Rev. Guillermo de Ochham

doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.21500/22563202.2306

Bhartrprapanca and the eight Sstates of Brahman

Ivan Andrijanić¹ University of Zagreb (Croatia)

Recibido: noviembre 13 de 2015 - Revisado: enero 12 de 2016 - Aceptado: febrero 25 de 2016

Referencia formato APA: Andrijanić, I. (2016). Bhartṛprapańca and the eight states of Brahman. Rev. Guillermo de Ockham, 14(1), 57-67. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.21500/22563202.2306

Abstract

A gradual evolution of Brahman in eight successive states is described and criticized in Śańkara's commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* and in Sureśvara's and Ānandagiri's sub-commentaries, where the teaching is attributed to Bhartṛprapańca, an ancient Bhedābhedavādin 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 Bhartṛprapańca's original eight-fold scheme and its meaning. Tentative conclusion might be that Ānandagiri conveyed Bhartṛprapańca's scheme literally while Śańkara and Sureśvara paraphrased it very freely.

Keywords: Bhedābheda, Bhartrprapañca, Advaita, Vedānta, monism, illusionism

Bhartṛprapañca y los ocho estados de Brahman

Resumen

Una evolución de Brahman en ocho estados sucesivos es descrita y criticada en el comentario de Śańkara a la *Bṛḥadāraṇṇaka-Upaniṣad* y en los subcomentarios de Sureśvara y Ānandagiri, donde las enseñanzas se le atribuyen a Bhartṛprapañca, un antiguo Bhedābhedavādin cuyo comentario sobre la BĀU se ha perdido. El artículo examina registros fragmentarios de las enseñanzas relativas a la evolución de Brahman y trata de interpretar las diferentes categorías mencionadas en diferentes versiones de las enseñanzas, comparando estos términos con categorías iguales o similares en otros sistemas religiosos y filosóficos de la India antigua, para entender el original esquema óctuple de Bhartṛprapañca y su significado. Una conclusión tentativa podría ser que Ānandagiri transmitió literalmente el esquema de Bhartṛprapañca mientras que Śańkara y Sureśvara lo parafrasearon muy libremente.

Palabras clave: Bhedābheda, Bhartṛprapañca, Advaita, Vedānta, monismo, ilusionismo

Bhartrprapañca e os oito estados de Brahman

Resumo

Uma evolução do Brahman em oito estados sucessivos é descrito e criticado no comentário Sankaraen em Brhadaranyaka-Upanişad e os sub-comentários de Suresvara e Anandagiri onde os ensinamentos são atribuídos a Bhartrprapañca, um ex-Bhedābhedavādin cujo comentário sobre bau está perdido agora. O artigo examina registros fragmentados dos ensinamentos da evolução do Brahman e tenta interpretar as diferentes categorias mencionadas em várias contas dos ensinamentos comparando estes termos com os mesmos ou similares categorias em outros sistemas religiosos

Doctor and Head of the Department of Indology and Far Studies from Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of University of Zagreb, Croatia. E-mail: ivan.andrijanic@ffzg.hr

e filosóficos da Índia antiga para compreender o regime inicial de oito dos Bhartṛprapańca e seu significado. Uma conclusão preliminar pode ser que Anandagiri transmitiu literalmente o esquema Bhartṛprapańca enquanto Śaṅkara e Suresvara parafraseado-lo muito livremente.

Palvras-chave: Bhedābheda, Bhartṛprapańca, Advaita, Vedānta, monismo, ilusionismo

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 Śankara explains an opinion of some other is to be found in Bṛḥadāraṇyakopaniṣad-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 Śańkara. In Ānandagiri's sub-commentary (Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya-Ṭīkā, from now on BĀUBhT) on Śankara'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's2 versed sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's BĀUBh, and in Ānandagiri's commentary on Sureśvara's BĀUBhV called Śāstraprakāśikākhya-Ṭīkā (from now on ŚPṬ). It is important to note that Ānandagiri's commentaries on Śaṅkara's BĀUBh and on Sureśvara's BĀUBhV are different works.3 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 ŚPŢ ad BĀUBhV 1.3.314 and 1.4.1043. Only in ŚPŢ ad BĀUBhV 1.4.1043 the teaching of eight states of Brahman is attributed to Bhartrprapañca.

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 Brahman⁴ and the context in which its critique appears in Śaṅkara's text.

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.⁵ 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,⁶ so we have to rely on Ānandagiri's commentary (ŚPṬ) where these passages are precisely marked to identify where Sureśvara speaks about Bhartṛprapañca.

