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1898.

ORDINARY MEETING.*

DAVID HOWARD, ESQ., D.L., IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections took place :—

MEMBER :—F. A. Cunningham, Esq., M.A., United States.

ASSOCIATE :—Rev. Z. D. Ringrose, M.A., Chester.

The following paper was then read by the author :—

*THE HISTORY OF MĀNIKKAT-VAÇAGAR, THE
“FOE OF THE BUDDHISTS.”* By the Rev. G. U.
POPE, D.D., Indian Institute, Oxford.

§ 1.—*To his Conversion.*

THE history of this remarkable man is involved in considerable obscurity; but, although we can only discern the dim outlines of his figure amid the mists of South Indian tradition, it seems quite certain that he actually existed; that these legends, interesting in themselves, have a considerable foundation in fact; and that this sage was the first in the long and every way remarkable series of devotees of Çiva who engaged in the work of recovering the south of India from the Buddhists and Jains. He is not however regarded in the Tamil lands as the greatest of the Çaiva

* Last of 32nd Session. (1897.)

† “Mānikya” is mere correct Sanskrit; but in Tamil the name has always been written as I have given it. It means “He whose utterances are rubies.”

** For the usefulness of this paper both at home and in S. India—see Note, p. 109.—ED.

saints, that honour being reserved for *Tiru** *Nāna Sambandhar*, some of whose legends are elsewhere given. Nor is it possible with even an approximation to certainty to fix his date. There is good reason however to suppose that, as he evidently flourished at the time when the influence of Buddhism in South India was decaying, if not dying out, he must have lived somewhere about the VIIIth or IXth century of our era. Some further confirmation of this supposition will be forthcoming. The authorities for his history really resolve themselves into two: his own writings, which are very sparingly autobiographical; and the legendary poem called the *Vāthavūrar*† *Purānam*. This latter again is an amplification of the LVIIIth to LXIst sections of the *Madura Sthala-Purānam*, or, as it is commonly called, *Tiru Vīlaiyādal*‡ *Purānam*. This latter professes to be a translation of a portion of the Sanskrit "Skandam," and cannot itself be ancient, dating from about A.D. 1750 probably. The 62nd and 63rd sections give a summary of the sage's *Madura* experiences. Like other collections of the legends of Hindu temples the *Tiru Vīlaiyādal* is full of the most extraordinary stories, from which it is impossible to sift out many grains of historical truth. And the *Vāthavūrar Purānam* is professedly a poetical romance. We must therefore rely chiefly upon the poems for a picture of the devotee, and even here a difficulty meets us at the outset. A multitude of spurious writings are in India (as indeed elsewhere) attributed to nearly every person of historic repute; and interpolations too are always to be suspected. The rivalry between opposing sects has greatly tended to this result. Each *Guru* must be represented as having done greater works than those of the *Gurus* of rival systems; and also his writings must be brought up to date, and must lend support to the most recent development of the tenets of the sect.

* *Tiru* is the Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit *śrī*, "blessed," "sacred," and when prefixed to the name of persons corresponds to SAINT. The Tamil form of S. Jnāna is *nāna*.

† *Vātham* = disputation [S. *Vāda*]. The town where the saint was born was called "disputation-town." The country was full of polemics in those days.

‡ See NOTE I. "Sacred-sports" of the god, of which sixty-four are given. This work has been printed in Tamil. A summary is given in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, I, 55-192. The Tamil Verse translation is by Parañjōti-māmunivar. See also Nelson's *Madura Manual*.

I shall give the story as I find it.

The sage was born at the town which goes by the name of *Tiru-Vāthavūr* on the river *Vaigai*, near to *Madura*, and it is said that in consequence the name given to him by his parents was *Tiru-Vāthavūrar* (= *He of Sacred Vāthavūr*). This is very doubtful. But he has two other names, as will appear in the sequel. The epithet by which he is chiefly known is *Mānikka-Vācaḡar* (S. *Mānikka-Vācaḡar* = "he whose utterances are rubies"); and the title of his poems is *Tiru-Vācaḡam* (= *divine utterance*). His father was a Brahman of the *Amattiya* tribe (S. *Amatya* = *Councillor*), whose name is not recorded. The king of *Madura* at the time was *Arimarttanar* (S. *Crusher of foes*)*.

The boy is represented as being from the first a prodigy of intellect, and it is gravely stated that in his sixteenth year he had exhausted the circle of ordinary Brahmanical learning, and especially was consummately learned in the *Āgamas*† of the *Çaiva* system. The fame of his learning and genius soon reached the king, who sent for him, conceived a vehement affection for him, and constituted him his prime minister, giving him the title of *Tennavan-Brahma-Rāyan* (= *The Pāṇḍiyan's Brahman king*).

The poet (*Kāḡavul Mahāmuni*) now invites us to contemplate the young and brilliant courtier as enjoying all the splendid luxury of *Indra*, King of gods, and shining amongst the other ministers and courtiers of the *Pāṇḍiyan* kingdom "like a bright silver moon come down from heaven to earth, and moving resplendent in the midst of the surrounding stars." He is arrayed in royal garments "refulgent with the lustre of innumerable gems, born aloft in a sumptuous litter, surrounded with horses and elephants, overshadowed by a white umbrella of state rivalling the moon in the heavens." The king, who is the incarnation of Justice, Wisdom and Benevolence, leaves the government of the country absolutely in his hands. Yet the balance of his equal mind is not disturbed by all this luxury and absolute

* This king is given in the *Madura* lists as the tenth before *Kūna* (or *Sundara*) *Pāṇḍiyan*, in whose time *Sambhandar* flourished. This would place *Mānikka-Vācaḡar* about 150 to 200 years before this latter. *Sundara Pāṇḍiyan's* date is fiercely disputed. About 1030 A.D. seems to me the safest guess.

† The *Āgamas* are said to be sacred writings inculcating *Çaiva* doctrines and of equal authority with the *Vedas*. The names of twenty-eight of these are given. They were much later than the *Upanishads*.

authority; for he ever ponders the sacred writings which enshrine the truths of the Çaiva faith, and assures himself that all these externals are but the bonds that imprison the deluded soul; and that this embodied life with all its vicissitudes must be renounced, shaken off, forsaken, in order that by Çivan's grace he may attain the "great release." His soul is filled with an infinite pity as he sees the thronging multitudes, who, he knows, are passing ever through the round of births and deaths, and are in these fated embodiments suffering remediless woes. So, "like those who suffer from the intense glare of heat, and seek refreshing shade, his soul was dissolved in passionate longing for Çiva the loving Lord." Yet though he beheld men around him as souls imprisoned through ante-natal evil, and felt how profitless all human existence is, and how surely all sentient beings are mere actors walking in a vain show, he continued with unflagging diligence to dispense impartial justice as his sovereign's representative. Yet there was ever one supreme desire in his soul. He yearned to meet with a guru who (so does Çiva reveal Himself) would teach him the mystery of the "five letters"* and the "way of release."† "As the tiny winged creatures go from flower to flower through every grove," he sought out and held converse with the professors of different Çaiva schools, saying within his soul, "Where shall I find the spotless Guru,‡ who can expound to me the mysteries of the Agamas"? In fact, the state of mind of the youthful prime minister was much like that in former generations of Sakya-muni or Gautama, and of all the great saints and sages whose names live in Indian tradition: the world's infinite woe oppressed him, and there was neither remedy nor teacher to be found. It is evident that at that period the faithful followers of the Çaiva system were few, and rival systems were in the ascendant. The king himself and his courtiers were probably but lukewarm in their religious profession. Jainism was everywhere.

* NOTE II: The "five letters" or syllables, as we should call them, are *Çi-vā-ya-nama* = "adoration to Çiva." A supernatural power is lodged in these sounds. They may be uttered in the reverse order also: *na-ma-çi-vā-ya*. The Tamil student may consult உண்மை விளக்கம் 30-45. திருவருட்பயன், ch. ix, 81-90, given here. சிவப்பிரகாசம் II, 40.

சிவஞான போதம். சூத். ix, 3.

† See NOTE III, "The soul's emancipation."

‡ See NOTE IV, "The Guru."

The recital of these mental troubles, and the touching confession of his ignorance and youthful folly are to be found in many of his poems. (See especially No. 5, "*The sacred Cento.*") They remind one most forcibly of the Confessions of Saint Augustine, and we cannot help saying that in our Tamil sage we find a spirit congenial to that of the great doctor of the West.

The crisis was at hand. One day when the king was sitting in state in the midst of his nobles and dependant kings, messengers came announcing that in a harbour in the territory of the *Çōra* king ships had arrived with multitudes of horses of rare value, from the "Aryan"* land). We may suppose that this means Arabia, and the whole legend points to the traffic ever carried on by coasting vessels between India and the western lands, from whence not goods only but ideas also came. The king at once commissioned his confidential minister to proceed to *Tiru-Perun-Turrai* ("*sacred-great-harbour*") to buy these horses; and gave him an enormous treasure for their purchase. He, Mānikka-Vācagar, accordingly set out escorted by troops composed of mercenaries from every known eastern land, in more than royal pomp, seated in a magnificent litter. Never was progress more magnificent than that which the poet imagines. It is the last gleam of the predestined saint's secular glories. And so through cities, over vast wildernesses and interposing hills, he made his way to the great western harbour, where he was to make his purchases. The curtain here falls at the end of the first act in the drama of the sage's history. His secular life is really ended. Like St. Paul journeying to Damascus he is on the eve of an unexpected and decisive experience.

§ 2. *Çivan appears. The Sage's conversion.*

And here for a time the poet leaves him journeying on, and introduces us, in the second canto, to a more splendid court than that of the Pāṇḍiyan king; to the court of Çiva Himself, where He sits enthroned with Umā by his side on the silver hill. (A description of this is given in NOTE X.) There the god announces to the assembled deities his intention to visit earth, in the form of a *guru* or human teacher, that he may initiate and consummate the Conversion and salvation of a

* *Arya* seems here to be equivalent to "foreign."

disciple, who shall restore to all the Southern lands the teaching of the truth, and make the Tamil language for ever glorious with the "nectar of sacred and devout poesy." His adoring hosts are to accompany him in the guise of disciples, for one of the titles of Çiva is "Lord of Hosts." (NOTE XII.) The poet has a great many beautiful verses, and some very fanciful ones about this gracious advent of Çiva.

The trees put forth their verdure, the flowers exhale new fragrance, the birds sing on every branch, the beautiful grove around Tiru-perun-Turrai is hushed in expectancy, when under a thick and spreading *Kuruntham** tree, in human form, the mighty *Guru*, attended by his hosts, all like himself to appearance Çaiva saints, takes his seat. Meanwhile the youthful prime minister with his gorgeous company draws near the town, and hears from amid the grove solemn mysterious strains, the voices of the 999 saintly attendants of the god who are chaunting the venerable Çaiva-Āgamas. He at once stops the royal cavalcade, and sends a messenger to inquire the source and reason of this sweet mystic music.

The answer is, that surrounded by a vast multitude of devotees, beneath a *Kuruntham* tree, there sits a venerable saintly guru with braided lock, crowned with a garland of *Konrrai*, in majestic grace, most like unto Çivan Himself.

Our traveller forthwith alights, draws near, and at once is transported with rapture. He beholds a mystic *Guru* who has a rosary of scarlet *Eleocarpus* beads around his head and throat and breast; who is smeared with sacred ashes of dazzling white, has a third eye of fire in the centre of his resplendent forehead, and holds in his hand a book. "What book is this?" he ventures to inquire. The answer is, "It is the Çiva-nāna-Bōdham." We must pause to remark the daring anachronism of this reply. This celebrated work of the Tamil Aquinas, the great Meykaṇḍa-Dēvar, did not exist for probably two centuries after Māṇikka-Vāçagar's time. "And what," inquires the neophyte, "is *Çivam*? What is *Nānam*? and what is *Bōdham*?" "*Çivam*," was the god's reply, "is the incomparable true and divine Essence. *Nānam* is the science of that Essence. *Bōdham* is its right apprehension." No sooner does this answer fall upon his ears than the inquirer, who has reached the

* The tree is the "thorny trichilia." Its flowers are very fragrant.

† The neuter form.

exact stage of religious experience* that according to the Çaiṅa system renders him meet to hear and receive the *Guru's* words, exclaims, "Henceforth I renounce all desires of worldly wealth and splendour. To me, thy servant, viler than a dog, who worship at thy feet, grant emancipation from corporeal bonds! Take me as thy slave, O king of my soul!" Saying this, he stood weeping and worshipping at the *Guru's* feet. One of the chief of the surrounding host now intercedes for him as worthy to be taught the mystery of emancipating grace, and the god accordingly receives him, and bids the attendants prepare at once for his solemn initiation.

In the grove a stately tabernacle is prepared, surrounded with rich silken hangings, and adorned with myriads of fragrant blooming flowers and innumerable sparkling gems. In the midst a lofty seat is prepared for the *Guru*, and the neophyte is bathed with water from the Ganges, besprinkled with perfumes, and prepared for reception by a variety of minute ceremonies. He then presents food with many kinds of luscious fruits to the great master, after which the initiation begins. The *Mantrams* and holy texts are taught him. He hears these, while his faculties are absorbed in loving devotion. He then worships the sacred feet of the *Guru*, and places them reverently on his head. With the impartation to him of all the mysteries of the Çaiṅa-Sidhānta philosophy (NOTE XI.), the initiation is complete. And now, how changed is the youthful minister of state! He is become a *Jivan-muttar*, who lives in a body still for a little while, but is one in feeling, soul, power and faculty with the Infinite Eternal. He has put off his rich garments and adornments, is besmeared with white ashes, and wears the peculiar habili-ment of the ascetic.

From his head depends the braided lock of the Çiva devotee, one hand grasps the staff, and the other the mendicant's bowl: he has for ever renounced the world—all the worlds, save Çivan's self. And he is faithful henceforward even to the end. In the whole legendary history of this sage, whatever we may think of the accuracy of many of its details, and whatever deductions we are compelled to make for the exaggerations that have grown up around the obscurity of the original facts, there stands out a character which seems to be a mixture of that of Saint Paul and of Saint Francis of Assisi. Under other circumstances what an

* Çatti-nipātham. (See NOTE V.)

apostle of the East might he have become! This is his conversion as South India believes it; and in almost every poem he alludes to it, pouring forth his gratitude in ecstasies of thanksgiving, and again and again repeating the words "I am Thine, save me"! His poetry lives in all Tamil hearts, and in the main and true essence of it deserves so to live!

The next step was,—and here it is difficult, —to make over the conduct of the new devotee can be justified,—to make over to the *Guru* and his attendants the whole of the treasure entrusted to him by his king for the purchase of horses. By initiation he has become the *Guru's* very own. All that he is and has belong to his new Master. So, together with his own garments, jewels and personal property, the whole of his master's prodigious treasure is at once handed over to be distributed to the devotees of the god and to the poor.

§ 3. *Events in Madura.*

Meanwhile the nobles who composed his escort beheld with astonishment the sudden transformation of the youthful minister, and still more were astounded at this misappropriation—as it certainly seemed to them—of the king their master's property. So they ventured to draw near to the sacred assembly, and to expostulate respectfully; but *Mānikka-Vāçagar* sternly bade them depart, for "why," said he, "would you bring me back to earth's false employments"? Finding all their expostulations useless they at length returned to *Madura*, and announced to the king that his favourite minister had become a *Çaivite Sanniyāsi* ("one who has renounced the world"), and had made away with all the money entrusted to him. As in the case of *Daniel*, there was jealousy at work no doubt, but certainly *Mānikka-Vāçagar* was evidently not blameless, as seen at least from a mundane point of view. The king was exceedingly enraged as was natural, and sent a peremptory order for his Minister's instant return. When the royal order arrived and was presented to the new ascetic, his reply was, "I know no king but *Çivan*, and even were *Yaman's* (the god of death) messengers to come to bear me away, my Master has conquered *Yaman*."* He then took the king's missive and

* See *Nālaḍi-Lex* ௬௩: *Civan* with his left foot kicked *Yaman*, and "death was dead." This is referred to in *Kurraḷ*, 269:

"Ev'n over death the victory they may gain,
If power by penance won their souls obtain."

