

## *Saints and Sages of Kāśī*

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Kāśī is one of the seven cities (*Purīs*)<sup>1</sup> of India, which are regarded as the bestower of direct salvation (*Mokṣa*) to the people associated with them. Kāśī is also known in the world as a centre of spiritual learning and practices as well as a sacred place of Multi Religious Traditions. This reverend status of Kāśī has been founded on its mythical background and maintained by saints and sages who have been living here from time immemorial. The major part of the history of Kāśī is the history of its saints and sages. Unfortunately very little research work has been done on the saints and sages of Kāśī. Some scholars have made their researches on the history of Kāśī and tried their best to throw light on its saints and sages. They have presented the lists of the saints and sages of Kāśī.<sup>2</sup> Such lists are neither exhaustive nor complete. An attempt however, is made here to select some of the saints and sages of Kāśī and to provide brief information about them.

**Jaigīṣabya :** He is one of the ancient Ṛṣīs who lived in Kāśī. He lived in Ausanaganja in Varanasi. His name is available in *Kāśī Khaṇḍa* but there is no more information about him.<sup>3</sup>

**Vedavyāsa :** He is also an ancient Ṛṣi of Dvāpara who lived for a long period in Kāśī. According to the Purāṇās Vyāsa was the son of Ṛṣi Parāśara and his wife Satyavatī. First of all he had systematized the hymns of the Vedas according to the necessity for sacrifices. Hence he was called Veda-vyāsa. He is regarded as the author of eighteen Purāṇas.<sup>4</sup> *Mahābhārata*, which includes *Gītā*, the *Brahma Sutra* (which is one of original sources of Vedānta) and the commentary on *Yoga Sūtra* of Patañjali. He possessed a miraculous and legendary personality. Various miraculous stories are ascribed to him. It is also stated that once he became angry with Lord Śiva and wanted to situate another Kāśī on the other bank of Gaṅgā. But being deceived by Gaṇeśa he could not do so. He left Kāśī and began to live in Ramnagar. There is a temple in that area, where he lived and that area is known as Vyāsa nagar. The citizens of Kāśī use to visit the temple in the month of Māgha (January).<sup>5</sup> There is a famous *śloka* in his praise which states that Vyāsa was Brahmā, though he had not four faces, he was Viṣṇu only with two hands and he was Śambhu without an eye on his forehead.<sup>6</sup>

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\* "Kusumanjali", B-37/165-A, Giri Nagar Colony, Birdopur, Varanasi - 221 010

**Jaina-Tirthaṅkaras :** Jainism is one of the ancient religions of India. There are twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras in Jainism. Four out of twenty-four Tirthaṅkaras were born in Kāśī. The seventh Tirthaṅkara Supārśvanātha was born in Bhadaini, eighth Tirthaṅkara Chandraprabhu was born in Chandrapurī, eleventh Tirthaṅkara Śreyamśanātha was born in Sarnath and twenty-third Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha was born in Bhelupur. All of them had their four *Kalyāṇakas* in Kāśī. There is a very famous temple in Bhelupur at the birth place of Pārśvanātha which is regarded as a holy place by the followers of Jainism. Jaina pilgrims use to visit the temple and the place.<sup>7</sup> The most important teachings of Tirthaṅkaras are called three jewels of Jainism, viz. Right Faith (*Samyak Darśana*), Right Knowledge (*Samyak Jñāna*) and Right Conduct (*Samyak Caritra*).

**Bhuddha :** He made deep meditation at Bodhgaya and attained enlightenment (*Sambodhi*). After having attained enlightenment he came to Kāśī in 528 B.C. His first *Dharma-Cakra-Pravartana* (Turning the wheel of Dharma) took place at Sarnath. He initiated his five disciples namely Kaundina, Wāppā, Bhāḍīyā, Mahāna and Āsjī.<sup>8</sup> At that time Sarnath was called Ṛṣi Pattana - Mṛgadāva. In his first teaching Lord Buddha taught four noble truths (*Cāra-Ārya-Satya*) : suffering (*Duḥkha*), cause of suffering (*Duḥkha-samudaya*), cessation of suffering (*Duḥkha-nirodha*) and way to cessation of suffering (*Duḥkha-nirodha-mārga*); doctrine of dependent origination (*Pratītya-samutpāda-siddhānta*) and middle path (*Madhyama-mārga*). He instructed his disciples (*Bhikkhus*) to wander for preaching his sermons for the pleasure, happiness and welfare of the greatest number of the people.<sup>9</sup>

