



A HISTORY OF
Indian Logic

Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern Schools



Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LOGIC

(ANCIENT, MEDIAEVAL AND
MODERN SCHOOLS.)

BY

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MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
DELHI :: PATNA :: VARANASI



Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan.

पदीयः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां प्रश्वदान्वीक्षिकीमता ॥

(KAUTILYA.)

“Ānvikṣikī (Logic) has ever been esteemed as the lamp of all sciences, the resource of all actions and the shelter of all virtues.”

न्यायान्बुधिर्दीधितिकारयुक्तिकल्लोलकोलाहलद्विगाहः ।
तस्यापि पातुं न पयः समर्थः किं नाम धीमत्प्रतिभम्बुदाहः ॥

“Modern Logic is a veritable ocean whose water is saline and which is unapproachable owing to the tumults and uproars of the commentators. Is not then the water of that ocean capable of being drunk? Why not? Intelligent people, like clouds, can easily approach the ocean and drink its water pure and sweet.”

PREFACE

It pleased His Excellency the Earl of Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E., the Governor of Bengal, to utter these memorable words while presiding at the Convocation of the Calcutta University in the year 1918 :—“ That an Indian student should pass through a course of philosophy at an Indian University without ever hearing mention of, shall I say, Śaṅkara, the thinker who, perhaps, has carried idealism further than any other thinker of any other age or country, or of the subtleties of the Nyāya system which has been handed down through immemorial ages, and is to-day the pride and glory of the *toḥs* of Navadvīpa, does, indeed, appear to me to be a profound anomaly.”

Words like these coming from one who is himself a keen and ardent student of Indian Philosophy and a scrupulous and sympathetic ruler, came upon me, who have the good fortune to belong to Navadvīpa, “ with double sway ” and supplied the inspiration which sustained me in this my humble attempt to present a history of Indian Logic or Nyāya Darśana before the English-knowing public.

It was my revered preceptors Mahāmāhopadhyaya Mohesh Chandra Nyāyaratna, C.I.E., Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Mahāmāhopadhyaya Jadunath Sārvabhūma of Navadvīpa, who (the first by his lecture on *Bhāṣāparicheda* and *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*, and the second by his lectures on *Kusumāñjali* and *Ātma-tattva-viveka*) first awakened in me an interest in the study of Indian Logic. That was about the year 1892. Subsequently I read Modern Logic, viz. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and *Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā* under Pandit Bāmācharan Nyāyāchārya and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's *Dīdhiti* under Pandit Jībanāth Miśra, both of Benares College.

I searched out and studied most of the books and manuscripts on the subject of Hindu Logic to be found in the Sanskrit College Library and the Asiatic Society of Bengal and occasionally consulted works supplied by the Deccan College, Poona, and Benares Sanskrit College. I thus put myself in the way of acquiring some acquaintance with Indian Logic and from time to time published several books and articles on Nyāya.

With regard to Jaina Logic, I derived valuable help from my teacher, Śāstra-viśārada Jainācārya Vijayadharmā Sūri, Pandit Indravijaya Upādhyāya and occasionally from Pandit Haragovind Seth Nyāyatīrtha. I gathered Jaina books from various Jaina

Azimganj, Arrah, Bhavnagar, etc. I also used a large number of Jaina manuscripts, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Deccan College, Poona, etc., besides those in the possession of the aforesaid Venerable Vijayadharma Sūri.

As regards Buddhistic Logic, I could not get much help from Pali sources, because neither in the Buddhistic Scriptures introduced into Ceylon in 254 B.C. by Mahendra, son of Aśoka, nor in the Buddhistic books recorded in writing in 88 B.C. by Vatta-gāmini, is there any trace of a systematic culture of Nyāya. Even during my visit to Ceylon in 1909 (Appendix K), I did not come across in that island any evidence of Nyāya study. On this subject I have derived materials to some extent from Chinese, but mostly from Tibetan sources. Professor Kimura occasionally helped me in dealing with Chinese materials. Concerning the Tibetan sources almost all the materials were derived from *Bstan-hgyur* some volumes whereof were lent to me by the India office through the courtesy of Dr. F. W. Thomas. Through the kindness of Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, I was enabled to retain temporarily for my use some other volumes of *Bstan-hgyur* brought down from Gyantse during the Tibet Mission of 1904. To secure further materials bearing on the subject of Buddhistic Logic I visited Labrang and Pamyangchi monasteries in June 1907 and October 1908, respectively (Appendices I and J), and came across a world of facts for observation and comment. Since the opening of increased intercourse between India and Tibet consequent upon the Tashi Lama's visit to India in 1905 (of which an account is given in Appendix H), batches of Tibetan traders have been pouring into India and from them four copies of *Bstan-hgyur* have been obtained since 1911, of which one is with me, one in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, one (a fragmentary copy) in the Sāhitya-Parishad Library, and one in the Calcutta University Library.

In regard to the chapters on modern Logic I occasionally consulted some scholars among whom Mahāmahopādhyāya Pramatha Nath Tarkabhūṣaṇa, Mahāmahopādhyāya Gurucharan Tarka-darśana-tīrtha, Mahāmahopādhyāya Lakshman Śāstri, Mahāmahopādhyāya Vindhyeswari and Pandit Jāmini Nath Tarkavāgīśa may be gratefully mentioned.

My thanks are due to Hon'ble Mr W. W. Hornell, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, who very kindly looked through the first batch of manuscripts and made many suggestions which have stood me in great stead in preparing the volume. I am also grateful to Rev. A. Johnstone, M.A., Principal, C.M.S. College, for having revised manuscripts as well as the proofs of the portion dealing with

he left for England, the work of revision was very kindly undertaken by Dr. W. S. Urquhart, of the Scottish Churches College, to whom I offer my thanks. My special thanks are due to Dr. H. Stephen of the Calcutta University for the interest and thoroughness with which he examined all the proofs of the present volume.

The book however could not have seen the light nor assumed its present form were it not for help of various kinds received from that Macenas of letters—I mean the Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mukherji, Sarasvati, whose name is inseparably associated with every form of educational work in Bengal, who has spent the best years of his life in effecting various improvements in the status of the Calcutta University and who above anything else is the typical man of action—a great *Karmayogin*—unswerving in his aim and fixity of purpose, selfless in his devotion to work, pursuing it through life regardless of malediction or benediction, praise or blame.

CALCUTTA,
21st April, 1920.

SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA.

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣana had seen this book through up to p. 384. After his rather sudden death the work of seeing the remainder of the book through the press, was entirely left to me. I am, therefore, entirely responsible for any defects to be found in those pages. I have been helped, however, very materially by Dr. W. S. Urquhart and by Pandit Pasupati Nath Sāstri, M.A., to both of whom I have to express my thanks. The Index has been prepared by my old pupil Prof. Surendranath Bhaṭṭācārya, M.A., of the Behar National College and for the Tibetan Index I have to thank Mr. Iohan Van Manen, Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta.

I am well aware of my unfitness to undertake such a task requiring years of patient study. But I was tempted to do so, among other reasons, on account of the feeling of esteem and regard which I always entertained for my late friend, and I look upon this slight service to his memory as going a little way towards repaying the many kindnesses he had always shown to me ever since I first knew him

CALCUTTA,
December, 1920

I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA.

INTRODUCTION.

My object in this volume is to write the history of what is called *Nyāya*, one of the six schools into which orthodox philosophy in India is divided. The word 'logic,' although it is in common parlance held synonymous with Indian *Nyāya*, is not exactly identical with it. Logic covers some of the subjects of *Nyāya* as well as *Vaiśeṣika* and is not co-extensive with either.

Indian Logic has been differently defined in different ages but the definition generally accepted is the science which ascertains valid knowledge either by means of the six senses or by means of the five members of the syllogism; in other words, perception and inference are the subject-matter of Logic

In my anxiety to assign a proper place to Jaina and Buddhist Logic, which played no inconsiderable part in the development of the science of reasoning in India, I have made a departure from the time-honoured classification of Indian Logic into Ancient and Modern and have added an intermediate stage—thus dividing it into *three* periods. Ancient (650 B.C.—100 A.D.), Mediæval (up to 1200 A.D.) and Modern (from 900 A.D.). The standard texts for each of these periods were *Nyāya-Sūtra* by Akṣapāda, *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* by Dignāga and *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya respectively. The wide popularity of these works is evidenced by the large numbers of commentaries that have been written upon them, as mentioned below:—

THE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC.

Text.

1. *Nyāya-sūtra* by Akṣapāda Gautama.

Commentaries.

2. *Nyāya-bhāṣya* by Vātsyāyana.
3. *Nyāya-vārtika* by Udyotakara.
4. *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā* by Vācaspati Miśra.
5. *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā-pariśuddhi* by Udayanācārya.
6. *Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa* by Vardhamāna.
7. *Nyāyālaṅkara* by Śrīkaṇṭha.
8. *Nyāya-vṛtti* by Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya.
9. *Nyāya-sūtroddhāra* by Vācaspati Miśra.
10. *Nyāya-rahasya* by Rāmabhadra.
11. *Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā* by Jayrāma.
12. *Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti* by Viśvanātha Siddhāntāpañcānana.
13. *Nyāya-saṃkṣepa* by Govinda Sannā.

THE MEDIEVAL SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC.

Text.

1. Pramāṇa-samuccaya by Dignāga.

Commentaries.

2. Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti by Dignāga.
3. Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā by Dharmakīrti
4. Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti by Dharmakīrti.
5. Pramāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā by Devendrabodhi.
6. Pramāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā-tīkā by Śākṣabodhi.
7. Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti by Ravi Gupta.
8. Pramāṇa-samuccaya-tīkā (Viśālāmalavati-nāmā) by Jinendra-
bodhi.
9. Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra by Prajñākara Gupta.
10. Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra-tīkā by Jina
11. Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra by Yamāri.
12. Pramāṇa-vārtika-tīkā by Śaṅkarānanda.

THE MODERN SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC

Text.

1. Tattva-cintāmaṇi by Gaṅgeśa.

Commentaries.

2. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa by Vardhamana Upādhyāya.
3. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka by Pakṣadhara Miśra.
4. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa by Rucidatta.
5. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-mayūkha by Śaṅkara Miśra.
6. Anumāna-khaṇḍa-tīkā by Vācaspati Miśra.
7. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa by Haridāsa Nyāyalaṅkāra.
8. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi.
9. Maṇi-vyākhyā by Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa.
10. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya by Mathurānātha.
11. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti prasārinī by Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma.
12. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-mayūkha by Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra.
13. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-tīkā by Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa.
14. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-tīkā by Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa.
15. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-gūḍhārtha-dīpikā by Raghudeva Nyāyā-
laṅkāra.
16. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-vyākhyā by Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya.

Sub-Commentaries.

17. Āloka-darpaṇa by Maheśa Thakkura.
18. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-pariśiṣṭa by Devanātha Thākura.
19. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-kaṇṭhakodhāra by Mādhusūdana
Thakkura.
20. Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-rahasya by Mathurānātha Tarka-

21. *Didhiti-rahasya* by Mathūranātha Tarkavāgiśa.
22. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-prasāriṇī* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārva-
bhauma
23. *Anumānāloka-prasāriṇī* on Pakṣadhara by Kṛṣṇadāsa
24. *Sabdāloka-viveka* by Guṇānanda Vidyāvāgiśa.
25. *Didhiti-tīkā* by Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma.
26. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-prakāśikā* by Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra.
27. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-gudhārtha-vidyotana* by Jayarāma
Nyāyapañcānana.
28. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-prakāśikā* by Bhavānanda Sid-
dhāntavāgiśa.
29. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-parīkṣā* by Rudra Nyāyavācaspati.
30. *Didhiti-tīkā* by Raghudeva Nyāyālaṅkāra.
31. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-prakāśikā* by Gadādhara.
32. *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-didhiti-tīkā* by Rāmarudra Tarkavāgiśa.

Glosses

33. *Tattva kālīśāṅkari-patrikā* by Kālīśāṅkara.
34. *Tattva cāndi-patrikā* by Candra Nārāyaṇa.
35. *Tattva-raudri-patrikā* by Rudra Nārāyaṇa, etc.

Of all the nations of the world the Hindus and the Greeks appear to have developed systems of logic to a large extent independently of each other. Hindu Logic in its rudimentary stage can be traced as early as the 6th century before Christ. Greek Logic assumed a definite form in the fourth century B.C. though its germs can be traced a little earlier in the controversies of the Sophists and Socrates. But so far as the five-limbed syllogism of Hindu Logic is concerned the Hindu logician may have been indebted some way or other to the Greeks. While the syllogism was definitely formulated as a logical doctrine by Aristotle in his *Rhetoric*, *Prior Analytics* and *Posterior Analytics* in the 4th century B.C., the Hindu logician shows but a vague conception of it as late as the 1st century B.C. It is not inconceivable that the knowledge of Aristotle's logic found its way through Alexandria, Syria and other countries into Taxila (*vide* Appendix A). This is rightly corroborated by the Hindu tradition that Nārada who visited Alexandria (Śvetadvīpa) and became an expert in the handling of the five-limbed syllogism. So simple is syllogistic structure that it does not seem to require any theory of gradual development to explain its growth. And Aristotle might have conceived the idea of syllogistic form into which all reasoning could be put as a complete whole.

I am inclined, therefore, to think that the syllogism did not actually evolve in Indian Logic out of inference, and that the Hindu logician owed the idea of syllogism to the influence of Aristotle (*vide* Appendix B). To me it is one of the most important enquiries in the history of Indian Logic to ascertain at what stage the

doctrine of inference, which was an indigenous growth, was happily amalgamated with the borrowed art of syllogism into a common structure of logical thought. The Buddhist work *Kathāvatthu* furnishes several logical terms, e.g. *upanayana*, *niḡamana*, etc., of syllogistic reasoning. But we find not a single instance where these terms have been methodically combined so as to form a syllogism proper. An attempt has been made to discuss the point at issue in the Appendix B, and I leave it to the reader to take my views for what they are worth.

Ancient logic was called *Ānvīkṣikī*, or the science of debate, but with the introduction of syllogism or proper reasoning it came to be called *Nyāya* from the 1st century A.D. The *Nyāya-Sāstra* in its earliest age flourished in Mithilā with Gotama but it attained its high development in Prabhāsa with Akṣapāda. The mediaeval logic from the 4th century A.D. was called *Pramāṇa Sāstra*, inasmuch as it dealt with *pramāna*, the means of valid knowledge, i.e. perception and inference. Ujjaini in Malwa and Valabhi in Gujarat were the scenes of activity of the Jaina logicians of the Śvetāmbara sect. The Digambaras flourished principally in Pāṭaliputra and Drāvīda (including Karnātā) about the 8th century A.D. Buddhist logicians flourished in universities such as Kāñcīpura Nālanda (*vide* Appendix C), Odantapurī, Śrīdhānya-kāṭaka, Kāsmīra and Vikramaśilā (*vide* Appendix E). In Bengal Buddhist Logic attained its highest development during the reigns of the kings of the Pāl dynasty (*vide* Appendix D). Modern Logic commenced from the 10th century A.D. and was, in its first stage, called *Prakarāṇa* or the Manual of Logic, but its real life began from the 13th century A.D., since when it has been called *Tarka-Sāstra* or the science of Dialectics. It flourished in the University of Mithilā (*vide* Appendix F) during 13th, 14th and 15th centuries, and afterwards that of Nadia (*vide* Appendix G) became its stronghold from the 16th century onwards.

CALCUTTA,
21st April, 1920.

SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSAN

FOREWORD.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan came of a respectable Brahmana family of Faridpore. He was the third son of the well-known Pandit Pitambar Vidyāvāgīśa and was born on the 30th July, 1870, in the village of Khalkula in Faridpore. Satischandra was an infant four years old when he lost his father. The family was large and yet had no earning member; and the eldest son Biswamber Jyotiṣārṇava who was then only sixteen maintained the family under circumstances of great difficulty.

Satischandra first went to the village school at the early age of five and rapidly made his mark amongst his fellow students. He stood first in the Minor Vernacular Examination from his Division and secured a scholarship which enabled him to proceed to Navadvip and take admission into the Hindu School. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1888, and obtained a scholarship which helped him to come to Calcutta and take his admission into the City College. In due course he passed the F.A Examination and then migrated to the Krishnagar College. He took his B.A. degree with Honours in Sanskrit in 1892, and in the following year passed the M.A. Examination in Sanskrit from the Calcutta Sanskrit College. Meanwhile he had distinguished himself at the Sanskrit Examination held by the Vidagdha Jananī Sabhā of Navadvip and had obtained the title of *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*. It may be mentioned here that while still an undergraduate student in the City College he had married in 1889 the youngest daughter of Babu Gaṅgadhara Acharyya, the first Principal of the Midnapore College.

In 1893, shortly after Satischandra had passed the M.A. Examination in Sanskrit, he settled at Krishnagar as Professor of Sanskrit in the local college. Here he had special opportunity to study Sanskrit Kāvya from Mahāmahopādhyāya Ajitnath Nyāyaratna and Sanskrit Nyāya from Mahāmahopādhyāya Jadunath Sārvabhauma, each the recognised authority on his special subject. Some years later his services were lent by the Government of Bengal to the Buddhist Text Society under whose auspices he edited a number of useful Pali Texts and published several original papers which attracted the attention of scholars in Europe and America. About this time he came into contact with Rai Saratchandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., the distinguished Tibetan Explorer at whose request his services were again lent by

the Government for three years to assist in the preparation of a Tibetan-English Dictionary. He was in Darjeeling for this purpose from 1897-1900 and utilised the opportunity to acquire a thorough mastery over the Tibetan language with the help of the celebrated Lama Funchhog Wangdan of Lhasa, then resident at Darjeeling. In December, 1900, Satischandra came to Calcutta as a Professor in the Sanskrit College. At about this period he acquired a thorough knowledge of Pali from Sramanas of Ceylon and Burma. In November, 1901, he appeared a second time at the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University and chose Pali as his special subject. The University authorities were placed in a difficulty to find a suitable examiner. Ultimately Mr. C. H. Tawney and Prof. E. B. Cowell who had for many years been connected with the University arranged with Professor T. W. Rhys Davids to conduct the examination. Satischandra achieved high distinction and his attainments were specially praised by the distinguished examiner. In March, 1902, he was transferred to the Presidency College as Professor of Sanskrit. In December, 1905, the Tashi Lama came to India in order to visit the places sacred to Buddhists. Satischandra was deputed by the Government to accompany him, to act as Interpreter and to explain to him the histories and customs at the old Buddhist holy places. The Tashi Lama was highly pleased and presented Satischandra with a *Khataj* (silken upper garment) in token of high regard. On the 1st January, 1906, the Governor-General bestowed upon him the coveted title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. In 1907, on my nomination, Lord Minto, then Chancellor of the Calcutta University appointed him an Ordinary Fellow. At the same time he became a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Joint Philological Secretary. In 1908, the University conferred on him the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and awarded him the Griffith Prize for original research. About this time the question of Principalship of the Sanskrit College had come under the consideration of the Government of Bengal and the suggestion had been put forward that a European scholar should be appointed. The Lieutenant-Governor felt doubtful as to the advisability of such a step and discussed the matter with me as Vice-Chancellor of the University. I expressed my emphatic disapproval of the course proposed and expressed the opinion that Dr. Satischandra Vidyabhushan would be found admirably qualified for the Principalship if he were offered facilities for further training. This view prevailed and during 1909 and 1910 Satischandra was placed on deputation. In June 1909, he went to Ceylon and studied for six months with the venerable High Priest Sumangala, Principal of the Vidyodaya College at Colombo.

The first six months of the year 1910 he spent at Benares where, under the guidance of Dr. A. Venis, then Principal of the Queen's College, he studied under Subrahmanya Sastri, Bhagavatāchāryya, Sibakumar Sastri, Jibanath Jha and Bamacharan Nyāyāchāryya. After his return to Calcutta from Benares he studied for six months under the guidance of Dr. George Thibaut and acquired a good working knowledge of French and German. On the 1st December, 1910, he assumed charge of the Principalship of the Sanskrit College. In 1912 and 1916, he passed with great distinction the Preliminary and Final Examinations in Tibetan held by the Government, and carried off the sanctioned prizes on both occasions. He also acted as Lecturer on Pali and Tibetan in the University. His fame as a profound scholar of versatile attainments had rapidly spread and he was eagerly sought after in literary conferences. In 1913, he was the first President of the All India Digambar Jain Conference held at Benares. In 1914, he was President of the All India Svetambar Jain Conference held at Jodhpur and of the All India Sanskrit Conference held at Hardwar. In 1916, he was President of the Bengal Literary Conference held at Jessore, and of the District Literary Conference at Krishnagar. In 1919, he was a Vice-President of the First Oriental Conference held at Poona and President of the section on Pali and Buddhism. During all this period he worked strenuously as a scholar, and the value of his contributions to Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan studies cannot be easily appraised by a single individual. In the University itself he was a leading figure, and from 1912, acted as a Member of the Syndicate. His services were invaluable in reorganising Sanskrit studies of the indigenous type and his work as Secretary to the Sanskrit Board and the Sanskrit Association founded by the Government will be gratefully remembered by Pandits of the present generation all over this Presidency. There can be little doubt that he overworked himself, and in 1919 the first signs of failing health were indicated by a mild stroke of paralysis. Friends and well-wishers implored him to spare himself, but he was deaf to their entreaties, for as he used to say, it is better to die than to remain invalid. Two other mild attacks followed and the recovery was slow and gradual. At last on the 25th April, 1920, he passed away as the result of a sudden attack of apoplexy.

The publication of the present volume has a melancholy interest for me. In 1901 I had come across a monograph on "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan" by Sadajiro Sugiura who had offered it as a dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania. The work seemed to me of fascinating interest as opening up a

new field of investigation full of untold possibilities. I suggested to Satischandra who at the time was engaged in the study of Tibetan that he should undertake to explore the materials available from Tibetan sources. The substance of his first researches in this direction was embodied in his thesis on "Mediaeval School of Indian Logic" which brought him the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy and the Griffith Prize. He was however not content with this preliminary survey and continued steadily to collect fresh materials. The present volume was the result. At his request I read through more than half of the work before it was finally printed off and this made me realise the true value of what he had accomplished. Professor Taraporewala has with loving care seen through the press all that had not been printed when Satischandra passed away.

A list of his many and varied writings (complete as far as it has been possible to make it) has been compiled by several people and is herewith appended.

ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

A LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF THE LATE MAHĀMAHŌ-
PĀDHYĀYA DR. SATISCHANDRA VIDYABHUSHAN.¹

A. Works, original or edited.

1. Avadāna Kalpalatā: a Collection of Legendary Stories about the Bodhi-sattvas, by Kṣemendra, with its Tibetan version by Souton Lochava and Lakṣmīkara. Edited from a xylograph of Lhasa and Sanskrit MS. of Nepal by S. C. Das, H. M. Vidyabhushan and Mm. S. C. Vidyabhushan (Bib. Ind., Tib. Ser.—1888-1913).
2. Ātma-tattva prakāś (A Bengali work on the Nyāya Philosophy)—1897.
3. Bhavabhūti and his Dramas (in Bengali)—1899.
4. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, Fabcī. i-ii—1900.
5. Kaccāyana's Pali Grammar (Edited in Devanāgarī characters and translated into English)—1901.
6. Tibetan Primer, I. by Lama Wangdan—Transcribed into Roman Characters. Revised and translated by Mm. S. C. Vidyabhushan—1902.
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12. " " " " --2
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19. The Buddhist Doctrine of the "Ego" or the "Soul"
20. Synopsis of the Duties of a Buddhist according to Bodhicaryavrata } (vi, 4.)
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CONTENTS.

	<i>Page</i>
Portrait of the late MM. Dr Satischandra Vidyabhusana	Frontispiece
Author's Preface	ix
Introduction	xiii
Foreword by Sir Asutosh Mukerjee	xvii
A List of the writings of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushan	xxi

PART I.

THE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC.

SECTION I.

ĀNVIKṢIKĪ—THE SCIENCE OF INQUIRY (650 B.C.—100 A.D.).

Chapter I.

The Growth of Ānvīkṣikī into an Art of Debate.

1.	The Early Literature of India	1
2.	Problems of the Vedas	2
3.	Development of the conception of soul	2
4.	Ātmavidyā, the Science of soul	4
5.	Ānvīkṣikī, which includes a Theory of Reasons	4
6.	Ānvīkṣikī bifurcates into Philosophy and Logic	5
7.	Ānvīkṣikī in its Philosophical Aspect called Darśana	6
8.	Various names for Ānvīkṣikī in its Logical Aspect	7

Chapter II

The Teachers of Ānvīkṣikī (Philosophy and Logic).

9.	Cārvāka, his Materialistic Doctrine	9
10.	Kapila, his Doctrine of Matter and Soul	9
11.	Dattātreyā, his Parable of a Tree	10
12.	Punarvasu Ātreya, his Dissertation on the Senses	11
13.	Sulabhā, a Lady Ascetic, her Canons of Speech	12
14.	Aṣṭāvakra, a Violent Debater, how he Defeated a Sophist	13
15.	Aṣṭāvakra Solves Puzzles	16
16.	Mēdhātithi Gautama the Founder of Ānvīkṣikī par excellence	17

Chapter III.

The Doctrines of Ānvīkṣikī.

16.	A Council of Debate (<i>Parisad</i>)	22
17.	The Technical Terms used in the Council of Debate	23

	<i>Page</i>
18. <i>Tantra Yukti</i> , the Terms of Scientific Argument	24
19. Medhātithi Gautama's Doctrines as reproduced in the <i>Carakasamhitā</i>	25
i. <i>Kāryābhinirvṛtti</i> , the Aggregate of Resources for the Accomplishment of an Action	27
ii. <i>Parīksā</i> , the Standard of Examination	28
iii. <i>Sambhāṣā</i> or <i>vāda-vidhi</i> , the Method of Debate	28

Chapter IV.

Reception accorded to Ānvīkṣikī.

20. <i>Ānvīkṣikī</i> condemned in certain circles	36
21. <i>Ānvīkṣikī</i> held in high esteem in some quarters	37

SECTION II.

NYĀYĀ-SĀSTRA—THE SCIENCE OF TRUE REASONING.

Chapter I.

The Growth of Nyāyasāstra.

22. Origin of the name <i>Nyāya</i>	40
23. The Antiquity of <i>Nyāyasāstra</i>	41
24. The Early Teachers of <i>Nyāyasāstra</i>	42
25. Nārada, an Expert in <i>Nyāyasāstra</i>	43
26. <i>Nyāya-sūtra</i> , the first systematic work on <i>Nyāyasāstra</i>	46
27. Aksapāda, the Author of the <i>Nyāya-sūtra</i>	47
28. Subjects of the <i>Nyāya-sūtra</i>	50
29. The Arrangement of Categories in the <i>Nyāya-sūtra</i>	52
30. The Process of Treatment of the Categories	53

Chapter II.

Contents of the Nyāya-sūtra.

31. The Categories: their Enunciation	54
32. The Categories: their Definition	54
1. The means of Right knowledge (<i>pramāṇa</i>)	54
2. The Objects of Right knowledge (<i>prameya</i>)	56
3. Doubt (<i>saṁśaya</i>)	58
4. Purpose (<i>prayojana</i>)	59
5. Example (<i>dṛṣṭānta</i>)	59
6. Tenet (<i>siddhānta</i>)	59
7. Members of a Syllogism (<i>avayava</i>)	60
8. Confutation (<i>tarka</i>)	61
9. Ascertainment (<i>nirṇaya</i>)	62
10. Discussion (<i>vāda</i>)	63

	Page
11. Wrangling (<i>jalpa</i>)	63
12. Cavil (<i>vitaṇḍā</i>)	63
13. Fallacy (<i>hetvābhāsa</i>)	63
14. Quibble (<i>chala</i>)	65
15. Analogue (<i>jāti</i>)	65
16. A Point of Defeat (<i>nigrahassthāna</i>)	66
33. The Varieties of Analogue	67
1. Balancing the homogeneity	67
2. Balancing the heterogeneity	68
3. Balancing an excess	68
4. Balancing a deficit	69
5. Balancing the questionable	69
6. Balancing the unquestionable	70
7. Balancing the alternative	70
8. Balancing the question	71
9. Balancing the co-presence	71
10. Balancing the mutual absence	72
11. Balancing the infinite regression	73
12. Balancing the counter-example	73
13. Balancing the non-produced	74
14. Balancing the doubt	74
15. Balancing the point at issue or the controversial	75
16. Balancing the non-reason	75
17. Balancing the presumption	76
18. Balancing the non-difference	77
19. Balancing the demonstration	78
20. Balancing the perception	78
21. Balancing the non-perception	79
22. Balancing the non-eternal	79
23. Balancing the eternal	80
24. Balancing the effect	81
Application of the Analogues	81
Six-winged Disputation (<i>ṣaṭpaksī kathā</i>)	82
34. Varieties of the points of the Defeat	84
1. Hurting the proposition	84
2. Shifting the proposition	85
3. Opposing the proposition	85
4. Renouncing the proposition	86
5. Shifting the reason	86
6. Shifting the topic	86
7. The meaningless	87
8. The unintelligible	87
9. The incoherent	87
10. The inopportune	87
11. Saying too little	88
12. Saying too much	88
13. Repetition	88
14. Silence	89

	<i>Page</i>
15. Ignorance	89
16. Non-ingenuity .. .	89
17. Evasion	89
18. Admission of an opinion .. .	89
19. Overlooking the censurable .. .	89
20. Censuring the non-censurable .. .	90
21. Deviating from a tenet .. .	90
22. The fallacies of reason also furnish points of defeat or occasion for rebuke .. .	90
35. Categories : their Examination (<i>parīkṣā</i>) .. .	90
1. The Means of Right Knowledge (<i>pramāṇa</i>)	90
The means	90
Perception	92
Inference	93
Comparison	93
Verbal testimony	94
Other means	95
2. The objects of right knowledge (<i>prameya</i>) .. .	97
The Soul	97
Body	99
Senses	99
Objects of sense	100
Intellect	101
Mind	101
Faults	101
Transmigration	101
Emancipation	102
3. Doubt (<i>saṁśaya</i>)	103
4. Discussion (<i>vāda</i>)	104
5. Wrangling and Cavil (<i>jalpa-vitandā</i>)	104
36. Topics Incidentally Examined	105
1. Parts and Whole (<i>avayava</i> and <i>avayavin</i>)	105
2. Atoms (<i>paramāṇu</i>)	105
3. The Three Times (<i>kāla</i>)	106
4. Words and their Meanings (<i>śabdārtha</i>)	106
5. The Veda	107
6. Sound (<i>śabda</i>)	109
7. Word (<i>pada</i>)	110
8. The eyes (<i>cakṣuḥ</i>)	111
9. Intellect (<i>buddhi</i>)	112
10. Memory (<i>smṛti</i>)	112
11. The fixed signification of numbers (<i>saṁkhyāikānta</i>)	114

Chapter III.

Commentaries on the Nyaya-sūtra.

36a. Nature of the Commentaries	115
37. Vātsyāyana, author of the <i>Nyāya-bhāṣya</i>	115

	<i>Page</i>
38. Vātsyāyana criticises Nāgārjuna	117
39. Vātsyāyana criticises other Doctrines of the Buddhists ..	120
40. Vātsyāyana's Explanation of certain Doctrines	121
41. Uddyotakara, Author of the <i>Nyāya-vārtika</i>	123
42. Uddyotakara's Controversy with the Buddhists	125
43. Uddyotakara criticises Vasubandhu and Nāgārjuna ..	127
44. Uddyotakara criticises Dignāga	129
45. Uddyotakara's Explanation of Perception	130
46. Uddyotakara's Definition of Inference	130
47. Uddyotakara's Theory of Verbal Knowledge	131
48. Uddyotakara's Theory of Sufferings	132
49. Vācaspati Miśra, Author of the <i>Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā- tika</i>	133
50. Vācaspati opposes Dignāga	135
51. Vācaspati criticises Dharmakīrti	136
52. Vācaspati's Explanation of Determinate and Indeterminate Perceptions, <i>svikalpaka</i> and <i>nirvikalpaka</i>	137
53. Vācaspati's Theory of Right Knowledge and Wrong Know- ledge (<i>pramā</i> and <i>upramā</i>)	138
53a. Vācaspati's Theory of Condition (<i>upādhi</i>)	140
53b. The Theory of Cause and Effect (<i>kārya-kāraṇa</i>)	140
53c. The Buddhist and Jaina Scriptures condemned	141
54. Udayanācārya, Author of <i>Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā- tikā-parīśuddhi</i>	141
55. Udayana combats the Buddhists	142
56. Udayana opposes Kalyāṇa Rakṣita and Dharmottara ..	143
57. Udayana's <i>Kusumāñjali</i>	143
58. Udayana's <i>Ātma-tattva-viveka</i>	145
59. Jayanta, Author of the <i>Nyāya-mañjarī</i>	146
60. Jayanta's Explanation of Verbal Knowledge	147
61. Jayanta criticises the Doctrines of Kalyāṇa Rakṣita and Dharmottara	149
62. Jayanta's Review of several other Buddhistic Doctrines ..	150
63. Śrīkantha	151
64. Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya	151
65. Other commentators on the <i>Nyāya-sūtra</i>	151

Chapter IV.

<i>The Nyāya recognized as a Branch of Orthodox Learning.</i>	152
66. A comparative Estimate of the <i>Avśikī</i> and the <i>Nyāya</i>	152
67. The <i>Nyāya</i> included in Śaddarsana	152
68. The <i>Nyāya</i> supports the Veda	153
69. The <i>Nyāya</i> adapts itself to Śaivism	154
70. The Popularity of <i>Nyāya</i> established	155

PART II.

THE MEDIAEVAL SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC

CALLED *Pramāṇasāstra*, THE SCIENCE OF RIGHT KNOWLEDGE.

SECTION I.

JAINA LOGIC.

*Chapter I.**Topics of Logic mentioned in the Jaina Canons.*

	<i>Page</i>
1 The special Features of Mediaeval Logic. Formation of the Mediaeval school.	
2. Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism	158
3. The Jaina sects, Śvetāmbara and Digambara	159
4. Indrabhūti Gautama, a Disciple of Mahāvīra	159
5. The canonical Scriptures of the Jainas	160
6. Logical Subjects in the Canons	161

*Chapter II.**Early Jaina Writers on Logic.*

Bhadrabāhu the Senior	164
Bhadrabāhu the Junior	164
7. Bhadrabāhu's Syllogism	165
8. Bhadrabāhu's Explanation of <i>Syādvāda</i>	167
9. Umāsvāti	168
10. Umāsvāti's Doctrine of <i>Pramāṇa</i> (Right Knowledge)	169
11. Umāsvāti's Explanation of <i>Naya</i> (the Mood of Statements)	170

*Chapter III.**Jaina Writers on Systematic Logic.*

12. The written Records of the Jainas	172
13. Systematic Jaina Logic	172
14. Siddhasena Divākara <i>alias</i> Kṣapanaka	173
15. Siddhasena's <i>Nyāyavatāra</i>	174
<i>Pramāṇa</i> , Right knowledge	174
<i>Naya</i> , the Method of Descriptions	181
16. Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa	181
17. Siddhasena Gaṇi	182
18. Samantabhadra	182
19. Samantabhadra's <i>Āptamīmāṃsā</i>	184
20. Akalaṅkadeva	185
21. Vidyānanda	186
22. Mānikya Nandi	188
22. Mānikya Nandi's <i>Devībhāṣya</i>	188

	<i>Page</i>
Reason, <i>hetu</i>	190
Example, <i>dr̥ṣṭānta</i>	191
Inference <i>anumāna</i>	192
Verbal Testimony, <i>āgama</i>	192
Scope of valid Knowledge, <i>viśaya</i>	192
Fallacy, <i>ābhāsa</i>	192
References to Philosophers	193
24. Prabhācandra	193
25. Rabhasānanda	194
26. Mallavādīn	194
27. Amṛtacandra Sūri	195
28. Devasena Bhaṭṭāraka	195
29. Pradyumna Sūri	196
30. Abhayadeva Sūri	196
31. Laghusamantabhadra	197
32. Kalyānacandra	198
33. Anantavīrya	198
34. Deva Sūri	198
35. Deva Sūri's <i>Pramāna-naya-tattvālokāṅkāra</i>	200
Fallacies of <i>Nāya</i>	203
The Soul, <i>ātma</i>	204
The Method of Debate	204
36. Hemacandra Sūri	205
37. Candraprabha Sūri	206
38. Nemicandra Kavi	207
39. Ānanda Sūri and Amaracandra Sūri, nicknamed 'Tiger-cub and Lion-cub	207
40. Haribhadra Sūri	208
41. Pārśvadeva Gaṇi	210
42. Śricandra	210
43. Devabhadra	211
44. Candrasena Sūri	211
45. Ratnaprabha Sūri	211
46. Tilakācārya	212
47. Malliṣena Sūri	212
48. Rājaśekhara Sūri	213
49. Jñānacandra	213
50. Guṇaratna	214
51. Śrutasāgara Gaṇi	215
52. Dharma Bhūṣaṇa	215
52 α Vinayavijaya	216
53. Yaśovijaya Gaṇi	217
54. Yaśovijaya's Works	218

Chapter IV

Continuity of Jaina Logic

55. The conciliatory Character of Jaina Logic	221
---	-----

	Page
57. Support of the Jaina Community	223
58. Jaina Logic will not be extinct	224

SECTION II.

THE BUDDHIST LOGIC.

Chapter I.

Topics of Logic mentioned in the old Buddhist Literature

59. Buddha Gautama	225
60. Origin of the Pāli Buddhist Literature	225
61. Logical Topics in the Pāli Literature	227
62. <i>Suttapitaka : Dīgha-nikāya : Brahmajāla Sutta</i>	227
63. <i>Suttapitaka : Majjhimanikāya Anumāna Sutta</i>	229
64. <i>Suttapitaka : Khuddaka Nikāya Udāna</i>	229
65. <i>Vinaya-pitaka : Parivāra</i>	229
Four kinds of Cases for Settlement (<i>adhikarṇa</i>)	229
Seven Rules for the Settlement of Cases (<i>adhikarāṇa-samathā-dhamma</i>)	230
A Complaint (<i>codanā</i>)	231
A Complaint in Complainant and Respondent	231
A Judicial Council of Monks (<i>saṅgha</i>)	231
Members of a Council (<i>saṅgamāvācarabhikkhu</i>)	231
The Judge or Umpire (<i>anuvijjaka</i>)	231
66. <i>Vinaya pitaka : patimokkha</i>	232
67. <i>Abhidhamma-pitaka : kathāvatthuppakaraṇa</i>	234
68. Methods of Disputation as illustrated in the <i>Kathāvatthu</i>	235
A Case presented by a Dispute in a regular Form (<i>anuloma</i>)	235
A Rejoinder by the Respondent (<i>patikamma</i>)	235
The Rejoinder causing Entanglement or Defeat on the Disputant (<i>niggaha</i>)	236
Application of the Reasoning of the Disputant to his own Case (<i>upanaya</i>)	236
Conclusion (<i>niggamaṇa</i>)	237
A Case presented through a simple Comparison (<i>suddhikasamsandana</i>)	237
Definition of Terms (<i>lakṣhanayatti kathā</i>)	238
Clearing the Meaning of Terms (<i>vacanaśodhana</i>)	238
A Case presented through an Analogy (<i>opamma saṃsandana</i>)	238
A Case presented through the four-fold Method (<i>catūkkānayasamsandana</i>)	239
The Doctrine of Impermanence (<i>khaneka kathā</i>)	239
69. <i>Milinda-pañha</i> alias the <i>Bhikṣu-Sūtra</i>	240
70. Origin of the <i>Mahāyāna</i>	241
71. Origin of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature	242
72. Logic mentioned in the Sanskrit Literature	242
73. The <i>Lalitavistara</i>	243
74. The <i>Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra</i>	243
75. Eighteen Sects of the Buddhists	246

Chapter II.

Early Buddhist Writers on Logic.

	Page
77. Rise of Buddhist Logic	251
78. Ārya Nāgārjuna	251
79. Nāgārjuna's <i>Mādhyamika-kārikā</i>	253
80. Nāgārjuna's References to the Logical Doctrines of Akṣapāda	255
81. Nāgārjuna's <i>Vigraha-vyāvartani-kārikā</i>	256
82. Nāgārjuna's <i>Pramāṇa-vihetano</i> , or <i>Pramāṇa vidhvamsana</i> ..	257
83. <i>Unāyu-kauśalya-hṛdaya-sāstra</i>	259
84. Ārya Deva	261
85. Maitreya	262
86. Maitreya's <i>Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā</i>	262
87. Maitreya's Treatise on the Art of Debate	263
1. The Subject of Debate	263
2. The Place of Debate	263
3. The Means of Debate	264
4. The Qualifications of a Debater	264
5. Points of Defeat (<i>nigrahasthāna</i>)	264
6. Attending a Place of Debate	264
7. Confidence of a Debater	264
88. Ārya Asaṅga	265
89. Vasubandhu	266
90. Vasubandhu's <i>Tarka-sāstra</i>	267

Chapter III.

Systematic Buddhist Writers on Logic.

91. The Commencement of Mediaeval Logic	270
92. Ācārya Dignāga, the Father of Mediaeval Logic	270
93. Life of Dignāga	272
94. Dignāga's <i>Pramāṇa-samuccaya</i>	274
Chapter I—Perception	276
Chapter II—Inference for One's Self	280
Chapter III—Inference for the Sake of Others	282
Chapter IV—Reason and Example	286
Chapter V— <i>Apoha</i> , Negation of the Opposite	287
Chapter VI—Analogues or Far-fetched Analogy	288
95. Dignāga's <i>Nyāya-praveśa</i>	289
A Syllogism, <i>nyāyāvayava</i>	289
The Minor Term	290
The Middle Term and the Major Term	291
Fourteen Fallacies	293
The example	295
Perception and Inference	298
96. Dignāga's <i>Hetu-cakrahamaru</i>	299
97. <i>Pramāṇa-samuccaya-tytta</i>	299
98. <i>Pramāṇa-sāstra-mūlāna-praveśa</i>	300

	<i>Page</i>
99. <i>Ālambana-parīkṣā</i>	300
100. <i>Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti</i>	301
101. <i>Trikāla-parīkṣā</i>	301
102. Paramārtha	301
103. Śaṅkara Svāmin	302
104. Dharmapāla	302
105. Ācārya Śīlabhadra	303
106. Ācārya Dharmakīrti	303
107. <i>Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā</i>	306
108. <i>Pramāṇa-vārtikā-vṛtti</i>	308
109. <i>Pramāṇa-viniścaya</i>	308
110. <i>Nyāya-bindu</i>	309
Perception	310
Inference for One's Self	310
Inference for the Sake of Others	312
Dharmakīrti criticises Dignāga	315
111. <i>Hetu-bindu-vivarana</i>	318
112. <i>Tarka-nyāya</i> or <i>Vāda-nyāya</i>	318
113. <i>Santānāntara-siddhi</i>	319
114. <i>Sambandha-parīkṣā</i>	319
115. <i>Sambandha-parīkṣā-vṛtti</i>	319
116. Devendrabodhi	319
117. Śākyabodhi	320
118. Viṃṭa Deva	320
119. Ravi Gupta	322
120. Jinendrabodhi	323
121. Santa Raksita	323
122. Kamalaśīla	327
123. Kalyaṇa Raksita	328
124. Dharmottarācārya	329
125. Muktakumbha	331
126. Arcaṭa	331
127. Aśoka	332
128. Candragomin (Junior)	333
129. Prajñākara Gupta	336
130. Ācārya Jetāri	337
131. Jina	338
132. Ratna Kīrti	338
133. Ratna Vajra	339
134. Jina Mitra	340
135. Dānaśīla	340
136. Jñānaśrī Mitra	341
137. Jñānaśrī Bhadra	342
138. Ratnākara Śānti	342
139. Yamāri	343
140. Śaṅkarānanda	344

Chapter IV.

The Decline of Buddhist Logic.

	<i>Page</i>
143. Contentious Spirit of Buddhist Logic	348
144. Loss of Royal Patronage	349
145. Advent of the Mahomedans	350
146. The Brāhmanic Preachers	351
147. Shelter in Foreign Countries	351
148. Extinction of the Buddhists and their Doctrines in India..	353

PART III.

THE MODERN SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC.

SECTION I.

Prakarana—MANUAL OF LOGIC.

Chapter I

The Nyāya-prakarana reduces its categories to one.

1. The Neo-Brāhmanic age	355
2. Composition of the <i>Prakarana</i> s, Manual of Logic	355
3. Four Classes of <i>Prakarana</i> s	356
4. <i>Nyāya-prakarana</i> developing the category of <i>pramāna</i>	357
5. Bhāsarvajña	357
6. Bhāsarvajña's <i>Nyāya-sāra</i>	358
<i>Nyāya-sāra</i> follows no particular Work	358
7. Contents of the <i>Nyāya-sāra</i>	359
Perception, <i>pratyakṣa</i>	359
Inference, <i>anumāna</i>	361
<i>Hetvābhāsa</i> , Fallacy of Reason	362
A. Unproved (<i>asiddha</i>)	362
B. The Contradictory (<i>viruddha</i>)	363
C. The Uncertain (<i>anvikāntika</i>)	365
D. Non-tried or Non-conclusive (<i>anadhyavasita</i> or <i>anupasaṁhārī</i>)	366
E. Mistimed or Incompatible Reason (<i>kālātyayopadiṣṭa</i> or <i>bādhita</i>)	367
F. Balancing the Controversy (<i>prakarana-sama</i>)	367
G. Non-erroneous Contradiction (<i>viruddhāvvyabhicārī</i>)	368
Example, <i>udāharana</i>	368
Verbal Testimony, <i>āgama</i>	370
Emancipation, <i>moksa</i>	370
8. Commentaries on the <i>Nyāya-sāra</i>	371

Chapter II.

*Nyāya-prakarana*s embodying *Vaiśeṣika* categories.

9. The <i>Nyāya</i> incorporates the <i>Vaiśeṣika</i>	373
---	-----

	Page
11. <i>Tārkikarakṣā</i>	374
Valid knowledge, <i>pramāṇa</i>	375
Inference, <i>anumāna</i>	376
Syllogism, <i>avayana</i>	377
The Sign, <i>liṅga</i>	377
Debate, <i>kaṭhā</i>	378
12. Commentaries on <i>Tārkikarakṣā</i>	380
13. Keśava Miśra	381
14. <i>Tarka-bhāṣā</i> . Technicality of Logic	381
Categories, <i>padārtha</i>	381
Instrument, <i>kaṛaṇa</i>	382
Cause, <i>kāraṇa</i>	382
Perception, <i>pratyakṣa</i>	383
Inference, <i>anumāna</i>	383
Comparison, <i>upamānā</i>	384
Word, <i>śabda</i>	384
15. Commentaries on the <i>Tarka-bhāṣā</i>	384

Chapter III.

The Vaiśeṣika Prakaraṇa embodying the Nyāya category of Pramāṇa.

16. The Vaiśeṣika incorporates the Nyāya category	386
17. Vallabhācārya	386
18. <i>Nyāya-līlāvatī</i>	387
19. Commentaries on the <i>Nyāya-līlāvatī</i>	387
20. Annam Bhatta	388
21. <i>Tarkasaṅgraha</i>	388
22. Commentaries on <i>Tarkasaṅgraha</i>	390
23. Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana.. .. .	392
24. <i>Bhāṣā-pariccheda</i>	392
25. <i>Tarkāmṛta</i>	393
26. Laugākṣi Bhāskara	395
27. <i>Tarka-kaumudī</i>	395

Chapter IV.

Works treating of certain topics of the Nyāya and certain topics of the Vaiśeṣika.

28. The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika promiscuously amalgamated	396
29. Śaśadhara	396
30. <i>Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa</i>	396
31. Mādhavācārya	397
32. <i>Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha</i> , Akṣapāda Darśana.. .. .	398
Inference as a Means of Right knowledge	398
The Inference as a Means of Right Knowledge cannot be	

SECTION II.

Tarka-Sāstra—THE SCIENCE OF DIALECTICS.

Chapter II.

Formation of the Tarka-sāstra.

	<i>Page</i>
33. The Nyāya cannot be combined with Vaiśeṣika	402
34. Adoption of <i>Pramāna</i> alone	402
35. Adoption of the Vaiśeṣika Principles	402
36. Subtlety of Meanings aimed at	403
37. Fine Definition of Terms	403
38. The Use of Technical Terms	403

Chapter II.

Tattva-cintāmani—the Earliest work on *Tarka-sāstra*.

39. Importance of <i>Tattva-cintāmani</i>	405
40. Gaṅgeśa, the Author of the <i>Tattva-cintāmani</i>	405
41. The Text of <i>Tattva-cintāmani</i>	
Book I. Perception. <i>Pratyakṣa-khaṇḍa</i>	407
Invocation of Blessings, <i>Maṅgala-vāda</i>	408
The Validity of Knowledge, <i>Prāmānya-vāda</i>	408
Invalid Knowledge, <i>Anyathā-khyāti</i>	409
Intercourse between Senses and their Objects— <i>Sannikarṣa</i>	
Ordinary Perception (<i>laukika pratyakṣa</i>)	411
Transcendent Perception (<i>alaukika pratyakṣa</i>)	412
Inference, <i>Samūhaya-vāda</i>	414
The Invalidity of Non-perception <i>Anupalabdhi</i> or <i>prāmā-</i> <i>nya vāda</i>	414
Non-existence (or Negation), <i>Abhāva-vāda</i>	415
Causes of Perception, <i>Pratyakṣa-kāraṇa-vāda</i>	416
The Atomic Nature of the Mind, <i>Manonutva-vāda</i>	417
The Doctrine of Self-consciousness, <i>Anuvyavasāya-vāda</i>	418
Immediate Perception, <i>Nirvikalpa-vāda</i>	418
Mediate Perception, <i>Savikalpa-vāda</i>	419
Book II. : Inference, <i>Anumāna-khaṇḍa</i>	419
The Determination of Inferential Knowledge— <i>Anumiti-nirū-</i> <i>pana</i>	419
Inference distinct from Perception	420
Five Provisional Definitions of Invariable Concomitance, <i>Vyāpti-pañcakam</i>	421
Definition of Invariable Concomitance given by “Lion” and “Tiger”, <i>Siṃha-vyāghroka-vyāptilakṣaṇa</i>	423
Non-existence whose Counterpart is qualified by a Nature abiding in a different Locus, <i>Vyadhikarāna-dharmā-</i> <i>vacchinnābhāvaḥ</i>	423
Other objectionable Definitions of Invariable Concomitance, <i>Pūrvapakṣaḥ</i>	424

	Page
The conclusive Definition of Invariable Concomitance, <i>Siddhānta-lakṣaṇam</i>	424
Non-existence of the General Form, <i>Sāmānya bhāvaḥ</i>	425
Invariable Concomitance of Special Forms, <i>Viśeṣa-vyāpti</i>	426
The Means of apprehending Invariable Concomitance, <i>Vyāpti-grahopāyaḥ</i>	426
Conclusion as to the Means of apprehending Invariable Concomitance, <i>Vyāpti-grahopāya-siddhānta</i>	428
Reasoning (or Confutation), <i>Tarka</i>	429
Comprehensiveness of Invariable Concomitance, <i>Vyāpty-anugamaḥ</i>	429
Intercourse whose Character is General, <i>Sāmānya-lakṣaṇa</i>	429
Conclusion about the Intercourse whose Character is General, <i>Sāmānya-lakṣaṇa-siddhāntaḥ</i>	430
The Conditional Middle Term, <i>Upādhi-vādaḥ</i>	431
The State of Being the Locus or Minor Term, <i>Pakṣatā</i>	432
Consideration or Knowledge of Premises, <i>Parāmarśaḥ</i>	433
An Exclusively Affirmative Inference, <i>Kevalānvayyanumānam</i>	434
An Exclusively Negative Inference, <i>Kevalavyatirekyanumānam</i>	434
An Affirmative—negative Inference	435
Presumption, <i>Arthāpatti</i>	435
Inference for One's self, <i>Svārthānumāna</i>	435
Inference for the Sake of Others, <i>Parārthānumāna</i>	435
Syllogism, <i>Nyāyaḥ</i>	436
Parts of a Syllogism, <i>Avayavaḥ</i>	436
Fallacies, <i>Hetvābhāsaḥ</i>	438
Fallacies are serviceable as they point out Inefficiency	442
Inference of God, <i>Īśvarānumānam</i>	442
BOOK III : Comparison, <i>Upamāna-khaṇḍa</i>	443
BOOK IV : Verbal Testimony, <i>Śabda-khaṇḍa</i>	444
Definition of Verbal Testimony	444
Verbal Knowledge, <i>Śabda-bodhaḥ</i>	444
Speech as a Means of Valid-Knowledge	445
Expectancy, <i>Akāṅkṣā-vādaḥ</i>	447
Consistency, <i>Yogyatā</i>	447
Contiguity, <i>Āsattiḥ</i>	447
Intention, <i>Tātparāyam</i>	448
The Non-eternity of Sound	448
Injunction, <i>Vidhi-vādaḥ</i>	448
Merit and Demerit, <i>Apūrva-vādaḥ</i>	449
Potentiality, <i>Śakti-vādaḥ</i>	449
Implication, <i>Lakṣaṇā</i>	451
Compound Words, <i>Samāsa-vādaḥ</i>	453
Verbal Suffixes, <i>Ākhyāta-vādaḥ</i>	453
The Roots, <i>Dhātu-vādaḥ</i>	453
Prefixes, <i>Upasarga-vādaḥ</i>	453
Validity of the Verbal Means of Knowledge	453

Chapter III.

Commentaries on the *Tattva-cīntāmaṇi*.

	Page
42. The Popularity of <i>Tattva-cīntāmaṇi</i>	454
43. The Mithilā School	454
44. Vardhamāna Upādhyāya	454
45. Pakṣadhara Miśra	455
46. Vāsudeva Miśra	456
47. Rucidatta Miśra	457
48. Bhagiratha or Megha Thakkura	457
49. Maheśa Thakaura	457
50. Sankara Miśra	458
51. Vācaspati Miśra (the Younger or Junior)	459
52. Misaru Miśra	460
53. Durgādatta Miśra	460
54. Devanātha Thakkura	460
55. Madhusūdana Thakkura	461
56. The Nadia School	461
57. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma	461
58. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi	463
59. Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra Bhaṭṭācārya	465
60. Jānakīnātha Śarma	466
61. Kaṇāda Tarkavāgiśa	466
62. Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācārya Chakravarti	466
63. Mathurānātha Tarkavāgiśa	467
64. Kṛṣṇadāsa Srāvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya	468
65. Guṇānanda Vidyāvāgiśa	468
66. Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma	468
67. Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra	469
68. <i>Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā</i>	470
69. Rudra Nyāyavācaspati	476
70. Jayarāma Nyayapañcānana	477
71. Gaurikānta Sārvabhauma	478
72. Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgiśa	479
73. Harirāma Tarkavāgiśa	479
74. Viśvanātha Siddhāntapañcānana	479
75. Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgiśa	480
76. Govinda Nyāyavāgiśa	480
77. Raghudeva Nyāyālaṅkāra	481
78. Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya	481
79. Nṛsinha Pañcānana	482
80. Ramadeva Cirañjiva	483
81. Kāmarudra Tarkavāgiśa	483
82. Srikrṣṇa Nyāyālaṅkāra	483
83. Jayarāma Tarkālaṅkāra	483
84. Rudrarāma	484
85. "Buno" Rāmanātha	484
86. Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgiśa	484
87. Rājacūḍāmaṇimakhin	485

	<i>Page</i>
88. Dharmarājādhvarin	485
89. Gopinātha Mauni	485
90. Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Āde	486
91. Mahādeva Puntamkar	486
92. Raghunātha Śāstri (Parvata)	487

Chapter IV.

Present State of the Science of Dialectics.

93. Patronage of the Maharaja of Nadia	488
94. The Portuguese to be an Interest in Dialectics	488
95. British Government encourages Nyāya	490
96. Rise of Vernacular detrimental to Nyāya	492
97. The Universities on the Western Model	492

Appendices.

Appendix A. The University of Taxila	494
Appendix B. Influence of Aristotle on the Development of the Syllogism in Indian Logic	497
Appendix C. The University of Nālandā	514
Appendix D. A List of Kings of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal and Behar	517
Appendix E. The Royal University of Vikramaśilā	519
Appendix F. University of Mithilā	521
Appendix G. The University of Nadia	523
Appendix H. The Tashi Lama's Visit to India	528
Appendix I. Reminiscences of a Visit to Labrang, Pami- yangchi and Padangi	530
Appendix J. Reminiscences of a Visit to Pamiyangchi	537
Appendix K. Journey to Ceylon	540

INDEXES.

Index of Subjects	542
Index of Books	579
Index of Authors	595
Index of Quotations	599
Index of Sanskrit Terms	611

Tibetan Indexes.

I. Logical Terms	634
II. Tibetan Quotations	638
III. Books	638
IV. Proper Names	644
V. Place Names	646
VI. Residuals	647
VII. Errata	647

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LOGIC.

PART I.

THE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC

SECTION I.

Ānvikṣiki—the Science of Inquiry (650 B.C.—100 A.D.).

CHAPTER I.

The growth of Ānvikṣikī into an Art of Debate.

1. THE EARLY LITERATURE OF INDIA (CIRCA 1500 B.C.—600 B.C.).

The Brāhmaṇas maintain that their religion is eternal (*sanātana*). It is based on scriptures which are said also to be eternal but revealed in different cycles of time to seers or sages called *Rṣis*. These scriptures are called the Vedas which comprise the Saṁhitās (Hymns) and the Brāhmaṇas (Rituals, etc.). The Vedas are regarded even by modern scholars, who do not admit the perpetuity of their existence, to be the oldest records not only of India but of the whole Aryan world. The Saṁhitā of the R̥gveda which is the oldest part of the Veda is said by them to have come down to us from about 1500 B.C., while the Brāhmaṇas such as the Aitareya, Kauṣītakī, etc., are supposed to have belonged to a period between 900 B.C. and 600 B.C. The Āraṇyakas (Forest-treatises), which are theosophic in character, form the closing section of the Brāhmaṇas. The Upaniṣads which deal mainly with metaphysical questions are included in the Āraṇyakas and are as such older than 600 B.C.¹

¹ Compare Macdonell's "History of Sanskrit Literature," p. 47; and my "Grimm's Phonetic Law of the Indo-European Languages."

2. PROBLEMS OF THE VEDAS (CIRCA 1500 B.C.—600 B.C.).

From the standpoint of subject-matter the Vedas (composed between 1500 B.C. and 600 B.C.) may be divided into three sections (kāṇḍas), viz. Prayer, Rituals and Knowledge. Under *upāsanā* (Prayer), *karma* (Rituals) and *jñāna* (Knowledge) Under *upāsanā* come the Samhitās which embody expressions of wonder and awe at the Powers of Nature such as Light, Darkness, Wind, Water, Rain, etc. The Brāhmaṇas which treat mainly of the sacrificial rites come under the head *karma*. The *jñāna-kāṇḍa* as represented by the Āraṇyakas is concerned mainly with the nature of soul and its destiny.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTION OF SOUL (900 B.C.—600 B.C.).

As already suggested, the Brāhmaṇas hold that the doctrine of the soul and its destiny propounded in the Āraṇyakas (Upaniṣads) has existed in India from the beginning of time. Their view, which seeks to place the Brāhmaṇic religion on a firm basis unshaken by the influences of time, does not however find favour with modern scholars according to whom all human civilizations, including even the civilizations of the Indian people, grew up by a process of evolution. The conception of the soul and its destiny, like every thing else, has undergone stages of development in the course of ages. These stages may be clearly seen if we examine the doctrine of the soul as given in the Samhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

Evolution in the Doctrine of Soul.

The Samhitās of the Rg-veda¹ and Atharva-veda² tell us that when a person dies his spirit (called *prāṇa*, breath, *asu*, breathing, or *manāḥ*, intelligence, characterised as *ajo bhāgo*, the unborn part), which leaves behind on earth all that is uncomfortable, is conveyed by the messenger of Yama (the Lord of Death) to the world of his forefathers where it obtains a delectable abode and enters upon a perfect life which will never cease.

Spirit in the Vedas.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa³ and other later vedic works, which mention the soul as *ātman* lay much stress on its good work called *dharma* (righteous-

Soul in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.

¹ Rg-veda Samhitā ix 113, 9, 11; x. 14, 8-10; x. 15, 14; and x. 16, 2, 5.

² Atharva veda samhitā xviii. 2, 27. Vide also Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. V, pp. 300-335.

³ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa vi. 2, 2, 27; x. 6, 3, 1; xi. 7, 2, 23. Vide Muir's Sanskrit Texts. Vol. V, pp. 300-335.

ness) which is described as the strength of strengths (*kṣātrasya kṣātram*).¹ According to them all persons are after death reborn into another world where they enjoy pleasures or suffer pains according to their good or evil deeds.

The upaniṣads offer a subtle treatment of the soul distinguish-
 Soul in the Upaniṣads ing carefully between *jñāna* (knowledge) and *karma* (work). According to the Chāndogya² and the Brhadāraṇyaka³ a person who has acquired knowledge proceeds after death through the path of gods (*deva-yāna*) to the region of Brahma whence he does not return; while a person who has merely done useful work passing through the path of his forefathers (*pitṛ-yāna*) reaches the moon whence he, after the exhaustion of his merits, comes back to this world; and a person who has neither acquired knowledge nor has done any useful work traverses a third path—the path of transmigration (*saṁsāra*)—which leads him to continual births and deaths.

The third path is more fully expounded in the Kathopaniṣad⁴ which gives a clear exposition of the nature of the soul called *ātman*. The soul is described as being distinct from the body. It is not born, it does not die, it sprang from nothing and nothing sprang from it. It is eternal and everlasting and is not killed though the body is killed. The wise man who knows the soul as bodiless within the body, as unchanging among changing things, as great and omnipresent, never grieves. The soul is comparable to a person who moves in a chariot, the body is the chariot, the intellect the charioteer, the mind the reins, the senses are the horses and the surrounding objects their spheres of operation. The soul is called the enjoyer when it is in union with the body, the mind and the senses. Fools run after outward pleasures and fall into the snare of death, but wise men cognizant of the imperishable nature of the soul never hanker after unstable things which give rise only to sufferings. As to the destiny of the soul after death, the Kathopaniṣad says that some souls enter the womb to have bodies as organic beings, while others go into inorganic matter according to their work and knowledge. Such transmigration continues until all desires that dwell in the heart cease. Then the mortal becomes immortal and attains Brahma.

¹ तदेतत् सच्चिद आत्मैः । तस्मात् सच्चिदत् परं ब्रह्मि (Brhadāraṇyaka 10-14).

² Chāndogyoṇiṣad 4-15, 5, 16; 5-10-3; 5-10-8.

³ Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad 4-4-5; 6-2-15, and 16.

⁴ Kathopaniṣad 1-1-20; 1-2-18, 19; 1-2-22; 1-3-3, 4; 2-1-4; 2-5-6, 7; and 2-6-14, 15. Vide also Max Müller's translation of the Kathopaniṣad in the S.B.E. series.

4. *Ātma-vidyā*—THE SCIENCE OF SOUL
(CIRCA 900 B.C.—600 B.C.).

The Upaniṣads (composed between 900 B.C. and 600 B.C.) which dealt with the soul and its destiny constituted a very important branch of study called *Ātma-vidyā*, the science of soul, *Adhyātma-vidyā*, the spiritual science, or *Brahma-vidyā*, the Divine Science, which is the foundation of all other sciences. In the previous paragraph there has been given some idea of the nature of the soul—a concrete substance—as it was understood in the ages of the Upaniṣads as well as in those of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. In the ages of the Upaniṣads there arose another idea—

Two ideas regarding the Soul. an abstract conception—regarding the soul which developed *pari passu* with the first idea. Thus in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,¹ Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad,² etc., we find that *ātmā*, which referred not only to the human soul but to the soul of other objects as well, signified the essence of an object as distinguished from its outward form, and as such was often designated as *Brahman* the pervading essence, that is, the essence which permeated the object in all its forms and changes. This second idea of the soul, which gave birth to the Vedānta system of philosophy, began to exercise considerable influence on the first idea which was supported in other systems of philosophy, and a compromise between the two ideas was effected when the soul belonging to our practical condition (*vyāvahārika daśā*) was stated to be of the first description while the soul belonging to our transcendental condition (*pāramārthika daśā*) was stated to be of the second description.

5. *Ānvikṣikī*—WHICH INCLUDES A THEORY OF REASONS
(CIRCA 650 B.C.—100 B.C.).

Ātma-vidyā was at a later stage called *Ānvikṣikī*, the science of inquiry. Manu³ uses *Ānvikṣikī* as an equivalent for *ātma-*

¹ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 10-3-1 (Weber's edition).

² Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad (3rd chapter, 7th Brāhmaṇa), Muṇḍakopaniṣad, 1 1, 1, Bhagavadgītā 10-32.

³

वैविद्येभ्यस्त्वर्थी विश्वाद्

इत्यन्वीक्षिकी मान्वादीम् ।

आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्त्वयिद्यां

वाकर्तव्यां च लोकतः ॥ (Manu Saṃhitā 7-43).

Kāmandaka too in his Nītisāra writes :—

आन्वीक्षिकीणां विज्ञानं धर्माधर्मौ च यीक्षितौ ।

vidyā, and his followers, the Mānavas, describe it—evidently considering it synonymous with the Upaniṣad—as a branch of the Vedas. Ānvikṣikī while comprising the entire function of Ātma-vidyā was in fact different from it, and consequently from the Upaniṣad too. Kauṭilya² (about 327 B.C.) recognized Ānvikṣikī as a distinct branch of study over and above the three, viz. *Tranṣi*

The distinction between Anvikṣikī and Ātma-vidyā. (the Vedas), *Vārttā* (Commerce) and *Danḍa-nīti* (Polity) enumerated in the school of

Manu. The distinction between *Ātma-vidyā* and *Ānvikṣikī* lay in this, that while the former embodied certain dogmatic assertions about the nature of the soul, the latter contained reasons supporting those assertions. Ānvikṣikī dealt in fact with two subjects, viz. *ātmā*, soul, and *hetu*, theory of reasons. Vātsyāyana³ observes that Ānvikṣikī without the theory of reasons would have like the Upaniṣad been a mere *ātma-vidyā* or *adhyātma-vidyā*. It is the theory of reasons which distinguished it from the same. The Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata, in so far as they treated of reasons affirming or denying the existence of soul, were included by Kauṭilya in the Ānvikṣikī.⁴ The formation of Ānvikṣikī must have commenced in the period of the Upaniṣad in which some of its technical terms were forestalled, but it did not take any definite shapes until about 650 B.C. when it was recognized as a distinct branch of learning.

6. ĀNVIKṢIKĪ BIFURCATES INTO PHILOSOPHY AND LOGIC (ABOUT 650 B.C.).

Ānvikṣikī, as previously pointed out, treated of two subjects, viz. the soul and the theory of reasons. In

The theory of soul and that of reasoning.

so far as it was mainly concerned with the soul, Ānvikṣikī was developed into Philosophy called *Darśana*⁵; and in so far as it dealt largely with the

1 त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति मानवाः । त्रयीविषयो ह्यान्विकीति ।

(Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, 1—2, p. 6, Sham Śāstri's edition).

2 ह्यान्विकी त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विशाः ।

(Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, 1-2, p. 6).

3 एमास्तु तत्रो विशाः दृष्टक प्रख्यानाः प्राबुद्धतामनुप्रापय उपदिशन्ते यासां चतुर्थीषु चान्विकी व्यावविद्या । तस्याः दृष्टक प्रख्यानाः संख्यादयः पदार्थाः । तेषां दृष्टग्वचनमन्तरं च व्यावविद्यामात्रमियं स्मृतं यद्यपि निबद्धः (Nyāyabhāṣya, 1-1-1).

4 सांख्यं योगं लोकायतं चेतःश्रीरुकी (Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, 1-2, p. 6).

5 In Sanskrit दर्शन, in Pāli दण्ड, in Prākṛta दंश, and in Tibetan ལྟོན།

theory of reasons it was developed into Logic called pre-eminently the *Ānvikṣikī* or *Ānvikṣikī par excellence*. This bifurcation of *Ānvikṣikī* into Philosophy and Logic commenced with the very formation of the science but specially about 550 B.C. when Medhātithi Gautama expounded the logical side of the *Ānvikṣikī*. The *Ānvikṣikī* continued however for many centuries to be used in the *general sense* of a science which embraced both the subjects of Philosophy and Logic.

7. ĀNVIKṢIKĪ IN ITS PHILOSOPHICAL ASPECT CALLED *Darśana*.

As already observed, *Ānvikṣikī* treating of the soul was called *Darśana* (philosophy). "Darśana" literally signifies *seeing*: it is in fact the science which enables us to see our soul. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*¹ says that "the soul is verily to be seen," and the *Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā*² declares that "the highest virtue consists in seeing the soul through meditation." In the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*³ we find that "when the soul is *seen*, the knot of the heart is untied, all doubts are dispelled and all act-forces are exhausted." It was about the first century B.C. that the *Ānvikṣikī* dealing with the soul was replaced by the word "Darśana." The *Sāṁkhya*, *Yoga* and *Lokāyata* which were incorporated in *Ānvikṣikī* were designated as *Darśana* or branches of philosophy. The word *Darśana* in this special sense occurs in the *Mahābhārata*,⁴ *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,⁵ *Nyāya-bhāṣya*,⁶ *Vedānta-bhāṣya*,⁷ etc.

