The Advaita philosophy of Śańkara.

By

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It is more important to understand what Sankara taught, than to determine when he lived. Leaving, therefore, the question of Sankara's date to abler hands, I content myself with the simple attempt of explaining, so far as I can, his philosophy and doctrines. Some of our principal guides for a thorough elucidation of the subject are the Pañchadasî, the Upadesasahasrî, the Advaita - Svârâjya - and Naishkarmya-siddhis, the Vedântasâra, the Vedânta-Paribhâshâ, the Chitsukhî and the many minor poems of Śańkara and of his followers. But some of these are highly overburdened with the growth of later technicalities, and do not afford us full scope for studying Sankara in his original simple light. These, and all works bearing on the Vedânta, are based upon, what are called the Prasthânatraya - the Brahmasûtras, the Bhagavadgîtâ, the Upanishads. Every philosopher, to be called an *âchârya*, the founder of a religion, has to comment upon these three, and to explain them in conformity with his philosophy, and without contradicting one another. Śańkara, Vallabha, Râmânuja, Mâdhva, and almost all founders of religions have done so. As Samskrita began to be displaced by the Prakritas, several religious interpreters interposed themselves between these masters and the public, and taught the old religion under a new name. Among these may Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. II. Bd.

be mentioned the names of Kabîra, Dâdu, Nânaka, Chaitanya, Sahajânanda, and many others in succession. It is, therefore, possible to classify the apparently interminable sects of the Indian religion, under three or four principal heads, the Jainas and the Bauddhas completing the list.

It is plain, then, that we shall be able to understand Sankara best through his commentaries on the Prasthânatraya, and chiefly through that on the Brahmasûtras. It is impossible to proceed in our inquiry without trying, at the outset, to comprehend, the relation in which the Sûtras stand to the general mass of religious literature. The Vedas are, indeed, the fountain-head of all that underlies Indian society in its widest sense. The nature-worship of the Veda was, however, not sufficient to satisfy the wants of inquiring minds; and even in the Vedic period itself, hymns like the Purushasûkta point to those early glimmerings, which proclaim the approaching dawn of Truth. The thought thus awakened crystallizes itself in the Upanishads, the end of the Veda (Vedânta), both historically and spiritually; as the spirit of seeking after God beyond His works, becomes formulated into a system of ceremonial worship in the intermediate Brâhmanas. Then follows a period, when, for ready reference and easy application, we find the Brahmanas reduced to short Sûtras or mnemonic rules; and the Upanishads also must have obtained similar help at the same time. But by this time the great problem of life had engaged various intellects, and the Darsanas were gradually forming: chief among them the Mîmâmsâ or inquiry into the explanation and force of Vedic texts. As the Mîmâmsâ of the ceremonial came to be called the prior or Pûrva-Mîmâmsâ, so the Mîmâmsâ of the final aim of all knowledge, obtained the epithet Uttara-Mîmâmsâ, or the final inquiry into the nature of the Godhead, - thus tacitly admitting between the two the relation of subordinate and principal. Clearly, the teaching of the Upanishads had begun to influence the whole range of Indian thought; and religion, which, in India, means not theology pure and simple but philosophy, politics, morals and the like, was moulded in accordance therewith. It became difficult for the rays

of Light to penetrate to the deep recesses of the popular mind; and the Smritis and the Puranas served as proper lenses for the purpose. It is remarkable that these rays, though partaking of the colour and form of the medium through which they pass, do not fail to convince any observer of their unmistakable presence in the darkest chaos, or in the most pleasant and soothing scenery. Thus were the Smritis an intermediate help to the understanding of the Vedic religion; as the Puránas were to the Smritis, but neither were free from the control of the Upanishads. The most popular of the Puranas, the Bhâgavata, for example, teaches in every word of it the Aupanishada doctrine of Brahma, but unfolds it in a manner best suited to the capacity of hearers in "this iron or kali age". This is not the place for it, or I would fain go into an analysis of this masterpiece of popular religious exposition, explaining how the whole life of Krishna is but another way of representing the various phases of Brahmavidyâ. And such explanation would be no abnormal stretch of the imagination, when we already have similar explanations of whole Purânas and poems, by commentators of no mean importance. If, again, the ceremonial governed by the spiritual has in this manner found various Purânas to explain the principal doctrines to the multitude, the Upanishads also have a whole Purâna, the Âtma-Purâna, devoted entirely to them, giving a popular explanation of the higher philosophy. Thus all branches of Indian religious literature unmistakably point to the Upanishads as their guide, and we can now understand what place the Brahmasútras, which put forth a consistent explanation of the philosophy of the Upanishads, hold in the religious literature of India.