Bhartṛprapańca 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 ŚPŢ.

From all this accounts it is possible to establish a pretty accurate picture of Bhartṛprapańca'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, Bhartṛprapańca explains that unity and plurality of ātman is the same as with "the cow" which possesses unity as sub-

^{2.} Sureśvara is traditionally considered as Śańkara's direct disciple. In his Naiṣkarmyasiddhi 4.74 and 4.76 Sureśvara mentiones Śańkara's name together with a remark that he served his lotus feet. Sureśvara also mentiones Śańkara name in BĀUBhV 6.5.25.

Śańkara's BĀUBh with Ānandagiri's BĀUBhŢ is printed in ĀnSS 15, while Sureśvara's BĀUBhV is printed together with Ānandagiri's ŚPṬ in ĀnSS
16 in three volumes.

^{4.} For a study of the teaching of the eight states of Brahman see Nakamura 2004:140-149.

^{5.} A list of passages where Śańkara, Sureśvara and Ānandagiri mention Bhartrprapańca's views can be found in Nakamura (2004: 128-129) and Andrijanić (2015).

 $^{6. \}quad B\bar{A}UBhV\ 1.4.1164\ (\bar{A}nSS\ 16,p.\ 666); B\bar{A}UBhV\ 1.4.1188, (\bar{A}nSS\ 16,p.\ 671); B\bar{A}UBhV\ 4.4.412, (\bar{A}nSS\ 16,p.\ 1789); 4.4.741, (\bar{A}nSS\ 16,p.\ 1843).$

stance (cowness as universality) on one side and individual properties on the other side that differentiate a particular cow.⁷ 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 knowledge.⁸ As Śańkara holds that action cannot produce knowledge, Śańkara 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 Bhartrprapañca is that he must have lived before Śaṅkara and that he authored a commentary (*bhāṣya*) on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*. Ānandagiri (ĀnSS 15, p. 2) reports that Bhartrprapañca composed his commentary on the *Mādhyaṇdina* recension of BĀU and that his commentary was larger in extent than Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Kāṇva* recension. 10

Nakamura (2004:131) reports that according to Gopala Yogin's (17th century) sub-commentary on Śaṅkara's *Kaṭhopaniṣad-Bhāṣya*, Bhart*ṛ*prapańca also wrote a commentary on *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad*. Śaṅkara, however, in his own commentary on *Kaṭha-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. According to Nakamura (2004:131), from a statement made by Ānandagiri in his sub-commentary on Sureśvara's BĀUBhV 1.4.1717¹² it can be inferred that Bhartṛprapańca authored a commentary on Īśā-Upaniṣad. However, as opposed to fragments of Bhartṛprapańca's commentary on BĀU that are extensively paraphrased and cited by Śaṅkara,

Sureśvara and Ānandagiri, ¹⁴ 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 Bhartrprapañca 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 Bhartṛprapańca 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) Bhartṛprapańca 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 'kṣarasyāpracalitatvarūpasyeṣatpracalitāvasth āntaryāmī | atyantapracalitāvasthā kṣetrajňo yastaṃ na vedāntaryāmiṇam | tathānyāḥ pańcāvasthāḥ 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

^{7.} BĀUBh 4.3.30

^{8.} Hiriyanna opened the field of research of Bharttprapañca with two articles (Hiriyanna 1924a and 1924b) where he analysed extant fragments in Śańkara, Sureśvara and Ānandagiri and drew a sketch of his philosophy identifying it as Bhedābhedavāda. 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 jnanakarmasamuccaya approach of Bharttprapañca and Bhāskara", Journal of the Oriental Institute 31, 1981: 113-116) and Satyadeva Miśra ("Bharttprapañca - a Vedāntin of pre-Śańkara era", Journal of Oriental Research 40-41, 1970-72: 125-134). Nakamura (2004:130) mentions Sangam Lal Pandey's book "Pre-Śańkara Advaita Philosophy", Allahabad: Darshan Peeth, (1974) where valuable discussions on Bharttprapañca can be found (pp. 209-228) and Kanakura's study "A Study of Vedānta Philosophy" in Japanese language where Bharttprapañca's views presented in Śańkara's BĀUBh are analysed. Shōun Hino and K. P. Jog did an extremely important work in editing and translating Sureśvara's sub-commentary on Śańkara's BĀUBh into English where numerous Sureśvara's accounts of Bharttprapañca had been identified with the help od Ānandagiri's sub-commentary. Remarks on Bharttprapañca and Bhedābhedavāda 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 Bharttprapañca (Andrijanić 2015) should also be mentioned where I tried to present arguments in favour of the claim that Ānandagiri cites Bharttprapañca's commentary literaly while Śańkara and Sureśvara only paraphrased his work.