Nṯi Nerri Vilakkam 51, and *Stokes' note*.

spread it before the god asking for direction. Çivan smiled sweetly upon him, and bade him return fearlessly and tell the king that on the 19th of the month of Avani* the horses which he had been sent to purchase would arrive in Madura. The god also arrayed him in resplendent garments, and gave him a fitting chariot, together with a ruby (hence his name) of inestimable value which he was to present to the king. Accordingly, Mānikka-Vāçagar returned with the messengers and stood before his former master, who sternly required him to account for his conduct. To this he submissively replied as the god had bidden him (though it seems to us to be false!) that the horses had been procured, and were waiting in Perun-Turrai; but that he had not brought them with him now because the Brāhmaus had assured him that the 19th of Āvani was the propitious day for the transmission of these precious animals to Madura. He also presented the ruby, which filled the king with astonishment and delight, and made him satisfied with the explanation, and caused him to regard the report of the others as a piece of mere envious detraction. So the time passed till there were only two days wanting to the date fixed for the arrival of the horses. And now one of the courtiers who had gained the ear of the king, represented the whole matter in its true light, or rather, as it had appeared to all who had accompanied Mānikka-Vāçagar: "Your majesty," said he, "is deceived; your prime minister on the outskirts of the city of Perun-Turrai saw a Çaiva *guru* of imposing appearance and apparent sanctity, whose disciple he at once became, and to whom he made over the whole of the treasure for the purposes of that sect"! It would seem that they themselves, though they had seen everything, had no belief in the divinity of the *guru*; and it is possible that they themselves were Buddhists, who were rejoiced to have the opportunity of bringing this accusation against the Çaiva Saint. It must be remembered too that it is a fundamental doctrine of the Çaiva system that every *guru* is in Çaiva eyes an absolute incarnation of the god; but to these courtiers he was simply a sectarian mendicant. The king now ordered Mānikka-Vāçagar to be thrown into prison till he should restore the treasures he had misappropriated; and this doubtless seems to us to have been but just; yet the poet

* The 19th of Āvani (Sept. 4) is a great annual festival-day in commemoration of this.

tells us that all nature sympathised with the suffering saint; sun, moon and stars withdrew their light, trees drooped, and the whole creation languished. The sufferer in his prison uttered lamentations, and made very touching appeals to the god in whom he trusted. This part of the history is very pathetic, and enjoys a great popularity among Tamilians.

The second canto leaves him in prison, and the date of the promised arrival of the horses is at hand.

§ 4. *The "horses."*

"It is the duty of the father to relieve the woes of his children," and so Çivan appears at the appointed time with the promised horses. But here is seen the characteristic of the god upon which all the Çaiava writers delight to expatiate—his sportive character: he delights to astonish, to bewilder, even to delude the sons of men! So everything in the universe is the sport of Çiva. "He disports himself in the universe and in the individual souls of men."* His dance at Çithambaram† is the symbolic expression of this. So in this case the god gathers together a vast multitude of jackals from the forest around, converts them into magnificent chargers, gives them into the charge of all the inferior gods, who come disguised as grooms, while he himself rides at the head of the troops disguised as the merchant who has brought the horses for sale from a distant land. The tidings reach the king: "the purchased horses have actually arrived! An innumerable host, they cover the plains. The heavens are dark with the dust of their feet." Of course the king sees how wrongly he has treated his prime minister, who is at once released from prison, restored to favour, and goes forth with the king to inspect and receive the purchased horses. Wonderful indeed (and very prolix!) is the Tamil poet's description of the cavalcade, and of the good points of the horses. But the interest of the story centres in the advent of Çiva, whom Mānikka-Vāçagar at once instinctively recognises as his Master, but dares not openly worship, since the deity willed to preserve his incognito. The mighty divinity Himself stands before the Pāñdiyan king, horsewhip in hand, and concludes the bargain; when it appears that the horses delivered are worth four times the

* "Khēlati aṇḍē Khēlati piṇḍē." Comp. Tiru-Vāçagam III, 121-141, and NOTE I.

† See NOTE VI, "Çithambaram."

treasure that had been entrusted to the prime minister for the purchase! The delighted king gives dresses of honour to Çiva and the other disguised gods, but these they receive with manifest contempt, which greatly astonishes and irritates the king. This is explained away however as the result of their foreign customs. The horses are delivered up to the king's grooms, the gods depart, the king and his minister go to their respective palaces, and darkness come down over the land. But the tranquillity is short-lived; for before the dawn the whole city is roused by frightful howlings, which proceed from the royal mews. The newly-arrived horses have resumed their old forms, and are making night hideous with their howlings. They even fall upon the real horses and devour them; and after a tremendous fight and unspeakable confusion make their escape to their native jungles. The king now perceiving that he has been deceived, sends for the prime minister, and furiously upbraids him with the trick, and demands restitution of the treasure. Till this has been restored Mānikka-Vāçagar is handed over to the tormentors, who take him down to the river now dry, and there expose him under the fierce noon-tide sun on the burning sand of the Vaigai with a huge stone on his back. Again he utters pathetic prayers, and appeals to his Master who has deluded both him and the king. This brings us to the fourth canto, wherein the sage is finally vindicated. Of course it is known that the mighty Çivan carries in the midst of his bushy locks the river Ganges; so to that river-goddess he gives command that she shall rush down, filling the empty channel of the Vaigai, and inundating the city of Madura, the scene of the saint's sufferings. "Like a herd of fierce elephants rushing from the mountains," the waters of the Ganges come down and cause the river to overflow its banks, threatening to drown the city. The astonished and bewildered king and his courtiers are now sensible of their mistake, and the sage is once more restored to the royal favour, and entrusted with the task of directing the measures whereby the city is to be saved from destruction. Under his direction orders are given to the inhabitants to build a dam for their protection; and to each one is assigned the extent of wall for which he is responsible. Now in the city was a poor woman, whose name was Çem-mana-Çelvi ("the true-hearted happy one"), a widow, who earned a scanty livelihood by selling rice-cakes.

The order is given her to construct her share of the dam,

but she cannot herself dig and carry earth, and she has no one to work for her, and no money wherewith to hire a substitute. In her despair she rushes to the temple of Çokka-nāyagar* (under which name Çiva is still worshipped in the renowned temple at Madura). Her prayer in the temple is very touching. It comes to this at last, "Helper of the helpless, I flee to Thee for succour!" Çivan is never appealed to in vain, and so He Himself comes in His own quaint way to her rescue. Just outside the shrine, as she is drying her tears, she sees a youthful rustic, a day labourer, clad in ragged garments, with a basket for carrying earth put on his head as a covering, and bearing a spade on his shoulder, who addresses her with the words, "Will you hire me to do your work? I am hungry; feed me, and I will do whatever you bid me." The old woman was in raptures, for had not her prayer been answered? But O the wonder of it! She knew not the whole mystery. The *coolie* was none other than Çivan in servant's form,† thus humbling Himself to bear the burdens of His living ones. So the god undertakes the task, eating the rice-cakes with undisguised delight, but doing his work in very eccentric fashion. It was another of his "sports"! He ran backward and forward, threw a little earth here and a little earth there, danced wildly, and sang strange snatches of songs, till the inspectors of the work pronounced Him mad. Still, on the whole, His work seemed marvellously to prosper; for in fact the river knew him, and shrank away back into its former narrow limits. At length the young *coolie* having eaten all the cakes, crowned all his eccentricities by quietly lying down on the riverbank, and falling asleep with the basket as a pillow. This is reported to the king. The impudent *coolie* is sent for, and having been with difficulty aroused from his slumber, stands before the king as a culprit, making however no defence. The angry king commands him to be beaten. But when the first blow is struck, all the universe shudders. Every god in heaven and every sentient being on earth feels the blow. There goes up a shuddering cry from all creation. And when they look again, the god has disappeared.‡

* This is equivalent to *sundara*, "the beautiful."

† In all this there is much to remind us of Heraklēs.

‡ Comp. *Tiruvā* II, 47; VIII, 47; XIII, 62.

§ 5. *His Ministry.*

When intelligence of this is brought to Mānikka-Vācagar, he is plunged into the deepest grief, both at the humiliation of the God, and because he himself had not been permitted to see and converse with Him. His lamentations and complaints in the poem are as usual very beautiful, if somewhat hyperbolic. The king now pays the saint a visit, acknowledges all his mistakes, declares his unworthiness to have such a minister, and offers to resign to him the kingdom. The sage however has but one wish, and that is, to return to Perun-Turrai there to dwell at the feet of the God. His request is granted, and the king returns to his palace, while the sage, now released for ever from the entanglement of worldly affairs, finally puts off his courtier's dress, and assumes the garb of an ascetic. His conversion and consequent trials are over, and he enters upon the new life. From that day it was his one work to glorify his Master. He loses no time in returning to fall at his *Guru's* feet, and pour out all his soul in the Sacred Presence.

After some time the God announces to His disciples that as His design in coming to earth, namely the conversion and confirmation of the sage is accomplished, He will now return to Kailāsa. To the 999 devotees who are His attendant hosts He gives the charge to remain in the grove with Mānikka-Vācagar, worshipping and meditating until in the sacred tank fire appears, into which they are to cast themselves, and so pass home to their Master. They must patiently wait. And for the neophyte himself, a further trial is enjoined. He is to remain behind, even after all his companions have gone home, that he may establish throughout the whole Tamil country the faith of Çiva, and compose Tamil hymns which shall be the *Vēdas* of the South. The day of the ascension comes, and the Master departs, but halts under a Kondrai* tree, whither the sage follows him, still begging that he may at once accompany Him, and be for ever at His side on the Silver mount. "Nay," replies the God, "learn rather to know that I am everywhere. While thou art doing My will, I am with thee. Wait patiently. In Uttara Kōça-mangai, thou shalt be taught mystery of the eight mystic powers.† From

* A large and beautiful tree of the *Cassia fistula* genus. It has very magnificent golden flowers. (See Ainslie I., 60.)

† The *Siddhi* or supernal powers. (See the sixth song.)

thence thou shalt go from shrine to shrine, till in Çithambaram thou shalt discomfit the Buddhists, and then obtain thy consummation." At length the God disappears, and Mānikka-Vāçagar returns alone to the other devotees. Under the tree they set up a *lingam*, and worship night and day. It was then and there that the Saint began his poetical compositions.* Twenty-one of the fifty-two lyrical compositions he has left are marked as composed in Perun-Turrai. They are all full of the glories of Çiva, the grace that found out and converted the singer, and the grief he feels at his enforced absence from his Master.† This last grief is intensified by the speedy departure of his companions. One day as they are worshipping, a mystic flame blazes up in the centre of the tank, as Çiva had announced beforehand, and they, casting themselves into it, disappear.

And now the sage alone sits under the Konrrai tree from whence Çiva had ascended, and utters his lamentations. The marvellous poem, "The Sacred Century of Verse," (numbered five in the collection,) was then composed. It contains some of his finest verses. There then begins a new phase of his life. He passes from town to town, worshipping at each shrine and composing verses which are headed according to the place of their composition. The places he visited were however very few in comparison of those said to have been hallowed by the presence of Sambandhar and the other saints of the following cycle.

The fifth canto brings the sage to the scene of his greatest achievements and of his consummation, Çithambaram. It will be remarked that he goes back to Madura and the Paṇḍian kingdom no more. He is especially the saint of Çithambaram and the Çōra kingdom. The remainder of his history is a continued glorification of the great northern shrine. Many of the hymns that he composed in reference to the God as manifested in Tillai are exceedingly beautiful.‡ The note of sadness is almost absent, while the rapture of constant worship in the court (Ambāram), where Çivan's dancing form is seen, fills him with rapture."§

* NOTE IX, "Tiru-vāçagam."

† See especially Lyric VI, "Forsaken."

‡ See NOTE VI, "Çithambaram."

§ See NOTE VII, "Bhakti."

§ 6. *The Buddhists, and His Consummation.*

After a while it seems that a restless fit seized him and he passed over to Ceylon, between which and the South of India there was much intercourse. The story represents him as able to converse with the people. It would seem therefore that it was the north of Ceylon to which he went. He is in the garb of an ascetic of the severest order. Almost naked, with his rosary of *Eleocarpus* beads, his body smeared with white ashes, a staff with little bells in one hand and a skull in the other, he wanders about living upon alms, and whether he stands or sits or lies down is always praising the Golden Porch (Çithambaram).

The Buddhists carry the tidings to the king, who sends for him. At first he refuses to go, saying "What have I, a mendicant, to do with kings?" At length, however, he stands before the king, and is confronted with the Buddhist *guru*, who is armed with the three *Piḍākas* of his law, and is as accomplished an ascetic as the Çaivite himself. "What is this Golden Porch?" they ask. "The sacred shrine where Çiva dances and where the Çōra king ever worships." It may be mentioned here that the curious legends of Çithambaram are summed up in the "Kōyil Purāṇam," of Umāpathi. (NOTE VI.) The result is that the Buddhist *guru* in insulting language announces his intention to visit the vaunted shrine, and tear the god from his throne.

The scene changes somewhat abruptly to *Tillai* or *Çithambaram*. The Buddhist *guru*, with his company of devotees, has come to Çithambaram and encamped within the temple enclosure. The king of Īraṃ (Ceylon) with his court has also arrived, and with him a daughter who is dumb. The kings exchange courtesies, the king of Ceylon bringing tribute to the Çōra king as his feudal lord.

§ 7. *The Sage and the Ceylon Buddhists.*

It would almost seem as if there were in this legend a reminiscence of some great expedition of the king of Ceylon with the double intention of conquering the country and establishing Buddhism on the continent. The arrival of these strangers threw all Çithambaram into confusion. The 3,000 devotees of the temple wished to expel the intruders by violence, but the God himself appears to them in a dream, and orders them to send for Mānikka-Vāçagar, who in his

hermitage near at hand was plunged in mystic meditation. Thus bidden by the God he comes forth, and a vast assemblage is convened. The Çōra king, his courtiers, and the Çaiṅva saint are on the one side, while the king of Ceylon, his attendants, and the Buddhist saint are on the other. The Sage on a lofty seat is enthroned as the champion of the Çaiṅva faith. Brahmā and all the gods and immortals of every rank form the audience. The Çōra king addresses the Sage, bowing with lowly reverence, in the following words: "O holy one, to establish the Çaiṅva wisdom over all the world is your province: to exterminate these Buddhists is mine." We shall not go into the details of the disputation, reserving its fuller translation for another place (NOTE VIII.) The whole turns at length upon the argument which the Çaiṅvite urges with great force, that according to the Buddhist system there can be "neither God nor soul nor salvation." At the close of the discussion, the Saint makes his appeal to *Sarasvati*, the goddess of speech: "How canst thou who dwellest on the tongue of Brahmā allow these men by use of speech to revile the Eternal?"

She acknowledges the appeal by striking the heretics dumb. The Ceylon king, convinced by the arguments, and overwhelmed by the miracle, confesses himself a convert, and prays that his dumb daughter may have the gift of speech restored to her. The prayer is heard, and she, her tongue being loosened, begins at once to refute the absurdities of the Buddhist *gurus*. The substance of her words is supposed to be given in the twelfth (or Çāral) song. Finally all the Buddhists put off the insignia of their religion, besmear themselves with the sacred ashes, and take up their abode in the precincts of sacred Tillai; thus the victory is complete.