**Ādi Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 C.E.) :** He was born in a village of Kerala. In young age he took initiation with Govinda-Pādācārya and became *sanyāsī*. He travelled throughout the country and came to Kāśī. He stayed here at many places like Maṅikarnikā *ghāṭā*, Gaṇeśa Mahāla, Kedāra *ghāṭā* etc. He wrote his commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra*, the *Gītā* and ten Upaniṣads. He is also regarded as the author of *Viveka-Chūḍāmaṇi*, *Upadeśa-Sāhasri*, *Kāśī-Pancakam*, *Śiva-stotra*, *Kāla-Bhairāva-stotra*, *Carapaṭa-pañjari* etc.<sup>10</sup> He became the expounder of Advaita-vedānta. He was a great scholar and *siddha-yogī*. Two events took place with him in Kāśī which are said to be very important. The first event was related to his debate with Maṅḍana Mishra, who was the greatest scholar of *Mīmāṃsā*. When Ācārya Śaṅkara was searching the residence of Maṅḍana Mishra, he met a lay woman. When he inquired her about the house of Maṅḍana Mishra she spoke in Sanskrit and said, "That would be the house

of Maṇḍana Mishra, where on the door the parrots in cages would be talking about the intrinsic and extrinsic validity of the *Vedas*". He reached the house of Maṇḍana Mishra and defeated him in *Śāstrārtha* (debate). Then his wife Bhāratī challenged Ācārya to answer her questions which were related with sex. Ācārya could not answer then at that time he took some time for answering the questions. He went away and entered in a dead body of king, went to his palace, got answer from the queen and returned back to his own body and answered the questions of Bhāratī. Later on Maṇḍana Mishra became his disciple and who named Sureśvarācārya. He wrote the *Naiṣkarma Siddhi*, as important text of Advaita Vedānta.<sup>11</sup> The second event is related to his confrontation with Cāṇḍāla (the lowest rank of Śūdra). Once Ācārya passing through a narrow lane in Kāśī confronted with a Cāṇḍāla. He wanted to avoid the touch of Cāṇḍāla so he asked the Cāṇḍāla to go away and give him the way. But the conversation of Cāṇḍāla made him the spirit of his Advaitism (non-dualism) which discards all internal and external differences and asserts identity of Brahman with every one.<sup>12</sup>

After Ācārya Śaṅkara and Sureśvara in Kāśī many saints have contributed to Advaita Vedānta with their works (either original or Tīkā). Among them Padmapādācārya, Prakāśātmā, Citasukhācārya, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, and Bhaskarānanda are regarded very important.<sup>13</sup>

It is also stated that Ācārya Śaṅkara had initiated his ten disciples and attributed them different surnames to preach his philosophy. The surnames given to them are Giri, Purī, Bhāratī, Parvata, Vana, Āraṇya, Sāgara Tīrtha, Āśrama and Sarasvatī. Even today all of them have their *Maṭhas* in Kāśī.<sup>14</sup> Philosophy of Advaita in nut-shell is that only is Brahman Supreme Reality and the world is appearance (*Mithyā*). The Jivas are not different from Brahman.<sup>15</sup>

## **SAINTS**

### ***Vaiṣṇava Saints :***

Almost all the Ācārya of different sects of Vaiṣṇavism lived in Kāśī and founded their *Maṭhas* to preach their specific philosophy. They influenced and initiated a larger number of people to follow their sects. Some of them are mentioned here in brief.