Sureśvara in BĀUBhV 1.4.1188a (ĀnSS 16, vol. II, p. 671) refers to his work as "Bhartrprapańca's commentary" (Bhartrprapańcabhāṣya...). 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.

^{10.} Rau (1960:294-294) presented a lot of examples where Śańkara followed Mādhyaṃdina 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 Śańkara knew about Mādhyaṃdina recension only from Bhartṛprapańca's commentary.

^{11.} Sankara can most probably be dated to the middle of the 8th century (for Sankara's date see Harimoto 2006). Sureśvara was his younger contemporary.

^{12.} ĀaSS 16, vol. II, p. 771.

^{14.} For the problem of paraphrases and quotations from Bhartṛprapańca see Andrijanić 2015.

(kṣetrajña) who does not know the Inner ruler; in such a 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 Śankara: 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 ksetrajña ("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, Śa*n*kara mentions *aksara* (*parasya* . . . brahmanah), antaryāmin and kṣetrajña as the first three. The problem in Ānandagiri's account is kṣetrajña on the first place because Śańkara clearly said that ksetrajña 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 Śankara mentions some of other eight states mentioned by Ānandagiri:

Tathā hiraṇyagarbhāvyākṛtadevatājātipiṇḍamanuṣyatiryakpre tādikārya-karaṇopādhibhir viśiṣṭas tadākhyas tadrūpo bhavati | (BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 469).

"In this manner, distinguished by limiting adjunct of the body and organs¹⁵ 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 (See Table 1).

Terminological inconsistency is here striking: hiraṇyagarbha ("golden embryo"), a lower Brahman, ¹⁶ 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 hiraṇyagarbha stands on this place. For Śaṅkara,

 Table 1

 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	Šaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 469	
para brahman akṣara	kșetrajña	hiraṇyagarbha	
antaryāmin	sākṣin	•	
kșetrajña	avyākṛta	avyākṛta	
Another five	Daiva	devatā	
states (anyāḥ	Sutra	-	
pańcāvasthāḥ) -	Virāj	-	
	Jāti	jāti	
	piṇḍa	piṇḍa	

the highest Brahman stands beyond the eight states, while for someone like Bhartṛprapańca, 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 ŚPṬ

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:

īśvarāvyāk *t*aprā *n*avirā *d*bhūtendriyādikam

nāvidyopāśrayam muktvā 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.) İśvara, 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

^{15.} Dvāndva compound kāryakaraṇa "cause and effect" or "what has to be preformed and instrument of action" is used by Śańkara in the sense of "body and organs".

^{16.} Hiranyagarbha is usually referred to as lower Brahman by Śańkara 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 kvacid eva darśayanti | jīvānāṃ tūpādhigatāśuddhibāhulyāt saṃsāritvam eva prāyaśo 'bhilapyate | vyāvṛttakṛtsnopādhibhedāpekṣayā tu sarvaḥ paratvenābhidhīyate śrutismṛtivādaiḥ | [ĀnSS 15, p. 105]).

vyakti ("individual" or "particular") is the same as pinda ("material object", "body") and prāṇa ("breath") as sūtra ("string"), the list is the same as in SPT 1.3.314 and 1.4.1043¹⁷. 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 Bhartrprapañca out of 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, Bhartrprapañca 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 antaratamah (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 Upanişadic passage on which Sureśvara refers because it says that the passage starts with vācaknavī and finishes with aksara; 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 Śankara's commentary on BĀU 3.7.1 we can find even antaratama¹⁸. 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.

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) (See Table 2).