¹ आत्मा नारे द्रष्टव्यः (Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, ii, 4-5).

² अयन्तु परमो धर्मो यद् योमेनात्मदर्शनम् (Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, book i, verse 8).

³ भिद्यते हृदयपत्न्यः विद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः

स्वीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥ (Muṇḍakopaniṣad, ii, 2-8).

⁴ तुल्यं शौचं तपोयुक्तं दया भूतेषु चानघ ।

व्रतानां धारणं तुल्यं दर्शनं न समं तयोः ॥ (Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 110-45).

⁵ स्तूयमानो जनैरेभिः मायया नामकपया ।

विमोहितात्मभिर्नाना दर्शनैर्न च दृश्यते ॥ (Bhāgavatapurāṇa, 8-14-10).

⁶ यत् पुत्रधर्मो ज्ञानम् अन्नःकरणस्य दृष्ट्वा देवप्रयत्नसुखदुःखानि धर्मा इति कस्यचिद् दर्शनं तत् प्रतिविध्यते । (Nyāya-bhāṣya, 3-2-35).

⁷ Śāṅkara-bhāṣya on the Vedānta-sūtra 2. 2. 1

8. VARIOUS NAMES FOR ĀNVIKṢIKĪ IN ITS LOGICAL ASPECT
(FROM 650 B.C. ONWARDS).

As already observed, Ānvikṣikī dealing with the theory of reasons was developed into Logic designated specially as *the Ānvikṣikī*—or *Ānvikṣikī par excellence*. We find the term Ānvikṣikī¹

The Ānvikṣikī. used in this *special sense* of Logic in the Manusmṛhitā,² Gautama-dharma-sūtra,³ Rāmāyaṇa,⁴ Mahābhārata,⁵ etc. In about 327 B.C. Kauṭilya⁶ characterised the Ānvikṣikī (evidently Logic) as a highly useful science which furnished people with reasons for the estimation of their strength and weakness, kept their intellect unperturbed in prosperity and adversity, and infused into their intelligence, speech and action, subtlety and power.

The Ānvikṣikī, in virtue of the theory of reasons predominating it, was called *Hetu-śāstra* or *Hetu-vidyā*,⁷ the science of reasoning, as is evident from the Manusmṛhitā,³ Mahābhārata,⁵ etc

It was also called *Tarka-vidyā*,¹⁰ the art of debate, or *Vāda-vidyā*, the art of discussion, inasmuch as it dealt with rules for carrying on disputations in learned assemblies called *pariṣad*.

1 The *Ānvikṣikī* is called in Tibetan རྩོམ་པ་ *rtsod-pa*. (*Vide* the Amarakoṣa, Svargavarga, verse 155, edited in Sanskrit with Tibetan version by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta).

2 Manusmṛhitā 7-43.

3 Gautama-dharma-sūtra, adhyāya 11.

4 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 100, verse 36.

5 Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, adhyāya, 180, verse 47.

6 धर्माधर्मां जय्याम् । अर्थानर्थो वार्तायाम् । मयानर्थो दृष्टनीत्याम् । बलावले चैतासां हेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणा लोकस्त्रोपकरोति, यस्मिन्हेतुद्वये च बुद्धिनिवृत्त्यापयति, प्रज्ञावाक्य-क्रिया वैशारद्यं च करोति—

प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्माणाम् ।

साययः सर्वधर्माणां प्रज्ञदान्वीक्षकौ मताः ॥

(Artha śāstra of Kautilya, p. 1-2, 7).

7 The *Hetu-śāstra* or *Hetu-vidyā* is called in Tibetan ལྟན་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་པ་ (*tan-tshigs-rig-pa*) (*vide* the Mahāvvyutpatti, part I, p 20, edited in Sanskrit, Tibetan and English by Dr. E. D. Ross and Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta. Also *Bṛtan-hgyur*, Mdo, Go, folios 223-377).

8 Manusmṛhitā, 2-11.

9 Mahābhārata, ādīparva, adhyāya. 1, verse 67. Śāntiparva, adhyāya 210, verse 22; Aśvamedhaparva, adhyāya 85, verse 27. Cf. J.R.A.S 1891-92, pp. 1-39, and 412.

10 *Tarka-vidyā* is called in Tibetan རྩོམ་གཤམ་པ་ *Itog-ge-rig* (*vide* Amarakoṣa. Svargavarga, verse 155, Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's edition)

Tarka-vidyā or Vāda-vidyā is referred to in the Manusāṁhitā,¹ Mahābhārata,² Skandapurāṇa,³ Gautama-dharma-sūtra,⁴ Rāmāyāṇa,⁵ Yājñavalkya saṁhitā,⁶ etc. The Nyāya-śāstra. Ānvīkṣikī was, as we shall see later, also called *Nyāya-śāstra*,⁷ the science of true reasoning.

¹ Manusāṁhitā, 6-50; 8-269, 12-106, 111.

² Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, adhyāya 180, verse 47, and adhyāya 246, verse 18.

³ Skandapurāṇa, Kālikākhaṇḍa, adhyāya 17.

⁴ Gautama-dharma sūtra, adhyāya 11.

⁵ Rāmāyana 1-13-23, 7-53-15.

⁶ Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, 3-292; etc.

⁷ The *Nyāya* is called in Tibetan རྩམ་པ་ Riggs-pa (*vide* the Mahāvvyutpatti, part II, p. 133, edited in Sanskrit-Tibetan-English by Dr. E. D. Ross and Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; also—Bṣtan-hgyur, Mdo, Go, folios 223-377).

CHAPTER II.

The Teachers of Ānvikṣikī (Philosophy and Logic).

9 CĀRVĀKA—HIS MATERIALISTIC DOCTRINE (CIRCA 650 B.C.).

The Vedic literature¹ refers to a class of men who did not believe in gods, and would not perform sacrifices. They were subsequently designated as the followers of Cārvāka, a pupil of Bṛhaspati. Cārvāka was perhaps not the name of any particular individual but represented the atheistic doctrine of olden times. In the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad² (before 600 B.C.) there is a reference to such doctrine according to which our soul (consciousness) is produced through the combination of four elements, viz. earth, water, fire and air, just as an intoxicating power is generated by the comixture of rice, molasses, etc.

The dissolution into those elements is our death, after which our consciousness disappears. In the Rāmāyaṇa³ the same doctrine is elucidated by Jāvāla when he says that our parents are our progenitors, that there is no future life and that we should not believe in anything which cannot be proved through perception. This doctrine, which is referred to also in the Caraka-saṁhitā,⁴ etc., and which attracted a very large number of adherents, is widely known as *Lokāyata* or that which prevails in the world.⁵

10. KAPILA—HIS DOCTRINE OF MATTER AND SOUL (ABOUT 650-575 B.C.).

The earliest orthodox writer on Ānvikṣikī (Philosophy) as mentioned in the Śvetāśvatara⁶ Upaniṣad was Kapila who is tradition-

¹ Vide Rgveda, 10-38-3; 8-70-7; 8-71-8, etc.

² अरेऽयमात्मा जगत्तरोऽवाह्यः कृतुः प्रज्ञामय एव

एतेभ्यो भूतेभ्यः समुत्पाद्य तान्येव अनुचिन्मयति न प्रेत्य संज्ञाऽस्तीति ।

(Bṛhadāraṇyaka, 4-5-13).

³ स मास्मि परमित्येतत् कुर्व बुद्धिं महामते ।

प्रत्यक्षं यत् सदातिष्ठ परोक्षं दृष्टतः कुर्व ॥

(Rāmāyana, Ayodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 108, verse 17).

⁴ Caraka-saṁhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, chap. XI.

⁵ For a history of the Lokāyata compare Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids' Introduction to the Kūṭadanta Sutta in "Dialogues of the Buddha, vol. II."

⁶ अपिं प्रकृतं कपिलं यत्समये ।

ally known to have been born at Puṣkara near Ajmere, but who according to the Padmapurāṇa dwelt in Indraprastha (Delhi). The doctrine propounded by him was orally transmitted to form at later times a system of philosophy called the *Sāṃkhya*. Kapila imparted his doctrine to Āsuri¹ who taught it to Pañcaśikha. The fact that Āsuri is mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa² as a teacher warrants us to suppose that he lived before 600 B.C. which is the latest date of composition of the Brāhmaṇas. Kapila as the fifth incarnation of Viṣṇu preceded Dattātreyā. Seeing that Kapila preceded Buddha (circa 570-490 B.C.) we shall not be far wrong if we place the former at an age from 650 B.C. to 570 B.C. As the original work of Kapila has not come down to us we can say nothing about his doctrine beyond the fact that he treated of the soul under the name of *Puruṣa* and the primordial matter under the name of *Prakṛti*, both of which were, according to him, eternal.³ The soul which experiences pleasure and pain owing to its connection with matter, attains release when it realizes itself to be totally unconnected with the same.

11. DATTĀTREYĀ—HIS PARABLE OF A TREE (ABOUT 650 B.C.).

A sage named Dattātreyā,⁴ who as the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu was junior to Kapila, is stated in the Bhāgavata purāṇa to have taught Ānvikṣikī to Alarka, Prahlāda and others. The proper name of the sage was Datta while his family name was Ātreya. He lived on the Girnar hills in Kathiawar where a temple associated with his name still exists. It appears from the Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa⁵ that the Ānvikṣikī-vidyā expounded by him consisted of

1 Sāṃkhya kārikā, verse 70

2 Macdonell's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 215.

3 अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां
वक्ष्योः प्रजाः सृजमानां सङ्ख्याः ।
अजं ह्येको जयमाद्योऽनुशेते
जहात्यनां भुङ्क्तभोगान्जोऽन्यः ॥ (Śvetāśvatara, 4-5).

4 अष्टमस्वरपत्यत्वं वृत्तं प्राप्नोऽनसृष्टयया ।
आन्वाञ्छिकोऽसृष्टकाय प्रकृतादारिभ्य ऊचिवान् ॥
(Bhāgavata purāṇa, 1-3-12).

5 अष्टं तात यथा योजो दत्तात्रेयस्य धीमता ।
असृष्टकाय पुरा प्रोक्तः सम्यक् शृष्टेन विश्रवात् ॥
(Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa, 16-12).

a mere disquisition on soul in accordance with the *yoga* philosophy.

The *yoga* doctrine of soul. He preached the doctrines of transmigration and emancipation under the parable of a tree. To identify a gross object with "I" or to look upon it as "mine" is, according to him, the germ of selfishness which grows up into a large tree bearing the fruits of pleasure and pain. He in whom the tree of selfishness has not grown is freed from all bondage for ever. Things when looked upon in their true nature do not cause affliction but they become sources of great woes when we consider them as our own.

From this summary we may conclude that Dattātreya expounded the philosophical side of Ānvikṣikī and not its logical aspect.

12. PUNARVASU ĀTREYA : HIS DISSERTATION ON THE SENSES (CIRCA 550 B.C.).

In the Caraka-saṁhitā, the original author of which was Punarvasu Ātreya,¹ there is a dissertation on the senses (*indriya*)² which seems to belong to the Ānvikṣikī system. The Caraka-saṁhitā, originally called the Āyurveda, is said to have been delivered by a sage named Punarvasu better known as Ātreya who resided at the side of the Himālayas. The sage was perhaps the same Ātreya³ who is mentioned in the Tibetan books as a Professor of medicine under whom Jīvaka the physician of Buddha studied for several years at Taxila about 550 B.C. Ātreya was a countryman of Pāṇini as both of them flourished in the Punjab—one at Taxila (Takṣaśilā) and the other at Śālātura. Like the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, Ātreya's Āyurveda⁴ was divided into eight books called "sthānas" or "places." The rule which Pāṇini lays down as to the use of the word Punarvasu in the singular number shows that Ātreya whose proper name was Punarvasu was a Vedic sage.

It is not known whether the Caraka-saṁhitā, as it exists at present, contains any genuine teachings of Ātreya, but the most elementary doctrines of each book of the saṁhitā are by common consent ascribed to him. The eighth chapter of sūtra-sthāna

¹ Ātreya is called in Tibetan རྒྱུན་ལེན་གྱི་བུ་ Rgyun-les-kyi-bu (*vide* Mahāvījyūtpatti, p. 22, Bibliotheca Indica).

² अथानि इन्द्रियपञ्चमणीयमध्यायं व्याख्यास्याम इति च श्लाघ भगवान् आचरतः ।
(Caraka-saṁhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, adhyāya 8).

³ Bkaḥ-hgyur, Dulva III. *Vide* Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 64. Cf. Pal Mahāvagga, Khandhakas I, VIII in which there occurs the name Atthaka

of the work contains a dissertation on the senses a summary of which is given below:—

There are five organs of sense, viz. the eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin. The five elements of which these are made are fire, ether, earth, water and air. The five objects of sense are colour, sound, smell, taste and touch. The five kinds of sensuous knowledge are the

His doctrine of the senses.

visual, the auditory, the olfactory, the gustatory and the tactual. The mind, which is different from these senses, is one and as such cannot attend to them simultaneously. Hence we cannot perceive more than one thing at a time.

Dissertations on the senses, like the one given above, contributed not a little to the development of the doctrine of soul which formed a part of the Ānvikṣikī.

13. SULABHĀ--A LADY ASCETIC: HER CANONS OF SPEECH (ABOUT 550-500 B.C.).

In the Mahābhārata¹ there is mention of an old female ascetic named Sulabhā who delivered a discourse on what constituted the merits and defects of speech as belonging to the province of Ānvikṣikī. Sulabhā, who was in all probability a fictitious person, represents the philosophical culture of the 6th century B.C. It is related that once she transforming herself by occult processes into a lady of blooming youth came to the court of Janaka the pious king of Mithilā, whose fame as a philosopher was established far and wide. After the rites of hospitality had been duly observed she was led to the royal presence. Janaka was not a little sur-

Sulabhā's interview with king Janaka.

prised to hear that her sole object in coming to his court was to ascertain, from a personal interview with him, wherein lay the secret of final release of the soul. Janaka pointed out the impudence of such a wish entertained by a lady whose ambition must be something gross and material, and who must have come to his court as a spy. He concluded by asking in a taunting tone what business a lady could have had with the doctrine of *Release*, seeing that her strength lay solely in her radiant youth and beauty. Though rebuked in such unpleasant, improper and ill-applied terms, Sulabhā was not in the least annoyed but maintained a tranquil and dignified attitude. In the course of her reply to the king she made the following observations, on the canons of a sound speech:—

A speech properly so called should be subtle, discriminative and orderly. It should lead to a decision and indicate a purpose.

¹ Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, adhyāya 320, verses 78-94.

A good speech is (1) fraught with sense, (2) unequivocal, (3) fair, (4) not pleonastic, (5) smooth, (6) determinative, (7) not bombastic, (8) agreeable, (9) truthful, (10) not harmful, (11) refined (12) not too laconic, (13) not abstruse, (14) not unsystematic, (15) not far-fetched, (16) not superfluous, (17) not inopportune, and (18) not devoid of an object.

A speech, if it is to be freed from the faults of judgment, should not be prompted by lust, wrath, fear, greediness, abjectness, crookedness, shamefulness, tenderness or conceit.

Characteristics of a sound speech.

A speech is said to be lucid if there is agreement between it on one hand and the speaker and hearer on the other. A speech which, though clear to the speaker himself, is uttered without any regard for the hearer, produces no impression in the latter. That speech again, which does not convey the meaning of the speaker himself but is uttered solely out of regard for the hearer, is disingenuous and faulty. He alone is a speaker who employs words which, while expressing his own meaning, are also understood by his hearer.

14. AṢṬĀVAKRA—A VIOLENT DEBATER. HOW HE DEFEATED A SOPHIST (ABOUT 550-500 B.C.).

In the Mahābhārata¹ the sage Aṣṭāvakra ("crooked in eight parts"), who represents the culture of the 6th century B.C., is stated to have been a great logician. He was the son of Kahoda who was a disciple and son-in-law of Uddālaka, father of Śvetaketu. With the object of defeating a famous sophist named Vandin, otherwise known as the son of Suta or Varuṇa, Aṣṭāvakra while a mere boy came to attend a sacrificial ceremony at the palace of king Janaka in Mithilā. Being prevented at the gate Aṣṭāvakra addressed the king and said: "A road while there is no Brāhmaṇa on it belongs to the blind, the deaf, women, carriers of burden and the king respectively, but when a Brāhmaṇa is there it belongs to him alone." Hearing these words the king gave him permission to enter. The warder in offering an apology said, that Aṣṭāvakra was stopped because he was still a lad, and, under orders of Vandin lads were not permitted to enter the sacrificial ground. Aṣṭāvakra said: "If this be the condition ● warder, that the door is opened only to the old, I have a right to enter, I am old: I have observed sacred vows and am in possession of energy proceeding from the Vedic lore. A person is not old because his head is gray but the gods

Aṣṭāvakra's debate with Vandin.

¹ Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Chaps. 132-134.

regard him as old who, though young in years, is possessed of knowledge." "Who is Vandin? Where is he now? Tell him to come here so that I may destroy him even as the sun destroys the stars."

Vandin was summoned to be present in the assembly of debate on the sacrificial ground. While he arrived there Aṣṭāvakra threatened him and exclaimed: "Do thou answer my questions and I shall answer thine!"

(1) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by one?

Vandin replies: There is only one *fire* that blazes forth in various shapes, there is only one *sun* that illumines the whole world, there is only one lord of the gods named *Indra*, and the lord of the deceased forefathers is also one, named *Yama*.

The doctrine of things fixed in number.

(2) Vandin asks: What things are signified by two?

Aṣṭāvakra replies: There are two friends named *Indra* and *Agni*, who move together, the two celestial sages are *Nārada* and *Parvata*, twins are the *Aśvinīkumāras*, two is the number of *wheels* of a car, and the *wife* and *husband* are likewise two that live together.

(3) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by three?

Vandin replies: There are three classes of *beings* born in consequence of their acts, three are the *Vedas* which perform the Vājapeya sacrifice, at three times the *aḥvāryu* priests commence sacrificial rites, three is the number of the *world*, and three also are the *divine lights*.

(4) Vandin asks: What things are signified by four?

Aṣṭāvakra replies: Four are the *stages* of a Brāhmaṇa's life, sacrifices are performed by four *orders*, there are four *cardinal points* as well as *colours*, and four is the number of the *legs* of a cow.

(5) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by five?

Vandin replies: There are five *fires*, the metre *pañkti* possesses five feet, the *sacrifices* are five and there are five *senses*, the *locks* of celestial nymphs are five, and five are the *rivers* of the Punjab.

(6) Vandin asks: What things are signified by six?

Aṣṭāvakra replies: Six *cows* are paid as a gratuity on the occasion of establishing the sacred fire, the *seasons* are six, six are the *senses*, six stars constitute the constellation *kyttikā*, and six is the number of the *sādyaska* sacrifices.

(7) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by seven?

Vandin replies: Seven is the number of *domesticated animals*, the *wild animals* are likewise seven, seven metres are used in completing a *sacrifice*, the *sages* are seven in number,

seven forms of paying *homage* are extant in the world, and seven are the strings of a *lute*.

(8) Vandin asks: What things are signified by eight?

Aṣṭāvakra replies: Eight are the *hemp-threads* which carry a hundred weights, eight is the number of logs of the *stag* that preys upon a lion, eight *Vasu*-gods are among the celestials, and eight are the *angles of a stake* in a sacrificial rite.

(9) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by nine?

Vandin replies: Nine is the number of *mantras* used in kindling fire for the manes, nine are the appointed functions in the process of *creation*, nine letters compose a foot of the metre *ṛhatī*, and nine is ever the number of *figures* in calculation.

(10) Vandin asks: What things are signified by ten?

Aṣṭāvakra replies: Ten is the number of *cardinal points*, ten times hundred make up a *thousand*, ten is the number of *months* during which women bear, and ten are the *teachers* of true knowledge.

(11) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by eleven?

Vandin replies: Eleven are the *modifications of senses*, the number of *yūpas* (stakes) is eleven, eleven are the *changes of the natural state*, and there are eleven *Rudras* among the gods in heaven.

(12) Vandin asks: What things are signified by twelve?

Aṣṭāvakra replies: Twelve months complete a *year*, a foot of the metre *yagatī* consists of twelve letters, there are twelve *minor sacrifices* and twelve is the number of the *Adityas*.

(13) Aṣṭāvakra asks: What things are signified by thirteen?

Vandin replies: The *thirteenth lunar day* is considered most auspicious, and thirteen *islands* exist on earth.

Having proceeded so far Vandin stopped.

Aṣṭāvakra completed the reply thus:

Thirteen sacrifices are presided over by *Keśī*, and thirteen letters compose the *aticchandā* metre.

Seeing Aṣṭāvakra speaking and Vandin silent, the assembly broke into a loud uproar indicative of vic-

Shouts of victory for
Aṣṭāvakra.

tory for one and defeat for the other. The Brāhmaṇas present there being pleased approached Aṣṭāvakra to pay him their homage. Aṣṭāvakra said: "This Vandin defeating the Brāhmaṇas in controversy used to cast them into water. Let him to-day meet with the same fate: seize him and drown him into water." Janaka remaining speechless, Aṣṭāvakra reproached him thus: "O King, has flattery robbed thee of thy sense so that pierced by my words, as elephants by the

hooks, thou heedest them not!" Janaka replied: "Your words are excellent and superhuman. As you have defeated Vandin in debate, I place him at your disposal."¹

15. AṢṬĀVAKRA¹ SOLVES PUZZLES.

At Mithilā King Janaka to test the ingenuity of Aṣṭāvakra² once made a statement as follows:—

"He alone is a learned man who knows the thing which is possessed of 360 spokes (i.e. days), 12 parts (i.e. months) of 30 subdivisions (days) each, and 24 joints (i.e. new moons and full moons)."

Aṣṭāvakra who fully understood the significance of the statement replied as follows:—

"May that ever-moving wheel (i.e. the sun) that has 24 joints (i.e. new moons and full moons), six naves (i.e. seasons), 12 peripheries (i.e. the signs of the zodiac or months) and 360 spokes (i.e. degrees or days) protect thee."

Janaka asked: "Who amongst the gods beget those two which go together like two mares yoked to a car and swoop like hawks?"

Aṣṭāvakra said: "May God, O King, forbend the presence of these two (i.e. thunder and lightning) in thy house, yea even in the house of thy enemies. He (i.e. the cloud), whose charioteer is the wind, begets them."

Thereupon the king said: "What is it that does not close its eyes even while sleeping; what is it that does not move even when born; what is it that has no heart, and what does increase even in its own speed"?

Aṣṭāvakra said: "It is a fish that does not close its eye-lids while sleeping; it is an egg that does not move when produced; it is a stone that has no heart; and it is a river that increases in its own speed."

¹ The dialogue, which shows besides their ready wit, an acquaintance of the debaters with all branches of learning known at their time, is neither "enigmatical" nor "puerile," when we consider that in olden times the names of things stood for numbers, nay constituted the dictionary of numbers called *Ankābhikṣāna*. It bears to a certain extent an analogy to the novice's questions (*Kumāra-pañha*) which appear from the Pāli canonical works to have been a necessary part of the training of a young Buddhist monk.

The doctrine involved in the dialogue was criticised by Aksapāda in the *Nyāya-sūtra* (4-1-41) under the title of *Samkhyacikānta-vāda*, the doctrine of the fixity of things signified by numbers.

The dialogue is quite simple and natural, and I do not find in it an exposition of the doctrine of unity of the Supreme Being as supposed by Nīlakaṇṭha, a commentator on the *Mahābhārata*, who lived at Kūrpara to the west of the Godāvāri in Mahārāstra in the 16th century A.D.

² *Mahābhārata*, *Vaṣṣparva*, chaps, 132-134.

The king amazed at Aṣṭāvakra's ingenuity remained silent for a while, and then applauded him thus: "O possessor of divine energy thou art no human being."

16. MEDHĀTITHI GAUTAMA—THE FOUNDER OF ĀNVIKṢIKĪ
par excellence
(CIRCA 550 B.C.).

While the teachers mentioned before dealt with some particular topics of Ānvikṣikī, the credit of founding the Ānvikṣikī in its special sense of a science is to be attributed to a sage named Gotama or Gautama. In the Padmapurāṇa,¹ Skandapurāṇa,² Gandharva tantra,³ Kusumāñjali, Naisadha carita,⁴ Nyāya-sūtravṛtti, etc., Gotama or Gautama is mentioned as the founder of the science of Ānvikṣikī (Logic) or Anvikṣikī *par excellence*. The people of Mithilā, too, ascribe the foundation of the science of Ānvikṣikī or Logic to Gotama or Gautama and point out, as the place of his birth, a village named Gautama-sthāna.⁵ where a fair is held every year on the 9th day of the lunar month of Caitra (March-April). It is situated on the outskirts of Mithilā at a distance of 28 miles north-east of modern Darbhanga. There is a mud-hill of considerable height (supposed to be the hermitage of Gautama) at the base of which lies the celebrated Gautama-kunḍa ("Gautama's well"), the water whereof is like milk to the taste and feeds a perennial rivulet called on this account "Kṣīrodadhi" or "Khiroī" signifying literally the sea of milk.

Gautama lived with his wife Ahalyā who, for her flirtation with Indra, was, according to the Rāmāyaṇa,⁶ cursed by her

1 कथादेन तु सम्योक्तं शास्त्रं वैशेषिकं महत् ।
गौतमेन तथा न्यायं सांख्यं तु कपिलेन वै ।
(Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakhanda, chap 263)

2 गौतमः खेम तर्कणं खण्डयन् तत्र तत्र हि ।
(Skandapurāṇa, Kālikākhaṇḍa, chap xvii).

3 गौतमप्रोक्तशास्त्रार्थनिरताः सर्वे एव हि ।
भार्यालो योनिनापद्माः सन्दिग्धाः सर्वकर्कशु ॥
(Gandharva tantra quoted in Prānatosiṇī tantra)

4 मुक्तये यः शिलात्वाय भास्वरूचे महामुनिः ।
मातमं तमवेतैव यथा विव्य तथैव स ॥
(Naisadha carita, canto xvii).

5 The author of this book visited Gautama-sthāna in October 1913.

6 निथिलीपवने तत्र आश्रमं दृश्य राघवः ।
पुराणं निर्जनं रम्यं यत्रैव मुनिपुङ्गवम् ॥ १ ॥

husband and transformed into a stone. She remained in this stony state for some time until she was emancipated by Rāma-candra. Then she regained her human form and was admitted into heaven.

Gautama as described in the Rāmāyana. Ahalyā in her accursed state is at present represented by a slab of stone, which lies between a pair of trees in a village called Ahalyā-sthāna (Ahirā) two miles to the east of Gautama-sthāna already mentioned. In the vicinity of this slab there is a temple which commemorates the emancipation of Ahalyā by Rāma-candra.

The Mahābhārata¹ which gives a different version of the story mentions a son of Ahalyā named Cirakārīn who is said to have been ordered by his father to kill Ahalyā, but who, being of a reflective turn of mind, refrained from carrying out the order. Gautama, in consideration of the natural weakness of her sex, pardoned his wife and dwelt from that time forward in his hermitage without ever separating himself from her.

In the Pratimā-nāṭaka² the poet Bhāsa, who is believed to have flourished during the Kuṣāna period,³ speaks of a sage named Medhātithi as the founder of the Nyāya-śāstra, a later appellation for the Ānvikṣikī. In the Mahābhārata,⁴ we find that Medhātithi and Gautama were the names of the same person, one being his proper name and the other his family name. Therefore the full name of the founder of Ānvikṣikī was Medhātithi Gautama.

इदमाश्रमसंकाशं किञ्चिद् मुनिवर्जितम् ।
 लीलुमिच्छामि भगवन् कस्यायमूर्ध्वं आश्रमः ॥ २२ ॥
 गौतमस्य नरयेष्टं पूर्वमासीन्नृचात्मनः ।
 आश्रमो दिव्यसंस्थः सुरैरपि तु पूजितः ॥ २३ ॥
 स चात्र तप आतिष्ठद्दृष्ट्वा सन्ततः पुराः ।
 वर्षं पूजान्यनेकानि रामपुत्र ईवाद्यतः ॥ २४ ॥

(Rāmāyana, Ādikāṇḍa, sarga 48).

¹ Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 272-9; and Aśvamedhaparva, 56-28.

² भीः काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्मि । साङ्गोपाङ्गं देदमधीये. मानवीयं धर्मशास्त्रं, माहेश्वरं योत्रशास्त्रं
 वाहेत्यम् अर्थशास्त्रं, मेधातिथेर्नाटशास्त्रं. प्राचेतसं आडकल्पं च ।

(Bhāsa's Pratimā-nāṭaka, Act V, p. 79, M.M. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition).

³ Vide A. M. Meerwarth's "The dramas of Bhāsa: a literary study" in J.A.S.B., 1917.

⁴ मेधातिथिर्मेधाप्राज्ञो गौतमश्चपि स्थितः ।

विश्वस्य तेन कालीन पद्मः संस्थापतिक्रमम् ॥

(Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 265-45. Bāṇavāsi edition).

Medhātithi Gautama seems to have belonged to the family and school of Naciketas Gautama¹ and to have sprung, like Buddha Gautama, from the Āngirasa² tribe. His remote ancestor was perhaps the sage Nodhā Gotama descended from that Gotama who is described in the R̥gveda,³ and the Śātapatha-Brāhmaṇa⁴ of the White Yajurveda as having settled in a place the description of which tallies with that of Gautama-sthāna in Mithilā. The descendants of Gotama⁵ were called Gotamāsaḥ, Gotama or Gautama.⁶

शान्तसङ्कल्पधुनना यथास्याद्दीतसन्तु गौतमो नाभिष्यत्यो ।
 लक्ष्मणं नाभिवदेत् प्रतीत एतत् त्रयाणां प्रथमं वरं वृत्ते ॥
 यथोदकं शुद्धे शुद्धमासिक्तं तादमेव भवति ।
 एवं मुने विजायत आत्मा भवति गौतम ॥
 इत्थं न इदं प्रवक्ष्यामि मुञ्च्यं ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।
 यथा च मरणं प्राप्य आत्मा भवति गौतम ॥

(Kāthopaniṣad, 1-1-10; 2-4-15; and 2-5-6).

² In the Pāli Mahāvagga Āngirasa (in Pāli Angirasa) occurs as a name of Buddha Gautama who evidently belonged to the Āngirasa tribe:—

Angīrasassa kāye anekavaṇṇā accīyo honti—

(Mahāvagga, pathamam pāṭihāriyam, I 157, p. 25, Dr. Oldenberg's edition)
 Angīraso Sakyamuni sabbabhūṭānukampako.

(Parivāra III. 5, edited by Dr. H. Oldenberg).

In the Mahābhārata and Brahmāṇḍa purāna, Gautama (husband of Ahalyā) and his son Citrakārin are described as having belonged to the Āngirasa tribe:—

अत्रापुदाहरणो नामितिहासं पुरातनम्
 चिरकारिस्तु यत्पूर्वं वृत्तमाङ्गिरसे कुले ॥
 चिरकारो महाप्राज्ञो गौतमस्याभवत् सुतः ।
 चिरैव सर्वकार्याणि विद्विष्यार्यान् प्रपश्यते ॥

(Mahābhārata, Śānti-parva, chap. 265, verses 2-4; Calcutta, Bangavāsi edition).

इने त्वाङ्गिरसः ऋषी गौतमो नाम योमदित् ।
 तस्माद् भविष्यते पुण्यं गौतमं नाम तदनम् ॥

(Brahmāṇḍa purāna, anuṣaṅgapāda, chapter 23).

³ R̥gveda-saṁhitā, maṇḍala 1. sūkta 81, verse 3; sūkta 61, verses 14—16. sūkta 62, verse 6; sūkta 62, verse 13, sūkta 64, verse 1; sūkta 77, verse 5; sūkta 85, verse 11.

⁴ Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda, kāṇḍa 1, adhyāya 4, Mādhyandīniya recension. Vide also my article on "The Localization of certain hymns of the R̥gveda" in J.A.S.B., February 1914.

१ अश्वत्थङ्गिरः कुत्सपुत्रिष्ठ गौतमस्यैव ॥ १६९ ॥

(Kātantra, Catuṣṭaya kārakaprakaraṇa).

⁶ The story of Gautama as related above seems to be historical in so far as his family and native place are concerned, but the legend of Ahalyā associated with the story is untrustworthy.

We thus find that Medhātithi, Gotama, Gautama and Medhātithi Gautama were the names for one and the same person, who founded the Ānvikṣikī *par excellence*. His work on Ānvikṣikī has not come down to us in its original form. We do not therefore know whether he treated of the soul and reasoning together in one volume, or dealt with them separately. His theory of reasoning has reached us in a crude form through the Caraka-saṁhita, and in a developed form through the Nyāya-sūtra, while we may gather some idea of his theory of soul through the same sources as well as through the Mahābhārata and the Pali Brahmajāla-sutta.

Bhāsa¹ speaks of Medhātithi's "Nyāya-śāstra." The term *Nyāya* was prevalent in the day of Bhāsa, and by "Nyāya śāstra" he really meant its prototype the Ānvikṣikī. In the Śānti-parva of the Mahābhārata,² there is mention of a Medhātithi who, along with certain other sages, revealed to the world the Upaniṣad-doctrine of emancipation. This Medhātithi seems to have been the same as our Medhātithi Gautama.

Medhātithi Gautama is more often called simply Gautama. As previously noticed, Gautama was the name under which the founder of Ānvikṣikī was best known in the Padmapurāna, Matsya-purāna, etc., and his art of debate is still designated as *Gautamī Vidyā* (Gotamide science). The fame of Gautama as a great master of the art of debate seems to have spread as far as Persia. In one of the yashts³ of the Khorda Avesta edited⁴ during the reigns of the Sasanian Kings Ardashīr (A.D. 211-241) and Shapūr I (A.D. 242-272), we read⁵ "how the Fravashis cause

¹ Bhāsa's Pratimā-nātaka, Act V, p. 79, M.M. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition.

² चतुर्थोपनिषदो धर्मः साधारणः स्मृत ।
वानप्रस्थाद् गृहस्थाच्च ततोऽन्यः संप्रवर्त्तते ॥
अस्मिन्नेव युगे ता न विप्रः सर्वार्थदर्शिभिः ।
नेषान्तिथिर्बुधः । ... एनं धर्मं हतवन्तः ॥

(Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, Mokṣadharmā, adhyāya 243, verses 14-17).

³ Vide the 13th yasht, para 16.

⁴ According to Arda-viraf-nāma, the Avesta written on cow-hides with golden ink, and given to the Persians by Zaratusht (Zoroaster), existed in its original form for 300 years until it was burnt by Iskander Rumi (Alexander the Great) who destroyed Persepolis about 325 B.C. The fragments that survived were put together by Zoroastrian priests under the name of Avesta, which was edited and proclaimed canonical during the reigns of Ardashīr and Shapūr of the Sasanian dynasty. It is suggested that it was in the Sasanian period that Indian traditions entered the scripture of the Persians. Cf. Dr. K. Geldner's "Persia" in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

⁵ Vide the 13th yasht, para. 16; and Early Religious Poetry of Persia, by J. H. Moulton, p. 141.

a man to be born who is a master in assemblies and skilled in sacred lore, so that he comes away from debate a victor over Gaotema¹”

In the Anguttara-nikāya² of the Pāli Sutta-piṭaka we meet with ten orders of non-Buddhist recluses of Medhātithi Gautama's age, which “Gotamakā”³ was one. This order referred most probably to the followers of Gotama or Gautama the founder of Ānvīkṣikī. The Brahmajāla-sutta⁴ describes a sage designated as *takki* (argumentationist) and *vīmamsi* (casuist) who maintained that certain things were eternal and other things were non-eternal. If this sage was identical with the leader of the Gotamakā sect or the founder of the Ānvīkṣikī, it will be difficult to resist the conclusion that he was a senior contemporary of Buddha Śākyamuni. We may therefore fix the date of Medhātithi Gautama at about 550 B C.

¹ “Gaotema,” who is identified by Dr. Haug and J. H. Moulton, with the Buddha Gautama, is more probably the same as Medhātithi Gautama, the well-known founder of the art of debate and a descendant of Nodhā Gautama. “Yō Nāidyāonhō Gaotēmahe paro-yāo parstōitavāiti. (Yasht 13, para 16)

² Anguttaranikāya, part III, chap. 65, pp 276-77, edited by Dr. Morris, Pāli Text Society.

³ Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids in his Introduction to the Kassapa-siha-nāda sutta in the Dialogues of Buddha, pp 220-21, observes: “the only alternative is that some Brāhmana, belonging to the Gotama-gotta, is here referred to as having had a community of Bhiksus named after him.”

⁴ The Brahmajāla sutta 1-32 included in the Dīgha Nikāya, p. 29, edited by Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, London.

CHAPTER III.

The Doctrines of Ānvikṣikī.

16. A COUNCIL OF DEBATE (*Parīṣad*) (CIRCA 900-500 B.C.).

The theory of reasons (*hetu*), which formed an important subject of Ānvikṣikī, grew out of debates in councils of learned men. In the Chāndogya¹ and Bṛhadāraṇyaka² upaniṣads there are references to councils for the discussion of metaphysical subjects, e.g. the nature of the soul and the Supreme Being. The Praśnopaniṣad³ reports the proceedings of a council, in which Sukeśā Bharadvāja, Saivya Satyakāma Sauryaṇī Gārgya, Kauśalya Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava Vaidarbhi and Kābandhī Kātyāyana approach the sage Pippalāda and ask him a series of questions such as “how has this world been produced,” “how is it sustained” and “how does the life-breath come into our body.” Such a council was called *samsad*, *samiti*, *sabhā*, *parīṣad* or *parṣad*.

In the socio-religious institutes of Manu, Parāśara,⁵ Yājñavalkya⁶ and others, we find that the council consisted generally of four, ten or twenty-one Brāhmaṇs, who were learned in the Vedic and secular literatures and could give decisions in matters on which

1 सतकेतुर्ह आचयेयः पाश्चात्तानां समितिमेयाय
(Chāndogyopaniṣad, 5-3-1).

2 सतकेतुर्ह आचयेयः पाश्चात्तानां परिषदनामजाय
(Bṛhadāraṇyaka, 6-2-1).

Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 128-132.

3 Praśnopaniṣad, Praśna 1-6.

4 वैविधो हेतुकसर्की नैवतो धर्मपाठकः ।
त्रयसाअभिषः पूर्वं परिषत् स्याद्भावरः ॥
(Manu-saṁhitā, 12-110, 111).

5 अनादितापयो येऽन्ये वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाः ।
पद्य त्रयो वा धर्मज्ञाः परिषत् सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥
(Parāśara-saṁhitā, 8-19).

6 अन्तारो वेदधर्मज्ञाः पर्वन् वैविध्यमेव वा ।
सा ब्रूते यं सं धर्मः स्याद्देवो वाष्वात्तवित्तमः ॥
(Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, 1-9).

people might ask their advice. The debates or dialogues, such as those described in the Praśnopaniṣad, the Chāndogyopaniṣad and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, were in all probability the precursors of the theory of reasons (*hetu-vāda*) treated in the Ānvīkṣikī. The words, which had to be used in special senses to carry on debates in the councils, constituted the technical terms of the Ānvīkṣikī.

17. THE TECHNICAL TERMS USED IN THE COUNCILS OF
DEBATE
(900-500 B.C.).

Some of the technical terms used in the councils of debate had grown up along with the Upaniṣads. Some of the terms used in the Brāhmanas and Upaniṣads. For instance in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka¹ we meet with four terms, viz. (1) *Smṛti* (scripture), (2) *pratyakṣa* (perception), (3) *aitihya* (tradition), and (4) *anumāna* (inference). These terms recur in the Rāmāyana² with a little alteration as (1) *aitihya* (tradition), (2) *anumāna* (inference), and (3) *śāstra*, scripture. Three of these terms, are used in the Manu-saṁhitā,³ as (1) *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *śāstra*.

Similarly in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Kathopaniṣad, etc., there occur such terms as *tarka*⁴ (reasoning), *vāda*⁵ (debate), *yukti*⁶ (continuous argument), *jalpa*⁷ (wrangling), *vitandā*⁸ (cavil), *chala*⁹ (quibble), *nirṇaya*¹⁰ (ascertainment), *prayojana*¹¹ (purpose), *pramāṇa*¹² (proof), *prameya*¹³ (the object of knowledge), etc.

1 स्मृतिः प्रत्यक्षमैतिह्यम् । अनुमानश्चतुष्टयम् । एतैरादित्यमष्टयम् । सर्वैरेव विधास्यते ॥
(Taittirīya āraṇyaka, 1-2).

2 ऐतिह्यमनुमानश्च प्रत्यक्षमपि चागमम् ।
यो हि सम्यक् परौचक्ये कुतस्तेषामनुदिता ॥ (Rāmāyana, 5-87-23).

3 प्रत्यक्षानुमानश्च शास्त्रश्च विविधागमम् ।
चयं बुविदितं कार्यं धर्मशुद्धिमभीष्टता ॥ (Manu-saṁhitā, 12-105).

⁴ *Tarka* occurs in Kathopaniṣad, 2-9; Manu-saṁhitā, 12-106; Mahābhārata, 2-453; and Bhāgavata purāṇa, 8-21-2.

⁵ *Vāda* occurs in Manu-saṁhitā, 6-50; Rāmāyana, 1-13-23 and 7-53-15; and Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, 3-292.

⁶ *Yukti* occurs in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 6-23; Rāmāyana, 2-1-13; Bhāgavata purāṇa, 3-31-15; and Kāmaadakiya-nītisāra, 1-49.

⁷ *Jalpa* occurs in Mahābhārata, 13-4322.

⁸ *Vitandā* occurs in Mahābhārata, 2-1310 and 7-3022; and Pāṇini, 4-4-102.

⁹ *Chala* occurs in Manu-saṁhitā, 8-49; and Rāmāyana, 4-57-10.

¹⁰ *Nirṇaya* occurs in Mahābhārata, 13-7533, 7535.

¹¹ *Prayojana* in Manu-saṁhitā, 7-100; Mahābhārata, 1-5805, and Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā, 3-133.

¹² *Pramāṇa* occurs in Manu-saṁhitā, 2-13; Rāmāyana, 2-37-21; and Mahābhārata, 13-5572; Kāntilya 3-1.

¹³ *Prameya* occurs in Rāmāyana, 1-52-13; Mahābhārata, 1-157 and 8-1449.

18. *Tantra-yukti*—THE TERMS OF SCIENTIFIC ARGUMENT
(QUOTED BY KAUṬILYA ABOUT 327 B.C.).

In the last chapter of the *Artha-śāstra* (a work on polity), Kautilya gives a list of thirty-two technical terms called *Tantra-yukti* or “the forms of scientific argument” (*dvātrīṃśadākāra-stantrayuktayah*). This list appears also in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*¹ and the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*,² two authoritative works on medicine. It was evidently prepared neither by Kautilya nor by the authors of the two *saṃhitās*, but by a person or persons who wanted to establish debates on a scientific basis.

The terms included in the list are found to have been employed more widely in works on Nyāya Philosophy than in those on Polity or Medicine. Definitions of some of those terms have been actually quoted by Vātsyāyana³ and other commentators on the *Nyāya-sūtra*. The *Tantra-yukti* which literally signifies “scientific argument” was compiled possibly in the 6th century B.C. to systematize debates in *Parīśads* or learned councils. In the *Suśruta-saṃhitā*⁴ it is distinctly stated that by means of *Tantra-yukti*

¹ *Vide* *Caraka-saṃhitā*, *Siddhusthāna*, chapter XII. The *Tantra-yukti* along with other matters was added to the *Caraka-saṃhitā* by the redactor Drāhabala of Pañcanada (the Punjab). In the *Caraka-saṃhitā* the *Tantra-yukti* consists of 34 technical terms as enumerated in the following verses:—

चतुर्विंशद् विचित्राभिर्भूषितं तन्त्रयुक्तिभिः ।
सत्राधिकरणं योगो हेत्वर्थोऽर्थैः पदस्य च ॥
प्रदेशीदेशनिर्देश वाक्यशेषाः प्रयोजनम् ।
उपदेशान्तिदेशास्त्रार्थापत्तिविनिर्णयः ॥
प्रसङ्गैकान्तानैकान्तः सापवर्गे विपर्ययः ।
पूर्वपक्षविधानानुमतयाख्यानसंशयाः ।
अतीतानाहितपेक्षा समंज्ञा छसमुच्चयाः ।
निदर्शनं निर्वचनं सन्नियोगो विकल्पनम् ॥
प्रत्युत्तरलक्ष्यो द्वारः सम्प्रकृत्युक्तयः ।
तन्त्रे व्याससमासाभ्यां भवन्त्यतानि कृतस्य ॥

² *Vide* *Suśruta-saṃhitā*, *Uttaratantra*, chapter LXV. The *Uttara-tantra* is said to have been added to the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* by the redactor Nāgārjuna. The *Tantra-yukti* as embodied in the *Suśruta-saṃhitā* consists of 32 technical terms:—

द्वाविंशद् युक्तयो ह्येतास्तन्त्रसारगवेषणे ।
नया सम्यगावेनिहिताः शब्दन्यायाद्यसंयताः ॥
परमतसप्रतिषेद्धमनुमतमिति हि तन्त्रयुक्तिः

(*Nyāya-bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana, 1-1-4).

³ अत्रार्थादप्रयुक्तानां वाक्यानां प्रतिषेधनम् ।

अत्रात्र सिद्धिरपि च क्रियते तन्त्रयुक्तिः ॥

(*Suśruta-saṃhitā*, *Uttaratantra*, chapter LXV)

a debater can establish his own points and set aside those of his opponents who indulge in unfairness. In the department of Hetu-śāstra (Logic) there is indeed no work older than the Tantra-yukti which is a little manual on the systematization of arguments or debates.

The technical terms constituting the Tantra-yukti are the following :—

(1) *Adhikaraṇa* (a subject), (2) *vidhāna* (arrangement), (3) *yoga* (union of words), (4) *padārtha* (category), (5) *hetvartha* (implication), (6) *uddeśa* (enunciation), (7) *nirleśa* (declaration), (8) *upadeśa* (instruction), (9) *apadeśa* (specification) (10) *atideśa* (extended application), (11) *pradeśa* (determination from a statement to be made), (12) *upamāna* (analogy), (13) *arthāpatti* (presumption), (14) *śamsaya* (doubt), (15) *prasanga* (a connected argument), (16) *viparyaya* (reversion), (17) *vākya-śeṣa* (context), (18) *anumata* (assent), (19)

The thirty-two terms of Tantra yukti

vyākhyāna (description), (20) *nirvacana* (etymological explanation), (21) *nidarsana* (example), (22) *apavarga* (exception), (23)

sva-samjñā (a special term). (24) *pūrva-pakṣa* (question), (25) *uttara-pakṣa* (reply), (26) *ekānta* (certain), (27) *anāgatāveksana* (anticipation), (28) *atīkrāntāveksana* (retrospection), (29) *niyoga* (injunction), (30) *vikulpa* (alternative), (31) *samuccaya* (aggregation), and (32) *ūhya* (ellipsis).

In the Caraka-saṁhitā the *Tantra-yukti*, which consists of thirty-four terms, includes the following :—

(1) *Prayojana* (purpose), (2) *nirnaya* (ascertainment), (3) *an-*

The list of Kautilya differs from that of the Caraka-saṁhitā.

kānta (uncertain), (4) *pratyuccāra* (repetition), (5) *uddhāra* (citation), and (6) *sambhava* (probability).

19. MEDHĀTITHI GAUTAMA'S DOCTRINES AS REPRODUCED IN THE CARAKA-SAMHITĀ (ABOUT 78 A D.).

The Caraka-saṁhitā¹ gives a summary of the principal doctrines of *Ānvikṣiki* possibly as propounded by Medhātithi Gautama. Caraka is a general name for the ancient *sākhās* (branches) of the Yajurveda as well as for the teacher of those *sākhās*. The word "Carakāḥ" signifies, according to Pāṇini,² the persons who study the Veda (i.e.

¹ As Ātreya communicated his *Āyurveda-saṁhitā* at first to Agniveśa, the Caraka-saṁhitā is also called the Agniveśa-tantra. Agniveśa is called in Tibetan མེ་བཤིན་མཉུག Me-bshin-hjug (vide Mahāvīyutpatti, part I, p. 23, Bibliotheca Indica series).

² कटकरकायक (Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4-3-107).

Max Muller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, 2nd edition, pp. 225, 350, 364, 369.

the śākhās of the Yajurveda) enounced by the teacher Caraka. Some say that the exact meaning of "Caraka," as applied to the Caraka-saṁhitā, is unknown. The expression "Caraka-saṁhitā" may, according to them, mean the Āyurveda-saṁhitā of the school of Carakāḥ or the Āyurveda-saṁhitā as redacted by a member of the Caraka¹ sect or by a physician named Caraka. According to the Nyāya mañjarī² Caraka was a physician, and the Chinese Tripitaka³ describes him as a physician at the court of Kaṁṣka, the Kuśāna king of Gāndhāra. Punarvasu Ātreya (about 550 B C) was the original author of the Caraka-saṁhitā called Āyurveda-saṁhitā, and the physician Caraka was perhaps the redactor of the Saṁhitā at the beginning of the Christian era.⁴

The doctrines of Ānvīkṣikī did not evidently constitute a part of the original Āyurveda of Punarvasu Ātreya. These doctrines seem to have been incorporated into the Caraka-saṁhitā by the redactor Caraka in whose time they were widely known and studied. The doctrines (with the exception of those relating to *Kāryābhinirvṛtti*) seem to have been the productions of Medātithi Gautama who flourished in the 6th century B.C. Medātithi Gautama's doctrines were embodied in the Caraka-saṁhitā⁵ of Caraka as well as in the Nyāya-sūtra of Akṣapāda. But while Caraka accepted them in their crude forms, Akṣapāda pruned them thoroughly before they were assimilated in the Nyāya-sūtra.

The doctrines as we find them in the Caraka-saṁhitā are treated under three heads, viz. :—

- (1) *Kāryābhinirvṛtti*, the aggregate of resources for the accomplishment of an action.
- (2) *Parīksā*, the standard of examination, and
- (3) *Sambhāsā-vidhi*, or *vāda-vidhi*, the method of debate

¹ For an account of the wandering sect named Caraka see the *Ānguttara nikāya*, part iii, p. 276; *Ratnolkā dhāraṇī*; *Mahāvastu* iii, 412, 7-10, etc. quoted by Prof. Rhys Davids in his "Indian sects or schools in the time of the Buddha," in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1898. See also Prof. C. Bendall's observations in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1901.

²

अथोचते अनादिरेवैषा चिकित्सकस्मृतिः व्याकरणादिस्मृतिवत् ।
संज्ञेपविस्तरविवक्षयैश्चरकादयः कर्त्तारः न तु ते स्वयंदर्शिनः ॥

(Nyāya-mañjarī, chapter IV, p. 249, edited by Gangādhara Śāstri, Vizianagram Sanskrit series).

³ Jolly, *Medicin* (Buhler's Grundriss, iii, 10), p. 11.

In the *Journal Asiatique* (1896), T. VIII, pp. 447-451, Mr. Sylvain Lévi maintains on the authority of Chinese books that Caraka the author of the Caraka-saṁhitā lived in the court of Kaṁṣka. The date of Kaṁṣka has not yet been finally fixed, but I provisionally take it to be 78 A.D. *Vide* my "History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic," pp 62-64. Kaṁṣka's capital was at Puṣpapura (Peshwar) in Gāndhāra, but he held his Buddhist convocation at Jālandhara.

⁴ Professor L. Sualī fixes the date of Caraka at about 100 A.D. (*Filosofia Indiana*, p. 28).

As regards *Kāryābhinirvṛtti*, it does not appear to have been a part of the *Ānvīkṣikī* of Medhātithi Gautama. Perhaps it was a part of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy in an early stage. *Parīkṣā* is redundant as the four terms coming under this head, viz. : *āptopadeśa*,

Which of the doctrines of the Caraka-saṁhitā emanated from Medhātithi Gautama ?

pratyakṣa, *anumāna* and *yukti* reappear with a little modification in the names of *abda*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *anupama* under the sub-head *vādamārga* of *sambhāsā-vidhi*. It

is uncertain as to whether the first four or the last four were included in the *Ānvīkṣikī* of Medhātithi Gautama. *Sambhāsā-vidhi* or *vāda-vidhi* was undoubtedly the principal topic of *Ānvīkṣikī-vidyā*. Some of the terms coming under the sub-head *vāda-mārga* did not however form a part of the original *sambhāsā-vidhi*. For instance the terms *dravya*, *guṇa*, *karma*, *sāmānya*, *viśeṣa* and *sama-vāya* were borrowed from the Vaiśeṣika philosophy in its first stage and incorporated into the *vāda-mārga* by Caraka himself. There are other terms such as *pratiñā*, *sthāpanā*, *pratiṣṭhāpanā*, *hetu*, *upanaya*, *nigamana*, *utiara*, *dṛṣṭānta* and *siddhānta* which in their technical senses were perhaps unknown to Medhātithi Gautama and were introduced into the *vāda-mārga* by Caraka while he compiled and redacted the *Āyurveda-saṁhitā* in the first century A.D.

The terms coming under the three heads are explained in the Caraka-saṁhitā as follows :—

I. *Kāryābhinirvṛtti*—the aggregate of resources for the accomplishment of an action.

A person who is determined to accomplish an action successfully should examine the following resources :—

- (1) *Kāraṇa* or *hetu*—the actor or agent who accomplishes an action.
- (2) *Karāṇa*—the instrument which co-operates with the actor to accomplish the action.
- (3) *Kārya-yoni*—the material cause which while undergoing modification is developed into the action.
- (4) *Kārya*—the action for the accomplishment of which the actor moves.
- (5) *Kārya-phala*—the effect for the attainment of which the action is undertaken.
- (6) *Anubandha*—the adjunct, that is, that pleasurable or painful condition which resulting from the action attaches unavoidably to the actor.
- (7) *Deśa*—the place of the action.
- (8) *Kāla*—the time of the action.
- (9) *Pravṛtti*—the activity or exertion put forth for achieving the action.
- (10) *Upāya*—a favourable circumstance or that condition of the actor, instrument and the material cause in which they can well render facilities and aids to the action being accomplished.

II. Parīkṣā—THE STANDARD OF EXAMINATION.

Things, existent or non-existent, are tested by four standards, viz (1) *āptopadeśa*, reliable assertion (2) *pratyakṣa*, perception; (3) *anumāna*, inference, and (4) *yukti*, continuous reasoning. These are collectively called *parīkṣā*¹ (examination), *hetu*² (reason), or *pramāna*³ (means of valid knowledge).

Reliable assertion is the assertion of a person who is trustworthy, noble, wise and freed from evil propensities, whose perception runs unimpeded, and the truth of whose words is never called in question.

Perception is the knowledge which is produced through a union of the soul with the mind, senses and their objects

Inference is preceded by perception and refers to three times, e.g. a fire is inferred from smoke, fruits are inferred from a seed, etc.

Continuous reasoning refers to the knowledge which beholds conditions resulting from the co-operation of many causes and abiding in three times. For instance, one's birth in the womb is due to a combination of the soul and the five primal essences of earth, water, fire, air and space; the soul alone is related to the next life; acts result from the union of an agent and certain means; acts that are done bear fruits, acts not done bear no fruits; there can be no sprout where there is no seed; good or bad fruits correspond to the good or bad acts that produce them; and one kind of seed cannot produce another kind of fruit.

III. Sambhāṣā OR vāda-vidhi⁴—THE METHOD OF DEBATE.

Utility of Debate (sambhāṣā-prasāṁsā).

If a person carries on debate with another person both being versed in the same science, it increases their knowledge and happiness. Besides, it produces dexterity, bestows eloquence and brightens reputation. If there was any misapprehension in a subject

¹ Caraka-saṁhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, 11th adhyāya :—

द्विविधमेव ह्यस्य सर्वं सद्भासकम् । तस्य चतुर्विधा परीक्षा । अप्तोपदेशः प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं यत्किञ्चेति ।

² Caraka-saṁhitā, Vimāna-sthāna, adhyāya 8 :—

हेतुर्नामोपलब्धिकारणं तत् प्रत्यक्षमनुमानमैतिह्यनौपम्यम् । हेतुभिर्बहुपक्षभवे नत् तत्त्वम् ।

³ Caraka-saṁhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, 11th adhyāya :—

एवं प्रमाणैः चतुर्भिर्दृष्टैः पुनर्नवे भ्रमोद्गारेष्ववधीयते ।

⁴ Caraka-saṁhitā, Vimāna-sthāna, adhyāya 8

already studied it removes that misapprehension, and if there was no misapprehension in the subject it produces zeal for its further study. It also makes debaters familiar with certain matters which were unknown to them. Moreover some precious mystic doctrines, which a preceptor imparted to his favourite pupil, come out in essence from the pupil who, owing to a temporary excitement and ambition for victory, is impelled to expound them in the course of the debate. Hence wise men applaud debate with fellow scholars

Two kinds of Debate (dvividhā sambhāsā).

A debate with a fellow-scholar may be carried on either
 A congenial debate (1) peacefully (*sandhāya*) or (2) in a spirit of opposition (*vigrhya*). The first is called a congenial debate (*anuloma sambhāsā*), and the second a hostile debate (*vigrhya sambhāsā*). The congenial debate takes place when the respondent (or opponent) is possessed of erudition, wisdom, eloquence and readiness of reply, is not wrathful or malicious, is well versed in the art of persuasion, and is patient and sweet-speaked. In debating with such a person one should speak confidently, interrogate confidently and give answer in confidence. One should not be alarmed at suffering defeat from him nor should one rejoice in inflicting defeat on him. It is improper to show obstinacy towards him, or to introduce before him matters which are irrelevant. While using persuasion with gentleness, one should keep in view the subject of debate. This kind of debate is called a peaceful or congenial debate.

Before entering upon a hostile debate with a person one should
 A hostile debate. examine one's strength through a casual conversation with him and observation in any other way of his merits. Such an examination should settle the opportuneness or otherwise of entering upon the debate. The merits considered as good are erudition, wisdom, memory, ingenuity and eloquence. The demerits considered as bad are irritability, shallowness, shyness and inattentiveness.

Three classes of respondents (trividhāḥ paraḥ)

In consideration of the merits and demerits mentioned above the respondent (or opponent) may be of three kinds, viz. superior, inferior, and equal

A Council of Debate (pariṣad).

The assembly (*pariṣad*) in which a debate is to take place may be of two kinds, viz. (1) learned, i.e. an assembly of wise men, and (2) ignorant, i.e. an assembly of fools. Each of these may be subdivided as (a) friendly, (b) indifferent or impartial, and (c) hostile or committed to one side.

The Expedients of Debate (vāḍopāya).

It is not advisable to enter upon debate in a hostile assembly, no matter whether the assembly is learned or ignorant. In an ignorant assembly, friendly or indifferent, one may enter upon debate with a person who is of blazing fame, but who neither possesses erudition, wisdom and eloquence, nor is held in esteem by respectable people. In debating with such an opponent one may employ crooked and long-strung word-bolts. Now assuming a delightful countenance and now indulging in ridicule one should engage the assembly in such a way that the opponent does not find an opportunity of speaking. If the opponent utters an unusual word he should be immediately told that such a word is never used or that his original proposition has fallen to the ground. In the case of his attempting to offer challenge he should be stopped with the observation: "Go and study for a full year, sitting at the feet of your preceptor: this much that you have done to-day is enough." If in the meantime the shout of "vanquished, vanquished" has even once been uttered, no further debate need be held with the opponent.

Some say that this procedure may be adopted in debate even with a superior opponent, but experts do not approve of its adoption when the opponent happens to be an old man.

In a friendly assembly one may enter upon debate with an opponent who is inferior or equal. In an indifferent (or impartial) assembly consisting of members that are endued with attentiveness, erudition, wisdom, memory and eloquence, one should speak with great care marking the merits and demerits of one's opponent. If the opponent appears to be superior, one should, without expressing one's inferiority, never engage in debate with him. If on the other hand the opponent happens to be inferior, one should at once defeat him. An opponent, who is weak in the scriptures, should be defeated through citations of long passages from them. An opponent devoid of erudition should be defeated through the employment of unusual words and phrases. An opponent whose memory is not sharp should be defeated with crooked and long-strung word bolts. An opponent devoid of ingenuity should be defeated through the use of same words bearing different meanings and different words bearing the same meaning. An opponent, who is devoid of eloquence, should be defeated through the jeering imitations of his half-uttered speeches. An opponent whose knowledge is shallow should be defeated by being put to shame on that account. An opponent of irritable temper

should be defeated by being thrown into a state of nervous exhaustion. An opponent who is timid should be defeated through the excitement of his fear. An opponent who is inattentive should be defeated by being put under the restraint of a certain rule. Even in a hostile debate one should speak with propriety, an absence of which may provoke the opponent to say or do any thing

Influencing the assembly one should cause it to name that as the subject of debate with which one is perfectly familiar and which presents an insurmountable difficulty to one's opponent. How to influence a Council. When the assembly meets one should observe silence after saying to one's opponent: "it is not now permissible for us to make any suggestions. Here is the assembly which will fix the subject and limits of debate agreeably to its wishes and sense of propriety."¹

The Limits of Debate (vāda-maryādā).

The limits of debate consist of such directions, as: "This should be said, this should not be said, if this occurs defeat follows, etc."²

The Course of Debate (vāda-mārga).

The following are the categories³ which should be studied for a thorough knowledge of the course of debate:—

- (1) *Debate (vāda)*—a discourse between two parties agreeably to the scriptures and in a spirit of opposition on a subject such as "whether there is rebirth, or there is no rebirth" It is of two kinds, viz. (1) wrangling (*jalpa*) which is a debate for the purpose of defence or attack. and (2) cavil (*vitandā*) which is a perverse debate for the purpose of a mere attack.
- (2) *Substance (dravya)*—that in which actions and qualities inhere and which can constitute a material cause. e.g. ether, air, fire, water, earth, soul, mind, and space.
- (3) *Quality (guṇa)*—that which inheres in a substance and is inactive, e.g. colour, taste, odour, touch, sound, heavy and

¹ This trick, the knowledge of which is useful in guarding oneself against a cunning debater, should never be adopted in a fair debate.—S. C. Vidyabhusana

² Udayanācārya. (10th century A.D.) following the old laws of debate observes that an objection may be removed by debate, but on no account should it proceed beyond the limit of practical absurdity.

आवातावधिरासङ्गा नर्कःसङ्गानिबन्धकः ॥ (Kusumāñjali, 3-7).

³ The explanation of *substance, quality, action, generality, particularity and inherence* is given in the Caraka-saṁhitā, Sūtra-sthāna, adhyāya 1, and the explanation of the remaining terms in the Vimāna-sthāna, adhyāya 8. The terms (2-7) were evidently taken from the Vaiśeṣika philosophy and not from Ānvikṣikī of Medhātithi Gautama.

light, cold and hot, intelligence, pleasure and pain, desire and aversion, dissimilarity, contrariety, union, separation, number, measure, etc

- (4) *Action (karma)*—that which is the cause of both union and separation, which inheres in a substance and represents the function which is to be performed, and which is not dependent on any other action
- (5) *Generality (sāmānya)*—that which produces unity.
- (6) *Particularity (viśeṣa)*—that which produces diversity.
- (7) *Inherence (samavāya)*—a permanent relation between a substance and its qualities or actions in virtue of which they cannot exist separately
- (8) *Proposition (pratītiñā)*—the statement of what is to be established, e.g. the soul is eternal
- (9) *Demonstration (sthāpanā)*—the establishment of a proposition through the process of a reason, example, application and conclusion, e.g.
- (i) The soul is eternal (*a proposition*)
- (ii) Because it is a non-product (*reason*)
- (iii) Just as ether which being a non-product is eternal (*example*)
- (iv) The soul similar to ether is a non-product (*application*)
- (v) Therefore the soul is eternal (*conclusion*).
- (10) *Counter-demonstration (pratīṣṭhāpanā)*—the establishment of the counter-proposition, e.g.
- (i) The soul is non-eternal (*a proposition*).
- (ii) Because it is cognized by the senses (*reason*)
- (iii) Just as a pot which being cognized by the senses is non-eternal (*example*)
- (iv) The soul similar to a pot is cognized by the senses (*application*)
- (v) Therefore the soul is non-eternal (*conclusion*).
- (11) *Reason (hetu)*¹—the source of knowledge such as perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), scripture (*aitihya*), and comparison (*aupamya*).
- (12) *Application (upanaya)*—as shown above.
- (13) *Conclusion (nigamana)*—as shown above.
- (14) *Rejoinder (uttara)*—the proposition in a counter-demonstration.
- (15) *Example (drṣṭānta)*—the thing about which an ordinary man and an expert entertain the same opinion, and which describes the subject, e.g. hot as “fire,” stable as “earth,” etc., or just as the “sun” is an illuminator so is the text of the Sāṃkhya.

¹ The word reason (*hetu*), which in the old Brāhmanic and Jaina works signified a source of knowledge, is not exactly identical with the reason (*hetu*) which constitutes the second member of a syllogism or demonstration. It seems that the doctrine of syllogism or demonstration was introduced into Hindu Logic at a comparatively late time, and the word *hetu* used in connection with this

- (16) *Tenet or conclusion (siddhānta)*—a truth which is established on examination by experts and on proof by reasons. It is of four kinds viz a truth accepted by all the schools, that accepted by a particular school that accepted hypothetically, and that accepted by implication.
- (17) *Word (śabda)*—a combination of letters. It is of four kinds viz. that which refers to a matter which is seen that which refers to a matter which is not seen that which corresponds to what is real, and that which does not correspond to what is real.
- (18) *Perception (pratyakṣa)*—that knowledge which a person acquires by himself through his mind conjoined with the five senses. Pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and the like are objects of the mind while sound, etc. are objects of the five senses.
- (19) *Inference (anumāna)*—a reasoning based on the knowledge of connected facts, e.g. fire is inferred from the power of digestion.
- (20) *Comparison (aupamya)*—the knowledge of a thing acquired through its similarity to another thing.
- (21) *Tradition (śruti)*—consisting of reliable assertions, e.g. the Veda etc.
- (22) *Doubt (saṁśaya)*—uncertainty, e.g. is there or is there not untimely death?
- (23) *Purpose (prayojana)*—that for the accomplishment of which actions are undertaken, e.g. I shall live carefully to avoid untimely death.
- (24) *Uncertain (savyabhicāra)*—going astray, e.g. this medicine may be or may not be suited to this disease.
- (25) *Inquiry (nyāsa)*—examination.
- (26) *Ascertainment (vyavasāya)*—determination, e.g. that disease is due to the disturbance of wind in the stomach and this is its medicine.
- (27) *Presumption (artha-prāpti)*—the knowledge of a thing implied by the declaration of another thing, e.g. when it is said that a person should not eat during the day, it is implied that he should eat during the night.
- (28) *The originating cause (sambhava)*—that from which something springs out, e.g. the six ingredients (*ūhātus*) constitute the originating cause of the foetus in the womb.
- (29) *Censurable (anuyogya)*—a speech which is fraught with fault, e.g. a person makes a general statement while a particular one is required. Instead of saying 'this disease is curable by medicine,' one should say 'this disease is curable by an emetic medicine or a purgative medicine.'
- (30) *Non-censurable (ananyogya)*—the reverse of the censurable.
- (31) *Interrogation (anuyoga)*—an inquiry about a subject made by a person who studies it, e.g. when a person asserts that the soul is eternal his fellow-scholar inquires "what is the reason?" This inquiry is an interrogation.
- (32) *Re-interrogation (pratyanuyoga)*—an inquiry about another inquiry, e.g. when one says that the soul is eternal because

it is non-produced, the re-interrogation will be "why it is non-produced?"

