

STEN RODHE

THE INDIAN BACKGROUND OF TWO MODERN MEDITATION MOVEMENTS

This conference deals with South Asia. Most contributions treat what happened or is happening in that part of the world. My report will focus on South Asia, and in particular India, in another way. My interest will concentrate on the fact that in the Western World we are getting more and more of South Asia among ourselves.

I think nobody can deny that, owing mainly to technical developments which have caused dramatic changes in various kinds of communications, contacts between East and West are nowadays livelier than ever. East and West meet in many ways which Kipling did not dream of.

My interest here will not be in the Western impact on India but in the other side of the picture, the Indian influence on the West. As a student of the history of religions and comparative religion, I am interested mainly in the meeting of Indian and Western religious traditions that takes place in the West. This meeting of West and East in the West is a really existential meeting, taking place in the minds and hearts of many Westerners today. It is an important field for research, when we have to try to understand what is really happening in the world today.

The literature on the subject I have chosen is so far rather scarce, if I do not count the propaganda literature published by the movements themselves or the polemics written against them. But little of scientific analysis has been done. The most recent and best book I know in this field is *Indische Mission und neue Frömmigkeit im Westen* by the German pastor Reinhart Hummel¹. In his introduction he writes that until now there has been no systematic investigation of these movements (Indian religious movements) from the points of view of religious and missionary research ("religions- und missionswissenschaftliche Gesichtspunkte"). He

quotes nevertheless a lot of literature, and though he himself has made a fine study there remains much to be done. Various aspects have to be used, and the field is continually changing.

In our Nordic countries there is still less done than in other Western countries, e.g. Germany and the USA. Often interest in Indian influences is included in interest in what is called New Religious Movements, though Indian religion is not new at all. A recent report, by Ted Nordquist, from the Institute for the Sociology of Religion in Stockholm is called *Nya religiösa rörelser i Sverige*². Nordqvist writes that there has been very small interest in Sweden in the study of these movements, and he mentions only two books (by Wikström and Sundström), both apologetic and somewhat polemic in character. Neither of these books, nor his own short report, has the Indian influence as its particular focus.

Hinduism

First, a question. Should the Indian influence be called Hinduism or not? This is a matter of controversy. Many of the movements in the West that have their roots in India and derive their idea of truth from the Vedas, reject the name Hindu.

What is Hinduism? Is Hinduism a religion? The answer to that question depends on the definition of religion, and there is no definition of religion that covers everything for which the term is used. Sometimes Hinduism is counted as a religion, as one of the major world religions. Sometimes it is not. The conception of religion as well as the conception of Hinduism belong to the world outside India, they do not exist in the Indian languages. This fact does not preclude however the English words "Hinduism" and "religion" being used by many Indians today.

There are lots of books, written by Indians as well as by Westerners, on Hinduism as a religion. In the official bi-monthly *Indian & Foreign Review* recently a book on the essence of Hinduism was reviewed. The reviewer wrote: "However, anyone who looks for the essence of Hinduism does not know what Hinduism is all about... Let me be blunt. Hinduism is not a religion. It is not built around an identifiable nucleus. Nor is it unicellular. The sanatana dharma of the Indo-Aryans - to use a more precise phraseology - is simply a conglomerate of ideas thrown up at random over a millennial span, in response to the mystery of the

universe."³ In a later issue of the same paper there was a letter to the editor saying among other things: "I don't know what T.K.Mahadevan is quibbling about ... Mahadevan says Hinduism is not a religion. There he is wrong, and he probably reflects some Christian missionary training devised to distort our tradition, as was the policy of our former conquerors. Nevertheless, Hinduism is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a religious and social system."⁴

Sometimes the arguments over definitions of religion and Hinduism may appear a meaningless quibble. But it is remarkable that the movements I am dealing with are often very eager to deny both that they are religious and that they are Hindu, though they talk about God and have their authority in the Vedas.

