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# Bhartṛprapañca and the Eight States of Brahman

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## Abstract

A gradual evolution of Brahman in eight successive states is described and criticized in Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* and in Sureśvara's and Ānandagiri's sub-commentaries where the teaching is attributed to Bhartṛprapañca, an ancient Bhedābheda-vādin whose commentary on BĀU is now lost. This paper examines fragmentary records of the teaching of Brahman's evolution and tries to interpret different categories mentioned in different accounts of the teaching by comparing these terms with same or similar categories in other philosophical and religious systems of ancient India in order to understand Bhartṛprapañca's original eight-fold scheme and its meaning. Tentative conclusion might be that Ānandagiri conveyed Bhartṛprapañca's scheme literally while Śaṅkara and Sureśvara paraphrased it very freely.

**Keywords:** Bhedābheda, Bhartṛprapañca, Dvaita, Vedānta, monism, illusionism

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## Introduction

In Śaṅkara's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (BĀU) there is a number of passages where Śaṅkara introduces Upaniṣadic interpretations different from his. These most probably originate from older, now lost works. These opinions Śaṅkara in almost all cases treats as objections which he criticizes. However, Śaṅkara did not specify on whose views he refers. One of such passages where Śaṅkara explains an opinion of some other is to be found in *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-Bhāṣya* (from now on BĀUBh) 3.8.12 where eight states of Brahman are mentioned. It seems that the teaching of eight states of Brahman is not directly connected to the exegesis of some particular BĀU passage. It probably belongs to the tenets of someone's philosophical (or theological) view criticized by Śaṅkara. In Ānandagiri's sub-commentary (*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-Ṭīkā*, from now on BĀUBhṬ) on Śaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12 nothing is said about the author of this view. However, the eight states of Brahman are discussed in *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-Vārttika* (from now on BĀUBhV), Sureśvara's<sup>1</sup> versed sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's BĀUBh, and in Ānandagiri's commentary on Sureśvara's BĀUBhV called *Śāstraprakāśikākhya-Ṭīkā* (from now on ŚPT). It is important to note that Ānandagiri's commentaries on Śaṅkara's BĀUBh and on Sureśvara's BĀUBhV are different works.<sup>2</sup> Besides Śaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12 and Ānandagiri's BĀUBhṬ 3.8.12, the teaching of eight states is also mentioned in Sureśvara's BĀUBhV 1.4.487 and in Ānandagiri's ŚPT ad BĀUBhV 1.3.314 and 1.4.1043. Only in ŚPT ad BĀUBhV 1.4.1043 the teaching of eight states of Brahman is attributed to Bhartṛprapañca.

This article will try to examine these passages and its context in some detail in order to shed some light on the teaching of the eight states of Brahman<sup>3</sup> and the context in which its critique appears in Śaṅkara's text.

<sup>1</sup> Sureśvara is traditionally considered as Śaṅkara's direct disciple. In his *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* 4.74 and 4.76 Sureśvara mentions Śaṅkara's name together with a remark that he served his lotus feet. Sureśvara also mentions Śaṅkara's name in BĀUBhV 6.5.25.

<sup>2</sup> Śaṅkara's BĀUBh with Ānandagiri's BĀUBhṬ is printed in ĀnSS 15, while Sureśvara's BĀUBhV is printed together with Ānandagiri's ŚPT in ĀnSS 16 in three volumes.

<sup>3</sup> For a study of the teaching of the eight states of Brahman see Nakamura 2004:140–149.

### Bhartṛprapañca

Rau (1960:295) identified 30 passages in Śaṅkara's BĀUBh where he mentions other views considering them as remnants of older scholia on BĀU<sup>4</sup>. Rau (ibid.) marked twenty such passages as referring to Bhartṛprapañca's lost commentary on BĀU according to Ānandagiri's notes in his sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's commentary. At least four centuries earlier than Ānandagiri, Sureśvara wrote his own sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's commentary that not only expounds Śaṅkara's passages on rival views but sometimes also introduces other opinions on BĀU, not previously mentioned by Śaṅkara. However, it seems that Sureśvara mentioned Bhartṛprapañca's name for only four times<sup>5</sup>, so we have to rely on Ānandagiri's commentary (ŚPT) where these passages are precisely marked to identify where Sureśvara speaks about Bhartṛprapañca.

Bhartṛprapañca must have been an important exponent of early Vedānta philosophy and an early commentator of the Upaniṣads. Although none of his work is anymore available, fragmentary records, possible text fragments and paraphrases of his commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* are preserved in Śaṅkara's BĀUBh, Sureśvara's BĀUBhV and Ānandagiri's BĀUBhT and ŚPT.

From all this accounts it is possible to establish a pretty accurate picture of Bhartṛprapañca's main philosophical views that are different from Śaṅkara's illusionistic monism. For him, the essence of Brahman is in the same time dual and non-dual. In one aspect Brahman is non-differentiated while in other it is differentiated. Both aspects are real in opposition to Śaṅkara's Advaita where differentiated aspect is unreal. According to Śaṅkara, Bhartṛprapañca explains that unity and plurality of *ātman* is the same as with "the cow" which possesses unity as substance (cowness as universality) on one side and individual properties on the other side that differentiate a particular cow<sup>6</sup>. Brahman evolves into phenomenal world through eight gradual states that will be described in this paper. Liberation is achieved through combined path of knowledge and action (*jñānakarmasamuccaya*) that encompasses combination of religious rites and

<sup>4</sup> A list of passages where Śaṅkara, Sureśvara and Ānandagiri mention Bhartṛprapañca's views can be found in Nakamura (2004: 128–129) and Andrijanić (2015).

<sup>5</sup> BĀUBhV 1.4.1164 (ĀnSS 16, p. 666); BĀUBhV 1.4.1188, (ĀnSS 16, p. 671); BĀUBhV 4.4.412, (ĀnSS 16, p. 1789); 4.4.741, (ĀnSS 16, p. 1843).

<sup>6</sup> BĀUBh 4.3.30.

knowledge.<sup>7</sup> As Śaṅkara holds that action cannot produce knowledge, Śaṅkara criticizes such a view throughout his works and teaches that liberation is to be achieved through knowledge alone, and not through religious rites.

Besides his religious and philosophical views, the only thing we know for sure about Bhartṛprapañca is that he must have lived before Śaṅkara and that he authored a commentary (*bhāṣya*) on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*<sup>8</sup>. Ānandagiri (ĀnSS 15, p. 2) reports that Bhartṛprapañca composed his commentary on the *Mādhyamīna* recension of BĀU and that his commentary was larger in extent than Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Kāṇva* recension<sup>9</sup>.

