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Getting Real with Advaita Vedānta: Receiving Bradley J. Malkovsky's Gifts of Grace

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I recently had the pleasure of spending time with Joël Dubois's rich study *The Hidden Lives of Brahman.*¹ This work, I was delighted to discover, begins on its first page with the academic equivalent of a colophon with salutations to the scholar's *paramparā*:

Most interpreters have regarded Śaṅkara's works as an intellectual tradition concerned primarily brahman, understood as the ultimate reality transcending all particular manifestations, words, and concepts. Śańkara's primary teaching, this view asserts, is that the transcendent brahman cannot be attained through any effort or activity, as it is already the essential nature of anyone who seeks it. Building on the work of Marcaurelle (2000), Malkovsky (2001) and Suthren Hirst (2005). I show in this book that such a characterization is technically correct, yet also significantly misleading, as it ignores the hidden lives, as it were, of the notion of brahman.²

In this passage, Dubois nicely sets up the detective story he will unfold in the rest of the

volume, through painstaking study of Śańkara's commentaries and significant field work. But he also, just as importantly, places himself in a lineage of great sages whose number includes our own beloved Bradley J. Malkovsky.

Michelle Voss Roberts has done a great service to the Society in offering a survey of Brad's scholarly *oeuvre* and his fifteen years at the helm of this Journal. In this essay, I am setting out to do something less ambitious but, I hope, no less important: to trace the impact Brad has had on the work of other scholars of Advaita, including Dubois, myself and a host of others. The scholarship I survey here includes many sources that I found using search engines, as well as a number I have encountered through my own reading. I am very conscious of my limited reach. I'm sure that I have omitted important interlocutors, and I know that this kind of survey, by necessity, tends to emphasize Brad's earlier work to the detriment of more recent publications. Michelle has, appropriately, drawn attention to Brad's memoir and other

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significant contributions in the last decade. I take it for granted that Brad's most important contributions to Hindu-Christian studies still lie ahead, which makes the reception that his work has already received all the more impressive.

Grace

Brad completed his doctoral thesis at the University of Tübingen on the concept of divine grace in Śaṅkara's teaching, and this thesis was eventually brought out as a monograph in the prestigious Numen Book Series at Brill. It would be fair, I think, to say that this monograph is to this date the most influential and most frequently cited of Brad's works. Nevertheless, his core argument in the book and related essay—namely, that Śaṅkara's soteriological vision advances a strong theology of divine grace—has met with a mixed reception.

In several instances, Brad's work is cited briefly as an uncontested authority on the topic. Thus, Sucharita Adluri notes his study in connection to her own work on Rāmānuja.3 Andrea Pinkney positions her synthetic account of prasāda in South Asian religion in reference to two different literatures: a contemporary, ethnographic approach exemplified in the work of R.S. Khare, Paul Toomey, and Lawrence A. Babb, and a more conceptual, philological approach exemplified by Brad and Andy Rotman. Entertainingly, in a provocative essay entitled "Salvation, Damnation and Economic Incentives," Brad's work is cited as demonstrating Śańkara as an exception to the unrelenting monism and intellectual aridity of most traditions of Vedānta.⁵ No doubt, this would come as a surprise to Madhusūdana Saraswati!

This last example highlights an important element of Brad's argument about the important role of grace in Śańkara's theological project: namely, that it is

counterintuitive. This has led some to critique his views. Writing in the *International Review* of Hindu Studies, Deepak Sarma notes with some irony that, although he finds Brad's exhaustive and careful scholarship persuasive, he is "nonetheless struck by the beliefs of thirteen hundred plus years and countless followers of Advaita Vedānta, who would vehemently dispute Malkovsky's claims."6 T.S. Rukmani and Peter Stephan each attempt, in extended review essays, to explain this apparent disconnect by questioning Brad's philology and interpretative choices.7 Most perceptively, Rukmani suggests that the meaning and function of a concept should not be reduced to the analysis of individual terms; it must instead take into account the overall philosophical framework of the author in question. Such an holistic approach, and Rukmani's more general commitment to the "economy of reasoning" (lāghava) typical of South Asian philosophy, leads her to doubt that divine grace plays a particularly significant role in Śańkara's soteriology.8