In India there are so many works assigned to a $Vy\hat{a}sa$, that it becomes difficult, nay almost impossible, to determine which $Vy\hat{a}sa$ is meant to be the author of the *Brahmasûtras*. If it is the $Vy\hat{a}sa$ known as *Vedavyâsa* in the *Bhâgavata*, he is undoubtedly the same as *Bâdarâyaṇa*, son of *Parâśara*. The *Purâṇas* declare that he lived in the beginning of the *Dvâparayuga*, which we must, in this place, leave to represent what period of time it may.

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In the Sûtras themselves we find the name Bâdarâyana mentioned at least seven times;¹ and the Bhâshyakâra puts in several opinions in the name of a Vyâsa or Vedavyâsa,² frequently in his Bhâshya. The name Krishna Dvaipâyana³ also occurs many times, but the Bhâshyakâra always refers to the author as Âchârya.⁴ All these references prove that Vyâsa, the author of the Sûtras, is none other than the Bâdarâyana of the Bhâgavata. The fact that he has mentioned his own name in his Sûtras, need not puzzle us, after our knowledge of the practice of old writers, in such works as the Apastamba-Grihya-Sûtras, of putting in their favourite, but comparatively new opinions in their own name, at places where similar popular opinions form the subject of dispute. Even Sankara's distinguishing the author as Âchârya is not sufficient to disprove this fact after the positive manner in which he declares this âchârya to be none other than Bâdarâyana, in at least two places.⁵ We are thus able to say with confidence that the Sûtras belong to none other than Bâdarâyana Vyâsa, and that, therefore, the arguments advanced in some quarters against this view are not sufficiently conclusive.

Before trying to analyse what Śańkara teaches, we must understand his position as a religious teacher. The Vedic religion was essentially a religion of ceremonial — a Karmakánda, confining itself to the philosophy of rewards and punishments commensurate to one's Karman, which if good would lead to Heaven. But several philosophers had already begun to meditate upon the nature of the summum bonum, and the way of attaining to it. To this spirit of inquiry may be traced the origin of the celebrated Darśanas. We, however, do not find any clear denunciation of the Vedic ritual in any one of them,⁶ but in the Upanishads, which plainly declare all hap-

⁶ This is only a general statement, for the *Vedônta* — one of the *Daršanas* — plainly advocates the doctrine here attributed to the *Upanishads*.

¹ г. 3. 26; г. 3. 33; п. 2. 41; п. 4. 1; п. 4. 8; п. 4. 9; г. 3. 15 есс.

² хл. 3. 29; г. 3. 33; п. 1. 12; п. 3. 47; п. 1. 14 есс.

³ xu. 3. 29; m. 3. 32.

⁴ xi. 4. 12; n. 4. 20; n. 3. 1; n. 3. 24 etc.

⁵ Comm. rv. 4. 7; rv. 4. 21.

piness, and even the ultimate and highest happiness, to rest in Jñâna and not in Karman. Still the revolt against the religion of Karman was not complete. It was reserved for Buddha to proclaim in unmistakable language the illusoriness of worldly possessions, including even that Heaven which the Karmakanda promised to its devotees and to establish instead, Nirvâna or the total absence of all worldly illusions, as the state of perfect bliss. His was a code of high morality and universal brotherhood not only of men, but of the whole creation from the tiny straw to the proud human lord treading heedlessly upon it. The Gospel of Buddha found its adherents, but it was a breaking away from the religion of the Karmakunda, far too abrupt and perhaps too unpractical to reconcile all grades of intellect to its truthfulness. Kumárila tried to restore the dying Karmakánda to its former position, but it was Sankara, who suppressed with a sure hand the rising revolt. He brought the Upanishads to the front, and indirectly accepting the sublime philosophy of Buddha, effected a reconciliation between Karman und Jñana, by showing that the former is a fit preparation for the latter. While effecting this, he was not indifferent to the disaffection in his own ranks. There were the various Darśanas, which though setting up an ideal slightly different from the Vedic one, were, yet, allies neither of Buddha nor of Śańkara. Śańkara paid the best attention possible to these, and his philosophy would appear in the sequel to be mainly evolved from them. Thus the hand of the Master restored peace throughout the region of philosophy, by reconciling the cravings for a higher and trucr ideal with the ritual of the Veda, and thus significantly showing that the Vedanta was really the Uttara-mîmâmsâ sequel (Jñâna) to the Pûrva-Mimâmsâ or preliminary (Karmakânda). In the extreme south where Buddha's voice had perhaps never reached, and Sankara's teachings had not had any firm footing, the Karmakanda still continues in all its various forms, and several sects continue to abuse Sankara as a Prachchhanna Buddha, a Buddha in a Brâhmanic garb. No clearer commentary is necessary on the work of Sankara.