Nakamura (2004:131) reports that according to Gopala Yogin's (17th century) sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's *Kāthopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, Bhartṛprapañca also wrote a commentary on *Kāṭha-Upaniṣad*. Śaṅkara, however, in his own commentary on *Kāṭha-Upaniṣad* never mentioned or criticized such a commentary as he did in BĀUBh; having also in mind how late Gopala Yogin is, we can seriously doubt his claims<sup>10</sup>. According to Nakamura (2004:131), from a statement made by Ānandagiri in his sub-commentary on

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<sup>7</sup> Hiriyanna opened the field of research of Bhartṛprapañca with two articles (Hiriyanna 1924a and 1924b) where he analysed extant fragments in Śaṅkara, Sureśvara and Ānandagiri and drew a sketch of his philosophy identifying it as Bhedābheda-vāda. Nakamura gave a more precise picture of his philosophy in Nakamura 2004:128–152. From a philosophical point of view some aspects had been analysed by Arvind Sharma ("Some differences in the *jñanakarmasamuccaya* approach of Bhartṛprapañca and Bhāskara", *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 31, 1981: 113–116) and Satyadeva Miśra ("Bhartṛprapañca – a Vedāntin of pre-Śaṅkara era", *Journal of Oriental Research* 40–41, 1970–72: 125–134). Nakamura (2004:130) mentions Sangam Lal Pandey's book "*Pre-Śaṅkara Advaita Philosophy*", Allahabad: Darshan Peeth, (1974) where valuable discussions on Bhartṛprapañca can be found (pp. 209–228) and Kanakura's study "*A Study of Vedānta Philosophy*" in Japanese language where Bhartṛprapañca's views presented in Śaṅkara's BĀUBh are analysed. Shōun Hino and K. P. Jog did an extremely important work in editing and translating Sureśvara's sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's BĀUBh into English where numerous Sureśvara's accounts of Bhartṛprapañca had been identified with the help of Ānandagiri's sub-commentary. Remarks on Bhartṛprapañca and Bhedābheda-vāda can also be found in Dasgupta 1922(II):43–44, Satchidānandendra 1989:213–259 and in Srinivasachari 1950:152–154. At the end, my article on Bhartṛprapañca (Andrijanić 2015) should also be mentioned where I tried to present arguments in favour of the claim that Ānandagiri cites Bhartṛprapañca's commentary literally while Śaṅkara and Sureśvara only paraphrased his work.

<sup>8</sup> Sureśvara in BĀUBhV 1.4.1188a (ĀnSS 16, vol. II, p. 671) refers to his work as "Bhartṛprapañca's commentary" (*Bhartṛprapañcabhāṣya*...). Sureśvara mentions his commentary (*bhāṣya*) also in BĀUBhV 1.4.1164 (p. 666), and BĀUBhV 3.1.46 (ĀnSS 16, vol. III, p.1155). Ānandagiri also frequently refers to his work as *bhāṣya*.

<sup>9</sup> Rau (1960:294–294) presented a lot of examples where Śaṅkara followed *Mādhyamīna* text of BĀU. Because of that, Rau thinks that he must have had both recensions in front of him while composing his commentary. However, Rau also thinks that it is possible that Śaṅkara knew about *Mādhyamīna* recension only from Bhartṛprapañca's commentary.

<sup>10</sup> Śaṅkara can most probably be dated to the middle of the 8th century (for Śaṅkara's date see Harimoto 2006). Sureśvara was his younger contemporary.

Sureśvara's BĀUBhV 1.4.1717<sup>11</sup> it can be inferred that Bhartṛprapañca authored a commentary on *Īśā-Upaniṣad*.<sup>12</sup> However, as opposed to fragments of Bhartṛprapañca's commentary on BĀU that are extensively paraphrased and cited by Śaṅkara, Sureśvara and Ānandagiri<sup>13</sup>, I am not aware of any reference to Bhartṛprapañca's supposed commentary on IU in Śaṅkara's works or in works of other authors.

Regarding his date, Nakamura (2004:131) tentatively dates Bhartṛprapañca around 550 A.D.

Sureśvara lays out an interesting claim in BĀUBhV 1.4.490 where he claims that only from a boon from Vaiśvānara (Agni, fire God), and not from authoritative sources can one claim that the supreme Self has means for knowing because, according to Sureśvara, the Self knows itself. The claim that Bhartṛprapañca did not gain his knowledge from scriptural authority but from the boon of some form of Agni, the fire God, is laid out many times in BĀUBhV. In this particular case Agni appears in the form of Vaiśvānara, understood as the fire common to all men. Ānandagiri commented that Sureśvara is mocking (*prahasati*) Bhartṛprapañca with this claim.

Eight states of Brahman in Śaṅkara's BĀUBh and Ānandagiri's BĀUBhṬ

In his commentary on BĀU 3.8.12 Śaṅkara presents a following remark:

*tatra kecid ācakṣate | parasya mahāsamudrasthānīyasya brahmaṇo  
'kṣarasypṛacalitavarūpasyeṣatpṛacalitāvasthāntaryāmī |  
atyantapṛacalitāvasthā kṣetrajño yastaṃ na vedāntaryāmiṇam | tathānyāḥ  
pañcāvasthāḥ parikalpayanti | tathāṣṭāvasthā brahmaṇo bhavantīti vadanti |*  
(BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, pp. 467–468)

“Therein some declare – Inner ruler (*antaryāmin*) is a slightly agitated state of the imperishable Brahman of an immovable nature corresponding to the great ocean. Excessively agitated state (of the imperishable Brahman) is a Knower of the field (*kṣetrajña*) who does not know the Inner ruler; in such a

<sup>11</sup> ĀaSS 16, vol. II, p. 771.

<sup>12</sup> See also a.

<sup>13</sup> For the problem of paraphrases and quotations from Bhartṛprapañca see Andrijanić 2015.

manner they postulate another five states – thus there are eight states of Brahman, they say.”

Ānandagiri in his commentary on this particular passage enumerates five other states mentioned, but not enumerated by Śaṅkara: *piṇḍa* (“individual”), *jāti* (“class”), *virāj* (“a wide-ruling one” or “a wide-shinning one”), *sūtra* (“string”) and *daiva* (“divine, divinity”). With *avyākṛta* (“unevolved”, “unexpounded”), *sākṣin* (“witness”) and *kṣetrajña* (“knower of the field”) these are eight states of Brahman according to Ānandagiri (ĀnSS 15, p. 468). Instead of Ānandagiri’s *kṣetrajña*, *sākṣin* and *avyākṛta* as the first three states, Śaṅkara mentions *akṣara* (*parasya ... brahmaṇaḥ*), *antaryāmin* and *kṣetrajña* as the first three. The problem in Ānandagiri’s account is *kṣetrajña* on the first place because Śaṅkara clearly said that *kṣetrajña* is excessively agitated state of the highest imperishable Brahman and thus cannot be placed at the top of the list. It is possible that his list should be read from behind and that *avyākṛta* is the topmost category; *antaryāmin* in that case corresponds to *sākṣin* while *kṣetrajña* is the lowest one. Little bit further Śaṅkara mentions some of other eight states mentioned by Ānandagiri:

*tathā*

*hiraṇyagarbhāvyākṛtadevatājātipiṇḍamanuṣyatiryakpretādikāryakaraṇopād  
hibhir viśiṣṭas tadākhyas tadrūpo bhavati* | (BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 469)

“In this manner, distinguished by limiting adjunct of the body and organs<sup>14</sup> of *hiraṇyagarbha*, *avyākṛta*, *devatā*, *jāti*, *piṇḍa*, men, animals, spirits etc., one becomes of such a name and of such a form.”