**Rāmānujācārya** (12<sup>th</sup> century CE) : It is stated that he came to Kāśī and wrote commentary on the *Brahma-sūtra*, the *Gītā* and the *Upaniṣads* and founded the school of *Viśiṣṭādvaita-vedānta*, which asserts that Brahman is Supreme Reality and is always qualified with mind (*citta*) and matter (*acitta*). According to this view Brahman and

Īśvara are the same. He takes five forms for the creation and the fulfillment of desires of his devotees. The five forms are : *Para* (Transcendent), *Antaryāmī* (Imminent), *Caturvyūha* (Four congregation), *Avatāra* (Incarnation) and *Arcāvatāra* (statue established for worship). This school gave emphasis on devotion for final goal (*Mokṣa*). Rāmānuja comes under Śrī Sampradāya of Vaiṣṇavism.

Similarly **Madhavācārya** (13<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), **Nimbārkācārya** (14<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), **Vallabhācārya** (15<sup>th</sup> century C.E.) and **Caitanya** came to Kāśī and founded their *Maṭhas* and preached their specific philosophy.<sup>16</sup>

**Rāmānandācārya** (1299-1411 C.E.) : He came to Kāśī and founded his *Maṭha* at Pañchagaṅgā *ghāṭa*. He was initiated in Śrī Sampradāya of Rāmānuja but consequently he transformed it into Rāmāvata Sampradāya. He made Kāśī a centre of Rāma Bhakti, and opened Bhakti-cult for all without any discrimination of caste, creed and sex. He initiated disciples belonging to different castes and sex. Among his disciples the following twelve are more important as they belonged to different castes and includes even women : Kabira (weaver), Raidasa (Cobbler), Dhannā (Farmer), Senā (Barber), Pīpā (Rajput), Sukhānanda, Surasānanda, Narahāriananda, Yogānanda and Anantānanda (Brāhmaṇa), Padmāvātī and Surasari (women).<sup>17</sup> He emphasized on the devotion and worship of Rāma. In the *Śrīmaṭha* of Pañchagaṅga *ghāṭa* the *caraṇa pādukās* of Rāmānanda are still present.

**Kabiradāsa** : He is said to have born in Kāśī, but his exact birth place is yet to be finally decided. He was found at a pond in Lahartāra by Nīru and Nīmā who were his foster parents. They belonged to a Muslim weaver caste, so Kabira always treated himself as weaver and chose this profession. He managed himself to become the disciple of Rāmānanda and regarded him as his *guru*. Kabira had a miraculous and astonishing personality. He was a revealed sage, free thinker and also fearless and revolutionary saint. He vehemently criticized Hindus and Muslims for their hypocritical behaviour in religious deeds, sacraments and worship. He was a spiritual teacher, social-reformer, accomplished *yogī* and propounder of *Nirguṇa-bhakti*. Thousands of poems and *bhajans* have been written by him which are enough to reveal his spiritual knowledge and broad outlook. He developed various methods of *yoga*-practices but highlighted on *Sahaja yoga* and *Surata-śabda-yoga*. Hindus and Muslims both became his disciples and followers. The place where he lived in Kāśī is known as Kabira-*maṭha* and the area as Kabira-chaurā. The place is regarded as holy place for his followers in the country and abroad.<sup>18</sup>

**Raidasa or Ravidāsa** (1399-1528 C.E.) : He was born in Varanasi in a family of cobbler caste, in the village Sīra-karahiā near Banaras Hindu University. He was a great saint and poet. He composed many devotional songs to teach good conduct and love to all human beings. He was against pomp and show. He asked his followers to perform honestly their duties and maintain their professions. Many miracles are attributed to him. Once he was kept away from the line of Brāhmaṇas seated for collective lunch but it was very curious for them to find that Ravidāsa is sitting beside each of them. He was also one of the disciples of Rāmānanda. His affectionate behaviour and accomplishment made him honourable saint. It is said that Mīrā was initiated with him as he lived in Chittoḍagaḍha and died there in 1528 C.E. There is an impressive temple of Ravidasa at Rajghat.<sup>19</sup>

