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On Śrīla Prabhupāda's Insistence that "Christ" came from 'Krishna.'"

Ronald V. Huggins

Abstract: ISKCON founder Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda was convinced that the name *Christ* was derived from *Krishna*. He frequently appealed to this as a way of dispelling Western Christian reservations about participating in *kirtana*. The present article explores (1) the place this etymological claim played in Prabhupāda's thinking and missionary strategy, (2) how he came to defend it in the first place, and (3) how his defense fit into the ongoing East/West discussion of the alleged etymological interdependence of *Christ* and *Krishna* that has been going on since the 18th century.

At the heart of Prabhupāda's argument is the interchangeability of *Ns* and *Ts* in the *ṭa-varga* such that *Kristo* and *Kesto* appear as common alternative forms of the name *Krishna*. Prabhupāda then goes on to argue that *Christos* was similarly derived from *Krishna* as well. The argument, however, is not tenable because the *t* in *Christos* is not actually part of the original Greek verbal stem *chri-*, but only enters in when the suffix *-tos* is added to form the adjective *christos* (*anointed*). Ultimately *Krishna* and *Christos* arose independently from two separate Proto-Indo-European roots, the former from *ḱers-* (*dark, dirty, grey*) and the latter from *ghrēi-* (*to rub*).

A. C. BHAKTIVEDANTA Swami Prabhupāda, Founder-Ācārya of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), insisted that the word *Christ*, which he took to be a name, was etymologically derived from the name *Krishna* (also spelled *Kṛṣṇa*). Prabhupāda made this claim many times in his conversations and lectures, but most familiarly in a discussion he had in 1974 with Father Emmanuel Jungclaussen, a German Benedictine monk of Niederaltaich Monastery, who was also an enthusiastic proponent of the Jesus Prayer (or Prayer of the Heart), a practice that attempts to fulfill St. Paul's exhortation to "pray without ceasing" (1 Thessalonians 5:17) by continually repeating the words: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me."¹ So far as I am aware, this discussion was published for the first time in the April/May 1976 issue of *Back to Godhead* magazine, under the title: "Kṛṣṇa or Christ—The Name is the Same."²

This discussion between Prabhupāda and Jungclaussen, or parts of it, has since been republished in a number of different settings,³ most notably in a collection of articles from *Back to Godhead* gathered together and published in 1977 as the book *The Science of Self-Realization*.⁴ Down the years this book has continued to be successful and is currently one of BBT's (= Bhaktivedanta Book Trust's)

Ronald V. Huggins is an independent scholar. He was formerly professor of New Testament and Greek at Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary and of Historical and Theological Studies at Salt Lake Theological Seminary.

best sellers,⁵ with about 25,000 hardback and 60-80,000 paperback copies being printed and sold every year in North America alone.⁶ In its paperback mass-market edition, *The Science of Self-Realization* represents a kind of popular front door introduction to Prabhupāda's teachings. Because of the popularity of this book Prabhupāda's claim about the derivation of *Christ* from *Krishna* continues to be presented year after year on a very significant scale. This article shall examine Prabhupāda's claim with respect to (1) the place it played in his thinking and missionary strategy, (2) how he came to it, and where it came from, and (3) why etymologically it just won't work.

The Larger Argument

On at least one occasion Prabhupāda described the Greek word *christos* negatively, calling it a "perverted pronunciation of Krishna."⁷ But usually he simply stressed its supposed etymological derivation from *Krishna* without implying anything negative by it.⁸ Indeed his argument for connecting the two names was, for him, part of a larger positive apologetic strategy aimed at encouraging Western Christians to set aside potential reservations and start participating in *kirtana*, in chanting the names of Krishna. In this he was merely following through on the challenge his teacher, Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī Thākura, had put to him when they first met in 1922: "Why don't you preach Lord Caitanya's message throughout the whole world?"⁹ And after all, *kirtana* is where the *Śikṣāṣṭakam*, the eight verses of instruction left by Chaitanya, begin:

Chant the name of the Lord and His Glory
unceasingly,
That the mirror of the heart may be wiped
clean,
And quenched that mighty forest fire,

Worldly lust raging within."¹⁰

If *Christ* really was the same name as *Krishna*, it would provide an important bridge for communicating Krishna to Western Christians. And this is precisely what Prabhupāda was attempting to make of it. Briefly stated, the larger apologetic argument of which Prabhupāda's etymological claim was a part went like this: (1) *Christ* comes from *Krishna*; two names, one source, and one ultimate meaning: God (i.e., Krishna), (2) *Krishna/Christ* was the Father of Jesus, so (3) when Jesus told his disciples to pray "hallowed be thy name," he was urging them to hallow *Christ's*, that is to say, *Krishna's* name,¹¹ and (4) since Jesus himself commanded the hallowing of the name of Krishna (taken to mean the chanting of it), followers of Jesus ought to feel no compunction about participating in *kirtana*. This may be why, given all the places Prabhupāda made his etymological argument about *Christ* coming from *Krishna*, that it was his conversation with Father Emmanuel Jungclaussen—a Christian monk with an enthusiasm for a similar kind of devotional practice—that became the one most often featured and reproduced.

When the issue of *christos* meaning *anointed* was raised by Western interlocutors, Prabhupāda had an answer for that too: It was a reference to the *tilaka* with which the face of Krishna was anointed.¹² Prabhupāda admitted that his etymological argument might represent a "controversial point," but he was quick to add that it really didn't matter since, "everyone can take to Kṛṣṇa. Then everything will be settled up."¹³

The Consensus View?

Prabhupāda did not regard his understanding of the derivation of *Christ* from *Krishna* as his own insight, but rather as

simply the consensus view of Sanskrit and Greek lexicons: "The meaning of *Kristo* in Sanskrit dictionary and the Greek dictionary always the same, about this word."¹⁴ And again: "There is a word *Kristos* in the Greek dictionary, and this word is supposed to be borrowed from the Sanskrit word 'Krishna,' and Christ is derived from *Kristos*."¹⁵

However, Prabhupāda was mistaken in thinking this was the consensus view, the view one would get by consulting authoritative Greek and Sanskrit dictionaries. The Greek word *christos*, is not now, nor has it ever been, regarded by any of the standard lexicons of ancient Greek as being related either in form or meaning to *Krishna*.