In this list most probably the first five belong to the eight states of Brahman while other three (men, animals and spirits) represent a further gradual development depending on the progressive amounting of limiting adjuncts.

<sup>14</sup> *Dvāndva* compound *kāryakaraṇa* “cause and effect” or “what has to be preformed and instrument of action” is used by Śaṅkara in the sense of “body and organs”.

This is the list of Śaṅkara's two accounts and the account of Ānandagiri:

Śaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 467–468	Ānandagiri ad BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 468	Śaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 469
<i>para brahman akṣara</i>	<i>kṣetrajña</i>	<i>hiranyagarbha</i>
<i>antaryāmin</i>	<i>sākṣin</i>	
<i>kṣetrajña</i>	<i>avyākṛta</i>	<i>avyākṛta</i>
Another five states ( <i>anyāḥ</i> <i>pañcāvasthāḥ</i> )	<i>daiva</i>	<i>devatā</i>
	<i>sūtra</i>	—
	<i>virāj</i>	—
	<i>jāti</i>	<i>jāti</i>
	<i>piṇḍa</i>	<i>piṇḍa</i>

Terminological inconsistency is here striking: *hiranyagarbha* (“golden embryo”), a lower Brahman<sup>15</sup>, that stands at the beginning of Brahman's evolution poses no problem as for Śaṅkara the states of Brahman are not a real transformation of Brahman but illusory appearance that depends on progressive amounting of limiting adjuncts. The problem is that it is not sure for what entity *hiranyagarbha* stands on this place. For Śaṅkara, the highest Brahman stands beyond the eight states, while for someone like Bhartṛprapañca,

<sup>15</sup> *Hiranyagarbha* is usually referred to as lower Brahman by Śaṅkara throughout BĀUBh. In BĀUBh 1.4.6 *hiranyagarbha* is defined as a supreme Self endowed with limiting adjuncts of extraordinary purity while individual soul (*saṃsārin*, *jīva*) is endowed with impure limiting adjuncts. The supreme Self has no adjuncts at all. (BĀUBh 1.4.6: *hiranyagarbhas tūpādhiśuddhyatiśayāpekṣayā prāyaśaḥ para eveti śrutismṛtivādāḥ pravṛttāḥ | saṃsāritvaṃ tu kva cid eva darśayanti | jīvānāṃ tūpādhigatāśuddhibāhulyāt saṃsāritvaṃ eva prāyaśo 'bhilapyate | vyāvṛttakṛtsnopādhibhedāpekṣayā tu sarvaḥ paratvenābhidhīyate śrutismṛtivādaiḥ* | [ĀnSS 15, p. 105]).



who accepts a real transformation of Brahman, the first state is most probably the highest Brahman.

### Eight states of Brahman in Sureśvara's BĀUBhV and Ānandagiri's ŚPT

At BĀUBhV 1.4.487 Sureśvara criticizes the theory that the inner Self (*pratyagātman*) appears as *īśvara* ("Lord"), *avyākṛta* ("unevolved"), *prāṇa* ("breath"), *virāj* ("a wide-rulling one" or "a wide-shinning one"), *bhūta* ("elements"), *indriya* ("sense-organs") etc. without being projected by ignorance:

*īśvarāvyākṛtaprāṇavirādbhūtendriyādikam |*

*nāvidyopāśrayaṃ muktva sambhāvyam pratyagātmani || 487 ||*

It is not possible to entertain (that there exists) in the inner self (the group of what are called eight states, viz.) *Īśvara*, Unmanifest, *Prāṇa*, *Virāj*, element(s), sense-organs etc. without (having the support of) ignorance. (Tr. Hino & Jog 1993:161)

In his commentary on this *śloka* Ānandagiri did not attribute the idea that the inner Self transforms into eight states to Bhartṛprapañca. The term *īśvara* encompasses both *antaryāmin* and *sākṣin*, elements (*bhūta*) are individuals (*vyaktayaḥ*) as opposed to *ādi* (etc.) that refers to class (*jāti*) while organs (*indriya*) means divinities (*devatā*) according to Ānandagiri (ĀnSS 16, vol. II, p. 532). In such an enumeration eight states would be: *antaryāmin*, *sākṣin*, *avyākṛta*, *prāṇa*, *virāj*, *vyakti*, *devatā* and *jāti*. If *vyakti* ("individual" or "particular") is the same as *piṇḍa* ("material object", "body") and *prāṇa* ("breath") as *sūtra* ("string"), the list is the same as in ŚPT 1.3.314 and 1.4.1043<sup>16</sup>. The problem is here that, if Ānandagiri is right and *indriya* means *devatā* and *prāṇa* is *sūtra*, the states are not enumerated in their order, besides a striking terminological inconsistency. If Sureśvara had Bhartṛprapañca's commentary on BĀU (where we expect a systematic account) at his hand, why would he make such a mess out of these eight states? First possible answer might be that Sureśvara composed his text loosely paraphrasing Bhartṛprapañca out of

<sup>16</sup> *Avyākṛta* is not mentioned but there are reasons to put it on the head of the list (see later in the paper).

remembrance without relaying on the manuscript at hand; second explanation might be that a literal enumeration would not fit the meter because Sureśvara composed his text in a *śloka* verse of a *pāthya* form and a literal enumeration we supposedly find in Ānandagiri would not fit in the *pāthya* scheme where a long syllable is expected on fifth syllable followed with two short syllables.

In BĀUBhV 1.4.1043 Sureśvara criticizes the teaching of eight states of the inner Self (without enumeration) and Ānandagiri in his commentary on this particular verse finally attributes this teaching to Bhartṛprapañca (ĀsSS 16, vol. II, p. 634).

*yasya tv aṣṭāsv avasthāsu pratyaktvaṃ samamiṣyate |*  
*tasyāntaratama iti durghaṭaṃ vacanaṃ bhavet || 1043 ||*

But, in the case of him who holds that the nature of the inner self is the same in all of its eight states, the word (lit. expression) *antaratamaḥ* would be very difficult (to explain or understand). (Tr. Hino & Jog 1993:327)

According to Sureśvara, Bhartṛprapañca claimed that the inner Self gets modified or undergoes a modification in eight states but stays unchanged in the process of transformation. From Sureśvara's claim it looks like the word *antaratamaḥ* (one who resides deep inside) comes from BĀU because Sureśvara wants to say that the claim about the inner Self that undergoes a modification clashes with the word *antaratama*. Question is where this word appears as in BĀU we do not find it. BĀUBhV 1.4.1042 actually helps us to find the Upaniṣadic passage on which Sureśvara refers because it says that the passage starts with *vācakanvī* and finishes with *akṣara*; this means that the passages BĀU 3.6–8 have to be examined. In BĀU 3.8.3–4, 6–7 the word *antarā* appears. However in Śaṅkara's commentary on BĀU 3.7.1 we can find even *antaratama*<sup>17</sup>. Most probably Sureśvara here did not allude to a specific word in BĀU but to the concept of being at the deepest place in the interior that is discussed in BĀU 3.6–8.

