna*: "Then *Acharj Ji* said, you know the nature of Life, it is full of defects, how can it be combined with you? to which *Sri Thakur Ji* (*Krishna*) replied: Do you unite *Brahma* and Life in what way you will, I shall concur, and thence all its defects will be removed."

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apparel and choice food, not in solitude and mortification, but in the pleasures of society, and the enjoyment of the world. The Gosains, or teachers, are almost always family men, as was the founder Vallabha ; for after he had shaken off the restrictions of the monastic order to which he originally belonged, he married, by the particular order, it is said, of his new god. The Gosains are always clothed with the best raiment, and fed with the daintiest viands by their followers, over whom they have unlimited influence : part of the connexion between the Guru and teacher being the three-fold Samarpan, or consignment of *Tan, Man, and Dhan*, body, mind, and wealth, to the spiritual guide. The followers of the order are especially numerous amongst the mercantile community, and the Gosains themselves are often largely engaged, also, in maintaining a connexion amongst the commercial establishments of remote parts of the country, as they are constantly travelling over India on pilgrimage, to the sacred shrines of the sect, and reconcile, upon these occasions, the profits of trade with the benefits of devotion : as religious travellers, however, this union of objects renders them more respectable than the vagrants of any other sect.

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

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

2. *Sringara* ; the image having been anointed and perfumed with oil, camphor, and sandal, and splendidly attired, now holds his public court : this takes place about an hour and a half after the preceding, or when four *Gharis* of the day have elapsed.

3. *Gwala* ; the image is now visited, preparatory to his going out to attend the cattle along with the cow-herd ; this

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ceremony is held about forty-eight minutes after the last, or when six *Gharis* have passed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Besides the diurnal ceremonials described, there are several annual festivals of great repute observed throughout India : of these, in Bengal and Orissa, the Rath Jatra, or procession of Jagannath in his car, is the most celebrated, but it is rarely held in upper India, and then only by natives of Bengal established in the provinces : the most popular festival at Banaras, and generally to the westward, is the Janmashtami, the nativity of Krishna, on the eighth day of Bhadra (August⁴⁶). Another

⁴⁶ Great difference of practice prevails on occasion of this observance. Krishna was born on the eighth lunar day of the waning moon of Bhadra, at midnight, upon the moon's entrance into Rohini, in commemoration of which a fast is to be held on the day preceding his birth, terminating, as usual, in a feast; but the day of his birth is variously determinable, according to the adoption of the civil, the lunar, or lunar-sydereal computations, and it rarely happens that the eighth lunation comprises the same combination of hours and planetary positions, as occurred at Krishna's birth. Under these circumstances, the followers

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is the Ras Yatra, or annual commemoration of the dance of the frolicsome deity with the sixteen Gopis. This last is a very popular festival, and not an uninteresting one : vast crowds, clad in their best attire, collecting in some open place in the vicinity of the town, and celebrating the event with music, singing, and dramatic representations of Krishna's sports : all the public singers and dancers lend their services on this occasion, and trust for a remuneration to the gratuities of the

of the Smṛiti, with the Saivas and Saktas, commence their fast with the commencement of the lunation, whenever that takes place; the Ramanujas and Madhwas observe such part of the eighth day of the moon's age as includes sun rise, and forms the eighth day of the calendar, or civil day, whilst some of the Ramanujas, and the Nimawats regulate the duration of their fast by the moon's passage through the asterism Rohini. The consequence is, that the Smartas often fast on the 7th, one set of Vaishnavas on the 8th, and another on the 9th, whilst those who affect great sanctity sometimes go thirty hours without food; an extract from last year's calendar will very well exemplify these distinctions.

3rd Bhadra, 17th August 1825, Tuesday, Saptami, 10 Dandas 17 Palas. The Janmashtami Vrata and a Fast.

4th Bhadra, 18th August, Wednesday, Ashtami, 9 Dandas 18 Palas. Fast according to the Vaishnavas of Braj.

5th Bhadra, 19th August, Thursday, Navami, 7 Dandas 4 Palas. Rohini Nakshatra, till 10 Dandas 52 Palas, at which hour Parana, the end of the fast.

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

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

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

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spectators : at Banaras the Ras Yatra is celebrated at the village of Sivapur, and the chief dancers and musicians, ranging themselves under the banners of the most celebrated of the profession, go out in formal procession : tents, huts, and booths are erected, swings and roundabouts form a favourite amusement of the crowd, and sweetmeats and fruits are displayed in tempting profusion : the whole has the character of a crowded fair in Europe, and presents, in an immense concourse of people, an endless variety of rich costume, and an infinite diversity of picturesque accompaniment, a most lively and splendid scene. The same festival is held from the tenth day of the light half of Kuar (September-October) to the day of the full moon at Brindavan, where a stone platform, or stage, has been built for the exhibition of the mimic dance in a square near the river side. Besides their public demonstrations of respect, pictures and images of Gopala are kept in the houses of the members of the sect, who, before they sit down to any of their meals, take care to offer a portion to the idol. Those of the disciples who have performed the triple Samarpana eat only from the hands of each other ; and the wife or child that has not exhibited the same mark of devotion to the Guru can neither cook for such a disciple nor eat in his society.

The mark on the forehead consists of two red perpendicular lines meeting in a semicircle at the root of the nose, and having a round spot of red between them. The Rhaktas have the same marks as the Sri Vaishnavas on the breasts and arms, and some also make the central spot on the forehead with a black earth, called Syamabandi, or any black metallic substance : the necklace and rosary are made of the stalk of the Tulasi. The salutations amongst them are Srikrishna and Jaya Gopal.

The great authority of the sect is the *Bhagavat*, as explained in the Subodhini, or Commentary of Vallabhacharya : he is the author also of a Bhashya on part of Vyasy's Sutras, and of other Sanskrit works, as the *Siddhanta Rahasya*, *Bhagavata Lila Rahasya*, and *Ekanta Rahasya* ; these, however, are only for the learned, and are now very rare. Amongst the votaries in general, various works upon the history of Krishna are current, but the most popular are the *Vishnu Padas*, stanzas in Bhasha, in praise of Vishnu, attributed to Vallabha himself ; the *Braj Bilas*, a Bhakha poem of some length, descriptive of Krishna's life, during his residence at Brindavan, by Braj Vasi Das ; the *Ashta Chhap*, an account of Vallabha's eight chief disciples, and the *Vartta*, or *Bartta*, a collection in Hindustani of marvellous and insipid anecdotes of Vallabha and his primitive followers, amounting to the number of eighty-four, and including persons of both sexes, and every class of Hindus. The *Bhakta Mala* also contains a variety of legends regarding the

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different teachers of this sect, but it is less a text-book with this sect than any other class of Vaishnavas, as the Vartta occupies its place amongst the worshippers of Gopal. The following are specimens of this work, and by no means the most unfavourable :

Damodar Das, of Kanoj, was a disciple of Sri Acharya (Vallabhacharya). Like the rest of the members of this sect, he had an image of Krishna in his house. One day it was exceedingly hot, and when night came, Sri Thakur ji (the image) woke the maid servant, and desired her to open the doors of his chamber, as it was very warm. She obeyed, and taking a pankha, fanned him—Early in the morning, Damodar Das observed the doors of the chamber open, and enquired how this had happened : the girl mentioned the circumstance, but her master was much vexed that she had done this, and that Sri Thakur ji had not called him to do it. Sri Thakur ji knowing his thoughts said : I told her to open the doors, why are you displeased with her ? you shut me up here in a close room, and go to sleep yourself on an open and cool terrace. Then Damodar Das made a vow, and said : I will not taste consecrated food until I have built a new temple, but his wife advised him, and urged : this is not a business of five or six days, why go without the consecrated food so long ? Then he said : I will not partake of the consecrated sweetmeats, I will only eat the fruits. And so he did, and the temple was completed, and Sri Thakur ji was enshrined in it, and Damodar Das distributed food to the Vaishnavas, and they partook thereof.

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

As Ranavyas and Jagannath, two of Vallabhacharya's disciples, were bathing, a woman of the Rajput caste came down to the river to burn herself with her husband ; on which Jagannath said to his companion : what is the fashion of a woman becoming a Sati ? Ranavyas shook his head, and said : the fruitless union of beauty with a dead body. The Rajputani observing Ranavyas shake his head, her purpose at that moment

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was changed, and she did not become a Sati, on which her kindred were much pleased. Some time afterwards, meeting with the two disciples, the Rajputani told them of the effect of their former interview, and begged to know what had passed between them. Ranavyas being satisfied that the compassion of Sri Acharj was extended to her, repeated what he had said to Jagannath, and his regret that her charms should not be devoted to the service of Sri Thakur ji, rather than be thrown away upon a dead body. The Rajputani enquired how the service of Thakur ji was to be performed, on which Ranavyas, after making her bathe, communicated to her the initiating prayer, and she thenceforth performed the menial service of the deity, washing his garments, bringing him water, and discharging other similar duties in the dwelling of Ranavyas with entire and fervent devotion, on which account she obtained the esteem of Sri Achraj, and the favour of the deity.