We are, now, indeed, in a position to understand the philo-

sophy of the Upanishads as explained by Sankara. In as much as Śunkara's philosophy is an outcome of previous speculations, we shall have to go, though cursorily, over the whole field of Indian religious thought. We have seen how the Vedic ceremonial was gradually yielding under its own weight, and speculations about the nature of life and happiness were moulding themselves into fresh theories of worship and conduct. The problem, then, was the same as it is now; and the fact no doubt bears ample testimony to the hopelessness of our ever succeeding in an universally acknowledged solution of its character. And yet who will not agree with LESSING when he says: 'If the all powerful Being holding in one hand, Truth, and in the other, the search for Truth, said to me, 'choose', I would answer Him, 'o, all-powerful, keep for Thyself the Truth, but leave to me the search for it, which is the better for me.' The search for the Truth is thus perpetually pleasant; and we are now so nearer to the Truth than when we know that the Truth, which the keeps to Himself, is not independent of Him. The problem roughly stated is an explanation of the phenomena of the objects of Nature, in their relation to or as contradistinguished from the almost inexplicable idea of life, and an enunciation of those principles of conduct which should lead to happiness true and real; in other words, the question of the much vexed inquiry into the nature of subject and object, spirit¹ and matter, and the subsequent bearing of the results on the question of morals. I shall confine myself in this paper only to the first part of the subject.

The followers of the Nyâya system of philosophy hoped, by cultivating the instruments of knowledge² — Perception, Inference, Analogy, Testimony — to reach final beautitude, by right inquiry. They generalized from the phenomena of life to an extra-cosmic Deity

¹ This is a very misleading word, but I have used it throughout as synonymous with that phenomenon of life which we distinguish from matter.

² प्रमाणप्रमेयसंग्रयप्रयोजनदृष्टानसिद्धानावययतर्कनिर्णयवाद्जर्त्याव-तण्डाहेलाभासच्छलजातिनिग्रहस्थानानां तत्त्वच्चानाझिःत्रेयसाधिगमः ॥ गौ॰ सू॰ २॥

of superhuman powers commanding our homage and worship. The inanimate universe, including the soul and mind of man, they left to itself, and believed it to be the result of an act of Divine creation. The Vaišeshikas accepted the generalizations of Gautama, but went a step further in analysing the nature of material existence. They acknowledged the existence of an extra-cosmic Deity, but like Gassendi, nearly dropped the idea and busied themselves with the atoms and their nature. With them the universe began with atoms - infinite and eternal, moved by the will of the Divine Power. Thus as Gautama built up the metaphysics, Kanada supplied the physics of a philosophy which generally goes under the name of Nyâya. It is enough for our purpose to state only these fundamental principles, for they enable us to understand what explanation the Nyâya puts forth regarding the relation of matter and spirit. A philosophy built upon mere abstractions and generalizations from phenomena, which can in reality never be individually generalized from, must result either in pure Atheism, or anthropomorphic Deism. 'Generalization so far from apprehending reality, is a process, which takes us away from it, and the further it advances, the more abstract our thought becomes, the further do we recede from the real objective truth of things.'1 If the Nyâya and Vaiśeshika, thus, represent the positive side of the method of abstract generalization, the Chârvâkas (and the Jainas), represent the negative aspect. They were not far from the modern materialists when they maintained life) thought or energy to be the result of material organisation, but their philosophy made few disciples and converted none. All experience is in favour of declaring that dead matter as such is never capable of producing life, and even the best representatives of modern physical science stand confessed of their ignorance of the real nature of matter and energy per se, at the altar of eternal Truth. Observation has proved it beyond doubt that every atom of matter is full of energy in one form or another; and it is evident that the very fundamental the conception of matter

¹ Principal Caird, 'Philosophy of Religion'.