The founder of the International Society for Kṛṣṇa Consciousness (ISKCON), A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, said: "The Kṛṣṇa consciousness movement has nothing to do with the Hindu religion or any system of religion... One should clearly understand that the Kṛṣṇa consciousness movement is not preaching the so-called Hindu religion."⁵ What outsiders call Hinduism is to Prabhupada a cultural institution with Vedic roots, which should rather be called *varṇāśrama*.⁶

The other movement I am dealing with today is the Transcendental Meditation movement (TM), founded by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. The adherents of this movement are still more eager than the Kṛṣṇa people to stress that their movement is not a religion, and not a form of Hinduism. In the USA this had led to legal procedures. If TM is a religion, it cannot be taught in public schools; if it is a kind of scientific, psychological technique, it can be taught. The outcome in the American courts was that TM should legally be regarded as a religion and consequently not be allowed to teach its practices in the US public schools.⁷

When Hinduism is treated as a religion, it is often characterized by its inclusiveness. Hinduism is willing to include other religions in itself, and in that way it pretends to stand above the various other religions. So when leaders of modern meditation movements with their origins in India say that they do not represent any religion but welcome adherents of all religions, this attitude is exactly a Hindu attitude, though they do not want to call it so.

This attitude of inclusiveness coincides with a Western attitude, inherited from the Enlightenment in Western history, which is characterized by tolerance and by attempts to find truth in many religions and traditions. In the present age this attitude is very common among Westerners who in this way might often be called Hindus without knowing anything about Hinduism. The often quoted Vedic words "Truth is one, but sages call it by various names" appeal to many modern Westerners, not knowing anything else about the Vedas.

How far is this attitude in agreement with the Christian idea of a general revelation? Christians believe that God is the father of all mankind and has dealt with and spoken to all people during all ages. Most clearly and definitely he spoke to the Jews through Jesus Christ, who is regarded as God's only Son.

For a Christian, Jesus Christ is the key to understanding God's message, also to other people than the Jews. Non-Christians may be Christian without knowing it - like non-Hindus can be Hindus without knowing it. A well-known book by a Christian Spanish-Indian (Raymondo Panikkar) is called "The Unknown Christ of Hinduism."

Two Indian gurus

Many Indian teachers, gurus, are finding disciples in the West nowadays. Here I shall deal only with two of them, Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who is still alive, and A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada, who died in 1977.

Both these leaders claim to represent true Vedic tradition, transmitted through successions of teachers. Both give to the Bhagavad-Gītā an important place in tradition. Both have translated and commented on the Gītā, though Maharishi stopped after the first six chapters, while Prabhupada commented on all eighteen chapters. Both claim to have been given the special task of bringing the Vedic tradition to the West. But representing different guru successions, they transplant the Vedas to the West in different ways.

Transcendental Meditation

Let us first have a look at Maharishi and his movement. It appears under many different names. When it started in India in 1958 it was called The Spiritual Regeneration Movement. In the preface to his Gītā commentary,

Maharishi writes that he started it under the inspiration of his late guru: "It was the concern of Guru Deva, His Divinity Swami Brahmananda Saraswati, to enlighten all men everywhere that resulted in the foundation of the world-wide Spiritual Regeneration Movement in 1958, five years after his departure from us."⁸ Transplanted to the USA the movement soon got other names. In Europe it has its center in Switzerland in what is called Maharishi European Research University (MERU). In Sweden its center is called Maharishi's Institute for Creative Intelligence (MIKI). The name under which the movement is mostly mentioned, Transcendental Meditation (TM), is no trade mark but a general name for what the movement works for. This had importance for instance in Norway when a schism developed in the Norwegian branch, and one segment wanted to break away from the leadership of Maharishi and from the Indian initiation ceremonies, but keep the technique and the name Transcendental Meditation. The Maharishi movement protested but lost in court.

The Maharishi movement is very widely spread in the West. It publishes figures on how many initiations have taken place. With 1% of the people of the world initiated all problems in the world will be solved - it is called the Maharishi effect. The Age of Enlightenment, inaugurated by Maharishi in 1975, will then be fully realized. But nobody knows how many of the initiated continue their meditation and consider themselves members of the movement. It is one of the characteristics of the movement that there is no real membership in it. Those who become initiated mix in society and use their creative power, enlarged by meditation, to build the enlightened society.

On many occasions Maharishi has stated that the Vedas are the source of his wisdom. He starts his commentary on the Gītā with the following words: "The Vedas are the lighthouse of eternal wisdom leading man to salvation and inspiring him to supreme accomplishment. The omnipresence of eternal Being, unmanifested and absolute; Its status as That, even in the manifested diversity of creation; and the possibility of the realization of Being by any man in terms of himself - these are the great truths of the perennial philosophy of the Vedas."