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

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Vallabha was succeeded by his son Vitala Nath, known amongst the sect by the appellation of Sri Gosain Ji, Vallabha's designation being Sri Acharj Ji. Vitala Nath, again, had seven sons, Girdhari Rac, Govind Rac, Bala Krishna, Gokul Nath, Raghunath, Yadunath, Ghanasyama ; these were all teachers, and their followers, although in all essential points the same, form as many different communities. Those of Gokulnath, indeed, are peculiarly separate from the rest, looking upon their own Gosains as the only legitimate teachers of the faith, and withholding all sort of reverence from the persons and Maths of the successors of his brethren : an exclusive preference that does not prevail amongst the other divisions of the faith, who do homage to all the descendants of all Vitala Nath's sons.,

The worshippers of this sect are very numerous and opulent, the merchants and bankers, especially those from Guzarat and Malwa, belonging to it : their temples and establishments are numerous all over India, but particularly at Mathura and Brindavan, the latter of which alone is said to contain many hundreds, amongst which are three of great opulence. In Banaras are two temples of great repute and wealth, one sacred to Lalji and the other to Purushottamaji⁴⁷. Jagannath and Dwaraka are also particularly venerated by this sect, but the most celebrated of all the Gosain establishments is at Sri Nath Dwar, in Ajmir. The image at this shrine is said to have transported itself thither from Mathura, when Aurangzeb ordered the temple it was there placed in to be destroyed. The present shrine is modern, but richly endowed, and the high priest, a descendant of Gokul Nath, a man of great wealth and importance⁴⁸. It is a matter of obligation with the members of this sect to visit Sri Nath Dwar at least once in their lives ; they receive there a certificate to that effect, issued by the head Gosain, and, in return, contribute according to their means to the enriching of the establishment : it is not an uncurious feature in the notions of this sect, that the veneration paid to their Gosains is paid solely to their descent, and unconnected with any idea of their sanctity or learning : they are not infrequently destitute of all pretensions to individual respectability, but they none the less enjoy the homage of their followers ; the present chief, at Srinath Dwar, is said not to understand the certificate he signs.

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These may be considered as forming a subdivision of the preceding, rather than a distinct sect, although, in the adoption of

⁴⁷ Many of the bankers of this city, it is said, pay to one or other of the temples a tax of one-fourth of an anna, on every bill of exchange, and the cloth merchants, half an anna on all sales.

⁴⁸ Every temple is said to have three places of offering: the image, the pillow of the founder, and a box for Sri Nath Dwar.

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a new leader, and the worship of Krishna under a peculiar form, they differ essentially from the followers of Vallabha : at the same time it is chiefly amongst those sectarians, that Mira Bai and her deity, Ranachhor, are held in high veneration, and, except in the west of India, it does not appear that she has many immediate and exclusive adherents.

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

Mira was the daughter of a petty Raja, the sovereign of a place called Merta : she was married to the Rana of Udaipur, but soon after being taken home by him quarrelled with her mother-in-law, a worshipper of Devi, respecting compliance with the family adoration of that goddess, and was, in consequence of her persevering refusal to desert the worship of Krishna, expelled from the Rana's bed and palace: she appears to have been treated, however, with consideration, and to have been allowed an independent establishment, owing, probably, rather to the respect paid to her abilities, than a notion of her personal sanctity, although the latter was attested, if we may believe our guide, by her drinking unhesitatingly a draught of poison presented to her by her husband, and without its having the power to do her harm. In her uncontrolled station she adopted the worship of Ranachhor, a form of youthful Krishna; she became the patroness of the vagrant Vaishnavas, and visited in pilgrimage Brindavan and Dwaraka : whilst at the latter, some persecution of the Vaishnavas at Udaipur appears to have been instituted, and Brahmans were sent to bring her home from Dwaraka : previously to departing, she visited the temple of her tutelary deity, to take leave of him, when, on the completion of her adorations, the image opened, and Mira leaping into the fissure, it closed, and she finally disappeared. In memory of this miracle it is said, that the image of Mira Bai is worshipped at Udaipur in conjunction with that of Ranachhor. The *Padas* that induced this marvel, and which are current as the compositions of Mira Bai⁴⁹, are the two following :

Pada 1.—Oh, sovereign Ranachhor, give me to take Dwaraka my abode : with thy shell, discus, mace, and lotus, dispel the fear of Yama : eternal rest is visiting thy sacred shrines ;

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

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' supreme delight is the clash of thy shell and cymbals : I have abandoned my love, my possessions, my principality, my husband. Mira, thy servant, comes to thee for refuge, oh, take her wholly to thee.

Pada 2.—If thou knowest me free from stain, so accept me : save thee, there is none other that will show me compassion : do thou, then, have mercy upon me : let not weariness, hunger, anxiety, and restlessness consume this frame with momentary decay, Lord of Mira, Girdhara her beloved, accept her, and never let her be separated from thee.

BRAHMA SAMPRADAYIS OR MADHAVACHARIS

This division of the Vaishnavas is altogether unknown in Gangetic Hindusthan. A few individuals belonging to it, who are natives of southern India, may be occasionally encountered, but they are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct community, nor have they any temple or teachers of their own. It is in the peninsula, that the sect is most extensively to be found⁵⁰, and it is not comprised, therefore, in the scope of this sketch : as, however, it is acknowledged to be one of the four great Sampradayas, or religious systems, such brief notices of it as have been collected will not be wholly out of place.

The institution of this sect is posterior to that of the Sri Vaishnavas, or Ramanujas : the founder was Madhavacharya⁵¹, a Brahman, the son of Madhiga Bhatta, who was born in the Saka year 1121 (A.D 1199) in Tuluva : according to the legendary belief of his followers, he was an incarnation of Vayu, or the god of air, who took upon him the human form by desire of Narayana, and who had been previously incarnate as Hanuman, and Bhima, in preceding ages. He was educated in the convent established at Anantesvar, and in his ninth year was initiated into the order of Anachorets by Achyuta Pracha, a descendant of Sanaka, son of Brahma. At that early age also he composed his Bhashya, or commentary on the *Gita*, which he carried to Badarikashrama, in the Himalaya, to present to Vedavyasa, by whom he was received with great respect, and presented with three Salagrams, which he brought back and established as objects of worship in the Maths of Udiipi, Madhyatala, and Subrahmanya—he also erected and consecrated at Udiipi the image of Krishna, that was originally made by Arjuna, of which he became miraculously possessed.

⁵⁰[Graul's *Reise nach Ostindien*. Leipzig: 1855. Vol. IV, p. 139.]

⁵¹In the *Sarvadarsana Sangraha* he is cited by the name Purna Prajña—a work is also quoted as written by him under the name of *Madhya Mandira*. Reference is also made to him by the title, most frequently found in the works ascribed to him, of *Ananda Tirtha* [*Sarvad. Sangr.* p. 73.].

A vessel from Dwaraka, trading along the Malabar coast, had taken on board, either accidentally or as ballast, a quantity of Gopichandana, or the sacred clay, from that city, in which the image was immersed : the vessel was wrecked off the Coast of Tuluva, but Madhava receiving divine intimation of the existence of the image had it sought for, and recovered from the place where it had sunk⁵², and established it as the principal object of his devotion at Udipi, which has since continued to be the head quarters of the sect. He resided here for some time himself, and composed, it is said, thirty-seven works⁵³. After some time he went upon a controversial tour, in which he triumphed over various teachers, and amongst others, it is said, over Sankara Acharya—he finally, in his 79th year, departed to Badarikasrama, and there continues to reside with Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas and Puranas.

Before his relinquishing charge of the shrine he had established, Madhavacharya had very considerably extended his followers, so that he was enabled to establish eight different temples, in addition to the principal temple, or that of Krishna, at Udipi : in these were placed images of different forms of Vishnu⁵⁴, and the superintendence of them was entrusted to the brother of the founder, and eight Sannyasis, who were Brahmans, from the banks of the Godavari. These establishments still exist, and, agreeably to the code of the founder, each Sannyasi, in turn, officiates as superior of the chief station at Udipi for two years, or two years and a half. The whole expense of the establishment devolves upon the superior for the time being, and, as it is the object of each to outvie his predecessor, the charges⁵⁵ are much heavier than the receipts of the institution, and, in order to provide for them, the Sannyasis employ the intervals of their temporary charge in travelling about the country, and levying contribution on their lay votaries, the amount of which is frequently very large, and is appropriated for the greater part to defray the costs of the occasional pontificate.

⁵² This story is rather differently told by Colin Mackenzie in his account of the Madras Gurus, published in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804.

⁵³ The principal of these are—the *Gita Bhashya*, *Sutra Bhashya*, *Rig-bhashya*, *Dasopantshad Bhashya*—*Anuvakanunaya Vivarna*, *Anuvadanta Rasa Prakarana*, *Bharata Tatparya Nir-naya*, *Bhagavata-tatparya*, *Gitatatparya*, *Krishnamrita Maharana*, *Tantra Sara*. [See Burnouf, *Bhagav. Pur.*, I, LIX.]

⁵⁴ 1. Rama with Sita.—2. Sita and Lakshmana.—3. Kaliya Mardana, with two arms.—4. Kaliya Mardana, with four arms.—5. Suvitala.—6. Sukara.—7. Nrisinha.—8. Vasanta Vitala.

⁵⁵ Buchanan states them at 13,000 Rupees at least, and often exceeding 20,000.

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The eight Maths are all in Tuluva, below the Ghats⁵⁶ but, at the same time, Madhavacharya authorised the foundation of others above the Ghats under Padmanabha Tirtha, to whom he gave images of Rama, and the Vyasa Salagram, with instructions to disseminate his doctrines, and collect money for the use of the shrine at Udipi : there are four establishments under the descendants of this teacher above the Ghats, and the superiors visit Udipi from time to time, but never officiate there as pontiffs.

The superiors, or Gurus, of the Madhava sect, are Brahmans and Sannyasis, or profess coenobitic observances : the disciples, who are domesticated in the several Maths, profess also perpetual celibacy. The lay votaries of these teachers are members of every class of society, except the lowest, and each Guru has a number of families hereditarily attached to him, whose spiritual guidance he may sell or mortgage to a Brahman of any sect.

