

LALMANT JOSHI, M.A.; Ph.D.

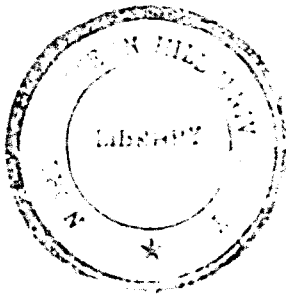
**STUDIES IN THE
BUDDHIST
CULTURE
OF INDIA**



Presented to Professor Dr. M. R. Ray
with respectful regards
K. U. Jochi

12. VII. '67

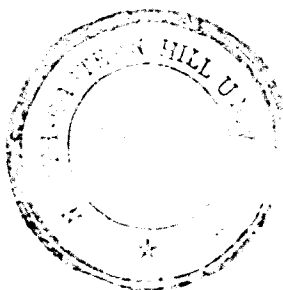
STUDIES IN THE BUDDHISTIC CULTURE
OF INDIA



जगद्दुःखैर्कर्मैर्जयं सर्वसंपत्सुखाकरम् ।
लाभसत्कारसहितं चिरं तिष्ठतु शासनम् ॥
बोधिचर्यावतार, १०. ५७

STUDIES IN THE BUDDHISTIC CULTURE OF INDIA

(During the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.)



by

LALMANI JOSHI, M.A., Ph.D.

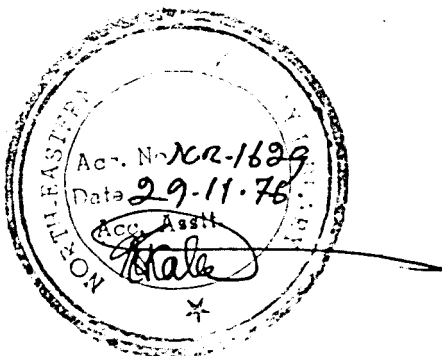
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FOREWORD

While in one sense Buddhistic culture is part of the wider stream of Indian Civilisation, in another sense, it transcends the quality of any purely nationalistic culture. That is because of its particular but genuine spiritualism. Like man, culture has a double origin, natural and spiritual. In fact, man's cultural life arises from his spiritual aspirations working from within the limited but modifiable circuits of his natural or instinctive life. Just as a *Nyagrodha* has roots above and below, so culture is conditioned by material, social and historical circumstances and yet aspires after an eternal and universal ideal. The quest for security, for example, produces diverse historically circumscribed systems of economic, social and political institutions, all of them really seeking to express and spell out in a realm of contingent multiplicity different aspects of man's vision of the protecting Deity whether as symbolized by the bounteous goddess holding the cornucopia or as the Heavenly Father (*Pitāmah*) or as the Lord wielding the sceptre of authority. Whether man's protecting deity be real or imaginary, it cannot be gainsaid that man tends to evolve the consciousness of an ideal of security, of a universal order where each individual would receive the care a child would from a bounteous, loving and just father. Whether such an order is in some sense eternal or a future possibility, personal or impersonal, is less significant than the fact that it is not yet a perfected actuality on the historical plane and that its notion imparts a universal direction and intelligibility to man's history as governed by the quest for security. The other quests of man, for knowledge, for love and for freedom, operate similarly in history. Thus it is that culture appears as an evolving complex with a historical matrix and a transcendent ideal.

Compared to other forms of culture, spiritual culture is more universal and more self-conscious of its universality. Buddhism is in a way the most universal of all the historical forms of spirituality. It had no hesitation in adopting the

linguistic and material modes of culture prevalent in the societies where it happened to spread. Thus Buddhist literature was readily created in Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese and was held fully authoritative. Buddha himself discredited the notion of any originally authentic language or of an absolutely sacrosanct canon. He asked his followers to accept his words only after due testing and critical examination. Buddhist monks and teachers spread this catholic and rational message wherever they could. Even Buddhist mysticism depends on the scientific analysis of psychic and parapsychic phenomena and a system of moral and mental training depending on this analysis and testable by personal experience. Perception and inference alone are accepted as the valid means of knowledge and there is no scope for blind faith, obscurantism or transcendent, metaphysical entities. Relying on experience and reason and rejecting the compulsive authority of any definitive but archaic scriptures that could not be questioned, Buddhism became a dynamic and expansive world-religion. As such, while Indian by birth, Buddhism became universal by choice.

The fact, however, is that the essence of Indian culture is not nationalistic but universal. We should not identify the core elements of Indian culture with particular obsolescent institutions like caste or detailed *Dharma-sāstra* regulations or specific temple rituals. It is the abstract notions of *Dharma* and *Mokṣa*, *Karman*, *Jñāna*, *Yoga* and *Bhakti* and the tradition of genuine spiritual experience out of which these concepts were articulated that constitute the heart of Indian culture. Buddhism impersonalised the notions of *Dharma* and *Mokṣa*, sought to rid the salvation-seeker of soteriological egoism, emphasized moral rather than ritual *Karman*, emancipated *Jñāna* from *Śabda*, provided *Yoga* with a purely psychological foundation and made an ideal man the proper object of *Bhakti*. Buddhism thus provided an ideal version of Indian culture for those who should have a tough mind, intellectual, self-reliant, public-spirited and altruistic. Unfortunately the lure of an easy religion, of mechanical worship, attractive symbols and the possibility of gaining all without losing any, overcome the Indian psyche gradually from the 7th century A.D.

It is not that *Tantra* and *Haṭha Yoga*, which are as much Buddhistic in this period as non-Buddhistic, should be regarded

as delusive. The fact is that in point of psycho-spiritual insight and acumen *Tantra* and *Haṭhayoga* represent a new climax in Indian culture. They represent the one and only genuine parapsychology so far known and sought to be utilized in a spiritual and religious context. Unfortunately they are also capable of being put to trivial personal and material uses. As such they only recoil on the person and soon become quite delusive. If wrongly motivated, even ordinary prayer and worship become a danger to mental health. If the highly potent techniques of *Tantra* and *Yoga* are used, the danger becomes all the greater. On the national plane the misunderstanding and misapplication of *Tantra* spelled disaster. The worshippers of *Śakti* were quickly run over by Turkish hordes. In a recent novel Sri Hazari Prasad Dwivedi who has studied Siddha literature so well, sketches the tragic delusions of such worshippers in a revealing manner.

My old and beloved pupil Lal Mani Joshi devotes his present work to the analysis of Buddhistic culture in India in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. With painstaking scholarship and a learned vision he has sought to make the subject alive and luminous. The work is indeed excellently done and opens the way to a more philosophical and intellectual study of the whole period of early middle ages where only dynasties and temples and material culture have so far attracted genuine scholarly attention. The work is remarkably comprehensive and presents a cultural epoch in its impressive and varied *Zusammenhang*. Reading it is like entering a Gothic cathedral, spacious and high, lit in a sober light from multicoloured windows.

Tagore Professor of Indian Culture,
Rajasthan University, Jaipur.
March 27, 1967.

G. C. Pande

OPINIONS

“.....The work has impressed me as a *learned and brilliant attempt* dealing with a subject on which though much has been written, more work yet remains to be done. In view of this fact, I cannot help observing that the present thesis, which is the outcome of several years of continued labour and contains the results of upto-date investigations, is a *really valuable contribution to some aspects of Buddhist Culture* during a certain period, and deserves to be appreciated. It is written in graceful style and in simple language. In my opinion, it is a *work of singular merit.....*”

—Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Dr. Gopinatha Kavirāja.

“.....Dr. Lal Mani Joshi’s *monumental work* on INDIAN BUDDHIST CULTURE during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., is of an *almost encyclopaedic order*, drawing not only on practically every available original text of the period concerned, but equally on all important works of modern scholarsYears of painstaking research have gone into this work, and the *variety and completeness of information (with thousands of detailed references)* will make this book a *valuable aid for all serious research scholars and students of Buddhist history.....*”

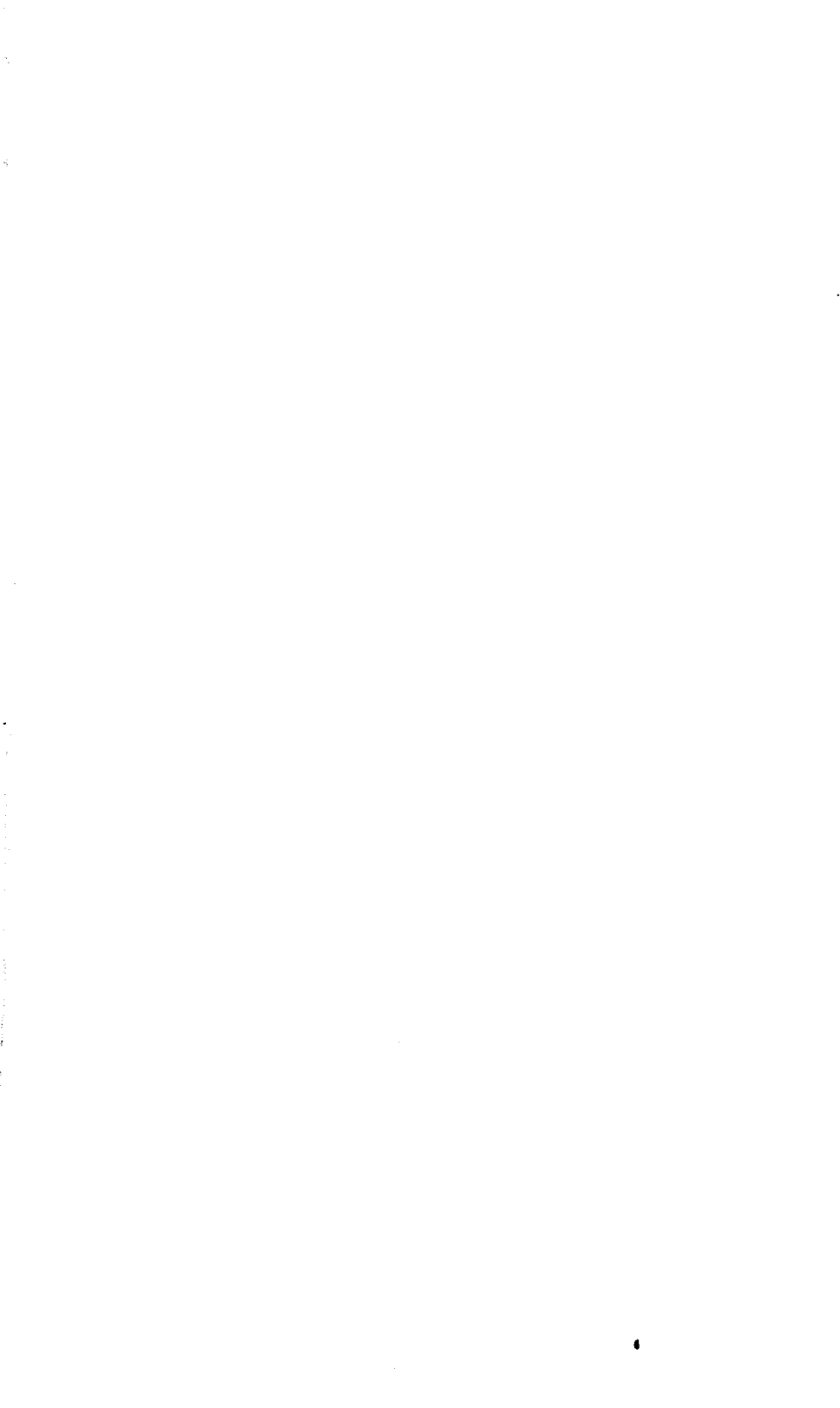
—Maitreyaṃḍalācārya Lāmā Anagārika Govinda.

“.....The thesis shows wide and upto-date reading, knowledge of the sources, and powers of critical judgement. *The use of all available materials has made it a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the period.....*”

—Professor Kṣetreśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya.

To
Professor Govind Chandra Pande

गुरवे । कल्याणमित्राय ।



Author's Preface

'Culture' is generally regarded as a tradition or pattern of life and thought in a community. While it manifests itself historically in education and learning, art and literature, philosophy and religious movements, its inner being is constituted by a configuration of values. Values have a diverse character—instrumental and final, central and peripheral—and are conceived under many particular upādhis; nevertheless it cannot be gainsaid that they aspire after universality.

From this point of view, one should be able to speak of one concrete entity, the culture of all mankind. Actually, however, the vision of a universal human culture, which would be concrete in the Hegelian sense, belongs largely to the future. Human history appears as a long and painful travail toward the realization of such a vision ever moving cyclically from narrower to larger units and conceptions. One cannot, of course, speak of any strict law or predictability in history, and the historian as distinguished from the philosopher, has to content himself with recording the past vicissitudes of actual cultural movements, in the course of which larger conceptions have often emerged from narrower beginnings.

The task of the historical researcher is often further restricted by the inevitable discipline imposed by the requirements of detail and rigour, which tend to exclude a great deal of plausible, but in the last analysis only hypothetical, interpretation. The historical researcher can only hope to furnish some significant material to the general historian for his larger construction and interpretation, so that the work of general historian may at last aspire to stimulate the philosopher in his vision of the destiny of mankind. On the other hand, the light of philosophy also, without any dogmatic pre-conceptions, of course, must to some extent guide the historical worker.

The purpose of the following pages is to present authentic materials for the historical reconstruction and critical appreciation of some aspects of Buddhistic culture in India during the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Although the changes in Indian Buddhism and its achievements during this period are full of varied interests and intricate problems, and although

many scholars have commented on several of its aspects in different contexts, no systematic and integral study of the subject has so far been made. The older works of Kern, Keith and Thomas or the latest of Professors Lamotte, Conze and Pande, on the history of Buddhism in India, hardly deal with this period or do so very sparingly. The poor picture of Buddhist history, philosophy and culture presented in a Government of India publication, the '2500 Years of Buddhism' (New Delhi, 1956, 1959) indicates rather the unfortunate fact that in no other country of the world today Buddhist studies receive so negligible and scant a treatment as in the homeland of Buddhism. Below is an humble attempt, perhaps incomplete in some respects, to study in some detail faithfully but critically, the Chinese records, Tibetan annals and the Indian literary and archaeological sources, bearing only on two centuries of Buddhist history and culture in India. The attempt is throughout historical and critical and the approach integral; elements of Buddhist culture have been analysed and studied within the frame work of India's cultural history as a whole.

The significance of the subject and the period selected here can hardly be exaggerated. It was the age when Buddhist logic and dialectics were perfected by Dharmakīrti and Śāntirakṣita; when Buddhist moral and spiritual fervour received supreme expression at the hands of Śāntideva and Kamalaśīla; when some of the master minds of ancient India, including Śāntideva, Candrakīrti, Dharmakīrti, Śāntirakṣita, Uddyotakara, Kumārīla and Śaṅkara, were busy in a life and death struggle for the defence of their own doctrines; when Buddhist logicians like Śaṅkarānanda and Brahmanical teachers like Gauḍapāda were trying to harmonise the tenets of Buddhist and Brahmanical philosophies; when Tāntrika Adepts like Sarahapāda, Nāgārjuna (II), and others began to broadcast that Esoteric Gospel which soon transformed Śākyamuni's Gospel, dominated the whole medieval period of Indian culture, and which, through Gorakhanātha, Kabiradāsa and others, was transmitted down to Rāmakriṣṇa, Rāmaṇa Maharṣi and Sri Aurobindo of our own days; it was during this most critical and decisive period in the history of Indian Buddhism, in fact, of Indian culture as a whole, that while a host of Buddhist Doctors

and graduates of Indian Buddhist Universities were engaged in their scientific and cultural missions in distant parts of Asia, their Brahmanical fellow countrymen at home were actively engaged in organising a countrywide intellectual and cultural crusade against Buddhist ideals and practices; when Brahmanism, re-armed with Buddhist arsenal, sacked its rival creditor; when Tāntrikism washed off distinctive traits of Buddhism and swept all religious sects of the country in one massive stream of devotional mysticism; when Buddhism began to recede into the background while Brahmanism reshaped itself into 'Hinduism'; considerably refined and enriched by constant contacts with Buddhist ideals and practices, and re-modelled according to the new circumstances brought about by the growth and popularity of Sramanic idealogies for centuries, Brahmanism now emerged, under its Purāṇic garb as the undisputed national 'Hindu' culture. In the twofold process of assimilation and condemnation of Buddhism, the Brahmanical priests sacrificed at the alter of mythical Viṣṇu even the most historical and overwhelmingly non-Brahmanical personality of Buddha and mystified the historical existence of Buddhism as a delusive trick of a Purāṇic God. "This well-conceived and bold stroke of policy", remarks Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "cut the ground from under the feet of Buddhism which was already treadily losing ground and the ultimate result was the complete effacement of Buddhism from India as a separate sect." (The Cultural Heritage of India, 2nd ed. vol. IV, Calcutta, 1956, p.48.) The transformation of Brahmanism or the birth of 'Hinduism', we may add, had been the eclipse of Buddhism in its homeland—one of the major tragedies in the annals of Indian culture—a fact frequently overlooked or confused by most of our historians.

But a volume primarily devoted to a study of some aspects of Buddhist life and thought cannot be expected to do full justice to all these outstanding events and changes of far-reaching-consequences that characterised this period. A comprehensive study of inter-relations between Brahmanism and Buddhism is in itself the task of a life-time; a discussion of the polemics of near contemporary Naiyāyika and Vaiyākaraṇa thinkers against Buddhist thought would have required two more chapters in an already bulky volume. I would have liked to include a survey of Buddhism in contemporary Nepal, Tibet, Burma and

Ceylon, a more detailed treatment of Buddhist art and iconography of the period, a fuller evaluation of the thought of Dharmakīrti, and a comparative study of Brahmanical and Buddhist Tantras. But all this would have needed twice as much labour and leisure as have gone into the production of these pages, none of which however, has been offered to me by my present precarious health and hostile environment.

The work now printed here is substantially the same as was approved for the Degree of Doctorate in Ancient History, Archaeology and Culture by the University of Gorakhpur in 1964. Type-script has been occasionally revised and certain portions curtailed; slight additions and changes have also been made in the arrangement of the material.

The changes which came over Buddhism during this period were the clear manifestations of tendencies which had been at work long ago. The first chapter of this work, therefore, seeks to trace the earlier background with a view to restating the origins of the new phase of Buddhism and its connection with the past tradition.

The next chapter describes the general state of Buddhism in the seventh and eighth centuries in different regions of India.

The third chapter deals with the achievements of Buddhist art as it developed especially with in the monasteries. Here the connection between Tāntrika Buddhism and plastic art has also been sought to be briefly analysed.

In the fourth chapter, a detailed picture of life and discipline in the monasteries is sought to be depicted. Historical examples of Buddhist piety and endowments and maintenance of monasteries have been gleaned from contemporary inscriptions and supplemented by Chinese accounts of India and Indian literary documents.

The fifth chapter seeks to elucidate the moral ideas and religious practices inculcated by both forms of Buddhism, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, the former represented chiefly by I-tsing, the latter by Śāntideva. It is sought to be emphasised that despite predominance of Mahāyāna and the emergence of Vajrayāna, old ascetic Buddhism was still very much alive in some parts of the country.

The sixth and seventh chapters attempt to weave together a picture of Buddhist education, learning and literature. It

would be seen that Buddhist Universities for the first time in India's history provided her with the best and greatest centres of higher learning, and being international in character, rose above sectarian horizon to impart training in sacred as well as secular branches of learning. To be alive is to produce, and there can be no doubt that while Buddhist educational system had justly elicited universal admiration, its fruits have been no less impressive.

The eighth chapter attempts a systematic though necessarily concise, delineation and review of the numerous doctrinal controversies and divisions with which the Buddhist thought of this period bristled. In this connection an attempt has also been made to relate the leading tendencies in thought to their sources in spiritual experience, historical tradition or rational dialectic. It has been kept in mind that while Buddhism remains mystical at heart, it develops the arsenal of logic to defend its basic mystical position.

The ninth chapter looks at Buddhist thought from the window provided by the polemics of Kumārila and Śaṅkara. On the whole the representation of the Pūrvapakṣa in these authors has an extraordinary fidelity and penetration. Their criticism of course, reflects, not so much the weakness or inconsistencies of Buddhist reasoning as the differences in the basic point of view and presuppositions of these eminent Brahmanical critics and opponents of Buddhistic systems. Of the two, Kumārila definitely proved his subtler logical acumen and superior grasp of Buddhist principles than Śaṅkara, whose unjustified fame as the foremost Brahmanical philosopher has kept many modern scholars ignorant of Kumārila's profounder contribution to Brahmanical logic, epistemology and dialectics.

The tenth and eleventh chapters seek to explain the development and principal contents of Tāntrika Buddhism. The subject is full of difficulties of diverse kinds, not the least of which is the fact that the Tantras are written in a language and employ terms which can become fully intelligible only to those who have actually trodden the esoteric path. In connection with the language of modern science it has been emphasised by some thinkers that only an operational definition is possible for the terms which it uses. If the claim of the Tantras to be a practical way to the Highest be valid, it is obvious that its terms

and concepts could be understood only in a similar operational manner.