Maharishi maintains that his system of transcendental meditation fulfills the intentions of all six orthodox Vedic schools. In his Gītā commentary he reads into the second verse of the Gītā the contents of

all six systems, and he ends his book with these words: "It has been shown that the aims of each system are fulfilled through the practice of transcendental meditation."

It is evident, however, that he stands closer to some of them than to others. At every initiation into TM "the Holy Tradition", the succession of gurus, has to be recited.⁹ It starts with Nārāyaṇa, one of the names of God found in the Vedas. Maharishi calls Lord Nārāyaṇa "the embodiment of eternal and absolute Being". The next name is Padmabhava, interpreted as the lotus-born Brahma, the Creator. The list mentions Vasiṣṭha, Śakti, Parāśara and comes to Vyāsa, the authority for the whole Vedic literature, including for instance Bhagavad-Gītā and Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. After mentioning some other names the tradition concentrates on Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, to whom on many occasions Maharishi pays his tribute. Maharishi's own guru, whose picture is as frequent in the TM centers as that of Maharishi himself, and who is called Guru Deva, the divine teacher, was a representative in our age of the Śaṅkara tradition.

The fact that Maharishi places himself and all those who are initiated in TM in the Śaṅkara tradition means that he and his followers belong to the Advaita branch of the Vedānta school. This implies, among other things, that the non-personal conception of God stands above the personal conception. The Creator is part of the world, and higher is the Eternal Being, unmanifested and absolute.

In transcendental meditation one reaches deeper and deeper levels of consciousness. There is some variation in the naming of the deepest level: God-consciousness or unity-consciousness. The variation seems to depend on the fact that the word "God" has proved to be better in India, and the word "unity" better for use in the West. The intention is clear, however. The goal is to become one with God, and in this unity there is no distinction between persons. Man becomes God, if this word is allowed to stand for the Absolute Being beyond personal distinctions. Other names are used for this deepest level as well: Creative Intelligence, Source of Thoughts and so on. Transcendental meditation helps man to go beyond all religions with their different names and conceptions of God. TM is said to be the fulfilment of all religions, but the goal can also be reached without any religion. So

Western adherents of TM more often claim that the goal of TM is the fulfilment of science, rather than the fulfilment of religion, and they prefer to use terms from science instead of terms from religion.

Within the Śāṅkara tradition Maharishi does not want to follow the māyāvādins, however, who regard this world as an illusion. To him this world of differences is as real as the spiritual world of oneness. Both are parts of the Eternal Absolute Being. And Maharishi definitely advises his followers to be active in this world. This means, as well, that he does not recommend them to become hermits in accordance with the traditional āśrama system. The greatness of transcendental meditation, he maintains, is that it brings salvation, oneness with the Absolute Being, also to those active in life, to householders, gr̥hasthas. It has been a misunderstanding of correct tradition to recommend a passive life in seclusion in order to reach salvation. By means of transcendental meditation one reaches the goal of salvation in an easy and comfortable way, and one's actions should stem from this oneness with the Absolute. It is evident, maintains Maharishi, that a man whose actions do stem from this Absolute level is always acting in a correct way. There is no Evil in the Absolute Being, only Bliss.

While Maharishi does not want to enforce the traditional four āśramas, he is more eager to stress the importance of the four varṇas, the castes. But he interprets the commands in the Gītā not to mix the castes in a general, conservative way, not bound to the Indian system: "The intermixing of castes destroys the ideals preserved by immemorial traditions and has the direct result of upsetting the social equilibrium ...

Family dharma is an established tradition where people born in a particular family engage in the profession of that family. Because of this parental heritage they work efficiently, produce better material for society and improve in their profession".¹⁰

Practice of transcendental meditation is the best way to salvation, simpler and better than other ways such as the way of knowledge, jñāna. This emphasis on practice connects Maharishi with the yoga tradition, which gives rules for meditation. But Maharishi does not care much for the traditional eight yoga steps (limbs). His method leads directly to the two last steps, dhyāna and samādhi, and correct action follows automatically from these levels. So he does not recommend any special moral

training, included in the first two steps, yama and niyama. The meditator is advised to sit in any comfortable position, and training in yoga postures, āsanās, comes only later. The same is true of breathing exercises, prāṇāyāma, which can be used to reach certain capacities, siddhis, but not in the beginning. Concentration on a specific object, dhāraṇā, should not take place. The mantra, necessary for meditation and given secretly at the initiation, is a tool for reaching deeper levels of consciousness, but not an object for concentration. Withdrawal of the senses, pratyāhāra, is performed simply by closing the eyes.