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

The essential dogma of this sect, like that of the Vaishnavas in general, is the identification of Vishnu with the Supreme Spirit, as the pre-existent cause of the universe⁵⁷, from whose substance the world was made⁵⁸. This primeval Vishnu they also affirm to be endowed with real attributes⁵⁹, most excellent, although indefinable and independent. As there is one independent, however, there is also one dependent, and this doctrine is the characteristic dogma of the sect, distinguishing its professors from the followers of Ramanuja as well as Sankara, or those

⁵⁶ They are at Kanur, Pejavar, Admar, Phalamar, Krishnapur, Sirur, Sode, and Putti.

⁵⁷ In proof of these doctrines they cite the following texts from the Sruti, or Vedas: "Narayana alone was; not Brahma nor Sankara." "Happy and alone before all was Narayana the Lord."

⁵⁸ "The whole world was manifest from the body of Vishnu."

⁵⁹ "Vishnu is independent, exempt from defects, and endowed with all good qualities."—*Tattva Vivek*.

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who maintain the qualified or absolute unity of the deity. The creed of the Madhavas is Dwaita, or duality⁶⁰. It is not, however, that they discriminate between the principles of good and evil, or even the difference between spirit and matter, which is the duality known to other sects of the Hindus. Their distinction is a more subtle character, and separates the Jivatma from the Paramatma, or the principle of life from the Supreme Being. Life, they say, is one and eternal, dependent upon the Supreme, and indissolubly connected with, but not the same with him⁶¹. An important consequence of this doctrine is the denial of Moksha, in its more generally received sense, or that of absorption into the universal spirit, and loss of independent existence after death. The Yoga of the Saivas, and Sayujyam of the Vaishnavas, they hold to be impracticable⁶².

The Supreme Being resides in Vaikuntha, invested with ineffable splendour, and with garb, ornaments, and perfumes of celestial origin, being the husband also of Lakshmi, or glory, Bhumi, the earth, and Nila, understood to mean Devi, or Durga, or personified matter. In his primary form no known qualities can be predicated of him, but when he pleases to associate with Maya, which is properly his desire, or wish, the three attributes of purity, passion, or ignorance, or the Sattwa, Rajas, and Tamas Gunas, are manifested. as Vishnu, Brahma, and Siva, for the creation, protection, and destruction of the world. These deities, again, perform their respective functions through their union with the same delusive principle to which they owed their individual manifestation. This account is clearly allegorical, although the want of some tangible objects of worship has converted the shadows into realities, and the allegory, when adapted to the apprehensions of ordinary intellects, has been converted into the legend known to the followers of Kabir, of the Supreme begetting the Hindu Triad by Maya, and her subsequent union with her sons⁶³. Other legends are current

60 "Independent and dependent is declared to be the two-fold condition of being."—*Tattwa Vivek. Svatantramasvatantram cha dvividham tattvamishyate*. [*Sarvadarasana Sangraha*, p. 61.].

61 "As the bird and the string, as juices and trees, as rivers and oceans, as fresh water and salt, as the thief and his booty, as man and objects of sense, so are God and Life distinct, and both are ever indefinable."—*Mahopanishad*:

62 In confirmation of which they adduce texts from the Puranas and Vedas:

"From the difference between Omniscience and partial knowledge, Omnipotence and inferior power, supremacy and subservience, the union of God and Life cannot take place."—*Garuda Purana*: "Spirit is Supreme, and above qualities; Life is feeble and subordinate."—*Bhallaveya Upanishad*.

63 Col. Mackenzie, in his account of the sect, gives this legend in a different and rather unusual form, and one that indicates some relation to the Saiva sects. It is not, however, admitted as orthodox by these members of the sect whom I have

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amongst the Madhavas, founded on this view of the creation, in which Brahma and Siva and other divinities are described as springing from his mind, his forehead, his sides, and other parts of his body. They also receive the legends of the Vaishnava Puranas, of the birth of Brahma from the Lotus, of the navel of Vishnu, and of Rudra from the tears shed by Brahma on being unable to comprehend the mystery of creation.

The modes in which devotion to Vishnu is to be expressed are declared to be three, Ankana, Namakarana, and Bhajana, or marking the body with his symbols⁶⁴, giving his names to children, and other objects of interest, and the practice of virtue in word, act, and thought. Truth, good council, mild speaking, and study belong to the first : liberality, kindness, and protection, to the second, and clemency, freedom from envy, and faith, to the last. These ten duties form the moral code of the Madhavas⁶⁵.

encountered, nor do any traces of it appear in the works consulted.

"The Lord of the Creation, by whose supremacy the world is illuminated, and who is infinitely powerful, creating and destroying many worlds in a moment, that Almighty Spirit, in his mind, contemplating the creation of a world for his pleasure, from his wishes sprung a goddess, named Itcha Sakti; at her request, he directed her to create this world. Then the Sakti, by the authority of God, immediately created three divine persons, generally called by Hindus the *Murti-trium*, by their several names of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, committing to them, separately, their respective charges in the expected world; Sristi, Sthiti, and Sayom, or the power of creating, nourishing, and destroying. When she had made these three lords, she requested of one after the other, that they might be her consort; but Brahma and Vishnu, disapproving of her request, she consumed them with the fire of her third eye, and proposed the same thing to Siva; then Sadaseeva, considering in his mind that her demands were not agreeable to the divine law, replied that he could not be her consort, unless she granted her third eye to him. The goddess was pleased with his prudence, and adorned him with her third eye. So soon as Siva was possessed of that, he immediately destroyed her by a glance of the flaming eye, and revived Brahma and Vishnu, and of her ashes made three goddesses, Saraswati, Lakshmi, and Parvati, and united one of them to each of the Trimurti."

(Account of the Marda Gooroos.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1804.)

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

64 Especially with a hot iron, which practice they defend by a text from the Vedas. Whose body, is not cauterised, does not obtain liberation. *atrapitatanuṃ tada mokshamasnute* [*Sarva Darsana Samgraha* p. 64.] To which, however, Sankaracharya objects, that *Tapta* does not mean cauterised, but purified with *Tapas*, or ascetic mortification.—

65 *Sarva Darsana Samgraha*, p. 65.

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The usual rites of worship⁶⁶, as practiced by the Vaishnavas of this sect, are observed, and the same festivals. In the Puja, however, there is one peculiarity which merits notice as indicative of a friendly leaning towards the Saiva sects: the images of Siva, Durga, and Ganesa are placed on the same shrine with the form of Vishnu, and partake in the adoration offered to his idol. Rites are conducive to final happiness only, as they indicate a desire to secure the favour of Vishnu. The knowledge of his supremacy is essential to the zeal with which his approbation may be sought, but they consider it unnecessary to attempt an identification with him by abstract meditation, as that is unattainable⁶⁷.—Those who have acquired the regard of Vishnu are thereby exempted from future birth, and enjoy felicity in Vaikuntha under four conditions, as Sarupya, similarity of form, Salokya, visible presence, Sannidhya, proximity, and Sarshthi, equal power⁶⁸.

Besides the writings of the founder, the following works are considered as forming the Sastra, or scriptural authority, of this sect. The four Vedas, the *Mahabharat*, the *Pancharatra*, and the genuine or original *Ramayana*.

It seems not improbable, that the founder of the Madhava sect was originally a Saiva priest, and, although he became a convert to the Vaishnava faith, he encouraged an attempt to form a kind of compromise or alliance between the Saivas and Vaishnavas. Madhava was first initiated into the faith of Siva at Ananteswar, the shrine of a Linga, and one of his names, Ananda Tirtha, indicates his belonging to the class of Dasnami Gossains, who were instituted by Sankaracharya; one of his first acts was to establish a Salagrami, a type of Vishnu, at the shrine of Subrahmanya, the warrior son of Siva, and, as observed above, the images of Siva are allowed to partake, in the Madhava temples, of the worship offered to Vishnu. The votaries of the Madhava Gurus, and of the Sankarachari Gossains, offer the Namaskar, or reverential obeisance, to their

66 The daily ceremonies at Udupi are of nine descriptions: 1. Malavisarjana, cleaning the temple, 2. Upasthana, awaking Krishna, 3. Panchamrita, bathing him with milk, &c., 4. Udvartana, cleaning the image, 5. Tirtha Puja, bathing it with holy water, 6. Alankara, putting on his ornaments, 7. Avritta, addressing prayers and hymns to him, 8. Mahapuja, presenting fruits, perfumes, &c., with music and singing, 9. Ratri Puja, nocturnal worship, waving lamps before the image, with prayers, offerings, and music.

67 "Emancipation is not obtained without the favour of Vishnu. His favour is obtained from knowledge of his excellence, and not from a knowledge of his identity."—Srut. *Mokshastu Vishnu-prasadanturena nu lubhyate prasadascha gunotkarshajnadeva nabhedajnat*. [*Sarvadarsana sangraha*, p. 68.]

68 See also *Mahanarayana Upan*. 15. ap. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, 94.

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teachers mutually, and the Sringeri Mahant visits Udipi, to perform his adorations at the shrine of Krishna. It is evident, therefore, that there is an affinity between these orders, which does not exist between the Saivas and Vaishnavas generally, who are regarded by the Madhavas, even without excepting the Ramanujas, as Pashandis, or heretics, whether they profess adoration of Vishnu or of Siva.