Christos* from the Proto-Indo-European Root *Ghrēi-

In Greek *christos* is not a name but a verbal adjective meaning *anointed*. It is related on the one hand to the Greek verb *chriō* (*to rub, stroke, smear, anoint*), and on the other to the noun *chrisma*, (*ointment, anointing*), i.e., something *rubbed on*. Both Greek words also reflect the form and meaning of their shared PIE (Proto-Indo-European) root *ghrēi* (*to rub*).¹⁶

Christos was also used in the pre-Christian Jewish translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek known as the Septuagint, where it translated the Hebrew word *māšīaḥ* from which we get the term *Messiah*, meaning *The Anointed One*. When, for example, the passage from King David's famous messianic Psalm number 2, verses 1-2, speaks in the Hebrew of the nations and kings of the earth plotting together "against Yahweh and *his anointed*" (NJB),¹⁷ the Septuagint translates the line "against the Lord and against his *christos*" (*kata tou Kyriou, kai kata tou christou autou*).¹⁸ As in the Greek New

Testament, the Septuagint does not use *christos* as a name for God.

Whence?

Where did Prabhupāda's idea of deriving *christos* from *Krishna* come from? He himself may imply in a 1973 lecture that a key moment came with his reading Levi Dowling's *Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ*: "I have read one book, *Aquarian Gospel*, among the Christians. In that book it is said that the word Christ has come from the word Christ, Christ, it is a Greek word."¹⁹ Prabhupāda seems to have encountered the book in March of 1969.²⁰ What Prabhupāda had actually read in the *Aquarian Gospel* was not *Christo* but *Kristos*.²¹

Although Prabhupāda often mentions the *Aquarian Gospel* when stating his case for the derivation of *Christ* from *Krishna*, it cannot be said that he actually *got the idea* from the *Aquarian Gospel*.²² The book advances no such claim. What is more, when one carefully reviews the transcripts and recordings of the conversations and teaching sessions where Prabhupāda makes the connection,²³ it becomes clear that he probably didn't actually intend to say he got his etymological argument from the book.²⁴ In any case, even though he was inclined to believe some of the things the *Aquarian Gospel* said, Prabhupāda did not regard it as having any sort of special authority: "I have taken some stray extracts just to support our views," he wrote to a disciple, "but we don't give any importance to that book."²⁵ Perhaps when Prabhupāda encountered Dowling's word *Kristos*, it reminded him that others had posited the idea that *Christ* came from *Krishna* while, at the same time, got him thinking about something he had always known, namely that in Bengal, where he'd grown up, *Kristo* was a common alternative form of the name Krishna, as was *Kesto*. Prominent men in Prabhupāda's home

city of Calcutta (Kolkata) had borne these names, including, for example, Kristo (Krishna) Das Pal (d. 1884), the celebrated editor of *The Hindoo Patriot*,²⁶ and Krishna Chandra (Kesto) Paul, the famous footballer of Calcutta's own *Mohun Bagan* soccer club. Even closer to home Prabhupāda had a younger brother (Krishna Charan De) whom he could use as an example: "In India still, if one's name is Kṛṣṇa, we call him Kriṣṭo, or sometimes Keṣṭo. My younger brother, his name was Kṛṣṇa. So in family we were calling him 'Keṣṭo.'"²⁷

From here it was only a small step for Prabhupāda to apply the same logic to the term *Christian* as well, which he does in 1976: "The Greek word *Christo* comes from the Sanskrit *Krishna*. In fact, another spelling of *Krishna* is *Krishta*. So actually, if we take the root meaning, 'Christian' means 'Krishtian' or 'Krishnian.'"²⁸ For Prabhupāda then, *Kesto*, *Kristo*, *Christ*, *Christian*, *Kristian* were all "in the same group," were all simply variant forms of *Krishna*.²⁹

The key for Prabhupāda was the interchangeability of *Ns* and *Ts* in *KrishNa*, *KrisTo*, and *KesTo*, which seemed to provide a bridge linking them with *Christos* or *Christ*. When challenged on the validity of his argument by Dr. W. H. Wolf-Rottkay, Prabhupāda appealed to the division of consonantal sounds in Sanskrit into five classes or *vargas*—gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals and labials—according to the different ways the consonants are formed in the mouth. Prabhupāda relates the interchangeable *Ns* and *Ts* to the *ṭa-varga*, i.e., the celestials, consonants formed by placing the tip of the tongue in the pocket at the front of the roof of the mouth.³⁰

Dr. Wolf[-Rottkay] has said that he cannot accept from *Krishna* to *Krista*. Then, by that word, he has proved himself another

rascal,³¹ because he does not know the Sanskrit way of philology. Sanskrit, there are *vargas*—*ka-varga*, *ca-varga*, *ṭa-varga*, *ta-varga* and *pa-varga*—five *vargas*. So *Kṛṣṇa* is in the *ṭa-varga*. *Ṭa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *ṇa*. So *Kṛṣṇa*, it can be replaced by *ṭa* also.³²

But was Wolf-Rottkay really objecting to Prabhupāda's point about the interchangeability of *-na* and *-ta*, or to his next move, namely treating that as a bridge for arguing that *christos* ultimately derived from *Krishna* as well? It is clear from the larger context that Wolf-Rottkay had also expressed doubts about the validity of the *Aquarian Gospel* as a credible source, describing it, according to one of Prabhupāda's disciples (Harikeśa = Robert Campagnola) during the same conversation, as "just somebody's dream."

Christ from Krishna or Krishna from Christ?