The attempt to express profound metapsychological verities in terms of common experience, must necessarily lead to a kind of allegorical or code-language. The interpretation of Tāntrika principles, therefore, can only be done in the light of such explanations as the Tāntrikas, past and present, have offered.

The twelfth and last chapter seeks to assess the beginnings of the decline of Buddhism in India. Various views, largely hypothetical, expressed on the subject, are examined here in the light of all the available evidence. Internal and external factors in the process of decline of Buddhism have been analysed and documented.

The main work is followed by five Appendixes. First appendix dwells on Buddhist Emperor Harṣa as a man of letters, second reproduces a list of Buddhist texts translated by Yuan Chwang; third reviews the date of Dharmakīrti the logician, and some cognate problems, while the fourth discusses the relations of Gauḍapāda and Advaita Vedānta with Buddhist thought; last appendix restates the chronological position of some early esoteric Buddhist masters. References to the authorities cited, notes and relevant comments have been appended to each chapter.

Chinese records and Tibetan annals have been freely utilised in their modern translations. New evidence has been brought to the notice of scholars from old publications and some older views have been either strengthened or weakened by evidence from recent publications. For example, the suggestions that Bhāvaviveka was a contemporary of Dharmapāla the teacher of Śīlabhadra, and hence flourished in the last half of the 6th and first quarter of the 7th century and not in cir. 500 A.D. as is generally supposed; that the institution of married monks was prevalent in Sindha in the first half of the 7th century A.D., that a king Vikramāditya of Śrāvastī, identifiable with Skandagupta, was instrumental in causing Manoratha, the Sarvāstivāda teacher, to commit suicide; and that a Sātavāhana prince, identifiable with Gautamīputra Sātakarni, was responsible for the murder of the Mādhyamika philosopher Nāgārjuna,

have been made in these pages and are based chiefly on the authority of old publications.

A new identification of the famous Tāntrika Pīṭha called Pūrṇāgiri with modern Pūrṇāgiri, a famous Śākta tīrtha overlooking Nepal in Almorā District of U. P. has been proposed. Potalaka Parvata has been suggested as a third possible early seat of the origin of Vajrayāna in the far south apart from Dhānyakaṭaka and Śrīparvata; this suggestion is based on the authority of Yuan Chwang, the Sādhanamālā and the Gilgit text of the Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-Buddha-kṣetra-sandaraśanavyūha. South Indian origin of Tāntrika Buddhism, already suggested many years ago by the late Pt. Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana, has been further strengthened by fresh evidence extracted from the Sekoddeśatikā, the Blue Annals, the Biography of Dharmasvāmin and the above mentioned Gilgit text. These authorities finally overthrow the generally accepted theory of Bengali origin of Tāntrika Buddhism. It would not be too much to say that a historical, critical and systematic study into the origin and early evolution of Tāntrika tendencies in Buddhism has been attempted for the first time in this work. Possibility of the existence of a few seeds of Tāntrikism in the protohistoric civilization of Western India and Pakistan, chiefly represented by Harappa and Mohenjodaro, suggested for the first time by the present author, may take the rudimentary beginnings of esoterism back to the third millennium B.C. The views that, constant Brahmanical hostility towards Buddhism both in letter and spirit seems to have been the foremost factor in loosening its hold on Indian classes and masses, and that the anti-Buddhist propaganda in Brahmanical literature was not a mere "war of the pen" but was periodically accompanied with its social counterpart, such as social boy-cott and royal edicts against those who violated the "divinely ordained" scheme of Cāturvarṇya, and forceful confiscation of landed property of Buddhist establishments by Brahmanical kings, etc., have been put forward for the reconsideration of our historians who account for the decay of Buddhism by exaggerating the effects of Turkish conquest of India.

A new English Translation of the memorial verses of the Śikṣāsamuccaya has been incorporated in this work. That

the compound 'Mahāsukha' occurs already in the Nairātmya pariṣcchāsūtra in the same sense in which it is expressed by the Siddhas; that there is epigraphic evidence for the existence of some Buddhist monk-artists in the University of Nālandā; that Siddha Nāgārjuna may have been the author of the Guhyasamāja-Tantra, that the goddess Ekajaṭā or Vajraikatā, whose worship he is reported to have 'rescued' from Tibet, is mentioned in this text also; that I-tsing already refers to the abuses of esoteric mysticism; that Bhāvaviveka belonged to that critical school of Buddhist philosophy which was started by Kumāralabdha and which grew with Vasubandhu and Diñnāga and drawing materials from Sautrāntika, Vijñānavāda and Mādhyamika systems, was perfected by Sāntirakṣita, and that Gauḍapāda's synthetic attempts were quite in keeping with the time's general policy of *rapprochement* between Brahmanism and Buddhism, and numerous other minor observations and suggestions have been made in the following pages. It has not been possible for the author to accept the generally held and widely published theory of the genesis of Buddhism and its relation to Brahmanism. He has briefly criticised the view which traces the origin of Buddhism to Vedic religion and has distinguished between Brahmanism and Hinduism on the one hand, and between Buddhism or Sramanism and Brahmanism or Vedicism, on the other. (See Chapter XII, esp. notes 144 and 195). The author agrees with Prof. G. C. Pande (Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, p. 317) that Ascetic Culture or Śramanic thought of India is of non-Vedic and pre-Aryan origin but differs from him with respect to the mutual relationship and relative chronology of the teachings of Sākyamuni and those of the oldest Upaniṣads. In the author's view no Upaniṣad text can be proved to be pre-Buddhist in date, and the partial agreement between Buddha's teachings and those of the early Upaniṣads is due to the fact that these Vedic texts were composed between the age of Buddha and that of Aśoka, and their thought was deeply influenced by the non-Vedic doctrines of early Yoga, the early Sāmkhya, early Buddhism and early Jainism.

It is for the Buddhist scholars and historians of ancient Indian thought and culture to judge the merits and demerits of this work. The author is conscious, more than the readers, of its shortcomings. Many important works in Italian, French,

German, and Japanese, bearing on the subject and the scope covered by this book, have been published in recent years. Author's ignorance of these languages came in the way of their use. In the last week of March, 1967 when this book had already been printed, I happened to meet Prof. N. Aiyaswami Sastri, formerly of China Bhavan, Visvabharati University, Santiniketan. He kindly informed me that one of the Sarvāstivāda philosophers, who lived between Dharmakīrti and Kamalaśīla, was Bhadanta Śubhagupta. I was aware of the fact that his realistic views had been criticised by Kamalaśīla in the *Tattva-saṃgraha-Pañjikā* (See G. Jha's Eng. Tr. vol. II, pp. 938, 963, 968, 970, 974, and 987). But I thought that he may have flourished in the Gupta period. Prof. N. A. Sastri has restored into Saṃskṛit the kārīkās of a work of Bhadanta Śubhagupta, called *Bāhyārthasiddhi*; the ms. of this translation is still unpublished. I am thankful to this well known Buddhist scholar for the information that Śubhagupta has criticised not only Dīnāga but also the sahopalambhaniyama of Dharmakīrti. This realistic Doctor thus has to be placed some time in 650-750 A.D. I am, however, now inclined to suggest that this Bhadanta Śubhagupta may be identical with Kalyāṇaraṅgita whose five treatises are extant in Tibetan and who has been placed by us in c. 800 A.D. (see Chap. VI, p. 201).

It is impossible to mention the names of all the scholars whose publications have been utilised here. While I am glad to record my indebtedness to a host of Buddhist scholars the world over; I may mention the names of H. P. Sastri, Ganganath Jha, Rahula Saṃkṛtyāyana, B. Bhattacharya, P. L. Vaidya, N. Dutt, R.C. Majumdar, Watters, Takakusu, Vallee Poussin, Stcherbatsky, Winternitz, Cunningham, Marshall, Tucci, and Conze, whose works have taught me much. There are over twenty five hundred notes and references in this book and acknowledgement due to modern scholars has been made at proper places. I am especially thankful and express my tribute of respect to Padmavibhūṣana Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja, Professor of Tantra-Śāstra, Vārāṇasīya Saṃskṛit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi, Rev. Lama Anagārika Govinda, Ācārya, Arya Maitreya Maṇḍala and a distinguished authority on Buddhism, Rev. Professor Jagadish Kashyap, Director, Nava Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Nālandā, and Professor

Ksetresachandra Chaṭṭopadhyāya, Ex-Director, Research Institute, Vārāṇaseya Saṃskṛit Viśvavidyālaya, Varanasi, for their valuable criticism and warm appreciation of this work even before its publication. I am also thankful to Dr. Ram Chandra Pandeya, Head of the Deptt. of Buddhist Studies, University of Delhi, for his appreciation and encouragement of my work.

It is with pleasure that I express my sense of gratitude to Professor A.C. Chatterji, D. Sc., Ex-Vice-Chancellor, University of Gorakhpur, for providing me with facilities for research and study-tours; to the authorities of the University Grants Commission, Government of India, for awarding me a post-graduate Research Fellowship in Humanities in 1960-61; and to Professor Madan Mohan, Vice-Chancellor, University of Gorakhpur, for his keen interest in the progress of my academic endeavours and for kindly sanctioning a substantial amount of money to partly finance the publication of this Doctoral dissertation out of the U.G.C. Research Publication Fund at the disposal of the University of Gorakhpur.

The task involved in writing this book was accomplished largely in the libraries of various Universities, Institutions, and Museums of Northern India. I thank the authorities and the staff of all those educational centres which provided me with library facilities during my study tours in 1960-1965. My thanks are due also to Rev. M. Sangharatana, Nayaka Thera, Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society of India, Sarnath, for giving me permission to reproduce here my English Translation of the Sikṣāsamuccaya-Kārikās, published by him in 1965.

In the course of my study-tours and participation in different-learned gatherings and Buddhist seminars in India, I got the opportunity of meeting and discussing some Buddhist topics of my interest with Professors N. Dutt, A. C. Banerjee, T.R.V. Murti, Rev. Dharmarakṣita, P.L. Vaidya, P.V. Bapat, V.V. Gokhale, P. Pradhan, Jagannath Upadhyaya, and N. Aiyaswami Sastri. I am glad to say that I had always received the benefit of their affection and learning. I am grateful to all these scholars.

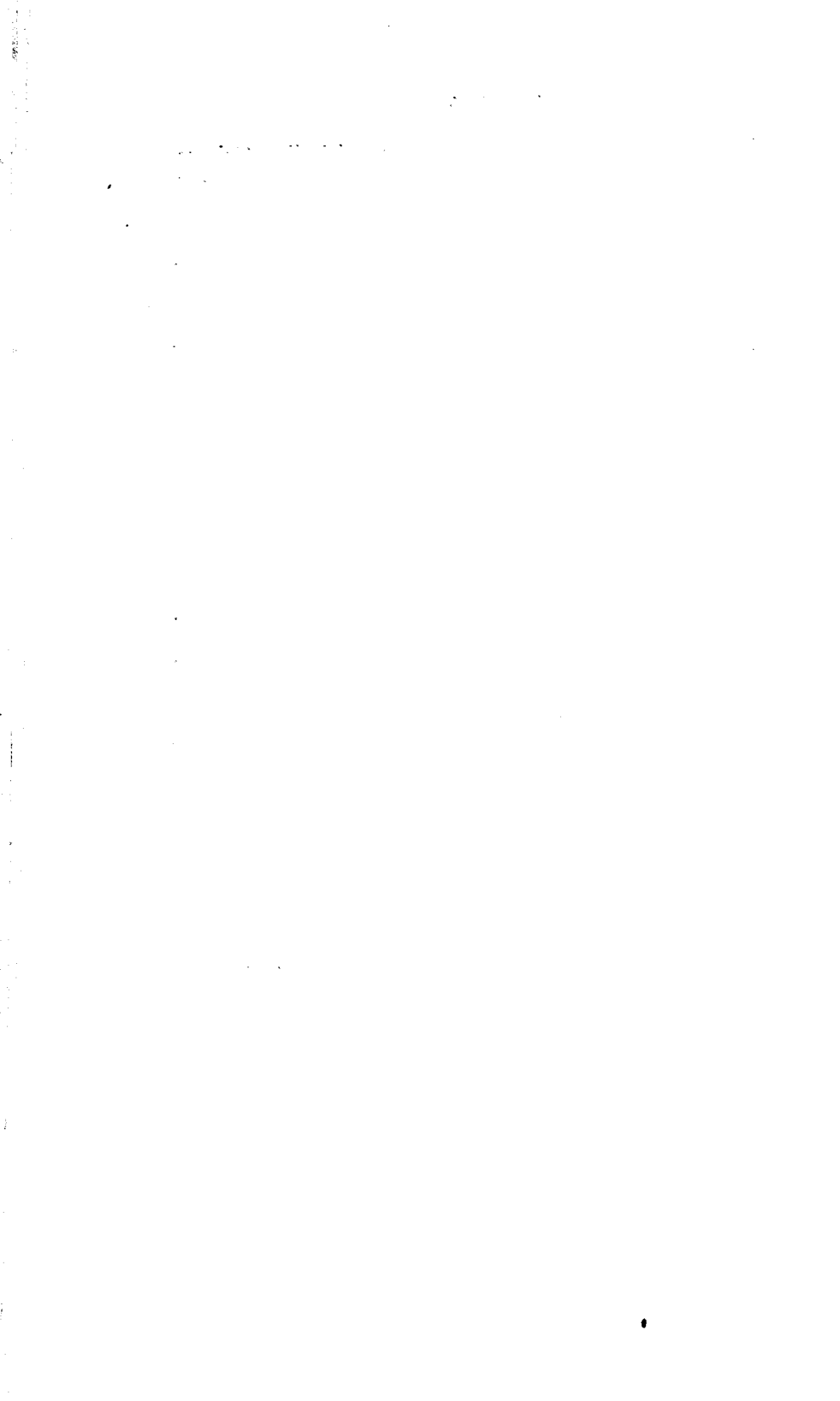
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Buddha Jayanti, 1967,
University of Gorakhpur,

L.M. Joshi



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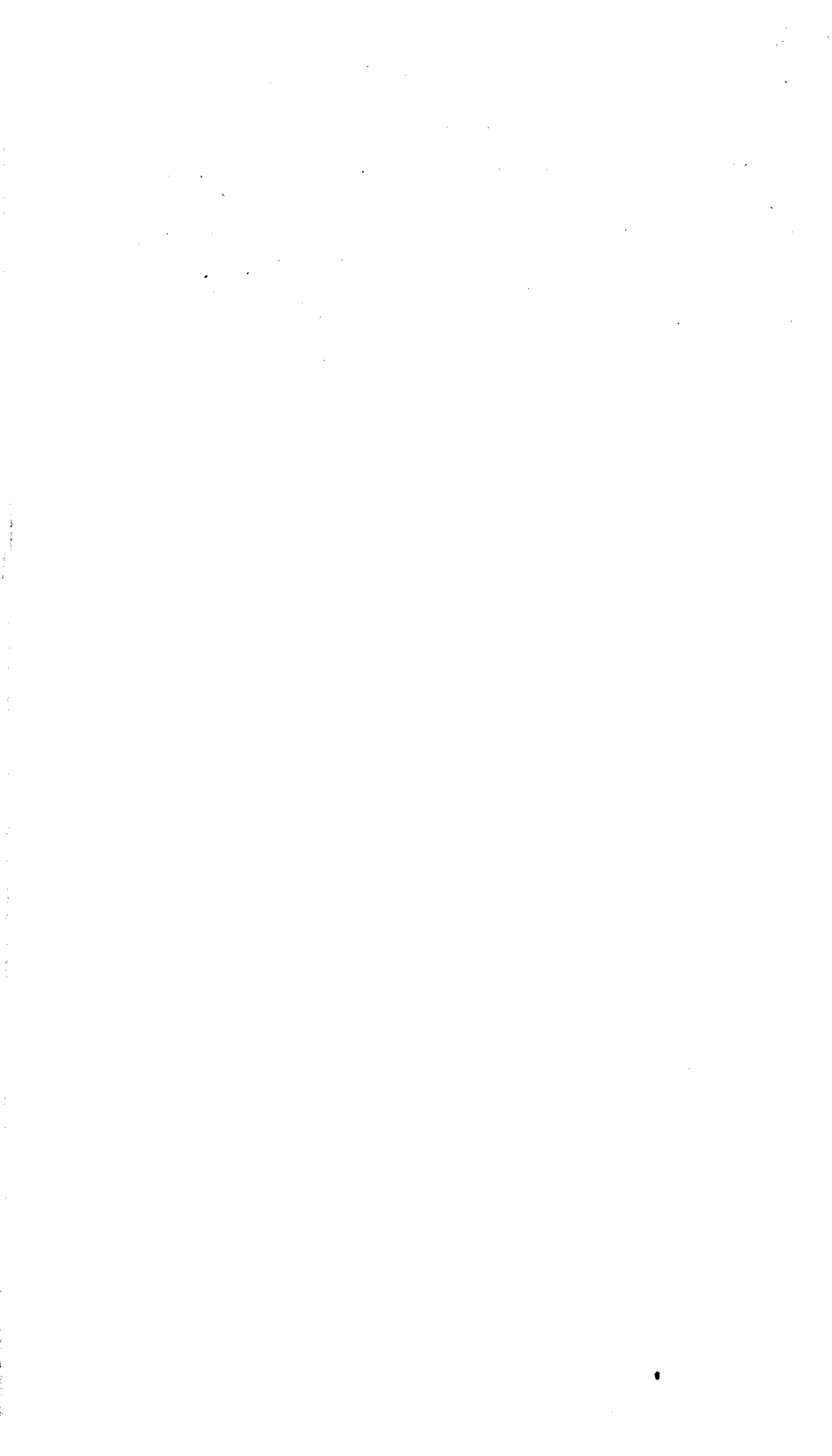
N.B. :—Details of publications referred here and others may be seen in Bibliography at the end of this work.

AK	—	Abhidharmakośa.
APP	—	Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra.
AN	—	Aṅguttara Nikāya.
ALB	—	Adyar Library Bulletin
ABORI	—	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
ASIR	—	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
BCA	—	Bodhicaryāvatāra.
BCAP	—	Bodhicaryāvatāra-Pañjikā.
BB	—	Bibliotheca Buddhica.
BI	—	Bibliotheca Indica.
BORI	—	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Br. SŚ	—	Brahmasūtra-Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya.
BṛUp	—	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
BST	—	Buddhist Sanskrit Texts Series.
BL	—	Buddhist Logic by Stcherbatsky.
Bu-sTon	—	Bu-sTon's Chos hbyun, English Translation by E. Obermiller, 2 vols.
Blue Annals		Deb-ther sNon-po or Blue Annals of Zon-nu-dpal, English Translation by G.N. Roerich, 2 vols.
CŚ	—	Catuḥśataka.
CŚV	—	Catuḥśataka-Vṛtti.
CVP	—	Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa.
Comy.	—	Commentary.
Cordier-cata		Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, par P. Cordier.
Ch. Up	—	Chāndogya Upaniṣad.
DPPN	—	Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, 2 vols. by G.P. Malalasekera.
Ep. Ind.		Epigraphia Indica.
ERE	—	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, 13 vols. edited by James Hastings and others.

Fa-hsien	—	Travels of Fa-hsien, English Translation by H. A. Giles.
GOS	—	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
GST	—	Guhyasamāja-Tantra.
HOS	—	Harvard Oriental Series.
HCIP	—	History and Culture of the Indian People ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar, Vols. II, III and IV.
IHQ	—	Indian Historical Quarterly.
I-Tsing	—	A Record of the Buddhist Religion As Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-Tsing, English Translation by J. Takakusu.
Ind. Ant.	—	Indian Antiquary.
JAOS	—	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB	—	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JRAS	—	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JBBRAS	—	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JOR(M)	—	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
JUPHS	—	Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.
Kern-Manual	—	A Manual of Indian Buddhism by H. Kern.
Keith-RPVUP	—	Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, 2 vols. by A.B. Keith.
KN	—	Khuddaka Nikāya.
Life	—	Life of Hiuan Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui li. English Translation by Samuel Beal.
MMK	—	Ārya-Maṅjuśrī-Mūlakaḷpa Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtra.
MN	—	Majjhima Nikāya.
Ms.	—	Manuscripts.
MŚ	—	Madhyamakaśāstra.
MBT	—	Minor Buddhist Texts, 2 Pts. ed. by G. Tucci.
MSS	—	Mahāyāna Sūtra Saṃgraha, vol. I ed. P.L. Vaidya.

