



Divine and Demonic Attributes in the Bhagavad Gita: Literal and Reflective Interpretation

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Abstract

The Bhagavad Gita, which is known as a core Vedic philosophical text, embraces different philosophical and practical aspect of human nature and teachings for the wellbeing of humankind. Among varied contents, the divine and demonic attributes of human beings appear in the sixteen chapter. This article aims to interpret the divine and demonic attributes from literal and reflective interpretation adopting the 'nine steps rendition' and hermeneutic methods of text interpretation. In a literal sense, fearlessness, peace, purity, spirituality, charity, self-control, non-violence, truthfulness, kindness, love, empathy, etc. are divine qualities which make an individual divine. On the contrary, ego, pride, anger, fear, greed, attachment, ignorance, atheism, wrong actions, terror, impurity, wrong thoughts, apathy, cruelty, truth, etc. are demonic qualities that make a person sinful or evil. These two attributes explained by the Bhagavad Gita can be seen in every individual in the world and can also be reflected in oneself. While there is a lack of divine qualities in the world but demonic quality is proliferating throughout the world as a great empire. Due to the demonic attributes, the world community has to deal with terrible social problems. These attributes are initially psychological as well as social. The most effective medicine for the demonic diseases of the individual's mind and society is education. Education transforms individuals and societies with the demonic into the divine attribute, so it has educational significance, too. Although there is a lot of practical knowledge in the Vedic and indigenous scriptures, the knowledge has not been explored and reinterpreted. It seems that scholars and academic institutions should pay due attention to this issue.

Introduction

For almost two decades, I am trying to be a learner of *Vedic* thoughts and theories. In the context, I got opportunities to carry out some academic research and create articles on different contents inherent in the *Bhagavad Gita*. While studying the verses of the *Bhagavad Gita*, particularly in the 16th chapter, at different times I encountered with the terms **Divine** (दैवी) and **Demonic** (आसुरी) attributes in detail. Initially, I was not able to pay much attention to this matter because I couldn't guess its depth and importance. As I went through it again and again, I realized that those topics were very important so, I realized that it comprises philosophical, anthropological, sociological, theological, psychological and educational thoughts. I also reflect that these subjects could also be interpreted as a theory of personality development. I guess that it also elicits psychological and the educational thought. A fundamental question appeared in my mind: Can those subjects be interpreted from educational and psychological perspectives?

In the context of the academic community, there is less attention to studying *Vedic* scriptures. Therefore, we are deprived of studying on the perennial wisdom of the knowledge. Even if some academicians have general understanding, there is no interest to interpret such knowledge from social and educational perspectives. Some personalities conceive it only as a religious scripture without studying it with adequate attentions.

Based on the previous academic study of the *Bhagavad Gita* I noticed that it would be injustice if we looked at the *Bhagavad-Gita* only through the lens of the religious myth. We need efforts for bringing out the hidden knowledge from the scriptures and use this knowledge for improving our social and

education settings. Therefore, this search was necessary to do justice to the scripture and benefit from the knowledge asset transmitted by the ancestors.

The main objective of this study, therefore, was to explain the divine and demonic attributes described in the *Bhagavad Gita* and create social, psychological and educational meaning from these attributes.

Method

This article was prepared in a mix of the 'nine-step rendition' (Ghimire, 2017) and the hermeneutics (Vieira and Queiroz, 2017) method. Initially, the authorized version of the *Bhagavad Gita* was published from Gita Press Gorakhpur, with different interpretations in Hindi, Nepali and English translations including the Shankaracharya's interpretation collected and previewed. The 16th chapter of the *Bhagavad Gita*, where there is a detailed explanation on divine and demonic qualities, was carefully studied. Then, the interpretations by various scholars were studied thoroughly, and basic understanding on the subject was developed and jotted down. The jotted down information was again studied and compared with the explanations of the scholars and the errors seen were corrected. The information noted was re-studied and meaning was created from it at multiple levels. The constructed meanings were again noted and those meanings were studied in depth again and various themes and subthemes were identified. The understanding was interpreted considering the objective and identified themes. An attempt was also made to see the interpretation in connection with the thoughts and theories of other scholars.

