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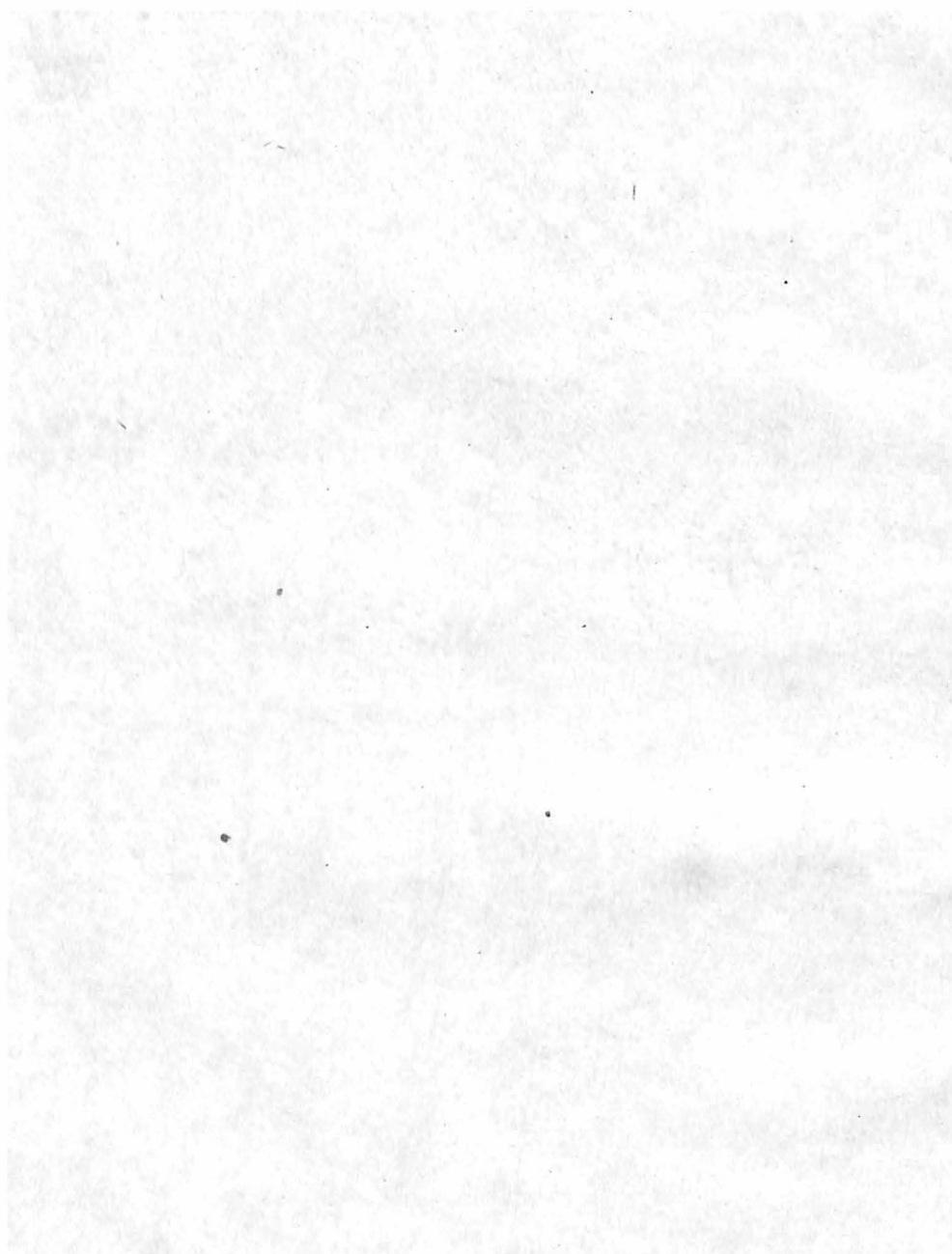
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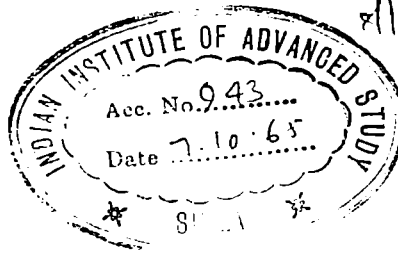
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Editor's Note

Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinātha Kavirāja's *Gleanings from the History and Bibliography of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature* originally appeared in the Saraswati Bhawan Series, Benares, Volumes 3, 4, 5 & 7.

Except for transliterating some words and passages that were originally in the Devanāgarī script—and other minor typographical changes—the present reprint is intended to be verbatim. It appeared in *Indian Studies : Past & Present*, Vol. II, No. 4 and Vol. III, No. 1.

I take this opportunity to thank Professor Haridas Sinharay for doing the transliterations as well as going through the proofs. He has been very ably assisted by Sri Balin Ray.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Editor : *Indian Studies : Past & Present*.

The history of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika Philosophy remains still to be written, and the time does not seem to be yet ripe for undertaking at present a work of this kind in as thorough a manner as might be desired. In the meantime a good deal of spade work will have to be done : thus, it will be necessary to survey the whole field carefully and have an accurate and up-to-date knowledge of the resources available for this purpose.

Suali, Faddegon, Keith,—to name some among many—have rendered brilliant services to the cause of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika Philosophy by their invaluable works. But as they had necessarily to rest on insufficient data, none of these works can properly claim to be a history of philosophy, presenting a consistent and exhaustive account of the development of thought in all its shades.

As regards bibliography, Mr. Chakravarti's paper on *Navya Nyāya in Bengal* (in the *J.A.S.B.*) is excellent ; but its scope is narrow and it is a bit too scrappy. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's posthumous *History of Indian Logic* is interesting ; but though apparently exhaustive, it suffers from the same limitations, and I believe, to a much greater extent ; and it seems that the book needs a careful revision, especially, where it treats of the bibliography of the mediaeval and modern schools.

The following pages represent an humble, but further, contribution in the field, made, on the basis of the available data, in the hope of helping to prepare the ground for a systematic History of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy. These data consist among others, in the study of (a) about 1500 Manuscripts in original on the subject belonging to the Library of the Government Sanskrit College Benares, and to certain local private Collections, and of (b) others as reported in the various Catalogues and Notices of Mss.

The History of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy is expected to follow soon. But its accomplishment and publication will naturally depend upon those of the bibliography herewith presented.

The Ancient Section of the work needs a separate and special treatment : it has been therefore omitted from these pages and will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Studies*.

THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

In the following pages we shall start at once with the mediaeval period and proceed slowly with the course of time, reserving for a separate study the early history of the literature of the systems and its bibliography.

It is assumed that the mediaeval age of the Nyāya Vaiśeṣika schools of thought opened with the eighth century, when the writings of Uddyotakara and Praśastapāda had already become things of the past. There is no doubt that the Hindu Nyāya Śāstra suffered a temporary eclipse in these times under the overshadowing influence of Buddhist (and Jain) Sciences of Reasoning. It is probable that the Buddhist monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramśilā, &c. had some share in bringing about this end. That individual scholars of extraordinary powers rose in defence of Buddhist Philosophy and set themselves to the task of demolishing whatever they found inconsistent with the accepted notions of their schools, is beyond a shadow of doubt. And this they did more from a vindictive zeal than from any righteous or sensible motive. The name of Dharmakīrti as one among many such polemic authors may be cited in this connection.

The curtain rises with the appearance on the scene of Bhāsarvajña, the author of *Nyāyasāra*, in Kashmir, and of Trilocana, the tutor of the great Vācaspati Miśra, on the plains.

1. BHĀSARVAJNA.

As far as our present knowledge extends it may be said with justice that Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra* stands unique in the history of the Mediaeval School of Nyāya philosophy in India. But the work has not been thoroughly examined yet, and I believe that a careful analysis of its contents will yield results of great historical interest. It would be foreign to the purpose of these pages to enter into an examination of this kind, but some points may be noted in passing.

A. (a) In the first place I take up the question of the number of *pramāṇas*. Here Bhāsarvajña is very emphatic in his assertion that (1) *pratyakṣa*, (2) *anumāna* and (3) *āgama* are the *only pramāṇas* to be recognized (pp. 30^a, 34^{10.11}), the other alleged *pramāṇas*, including *upamāna*, already coming under the above. The rejection of *upamāna*¹, to which the old School held fast with such tenacity, certainly is characteristic, and is probably to be accounted for as the effect of the influence of Yoga Philosophy (cf. *Yo.*

1. The *Sarva Siddhānta Saṃgraha*, in its section on Nyāya (VI. 5, p. 24^a), observes *catvāryatra pramāṇāni nopamānaṃ tu kasyacit*. This *kasyacit* I interpret as referring to Bhāsarvajña whom we know as the earliest writer among the Naiyāyikas admitting the threefold character of *pramāṇas*. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the statement of the famous *Kārikā* in Sureśvarācārya's *Mānasollāsa*, II. 17-18 (Mysore Ed., pp. 49-50), which also occurs in the *Tārkikarakṣā* (p. 56), viz.,

pratyakṣamekaṃ Cārvākāḥ Kaṇādasugatau punaḥ |
anumānañca taccātha sāṅkhyāḥ śabdaśca te api ||
nyāyaikadeśino'pyevamupamānaṃ ca kecana |

where Mallinātha explains the word *nyāyaikadeśinaḥ* as *bhūṣaṇīyāḥ* i. e. followers of the doctrines of *Bhūṣaṇa* or Bhāsarvajña; for *Bhūṣaṇa* being a work of Bhāsarvajña, see *infra*.

Sūt. 1. 7),² which might have acted upon it directly or through the Pratyabhijñā philosophy.

(b) While setting forth the means to be adopted for realising Mokṣa, Bhāsarvajña prescribes *kriyāyoga* consisting of *ṭapaḥ*, *svādhyāya* and *Īśvara-praṇidhāna*. This, he holds, is to serve as a helping practice for the sterilisation of *kleśaḥ*, and, through a graduated course of what are technically called Sādhanas viz. *yama*, *niyama* and the other *Yogāṅgas*, for the attainment of Samādhi. This is exactly the view expressed in *Yo. Sūt.* II. 1.

(c) It also appears that the classification of *prameya*³ in *Nyāyasāra* (p. 34), viz. into *heya*, *tannivartaka*, *ātyantikahānī* and *hānopāya* follows on the lines of the *Yoga Sūtras* II. 16-17, 25-26⁴ (cf. also Vijñānabhikṣu's Introduction to *Sāṅkhya Pravacana Bhāṣyam*). That Bhāsarvajña had exactly these *Sūtras* in his mind would follow as a plain corollary from a comparative study of *Nyāyasāra* p. 34^{1b} (*heyam duḥkhamāgatam*) and *Yoga Sūt.* II. 16.

(d) Bhāsarvajña's definition of *pratyakṣa* may be cited as a further example how *yoga* deeply influenced his whole mental outlook. Perceiving that Gautama's *pratyakṣa-lakṣaṇa* (*Ny. Sūt.* 1. 1. 4) does not apply to the transcendental visions of the Yogins⁵ for

2. Though Sāṅkhya too admits three *pramāṇas* (*Sāṅ. Sūt.* I. 99-101 ; *Sāṅ. Kārikā* 4), its influence on Bhāsarvajña's work was nothing. The possible allegation of Vaiśeṣika influence, if well-founded, would be more to the point. But it does not appear that Bhāsarvajña had much sympathy with this school.

3. I fail to see any ground in Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's statement (Intro. to *Nyāyasāra*, p. 2) that Bhāsarvajña "treats only one topic, viz *pramāṇa* in his work", for the whole of the latter portion of the book (pp. 34¹²-41⁹) is devoted to a consideration of the *prameyas*. It is immaterial that his formulation of the *prameyas* should differ from that of the older school.

4. We need not suppose that this fourfold division of *prameya* in *Nyāyasāra* is based directly upon an analogy of the 4 *ariya saccas* of the Buddhists (cf. *Samyutta Nikāya*, V. 420-2). But as to the further question whether some of the *Yoga Sūtras* themselves, as we have them to-day, originated under Buddhistic influence, it would be out of place to suggest any reply here. It is enough for the purpose in hand to concede that the *Yoga Sūtras* in their present form and Vyāsa's *Commentary* upon them are earlier than Bhāsarvajña's day ; and this I believe will be readily allowed. We may also remember that in Bhāsarvajña's time or even before it, the doctrines and practices of Yoga had been widely in currency in Kashmir. That peculiar form of Kashmir Śaivism which goes by the name of Pratyabhijñā Darśana had already been evolved as a compromise between the Theism of Yoga and the the Advaita of Śaṅkara ; and in this Darśana, therefore, Yoga occupies a prominent position. Living in such a religious atmosphere, it was not strange that Bhāsarvajña should have been deeply influenced in his doctrines by Yoga.

5. It is strange that whereas *Nyāya Sūtras* do not recognise *yogipratyakṣa* at all, the *Vaiś. Sūtras* dwell upon it at great length (cf. *Vaiś. Sūt.* 9.1. 11-15). Neither

which the contact of an object with the sense organs is not a necessary precondition and which with him had a profound reality, he was constrained to alter the *pratyakṣa-lakṣaṇa* accordingly, thus : *yogipratyakṣam deśakālasvabhāvaviprakṛṣṭārtha-grāhakam*.

B. It may seem, however, that the introduction into a Nyāya work, ideas and practices which we have been accustomed to associate with Yoga, is of the nature of an accident. But as a matter of fact it has a historical significance which grows deeper in interest the more our acquaintance is widened with the course of ancient and mediaeval philosophy. For, though Yoga in its wider form has been practically accepted by every system of Indian philosophy, its relation with Nyāya is in some manner more special, and perhaps fundamental. Here are, for example, some instances recorded in literature where the expression *yauga* is employed invariably to indicate “a professor of or pertaining to Nyāya” :

(i) *Vaiśeṣikanaiyāyikayoḥ prāyaḥ samānatantratvādaulūkyamate kṣipte Yaugamata-mapi kṣiptamevāvaseyam | Syādvādamañjarī* (Yaśo Vijaya Jaina Series, p. 628).

(ii) *Naiyāyikānām Yaugāparābhīdhānānām Saḍdarśana Samuccaya Vṛtti*, by Guṇaratna, p. 49.

(iii) *Jñānāntarapratyakṣajñānavādinām Yaugānām ca matamapākartum |*

That this is the view of the Naiyāyikas is well-known (cf. their theory of *anuvyavasāya*). It is ascribed to them in the most unequivocal terms by Ananta Vīrya himself, at p. 49 of the above gloss ; thus, *Jñānāntarapratyakṣatvāt iti Naiyāyikāḥ |*

(iv) *Pratijñāhetūdāharaṇopanayanigamanabhedāt pañcāvayavamiti yogāḥ | Ibid*, p. 44.

(v) *Nāpi sāmānyaviśeṣau parasparānapekṣau iti Yaugamatamapi, &c. Ibid* p. 44.

(vi) Cf. Rājaśekhara's *Saḍdarśanasamuccaya* (Yaśo Vijaya Jaina Series), pp. 8 & 12 (verse 23) ⁶

These evidences, though coming from sources not recognized as orthodox, need not be summarily dismissed as calling for no attention. [But cf. *Nyāya Vārtika*, Ben. Ed., p. 105, under *Sūtra* 1. 1. 29 where the word *yauga* is employed in the sense of *Naiyāyika*. Their cumulative weight is considerable. Besides, the *Sarva Siddhānta Saṅgraha* of Śāṅkara (pp. 24¹¹, 28³, 10-12) affords distinct proof in support of a relation existing between Nyāya and Yoga, for it is maintained there that according to Nyāya, *mokṣa* follows directly from Yoga, a doctrine which it shares in common with the Pātañjala system (as distinguished from the Sāṅkhya where *jñāna* is held to be the

Vātsyāyana nor Uddyotakara takes note of it. The latter, on the other hand, definitely asserts *sannikarṣa* to be sixfold, and is silent on what is known as *alaukika sannikarṣa*. It would seem that before the days of *Tattvacintāmaṇi* the difference between *laukika* and *alaukika sannikarṣa* was not positively declared in a Nyāya treatise. Cf. Raghunātha's *Padārtharatnamālā*, p. 711-12.

6. Cf. also : *Naiyāyikasāṅkhyayoḥ kathāyā bhautikāṅdriyāṅiti yaugānāmabhautikanīti sāṅkhyānāmīti vārtike yaugānām Naiyāyikānām |*

(*Nyāyasiddhāntamālā* of Jayarāma, Ms. of Bābu Dīkṣita Jaḍe fol. 16a-b)

immediate cause of *mukti* 7). The Nyāya Darśana, in its present form, contains some *sūtras* (4-2, 38-49) where the practices of Yoga are strongly recommended.

C. From the above it seems to be pretty clearly made out that the relation between Nyāya and Yoga was an intimate one, and Bhāsarvajña in laying stress upon certain Yoga practices in his treatise on Nyāya was not guilty of irrelevancy. His exposition was only a reflection—dim but faithful—of the then existing medleian condition of this philosophy. But how, under what ascertainable influences, this fusion came about is a question to which no thoroughly convincing answer can be returned at present. Probably the right explanation will be found, *inter alia*, in the discovery of a bond of historical unity between these schools, and in my opinion this is supplied by the original Śivāgama or its philosophical counterpart, the so-called Īśvaravāda, out of which not only the present form of Yoga and Nyāya, but the later Śaiva philosophies also may have well arisen and gradually crystallised themselves into independent systems.

At any rate in *Nyāyasāra* Śaiva influences are clearly discernible in many places. On p. 39 Bhāsarvajña observes that two things are requisites as immediate antecedents to a direct vision of the Supreme Self (called here Śiva) and Final Release (*niratiśayam śreyah*) to follow, viz. *paravairāgya* (known as *anabhirati*) and *parābhakti* towards Maheśvara. This *śloka* is quoted :

yadā carmavadākāśam veṣṭayiṣyanti mānavāḥ |
tadā Śivamavijñāya duḥkhasyānto bhaviṣyati ||
(*Śvetāśvatara upaniṣat* VI. 20)

It is, as we know, a stock verse among the Śaivas (cf. *Sarva Darśana Saṅgraha*, Śaiva Darśana). The inculcation (23), of course, may be due in both cases to Śaiva influence. And similarly when we find in *Nyāya-sāra*, p. 35, the concept of Īśvara expressed in language like *Aiśvaryādiviśiṣṭaḥ saṃsāradharmairiśadapyasamṣṛṣṭaḥ paro Bhagavān Maheśvaraḥ sarvajñaḥ sakalajagadvidhātā*, it is hard to decide between Yoga and Śaivism as its probable source. The definition here given is taken almost *verbatim* from *Yoga Sūtras* 1. 24-54, but then it is likely that these *Sūtras* themselves were originally of Śaiva formulation. It may be remembered that the word *Īśvara* or *parameśvara* as found in Nyāya & Yoga, was originally a name of Śiva, as the corresponding word *puruṣa* (of Sāṅkhya), or rather its derivative *puruṣottama*, came to mean Nārāyaṇa. 8 [We are not concerned here with the metaphysical contents of terms *īśvara* and *puruṣa* or *puruṣottama*, but only with their sectarian meanings]. In this way then the

7. See *Ibid*, pp. 36, 40 & 41. Cf. *Sān Sū* 3. 20—*jñānānmuktiḥ*. The Yoga view, as represented in *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha*, is briefly this—

Gurūpadiṣṭavidyāto naṣṭāvidyo'pi pūruṣaḥ |
Dehadarpaṇadoṣmṣtu yogenaiva vināśayet ||

8. This would be a confirmation of what Guṇaratna actually says in his commentary on Haribhadra's *Saḍdarśanasamuccya* : Rājaśekhara (*Saḍdarśanasamuccya* pp. 34, 42-43) too mentions the fact that the Sāṅkhyas were worshippers of Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇaparāḥ*), and the Yogins of Īśvara and Śiva (*īśvaradevatāḥ*). In this

philosophy of Īśvaravāda is brought into close contiguity with the Śaiva theology, and we can understand why Śaṅkara (*Ved. Sūtr.* 2. 2. 37) should have arrayed in a line (under Īśvaravādins) ⁹ such opponents as the advocates of Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and other Śaiva doctrines. [It is to be remembered that the *adhikaraṇa* of Īśvaravāda is explained in *Ratnaprabhā*, *Bhāmatī* and *Ānandagiri* as bearing on Māheśvaramata]. ¹⁰

It is historically interesting to note how the element of *bhakti* has come to find a place in Bhāsarvajña's work. The notion that *bhakti* is the invariable antecedent of *jñāna* is admittedly very old in India. Certainly the conception was familiar as an integral part of the theology of Nyāya (Vaiśeṣika) when the *Sarvasiddhānta Saṅgraha* was written, for its importance is recognised there : the doctrine of Bhakti (= Faith ? ; perhaps the word is here an equivalent of Śraddhā and has not yet assumed the highly emotional colouring of the later age) and the parallel doctrine of Grace (Prasāda) are accepted as essential in this twin system, so that *mokṣa* or Realisation of the Self's Identity is held in both the Schools to ensue through Faith (Bhakti) and Divine Grace (Prasāda), the mutual difference of the Schools being that while Nyāya adhered to Yoga as the direct antecedent of *mokṣa*, Vaiśeṣika kept away from it. The beginnings of this doctrine may be traced back to remote past (perhaps even to the pre-upaniṣadic period), but its connection with Nyāya remains for investigation. I suppose that here, too, as elsewhere, the influence of Śaivism is palpable. [Bhāsarvajña notes the *bhakti* element alone, but we may be sure that he had nothing to say against the corresponding element of Grace too, which occurs in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣat*, a high authority with Bhāsarvajña, as with all Śaiva philosophers].

D. Another point to which attention may be briefly drawn in a study of *Nyāyasūtra* is the recognition of a distinction between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika in their earlier (but post-Vātsyāyānīya) forms in the conception of *mokṣa*. The former held that *mokṣa*

connection the conception of Śiva as the Yogin *par excellence* may also be remembered as implying that Yoga was theologically a Śaiva system.

9. This is not the right place to enter into a discussion of Īśvaravāda and its relation to the other Vādas which arose in ancient India, in attempting to solve the problem of Efficiency (*nimittatva*) and the Origin of Motion. In a general sense Nyāya too, while dealing with this question, must come under the category of Īśvaravāda. The fact that *Nyāya Sūtras* 4. 1. 20-21 are directed against Īśvaravāda does not indicate, however, that this view is repudiated as altogether unwarrantable ; it means simply that the extreme form of this doctrine as illustrated in the so-called Pāśupata Darśana in *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha* (e. g. *nirapekṣakarṭṛtva* of Īśvara, meaning that the Agency of Īśvara is free and spontaneous, and *not determined* by the *karmas* of the Jīvas) is incompatible with its general background. Cf. *Tāt. Ṭikā.* p. 418, line 13-14.

10. Rājaśekhara & Guṇaratna take—

Śaiva = Naiyāyika (called *tapasvī* in *Syādvādamañjarī*) & Pāśupata = Vaiśeṣika.

These are two out of the 4 Māheśvara sects. *Ratnaprabhā* and *Ānandagiri* differ from this view.

consisted in the attainment of the essentially blissful character of the Self, involving of course cessation of all Pain (which embraces, among other things, the sensible pleasure too), but the latter, unable to conceive of any higher pleasure than what passes for it in the world, were reluctant to admit that in *mokṣa* happiness persists. Their view of *mokṣa* was thus negative, as consisting in the absence of all the *viśeṣaguṇas* of the Self, including with other qualities *duḥkha* as well as *sukha* & *jñāna*. Bhāsarvajña notes this distinction (pp. 39-41)¹¹ and taking side with the Naiyāyika (p. 41⁷⁻⁸), thus concludes *anena* (i. e., *nityena*) *sukhena viśiṣṭā ātyantiki duḥkhanivṛttiḥ puruṣasya mokṣaḥ* (cf. Guṇaratna's report of this view, pp. 92-94).¹² That such a distinction did really exist between the two systems during a certain period would be evidenced by the two definitions of *mukti* in *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* :

(i) Under "Vaiśeṣika pakṣa" we have (V. 35-36)—

Tat (Parameśvara) prasādena mokṣaḥ syāt karaṇoparamātmakaḥ |
Karaṇoparame tvātmā pāṣāṇavadavasthitaḥ |
duḥkhasādhyasukhocchedo duḥkhocchedavadeva naḥ |

(ii) Under "Naiyāyika pakṣa" (VI. 41-43)—

Nityānandānubhūtiḥ syānmokṣe tu viśayādṛte |
Varam Bṛndāvane ramye śṛgālatvaṃ vṛṇomyahaṃ |
Vaiśeṣikoktamokṣāttu sukhaśāvivarjitāt || 13

Whether this *ānanda* element found admission into Nyāya directly through Vedānta or through its Kashmirian representative—the Pratyabhijñā School of thought—cannot be ascertained. But the authorities quoted (cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Ed., p. 40¹⁰⁻¹³) by Bhāsarvajña are worthy of note.

I think the above will suffice to bring out the historical importance of this neglected treatise, and serve as a plea for its wider appreciation.

*

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*

It was not known whether Bhāsarvajña had written any other work, besides the one under notice. Neither Vidyābhūṣaṇa nor Suali seems to have anything to say in this regard. But Bhaṭṭa Rāghava, whose *īkā* on *Nyāyasāra* may be pronounced to

11. The Commentators Bhaṭṭa Rāghava (Ben. Sk. Coll. Ms. 162, fol. 98a⁴) and Jaya-Siṃha Sūri (pp. 282, 284) plainly ascribe the two views as expounded in *Nyāyasāra* to Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya.

12. This view which latterly came to be associated with Nyāya, had been recognized as a Pūrvapakṣa in Vātsyāyana's Commentary on *Nyā. Sū.* 1. 1. 22.

13. The *śloka* occurs in a slightly variant form in the following *śloka* :—

Varam Bṛndāvane ramye śṛgālatvaṃ vṛṇomyahaṃ |
na ca vaiśeṣikīṃ muktīṃ prārthayāmi kadācana ||

The expression *na ca vaiśeṣikīṃ muktīṃ* is significant. Over against the above stands, however, the statement in the *Naiṣadha* (17. 75)—*muktaye yaḥ śilātvāya śāstramūce &c.* which may be explained as either due to confusion (common in the later period) or as referring to the original system instead of its mediaeval modification.

be the oldest extant Commentary on the book, supplies positive proof to show that Bhāsarvajña had written a gloss called *Bhūṣaṇa* on his own work. I do not entertain any doubt as to the identity of this *Bhūṣaṇa* with the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* mentioned by Guṇaratna (p. 94⁶) and Rājaśekhara (p. 107⁷) as the oldest of the 18 commentaries on *Nyāyasāra*. And it is this to which Jaya Siṃha Sūri in his Commentary on *Nyāyasāra* so often refers.¹⁴ Here is what Bhaṭṭa Rāghava says (I quote from Ms. 162 of the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares) : *yattu smaraṇajñān ati pāṭhāntaram* (cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Ed. of *Nyāyasāra* Text, p. 2⁹⁻¹⁰), *tiṣṭhati tat paṇḍitammanyapāthakadoṣādityupekṣyam | bhūṣaṇe ca Bhāsarvajñairajñānasya yāgāderiti vyākurvadbhirīdṛśa eva pāṭhah kaṇṭhato'pi pratiṣṭhitah |* Fol. 116⁴⁻⁵

In *Nyāyasāra* the reading generally met with is this : *Smaraṇajñānavyavacchedārthamanubhavagrahaṇam*, i. e. the word *anubhava* in the definition of *pramāṇa* (viz. *Samyaganubhavasādhanam pramāṇam*) is employed to guard against the possible inclusion of *smaraṇa* and *jñāna*. Bhaṭṭa Rāghava criticises the above as pedantic, and for his own part approves the reading *smaraṇa* and *ajñāna*. The ground of his preference, he adds, is that Bhāsarvajña himself has established that reading (*ajñāna*) with the stamp of his sanction in commenting on the word in *Bhūṣaṇa*.

In continuation of the evidence of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava we may point out that in *Nyāya Lilāvati* Vallabhācārya also refers to Bhāsarvajña as the author of *Bhūṣaṇa*. Thus—*Tadidaṃ cirantanavaiśeṣikamatadūṣaṇam Bhūṣaṇakārasyātītrapākaram | tadyamanāmnātātā Bhāsarvajñasya yadayamācāryamapyavamanyate |* (*Nyāya Lilāvati*, Nir. Ed., p. 33).

The question here relates itself to the existence of *saṅkhyā* as an independent *guṇa*. The author of *Bhūṣaṇa* denies it as unnecessary, and thus breaks loose from the traditional ideas of the school (cf. *Vaiś. Sū.* 1. 1. 6 and *Prāśastapāda*, p. 111). Hence the above remark.¹⁵

Again Citsukha quoted in his *Tattavapradīpikā* (N. Sag. Ed., 1915, p. 224), under the name of Bhūṣaṇakāra (*Bhūṣaṇakārabhāṣitam*) the definition of *viparyaya* as *mithyā-dhyavasāyo viparyayaḥ*.

14. Cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa Ed. *Nyāyatītparyadīpikā* pp. 56, 64, 65, 67, 80, 87.

15. In commenting on *Nyāyasāra* (Vidyābhūṣaṇa Ed., p. 3⁸⁻⁵) Bhaṭṭa Rāghava makes the following observations, showing that according to Bhāsarvajña *saṅkhyā* & *pṛthaktva* as separate *guṇas* have no existence, but that in the manner of *prameyatva* they reside in all the *padārthas* alike :

Atra saṅkhyāgrahaṇam paramateva draṣṭavyam | Svamate tu saṅkhyāpṛthaktvayoḥ sakalapadārthaniṣṭhatvena sāmānyavattārthatvāt | Yathā hi prameyatva-vyavahārāt sakalapadārtheṣu prameyatvam tathā saṅkhyāpṛthak tu tayor saptapadārtheṣu pṛthak pṛthagityādyabādhitā buddhistārkikāṇām mṛṣā bhavet | Fol. 14a⁸⁻⁵

[Cf. *Nyāya Lilāvati*. The author of *Upaskāra* (7. 2. 1) thus puts the view of *Bhūṣaṇa* on *saṅkhyā*—*svarūpābheda ekatvam, svarūpābhedastu dvitvādīkam |* Cf. also *Guṇa Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 192].

A glance at *Nyāyasāra* (Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Ed., p. 2^B) would show that this is Bhāsarvajña's own definition. [Observe that here also Bhāsarvajña leans towards Yoga. Cf. *Yo. Sū* 1. 8.]

Pratyakṣvarūpa in his commentary on Ćitsukha's *Tattvapradīpikā*, quotes the definitions of *saṃśaya* and *pratyakṣa* as given by the author of *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* in these terms ; (1) *tathā ca 'anavadhāraṇajñānaṃ saṃśayaḥ' iti yadato nyāyabhūṣaṇakārasya vadanasa-roruhaṃ vyāhaṭihimāhataṃ* (p. 222) & (2) '*samyagaparokṣānubhavasādhanam pratyakṣam*' (p. 230). These definitions occur in the *Nyāyasāra*. In the same manner Malliṣeṇa also quotes (in the *Syādvādamañjarī*, p. 65, Yaśovijaya Jain Series) Bhāsarvajña's definition of *pramāṇa* as that of the author of *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa Sūtra*. These are further arguments in favour of the proposed identity of the authors of *Nyāyasāra* and *Bhūṣaṇa*.