MA SI	—	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NS	—	New Series.
NNMVRP	—	Nava-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra Research Publication, vols. I-II, ed. by Satkari Mookerji.
Nanjio-Cata		A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, by B. Nanjio.
N. Dutt-Aspects		Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its relation to Hinayāna, by Nalinākṣa Dutt.
Smith-EHI	—	Early History of India (3rd and 4th ed.) by V.A. Smith.
Sogen-Systems—		Systems of Buddhistic Thought by Yamakani Sogen.
Śvet. Up	—	Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad.
SN	—	Samyutta Nikāya.
SBE	—	Sacred Books of the East Series ed. by F. Max Muller.
SOR	---	Serie Oriental Roma.
ŚV	—	Ślokavārttika.
Si Yu Ki	—	Si yu ki or Buddhist Records of the Western World, English Translation (from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang) by Samuel Beal.
SDS	—	Sarva-Darśana-Saṃgraha.
ŚS	—	Śikṣāsamuccaya.
Tucci-Manḍala—		Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala by Giuseppe Tucci.
Tārānātha (Schiefner)		Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, German Translation by Von A. Schiefner.
TS	—	Tattva-Saṃgraha.
TSP	—	Tattva-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā.
TSS	—	Trivendrum Sanskrit Series.
Tohoku-Cata—		A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, ed. by H. Ui, M. Suzuki, Y. Kanakura, T. Tada, published by the Tohoku Imperial University.

- Vidyābhūṣaṇa-HIL:— A History of Indian Logic by Satisacandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa.
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CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF EARLIER DEVELOPMENT

(i) FROM BUDDHA TO NĀGĀRJUNA

The Creed of Buddha and the Meaning of Buddhist Culture

The new current which Buddha started¹ within Indian culture has ultimately come to be an essential part of world culture as whole. The basic moral and spiritual ideas which the Buddha preached carried forward a certain ancient religious and cultural tradition and became in turn the source of a manifold development which expressed itself not only by setting up a high and refined moral ideal promoting charitable activities among the laity, and ascetic renunciation and mystical contemplation especially among the monks and nuns, but also by the creation of truly remarkable educational, literary, artistic and intellectual activities.²

This rich stream of cultural life inspired by the Buddha progressed during the centuries following his Parinirvāṇa, gradually acquiring a varied and individual aspect but ever remaining a tributary of that larger stream of Indian culture into which it ultimately merged.³ Buddha's teachings differed according to the intellectual level of his hearers, and the Pāli canon contains seeds of many later developments.⁴

Spread and Transformation of Buddhism

After the death of Buddha there arose great controversies among his followers with regard to the interpretation of the utterances of the Teacher and also about the rules of discipline. The germs of these controversies are discernible in the most ancient canon. To settle these disputes great Synods (Saṃgītis) were held from time to time. There were men like Purāṇa who held it better to abide by what they had heard from the Teacher's mouth rather than to accept the conclusions arrived at in the First Council.⁵ With the gradual spread of Buddhism in Northern India, geographical and local influences also seem to have contributed towards the growth of controversies in things doctrinal and disciplinary.⁶

CHAPTER II

BUDDHISM IN INDIA DURING THE 7TH AND 8TH CENTURIES A. D.

Section I

BUDDHISM IN THE UTTARAPATHA

Yuan Chwang begins his description of India with Lan-po or Lampa. According to the Life, all countries to the north of it are called 'frontier lands' or 'mleccha lands.'¹ The territory has been identified by Cunningham with Lamghan or Lughman in the Kabul Valley.² There were here above ten monasteries with some Mahāyāna monks. The non-Buddhists were numerous who commanded over a score of Deva-temples.³

Nagar or Nagarhāra [Na-Kie(Ka) lo-ho) probably corresponded to the Jalālābād district. It is not unlikely that Nagar may have been identical with the old republic of Nyas referred to by Arrian.⁴ The people of Nagarhāra respected Buddhism; there were several Buddhist establishments with few monks. In this kingdom in the city called Hi-lo (Hidda) there were Buddha's relics enshrined in a two-storeyed building.⁵ It is noteworthy that near the 'Shadow Cave' near Nagar there was a great monastery with 700 monks in the fifth century A. D., a fact noted by Fa-hien,⁶ of which Yuan Chwang speaks nothing. This may point to the decline of this community and its monastery.

In old days Gandhāra (Kan-to-lo) had produced many Śāstra-Doctors and was a famous centre of the Buddhists. But in the seventh century over a thousand monasteries were in ruinous state and most of the stūpas had decayed.⁷ The people of Gandhāra were fond of practical arts, mostly non-Buddhists. There were few followers of Buddhism. Around Puṣkalāvati (Peshawar) there were about 100 Deva-temples with votaries of various non-Buddhist sects; many of them were Śaiva-Pāśu-

CHAPTER III
BUDDHIST ART IN THE MONASTERIES

The following pages, dealing with the Buddhist art of the period, based on information supplied by Yuan Chwang and corroborated by corresponding references to extant archaeological remains and other sources referable to this period, are intended to supplement the general picture of Buddhism sketched above.

While speaking of the cities, houses and buildings of India in general, Yuan Chwang observes that "the *General Features* Buddhist monasteries are of the most remarkable of a *monastery.* architecture. They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high halls in a tier. The rafters and roof beams are carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows, and walls are painted in various colours." Continuing his remarkable description the pilgrim tells us of the design of the houses of the Buddhist house-holders. He says that "the houses of the laity are sumptuous inside and economical outside. The inner rooms and the central hall vary in their dimensions, and there is no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms. Their doors open to the east, and the throne faces east."¹ The 'throne' probably refers to the *siṃhāsana* ('lion seat') wherein the image of Buddha was enshrined in the houses of the laity. Near the capital of Nagar (Na-kie-lo-ho) there stood many old Buddhist sacred buildings mostly in ruinous condition. But a large stūpa made of stone, said to have been built by Aśoka, was still in tact; it contained marvellous sculptures and was more than 300 feet in height.² At some distance from this city, was "a stone monastery with lofty halls and tiers of chambers all silent and un-occupied." In this establishment there was, moreover, an Aśokan Stūpa, 200 feet high.³

In the entire records of Yuan Chwang, nothing strikes us more than the dimensions of a stūpa built by Buddhist art Kaniṣka in Gandhāra. It was one and a half in Gandhāra li in circuit at the base; the plinth was 150 feet high in five stages; the stūpa itself was 400 feet in height. It was thus an extraordinary architectural piece.

CHAPTER IV

MONASTIC LIFE AND DISCIPLINE

Section I

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES AND THEIR ORGANIZATION

It goes without saying that the corner-stone of Buddhist movement consisted of bhikṣus or monks; in the time of Buddha many ascetic mendicants lived a peripatetic life, they were called 'Paribhājakas' or 'wanderers.' A bhikṣu is by definition a 'begger' living on alms, having no permanent abode, the bhikṣu-saṃgha was an 'Order of the Homeless Ones'; it had been, from the very start, an essential member of the Buddhist Trinity called the Tri-ratna. Quite early in the history of Buddhism, Vihāras or monasteries came to be established and the Saṃgha began to have a permanent residence. Though the ideals of 'Piṇḍa-pātika' were never completely abandoned, yet the Buddhist monks now on began to live a settled life in the monastic abodes.¹ Life in these monasteries was regulated by a code of moral conduct, a body of the rules of ethical training and monastic organisation, known as the Vinaya² 'Vi-nayati'—'to lead (from evil) to discipline.'

Observes Dr. Satkari Mookerjee : "The greatest genius of the Buddha lay in the organization of the ascetic order and the creation of a code of rules and regulations for the conduct of monastic life."³ The present chapter is intended to give a picture of this life during our period.

(i) ENDOWMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF MONASTERIES

Buddhist monasteries came into existence as a result of the donations made by the kings, officials of the State and merchant-princes. Their maintenance also was due to the charitable endowments and periodical contributions made by royal and rich persons of the society for the upkeep of their inmates.

Right from the days of Buddha, "the kings, elders, and

CHAPTER V

ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL CULTURE

Section 1

PRACTICAL BUDDHISM AND ITS SOURCES

Buddhist moral and spiritual tradition derives its inspiration from Buddha who lived as a solitary monk seeking release and also as a saviour of beings. His love of solitude and silence was matched only by his universal compassion towards the suffering creatures.¹ Hinayāna seems to have laid emphasis on the former while the Mahāyāna on the latter aspect of Buddha's personality and ideal.

Accordingly, we find in developed Buddhism, a two-fold ideal and course of action. The Hinayāna grew a narrower ideal and made a narrower effort towards ethical and spiritual progress.² Yuan Chwang³ as well as I-tsing⁴ testify to the practice of asceticism, specially the Dhutāngas.⁵ But such ascetic practices were not unknown to the ancient Buddhists;⁶ their texts do reveal that in certain monastic quarters the Dhutāngas⁷ were practised and ascetic ideal extolled.⁸ The goal of striving was to attain the state of an Arhat.⁹ From early scriptures it appears that deliverance from Saṃsāra was attainable through a three-pronged training : morality (Śīla), contemplation (Samādhi) and wisdom (Prajñā).¹⁰ This is indeed the basic path of progress in all Buddhism. Śīla is essentially moderation in conduct and purifies Karman.¹¹ Śīla includes the entire moral code prescribed for the followers of Buddha; this code is three-fold: bodily, vocal and mental.¹² I-tsing reports¹³ that the prohibitions of the five Skandhas ('groups of offences') were commonly observed by the Mahāyānists and the Hinayānists of the 7th century.¹⁴

CHAPTER VI

BUDDHIST EDUCATION AND ITS CENTRES

Section I

THE CHARACTER AND SOURCES OF BUDDHIST EDUCATION

(A) THE BACKGROUND

(i) GENERAL CONCEPTION AND IDEALS OF EDUCATION

'Education', in common parlance, is taken to mean some kind of instruction, knowledge, training or skill in any sphere of human activity. The scope of education is coextensive with the varied interests of human life. In its wider sense education may be described as a creative process of progressive development of individual and social life. As an agency or a group of agencies of cultural advancement, it has been an essential element in human civilization all through the ages.

As an agency of progress, education may be conceived as an illumination of, or, an influence on, human life; it gives guidance, increases knowledges and equips us with insight. Education is thus a source of power—an invisible force—which transforms human nature so as to make him or her a perfect personality, physically, morally and mentally or intellectually.

Conceived thus, educational concept takes a philosophic turn; and, infact, education has been called the dynamic side of philosophy, and implies rather a modification of natural growth and a purposive process of development.

With regard to the ideals of education, there has never been a perfect unanimity among educational thinkers. And this is not to be wondered at; for, the educational ideals are correlative to the ideals of life, and, so long there is divergence of ideals of life, so long will there be divergence of educational ideals.¹

(ii) HIGH IDEALS OF ANCIENT INDIAN EDUCATION

The importance of education was duly recognised and

CHAPTER VII

BUDDHIST LEARNING AND LITERATURE

Section I

MAIN FEATURES OF LEARNING AND LITERATURE

(a) CHARACTER OF BUDDHIST LEARNING IN THIS PERIOD

Emphasis on intellectualism and metaphysical enquiry had been a dominant note of Mahāyāna Buddhism from the very beginning. With the spread of education and growth of logical reasoning, the intellectual bias and metaphysical quest received further impetus in Buddhist fold. Consequently we find intellectualism and scholasticism to be the prominent features of Buddhist learning during this period.

After Diñnāga, the Buddhist scholars had to take a keen interest in philosophical controversies and logical development as a matter of necessity. The Buddhist authors and masters could not ignore the growing need of the art of disputation nor tolerate quietly the waves of Brahmanical attacks often bordering on sectarian animosity. It was, therefore, as a matter of historical necessity that we find the centre of interest being shifted from spiritual endeavour to intellectual endeavour; the Buddhist is now more a philosopher rather than a seer of truth;¹ his efforts became directed not so much to truth-realization as to the explanation and vindication of it. This dominant note of Buddhistic culture had the following objects in view: (i) In the domain of logic proper, the Buddhist scholars elaborated the rules of debate, and tried to distinguish with utmost precision, the valid inference from the invalid inferences. (ii) Besides logic, they developed epistemology, and discussed the problems concerning the origin, nature and sources of knowledge or pramānas. (iii) Allied to these epistemological problems, was an exacting theory, namely the theory of the meaning or import of words. (iv) In the field of Ontology proper, we find that the Buddhist philosophers of our period adduced elaborate argu-

CHAPTER VIII

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY AND DIALECTICS

Section I

HĪNAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA : ECHOES OF OLD CONTROVERSY

(a) SECTS OF THE HĪNAYĀNA

It seems that some of the 18 sects of the Hīnayāna¹ had disappeared during this period. I-tsing mentions 'four principal schools of continuous tradition' in which are grouped the 18 sects of ancient days. These four nikāyas were :

1. ĀRYA-MAHĀSĀMGHIKA-NIKĀYA :

It was divided into seven sects and its Tripiṭaka consisted of three lacs of ślokas.

2. ĀRYA-STHAVIRA-NIKĀYA :

It had three sub-divisions, and its Tripiṭaka was of the same length as that of the Mahāsāmgghika school.

3. ĀRYA-MŪLASARVĀSTIVĀDA-NIKĀYA :

It had four sub sects and the strength of its Tripiṭaka was also three lac ślokas or stanzas.

4. ĀRYA-SAMMITIYA-NIKĀYA :

It had four sub divisions and its Tripiṭaka consisted of two lac ślokas.

There were several different traditions concerning the origin and growth of these sects; but their position in the seventh century was as described above.² "In accordance with several views and traditions, the Tripiṭaka of various sects differ from one another."³

CHAPTER IX

BUDDHISM AS VIEWED BY KUMĀRILA AND ŚAMKARA

Section (A)

KUMĀRILA'S VIEW OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great Mimāṃsā Doctor,¹ was perhaps the foremost and the fiercest critic of Buddhist thought. He has devoted two long chapters of his great polemical work, the Ślokavārttika,² exclusively to the refutation of the two well known systems of Mahāyāna philosophy, viz., the Vijñānavāda Idealism and the Mādhyamika Absolutism. In course of his penetrating and sustained criticism, Kumārila has attacked the Buddhist view of Buddha's 'Omniscience', the theory of 'no-soul' (nairātmya), the theory of 'momentariness', the doctrine of 'unique particular' (svalakṣaṇa), and the theory of phenomenal reality (saṃvṛti-satya)—all this diverse and severe polemic only in defence of the eternity of śabda and the infallibility of the Veda.

(i) NIRĀLAMBANAVĀDA (THE VIJÑĀNAVĀDA)

Kumārila starts by saying that all the paraphernalia of secular and sacred life will become useless if ideas or cognitions were devoid of (corresponding supports) objects (in the external world); in order to understand Dharma, therefore, it is necessary to examine the question of the existence and non-existence of external objects by means of proofs. He devotes 200 ślokas to the consideration of Buddhist doctrine of Vijñānavāda or Vijñaptimātratā; the system is called by Kumārila Nirālambanavāda, i.e., the theory that there is no external support (ālambana) of ideas which are the only realities.³

The Buddhist holds that the Idea alone (Jñānamātra) is the real entity,⁴ all this manifestation (the external world) can be explained as the Saṃvṛti (false) reality, as such, it is useless to adhere to the reality of the external world.⁵

CHAPTER X

ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

(A) ESOTERISM AND TĀNTRIKISM BEFORE THE TANTRAS

The phrase 'Esoteric Buddhism' seems to be an appropriate mode of expressing the significance and essential character of the contents of the Buddhistic Tantras. These texts profess to be meant for the initiates and their teaching is said to be 'esoteric' or 'secret' (*guhya*). Historically, this 'esoteric Buddhism', commonly described as 'Tāntrika Buddhism', is the last phase of Buddhism in India, and its beginnings are wrapped up in obscurity.

Etymologically the term 'tantra' seems to have been connected with the idea of weaving and its derivatives: warp, loom, thread. The grammarians derive the word from the root 'tan', meaning 'to extend' or 'propagation';¹ it is also used for a book, e.g., *Pañca-tantra*, a collection of stories; Śaṅkara used the word for a philosophical system,² and the *Amara-Kośa*³ refers to various treatises as 'tantrāṇi'.

In the *Kāmika Āgama*, Tantra is explained as a class of texts 'that deals with profound matters concerning tattva and mantra'.⁴ In this sense a tantra would mean a manual giving the principles of truth and mystic sounds. In modern Sanskrit lexicons tantra is understood as "a class of work teaching magical and mystical formularies."⁵ Tantra is also understood to mean a religious system or science (*śāstra*) dealing with the means (*sādhana*) of attaining success (*siddhi*) in secular or religious efforts.

In Tibetan, the term 'rGyud' (tantra) stands for a tāntrika text, "a ritual book for coercing deities and for other magical ceremonies".⁶ One of the large sections of the *Kaḥgyur* (*Kanjur*) which contains numerous Buddhist tāntrika texts, is known as 'rGyud'. It would seem from the above discussion that the word 'Tantra' connotes several meanings,⁷

CHAPTER XI

DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

Section I

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

Mysticism often finds philosophical expression in a theory of absolute unity or monism or non-dualism. The esoteric Buddhism displays a manifest influence of the idealistic and absolutistic ideas of the Mahāyāna; its doctrines and practices are based on the Mādhyamika and the Vijñānavāda thought. Indeed, according to one authority, the esoteric mysticism of the Buddhist Tantras can be understood only through the Mādhyamika and the Vajñānavāda systems.¹

The Buddhist esoteric treatises often describe the Truth in negative terms; the terms 'Śūnyatā', 'Śūnya', 'Vijñāna', 'Citta', and the compounds 'Nairātmya', 'Bhāvābhāva-vivarjita' and Niḥsvabhāva', etc. frequently occur in connection with ceremonies and secret yogic practices. These texts do not seem to be concerned so much with metaphysics as with the practical implications of the philosophical ideas of the Mahāyāna.

The description of 'Bodhicitta' given in the 2nd chapter of the Guhyasamājatantra is thoroughly permeated by the ideas of the Śūnyavāda as well as of the Vijñānavāda. Thus it is "bereft of all existence, unconnected with skandhas, dhātus and āyatanas, free from the subject-object categories; it is beginningless, of void nature, like all objects which are devoid of substance."² At another place, it is said that "Because the Dharmas have no origin there is neither existence nor thinking; existence is like the existence of sky."³

Anaṅgavajra in his Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi declares that all existence issues out of the absolute which is bereft of the thought-construction; the false conceptual construction is the source of all miseries.⁴ The author argues that "it is

CHAPTER XII

BEGINNINGS OF THE DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

Section I

THE STATE OF DECLINE OF BUDDHISM IN THE 7TH CENTURY A.D.

(i) TESTIMONY OF CHINESE PILGRIMS

The writings of the Chinese pilgrim-scholars, viz., Fa-hien, Song-Yun, Yuan Chwang and I-tsing, who visited India in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries respectively, testify to the decadence of Buddhism in several parts of the country.

Travelling across the plains of the Gaṅgā in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D., Fa-hien found Buddhism generally in a prosperous condition in most places he visited save and except Kanauj, Kapilavastu, Rāmagāma, Vaiśālī and Gayā. At Kanauj there were only two Hinayāna monasteries.¹ Kapilavastu had "no king nor people" and was "like a wilderness, except for priests and some tens of families."² Rāmagāma had only one monastery,³ while at Vaiśālī he observed only the Vihāra of the "Great Forest."⁴ The city of Śrāvastī was also in ruinous state with a negligible population.⁵

A progressive decline in Buddhist population is evidenced by the records left by the successors of Fa-hien. What is more striking is that, Buddhism is seen giving way to Hinduism in its very strong-holds of earlier days. Thus in the time of Yuan Chwang though the city of Vaiśālī had not fallen into ruins, yet the Buddhist establishments, some hundreds in number, were, with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted, and the monks were very few. On the contrary, there were some tens of Deva-temples, the various sects of Hindus lived pell-mell and the Digambara Jainas flourished.⁶

In Kanauj where, in the first decade of the fifth century

APPENDIX I

EMPEROR HARṢA AS A BUDDHIST AUTHOR

Mention has been made above of the religious activities and Buddhist patronage of Śrī Harṣa, Śilādityarāja, Emperor of Thāneśvara and Kanauj, who ruled cir. 606-647 A.D. It is too well known that besides being a patron of Buddhism and of Yuan Chwang, Harṣa was a patron of poets and men of letters.¹ It is not unlikely that besides Bāṇa, Mayūra and Yuan Chwang, other thinkers and literary celebrities like Uddyotakara, Subandhu and Dharmakīrti may have enjoyed Harṣa's patronage.²

ŚRĪ HARṢA AS AN AUTHOR

Apart from these considerations, there is ample evidence to believe that Emperor Harṣa himself was a poet, dramatist and a man of literary skill, and that he wrote as a Buddhist author of considerable merit. Three dramas in Sanskrit are attributed to his authorship. They are Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī, and Nāgānanda; their author is called King Harṣadeva. Doubts have been entertained with regard to Harṣa's authorship of them, and it was also held at one time that their author was Śrī Harṣa, King of Kashmir. The evidence, for the view that these dramas may have been written by some unknown author and they go by the King's name, dates from the 9th century A.D.