Other scholars who engage Brad's argument fall somewhere between uncritical acceptance and wholesale rejection. In my own comparative reading of Śaṅkara in conversation with Augustine of Hippo's theology of election, for example, I found myself lingering on Brad's proposals, only to move eventually to the self-revealing character of atman itself as a more fitting analogue to an Augustinian understanding of effectual grace.9 Jacqueline G. Suthren Hirst offers a more substantive engagement in her Samkara's Advaita Vedānta, but she reaches similar conclusions. 10 Brad provides bookends for Suthren Hirst's treatment of the Lord. First, she introduces his work as one side of a debate about Śańkara's devotional theism, and then she engages him more directly towards the end of the chapter, in a discussion of grace.¹¹ Like Brad, Suthren Hirst situates Śaṅkara's theology in the context of ancient and medieval Vaiṣṇavism and criticizes any too-easy contrast between *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa brahman*.¹² For Suthren Hirst, however, this has less to do with Śaṅkara's commitment to a gracious God than with his commitment to the truth, coherence and efficacy of *śruti*.¹³

As scholars, we make arguments, and generally we intend to convince others of the rightness of our conclusions. But sometimes the true value of our work has less to do with the questions we solve than with the questions we lay to rest. The scholarly consensus on Brad's scholarly account of grace in Śaṅkara's theology may be that this work, on this topic, is impressively broad, careful and definitive. We may or may not be persuaded by the argument. Nevertheless, we can expect that—at least for the foreseeable future—our various positions will of necessity be developed in serious, considered dialogue with Bradley J. Malkovsky.

Realist Vedānta

If relatively few scholars have walked through the door that Brad opened on the role of divine grace in Advaita, the same cannot be said for the realist approach to the tradition that his work on grace both presumes and advances. In this respect, Brad stands in a scholarly tradition that includes, among others, Richard De Smet (1916-1997) and Sara Grant (1922-2002). Brad's edited collection, entitled New Perspectives on Advaita Vedānta, was dedicated to De Smet, he contributed an introduction to the published edition of Grant's Teape lectures, and his early essays engaged their contributions to a deepened understanding of Advaita's theism and its potential for dialogue.14 The approach taken by Brad and his intellectual mentors is "realist" in at least two senses. First, at the level of name and form, it attempts to situate

the teaching of Advaita Vedānta in the real, living contexts of those teachers and disciples that have brought it forward, from one generation to the next. Second, at the level of the highest truth, it argues against those monist or illusionistic interpretations of Advaita that have tended to carry the day, at least in the modern period.

With regard to establishing an adequate social and historical context for interpreting Śaṅkara, Brad is frequently recognized for his careful, detailed treatments of primary and secondary sources. I have already noted Suthren Hirst's self-conscious affinities with Brad's work on a probable Vaiṣṇava context of Śaṅkara's teaching. Suthen Hirst, among others, also invokes his authority to establish authentic texts and legendary traditions associated with the great teacher. And Vijay Ramnarace draws on his expertise to explore Śaṅkara's chronology in relation to the bhedābheda Vedāntin Nimbārka.

The most ambitious attempt to engage this aspect of Brad's realist approach to Advaita, however, is undoubtedly the work of Joël Dubois, with whose invocation I began this essay. In his book, Dubois commends Brad for, among other things, paying close attention to Śaṅkara's commentaries on the Upanisads alongside his commentaries on the Brahma*sūtras* and *Bhagavad-Gīta*. As Dubois engages Taittirīya and Bṛhadāraṅyaka Upaniṣad Bhāsyas alongside ethnographic studies of the students, disciples and visiting scholars of the Śṛṅgeri *maṭh* and related institutions in Karnataka, he demonstrates their profound commitment to practice and ritualized performances of various kinds. In the Brahmasūtra-bhāsya and related texts, Śankara describes а discriminating intellect. disenchantment with the world and yearning for liberation, and mental self-mastery as prerequisites for study; in practice, the

tradition prescribes *upāsana*, grammatical and philosophical training, and even mindful participation in ritual sacrifice as necessary disciplines to foster these virtues and to produce skilful hearers of the Advaita teaching. Such disciplines, of course, only make sense in a rich devotional context that presumes many of those realities traditionally dismissed in more philosophical accounts.