must imply that of Mind. So that instead of postponing the appearance of Mind to the last stage of material organisation, it is more consistent with reason to regard it as the very beginning. The Nyâya had done this, but the intermeddling of a God isolated from His creation did not satisfy subsequent reasoners: such philosophy being subversive of that real knowledge, which must by the very conditions of knowledge or thought look upon thought and being as inseparable. It is in some such train of reasoning that we find an explanation of the Purusha and Prakriti of Kapila's Sânkhya. The Sânkhyas had advanced further, if advance it may be called, than the Vaiśeshikas in their analysis of matter, and had demonstrated a theory of evolution, anything more entirely novel than which even the Vedânta has not to teach. They postulated Prakriti or undifferentiated cosmic matter as the eternal basis of cosmic evolution; and they definitely enumerated the various evolving stages of this matter with its properties, being here upon called the Sankhyas. They were, however, conscious of the impossibility of postulating matter without mind, and they, therefore, laid down an eternal union between Purusha or the Eternal Mind, and Prakriti in all its stages of evolution. They attributed no functions to Purusha, thus avoiding the mistake committed by the Naiyâyikas; and regarded the evolutions of Prakriti for this Purusha who was ever in it but never of it, trying in this manner to satisfy the necessity of philosophic thought. The Sankhyas will, thus, appear to be nearer the Truth, nearer because they were, by postulating two entities in the form of Prakriti and Purusha, both interdependent so to speak, indirectly precluding the possibility of Moksha, and initiating a principle which would lead to false results in practical ethics. Sattvaguna or purity, is after all a kind of material purity in as much as that guna is inseparable from Prakriti, and to set this up as the standard to which man should ever try to reach, is only to point a way to re-incarnation or fresh evolution (of the individual self), and misery. Contemplation of Prakriti can raise the contemplator no higher than Prakriti, the source of all mundane existence and pain. Patañjali not satisfied with the practical side of the Sânkhya, set up a kind

of training, generally known as Yoga, for attaining the state of eternal bliss, and postulated a kind of *Îśwara* for purposes of contemplation. His Yoga led to marvellous physical results, but nothing beyond. It again landed the student in *Prakriti*, only on a higher stage of it. This difficulty is satisfactorily solved in the *Vedânta*, or the *Upanishads*, as explained by *Sankara*.¹ As already stated we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the *Brahmasûtras* and the commentary of *Śankara*, in deriving our explanations.²

It is easy to understand the position of Sankara, and the basis of his philosophy after this introduction. Sankara was truly the evolution of his own age; and yet one cannot detect wherein his philosophy fails to satisfy the requirements of the advanced thinking of the present century. He grasped the problem in all its clearness and understood the failures of his predecessors and contemporaries. He perceived that the conception of life and matter hitherto advanced by various thinkers was not endorsed by the Upanishads, and was in no way logical or in accordance with the facts of the question. Prof. TYNDALL was not aware that he was expressing, only in other words, a difficulty felt by a powerful thinker nearly one thousand years before him, when he said in his address to the British Association 'Two courses and two only are possible. Either let us open our doors freely to the conception of creative acts, or abandoning them, let us radically change our notions of matter'. The Italics are mine. When even now 'the origination of life is a point lightly touched upon, if at all, by Mr. DARWIN and Mr. SPENCER',³ Sankara tried to put forth a solution, higher than which, it is, I suppose, impossible

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¹ From this examination of philosophical systems I have purposely omitted the *Mîmânisâ*, as reference has already been made to its contents, which speak for themselves. The services of this *Darśana* lie more in the direction of pure dialectics, than philosophy proper.

² It should not be understood that the *Vedânta*, philosophy began with Śańkara or that he was its founder. It is only through Śańkara that we recieve a clear explanation of the *Advaita*-doctrine, and hence the importance of his work.

³ Prof. TYNDALL.

for human intelligence to attempt. It must remain an open question whether Sankara taught any practical method for an analytical view of life-organisation, but we are concerned only with the metaphysical aspect of the question. Sankara was certain 1 of the futility of having recourse to acts of special creation for an explanation of the phenomena of life, for he looked upon such a theory as nothing short of an imbecile confession of the impossibility of that something inherent in the very nature of man, which compels him to inquire and search for God in His works. He was early conscious of the impossibility, demonstrated in recent times by Mill and other thinkers, of reconciling the existence of evil with the existence of an extra-cosmic God, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-merciful, and all-good.² Nor did he lend countenance to that theory of the relativity of human knowledge, which in the hands of HAMILTON and more decidedly in those of his theological interpreter Mansel, resulted in pushing aside reason from the domain of religion, and in those of H. SPENCER led to the setting up of a negative 'Unknown', as the source of all creation and the origin of a religion based simply on the awe of a stupendous and impenetrable idea. The materialistic theory which derives all life from matter is, indeed, the main point of his attack in his commentary on the Sûtras.³ Even the monads of LEIBNITZ were not sufficient for the practical ends Sankara had in view. To the mind of Sankara the very idea of relation implied something beyond relation, the very idea of a centre implied a circumference, the very word outward implied an inward, the very thought of the mirage implied a substratum - ground saturated with salt, the conception of matter implied mind, thought implied being. To think of the Infinite, something other than finite, something beyond conditions, is to think the unthinkable, in as much as thinking means nothing but conditioning. Such a conception of the Infinite with which several eminent European scholars have tried to explain the idea of Brahma is simply an

¹ Brahma-Sûtras, 11, 2, 37 a comm. et seq.