<sup>17</sup> BĀUBh 3.7.1: *idānīm brahmalokānām antaratamaṃ sūtraṃ vaktavyam iti tadartha ārambhaḥ | tac cāgamenaiḥ praṣṭavyam itihāsenāgamopanyāsaḥ kriyate |* (ĀnSS 15, p. 446)

It is important to note that Sureśvara in BĀUBhV 1.4.1178 has an expression “*avyākṛta* and other (states) ending with *piṇḍa*” (*avyākṛtādipiṇḍāntam*) indicating that *avyākṛta* should be placed at the head of the eight states (*piṇḍa* is the last in all accounts).

This is a list of all enumeration of the eight states of Brahman in our four works:

Śaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 467– 468	Śaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 469	Ānanda giri ad BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 468	Ānandag iri's ŚPT ad Sureśvar a's BĀUBh V, 1.3.314, ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 412	Ānandag iri's ŚPT ad Sureśvar a's BĀUBh V 1.4.1043 ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 643	Sureśva ra's BĀUBh V 1.4.487 ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 542	Sureśva ra's BĀUBh V 1.4.117 8 ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 669	Ānanda giri ad BĀUBh 1.4.487, ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 532
<i>para brahman akṣara</i>	<i>hiraṇyaga rbha</i>	<i>kṣetrajñ a</i>	<i>sākṣin</i>	<i>sākṣin</i>	<i>īśvara</i>	<i>avyākṛt a</i>	<i>sākṣin</i>
<i>antaryāmi n</i>		<i>sākṣin</i>	<i>antaryā min</i>	<i>antaryā min</i>			<i>antaryā min</i>
<i>kṣetrajña</i>	<i>avyākṛta</i>	<i>avyākṛt a</i>	<i>avyākṛta</i>	<i>avyākṛta</i>	<i>avyākṛt a</i>		<i>(avyākṛt a)</i>
Another five states more ( <i>anyāḥ pañcāvast hāḥ</i> )	<i>devatā</i>	<i>daiva</i>	<i>daiva</i>	<i>daiva</i>	<i>indriya</i>	—	<i>devatā</i>
	—	<i>sūtra</i>	<i>sūtra</i>	<i>sūtra</i>	<i>prāṇa</i>	—	<i>sūtra</i>
	—	<i>virāj</i>	<i>virāj</i>	<i>virāj</i>	<i>virāj</i>	—	<i>(virāj)</i>
	<i>jāti</i>	<i>jāti</i>	<i>jāti</i>	<i>jāti</i>	<i>adi</i>	—	<i>jāti</i>
	<i>piṇḍa</i>	<i>piṇḍa</i>	<i>piṇḍa</i>	<i>piṇḍa</i>	<i>bhūta</i>	<i>piṇḍa</i>	<i>vyakti</i>

An account in *Aitareyopaniṣad-Bhāṣya* (AiUBh) 3.3 should be added that mentions four categories that resemble the list of eight states of Brahman. In this passage Śaṅkara describes how Brahman is gradually diversified by different limiting adjuncts. First is the highest Brahman freed from any distinction, without stain, taint and action, quiescent, one without second, to be known as “not–, not–” (*neti, neti* [BAU 2.3.6, 3.9.26, 4.2.4, 4.5.15 etc.]) by the elimination of attributes and beyond words and thought<sup>18</sup>. Next is *antaryāmin* connected with the pure limiting adjuncts of discrimination (*prajñā*)<sup>19</sup>. After *antaryāmin* comes *hiraṇyabarbha* who is the seed of the manifest world, next is *virāj* or *prajāpati* (“lord of creatures”) with his limiting adjuncts and the deity (*devatā*) after *virāj/prajāpati*<sup>20</sup>. Here we have a description of how Brahman gets its name and forms from the highest one to a clump of grass in accordance to what limiting adjunct he is connected with. It should be noted that *virāj* is identified with *prajāpati* and both of whom are placed below *hiraṇyagarbha*.

#### a) *Pinḍa* and *jāti*

*Pinḍa* (“material object”, “body”) and *jāti* (“class”<sup>21</sup>) are the lowest of all states; in Sureśvara’s account *pinḍa* is called *bhūta* while Ānandagiri calls it *vyakti* (“individual” or “particular”). The term *vyakti* actually helps to shed some light on the possible function of this category in the eight-fold system as the terms *vyakti* and *jāti* are characteristic for Grammar, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā<sup>22</sup>. *Jāti* appears already in Pāṇini 4.1.63 and Patañjali cites two verses to explain the nature of *jāti* mentioned in the Pāṇini’s *sūtra*<sup>23</sup>. In *Nyāya-Sūtra* (NS) 2.2.67 *vyakti* is defined as substratum of specific qualities (*vyaktir guṇaviśeṣāśrayo mūrtiḥ*) while *jāti* is the term used for universals in NS. *Vaiśeṣika-*

<sup>18</sup> AiUBh 3.3: *tad etat pratyastamitasarvopādhiviśeṣaṃ sannirañjanaṃ nirmalaṃ niṣkriyaṃ śāntam ekam advayaṃ “neti neti” iti* (BAU 2.3.6, 3.9.26, 4.2.4, 4.5.15) *sarvaviśeṣāpohasaṃvedyaṃ sarvaśabdapratyayāgocaram* | (TPU, p. 349)

<sup>19</sup> AiUBh 3.3: *tadatyantaviśuddhaprajñopādhisambandhena sarvajñam īśvaraṃ sarvasādhārāṇāvyākṛtajagadbījappravartakaṃ niyantrtvād antaryāmisamjñam bhavati* | (TPU, p. 349)

<sup>20</sup> AiUBh 3.3: *tad eva vyākṛtajagadbījabhūtabuddhyātmābhīmānalakṣaṇaṃ hiraṇyagarbhasamjñam bhavati | tad evāntaraṇḍodbhūtaprathamāśarīropādhimadvirāṭprajāpatīsamjñam bhavati* | (TPU, p. 349)

<sup>21</sup> Scharf (1996:30) understands the term *jāti* as “generic property”.

<sup>22</sup> *Vyakti* and *jāti* are discussed together with the term *ākṛti* (form) in *Nyāya-Sūtra* 2.2.67–69, see also Vātsyāyana’s *Bhāṣya* and Uddyotakāra’s *Vārttika* (ad 2.2.58–66). For *vyakti* and *jāti* in Śabara, Prabhākara and Kumārila see for instance Jha 1942:61–68. Kumārila takes *jāti*, *sāmānya*, *ākṛti* and *śakti* as synonyms (ŚV *Ākṛtivāda*, vs. 3, vs. 18, *Vānavāda*, vs. 16). For a discussion on the term *ākṛti* and other generic terms see Scharf 1996.

<sup>23</sup> See Scharf 1996:30–34. Patañjali and Kātyāyana (ad Pāṇini 1.2.64 and elsewhere) discuss whether generic term denotes a class property or an individual substance of the class (see Scharf 1996:30 and in many other passages in the book).