- (33) *Defect of speech (vākya-doṣa)*—consisting of inadequacy, redundancy, meaninglessness, incoherence, contradiction, etc.
- (a) "Inadequacy" or saying too little which occurs when there is an omission of the reason, example, application or conclusion.
- (b) "Redundancy" or saying too much which consists of (i) "irrelevancy," e.g. a person talks of the polity of Vṛhaspati or Sukra while the subject of discourse is medicine, or (ii) "repetition," e.g. when a person repeats a word or its meaning several times, as *bhaisajya*, *sādhana*, *ausaṭha*, etc., all of which signify medicine.
- (c) "Meaninglessness"—consisting of a mere grouping of letters without any sense. e.g. k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, etc.
- (d) "Incoherence"—a combination of words which do not convey a connected meaning, e.g. whey, wheel, race, thunder, morning, etc.
- (e) "Contradiction"—consisting of opposition to the example, tenet or occasion, e.g. on the occasion of sacrifices, animals should be offered up. Any thing uttered inconsistently with the occasion is contradiction.
- (34) *Excellence of speech (vākya-prasāṃsā)*—when a speech is freed from inadequacy, etc., is fraught with well-expressive words and is otherwise uncensurable, it is applauded as excellent, perfect or meritorious.
- (35) *Quibble (chala)*—a speech consisting of mere words fraught with cunning, plausibility and diversion of sense. It is of two kinds. viz. (1) 'quibble in respect of a word,' e.g. a person uses the word 'navatantra' to signify a man who has studied nine scriptures, though he really intends to signify a man who has studied his scripture recently, or (2) 'quibble in respect of a generality,' e.g. the medicine which cures phthisis should also cure bronchitis, as both come under the genus 'disease.'
- (36) *Non-reason or fallacy (ahetu)*—which is of three kinds, viz. :
- (a) "Begging the question" ("prakaraṇa-sama") occurring when that which is to be proved is taken as the reason, e.g. the soul is eternal because it is distinct from the body. the body is non-eternal, and the soul being heterogeneous from the body must be eternal. being heterogeneous from the body must be eternal. ring when that which is a cause of doubt is regarded as dispelling the doubt, e.g. it is doubtful whether a person who has studied a portion of the science of medicine is a physician; this person has studied a portion of the science of medicine. hence he is a physician. This is another form of "begging the question"
- (c) "Balancing the subject" ("varṇya-sama") occurring where the example is not different from the subject

in respect of their questionable character, e.g. the intellect is non-eternal, because it is intangible, as a sound. Here the eternality of the intellect is as questionable as that of the sound.

- (37) *Mistimed (atīta-kāla)*—a fallacy which arises when that which should be stated first is stated afterwards.
- (38) *Attribution of censure (upālamḃha)*—imputation of defect to the reason adduced
- (39) *Avoidance of defect (parihāra)* which occurs when the defect is corrected or amended, e.g. when the soul resides in the body, the signs of life are noticeable; but when the soul leaves the body those signs are no longer noticed: hence the soul is distinct from the body.
- (40) *Abandonment of a proposition (pratijñā-hāni)*—which occurs when a disputant, being attacked, abandons the proposition first advanced by him, e.g.
 A person advances first a proposition, viz.
 the soul is eternal,
 and being attacked by an opponent, he abandons it saying,
 the soul is not eternal.
- (41) *Admission (abhyanuñā)*—the acceptance by a person of what is attributed to him by his opponent, whether agreeable or disagreeable, e.g.
 A disputant says: "you are a thief"
 His opponent replies: "you too are a thief."
 The reply of the opponent is an admission.
- (42) *Shifting the reason (hetvantara)*—which occurs when one instead of advancing the proper reason adduces a different one
- (43) *Shifting the topic (arthāntara)*, e.g. A person cites the symptoms of gonorrhoea while he was to have cited those of fever.
- (44) *A point of defeat or an occasion for rebuke (nigrahasthāna)*—which occurs when a disputant suffers defeat at the hands of his opponent. It consists in the disputant misapprehending, or being unable to apprehend, something repeated thrice in an assembly the members whereof have apprehended it. It may also occur when one censures that which is not censurable or abstains from censuring that which is censurable.

CHAPTER IV

Reception accorded to Ānvīksikī.

(FROM 6.50 B C ONWARDS)

20 ĀNVIKṢIKI CONDEMNED IN CERTAIN CIRCLES

Ānvīksikī known as *Hetu-sāstra* or *Tarka-vidyā*, the general principles of which might be applied to test the validity or otherwise of the injunctions and prohibitions laid down in the Vedas and Dharma-sūtras, was not received with favour by a certain section of the Brāhmaṇas, who could never think of calling in question the authority of those injunctions and prohibitions. We are therefore not surprised to find Manu¹ enjoining excommunication upon those members of the twice-born castes who disregarded the Vedas and Dharma-sūtras relying upon the support of *Hetu-sāstra* or Logic. Similarly Vālmiki² in his Rāmāyaṇa discredits those persons of perverse intellect who indulge in the frivolities of *Ānvīksikī*, the science of Logic, regardless of the works on Sacred Law (Dharma-śāstra) which they should follow as their guide. Vyāsa³ in the Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, relates the dole-

Ānvīksikī opposed to the Vedas.

- 1 योऽवमन्येत ते सूत्रे हेतुशास्त्राशयाद् द्विजः ।
स साधुभिर्विद्विष्कार्यो नास्मिको वेदनिन्दकः ॥
(Manu-samhitā, adhyāya 2, verse 11)
- 2 धर्माशालेषु सुखेषु विद्यमानेषु दुर्बुधाः ।
वदितान्त्वोत्तिकीं प्राप्य निरर्थं प्रवदन्ति ते ॥ 36-39 ॥
(Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā kāṇḍa, sarga 100)
- 3 अनास पण्डितकी हेतुको वेदनिन्दकः ।
आन्वोत्तिकीं तर्कविशामनुत्तौ निरर्थकाम् ॥ 47 ॥
हेतुवादान् प्रवदिता वक्ता संसत्सु हेतुमत् ।
आक्रोशा धामिवक्त्रा च अश्रुवाथसु च द्विजान् ॥ 48 ॥
नास्मिकः सर्वैश्चकी च मूर्खः पण्डितमानिकः ।
तस्यैव फलनिर्धनिः श्रुत्यालसं मन द्विज ॥ 49 ॥
(Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, adhyāya 180).

In the Candharva tantra we find:—

गोतम प्रोक्तशास्त्राद्येनिरताः सर्वे एव हि ।
शाश्वतीं योनिमापन्नाः सन्दिग्धाः सर्वकर्तव्ये ॥

(Quoted in Prānatoṣinī tantra).

ful story of a repentant Brāhmana who, addicted to *Tarka-vidyā* (Logic), carried on debates divorced from all faith in the Vedas and was on that account turned into a jackal in his next birth as a penalty. In another passage of the Śāntiparva, Vyāsa¹ warns the followers of the Vedānta philosophy against communicating their doctrines to a *Tūrkika* or Logician. Vyāsa¹ does not care even to review *Hetu-sāstra* in the *Brahma-sūtra* seeing that it has not been recognized by any worthy sage. Stories of infliction of penalties on those given to the study of *Tarka-vidyā* are related in the *Skandapurāna*² and other works; and in the *Naiṣadīacarita*³ we find Kali satirising the founder of *Ānvīkṣikī* as "Go-tama" the most bovine among sages

21. ĀNVIKṢIKĪ HELD IN HIGH ESTEEM IN SOME QUARTERS.

On the other hand *Ānvīkṣikī*, while it attached due weight to the authority of the Vedas, was held in very high esteem. There were also people who could appreciate the value of reasoning for ascertaining truths. Thus the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*⁴ prescribes a course of training in *Ānvīkṣikī* (Logic) for the king and acknowledges the utility of *Tarka* (reasoning) in the administra-

ज्ञातकानामिदं शास्त्रं वाच्यं पुत्रानुशासनम् ।

* * * * *

न तर्कशालदग्धाय तथैव पिशुनाय च ॥ 18 ॥

(Mahābhārata Śāntiparva, adhyāya 246).

एपरिग्रहाद्यात्यन्तमजयेत् ॥ 17 ॥ (Vedānta-sūtra, 2-2).

मोक्षमः खेन तर्कस्य शक्यते न तत्र हि ।

शत्रोऽथ मुनिभिस्तत्र शार्मालीं योनिस्तच्छति ।

पुनश्चानुष्टहीतोऽसौ ऋत्विषिज्ञान्तकतः ।

सर्वलोकपकाराय तत्र शास्त्रं भविष्यति ॥

(Skandapurāna, Kālikākhaṇḍa, adhyāya 17).

मुञ्चये यः शिखान्नाय शक्यं च मद्दामुनिः ।

मोक्षमं तस्यैतेव यथा विलुथ तथैव सः ॥ 75 ॥

(Naiṣadīacarita, canto xvii)

१ राजा सर्वस्यैव प्राण्यवर्जः साधुकारी स्यात् साधुवादी, नय्यात् साम्प्रोक्षिक्याद्या-
भिविभोतः । न्यायाधियमे तर्कैःश्रुपायः । तेनाभ्युद्यु यथास्थानं नमरेत् । विप्रतिपत्तो
नैविद्युदयोः प्रत्यवहृत्य निष्ठां गमयेत् ॥

(Gautama dharma-sūtra, adhyāya 11).

tion of justice, though in the case of conclusions proving incompatible, the ultimate decision is directed to be made by reference to persons versed in the Vedas. Manu¹ admits that *dharmā* or duty should be ascertained by logical reasoning (*tarka*), but the reasoning should not, according to him, be opposed to the injunctions of the Vedas. He recommends Ānvīksikī (Logic) as a necessary study for a king² and a *Tarkī*³ (logician) as an indispensable member of a legal assembly. Kautilya⁴ in his Arthasāstra characterises Ānvīksikī (Logic) as the lamp of all sciences, the resource of all actions and the permanent shelter of all virtues.

Yājñavalkya⁵ counts *Nyāya* or Logic among the fourteen principal sciences while Vyāsa⁶ admits that he was able to arrange and classify the Upaniṣads with the help of Ānvīksikī or Logic. In the Padmapurāṇa⁷ *Nyāya* (Logic) is included among the fourteen principal branches of learning promulgated by God Viṣṇu, while in the Matsyapurāṇa,⁸ *Nyāya vidyā* (the science of Logic) together

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- 1 शार्धं धर्मोपदेश च वेदशास्त्राविरोधिना ।
यत्कर्माणुसन्धते स धर्म वेद नेतरः ॥
(Manu-samhitā, adhyāya 12, verse 106)
- 2 त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दृष्ट्वनौतिश्च शास्त्रतौम् ।
आन्वतिकीशास्त्रविद्यां वार्त्तारभांश्च लोकतः ॥
(Manu-samhitā, adhyāya 7, verse 43)
- 3 त्रैविद्यां हेतुकसक्तीं नैवज्ञो धर्मपाठकः ।
नयस्याप्रतिष्ठः पूर्वं परिषत् स्याद् दशावरा ॥
(Manu-samhitā, adhyāya 12 verse 111)
- 4 प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् ।
शास्त्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शशदान्वतिकीमता ॥
(Artha-sāstra of Kautilya, chap. II)
- 5 पुराणन्यायमीमांसा धर्मशास्त्राङ्गमित्यिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥
(Yājñavalkya-samhitā, adhyāya 1, verse 3).
- 6 तत्र परिषदं तात परिषदं तु पार्थिव ।
मथ्नामि मनसा तात दृष्ट्वा चान्वीत्सिकीं पराम् ॥
(Mahābhārata quoted by Viśvanātha in his Nyāya-vṛtti, 1-1-1).
- 7 शकानि चतुरो वेदान् पुराणन्यायविस्तराम् ।
मीमांसा धर्मशास्त्रश्च परिगुह्याथ साम्प्रतम् ॥
समस्यरूपेण च पुनः कल्पादावुदकारे ।
(Padmapurāṇa, vide Muir's Sanskrit texts, Vol. III, p. 27).
- 8 अनन्तरश्च वत्तभ्यां वेदालस्य विनिश्चिताः ।
मीमांसा न्यायविद्या च प्रमाणाद्यकमेदता ॥ (Matsyapurāṇa, 3-2).

with the Vedas is said to have emanated from the mouth of Brahma himself. In fact so widespread was the study of *Nyāya* that the Mahābhārata is full of references to that science. In the Ādiparva¹ of the Mahābhārata, the *Nyāya* (Logic) is mentioned along with the Veda and Cikitsā (the science of medicine), and the hermitage of Kāśyapa² is described as being filled with sages who were versed in the *Nyāya-tattva* (categories of Logic), and who knew the true meaning of a demonstration, objection and conclusion. The Śāntiparva³ refers to numerous tenets of *Nyāya* supported by reasoning and scripture, while in the Aśvamedhaparva⁴ we find that the sacrificial ground of Yudhiṣṭhira was crowded by logicians (*Hetu-vādin*) who employed arguments and counter-arguments to vanquish one another. Similar other instances of the popularity of *Nyāya* (Logic) may be cited from the Mahābhārata and other works which were composed in their present forms about the beginning of the Christian era

It seems that the unfavourable criticism to which Ānvikṣiki (the science of Logic) had long been exposed, terminated practically in the first century A.D. when, under the name of *Nyāya-sāstra*, it accepted the authority of the Vedas and propounded the doctrine of syllogistic reasoning the validity of which was never challenged.

न्यायश्चित्तं चिकित्सा च दानं पाशुपत तथा ।

हेतुनैव सम जन्म दिव्यमानुष मञ्जितम् ॥ 67 ॥

(Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, adhyāya 1).

न्यायं तत्त्वज्ञानसम्पन्नेर्वेदपारयैः ॥ 42 ॥

स्वापनाक्षेपसिद्धान्त परमार्थज्ञतां गतैः । 44 ॥

(Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, adhyāya 70).

न्यायतन्त्रोष्णैकानि तैस्त्रैस्तानि वादिभिः ।

हेत्वागमसमाचारैर्यदुक्तं तदुपास्यताम् ॥ 22 ॥

(Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, adhyāya 21)

तांस्तान यज्ञे प्रवृत्ते तु वायिनो हेतुवादिनः ।

हेतुवादान बलनाडः परस्पर-जिगीषवः ॥ 27 ॥

(Mahābhārata, Aśvamedhaparva, adhyāya 85)

SECTION II

Nyāya-sāstra—the Science of True Reasoning. (CIRCA 1 A.D.—1200 A.D.)

CHAPTER I

The Growth of Nyāya-sāstra.

22. ORIGIN OF THE NAME NYĀYA.

It has been previously observed that *Nyāya*¹ was one of the various names by which the *Ānvīksikī* was designated in its logical aspect. With the introduction of this word, the ancient school of Indian Logic entered upon the second stage of its development. In the first stage Logic was generally designated as *Ānvīksikī*, *Hetu-sāstra* or *Tarka-vidyā*, but in the second stage it was, as we find in the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, widely known as *Nyāya-sāstra*.

The *Ānvīksikī-vidyā* designated as *Nyāya-sāstra*.

The word *nyāya* popularly signifies 'right' or 'justice.' The *Nyāya-sāstra* is therefore the science of right judgment or true reasoning. The Chinese *Can-li*² and the Tibetan *Rigs-bstan-ḥcos*,³ as equivalents of the Sanskrit *Nyāya-sāstra*, express exactly the same meaning.

The popular meaning of *Nyāya*.

Technically the word *nyāya* signifies a syllogism (or a speech of five parts), and the *Ānvīksikī* was called *Nyāya-sāstra*, when *nyāya* constituted its special topic. That the word *nyāya* actually signified a syllogism is evident from an observation quoted by *Vātsyāyana*⁴ that "*nyāya* functions neither with regard to things

The technical meaning of *Nyāya*.

¹ *Vātsyāyana* observes:—

स्यमान्नीचिकी प्रमाणादि पदार्थैर्विभक्तानाम्..... (*Nyāya bhāṣya*, 1-1-1).

² *Yuan Chwang* (*Hwen-thsang*) translates *Nyāya* (*Can-li*) by true reason (or reasoning)—*vide* Professor *H. U's* *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 84.

³ The *Nyāya-sāstra* is called in Tibetan རེགས་པའེ་བརྟན་པོའེ་ *Rigs-paḥi-bstan-ḥcos*, the science of right judgment—*vide* *Mahāvvyutpatti*, part ii, p. 133, edited by Dr. *E. D. Ross* and Dr. *Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, Calcutta.

⁴ तत्र नानुपलब्धे न विधीयते न्यायः प्रवर्तते किमपि संशयितेऽर्थे

(*Nyāyabhāṣya* 1-1-1): also Dr. *Gaṅgā Nath Jhā's* Translation of the *Nyāya-*

unknown nor with regard to things that are definitely known, but it functions only with regard to things that are doubtful” Vātsyāyana defines,¹ no doubt, *nyāya* as an examination of objects by evidences, but he takes evidences to signify a syllogism which consists of a ‘proposition’ based on verbal testimony, a ‘reason’ based on inference, an ‘example’ based on perception, an ‘application’ based on comparison, and a ‘conclusion’ based on all the previous four. Viśvanātha² explains *nyāya svarūpa* as the essential form of a syllogism which consists of its five parts, and Mādhavācārya³ understands by the term *nyāya* an inference for the sake of others in which a syllogism is specially employed. In view of this technical meaning we may interpret *Nyāya-sāstra* as the science of syllogism or the science of inference for the sake of others, that is, the science of demonstration.

23. THE ANTIQUITY OF NYĀYA-SĀSTRA (FROM CIRCA 1 A D).

The term “Nyāya” in the sense of Logic does not appear to have been used in literature before the first century A.D. Pāṇini⁴ (about 350 B.C.) did not know the word “Nyāya” in the sense of Logic, and even Patañjali⁵ (about 150 B.C.) does not seem to have been conversant with the word, which does not occur in his *Bhāṣya* on *ukthādi-gaṇa*. It does not find place, in this sense,⁶ in the Artha-

¹ प्रमाणैरेव परीक्षत न्यायः (Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-1)

² Vide Viśvanātha’s Nyāya sūtra-vṛtti, 1-1-25, 1-1-31, 1-1-38 and 1-1-40 in which *nyāya-svarūpa*, *nyāya-pūrvāṅga*, *nyāyottarāṅga* and *nyāyāśraya* are defined. The five parts of *nyāya* (syllogism) will be explained later.

³ Mādhavācārya’s Sarvadarśana samgrahaṇa, under the head Aksapāda-darśana, p. 114, Calcutta edition.

⁴ Goldstucker in his Panini, p. 151, says that both Kātyāyana and Patañjali knew the Nyāya-sūtra. There is however no proof for the statement.

There is no doubt that Pāṇini derives the word *nyāya* (evidently in the sense of justice) from the root *nī* in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3- -122 as follows:—न्यायव्याप्तौ न्यायस्य चकाराच्च. His *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4-2-60 क्रतुकथाद् कृत्वात् न्यायः does not, however, presuppose *nyāya* in the sense of “Logic.”

⁵ Patañjali did not use the word *nyāyika* (logician) as *nyāya* was not included in the *ukthādigāṇa* in his *Bhāṣya*. The *Gaṇapātha*, which includes it, is a later work. For *nyāya* vide *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 4-4-92.

⁶ *Nyāya* signifies just or justice, equitable or equity.

ज्ञानं विप्रतिपद्यते धर्मन्यायेन केनचित् ।

न्यायस्य प्रमाणं स्यात् तच्च पाठो हि नश्यति ॥

(Artha śāstra, adhikaraṇa 3, chap. 1, p. 150)

śāstra¹ of Kautīlya (about 327 B.C.). The term "Nyāya." which previously signified "right," "method," "analogy" or "maxim," is used in the sense of Logic for the first time in the Mahābhārata,² Viṣṇu purāṇa,³ Matsya purāṇa,⁴ Padma purāṇa,⁵ Yājñavalkya-samhitā,⁶ etc., in passages which are presumed to have been written after the beginning of the Christian era.

The Nyāya-śāstra was not so called before the subject of "Nyāya" (syllogism) was introduced into it. As the Caraka-samhitā,⁷ so far as we know, contains for the first time an exposition of the doctrine of syllogism under the name of *sthāpanā* (demonstration), it is presumed that the word *Nyāya* as an equivalent for Logic came into use about the composition of that Samhitā, that is, about the opening of the Christian era. The word became very popular about the second century A.D. when the Nyāya-sūtra was composed. Vātsyāyana (about 400 A.D.) uses the expression "*parama-nyāya*"⁸ for the conclusion (*nigamanā*) which combines in itself all the five parts of a syllogism. Dignāga (about 500 A.D.) explicitly mentions the five parts or members of a syllogism as *Nyāyāvayava*.⁹

24. THE EARLY TEACHERS OF NYĀYA-ŚĀSTRA (ABOUT 100 A.D.).

Nothing is definitely known about the early teachers of Nyāya-śāstra. In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata¹⁰ we find that the hermitage of Kāśyapa was filled with sages who knew the true

संघसंख्यस्य संघेषु न्यायवृत्तिरहितः प्रियः ।
दासो युक्तजनस्त्रिष्टेत् सर्वं विज्ञानवर्तकः ॥

(Artha-śāstra of Kautīlya, adbhikarāna II, adhyāya 1, p. 379, Sham Śāstri's edition).

² Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, adhyāya 1, verse 67; adhyāya 70, verses 42-44 and Śāntiparva, adhyāya 210, verse 22.

³ Viṣṇu purāṇa, third part, adhyāya 6

⁴ Matsya purāṇa, 3-2

⁵ Padma purāṇa, Uttarakhanda, chap. 263.

⁶ Yājñavalkya-samhitā, 1-3, etc.

⁷ Caraka-samhitā, Vimāna-sthāna, adhyāya 8.

⁸ सर्वेषामेकार्थसमवाये सामर्थ्यप्रदर्शनं निगमनमिति सोऽयं परमो न्यायः ।

(Nyāya bhāṣya, 1-1-1).

⁹ Nyāyāvayava called in Tibetan 'rigs-pahi-yan-lag' occurs in the Pramāna-samuccaya, chap. VI, as follows:—རིག་པ་པོ་ལོ་ཡན་ལག་པ་ལ་ཐོག་ས་པ་ལོ་ལྟོས་པ་ལོ་ལྟོས་པ་ལོ་

(Tshad-ma-kun las btus-pa, chap. vi. Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce).

10

न्यायतत्त्वात्प्रविज्ञानसम्पन्नैरेवंपारयैः । ॥ 42 ॥

नानावाक्यतनाचार समवाय विशारदैः ।

meanings of demonstration, refutation and conclusion. As *sthāpanā*, *ālṣepa* and *siddhānta*, which are the Sanskrit equivalents for demonstration, refutation and conclusion, are the technical terms of Nyāya-śāstra as used in the Caraka saṁhitā, it may be reasonably inferred that the sages who dealt with them in the hermitage of Kāśyapa were the early exponents of that śāstra. Kāśyapa¹ lived on the river Mālinī in the district of Saharanpur midway between Delhi and Hardwar.

25. NĀRADA—AN EXPERT IN NYĀYA-ŚĀSTRA
(ABOUT 100 A D.).

In the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata we find that a sage named Nārada² was an expert in Nyāya-śāstra.³ He was skilful in distinguishing unity and plurality, conjunction and co-existence (inherence), genus and species, etc., capable of deciding questions through evidences (*pramāṇa*), and clever in ascertaining the validity and invalidity of a speech of five parts (*pañcāvayava-vākya*). The "speech of five parts" refers undoubtedly to a syllogism of five members, and it is interesting to note that Nārada.

Nārada's skill in syllogistic reasoning.

विशेषकार्यविदुभिश्च मोक्षधर्मपरायणैः ॥ 43 ॥

स्थापनात्तेषां सिद्धान्त परमार्थज्ञानं गतैः ।

शब्दश्च नन्द निरुक्तज्ञैः कालज्ञानविशारदैः ॥ 44 ॥

इत्यकर्मगुणज्ञैश्च कार्यकारणवेदिभिः ।

(Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, adhyāya 70).

मालिनीमभितो राजन् नदी पुष्पां सुखोदकाम् ॥ १९ ॥

तस्यास्त्रीरे भगवतः काश्यपस्य महात्मनः ।

आश्रमप्रवरं रम्यं महर्षिगणसेवितम् ॥ २७ ॥

(Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, chap 70).

2 Nārada is called in Tibetan མེས་གླིང་གྱི་བུ་ Mig gbyin-gyi-bu (*vide* Mahāvīyut-pattī, part I, p 23, edited by Dr E. D. Ross and Dr. Satis Chanda Vidyabhusana, in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta).

3

वेदोपनिषदां वेत्ता ऋषिः सूरगणार्थितः ।

इतिहासपुराणज्ञः पुराकल्पविशेषवित् ॥ 2 ॥

न्यायविद्विद्वान्त्वयः षडङ्गविदनुत्तमः ।

येक्यसंयोग नानात्व सम्वायविशारदः ॥ 3 ॥

यज्ञा प्रगल्भी मेधावी स्थितिमाह्वयवित् कविः ।

परापरविभागज्ञः प्रमाणवृत्तान्तरयः ॥ 4 ॥

पञ्चावयवव्युक्तस्य वाक्यस्य गुणदोषवित् ।

उत्तरोत्तरवक्त्रा च वदतीति बृहस्पतिः ।

धर्माद्यैकान्तोत्तेषु यथावत् कृतनिश्चयः ॥

(Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, adhyāya 5).

who, as we shall presently see, travelled in Svetaḍvīpa (perhaps Alexandria), was one of the earliest experts in judging the merit and demerit of such a speech.

This Nārada represents the philosophical culture of the 1st century A.D. No work on Nyāya-śāstra

Nārada was perhaps a fictitious person of the 1st century A.D.

written by him has come down to us. But Jayanta¹ in the Nyāya-mañjarī quotes a verse attributed to him which gives an exposition of a logical “point of defeat” (*nigraha-sthāna*) technically known as “the abandonment of a proposition (*pratijñā-hāni*)”

The personality of Nārada is shrouded in mystery. He² is represented in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas to have been himself very quarrelsome and clever in exciting quarrels among other people. Cursed by Brahmā he wandered over earth without staying at any fixed habitation. He was of an imposing figure with flowing braids of hair and a long grey beard—wearing a mendicant’s garment, holding in one hand a staff of gold and in the other a beggar’s bowl together with a lute of tortoise shell, and chanting

Legends regarding Nārada.

regarding

always the name of Hari the Lord. He carried messages of gods to men and *vice versa*. Once he left heaven for a pleasant

ramble on earth and repaired to the court of Śrījaya who ordered his daughter Sukumārī of unrivalled beauty to attend upon him. Nārada fell in love with her, and they were married; but owing to a curse he looked like a monkey to his bride. He however worked off the curse by severe austerities, and Sukumārī could with difficulty be reconciled to him when he appeared, on the removal of the curse, in his resplendent beauty. Nārada studied music for two years under two wives of Kṛṣṇa, Jāmbavatī and Satyabhāmā, but had to prolong his studies for another two years under the third wife of Kṛṣṇa named Rukminī to attain mastery over the notes of the musical scale.

He visited Śvetadvīpa³ supposed to be identical with the

1 यदाह नारदः—

सारसु बभूवाराणां प्रतिष्ठा समुदाहृता ।

तदानीं शीघ्रं वादी तरं क्षामुत्तरो भवेत् ॥

(Nyāya-mañjarī, chap. XII, p. 640. Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

² For legends about Nārada consult the Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata purāṇa, Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa, Viṣṇu purāṇa, Varāha purāṇa, Bhaviṣya purāṇa, Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, etc.

तस्मात्कीकेषु ते बृह न भवेद् वमतः पदम् । (Viṣṇu purāṇa, 1-15, śikā).

चीरोदधेर्दीनरती हि द्वीपः । श्वेतः स नाम्ना प्रथितो विशालः ।

(Mahābhārata, Śāntiparva, 335-8).

Śvetadvīpa may also be identified with Syria. Cf. “Comparative studies on Vainanayam and Christianity” by ...

country of which the capital was Alexandria where he became the guest of a merchant in a town called Dvaidal-nāyaka, and where he saw Viṣṇu (God) worshipped with fervour by devotees who attained their suitable end through His grace

In the Varāha-purāṇa¹ Nārada is stated to have in a previous birth been a Brāhmaṇa, Sārasvata by name, in the city of Avantī, who offered oblations of water to his dead ancestors in the lake of Puṣkara at Ajmere

There is extant a work on Smṛti² dated about the 4th century A D., which is said to have been written by the sage Nārada. Other works such as the Nārada-pañca-rātra are also attributed to him.

The fiction about Nārada seems to have originated from one Nārada whose existence is unquestioned. The real Nārada. This real Nārada is mentioned in the Sarvānukramikā of Kātyāyana as a descendant of Kaṇva³ and a seer of certain mantras of the Ṛgveda. It appears from the Chāndogyopaniṣad⁴ that he was versed in many sciences including *vāko-vākya*⁵ (perhaps Logic). He was either the founder of a distinguished line, the succeeding members of which took up his renowned name, or the founder of a school of thought, the various followers of which were known to the world after him.

Our Nārada, an expert in Nyāya-śāstra, was a descendant or follower of the real Nārada or was an altogether fictitious person requisitioned by the compilers of the Mahābhārata and Puṛāṇas who lathered upon him the sayings and doings of different ages and countries to make them authoritative.

¹ Varāha-purāṇa, adhyāya 2, verses 63-83, and adhyāya 3, verses 3-7, in the Bibliotheca Indica series).

² The Nārada-smṛti seems to have been composed about the fourth century A D. as it frequently mentions *dināra* (the Roman coin denarius) which was imported into India about the time of the Roman emperors. Compare *सद्गुहादशसुवर्णसु दौनाराणः स एव च* ॥

(Nārada-smṛti pariśiṣṭa 60, edited by Dr. J. Jolly, Bibliotheca Indica series Calcutta).

Vide also Dr. J. Jolly's Introduction to the Nārada-smṛti (Almor Law books) in the S.B.E. series, p. xviii

Nārada-smṛti, the real author of which is unknown, represents the theories of Smṛti and Nyāya of the early centuries of Christ.

³ Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Rgveda, 8-3-13 and 9-104-6. Kaṇva was an ancestor of Kāśyapa already mentioned.

⁴ Chāndogyopaniṣad, prapāthaka 7, khanda 1, verse 2, and "The Upaniṣads" translated by F. Max Müller, S.B.E. series, p. 110.

⁵ *Vāko-vākya* may signify grammar, rhetoric or debate. Śaṅkara interprets it as Logic.

26. NYĀYA-SŪTRA—THE FIRST SYSTEMATIC WORK ON NYĀYA-ŚĀSTRA.

The first regular work on the Nyāya-śāstra is the Nyāya-sūtra or “aphorisms on true reasoning” It is divided into five books, each containing two chapters called *āhnikas* (diurnal portions). The Nyāya-sūtra reviews doctrines of various periods. Perhaps the Nyāya-sūtra, as it exists at present, is not entirely the work of one person, but has been enlarged by interpolations from time to time. It contains references to the Sāṃkhya, Vaiśeṣika, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Buddhist systems of philosophy. There are in it passages which were quoted almost *verbatim* from the Lāṅkāvatāra sūtra,¹ Mādhyamika sūtra,² and other Buddhist works which were composed about the third or fourth century A.D. It seems that these passages were interpolated by Vātsyāyana who is said to have written the first commentary called *Bhāṣya* on the Nyāya sūtra about 400 A.D. The Nyāya-sūtra contains in itself the principles both of Logic and Philosophy.

¹ बुद्ध्या विवेचनात् भावानां साद्यात्म्यानुपलब्धिः (Nyāya-sūtra, 4-2-26).

“There is no essence in things inasmuch as they are discerned by our intellect.”

बुद्ध्या विविक्षमानानां स्वभावो नावधार्यते । (Lāṅkāvatāra-sūtra, chap. II, x).

“We cannot ascertain the essence of things which are discerned by our intellect.”

स्फटिकेऽपि अपरापरोत्पत्तेः क्षणिकत्वाद् व्यक्तीनामहेतुः (Nyāya-sūtra, 3-2-11).

“Even in the case of a crystal there is no cause for the production of one after another, because all individuals are momentary.”

अनुत्पत्तिञ्च धर्माणां क्षणकार्यं वदाम्यहम् ॥ (Lāṅkāvatāra-sūtra, chap. VI).

“By saying that a thing is momentary, I mean that it is not produced.”

² न स्वभावसिद्धिरापेक्षितत्वात् (Nyāya sūtra, 4-1-39).

“Things cannot be self-existent owing to their inter-relations.”

नहि स्वभावो भावानां प्रत्ययादिषु विद्यते (Mādhyamika-sūtra, chap. I).

“There is no self-existence of things owing to their mutual relationship.”

न सन् नासन् न सदसदसत् सतो वैधर्मात् (Nyāya-sūtra, 4-1-48).

“A thing is neither existent nor non-existent nor both, owing to the mutual incongruity of existence and non-existence.”

न सन् नासन् न सदसन् धर्मो निर्बन्तते वदा (Mādhyamika sūtra, chap. VII).

“There cannot be production of a thing which is existent, non-existent or both.”

साद्यात्म्यवर्जनार स्रग्धरिकावद् वा (Nyāya-sūtra, 4-2-32).

“The concept of things is like a trick of jugglery, the city of the celestial quire

27. AKṢAPĀDA—THE AUTHOR OF THE NYĀYA-SŪTRA
(ABOUT 150 A.D.).

In the early commentaries on the Nyāya-sūtra the author of the Sūtra is distinctly named as Akṣapāda.¹ Vātsyāyana² in the Nyāya-bhāṣya (about 400 A.D.) says that the Nyāya philosophy manifested itself (in a regular form) before Akṣapāda the foremost of the eloquent: while Uddyotakara³ in his Nyāya-vārtika (about 600 A.D.) affirms that it was Akṣapāda the most excellent of sages that spoke out the Nyāya-śāstra in a systematic way. In the Nyāya vārtika tātparya-ṭikā⁴ (81 A.D.) and the Nyāya-mañjarī,⁵ Akṣapāda is stated to have been the promul-

¹ Akṣapāda credited as the author of the Nyāya-sūtra.

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यथा माया यथा स्वप्नो गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।

तथोत्पादस्तथा स्थानम् तथा भङ्ग उदाहृतम् ॥

(Mādhyamika-sūtra, chap. VII).

“The origination, continuance and cessation of a thing are said to be like a trick of jugglery, a dream or the city of the celestial quire.”

वर्तमानाभावः पततः पतित-पतितस्य कालोपपत्तः (Nyāya-sūtra, 2-1-39)

“The present time is non-existent because the falling down of an object relates to the time during which the object fell down and to the time during which it will fall down.”

गतं न गम्यते तावत् अगतं नैव गम्य ।

गतागत विनिर्मुक्त गम्यमानं न गम्यते ॥

(Mādhyamika-sūtra, chap. II).

“We are not passing a path which has already been passed, nor are we passing that which is yet to be passed; the existence of a path, which has neither been passed nor is yet to be passed, is beyond comprehension.”

¹ Akṣapāda is called in Tibetan ཀཤ་མིག་རྩལ་ Rkañ-mig-can, “with eyes on his feet.” (Vide Mahā-vyutpatti, part I, p. 22, edited in Sanskrit-Tibetan-English by Dr. Sir E. D. Ross and Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.)

2 योऽक्षपाददृष्टिं न्यायः प्रत्यभाददतां वरम् ।

तस्य वात्स्थायन इदं भाष्यजातमवर्तयत् ॥

(Nyāya-bhāṣya, colophon, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series)

3 यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां शमाय शार्ङ्गं जगती जगदा ।

कृताकिंकाशाननिर्हति हेतोः करिष्यते तत्र मया निबन्धः ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika, opening lines).

4 अथ भगवतः अक्षपादेन निःश्रेयसहेतो शार्ङ्गे प्रणीते...

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā, opening lines)

5 अक्षपादप्रणीतो हि विततो न्यायपादपः ।

सान्द्राद्वारसस्यन्दप्रलसन्दर्भनिर्भरः ॥

(Nyāya-mañjarī, chap. I)

gator of the Nyāya-sāstra, while Mādhavācārya in his Sarvadarśana saṅgraha (about 1350 A D) designates the Nyāya philosophy as *Akṣapāda-darśana*, the philosophy of Akṣapāda

But in the Padma purāna,¹ Skanda purāna,² etc., the Nyāya-sāstra is stated to have been expounded by Gotama or Gautama. Viśvanātha³ in his Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti calls the Nyāya-sūtra as Gotama-sūtra, that is, the sūtra of Gotama. Now the question arises as to who, Gotama or Akṣapāda, was the real author of the Nyāya-sūtra. Anantayaḥvan⁴ in his commentary on the Piṭṛmedha sūtra supposes on grounds best known to himself that Gautama (Gotama) and Akṣapāda were the same person.

The Nyāya-koṣa⁵ mentions two legends to account for the name Akṣapāda as applied, according to it, to Gautama. It is said that Gautama was so deeply absorbed in philosophical contemplation that one day during his walks he fell unwittingly into a well, out of which he was rescued with great difficulty. God therefore mercifully provided him with a second pair of eyes in his feet, to protect the sage from further mishaps. This is a ridiculous story manufactured merely to explain the word "Akṣapāda" "as composed of, "Akṣa" (eye) and "Pāda" (feet).

Another legend which represents Vyāsa, a disciple of Gautama, lying prostrate before his master until the latter condescended to look upon him, not with his natural eyes, but with a new pair of eyes in his feet, may be dismissed with scant ceremony as the invention of a later generation of logicians, anxious to humiliate Vyāsa for the vilification of the Nyāya system in the Mahābhārata and Vedānta-sūtra.

¹ Padma purāna, Uttarakhaṇḍa, chap. 263, where the following verse occurs.—

कषादेन तु सम्प्रोक्तं शालं वैशेषिकं मत्तम् ।
गौतमेन तदा न्यायं सांख्यं तु कपिलेन वै ॥
गौतमः खेन तर्केन खण्डयन् तत्र तत्र हि ।

(Skanda purāna, Kālīkā khanda, chap XVII)

एषा सुविद्वर गौतम खण्डयतिः श्रीविश्वनाथ कृतिना सुगमाख्यवर्णा ।
श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र चरणाङ्गुल चञ्चरीक श्री मच्छिरोमणिवचः प्रचरैरकारि ॥

(Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti, concluding verse)

² To the Gṛhya-sūtras of the Sāma veda probably belong also Gautama-Piṭṛmedha-sūtra (cf. Bunnell, p 57: the commentator Anantayaḥvan identifies the author with Akṣapāda, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra), and Gautama-dharma sūtra.—Weber's History of Indian Literature, p 85.

Nyāya-koṣa (2nd edition, by M M Bhīmācārya Jhālākīkarā, Bombay).

In fact Gotama or Gautama, the founder of Ānvīkṣikī, was quite different from Akṣapāda. While one lived in Mithilā, the other flourished at Prabhāsa in Kathiawar. The Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa¹ describes Akṣapāda and Kaṇāda as the sons of a Brāhmaṇa named Soma-śarmā who was Śiva incarnate, and well known for his practice of austerities at the shrine of Prabhāsa² during the time of Jātūkarnya Vyāsa.

It is by no means easy to determine who was the real author of the Nyāya-sūtra. Gautama and Akṣapāda seem both to have contributed to the production of the work. The Nyāya-sūtra treats mainly of five subjects, viz. (1) *pramāna*, the means of right knowledge, (2) *prameya*, the object of right knowledge, (3) *vāda*, a debate or discussion, (4) *awayava*, the members of a syllogism, and (5) *anyamataparīkṣā*, an examination of contemporaneous philosophical doctrines. The second and the third subjects, and possibly also the first subject in its crude form, ample references to which are met with in the old Brāhmaṇic, Buddhistic, and Jaina books, were in all probability first handled by Gautama whose *Ānvīkṣikī-vidyā* was constituted by them. The

Gautama and Akṣapāda were both authors of the Nyāya-sūtra.

1

सप्तविंशतिमे प्राप्ते परिवर्त्ते क्रमाजते ।
 आतुकण्ठो यदा चासौ भविष्यति तपोधनः ॥
 तदाहं संभविष्यामि सोमशर्मा द्विजोत्तमः ।
 प्रभासतीर्थमासाद्य योमात्वा लोकविभ्रुतः ॥
 तत्रापि मम ते पुत्रा भविष्यन्ति तपोधनाः ।
 अक्षपादः कषादश्च उच्छ्रुत्वा कृत्य एव च ॥

(Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa published under the name of Vāyu purāṇa by A.S.B., adhyāya 23).

² Prabhāsa washed on its western side by the river Sarasvatī, and reputed as the residence of Kṛṣṇa, is mentioned in the Śrīmad Bhāgavata thus:—

न वक्ष्यामिहास्याभिर्जिजीविपुरार्थकाः ।
 प्रभासं सुमहत्पुण्यं यास्यामीऽद्यैव माचिरम् ॥

(Bhāgavata, Skandha II, adhyāya 6)

स्त्रियो बालाश्च दृडाश्च शंखोदारं व्रजन्वितः ।
 वयं प्रभासं यास्यामो वयं प्रत्यक् सरस्वती ॥

(Bhāgavata, Skandha II, adhyāya 30).

Prabhāsa was situated beyond the rock of Girnar in Kathiawar, where we come across all the edicts of Aśoka as well as an inscription of Rudradāman supposed to be the first inscription in Sanskrit about 150 A.D. which mentions Candragupta and Aśoka by names. There are also some inscriptions in Gupta characters, and there is no doubt that Prabhāsa situated on the Sarasvatī acquired celebrity in very old times.

Cf. Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. II, p. 128.

Poet Bhavabhūti of Vidarbha introduces himself as the son of Jātūkarnī (*vide* Uttararāma-carita).

fourth and fifth subjects, and possibly also the first subject in its systematic form, were introduced by Akṣapāda into the *Ānvīkṣikī-vidyā* which in its final form was styled the Nyāya-sūtra. Akṣapāda was therefore the real author of the Nyāya sūtra which derived a considerable part of its materials from the *Ānvīkṣikī-vidyā* of Gautama. Just as Caraka was the redactor of the Agniveśa-tantra or the Āyurveda of Ātreya, Akṣapāda was the redactor of the *Ānvīkṣikī* of Gautama. Hence Nyāya is called *Gautamī-vidyā* as well as *Akṣapāda-darśana*.

We know nothing of Jātūkarṇya Vyāsa except that the name Jātūkarṇya widely prevailed in Vidarbha (Berar), and that the word Vyāsa usually signified a compiler. It seems that after king Kaniska had held the fourth Buddhist Council at Jālandhara in the first century A. D. to collect the teachings of Buddha, the Brāhmanic sages too in the following centuries met together in groups to compile the Purāṇas and other sāstras. Jātūkarṇya was probably one of the compilers at Vidarbha, and Akṣapāda, the compiler of the Nyāya-sūtra, was one of his contemporaries.

The Nyāya-sūtra, which was criticised by Nāgārjuna, referred perhaps to the Caraka-saṁhitā under the name of Āyurveda.¹ Akṣapāda seems therefore to have flourished before Nāgārjuna (circa 250–320 A. D.) who employs many logical terms presumably from the Nyāya-sūtra, and after Caraka whose Saṁhitā compiled about 78 A. D. embodies logical doctrines of a cruder form than those of the Nyāya-sūtra. The date of Akṣapāda² may therefore be approximately fixed at about 150 A. D.

28. SUBJECTS OF THE NYĀYA-SŪTRA.

The principal subjects treated in the Nyāya-sūtra may be grouped under the following heads:—

- (1) *Pramāṇa*—the means of knowledge, which comprises *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (comparison), and *śabda* (verbal testimony). Of these, *śabda* (verbal testimony) as defined in the Nyāya-sūtra combines in itself the

¹ मन्त्रायुर्वेदे प्रामाण्यवत् ननु प्रामाण्यमत्र प्रामाण्यात् ।

(Nyāya-sūtra, 2-1-69, p. 42, Sacred Books of the Hindus series, Allahabad).

² The Japanese scholar Professor H. Ui observes:—The date of Nyāya sūtra seems to be between Nāgārjuna (the second-third century) and Vasubandhu (the fourth century). (The Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, p. 16).

The Italian scholar Professor L. Sualì places the date between 300 A. D. and 350 A. D. (Filosofia Indiana, p. 14).

Dr. H. Jacobi places the date between 200 A. D. and 450 A. D. on the ground that the Nyāya-sūtra attacks Sūnyavāda, but does not allude to Vijāna-vāda.

(Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. xxxi, 1911, p. 20)

meanings of *āptopadeśa* (reliable assertion), *śabda* (word), and *aitihya* (tradition), as explained in the Caraka-saṁhitā. *Upamāna* or *upamāna* (comparison) included in the Tantra-yukti and mentioned in the Jaina works is accepted here as a means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*). The term "pramāṇa" in the sense given here was not widely used even in the days of Caraka (about 78 A.D.) inasmuch as he employed three terms, viz. *parīkṣā*, *hetu*, and *pramāṇa*, to signify the means of knowledge.

- (2) *Prameya*—the object of knowledge, which comprises the soul, body, senses, objects of sense, intellect, mind, activity, fault, transmigration, fruit, pain, and release. It corresponds to Ātmavāda of the Ānvīkṣikī. Though the word "prameya" in the sense of an object of knowledge occurs in the Caraka-saṁhitā, it does not there refer specially to the twelve objects enumerated in the Nyāya-sūtra. The word, as already shown, is mentioned in the sense of an object of knowledge, also in the Pāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Manu-saṁhitā.
- (3) *Vāda*—a discussion. In the Caraka-saṁhitā *vāda* as a substitute for *kathā* (discourse) includes *jalpa* (wrangling) and *vitandā* (cavil). The categories of the Nyāya-sūtra beginning with *saṁśaya* (doubt) are subsidiaries to *vāda* in the carrying on of which they are to be employed. The subject of *vāda* as treated in the Nyāya-sūtra represents the *sambhāṣā-vidhi* (the method of debate) as explained in the Caraka-saṁhitā. *Jāti* (analogue), *hetvābhāsa* (fallacy) and *nigrahasthāna* (the point of defeat) are included in the subject of *vāda*. "Jāti" is the same as "uttara" (rejoinder) and "hetvābhāsa" (fallacy) is the same as "ahetu" (non-reason) mentioned in the Caraka-saṁhitā. The grounds covered by the two sets of terms are however not exactly identical. The term "jāti" in the sense of "analogue" or "futile rejoinder" does not occur in any work anterior to the Nyāya-sūtra, but when it was introduced it incorporated in it "ahetu" as explained in the Caraka-saṁhitā. The term "nigraha" in the sense of "defeat" was extensively used in the Pāli literature, and "nigraha-sthāna" (the point of defeat or occasion for rebuke) was a technical term in the Caraka-saṁhitā. The doctrine of "nigraha-sthāna" attained a high development in the Nyāya-sūtra.
- (4) *Avayava*—consists of five parts or members of a syllogism. It covers the same ground as *sthāpanā* (demonstration) explained in the Caraka-saṁhitā. Some of the five parts seem to have been known by name to the old Brāhmanic writers as well as to the authors of the Jaina sthānāṅga sūtra and Pāli Kathāvattuḥpakarāṇa, but not in their technical senses nor as members of a syllogism. We do not find the five parts combined together in the form of a syllogism before the composition of the Nyāya-sūtra and the Caraka-saṁhitā.

systems of philosophy. There is in the Nyāya-sūtra an examination of various philosophical doctrines, e g. in Book III, chap. II there is a criticism of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of intellect (*buddhi*) and the Saugata doctrine of momentariness (*ksanika-vāda*); in Book IV, chap. I there is a review of the (Buddhist) doctrine of voidness (*Sūnyatā*) and the Vedānta doctrine of the transformation of Brahma (*Brahma-pari-nāma-vāda*), etc.

29. THE ARRANGEMENT OF CATEGORIES IN THE NYĀYA-SŪTRA.

The Nyāya-sūtra treats of sixteen categories which comprise all the topics of *vāda-mārga* (the course of debate) as enumerated in the Caraka-saṁhitā. While there is apparently no order among the topics of the Caraka-saṁhitā, there exists evidently a regular arrangement among the categories of the Nyāya-sūtra. The categories are, according to the commentaries¹ on the Nyāya-sūtra, supposed to represent stages in the course of a debate between a disputant and his respondent. The first of the categories is (1) *pramāṇa*, which signifies the means of knowledge, and the second is (2) *prameya*, which refers to the objects of knowledge. These two categories, which constitute the basis of a debate, supply the thesis or case which a disputant is to prove. The third category, (3) *saṁśaya* (doubt), having roused a conflicting judgment about the case, the disputant in pursuance of his (4) *prayojana* (purpose) cites a parallel case called (5) *dṛṣṭānta* (a familiar instance) which is not open to such a doubt. The case is then shown to rest on (6) *siddhāntas* (tenets) which are accepted by both the parties. That the case is valid is further shown by an analysis of it into five parts called (7) *avayava* (members). Having carried on (8) *tarka* (confutation) against all contrary suppositions the disputant affirms his case with (9) *nirṇaya* (certainty). If his respondent, not being satisfied with this process of demonstration, advances an antithesis, he will have to enter upon (10) *vāda* (discussion) which will necessarily assume the form of (11) *jalpa* (a wrangling) and (12) *vitandā* (a cavil). Failing to establish his antithesis, he will employ (13) *hetvābhāsa* (fallacious reasons), (14) *chala* (quibbles), and (15) *jāti* (analogues), the exposure of which will bring about his (16) *niḡrahasthāna* (defeat).

¹ Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya and Viśva-nātha in his Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti, while explaining the sixteen categories, justify the gradual order of their succession. Dr. Ballantyne in his translation of the Nyāya-sūtra, and Dr. Robert Adamson in his "History of Logic" (pp. 165-166), point out that the categories represent

30. THE PROCESS OF TREATMENT OF THE CATEGORIES.

As pointed out by Vātsyāyana,¹ the Nyāya-sūtra treats of its categories through the processes of enunciation (*uddesā*), definition (*lakṣaṇa*), and examination (*parīkṣā*). *Enunciation* is the mere mention of the categories by name; *definition* consists in setting forth that character of a category which differentiates it from other categories; and *examination* is the settlement, by reasoning, of the question whether the definition of a certain category is really applicable to it. Book I of the Nyāya-sūtra deals with the enunciation and definition of the sixteen categories, while the remaining four books are concerned with a critical examination of the categories.

¹ Vātsyāyana observes :—

निविधा चास्य शक्यस्य प्रवृत्तिः । उद्देशो लक्षणं परीक्षा चेति ।

(Nyāya-bhāṣya, I-1-2).

CHAPTER II.

Contents of the Nyāya-sūtra.¹

31. THE CATEGORIES : THEIR ENUNCIATION.

As the Nyāya-sūtra is the foremost work on Nyāya-śāstra, a full summary of its doctrines is given here. Akṣapāda says that supreme felicity, *summum bonum* (*nīḥśreyasa*), is attained by the true knowledge of the sixteen categories treated in his Nyāya-sūtra. The categories² are enumerated as follows :—

(1) The means of right knowledge (*pramāṇa*), (2) the object of right knowledge (*prameya*), (3) doubt (*saṁśaya*), (4) purpose (*prayojana*), (5) example (*dṛṣṭānta*), (6) tenet (*siddhānta*), (7) members (*avayava*), (8) confutation (*tarka*), (9) ascertainment (*nirṇaya*), (10) discussion (*vāda*), (11) wrangling (*jalpa*), (12) cavil (*vitandā*), (13) fallacy (*hetvābhāsa*), (14) quibble (*chala*), (15) analogue (*jāti*), and (16) the point of defeat (*nigrahasthāna*).

32. THE CATEGORIES : THEIR DEFINITION.

Definitions of the sixteen categories are given below :—

(1) The Means of Right Knowledge (*pramāṇa*).

Perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), comparison (*upa māna*), and word or verbal testimony (*śabda*), are the means of right knowledge.

¹ Vide "The Nyāya-sūtras of Gotama" translated by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in the "Sacred Books of the Hindus" series, Allahabad; also Dr. Ballantyne's translation of the Nyāya-sūtras, first four books, Benares.

² In Tibetan the sixteen categories, *soḍaśa padārthāḥ* (ཚོག་གི་རྩྭ་བུ་རྩལ་པུ་ལ་ tshig-gi-don bea-drug), are designated respectively as follows :—

(1) ཚད་མ་ tshad-ma (source of right cognition), (2) གཤམ་བྱེ་ gshal-bya (object of right cognition), (3) རི་ཚོམ་ the-tshom (doubt), (4) དགོས་པའི་འཕྲིན་པའ་ dgeog-pa (motive), (5) དཔེ་ dpe (example), (6) ཚེ་སྐུ་ cha-sag (member of a syllogism), (7) རྒྱུ་པའི་མཐའ་ grub-pahi-lthal (established tenet), (8) རྟོག་གེ་ rtog-ge (corroborating a proposition by showing that its denial is impossible, *reductio ad absurdum*), (9) གཏན་ལའི་དབབ་པའ་ gtan-la-gwab-pa (demonstration or ascertainment), (10) རྩོད་པའི་ rtsod-pa (discussion), (11) བརྗོད་པའ་ brjod-pa (wrangling), (12) སུན་འབྱིན་རྩེ་གོམ་པའ་ sun-hbyin-du-rgol-wa (cavil or reducing a proposition *ad absurdum* without caring to establish one's own view), (13) རྩེ་ལྷན་སྐྱེར་བ་ rgyu-ltar-snañ-wa (fallacious middle term), (14) ཚོག་རྩོད་ tshig-dor (quibble), (15) ལྷག་ཚད་ ltag-chod (evasive answer), and (16) ཚད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ chad-pahi-gnas (a reason why one may be declared unfit to continue the controversy).—Vide Mahāvīyutpatti, part II, p. 133, Bibliotheca Indica series; also *Bstan-hgyur*, Mdo, Go, folios 233-377.

Perception¹ is the knowledge which arises from the intercourse of a sense with its object, being determinate, unnameable, and non-erratic.

Sense—includes the mind. The knowledge of the soul, pleasure, pain, etc., is produced by their intercourse with the mind which, according to the Bhāṣya 1-1-4 of Vātsyāyana, is a sense-organ.

Determinate—this epithet distinguishes perception from indeterminate (doubtful) knowledge, as for instance, a man looking from a distance cannot ascertain whether there is smoke or dust. His knowledge, which is of a doubtful character, is not perception.

Unnameable—signifies that the knowledge of a thing derived through perception has no connection with the name which the thing bears. It arises in fact without the aid of language.

Some say that there is no perception entirely free from verbal representation. All things have names: there is nothing devoid of a name. Whenever a thing is perceived it is perceived as bearing a name. The thing being inseparably connected with its name, the perception of the thing involves that of the name also. Hence there is no perception which is not invariably accompanied by a name.

Aksapāda does not accept the above view on the ground, as explained in the Bhāṣya 1-1-4 of Vātsyāyana, that we can perceive a thing although we may not know its name, and when we know the name we perceive the thing as entirely distinct from it. Thus our perception of a thing is totally independent of its name. It is, however, admitted that the name is useful in communicating our perception to our fellow-men. They cannot comprehend our perception unless we give a name to it. It is therefore concluded that the name of a thing is not necessarily present and operative at the time when the thing is perceived.

Non-erratic—In summer the sun's rays coming in contact with earthly heat (vapour) quiver and appear to the eyes of men as water. The knowledge of water derived in this way is not perception. To eliminate such cases the epithet non-erratic has been used.

[The Sanskrit Sūtra defining perception may also be translated as follows:—

Perception is knowledge which arises from the contact of a sense with its object, and which is non-erratic, being either indeterminate ("nirvikalpaka" as "this is something") or determinate ("savikalpaka" as "this is a Brāhmaṇa").

¹ In Tibetan the definition is stated as follows:—

དབང་པོ་དང་རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཞེས་པ་མངོན་སུམ་གཏན་དུ་མེད་པ་འདུག་པ་མེད་པ་རྟོག་པའི་བདག་ཉིད། Dwan-po-dan-don-hphrad-pa-las-byun-wahi-seg-pa-non-sum-gtan-dā-med-pa-hphrul-pa-med-pa-rtog-pahi-bdāg-aid. It has been translated by Alexander Csoma de Koros as follows: Perception is cognition [which is] produced through contact between an organ of sense and its object, [which is] not contained in the word, not discrepant from its object, and the essence of which is certainty. Mahāvīyūtpatti, part II, p. 134, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta; also Bstan-hgyur

Inference is knowledge which is preceded by perception, and is of three kinds, viz. 'â priori,' 'â posteriori,' and 'commonly seen.'

Â priori (*pūrvavat*) is the knowledge of effect derived from the perception of its cause, e.g. one seeing clouds infers that there will be rain.

Â posteriori (*śeṣavat*) is the knowledge of cause derived from the perception of its effect, e.g. one seeing a river swollen infers that there was rain.

'Commonly seen' (*sāmānyato dr̥ṣṭa*) is the knowledge of one thing derived from the perception of another thing with which it is commonly seen or seen together, e.g. seeing a beast possessing horns. one infers that it possesses also a tail, or one infers the presence of water from the presence of cranes.

[Vātsyāyana, the first commentator on the Nyāya-sūtra, takes the last to be "not commonly seen" (*sāmānyato h̥dr̥ṣṭa*), which he interprets as the knowledge of a thing which is not commonly seen, e.g. observing affection, aversion and other qualities one infers that there is a substance called soul].

Comparison is the knowledge of a thing through its similarity to another thing previously well known.

A man hearing from a forester that a *bos gavaeus* is like a cow resorts to a forest where he sees an animal like a cow. Having recollected what he heard he institutes a comparison, by which he arrives at the conviction that the animal which he sees is *bos gavaeus*. This is knowledge derived through comparison.

Word or verbal testimony is the instructive assertion of a reliable person.

'A reliable person' is one (*a ṛṣi, ārya or mleccha*) who as an expert in a certain matter is willing to communicate his experiences of it. Suppose a young man coming to the side of a river cannot ascertain whether the river is fordable or not, and immediately an old experienced man of the locality, who has no enmity against him, comes and tells him that the river is easily fordable: the assertion of the old man is to be accepted as a means of right knowledge called *word* or verbal testimony.

Word is of two kinds, viz (1) that which refers to matter which is seen, e.g. a physician's assertion that physical strength is gained by taking butter; and (2) that which refers to matter which is not seen, e.g. a religious teacher's assertion that one conquers heaven by performing horse-sacrifices.

Rumour (*aiśihya*), presumption (*arthāpatti*), probability (*sambhava*), and non-existence (*abhāva*), are not separate means of right knowledge as they are included in the four stated above.

(2) The Objects of Right Knowledge (*prameya*).

The soul (*ātmā*), body (*śarīra*), senses (*indriya*), objects of sense (*artha*), intellect (*buddhi*), mind (*manas*), activities (*kriyā*), and

fault (*doṣa*), transmigration (*pretyabhāva*), fruit (*phala*), pain (*duḥkha*), and emancipation (*apavarga*), are the (principal) objects of right knowledge.

Desire, aversion, volition, pleasure, pain and cognition are the marks of the soul.

These are the qualities of the substance called soul.

Desire is a sign which proves the existence of "soul." A soul, having experienced pleasure in a certain thing, *desires* again to acquire it through recognition of the same. Aversion is another sign, inasmuch as the soul feels aversion against a thing from which it suffered pain. Similarly volition, etc., are also signs of the soul. The existence of soul is thus, according to the Nyāya-bhāṣya and Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-10, proved on the basis of recognition involved in our desire, aversion, etc. The soul is an eternal entity which is from time to time connected with a body suitable to its desert (merit and demerit). The connection of the soul with a body is its birth, while their mutual separation is its death. Transmigration, which consists in a series of births and deaths, is the source of all our sufferings. When our desert is completely exhausted, our soul, freed from transmigration, attains emancipation or release (*mokṣa*).

The body is the site of gestures, senses and sentiments.

Body is the site of *gestures* inasmuch as it strives to reach what is desirable and to avoid what is hateful. It is also the site of *senses* for the latter act well or ill, according as the former is in good or bad order. *Sentiments* which comprise pleasure and pain are also located in the body which experiences them.

The nose, tongue, eye, skin and ear are the senses, which are produced from elements.

Earth, water, light, air, and ether—these are the elements. The *nose* is of the same nature as earth, the *tongue* as water, the *eye* as light, the *skin* as air, and *ear* as ether.

Smell (odour), taste (savour), colour, touch and sound which are qualities of the earth, etc., are objects of the senses.

Smell which is the prominent quality of earth is the object of the nose, *taste* the prominent quality of water is the object of the tongue, *colour* the prominent quality of light is the object of the eye, *touch* the prominent quality of air is the object of the skin, and *sound* the quality of ether is the object of the ear.

Intellect is the same as apprehension or knowledge.

The mark of the mind is that there do not arise in the soul more acts of knowledge than one at a time.

It is impossible to perceive two things simultaneously. Perception does not arise merely from the contact of a sense-organ with its object, but it requires also a conjunction of the mind. Now, the mind,

which is an atomic substance, cannot be conjoined with more than one sense-organ at a time, hence there cannot occur more acts of perception than one at a time

Activity is that which makes the voice, mind and body begin their action.

There are three kinds of action, viz *bodily*, *vocal*, and *mental* each of which may be subdivided as good or bad

Bodily actions which are *bad* are:—(1) killing, (2) stealing, and (3) committing adultery.

Bodily actions which are *good* are:—(1) giving, (2) protecting, (3) and serving.

Vocal actions which are *bad* are:—(1) telling a lie, (2) using harsh language, (3) slandering, and (4) indulging in frivolous talk

Vocal actions which are *good* are.—speaking the truth, (2) speaking what is useful, (3) speaking what is pleasant, and (4) reading sacred books

Mental actions which are *bad* are:—(1) malice, (2) covetousness and (3) scepticism.

Mental actions which are *good* are —(1) compassion, (2) generosity, and (3) devotion.

Faults are those which cause activity.

They are affection (attachment), aversion, and stupidity

Transmigration means rebirths

As already explained, it is a series of births and deaths *Birth* is the connection of a soul with a body which includes the sense-organs, mind, intellect, and sentiments. *Death* is the soul's separation from them.

Fruit is the thing produced by activity and faults.

It is the enjoyment of *pleasure* or suffering of *pain*. All activity and faults end in producing pleasure which is acceptable and pain which is fit only to be avoided.

Pain is that which causes uneasiness.

It is affliction which every one desires to avoid. The Sanskrit Sūtra defining "pain" may also be translated as follows: *Pain* is the mark of hindrance to the soul.

Emancipation or release is the absolute deliverance from pain.

A soul, which is no longer subject to transmigration, is freed from all pains. Transmigration, which consists in the soul's leaving one body and taking another, is the cause of its experiencing pleasure and pain. The soul attains emancipation as soon as there is an end of the body, and consequently of pleasure and pain.

(3) Doubt (*saṁśaya*).

Doubt, which is a conflicting judgment about the precise

common to many objects, or of properties not common to any of the objects, from conflicting testimony, and from irregularity of perception and non-perception.

- (1) *Recognition of common properties*—e.g. seeing in the twilight a tall object we cannot decide whether it is a man or a post for the property of tallness belongs to both.
- (2) *Recognition of properties not common*—e.g. hearing a sound, one questions whether it is eternal or not, for the property of soundness abides neither in man, beast, etc., that are non-eternal nor in atoms which are eternal.
- (3) *Conflicting testimony*—e.g. merely by study one cannot decide whether the soul exists, for one system of philosophy affirms that it does, while another system states that it does not.
- (4) *Irregularity of perception*—e.g. we perceive water in the tank where it really exists, but water appears also to exist in a mirage where it really does not exist.
A question arises, whether water is perceived only when it actually exists or even when it does not exist.
- (5) *Irregularity of non-perception*—e.g. we neither perceive water in the radish where it really exists, nor on dry land where it does not exist.
A question arises, whether water is not perceived only when it does not exist, or also when it does exist.

(4) Purpose (*prayojana*).

Purpose is that with an eye to which one proceeds to act.

It refers to the thing which one endeavours to attain or avoid. A man collects fuel for the purpose of cooking his food.

(5) Example (*dr̥ṣṭānta*).

An example is the thing about which an ordinary man and an expert entertain the same opinion.

With regard to the general proposition "wherever there is smoke there is fire," the example is a kitchen in which fire and smoke abide together, to the satisfaction of an ordinary man as well as an acute investigator.

(6) Tenet (*siddhānta*).

A tenet is a dogma resting on the authority of a certain school, hypothesis, or implication.

The tenet is of four kinds owing to the distinction between 'a dogma of all the schools' (*sarva-tantra*), 'a dogma peculiar to some school' (*prati-tantra*), 'a hypothetical dogma' (*adhikarāna*), and 'an implied dogma' (*abhyupagama*).

A *dogma of all the schools* is a tenet which is not opposed by any school and is claimed by at least one school.

The existence of five elements or five objects of sense is a tenet which is accepted by all the schools.

A *dogma peculiar to some school* is a tenet which is accepted by similar schools, but rejected by opposite schools.

“A thing cannot come into existence out of nothing”—this is a peculiar dogma of the Sāṅkhya.

A *hypothetical dogma* is a tenet which if accepted leads to the acceptance of another tenet.

“There is a soul apart from the senses, because it can recognize one and the same object by seeing and touching” If you accept this tenet you must also have accepted the following :—(1) That the senses are more than one, (2) that each of the senses has its particular object, (3) that the soul derives its knowledge through the channels of the senses, (4) that a substance which is distinct from its qualities is the abode of them, etc.

An *implied dogma* is a tenet which is not explicitly declared as such, but which follows from the examination of particulars concerning it, e.g. the discussion whether sound is eternal or non-eternal presupposes that it is a substance.

(7) Members of a Syllogism (*avayava*).

The members (of a syllogism) are signalled by a proposition (*pratiñā*), a reason (*hetu*), an explanatory example (*udāharaṇa*), an application of the example (*upanaya*), and a statement of the conclusion (*nigamana*).

A *proposition* is the statement of what is to be proved, e.g. the hill is fiery.

A *reason* is the means for proving what is to be proved through the homogeneous or heterogeneous (affirmative or negative) character of the example. e.g.

because it (the hill) is smoky.

Here “smoke” is the reason.

A *homogeneous (or affirmative) example* is a familiar instance which is known to possess the property to be proved, and which implies that this property is invariably contained in the reason given, e.g.

whatever is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen.

Here “kitchen” is a familiar instance which possesses fire, and implies that fire invariably goes with smoke, which is the reason given.

N.B.—An *affirmative example* may, according to the Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-36, be defined as a familiar instance, which being similar to the minor term (subject) possesses the property of that term as copresent with the reason.

A *heterogeneous* (or *negative*) *example* is a familiar instance which is devoid of the property to be proved, and which implies that the absence of this property is incompatible with the reason given, e.g.

whatever is not fiery is not smoky, as a lake

Here the lake is a familiar instance which is known to be devoid of fire, and implies that absence of fieriness is incompatible with the smoke, which is the reason.

Application is the winding up, with reference to the example, of what is to be proved as being so or not so.

Application is of two kinds : (1) *affirmative*, and (2) *negative*. The affirmative application, which is expressed by the word "so," occurs when the example is of an affirmative character. The negative application, which is expressed by the phrase "not so," occurs when the example is of a negative character.

Affirmative application—"So" is this hill (smoky).

Negative application—This hill is "not so" (not smoky).

Conclusion is the re-statement of the proposition after the reason has been mentioned.

It is the confirmation of the proposition after the reason and the example have been mentioned

Conclusion—Therefore the hill is fiery.

The five members may be fully set forth as follows:—

- (i) *Proposition*—This hill is fiery.
- (ii) *Reason*—Because it is smoky
- (iii) *Example*—Whatever is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen (*homogeneous* or *affirmative*).
- (iv) *Application*—"So" is this hill (smoky)—(*affirmative*).
- (v) *Conclusion*—Therefore this hill is fiery.

(8) *Confutation (tarka)*.

Confutation,¹ which is carried on for ascertaining the real character of a thing of which the character is not known, is reasoning which reveals the character by showing the absurdity of all contrary characters.

Is the soul eternal or non-eternal? Here the real character of the soul, viz. whether it is eternal or non-eternal, is not known. In ascertaining the character we reason as follows: If the soul were non-eternal it would be impossible for it to enjoy the fruits of its own actions, to undergo transmigration, and to attain final emancipation. But such a conclusion is absurd: such possibilities are known to belong to the soul: therefore, we must admit that the soul is eternal.

¹ *Tarka* may be rendered also as 'argumentation,' 'reasoning,' 'hypothetical reasoning,' 'reductio ad absurdum,' etc.

(9) Ascertainment (*nirṇaya*).

Ascertainment is the determination of a question through the removal of doubt, by hearing two opposite sides.

A person wavers and doubts if certain statements advanced to him are supported by one of two parties, but opposed by the other party. His doubt is not removed until by the application of reason he can vindicate one of the parties. The process by which the vindication is effected is called ascertainment. Ascertainment is not, however in all cases preceded by doubt, for instance, in the case of perception things are ascertained directly. So also we ascertain things directly by the authority of scriptures. But in the case of investigation (inference), doubt must precede ascertainment.

(10) Discussion (*vāda*).

Discussion is the adoption, by two parties, of two opposite theses which are each analysed in the form of five members, and are supported or condemned by any of the means of right knowledge, and by confutation, without deviation from the established tenets.

A *dialogue*, disputation or controversy (*kathā*) is the adoption of a side or thesis by a disputant, and its opposite one by his opponent. It is of three kinds, viz. *discussion* (*vāda*) which aims at ascertaining the truth, *wrangling* (*jalpa*) which aims at gaining victory, and *cavil* (*vitandā*) which aims at finding mere faults. A *discutient* is one who engages himself in a disputation as a means of seeking the truth.

An instance of discussion is given below —

Discutient—There is soul.

Opponent—There is no soul.

Discutient—Soul is existent (proposition).

Because it is an abode of consciousness (reason).

Whatever is not existent is not an abode of consciousness, as a hare's horn (negative example).

