Chapter VII

Uttarapaksha
The Subsequent View

It is a paradox of "globalisation" that when acharic distinctions are proving more fragile than even a rope of sand, the acharic particularism is also been witnessed with simultaneous ascendance. There is another dimension to the whole process, "achara specifity" is now reaching beyond its "specifity". The categories of conversation in the age of information revolution are attaining "global character" despite of the acharic context in which they emerge. It is in this context that the categories of cognition and cognitive methods evolved in the discourse of western social sciences no more remain the only valid "modes of understanding." It is imperative to look beyond the western social science tradition and explore new horizons. The categories of cognition and cognitive methods which provide the dimensions of variations through the study of various traditions without excluding the western social science tradition have to be evolved. The acharic context of the existing as well as emerging categories of cognition and cognitive methods as valid "modes of understanding" has to be explored. There is an urgent need for debate on the issue of valid and invalid cognition in the "post-modern" context.

Under this background of global flux, the study of Sampradayas is undertaken. Sampradayas and Kula paramparas (family traditions) are the twin processes which stand at the backbone of continuity since the first utterences of Rg-sanhita. The present study is

1 It is in this context that new theoretical orientations emerged in the works of American anthropologists in the 70s and were called 'cognitive anthropology', 'cultural analysis' and 'ethnosociology'. 'Cultural Science', of Herder and Gadamer emerge due to similar concerns.
the study of selected sampradayas through sadhus in contemporary Indian society based on extensive Anvekshana and study of primary and secondary texts on the subject.

In this prasthana an attempt to understand and express what sampradaya is, as it exists among the sadhus in contemporary times had been made. The sampradayas selected for the study of sampradaya were not to study various sampradayas, but to study, the concept, structurative process, institutionalisation, operationalisation and parampara of sampradayas. In this prasthans, we also attempted to evolve an understanding of achara and dharma and their various contexts in loka in context of the subsequent understanding of sampradaya through anvekshana and re-interpreting the various pakshas related to the subject in light of the anvekshika paksha. Through this process we also attempted to ascertain the formation of mata and its institutionalisation through guru paramparya into the institutional process of sampradaya. The distinctive formations of mata and their subsequent institutionalisation on the basis of achara, darsna and sadhana in the process leads to eventual distinction among sampradayas.

Basing our understanding on the anvekshika paksha, in this prasthana we attempted to look at the organisation and the way of life of a sadhu in its inter-sampradaya and intra-sampradaya forms through institutions like, matha, akhara, ani, khalsa, etc. The organisational aspects of these institutions alongwith their struggle against the transplantative processes and panchayatana ways had been attempted to be understood. The stages in the life of a sadhu, the process of becoming a sadhu and the various forms of sadhutva alongwith the concept and notion of vairagya and sannyasa, the various forms of sannyasa culminating in various types of sadhus, too had been attempted on the basis of anvekshana and re-interpreted inputs from other pakshas, wherever relevant.
This *prasthana* attempted to understand the changes culminating in the process of *laukyaisation* in the various forms of *sannyasa* and changes. The stages in the life of a *sadhu* and the activities of *sampradaya* in general and in context of the breaking up of *varnasrama dharma* in general has been attempted to be understood through the process of *sanskarization*, which included the study of various aspects of *sanskaras*.

This *parasthana* is based on *anvekshana* and hence is a work of *anviksha-vidya* in general and *loka-anviksha* in particular. *Anviksha* is a study based on *anvekshana*, i.e. searched through seeing, through observation. *Loka-anviksha* is a study of *loka* on the basis of *anvekshana*. There are various *paramparas* in *loka*. This *prasthana* is a study of *sampradaya parampara* through *sadhus*.

Transplantative processes operative in the various domains of the non-western society have generated "a class" drawing sustenance from it and hence has an existential interest in perpetuating and protecting these process. In the process of our study, we found that the crisis of institutional transplanation is most grievous. The transplantative process of the "academia" generated through "university structure" through its "disciplinary divisions" was incapable of dealing with *sampradaya*. The linkages of christianity and university, of university and social science tradition and their evolution in the worldview of their own context and historicity does not make much sense, when approached to study *sampradayas*. The *sampradaya* in the ancient seats of learning like Nalanda formed a distinct *anusasana* (discipline). Sampradaya which includes, the study of

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2 *Loka* can be taken to mean society in its widest possible sense. In the western social science tradition, the concept of society itself is being rethought. The concept of *Loka* needs a detail and comprehensive study.

3 Reflecting on the historicity of social sciences in general and sociology in particular Yogendra Singh writes, "The past of sociology, as of the most other social sciences lies in metaphysical philosophical traditions of Graeco-Roman origin, theological metaphysics of the middle ages and the social philosophical contributions of the periods of renaissance and the Enlightenment", *Image of Man*, p.24.
Guruparamparya, mata and its distinctions achara, darsana and sadhana, understanding and study of achara and dharma with their contexts, all through with inter-sampradaya reflexive process along with other paramparas of pantha, kula, jati, asrama, varna, desha-kula, janapad, grama, rustra, yoga, etc. prevalent in loka, requires a treatment which is beyond the scope of transplantative process of "academia".

Through our anvekshana we had observed various institutions existing in the name of asrama, matha, amanaya, peetha, family, tradition, etc. Our search was for such an institution which provided us the locus standi for our study and liberated us from the transplantative institutional process colouring the observation through its own historicity. The institutional locus standi which we were searching required also to reflect on its own on the various processes existent in the loka.