Dubois underscores his indebtedness to Brad for this insight into the Advaita tradition in very strong terms, towards the end of his monograph:

My hope is that readers of this study, considered alongside the work of Marcaurelle, Malkovsky, and Suthren will no longer let stand Hirst, unchallenged the claim that Sankara's vedanta teaching is indifferent to the details of samsāra—the minds, bodies, methods, goals, and efforts inherent in life's cycling from one limited experience to the next. I have joined the abovementioned authors in arguing that, while Śańkara undoubtedly urges those he addresses to renounce samsāra, he also makes good use of samsāra's diversity and limitation.20

The empirical world may be provisional, but that does not render it irrelevant for Śaṅkara or for the traditions that would follow in his wake. Brad has helped all of us see this more clearly.

The vital centrality of empirical experience is highlighted in another major study that draws on Brad's work: Anantanand Rambachan's *Advaita Worldview*. Here the reality of the world is correlated closely to the robust, nondual reality of God. In two successive chapters of this work, tellingly entitled, "*Brahman* as the World" and "*Brahman* as God," Rambachan makes repeated reference to Brad's and De Smet's

arguments for a realist approach.21 Inveighing against those Advaita scholars who deny the natural world reality and value, Rambachan proposes what he contends is a more consistently nondual reading of the world as a "celebrative expression of brahman,"22 The world has its origin and purpose in brahman, as attested by both Śaṅkara and the Upanisads. and the transcendence of brahman the divine self is not threatened or weakened by its association with empirical realities. By the same principle, it is false to introduce any hierarchy into God's own nature by means of the distinction between nirguna and saguna brahman.23 Though Rambachan draws mainly on traditional Advaita sources to make his case, he also privileges an insight he gained from Brad. "Malkovsky," he writes, "has correctly argued that the term advaita does not seek so much to define brahman, but to correct a false understanding of reality. It is only indirectly a statement about brahman."24

Others have also learned from this wisdom, and from the realist interpretation of brahman and the world that it implies.25 Others demur, at least with respect to the teaching of Śaṅkara.²⁶ But Rambachan's work invites us to consider whether interpretation of Śańkara is the sole, or even the most important, issue at stake in this discussion. Rambachan, though he built his reputation as an exegete of Śańkara and draws heavily on the great teacher in his own proposals, does not hesitate to critique aspects of Śańkara's thought where he believes criticism is warranted.27 Śańkara aimed to teach the truth of brahman not to construct a seamless system for all ages, but to facilitate the liberation of concrete, living persons, in the here and now. Contemporary interpreters should do no less. Brad's work, alongside that of De Smet and Grant, suggests alternative possibilities for the interpretation of Advaita, possibilities from which the tradition itself may have occasion to learn. The work of Anant Rambachan, arguably the most provocative and constructive Advaita theologian in contemporary North America, well demonstrates the fruitfulness of the offer.

Christianity and Advaita

Like De Smet and Grant, Brad offered his interpretations of Advaita Vedānta as a Christian theologian, and indeed his dissertation originally included a significant Hindu-Christian comparison.²⁸ In his recent work—particularly his memoir—Brad has moved even more clearly in the direction of interreligious dialogue and reconciliation.²⁹ But his earlier work also made an indelible mark advancing the living dialogue of Christianity and Advaita.