The full title of Bhāsarvajña's Commentary was, as already stated, *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, which for convenience of reference came to be shortened into mere *Bhūṣaṇa*. While expatiating on the famous passage in *Kiraṇāvalī*—*tasṃādvaraṃ bhūṣaṇaḥ karmāpi guṇastallakṣaṇayogāt* (Vindhyeśvarī Prasād's Ed., p. 160)—Vādīndra mentions the fuller name of the book. Thus, in his *Rasasāra* we read—*karma guṇaḥ sāmānyavatve sparśānādhāratve ca sati dravyāśritatvāt | sāmānyavatve sati kāryānādhāratvādityanumānācca karma guṇa iti nyāyabhūṣaṇakārah ||*¹⁶

Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstri, in his Preface to *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts*, p. ii, distinguishes the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* known as the Commentary on *Nyāyasāra* from the *Bhūṣaṇa* referred to in the pages of the *Tārkikarakṣā* (pp. 341, 351 & 353). The latter, he observes, is "a *vṛtti* on the *Nyāya Sūtras*". [Cf. also l. note 1 in *Kiraṇāvalī* (*guṇa*), pp. 160, 192.]. Sualī, in a note at p. 59 of his work, seems also inclined to accept this view. But nowhere are the grounds clearly stated. Possibly it is supposed that as all the three references to *Bhūṣaṇakāra* in the *Tārkikarakṣā*, bear on *nigrahasthāna*—a subject to which the *Nyāya Sūtras* have devoted a lengthy discussion, the *Bhūṣaṇa* must be a gloss on these *Sūtras*. But I fear this supposition is vitiated by what I might call the fault of 'undue extension' (*gaurava*). It is more likely that passages quoted in *Tārkikarakṣā* have been taken from the section dealing with the varieties of *nigrahasthāna* in Bhāsarvajña's Commentary of *Nyāyasāra* (cf. also *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 351¹⁰⁻¹¹ & *Nyāyasāra*, p. 26¹⁶⁻¹⁷). As to whether the statements attributed to *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* by Ratnakīrti (*Six Bud. Ny. Tracts*, pp. 11, 58) are really those of Bhāsarvajña himself in *Bhūṣaṇa* or of a distinct author of that name, I cannot presume to judge.

16. *Rasasāra*, p. 4, edited by Gopinath Kaviraj (Benares Sarasvati Bhavana Texts No. 5). But on p. 7, in defending the orthodox view as to the independent character of *Karma* as a category, the author of *Rasasāra* himself refers to the shortened form of the name : *etena karmāpi guṇa iti Bhūṣaṇo'pi pratyuktaḥ | sāmānyavatve sati samyogavibhāgajanakatvavyavasthāpyajātestannimittaguṇavyavahārasya vā karmaṇi bādhdādanumānasahasreṇāpi sādhyaitumaśakyatvāt |*

II TĀTPARYĀCĀRYA

The name of this author seems to have well-nigh disappeared from the subsequent history of the literature. But it would appear from references by earlier writers that he had been a man of considerable influence. Udayana quotes his view on Prāmāṇyavāda in his *Ātmatattvaviveka*¹⁷ (Jayanārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana's Ed., p. 65²⁰), and though it is set aside there as being irreconcilable with the system of traditional Nyāya (*Nyāya-sampradāya*) to which he himself belonged, the mere fact of its being quoted by an eminent scholar like himself¹⁸ would constitute a claim for its propounder to a wider recognition.

Mm. Vindhyeśvarī Prasād Dube (Introd. to *Praśastapādabhāṣya* with *Kiraṇāvalī*, p. 28) and the late Mm. Candra Kānta Tarkālaṅkāra (Introd. to his own Commentary on *Kusumāñjali-Haridāsi*, p. ii) identified this Tātparyācārya with Vācaspati Miśra, the author of *Tātparyāṭīkā*; but this will have to be given up now in view of the decisive statement of Vallabhācārya in the *Nyāyalīlāvātī*: *tadiyamanāmnātaiū bhāsarvajñasya yadayamācāryamapyavamanyate / tathū ca tadanuyāyīnastātparyācāryasya simhanūdaḥ* "saṃvideva hi bhagavātī"ṭyādi |

(Nir. Sagara Ed. p. 33¹⁰⁻¹²)

From this passage it is evident that Tātparyācārya was a follower (possibly a direct successor or even Commentator) of Bhāsarvajña, and that his attitude towards the orthodox school, like that of his own Guru, was often not quite a pliant one. The dictum ascribed to him in *Nyāyalīlāvātī* is quoted in full by Śāṅkara Miśra in *Upaskāra* (7. 2. 26), by Jayarāma in *Nyāyasiddhāntamālā* (fol. 120 a¹)¹⁹ and by Vācaspati II in *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* (Ben. Ed., p. 103) where it stands thus: *saṃvideva hi bhagavati vastūpagame naḥ śaraṇam* /²⁰

It is an appeal to Intuition or Immediate Perception as against the formal testimony of Authority for the ascertainment of the real character of an object (*vastūpagama*)²¹

17. *ekakoṭīniyato hyanubhavo niścayaḥ / jñānataddharmagrāhiṇi ca jñāne na dvaitamiti vyavasthitireva tasyāpi prāmāṇyaniścayaḥ parata eveti nyāyasampradāyaḥ / ata eveti viśeṣāt tādṛśasya svata eveti tātparyācāryaḥ /*

18. For another reference to Tātparyācārya see Vācaspati II, *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*, p. 81.

19. Ms. of Babu Dīkṣita Jade of Benares.

20. It is quoted in *Parimala*, a Com. on *Mahārthamañjarī* (V. 32) by Maheśvarānanda, thus: *saṃvideva bhagavati viśayasattvopagame śaraṇam*, etc. p. 80, Trivand. Ed.)

21. In *Nyāyalīlāvātī*, for example, the question arises as to whether *saṅkhyā* as an independent *guṇa* is to be admitted. The *Sūtrakāra* and *Praśastapāda* both vouch for its separate existence, but Bhāsarvajña, and with him Tātparyācārya, emphatically deny it, setting at naught the weight of all tradition, apparently on the simple but ultimate ground of *saṃvidvirodhaḥ*. It is interesting to note that *saṃvit*, or, as it is somewhere in a more restricted sense denominated, *pratīti*, as the final arbiter for all decisions, is practically admitted by all. [Cf. Śāṅkara Miśra's remarks in *Upaskāra* on the *Samavāyasūtra* (cf. also Jayanta, p. 312)]. Precisely the same attitude of mind is evinced by the opponent

This would seem to correspond, in one of its aspects, to the *pratibhā* of the Yoga system (*Yo. Sū.* 3. 54) described as immediate and all-embracing, as distinguished from *anumāna* and *āgama* which are remote. [Cf. 'sarvavastūni saṃvidekaśaraṇāni' &c in *Pramāṇa-pārāyaṇa* by Śālikanātha, Upamāna Chap. (*Paṇḍit*, Old Series, Vol. I, p. 153). *Samvit* comprising *anubhūti* (= *pramā*, their being no false presentation according to Prābhākaras) and *smṛti saṃskāramātrajā samvit* is a favourite word with the Prābhākaras.] The epithet *bhagavatī* as applied to *saṃvit* is strangely reminiscent of Kashmir Śaivism or Pratyabhijñā Darśana, where the expression *bhagavatī saṃvit* or its equivalents are of frequent occurrence.²² (Jayasīma Sūri speaks of *pratyabhijñā* as *bhagavatī* in his

in *Nyāyamañjarī* when he defies the authority of Praśastapāda on the strength of what he calls *pratīti* (*Nyāyamañjarī*, pp. 136²⁴, 127²). Thus, referring to the statement of Praśastapāda (Viz. Ed., p. 24), viz. *trayānāṃ pratyakṣatvarūpavattvadravatvāni*, the opponent, anxious to establish the *pratyakṣatva* of *kāla* declaims : *nedam daivikaṃ vacanaṃ yadanatikramaṇīyam / na ca vacanena pratyakṣatvamapratyakṣatvaṃ ca vya-vasthāpyate / pratyakṣatvaṃ hi aindriyakapratīti viśayatvamucyate / tacedasti kālasya nīrūpasyāpi pratyakṣatā kena vāryate /* [Viz. Ed., pp. 136²⁷-137³] Viewed from our present standpoint, the drift of the opponent's argument would appear to be this : That *āptavacana* is acceptable in so far as it does not clash with our experience, but as soon as it happens to differ, its validity is impugned (cf. the view *drṣṭārthe vedānāṃ prāmāṇyaṃ nāsti* . Of course in a sphere beyond human experience its validity stands undisputed. A curious doctrine this, and is open to grave objections. But such seems to have been the position of the opponent here concerned.

22. Cf Kṣemarāja—

A. In *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* (Kashmir Series, Vol. III).

(a) *sarvāntaratamatvena vartamānatvāt tadbhittilagnatām vinā ca kasyacidapi svarūpānupapattēḥ saṃvideva bhagavatī 'madhyam' /* P. 371³⁻¹⁵

(b) *yadā tu uktayuktikramaṇa sarvāntaratamatve madhyabhūtā saṃvid bhagavatī vīkasati* etc. P. 391⁻²

(c) *parāśaktirūpā citireva bhagavatī svatantrā* etc. P. 26⁻⁷

(Note the use of the term *citiśakti* in Yoga)

(d) *cideva bhagavatī svacchasvatantrarūpā* and

B. In Commentary on the *Śiva Sūtras*, called *Vimarśinī* (Kashmir Series, Vol. I)

(a) *parā bhātīrikā saṃvid icchāśakīpramukhaṃ sthūlameyaparyantam viśvam vamaṅtī /*

It may be mentioned by the way that the *śloka*

saṃvid bhagavatī devī smṛtyanubhavavedikā /

anubhūtiḥ smṛteranyā smṛtiḥ saṃskāramātrajā //

ascribed by Gaurikānta to the text of *Tarkabhāṣā* in some recensions has a like significance. The characterisation of *saṃvit* by the epithets *bhagavatī* and *devī* is notable. Moreover, its description as the Supreme Witness (for such would be the meaning of *smṛtyanubhavavedikā*, lit. the witness of *anubhava* and *smṛti* or of the whole mental life) rather

Commentary on *Nyāyasāra*, Vidy. Ed., p. 266).

It is probable therefore that Tātparyācārya was a native of Kashmir.

III. TRILOCANA.

Ratna Kīrti (950 ?) ²³ in his *Apoḥasiddhi* (*Six Bud. Ny. Tracts*, p. 13 and *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* (*Ibid*, pp. 58. 70) quotes to refute the views of one Trilocana. No definite data are available to determine the identity of this author, except what appears from a study of the meaning of the extracts given by Ratnakīrti, viz. that he had been an established Nyāya writer before the 10th Century. Mm. H. P. Śāstrī (Preface to *Six Bud. Ny. Tracts*, p. ii) identifies him with the teacher (*vidyāguru*) of the great Vācaspati Miśra ²⁴ and it is likely that he is right.

IV. VĀCASPATI MIŚRA.

The greatest name in the history of Philosophy of this country is perhaps that of Trilocana's pupil Vācaspati Miśra. His wide and deep erudition in all the branches of Indian Thought earned for him the rare distinction of being called *sarvatantrasvatantra* (Master of all Sciences)—a distinction seldom grudged by his successors. It is difficult to glean anything from his numerous works in which traces of his personal predilections in any direction might be detected. His all-round scholarship and sympathy with diverse ways of thinking makes such an attempt almost impossible.

While the Vedāntists claim him as their own, saying that he had been in his previous existence the great Vārttikakāra Sureśvara himself, one of the direct disciples of Śaṅkarācārya, Udayana pays homage to him rather as a great authority in Nyāya and comments on his work. So with Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya and Yoga—everywhere the stamp of his genius

than as a mere state of consciousness, while bringing it close to the Vedāntic conception of *sākṣī*, is a sure mark of its relation to the Trika philosophy of Kashmir.

23. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Med. Ind. Logic*, p. 140, footnote 2) makes the older Ratnakīrti, a contemporary of Rājā Vimāla Candra A. D. 650)—the author of *Apoḥasiddhi* and *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*. But the internal evidence of the works does not justify this view. How, for example, could a man of the 7th Century have quoted from an author (e. g. Vācaspati) who lived undoubtedly as late as A. D. 841 at the earliest? To avoid falling into this absurdity I prefer to take the author of *Apoḥasiddhi* &c, to be the younger Ratna Kīrti whom Dr. Satis Chandra himself describes as the *guru* of Ratnākara Śānti (*Ibid*, p. 140) in the University of Vikramśilā. Ratnākara's time being A. D. 983, I have placed Ratnakīrti in the middle of the 10th Century. [N. B. This is an indirect corroboration of the plea for an earlier date (than A. D. 976) for Vācaspati Miśra].

24. Both Udayana and Vardhamāna speak of Trilocana as Vācaspati's *guru*. And Vācaspati himself says in the *Tātparyāṭīkā* :

trilocanagurūṃṅītamārgānugamanomukhaiḥ |
yathāmānaṃ yathāvastu vyākhyātamidamīdṛśam |;

is unmistakable.

Similarly it might appear that Vācaspati was a Saiva in faith. His obeisance to Bhava (Intro. to *Bhāmatī*, Verse 3, and to *Nyāyakaṇikā*, Verse 2), to Piṅākī (*Tāt. Ṭikā*, Intro. Verse 1) and to Vṛṣaketu (Intro. to *Tattvavaiśārādī*, Verse 1. Cf. *Tātparya Ṭikā*, p. 513¹²⁻¹³), might be cited as an illustration of his belief. But his devotion to Viṣṇu²⁵ and to Gaṇeśa is equally patent (See Intro. Verse 1 in *Nyāyakaṇikā* and Verse 4 in the beginning of *Bhāmatī*).

It appears from a reference to Udyanācārya's *Tātparyapariśuddhi* that Vācaspati's tutor was Trilocana.²⁶ But in the Introduction to *Nyāya-Kaṇikā*, Verse 3, Vācaspati thus says :

*ajñānatimiraśamanīm paradamanīm Nyāyamañjarīm rucirām /
prasavitre prabhavitre vidyātarave namo gurave //*

Are we to understand this passage as containing an implied allusion to his Guru's work, *Nyāyamañjarī* ?

Hall's remark (*Bibliography*, pp. 5, 9, 21 ; cf. Auf. 's *Cat. Cat.* I, p. 560 ; *Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 719) that Mārtaṇḍatilakasvāmī was the name of Vācaspati's tutor was obviously due to a misinterpretation of the 4th Verse of the Introduction of the *Bhāmatī*, viz :

*mārtaṇḍatilakasvāmimahāgaṇapīn vyaṃ /
viśvavandyān namasyāmah sarvaśiddhividhāyinaḥ //*

Here Mārtaṇḍa, Tilakasvāmī and Mahāgaṇapati are the names of three distinct gods. The belief that their worship ensures success is a very old one and is recorded in Smṛti literature. (Cf. *Yājñ. Sm.* 1. 293 ; see also Bāla Śāstrī's Ed, *Bhāmatī*, p. 1, f. note 3). Mārtaṇḍa is doubtless the Sun and Mahāgaṇapati the once-famous god of that name (Ānandagiri in his *Śaṅkaravijaya* testifies to the existence in the days of Śaṅkarācārya of a sect of Gāṇapatyas worshipping Mahāgaṇapati as the Supreme Self. See Chap. XV, *Bibl. Ind.* Ed. pp. 106-110. For a description of Mahāgaṇapati see Gopināth Rāo's *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 55-6).

From the two concluding verses (5 & 6) of the *Bhāmatī*²⁷ it would appear that Vācaspati undertook to compose this—his greatest work during the reign, and perhaps at the request, of one Rājā Nṛga. And it is just probable, considering the praises lavished upon this king, that he had been Vācaspati's own patron. But who was he? That he was not a mythical figure may be almost taken for granted.²⁸ According to Vācaspati

25. It is striking that though the descriptions of the Deity in the first benedictory verse of *Nyāyakaṇikā* approaches to the definition of *īśvara* in *Yoga Sūtra*, it is as Viṣṇu and not as *īśvara* or *Śiva* that the Deity is conceived.

26. See also Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, Preface to *Six Bud. Ny. Tracts* p. ii.

27. *nṛpāntarāñām manasāpyagamyaṃ bhraḥṣepamātreṇa cakāra kīrtim /
kār'tasvarāsārasupūritārthasārthaḥ svayaṃ śāstravicakṣaṇaśca //
nareśvarā yaccaritānukāramicchanti kartuṃ na ca pārāyanti /
tasmin mahīpe mahānīyakīrtau śrīmanmṛge' kāri mayā nibāndhoḥ //*

28. Cf. Amalānanda in *Vedāntakalpataru* (Viz. Ed., p. 246) : *ācāryaṃ yo mahīpatir-*

he was a king of a generous nature, accomplished in the Sāstras and highly famed for his wonderful deeds. And it is further said that the deeds which he had performed with such remarkable ease (*lilāmātravinirmīta*) were, not merely beyond the actual power of other kings who would seek to imitate him, but even above their comprehension (*manas-āpi duṣkarāni*). I have found a passage in the *Bhāmatī* which would seem to set in a clear light the meaning of the above. The *kīrtis* already named are here specified as magnificent palaces and pleasure gardens. It occurs under *Ved. Sūt. 2. 1. 33* and may be quoted here in full : *na cādyāpi na dr̥śyante lilāmātravinirmītanī mahāprāsādapramadavanāni śrīmanmrganarendrāṇāmanyeṣāṃ manasāpi duṣkarāṇi nareśvarāṇām |*

(Nir. Sagar Ed., p. 406)

There cannot be much uncertainty as to the age in which Vācaspati Mīśra flourished. For in his *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* he himself assigns 898 (*vasvaṅkavasū*) as the date of its composition, and though the era to which the number refers is left unmentioned, it is likely that we have to take it standing for Vikrama Saṃvat, and not for Śakābda. The year would then correspond to A. D. 841. ²⁹

Regarding the native place of Vācaspati, tradition and opinion of scholars are equally divided. From the evidence of a *śloka* found in the Introduction of *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* ³⁰ Mm. H. P. Śāstrī infers that he was an inhabitant of Mithilā. But this can hardly be accepted as a correct view. The author of *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* was Vācaspati II and was not identical with the author of *Bhāmatī* and other works.

Vācaspati was a voluminous writer, mostly of commentaries. In Nyāya ³¹ two

mahīcakāra (Appayadīkṣita in the *Kalpataruparimala* prefers the reading *mahayāṃcakāra*. (See *Parimala*, Viz. Ed., p. 406). *tasya nāma nṛga iti*.

29. Cf. (i) Suali, *Introduzione allo studio Filosofia Indiana*, p. 58 ; (ii) Woods, *Yoga system of Patañjali* (H. O. Series, Vol. 17), Introduction pp. XXI-XXIII ; (iii) Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 51 ; (iv) Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.* 1915, pp. 262, 400. As opposed to the above I may set the view of Mm H. P. Śāstrī (Preface to Śāstrī's *Notices*, Vol. II. p. XIX & *An Examination of the Nyāya Sūtras* in *JASB*, 1905, p. 246) who is disposed to maintain the Śaka theory. With all respect for the Śāstrīji's erudition in this field I beg to differ from him on this point, for the simple reason that Vācaspati ought to be placed at a sufficiently long interval from Udayana (A. D. 984) to enable the latter to conceive of the idea of writing a Commentary upon his work.

30. Śāstrī's *Notices*, Vol. II., No. 118 p. 98 (cf. Preface XIX).

31. Vācaspati has left his speculations almost on every orthodox school, I say almost because no work has yet been found dealing exclusively with the Vaiśeṣika system in its alienated form. But though not discovered, such a work may be still existing. In Sāṅkhya his *Tattvakaumudī* has become a standard treatise and more than superseded Gauḍapāda's *Bhāṣya*, and in Yoga the *Tattvavaiśārādī* may yet claim the supreme place of honour. His *Nyāyakanīkā*, a Commentary on Maṇḍana Mīśra's *Vidhiviveka*, is as good a tract in Mīmāṃsā as the *Bhāmatī* is incontestably in Vedānta. It is not a work on Nyāya, but on Mīmāṃsā ; and it is a pity that a scholar like the late Mm. Dr. Satis

works have come down to us, of which one is a mere booklet attempting to fix the number of Gotama's *sūtras* and their readings. It is known as *Nyāyasūcīnibandha*. The other is a commentary on Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārtika* known as *Nyāyavārtikarātiparyāṭīkā*. He is said (Bühler's *Catalogue of Sk. Mss. in the Private Libraries of Gujrat* etc. 4, p. 24) to have also written a commentary on *Nyāyaratna*, apparently an older treatise which is now lost.³²

The *Nyāyatattvāloka*, noticed in the *India Office Catalogue*, pp. 610-611, was the work of the younger Vācaspati Miśra, and not of the author of the *Tātparyāṭīkā*.

V.—JAYANTA

The determination of the time of Jayanta, the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* does not seem to be beset with much difficulty.

Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his posthumous work on *The History of Indian Logic* (p. 314) makes the curiously blundering statement : "Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāyakaṇikā*, a work on Logic is not now available". The work was published in Benares as early as the year A. D. 1907 and is even now available in print. The word *nyāya* seems to have led Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa to the belief that it was 'a work on Logic', though it is well-known that many celebrated Mīmāṃsā work have a similar designation. Cf. Mādhavācārya's *Nyāyamālāvistāra*, Pārthasārathi Miśra's *Nyāyaratnākara*, *Nyāyaratna-mālā*, etc. *Tattvabindu* is a small original paper devoted to discussion of Sound. *Tattvasamīkṣā* (*Bhāmatī*, Nir. Sagar Ed., p. 996; *Tāt. Ṭīkā*, p. 57) or *Brahmatattvasamīkṣā* (*Bhāmatī* Nir. Sag. pp. 15, 466 & *Tātparyā Ṭīkā*, p. 394) and *Brahmasiddhi* (*Nyāyakaṇikā* p. 80) are two other Vedāntic works, now lost, by Vācaspati, to which he himself makes passing references. [Hall, p. 87, and Amalānanda (in *Vedāntakalpataru*, Viz Ed., p. 558) make *Tattva-Samīkṣā* a Commentary on the *Brahmasiddhi*]. Of all his works *Brahmasiddhi*, *Brahmatattvasamīkṣā* & *Nyāyakaṇikā* (mentioned in *Bhāmatī*, pp. 15, 466, 996, in *Tātparyā Ṭīkā*, pp. 394, 395, 467; in *Tattvavaiśārādī* under *Sūt.* 4. 14) seem to be the earliest, and *Tattvabindu* mentioned in *Bhāmatī*, p. 996, *Tattvavaiśārādī* and *Bhāmatī* the latest. *Tātparyāṭīkā* is earlier than *Tattvakaumudī* (cf. *Kaumudī* under *Kārikā* 5). but later than the earliest group. From the expression *yannyāyasāṅkhyayogānāṃ vedāntānāṃ nibandhanaiḥ* in the *Bhāmatī* (concluding verse 2) it appears that *Tattvavaiśārādī* and *Tattvakaumudī* are both earlier than the work. It is thus clear, as orthodox tradition has ever maintained, that *Bhāmatī* was the last work from Vācaspati's pen. [In *Cat. Cat.* p. 560 three more works are attributed to Vācaspati, viz. *Brahmatvasaṃhitoddīpanī* & *Vedāntatattvakaumudī* in *Vedānta* & *Yuktīdīpikā* in *Sāṅkhya*.

32. May it not be the same *Nyāyaratna* which Bhāsarvajña in *Nyāyasāra* attributes to the authorship of his own Guru ?

Presumably the work had been of great merit and enjoyed a wide celebrity before the time of Vācaspati Miśra, or he would not have undertaken to write out a Commentary upon it. And this would be perfectly in keeping with the encomiums bestowed upon it by Bhāsarvajña.

Gaṅgeśa's reference to him as *jarannaiyāvika* shows that in the latter's time he had been an established authority.

There does not seem to exist any positive evidence in confirmation of the alleged quotation by Jayanta from Vācaspati Miśra's works.

(a) Mr. Chakravarti's statement (*J.A.S.B.* Sept. 1915, p. 262, f. Note I) that "*Bhāmatī* is quoted as an authority in *Nyāyamañjarī*" is apparently founded on the footnote by Mm. Paṇḍit Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī (*Ny. Mañj.*, p. 120) where the śloka—

*yatnenānumito'pyarthaḥ kuśalairanumātṛbhilḥ |
abhiyuktatarairanyaiḥ anyathaivopapadyate ||*

is erroneously ascribed to *Bhāmatī* under *Sūtra* 2. 1. 11. The śloka as a matter of fact does not belong to *Bhāmatī*, where it is introduced as *taduktam*. It occurs originally in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadiya*, I. 34.

(b) Gaṅgādhara (Preface to *Ny. Mañj.*, p. 1) says that in the sentence *tadapi pariḥṛtamācāryairjātaṃ ca sambaddhaṃ ca ityekaḥ kāla itī vadadbhilḥ |* (*Ny. Mañj.*, p. 312¹⁸) the word *ācāryaiḥ* is to be understood as a reference to Vācaspati Miśra whose *Tātparyaṭikā* on *Sūtra* 2. 1. 32 contains the following statement: *athāsambaddhasya vidyamānatvaṃ tat satyapi pṛthaggatimatve nāvayavinos'ti jātaḥ sambaddhaścetyekaḥ kālaḥ* (p. 267). Now, though the dictum *jātaḥ* &c. found in *Ny. Mañj.* does really occur in *Tātparyaṭikā* it may not have been the original pronouncement of Vācaspati. For in view of the practically insignificant interval between their period of life,³³ it is hard to believe that Jayanta should have spoken of Vācaspati in such term as *ācāryaiḥ* at all. It is more probable that the dictum had been even then, as later (cf. Upaskara on 1. 2. 3), a familiar one, and that the *ācārya*, referred to by Jayanta, may have been an ancient authority.

As for the personal history of Jayanta, nothing more is known than what his son Abhinanda has recorded in the Introduction of his *Kādambarīkathāsāra*. It is said there that Jayanta's 5th ancestor, named Śakti had emigrated from Gauḍa and settled in Dārvābhisāra, a country which Dr. Bühler located on the frontiers of Kashmir (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II p. 102).³⁴ The village of Gauramūlaka, which Jayanta's grandfather Kalyāṇa Svāmī is said to have acquired in consequence of having performed a *Sāṃgrahaṇī* sacrifice,³⁵ is mentioned as Ghoramūlaka in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, VIII, 1861. According to

33. Vācaspati lived in A. D. 841 and Jayanta, being the great grandson of Śakti Śvāmī, the minister of king Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir could not have been far removed from him in age. Possibly both were contemporaries, one older and the other younger.

34. Dr. Stein makes it comprise "the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā and Candrabhāgā" (See Stein's *Trans.*, Vol. I, p. 3², footnote to verse 180).

35. *asmatpitāmaha eva grāmakāmaḥ sāṃgrahaṇīm kṛtavān sa iṣṭisamāptisamanantaram-eva gauramūlake grāmamavāpa | Nyāya Mañjarī*, p. 274. Dr. Stein has fallen into a twofold mistake here (i) in taking Abhinanda to be the author of *Nyāyamañjarī* and (ii) in calling

Dr. Stein it was situated in the territory of Rājapurī within the boundaries of Dārvābhisāra (*Kalhaṇa's Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir*, by Stein, Vol. II. pp. 144-5, foot-note to verse 1861).³⁶

King Śaṅkaravarmaṇa whom Jayanta describes as *dharmatattvajña* and to whom he attributes (p. 271) the credit of having suppressed the *Nīlāmbaravrata*, apparently a very obscene rite, cannot be identified with certainty. From Jayanta's words it would seem, as Col. Jacob has rightly guessed (*J.R.A.S.*, 1911, p. 511), that the king was a Jain.³⁷

Jayanta was known to his contemporaries as a *vṛttikāra* (*Ny. Mañj.*, p. 659¹⁷; cf. *Kādambarīkathāsāra*, Introduction) or the author of a gloss on the *Nyāya Sūtras* of Gotama.³⁸ Probably *Nyāyamañjarī* is the gloss here referred to. Guṇaratna in his Commentary on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, ascribes to Jayanta a Commentary on *Nyāyasāra*, named *Nyāya-kalikā*. It is not known whether this Commentary is now extant. Bühler notices a work of the same name by Jayanta in his *Kashmir Report* (Nos. 385-7, p. CXLV),³⁹ but until its contents are examined it would be impossible to say anything as to its identity.

Jayanta's father by the name of Kānta. The second mistake, based on Bühler's false rendering (*Ind. Ant.* II, p. 104) evidently arose from a misunderstanding of the following verse of *Kādambarīkathāsāra* :

*agādahṛdayāttasmāt paramēśvaramaṇḍaṇam |
ajāyata sutaḥ kāntaścandro dugdhodadheriva ||*

Here the meaning is plain enough. The word *candra* has to be taken in a double sense signifying the name of the son as well as the Moon. The epithet *Kānta* would be applicable in both the cases. That this interpretation is the right one would appear from the fact that Jayanta himself mentions Candra as his father in the end of *Nyāyamañjarī* (p. 659¹⁶).

36. A genealogy of Jayanta's family, constructed from the statements of his son, is appended below :

ŚAKTI (Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa of the Bharadvāja Gotra)

MITRA

ŚAKTISVĀMIN, minister (*mantri*) of king Muktāpīḍa (Lalitāditya) of the Karkota family. (See *Rāj. Tar.* LV. 42).

KALYĀNA SVĀMIN, a great Sacrificer and Yogin.

CANDRA, a great Controversialist.

JAYANTA

37. There was a king of this name in Kashmir, but the anachronism of his time (A. D. 883-902) and the fact of his being described by Kalhaṇa as a worthless prince (*V. Taraṅga*) precludes the possibility of this identification.