Soul is not so, that is, soul is an abode of consciousness (negative application).

Therefore soul is existent (conclusion)

Opponent—Soul is non-existent (proposition).

Because it is not perceptible by any of our senses (reason).

Whatever is not perceptible by any of our senses is non-existent, as a hare's horn (positive example).

Soul is so (is not perceptible any of our senses) (positive application).

Therefore soul is non-existent (conclusion)

Discutient—The scripture which is a means of right knowledge declares the existence of soul.

Opponent—The scripture (of certain sects) denies the existence of soul.

Discutient—If there were no soul, it would not be possible to apprehend one and the same object through sight and

Opponent—If there were soul, there would be no change of cognitions.

Discutient—The doctrine of soul harmonises well with the various tenets which we hold, viz. that there are eternal things, that everybody enjoys pleasure or suffers pain according to his own actions, etc. Therefore there is soul

(11) Wrangling (*jalpa*).

Wrangling, which aims at gaining victory, is the defence or attack of a proposition in the manner aforesaid by quibbles, analogues, and other processes which deserve rebuke.

A *wrangler* is one who, engaged in a disputation, aims only at victory, being indifferent whether the arguments which he employs, support his own contention or that of his opponent provided that he can make out a pretext for bragging that he has taken an active part in the disputation.

(12) Cavil (*vitandā*)

Cavil is a kind of wrangling which consists in mere attacks on the opposite side

A *caviller* does not endeavour to establish any thing, but confines himself to mere carping at the arguments of his opponent

(13) Fallacy (*hetvābhāsa*).

Fallacies of reason are the erratic (*savyābhicāra*), the contradictory (*viruddha*), the controversial (*prakarana-sama*), the counter-questioned (*sādhya-sama*), and the mistimed (*kālātīta*).

The *erratic* is the reason which leads to more conclusions than one

An instance of the *erratic* reason is given below :—

Proposition—Sound is eternal.

Erratic reason—Because it is intangible.

Example—Whatever is intangible is eternal as atoms.

Application—So is sound (intangible).

Conclusion—Therefore sound is eternal.

Again :

Proposition—Sound is non-eternal.

Erratic reason—Because it is intangible

Example—Whatever is intangible is non-eternal, as cognition.

Application—So is sound (intangible).

Conclusion—Therefore sound is non-eternal.

Here from the reason (intangible) there have been drawn two opposite conclusions, viz. that sound is eternal, and that sound is non-eternal. The reason (or middle term) is erratic when it is not pervaded

by the major term, that is, when there is no connection between the major term and middle term, as pervader and pervaded. 'Intangible' is pervaded neither by 'eternal' nor by 'non-eternal.'

The *Contradictory* is the reason which opposes what is to be established.

Proposition—A pot is produced.

Contradictory reason—Because it is eternal.

Here the reason is contradictory because that which is eternal is never produced.

The *controversial* or *balancing the point at issue* is a reason which is adduced to arrive at a definite conclusion while it is really one which can give rise to mere suspense as to the point

Proposition—Sound is non-eternal.

Reason—Because it is not possessed of the attribute of eternality.

The reason that "sound is not possessed of the attribute of eternality" does not throw any new light, but keeps the parties in suspense as before.

The *counter-questioned* or *balancing the question* is a reason which not being different from what is to be proved stands in need of proof for itself.

Proposition—Shadow is a substance.

Reason—Because it possesses motion.

That which possesses quality and motion is a substance. To say that shadow possesses motion is the same as to say that it is a substance. Hence the reason stands as much in need of proof as the proposition itself. This is a counter-questioned reason or a reason which balances the question.

The *mistimed* is the reason which is adduced when the time is past in which it might hold good.

Proposition—Sound is durable.

Mistimed reason—Because it is manifested by union, as a colour.

The colour of a jar is manifested when the jar comes into union with a lamp, but the colour existed before the union took place, and will continue to exist after the union has ceased. Similarly, the sound of a drum is manifested when the drum comes into union with a rod, and the sound must, after the analogy of the colour, be presumed to have existed before the union took place, and to continue to exist after the union has ceased. Hence sound is durable. The reason adduced here is *mistimed*, because the manifestation of sound does not take place at the time when the drum comes into union with the rod, but it takes place at a subsequent moment when the union has ceased. In the case of colour, however, the manifestation takes place just at the time when the jar comes into union with the lamp. As the time of their manifestation is different, the analogy between colour and sound is not complete, therefore, the reason is mistimed.

[Some interpret the aphorism as follows: The *mistimed* is a reason which is adduced in a wrong order among the five members, for instance, if the reason is stated before the proposition. But this interpretation is not correct.]

for a word bears its legitimate connection with another word (in a Sanskrit sentence) even if they are placed at a distance from each other, and, on the other hand, even the closest proximity is of no use if the words are disconnected in their sense. Moreover the placing of members in a wrong order is noticed in the Nyāya-sūtra as a *nigraha-sthāna* called *aprāpta-kāla* (inopportune)].

(14) Quibble (*chala*).

Quibble is the opposition offered to a proposition by the assumption of an alternative meaning.

It is of three kinds, viz. quibble in respect of a term (*vāk-chala*), quibble in respect of a genus (*sāmānya-chala*), and quibble in respect of a metaphor (*upacāra-chala*).

Quibble in respect of a term consists in wilfully taking the term in a sense other than that intended by the speaker who happened to use it ambiguously.

A speaker says : "this boy is *nava-kambala* (possessed of a new blanket).

A quibbler replies : "this boy is not certainly *nava-kambala* (possessed of nine blankets) for he has only one blanket.

Here the word *nava*, which is ambiguous was used by the speaker in the sense of "new," but has been wilfully taken by the quibbler in the sense of "nine."

Quibble in respect of a genus consists in asserting the impossibility of a thing which is really possible, on the ground that it belongs to a certain genus which is very wide.

A speaker says . "this Brāhmaṇa is possessed of learning and conduct."

An objector replies . "it is impossible, for how can this person be inferred to be possessed of learning and conduct from his being merely a Brāhmaṇa ? There are little boys who are Brāhmaṇas, yet not possessed of learning and conduct."

Here the objector is a quibbler, for he knew well that possession of learning and conduct was not meant to be an attribute of the whole class of Brāhmaṇas, but it was ascribed to "this" particular Brāhmaṇa who lived long enough in the world to render it possible for him to pursue studies and acquire good morals

Quibble in respect of a metaphor consists in denying the proper meaning of a word, by taking it literally while it was used metaphorically, and *viceversa*.

A speaker says : "the scaffolds cry out."

An objector replies : "it is impossible for scaffolds to cry out, for they are inanimate objects."

Here the objector is a quibbler, for he knew well that the word "scaffolds" was used to signify those standing on the scaffolds.

(15) Analogue (*jāti*).

Analogue, also called an analogous rejoinder or far-fetched analogy, consists in offering opposition founded on mere similarity or dissimilarity.

A disputant says : " the soul is inactive because it is all-pervading as ether."

His opponent replies : " if the soul is inactive because it bears similarity to ether as being all-pervading, why is it not active because it bears similarity to a pot as being a seat of union " ?

The reason of the opponent is futile, because it bears only a far-fetched analogy to that of the disputant.¹

or again :

Disputant—Sound is non-eternal, because, unlike ether, it is a product.

Opponent—If sound is non-eternal because, as a product, it is dissimilar to ether ; why is it not eternal because, as an object of auditory perception, it is dissimilar to a pot ?

The reason employed by the opponent is futile because the analogy which it bears to that of the disputant-is far-fetched

(16) A Point of Defeat (*nigrahasthāna*).

A point of defeat, also called a clincher, an occasion for rebuke or a place of humiliation, arises when one misunderstands or does not understand at all.

If a person begins to argue in a way which betrays his utter ignorance, or wilfully misunderstands and yet persists in showing that he understands well, it is of no avail to employ counter-arguments. He is quite unfit to be argued with, and there is nothing left for his opponent, but to turn him out or quit his company, rebuking him as a block-head or a knave.

An instance of the point of defeat :—

Whatever is not quality is substance ;
because there is nothing except colour, etc. (quality).

A person who argues in the above way is to be rebuked as a fool, for his reason (which admits only quality) opposes his proposition (which admits both quality and substance).

Another instance :

Disputant—Fire is not hot.

Opponent—But the evidence of touch disproves such a statement.

¹ The opposition is futile, because it overlooks the universal connection between the middle term and the major term which is existent in the arguments of the disputant, but wanting in the arguments of the opponent. Whatever is all-pervading is inactive, but whatever is a seat of union is not necessarily active.

² The opposition is futile because it overlooks the disconnection between the middle term and the absence of the major term. There is an utter disconnection between " a product " and " not-non-eternal," but there is no such disconnection between " an object of auditory perception " and " not eternal."

Disputant, in order to gain the confidence of the assembled people, says—"O learned audience, listen, I do not say that fire is not hot," etc.

It is only meet that the opponent should quit the company of a man who argues in this way.

33 THE VARIETIES OF ANALOGUE.

The analogues are as follows: (1) Balancing the homogeneity (*sūdharmya-sama*), (2) balancing the heterogeneity (*vaidharmya-sama*), (3) balancing an excess (*utkarṣa-sama*), (4) balancing a deficit (*apakarṣa sama*), (5) balancing the questionable (*varṇya-sama*), (6) balancing the unquestionable (*avarṇya sama*), (7) balancing the alternative (*vikalpa sama*), (8) balancing the question (*sādhyā-sama*), (9) balancing the co-presence (*prāpti-sama*), (10) balancing the mutual absence (*aprāpti-sama*), (11) balancing the infinite regression (*prasaṅga-sama*), (12) balancing the counter-example (*pratīkṣānta-sama*), (13) balancing the non-produced (*anutpatti-sama*), (14) balancing the doubt (*saṁśaya-sama*), (15) balancing the point at issue (*prakaraṇa sama*), (16) balancing the non-reason (*ahetu-sama*), (17) balancing the presumption (*arthāpatti-sama*), (18) balancing the non-difference (*aviseṣa-sama*), (19) balancing the demonstration (*upapatti-sama*), (20) balancing the perception (*upalabdhi-sama*), (21) balancing the non-perception (*anupalabdhi-sama*), (22) balancing the non-eternal (*anitya-sama*), (23) balancing the eternal (*nitya-sama*) and (24) balancing the effect (*kārya-sama*).

(1) **Balancing the homogeneity.**—If, against an argument based on a homogeneous example, one offers an opposition merely based on the same kind of example, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the homogeneity."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers the following futile opposition:—

Sound is eternal,
because it is incorporeal,
like the ether.

The argument, viz. sound is non-eternal, is based on the homogeneity of sound with the non-eternal pot, on the ground of both being products. The opposition, viz. sound is eternal, is said to be based on the homogeneity of sound with the eternal sky, on the alleged ground of both being incorporeal. This sort of opposition, futile as it is, is

called "balancing the homogeneity," which aims at showing an equality of the arguments of two sides only in respect of the homogeneity of examples employed by them.¹

(2) **Balancing the heterogeneity.**—If against an argument based on a heterogeneous example one offers an opposition based merely on the same kind of example, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the heterogeneity."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
whatever is eternal is not a product, as the ether.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

Sound is eternal,
because it is incorporeal,
whatever is not eternal is not incorporeal, as a pot.

The argument, viz. sound is non-eternal, is based on the heterogeneity of sound from the eternal ether. The opposition, viz. sound is eternal, is said to be based on the heterogeneity of sound from the not-incorporeal pot. This sort of opposition, futile as it is, is called "balancing the heterogeneity," which aims at showing an equality of the arguments of two sides merely in respect of the heterogeneity of examples employed by them.²

(3) **Balancing an excess.**—If against an argument based on a certain character of the example, one offers an opposition based on an additional character thereof, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing an excess."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

Sound is non-eternal (and must be corporeal),
because it is a product,
like a pot (which is non-eternal as well as corporeal).

¹ The opposition is futile because it is based on a mere homogeneous example. In the argument—"sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot"—the homogeneous example "pot" exhibits a universal connection between productivity and non-eternality, all products being non-eternal, but in the opposition "sound is eternal, because it is incorporeal like the sky" the homogeneous example "sky" does not exhibit a universal connection between incorporeality and eternality, because there are things, such as intelligence or knowledge, which are incorporeal but not eternal.

² In the opposition "sound is eternal, because it is incorporeal, whatever is not eternal is not incorporeal, as a pot," the heterogeneous example "pot" does not exhibit a universal disconnection between incorporeality and absence of eternality, because there are things, such as intelligence or knowledge, which are incorporeal but not eternal. Hence the opposition is futile.

The opponent alleges that if sound is non-eternal like a pot, it must also be corporeal like it; if it is not corporeal, let it be also not non-eternal. This sort of futile opposition is called "balancing an excess," which aims at showing an equality of the arguments of two sides in respect of an additional character (possessed by the example and attributed to the subject).

It is based on the false supposition of a complete equality of the subject and the example. Though there is no denial of an equality of the subject and the example in certain characters, there is indeed a great difference between them in other characters. Thus the equality supposed to exist between the pot and sound in respect of corporeality, is not warranted by the reason (viz. being a product) because there are things, such as intelligence or knowledge, which are products but not corporeal.

(4) **Balancing a deficit.**—If against an argument based on a certain character of the example, one offers an opposition based on another character wanting in it, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing a deficit."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers the following futile opposition :—

Sound is non-eternal (and cannot be audible),
because it is a product,
like a pot (which is non-eternal and not audible).

The opponent alleges that if sound is non-eternal like a pot, it cannot be audible, for a pot is not audible; and if sound is still held to be audible, let it be also not non-eternal. This sort of futile opposition is called "balancing a deficit," which aims at showing an equality of the arguments of two sides in respect of a certain character wanting in the example (and supposed consequently to be wanting also in the subject).

The equality alleged to exist between "sound" and "pot" is not warranted by the reason (viz. being a product).

(5) **Balancing the questionable**—If one opposes an argument by maintaining that the character of an example is as questionable as that of the subject, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the questionable."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus :—

A pot is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like sound.

The opponent alleges that if the non-eternality of sound is called in question, why is not that of the pot too called in question, as the pot and sound are both products? His object is to set aside the argument on the ground of its example being of a questionable character. This sort of futile opposition is called “balancing the questionable,” which aims at showing an equality of the arguments of two sides in respect of the questionable character of the subject as well as of the example. It puts an end to all kinds of inference by ignoring the difference between the subject and the example altogether.

(6) **Balancing the unquestionable.**—If one opposes an argument by alleging that the character of the subject is as unquestionable as that of the example, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called “balancing the unquestionable.”

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus :—

A pot is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like sound.

The opponent alleges that, if the non-eternality of a pot is to be unquestionable, why is not that of sound too held to be so, as the pot and sound are both products? This sort of futile opposition is called “balancing the unquestionable,” which aims at showing the equality of the arguments of two sides in respect of the unquestionable character of the example as well as of the subject.

It ignores totally the difference between the subject and the example, and thus puts an end to all kinds of inference.

(7) **Balancing the alternative.**—If one opposes an argument by attributing alternative character to the subject and the example, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called “balancing the alternative.”

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus :—

Sound is eternal and formless,
because it is a product,
like a pot (which is non-eternal and has forms).

The opponent alleges that the pot and sound are both products, yet one has form and the other is formless: why on the same principle is not one (the pot) non-eternal and the other (sound) eternal? This sort of futile opposition is called "balancing the alternative," which aims at showing an equality of the arguments of two sides in respect of the alternative characters attributed to the subject and the example.

It introduces an equality between the pot and sound in respect of a character (viz. being eternal) which is not warranted by the reason (viz. being a product)

(8) *Balancing the question.*—If one opposes an argument by alleging that the example requires proof as much as the subject does, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the question."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

A pot is non-eternal.
because it is a product,
like sound.

The opponent alleges that, the pot and sound being both products, one requires proof for its non-eternality as much as the other does. Sound is to be proved non-eternal by the example of a pot, and the pot is to be proved non-eternal by the example of sound. This leads to a reciprocity of the pot (example) and sound (subject), resulting in no definite conclusion as to the eternality or noneternality of sound. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the question," which attempts to bring an argument to a standstill by alleging the reciprocity of the subject and the example

It is based on the false supposition that the example stands exactly on the same footing as the subject. The example does not in fact stand in need of proof as to its characters, a "pot" being known to all as a product and non-eternal. Hence the opposition is futile.

(9) *Balancing the co-presence.*—If against an argument based on the co-presence of the reason and the predicate, one offers an opposition based on the same kind of co-presence, the opposition, futile as it is, will, on account of the reason being non-distinguished from the predicate, be called "balancing the co-presence."

A certain person, to prove that there is fire in the hill, argues as follows:—

The hill has fire,
because it has smoke
like a kitchen.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus :—

The hill has smoke,
because it has fire,
like a kitchen.

The arguer has taken the smoke to be the reason, and the fire to be the predicate. The opponent raises a question as to whether the smoke is present at the same site which is occupied by the fire or is absent from that site. If the smoke is present with fire at the same site, there remains, according to the opponent, no criterion to distinguish the reason from the predicate. The smoke is, in his opinion as much a reason for the fire as the fire for the smoke. This sort of futile opposition is called "balancing the co-presence," which aims at stopping an argument on the alleged ground of the co-presence of the reason and the predicate.

Seeing that a potter cannot produce a pot without getting clay within his reach, it is affirmed that a thing is accomplished sometimes by the cause being present at its site. "Balancing the co-presence," which attaches an undue importance to the proximity of sites, is therefore a totally futile opposition.

(10) Balancing the mutual absence.—If against an argument based on the mutual absence of the reason and the predicate, one offers an opposition based on the same kind of mutual absence, the opposition, futile as it is, will, on account of the reason being non-conducive to the predicate, be called "balancing the mutual absence."

A certain person, to prove that there is fire in the hill, argues as follows :—

The hill has fire
because it has smoke,
like a kitchen.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus :—

The hill has smoke.
because it has fire,
like a kitchen.

The opponent asks : "Is the smoke to be regarded as the reason because it is absent from the site of the fire?" "Such a supposition is indeed absurd." The reason cannot establish the predicate without being connected with it, just as a lamp cannot exhibit a thing which is not within its reach. If a reason unconnected with the predicate could establish the latter, then the fire could be as much the reason for the smoke as the smoke for the fire.

This sort of futile opposition is called "balancing the mutual absence" which aims at bringing an argument to a close on the alleged ground of the mutual absence of the reason and the predicate.

Seeing that an exorcist can destroy persons by administering spells from a distance, it is affirmed that a thing is accomplished sometimes by

the cause being absent from its site. "Balancing the mutual absence," which attaches too much importance to remoteness of sites, is therefore a totally futile opposition.

(11) **Balancing the infinite regression.**—If one opposes an argument on the ground of the example not having been established by a series of reasons, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the infinite regression."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal
because it is a product,
like a pot

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

If sound is proved to be non-eternal by the example of a pot, how is the pot again to be proved as non-eternal? The reason which proves the non-eternality of the pot is itself to be established by further reasons. This gives rise to an infinite regression which injures the proposition "sound is non-eternal" not less than the proposition "sound is eternal." This sort of opposition is called "balancing the infinite regression," which aims at stopping an argument by introducing an infinite regression which is said to beset the example.

Now, an example is a thing the characters of which are well known to an ordinary man as well as to an expert. It does not require a series of reasons to reveal its character.

Hence the opposition called "balancing the infinite regression" is not founded on a sound basis.

(12) **Balancing the counter-example.**—If one opposes an argument on the ground of the existence of a mere counter example, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the counter-example."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Proposition—Sound is non eternal,
Reason—because it is a product,
Example—like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

Proposition—Sound is eternal,
Example—like the ether.

The opponent alleges that if sound is held to be non-eternal by the example of a pot, why it should not be held to be eternal by the example of the ether? If the example of the ether is set aside, let the example of the pot too be set aside. This sort of futile opposition is called "balancing the counter-example," which aims at setting aside an argument by the introduction of a mere counter-example.

A mere counter-example without a reason attending it cannot be conducive to any conclusion. We can rely on an example attended

by reason, but not on a counter-example unattended by reason. Hence the opposition which is founded on a mere counter-example is to be rejected as futile.

(13) **Balancing the non-produced.**—If one opposes an argument on the ground of the property connoted by the reason being absent from the thing denoted by the subject while it is not yet produced, the opposition, futile as it is will be called “balancing the non-produced.”

A certain person, to prove that sound is non-eternal, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is an effect of effort,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus —

Sound is eternal,
because it is a non-effect-of-effort,
like the sky.

The opponent alleges that the property connoted by the reason, viz. being an effect of effort, is not predicable of the subject, viz. sound (while it is not yet produced). Consequently sound is not non-eternal, it must then be eternal. There is, according to the opponent, an apparent agreement between the two sides as to the sound being eternal on account of its being a non-effect-of-effort. This sort of opposition is called “balancing the non-produced,” which pretends to show an equality of the arguments of two sides assuming the thing denoted by the subject to be as yet non-produced.

It is futile because the subject can become such only when it is produced, and that there is, then, no obstacle to the property of the reason being predicated of it. The opposition, viz. “sound (while non-produced) is eternal, because it is not then an effect of effort.” carries no weight with it, since we do not take the sound to be the subject before it is produced. Sound, while it is produced, is certainly an effect of effort, and as such is non-eternal

(14) **Balancing the doubt.**—If one opposes an argument on the ground of a doubt arising from the homogeneity of the eternal and the non-eternal, consequent on the example and its general notion being equally objects of perception, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called “balancing the doubt.”

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus —

Sound is non-eternal (or eternal),
because it is an object of perception.
like a pot (or potness)

The opponent alleges that sound is homogeneous with a pot as well as potness inasmuch as both are objects of perception; but the pot being non-eternal and potness (the general notion of all pots) being eternal, there arises a doubt as to whether the sound is non-eternal or eternal. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the doubt," which aims at discarding an argument in consequence of a doubt arising from the homogeneity of the eternal and the non-eternal.

It is futile because sound cannot be said to be eternal on the mere ground of its homogeneity with potness, but it must be pronounced to be non-eternal on the ground of its heterogeneity from the same in respect of being a product. Though on the score of homogeneity we may entertain doubt as to whether sound is eternal or non-eternal, we can, however, on the score of heterogeneity pronounce it undoubtedly to be non-eternal. In this case we must bear in mind that we cannot ascertain the true nature of a thing unless we weigh it in respect of its homogeneity with, as well as heterogeneity from, other things. If even then there remains any doubt as to its true nature, that doubt will never end.

(15) **Balancing the point at issue, or the controversial.**—It is an opposition which is supposed to be conducted on the ground of homogeneity with (or heterogeneity from) both sides.

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

Sound is eternal,
because it is audible,
like soundness.

The opponent alleges that the proposition, viz. sound is non-eternal, cannot be proved because the reason, viz. audibility which is homogeneous with both sound (which is non-eternal) and soundness (which is eternal), serves only to give rise to suspense for the removal of which it was employed. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the point at issue" which hurts an argument by giving rise to suspense which was to be removed.

It is futile and cannot set aside the main argument because it leads to a point which happens to support one side quite as strongly as it is opposed by the other side.

(16) **Balancing the non-reason.**—It is an opposition which is supposed to be based on the reason being shown to be impossible at all the three times.

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot

Here "being a product" is the reason for "being non-eternal" which is the predicate.

- (a) The reason does not precede the predicate, because the former is called a reason only when it establishes the latter. It is impossible for the reason to be called such before the establishment of the predicate.
- (b) The reason does not succeed the predicate because a reason would be useless if the predicate could be established without it.
- (c) The reason and the predicate cannot exist simultaneously, for they will then be reciprocally connected like the right and left horns of a cow. A reason which is dependent on the predicate cannot establish the latter. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the non-reason," which aims at setting aside an argument by showing that the reason is impossible at all the three times.

There is in fact no impossibility for the reason to operate. The knowledge of the knowable and the establishment of that which is to be established, take place from reason, which must precede that which is to be known and established. If the reason is held to be impossible, why then is not the opposition itself, which depends on reason, held to be so? In the event of the opposition being impossible, the original argument will hold good.

(17) **Balancing the presumption.**—If one advances an opposition on the basis of a presumption, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the presumption."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

Sound is presumed to be eternal,
because it is incorporeal,
like the ether.

The opponent alleges that if sound is non-eternal on account of its homogeneity with non-eternal things (e.g. in respect of its being a product), it may be concluded by presumption that sound is eternal on account of its homogeneity with eternal things (e.g. in respect of its being incorporeal). This sort of opposition is called "balancing the presumption," which aims at stopping an argument by setting presumption as a balance against it.

The opposition is futile because if things unsaid could come by presumption, there would arise a possibility of the opposition itself being hurt on account of the presumption being erratic and conducive to an unexpected conclusion.

Sound is eternal,
because it is incorporeal,
like the ether.

If by presumption we could draw a conclusion unwarranted by the reason, we could from the opposition cited above draw the following conclusion :—

Sound is presumed to be non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

This would hurt the opposition itself. In fact the presumption as adduced by the opponent is erratic. If one says that "sound is non-eternal because of its homogeneity with non-eternal things," the presumption that naturally follows is that "sound is eternal because of its homogeneity with eternal things," and *vice versa*. There is no rule that presumption should be made in one case and not in the case opposed to it; and in the event of two mutually opposed presumptions no definite conclusion would follow. Hence the opposition called "balancing the presumption" is untenable.

(18) **Balancing the non-difference** —If the subject and example are treated as non-different in respect of the possession of a certain property on account of their possessing in common the property connoted by the reason, it follows as a conclusion that all things are mutually non-different in respect of the possession of every property inasmuch as they are all existent: this sort of opposition is called "balancing the non-difference."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus: If the pot and sound are treated as non-different in respect of non-eternality in consequence of their both being products, it follows as a conclusion that all things are mutually non-different in respect of the possession of every property, inasmuch as all of them are existent. Therefore, there being no difference between the eternal and the non-eternal, sound may be treated as eternal. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the non-difference," which aims at hurting an argument by assuming all things to be mutually non-different.

It is futile because the property possessed in common by the subject and the example, happens in certain instances to abide in the reason. while in other instances, it does not abide in the same.

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

Here the pot and sound possessing in common the property of being a product, are treated as non-different in respect of the possession of non-eternality. On the same principle if all things are treated as non-different in consequence of their being existent we should like to

know in what respect they are non-different. If they are treated as non-different in respect of non-eternality, then the argument would stand thus :—

All things are non-eternal,
because they are existent,
like (?).

In this argument "all things" being the subject, there is nothing left which may serve as an example. A part of the subject cannot be cited as the example because the example must be a well-established thing, while the subject is a thing which is yet to be established. The argument, for the want of an example, leads to no conclusion. In fact all things are not non-eternal since some at least are eternal. In other words, non-eternality abides in some existent things and does not abide in other existent things. Hence all things are not mutually non-different, and the opposition called "balancing the non-difference" is unreasonable.

(19) **Balancing the demonstration.**—If an opposition is offered by showing that both the demonstrations are justified by reasons, the opposition will be called "balancing the demonstration."

A certain person demonstrates the non-eternality of sound as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product
like a pot.

A certain other person offers an opposition by the alleged demonstration of the eternality of sound as follows :—

Sound is eternal,
because it is incorporeal,
like the ether.

The reason in the first demonstration supports the non-eternality of sound, while that in the second demonstration supports the eternality of sound, yet both the demonstrations are alleged to be right. The opponent advanced the second apparent demonstration as a balance against the first to create a dead-lock. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the demonstration."

It is futile because there is an admission of the first demonstration. The opponent having asserted that both the demonstrations are justified by reasons, has admitted the reasonableness of the first demonstration which supports the non-eternality of sound. If to avoid the incompatibility that exists between the two demonstrations, he now denies the reason which supports non-eternality, we would ask why does he not deny the other reason which supports the eternality of sound, for he can avoid incompatibility by denying either of the reasons. Hence the opposition called "balancing the demonstration" is not well founded.

(20) **Balancing the perception.**—If an opposition is offered on the ground that we perceive the character of the subject even

without the intervention of the reason, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the perception."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus.—

Sound can be ascertained to be non-eternal even without the reason that it is a product, for we *perceive* that sound is produced by the branches of trees broken by wind. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the perception," which aims at demolishing an argument by setting up an act of perception as a balance against it.

The opposition is futile, because the character of the subject can be ascertained by other means as well. The argument, viz "sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot," implies that sound is proved to be non-eternal through the reason that it is a product. It does not deny other means, such as perception, etc., which also may prove sound to be non-eternal. Hence the opposition called "balancing the perception" does not set aside the main argument.

(21) **Balancing the non-perception.**—If against an argument proving the non-existence of a thing by the non-perception thereof, one offers an opposition aiming at proving the contrary by the non-perception of the non-perception, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the non-perception."

If the non-perception of a thing proves its non-existence, the non-perception of the non-perception must, in the opinion of the opponent, prove the existence of the thing. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the non-perception," which aims at counteracting an argument by setting up non-perception as a balance against it.

The opposition of this kind is not valid because non-perception is merely the negation of perception. Perception refers to that which is existent, while non-perception to that which is non-existent. The non-perception of non-perception which signifies a mere negation of non-perception cannot be interpreted as referring to an existent thing. Hence opposition called "balancing the non-perception" is not well founded.

There is, moreover, an internal perception of the existence as well as of the non-existence of the various kinds of knowledge. There are internal perceptions of such forms as "I am sure," "I am not sure," "I have doubt," "I have no doubt," etc., which prove that we can perceive the non-existence of knowledge as well as the existence thereof. Hence the non-perception itself is perceptible, and as there is no non-perception of non-perception, the opposition called "balancing the non-perception" falls to the ground.

(22) **Balancing the non-eternal.**—If one finding that things which are homogeneous possess equal characters, opposes an argu-

ment by attributing non-eternality to all things, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the non-eternality."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus. If sound is non-eternal on account of its being homogeneous with a pot which is non-eternal it will follow as a consequence that all things are non-eternal because they are in some one or other respect homogeneous with the pot—a consequence which will render all inferences impossible for want of heterogeneous examples. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the non-eternal," which seeks to counteract an argument on the alleged ground that all things are non-eternal.

It is futile because nothing can be established from a mere homogeneity. We cannot ascertain the character of a thing from its mere homogeneity with another thing: in doing so we must consider the logical connection between the reason and the predicate. Sound, for instance, is non-eternal not merely because it is homogeneous with a non-eternal pot but because there is a connection between "being a product" and "being non-eternal." Hence it will be unreasonable to conclude that all things are non-eternal simply because they are homogeneous with a non-eternal pot in one or another respect. Similarly a mere homogeneity of all things with the eternal ether in one or another respect, does not prove all things to be eternal. The opposition called "balancing the non-eternal" is therefore not founded on a sound basis.

(23) **Balancing the eternal.**—If one opposes an argument by attributing eternality to all non-eternal things on the ground of these being eternally non-eternal, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the eternal."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is a product,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

You say that sound is non-eternal. Does this non-eternality exist in sound always or only sometimes? If the non-eternality exists *always*, the sound must also be always existent, or in other words, sound is eternal. If the non-eternality exists only *sometimes*, then too the sound must in the absence of non-eternality be pronounced to be eternal. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the eternal," which pretends to counteract an argument by setting up eternality as a balance against it.

The opposition is baseless because the thing opposed is always non-eternal on account of the eternality of the non-eternal. By speaking

of eternality of the non-eternal you have admitted sound to be *always* non-eternal, and cannot now deny its non-eternality. The eternal and non-eternal are incompatible with each other: by admitting that sound is non-eternal you are precluded from asserting that it is also eternal. Hence "balancing the eternal" is not a sound opposition.

(24) **Balancing the effect.**—If one opposes an argument by showing the diversity of the effects of effort, the opposition, futile as it is, will be called "balancing the effect."

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is an effect of effort

A certain other person offers a futile opposition thus:—

The effect of effort is found to be of two kinds, viz (1) the production of something which was previously non-existent, e.g. a pot, and (2) the revelation of something already existent, e.g. water in a well. Is sound an effect of the first kind or of the second kind? If sound is an effect of the first kind it will be non-eternal, but if it is of the second kind it will be eternal. Owing to this diversity of the effects of effort, it is not possible to conclude that sound is non-eternal. This sort of opposition is called "balancing the effect."

It is futile because in the case of sound effort does not give rise to the second kind of effect. We cannot say that sound is revealed by our effort because we are unable to prove that it existed already. That sound did not exist previously is proved by our non-perception of the same at the time. You cannot say that our non-perception was caused by a veil because no veil covered sound. Hence sound is an effect which is not revealed but produced.

If an argument is to be set aside owing to an ambiguous meaning of the word "effect," why is not the opposition too set aside on the same ground? The reason in the argument is as erratic as that in the opposition. Just as there is no special ground to suppose that the "effect" in the argument signified "a thing produced and not revealed," so also there is no special ground to suppose that the word in the opposition signified "a thing revealed and not produced." Hence the opposition called "balancing the effect" is self-destructive.

Application of the Analogues.

In showing the futility of analogues we may test them in the light of the following principles:—

(i) If a special meaning is to be attached to a word in the opposition, the *same meaning* will have to be attached to the word in the original argument, e.g. the word "effect" should be used in one and the same sense by a disputant and his opponent.

(ii) Defect attaches to the *opposition of the opposition* just as it attaches to the opposition itself.

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is an effect of effort

[Here “effect” signifies “a thing produced”].

A certain other person, seeing that the effect is of diverse kinds, offers an opposition thus:—

Sound is eternal,
because it is an effect of effort.

[Here “effect” signifies “a thing revealed”].

The arguer replies that sound cannot be concluded to be eternal because the reason “effect” is erratic (which may mean “a thing produced”). The opponent rises again to say that sound cannot also be concluded to be non-eternal because the reason “effect” is erratic (which may mean “a thing revealed”). So the defect which is pointed out in the case of the opposition, may also be pointed out in the case of the opposition of the opposition

(iii) If one admits the defect of his opposition in consequence of his statement that an equal defect attaches to the opposition of the opposition, it will be called “*admission of an opinion*” (*matānujñā*).

A certain person lays down a proposition which is opposed by a certain other person. The first person, viz. the disputant, charges the opposition made by the second person, viz. the opponent, with a defect, e.g. that the reason is erratic. The opponent instead of rescuing his opposition from the defect with which it has been charged by the disputant, goes on charging the disputant’s opposition of the opposition with the same defect. The counter-charge which the opponent brings in this way is interpreted by the disputant to be an admission of the defect pointed out by him. The disputant’s reply consisting of this kind of interpretation is called “admission of an opinion.”

(iv) “Admission of an opinion” also occurs when the disputant, instead of employing reasons to rescue his side from the defect with which it has been charged, proceeds to admit the defect in consequence of his statement that the *same defect* belongs to his opponent’s side as well.

By overlooking the four principles stated here a person may entangle himself in a six-winged disputation.

Six-winged Disputation (*ṣaṭpakṣī kathā*).

The first wing. A certain disputant, to prove the non-eternality of sound, says:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is an effect of effort.

[The disputant evidently took the word “effect” in the sense of “a thing produced,” but he did not make his meaning clear].

The second wing. An opponent, seeing that the word “effect” is ambiguous, offers an opposition thus:—

Sound is eternal,
because it is an effect of effort.

Here the opponent evidently took the word "effect" in the sense of "a thing revealed"

The third wing.

The disputant, seeing that the reason "effect" is erratic, charges the opposition with a defect thus:—

Sound is *not* eternal,
because it is an effect of effort.

He means that sound cannot be inferred to be eternal from its being an effect, because "effect," which is the reason here, admits of two different meanings, viz (1) a thing [that did not previously exist but is now] produced, and (2) a thing [that already existed and is now] revealed. The reason being erratic the conclusion is uncertain.

The opponent finding that the reason "effect," which is erratic, proves neither the eternity nor the non-eternity of sound, brings a counter-

charge against the disputant thus.—

Sound is also *not* non-eternal,
because it is an effect of effort

He alleges that the defect (viz the erraticity of the reason) with which his opposition (viz. sound is eternal) is charged, also attaches to the opposition of the opposition made by the disputant (viz. sound is *not* eternal, that is, is non-eternal).

The fifth wing.

The disputant finding that the counter-charge brought against him amounts to his opponent's admission of self-defect says:—

The opponent by saying that "sound is also not non-eternal" has (by the force of the word "also") admitted that it is also not eternal. In other words the counter-charge has proved the charge, that is, it has indicated that the opponent admits the disputant's opinion.

The opponent finding that the disputant instead of rescuing his argument from the counter-charge has taken shelter under his opponent's admission

of the charge says:—

The disputant by saying that "sound is also not eternal" has (by the force of the word "also") admitted that it is also not non-eternal. In other words, if the counter-charge proves the charge, the reply to the counter-charge proves the counter-charge itself.

The first, third and fifth wings belong to the disputant while the second, fourth and sixth to the opponent. The sixth wing is a repetition of the fourth while the fifth wing is a repetition of the third. The sixth wing is also a repetition of the meaning of the fifth wing. The third and fourth wings involve the defect of "admission of an opinion." All the wings except the first three are unessential.

The disputation would have come to a fair close at the third wing if the disputant or the opponent had pointed out that the word "effect" had a special meaning viz. "a thing produced" or "a thing revealed," or if they had agreed that the word "effect" being ambiguous no conclusion could be drawn. Instead of stopping at the proper limit they have obstinately carried on their disputation which is found after all to be totally futile¹

34. VARIETIES OF THE POINTS OF DEFEAT.

The points of defeat, also called clinchers, occasions for rebuke or places of humiliation, are the following :—

(1) Hurting the proposition (*pratijñā-hāni*), (2) shifting the proposition (*pratijñāntara*), (3) opposing the proposition (*pratijñā-nirodha*), (4) renouncing the proposition (*pratijñā-sannyāsa*), (5) shifting the reason (*hetvantara*), (6) shifting the topic (*arthāntara*), (7) the meaningless (*nīrarthaka*), (8) the unintelligible (*avijñātārtha*), (9) the incoherent (*apārthaka*), (10) the inopportune (*aprāpta-kāla*), (11) saying too little (*nyūna*), (12) saying too much (*adhika*), (13) repetition (*punarukta*), (14) silence (*ananubhāsaṇa*), (15) ignorance (*ajñāna*), (16) non-ingenuity (*apratibhā*), (17) evasion (*vikṣepa*), (18) admission of an opinion (*matānujñā*), (19) overlooking the censurable (*paryanuyogyopekṣaṇa*), (20) censuring the non-censurable (*niranuyogyānuyoga*), (21) deviating from a tenet (*apasiddhānta*), and (22) the semblance of a reason (*hetvābhāsa*).

"A point of defeat," which is the same as 'a clincher,' "an occasion for rebuke," "a place of humiliation" or "a point of disgrace," arises generally from a misemployment of the proposition or any other part of an argument and may implicate any disputant whether he is a discutient, wrangler or caviller.

(1) Hurting the proposition occurs when one admits in one's own example the character of a counter-example.

A disputant argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is cognisable by sense,
whatever is cognisable by sense is non-eternal as a pot,
sound is so (cognisable by sense),
therefore sound is non-eternal.

¹ Vide Nyāya-sūtra, 5-1-43.

Jayanta observes:—

षट्पञ्चासुमघोरसिद्धिः ।

वाच्यसुत्तरमती निरवद्यं जातिवादिमपि प्रति नञ्जः ।

काम्यसौत्तरगिरा न तु कार्यं पञ्चवक्क परिकल्पनगोष्ठी ।

An opponent counter-argues thus :—

A genus (e.g. potness or pot-type), which is cognisable by sense, is found to be eternal. why cannot then the sound which is also cognisable by sense be eternal ?

The disputant being thus opposed says :—

Whatever is cognisable by sense is eternal as a pot,
sound is cognisable by sense,
therefore sound is eternal

By thus admitting in his example (the pot) the character (the eternality) of a counter-example (the genus or type), that is, by admitting that a pot is eternal, he hurts his own proposition (viz. sound is non-eternal). A person who hurts his proposition in this way deserves nothing but rebuke

(2) **Shifting the proposition** arises when a proposition being opposed one defends it, by importing a new character to his example and counter-example.

A certain person argues as follows :—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is cognisable by sense,
like a pot.

A certain other person offers an opposition thus :—

Sound is eternal,
because it is cognisable by sense,
like a genus (or type).

The first person in order to defend himself says that a genus (or type) and a pot are both cognisable by sense, yet one is all-pervasive and the other is not so: hence the sound which is likened to a pot is non-all-pervasive.

The defence thus made involves a change of proposition. The proposition originally laid down was :—

Sound is non-eternal.

The proposition now defended is :—

Sound is non-all-pervasive.

A person who shifts his proposition in this way is to be rebuked inasmuch as he does not rely upon his original reason and example.

(3) **Opposing the proposition** occurs when the proposition and its reason are opposed to each other.

Substance is distinct from quality,
because it is perceived to be non-distinct from colour, etc.

In this argument it is to be observed that if substance is distinct from quality, it must also be distinct from colour, etc., which constitute the quality. The reason, viz. substance is non-distinct from colour, etc., is opposed to the proposition, viz. substance is distinct from quality. A person who thus employs a reason, which opposes his proposition, is to be rebuked as a fool.

(4) **Renouncing the proposition** — If one disclaims a proposition when it is opposed, it will be called “renouncing the proposition.”

A certain person argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is cognisable by sense.

A certain other person offers an opposition thus: Just as a genus (or type) is cognisable by sense and is not yet non-eternal, so sound is cognisable by sense and is not yet non-eternal

The first person, as a defence against the opposition, disclaims his proposition thus:—

Who says that sound is non-eternal?

This sort of denial of one’s own proposition is called “renouncing the proposition” which rightly furnishes an occasion for rebuke

(5) **Shifting the reason** occurs when the reason of a general character being opposed, one attaches a special character to it.

A certain person, to prove the non-eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal,
because it is cognisable by sense.

A certain other person says that sound cannot be proved to be non-eternal through the mere reason of its being cognisable by sense, just as a genus (or type) such as potness (or pot-type) is cognisable by sense and is not yet non-eternal

The first person defends himself by saying that the reason, viz. being cognisable by sense, is to be understood as signifying that which comes under a genus (or type) and is as such cognisable by sense. Sound comes under the genus (or type) “soundness” and is at the same time cognisable by sense; but a genus or type such as pot-ness or pot-type does not come under another genus or type such as pot-ness-ness or pot-type-type though it is cognisable by sense. Such a defence, which consists in shifting one’s reason, rightly furnishes an occasion for rebuke.

(6) **Shifting the topic** is an argument which setting aside the real topic introduces one which is irrelevant.

A certain person, to prove the eternality of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is eternal (proposition),
because it is intangible (reason).

Being opposed by a certain other person he attempts, in the absence of any other resource, to defend his position as follows:—

Hetu which is the Sanskrit equivalent for “reason” is a word derived from the root “hi” with the suffix “tu.” A word, as a part of a speech may be a noun, a verb or an indeclinable. A noun is

defined as, etc, etc. The defence made in this way furnishes an instance of defeat through non-relevancy. The person who makes it deserves rebuke.

(7) The meaningless is an argument which is based on a nonsensical combination of letters in a series.

A certain person, to prove the eternity of sound, argues as follows:—

Sound is eternal.

because k, c, t, t and p are j, v, g, d and d,
like jh, bh, gh, dh and dh.

As the letters k, c, t, etc., convey no meaning, the person who employs them in his argument deserves rebuke

(8) The unintelligible is an argument, which although repeated three times, is understood neither by the audience nor by the opponent.

A certain person being opposed by another person and finding no means of self-defence, attempts to hide his inability in disputation by using words of double *entendre* or words not in ordinary use or words very quickly uttered which as such are understood neither by his opponent nor by the audience although they are repeated three times. This sort of defence is called "the unintelligible" which rightly furnishes an occasion for rebuke.

(9) The incoherent is an argument which conveys no connected meaning on account of the words being strung together without any syntactical order.

A certain person being opposed by another person and finding no other means of self-defences argues as follows:—

Ten pomegranates, six cakes, a bowl, goat's skin and a lump of sweets.

This sort of argument, which consists of a series of unconnected words, is called "the incoherent," which rightly presents an occasion for rebuke

(10) The inopportune is an argument, the parts of which are mentioned without any order of precedence.

A certain person, to prove that the hill has fire, argues as follows:—

The hill has fire (proposition),

whatever has smoke has fire, as a kitchen (example),

because it has smoke (reason),

the hill has fire (conclusion),

the hill has smoke (application).

This sort of argument is called "the inopportune," which rightly presents an occasion for rebuke. Since the meaning of an argument is affected by the order in which its parts are arranged, the person who overlooks the order cannot establish his conclusion and is therefore rebuked.

(11) **Saying too little.**—If an argument lacks even one of its parts, it is called “saying too little.”

The following is an argument which contains all its five parts—

- (1) The hill has fire (proposition)
- (2) Because it has smoke (reason).
- (3) All that has smoke has fire, as a kitchen (example).
- (4) The hill has smoke (application).
- (5) Therefore the hill has fire (conclusion).

As all the five parts or members are essential, a person who omits even one of them should be scolded as “saying too little.”

(12) **Saying too much** is an argument which consists of more than one reason or example.

A certain person, to prove that the hill has fire, argues as follows:—

- The hill has fire (proposition)
 Because it has smoke (reason)
 And because it has light (reason).
 Like a kitchen (example).
 And like a furnace (example).

In this argument the second reason and the second example are redundant.

A person, who having promised to argue in the proper way (according to the established usage), employs more than one reason or example is to be rebuked as “saying too much.”

(13) **Repetition** is an argument in which (except in the case of re-inculcation) the word or the meaning is said over again.

Repetition of the word—Sound is non-eternal,
 Sound is non-eternal.

Repetition of the meaning—Sound is non-eternal. echo is perishable, what is heard is impermanent, etc.

There is a difference between “repetition” and “re-inculcation” inasmuch as the latter serves some useful purpose

In re-inculcation a special meaning is deduced from the word re-inculcated. e.g.

- The hill has fire (proposition).
 Because it has smoke (reason).
 All that has smoke has fire, as a kitchen (example).
 The hill has smoke (application).
 Therefore the hill has fire (conclusion).

In this argument the “conclusion” is a re-inculcation of the “proposition” serving a special purpose (viz. in showing the fifth member of the syllogism).

Repetition consists also in mentioning a thing by name although the thing has been indicated through presumption, e.g.

"A thing which is not non-eternal does not possess the character of a product"—this is a mere repetition of the following.—

"A thing possessing the character of a product is non-eternal."

(14) **Silence** is an occasion for rebuke which arises when the opponent makes no reply to a proposition although it has been repeated three times by the disputant within the knowledge of the audience

How can a disputant carry on his argument if his opponent maintains an attitude of stolid silence? The opponent who takes up such an attitude is to be rebuked.

(15) **Ignorance** is the non-understanding of a proposition.

Ignorance is betrayed by the opponent who does not understand a proposition although it has been repeated three times within the knowledge of the audience. How can an opponent refute a proposition the meaning of which he cannot understand. He is to be rebuked for his ignorance.

(16) **Non-ingenuity** consists in one's inability to hit upon a reply.

A certain person lays down a proposition. If his opponent understands it and yet cannot hit upon a reply, he is to be scolded as wanting in ingenuity.

(17) **Evasion** arises if one stops an argument in the pretext of going away to attend another business.

A certain person having commenced a disputation in which he finds it impossible to establish his side, stops its further progress by saying that he has to go away on a very urgent business. He who stops the disputation in this way courts defeat and humiliation through evasion.

(18) **The admission of an opinion** consists in charging the opposite side with a defect by admitting that the same defect exists on one's own side

A certain person addressing another person says: "You are a thief."

This person, instead of removing the charge brought against him, throws the same charge on the opposite side whereby he admits that the charge against himself is true. This sort of counter-charge or reply is an instance of the "admission of an opinion" which brings disgrace on the person who makes it.

(19) **Overlooking the censurable** consists in not rebuking a person who deserves rebuke.

It is not at all unfair to censure a person who argues in a way which furnishes an occasion for censure. Seeing that the person himself does not confess his shortcoming, it is the duty of the audience

to pass a vote of censure on him. If the audience failed to do their duty they would earn rebuke for themselves on account of their "over-looking the censurable"

(20) Censuring the non-censurable consists in rebuking a person who does not deserve rebuke

A person brings discredit on himself if he rebukes a person who does not deserve rebuke

(21) Deviating from a tenet. — A person who after accepting a tenet departs from it in the course of his disputation, is guilty of "deviating from a tenet."

A certain person promises to carry on his argument in consonance with the Sāṅkhya philosophy which lays down that (1) what is existent never becomes non-existent, and (2) what is non-existent never comes into existence, etc. A certain other person opposes him by saying that all human activity would be impossible if the thing now non-existent could not come into existence in the course of time, and that no activity would cease if what is existent now could continue for ever. If the first person being thus opposed admits that existence springs from non-existence and non-existence from existence, then he will rightly deserve rebuke for his deviation from the accepted tenet.

(22) The fallacies of reason also furnish points of defeat or occasions for rebuke.

Fallacies are mere semblances of reason. A person who employs them in a disputation certainly deserves rebuke.

There are infinite points of defeat or occasions for rebuke, of which only twenty-two have been enumerated here.

35. CATEGORIES: THEIR EXAMINATION (*parīkṣā*).

A critical examination should be made of each case where there is room for doubt. In case of well-known facts admitted by all, examination is unnecessary. A critical examination of some of the categories is given below:—

(1) The Means of Right Knowledge (*pramāṇa*).

The means.

Some¹ say that perception and other so-called *means of right knowledge* are invalid as they are impossible at all the three times. Perception is impossible at the present, past and future times inasmuch as it can neither be prior to, nor posterior to, nor simultaneous with, the objects of sense. If perception occurred anteriorly it could not have arisen from the contact

¹ The sūtras from 2-1-8 to 2-1-19 of the Nyāya-sūtra contain a critical examination of *pramāṇa* (the means of right knowledge).

of a sense with its object. With reference to the perception of colour, for instance, it is asked whether the colour preceded perception or the perception preceded colour. If one says that perception occurred anteriorly or preceded the colour, one must give up one's definition of perception. viz. that perception arises from the contact of a sense with its object. If perception is supposed to occur posteriorly, it cannot be maintained that objects of sense are established by perception. Colour, for instance, is an object which is said to be established by visual perception. But this conclusion will have to be abandoned if perception is supposed to occur posteriorly to the object. If perception were simultaneous with its object, there would not be any order of succession in our cognitions as there is no such order in their corresponding objects. Various objects of sense can exist at one time, e.g. colour and smell exist in a flower at the same time. If we hold that perception is simultaneous with its object, we must admit that the colour and the smell can be perceived at the same time, that is, our perception of colour must be admitted to be simultaneous with our perception of smell. This is absurd because two acts of perception, nay, two cognitions cannot take place at the same time. As there is an order of succession in our cognitions, perception cannot be simultaneous with its object. Perception and other so-called means of right knowledge are therefore not only invalid but also impossible. Moreover, if an object of knowledge is to be established by a means of knowledge, this latter needs also to be established by another means of knowledge. Just as a balance is an instrument when it weighs a thing, but is an object when it is itself weighed in another balance, so a means of knowledge is an instrument when it establishes an object, but is an object when it is itself to be established. Finally if a means of knowledge does not require another means of knowledge for its establishment, let an object of knowledge be also established without any means of knowledge.

In reply it is stated that if perception and other means of right knowledge are impossible, then the denial of them is also impossible, for owing to absence of the matter to be denied the denial itself will be inoperative. If there is no means of knowledge to establish any thing, how is the denial itself to be established? If on the other hand the denial is held to be based on a certain means of knowledge, we are thereby to acknowledge the validity of that means. When we deny a thing on the ground of its not being perceived, we acknowledge by implication that perception is a means of right knowledge. Similarly inference, etc., are also means of knowledge. There is no fixed rule that the means of knowledge should precede the objects of knowledge or should succeed them or be simultaneous with them. They resemble sometimes a drum which precedes its sound, sometimes an illumination which succeeds the sun, and another time a smoke which is synchronous with the fire. The means of knowledge are self-established like the illumination of a lamp. Just as a lamp illumines itself and other objects, so the means of knowledge establish themselves and the objects of knowledge. Though a lamp which illumines

Validity of the means of right knowledge established.

Other objects is itself illumined by our eye, we cannot deny a general notion of illuminator as distinguished from that of the objects illuminated. Similarly we must admit a general notion of the means of knowledge as distinguished from that of the objects of knowledge. The means of knowledge are therefore neither invalid nor impossible.

Perception.

Some say that the definition of perception as given before is defective, as it does not notice the conjunction of soul with mind and of mind with sense, which are also causes of perception. From the contact of a sense with its object no knowledge arises unless, it is said, there is also conjunction of soul with mind. A sense coming in contact with its object produces knowledge in our soul only if the sense is conjoined with the mind. Hence the conjunction of soul with mind should be mentioned as a necessary element in the definition of perception. Moreover the contact of a sense with its object is sometimes not found to be the cause of perception, e.g. a person listening to a song does not see colour though it comes in contact with his eye.

In reply it is stated that if the conjunction of soul with mind is to be mentioned as a necessary element in the definition of perception, then direction ("dik"), space ("deśa"), time ("kāla") and ether ("ākāśa") should also be enumerated among the causes of perception. But such an enumeration is held on all hands to be undesirable. The soul, we point out, has not been excluded from our definition of perception inasmuch as knowledge is a mark of the soul. Perception has been described as knowledge, and knowledge implies the soul which is its abode. Consequently in speaking of knowledge the soul has, by implication, been mentioned as a condition in the production of perception. The mind too has not been omitted from our definition inasmuch as we have spoken of the non-simultaneity of acts of knowledge. Perception has been defined as knowledge. An essential character of knowledge is that more than one act of knowing cannot take place at a time. This characteristic is due to the mind, an atomic substance, which is conjoined with the sense, when knowledge is produced. Hence in speaking of knowledge we have by implication mentioned the mind as a condition of perception. The contact of a sense with its object is mentioned as the special cause of perception. There are many kinds of knowledge, such as perception, recollection, etc. Conjunction of soul with mind is a cause which operates in the production of all kinds of knowledge, while the contact of a sense with its object is the cause which operates only in perception. In our definition of perception we have mentioned only the special cause, and have omitted the common causes which precede not only perception, but also other kinds of knowledge. By saying that perception is knowledge which arises from the contact of a sense with its object, we have distinguished five special kinds of knowledge, viz (1) the visual perception also called eye-knowledge or colour-knowledge, (2) the

auditory perception also called ear-knowledge or sound-knowledge, (3) the olfactory perception also called nose-knowledge or smell-knowledge, (4) the gustatory perception also called tongue-knowledge or taste-knowledge, and (5) the tactual perception also called skin-knowledge or touch-knowledge. It is admitted that a person while listening to a song may not see colour though the latter comes in contact with his eye. Yet the instance does not prove that the contact of a sense with its object, is not the cause of perception, for it is to be understood that his intent listening prevents him from seeing the colour. In other words, the auditory perception supersedes the visual perception, because the song is more attractive than the colour.

Perception, some say, is inference because it apprehends a thing by grasping only a part of the same. We are said

Is Perception a mere inference? to perceive a tree while we really perceive only a part of it. This knowledge of the tree, as a whole, derived from the knowledge of a part of it, is said to be a mere inference.

In reply it is stated that perception is not inference for even the objectors admit that at least a part of the tree is actually perceived. Hence perception as a means of knowledge is not altogether denied, on the contrary it is accepted as different from inference.

Inference

Inference, some say, is not a means of right knowledge, as it errs in certain cases. For instance, if we see a river

Is inference a means of right knowledge? swollen we infer that there has been rain, if we see ants carrying off their eggs, we infer that there will be rain, and if we hear a peacock scream, we infer that clouds are gathering. These inferences are said to be not necessarily correct, for a river may be swollen because of its being embanked, the ants may carry off their eggs because their nests have been damaged, and the supposed screaming of a peacock may be nothing but the voice of a man.

Inference, we reply, is really a means of right knowledge, as the errors alleged to be involved in it may be explained away. The swelling of a river caused by rain is different from that which results from the embankment of a part of it; the former is attended by a great rapidity of currents, an abundance of foam, a mass of fruits, leaves, wood, etc. The manner in which ants carry off their eggs just before rain is quite different from the manner in which they do so when their nests are damaged. The ants run away quickly in a steady line when rain is imminent, but fear makes them fly in disorder when their nests are damaged. The screaming of a peacock which suggests gathering clouds is quite different from a man's imitation of it, for the latter is not natural. If in such cases any wrong inference is drawn, the fault is in the person, not in the process.

Comparison.

Comparison, some say, is not a means of right knowledge, as the knowledge of a thing cannot be established

Is comparison a means of right knowledge? through its similarity to another thing, no matter whether the similarity is complete, con-

siderable or partial. On the ground of complete similarity we never say "a cow is like a cow"; on the ground of considerable similarity we do not say "a buffalo is like a cow"; and on the ground of partial similarity we do not say "a mustard seed is like Mount Meru." Hence comparison is regarded by some as not a means of right knowledge, for it has no precise standard.

This objection does not, we maintain, carry any weight, for comparison is established through similarity in a high degree. The similarity in a high degree exists between such well-known objects as a cow and a *bos gavaeus*, etc.

Some hold that comparison is not a separate means of knowledge, for when one notices the likeness of a cow in a strange animal, one really performs an act of perception. In reply it is urged that we cannot deny comparison as a separate means of knowledge, for how otherwise does the name *bos gavaeus* convey the general notion of the animal called *bos gavaeus*? That the name *bos gavaeus* signifies one and all members of the *bos gavaeus* class is not a result of perception, but the consequence of a distinct knowledge called comparison.

Comparison, some say, is not different from inference, for both seek to establish the unperceived by means of the perceived. We recognize a *bos gavaeus* at first sight through its special similarity to a cow which we have often perceived. This knowledge of a previously unperceived object derived through its similarity to a perceived object is said to be nothing but inference.

In reply we maintain that it is not in a *bos gavaeus unperceived* that we find the real matter of comparison. The matter of comparison is similarity, e.g. between a cow and a *bos gavaeus*. The *bos gavaeus* in which we notice the similarity is first perceived, that is, on perceiving a *bos gavaeus* we notice its similarity to a cow. Hence comparison supplies us with knowledge of a *perceived* thing through its similarity to another thing also *perceived*. This characteristic distinguishes it from inference which furnishes us with knowledge of an *unperceived* thing through that of a thing *perceived*. Comparison is not identical with inference because the former is established through the compendious expression "so." "As is a cow, so is a *bos gavaeus*—": this is an instance of comparison. This use of 'so' makes it clear that comparison is a distinct means of right knowledge.

Verbal testimony.

Verbal testimony, some say, is inference because the object indicated by it is not perceived but inferred. Inference gives us the knowledge of an unperceived object through that of an object which is perceived. Verbal testimony too enables us to acquire the knowledge of an unperceived object through that of a word which is perceived (heard). In inference as well as in verbal testimony we pass to an unperceived object through an object which is perceived. Just as in inference there is a certain connection

Is "word" or verbal testimony a mere inference?

between a sign (e.g. smoke), and the thing signified by it (e.g. fire), so in verbal testimony there is connection between a word and the object signified by it. Verbal testimony does not therefore differ from inference.

In reply we say that there is a great difference between inference and verbal testimony. The knowledge gained by verbal testimony is correct, not simply because it comes through the medium of words, but because it comes through words spoken by a reliable person. There are, it is said, paradise, nymphs, *uttarakurus*, seven islands, ocean, human settlements, etc. We accept them as realities not simply because they are known through words, but because they are spoken of by persons who are reliable. Hence verbal testimony is not inference. The two agree in conveying knowledge of an object through its sign, but the sign in one is different from the sign in the other. In the case of verbal testimony the special point is to decide whether the sign (word) comes from a reliable person. Moreover the connection between a word and the object signified by it is conventional and not a natural one. We acknowledge that a word indicates a certain object, but we deny that the object is naturally or necessarily connected with the word. Hearing, for instance, the word "cow," we think of the animal signified by it, nevertheless the word and the animal are not connected with each other by nature or necessity. In the case of inference, however, the connection between a sign (e.g. smoke), and the thing signified (e.g. fire), is natural and necessary. The connection involved in inference is not, therefore, of the same kind as that involved in verbal testimony. In the case of verbal testimony there is no perception of the connection. The connection between a sign and the thing signified, which is the basis of inference, is obvious to perception. For instance, the inference that "the hill is fiery because it is smoky" is based on a certain connection between smoke and fire, which is actually perceived in a kitchen or elsewhere. The connection between a word and the object signified by it, which is the basis of verbal testimony, is not obvious to perception. The word *uttarakuru*, for instance, signifies the country of that name, but the connection between the word and the country is not perceived, as the latter lies beyond our observation. Hence verbal testimony is not inference.

Some say that the means of right knowledge are more than four because there are such other means of right knowledge as *rumour* ("aitihya"), *presumption* ("arthāpatti"), probability ("sambhava") and *non-existence* ("abhāva").

In reply we say that the means of right knowledge are really four, inasmuch as *rumour* is included in verbal testimony, and *presumption*, *probability* and *non-existence* are included in inference.

Other means.

Rumour is an assertion which has come from one to another without any indication of the source from which it first originated, e.g. on this tree there live goblins.

It is not a separate means of knowledge, but partakes of the general characteristics of verbal testimony and is a special kind of it.

Presumption is the deduction of one thing from the declaration of another thing, e.g. from the declaration that 'unless there is cloud there is no rain,'

Presumption. we deduce that 'if there is rain there must have been cloud.'

Some say that presumption is not valid as it leads to uncertainty. "If there is no cloud there will be no rain"—from this we are said to presume that if there is a cloud there will be rain. But it often happens that a cloud is not followed by rain. So presumption does, according to the objectors lead to uncertainty. In reply we say, that if there is uncertainty it is due to the objectors supposing that to be a presumption which is not really so. "If there is no cloud there will be no rain." From this we are entitled to presume that if there is rain there must have been cloud. But if one pretends to presume that "if there is a cloud there will be rain." one's so-called presumption will be an invalid one.

Presumption is thus found to be the knowledge of a thing derived through the consideration of it from the opposite standpoint. It does not differ from inference since both pass from a perceived thing to an unperceived one through a certain connection.

Probability consists in cognising the existence of a thing from that of another thing in which it is included, e.g. knowledge of the measure of an *ādhuka* from

Probability. that of a *drona* of which it is a fourth part.

Probability is inference because it is the cognizance of a part from that of a whole with which it is inseparably connected.

Of two opposite things, the *non-existence* of one establishes the existence of the other, e.g. the non-existence of rain indicates the existence of an obstruction¹ of the cloud which was to have brought it down.

Some say that non-existence is not a means of right knowledge, as there is no object which is known by it. Though a mark may distinguish the object which is marked, the non-existence (absence) of the mark cannot distinguish the object which is not marked. A blue pot is distinguished by the blueness which is its mark. But how can we distinguish an unmarked object by the non-existence (absence) of the mark which it does not possess?

In reply we say that non-existence serves to mark out an object unmarked by the mark which characterises other objects. Suppose a person wants to bring a pot which is not blue. The absence of blueness is a mark which will enable him to mark out the particular pot he wants to bring, and to exclude the other pots which are blue. Thus an object may be known through the non-existence (absence) of its mark. If you say that the non-existence (absence) of a mark is impossible where there was no mark at all, it is, we reply, not so, because the non-existence (absence) is possible in reference to a mark elsewhere. We can, says an objector, talk of a mark being non-existent (absent) if it was previously existent (present). A pot is said to be not blue only in reference to its having been blue previously. In reply

¹ When there is an obstruction of cloud by wind, drops of water cannot fall in spite of their weight.

we say that it is not so. "Not blue" is no doubt possible only in reference to "blue," but that blueness may exist elsewhere. For instance, we can talk of this pot being not blue in contrast to that pot which is blue. Moreover, we perceive non-existence as a mark antecedent to the production of a thing. When we say that there will be a jar, we perceive the mark of non-existence of the jar in the halves (parts) which are destined to compose it.

Non-existence or negation is not however a separate means of knowledge. It is included in inference. It infers one thing from the absence of another thing through the mutual connection of the two things, as follows: If a particular thing existed, it would have been seen; it is not seen therefore it does not exist.

In the Nyāya-sūtra, 2-2-12, non-existence or negation (*abhāva*) is divided into two kinds¹ viz. (1) *prāgabhāva*, prior non-existence, that is, the non-existence of a thing before it is brought into existence, and (2) *pradhvaṃsābhāva*, posterior non-existence or destruction, that is the disappearance of a thing after it has come into existence.

(2) The Objects of Right Knowledge (*prameya*).

The Soul.

A sense is not soul because we can apprehend an object through both sight and touch. "Previously I saw the jar and now I touch it": such recognition will be impossible if "I" is not different from the eye which cannot touch and from the skin which cannot see. In other words, the "I" or soul is distinct from the senses.

Some say that the soul is not different from the senses, as there is a fixed relation between a sense and its object. Colour, for instance, is an exclusive object of the eye, sound of the ear, smell of the nose, and so on. It is the eye that apprehends colour, and there is no necessity for assuming a soul distinct from the eye for the purpose of explaining the apprehension of colour. In reply we say that the soul is certainly distinct from the senses. There is no doubt, a fixed relation between a sense and its object, and in virtue of such relation the sense cannot apprehend more than one object; but the "I" can apprehend many objects, that is, the "I" can see colour, hear sound, and so on. Hence the "I" or soul, which confers unity on the various kinds of apprehension, is different from the senses each of which can apprehend only one object.

¹ In the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-tikā, 2-2-9, negation (*abhāva*) is divided into (1) negation of identity (*tādātmyābhāva*), and (2) negation of correlation (*samśargābhāva*); and the latter is subdivided into (a) prior negation (*prāgabhāva*), (b) posterior negation (*pradhvaṃsābhāva*), and (c) absolute negation (*atyantābhāva*).

In the Nyāya vārtika, 1-1-1, existence and non-existence are both spoken of as things, and in the Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-1, the non-existence of a thing is said to be perceived by the same means as the existence of it, e.g. the non-existence of colour is perceived by the eye.

If the body were soul there should be release from sins as soon as the body was destroyed. But in reality a person is not freed from sins although his body is destroyed, inasmuch as the sins pursue him in his subsequent lives. Hence the body is not soul.

Some say that the soul is not different from the mind inasmuch as the arguments which are adduced to establish the soul are applicable to the mind as well. I can see an object by my eye and touch it by my skin. The agent which sees the object and touches it, is, no doubt, different from both the eye and the skin. Let however the agent, says an objector, be identified with the mind. Since an agent requires an instrument to accomplish a thing, it is, we reply, a mere verbal trick to apply the name "mind" to that which is really the "soul." To explain the acts of seeing, touching, etc., you admit an agent distinct from the senses which are called its instruments. The sense or instrument by which the act of thinking is performed is called the "mind." The agent sees by the eye, hears by the ear, smells by the nose, tastes by the tongue, touches by the skin and thinks by the "mind." Hence we must admit the agent (soul) over and above the instrument (mind). If you call the agent "mind," you will have to invent another name to designate the instrument. This verbal trick will not, after all, affect our position. Moreover, the mind cannot be the agent as it is atomic in nature. An atomic agent cannot perform such diverse acts as seeing, hearing, knowing, feeling, etc.

Knowledge is not a natural quality of the body because it does not, in some cases, continue quite as long as the body does. Knowledge belongs neither to a sense nor to its object because it continues even on their destruction. If knowledge had been a quality of the sense, it could not continue after the sense had been destroyed. But knowledge in the form of memory is found actually to abide even after the sense has perished. Hence the sense is not the abode of knowledge. Similarly knowledge does not abide in an object of sense, and does not belong to the mind.

As two or more things cannot be known (perceived) simultaneously, it is to be concluded that the mind, which is an instrument of our knowledge, is an atom in dimension. If we supposed this mind to be the abode of knowledge we could not call it an instrument in the acquisition of the same, and knowledge as a quality of an atom would in that case be imperceptible. Knowledge must therefore be admitted, by the principle of exclusion, to be a quality of the soul. The soul is all-pervading, but it cannot perceive many things simultaneously, on account of the absence of contact of the mind with many sense-organs at a time. Though many objects can come in proximity with their corresponding senses simultaneously, the mind, which is an atom, can come in conjunction with only one sense at a time. Hence two or more things are not perceived simultaneously although the soul which perceives them is all-pervading.

The soul is immortal inasmuch as we find in a child joy fear and grief which arise from the memory of things previously experienced. A new-born child manifests marks of joy, fear and grief. This is inexplicable unless we suppose that the child perceiving certain things in this life remembers the corresponding things of its past life. The things which used to excite joy, fear and grief in past life continue to do so in this life. The memory of the past proves the pre-existence of the soul. Moreover, if we do not admit our soul to be eternal we shall be confronted by many absurdities such as "loss of merited action" (*kṛta-kāra*) and "gain of unmerited action" (*akṛtābhivāqama*). A man who has committed a certain sin may not suffer its consequences in this life, and unless there is a soul continuing to his next life he will not suffer them at all. This is a "loss of merited action." Again, we often find a man suffering the consequences of action which he never did in this life. This would be a "gain of unmerited action," unless we believe that his soul did the action in his previous life.