*Sūtras* and *Padārthadharma-Saṃgrāha* seem to prefer the word *sāmānya* for universals. According to Halbfass (1992:120–122) *jāti*, a term used for “specific universal” (*sāmānyaviśeṣa*) in NSBh<sup>24</sup>, corresponds to lower or nonultimate universal (*aparam sāmānyam*) in *Padārthadharma-Saṃgrāha*. Halbfass (ibid.) also showed that later Vaiśeṣika authors<sup>25</sup> used the term *jāti* to denote “real” universals. This terminological distinction is important for our small examination because the term *piṇḍa* denotes concrete individuals in Mīmāṃsā (see for instance Kumārila, *Ākṛtivāda*, vs. 25).

*Piṇḍa* means “lump” and than “solid mass”, “material object”, “body”. In BSBh it seems that Śaṅkara does not use the word except for 1.1.13 where it means gross body; in BĀUBh the word *piṇḍa* is sometimes used as “lump” as in compound *māṃsapīṇḍa* “lump of flesh” but it is also used quite frequently in the meaning “body”<sup>26</sup>.

From all this it seems that the categories *piṇḍa* and *jāti* in the system of eight states mean “concrete individual” and “real universal” or “class of real individuals”. *Jāti* in this more specific sense might be taken from later Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, not from earlier systems where *jāti* is still not distinguished from *sāmānya*.

#### b) *Virāj*

The term *virāj* (“a wide-rulling one” or “a wide-shinning one”) denotes in BĀU 4.2.3 the wife of Indhu cryptically called Indra who resides in the left eye<sup>27</sup>, in ChU 1.13.2 it denotes speech (*vāc*) and in ChU 4.3.8 *virāj* denotes ten, the highest throw of the dice, eater of the food who has sunk his teeth in the whole world<sup>28</sup>. In the Vedic context, *virāj*

<sup>24</sup> NSBh 2.2.69.

<sup>25</sup> Halbfass (1992:134, ft. 55) refers to Śivāditya who in his *Saptapadārthī* distinguishes in *sāmānya* (universal) *jāti* (“real universal” like *sattā* “reality”) and *upādhi* (“imposed universal” like *pācakatva* “cookness”).

<sup>26</sup> See BĀUBh 1.3.7; 1.4.8; 1.4.16; 1.5.3; 1.6.3 etc. In BĀUBh 1.6.3 *piṇḍa* is defined as an aggregate of *kāryakaraṇa* “cause and effect” of “body and organs” while in other passages it is taken synonymously with other words for body (*śarīra* BĀUBh 4.2.3, *deha* BĀUBh 5.13.4).

<sup>27</sup> BĀU 4.2.3: *athaitad vāme 'kṣaṇi puruṣarūpam eṣāsyā patnī virāt | tayor eṣa saṃstāvo ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | athainayor etad annam ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaye lohitaṇḍaḥ | athainayor etad prāvaraṇam yad etad antar hṛdaye jālakam iva* | “What looks like a person in the left eye, on the other hand, is his wife Virāj. Their meeting place is the space within the heart, their food is the red lump in the heart, and their garment is the meshlike substance within the heart.” (tr. Olivelle 1998:109)

<sup>28</sup> ChU 4.3.8: *te vā ete pañcānye pañcānye daśa santas tat kṛtam | tasmāt sarvāsu dikṣv annam eva daśa kṛtam | saiśa virāḍ annādī | tayedam sarvaṃ drṣṭam | sarvaṃ asya idaṃ drṣṭam bhavaty annādo bhavati ya evaṃ veda ya evaṃ veda ||* “The former five and the latter five make a total of ten. And they are the highest throw of the dice. In all the quarters, therefore, ten, the highest throw of the dice, is just food. It is the Virāj meter, the eater of food. Virāj has sunk its teeth into this whole world. When someone knows this—he sinks his teeth into the whole world; he becomes an eater of food.” (tr. Olivelle 1998: 219)

is a meter consisting of four pādas of ten syllables each; in RS 10.130.5 this meter is connected to Mitra and Varuṇa, in *Puruṣa-Sūkta* (RS 10.90.5) *virāj* is born from *puruṣa* and *puruṣa* is born from *virāj*<sup>29</sup>; in AiBr 1.4 *virāj* is, like in ChU, regarded as food. In AV, a hymn 8.9 extolls the *virāj* meter, in 8.10 *virāj* is female, she was this Universere in the beginning. In post Vedic literature *virāj* becomes a sort of secondary creator, in Manu 1.32–33 the One divides itself into two, male and female and out of the female *virāj* was born, who brought forth Manu himself<sup>30</sup>. In Śaṅkara's BĀUBh the term *virāj* appears quite often; in BĀUBh 1.2.2 *virāj* is first-born and identified with *agni* and *prajāpati*<sup>31</sup>. At his introduction to BĀUBh 2.1.1 Śaṅkara describes *virāj* as conditioned Brahman who has one common external body, Sun and other are his parts. In BĀUBh 3.3.2 the world where people reap the fruits of actions is described as the body of *virāj*<sup>32</sup>. The body of *virāj* is again mentioned in BĀUBh 1.3.7 where the ancient patron of sacrifice (*pūrvayajamāna*) identifies himself with the body of *virāj*, the present state of *prajāpati*<sup>33</sup>. In BĀUBh 2.1.1 *prāṇa* is one god whose external body is designated by words *virāj*, *vaiśvānara* (“fire common to all men”), the Self of a human form (*ātmā puruṣavidhaḥ*), *prajāpati*, *ka*, *hiranyagarbha*<sup>34</sup>. In BĀUBh 1.4 Śaṅkara uses these terms *prajāpati* and *virāj* interchangeably to denote a lower Brahman. In BĀUBh 1.4.3 *virāj* created a body, a man and woman without changing himself. In BĀUBh 3.6.1 again the word *prajāpatiloka* from BĀU 3.6.1 is interpreted as elements composing the body of *virāj*<sup>35</sup>. These accounts are in accordance with AiUBh 3.3, mentioned before, where *virāj* is identified with *prajāpati*. In BSBh the term *virāj* does not appear, but in Upad 1.17.64

<sup>29</sup> According to Keith (1925[II]:438) *virāj* here denotes waters in their cosmic aspect.

<sup>30</sup> Olivelle (2005:388). Olivelle (2005:239) considers Manu 1.32–41 to be an interpolation.

<sup>31</sup> BĀUBh 1.2.2: ...*agnih so 'ṇḍasyāntar virāt prajāpatiḥ prathamajah kāryakaraṇasamghātavāñ jātaḥ* / “*sa vai śarīri prathamah*” *iti smaraṇāt* | ĀnSS 15, p. 32.

<sup>32</sup> BĀUBh 3.3.1: *yatra vairājam śarīram yatra ca karmaphalopabhogah prāṇinām* ... ĀnSS 15, p. 417.

<sup>33</sup> BĀUBh 1.3.7: *yathā purākalpena varṇitah pūrvayajamāno 'tikrāntakālika etām evākhyāyikārūpām śrutim dṛṣtvā tenaiva krameṇa vāgādidevatāḥ parīkṣya tās cāpohyāsaṅgapāpmspādadoṣavattvenādoṣāspadam mukhyaṁ prāṇam ātmatvenopagamya vāgādyādhyātmikapiṇḍamātraparicchinātmābhīmānam hitvā vairājapiṇḍābhīmānam vāgādyagnyādyātmaviśayaṁ vartamānaprajāpatitvaṁ śāstraprakāśitam pratipannas tathaivāyam yajamānas tenaiva vidhinā bhavati prajāpativarūpenātmanā parā cāsyā prajāpatitvapratipakṣabhūtaḥ pāpmā dviṣaṇ bhrātrvyo bhavati* | ĀnSS 15, p. 63.

