RADHAKRISHNAN

Selected Writings on Philosophy, Religion, and Culture

Edited, and with an Introduction, by
Robert A. McDermott

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

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For Ellen
Whose affection for India, especially for its children, typifies her sensitivity to life's wonders and tragedies.
Preface

The work of S. Radhakrishnan has been the most important single factor in the genesis and development of Indian and Western comparative studies. Since shortly after the turn of the century, Radhakrishnan has been working creatively for a greater synthesis of Indian and Western values, and in so doing has helped to establish the data, problems, and a method for the comparative study of Indian and Western philosophical, religious, and cultural ideas. This volume contains a representative selection of Radhakrishnan's most significant writings in these areas.

The Editor's Introduction, in five sections, corresponding to each section of the book, explains the aims, key concepts, and major presuppositions of Radhakrishnan's thought. The initial selection, Radhakrishnan's autobiographical essay, and the corresponding first section of the Introduction explain how Radhakrishnan set out to synthesize the Indian and Western ideas that have absorbed his attention during the past six decades. This first section characterizes Radhakrishnan's "search for truth," and introduces the tasks dealt with in the remaining sections of the book. The other four sections of the book, dealing respectively with Radhakrishnan's interpretation of Indian philosophy, his systematic version of Vedânta, his reinterpretation of Hindu dharma and yoga, and his consistent plea for a universal synthesis "on the plane of spirit," represent areas in which Radhakrishnan's writings have proven to be extremely significant. As is noted in the concluding section of the Introduction, recent works in comparative philosophy, religion, and culture (the most important of which are listed in the Bibliography), have seriously challenged some of Radhakrishnan's most characteristic claims. Despite the criti-
icisms which can be brought against Radhakrishnan's system, however, his writings are still the best introduction to Indian and comparative philosophy.

The selections have been drawn from volumes that are not readily available to the nonspecialist in Indian studies. Each essay and chapter is reprinted in its entirety; there is no internal editing of Radhakrishnan's text, except for the omission of many footnotes, especially in Chapters 3 and 4. The selections are arranged so as to insure maximum continuity and coherence. The Glossary of Important Names and Terms should provide additional assistance to those unfamiliar with the Indian tradition. It is hoped that the entire volume will be intelligible to the beginning as well as to the accomplished student of Indian and comparative philosophy.

ROBERT A. McDermott

Rye, New York

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I am indebted to Professor Thomas Berry of Fordham University for having introduced me to the splendors of Asian philosophy and religion, and for directing my work in this area with a dedication that is well known to his students and friends. I am also grateful to Professors John H. Lavelle and Donald R. Dunbar of Boston University for the characteristic patience and skill with which they directed my dissertation on Radhakrishnan’s Comparative Philosophy. My greatest debt is to my brother, John J. McDermott of Queens College, whose singular genius ideally blends practical wisdom, selfless action, and an abiding affection for the varieties of experience.

My wife, Ellen, to whom this edition is dedicated, has been a generous partner in my work on Radhakrishnan and in the larger task of understanding and appreciating India.
Introduction

I

Radhakrishnan's life work as philosopher, interpreter of Hinduism, and exponent of a universal community is traceable to "the challenge of Christian critics" which led him "to make a study of Hinduism and find out what is living and what is dead in it" (p. 40). Radhakrishnan began this study in the first decade of the twentieth century when philosophy in India was exclusively British, primarily neo-Hegelian; but during the two decades between the publication of his master's thesis on the "Ethics of the Vedānta" (1908) and the completion of his two-volume history of Indian philosophy (1923-27), he established the respectability of Indian philosophy not only in India but throughout the philosophical world.

Radhakrishnan's determination to defend Indian philosophy, and the Vedāntic system in particular, provided his work with a coherence and forcefulness that the subject desperately needed at the time, but it also bore an apologetic tone from which his writings are never entirely free. Just as his master's thesis "was intended to be a reply to the charge that the Vedānta system had no room for ethics" (p. 40), virtually all of his subsequent writings are an attempt to establish idealism and Hinduism as a solution to the conflict of philosophical and religious ideals.

Despite its awkwardly self-conscious tone, "My Search for Truth" suggests the basic attitude and broad outline of Radhakrishnan's proposed solution to the conflict of certain philosophical and religious values. Some of the more significant factors in the formation of his system are cited in turn: the pervasive Indian sense of the eternal and the tenuous status of the empirical world, the more humanistic direction of Indian religious thought typified by Rabindranath Tagore, the influ-
ence of Bergson’s argument for intuition, the ideal of integral experience based on the model of the Indian mystic, and finally the belief in universal salvation. The concluding section of the essay contains some of Radhakrishnan’s typical reflections on and hopes for the human condition.