In the opening passage of his Kāvya-prakāśa,³ Maṇmaṭa states that Dhāvaka (variant reading, Bāṇa) and others obtained wealth from Śrī Harṣa and the like. Nāgojibhaṭṭa⁴ in his commentary on Kāvya-pradīpa of Govinda, says that 'Dhāvaka' wrote the Ratnāvalī in the name of King Harṣa, and obtained much wealth for this. The reading Bāṇa instead of Dhāvaka occurs in certain MS. and some scholars like Hall, Bühler and Macdonell ascribed the three plays to Bāṇa, while Pischel ascribed them to Dhāvaka, a contemporary of Śrī Harṣa.⁵ We know nothing of any poet named Dhāvaka, and most of the

modern scholars including Keith,⁶ Winternitz,⁷ Jackson,⁸ S.K. De,⁹ and others accept Harṣa's authorship of them.

The following evidence may be reproduced in support of this view : (1) In the *Udayasundarikathā* of Soḍḍhala¹⁰ (11th cent. A.D.) Śrī Harṣa is mentioned along with Vikramāditya, Muñja, and Bhoja, as being both Bhūpāla (king) and Kavindra (lord of poets); in another place in the same work, Harṣa is referred to as one whose joy lay in words in his own assembly, and who, as king, had honoured Bāṇa with plentiful gold. (ii) Dāmodara Gupta, a 9th century author, describes in his *Kuṭṭinīmata*,¹¹ a performance of the *Ratnāvalī*, and ascribes the work to Harṣa (iii) I-tsing (cir 671-691 A.D.) refers to Harṣa as a great lover of literature, who "versified the story of the *Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana*" which was dramatised and performed in accompaniment of music and dance.¹² As will be seen below, the story of *Jīmūtavāhana* is the subject of the *Nāgānanda*. (iv) Yuan Chwang also refers to Harṣa's various accomplishments, including his love of music and ability to compose verses.¹³ (v) Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa says that Harṣa's poetical ability (*kavitva*) was supreme and that he was skilled in composing ornate poetry (*kāvya*) and stories (*kathā*).¹⁴ All this literary evidence and Chinese testimony go to show that Harṣa was a man of letters, a poet and dramatist. But the strongest evidence in support of Harṣa's authorship of *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarsika*, and *Nāgānanda*, is that the Prologue-stanza in the *Ratnāvalī* speaks of Harṣa as an able poet and attributes its authorship to him.¹⁵ That all the three works are from the pen of the Emperor is clear from the occurrence of this same prologue-passage in the same set words in the beginning of all the three works.¹⁵ As Dr. Keith observed, "absolute similarity of style and tone in the three works renders any effort to dissociate them wholly impossible."¹⁶

Moreover, Harṣa displays himself in these works in other diverse ways. Thus the reference to a multitude of Kings (*rājasamūha*) having come from different parts of the country (*nānādigeśāgatena*) were attending on King Harṣa (*rājñah Śrī Harṣadevasya pādapadmopajivinā*) may be understood in the light of history of Harṣa's Kanauj Assembly and his subjugation of numerous Kings of Northern India.

ŚRĪ HARṢA AS A BUDDHIST AUTHOR

Śrī Harṣa, thus appears as the real author of the *Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and the *Nāgānanda*. Besides these, Harṣa is known from the Tibetan Translations as the author of the *Suprabhāta-Stotra*^{16a} and the *Aṣṭamahāśrīcaitya saṃskṛtstotra*. It is likely that the Emperor himself composed the beautiful lines in Sanskrit in the epigraphs found in Madhuvana and Bārsakherā copper plates. The two pieces, *Ratnāvalī*¹⁷ and *Priyadarśikā*,¹⁸ are called *Nāṭikās*; they are both in 4 Acts, their theme is identical with some variations; the similarity of characters, situations and of structure is more than accidental. Their subject-matter is the amourettes of the happy and brave Udayana, the famous king of Vatsa (Kosambī).

It may be noted that the heroine of the *Priyadarśikā* is named 'Āraṇyakā' (cp. *Vṛkṣamūlikā*). The doctrine of Karma and the evils of worldly life are alluded to in the beginning of the play.¹⁹

The *Ratnāvalī*, while reflecting the royal court and harem life, displays poetical beauties and Buddhist sentiments of piety. At one place, we find pious wish for general peace and the company of the good.²⁰ The *Nāgānanda*,²¹ however, is characteristically Buddhist in subject, ideal and general atmosphere.

The *Nāgānanda* is in Five Acts; its hero is Vidyādhara prince Jīmūtavāhana, who reveals Buddhist ideas of the impermanence of life, and the evils of desire. In the opening passage respectful reference is made to Buddha (Muniṅdra), Bodhi (perfect wisdom) and contemplation (*dhyāna*). In the two last Acts, Jīmūtavāhana appears as a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva. The ideal life of an ascetic in the woods, who sits on stone slab, under the trees, lives on roots and has deer as his companion, is reminiscent of certain verses of the *Boddhicaryāvatāra*.²²

The view that "Nāgānanda can hardly be considered to be a Buddhist drama"²³ is somewhat misleading. Prayer is offered to Buddha in the beginning; Jīmūtavāhana, the hero frequently imitates the Bodhisattva ideal; I-tsing clearly says that king Śilāditya who was exceedingly fond of literature, had "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana"; the play clearly advocates the ideal of peace and the principle of non-violence. It belongs to Śrī Harṣa when he had become very

much influenced by Buddhism, and had established relations with Śilabhadra, Divākaramitra, Yuan Chwang and Nālandā University. The other two plays seem to be his earlier compositions.²⁴ The Suprabhāta-stotra is a morning hymn in praise of Buddha, in 24 verses.²⁵ This work clearly proves Harṣa as a Buddhist author and refers to Harṣa as its writer.²⁶ The Aṣṭamahāśrīcaitya-Stotra also is a Buddhist hymn in 5 stanzas.²⁷ It is said to be a hymn to the Eight Great Buddhist Shrines. It is preserved in Chinese and is attributed by Yuan Chwang to an Indian King designated in Chinese as "Sun of Virtue", i.e., Śīlāditya, which is the epithet Yuan Chwang usually applies to Harṣa.²⁸

Lastly, mention may be made of the beautiful lines in Sanskrit verse in the Madhubana and Bānskherā plates. The Bānskherā plate inscription even bears Harṣa's name, probably his own signature. In a stanza, Harṣa describes how fortune is unstable, like lightning or a bubble of water, and then follows the following pious admonition. "By body, mind, and speech should good be done to all creatures; this has been declared by Harṣa as the best acquisition of Dharma."²⁹

Notes and References

1. On Emperor Harṣa see R.K. Mookerjee, *Harṣa*, 2nd. ed., 1959; by the same scholar, *Men and Thought in Ancient India*, 1957, Ch. V; R.C. Majumdar's prejudiced account in *HCIP*, III, Ch. IX, pp. 93f. Nanigopal Majumdar, 'Śrī Harṣa, The King-Poet' in *IIIQ*, XII, 1936, pp. 504 f., 701f. Among the original sources are the Bānsakherā and Madhubana copper plate epigraphs of the King; *Harṣacarita*, Chapters II and VIII, *Life*, pp. 173f; Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 343f; I-tsing, pp. 163-164.
2. See Appendix 3.
3. *Kāvya Prakāsa*, I. 2.
4. Winternitz, *HIL*, III, *Eng. Tr.* by Subhadra Jha, Delhi, 1963, p. 251.
5. A.A. Macdonell, *Hist. Skt. Lit.*, pp. 305-306; cf. *HCIP*, III, p. 309.
6. A.B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, 1924, pp. 170f.
7. Winternitz, *HIL*, III, p. 251.
8. Jackson in *JAOS*, XXI, 1900, pp. 88f.
9. S.K. De, *Hist. Skt. Lit.*, I, pp. 255-256.
10. Ed. in *GOS* No. 11, 1920, cited in *Priyadarsikā* ed. by Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, *Introduction*, pp. X f.
11. *Kuṭṭhinimata* ed. in *Kāvyamālā*, III, Bombay, 1887, pp. 98-99, 194-195.
12. I-tsing, pp. 163-164.
13. *Life*, pp. 173-174. When Harṣa first met Yuan Chwang, he bowed at the latter's feet "and uttered his praises in verses innumerable."
14. *Harṣacarita*, A. Führer's ed., Bombay, 1909, pp. 112, 421; *Eng. Tr.* by Cowell and Thomas, pp. 58, 65.
15. e.g. *Ratnāvali* (Chaukhamba Ed. 1959) p. 8—*asmatsvāminā Śrī Harṣadevenāpūrva vasturacanā lakṣṭā Ratnāvali nāmanāṭikā kṛtā. Śrī Harṣo nipuṇaḥ kavīḥ pariṣadpyeṣā guṇagrāhiṇī.*

16. Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 170.
- 16a. Ed. by I.P. Minayeff in Zapiski de la societe Archacologique, t. II, fasc. III, pp. 236f.
17. Ed. by K. Joglekar, Bombay, 1913; Text and Hindi Transl. published from Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1959.
18. Ed. by A.V.W. Jackson, and C.J. Ogden with Notes and English Transl., New York, 1923; Hindi Translation published by the Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Allahabad, 1947.
19. Priyadarśikā, Hindi Tr. p. 2.
20. Ratnāvalī, I, 5.
21. Ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, TSS 59, 1917; English Transl. by Palmer Boyd, London, 1872; Hindi Transl. by Gangadhar Indukar, Allahabad, 1947; Tibetan version in Tanjur, m Do xcii, Cordier-cata., III, p. 419; extracts from it restored by V. Bhattacharya in Bhoṭa Prakāśa, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 33-70.
22. See Chap. V.
23. Winternitz, HIL, III, p. 257.
24. I-tsing, pp. 163-164; Nāgānanda, verses 1-2; A.B. Keith, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 54, 60.
25. See Zapiski, t. II, fasc. III, pp. 236f.; Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 377.
26. F.W. Thomas in JRAS, 1903, pp. 703-722.
27. Winternitz, HIL, II, p. 377.
28. Nariman, Jackson and Ogden, (Ed.), Priyadarśikā, p. XIV.
29. See Ep. Ind., Vols. I, pp. 67-75; IV, pp. 208-211.

APPENDIX 2

List of Works translated into Chinese by Yuan Chwang between A.D. 645 and 664.

1. Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra, Nanjio-Cata., No. 1.
2. Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 13.
3. Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 20.
4. Mahābodhisattvapiṭakasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 23.
5. Daśacakraṣṭigarbhasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 64.
6. Anantabuddhakṣetraguṇanirdeśasūtra, Nanjio-cata., 95.
7. Sūtra on the duration of the law fore-told by Buddha just before his entering into Nirvāṇa, Nanjio-cata., No. 123.
8. Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 149.
9. Sūtra on explaining the first and excellant gate of the law of Nidāna, Nanjio-cata., No. 140.
10. Bhaiṣajyaguruvaidūryaprabhāsapūrvapraṇidhānaḡuṇasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 171.
11. Sukhāvativyūhasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 199.
12. Saṅdhinirmocanasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 247.
13. Tathāgatarājāvavādakasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 249.
14. Adbhutadharmaparyāyasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 261.
15. Sūtra on the greatest incomparableness, Nanjio-cata., No. 269.
16. Mahāyānaḡuṇastutisūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 276.
17. Buddhabhāṣita āryadharmā pratītyasamutpāda sūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 272.
18. Amoghapāśahṛdayasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 316.
19. Ekādaśamukhadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 328.
20. Pañcamantrasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 330.
21. Subāhumudrādhvajadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 361.
22. Buddhahṛdayadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 489.
23. Dukhonmūlanadhāraṇī, Nanjio-cata., No. 490.
24. Aṣṭānāmasamantaguhyadhāraṇīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 491.
25. Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of holding the world, Nanjio-cata., No. 492.
26. Saḡmukhīdhāraṇī Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of six gates, Nanjio-cata., No. 493.

27. Buddhabhāsītabuddhabhūmīsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 502.
28. Praśāntavinīscayaprātihāryasamādhisūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 522.
29. Sūtra on the merits produced from reciting the names of seven Buddhas, Nanjio-cata., No. 528.
30. Nīdānasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 628.
31. Itivṛttakasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 714.
32. Devaparipṛcchāsūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 753.
33. Bodhisattvakarmaṃ, Nanjio-cata., No. 1097.
34. Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa, Nanjio-cata., No. 1098.
35. Yogācārabhūmīśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1170.
36. Mahāyānasamparigrahaśāstravyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1171.
37. Ālambanapratyayadhyānaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1173.
38. Mahāyānapañcaskandhaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1176.
39. Śāstra on expounding the Holy Teachings, Nanjio-cata., No. 1177.
40. Mahāyānābhīdharmasaṃyuktasaṅgītīśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1178.
41. Śataśāstravaipulya, Nanjio-cata., No. 1189.
42. Buddhabhūmīsūtraśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1195.
43. Vidyāmātrasiddhiśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1197.
44. Śataśāstravaipulyavyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1198.
45. Mahāyānābhīdharmasaṅgītīśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1199.
46. Rājadharmanyāyaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1200.
47. Yogācārabhūmīśāstra Kārikāvvyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1201.
48. Āryavācāprakaraṇasāstrakārikā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1201.
49. Mahāyānasadharmavidyāddharaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1213.
50. Vidyāmātrasiddhitriṃśatikāśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1215.
51. Hetuvidyānyāyapraveśatarkaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1216.
52. Mahāyānakarmasiddhiprakaraṇaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1224.
53. Hetuvidyānyāyadvāratārakaśāstramūla, Nanjio-cata., No. 1224.
54. Mahāyānakaratalaratnasūtra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1237.
55. Vidyāmātrasiddhivimśatīśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1440.
56. Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1244.
57. Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstravyākhyā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1245.

58. Mahāyānasamparigrahasāstramūla, Nanjio-cata., No. 1247.
59. Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāsāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1263.
60. Abhidharmanyāyānusārasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1265.
61. Abhidharmaprakaraṇasāsanaśāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1266.
62. Abhidharmakośasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1267.
63. Abhidharmakośakārikā, Nanjio-cata., No. 1270.
64. Abhidharmajñānaprasthānasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1275.
65. Abhidharmasaṅgītiparyāyapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1276.
66. Abhidharmaprakaraṇapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1277.
67. Abhidharmavijñānakāyapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1281.
68. Abhidharmadhātukāyapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1282.
69. Pañcavastuvibhāṣāsāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1283.
70. Śāstra on the principles of different schools, Nanjio-cata., No. 1286.
71. Abhidharmāvatārasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1291.
72. Vaiśeṣikanikāyadaśapadārthasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1295.
73. Abhidharmaskandhapādasāstra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1296.
74. Record of the duration of the Law Spoken by the great Arahant Nandimitra, Nanjio-cata., No. 1465.¹

Notes and References

1. See Bhikshu Thich Minh Chau, Hsuan Tsang: The Pilgrim and Scholar, Vietnam Buddhist Institute, Nha-Trang, Vietnam, 1963, pp. 85-89; G.H. Sasaki in 2500 Years of Buddhism, pp. 244-247; according to S. Beal, Yuan Chwang took with him copies of 135 Buddhist texts.

APPENDIX 3

THE DATE OF DHARMAKĪRTI

One of the vexed problems in the history of Buddhist thought in India is the date of Dharmakīrti, the celebrated Buddhist logician and philosopher. It may be noted at the outset that there was a second Dharmakīrti, a Tāntrika scholar, author of a commentary on the Hevajra-Tantra,¹ and probably a contemporary of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna² (cir. 10th century A.D.). It is proposed here to correlate the available information and to discuss the current opinions on the date of Dharmakīrti the famous Buddhist philosopher and logician whom we have placed in the first half of the VIIth century A.D.

One eminent and undisputed fact about the time of Dharmakīrti is that he is mentioned by I-tsing (A.D. 671-695) as one who made important advancement in Logic after Dīn-nāga, and one who flourished in 'recent years' when lived Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra.³ M. Fujishima's view that the phrase 'of recent years' or 'of late years' may be taken to mean 'of contemporary days', would make Dharmakīrti a contemporary of I-tsing.⁴ Śīlabhadra and Dharmakīrti may have been class-fellows under Dharmapāla;⁵ but Śīlabhadra was the Chancellor of the University of Nālandā in about A.D. 635 when Yuan Chwang first visited the University. It is strange that Yuan Chwang does not mention Dharmakīrti, while in one of his letters he informs us that Śīlabhadra had died in about the year A.D. 654.⁶

Yuan Chwang's silence about so famous a Buddhist Doctor as Dharmakīrti, is interpreted by Śrī Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana⁷ to indicate the death of the philosopher before the Chinese Master of the Law came to Nālandā. But we have no clear, nor even suggestive evidence, to arrive at such a conclusion. Yuan Chwang's silence about Dharmakīrti proves nothing and negates nothing. He does not speak of Bhartṛhari who was, according to I-tsing, associated with Dharmapāla and died in cir. 650 A.D.,⁸ he does not mention Śāntideva who was the most famous Buddhist poet in the middle of the 7th century A.D.⁹ We

cannot say that Śāntideva had passed away before Yuan Chwang's visit to India. The view of Śrī R. Sāmkṛtyāyana¹⁰ that Dharmakīrti flourished in "600 A.D." is therefore not well grounded. The period between 550-600 A.D. for Dharmakīrti proposed by Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania¹¹ is equally inadmissible. The sixth century A.D. as the date of our Logician is controverted, not only by I-tsing¹² who places him along with Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra, but also by Tārānātha,¹³ who states that he was a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan sgampo (7th century A.D.).

Relying on the Tibetan sources, Professor Stcherbatsky placed Dharmakīrti "in the middle of VII century A.D."¹⁴

According to Bu-ston one of Dīnnāga's pupils was Īśvarasena, and Dharmakīrti was the pupil of Īśvarasena.¹⁵

From the Chinese sources¹⁶ it appears that a teacher named Śaṃkarasvāmīn flourished between Dīnnāga and Īśvarasena, and wrote a work called the Nyāyapraveśa.¹⁷ It may be that both Īśvarasena and Śaṃkarasvāmīn were Dīnnāga's pupils. In the Blue Annals the following lineage of teachers is given : Vasubandhu-Dīnnāga-Īśvarasena-Dharmakīrti. This is also the line of succession given by Bu-ston.¹⁸ These sources do not mention Śaṃkarasvāmīn.

Now, Vasubandhu of the above list cannot be Vasubandhu the elder or older who is placed in 320-380 A.D.; Vasubandhu the teacher of Dīnnāga, seems to have been the younger and later Vasubandhu, who is placed by Prof. Frauwallner in 400-480 A.D.¹⁹ and by Prof. Takakusu in 420-500 A.D.²⁰ Dīnnāga, who is said to have met Vasubandhu when the latter was very old, may be placed in cir. 470-550 A.D. Dīnnāga's pupil Īśvarasena may be assigned to the period of cir. 530-600 A.D. In this way we can place Dharmakīrti, a direct pupil of Īśvarasena, in the period cir. 580-650 A.D. Tārānātha records,²² on the one hand that, Dharmakīrti was the pupil of Dharmapāla (540-610 A.D.) when the latter was the Chief of Nālandā-Vihāra, and that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Tibet's noted monarch Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po.²³ Both these facts are quite in keeping with our dating.

Dharmakīrti seems to have studied Vijñānavāda under Dharmapāla and Pramāṇasamuccaya under Īśvarasena. It appears that Dharmapāla had died shortly before Yuan Chwang

came to Nālandā. He was succeeded by Śilabhadra as the Professor of Idealism in Nālandā University.

Dharmapāla may have been Bhartṛhari's contemporary²⁴ in about the middle of 6th century A.D. In this way also Dharmakīrti's contemporaneity with Dharmapāla in the last quarter of the sixth century A.D. becomes historically plausible. The second statement of Tārānātha namely that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po, and that Dharmakīrti's death synchronised with the accession to the throne of King Govindacandra of Bengal²⁵ also supports the date proposed above.

King Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po is said to have died in A.D. 698.²⁶ He is known to have married a daughter of the Nepalese King Aṃśuvarman in cir. A.D. 639 and to have sent his Minister Thon-mi Saṃbhoṭa to India to procure an alphabet in the same year.²⁷ Thus Dharmakīrti and Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po were contemporaries in the first half of the seventh century A.D.

With respect to the date of the Candra King, Govindacandra of Bengal, it is known that the Candra dynasty ruled in Bengal before the Pālas. Lalitacandra, who succeeded Govindacandra, was the last ruler of this dynasty and after that Gopāla founded the Pāla dynasty in cir. A.D. 750. There intervened some chaotic years between the death of Lalitacandra and the election of Gopāla. The end of Lalitacandra's rule may be placed in the first quarter of the 8th century A.D. His predecessor Govindacandra's accession may be placed in the middle of the seventh century A.D. which coincides with the death of Dharmakīrti.²⁸

The date of Dharmakīrti from Tibetan sources raises one more significant problem. This concerns with the contemporaneity of our philosopher with the Mīmāṃsaka thinker Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. Bu-ston, for example, writes that Kumārila, "the heretical teacher" was the uncle of Dharmakīrti.²⁹ This tradition is corroborated by Tārānātha³⁰ and Sumpā mkhan po.³¹

DHARMAKĪRTI AND KUMĀRILA

The last two Tibetan historians record that Kumārila had to accept the doctrine of Dharmakīrti alongwith his 500 followers, having been defeated in a philosophical debate in

which Dharmakīrti proved victorious. Prof. Stcherbatsky did not attach any value to this tradition and rejected it³² without adducing any evidence to contradict the unanimous report of the Tibetan chroniclers.