38. Cf. Rājaśekhara's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, p. 10³.

39. Cf. also Stein, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, Jammu, p. 148, No. 1553. The opening benedictory *śloka* of this Commentary is the same as in *Nyāyamañjarī* (p. 1,

The style of *Nyāyamañjarī* deserves special mention. It is unique of its kind, racy, humorous, brilliant, with a poignancy that is almost biting in its pointedness.⁴⁰ It is wonderfully eloquent, sweeping everything before its tremendous rush—the arguments of the Laukāyatikas as mercilessly as those of the Mīmāṃsakas. All through the work there runs a deep vein of religious earnestness—a sense of personal conviction—which renders its remarks on the views of the opponents so caustic and bitter. Thus, for instance, we read on p. 204—

*ye tvīśvaram nirapavādaṛḍhapramāṇa-
siddhasvarūpamapi nābhyupayanti mūḍhāḥ |
pāpāya taiḥ saha kathāpi vitanyamānā
jāyate nūnamiti yuktamato virantum ||*

Cf. also on p. 236—*mīmāṃsakā yaśaḥ pivantu payo vā pivantu buddhijāḍyāpanayanāya
brāhmighṛtaṃ vā pivantu vedastu puruṣapraṇīta eva nātra bhrāntiḥ |*

The general Śaiva Culture of Kashmir exercised a marked influence on Jayanta's personal creed. He was a Śaiva through and through. In his discussion on theism he shows a decided bias towards the Kashmirian form of this faith. Like Bhāsarvajña and other Śaivite philosophers he too conceives of the Divinity as Śiva (p. 200¹¹⁻²⁵) and predicates of Him 5, rather than 3, of the 9 *viśeṣaḡuṇas* pertaining to the *ātman*. It is interesting to note that among these qualities, all eternal, we find both *dharma* and *sukha* (besides the usual trio, viz. *jñāna*, *icchā* and *kṛti*). He says—*dharmastu bhūtānugrahavato vastusvābhāvād bhavan na vāryate tasya phalaṃ paramārthanaiṣpattireva | sukhaṃ tvasya nityameva nityānandatvenāgamāt praīteḥ* (p. 201¹²⁻¹⁴). Now in the mouth of a Naiyāyika this would appear to be a remarkable confession. For though, strictly speaking, *dharma* is not denied to *īśvara* in the orthodox system (cf. *Ny. Vārtika*, Benares Ed)—*yo dharma īśvare nāsau tatraīśvaryaṃ karoti kintu pratyātmavṛttin dharmādharmaśannicayānanugṛhṇāti* (p. 464⁵⁻⁶) it is admitted only as a matter of concession. Thus Uddyotakara expresses his own views—*na ceśvare dharmo'sti* (*Ny. Vā.*, p. 464⁶) and *etattu na buddhyāmahe yathā buddhimattāyāmīśvarasya pramāṇasadbhāvo na caivaṃ dharmādinityatve pramāṇamasti &c.* (*Ny. Vā.*, p. 464¹³⁻¹⁵). Vācaspati, too, says almost the same thing (See *Tāt. Tīkā*, p. 420²¹⁻³). Similarly as regards the existence of *nityasukha* and its presence in *īśvara* (and with some, in the *mukta ātmans* as well), the usual evidence of the Nyāya-

verse 1), but the concluding verse runs thus :

*ajātarasaniṣyandamanabhivyaktasaurabhaṃ |
nyāyasya kalikāmātraṃ jayantaḥ paryadīdṛśat ||*

It is likely, considering the meanings of the words ^o*kalikā* and ^o*mañjarī*, that the former was a smaller work on the same subject (i. e. a gloss on the *Nyāya Sūtras*). However, this is only a conjecture.

40. Abhinanda thus describes the style of his father :

*sarasāḥ sadalaṅkārah prasādamadhurā giraḥ |
kāntāstātajayantasya jayanti jagatām guroḥ ||*

Vaiśeṣika is decidedly against it. The following words of Udayana may serve as the pith of their arguments :

*nityam tu sukham na satyam yogyānupalambhabādhitatvāt /
śrutistatra pramānamiti cet, na /
yogyānupalambhabādhitite tadanavakāśāt,
avakāśe vā grāvaplavanaśruterapi tathābhāvaprasaṅgāt /*

[*Ātmatattvaviveka* (Tarkapañcānana's Ed., p. 95¹⁴⁻¹⁷)]⁴¹

VI. VYOMAŚIVĀCĀRYA

Vyomaśivācārya, as the name indicates, seems to me to have been a Śaiva Saint of the South. Though a high authority on Vaiśeṣika philosophy his name has practically been forgotten. Rājaśekhara, in his commentary on the *Nyāyakandalī* (*Nyāyakandalīpañcikā*), credits him with the authorship of a commentary named *Vyomavatī* on Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. This commentary was long believed to have been lost, but it has recently been recovered and a transcribed copy of it exists in the Government Sanskrit Library Benares, from which it appears that the work more than ordinarily deserved the renown which it once universally enjoyed. It is likely that the Ācārya of whom Udayana speaks in the *Kiraṇāvalī* is no other than Vyomaśiva, and that Śrīdhara also presumably made use of his predecessor's work in writing the *Kandalī*.

Vyomaśiva was the leader, at any rate a learned representative of a distinct section of Vaiśeṣika school and commanded a great influence on contemporary and subsequent thought. He accepted *śabda* as a separate *pramāṇa* and had no sympathy with the people who suggested that the Vaiśeṣika did not admit the independence of verbal testimony as a valid source of knowledge. In regard to this view of his Mañibhadra gives the following report in commenting on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (Chowkh. Ed. p. 63) *yadyapi aulūkyāśāsane vyomaśivācāryoktāni trīṇi pramāṇāni, tathāpi śrīdharamatāpekṣayā utra ubhe eva nigadite /*

It is clear from this that there was already a split in the school which was due perhaps to the interpretation of the true import of the *sūtra* (*Vaiś*) 9. 3. 3., and was not of comparatively recent occurrence. Among the advocates of dual *pramāṇa* we find the names of scholars like Śrīdhara, Śivāditya, Vallabhācārya, Udayana (?), Rājaśekhara (see his *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, Yaśovijaya Ed., verse 114, p. 11) &c.⁴² And Sureśvarācārya,

41. Comparing the statements of Jayanta and Udayana it appears that their attitudes towards *āgama* were quite distinct. In this regard in spite of slight differences Jayanta and Bhāsarvajña side together.

42. Gauḍapādācārya, while commenting on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 4, plainly refers to the Vaiśeṣika opinion as being in favour of the duality of *pramāṇa* : *yadyapi vaiśeṣikāiḥ śabdo nābhyupeyate tathāpi te na pramātarah* (Ben-Ed., p. 5).

in his *Mānasollāsa*, II. 17 (Mys. Ed., p. 49), also subscribes to this view. ⁴³ On the contrary, the interpretation of Vyomaśiva is confirmed by the statements of Śaṅkarācārya in the *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* (V. 33, p. 22) and of Jinadatta in the *Vivekavilāsa* (*Bhand. Rep.* 1883-'84, p. 462). ⁴⁴

The only other references to Vyomaśiva which I have hitherto found in Sanskrit philosophical literature occur in Vādiṅdra's *Rasasāra*, ⁴⁵ and Vallabha's *Nyāyalilāvati* (Bomb. Ed., p. 98)

VII.—UDAYANĀCĀRYA

The last great representative of the older schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika was beyond question Udayanācārya.

Jayanta and Vācaspati Miśra wrote on Nyāya, while Śrīdhara wrote on Vaiśeṣika, but the credit of combining for the first time the two allied systems into a joint form ⁴⁶ is, according to tradition, due to Udayana. And it was he who made the most pronounced effort to combat the anti-theistical tendencies of his age by bringing philosophy to the service of theology. His *Ātmattvaviveka* & *Nyāyakusumāñjali* are the best polemical

43. Cf. Jayanārāyaṇa's *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* in the vernacular, p. 45.

44. *vaiśeṣikamate tāvat pramāṇatritayaṃ bhavet |
pratyakṣamanumānaṃ ca tārtīyaikamathāgamaḥ ||* (*Vivekavilāsa*)

In the *Bṛhadvyrttiḥ* to *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* (Ben. Ed. p. 666) the Vaiśeṣikas are credited with the theory of three *pramāṇas*: *idaṃ ca vaiśeṣikamatena pratyakṣānumānāgamalakṣaṇaṃ pramāṇatrayamupanyastam |*

45. *etena svasamavetaiśeṣyaviśiṣṭatve sati svāśrayaikajātīyavyavacchedako viśeṣaguṇa iti vyomaśivācāryoktamapi lakṣaṇaṃ pratyuktam | svāśrayaikajātīyapadena navānyatamasya vivakṣitatvāt* (*Rasasāra*, p. 11)

46. For instance in the *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, which being an independent treatise afforded ample opportunities to the author for sufficient freedom of expression, we find in several places the characteristic doctrines of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika fused up with one another. To take one example: The Vaiśeṣika does not admit *upamāna* and *śabda* to be separate *pramāṇas*, but Udayana, in agreement with the orthodox Naiyāyika's standpoint (*Ibid.* III. 12, Benares Ed., pp. 52-57 & pp. 57 etc.), makes it a definite point to prove that their separate character cannot be gainsaid. But on the other hand, while dealing with question of *svapna* or dream-consciousness he subscribes to the usual Vaiśeṣika view of the point with some modification: thus though the Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika are both at one on the falsity of dream-consciousness, the former considers it as a kind of *smṛti*, whereas the latter makes it fall under the category of *anubhava* and so, distinct from *smṛti*. Udayana agrees with the Vaiśeṣika in so far as he maintains the presentative character of dream-consciousness (*tasmādanubhava evāsau svīkartavyaḥ*, *Ny. Kusu.*, V., Ben. Ed. p. 147), but differs from him in holding that even dreams may come occasionally true (*āsta ca svapnānubhavasayāpi kasyacit satyatvaṃ saṃvādāt*, *Ibid.*)

treatises ever written with the avowed object of disposing of the Buddhist contentions against the doctrines of *ātman* and *īśvara* and of placing their truth on a firm and secure footing.

There is no doubt now as to the age of Udayanācārya. He lived in the fourth quarter of the 10th century as evidenced by the following *śloka* at the end of his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* :

tarkāmbarāṅkapramiteṣvatīteṣu śakāntataḥ |
varṣeśūdayanaśakre subodhāṃ lakṣaṇāvalīm ||

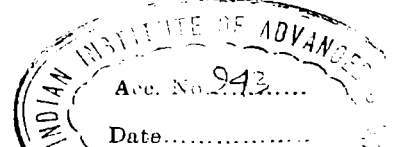
This gives 906 Śākābda or A. D. 984 for the composition of *Lakṣaṇāvalī* and as this was not probably his very last piece, his period of life may be carried some more years forward.

Udayana was a contemporary of Śrīdhara, but it is not possible with the resources now available to determine which of them was the older. His *Lakṣaṇāvalī* was 7 years earlier than the *Kandalī*, but there seems to be reason to believe that his *Kiraṇāvalī* was a later work. Besides the case already cited by Paṇḍit Vindhyeśvarī Prasād Dube (Preface to *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 21. f. note 5) where the view of Śrīdhara appears to be cited and refuted in the *Kiraṇāvalī*, there is one positive instance of a similar kind. Thus the view on *tamaḥ* as the imposed blue colour which is associated with Śrīdhara's name (cf. *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* & *Dinakarī*) is rejected in the *Kiraṇāvalī* (pp. 19-20); and though the name of Śrīdhara is nowhere mentioned by Udayana, it is nevertheless sure that his views were familiar to him. But Udayana did not live to complete the work thus initiated which broke off abruptly in its course with *Buddhigranthaḥ*. I think that on the death of Udayana, Śrīdhara, still living, began to revise his book in the light of the criticisms made, not failing however in his turn to cast a fling at Udayana whenever occasion permitted. This is my own suggestion and may be accepted as a tentative explanation of the otherwise quite unintelligible fact of both Udayana and Śrīdhara quoting and refuting each other's views. ⁴⁷

Udayana was a Śaiva, and though professedly a Naiyāyika he had the highest regard for Vedānta in its most rigorous and unfalsified form. His notion of Nyāya, too, was unique. His conception of the mutual relations of the various systems of Indian philosophy, orthodox and heterodox, is extremely interesting. I am reminded here of the remarkable passage in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* where he attempts to show that in its gradual ascent along the path of *mokṣa* the soul is confronted with views which broaden out more and more. The different schools of philosophy representing the varied views thus obtained in passing are conceived to form a graduated series, arranged according to an ascending scale of spiritual realisation, and in such a scheme the lower is always supposed to be a stepping stone to the higher and is to be *superseded* by it. ⁴⁸ Udayana's

47. For Śrīdhara referring to Udayana's views, see Preface to *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 21, f. note 3.

48. This attempt at Synthesis, though incidental, may be taken to be one of the earliest of its kind on record, and though brief, is matchless in its grandeur. Sarvajñātma Muni's earlier attempt (in *Samkṣepaśārīraka*) and Madhusūdana's (in *Prasthānabhedā*)



works may be thus tabulated :

A. Commentaries on :

(a) Gotama's *Sūtras* (*Nyāyapariśiṣṭa*)

(b) Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha* (*Kiraṇāvalī*).

It was the last work of Udayana, and contains references to *Ātmatattvaviveka* and *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (p. 147).

(c) Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāyavārtikatātparyāṭikā* (*Nyāyavārtikatātparyāpariśuddhi* or *Nyāyanibandha*).

B. (a) *Ātmatattvaviveka* (known also as *Bauddhādhikāra* or *Bauddhādhikkāra*). This was probably one of his earliest works. It is a splendid production, and represents probably the most vigorous defence of the Theory of Self on behalf of Nyāya against the merciless assaults of the Buddhist philosophers.

(b) *Nyāyakusumāñjali*, consisting of 5 chapters, partly in prose and partly in verse. It contains a reference to *Ātmatattvaviveka*.

(c) *Lakṣaṇāvalī*.⁴⁹ This is a very useful booklet, containing a series of definitions of terms pertaining to the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. It was composed in 906 Śakābda or A. D. 984, and was therefore earlier than the *Kiraṇāvalī* which succeeded the *Nyāyakaṇḍalī* written in A. D. 991. So I do not find any warrant for Mr. Chakravarti's opinion (*JASB.*, Sept. 1915, p. 263) that the *Kiraṇāvalī* preceded *Lakṣaṇāvalī*. The fact that the last *śloka* of *Lakṣaṇāvalī* is the same as the opening verse of the *Kiraṇāvalī* really proves nothing. For we might as well argue from this fact that the former was earlier than the latter.

(d) *Prabodhasiddhi*, an original treatise in Nyāya, probably compiled from Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara and Vācaspati (cf. *T. Rakṣā*, p. 308⁹⁻¹¹). Varadarāja refers to it four times in the *Tārkikarakṣā* (pp. 189-190, 308, 343 & 357), and though he does not attribute it to Udayana by name, there can be no doubt about Udayana's authorship of it⁵⁰ from the fact that Varadarāja once speaks of the author as Ācārya (p. 308¹⁰⁻¹¹), a term generally reserved by the later Naiyāyikas for Udayana (and sometimes for Vācaspati also).⁵¹

and Vijñānabhikṣu's (in his Introduction to *Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya*) later ones pale before it in comparison.

49. Mallinātha in his Commentary on *Tārkikarakṣā* makes Udayana the author of *Lakṣaṇamālā* (pp. 179⁹, 225¹⁰), but this seems to be a case of erroneous ascription. *Lakṣaṇamālā* was the work of Śivāditya and not of Udayana. Probably the mistake arose from a confusion of *Lakṣaṇamālā* with Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvalī*. That Varadarāja does not refer to Udayana's work follows from the facts that once (p. 179) he explicitly mentions *Lakṣaṇamālā* by name as the source of his quotation, and that in both the cases the statements cited do not occur in the *Lakṣaṇāvalī*.

50. Cf. Intro. to *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 7; Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.* I, 65 (here the name appears as *Bodhasiddhi*).

51. For example, see *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 159¹³⁻¹⁴, where Varadarāja quotes Udayana's

VIII.—ŚRĪDHARA

As the author of *Nyāyakandalī*, a Commentary on Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmaśaṅgraha*, Śrīdhara's reputation has come down to posterity. He was a great scholar, the last of that glorious band whose depth of learning was commensurate with their range of studies. In Nyāya his fame is known to be well established : later writers have always acknowledged his authority, and though some of his personal opinions, such as the view on *tamaḥ* ⁵² are rejected in the subsequent history of this philosophy, the eminence of his position in the world of Indian thinkers remains still unaffected by it.

Śrīdhara is fortunately one of those few writers in the history of India who have left some account of themselves. He says in the *Nyāyakandalī*, pp. 330-331, that he was born in the village of Bhūrisṣṭi in Southern Rāḍha (*dakṣiṇarāḍhāyāṃ bhūrisṣṭiḥ*). His parents' names are given as Baladeva and Acchokā (or Abbokā), and it appears that the Kāyastha gentleman named Pāṇḍudāsa, at whose request he undertook to write this Commentary, was his patron.

Besides (a) *Nyāyakandalī* ⁵³ which was composed in 913 Śaka (*tryadhikadaśottara-naṣataśākābdam*) or A. D. 991. Śrīdhara has also written—

- (b) *Advayasiddhi*, an original work in Vedānta (*Kandalī*, p. 5)
- (c) *Tattvaprabodha*, an original work in Mīmāṃsā (*Kand.*, pp. 82, 146), and
- (d) *Tattvasaṃvādinī* (*Kand.*, p. 82)

Mr. Chakravarti notes (*loc. cit.*) that Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandalī* was "little used in Bengal or Mithilā". But this does not seem to me to have been exactly the case, at least so far as Mithilā is concerned. For though undoubtedly it was not so widely read as Udayana's *Kiraṇāvalī* ⁵⁴ and was confined to the specialists alone, its studies continued for some centuries uninterrupted, and it was during these years of its flourishing condition

definition of *Viśeṣa* under the name of Ācāryaḥ (Mallinātha makes Ācārya = Kiraṇāvalī-kāra). Cf. *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. 107⁵⁻⁶ (*tadetat sarvaṃ nyāyakusumāñjalau prapañcitamācāryaiḥ*), p. 65⁸ (*liṅgaparāmarśo'numānamityācāryāḥ*), pp. 85⁶, 86¹⁻², &c and also p. 77¹ (see Mallinātha's note).

52. His view might appear to be outlandish to one accustomed to the usual way of thinking. To him *tamaḥ* (darkness) is not mere *abhāva* as with the orthodox Naiyāyika, nor a kind of *dravya* made up of atomic particles as with the Mīmāṃsaka, but it is the blue colour and is therefore a quality (cf. for a summary of the different views on darkness, Athalve, *Tarkasaṅgraha*, Notes, pp. 78-79). Śrīdhara thus sums up his own conclusion on the question : *tasmād rūpaviśeṣo'yamatyantam tejo'bhāve sati sarvataḥ samāropitastama iti pratiyate* / *Kandalī*, p. 9²³⁻²⁴.

53. *Saṅgrahaṭīkā* (*Kand.* p. 159), was not a Commentary on some treatise named *Samgraha* (= *Kaṇādasamgraha* ?), as is usually supposed, but it was the name of the *Kandalī* itself. If we remember that the *Kandalī* was the Commentary on the *Padārthadharmaśaṅgraha*, we can make out the meaning of the term.

54. But in Kashmir, it would appear from Bühler's *Report*, it enjoyed a greater popularity.

that Commentaries used to be written upon it. Padmanābha wrote a Commentary upon it (*Nyāyakandalīsāra*) as he had done upon Udayana's parallel work, and looking at the opening verse of this commentary it would seem that Vardhamāna and other earlier writers had also commented upon it.⁵⁵ With the evidence for these Commentaries, all by Maithilas, before us, it would be hard to accept Mr Chakravarti's statement regarding Mithilā as true. But as to the fact of the general disuse of the book in Bengal there exists no ground for raising any question. It is really a mystery how a work written in Bengal, by a Bengali author and with real claims to appreciation should have gone out of fashion in the country of its birth. It seems to me equally inexplicable how this work, just like Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra*, could find such vogue among the Jain logicians. Rājasekhara wrote a Commentary upon it (*Nyāyakandalipañjikā*. See Peterson's *Report* 3. 272) and refers to it in his *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*. Guṇaratna, in his gloss on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* and Malliṣeṇa in *Syādvādamañjarī* (Yaśovijaya Ed., p. 56) also refer to it, and so do many other Jaina writers.

IX.—ŚIVĀDITYA MIŚRA

The earliest reference of Nyāyācārya⁵⁶ Śivāditya Miśra is found in Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* where the former's definition of *pramā* is strongly denounced. Śrīharṣa's time being the 12th Century (M. Chakravarti, in *JASB*, 1915. p. 264), Śivāditya may be placed a century or more earlier.

He seems to have been the author of two original works, both in Vaiśeṣika viz. *Saptapadārthī* and (b) *Lakṣaṇamālā* (See Pratyakṣvarūpa's Commentary on *Citsukhī*, Nir. Sāgara Ed., p. 180 ; and Śāṅkara Miśra's Commentary on *Khaṇḍaṇā*⁰, p. 144).

Paṇḍit Vindhyeśvarī Prasād Dube (Intro. to *Prāśastapādabhāṣya* and *Nyāya-kandalī*, Viz. Series, p. 19, f. note 2) assumes the identity of this Śivāditya with Vyomaśivācārya, the author of a Commentary on *Prāśastapādabhāṣya*. This assumption is not tenable. Probably this mis-identification proceeded from a confusion due to similarity of names and to an erroneous reading in one of the Mss. of *Saptapadārthī* (cf. Tailaṅga Rāma Śāstrī's Ed. of *Saptapadārthī*, Preface, p. 1. and the Text p. 80, footnote).

Mr. Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1915, p. 262) attributes to Śivāditya the credit of having added the Category, *abhāva*, to the sixfold group of the older writers. But this view cannot

55. Thus in the *śloka*,

upadiṣṭā gurucarāṇairasprṣṭā vardhamānādyaiḥ |
kandalīyāḥ sārāthāstanyante padmanābhena ||

Intro. to *Nyāyakandalī*, p. 4.

the expression *asprṣṭā vardhamānādyaiḥ* plainly implies the existence of Commentaries upon the work by Vardhamāna and other authors gone before.

56. Śāṅkara Miśra employs this epithet for Śivāditya's name in his Commentary on *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā* (Ben. Ed., p. 144).

be accepted without some reservation. For if it is meant by what he says that Śivāditya was the earliest known philosopher who gave to *abhāva* a place of importance in the discussion of Categories and that he was *not* its introducer, the view may be pronounced probable. But if it implies, as it seems to do, that he *added* it as a fresh Category not hitherto recognised in the system, the error is apparent. The distinctive position of the Vaiśeṣika in the order of Indian Systems would suffer a deadly shock with the disappearance of *abhāva*. It forms, with *samavāya* and *viśeṣa*, the keystone of the whole system. It is true that in the older works (e.g. *Vaiś Sūtr* 1. 1 4; *Praś. Bhā*, p. 6; cf. *Sāñ, Sūtr*, 1. 25; *Kandalī*, p. 331⁴) six categories are explicitly enounced, but it does not mean that *abhāva* is not recognised as real. The reason why it is excluded from the usual formulation of the Categories, all positive, is thus stated by Śrīdhara: *abhāvasya prthagānupadeśaḥ bhāvapāratantryānna tvabhāvāt* (*Kandalī*, p. 7 1). With the Vaiśeṣika, (unlike the Sāṅkhya), for whom *pratīti* (added to, but in a greater measure than, its counterpart *vyavahārah*) as an ultimate fact of consciousness given in the form of 'belief', is the determinant of objective reality, *abhāva* is necessarily real. It was under a metaphysical, rather than a logical, necessity that *abhāva* had to be postulated in this system. And the necessity thus felt was twofold, arising (a) from the fundamental assumption of the school that *mokṣa* is really negative,⁵⁷ (b) and from its doctrine of Asatkāryavāda which allows of a real negative judgment. To illustrate this point we may revert to the position of Satkāryavāda such as that of the Sāṅkhya or the Yoga to see that a really negative predicate can have no place in its theory of predication. It being assumed here that everything exists everywhere, or one thing is identical with another (*jātyanucchedena sarvaṃ sarvātīmakam*, Vyāsa's Com. on *Yoga Sūtra* III-14.) all negation would be merely verbal (*vaikalpika*). Let us take an example:

(A) The judgment *ghaṭo nāsti* or more explicitly *mṛttikāyām ghaṭo nāsti* would be a real judgment according to the Vaiśeṣika and lend itself to a double interpretation—(i) it may mean that the jar, being not yet produced, does not exist in the Matter (*mṛttikā*); this would be *prāgabhāva*; or (ii) it may mean that the jar, being destroyed, does not exist in the Matter (*mṛttikā*); this would be *dhvaṃsaḥ*. But both these kinds of *abhāva* are, according to the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, really two forms of *bhāva* (there being no room for *asat* in this system), the one known as the *anāgatadharmā* and the other as the *atītatadharmā* of the Matter (*mṛttikā*). Both are equally positive in content. The judgment *ghaṭo nāsti*, therefore as in (i) and (ii), or more strictly *mṛttikā ghaṭābhāvavati*, would be a pseudo-judgment, the true (of course relatively) judgment taking the form of *mṛttikā ghaṭavati*, even when the *ghaṭa* is not produced or is already destroyed. In other words while in Sāṅkhya-Yoga *abhāva* is not allowed to be a real predicate or *dharma*, in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika it is. It may be observed that the Vaiśeṣika allows only what is called in Sāṅkhya-Yoga *vartamāna-dharma* i. e. *uditadharmā* to be a positive predicate. That is, *ghaṭa* may

57. According to the Vaiśeṣika, *mokṣa* being conceived as an absence of qualities, a separate category other than positive was rendered necessary. This was named *abhāva*.

be a positive predicate of *mṛttikā* or *mṛttikā* may be said to be the *ādhāra* of *ghaṭa*, only after its production and before its destruction; in other words when it is *vartamāna*. And for explaining this presence or *vartamānatā* of the product in the Matter, the relation of *samavāya* has to be assumed. But before the production and after the destruction *ghaṭa* is negatively predicable. This is a fundamental difference between the two systems, resulting necessarily from the two assumptions of *satkārya* or *asatkārya*. Naturally therefore, the *atīta* and *anāgata vastu*, though admitted to be *prameya* or object (*viṣaya*) of right knowledge, are held in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika as *asat* or non-existing (but not *tuccha* or *avastu* as the Buddha might say), i. e. *dhvaṃsa* and *prāgabdhāva* are respectively predicable of them.

(B) Similarly the judgment *paṭo ghaṭo na* where the identity of the objects *paṭa* and *ghaṭa* is denied, would be a false judgment according to the Sāṅkhya-Yoga. Really *paṭa* being identical with *ghaṭa* (*tadātmaka*) there is no ground for such negation. But since the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not hold Prakṛtikāraṇavāda or the doctrine of the Immanence and Unity of Matter of which the manifold (*vaicitrya*) given in experience is more or less (i.e. graded) a manifestation, and consequently is an advocate of absolute difference (*atyantābheda*) between one thing and another, it cannot do without what is technically called *anyonyābhāva*.

(C) And so with *atyantābhāva* too. Everything being everywhere, and so there being no possibility of any relation (*samsarga*) like *saṃyoga* or *samavāya* which implies the existence of two really distinct objects, *atyantābhāva* is no more than a verbal fiction.

Briefly speaking, then, the Prakṛtivāda of the Sāṅkhya, of which Satkāryavāda is an aspect, leaves it no room for real *abhāva* (or *sambandha*). All predication is reduced to identification; *dharmi* or logical subject, *kāraṇa* (*upādāna*) is identical with *dharma* or predicate, i. e. *kārya*. Matter (*prakṛti*) is the subject in the last resort, and all else, viz. the products (*vikṛtis*), are its predicates. These predicates, all positive, are each threefold in character—*atīta*, *anāgata*, and *vartamāna*, this division being founded on the bare fact of succession given in the limited consciousness (*vṛtyātmaka jñāna*) and not on the reality (*svarūpataḥ*) in which all the predicates co-exist and are identical with the subject. That is to say, time itself being a product predicates appear within it as successive, but beyond it—in Eternity—or in *mūlā prakṛti*, the predicates are already given as existing together and somehow inexplicably identical with it. This is *tādātmya*. [From this it will be plain why Sāṅkhya-Yoga does not feel the necessity of admitting *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa*, both predicates, as distinct Categories. And real difference being denied, it is easy to understand how the necessity of *samavāya* also is dispensed with.]

The Vaiśeṣika, on the other hand, with his assumption of real difference corresponding to and necessitated by the difference in *pratyaya* and *vyavahāra* was thrown upon the Asatkāryavāda (which is, looked at from a slightly different standpoint, the same thing as Ārambhavāda and Paramāṇuvāda) which led him in logical course to maintain the reality of succession and with this of what are technically termed *prāgabdhāva* and

dhvaṃsa. Their *anyonyābhāva* also follows naturally from the view of the reality of difference given in consciousness, viz, *ghaṭa* is other than not-*ghaṭa*, e. g. *paṭa*. This is in logical terms nothing but a combined statement of the principles of Identity and Contradiction, thus symbolically $A=A$, and $A=\text{not-not-}A$. It seems to have been the outcome of a reaction against the extreme views of the Sāṅkhya on one hand with whom $A=B$, and of the Bauddha on the other with whom $A=\text{not-}A$. A real *samsarga* (*sam-yoga* and *samavāya*) being admitted, its absence led to the postulation of *atyantābhāva*.

Without entering into further detail in this place it may be just said that the concept of *abhāva* is so intimately bound up with this system as a whole that its denial would mean the overthrow of its distinctive character.

Then again, in the actual texts of the older writers *abhāva* is found recognised. Cf. *Ny. Sūt.* 2. 2. 8. *et seq.*, *Nyāyavārtika*, pp. 278-280, 281-284; *Tāt. Tīkā*, pp. 306-307 & *Nyāyamañjarī*. Even Kaṇāda himself, though not mentioning it in his enumeration of the Categories (1. 1. 4) devotes some *sūtras* to a discussion of it in the 9th Chapter. Thus the absence of Kaṇāda's mention of it by name in the *Uddeśasūtra* is no proof against its recognition by him. Vallabhācārya says—*abhāvasya ca samānatrantrasiddhasyā-pratiśiddhasya nyāyadarśane mānasendriyatāsiddhivadatāpi avirodhādabhyupagamasiddhānta-siddhatvāt. (Nyāyalīlāvati Nir. Sāgara Ed.)*

To this Śāṅkara Mīśra adds the following explanatory notes in his *Nyāyalīlāvati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Ms belonging to the Benares Sanskrit Library): *teṣu lakṣitalakṣaṇatvāt* (Correct reading *lakṣiteṣvalakṣitalakṣaṇatvāt*) *ityādi sūtre nyāyadarśane samāne tantre'-bhāvasya vyutpāditatvādatra ca tadapratīṣedhāt paramatamapratīśiddhāmanumatamiti nyāyena sūtrakṛtastatrābhyupagamaṇṇayanāt | yathā gotamena manas indriyatvaṃ noktamapratīśedhādabhyupagatañca | Fol. 8a⁵⁻⁶*

I think it has now been demonstrated that there is no warrant for asserting, as Mr. Chakravarti has done (*loc. cit.*), that Śivāditya added *abhāva* "to the six categories of the older writers".⁵⁸ He simply explicated, giving to it the name of 7th category, what had already been recognised in the system as a real Category.

X—VARADARĀJA.

The exact time of Varadarāja's life is very hard of determination. Dr. Venis places him in the interval between A. D. 1050 & 1300 or more definitely about the first half of the 12th century (Prefatory notice to *Tārkikarakṣā*, p. iii). Though a greater precision is not attainable on this matter in the present state of our knowledge, a word or two may be suggested here. Jñānapūrṇa, whose time cannot be later than the 13th Century

58. Mr. Chakravarti is equally wrong in his assertion (*loc. cit.*, 262) made apparently on the authority of *Kandalī*, p. 331, that Śrīdhara "acknowledged only six categories". As indicated in the line quoted from the *Kandalī* on p. 118 above, this assertion is unfounded. Śrīdhara did acknowledge *abhāva* (note the phrase *na tvabhāvāt*) as a real category of existence. Compare also *Kandalī*, p. 230, lines 3-23.

and possibly was much earlier, alludes, in the beginning of his commentary called *Laghubīpikā*, to Varadarāja as having lived long ago (*purā*). This would appear to furnish a plea for pushing back this date by some decades at any rate. And the constant references to Udayana in the *Tārkikarakṣā* seem to me to indicate, not merely that Varadarāja was his admirer, but that he was his close successor as well. As a provisional step, therefore, I would prefer to claim for him as his approximate date the middle of the 11th Century.⁵⁹

Varadarāja is known to have written only three works :

A. Commentaries on :

(a) Udayana's (i) *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (= *Bodhanī*). Mallinātha refers to it in his Commentary on the *Tārkikarakṣā* (p. 46) : *etacca granthakṛtaiva spaṣṭīkṛtaṃ nyāyakusumāñjaliṅkāyāmityāstām tāvat* / Burnell (*Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 123) notices a copy of this Commentary existing in the Palace Library of Tanjore, where the name of the author's father is given as Mahāmahoṣādhyāya Rāmadeva Miśra.⁶⁰ (ii) *Kiraṇāvalī* (See Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I. pp. 107, 550).