No mention is made of the use of any violent measures.*

§ 8. *His beatification.*

The last canto relates the final beatification of the saint. After his triumph over the heretics he is supposed to have sung four of his most beautiful songs, in which the note of jubilation is very perceptible [xlvi, xlix, l, li]. At length one day a venerable devotee, ostensibly a stranger from the Pāṅḍian land, presented himself before the saint with the

* A fuller account of this disputation is given in NOTE VIII.

request to be permitted to take down his songs from his own mouth. The saint sang them all, while the stranger carefully noted down every word, and having done so disappeared. It was Çiva himself,—Çokka-Nāyagar—who had quitted his shrine in Madura for the purpose. Straightway the god goes up to his silver mountain Kailāsam, and, assembling all the gods around him, makes them glad with Mānikka-Vāçagar's verse. Next morning, on the pedestal of the image in Tillai, is found the copy made by the god's own hand, and attested by his signature,—a thousand verses without a flaw. The devotees of the temple take up the book with astonishment and reverence, and sing over the songs to the enraptured multitudes. They then in a body go to the sage and ask him to give them an authoritative exposition of the meaning of the whole. In answer he bids them follow him, and proceeding to the Golden Court points to the image of the god, adding "the lord of the assembly himself (Sabhāpati) is the meaning"; and then disappeared, melting into the image of his master. The devotees return to their resting places with joy and thanksgiving.*

These poems, of which it is hoped that the translation may be printed, are sung throughout the whole Tamil country with tears of rapture, and committed to memory in every temple by the people, amongst whom it is a traditional saying, that "he whose heart is not melted by the *Tiru-Vāçagam* must have a stone for a heart." It is probable that a portion of these poems is of later date. It is scarcely possible to determine what sands of truth have been brought down in these traditions, and it is very hard indeed to say how much of their undoubted beauty and symbolic truth is due to influences (historically quite probable) from Western sources; but it is impossible to read the poems without feeling that the sage of Tiru-Vāthavūr was a sincere seeker after God, whom in ways that he then knew not of, he has since been permitted to know and worship.

The success of *Mānikka-Vāçagar* in reviving Çaivism, which seems to have been then almost extinct, was immediate, and we may say permanent; for, although there was a period of declension when the Jain and Buddhist systems again became very prevalent, there arose another set of

* Comp. I, 93, &c.

" . . . Adoring ever, THEE they name,
Whom words declare not; then BENEATH THY SACRED FEET
THEY LEARN THE MEANING OF THEIR SONG. . . ."

devotees who must be looked upon as his disciples, though, curiously enough, scarcely any reference to him is found in their writings. From his time dates the foundation of that vast multitude of Çaiva shrines that constitute a peculiar feature of the Tamil country.

In considering the causes of his success, I feel inclined to set aside all stories of persecution carried on at his instigation. These belong, it appears to me, to a later period. His own personal devotion and fervour of spirit made him an altogether irresistible apostle of his faith. I see no evidence of anything like it in the after-times. He went about testifying that he had seen Çiva in *Perun-Turrai*, and that he had then and there passed from darkness to light. He thus declared to all what he fully believed himself to have seen and handled. He was an enthusiast, but absolutely sincere. The doctrines that he taught will abundantly appear from an attentive consideration of his disputes with the Buddhist *gurus*. He taught the people that there was one supreme personal God, no mere metaphysical abstraction, but the Lord of Gods and men. He also taught that it was the gracious will of Çiva to assume humanity, to come to earth as a *guru*, and to make disciples of those who sought him with adequate preparation. He announced that this way of salvation was open to all classes of the community. He also taught very emphatically the immortality of the released soul—its conscious immortality—as he said that the virtual death of the soul which Buddhism teaches is not its release. It will be seen how very near in some not unimportant respects the Çaiva system approximates to Christianity; and yet in some of the corruptions to which it has led, by what almost seems a necessity, are amongst the most deplorable superstitions anywhere to be found. Here the truth of the old maxim is abundantly verified, “*Corruptio optimi pessima.*”

Again the Çaivites led the way in the propagation of their system by means of popular songs. Anyone who compares the fervid piety of his very beautiful and generally very simple lyrics will feel with what force how they must have struck the chord that vibrated then as it vibrates still in millions of hearts. “One touch of nature makes the whole world kin,” and no one can read the Sage’s verses without profound emotion. Scarcely ever has the longing of the human soul for purity and peace and divine fellowship found worthier expression.

And somehow the error and folly and idolatry seemed to be but the poetic accompaniments of what is mainly most worthy.

The Jain compositions were clever, pointed, elegant, full of satire, of worldly wisdom, epigrammatic, but not religious. In the *Nālaḍiyar's* four hundred quatrains, there is no mention of God. In the sublime *Kurral's* thirteen hundred and thirty couplets there are but ten which speak of a Divine Being. The effect therefore of these songs—full of faith and devotion—was great and instantaneous. South India needed a personal God, an assurance of immortality, and a call to prayer. These it found in Māṅikka-Vāḍagar's compositions.*

The CHAIRMAN (D. HOWARD, Esq., D.L.).—I am sure we shall all join in thanking Dr. Pope for the very valuable and interesting paper he has given us.

It is a little perilous for any one who has not given the time and accurate study that Dr. Pope has to this subject to venture to say much about it, but the interest extends far beyond the power of criticising. I cannot help thinking that such investigations as these are of great value. One point struck me as being of importance; we discuss rather frequently, with more or less knowledge of what the Buddhist system is, the meaning of Nirvāna. I must say that the authority of one like Māṅikka living in Buddhist times, who is arguing against it, is worth infinitely more than our private opinion, especially as it happens that we sometimes import into the consideration our nineteenth century ideas—so that the fact of his challenge to Buddhism is of great value, at any rate to sincere and earnest onlookers. This paper indicates the wonderfully beautiful ideas you find in the Ḍaiva system. The beautiful conceptions one meets with in that which goes by the name of Ḍaivism, I think, lead us to see that which is not quite realised, viz., that mere knowledge is not quite all. There is something more than perception of truth required before we can have the actual practice in the life of those in whom it is met with. Many have a habit of saying, "Here are most beautiful sentiments. Are not they a splendid people?" whereas, those

* NOTE VII, "Bhakti."

who know what the people are, are the best judges of how far these sentiments bear fruit in actual practice.

I am only touching on the very outside points which strike one, and rather in the hope of eliciting the views and opinions of those who are more competent than I am to speak upon the subject.

REV. R. C. KIRKPATRICK, M.A.—In the present day the study of comparative religions is very important, and anything which throws light on any of the religions that prevail in the world is of value. I would also venture to add, that I think we must look for glimpses of truth in all the different religions that prevail.

PROFESSOR H. L. ORCHARD, D.Sc.—We are indebted to Dr. Pope for bringing before us, in a most interesting form, the figure of a man who was assuredly no ordinary man—an earnest seeker after the infinite spirit—a flash-light upon philosophic thought. I think we all concur with the learned author in the closing sentence of his paper—that at that time “South India needed a personal God, an assurance of immortality and a call to prayer,” and in the providence of God this sage was raised up to meet that need.

CAPTAIN F. PETRIE, F.G.S. (HON. SECRETARY).—Before Dr. Pope rises to reply may I say a few words? I think we may congratulate ourselves very much on the fact that this paper has come from his hands. (Hear, hear.) There is no one in England (if he will pardon me for saying so, and I am sure all will agree who know him) who could so thoroughly and ably treat the subject which he has taken up. I think we need not be uncertain of the importance of such a paper, even in England.

Some few years ago a paper “On the religion of Zoroaster” was read by a recognised authority on the subject (*Transactions*, vol. xiii). On that occasion a member—Mr. J. Ferguson, of Ceylon—used the following words:

“Seventeen years’ residence in the East has led me to think that one important point in the preparation for missionary work is a knowledge of the religious beliefs of the people among whom Christianity is to be taught, and a sympathy, so far as possible, with precepts and doctrines not distinctly evil in their tendency. I believe our most successful missionaries in the East have been those who have not only learnt the language of the people amongst whom they have laboured, but who have been enabled to translate their sacred and other notable books, and thus to know and obtain the sympathies of the enlightened among the natives. I think that this paper will be particularly valuable to Christian teachers going to work in Northern and Western India,

and Persia, and I hope that it may pass through the hands of our more enlightened fellow-subjects in India. I think the value of such papers as this is very great to missionaries going to the East, who ought to get an idea of the religions they are about to controvert."

As regards South India the same words aptly apply to the paper just read by Dr. Pope.

The AUTHOR.—If you will bear with me I will make one or two remarks. I am obliged to condense very much what I have to say because the subject is a very wide one. First of all, what I have read is a mere fragment. I have got seven or eight volumes, type written, waiting for the press; but these things do not sell, and the Clarendon Press Authorities hesitate as one might expect. It is a question of "How can we recoup ourselves?" That is another matter, and there it remains. Secondly, the whole subject is invested with a controversial element, about which I am rather loath to say much.

My Hindu friends, with whom I am in constant communication, strenuously refuse to believe that Mānikka ever got anything from such a polluted source as western tradition; so I have not emphasised that point here, but I have argued it at length elsewhere.

Now I will deal with facts. In the second century there were Christian missionaries in Madras—not the Apostle St. Thomas, as tradition has it; but certainly a century later Panteanus came and taught in Madras. Then the Nestorians came to the western coast, and during the time of Mānikka, or about that time, they were so successful that the King of Travancore became a Nestorian Christian. The Christians on the western coast have a tradition that Mānikka came there at this time. Nearly every excellency of his theology can be traced, I think, to intercourse with these Nestorian Christians and the Alexandrian missionaries; but their teaching was wanting in fervour and spirituality. It did not make much of sin, nor did it teach the necessity for the atonement. That was the case with the Nestorian missionaries, and you can see in this tradition of Christianity, defects and hiatuses still remaining in it. With regard to missionary work, I may say that an old Çaivaite, who is still what we call a heathen, is going to translate this into Tamil in India and circulate it. If we can only do this kind of thing and study their system, and meet them, not with antagonism, but as brothers who have a

great deal of truth, to whom God our Father has given much, though He has given us more, I think, if we meet them in that spirit, the time will come when it will leaven the whole lump. Those who can shed tears over these rapturous songs are in a measure prepared for the Gospel. This is as the Book of Psalms to the people of South India, and I think is a preparation for better things.

One word more I would say, and it is this—that our Hindu fellow-subjects in South India are inferior to no people on the face of the earth in that particular element—deep religious fervour. You may say what you like of Hindus in other respects; but they are people who love God—feeling in the darkness after Him that “haply they may find Him,” and they love Him whom they do not as yet fully know. Before I left India, there came a carriage and pair to my door and a fine intelligent Hindu stepped out. I had often seen him in my little church there; but I had never spoken to him. He was a high officer of the Maharajah’s Court. I gave him a seat. He said he had heard I was going, and he added, “I am a Christian.” I said, “My dear sir, is that so?” He said, “If you only knew my mother, sister and wife you would see that I cannot be baptized; but I am a Christian all the same—I would die for Christianity.” He added, “I want a book (I read the Bible regularly) that I can pray over day by day and hour by hour, that will guide me.” I had just received an edition, in two volumes, of Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*, which I took out and showed to him. I did not give them to him, but said, “You can take down the publisher’s name and I think they will suit you”; and so, after a little talk and trying in a quiet way to bring it home to him, he left. Some two months after, just immediately before I left he came and said, “I thank you so much for recommending me those books. I have got them, and I am dealing with the *Holy Living*; it is a way we have, that I work it out as I should Euclid. I am trying to make it my own in thought and in life; but I am getting on very slowly.” I said, “My dear friend, I am not a third, or a quarter through it myself yet.” And there he is still, I believe, studying Bishop Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy Living*. He is one instance of the natural piety of those people, if one may so speak, of people who only need sympathetic and brotherly love to bring them much nearer Christianity.

Then one final word about Buddhism. In the notes in the Appendix you will find a full account of the discussion thereon,

and find exactly where Mānikka differed from the followers of Buddha. He convinced them that Buddhists are atheists. They did not believe in the immortality of the soul, and whether we know much or little, we must be as Browning said, very, very sure of God and of immortality. [The Meeting was then adjourned.]

NOTE.

The final remarks in this discussion suggest that this paper is well worthy of careful consideration, not only in India but nearer home, where it has become fashionable amongst some to speak with high approval of—and even to adopt—Buddhist views.

The warnings of Mānikka convey both a lesson and a reproof to those who, having *The Light*, seek instead a darkness which even he so desired to dispel.—ED.

APPENDIX.

(Being the “notes” referred to in the discussion.)

NOTE I.

ÇIVAN'S ACTS, OR OPERATIONS; THE 'SACRED SPORTS' OF
THE GOD.

In the Çiva legends and poems three kinds of actions are very commonly referred to as having been performed by Çiva, and each of these requires consideration. Sometimes these are five. (See Tiruvāçagam, I, 41; III, 13.)

1. We find Çiva perpetually spoken of as disporting Himself amidst His subjects, and His actions are often represented in a more or less grotesque aspect. This idea of the god as engaged in sport quite permeates the Çaiṅva system. You hear the minstrel in the street singing, *Kēlati aṅḍē, Kēlati piṅḍē*—केलति अण्डे, केलति पिण्डे ('He sports in the world; He sports in the Soul'), and the notion is explained by reference to His omnipotence. All His operations are easy to Him, involving no effort, so that He is said to 'act without acting'; and thus everything is the sport of Çiva: the whole universe is bright with His smile, and alive with His joyous movements. This is so thoroughly

inwrought into the system that such names as 'Deceiver and 'Maniac' (Kalvar, கள்வர்) are perpetually given to the god. The Purāṇam of Madura, containing the history of the sixty-four amusements of Çiva (திருவிளையாடற் புராணம்), illustrates this. Some of these quasi-divine sports seem to us very ridiculous, but we are required by our Çaiva friends to receive the mystic interpretation of each! In the history of *Māṅikka Vāçagar*, which is really taken from hints in the same Purāṇam, the change of the jackals into horses, and *vice versa*, and the god's behaviour as a labourer are somewhat extreme cases of this, but are not quite incapable, I suppose, of a serious application.

2. Closely connected with this are the very frequent manifestations of the god for the purpose of trying His votaries; and in several of these (not translated) the god is represented in an exceedingly unfavourable light. (See Note VI.) Throughout the whole of the legends there runs the idea that, as there were innumerable mendicants assuming the conventional garb and appearance of the god, He might at any time appear to any of His worshippers in such a form; and thus all pious souls were rendered eager to exercise due hospitality to Çaiva mendicants, as they knew not but that their love might any day be rewarded by receiving the visit of the Master Himself. Of course, the old classical stories, such as that of Baucis and Philemon, are of a similar kind.

3. The dancing of Çiva, especially in the Golden Hall at *Çihambaram*, is connected with an especial legend, which will be given, but is always interpreted in the same way as the sports referred to above. (See Note VI.) His dancing is symbolical of His perpetual and gracious action throughout the universe and in loving hearts. In fact, it takes us back to the manifestations of the *pre-Aryan* demon, or Bhairava, that dances in the burning grounds, smearing himself with the ashes of the dead, and adorning himself with necklaces of their bones, and bearing away with him a skull as a trophy. There are many composite elements in these very ancient histories; and it is but fair to allow those who yet regard them with reverence to give them any reasonable interpretation of which they may be considered susceptible.