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

 Table 2

 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	Šaṅkara's BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 469	Ānandagiri ad BĀUBh 3.8.12, ĀnSS 15, p. 468	Ānandagiri's ŚPṬ ad Sureśvara's BĀUBhV, 1.3.314, ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 412	Ānandagiri's SPŢ ad Sureśvara's BĀUBhV 1.4.1043 ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 643	Sureśvara's BĀUBhV 1.4.487 ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 542	Sureśvara's BĀUBhV 1.4.1178 ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 669	Ānandagiri ad BĀUBh 1.4.487, ĀnSS 16 (II), p. 532
para brahman akṣara	hiraṇyagarbha	kșetrajña	sākṣin	sākṣin	īśvara	avyākṛta	sākṣin
antaryāmin	-	sākşin	Antaryāmin	antaryāmin			antaryāmin
kșetrajña	avyākṛta	avyākṛta	avyākṛta	avyākṛta	avyākṛta	-	(avyākṛta)
Another five states more (anyāḥ	devatā	daiva	Daiva	daiva	indriya	-	devatā
pańcāvasthāḥ)	-	sūtra	Sutra	sūtra	prāṇa	-	sūtra
-	-	virāj	Virāj	virāj	virāj	-	(virāj)
	jāti	jāti	Jāti	jāti	adi	-	jāti
	piņḍa	piņḍa	piņḍa	piņḍa	bhūta	piṇḍa	vyakti

^{17.} Avyākṛta is not mentioned but there are reasons to put it on the head of the list (see later in the paper).

^{18.} BĀUBh 3.7.1: idānīm brahmalokānām antaratamam sūtram vaktavyam iti tadartha ārambhaḥ | tac cāgamenaiva praṣṭavyam itihāsenāgamopanyāsaḥ kriyate | (ĀnSS 15, p. 446)

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.¹⁹ Next is antaryāmin connected with the pure limiting adjuncts of discrimination (prajñā). 20 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. 21 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 hiranyagarbha.

a) Piṇḍa and jāti

Piṇḍa ("material object", "body") and jāti ("class²²") are the lowest of all states; in Sureśvara's account piṇḍa 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. ²³ 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. ²⁴ 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-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,²⁵ corresponds to lower or nonultimate universal (*aparaṃ sāmānyam*) in *Padārthadharma-Saṃgrāha*. Halbfass (ibid.) also showed that later Vaiśeṣika authors²⁶ 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 *māṇṣapiṇḍa* "lump of flesh" but it is also used quite frequently in the meaning "body". ²⁷

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,²⁸ 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.²⁹ In the Vedic context, virāj is a meter consisting of four

AiUBh 3.3: tad etat pratyastamitasarvopādhiviśeşam sannirańjanam nirmalam nişkriyam śāntam ekam advayam "neti neti" iti (BAU 2.3.6, 3.9.26, 4.2.4, 4.5.15) sarvaviśeşāpohasamvedyam sarvaśabdapratyayāgocaram | (TPU, p. 349)

AiUBh 3.3: tadatyantaviśuddhaprajñopādhisambandhena sarvajñam īśvaram sarvasādhāranāvyākṛtajagadbījapravartakam niyantṛtvād antaryāmisaminam bhavati | (TPU, p. 349)

AiUBh 3.3: tad eva vyākṛtajagatbījabhūtabuddhyātmābhimānalakṣaṇaṃ hiraṇyagarbhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati | tad evāntaraṇḍodbhūtaprathamaśarīropā dhimadvirāṭprajāpatisaṃjñaṃ bhavati | (TPU, p. 349)

^{22.} Scharf (1996:30) understands the term jāti as "generic property".

^{23.} 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.

^{24.} 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).

^{25.} NSBh 2.2.69.

^{26.} 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").

^{27.} See BÂUBh 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).

^{28.} BĂU 4.2.3: athaitad vāme 'kṣaṇi puruṣarūpam eṣāsya patnī virāṭ | tayor eṣa saṃstāvo ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaya ākāśaḥ | athainayor etad annaṃ ya eṣo 'ntar hṛdaye lohitapiṇḍaḥ | athainayor etat prāvaraṇaṃ 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)

^{29.} ChU 4.3.8: te vā ete pańcānye pańcānye daśa santas tat kṛtam | tasmāt sarvāsu dikṣv annam eva daśa kṛtam | saiṣā virāḍ annādī | tayedaṃ sarvaṃ dṛṣṭam | sarvam asya idaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ 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)

pādas of ten syllables each; in RS 10.130.5 this meter is connected to Mitra and Varuna, in Purusa-Sūkta (RS 10.90.5) virāj is born from puruṣa and puruṣa is born from *virāj*; 30 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 od 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.31 In Śankara's BĀUBh the term *virāj* appears quite often; in BĀUBh 1.2.2 *virāj* is first-born and identified with agni and prajāpati.32 At his introduction to BĀUBh 2.1.1 Śańkara 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*. 33 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*.³⁴ 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, hiraṇyagarbha.³⁵ In BĀUBh 1.4 Śańkara 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. 36 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 virāj is an external ātman as opposed to *prajāpati* who remembers within.³⁷ 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 Bhartrprapañca 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.³⁸ 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 hiraņyagarbha, or manifestation of avyākṛta (undifferentiated universe). 39 Further on, this satyabrahman (sūtrātman, hiranyagarbha) 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 hiranyagarbha 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) Daival 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"). ⁴⁰ In Upaniṣads often the term refers to various vital functions of the body. In BĀU 1.3.2-9 *devatās* are speech (*vāc*), breath (*prāṇa*), sight (*cakṣus*), hearing (śrotra),

^{30.} According to Keith (1925[II]:438) virāj here denotes waters in their cosmic aspect.