We found mainly three kinds of institutions first those which were maintaining the continuity and have refused to take into account the changes which have occurred around. These institutions suffered maximum from the transplantative processes and most of them either have become existent or are in the process of extinction. The second were those which had given up to the changes around them and their own parampara becomes one of the constituents of transplantative process. The third which are providing a new interpretations to their parampara in light of the changes which have occurred. The example of the first being the Kailash Ashram, second being the Dayanand Ashram and third Bihar school of Yoga. Swami Satyanand Saraswati regarding "Modern sannyasa" provides an interpretation saying that "sannyasa" is a quality of detachment applicable to everyone including grahastha. This is an example of the third kind.

4These three are representatives of what is prevalent in others.
Our search was for such institutions which are still continuing their own *parampara* and are also attempting to locate the contemporary discourses from their own locus standii. We could not locate any such institution during our *anvekshana*. But the institutions of the first kind provided us the base for the conceptualisation of the institutional locus standii in the form *Asram Rta* By exploring various *asramas, mathas, amanayas, peethas, akharas*, family traditions, non-*sampradayi sadhus*, and arranging them in an institutional form, we formed *Asrama Rta*. *Asrama Rta* emerged as an attempt to locate the institutional context for the study of various *paramparas* existing in the *loka* amidst global flux. In this study we focussed on the *parampara* of *sampradaya* through *sadhus*.

Every *anviksha*, requires a tool, a method, to test its own validity. This method has to emerge from the context of study, which has to subscribe to the norm of *pariksha*-critical examination and verifiability. Such cognitive methods and the categories of cognition there of emerging through the process of contextualisation and *pariksha* culminating in *uttara paksha* becomes the reality of *anviksha*. The emergence of *anviksha vidya* is in context of *Asram Rta* which accepts the truth of various *paramparas*.

In this *prasthana* of *loka-anviksha*, we found the method of *anviksha* in the *sastratha parampara* of inter-*sampradaya* debate. The categories of cognition and cognitive methods applied in the debates had evolved in their historicity of *Vakvakya, vada, Anvikshiki* and finally *Nyaya*. These inter *sampradaya sastrartha parampara* no more exists, but these categories and methods have become part of the *darsana paksha* of each prominent *sampradaya*. It is in these *darsanas* that the reflection of *achara* and *sadhana* too can be seen. The *darsanas* institutionalised through *guruparamparya* become
sampradayas. Hence, it is not only from the point of view of cognitive methods that these categories of cognition and cognitive methods are important but also from the point of view of their forming the overall worldview of various sampradayas and their adherence to sarvagamapramanya, i.e. the various perceptions of reality are true. It was for self corrective measure that the sastratha parampara existed and by accepting the existence of sarvagamapramanya, they simultaneously, challenged the very methods adopted by the other sampradayas in the ascertainment of reality. This brought the whole debate in the realm of pramanas. Pramana which means both the instrument of as well as proof of knowledge (anvekshana is a pramana in both the senses) rested in the debate on pramanavyad i.e. validity and invalidity of various pramanas, and the category of pramana itself. There were scholars like Nagarajuna, Sriharsha, etc who challenged the very idea of pramana. The first question being on what pramana does pramana stand and the other being that prama (object of knowledge) itself remaining indefinable, how can depend upon pramana which is an instrument towards it? Madhva sampradaya responded to this challenge by stating that if proofs do not exist, then nothing at all can be proved by such non existent entities. Either the pramanas exist or they do not. There is no middle course. If they are not admitted to be existent, they cannot prove anything. One cannot say that one will be indifferent with regard to existence or non-existence of pramanas and still carry on a discussion merely as a passive debater; for form of thought is such that they have either to be admitted as existent or not. One cannot continue to suspend one's judgement regarding their existence and non-existence and still deal with them in carrying a discussion\(^5\)

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\(^5\) This view is propounded by Jayatirtha of Madhva sampradaya one of the constituents of Chatuh-sampradaya.
The *advaita mata* of the *Dasnami sampradaya* says that *pramanas* too are mere processes of ignorance, *ajnana* and *avidya*, consist and their function is like in removal of the "obstructions" "veiling" "the unveiling" reality as removal of earth removes the obstruction of the omnipresent *akasa* (space). The *pramana* for them has the only function of manifesting the self luminous consciousness by removing the veil. Hence the ascertainment of the inevitability of the method of *pramana* can be done at two levels. First, it can be said that if *pramanas* are rejected, then no cognition is possible, there will remain nothing out of which *nirnaya* (ascertainment is possible). Such a case is not possible but even if such a case does arise, even then the act of cognition and their seeking validity on the part of individuals will not stop. The *pramanas* will remain their even though they are rejected. *Anviksha* provides an instrument through which they can be examined and verified and further evolved in the different contexts of reality. Second as is held by *advaita mata* and yoga *mata* that *pramana* being the vestiges in the way to *sakshatkara* (to be face to face) of reality are to be left on the *sakshatkara* of reality. Hence *pramana* are necessary till the state of ascertainment of reality is reached, after which it is no more required.

*Pramanas* are like grammar, even if one is not conscious of them, one applies them. *Pramanas* apart from being necessary on the part of being cognitive method and proof of cognition are also a *vyavaharika* necessity. Everyday action of in divided is also based on them. The *pramanas* from initially being the categories of debate and discussion developed into a full fledged methodological tool, which not only examined and verified the cognition, but also shaped the *darsanas* and their discourses and subsequently *sampradayas*. In this particular context *darsanas* themselves were institutionalised into
sampradayas through guruparamparya without excluding the achara and sadhana aspects.

Sampradaya as referred earlier is institutionalisation of mata through guru paramparya. Mata is ascertained on the basis of achara, darsana and sadhana. It is essential to mention here that achara based ascertainment includes darsana and sadhana and darsana based one also includes the other two an so on. Achara, darsana, and sadhana, each can become the basis of ascertainment without excluding the others and get institutionalised through guruparamparya to become a sampradaya. Each of these categories can explain in totality encompassing the others.