Body.

Our body is earthy because it possesses the special qualities of earth. In other worlds there are beings whose bodies are watery, fiery, airy or ethereal. Though our body is composed of all the five elements we call it earthy owing to the preponderance of earth in it.

The senses are material substances inasmuch as they invariably receive obstruction. Nothing can offer obstruction to a non-material all-pervading substance. The senses receive obstruction from wall, etc., and are therefore material substances.

Senses.

Some¹ say that the senses are not many as all of them are dependent on touch (skin). The eye, ear, nose and tongue are said to be mere modifications of touch (skin) which pervades them, that is, there is only one sense, viz. touch (skin), all others being merely its forms.

It is, we reply, not so because the objects of other senses are not perceived by touch (skin). If there had been only one sense, viz. touch (skin), then it could have seen colour, heard sound, and so on. But a blind man possessing the sense of touch cannot see colour. Hence it is concluded that senses are many. Moreover, had there been only one sense, viz. touch, it would have in conjunction with the mind produced the functions of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, etc., simultaneously. But we cannot perform different functions at once. This proves that the senses are many. The mind, which is an atomic substance, being unable to come in contact with many senses at a time cannot produce many functions simultaneously. Further, touch can perceive only those

¹ Compare—All the senses are only modifications of touch.—Democritus.

objects which are near (contiguous), but it cannot perceive objects which are far off. We can, however, perceive colour and sound from a great distance. This is certainly not the function of touch, but of some other sense which can reach distant objects.

In fact, the senses are five. There are five objects, viz. colour, sound, smell (odour), taste (savour), and touch which are cognised respectively by the eye, ear, nose, tongue and skin. There are therefore five senses corresponding to the five objects. The senses must be admitted to be five also on the following grounds:—(a) The characters of knowledge—there are five senses corresponding to the five characters of knowledge, viz. visual, auditory, olfactory gustatory and tactual. (b) The sites—the senses are five on account of the various sites they occupy. The visual sense rests on the eye-ball, the auditory sense on the ear-hole, the olfactory sense on the nose, the gustatory sense on the tongue, while the tactual sense occupies the whole body. (c) The processes—there are five senses involving five different processes, e.g. the visual sense apprehends a colour by approaching it through the (ocular) ray, while the tactual sense apprehends an object which is in association with the body, and so on. (d) The forms—the senses are of different forms, e.g. the eye partakes of the nature of a blue ball, and the ear is not different from ether, etc. (e) The materials—the senses are made up of different materials: the eye is fiery, the ear is ethereal, the nose is earthy, the tongue is watery, and the skin (touch) is airy.

Objects of Sense.

The earth possesses four qualities, viz. odour (smell), savour (taste), colour, and tangibility. In water there are three

The objects of sense:
their distribution.

qualities, viz. savour, colour, and tangibility.
Colour and tangibility are known to be the

qualities of fire while tangibility and sound belong respectively to air and ether. Some say that the earth does not possess four qualities, but possesses only one quality, viz. odour (smell), which is apprehended by the nose; that water does not possess three qualities but only one quality, viz. savour (taste), which is apprehended by the tongue, and that the other elements too do, each of them, possess only one quality. In reply, we say, that the earth really possesses four qualities, water three, fire two, air one, and ether one. Had the earth possessed only odour (smell) and the water only savour (taste), then it would have been impossible for us to see the earthy and watery things. We are competent to see only those things which possess colour, and if the earth and water had not possessed colour, how could we have seen them? Since we can see the earthy and the watery, it follows that they possess colour. If you say that the earth and water are visible, because they are mixed with the fiery things which possess colour, why then the air and ether too are not visible? There is no rule that it is only the earth and water that can be mixed with fiery things, but that the air and ether cannot be so mixed. Proceeding in this way we find that the earth, etc., do not each possess only one quality.

Intellect.

Some maintain that the intellect is permanent, because it possesses the capacity of recognizing objects. A thing which was known before is known again now—this sort of knowledge is called recognition. It is possible only if the intellect which knew an object in the past continues also at the present, that is, if the intellect is persistent or permanent. Recognition would have been impossible if the intellect had been transitory. Hence the intellect which recognizes objects is said to be permanent. In reply we say that the intellect does not recognize objects, but it is the soul that does so. Knowledge cannot be attributed to an unconscious instrument, the intellect, but it must be admitted to be a quality of a conscious agent the soul. Hence the intellect is not permanent.

Intellect (*buddhi*) is not permanent.

Mind.

The mind being one, there are no simultaneous cognitions. If there had been more minds than one, they could have come in contact with many senses at a time so that many cognitions could have been produced simultaneously. As many cognitions are never produced at once, the mind must be admitted to be one.

The mind is one.

If the mind had been possessed of magnitude, it could have come in contact with many senses at a time so that many cognitions could have taken place simultaneously. Since this has been found to be impossible, the mind is an atom.

The mind is an atom.

Faults.

The faults are divided into three groups viz. affection, aversion and stupidity. Affection includes lust, avarice, avidity and covetousness. Aversion includes anger, envy, malignity, hatred and implacability. Stupidity includes misapprehension, suspicion, arrogance and carelessness. Of the three, stupidity is the worst because it is only a stupid person who may be influenced by affection and aversion.

The faults: their subdivision.

Transmigration.

Transmigration belongs to the soul and not to the body. The series of births and deaths implied by transmigration, is possible only if the soul is eternal. If the soul were destructible, it would be victim to two unexpected chances, viz. destruction of actions done by it (*kṛta-hāni*), and suffering from actions not done by it (*akṛtābhyaṅama*).

Transmigration belonging to the soul.

Seeing that man does not often reap fruits proportionate to his acts, some maintain that the acts are entirely subservient to God (Īsvara) who alone can provide them with fruits. This view is opposed

God is the giver of fruits.

by others who say that if God were the only source of fruits, man could attain them even without any acts. Reconciling the two views we conclude that man performs acts which are endowed with fruits by God. The acts do not produce any fruits by themselves: they become fruitful only through the grace of God.

The fruit is not produced immediately because it is capable of being enjoyed after a lapse of time. The fruit, e.g. of maintaining the sacred fire, is the attainment of heaven, which is not possible until the time of death when the soul departs from our body. Just as a tree, whose roots are now nourished with water, will produce fruits in future, so the sacred fire which is maintained now will enable the maintainer to attain heaven after death.

Birth is nothing but pain, because it consists of our connection with the body, the senses and the intellect, which bring us various distresses. The body is the abode in which pain resides, the senses are the instruments by which pain is experienced, and the intellect is the agent which produces in us the feeling of pain. Our birth—as connected with the body, the senses and the intellect—is necessarily a source of pain. We do not altogether deny pleasure which often arises amidst pains. Some persons, thinking that pleasure is the *summum bonum*, are addicted to the world which causes them various distresses through birth, infirmity, disease, death, connection with the undesirable, separation from the desirable, etc. It is therefore clear that one who pursues pleasure, does in reality pursue pain, or in other words, pleasure is a synonym for pain.

Emancipation.

Some say that there is no opportunity for us to attain emancipation because of the continual pressure of our debts,¹ troubles and activities. As soon as we are born we incur, according to them, three debts which we must go on clearing off until the time of our decay and death; and troubles are our constant companions while activities pursue us throughout our life. There is then no opportunity for us to attain emancipation. In reply we say that there is no lack of opportunity for our emancipation, because the sacrifices to be performed for clearing off our debts may be trusted to our soul. A person, while old should refrain from all searches after sons, wealth and retinue. He should retire from the world when he has trusted to his soul the sacrifices which he used to perform to clear off his debts. By so doing he will imagine that his soul is the sacrificial fire in which his physical actions are offered as oblations. Freed from all debts, he will live on alms and find an ample opportunity for effecting his own emancipation. As there is no distress in a person who enjoys a sound

¹ The three debts are: (1) Debt to sages (*ṛṣi-rna*)—which can be cleared off only by undergoing a course of student life. (2) Debt to gods (*deva-rna*)—from

sleep, so there is no pressure of troubles and activities in one who has attained emancipation. Emancipation is the condition of supreme felicity marked by perfect tranquillity and not tainted by any defilement. A person, by the true knowledge of the sixteen categories, is able to remove his misapprehensions. When this is done, his faults, viz. affection, aversion and stupidity, disappear. He is then no longer subject to any activity and is consequently freed from transmigration and pains. This is the way in which his emancipation is effected and supreme felicity secured.

(3) Doubt (*samśaya*).

1. Some say that doubt cannot arise from the recognition of common and uncommon properties, whether conjointly or separately. It is said that doubt about an object is never produced, if *both* the common and uncommon properties of the object are recognized. For instance, if we see in the twilight a tall object which moves, we do not doubt whether it is a man or a post. We at once decide that it is a man, for though tallness is a property possessed in common by man and post, locomotion is a property which distinguishes a man from a post. Likewise doubt about an object is said never to be produced if *only* the common or the uncommon properties are recognized. For instance, if we see a tall object in the twilight we have no reason to doubt whether it is a man or a post. Tallness is certainly a property possessed in common by man and post, but the tallness of a man is not identical with that of a post - it merely resembles it. Now the knowledge of similarity between the tallness of a man and that of a post presupposes a knowledge of the man and the post, of which the two kinds of tallness are attributes. If there is already a knowledge of the man and the post, there cannot be any doubt about them, for knowledge is the vanquisher of doubt.

2. It is further said that doubt cannot arise either from conflicting testimonies or from the irregularity of perception and non-perception. In the case of conflicting testimonies there is, according to them, a strong conviction on each side. Suppose a disputant says: there is soul. His opponent replies: there is no soul. The disputant and his opponent are quite sure that their respective statements are correct. Hence there is no doubt, but on the contrary there is conviction, in the minds of both.

3. Doubt, they say, does not arise from the irregularity of perception and non-perception, because in the irregularity itself there is regularity. An irregularity may be designated as such with reference to something else, but with reference to itself it is a settled fact. If the irregularity is settled in itself, it is regular and cannot cause doubt. On the other hand, if the irregularity is not settled in itself, it is devoid of its own character and cannot cause doubt.

4. Likewise there is, they say, the chance of an endless doubt owing to the continuity of its cause. Recognition of properties common to many objects is, for instance, a cause of doubt. The common properties continue to exist and hence there will, they say, be no cessation of doubt.

1. In reply we say that doubt does arise from the recognition of common and uncommon properties conjointly. Doubt is not impossible. The recognition of properties common to many objects is certainly a cause of doubt, if there is no reference to the precise characters of the objects. There is indeed a common (non-distinctive) knowledge about a man and a post suggested by the tall object, but there is no precise (distinctive) knowledge about them. Precise knowledge (that is, knowledge of the precise character which distinguishes a man from a post) being absent, doubt must arise. Similar arguments will apply to doubt arising from the recognition of uncommon properties alone. 2. In the case of conflicting testimonies there is certainly a ground for doubt. When a disputant and his opponent make conflicting statements, one is led to believe that both statements are worth consideration, but is unable to penetrate into the precise characters of the statements. Hence though the disputant and his opponent are both confident of their respective contentions, the umpire and the audience are thrown into doubt by their conflicting statements. 3. It has been said that doubt cannot arise from the irregularity of perception and non-perception as the irregularity is settled in itself. This objection is untenable, as the irregularity cannot be concealed by mere verbal tricks. The irregularity though settled in itself does not lose its irregular character until the objects to which it is related are removed. 4. It has been urged that there is the possibility of an endless doubt inasmuch as its cause is continuous. In reply we say that though materials of doubt, such as common properties, etc., continue to exist, we do not always recognize them. Unless there is recognition of the common properties, etc., there cannot be doubt.

(4) Discussion (*vāda*).

One should hold discussions with unenvious¹ persons, such as disciples, preceptors, fellow-students and seekers of the *summum bonum*. In case of a necessity for the search of truth, discussion may be held even without an opposing side. A person desirous of knowledge may submit his views for examination by simply expressing his curiosity for truth without an attempt to establish the views.

(5) Wrangling and Cavil (*jālpa-vitaṇḍā*).

Wranglings and cavils may be employed to keep up our zeal for truth, just as fences of thorny boughs are used to safeguard the growth of seeds. Certain talkative people propound philosophies which are mutually opposed, while others violate all sense of rectitude out of a bias for their own side. Seeing that these people have not attained true knowledge, and are not freed from faults, we may, in our disputation against them, employ wranglings and cavils which do not in themselves produce any profit or deserve any encomium.

¹ The epithet "unenvious" excludes those who do not seek truth but desire

36. TOPICS INCIDENTALLY EXAMINED.

(1) Parts and Whole (*avayava* and *avayavin*).

Some say that *parts* alone are realities and that there is no *whole* behind them. A tree, for instance, is yellow in some parts and green in other parts. If the tree were one whole, then the contradictory qualities of yellowness and greenness could not have belonged to it simultaneously. Hence the parts alone must, according to them, be regarded as real.

In reply Akṣapāda says that nothing would be perceptible if the *whole* were denied. Suppose that the parts alone are real. Then since a part is not of a fixed dimension, it may itself be divided into parts, these latter again into further parts and so on, until we reach the atoms which are the ultimate parts. Now the atoms which possess no bulk are not perceptible. Consequently the thing which is said to consist merely of parts is also not perceptible. We must therefore admit a whole beyond its parts. Moreover, if there were no whole, we could not have held or pulled an entire thing by holding or pulling a part of it. We say 'one jar,' 'one man,' etc. This use of 'one' would vanish if there were no whole. If any one were to say that just as a single soldier or a single tree may not be seen from a distance, but an army consisting of numerous soldiers or a forest consisting of numerous trees is seen, so a single atom may not be perceptible, but a jar consisting of numerous atoms will be perceptible, and these atoms being called 'one jar,' the use of 'one' will not vanish. The analogy, we reply, does not hold good because the soldiers and trees possess bulk and so are perceptible, whereas the atoms do not possess bulk and are individually not perceptible. It is absurd to conclude that because soldiers and trees are perceptible in the mass, atoms too are perceptible in the mass; to avoid this conclusion we must admit the existence of a whole beyond the parts.

(2) Atoms (*paramāṇu*).

In the Nyāya-sūtra 4-2-16, it is stated that there can never come a time when there will be an utter annihilation of things. Even at the dissolution of the world (*pralaya*), things will continue to exist in the form of atoms. An atom is that which is not divisible into parts: it is a whole without parts. The view that an atom cannot be devoid of parts because it is pervaded by ether (*ākāśa*) in its inner and outer sides, is not tenable because the terms "innerside" and "outerside" are not applicable to an eternal atom which is altogether different from an ordinary thing a constituent of which encloses, or is enclosed by, another constituent of it. It is no doubt admitted that the ether is all-pervading, but it neither obstructs anything nor is repelled by anything, so that the question of inner side or outer side does not arise at all. Those who argue that an atom must possess parts because it can come in conjunction with another atom only in some of its parts, should bear in mind that their argument gives rise to

a *regressus ad infinitum* which is not proper. If an atom is held to be divisible into parts, those parts again must be supposed to be divisible into further parts. This would lead to the fallacy of an infinite regression which should be avoided. A thing although repeatedly divided and subdivided does not lose itself. There remains a particle called *atom* which does not perish even at the dissolution of the world.

[According to commentators two atoms make a *dvyanuka* (dyad or binary compound) and three *dvyanukas* make a *tryasarenu* (triad or a tertiary compound). All things which we perceive are composed of *tryasarenu*s.]

(3) The Three Times (*kāla*).

There is, some¹ say, no *present* time, because when a thing falls we can know only the time through which it has fallen, and the time through which it will fall. When a fruit, for instance, falls from a tree we recognize only the past time taken up by the fruit in traversing a certain distance, and the future time which will be taken up by the fruit in traversing the remaining distance. There is no intervening distance which the fruit can traverse at the so-called present time. Hence they say there is no present time.

In reply we say that there is the present time, as the past and future times are related to it. The past is that which precedes the present, and the future is that which succeeds it. Hence if there is no present time, there cannot be any past or future time. If the past is defined as that which is not the future and the future is defined as that which is not the past, the definition would involve a fallacy of mutual dependency. Hence we must admit the present time to which the past and future are related.

The present time is indicated by the very existence of things. If the present time is denied, there cannot be any perception which can arise only in connection with a thing which is present in time; and in the absence of perception all kinds of knowledge would be impossible. Hence the present time is established by the principle of *reductio ad absurdum*. The present time is indicated by what continues, the past by what has been finished, and the future by what has not yet begun.

(4) Words and their Meanings (*śabdārtha*).

Some say that there is a fixed connection between words and their meanings. A particular word bears a particular meaning; e.g. the word 'cow' denotes the animal of that name, but it does not denote a horse, a jar or any other thing. There is therefore a fixed connection between a word and its meaning.

¹ The sūtras from 2-1-39 to 2-1-43 which contain a critical examination of the present time (*vartamāna*) seem to have been interpolated into the Nyāya-sūtra by Vātsyāyana inasmuch as the objections raised therein emanated most probably

In reply we say that it is through convention that the meaning of a word is understood. The connection between a word and its meaning is conventional and not natural. The connection is fixed by man and is not inseparable. Moreover there is no universal uniformity of connection between a word and its meaning. The *ṛsis*, *āryas* and *mlecchas* use the same word in different senses, e.g. the word "yava" is used by the *āryas* to denote a long-awned grain, but by the *mlecchas* to denote a panic-seed. So the connection between a word and its meaning is not everywhere uniform.

(5) The Veda.¹

Some say that the Veda is unreliable, as it involves the faults of untruth, contradiction and tautology. For instance, the Veda affirms that a son is produced when a sacrifice for the sake of a son (*putrestī*) is performed. It often happens that a son is not produced though the sacrifice has been performed. Besides, there are many contradictory injunctions in the Veda, e.g. it declares "let the oblation be offered after sun-rise," "let the oblation be offered before sun-rise," etc., and at the same time "the oblation offered after sun-rise, is eaten up by the brown dog," "the oblation offered before sun-rise, is eaten up by the motley-coloured dog," etc. There is also tautology such as "let the first hymn be recited thrice," "let the last hymn be recited thrice," etc.

In reply we say that the so-called untruth in the Veda comes from some defect in the act, operator or materials of sacrifice. Defect in the act consists in sacrificing not according to rules, defect in the operator (officiating priest) consists in his not being a learned man, and the defect in the materials consists in the fuel being wet, butter being not fresh, remuneration to the officiating priest being small, etc. A son is sure to be produced as a result of performing the sacrifice, if these defects are avoided. There is therefore no untruth in the Veda. Neither is there any contradiction. Let a person offer the oblation before sun-rise or after sun-rise, if he has agreed upon doing it at either of the times. Two alternative courses being open to him, he can perform the sacrifice before sun-rise or after sun-rise according to his agreement or desire. The deprecatory texts, that the oblations are eaten up by dogs, indicate that the time agreed upon should not be altered. The Veda cannot be charged with the fault of contradiction if it enjoins such alternative courses. There may be re-inculcation in the Veda, but there is no tautology in it. Tautology means a useless repetition, which never occurs in the Veda. If there is any repetition there, it is either for completing a certain number of syllables, or for explaining a matter briefly expressed, etc. "Let the first hymn be recited thrice," "let the last hymn be recited thrice"—such instances embody a useful repetition.

¹ It is interesting to note how the Nyāya-śāstra defends the Veda from the

The two main divisions of the Veda are: (1) hymn (*samhitā*), and (2) ritual (*Brāhmaṇa*). The ritual portion admits of three sub-divisions, viz. the injunctive (*vidhi*), descriptive (*arthavāda*), and re-inculcative (*anuvāda*).

The principle of classification of the Vedic speech.

An injunction (*vidhi*), which may be either mandatory or permissive, is that which exhorts us to adopt a certain course of action [as the means of attaining good], e.g. "let him, who desires paradise, perform the fire-sacrifice." This is a mandatory injunction.

Description (*arthavāda*) is of four kinds, viz. valedictory, deprecatory, illustrative, and narrative. The valedictory (*stuti*) is a speech which persuades us to adopt a certain course of action, by extolling its consequences, e.g. "By the Sarvaḥit sacrifice gods conquered all; there is nothing so efficacious as the Sarvaḥit sacrifice, it enables us to obtain everything and to vanquish every one, etc." Here there is no direct command on us, but the Sarvaḥit sacrifice is extolled in such a way that we are persuaded to perform it. The deprecatory (*nindā*) is a speech which persuades us to adopt a certain course of action, by acquainting us with the undesirable consequences of neglecting it, e.g. "one who performs any other sacrifice neglecting the Jyotiṣṭoma falls into a pit and decays there." Here one is persuaded to perform the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice the neglect of which brings about evil consequences. The illustrative (*parakṛti*) is the mentioning of a course of action, the obstruction of which by some particular person led to bad consequences, e.g. on presenting oblation one is to take the fat first and the sprinkled butter afterwards, but alas! the Caraka priests first took the sprinkled butter which was, as it were, the life of fire, etc. Here the foolish course of action adopted by the Caraka priests should serve as a warning to other priests who ought to avoid the course. The narrative (*purāṅkalpa*) is the mentioning of some thing as commendable on account of its antiquity, e.g. "By this the Brāhmaṇas recited the Sāma hymn, etc."

Re-inculcation (*anuvāda*) is the repetition of that which has been enjoined by an injunction. Re-inculcation may consist of the repetition of an injunction or the repetition of that which has been enjoined. The first is called verbal re-inculcation and the second objective re-inculcation. "Non-eternal, not eternal" this is a verbal repetition. "Non-eternal, possessing the character of extinction"—this is an objective repetition.

The Vedas are reliable like the spells or mantras and the medical science, because of the reliability of their authors. Spells counteract poison, etc., and the medical science prescribes correct remedies.

The reliability of the Veda established.

The authority which belongs to them is derived from their authors, the sages, who were reliable persons. The sages themselves were reliable because (1) they had an intuitive perception of truths, (2) they had great kindness for living beings, and (3) they had the desire of communicating their knowledge of the truths. The authors (lit. the

the medical science Hence like the spells and medical science the Vedas must be accepted as authoritative.

(6) Sound (*śabda*).

There are conflicting opinions about the nature of sound. Some say that sound is a quality of ether and that it is all-pervading, eternal and capable of being manifested. Others say that sound like smell, etc., is a quality of the substance in which it abides, and is capable of being manifested. Sound is said by others to be a quality of ether and to be subject to production and destruction like knowledge. Others again say that sound arises from the concussion of elements, requires no abode, and is subject to production and destruction.

Sound, according to the Nyāya-sūtra 2-1-14, is non-eternal because (1) it has a beginning, i.e. arises from the concussion of two hard substances, e.g. an axe and a tree, etc.; (2) is cognised by one of our senses (the ear); and (3) is spoken of as possessing the properties of an artificial object, e.g. is described as grave, acute, etc.

Some say that the so-called beginning of a sound is merely a manifestation of it, that is, sound does not really begin, but is merely manifested by the concussion of two hard substances. In reply it is said that the concussion does not manifest but produce sound. You cannot suppose the concussion to be the manifester and sound the manifested, unless you can prove that the concussion and sound are simultaneous. But the proof is impossible as a sound is heard at a great distance, even after the concussion of the substances has ceased. So sound is not manifested by the concussion. It is however legitimate to suppose that sound is produced by the concussion, and that one sound produces another sound, and so on until the last sound is heard at a great distance.

Some say that it is not true that whatever has a beginning is non-eternal. Look! the non-existence (destruction) of a jar, which began when the jar was broken, is eternal (indestructible). In reply it is said that, that which is really eternal belongs to three times. But the non-existence (destruction) of a jar does not belong to three times as it was impossible before the jar was broken. Hence the non-existence (destruction) of a jar, which has a beginning, is not really eternal.

Whatever is cognised by our senses is non-eternal this is also said to be an unsound argument. When, for instance, we perceive a jar, we perceive also its genus (i.e. jar-ness) which is eternal. In reply we say that not all things cognised by our senses are non-eternal, but only those that belong to a certain genus.¹ A jar, for instance, is non-eternal because we perceive it as

¹ The aphorism (Nyāya-sūtra 2-1-17) may also be interpreted as follows:— Sound is non-eternal because it is inferred to advance in a series. We do not say that whatever is cognised by our sense is non-eternal: our intention is to say that

belonging to the genus jar-ness. But jar-ness which is cognised by our sense is not non-eternal, because it does not belong to a further genus named jar-ness-ness. Similarly sound is non-eternal, because it is cognised by our sense as belonging to the genus called sound-ness.

It is said that the attribution of the properties of an artificial object to sound does not make it non-eternal. Artificial properties attributed to sound. It is often alleged that we attribute to eternal things the properties of an artificial object, e.g. we speak of the extension of ether as we speak of the extension of a blanket. In reply we say that when we speak of the extension of ether, we really mean that the extension belongs to an artificial thing which has for its substratum the ether. Hence we do not in reality attribute to eternal things the properties of artificial objects. Sound is in fact non-eternal, because neither do we perceive it before utterance, nor do we notice any veil which covers it. If sound were eternal it would be perceived before utterance. You cannot say that sound really existed before utterance, but was covered by some veil, for we do not notice any such veil.

Some say that sound should be regarded as eternal because there is traditionary teaching. A teacher delivers, in the form of a lecture, certain sounds which are found to be repeated by his pupil after a long interval. This repetition, according to them, would be impossible if the sounds were perishable. In reply it is pointed out that the sounds, which have not been audible after their delivery by the teacher, are reproduced or imitated by his pupil. On the ground of the inaudibility, reproducibility and imitability, the sounds must be pronounced to be non-eternal.

Sound has not for its substratum any of the tangible substances, viz. earth, water, fire, and air. Its substratum is ether which pervades all space. Hence sound is produced even in a vacuum which is devoid of smell, taste, colour, and touch—the qualities of tangible substances. The reason why the sound produced in a vacuum does not reach our ears, is that there is no air to carry it. The fact of having an intangible substance for its substratum, is no bar to the sound being non-eternal. Sound, though its substratum is the intangible ether, is produced by the contact of two hard substances. One sound produces another sound, and so on until the last sound ceases owing to some obstacle. Sound is therefore non-eternal.

(7) Word (*pada*).

The letters ended with an affix¹ form a word (*pada*) which is of two kinds, viz. a noun, and a verb. In assimilating an affix the letters may be transformed. The transformation takes place by substitution

things cognised by our sense as advancing in a series are non-eternal. Sound is cognised in that manner (i.e. sound advances like a wave), and hence sound is non-eternal.

¹ The indeclinables (*avyaya*) which drop their affixes are also words (Pāṇini 2-4-82).

(*ādeśa*), and not by modification (*vikāra*), e.g. in *Uro + ti* (*bhū + ti = bhavati*), *o* vacates a place which is occupied by its substitute *av*.

What does a word signify? A word presents to us an *individual*, a *form* and a *genus* (type). The word 'cow'

What is expressed by a word—a genus, an individual or a form?

reminds us of an individual (a four-footed animal), its form (limbs) and its genus or type (cowhood or cow-type). Now, it is asked what

is the real signification of a word—an individual, a form or a genus (type)? Some say that the word denotes an individual, because it is only in respect of individuals that we can make any statement, e.g. "that cow is going"—here "that" can be used only in reference to an individual cow. Others say that the word denotes form by which an entity is recognised, e.g. we use such expressions as 'this is a cow,' and 'this is a horse,' only with reference to the forms of the cow and the horse. Others hold that the word must denote genus (type), for if we did not take genus into consideration the word cow might denote any individual of any kind.

In reply we say that the word signifies all the three, though prominence is given to one of them. For the purpose of distinction the individual is prominent. In order to convey a general notion, pre-eminence is given to the genus (type). In practical concerns much importance is attached to the form. As a fact the word ordinarily presents to us the form, denotes the individual, and connotes the genus (type).

An *individual* (*vyakti*) is that which has a definite form and is the abode of particular qualities. An individual is any substance which is cognised by the senses as a limited abode of colour, taste, smell, touch, weight, solidity, tremulousness, velocity or elasticity.

Individual.

The *form* (*ākṛti*) is that which is called the token of the genus. The genus, cowhood for instance, is recognized by a certain collocation of the dewlap which is a

Form.

form. We cannot recognize the genus of a formless substance

A *genus* or type (*jāti*) is that whose nature is to produce the same conception. Cowhood is a genus (or type) which underlies all cows. Seeing a cow somewhere

Genus.

we acquire a general notion of cows (i.e. derive knowledge of cowhood). This general notion enables us on all subsequent occasions to recognize individual cows.

(8) The eyes (*cakṣuh*).

Some say that the eyes are not two: the conceit of duality arises from the single organ of vision being divided

Are the eyes two?

by the bone of the nose. In reply we say that

the eyes are really two, because the destruction of one does not cause the destruction of the other.

The eye is said by some to be a material substance inasmuch as its function is limited by its contact. A

Is the eye a material substance?

thing is seen when it has contact with the eye, but it is not seen when the eye is not connected.

In other words, the eye, like any other material substance, exercises its

function only in virtue of its contact with things. Others say that if the eye had been a material substance, it could have apprehended only those things which coincided with itself in bulk. But we find it can apprehend things of greater and smaller bulk. So it is contended that the eye is a non-material substance.

In reply we say that though the eye does not coincide with things which are greater or smaller in bulk, yet the rays issuing from the eye reach the things to their entire extent. Hence in spite of the eye being a material substance, there is no impossibility for it to apprehend the great and the small

(9) Intellect (*buddhi*).

Some philosophers¹ [the sāmkyas] maintain that the intellect is permanent as it is capable of recognizing objects. A thing which was known before, is known now as the identical thing. This sort of identifying knowledge is called recognition, which is possible only if the intellect which existed in the past continues also at the present time, that is, if the intellect is permanent. Knowledge which is a function of the intellect is not different from the latter.

Aksapāda opposes them by saying that the intellect, which is an unconscious instrument, cannot recognize objects, recognition being really a function of a conscious agent, the soul. If knowledge were not different from the permanent intellect, then various sorts of knowledge could have as permanent entities existed simultaneously, and there would have been no cessation of knowledge or recognition. Finding the absurdity of such contingencies, we cannot admit the intellect to be a permanent entity and knowledge a function of it.

(10) Memory (*smṛti*).²

Memory (*smṛti*) belongs to the soul which possesses knowledge of the past, present and future. Memory is awakened by such causes as attention, context, exercise, signs, marks, likeness, possession, relation of protector and

¹ Vide Nyāya-sūtra, 3-2-1.

² Compare—The king said: 'In how many ways, Nāgasena, does memory spring up?'

'In sixteen ways, O king. That is to say; by personal experience, as when the Venerable Ānanda, or the devoted woman Khajjuttarā, or any others who had that power, called to mind their previous births—or by outward aid as when others continue to remind one who is by nature forgetful—or by the impression made by the greatness of some occasion, as kings remember their coronation day, or as we remember the day of our conversion—by the impression made by joy, as when one remembers that which gave him pleasure—or by the impression made by sorrow, as when one remembers that which pained him— or from similarity of appearance, as on seeing one like them we call to mind the mother or father or sister or brother, or on seeing a camel or an ox or an ass we call to mind others like them— or by difference of appearance as when we remember that such and such a colour, sound, smell, taste or touch belong to such and such a thing—or by the knowledge of speech, as when one who is by nature forgetful is reminded by others and then himself remembers—or by a sign, as when we recognize a draught bullock by a brand mark or some other sign—or from effort to recollect, as when one by nature

protégé, immediate subsequency, separation, similar employment, opposition excess receipt, intervention, pleasure and pain, desire and aversion, fear, entreaty, action, affection, and merit and demerit.

Attention—enables us to fix our mind on an object by restraining it from wandering away to any other object.

Context—is the connection of subjects such as proof (*pramāna*), that which is to be proved (*prameya*), etc.

Exercise—is the constant repetition which confirms an impression.

Sign—may be (1) connected, (2) inseparable (intimate), (3) correlated, or (4) opposite, e.g. smoke is a sign of fire with which it is connected; a horn is a sign of a cow from which it is inseparable; an arm is a sign of a leg with which it is correlated; and the non-existent is a sign of the existent by the relation of opposition.

Mark—a mark on the body of a horse awakens the memory of the stable in which it was kept

Likeness—as the image of Devadatta drawn on a board reminds us of the real person.

Possession—such as a property awakens the memory of the owner and *vice versa*

Protector and Protégé—such as a king and his attendants.

Immediate subsequency—as sprinkling the rice and pounding it in a wooden mortar

Separation—as of husband and wife

Similar employment—as of a fellow-disciple

Opposition—as between a snake and ichneumon.

Excess—awakening the memory of that which exceeded.

Receipt—reminding us of one from whom some thing has been or will be received.

Intervention—such as a sheath reminding us of the sword.

Pleasure and pain—reminding us of that which caused them.

Desire and aversion—reminding us of one whom we liked or hated.

Fear—reminding us of that which caused it, e.g. death.

Entreaty—reminding us of that which was wanted or prayed for.

forgetful is made to recollect by being urged again and again: "try and think of it"—or by calculation, as when one knows by the training he has received in writing, that such and such a letter ought to follow after such and such a one—or by arithmetic, as when accountants do set sums by their knowledge of figures—or by learning by heart, as the repeaters of the scriptures by their skill in learning by heart recollect so much—or by meditation, as when a Bhikkhu calls to mind his temporal states in days gone by—by reference to a book, as when kings calling to mind a previous regulation, say: "Bring the book here." and remind themselves out of that—or by a pledge, as when, at the sight of goods deposited, a man recollects (the circumstances under which they were pledged)—or by association, as when one remembers a thing because one has seen it, or a sound because one has heard it, or an odour because one has smelt it, or a touch because one has felt it, or a concept because one has perceived it."

'Very good, Nāgasena!'

(The questions of King Milinda—Book III, chapter 7, pp. 122-123, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, S.B.E. Series).

Action—such as a chariot reminding us of the charioteer.

Affection—as recollecting a son or wife.

Merit and demerit—through which there is recollection of the causes of joy and sorrow experienced in a previous life.

(11) The fixed signification of numbers ¹ (*samkhyāikānta*).

Some say that there is only *one* thing, viz. Brahma. Others say that things are *two*, viz. the eternal and non-eternal. Some find the things to be *three*, viz. the knower, the knowable and knowledge; while others treat of *four* things, viz. the agent of knowledge, means of knowledge, object of knowledge and act of knowledge. In this way philosophers indulge themselves in a *fixed number* of things. Akṣapāda opposes them by saying that the fixity of number cannot be established. In establishing the fixed number, there must be a reason. Now is the reason included in the number or excluded from it, or identical with it? If the reason is included in the number, it is as unfixed as the number itself. If the reason is excluded from the number, the fixity of number must be abandoned. If the number and the reason are identical, there will remain no means to establish the fixity of number.

¹ This doctrine, which occurs in the Nyāya-sūtra, 4-1-41, throws some light on the dialogue between Astāvakra and Vandin related in the Mahābhārata, Vana-parva, chaps. 132-134 (*vide ante*). It bears an analogy to the novice's question (Kumāra-pañha) which runs as follows:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. एकं नाम किं ?
What is one ? | 1. सखे सत्ता आहारद्वितिका ।
Food is a thing on which all animals
subsist. |
| 2. द्वे नाम किं ?
What are two ? | 2. नामस्य रूपस्य ।
Name and form. |
| 3. त्रीणि नाम किं ?
What are three ? | 3. तिस्रो वेदना ।
Three kinds of feeling. |
| 4. चत्वारि नाम किं ?
What are four ? | 4. चत्वारि अरियसत्तानि ।
The four noble truths. |
| 5. पञ्च नाम किं ?
What are five ? | 5. पञ्चुपादानकुसुमा ।
The five constituent aggregates, etc.,
etc. |

(Khuddakapāṭha of the Pāli suttā Pīṭaka).

CHAPTER III

Commentaries on the Nyāya-sūtra.

36a. NATURE OF THE COMMENTARIES.

In the previous chapter there has been given a summary of Nyāya-sūtra, the fundamental work on Nyāya Philosophy of the second century A. D. The Nyāya-sūtra was not followed, for several hundred years, by any other original treatises on Nyāya from the pen of the Brāhmanic writers. But these writers brought out numerous commentaries which served not only to elucidate and develop the Nyāya-sūtra, but to review critically, in the light of the sūtra, the various theories of contemporaneous philosophies. The commentaries are therefore store-houses of valuable information on Philosophy and Logic. It is not possible to give here a complete analysis of the commentaries, but a passing reference to some of their leading topics will be made in the following pages.

37. VĀTSYĀYANA, AUTHOR OF THE NYĀYA-BHĀṢYA (ABOUT 400 A.D.).

The earliest commentary extant on the Nyāya-sūtra is the Nyāya-bhāṣya by Vātsyāyana¹ or Pakṣila Svāmī.² In it there are references to previous logicians designated as *etce* (some), *kecit* (certain), or *anye* (others), who were perhaps authors of commentaries³ which have not come down to us. The Nyāya-bhāṣya

¹ The name Vātsyāyana occurs in the colophon of Uddyotakara's Nyāya-vārtika thus:—

यदक्षपादप्रतिमो भाष्यं वात्स्यायनो जगौ ।

अकारि महत्तल्लस्य भारद्वाजिन वार्तिकम् ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika, Book V, Chap. II, last line).

² Vācaspati Miśra mentions the name Pakṣila Svāmin thus:—

अथ भगवता अक्षपादेन नि प्रेषसहेती शाले प्रणीते व्युत्पादिते च भगवता पक्षिल
स्वामिना किमपरमवशिष्यते यदर्थं वार्तिकारम्भ इति

(Nyāyavārtika-tātparyatikā, opening lines).

³ Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-2-9, criticises, in connection with his definition of *kālātīta*, the opinion of a previous commentator by saying—

अवयव विपर्ययसं वचनं न सूचार्थः ।

was separated from the Nyāya-sūtra by at least two centuries, as we find in it explanations of certain terms which became almost unintelligible at the time.¹

Vātsyāyana must have flourished before Dignāga (q v.), as the latter criticises him in connection with his explanation of the mind (*manas*) as a sense-organ,² and possibly also before Vasubandhu whose theory of syllogism, so antagonistic to that of Akṣapāda, has not been controverted, nay even referred to, by Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya.

The Nyāya-sūtra, as already observed, contains certain aphorisms which refer to the doctrines expounded in such well-known Buddhist works as the Mādhyamika-sūtra, Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, etc. Vātsyāyana followed Nāgārjuna and the Laṅkāvatāra. These aphorisms do not constitute an essential part of the Nyāya-sūtra, and were evidently interpolated into it before or during the time of Vātsyāyana³ who wrote *Bhāṣya*, commentary, on it. Vātsyāyana must therefore have flourished after the composition of the Buddhist works, the doctrines of which were interpolated into the Nyāya-sūtra.

Hence the earliest limit of his age is A.D. 300, when the Mādhyamika-sūtra and Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra are supposed to have been composed. As Vātsyāyana who preceded them could not have lived after the latter date. Taking the mean between the earliest and the latest dates we may approximately fix the date of Vātsyāyana⁴ at about 400 A.D.

Vātsyāyana, in extolling the *Nyāya-sāstra* (called the *Ān-vikṣikī*), quotes a verse from the *Artha-sāstra*⁵ of Kauṭilya (about

¹ Dr. H. Jacobi observes:—When commenting on Nyāya-sūtra, 1-1-5, Vātsyāyana gives two different explanations of the terms *pūrvavat*, *śesavat*, and *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam*, the names of the three subdivisions of inference, showing thereby that the meaning of these important terms had become doubtful at his time. (The dates of the philosophical sūtras, p. 6, Journal of the American Oriental Society for 1911).

² Vide Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-4; and Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter I.

³ Dr. Hermann Jacobi observes:—The text of the sūtras as we have them is at best that which the oldest scholiast chose to comment upon, and it cannot be safely traced further back—J.A.O.S., for 1911, the dates of philosophical sūtras, pp. 2-3.

⁴ Vide my “Vātsyāyana, author of the Nyāya-bhāṣya” in the *Indica Antiquary* for April 1915.

⁵

वैश्वानरीच्छिकी प्रमाणादिपदाटैर्विभक्त्या

“प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्म्मणाम् ।

आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्त्तिता”

(Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-1, and Artha-sāstra, chap. II).

327 B.C.), and in giving an example of "the incoherent" (*apār-
shaka*) extracts a sentence from the Mahābhāṣya¹ of Patañjali
(150 B.C.).

Vātsyāyana, also designated as Drāmila² (same as Drāviḍa),
was in all probability a native of Drāviḍa
Birthplace of Vātsyā- (the Deccan), of which the capital was Kāñ-
yana. cīpura, modern Conjeeveram. The title
"Svāmin"³ appended to "Paṅṣila" in the name "Paṅṣila Svā-
min" also points to the same country as his birthplace. We
may add that Kāñcī was a famous centre not only of Brāhmanic
learning, but also of Buddhist culture, and it was here that
Dignāga (500 A.D.) and Dharmapāla (600 A.D.) and other Buddhist
logicians lived and flourished. It may be of some interest to note
that Vātsyāyana⁴ makes a reference to the boiling of rice which
is a staple food of the people of Drāviḍa. This Vātsyāyana who
lived about 400 A.D., when Candra Gupta II, called Vikramāditya,
was king of Magadha, should not be confounded with the sage
or sages of that name, who compiled the Artha-śāstra and the Kāma-
sūtra.

38. VĀTSYĀYANA CRITICISES NĀGĀRJUNA.

The sūtras 4-1-39 and 4-1-40 which seem to have been, as
previously observed, interpolated into the
The Mādhyamika doc- Nyāya-sūtra⁵ deal with the Buddhist doc-
trine of inter-relation, trine of inter-relation (*apekṣā* or *pratyaya*)
apekṣā or *pratyaya* criti- evidently taken from the Mādhyamika-
cised. sūtra⁶ (Chapters I and XV) of Nāgārjuna who flourished about

1 इमदादिमानि बहुपुत्राः
कुक्षमजाजिनं पल्लपिच्छ ।
(Nyāya-bhāṣya, 5-1-10, and Mahābhāṣya, 1-1-3).

2 Jaina Hemacandra supposes Drāmila to be another name for Vātsyāyana:—
वात्सायनो मङ्गलाग कौटिल्यस्यकाव्यजो
इमिलः पक्षिलस्त्री विष्णुमुनीकुक्षय सः ॥
(Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi).

Vātsyāyana would not have been called Drāmila, had he been a native of Vata, the capital of which was Kauśāmbī near Allahabad.

³ Svāmin is a common surname in Madras. In Pāli books, however, we read of a sage named Vacchagotta or Vātsyāyana living in Ayodhyā.

⁴ Nyāya-bhāṣya, 2-1-40, edited by Jaya Narayan Tarkapañcānana, Bibliotheca Indica series.

⁵ The Nyāya-sūtra of Gotama, translated by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, S.B.H. Series, Allahabad.

6 कक्षादिष्वतिरेकेष यथा कुक्षो न विद्यते ।
वात्सादिष्वतिरेकेष तथा रूपं न विद्यते ॥
(Mādhyamika-sūtra, Chapter I, verse 3, p. 19, B.T.S. edition, Calcutta).

250-300 A D. In the Bhāṣya on the sūtras, Vātsyāyana summarises the doctrine as follows —

Some say that things are not self-existent as they exist merely in relation to one another. A thing is called short only in relation to another thing which is long, and *vice versa*. The long and short are inter-related, but not self-existent.

In the same Bhāṣya, Vātsyāyana controverts the doctrine on the ground that it is self-destructive. If the long and short are not self-existent, it will be impossible to establish a relation between them, and in the absence of all relations the doctrine of inter-relation will fall to the ground.

The sūtras 4-2-31, 4-2-32 and 4-2-33, of the Nyāya-sūtra,¹ seem also to have been interpolations. In the Bhāṣya on those sūtras, Vātsyāyana criticises the doctrine, evidently taken from the Mādhyamika-sūtra,² according to which our means and objects of knowledge are as unreal as things appearing in a dream or exhibited in jugglery or as the city of the celestial choirs or as a mirage.³

न सभावः स्वभावस्य युक्त प्रत्ययवैतुभिः ।

स्वभावः कृतको नाम भविष्यति पुनः कथम् ॥

(Mādhyamika-sūtra, Chap. XV, p. 93, B.T.S. edition, Calcutta).

न स्वभावसिद्धिरापेक्षिकत्वात् ।

(Nyāya-sūtra, 4-1-39).

व्याहृतत्वाद्युक्तम्

(Nyāya-sūtra, 4-1-40, S.B.H. series, Allahabad).

1

स्वप्नविषयाभिमानवदद्ये प्रमाणप्रमेयाभिमाने ॥ 4-2-31

मायागन्धर्वनगरं नृगल्लिखिकावदा ॥ 4-2-32

(Nyāya-sūtra translated into English by Satya Chanda Vidyabhusana, S.B.H. Series, Allahabad)

2

यथा माया यथा स्वप्नो गन्धर्वनगरं यथा ।

तथोत्पादस्तथा स्यात् तथा भङ्ग उदाहृतम् ॥

(Mādhyamika-sūtra, chapter VII).

यथैव गन्धर्वपुरं मरीचिका यथैव मायासुपिनं यथैव ।

स्वभावशून्या तु निमित्तभावना तथोपमानं जानत सर्वधर्मान् ॥

(Quoted in the Mādhyamika-vṛtti, p. 57, B.T. Society's edition, Calcutta).

³ As explained in the Buddhist works (such as the Mādhyamika-sūtra, Laṅkāvatāra sūtra, Dvyardha-śatikā, etc.). The doctrine of inter-relation *pratyaya* or *apeksā*) leads to that of voidness (*śūnyatā*). Compare—

यः प्रतीत्य संसृतपादः शून्यतां तां प्रचक्षते ।.....

यश्च स्वभावेनानुत्पादो भावानां सा शून्यता ।

यः प्रत्ययैर्जायति सञ्जजातो

न तस्य उत्पादः स्वभावतोऽस्ति ।

Nāgārjuna in his *Upāyakausalāya-sūtra*, chapter I, says that a thesis can be established through a reason and an example (*udāharana*), which may be either affirmative or negative. A syllogism, according to him, consists of three members and not of five, the last two members, viz application (*upanaya*) and conclusion (*nigamana*) being superfluous and not better than “analogous rejoinders” (*jātyuttara*).

Vātsyāyana¹ in his *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, 1-1-39, answers these objections as follows:—

The application (*upanaya*) and conclusion (*nigamana*) are essential parts of a syllogism inasmuch as they serve on the strength of the general principle involved in the example, to confirm the reason and reassert decisively the proposition which, when first advanced, was of a doubtful character. After an invariable relation

यः प्रत्ययाधीन स शून्य उक्तो

यः शून्यतां जानाति सोऽप्रमत्त ॥ इति ॥

तथाचार्यलङ्कारवतारे — स्वभावानुवृत्तिं सन्धाय महामते सर्वधर्मा शून्या इति मया दर्शिता इति ॥ इदंश्रुतिकायां शून्याः सर्वधर्मा नि स्वभावयोगेन ॥ इति ॥

(Mādhyamika vṛtti, Chap. XXIV, pp. 184-185, Calcutta Buddhist Text Society's edition).

एव शून्यमुपादानमुपादाता च सर्वश ।

प्रज्ञसते च शून्येन कथं शून्यस्तथागत ॥

(Mādhyamika vṛtti, Chap. XXII, p. 160, Calcutta Buddhist Text Society's edition).

The doctrine of voidness (*śūnya-vāda*) flourished between 200 A.D. and 500 A.D. Compare Dr. L. Sual's *Filosofia Indiana*, p. 8.

¹ Vātsyāyana observes:—

उपनयनसाम्प्रतरेण साधेऽनुपबन्धुत साधको धर्मो नाथे साधयेत् । निगमनाभावे वानभि-
व्यक्तसम्बन्धानां प्रतिज्ञादीनामेकार्थेन प्रवर्त्तन तथेति प्रतिपादनं करोति . . . न चेतस्यां हेतू-
दाहरणपरिशुद्धौ सत्यां साधकवैधर्म्याभ्यां प्रत्यवस्थानस्य विकल्पात् जातिनिग्रहस्थानवच्छेद
प्रकमते, अथवस्थाप्य खलु साध्यसाधनभावम् उदाहरणे जातिवादी प्रत्यवतिष्ठते यवस्थिते तु
खलु धर्म्यो साध्यसाधनभावे इत्यान्तस्ते ष्टयमात्रे साधनभूतस्य धर्मस्य हेतुत्वंनोपमानं न
साधकमानस्य न वैधर्म्यमावस्य वेति

(Nyāya bhāṣya, 1-1-39, pp 34-35, published under the name of Nyāya-darśana, Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta).

Uddyotakara too in his *Nyāya-vārtika*, 1-1-39, cites the opinion of a certain sage who held that the application (*upanaya*) and conclusion (*nigamana*) were not separate members of a syllogism, as they served no purpose different from that of the reason and the proposition:—

उपनयनविगमने नावयवाकरे स्वर्थाविधिमात् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-39, p. 140, edited by M M. Vindhyaesvari Prasāda, in the Bibliotheca Indica series).

The sage referred to was very probably Nāgārjuna. It is however to be noted that neither Vātsyāyana nor Uddyotakara mentions Nāgārjuna by name.

between the reason (middle term) and the predicate (major term) has been proved in the example, there is no occasion for an opponent to say that the application (*upanaya*) is a mere analogous rejoinder, because it is based not on a mere similarity or dissimilarity indicated by its particle "so" or "not so," but on the general principle established by the example.

39. VĀTSYĀYANA CRITICISES OTHER DOCTRINES OF THE BUDDHISTS.

Vijñāna-vāda—idealism

The sūtras 4-2-26 and 4-2-27, which seem to have been interpolated into the Nyāya-sūtra,¹ deal with the Yogācāra doctrine of *vijñāna*, knowledge, criticised. The Buddhist doctrine of the reality of knowledge (*vijñāna*) alone, evidently taken from the Lankāvatāra-sūtra,² chapters II and X. In the Nyāya-bhāṣya, 4-2-26, Vātsyāyana³ summarises the Buddhist doctrine as follows:—

Some say that things do not possess a reality independent of our thoughts just as a web does not possess a reality indepen-

¹ Vātsyāyana seems here to have referred to the Lankāvatāra-sūtra.

बुद्ध्या विवेचनासु भवानां याथात्मज्ञानुपलब्धिसत्त्वपकर्षणे पदसद्भाषानुपलब्धिवत् तदनुपलब्धिः ॥

Nyāya-bhāṣya, 4-2-26, translated by Satya Chandra Vidyabhusana, S.B.H. Series, Allahabad).

² बुद्ध्या विविच्यमानानां स्वभावो नावधार्यते ।

यस्माद् अलभित्वास्तु ज्ञेयं स्वभावाच्च देहिताः ॥

(Lankāvatāra-sūtra, chap. II, p. 50, and chapter XI, p. 115, of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

ज्ञेयं तस्यैव यत्कश्चिन्मन्वते ।

यत्तु तस्यैव यत्कश्चिन्मन्वते ।

तस्यैव तस्यैव यत्कश्चिन्मन्वते ।

तस्यैव तस्यैव यत्कश्चिन्मन्वते ॥

(Bksh-gyur, Mdo, ca, folio 150, also 253).

³ The Nyāya sūtras, 4-2-26 and 4-2-27, may be interpreted in such a way that they refer to the Mādhyamika philosophy rather than to the Yogācāra. In fact Dr. H. Jacobi J.A.O.S. for 1911, p. 29, maintains that the Yogācāra or *Vijñāna-vāda* did not commence until the 5th century A.D. when Asanga lived. But we should not forget that Māstreyanātha was a great expounder of *Vijñāna vāda* about 400 A.D., and that there is an exposition of it in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra about 300 A.D. I therefore conclude that though Akṣapāda (150 A.D.) was not conversant with the Yogācāra or *Vijñāna vāda*, Vātsyāyana (about 400 A.D.) knew the doctrine and criticised it in his Nyāya-bhāṣya, 4-2-26, 4-2-27 and 3-2-11. Dr. Sher-batski on the authority of Vācaspati and Vātsyāyana observes that the Nyāya-sūtra, 4-2-26, is directed against the school of the *Vijñāna-vādins* (J.A.O.S.

dent of its threads. Hence it is our thoughts alone, they say, that are real, the external things are all unreal.

Vātsyāyana controverts this Buddhist doctrine by saying that it is self-destructive, because if things are capable of being separated from our thoughts they cannot be unreal and on the other hand if things are unreal they are incapable of being separated from our thoughts. The holder of the doctrine commits, according to Vātsyāyana, a contradiction by saying that things are unreal, and at the same time by going on to separate them from our thoughts.

Kṣaṇika-vāda—the Theory of Impermanence.

The sūtra 3-2-11. which refers to the doctrine of momentariness (*kṣaṇikatva*) as explained in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra, etc., was evidently interpolated by Vātsyāyana into the Nyāya-sūtra.¹

The doctrine of momentariness, *kṣaṇika-vāda*, criticised

in the Nyāya-sūtra.¹ In his *Bhāṣya*—commentary—on

the sūtra, Vātsyāyana cites the opinion of *kṣaṇik-vādins* according to whom all entities are momentary, as they exist for a moment only. We feel the momentariness of entities on seeing their growth and decay which imply production and destruction.

Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya, 3-2-12, 3-2-13, controverts the doctrine of momentariness by saying that there is no absolute certainty for an entity to be replaced by another entity after the lapse of a moment, and that there is a connecting link between the origination of an entity and its cessation.²

40. VĀTSYĀYANA'S EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN DOCTRINES.

A Syllogism of Ten Members.

Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-32, alludes to certain logicians according to whom a syllogism consisted of ten members as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Proposition (<i>pratijñā</i>).—This hill is fiery. | 2. Reason (<i>hetu</i>).—Because it is smoky. |
| Five ordinary members | 3. Example (<i>udāharana</i>).—Whatever is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen. |

¹ स्फटिकेऽपि अपरापरोत्पत्ते उष्णिकत्वाद् अग्नीनामहेतुः । 3-2-11.

निश्चयहेत्वभावाद् यथादर्शनमध्यनुष्ठा । 3-2-12.

नोत्पत्तिविनाशकारणोपलब्धे । 3-2-13.

(Nyāya-sūtra, pp 86-87, edited and translated by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana. S.B.H. Series, Allahabad).

² Vide the Laṅkāvatāra sūtra, chap. VI, called Kṣaṇika-parivarta, p. 99, Bengal Asiatic Society's MSS

Cf. All is in a state of flux—Heractus.

4. Application (*upanaya*).—So is this hill (smoky).
5. Conclusion (*nigamana*).—Therefore this hill is fiery.
1. (a) Inquirv as to the proposition (*jijñāsā*).—Is this hill fiery in all its parts, or in a particular part?
Five additional members.
2. (a) Questioning the reason (*samśaya*).—That which you call smoke may be nothing but vapour.
3. (a) Capacity of the example to warrant the conclusion (*śakya-prāpti*).—Is it true that smoke is always a concomitant of fire? In a kitchen there are of course both smoke and fire, but in a red-hot iron ball there is no smoke.
4. (a) Purpose for drawing the conclusion (*prayojana*).—Purpose consists in the determination of the true conditions of the hill, in order to ascertain whether it is such that one can approach it, or such that one should avoid it, or such that one should maintain an attitude of indifference towards it.
5. (a) Dispelling all questions (*samśaya-vyudāsa*).—It is beyond all questions that the hill is smoky, and that smoke is an invariable concomitant of fire.

The five additional members serve no doubt to make our cognition clear, but they do not *prove* any thing. Hence they cannot, according to Vātsyāyana, be regarded as essential members or parts of a syllogism.¹

God—Īśvara

Akṣapāda in his Nyāya-sūtra, 4-1-16, casually mentions Īśvara (God) whose nature is described by Vātsyāyana in the Nyāya-bhāṣya 4-1-21, as follows :—

God is a soul specially endowed with qualities. He is freed from misapprehension, carelessness, etc., and is rich with merit, knowledge and concentration. He possesses eight supernatural powers which are the consequences of his merit and concentration. His merit, which conforms to his will, produces merit in each person, and sets the earth and other elements in motion. God is, as it were, the father of all beings. Who can demonstrate the existence of Him who transcends the evidences of perception, inference and scripture?

Emancipation—mokṣa.

In the Nyāya bhāṣya, 1-1-22, there is mention of certain philosophers who maintained that in emancipation there was manifesta-

¹ Here Vātsyāyana refers perhaps to the Jaina syllogism of ten members as illustrated in the Daśavaikālika-niryukti of Bhadrabāhu who, I suppose, was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta II, called Vikramāditya, about 375 A.D. The Jain logician, Anantavīrya, in his commentary on the Nyāyāvātāra, verse 13, says that the best form of syllogism consists of ten parts, the mediocre of five parts and the

tion of eternal pleasure of the soul. They based their view on the ground that human activity being always directed towards the attainment of pleasure, it was natural that the end of such activity was the enjoyment of eternal pleasure. They also relied on the scripture-texts (*upanisads*) which, according to them, declared that absolute pleasure belonged to the soul that attained emancipation.

Vātsyāyana in the Nyāya-bhāṣya, 1-1-22, opposed the above-mentioned philosophers by saying that emancipation or release (*mokṣa*), which was a condition of immortality freed from fear and change, was attended with a total cessation of pain, but there was no cause for production in the emancipated soul of any pleasure which was eternal. He further said that human activity was directed towards the removal of pain and not to the attainment of pleasure, which was invariably mixed up with pain and which could merely bring about bondage of an intricate form. As regards the scripture-texts, these, according to Vātsyāyana, spoke, no doubt, of the essence of soul as being pleasure, but pleasure signified nothing but perfect freedom from pain. Hence emancipation or release was not, according to him, eternal pleasure but an absolute deliverance from pain.

41. UDDYOTAKARA, AUTHOR OF THE Nyāya-vārtika
(ABOUT 635 A.D.).

Uddyotakara was the author of a sub-commentary on the Nyāya-sūtra called the Nyāya-vārtika.¹ The latest date assigned to Uddyotakara. The Vāsavadattā,² an immortal work of the poet Subandhu, mentions Uddyotakara as a rescuer of the Nyāya, while the Vāsavadattā itself is mentioned in the Harṣacarita³ by Bāṇa as a classical work which humbled the pride of all previous poets. The Harṣacarita⁴ describes Bāṇa as a poet who lived at the court of King Śrī Harṣa or Harṣavardhana, and the manner in which the poet introduces himself into the work leaves no room for doubt that he was very young while his patron the king was mature in age and

1 यदक्षपादप्रतिभो भाष्यं वात्स्यायनो जगौ ।

अकारि मन्वन्तस्य भारद्वाजो वार्तिकम् ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika, closing lines).

2 न्यायस्थितिनिबोधोत्तररत्नरूपां बीडसंगतिनिवालङ्कार भूषिणाम् . वासवदत्तां ददर्श

(Vāsavadattā, p. 235, Hal's edition).

3 कवीमानमलङ्कृ दपो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।

शक्तैव पाण्डुवाण्यां मतया कर्णमोक्षरम् ॥

(Harṣa-carita, ucchvāsa 1).

4 (Harṣa-carita, ucchvāsa II, p. 58, Īśvara candra Vidyāsāgara's edition).

experience. King Harṣa reigned in Thāneśvara during the whole of the period (A.D. 629-644) that the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-thsang travelled through India. This leads us to conclude that Bāṇa flourished about A.D. 635, which is the latest date that can be assigned to Uddyotakara.

In the Nyāya-vārtika Uddyotakara mentions a Buddhist treatise on Logic called the Vādaividhi¹ which seems to be only another name for the Vādanyāya by Dharmakīrti. On the other hand Dharmakīrti in his Nyāya-bindu² mentions a śāstra which evidently refers to the Nyāya-vārtika, and a śāstra-kāra who seems to be the same as Uddyotakara. Hence we conclude that Dharmakīrti³ and Uddyotakara were contemporaries who flourished about A.D. 635.

The name Bhāradvāja,⁴ as applied to Uddyotakara, is derived from the family to which he belonged, while he is called Pāsupatācārya⁵ on account of his having been a preceptor of the Pāsupata Śaiva sect.

Nothing is definitely known as to the place where Uddyotakara was born. The only place mentioned by him is Śrughna⁶ which is situated on the Western Jumna canal, 40 miles north of Thāneśvara.⁷ It seems to me that Uddyotakara, while writing

¹ यदपि वादविधौ साध्याभिधानं प्रतिज्ञेति प्रतिष्ठासुखसुखम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, I-33, pp. 121, A.S.B.).

དམ་བཅའ་ཡ་ཡང་སྤྱོད་བྱ་བརྟན་པའི་བྱིང་རྩོམ་པོ།

(Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti in *Bstan-hgyur*, *Ydo*, Ce, fol. 399).

It is reported that Vasubandhu too wrote a treatise called Vādaividhi, which is no longer extant.

² स्वमिति वादिना यत्तदा साधनमाह । एतेन यद्यपि कश्चिच्चक्षते स्मितसाधनमाह ।
नञ्जाज्ञकारेण तस्मिन् धर्मिणि...

(Nyāya-bindu, chap. III, pp. 110-11, Peterson's edition).

³ For the date of Dharmakīrti see my "Uddyotakara, a contemporary of Dharmakīrti" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, for July 1914.

^{4,5} इति श्री परमविभारदाजपाद्मपताचार्य श्रीसद्गुरुश्रोतकरकृतौ न्यायवार्तिके पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, colophon)

⁶ एष पत्वाः सुप्रं मच्छति

(Nyāya-vārtika I-33, p. 113, M.M. Vindhyaśvarī Prasāda Dvivedin's edition)

⁷ It was very probably this route by which Hsuen-thsang reached Śrughna on April 1, A.D. 635. (Vide Beal's *Buddhist Records*, pp. 186-90) Cunningham observes: "The importance of the position [of Śrughna] is shown by the fact that

the Nyāya-vārtika, resided at Thāneśvara which was connected with Śrughna by a high road. It is not unlikely that he received some time in his career patronage at the court of Thāneśvara.

42. UDDYOTAKARA'S CONTROVERSY WITH THE BUDDHISTS.

The main object which prompted Uddyotakara to write his sub-commentary was to oppose Dignāga, His aim was to refute the Buddhist doctrines. Nāgārjuna, and other Buddhist logicians that preceded him. This is evident from the opening lines of the Nyāya-vārtika in which he says: "Akṣa-pāda the foremost of sages propounded a śāstra (body of doctrines) for the peace of the world; and I shall write an expository treatise on it to remove the veil of error cast by quibblers."¹

Dignāga is throughout designated as *Bhadanta*² (a venerable Buddhist monk) whose definition of perception (*pratyakṣa*) is criticised in the Nyāya-vārtika (1-1-4), and whose denial of the evidences of comparison (*upamāna*) and verbal testimony (*śabda*) is reviewed in the same work (1-1-6, 7).

Do Buddhists deny the Soul?

In the Nyāya-vārtika, 3-1-1,³ Uddyotakara points out a certain inconsistency among the doctrines maintained by Bhadanta. Uddyotakara observes: "If you (Buddhists) say that

The Buddhistic denial of the soul criticised.

of the soul criticised. observes: "If you (Buddhists) say that

it stands on the high road leading from the Gangetic Doab, *via* Mirat, Saharanpur, and Ambala, to the Upper Panjab and commands the passage of the Jumna. By this route Mahmud of Ghazni returned from his expedition to Kanoj, by this route Timur returned from his plundering campaign at Haridwar, and by this route Baber advanced to the conquest of Delhi."

(Ancient Geography of India, p. 347)

1 षडक्षपाद प्रवरो सुनीनां
शमाय शास्त्रं जगतो जगद् ।
कुतार्किकाज्ञाननिवृत्तिहेतुः
कश्चिद्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika, opening lines).

² अहो प्रमाणाभिज्ञता भदन्तस्य तदा गवयसारूढ्य प्रतिपत्तेषु संज्ञासंज्ञिसम्बन्धं प्रतिपद्यते इति सूत्रार्थः

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-6, p. 61, A.S.B.).

³ न चास्मान्मनस्सुपगच्छता तथागत दर्शनम् अर्थवत्तायां व्यवस्थापयितुं शक्यम्, न चेदं वचनं नास्ति सर्वाभिसमयसूत्रेऽभिधानात् । तस्माद्वास्ति आद्येति त्रुवापः सिद्धान्तं बाधत इति ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 3-1-1, pp. 341-42).

there is no soul, you make an assertion contrary to your own doctrine. Your doctrine is that "I" is identical neither with *rūpa* (form) nor with *vedanā* (feeling), *samjñā* (sensation) *samskāra* (impression) and *viññāna* (knowledge). Your scripture declares. 'O monk, I am not *rūpa* nor am I *vedanā*; I am not *samjñā*, *samskāra* is not myself; and neither am I *viññāna*.' The "I" which is not identical with the five *skandhas* (aggregates of being) is in fact the soul. One who does not admit the soul can make no sense out of the philosophy of Tathāgata. The text quoted above about the existence of the soul cannot be denied) as it actually occurs in the Sarvābhisamaya-sūtra. It is therefore clear that if Bhadanta says, 'there is no *ātman*,' he hurts his own system."

"A further text speaking of the soul is as follows:—'I shall teach you, O Bhikṣus, the burden and the burden-bearer: the five *skandhas* are the burden, and the *puṅgava* is the burden-bearer.' He who says, 'there is no *ātman*,' is a heretic."²

१ तथा भारं वो भिक्खवो देसिस्सामि भारहारं च भारं पच्चस्सन्ना भारहारस्स पुद्गल इति । यच्चात्मा नास्तीति स मिथ्याइद्विको भवतीति सूत्रम् ;

भारं वो भिक्खवे देसिस्सामि । भारहारं च । कतमो भिक्खवे भारो । पच्चुपादानस्सन्ना तिससु वचनीयम् । कतमो च भिक्खवे भारहारो । पुग्गळो तिससु वचनीयं ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 3-1-1, p. 342, quoted from Saṃyutta nikāya part III, chap. III, p. 25, Pali Text Society's edition).

² The following correspondence, on the Buddhist denial of the soul, quoted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for 1901, pp. 307-308, and p. 573, will be read with interest:—

"Buddhist sūtras quoted by Brāhmana authors.

Dear Mr. Rhys Davids,—Several months ago I invited my friend Professor Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana, the joint editor of the Buddhist Text Society's Journal—whose essays are eulogised in the last Bulletin of M. Barth [of Paris]—to collect the numerous references to Buddhist sayings or tenets, scattered in the treatises of Uddyotakara, Udavāna, Vācaspati Miśra, etc. I heard from the Pandita that, just at the same time, he had been urged by yourself to devote himself to that work. A few weeks ago, he sent me copious materials: their publication will, no doubt, prove itself a contribution of some importance to our knowledge of the great schools of the Mahāyāna Philosophy, and of the polemical relations between these schools and the orthodox adherents of the Darśanas.

We shall first publish, in the *Muséon*, our observations and references to the Bauddha chapter of the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, without any claim to philological or historical accuracy and exhaustion of the subject—of course! We intend to show only the practicability and usefulness of such inquiries, if trained scholars would but care for it. Nevertheless, two discoveries of Professor S. C. Vidyabhusana deserve actual notice in a more *conspicuous* journal.

The first is the following:—The Śālistamba-sūtra quoted by Candrakīrti in chap. xxvi of the Madhyamakavṛtti, by Śāntideva in the Śikṣāsamuccaya, also by Prajñākaramati in the Bodhicaryāvatāratikā as giving a complete *exposé* of the Pratītya-samutpāda, is quoted (without any mention of its name) with remark-

43. UDDYOTAKĀRA CRITICISES VASUBANDHU AND NĀGĀRJUNA.

In his Vārtika on the Nyāya-sūtra, 1-1-37, Uddyotakara refers to a Buddhist philosopher (identified with Vasubandhu) who remarked that the three parts of a syllogism as defined by Akṣapāda were not so ingenious as they

The Buddhist theory of example, *dṛṣṭānta*, criticised.

able fidelity by the celebrated author of the Bhāmatī, *ad* Brahma-sūtra ii, 2, 19. Fragments of the same sūtra are to be found in the Servadarśana.

The second also is curious:—The sūtra of “the burden and the burden-bearer” as well known from the Abhidharmakośa, the Bodhicaryāvatāratīkā, and the Tibetan authorities, was one of the most decisive authorities referred to by the “Pudgalavādins.” This very sūtra is cited by Uddyotakara against its Buddhist opponents:—“therefore, if [a Buddhist] says, ‘[there] is no *ātman*,’ he hurts [his own] system. It has been said: ‘I shall teach, you, Bhiksus, the burden and the burden-bearer: the five *skandhas* are the burden, and the *pudgala* is the burden-bearer.’ ‘Who says [there] is no *ātman* is heretic.’ Such is the sūtra.”

Are these last words authentic?... This seems very hard, but you know, dear Mr. Rhys Davids, that I cannot help thinking that the *pudgalavāda* is more in harmony with the *duḥkha satya* and the law of *karman* than the *navātmyavāda*, etc. . . .