In presenting and extending the idealist and Vedântist position, Radhakrishnan effectively draws on the works of Rabindranath Tagore and Henri Bergson. Radhakrishnan’s first two books, *The Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* (1918) and *The Reign of Religion in Contemporary Philosophy* (1920), are not especially insightful on either Tagore or Bergson, but they do signal the author’s dual commitment to the humanism and spiritualism of Tagore’s poetic vision, and to Bergson’s philosophical defense of intuition.1 Radhakrishnan’s major works, such as *An Idealist View of Life, Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, and commentaries on the Upanishads and *Brahma-Sûtra*, consistently emphasize the humanistic character of Vedânta and its cognitive certainty based on intuition.

Significantly, in Radhakrishnan’s system, intuition is equally the source of philosophical and of religious insight; further, the source and goal of both philosophy and religion are integral experience or the integrated life. Combining the insights of a long line of Indian mystic personalities with Bergson’s claims for the role of the religious or integrated personalities in the evolution of consciousness, Radhakrishnan’s entire system is based on the ideal of integration within the self, and the integration of the self with the Universal Self or *Atman*. The philosophical and religious selections in this book are intended to explicate the expression of this ideal.

II

In writing on the difficulties of the historical interpretation of philosophy some thirty years after the publication of his *Indian Philosophy* (1923; 1927), Radhakrishnan acknowledged that “the writer may at times allow his personal bias to determine his presentation. His sense of proportion and relevance may not be shared by others. His work at best will be a personal interpretation and not an impersonal survey.” 2 This caution is warranted in the case of his monumental and highly interpretive two-volume history of Indian philosophy. When Radhakrishnan introduces Indian thought by stating that “philosophy in India is essentially spiritual” (p. 69), he suggests the extent to which he is following the Vedântist point of view. The same preference for the Vedântic position, especially the Advaita (nondual) Vedânta of Śankara, is operative in his characterization of Indian philosophy:

If we put the subjective interest of the Indian mind along with its tendency to arrive at a synthetic vision, we shall see how monistic idealism becomes the truth of things. To it the whole growth of Vedic thought points; on it are based the Buddhist and Brahmanical religions; it is the highest truth revealed to India. Even systems which announce themselves as dualistic or pluralistic seem to be permeated by a strong monistic character (pp. 75–76).

This rendering of the Indian tradition can give the impression that the considerable variety within Indian philosophy consists in variations of the Vedânta system. Radhakrishnan frequently claims to be offering an entirely faithful account of non-Vedântic systems, but he nevertheless seems to find remarkable corroboration for his own idealistic monism in systems that seem to be emphasizing something quite different.

Specifically, the entire theistic tradition, including the theistic passages in the Upanishads, the predominantly theistic meaning of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and the explicitly theistic philosophy of Râmañjula, tend to be absorbed into an all-encompassing idealist or Vedântic synthesis. Similarly, Radhakrishnan does

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not give sufficient weight to the pluralist and dualist strains in the Indian tradition, and his interpretation of Buddhist philosophy is notoriously inadequate.

By contrast, Radhakrishnan’s commentaries on the Upanishads and the Brahma-Sûtra, and his exposition of Śankara’s Advaita Vedânta (which occupies more than 200 pages in the second volume of his Indian Philosophy), are as accurate and as incisive as any interpretation to date. Furthermore, his highly positive reading of the Vedânta position and the rest of the Indian tradition in light of Vedânta have served as the most effective case for the fact that Indian philosophy is not Western nor is it nonsense. Throughout his writings Radhakrishnan has tried to show that the wisest course for Indian thinkers is to synthesize the best of the Indian and Western traditions. With Gândhi, Tagore, Aurobindo, and Bhagavan Das, Radhakrishnan seeks to draw from the West and from “the fountains of humanist idealism in India’s past” (p. 107).

Overall, Radhakrishnan’s writings are still the most intelligible introduction to Indian philosophy, especially to the Upanishads, the Brahma-Sûtra, and Śankara, the three key elements in Vedânta, the dominant school in Indian philosophy. The selections in the third part of this volume present Radhakrishnan’s Indian idealism and the components of the Vedântic system at their best.

III

As is characteristic of both idealism and Vedânta, Radhakrishnan’s epistemology (primarily his theory of intuition) and his metaphysics (primarily his theory of Brahman-Atman) are mutually dependent. Radhakrishnan’s case for intuition presupposes the reality of the Absolute or Brahman, the intuition of which is the source and object of all knowledge. Similarly, the metaphysical claims for Brahman, and the levels of reality which it includes, presuppose that great religious personalities, such as the seers (or rishis) whose insights are expressed in the Upanishads, have overcome mâyâ or the appearance of reality and have achieved the spiritual realization in which all is Brahman. According to Radhakrishnan, recognition of the intuitive experience is precisely what characterizes Indian in contrast to Western philosophy; by valuing intuition over intellect, he is attempting to reverse what he considers to be the characteristically Western preference.