This element of Brad's legacy follows seamlessly from the previous discussion, for it is precisely a realist interpretation of Advaita that has suggested new avenues for dialogue with Christianity. Two significant works, for example, draw upon Brad's expertise to update a very specific form of engagement: the conversation between classical traditions of Vedānta and classical Thomism. In his Synthesizing the Vedanta, Sean Doyle offers a critical account of the Jesuit Pierre Johanns' articles in the periodical Light of the East, in which he purported to show how only the philosophy of Thomas Aguinas could successfully integrate the insights of nondualist, qualified non-dualist and dualist traditions of Vedānta.30 Towards the end of this work, Doyle invokes Brad to note the limitations of Johanns' engagement of Śańkara and Advaita-restricted as it was to the "majority" acosmic, illusionistic school.³¹ Martin Ganeri picks up a similar thread of criticism closer to the beginning of his impressive comparative reading of Thomas Aguinas and Rāmānuja, Indian Thought and Western Theism. In this case, guided in no small part by Brad, Ganeri traces a trajectory from Johanns through De Smet to Sara Grant, attentive not only to the developing interpretations of Śańkara as such, but also to the ways that these interpretations also inflect the reception of Rāmānuja.³² The choices one makes in interpreting Śańkara, both works suggest, reverberate well into other traditions of Vedānta and even into one's dialogical reading of Christianity.³³

Of course, the place where the realist reading of Advaita may make the most difference in the dialogue with Christianity has to do with the relation between God and the world-and the significance of this relation for reflecting on questions of meaning, value and authentic liberation. Thus, Moses P.P. Penumaka draws on Brad's first monograph to draw a contrast between the majority, acosmic reading of Śaṅkara's thought and Martin Luther's doctrine of communicatio idiomatum, concluding that only the latter can suitably ground an adequate *Dalit* theology in India.34 On the other hand, both Timothy C. Tennent and N.N. Trakakis, informed by Brad's scholarship on De Smet and Grant, note that the denial of personhood in nirguna brahman by Śankara may be read less to negate a positive understanding of the divine-world than to emphasize relationship transcendence and absolute mystery of the one God-as well as new conceptions of personhood and relationality themselves.³⁵ "Is not this conception of personhood, where the emphasis is placed on free and loving communion," Trakakis writes, with reference to De Smet, "more in keeping with the patristic understanding of divine personhood than the forensic Lockean view that highlights individual agency and responsibility?"36

Other scholars have also drawn on Brad's work to inform their Hindu-Christian studies,³⁷ but I would like to conclude this discussion by focusing on just one: Ankur Barua's article entitled, "Christian Visions of Advaita Vedānta."38 In this appreciative, critical reading of Bede Griffiths and Swami Abhishiktananda (Henri Le Saux), Barua respective theological frames their explorations with both the realist Vedanta of De Smet and Grant, on one side, and the existentialist Christian theology of Paul Tillich, on the other. 39 Despite their significant differences, on Barua's reading, both Griffiths and Abhishiktananda were pursuing "one of the most profound themes in Christian philosophical theology— how to speak of the otherness of God in a manner that does not "objectify" God and reduce God to a condition of finitude."40 Both pursued this question by developing nuanced correlations between advaita and Trinity, as well as by profound experiences of mystical interiority. In so doing, they offer Advaita Vedanta to Christian faith as a "constant reminder" of God's apophatic transcendence and "providential means" to rediscover its own contemplative foundation.⁴¹

Barua's essay is a strong piece of synthesis, persuasive in its conclusions and appreciative in the use it makes, at several points, of Brad's scholarship. But it also, I think, represents a kind of update of several of Brad's earlier essays by a younger, up-and-coming scholar—one who is also, as it happens, familiar to readers of this journal. The legacy of Brad's

Notes

¹ Joël André-Michel Dubois, *The Hidden Lives* of Brahman: Sankara's Vedanta through His Upanisad Commentaries, in Light of Contemporary Practice. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2013).

scholarship is not restricted to citations and the explicit use that others make of it (though there is plenty of that); it is also realized in a new generation of scholars, like Barua, who take up similar questions, investigate many of the same sources and bring fresh eyes and further nuance to a path that Brad has staked out precisely for others to follow.

Again, Grace

Of course, writing in the pages of the Journal of Hindu-Christian Studies, note must be taken of yet another expression of Brad's legacy: the growth, expanding reach and everincreasing professionalism of the journal itself. One of the first refereed articles I ever successfully brought to press was published in this journal, and I vividly recall the kindness and care that Brad brought to the review process. At several points, he reminded me how important it was for Christian theologians to engage creatively with Advaita, and I have no doubt that he was similarly encouraging of others, whether Advaitin or Vaisnava or Christian or Agnostic. He was working tirelessly, with great love, to keep the conversation vital and growing.