Results

The relevant information collected in the way mentioned above is presented under the headings that follow:

The Bhagavad Gita: Multi Perspective Dignity

The *Bhagavad Gita* is a small book, but core scripture of *Vedic* philosophy consisting of 700 verses under 18 chapters written in the Sanskrit language. It is an episode of the epic *Mahabharata*, *Bhishma Parva* (25- 42 *Adhaya*). It is a poetic story in the form of a conversation between *Krishna* and *Arjuna* on the battlefield of *Kurukshetra* just prior to the start of a climactic *Kurukshetra* war. Some scholars introduce it as “*The Lord’s Lay*” (Yogi 1911). Tilak (1959) argues it as the distilled essence of the *Upanishads*. He farther claims that-among all our religious scriptures; the *Bhagavad Gita* is the brightest and the purest diamond. According to White (1979) the *Bhagavad Gita* attempts a synthesis of its proto-*Shankhya* and *Upanisadic Vedanta* concepts. Danto (1972) conceives it as an easy learning text which is appropriate for all (academic and non-academic persons). The *Bhagavad Gita* is also known as *Gitopanisad*. It is the essence of *Vedic* knowledge and one of the most important *Upanishads* in the *Vedic* literature (Swami, 1971). Wood (1961) regards that the whole *Bhagavad Gita* is filled with exhortations to devotion, enquiry and service. Swami, Ramsukhadas (2010) argues that the true mining of the *Bhagavad Gita* cannot appear in intellect but appears in experience of wisdom. This means, it elicits wisdom in human beings. Khan (1929) articulates, “in the whole body of Hindu literature there is no other book which has commanded such unstinted praise from the world as the *Gita* (p. 6)”. Algeo (2000) evaluates the *Bhagavad Gita* as one of the world’s most important books, indeed, one of the great books of human culture.

So, the *Bhagavad Gita* is considered as the greatest scripture of *Vedic Sanatana* thoughts and is known as the essence of the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*. It is a universal scripture applicable to people of all temperaments and for all times. I believe and argue that the *Bhagavad Gita* is not for some specific community, castes, creeds, sexes, countries but it is a common asset of all human beings. In my studies and experiences, it contains a wide range of teachings that are useful for practical life. Personally, for me. it is also a source of inspiration.

Divine and Demonic Attributes in the Bhagavad Gita

The etymological meaning of the words divine (*Daivi*) and demonic (*Asuri*) comes from the Sanskrit term *Sura* (सुर) and *Asura* (असुर). According to the *Vedic* literature, *Sura* is a celestial being and *Asura* the antonym of *Sura*, which usually refers to the demon. The quality or attributes of *Sura* is divine and that of *Asura* is demonic. As stated in the *Upanishad*, both *Sura* and *Asura* are the kids of the *Prajapati* (the creator of human beings). Gods and demons are the symbols of fragrance and odour, truth and falsehood (*Chandogya Upanishad* 1.2.1-3). The idea behind this is that gods and demons are born in the same clan. This is not a matter of caste, but a tendency that develops in the individual. Therefore, *Daivi* signifies god or divine and *Aasuri* implies an evil spirit, demon - a general name for enemies of the gods (Apte, 1890, p. 214, 582).

The *Bhagavad Gita* has also discussed divine and demonic attributes with their importance in chapter sixteen. The divine attributes are seen to be described as expected and useful attributes for human beings whereas the demonic attributes are understood as having unexpected attributes worth giving up (Ghimire, 2017). According to the *Bhagavad Gita*, there are two kinds of beings in this

creation; one is the divine and the other is demonic (16.6). As argued in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the characteristics of both qualities are literally explained below.

Divine quality

According to the *Bhagavad Gita*, divine quality is transcendental (16.1-3). This quality comprises attributes as fearlessness, purification of the self, cultivation of spiritual knowledge, charity, self-control, performance of sacrifice, study of the *Vedas*, austerity and simplicity; nonviolence, truthfulness, freedom from anger; renunciation, tranquillity, aversion to fault-finding, compassion and freedom from covetousness; gentleness, modesty and steady determination; vigour, forgiveness, fortitude, cleanliness, freedom from envy and the passion for honour (16.1-3). As the result of these attributes, human beings become free from attachment and proceed to liberation (16.5). The *Bhagavad Gita* also maintains that people with the divine attribute are free from delusion and unperturbed (9. 13).