This preference for intuition, however, is not without difficulties. Although he sharply distinguishes immediate or intuitive knowledge from mediated knowledge, Radhakrishnan also has to admit, as Bergson did, that intellect is needed to express the intuitive experience in intelligible and cognitively significant terms:

The immediacy of intuitive knowledge can be mediated through intellectual definition and analysis. We use intellect to test the validity of intuitions and communicate them to others. Intuition and intellect are complementary. We have, of course, to recognize that intuition transcends the conceptual expressions as reality does not fit into categories.

This passage well summarizes Radhakrishnan’s insistence that intuition both transcends conceptual expression and is yet “mixed with layers of interpretation.” The incompatibility of these two claims would be diminished if Radhakrishnan were more explicit concerning the transcendence, mediation, and conceptualization of intuition. Radhakrishnan’s most consistent general position is probably the following: intuitive experience, whether philosophical or mystical, is expressive and has been expressed countless times, but these expressions are necessarily inadequate. So although intuition cannot be captured by language, only language can preserve the import of intuitive experience and point to the ineffable quality and object of the experience.

To his wise and thoroughly Bergsonian judgment that intuition can best be expressed by myth and image, literature and art, Radhakrishnan could have added that intuition is also

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expressed by moral ideals and religious beliefs; but then he cannot hold that intuitive experience is epistemologically true or privileged. Radhakrishnan uses this more appropriate language when he writes:

The intuitive seer understands the variety of theological doctrines and codes. They are but attempts to express the inexpressible, to translate into human words the music of the divine. A

Thus, Radhakrishnan's epistemology and metaphysics both derive from and point to his conception of the integrated or religious personality. The levels of knowledge and reality (in a parallelism that is thoroughly Platonic) are functions of the mystic's vision: "Knowledge of reality is to be won by spiritual effort. One cannot think one's way into reality, but only live into it." A And again:

Though philosophy is a system of thought, the experience it organises must be both rich and comprehensive. The vision of the philosopher is the reaction of his whole personality to the nature of the experienced world... It is a mistake to think that the only qualifications for elucidating truth in the sphere of philosophy are purely intellectual. Only those whose lives are deep and rich light on the really vital syntheses significant for mankind. A

 Appropriately, Radhakrishnan's theory of reality is the very synthesis that the archetypically "deep and rich" lives in the Vedantic tradition have spiritually discerned and philosophically expressed.

The philosophical expression of the Upanishadic and Vedantic vision can be summarized by two models: Brahman-Atman (or the Absolute and Universal Self) and Brahman-Isvara (or the Absolute and God). In both models, mâyâ (the empirical world, or the mysterious relation between Brahman and the world of change) is the polar opposite of Brahman. The following diagram may help to place these categories:

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Brahman

Ātman

Isvara

mâyâ

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Brahman is all; one without a second. Mâyâ is whatever falls short of Brahman in its absolute oneness. Ātman and Isvara are two ways in which Brahman-in-the-world (or Saguna Brahman) is absolutely one and apparently many, absolutely eternal and apparently temporal. The "apparent" in both cases is the mystery of existence called mâyâ.

Essentially, mâyâ is ignorance (avidyâ) concerning the structure of reality: "To look upon the world as self-sufficient is to be caught in mâyâ." A Or again, mâyâ is failing to realize that the true self is not the empirical self (jīva), but is actually Ātman—and, ultimately, Ātman is Brahman. Note that Radhakrishnan wants to establish a more positive relation between Brahman and the world, and Brahman and the self, than "the general Advaita tradition" had previously postulated. This is Radhakrishnan's expressed aim of interpreting the doctrine of mâyâ "so as to save the world and give it a real meaning." A

Similarly, Radhakrishnan interprets the doctrine of karma so as to reconcile it with his view of history as creative evolution. In order to reconcile the apparent incompatibility of the Advaitic theory of karma with his own emphasis on individual and historical creativity, Radhakrishnan constructs a theory of salvation in which karma sets the terms of individual salvation, and evolution sets the terms for historical or universal salvation. In effect, karma refers to the conditions or possibilities for the future, both advances and inherent limitations:

The law of karma says that each individual will get the return according to the energy he puts forth... The

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5 An Idealist View of Life, p. 128.

6 Ibid., p. 182.

8 Introduction, Brahma-Sûtra, p. 137.

9 "Reply to Critics," Schilpp, op. cit., p. 800.
principle of *karma* has thus two aspects, a retrospective and a prospective, continuity with the past and creative freedom of the self.\textsuperscript{10}

According to Radhakrishnan, then, *karma* refers to the fact that an individual is responsible for his own destiny, and ultimately for the destiny of all men. Consequently, the ultimate triumph of man depends upon the victory of selflessness and historical creativity; the same law of continuity applies to mankind over the entire course of human history as applies to the individual person.