**Gosvāmī Tulasī Dāsa** (1497-1624 C.E.) : He was born in Rajapura village of Banda District in U.P. He came to Kāśī for study when he was 12 years old and after studying here with Śeṣa Sanātanaji for fifteen years, he went back to his village. At the age of 45 years he gave up his family and home and came to Kāśī. He spent the major part of his life in Kāśī. He stayed at several places in Kāśī, such as Pañcagaṅga ghāṭa, Hanuman-Phāṭaka, Bhadaini, Prahlada ghāṭa, Bindu Mādhava *mandira*, Gopāla *mandira* and Tulasī ghāṭa. He completed his *Rāmacaritamānasa* in Kāśī and wrote *Vinaya Patrikā*, *Kavitāvalī*, *Dohāvalī* and many other books. His books were written in the language of common people and hence they became very popular. Sanskrit Pandits were not happy with his popularity so they requested Madhusūdan Sarasvatī, the greatest Sanskrit scholar of time, to write some critical note on his writings.<sup>20</sup> But after reading *Rāmacaritamānasa*, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī praised Tulasīdāsa and his works and said "There is a moving Tulasī plant in Kāśī, which is the forest of pleasure and happiness. The poems are the beautiful flowers of the plant and Rāma, decorating the flowers, moves around them like bee". The greatest contribution of Tulasīdāsa to Sanātana Dharma was bridge the gap between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas, who were overwhelmed with sectarian feeling and rivalry. He established a very strange relationship between Śiva and Rāma, as reciprocal master and servant as well as friends.<sup>22</sup> He gave importance to all the five deities of Sanātana Dharma as Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya in his *Rāmacaritmānasa*. The statues of Hanumāna established by him in Kāśī are attracting thousands of visitors everyday. According to him Kāśī is the place of salvation (*Mokṣa*), storehouse of learning and knowledge, eradicator of sins and evils and abode of Śiva and Bhavānī.<sup>23</sup>

**Bābā Kīnā Rāma** : He was born in a village of Chandauli district. After the death of his parents and wife he left home and took initiation with Mahātmā Śiva Rāma in Ghazipur. He belonged to Aghora *sampradāya* where the practice of *Panca Makāra* is prescribed.<sup>24</sup> It is believed that Bābā Kīnā Rāma was an incarnation of Panca-Mukhī Mahādeva. There are many miraculous stories about him. Once he saved a poor boy from the hard beating of a zamindara. When he saw that a zamindara was preparing to beat a poor boy for not paying beets, he requested the zamindara to release him, but the zamindara did not care to his request and started beating the boy with stick. After two or three strokes, the zamindara felt the hurt on his own back and became restless. He was amazed and fell down on the feet of Bābā and released the boy. Being released, the boy became the disciple of Bābā and was named Bhīkhā Rāma. It is also said that for the arrogance of Cheta Singh, Bābā had cursed him to be issueless.<sup>25</sup> Bābā's Āśram is situated in Bhadaini which is a centre of Avadhūta Sampradāya. The fire (Dhūnī) kindled by him is still burning in his Āśrama. The pond in the Āśrama, called Kṛmī kuṇḍa was blessed by Bābā and rescues devotees who take bath in it from various illnesses.<sup>26</sup>

**Tailaṅga Svāmī** (1607-1881) : He was born in Telangana so he was called Tailanga-svāmī. It is said that at the age of 90 years he wandered throughout the country and went to many holy places, even in Himalaya and Mānasarovara with naked body. He came to Kāśī in 1737 CE and stayed at various places like Asi ghāṭa, Hanumana ghāṭa, Dasāśvamedha ghāṭa, Pañchagaṅgā ghāṭa etc. He is also credited with number of miracles. He could swim in the water with hands and legs tied. Once he was jailed by a collector, but when the collector reached his office he found Svāmījī walking before his office. He gave shelter to a tiger in his lap and brought back a seven years old boy to life by smearing the sand of Gaṅgā on his dead body.<sup>27</sup>

**Bābā Loṭā Dāsa** (1690-1767 CE) : He came to Kāśī from Panjab. He was initiated by Svāmī Narāyaṇa Dāsa and stayed in Īśvaraṅgī. His real name was Govardhana Dāsa but he was called Loṭā Dāsa, because he had Loṭā which would not empty even after quenching the thirst of hundred persons. It is said that once he was suffering from uncontrolled shivering and fever. Kāśī Nareśa came to meet him. To greet the king he passed on his shivering to the mat on which he was sitting. The king was much surprised to see this. There is a *Matha* at Īśvargaṅgī named Loṭā Dāsa *Matha*.<sup>28</sup>