<sup>34</sup> BĀUBh 2.1.1: *prāṇa eko deva ity ucyate* | *tasyaiva bāhyaḥ piṇḍa ekaḥ sādharmaṇo virād vaiśvānara ātmā puruṣavidhaḥ prajāpatiḥ ko hiraṇyagarbha ity ādibhiḥ piṇḍapradhānaiḥ śabdair ākhyāyate sūryādipravibhaktakaraṇaḥ* | ĀnSS 15, p. 239.

<sup>35</sup> BĀUBh 3.6.1: ...*indralokā virātśarīrārambhakeṣu bhūteṣu prajāpatilokeṣu*... ĀnSS 15, p. 445.

*virāj* is an external *ātman* as opposed to *prajāpati* who remembers within<sup>36</sup>. This account is in a way different than BĀUBh 2.1.1 where *prajāpati* denotes an external body (*bāhyaḥ piṇḍaḥ*) and other accounts where *virāj* and *prajāpati* are understood as the same categories.

### c) *Sūtra*

*Sūtra* (“thread”) is a category that appears in all Ānandagiri’s accounts while in Sureśvara’s account appears as *prāṇa* (Ānandagiri glosses *prāṇa* as *sūtra*). *Sūtra* is most probably for Bhartṛprapañca a threadlike cosmic all-pervading category. The term *sūtra* appears in BĀU 3.7.1–2 where *sūtra* by which this life, the next life, and all beings are held together is designated as wind (*vāyu*). Śaṅkara designates *sūtra* as the innermost of the world of Brahman<sup>37</sup>. Earth, gods and Vedas, are held together by the *sūtra* and controlled by the inner ruler (*antaryāmin*). Śaṅkara in BĀUBh 5.5.1 has an account of creation where Brahman as truth (*satyabrahman*) is the first-born from the Waters. His birth is the birth of *sūtrātman* or *hiraṇyagarbha*, or manifestation of *avyākṛta* (undifferentiated universe)<sup>38</sup>. Further on, this *satyabrahman* (*sūtrātman*, *hiraṇyagarbha*) produced *virāj* or *prajāpati*. This account is interesting because *virāj* is again the same as *prajāpati* and belongs to a lower step on the cosmological ladder than *sūtrātman* which is the same as *hiraṇyagarbha* similar to AiUBh 3.3. This hierarchy is the same as in most of the lists of eight states of Brahman where *virāj* comes after *sūtra*.

### d) *Daiva/devatā*

Higher than *sūtra* is a category named *daiva* (“divine”, “celestial”) or *devatā* (“divinity”). Sureśvara calls it *indriya* (“what belongs to Indra”, “organ of sense”)<sup>39</sup>. In Upaniṣads often the term refers to various vital functions of the body. In BĀU 1.3.2–9 *devatās* are

<sup>36</sup> Upad 1.17.64: *virāḍ vaiśvānaro bāhyaḥ smarann antaḥ prajāpatiḥ | pravilīne tu sarvasmin prājñō 'vyākṛtam ucyate || 64 ||* “When [ātman] is external [it is called] Virāj or Vaiśvānara. When [it] remembers within, [it is called] Prajāpati. But when everything vanishes [it] is called Prājñā or Avyākṛta.” (tr. Mayeda 2006[II]:166).

<sup>37</sup> BĀUBh 3.7.1: *idānīm brahmalokānām antaratamaṁ sūtraṁ vaktavyam iti tadartha ārambhaḥ |* ĀnSS 15, p. 446

<sup>38</sup> *tāḥ punar āpaḥ satyam asṛjanta | tasmāt satyaṁ brahma prathamajam | tad etad dhiraṇyagarbhasya sūtrātmano janma yad avyākṛtasya jagato vyākaraṇam |* ĀnSS 15, p. 717–718.

<sup>39</sup> The word *indriyāni* — meaning organs in classical Sanskrit — may be explained using the *Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad*, where it appears for the first time in Vedic literature (KṣU 2.14). In KṣU 3, we find a discourse between Indra and Pratardana Daivodāsi, who exclaims that Indra is breath (*prāṇa*), and the organs are also called breaths (*prāṇāḥ*). So it becomes understandable how it came to be that the “measures of cognition” (*prajñāmātrāḥ*) were covertly and enigmatically termed “Indra’s (faculties)” — *indriyāni*.

speech (*vāc*), breath (*prāṇa*), sight (*cakṣus*), hearing (*śrotra*), mind (*manas*)<sup>40</sup>. The other term used in older Upaniṣads for this five faculties is *prāṇa*<sup>41</sup>. Vital functions are called *devatā* in Upaniṣads because to them analogous deities are attached<sup>42</sup>. For instance, in BĀU 3.2.13 when man dies, speech returns to fire (*agni*), breath to wind (*vāta*), sight to the Sun (*āditya*), hearing to quarters (*diś*), mind to the Moon (*candra*) etc. AiU 1.4 has a tripartite analogy: from the mouth sprang speech, and from speech, fire (*agni*), from the nostrils sprang breath (*prāṇa*), and from breath, the wind (*vāyu*) etc<sup>43</sup>. In AiU 2.1 these elements are called deities (*devatā*).

#### e) *Avyākṛta*

The category *avyākṛta* (“unevolved”) appears in almost all accounts of *aṣṭāvasthā* except for Śaṅkara’s first account in BĀUBh 3.8.12. The term appears in BĀU 1.4.7<sup>44</sup> where the world before any distinctions brought by name and form is described. Sureśvara in BĀUBhV 1.4.1646 calls the evolution of the world “manifestation of the unevolved” (*avyākṛtavavyākaraṇa*) and Ānandagiri in his gloss on this verse<sup>45</sup> attributes this idea to Bhartṛprapañca. Because of this, Nakamura (2004:141) thinks that *avyākṛta* should be placed at the head of the five states of Brahman. This can be justified by Sureśvara’s claim in BĀUBhV 1.4.1178 “*avyākṛta* and others (states) with *piṇḍa* on the end” (*avyākṛtādipiṇḍāntam*). It is however curious that in BĀUBhV 1.4.487 Sureśvara places *īśvara* at the head and *avyākṛta* on the second place. This terminological inconsistency is striking and might be attributed to metrical reasons. But than it would be hard to explain why Ānandagiri in his other lists placed *sākṣin* on the first place, and not *avyākṛta* if he had access to Bhartṛprapañca’s Bhāṣya on BĀU where a systematic exposition of

<sup>40</sup> The same group of five faculties can be found in ṚS 10.90.13–14, *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* 2.1 and in older Upaniṣads (KṣU 2.1–2; 3.2–8; BĀU 1.3, 4.1, 4.7–14; ChU 5.1 etc.).

<sup>41</sup> In KṣU 4.20 they are called *ātman*.