Furthermore, the *karma* of each soul is the primary determinant of the future possibilities for the course of human evolution. Radhakrishnan's ideal, then, is for the individual to identify his own *karma* with the *karma* of all mankind. In accordance with the theory of *Atman*, the individual is not saved or liberated until he overcomes the distinction between his own salvation and the salvation of all men: "The soul is bound so long as it has a sense of mineness."\textsuperscript{11} These liberated souls are the agents of corporate salvation:

God comes to self-expression through the regenerated individuals. Till the end of the cosmic process is achieved, the individuals retain their distinction though they possess universality of spirit.\textsuperscript{12}

Until the *karmas* of every individual are such that no more rebirths are necessary, the salvation of mankind remains an unachieved goal. But Radhakrishnan seems confident that this goal will be achieved. He writes:

Rebirth is not an eternal recurrence leading nowhere, but a movement from man the animal to man the divine, a unique beginning to a unique end, from wild life in the jungle to a future Kingdom of God.\textsuperscript{13}

Radhakrishnan believes that man can and must bring about the conditions that will create this future Kingdom of God,

or what he also calls "The World's Unborn Soul." The surest paths toward the realization of this goal are those included in the Hindu view of life.

\textsuperscript{10} *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 276.
\textsuperscript{11} Introduction, *Brahma-Sūtra*, p. 138.
\textsuperscript{12} "Reply to Critics," Schäff, op. cit., p. 799.
\textsuperscript{13} Introduction, *Brahma-Sūtra*, p. 193.

Even though Radhakrishnan tends to identify the Hindu and Vedàntist points of view, the term *Hinduism* nevertheless refers to a religious rather than a philosophical position. As Radhakrishnan remarks in his *Hindu View of Life*, "Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought."\textsuperscript{14} Accordingly, the section on his "Hindu View" treats the concept of *dharma*, or the various religious, ethical, and social duties governing a Hindu’s life, and *yoga*, or the various ways and disciplines by which the Hindu seeks the goal of *mokṣa* or release from the chain of rebirth. *Dharma* and *yoga*, when combined with belief in the authority of the Vedas as interpreted by the Brahmins and belief in the doctrine of *karma*, are perhaps the most comprehensive and the most essential aspects of the Hindu tradition.

Radhakrishnan considers *dharma* to be "a word of protean significance,"\textsuperscript{15} and explains that it is the concept under which the Hindu "brings the forms and activities which shape and sustain human life."\textsuperscript{16} In the narrower sense of the term, *dharma* is one of the four ends of life, along with *artha* (wealth), *kama* (love or pleasure), and *mokṣa* (or spiritual freedom). More comprehensively, *dharma* is "the whole duty of man in relation to the fourfold purposes of life."\textsuperscript{17} What is here referred to as "the whole duty" could as accurately be termed "the integral duty" or "the duty of the integrated personality." Following the logical implications of his theory of integral experience, Radhakrishnan conceives of *dharma* as "the com-

\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 107. See also Introduction, *Brahma-Sūtra*, p. 154: "Dharma in a wide sense is used to connote all the means for the achievement of the different ends of life."
plete rule of life, the harmony of the whole man who finds a right and just law of his living” (p. 191).

Just as the ideal personality, according to Radhakrishnan, is integrated both internally and in relation to his environment, dharma “has two sides: the social and the individual, the varna dharma and the árama dharma” (p. 193). Further, Radhakrishnan relates his theory of dharma to the theory of reality, especially to the theory of the universal self:

Dharma tells us that while our life is in the first instance for our own satisfaction, it is more essentially for the community and most of all for that universal self which is in each of us and all beings (p. 191).

Thus, dharma is the obligation to become a universal self; it is also the realization of the Brahman-Atman unity in a cultural as well as in an individual context. In this sense, dharma comes to mean the ideal of the summum bonum of human life. In Radhakrishnan's view, the ideals of civilization are generated and prescribed by dharma. He writes:

The difference between the half-civilised and the civilised is all the distance between a narrow self-regarding individualism controlled by the animal impulses of self-preservation, self-assertion, and self-satisfaction and the self-forgetful universalism devoted to the good of the whole. It is the transformation of the individual into the universal outlook, the linking up of our daily life with the eternal purpose that makes us truly human. 18

What Radhakrishnan here calls “the truly human” presupposes the Upanishadic or Vedántic theory of man, and the possibility of realizing that “eternal purpose” presupposes the various ways or disciplines called yôgas.

Radhakrishnan’s interpretive version of yôga resembles his theory of dharma in that both of these concepts are assumed to be both Indian and universal. Although he presents yôga as a universal rather than as an exclusively Indian discipline,

Radhakrishnan nevertheless attributes the greatest advances in this discipline to the Hindu tradition. He suggests that yôga harnesses man’s energies “by the most intense concentration of personality,” and thereby forces “the passage from the narrow ego to the transcendental personality.” 13 The basis for this theory of yôga is Radhakrishnan’s metaphysics of the integrated personality, and the function of yôga, like the function of metaphysics, is the realization of the unity of Atman and Brahman. Man is not necessarily liberated by yôga or dharma any more than by metaphysics; but yôga, like dharma, is the discipline that makes Radhakrishnan’s metaphysics a means to liberation. Radhakrishnan notes: “Man is not saved by metaphysics. Spiritual life involves a change of consciousness.” 20 There are at least three ways, märgas or yôgas, by which this change of consciousness can be effected, but according to Radhakrishnan, all of these lead to jîhâna-yôga or the way of knowledge:

We can distinguish certain broad ways to man’s realisation, the karma-märga, the way of work, bhakti-märga, the way of devotion, the dhyâna-märga, the way of meditation. All these lead to jîhâna, wisdom or enlightenment. All yôga is one and includes the different aspects of work, devotion and knowledge (p. 222).