GHEENT,
January 7, 1901.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

THE SŪTRA OF THE BURDEN-BEARER.

WUEZBURG,

April 23, 1901.

Dear Professor Rhys Davids,—It will probably not have escaped your notice that the “sūtra of the Burden and the Burden-bearer,” which Professor de la Vallée Poussin, in his letter in your last issue (p. 308), refers to as quoted by the Pudgalavādins as an authority on their side, is actually to be found in our Pali Piṭaka, at vol. iii, p. 25, of the Samyutta Nikāya.

The manner in which this ancient sutta was appealed to by the opponents of the Bauddhas as being against the Bauddhas’ doctrine of the *non-ātman* is very instructive.

Far from being entitled, on the ground of this sutta, to consider the *pudgalavāda* as a genuine portion of the ancient doctrine, it is just the other way. For we have in it a proof that *puggala* in the sense of a soul (*atmā*) was unknown to the author of the sutta. He uses the word quite clearly as referring simply to the five *skandhas*, and indeed states so in so many words. To him *bhāra* and *hāra*, Burden and Bearer, form one inseparable unity, and the laying down of the Burden, that is of the *skandhas*, is synonymous and simultaneous with the laying down of the Bearer (*Bhāranikkhepana* = *hāranikkhepana*).

Uddyotakara, in his use of the sutta, is guilty of what we call, in logic, a *sub repto*.

Yours sincerely,

E. HARDY.

[From the point of view of absolute truth the soul is unreal, but from the empirical standpoint it is real. The illusory relation between the fivefold aggregate and the soul as a burden and its bearer will continue until their absorption into *Sūnyatā* or *nirvāna*.]

appeared.¹ Vācaspati Miśra in his Vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā² on the Nyāya-sūtra, 1-1-37, quotes the same remark which he explains by saying that “here Subandha [evidently the same as Vasubandhu] observes that the three parts of a syllogism beginning with ‘proposition’ as defined by Akṣapāda are badly confounded.” Uddyotakara does not examine the remark, but satirically says that the person from whom it emanated was a mighty logician!!! In this connection there is however an examination of the definition, given by a Buddhist logician, of an example (*dr̥ṣṭānta*)³ in which, according to him, the reason (middle term) and the predicate (major term) co-abide, e.g. in a syllogism, viz sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot—the non-eternality and producibility co-abide in a pot. Uddyotakara asks: how can a Buddhist, a holder of the doctrine of momentariness, maintain that non-eternality (which refers to posterior non-existence) and producibility (which refers to prior non-existence) co-exist in a pot (which possesses a mere momentary existence)?

On similar grounds Uddyotakara attacks the Buddhist logician Nāgārjuna⁴, who in his Pramāṇa-vihetana or Pramāṇa-vidhvamsana (q. v.) defines an example as the place in which is decisively shown the relation between the reason (middle term) and its invariable companion the predicate (major term). It is impossible for a Buddhist to show the correlation of the reason (e.g. the fact that it is a product) and the predicate (e.g. non-eternality), since the two cannot, according to him, co-exist.

¹ सदैतन्निवृत्तव्यवचये एवं लक्षणोपपादिदे तेषां तयो दुर्विभावा इति । अनेन वाक्येन महानैयायिकत्वमात्मनः स्थापितं भवति ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-37, p. 139, Bibliotheca Indica series).

² अत्र तुवन्मुना प्रतिज्ञादयस्त्रयोऽवयवा दुर्विदिता । अक्षपादलक्षणेनेत्युक्तं सद्ध्यति ।

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā, 1-1-37, p. 203, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

³ तथा सिद्धो दृष्टान्त इत्यन्ये ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-37, p. 139, Bibliotheca Indica series).

⁴ In the Pramāṇa-vihetana (*vidhvamsana*), an example (*dr̥ṣṭānta*, in Tibetan : dpe) is defined by Nāgārjuna thus:—

दये क्षेपः पक्षेः शक्यं तेषां त्रुत्तकस्य त्रुत्तकस्य ददः २ त्रुत्तकस्य शक्यं तेषां ददः २ ददः २ ।

(Bṛāhan-hgyur, Mdo, ha, folio 417).

Uddyotakara opposes the above definition as follows:—

एतेन तयोः सम्बन्धि निर्द्धानं दृष्टान्त इति प्रत्युक्तम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-37, pp. 139-140, edited by M. M. Vindhyeśvarī Prasād in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta).

44. UDDYOTAKARA CRITICISES DIGNĀGA.

Uddyotakara in his Nyāya-vārtika¹ mentions a Buddhist logician Bhadanta (same as Dignāga)² who defines perception (*pratyakṣa*) as a knowledge which is free from reflection (*kalpanā*),³ that is, which is not connected with a name or genus. Perception is in fact a pure sense-knowledge which is not expressed by a name or specified by a genus, which is specific in itself and cognised by itself.

This definition of perception is declared by Uddyotakara to be absurd. If a certain knowledge were not expressible by a name, how could it be called perception? The word perception would be meaningless if the knowledge corresponding to it were not capable of being expressed by a name. In the same way if perception referred to a specific individual (*svaṃlīpa*) and not to a genus, it could not, according to Uddyotakara, be grasped in our mind and expressed to our fellowmen, since our cognition of an object invariably assumes a generic form.

¹ अपरे तु मन्यन्ते प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोद्धमिति । अथ केयं कल्पना नाम आतिथोऽनेति : यत् किल न नाम्नाभिधीयते न च जात्यादिभिर्व्यपदिश्यते विषयस्वरूपानुविधायि परिच्छेदक-मात्मसंबोधं तत् प्रत्यक्षमिति ।अथास्य वाक्यस्य कोऽर्थो यदि प्रत्यक्षं व्याघातः कथं प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोद्धमिति चानेन वाक्येनाभिधीयते न चाभिधेयमिति कोऽन्यो भदन्तादङ्गमर्हति ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-4, pp.44-45, Bibliotheca Indica series).

² Vācaspati Miśra in his gloss on the above observes:—

संप्रति दिग्गमस्य लक्ष्यं मुपन्यस्यति अपरे रति

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā, 1-1-4, p. 102, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

³ Vācaspati and Jayanta observe that *kalpanā*, reflection, is the connection of an object with its adjuncts enumerated below:—

- (1) Name (*nāma*), e.g. dittha, etc.
- (2) Genus (*jāti*), e.g. cow, etc
- (3) Quality (*guṇa*), e.g. dark, etc.
- (4) Action (*kriyā*), e.g. walking, etc.
- (5) An adventitious entity (*dravya*), e.g. a load (on the back), etc

A knowledge unconnected with any of these adjuncts is perception. For instance, our perception of an individual cow consists of a specific knowledge into which the name, genus, etc., of the individual cow do not enter.

Cf. पञ्च चैताः कल्पना भवन्ति आतिकल्पना गुणकल्पना क्रियाकल्पना नामकल्पना द्रव्यकल्पना चेति ।

(Jayanta's Nyāya-mañjarī, chapter II, p. 93, edited by Gaṅgādhara Sastri, Vizianagaram, Sanskrit series; compare also Vācaspati Miśra's Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā, 1-1-4, p. 102, edited by Gaṅgādhara Sāstri, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

The word *kalpanā* seems to have been used in a different sense by Dignāga (q.v.). The idea of genus (*jāti*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*kriyā*), and name (*nāma*) was derived from the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.

45. UDDYOTAKARA'S EXPLANATION OF PERCEPTION.

Perception (*pratyakṣa*), as defined by Akṣapāda, is knowledge which is produced by the intercourse of a sense with its object.

The intercourse (*sannikarsa*) which is of six kinds, is explained in the Nyāya-vārtika (1-1-4) of Uddyotakara as follows:—

- (1) Conjunction (*saṃyoga*)—e.g. a jar is perceived through its conjunction with our eye.
- (2) Conjoined-inherence (*saṃyukta-samavāya*)—e.g. in perceiving the colour of a jar there is conjunction of our eye with the jar in which colour inheres.
- (3) Conjoined-inherent inherence (*saṃyukta-samaveta-samavāya*)—e.g. in perceiving the generic nature of the colour (colourness) there is conjunction of our eye with the jar in which inheres colour wherein again colourness is inherent.
- (4) Inherence (*samavāya*)—e.g. we perceive sound which inheres in our ear-cavity.
- (5) Inherent-inherence (*samaveta-samavāya*)—e.g. we perceive soundness (the generic nature of sound) which inheres in sound which in its turn is inherent in our ear-cavity.
- (6) Qualification or particularity (*viśeṣanāīā*)—e.g. we perceive the non-existence of a thing through the particularisation of the spot which the thing could occupy on earth.

46. UDDYOTAKARA'S DEFINITION OF INFERENCE.

Uddyotakara in his Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-5, defines inference¹ (*anumāna*) as that knowledge which is preceded by perception of the reason (middle term) and remembrance of its invariable concomitance with the predicate (major term). For an instance, I perceive that this hill has smoke which I remember to be invariably concomitant with fire, and hence I infer that this hill has fire. The form of inference is as follows:—

- (1) Whatever is smoky is fiery.
- (2) This hill is smoky.
- (3) Therefore this hill is fiery.

Inference is divided by Uddyotakara as (1) exclusively—affirmative (*anvayī*), (2) exclusively—negative (*vyatirekī*), and (3) affirmative-negative (*anvaya-vyatirekī*). Exclusively—affirmative is the inference in which the middle term abides in the major term as well as in things homogeneous with it, there being nothing which is heterogeneous from the major term, e.g. this is nameable, because it is

¹ अत्यनुसृतो लिङ्परामर्शोऽनुमानम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-5, p. 47, M.M. Vindeśvari Prasada's edition).

Inference is *liṅga-parāmarśa* (a syllogism from sign) as aided by remembrance.

knowable. Exclusively—negative is the inference in which the middle term abides in the minor term alone, there being nothing else in which that term is known to be present, e.g. the earth is different from other elements, because it possesses smell. Affirmative—negative is the inference in which the middle term, while abiding in things homogeneous with the major term, does not abide in any thing heterogeneous from the same, e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is cognised by our senses.

47. UDDYOTAKARA'S THEORY OF VERBAL KNOWLEDGE.

The signification of letters.

If a word is a mere combination of letters, how do we cognise a thing on hearing the word?

Uddyotakara in his Vārtika on the Nyāya-sūtra, 2-2-55, says

How does a word signify a thing? we become cognisant of a thing on hearing the last letter of its corresponding word as aided by the recollection of the preceding letters, i.e. when we hear the last letter, there is a collective recollection of all the previous letters. For instance, the word "cow" cannot present to us any thing until we have heard its last letter, viz. *w*, as aided by our recollection of the preceding letters, viz. *c* and *o*. The letters *c*, *o* and *w* by a conventional association produce in us the cognition of the thing called cow. This is the way in which things are signified by letters or rather words composed of letters, in accordance with the Nyāya philosophy followed by Uddyotakara.

The Nyāya theory of Uddyotakara

Sphoṭa-vāda—the doctrine of phonetic explosion.

Uddyotakara in his Nyāya-vārtika, 2-2-55, alludes, however,

A rival theory to certain sages who held that things could not be signified by letters. These sages, as pointed out by Vācaspati Miśra in his Nyāya-vārtika tātparya-ṭikā, 2-2-55, were supporters of *sphoṭa-vāda*, the theory of phonetic explosion. According to them, a thing is not signified by letters—no matter whether the letters are taken in their separate or collective form. No single letter of a word can produce cognition of a thing corresponding to the word. Neither *c* nor *o* nor *w* as separated from one another can produce in us the cognition of a thing called cow. The letters in their collective form too cannot produce the cognition, because each letter, as soon as it is pronounced, perishes and does not continue long to form a whole word. *C*, *o* and *w* not being able to exist simultaneously cannot produce the cognition of a cow.

Sphoṭa the outburst of a conglomerate sound

We cannot also, they say, derive the cognition of a thing from a word on hearing its last letter as aided by the recollection of the preceding letters, because the recollection of letters can bring about only the *letters*, but not the *things* corresponding to them. Yet nobody can deny that on hearing the word "cow" we become cognisant of the thing called "cow." Hence there must be something over and above the letters which produces the cognition of the thing. This something is a conglomerate sound which bursts out after each letter has been uttered. It is distinct from the letters but revealed by them. This outburst of a conglomerate sound, that is, of a word as a whole, is called *sphoṭa*, which literally signifies an explosion of sounds. When we utter the first letter of a word there is revelation of the *sphoṭa*, which becomes more and more explicit along with the utterance of the following letters, until at last we become cognisant of the thing signified by the word.

Apoha—negation of the opposite.

In the Nyāya-vārtika, 2-2-65, Uddyotakara mentions the Buddhists who hold that what forms the denotation of a word is really *apoha*,¹ exclusion of the opposites. A word bears, according to them, a denotation of exclusion; that is, it denotes exclusion of what is denoted by other words. Thus the denotation of a cow is the exclusion of the denotation of a non-cow, that is, a cow is that which is not a non-cow. This theory is controverted by Uddyotakara on the ground (1) that we cannot conceive of a negative denotation, that is, the denotation of exclusion, unless we have previously conceived of a denotation of a positive character, e.g. a man can form no idea of a non-cow until he has formed the idea of a cow from which the former idea is to be excluded, and if he has already conceived of the denotation of a cow, there is no necessity for a further denotation of exclusion; (2) though in the case of two opposite (contradictory) words the denotation of one word may exclude that of the other, the exclusion will not be possible in the case of such a word as "all" which has nothing to exclude.

48. UDDYOTAKARA'S THEORY OF SUFFERINGS.

Uddyotakara in his Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-1, says that pain or suffering (*duḥkha*) is of twenty-one kinds, Channels of sufferings. viz. (1) the body, (2-7) the six senses (the

¹ For a full criticism of the Vaiyākaraṇa doctrine of *apoha* consult the Nyāya-mañjarī, chapter VI. Cf. also Nyāya-vārtika, 2-2-65, Bibliotheca Indica, Mīmāṃsā-vārtika, and Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra of Kaṇḍa Bhaṭṭa.

eye, ear, nose, tongue, skin and mind), (8-13) the six objects of sense (colour, sound, odour, flavour, touch and desire, etc.), (14-19) the six cognitions (visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactual and mental), (20) pleasure, and (21) pain. Of these the body is regarded as "pain" because it is the abode of all painful experiences; the senses, objects and cognitions are called "pains," because they constitute the channels through which pain reaches us; pleasure is designated as pain because it is always accompanied by the latter; and pain is by its very nature painful.

49. VĀCASPATI MĪSRA, AUTHOR OF THE NYĀYA-VĀRTIKA-TĀTPARYA-ṬIKĀ
(ABOUT 841 A.D.).

Dharmakīrti and several other Buddhist logicians¹ having compiled treatises subversive of the interpretations of Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara, a Brāhmaṇa logician of great erudition named Vācaspati Mīśra wrote, in support of the Brāhmaṇa commentators, an elaborate gloss on the Nyāya-vārtika called the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā.²

Vācaspati, who is reputed to be a native of Mithilā (modern Darbhanga in North Behar), must have flourished in the ninth century A.D., as he compiled his Nyāya-sūci-nibandha³ in the year 898, which evidently refers to the *saṃvat* era and corresponds to 841 A.D. He preceded the Buddhist logician Ratnakīrti⁴ (about 1000 A.D.) who quotes him.

Vācaspati supports the Brāhmaṇic interpretations.

Vācaspati's place and time.

¹ वक्ष्ये भाष्यद्वारा कृतवृत्त्यादमनेतत् तथापि दिङ्नाम प्रकृतिभिरर्थाचीनैः कृषेतुसन्मस-
समुत्थापनेनाश्चादितं शालं न तन्ननिर्णयार्थं पर्याप्तम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā, opening lines, edited by M.M. Gaṅgadhara Sastrī in the Vizianagarain Sanskrit series).

² In order to prevent interpolations into the Nyāya-sūtra, Vācaspati compiled an Index of the sūtras of the work called Nyāya-sūci-nibandha.

³ न्याय सूचीनिबन्धोऽस्यकारि सुधिर्गं सुदे ।
श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वसुधैवकुवसुरे ।

(Nyāya-sūci-nibandha, colophon).

The year 898, if it refers to the *saṃvat* era, corresponds to 841 A.D., but if it refers to the *śaka* era, corresponds to 976 A.D.

⁴ Apoha-siddhi, p. 7; Kṣanabhaṅga-siddhi, p. 58 (included in Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts, edited by H. P. Shāstri).

Vācaspati Miśra, whose patron was king Nṛga,¹ received instruction in philosophy from a teacher named Trilocana.² Vācaspati plainly admits that his explanation of *pratyakṣa* (perception), in so far as it refers to its division into *savikalpaka* (the determinate), and *nirvikalpaka* (the indeterminate), is derived neither from the commentary of Vātsyāyana nor from the sub-commentary of Uddyotakara, but reflects directly the teaching of his preceptor Trilocana. This Trilocana, evidently a writer on Vaiśeṣika philosophy, must have flourished before 1000 A.D. when his doctrines of generality³ (*samavāya*) and causality⁴ (*kārya*, *sahakārikāraṇa*), etc., were criticised by the Buddhist logician Ratnakīrti the famous author of *Apoha-siddhi* and *Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi*. Rājaśekhara (about 917 A.D.) mentions Trilocana⁵ to whom is ascribed a poem called *Pārtha-vijaya*.

Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāya-kaṅikā*,⁶ a work on logic, is not now available. He is said to have written commentaries on the works of all the schools of philosophy. His commentary on the *Vedānta-bhāṣya* called *Bhāmatī-ṭīkā* and that on the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* called *Sāṅkhya-*

1 नरेन्द्ररा यच्चरितानुकारम् रच्छन्ति कर्तुं न च पारथगि ।
तस्मिन् महीये महनीयकौर्मौ त्रिमङ्गलेश्कारि मया निबन्धः ॥
(Bhāmatī, last line)

2 चक्षुःशक्तिः
त्रिलोचन गुरुस्त्रीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः ।
यथामानं यथावस्तु याख्यातमिदमौदरम् ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭīkā, 1-1-4, p. 87, M.M. Gangadhar Sastri's edition).

3 यत्तु त्रिलोचनः । अक्षय्य ब्रह्मादीना सामान्यविशेषाणां स्थायये समवायः सामान्यम्
(Ratnakīrti's *Apoha-siddhi*, p. 13, included in the "Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts," edited by M.M. Hara Prasad Shastri in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, Calcutta).

4 त्रिलोचनस्याप्ययं संक्षिप्तार्थः । कार्यमेव हि सत्कारिणमपेक्षते । न कार्योत्पत्ति हेतुः ।
(Ratnakīrti's *Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi*, p. 58, included in the "Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts").

5 The following stanza, which is said to belong to the *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Rājaśekhara, refers to Trilocana:—

कर्तुं त्रिलोचनादन्यः कः पार्थ विजयं क्षमः ।
तदर्थः शक्यते द्रष्टुं लोचनद्वयिभिः कथम् ॥

Who else but Trilocana is able to compose a *Pārtha-vijaya*? How can its purport be perceived by the two-eyed? [It took a three-eyed *Trilocana* to compose the poem, how can a two-eyed mortal understand it?]

(Sanskrit Poems of Mayūra, Introduction, p. 53, Columbia University series, edited by Dr. G. P. Quackenbos).

6 Mentioned in the *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭīkā*, p. 395, Vizianagram Sanskrit series.

tattva-kaumudī occupy a most important place in the philosophical literature of India. Being equally at home in all the systems of philosophy and yet following no one of them as his own, Vācaspati was designated as *Sarva-tantra-svatantra*, “master of all systems but reliant on no one of them in particular.”

In the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā Vācaspati mentions four schools of Buddhist philosophy,¹ viz the Mādhyamika, Vijñāna-vāda, Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika including the doctrine of the Vātsīputrīya sect; and repeatedly criticises Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.²

50. VĀCASPATI OPPOSES DIGNĀGA

Vācaspati Mīśra, in his Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, criticises the definition of the analogue called “balancing the effect,” *kārya-sama*, as given by the Buddhist logician Dignāga, about 500 A D.³ “Balancing the effect”⁴ is defined by Dignāga as an opposition which one offers by showing that the effect referring to the subject is different from the one referring to the example.

For instance, a disputant argues as follows:—

Sound is non-eternal
because it is an effect of exertion.
like a pot.

His respondent opposes this argument by saying that no conclusion can be drawn from it, because a sound is not an effect of exertion of the same kind as a pot, the former being caused by a vibration of winds, but the latter by a lump of clay. This sort of futile opposition is, according to Dignāga, signified by the analogue called “balancing the effect.”

Vācaspati⁵ controverts Dignāga by saying that the latter’s

¹ Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, 1-1-23; 1-2-1, 3-1-1, 4-1-33, 4-2-35, etc.

² Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, 1-1-1; 1-1-4, 1-1-5, 1-1-6; 1-1-8, 5-2-5, etc.

³ Vācaspati Mīśra’s Nyāya vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, 5-1-37, pp. 488-489, Viziana garam Sanskrit series, where Dignāga is called Bhadanta

⁴ Dignāga defines *kārya-sama* (balancing the effect) as follows:—

कार्यत्वान्यत्वलेद्येन यत् साध्यासिद्धिदर्शनम् ।

सत् कार्यसमम् ॥

(Pramāna-samuccaya, chap VI, quoted by Vācaspati)

⁵ The Tibetan version runs as follows:—

འབྲས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་མ་ཡིས་ནི།

བུའུ་བྱ་མ་འབྲས་ལའ་མཚོང་གཏང་།

རི་ནི་འབྲས་མཚོང་མ་འདྲི་ཡང་ནི།།

(Pramāna-samuccaya, chap. VI, Tshad-ma-kun-las-btug-pa, chap VI, Bṛān-gyur, Mdo, Ce, folio 13).

definition of "balancing the effect" is untenable, inasmuch as an effect of exertion, in so far as it signifies "coming into a state of existence from that of non-existence," is exactly the same in the case of a sound as in that of a pot. Moreover, if Dignāga's definition were accepted, then the Buddhistic denial of a Maker of the universe would be futile.

Those who believe in God argue as follows :—

The universe has a Maker,
because it is a product,
like a pot

If Dignāga were to oppose this argument by saying that the universe is not a product of the same kind as a pot, his opposition, continues Vācaspati, would constitute an analogous rejoinder called "balancing the effect." In fact Vācaspati prefers the definition of "balancing the effect" as given by Akṣapāda¹ (q.v.) according to whom an effect of exertion, even when it refers to the subject alone, may be of diverse kinds.

51. VĀCASPATI CRITICISES DHARMAKĪRTI.

In the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā Vācaspati says that according to the Buddhist logician Kīrti (Dharmakīrti about 635 A.D.) there are only two kinds² of the point of defeat (*nigrahassthāna*), which occur respectively (1) when one adduces a reason which is not a proper one (*asādhanāṅga-vacana*), and (2) when one alleges defect in that where there is really no defect (*adoṣodbhāvana*). It is not, continues Kīrti, proper to say that there are twenty-two varieties of the point of defeat inasmuch as all these are included in the two main kinds just mentioned.

Vācaspati controverts the above criticism by saying that sage Akṣapāda too laid down two kinds of the point of defeat which occur respectively (1) when one misunderstands an argument (*Vipratipatti*) or (2) does not understand it at all (*apratipatti*). While in respect of the division of the point of defeat into two

Kīrti or Dharmakīrti gives a similar definition :—

साधेनानुत्तमात् कार्यसामान्येनापि साधने ;
संबन्धिभेदाद् भेदोक्तिरीचः कार्यसतो मतः ॥

(Quoted by Vācaspati in the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā, 5-1-37).

¹ Nyāya-sūtra, 5-1-37.

² Vācaspati says :—According to Dharmakīrti there are twenty-two varieties of *nigrahassthāna* which come under two main heads.

साधकः :—

असाधनाङ्गवचनमदोषोद्भावनं द्वयोः ।

विषयस्यानन्वयत्वं न युक्तमिति-साम् प्रति साधकः ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā, 5-2-1, p. 492, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

kinds, the view of Dharmakīrti does not differ from that of Akṣapāda, the two kinds as laid down by the latter are clearer than those laid down by the former. For instance, non-ingenuity (*apratibhāna*), which consists in one's inability to hit upon a reply, is recognized as a point of defeat, but it is included rather in the two kinds of the point of defeat laid down by Akṣapāda than in those laid down by Kīrti.¹ A person defeated on the score of non-ingenuity may remain speechless or may talk irrelevantly. This speechlessness (*tūṣṇīmābhāva*) and irrelevant talk (*pralāpita*) are not new points of defeat, although they are recognized as such by Kīrti.

Kīrti further observed that "renouncing the proposition" (*pratiññā-samnyāsa*) as a point of defeat, is identical with a fallacy of reason (*hetvābhāsa*), because it involves a reason which is uncertain. Vācaspati opposes him by saying that the uncertainty of reason being pointed out after the proposition has been renounced, the point of defeat must in this case be designated as "renouncing the proposition."²

Considering their special characters even Dharmakīrti³ admits that there are twenty-two varieties of the point of defeat.

52. VĀCASPATI'S EXPLANATION OF DETERMINATE AND INDETERMINATE PERCEPTIONS, *Savikalpaka* AND *Nirvikalpaka*.

Vācaspati⁴ following his preceptor Trilocana⁵ divides perception into two kinds, viz. determinate or mediate (*savikalpaka*) and indeterminate or immediate (*nirvikalpaka*). The determinate

Savikalpaka and *Nirvikalpaka* defined.

¹ Jayanta similarly observes:—

अथ कीर्तिराह द्वाविंशतिधा निग्रहस्थानानि विभक्त्ये

(Nyāya-maūjarī, āhnika 12, p. 639, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

² Vācaspati says:—

तस्माद् ददुक्ते कीर्तिना किमिदानीं हेत्वाभासादुत्तरप्रतिज्ञासंन्यायपक्षेऽथ तस्य प्रति-
वादिनो हेत्वाभास एव अर्थं निग्रहस्थानमिति तदपास्तम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, 5-2-5, p. 499, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

³ Jayanta says:—

एतेषां धर्माकीर्तेरपि अत्र विमतिर्निग्रहस्थानमायाम् ।

(Nyāya-maūjarī, p. 659, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

⁴ Vācaspati writes:—

अवसायात्प्रकपदं साक्षात् सविकल्पकस्य वाचकं, तथाहि अयथासौ विनिश्चयो विकल्प
इत्यनर्थाकारम् । स एव आत्मा रूपं यस्य तत् सविकल्पकं प्रत्यक्षम् । तदेतदतिस्फुटत्वात्
विद्यैर्गम्यते एव इति भाव्यार्थिककाराभ्याम् अस्यास्त्वानम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, p. 87).

⁵

अस्मानि शिष्योचनमुक्त्वाहीतमार्मानुक्रमबोधोक्तैः ।

अस्मानं अथावद्युः साक्षात्प्रतिदोदृशम् ।

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tikā, p. 87).

is knowledge which admits of specification : it is the knowledge of an object as particularised by its genus, etc., e g. this is a *man* (an individual coming under the genus 'man'). The indeterminate perception on the contrary is that knowledge which admits of no specification : it is the knowledge of an object derived through its first intercourse with one of our senses, e g. this is *something*.

Vācaspati further observes that the doctrine of determinate and indeterminate perceptions is very easy to comprehend, and has not on that account been explained by Vātsyāyana in his *Bhāṣya* or Uddyotakara in his *Vārtika*. The *Niruktakāras*¹ who flourished before Vācaspati used the term *nirvikalpaka*, but they explained it as the knowledge of an object in which its general (*sāmānya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*) features were combined. Vācaspati controverts the view of the *Niruktakāras* by saying that if, in the *nirvikalpaka* stage, an object were to combine in itself its general and particular attributes, how could, in the *savikalpaka* stage, the two, viz. the general and the particular, be separated so that one might be predicated of the other in the form, "this (particular) is man (general)."

53. VĀCASPATI'S THEORY OF RIGHT KNOWLEDGE AND WRONG KNOWLEDGE (*Pramā* AND *Apramā*).

Right knowledge (*Pramā* or *tattva-jñāna*) defined in the *Nyāya-vārtika*, 1-1-2, is the knowledge of a thing as it is, while wrong knowledge or error (*apramā*, *bhrama* or *mithyā-jñāna*) is the knowledge of a thing as it is not.

There are conflicting theories as to the exact nature of the wrong knowledge. Vācaspati Miśra in his *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tīkā*, 1-1-2, mentions five different theories which may be summarised as follows :—

- (1) *Ātma-khyāti* (manifestation of the self)—is a wrong knowledge in which our cognition, which exists in our mind alone, manifests itself as a thing existing outside of us. The *Yogācāra* Buddhists, who follow this theory, say that our cognition (or knowledge) alone is real, and its manifestation as external objects is a wrong knowledge.

¹ यथाञ्ज निर्द्वन्द्वकाराः । निर्विकल्पकबोधेन दृग्ब्रह्मण्यपि वस्तुनो पश्यन् । तथा—

ततः परं पुनर्वस्तु धर्मेर्जात्यादिभिर्दृश्या ।

बुद्ध्यावसीयते सापि प्रत्यक्षमेव संमता ॥

(*Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tīkā*, p. 89, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

Vātsyāyana and Uddyotakara did not treat of the doctrine of *nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka pratyakṣa*. The *Niruktakāras* who treated them cannot be identified. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, author of the *Mīmāṃsā-vārtika* (about 630 A.D.), was per-

- (2) *Asat-khyāti* (manifestation of the unreal)—is a wrong knowledge in which a thing, which is non-existent or unreal, manifests itself as existent or real, e.g. when a piece of shell is mistaken for a piece of silver. The piece of silver, being non-existent or unreal, its manifestation is a wrong knowledge. The Mādhyamika Buddhists, who hold this theory, say that all are void and the manifestation to us of our internal states and the external objects is a wrong knowledge.
- (3) *Anirvacanīya-khyāti* (manifestation of the undefinable)—is a wrong knowledge in which a thing manifests itself in such a way that we cannot define it either as existent or as non-existent, e.g. when a piece of shell is mistaken for a piece of silver, our knowledge is neither that of a piece of silver (which is not present) nor that of a piece of non-silver (there being an apparent presence of a piece of silver), but that of a thing the nature of which we cannot define. The Advaita-vedāntins who hold this theory, say that if we regard the external things as real, it will be a wrong knowledge, inasmuch as the things are undefinable, that is, neither do they possess a real existence nor are they devoid of an empirical or apparent existence.
- (4) *A-khyāti* (non-manifestation)—is knowledge in which the difference of one thing (subject) from another thing (predicate) is not manifested on account of certain defects of our senses, etc., and owing to this non-manifestation we say that the one (subject) is identical with the other (predicate), e.g. when a piece of shell is supposed by us to be a piece of silver, in the form “this is silver” there are *perception* of “this” (shell) and *recollection* of “silver” together with a non-manifestation of their difference caused by the defects of our senses, etc. This theory is upheld by the Prābhākaras.
- (5) *Anyathā-khyāti* (a converse manifestation)—is a wrong knowledge in which one thing is mistaken for another thing on the perception of those properties of the first thing which are possessed in common by the second thing, and a thing possessed of these common properties is particularised not as the first thing (whose special properties are not, owing to certain defects of our senses, etc., cognised by us), but as the second thing which presents itself to our recollection at the time, e.g. when a piece of shell is mistaken for a piece of silver in the form “this is silver,” the properties common to both (shell and silver), are supposed, by the person who commits the mistake, to abide not in “this” (shell), but in “silver” which he remembers at the time. This theory is propounded by the Naiyāyikas.

In a wrong knowledge when a person mistakes one thing (e.g. a shell) for any other thing (e.g. a piece of silver), there is an actual

perception, through imagination (*gñāna-lakṣaṇa*), of that "other thing," because if he had not perceived it at all, he would not have exerted himself to pick it up. In fact when our mistake is discovered we remember that we actually perceived the thing. Hence the only rational theory, according to Vācaspati Miśra, is that of *anyathākhyāti* which satisfactorily explains the origination of wrong knowledge.

53a. VĀCASPATI'S THEORY OF *Condition* (*upādhi*).

Vācaspati Miśra, in his Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā, 1-1-1, says that an inference is based on the invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) of its middle term with the major term. Now, what is the nature of this invariable concomitance? The Buddhists say that the middle term is in invariable concomitance with the major term, if the former stand to the latter in causal relation (*kārya-kāraṇa*) or the relation of identity (*svabhāva*).

Seeing that the Buddhistic definition is too narrow and too wide, Vācaspati sets it aside by saying that the invariable concomitance is that relation of the middle term with the major term which is freed from all conditions (*upādhi*). A condition is illustrated in the following inference:—

The hill is full of smoke,
because it is full of fire.

This is a wrong inference, because smoke always accompanies fire, but fire does not always accompany smoke.

The inference will, however, be right if we attach a condition to its middle term in the following way:—

The hill is full of smoke,
because it is full of fire (fed by wet fuel).

Here 'wet fuel' is a condition (*upādhi*), which is attached to the middle term 'fire.' A fire by itself may not always accompany smoke, but when it is fed by wet fuel it is always attended by the same.

This kind of condition should not qualify the middle term, which must be perfectly free from all conditions. If an inference is to be right, a disputant must remove from it all conditions which are suspected (*śaṅkita*) by himself or with which he is charged (*samāropita*) by his opponent.

53b. THE THEORY OF CAUSE AND EFFECT (*kārya-kāraṇa*).

In the Nyāya-kaṇikā as also in the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā, 3-2-17, Vācaspati Miśra criticises, on one hand, those who hold that an effect (*kārya*) springs up from nothing (*asataḥ sajjā-*

effect pre-exists in its cause (*satah sajjāyate*). He expounds the doctrine of the Naiāyikas that an effect does not pre-exist in its cause, but that from a cause something originates which did not exist before such origination.

53c. THE BUDDHIST AND JAINA SCRIPTURES CONDEMNED.

Vācaspati Miśra in his Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā, 2-2-68, says that the author of the Brāhmaṇic scripture is God, while that of the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures is Buddha and Ṛṣabhadeva. While our God is omniscient and all-powerful, Buddha and Ṛṣabhadeva are not so. How can we then place any confidence in the latter? While the Brāhmaṇic scripture legislates for men divided into four classes and passing through four stages of life, the scriptures of the Buddhists and Jainas do not concern themselves much with the regulation of practical life. At the dissolution of the world the Buddhist and Jaina scriptures will disappear, while the tradition of the Brāhmaṇic scriptures will be kept up by God.

54. UDAYANĀCĀRYA, AUTHOR OF THE NYĀYA-VĀRTIKA-TĀTPARYA-ṬIKĀ-PARIŚUDDHI (984 A D.).

Vācaspati Miśra was criticised by a host of Buddhist logicians, and it was to vindicate him against their attacks that Udayanācārya or Udayakara, a Brahmana logician of Mithilā, wrote a sub-gloss on Vācaspati's work called the Nyāya-vārtika tātparya-ṭikā-pariśuddhi.¹ He wrote several other works such as the Kusumāñjali, Ātma-tattva-viveka,² Kiranāvalī and Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa (also called Bodha siddhi or Bodha-suddhi).

¹ The Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā-pariśuddhi embodies elaborate notes on the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā of Vācaspati Miśra whose words Udayana proposes to elucidate by the grace of the Goddess of Speech, thus:—

मातः सरस्वति पुनः पुनरेव बला
बडाङ्गलिः किमपि विज्ञपयाम्यवेदि ।
वाक्चेतसोर्मम तथा भव सावधाना
वाचस्पते वंचसि न सरस्वती यद्ये ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-ṭikā-pariśuddhi, 1-1-1, edited by M.M. Vindhyesvari Prasad Dvivedin and M.M. Lakshman Sāstri, in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

² बहुतर परतन्म प्रान्तर ध्वान्मभौत छिमित् पथिकरहा सार्धवादेन यत्नात् ।
इदमुद्य करेव न्याय कीका जमानां अतिवृत्तिमवधूय अक्षितं वर्तुं मुक्तेः ॥
(Ātma-tattva-viveka, last lines).

Udayana, better known as Ācārya, was the author of another work called *Lakṣaṇāvalī*,¹ in the introduction to which he says that he composed the book in the Śaka year 906 corresponding to A.D. 984. He was born in Mañ roṇi, a village 20 miles north of Darbhanga in Mithilā on the east bank of the river Kamalā.

His place and time.

55. UDAYANA COMBATS THE BUDDHISTS.

It is said of Udayana that he frequently defeated the Buddhists² in religious discussions, but the latter did not admit his victory over them. One day, there was a very hot contest between him and the Buddhists on the question of the existence of God. Not being able to make them believe in God by arguments, Udayana ascended the top of a hill, taking a Brāhmaṇa and a Śramaṇa (Buddhist) with him. He hurled both of them down from the top of the hill. When falling down on the ground, the Brāhmaṇa cried aloud 'there is God,' while the Śramaṇa exclaimed 'there is no God.' It so happened that the Śramaṇa died of the fall, while the Brāhmaṇa came to the ground unhurt. This fact was considered as a convincing proof of the existence of God

Udayana's victory over the Buddhists causes his death.

Udayana gained victory but was blamed as a murderer. Becoming penitent, he proceeded to the temple of Jagannātha at Purī. After he had lived there for three days and three nights, he was told in a dream that Jagannātha would not appear before him until he was cleansed of his sin, by performing the penitentiary rites of *tuṣānala* at Benares. Accordingly he went to that city, where he put an end to his life by *tuṣānala*, i.e. by burning himself in a slow fire. It is said that Udayana was not pleased with the decision of Jagannātha, as that deity did not show any mercy towards him in consideration of the services he had rendered to maintain his glorious existence. Udayana, while dying, thus addressed Jagannātha:—

“Proud of thy prowess thou despisest me—upon whom thy existence depended when the Buddhists reigned supreme!”³

1 सकाश्वराङ्ग प्रभिवेष्यतीतिषु शकाकतः ।
वर्षेषूद्द्यमसक्रे सुबोधं लक्षणावलीम् ॥

(Lakṣaṇāvalī, colophon).

² Vide my article on “Buddhism in India” in the Journal, Buddhist Text Society, part I, 1896.

³ ऐश्वर्यमद् मत्तः सन् आत्मानमवमन्यसे ।
पुनर्बहिः समायासे मदधीना नव स्थितिः ॥

56. UDAYANA OPPOSES KALYĀṆA RAKṢITA AND DHARMOTTARA.

Kalyāṇa Rakṣita (about 829 A.D) and Dharmottarācārya (about 847 A.D), two Buddhist logicians whose accounts will be given hereafter, were opposed by Udayanācārya. The arguments advanced by Kalyāṇa Rakṣita in his *Īśvara-bhaṅga-kārikā* to refute the existence of God were controverted by Udayana in his *Kusumāñjali*. In the *Ātma-tattva-viveka* Udayana criticised the theories of *apoha* (the knowledge of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites), *kṣaṇa-bhaṅga* (the momentary existence), *śrutyaprāmānya* (denial of the authority of the Veda), etc., propounded by Kalyāṇa Rakṣita in his *Anyāpoha-vicāra-kārikā*, *śruti-parīksā*, etc., and by Dharmottara in his *Apoha-nāma-prakaraṇa* and *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi*.

57. UDAYANA'S KUSUMĀÑJALI.

God—*Īśvara*.

The *Kusumāñjali* (literally "a handful of flowers"), which is divided into five chapters called clusters, treats of the supreme soul (*Paramātmā*) or God (*Īśvara*) whose worship enables us, according to Udayana, to attain paradise and emancipation. "Although all men worship Him alike under various names, there is," says he, "no harm in carrying on a logical investigation about Him which may also be called His worship."

In the course of the investigation, Udayana says that there is an unseen cause called desert (*adrṣṭa*)¹ which determines our happiness and misery. When we perform a good or bad action, the merit or demerit that ensues therefrom resides in our soul under the name of *adrṣṭa* or desert. Associated with a suitable time, place and object, it produces in us pleasure or pain. Since a non-intelligent cause cannot produce its effect without the superintendence of an intelligent spirit, it is to be admitted that there is a Supreme Agent called the All-powerful God who bestows on us pleasure and pain as the effects of our desert.

¹ That there is an unseen cause called *adrṣṭa* (desert) is proved on the following grounds:—

(a) An effect proceeds from a cause. If there had been no interdependence of a cause and its effect, the latter would have been found everywhere and always. But an effect is only occasional and hence it is dependent on a cause. Our happiness and misery are dependent on a cause called *adrṣṭa*.

(b) A cause again is only an effect in relation to its preceding cause, which is linked with another cause and so on. The world having no beginning, the succession of cause and effect is eternal like a continued series of seed and plant. The desert on which our happiness and misery depend cannot also be traced to its first beginning.

Some people deny God, relying merely on the efficacy of sacrifices, etc., enjoined by the Veda. Udayana asks them: whence does the Veda derive its authority? The Veda is certainly not eternal, as everything in the world is subject to creation and destruction. Non-eternal as it is, it cannot be a source of right knowledge unless we suppose its author to be an infallible person. That person is God. Those who deny God, do thereby overthrow the authority of the Veda.

Some say that there is no God, as we do not perceive Him. Udayana silences them by stating that the non-perception of an object can prove its non-existence only if the object is one which is ordinarily perceptible. God is not ordinarily perceptible, and hence our non-perception of Him does not prove His non-existence.

It has been contended that God is no authority to us, inasmuch as He does not possess right knowledge. A right knowledge, nay, knowledge of any kind, concerns itself with an object unknown before. God's knowledge, which is not limited by time and space, cannot come under this description because it never refers to an object previously unknown. Udayana meets the contention by saying that the description of right knowledge cited above is incorrect. A right knowledge should, in his opinion, be defined as an independent apprehension which corresponds to its object in the external world. God is the source of such knowledge and is therefore the supreme authority to us.

There are many proofs to establish the existence of God. The earth being a product like a pot must have a maker. The maker must be an intelligent being possessing a will to bring atoms together and to support them. That intelligent being is God. It is He who introduced the traditional arts such as carpentry, weaving, etc., which have come down to us from time immemorial.

(c) The effects which are diverse in character imply a diversity of causes. As our happiness and misery are diverse in character, we cannot say that God or nature alone is their cause. They must be due to the diversity of our deserts.

(d) It is a universal practice to perform good actions and avoid bad actions as the means of gaining happiness and avoiding misery. The actions themselves disappear, but they leave behind them certain traces which operate in bringing about happiness and misery. The trace of a good action is called merit while that of a bad action is called demerit and the two together are called desert (*adṛṣṭa*). The desert resides in (the soul of) the person who performs an action and not in the thing from which he derives happiness or misery.

The above reasons are summarised thus:—

सापेक्षत्वाद्वादिताद् वैचित्र्याद् विशदणितः ।

प्रत्यात्मनियमाद् मुक्तैरसि हेतुरलौकिकः ॥

(Kusumāñjali, stavaka I).

God having made this world causes it to collapse, and having destroyed it remakes it as a magic-show. His will manifests itself unhindered in all actions

Perceiving suitable materials (atoms) for creation, and conceiving a desire for the same, He made this wonderful universe which is supported by His will.

Udayana offers prayer to God, at the concluding part of his Kusumāñjali, as follows:—

“Iron-souled are they in whose hearts Thou canst find no place, though repeatedly washed by the inundations of ethics and sacred texts; still in time, O Merciful One, Thou in Thy goodness wilt save those people too, because even in going to controvert Thy existence they have earnestly meditated on Thee.”¹ “As for us, O Thou Essential Beauty, though our minds have been long plunged in Thee, the ocean of joy, yet are they verily restless still and unsatisfied: therefore, Oh Lord, haste to display thy mercy, that, our minds being fixed only on Thee, we may no more be subject to the afflictions of death”²

58. UDAYANA'S ĀTMA-TATTVA-VIVEKA.

The Ātma-tattva-viveka (lit. a discussion about the true nature of the soul) is otherwise called Baud-
 An analysis of the Ātma-tattva-viveka. dhādhikāra (a discourse concerned with the Buddhists) or Baudha-dhikkāra (Fie to the Buddhists). It³ proposes to refute four Buddhistic theories in order to establish a permanent soul. The four theories are: (1) *ksana-bhaṅga*—that every thing is momentary; (2) *vāhyārtha-bhaṅga*—that things possess no external reality; (3) *guṇa-guṇibheda-bhaṅga*—that a substance is not distinct from its qualities;

1 इत्येवं श्रुतिनोति संसृज्यस्त्वैर्भूयोऽभिराजाश्रिते
 देशां नास्य दमादधासि हृदये ते शैलसाराश्रयाः ।
 किन्तु प्रसूतविप्रतौषविधयोऽप्युचैर्भवच्चिन्मकाः
 काको काश्षिक लयेव हृदये ते तारणीया नराः ॥

(Kusumāñjali, stavaka 5, edited and translated by E. B. Cowell and M. C. Nyāyaratna, Calcutta).

2 अस्माकं निमग्नं सुन्दरं चिराच्चेतो निमग्नं लधि
 लहानन्दनिधौ तथापि तरलं नास्मापि सङ्गृह्यते ।
 तन्नाथ स्वरितं विधेहि कृपयां येन लदेकापतां
 याते चेतसि नाङ्गवाम भक्तशो याम्याः पुनर्यातनाः ॥

(The Kusumāñjali, stavaka 5, edited and translated by E. B. Cowell and M. C. Nyāyaratna, Calcutta).

³ The Ātma-tattva-viveka, edited by Jaya Nārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana, pp. 1, 9, 10, 24, 30, 31, 32, 34, 38, 39, 45, 46, 47, 53, 69, 89, 92, 93, etc.

and (4) *anupalambha*—that the world is void. The book is divided into five sections of which the first four are concerned with the refutation of these theories, while the fifth concerns itself with the establishment of a permanent soul.

The Buddhists say that whatever is existent is momentary. A seed, for an instance, cannot continue up to the time when a plant springs out of it. The consequent cannot in fact come into being until the antecedent has ceased to exist. By the principle of *apoha* differentiation, we cognise an object as different from other objects. e.g. a cow is cognised as that which is not a not-cow. Some of the Buddhists (e.g. the *yoḡācāras* or *viññāna vādins*) maintain that there are no external objects corresponding to our cognitions and that the cognitions alone are real. *Ālaya-viññāna*, the abiding-cognition (or the abode of cognitions) called “ego” is the continuous flow of momentary cognitions called *pravṛtti-viññāna*. Certain Buddhists go so far as to say that there is no substance distinct from its qualities, and that the world is void. A substance could not be defined if it existed apart from its qualities; and the substance and qualities are both to be denied if they are supposed to be identical. In fact a substance exists in relation to its qualities and the latter exist in relation to the former. It is this net of relations or conditions which constitutes the veil (*samvṛti*), called the world, of which the essence is voidness.

Udayana's contention. These theories are set aside by Udayana who maintains that there is a permanent soul (*ātmā*) whose emancipation consists in getting rid of sufferings for ever. As to whether the soul is a principle of self-illumination and essence of bliss, the interrogator may consult the Upaniṣads or appeal to his own heart. The Naiyāyikas are satisfied if the soul is completely freed from the sufferings which are of twenty-one kinds.

Udayana says that the injunctions such as “do not kill” are respected by the followers of the Vedic as well as the Buddhistic religions. ‘Shaving the head,’ ‘making magic circles,’ etc., are the special practices of the Buddhists. The Buddhist scripture is disregarded in so far as it opposes the Vedas, controverts the doctrines of our great men and persuades people to build *caityas*, wear tattered robes, etc., in antagonism to our religion.

59. JAYANTA, AUTHOR OF THE NYĀYA-MAÑJARĪ (ABOUT THE 10TH CENTURY A.D.).

Another Brāhmaṇa logician who fought hard against the Buddhists was Jayanta, author of the *Nyāya-mañjarī*, an independent commentary on the *Nyāya-sūtra*. Jayanta, invincible in debate and well

Life of Jayanta.

known as *Vṛttikāra*, was the son of Paṇḍita Candra.¹ If we suppose him to be identical with his namesake the great-grandson of Śakti Svāmin,² minister of King Muktaṭpīda, he must have flourished in Kāśmīra in the 10th century A.D.

He could not have lived earlier than the 9th and later than the 11th century A.D. as he quotes Vācaspati Mīśra³ (841 A.D.) and Māgha⁴ (about 905 A.D.) in the *Nyāya-mañjarī*, and is himself quoted in the *Ratnāvatārikā*⁵ by Ratnaprabha (1181 A.D.), and in the *Syādvāda-ratnākara*⁶ by Deva Sūri (1086–1169 A.D.).

60. JAYANTA'S EXPLANATION OF VERBAL KNOWLEDGE.

Words and their meanings.

In explaining verbal knowledge Jayanta reviews two theories⁷ called respectively the *Connection of the Expressed* (*abhīhitānvaya-vāda*) and the *Expression of the Connected* (*anvitābhīdhāna-vāda*). The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas, who uphold the first theory, main-

Abhīhitānvaya-vāda and
Anvitābhīdhāna-vāda.

called respectively the *Connection of the Expressed* (*abhīhitānvaya-vāda*) and the *Expression of the Connected* (*anvitābhīdhāna-vāda*)

The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsakas, who uphold the first theory, main-

वारेष्वाप्रजयो जयन्त इति यः श्लातः सतामपणैः
अन्वयी नववृत्तिकार इति यं प्रसन्नि नाशा बुधाः ।
सूनुव्याप्तदिगन्तरस्य यशसा चन्द्रस्य चन्द्रलिखा
चक्रे चन्द्र कलायच्छु चरणध्यायो स धन्यां कृतिम् ॥

(*Nyāya-mañjarī*, chapter XII, colophon, p. 659, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

² The lineage of Jayanta is described in the opening verses of the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* which was composed by his son Abhinanda.

³ यदपि उच्यते—नानिष्पन्नस्य सम्बन्धो निष्पत्तौ शुतसिद्धत—इति तदपि परिहृतमाचार्यै
जातं च संबन्धं चेत्यकः काल इति वदद्भिः ॥

(*Nyāya-mañjarī*, p. 312, edited by M.M. Gangadhar Śāstrī, in the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series).

⁴ *Nyāya-mañjarī*, p. 84. Māgha is said to be a cousin of Siddharṣa, author of *Upamiti-bhava-prapañcā Kathā*.

⁵ तथा च जयन्तः -

सरूपादुद्भवत् कार्यं स्रकार्युपशंदितात् । न हि कल्पयितुं शक्यं शक्तिं.....
(*Ratnāvatārikā*, chap. IV).

⁶ यदत्र शक्ति संसिद्धौ मञ्जत्युदयन द्विषः ।

जयन्त इन्त का तत्र मथना त्वयि कौटके ॥

(*Syādvāda-ratnākara*, chap. II).

In 1348 A.D. Rājasekhara Sūri quotes Jayanta as follows:—

अयन्ताचार्यरचितो न्यायतर्कोऽतिदुस्तरः ।

(Maladhāri Rājasekhara Sūri's *Saddarśana-samuccaya*, verse 100, chapter on Śaiva darśana).

⁷ *Nyāya-mañjarī*, chapter VI, pp. 402-403, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series.

tain that verbal knowledge depends upon the connection which is automatically perceived among the meanings expressed by words individually in a sentence; that is, the words of a sentence after conveying their respective meanings disappear, and then the meanings themselves produce in us a knowledge of their mutual connection which is called verbal knowledge. The Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas, who uphold the second theory, say that it is only in a sentence that words can express to us any meanings, and produce in us the knowledge of a mutual connection among those meanings called verbal knowledge.

Jayanta dismisses the second theory on the ground that it presupposes a word to bear various meanings in connection with various words in a sentence. It is indeed absurd to suppose that a word bears no definite meaning. He also does not completely accept the first theory inasmuch as words alone do not produce verbal knowledge, as is evident from the fact that a sentence composed of disorderly and ungrammatical words does not express a systematic meaning. As an amendment of the first theory we must assume that a sentence, if it is to convey a consistent meaning, must have, underlying it, a power called intention (*tātparyā*) over and above its component words.

Jayanta opposes *sphoṭa-vāda*.

Jayanta examines *sphoṭa*,¹ the theory of phonetic explosion, which he pronounces to be untenable. The grammarians (*Vaiyākaraṇa*), who propound the theory, define *sphoṭa* (explosion) as the essence of sound revealed by a letter, word or sentence. The sound-essence, which is revealed by a letter, is called *varṇa-sphoṭa*, a letter-explosion; that revealed by a word is called *pada-sphoṭa*, a word-explosion; and that revealed by a sentence is called *vākya-sphoṭa*, a sentence-explosion. As there is a constant relation between a sound and the thing signified by it, the sound-essence of a letter, word or sentence, as soon as we hear it, reminds us of a thing corresponding to the same.

Suppose a person utters the word *cow* composed of the letters *c*, *o* and *w*. As soon as we hear *c*, there is revealed to us the sound-essence *cow* in an indistinct form; and then as we go on hearing *o*, the same sound-essence is revealed though still in an indistinct form, until we hear the last letter *w* which reveals to us the sound-essence in a distinct form. This revelation of sound-

¹ Nyāya-mañjari, śhnikā 6. Cf. Bhartrhari's Vākyapadīya, kāṇḍa 1; Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇa-sāra and Śabda-kaustubha, and Max Müller's Six Systems of Indian Philosophy, p. 402.

essence of the entire word in a distinct form is called *sphoṭa* or phonetic explosion,

A single letter, unless it is a complete word, cannot signify any thing. While some, the advocates of *pada-sphoṭa*, say that a sound-essence, significant of a thing, can be revealed only by a word (*pada*), others, the advocates of *vākya-sphoṭa*, hold that it is a sentence (*vākya*) alone that can reveal a significant sound-essence. According to the latter, a sentence is the beginning of speech, the words are mere parts of a sentence and the letters are parts of words.

Now, what is the nature of a sound-essence (*sphoṭa*)? A sound-essence is eternal and self-existent, bearing a permanent relation to the thing signified by it. It is *revealed* by a letter, word or sentence, but is not *produced* by any of them. Had there been no sound-essence, nothing would have been signified by letters, words or sentences. When we hear the word *cow*, the letters *c*, *o* and *w* may successively perish, but the sound-essence *cow*, which is eternal, persists to signify the thing called *cow*.

Jayanta, as a Naiyāyika, opposes the above theory by saying that it is a most cumbrous one. In the case of the word "cow," *c* and *o*, after being heard, no doubt pass away, but they leave on our soul (which is eternal) impressions which coupled with our audition of *w*, produce in us knowledge of the thing called *cow*. If in this way the letters themselves (as constituents of words) are sufficient to signify things, what is the necessity for admitting an additional entity called *sphoṭa*, sound-essence, which can neither be perceived nor inferred? Moreover, it is asked: Is the thing signified by a *sphoṭa* manifest by nature or does it require a cause for its manifestation? If it is manifest by nature, why do we not perceive it in all times and everywhere? If, on the other hand, it requires a cause for its manifestation, what is that cause? Jayanta says that the cause is not other than letters which constitute words. It is therefore superfluous to assume a *sphoṭa* over and above letters.

61. JAYANTA CRITICISES THE DOCTRINES OF KALYĀNA RAKṢITA (ABOUT 829 A.D.) AND DHARMOTTARA (847 A.D.).

Jayanta in his Nyāya-mañjarī (chapters V, VII, IV and III) severely criticises the doctrines of *apoha* (the knowledge of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites), *kṣāṇa-bhaṅga* (the momentary existence), *śrutya-prāmāṇya* (denial of the authority of the Veda),

Apoha, Kṣāṇa-bhaṅga,
Īsvara-bhaṅga, etc.

Īsvara-bhaṅga (the non existence of God), etc., propounded by Kalyāṇa Rakṣita, (q.v.) in his *Anyāpoha-vicāra-kārikā*, *Īsvara-bhaṅga-kārikā*, and *Śruti-parikṣā*, and by Dharmottara (q.v.) in his *Apoha-nāma-prakaraṇa*, *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi*, etc

62. JAYANTA'S REVIEW OF SEVERAL OTHER BUDDHISTIC DOCTRINES.

In the *Nyāya-mañjarī*, chapters I-III, Jayanta criticises the definition of *pratyakṣa* (perception) as given by Dharmakīrti who is designated as a *Bhikṣu*, *Saugata*, *Bauddha* or *Śākya*. He tries also to refute the Buddhist theories that there are only two means of right knowledge (perception and inference) and that pleasure, pain, etc., are mere species of our cognitions from which they are not distinct. It is perhaps the disputation with Dignāga that is referred to by the expression *Bhadanta-kalaha* in chapter III. The Buddhistic objections against the soul as a separate substance are mentioned and criticised in chapters VII and IX. In chapter IX there is also a criticism of the doctrine of those Buddhists who hold that the external world is unreal. In chapter XII the *Vaibhāṣikas* are mentioned as holding that the external objects are both real and perceptible. In the same chapter we find that the *Sautrāntikas* maintain that the external objects are undoubtedly real, but they are not perceptible, as we can know them only through inference. The *Yogācāras* are referred to as saying that the so-called external objects are mere forms of our cognition which alone is real. The *Mādhyamikas* are said to hold that the world is void as our cognition is transparent and formless.

In chapter XII Jayanta observes that even Dharmakīrti maintained that Points of Defeat (*nigrahasthāna*) were of 22 kinds. In the same chapter as an instance of the incoherent (*apārthaka*), Jayanta cites the metaphysical views of the *Vaibhāṣika*, *Sautrāntika*, *Yogācāra* and *Mādhyamika*.

Jayanta carried on such a vehement crusade against the Buddhists that in the *Nyāya-mañjarī* he actually reproached them as follows :—

“ You, *Bauddhas*, hold that there is no soul, yet you construct *cāityas* (towers) to enjoy pleasure in paradise after death; you say that everything is momentary, yet you build monasteries with the hope that they will last for centuries; and you say that the world is void yet you teach that wealth should be given to spiritual

Reproach of the Buddhists.

guides. What a strange character the Bauddhas possess, they are verily a monument of conceit." ¹

63. ŚRIKAṆṬHA
(BEFORE 1409 A. D.).

About 1409 A. D. Guṇaratna, a Jaina philosopher, in his *Saddarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti* mentions a Brāhmaṇa logician named Śrīkaṇṭha² who wrote a commentary on the Nyāya-sūtra called *Nyāyālaṅkāra*.

64. ABHAYATILAKOPĀDHYĀYA
(BEFORE 1409 A. D.).

In the *Saddarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti* the Jaina philosopher Guṇaratna mentions a Brāhmaṇa logician named Abhayatilakopādhyāya³ who wrote a commentary on the Nyāya-sūtra called *Nyāya-vṛtti*.

65. OTHER COMMENTATORS ON THE NYĀYA-SŪTRA.

These are the principal Brāhmaṇa commentators on the Nyāya-sūtra. Subsequently there arose a number of commentators such as Vardhamāna, author of the *Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa*. Vācaspati Miśra the junior, author of *Nyāya-tattvāloka*, Viśvanātha, author of *Nyāya-vṛtti*, etc., whose names are not mentioned here as they belong to the modern school of Nyāya in respect of their style and method of interpretation.

¹ मास्त्यात्मा फलभोगमानमद्य च स्वर्गीय चैत्यार्चनं
संस्काराः कृषिका युष्मन्निति भूतश्चेति विचाराः कृताः ।
सर्वं ग्रन्थमिदं बद्धनि गुरवे देहीति चादिश्यते
बौद्धानां चरितं किमन्यदिद्यतौ दक्षस्य भूमिः परा ॥

(Nyāya-mañjarī, 7th āhnikā, p 467, Gaṅgādhara Śāstri's edition).

^{2, 3} Guṇaratna observes:—

एषां तर्कयन्त्या न्यायसूत्र-भाष्य-वार्तिक-तात्पर्यटीका-तात्पर्य परिशुद्धि न्यायालङ्कार-
रत्नयः । क्रमेण अक्षपाद-वात्स्यायन-उद्गीतकार-वाचस्पतिमिश्र-श्रीशङ्कर-श्री कृष्ण-अभयति-
लकोपाध्याय विरचिताः ५५०० ।

(*Saddarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti* called *Nyāya (Tarka)-rahasya-dīpikā*, chap. II, p. 94, edited by Dr. L. Sual, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*).

CHAPTER IV

The Nyāya recognized as a Branch of Orthodox Learning.

66. A COMPARATIVE ESTIMATE OF THE ĀNVIKṢIKI AND THE NYĀYA.

The Indian Logic at its first stage called *Ānvikṣiki* was often looked upon with positive disfavour and subjected to adverse criticisms, as its deductions were held apparently to be sophistical and heterodox. But at the second stage when it was named *Nyāya*, it gradually got a steady foothold and an increasing number of followers, nay it succeeded, as we read in the writings of Yājñavalkya¹ and others, in gaining recognition as a branch of orthodox learning. On account of its intrinsic worth it became the most prominent of the six systems of philosophy called *Ṣaḍdarśana*. Attempting to prove the infallibility of the *Veda* and adapting itself to the *Śaiva* cult the Nyāya got access into the orthodox community from which it received an unequivocal approbation.

67. THE NYĀYA INCLUDED IN *Ṣaḍdarśana*.

After the term *darśana* (philosophy) had come into use at the beginning of the Christian era, widely divergent systems of thought were designated by this common appellation. We learn that at a later period six systems of philosophy were specially called *Ṣaḍdarśana*. Opinions differ as to which six of the numerous systems constitute *Ṣaḍdarśana*, but it is generally agreed that the Nyāya system is included therein. According to the Jaina philosopher Haribhadra Sūri,² author of *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* (about 1168 A.D.), the six systems were the Buddhist, the *Nyāya*, the Sāṃkhya (including yoga), the Jaina, the Vaiśeṣika and the Jaiminiya (comprising the Mīmāṃsā and the Vedānta). Jinadatta Sūri³ (about 1220 A.D.) reviews the same six

¹ The Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā, 1-3.

² **बौद्धं नैयायिकं सांख्यं जैनं वैशेषिकं तथा ।
जैमिनीयं च षड्विधानि दर्शनानामसूच्यते ॥**

(*Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, verse 3, Dr. Suali's edition).

³ About the date of Jinadatta Sūri, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report of Sanskrit Manuscripts for 1883-84, p. 150, observes: "Jinadatta therefore lived in the first half of the 13th century of the Christian era" Klatt in his Onomasticon, no. 44, maintains on the authority of *Sukṛta-saṃkīrtana* and Prabandba-

systems in his *Viveka-vilāsa* under the head of *Ṣaḍḍarśana vicāra*. Another Jaina writer named Maladhāri Śrī Rājaśekhara Sūri¹ (1348 A.D.) enumerates the same six systems in a different order, viz. the Jaina, the Sāṁkhya (including the Yoga), the Jaimīniya (comprising the Mīmāṁsā and the Vedānta), the Yauga or Śaiva (which is the same as *Nyāya*), the Vaiśeṣika and the Saugata or Buddhist.

The Brāhmanic writer Nārāyaṇa,² in his commentary called *Prakāśa* on the *Naiṣadhacarita*, speaks of *Ṣaḍḍarśana* in which he evidently includes the *Nyāya*. In the *Hayaśirṣa-pañcarātra*,³ a Brāhmanic work supposed to have been introduced into Bengal by Rājā Vallāla Sena (about 1158-1170 A.D.) as well as in the *Gurugītā* of the *Viśvasāra-tantra*, the six systems comprising *Ṣaḍḍarśana* are specified as the philosophies of Gotama (*Nyāya*), Kaṇāda (Vaiśeṣika), Kapila (Sāṁkhya), Patañjali (Yoga), Vyāsa (Vedānta) and Jaimini (Mīmāṁsā). By the term *ṣaḍḍarśana* the Brāhmanic writers understand at present these six systems to the exclusion of the Jaina and the Buddhist which are considered by them as lying outside the pale of it.

68. THE NYĀYA SUPPORTS THE VEDA.

In the *Nyāya-mañjarī*⁴ Jayanta observes that the authority of the Veda was to a large extent established through the aid of the science of reasoning called the *Nyāya*. The reasoning

Authority of the Veda established.

cintāmani that Jinadatta Sūri was present at the pilgrimage of Vastupāla in *samvat* 1277 or 1220 A.D.

1
 जैनं सांख्यं जैमिनीयं यौगं वैशेषिकं तथा ।
 योगतं दर्शनान्येवं नास्तिकं तु न दर्शनम् ॥

(Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri's *Ṣaḍḍarśana-samuccaya*, p. 1, Yaśovijaya-granthamālā, Benares).

2
 साष्टुं प्रथच्छ्रुति न पक्षचतुष्टये तां
 तत्ताभशंसिनि न पक्षमकोटि मात्ते ।
 अडां दधे निषधराड् विमतौ षयायास्
 अद्वैततत्त्व इव सत्यतरेऽपि लोकः ॥ (Naiṣadhacarita, 13-36).

In the commentary on this verse Nārāyaṇa says:—

ममानां सांख्यादि षड् दर्शनानां मध्येपरमार्थतो विद्यमानेऽपि अद्वैतरूपे तत्त्वे.....
 युक्तादुक्तविचार प्रान्यौ जनी यथा अडां न धत्ते ।

3
 गीतमस्य कथादस्य कपिलस्य पतञ्जलीः ।
 व्यासस्य जैमिनेषापि दर्शनानि षड्वेव हि ॥

(*Hayaśirṣa-pañcarātra*, a work which is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Devapratīṣṭhā-tattva*). This verse is quoted in the *Gurugītā* of the *Viśva-sāra-tantra*.

⁴ The *Nyāya-mañjarī*, pp. 4-5, edited by Gaṅgādhara Śāstri, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series.

required for the establishment of such authority has been dealt with in the Nyāya more fully than in any other system of philosophy. The Mīmāṃsā treats of the Vedic injunctions and prohibitions, but it does not examine their worth through the employment of reasoning. The Nyāya¹ alone demonstrates that the Veda is authoritative, because it was delivered by sages who were trustworthy persons. It is true that the Buddhists and Jainas too wrote treatises on reasoning, but these being opposed to the Veda cannot properly be included in the Nyāya, one of the fourteen branches of orthodox learning. In fact it is the work of Akṣapāda that should really be called Nyāya the supporter of Veda. The Nyāya-sūtra actually defends the Veda from the attacks of those who find in it untruth, contradiction and tautology, and declares the sacred text to be infallible like a spell or the medical science.

69. THE NYĀYA ADAPTS ITSELF TO ŚĀIVISM.

In the Śaddarśana-samuccaya of Haribhadra Sūri² (1168 A.D.) as well as in that of Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri³ (1348 A.D.), the followers of the Nyāya philosophy have been called the Śaivas while those of the Vaiśeṣika system have been called the *Pāsupatas*. In the *Vivekavilāsa*, Jinadatta Sūri includes both Naiyāyikas and Vaiśeṣikas in the Śaiva sect. According to the *Devīpurāna*⁴ the Nyāya-śāstra was promulgated by the gracious Śiva himself.

¹ The Nyāya-sūtras, 2-1-53 and 2-1-69, translated by Satichandra Vidya-bhusana, S.B.H. series, Allahabad.

² The Naiyāyikas were also called Yaugas.

अथादौ नैयायिकानां योमापराभिधानानां लिङ्गादिशक्तिरुच्यते । सदा शिवभक्तत्वात् शैवा इत्युच्यन्ते । वैशेषिकास्तु याशुपता इति । तेन नैयायिकशसनं शैवमाख्यायते । वैशेषिकदर्शनं च याशुपत मिति ।

अशुपादमते देवः अश्विंसंघारकश्चिवः ।

विभुर्नित्यैकसर्वज्ञो नित्यबुद्धिसमाश्रयः ॥

(Śaddarśana-samuccaya of Haribhadra Sūri, edited by Dr. Suali, pp. 49-52).

³ Śaddarśana-samuccaya of Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri, pp. 8-11, published in the Yaśovijaya-granthamālā series, Benares.

⁴ शम्भोः ह्यपामनुप्राय यदीशानकरोन्मनिः ।

तेन चाश्वीकिकीसंज्ञां विद्यां प्रावर्तयत् स्वितौ ॥

आदेद्येन शिवस्यैव स शिष्याम दमभिर्दिनेः ।

पाठयामास तां विद्यां वाशिष्मसत आग्निनीम् ॥

(Devīpurāna, Śumbha-niśumbha-mathana-pāda, chapter XVI, MSS. in the collection of Pandita Pañcānana Tarkarata of Rhatnārā).

The Naiyāyikas are called Śaivas because they look upon, as their tutelary deity, Śiva who is the creator and destroyer of the universe. As described by Maladhāri Rājaśekhara Sūri the Naiyāyikas, identified with Śaivas, walked nude, wore matted hair, besmeared their bodies with ash and subsisted on roots and fruits. They always meditated upon Śiva and worshipped his eighteen figures, muttering the formula *om namaḥ Śivāya*, "hail! obeisance to Śiva."

Akṣapāda, author of the Nyāya-sūtra, was a son of Soma-Śarmā¹ who was Śiva incarnate. Vātsyāyana begins his Nyāya-bhāṣya with obeisance to the *Pramāṇas* (Means of Knowledge), but in the body of the book he describes God² (*Īśvara*) in a style applicable only to Maheśvara (Śiva).