Dharmakīrti was a Brahmaṇa of Tirumalay in Coḷadeśa (Cūḍāmaṇi); his father was a Tīrthika by faith (i.e. a Brāhmanical follower) whose name was Parivṛājaka Korunanda belonging to Brāhmaṇa caste. Kumārila also was a Brāhmaṇa by caste and a Tīrthika ('Heretic'), i.e., a Brāhmanical follower. It does not seem improbable that Dharmakīrti may have been a nephew of the great Mīmāṃsā Doctor. Besides Tūrānātha and Sumpā, the Śaṅkara-Digvijaya of Mādhava also records that Kumārila was defeated and converted by Dharmakīrti.³³ Dr. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa,³⁴ Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. G. Kavirāja³⁵ and Dr. B. Bhattacharya,³⁶ who agree in placing Dharmakīrti in the first half of the seventh century A.D., find no difficulty in admitting the contemporaneity of Dharmakīrti and Kumārila.

Kumārila, besides being a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, lived into the early years of the 8th century A.D.³⁷ Dr. S.N. Dasgupta's view that Kumārila was a senior contemporary of Śaṅkara whom he places in '788 A.D.',³⁸ does not seem to be in keeping with other known facts. For example, the Tattva-saṅgraha of Śāntirakṣita, a work which must have been composed by its author before he left for Tibet, in cir. 770 A.D.,³⁹ is full of Kumārila's criticism.⁴⁰ Kumārila, who was a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po and of Dharmakīrti, cannot have been alive in 788 A.D.⁴¹ when Śaṅkara is believed to have been born. Kumārila was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti who seems to have died in between A.D. 640 and 650.

Mr. S.P. Pandit first noticed that in the colophon to the Act III of Bhavabhūti's Mālatī-Mādhava, the author is referred to as "the pupil of Śrī Bhaṭṭa-Kumārila", in the colophon to the Act VI the author is referred to as "Śrīmat Uṃveka-cārya, who attained to his learning through the favour of Śrī Kumārila-Svāmī"; and finally at the end of the Act X, it is stated that "here ends the Act X. of the Mālatī-Mādhava composed by Śrīmat-Bhavabhūti."⁴²

A passage in the Citsukhī seem to support the authenticity of this MS. There the commentary identifies Uṃveka with Bhavabhūti.⁴³ Uṃveka is referred to twice in the Tattva-

Samgraha.⁴⁴ He is also referred to by Karṇakagomin (cir. 700-750) the commentator of the Pramāṇavārttikam. It is difficult to say whether Bhavabhūti and Uṃveka were two names of one and the same person or they were two different persons.⁴⁵ Likewise, it is not our present concern whether Bhavabhūti, Uṃveka and Sureśvara or Maṇḍana Miśra were names of one and the same person or they were different persons.⁴⁵ Maṇḍana Miśra is also quoted by Karṇakagomin besides Uṃveka. Prof. Gnoli has shown that Maṇḍana Miśra has quoted in his Sphoṭa-siddhi a few lines from the Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti, (Gnoli, op. cit., pp. XIX-XX). At any rate, it is a fact that Bhavabhūti was a pupil and a contemporary of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.⁴⁶

Vākpati Rāja, the author of a Prākṛt historical poem, the Gauḍa-Vaho, respectfully admires Bhavabhūti and regards him as his teacher or leader. It appears that Bhavabhūti was an elder contemporary of Vākpati.⁴⁷ This Vākpati was a court poet of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj who is the hero of this work.

From the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we learn that this Yaśovarman of Kanauj who was the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati, was subdued by King Lalitāditya of Kashmir.⁴⁸ Yaśovarman of Kanauj is probably known from the Nālandā stone Inscription of Mālāda,⁴⁹ the characters of which resemble those of Apsaḍa record of Ādityasena. He can be placed in the first half of the 8th century A.D. Almost all modern scholars place Yaśovarman in the first half of the 8th century A.D. He is known to have sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor. The envoy was a Buddhist scholar, Buddhasena, who reached the Chinese court in A.D. 731.⁵⁰ The Kashmir King Lalitāditya is also known to have sent an embassy to China in reply to which the Chinese Emperor awarded the title of 'the King of Kashmir' to Mukṭāpīḍa. This exchange of embassies is placed by Dr. P.C. Bagchi in 724 A.D.⁵¹ Dr. Stein placed this event in 736 A.D.⁵² while Dr. Smith placed the same in 745 A.D.⁵³ Dr. R.S. Tripathi and Dr. R.C. Majumdar think that the subjugation of Yaśovarman by Lalitāditya may have occurred before Lalitāditya sent his envoy to China with a letter in which he referred to the Kanauj King as an ally.⁵⁴

The reign of Yaśovarman is now fixed tentatively between 700 and 740 A.D. and that of Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa between

724 and 760 A.D.⁵⁵ Thus the patron of Bhavabhūti flourished most likely in the first half of the 8th century A.D. Bhavabhūti may be placed between the last quarter of the 7th and first half of the 8th century A.D. As he was a junior contemporary of Kumarila Bhaṭṭa, the latter may safely be placed between the first quarter of the seventh and first quarter of the 8th century A.D., so that his contemporaneity with Dharmakīrti, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po and Bhavabhūti becomes intelligible and plausible as the works of Bu-ston, Tārānātha, Sumpā and Bhavabhūti himself would have us believe.

Mr. S.P. Pandit and N.B. Utgikar placed Kumārila between 590 and 650 A.D., and Bhavabhūti between 620 and 685 A.D.⁵⁶ Dr. P.V. Kane while doubting the identity of Uṇveka and Bhavabhūti, placed the latter's literary activity between 700 and 730 A.D.⁵⁷ Dr. Keith placed Bhavabhūti "somewhere about 700 A.D."⁵⁸ while Dr. D.G. Devasthali thinks that Bhavabhūti who was a Mīmāṃsaka pupil of Kumārila, cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁵⁹ Dr. Macdonell placed him in the first half of the 8th century A.D.⁶⁰ This is also the view of Professor V.V. Mirashi⁶¹ and Dr. B. Bhattacharya.⁶² Dr. S.N. Dasgupta opined that Kumārila "flourished in the seventh and eighth centuries."⁶³ But his view that "Dharmakīrti in all probability lived in the fifth century A.D."⁶⁴ is perhaps clearly an historical anachronism. He believed that the definition of *pratyakṣa* : "Pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham tato'rthāditi kecan kalpanānāmajātyādi yojanāṃ pratijānate" as quoted by Bhāmaha in his *Kavyālaṅkāra* (V. 6) "is directly borrowed from Dharmakīrti". Therefore Dharmakīrti must have lived before Bhāmaha.⁶⁵

Dr. Dasgupta does not seem to have noticed that this definition of perception is not of Dharmakīrti but of Diñnāga. The line 'Pratyakṣam kalpanāpoḍham nāmajātyādisaṅyutam' is to be found in the *Prasāṅgasamuccaya* of Diñnāga⁶⁶ and the phrase 'Kalpanāpoḍham' is quoted by Uddyotakara which Vācaspati definitely attributes to Diñnāga.⁶⁷ Dharmakīrti added the condition 'abhrāntarāṃ' to the above definition.⁶⁸ It is therefore clear that Bhāmaha borrowed the above cited definition not from Dharmakīrti but from Diñnāga. The date of Dharmakīrti cannot thus be taken two centuries back on the basis of a confusion which is altogether groundless. Dharmakīrti

kīrti is quoted in the *Tattva-saṃgraha* and his views on perception and inference are referred to.⁶⁹ He is also quoted and criticised by such eminent Brāhminical philosophers as Vācaspati Miśra,⁷⁰ Sureśvarācārya,⁷¹ and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa.⁷²

But whether Kumārila has criticised the views of Dharmakīrti cannot be so readily ascertained. Nor is there any unmistakable evidence to show that Dharmakīrti has in his works criticised the views of Kumārila, although, as already noted, not only the Tibetan historians but also the author of the *Śaṅkara-Digvijaya*, record a fierce debate between the two great controversialists.

Some scholars, e.g., Pt. M.K. Jain⁷³ and Pt. Dalsukhbhai Malvania⁷⁴ maintain that Dharmakīrti has criticised the views of Kumārila. Accepting cir. 550 A.D. as the date of Kumārila proposed by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja,⁷⁵ it is held that Kumārila has criticised the views of Diñnāga but not of Dharmakīrti, but the latter has criticised the views of Kumārila.

This early date of Kumārila does not seem to coincide with the historical conclusions indicated above. Nor the points of Kumārila attacked by Dharmakīrti have been brought to light. It is therefore very uncertain to say that Dharmakīrti has criticised the views of Kumārila.

UDDYOTAKARA AND DHARMAKĪRTI

Dr. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa for the first time expounded the theory that Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries, and that the author of the *Nyāyavārttika* has quoted and criticised the tenets of Dharmakīrti.

Uddyotakara Bhāradvāja in his famous work the *Nyāyavārttika*, quotes from a work called *Vādavidhi*⁷⁶ but its author is not named. He also quotes from another work called the *Vādavidhānaṭikā*,⁷⁷ the author of which is also not named. His commentator Vācaspati Miśra also does not give the names of the authors of these works. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa held that the *Vādavidhi* quoted here is the same as the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti and the *Vādavidhānaṭikā* is no other work than Vinīta-deva's *Vādanyāya-ṭikā*. He therefore concluded that Dharmakīrti and Uddyotakara were contemporaries and that the latter quoted and criticised the former.⁷⁸ This view of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was accepted by Dr. A.B. Keith who supported it in

several of his writings.⁷⁹ Already Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar,⁸⁰ Dr. Tucci,⁸¹ and Dr. Bhattacharya⁸² had pointed out the wrong foundation of this theory and argued at length to demolish the view that Uddyotakara quoted from the works of Dharmakīrti; the theory can no longer be maintained after the painstaking and convincing discussion of the whole problem by Dr. Andre Vostrikov.⁸³ It seems to have been finally established that the Vādaividhi quoted by Uddyotakara is a work of Vasubandhu. There is moreover, a manifest chronological difficulty which prevents us from identifying the Vādanyāyāṭikā of Vinīta-deva (cir. 800 A.D.) with Vādaividhāna-ṭikā, a work already quoted in cir. 600 A.D. when Uddyotakara flourished. The theory of nīgrahasthānas expounded by Dharmakīrti is not known to Uddyotakara. On the contrary, Dr. Vostrikov has convincingly shown on the basis of a comparison of numerous passages of the Nyāyavārttika with those of the Vādanyāya, that Dharmakīrti has quoted and criticised Uddyotakara.⁸⁴ Uddyotakara, therefore, seems to have flourished some time before Dharmakīrti.

DHARMAKĪRTI AS A POETICAL AUTHOR

One more point, which is supposed to have a bearing on the date of Dharmakīrti, is that he might have been a junior contemporary of Uddyotakara. The source of this view is a passage in the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu. The passage runs thus "Nyāyasthitim'iva Uddyotakara-svarūpaṃ Bauddha-saṃgatim'iva alaṅkāra bhūṣitaṃ."⁸⁵ It is supposed that the logician Uddyotakara is referred to, the next reference, on the suggestion of the commentator Śivarāma, is supposed to refer to Dharmakīrti as an author of a work on poetics,⁸⁶ perhaps, Bauddha-saṅgatyalāṅkāra. Unfortunately, such a work no longer exists now.

Dr. P.V. Kane, Dr. S.K. De, and Dr. S.N. Dasgupta pointedly draw our attention to the fact that the reading, cited above, is not found in all the MS. of the Vāsavadattā.⁸⁷

It may be noted that the word 'alaṅkāra' as a part of the title of a work is not unknown to Buddhist authors, e.g., we know of the Abhisamaya-Alaṅkāra of Maitreya, of the Mahāyāna-sūtra-Alaṅkāra of Maitreya-Asaṅga, and of the Madhyama-Alaṅkāra-Kārikās of Śāntirakṣita.

Some scholars including Dr. Winternitz,⁸⁸ Dr. Keith,⁸⁸ and Dr. Macdonell,⁸⁸ have placed Subandhu in the seventh century A.D. and he is regarded as a contemporary, not only of Uddyotakara but, also of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, for the latter refers to the excellent poetical position which the Vāsavadattā (of Subandhu) enjoyed.⁸⁹ It is not unlikely that Uddyotakara was a senior contemporary of Subandhu and of Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. But Dharmakīrti seems to have survived Uddyotakara and to have been a famous poetical author by the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

Bu-ston⁹⁰ refers to Dharmakīrti's special training in grammar; Tārānātha⁹¹ attributes to him a verse in which Dharmakīrti boasts to have surpassed Candragomin⁹² in grammar and Āryaśūra in poetry. Curiously enough this verse is found engraved in Borobudur.⁹³ In the Tibetan Tanjur,⁹⁴ a collection of verses and comments on Jātakamālā, the poetical work of Āryaśūra, are ascribed to Dharmakīrti. Whether the work on Alaṅkāra referred to by Subandhu may be this 'collection of verses' it is difficult to say yes or no. Whether Dharmakīrti was one of those poets who submitted their poetical compositions based on the Jātakamālā to emperor Harṣa Śīlāditya (cir. 606-647 A.D.) referred to by I-tsing,⁹⁵ it is difficult to say any thing with certainty. It is not impossible that the commentaries on the Jātakamālā by Dharmakīrti, still extant in Tibetan, may have been among those prized by Harṣa whose date coincides with that of Dharmakīrti.

Bhadanta Dharmakīrti's poems are found quoted in the noted anthologies of Sanskrit literature. Thus one poem of his is quoted in the Sāraṅadhara-paddhati,⁹⁶ While the Subhāṣitāvalī⁹⁷ of Vallabhadeva, quotes as many as five verses of Dharmakīrti. A passage bearing on poetics is quoted by Ānandavardhana in his work Dhvanyāloka, and he refers to Dharmakīrti.⁹⁸

Keeping all these diverse pieces of evidence in view, one may say, without any fear of contradiction, that Dharmakīrti, the author of the Pramāṇavārttika, the conqueror of Kumārila, a contemporary of Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, was perhaps also a poet of merit who may have enjoyed the patronage of Harṣa who was exceedingly fond of literature.

Notes and References

1. Hevajra Tantra, I, pp. 13-15, 28.
2. Blue Annals, I, pp. 244, 246; II, pp. 499, 803.
3. I-tsing, pp. 181-182.
4. See Takakusu's note in I-tsing, p. 181.
5. R.C. Majumdar's date of Dharmapāla the Idealist teacher, viz., "A.D. 635", HCIP, III, p. 383, is not proved by Yuan Chwang; Dharmapāla was not alive when Yuan Chwang came to India.
6. JUPHS, XVIII, 1945, pp. 77-78.
7. Bauddha Darśana, pp. 131-132; Purātattva Nibandhāvali, pp. 179-180.
8. See above Chapters VI -VII.
9. loc. cit.
10. op. cit. loc. cit.
11. Dharmottara-Pradīpa (Ed.) Introduction, pp. XVI-XVII.
12. I-tsing, p. 181.
13. Tārānātha (Schieffner) p. 176.
14. BL, I, pp. 29-30.
15. Bu-sTon, II, p. 152. Śvarasena wrote a comy. on the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, now lost but quoted and criticised by Dharmakīrti.
16. R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvali, p. 178.
17. Ed. by A.B. Dhruva, GOS No. XXXVIII, 1930; cf. G. Tucci, "Is the Nyāya Praveśa by Diñnāga?" in JRAS, 1928, pp. 7-13.
18. Blue Annals, I, p. 346; Bu-sTon, II, p. 152.
19. See the very exhaustive treatment of the problem of the date and identity of Vasubandhu by E. Frauwallner in SOR, Vol. III, Rome, 1951.
20. See Takakusu in JRAS, 1905, and in Essentials of Buddhist philosophy p. 55.
21. Frauwallner, op. cit., p. 65, doubts the tradition that Diñnāga was a direct pupil of Vasubandhu. He would probably place Diñnāga in 480-540 A.D. and Dharmakīrti in 600-660 A.D.; J.F. Staal in JAOS, Vol. 84, No. 1, 1964, pp. 91-92. I was glad to note that his dates for these logicians more or less agreed with those arrived at my discussion.
22. Tārānātha (Schieffner) p. 176.
23. Ibid., p. 195.
24. I-tsing, pp. 179-180.
25. Tārānātha (Schieffner) loc. cit.
26. S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 305; F.W. Thomas, Indianism, pp. 72, 77, puts his death in 650 A.D.
27. Ibid., pp. 73-74, see however, R. Sāṃkṛtyāyana, Bauddha Sanskriti, pp. 403-404; Tibbat Main Bauddha Dharma, Allahabad, 1948, pp. 5-9. According to him the period of Sroṅ-btsan-rgam-po is 617-698 A.D.
28. See R.C. Majumdar's Translation of this Chapter of Tārānātha's Choshbyung (from Schieffner's Geschichte) in IHQ, XVI, pp. 129f. and in History of Bengal, I, pp. 176, 183.
29. Bu-ston, II, p. 152, Tārānātha (Schieffner) p. 177.
30. Ibid., pp. 175-185.
31. Pag Sam jon Zang, p. 166, Index p. VI.
32. BL, I, p. 35.
33. Gopinātha Kavirāja in Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, pp. XII-XIII.
34. HIL, pp. 304-305.
35. Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., I, p. VIII.
36. Foreword to TS, p. LXXXIII.
37. Tantravārttika, Eng. Tr., I, pp. XII-XIII.
38. Hist. Ind. Phil., I, p. 370.
39. See above Chapter VII and G. Tucci in MBT, II, pp. 5f.
40. Vide TS, Eng. Tr., pp. 166, 171, 275, 385, 671, 711 etc. till the last chapter, pp. 1532, 1552.

41. HCIP, IV, P. 303.
42. Gaṇḍavaho of Vākpati, ed. by S.P. Pandit, re-ed. by N.B. Utgikar for a 2nd. ed., Poona, 1927, Introduction, p. CCVI.
43. See JASB, 1918, p. 243; IHQ, 1931, p. 304.
44. TS. Eng. Tr., pp. 1385-1386.
45. These questions are debated in JRAS, 1923, pp. 259 ff. TS, Foreword, p. LXXXIII; IHQ, 1931, pp. 301ff. Proceedings of the III Oriental Conference, Madras, pp. 480-481; cf. also V.V. Mirashi, Studies in Indology, Vol. I, pp. 43f.
46. This is also the view of Gopinātha Kavirāja, Tantravārattika, Eng. Tr., I, loc. cit.
47. Gaṇḍavaho, p. 221 verse 798.
48. Rājatarāṅginī, IV, 141.
49. Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 43ff.; IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 664; IHQ. Vol. VIII, pp. 288ff.
50. See P.C. Bagchi in Sino-Indian Studies, Vol. I, p. 71.
51. Ibid, l.c., also HCIP, III, p. 130.
52. Rājatarāṅginī, Eng. Transl. I, Book IV. 134 note and Introduction, p. 85.
53. EHI, 4th ed., p. 312; JRAS, 1908-1909, p. 761.
54. HCIP, III, pp. 131, 133, 135.
56. Gaṇḍavaho, Introduction, p. CCIX.
57. History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. I, p. 263.
58. Sanskrit Drama, p. 187.
59. HCIP, III, p. 308.
60. History Skt. Lit. p. 307.
61. Studies in Indology, I, p. 26.
62. TS Foreword, p. LXXXIV.
63. Hist. Skt. Lit., Vol. I, p. 532.
64. Ibid., p. 533.
65. Ibid, loc. cit. He regards Bhāmaha, a Buddhist, to have lived after the 5th century A.D.
66. Fragments From Dinnāga, p. 8; S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, HIL, p. 277.
67. Nyāyavārttika, I, 1, 4, II.2.4; Nyāyavārttika Tātparyāṭikā (Chaukh. ed.) pp. 2-3; 205; cf. Randle in Fragments, p. 8.
68. See above Chap. VIII Section 4.
69. TS, pp. 7, 568, 857 Eng. Tr., pp. 10, 964, 1458.
70. Nyāyavārttika Tātparyāṭikā, I. 1. 1.; Bhāmati, II, 2.28.
71. Bṛhadāraṇyakavārttika, Chap. VI. On the identity of Sureśvarācārya see D.C. Bhattacharya in IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 301 f.; Gaṅgānātha Jhā, (Ed.) Bhāvanāviveka, Pt. II, 1923, Introduction; and HCIP, III, p. 308 note 3.
72. Nyāyamañjari, (Chaukhambā Ed.) p. 100.
73. Akalaṅka-Graṇtha-Traya, (Ed.), Intro. p. 18.
74. Dharmottara Pradīpa (Ed.) Intro., pp., XVI-XVII.
75. Ślokavārttika-Tātparyāṭikā, (Ed.) Intro. p. 17.
76. Nyāya-vārttika, (Chaukhambā, K.S.S. 1916) pp. 117, 20.
77. Ibid., p. 117, 1.
78. JRAS, 1914, pp. 601-604; HIL, p. 124; Bilingual Index to Nyāyabindu, p. IX.
79. JRAS, 1914, p. 1103; IHQ, IV, pp. 221-227; Indian Logic and Atomism, p. 28.
80. JBORS, XII, pp. 587-591; IHQ, V, pp. 81-86.
81. JRAS, 1928, pp. 330-332; IHQ, IV, pp. 630-636; JRAS, 1929, pp. 451-488.
82. TS., Foreword, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX.
83. A. Vostrikov, 'The Nyāyavārttika of Uddyotakara and the Vādanyāyay of Dharmakīrti', IHQ, XI, 1935, pp. 1-31.
84. Ibid., pp. 11f.