For each of these märgas, the model is the exceptional personality, whether the exemplar of the faithful performance of one’s duty, the religious devotee, or the contemplative; in each case, the goal is the kind of knowledge which is conducive to, and ultimately identical with, moksa or liberation. To a greater or lesser extent, each personality in the long line of Indian wâtâras, holy men, and contemporary leaders, exemplifies one or more märgas. In some respects, Radhakrishnan’s presentation of contemporary personalities such as Tagore, Gándhi, and Nehru is more revealing than his accounts of traditional figures such as Gautama Buddha, Šâkara, Râmânuja, or Ramana Maharshi.


Radhakrishnan’s ideals of the integrated personality and the syntheses of the Indian and universal, the spiritual and humanistic, are variously personified by Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru. In each of these figures Radhakrishnan finds a particular set of laudable qualities roughly corresponding to the Idealist, the Hindu, and the world-cultural points of view. Tagore’s music, art, and literature celebrate a spiritual and transcendental view of the world that combines traditional Indian values and contemporary Western humanism. Gandhi’s life and thought are archetypically Hindu in their commitment to dharma and discipline. Nehru represents “the age to come, the age of world men with world compassion” (p. 284). To each in his own way the text which Radhakrishnan invokes for Gandhi might be applied to the others as well: “Whatever being there is endowed with glory and grace and vigour, know that to have sprung from a fragment of my splendor” (p. 277).

What is perhaps most significant about Radhakrishnan’s treatment of these figures (and many others) is that he finds them to be exemplars of the Indian habit of attempting to synthesise conflicting philosophical, religious, and cultural ideals. Obviously, Radhakrishnan’s emphasis on the synthetic and universal relies on very broad philosophical, religious and cultural ideals; his task is to find ideals that are broad enough to be universal without being abstract or empty. Figures like Tagore, Gandhi, and Nehru help to give content to some of the ideals espoused in Radhakrishnan’s Idealist and Hindu views of life.

Similarly, Radhakrishnan tries to conceive of religion in a way that does justice both to its universal and to its parochial aspects. His essays on “Religion and Religions” (1952) and “Creative Religions” (1956) presuppose both the diversity of religious traditions and something that he considers to be essential to all religion; this element, as noted in “My Search for Truth,” is concerned not with creeds or codes, but with “an insight into reality” (p. 51). Radhakrishnan conceives of the Hindu tradition more as a way of life than as a form of thought, but in light of his conception of religion, the Hindu view of life clearly involves a commitment to the ultimate unity of the self and the rest of the created world within Brahman. What Radhakrishnan considers to be the essence of religion would seem to be scarcely distinguishable from the view of reality and disciplines that characterize the Idealist and Hindu views.

It is a short step from Radhakrishnan’s Idealist and Hindu views to his vision of a world community. As he explains: “Human progress lies in an increasing awareness of the universal working in man.” According to Radhakrishnan, the universal is realized through the labors of fallible but selfless men such as Tagore, Gandhi, and Nehru. He views these three as exemplars of his own conviction that “man is not a detached spectator of a progress immanent in human history, but an active agent remoulding the world nearer to his ideals. Every age is much what we choose to make it” (p. 50). Thus, we can understand his conviction that “Hinduism is more a way of life than a form of thought” (p. 21). It is in this context that Radhakrishnan understands and offers an appreciation of Tagore, Gandhi, and Nehru.

*An Idealist View of Life*, p. 273.
Glossary and Index of Important Names and Terms

This glossary includes all of the names and terms that are important for an understanding of the selections in this volume, as well as some terms that do not appear in this volume but are important in books by and about Radhakrishnan (very few of which have a glossary). An asterisk indicates words defined in the glossary.

Adhyāśa superimposition; according to Advaita Vedānta,* refers to the mistaken habit of seeing something differently from what it really is—e.g., seeing the phenomenal world as if it were a self-sufficient reality; adhyāśa is due to, and ultimately equivalent to, māyā * and avidyā *.

Advaita "non-dual," a school of Vedānta,* philosophy that teaches the absolute oneness or non-duality of Brahman.* According to Śāṅkara,* the chief exponent of the advaitic system, Brahman is unqualified by attributes or particulars; the existence of the phenomenal world is due to the superimposition (adhyāśa *) of reality on the self and on the phenomenal world.