Whatever might have been the faiths of Akṣapāda and Vātsyāyana, there is no doubt that all the Brāhmanic Naiyāyikas from Uddyotakara downwards were Śaivas. Uddyotakara, as is evident from the colophon of his Nyāya-vārtika, was a leader of the Pāśupata Śaiva sect. The Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tīkā of Vācaspati Miśra opens with salutation to Pinākin (Śiva) while the Nyāya works of Udayana³ contain abundant proofs that their author was a Śaiva by faith. Bhāsarvajña, author of the Nyāya-sāra,⁴ and Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, author of the Tattvacintāmaṇi, begin their works with salutation to Śambhu or Śiva "the Supreme Lord and the Seer of all truths."

70. THE POPULARITY OF NYĀYA ESTABLISHED.

From the above it is clear that three distinct causes contributed to the popularity and predominance of Nyāya as a school of philosophy. The first was the intrinsic worth of the system which was acknowledged as most useful in carrying on processes

¹ Brahmāṇḍapurāna published under the name of Vāyupurāna by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, adhyāya 23, verses 200 seq

² Nyāya-bhāṣya, 4-1-16, 22

³ Kusumāñjali, chapter I, opening line, chapter II, last verse; chapter IV, last verse; etc.

⁴

प्रथमं शब्दं जगतः परितम्परं

समस्ततच्छार्थविद् सभावनः ।

शिशुप्रबोधाय मयाभिधास्यते

प्रमाणतद्भेद तदन्यलक्षणम् ॥

(Nyāya-sāra, p. 1, edited by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta).

of reasoning and which obtained for the system the foremost rank among the schools of philosophy called *Śaddarsana*. In the second place we notice that having supported the authority of the Veda the Nyāya was readily recognized as an approved branch of learning, and the charge of heterodoxy levelled against it at its early stage was proved to be baseless. Thirdly, the fact that Nyāya adopted the Śaiva cult gave it a positive stamp of orthodoxy and gained for it an unquestionable recognition.

PART II.
THE MEDIÆVAL SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC
CALLED
PRAMĀNA-SĀSTRA—THE SCIENCE OF RIGHT
KNOWLEDGE.
(400 A.D.—1200 A.D.).

SECTION I.

The Jaina Logic (400 A.D.—1700 A.D.).

CHAPTER I.

Topics of Logic mentioned in the Jaina Canons

1. THE SPECIAL FEATURES OF MEDIÆVAL LOGIC
(FROM CIRCA 599 B.C. ONWARDS).

Termination of the Ancient School.

In Part I a short account has been given of the Ancient School of Indian Logic which deals, as we have seen, with the doctrine of the soul and its salvation, as well as with the rules of debate and true reasoning. The Ancient School, which reached the height of its development at the hands of Akṣapāda about 150 A.D., extended over a period of one thousand years, beginning with Gautama about 550 B.C. and ending with Vātsyāyana about 400 A.D. It must not however be supposed that the Ancient School became extinct at 400 A.D. A host of commentators such as Uddyotakara, Vācaspati Mīśra and Udayanācārya, who flourished subsequently, kept the stream of that Logic flowing. But the thousand years from 550 B.C. to 400 A.D. represent what may be termed the period of organic growth of the Ancient School.

Formation of the Mediæval School.

Part II will represent a system of logic called the Mediæval School, the foremost exponents of which were the Jainas and the Buddhists—two powerful sects that were founded by Mahāvīra and Buddha about 600 B.C. At the time of the founders, and in

subsequent times, the Jaina and Buddhist writers occasionally handled the principles of pure logic in expounding the dogmas of their own religion and metaphysics. Some of the writers even brought out regular treatises on logic, but those were either fragments or résumés of the Ancient Logic. By about 450 A.D. the Buddhist logician Dignāga and the Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara, by differentiating the principles of logic from those of religion and metaphysics, laid the true foundation of what is termed the Mediæval School of Indian Logic. This school covered a period of nearly eight hundred years from 400 A.D. to 1200 A.D. In matter and method the Mediæval School conducted by the Jainas and Buddhists differs markedly from the Ancient School which was essentially Brāhmaṇic. The Ancient Logic dealt with sixteen categories such as *pramāṇa*, *prameya*, etc., comprising such heterogeneous elements as doctrine of salvation and nature of the soul, etc. The Mediæval Logic, on the contrary, concerns itself with one category, viz. *pramāṇa*, which touches upon other categories only in so far as these are necessary for its proper elaboration. The doctrine of *pramāṇa* is treated in such a way that it may be equally applied to the religious systems of the Brāhmaṇas, Jainas and Buddhists. Inference, a kind of *pramāṇa*, which was briefly noticed in the Ancient Logic, receives a full treatment in the Mediæval School. Numerous technical terms are coined and great subtleties are introduced into the definition of terms, the theory of syllogism, etc. *Prameya*, the object of knowledge, is rejected on the ground that it is useless in works on logic to treat of the soul, birth, death, etc., which are comprised under this category. The Mediæval Logic thus formed is called in Sanskrit *Pramāṇa-sāstra*, the science of right knowledge.

The works on Mediæval Logic written by the Jainas constitute the Jaina Logic, while those written by the Buddhists constitute the Buddhist Logic. Seeing that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, preceded Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, I shall first treat of the Jaina Logic.

2. MAHĀVĪRA—THE FOUNDER OF JAINISM. (599–527 B.C.).

The Jainas maintain that their religion is coeval with time. According to their traditions there appeared at various periods in the world's history sages whom they call *Jinas*, conquerors of their passions, or *Tirthankaras*, builders of a landing place in the sea of existence. These sages preached the religion of the Jainas. The Jainas hold that in every cycle of time (*utsarpiṇī* or *avasarpiṇī kālā*¹) 24 sages are born. The first sage of the last series was

1 Period of evolution or involution.

Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhadeva, the 24th was Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna, who was born at Kṣatriya-kunḍagrāma in 599 B.C. and attained *nirvāṇa* at Pāvā in 527 B.C.¹ The scriptures which the Jainas obey are founded on the teachings of Mahāvīra. No one disputes this, and scholars generally regard Mahāvīra as the founder of Jainism, and hold that the theory of the existence of *Jinas* previous to him, except Pārśvanātha the 23rd Tirthaṅkara, was a subsequent-invention.

3. THE JAINA SECTS—ŚVETĀMBARA AND DIGAMBARA (FIRST CENTURY A.D.).

The Jainas are divided into two sects, the *Śvetāmbaras*, those who are clothed in white, and the *Digambaras*, those who are sky-clad or naked. The *Śvetāmbaras* claim to be more ancient than the *Digambaras*, whose existence as a separate sect is said to date from A.D. 82,² i.e. 609 years after the attainment of *nirvāṇa* by Mahāvīra.

4. INDRABHŪTI GAUTAMA—A DISCIPLE OF MAHĀVĪRA (607 B.C.—515 B.C.).

The teachings of Mahāvīra as represented in the scriptures are said to have been collected³ by a disciple of his, called Indrabhūti. This disciple is often known as Gautama or Gotama. He

¹ पणहसय वष पणमास जुदं बभिय वीरषिबुरदो सराजो। (Trilokasāra of the Digambara sect). "Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* 605 years-5 months before the Śaka King (78 A.D.) came to the throne," that is, in 527 B.C. As he lived 72 years he must have been born in 599 B.C.

According to Vicārasārenī of Merutunga, Tirthakalpa of Jinaprabha Sūri, Vicāra-sāra-prakarana, Tapāgaccha-pattāvalī, etc., of the Śvetāmbara sect—Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* 470 years before Vikrama Saṃvat or in B.C. 527.

Dr. Jacobi of Bonn, in his letter dated the 21st October, 1907, kindly writes to me as follows:—

"There is however another tradition which makes this event [viz. the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra] come off 60 years later, in 467 B.C. (see Parīṣista Parvan, Introduction, p. 4 f.; also Kalpasūtra, Introduction, p. 8). The latter date cannot be far wrong because Mahāvīra died some years before the Buddha whose death is now placed between 470-480 B.C."

² The Śvetāmbaras say:—इष्वास सयारं ननुतरारं तईया षिदिंययस्स वीरस्स तो बोड्ढियाण दिट्ठी रहवौरपुरे वसुम्पथा। "The Digambara doctrine was preached in Rathavīrapura 609 years after the attainment of *nirvāṇa* by Mahāvīra" (Āvaśyaka niryukti—52). But the Digambaras deny this and say that the Śvetāmbaras rose in Vikrama 136 or 79 A.D. Cf. Bhadrabāhucarita IV. 55:

मते विक्रमभूपालो षट्त्रिंशदधिके शते ।

गवेऽब्दानामभूत्तोके मतं सेताम्बराभिषम् ॥

³

अथ सप्तविंसत्यंशं युतायै जिनभाषितम् ।

हादशाद्भूतं स्वम् सीपार्कं गौतमो यथात् ॥

(Jaina Harivamśa Purāna).

was¹ a *Kevalin*² and the first of the Gaṇa-dharas³ or leaders of the assembly. His father's name was Brāhmaṇa Vasubhūti, and his mother's name was Brāhmaṇī Pṛthvī. He was born in the village of Gorbara⁴ in Magadha and died at Guṇava in Rājagrha (Rajgir) at the age of ninety-two, 12 years after the attainment of *nirvāṇa* by Mahāvīra.⁵ Assuming that Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa* in 527 B.C., Indrabhūti's birth must be assigned to 607 B.C. and his death to 515 B.C.

5. THE CANONICAL SCRIPTURES OF THE JAINAS

Those scriptures of the Jainas which are generally regarded as Anga and Upāṅga. canonical are divided into 45 *siddhāntas* or *āgamas*, classified as 11 *Āngas*, 12 *Upāṅgas*, etc. "For the benefit of children, women, the old, and the illiterate,"⁶ these were composed in the Ardha-Māgadhi or Prākṛta language. On the same principle the scriptures of the Buddhistic canon were originally written in Māgadhi or Pāli. It is maintained

¹ Indrabhūti Gautama and Sudharma Svāmi were the joint compilers of the Jaina scriptures. But Indrabhūti became a *Kevalin* or attained *kevalajñāna* (absolute knowledge) on the day on which Mahāvīra attained *nirvāṇa*. He did not therefore occupy the chair of his teacher Mahāvīra, but relinquished it to his spiritual brother Sudharma Svāmi. Cf. इन्द्रभूति प्रवृत्तीनां निपदीं व्याहरत् प्रभुः ॥ (Hemacandra's Mahāvīracarita, chap. v. MSS. lent by Muni Dharmavijaya and Indravijaya).

² Possessor of absolute knowledge. For a further reference to this title see R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 122.

³ यत्प्रज्ञाप्रसरेऽनिशायिनि तथा प्रालेयग्रैल्लोडञ्जले
जैनी गौरचरन्निपद्यपि यथा सद्यः परैः कोटिशः ।
अज्ञोपाङ्गमदोदया समभवन्लैल्लोक्खसंचारिणो
वन्द्योऽधौ गणभृज्जगत्त्रयमुदनीक्रेन्द्रभूतिः सताम् ॥ ४ ॥

(Siddhajayanti-caritra-tīkā, noticed in Peterson's 3rd Report, App. 1, p. 38).

⁴ श्रीमन्मं समधेषु गोर्वर इति घासोऽभिरामः त्रिया
तद्योत्यङ्गमसन्नचित्तमनिशं श्रीवौरसेवाविधौ ।
व्योतिःसंश्रयगौतमान्दशविद्यत्प्रस्योतनद्योमर्थि
नापोतोर्णसुवर्णवर्णवपुषं भक्त्येन्द्रभूतिं स्ववे ॥

(Gotamastotra by Jinaprabha Sūri, extracted in Kāvya-mālā, 7th Guccaka, p. 110).

⁵ For particulars about Indrabhūti Gautama, vide Dr. J. Klatt's *Pattāvalī* of the Kharataragaccha in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, Sept. 1882, p. 246; and Weber's *Die Handschriften Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, pp. 983 and 1030, in which are noticed Sarvarājagaṇi's *Vṛtti* on Gaṇadhara-sārdha-satakam of Jinadattasūri, and *Śrī-pattāvalī-vācanā* of the Kharataragaccha.

⁶ Haribhadra-sūri, in his *Daśa-vaikālika-vṛtti* (Chap. III), observes:—

बालस्त्रीदृढसूक्ष्मिणां खर्षां चारिवकाः कृत्विषाम् ।
अनुपहायं तत्तन्मैः सिद्धान्तः प्राकृतः स्मृतः ॥

that originally the Āngas were 12 in number. The 12th Ānga, which was called Dṛṣṭivāda or the presentation of views, was written in Sanskrit.¹

The Dṛṣṭivāda is not extant. It consisted apparently of five parts, in the first of which logic is said to have been dealt with. The Dṛṣṭivāda is reputed to have existed in its entirety at the time of Sthūlabhadra² who, according to the *Tapāgachapattāraṅga*, died in the year in which the 9th Nanda was killed by Candra Gupta (i.e. about 327 B.C.). By 474 A.D. the Dṛṣṭivāda had disappeared altogether. Nothing is known as to the way in which logic was treated in the Dṛṣṭivāda.³

6. LOGICAL SUBJECTS IN THE CANONS.

The subject-matter of logic is touched upon in several of the Pramāna and Naya. 45 Prakṛta scriptures of the Jainas. In the Bhagavatī-sūtra,⁴ Sthānāṅga-sūtra, etc. which are Āngas, and in the Prajñāpanā-sūtra which is an Upāṅga, there is a description of *Naya*, or the method of comprehending things from particular standpoints. In the Sthānāṅga-sūtra, Bhagavatī-sūtra, etc.,⁵ there is a complete classification of valid knowledge called *pramāṇa*, *pramāṇa*, *jñāna*, *nāna* or *hetu*.

¹ Vardhamāna-sūri, in his *Ācāra-dinakara*, quotes the following passage from Āgama:—

सूत्रेषु दिङ्मिदं कालिय उक्कालियंग सिद्धं ।
श्रीबालवायणस्य पार्थ सुदय जिनवरिणि ॥

² Vide *Ācāra-dinakara* of Nandī Sūtra, page 478, published by Dhanapat Singh, Calcutta, and Peterson's 4th Report on Sanskrit MSS, p. cxxxvi.

³ For a full history of the Dṛṣṭivāda (called in Prakṛta *Ditthivāo*) see Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jainas*, translated by Weir Smyth in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, May 1891, pp. 170-182.

⁴ In the Bhagavatī-sūtra and Prajñāpanā-sūtra, *Naya* is divided into seven kinds, viz. *naigama*, *saṃgraha*, *vyavahāra*, *rju-sūtra*, *śabda*, *saṃśīrṣṭha* and *evambhūta*. For an explanation of these terms see Umāsvāti, who instead of dividing *Naya* into seven kinds, first divides it into five kinds, and then subdivides one of the five, viz. *śabda*, into three kinds.

⁵ In the Sthānāṅga-sūtra, knowledge (*jñāna*) is divided into (1) *Pratyakṣa* (direct knowledge) and (2) *Parokṣa* (indirect knowledge). *Pratyakṣa* again is subdivided as *Kevala jñāna* (entire knowledge) and *Akevala jñāna* (defective knowledge). The *Akevala jñāna* is subdivided as *avadhi* and *manah-paryāya*. The *Parokṣa jñāna* is subdivided as *abhinabodha* (*mati*) and *śruta*. Vide the Sthānāṅga-sūtra, pp. 45-48, and the Nandī-sūtra, pp. 120-134: both published by Dhanapat Singh and printed in Calcutta. See also what is said in the account of Umāsvāti

seq. पमारे षडधिरे पदने, दुविरे भावे पदने, नं अहा पदकषे चैव परीकषे चैव ।

(Sthānāṅga-sūtra, chap. 6, p. 45).

The word "Hetu" is found in the Prākṛta scriptures, but its use in these works makes it clear that it had not at this period acquired a very definite significance. In the Sthānānga-sūtra¹ it is used not only in the sense of reason, but also as a synonym for valid knowledge (*Pramāṇa*) and inference (*Anumāna*). *Hetu*, as identical with valid knowledge (*Pramāṇa*) is stated to be of four kinds, viz. :—

- (1) knowledge derived from perception (*Pratyakṣa*);
- (2) knowledge derived from inference (*Anumāna*).
- (3) knowledge derived through comparison (*Ūpamāna*), and
- (4) knowledge derived from verbal testimony or reliable authority (*Āgama*)

When *Hetu* is used in the sense of inference (*Anumāna*), it is classified according to the following types :—

- (1) This *is*, because that *is*: There is a fire, because there is smoke.
- (2) This *is not*, because that *is*: It is not cold because there is a fire.
- (3) This *is*, because that *is not*: It is cold here, because there is no fire.
- (4) This *is not*, because that *is not*: There is no *śimśapā* tree here, because there are no trees at all.

In the Sūtrakṛtāṅga² there is mention of *vitarka* (in Prākṛta: *viyakka*) in the sense of speculation, *tarika* (in Prākṛta: *takka*) in the sense of reasoning or debate, *pakṣa* (in Prākṛta: *pakkha*) in the sense of a party, and *chala* in the sense of quibble.

अथवा हेक चउच्चिहे पद्मने तं जहा
 पद्महे अनुमाणे जवमे आमने ।
 अथवा हेक चउच्चिहे पद्मने तं जहा
 अत्थि तं अत्थि सो हेक अत्थि तं ।
 अत्थि सो हेक अत्थि तं अत्थि सो
 हेक अत्थि त अत्थि सो हेक ॥

(Bhagavati-sūtra, p. 336, and Sthānānga-sūtra, pp. 309-310, published by Dhanapat Singh and printed in Calcutta).

2

सल्लिखुभावं न गिरा महीय, से सुम्भुई हौइ अषाणुवाई ।
 इमं दुपक्खं इममेमपक्खं आहंसु कलाधनणं च एग ॥ ५ ॥
 एवमेण विथक्कादि, नो अन्नं पक्खुवासिया
 अण्णयो व विथक्कादिं, अयमंजू हि दुम्भई ॥ २१ ॥
 एवं नक्कादि सारिंता, धम्मपण्णे अकोविया ।
 दुक्खं वे नाइतुइंति, सउण्णी पंजरं कदा ॥ २० ॥

(Sūtrakṛtāṅga, p. 62, published by Dhanapat Singh, Calcutta).

In the *Sthānānga-sūtra*¹ an example, called in Prākṛta *nūa* (in Sanskrit *gnāta*), is divided into four kinds, viz. (1) *āharaṇa*, a complete example which bears similarity to the thing exemplified in all respects, (2) *āharaṇa-taddesa*, a limited example which bears similarity to the thing exemplified only in respect of a part, (3) *āharaṇa-taddoṣa*, a defective example, and (4) *upanyāsopanaya*, an anecdote used as an example.

In the *Sthānānga-sūtra*² the following are enumerated as expedients in a hostile debate or debate *a l'outrance*. (1) *Asakkaññā*, taking some time in making oneself ready (2) *ussakkaññā*, gaining enthusiasm after the enjoyment of leisure, (3) *anulomaññā*, propitiating the authorities or making them favourable, (4) *pratilomaññā*, making the authorities hostile (against one's respondent), (5) *bhāññā*, serving the authorities, (6) *bheyaññā*, creating divisions.

In the *Sthānānga-sūtra*³ the following are enumerated as the defects (*doṣa*) of a debate —

(1) *Tajjāta-doṣa*, the defect arising from a disputant being agitated in mind, (2) *maubhāṅga-doṣa*, the defect arising from the failure of his memory, (3) *prasāstr-ādoṣa*, the defect arising from the authorities, e.g. the president or the members, showing partiality, (4) *pariharāṇa-doṣa*, avoidance of the charges brought by a disputant, (5) *lakṣaṇa-doṣa*, the defect of definition [which may be too wide, too narrow or altogether incomprehensible], (6) *kāraṇa-doṣa*, the defect of arguing, (7) *hetu-doṣa*, committing fallacies, (8) *samkramaṇa-doṣa*, diversion to other subjects, (9) *nūgraha-doṣa*, the defect of understanding, and (10) *vastu-doṣa*, the defect of the subject (of debate).

¹ चउच्चिहे षाए यच्चते तं जहा. आहरणे. आहरणतदोसे. आहरणतदोसे. उवञ्जा सीदणए ।

(*Sthānānga-sūtra*, p. 300, published by Dhanapāt Singh, Calcutta).

² उच्चिहे विवाहे पञ्चते. तं जहा. उवञ्जता. उवञ्जावता. पडिहीमता. भयता. भयता ।

(*Sthānānga-sūtra*, p. 421, published by Dhanapāt Singh, Calcutta).

³ इषच्चिहे दोसे पञ्चते. तं जहा. तज्जायदोसे. मइमंगदोसे. पसत्थारदोसे परिहरणदोसे. सलखण-कारण हेउदोसे. संकामणं. निमइवत्तुदोसे ।

(*Sthānānga-sūtra*, p. 560, published by Dhanapāt Singh, Calcutta).

CHAPTER II.

Early Jaina writers on Logic.

BHADRABĀHU THE SENIOR (CIRCA 433-357 B.C.).

BHADRABĀHU THE JUNIOR (CIRCA 375 A.D. OR 450-520 A.D.).

Though we come across some technical terms of Ancient Logic in the canonical scriptures of the Jainas, yet we have no proof that the Jainas undertook at that stage to write any regular work on logic. The early Jaina writers who discussed definite problems of logic, were Bhadrabāhu and Umāsvāti. An elaborate discussion of certain principles of logic is found in a Prākṛta commentary on the Daśa-vaikālika sūtra, called Daśavaikālika-niryukti. This commentary was the work of one Bhadrabāhu¹ of the Prācīna Gotra. For 45 years this sage lived the ordinary life of the world; 17 years he passed in the performance of religious vows (*Vratas*); and for 14 years he was acknowledged by the Jainas to be the foremost man of his age (*Yuga-pradhāna*).² He was a *Śrutakevalin*,³ that is, one versed in the 14 *Pūrvas* of the *Dṛṣṭivāda*.

The above-mentioned incidents are generally accepted as facts in the life of the author of the commentary. There is, however, some doubt as to the time in which he lived.⁴ According to the records⁵ of the *Śvetāmbaras* he was born in 433 B.C. and died in 357 B.C. The *Digambaras* maintain there were two Bhadrabāhus; that the first (Bhadrabāhu the senior) lived to 162 years from the

¹ For particulars *vide* Dr. J. Klatt's *Kharataragaccha-pattāvalī* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, Sept 1882, p. 247, Weber II, p. 999, Peterson's 4th Report on Sanskrit MSS., p. lxxxiv, and Dr. H. Jacobi's edition of the *Kalpasūtra*, Introduction, pp. 11-15. Bhadrabāhu (senior) seems to have lived between 380 B.C. and 314 B.C., if he was really a contemporary of King Candra Gupta (Maurya), but about 375 A.D. if he lived at the time of Candra Gupta II, called Vikramāditya, of the Gupta dynasty.

² In the *Vicāra-ratna-saṅgraha* by Jayasoma-sūri noticed by Peterson in his 3rd Report on Sanskrit MSS., pp. 307-308, Bhadrabāhu is included among the *Yuga-pravaras* or *Yuga-pradhānas*.

³ For further particulars about this title see R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 122.

⁴ In Weber II, p. 999, in which the *Gurvāvalī-sūtra* of Mahopādhyāya Dharmasāgaragani is noticed, we read of Sambhūti-vijaya and Bhadrabāhu "Ubhau-pi *ṣaṣṭhapattādharau*."

⁵

सर्वज्ञः पूर्वभूतां द्वितीयः
बीभद्रवाक्य (०) रुद्रः शिवाय ।
सर्व पञ्चादिहरणं यो
ररत्त सङ्ग धरणाचिन्ताः ॥ १९ ॥

nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, that is, up to 365 B.C., and that the second¹ (Bhadrabāhu the junior) to 515 years from the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, that is, up to 12 B.C. They do not state definitely which of these Bhadrabāhus was the author of the Daśavaikālika-niryukti, but they hold the view that the second was the author of several of the existing Jaina works. The *Śvetāmbara* records do not contain any mention of the second Bhadrabāhu, but in the *Ṛṣiṃṇḍala-prakarāṇa-vṛtti*² and *Kalpa-sūtra-subodhikā-vṛtti*,³ two commentaries of the *Śvetāmbaras*, and in the *Caturviṃśati prabandha*, it is stated that Bhadrabāhu lived in the south in Pratiṣṭhāna and was a brother of Varāhamihira. Now Varāhamihira is popularly believed to have lived in the first century B.C. It is possible therefore, even according to the *Śvetāmbaras*, that the Daśavaikālika-niryukti was the work of a commentator who, if we rely on popular belief, lived about the time of the opening of the Christian era. As a fact Bhadrabāhu could not have lived much earlier than 500 A.D. if he was a brother of Varāhamihira.

From the confusing traditions preserved by the Jainas, it may be concluded that Bhadrabāhu lived in the reign of Candra Gupta II, called Vikramāditya, about 375 A.D.

Whatever was his date, the author of the Daśavaikālika-niryukti wrote commentaries (niryuktis) on the following Jaina scriptures:—*Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-sūtra*, *Daśāśruta-skandha-sūtra*, *Kalpa-sūtra*, *Vyavahāra-sūtra*, *Sūrya-prajñapti-sūtra*, and *Ṛṣibhāṣita-sūtra*.

7. BHADRABĀHU'S SYLLOGISM.

Bhadrabāhu did not set himself to analyse knowledge with the object of evolving a system of logic. His object was to illus-

मिथुं ह सिद्धात्मपयोधिराय
 खर् चक्ष वीरात् हननेषु वर्षे १७० ।
 तयोर्दिनेषुः हतविश्वभद्रः
 श्रीशूलभद्रश्च ददात् ऋषे ॥ १४ ॥

(Gurvāvalī by Munisūndara-sūri published in the *Jaina Yaśovijaya-granthamālā* of Benares, p. 4).

¹ *Vide* the *Sarasvatī-gaccha-paṭṭāvalī* in the *Indian Antiquary*, October 1891, and March 1892.

² *Vide* Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Reports on Sanskrit MSS. during 1883-84, p. 138. Bhadrabāhu must have lived as late as the 6th century A.D., if he was really a brother of that Varāhamihira who was one of the nine Gems at the court of Vikramāditya. Munis Dharmavijaya and Indravijaya maintain that Bhadrabāhu's brother was not the same Varāhamihira that adorned the court of Vikramāditya.

³ प्रतिग्रामपुरे वराहमिहिर भद्रबाहु द्विजो प्रजितौ । भद्रबाहोराचार्यं पद्दाने बहः
 खर् वराहो द्विजनेषुमाहृत्य वाराहो संघितां हता भिमिसे जीवति ।

(*Kalpa-sūtra-subodhikāvṛtti* printed in Bombay).

trate the truth of certain principles of the Jaina religion. To do this, he, in his *Daśavaikālika-niryukti*,¹ elaborated a syllogism consisting of ten parts (*daśānaya-vākya*), and then demonstrated how the religious principles of Jainism satisfied the conditions of this syllogism.

The following is an example:—

(1) The proposition (*Pratijñā*),—“to refrain from taking life is the greatest of virtues.”
The Syllogism of ten parts. is the greatest of virtues.”

(2) The limitation of the proposition (*Pratijñā-vibhakti*)—“to refrain from taking life is the greatest of virtues, according to the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.”

(3) The reason (*Hetu*),—“to refrain from taking life is the greatest of virtues, because those who so refrain are loved by the gods and to do them honour is an act of merit for men.”

(4) The limitation of the reason (*Hetu-vibhakti*),—“none but those who refrain from taking life are allowed to reside in the highest place of virtue.”

(5) The counter-proposition (*Vipakṣa*),—“but those who despise the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and take life are said to be loved by the gods, and men regard doing them honour as an act of merit. Again, those who take life in sacrifices are said to be residing in the highest place of virtue. Men, for instance, salute their fathers-in-law as an act of virtue, even though the latter despise the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and habitually take life. Moreover, those who perform animal sacrifices are said to be beloved of the gods.”

(6) The opposition to the counter-proposition (*Vipakṣa-atisedha*),—“those who take life as forbidden by the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras do not deserve honour, and they are certainly not loved by

ने च पदस्य विनती हेतु-विभक्ती विवक्ष्यपडिषेहो ।

दिद्विंशो चासका तप्यद्विषेहो निगमणं च ॥ १४२ ॥

(*Daśavaikālika-niryukti*, p. 74, published under the patronage of Dhanapat Singh by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay; and Dr. E. Leumann's edition of *Daśavaikālika-niryukti*, p. 649).

The Jainas characterise a syllogism of ten parts as the best (*uttama*), a syllogism of five parts as the mediocre (*madhyama*), and a syllogism of two parts as the worst (*jaghanya*). Candrar Prabha Sūri (1102 A.D.) observes:—

अवयवावैचया जघन्य मध्यमोत्कृष्टालिखः कथा भवन्ति इति । तत्र हेतुप्रतिपादनमात्रं जघन्यः श्लाघ्यवयवनिवेदनं मध्यमं, संपूर्णं दशावयवकथनमुत्कृष्टम् ।

(*Nyāyāvātāra-vivṛti* on verse 20 of *Nyāyāvātāra*, p. 8, edited by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Calcutta). Similarly Ratnaprabha Sūri (1181 A.D.) says:—

पञ्चादिशुद्धयश्च पञ्चमाह्वयाः । तत उत्कृष्टं दशावयवं परार्थानुमानम् इत्युक्तं भवति । मध्यमं तु त्रयावयवकारभ्य यावत् द्वावयवम् । जघन्यं पुनः साधनमात्रोपन्यास स्वरूपम् । प्रतिपाद्यानां मन्वन्व्युत्पन्नानिव्युत्पन्नत्वात् ।

(*Syād-vāda-ratnā-kurā-vatārikā*, p. 20. Chap. III, edited by Hara Govind Das

the gods. It is as likely that fire will be cold as that they will be loved by the gods or to do them honour will be regarded by men as an act of merit Buddha, Kapila and others, though really not fit to be worshipped, were honoured for their miraculous sayings, but the Jaina *Tīrthāṅkaras* are honoured because they speak absolute truth.”

(7) An instance or example (*Dr̥stānta*),—“the *Arhats* and *Sādhus* do not even cook food, lest in so doing they should take life. They depend on householders for their meals.”

(8) Questioning the validity of the instance or example (*Āśaṅkā*),—“the food which the householders cook is as much for the *Arhats* and *Sādhus* as for themselves. If, therefore, any insects are destroyed in the fire, the *Arhats* and *Sādhus* must share in the householders’ sin. Thus the instance cited is not convincing.”

(9) The meeting of the question (*Āśaṅkā-pratisedha*),—“the *Arhats* and *Sādhus* go to householders for their food without giving notice and not at fixed hours. How, therefore, can it be said that the householders cooked food for the *Arhats* and *Sādhus*? Thus the sin, if any, is not shared by the *Arhats* and *Sādhus*.”

(10) Conclusion (*Nigamana*),—“to refrain from taking life is therefore the best of virtues, for those who so refrain are loved by the gods, and to do them honour is an act of merit for men.”

8. BHADRABĀHU’S EXPLANATION OF *Syādvāda*.

Bhadrabāhu in his *Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-niryukti*¹ mentions another principle of the Jaina Logic called *Syādvāda* (*Syat* “may be” and *Vāda* “assertion,” or the assertion of possibilities) or *Saptabhaṅgī-naya* (the sevenfold paralogism).

The *Syādvāda*² is set forth as follows:—(1) May be, it is, (2) may be, it is not, (3) may be, it is and it is not, (4) may be, it

1
असिद्यस्यं किरियाणं
अकिरियाणं च होद् चुलसीति ।
अभाषिय सत्तुदी
वेणुयाणं च वत्तोषा ॥ २१ ॥

(*Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-niryukti*, skandha 1, adhyāya 12, p. 448, edited by Bhum Singh Manak and printed in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay)

Cf. *Sthānāṅga-sūtra*, p. 316, published by Dhanapat Singh, Benares edition

² Cf. *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 55. For full particulars about *Syādvāda* or *Saptabhaṅgī-naya* vide *Saptabhaṅgī-taraṅgiṇī* by Vimala Dāsa printed in Bombay.

is indescribable, (5) may be, it is and yet is indescribable, (6) may be, it is not and it is also indescribable, (7) may be, it is and it is not and it is also indescribable.

9. UMĀSVĀTI (1-85 A.D.).

Jaina philosophy recognises seven categories, viz. (1) the soul (*Jīva*), (2) the soul-less (*Ajīva*), (3) action (*Karma*), (4) bondage (*Bandha*), (5) restraint (*Samvara*), (6) destruction of the consequences of action (*Nirjarā*), and (7) release or salvation (*Mokṣa*). According to the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*¹ which with a *Bhāṣya* or commentary was composed by one Umāsvāti, these categories can be comprehended only by *Pramāṇa*, the means of valid knowledge and by *Naya*, the method of comprehending things from particular standpoints.

Umāsvāti is better known as Vācaka-śramaṇa: he was also called Nāgaravācaka, this title being probably a reference to his Śākhā (spiritual genealogy). The Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya calls him Umāsvāti-vācakācārya.² He lived for 84 years, 8 months, and 6 days and ascended heaven in Śaṃvat 142, i.e. in 85 A.D. In the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* Umāsvāti gives the following account³ of himself:—He was born in a village called Nyagrodhikā, but he wrote the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* in Pāṭliputra or Kusumapura (modern Patna). He belonged to the Kaubhīṣaṇin-gotra. His father was Svāti and he was consequently sometimes called Svāti-

¹ There are commentaries on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* by Pūjyapāda Svāmīn called *Sarvārtha-siddhi*, by Akalankadeva called *Tattvārtha-vartukāṅkāra*, etc., which will be mentioned later.

² Vide *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*, chapter on Jaina darśana.

³ न्ययोविकाप्रसूतेन विहरता पुरवरे कुसुमनाम्नि ।
कौभीषणिना स्वात्मिनयेन वात्सीसूतेनार्थम् ॥ १ ॥
सर्वद्वन्द्वं सम्यग्ब्रह्ममेवाग्रतं समुपधार्यं ।
दुःखार्थं च दुराग्रविचिन्तयति लोकमवलोक्य ॥ ४ ॥
इदमुत्तमोत्तमवचिकेन सत्त्वानुकल्पया दत्तम् ।
तत्त्वार्थाधिगमाख्यं स्पष्टमुमास्वतिना ग्राह्यम् ॥ ५ ॥

(*Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, chap. X, p. 233, edited by Mody Keshavlal Premchand in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series, Calcutta).

A similar account is found in the commentary on the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* by Siddhasenagani. This account is mentioned by Peterson in his 4th Report on *Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. xvi.

For further particulars about Umāsvāti see Peterson's 4th Report on *Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. xvi, where he observes that in the *Digambara Pātṭāvalī* published

tanaya. He was also known as Vātsī-suta, because his mother was Umā of the Vatsagotra. In the Tirthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri, it is stated that Umāsvāti was the author of 500 Sanskrit prakaraṇas (treatises). He is said to have belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect, though it is probable that the distinction between that sect and the Digambaras had not in his time come into existence.

10. UMĀSVĀTI'S DOCTRINE OF *Pramāṇa* (RIGHT KNOWLEDGE).

In the Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra *Pramāṇa* fluctuates between the meanings of valid knowledge and the means of valid knowledge. In its former sense *Pramāṇa*, according to this Sūtra, is of two kinds: (1) *Parokṣa*, indirect knowledge, which is acquired by the soul through external agencies such as the organs of sense, and (2) *Pratyakṣa*, direct knowledge, which is acquired by the soul without the intervention of external agencies. *Parokṣa*, indirect knowledge, includes *mati*¹ and *sruta*, for these are acquired by the soul through the medium of the senses and the mind. Knowledge which is attained by *Yoga* (concentration) in its three stages of *avadhi manahparyāya* and *kevala*—is a species of *Pratyakṣa*, direct knowledge, because it is acquired by the soul not through the medium of the senses.

Umāsvāti contends² that inference (*Anumāna*), comparison

same as Umāsvāti) is included as the sixth Digambara Sūri of the Sarasvatī-gaccha, between Kundakunda and Lohācārya II. According to Dr. Hoernle (*vide* "Two Pattāvalis of the Sarasvatīgaccha" by Dr. Hoernle in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XX, October 1891, p. 351) the date of Umāsvāmin's accession is 44 A.D., and one lived for 84 years, 8 months and 6 days. Dr. Hoernle adds, the Kāṣṭhāsaraṅgha arose in the time of Umāsvāmin.

Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra with his *bhāṣya*, together with Pūjā-prakaraṇa, Jambudvīpa-samāsa and Praśamaratī, has been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, in one volume, which ends thus:—

इति: विनाम्बराचार्यस्य महाश्वरेजनास्त्रातिवाचकस्य इति ॥

(Jambudvīpa-samāsa, p. 38, published as Appendix C to the Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra in the Bibliotheca Indica series).

The Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra has been translated into English by Mr. J. L. Jaini of Indore.

¹ *Mati* is knowledge of existing things acquired through the senses and the mind.

Sruta is knowledge of things (past, present and future) acquired through reasoning and study.

Avadhi is knowledge of things beyond the range of our perception.

Manahparyāya is knowledge derived from reading the thoughts of others.

Kevala is unobstructed, unconditional and absolute knowledge.

² In the *bhāṣya* on aphorism 12, of Chapter 1 of the Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra, Umāsvāti observes:—

अनुमानोपमानात्मार्थापत्तिसम्भवाभावानपि च प्रमायानौति केचिन्मन्यन्ते तन्मध्यमेतदिति चकोशवे । सर्वास्तानि मातन्तुतयोरन्तर्भूतानि इन्द्रियार्थसमिक्कषेनितित्वात् ॥

(Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra, p. 15).

(*Upamāna*), verbal testimony or reliable authority (*Āgama*), presumption (*Arthāpatti*), probability (*Sambhava*), and non-existence (*Abhāva*), are not separate sources of valid knowledge: he includes them under *Parokṣa* (indirect knowledge). According to his theory the majority of them are the result of the contact of the senses with the objects which they apprehend: and some of them are not sources of valid knowledge at all.

It is interesting to note that according to Umāsvāti and the earlier Jaina philosophers all sense-perceptions (visual perception, auditory perception, etc.) are indirect apprehensions, inasmuch as the soul acquires them not of itself but through the medium of the senses. The words *Parokṣa* and *Pratyakṣa* are thus used by these authors in senses quite opposite to those which they bear in Brāhmanic logic and in the later Jaina Logic.¹

11. UMĀSVĀTĪ'S EXPLANATION OF *Naya* (THE MOOD OF STATEMENTS).

In the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, *Naya*² is described as the method by which things are comprehended from particular standpoints. It is of five kinds:—(1) *Naigama*, the non-distinguished or non-analytical, (2) *Samgraha*, the collective, (3) *Vyavahāra*, the practical, (4) *Rju-sūtra*, the straight or immediate, (5) *Śabda*, the verbal or nominal.

Naigama, the non-analytical, is the method by which an object is regarded as possessing both general and specific properties, no distinction being made between them. For instance, when you use the word "bamboo," you are indicating a number of properties some of which are peculiar to the bamboo, while others are possessed by it in common with other trees. You do not distinguish between these two classes of properties.

In his *bhāṣya* on 1—6 of the *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra*, Umāsvāti observes:—

चतुर्विधमित्येके ।

(*Tattvārthādhigama sūtra*, p. 9).

In his *bhāṣya* on 1—35 he mentions the four *Pramāṇas* thus:—

यथा वा प्रत्यक्षानुमानपमानाप्रवचनेः प्रमाणैरेकोऽर्थः प्रतीयते सविषयनियमत् न च ता विप्रतिपत्तयो भवन्ति तदस्युवादा इति ॥ (Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra, p. 35).

These four kinds of *Pramāṇa* seem to refer to those in the *Nyāya-Sūtra* of the Hindu logician Aksapāda. But the same four kinds are also referred to as subdivisions of *Hetu* in the *Sthānānga Sūtra* of the Jainas, p. 309, published by Dhanapat Singh and printed in Calcutta.

¹ Here *Parokṣa* stands for *sāṃvyaṅgyavahārika pratyakṣa* while *Pratyakṣa* for *pāra-mārthika pratyakṣa* (*vide* *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokāṅkāra*, chapter II).

² नैवमयं च कनकान्तस्य भाष्ये च उच्यते ॥ १. १. १० ॥

Samgraha, the collective, is the method which takes into consideration generic properties only, ignoring particular properties.

Vyavahāra, the practical, is the method which takes into consideration the particular only. The general without the particular is a nonentity.

If you ask a person to bring you a plant, he must bring you a particular plant, he can not bring plant in general.

Rjū-sūtra, the straight or immediate, is the method which considers a thing as it exists at the moment, without any reference to its past or its future. It is vain to ponder over a thing as it was in the past or as it will be in the future. All practical purposes are served by considering the thing itself as it exists at the present moment. For instance, a man who in a previous birth was my son is now born as a prince, but he is of no practical use to me now. The method of *Rjū-sūtra* recognises the entity itself (*bhāva*), but does not consider its name (*nāma*) or image (*sthāpanā*), or the causes which constituted it (*dravya*). The fact that a cowherd is called *Indra* does not make him lord of the heavens. An image of a king can not perform the functions of the king. The causes, which exist in me now and will necessitate my being born hereafter with a different body, can not enable me to enjoy that body now.

Śabda,¹ the verbal, is the method of correct nomenclature. It is of three kinds, viz *Sāmprata*, the suitable, *Samabhirūḍha*, the subtle, and *Evambhūta*, the such-like. In Sanskrit a jar is called *ghata*, *kumbha* or *kalasa*, and these are synonymous terms. *Sāmprata* consists in using a word in its conventional sense, even if that sense is not justified by its derivation. For example the word "*Satru*," according to its derivation, means "destroyer," but its conventional meaning is "enemy." *Samabhirūḍha* consists in making nice distinctions between synonyms, selecting in each case the word which on etymological grounds is the most appropriate. *Evambhūta* consists in applying to things such names only as their actual condition justifies. Thus a man should not be called *Śakra* (strong), unless he actually possesses the *Śakti* (strength) which the name implies.

¹ Umāsvāti in his *bhāṣya* on I-35 observes :—

यथार्थाभिधानं शब्दः नामादिषु प्रसिद्धपूर्वाशब्दाद् अर्थे प्रत्ययः सम्प्रतः सत्सु अर्थेषु
असंक्रमः समभिरुद्धः । अशुनार्थयोरिवभूत इति ॥

(Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra, p. 32).

CHAPTER III.

Jaina writers on Systematic Logic.

12. THE WRITTEN RECORDS OF THE JAINAS (COMMENCING FROM 453 A.D.).

The teachings of Mahāvīra as contained in the Jaina *Āgamas* are said to have been handed down by memory for several centuries until in Vīra Sarīvat 980 or A.D. 453, they were codified in writing by Devardhi Gaṇi,¹ otherwise known as Kṣamāśramaṇa, at a council held at Valabhi (near Bhavanagara in Guzerat). According to this theory the authentic history of the Jaina literature commences from 453 A.D., and all that preceded that period is to be regarded as merely traditional.

13. SYSTEMATIC JAINA LOGIC.

During the era of tradition there existed no systematic Jaina treatise on Logic, its principles being included in the works on metaphysics and religion. With the commencement of the historical period in 453 A.D. there grew up, among the Jainas of both the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects, a band of scholars who devoted themselves to the study of logic with great interest and enthusiasm. They wrote treatises on logic the rules of which clashed neither with the religious dogmas of the Brāhmaṇas nor with those of the Buddhists and Jainas. These treatises, along with the similar works of the Buddhists, contributed to the formation of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic.

¹ Vide Dr. Klatt's *Pattāvalī* of the *Kharataragaccha* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Sept. 1882, Vol. XI, p. 247, and Dr. Jacobi's *Kalpasūtra*, Introduction, p. 15. See also *Vinaya Vijaya Gaṇi's* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* which quotes the following text:—

बलद्विपुरंलि नचरे ।
देवद्वि पदुच सयलसंवेदि ।
दुध्वे आगम लिचिउ ।
नवसय असौ आमु वीराउ ॥ १ ॥

(*Sukhabodhikā-tikā* to *Kalpasūtra*, p. 433, printed in Kathiwar by Hira Lal Hamsarāja).

In Devardhi Gaṇi's redaction of the *Kalpasūtra* (vide Dr. Jacobi's edition of the *Kalpasūtra*, p. 67) we read:—

Samagassa bhagavao Mahāvīrassa jāva savva-dukkha-ppahinassa navavāsasa-yāim vikkamtāim dasamassa ya vāsa-sayassa, ayam aśī ime samvacchare kāle

14. SIDDHASENA DIVĀKARA *alias* KṢAPAṆAKA
(ABOUT 480—550 A.D.).

The first Jaina writer on systematic logic was Siddhasena Divākara. It was he who for the first time laid the foundation of a science called Logic among the Jainas by compiling a treatise called *Nyāyāvātāra*¹ in thirty-two short stanzas.

Siddhasena Divākara is also famous as the author of the *Sammatitarka-sūtra* which is a work in Prākṛta on general philosophy containing an elaborate discussion on the principles of logic. This author, who belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect, has been mentioned by Pradyumna Sūri (*q.v.*) in his *Vicāra-sāra-prakarāṇa** and by Jina Sena Sūri in the *Ādipurāṇa* dated 783 A.D.

Siddhasena, who was a pupil of Vṛddha-vādisūri, received the name of Kumuda-candra² at the time of ordination. He is said to have split, by the efficacy of his prayers, the Liṅga, the Brāhmaṇical symbol of Rudra, in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī, and to have called forth an image of Pārśvanātha by reciting his *Kalyāṇa-mandira-stava*. He is believed by Jainas to have converted Vikramāditya to Jainism 470 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, that is, in 57 B.C.³

But Vikramāditya of Ujjainī does not seem to be so old, as he has been identified by scholars with Yaśodharma Deva, king of Malwa, who, on the authority of Aliberuni, defeated the Huns at Korur in 533 A.D. This view of scholars agrees well with the statement of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-thsang, who visited India in 629 A.D. and says that a very powerful king, presumably Vikramāditya, reigned at Ujjainī 60 years before his arrival there.⁵ Moreover, Varāhamihira, who was one of the nine Gems at the court of Vikramāditya, is known to have lived between 505 A.D.

¹ *Vide* No. 741 in the list of MSS. purchased for the Bombay Government as noticed by Peterson in his 5th Report, p. 289. A manuscript of the *Nyāyāvātāra* with *Vivṛti* was procured for me from Bhavanagara, Bombay, by Muni Dharmavijaya and his pupil Śrī Indravijaya. The *Nyāyāvatāra* with commentary and translation edited by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana is available in Calcutta and Arrah.

पंचेव च वरिसस्य सिद्धसेणद्विवायते च जयसयते ।

इदस्य वीसद्वि च क्लृप्तक च खररविषयम् ॥ १९ ॥

(*Vicāra sāra-prakarāṇa*, noticed by Peterson in his 3rd Report, p. 272).

³ Cf. *Prabhāvākacaritra* VIII, V. 57.

⁴ For other particulars about Siddhasena Divākara see Dr. Klatt's *Paṣṭāvali* of the *Kharataragaccha* in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, Sept. 1882, p. 247. *Vide* also Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's report on Sanskrit MSS., during 1883-84, pp. 118, 140. Also the *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* translated by Mr. Tawney in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of Calcutta, pp. 10-14.

⁵ *Vide* Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 261.

and 587 A.D.¹ It is therefore very probable that Vikramāditya and his contemporary Siddhasena Divākara lived at Ujjainī about 530 A.D. I am inclined to believe that Siddhasena was no other than *Kṣapanaka*² (a Jaina sage) who is traditionally known to the Hindus to have been one of the nine Gems that adorned the court of Vikramāditya.

Siddhasena Divākara seems to have been a senior contemporary of Jinabhadra Gaṇi Kṣamāśramana (484–588 A.D.) who criticises *Dvātrīṃśat-dvātrīṃśikā* of which the *Nyāyāvātāra* is a part.

15. SIDDHASENA'S NYĀYĀVĀTĀRA.

The *Nyāyāvātāra* written in Sanskrit verse gives an exposition of the doctrine of *Pramāṇa* (sources of valid knowledge) and *Naya* (the method of comprehending things from particular stand points).

Pramāṇa—Right Knowledge.

Pramāṇa is right knowledge which illumines itself as well as other things without any obstruction. It is of two kinds: (1) direct valid knowledge or perception (*Pratyakṣa*) and (2) indirect valid knowledge (*Parokṣa*). Direct valid knowledge (*Pratyakṣa*) is two-fold: (1) practical (*Vyāvahārika*) which is the knowledge acquired by the soul

¹ Varāhamihira chose Śaka 427 or A.D. 505 as the initial year of his astronomical calculation, showing thereby that he lived about that time:

सप्तसि वेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य वैवशुक्लादी ।

अर्द्धाक्षमिते भावौ यवनपुरे सौम्य दिवसाद्ये ॥ ८ ॥

(*Pañcasiddhāntikā*, chap. I, edited by Dr. G. Thibaut and Sudhākara Dvivedī).

See also Dr. Thibaut's Introduction to the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, p. xxx.

² The nine Gems are:—

धन्वन्निगिः क्षपणकोऽनरसिंहः शङ्खु

वेताक्षमह चटखर्पर कालिदासाः ।

ख्यातः वराहमिहिरो वरुणेः सभायां

रत्नानि वै वरसिचि नैव विक्रमस्य ॥

(*Jyotiṛvidābhāraṇa*).

In the *Pañcatantra* and other Brahmanic Sanskrit works as well as in the *Avadānakalpalatā* and other Buddhist Sanskrit works the Jaina ascetics are nicknamed as *Kṣapanaka*:

भगवद्भाषितं तनु सुभद्रेण निवेदितम् ।

श्रुत्वा क्षपणकः क्षिप्रमभूद् द्वेषवशाकुलः ॥ ९ ॥

तस्य मन्वन्ततां वेत्ति सुभद्रा यदि मांङ्गरा ।

तदेष क्षपणप्रज्ञां त्यज्यते अक्षणादरात् ॥ १० ॥

(*Avadānakalpalatā*, *Jyotiṣkāraḍāna*).

through the five senses (the eye, ear, nose, tongue and touch) and the mind (*Manas*), and (2) transcendental (*Pāramāsthika*) which is the infinite knowledge that comes from the perfect enlightenment of the soul: it is called *Kevala* or absolute knowledge.

Indirect valid knowledge (*Paroksa*) is also of two kinds: (1) Verbal Testimony inference (*Anumāna*) and (2) verbal testimony (*Śabda*). Verbal testimony is the knowledge derived from the words of reliable persons including knowledge from scripture. Suppose a young man coming to the side of a river cannot ascertain whether the river is fordable or not, and immediately an old experienced man of the locality, who has no enmity against him, comes and tells him that the river is easily fordable. The word of the old man is to be accepted as a source of valid knowledge called personal testimony or *Laukika Śabda*. Scripture is also a source of valid knowledge for it lays down injunctions on matters which baffle perception and inference: for instance, it teaches that misery is the consequence of vice. Knowledge derived from this source is called scriptural testimony or *Śāstraśā Śabda*. Scripture is defined as that which was first cognised or composed by a competent person, which is not such as to be passed over by others, which is not incompatible with the truths derived from perception, which imparts true instruction and which is profitable to all men and is preventive of the evil path.¹

Inference (*Anumāna*) is the correct knowledge of the major term (*Sādhyā*) derived through the middle term (*Hetu*, reason, or *Liṅga*, sign) which is inseparably connected with it. It is of two kinds: (1) inference for one's own self (*Swārthānumāna*) and (2) inference for the sake of others (*Parārthānumāna*).

The first kind is the inference deduced in one's own mind after having made repeated observations. A man by repeated observations in the kitchen and elsewhere forms the conclusion in his mind that fire is always an antecedent of smoke. Afterwards, he is not certain whether a hill which he sees has fire on it or not. But, noticing smoke, he at once brings to mind the inseparable connection between fire and smoke, and concludes that there must be fire on the hill. This is the inference for one's own self.

If the inference is communicated to others through words, it

1

स्वार्थोपपन्नमनुज्ञाद्वयवैरोधकम् ।

तत्त्वोपदेशश्च सर्वं शास्त्रं कापयवहनम् ॥

(Verse 9, Nyāyavatāra.)

The semblance or fallacy of the minor term (*Pakṣābhāsa*) arises when one attributes to it as a proved fact that which is yet to be proved, or which is incapable of being proved, or when it is opposed to perception and inference, or inconsistent with public opinion or incongruous with one's own statement, thus:—

(1) "The jar is corporeal (*pauṇḍgalika*)"—this is a conclusion which is yet to be proved to the opponent

(2) "Every thing is momentary"—this is a Saugata conclusion which, according to the Jainas, is incapable of being proved.

(3) "The general particular (*sāmānya viśeṣa*) things are without parts, are distinct from each other and are like themselves alone"—this is opposed to perception.

(4) "There is no omniscient being"—this is, according to the Jainas, opposed to inference.

(5) "The sister is to be taken as wife"—this is inconsistent with public opinion.

(6) "All things are non-existent"—this is incongruous with one's own statement.

Inseparable connection or invariable concomitance (*Vyāpti*) is the constant accompaniment of the middle term by the major term. In the inference: "this hill is full of fire, because it is full of smoke," the connection between fire and smoke, that is, the constant presence of fire with smoke, is called *Vyāpti* or Inseparable Connection. It is of two kinds: (1) Intrinsic, and (2) Extrinsic.

Intrinsic inseparable connection (*Antar-vyāpti*) occurs when the minor term (*pakṣa*), itself as the common abode of the middle term (*hetu*) and the major term (*sādhya*), shows the inseparable connection between them, thus:—

- (1) This hill (minor term) is full of fire (major term).
- (2) because it is full of smoke (middle term).

Here the inseparable connection between fire and smoke is shown by the hill (minor term) in which both of them abide.

Extrinsic inseparable connection (*Bahir-vyāpti*) occurs when an example (*dṛṣṭānta*) from the outside is introduced as the common abode of the middle term (*hetu*) and the major term (*sādhya*) to assure the inseparable connection between them, thus:—

- (1) This hill is full of fire (major term),
- (2) because it is full of smoke (middle term);
- (3) as a kitchen (example).

Here the reference to the kitchen is no essential part of the inference, but is introduced from without as a common instance

of a place in which fire and smoke exist together, and so it reaffirms the inseparable connection between them.

Some logicians hold that that which is to be proved, that is, the major term (*sādhya*), can be established by intrinsic inseparable connection (*Āntar-vyāpti*) only: hence the extrinsic inseparable connection (*Bahir vyāpti*) is superfluous.

The semblance of reason or fallacy of the middle term (*Hetvābhāsa*) arises from doubt, misconception or non-conception about it (the middle term). It is of three kinds:—

(1) The unproved (*Asiddha*): This is fragrant, because it is a sky-lotus.

Here the reason (middle term), viz. the sky-lotus, is unreal.

(2) The contradictory (*Viruddha*): "This is fiery, because it is a body of water."

Here the reason alleged is opposed to what is to be established.

(3) The uncertain (*Anaikāntika*): "Sound is eternal, because it is always audible."

Here the reason or middle term is uncertain, because audibility may or may not be a proof of eternity.

The fallacy of example (*Dṛṣṭāntābhāsa*) may arise in the homogeneous or heterogeneous form, from a defect in the middle term (*hetu*) or major term (*sādhya*) or both, or from doubt about them.

Fallacies of homogeneous example (*Sādharma-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa*) are as follows:—

(1) Inference is *invalid* (major term), because it is a *source of knowledge* (middle term), like *perception* (homogeneous example).

Here the example involves a defect in the major term (*sādhya*), for perception is not invalid.

(2) Perception is *invalid* (major term), because it is a *source of valid knowledge* (middle term), like a *dream* (homogeneous example).

Here the example involves a defect in the middle term (*hetu*), for the dream is not a source of valid knowledge.

(3) The omniscient being is not *existent* (major term), because he is not *apprehended by the senses* (middle term), like a *jar* (homogeneous example).

Here the example involves a defect in both the major and middle terms (*sādhya* and *hetu*), for the jar is both existent and apprehended by the senses.

(4) This person is *devoid of passions* (major term), because he is *mortal* (middle term), like the *man in the street* (homogeneous example).

Here the example involves doubt as to the validity of the major term, for it is doubtful whether the man in the street is devoid of passions.

(5) This person is *mortal* (major term), because he is *full of passions* (middle term), like the *man in the street* (homogeneous example).

Here the example involves doubt as to the validity of the middle term, for it is doubtful whether the man in the street is devoid of passions

(6) This person is *non-omniscient* (major term), because he is *full of passions* (middle term), like the *man in the street* (homogeneous example).

Here the example involves doubt as to the validity of both the major and middle terms, for it is doubtful whether the man in the street is full of passions and non-omniscient.

It is stated in the *Nyāyāvātāra-vivṛti* that some unnecessarily lay down three other kinds of fallacy of the homogeneous example (*Sādharmyadr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa*), viz. :—

(1) Unconnected (*Ananvyaya*), such as : This person is *full of passions* (major term), because he is a *speaker* (middle term), like a *certain man in Magadha* (example).

Here though a certain man in Magadha is both a speaker and full of passions, yet there is no inseparable connection between “being a speaker” and “being full of passions.”

(2) Of connection unshown (*Apradarśitānvaya*), such as —

Sound is *non-eternal* (major term), because it is *produced* (middle term), as a jar (example)

Here though there is an inseparable connection between “produced” and “non-eternal,” yet it has not been shown in the proper form as:—

“Whatever is produced is non-eternal, as a jar.”

(3) Of inverted connection (*Viparīṭānvaya*), such as:—

Sound is *non-eternal* (major term), because it is *produced* (middle term).

Here if the inseparable connection (*vyāpti*) is shown thus—

“Whatever is non-eternal is produced as a jar,” instead of—

“Whatever is produced is non-eternal as a jar,” the example would involve the fallacy of inverted connection.

Fallacies of heterogeneous example (*Vaidharmyadr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa*) are of six kinds, thus :—

(1) Inference is *invalid* (major term), because it is a *source of knowledge* (middle term): whatever is not invalid is not a source of knowledge, as a *dream* (heterogeneous example).

Here the example involves in the heterogeneous form a defect in the major term (*sādhya*), for the dream is really invalid though it has been cited as not invalid.

(2) Perception is *non-reflective* or *nirvikalpaka* (major term), because it is a *source of knowledge* (middle term): whatever is reflective or *savikalpaka*, is not a source of knowledge, as *inference* (heterogeneous example)

Here the example involves in the heterogeneous form a

defect in the middle term (*sādhana*), for inference is really a source of knowledge though it has been cited as not such.

(3) Sound is eternal and *non-eternal* (major term), because it is an *existence* (middle term) · whatever is not eternal and non-eternal is not an existence, as a jar (heterogeneous example).

Here the example involves in the heterogeneous form a defect in both the major and middle terms (*sādhya* and *sādhana*), for the jar is both “eternal and non-eternal” and “an existence.”

(4) Kapila is not *omniscient* (major term), because he is not a *propounder of the four noble truths* (middle term) · whoever is omniscient is propounder of the four noble truths, as *Buddha* (the heterogeneous example).

Here the example involves in the heterogeneous form a doubt as to the validity of the major term (*sādhya*), for it is doubtful whether Buddha was omniscient.

(5) This person is *untrustworthy* (major term), because he is *full of passions* (middle term) : whoever is trustworthy is not full of passions, as *Buddha* (heterogeneous example).

Here the example involves doubt as to the validity of the middle term (*hetu*), for it is doubtful whether Buddha is not full of passions.

(6) Kapila is not devoid of *passions* (major term), because he did *not give his own flesh to the hungry* (middle term) : whoever is devoid of passions gives his own flesh to the hungry, as *Buddha* (heterogeneous example).

Here the example involves doubt as to the validity of both the major and middle terms (*sādhya* and *sādhana*), for it is doubtful whether Buddha was devoid of passions and gave his own flesh to the hungry.

It is stated in the Nyāyāvātāra-vivṛti that some unnecessarily lay down three other kinds of fallacy of the heterogeneous example (*Vaidharmyadṛṣṭāntābhāsa*), viz.—

(1) Unseparated (*Avyatireki*) : This person is not *devoid of passions* (major term), because he is a *speaker* (middle term) : whoever is devoid of passions is not a speaker, as a *piece of stone* (heterogeneous example).

Here, though a piece of stone is both “devoid of passions” and “not a speaker,” yet there is no invariable separation (*vyatireka vyāpti*) between “devoid of passions” and “a speaker.”

(2) Of separation unshown (*Apradarśitavyatireka*) :

Sound is *non-eternal* (major term), because it is *produced* (middle term); as ether (example).

Here, though there is an invariable separation between “produced” and “eternal,” yet it has not been shown in the proper form, such as: “Whatever is non-non-eternal is not produced, e.g. ether”

(3) Of contrary separation (*Viparīta-vyatireka*) :

Sound is *non-eternal* (major term), because it is produced (middle term) : whatever is not produced is non-non-eternal, e.g. ether (example).

Here the example has been put in a contrary way, for the proper form should have been: “Whatever is non-non-eternal is not produced, e.g. ether”

Refutation (*Dūṣaṇa*) is the pointing out of defects or fallacies in the statements of the opponent in any of the forms enumerated above. The semblance of a refutation (*Dūṣaṇābhāsa*) is the contrivance to allege defects where there are no defects at all.

The immediate effect of *Pramāṇa* (valid knowledge) is the removal of ignorance. The consequence of the transcendental perception (*Pāramārthika Pratyakṣa Pramāṇa*) is bliss and equanimity consisting in salvation (*Mokṣa* or final emancipation), while that of the other kinds of *Pramāṇa* (direct and indirect knowledge) is the facility which they afford us to choose the desirable and reject the undesirable things.

Naya—the method of descriptions.

Naya is the method of comprehending things from particular standpoints. Thus we may conceive rose either as a flower possessing the attributes common to all flowers or as a thing possessing attributes which are peculiar to the rose as distinguished from other flowers. The *Naya* is of seven kinds: *naigama*, *saṃgraha*, *vyavahāra*, *ṛjusūtra*, *śabda*, *saṃabhirūḍha*, and *evambhūta*.

Knowledge which determines the full meaning of an object through the employment, in the scriptural method, of one-sided *nayas*, is called *Syādvāda-sruta*. It is the perfect knowledge of things taken from all possible standpoints. Thus a thing may be, may not be, both may or may not be, etc., according as we take it from one or other standpoint.

The soul (*Jiva*) is the knower, the illuminator of self and non-self, doer and enjoyer. It undergoes changes of condition and is self-conscious, being different from the earth, water, etc.

This system of *Pramāṇa* and *Naya*, with which all of us are familiar and which serves to perform all practical functions, cannot be traced to its beginning or followed to its end.

16. JINABHADRA GAṆI KṢAMĀŚRAMAṆA (484—588 A.D.).

Jinabhadra Gaṇi, author of a commentary on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* called *Viśeṣāvaśyaka Bhāṣya*, was born in Samvat 541 or 484 A.D. He was well known as Kṣamāśramaṇa, and continued to be pontiff from 528 A.D. to 588 A.D.¹

¹ Peterson's Fourth Report, p. xxxix

17. SIDDHASENA GAṆI
(600 A.D.).

Siddhasena Gaṇi, who belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect, was the author of a commentary on Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra called Tattvārthatīkā¹ in which the logical principles of *Pramāṇa* (the sources of knowledge), and *Naya* (the method of comprehending things from particular standpoints), have been fully discussed. He was a pupil of Bhāsvāmin² who was a spiritual successor of Simhasūri, himself a disciple of Dinna Gaṇi. Siddhasena Gaṇi³ is generally believed to have been a contemporary of Devardhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, who flourished 980 years after Mahāvīra, or about 453 A.D. But as he has in his Tattvārthatīkā quoted Siddhasena Divākara and was posterior to Simhagiri or Simhasūri, a contemporary of Vikramāditya, I am inclined to suppose that he lived after 533 A.D. or about 600 A.D.

18. SAMANTABHADRA
(600 A.D.).

Samantabhadra, who belonged to the Digambara sect of Southern India, was famous as the author of a well-known commentary on Umāsvāti's Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra called Gandha-hasti-mahābhāṣya. The introductory part of this commentary is called Devāgamastotra⁴ or Āptamīmāṃsā, and is replete with discussions of logical principles besides a review of the contemporary schools of philosophy including the Advaita Vāda.⁵ The Āptamīm-

¹ A palm-leaf manuscript of the Tattvārthatīkā in the temple of Śāntinātha, Cambay, has been noticed by Peterson in his 3rd Report, pp. 83-86.

²

तस्याद्दण्डोऽवयवः स्वस्यात्मस्योसुषीकवडगायः ।

नद्यार्षमासडीकाभिनां स्वधात् सिद्धवेमदधिः ॥ ७

(Tattvārthatīkā, noticed in Peterson's 3rd Report, p. 85)

³ Simhasūri is identified by Peterson with Simhagiri who was a contemporary of Vikramāditya.

(Peterson's 4th Report, pp. cxxxi and cxxviii)

Muni Dharmavijaya and his pupil Indra-vijaya tell me that Siddhasena Gaṇi was a contemporary of Devardhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, who flourished 980 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra. *Vide* also *Uvāsegadasāo* edited by A. F. R. Hoernle, Appendix III, page 50.

⁴ In the Pāṇḍavapurāṇa Samantabhadra is extolled as the author of the Devāgamastotra :—

सकलभद्रो भद्रार्थो मातु भारतभूषणः

देवात्मनेन येनाथ ब्रह्मो देवात्मनः कृतः ॥

(Pāṇḍavapurāṇa, noticed in Peterson's 4th Report, p. 157).

अद्वैतैकात्म्योऽपि इहो भद्रो विदधते ।

कारणात् किंवाप्यथैकं स्वधात् प्रजायते ॥ १४ ॥

(Āptamīmāṃsā, verse 24).

mānsā has been cited by the Hindu philosopher Vācaspati Miśra¹ in explaining Śaṅkarācārya's criticism of the Syādvāda doctrine in the Vedānta-sūtra.

Samantabhadra, who was styled a Kavi and whose works were commented on by Vidyānanda² and Prabhācandra, was also the author of the *Yuktyanusāsana*, the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* (also called *Upāsakādhyāyana*), the *Svayambhū-stotra*, and the *Caturviṃśati-jina-stuti*. He is mentioned by Jina Sena in the *Ādipurāna* composed about 838 A.D., and is referred to by the Hindu philosopher Kumārila.³ Kumārila, a contemporary of the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, is generally held to have lived in the 7th century A.D. Samantabhadra is supposed to have flourished about 600 A.D.

¹ Vācaspati Miśra in his *Bhāmātī-tīkā* on Śaṅkara's exposition of the Vedānta Sūtra, 2-2-33, quotes the following verse:—

आदादः सर्वज्ञानत्यागात् किं तच्चिदिधः ।

सप्रभङ्गनयायैव ज्ञेयादेयविशेषकत् ॥

(*Bhāmātī*, Bibliotheca Indica, p 458)

The same verse occurs in the *Āptamīmāṃsā* as follows:—

आदादः सर्वज्ञानत्यागात् किं तच्चिदिधः ।

सप्रभङ्गनयायैव ज्ञेयादेयविशेषकः ॥ १०४ ॥

(MSS. of the *Āptamīmāṃsā*, verse 104, borrowed from Mr. Jain Vaidya of Jaipur).

² Vidyānanda at the closing part of his commentary on the *Āptamīmāṃsā* (called *Āptamīmāṃsā-lankṛtī-tīkā* *astasāhasrī*) refers to Samantabhadra thus:—

ईवाद्येषकुलीतिष्ठतिस्वरितः प्रेक्षावतां शोचिताः

सदावेऽप्यककुलीतिष्ठिरास्यज्ञार्थसार्थयुतः ।

स श्रीसामि ससक्तभङ्ग यतिष्ठत् भूयाद् विमुर्गामुमाम

विद्यानन्दप्रहोऽमवधिषां सादादमागंययीः ॥

(Folio 218, *Āptamīmāṃsā-lankṛtī-tīkā*, Govt. Collection, in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 1525).

Prabhācandra in his commentary on the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* (or *Upāsakādhyāyana*) observes:—

वेनाज्ञानतमो विनास्य निश्चितं भव्यात्प्रेतीततं

सस्यत् ज्ञानसदांशुभिः प्रकथितः साधारणार्थोऽपिष्ठः ।

स श्रीरत्नकरकामकरविः संस्तुतिरिच्छोऽपको

जीवादेव ससक्तभङ्गमुनिपः श्रीमत् प्रभङ्गुर्जिनः ॥

(*Upāsakādhyāyana* with the commentary of Prabhācandra noticed in Peter son's 4th Report, pp. 137-38)

³ Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. during 1883-84, p. 118, and J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, p. 227.

19. SAMANTABHADRA'S ĀPTAMIMĀMSĀ.

Syād-astī.