² Idem.

³ L 1; I. 4; II, 1 and 2.

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impossibility, a contradiction in terms. Thought (Jñána) can never transcend itself, and it is in thought that we find that something which is at once related and not related, conditioned and not conditioned; and in which everything is held together. That method of false abstraction which can result either in anthropomorphic deism or pure atheism, Sankara completely renounced; and postulated a something, which I am afraid to call an Entity, and yet which is an Entity in all entities, in which all relations melt away, all conditions become annulled, the notions of matter and mind are held in one compact unity. This something is nothing and everything, beyond thought and yet within it. It, indeed, is the very basis of individual consciousness, or individual consciousness is rather its manifestation in organised matter. It is the permanent substratum of material manifestations, with whose variety of changes it has, however, nothing to do. Thus though always in matter, mundane existence can effect no change either for weal or for woe, in it. He accepted material evolution in the widest sense of the term, accompanied even by psychical evolution, but all this had nothing to do with the unchangeable witness of them all $-\hat{A}tman$ or Brahman. In fact so indescribable is this ultimate factor that it may be noted even Sankara never describes it but by the impersonal It. Even the Upanishads, at their best, declare it to be, not this, nor that, nor that; and say that speech and mind are alike unable to lav hold of it. Sankara directed the attention of man to his own consciousness, and taught that it is nothing but the universal consciousness speaking through him, and that it has no share in the changes to which its material coil is subject, and of which it is conscious. The universe is Brahma - something very great, combining all thought and being -; and this Brahma is ever free, ever happy, ever existent, ever enlightened. Thus to speak, even at the risk of being misunderstood, in clear language, Sankara recognises matter as full of life — a life on which all phenomena of matter are hung as upon a string;1 life ever love and blessedness, never

े सूचे मणिगणा र्व, Bh. Gita.

affected by the properties of matter, which is its coordinate and not the cause. Of all ignorance and its consequences, he leaves Prakriti - matter - to take care by its inherent properties, but the eternal, unchangeable Purusha, Brahma, life, has nothing whatever to do with it. Yet both never exist apart: but pure unalloyed happiness arises not from contemplating upon the changeful counterpart of Brahma, but upon its permanent and unique light which illumines all. We have, now, seen that Brahma is the Highest Existence, of and through which is all knowledge — the essence of knowing. As all existence is, as it were, suspended from it, there can be nothing in the universe, which can be a stranger to anything, and which cannot be held fast to itself in a union above all worldly relations: hence Brahma in all love, which is the highest bliss. It is therefore described, not defined, as sat existence, chit knowledge, and *ananda* bliss. To define the real nature of Prakriti and Purusha, in the words of Śankara, they are both anadi, without beginning, and anirvachaniya¹ - indescribable. No research can ever reveal to us the ultimate character of either. Brahma is the real Ens, and its inseparable coordinate Prakriti, is ever changeful, never known in its full form, dependent for its manifestation on Brahma, therefore, all ignorance ajñâna — and darkness. Hence in their pure technical language the Vedântins always argue, vainly as it may appear to some, against the Naiyâyikas that a-jñâna is a positive substance, and not a mere negation of jñana. Separating the word from the thought we can easily understand that the ajñana of the Vedantins means matter, which cannot be the negation of anything in as much as its possible counter-entity Brahma (jñâna) is not apart from it. So, also adhyâsa or false impression, is but the influence of the two factors of the Totality on each other: - the one presenting the other as part and parcel of itself. The relation of Prakriti and Brahma is explained in yet another manner, highly illustrative of the capacity of the Âryan

¹ This word in its highly technical sense means when applied to changeful *Prakriti* a *something* which is neither eternally existent, nor non-existent, but of which we are conscious only in the present viz matter (*Prakriti*).

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mind, of condensing a whole argument in one word, by what is called the *vivartavåda* or what may roughly be described as the theory of assumption. The Upanishads declare that everything proceeds from Brahma, which Śańkara interprets by this theory to mean that the universe is of Brahma just as the snake, which a rope is believed to be, is of that rope. It is no more a result of it, but it exists by it. The Adhyâsa or false impression just explained, born of ignorance which is a synonym of Prakriti and is therefore eternal, is the cause of such false assumption. Right knowledge dispels this illusion, as sufficient light explains the nature of the snake; and all is Brahma — eternal love and joy.