<sup>42</sup> Finding these hidden hierarchically arranged connections between micro-and macrocosmic elements is extremely important for the thinkers of later Vedic period when older Upaniṣads were composed. For the meaning of these connections and the term Upaniṣad see Olivelle 1998:24–27 where one can also find all important references for further reading.

<sup>43</sup> AiU has eight triple connections and in ṚS 10.90.13–14 one can find five out of eight of these connections although ṚS does not have three elements in every connection but two (mouth–Fire; breath–Wind; sight–Sun; hearing–quarters; mind–Moon). ṚS also has three connections more. Similar connections with those from ṚS 10.90 can be found in ChU 3.13.1–5; 4.3.1–4; KṣU 2.11–12; ŚBr 10.3.3.7.

<sup>44</sup> BĀU 1.4.7: *tad dhedaṃ tarhy avyākṛtam āsīt | tan nāmarūpābhyām eva vyākriyātāsau nāmāyam idaṃ rūpa iti |*

“At that time this world was without real distinctions; it was distinguished simply in terms of name and visible appearance.” (tr. Olivelle 1998:47)

<sup>45</sup> ĀnSS 16, p. 758.



Brahman's evolution is expected. This might be explained as Sureśvara's terminological carelessness because to him the process of Brahman's evolution is not important as it belongs to the relative sphere of illusory existence. In this case *avyākṛta* was not on the head of the eight states and Ānandagiri's accounts should be trusted. Second possibility is that they did not have access to the integral text but to some fragmentary records from secondary sources or to some oral tradition. As there are good reasons to believe that Ānandagiri sometimes quotes Bhartṛprapañca's Bhāṣya<sup>46</sup>, we can ask ourselves about the state of his text in the times of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara who have greatest terminological inconsistencies.

f) *Antaryāmin*, *sākṣin* and *kṣetrajña*

*Antaryāmin*, the Inner Ruler, is described in BĀU 3.7, and this Upaniṣadic passage is discussed in BS 1.2.18 – 20. *Antaryāmin* is described in BĀU 3.7.3–23 as a Self (*ātman*) who is present within, but is different from the earth, waters, fire, intermediate region, wind, sky, sun, quarters, moon, space etc. and who controls all these elements from within. At the end (BĀU 3.7.23) it is said that *antaryāmin* sees but he can't be seen, he hears, but he can't be heard, he thinks, but he can't be thought of; he perceives, but he can't be perceived. Besides him, there is no one who sees, no one who hears, no one who thinks, and no one who perceives<sup>47</sup>. It is obvious that *antaryāmin* is an epistemological and metaphysical category and not a cosmological category like *sūtra*, *devatā*, *virāj* and *avyākṛta*. In his commentary on BĀU 3.8.12, Śaṅkara says that highest Brahman limited with adjuncts of the power of unsurpassed and eternal knowledge (*nityaniratisayajñānaśaktyupādhi*) is called *antaryāmin* or *īśvara*<sup>48</sup>. At the beginning of the paper AiUBh 3.3 is mentioned where *antaryāmin* is also understood as *īśvara* endowed with limiting adjunct of *prajñā*.

<sup>46</sup> See Andrijanić 2015.

<sup>47</sup> BĀU 3.7.23: *adr̥ṣṭo draṣṭāśrutah śrotāmato mantāvijñāto vijñātā | nānyo 'to 'sti draṣṭā nānyo 'to 'sti śrotā nānyo 'to 'sti mantā nānyo 'to 'sti vijñātā | eṣa ta ātmāntaryāmy amṛtaḥ | ato 'nyad ārtam* | “He sees, but he can't be seen; he hears, but he can't be heard; he thinks, but he can't be thought of; he perceives, but he can't be perceived. Besides him, there is no one who sees, no one who hears, no one who thinks, and no one who perceives. It is this self of yours who is the inner controller, the immortal. All besides this is grief.” (Tr. Olivelle 1998:89)

<sup>48</sup> In Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Aitareya-Upaniṣad* (AiU) 3.3 it is said that *antaryāmin* is *īśvara* connected with the pure limiting adjuncts of discrimination (*prajñā*). These two accounts are in clear contrast to his BSBh 1.2.18 – 20 where *antaryāmin* is described as the supreme Self.

The term *sākṣin* (“witness”) does not appear in BĀU or other ancient prose Upaniṣads<sup>49</sup>, but it appears in ŚvU 6.11 as a god hidden in all beings, pervading the universe, the inner Self of all beings devoid of all qualities<sup>50</sup>. *Sākṣin* appears in BhG 9.18 where Kṛṣṇa says for himself that he is *sākṣin*<sup>51</sup> and in *Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad* 6.16. Śaṅkara does not mention often the term *sākṣin* in BĀUBh; however, BĀUBh 4.4.12 should be mentioned where the supreme Self is a witness (*sākṣin*) of the cognition of all beings<sup>52</sup>.

The term *kṣetrajña* (“knower of the field”) appears in ŚvU 6.16, MaiU 2.5<sup>53</sup> and many times in MBh (especially in *Mokṣadharmā-parvan*) where *kṣetra-* (field) was synonymous for *prakṛti*.<sup>54</sup> In MBh *kṣetrajña* is the highest spiritual principle higher than *buddhi*<sup>55</sup> and in MBh 12.187.12 and 12.239.15 *kṣetrajña* is called *sākṣin* (“witness”). In the number of passages<sup>56</sup>, *kṣetrajña* as a spiritual principle is a counterpart to *sattva*, which van Buitenen (1988:88) designates as sum-total of world creation. It also appears in Manu 8.96 and most famously in BhG 13.1–2, 26. The term appears always in the context of Sāṃkhya philosophy and Frauwallner (2003:188) considers it to be a term for the soul (*Seele*) in early Sāṃkhya<sup>57</sup>. In BhG 13.2 Kṛṣṇa is *kṣetrajña* while in 13.26 it appears that *kṣetrajña* is individual *puruṣa* who constitutes a being when he is connected with *kṣetra* (*prakṛti*)<sup>58</sup>.

The term is used by Śaṅkara in the context of the eight states of Brahman and once by Ānandagiri together with *sākṣin* and *avyākṛta* on the place where the term *antaryāmin* is

<sup>49</sup> Deussen (1899:23–24) divided the principal Upaniṣads into three groups: ancient prose Upaniṣads (BĀU, ChU, *Taittirīya-*, AiU, KṣU and *Kena-*), metrical Upaniṣads (*Kaṭha-*, *Īśā-*, ŚvU, *Muṇḍaka-* and *Mahānārāyaṇa-*Up.) and later prose Upaniṣads (*Praśna-*, *Maitrāyaṇīya-* and *Māṇḍūkya-*Up.).

<sup>50</sup> ŚvU 6.11: *eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ sarvavyāpī sarvabhūtāntarātmā | karmādhyakṣaḥ sarvabhūtādhivāsaḥ sākṣi cetā kevalo nirguṇaś ca || 11 ||* “The one God hidden in all beings, pervading the universe, the inner self of all beings, the overseer of all work, dwelling in all beings, the witness, the avenger, alone, devoid of qualities.” (tr. Olivelle 1998:430)

<sup>51</sup> BhG 9.18ab: *gatir bhartā prabhuḥ sākṣi nivāsaḥ śaraṇaṃ suhṛt |* (I am) “goal, master, lord, witness, abode, refuge...” (tr. van Buitenen 1981:107)

<sup>52</sup> BĀUBh 4.4.12: *...para ātmā sarvaprāṇipratyayasākṣi...* ĀnSS 15, p. 647.