B : *Tārkikarakṣā* sometimes called *Tarka-kārikā*, a treatise on Nyāya consisting of 160 *Kārikās* distributed in three chapters (97+34+29) and of a Commentary named *Sārasaṃgraha*. The book is referred to in the *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha*.

XI—VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Vallabhācārya was one of the greatest authorities on Vaiśeṣika philosophy, next only to Udayanācārya, in the mediaeval period of its history. There are certain peculiar views associated with his name in subsequent literature, but as we have dealt with them at length in our forthcoming work on the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy, there is no use reverting to them here.

He was the author of *Nyāyalīlāvati*, an independent⁶¹ work on Vaiśeṣika. This work had the rare good fortune, viz, much like Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, of finding a host of commentators.

59. Mr. Chakravarti's assertion (*loc. cit.*, p. 265) that "Vardhamāna is the oldest Commentator known on Udayana's works" is thus found to be no longer tenable.

60. A Ms. of this work, as far as Chap III, was obtained by the present writer in 1916. It had been transcribed in Śaka 1436 (A. D. 1514) and belonged to the private collection of Sarva Vidyānidhāna Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī whose name appears in bold hand on the first and last leaves. It has since been edited by the writer with a historical Introduction for the Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. 4 (Benares).

61. *Nyāyalīlāvati* is apparently an independent work, based on and planned after, Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya*. It is said that on this *Vaiśeṣika Bhāṣya* there was a commentary by Śrīvatsa called *Nyāyalīlāvati*. If Śrīvatsa is held identical with Vallabha, *Nyāyalīlāvati* will have to be considered as a commentary on the *Bhāṣya*, just as the *Bhāṣya* itself is on the *Sūtras*.

Vallabha's nationality is not known. But his date may be assigned with tolerable certainty to the end of the 12th Century A. D. ⁶²

XII—ŚAŚADHARA

It is believed that Śaśadhara was one of the great Naiyāyikas of the pre-Gaṅgeśa School, and that in Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* there is a reference to his definition of *vyāpti*. ⁶³ As there is no mention of Gaṅgeśa or his successors in Śaśadhara's work available to us, there is no inherent improbability in the correctness of this belief.

Śaśadhara may therefore be placed between Udayana to whom he refers and Gaṅgeśa, i. e. in the middle of the twelfth Century.

He was the author of *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, an excellent treatise on Nyāya. ⁶⁴

XIII—VĀDĪNDRA

Mahādeva Sarvajña Vādīndra was one of the greatest polemic writers in the field of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika in mediaeval India and deserves to be ranked, so far as dialectical abilities are concerned, with Śrīharṣa and similar other writers.

He is said to have been the pupil of one Yogīśvara. His name Vādīndra is apparently due to his reputation among his contemporaries as a great controversialist, and we know that Citsukha and other subsequent writers referred to him under this very name. His pupil Bhaṭṭa Rāghava speaks very often, in his Commentary on *Nyāyasāra*, of his large following. Vādīndra was a votary of Śiva (cf. the benedictory verses of his works), and it is not unlikely that the words *śaṅkarakiṅkara* as used in Mādhava's *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* (Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 98) and *harakiṅkara* as in the Colophon of the *Mahāvīdyāviḍambana* are to be understood as meaning a 'devotee of Śiva', rather than a 'pupil of the Ācārya

62. Vallabha is referred to in (a) Vādīndra's *Rasasāra* (about A. D. 1225), and in (b) a Kanarese poem written by a poet under King Siṅghana of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri (about A. D. 1226).

63. Tradition identifies *siṃha* (Lion) and *vyāghra* (Tiger), whose definitions of *vyāpti* have been quoted by Gaṅgeśa under the name *siṃhavyāghroktalakṣaṇa*, with Śaśadhara (or Śaśidhara) and Māṇidhara. It is not known whether this tradition has a historical basis, and if so, who these two persons really were. Dr. Satis Chandra is inclined to believe that the names 'Lion' and 'Tiger' represent the Jain Logicians, Ānanda Sūri and Amaraçandra Sūri. See his *Ind. Logic*, p. 396.

64. Aufrecht (*Cat. Cat.* I. p. 638) ascribes the following works to Śaśadhara (a) *Nyāyanaya*, (b) *Nyāyamīmāṃsāprakaraṇa* (c) *Nyāyaratnaprakaraṇa*, and (d) *Śaśadhara-mālā*. That the last is a separate work is evident. According to the *Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 646, (c) is another name of *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* itself, while in Burnell (p. 119) it (i. e. *Nyāyaratna*) is the name of a Com. on *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* by Dharmarāja Bhaṭṭa. *Nyāyanaya* and *Nyāyamīmāṃsā* too, are probably not different works.

named Śaṅkara or Hara'. He describes himself in his work on the *Mahāvīdyā* as the Dharmādhyakṣa of King Śrī Siṃha, whom Mr. M. R. Telang identifies with Rājā Siṅghana of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri.

The manuscript of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava's *Nyāyasārahicāra*, which exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, is dated Śakābda 1174 (= A. D. 1252).⁶⁵ But Rāghava was the direct pupil of Vādīndra as he says expressly in his colophons as well as in the beginning of his commentary. Vādīndra may therefore be placed in the early part of the 13th Century. This date synchronises well with the time of his patron, Rājā Siṅghana or Śrī Siṃha.

Vādīndra was the author of the following works :

(1) *Mahāvīdyāviḍambana* :

It has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XII. It was perhaps the *magnum opus* of this gifted author and created quite a sensation in his time. His great controversialistic genius appears at its best in his work, where he attempts to prove the futility and defects of the so-called *mahāvīdyā* syllogisms, which played an important part in the history of mediaeval Indian Logic.

(2) *Rasasāra* :

This is a Commentary on the *Guṇakiraṇāvalī* of Udayana. It has been published in the Sarasvatī Bhavana Sanskrit Texts of Benares (No. 5).

(3) *Kaṇādasūtranibandha*.⁶⁶

(4) A Commentary on Udayana's *Lakṣaṇāvalī* :

Śeṣa Śārṅadhara, in his Commentary, *Nyāyamuktāvalī*, on *Lakṣaṇāvalī*, says : *vādīśastu sādhanasābdasya kāraṇavācivitvamabhyupagamyā nirvikalpakajanakaśarīrasamyo-gādhikaraṇatve sati yogajadhamijanyajanyasākṣātkārāviṣayatve sati śarīratvādhikaraṇa-mindriyamiti yathāśrutamevaitat vyācakṣate* / (Ben. Ed., p. 29). This passage would seem to show that Vādīśa whom I take to be identical with Vādīndra wrote a Commentary on *Lakṣaṇāvalī*. The name Vādīndra also occurs in the same Commentary (cf. p. 23), and the term *vādīndra* being only an honorific title there is no inherent difficulty in understanding the two names as representing one person. It is much like *śaṅkarakiṅkara* being substituted by *harakiṅkara* as already noted.

(5) A metrical philosophical treatise : The name of the tract does not appear. But the quotations under Vādīndra's name as given in the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha* and *Nyāyasārahicāra* being in verse, it seems likely that he was the author of a metrical tract.

XIV—BHAṬṬA RĀGHAVA.

Bhaṭṭa Rāghava's Commentary on Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra* (*Nyāyasārahicāra*) is the only work from his pen known to philosophical bibliography, and though it does not seem to have ever been widely used in later times, its importance is none the less very

65. For a discussion of this date see under 'Bhaṭṭa Rāghava'.

66. See M. R. Telang's Introduction to the *Mahāvīdyāviḍambana*, p. XVI.

great. Apart from the fact that this book furnishes a clear exposition of Bhāsarvajña's doctrines which it professes to defend from the attacks of opponents, it contains a number of lengthy discussions relating to certain topics raised in the text which are historically of great value to a student of contemporary philosophy.

There exists a manuscript of this Commentary in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (fols. 2-100), where in the Colophon the date of its composition is given as 1174 Saka or A. D. 1252.⁶⁷

The name of Rāghava's father appears as Sāraṅga⁶⁸ and his Guru was Mahādeva Sarvajña Vādīndra (See the Colophons at the end of each chapter : fols. 19a⁷-b¹, 72a⁷ & 100b⁷)⁶⁹; this Vādīndra is probably identical with the author of the same name to

67. The verse in which the date appears runs thus :

*śake caturṣaptatisaṅkhyake śataih śatādhikairabhyadhike ca pañcabhiḥ |
dvighātītastatra babhūva vatsarairdhruvaṃ vicāraḥ paribhāvi—vā ||*

[The meaning of the last phrase is not clear but the reading is exactly as given above. There is no room for reading *parisādhi rāghavaḥ*, as the late Mm. Satis Candra (Introduction to *Nyāyasāra*, p. 7) has done. After *vi* of *bhāvi* there is visible an *i* stroke, the consonant following having disappeared, and the last letter with which the next line begins is *vā* and not *vaḥ* so that the final word of the verse cannot be read as *rāghavaḥ*. The Ms. is generally free from slips and is carefully corrected.]

Of the two ways of interpreting this verse, viz. (1) [(500 × 2) + 100] + 74 = 1174 Śaka or A. D. 1252 and (2) [(500 + 100) × 2] + 74 = 1274 Śaka or A. D. 1352, I should prefer the former interpretation. Apart from the convincing historical grounds adduced by Mr. Telang (Introduction to *Mahāvīdyāvidāmbana*, pp. XII-XV) there is another fact to be considered. In the Ms. named above there is an entry evidently by a later hand that the Ms. was purchased by one Viṣṇu from one Udaya Siṃha for 25 (?) pieces in Saṃv. 1428 (= A. D. 1371 : *viṣṇubhigṛhīta pustakaṃ pañcaviṃśati (ni ?) kyatreya ṇaudaisihātah || saṃvat 1428 aṭṭhaisā samaye vaiśākha vadi 2 dvitīyā ravau || śrīrāmārpaṇamastu || śrīḥ || śrīḥ || śrīḥ ||* This statement shows that the Ms. was purchased in A. D. 1371. Consequently the date of transcription must be earlier, and that of composition much earlier still. In view of this circumstance the alternative of A. D. 1352 as the date of the composition of the work does not strike me as probable. I therefore accept the former interpretation of the verse and take the date to represent A. D. 1252. Cf. also Hall (*Bibl. Index*, p. 26).

68. Sāraṅga is said to have been defeated in a public controversy by the Jain logician Jaya Siṃha Sūri (A. D. 1366), author of a commentary on Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra*, whose pupil Nyāyacandra Sūri describes this event in his *Hammīrakāvya*. See T. M. Tripāṭhī's Introduction (p. XVIII) to Ānandajñāna's *Tarkasaṅgraha* (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. III).

69. Cf. also the introductory verse in *Nyāyasāravīcāra* : *mahādevamaham vande gurum sarvajñanādarāt | granthagranthiṣu śaithilye śaktiryasmāt abhūnmama || Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 609; and the verse at the end : *akāryanyāsa evāyaṃ mayā granthacchalā-*

whom *Rasasāra*, a Commentary on the second part of the *Kiraṇāvalī*, is attributed (Hall, p. 67).

Rāghava was a Śaiva (see fols. 19b, 72a-b 100b). His native country is not known for certain, but it seems likely that he was a man of the South. In his Commentary he quotes or refers to the earlier authorities as below :

<i>Khaṇḍanamaṇḍanāḥ</i> ⁷⁰	4b ²	
<i>Vātsyāyanamata</i>	7a ⁷	
<i>Nyāyabhāṣyakārāḥ</i>	8b ⁴	
<i>Mīmāṃsakāḥ</i>	}	8b ⁵
<i>Cārvākāḥ</i>		
<i>Bhūṣaṇa</i> , <i>Bhāsarvajña</i>	11b ⁴	
<i>Vārtikakṛt</i>	12b ⁶ , 20a ⁷	
<i>tathā coktaṃ—laukikī pratibhā yadvat &c</i>	16a ³⁻⁴	
<i>tadukta—ekena tu pramāṇena &c.</i>	16a ⁵	
<i>tadāha—yadi ṣaḍbhiḥ pramāṇaiḥ syāt</i>	16a ⁶	

(The above three quotations are from Kumāriḷa's *Ślokavārtika*, 4. 32, 212 & 2. 111, pp. 143, 80 & 79 of the Chowkhamba Ed.) *taduktaṃ na so'sti pratyayo loke &c.* 18b³⁻⁴ (From *Vākyapadīya*, I. 124).

Vārtikakāra 18b⁴

kecid vicakṣaṇāḥ 19b²

Apparently this is an ironical reference to an earlier Commentator on *Nyāyasāra* to whose interpretation Rāghava takes serious objection. Thus in Bhāsarvajña's definition of *anumāna—samyagavinābhāvena parokṣānubhavasādhanamanumānaṃ*—his unnamed annotator tries to establish a syntactical relation between the words *samyak* and *anubhava* which Rāghava would not allow.

Who is the Commentator meant here ?)

Rāmabhaṭṭa-prabhṛtayaḥ 19b⁵

Rāmabhaṭṭa was another Commentator on *Nyāyasāra* whose name and work have been forgotten. In connection with the foregoing definition of *anumāna*, Rāmabhaṭṭa, as against the view already set forth, prefers to take *samyak* in relation to the immediately succeeding work, on which Rāghava's criticism follows.

diha / vāḍindrakṛti + +rke sāgare'lpavicakṣaṇā // Benares Sk. Coll. Ms. fol 100b⁵⁻⁶

70. Is this *Khaṇḍanamaṇḍana* identical with the work of Paramāṇanda existing in the Deccan College Library ? (*Cat. of Decc. College*, p. 58).

THE MODERN PERIOD

The School of Mithila

I.—GANGEŚA UPĀDHYĀYA

There is no man perhaps in the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy more frequently heard of on the lips of scholars than Gaṅgeśa or Gaṅgeśvara Upādhyāya of Mithilā. He gave to this philosophy a new line of development and created for it a new field of work ; and for practical purposes, he may be said to have been the father of that form of Nyāya Śāstra with which we are familiar to day. Essentially a keen dialectician and a brilliant controversialist, he made it the sole end of his literary life to make Nyāya Śāstra a Science of Debate. For this reason he devoted all his energies and intellectual abilities to the task of expounding problems of a methodological and epistemological character. The *Tattvacintāmaṇi* which forms the noblest monument of his genius deals almost exclusively with the Theory of Knowledge and the kindred logical questions (*pramāṇa*), leaving very little room for pure Metaphysics or Ontology. Even the little theistic tract which has come down to us from his pen is more strictly a work on *Anumāna Khaṇḍa*, of which it is expressly stated to form a part, than an independent ontological piece.

It is usually believed that it was Gaṅgeśa who for the first time gave to *pramāṇa* a place of great importance in the Science (& Art) of Debate, and inaugurated its studies to the exclusion of everything else in the schools with a rigour almost unprecedented in the history of modern philosophy. And further, to Gaṅgeśa is universally ascribed the credit of founding the Neo-logic of Eastern India which with its militant dialectics and spirit of analytical criticism has won its way into every form of intellectual life in the country. That the first of these propositions is unfounded needs no pointing out. For what Gaṅgeśa did for the orthodox system had already been accomplished by the Buddhist and Jain logicians who had preceded him. Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Vidyānanda's *Pramāṇaparīkṣā*, & Deva Sūri's *Pramāṇanayatattvāloka* are some of the works on *pramāṇa* which Gaṅgeśa had before him already in the field. But the second proposition may be accepted, for our notion of Neo-logic is bound up with *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and the series of Commentaries and sub-commentaries upon it ; but even here it must be remembered that our restriction of *navya* to Gaṅgeśa is only of a practical value. In the *Vidhivāda* section of *Śabda Khaṇḍa* (p. 276, Bib. Ed.) Gaṅgeśa himself refers to the views of Sondaḍa Upādhyāya as those of a modern scholar (*navyāstu*), thus shewing that the term had already been in vogue even before the days of Gaṅgeśa. The word being only a relative term, it is intelligible why Udayana, Bhāsarvajña before Gaṅgeśa and Raghunātha &c. after him, should have equally been characterised as modern. Nevertheless, in the sense in which we employ the word *navyanvāya* at the present day, it refers to Gaṅgeśa and to him alone.

Gaṅgeśa's date is not known with certainty. All that we know about it is that he quotes or refers to the views and statements of his predecessors some of whom he mentions by name. Of these Khaṇḍana-Kāra (i. e. Śrīharṣa, author of *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa-khādyā*), Jaraṇ-naiyāyika (i. e. Jayanta, author of *Nyāyamañjarī*), Maṇḍanācārya (author of *Vidhiviveka*) and Śivāditya (author of *Saptapadārthī*) are admittedly very early, being assigned to periods approximately known. But these render us no help in clearing up the date problem of Gaṅgeśa. The dates of *Ratnakośa* and *Nyāyalilāvati*, also quoted in *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, have not yet been ascertained, though we have found that the author of *Nyāyalilāvati* may tentatively be assigned to the 12th Century A. D. The only conclusion therefore which the premises justify us in drawing in the present state of our imperfect knowledge is that Gaṅgeśa may be placed somewhere in the 13th Century A. D.

Regarding his personal history we have authentic records. There are certain floating traditions which make him in his early life a blockhead whose ascent to greatness was absolutely an act of Divine Grace.

II. VARDHAMĀNA

Gaṅgeśa was succeeded in Mithilā by his son Vardhamāna Upādhyāya who followed in the wake of his illustrious father and kept alive the fire of the New Science which the latter had kindled. In point of scholarship Vardhamāna does not seem to have been in any way less than his great father, and the works which proceeded from him are still universally resorted to as of the highest authority in the subjects concerned. His style is elaborate, but free from verbosity and bathos. He is known to have been the author of the following works :—

A. Commentaries on :

(a) Gotama's i. *Nyāya Sūtras* (= *Anvikṣātattvabodha*¹ or simply *Tattvabodha*).

The work is of the nature of a gloss and seems to have treated of the whole text. The *Prameyatattvabodha* to which Rucidatta and Jayarāma refer as the work of Vardhamāna (*Kusumāñjaliprakāśamakaraṇa*, Ben. Ed., p. 5 of Chap. 3 ; cf. Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I, p. 554) and the *Pramāṇatattvabodha*² also attributed to Vardhamāna in Rucidatta's Commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (See *The Paṇḍit*, Old series, VI, p. 128) may be only sections of *Anvikṣātattvabodha* and no separate treatises.

(b) Udayana's :

1. A Ms. of this rare work, dealing with the 5th chapter, exists in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares (New collection of 1917-18, Nyāya-section, *Veṣṭana* 9). It is named there *Anvikṣāṇayatattvabodha* and not *Anvikṣātattvabodha*, but as Vardhamāna himself refers to it under the second name in his *Guṇakiraṇāvalīprakāśa* we keep it unchanged here.

2. While explaining the meaning of the word *ākare* in *Anumānadīdhiti*—'yathā cāvasarasya saṅgatittvaṃ tathā vyaktamākare'—Bhavānanda (Bibl. Ed. p. 12) identifies it with *Pramāṇatattvabodha*. May it not be Vardhamāna's work of the same name ?

- i. *Nyāyakusumāñjaliprakaraṇa* (= *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa*)
- ii. *Kiraṇāvalī* (= *Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa*)
- iii. *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaparīśuddhi* (= *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa*).
- iv. *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa* (= *Parīśiṣṭaparakāśa*)

(c) Śrīharṣa's :

i. *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā*. This work was utilised by Pragalbha in writing his own commentary on Śrīharṣa's treatise. Vācaspati II, in his *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*,³ refers to Vardhamāna's *Khaṇḍanaphakkikoddhāra* which may be identical with it.

(d) Vallabha's :

- i. *Nyāyalīlāvātī* (= *Līlāvātīprakāśa*)

(e) Gaṅgeśa's :

- i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (= *Cintāmaṇiprakāśa*).

These are all the works of Vardhamāna with which we are acquainted to-day. But it is generally believed that Vardhamāna also wrote a Commentary on Udayana's *Ātmātattvaviveka*, but the work has since been lost.

We shall not be probably far in the wrong if we place Vardhamāna in the first quarter of the 14th Century, but there is no ground in Mr. Chakravarti's assertion, repeated by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Ind. Logic*, p. 455), that he is named by Mādhavācārya in the *Pāṇinidarśana* section of his *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha*. The Vardhamāna, also a Mahopādhyāya, whose name is mentioned in Mādhava's work, was a grammarian, being the author of *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*.

III—PAKṢADHARA *alias* JAYADEVA MIŚRA.

For a long time after the death of Vardhamāna there was no thinker in Mithilā to preserve, far less to enrich, the new philosophy of the country. Supposing that our assumption of Vardhamāna's date is practically right, we would find that during the long interval of over a century after his age, Mithilā was without any scholar with any pretension to philosophical renown.

By the third quarter of the 15th Century was born Pakṣadhara *alias* Jayadeva Miśra to whom we are indebted for the revival of interest in the study of *Cintāmaṇi*. In plain truth Pakṣadhara was one of the greatest intellects that modern Mithilā has ever produced. He was the nephew and pupil⁴ of Hari Miśra with whom he had read philosophy and whose memory he gratefully revered in the benedictory verse of his commentary on the *Cintāmaṇi*: *pitṛvya harimīśropadiṣṭaḥ*.

He was the author of commentaries on : (a) Śāśadhara's

- i. *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*. A Ms. of this work exists in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.

(b) Gaṅgeśa's i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (= *Cintāmaṇyāloka*) and

3; Reprint from The *Paṇḍit*, p. 77.

4. In the *Navadvīpamahimā*, p. 31, he is described as the pupil of Yajñapati Upādhyāya.

(c) Vardhamāna's

i. *Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa*

and ii. *Nyāyalīlāvatīprakāśa* (= *Līlāvatīviveka*).

It may be of interest to note that in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a Ms of a commentary, called *Ṭippaṇī*, on the *Cintāmaṇi* by Pakṣadhara—which is different from the *Āloka*. It is dated *saṃ.* 1667. From a survey of the contemporary literature it seems certain that on its first appearance the *Āloka*, which formed indeed the best product of Pakṣadhara's labour, created a great sensation in the world of letters of that time. It was read and taught, admired and criticised in every circle. All parties set themselves to write commentaries upon it. What this general stir was really due to we have no means of knowing. But it is probable that Pakṣadhara's new interpretation was mainly responsible for it.

From Gaṅgeśa down to Pakṣadhara, Navyanyāya had its sole home in Mithilā. The *paṇḍits* of that place, who had made it their monopoly and been so long its trusted guardians, took especial care to see that this privilege of teaching the *śāstra* did not pass away from them into what they perhaps thought, unworthy hands.⁵ Students from various parts of India used to flock to Mithilā to draw inspiration from its far-famed scholars; and when they completed their studies they returned home with the diploma which their Guru had conferred upon them. This diploma was very highly prized, since to secure such a certificate from Mithilā, the Centre of the current philosophical thought and activities, was not quite an easy affair. And if a man could once manage to win for himself a diploma of this kind, his scholarship was recognised all over the country without a note of grudging criticism.

IV.—VĀSUDEVA MIŚRA.

Pakṣadhara had many pupils of whom Vāsudeva Miśra, Rucidatta and Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura in Mithilā, and Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunātha Śīromaṇi, &c in Bengal, were the most conspicuous.

Vāsudeva Miśra was Pakṣadhara's brother's son.⁶ When Pakṣadhara's new

5. This cautiousness was pushed to its utmost limit. Thus we are told that Mss of Nyāya works which existed in Mithilā, having been left there by their authors, were not allowed to be copied, lest they should be borne away and the prestige of Mithilā for ever destroyed. Students had to commit the texts to memory, and before returning home had to be very carefully examined by their teachers. It was in this way that the *Kārikā's* of *Kusumāñjali* were brought to Bengal for the first time, according to tradition, by Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra (but according to *Navadvīpamahimā*, pp. 35-36, by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma).

6. Cf. the colophon : *iti śrīnyāyasiddhāntasārābhijñamiśravaryapakṣadharamiśra-
bhrātṛputranāyāyasiddhāntasārābhijñāvāsudevaniśraviracitāyāṃ cintāmaṇīṭīkāyāṃ &c.*

interpretations were called in question and subjected to severe criticism, it was he who came forward to vindicate his uncle's cause and establish his authority.⁷ His commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, known as *Nyāyasiddhāntasāra* refers to these overweening captious critics in these terms—*tarkamadhīte sarvaḥ kati na bhavantiha paṇḍitammanyā | vācā vicāradakṣā viralāḥ punaratra vidvāṃsaḥ ||*—meaning that it is easier to be quibbling and caustic than to command real wisdom.

V.—RUCIDATTA MIŚRA.

But the most widely known of Pakṣadhara's pupils was Rucidatta, popularly called Bhaktu, a native of the village of Sodarapura. His parents were Devadatta and Reṇukā. He had two brothers named Śaktidatta and Matidatta. Among his works the following three commentaries only can so far be traced : these are—

A. Commentaries on :

(a) Gaṅgeśa's

(i) *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (= *Cintāmaṇiprakāśa*), referred to, in its several sections, in

(b-i). In this work he speaks of having read the *śāstras* with several Gurus.

and (b) Vardhamāna's

i. *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* (= *makaranda*). This is a very useful work. Though not a running commentary and quite original, it makes an honest and generally successful attempt to make Vardhamāna's purport, often hidden and deep beneath the surface, intelligible to the reader.

and ii. (*Dravya*) *Kiraṇāvaliprakāśa* (= *Dravyaparakāśavivṛti*). Vide Peterson's *Uthar Catalogue*, No. 606, p. 26 ; ext. no. 146, p. 53.

There is a Ms. of this work in the Govt. Sanskrit Library dated *saṃvat* 1600 (= A. D. 1543).

The time when Rucidatta flourished may be approximately fixed on the following data :

(a) There is a Ms. of his *Makaranda* in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (No. 122) which bears the date 423 (*akṣi-pakṣanigama*) *la saṃ*, corresponding to the year A. D. 1542. But as this is the date of transcription of the Ms., the author may be set down to some time earlier still.

(b) But the time of Rucidatta is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by a look at the Ms. of a copy of *Kiraṇāvali* transcribed by himself in the year 386 (= *rasavasuharanetra*) *la saṃ* corresponding to the year A. D. 1505.⁸

7. *jayadevagurorvūci ye kecid doṣadarśinaḥ |
prabodhāya mayā teṣāṃ dīptibhūryo'bhidyate ||*

8. *rasavasuharanetre caitrike śuklapakṣe
pratipadi budhavāre vatsāre lākṣmaṇe ca |
vibudhabudhavinodaṃ kārāyantīm supustīm
alikhadamalapāṇiḥ śrīrucih śrīsametām ||*

(See V. P. Dube's *Introduction to Vaiśeṣikadarśana with Kiraṇāvali*, p. 28).

That this is the true date of Rucidatta will become apparent when we shall find it synchronising with the age of his contemporary and fellow-pupil Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura. The date 1292 Śaka (= A. D. 1370) which appears in a Ms. of his *Cintāmaṇiprakāśa*, as reported by Peterson (*Sixth Report*, p. 76, no. 190), is therefore to be taken as a slip of the pen on the part of the scribe.

VI—RAGHUPATI

Raghupati was Mahāmahopādhyāya Rucidatta's son. He was the author of a Commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, of which two Mss, one of the *Śabda Khaṇḍa* (*Śabda-maniparikṣā*, dated Sam 1664=A. D. 1587) and the other of the *Anumāna Khaṇḍa*, exist in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.

VII—BHAGĪRATHA ṬHAKKURA

Bhagīratha *alias* Megha Ṭhakkura of Mithilā was also Pakṣadhara's pupil, as already stated. He himself says that he had received his philosophical training under Jayadeva and distinguished himself as a scholar of some renown at the early age of 20.⁹ His parents were Candrapati and Dhī.ā, and Maheśa Ṭhakkura, of whom we shall speak shortly, was his youngest brother. Among his other brothers we find the names of Mahādeva and Dāmodara mentioned in Maheśa's *Darpaṇa*. Mahādeva was probably his elder brother and Dāmodara his immediately younger one.¹⁰

9. Bābu Rājendranāth Ghose, in his valuable work on *Navyanyāyavyūptipañcaka* (Intro. p. 29), seems inclined to take the sentence : *viṃśābde jayadevapaṇḍitakavestarkābdhipāraṃgataḥ*, occurring in Bhagīratha's commentary on *Dravyakiraṇāvalīprakāśa*, in the sense that Bhagīratha completed his studies of Jayadeva's works, at the age of 20. He understands *kaveḥ* with 6th case-ending and denies any relation between Jayadeva and Bhagīratha. But it appears to me that though on any construction the sentence would be a faulty one, it would nevertheless yield a better sense if we were to take *kaveḥ* as with 5th case-ending. Moreover, Maheśa Ṭhakkura's time being ascertained on other grounds also to be somewhere in the 16th Century, the facts would square well if Bhagīratha were placed in the early part of that century, and Jayadeva in the middle of the previous century. In Maheśa's time *Āloka* was a new work. Mr. Chakravarty's hypothesis regarding Bhagīratha and Maheśa's date (A. D. 1400) is not very convincing.

10. *jyeṣṭhā mahādevabhagīrathasrīdāmodarā yasya vayoḡuṇābhyāṃ | sa darpaṇaṃ nirmītavānamīṣāṃ sahodaro viṣṇuparo maheśaḥ ||* (*Anumānālokarpaṇa* by Maheśa Ṭhakkura). Hall (p. 65) and Pt. V. P. Dube (Introduction to *Tārikarakṣā*, p. 24 f. note 1) are thus wrong in identifying Maheśa with his eldest brother Mahādeva. That Mahādeva was Bhagīratha's elder brother is clearly stated by the latter in his *Kusumāñjali prakāśikā* : *āśīdanupamaḥ ko'pi mahādevaḥ kulāgraṇiḥ |*

anujastasya kṛtavānimāṃ vyākhyāṃ bhagīrathaḥ ||

(Ms belonging to Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares—fol. 126a).

We know of the following works of Bhagīratha, viz. Commentaries on :

(a) Vardhamāna's

i. *Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa* (= *Kiraṇāvalīprakāśabhāvaprakāśikā*) Mss. of this work, dated Śaka 1511 (*śaśīdvayayutasmaraṇavāṇacandra*) or A. D. 1588 and Sam. 1654 or A. D. 1597 are in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.

ii. *Nyāyakusumāñjalīprakāśa* (= *Kusumāñjalīprakāśikā*)¹¹ and iii. *Nyāyalīlāvati-prakāśa*¹¹ (= *Nyāyalīlāvati-prakāśikā*).