**Satuā Bābā or Raṇachoḍa Dāsa** : He came to Kāśī after giving up his service of Revenue Collector in Gujarat. He was initiated with Viṣṇusvāmī. His miraculous

behaviour made him popular in masses. He established an Āśram at Maṇikarnikā ghāṭa. Raṇachoḍa Dāsa used to give jaggery and grams (Gur-Chanā) to every visitor who came to visit him. It is said that once Lord Śiva came there in guise of old man and refused to accept gram as he had no teeth. Raṇachoḍadāsa crushed the grams with his hand and converted them into powder (*sattu*). Thereafter he was called Satuā Bābā. His Āśram is still present at Maṇikarnikā ghāṭa.<sup>29</sup>

**Svāmī Bhāṣkarānanda** (1833-1899 CE) : He was born in the village Mithilāpur in Kanpur district. He learnt *yoga* with svāmī Purnānanda at Ujjain and came to Kāśī in 1868 CE. He stayed in Ānanda Bāga near Durga-Kuṇḍa. He was a *yogī* with mystic power and used to cure people suffering from various illness. His white marble *samādhi* near Durgā-Kuṇḍa is an attraction to pilgrims of Kāśī.<sup>30</sup>

**Paramahaṃsa Viśuddhānanda** (1864-1937 CE) : His name was Bholanatha Chatterji. He became to disciple of Mahātapā and practised severe penance for twelve years and was named as Viśuddhānanda. His Āśrama is in Maldaiha and is famous as Viśuddhananda-kānana. He was an eminent scholar and accomplished *yogī*. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj, Dādā Sita Rama and Braja Ballabha Dwivedi are said to be his disciples.<sup>31</sup>

**Harihara Bābā** (1821-1947 CE) : He was born in the village of Jafarapur of Chaparā district in Bihar. He came to Kāśī after wandering various places like Sonapura, Ayodhya, Bhagalpur. He stayed at Asi ghāṭa. He used to swim across the Gaṅgā for his urinal and latrine. In his old age he lived in a ship and used to go across the Gaṅgā by a boat.<sup>32</sup>

**Mā Ānandamayī** (1896-1982 CE) : She was born in Khevada village of Tripura. She was married at the age of twelve to Ramaṇi Mohana Chatterji. In her childhood she used to meditate and enter into trance. For her motherly affection to all she was called Mā Ānandamayī. Many great personalities like Śivānanda, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Netaji Subhasa Chandra Bose etc. had experienced peace around her. After the death of her husband she came to Kāśī, established her Āśrama at Bhadaini. There is a Kany Pāṭhaśālā for the education of girls and a hospital in the Āśram.<sup>33</sup>

**Svāmī Karapātrijī** (1907-1982 CE) : He was born in Bhatni village of Pratapgarh district in a family of Sarayūpārīṇa Brāhmaṇa. His original name was Hara Narayana. He gave up his home, family and went to Narora to study under Tapasvī Ṣaṭarśanācārya Svāmī Viśveśvarāśrama. After staying there for 13 years he went to Rṣikeśa, where he did penance for a long period. He was taking only a single handful of alms, so he was called Karapātri. He came to Kāśī in 1932 CE and became famous

for his scholarship in Vedic Tradition. He founded Dharma Saṁgha and Rāma-Rājya Parishad and wrote about 44 books. He started a movement for the protection of cows and organised various meetings of Sanskrit scholars to protest Hindu code bill. Dharma Saṁgha is situated near Durgakunda and it runs Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā as well as various religious functions.<sup>34</sup>

**Bhagvān Rāma** (1937-1922 CE) : He was born in Ara district in a very poor family. First he became a disciple of a Vaiṣṇava saint and later he was initiated in Aghora pantha. He turned towards social service and social reforms and started the Sarveśvarī Samūha. The Sarveśvarī Samūha has waged a war against alcoholism and worked for uplifting the poor and helpless. An Āśram is established to serve the patients of incurable diseases like leprosy near Paḍāv, which is very famous for its service.