When some advice for meditation is given in the Gītā in accordance with classical yoga tradition, Maharishi interprets it in a very liberal way. Gītā 5:27 speaks of leaving external objects outside and concentrating on the eyebrows. Maharishi comments: "This point has been widely misunderstood and the verse is interpreted as advocating concentration of the vision between the eyebrows ... such a practice has no place in the Bhagavad Gita which teaches a simple and effortless method".

Gītā 6:10 speaks of meditation in seclusion, and the yogi should be without desires and possessions. According to Maharishi the words refer only to short periods of meditation. "This verse does not advocate a monkish withdrawal from life for a yogi. It should not be understood as teaching that a yogi must always remain away from society, by himself, aspiring to nothing and possessing nothing. If the distinction is not made between the time of meditation itself and the time spent out of meditation, then this verse and the succeeding ones may well be misunderstood."

In the following verse, instructions on the seat of the yogi are interpreted as meaning only that "place and seat should be conducive to meditation. The meditator should feel comfortable and pleasant."

International Society for Kṛṣṇa Consciousness

After these short notices on Maharishi's movement for Transcendental Meditation, let me go on and speak still more briefly about another active meditation movement with Indian background, the International Society for Kṛṣṇa Consciousness (ISKCON). It was founded in 1966 in the USA by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada. The founder was at that time already 70 years

old. 30 years earlier, in 1936, he had received from his teacher, Bhaktisiddhanta, the special task of spreading the Kṛṣṇa devotion into the Western world. But until 1965 he stayed in India, fulfilling his obligation by writing books on Kṛṣṇa consciousness in English.

It was a courageous task to go to a new world and start a new movement at the age of 70. But Prabhupada managed well, and at his death at 81 years of age in 1977 his organization had become worldwide. It came to Sweden in 1973 through two Swedes who had been won to the movement in Australia in 1971.

To become initiated as a Kṛṣṇa devotee is much harder than to become initiated in the TM of Maharishi, and so the Kṛṣṇa devotees are not so numerous. But outside the restricted numbers of Western Kṛṣṇa initiated devotees there is a large number of people who read the already very extensive literature of the movement, mainly translations and commentaries of Vedic literature, made by Prabhupada himself.

Sometimes the Kṛṣṇa-conscious people live in communities. Some of them are monks (with orange robes), some are married (with white robes). The initiated should have their heads shaved and observe strict rules on food (strictly vegetarian) and drink (no alcohol, no coffee or tea), sex (celibatarian or sex only to produce children). The Kṛṣṇa people accuse the TM people of making the path to divine life, to deliverance, much too easy. They refuse the secularising ways of TM and cling closely to Indian life as described in the Vedas.

Maharishi and Prabhupada stand in different guru successions. Both give their lists in their Gītā commentaries. Prabhupada starts with Kṛṣṇa, the Supreme God - Maharishi starts with Nārāyaṇa. Kṛṣṇa as well as Nārāyaṇa are names of God used in the Vaiṣṇava branch of Hinduism. After Kṛṣṇa, Prabhupada mentions Brahma and Nārada and then Vyāsa, the authority of the Vedas. Prabhupada, as well as Maharishi, claim that they represent the right understanding of the Vedas. But after Vyāsa the successions of Prabhupada and Maharishi have nothing in common. Śaṅkara, who has a central place in Maharishi's tradition, is not among the teachers of Prabhupada. Instead, the central place among his masters is taken by Caitanya, who is called Mahāprabhu and is regarded as the incarnation (avatāra) of God in the 15th century (born 1486, died 1533). Caitanya gave the definite and correct interpretations of the Vedas as well as instruction on how to reach

fulfilment in our age, the Kali-yuga, the dark age: through constant singing of God's holy names, Hare Kṛṣṇa Rāma. The right way of meditation in our age is to sing these names in the company of other Kṛṣṇa devotees.

In the West, and particularly in Sweden, Caitanya was earlier introduced by Walther Eidlitz, who was initiated by a German who had been initiated by Prabhupada's guru Bhaktisiddhanta when he was in India during the second world war. Eidlitz made many Swedes interested in Indian ways of thinking and worship, and prepared the way for ISKCON.