Then we can interpret that the divine quality basically appears to be of a spiritual nature. It also connected to worldly or the physical aspect of living. Because the divine quality guides people to lead a pure and holy social life. The nature of this quality is seen as personal, interpersonal and social. It is a kind of moral value, ideal and pure standard of living. There is no doubt that the adoption of the quality will lead both individuals and the society towards the path of happiness, peace, joy, prosperity and harmony.

A thought similar to the “divine quality” mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita* is discussed in the Western world under the name of post-humanism or post- Anthropocentrism which expects the well-being of all living beings

including humans, non-human species and the ecological aspects (Ferrante and Sartori, 2016; Kopnina 2020). So, the western post-anthropocentric idea is rooted in the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Demonic quality

The *Bhagavad Gita* claims that the demonic quality is destructive because the demonic persons possess with vain hope, empty deed, empty wisdom, false knowledge (16.12). Arrogance, pride, anger, conceit, harshness and ignorance (16.4) are the chief potentials of demonic persons. They do not know what is to be done and what is not to be done. Neither cleanliness nor proper behaviour nor truth is found in them (16.7). Surrendering themselves are insatiable desires, possessed with vanity, conceit and arrogance, holding evil ideas through delusion (16.10). Such people are bewildered by numerous thoughts, enmeshed in the web of delusion, addicted to the gratification of desire (16.16). They are confused by false ego, strength, pride, lust and anger, jealous to the god situated in her/his own body and in the bodies of others (16.18) and show enviousness and mischievousness (16.19). They believe that this world is unreal, that there is no foundation and that there is no god. It is produced of sex desire, and has no cause other than lust (16.8); they believe on regarding the gratification of desires as the highest (16.11) achievement. They are lost in themselves and have no intelligence; engage in unbeneficial, horrible work meant to destroy the world (16.9).

The *Bhagavad Gita* provides a discourse about the thinking manner of the demoniac person as:

"So much wealth do I have today, and I will gain more according to my schemes. So much is mine now, and it will increase

in the future, more and more. He/she was my enemy, and I have killed him/her; and my other enemy will be killed. I am the lord of everything, I am the enjoyer, and I am perfect, powerful and happy. I am the richest person, surrounded by aristocratic relatives. There is none as powerful and happy as I am. I shall perform sacrifices, I shall give some charity, and thus I shall rejoice (16.13-15). "

The purpose of life of the demonic attribute is to secure money by illegal means for sense gratification (16.12). They participate in *Yagna* to fulfil self-complacent and are always impudent, deluded by wealth and false prestige, they sometimes perform *Yagna* contrary to scriptural ordinance (16.17).

According to the *Bhagavad Gita*, the consequences of the demonic attributes are dangerous for this life and also life hereafter. It is claimed that the persons with demonic attributes falls to the bondage/obstacle to the way of liberation (16.5). They fall downwards into a foul hell (16.16), known as the lowest among humans (16.19). They ever throw down into demoniacal wombs (16.19). They attain repeated births amongst the species of demoniac life, never approach to god; gradually they sink down to the most abominable type of existence (20). They discard scriptural injunctions and act according to her/his own whims which attain neither perfection, nor happiness, nor the supreme destination (16.23).

The *Bhagavad Gita* suggests the ways to have a divine position. It advocates that infatuation, anger and greed are the gate to hell, so, every human should give these up, for they lead to the degradation of the soul (16.21). The human who has escaped these three gates to hell performs acts conducive

of self-realization and thus gradually attains the supreme destination (16.22). One should understand what duty is and what not by the regulations of the scriptures. One should act knowing such rules and regulations so that she/he may gradually be elevated (16.24). The *Bhagavad Gita* maintains that people with the demonic attribute are deluded and confused. Therefore, their actions and spiritual practices are meaningless (9 12).

Immersing into the verses and the between of the verses of the *Bhagavad Gita*, it can be said that demonic qualities are a reflection of the current neo-liberal world. These qualities are seen in society now. The *Bhagavad Gita* itself is evidence that such qualities existed in society at the time when the *Bhagavad Gita* was spoken/written. If demonic qualities existed in the society of that time, where the spiritual environment was predominant, then it might have been natural for these qualities to appear in the consumerist, plundering, violent and corrupt person, society or world today. These qualities can indeed be helpful to any group or individual in achieving material comforts using fraud means, but it is immutable truth that demonic quality is an obstacle to achieving sustainable happiness and peace.