SANAKADI SAMPRADAYIS OR NIMAVATS

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

Nimbaditya is said to have been a Vaishnava ascetic, originally named Bhaskara Acharya, and to have been, in fact, an incarnation of the sun for the suppression of the heretical doctrines then prevalent : he lived near Brindavan, where he was visited by a Dandi, or, according to other accounts, by a Jaina ascetic, or Jati, whom he engaged in controversial discussion till sunset : he then offered his visitant some refreshment, which the practice of either mendicant renders unlawful after dark, and which the guest was, therefore, compelled to decline : to remove the difficulty, the host stopped the further descent of the sun, and ordered him to take up his abode in a neighbouring Nimba tree, till the meat was cooked and eaten : the sun obeyed, and the saint was ever after named Nimbarka or Nimbaditya or the Nimba tree sun.

The Nimavats are distinguished by a circular black mark in the centre of the ordinary double streak of white earth, or Gopichandan : they use the necklace and rosary of the stem of the Tulasi : the objects of their worship are Krishna and Radha conjointly : their chief authority is the *Bhagavat*, and there is said to be a Bhashya on the Vedas by Nimbarka : the sect, however, is not possessed of any books peculiar to the members, which want they attribute to the destruction of their works at Mathura in the time of Aurangzeb.

The Nimavats are scattered throughout the whole of Upper India. They are met with of the two classes, coenobitical and secular, or Viraktas and Grihasthas, distinctions introduced by the two pupils of Nimbarka, Kesavat Bhatt, and Hari Vyas : the latter is considered as the founder of the family which occupies the pillow of Nimbarka at a place called Dhruva Kshetra, upon the Jumna, close to Mathura : the Mahant, however, claims to be a lineal descendant from Nimbarka himself, and asserts the existence of the present establishment for a past period of 1400 years : the antiquity is probably

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exaggerated : the Nimavats are very numerous about Mathura, and they are also the most numerous of the Vaishnava sects in Bengal, with the exception of those who may be considered the indigenous offspring of that province.

VAISHNAVAS OF BENGAL

The far greater number of the worshippers of Vishnu, or more properly of Krishna, in Bengal, forming, it has been estimated, one-fifth of the population of the province⁶⁹, derive their peculiarities from some Vaishnava Brahmans of Nadia and Santipur, who flourished about the end of the fifteenth century. The two leading men in the innovation then instituted were Adwaitanand and Nityanand, who, being men of domestic and settled habits, seem to have made use of a third, who had early embraced the ascetic order, and whose simplicity and enthusiasm fitted him for their purpose, and to have set up Chaitanya as the founder and object of a new form of Vaishnava worship.

The history of Chaitanya has been repeatedly written, but the work most esteemed by his followers is the *Chaitanya Charitra* of Brindavan Das, which was compiled from preceding works by Murari Gupta and Damodara, who were the immediate disciples of Chaitanya, and who wrote an account, the first of his life as a Grihastha, or the *Adi Lila*, and the second of his proceedings as a pilgrim and ascetic, or the *Madhya* and *Anta Lila*. An abridgment of the composition of Brindavan Das, under the title of *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, was made by Krishna Das about 1590 : although described by the author as an abridgment, it is a most voluminous work, comprising, besides anecdotes of Chaitanya and his principal disciples, the expositions of the doctrines of the sect : it is written in Bengali, but it is interspersed most thickly with the Sanskrit texts on which the faith is founded, and which are taken from the *Brahma Sanhita*, the *Vishnu Purana*, the *Bhagavad Gita*, and, above all, the *Sri Bhagavat*, the work that appears about this period to have given a new aspect to the Hindu faith throughout the whole of Hindusthan. The accounts we have to offer of Chaitanya and his schism are taken from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*.

Chaitanya was the son of a Brahman settled at Nadia, but originally from Srihatta, or Sylhet. His father was named Jagannath Misra, and his mother Sachi : he was conceived in the end of Magha 1484, but not born till Phalgun 1485, being thirteen months in the womb—his birth was accompanied by the usual portentous indications of a super-human event, and,

⁶⁹ Ward on the Hindus, 2, 175. In another place he says five-sixteenths, p. 448.

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amongst other circumstances, an eclipse of the moon was terminated by entrance into the world. Chaitanya was, in fact, an incarnation of Krishna, or Bhagavan, who appeared for the purpose of instructing mankind in the true mode of worshipping him in this age : with the like view he was, at the same time, incarnate in the two greater teachers of the sect as principal Anshas, or portions of himself, animating the form of Adwaitanand, whilst Nityanand was a personal manifestation of the same divinity, as he had appeared formerly in the shape of Balarama : the female incarnation was not assumed on this occasion, being, in fact, comprised in the male, for Radha, as the Purna-Sakti, or comprehensive energy, and Krishna, as the Purna-Saktiman, or possessor of the energy, were both united in the nature of the Nadia saint.

The father of Chaitanya died in his son's childhood, and his elder brother, Visvarupa, had perviously assumed the character of an ascetic : to take care of his mother, therefore, Chaitanya refrained from following his inclinations, and continued in the order of the Grihastha, or householder, till the age of twenty-four, during which time he is said to have married the daughter of Vallabhacharya. At twenty-four⁷⁰, he shook off the obligations of society, and becoming a Vairagi, spent the next six years in a course of peregrinations between Mathura and Jagannath, teaching his doctrines, acquiring followers, and extending the worship of Krishna. At the end of this period, having nominated Adwaitacharya and Nityanand to preside over the Vaishnavas of Bengal, and Rupa and Sanatana over those of Mathura, Chaitanya settled at Nilachal, or Cuttack, where he remained twelve years, engaging deeply in the worship of Jagannath, to whose festival he seems at least to have communicated great energy and repute⁷¹. The rest of his time was spent in tuition and controversy, and in receiving the visits of his disciples, who came annually, particularly the Bengalis, under Adwaita and Nityanand to Nilachal in the performance of acts of self-denial, and in intent meditation on Krishna ; by these latter means he seems to have fallen ultimately into a state of imbecility approaching to insanity, which engendered

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

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

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perpetually beatific visions of Krishna, Radha, and the Gopis : in one of these, fancying the sea to be the Jumna, and that he saw the celestial cohort sporting in its blue waters, he walked into it, and fainting with ecstasy, would have been drowned, if his emaciated state had not rendered him buoyant on the waves : he was brought to shore in a fisherman's net, and recovered by his two resident disciples, Svarupa and Ramanand : the story is rendered not improbable by the uncertain close of Chaitanya's career : he disappeared ; how, is not known : of course his disciples suppose he returned to Vaikuntha, but we may be allowed to conjecture the means he took to travel thither, by the tale of his marine excursion, as it is gravely narrated by Krishna Das : his disappearance dates about A.D. 1527.

Of Adwaitanand and Nityanand no marvels, beyond their divine pervasion, are recorded : the former, indeed, is said to have predicted the appearance of Krishna as Chaitanya ; a prophecy that probably wrought its own completion : he sent his wife to assist at the birth of the saint, and was one of his first disciples. Adwaitanand resided at Santipur, and seems to have been a man of some property and respectability : he is regarded as one of the three Prabhus, or masters of the sect, and his descendants, who are men of property, residing at Santipur, are chief Gossains, or spiritual superiors, conjointly with those of Nityanand, of the followers of this faith. Nityanand was an inhabitant of Nadia, a Radhiya Brahman, and a householder : he was appointed especially by Chaitanya, the superior of his followers in Bengal, notwithstanding his secular character, and his being addicted to mundane enjoyments⁷² : his descendants are still in existence, and are divided into two branches : those of the male line reside at Kharda, near Barrackpore ; and those of the female at Balagor, near Sukhsagar : there are other families, however, of nearly equal influence in various parts of Bengal, descended from the other Gossains, the Kavirajas and original Mahants.

Besides the three Prabhus, or Chaitanya, Adwaita, and Nityanand, the Vaishnavas of this order acknowledge six Gossains as their original and chief teachers, and the founders, in some instances, of the families of the Gossains now existing,

⁷² Thus, according to Krishna Das, when Raghunath Das visits him, he finds him at a feast with his followers, eating a variety of dainties; amongst others a dish called Pulina, and when he good humouredly notices it, Nityanand replies: "I am of the Gopa caste (i.e. fig.: a companion of Krishna, the cow-herd), and am amidst many Gopas, and such as we are, consider Pulina a delicacy."

A verse is also ascribed to him, said to have become proverbial: "Let all enjoy fish, broth, and woman's charms—be happy, and call upon Hari."

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to whom, as well as to the Gokulastha Gossains, hereditary veneration is due. The six Gaudiya, or Bengal, Gossains, appear to have all settled at Brindavan and Mathura, where many of their descendants are still established, and in possession of several temples : this locality, the agreement of dates, and the many points of resemblance between the institutions of Vallabha and Chaitanya render it extremely probable that their origin was connected, and that a spirit of rivalry and opposition gave rise to one or other of them.

The six Gossains of the Bengal Vaishnavas are Rupa, Sanatan, Jiva, Raghunath Bhatt, Raghunath Das, and Gopal Bhatt. Rupa and Sanatan⁷³ were brothers in the employ of the Muhammadan governor of Bengal, and were hence regarded as little than Mlechhas, or outcastes, themselves : the sanctity of Chaitanya's life and doctrine induced them to become his followers, and as it was a part of his system to admit all castes, even Muhammadans, amongst his disciples, they were immediately enlisted in a cause, of which they became the first ornaments and supports : they were men of learning, and were very indefatigable writers, as we shall hereafter see, and the foundation of two temples at Brindavan, the most respectable reliques of the Hindu faith existing in upper Hindusthan, is ascribed to their influence and celebrity⁷⁴. Jiva was the nephew of the preceding, the son of their younger brother : he was likewise an author, and the founder of a temple at Brindavan, dedicated to Radha Damodara. Raghunath Bhatt and Raghunath Das were both brahmans of Bengal, but they established themselves in the vicinity of Mathura and Brindavan. Gopal Bhatt founded a temple and establishment at Brindavan, which are

⁷³ From the indistinct manner in which they are conjointly described in the *Bhakta Mala* it might be thought that Rupa Sanatana was but a single individual, but, in one passage, the work indicates their being two brothers, conformably to the *Charitamrita*, and the tradition in general currency. [Price's *Hindee and Hindust. Selections* I, p. 132.]