Stories told about Caitanya relate that in a debate on the right interpretation of the Vedas he rejected the interpretations made by the Śāṅkara branch of the Vedānta school, which says that the ultimate truth is impersonal. In the steps of the master, Prabhupada often polemizes against the Advaitins, calling them atheists and rascals. It is fundamentally wrong to say, as Maharishi does, that man becomes united with God, becomes God.¹¹ The right interpretation is the one represented by the Vaiṣṇava bhakti tradition, for which God in his ultimate meaning must be praised as a person. The devotee, the realized man, can say that he represents God but not that he is God.

Both Maharishi and Prabhupada regard the Bhagavad-Gītā as the true fulfilment of the Vedas, and both say in their commentaries that they convey the right understanding of it. Prabhupada calls his commentary *Bhagavad-Gītā As It Is*.¹² He writes that he is not interpreting it at all, but giving the sense of the text without interpretation - an approach known for instance from Christian fundamentalists, who claim to read the Bible "as it is" without interpretation.

The *Bhagavad-Gītā As It Is* should be studied by a Kṛṣṇa devotee every day. But that is not enough. He should give equal attention to the voluminous Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, also commented on by Prabhupada. Bhagavad-Gītā is preliminary in relation to the Bhāgavatam, Prabhupada writes in his preface to the commentary.¹³ And Caitanya, who was Kṛṣṇa himself in our dark age, gave the right interpretation of both texts.

The authority of Caitanya implies among other things that in this dark age the yogic instructions for meditation, given in the Gītā, should not be followed. The right meditation is not to sit alone in seclusion and meditate in silence but to sing the great mantra of Hare Kṛṣṇa Rāma in communion

with other Kṛṣṇa devotees (*saṅkīrtana*). In that way one becomes independent of possessions and selfish desires, as is demanded in Gītā 6:10. Seclusion should mean isolation from those who are not Kṛṣṇa devotees. The instructions for the right place for meditation, which Maharishi interprets as sitting comfortably, Prabhupada applies to the holy places in India, connected with Kṛṣṇa, for instance Vṛndāban, where ISKCON has built a temple of its own and where Prabhupada left this life. But Prabhupada adds that not everybody has the chance to go there. Everywhere, however, the great mantra can be chanted. The chanting makes the devotee Kṛṣṇa-conscious, so that he has always Kṛṣṇa in his mind, does everything for Kṛṣṇa.

Like Maharishi, Prabhupada maintains that the varṇāśrama system, the division of society into castes and of life into periods, is a necessary part of the eternal Vedic dharma. He wants to enforce it over the whole world in a more literal way than Maharishi does. Women should keep to their traditional religious and family-bound duties, he says in his comments on Gītā 1:40. Gītā 4:13 speaks of a division into four varṇas. Maharishi does not apply these words to the castes at all, as Prabhupada does. In order to function, a society should be strictly divided into intelligent intellectuals (brahmins), administrators (kṣatriyas), merchants (vaiśyas), workers (śūdras). Prabhupada stresses that this division should not be bound by birth. You belong to the caste (varṇa), for which you show yourself fitted and capable. You can become a Kṛṣṇa devotee, become initiated in ISKCON, whatever caste you belong to. But there is a second initiation, whereby the Kṛṣṇa-conscious becomes a brahmin. The initiated brahmins are the real leaders of the world and should give spiritual guidance to the others. The task of ISKCON is to find and educate such leaders who will bring about the right kind of society, the Vedic society.

As it is possible to become Kṛṣṇa-conscious in all castes, it is also possible in all periods of life. Not everybody needs to reach the last āśrama, the sannyāsa stage, in this life. And the sannyāsa life may start at various ages. Caitanya did not dwell long in his household period. He became a sannyāsī when he was 24. Prabhupada dwelt longer as a householder. He abandoned his wife and five children when he was 54 and became a vānaprastha at 58. Five years later he became a sannyāsī, and two years after that he started his mission in the USA.

TM and ISKCON compared

May I sum up some points of comparison between TM and ISKCON.

- Both movements are in an authoritative way led by Indian masters (gurus), one of whom is still alive, the other passed away.
- Both movements are having considerable success in the Western world.
- Both leaders claim to spread the right Vedic message, conveyed to them through a succession of teachers (gurus).
- Both leaders claim to have been given the special task of spreading the Vedic message in the Western world.
- Both leaders maintain that the Vedic truth is not a religion but includes all religions, and so they welcome followers of all religions in their movements.

Now to some differences.

Meditation is performed differently: by TM in silence, being alone, help from a secret mantra, by ISKCON in chanting the mantra aloud together with others.