The word illusion puts us in mind of the theory of Mâyâ, often laid at the door of Śańkara in its illogical, not to say absurd, aspect. Because Śańkara uses, though rarely, the word Mâyâ or illusion, and advocates as strongly as he can the vivartavâda. Some have thought that he regards the whole phenomena of matter as an illusion, a phantasm, not existing per se. They carry this kind of reasoning to its consequences and reduce even the substratum of such illusions or dreams to an illusion again; and confront the Vedântins with the impossibility of reconciling the two contraries Jñâna (Brahma) and Ajñâna (Mâyâ), waking and dreaming as existing in one place at the same time. Śańkara teaches the doctrine of Mâyâ no doubt, it is in fact the very corollary of his vivartavâda, but he never teaches it with a vengeance. He says that Nâma and Rûpa, name and form, are Mâyâ, and we should have no faith in them. One of the best interpreters of the latter Vedânta, Bhâratîtîrtha, says the same thing:

त्रसि भाति प्रियं रूपं नाम चैत्यं ्रपञ्चकम् । त्रावं त्रयं ब्रह्मरूपं जगद्रूपं ततो द्वयम् ॥¹ 20

'Intercourse implies five attributes and no more: Existence, knowledge, bliss, form, and name; the first three are *Brahma*, the last two, *Jagat* (Mâyâ).' Even the *Chhândogya* says nothing different:

¹ Drigdriśyaviveka.

यथा हि सौम्येकेन मृत्पिण्डेन सर्व मृग्सयं विचातं भवति वाचारंभणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेलेव सत्यम् etc. 'As oh good one! by knowing one lump of clay all that is made of it is also known, all names being but the play of words, the truth being clay and clay alone', even so etc. So also the Bhagavadgûta:

प्रष्ठतिं पुरूषं चैव विद्धनादी उभावपि । विकारांच गुणांचैव विडि प्रष्ठतिसंभवान् ॥ xm. 19. प्रष्ठत्वैव च कर्माणि कियमाणानि सर्वशः । यः पश्चति तथात्मानमकर्ताारं स पश्चति ॥ xm. 29.

'Know Prakriti and Purusha to be without beginning, and the various forms and properties know to be from the former. He who in every way perceives all Karman¹ as proceeding from *Prakriti*, realises the *Purusha*, as beyond all *Karman*.' The *Bhâgavata*, too, has:

सा वा एतख संद्रष्टुः शक्तिः सदसदात्मिका । माया नाम महाभाग ययेदं निर्ममे विभुः । m. 5. 25.

'She, oh happy one, is of this great Seer the power in the form of eternity and non-eternity,² called Maya, where with He — the Lord — created this.' But let us allow Śańkara to speak for himself. In his Bhâshya on Brahmasûtras II. 1. 14 he says : अभुपगस्य चेमं व्यावहारिकं भोकृभोस्यचच्चं विभागं खाझोकवद्ति परिहारो ऽभिहि-तो न त्वयं विभागः परमार्थतो ऽस्ति यतस्तयोः कार्यकारणयोरनन्यत्मवग-स्वते । कार्यमाकाशादिकं बज्जप्रयद्यं जगत् कारणं परं ब्रह्म तस्नात् कारणात् परमार्थतो ऽनन्यतं व्यतिरिकेणाभावः कार्यखावगन्यते ॥ 'By the previous Sûtra³ is explained the possibility of the distinction between subject and object necessary for all intercourse, notwithstanding the hypothesis (of the unity of subject and object); but such distinction is not meant to be real, for the effect and its cause are known to be

- 2 i. e. अनिर्वचनीया name and form again.
- ³ भोक्नापत्तेरविभागचेत्स्वाझोकवत् ≖. 1. 13.