Guruparamparya is an unbroken chain of Guru Tradition i.e. when for the purpose of mata, i.e. achara, darsana and sadhana in particular and any other in general (e.g. to learn some vidya), a guru transmits knowledge of it acquired from his guru to his sishya and the sishya furthers transmits to his sishya when guru is guru parampara. Guru parampara requires adhikara or patrata i.e. qualification to be a sishya of guru. In a life of a sadhu guru is all important, because it is he who through praisha mantra sanskara brings the sishya into the institution of sannyasa.

Sampradaya is institutionalisation of mata through guru paramparya. Guru paramparya is sampradaya with a mata. Mata is sampradaya having guru paramparya. Mata has various forms, it forms the chitta of sampradaya whose writi are achara, darsana and sadhana i.e. the sustenance and formation of mata is on the basis of achara, darsana and sadhana, either singularly or collectively. When achara, darsana and sadhana get institutionalised through guru parampara they become sampradaya. The distinctions among sampradayas is on the basis of mata, i.e. achara, darsana and sadhana.
**Achara** is the way of life (literally, behavior and conduct) people follow. It is a total way of life and its various aspects related to it reflected in human behaviour. We had taken *achara* in the context of *sudhus* in *sampradayas* to mean 1) *sanskaras*, 2) *upasya devta* and *sudhuna*, i.e. object of worship and the path followed, 3) code followed, i.e. dress, colour of rokes, *tilaka*, instrument held, e.g. *chimta*, *kamandala*, *trishula*, etc, types of *malas* (rosaries), types of *danda* (staff), etc. and 4) rules and regulations followed by the *sampradaya*: *Achara* hence reflects life in its totality e.g. It also includes within its fold *jatyachara*, the way of life of a particular *jati*, *kulachara* of family, *desachara*, of region, e.g. cross cousin marriages in south.

It is evidently clear from our dealing of the various concepts related to *sampradaya*, that since *achara* plays the foundational role for *dharma* as well as role of institutionalisation through guru *parampara*, it is easily confused with *sampradaya* even by the scholars trained and learned in *parampara*. It is natural, as *achara* is what shapes the human behaviour, hence distinctions based on it are certainly going to fall under popular groupings. *Sampradaya* and *achara* became synonymous in various studies, due to the crisis of category-chaos. *Achara dharma* became, the *sampradaya* for works named under "Hindu sectarianism" and that too merely on the basis of *upasya deva* i.e. diety worshipped.

This study is a *prasthana* (departure) from this conception of *sampradaya* and looks in the various aspects as revealed in the process of *anvekshana* to come out with a conception of a *sampradaya* so far not attempted. In the process it has also come out with the various contexts of *dharma* and their institutionalisation. The conception of *sampradaya* has emerged from *anvekshana* and the other *paksha* had been re-interpreted in its light. The ascertainment of *dharma* (*dharma nirnaya*) is based on this these contexts.
To our knowledge this fundamental aspect did not get uncovered previously. The context of dharma, which this work comes out with will reduce if not remove the "elusive nature" of dharma. The different contexts of dharma which we have briefly dealt in this prasthana are. Ishta-purva dharma, Varna dharma, Asrama dharma, Varnasrama dharma, Lokasangrahaka dharma, Achara dharma, Vyavahara dharma, Naimittika dharma, Jati dharma, Svadharma, Vritti dharma, Kuladharma, Desa Kula dharma, Rajadharma, Sadharana of Samanya dharma, Guna dharma, Apad dharma, Rastra dharma, Janpada dharma, Grama dharma, etc.

Earlier we have explained the relationship between pramana, darsana and sampradaya. In darsana parampara sampradaya evolved out of guruparampara through transmission of darsana from guru to sishya in an unbroken chain. The adherents of a sampradaya hold a darsana, whose validity through pramanas they contested in earlier times. This process of shaping up of sampradaya through darsanas creates the worldview of the adherents of the sampradaya. Darsana is understood as vision of reality and has a direct relationship with achara. Whether it is Charvaka, one who prescribes subscription to all sorts of cravings to Sankara, who prescribes abstention from any type of craving, it is the darsana which has shaped the way of life, i.e. achara of their adherents. Darsanas within the shat darsana system have to fulfill the purasharthas, i.e. human aims. 

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6 Cf. ethos and worldview with achara and darsana. In anthropological paksha as per Geertz, the evaluative elements have commonly been summed up in the term "ethos" while the cognitive existential aspects have been designed by the term "world view". A peoples ethos is a tone, character and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood; it is the underlying attitude towards themselves and their world, that their life reflects. Worldview is people's picture of the way the things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order......the worldview is made emotionally acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs which such a way of life is an authentic expression. The ethos is made intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life implied by the actual state of affairs which the world view describes and the worldview is made acceptable by being presented as an image of an actual state of affairs which such a way of life is an authentic expression (Geertz 1973: 127).
The sampradaya formations through darsanas have mainly emerged in the various interpretations of vedanta, e.g. the advaita interpretation of vedanta gave rise to the Dasnami sampradaya apart from others. The Visishtadvaita interpretation gave rise to Sri sampradaya. Dvaita interpretation to Madhva sampradaya. Dvaitadvaita to Nimbarka. Sudhadvaita to Vallabha, etc. We have recorded twelve such different interpretations. These sampradayas with darsana distinctions have achara and sadhana distinctions too and their achara and sadhana displays clear influence of their darsana.