Human beings need to know these divine and demonic attributes mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita*. The reason is that giving up the demonic attributes and inculcating the divine one is equally important even at the current age. Table 1 displays the key differences between the demonic and divine attributes.

Table 1*Differences between Divine and Demonic Attributes*

Divine Attributes	Demonic Attributes
Fearlessness, purity in soul, spirituality, pursuance of knowledge, charity, self-control, performance of <i>Yagna</i> , study of <i>Vedas</i> , austerity, simplicity, nonviolence, truthful, rid of rage, sacrifice, peacefulness, kindness, rid of greed, gentleness, shyness, firm commitment, bright, forgiveness, patience, piousness, devoid of jealousy	Egoism, pride, high esteem, anger, rudeness, ignorance, inability to distinguish between action and non-action, impurity, misbehaviour, untruthfulness, paganism, involvement in terrorizing activities, lustfulness, vanity, arrogance, false pride, impure commitment, tension, illegal collection of wealth, impure planning, strength, envy, condemnation of religion, cruelty, greed

Source: Ghimire (2017, p. 173)

The attributes grouped under divine attributes in Table 1 seem adaptable whilst the ones under demonic attributes are worth giving up. Giving up the demonic attributes and inculcating the divine attributes by everyone seem essential in the present societies.

In the Western philosophical community, there is a discussion of humanistic and anthropocentric thinking. This idea places humans at the centre and neglects others (Mylius, 2020; Kopnina 2020), that is, it abuses power over others. In fact, the root of the anthropocentric thought is the “demonic quality” mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita*.

Reflective Understanding

The above-mentioned content is a description of the meaning that is directly understood when studying the *Bhagavad Gita*. This description is a kind of literal description. Taking into account the feelings that I had while reading the verses of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the thoughts that various scholars have mentioned on the related subject. The major understandings are briefly discussed in the following sub-headings.

Understanding from Social Perspective

Looking through social lenses, I understood these two qualities as two dimensions of

society. Divine qualities are the bright dimension, while demonic qualities are the dark dimension. The first one is a symbol of social progress; the other is a sign of social decline. The divine quality is the path of peace; the other is the path of violence. Both these qualities are observable in our society as well as in the world community. The demonic qualities are easily seen everywhere, here and there, while the divine qualities are rarely encountered. It can be said without hesitation that- in a society endowed with divine qualities, fearlessness, truth, non-violence, peace, equality, coexistence, etc. are ensured and followed respectfully. On the contrary, in a society where demonic qualities prevail, social activities such as misconduct, fear, misdeeds, worries, illegal collection, false pride, wrong motives, jealousy, hatred, disregard for values, fear, anger, violence, exploitation, oppression, etc. flourish. The verses of the *Bhagavad Gita* indicate that divine qualities are required for the order and progress of society, but the demonic qualities are imperfect. It can also be interpreted that a society well-organized by divine qualities is heaven, while a society ruled by the demonic qualities is hell. A question is relevant here: What kind of society do we prefer? Obviously, we prefer living in a society that is like heaven.

Perhaps, due to the predominance of the demonic qualities, social problems such as injustice, tyranny, exploitation, oppression, war, violence, discrimination, corruption, etc. have been created. It can be easily assumed that until the society is pulled out of the pit of the demonic tendencies, social problems will persist. Then it seems that people will have to reluctantly accept a hellish life. How can we solve these social problems?

The *Bhagavad Gita* stands for peace or nonviolence, love and compassion with perfect purity (Upadhyaya, 1969) and preach for dharma or duty as the right course of action (Gupta, 2006), specially living by one's own *dharma* and not someone else's (Armstrong, and Ravindra, 1979).

In fact, such a capacity develops in a person of divine virtue. How can actions inspired by the divine virtue create social problems? According to Munz (1956), the *Bhagavad Gita* seems to be based on the insight of love, which is the essence of goodness. Where there is love, there is social harmony and coexistence. Radhakrishnan (2008) believes that the *Bhagavad Gita* demands for the suppression of all selfish desire. Yardi, (1987) also reflects that the *Bhagavad Gita* recommends the path of renunciation as well as the path of action as external aids for acquiring fitness for wisdom. If people were to renounce this level, then happiness and peace would always prevail in society. Therefore, it can be argued that the attainment of divine qualities and the abandonment of demonic qualities are the key to social reform.