85. Vāsavadattā of Subandhu with the commentary of Śivarāma Tripāthī, ed. in *Bl. F. Hall*, 1859, p. 235.
86. S.P. Bhattacharya, *JASB*, XII, 1950, pp. 49-66, tries to show that Dharmakīrti wrote a work on poetics.
87. P.V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Delhi, 1961, pp. 64-66; S.K. De and S.N. Dasgupta, *Hist. Skt. Lit.*, Vol. I, pp. 217-218.
88. Winternitz, *HIL*, III, fasc. I, Eng. Tr., Calcutta, 1959, pp. 28-29; Keith, *Hist. Skt., Lit.*, 1948, p. 308; Macdonell, *Hist. Skt. Lit.*, (1962 reprint) p. 280.
89. *Harṣacarita*, Book I, śloka 1; see V.S. Agrawala, *HC-Adhyayana*, p. 5.
90. *Buston*, II, pp. 151-152.
91. *Bl.*, I, p. 36 note 3.
92. See above Chapter VII.
93. *Bl.*, I, p. 36 note 3.
94. *Stan-hgyur*, m Do, referred to in *Bl.*, I, p. 37.
95. *I-tsing*, pp. 162f.
96. *Śāraṅghara-paddhati*, verse No. 947 as quoted by P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.
97. *Subhāṣitāvalī*, ed. by C. Bendall, verse Nos. 737, 1987, 1617, 2246, 3232.
98. *Dhvanyāloka*, Nirṇayasāgar Press Ed., 1925, p. 270.

APPENDIX 4

GAUḌAPĀDA'S SYNTHESIS OF BUDDHISM AND VEDĀNTA

The Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda :

One of the important philosophical texts written in Ancient India is the Āgamaśāstra also called Māṇḍūkya-kārikā or Gauḍapāda-kārikā, attributed to Gauḍapāda, traditionally supposed to be the grand-teacher of Śaṅkarācārya. It is, possible that Gauḍapāda hailed from Bengal (Gauḍa), as 'Gauḍapāda' seems to be an epithet rather than a personal name. This does not mean that Gauḍapāda was not a historical person although little reliable information is available with regard to his life and date.¹ It is very difficult to fix his date. The tradition which makes him a grand-teacher of Śaṅkara, would place him in cir. 700 A.D. as Śaṅkara is believed to have been born in 788 A.D. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta held that "in order to be able to teach Śaṅkara, Gauḍapāda must have been living till at least 800 A.D."² Dr. R.D. Karmarkar holds that "the date of Gauḍapāda must be somewhere between 300 to 500 A.D."³ Dr. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya believed that he may have lived in the 5th century A.D. as he is quoted in the Tibetan translation of the Tarkajvālā of Bhāvaviveka who is generally placed in the 5th century A.D.⁴ We must point out that Bhāvaviveka may be placed in 550-620 and was most likely a contemporary of Dharmapāla (cir. 540-610) as reported by Yuan Chwang, who in his turn was a senior contemporary of Śīlabhadra (died in 654).⁵ Dr. S. Radhakrishnan assigns Gauḍapāda to the end of the 7th century A.D. but inclines towards Dr. Walliser's view.⁶ We may place Gauḍapāda in 550 A.D., and we cannot be quite certain that he was Śaṅkara's teacher Govinda's guru, although his influence on Śaṅkara's thought is well established.

To Gauḍapāda are, ascribed some other works also such as the Sāṅkhyakārikā-bhāṣya, Uttaragitā and Subhagodaya-stuti⁷, but their authorship is very doubtful. The text of the Āgamaśāstra is divided into four chapters called Prakaraṇas

and consists of 215 memorial verses. The work starts as a commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad but assumes the form of an original treatise. Chapter I (Āgama) seeks to elucidate the text of the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad and for that reason the work is designated Māṇḍūkyakārikā. Chapter II is on falsity (Vaitathya) and discusses the phenomenality and non-substantiality of the world of day-to-day experience. Chapter III is on the tenet of non-duality (Advaita). Chapter IV entitled Alātaśānti, literally 'the extinction of the burning coal,' further elaborates the tenet of non-duality, and the striking title is employed to denote the unreality of phenomenal diversity which is like a stick burning at one end and which when moved creates the impression of a fire brand circle.

Different Theories of Interpretation of Āgamasāstra :

Dr. Walleser had pointed out that the Āgamasāstra of Gauḍapāda bears considerable Mahāyāna Buddhist influence.⁸ Dr. V. Bhattacharya has discussed with remarkable scholarly thoroughness the Mahāyāna influence on this text and therefore on the Śāṅkara-Vedānta. But he is of the view that the IVth Chapter, Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa, is not an integral part of the Āgamasāstra, and that the four Chapters of it "are four independent treatises and are put together in a volume under the title of Āgamasāstra."⁹ This opinion is shared by Dr. T.R.V. Murti who remarks that the first three chapters are the works of "a keen Vedāntin", while the fourth Chapter was "written most probably by a Buddhist".¹⁰ Dr. S.N. Dasgupta, however, held that 'there is sufficient evidence in his kārikās for thinking that he was possibly himself a Buddhist, and considered that the teachings of the Upaniṣads tallied with those of Buddha.'¹¹ Fairness requires mention of Dr. R.D. Karmarkar whose preconceived notions seem to lead him to an outright denial of all Buddhist doctrinal influence on the Gauḍapāda-kārikā. He thinks that all the four Chapters are from the pen of Gauḍapāda who, being a thoroughgoing Vedāntist has employed Buddhist phrasology to attack the Buddhist doctrines.¹²

Without going into unnecessary controversies, we should like to point out that there is no cogent reason to doubt the fact that the 215 verses of the Āgamasāstra are from the pen of a

single author. We have no definite answers to such questions as, e.g., who is the author of the *Alātaśāntiprakaraṇa*? Who put together the four chapters into one Volume? Dr. Murti says that this problem is "a matter of conjecture."¹³ His attempts to explain away the Buddhist elements in classical Vedānta and to exclude the possibility of doctrinal borrowings by the classical Vedāntists like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, are quite unconvincing. "It is our contention", Dr. Murti asserts, "that there could not be acceptance of any doctrinal content by either side from the other, as each had a totally different background of tradition and conception of reality." Realising, however, that "there is no difference between the Absolute of Vedānta and that of the Mādhyamika or Vijñānavāda," he is constrained to admit that "there has been borrowing of technique and not of tenets."¹⁴ This argument is not satisfactory because it is contradicted by historical facts. For example, as late as the time of the *Dharmaśāstras*, we find that Brahmanical tradition was against Śramaṇic way of life; Śramaṇas were denounced as 'outcastes' and 'inauspicious' and the institution of the ordination of Bhikṣus (*Pravrajyā*) was attributed to asuras or demons. The oldest Upaniṣads (*Br. Up.* & *Ch. Up.*) prove that the greatest Brāhmanical teachers like Yājñavalkya, were married and householders. Other early Upaniṣads clearly reveal Śramaṇic influence. However, in the *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* the institution of *Sanyāsa* finds a respectable position showing thereby that the Brāhmanical authors had at last accepted elements of non-Brāhmanical or Śramaṇic origin. Then again, the followers of Buddhism and Brāhmanism had different background of tradition and concept of reality, yet we find the Brāhmanical priests, the compilers of the *Purāṇas*, accepting Buddha as an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Further, earliest Brāhmanism or Vedicism involved animal sacrifice and there is no mention of the principle of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) in the entire Vedic literature prior to the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. But due to the popularity of Jainism and Buddhism which laid particular emphasis on *Ahiṃsā* and *Maitri*, the Brahmanical authors of the *Manusmṛti* (200 A.D.) and the *Mahābhārata* (200 B.C.—200 A.D.) and others also accepted the tenet of *Ahiṃsā* and thenceforth it became a cardinal principle in Brahmanism also. It is impossible to deny that the Purāṇic Hinduism has bor-

rowed the institution of Sanyāsa, the tenet of Ahimsā and reverence to Munis, Yatis and Yogins from Śramanism or Buddhism and Jainism.¹⁵ In short, we cannot rule out the possibility of doctrinal borrowing by the Brahmanical or Vedāntist thinkers from Buddhist thought.

But we are not going to argue that Gauḍapāda has borrowed Buddhist doctrines, or that he was himself a Buddhist. Our humble suggestion is that he had made an attempt to harmonise Buddhist tenets with those of the Upaniṣadic or non-dualistic Vedānta; in the Āgamaśāstra we find an endeavour to synthesise and bring about a concord between Mahāyāna Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta. In this endeavour seem to have crept into Vedānta certain basic tenets of Mahāyāna philosophy, and the result was the non-dualistic Vedānta of Śaṅkara. It would be historically correct to say that the Śaṅkara-Vedānta has been influenced by the Mādhyamika thought, and the link is preserved in the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinātha Kavirāja rightly maintains that the Mādhyamika-Kārikās of Nāgārjuna had influenced the thought of the Gauḍapādakārikās.¹⁶

Vedānta and Buddhist Thought before Gauḍapāda :

It is a fact that the Vedānta-sūtras or Brahmasūtras of Bādarāyaṇa are theistic rather than monistic. It is equally universally admitted that the Brahmasūtras were commented upon before Gauḍapāda by avowed dualists.¹⁷ We don't know any Brāhmanical author or thinker who expounded monistic (advaita) doctrine before Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara.¹⁸ The scattered seeds of monism in the Upaniṣads¹⁹ were developed for the first time by Gauḍapāda (600 A.D.) and Śaṅkara (800 A.D.) who established the classical form of the Advaita Vedānta. In fact, Śaṅkara credits Gauḍapāda, with the discovery of the Advaita doctrine, which, according to him, lay deep in the Vedas.²⁰

The necessity of conjectural explanations, viz, the IV Chapter of Gauḍapāda's work being from the pen of a Buddhist, unknown to history, and its being added to the first three Chapters by some one who is also unknown to history, seems to

have arisen out of an inclination to adhere to the myth of the originality of monistic absolutism of classical Vedānta. This myth disappears when we realise that pre-Gauḍapāda Vedānta is neither systematic nor monistic, and that Gauḍapāda flourished after all important Vijñānavāda and Mādhyamika philosophers had diffused their idealistic, monistic and absolutistic tenets. The advaita turn in Vedānta in and after Gauḍapāda can be reasonably and satisfactorily explained only by recognising the debt of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara to the Mādhyamika and Vijñānavāda systems of thought.

It is a matter of historical truism that the doctrine of two truths (Satya-dvaya-Vyavahāra and Paramārtha) was first expounded by Nāgārjuna (B.C. 100 to 100 A.D.) and subsequently propagated by Āryadeva (100-200 A.D.), Bhāvaviveka (600 A.D.), Candrakīrti (600-700 A.D.) and Śāntideva (700 A.D.) but its seeds are perceivable in the Pāli Canon itself.²¹ It is legitimate to suppose that the classical Vedāntists took this double-truth theory from the Mādhyamikas. Nāgārjuna was the father of the kārikā style in Sanskrit literature, and after his Madhyamakakārikās, many other Buddhist and Brahmanical authors began to write philosophical texts in Kārikās or memorial verses.

The doctrine that this phenomenal world is void of truth and its appearance is due to illusion (moha) born of ignorance (avijjā, avidyā) and perverted view (dṛṣṭi āsrava), is very well known to the Pāli sources and the Mahāyāna sūtras and Śāstras.²² In the Nikāyas the world is said to be void (suññā loko ti vuccati),²³ it is compared to a house set on fire;²⁴ the goal of Nibhāṇa is often understood to mean the 'extinction' of this fire born of tṛṣṇā. The method of affirming the transcendental truth by a system of relentless denial of the reality of phenomenal world was evolved first in Buddhist quarters by Nāgārjuna. The entities, the elements of mind and matter, are known as 'dharmas' exclusively in Buddhist quarters. Nāgārjuna, the father of Indian system of dialectics, was the first thinker to give prominent place to the method of four-fold description (catuḥ-koti), though the method is already employed in the Pāli Nikāyas.²⁵

The doctrine of non-dual idealist absolute was developed first by the Buddhists in the Saṅghinirmocanasūtra, the Laṅkā-

vatārasūtra, and it received its classical form at the hands of Maitreya-nātha (300 A.D.), Asaṅga (400 A.D.) and Vasubandhu (500 A.D.). Diinnāga (480-540 A.D.) had declared that "the climax of wisdom is the non-dual Absolute."²⁶

Buddhism in the Āgamaśāstra :

The age of Gauḍapāda was one of philosophical controversies and almost warlike activities of theologians espousing different sects. But as pointed out above, it was also the age when *rapprochement* between Brahmanical theology and Mahāyāna Buddhology was nearly complete; an age when Parama-Saugatas worshipped Brahmanical gods (see Chap. II), supreme divine Bodhisattvas assumed the form of Pāsūpata Tīrthika (see Chap. X), Brahmanical images were being enshrined in Buddhist temples (see Chap. XII), Buddhist logicians were being quoted as authorities on Kashmir Śaivism (see Chap. II) and when historical Buddha was being sacrificed at the alter of mythical Viṣṇu by making him an Avatāra for the Kali Age (see Chap. XII). In such an age it is neither curious nor surprising to find a synthesis between Buddhist absolute and that of the Vedānta. Gauḍapāda was true to the spirit of his age, therefore, he comments on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and pays devout homage to the Buddha.

Buddhist contents of the Āgamaśāstra are already well known to scholars, some have acknowledged while others have them explained away. We shall briefly review the concordance between the Āgamaśāstra (Abbr. AŚ) and Buddhist sources.

AŚ. I. 7 refers to those who view creation as being of the nature of dream and illusion (Svapnamāyāsarūṇi). This obviously refers to the Buddhist view of the world.

See, e.g.—māyādisvapnasadrṣaṃ vipaśyaṇto vimucyate/ Laṅkāvatārasūtra, X. 251 cf. ibid. X. 279, ibid, X, 291. etc. In the Aṣṭasāhasrikā we read the following :—

Māyā ca sattvāśca advayametadadvaidhikāram, iti hi svapnaśca sattvāśca advayaṃ etadadvaidhikāram/sarva dharmā api devaputrā māyopamaḥ svapnopamaḥ (BST-4), p. 20.

The Buddhist philosophical terms occur in the very first chapter, e.g., AŚ I. 29, Upaśamaḥ Śivaḥ: I. 17 Prapañca, comparable to MŚ. opening lines, and AŚ I. 18, Vikalpa.

I think that the idea expressed in AŚ, I. 22 reminds us of Buddha's perception of the triple world (tridhātu=triṣu dhāmasu) and 'Mahāmuniḥ' is meant to indicate the Great Ascetic Buddha.

In AŚ, II. 1, Gauḍapāda says like Vasubandhu, 'as in dream, so in waking, the objects seen are unreal', compare Viṃśatika-kārikā, verses 1-2. "The wise men (who) speak of the sameness of the dream and waking states", AŚ, II. 5, are probably Vijñānavādins. "The knowers of the mind" referred to in AŚ, II. 25, are evidently the Idealist Buddhists.²⁷ The term 'Vitatha' is found used in the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā in the sense of 'false' (Vch. ed. SOR, XIII, pp. 35, 48).

There is a remarkable harmony between MŚ, opening lines and AŚ, II. 32.²⁸ The concept expressed in AŚ, II. 35 with emphasis on 'the quiescence of the phenomenon that is non-dual' (prapañcopaśamo' dvayaḥ) at once recalls similar ideas expressed in the opening lines of MŚ, Aṣṭasāhasrikā (BST) P. 177, and Prajñāpāramitā Piṇḍārtha (in BST-4) opening line. According to Dr. S.N. Dasgupta²⁹ "the Buddhists were the first to use the words prapañcopasamam śivam." The thought of AŚ, II. 31 seems to be a mere repetition of some verse of the Laṅkāvatārasūtra; see for instance Laṅkāvatāra, X. 291.

The use of the word 'Samghāta' in AŚ, II. 3 and III. 10 for objective bodies is manifestly a Buddhist usage. The argument for the non-origination of things in AŚ, II. 20 strongly reminds us of the dialectical approach evinced in the Mādhyamika-Śāstra and the Catuḥ-Śataka of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva respectively.

At AŚ, III. 29-30, one feels that Gauḍapāda is giving a most faithful expression to Vijñānavāda philosophy as known from the Laṅkāvatārasūtra and the works of Vasubandhu. I am inclined to observe that at AŚ, III. 33, the first line is eminently Vijñānavādin while the second line equally clearly Upaniṣadic. Here in this verse we find a perfect combination of the two thought-currents.

The epithets used in AŚ, III. 37 remind the reader of Nirvāṇa which is said to be atarkāvacara and anabhilāpya. The Aṣṭasāhasrikā (BST, p. 177) states 'sarvakalpa vikalpa

prahīṇo hi Tathāgataḥ'. It is likely that the mention of asparśayoga at AŚ, III. 39, refers to the intangible cessation called Nirodha or Nirvāṇa. The description given at AŚ, III. 47, fits in well with that of Buddha and Nirvāṇa as given in Buddhist texts. We have seen that the hypothesis of the AŚ, IV, being an independent treatise is not well grounded. The chapter is captioned Alātasānti, and we find that the course of thought in the AŚ reaches its logical conclusion in this chapter. The Laṅkāvatārasūtra uses the words 'alātacakra', Laṅkā, X. 173. The use of the word 'dharma' at AŚ, IV. 1, in the sense of entity is "peculiarly Buddhistic". There can be no doubt that the opening verse of Chap. IV adores the Fully Enlightened One (Sambuddha), the best among men (dvipadām varam). Likewise AŚ, IV. 2, repeats the salutation to him who, being the benefactor of all beings (sarvasattvasukho hitaḥ, cp. Sabbabhūtānukampī), taught the supreme contemplation (asparśayoga, probably asaṃprajñāta samādhi), and a doctrine which can neither be disputed nor contradicted.³⁰ Commenting on this verse Dr. Radhakrishnan says that "The kārikā is an attempt to combine in one whole the negative logic of the Mādhyamikas with the positive idealism of the Upaniṣads."³¹ Eminent scholars including Jacobi, Vallee Poussin, V.S. Sukthāṅkar, S.N. Dasgupta and V. Bhattacharya have already eminently shown the Buddhist influence in the last chapter of the Āgamasāstra. As I cannot improve upon their discussions, I feel no justification in reproducing what is already well acknowledged. In order to complete my survey I add the following notes. AŚ, IV. 4-5, 19, subscribe to the theory of non-origination of things; AŚ. IV. 22-23, are comparable to MŚ, I. 1, 7 and XXI. 13 which deny causality, AŚ, IV. 33 contains the most common words of Buddhist philosophy, such as 'Saṃvṛti' and 'sarve dharmā mṛṣā', (cp. Nāgārjuna's credo 'Sarve dharmāḥ śūnyā' and Candrakīrti—'anubhava eṣa mṛṣā' etc.). AŚ, IV. 42, seems to speak in the vein of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra and other early Mahāyāna Sūtras. AŚ, IV. 57 compares with MŚ, XXIV. 8-10. AŚ, IV. 58-59 recall Catuḥśataka, X. 14 and so many passages in the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā and the Vajracchedikā. AŚ, IV. 61-62 compare well with Laṅkāvatārasūtra, III. 65, 121. Phrases such as 'Agra-yāna' AŚ, IV. 90; 'Sarve dharmā anādayaḥ', IV. 91, 'Ādi-

buddhāḥ', IV. 92, and 'Ādisāntā', IV. 93, are obviously Buddhist in connotation.