Sadhana is to be understood in terms of sadhya, i.e. what is to be attained, whereas sadhana is instrument. Generally sadhya is moksha, hence sadhana becomes various paths leading to moksha. The sadhana based distinctions are distinct only in appearance, in actual essence they are similar. The chitta is to be stated in the goal and continuous perseverance in that direction is sadhana. When sadhya and sadhana become one in the realm of chitta, the purpose of sadhana is served. The sadhana has taken various forms, and to count them will require a preparation for an encyclopedia. The various forms of sadhana, when institutionalised through guruparampara become sampradaya. The forms of sadhana has given rise to many sampradayas and pantha. Panth being founder based or scriptural based also follows the sadhana paddhati (way of sadhana) of its propounder. A few examples of the various forms of sadhana taken up by various sampradaya are jnana sadhana by Dasnami sampradaya, bhakti sadhana by Sri sampradaya, Pushti marga by Vallabha sampradaya, Yoga sadhana by Natha sampradaya, etc.

Mainly there are Karma, Jnana, Bhakti, Yoga, Tantra, etc, forms of sadhana which have little sampradaya distinctions as each form of sadhana includes the other forms of

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7 The other interpretations are, Bhedabheda of Bhaskara, Saivadvaita of Srikantha, Dipika of Brahmaananda, Bhashya of Vijnanabikshu, Ramanandi Vyakhyaa, Yamunacharya's interpretations and Vidyabhushana on Chaitanya. There may be other interpretations too.
The distinction whatsoever exists is in the stress on particular form along with the achara related to sadhana. Sadhana plays an all important role in the life of a sadhu. The life of a sadhu is considered to be life of sadhana. We have given a very broad definition of sadhu on the basis of our anvekshana. Sadhu is a person possessed by vairagya and (a) leading a pious way of life (b) leading a pious way of life and is in process of sadhana (c) is in process of sadhana through Guru (d) is in process of sadhana through Guru in guruparampara (e) has undergone the praisha mantra sanskara (through guru may or may not be in guruparampara). In this prasthana, we had dealt mainly with sampradayi sadhus, i.e. sadhus belonging to sampradayas.

Sampradayi sadhus are mainly organised in mathas, asramas, marhis, akharas, Anis, Khalsas, etc. Some of them are attached to peethas. Matha is a special form of organisation which acts as residence of sastradhari sadhus (i.e. holders of sastra). The matha can be a place for sadhana as well as learning. The acharya or mahanta is head of matha and peethacharya, if it is attached to some peethas. Kailash Ashrama, where we stayed is attached to Kailasha peetha. The matha is organised either on the basis of Svayatana, where the successor is the sishya of mahanta or achara or panchyatana i.e. through election or Hakimi, where it is done by the party which endows the matha. The mathas have a well defined hierarchy and allocation of roles. Sankracharya had established the four mathas at Joshi Matha, Dwarka, Puri and Sringeri. The guru parampara in these mathas is still maintained. There are several others mathas belonging to Dasnamis many of which belong to mandaleshwara.

Mandalesvara is a paramahansa sadhu among Dasnamis who is a learned and is a high degree of sadhaka (one who is in the process of sadhana). Mandaleswaras are recognised by fellow mandaleswaras and akharas in order to become mandaleswara.
When any sadhu attains popularity due to his learning and sadhana, sishyas start flocking around him. This popularity and the strength of sishya (called sishya-sangraha) is institutionalised into the form of mandaaleswara by akhara and other mandaaleswaras through public ceremony of kumbha. Some of the mandaleshwaras become the acharya mandaaleswaras, who give sannyasa-diksha to the sadhus of akhara. The sadhus of akhara are known as sastradhari sadhus (i.e. holders of arms.).

Akharas are the organisation of marhis (in case of Dasnamis) and dvaras (in case of chatuh sampradayis), who are supposed to provide military protection to sampradayas, apart from following the individual sadhana by their sadhus. The marhis among Dasnamis are further organised into davas, which may be four or six out of the total fifty two marhis. These davas form the organisation of akhara on the panchyat an basis, where each dava gets a chance to head the akhara on the basis rotation. The charges are handled over at kumbha. The organisation of akhara is such that the rotation of power takes place from top to bottom of hierarchy, hence the power does not become the criteria of status, as it is only given for the managerial purposes. This panchayatana form of curbing the abuse of power among akharas is quite visible in the working of akhara observed during anvekshana.

There are seven principal akharas among Dasnamis viz. Juna, Bhairava, Avahana, Niranjon, Mahanirvani, Agni, Ananda and Atal.

Among the Chatu sampradayis the akharas are attached to three Anis, viz, Nirmohi, Digambara and Nirvani. Their being eight akharas, which has sixteen subsections having baithakas spread all over the subcontinent. Each Ani is attached to several khalsas. These khalsas are build on the similar pattern, that of mandaaleswaras in Dasnamis. The difference is that one who is to become a mandaaleswara is approached by akhara and other mandaaleswaras, in case of building one's own khalsa, a sadhu has to
approach an *Ani* which recognizes it. The entire organisation of *Chatuh-sampradayis* along with *khalsas* is called *Chatuh-sampradaya khasla*.

The stages in the life of a *sadhu* of both *akhara* and *matha* have two *pakshas*. One is the *adhyatmika* (spiritual) *paksha* and the other is *loka vyavahara paksha*. The first *paksha* deals with the stages in the *sadhana* and second the stages in the hierarchy of *akhara*. As has already mentioned the latter is so evolved that the place for power is minimised, whereas in the former case the progress in *sadhana* determines the respect commanded by a *sadhu*. It is due to this precise reason that some of the *mandalaswaras* command high respect even than Sankracharyas due to their learning and *sadhana* even though they accept the authority of Sankracharya.