Brad began his academic vocation researching the question of grace. For many of us, however, he *is* a gift of grace, in his scholarly insight, in his commitment to Hindu-Christian studies, and in his deep compassion. We shall dearly miss him at the helm of the journal, while also looking forward to the next phase of his scholarly career. We still have so much to learn.

² Ibid., 1. The works Dubois cites are: Roger Marcaurelle, *Freedom through Inner Renunciation: Śańkara's Philosophy in a New Light* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Bradley J. Malkovsky, *The Role of Divine Grace in the Soteriology of Śaṃkarācārya* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); and Jacqueline Suthren Hirst, *Śamkara's*

Advaita Vedānta: A Way of Teaching (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).

- ³ Sucharita Adluri, *Textual Authority in Classical Indian Thought: Rāmānja and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 7, 13n17.
- ⁴ Andrea Marion Pinkney, "*Prasāda,* the Gracious Gift, in Contemporary and Classical South Asia," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 81.3 (2013): 735, https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lft022.
- ⁵ Rachel M. McCleary, "Salvation, Damnation and Economic Incentives," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 22.1 (2007): 53, 70n8, https://doi.org/10.1080/13537900601114503.
- ⁶ Deepak Sarma, Review of *The Role of Divine Grace in the Soteriology of Śaṃkarācārya* by Bradley J. Malkovsky, *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 8.1-3 (2008): 226, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11407-004-0009-8.
- ⁷ T.S. Rukmani, Review of *The Role of Divine Grace in the Soteriology of Śaṃkarācārya* by Bradley J. Malkovsky, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124.4 (2004): 813-16; Peter Stephan, "Göttliche Gnade in Śaṅkara's Soteriologie?" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 154.2 (2004): 397-416
 - ⁸ Rukmani, Review of *Role of Divine Grace*, 814.
- ⁹ Reid B. Locklin, "Divine Election as *Adhikara* and *Atma-Sva-Bhava*: Rereading the *Reply to Simplicianus* in Light of a Hindu Text," in *Augustine and World Religions*, ed. Brian Brown, John Doody and Kim Paffenroth (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 214-18.
- ¹⁰ Jacqueline Suthren Hirst, *Śaṃkara's Advaita Vedānta : A Way of Teaching* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005).
 - ¹¹ Ibid., 117, 132, 213n29.
 - ¹² Ibid., 118-23, 129-35.
 - ¹³ See especially ibid., 120-23, 135-36, 211n8.
- ¹⁴ See Bradley J. Malkovsky, ed., *New Perspectives on Advaita Vedānta: Essays in Commemoration of Professor Richard De Smet, S.J.* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Sara Grant, *Toward an Alternative Theology: Confessions of a Non-Dualist Christian: The Teape Lectures, 1989* (Notre Dame,

IN; University of Notre Dame Press, 2002); and Voss Roberts' essay in this issue.

- See ibid., 27-28, 129-35, 200n55, 213n29. See also Thom Brooks, "In Search of Śiva: Mahādēviyakka's Vīraśaivism," *Asian Philosophy* 12.1 (2002): 33n21, https://doi.org/10.1080/0955 2360220142234.
- ¹⁶ Suthren Hirst, Śańkara's Advaita Vedānta, 198n33; Thomas A. Forsthoefel, "Advaita Vedānta of Śańkara," in *History of Indian Philosophy*, ed. Purushottama Bilimoria, et al (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 234; Deepak Sarma, *Epistemologies and the Limits of Philosophical Inquiry: Doctrine in Mādhva Vedānta* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 55, 87n1. See also Anantanand Rambacham, *The Advaita Worldview: God, World and Humanity* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2006), 117n2.
- ¹⁷ Vijay Ramnarace, "Brahman Between the Lines: Bhedābheda and Privileged Theology in the early Nimbārka Sampradāya," *Journal of Hindu Studies* 9 (2016): 58.
 - ¹⁸ Dubois, *Hidden Lives*, 15-17, 78.
 - ¹⁹ Ibid., 10-15.
 - ²⁰ Ibid., 347.
 - ²¹ Rambachan, Advaita Worldview, 67-97.
 - ²² Ibid., 67-69, 78-80.
- ²³ Ibid., esp. 85-86, and Anantanand Rambachan, "Hierarchies in the Nature of God? Questioning the 'Saguna-Nirguna' Distinction in Advaita Vedanta," *Journal of Hindu-Christian Studies* 14 (2001): 13-18, https://doi.org/10.7825/2164-6279.1250.
 - ²⁴ Rambachan, *Advaita Worldview*, 125n1.
- ²⁵ E.g. Ankur Barua, "Hick and Radhakrishnan on Religious Diversity: Back to the Kantian Noumenon," Sophia 54 (2015): 197-98, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11841-015-0459-z; Bryan Lobo, "Tripersonalising the Hindu God of Advaita Vedānta - Parabrahman," Gregorianum 92.1 (2011): 159-82; Reid B. Locklin, "Integral 'Samnyasa'? Adi Shankaracharya and Liberation Hermeneutics," Journal of Hindu-Christian Studies 20 (2007): 43-51, https://doi.org/10.7825/2164-6279.1387; and Reid B. Locklin, Liturgy of Liberation: A Christian Commentary on Shankara's Upadeśasāhasrī (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), esp. 121-131, 309-313.