All these commentaries are popularly known under the name of *Jalada*. Bhagīratha is called in a Ms. of his Com. on *Lilāvati* (in Govt. Sk. Library) Śāṅkara Bhagīratha.

VIII—MAHEŚA ṬHAKKURA

Maheśa Ṭhakkura was Bhagīratha's younger brother and founder of the present Rāj family of Dārbhāṅgā. He rose into prominence even more quickly than his brother. He was the author of an excellent commentary, called *Darpaṇa*, on Pakṣadhara's *Cintāmaṇyāloka*, which displays his great acumen. One of the main objects of his writing this commentary seems to have been, as in the case of Vāsudeva Miśra or Madhusūdana Ṭhakkura, to reclaim Pakṣadhara's renown from hostile attacks. The phrase *pramathita-khaladarpaḥ* as applied to himself in his *Darpaṇa*, is suggestive.

But it is strange that he did not prosecute his studies with the great Pakṣadhara whose name at that time must have been a household word in Mithilā. His brother Bhagīratha had been Pakṣadhara's pupil. What stood in the way of Maheśa then, that he was compelled to travel all the way over to Benares and study with a Deccani Paṇḍit—Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa ? It is hard to discover the true cause of this. But two alternative explanations may be suggested :

(a) Either that Pakṣadhara had been recently dead or even if living he must have been too old to hold regular classes ;

(b) or that Maheśa's personal predilections for Vedāntic studies led him to come over to Kāśī, which had been the principal seat of Vedic culture ever since the days of Śāṅkarācārya or even earlier, and seek instructions with a foreign though far-famed scholar.

At any rate his stay in Benares and his pursuit of what I take to be Vedāntic studies had the natural effect of broadening his outlook. His attitude towards Vedānta became tolerant and even respectful, being free from those prejudices which were a characteristic feature of a Naiyāyika's mind. Thus in the light of what has been said above we are in a better position to understand the meaning of the following statement quoted from Maheśa's commentary (*Anumāna* Section) : *tadetat samkṣepeṇa vedāntimataṃ na dūṣitam śruti-purāṇasmṛtīśiṣṭānuśiṣṭatvāt* / This passage indicates a departure from the custom of the Nyāya writer and a leaning towards Vedānta.

11. Both these works are under edition and expected to be published very shortly from the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

Maheśa is known from expressions in his work to have been a Vaiṣṇava (*viṣṇuparah*) in faith, being an earnest votary of the Bālagopāla form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The age of Maheśa may be fixed with tolerable certainty. It is well known that he obtained the kingdom of Dārbhāṅgā as a free gift from the then reigning ruler of Mithilā (the last descendant of Kāmeśa's family). As to when this grant was made, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī assigned it to the early part of the 16th Century, saying that the charter was ratified by Sher Shah and Akbar. He further added that a letter from Maheśa to Raghunātha (composed at Nadia in A. D. 1529) had been found in a Ms. of *Vaivasvatasiddhānta* deposited in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library.¹² Though this statement is contradicted by the date given for Maheśa's assumption of royalty in the well-known inscription on a well at Dhanukhā in Mithilā,¹³ the difference between the two dates is insignificant, and it may be taken for certain that Maheśa belonged to the middle of the 16th Century.

Maheśa seemed to have reigned long. We know of a work named *Sarvadeśavṛttānta-saṅgraha* which describes a part of Akbar's reign and was composed in his reign. It is attributed to Maheśa Ṭhakkura.¹⁴ If this Maheśa be identical with the author of *Darpaṇa*, as is very likely, he was certainly contemporary with Akbar and therefore lived in a part of the latter half of the 16th Century, Akbar's reign having commenced in A. D. 1556.

IX—JĪVANĀTHA MIŚRA

Jīvanātha was Śāṅkara Miśra's uncle, being the elder brother of Bhavanātha. No work by him has yet been discovered, but from the statement in the *Upaskāra* (under *sūtra* 9. 2. 1), where his view on the definition of *pakṣa*¹⁵ is quoted, it appears that Jīvanātha left some written works behind him.

X—BHAVANĀTHA MIŚRA

Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, in his Preface to the *Vādivinoda*, p. 2, affirms, obviously on the strength of local tradition, that Bhavanātha, otherwise known as Bube Miśra (also known under the nickname Ayācī) was a great scholar in various subjects. His work on *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vyākaraṇa* are available, but nothing is known about his Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika treatises, if he had written any.

12. See *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 9.

13. See V. P. Dube's Intro. to *Tārkikarakṣā*.

14. Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.* I, p. 701 ; *Ind. Office*, p. 1573.

15. *utpādyasādhyavattānirṇayanivartyasaṁśayotpattiprītabandhakamānatvāvacchinnābhāvo yatra sa pakṣa iti jīvanāthamiśrāḥ* | This *lakṣaṇa* is also quoted by Śāṅkara in his *Vādivinoda* (p. 61^{10,17}). [*utpādyā* seems to be a better reading than *uddeśya* which is accepted by Dr. Jhā.] There is another reference to Jīvanātha in the *Vādivinoda* (p. 61^{21,22}).

XI--ŚĀNKARA MIŚRA

Except perhaps the great Pakṣadhara, Śāṅkara Miśra had few equals in Mithilā since the days of Gaṅgeśa. His influence and popularity were immense, and though he was primarily no more than a commentary-writer, his services in the cause of the philosophy to which he owned allegiance were assuredly very great.

Regarding his personal history only a few fragments can be gathered. It is believed that he was born in the village of Sariṣaba, not far from Dārbbhāṅgā, where the goddess Siddheśvarī enshrined by him is still in existence.¹⁶ He is said to have been a precocious child, and anecdotes illustrating his possession of wonderful gifts are still widely current.¹⁷ The names of his parents appear as Bhavanātha and Bhavānī to whom he never fails to pay homage.¹⁸ If we can place any reliance on Śāṅkara's personal testimony it must be owned that Bhavanātha had been a man of great erudition ; in almost all his works Śāṅkara acknowledges his deep indebtedness for his interpretation of the texts, especially in their knotty points, to the instructions received from his father.¹⁹ It would seem from words used by Śāṅkara himself that he was taught by Bhavanātha formally, who in his turn had been the pupil of his own elder brother Jīvanātha.²⁰

16. Preface to Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā's edition of *Vādivinoda*, p. 2.

17. *Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

18. See *Vādivinoda*, p. 73, and *Upaskāra* (towards end, verse I, Gujrati edition of Bakre, 1913, p. 360) where he describes himself as a *bhavanātanayaḥ*. Cf. also his *Kusunāñjalivyākhyā*.

19. Thus (a) in the *Lilāvātīkaṅṭhābharaṇa* :

i. *piturvyākhyāṃ kṛtvā manasi bhavanāthasya kṛtino vyaṃ lilāvatyāḥ prathayitumihoktiṃ vyavasitāḥ* // &c. fol. 1.

ii. *pitṛā yad bhavanāthena vyākhyātaṃ tadihālikham* / fol. 165b

(b) In the *Cintāmaṇimayūkha* :

i. *tātādadhītyākhilatantrasāram* &c. (See Stein's *Jammu Cat.*, p. 332)

ii. *pitṛā yad bhavanāthena vyāhṛtaṃ tadihālikham* /
vyākhyānagunaḍoṣābhyaṃ sambandhā matpiturna me // *Ibid*.

(c) in the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyaṭīkā* :

i. *bhavanāthasūktigumphanamiha* &c.—fol. 1b¹⁻³

ii. *svabhrāturjayanāthasya* &c.—fol. 119a¹⁻³

(d) in the *Upaskāra* :

i. *yābhyāṃ vaiśeṣike tantre samyag vyutpādito'smyahaṃ* /
kaṅḍabhavanāthābhyāṃ tābhyāṃ mama namaḥ sadā //

20. Thus in the *Lilāvātīkaṅṭhābharaṇam* :

svabhrāturjīvanāthasya vyākhyāmākhyātavān mayi /
matpitā bhavanātho mām tāmihālikhamuttamām // fol. 165b

The *śloka* also occurs in the printed text of Śāṅkara's Commentary on the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* (Lazarus & Co Benares, 1888, p. 732), where the name Jīvanātha is

That Śaṅkara was a devoted Śaiva is proved by his benedictory verses (see the introductory verses of the *Upaskāra*, of the *Lilāvāṭīkaṅṭhābharaṇa*, of the *Kaṅṭhādhara-hasyam*, of the *Vādivinoda*, of the *Khaṅḍanaṭīkā*, &c) and by his describing himself as *bhavārcananirataḥ* (end of *Vādivinoda* and of *Upaskāra*). He was a voluminous writer, being the author of the following philosophical treatises :—

A. Commentaries on :

(a) Kaṅṭhā's

i. *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* (*Upaskāra*). Śaṅkara's introductory verse (3) seems to imply that in interpreting the construction of the *sūtras* he had no predecessors for his guidance or support. It was, he says, like the hazardous enterprise of a daring acrobat (*khela*) who attempts at walking in the mid-air on the nominal support of a piece of thread : *sūtramātrāvalambena nirālambe'pi gacchataḥ | khe khelavad mamāpyatra sāhasaṃ siddhi-meṣyati ||* Here the words *sūtramātrāvalambena* and *nirālambe* would seem to suggest that in Śaṅkara's time no direct gloss on the *sūtras* was extant.

Now, if this suggestion were true what were we to say of the *vṛtti* to which Śaṅkara himself makes such constant references ? (*Upaskāra*, under *sūtra* 1. 1. 2 ; 1. 2. 3, 6 ; 4. 1. 7 ; 9. 2. 13 &c) ? Possibly to maintain his consistence we shall have to fall back on the only other alternative, that the *vṛtti* from which he quotes had not been, like the *bhāṣya* itself, an immediate interpretation of the *sūtras*.

The following authorities are referred to in the *Upaskāra* :

- { Praśastadevācāryāḥ—1. 1. 8 ; 4. 1. 2 ; 8. 2. 3 ; 9. 2. 8
- { Praśastadevapādāḥ—9. 2. 6
- { Praśastācāryāḥ—9. 2. 13 ; 10. 1. 1
- { Praśastadevāḥ—9. 1. 10
- { Vṛttikāra—1. 2. 3 ; 6. 1. 12 ; 9. 2. 8
- { Vṛttikṛt—1.1.2 ; 1.2.6 ; 4.1.7 ; 7.1.3 ; 9.2.13 ; 10.1.3
- { Uddyotakarācāryāḥ—1. 2. 5
- { Nyāyavārtika—9. 1. 1

Kīrti (Dharmakīrti)—8. 1. 2

Diñnāga—8. 1. 2

Bhūṣaṇa—7. 2. 1

Tautārikāḥ—7. 2. 20

Padārthapradeśa (?)—9. 2. 6

Śrīdharācāryāḥ—7. 2. 8

Udayanācāryāḥ—7. 2. 8

replaced by Jayanātha ; but it does not appear in the Ms, No. 134. dated Samvat 1529, belonging to the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. The statement, however, plainly shows that Śaṅkara reproduced in his works, at any rate in the Commentary on the *Lilāvāṭī*, what had been dictated to him by his father according to the teaching of his uncle, and that consequently he should not be held directly responsible for the views therein expressed.

Vallabhācāryāḥ—4. 1. 10

The *Upaskāra* appears to have been composed at Benares. Cf. the sentence : *dr̥śyate ceha vārāṇasyāṃ* &c under *Sūt. 7. 1. 22.*

(b) Praśastapāda's

- i. *Padārthadharmasamgraha* (*Kaṇādarahasyam*), referred to in the *Upaskāra* (7.1.6). It reads more like an independent treatise than a commentary, and had it not been for the intimation by the author himself that it is a *vyākhyā*²¹ it would never have been possible to class it under commentaries. No *pratīkas* from the original are given for the guidance of the reader and usually the order of the *bhāṣya* too is not followed.

(c) Udayana's

- i. *Ātmattattvaviveka* (*Ātmattattvavivekakalpalatā*)
- ii. *Nyāyakusumāñjali* (*Āmoda*)²² In the third introductory verse of this book the author refers to three previous commentaries, viz. *Makaranda*, *Prakāśe*, and *Parimala*.²³
- iii. *Trisūtrīnibandha* (*Trisūtrīnibandhavyākhyā*) Śāṅkara mentions here (Intro. Verse 2) the existence of three excellent commentaries on Udayana's *Nibandha*, viz. *Prakāśa*, *Darpaṇa* and *Uddyota*, and adds that his own attempt is rather to bring out the plain meaning of the text. Thus we have *Prakāśadarpaṇodyota* (not *mrat* as in t' e *Notices*) *kṛḍbhīrvyākhyā kṛtojvalā | tathāpi yojanāmātramuddiśyāyaṃ mamodyamaḥ || Śāstri's Notices, III. No. 136. pp. 88, 89.*

It is clear that the three commentaries named in the above *śloka* were all on Udayana's *Trisūtrīnibandha*—the work on which Śāṅkara just proposes to comment.

21. See *Kaṇādarahasyam*, p. 1 (Chow, Ed) : *dravyaguṇakarmasāmānyaviśeṣasamāvāyānāṃ pādārthānāṃ tattvajñānāṃ niḥśreyasaheturiti praśastapādācāryabhāṣyavyākhyācchalena kaṇādarahasyaṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ |*

22. Aufrecht, *Oxf. Cat.*, p. 243, No. 601. Though the name of the Commentator does not occur here, there cannot be any question about Śāṅkara's authorship of the work. The verse : *bhavānībhavanāthābhīyāṃ pīṭbhīyāṃ praṇamāmyaham*—and the expression : *tato'dhikāṃ pīturvyākhyāmākhyātumayamudyamaḥ*—prove the fact beyond any shadow of doubt. There is no ground therefore for attributing this Commentary to Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma (*sub voce*). The Ms. of *Āmoda*, which exists in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares (fols. 1-116), calls itself in the colophon the work of Śāṅkara Mīśra.

23. The verse runs :

*makarande prakāśe yā vyākhyā parimale'thavā |
tato'dhikāṃ pīturvyākhyāmākhyātumayamudyamaḥ ||*

[Mr. Chakravarti's reading of the *śloka* (*J. A. S. B.*, Sept., 1915, p. 281) is manifestly corrupt]. Aufrecht's latin interpretation of this stanza, as given in the *Oxford Catalogue*, is hopelessly inaccurate. Putting aside for the moment the identity of the *Makaranda* which might for aught we know appear to be the well-known work by Rucidatta (though there

Of them *Prakāśa* is undoubtedly the *Nyāyanibandhaprakāśa* of Vardhamāna ; but the remaining two are unknown. The identifications which Mr. Chakravarti (*loc. cit.*, p. 269) suggests for these Commentaries will never hold :

- (a) The *Prakāśa* can in no wise be supposed to be the work of Rucidatta, (i) because Rucidatta was a later writer (*la sam* 386=A. D. 1505) than Śāṅkara Miśra and (ii) because he is not known to have written any Commentary on the *Nyāyanibandha*. His *Prakāśa* is a Commentary on Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, and not on the *Nyāyanibandha* to which Śāṅkara alludes.
- (b-c) Similarly, the *Darpaṇa* and the *Uddyota* could not have been the respective works of Maheśa Ṭhakkura and Vāhinīpati, for the double reason (i) that they are not Commentaries on the *Nibandha* (but on Pakṣadhara's *Āloka*) and (ii) that both Maheśa (A. D. 1548) and Vāhinīpati (later than the date of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma,) were Śāṅkara Miśra's successors and not predecessors.
- (d) Śrīharṣa's
i. *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* (°*Ānandavardhana*)
A Ms. of this work (fols. 1-118) on palm leaf and in early Bengali script, exists in the private library of a gentleman at Benares. It bears the date in Lakṣmaṇa Era 423 i.e. A. D. 1542. The Colophon runs thus : *iti mahāmahomiśraśrīśāṅkara-kr̥tāprathamakhaṇḍaṃ khaṇḍakhādyānandavardhanaṃ samāptamiti | haranetra-pakṣavedairlakṣmaṇasammate | śivārcānirataḥ svārthaṃ śrīmān yadhara'likhat |*
- (e) Vallabhācārya's
i. *Nyāyalīlāvati* (*Nyāyalīlāvaticāṅgābhāraṇam*)
- (f) Gaṅgeśa's
i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (*Cintāmaṇimayūkha*) It is referred to in the *Upaskāra* (3. 1. 14, 17 ; 3. 2. 18 ; 7. 2. 20, 26) and the *Vādivinoda*, p. 59.
- B. (a) *Vādivinoda*, an original treatise on the Science of Dialectics, referred to in the *Upaskāra* (9. 2. 2.).
(b) *Bhedaratnaprakāśa*.²⁴ The main object of this book was to reclaim the Nyāya-

is every reason to question this identity). Aufrecht is wrong also in taking *Prakāśa* for *Tattvacintāmaṇiprakāśa* and *Vyākhyāparimāla* (!!) to be the name of a single work—probably of Haridāsa's Commentary, as he suggests. In reality, there can be no doubt that *Prakāśa* stands here for Vardhamāna's *Kusumāñjaliprakāśa* and *Parimāla* is the name of another Commentary on the *Kusumāñjali* (*Parimāla* is quoted several times by Rucidatta in his *Kusumāñjalimakaranda* : see Candrakānta's Ed., I. 5¹, 5², 4¹⁰, 5¹⁸ ; II. 2, 141). As to the *Makaranda* mentioned in the *śloka* I do not think it can well be the work of Rucidatta who, as belonging to the beginning of the 16th Century, must have been a later writer than Śāṅkara Miśra.

24. This seems to me to have been the full designation of the work, which appears in R. L. Mitra's *Bikaner Catalogue*, (p. 539, Ms. No. 1148). It is also called simply

Vaiśeṣika dualism from the attacks of the Vedānta. And as this could not possibly be accomplished without in the first instance overthrowing the position already gained by Śrīhaṛṣa in the Schools, the work turns out practically to be a refutation of *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* itself. Though Śaṅkara by commenting on the *Khaṇḍana*, appears to have been in sympathy with the Vedānta, his real attitude towards it was always hostile.

Śaṅkara's time may be thus calculated. There is a Ms. of his Commentary on the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, which bears *saṃvat* 1529 (= A. D. 1472) as the date of its transcription. Hall saw (p. 85) a copy of *Bhedaparakāśa* dated 1219 of the Vikrama Era (= A. D. 1462).²⁵ This supplies the lower limit of Śaṅkara's age. The other limit however may be taken to be the time of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya whose Commentary on the *Kusumāñjali* is referred to in Śaṅkara's own Commentary, *Āmoda*. Thus it is highly probable, as Mr. Chakravarti holds, that Śaṅkara flourished about the second quarter of the 15th Century.²⁶ And this date of Śaṅkara would be in full agreement with the tradition that he was a contemporary of Vācaspati Miśra II and Pakṣadhara Miśra.²⁷

Bhedaparakāśa, as by the author in the *Vādivinoda* (p. 44) or as in Hall's *Bibliographical Index* (p. 85) or simply *Bhedaratna* as in Jhā's Introduction to the *Vādivinoda* (p. 4).

Aufrecht (*Cat. Cat.* I. p.416) says that this book (*Bhedaparakāśa*) was "reported in *Samkṣepaśārīraka* 2. 1." ! Leaving aside the question how a book written in the 15th Century could have been noticed in a work decidedly several hundred years earlier. I cannot make out how Dr. Aufrecht discovered the name of a book at all in the *śloka* above referred to. The *śloka* is reproduced below :

evaṃ samanvayanirūpaṇayāvabodho jāto'pyakhaṇḍaviṣayo nanu vākyajanyaḥ |
mānāntareṇa paripīḍita eva jāto bhedaparakāśanakṛtākṣanibandhanena ||

Probably the phrase here underlined made Dr. Aufrecht suspect it to be the title of a book !! It is strange how Dr. Satis Candra could have accepted this blunder in his *Indian Logic*, p. 459 !!

25. This Ms. is now deposited in the Raghunātha Temple Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Jammu and Kashmir. The date is thus entered : *saṃvat 1519 samaye caitra śudi 15 pūrṇimā maṅgaladine |*

[It is significant that the oldest MSS of Śaṅkara's works, so far brought to light, were both written at Benares : (a) the *Khaṇḍanaṭīkā* in the Benares Library in A. D. 1472 by one Vāsudeva, a native of Bengal and (b) the *Bhedaparakāśa* in A. D. 1462 by one Kāyastha Sūrya Dāsa (See Stein, *Jammu Catalogue*, p. 328) ?]

26. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, in his preface to the *Vādivinoda*, pp. 1-2, places Śaṅkara about *saṃvat* 1585. But in view of the positive evidence adduced above, it is no longer possible to accept this date as true.

27. Cf. the verse :

śaṅkaravācaspatyoḥ samānau śaṅkaravācaspatī bhavataḥ |
pakṣadharapratipakṣau lakṣībhūtau na ca kvāpi ||

XII—VĀCASPATI MIŚRA II

Śaṅkara Miśra's younger contemporary was Vācaspati Miśra II. Vardhamāna in his introduction to the *Daṇḍaviveka* calls himself the pupil of these two scholars,²⁸ and according to tradition also Śaṅkara, Vācaspati and Pakṣadhara were all contemporaries.²⁹

Vācaspati was the Court Paṇḍit of Rājās Bhairavendra *alias* Harinārāyaṇa Deva and his son Rūpanārāyaṇa *alias* Rāmabhadra Deva of Mithilā, and lived about the middle of the 15th Century.³⁰

He wrote mainly on Hindu Law, but he was also a good Naiyāyika. The following philosophical works attributed to him display closeness of reasoning and great original powers :

- A. Commentaries on :
- (a) Gautama's
- i. *Nyāyasūtras* (= *Nyāyatattvāloka*)
- and (b) Gaṅgeśa's
- i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*.
- B. (a) *Nyāyasūtroddhāra* : This booklet was intended to determine the number and true readings of the genuine *sūtras* as distinguished from those which have been interpolated into the text from time to time. This work is therefore in its object, of a similar nature with its predecessor, the *Nyāyasūcīnibandha* of Vācaspati Miśra I. Its principal interest however consists in the fact that it represents the Maithila recension of the *Sūtrapāṭha*.
- (b) *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* : This is a rejoinder to the objections brought forward by Śrīharṣa in his famous polemical treatise against the dualistic hypotheses of the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣika schools of thought. Though certainly the work does not rise up to the high level of Śrīharṣa's masterpiece, it is nevertheless an interesting study, as showing how cleverly the Naiyāyika brushes aside the charges of his opponents.

(Quoted in the Preface to *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*. p. 3) Most probably the first two names Śaṅkara and Vācaspati are to be understood as directly intended for Śaṅkarācārya and Vācaspati Miśra, the great champions of the Vedānta, and not merely for Śiva and Bṛhaspati, and the point of the saying would then consist in the popular estimate that as Śaṅkarācārya and Vācaspati were masters of the Vedānta, in the same way Śaṅkara Miśra and Vācaspati II occupied a unique position in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.

28. Śaṅkara Miśra and Vācaspati Miśra II (and Gaṇḍaka Miśra) were the *gurus* of the Smārta Vardhamāna, the contemporary of Rājā Bhairavendra : Cf. *Daṇḍaviveka*, As. Soc. Ms., p. I, verse 6 : *jyāyān gaṇḍakamiśraḥ śaṅkaravācaspati ca me guravaḥ* |

29. *śaṅkaravācaspatyoḥ sadṛśau śaṅkaravācaspati |*
pakṣadharapratipakṣaḥ lakṣībhūto na ca kvāpi ||

30. Chakravarti in *J. A. S. B.*, 1915, pp. 270-1, 399-400, 426-430.

We have seen above that Śaṅkara Miśra too was a firm dualist, and that his *Bhedaratnaprakāśa* was an attempt on the part of an advocate of realism made in defence of his realistic convictions. It was Śaṅkara's no less than Vācaspati's religious instinct which impelled them to employ their pen against the authority of Śrīharṣa's masterly treatise. The controversy on the Vedānta side was resumed at a later date by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī whose *Advaitaratnarakṣā* is a scholarly reply to Śaṅkara's *Bhedaratna*. But Vācaspati's *Khaṇḍanoddhāra* seems to have been left neglected by the Vedāntist.

XIII.—MADHUSUDANA THAKKURA

It has been observed that the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and more especially its Commentary, the *Āloka* by Pakṣadhara, were very seriously attacked on their first appearance, and that in consequence of this it became the fashion of the commentators to take upon themselves, in addition to the usual work of interpretation, the further task of defending the text. Madhusūdana's claim to distinction, like that of the predecessor Vāsudeva Miśra, rests on the successful accomplishment of a self-imposed task of a similar kind. In fact his commentaries are all of the nature of defence.

Madhusūdana was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa. His age is still undetermined, but I feel strongly inclined to place him in the last quarter of the 15th Century or in the first of the 16th. Having commented on Vācaspati II's *Dvaitanirṇaya*,³¹ he must have been later than the middle of the 15th Century. But Mr. Chakravarti's surmise that he lived in the third quarter of the 16th Century (*J. A. S. B.*, Sept. 1915, p. 271) is hardly tenable. His conclusion is apparently based upon the evidence of a Ms. of *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* transcribed in *la saṃvat* 491,³² but this is of no weight as against the positive testimony of another Ms. of the same work copied 32 years earlier in *la saṃvat* 459 (See Mitra's *Notices*, No. 1909, Vol. V, p. 225) or A. D. 1578.

His Nyāya works are commentaries on :

(a) Gaṅgeśa's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (*Ḡkaṇṭakoddhāra*). This is known through Burnell's entry only (*Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 115b), but is otherwise unknown. It is possible that on examination it will prove to be a commentary on the *Āloka*.

& (b) Pakṣadhara's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka* (*Kaṇṭakoddhāra* or *Pakṣadharoddhāra* as in Hall, p. 39). This is really his main work, in which he describes himself as a master of *Mīmāṃsā* and Nyāya (*mīmāṃsānyāyapāragena*).³³

31. This Commentary is known as *Ḡjīrṇoddhāra*. See Mitra's *Notices*. No. 1853 (Vol. V, p. 116) where the Colophon is thus given: *iti mahāmahopāhyāya śrīmadhusūdanathakkurakṛto dvaitanirṇayajīrṇoddhāraḥ samāptaḥ |*

32. It may be pointed out here that there exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a Ms. of *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* dated *saṃvat* 1667 (=A. D. 1610)—a date which is practically identical.

33. See *Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 629.

It is probably to this work that Viśveśvara Sūri refers in his *Vyākaraṇasiddhāntasudhānidhi* (Chowkh. Ed., pp. 58, 69). The *Śabdakhaṇḍa* of his commentary, of which a Ms. in two sub-sections (marked here as *A* and *B*) exists in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, is found to contain the following references :

Section *A* :—

{	<i>Vardhamānavacana</i>	2a ⁴
{	<i>Vardhamānopādhyāyavacana</i>	59a ²
	<i>Anumānakāṅṭhakoddhāra</i> (his own)	3a ³
	<i>Prābhākarāḥ</i>	28b ⁴
	<i>Arvācīnāḥ</i>	34b ¹
	<i>Prācīnāḥ</i>	34b ⁶
	<i>Śrikaramata</i>	39a ²
	<i>Kiraṇāvalī</i> (<i>Kālagranthaḥ</i>)	42b ⁵
	<i>Navyāḥ</i>	45b ⁶ , 60b ¹
	<i>Mahārṇavavatseśvarau</i>	46b ¹¹
	<i>Durgāṭikā</i>	58a ¹
	<i>Mahārṇava</i>	58b ¹¹ , 59a ⁰
	<i>Haradatta</i>	60b ⁰

The following verses are quoted from Haradatta : *uktaṃ ca haradattena—*

anidaṃ prathamāḥ śabdāḥ sādhaḥ parikīrtitāḥ |
ta eva śaktivaikalyapramādālasatādibhiḥ ||
anyathā vivṛtāḥ pumbhirapaśabdā udīritāḥ |
smārayantaśca te sādḥūnarthadhīhetavaḥ smṛtāḥ ||

Section *B* :—

	<i>Kusumāñjali</i>	8b ⁶
	<i>Navyāḥ</i>	38a ³
	<i>Upādhyāyāḥ</i>	38a ¹⁰ , 48a ¹⁰ -b ¹

XIV.—DEVANĀTHA ṬHAKKURA

Devanātha is known to have written a supplement (*pariśiṣṭa*) to Pakṣadhara's *Āloka* (including notes on the original text of Gaṅgeśa). He was a Śaiva (See the Intro. verse 1) and probably a pupil of Govinda.³⁴ A Ms. of this work, as noticed by Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī (*Notices*, Vol. III, p. 74), was transcribed by one Rāghava at the instruction of the author himself and bears the date in *la saṃvat* 443 or A. D. 1562³⁵. Thus Devanātha's time falls in the middle of the 16th Century.

34. *la saṃ 443 caitra vadi ekādaśyāṃ candre mahāmahāṭhakkura śrīdevanāthamah-āśayānuśāsanād rāghavena likhitam |*

35. Thus we read the 2nd introductory verse of the Commentary :

devanāthena govindacaranāmbujasevinā |
cintāmaṇau yadūloke pariśiṣṭaṃ taducyate ||

Who was this Govinda ? Could he have been the well-known author of the *Kāvya-pradīpa*, a Commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* ?

XV—GOPĪNĀTHA ṬHAKKURA

He was the son of the Maithila Ṭhakkura Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhavanātha of the Goghota family, and a Vaiṣṇava of the Bṛndāvana school of faith. He is known to have written only two works on Nyāya, viz :

A. A Commentary on :

(a) Keśava Miśra's

i. *Tarkabhāṣā* (*°bhāvaprakāśikā*), in which he quotes or alludes to the views of :

Maṅikṛt fols. 7b¹¹, 20a¹⁰, 22b¹², 23a⁸

Pakṣadharamiśrāḥ fols. 7b¹⁸, 23a^{11,12}

Ratnakośakārah fol. 23b⁴

Miśrāḥ fol. 23b⁶

Upādhyāyāḥ ³⁶ fol. 23a¹⁰

B. (a) *Cintāmaṅisārah* or simply *Maṅisārah* ³⁷

It contains an abstract of the exposition of the fundamental concepts of *Cintāmaṅi* and may be held to be either a synoptic Commentary on the text or an independent work on the basis of it. Aufrecht is wrong in attributing it to Gopīnātha Miśra (*Cat. Cat.* I. 217), for the author of the Commentary on *Tarkabhāṣā* himself affirms that *Maṅisārah* is his own composition :

Cf. *iti pratipāditaṃ (prapāñcitaṃ) maṅisāre—*

fols. 13a⁸, 13b⁶⁻⁷, 14a^{9,10}, 29a¹ (Benares Sanskrit Library Ms.)

Gopīnātha's time is later than Gaurikānta who refers to him in *Bhāvārthadīpikā*. He may have lived therefore in the 16th Century (end).

II. THE SCHOOL OF BENGAL

We have given above a brief account of Pakṣadhara and his immediate successors in Mithilā. But it was Vāsudeva, possibly also Pakṣadhara's pupil, to whom we are indebted for much of the greatness and glory in the Nyāya philosophy of Bengal. Though Vāsudeva might not have been, as I am inclined to think he was not, the earliest exponent of Nyāya in Eastern India (for in addition to Śrīdhara of whom notice has already been taken, other writers might have flourished whose works are now lost), the fact must be admitted that he was one of its most powerful champions, and that except for his fostering care this philosophy could not have lived to develop into its present state of perfection. But before proceeding to describe him in detail it would be well to cast a rapid glance at his father.