<sup>53</sup> *Kṣetrajña* already appears in *Taittirīya-*, *Aitareya-* and *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* but not in theological/philosophical sense.

<sup>54</sup> See MBh 12.187.37; 12.233.18; 12.240.19–20; in 12.294.37–39, 12.295.18–22; 12.339.6. For instance, in 12.294.37–39 *kṣetrajña* is identified as 25<sup>th</sup> *tattva*, the highest *puruṣa*.

<sup>55</sup> MBh 12.187.11; 12.239.14; 12.267.16.

<sup>56</sup> MBh 12.187.37, 42–43; 12.228.31.

<sup>57</sup> Van Buitenen (1988:102) equates the terms *puruṣa* and *kṣetrajña*.

<sup>58</sup> BhG 13.26: *yāvat saṃjāyate kiṃcit sattvaṃ sthāvarajaṅgamam | kṣetrakṣetrajñasaṃyogāt tad viddhi bharatarṣabha || 26 ||*

“Whatever creature is born, whether moving or standing, springs from the union of “field” and “guide” – realize that, bull of the Bharatas.” (Tr. van Buitenen 1981:125)

more usual. In Śaṅkara's terminology *kṣetrajña* is usually understood as the lower Self or individual soul<sup>59</sup>.

*Antaryāmin* ("inner ruler") and *sākṣin* ("witness") are on the top of Ānandagiri's lists and if Ānandagiri had access to Bhartṛprapañca's text and these categories really were the first ones, than the eight states should not be interpreted in a cosmological sense. *Sākṣin* as an epistemological category most probably means a witness or subject of cognition and the subject of cognition is regarded as the highest *ātman* in BĀU<sup>60</sup>. Such a category is expected to be on the top of the list before a cosmological account of differentiation of the universe starting with *avyākṛta*. It is however not clear what might be the exact difference between *sākṣin* and *antaryāmin* in Bhartṛprapañca's scheme.

### Concluding remarks

If the notion that Bhartṛprapañca's teaching of the eight states of Brahman starts with non-cosmological categories *sākṣin* and *antaryāmin* is correct, than it can be supposed, with a grain of salt, that Bhartṛprapañca's list of the eight states of Brahman are literary delivered by Ānandagiri in both of his commentaries. In that case Śaṅkara and Sureśvara loosely paraphrased Bhartṛprapañca with a striking terminological inconsistency. If this is true, Bhartṛprapañca's scheme starts with the epistemological category of witness (of cognition?) as the highest state of Brahman, than the evolution proceeds with *antaryāmin*, a metaphysical category, who is present in everything and rules everything from within. These terms are most probably in different accounts of Śaṅkara and Sureśvara paraphrased with terms *kṣetrajña* ("knower of the field"), *īśvara* ("Lord") and *hiranyagarbha* ("golden embryo"). After these two topmost categories, cosmological account starts with unevolved principle which evolves gradually first into divinities

<sup>59</sup> Śaṅkara uses it two times in BĀUBh (besides BĀUBh 3.8.12) to denote a lower Self (BĀUBh 3.5.1; 4.3.21) and frequently in BSBh to denote individual soul (e.g. 1.2.11–12; 1.3.7; 1.4.10; 2.4.6 etc.). In the introduction to BhGBh 13 Śaṅkara describes two *prakṛtis* of *īśvara*, the lower which is eightfold and consists of the three *guṇas* and the superior one who has *īśvara*'s nature and is endowed with life and marked as *kṣetrajña* (...*sūcite dve prakṛtī īśvarasya | triḡuṇātmikāṣṭadhā bhinnāparā saṃsārahetutvāt parā cānyā jīvaḥhūtā kṣetrajñalakṣaṇeśvarātmakā* | (ĀnSS 34, p. 355).

<sup>60</sup> See BĀU 3.4.2: *na drṣṭer draṣṭāraṃ paśyeh | na śruteḥ śrotāraṃ śṛṇuyāḥ | na mater mantāraṃ manvīthā | na vijñāter vijñātāraṃ vijñānīyāḥ | eṣa ta ātmā sarvāntaraḥ* | "You can't see the seer who does the seeing; you can't hear the hearer who does the hearing; you can't think of the thinker who does the thinking; and you can't perceive the perceiver who does the perceiving. The self within all is this self of yours. (tr. Olivelle 1998:83). In BĀU 3.7.23 this Self which sees but cannot be seen and is the only seer is *antaryāmin* and in 3.8.11 *akṣara* ("imperishable").

(Gods, planets) on macrocosmical level corresponding to the vital functions of the body on the microcosmical level. Then comes the all-pervading *sūtra* and *virāj* who represents the one body of the universe. After *virāj* comes the class (generic property) and at the end individual beings. Six upper states of Ānandagiri's list come from BĀU with the exception of the term *sākṣin* which does not appear in BĀU although the concept is present in the concepts of *draṣṭṛ* (seer), *śrotr* (hearer), *mantr* (thinker), *viññātṛ* (cognizer); the term *sākṣin* probably stands for these terms. The last two categories do not appear in BĀU neither as terms, neither conceptually: they are most probably borrowed from late Nyāya/Vaiśeṣika (where *jāti* is a concrete type of *sāmānya*). Because of this it might be supposed that Bhartṛprapañca's teaching of the eight states was formulated as a result of the exegesis of these particular terms and concepts from BĀU where the ancient interpreter had to order these different accounts of Brahman in a systematic fashion.

### Abbreviations:

AiBr Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa

AiUBh Aitareya-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya (TPU 1964)

AiU Aitareya-Upaniṣad

ĀnSS Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series

BĀU Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad

BĀUBh Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya (Śaṅkara ĀnSS 15)

BĀUBhT Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya-Tīkā (Ānandagiri ad BĀUBh, ĀnSS 15)

BĀUBhV Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya-Vārttika (Sureśvara ad BĀUBh, ĀnSS 16)

BhG Bhagavad-Gītā

BhGBh Bhagavad-Gītā-Bhāṣya (Śaṅkara, ĀnSS 34)

BS Brahma-Sūtra

BSBh Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya (Śaṅkara)

ChU Chandogya-Upaniṣad (Olivelle 1998)

IU Īśā-Upaniṣad (Olivelle 1998)

KṣU Kauṣītaki-Upaniṣad (Olivelle 1998)

Manu Mānava-Dharmaśāstra (Olivelle 2005)

NS Nyāya-Sūtra

NSBh Nyāya-Sūtra-Bhāṣya

RS Ṛk-Saṃhitā

ŚBr Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa

ŚPT Śāstraprakāśikākhyā-Tīkā (Ānandagiri ad BĀUBhV, ĀnSS 16)

ŚV Śloka-Vārttika

ŚvU Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad (Olivelle 1998)

TPU Ten Principal Upaniṣads with Śaṅkarabhāṣya (1964)

Upad Upadeśasāhasrī (Mayeda 2006)

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