^{31.} Olivelle (2005:388). Olivelle (2005:239) considers Manu 1.32-41 to be an interpolation.

^{32.} BĀUBh 1.2.2: ...agniḥ so ʻṇḍasyāntar virāṭ prajāpatiḥ prathamajaḥ kāryakaraṇasaṃghātavāń jātaḥ | "sa vai śarīri prathamaḥ" iti smaraṇāt | ĀnSS 15, p. 32.

^{33.} BĀUBh 3.3.1: yatra vairājam śarīram yatra ca karmaphalopabhogaḥ prāṇinām ... ĀnSS 15, p. 417.

^{34.} BĀUBh 1.3.7: yathā purākalpena varņitaḥ pūrvayajamāno 'tikrāntakālika etām evākhyāyikārūpām śrutim dṛṣṭvā tenaiva krameṇa vāgādidevatāḥ parīkṣya tāś cāpohyāsaṅgapāpmāspadadoṣavattvenādoṣāspadaṃ mukhyam prāṇam ātmatvenopagamya vāgādyādhyātmikapiṇḍamātraparicchinnātm ābhimānam hitvā vairājapiṇḍābhimānam vāgādyagnyādyātmaviṣayaṃ vartamānaprajāpatitvaṃ śāstraprakāśitaṃ pratipannas tathaivāyaṃ yajamānas tenaiva vidhinā bhavati prajāpatisvarūpeṇātmanā parā cāsyā prajāpatitvapratipakṣabhūtaḥ pāpmā dviṣan bhrāṭṭvyo bhavati | ĀnSS 15, p. 63.

^{35.} BĀUBh 2.1.1: prāṇa eko deva ity ucyate | tasyaiva bāḥyaḥ piṇḍa ekaḥ ṣādhāraṇo virāḍ vaiśvānara ātmā puruṣavidhaḥ prajāpatiḥ ko hiraṇyagarbha ity ādibhiḥ piṇḍapradhānaiḥ śabdair ākhyāyate sūryādipravibhaktakaraṇaḥ | ĀnSS 15, p. 239.

BĀUBh 3.6.1: ...indralokā virāţśarīrārambhakeşu bhūteşu prajāpatilokeşu... ĀnSS 15, p. 445.

^{37.} Upad 1.17.64: virāḍ vaiśvānaro bāhyaḥ smarann antaḥ prajāpatiḥ | pravilīne tu sarvasmin prājňo '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 Prājňa or Avyākṛta." (tr. Mayeda 2006[II]:166).

^{38.} BĀUBh 3.7.1: idānīm brahmalokānām antaratamam sūtram vaktavyam iti tadartha ārambhah | ĀnSS 15, p. 446

^{39.} tāḥ punar āpaḥ satyam asrjanta | tasmāt satyaṃ brahma prathamajam | tad etad dhiraṇyagarbhasya sūtrātmano janma yad avyākṛtasya jagato vyākaraṇam (see Ježić 1999: 260-261) | ĀnSS 15, p. 717-718

^{40.} 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)" - indriyāṇi.

mind (manas).41 The other term used in older Upanişads for this five faculties is prāṇa. 42 Vital functions are called devatā in Upaniṣads because to them analogous deities are attached.⁴³ 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 (dis), 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. 44 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 1.4.745 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" (avyākṛṭavyākaraṇa) and Ānandagiri in his gloss on this verse⁴⁶ attributes this idea to Bhartrprapañca. 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 "avyākṛṭa 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 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 Bhartrprapañca's Bhāṣya, 47 we can ask ourselves about the state of his text in the times of Śankara and Sureśvara who have greatest terminological inconsistencies.

f) Antaryāmin, sākṣin and kṣetrajña

Antaryāmin, the Inner Ruler, is described in BĀU 3.7, and this Upanişadic 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. 48 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 (nityanira tiśayajńānaśaktyupādhi) is called antaryāmin or īśvara.⁴⁹ At the beginning of the paper AiUBh 3.3 is mentioned where antaryāmin is also understood as īśvara endowed with limiting adjunct of prajñā.