Notes and References

1. M. Walleser was of the opinion that Gauḍapāda's theories represented the tenets of a Bengal School of thought and he placed the Māṇḍukyā-kārikās in cir. 550. A.B. Keith RPVUP, II, p. 503 and note 1.
2. Hist. Ind. Phil., Vol. I, p. 423.
3. Introduction (p. IV) to his Edition of the Gauḍapādakārikā, BORI, Poona, 1953.
4. Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda, edited with critical Introduction, Translation and Comy. into English (1943) and Sanskrit (1950) by V. Bhattacharya, University of Calcutta, see Sanskrit Version, pp. 43ff.
5. See above Chapter VII.
6. Ind. Phil. II, p. 452 and note; The 'Tarkajvālā' is an auto-comy, on Bhāvaviveka's original work, the Mādhyamika-hrdayakārikā, its Sanskrit Ms. was discovered by R. Sāṃkrtyāyana (See JBORS, Vol. XXIII Pt., I for brief notices of the Ms.) and is preserved in the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna.
7. Gauḍapāda-Kārikā, ed. R.D. Karnarkar, Intro., pp. V-X.
8. Keith, RPVUP. II, p. 503, note 1, Quoting Der-altere Vedānta, pp. 5 f.
9. Āgamaśāstra, (Ed.), pp. IV, Lvii.
10. Central Philosophy of Buddhism pp. 14-15.
11. Hist. Ind. Phil., I, p. 423.
12. Gauḍapādakārikā (Ed.), XXXLI.
13. Op. cit., l. c. note.
14. Central Philosophy of Buddhism, pp. 116-117.
15. See above Chapter XII; cf. G. C. Pande, Origins of Buddhism, pp. 280 f. cf. R. C. Hazra Purāṇic Records; Dharmānanda Kosambī, Pārsivanātha Kā Cāturyāma Dharma; R. C. Jain, Most Ancient Aryan Society, Sri Ganganagar, 1964.
16. Bhāratīya Sanskriti Aur Sādhanā, Pt. I., Chapter 5, pp. 132-133.
17. See the Brahmasūtras ed. and translated by S. Radhakrishnan, (Allen and Unwin, London).
18. Cf. S.N. Dasgupta, Hist. Ind. Phil., I., p. 422; S. Radhakrishnan, Ind. Phil. II, p. 452.
19. Cf. Keith, RPVUP, II, pp. 516f.; R.E. Hume. Thirteen Principal Upanishads, 2nd. ed., p. 71.
20. Śaṅkara's comy. on Gauḍapāda-Kārikā, Ed. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, p. 214; cf. S.N. Dasgupta, op. cit., pp. 422-423.
21. SN, I, Arhantasutta, p. 15.—'Loke samaññaṃ kusalo veditvā, vohāramattena so vohareyyā' cf. MŚ. XXIV.8; XXIV. 10; CŚ, VIII. 8; Madhyamakāvātāra, VI. 23-28; Madhyamaka-Vṛtti (BB Ed.) pp. 55-56; Madhyamārthasamgraha, 1-2; cf. L.M. Joshi in Dharmalūta, Vol. 29, July-August, 1964, pp. 54-56; BCA IX. 2.
22. Cf. Mahāvagga, pp. 13-15; MN, I, Mūlaparyāyasutta, pp. 3-10; Nettippakarana, 85; SN, I, Upanīvasutta, p. 4; Visuddhimagga (PTS Ed.) pp. 496, 542; Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, Ed. E. Conze, SOR, XIII, pp. 35, 42, 48; other sources see E. Conze, 'Mahāyāna Treatment of the Viparyāyas' in Lessing Festschrift.
23. Vide SN, III, pp. 50-51; DN, I, p. 17; AN, I, p. 279; and DN, III, p. 30.
24. Cf. Mahāvagga, pp. 34ff. Ādītapariyāya.
25. DN, I, pp. 51-52, 151ff.
26. Cf. Saṅghinirmocanasūta, ed. by E. Lamotte, Louvain, 1935; Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra ed. in BST No. 3 and D.T. Suzuki, Studies in the

Lañkāvatāra; G. Tucci, *Aspects of the Doctrines of Maitreya (nātha)*; etc. S. Levi's ed. of *Deux Traités de Vasubandhu*, Paris, 1925, and G. Tucci's ed. of *Prajñāpāramita Piṇḍārtha*, JRAS, 1947, pp. 55-56.

27. See V. Bhattacharya, *Āgamaśāstra*, p. 33 where numerous parallels from Buddhist sources are cited.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-43.

29. *Hist. Ind. Phil.*, I, p. 425, note.

30. cf. V. Bhattacharya, *Āgamaśāstra*, pp. 92-93.

31. *Ind. Phil.* II, p. 465 and note 2.

APPENDIX 5

CHRONOLOGY OF SOME EARLY SIDDHAS

(1) THE SOURCES

TĀRĀNĀTHA

Tārānātha says that during the time of the Pāla Kings of Bengal many Siddhācāryas appeared and diffused the Tāntrika teachings after the time of Dharmakīrti. The Anuttara-Yoga-Tantras appeared in the following order: (1) Saraha's Buddhakapāla-Tantra, (2) Luipāda's Yoginīsaṃcaryā, (3) Kaṃbala and Padmavajra produced the Hevajra-Tantra, (4) Kṛṣṇa's Saṃputa-tilaka, (5) Lalitavajra's Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-Tantra, (6) Gaṃbhīravajra's Vajrāmṛta, (7) Kukkuri's Mahāmāyā, and (8) Piṭo's Kālacakra. This account is given by Tārānātha in his Chos ḥbyuñ.¹ In his first work on Indian history, the Mystic Tales,² he gives the following succession of these Siddhas.

1. 'Mahācārya Brāhmaṇa Rāhulabhadra' for the first time revealed the Mahāmudrā. He later on became known as Saraha or Saraha.
2. His pupil was Nāgārjuna, his disciple was
3. Siddha Śavarī, also known as 'Younger Saraha'. The pupil of Śavarī was
4. Luipāda, whose pupil was
5. Ḍombī, whose pupil was
6. Tilly, whose pupil was
7. Nāro, the latter's pupil was
8. Younger Ḍombī, and the latter's pupil was
9. Kuśalībhadra.

It will be noticed that in these two lists of succession of Siddhas the first Siddha is Saraha alias Rāhulabhadra. There was yet another namesake who was known as Younger Saraha. Luipā figures in both the lists.

bStan-ḥgyur

An entirely different list of succession of early Siddhas

is given in the Tanjur (bStan-ḥgyur) which is given below : (1) Padmavajra, (2) Anaṅgavajra, (3) Indrabhūti, (4) Bhagavatī Lakṣamī (5) Līlavajra, (6) Dārikapā, (7) Sahajayoginī Ciṅtā, and (8) Dombī Heruka.³ Two most important Siddhas, viz., Saraha and Nāgārjunapāda, it is to be noticed, are not mentioned in this group of early Siddhas.

PAG SAM JON ZAN̄

Another tradition, preserved in the work of Sumpā mkhanpo, gives the following list of early Siddhas : (1) Saraha, (2) Nāgārjuna, (3) Śabarīpā, (4) Luipā, (5) Vajraghaṅṭa, (6) Kacchapa, (7) Jālandharīpā, (8) Kṛṣṇācārya, (9) Guhya, (10) Vijayapā, (11) Tailopā, and (12) Nāropā.⁴ It will be observed that many names are common to the lists of Tārānātha and Sumpā. Secondly, in Tārānātha as well as in Sumpā, Saraha alias Rāhulabhadra is at the head of the list of these Siddhas.

THE BLUE ANNALS

In the Blue Annals are mentioned at several places, a large number of Siddhas. A certain King Pradyotacandra is credited to have first obtained the Yoga Tantras in the east. After him are placed Nāgārjuna and his disciples who introduced the Guhyasamāja and other Mahāyoga-Tantras. Then comes Śrīkambala who introduced Yoginī-Tantras from Uḍḍiyāna. After that the Bodhisattvas ("here Bodhisattvas mean the Kings of Śaṃbhala") introduced the Kālacakra and other Tantras from Śaṃbhala.⁵ Among these "Bodhisattvas" of Śaṃbhala were King Indrabhūti, his sister Lakṣamīkarā, and his son, Padmasaṃbhava, as we shall see below.

The author of the Blue Annals feels that the Kālacakra system had appeared in the 'Āryadeśa' earlier than is usually believed. According to him the chronological succession of the Line of Ācāryas of the Kālacakra system is as follows : (1) Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṅṭapāda, (2) Kūrmapāda, (3) Vijayapāda, (4) Kṛṣṇapāda, (5) Bhadrāpāda, (6) Vijayapāda, (7) Tillī-pā or Tailīpā, and then (8) Nāropā. "Thus from Ghaṅṭa (pāda) till Nāropā there have been eight teachers in the Line." Nāropā's son was Kālacakrapāda.⁶

It seems that there were several lines of teachers, or 'Āmnāyas', i.e., mystic schools of the Tāntrika Buddhists. Some Siddhas belonging to a particular branch of mysticism may have been contemporary with those belonging to other branch. This seems to be inferable from the fact that the Blue Annals enumerate groups of gurus or different guruparaṃparās. Thus as many as "54 Siddhas, males and females", appear as belonging to different branches of Tāntrika Buddhism, although they were, perhaps, contemporaries also. Members of one branch are : (1) Vāgīśvara, (2) Buddhagupta, (3) Godhārī (4) Karmavajra (5) Javāri, (6) Jñānapāda, (7) Nāgabodhi, (8) Ānanda, (9) Kṛṣṇapāda, (10) Vasudharma, and (11) Padmavajra. These teachers belonged to the Lineage of the 'Father' class of Tantras, and seem to have been all teachers of a great soul (Siddheśvara), Dam-pa by name, a native of Be-ba-la in South India.⁷

Another line of teachers belonging to the 'Mother' class of Tantras, is as follows:

(1) Anāṅgavajra, (2) Saroruha, (3) Indrabhūti, (4) Doṃbhi-pā, (5) Vajraghaṇṭa, (6) Tillipā, (7) Kṛṣṇapā, (8) Lilāvajra, (9) Luyī-pā, (10) Virūpā, (11) Ānandagarbha, and (12) Kukkurīpā.⁸ It is noticeable that in this last list are several persons belonging to the list given by Tārānātha and Sumpā.

SANSKRIT BIOGRAPHY OF THE SIDDHAS

Dr. Tucci⁹ brought to light some interesting details concerning the Siddhas given in a Nepalese palm-leaf MS. discovered by him. This Biography of Siddhas, is unfortunately very fragmentary and cannot be of much help in settling the complicated and confused history and chronology of the Siddhas. This Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas shows that a Nāgārjuna, who was an alchemist, was a contemporary of Śabara and Advayavajra (also called Dāmodara, Maitrigupta). This work thus points to a different line of teachers, which claimed Nāgārjuna as its head.

CATURĀSITI-SIDDHA-PRAVṚTTI

The late Paṇḍit R. Sāṃkṛtyāyaṇa¹⁰ has reconstructed the

geneology and chronology of the Siddhas on the basis of the Caturāsīti-Siddha-Pravṛtti, preserved in the Tanjur, and has supplemented his account by other Tibetan sources.

THE EIGHTY-FOUR SIDDHAS IN HISTORY AND LEGEND

The historicity of the 84 Siddhas or Perfect Ones of Tāntrika Buddhism, is indicated not only by a number of Indian and Tibetan legends and traditions but also by some historical references to them. Besides the works of Tārānātha, Sumpā, the Blue Annals, the Caturāsīti-Siddha-Pravṛtti and the Sanskrit Biography, mentioned above, many other Tibetan works written after the time of Bu-ston and before that the Sumpā mkhan-po, also refer to their life and works. The Śābaratantra gives a list of 24 teachers of the Kāpālika sect, and 'Nāgārjuna', 'Mīnanātha', 'Goraḡṣa', 'Carpaṡa' and 'Jālandhara', are included in the list.¹¹ We know from other sources that these are included among the 84 Siddhas also. These 84 Siddhas are also well known to the literature of medieval Indian Chemistry and Alchemy.¹² The fifteenth century poet and mystic, Kabīradāsa refers to them in one of his songs.¹³ Some of these are mentioned in the literature of the Nātha School.¹⁴ A fourteenth century writer, Jyotīrīśvara also mentions them in his Varṇaratnākara.¹⁵ A few Siddhas are mentioned in some inscriptions also.¹⁶ A large number of them are known from their Tāntrika works, Sādhanas, Dohās and commentaries, extant in Tibetan, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa.¹⁷

The list of 84 Siddhas, as preserved in the Tibetan sources, is as follows :—

- (1) Luhī-pā, (2) Lilā-pā, (3) Virū-pā, (4) Ḍoṃbi-pā,
- (5) Śābara (Śavarī-pā), (6) Saraha (Rāhulabhadra), (7) Kaṅkali-pā, (8) Mīna-pā, (9) Goraḡṣa-pā, (10) Cauraṅgi-pā, (11) Viṅā-pā, (12) Śānti-pā, (13) Tanti-pā, (14) Car-māri (Camarīpā), (15) Khaḡga-pā, (16) Nāgārjuna, (17) Kāṅha-pā, (18) Karṇari-pā (Āryadeva), (19) Ṡhagana-pā, (20) Nāro-pā (Naḡapāda), (21) Śāli-pā (Śṛgāla-pāda), (22) Tilo-pā (Tailika-pāda), (23) Chatra-pā, (24) Bhadra-pā, (25) Dvikhaṅḡi-pā (Do-khaṅḡhi-pā), (26) Ajogī-pā, (27) Kāḡa-pāda (Kāla-pā), (28) Dhovī-pā, (29) Kaṅkaṅa-

pā, (30) Kāmpala-pā (Kāmbala), (31) Geṅgi-pā (Teṅki-pā), (32) Bhade-pa, (33) Taṇdhipā, (34) Kukkurī-pā, (35) Cujbi (Kusulī)-pā, (36) Dharma-pā, (37) Mahī-pā, (38) Acinti-pā, (39) Bhalaha-pā, (40) Nalina-pā, (41) Bhūsūkū-pā, (42) Indrabhūti, (43) Megha-pā (Meko-pā), (44) Kuṭhāli-pā (Kuṭhāri), (45) Karmara, (46) Jālandhara-pā, (47) Rāhula-pā, (48) Garbhari-pā, (49) Dhakari-pā, (50) Jogipā, (54) Celuka-pā, (55) Gundari-pā, (56) Luṅcaka-pā, (57) Nirguṇa-pā, (58) Jayānanda, (59) Carpaṭi-pā, (60) Cāmpaka-pā, (61) Bhikhan-pā (62) Bhali-pā, (63) Kumāri-pā, (64) Cavarī (Javāri)-pā, (65) Maṇibhadrā (Yoginī), (66) Mekhalā-pā (Yoginī), (67) Maṅkhalā-pā (Yoginī), (68) Kalakala-pā, (69) Kaṇṭhali-pā, (70) Dhahuli-pā, (71) Udhali-pā, (72) Kapāla-pā, (73) Kila-pā, (74) Sāgarapā (Puṣkara), (75) Sarva-bhakṣa-pā, (76) Nāgabodhi-pā, (77) Dārīka-pā, (78) Putuli-pa, (79) Upānaha-pā, (80) Kokila-pā, (81) Anaṅga-pā, (82) Lakṣamīṅkarā (Yoginī), (83) Samudra-pā, and (84) Vyāli-pā (Bhali-pa).¹⁸

(ii) CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF SOME EARLY SIDDHAS

Most of the modern scholars agree in placing the 84 Siddhas between 8th and 12th centuries A.D. The chronological discussion of all these Siddhas is, properly speaking, beyond our present scope, because most of them flourished after the 8th century A.D. But it is extremely difficult to decide how many of these 84 Buddhist sages flourished in the 8th century A.D. As a matter of fact, the whole problem of the history and chronology of 84 Siddhas is a confused and complex one. All attempts to reconstruct their systematic chronology at the present state of our knowledge and available evidence, must be tentative.

Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya was perhaps the first to make such an attempt.¹⁹ He placed SARAHA in A.D. 633, a date which is too early, and perhaps cannot be substantiated by any undisputed evidence. There are indications that lead us to place Saraha in the later half of the eighth century A.D.²⁰ Saraha or Rāhulabhadra, according to Sumpā mkhan-po, was

a Brāhmaṇa born in the city of Rājñī in the East, and flourished in the reign of King Candanapāla of Prācyā (East).²¹ Dr. K.L. Barua suggests that this Rājñī is probably Rāñī in Western Assam.²² In Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana's list, Saraha seems to belong to Nālandā, and was a contemporary of King Dharmapāla (cir. 770-810 A.D.).²³ Some writers suggest that Saraha was a contemporary of Ratnapāla, a King of the Brahmapāla dynasty of Kāmarūpa, who is placed in Xth-XIth century A.D.²⁴ According to Tārānātha, Rāhulabhadra alias Saraha, was a Brāhmaṇa of Oḍiśā (Orissa).²⁵

From the Tibetan Tanjur Saraha appears to be a contemporary of Śāntirakṣita and Kamalaśīla.²⁶ Almost all the Tibetan sources agree on the point that Saraha's pupil was Nāgārjuna.²⁷ This Nāgārjuna, one of the Siddhas, flourished in the 8th century A.D. as discussed above.²⁸ Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana informs us that Saraha was a pupil of Haribhadra,²⁹ who was the guru of king Dharmapāla. An eighth century inscription, inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Avalokiteśvara, preserved in Orissa Museum, and installed in the reign of Śubhakaradeva of Kāra dynasty (cir. 790 A.D.), refers to one 'Mahāmaṇḍalācārya Paramaguru Rāhularuci.'³⁰ This Rāhularuci may be identical with Rāhulabhadra alias Saraha. Thus all these pieces of evidence put together seem to place Saraha in the second half of the 8th century A.D. Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana suggested that Saraha may have died in cir. 780 A.D. which date is probable enough.

When we fix the date of Saraha, we fix the date of some of the earliest Siddhas; Saraha, the first of 84 Siddhas, seems to have flourished in the middle of the 8th century A.D.; one of his direct pupils, in Vajrayāna mysticism, was NĀGĀRJUNA, whose Tāntrika works have been mentioned above. There were several persons bearing this name, and the Tibetan sources are full of confused legends concerning this name. Even the great Mādhyamika metaphysician and perhaps the earliest known Master of the Mahāyāna, is brought into Tāntrika age and is confused with an alchemist and Tāntrika namesake.³¹ In Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana's list, Nāgārjuna (Siddha 16) appears as a pupil of Saraha and a Brāhmaṇa of Kāñcī in the south.³² The Blue Annals attribute to Nāgārjuna the introduction of the Guhya-samāja in South India.³³ Tārānātha and Sumpā,³⁴ although

both give a confused and legendary account of this person, inform us that Nāgārjuna came from Vidarbha in South, and met Saraha (Sorajavajra, Saroruha, or Rāhulabhadra) at Nālandā, and again went to South and spent many years in Śriparvata.

Dr. Bhattacharya placed Nāgārjuna in 645 A.D.³⁵ But such an early date perhaps cannot be accepted in as much as he was a junior contemporary of Saraha who died in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. Dr. Tucci's report shows that there were perhaps two Nāgārjunas even among the Siddhas. One Nāgārjuna is said, in the Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas, to have been born in Karhāṭaka (probably Karṇāṭaka) and his pupil ('incarnation') was Dāmodara also known as Maitrīpā and as Advayavajra.³⁶ Even in the list prepared by Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana, we cannot say that Siddha 16 (Nāgārjuna) is identical or different from Siddha 76 (Nāgabodhi). Moreover, Nāgārjuna the pupil of Saraha (cir 800 A.D.) cannot be the same as Nāgārjuna the teacher of Advayavajra or Maitrīpā, the author of the Advayavajrasaṃgraha, Madhyama-Ṣaṣṭka and other Tāntrika texts who lived in 1100 A.D.³⁷ We may also note as pointed by Dr. Tucci, that the Gorakṣasiddhānta-saṃgraha knows not only a Nāgārjuna, but also Malayārjuna and Sahasrārjuna.³⁸ It is not unlikely that a Siddha Nāgārjuna, who was a pupil of Sarahapāda, who introduced the Guhyasamāja, and whose Sādhanas of Ekajaṭā and Vajratārā, have been published in the Sādhanamālā, flourished in the late 8th and early 9th century A.D. This date seems to find some support in a work of Tārānātha in which he says that Nāgārjuna fought many "enemies of Mahāyāna" including "Śaṃkara".³⁹ This statement, which does not seem to have received due attention of scholars, would show that Nāgārjuna the Siddha, was a contemporary of the great Śaṃkara, the chief exponent of Advaita Vedānta, whose birth is placed in cir. 788 A.D.