Interestingly it never appears to have occurred to Prabhupāda that someone might argue that the line of dependency went in the opposite direction, that the name *Krishna* was derived from *Christ* rather than the other way around. The matter arose one day when Prabhupāda expressed his view in the presence of Dr. O. B. L. Kapoor his friend and Godbrother (that is to say, fellow disciple of Bhaktisiddhānta Sarasvatī). In this case Kapoor affirmed the varying *N* and *T* in the name *Krishna* "in Bengali particularly," but he contradicted his old friend with regard to the rest: "No," Kapoor had said, "Bhandarkar has tried to argue that the entire Kṛṣṇa religion of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* has been borrowed from the West."³³ Kapoor was referring to the great Indian scholar Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarker, whose actual views on the matter—Kapoor seems to be exaggerating somewhat to make his point—we shall address presently.³⁴

From the beginning of Euro-Indian interaction there were scholars and missionaries eager to "prove," as Benjamin Preciado-Solís writes, "that every ethically or doctrinally acceptable point in Kṛṣṇaism was in fact derived from Christianity."³⁵ Yet there were others, whose interest lay more in the direction of comparative mythology, who pursued seeming similarities between the stories and descriptive vocabularies of Christ, Krishna, Buddha, Zoroaster, Apollo, Osiris, Zeus, and a myriad of other religious and mythological figures, in hopes of discovering an underlying Ur-Myth from which they were all ultimately derived. Prominent among this latter group was the French writer Constantin Volney (d. 1820), who argued that the story of Krishna was an older version of the story of Christ, that neither stories were original, but both merely separate expressions of a still older, more universal solar myth.

Appealing to unspecified "traditions," Volney alleged that *Chris* (supposedly meaning *conservateur*, i.e., *preserver*) was a name of the Sun, on the basis of which, he said, "ye Indians...have made your god *Chris-en* or *Chris-na*, and, ye Greek and Western Christians, your *Chris-tos*, son of Mary."³⁶ In support of this claim, Volney offered a footnote of more than 400 words, which offered not a single explicit reference to any source supporting *Chris* as the name of the Sun nor *conservateur/preserver* as the meaning of *Chris*.³⁷ Even at the time the inadequacy of Volney's etymology was obvious to many. Thus, for example, we find scientist and Unitarian minister, Joseph Priestley (d. 1804) reminding Volney that Christ "signifies anointed, and is derived from χρίω [*chriō*], which signifies to anoint,"³⁸ and Orientalist Thomas Maurice (d. 1824) insisting that "there is not a syllable of truth in the orthographical derivation; for Crishna, not

Chris-en,...has not the least approach in signification to the Greek word *Christo*, *anointed*,...since this appellation simply signifies...*black* or *dark blue*."³⁹

In the process of writing his grand exposition of his theory, *Les Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires* (1791), Volney had access to only two classic Indian texts—Charles Wilkins' English translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* (1785), and Méridas Poullé's French translation of a Tamil version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1788)⁴⁰—both of which he contemptuously dismissed as having nothing new of importance to offer.⁴¹

At around this same time, a similar interest in linking Krishna to the Sun God was being pursued by Sir. William Jones, the co-founder the Asiatic Society at Calcutta (1784) and only the second European to actually learn Sanskrit.⁴² Jones, though admittedly over-speculative in his approach, was far more cautious than Volney, and sincerely interested in trying to root his work in classical Sanskrit texts. His idea was that there was a connection between Krishna and one particular Sun God, namely Apollo Nomios (a Greek adjective meaning "pastoral"), so named after a Greek myth in which the god was made to serve as shepherd to King Admetus of Thessaly. But again, Jones's arguments for this proposition were conspicuously weak. First of all, he argues that "Góvinda may be literally translated *Nomios*," a claim which, even if true, takes one only a very little way toward establishing any kind of real link between the two deities. Then secondly, he relates how he had been assured by the eccentric Charles Vallancy "that *Crishna* in *Irish* means the *Sun*."⁴³ Vallancy also claimed that "*Krishen*...and the nine *Gopia*...are clearly the *Apollo* and *Muses* of the Greeks,"⁴⁴ and that "*Hesus* [sounds like Jesus!] was an appellation of the Sun."⁴⁵

By the time Jones comes to giving his reason for linking Apollo to Krishna rather than to the Hindu Sun God Sūrya, he is simply grasping at straws:

I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only *Crishna*, or *Vishnu*, but even *Brahmā* and *Siva*, when united, and expressed by the mystical word O'M, were designed by the first idolaters to represent the Solar Fire; but *Phoebus*, or the *orb of the Sun* personified, is adored by the *Indians* as the God *Sūrya*.⁴⁶

Thus it was that Krishna began to be called the "Indian Apollo."⁴⁷

We may smile at the naïveté of those early days. It was a time when historical connections between religions could be proposed, *and taken seriously*, on no better basis than an undisciplined appeal to shared words that sounded similar. Such etymological flights of fancy as they relate to *Christ* and *Krishna* reached their nadir in Louis Jaccoliot's notorious *La Bible dans l'Inde, vie de Jezeus Christna* (1869).⁴⁸ Jaccoliot, who had served in various capacities in India, claimed that the "names of Jesus, Jeosuah, Josias, Josué and Jéovah derive from the two Sanscrit words Zeus and Jezeus,⁴⁹ which signify, one, the Supreme Being, and the other, the Divine Essence."⁵⁰ Jaccoliot even presents as proof a purported passage from the "Sanskrit text" of the "Bagaveda-Gita," telling how Christna's disciples "named him Jezeus, that is to say, issue of the pure divine essence."⁵¹ Even at the time this was a particularly bold act of imposture on Jaccoliot's part, given that the real Bhagavad Gita had been available in French since 1787!⁵²

Jaccoliot goes on to claim that *Christ* came from *Christna*, that "in Sanscrit, Kristna, or rather Christna, signifies *messenger of God, promise of God, sacred*,"⁵³ and that the derivation of *Christ* from the Greek *christos*, is

no problem because "most Greek words are pure Sanscrit, which explains the resemblance."⁵⁴

Although, strictly speaking, Jaccoliot "agreed" with Prabhupāda on the direction of dependence regarding *Christ* and *Krishna*, really there was no connection between their two views. Prabhupāda based his view upon a real phenomenon relating to the formation and pronunciation of Sanskrit words. Jaccoliot, on the other hand, was by all appearances, simply making things up.