The term sākṣin ("witness") does not appear in BĀU or other ancient prose Upanişads,50 but it appears in

^{41.} The same group of five faculties can be found in RS 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.).

^{42.} In KşU 4.20 they are called ātman.

^{43.} 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.

^{44.} AiU has eight triple connections and in RS 10.90.13-14 one can find five out of eight of these connections although RS does not have three elements in every connection but two (mouth-Fire; breath-Wind; sight-Sun; hearing-quarters; mind-Moon). RS also has three connections more. Similar connections with those from RS 10.90 can be found in ChU 3.13.1-5; 4.3.1-4; KşU 2.11-12; ŚBr 10.3.3.7

^{45.} BĀU 1.4.7: tad dhedam tarhy avyākṛtam āsīt | tan nāmarūpābhyām eva vyākriyatāsau nāmāyam idam rūpa iti |

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

^{46.} ĀnSS 16, p. 758. 47. See Andrijanić 2015.

^{48.} BĂU 3.7.23: adṛṣṭo draṣṭāśrutaḥ śrotāmato mantāvijñāto vijñātā | nānyo 'to 'sti draṣṭā nānyo 'to 'sti śrotā nānyo 'to 'sti mantā nānyo 'to 'sti vijñātā | eşa ta ātmāntaryāmy amrtah | 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)

^{49.} In Śańkara's commentary on the Aitareya-Upaniṣad (AiU) 3.3 it is said that antaryāmin is īśvara connected with the pure limiting adjuncts of dis-

crimination (prajñā). These two accounts are in clear contrast to his BSBh 1.2.18 - 20 where antaryāmin is described as the supreme Self.

50. Deussen (1899:23-24) divided the principal Upaniṣads into three groups: ancient prose Upaniṣads (BĀU, ChU, Taittirīya-, AiU, KṣU and Kena-), metrical Upaniṣads (Kaṭha-, Jšā-, ŚvU, Munḍaka- and Mahānārāyaṇa-Up.) and later prose Upaniṣads (Praśna-, Maitrāyanīya- and Māṇḍūkya-Up.).

ŚvU 6.11 as a god hidden in all beings, pervading the universe, the inner Self of all beings devoid of all qualities.⁵¹ Sākṣin appears in BhG 9.18 where Kṛṣṇa says for himself that he is sāksin⁵² and in Maitrāyanīya-Upanisad 6.16. Śaṅkara does not mention often the term sāksin in BĀUBh; however, BĀUBh 4.4.12 should be mentioned where the supreme Self is a witness (sākṣin) of the cognition of all beings.53

The term kṣetrajña ("knower of the field") appears in ŚvU 6.16, MaiU 2.5⁵⁴ and many times in MBh (especially in *Moksadharma-parvan*) where *ksetra-* (field) was synonymous for *prakṛti*.55 In MBh *kṣetrajña* is the highest spiritual principle higher than buddhi⁵⁶ and in MBh 12.187.12 and 12.239.15 kṣetrajña is called sākṣin ("witness"). In the number of passages, ⁵⁷ 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 Sāmkhya. 58 In BhG 13.2 Kṛṣṇa is *kṣetrajña* while in 13.26 it appears that *kṣetrajña* is individual purușa who constitutes a being when he is connected with ksetra (prakrti).59

The term is used by Śańkara 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 more usual. In Śankara's terminology ksetrajña is usually understood as the lower Self or individual soul.60

Antaryāmin ("inner ruler") and sākṣin ("witness") are on the top of Ānandagiri's lists and if Ānandagiri had access to Bhartrprapañca'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.61 Such a category is expected to be on the top of the list before a cosmological account of differentiation of the universe starting with avyākrta. It is however not clear what might be the exact difference between sākṣin and antaryāmin in Bhartṛprapañca's scheme.

Concluding remarks These states are on the head of the lists t in the times of Śańkara and Sureśvarato the original text but to some fragmentary re

If the notion that Bhartrprapañca's teaching of the eight states of Brahman starts with non-cosmological categories sāksin and antaryāmin is correct, than it can be supposed, with a grain of salt, that Bhartrprapanca'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, Bhartrprapañca'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 Śankara and Sureśvara paraphrased with terms *kṣetrajña* ("knower of the field"), īśvara ("Lord") and hiraṇyagarbha ("golden embryo"). After these two topmost categories, cosmological account starts with unevolved principle which evolves gradually first into divinities (Gods, planets) on macrocosmical level corresponding to the vital functions of the body on the microcosmical level. Than 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

Van Buitenen (1988:102) equates the terms purușa and kșetrajña.