36. The leaves are of the Benares Sanskrit Ms. Library.

37. The *Anumāna* section of this work has been edited by Paṇḍit T. Gaṇapati Śāstri and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. XXXV), 1914.

I.—MAHEŚVARA VIŚĀRADA.

His father, popularly known by his title Viśārada was a Brāhman of the Rāḍhi class, born in a noble family at Vidyānagara in the city of Navadvīpa. He was a scholar of the old type teaching only Law and Grammar in his *ṣol*, and also perhaps Navya Nyāya which had just come into vogue. From the testimony of Vāsudeva at the end of Sārvabhauma's Commentary on the *Advaitamakaranda*, it may be surmised that he was also a master in the Vedāntic lore. Very little is practically known about his life and works. He had two names, both preserved for us in authentic records—viz. Maheśvara and Narahari, of which the former often appears in the Vaiṣṇava literature,¹ while the latter is mentioned only once by his son in the Commentary on *Advaitamakaranda*.² It cannot now be ascertained whether Viśārada was an author, but I believe that Manuscript No. 240, a Com. on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (1st Section), deposited in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, and labelled as *Pratyakṣamaṇimāheśvarī* was his production. This is avowedly a mere conjecture, with no claim to the stability of an established thesis, but the following considerations, weighed together, would seem to bear this sufficiently out :

(1) Firstly, there are not many scholars named Maheśvara in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature, possessed of the necessary intellectual equipments. This proposed identification failing, we shall have to fall back on the only other alternative open to us, viz. in favour of the author of the Com. on the *Kāvya prakāśa*, called *Ādarśa* or *Bhāvārthacintāmaṇi*.³ But that would be hardly probable, for the reasons stated below.

(2) Vāsudeva, his brother Vidyāvācaspati, his son Vāhinīpati, all devoted their time, attention and energies to writing Commentaries on *Cintāmaṇi* and *Āloka* with the object immediately of popularising this useful treatise and ultimately of ousting the glory of the rival School of Mithilā. Thus when the whole family of Vāsudeva is found interes-

1. *sārvabhauma pitā viśārada maheśvar |*
tāhār jāṅgāle gela prabhu viśvambhar ||

Caitanyabhāgavata, Madhyakhaṇḍa, 21 adhyāya,

lines 11-12 (Basumatī Edition, 1315 sana, p. 235).

2. *śrīvandyānvaya kairavāmṛtaruco vedāntavidyāmayād |*
*bhaṭṭācāryaviśāradaṅnarahareḥ * * * ||*

End of *Advaitamakarandaṭīkā*. (Mitra, 2854).

3. Hall (Intro. to *Vāsavadattā* p. 54) makes the author Maheśvara identical with Śrīvatsalāñchana. But Peterson (II. p. 19) denies this identity, saying that Maheśvara was another name of Subuddhi Miśra for whom he refers to Aufrecht, (*Cat. Cat.* 1716) who speaks of Subuddhi Miśra Maheśvara's Com. on Vāmana's *Alaṅkārasūtra*, called *Sāhityasarvasva*. The whole question is involved in obscurity.

Who was this Subuddhi Miśra? Could he not be the father of Jayānanda (born 1513), the author of *Caitanyamaṅgala* and a famous Vaiṣṇava of the *gauḍīya* order?

ting themselves in studies of the *Cintāmaṇi*, it would be unreasonable, unless very cogent grounds exist to the contrary, to suppose Maheśvara to be an exception.

(3) And further, curiously enough, all the above works of the Sārvabhauma family are found *only* in the Sanskrit College, Benares ; and so is the case with the Commentary under notice.

Certainly the fact is not without its meaning. By way of an explanatory suggestion I may add here, that the works originally belonged to the private Library of Maheśvara Viśārada himself, who in his later days had been staying at Benares ⁴ and that when they passed out of his family, under circumstances of which we are not aware, they went together (perhaps with other works), were transcribed (e. g. Vāhinīpati's Commentary, dated A. D. 1584) and have again come together from their last repository. Maheśvara refers to the view of Pragalbha Miśra on fol. 28b¹¹ of his Commentary.

II. VĀSUDEVA SĀRVABHAUMA.

Vāsudeva was the son of this Viśārada. Tradition affirms that on the completion of his study of Smṛti with his father at home, he set out for Mithilā to get up the niceties of Nyāya Dialectics from the home of this learning. He read there for several years with Pakṣadhara Miśra, among many other books, the standard work of the School, viz. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, and committed the whole of it to memory. It is said that while returning he was subjected by his tutor to a most severe form of ordeal, the so-called "pin-ordeal" or *śalākāparikṣā* ⁵ as it is known in Mithilā, through which he passed with great credit. As a result of his conspicuous success in this examination, the title of Sārvabhauma was conferred upon him. From there Vāsudeva passed on to Benares where he took his lessons in the Vedānta, probably with some local *sannyāsin*, and thence returned to Navadvīpa and set up a *ṭol* of his own. This was the first school of Nyāya in Bengal.

Among the great teachers of Navadvīpa none was so fortunate as Vāsudeva in gaining such an illustrious batch of students. The great religious reformer Śrī Caitanya Deva to whose name thousands of hearts respond with fervour, love and adoration, the great Raghunātha whose *Didhiti* has been a perennial fount of inspiration to all lovers of philosophy, the great Raghunandana whose famous Smṛti compilation (*Aṣṭaviṃśatitattva*) still governs the course of orthodox life in Bengal, and last but not the least, the great Kriṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa who revived the decadent Tāntric literature by his famous

4. About Maheśvara's migration from Bengal and settlement at Benares, cf. Jayānanda's *Caitanyamaṅgala* : *viśārad nivās karilā vārāṇasī* /

5. Aufrecht (*Cat. Cat.* II, 134) has fallen into an error in making the entry that Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was the nephew and pupil of his paternal uncle Jayadeva Pakṣadhara, author of a Com. on *Cintāmaṇi* ! From a glance at Vol. III, it will appear that the mistake arose from a confusion between Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Vāsudeva Miśra.

compilation (*Tantrasāra*), were among his pupils. Perhaps Haridāsa, too, the commentator on *Kusumāñjali* was one of the number.

Of his Nyāya works, of which the number is not known, only one seems to have come down to us. It is a Commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* entitled *Sārāvalī* (Benares Sanskrit Library, Ms. No. 184), in which references to the following authorities are found :

Yajñapati	fols. 45b ⁵ , 47a ⁸ , 47b ⁸ , 93b ⁸ , 133b ⁸ , 111a ⁵ , 170a ²
Vardhamāna	fols. 45b ⁹ , 133b ⁸ (<i>Līlavatīprakāśa</i>)
Narasimha	fol. 53a ⁵
Ācārya Sammati	fol. 53b ⁷
Ācāryamatam	fol. 161a ⁶
Pratyakṣamaṇiparīkṣā	fol. 154a ³
Śabdamaṇiparīkṣā	fol. 168a ⁸⁻⁹ (<i>adhikastu śabdamaṇiparīkṣāyāmanalasadhiyām sulabhah</i>)

I assume this book was composed by Vāsudeva during his life at Navadvīpa in the course of his tutorial lectures before his classes. There are two grounds for this assumption :

(1) On this assumption alone can be found, at least a provisional, explanation of the otherwise unintelligible fact of the presence of the work at Benares only. For the explanation consists in the suggestion already hinted that the book might have come up to Benares in company with Viśārada. But if it (i. e. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*) were composed elsewhere (than at Nadia) its removal to Benares would remain an insoluble mystery.

(2) As far as we are acquainted with Vāsudeva's life, we can take it that he left off Nyāya studies with his departure from home in Bengal. At Puri he was mostly occupied with Vedāntic speculations and was distinguished as an eminent Vedāntic Scholar, to whom *daṇḍins* and *sannyāsins* approached for instruction. Even if he continued teaching Nyāya there, as the author of *Amiya Nimāi Carita* (Vol. III. p. 126 : Fourth Edition) asserts, it was only a diversion. His favourite pursuit, till his interview with Caitanya, was undoubtedly Vedānta.

In his old age Vāsudeva retired to Puri, the holy city of Jagannātha where he enjoyed as long as he lived the patronage of the Gajapati King Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.⁶ He became the chief Paṇḍit of Pratāparudra's Court and the Superintendent of

6. Pratāparudra was the son of Puruṣottama Deva and grandson of Kapileśvara Deva (See Vidyānātha's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa*) and belonged to the solar dynasty (as stated in the Colophon of *Pathyāpathyavinīcaya* by Viśvanātha Sen). He was the patron of : (a) Balabhadra (See Rāma Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's Introduction to his Commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā*). (b) Viśvanātha Sen (*Mitra*, 2939). (c) Sūnṛtavādin (Hultzsch Part I. No. 143, p. 163) was himself the author of a series of works such as :

(a) *Kautukacintāmaṇi* (written probably after his conversion into Vaiṣṇavism), a work on various kinds of Tāntrika recipes (*Mitra*. 310).

(b) *Nirṇayasamgraha*.

Jagannātha's temple, and his cyclopaedic learning in various branches of Sanskrit Literature caused him to be a universal referee in Orissa, especially on points of law, ritual, philosophy and religion.⁷

About his retirement from Bengal, Jayānanda in his *Caitanyamaṅgala* records the tradition that it was in consequence of a general panic in Navadvīpa caused by the rumour of an order from the Mahomedan ruler of the province for a wholesale devastation of the Brāhman families of the place. It is said that this order for devastation had its origin in the alarm excited by a widely current prophecy about the overthrow of the Moslem power by the Brāhmin inhabitants of Navadvīpa. However, on account of the panic, Vāsudeva's family left Nādia⁸ and migrated to different parts of the country. Thus we read—

viśārad suta sārvabhauma bhaṭṭācārya |
svayaṃ utkale gela chāḍi gauḍa rājya ||
utkale pratāprudra dhanurmay rājā |
ratnasimhāsane sārvabhaume kaila pūjā ||
tār bhrātā vidyāvācaspati gauḍavāsī |
viśārad nivās karilā vārāṅasī ||

“Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, son of Viśārada, removed to Orissa, leaving Bengal. The king of Orissa was then the illustrious Pratāparudra, famous for his valour in war. He worshipped the great scholar of Navadvīpa, presenting him with a golden throne. The brother of Sārvabhauma was Vidyāvācaspati, who remained in Gauḍa, and their father Viśārada proceeded to Benares, where he settled”. (Translation by D. C. Sen in his *Bengali Language and Literature*, p. 476).

Though the picture here drawn might be a bit highly coloured, the fact remains that the Mahomedan oppression was growing daily heavier ; and Vāsudeva retired from the country probably to escape from the whims of an oppressive governor. But it is also possible that Rājā Pratāparudra Deva, the great friend of learning and centre of Hindu culture in Orissa, had actually invited him, with the assurance of a peaceful life (a great temptation in those troubled days !), to settle at his Court.

(c) *Praudhapratāpamārtanḍa* (This is an important Smṛti compilation, and was made really by Rāma Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares. A manuscript of this exists in the Sanskrit Library, Benares).

? (d) *Sarasvatīvilāsa* (Hultsch, Ch. I. No. 425, p. 79).

7. Cf. the following statement by Lāldās in his *Bhaktamālā* 145 (21st garland) :

paṇḍit gambhīr sārvabhauma bhaṭṭācārya |
jatek puruṣottame daṇḍīr ācārya ||
sabhāsad pradhān śrī pratāprudrer |
vyavasthā prāmāṅya pār smṛtyādi śāstrer ||

(Balāi Cānd Gosvāmin's Edition ; 1305 *san*, p. 332).

8. Except Vidyāvācaspati on whom see *passim*.

On his arrival at Puri his pen seems to have been at work on the Vedānta. There exists in the Śaṅkara Maṭha, Puri, a Ms. (copied in Śaka 1551=A. D. 1629 ; *Mitra*, 2854) of a Commentary by him on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaitamakaranda* where in the Colophon the author calls himself *gauḍācārya sārvaḥaumaḥaṭṭācārya* [cf. also verse 2 at the beginning and verse 1 at the end].⁹

In 1510 Vāsudeva came in touch with Śrī Caitanya Deva (born 1485), the great Vaiṣṇava apostle of Bengal, and was so much taken by his exalted personality that he felt no scruple in renouncing his cherished convictions. The influence of this prophet of Love fell almost as a magic spell on his life, and the story of his conversion, told at great length in all works of Vaiṣṇava Literature,¹⁰ a story illustrating the triumph of Faith over Reason, is fraught with an abiding interest for those who are engaged in a special study of the psychology of religious conversions. From a dry philosopher, a rationalist to the core, Vāsudeva came to be a firm adherent of the doctrine of Faith. He became an exponent of Līlāvāda and began to worship Caitanya as an incarnation of the Divine Principle of Love and Redeeming Grace.¹¹

The following words of Vāsudeva's confession before Caitanya will show that his conversion was not merely an intellectual assent to a creed, but an out and out regeneration of the soul. His attitude towards his young master will also be evident from these words :

jagat tārile prabhu seha alpakārya |
āmā uddhārile tumi e śakti āścarya ||
tarkaśāstre jaḍ āmi jaiche lauhapiṇḍa |
āmā dravāile tumi pratāp pracanḍa ||
 (Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Vasumatī Ed., p. 126)

9. It is strange that the account of the *Advaitamakarandaṭikā* as given in *Mitra* 2854 escaped the notice of Aufrecht, who enters the name of this book not under Vāsudeva, the Sārvaḥauma, but under another person of the same name (*Cat. Cat.* I. 567)

10. E.g. in *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* (*Madhyalīlā*, Chapter VI), *Caitanyacandrodaya* (*Bibl. Ind.* 1854 ; Act VI), *Caitanyabhāgavata* (*Antyakhaṇḍa*, Chapters II-III), *Bhaktamāla* (145, 21st *garland*), &c. See also *Amiya Nimāi Carita*, Vol. III. pp. 125-194

11. Cf. the following verses of Sārvaḥauma :

vairāgyavidyaḥ nijabhaktiyoga-
śikṣārthamekaḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ |
śrīkrṣṇacaitanyaśarīradhārī
krpāmbūdhiryastamaḥaṃ prapadye || 1 ||
kālānaṣṭaṃ bhaktiyogaṃ nijam yaḥ
prāduṣkartuṃ krṣṇacaitanyanāmā |
āvīrbhūtastasya pādāravinde
gāḍhaṃ gāḍhaṃ liyatāṃ cittabhṛṅgaḥ || 2 ||

by Karṇapūra, Act VI. *Bibl. Ind.*, pp. 156-7).

(*Caitanyacandrodaya*

Henceforward, Vāsudeva was a Vaiṣṇava of the truest type. He was no longer a philosopher moving in the circle of dead reasoning. All his writings breathe of the sweet spirit of meekness and resignation, and display a luxuriant delight in simplicity and ease. He composed a number of *stotras* in praise of the three brother-prophets of Bengal—(1) Caitanya, (2) Nityānanda and (3) Advaita.

1 (a) *Gaurāṅgaśatanāma* (*Śāstrī*, Vol. I, 103, p. 96)¹² ?=*Caitanyaśataka* (*Nadīyā Kāhinī*, p. 211)

(b) *Caitanyadvādaśanāmastotra*

(2) *Nityānandanāmāṣṭottaraśata*

(3) *Advaitāṣṭaka* (*Cat. Cat.* I. p. 10b) Jayānanda, in the first section of his *Caitanyamaṅgala*, attributes a biography of Caitanya, named *Caitanyacaritra* to the authorship of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya (See *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, Vol. IV pp. 201-2), but nothing further is known about this book. In the family Library of Paṇḍit Dāmodaralāl Gosvāmī I inspected a Ms. of *Tattvadīpikā*, a short Vaiṣṇava treatise of great interest attributed to one Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, and I am disposed to think that this is another work of Vāsudeva.

III.—RATNĀKARA

Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati, Vāsudeva's younger brother, was left alone at Navadvīpa in those troubled times. He stayed at home, teaching pupils in his family *ṭol* of Vidyānagara. Like his father and elder brother he was a good Naiyāyika. His Commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and *Āloka* (combined) exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (Ms. No. 372). From the Colophon of *Bhramaradūta*, a lyrical poem by his grandson Rudra Nyāyavācaspati, Vidyā Vācaspati appears to have been the Court *paṇḍit* of the king of Gauḍa.¹³ He became a devoted follower of Śrī Caitanya's School and his name is mentioned with honour in Vaiṣṇava literature.¹⁴ Caitanya is said to have lived in seclusion for some time in his house.

12. Perhaps it is to this work that Bṛndāvana Dāsa refers in his *Caitanya' hāgavata* thus:

ei mata sārvabhauma śataślok kari |
kāku kare caitanyer pādapadma dhari ||

(Vasumatī Ed., p. 307)

13. *yo'bhūd gauḍakṣitipatiśikhāratnagrṣṭāṅghrirenūvidyāvācaspatiriti jagadgītakīrtipra-
pañcaḥ |*

14. As in the *Caitanyabhāgavata* (*Antyakhaṇḍa*, Chapter 3) :

sārvabhaumabhrātā vidyāvācaspati nām |
śānta dānta dharmāśil mahābhāgyavān ||

(Vasumatī Ed., p. 312)

IV.—VĀHINĪPATI.

Vāsudeva's son Janeśvara Vāhinīpati Mahāpātra was also a student of Nyāya ; and his commentary on *Āloka* (*Śabdakhaṇḍa*), called *Uddyota*, is to be found in the Library of the Sanskrit College, Benares. As already stated, the work is *known* to exist only in this Library ; but since the Ms. here bears (on fol. 52a) *saṃvat* 1642 (A. D. 1585) as the year of its transcription, ¹⁵ the copy was certainly of a much later date than the time of the author, and I consider it probable that earlier copies of the work are still extant. ¹⁶

The manuscript, at any rate the section of which we are in possession here, does not make it clear how Vāhinīpati was related to Sārvabhauma, or what his real name was. But tradition in Bengal has it that (a) his name was Janeśvara and that (b) he was Sārvabhauma's son. And this tradition may not be altogether baseless.

(a) That his name was Janeśvara would seem likely. In *Caitanyacandrodaya* (Act VI) we find Candaneśvara to be the name of one of Sārvabhauma's sons. The name Janeśvara is very similar, both ending in the form *īśvara* ; and though this similarity in itself is not of great importance in determining a point of a historical character, it has doubtless a corroborative value. Brothers are generally named alike.

(b) His homage to Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma in the beginning of his commentary indicates plainly that he was his pupil, but there is nothing to stand against the suggestion that he was *also* his son. On the other hand, his constant references to *pitṛcaraṇāḥ* as on fols. 3a⁶⁻⁹, 4a⁵⁻⁶ &c. and expressions like *ityasmākaṃ pitṛkaḥ panthāḥ* must be understood as allusive to Sārvabhauma. Evidently, we are here in the pre-Dīdhitian age, and who among the Bengalis of that day could be described as the leader of a School of Nyāya thought (implied in the word *panthāḥ*), except the great Sārvabhauma himself ?

(c) The title *vāhinīpati mahāpātra* was an honour of distinction in Orissa (cf. the name Tapana Mahāpātra). But this does not militate against his Bengali descent. It shows simply that he was holding an eminent position in Orissa, and that the honour was conferred upon him by the local king, probably Rājā Pratāparudra himself, in recognition of his merits. However, the Colophon of the Manuscript under review, in prefixing the word *bhaṭṭācāryaḥ* to his name, clears up the whole question and supplies positive evidence in favour of his Bengali parentage. ¹⁷

15. From the words *śrīkālābhairavāya namaḥ* at the close, it appears that the transcription was *made at Benares*.

16. This is on the analogy of the other works of the Sārvabhauma family noticed above, which I take to be contemporaneous with the authors and belonging to Viśārada's private Library at Benares. However, I must not insist on this point.

17. *Vide*, fol. 52a : *iti śrīmahāmahopādhyāyabhaṭṭācāryaśrīmadvāhinīpatimahāpātraviracitaḥ śabdālokodyotaḥ paripūrṇaḥ &c.*

V.—HARIDĀSA NYĀYĀLANKĀRA BHATṬĀCĀRYA.

Of all the Commentaries on the *Kārikā* portion of the *Kusumāñjali*, the one by Haridāsa, a man of Nadiā, has undoubtedly gained the widest currency in Bengal. And it is as the author of this popular annotation of the *Kārikās*, rather than for any other works, that he is remembered by the modern Paṇḍits of Bengal and Mithilā.

If the tradition¹ recorded by Mm. Candrakānta Tarkālaṅkāra in the Preface (p. i) to his Commentary on *Kusumāñjaliharidāsi* (Śaka 1810) regarding Haridāsa's journey to Mithilā for the study of Nyāya Śāstra, and his return home with the whole of the *Kusumāñjali* (including the prose portion) in his memory be authentic, the event certainly marks an episode of supreme historical interest in the study of philosophy in Bengal. For it inaugurated studies and speculations, and inspired literary activities which have continued into the present day.

To what time Haridāsa should be assigned is a question to which no final answer can be given at present. It is sure that he was earlier than Śaka 1521 or A. D. 1599 when a Ms. of his Commentary on the *Āloka* was transcribed, and the earlier limit of his age is the date of *Āloka* itself. I am disposed however to take him as a pupil of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma.

Among his contributions to the philosophical literature of the country the following are known :

- A. Commentaries on
 - (a) Udayanācārya's
 - i. *Kusumāñjali Kārikās* :
 - (b) Guṅgeśa's
 - i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (= *Prakāśa*)² and
 - (c) Pakṣadhara's
 - i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka*.³

1. But see *Navadvīpa Mahimā*, p. 61.
2. Śāstrī's *Report, 1895-1900*, p. 15 : Peterson, VI, No. 218, p. 16.
3. Mitra's *Notices*, Nos. 2850-2852. The three Mss. dealing with the three sections of the work, viz. *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *śabda* were copied by one Kandarpa Rāy on the bank of the Ganges (*suradhūnīśavidhe*) in Śaka 1523 (*triyugmaviśikhakṣaṇadā dhināthe*), 1522 and 1521 respectively.

VI.—JĀNAKĪNĀTHA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA CUDĀMANI.

Another writer who has had a large number of commentators and wielded great influence on contemporary thought was Jānakīnātha, more popularly known as 'Bhaṭṭācārya Cūḍāmaṇi'. His most famous work was *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī*, in which he quotes Śivāditya, p. 23, Cintāmaṇikṛt, p. 217, Nyāyabhāskarakṛt, p. 223, and Murāri Miśra, p. 285, and mentions by name his two earlier treatises, viz. (a) *Maṇimarīcinibandha* (*Ny. Si. Mañj.*, pp. 18, 185), probably a commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi*; and (b) *Tātparyadīpaka* (p. 185).

VII.—RAGHUNĀTHA ŚĪROMANI.

After Vāsudeva, the philosopher that calls for special notice here is the great Raghunātha variously styled Śīromaṇi, Tārkika-Śīromaṇi or Tārkika Cūḍāmaṇi. He was the greatest figure in Nadiā, and next to Gaṅgeśa the greatest in the field. His studies ranged over a wide area, and his philosophical speculations were as deep as they were varied.

The story of Raghunātha's life is not known in detail. He was born in a very humble Brahman family of Pañcakhaṇḍa in Sylhet (Assam), where his ancestor Śrīdhara Ācārya had migrated from Mithilā in 53 Tripurā Era (= A. D. 643) and settled. On the death of his father, Govinda Cakravartī, at an early age, the family was thrown into hopeless confusion. There was no earning hand in the house. The burden of expenses fell on Raghunātha's mother, Sītā Devī, but how long could the poor widow manage it? She soon found herself in great straits. It is said that at this time a batch of pilgrims from her village was setting out on a holy trip to Navadvīpa for a dip in the Ganges. Sītā Devī, with her infant son, felt inclined to accompany this party,—which she did, but before they could reach Nadiā, Sītā fell seriously ill, and was deserted by her companions. Upon recovery she resumed her journey and reached her destination in the company of a kind merchant of the place. At Nadiā Sītā took shelter with the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma who received Raghunātha into his favour, and began to teach him with great care.

It is said that in his early life he had been a student of Vāsudeva, but later on he went to Mithilā in order to study the knotty points of Nyāya Śāstra with Pakṣadhara whose reputation of scholarship attracted him. He is said to have been blind of an eye, and so the tradition runs that when he stood in presence of Pakṣadhara, eager to sit at his feet and drink at that fount of learning of which he had heard so much, the latter, being struck by his odd looks, questioned him thus :

*ākhaṇḍalah sahasrākṣaḥ virūpākṣaḥ trilocanaḥ |
anye dvilocanāḥ sarve ko bhavānekalocanaḥ ||*

At this query of Pakṣadhara, Raghunātha was much annoyed at heart, but he was not to be daunted. He retorted readily: "He who is capable of giving an eye (power of vision) to the eyeless is to be considered a real teacher, while the rest are mere names (*tadanye nāmadhāriṇaḥ*)".

On his return from Mithilā, with laurels yet fresh upon his head, Raghunātha won a great name in the country. Students from various parts gathered round him and listened to his learned discourses.

He wrote in the course of his teacher's life a series of works including numerous commentaries and an original treatise, dealing with philosophy ;

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

i. *Ātmatattvaviveka* (= *Dīpikā* or *Bauddhadhikkāravivṛti*)⁴ (Stein, p. 135), and

ii. *Nyāyakusumāñjali* ;

(b) Śrīharṣa's i. *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* (= *Dīdhiti*) ;

(c) Vallabha's i. *Nyāyalīlāvatī*. This is identical with (e) ii.

(d) Gaṅgeśa's i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (= *Dīdhiti*) ; and

(e) Vardhamāna's i. *Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa* (*Dīdhiti* or *Vibhūti* or *Vivṛti*), and

ii. *Nyāyalīlāvatīprakāśa*.

B. And an original tract, called

(a) *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇam*, variously called *Padārthakhaṇḍanam* and *Padārthatattvavivecanam*.

Among the above treatises, the commentary, on *Cintāmaṇi*, known as *Maṇidīdhiti*, has been justly the most successful and popular. Since its publication, this work has driven all the venerable old commentaries out of fashion, so much so that the very names of works like *Āloka* (by Pakṣadhara) and *Prakāśa* (by Rucidatta) are now well nigh forgotten. The whole host of later writers drew upon him for their inspiration.

Raghunātha was a bold, subtle and original thinker, and it would seem from the words used in the *Dīdhiti* that he was a bit too highly conscious of his own powers. Cf :

viduṣāṃ nivahairiyadaikamatyād yadaduṣṭam yacca duṣṭam |
mayi jalpati kalpanūdhināthe raghunāthe manutāṃ tadanyathaiva ||

(End of *Anumānadīdhiti*)

He declares that his commentary on *Cintāmaṇi* embodied the essence of various Śāstras (*sāraṃ nirṇīya nikhilatantrāṇām*) drawn out by study (*adhyayana*) and contemplation (*bhāvanā*).

Raghunātha had unquestionably a real gift for poetical expression rare among the logicians of the Middle Ages.

The well known verse—

kāvyeṣu komuladhiyo vayameva nānye
tarkeṣu karkaśadhiyo vayameva nānye |
tantrēṣu yantritadhiyo vayameva nānye
kr̥ṣṇeṣu saṃyatadhiyo vayameva nānye ||

4. There are two old Mss. of Raghunātha's Commentary on *Ātmatattvaviveka* in the Govt. Sanskrit Library Benares—one (called erroneously in the Colophon, *Bhāvaprakāśa*) dated Śaka 1538 and *Samvat* 1672 (=A. D. 1616) and the other dated Śaka 1516 (=A. D. 1594)

is attributed to him. His conversation with Pakṣadhara in his first interview amply bears out the vaunt made in the above verse about his claims to poetical excellence.

In regard to Raghunātha's personal convictions concerning the ultimate problems of Life and Spirit with which all philosophy has to deal, it is hard to gather anything that would really be of much value. It is not known whether he fell under the spell of Caitanya's influence, and accepted his creed. But it seems probable that in spite of his recognised place among the few greatest Naiyāyikas of the country, he was a rebel at heart. The following verse prefixed as *maṅgalācaraṇam* to all his works—

om namaḥ sarvabhūtāni viṣṭabhya paritiṣṭate |
akhaṇḍānandabodhāya pūrṇāya paramātmāne ||

marks him out at once as one with a decided leaning towards Vedānta, and this against all strained interpretations that have been thrust upon it by later writers.

VIII.—MATHURĀNĀTHA TARKAVĀGĪŚA

It was Mathurānātha on whom fell the proud but heavy task of carrying forward his master's great work and keeping alive the traditional prestige of Navadvīpa. In learning as well as in the power of sustained exertion involved in a work of this kind, Mathurānātha was certainly equal to the occasion. He made up his mind, and set himself about the work in right earnest.

That Mathurānātha was Raghunātha's direct pupil appears from the evidence of his referring to the latter as "Bhaṭṭācārya", the usual form of reference to one's own tutor. Tradition affirms that Mathurānātha's father Śrī Rāma also had been Raghunātha's pupil. But it seems to me that Śrī Rāma had also been the pupil of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma.⁵

He composed the following works :

- A. Commentaries on
 - (a) Udayana's
 - i. *Āmatattvaviveka*
 - (b) Vallabha's
 - i. *Nyāyalilāvati*
 - (c) Gaṅgeśa's
 - i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*
 - (d) Vardhamāna's
 - i. *Kiraṇāvaliprakāśa*,
 - and ii. *Nyāyalilāvatiṣṭakāśa*
 - (e) Pakṣadhara's
 - i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka*

5. Cf. *śrīgovindapadadvandam praṇamya paramādarāt |*
hr̥di kṛtvā ca nikhilam sārvabhaumasya sadvacah ||
āmatattvavivekasya vyākhyām didhitikṛtkṛām |
prakāśayati yatnena śrīrāmaḥ sudhiyām mude ||

(Benedictory verses of Śrī Rāma's Com. on *Āmatattvavivekadīdhiti*).

and (f) Raghunātha's

i. *Nyāyalilāvatiṭprakāśadīdhiti*

and ii. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti*. It is said that this was his earliest attempt at composition undertaken during his studentship with Raghunātha. His father being highly pleased with his powers thus shown, encouraged him warmly and suggested that he should take in hand a Commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and write it now in a simple style so as to be of easy comprehension.

and B. *Siddhāntarahasyam*.

Mathurānātha was Vaiṣṇava in his personal creed. His father Śrī Rāma Tarkālān-kāra was a great *paṇḍit* and seems to have been the author of a voluminous Commentary on some work in Nyāyaśāstra. ⁶ Probably the commentary was on *Cintāmaṇi*, and it is interesting to find the son controverting the views of the father. In the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a Ms of Śrī Rāma's Commentary, called *Ṭippani*, on Raghunātha's *Āmatattvavivekadīdhiti*.

IX.—BHAVĀNANDA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚĀ.