As to authors disagreeing with Prabhupāda, already by 1762, Augustin Antonio Georgi, in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, had asserted precisely the opposite of what Prabhupāda was claiming. According to Georgi the name *Krishna* was a corruption of *Christ*: "est *krisnu*...nomen ipsum corruptum *Christi*."⁵⁵ Against claiming such, Sir. William Jones had already insisted by 1784 that "the name of *Chrishna*, and the general outline of his story, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour."⁵⁶ And surely, he was right on that point.⁵⁷

Nevertheless, like Georgi, Jones still attributed the similarities between the stories of Krishna and Christ to "the spurious Gospels, which abounded in the first age of *Christianity*, [that] had been brought to *India*, and the wildest parts of them repeated to the *Hindus*."⁵⁸ Thus Jones opened the door for arguing that neither name was derived from the other, but that the similarity of the two names provided a conduit for stories and traditions to pass from one figure to the other.⁵⁹ And this is essentially where Bhandarker comes in.

Bhandarker had initially entered the fray hoping to counter this idea of dependence on Christianity, but he ultimately came to believe that at least some stories about Krishna's youth had been imported from Christianity via

a tribe known as the Ābhīras who "must have migrated into the country in the first century," bringing with them, "the worship of the boy-god [i.e., Jesus] and the story of his humble birth, his reputed father's knowledge that he was not his son, and the massacre of the innocents,"⁶⁰ as well as other "stories of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood."⁶¹

Bhandarker had further argued that the Ābhīras "brought with them the name Christ also, and this probably led to the identification of the boy-god with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa." And he did so appealing to the same linguistic phenomenon as Prabhupāda: "The Goanese and the Bengalis," Bhandarker wrote, "often pronounce the name Kṛṣṇa as Kuṣṭo or Kriṣṭo, and so the Christ of the Ābhīras was recognized as the Sanskrit Kṛṣṇa."⁶²

To Prabhupāda, who accepted the traditional dating for the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* to "just prior to the beginning of the age of Kali (about five thousand years ago),"⁶³ such an argument would have been entirely unacceptable, the sort of thing one might expect from a "rascal."⁶⁴ The broader scholarly community, however, generally dates its composition to "sometime after the 8th century C.E."⁶⁵ Wendy Doniger, for example, puts it at around 950.⁶⁶

But however that may be, it is probable that Dr. Kapoor had brought up Bhandarker simply as a warning to Prabhupāda that the same arguments he was using to prove the etymological derivation of *Christ* from *Krishna* might come back to bite him in the form of someone making the reverse case for the name *Krishna* coming from *Christ*.

The Independent Origins Of The Words *Christ* and *Krishna*

In order to see how really implausible the idea that *Christ* came from *Krishna* is, one must first clearly understand how the term

christos actually came about according to the standard rules of Greek word formation. My task now is to try to describe that process in a way that will be accessible to readers who do not know Greek.

I have already noted that the Greek word *christos* derives not from *Krishna* but from the PIE root *ghrēi-*. But I have yet to explain an equally important point, namely that Prabhupāda's appeal to the interchangeability of *Ns* and *Ts* in Krishna's name provides no real bridge at all for claiming a connection between *Krishna* and *Christ*, even less the derivation of the latter from the former. This stems, first of all, from the fact that the *T* in the word *chrisTos* is not part of the word's verbal root at all, but rather of the secondarily appended Greek suffix *-tos* (-τος), which is added to Greek verb stems in order to create verbal adjectives.

Bruce M. Metzger explains this in an introductory vocabulary guide familiar to most beginning students of New Testament Greek: "A special class of adjectives, called verbal adjectives, is formed by the suffix -τος. These...have the meaning of a perfect passive participle..."⁶⁷ The examples Metzger gives are *beloved*, from the verb *to love*, *blessed* from *to bless*, and *hidden* from *to hide*. Metzger could have as easily given as an example *anointed* (*christos*) from the verb *to anoint* (*chriein*).

Walter Mueller stressed in his classic student guide that, "The basic principle to be remembered in the study of Greek verb forms is that verbs are 'built' or 'constructed.'"⁶⁸ So to take our discussion one step further, it is also important to know that the first *S* (*sigma*) in *chriStos* was not part of the original PIE or Greek roots either. The only thing *Krishna* and *Christ* have in common is *Kri-/Chri-*. The reason the *S* is there is because part of the process of constructing verbs for tenses beyond the present tense in Greek, involves

adding a *sigma* to the end of the present-tense verb stem in order to produce the future-tense stem.

The verb *chriō* (*I anoint*) is very regular in this regard. The present-tense stem is *chri-*, to which a *sigma* was added to make the future stem *chri-s-* which gives us (*chri-s-*)-*ō* (*I will anoint*). It must be stressed that this addition of the *sigma* in forming the future was not in any way unique to the verb *chriō*, but is simply the usual way of forming the future stem, such that a suffixed *sigma* can be thought of as the *sign* of the future tense in regular verbs. Moving through the tenses, this stem was then further augmented by prefixing an *epsilon* (*e*) to produce the simple past tense, which in Greek is called the aorist: *e-(chri-s)-a* (*I anointed*). And then finally, for our purposes here, the same pattern of development is followed in the formation of the aorist passive tense *e-(chri-s)-thē-n* (*I was anointed*).

The next step toward coming up with the verbal adjective *christos* is described for us by grammarian Henry Weir Smyth, who explains that, "Most of the verbals [verbal adjectives] in -τός and -τέος are formed by adding these suffixes to the verbal stem of the aorist passive."⁶⁹

So in this case if we want to form a verbal adjective from *chri-ō* by adding *-tos* (-τός), we must first deconstruct the aorist passive form so as to identify its stem. We do this by removing,

- (1) its prefixed epsilon *e-*, which marks it as a past tense verb (leaving *christhēn*)
- (2) its final *-n*, which is the first-person singular aorist passive personal ending "I" (leaving *christhē*)
- (3) its suffixed *-thē*, which is the sign of the aorist passive tense (leaving *chris*)

Chri-, then, is the aorist passive stem, and it is to it that we attach the suffix *-tos* in order to

create the verbal adjective: *chris-* + *-tos* = *christos* "anointed."