^{51.} ŚvU 6.11: eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ sarvavyāpī sarvabhūtāntarātmā | karmādhyakṣaḥ sarvabhūtādhivāsaḥ sākṣī 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 avenger, alone, devoid of qualities." (tr. Olivelle 1998:430)

52. BhG 9.18ab: gatir bhartā prabhuḥ sākṣī nivāsaḥ śaraṇaṃ suḥṛṭ | (I am) "goal, master, lord, witness, abode, refuge..." (tr. van Buitenen 1981:107)

BhG 9.18ab: gatir bharta prabhuḥ sakṣi nivasaḥ saraṇam suḥṛṭ [(1 am) goal, master, lord, witness, abode, refuge... (tr. van Buitenen 1981:10/)
 BĀUBh 4.4.12: ...para ātmā sarvaprāṇipratyayasākṣī... ĀnSS 15, p. 647.
 Kṣetrajña already appears in Taittirīya-, Aitareya- and Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa but not in theological/philosophical sense.
 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 25th tattva, the highest puruṣa.
 MBh 12.187.11; 12.239.14; 12.267.16.
 MBh 12.187.37, 42-43; 12.228.31.

BhG 13.26: yavat samjāyate kimcit sattvam sthāvarajangamam | 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

Śankara 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 Śańkara describes two prakrtis of iśvara, 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 kṣetrajńa (...sūcite dve prakṛtī īśvarasya | triguṇātmikāṣṭadhā bhinnāparā saṃsārahetutvāt parā cānyā jīvabhūtā kṣetrajñalakṣaṇeśvarātmakā | (ĀnSS 34, p. 355).
61. See BĀU 3.4.2: na dṛṣṭer draṣṭāraṃ paśyeḥ | na śruteḥ śrotāraṃ śṛṇuyāḥ | na mater mantāraṃ manvīthā | na vijñāter vijñātāraṃ vijānīyāḥ | eṣa ta ātmā

sarvantaraḥ | "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").

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), śrotṛ (hearer), mantṛ (thinker), vijñātṛ (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.

References

Primary sources:

- ĀnSS 16, (1892) Vol 1: ānandāśramasamkṛtagranthāvaliḥ / granthānkaḥ 16 / bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhṣyavārtikam / ānandagirikṛtaśāstraprakāśikākhyaṭīkāsaṃvalitam / (tatra saṃbandhavārtikam) etat pustakaṃ ve. śā. rā. rā. kāśinātha śāstrī āgāśe ity etaiḥ saṃśodhitam / tac ca mahādeva cimaṇājī āpaṭe ity anena punyākhyapattane ānandāśramamudraṇālaye āyasākṣarair mudrayitvā prakāśitam / śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1814 / Khristābdāh 1892.
- ĀnSS 16, (1893) Vol 2: ... (tatra prathamādhyāyadvitīyādhyāyarūpo dvitīyo bhāgaḥ) ... śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1815 / Khristābdāḥ 1893.
- ĀnSS 16, (1893) Vol 3: ... (tatra tṛtīyādhyāyadārabhya ṣaṣṭhāntatṛtīyo 'ntyo bhāgaḥ)... śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1815 / Khristābdāḥ 1893.
- ĀnSS 15, (1891) ānandāśramasaṃkṛtagranthāvaliḥ / granthānkaḥ 15 / bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat / ānandagirikṛtaṭīkāsaṃvalitaśā mkarabhāṣyasametā / etat pustakaṃ ve. śā. rā. rā. kāśinātha śāstrī āgāśe ity etaiḥ saṃśodhitam / tac ca mahādeva cimaṇāji āpaṭe ity anena punyākhyapattane ānandāśramamudraṇālaye āyasākṣarair mudrayitvā prakāśitam / śālivāhanaśakābdāḥ 1813 / khristābdāh 1891.
- ĀnSS 34, (1897) Shrīmat Bhagavadgīta with the Bhāshya by Śrīmat Śankarāchārya, the Commentary by Analagiri on the Same. Ed. Pandit Kāsīnātha Śāstrī Āgāse. Poone: Ānandāśrama Press.
- Brahmasūtra with Śaṅkarabhāṣya, Works of Śaṅkarācārya in original Sanskrt, vol. III., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1965, reprint 2007).
- Ten Principal Upaniṣads with Śaṅkarabhāṣya, Works of Śaṅkarācārya in original Sanskrt, vol. 1, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass (1964, reprint 2007).