According to Tārānātha two of Nāgārjuna's pupils were Āryadeva⁴⁰ (Siddha 18, Karṇarīpā) and Śavarīpā.⁴¹ The latter was also called 'younger Saraha'. ŚAVARĪ or ŚABARAPĀ is the 5th Siddha, was a Kṣatriya by caste, and associated with Vikramaśilā; he was a pupil of Saraha also, and a teacher of Lui-pā.⁴² To him are ascribed 16 Tāntrika

works in Tanjur and his Sādhana on Kurukullā is published in the Sādhanamālā.⁴³ He seems to have flourished about the turning point of the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. Dr. Bhattacharya, however, placed Śabara in 657 A.D.⁴⁴ which is a very unlikely date of ĀRYADEVA or KARNARĪPĀ, the 18th Siddha, the author of the Citta-Viśuddhi-Prakarāṇa; we have already suggested that he seems to have belonged to the late 8th century.⁴⁵

LUHĪ (or LUI) PĀ, who heads the list of the 84 Siddhas, was not the first Siddha, but was a pupil of Saraha the Ādisiddha. According to Śrī Sāṃkṛtyāyana's sources, Luhī-pā was a Kāyastha by profession, who belonged to Magadha and was a clerk in the employ of king Dharmapāla (cir. 770-810 A.D.) of Bengal.⁴⁶ Tārānātha, however, clearly says that Luipā, the pupil of younger Saraha (i.e. Śabarapā) was "a writer of the King of Udyāna in the west named Samantaśubha."⁴⁷ Dr. N. Dutt writes 'Ujjayinī' instead of Udyāna.⁴⁸ Whether there was any King named Samanta-Śubha in Ujjayinī (Mālawā) in the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century A.D., may very well be doubted. While there is numismatic evidence⁴⁹ to prove the existence of a King named Sāmantadeva or Samantaśubha (Tibetan Kun-tu-dge-ba)⁵⁰ in the Svat region, the Kabul valley and Afghanistan. It, therefore, stands to reason, to place Luipā in the early 9th century A.D. and to regard him as being a clerk of King Samantaśubha of Shāhī family of the N.W. Frontier Province.

KAMBALA (Siddha 30) and his collaborator (in producing the Hevajra-Tantra), PADMAVAJRA, are also placeable in the second half of the 8th century A.D. Their works have been mentioned above.⁵¹

INDRABHŪTI, one of the Siddhas (no. 42), was the King of Udyāna in the N.W. of India. His son Padmasambhava reputed as a second Buddha in Tibet, who was instrumental in formulating Lamaism, lived in the second half of the 8th and first half of the 9th century A.D. A notable figure is Lakṣamīnīkarādevī, sister to Indrabhūti, who became a Siddha and may be placed in the 9th century A.D.⁵¹ There is no doubt that there were several persons who bore the name Indrabhūti. Dr. Snellgrove says that there were "Three Indrabhūtis."⁵² Tārānātha seems to refer at least to two Indrabhūtis,

one Indrabhūti, king of Udyāna, was the teacher of Mahāpadmavajra; another Indrabhūti is called the "junior" who was the pupil of Saroruha and Kāmpala.⁵³

The other Siddhas seem to have belonged to the period between 9th and 12th centuries A.D. Even the Siddhas who have been tentatively placed here in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., are placed by other scholars much later.

Dr. H.P. Śāstrī⁵⁴ held that the Tāntrika works, collected in the Baudha Gān O Dohā, were products of the 10th century A.D. The authors of these Dohās are mostly Siddhas. Dr. S.K. Chatterji⁵⁵ also placed the Buddhist Caryāpadas in the 10th century and after. Dr. P.C. Bagchi was of the opinion that Lui-pā was the same as Matsyendranātha,⁵⁶ and that most of the Siddhas lived in the 11th century A.D.⁵⁷

Notes and References

1. The Chapter from Tārānātha's Geschichte (Schieffner) as summarised by N. Dutt in HCIP, IV, pp. 266-268.
2. Tārānātha's Mystic Tales, pp. 8-11.
3. Cordier-Gata. Pt. II, pp. 211-212.
4. Kazi Dawa Samdup, Tāntrika Texts Series, Vol. VII (Śricakrasambhāra-tantra), Introduction, p. XXXV.
5. Blue Annals, II, p. 753.
6. Ibid., pp. 754-755.
7. Ibid., pp. 867-869.
8. Ibid., p. 868.
9. See his paper 'A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and Some questions connected with Nāgārjuna' JASB, XXVI, 1930, pp. 138-158.
10. See his learned paper 'L' Origine du Vajrayāna des 84 Siddhas', Journal Asiatique, 1934, pp. 209-230; Hindi version in Purātattva-Nibandhāvalī pp. 109-130.
11. JASB, XXVI, 1930, p. 132.
12. cf. Satya Prakāśa, Prācīna Bhārata main Rasāyana kā Itihāsa, Lucknow, 1960, Ch. XII, pp. 209f.
13. Kabra-granthamālā, Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā's Ed., p. 54.
14. Gorakṣa-Siddhānta-Samgraha, (Banaras Ed.) p. 40; cf. Hajāri Prasad Dvivedī, Nātha Sampradāya kā Itihāsa, Allahabad, 1950.
15. Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 274.
16. IHQ, March, 1929, pp. 14-30; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI, pp. 247f.
17. See Hist. of Bengal, I, Chapters XI-XII, pp. 304f.
18. R. Sāmkṛtyāyana, Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, Table on pp. 120-125.; cf. P.C. Bagchi in the Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 274.
19. TS, Foreword, pp. XCV-XCVI; Śādhanamālā II, Intro., p. XI.III; JBORS, XIV; pp. 341-357; Buddhist Esterism, pp. 65.
20. See above Chap. X.
21. Pag Sam Jon Zang, Index. p. XII
22. Journal of Assam Research Society, Vol. II, p. 47.
23. Purātattva Nibandhāvalī, p. 120.
24. K.L. Barua, in the Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. II, pp. 47 B; Maheshwar Neog in IHQ Vol. XXVII, pp. 146-147.
25. Mystic Tales, p. 3.

26. Cordier-Cata, 2nd Partie, p. 248.
27. Mystic Tales, p. 9; Blue Annals, I, p. 35, 344.
28. See above Chapter X.
29. Dohakośa of Saraha, Bhūmikā, p. 12.
30. S.C. De, 'The Orissa Museum Image Inscription of the Time of of Śubhākaradeva', Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress, 1949, pp. 66ff.
31. Nāgārjuna the author of the Sādhanas (Sādhanamālā, I, pp. 193 ff., 265ff.) seems to be different from Nāgārjuna the author of a Rati-śāstra. See my paper in Maha Bodhi, Vol. 73 Nos. 1-2, 1965.
32. Purātattva Nibandhāvali, p. 121.
33. Blue Annals, II, p. 753.
34. Mystic Tales, p. 9; S. K. Pathak, 'Life of Nāgārjuna from the Pag Sam Jon Zang', IHQ XXX, p. 93.
35. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro., p. CVI.
36. JASB, XXVI, p. 139.
37. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro. p. XCV.
38. JASB, XXVI, p. 141.
39. Mystic Tales, p. 9.
40. Ibid., p. 46.
41. Ibid., p. 11.
42. Purātattva Nibandhāvali, p. 120.
43. Sādhanamālā, II, Intro. pp. XCIV-CXV, and Text, pp. 285 f.
44. JBORS, XIV, p. 346.
45. See Chap. X and Bu-Ston, II, pp. 130-132.
46. Purātattva Nibandhāvali, p. 120.
47. Mystic Tales, p. 11.
48. HCIP, IV, p. 267.
49. See HCIP, IV, pp. 112, 117.
50. See G. Tucci in East and West, Vol. 9, 1958, pp. 280, 324.
51. Purātattva Nibandhāvali pp. 123, 125; Mystic Tales, pp. 21, 23; Blue Annals, I, pp. 259, 361-363; above Chap. X; Sādhanamālā, II, p. XCVIII.
52. Hevajra Tantra, I, Introduction, p. 12.
53. Mystic Tales, pp. 18-20.
54. Baudlha Gān O Dohā, Vāṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, 1916, see Intro.
55. Origin and Development of Bengali Language, p. 81.
56. Kaulajñānanirnaya (Ed.), Intro, pp. 22-27
57. In the Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. IV, p. 276.

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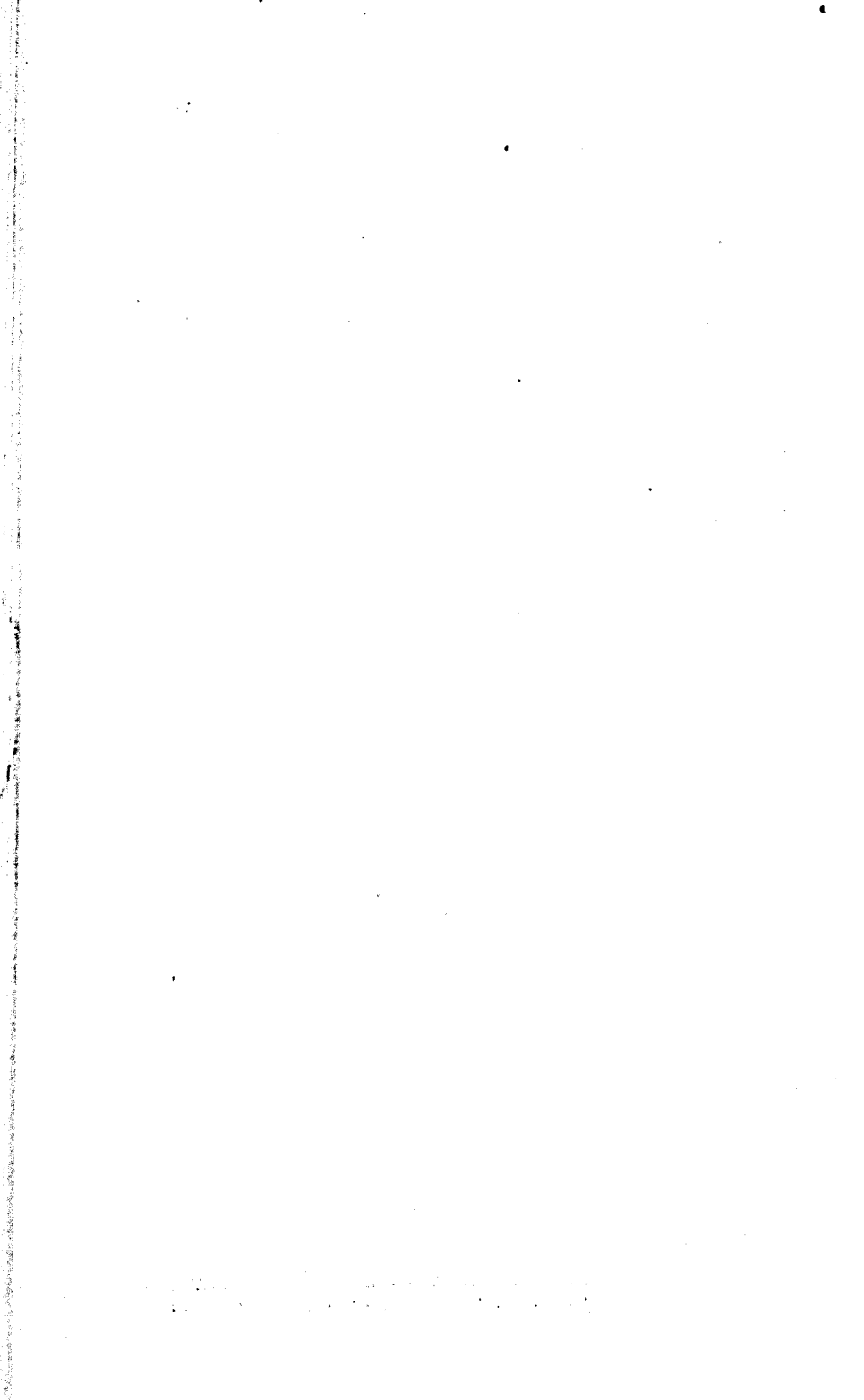
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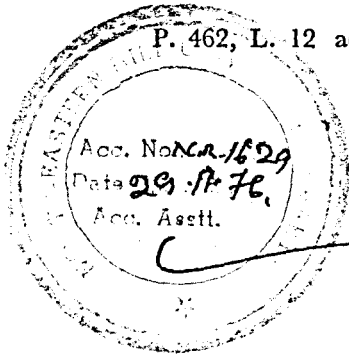
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 2, L. 36 read practice for pratice
- P. 2, L. 37 read Buddhism for Budidhism
- P. 4, L. 32 read Hīnayānist for Hinyanist
- P. 8, L. 23 read Besides for Bsidcs
- P. 10, L. 28 read Emergence for Emerence
- P. 13, L. 2 read R. Kimura for H. Kimura
- P. 13, L. 6 read Takakusu for Takakhsu
- P. 13, L. 17 read Suzuki for Suzaki
- P. 13, L. 53 read Sekoddeṣaṭīkā for Sekodoesatika
- P. 14, L. 26 read Nationale for National
- P. 15, L. 4 read Foreword for Foreward
- P. 15, L. 17 read U. Wogihara for V. Wogihara
- P. 15, L. 20 read Frauwallner for Frouwallner
- P. 23, L. 30 read Saṃskṛti for Sanskrit
- P. 57, L. 6 read Law for Lw
- P. 82, L. 9 read Chanda for Chandar
- P. 83, L. 8 read Paribhājakas for Paribhajakas
- P. 103, L. 8 read perpetually bathe his image for perpetually
his bathe image
- P. 108, L. 19 read Practice for Practic
- P. 113, L. 39 read Vietnam for Vietham
- P. 142, L. 12 read Krama for Karma
- P. 147, L. 34 read anuttarā for anuttrara
- P. 148, L. 6 read Mahāparinibbānasutta for Mahāpari-
nibhanasutta.
- P. 148, L. 27 read Bendall for Bendali
- P. 148, L. 54 read Snellgrove for Shellgrove
- P. 149, L. 21 read Nairātmyapariṣcchāsūtra for Naitratmya°:
- P. 149, L. 39 read Kempis for Kempirs
- P. 178, L. 24 read Guhāsena for Gunasena
- P. 183, L. 26-27 read thus : whose contribution to critical
philosophy has perhaps never been surpassed
- P. 199, L. 39 read goddess for goodess
- P. 201, on Kalyāṇarakṣita add : It is possible to identify this
philosopher with Bhadanta Śubhagupta whose
views are referred to and criticised by Kamala-

śīla. Firstly, in Tibetan language both the names viz. Śubhagupta and Kalyāṇarakṣita, can be rendered in identical terms. In Saṃskṛt Śubha and Kalyāṇa have the same meaning, and-gupta or-rakṣita also have the same sense. Secondly, the five treatises (viz. 1. Sarvajñasiddhikārikā, 2. Bāhyārthasiddhikārikā, 3. Śrutiparīkṣākārikā, 4. Anyāpohasiddhi, and 5. Īśvarabhaṅgakārikā) are attributed in the Tibetan Tanjur to a person whose name is read as Kalyāṇarakṣita by S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana and as Śubhagupta by N. Aiyaswami Śāstrī. The name Śubhagupta is attested by the Tattva-Saṃgraha-Pañjikā. From the Bāhyārthasiddhi and the TSP it is clear that this philosopher was a Vaibhāṣika realist.

- P. 204, L. 17 read Viṃśati for Vimasti
 P. 206, L. 11 read Vajrayoginī for Vajragoginī
 P. 209, L. 22 read Pag Sam Jon Zan for Pag Sam Joh Zang
 P. 211, Note 104 read P. Pelliot for Pello
 P. 211, Note 105 read Nanjio-cata. for Manjio-cata
 P. 213, L. 19 read Cāndravyākaraṇa for Candrayakarana
 P. 214, L. 6 read Pañcamahopadeśa for Pancamahpoadesa
 P. 216 Note 284 read Sāṃkṛtyāyana for Sāmṛtyāyana
 P. 218, L. 2 from bottom read Tripiṭakas for Tripiṭaka
 P. 230, L. 17 read Commenting for commeting
 P. 232, L. 20-21 read Dārṣāntapaṅkti for Dārṣānita-paṅkti
 P. 264, L. 1 read Randle for Ranade
 P. 264, Note 171 read cp for op.
 P. 165, L. 47 read advaye for adveye
 P. 265, L. 50 read sthivā for sthivā
 P. 266, L. 51 read Stcherbatsky for Stcherbetsky
 P. 266, L. 55 read Yamaguchi for Yamayuchi
 P. 267, L. 25 read Cūlamāluṅkyaputtasutta for Cūlamāluṅ-
 kyaputtasutta
 P. 283, L. 1 read Śūnyavāda for Śūnyavādā
 P. 284, L. 3 read established for established
 P. 300, L. 3 from bottom, read pradveṣo vā prajāsu for
 pradveṣo ba prajāsu

- P. 301, L. 5 read Saṃmohāya for Saṃmtohāya
- P. 305, L. 7 read Statuettes for statuattes
- P. 309, L. 22 read other for toher
- P. 316, L. 33 read by for be
- P. 333, L. 37 read Nāgārjunapāda for Nāgājunapāda
- P. 337, L. 24 read bKaḥgyur for bKahbgyur
- P. 342, L. 3 from bottom, read patisevitabbo for Patisevitabbo
- P. 343, L. 18 read (maithunasya) for Kmaithuasya
- P. 343, Note. 109 read Obermiller for Obemiller
- P. 343, Note 165 read Yatkīñcin for Tatkiñcin
- P. 344, L. 32 read sārdha mahatā for sardna mahatā
- P. 345, L. 40 read Sadasatpakṣadāraḥ for sadhsatpakṣa-
dāraḥ
- P. 345, L. 43 read Nāgārjuna for Nāgārujana
- P. 346, L. 42 read Goetz for Gorez
- P. 347, L. 32 read Snellgrove for Shellgrove
- P. 373, L. 18 read Vahato for Vahao
- P. 375, L. 24 read anekasattvavidhvaṃśī for anekasatvra
vidhvaṃśī
- P. 377, L. 7 read nibbāṇaṃ for nibīṇaṃ
- P. 377, L. 9 read nibbānam for nibhanam
- P. 377, L. 23 read Śrī Mahāsukhasañjītam for Śrī Mahā-
sukhasanjitam
- p. 378, L. 11 read Dṛṣṭi for Dṛṣḍi
- P. 406, L. 17 read between for betweed
- P. 413, L. 55 read Mālavikāgnimitra for Mālavikāginimitra
- P. 415, L. 12 read Śaṃkara-Digvijaya, for Śamara-Digvijaya
- P. 416, L. 44 read Divyāvadāna for Divyādāna
- P. 416, L. 10 read Megasthenes for Megashenes
- P. 418, L. 20 read as follows : Umesha Mishra in the Journal
of the Gangānātha Jhā Research Institute.
- P. 418, L. 4 from bottom, read : Taittiriya for Taittriya
- P. 420, L. 21 read : poesy for peosy
- P. 421, L. 30 read : Bodhicaryāvatāra for Boddhicaryāvatara
- P. 441, L. 19 read : the for tha
- P. 450, L. 33-34 in no. (3) read : Jālandharapāda for
Vijayapāda
- P. 455, L. 3 read Sarojavajra for Sorajavajra
- P. 457, L. 43 read Esoterism for Esterism.
- P. 462, L. 4 add : this text has been re-edited by S. Bagchi
in BST No. 9, Darbhanga, 1965.



- P. 462, L. 12 add : Hetubindūṭikā of Bhaṭṭa Arcaṭa with the sub-commentary entitled Āloka of Durveka Mīśra ed. by Sukhlalji Sanghavi and Muni Sri Jinavijayaji, GOS No. CXIII, Baroda, 1949. This volume also includes in an appendix the text of the Hetubindu restored by Rāhula Sāṃkrṭyāyana from Tibetan version. Hetutattvopadeśa of Jitāri, ed. by G. Tucci, MBT, Pt. I, Roma, 1956; reconstructed Sanskrit text with Tibetan version ed. by D. Chattopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1939.
- P. 462, last line, read : Brewester for Brewster
- P. 463, L. 6 add : Mañjuśrīmūlakalpasūtra, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, BST No. 18, Darbhanga, 1964
- P. 463, L. 15 add : Madhyamārthasamgraha should properly be called Madhyamakārthasamgraha.
- P. 466, L. 9 add: Record of Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago by I-tsing, English Translation by J. Jakakusu, Oxford, 1896.
- P. 466 after L. 11 add : Ratnakīrtinibandhāvalī, ed. by A. L. Thakur, Tibetan Sanskrit works series, Vol. III, Patna, 1957
- P. 468, L. 14 read : Chos ḥbyuñ for Ghos ḥbyuñ
- P. 468 between L. 21 and 22 add : Tarkabhāṣā of Mokṣākaragupta ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya, GOS No. XCIV, Baroda, 1942. Tarkasopāna of Vidyākaraśānti ed. by G. Tucci, MBT, Pt. I, Roma, 1956.
- P. 469, L. 18 read : Ñāṇamoli for Nānamoli
- P. 470, L. 20 read : Gleanings for Cleanings
- P. 476, L. 21 read : Buddha for Boddha
- P. 481, L. 35 read : Lobzang for Lebzang
- P. 482, L. 8 add Vol. II, Part I, BORI, Poona, 1941.
- P. 486, L. 37 and P. 487, L. 1 read : Hajime for Hajima
- P. 486, L. 12, read : Ancient for Ancicnt
- P. 493, L. 19, read : Imperial for Imperia
- P. 495, L. 13 read : Viññāṇa for Viññāma.