So then, because the *S* and *T* are not part of the root of *christos*, there is really no validity to appealing to the *N* in *Kṛṣṇa* being interchangeable with the *T* in *Kṛṣṭa*, as a way of proving the derivation of *Christ* from *Krishna*. Indeed, given the way in which the *S* and *T* come to be added to the stem *chri-*, i.e., in simple conformity with the normal rules of Greek word formation, it would seem that if someone were to try to make the case for an etymological connection between *Christ* and *Krishna*, the latter would more easily arise from the former than the other way around. In fact, however, the best explanation is that the two names arose independently. On the one hand *Christ* isn't a name but a common Greek verbal adjective applied to the historical Jesus in a special sense as a messianic title. On the other, *Krishna* is the name of a figure spoken of long before the time of Jesus in texts like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (3:17), and also even perhaps the *Bhagavad Gītā* itself.

Further, even though *Krishna* and *Christ* might share *Kri-* and *Chri-* in form, there is no apparent overlap in meaning. *Krishna* means *black*, and the link between the name and that common adjective is a matter of frequent comment in the ancient texts. We see it, for example, in the naming ceremony of Krishna and Balarāma in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, where Śrī Garga says of Krishna: "Bodies of three different colours, according to the *yuga*—white, red and then yellow—were accepted by this other one. Now he has come with a black [*Kṛṣṇa*] complexion."⁷⁰ This echoes an idea already expressed in Bhāsa's early *Bālācarita*, which speaks of Krishna (Dāmodara) "resembling black collyrium in complexion in this Kali age."⁷¹ We also see it in the story of the derivation of Krishna and Balarāma from a

black and a white hair plucked from the head of Viṣṇu,⁷² and in the frequent comparison of those two figures with white and dark clouds.⁷³ All this agrees with *Krishna's* presumed PIE root being *kers-/kers-* (*dark, dirty, grey*),⁷⁴ with the proposed PIE word meaning *black* being *krs-no*.⁷⁵ The same root stands behind the words for *black* in several Slavic Languages as well.⁷⁶

In spite of this, when Prabhupāda spoke of the meaning of *Krishna* he usually defined it not as *black*, but as *all-attractive*,⁷⁷ assuming apparently a connection with the verb *Krish*. It is a common claim, which is explained clearly by early Prabhupāda disciple Steven Rosen (Satyarāja Dāsa):⁷⁸

"Krishna" means "the all attractive-one"...Etymologically, the word *krish* indicates the attractive feature of the Lord's existence, and *na* means spiritual pleasure. When the verb *krish* is added to the affix *na*, it becomes *krishna*, which means 'the person who gives spiritual pleasure through His all-attractive qualities.'"

There is a problem of course with claiming two separate etymological derivations for a single word,⁷⁹ but my purpose in mentioning it here is merely to describe Prabhupāda's view, which is relevant because in the process of linking *Krishna* and *Christ*, he implied that *christos* meant "all attractive" too,⁸⁰ which, again, is not supported by any of the standard Greek lexicons.

Notes

¹ Conversation — Germany, with Pater Jungclaussen (June 22, 1974): "Also I repeat, 'Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me. Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me'" (from Vanisource.org). See further, *Aufrichtige Erzählungen eines russischen Pilgers* (ed.

Conclusion

The name *Krishna* and the title *Christ* both come from common adjectives (*black / anointed*) but separate PIE (Proto-Indo-European) roots (*kers-* [*dark, dirty, grey*] / *ghrēi-* [*to rub*]). While *Krishna* as the name of the popular Hindu deity long predates the time of Christ, so too the adjective *Christos* conspicuously arises according to the standard rules of Greek word formation from its related verbal root. The two words are not etymologically related and any shared similarity in form is best understood as being purely coincidental.

As obscure as the matters treated in this article may seem, they are nevertheless instructive. Even the direction of etymological dependencies can become the occasion of assertions of not only historical priority but spiritual superiority. Sometimes these assertions have been innocently expressed with the best of intentions, other times they have not. Such has been the story of the alleged etymological connection between *Krishna* and *Christos* over the past three centuries. As such, the discovery that the two words are not actually etymologically related at all may come as something of a relief. But it should also serve as a cautionary tale as we consider other seemingly significant etymological connections touching matters relating to interfaith interaction in the future.

Emmanuel Jungclaussen; Feiberg, DE: Herder, 1974) (an edition of the Russian classic *The Way of the Pilgrim*); *Das Jesusgebet* (trans. & ed. Emmanuel Jungclaussen; Regensburg, DE: Friedrich Pustet, 1976) (a translation of Lev Gillet's *On the Invocation of the Name of Jesus*,

by a Monk of the Eastern Church); Kallistos Ware & Emmanuel Jungclaussen, *Hinführung zum Herzensgebet* (Freiberg, DE: Herder, 1982); and Emmanuel Jungclaussen, *Unterweisung im Herzensgebet* (Sankt Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1999). On Jungclaussen's engagement in East/West discussions of devotional practice prior to his meeting with Prabhupāda, see, e.g., Emmanuel Jungclaussen, "Yoga und Herzensgebet," in *Yoga Heute: Hilfe für den Westen* (ed. Ursula von Mangoldt; Weilheim, DE: Otto Wilhelm Barth, 1971): 29-67.

² "Kṛṣṇa or Christ—The Name is the Same," *Back to Godhead* 11.3-4 ([Apr/May] 1976): 4-8, where this writer also read it for the first time as a subscriber to the magazine in the mid-1970s.

³ See, e.g., selections of the interview in *Krishna Voice* 19.1 (Jan 2018): 26, Kuṇḍalī Dāsa, "Hallowed Be Thy Name," *Back to Godhead* 20.2-3 (Feb/Mar, 1985):13, and *Chant and Be Happy: The Power of Mantra Meditation* (Los Angeles: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust [=BBT], 1977-2000), 96. Online versions abound.

⁴ "Kṛṣṇa or Christ: The Name is the Same," in *The Science of Self-Realization: Articles from Back to Godhead Magazine* (Los Angeles: BBT, 1977-2000), 112-19, and on pp. 116-23 in the differently paginated paperback version. Henceforth when citing this article, I will give only the pages of the original article.

⁵ Far behind their edition of Prabhupāda's *Bhagavad-Gītā As It Is*, which, at approximately a quarter of a million copies a year in North America alone (200,000 paperbacks and 40,000 hardbacks), towers in sales over all their other titles. All sales statistics were kindly provided by Sura das (Stuart Kadetz) of BBT North America (conversation May 23, 2018).