The stages in the life of a *sadhu* generally passes through six phases, i.e. *brahmachari*, *naishthika brahmachari*, *kutichaka*, *babudaka*, and *paramahansa*. In these the most prevalent form as per our *anvekshana* is *brahmachari naishthika brahmachari* and *paramhansa*. *Mandaleswaras* are *paramhansa* *sadhus*. In the *akhara* the organisational hierarchy is intervened with the *sadhana* aspect and a *Vaishnava naga* passes through the states of *yatri*, *chhora*, *bandagidara*, *haradanga*, *mudathiya*, *naga aito* and *maha-atita*. The organisational set up of both *akharas* and *mathas* is so structured that the way of *sannyasa* is made smooth and *vairagya* finds its natural culmination.

*Vairagya* is the state of possession of *chitta* of non-cravings in the subjects seen or heard. *Vairagya* is a state of mind, where the *karmas* of *loka*, no more remain interesting for an individual. When this state of mind discovered by a guru is institutionalised through *praisa mantra sanskara* in an individual it is called *sannyasa*. The individual undertaking *sannyasa* through this process can be referred as *sannyasa sadhu*. During the *praisa mantra sanskara*, an individual performes own *sradha* (crematory *sanskaras*) and is
supposed to have left the manushya (human) yoni (species) and enters in praisa yoni and hence is given praisa mantra. Now he looses the adikara for gayatri mantra and his mantra is the praisa mantra. Formally, sannyasa is the giving up of nitya naimittika, kamy and smarta karmas by taking praisha mantra.

The sannyasa took various forms depending on the state of mind of the individual at the time of taking sannyasa. When the sannyasa is taken in the ideal state of vairagya, it is vairagya sannyasa. When it is taken by passing through the various stages of asramas of brahmacharya, grhastha, vanaprastha and sannyasa, it is called jnana vairagya sannyasa. When an individual knowing the transitory nature of loka gets detached from it and undertakes sannyasa, it is called jnana sannyasa. When sannyasa is taken in pursuit of jnana it is called karma sannyasa. This sastric classification didn’t explain the anvekshana samagri collected by us on the forms of sannyasa. Hence we had to further workout jatification of karma sannyasa and bring in vimukha and chhadma sannyasa into the jatification of sannyasa. The forms of sannyasa explained by the sastric paksha were also found during our anvekshana alongwith those which are mentioned other than those of sastric paksha. Karma sannyasa as per our jatification is Nimitta sannyasa and Animitta sannyasa. Animitta Sannyasa is what is called karma sannyasa in the sastric jatification. Nimitta sannyasa is of five types.

The first is Atura sannyasa, which is undertaken by an individual, when he is about to die that Atura sannyasa is explained by the Sasric paksha. The second sannyasa is virakta sannyasa, a sannyasa undertaken by an individual due to some personal loss, like, the death of some one close, loss of status, financial loss, etc. During our anvekshana some sadhus referred that such a virakti leads to vairagya also among some of the sadhus. And in those vairagya does not culminate, they loose in sannyasa and at times leave
sannyasa or do not remain true sannyasi. The third sannyasa is the loka-sangraha
sannyasa, which is undertaken for social service. The fourth is pravartana sannyasa
undertaken to propagate once own darsana, achara or form of sadhana through
sampradaya, pantha, etc. The Manishika sannyasa is undertaken for the purpose of social
change, change in social order on the basis of a mata, e.g. Ananda Marg. The sadhus of
Anand Marg want to change the society on the basis of their mata called Prout.

Vimukha sannyasa is undertaken under influence of the respect glory and power of
the sadhus to be so and also to lead a comfortable life without much labour. Chhadma
sannyasa is taken for the purpose of deceit by, spies, thugs, criminals, etc.

This justification of sannyasa culminating into the various types of sadhus, reflects
change in the nature of sannyasa. Vairagya is institutionalised through sannyasa and
vairagya is the possessive state of chitta were the affairs of loka are no more interesting for
an individual. Sastric paksha informs that this is the original sannyasa and the various
forms of sannyasa which are formed other than vairagya sannyasa reflect change in the
institution of sannyasa. These changes display laukya, sansarikta or "worldiness" in
them. The influence of laukya on the institution of sannyasa and its subsequent taking of
various forms is the process of laukyaisation of sannyasa.

Laukyaisation as a process does is also the process through which the sruti is
impert in the sampradaya through guru to sishya. Laukyaisation is what brings various
elements to loka (people). This is also seen when various terms of sanskrit enter the loka
bhasha. On the one hand the imparting of Sruti in sampradayas is the process of
laukyaisation, on the other hand the same process is the process of sanskarization. In this
particular process, the process of learning on the part of the sishya from the guru is the
process of sanskarization.
Sanskaras are understood in their three aspects, utakarsha (progress), sannikarsha (the process of the formation of sanskaras of "socialisation") and abhushana (refinement and ornamentation). Utakarsha aspect of sanskara is generally taken as karmakanda sanskaras, i.e. the sanskaras performed at the various stages of individual life. In the life of a sadhu apart from the prevalent sixteen sanskaras which he undergoes in the pre-sannyasa stage, he has to undergo various other sanskaras. e.g. he performs his own sradha and undergoes praisa mantra sanskara as a process of formal entry into the institution of sannyasa. This whole process of sanskaras from birth to praisa mantra sanskara is the process of sanskarization, where an individual leaves one stage of life to other in his progress towards moksha. The four asramas of brahmacharya, grhastrha, vanaprastha and sannyasa is the process of sanskarization. The sadhana life of an individual in general and sadhu in particular is also a process of sanskarization.