Abhināśa "non-injury," one of the fundamental Hindu obligations, based on the sacredness of all life; fostered by Gāndhi. *

Ānanda happiness or bliss; one of the three attributes of Brahman (sat*-cit*-ānanda).*

Āśrama the four periods or stages of life of the three highest Hindu classes or varṇas.*


Ātman Supreme Self or Brahman; ātman, self or soul. See pp. 132–137.

Aurobindo, Śri Aurobindo Ghose (1872–1950), prominent nationalist un-
til 1910 when he founded an ashram at Pondicherry and devoted the rest of his life to yogic meditation and to the writing of religious and philosophical treatises.

Avidyā Ignorance or unwisdom; a metaphysical or ontological ignorance of the true nature of reality, i.e., a failure to realize that the self and all particulars are nothing other than the Absolute Brahma. * In effect, equivalent to māyā. * See 138-147 and 153-160.

Bhagavadgītā “Song of the Lord,” the sacred book of the Hindu tradition originally comprising the twenty-fifth to the forty-second chapters of the section on Bhīma in the Mahābhārata. * The Gītā is a synthesis of several straīnas, including the three yōpas: jñāna, * karma, * and bhākta. * Indian thinkers such as Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, * Auropindo, * Gāndhī, * and Radhākrishnan offer slightly different interpretations of the Gītā, but generally agree that its message involves the ideal of selfless action, true knowledge of reality, and devotion to the Lord.

Bhākta fervent devotion to God; a religious discipline or yōpa * for worshipping a personal God (e.g., worship of Viṣṇu * and Śiva, * or their personifications, such as Kṛṣṇa * or Kali). See pp. 232-238.

Brahmā the Creator God, the first person of the Hindu triad (of which Viṣṇu * and Śiva * are the other two). Also called Hīranyagarbha. *

Brahman non-dual or absolute divine reality; in itself, Brahman is nirguṇa, * or without qualities; but from the human perspective, or within māyā * and avidyā, * Brahman is referred to as saguṇa, * or with qualities. See pp. 114-131.

Brahmā-lōka the Plane or Heaven of Brahman; according to Radhākrishnan, it is not beyond the empirical world, but the furthest limit of the empirical wherein liberated souls see each other in the light of Absolute Brahman. * See pp. 182-183.

Brahma-Sūtra a sacred treatise by the second-century a.c. philosopher, Bādarāyaṇa; the Commentary by Śaṅkara. * is an interpretation of Bādarāyaṇa’s rendering of the Upanishads * as a non-dualist system, and Radhākrishnan’s Commentary follows Śaṅkara’s. Rāmānuja * interprets the Brahma-Sūtra in terms of a qualified non-dualist system, and Madhava * offers a dualistic interpretation.

Bṛāhmin strictly “Brahman,” the first of the four Hindu varṇas (traditional classes); priests and teachers of the Brahmanical and Hindu religious traditions; a highly privileged class because they were believed to be of pure Aryan blood and to have had a divine mission as protectors and perpetuators of all Vedic * knowledge.

Buddha Siddhartha of the Gautama clan of the Sakya tribe, achieved Bodhi or Enlightenment, and thereafter taught the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path leading to salvation. Radhākrishnan tends to treat Gautama and the Buddhist tradition as an elaboration of the Upanishadic view, but most scholars of Indian Buddhism reject this interpretation.

Caste system Radhākrishnan defines the system of the four traditional varṇas or classes (popularly called “castes”), Bṛāhmin, * Kṣatriya, * Vaiśya, * and Śūdra, * but criticizes such characterization of the caste system (consisting of jatis, or “caste” in the technical sense of the term) as heredity, endogamy, and communal relations. See pp. 193-214.

Citr, or cit consciousness; one of the three attributes of Brahman * (sat-cit-ānanda *).

Dharma the full range of social, moral, and religious obligations in the Hindu tradition. See pp. 191-192.
Dhyāna-yoga discipline of meditation or contemplation. See pp. 238-243.

Darśana a philosophical insight or school; according to Radhakrishnan, philosophy or darśana combines empirical research, logical analysis, and spiritual insight.


Hinduism the term used to designate the vast complex of texts, beliefs, and practices of the religious traditions that constitute four thousand years of Indian religious history.

Hiraṇya-garbha equivalent of Brahmā; and the first creation of Brahman; the world is its manifestation. See pp. 130-131.

Īśvara the Lord, or Saguna * Brahman * in its personal aspect; also God, or Brahman, from the perspective of māyā. See pp. 122-125.

Jīva the individual soul which, under the influence of māyā, appears to be an independent existent but is in reality the Absolute Brahman. See pp. 144-149.

Jīvan-mukti deliverance of the soul from avidyā * or from the effects of māyā * before death (cf. virodha-mukti, or deliverance after death). See p. 176.

Jāna knowledge, primarily spiritual knowledge or the knowledge of Brahman, which liberates the soul from spiritual bondage; also the discipline or yoga * by which this liberation is achieved. See pp. 157 and 160.