NOTE II.

THE MYSTIC FORMULA OF THE FIVE LETTERS (OR SYLLABLES).

The following, which is Ch. IX of *Umā-pati's* great work entitled 'The Fruit of Divine Grace,' gives the whole mystery of 'The Grace of the

Five Letters,' that is, the grace gained by the use of the invocation consisting of Çi-vā-ya-na-ma (= *Adoration to Çiva*). 'This is a help to those who cannot otherwise attain to the bliss of mystic quietude (Samādhi).'

Question 1.—If the unutterable rapture has not been gained by the means already explained, is there any other method ?

The systems of grace (the twenty-eight Çaiva Āgamas), the Vedas, and other sacred scriptures have for their object the teaching of that which is the mystic meaning of the 'Five Syllables.' (81.)

Commentary.—On examination by the devout scholar it will be found that the substance of the teaching of the sacred 'Five Letters' is the LORD, the FLOCK, and the BOND. Such is the conclusion of those who are mighty in the Āgamas, the Vedas, and other sacred books.

Summary.—The substance of all TRUTH is included in the 'Five Letters.'

Q. 2.—What does this pentad of letters declare ?

The King, the (*Divine*) Energy, the Bond, the beautiful Māyā, the Soul—all these are contained in the *Ōm-gāram*. (82.)

Com.—The Pirāṇavam contains within it, (1) the grace of Çivan, and (2) of Çatti, with the (3) knowledge of *Aṇavam*, and (4) of fair Māyā, and of (5) the Soul (Note XV.). These are symbolised by the 'Five Syllables,' and in ŌM the whole are concentrated.

Sum.—Here is expounded the doctrine of the mystic Ōm, which is the subtle form of the 'Five Letters.'

Q. 3.—What is the order in which the 'Five Letters' take their stand ?

There is on the one side the mystic dance of weakness, on the other side the dance of mystic Wisdom,—the Soul being between the two. (83.)

Com.—The syllables NA and MA represent the energetic whirl of Impurity both in itself, and also as operating in the Soul ; the

syllables ÇI and VĀ represent the mystic action of Grace and of Çiva. Between these stands YA, which represents the Soul.* The 'dance' is the divine impulse and guidance given to the Soul in this state of bondage, and in the state of emancipation.

Sum.—In this the nature and significance of the 'Five Letters' are explained.

Q. 4.—How is it that by means of the 'Five Letters' the Soul does not obtain the 'Known'?

MA and NA prevail over the mind (or *the mind is dissipated*); thus it returns not to Him; whenever it obtains ÇI its deeds are cancelled. (84.)

Com.—(This couplet admits of two distinct interpretations. Below the more authoritative is given.)

When MA and NA, which are Impurity and Tirōtham, bind the Soul tight, it (the YA) cannot return; when their great bond is loosed, it obtains ÇI, which is supreme blessedness.

Sum.—Here the Bond and the method of release are shown in the 'Five Letters.'

[Compare Çi. Pr. II, 41 (p. 372).]

Q. 5.—How is it that, though there are the 'Five Letters,' Aṇava (Impurity) does not depart?

While the bewildering power of the veiler (Tirōtham) and of Impurity is first, how can they depart? Not unless the dominant Aṇavam change its place. (85.)

Com.—While NA and MA, representatives of Tirōtham and Impurity, are pronounced first, can these be removed? Put these after, and ÇI first, and then Aṇavam will cease to obscure.

Sum.—They who would be set free must utter the formula thus: ÇIVĀYA NAMA, and not NAMA ÇIVĀYA.

[Compare *Un. Vil.*, 44.]

* See Song V, 196, note.

Q. 6.—Will 'Impurity' depart from those who repeat the 'Five Letters'?

Alas, thou mayest worship, but if the foundation, Çivan, be not known, since Çi precedes not, Impurity will still assert itself. (86.)

Com.—When men repeat the sacred formula unmindful of the foundation, which is Çivan, desire will reassert itself, still clinging to *Na* and *Ma*.

Sum.—Here he commiserates those who thus recite them, and still suffer, having no divine assistance.

Q. 7.—Why is this pentad of letters recited thus?

If Çivam come first, and thou so recite it, the pain of embodiments will cease. This is your method. (87.)

Com.—If the devotee recite the pentad so that Çi and VĀ precede, by this position the grief of embodiment will be removed. Thou, O disciple, who desirest release, recite it thus!

Sum.—This teaches that the released say, Çi vā ya na ma.

Q. 8.—What benefit accrues from this order of recitation?

VĀ will in grace give Çi, and bring prosperity. This spotless Form will appear to such souls. (88.)

Com.—When thus recited, VĀ, which is grace, points out Çi, which is Çivan, and establishes YA, which is the Soul, in the abode of delight. And that is the faultless, sacred form of Çivam.

Sum.—Here the significance of VĀ,—the Energy of Grace,—in the sacred formula is taught.

Q. 9.—How will that soul exist in the heaven of liberation?

No longer placed between the spotless NĀ and VĀ, by grace the Soul will stand between VĀ and Çi. (89.)

Com.—The Soul (*ya*) standing no longer between the spotless (it may be read 'Āçin Na' or 'Āçil Na,' i.e. *spotted* or *spotless*; and

each of these presents an orthodox view of Tirotham) *Na* and *Vā* (Çatti), now stands between *Vā* and *Çi*.

(It is said that this arrangement must be learned from a guru.)

Sum.—This defines the position attained by those who rightly use the formula.

[See *Un. Vil.*, 46.]

Q. 10.—Is there any manifest evidence of our being in this state of deliverance?

In every possible way the sacred writings teach that you should fix your mind upon the path that leads not away from Him. (90.)

Com.—The sacred writings teach us every method, so that we should ponder them, and never forsake the sacred influence of Çivan and His Çatti.

Sum.—This couplet sums up the teaching of the last four chapters (VI–IX).

End of Chapter IX : The ‘ Five Letters.’

NOTE III.

THE SOUL'S EMANCIPATION (ஸ்ட). Mutti, (முத்தி, मुक्ति).

In Sanskrit, *Mukti* or *Möksha*.

The best explanation of the Çaiva Siddhānta doctrine of Mutti, or the Soul's final emancipation from embodiment (*erlösung von den weltlichen banden, Seligkeit*), is found in the treatise called Çiva-piragācam (சிவப்பிரகாசம்) by the same great sage Umāpati (I, 38, etc.). This has been translated by Mr. Hoisington (*American Oriental Soc. Journal*, 1854). Mr. J. M. Nalla-sāmi, of Madras, has recently published a translation of Çiva-ñāna-bōtham, with notes (see p. 100, etc.). This is a most useful compendium.

Ten faulty (or imperfect) theories of this consummation so devoutly wished for by all Hindus are enumerated in these works or in the commentaries on them :—

- (1) There is the bliss aspired to by the Lokāyattar ('Worldlings'). This is simply gross sensual enjoyment in this world. These heretics are continually attacked in the Siddhānta books. [See *Sarva-darshana Saṅgraha* (Trübner's Series).] These were atheistic Epicureans, followers of *Charvāka* (Note XIV.).
- (2) There is the cessation of the five *Kanda*. This is the Buddhist Nirvāna, and is always considered by Tamil authors to be mere annihilation. The South Indian view of Buddhism is illustrated in Note VIII.
- (Sar. darsh. Sañ., p. 31.)
- (3) The destruction of the three (? eight) qualities is pronounced to be the final emancipation by some Jains, and by the teachers of the atheistic Sāṅkhya system. This would reduce the human Soul to the condition of an unqualified mass, a mere chaos of thought and feeling.
- (4) There is the cessation of deeds by mystic wisdom. This is the system of *Prabhākara* (Sar. darsh. Sañ., p. 184). The deeds mentioned are 'all rites and services whatsoever.' The devotee becomes in this case, so the Çaivite urges, like a mere image of clay or stone.
- (5) 'Mutti' is represented by some Çaiva sectaries as consisting in the removal from the Soul of all impurity, as a copper vessel is supposed to be cleansed from verdigris by the action of mercury. There is a good deal of abstruse reasoning about the pollution aforesaid. 'Copper is not really in this sense purified by the removal of the green stain on its surface; the innate weakness of the metal is in its constant liability to this defilement. Gold is never coated by such impure matter. Copper will always be so; it is, as it were, congenital. Now these sectarians preach that, by the grace of Çiva, the innate corruption of the Soul may be removed, from which will necessarily follow permanent release from all bonds.' This seems to resemble very closely the Christian idea of the sanctification of the souls of men by divine grace infused. The *Siddhānta*, however, insists upon it that for ever, even in the emancipated state, the power of defilement, the capacity of corruption, remains (*pāçam*, is eternal). The corruption cannot, it is true, operate any longer in the emancipated condition; but it is still there,—dead, unilluminated, the dark part of the Soul turned away from the central light, like the unilluminated part of the moon's orb. Personal identity

and the imperfections necessarily clinging to a nature eternally finite are not destroyed even in *Mutti*.

- (6) Another class of Çaiva sectaries taught that in emancipation the body itself is transformed, irradiated with Çivan's light, and rendered immortal. This system supposed that intimate union with Çiva transmuted rather than sanctified the Soul.
- (7) There is then the system of the *Vēdāntis*, who taught that the absolute union of the Soul with the Infinite Wisdom, its commingling with the Divine Spirit, as the air in a jar becomes one with the circumambient air when the jar is broken, was *Mutti*. But here personality is lost.
- (8) The doctrine of Pālkariyam (followers of *Bhāskara*) is, that in emancipation there is an absolute destruction of the human Soul, which is entirely absorbed in the supreme essence.
- (9) There were some Çaivites who taught that in emancipation the Soul acquires mystic miraculous powers; that, in fact, the emancipated one is so made partaker of the divine nature and attributes, that he is able to gain possession of and exercise miraculous powers, which are called the eight 'Siddhis.' Persons professing to wield such magical powers are not unfrequently found in India, and there is in them very often a bewildering mixture of enthusiasm and fraud.
- (10) There were also some who taught that in emancipation the Soul becomes, like a stone, insensible. This stationary, apathetic existence, if existence it can be called, is the refuge of the Soul from the sufferings and struggles of embodiment.

In opposition to all these faulty theories, the true doctrine of emancipation is thus defined: *When the Soul, finally set free from the influence of threefold defilement through the grace of Çiva, obtains divine wisdom, and so rises to live eternally in the conscious, full enjoyment of Çiva's presence, in conclusive bliss, this is EMANCIPATION, according to the Siddhānta philosophy.*

NOTE IV.

THE 'GURU.' (S. गुरु = venerable.)

The Guru plays a most important part in all Hindu religion. He is the 'venerable' preceptor, master, and embodied god. In the Çaiva

system His dignity culminates. He is one who in successive embodiments has drawn nearer and nearer to final deliverance (Mutti), and is now in His last stage of embodiment (Note V). Çiva lives in Him, looks lovingly on the meet disciple through His eyes, blesses with His hands, with His mouth whispers into the disciple's ear the mystic words of initiation, and crowns with the lotus flowers of His feet the bowed head of the postulant, who thus is to become as his master. (See *Tiruvāçagam*, IV, 95.)

The exact doctrine is set forth in the following ten sections of Chapter V in Umāpati's authoritative work 'The Fruits of Divine Grace' (தீருவருட்பயன்).

Each of these sections consists of a question, an answer with its commentary, and a summary. The answer is the master's teaching, and is a couplet of exquisite Tamil, in imitation of Tiruvalluvar. (See Pope's *Kurral*, Int., p. vii.)

Tiru-arul-payan, Chapter V. [Comp. Notes II-XV.]

The Form of GRACE.

This chapter speaks of *grace in the form of the Guru* (divine Teacher), who is mystic knowledge made manifest. This manifestation is the 'fruit of the GRACE' spoken of in the last chapter.

Q. 1.—Who is He that comes when twofold deeds are balanced?
[Çatti-Nibātham. See Note V.]

He who, taking His stand by the disciple in the time of ignorance and bondage, gives grace,—the King who departs not, made manifest by visible signs. (41.)

Com.—While man is in this state of ignorant bondage, the Divine Lord, the very centre of knowledge, appears in bodily shape as a Guru. Neither from before the eyes, nor from within the Soul, does this KING henceforth depart.

Sum.—Here we are told that divine grace assumes the form of a GURU.

Q. 2.—Is it essentially necessary that He Himself should come as Guru? Will not learned men suffice?

None know the disease that is within but those that are within.
Can the outer world too discern it? (42.)

Com.—In any house if one be diseased, those in the house will be aware of it, but the distant world knows it not ; so, if Çivan, who dwells within the Soul, come as a Guru, our disease shall be healed.

Sum.—This removes the doubt as to the necessity of Çivan's advent as a Guru.

Q. 3.—Can all recognise the Guru thus appearing ?

Who on this earth will be able to discern such a Dispenser of grace not ever given before ? (43.)

Com.—He performed the works of creation, preservation, destruction, and 'veiling' (NOTE XIII, Çatti) without any manifest appearance ; but now His work of grace is performed in a way not known before, while He wears a human form as a robe, and thus conceals Himself. This men know not.

Sum.—Men think of the Guru, who is Çivan Himself made manifest, as though He were a mere man like themselves.

Q. 4.—How is it that inferior souls know not the Guru ?

Souls that are immersed in falsehood and darkness cannot recognise these two things : the teachings of divine grace and the divine Teacher. (44.)

Com.—Those who live in the enjoyment of fleeting, worldly enjoyments, and whose understandings are veiled by the darkness of *Ānavam* [NOTE XV], cannot know the two great truths of the blessedness of mystic Wisdom and of the grace embodied in the Guru, by which it may be reached.

Sum.—This gives the reason for men's ignorance of the Guru.

Q. 5.—Is it necessary that He should have a divine form, visible to such as ourselves ?

The world does not discern that the bodily form of the Guru is but the cloak assumed to take souls, as beasts are taken by the exhibition of a shape like their own. (45.)

Com.—It is common in the world to ensnare beasts and birds by exhibiting their own shape as a lure. Here men would dread

any appearance manifestly divine ; and so grace clothes itself in a human dress, beneath which men fail to discern the divine.

Sum.—In this and the two preceding verses, the ignorance of men in not recognising the Guru is reproved.

Q. 6.—May we not consider any teacher as a manifested image of Çiva ?

What profit would thus accrue to us ? Though any one may know anything superficially, the true meaning of any teaching is known only from the Guru. Seek Him, and be free from doubt. (46.)

Com.—Whether you ordinarily rely upon a particular Guru or not signifies nothing ; seek Him who alone can interpret the truth. So only can you escape from Impurity and emerge into pure light.

Sum.—The real meaning of any scientific treatise cannot be understood without the assistance of the true teacher.

Q. 7.—Is it not enough that divine grace teaches you from within, is the core of your knowledge ? Is it necessary that He should also come as a Çuru ?

When snake-poison has entered the system, the mere presence of the 'Mangûs' (Ichneumon) will not expel it. A skilful physician is necessary to remove the poison. (47.)

Com.—The mystic art of the snake-charmer is necessary to cure one bitten by a poisonous serpent. Thus a Guru bearing Çivan's very image must look upon us with the eye of mystic Wisdom, and darkness will disappear, not otherwise.

Sum.—Here it is taught us that the Bond is only loosed by the divine Teacher.

Q. 8.—Is this gracious manifestation as a Teacher for the benefit of all, or of one class only ?

To those already become *akalar* He gives precious gifts of grace. He cancels deeds. To those still *çakalar* He gives His grace. (48.)

Com.—To the *Vīññāna-kalar* and to the *Piraḷaiyā-kalar*, who are freed from *Kalai* (sense-deception), He reveals Himself in their inner consciousness, and removes *Āṇavam*.* To others, in the form of a *Guru*, He comes and bestows grace.