Understanding from Psychological Perspective

This is what I experience when I repeatedly study the verses of the *Bhagavad Gita*-divine and demonic attributes are psychological qualities of a person. Divine and demonic qualities can

be seen/experienced everywhere in our society. These tendencies are seen as intra-personal as well as inter-personal nature. Some individuals seem to have both types of qualities. In other people, one quality is dominant, while in others, another quality is dominant. If we look at the periods of life span, perhaps, the divine qualities are dominant in childhood while the demonic qualities may be dominant in youth, and divine qualities may or may not be dominant again in the latter half of life. Some people have demonic tendencies from childhood and such qualities can be seen in them even till the end of their lives. This is the psychological characteristic of the human qualities that we are experiencing in our surroundings.

Whether these qualities are hereditary or social is a subject of search. As the qualities develop, the personality is formed accordingly. Perhaps, these are also stimulating tendencies for living pure or impure living. Because divine qualities are the mental ornaments of good tendencies, while demonic qualities are mental pollution. Perhaps these qualities can also be explained as the form of the power of a person's personality. Divine power is a power filled with positive energy, which inspires a person towards upward movement, while demonic power is nourished by negative energy and motivates her/him to go towards the downward direction. The *Bhagavad Gita* has explained attachment, anger and greed as the three gates to hell. The person who abandons the journey towards these three gates becomes the owner of heaven (happier life), while the one who advances his journey through the three gates, gets into a hellish life. Therefore, these attributes can be interpreted as a reflection of heavenly and hellish tendencies possessed by an individual. Therefore, the divine and demonic qualities mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita* are kinds of psychological tendencies. We can observe these qualities in every person without using any special psychological tools. Of course, divine tendencies are desirable and demonic tendencies are undesirable.

According to Kourie (2013), the *Bhagavad Gita* results in inner balance and harmony of mind. White (1984) also believes that the individual human mind is also composed entirely of the three *Gunas* (*Sattwa*, *Raja* and *Tama*). Divine quality holds *Sattwa Guna*, and *Aasuri* quality is connected with *Raja* and *Tama Gunas*. This view also accepts these two qualities as psychophysical traits. Furthermore, Fitzgerald (1983) supports that the *Bhagavad Gita* accepts the basic psychology of these *Upanishadic* and *Buddhist* self-transformative regimens. According to Gupta (2006), in the *Bhagavad Gita*, the text does provide us with a detailed discussion of dispositions, qualities, characteristics, and excellences, that we generally associate with virtues. White (1984) argues that the *Bhagavad Gita's* conception of action is such that even attitudes may constitute acts - acts of the mind, acts of the individual human consciousness. Radhakrishnan (1914) argues that, in the *Bhagavad Gita*, life and action are deeper than logical processes. This means thinking and actions with different qualities are psychological processes. In the view of Armstrong and Ravindra (1979), mind is the faculty of thinking. All types of actions grow out of either divine or demonic qualities. According to Freud (1932), human mind consists of Id, Ego and Super ego. In relation to the *Bhagavad Gita*, the divine quality includes super ego and the demonic quality embraces both Id and Ego. Therefore, the divine and demonic qualities described in the *Bhagavad Gita* are related to human psychology. These two qualities can also be interpreted as the theory of divine and demonic intelligence or personality.

Understanding from Educational Perspective

The divine and demonic attributes create many important ideas from the perspective of education. The *Bhagavad Gita* discusses

Apara and *Para* (spiritual and worldly knowledge) (7. 4-6) as subjects of knowledge that must be acquired together. The *Veda* says *विद्यां चाविद्यां च यस्तद्वेदोभयं सह । अविद्याया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्यायामृतमश्नुते..* (Yajurveda 40. 14). The *mantra* means-“Both *Vidya* and *Avidya* are necessary. Through *Avidya*, death is conquered, and through *Vidya*, immortality is attained. Both of these should be acquired together.” Based on this statement, it can be said that knowledge of the material world is *Avidya*, while spiritual knowledge is *Vidya*. From a spiritual perspective, divine qualities are the foundations of spiritual values. Due to this a person's spiritual life becomes meaningful. If a person follows spiritual values, his material life can also be meaningful and successful. Divine qualities direct us to achieve religious life, but demonic qualities motivate us to achieve material pleasure through wrong means and processes. That is, divine qualities are the teachings of living a religious life, while demonic qualities are the path of unrighteousness. Divine qualities are liberating teachings, while demonic qualities are the path of bondage.