Karma the principle or law of morality such that all action inerably bears a credit or debit value on the scale of existence; also refers to the discipline or yoga * by which individuals can progress spiritually according to the ideal of selfless action. One of the three most important yogas. See pp. 221-232.

Krishṇa "black," one of the most popular deities of the Hindu pantheon; believed to be the eighth incarnation of Vishnu.

Kṣatriya the second rūna or class in Hindu society, traditionally the military and governing castes.

Madhva thirteenth-century exponent of dualism, and critic of the Advaita * Vedānta * system of Śaṅkara. See pp. 113-114.

Mahābhārata one of the two great epics of India (the other being the Rāmāyaṇa); a compilation of history, folklore, ethics, and some philosophical sections, one of which constitutes the Bhagavadgītā.

Mantra a sacred formula, chant, or incantation addressed to a deity, or used as a way of acquiring superhuman power.

Māya the mystery of all existence, which is mistakenly seen as distinct from Brahman; māyā is avidyā * or the failure to see that the self and the entire created world is really the Absolute Brahman. See pp. 140-141.

Mokṣa liberation or release from saṃsāra * or the bonds of existence and rebirth.

Nehru, Jawaharlal (1889-1964), with Gandhi, leader of the Nationalist movement; Prime Minister, 1947-64; urbane and pragmatic (in contrast to Gandhi's Hindu piety and asceticism). See pp. 278-283.

Nirguṇa Brahman Brahman devoid of qualifying attributes (cf. Saguna * Brahman).

Patanjali author of the Yoga-Sutras, the most systematic presentation of yoga * probably in the second century a.c.

Prakṛti "uniformed non-being" or "the formless substrate of things"; with the influence of its complementary pole, puruṣa * or spirit, prakṛti is potentially all things.

Puruṣa "man," a human being, the male principle of the cosmos; ultimately, the Absolute Brahman.

Rāmānuja, or Rāmānujaḥśrīra the eleventh-century South Indian exponent of Viśisṭha-dvaita or the qualified non-dualist system of advaita.

Rishis sage or singer of the Vedas *; inspired authors or conveyors of Vedic texts and Vedic knowledge.
Glossary

Saguṇa Brahman the Absolute Brahman as viewed from the perspective of creation or māyā; includes God, souls, world, and all that falls short of Nārāyaṇa * Brahman, or Brahman without qualities.

Samādhi in yoga*, the union of the individual mind with the Supreme or Cosmic Consciousness.

Saṁsāra the world as a perpetual flow of events in which the soul is subject to a succession of rebirths until it achieves mokṣa * or liberation.

Sāńkara or Sāńkaraśāṅkara the ninth-century philosopher and saint, greatest exponent of the Advaita * Vedānta * system.

Sāṁkya one of the six Indian systems of philosophy considered orthodox (i.e., based on the Vedas *); emphasizes the plurality of puruṣas * or selves and the unity of prakṛti * or nature. Patanjali’s * raja-yoga is based on the Sāṁkya system.

Saṁśaya the fourth áśrama * or stage of life; sāṁśaya, an ascetic who renounces earthly concerns and devotes himself to the study of sacred texts and meditation.

Sat being or existence; one of the three attributes of Brahman (sat-cit-ānanda *).

Satchidānanda sat-cit-ānanda * the three attributes of Brahman.

Satyāγraha according to Gāndhi, means “truth-force” and by extension, “nonviolent resistance.”

Śiva the third god of the Hindu triad (with Brahmā * and Viṣṇu *); god of destruction and of all cosmic processes and rhythms, consequently called Natarāja or Lord of the Cosmic Dance.

Śruti the entire collection of sacred writings and prescriptions of human origin in the Vedic * tradition (excludes śāstra *).

Śūdra the fourth varna or class in the Hindu social structure; primarily menial servants.

Tagore, Rabindranath (1861–1941), Bengali author, musician, and artist; broadly Vedānta * but primarily a humanist. See pp. 247–256.

Upanishads a collection of philosophical texts, believed to number between one and two hundred, but most interpreters deal with slightly more than the ten on which Sāṅkara * commented. Radhakrishnan follows Sāṅkara’s suggestion that “Upanishad” means Brahma-knowledge by which ignorance is loosened or destroyed.”

Vaśya the third varna or class in the Hindu social structure; primarily traders and farmers.

Vedānta the end or essence of the Vedas *, first formulated as an advaitic * non-dual system by Bādarāyana in the Brāhma-Sūtra *, and fully developed by Sāṅkara in his commentary on this work, on the Upanishads * and on the Bhāgavadgītā * See pp. 111–113.

Vedas knowledge identical with or derived from the Vedic Hymns (including the Upanishads), which form the basis of most Hindu philosophical and religious systems: Rg-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sāma-Veda, and Atharva-Veda; each Veda is comprised of a Mantra * and a Brāhmaṇa part and the various Upanishads *

Vidyā knowledge; in contrast to avidya * See pp. 153–160.