Bhavānanda was one of the ablest representatives of the Nadiā School of Thought, and though his works have not enjoyed the same celebrity in Bengal as they have done in the South, it does not detract in the slightest degree from their merit. It is a strange fact of which no true historical explanation can yet be rendered, that among the commentaries on Bhavānanda none has proceeded from Bengal. It seems that soon after its publication the book was subjected to a severe criticism in certain quarters, ⁷ and that in consequence of this the study of the work was left altogether uncared for in the country of its birth. ⁸ Thanks are due, however, to Mahādeva Puntamkar for

6. Evidently the verse is *śliṣṭa* here and has to be interpreted in a double sense, being at once applicable to the great Rāma Candra and Śrī Rāma, Mathurānātha's father. As explained in reference to the second interpretation, the word *nyāyāmbudhi* ought to mean a book prepared by Śrī Rāma, *akhilasampatti*, some *jāgir* secured, and *tribhuvana* the names of three contemporary scholars named 'Bhuvana' vanquished in debate, by whom his glories were sung. I do not know whether all this is not to be rejected as mere conjecture. (End of Mathurā's Commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi*).

7. Oppert (2025, 5278 ; II, 9408) mentions a treatise of this kind by one Vajraṭaṅka Śāstrin. But it is a comparatively recent production. Vajraṭaṅka seems to have written also a commentary on *Bhavānandī*, called *Bhavānandīprakāśikā* (*vide* Hultzsch, No. 1462, II, pp. 137-8)

8. Cf. Mahādeva's pungent remarks towards the beginning of his commentary on *Bhavānandī* (*anumāna*): *anālocya siddhāntavāgīśavāṇyāṃ vṛthā sūpitāḥ (?) paṇḍitairgau-dajātaiḥ | yadudbhavitāṃ dūṣaṇābhāsavṛnda taduddhāraṇārtho mamodyoga eṣaḥ ||*

reviving an interest in the study of this valuable but much neglected work, and for popularising it through his commentaries.

Bhavānanda left behind him two worthy pupils in Jagadīśa and Rāghavendra⁹, both of whom distinguished themselves as scholars and made valuable contributions to philosophy and literature.

The name of Bhavānanda's *guru* is not known. Tradition makes Bhavānanda Mathurānātha's disciple, which on chronological grounds is admissible ; but may it not be that he was Raghunātha's direct pupil? The following extract taken from his commentary on *Anumānadīdhiti*, where Raghunātha is referred to as 'Bhaṭṭācārya', would seem to point to this conclusion :

nīlaviśiṣṭadhūme'pi viśeṣyatvasyopādheḥ sattvena nirupādhitvasādhanavyāpakatvāditi viśeṣyatvapāṭhasyāprāmāṇikatvāt tadupekṣitaṃ bhaṭṭācāryaśiromaṇibhiriti.

I hold, therefore, pending further evidence to the contrary, that Bhavānanda was Raghunātha's junior pupil, and that on the latter's death or probably on his retirement through the infirmities of age, when teaching was impossible, Bhavānanda completed his studies with Mathurānātha. And this would be in keeping with Bhavānanda's own statement in his commentary on the *Dīdhiti* :

*namaskṛtya gurūn sarvān nigūḍhaṃ maṇidīdhitau |
śrībhavānandasiddhāntavāgīśena prakāśyate ||*

Here is a list of works written by Bhavānanda :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gaṅgeśa's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*

(b) Pakṣadhara's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka* (= *Ālokaśāramaṇjarī*)

(c) Raghunātha's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti* (= *Dīdhiti-gūḍhārthaparakāśikā*)

B.

(a) *Śabdārthasāramaṇjarī*

(b) *Kāraṅcakra*

(c) *Daśalakārasāramaṇjarī*

X.—GUNĀNANDA VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

Guṇānanda, better known as Vidyāvāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, was a pupil of Madhusūdana and wrote a large number of commentaries, viz. on

(a) Udayana's

9. Rāghavendra was much loved by his tutor. So says Cirañjīva in the *Vidvanmo-datarāṅgiṇī* :

*adhīyānamuddiśya cādhyūpako'yaṃ bhavānandasiddhāntavāgīśa ūce |
ayaṃ ko'pi devo'navadyātividyācamatkāradhārāmaparāṃ bibharti ||*

Chapter i, verse 17.

- i. *Nyāyakusumāñjaliprakaraṇa* (= *Nyāyakusumāñjaliviveka*).¹⁰ The work is called *Tātparyaviveka* in the Ms. of the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.
- (b) Vardhamāna's
- i. *Guṇakiraṇāvalīprakāśa* (= *Guṇavivṛtiviveka* or *Tātparyasandarbhā*)
- (c) Pakṣadhara's
- i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka*, *śabda* section (= *Śabdālokaviveka*) and
- (d) Rughunātha's
- i. *Anumānadīdhiti* (= *°viveka*)
- ii. *Nyāyalīlāvatīprakāśadīdhiti* (= *°viveka*)
- iii. *Āmatattvavivekadīdhiti* (*°=viveka*)
- and (iv) *Guṇakiraṇāvalīprakāśadīdhiti*. This work is identical with (b) i.

His time is unknown, but it may be surmised that he lived about the end of the 16th century. This is proved by the fact that there exists in the India Office Library a Ms. of his *Guṇavivṛtiviveka* with 1534 Śaka (*vedabāṇāgniyute śakābde*) or A. D. 1612¹¹ as the date of its transcription. Besides, as his tutor cannot be identical with the famous author of the *Advaitasiddhi*, the time here proposed for him would not seem incompatible. The fact that he was criticised by the Jain Logician Yaśovijayaṅgi¹² in the latter's *Nyāyakhāṇḍanakhāḍya* presents no chronological difficulty.

XI.—RĀMARUDRA TARKAVĀGĪŚA

Rudra, to be distinguished from another and more famous Rudra surnamed Nyāya Vācaspati,¹³ was grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa on whose *Kārakacakra* he wrote a Commentary. In the Colophon he distinctly attributes this work to his grandfather (*pitāmaha*).

Rudra wrote another Commentary on the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* where he calls his father (*tāta*) Śrī Rāma (*śrīrāmādhīreśa*). Madhusūdana may have been the name of his guru. *Ind. Off.*, p. 674.

XII.—RĀMABHADRA SĀRVABHAUMA.

Very little is known about Rāmabhadra's parentage or personal history except that

10. This is a commentary on the whole of *Kusumāñjali*, and not on the metrical portion of it only, as noted by Mr. Chakravarti (*JASB*, 1915, p. 279).

11. Not A. D. 1622 as stated by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his *Indian Lygic*, p. 468.

12. A. D. 1608-1688.

13. Aufrecht (*Cat. Cat.*, Vol I, pp. 528-529) has erroneously placed the works of the two Rudras under the single name of Rudra Nyāya Vācaspati, and made him the grandson of Bhavānada. In Vol. III, p. 112, however, the name of Rudra Nyāyavācaspati's grandfather appears correctly as Vidyāvācaspati.

he was the *guru* of the famous Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra.¹⁴ In the introduction to many of his commentaries (e. g. on the *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa*) he calls himself the son of one Cūḍāmaṇi whom Hall identifies with the Tārkikacūḍāmaṇi Raghunātha.¹⁵ He was the author of—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gotama's

(i) *Nyāyasūtras*. This commentary is of the nature of a gloss and is generally known by the name *Nyāyarahasyam*. Copies of this work are very rare. I examined a complete Ms of the work with Paṇḍit Mukunda Śāstrī of Benares, which has since been acquired for the Sanskrit College Library, Benares.

(b) Udayana's

i. *Kusumāñjalikārikā*.¹⁶ This was once a very popular commentary and shared the reputation of Haridāsa's work in Bengal.

ii. *Guṇakiraṇāvalī* (*Guṇarahasyam*)

(c) Raghunātha's

i. *Padārthatattvavivecana* (*°prakāśa*). In this work Rāmabhadra refers to the views of his father (p. 112) and of his grandfather (p. 111).

and B (a) *Siddhāntarahasyam*. This work is little known but it is referred to in

(c) i. (Reprint from the *Paṇḍit* p. 96) and therefore preceded it.

(b) *Siddhāntasāra*. (Burnell, p. 121 a).

and (c) *Suvarṇataijasaṭvavāda* (*Hultsch*, No. 1404, II. p. 133). In this work, Rāmabhadra refers to the current notion of the logicians regarding the igneous character of gold.

14. Cf. Jagadīśa in *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*,—*iti punarṇyāyarahasye'smadgurucaraṇāḥ* |

15. Mr. Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1915, p. 281) and Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Ind. Logic*, p. 468) wrongly make Rāmabhadra the son of Bhavanātha and Bhavānī. The error is apparently due to an original confusion on the part of Aufrecht (*Cat. Cat.*, I, p. 517) and Stein (p. 148.)

16. It may be observed that Rāmabhadra was not the author of the entire commentary which in Bengal passes under his name. The earlier part of the work, where the author names his parents as Bhavanātha and Bhavānī, and where he remarks that in interpreting the text he has closely followed the instructions received from his father (*tato'dhikāṇi pīturvyākhyāmākhyātumayamudyamaḥ*), is strongly reminiscent of Śāṅkara Miśra and must have proceeded from his pen. And as a matter of fact, for this very reason, the whole commentary is ascribed to Śāṅkara Miśra in Mithilā. To me, however, it seems that the commentary known as *Āmoda* in Mithilā (noticed by Aufrecht in *Oxf. Cat.*, p. 243 and by Dr. Jhā in his preface to *Vādivinoda*) and as *Rāmabhadri* in Bengal, (notified in *Mitra*, No. 252) was not the work of a single author but the joint production of Śāṅkara and Rāmabhadra: it had been commenced by Śāṅkara Miśra but for some reason or other left incomplete by him, and was subsequently completed by Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma. This will explain the origin of the erroneous statement, in regard to the parentage of

XIII.—JAGADĪŚA TARKĀLANKĀRA.

Among the disciples of Bhavānanda none was so eminent as the famous Jagadīśa who, with Mathurānātha and Gadādhara, forms the small band of post-Dīdhitian Logicians in Bengal. Jagadīśa is said to have been a descendant of Sanātana Miśra, the father-in-law of Caitanya Deva and lived probably in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁷

From Jagadīśa's statement in *Nyāyarahasya* it appears that he was also the pupil of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma.

He was the third son of Yādava Candra Vidyāvāgīśa and had five brothers. He had two sons, i. e. Raghunātha, the author of *Sāṅkhyatattvavilāsa*, and Rudreśvara, the father of Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa.

Jagadīśa was the author of

A. Commentaries on

(a) Praśastapāda's

i. *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* (= ⁰*sūkti*) This extends to *dravya* section only.

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*.

(c) Raghunātha's

i. *Nyāyalīlāvatīdīdhiti*

ii. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti* (= ⁰*prakāśikā*)

This is popularly known as *Jāgadīśi*.

B. (a) *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*

(b) *Tarkāmṛta*

XIV.—RĀGHAVENDRA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA ŚATĀVADHĀNA

Next to Jagadīśa the most remarkable person among Bhavānanda's disciples was Rāghavendra Bhaṭṭācārya. In the first chapter of *Vidvanmodatarāṅgiṇī*, a work of unique

Rāmbhadra. That this is not a mere supposition will be clear from an actual entry in the following extract from the commentary : *ityantaṃ śāṅkaramiśrakṛtaṃ tataḥ sārvabhau-mīyam* (Fol. 6a 2-5 of a very old Ms, in possession of Paṇḍit Harihara Śāstri of Benares). But the full text of Śāṅkara Miśra's *Āmoda* is also available, a copy of which exists in the Sanskrit College Library, Benares. (See Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies, Vol. III). The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Maheśa Candra Nyāyaratna (in his *Brief Notes on the Modern Nyāya System of Philosophy and its technical terms*, p. 5) ascribed this commentary on the *Kusumāñjali-kārikās* to one Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa, whose name is associated by popular tradition with the establishment of the image of Poḍā-mā at Nadiā and whom he takes to be the earliest exponent of Nyāya in Bengal (earlier than Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma). But this is evidently without any foundation in fact.

17. A Ms of Jagadīśa's *Kāvyaṅprakāśarahasya* was copied by one of his pupils in Śaka 1599 (= A. D. 1677).

interest by Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya, the author, who calls himself Rāghava's son, gives a short but interesting account of his own family. He claims descent from a native of Rādhāpur, who is said to have been a high authority on ceremonies relating to sacrifice ; and it is related that once by virtue of his extraordinary powers of sacrifice he was able to ensure the safety of the country of Gauḍa from what is naively described as the inroads of *rākṣasas*. He belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and his descendants ranked in Gauḍa as the noblest in social scale. His descendant in the 8th remove was Kāśīnātha Sāmudrikācārya, a great palmist, physiognomist and fortune-teller.¹⁸ He had three sons, Rājendra, Rāghavendra and Maheśa.

Rāghavendra was certainly the most accomplished of the three brothers. He obtained the title of *bhaṭṭācārya śatāvadhāna* while he was yet a boy of only 16 years of age. He read various Śāstras in the *ṭol* of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa, and became in course of time a past master in the Science of Dialectics and a great controversialist. Rāghavendra was a poet of extraordinary powers, and his *ślokaśatī* will ever remain a monument of his marvellous skill in this art. Cirañjīva quotes the following tributary verses written by two different poets in praise of Rāghavendra's wonderful gifts : One poet says :—

ahaṃ hariharaḥ siddheravilamva sarasvatī |
sākṣācchatāvadhānastvamavatīrṇā sarasvatī ||

The other says :

(2) *pumrūpādaraṇī sākṣādavatīrṇā sarasvatī |*
jitaḥ śatāvadhānato viṣṇunāpi na jiṣṇunā ||

All this goes to shew that Rāghavendra was held in great esteem by his contemporaries. Bhavānanda was struck with his genius :

adhīyanamuddiśya cādhyāpako'yaṃ bhavānandasiddhāntavāgīśa ūce |
ayaṃ ko'pi devo'navadyūtividyācamatkārādhārāmaparāṃ bībharti ||

Rāghavendra is credited with three works,—none however on Nyāya,—by his son, viz. *Ślokaśatī*, *Mantrārthadīpa*, and *Rāmaprakāśa*.

XV.—RĀMABHADRA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚA

Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa, a resident of Navadvīpa, is said to have been the son of Rudreśvara and grandson of Jagadīśa. He was the pupil of his grandfather. Cf. the verse 2 at the beginning of his commentary, called *Prabodhinī* (*Mitra* 3367 or *Subodhinī*), the only work passing under his name on Jagadīśa's *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* ¹⁹ : *gurumiva gurumiha natvā tatkṛtaśabdaśaktiprakāśikāyāṃ | śrīrāmabhadrasukṛtī kurute* *īkām mude sudhiyaḥ ||* (*Skt. Coll. Cat.* p. 265, No. 460)

18. *sāmudrikeśo'tha samudrakalpaḥ sāmudrikācārya iti prasiddhiṃ |*
lebhe nr̥ṇāmākṛtidarśanena phalaṃ vadanbhūtabhaviṣyadādi ||

19. This Commentary is wrongly ascribed to Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma in the Preface (p. 2) to *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa* (V. P. Dube's Edition).

XVI.—GAURĪKĀNTA SĀRVABHAUMA BHATṬĀCĀRYA

Among the Commentators of *Tarkabhāṣā*, Gaurīkānta's name occupies perhaps a unique position, both on account of the exhaustive treatment of the topics raised in the text, as well as for its great bulk. His Commentary on *Tarkabhāṣā* is certainly his best production, and perhaps the most thorough work of its kind existing in the literature.

As to his time it may be roughly fixed in this way :

In the work just mentioned Gaurīkānta alludes very frequently to the views of Balabhadra and Govardhana, and vehemently denounces them as erroneous.²⁰ Govardhana's age has been ascertained to be the 16th century, which, therefore, furnishes the upper limit of Gaurīkānta's life period ; the other or lower limit, however, is afforded by the age of Mādhava Deva (i. e. the end of 17th century) who quotes and criticises the opinion of Gaurīkānta in his own *Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarī*.

Hence it may be concluded with tolerable certainty that Gaurīkānta lived in the early part of the 17th century. Gaurīkānta's works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṃgraha*. This work, unknown to Aufrecht, I find mentioned under the title of *Vaiśeṣikabhāṣyavivarāṇa* in his *Bhāvārthadīpikā* (Benares College Ms. 156, fol. 3b).

(b) Keśava Miśra's

i. *Tarkabhāṣā* (= *Bhāvārthadīpikā*) This work is also called *Vivarāṇa* in the Colophon of the chapter of the *Benares College Ms. 156*, fol. 25b.

Commenting on the nature of *anubhava* in his Commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā*, Gaurīkānta quotes the following verse and says that it occurs in the text in some Mss :

saṃvid bhagavatī devī smṛtyanubhavavedikā |
anubhūtiḥ smṛteranyā smṛtiḥ saṃskāramātrajā ||

Fol. 9b.

(c) Raghunātha's

i. *Tattvasintāmaṇidīdhiti*.

This work, too, is not mentioned in Aufrecht, but is referred to as *Maṇidīdhiti-vivecana* (Ms 156, fol. 22b) in connection with the discussion of *pratyāsatti*.

(d) Annaṃ Bhaṭṭa's

i. *Tarkasaṅgraha*

20. See, for instance, the following extract from the *Bhāvārthadīpikā* where the definition of *kāraṇa* by Balabhadra and Govardhana has been attacked by Gaurīkānta :
yattu anubhavatvavyāpyajātyavacchinnakāryatānirūpitakāraṇāśrayatve sati vyāpāravattve sati pramākaraṇatvamiti govardhanenoktaṃ, yacca yathārthajñānakāraṇatve sati vyāpāravattve sati anubhavatvavyāpyajātyavacchinnakāryatāpratiyogikāraṇatāśrayatvaṃ pramāṇatvamiti. tadeva lakṣaṇaṃ parivartya balabhadreṅoktaṃ tadvayamapyāśuddham |

(a) *Sadyuktimuktāvalī*. Gaurikānta's reference to Sārvabhauma (*Benares College Ms.* 163, fol. 138b) in conjunction with Dīdhitikāra must be understood as standing for the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, and not for Rāmabhadra or Kṛṣṇadāsa. It is not yet known whether Gaurikānta was a poet, but he describes himself as *kavitārkkikacakravartī* in the Colophon of the *pratyakṣa* section of his *Bhāvārthadīpikā* (*Benares College Ms.* 156)

XVII.—HARIRĀMA TARKAVĀGĪŚĀ ²¹ (A.D. 1625)

Harirāma's reputation as an eminent Naiyāyika of the Nadia school does not rest so much upon his own productions, as upon his relation as tutor to the great Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. But there is no doubt that he was the recognised head of the then Naiyāyika community of Navadvīpa. It is said that he used to get the highest reward in all public assemblies, a distinction which has invariably been confined to the scholar occupying the foremost rank at Nadiā for erudition and controversial eloquence. Of the long list of his works the greater part are already forgotten, except one or two little pieces which are sometimes used by inquisitive students. His works were numerous and strikingly original. Here are some names :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Śivāditya's

i. *Saptapadārthī*.

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. The author of *Navadvīpamahimā* describes it as a mere adaptation from *Cintāmaṇi*, and not an actual commentary.

B. A large number of brief tracts, e.g.

(a) *Ācāryamatarahasya*, vindicating Udayana's theory of *anumiti* viz.—

vahnivyāpyadhūmavān parvata ityādīparāmarśāt vahnivyāptiviśiṣṭadhūmādiviṣay-
inī vahnivyāpyadhūmavān parvato vahnimānityanumitirutpadyate.

(b) *Nyāyanavyamatavicāra*

(c) *Ratnakośavicāra*

(d) *Viśayatāvāda*

(e) *Pratyāsattivicāra*

(f-k) *Maṅgalavāda*, *Pramāṇapramoda*, *Anumitiparāmarśabādhabuddhi*, *Pratibandhakatāvicāra*, *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyabodhavicāra*, *Navyadharmitāvachchedakatā*.

Harirāma died a ripe old man. Gadādhara ²² and Raghudeva ²³ were his principal students.

Harirāma quotes, among other works, from one *Nyāyakaustubha*. But it is evident that this cannot have been the work of the famous Mahādeva Puntamkar who was his successor. In the Govt. Sanskrit Library Benares, there is a Ms of Raghudeva's

21. Also surnamed Tarkālaṅkāra.

22. Hall, p. 55.

23. Weber, I. p. 204 (Ms. 685, *Dravyasārasaṅgraha* of Raghudeva) : Peterson, VI. pp. 15-16.

Commentary on the *Kusumāñjalikārikās* transcribed by Mahādeva in his own hand. As Raghudeva was Harirāma's pupil, Mahādeva could not have lived before the latter.

As a teacher of Raghudeva, Harirāma may be assigned to the first quarter of the 17th century.

XVIII.—JAYARĀMA NYĀYAPANCĀNANA

From the introductory verse (No. 1) of his commentary on the *Didhiti*, it appears that Jayarāma was the pupil of one Rāmabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya.²⁴ But who this Rāmabhadra might have been, there is no means of ascertaining. Mr. Chakravarti takes him as the author of *Nyāyarahasyam* which is likely, but it seems to me more probable that he was the same as the pupil of Jagadīśa. Jayarāma's time can be determined with exactness and he may be assigned to the third and fourth quarters of the 17th century. For there is evidence to show that he was living at Benares in Saṃvat 1714 or A. D. 1657²⁵ and composed one of his works in Saṃ 1750 or A. D. 1693.

He is known to have been the author of the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gautama's

i. *Nyāyasūtras* (*Nyāyasiddhāntamālā*)

The work contains the following references :

<i>Padārthamālā</i>	3b ² , 6a ³ , 8a ²
<i>Prameyatattvabodhakṛtaḥ</i>	4a ¹
<i>Prameyatattvabodhaḥ</i>	4b ⁵ , 11b ¹⁻²
<i>Tattvabodhe Vardhamānaḥ</i>	5a ³
<i>Vardhamānaḥ</i>	9b ⁶ , 10a ² , 16b ³
<i>Vardhamānādayaḥ</i>	8a ⁶
<i>Navyāḥ</i>	4b ³ , 10b ² , 13a ⁵ , 13b ³ , 116b ¹
<i>Praśastapādabhāṣya</i>	4b ⁶
<i>Bhāṣyakṛtaḥ</i>	13a ⁶
<i>Vārttikakṛtaḥ</i>	6b ⁵
<i>Vārttikādayaḥ</i>	8a ⁷
<i>Vārttikakāraḥ</i>	13b ³
<i>Nyāyanibandhaprakāśaḥ</i>	12b ⁴
<i>Ṭikākṛtaḥ</i>	14b ⁵
<i>Upādhyāyāḥ</i>	20a ⁵ , 29b ⁷
<i>Maṇikṛtaḥ</i>	28a ⁵

24. *mūrdhanyādhāya ca rāmabhadracaraṇadvandvāravindadvayam*. Line 3.

25. In the 'Decision' of Benares Paṇḍits dated Saṃ 1714 the name of Pt. Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana occurs in the list of the signatories. This 'Decision' has been published by R. S. Pimputkar in his *Citalebhaṭṭhaprakaraṇam* (1926), pp. 78-81.

Maṇikṛdanuyāyinaḥ	75a ²
Miśrāḥ	29b ⁷
Didhitikṛtaḥ	32a ⁶⁻⁷ , 75a ⁵
Ācāryāḥ	34b ⁰
Ratnakoṣakṛtaḥ	83b ⁰⁻⁷
Vāgīśaḥ	96b ⁵ (the view is refuted by the author)

Prāñcaḥ	116b ¹
Maṇikaṇṭha	135b ⁴ , 135a ⁶
Śavarasvāminaḥ	145a ¹

It was composed in Sam 1750 or A. D 1693.²⁶

(b) Udayana's

i. *Kusumāñjalikārikās (Vivṛti)* It is referred to in his *Padārthamālā*.²⁷

(c) Pakṣadhara's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka (Viveka)*, referred to as *Ālokarahasyam* in his commentary on the *Kusumāñjalikārikās*.

(d) Raghunātha's

i. *Guṇakiraṇāvalīprakāśadīdhiti*.

ii. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti (Gūḍhārthavidyā or Dīdhitivivṛti)*.

B. (a) *Padārthamālā* or *Padārthamaṇimālā* or *Śabdārthamālā*.²⁸ It is a valuable treatise, quite original in its treatment. The author declares his object in writing this tract as purely critical :

*bhāṣyādyuktiṣu hīnayuktiṣu ratiḥ prekṣāvatām prekṣyate
hyāyāryaiḥ vihitāpi yuktirahitā vāñi kvacillakṣyate |
matvaiva jayarāma eṣa vipulaiḥ sadyuktimuktāphalaih
pravyaktaṃ vitanoti kovidamude śabdārthamālāmimām ||*

From the above it appears that the work was intended to form a kind of supplement to the *Prāśastapādabhāṣyam* and the *Kiraṇāvalī*.

(b) *Anyathākhyātivicāra*

(c) *Laghusannikarṣavāda*

(d) *Nyāyamālā*

26. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Indian Logic*, p. 478.

27. *adhikaṃ kārikāvyaḥkhyāyām anusandheyam* (fol.74b⁴ of Ms. 168 belonging to Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares). Three Mss of this work exist in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares.

28. *Śabdārthamālā* is not a distinct work, as Mr. Chakravarti (*JASB*, 1915, p. 283) and Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Ind. Logic*, p. 478) hold, but only another name of the *Padārthamālā*. The author himself employs the two names indifferently for this work. Thus in the second benedictory verse at the beginning (*padārthamālā vālānāṃ*) and in the second verse at the end of the *dravya* section (*padārthamālā yadi nāma vālā* etc.) the name

XIX.—GADĀDHARA BHATṬĀCĀRYA (A. D. 1650)

Gadādhara, son of Jivācārya, and a younger contemporary of Jagadīśa, was a Vārendra Brāhmaṇa, originally of Lakṣmīcapar in the district of Pabna.²⁹ He came to Nadiā for prosecution of studies ; and being admitted to the *ṭol* of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa, the greatest living professor of Nyāyāsāstra, he was soon able through diligence and steady application to win for himself the favour of his tutor and rise into prominence. It is said that owing to Harirāma's death before completion of his studies, Gadādhara could not secure any title of distinction.

It was Harirāma's dying wish that on his death Gadādhara should succeed him to professorship in his *ṭol*, as otherwise its reputation would not be maintained. Gadādhara readily consented to comply with this last wish of his tutor, and began to teach, but he soon found to his great disappointment that no students cared to come up to him for study ; and even the old batch deserted him one by one. His absence of a "conventional title" of merit was a bar to his real claim to tutorship. However Gadādhara was not a man to allow his spirits to be damped by this. He left his tutor's place, and founded a school of his own in a delightful little garden on the wayside of the mainroad leading to the Ganges. Here in the cooling shades of the trees he made his abode. In the absence of any students coming to hear him he would deliver his lectures before the creepers and plants of flowers. Paṇḍits coming to the garden for plucking flowers and passing by it on their way to the Ganges for bathing would often pause to hear him and found his discourses as learned as attractive. Gadādhara's fame thus spread around within a remarkably short period and drew towards him flocks of students from various quarters.³⁰ He was the author of—

A. Commentaries on

- (a) Udayana's
 - i. *Nyāyakusumāñjali*
- (b) Pakṣadhara's
 - i. *Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka*
- (c) Raghunātha's

i. *Ātmatattvavivekadīdhiti*. Tradition places this among the earliest works of Gadādhara.

ii. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti*.

B. (a) *Brahmanirṇaya*

padārthamālā is used, but in verse I at the end of the *dravya* section, the work is referred to under the name of *Śabdārthamālā* (*vitanoti śabdārthan:ālāmimām*).

29. *Navadvīpamahimā*, p. 82. In the copy of the India Office Ms. of Gadādhara's *Anumānadīdhitiṭippanī*, he is called *mahāmahopādhyāya gaudadeśīyaḥ gadādharaçakravartī* (*Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 607).

30. *Navadvīpamahimā*, pp. 82-84 ; Śāstrī, *Notices* II.

and (b) 64 short treatises, known as *Vādārthas*, dealing each with a separate topic of the new school of Nyāya Philosophy, such as i. *Viśayatāvāda*, ii. *Śaktivāda*, iii. *Muktivāda*, iv. *Vyutpattivāda*, v. *Sādṛśyavāda*, vi. *Ratnakośavāda*, vii. *Kāraṇātāvāda*, viii. *Anumitimānasavāda*, ix. *Navyamatavāda*, x. *Vidhisvarūpavāda*, etc., etc.

Gadādhara was a Vaiṣṇava, being a votary of the Vṛndāvana form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa (*nandatanūja*), but he did not fail to pay due reverence to the other forms of the Divinity. Cf. his benediction in the *Cintāmaṇidīdhiti* (*anumānā*) where he invokes the blessings of Durgā (*girīndraduhitā*). His principal student was Jayarāma Tarkālaṅkāra (S. V.).

XX.—RAGHUDEVA NYĀYĀLANKĀKA (A. D 1650)

Raghudeva was also Harirāma's disciple, and plainly refers to him as his *guru* in *Dravyasārasaṅgraha* (Weber, I, p. 204).³¹ He is said to have been Bhavānanda's descendant. He wrote the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) *Kaṇādasūtras*

(b) Udayana's

i. *Nyāyakusumāñjalikārikās*³²

(c) Gaṅgeśa's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. This commentary is known as *Gūḍhārthadīpikā* or popularly by the name of the author as *Raghudevī*.

(d) Raghunātha's

i. *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa*.

ii. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti*.

iii. *Ākhyātavāda*.

31. In *Nañvāda* (*Oxf.*, p. 245, Ms. 617) he names his *guru* Tarkavāgīśvara, which must be understood, in conjunction with the above statement, as applying definitely to Harirāma.

Bodas in his introduction to *Tarkasaṅgraha*, p. 45 and Pt. V. P. Dube in the preface of his edition of *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa*, p. 2, wrongly make Raghudeva Mathurānātha's disciple. This mistake was evidently occasioned by the fact of both Mathurānātha and Harirāma bearing a common title (*viz.* Tarkavāgīśa). But away from the above extract which throws light on the whole question, the mistake will also be apparent when it is known that Raghudeva was Bhavānanda's descendant in the 3rd or 4th remove (*N. Mahimā*, p. 80) and that the latter was Mathurānātha's direct pupil. But the verses at the end of the *Nañvāda* (*atra sūktam duruktam vā yat kiñcijjalpitam mayā / tat sarvaṃ jagadīśasya prītyarthamityaninditam*) seem to show that he read also with Jagadīśa. Or perhaps the word *jagadīśa* means God and nothing more.

32. There is a Ms. of this work, dated Sam 1739 (=A. D. 1682) in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares. It was transcribed by the great Naiyāyika Mahādeva Puntamkar.

B. (a) *Viṣayatāvicāra*. Raghudeva refers to this in his commentary on *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa* (*Paṇḍit* Ed, p. 78)

(b) *Dravyasārasaṅgraha*

(c) *Nirukti prakāśa*

and (d) a certain number of tracts, such as (i) *Viśiṣṭavaiśiṣṭyabodhavicāra*, (ii) *Anumitiparāmarśavicāra*, (iii) *Sāmagrīvāda*, (iv) *Pratīyogijñānakāraṇatāvicāra* etc. etc.

Raghudeva is sometimes identified with the new Kaṇāḍa, but this does not seem to be correct. For we know that Kaṇāḍa's *guru* was one Cūḍāmaṇi, as mentioned in his own *Bhāṣaratna* and not Harirāma or even Jagadīśa (S. V. Kaṇāḍa).