Apparently the history of saints and sages of Kāśī cannot be written in few pages. There were thousands of saints and sages in Kāśī in past and there are thousands at present in various *Mathas* of Kāśī. Separate research may be undertaken on each saint and sage. This small paper is only an indication to the necessity of researches on saints and sages of Kāśī.<sup>35</sup>

### **Notes and References**

1. अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका।  
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैताः मोक्ष दायिकाः॥
2. (a) *Sanmārga Varanasi Viśeṣāṅka*, August 1986.  
(i) Śrī Devīnārāyaṇa Vidyāsāgara, pp. 107-110  
(सन्त महात्माओं से सेवित काशी)  
(ii) Śrī Rāma Nārāyaṇa Shukla Shastri, pp. 99-102  
(सन्त तुलसी दास और वाराणसी)  
(iii) Pt. Baladeva Upadhyaya, pp. 31-34  
(काशी की पण्डित परम्परा)  
(b) *Varanasi at the Cross road*, Swami Madhāsānanda, pp. 215-238.  
(c) *Luminous Kashi to Vibrant Varanasi*, K. Chandra Mauli, pp. 165-189  
(d) *Kashi Khandokta Pancha Krośatmaka Jyotirlinga*, Pt. Kedar Nath Vyasa, pp. 253-255
3. *Sanmārga Viśeṣāṅka*, p. 31
4. Eighteen Purāṇas, first letters  
मद्वयं भद्वयञ्चैव ब्रत्रयं व चतुष्टयम्।  
अनापकूस्क लिङ्गानां पुराणानि प्रचक्ष्यते।  
(मद्वयं) मत्स्य, मार्कण्डेय, (भद्वयं) भागवत, भविष्य, (ब्रत्रयं) ब्रह्म, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्माण्ड, (चतुष्टयम्) विष्णु, वामन, वाराह, वायु, (अ) अग्नि, (ना) नारद, (प) पद्म, (कू) कूर्म, (स्क) स्कन्द, (लि) लिंग, (ग) गरुड = 18
5. *Sanmārga Viśeṣāṅka*, p. 31

6. अचुर्वदनो ब्रह्मा द्विबाहुरपरो हरिः।  
अभाललोचनः शम्भुः भगवान् वादरायणः।
7. *Luminous Kashi to Vibrant Varanasi*, p. 165  
*Varanasi at the Cross Road*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 165
9. अथ खो भगवा वाराणसियं इसिपत्तने मृगदावे अनुत्तरं धम्म चक्कं पवत्तितम् .....चरथ भिक्खवे चारिकं बहुजन हिताय,  
बहुजन सुखाय - महावग्ग, 1.1.8, 1.1.7, 1.2.5
10. *Luminous Kashi to Vibrant Varanasi*. p. 165
11. स्वतः प्रमाणं परतः प्रमाणं शुकाङ्गना यत्र गिरोदगिरन्ति।  
द्वारस्थ पञ्जर सन्निबद्धा अवेहि तन्मण्डन पण्डितौकः॥ p. 257
12. *Ibid.*, p. 260
13. *Bhāratīya Darśana*, Umesha Mishra, pp. 351-352.
14. *Varanasi at the Cross Road*, p. 226
15. श्लोकाद्धेनैव वक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं गन्थकोटिभिः।  
ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः॥
16. *Luminous Kashi*, p. 166
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-103
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-170
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172  
*Sanmārga Viśeṣaṅka*, pp. 99-102
21. आनन्द कानने ह्यस्मिन् जंगमस्तुलसी तरुः।  
कविता मञ्जरी भाति रामभ्रमर भूषिता॥
22. से बक स्वामी सुखा सिय पिय के। रामचरित मानस
23. मुक्ति जन्म मही जान ज्ञान खानि अघ हानिकर।  
जहँ वस शम्भु भवानि सो कासी से इय कस न॥ *Ibid*
24. Panca Makāra Madya, Mansa, Matsya, Maithuna and Mudira. These words have an apparent meaning and a mystical.
25. *Kāśī Khaṇḍokta.....*, p. 276
26. *Luminous Kashi.....* pp. 174-176
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177
28. *Ibid.*, p. 178
29. *Ibid.*, p. 182
30. *Ibid.*, p. 183
31. *Ibid.*, p. 183
32. *Ibid.*, p. 179
33. *Ibid.*, p. 184
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86
35. *Ibid.*, p. 186.