Sum.—This shows why and for the sake of whom He puts on the vestment of humanity.

Q. 9.—Can salvation not be effected without the coming of the *Guru*?

Who can know unless the gracious Revealer of the wide extended way, the great *Knower*, shall appear? (49.)

Com.—Unless the *Lord*, possessed of the wisdom surpassing the six *ATTVĀ*,† and the *Revealer* of the way of release, shall come in the form of a *Guru*, who can know these things

Sum.—The knowledge of the really existent can only be given by the *Lord* possessed of perfect knowledge.

Q. 10.—Is it necessary that He should come in the form of another devotee? Is it not enough that He is within my sentient mind?

Mystic knowledge can visit us without His intervention when the crystal kindles fire without the sun. (50.)

Com.—The crystal may be faultless, but will not act as a burning glass in the absence of the sun; even so divine and mystic *Wisdom* enters not the mind, whatever knowledge it may possess, without the *Guru*, *Çivan's* grace made manifest.

Sum.—In this it is taught that religious knowledge has no excellence without the teaching of the *Guru*.

* For *Āṇavam* see NOTE XV.

† This word is an adaptation of S. *ADHVĀ*, and expresses the physiological elements of all being. The idea is obsolete.

NOTE V.

Çatti-ni-bātham (சத்தி-நிபாதம், शक्तिनिपात) =
 'Cessation of Energy.'

The souls of men are found here in a state of bondage called the 'combined state' (பந்தம்). The Çaiva Siddhānta system traces its passage into the 'free, emancipated state' (முத்தி). The eternal Soul was, by a gracious interposition of the Supreme, made subject to vanity, combined with material forms, and launched forth in a world of action, in order that, the effect of deeds (eternal *a parte ante*) being removed or cancelled, the Soul might at length be enlightened by special grace, and so become gradually disentangled and purified; the consummation of which is *Mutti* (Note III), or final emancipation, and mystic, ineffable, eternal union with Çivam.* In this second stage of embodiment, then, it is prepared for the third and final stage. The passage into this is the great crisis in the Soul's secular pilgrimage. The man is now no longer of the world, but a devotee (சீவன்முத்தன்), emancipate, yet in the flesh: one in whom a great work of grace is being wrought. The steps by which he has reached this threshold of a new existence are (1) his being awakened by the energy (Çatti) of Çiva, which is, in intention and in fact, entirely gracious; but as it arouses the Soul to painful conflicts in varied experiences of successive embodiments, it is spoken of as an energy of (divine) anger. (2) The second step was his coming under the power of *Māyā*, both pure and impure (matter or its underlying essence, and sense organisation), whereby he has obtained successive bodies, spheres of being, organs, and experiences. In these embodiments he has consumed the fruit of his works,—those which are actually his, and those which have been imputed to him and laid upon him by the Supreme Power (by an eternal fate). (3) The third step is, that the impurities in which from all eternity the Soul has been involved have thus 'ripened,' or their fruits have become mature. This is an idea which it is difficult for us to comprehend. It rests upon a figure. The Soul has to partake of the results of these deeds which are its eternally destined inheritance. This is compared to the eating of fruit; but these fruits can only be eaten when they are ripe, when the

* See Pope's *Nālaḍiyār*, xi, pp. 66-69

Soul has been placed in circumstances where their whole effect and deserts have been brought out and experienced.

The whole effect of any deed is slowly evolved and matured, and the Soul must encounter, from æon to æon, these mysterious powers which constitute its destiny, in all their developments and in their fullest maturity.

(4) And now, in the fulness of the time, as the fourth step, there comes a 'balancing of deeds.' The notion of this seems to be that there is a point in time when the sins and merits that cling to the Soul and are its fate, become equal, and balance one another, or are made equal by the grace of the Supreme. There are now gathered into one the three kinds of deeds, the eternal accumulation of fate, the assignment for expiation during the present birth, and those which will yet accrue before the consummation is gained. These threefold deeds are at once cancelled; and, freed from them, the Soul enters upon its last stage of embodied existence.

(See Pope's *Nālaḍiyār*, Chapter XI, pp. 66-69, KARMMA.)

(5) The energy of Çatti, which is commonly called 'the veiling' energy (*Tirōtham*), is now changed into a gracious energy of enlightenment and repose from physical perturbations; this is called Çiva-çatti-nipātham, or cessation of Çiva's 'veiling' energy. (See Note XIII on Çatti.)

(6) And now the Soul passes into another human form, of the purest and most orthodox Çaiṅva lineage, and is in the third and pure state. Its course and discipline therein must be considered in another place.

NOTE VI.

ÇITHAMBARAM: ITS LEGENDS, AND THE MYSTIC DANCE OF ÇIVA.

THE 'TEMPLE LEGEND.'—Among all the sacred places held in reverence by the Çaiṅvites, there is none that can vie with Çithambaram (Chellumbram). Its legends are published in what is entitled *The Kōyil Purāṅam*, where 'Kōyil' (meaning *temple* in general) is used *par excellence* of Çithambaram.

UMĀPATI.—This Purāṅam is attributed to Umāpati, Çivāçāriyar, the author of many great treatises (before mentioned in these Notes, II.-IV.), and whose date is one of the few of [which we seem to have some certain knowledge. In his statement and refutation of heresies, the date 1313 is given. He was the last of the Çaiṅva schoolmen, whose period is the thirteenth century, contemporaries of the great mediæval Christian

schoolmen. If then this work is his, the reputation of the shrine must have been very great from a very early period. The legends in this Purānam relate to a time long antecedent to that of any of the devotees whose stories are given in the Periya Purānam; and, in fact, belong to the very oldest period of South Indian legend. These myths relate especially to the Vyāghrapāda ('Saint Tiger-foot'), Pathañjali ('the Serpent Devotee'), the dance of Śiva, and the story of Hiranyavanmā ('the Golden'). With these is combined a great quantity of details of miscellaneous mythology.

I. The history of *Vyāghrapāda*, whose image is very often found in close proximity to that of Śiva, is a very peculiar one, and seems to belong to the very earliest period of the establishment of the Brāhmanical system in the South. The name is found in the Rig Veda; so that these legends are simple inventions to account for the appellation, and to link on the Śaiva system to the Vedic times. There was on the sacred lands in the North, somewhere near the banks of the Ganges, a hermit, a Brāhman of the purest lineage and perfectly conversant with the Vedic rites, to whom a son was born endued with singular gifts and powers. The boy grew up in the wilderness under the tutelage of his father, and when he had learnt all that the father could teach him, the old hermit said to his son and disciple, 'What else can I do for thee?' The son replied, prostrating himself at his father's feet, 'Teach me what is the highest form of ascetic virtue.' The father replied that the worship of Śiva was the highest. 'And where,' inquired the son, 'can I best worship him?' The hermit replied, 'The whole universe is the presence of Para-brāhma' ('the Supreme Spirit'), 'yet there are places on earth where he especially manifests himself, even as the pervading Soul dwells and energises in a visible and circumscribed body. There are many myriads of such shrines, but of all of them Tillai* is the central sanctuary' (*Mūla-sthāna*), 'where Śivan will receive thy homage; for there is established the *lingam* which is light.† So the youthful ascetic went on his journey, after taking an affectionate leave of his mother, followed by his father's benediction. After a long journey southward over mountains, rivers, and plains, he arrived at a spot where he found a beautiful lake, covered with lotus-flowers (*Śiva-gaṅgā-tīrtham*), and a *lingam* established under the shade

* A name of Ćithambaram, which at that time was a vast wilderness, covered with (*excoecaria agallocha*) a tree called Tillai (perhaps S. TILAKA).

† At Ćithambaram is one of the principal *lingams*, generally enumerated as twelve. It is called the 'Air-lingam,' and is now invisible!

of a huge *banian* tree. Falling on his face, he worshipped ; and at once devoted himself to its service, crowning it with flowers, bathing it with water from a sacred pool hard by, and fulfilling all the usual observances. He then went onward a little distance towards the east, and there, under a fragrant tree on the borders of a beautiful tank, established for himself a second *lingam* as his own especial shrine, and built a hermitage of leaves and grass hard by. Thenceforward he divided his services between the two sacred spots, which are still revered in the neighbourhood of the great temple. And now, being alone, he found it difficult to accomplish his daily task according to his mind ; for he wished to gather not only flowers from the tanks, and from the fields, and from shrubs, but also, and chiefly, those that grew on the lofty trees, which were sweetest of odour and richest of hue ; yet, however early he went forth in the morning, before he had gathered the last of his flowers, the first had withered under the fierce sun's rays ; nor could he, while laboriously and slowly climbing the lofty trees in the early hours, see rightly to select perfect flowers. His flower-worship was therefore defective and unsatisfactory. In an ecstasy of passionate prayer, he besought the assistance of the god, who appeared in answer to his loving invocation, and promised him whatever boon he sought. The grace he asked was, that his feet and hands might become those of a tiger, armed with strong claws and furnished with eyes, so that he might rapidly climb the highest trees, and see clearly to select the fittest flowers for the divine worship. This boon was granted him, and so he takes his place among the great devotees of Çiva as the 'Tiger-footed' and 'Six-eyed,' and a part of the neighbourhood derives its name from this circumstance, and is called *Tiru-puli-ūr* ('Sacred Tiger-town').

II. Some time afterwards he was joined by another devotee, whose form is that of a serpent. The history of this mysterious personage is closely connected with the mystic dance of Çiva. This great leader of Çiva's hosts is a form of the *Āthi-cēshan*, or thousand-headed serpent, on which Viṣṇu slept on the ocean of milk through long periods. The wild story relates that Viṣṇu one day arose from his slumber and repaired to *Kailācam*, there to worship the supreme Çiva, who told him that in the neighbouring forest of *Dēvataru* there were multitudes of heretical *Riṣhis* or devotees, dwelling with their wives in huts of leaves. These seem in some way to have been rebels against his authority ; in fact, a commentator calls them the followers of the *Mīmāñçai*, who, puffed up with pride of learning, regard themselves as independent of Çiva's authority. (The whole history points to some great conflict between *Vēdāntists* and

Çaivites in early days.) It was the intention of Çiva to visit this wilderness, in order to ascertain the state of the Rîṣhis there, and to teach them a lesson. He bade Viṣṇu accompany him in the form of a female, and the two—Çivan as a mendicant, with the usual insignia and the bowl for the collection of alms, attended by Viṣṇu *as his wife*—entered the jungle. It is in connection with this story that Çivan is called a 'deceiver.' (Compare Note I.) The history that follows is in many respects far from edifying, though the author defends it, and gives to everything an allegorical meaning. At first sight all the Rîṣhis' wives were seized with an unspeakable frenzy of passion for the false mendicant; while all the Rîṣhis themselves were equally infatuated by the false dame that followed him,—Viṣṇu in disguise. There was soon fierce wrath raging throughout the whole hermitage. The inhabitants of the wilderness speedily perceived that the mendicant and his wife, who possessed such a mysterious and irresistible power of attraction, were other than they seemed. They became ashamed of the ecstasies of evil desire into which they had been thrown, and gathering themselves together, the 10,000 Rîṣhis pronounced fierce imprecations upon the disguised gods, which their wives reiterated. But the gods were unharmed. They then dug a sacrificial pit and proceeded to offer sacrifices, whose object was to ensure the destruction of the strangers. Every Vêdic rite was observed, for were they not the most accomplished of ritualists? The result was that a fierce tiger was created in the sacrificial fire which rushed forth upon Çiva, who, smiling gently, seized it with his sacred hands, and with the nail of his little finger ripped off its skin, and wrapped it round himself as a soft silken garment. This accounts for Çiva's tiger-skin mantle (Note I.). Undiscouraged by failure, they renewed their offerings, from out of which came a monstrous serpent, which he seized and wreathed round his neck, where it ever hangs; and then began his mystic dance. And now came forth the last monster in the shape of a black dwarf, hideous and malignant, brandishing a club with eyes of fire. His name was *Muyalagan (the Club-bearer)*. Upon him the god pressed the tip of his sacred foot, and broke the creature's back, so that he writhed on the ground; and thus, with his last foe prostrate, Çivan resumed the dance of which all the gods were witnesses, while his hosts sang wild choruses. The figure of the prostrate foe, writhing under the god's foot, is reproduced in every Çaiṇa shrine. The Rîṣhis, parched with the heat of their own sacrificial fires, and faint with the fury of their anger, and overwhelmed with the ineffable, mysterious velocity of the motion and the splendour of the heavens opening around them, fell to the ground as

dead, and then rising, worshipped the manifested god, acknowledging themselves His faithful devotees.

The very accomplished editor of the Purāṇam and commentator upon it, a zealous reviver in modern times of the Çaiva system, Ārru-muga-nāvalar, of Jaffna, gives his account of the meaning of this strange scene. It seems that the 10,000 Rīṣhis dwelling in the wilderness were adherents of the Purva Mīmāṅga school (founded by Jaimini), whom Çiva resolved to bring into his fold, and by the strange polemic detailed in the legend he accomplished his purpose. According to our editor, these Rīṣhis held seven erroneous doctrines: (1) they taught that the universe as it is is eternal; (2) that souls have no author or Lord; (3) that Çivan and all the gods are not eternal; (4) that the Vēdam alone is eternal; (5) that the words of the Vēdam are the only divinities; (6) that those words reveal no other divine beings than themselves; (7) that by performance of the sacrifices prescribed in the Vēdam, and by close adherence to the Karma-kāṇḍam (the ceremonial part), all blessings here and hereafter can be obtained. These Rīṣhis, who were consummate masters of the Vēdic ritual, considered themselves independent of all deities, showed neither love nor devotion to Çiva, and taught the same absolute reliance upon rites and ceremonies to their wives also. To convince them (both the Rīṣhis and their spouses) of their moral weakness and of the limited power of their most orthodox sacrifices, Çivan now appeared as the Bhiḡshātana-Mūrtti (*Mendicant Deity*), with Viṣṇu as the goddess of Illusion, in order to bring them to his feet. They were thus forced to recognise their dependence upon Çivan, and to acknowledge that by His grace alone they could obtain remission of sin and merit. They acknowledged that 'the virtue of them who love not Çivan's foot is sin.' The legend teaches that He subdues and wraps round Him as a girdle the tiger-like fury of human passion. The guile and malice of mankind He wears as His necklace, and beneath His feet is for ever crushed the monster of human depravity.