¹ The commentator Madhusúdana as well as Sankara explain कर्माणि by वाङ्यन:कायारभ्याणि which is equal to our idea of Mûyû.

inseparable. The effect is the whole changeful universe beginning with Âkâśa, and the cause Para Brahma. From this cause the effect is really inseparable, never existing without it, apart from it.' Here Sankara, apparently, appears to put forth a doctrine much in accordance with the exoteric mâyâvâda, and his illustration of the snake in a rope, mirage on ground saturated with salt, will appear to lend support to such conclusion. But the words व्यतिरेकेणाभावः as an explanation of चनन्यत्वम् should be borne in mind, together with the words 1 of Vâchaspatimisra explaining ananyatva as न खल्तनयलमित्यभेदं ब्रमः किंतु भेदं खासेधामस्ततच नाभेदात्रयदोषप्रसङ्घः (we do not by ananyatva mean to demonstrate any unity, but we simply deprecate all idea of conceiving them apart from each other; thus will our theory not be open to the objections consequent upon a belief in the unity - of cause and effect). There is no identity between subject and object, nor any other relation, but each can never be conceived as apart from the other, - Thought and Being being inseparable. This is the real meaning of the vivartavada, which we must regard Sankara, on the authority of another of his commentators Govindananda,² as enunciating in the passage quoted above. With this explanation of ananyatva in our hands, we must grant that $M\hat{a}y\hat{a}$ or illusion has its province really restricted to name and form and nothing else. But we hope to make the point still more clear. He plainly repudiates³ the opposite conception to which the above words would seem to

³ In his commentary on Brahma-Sûtras n. 1. 27, is introduced a discussion on the meaning of the Śruti just quoted from the Chhândogya: यथाहि सीस्य, etc.; and Śańkara remarks in conclusion वाचारम्भणमाचलाचाविद्यापरिकल्पितस नाम-रूपमदेस न निर्वयवत्तं ब्रह्मण: कुप्यति। न चेथं परिणामञ्जति: परिणामप्रति-पाट्नार्था तत्प्रतिपत्ती फलानवगमात् । 'The theory of Brahma having no parts though with distinctions of name and form induced in it by avidyâ (ignorance), is not contradictory, in as much as these latter are a mere play of words. This Śruti setting forth a kind of evolution cannot mean any relation of development (between the effect and the cause). For then we should have to bid farewell to all idea of Moksha.'

¹ In the Bhâmafi.

² पूर्वस्नितेव पूर्वपचे विवर्तवादेन मुख्यं समाधानमाह.

lend some colour, that the universe is a development from Brahma, and is ananya in that sense. This is called the Parinamavada. The theory of parinama or development is scarcely tenable without the help of that inverted logic which would evolve matter from mind. This attempt is the opposite extreme of materialism; and Vallabha in order to escape from the apparent inconsistency of explaining the universe as in and of Brahma, and maintaining at the same time the self-contradictory and suicidal theory of mâyâ, which we have been trying to set aside, subscribed to the more easy but equally absurd theory of development or evolution, and preached his religion accordingly. There are others like Rámânuja and Mâdhva who separate mâyâ (Prakriti, Matter) and Brahma, as subordinate and principal, and not being by the very hypothesis able to explain the phenomena of individual life (soul)¹ in any other manner than a part — an everexistent part — of Brahma, maintain in fact three realities as the basis of the Cosmos. But a truer explanation of the mâyâ or vivartavâda, which all these try to avoid by theories not quite consistent with the necessities of philosophic thought, can be easily found between the terms of the problem, Brahma and Prakriti, which are inseparable, not one. We must, however, refer to yet another passage in order to make our ground more firm, for though it is clear that by ananyatva Sankara does not mean anything but inseparableness, still it is not quite clear whether he has a belief in the existence of a substantial basis of the universe. This fact, if ascertained, will show us a way to the position which must baffle all attempt at interpreting mâyâ into illusion out and out, and thus, in a sense, turning the weapons of the vivartavada against itself. In dealing out a reply to the kshanikavijñánaváda,² a theory nearly resembling the Idealism of BER-RLEY, he says: न खल्बभावो बाह्यसार्थसाध्यवसातुं श्रक्यते। कस्मात्। उपलब्धेः।

¹ In the theory of Śańkara individual life as such is a chimera, and yet the differences in the consciousness of different beings are explainable as due to the difference in the Upådhi or accident — manas, buddhi etc. — whose evolution cannot, without considerable digression be the subject of the present paper.

² Brahma-Sùtras II. 2. 28.