Sannikarsha means the process through which "impressions" are left over chitta sannikarsha is the operationalisation and generation of sanskaras. This takes place generally through smrti and savikalpa pratyaksha. As revealed during our anvekshana, for most of the sadhus, smrti includes conscious as well as unconscious memory. For them unconscious memory includes prarabdha (the karma of the previous birth). Hence the formation of sanskaras is also dependent on the sannikarsha of previous births. In savikalpa pratyaksha, the sannikarsha is through direct sense perception. The chitta of an individual is the cumulative effect of these sanskaras generated and operationalised through sannikarsha. The process of generation and operationalisation of sanskaras through sannikarsha is a process of sanskarization.

There are two levels at which the process of sanskarization is operationalised. The first is vyakti paraka sanskarization (i.e. at the level of individual) and second is loka
paraka sanskarization (i.e. at the level of loka). Vyakti paraka sanskarization is the process and the stages of karmakanda, the stages of asrama and the process and stages of sadhana. Loka paraka sanskarization takes place mainly at the level of loka and its achara, which may be at the level of varna, rasra, desu, janapada, grama, kula, vritti, jati, pantha, yoga, etc. The process of sanskritization as referred in sociological paksha is in fact the process of jati sanskarization.

The generation and operationalisation of sanskaras by the sampradayas in relation to loka is also an example of loka paraka sanskarization. The evolution of the sampradayas is looked upon as a process necessitated by the breaking up of varnasrama dharma. Sampradayás for many learned sadhus are seen as instruments to bring in "social order". It is in this context the loka paraka sanskarization by the sampradayas can be understood. This took mainly four forms viz. Brahmanya dharma sanskarization, rajadharma sanskarization, arjana dharma sanskarization and seva dharma sanskarization. The division of sastradhari (holders of sastra) and sastradhari (holders of arms) sadhus are the examples of the brahmanya dharma sanskarization and rajadharma sanskarization. These two processes are most common phenomena among the sadhus of matha and akhara respectively.

The imparting of the sanskaras of various dharmas itself forms the brahmanya dharma. It is specifically concerned with learning. Rajdharma is for governance, protection and fighting against anyaya (injustice) and aniti (wrong policies) in the loka. Akharas apart from their sadhana aspect also dealt with this aspect of loka. Arjana dharma is to earn for the sustenance and welfare of the loka. The arjana dharma sanskarization has at times led to vimukha sannyasa-among sampradayas. At times so has other aspects too. The seva dharma sanskarization leads to the offering of service to the
loka. These include the services afforded for the functioning of loka as well as the services offered for the welfare of the loka. Therefore various sadhu organisations which have taken up the task of seva dharma on large scale. The brahmanya dharma and seva dharma sanskarization are on the rise among sampradayas, whereas the rajadharma is almost static with occasional resurgence, like the anti cow-slaughter movement in late sixties and Ramjanambhoomi movement recently. The consciousness towards rajdharma is on ascension. The arjana dharma is not much prevalent as the main source is still the charity. A few mathas and akhara are indulged in trading and forming for the purpose of running their institutions.

In the opening chapter of this prasthana we told the story of our problems faced during our anvekshana and its eventual culmination into this prasthana. The crisis of the category of cognition and cognitive methods along with the crisis of transplantative processes were dealt in. The problem of category chaos and of various jatifications, were also explained briefly. The chapter being introductory briefly introduced the various chapters of this prasthana.

The second chapter of this prasthana, "Purvakaksha : An Overview" dealt with brief literature survey and the various approaches related to the study of sampradayas and sadhus. We briefly explained the Sruti paksha, sastric paksha, anthropological sociological paksha, Indological oriental paksha, Historical paksha, Darsanic paksha and Anvekshika paksha. At the beginning of the chapter we had explained the process of purvakaksha khandana uttarpaksha. The process through which with the aid of pramanas knowledge is ascertained and eventually leads to its growth.

The third chapter of this prasthana, "Nyaya and Pramana : Categories of Cognition and Proof" is an attempt to evolve a cognitive method within the context of the
study of sampradayas. The chapter dealt with categories like, *Anvikshiki*, Nyaya and its categories, *Pramana, Chitta* and *pramana*, *Pramana-Vihetana* (Deconstruction of *pramana*). *Pramanyavada* and the various categories of *pramana*, like, *pratyaksha, anumana, upamana, sahda, arthapati, abhava or anupalabdhi, aitihya, smrti, yukti, tarka sambhava, pratibha, uha*, etc. These categories of cognition and proof and their understanding is essential for the proper understanding of sampradaya as they are related to the historicity and growth of sampradaya as explained earlier.

The fourth chapter of this prasthana, "Sampradayas : Constitution and Distinction", was an attempt to understanding the concepts, structurative process, operationalisation and institutionalisation of sampradaya. It deals with *guruparamparya, dharma* and *achara*. The contexts of dharma and achara had been attempted to be ascertained. It also deals with the concept and notion of *mata* and its different forms of achara, darsana and sadhana in relation to sampradaya. We had given a brief description of various forms of sadhana like Karma, Yoga, Jnana, Bhakti, Tantra, etc.

The fifth chapter of this prasthana, "Sadhu : Organisation and Way of Life", deals with the concept of sadhu as an extentions of the concept explained in second chapter under "Sruti-paksha. The organisation and various aspects of matha, asrama, Ani, akhara, khalsa, etc had been dealt with the mandaleswara among Dasnamis and the panchayati organisation of akhara has also been dealt with the management and organisation of matha alongwith the struggle with transplantative processes in institutions had also been dealt with. This chapter dealt with identity and the stages in the life of a sadhu. The concept of sadhutva as a process of the formalisation of vairagya through praisa mantra sanskara and subsequent institutionalisation of vairagya as sannyasa has been attempted to be understood. It dealt with the concept of vairagya and understanding of sannyasa alongwith
the explanation of *praisa mantra sanskara*. Finally this chapter attempted to a justification of *sannyasa* and eventual change in the forms of *sannyasa* culminating into a process of change which had been referred in the next chapter as process of *laukyaisation*.