Of course, recognising the spirit of this teaching, it may be allowed us to doubt whether such explanations would ever have been dreamt of but for Christian teaching, and whether myths like these are the appropriate means for imparting this instruction. The fact is that we have here the pre-Aryan divinity, half god, half demon, coming forth from the burning ground where he holds his midnight orgies, dancing in the midst of his rabble rout. The commentator adds that since Çiva himself and his disguised companion, though they excited evil desires in the poor Rīṣhis and their wives, yet felt none themselves, and since no sin was com-

mitted, there is no room for condemnation of the story as a specimen of divine action.*

* The composite character of what may be called the Çaiṅva religion is very marked; it has borrowed much from diverse sources, and is accordingly full of inconsistencies, sometimes speaking the language of absolute pantheism, and then again seeming to grasp most firmly the idea of a personal divinity, who is at once the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer of all things. The original idea of Çiva is found in the Vēdas, but the name is simply a euphemism meaning 'propitious' or 'gracious.' Another name seldom found is Çarva, 'the Destroyer.' It seems most probable that with the idea of Rudra, the god of the Storm, and Agni, the god of Fire, is mixed up the notion of an aboriginal demon such as are still worshipped in the south of India. In the hymns to Çiva the most incongruous epithets are applied and actions ascribed to him. At one time, we see Çiva in Kailāṣa, the Silver Mountain (Note X), surrounded by all the gods in awful state, supreme ruler of all the worlds; at another time he is represented as wandering in the jungle or from village to village, smeared with ashes from the burning ground, a horrible and disgusting object. So he was reviled by Dakṣha. He is at once an awful deity, a frolicsome and mischievous man with superhuman powers, and a ferocious demon; and so his Çatti, or spouse, who is worshipped under a vast variety of names throughout all India, is sometimes the gracious and beautiful mother and sometimes the fearful and malignant DŪRGĀ. There is good reason to suppose that the worship of this malignant demoness may have been an original cult of the pre-Āryan races of India. In this way every species of inconsistency is to be found in the hymns which are sung in honour of Çiva and his spouse. Wherever two views have been held with regard to God, the Çaiṅva system asserts them both without the least attempt to reconcile them or qualify them, indicating thereby the deep feeling of which many illustrations will be found in the translations of Çaiṅva poetry, that the thought of God so transcends human intellect that all statements regarding Him contain some truth, and none are adequate, so that all may be alike affirmed and denied. There is no doubt that the Çaiṅvites of the South learnt the necessity of a visible divine Guru, an incarnate Teacher, first of all from Buddhism. The most elaborate arguments are to be found directed to the establishment of the proposition that man can only receive divine teaching from one who is both God and man. This is perhaps the most prominent doctrine of Çaiṅvism: *The true GURU is an incarnation of Çiva.* (Note IV.) Another tenet that the Çaiṅvites alone among Indian sects maintain is the conscious immortality of the souls of the faithful. Ten different theories of the heavenly state are recounted in the Çiva-pragaçam, of which the last is the authorised teaching of the Çaiṅva Siddhānta philosophy. The soul in *Mukti*, or the state of release, retains its individual consciousness, remains for evermore a separate existence, sharing the blessedness and wisdom of the Supreme, but unmingled with His essence. In fact, the doctrine held by the Çaiṅvites on this head is hardly to be distinguished from Christian doctrine. (Note III.)

The prayers and hymns addressed to Çiva contemplate him in every aspect, and are accordingly exceedingly inconsistent, mingling the most puerile conceptions with those that are in the highest degree exalted. Again, the controversies of the Çaiṅvites with Jains and Buddhists in the South have led to a very elaborate system of mystic interpretation. Whatever Çiva does or says has some mystic meaning; such meaning being sometimes exceedingly edifying and elevated, but appearing very often to be forced and unnatural. One is tempted to say that the myths often obscure and even neutralise the truths which they are supposed to symbolise. The Çaiṅvites are now divided into several sects, which agree in scarcely anything but the assertion of the supremacy of Çiva.

The goddess Pārvathi now descended upon the white bull ; and Çivan joining her, they departed in triumph to *Kailācam*.

Viṣṇu was thus left alone with Āthi-çēṣhan. Both of them are overwhelmed with the glory of Çivan's mystic dance ; and especially Athi-çēṣhan is possessed by the one desire to behold it again. Seeing this pious aspiration, Viṣṇu tells him that he will release him from further service, his place as servitor (couch and canopy) being occupied by his son, and exhorts him to resort to the northern hill of *Kailācam*, there by a life of asceticism to obtain the favour from Çivan of this beatific vision. So the new serpent-devotee wends his way upward and northward, while his mighty head, with its thousand crests, each bearing a jewel, diffuses a radiance around him that makes the sun look dim, yet he is prepared to lay aside these splendours and seek only to become the least of Çiva's devotees. After a while Çivan himself, assuming the form of *Brahmā* and riding upon a swan, the usual vehicle of that god, drew near to test the sincerity of the neophyte, who had now plunged into all the austerities of the *Yōga* system. The disguised god represents to Āthi-çēṣhan that he has already done enough to merit for himself all the delights of Paradise and all the divine powers of the most exalted of the heavenly beings, and offers to him any boon that he may desire. But the reply is, 'I desire not the blessedness of any separate heaven, nor the miraculous powers of *Siddhi* ; all that I desire is to see for ever the mystic dance of the god of gods.' (Compare Song 34 ; 28.) The pretended *Brahmā* argues with him, ridicules him, and urges him to relinquish his pursuit, but he finally replies : 'Here I abide, and if now unsuccessful I die without the beatific sight ; I shall pass into other forms, and finally see that which I desire.' Recognising his immovable fidelity, Çivan assumes his proper form, and, riding with Pārvathi on the milk-white bull, draws nigh and lays his hand in benediction upon his servant's head.

He then proceeds to instruct the new disciple, for such Āthi-çēṣhan now becomes. The teachings of the god who here assumes the character of a *guru* go back to the origin of all things (Note IV.). The universe has sprung into apparent existence from primeval *Māyā*, as the result of *Karma* and for the sake of 'souls,' that it may be the scene of embodiments and of action good and evil. As an earthen vessel has the potter as its *first cause*, the clay as its *material cause*, and as its *instrumental cause* the potter's staff and wheel, so the universe has *Māyā* for its material cause, the Çatti of Çiva for its instrumental cause, and the Lord Çiva himself as its first cause. We must note here, however, that *Māyā*,

according to the Çaiva system, is really 'matter,' something very different from the 'Illusion' of the Vēdānta system. And now Çivan has two forms or bodies, the one which has parts and is visible, the other which is without parts, invisible and transcendent. (*Sa-Kaḷa* and *Nish-Kaḷa*.)

Beyond these mystic bodies is his own natural form, which infinitely transcends them. It is his essential form of wisdom, which is mere light and splendour. He is thus the supremely blessed soul of all things, and the five acts of destruction, preservation, creation, embodiment, and gracious release (Note J) are his ceaseless mystic dance. Of this dance the sacred Vēdas know the excellence, but are not cognizant of its cause, its time, its place, its full intention. In the forest of Taruvanam, in the midst of the Rīṣhis, the gods beheld it ; but, because that is not the world's centre, it trembled beneath his foot. In sacred Tillai, which is the exact centre of the universe, shall this dance be finally revealed, and there the god promises to Āthi-çēṣhan that he shall again behold it.

'Meanwhile,' adds the manifested Çiva, 'that thou mayest make thy way to Çithambaram, it is necessary to put off thy form of Āthi-çēṣhan, for the inhabitants of earth would be affrighted by thy thousand heads, and gleaming eyes, and expanded crest. Thou shalt be born, or seem to be born, of mortal parents, retaining in part thy serpent form. Then descending into the world of dragons, thou shalt make thy way to where a hill is seen, and a cave, entering by the southern gate of which thou shalt emerge into the groves of Tillai. There is the original *lingam*, and near to that is the shrine which shall be the scene of my manifestation. There, too, thou shalt find my servant the "Tiger-foot," who is performing penance there. Dwell as his companion in the hermitage, and to you both shall in due time be accorded the vision for which you are longing. Accordingly Āthi-çēṣhan, who has now become a devotee, part man and part serpent, under the name of Patañjali,* meets with the Tiger-foot, makes for himself a hermitage, and plants a *lingam*, where he performs his daily worship. The living creatures in the wilderness at first were sore affrighted : 'We first saw the man with a tiger's feet, and now we see another, half dragon and half man,' said they, and fled ; but by-and-by, accustomed to the sight, they roamed around the hermitages in perfect amity.

The next book of the Purānam expatiates at great length upon the first institution, as it would seem, of the great festival still observed when Çivan is supposed to dance in the Golden Hall.

* A word of doubtful origin. PATA = 'falling,' and AÑJALI = 'reverential clasping of hands.'

NOTE VII.

ON THE IDEA OF BHAKTI (பத்தி).

Compare Pope's *Kural*, Int., p. vi.

The songs of the Āiava saints express a devotion, humility, and love of unspeakable fervour. We are reminded of the Psalmist's language (Ps. cxviii, 1), 'I will love Thee, O Lord my strength.'

This spirit of personal devotion is not found (as Professor H. H. Wilson has taught us) in the Vēdas. In fact, it seems to be something pertaining to the Semitic religion especially, and it possibly came into India from the extreme South, where Christian teaching existed from the earliest centuries of the Christian era. Chaitanya (A.D. 1434) is generally regarded as the great introducer of this idea of Bhakti; but as he lived in the fifteenth century, and Māṅikka Vāṇagar cannot have lived at a later period than the ninth, it is rather to him that we are to attribute its introduction.

Bhakti, or piety, is the main idea of the Āiava system, and the fervent love and worship of Āiava is represented as including all religion, and as transcending all religious observances; and, since all are capable of this, men of all castes can be received as devotees and saints in the Āiava system.

NOTE VIII.

MĀṅIKKA VĀṆAGAR'S DISPUTATION WITH THE BUDDHISTS
IN ĀITHAMBARAM.

It seems desirable to give a somewhat fuller translation of the sixth canto of the Vātha-ūrār-Purāṇam, entitled 'The Victory over the Buddhists in Disputation.' The story tells how Māṅikka Vāṇagar was summoned from his retreat to confront the Buddhist teachers who had come over to Āithambaram with the king of Ceylon. The day of disputation arrived. The conference was held in the hall where the Buddhists were lodged. We are told that the saint with the 3,000 resident devotees repaired to the temple, performed their devout worship, implored the grace of Āiava, and then gathered in the hall of conference. A veil was put over the saint's face that he might not even behold the ill-omened countenances of the heretics! He was then seated on a royal throne, while around and behind him were the faithful Brāhmins and devotees of every class, who had thronged in from all the country round.

Amongst them the Çōra king took his seat upon a gorgeous throne, after he had duly paid homage at the sacred feet of the saint. On the other side entered the Ceylon king, who was received by the Çōra with the utmost condescension. His tributary presents were accepted with many complimentary speeches, and he was invited to occupy a seat near that of the Çōra himself.

The Buddhist guru with his disciples sat opposite, and towering around (presumably invisible as yet) were all the gods and blessed ones from all the worlds. Even the divinities of the Sun and Moon were in presence there. The salutation of the Çōra king to the saint at the opening of the conference was ominous : 'It is thine, O saint of sacred Perunturrai, to establish the truth of the Çaiva wisdom. Afterwards it shall be my care to extirpate these Buddhists !' It is said that these words of the king were heard by the Ceylon champions with dismay and by the orthodox champions with delight. Thus encouraged, the saint opened the conference with no very saintly words : 'O Buddhan, who dost utter words of guile, wherefore art thou come ?' The foreign guru replied in no conciliatory strain : 'I am come to tell this town that there is no god but Him whose enduring worship we perform, and to place in sight of all men, in the very Golden Hall itself, the image of our god Buddha. This is all I seek.' The saint, with withering smile, replied : 'O thou who hast performed no austerities in any former birth, can a hare become an elephant ? But tell me who is this good and mighty god of yours. And how shall souls approach his feet ?' The topics then were 'God and the way of salvation.' The foreign guru replied in wrath, 'Can one show the sun's rays to the blind ? Were I to tell of Buddha's greatness, I should require many thousand tongues. But our god has revealed to us the good law of the *piḍagam*,* in which virtue is proclaimed. In love He has been born in many shapes. He has given assurance to millions of souls, and, free from the fourfold evils of murder, theft, falsehood, and intemperance,† He sits in majesty under an *arasu*‡ tree. The 'trouble of birth' is coming into existence, and the ceasing of the multiform cognizance of many things arising from assembling and combination in the womb of the 'Five *Kandas*,' which are *form* (*rūpa*),

* The Tri-pitaka (Tipitaka, in Tamil Piḍagam), 'three baskets,' are three collections regarded as canonical scriptures by the southern Buddhists. The second of these treats of ethics, and seems to be especially indicated here.

† The prohibitions of Buddhism are five. Here adultery is omitted.

‡ This is the *Ficus religiosa*, or poplar-leaved fig-tree. In S. it is called Bodhi, or 'perfect wisdom,' because under it Buddha was perfected. Other names are Aṅgaththa and Pippala (Peepul).

sentience (vedanā), *sign* (kurrippu ; saññā), *representation* (bhāvanai ; (sanskāra), and consciousness or *clear apprehension* (viññānam). And the utter perishing of these is deliverance (*mōksham*).' This exposition of the Buddhist creed in regard to God, the universe, and salvation, requires no doubt much elucidation, and many volumes have been written about it in East and West. A summary of it is given in the 'Sarva-Darṣana-Saṅgraha,'* though I am not sure that much light is thrown upon it in that work. In Dr. Barth's work on 'The Religious Systems of India'† fuller information is given, and the authorities there referred to afford the student an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of almost all that has been said and thought on the subject. Here our one object is to show how the native mind in South India apprehended the system. Many of the details of this disputation are doubtless not to be relied on, but they show us what the traditional belief is, and explain why Buddhism lost its hold. For indeed, though Buddhists existed for some centuries afterwards in the South, they never recovered the blow inflicted upon them by the events of which we are trying to gather up the current traditions. To return to our disputants. The saint smiled in derision, and looking into the blameless face of the Çōra king, said, 'What can I reply to this Buddhist, who in unconscious frenzy utters such words as these?' He then replied to the foreign heretic: 'Thou hast told us that knowledge appears and in an instant of time disappears; all is in a ceaseless flux. If so, before thou didst finish uttering forth thy words and meanings, since thine understanding must have passed away, what revelation of truth and virtue can there be? (*Since all apprehension is transient and momentary, there can be no real knower, or knowledge, or thing known.*) Thus there can be in thy system neither code of laws nor revelation of truth and virtue. Again, thou tellest us that thy Buddha thy God, was born in many successive shapes. How then can one who himself is subject to delusion and evil deliver others from these? You say, your Lord was guiltless of murder; but if he assumed all possible forms on this earth, as you say, then as a ravening tiger or as a jackal, when he was hungry was it grass that he ate, and tender shoots of trees? In thy false creed thou tellest us of Five Kandas; and that when these pass away the soul-body perishes; and that when form, etc., cease, the soul-body is no more. If so, where is thy king, and how could he survive and appear as saviour of many men? (*This idealism destroys law-giver and deliverer alike.*)

'Again, since the embodied form, together with its cause (the soul and

* Trübner's Oriental Series.

† Trübner's Oriental Series.

its deeds), perishes, your king, who sits under the *arasu* tree, is formless, is non-existent. So annihilation is your salvation. The destruction of the 'Five Kandas' is deliverance !

'Yet again, you speak of twenty-one Buddhas, who existed before' (twenty-four are generally given) ; 'and you say that each of these in being born occasioned the death of his mother. Are such beings gods, and not rather worthy of hell?' (The reference here is not clear.)

The next objection to the Buddhistic system is that it makes no distinction between organized living creatures, their life or soul being merely the temporary and delusive product of the same organization. 'You also say that the only difference between living creatures (*souls, lives, breaths*) is that they are formed of different mixtures of the same four elements ; yet in the night season, when thou wert asleep, if a serpent climbed over thy face, thou wouldst discern a difference, O silly reasoner. Thou hast denied the existence of any knowledge of spirit (soul, life) beyond the form. When the form then has perished, how can the life reappear under other forms? What and where is the *Ātman*, the *self*? What is it that exists (the *ἰπóστρατις*) when the form identical with the soul has perished?*' You deny also the existence of the 'Fifth Element,' the ether, through which sounds are transmitted ; and you say there are no spaces not filled with air, water, fire, and earth. In what medium then do your four elements combine to form living beings? Where then is your Buddha (who, having gained *Nirvāṇa*, must be freed from all elemental combinations), in his northern dwelling under the shade of the *arasu* tree? You deny also that trees have souls ; and yet they grow,† and put forth leaves by imbibing water, and become finally dry wood and leaves! In them souls of men can obtain suitable organisms for expiation of their deeds. You say that to kill anything is a great crime, and yet you allow the eating of the flesh of animals which others have slain. Surely if they kill for your sake, you are guilty of the murder which you cause.' (See *Manu* v. 51.) It seems strange that this accusation should apparently be true. The same thing is referred to in the *Kurraḷ* (256), and it was the source of a good deal of controversy between the Jains and the Buddhists ; the Buddhists refusing to kill, but not refusing to eat the flesh of the slain, while the more consistent Jains would neither slay nor eat.