⁶ Its only near competitor is a similar compilation of articles entitled *Journey of*

Self-Discovery. The North American branch of BBT prints 25-50,000 copies of this title per year, which is only available in hardback.

⁷ "The Science of God — Bhagavad Gita 3.27." Lecture at the Town Hall, Melbourne Australia (June 27, 1974). (Unless otherwise noted, references to conversations and teaching sessions were accessed at Vanisource.org).

⁸ As in his May, 1969, interviews with Beat Poet Allen Ginsberg ("You Can Pronounce Kṛṣṇa In Any Way: Śrīla Prabhupāda Conversation," *Back to Godhead* 34.2 [Mar/Apr 2000]: 58. Also in *Krishna Voice* 16.11 (Nov 2015): 10.

⁹ Satsvarūpa dāsa Goswāmī, *Prabhupāda: Your Ever Well-Wisher* (Los Angeles: BBT, 1995), xv.

¹⁰ *Vedanta for the Western World* (ed. Christopher Isherwood; New York: Viking, 1960 [orig. ed. 1945]), 225. For Prabhupāda's translation of the *Śikṣāṣṭakam*, see A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami, *Teachings of Lord Chaitanya: A Treatise on Factual Spiritual Life* (New York: International Society for Krishna Consciousness, 1968), xxxvii-xxxix.

¹¹ E.g., "When Jesus said, 'Our Father, who art in heaven, sanctified be Thy name,' that name of God was Kṛṣṭa or Kṛṣṇa" ("The Name is the Same," 4). Prabhupāda also appealed to the passage to prove that God had a name, and that it could be pronounced (see, e.g., *ibid.*, and Morning Walk — Paris [June 11, 1974]). Viewing Christ as God the Father didn't keep Prabhupāda from speaking of Jesus as Christ as well. See, further, Kuṇḍalī dāsa (Conrad Joseph), "Hallowed Be Thy Name," *Back to Godhead* 20.2-3 (Feb/Mar, 1985):11-13.

¹² Conversation with Dr. Wier — London (Sept 5, 1971): "Prabhupāda:..Original word of this 'Christ' comes from the Greek word 'Christo.' // Dr. Ware: 'Anointed.'... // Prabhupāda: 'Yes...Kṛṣṇa is always anointed with tilaka. We follow this tilaka, Kṛṣṇa,

annointed with the sandal pulp.” (See, further, Conversation with Dr. Kapoor — Vrindavana [March 12, 1972], and Letter from Prabhupāda to Shyamasundar [Sam Speerstra] [Aug 31, 1969]).

¹³ Given in answer to a questions submitted to Prabhupāda in June of 1976 by the Bombay magazine, *Bhavan's Journal* (Answers to Questionnaire 1).

¹⁴ “The Science of God — Bhagavad Gita 3.27.”

¹⁵ Letter from Swami Prabhupāda to Shyamsundar Das, (Aug 31, 1969).

¹⁶ See “*ghrēi-*,” in, e.g., *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (2nd ed.; rev. and ed. Calvert Watkins; Boston, New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 2000), 32, 111; Julius Pokorny, *Indo-germanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (2 vols.; Bern and Munich: Franke, 1959 and 1969), 1,457; and Alois Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (3 vols. rev. and ed. Julius Pokorny; Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1930-32), 1:646. For a fuller account of how the root plays out as it comes into English see “*gher I*,” in Joseph T. Shipley, *The Origins of English Words: A Discursive Dictionary of Indo-European Roots* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 120.

¹⁷ Quoted here from the *New Jerusalem Bible* (italics mine).

¹⁸ Donald Sheehan, *The Psalms of David: Translated from the Septuagint Greek* (fwd. Christopher Merrill; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013).

¹⁹ “Lecture on the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* 1.2.10,” at Delhi (Nov 16, 1973).

²⁰ On March 28, 1969, Prabhupāda said: “The other day I was reading one book—what is that, Aquarian Gospel? What is that?” to which a devotee responds: “The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ.” “Lecture on the

Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam 1.2.6,” in Hawaii (March 28, 1969).

²¹ Levi [Dowling], *Aquarian Gospel of Jesus Christ: The Philosophical and Practical Basis of the Religion of the Aquarian Age of the World and of the Church Universal* (intro. Eva S. Dowling; London: L. N. Fowler/Los Angeles: E. S. Dowling, 1911), 7 n. 4: “The word Christ is derived from the Greek word Kristos.”

²² See, in addition, e.g., “You Can Pronounce Krsna In Any Way: Srila Prabhupāda Conversation,” *Back to Godhead* 34.2 [Mar/Apr 2000]: 58. Also in *Krishna Voice* 16.11 (Nov 2015):10; “Conversation — Los Angeles” (June 25, 1972); “Conversation — London,” with Mr. Arnold (Aug 7, 1971).

²³ Available online at Vanisource.org.

²⁴ In a few cases he comes close to saying it when describing a series of things, some of which come from the *Aquarian Gospel*. So, for example, in a letter to Shyamasundar (Aug 31, 1969), where Prabhupāda seems to say that he got his etymology from the *Aquarian Gospel* and the idea that “Christ means love of Godhead, Who has His face annointed with telok,” he may have only meant to refer to his getting the latter two ideas from the book, which does in fact claim that Christ is love and means “annointed” (7 n. 4).

²⁵ Prabhupāda to Tamal Krishna [Thomas Herzig] (Sept 14, 1969).

²⁶ Sivanáthe Sástri, *Ramtanu Lahiri: Brahman and Reformer: A History of the Renaissance in Bengal* (ed. Roper Lethbridge; London: Swan Sonnenschein / Calcutta: S. K. Lahiri, 1907), 190, which calls him “Kristo (Krishna) Das Pal,” and Ram Gopal Sanyal, *The Life of the Hon'ble Rai Krishna Das Pal Bahadur, C. I. E.* (Calcutta: Ram Koomar Dey, 1986).

²⁷ “Lecture on the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* 1.2.10.”

²⁸ *Bhavan's Journal* (Answers to Questionnaire 1).

²⁹ (Conversation with Allen Ginsberg, May 12, 1969, in Columbus, Ohio), "Śrīla Prabhupāda Speaks Out: 'You Can Pronounce Krsna in Any Way,'" *Back to Godhead* 34.2 (March 2000), 58; also in *Krishna Voice* 16.11 (Nov 2015): 10. Prabhupāda's words as actual transliterated in this instance were: "Kestha, Christ, Krist, Kristha, or Krsna they're in the same group."