The sixth chapter of this *prasthana*, "Laukyaisation. Sanskara and Sanskarization" deals the aspects of change reflected through sampradayas and sadhus. *Laukyaisation*, *sanskara*, aspects of *sanskara* like *utkarsha*, *sannikarsha*, *chitta* and *sanskaras* have been dealt. It dealt with *vyakti-paraka sanskarization and loka-paraka sanskarization* and finally *sampradaya and sanskarization*.

The final chapter of this *prasthana*, "Uttarapaksha : The Subsequent View", is an exercise in integrating and summing up the various aspects of this *prasthana* along with searching the new *anvikshas*, which can be taken up for future studies observed during this *anviksha*.

A *prasthana* is a *prasthana*, when it has points of departure from the *purvapaksha*. This *prasthana* is a *prasthana* in several ways. The first *prasthana* is its attempt to take up comprehensively the problem of "transplantative processes". The crisis of discourse in the arena of categories of cognition and cognitive methods and its subsequent resolution by attempting to write this *prasthana* through categories of cognition and cognitive methods emerging from the context.

The second *prasthana* is in dealing with the institutional transplantation and subsequently resolving it through the institutional locus standii in the form of *Asrama Rta*, which also emerges from the context of the study undertaken. The third *prasthana* is in locating the problem of justification and in its context for the resolution of the crisis of category chaos. The fourth *prasthana* is in locating the various *paksha* for the study of *sadhus* and *sampradayas*. The fifth *prasthana* is the emphasis on the understanding of
Sruti parampara for the understanding of sampradaya. The sixth prasthanā is the relocation of anvekshana giving rise to anviksha-vidya and its subsequent culmination into the anusasana (discipline) of loka-anviksha.

The seventh prasthanā is the attempt to relocate nyaya and pramana as tools of cognition and subsequently the presentation of samagri collected through various pakshas including the jatification is an attempt to bring together the various aspects of pramana and their subsequent use in the rise of anviksha.

The ninth prasthanā is the attempt to understand the concept structurative process, operationalisation and institutionalisation of sampradaya. The tenth prasthanā is to relocate the various contexts of dharma alongwith that of achara. The eleventh prasthanā is to ascertain the concept and notion of mata and its various formations leading to the distinctions among sampradayas. The twelfth prasthanā is to re-locate the context of uchara vis-à-vis sampradaya both at constitutive level and distinctive level. The thirteenth prasthanā is locating darsana as formative principle of mata and its subsequent institutionalisation into sampradaya through guruparampara. The fourteenth praghan is the distinction between the concepts of sampradaya, pantha, marga, achara, dharma, etc.

The fifteenth prasthanā is the process definition of sadhu and the understanding of the concept of sadhu, the sixteenth prasthanā is the explaining the process of the becoming of a mandaleswara. The seventeenth prasthanā is the locating the dava formation in akhara and its subsequent resulting in the panchayati organisation of advhara. The eighteenth prasthanā is drawing the similarities in the becoming of mandalesvara and building of khalsas alongwith the attempts of universal organisation by various sampradayas. The nineteenth prasthanā is an attempt to comprehend the concept and notion of sadhutva through vairagya and sannyasa. A proper formal explanation of
sannyasa. The twentieth prasthana is the jatification of various forms of sannyasa on the basis of sastric paksha and the anvekshika paksha.

The twenty first prasthana is locating the process of laukyasiation. Th twenty second prasthana is attempt to understand the various aspects of sanskaras. The twenty third prasthana is locating the process of sanskarization. The twenty fourth prasthana is in locating the emergence of sampradayas in context of the breaking of varnasrama dharma and the subsequent process of sanskarization by sampradayas in brahmanya dharma, mrajadharma, arjana dharma and seva dharma.

The new vistas are opened up for the course of future studies during the course of this prasthana. In the realm of categories of cognition and cognitive methods further anviksha is required in different contexts so that the crisis of transplantative processes can be resolved. The evolution of institutional locus standii too requires anviksha on various aspects. We have mentioned in this prasthana, the problem of "disciplines in academia". A proper comprehensive study of "academia" requires to be done and its role in the context of various studies done. It also requires the study of various anusasnas prevalent since several millenia, sampradaya being one such. To relocate these anusasnas in context of various studies is an urgent need. It is through this process that the institutional locus standii will gradually emerge.

To relocate the historicity of the darsanas on a comprehensive scale is urgently required the various attempts like that of Dasgupta still have several gaps and inspite of running in several volumes, only play the introductory role. A Comprehensive relocation of historicity of pramanas is also required as they can play a role of cognitive methods which may solve many of the problems in the field of knowledge persisting time and
again. In this prasthana, he had just begun the process of relocation, which requires further anviksha and a task of full fledged study.

There exists no proper enumeration of the various sampradayas in loka. Prior to this is required the understanding of what sampradaya is? The question has been answered by us in this prasthana. Now, a comprehensive enumeration of sampradayas can be undertaken. Gunaratanas's commentary on shatdarsana samuchchaya mentions that Nyaya darsana (which formed the basis for the second chapter of this prasthana) also had corresponding sampradaya\(^8\). Sankracharya also as referred earlier mentions of vidya-sampradayas and grhastha sampradayas. It is essential that we have proper comprehensive enumeration and understanding of various forms of sampradayas existing in loka.