* See Oldenberg, 'Buddha,' Hoey's translation, p. 29, etc. (Williams and Norgate, 1882), and p. 243. What appears to man to be his body is in truth 'the action of his past state, which then, assuming a form realized through his endeavour, has become endowed with a tangible existence.'

† Sir M. Monier-Williams, 'Buddhism,' p. 110. Prof. Rhys Davids on Buddhism, and the Bishop of Colombo's work on the same subject are indispensable.

'Again, *while the cause continues to exist, the effect perishes.* This is the doctrine of our Āgamas. But with you it seems that the soul's perishing with the body is its salvation. Your creed is that when the 'Five Kandas' perish the soul is released. Tell me where and what is the released soul, whose only existence was in the momentary and fluctuating existence of the 'Five Kandas.' Surely form and existence and deliverance perish together!' Here the Buddhist guru, beside himself with rage, interposed: 'Thou sayest that we possess neither god nor salvation. What then is your god, and what is your salvation?' To this Māṇikka Vācaṅgar replied, 'Our god, seated in the shade of the beautiful banyan tree, taught the laws of right; and many have beheld His beauty as He performed the mystic dance. His adornment is the sacred ashes. *Umai* is the half of His form. He is full of grace; who can worthily proclaim our god? In Tillai's beautiful Golden Hall, He dwells, wearing as a jewel the crescent moon. Is there any end to the story of His greatness?' Here the Buddhist interposed, as indeed seems quite natural, with the inquiry: 'Whither tends all this verbiage? Answer me plainly these questions: Your god, as He sits beneath the shade of the banyan, has a rosary and repeats His prayers. Is it because He strives to think of some other gracious deity beyond Himself to whom He prays? You tell me He dances in Tillai. Does one dance for the edification of a select company of the wise, or to gratify one's own phantasy? Again, "our god wears ashes on His sacred body," you say, with proud complacency. Is it because even white ashes look pure upon His dark red skin? Then you tell me that half His form is woman! Who has never heard of half a woman in the world? And if *Umai* even thus shares His being, it is indeed to be wondered at that your hermits leave wife and home to dwell quite alone in the wilderness!' But the mocking, cynical laugh of the Buddhist company was too much for the Ṣaiva champion, who scornfully interposed, 'Thou art unworthy to listen to high mysteries, the knowledge of which constitutes the blessedness of these assembled devotees. None can know these things who have not first performed penitential acts to which thou art a stranger. Yet know thou that our god carries the prayer-rosary in order that all His saints may from His example learn to pray and mortify themselves. The rosary is like the weapon in the Master's hand, with which, Himself unassailable, He is teaching His neophytes to make war. Thou sayest that our god dances as dance the wanton ones of earth, that eyes of flesh may see Him. Nay, but as the fire runs through the fuel uncontaminated, so doth our god pervade all souls and all bodies with His mystic energies:

He dances in the universe and in the soul. You ask about the sacred ashes. He wears them to assuage the sorrows of all souls. This act of His is like the nursing mother's taking medicines herself to heal the maladies of her tender infant. And thou askest why Çivan shares Umai's form. The answer is that to give mystic wisdom to His worshippers He assumes this mystic twofold form. Çivan the supreme, who rides upon the mighty bull, commingles with the souls of men like the fragrance* in the flowers ; but this thou knowest not. He is the First ; He is the Yōgi ; He is the Enjoyer ; He is the Forniless ; He is the Splendour ; He is the Being of many forms ; He is the Sea of delight. Who knows His crown, who knows the sole of His foot, save that He fills the Golden Hall where virtue rules, and sorrow is not ?' This closes the controversy, but the sequel as given in the legend is stranger still.

When we sum up this controversy it seems as though strict logic had no place in it, and the result is made to depend upon the double miracle, the infliction of dumbness upon the Buddhist disputants and the restoration of speech to the daughter of the Ceylon king. Each party has expounded his tenets and reviled those of his opponent ; but the only thing that looks like real reasoning is Mānikka Vācagar's treatment of the Buddhist idea of the *Kandas*. It has been too much the custom in India to hide poverty of thought under a multitude of high-sounding words, and to regard an explanation that is not absolutely absurd as a proof. The *Kandas*, or aggregates, represent no facts or realities, but imaginary states or conditions of finite existence, and, according to the popular view of the case, the whole theory means this : there is an unreal something, not embodied, not permanent, indeed not really existent, to which clings the responsibility of certain deeds, how done, or by whom, or when, is entirely uncertain ; and this shadow of being must have an opportunity of expiating or working out the results of these deeds, and therefore this Ego, without fixed principle, or substratum of existence, or soul, or body, obtains in this world an embodiment. Of this the first element is (1) *form* ; the second is (2) *sensation* ; the third is (name or) (3) *sign* (or characteristic qualities) ; the next is the (4) *deeds* which determine the faculties and dispositions of the mind ; the last is (5) *individual consciousness*. These elements combine, arrange, and rearrange them-

* *Kandam* in Tamil (S. *gandha*) means also fragrance. Sweet odours are reckoned to be five, the *pañcha-Kandham*. It seems that there is an allusion to this here. The five *Kanda* (Pali for Sanskrit *SKANDHA*) would be unintelligible to Tamil people, and the general idea among the vulgar was that the Buddhists taught that the universe was formed from combinations of odours ! Compare *Sarva-darçana-saṅgraha*, ch. ii, p. 22, *Kēchana Bauddhā*, etc.

selves, suffering infinite modifications, till death dissolves the bond. If Nirvaṇa has not been obtained, and so another metempsychosis is necessary, what survives,—the deeds without the doer,—instantaneously receives another embodiment, and so on until at length the deeds have been atoned for, and, as it necessarily follows, the shadow of being is annihilated, and, as the whole universe is compounded of the same *Kandas*, it follows that there is in reality no god, no soul, and of course no immortality, nothing in fact but appearance and sensation. As presented in Tamil writings, the whole system seems fragmentary.

Mānikka Vāṇagar presses this upon his opponent, who has nothing to say in defence or explanation, but reviles the Ṣaiva mythology, the origin of which he finds in the Vēdas themselves. Here the Buddhist seems to have had surer ground to tread upon, and the only reply that was possible to Mānikka Vāṇagar was to explain away everything as allegorical and mystical. These explanations are poetical, but very far-fetched, and historically find no sanction in the original myth. They are ingenious, but adapted only to the comprehension of a refined and select body of the initiated: to the world the system is one of puerile idolatries and superstitions. Such was the Buddhist's idea. It will be noted that each party claimed for its master the attribute of 'Revealer of Virtue.' Buddha under the *bōdhi* tree, and Ṣivan under the banyan tree, both taught the ancient law of right, and on this matter no controversy arose. The Tamilians are right in declaring that the morality of Buddhism is essentially that of the Upanishads except in the matter of forbidding sacrifice; and in regard to the last point the fact that the Buddhist sanctioned the eating of the flesh of animals, though he himself would not slay them, overbalanced in the mind of the Ṣaivites all the ethic excellence of their system (Kurral., ch. 33). It will be apparent that the victory of the sage was a victory of sentiment and of authority, but not any way of logic or learning.

NOTE IX.

'THE TIRU-VĀṢAGAM.'

In considering the poetry of Tiru Mānikka Vāṇagar the Tamil student must feel its superiority to all the vast collections of the Dēvāram, although the authors of some of these enjoy perhaps a wider popularity among the Tamil people. Versions can of course give nothing but the very faintest idea of the earnestness and grace of the sage's hymns. They

cannot be rendered into simple prose without entirely misrepresenting them, and to put them rigidly into metre would involve a sacrifice of exactness in the rendering. In a translation I hope to publish they are given line for line, and almost word for word, in language answering, as nearly as I knew how to shape it, to the tone and manner of the Tamil originals. I find this the way in which I can produce the most literal version. It is quite certain that the influence of these poems in South India is like that of the Psalms among Christians, and that they have touched for generations the hearts of the vast majority of the Tamil-speaking people. There is in them a strange combination of lofty feeling and spirituality with what we must pronounce to be the grossest idolatry. And this leads to the thought that in the Çaiva system of to-day two things that would appear to be mutually destructive are found to flourish together and even to strengthen one another. The more philosophical and refined the Çaivite becomes, the more enthusiastic does he often appear to be in the performance of the incongruous rites of the popular worship. In general Çaivites pay peculiar adoration to two distinct idols, leaving out of question Gaṇeça and Suppiramaṇya, the so-called sons of Çiva. These two symbols are first the 'lingam' with the 'lingi,' and secondly the image of Çiva accompanied with Umā, whose form is generally combined into one with his. These really represent one idea, Çivan and Çatti, the god and the energy that is inseparable from him, which combine to create, sustain, and destroy the phenomenal universe. (Note XIII.)

It is sometimes thought and said that the idols in these temples are mere signs, representing as symbols the Divine Being and some of his works and attributes. This is not altogether an adequate statement of the case. Each image by a peculiar service which is called *Āvāganam* (S. *ĀVĀHANAM* = 'bringing unto') becomes the permanent abode of an indwelling deity, and is itself divine. The worshippers, as will be seen in our legends, seem to believe that the images of the god consume the food presented to them, and are strengthened and refreshed by it. The images are treated and spoken of as living and sentient beings. They are seen to smile, to lift up hands to bless, to move from place to place, and to issue audible commands. Devout and enthusiastic worshippers amid the glare of the lamps and the smoke of the incense seem to be carried away so as to entirely identify the invisible object of their thoughts with that which is presented before their eyes. It was certainly so with our poet. If it is remembered that some of these images have been worshipped, tended, garlanded, and treated as human beings, for a thousand years; that each

generation has done them service and lavished gifts upon them ; that they are connected by association with long lines of saints and sages ; and that it is believed that Çivan's method of gracious manifestation is by, and through, and in these, as what we should call sacraments of his perpetual presence, we shall understand with what profound awe and enthusiastic affection even images, to us most unsightly can be held by multitudes of good and excellent people.

NOTE X.

'ÇIVAN ENTHRONED ON THE SILVER MOUNTAIN.'

'Çivan sat upon his throne, and on his left side was with him his gracious energy, the world's mother, the goddess Pārvathi. He is from eternity free from all impurity, the Everlasting, the All-Pervader, possessed of all wisdom, all pre-eminence, and all spontaneous grace. Through his infinite compassion towards souls, for which they can render him no return, he ever performs, without performance, the acts of creation, protection, destruction, veiling and dispensing grace. He is the first and only god, having one sacred face and three eyes, which are the glowing splendours of the sun, the moon, and the god of fire. His crest of matted hair (சூல, S. Jaṭā) is crowned with the Ganges, the crescent moon, and the *kondrai* (*cassia*) garland. His sacred ears are adorned with earrings of conch-shell and flower-petals (சேர்ப்ப). His throat is black with the poison churned out from the milky sea. (See notes to Lyric XII.) His sacred hands grasp, one the antelope, and one the axe ; one gives the sign of safety, and the fourth assurance of gifts of grace. His body, ruddy like coral, is besmeared with sacred ashes. His breast is adorned with the white investing thread and necklaces consisting of the bones of innumerable Brahmās and Viṣṇus and the skulls of Brahmās of innumerable æons. He has girt himself with the tiger's skin (Note VI.). His waist is resplendent with dagger and girdle. His feet, like red lotus-flowers, tinkle with the heroic anklets and sounding bells. Such is the body that he wears as Çrī-Kaṇṭhar (*He of the auspicious throat*). He sits on the silver hill of *Kailācam*, whose innumerable white peaks are adorned with divers jewels. There in a shrine of ruddy gold he gleams, while his crowding hosts make music with innumerable instruments. Many on either side wave the white Çāmaram (the white tail of the Yāk, or *Bos grunniens*), and many others wave flower-

twined fans. The heavenly musicians and choristers of every degree sing in sweet harmony. The leaders of his hosts, their frames dissolved in ecstasy like wax in fire, their quivering bodies thrilled in every part with joy, while rapture fills them as the torrent from the open sluice, plunging into the very gulf of delight, were dancing and singing before his face. The ascetics, hands clasped above their heads, were reciting the Upanishads which are the heads of the Vēdas. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Indra with the other gods stood afar off, kept back by the wand of sacred Nandi, and, with hands upon their mouths, humbly made known their wants to him who sat upon the throne.'

I have translated this literally from the introduction to the *Periya Purānam* in order to show the mythological conception entertained by the Ṣaivas of the object of their worship. Nothing can be nobler and more spiritual than the accounts found in many of their writings of PATI (the Lord); but mingled with everything are the incongruous conceptions a few of which are here shadowed forth. In such descriptions every legend is introduced, every form in which the god is anywhere worshipped is brought in, and the result often to our minds is inexpressibly grotesque. Yet for every particular an explanation is offered, mystic meanings are given, and the whole is resolved into a series of allegories which are supposed to teach the gracious operations of Ṣiva, the Lord of all. In reading these legends it is necessary to keep always in memory this twofold character of the religious system of South India. Gross and ridiculous representations (so they strike the foreigner) are found in juxtaposition with refined, pathetic, devout, and even sublime expressions. This is peculiarly the case in the lyrics of the profound enthusiast Māṇikka Vācagar.

NOTE XI.

THE *Ṣaiva Siddhānta* SYSTEM OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION IN SOUTH INDIA.

The *Ṣaiva Siddhānta* system is the most elaborate, influential, and intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India. It is peculiarly the South Indian and Tamil religion, and must be studied by every one who hopes to understand and influence the great South Indian peoples. The *Vaiṣṇava* sect has also many influential followers in the Tamil lands, but these are chiefly immigrants from the North. Ṣaivism is the old prehistoric religion of South India, essentially existing from pre-Aryan times, and sways the hearts of the Tamil people. But this great

attempt to solve the problems of God, the soul, humanity, nature, evil, suffering, and the unseen world, has never been fully expounded in English. Its text-books (probably its sources) exist in Tamil only, and in high Tamil, in verse, which is often made of set purpose obscure and difficult. Classical Tamil is very little studied, yet this key alone can unlock the hearts of probably ten millions of the most intelligent and progressive of the Hindu races.