⁷⁴ The temples of Govind Deva and Madanmohan, both in ruins; a Sanskrit inscription in the former, however, attributing it to Man Sinh Deva, a descendant of Prithu Rao, is dated Samvat 1647, or A.D. 1591. Besides the authority of Krishna Das for these two brothers being contemporary with Chaitanya, who died in 1527, I have a copy of the *Vidagdha Madhava*, of which Rupa is the author, dated 1525; it is not therefore likely, that Sanatan actually founded the temple of Govind Deva, although he may have been instrumental to its being undertaken. The interior of this temple is far superior to any of the religious structures to be met with along the Ganges and Jumna, and may almost be considered handsome: the exterior of that of Madanmohan is remarkable for its being built something after the plan of the pyramidal temples of Tanjore; or rather its exterior corresponds with that of the temples at Bhuvanesvara in Cuttack. *Asiatic Researches* Vol. XV, plate.

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still maintained by his descendants ; the presiding deity is Radha Ramana.

Next to the six Gossains, several learned disciples and faithful companions of Chaitanya are regarded with nearly equal veneration : these are Srinivas, Gadadhar Pandit, Sri Svarupa, Ramanand, and others, including Hari Das : the last, indeed, has obtained almost equal honour with his master, being worshipped as a divinity in some places in Bengal. It is recorded of him, that he resided in a thicket for many years, and during the whole time he repeated the name of Krishna three hundred thousand times daily. In addition to these chiefs, the sect enumerates eight Kavi Rajas, or eminent and orthodox bards, amongst whom is Krishna Das, the author of the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, and they also specify sixty-four Mahantas, or heads of religious establishments.

The object of the worship of the Chaitanyas is Krishna : according to them he is Paramatma, or supreme spirit, prior to all worlds, and both the cause and substance of creation : in his capacity of creator, preserver, and destroyer he is Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, and in the endless divisions of his substance or energy he is all that ever was or will be : besides these manifestations of himself, he has, for various purposes, assumed specific shapes, as Avatars, or descents ; Ansas, or portions ; Ansansas, portion of portions, and so on *ad infinitum* : his principal appearance and, in fact, his actual sensible manifestation was as Krishna, and in this capacity he again was present in Chaitanya, who is therefore worshipped as the deity, as are the other forms of the same god, particularly as Gopal, the cow-herd, or Gopinath, the lord of the milk-maids of Brindavan ; his feats, in which juvenile characters are regarded, are his Lila, or sport.

It is not worth while to enter upon the prolix series of subtle . . . obscurities in which this class of Krishna's worshippers envelop their sectarial notions : the chief features of the faith are the identification of Vishnu with Brahma, in common with all the Vaishnava sects, and the assertion of his possessing, in that character, sensible and real attributes, in opposition to the Vedanta belief of the negative properties of God : these postulates being granted, and the subsequent identity of Krishna and Chaitanya believed, the whole religious and moral code of the sect is comprised in one word, Bhakti, a term that signifies a union of implicit faith with incessant devotion, and which, as illustrated by the anecdote of Hari Das above given, is the momentary repetition of the name of Krishna, under a firm belief, that such a practice is sufficient for salvation.

The doctrine of the efficacy of Bhakti seems to have been an

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important innovation upon the primitive system of the Hindu religion. The object of the Vedas, as exhibiting the Vedānta, seems to have been the inculcation of fixed religious duties, as a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the deities, or any deity, and, beyond that, the necessity of overcoming material impurities by acts of self-denial and profound meditation, and so fitting the spiritual part for its return to its original sources ; in a word, it was essentially the same system that was diffused throughout the old pagan world. But the fervent adoration of any one deity superseded all this necessity, and broke down practice and speculation, moral duties, and political distinctions. Krishna himself declares in the *Bhagavat*, that to his worshipper that worship presents whatever he wishes—paradise, liberation, Godhead, and is infinitely more efficacious than any or all observances, than abstraction, than knowledge of the divine nature, than the subjugation of the passions, than the practice of the Yoga, than charity, than virtue, or than any thing that is deemed most meritorious⁷⁵.

Another singular and important consequence results from these premises, for as all men are alike capable of feeling the sentiments of faith and devotion, it follows, that all castes become by such sentiments equally pure. This conclusion indeed is always admitted, and often stoutly maintained in theory, although it may be doubted whether it has ever been acted upon, except by Chaitanya himself and his immediate disciples, at a period when it was their policy to multiply proselytes⁷⁶. It is so far observed, however, that persons of all castes and occupations are admitted into the sect, and all are at liberty to sink their civil differences in the general condition of mendicant and ascetic devotees, in which character they receive food from any hands, and of course eat and live with

⁷⁵ *Bhagavat*, 11th Section 20, 33, 34. See also Burnouf, *Bhag. Puran*, Vol. I, p.c.

⁷⁶ Chaitanya admitted amongst his followers five Patthans—who purposed to attack and plunder him, but were stopped by his sanctity, and converted by his arguments: one of these, who was a Pir, he new-named Ram Das, another, their leader, was a young prince (a Rajakumar) whom he named Bijjili Khan. Chaitanya communicated the Upadesa, or initiating Mantra, to them, and they all became famous Valshnavas; Chaitanya uniformly maintains the pre-eminence of the faith over caste: the mercy of God, he says, regards neither tribe nor family. Krishna did not disdain to eat in the house of Vidura, a Sudra; and he cites Sanskrit texts for his authority—as "The Chandala, whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith, is to be revered by the wise, and not the unbelieving expounder of the Vedas." Again: "The teacher of the four Vedas is not my disciple; the faithful Chandala enjoys my friendship; to him be given, and from him be received: let him be revered, even as I am revered." These passages are from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, where many others of similar purport may be found.

each other without regard to former distinctions. As followers of one faith all individuals are, in like manner, equally entitled to the Prasad, or food which has been previously presented to the deity, and it is probably the distribution of this, annually, at Jagannath, that has given rise to the idea, that at this place all castes of Hindus eat together : any reservation, however, on this head is foreign to the tenets of this sect, as well as of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas⁷⁷, and in both community of schism is a close connecting link, which should, in deed as well as word, abrogate every other distinction.

The Bhakti of the followers of this division of the Hindu faith is supposed to comprehend five Rasas or Ratis, tastes or passions : in its simplest form it is mere Santi, or quietism, such as was practiced by the Yogendras, or by sages, as Sanaka and his brethren, and other saints : in a more active state it is servitude, or Dasya, which every votary takes upon himself ; a higher condition is that of Sakhya, a personal regard or friendship for the deity, as felt by Bhima, Arjuna, and others, honoured with his acquaintance. Vatsalya, which is a higher station, is a tender affection for the divinity, of the same nature as the love of parents for their children, and the highest degree of Bhakti is the Madhurya, or such passionate attachment as that which pervaded the feelings of the Gopis towards their beloved Krishna.

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

⁷⁷ See remark on the *Ramanandi Vaishnavas*.

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they are not only to entertain full belief of the usual Vaishnavā tenet, which identifies the votary, the teacher, and the god, but they are to look upon the Guru as one with the present deity, as possessed of more authority even than the deity, and as one whose favour is more to be courted, and whose anger is more to be deprecated, than even that of Krishna himself⁷⁸.

We have already had occasion to observe that this veneration is hereditary, and is paid to the successor of a deceased Gossain, although, in the estimation perhaps of his own worshippers, he is in his individual capacity more deserving of reprobation than of reverence. . . . The earliest works inculcate, no doubt, extreme reverence for the teacher, but not divine worship; they direct the disciple to look upon his Guru as his second father, not as his God: there is great reason to suppose, that the prevailing practice is not of very remote date, and that it originates chiefly with the *Sri Bhagavat*: it is also falling into some disrepute, and as we shall presently see, a whole division of even Chaitanya's followers have discarded this part of the system.

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

⁷⁸ On this subject the following occurs in the *Upasana Chandramrita*: "The Mantra is manifest in the Guru, and the Guru is Hari himself." "First the Guru is to be worshipped, then I am to be worshipped." "The Guru is always to be worshipped: he is most excellent from being one with the Mantra. Hari is pleased when the Guru is pleased: millions of acts of homage else will fail of being accepted." Again: "When Hari is in anger, the Guru is our protector, when the Guru is in anger, we have none." These are from the *Bhajanamrita*.

VAISHNAVA LITERATURE

The doctrines of the followers of Chaitanya are conveyed in a great number of works, both in Sanskrit and Bengali. The sage himself, and the two other Mahaprabhus, Nityanand and Adwaita, do not appear to have left any written compositions, but the deficiency was amply compensated by Rupa and Sanatan, both of whom were voluminous and able writers. To Rupa are ascribed the following works : the *Vidagdha Madhava*, a drama ; the *Lalita Madhava*, *Ujjwala Nilamani*, *Dana Keli Kaudmudi*, poems in celebration of Krishna and Radha : *Bahustavavali*, hymns ; *Ashtadasa Lila Khand* ; *Padmavali*, *Govinda Virudavali*, and its *Lakshana*, or exposition ; *Mathura Mahatmya*, panegyrical account of *Mathura*, *Nataka Lakshana*, *Laghu Bhagavat*, an abridgment of the *Sri Bhagavat*, and the *Vraja Vilasa Varnanam*, an account of Krishna's sports in Brindavan. Sanatan was the author of the *Hari Bhakti Vilas*, a work on the nature of the deity and devotion, the *Rasamrita Sindhu*, a work of high authority on the same subjects, the *Bhagavatamrita*, which contains the observances of the sect, and the *Siddhanta Sara*, a commentary on the 10th Chapter of the *Sri Bhagavat*. Of the other six Gossains, Jiva wrote the *Bhagavat Sandarbha*, the *Bhakti Siddhanta*, *Gopala Champu*, and *Upadesamrita*, and Raghunath Das, the *Manassiksha* and *Gunalesa Sukhada*. These are all in Sanskrit.