This prasthana began with the story of our anvekshana and problems faced their in. During our anvekshana we discovered that the penchant for jatification is almost institutional among sampradayas. The story of a sampradaya begins with jatification. At the ardha kumbha mela we met one Ramayani Baba, who followed Bhakti sadhana through recital of Ram Charitra Manas. He had his own jatification of sampradayas and types of sadhus on the basis of Rama Bhakti, beginning with one of those who are Rama bhaktas and those who are not. Among Rama bhakas there are Nirguni's and Sagunis and so on. What we intent to say is that the study of the various processes of jatification is essential in the study of various processes in the loka. Without understanding the way these definition of self and others takes place, it is not possible to develop a proper understanding. The future anviksha on this aspect is essential.

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\(^8\) Te cha danda dharaḥ praudhakaupina poridhanah kumbalikah pravrta jata dhorino...uttamam sanyamavastham prpiastuagna brahmanti vide. Brahma 1988. P.7.
The evolution of *sampradayas* on the breaking up of *varnashrama dharma* along with the unitary structurative process of *sampradaya* which brings together *sadhus* and *grhasthas* into a single structurative process, through human *jatis* clearly, finds the *paksha* that the "anti-structure" of *sadhuva* is a pre requisite for the "dialectic maintenance of the entire caste system" is misplaced. Various *pakshas* mainly anthropological sociological *paksha* while dealing with a few aspects of *sadhuva* held that by negating the "structural world of caste" it exists in complimentary opposition to it and contributes to the stability of the total social order. The observation as this lack the sensitivity towards the historicity and the process of *sampradaya* as growth in context of the breaking up of *varnasram dharma* and maintenance of the *Sruti parampara* and other *paramparas*, through the continuity of *guruparamparya*. The independent growth of *sampradayas* and its relation to human *jatis* has to be further explored, which will also help in the understanding of *jatis*.

When *sadhus* return from the *sannyasa asrama*, back to the *grhastha asrama*, the process gives rise to the formation of new *jatis*. This is clearly demonstrated among the *Dasnami Gosains* and *Nath panthis*. Even though this process is considered "deplorable", but these *jatis* over a period of time gain acceptance. Their *jatyachara* (*achara* of the *jati*) clearly reflects the influence of the *achara* of *sannyasa*. Among the *Nathas* dead are not put on fire on cremation, as is generally done with ordinary death of *grhastha*, but they are kept in *samadha* (a type of "burial"). It is believed that *sadhu* does not die but attains *samadhi* rests in a kind of "super consciousness", and the *laukika* consciousness may return to him. Hence his body is kept in such a place like cave or underground or at times

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9 We were informed by a few *Dasnami sannyasis* that Sankracharya had made the provision for their return to their respective *jatis* prior to *sannyasa.*
in river (called jala samadhi) so that he can find his body in such an eventuality. Thus the cremation practices of Nathas is a form which clearly demonstrates the influence of sannyasa. The study of such processes is yet to be taken at a comprehensive level.

This prasthana has explained the process of laukyaisation and sanskarization, these processes require to be further observed as they provide a perspective to comprehend change in loka. The laukyaisation of sannyasa and brahmanas is mentioned in this prasthana alongwith the process of Sruti and language. Similarly laukyaisation can be located in various other processes of loka e.g. due to the processes of "modernity", process of transplantative processes, etc. Sanskarization apart from what has been explained in this prasthana requires a comprehensive and detail analysis. One such case of jati sanskarization has been mentioned which requires further anviksha. There can be various other dimensions of sanskarization as sankarization of modernity, and sankarization of loka at the various levels of achara, etc. which can become the subject matter of further anviksha. Prior to this a comprehensive and detail treatment of the concept of sanskaras in its various aspects in all its historicity requires to be done. This is going to compliment the understanding of the process of sanskarization.

The various darsanas, achara, sampradayas, panthas, ways of sadhana, etc. each have their own parampara. Each parampara grows in relation to another. Each parampara is in dialogical relationship with other. Even though one parampara may deny the other, each parampara gets influenced by the other. If there is a change in say among Dasnamis relating to its mata the subsequent influence will get reflected among chatuh sampradayas and vice versa. The various paramparas grow in this way leading and making each parampara all encompassing. Yajna can explain all the aspects viz., darsana, achara, sadhana etc. so can tapas and so each aspects of these and others.
The growth of sampradayas in their organisational aspects clearly demonstrates this reflexivity. The building up of akharas and khalsa in Chatuh sampradaya, the mandaleswaras, mathas, akharas among Dasnamis, the paddhatis in Udansina sampradaya, the panthis in Natha-sampradaya, etc. have all grown and enriched through the method of incorporation from other paramparas on the principle of 'may noble thoughts from all over the world come to us'.

Other aspect is that with this vision of universal acceptance which exists even in denial has not compromised with the basic fundamentals. Each parampara in all its growth keeps its originality intact. The growth exists at the level of ideas. The basic categories through which these paramparas express themselves remain the same. These categories get wider meaning through incorporation and growth. The dogma at the level idea does not exist. Sarvagam-pramonya is the principle. All visions of realities have place under the sun. Each parampara may stick to its own vision, it may even enter into debate with the other parampara at times turning even violent, but such is the self corrective nature that the right to existence to all paramparas always exists.

This happens when jijnasa (pursuit to know) and mumuksha (pursuit to absolute perfection) are values given the highest precedence. It is this which takes individual to higher and higher states of reality only to know that more is to be known. The relentless perseverance to uncover the reality as it exists to know that this is not reality. It is something deeper and deeper. With each attempt, new horizons emerge only to say that the last sentence in the world of knowledge has so far not been structured. Sruti rests in neti-neti.