In a period quite antecedent to all historic data, the native Dravidian religion was a kind of Çaivism. It had peculiar forms of sacrifice, ecstatic religious dances, rites of demon worship, and other ceremonies which still exist among the villagers of the extreme South,* and more or less among the rural population everywhere. In process of time northern—Āryan, Vēdic, Brahmanical—influences were brought to bear upon these original forms of worship, and those who introduced the Vēdic religion into the South found a place for the superstitions of the aborigines in their own system. The inhabitants of South India adopted to a great extent the social institutions, the myths, and forms of worship of the Āryan settlers. In the Vēdas Çivan is not named, but the god Rudra, the god of storms and tempests, seems to have been the type of a divinity most in unison with the ideas of the inhabitants of the South, who probably came originally from Central Asia, and brought with them their Scythian divinity, who was cruel, and was worshipped with rude and cruel ceremonies. Rudra-Çivan became therefore the type of the divinity, as the destroyer. In process of time Buddhism and the Jain system found their way into the South, propagated by zealous and able men, and thus undoubtedly a softer and more genial character was imparted to the whole of South India. Meanwhile on the eastern coast Christianity was introduced by the Nestorians, and spread abroad very rapidly, becoming widely known and exerting great influence even where it did not make converts. It is undoubtedly the fact that these Christian influences pervaded the whole South. Muhammadanism also in various directions entered the Tamil land, and exerted great influence over the thinkers in those regions. Thus the elements out of which the present and finished Çaivism of the South has been evolved are numerous and diverse. It must also be noticed that since the twelfth century the *Vaiṣṇava* system has been a formidable rival of Çaivism, and the rivalry has tended to develop and systematize the dogmatic parts of the system most decidedly. We have now to do with the historic beginnings of South Indian Çaivism. A sage from the North, whose name was *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa*, in the eighth

* See *Nāḷadi*, 16.

century came from Behar and taught the existence of a personal deity in opposition to the Buddhists. His disciple was the very celebrated sage *Çankara Āchārya*, who is the father of religious philosophy in the South. Various sects claim him as their founder, but he certainly was a *Çaiva*, and is regarded as an incarnation of *Çivan* himself.

The great revival and spread however of *Çaivism* is due to certain saints or devotees who were men of great devotion, unwearied activity, and remarkable power. The first of these was *Mānikka Vaçagar*, whose date is uncertain, but may reasonably be assigned to the tenth century A.D. Probably about a century later arose *Ñāna Sambandhar* and the various lesser devotees whose legends are collected, amplified, and idealized in the *Periya Purāṇam*. Some notice of these is essential to a clear view of our subject. The next stage in the history is the rise of the great philosophical school called the *ÇAIVA SIDDHĀNTA* system. These sages were fourteen in number, and are called the *Santāna Gurus*. (Succession of teachers.) The only date which appears to be reliable is that given by one of these in a polemical treatise. He wrote in 1313. Thus the early fourteenth century was remarkable for the existence of a most able and zealous band of philosophical *Çaivites*, whose influence still pervades the land. This system is called the *Pati-paçu-pāçam* system. Here *Pati* is the Lord or Supreme Being, *Paçu* is the soul, and *Pāçam* is the bond ; and on the interpretation of these three words everything depends. The Lord of course is *Çiva*, and the attributes with which he is invested are very remarkable. In the *Çaivite* catechism the question occurs, What is *Pati*? and the answer is, 'He is the eternal, all-pervading, all-wise, eternally blessed, absolutely independent Creator of all, who is from all eternity free from taint of evil.'

NOTE XII.

THE THREE CATEGORIES (*padārtha*).

In the first quatrain of his greatest work, *Umāpati*, the ablest of the *Çaiva* schoolmen, throws down the gauntlet and challenges the teachers of all the Hindu schools, declaring that the real and only intention of all the *Vēdas* and other sacred writings is summed up in the three mystic words *PATI* (the Lord), *PAÇU* (the flock), and *PAÇAM* (the bond). These are the three categories of the *Çaiva Siddhānta* system. Though this system received its final development some centuries after our sage,

implicitly he held its principles, and it is necessary for the illustration of these poems and legends to bring together, connect, and illustrate the main dogmas of that elaborate, thoughtful, and influential religious philosophy which has been evolved in connection with these words.

The three eternal entities of the system are (1) the LORD, who is Çiva himself; (2) the aggregate of all souls or lives that constitutes Çiva's FLOCK, which, by his grace, he wills to conduct to the blessedness of final disentanglement from all embodiments; and (3) the BOND, or the sum total of all those elements which bind souls and hinder them from finding release in union with the 'Lord.' These three—Pati, Paçu, Paçam—are equally eternal, existing unchanged and undiminished through successive æons. The idea of the 'Lord' is a philosophical refinement of that of the Çiva of the older mythology. Among other titles given to Rudra we find that of *Paçunām-pati* ('Lord of the flocks'), and from that has been evolved the ingenious allegory on which this system is founded. Umāpati's doctrine in regard to the 'Lord' is set forth in many quatrains of his text-book. This is the sum of his theology as to this topic :—

- i. Pati is the Supreme Being ;
- ii. He is neither permanently manifested nor unmanifested ;
- iii. He is without qualities or distinguishing marks ;
- iv. He is free from all impurity ;
- v. He is absolutely one ;
- vi. He is eternal ;
- vii. He is the source of wisdom to innumerable souls ;
- viii. He is not subject to fluctuations ;
- ix. He is immaterial (indiscernible) ;
- x. He is the essence of bliss ;
- xi. He is difficult of access to the perverse, but the final goal of those that truly worship him ;
- xii. He is infinitely small and infinitely great ;
- xiii. He is the true Çivam, or 'blessedness.'

The second of these statements is thus explained : Whatever has a visible form must be subject to the laws of production, maintenance, and decay ; therefore the Supreme is without visible form. On the other hand, that which has no form by which it can become manifest is a mere fancy, like the 'horn of a hare' or 'flowers of the atmosphere.' But Pati is real and makes himself known to souls. This will be further explained in connection with another part of the subject.

Çivan as thus described is said to be *Niṣh-kalam*, i.e., without parts or adjuncts, perfect in Himself, the absolute Lord. But He is capable of manifestation, and in order to energise in souls, and in the various constituents of that eternal aggregate of impurity which constitutes the *bond*, He assumes a Ça-kala nature, i.e. one composed of a species of spiritual body.

NOTE XIII.

The BRIDE, Parā-çatti = Çivan's 'Primal Energy.'

In order that the supreme *Pati* may energise in soul and in the Pāçam (Malam) from which the universe is evolved, there proceeds forth from him an energy (Çatti, S. ÇAKTI) which in its various manifestations will require attentive consideration. The doctrine is thus summed up: "The supreme Çatti, or essential energy that subsists in and one with Çivam, sends forth in successive developments (1) the energy of desire, (2) the energy of wisdom, and (3) the energy of action. These powers in operation constitute the sacred body of Çaiṣa. This 'the uncontaminated one approaches, manifesting himself as inscrutable grace, and thus joins himself to the pure māyā.' He then approaches 'impure māyā, the causal one, and establishes bodies, organs, worlds, and fruition in all their plenitude in order that deeds eternal and inexorable may be consumed,' as it is curiously phrased. Thus souls are embodied, involved in the bond from which, when deeds are consumed, they will be evolved. This is the mystery of the developed and undeveloped forms of the Supreme. What is specially important here is that the supreme divinity (Pati) manifests himself and operates in the universe through his Çatti, or energy, only. 'Çivan and Çatti are as the sun and its radiance.' This noun is in Sanskrit feminine, and thus the effective energy of Çivan is represented as a female, a goddess, and it is very wonderful what an amount of mythology and ritual has been accumulated around this one word. The question is repeated again and again, How is Pati, who is pure spirit, to mingle with and energise in souls and amid impurities? and the answer is, that he does so by sending forth an energy that is like a ray of light, a mighty influence that quickens, illuminates, and purifies all things, and this energy, personified as a goddess, has led to all the developments of Çatti worship. This is in fact the way in which the Çaiṣa philosophy bridges over the gulf between the finite and the infinite. (Compare Çiva-ñāna-Bōdham, p. 54, Madras, 1825.)

NOTE XIV.

‘EVOLUTION,’ ‘PRESERVATION,’ and ‘INVOLUTION’ IN
OPPOSITION TO ATHEISM.

The doctors of the Çaiṅa Siddhānta are strenuous opponents of the atheistic school, or *Lōkāyatikas* (see the Sarva-Darsana-Sangraha, Chapter I, where they are called Chārvakas. These deny the existence of a creator, and the argument against them for the existence of a supreme Being, who evolves, sustains, and involves the phenomenal universe, is as follows: ‘The whole universe, with its entire complement of beings, male, female, and without life, comes into phenomenal existence, subsists awhile, and then subsides; this is our experience. It is therefore necessary to assert the existence of a Lord, or *Pathi*, who creates, maintains, and destroys. That after dissolution, the phenomenal universe reappears in a new æon is the result of the bond, *impurity*. For souls must again and again have embodiments; there must be a long chain of metempsychoses in order that these impurities may be matured, work out their legitimate tendencies, and produce their various results in the experience of each being. So when these are exhausted, may souls be released from their power. Since then these embodied living ones (souls) come upon the stage of being, act awhile, and then pass away there must be a Lord (*Pathi*), who directs their course; especially as every element of the bond is unintelligent, and cannot seek out for itself the souls to which it clings; nor can the souls themselves select their own appropriate forms and successive embodiments, and cannot of themselves select the deeds which pertain to them. It is therefore necessary that the Supreme, the Uncontaminated One, should preside over and direct each embodiment. We thus see in this universe a succession of living beings with material environments. Now, what is thus manifestly subject to decay, and is ever being renewed and changed, must have an intelligent Author, Sustainer, and Restorer of its manifold frame. Therefore the Lord exists, and is first, and midst, and last.’

NOTE XV.

ĀṆAVAM, OR THE 'BOND OF IGNORANCE.'

This is in later Çaiṇa books called *Āṇavam* (= *minuteness*), an abstract noun from ANU (அணு, அநு) 'anything minute, subtile.' It is a word in its metaphysical sense coined by the Tamil Çaiṇas.

The following (Chap. III) from the Tiru-arul-payan throws as much light upon this conception as it is perhaps capable of receiving. It corresponds in some ways to 'original sin': Sahaja-Mala.

Presented in this formal way it is the latest development of Çaivism. (XIIth Century).

CHAPTER III.

THE NATURE OF THE BOND (PĀÇAM), OR, THE IMPURITY OF DARKNESS.*

The author has spoken of the LORD and of the FLOCK, and here he speaks of the BOND, which is threefold: darkness, deeds, and delusion. But especially he speaks of *Āṇavam*, the first of these, ignorance assuming a concrete form.

Q. 1.—What is the sorrow that clings to the soul?

That (*Āṇavam*) which denies that there is the unceasing grievous round of embodiment, and that there is also bliss and means of help, is ever existent, though ever hidden. (21.)

Com.—There is an eternally clinging impurity of darkness* that conceals all that the soul should know in regard to afflictions from birth, the joys of release, and the help the Lord imparts.

Sum.—In this and the following couplet (1) the reality of *Āṇavam* and (2) its bewildering power are shown.

[The Tamil name "*Aviçça*," is used as a synonym of *Āṇavam*. It is also called "darkness" (S. A + VIDYĀ) (*irul*, for which *arul* (= grace) is the remedy. (Chapter IV.)]

* *Āṇava-malam*.

Q. 2.—Unto what may this Āṇavam—‘impurity’—be likened ?

There is nothing except darkness that shows itself and hides everything else, so as to make them one with itself. (22.)

Com.—Darkness, and it alone, has the power to abide, hiding things so that their distinctive differences shall not appear. So Anavam hides birth and death, the way of release, and the means of deliverance.

Sum.—The bewildering effect of Anavam is here shown.

Q. 3.—Is it in all things the analogue of darkness ?

Darkness hides objects of vision, but shows itself ; Anavam hides all things else, and itself remains concealed. (23.)

Com.—Darkness in the phenomenal world wraps all things in concealment; but is itself clearly perceived. This mental darkness conceals both divine knowledge and its own presence in the soul.

Sum.—The spiritual darkness of Āṇavam is shown to be more cruel in its effect than ordinary darkness.

Q. 4.—This power which conceals and is itself concealed—does it affect the Lord ?

This Āṇavam exists from eternal ages, commingling with the soul, which is essentially united with the inner light, and abides until now. (24.)

Com.—From all eternity it co-exists in the soul together with the inner light of divine mystic wisdom ; spreads not indeed over the divine essence, but dwells persistent in the soul, and obscures it even until now.

Sum.—Here it is taught that Āṇavam is from infinite ages, and that it does not pass out of the soul like “deeds” and “delusion.”

Q. 5.—Is this Āṇavam really unknown to the souls it enshrouds ?

‘My Lady Darkness’ has an infinity of lovers, but hides herself from all with strictest chaste reserve ! (25.)

Com.—Though this “darkness” pervades and interpenetrates all souls, yet to the soul in which it dwells the energy of ignorance reveals not herself.

Sum.—This teaches the mysterious power of Āṇavam.

[Āṇavam is *one*, though pervading an infinity of souls.

There is a personification here, as in the next. In Tiruvāṇṇam 4 ; 43–45,

‘Soon as I thought of that Being, free from hate, unique,
Delusive powers in ever-changing millions swarmed,
And straight began their ever-varying, delusive play.’

In Māṇikka Vāṇṇagar’s days the theory of Āṇavam had not been fully worked out.]

Q. 6.—How can one come to know this Āṇavam ?

No need of many words ! This ignorance of all that souls ought to know is the gift of the ‘sons of darkness.’ (26.)

Com.—What good can come from using many words ? The condition that is ignorant of the difference between temporal and eternal things must be caused by the powers of black darkness. Āṇavam is the parent of innumerable active energies of unwisdom.

Sum.—We learn here that this root impurity is the cause of a mighty power of darkness, and so is known by its effects.

Q. 7.—If any one denied the existence of Āṇavam,* what would you reply ?

If there be no darkness, why is there embodiment, and the joys and sorrows of earthly life ? If you define it to be nothing else than the soul’s essence, when it departs the soul must perish with it. (27.)

Com.—If you deny the concrete existence of this darkness of ignorance, why was the soul subjected to this sorrow of embodiment, which is the source of the life of sense ? If you say that it is merely the natural condition of the soul, then if divine mystic wisdom be given, this ignorance

* The *Aikkiya-vāthi* school. See *Çiva-piragāṇam*, 22. This school is the second in the ‘refutation of heresies’ by our author.

departing, the soul will itself cease to be. (Cleansing would mean destruction.)

Sum.—This is a refutation of those who deny the existence of a specific impurity to which the name of Āṇavam is given.

Q. 8.—If one should say Āṇavam came incidentally in the course of development, what reply is there ?

If this impurity has a beginning, how can we explain the reason of its sudden appearance in the midst? Also in that case may not this disease spontaneously reappear even in the realms of deliverance? (28.)

Com.—If Āṇavam has sprung up incidentally, there must be some cause for its appearance, as there is for a soil on a white garment or for a tarnish on the surface of a mirror, nor in that case can there be any absolute and final deliverance for the soul, for Āṇavam may again spontaneously appear. The crucial question of *the origin of evil*.

Sum.—This is a refutation of those who teach that Āṇavam has had a beginning.

Q. 9.—If it be from all eternity, surely it never will depart

Though darkness grow and spread, light if received will disperse it. If not, it never can leave the mind. (Even so, if Āṇavam yields not to successive impartations of grace,* the office of the guru is useless. But this office does rid the soul of it.) (29.)

Com.—Material light ever dissipates the darkness that admits it; if it were not so, perpetual darkness would brood over all things. Even thus, if Āṇavam does not yield to the successive operations of grace, ignorance can never be dispersed. The soul must have a faculty of receiving effectual grace.

Sum.—Here one of the means of deliverance from Āṇavam is suggested.

Q. 10.—How would you answer a person who deemed that primal delusion, and not Āṇavam, concealed things ?

* Lit. 'kalai and the rest.'

Like a light that illuminates till the dayspring arise, primal delusion has a form, and associates itself with deeds. (30.)

Com.—Till divine mystic wisdom is imparted by Çiva, and so the darkness of Āṇavam is dissipated, delusion (Tirōtham) appears, and, for the sake of deeds which have to be consumed, is the cause of the phenomenal universe. Even so is it when one lights a lamp and awaits the dawning of the day.

Sum.—Here delusion and deeds in their relation to Āṇavam are explained.

END OF NOTES.