On the basis of this supposed identity between Raghudeva & Kaṇāḍa and of the fact that Śaṅkara Miśra pays obeisance to Kaṇāḍa in the *Upaskāra*, Bodas makes Śaṅkara pupil of Raghudeva.

Raghudeva lived at Benares. Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, in his *Report on Sanskrit Mss* (1906-7—1910-11, p. 6), assigns him to the beginning of the 18th century. But this date is certainly wrong. In the Govt. Sanskrit College Library, Benares, there is a manuscript of Raghudeva's commentary on the *Kusumāñjalikārikās* transcribed by Mahādeva Puntamkar in Saṃvat 1739 or A. D. 1682. Raghudeva was therefore of an earlier date. The 'Decision' of Benares Paṇḍits referred to above, contains the signature of Raghudeva. This 'Decision' is dated Saṃvat 1714 (*kṛtakkagāvde*) and Śaka 1579 (*nandaśailaśarabhūmitaśāke*), that is A. D. 1657, which is consequently the exact date of Raghudeva.

XXI.—JAYARĀMA TARKĀLANKĀRA (A. D. 1675)

Jayarāma's father Jayadeva was the court *paṇḍit* of Putia in the District of Rajshahee, and had been originally a native of Pabna. In old age he retired to Navadvīpa where he settled permanently. Jayarāma is said to have received his education in the *ṭol* of Gadādhara, and wrote a commentary, the only work by him yet known to us, on his teacher's *Śaktivāda*.³³

His most famous pupil was Viśvanātha Pañcānana, the author of *Bhāṣāpariccheda* and *Muktāvālī*.³⁴

XXII.—VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYASIDDHĀNTA PANCĀNANA

Of all the authors of Nyāya tracts whose aim has been to bring the subject within easy reach, none has achieved a greater success than Viśvanātha, the eldest son of

33. Hall, however, assigns it to a pupil of Jayarāma (p. 56).

34. The line of Viśvanātha's teachers is given thus in the popular saying : *harer gadā, gadār jay | jayer viśu loke kay ||* which gives us the order—Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa—Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya—Jayarāma Tarkālankāra—Viśvanātha Pañcānana.

Vidyānivāsa, of Nadiā.⁹⁵ His *Bhāṣāpariccheda* with his own gloss upon it named *Nyāya-siddhāntamuktāvalī*⁹⁶ occupies even now the foremost position among the manuals on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy, and for a learned and lucid interpretation of the original *sūtras* of Gotama no better work is available than his *Nyāyasūtravṛtti*. His other works are less known but equally interesting. As to religious belief he was a Vaiṣṇava and passed the last years of his life in retirement and devotion at Vṛndāvana. It was here that he composed, in 1576 Śaka or A. D. 1654, his learned commentaries on *Nyāyasūtra* in pursuance of Śiromaṇi's interpretation. He belonged to the second and third quarters of the 17th Century, and was the author of the following books :

A. Glosses on

(a) Gotama's

i. *N. Sūtras (Nyāyasūtravṛtti)* composed in 1654.

(b) Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's

i. *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇam*

(c) His own

i. *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, a collection of couplets, summarising the doctrines of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The work purports to have been written for the use of the author's nephew (?) Rājīva. There is a copy of this work belonging to Nṛsiṅha Dīkṣita, dated 1719 Saṃ, or A. D. 1662.

B.

(a) *Nyāyantrabodhinī*

(b) *Subarthatattvāloka*

XXIII.—TRILOCANADEVA

Trilocana was the pupil of one Rāma, a professor of Nadiā, and refers to Vācaspati Miśra, Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya and Guṇānanda.⁹⁷ His works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

i. *Kusumāñjali* (= *Kusumāñjalivyākhyā*)

and (b) Viśvanātha's

35. His younger brother was Nārāyaṇa, and his father was the son of the younger brother of the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and is said to have been highly honoured by Rājā Mansingh of Amber, and defeated in a public assembly, at the Court of Ṭoḍarmall, the great scholar Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares.

36. This work reminds one of a less known but similarly named treatise on Vedānta, viz. *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī* by Prakāśānanda Svāmī. Prakāśānanda was undoubtedly an earlier author, and it was his work which appears to have inspired the title of Viśvanātha's gloss on his own *kārikās*.

37. See Hall, p. 84.

i. *Nyāyasiddhāntamuktāvalī*, called *Locanī* after the author's name (Hultsch, II, p. 132, No. 1397) ³⁸

XXIV—RĀMAKṚṢṆA BHATṬĀCĀRYA CAKRAVARTĪ

In introducing his commentary on Rāma Kṛṣṇa's *Tarkāmṛta*, Kṛṣṇa Kānta Vidyāvāgīśa gives a brief but interesting outline of the early history of the author's line. He says that in the village of Koṭālipārā, which as we know, even now maintains a position of intellectual eminence in Bengal, there once lived a Brahmin, named Govinda, who was well-versed in the *Kalāpa* system of Grammar and in Smṛti, and used to teach these subjects to his pupils. He had a son, whose name does not appear in the work, and three grandsons viz. Durgāprasāda, Caṇḍidāsa and Devīdāsa. Devīdāsa was the youngest and apparently the most intelligent of the group. He had a scholarly disposition. Having finished his education at home, he went out to Nadiā, then the centre of Culture in Eastern India, with the idea of prosecuting higher studies in philosophy. He sat for a long time at the feet of the famous logician Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa, and became one of his most favourite pupils. It is said that even on the first interview Bhavānanda had been so much struck with his scholarship that he had predicted about his future greatness. He then married and went to Benares, where he became known for his learning under the title of "Vidyābhūṣaṇa". It was here that his son, Rāmakṛṣṇa was born.

About Rāmakṛṣṇa himself Kṛṣṇakānta says little, excepting that he was thoroughly conversant with all the Śāstras, was a great *paṇḍit* and won wide celebrity. Besides, it is added that on the occasion of his marriage Devīdāsa came to Pāṭalī, and settled ³⁹ there as teacher till the end of his life.

Whether Rāmakṛṣṇa returned to Bengal and settled at Nadiā or stayed on at Benares, is not known. But it is certain that his influence travelled far and wide, and was not confined to provincial limits.

Kṛṣṇakānta, Rāma Kṛṣṇa's great grandson, having lived in A. D. 1801, Rāma Kṛṣṇa's time may be assigned ⁴⁰ with some probability to the last quarter of the 17th Century.

He wrote :

- A. Commentaries on :
 - (a) Raghunātha Śīromaṇi's
 - i. *Nyāyalīlāvātīdīdhiti*
 - ii. *Tattvacintāmaṇīdīdhiti*

38. Aufrecht notes that this work is based on an earlier commentary on the *Muktāvalī* by Madhusūdana, named *Mahāprabhā* (*Cat. Cat.*, III, p. 89).

39. Kṛṣṇakānta quotes the old popular saying which speaks of 6 (or 7) great contemporary scholars, viz. Jayadeva and Rudranātha at Nadiā, Ramānātha at Pūrvasthalī, three Bhuṣaṇas at Pāṭalī, and Rāmarāma at Taḍḍa.

40. *śāke rāmākṣīśailakṣitipariganīte* (*Ind. Off. Cat.*, p. 654, Ms No. 814.)

- iii. *Guṇakiraṇḍvalīprakāśadīdhiti* and
 B. (a) *Nyāyadīpikā*
 (b) *Tarkāmṛta*
 (c) A certain number of *Vādārthas*.

XXV.—MAHĀDEVA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA

There exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a MS of work named *Mitabhāṣiṇī* which on examination is found to be a gloss on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gotama, attributed in the Colophon⁴¹ to one Mahādeva Bhaṭṭācārya. He was the son of Vāgīśvarācārya and Bhāgīrathī. From evidences of style and the method of interpretation I feel strongly inclined to identify this writer with the author of a similar gloss on the *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* (*Sāṅkhyavṛttisāra*). If this identification be correct, Mahādeva had been the pupil of one Svayamprakāśa Tīrtha who conferred on him the title of 'Vedāntin'.⁴²

His time falls to the last quarter of the 17th Century. At the end of this Commentary on *Viṣṇusahasranāma* he gives Saṃvat 1750 (*khavāṇamunibhūmāne*) or A. D. 1693 as the date of its composition :

mahādevo'karod vyākhyāṃ viṣṇornāmasahasragāṃ |
khavāṇamunibhūmāne vatsare śrīmukhābhīdhe ||

Weber, Vol. II., p. 113.

[Cf. Garbe's *Sāṅkhya Philosophie*, p. 78 and *Sāṅkhya und Yoga* (Grundriss Series), p. 9].

XXVI.—RĀMACANDRA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚA

I noticed a Ms of Rāma Candra's Commentary on the *Cintāmaṇidīdhiti*, *pratyakṣa*

41. *iti bhaṭṭācāryaśrīmahādevakṛtau mitabhāṣiṇyāṃ nyāyavṛtttau dvitīyamāhnikam |*
 (Fol. 36b)

This clear statement of the authorship should at once dispel the error of Aufrecht (*Cat. Cat.* I, 437) who ascribes the work, apparently on the similarity of names, to Mahādeva Puntamkar. The title Bhaṭṭācārya is a certain indication of the author's Bengali descent. The *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* is said to have been undertaken at the request of one Someśvara Bhaṭṭa.

42. See

(i) The Colophon at the end of Berlin MS (636) of his *Sāṅkhyavṛttisāra* Chap. I :
iti svayamprakāśatīrthānḡhrilabdhavedāntisatpadena mahādevenonṇite sāṅkhyavṛttisāre pra-
adhyāyaḥ (Weber, p. 185.)

and (ii) the beginning of Berlin MS (1524) of his Commentary on *Viṣṇusahasranāma*—

svayamprakāśatīrthānḡhrilabdhavedāntisatpadaḥ |
mahādevo'rthamācaṣṭe viṣṇunāmasahasragam ||

Weber, Vol. II p. 113.

section, (*Pratyakṣamañidīdhitivivecana*) in the family library of Bābu Dīkṣita Jaḍe of Benares. The Ms was incomplete, containing only a few leaves at the end. In the Colophon, which is happily preserved, the author is styled Mahāmahopādhyāya.

XXVII.—ŚRĪKṚṢNA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA BHATṬĀCĀRYA.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa was the son of Govinda Nyāyālaṅkāra and was the author of a Commentary on the *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī*, called *Bhāvadīpikā*. This Commentary was written, as the author himself intimates in the Colophon, at the instance of one Rājā Bhāva Siṃha, son of Śatruśālya.⁴³ No clue is given as to the identity of these kings.⁴⁴

The author of *Navadvīpamahimā* says (p. 88), without stating any authority, that this Govinda was the descendant of the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and that he was the leading *paṇḍit* at the Court of Nadia. It is also said that he received 1000 *bighās* of rent-free land in the village of Aḍabāndi.

XXVIII.—KṚṢNAKĀNTA VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA

Kṛṣṇa Kānta, the son of Kālicaraṇa Nyāyālaṅkāra and Tāriṇī Devī, and a pupil of Rāmanārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana was a Brāhmin of the Vaidic class. He flourished towards the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century—during the reign of Mahārājā Girīśacandra of Krishnagara.⁴⁵

He was the author of :

- A. Commentaries on
 (a) Ragl.unātha's
 i. *Padārthatattvanirūpaṇa*
 (b) Jagadīśa's

i. *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* (*Śaktisandīpanī*) This work was composed in Śaka 1723 or A. D. 1801.

- (c) Rāmakṛṣṇa's
 i. *Tarkāmṛta*

B (a) *Nyāyaratnāvalī*.

43. I inspected a complete, and apparently very old, Ms. of his work in the family collection of Bābu Dīkṣita Jaḍe of Benares, where on Fol. 139 the following Colophon was found :

*iti śrīgovindanyāyālaṅkārabhaṭṭācāryātmaśrīkṛṣṇanyāyavāgīśabhaṭṭācāryaviracitāyām
 nyāyasiddhāntamañjarīṭīkāyām śabdakhaṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ | śatruśālyatanūjasya bhāva-
 siṃhamahīpateḥ ! ājñayā racito grantho bhāvasiṃhanirīkṣaṇaḥ ||*

May this Śatruśālya be identical with the hero of the poem, *Śatruśālyacarita*, by one Viśvanātha, son of Nārāyaṇa, which Peterson notices (3. 342) ?

44. Rāmanārāyaṇa was the acknowledged head of the Paṇḍit Community of Nadiā towards the end of the 18th century. Among his other pupils was the famous *vuno rāmuāth* or Rāmanātha, 'the wild'—a nick-name won for his dwelling on the outskirts of the village—whose name has become a familiar expression for plain living and high thinking.

45. Cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Indian Logic*, p. 485.

THE DECCANI SCHOOL.

I.—CENNU BHATTA

Cennu Bhaṭṭa the author of a Commentary, perhaps the earliest yet extant, on *Tarkabhāṣā* (*Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā*), is known to have been a native of Southern India. From the Colophon of this Commentary ¹ it appears that he was the son of one Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu, that he had an elder brother named Sarvajña and that his patron was Mahārājā Harihara, assuredly identical with the famous king Harihara II of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1400),

This Sarvajña Viṣṇu was perhaps the same scholar whom the younger Mādhava (Sāyaṇa's son) mentions as the son of Śārṅgapāṇi and as his own *guru*, in the beginning of his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (verse 2), and to whom Sāyaṇa refers as the author of *Vivaraṇavivarāṇa* in his *Śaṅkaradarśana (taduktam vivaraṇavivarāṇe sahajasarvajñaviṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāyīḥ)*.² Whether Sarvajña-Viṣṇu was the name which Vidyātīrtha, the chief *guru* (*mukhyaḥ guruḥ*) of Vidyāraṇya and Sāyaṇa, bore before his renunciation of the world, is a question to which I am not in a position to offer any decisive reply with the data at present available to me ³. But the fact that the invocatory verse—*yasya niḥśeṣitam vedāḥ &c*—found in many of Sāyaṇa's and Vidyāraṇya's works occurs also in Cennu's Commentary, would appear to indicate that all these three scholars were disciples of one and the same spiritual preceptor, named Vidyātīrtha; and the fact of Sāyaṇa's quoting Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu by name tends in my opinion against the possibility of identifying him with Vidyātīrtha.

Among the authors quoted in the *Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā* (e. g. Udayana, Kandalīkāra, Maṇḍana Miśra, Vācaspati Miśra, Varadarāja, Vādīndra and Śālikanātha), Varadarāja may be taken to be the author of *Tārkikarakṣā* and Vādīndra identical with the teacher of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava.

II.—MAHĀDEVA PUNTAMKAR

The most prominent student of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy at Benares towards the end of the 17th Century was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, by name Mahādeva, of the Puntamkar family. He had been a pupil of Śrīkaṇṭha Dīkṣīta, and on his death succeeded him as one of the leading *paṇḍits* of the city. But the chief title to his place

1. *iti śrīharīharamahārājaparipālitenasahajasarvajña viṣṇudevārādhyatanūjena sarvajñā-nujena cinnabhaṭṭena viracitāyām tarkabhāṣāprakāśikāyām prameyādiparicchedaḥ samāptaḥ* / Aufrecht *Oxf. Catalogue*, p. 244a.

2. See *Indian Antiquary*, 1916, p. 21.

3. Reference may however be made in this connection to the illuminating paper on "Mādhavācārya and his younger brothers" by Rao Bahadur R. Narasiṃhacar in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1916, pp. 17-24.

devotee of Śiva, and like his tutor Śrīkaṅṭha, of the goddess Siddheśvari ⁵.

Mahādeva's time is known for certain. Among MSS he himself copied for his own use—and the number of such MSS is a legion—I have found dates ranging from Saṃvat 1727 (=A. D. 1670) to Saṃvat 1753 (=A. D. 1696). I place Mahādeva, therefore, in the second half of the 17th Century.

From an entry in one of his MSS it appears that Mahādeva once went to Nadiā on tour, either in search of MSS, or on invitation to attend some meeting of the *paṇḍits*. He was in close touch with the scholars of Bengal whose learning he deeply appreciated.

His own works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Bhavānanda's

i. *Didhitigūḍhārthaparakāśikā* (= *Bhavānandīprakāśa*) This book was intended to defend Bhavānanda from the attacks of the Bengali *paṇḍits*, to which he had been exposed ⁶.

ii. *Dīdhitigūḍhārthaparakāśikā* (= *Sarvopakāriṇī*) ⁷ Both these are commentaries on one and the same work, one a big and the other a short one. Mahādeva himself states in the beginning of his *Sarvopakāriṇī* that he wrote two distinct commentaries on the *Bhavānandī*, of which, one, being overlaid with technical minutae, was intended for the critical students of philosophy, while the other was to serve for the beginner as a general introduction to the subject.

(b) Laugākṣi Bhāskara's

i. *Padārthaparakāśa*.

5. The goddess Siddheśvarī whose temple is in the city in the quarter known after her name, is an old deity of Benares, of whom mention is found in the *Kāśikhanda*. It has been regularly worshipped by the family of the Maunins for the last 7 or 8 generations. The image is now mutilated. Long ago it was proposed to replace it by a new image, and so an image was made and arrangements were made to set it up with due ceremony for worship. But it is said that the goddess appeared in a vision and forbade such a procedure. The old image continued to be worshipped as usual. The new one is now to be found outside in a corner on the verandah. The following *dhyāna* will serve as a good description of the goddess :

*lālayantiṃ mahāsimhaṃ tādāyantiṃ ca māhiṣam |
paśamaṃ khadgaṃ dhārayantiṃ pālayantiṃ jagatrayam ||*

6. *anālocya siddhāntavāgīśavānyāṃ ? vṛthā sapitaiḥ ? paṇḍitairgauḍajātaiḥ | yad-
umbhāvina dūṣaṇābhāsavṛndam taduddharaṇārthanḥ mamadyoga eṣaḥ ||* (Beginning of *Bhavānandīprakāśa*).

Towards the close of the *Sarvopakāriṇī*, Mahādeva calls the *Prakāśa* and the *Kaustubha* his two sons, and the *Sarvopakāriṇī* his daughter, begotten by his spiritual wife Buddhi : *prakāśakaustubhau putrāvātmajamupakāriṇīm | buddhipatnyāmalaukikyāṃ mahā-
devo hyabhāvayat ||*

7. *bhavānandīprakāśastu viśṛto racito mayā |
ataḥ saṃkṣepataḥ kurve vyākhyāṃ sarvopakāriṇīm ||*

B. (a) *Nyāyakaustubha*. It is an original treatise dealing with the main topics of Nyāya, containing, as the author says, an essence of the whole philosophy.

(b) *Īśvaravāda*.

(c) *Navyānumitiparāmarśayoḥ kāryakāraṇabhāvavicārah*.

(d) *Sādṛśyavāda*.

III—NĀRĀYANA TĪRTHA

Among *sannyāsins* there must be very few in number who would feel inclined to give their time and energies to the task of elucidating the dualistic doctrines of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Any work, supposed to aim a blow at the Vedāntic position, would be simply revolting in their eyes. Far from encouraging such a work by writing commentaries upon it, they would not tolerate its existence. But Bhikṣu Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha was a notable exception to this rule. Not only was he passively tolerant, with catholic indifference to all which did not concern him, but he wrote commentaries also on three of the most popular and standard Nyāya works :—

(a) Udyana's

i. *Kusumāñjalikārikās*.

There is an incomplete MS of this commentary in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, where in the Colophon at the end of *Ṣṭavaka* 3, the author is called *parama-haṃsa parivrājakācārya* (Fol. 185).

(b) Raghunātha's

i. *Tattvacin.tāmañidīdhiti*.

(c) Viśvanātha's

i. *Bhāṣāpariccheda (Nyāyacandrikā)*

Nārāyaṇa says in his *Sāṅkhyacandrikā*⁸ that he was the pupil of Vāsudeva Tīrtha and disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. And he seems to have been the teacher of the famous Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, usually called by the name of Gauḍa Brahmānanda (to distinguish him from another Brahmānanda who commented on the *Paribhāṣendu-śekhara*) author of a series of very learned Vedāntic works, including Commentaries on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's (a) *Advaitasiddhi* and (b) *Siddāntatattvabindu*. This is apparent from Brahmānanda's own confession in the above commentaries.⁹

8. See verse I at the beginning :

śrīrāmagovinda sutīrthapāda kṛpāviśeṣādūpajātabodham |
śrīvāsudevādadhigatya sarvaśāstrāṇi va'ctum kimapi spṛhā naḥ ||

Cf. also his *Vedāntavibhāvanā* with (*Sāṅkhyacandrikā*, Ben. Sk. Series, No. 9, p.1) Commentary and *Bhakticandrikā* (Mss belonging to Government Sanskrit Library, Benares).

9. Thus in his

(a) *Laghucandrikā*, Com. on the *Advaitasiddhi* :

Nārāyaṇa's age is not known for certain. The only thing that can be said is that he was later than the middle of the 17th Century, the time of Viśvanātha, on whose work he commented.

He must be earlier than A. D. 1701 (1758 Sam), the date of a MS of *Muktāvali-prakāśa* by Dinakara, belonging originally to his private collection and now deposited in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

IV.—KONDA BHATṬA

Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, son of Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa, and nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is better remembered for his works on Grammar especially for his *Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta-bhuṣaṇa*,¹⁰ than for any treatises on philosophy, pure and simple. He was in a family of famous grammarians of Benares. His uncle Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,¹¹ the author of *Siddhāntakaumudī*, *Śabdakaustubha*, *Manoramā*, &c. was a grammarian of the highest order, (besides being an authority in Smṛti and Vedānta) whose works in this branch of literature are still among the noblest in the field. His father Raṅgoji, however, does not seem to have been a grammarian at all. He was a Vedāntist, being the author of two interesting works on the subject, viz. *Advaitacintāmaṇi* and *Advaitaśāstrasāroddhāra*.¹²

To Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa seldom devoted his labours. We know

- i. *śrīnārāyaṇatīrthānāṃ gurūṅāṃ caraṇasmṛtiḥ |*
bhūyān me sādhikeṣṭāṅāmanīṣṭānāñca lādhiḥ ||

Intro. Verse 2, *Advaitamañjarī* Ed., p. 1.

- ii. *śrīnārāyaṇatīrthānāṃ ṣaṭśāstripāramīyuṣām |*
caraṇau śaraṇīkṛtya tīrṇaḥ sārasvatīrṇavaḥ ||

Concluding Verse 2, *Advaitamañjarī* Ed., p. 643.

- (b) *Nyāyaratnāvalī*—Com. on the *Siddhāntabindu*.

- i. *śrīnārāyaṇatīrthānāṃ gurūṅāṃ caraṇāmbujam |*
namāmi vāñmanaḥ kāryaiḥ ananyaśaraṇaiḥ sadā ||

Concluding Verse, 1, *Advaitamañjarī* Ed., p. 212.

10. It is said in extenuation of the many defects of this work, that it was composed by the author at the early age of 22, and was not subsequently revised.

11. It appears that Bhaṭṭoji became a *dīkṣita*, probably the first *dīkṣita* in the family, by initiating himself into the mysteries of the *agnihotra* ceremony, and that his descendants (e. g. his son Bhānudīkṣita and grandson of Haridīkṣita) inherited the title as a matter of pure legacy. His brother Raṅgoji or his nephew Koṇḍa are not known by that title. The name Raṅgoji Dīkṣita, as used in Dr. Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* seems therefore to be a slip.

12. Cf. Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I, p. 489. Both these works exist in the Library of Paṇḍit Mukunda Śāstrī. The former has been published in the Government Sanskrit Library Series, Benares. The second work is incomplete, being confined to one chapter only.

however of three works coming from his pen as contributive to this philosophy. All these are of an elementary character, and obviously intended for beginners.

(a) *Tarkapradīpa*

A MS of this exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. It was written at the instance of Rājā Vīrabhadra,¹³ and contains the following references :

Cārvākāḥ	3b ⁸
Vedāntinaḥ	4b ¹²
Mīmāṃsakāḥ	6b ⁹
Cintāmaṇikāra	8b ⁷
Ācāryāḥ	9a ⁴
Līlāvātikṛt	11b ⁶
Udayanācārya	11b ⁵
Prācyāḥ	11a ⁶ , 12a ⁴
Asmatpitṛcaraṇāḥ	26a ²
<i>Advaitacintāmaṇi</i>	
(by his father)	26b ⁷ , 13
<i>Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa</i>	
(his own work)	26a ¹

(b) *Padārthadīpikā* : This is published in the Benares Sanskrit Series and requires no notice to be taken in this place.

(c) *Tarkaratna* : ¹⁴ This is referred to in (b).

V.—KṚṢṆA BHAṬṬA ĀRDE

He was a resident of Benares, being the son of Raṅganātha, and Kamalā,¹⁵ pupil of Hari and younger brother of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. He is known for the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Jagadīśa's

i. Commentary on *Cintāmaṇidīdhiti* (= *Jagadīśatoṣiṇī* or *Mañjuṣā*).

and (b) Gadādhara's

i. Commentary on *Cintāmaṇidīdhiti* (= *Kāśikā*) and ii. *Śaktivāda*.

13. Cf. Hall, p. 79.

14. *Ibid.* p. 78.

15. I examined a Ms. of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Citraṅgādhara* (Fols. 26 ; unknown to Aufrecht) in Gopāladāsa's private Collection. In the 3rd introductory verse of this work the author speaks of his parents, whom he names Raṅganātha (not Raghunātha as in Aufrecht, *Cat. Cat.*, I, p. 118) and Kamalā, as already dead :

vaikṛṇṭhamadhyāvasatoḥ kamalāraṅganāthayoḥ |
tanūjena kavivānāṃ mālā bhīlā vitanyate ||

(Fol. 16). Cf. also *Ind. Office Cat.*, p. 618.

VI—MĀDHAVA DEVA

Mādhava Deva was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Deva and grandson of Mādhava Deva of Dhārāsūrapura¹⁶ on the bank of the Godāvārī. He was himself a man of Benares where he had been living for a long time past. From the introductory verses of the *Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarī* it appears that he read with his own father Lakṣmaṇa. His works, only two in number within our present knowledge, were written at Benares and held in high esteem among the local *paṇḍits* (*kāśīpaṇḍitamāṇḍaliṣuvilasan*)

His works are :

A. Commentary on

(a) Keśava Miśra's

i. *Tarkabhāṣā* (*Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarī*) or *Tarkaparakāśa*, where the following are referred to :

Gaurikānta . . Fols. 7a⁵, 13b³, 15a⁷, 18⁷, 20a³, 23a², 24a⁷, 34b⁶, 38a⁶, 43b⁴, 44b⁷
46b¹³, 48b⁶, 46a⁷

Govardhanaprabhṛtayaḥ 45a⁸

Govardhana 34b⁶, 38b⁵, 43b³, 45a¹²

Govardhanabalabhadrau 16a⁹

Prācīnāḥ 11b¹, 30b⁵⁻⁸, 45b⁸

Maṇikṛt 48b¹⁰

Dīdhiti 45a⁴, 46a¹

Paṇḍitammanya 50b⁵, 17

Rudrabhaṭṭācārya

Of the earlier commentators Gaurikānta has been most severely treated.

(b) Raghunātha's

i. *Tattvacintāmaṇḍīdhiti*. A part of this work, dealing with the import of the particle *eva* was known to Hultsch, No. 1418, II, p. 133.

(c) Rāmacandra's

i. Commentary on *Guṇakiraṇāvalī*, known as *Guṇarahasya* (*Guṇarahasyaparakāśa* as in *Hall*, p. 67 or *Guṇasāramañjarī* as in *Mitra* 1453).

B.

(a) *Nyāyasāra*. This is the earliest work of Mādhava (mentioned in *Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarī* on fols. 29⁴, 44a¹¹, 50a¹⁰) and merits appreciation. It was written at Tripurārīrājanagara, or Benares. From the fact that Mādhava names Rudra Bhaṭṭācārya and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, he could not have lived earlier than the middle of the 17th century, and the existence of a copy of *Nyāyasāra* in the India Office Library, transcribed in Sam

16. Not Dhārā, or modern Dhar, as supposed by Mr. A. V. Kathavate in his *Report* (1891-95), p. 15. Dhārā is a town in Central India, whereas Dhārāsūrapura is further South, in the Deccan, on the bank of the Godāvārī.

17. The Folios refer to the MS., not yet numbered, which has just been acquired for the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

1767 (A. D. 1710) furnishes the posterior limit of his age. In all probability therefore he belonged to the latter part of the 17th century.

VII.—DHARMARĀJA ADHVARĪNDRA

As the author of *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, Dharmarāja's reputation stands high among modern students of philosophy ; his Nyāya works have been forgotten and are now generally unknown. But it was for these works that he seems to have been remembered in his life-time.

He was an inhabitant of the village of Kandaramāṅikya, and he was the son of Trivedīnārāyaṇa Yajvan of the Kauṇḍīnya family.¹⁸ He is known to have been the pupil of Paṇḍit Veūkaṭanātha of Velaṅguḍi, a village which Mr. Burnell¹⁹ locates in the Kumbhakonam Taluk of the Tanjore District. Dharmarāja mentions his *paramaguru*'s name to be Nṛsiṃha Yati who may be tentatively identified with the author of *Bheda-dhikkāra* (A. D. 1547). Rāmākṣṇa, Dharmarāja's son, refers to Nṛsiṃha in his *Śikhāmaṇi*. The time of Dharmarāja falls therefore somewhere about the middle of the 17th century.

In the introductory verses of the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā*, Dharmarājā speaks of the two Nyāya treatises, both commentaries, named below.

A. (a) On Śāśadhara's

i. *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*²⁰ (*Nyāyaratna*). A copy of this work exists in the Tanjore collection (vide Burnell, p. 119b).

and (b) on Gaṅgeśa's

Tattvacintāmaṇi (*Tarkacūḍāmaṇi*), claims to have overthrown the view of ten previous commentaries. This seems however to be an idle vaunt.²¹

VIII.—RĀMAKṢṆA ADHVARIN

Dharmarāja's son Rāmākṣṇa was the author of a Commentary, known as *Nyāya-śikhāmaṇi*, on Rucidatta's *Tattvacintāmaṇiprakāśa*.²² This is the only work on Nyāya from Rāmākṣṇa's pen. From his commentary (*Vedāntaśikhāmaṇi*) on his father's *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* it appears that Rāmākṣṇa was highly proficient in the New Logic of Eastern India, and that his training was more on the line of a controversian than on pure Upaniṣadic lore.²³

18. Burnell, *Tanjore Catalogue*, p. 115b.

19. *Ibid*, p. 90a. But Mahāmahopādhyāya Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana in his commentary on the *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* (pp. 3-4) speaks of Velaṅguḍi to be a village on the bank of the Narmadā. I leave the point open for discussion by men more competent to deal with questions of South Indian biography.

20. *ṭikā śāśadharasyāpi bālavyyutpattidāyini* | This, along with the line following (*padayojanayā pañcapādikā vyākṛtā mayā*), does not occur in the current texts. The latter commentary is called *Padadīpikā* (see Hultzschn, No. 1152).

21. There is a commentary of this name on the *Tattvacintāmaṇiprakāśa*. Cf. *A triennial Catalogue of Mss* by Raṅgācārya Kuppū Svāmī Śāstrī, Vol. I. p. 795 (R. No. 578).

22. Burnell, p. 115b. 23. He also wrote a commentary on Sadānanda's *Vedāntasāra*.