The divine and demonic qualities mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita* are worthy readings for people of every religion and culture. By studying it, people can understand the real state of society and individuals. They can also reflect on those qualities in their life journey. The main goal of every parent and society is to make students endowed with divine qualities. Therefore, the goal and objective of education are also driven from these qualities. For example, to create a happy, peaceful and just society; to instil divine qualities in children; to prepare citizens with good attitudes; etc. The qualities listed in divine attribute such as yoga, scripture study, self-study, sense control are linked to the teaching method. That is, these subjects can be used as pedagogical approaches. From the point of

view of human values, divine attributes are qualities that should be cultivated in students. However, demonic qualities are qualities that should be abandoned. Since divine qualities teach students to lead an ideal life based on moral values, these qualities should be given a proper place in the curriculum.

Spiritual knowledge is permeated by the quality of *Sattva* (Radhakrishnan 2008) so, the divine attribute holds *Sattva Guna*. White (1984) argues “the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita* show us an action of a good teacher who is capable of influencing the mind and, through the mind, the actions of the student (p. 300)”. It can be understood that the *Bhagavad Gita* stresses teachers and students with divine attributes. White (1971) gives a supportive argument that the *Bhagavad Gita* teaches about discipline. Radhakrishnan (1914) insists that the lesson of the *Bhagavad Gita* is to displace ignorance by knowledge, selfishness by love of duty. White (1984) values the notion of the *Bhagavad Gita* that everything in the universe including human beings is composed entirely of the *Gunās* of *Prakṛti*. It means the education system should address natural diversity, too. The *Bhagavad Gita* believes that for attaining spiritual vision the individual should learn to live within and fix his/her mind on the highest reality (Radhakrishnan 2008). This notion has a pedagogical value. Therefore, it is appropriate for the education system to pay due attention to instilling the divine qualities suggested by the *Bhagavad Gita* in the students and to uproot demonic qualities.

Conclusion

I came to reflect that ancient *Vedic* texts are not just religious myths. The sages developed such scriptures after studying and experiencing the social conditions of the then society and human nature in depth.

The fact that these qualities are seen in society and individuals even in the present day is the evidence for confirming the above discussed facts. The divine and demonic attributes explained in the *Bhagavad Gita* are the bright and dark sides of society and individuals. They are also a reflection of our society and the world society. Persons possessing demonic attributes can be reached in the leading position of society; multiple aspects of the society may be polluted. It can be said undoubtedly that the root cause of all the wars, violence, exploitation, oppression, immorality, etc. in the world scenario are demonic attributes. The dominance of demonic attributes over divine attributes everywhere in the world makes it seem like the world is standing on the edge of a sword. Who knows when this earth will become food for the demon of nuclear power? Therefore, it is time for the world community to think how to transform the demonic tendencies that have been living in the human mind as a chronic disease. For this, it is necessary to know about such useful knowledge contained in the scriptures. Such knowledge should comprise at the school level, higher education and teacher training curricula. Such knowledge mentioned in the *Bhagavad Gita*, for me, is practical and useful. Therefore, it is possible to propagate this knowledge through non-formal education as well.

The divine and demonic attributes stated in the *Bhagavad Gita* are subjects that need to be researched from a psychological, sociological, anthropological and pedagogical perspectives. In this regards, some questions arises, that need to be answered through research. So, how do divine and demonic qualities develop? How do these qualities affect personality development? What is the relationship between the qualities inherent in a person and her/his success? What is the impact of these qualities on social life? What is the role of

these qualities in social progress or decline? How can divine qualities be cultivated in individuals? What is the relationship between learning achievement and the divine/demonic attributes? What relationship can be seen between the attributes of a teacher and her/his professional efficiency? The conclusions of such research have the potential to improve not only academic goodwill but also personal and social efficiency.

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