In Bengali, the *Ragamaya Kona*, a work on subduing the passions, is ascribed to Rupa, and *Rasamaya Kalika*, on devotedness to Krishna, to Sanatan. Other Sanskrit works are enumerated amongst the authorities of this sect, as the *Chaitanya Chandrodaya*, a drama⁷⁹, *Stava Mala*, *Stavamrita Lahari*, by Visvanath Chakravarti ; *Bhajanamrita*, *Sri Smarana Darpana*, by Ramchandra Kaviraja ; the *Gopipremarita*, a comment on the *Krishna Karnamrita*, by Krishna Das Kaviraja ; and the *Krishna Kirtana*, by Govind Das and Vidyapati.—The biographical accounts of Chaitanya have been already specified in our notice of the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, and besides those, there enumerated, we have the *Chaitanya Mangala*, a history of the saint, by Lochana, and the *Gauraganoddesa dipika*, an account of his chief disciples. The principal works of common reference, and written in Bengali, though thickly interspersed with Sanskrit texts, are the *Upasanachandramrita*, a ritual, by Lal Das, the *Premabhakti Chandrika*, by Thakur Gossain, the *Pashanda Dalana*, a refutation of other sects, by Radhamadhava, and the *Vaishnava Vardhana*, by Daivaki Nandana. There are no doubt many other works circulating amongst this sect, which is therefore possessed of a voluminous body of literature of its own⁸⁰.

⁷⁹ By Kavikarnapura.

⁸⁰ The particulars of the above are taken chiefly from the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, others from the *Upasana Chandramrita*,

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

Besides the divisions of this sect arising from the various forms under which the tutelary deity is worshipped, and thence denominated Radharamanis, Radhipalis, Vihariji and Govindji, and Yugala Bhaktas, and which distinctions are little more than nominal, whilst also they are almost restricted to the Bengal Vaishnavas about Mathura and Brindavan, there are in Bengal three classes of this sect, that may be regarded as seceders from the principal body ; these are denominated Spashtha Dayakas, Karta Bhajas and Sahujas.

The Spashtha Dayakas are distinguished from perhaps every other Hindu sect in India by two singularities—denial of the divine character, and despotic authority of the Guru, and at least professedly, the platonic association of male and female coenobites in one conventual abode⁸¹.

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

and a few from the list given by Ward: *Account of the Hindus*, Vol. 2, 448.

⁸¹ Like the brethren and sisters of the free spirit, who were numerous in Europe in the 13th century. See Mosheim, 3, 379.

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The association of men and women is, according to their own assertions, restricted to a residence within the same enclosure, and leads to no other than such intercourse as becomes brethren and sisters, or than the community of belief and interest, and joint celebration of the praise of Krishna and Chaitanya with song and dance : the women act as the spiritual instructors of the females of respectable families, to whom they have unrestricted access, and by whom they are visited in their own dwellings : the institution is so far political, and the consequence is said to be actually that to which it obviously tends, the growing diffusion of the doctrines of this sect in Calcutta, where it is especially established.

The Karta Bhajas, or worshippers of the Creator, are a sect of very modern origin, having been founded no longer than thirty years ago by Rama Saran Pala, a Gwala, an inhabitant of Ghospara, a village near Sukh Sagar, in Bengal⁸². The chief peculiarity of this sect is the doctrine of the absolute divinity of the Guru, at least as being the present Krishna, or deity incarnate, and whom they therefore, relinquishing every other form of worship, venerate as their Ishta Devata, or elected god : this exclusive veneration is, however, comprehended within limits : we have seen that it prevails amongst the followers of Chaitanya generally, and it need scarcely have been adopted as a schismatical distinction : the real difference, however, is the person, not the character of the Guru, and the innovation is nothing, in fact, but an artful encroachment upon the authority of the old hereditary teachers or Gossains, and an attempt to invest a new family with spiritual power : the attempt has been so far successful, that it gave affluence and celebrity to the founder, to which, as well as his father's sanctity, the son, Ramdulal Pal has succeeded. It is said to have numerous disciples, the greater proportion of whom are women. The distinctions of caste are not acknowledged amongst the followers of this sect, at least when engaged in any of their religious celebrations, and they eat together in private, once or twice a year : the initiating Mantra is supposed to be highly efficacious in removing disease and barrenness, and hence many infirm persons and childless women are induced to join the sect.

The remaining division of the Bengal Vaishnavas allow nothing of themselves to be known : their professions and practices are kept secret, but it is believed that they follow

⁸² See Ward's account of this sect, Vol. 2, 175; in a note he has given a translation of the Mantra: "Oh! sinless Lord—Oh! great Lord, at thy pleasure I go and return, not a moment am I without thee, I am even with thee, save, Oh! great Lord." This is called the *Solah ana Mantra*, the Neophyte paying that sum, or sixteen annas, for it: it is perhaps one singularity in the sect, that this Mantra is in Bengali, a common spoken language—in all other cases it is couched in Sanskrit, the language of the gods.

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the worship of Sakti, or the female energy, agreeably to the left-handed ritual, the nature of which we shall hereafter have occasion to describe.

The chief temples of the Bengal Vaishnavas, besides those which at Dwarka and Brindavan, and particularly at Jagannath, are objects of universal reverence, are three, one at Nadiya dedicated to Chaitanya, one at Ambika to Nityanand and the same, and one at Agradwipa dedicated to Gopinath : at the latter a celebrated Mela, or annual fair, is held in the month of March, at which from 50 to 100 thousand persons are generally collected.

RADHA VALLABHIS

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

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

The adoration of Radha is a most undoubted innovation in the Hindu creed, and one of very recent origin. The only Radha that is named in the *Mahabharat*⁸³ is a very different personage, being the wife of Duryodhana's charioteer, and the nurse of Karna. Even the *Bhagavat* makes no particular mention of her amongst the Gopis of Brindavan, and we must look to the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*, as the chief authority of a classical character, on which the pretensions of Radha are founded ; a circumstance which is of itself sufficient to indicate the comparatively modern date of the Purana.

According to this work⁸⁴, the primeval being having divided himself into two parts, the right side became Krishna, and the left Radha, and from their union, the vital airs and mundane egg were generated. Radha being, in fact, the Ichchha Sakti, the will or wish of the deity, the manifestation of which was the universe.

83 [V, 4759, 6.]

84 [II, 45, 46.]

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Radha continued to reside with Krishna in Goloka, where she gave origin to the Gopis, or her female companions, and received the homage of all the divinities. The Gopas, or male attendants of Krishna, as we have formerly remarked, were in like manner produced from his person. The grossness of Hindu personification ascribes to the Krishna of the heavenly Goloka the defects of the terrestrial cowherd, and the Radha of that region is not more exempt from the causes or effects of jealousy than the nymph of Brindavan. Being on one occasion offended with Krishna for his infidelity, she denied him access to her palace, on which she was severely censured by Sudama, a Gopa, and confidential adviser of Krishna. She therefore cursed him, and doomed him to be born on earth as an Asura, and he accordingly appeared as Sankhachuda. He retaliated by a similar imprecation, in consequence of which Radha was also obliged to quit her high station, and born at Brindavan on earth, as the daughter of a Vaisya, named Vrishabhanu, by his wife Kalavati. Krishna having, at the same time, become incarnate, was married to her at Brindavan, when he was fourteen, and she was twelve years of age : as a further result of the imprecation, she was separated from him after he attained maturity, until the close of his earthly career ; when she preceded him to the celestial Goloka, and was there reunited with him. The following is a further illustration of the notions of Radha entertained by this sect. It is the address of Ganesa to her, in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purana*⁸⁵, after she had set the example of presenting offerings to him.

“Mother of the universe, the worship thou hast offered affords a lesson to all mankind. Thou art of one form with Brahma, and abidest on the bosom of Krishna. Thou art the presiding goddess of his life, and more dear than life to him, on the lotus of whose feet meditate the gods Brahma, Siva, Sesha, and the rest, and Sanaka and other mighty munis, and the chiefs of the sages, and holy men, and all the faithful. Radha is the created left half, and Madhava the right, and the great Lakshmi, the mother of the world, was made from thy left side. Thou art the great goddess, the parent of all wealth, and of the Vedas, and of the world. The primeval Prakriti, and the universal Prakriti, and all the creations of the will, are but forms of thee. Thou art all cause and all effect. That wise Yogi, who first pronounces thy name, and next that of Krishna, goes to his region ; but he that reverses this order, incurs the sin of Brahminicide⁸⁶. Thou art the mother of the world. The Paramatma Hari is the father. The Guru is more venerable than the father, and the mother more venerable than the Guru. Although he

85 [IV, 123.]