³⁰ I am indebted to Steve Tsoukalas for helping me grasp the vocalization of the Celestials (personal communication, May 30, 2018).

³¹ I asked Sura Das if Prabhupāda ever used the term "rascal," affectionately. His response was "Seems like every time I heard it was Mayavadi [impersonalists] and atheists. Not so affectionate." (personal communication, May 27, 2018).

³² "Morning Walk in Mauritius" (Oct 26, 1976).

³³ "Room Conversation with Dr. Kapoor" (Mar 12, 1972)

³⁴ See especially, note 61 below.

³⁵ Benjamin Preciado-Solí, *The Kṛṣṇa Cycle in the Purāṇas* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984), 29.

³⁶ M. [Contantin] Volney, *Les Ruines, ou meditations sur les revolutions des empires* (Paris: Desenne, Volland, & Plassan, 1791), 297; ET: *A New Translation of Volney's Ruins; or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empire. Under the Inspection of the Author* (Dublin: for Hood & Cuthell, Walker & Ogelvy, et al., 1811 [1802]), 254-55.

³⁷ Ibid., Fr. 404-405/Eng. 254-255.

³⁸ See, Joseph Priestley, *Observations on the Increase of Infidelity* (3rd ed.; Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1797), 119. Priestley goes on to chide Volney for his fanciful etymologies: "Dean Swift's ingenious dissertation to prove

the antiquity of the English language, in which he derives *Jupiter* from *Jew Peter*, *Archimedes* from *Hark ye maids*, and *Alexander the Great* from *all eggs under the grate*, is exactly of a piece with these curious etymologies of M. Volney; but with this difference, that the Dean was in jest, whereas Mr. Volney is in serious earnest." (Ibid., 120).

³⁹ Thomas Maurice, *History of Hindustan* (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1820), 2.224. The same comment appears in the 1795-1798 edition (2.268-69).

⁴⁰ Volney, *Les Ruines*, 358; *New Translation of Volney's Ruins*, 150. Volney actually names three volumes, "the Bhagvat Geeta, the Ezour-Vedam, the Bahagavadam, and certain fragments of the Chastres printed at the end of the Bhagavat Geeta." But the second turned out to be forgery. The editions to which Volney refers are Charles Wilkins, *The Bhāgvat-gēētā, or, Dialogues of Krēṣhṇā and Ārjōṅ in Eighteen Lectures with Notes* (London: for C. Nourse, 1785); *L'Ezour-Vedam ou Ancien Commentaire du Vedam, contenant l'exposition des opinions religieuses & philosophiques des Indiens. Traduit du Samscretan par un Brame* (2 vols.; Yverdon: M. De Felice, 1778), and *Bagavadam ou Doctrine Divine, ouvrage indien, canonique, sur l'Être Suprême, les Géans, les Dieux, les hommes, les diverses parties de l'univers, &c.* (trans. from Tamil, Méridas Poullé; Paris: Foucher d'Orsonville, 1788).

⁴¹ Ibid, Fr. 358/Eng. 150-51: "When I have taken an extensive survey of their contents," he writes, "I have sometimes asked myself, what would be the loss to the human race if a new Omar condemned them to the flames," but, alas, he finds himself "unable to discover any mischief that would ensue." The reference is to Caliph Omar's alleged command to burn the Alexandrian library on the grounds that "if what is written in them agrees with the Book

of God, they are not required, if it disagrees, they are not desired." (Quoted in Robert Barnes, "Cloistered Bookworms in the Chicken-Cop of the Muses: The Ancient Alexandrian Library," in *The Alexandrian Library: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World* [ed. Roy MacLeod; London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2000], 74).

⁴² The first being Charles Wilkins. See, Gillian Evison, "The Sanskrit Manuscripts of Sir William Jones," in *Sir William Jones 1746-1794: A Commemoration* (ed. Alexander Murray; intro. Richard Gombrich; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 129. The first to learn was Charles Wilkins.

⁴³ Sir William Jones, "On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India," *Asiatick Researches* 1.262 (orig. delivered in 1784). To a writer like A. E. Wollheim da Fonseca, drawing parallels between Krishna and Apollo Nomios provided a welcome excuse for *not* doing so between Krishna and Christ (*Mythologie des alten Indien* (Berlin: Gustav Hempel, 1857), 65).

⁴⁴ Charles Vallancey, *A Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland* (Dublin: for Luke White, 1786), 537.

⁴⁵ Charles Vallancey, *A Grammar of the Ibero-Celtic, or Irish Language* (2nd ed.; Dublin: R. Marchbank, for G. Faulkner, T. Ewing, and R. Moncrieff, 1782), 38.

⁴⁶ Jones, "Gods of Greece," 262.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., Sir William Jones, "The Third Anniversary Discourse (1786)," *Asiatick Researches* 1.424-25, and Maurice, *History of Hindustan*, 2.109.

⁴⁸ Writes Friedrich Max Müller: "That book of Jacolliot is as silly, shallow, impudent a composition as ever I saw...The book quotes from the *Veda!* The extracts are no more from the *Veda* than from the *Koran*." (Müller to Dean A. P. Stanley of Westminster [Jul 29, 1869], in *The Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Friedrich Max Müller* [2 vols.; ed.

Georgina Müller; New York, London, Bombay: Longmans, Greene, 1902], 1.387-88).

⁴⁹ Fr.: "Zeus et Iezeu."

⁵⁰ Louis Jacolliot, *The Bible in India: Hindoo Origin of Hebrew and Christian Revelation* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1870), 301; idem, *La Bible dans l'Inde, vie de Iezeus Christna* (Paris: Librairie Internationale / Brussels: A Lacroix, Verboeckhoven, 1869), 360.

⁵¹ Ibid., Eng. 247/Fr. 292. Cf. "It is necessary to read in the Sanscrit text itself, and especially in the Bagaveda-Gita, the sublime discourses of Christna with his disciples, and particularly with Ardjoura" (Eng. 244/Fr. 288).