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- Godabarisha Mishra, Review of New Perspectives on Advaita Vedānta: Essays in Commemoration of Professor Richard De Smet, S.I., edited by Bradley J. Malkovsky, Philosophy East and West 55.4 (2005): 610-16, http://www.istor.org/stable/4487992; T.S. Rukmani, "Dr. Richard De Smet and Sankara's Advaita," Hindu-Christian Studies Bulletin 16 https://doi.org/10.7825/2164-(2003): 12-21. 6279.1295.
- ²⁷ See especially Rambachan, *Advaita Worldview*, 2-3, 27-29.
- ²⁸ This is actually part of Stephan's critique of the published book—that, by leaving out the comparative portion from the original thesis, the book seemed to pass itself off as a work of Indology rather than a contribution to interreligious understanding. See his "Göttliche Gnade," esp. 397-98.
- ²⁹ See Bradley J. Malkovsky, *God's Other Children: Personal Encounters with Love, Holiness, and Faith in Sacred India* (New York: HarperOne, 2013), and the further discussion by Voss Roberts.
- ³⁰ Sean Doyle, *Synthesizing the Vedanta: The Theology of Pierre Johanns, SJ* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006). This series of articles was compiled, edited and published posthumously as Pierre Johanns, *To Christ through the Vedānta: The Writings of Reverend P. Johanns, S.J.*, ed. Theo De Greeff, and Joseph Patmury (Bangalore: United Theological College, 1996).
 - ³¹ Doyle, *Synthesizing the Vedānta*, 306-309.
- ³² Martin Ganeri, *Indian Thought and Western Theism: The Vedānta of Rāmānuja* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 16-30.

- ³³ On the latter point, see especially Ganeri's discussion on Grant in ibid., 30-31.
- ³⁴ Moses P.P. Penumaka, "Luther and Shankara: Two Ways of Salvation in the Indian Context," *Dialogue: A Journal of Theology* 45.3 (2006): 252-262, esp. 258, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6385.2006.00275.x.
- Timothy C. Tennent, Christianity at the Religious Roundtable: Evangelicalism in Conversation with Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 41-42; N.N. Trakakis, "Second Response," in Inter-Christian Philosophical Dialogues, vol. 4, ed. Graham Oppy and N.N. Trakakis (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 263-65.
 - ³⁶ Trakakis, "Second Response," 265.
- ³⁷ E.g. Thomas A. Forsthoefel, "Weaving the Inward Thread to Awakening: The Perennial Appeal of Ramana Maharshi," *Horizons* 29.2 (2002): esp. 241,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0360966900010124;

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- ³⁸ Ankur Barua, "Christian Visions of Advaita Vedānta: The Spiritual Exercises of Bede Griffiths and Henri Le Saux," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 51.4 (2016): 524-51.
 - ³⁹ Ibid., 526-31.
 - ⁴⁰ Ibid., 550.
 - ⁴¹ Ibid., 551.