उपलभते हि प्रतिप्रत्ययं बाह्योर्थः सन्भः कुद्धं घटः पट इति न चोपलभ्यमा-नस्वैवाभावो भवितुमईति । - - - - ननु नाहमेवं व्रवीमि न वह्यदर्थमुप-लभ इति किं तूपलच्चिवरिरित्तं नोपलभ इति व्रवीमि । बाढमेवं व्रवीषि नि-रङ्कप्रलात्ते तुख्डस न तु युत्त्युपेतं व्रवीषि यत उपलब्धिवतिरेको ऽपि वला-दर्थसास्युपगनव उपसम्पेरेव । नहि वचिदुपसम्पिनेव समं कुद्धं चेखुपसभते। उपसब्धिविषयलेनैव तु सन्भकुद्धादीन् सर्वे सौकिका उपसभने । - - - -न च ज्ञानस विषयसारूषाद्विषयनाशो भवति । असति विषये विषयसारू-षानुपपत्तेः । बहिरूपसब्धेद्य विषयख । त्रत एव सहोपसम्भनियमो ऽपि प्रत्य-यविषययोर्पायो पेयभावहेतुको नाभेदहेतुक द्रत्वभुपगनव्यम् । 'It is impossible to demonstrate the non-existence of all objectivity, for we cannot, surely, get rid of it. In all acts of consciousness some objective substratum is present in the form of a post, a wall, a jar, a piece of cloth and so on; and it is impossible to ignore our direct perceptions. It may be argued that it is not meant to ignore the existence of objectivity, but it is only meant that it is not apart from its correlative mental impression. This may all be very well, for one who argues in this manner is free to make any assertion he likes, but there is hardly any logic in what is thus said. The existence of objects apart from their corresponding presentation must be acknowledged; and for obvious reasons based on our perceptions. No one, indeed, cognises his mental idea of a post or a wall to be the actual post or the wall, but all observers regard the post and the wall to be objects cognised by the mind. Nor, because the impression takes the form of the object, does the latter deserve to become nil; for if it were so, there would have been no impression; and objects do as a matter of fact exist without the mind (and give impressions). Hence even the concomitance of the mental image and the objective existence does in no way prove their unity but only their relation as subject and object'. Now let us revise our explanation of ananyatva by the light of this passage. Sankara evidently recognises some objectivity which it is impossible to ignore, which cannot be an illusion, and says that it is Brahma, in so far as it is not separate from it. Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. II. Bd.

Thus mâyâ is again definitely reduced to nâma and rûpa, and the consistency of the vivartavâda clearly demonstrated. Even the comparison of mâyâ to svapna, dream, need not mistead us, after recognising some substratum of the dream. As the things (nâma and rûpa), seen in a dream to be real, are shown to be false on waking, so is mâyâ shown be false after full knowledge — the residuum, so to speak, being Brahma, as jñâna commons to dreaming and waking.¹ Thus mâyâ or ignorance, or avidyâ or illusion is now clearly explained. It is the cause of the universe. The nature of adhyâsa explained before will show where cosmic evolution begins. Let us conclude this discussion by one last passage from Vidyâranya. While explaining this Mûlâdhyâsa he says:

सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं यद्रह्य तस्पात्समुत्यिताः । खं वाय्वपित्रखोर्व्योषध्वद्देहा इति अतिः ॥ ज्रापातदृष्टितस्तच ब्रह्यणो भाति हेतुता । हेतोच सत्वता तस्पादन्योन्याध्यास उच्चते ॥

Pañchadasî vi, 191-92.

'From Brahma — ever existing, all blessedness, and eternal arise Âkâśa, Vâyu, Agni, Jala, Prithivî, vegetables, grain, animal bodies, in succession. In this Śruti, Brahma would appear to be the cause (of the cosmos), and the (cosmos) would appear real, — this is called mutual adhyâsa'. Even here Brahma becomes the cause of material manifestations which also appear real — but both conceptions are adhyâsa — false impressions. Brahma is beyond all conception, and matter is not apart from it. It is ignorance or mâyâ that works in the middle, being, a part or synonymous of material manifestation. Śańkara's philosophy is thus a consistent and unique demonstration of the inseparable correlation of Thought and Being.'

¹ For this explanation of the comparison of this universe to a dream see end of the comm. Brahma Sutras, n. 2. 29. ऋषि चानुभवविरोधप्रसङ्घाज्जागरि-तप्रत्ययानां खतो निराखंबनतां वक्तुमधक्तुवताखप्तप्रत्वयसाधर्म्यादकुमिष्वते । न च यो यख खतो धर्मों न संभवति सो उन्यख साधर्म्यात्तस्य संभविष्वति । न द्यपिर्ष्णो उनुभूयमान उद्कसाधर्म्याच्छीतो भविष्वति । दर्शितं तु वैधर्म्य ख-प्रजागरितयोः ॥ This is the chief essence of the Advaita philosophy, and it is full of many important results in all departments of life, especially that of practical Ethics. But this I must postpone to some other occasion. Meanwhile it is enough if I have succeeded in laying even a hazy sketch of the Advaitavâda before my readers. I must say in deference to the great minds who teach and talk Vedânta all the hours of their life, that it will be no fault of the theory itself, if I have not succeeded in putting it in its clear unassailable form.