⁵² *Le Bhagvat-Geeta; ou, Dialogues de Kreeshna et d'Arjoon contenant un précis de la religion & de la morale des indiens. Traduit du Samscrit, la language sacrée des Brahmes, en anglais, par M. Charles Wilkins* (trans. J. P. Parraud; Paris: Buisson, 1787).

⁵³ Jacolliot, *The Bible in India*, Eng. 302/Fr. 360.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Augustin Antonio Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome: *Typis sacrae congragationis de propaganda fide*, 1762), 253-54.

⁵⁶ Sir William Jones, "On the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India," *Asiatick Researches* 1.273.

⁵⁷ See, e.g., the survey of pre-Christian evidence in Bryant's introduction to *Krishna: A Sourcebook* (ed., Edwin F. Bryant; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 4-6.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1: 274. cf., Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, 256: "Acta Khrishnu ex gestis Christi depravatis Impostorum fraude."

⁵⁹ For a survey of the larger discussion relating to this, see, A. [Albrecht Friedrich] Weber, *Über die Kṛishṇajanmâshṭamī (Kṛishṇa's Geburtsfest)* (Berlin: Harrwitz & Gossmann, 1868), 310-16. Portions of the book

are available in English: "Weber on Kṛṣṇajanmāshṭamī," *Indian Antiquary* 3 (Jan 1874) 21-25 (esp. 21-23), and "An Investigation into the Origin of the Festival of Kṛṣṇajanmāshṭamī," *Indian Antiquary* 3 (Feb 1874): 47-52.

⁶⁰ R. G. Bhandarker, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1913), 37-8 (1.9.37).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁶² Bhandarker, *Vaiṣṇavism*, 38. Note that Bhandarker is not arguing that Krishna came into existence in this way, only that versions of the stories of Jesus's early life became attached to Krishna on the basis of the similarity of the names Christ and Kristo/Kusto.

⁶³ *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam: First Canto-Part One* (New York: BBT, 1972), 163 ("Purport" of *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam* 1.3.25).

⁶⁴ On his deathbed Prabhupāda called together his Godbrothers to ask forgiveness for any offences: "I am a little temperamental," he said, "I used words like rascal and so on," (Joshua M. Greene, *Swami in a Strange Land: How Krishna Came to the West: The Biography of A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada* (fwd. Klaus K. Klostermaier; San Rafael: Mandala, 2016), 260.

⁶⁵ Edwin F. Bryant, "The Date and Provenance of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the Viakunṭha Permāl Temple," *Journal of Vaishnava Studies* 11.1 (Sept 2002): 52. Bryant offers this as the *consensus gentium*, which he disputes in the article, arguing instead for "the Gupta Period [4th to 6th cent. AD] as the latest probable date at which the final, complete version of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* [= *Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam*] could have been written," (p. 69).

⁶⁶ Wendy Doniger, *The Hindus: An Alternative History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009), 473.

⁶⁷ Bruce M. Metzger, *Lexical Aids for New Testament Greek* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1998), 44.

⁶⁸ Walter Mueller, *Aids for Students of New Testament Greek* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1972), 27.

⁶⁹ Herbert Weir Smyth, *A Greek Grammar* (rev. Gordon M. Messing; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 156 (sec. 471). The reason Smyth states the rule as he does is that in less regular verbs than *chriō* the stems of the various tenses can be quite different. An example is the verb *ballō* (*I throw*), which has as its future not *ballsō* as might be expected but *balō* (*I will throw*), as its aorist, *ebalon* (*I threw*), and as its aorist passive *eblēthēn* (*I was thrown*). If we wanted to form a verbal adjective from this verb we do just as we did with *chriō*, we would identify the aorist passive stem by removing the other parts, first the "augment" *e-* (*epsilon*), at the beginning, the personal ending *n* at the end, and then finally the *thē*, which would leave us with *blē-* as the aorist passive stem. The final move would be *blē-* + *-tos* resulting in the verbal adjective *blētos* (*thrown*).

⁷⁰ *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.1.8.13, Brackets Bryant's.

⁷¹ *Bālacarita*, Act I (*Bhāsa's Two Plays Avimāraka & Bālacarita with an English Translation and Exhaustive Verbatim Commentary* (trans. and ed. Bak Kunbae; appreciation S. Radhakrishnan; Delhi: Meharchand Lachhmandas, 1968), 206.

⁷² E.g., *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 5.1.58-60; *Brahma Purāṇa* 72.26-27; *Devī Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 4.22.50-51.

⁷³ *Bālacarita*, Act V (p. 308); *Harivaṃśa* 50, 55, 56, 58 (ET: Debroy), *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 10.1.3.9-10 and 10.1.14.1.

⁷⁴ Joseph H. Greenberg, *Indo-European and Its Closet Relatives: Volume 2. Lexicon* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002),

28; cf. *ker-/ker-* in Pokorny, *Indo-germanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1:573.

⁷⁵ Rick Derksen, *Etymological Dictionary of the Slavic Inherited Lexicon* (Leiden, NL & Boston, MA: E. J. Brill, 2008), 92.

⁷⁶ Derksen (ibid.) mentions Old Church Slavic, Old Prussian, Czech, Polish, Upper and Lower Sorbian, Serbo-Croatian, Čakavian, Slovenian, and Bulgarian, Lithuanian, and Russian.

⁷⁷ See, e.g., *Perfect Questions, Perfect Answers: Conversations between His Divine Grace A. C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupāda and Bob Cohen Peace Corps Worker in India* (New York: BBT, 1977), 1.

⁷⁸ Steven Rosen, *Krishna's Song: A New Look at the Bhagavad Gita* (Westport, CN and London: Praeger, 2007), 147.

⁷⁹ Monier Monier-Williams had earlier opened his entry on Krishna with the comment that the name "was said to be from fr[om]. R[oo]t. *Kṛish*." (See, e.g., *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* [Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1872]: 250). But the remark was subsequently removed (see p. 306 of the 1899 "New Edition").

⁸⁰ "The Name is the Same," 4: "*Kṛṣṭa* is a Sanskrit word meaning 'attraction' so when we address God as 'Christ,' '*Kṛṣṭa*,' or '*Kṛṣṇa*,' we indicate the same all-attractive Supreme Personality of Godhead."