Maharishi is a follower of the Śāṅkara Vedānta tradition, maintaining that the ultimate source of life is impersonal. Prabhupada is a follower of the Bhakti Vedānta tradition. The belief in the ultimate truth as impersonal is there regarded as a lower stage than the belief in a personal God - Maharishi maintains the opposite view.

Another difference: TM makes the way to wisdom and truth easier than ISKCON does. TM teaches a simple method of meditation, and the meditator can go on living a life in the world with no changes of habits. He only has to observe in detail the few rules of meditation: to sit twice a day for 20 minutes, close the eyes, expand his consciousness with the help of the secret mantra given at his initiation. Prabhupada speaks very contemptuously of this easy way. He has strict rules on vegetarian eating, not drinking alcohol, coffee, tea etc, not having sex outside procreation. At the initiation heads are shaved, and many adopt Indian dress.

The followers of Maharishi are abandoning their Indian language and translating the Vedic wisdom into Western words. They definitely do not accept being called Hindus. The followers of ISKCON maintain that the Indian words, which are part of the tradition they cling to, can and should be

understood and used at least by an elite all over the world. Though they do not want to be called Hindus or to call their devotion a religion, they are not so strongly opposed to those terms as are the TM-people.

The reaction of the West

I am sorry there is no time to talk about how the West meets these challenges from India. A few final words must suffice.

In the Western world the main religious and philosophical tradition has been Christian. By and by this tradition has become secularized and pluralistic. The Vedic traditions are now preached into this broken Christian tradition by movements like TM and ISKCON. In its modern form this preaching is so new that the West does not yet know how to react. So far the reactions have mainly been either uncritical acceptance or total rejection. Real dialogues are scarce.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty for real dialogues is to find a common platform, including a common language. Vedic words have their meaning which cannot be easily translated into Western words, which in turn have their own meaning in our tradition with its roots in Jerusalem and Athens.

The Kṛṣṇa devotee is strongly attached to the Vedic words. The TM follower is less so, and is more and more using the language of modern Western science, rejecting both Hindu and Christian religious terms. Among Christians some are very strongly attached to Biblical words and terminology, others less so, preferring the language of science. In ISKCON even Western science is rejected.

Some Christians accept TM as a non-religious meditation technique and use a scientific language as a common platform. Others reject this way and are eager to disclose TM as a Hindu religion behind the scientific language. They find it easier to have a dialogue with ISKCON with its more open Hinduism and religious language, including a firm belief in a personal God.

The easy way of TM to reach fulfilment and self-realization is attractive to many Westerners, while there are others who feel more attracted by the more strict regulations within ISKCON, reminiscent of Christian monastery life.

In this rather confused meeting of East and West there seems to be much need of research, made in various ways and from various aspects.

Notes

- 1) Hummel 1980.
- 2) Nordquist 1980.
- 3) Mahadevan 1980.
- 4) Souza 1980.
- 5) Prabhupada 1977, p. 110.
- 6) Prabhupada 1977, p. 196.
- 7) NRM 1979, p. 45.
- 8) Maharishi 1969, p. 16.
- 9) Maharishi 1969, p. 469, commented upon by Maharishi 1979, p. 27 ff.
- 10) Maharishi 1969, commentary of Gītā 1:40-44.
- 11) Prabhupada 1977, p. 56 ff.
- 12) Prabhupada 1972.
- 13) Prabhupada 1970, p. 7.

1972

References

- Hummel, Reinhart, 1980. *Indische Mission und neue Frömmigkeit im Westen*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- Mahadevan, T. K., 1980. In: *Indian & Foreign Review*, Jan. 15, 1980.
- Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, 1969. *On the Bhagavad-Gita*. (First published in 1967.) Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- , 1979. In: *Update*, December 1979.
- Nordquist, Ted, 1980. *Nya religiösa rörelser i Sverige*. (Religions-sociologiska institutet, Forskningsrapport nr. 153.) Stockholm.
- NRM 1979 = New Religious Movements. In: *Update*, July 1979.
- Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami, 1972. *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam*. Los Angeles: The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.
- , 1972. *Bhagavad-Gītā As It Is*. New York & London: Collier/Macmillan.
- , 1977. *The Science of Self-realization*. Los Angeles: The Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.
- Souza, F. N., 1980. In: *Indian & Foreign Review*, May 1, 1980.