86 Accordingly the formula used by the Radha Vallabhi sect, and the like, is always Radha Krishna, never Krishna Radha.

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worship any other god, or even Krishna, the cause of all, yet the fool in this holy land who reviles Radhika shall suffer sorrow and pain in this life, and be condemned to hell, as long as the sun and moon endure. The spiritual preceptor teaches wisdom, and wisdom is from mystical rites and secret prayers; but they alone are the prayers of wisdom, that inculcate faith in Krishna and in you. He who preserves the Mantras of the gods through successive births, obtains faith in Durga, which is of difficult acquisition. By preserving the Mantra of Durga he obtains Sambhu, who is eternal happiness and wisdom. By preserving the Mantra of Sambhu, the cause of the world, he obtains your lotus feet, that most difficult of attainments. Having found an asylum at your feet, the pious man never relinquishes them for an instant, nor is separated from them by fate. Having with firm faith received, in the holy land of Bharata, your Mantra (initiating prayer) from a Vaishnava, and adding your praises (Stava) or charm (Kavacha), which cleaves the root of works, he delivers himself (from future births) with thousands of his kindred. He who having properly worshipped his Guru with clothes, ornaments, and sandal, and assumed thy Kavacha (a charm or prayer, carried about the person in a small gold or silver casket) is equal to Vishnu himself."

In what respect the Radha Vallabhis differ from those followers of the Bengali Gossains, who teach the worship of this goddess in conjunction with Krishna, does not appear, and perhaps there is little other difference than that of their acknowledging separate teachers. Instead of adhering to any of the hereditary Gossains, the members of this sect consider a teacher named Hari Vans as their founder. This person settled at Brindavan, and established a Math there, which in 1822 comprised between 40 and 50 resident ascetics. He also erected a temple there that still exists, and indicates, by an inscription over the door, that it was dedicated to Sri Radha Vallabha by Hari Vans, in Samvat 1641, or A. D. 1585. A manual, entitled *Radha Sādha Nidhi*, which is merely a series of Sanskrit verses in praise of Radha, is also ascribed to the same individual. A more ample exposition of the notions of the sect, and of their traditions and observances, as well as a collection of their songs or hymns, is the *Sava Sakhi Vani*, a work in Bhakha, in upwards of forty sections. There are other works in the vernacular dialects, and especially in that of Braj, or the country about Mathura and Brindavan, which regulate or inspire the devotion of the worshippers of Radha Vallabha.

SAKHI BHAVAS

This sect is another ramification of those which adopt Krishna and Radha for the objects of their worship, and may be regarded as more particularly springing from the last named

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stock, the Radha Vallabhis.....In order to convey the idea of being as it were her followers and friends, a character obviously incompatible with the difference of sex, they assume the female garb, and adopt not only the dress and ornaments, but the manners and occupations of women : ..the Sakhi Bhavas are of little repute, and very few in number : they occasionally lead a mendicant life, but are rarely met with : it is said that the only place where they are to be found, in any number, is Jaipur : there are a few at Banaras, and a few in Bengal.

CHARAN DASIS

Another Vaishnava sect conforming with the last in the worship of Radha and Krishna was instituted by Charan Das, a merchant of the Dhusar tribe, who resided at Dehli in the reign of the second Alamgir. Their doctrines of universal emanation are much the same as those of the Vedanta school, although they correspond with the Vaishnava sects in maintaining the great source of all things, or Brahma, to be Krishna : reverence of the Guru, and assertion of the pre-eminence of faith above every other distinction, are also common to them with other Vaishnava sects, from whom, probably, they only differ in requiring no particular qualification of caste, order, nor even sex, for their teachers : they affirm, indeed, that originally they differed from other sects of Vaishnavas in worshipping no sensible representations of the deity, and in excluding even the Tulasi plant and Salagram stone from their devotions : they have, however, they admit, recently adopted them, in order to maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of Ramanand : another peculiarity in their system is the importance they attach to morality, and they do not acknowledge faith to be independent of works : actions, they maintain, invariably meet with retribution or reward : their moral code, which they seem to have borrowed from the Madhavas, if not from a purer source, consists of ten prohibitions. They are not to lie, not to revile, not to speak harshly, not to discourse idly, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to violence to any created thing, not to imagine evil, not to cherish hatred, and not to indulge in conceit or pride. The other obligations enjoined are, to discharge the duties of the profession or caste to which a person belongs, to associate with pious men, to put implicit faith in the spiritual preceptor, and to adore Hari as the original and indefinable cause of all, and who, through the operation of Maya, created the universe, and has appeared in it occasionally in a mortal form, and particularly as Krishna at Brindavan.

The followers of Charan Das are both clerical and secular ; the latter are chiefly of the mercantile order ; the former lead

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

The authorities of the sect are the *Sri Bhagavat* and *Gita*, of which they have Bhasha translations : that of the former is ascribed, at least in parts to Charan Das himself : he has also left original works, as the *Sandeha Sagar* and *Dharma Jihaj*, in a dialogue between him and his teacher, Sukh Deva, the same, according to the Charan Dasis, as the pupil of Vyas, and narrator of the Puranas. The first disciple of Charan Das was his own sister, Sahaji Bai, and she succeeded to her brother's authority, as well as learning, having written the *Samaj Prakas* and *Solah Nirnaya* : they have both left many *Sabd*s and *Kavitas* : other works, in Bhasha, have been composed by various teachers of the sect.

The chief seat of the Charan Dasis is at Dehli, where is the Samadhi, or monument of the founder : this establishment consists of about twenty resident members : there are also five or six similar Maths at Dehli, and others in the upper part of the Doab, and their numbers are said to be rapidly increasing.

HARISCHANDIS, SADHANA PANTHIS AND MADHAVIS

These sects may be regarded as little more than nominal. The two first have originated, apparently, in the determination of some of the classes considered as outcaste, to adopt new religious as well as civil distinctions for themselves, as they were excluded from every one actually existing. The Harischandis are Doms, or sweepers, in the western provinces : their name bears an allusion to the Pauranik prince Harischandra⁸⁷, who becoming the purchased slave of a man of this impure order, instructed his master, it is said, in the tenets of the sect. What they were, however, is not known, and it may be doubted whether any exist.

Sadhana, again, was a butcher, but it is related of him, that he only sold, never slaughtered meat, but purchased it ready slain. An ascetic rewarded his humanity with the present of a stone, a Salagram which he devoutly worshipped, and, in consequence, Vishnu was highly pleased with him, and con-

⁸⁷ See the Story of Harishandra in Ward, Vol. I, p. 16. Note.

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ferred upon him all his desires. Whilst on a pilgrimage, the wife of a Brahman fell in love with him, but he replied to her advances, by stating, that a throat must be cut before he would comply, which she misinterpreting, cut off her husband's head : finding Sadhana regarded her on this account with increased aversion, she accused him of the crime, and as he disdained to vindicate his innocence, his hands were cut off as a punishment, but they were restored to him by Jagannath. The woman burnt herself on her husband's funeral pile, which Sadhana observing exclaimed : "No one knows the ways of women, she kills her husband, and becomes a Sati," which phrase has passed into a proverb. What peculiarity of doctrine he introduced amongst the Vaishnavas of his tribe, is nowhere particularised.

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

SANNYASIS, VAIRAGIS, &c.

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

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

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

The word Danda originally imports a staff, and it figuratively signifies moral restraint ; exercised in three ways especially, or in the control of speech, body, and mind ; or word, deed, and thought : a joint reference to the literal and figurative sense of the term has given rise to a religious distinction termed Danda Grahnam, the taking up of the staff, or adopting the exercise of the moral restraints above-mentioned, and carrying, as emblematic of such a purpose, either one, or, as in the present instance, three small wands or staves. Tridandi designates both these characteristics of the order.

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

VAIRAGIS

The term Vairagi implies a person devoid of passion²⁸, and is therefore correctly applicable to every religious mendicant, who affects to have estranged himself from the interests and emotions of mankind. Virakta, the dispassionate, and Avadhuta, the liberated, have a similar import, and are therefore equally susceptible of a general application : They are, indeed, so used in many cases, but it is more usual to attach a more precise sense to the terms, and to designate by them the mendicant Vaishnavas of the Ramanandi class, or its ramifications, as the disciples of Kabir, Dadu, and others.

The ascetic order of the Ramanandi Vaishnavas is considered to have been instituted especially by the twelfth disciple of Ramanand, Sri Anand : they profess perpetual poverty and continence, and subsist upon alms : the greater number of them are erratic, and observe no form of worship, but they are also

²⁸ From Vi private prefix, and Raga passion.

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residents in the Maths of their respective orders⁸⁹, and the spiritual guides of the worldly votaries; it is almost impossible, however, to give any general character of these Vairagis, as, although united generally by the watch-word of Vishnu, or his incarnations, there are endless varieties both of doctrine and practice amongst them: those who are collected in Maths are of more fixed principles than their vagrant brethren, amongst whom individuals are constantly appearing in some new form with regard to the deity they worship, or the practices they follow⁹⁰.

NAGAS

All the sects include a division under this denomination. The Nagas are of the same description as the Vairagis, or Sannyasis,

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

90 Such are the Sita Padris, Ramati Rams, and others; also the new and scarcely yet known sects Gulal Dasis, and Darya Dasis: mention is also made in the *Dabistan*, of a number of Hindu mendicants, who are no longer numerous, if ever to be encountered. It is not possible in general, however, to discriminate the classes to which they belong, as in the descriptions given by the writer, he usually confines himself to a few peculiarities of practice that afford no guide to the principles of the sect, and as in the case of the Dherhs, he confounds the distinction of caste, or occupation with that of religious belief. Many of the vagrant ascetics whom he notices belong also rather to the Muhammadan, than the Hindu religion, as in the followers of Sheikh Bedia ad Din Medar [*Dabist.* II, 223 ff. G. de Tassy, *la relig. musulmane dans l'Inde*. Paris, 1831, p. 54-62.]—who, although they credit the divine mission of Muhammad, disregard the established forms of the Muhammadan faith, chew Bhang, and go naked, smearing their bodies with Vibhuti, or the ashes of burnt cowdung, and twisting their hair into the Jata, or braid worn by Hindu ascetics—except as professed worshippers of Niranjan, or the indescribable deity, and a belief in magic, these mendicants have little in common with the Hindu religion, or perhaps with any, although, with a facility of which innumerable instances occur in Hindustan, they have adopted many of the Hindu practices. The tomb of Sheikh Medar is still to be seen at Makhanpur, near Firozabad, in the Doab—where, at the time of the *Dabistan*, an annual meeting of his disciples was held. The tomb is an extensive building, though in decay. The *Dabistan*, although it contains many curious, and some correct notices of the Hindu religion, affords too loose and inaccurate a description to be consulted with advantage.