Secondary sources:

- Andrijanić, I. (2015). Quotations and (lost) commentaries in Advaita Vedānta. Some philological notes on Bhartṛprapañca's 'fragments'. *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 43, 257-276.
- Dasgupta, S. (1922). *A History of Indian Philosophy I-V.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deussen, P. (1899). Die Philosophie der Upanishad's, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I. 2. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- Frauwallner, E. (2003). *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie, I. Band.* Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- Halbfass, W. (1992). On Being and What There Is, Classical Vaiśeṣika and the History of Indian Onthology. Albany: State University of New York.
- Harimoto, K. (2006). The Date of Śańkara: Between the Cāļukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, *Journal of Indological Studies*, *18*, 86-111.
- Hino, S., & Jog K. P. (Eds.). (1993). Sureśvara's vārtika on Puruṣavidha Brāhmaṇa, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Hiriyanna, M. (1924a). *Bhartrprapańca, an old Vedāntin, Indian Antiquary*. Mysore: Kavyalaya Publishers.
- Hiriyanna, M. (1924b). Fragments of Bhartrprapanca. *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference* 3, 439-450.
- Ježić, M. (1999). Rgvedske upanisadi. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.
- Jha, G. (1942). *Purva-Mīmāṃsā in its Sources*. Varanasi: the Banaras Hindu University.
- Keith, A. B. (1925). *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. MA: Harvard University Press.
- Mayeda, S. (2006). Śaṅkara›s Upadeśasāhasrī Vols I & II. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Nakamura, H. (2004). *A History of Early Vedānta philosophy.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Olivelle, P. (Ed.). (1998). *The Early Upaniṣads*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Olivelle, P. (2005). Manu's Code of Law, A Critical Edition and Translation of Mānava-Dharmaśāstra. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rau, W. (1960.). Bemerkungen zu Śankaras Bṛhadāranyakop aniṣadbhāṣya, *Paideuma 7*, 115-121.
- Scharf, P. M. (1996). *The Denotation of Generic terms in Ancient Indian Philosophy: Grammar, Nyāya, and Mīmāṇṣā.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Satchidānandendra, S. S. (1989). The Method of Vedānta: A critical Account of the Advaita Tradition, London: Kegan Paul Internat, Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.

- Van Buitenen, J. A. B. (1981). *Bhagavadgītā in the Mahābhārata*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Buitenen, J. A. B. (1988). Studies in Indian Literature and Philosophy, Collected Articles of J.A.B. van Buitenen. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Abbreviations:

- AiBr: Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
- AiUBh: Aitareya-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya (TPU 1964)
- AiU: Aitareya-Upanișad
- ĀnSS: Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series
- BĀU: Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad
- BĀUBh: Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya (Śaṅkara ĀnSS 15)
- BĀUBhŢ: Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya-Ṭīkā (Ānandagiri ad BĀUBh, ĀnSS 15)
- BĀUBhV: Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya-Vārttika (Sureśvara ad BĀUBh, ĀnSS 16)
- BhG: Bhagavad-Gītā

- BhGBh: Bhagavad-Gītā-Bhāşya (Śaṅkara, ĀnSS 34)
- BS: Brahma-Sūtra
- BSBh: Brahma-Sūtra-Bhāṣya (Śaṅkara)
- ChU: Chandogya-Upanișad (Olivelle 1998)
- IU: Īśā-Upaniṣad (Olivelle 1998)
- KşU: Kauşītaki-Upanişad (Olivelle 1998)
- Manu: Mānava-Dharmaśāstra (Olivelle 2005)
- NS: Nyāya-Sūtra
- NSBh: Nyāya-Sūtra-Bhāṣya
- RS: Rk-Samhitā
- ŚBr: Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
- ŚPŢ: Śāstraprakāśikākhya-Ţīkā (Ānandagiri ad BĀUBhV, ĀnSS 16)
- ŚV: Śloka-Vārttika
- ŚvU: Śvetāśvatara-Upanisad (Olivelle 1998)
- TPU: Ten Principal Upaniṣads with Śaṅkarabhāṣya (1964)
- Upad: Upadeśasāhasrī (Mayeda 2006)