Viśnua the second person of the Hindu triad (the other two being Brahmā * and Śiva *), conceived primarily as the preserver or sustainer of the universe; Kṛṣṇa * is counted among Viśnua’s many incarnations.

Yoga as formulated by Patanjali * and based on the Sāṁkya * system, a physical, mental, and spiritual discipline leading to samādhi *; more generally, any one of several disciplines such as karmayoga *, jñāna-yoga *, bhāktya-yoga, and dhyāna-yoga. See pp. 221–243.
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Paperback editions are marked by an asterisk; the date in parentheses refers to the original date of publication.

I. RADHAKRISHNAN’S PRINCIPAL WORKS

1. Books


*India and China*. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1944.


2. Other Writings


"Reply to Critics," in The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, ed. SCHILPP.


"Spirit in Man," in Contemporary Indian Philosophy, eds. RADHAKRISHNAN and MUIRHEAD.


II NOTES ON FURTHER READING

1. Radhakrishnan

Although there are no distinct stages, periods, or areas in the development of Radhakrishnan’s works, there is considerable range of subject matter and technicality. Among the most readable introductions to his thought are The Hindu View of Life, the first three chapters of The Idealist View of Life, “Fragments of a Confession” in Schilpp’s The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, and Religion in a Changing World. For an understanding of the Indian root of Radhakrishnan’s philosophical view, see his 240-page Introduction to his edition of The Brahma-Sûtra. For a synthesis of Indian and Western philosophical elements, see his most systematic and critical work, An Idealist View of Life.

Radhakrishnan’s religious thought is best expressed in Recovery of Faith and in the first two chapters of Religion and Society. Among his many works on Indian ideals, the sections on India in Eastern Religions and Western Thought are the most carefully developed; although this lengthy work contains a host of references to historical personalities and events which may be unfamiliar to the average reader, it is Radhakrishnan’s most comprehensive comparative study of Indian and Western religious and cultural ideals. East and West is insightful and perhaps more readable, but is not easily available.

The most important secondary source on every aspect of Radhakrishnan’s thought is Schilpp’s The Philosophy of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. In addition to excellent critical articles by Charles A. Moore, Charles Hartshorne, Joachim Wach, P. T. Raju, T. R. V. Murti, F. S. C. Northrop, D. M. Datta, and others, this volume contains Radhakrishnan’s fifty-page “Reply to Critics” and an eighty-page intellectual “Confession.” It also contains a complete bibliography up to 1952 (the preceding list includes all of Radhakrishnan’s books and articles from 1952 to the present).

The most useful full-length study of Radhakrishnan’s philosophy is J. G. Arapura, Radhakrishnan and Integral Experience (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1966). L. E. M. Joach, Counter-Attack from the East: The Philosophy of Radhakrishnan (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933) was written before the publication of Radhakrishnan’s major works.


2. The Indian Tradition


For primary material in classical Indian philosophy, the most useful anthology is Radhakrishnan’s and Moore's *Source Book*; unfortunately, some of the selections are extensively abridged and some of the editors' notes reveal a Vedantist bias. Radhakrishnan’s *The Principal Upanishads* includes an extremely useful “Introduction,” extensive commentary, and a translation which is still representative of the present stage of Sanskrit scholarship. Swami Nikhilananda’s edition of *The Upanishads* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964 *)*, though abridged, is nevertheless an excellent, and an inexpensive, introduction to the Upanishads. Eliot Deutsch's *The Bhagavadgita* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) is probably the most accurate and readable translation; although it is generally regarded as the standard edition, Franklin Edgerton (trans.), *The Bhagavadgita* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964 *) (1944) is so liberal that it is frequently obscure.


3. Comparative Studies


The other indispensable source for comparative philosophy is *Philosophy East and West: A Quarterly Journal for Asian and Comparative Philosophy*, also founded by Professor Moore, and edited by him until 1967 when he was succeeded by Elliot Deutsch.


4. Bibliographies

An indispensable bibliography on every phase of Asian studies, organized by country and discipline, is published annually, usually in the fall, by the *Journal of Asian Studies*. J. Michael Mahar's *India: A Critical Bibliography* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1964 *) is comprehensive and helpfully annotated. The Asia Society (112 East 64 Street, New York 10021) has published *Asia: A Guide to Basic Books* and *Asia: A Guide to Paperback Books*, both of which are well annotated and organized according to country and discipline.

Radhakrishnan’s and Moore’s *Source Book in Indian Philosophy* has
a lengthy bibliography on the entire range of Indian philosophy. Useful bibliographies are also in Zimmer, Philosophies of India *, and Sharma, Indian Philosophy *. Karl Potter's Bibliography of Indian Philosophies will soon be published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. On Indian religions, helpful bibliographical information follows each article in Benjamin Walker's two-volume encyclopedic survey of Hinduism, The Hindu World (New York: Praeger, 1968).

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