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in all essential points, but in their excess of zeal they carry their secession from ordinary manners so far, as to leave off every kind of covering, and, as their name signifies, go naked ; there are, however, other points in which they differ from the general character of Hindu mendicants . . .

A striking proof of their propensities is their use of arms. They always travel with weapons, usually a matchlock and sword and shield, and that these implements are not carried in vain has been shown on various occasions : the sanguinary conflicts of opposite sects of Hindu mendicants have been described in several publications with the customary indistinctness as to the parties concerned : these parties are the Vaishnave and Saiva Nagas chiefly, assisted and probably instigated by the Vairagi and Sannyasi members of those two sects, and aided by abandoned characters from all the schisms connected respectively with the one or the other⁹¹ : it would, however, be doing an injustice to the mendicant orders of any sect, to suppose that they are universally or even generally implicated in these atrocious affrays.

SAIVAS

The worship of Siva in the districts along the Ganges presents itself under a very different aspect from that of Vishnu, and with some singular anomalies. It appears to be the most prevalent and popular of all the modes of adoration, to judge by the number of shrines dedicated to the only form under which Siva is revered, that of the Linga ; yet it will be generally observed, that these temples are scarcely ever the resort of numerous votaries, and that they are regarded with comparatively little veneration by the Hindus. Banaras, indeed, furnishes exceptions, and the temple of Visvesvara⁹² is thronged with a never-ceasing crowd of adorers. There is, however, little solemnity or veneration in the hurried manner in which they throw their flowers or fruits before the image⁹³ ; and there

⁹¹ *Asiatic Researches* VI, 317, and XII, 455; an occurrence of a similar nature is recorded by the author of the *Dabistan*; who mentions, that in 1050 of the Hijra a severe conflict took place at Dwaraka between a set of Vaishnava ascetics termed Mundis, from shaving their heads, and the Sannyasis, in which a great number of the former were slain (*Dabistan*, II, 197).

⁹² "The Lord of all," an epithet of Siva, represented as usual by a Linga. It is one of the twelve principal emblems of this description, and has been, for many centuries, the chief object of veneration at Kasi or Banaras. The old temple was partially destroyed by the Muhammadans in the reign of Aurangzeb: the present was built by Ahalya Bai, the Mahratta Princess, and, although small and without pretension to magnificence, is remarkable for the minute beauty of its architectural embellishments.

⁹³ A Hindu temple comprises an outer court, usually a quadrangle, sometimes surrounded by a piazza, and a central

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are other temples, the dwellings of other divinities, that rival the abode of Visvesvara in popular attraction.

The adoration of Siva, indeed, has never assumed, in Upper India, a popular form. He appears in his shrines only in an unattractive and rude emblem, the mystic purpose of which is little understood, or regarded by the uninitiated and vulgar and which offers nothing to interest the feelings or excite the imagination. No legends are recorded of this deity of a poetic and pleasing character ; and above all, such legends as are narrated in the Puranas and Tantras, have not been presented to the Hindus in any accessible shape. The Saivas have no works in any of the common dialects, like the *Ramayana*, the *Varita*, or the *Bhaktamala*. Indeed, as far as any enquiry has yet been instituted, no work whatever exists, in any vernacular dialect, in which the actions of Siva, in any of his forms, are celebrated. It must be kept in mind, however, that these observations are intended to apply only to Gangetic Hindusthan, for in the South of India, as we shall hereafter see, popular legends relating to local manifestations of Siva are not uncommon.

Corresponding to the absence of multiplied forms of this divinity as objects of worship, and to the want of those works which attach importance to particular manifestations of the favourite god, the people can scarcely be said to be divided into different sects, any farther than as they may have certain religious mendicants for their spiritual guides. Actual divisions of the worshippers of Siva are almost restricted to these religious personages, collected sometimes in opulent and numerous associations, but for the greater part detached, few, and indigent. There are no establishments amongst the Saivas of Hindusthan, like those of Srinath or Puri ; no individuals as wealthy as the Gokulastha Gossains, nor even as influential as the descendants of Adwaita and Nityananda. There are no teachers of ancient repute except Sankara Acharya but his doctrines are too philosophical and speculative...

The worship of Siva continues, in fact, to be what it appears to have been from a remote period, the religion of the Brah-

edific constituting the shrine. This, which in Upper India is generally of small dimensions, is divided into two parts, the Sabha, or vestibule, and the Garbhagriha, or adytum, in which the Image is placed. The course of worship is the circumambulating of the temple, keeping the right hand to it, as often as the devotee pleases: the worshipper then enters the vestibule, and if a bell is suspended there, as is commonly the case, strikes two or three times upon it. He then advances to the threshold of the shrine, presents his offering, which the officiating Brahman receives, mutters inaudibly a short prayer, accompanied with prostration, or simply with the act of lifting the hands to the forehead, and departs...

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manas⁹⁴. Sambhu is declared by Manu to be the presiding deity of the Brahmanical order, and the greater number of them, particularly those who practice the rites of the Vedas, or who profess the study of the Sastras, receive Siva as their tutelary deity, wear his insignia, and worship the Linga, either in temples, in their houses, or on the side of a sacred stream, providing, in the latter case, extempore emblems kneaded out of the mud or clay of the river's bed. The example of the Brahmans and the practice of ages maintain the veneration universally offered to the type of Siva ; but it is not the prevailing, nor the popular condition of the Hindu faith, along the banks of the Ganges. We shall now proceed to specify the different classes into which the worshippers of Siva, as distinct from the mass of Brahmans, may be distinguished.

DANDIS AND DASNAMIS

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

The Dandis, properly so called, and the Tridandis of the Vaishnavas, are the only legitimate representatives of the fourth Asrama, or mendicant life, into which the Hindu, according to the instructions of his inspired legislators, is to enter, after passing through the previous stages of student, householder and hermit⁹⁵. It is not necessary, however, to have gone through the whole of the previous career, as the Brahman may pass from any one of the first orders to the last at once⁹⁶; he is then to take up his staff and water-pot, to derive from begging such a portion of food as is sufficient for his mere sustenance, and to devote the remainder of his day to holy study and pious meditation⁹⁷.

⁹⁴ See a preceding Note page 1. [The received text of Manu does not contain the sloka there referred to.]

⁹⁵ Thus Manu, 6, 33: "Having thus performed religious acts in a forest during the third portion of his life, let him become a Sannyasi for the fourth portion of it, abandoning all sensual affection."

⁹⁶ So Manu, as expounded by Kulluka Bhatta, 6, 38: "Having performed the sacrifice of Prajapati, &c. a Brahman may proceed from his house, that is, from the second order, or he may proceed even from the first to the condition of a Sannyasi." Indeed the intermediate stage of the Vanaprastha is amongst the prohibited acts in the Kali age.

⁹⁷ Agreeably to the high authority already quoted, 6, 41. 43: "Departing from his house, taking with him pure implements,

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Adopting, as a general guide, the rules of original works, the Dandi is distinguished by carrying a small Danda, or wand, with several processes or projections from it, and a piece of cloth dyed with red ochre, in which the Brahmanical cord is supposed to be enshrined, attached to it : he shaves his hair and beard, wears only a cloth round his loins, and subsists upon food obtained ready-dressed from the houses of the Brahmans once a day only, which he deposits in the small clay pot that he carries always with him : he should live alone, and near to, but not within a city ; but this rule is rarely observed, and in general the Dandis are found in cities collected like other mendicants in Maths⁹⁸. The Dandi has no particular time or mode of worship, but spends his time in meditation, or in practices corresponding with those of the Yoga, and in the study of the Vedanta works, especially according to the comments of Sankaracharya. As that teacher was an incarnation of Siva⁹⁹, the Dandis reverence that deity and his incarnations, in preference to the other members of the Triad, whence they are included amongst his votaries ; and they so far admit the distinction as not infrequently to bear the Saiva mark upon the forehead, smearing it with the Tripundra, a triple transverse line made with the Vibhuti, or ashes which should be taken from the fire of an Agnihotra Brahman, or they may be the ashes of burnt cowdung from an oblation offered to the god¹⁰⁰. They

his water-pot, and staff, keeping silence, unallured by desire of objects near him, let him enter into the fourth order."

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

⁹⁸ These are all founded on the following quoted from Manu : "His hair, nails and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a water-pot, let him wander about continually without giving pain to any being." VI, 52.

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

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

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

⁹⁹ This character is given to him in the *Sankara Vijaya* of Madhava Acharya; his followers in the Dekhan assert that Siva's descent as Sankara was foretold in the *Skanda Purana*: a prophecy which, if found in that work, will assist to fix its date; but the passage has not been met with.

¹⁰⁰ The material, or Vibhuti, and the efficacy of the mark, the Tripundra, are thus described in the *Kasikhanda*: "The ashes of