The Āptamimāmsā consists of 115 stanzas in Sanskrit, divided into ten chapters called *Paricchedas*, in the course of which a full exposition of the seven parts of the *Syād-vāda* or *Sapta bhangī-naya* has been given. The first and second parts of the doctrine, viz. *Syād-astī* ("may be, it is"), and *Syād-nāsti* ("may be, it is not"), have led to a most interesting discussion of the relation between *astī*, that is, *bhāva* or existence, and *nāsti*, that is, *abhāva* or non-existence.

Non-existence (*Abhāva*) is divided into four kinds: (1) antecedent non-existence (*prāgabhāva*), e.g. a lump of clay becomes non-existent as soon as a jar is made out of it, so the jar is an antecedent non-existence with reference to the lump of clay; (2) subsequent non-existence (*pradhvamśābhāva*), e.g. the lump of clay is a subsequent non-existence with reference to the jar; (3) mutual non-existence (*anyonyābhāva* or *anyāpoha*), e.g. a jar and a post are mutually non-existent with reference to each other; and (4) absolute non-existence (*samavāyābhāva* or *atyantābhāva*), e.g. the inanimate is not a living object.

It is observed¹ that, on the supposition of mere existence to the entire exclusion of non-existence, things become all-pervading, beginningless, endless, indistinguishable and inconceivable. For instance, if the antecedent non-existence is denied, action and substance become beginningless, while on the denial of the subsequent non-existence, they become endless, and in the absence of

1
भावेकान्ते पदार्थानामभावानामपञ्चवात् ।
सर्वोक्तकमनाद्यन्तमस्वरूपमभावकम् ॥ ९ ॥
कार्यद्रव्यमनादि स्यात् प्रागभावस्य निष्ठवे ।
प्रधानस्य च यज्ञस्य प्रथवेऽनन्ततां व्रजेत् ॥ १० ॥
सर्वोक्तकं तदेकं स्यादस्यापि ह्यस्य विक्रमे ।
अन्यत्र समवायेन व्यपदेश्येन सर्वथा ॥ ११ ॥
अभावेकान्तपक्षेऽपि भावापह्नववादिनाम् ।
अधीधवाक्यप्रमाणं न केन साधनदूषणम् ॥ १२ ॥
विरोधाद्भावाभ्येकात्म्यं स्यादादन्याय विद्विषाम् ।
अवाप्त्येकान्तेऽप्युक्तिर्नावाप्त्यमिति युज्यते ॥ १३ ॥
कथं चित्ते सदेदेष्टं कथयिदसदेव तत् ।
तयोभयसवार्थं च उपशमाय सर्वथा ॥ १४ ॥

mutual non-existence, they become one and all-pervading, while on absolute non-existence being denied, they are to be supposed as existing always and everywhere.

In the same way on the supposition of mere non-existence to the entire exclusion of existence, it becomes impossible to establish or reject anything (since it is non-existent). If on the other hand existence and non-existence, which are incompatible with each other, are simultaneously ascribed to a thing, it becomes indescribable. Therefore the truth is as follows :—

- (1) A thing is existent—from a certain point of view
 Sevenfold paralogism (2) It is non-existent—from another point of view.
 (3) It is both existent and non-existent *in turn*—from a third point of view
 (4) It is *indescribable* (that is, both existent and non-existent simultaneously)—from a fourth point of view.
 (5) It is existent and *indescribable*—from a fifth point of view.
 (6) It is non-existent and *indescribable*—from a sixth point of view
 (7) It is both existent and non-existent and *indescribable*—from a seventh point of view.

20. AKALANKADEVĀ (ABOUT 750 A. D.).

Akalaṅka, otherwise known as Akalaṅkadeva or Akalaṅkacandra, was a famous logician who belonged to the Digambara sect of Southern India. He

His works.

was designated as a *Kavi*¹ (poet)—a title of special honour given to writers of repute. He wrote a commentary on Samantabhadra's *Āptamīmāṃsā* called *Aṣṭa-śatī*² which is a most precious work on the Jaina philosophy, dealing mainly with logic. Maṅkyaṇandī's *Parīkṣāmukha-sūtra* (q.v.) was based on another work on logic, called *Nyāya-viniścaya*, written by Akalaṅka, to whom the following works are also attributed: *Tattvārtha-vārtika-vyākhyānālaṅkāra*, *Laghīyastraya*, *Akalaṅka-stotra*, *Svarūpa-sambodhana* and *Prāyaścitta*. Laghusamantabhadra³ in his *Aṣṭa-sāhasrī-ṅama-pada-tātparyā-tīkā* calls Akalaṅka as *Sakala-tārṅika-cakra-cūḍā-maṇi* or "the crest gem of the circle of all logicians."

¹ For an explanation of the term "Kavi" vide R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. during 1883-84, page 122.

² A manuscript of the *Aṣṭa śatī* was kindly supplied to me by Mr. Jain Vaidya of Jaipur early in 1907.

³ Vide *Aṣṭasāhasrī-ṅama-pada-tātparyā-tīkā* by Laghusamanta-bhadra, noticed by Petersen in his 5th Report, p. 217.

In the Pāṇḍavapurāṇa¹ reference is made to a legend according to which Akalaṅka was embarrassed in a controversy with a Buddhist antagonist. Finding that the antagonist was effectively prompted by Māyādevī concealed in a jar, Akalaṅka is said to have put an end to that prompting or inspiration by kicking the jar over with his foot.

Akalaṅka, though mentioned along with Dharmakīrti² as a logician, flourished at a considerably later time. He is held to have been a contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Śubhatuṅga³ or Kṛṣṇarāja I. As Kṛṣṇarāja's son, Govind II, lived in Śaka 705⁴ or 783 A.D., Kṛṣṇarāja I, and consequently his contemporary Akalaṅka, must have flourished about 750 A.D.

21. VIDYĀNANDA (ABOUT 800 A.D.).

Vidyānanda, mentioned by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya,⁵ was a Digambara logician of Pāṭali-putra. He was the author of the Āptamīmāṃsālaṅkārti, otherwise called Aṣṭasāhasrī, an exhaustive sub-commentary on the Āptamīmāṃsā, containing an elaborate exposition of various logical principles. Vidyānanda, in the opening and the closing lines of his Aṣṭasāhasrī,⁶ makes an indirect reference

१
 अकलाङ्कोऽकलाङ्कः स कला कलयतु भुतम् ।
 पादेन ताडिता देव मायादेवी दृष्टयिता ॥

(Pāṇḍavapurāṇa, noticed by Peterson in his 4th Report, p. 157).

२ वाचकमुप्यविरचितानि अकलाङ्कशास्त्राण्यहमविदूतानि तज्जार्थस्तुवाचीति यद्येवमहलङ्क-
 धर्मकीर्त्यादिवत् प्रकरणेनैव किं नारभ्यते किमनया सूत्रकारत्वाद्योपुद्बिद्यथा ।

(Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā, by Hemacandra, noticed by Peterson in his 5th Report, p. 148).

३ Vide K. B. Pathak's article on "Bhartṛhari and Kumārila" in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XVIII, 1892.

It is reported that Akalaṅka and Niṣkalaṅka were two sons of Śubhatuṅga whose capital was Mānyakheta. Śubhatuṅga is another name of Kṛṣṇarāja the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king who reigned in the Deccan between 753-775 A.D. Akalaṅka forsook his father's palace and became an ascetic. (Vide Peterson's Report II, p. 79).

४ Vide R. G. Bhandarkar's "Early History of the Deccan," 2nd edition, p. 78.

५ Vide the chapter on the Jaina system in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 56.

६ The opening lines of the Aṣṭasāhasrī are:—

श्रीवर्द्धमानमभिनन्द्य समकभद्रसुदू तद्वोधमहिमानमभिन्द्यवाचम् ।

शास्त्रावताररश्मितसुतिशोचराप्रसोमांसितं कतिरसंनिधये मया ॥ १ ॥

The closing lines of the Aṣṭasāhasrī are:—

श्रीमदकलाङ्कशरधरकुल विद्यामन्त्रसङ्घवा भूषात् ।

— श्रीमन्मन्त्रसङ्घवा भूषात् —

to Samantabhadra and Akalanka respectively, while in chapter X of the work he distinctly says that he followed the Aṣṭa-śatī of Akalanka in explaining the Āptamīmāṃsā. Another logical treatise called Pramāṇa-parīkṣā is attributed to him. He was also the author of the Tattvārtha, sloka-vārtika and Āpta-parīkṣā.

He has, in his Aṣṭasāhasrī, criticised the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Advaita, Mīmāṃsaka and Sāgata, Tāthāgata or Buddha philosophy; and has mentioned Dignāga, Uddyotakara, Dharmakīrti,¹ Prajñākara,² Bhartṛhari,³ Śābarasvāmi, Prabhākara, Sureśvara* and Kumārila. Vidyānanda was otherwise named Pātra Kesari or Pātra Kesari Svāmi, who has been praised by Jīna

The lines in Chapter X referred to run thus:—

श्रीमदकलङ्कविरतां समन्तभद्रोक्तिमथ संज्ञपात् ।

इदंजागार्थविषयसहस्रहर्षो प्रकाशयति ॥

(Aṣṭasāhasrī, MSS, Asiatic Society of Bengal)

¹ सद्युक्तं चर्चकीर्तिना :—

अनूप पराहत वस्तुनाथ प्रवेदनात् ।

सामान्यविषयस्योक्तं लिङ्गभेदाप्रतिष्ठितैः ।

(Quoted in Aṣṭasāhasrī, chap. I).

अर्थापयोगेऽपि पुनः स्वार्थं शब्दानुषोत्तनम्

अचर्चोर्धसुमेतेत सोऽर्थां शब्दहितो भवेत् ।

(Quoted in Aṣṭasāhasrī, chap. I).

² प्रज्ञाकरस्येदं वचः :—

क्रमप्रतीतिरेवं ज्ञात् प्रथमभावना इतिः ।

तस्याभर्थात् पुनः शब्दाद् वचः कर्ता प्रतीचते ॥

(Quoted in Aṣṭasāhasrī, chap. I).

[This extract may be an interpolation, or else this Prajñākara must be different from the Buddhist logician Prajñākara Guptato be mentioned hereafter.]

³ न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययां लोके यः शब्दानुदनाइते ।

अनुविद्वन्निवाभानि सर्वं शब्दे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

(This verse of Vākyapadiya by Bhartṛhari is quoted in the Aṣṭasāhasrī, vide J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1892, p. 221).

⁴ सद्युक्तं इह दारण्यक वार्तिके :—

आत्मापि सदिदं ब्रह्म मोहात् पारोक्ष्य दूषितम् ।

ब्रह्मापि च तच्चैवात्मा स द्वितीय तरेच्छते ॥.....

इति वदितुं शोऽपि न प्रेक्षयाम्

(Aṣṭasāhasrī).

Cf. Preface to Tattvārtha-śloka-vārtika, edited by Manohar Lal, Bombay.

Sena in the Ādi Purāṇa.¹ composed about Śaka 760² or A.D. 838. He is believed to have lived early in the 9th century A.D.³ at Pāṭalīputra.⁴

22. MĀNIKYA NANDI
(ABOUT 800 A.D.).

Māṇikya Nandi was a Digambara author, whose Parikṣā-mukha-śāstra⁵ or Parikṣā-mukha-sūtra is a standard work on Jaina logic. As his work is based on that of Akalaṅka,⁶ he must have lived after 750 A.D. The earliest commentary on the Parikṣāmukha-śāstra is the Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa of Prabhācandra. Vidyānanda, Māṇikya Nandi and Prabhācandra have been pronounced to be contemporaries.⁷ So Māṇikya Nandi seems to have lived about 800 A.D.

23. MĀNIKYA NANDI'S PARIKṢĀMUKHA-SŪTRA.

The Parikṣāmukha-sūtra is divided into six chapters thus.

Subjects. (1) the characteristic of valid knowledge (*Pramāṇa-svarūpa*); (2) direct apprehension or perception (*Pratyakṣa*); (3) indirect apprehension (*Parokṣa*); (4) the object of valid knowledge (*Viśaya*); (5) the result of valid knowledge (*Phala*); and (6) the semblances or fallacies (*Ābhāsa*).

भट्टकलङ्क त्रीपाल पात्रकेसरिणां मुखाः ।

विदुषां हृदयारूढा चाराशनेतिनिर्गलाः ॥ ५२ ॥

(Ādipurāṇa, quoted by Mr. K. B. Pathak, J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, p. 222).

Mr. Pathak has quoted Samyaktvaprakāśa to show that Vidyānanda and Pātrakesari were identical:—

तथा श्लोकवार्तिके विद्यानन्द्यपरनाम पात्रकेसरिस्वामिना यदुक्तं तत्र लिख्यते तच्चार्य
प्रदानं सम्यग्दर्शनम् । (J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, pp. 222, 223)

^{2,3} Vide K. B. Pathak's article on Bhartṛhari and Kumārila in J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, pp. 227, 229.

⁴ Vide Brahmanemidatta's Kathākoṣa, life of Pātrakesari *alias* Vidyānanda.

⁵ A manuscript of the Parikṣā-mukha-śāstrawas kindly lent to me by Mr. Jain Vaidya of Jaipur (Rajputana), and subsequently another manuscript of the work was procured from the Deccan College, Poona. I have published the work in the Bibliotheca Indica series of Calcutta.

⁶ Peterson in his 4th Report, p. 155, notices Parikṣāmukhaṁ saṭikam. The Tikā is the Prameya-ratna-mālā or Parikṣāmukhapañjikā of Anantavīrya, which opens thus:—

सकलव्यसोऽसोषेऽहमे वेन घीमता ।

न्यायविद्यावर्तं तस्यै नमो नाथिष्वनन्दिने ॥ ५ ॥

⁷ Vide K. B. Pathak's article on Bhartṛhari and Kumārila in J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, pp. 219, 220, 221. Mr. Pathak says that Māṇikya Nandi has mentioned Vidyānanda, but in the text of the Parikṣā-mukha-śāstra itself I have not come across any such mention.

Valid knowledge—*Pramāṇa*

Pramāṇa, valid knowledge, is defined by Mānikya Nandi as the knowledge which ascertains the nature of what was uncertain to one's self. It generally arises in the form : " I know the jar by myself," which consists of a subject, an object, an act, and an instrument. Just as a lamp illumines itself as well as the surrounding objects, so the *Pramāṇa* exhibits the knower as well as the thing known.

Pramāṇa is of two kinds : (1) direct knowledge (*Pratyakṣa*) which arises through the senses, etc., and (2) indirect knowledge (*Parokṣa*) consisting of recollection (*Smṛti*), recognition (*Pratyabhijñāna*), argumentation (*Tarka* or *Ūha*), inference (*Anumāna*), and the scripture (*Āgama*). Recollection is a knowledge of the form

" that " which arises through the awaking of impressions, thus : " that Devadatta."

Recognition is a knowledge which arises from perception through recollection in the forms, " this is that," " this is like that," " this is different from that," " this is the counterpart of that," etc., thus : " this is that Devadatta," " the *bos gavaeus* is like the cow," " the buffalo is different from the cow," " this is far from that," " this is a tree," etc. Argumentation is a knowledge of the connection between the middle term and the major term based on the presence or absence of the latter, in the form, " if this is, that is, if this is not, that is not," thus smoke arises only if there is fire, but it cannot arise if there is no fire. Inference is the knowledge of the major term arising through the middle term : there is fire here, because there is smoke.

Syllogism—*Vyāpti*

Pervasion² or inseparable connection (*Vyāpti* or *Avinābhāva*) is the universal attendance of the middle term by the major term in simultaneity or succession : thus fire and smoke may abide simultaneously or the latter may follow the former.

If the middle term and the major term exist simultaneously, the former is called *vyāpya*, pervaded or contained, and the latter *vyāpaka*, pervader or container.

But if the middle term follows the major term, the former is called effect (*kārya*), and the latter cause (*kāraṇa* or *hetu*), thus fire is the cause of smoke. Ordinarily, however, the major term is called *sādhyā* or that which is to be proved, and the

¹ साधनात् साध्यविज्ञानमनुमानम् ॥ ९ ॥ (Parikṣā-mukha-sūtra).

² सहस्रमभावनिश्चयीविभाभावः ॥ ११ ॥ (Parikṣā-mukha-sūtra).

middle term is called *sādhana* or that by which it is to be proved. Sometimes the major term is also called *dharma* or predicate, and the middle term *linga*, mark or sign.

The minor term is called *Paksa*, the place or locus in which the major term abides, or *Dharmin*, the subject, thus: "this place is fiery"; "sound is mutable". here "this place" and "sound" are the minor terms. No philosophers, who divide the middle term (reason) into three phases, should dispense with the minor term in an inference.

The middle term (*Hetu*) is defined as that which is inseparably connected with the major term, or in other words, which cannot come into existence unless the major term exists. For instance, smoke could not come into existence unless the fire existed.

Reason—*hetu*.

The middle term or reason (*Hetu*) is divided as (1) perceptible (*upalabdhi*), and (2) imperceptible (*anupalabdhi*). Each of these again may occur in the form of an affirmation (*vidhi*) or negation (*pratisedha*).

Different phases of the middle term.

The perceptible reason in the affirmative form admits of six subdivisions according as it is:—

- (i) the pervaded (*vyāpya*)—sound is mutable, because it is factitious;
- (ii) an effect (*kārya*)—this man has got intellect, because there are (in electrical) functions in him;
- (iii) a cause (*kāraṇa*)—there is a shadow here, because there is an umbrella;
- (iv) prior (*pūrna*)—the Rohiṇī stars will rise, for the Kṛttikās have risen;
- (v) posterior (*uttara*)—the Bharanī stars certainly rose for the Kṛttikās have risen;
- (vi) simultaneous (*sahacara*)—the man had a mother, for he had a father; or this mango has a particular colour, because it has a particular flavour.

The perceptible reason in the negative form admits of six subdivisions as follows:—

- (i) the pervaded (*vyāpya*)—there is no cold sensation, because of heat;
- (ii) an effect (*kārya*)—there is no cold sensation because of smoke;
- (iii) a cause (*kāraṇa*)—there is no happiness in this man, because of the shaft in his heart;
- (iv) prior (*pūrna*)—the Rohiṇī stars will not rise shortly, for the Revatī [only] has risen.

- (v) posterior (*uttara*)—the Bharanī did not rise a moment ago, for the Puṣyā has risen.
 (vi) simultaneous (*sahacara*)—there is no doubt of the existence of the other side of this wall, for this side of it is perceived.

The *imperceptible* reason in the *negative* form admits of seven subdivisions as follows :—

- (i) identity (*svabhāva*)—there is no jar here, because it is imperceptible ;
 (ii) the pervaded (*vyāpya*)—there is no Śimśapā here, because there is no tree at all ;
 (iii) an effect (*kārya*)—there is no smouldering fire here, because there is no smoke ;
 (iv) a cause (*kāraṇa*)—there is no smoke here, because there is no fire ;
 (v) prior (*pūrva*)—Rohiṇī stars will not rise in a moment, for the Kṛttikās are not perceptible ;
 (vi) posterior (*uttara*)—the Bharanī did not rise a moment ago, for the Kṛttikās are not perceptible ;
 (vii) simultaneous (*sahacara*)—in this even balance there is no bending upwards, because it is not perceptible

The *imperceptible* reason in the *affirmative* form may appear in the following ways :—

- (i) as an effect (*kārya*)—in this man there is some disease, because there is no healthy movement in him ;
 (ii) as a cause (*kāraṇa*)—this man is sorrowful, because he has no union with his beloved ones ;
 (iii) as an identity (*svabhāva*)—there is uncertainty here, because certainty is not discernible.

Example—*dr̥ṣṭānta*.

The middle term and the major term are the parts of an inference, but the example (*udāharaṇa*) is not. Nevertheless for the sake of explaining matters to men of small intellect, the example (*udāharaṇa* or *dr̥ṣṭānta*), nay, even the application (*upanaya*) and the conclusion (*nigamana*), are admitted as parts of an inference. The example is of two kinds: (1) the affirmative or homogeneous (*anvayi* or *sādharmya*) which shows the middle term as covered by the major term, such as: wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in a kitchen; and (2) the negative or heterogeneous (*vyatireki* or *vaidharmya*) by which the absence of the middle term is indicated by the absence of the major term, e.g. wherever there is no fire, there is no smoke, as in a lake.

Inference—*anumāna*.

Inference is of two kinds, viz. (1) inference for one's own self
 Two kinds of Inference. (*svārthānumāna*), and (2) inference for the
 sake of others (*parārthānumāna*). An in-
 stance of the latter kind of inference is given below :—

- (1) Sound (minor term) is mutable (major term)—proposition ;
- (2) because it is factitious (reason or middle term) ;
- (3) whatever is factitious is mutable, as a jar (affirmative or
 homogeneous example) ;
- (4) sound is factitious (application) ;
- (5) therefore sound is mutable (conclusion).

Or,

- (3) whatever is not mutable is not factitious, as the milk of a
 barren woman's breast (negative or heterogeneous ex-
 ample) ,
- (4) but sound is factitious (application) ,
- (5) therefore sound is mutable (conclusion).

Verbal Testimony—*āgama*.

Testimony (*Āgama*) is a knowledge of objects derived from
 the words of reliable persons or scriptures in
 Verbal Testimony virtue of their natural fitness or suggestiveness—e.g. the north pole exists.

Scope of Valid Knowledge—*Visaya*.

Objects of valid knowledge are either general (*sāmānya*) or
 particular (*viśeṣa*). The general is of two
 Objects of valid know- kinds : (1) homogeneous (*tiryak*), including
 ledge. many individuals of like nature, as the
 "cow" is a general notion which signifies many individual cows as
Sabalā, *Kharabā*, *Mamohā*, etc. ; and (2) heterogeneous (*ūrdhvatā*),
 including many individuals of dissimilar nature, as, "gold"
 is a general notion comprising a bracelet, necklace, ear-ring, etc.
 The particular is also of two kinds : (1) relating to things (*vyatireka*),
 e.g. cow, buffalo, elephant, dog, are four particular things
 distinguished from one another ; and (2) relating to action such as
 pleasure, pain, etc., experienced by the soul.

The result or consequence of valid knowledge is the cessation
 of ignorance, enabling one to choose the
 Result of valid knowledge. desirable and reject the undesirable.

Fallacy—*ābhāsa*.

Fallacy or semblance consists of the knowledge of that which
 is different from the real thing. It is of
 Various kinds of Fallacies. many kinds, such as the fallacy—

- (1) of perception (*pratyakṣābhāsa*). e.g.—to mistake a post for a
 man ;

- (2) of recollection (*smaranābhāsa*)—in trying to recollect Jina-datta to say : “ O, that Devadatta ” ;
- (3) of recognition (*pratyabhijñānābhāsa*)—on seeing a greyhound to say : “ this is a tiger ” ;
- (4) of argumentation (*tarkābhāsa*)—“ whoever is his son must be black ” ;
- (5) of the minor term (*pakṣābhāsa*)—“ sound is impermanent ” : This is a fallacy of the minor term according to the Mīmāṃsakas, for they do not attribute impermanency to sound ; or fire is not hot, because it is a substance as water ;
- (6) of the middle term or reason (*hetvābhāsa*)—sound is eternal, because it is factitious ;
- (7) of example (*dṛṣṭāntābhāsa*)—sound is eternal, because it is corporeal, like a jar ;
- (8) of verbal testimony (*āgamābhāsa*)—“ there is a heap of sweetmeats on the side of the river, run you boys ” ; “ there are a hundred elephants on his finger ” ; “ the Jainas are allowed to eat in the night ” [as a fact they are not so allowed by their scripture].

References to Philosophers.

Māṅikya Nandi in the Parīkṣā-mukha-sūtra (chapter vi, aph. 56–57) has mentioned the Laukāyatika,

References to contemporaneous systems of philosophy.

Saugata, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Prābhākara, Jaiminīya, etc. In the 3rd chapter of the work he observes—“ no philosopher, who admits three kinds of reason or middle term (*hetu*), can dispense with the minor term (*pakṣa*). ”¹

He concludes his work by describing it as a mirror through which a man can see what is to be accepted and what rejected.²

24. PRABHĀ CANDRA (ABOUT 825 A.D.).

Prabhā Candra, styled a *Kavi*, a member of the Digambara sect, was the author of the famous logical treatise called *Prameya-kamala mārtaṇḍa* (the sun of the lotus of knowledge), the earli-

¹ साध्याधिनाभावितेन निश्चितो हेतुः ॥ १० ॥

को वा विधा हेतुमुक्त्वा समर्थयमानो न पञ्चवति ॥ ११ ॥

(Parīkṣā-mukha-sūtra, MSS. lent to me by Mr. Jain Vaidya of Jaipur).

² परीक्षासुखमादर्थं ज्ञेयोपादेयतत्त्वयोः ।

संविदे मादृष्टो वासः परीक्षादृश्यवद् व्यथाम् ॥

(Parīkṣā-mukha-sūtra, chap. VI, MSS. lent to me by Mr. Jain Vaidya of Jaipur). Parīkṣā-mukha-sūtra of Māṅikya Nandi with the commentary of Ananta-vīrya has been edited by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana and published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series of Calcutta.

est commentary on the Parīkṣā-mukha-sūtra of Māṇikyā Nandi. He was also the author of the Nyāya-kumuda-candrodaya (or briefly Candrodaya), a commentary on the Laghiyastraya of Akalaṅka. He has in his Prameya-kamala-mārtanḍa mentioned Bhagavān Upavaṛṣa, Śabarasvāmi, Bhartr̥hari, Bāṇa,¹ Kumārila,² Prabhākara, Dignāga, Uddyotakara, Dharmakīrti, Vidyānanda and others. He himself has been mentioned by Jina Sena in the Ādipurāṇa³ composed about Śaka 760 or A.D. 838. Prabhā Candra, as a contemporary of Māṇikyā Nandi and Vidyānanda, is believed to have lived in the first half of the 9th century A.D.

25. RABHASA NANDI (CIRCA 850 A.D.).

Rabhasa Nandi, probably a Digambara, wrote a work called Sambandhodyota, which seems to be a commentary on the Sambandha-parīkṣā of the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti. The work must have been composed after 635 A.D. when Dharmakīrti lived, and before 1444 A.D., which is the date of the copy of the work acquired for the Bombay Government.⁴

26. MALLAVĀDIN (ABOUT 827 A.D.).

He belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect and was the famous author of a commentary on the Buddhist logical treatise Nyāya-

¹ Prabhā Candra has quoted the following verse from Bāṇa's Kādambarī :—

रञ्जोक्तुषे जन्मनि सत्त्वतये
स्थितौ प्रजानां प्रलये तमःस्थये ।
अजाय सर्गस्थिति-नाश-हेतवे
चयीमयाय त्रिगुणात्मने नमः ॥

(Prameya-kamala-mārtanḍa, Deccan College, MSS., p. 21a, quoted by Mr. K. B. Pathak in J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, p. 221).

² Prabhā Candra refers to Kumārila, otherwise called Bhaṭṭa, thus :—

तथा अर्थार्थितिरपि प्रमाणान्तरं तत्त्वज्ञं ह्यर्थार्थितिरपि दृष्टः श्रुतो वा अर्थीत्यथा नोपपद्यते
रत्यदृष्टार्थकल्पना, कुमारिलोऽपि एतदेव भाष्यकारवचो व्याचष्टे ।

(Prameya-kamala-mārtanḍa, quoted by Mr. K. B. Pathak in the J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, p. 227).

³ In the Ādipurāṇa Prabhā Candra is thus mentioned :—

चन्द्रांशुशुभयशसं प्रभाचन्द्रं कविं स्तुवे ।
कृत्वा चन्द्रोदयं वेन मन्मदाकादितं जगत् ॥ ४७ ॥

(Quoted by Mr. K. B. Pathak in J.B.B.R.A.S., for 1892, p. 222).

On p. 227 of the same journal, the date of the Ādipurāṇa is fixed at Śaka 760 or 838 A.D.

⁴ Pathak's Third Report, p. 107.

bindutīkā called Dharmottara-ṭippanaka. According to a Jaina legend,¹ Malla was the son of King Śilāditya's sister. He was called *vādin* or logician, because, having vanquished the Buddhists in a dispute, he re-established the Jaina faith and brought to its former glory the great figure of Ādinātha on Mount Śatruñjaya (in Kathiwar).

A palm-leaf manuscript² of the Dharmottara-ṭippanaka is preserved at Anhilwad Patan and is said to be dated Samvat 1321 or 1174 A.D. According to the Prabhāvākacaritra³, Mallavādin was also the author of a work called the Padmacaritra and lived in Vira Samvat 884 or 357 A.D. But this is impossible, as Dharmottara (q.v.), on whose Nyāyabindutīkā Mallavādin wrote Ṭippanaka, lived about 837 A.D. On the other hand Mallavādin is mentioned⁴ by Hem Candra Sūri, who lived during 1088—1172 A.D. It seems therefore probable that the year 884 in which Mallavādin lived does not refer to Vira Samvat, but to Vikrama or Śaka Samvat. On this supposition Mallavādin lived in 827 A.D. or 962 A.D.

27. AMṚTA CANDRA SŪRI
(905 A.D.)

Amṛta Candra Sūri,⁵ who belonged to the Dīgambara sect, was the author of Tattvārtha-sāra, Ātmakhyāti,⁶ etc., and lived in Samvat 962 or 905 A.D.

28. DEVASENA BHATṬĀRAKA
(899—950 A.D.)

Devasena,⁷ a pupil of Rāmasena, was the author of Naya-cakra, etc. He was born in Samvat 951 or 894 A.D., and wrote his Daśana-sāra (Darśana-sāra) in Samvat 990 or 933 A.D.

¹ Peterson 4, pp. 3-4, in which is mentioned the legend from the Prabandha-cintāmani (Rāmacandra's edition, Bombay, p. 273).

² इति धर्मात्तरटिप्पणके श्रीमल्लवाद्याचार्यकृते द्वितीयः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥
संवत् १२२१ वर्षे भाद्रपद शुद्धि १२ रवौ (Peterson's Report V, p. 3).

संवत् १२२१ वर्षे भाद्रपद शुद्धि १२ रवौ अष्टौह जंभावल्लिषाम वासव्य संदाहङ्गुतयः
चाहङ्गेन धर्मात्तर-टिप्पणकं लिखावितम् ॥ (Noticed in Peterson 5, App p. 3).

³ Vide Klatt, Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. IV, p. 67

⁴ अनु मल्लवादिनं तार्किकाः ।

तस्मादन्ये हीना इत्यर्थः ॥

(Siddha Hema Śabdānuśāsana-brhat-ṭikā, 2-2-39)

⁵ Peterson's fourth Report, p. ix.

⁶ Ātmakhyāti, which is a commentary on the Samaya-prābhṛta of Kundakūṣṛya, has been edited by Paṇḍita Gajādhar Lal Nyāyasastrī.

29. PRADYUMNA SŪRI
(ABOUT 980 A.D.).

He¹ belonged to the Rājagaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect. In Māṇikyaacandra's Pārśvanātha-caritra,² his prowess in logical discussions is referred to in the following terms:—

“There was born the preceptor Pradyumna Sūri—the first healer of disease of the world—who entirely removed all corruptions from the body of men (or detected all defects in disputation committed by men) and who, using sharp logical expressions, made his irrelevant opponents to sweat and thereby to be cured of the fever of pride.”

In the same work reference is made to his victory over the Digambaras of Veṅkaṭṭa in the presence of the king of that province. He delighted the kings of various countries by no fewer than eighty-four triumphs in discussion. He was eleventh in ascent from Māṇikyaacandra Sūri, who wrote his Pārśvanātha-caritra in Saṃvat 1276 or 1219 A.D. Pradyumna must have flourished about 980 A.D., for he was the preceptor of Abhayadeva Sūri (q.v.) who lived a little before 1039 A.D.

30. ABHAYADEVA SŪRI
(ABOUT 1000 A.D.).

Abhayadeva Sūri belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect³, and was the pupil and successor of Pradyumna Sūri of the Rājagaccha. He was an eminent logician and author of Vādamahārṇava, a treat-

¹ For further particulars about Pradyumna Sūri, see Peterson's 4th Report, p. lxxix.

²

पुंसां विग्रहकं विकारमखिलं निर्मूलमुन्मूलय-
स्तत्राक्षः समभूद् भवामयभिषक् प्रद्युम्नस्त्रिगुणः ।
येन ह्येदयता प्रवृष्य तरलां तर्कोऽन्वलां भारतीं
वादीन्द्राः प्रविलापिनो घनतरं दर्पव्वरं त्याजिताः ॥ ४ ॥
दिगम्बरसमाक्रान्तवेङ्कपट्टं समाददे ।
यः प्रत्यक्षं नरेन्द्रस्य जगतस्तयस्य पुनः ॥ ५ ॥
नीरागतामिषी राजगच्छभृगुणवारिधिः ।
स्त्रिः प्रद्युम्नस्त्रयः पूर्व वः पूर्वजोऽभवत् ॥ २८ ॥
सपादलक्षगोपालविभुवनगिर्यादिदेशोपाखान् ।
यद्यस्तुरधिकारीत्या वादजसैरंजयामस ॥ २८ ॥
श्रीश्रमयदेवस्त्रिस्तन्निश्चयलकंशूरभृत् ।
भग्यासनाखितुमुलाङ्गीर्षदास्यमशित्रियत् ॥ २९ ॥

(Pārśvanātha-caritra as noticed by Peterson in his 3rd Report, pp. 57-164.)

³

तर्कप्रव्यविचारदुर्गमवनीसहारपञ्चानन-

ise on logic called the Ocean of Discussions, and of a commentary on the Sammati-tarka-sūtra called Tattvārtha-bodha-vidhāyinī.¹ “He is described as a lion that roamed at ease in the wild forest of books on logic. That the rivers of various conflicting opinions might not sweep away the path of the good, Abhayadeva² wrote his Vāda-mahārṇava.” He was succeeded by Jineśvara Sūri, a contemporary of King Muñja.³ He was the ninth predecessor of Siddhasena Sūri, who wrote Pravacana-sāroddhāra-vṛtti in Śaṁvat 1242 or 1185 A.D. It was probably this Abhayadeva Sūri, who was “world-renowned” and a teacher of Śānti Sūri⁴ who died in Śaṁvat 1096 or 1039 A.D.

31. LAGHUSAMANTABHADRA
(ABOUT 1000 A.D.).

He⁵ wrote a commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrī of Vidyānanda called the Aṣṭasāhasrī-viśama-pada-tātparya-tikā⁶ and seems to have belonged to the Digambara sect and lived about 1000 A.D.

सदाक्षुमिलालसा नधुकरो कोलाहलाशङ्किभो
दित्वा विहरपङ्कजं श्रितवती ब्राह्मी यदीयानमम् ॥ ६ ॥
दङ्गिज्जमाः सत्यभेदमेता
भुवं करिष्यन्ति जडेः समेताः ।
इतीव रोधाय चकार तासां
यन्त्रं नयं वादमहाण्यं यः ॥ ७ ॥
विद्वन्मण्डलमौलिमण्डनमणिः प्रेङ्खन्तपोऽश्मिणि-
र्गिर्ग्रन्थोऽपि जिनेश्वरः समकमि श्रीमान्कृतः सङ्गुहः ।
यः सूजङ्गुणपुञ्जगतौजिष्णोः पुरः प्रश्लिखान् ।
वादे वादिवरान् विजित्य विजयश्रीसंपदं स व्यधात् ॥ ८ ॥

(Pārsvanātha-caritra by Māṅkiyācandra, noticed by Peterson in his Third Report, pp. 158-59).

¹ See R. Mitra's Catalogue, X, pp. 39-40.

² For particulars about Abhayadeva Sūri, see Peterson's Fourth Report, p. iii.

³ Weber's Die Handschriften-verzeichnisse, etc., p. 851, vv. 1, 2, and p. 121, vv. 4-5. Jineśvara Sūri was probably a spiritual brother of Dhaneśvara Sūri.

यस्यासङ्गुहं रात्रने गुणनिधिः श्रीसर्वदेवालयः
सूरीश्रीभयदेव सूरिरचितख्यातप्रमाणोऽपि च ।
नस्येयं सुगुहदद्यादधिगत (?) दण्डात्मविद्यागुह (?)
प्रत्याख्याय धिरं मुनि प्रचरतु श्रीमान्जिनेश्वरः कृतिः ॥

(Uttarādhyayana-bṛhadvṛtti by Śāntyačārya, noticed by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 44).

See also Weber's Die Handschriften-verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, p. 827.

⁵ Vide Peterson's Sixth Report, p. xxiii.

⁶ The Aṣṭasāhasrī-viśama-pada-tātparya-tikā has been noticed in Peterson's Fifth Report, pp. 216-219, where we read :—

देहं स्वातिनममसं विद्यामन्वं प्रथम्य निजभक्त्या ।
विद्वन्मण्डलमौलिमण्डनमणिः लघुसमकमिः ॥ ९ ॥

32. KALYĀṆA CANDRA
(ABOUT 1000 A.D.).

Kalyāṇacandra was the author of *Pramāṇa-vārtika-ṭikā* which is a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika* (probably of Dharmakīrti who lived about 635 A.D.). It must have existed before 1350 A.D. when Jñānacandra mentioned it in his *Ratnākarāvātārikā-tippana*.¹

33. ANANTA-VĪRYA
(ABOUT 1039 A.D.).

Ananta-vīrya was the Digambara author of a commentary on the *Parikṣāmukha* of Māṇikyā Nandi called *Parikṣā-mukha-pañjikā* or *Prameya-ratnamālā*, as also a commentary on Akalaṅka's *Nyāya-viniścaya* called the *Nyāya-viniścaya-vṛtti*. He wrote the former for Śānti-ṣena at the request of Hirapa, son of Vijaya and Nāṇambā.² Now Śānti-ṣena, supposed to be identical with Śānti Sūri, died in Saṃvat 1096 or A.D. 1039. His contemporary Ananta-vīrya must, therefore, have flourished about that time.³ Ananta-vīrya must have lived before the 14th century, for he is mentioned by Mādhavācārya in the chapter on Jaina darśana in the *Sarvadarśana-saṃgraha*.

34. DEVA SŪRI (1086—1169 A.D.).

HIS LIFE.

Deva Sūri, called *Vādipravara* or the foremost of disputants, belonged to the *Śvetāmbara* sect and was a pupil of *Municandra Sūri*. He was the author of the well-known treatise on logic called *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālaṅkāra* on which he himself wrote an elaborate commentary named *Syādvādaratnākara*.⁴ He totally vanquished the Digambara *Kumudacandrācārya* in a dispute over the

¹ तेनाप्यपोहविषयाः प्रोक्ताः सामान्यशोचराः ।

अस्य व्याख्या तेनाचार्यं दिङ्नामेन... प्रोक्ता । एतदर्थस्य विस्तरार्थिना प्रमाणवार्तिके कस्याप्यत्र टीकासोऽवश्यः ॥

(*Ratnākarāvātārikā-tippana*, p. 7, Yaśovijaya granthamālā series. Benares)

² त्रैलोक्यप्रियपुत्रस्य हीरपस्योपरोधतः ।

शान्तिषेणार्थमारब्धा परीक्षासुखपञ्जिका ॥ ३ ॥

(*Parikṣā-mukham ṣaṭikam*, noticed in Peterson's Fourth Report, p. 155).

³ Vide the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, p. 253; and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. during 1883-84, p. 129

⁴ स्वाहादरलाकर इत्यस्मिन् ग्रन्थो महत्तमः ।

यादिष्टन्दारकश्रीमद्देवसूरिविनिर्मितः ॥ ४ ॥

Maladhāri Rājśekhara Sūri's *Pañjikā* on *Syādvāda-ratnākarāvātārikā*.

salvation of women [at the court of Jaya-sir̥ha-deva at Anahilla-purapattana in N. Guzerat] and thereby practically stopped the entrance of the Digambaras into that town. The dispute¹ took place in Sāmvat 1181 or 1124 A.D.

Ratnaprabha Sūri, a pupil of Deva Sūri, in his Upadeśamālā-tīkā,² composed in Sāmvat 1238 or A.D. 1181, writes—

“Lord Śrī Deva Sūri, who was the crest-gem of the pupils of the esteemed Muncandra Sūri and succeeded him in his paṭṭa (sacred chair), conquered the Digambaras in the council-room of King Jaya-sir̥ha Deva and raised a pillar of victory by maintaining the nirvāṇa or salvation of women [that is, holding that even women were capable of attaining nirvāṇa].”

चन्द्राहमिषवर्षेऽत्र वैशाखे पूर्णिमादिने ।

आळ्ळमौ वादिशाळायं तौ वादिप्रतिवादिनौ ॥

(Prabhāvākācar., XXI, v. 95, quoted by Dr. Klatt in his article on “Historical Records of the Jains” in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XI, Sept 1882, p 254)

² Ratnaprabha Sūri observes:—

शिशुः श्रीमुनिचन्द्रस्वरिगृहभिर्मीतार्थचूडामणिः

पट्टे खे विनिवेशितस्तदनु स श्रीदेवस्वरिप्रभुः ।

आस्थाने कथसिंहदेवस्तपतेर्येनास्तदिग्वाससा

स्त्रीनिर्वाणसमर्थनेन विजयस्तम्भः समुत्पन्नित ॥

तन्मङ्गप्रभवो भवत्यय गुणयानाभिरानोदयाः

श्रीभद्रेश्वरस्वरय शुचिषिद्यस्तन्मानसप्रौढये ।

श्रीरत्नप्रभस्वरितिः शुभकृते श्रीदेवस्वरिप्रभोः

शिशुः सेयनकारि सम्यदकृते हृत्तिर्विशेषाधिनाम् ॥

(Upadeśamālā-tīkā, noticed by Peterson in his Third Report, p. 167).

Munisūndara Sūri, in his Gurvāvalī composed in Sāmvat 1466, gives a similar account:—

येनादितस्तुरगौति सुवादिस्त्रीला-

स्तम्भीकस्तम्भधरनामदकेशिशाली ।

वादाहवे कुमुदचन्द्रदिग्गजरेन्द्रः

श्रीसिद्धभूमिपतिसंसादि पत्तनेऽस्मिन् ॥ ७४ ॥

स्याद्वादरत्नाकरनर्कवेधा

सुदे स केषां मच्चि देवस्वरिः ।

यतस्तुर्विशतिस्वरिश्रां

यस्यैव नास्ता विदितं बभूव ॥ ७५ ॥

वेदमुनीशमितेऽन्दे

देवगुणार्जगद्गुप्तरोऽभ्युदितः ।

श्रीमुनिचन्द्रगौरिति

शिशुः बचवोऽभवन् विदिताः ॥ ७६ ॥

(Gurvāvalī published in the Jaina Yaśovijaya-granthamālā of Benares, pp. 18-19).

In Saṃvat 1204 or 1147 A.D. Deva Sūri founded a caitya, raised a *bimba* at Phalavardhigrāma, and established an image of Neminātha at Arāsana.¹ He was born in Saṃvat 1143 or 1086 A.D., attained the rank of Sūri in 1174 Saṃvat or 1117 A.D., and ascended to heaven in Saṃvat 1226 or 1169 A.D.²

35. DEVA SŪRI'S Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālaṅkāra

Pramāṇa—right knowledge.

The *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālaṅkāra*³ consists of eight chapters (*paricchedaś*), viz.—

(1) Determination of the nature of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa-svarūpa-nirṇaya*); (2) determination of the nature of perception (*pratyakṣa-svarūpa-nirṇaya*); (3) determination of the nature of recollection, recognition, argumentation and inference (*smaraṇa-pratyabhijñāna-tarkānumāna-svarūpa-nirṇaya*); (4) determination of the nature of valid knowledge derived from verbal testimony or scripture (*āgamākhyā-pramāṇa-svarūpa-nirṇaya*); (5) determination of the nature of objects of knowledge (*viśaya-svarūpa-nirṇaya*); (6) determination of the consequences and fallacies of knowledge (*phala-pramāṇa-svarūpādyābhāsa-nirṇaya*); (7) determination of the nature of one-sided knowledge (*nayātma-svarūpa-nirṇaya*); and (8) determination of the right procedure of a disputant and his opponent (*vādi-prativādi-nyāya-nirṇaya*).

As this work is written on the same plan as Māṇikya Nandi's *Parikṣāmukha-sūtra* or Akalaṅka's *Nyāya-viniścaya* as well as Siddhasena Divākara's *Nyāyāvātāra*, I shall pass over the common points, mentioning only its special features.

Pramāṇa or valid knowledge is defined here as the knowledge which ascertains the nature of itself as well as other things. The intercourse between the sense-organs and the objects of

Nature of right or valid knowledge.

¹ Vide Peterson's Fourth Report, p. iv. ; also Klatt, Ind. Ant. XI, p. 254.

² शिखिवेदमिवे जन्म दीक्षा युष्मत्सररे ।
वेदाश्चमंकरे वर्षे स्वरिलमभवत् प्रभोः ।
रसयुष्मत्सर्वौ वर्षे आवणे मासि संमते ।
कृष्णपक्षस्य सप्तम्यामपराह्णे गुरोर्दिने ॥
मर्त्यलोकस्थितं लोकं प्रतिबोध्य पुरस्तर-
बोधका इवं ते अयुर्दिवं श्रीदेवस्वरयः ॥

(Prabhāvaka-car., XXI, vv. 287 seq., quoted by Dr. Klatt in his article on "Historical Records of the Jains" in the Indian Antiquary, Sept. 1882, Vol. XI, p. 254). According to some authorities Deva Sūri was born in Saṃvat 1134 or 1077 A.D.

³ The *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālaṅkāra* has been printed and published in Benares in the Jaina Yaśovijaya series.

sense is not *pramāṇa* (valid knowledge), for though it can ascertain the nature of objects outside itself, it cannot ascertain its own nature, since it has no consciousness. *Pramāṇa* must certainly be *knowledge*, for it is capable of choosing what is desirable and rejecting what is undesirable. It must also be definite in character, for it is opposed to superimposition (*samāropa*). Superimposition is of three kinds: (1) inversion (*viparyaya*)—such as looking upon a pearl-oyster as a piece of silver; (2) doubt (*samśaya*)—such as: is this a post or a man? and (3) uncertainty (*anadhyavasāya*) consisting in a mere cogitation in the mind as to what the thing might be.

Pramāṇa (valid knowledge) is of two kinds: (1) direct (*pratyakṣa*, perception) and (2) indirect (*parokṣa*, outside the senses). The direct knowledge or perception is of two kinds: practical (*sāmvyavahārika*) and transcendental (*pāramārthika*). The practical direct knowledge again is subdivided as that which arises through the sense-organs (*indriya-nibandhana*) and that which does not arise through the sense-organs (*anindriya-nibandhana*) but through the mind (*manas*). Each of these passes through four stages,¹ viz.: (1) *avagraha*, distinguishing the type whether it be, e.g., horse or man, but not discerning the characteristics; (2) *ihā*, inquiring, e.g., whence came the man and from what country came the horse; (3) *avāya*, arriving at a correct identification of the above; and (4) *dhāraṇā*, recollecting the thing particularised and keeping it in mind.

The transcendental direct knowledge (*pāramārthika*) is that which comes exclusively from the illumination of the soul and is profitable to emancipation. It is two-fold: (1) *vikala* (defective) including *avadhi-jñāna* (limited knowledge), i.e. knowledge of special objects which, near or remote, are not differentiated, and *manah-paryāya*, i.e. definite knowledge of another's thoughts and the laying bare of the secrets of the heart; and (2) *sakala*, i.e. perfect, which is the unobstructed intuition of the entire aspects of a thing. One who possesses that perfect transcendental knowledge is called an *arhat*, i.e. one freed from all faults or obstructions.

Indirect knowledge (*parokṣa*) is of five kinds: viz., (1) recollection (*smaraṇa*); (2) recognition (*pratyabhijñāna*); (3) argumentation (*tarka*); (4) inference (*anumāna*); (5) verbal testimony or the knowledge derived from the words of a reliable person or scripture (*āgama*).

¹ The explanation of *avagraha*, etc., as given here is taken from Col. Jarrett's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. III, p. 190, as the portion related to *pramāṇa* in the Jaina chapter of *Ain-i-Akbari* very closely resembles that in the *Pramāṇa-naya-tatvālokāṅkāra*. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's explanation of these terms given on p. 93, footnote, of his Report on Sanskrit MSS., for 1883-84, is, however, different.

Inference is of two kinds : (1) *svārtha*, for one's own self, and
 Inference (2) *parārtha*, for the sake of others. *Hetu*
 (reason or the middle term) is defined as
 that which cannot happen except in connection with the major
 term. The definition that the *hetu* (middle term) is that which
 possesses three characteristics, is to be rejected as involving
 fallacies.¹ Those who maintain the threefold characteristic or
 division of the *hetu* (reason or middle term), cannot but admit the
 necessity of using the minor term (*pakṣa*) in an inference.²

According to some, as the connection or absence of connection
 between the middle and the major terms can be shown by inter-
 nal inseparable connection (*antar-vyāpti*), the example forming
 the external inseparable connection (*bahirvyāpti*) is useless.³ For
 instance :—

The hill (minor term) is fiery (major term), because it is smoky
 (middle term), as a kitchen (example).

Here the hill is an integral part of the inference, and in it
 may be found the necessary connection be-
 Uselessness of the ex- tween fire and smoke. Why then should
 ample. we burden our inference with an example
 from without ? The kitchen certainly shows the same connection ;
 fire and smoke are found together there : but it is not an essential
 part of the inference, and so for the purpose in hand the connec-
 tion which it proves may be described as the external inseparable
 connection. We must look to logical neatness, and the economy
 of mental labour, since the mind is liable to be confused when the
 unessential is brought across its track.

The application (*upanaya*) and conclusion (*niṣamāna*) as

1 निश्चितान्तरानुपपत्तेरुक्तजदो हेतुः न तु बिलक्षणकादि ।
 तस्य हेतुभासस्यापि सन्नवान् ॥ ११ ॥

(Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokāṅkāra, Chap. III).

This is an attack on Dharmakīrti and other Buddhist logicians who define the
 three characteristics of *hetu* as follows :—

वेद्यं पुमर्लोकस्य अनुमेये सन्नमेव ।

सपच एव सञ्जम् । असपचे चासत्त्वमेव निश्चितम्

(Nyāyabindu, Chapter II).

2 त्रिविधं साधनमभिधायैव तत्समर्थनं विदधानः कः खलु न पक्षप्रयोगम् अङ्गीकुरुते ॥ १२ ॥

(Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokāṅkāra, Chap. III).

3 अकार्यज्ञा हेतोः साध्यप्रत्यायने यत्तादृशतो च बहिर्व्याप्तिरङ्गात्वनं व्यर्थम् ॥ १५ ॥

(Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokāṅkāra, Chap. III)

parts of the syllogism are also useless, but these together with the example are to be employed to convince men of small intellect.¹

Parts of a syllogism *Avayava* or parts of an inference or syllogism are therefore stated to be the following :—

- (1) *Pakṣa-prayoga* (use of the minor term, otherwise called proposition, *pratijñā*)—the hill is fiery.
- (2) *Hetu-prayoga* (use of the middle term)—because it is smoky
- (3) *Dṛṣṭānta* (example)—whatever is fiery is smoky, as a kitchen.
- (4) *Upānaya* (application)—this hill is smoky.
- (5) *Nigamana* (conclusion)—therefore this hill is fiery.

Non-existence (*abhāva* or *anupalabdhi*) is subdivided as (1) antecedent (*prāgabhāva*); (2) subsequent (*parābhāva*); (3) mutual (*itaretarābhāva*); and (4) absolute (*atyantābhāva*). Various kinds of *ābhāsa* or fallacy are also enumerated. Under verbal testimony (i.e. *āgama*) as also under the method of one-sided interpretation (*naya*), there is given an elaborate exposition of the *Saptabhāṅginaya* (sevenfold paralogism). The mediate and immediate results of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) have been clearly laid down.

The results of knowledge and the practical use made of them are stated to be not illusory (*saṃvṛti*), but real (*pāramārthika*).

Fallacies of *Naya*.

Under *naya* (the method of comprehending a thing from particular points of view), the fallacies of it (*nayābhāsa*) are enumerated thus :—

- (1) *Naigamābhāsa* (the fallacy of the *naigama*)—e.g. in estimating a soul we make a distinction between its “existence” (generic property) and its “consciousness” (specific property).
Fallacies of *Naya*.
- (2) *Samgrahābhāsa* (the fallacy of the collective)—occurs when we call a thing real if it possesses the generic property alone, altogether losing sight of its specific properties, as when we say a bamboo is real so far as it is a tree, but it has no specific properties.
- (3) *Vyavahārābhāsa* (the fallacy of the practical)—e.g., the Cārvāka philosophy which makes a wrong distinction of substance, quality, etc.
- (4) *Rjusūtrābhāsa* (the fallacy of the straight or immediate)—as the Tathāgata philosophy which altogether denies the reality of things.

¹ मन्दमतींस्तु कुतश्चदिदं दृष्ट्वाप्यन्यत्र नान्यत्रि प्रयोज्यानि ॥ १९ ॥

- (5) *Śabdābhāsa* (the verbal fallacy)—occurs when we recognize the distinction of times into past, present and future, but go on attaching one and the same meaning to a word in all the three cases, e.g. if we now use the word “kratu” (sacrifice) in the sense of “strength” which it signified a thousand years ago
- (6) *Samabhīrūdhābhāsa* (the fallacy of the subtle)—occurs when we interpret synonymous words such as Indra, Śakra, Purandara, etc., signifying altogether different things.
- (7) *Evambhūtābhāsa* (the fallacy of the such-like)—occurs when a thing is discarded simply because it does not, at the moment, possess the properties implied by the name, e.g. Rāma is not a man (a thinking animal), because he is not at present thinking.

The Soul—*ātmā*.

The soul (*ātmā*) which is the doer and enjoyer, and an embodiment of consciousness, is of the same size as its body. In every person there is a separate soul which, having got rid of the bondage of its *karma* (act-fruits), attains emancipation.

The Method of Debate.

The last chapter expounds the method of debate. Discussion (*Vāda*) consists in assertion and counter-assertion for the establishment of a certain proposition by rejecting its opposite. The disputant or the person who opens the discussion may be eager either to gain a victory or to ascertain a truth. The truth may be sought either for one's own self as a disciple seeks it, or for others as a teacher seeks it. The same remarks apply to the opponent or respondent. There are four constituents of a council of discussion, viz. (1) the disputant (*vādī*); (2) the opponent (*prativādī*); (3) the members (*sābhya*); and (4) the president (*sabhāpati*). The duty

Rules of Debate.

of the disputant and his opponent consists in establishing his own side and opposing the other side by means of proof. The members must be acceptable to both the parties in respect of the skill in grasping their dogmas; they must have a good memory, be very learned, and possess genius, patience and impartiality. Their duties consist in stating the assertions and replies of the disputant and his opponent with reference to the particular subject of discussion, in estimating the merits and demerits of their arguments and counter-arguments, in occasionally interrupting them for setting forth some established conclusions, and in, as far as possible, declaring the result of the discussion. The President must be endowed with wisdom, authority, forbearance and impartiality. His duty consists in judging the speeches of the

parties and the members, as also in preventing quarrels, etc., among them. In the event of the parties being desirous of victory alone, they may continue the discussion with vigour as long as the members wish ; but if they are eager to ascertain the truth alone, they may continue the discussion so long as the truth is not ascertained and so long as they retain their vigour.

36. HEMACANDRA SURI.
(1088—1172 A.D.).

Hemacandra Sūri¹ (surnamed *Kalikāla-sarvajña*), born at Dhandhuka in Ahmedabad, was a pupil of Devacandra of the Vajrasākhā. He was a contemporary of King Jaya Simha and is said to have been the preceptor of Māhārāja Kumāra Pāla of Guzerat about Samvat 1199-1229. He was the author of a large number of works such as *Kāvyaṅuśāsana-vṛtti*, *Chandonuśāsana-vṛtti*, *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* or *Nāmamālā*, *Anekārthasaṅgraha*, *Dvāśraya-mahā-kāvya*, *Triṣaṣṭhisalākāpuruṣa-caritra* (a part of which is called *Mahāvīracaritra* and the appendix called *Parīśiṣṭaparva*), *Yogaśāstra*, *Nighaṅṭuśeṣa*, etc.

He was also the author of a most important work on logic called *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā*,² on which he himself wrote a commentary. This work, which is divided into five chapters, is written in the *Sūtra* or aphoristic style, and not in the form of a *prakaraṇa* (ēxpository treatise).

He was a spiritual brother of Pradyumna Sūri,³ was born in Samvat 1145 or 1088 A.D., took the vow (*vratā*) in 1150 Samvat or 1093 A.D., attained the rank of Sūri in 1168 Samvat

¹ For details about Hemacandra, see Bühler's "Ueber das Lebens des Jaina Monches Hemacandra"; Peterson's Fourth Report, p. cxli, and p. 82; and also Peterson's lecture on the story of Hema Candra published in the *Bombay Gazette*, August 29, 1895

² A manuscript of the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā* with a commentary by the author himself has been noticed by Peterson in his Fifth Report on Sanskrit MSS., pp. 147-148. In explaining why the *Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā* was written in the form of aphorisms, Hemacandra in the first chapter of the commentary says:—

वाचकमुखाविरचितानि सकलशास्त्रबुद्धामिभूतानि तन्मार्थस्वभाषीति यद्येवमकलङ्क-
धर्तकौर्त्वादिषत् प्रकरणमेव किं नारभ्यते किमनया सूत्रकारत्वाद्दोषविक्रया नैवं वोचः । भिद्य
वचिष्टयं जनकतो नास्य स्नेहाप्रतिबन्धो लौकिकराजकीयं वा शासनमस्तीति यत्किञ्चिदेतत् तत्र
वर्णसंग्रहात्मकैः पञ्चभिरध्यायैः शास्त्रमेतदरचयदाचार्यः । तस्य च प्रेक्षावत्प्रवृत्त्यंगमभिधातुमिद-
नादिस्तत्रम् । अथ प्रसाणमीमांसा अथ इत्यस्य अधिकारार्थत्वात् ।

(Quoted in Peterson's Fifth Report, p. 148).

³

श्रीमांसुप्रज्ञवीभबहुषमिधिः प्रद्युम्नसुरिप्रभु-
वन्धुर्षस्य स सिद्धैस्वविधये श्रीहेमसुरिविधिः ३

(Candrasena's commentary on *Utpādasiddhiprakaraṇa*, a manuscript of which is noticed in Peterson's Third Report, p. 209).

or 1109 A.D., and ascended to heaven (died) in 1229 Saṃvat or 1172 A.D.¹

37 CANDRAPRABHA SŪRI
(1102 A.D.).

Candraprabha Sūri (born in Guzerat), who founded the Pūrṇamāgaccha² in Saṃvat 1159 or 1102 A.D., was a pupil of Jayasīṃha Sūri and preceptor of Dharmaghoṣa. He³ was the author of Darśanaśuddhi, otherwise called Samyaktva-prakarana, of Prameya-ratna-koṣa and possibly also of Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti.⁴ He was a great logician, and in debate appeared as a lion before the opponents who resembled elephants.⁵

The Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti is an excellent commentary on the Nyāyāvatāra of Siddhasena Divākara. In it mention is made of the Buddhist logicians Dharmottara, Arcaṭa⁶ and others, and

१ शरदेक्षरे वर्षे कार्तिके पूर्णिमादिशि ।
जन्मभवत् प्रभोर्द्योमवाणशभौ व्रतं तथा ॥
रसवतीक्षरे सूरिप्रतिष्ठा समजायत ।
नन्दद्वयवौ वर्षेऽनसानमभवत् प्रभो ॥

(Prabhāvākacar., XXII, v. 851 seq., quoted by Klatt, in Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, Sept. 1882, p. 254).

² For the origin of the Pūrṇamāgaccha see Dr R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 147.

³ For Candraprabha Sūri see also Peterson's Fourth Report, p. xxvii.

⁴ The manuscript of Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti, which I consulted, was obtained from Bhavanagar, Bombay, through Munis Dharmavijaya and Indravijaya. In the Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti itself there is no mention of Candraprabha Sūri. Elsewhere I have seen it stated that it was the work of that author. The authorship must, however, for the present, remain an open question. In the colophon of the Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti it is stated that it was the work of Siddhasena-Divākara-vyākhyānaka or simply Siddha-vyākhyānaka which was evidently a surname. Munis Dharmavijaya and Indravijaya relying on the line व्याख्यानं सुदामणिसिद्धनाकः (quoted from Ratnaprabha Sūri's Upadeśamālā-viśeṣa-vṛtti in Peterson's Third Report, p. 168) are inclined to identify Siddha-vyākhyānaka with Siddharsi who lived in Saṃvat 962 or 905 A.D. (as is evident from Peterson's Fourth Report, p. cxxix). There is another commentary on the Nyāyāvatāra by Haribhadra Sūri. For Darśanaśuddhi, vide Peterson 3, App. p. 91; and for the Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti vide Peterson 3, p. xvi. The Prameya-ratna-koṣa, known to Gunaratna, has been published in Bhavanagara under the editorship of Dr. L. Susli of Italy. In one of its opening verses Candraprabha Sūri is thus mentioned:—

प्रमेय रत्नेकोशोऽयं क्रियते कृतिवङ्कमः ।
द्वितार्यं श्रीदरिद्राणां श्रीचन्द्रप्रभसूरिभिः ॥ २ ॥
तीर्थे वीरविभोः सुधर्मगणभृतसन्तानलब्धोद्दिशि
स्वारिज्योपल्लवचन्द्रमञ्जुजलधिप्रोक्षासशीतद्वृत्तिः ।
साहित्यागमसर्कलक्षणमहाविद्यापगासागरः
श्रीचन्द्रप्रभसूरिरद्भुतमतिर्वादीभसिंहोभवत् ॥ १ ॥

(Daśavaikālikaṭīkā by Tilakācārya, noticed in Peterson's Fifth Report, p. 65)

⁶ प्रमाणेत्यादि धनेन च तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्तिरक्षणसंबन्ध विकल्पतया धनेर्बहिरर्थं प्रति प्राणायथ्यागाद् अभिधेयादिस्वरूपनद्वारोत्पन्नार्थसंशयमुक्तेन श्रोतारः श्रवणं प्रति प्रोत्साह्यन्ते इति धर्मोत्तरो मन्यवे अर्थात्सु आह न आवकोत्साहकमेतत् प्रमाणाभावात् तेषां

there is also a criticism of the views of Saugata, Naiyāyika, Mīmāṃsaka, Vaiśeṣika, Sāṃkhya, Cārvāka, Bauddha, Sāuddhodani, Kaṇabhakṣa Akṣapāda, Brahama-vādī. etc.

38. NEMICANDRA KAVI
(ABOUT 1150 A.D.).

Nemicandra, born in Guzerat, who combated the views of the Hindu philosopher Kaṇāda, was a great teacher of logic.¹ He was a pupil of Vairasvāmi and preceptor of Sāgarendu (Sāgaracandra) Muni (alive in Śaṃvat 1200 or 1143 A.D.), as mentioned by Māṅkiyacandra, Sāgarendu Muni's pupil, in his Pārśvanāthacaritra written in Śaṃvat 1276 or 1219 A.D. As Māṅkiyacandra flourished about 1219 A.D., his preceptor's preceptor Nemicandra² must have lived about 1150 A.D. Nemicandra was styled a *Kavi*³

39. ĀNANDA SŪRI AND AMARACANDRA SŪRI, NICKNAMED
TIGER-CUB AND LION-CUB (1093—1135 A.D.).

These two, born in Guzerat, were great logicians who, even in their boyhood, overcame their elephant-like opponents in dispute, and were nicknamed respectively *Vyāghra-sīsuka* (Tigercub) and *Simha-sīsuka* (Lion-cub)⁴ They⁵ were the twin pupils and suc-

वदुतिकील्लनाविलासवसंतिसुसप्तपोऽर्षति
सत्यद्वोदयचन्द्रमाः समजानि श्रीनैमिचन्द्रप्रभुः ।
निःसामान्यगुणैर्भुवि प्रहसरे प्राख्यश्लोड्यल्लैः
यसुक्ते कथभोजिनो मुनिपतेव्यर्थ मनं सर्वतः ॥ १६ ॥

(Pārśvanātha caritra, noticed in Peterson 3, p. 160).

The same verse is quoted almost verbatim in the *Kāvya-prakāśa-saṅketa* by Māṅkiyacandra Sūri, noticed in Person 3, p. 321.

² For Nemicandra, see also Peterson 4, p. lxxi.

³ See Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 122

⁴ Udayaprabha Sūri, who was the successor of Haribhadra Sūri through Vijaya-sena Sūri, in his *Dharmābhyudaya-mahākāvya*, noticed by Peterson in his Third Report, pp. 16-19, writes:—

आनन्दस्वरिरिति [तस्य बभूव] शिष्यः
पूर्वोऽपरः प्रसधरीऽनरचन्द्रस्वरिः ।
धर्मद्विपस्य दशनाविव पापवृत्त-
लोदक्षनी जसति यो विगदी विभातः ॥ २ ॥
आसाधवाङ्मयपयोनिधिमन्दराद्रि-
मुद्राजुषोः किमनयोः सुमहे मदिम
बाल्येऽपि निर्दक्षितवादिगजौ जगाद
यो आप्रसिद्धशिष्यकविति सिद्धराज. ॥ ४ ॥

⁵ For further particulars of Ānanda Sūri and Amaracandra Sūri see Peterson 4, p. vii.

cessors of Mahendra Sūri in the Nāgendragaccha, and were succeeded by Haribhadra Sūri. As Siddharāja, from whom they received their nicknames, ascended the throne in Saṃvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., they must have flourished at the beginning of the 12th century A.D. It is probably these two logicians who are referred to by the Hindu logician Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya in his Tattva-cintāmaṇi under *Sinha vyāghrī-lakṣaṇa* of Vyāpti.

40. HARIBHADRA SŪRI (ABOUT 1120 A.D.).

We find mention of at least two Śvetāmbara Jaina authors bearing the name Haribhadra Sūri. One died ¹ in Saṃvat 535 or 478 A.D., while the other was a pupil of Ānanda Sūri and Amara-candra Sūri of the Nāgendragaccha who lived about 1093-1135 A.D.² The second Haribhadra Sūri, who was called "Kalikāla-Gautama"³, must therefore have flourished about 1120 A.D. He must have been an eminent logician if we suppose him to be the author⁴ of the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, the Daśavaikālika-niryukti-ṭikā, the Nyāya-praveśaka-sūtra and the Nyāyāvātāra-vṛtti. There are strong grounds for supposing that the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya was not the work of the first Haribhadra Sūri, as it refers in the

¹ पञ्चसय पणतीय विक्रमकालात्तौ भति चर्यमिच्छी ।
हरिभद्ररिद्रो निष्पन्नो दिसउ सिवसुररत्न ॥ १०० ॥

(Gacchotpatti-prakīrṇaka quoted in the Gāthāsāhāsī noticed in Peterson 3, p. 284)

² Klatt refers to Bühler's Sukṛtasamkīrtana, pp. 24-25; see Peterson 4, pp. cxxxix, cxl.

³ सिद्धान्तोपनिषद्विषयसहृदयो धीजगन्मभूमिस्थयो-
पट्टे श्रीहरिभद्ररिद्रभवत्वारिनिष्ठासचणीः ।
आन्वा शुन्यमनाश्रयैरतिचिरात्सिद्धिब्रवस्थानत
सन्नुष्टे कलिकालगतम रति स्थातिर्विदेने गुणैः ॥ ५ ॥

(Dharmābhyudaya-mahākāvya by Udayaprabha Sūri noticed in Peterson 3, Appendix I, p. 18).

⁴ In the concluding lines of the Daśavaikālika-niryukti-ṭikā, it is stated that the author of that work was one Haribhadra Sūri who was a *dharma-putra* of Yākinī. A similar description of Haribhadra, the author of Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, is found in the opening sentences of Gunaratna's commentary on that work (dated about 1407 A.D.). The Caturvīṃśati-prabandha by Rājasekhara Sūri, composed in Saṃvat 1405 or 1348 A.D., makes a like reference to Haribhadra, the author of Nyāyāvātāra-vṛtti. Now the *dharma-putra* of Yākinī is generally held to be a surname of the first Haribhadra Sūri whose disciples were Haṃsa and Paramahaṃsa, as is evident from Prabhācandra Sūri's Prabhāvaka-caritra dated about 1277 A.D.

In the Gacchotpatti-prakarāṇa, Gāthā-sāhāsī, Vicāra-sāra-prakarāṇa, Vicārā-mṛta-saṃgraha, Tapāgacchapatṭāvalī, Kharataragaccha-patṭāvalī, etc., Haribhadra Sūri I. is stated to have flourished in Saṃvat 535 or 478 A.D.

Now the Nyāyāvātāra which is alleged to have been commented on by Haribhadra Sūri I. was itself composed about 533 A.D. (that is, after 478 A.D.), and Dharmakīrti, whose logical doctrines have been referred to in the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, lived about 660 A.D. These facts prove that Haribhadra, the author of

chapter on the Baudhdhadarśana, to the views of such authors as Dignāga, Dharmakīrti,¹ and others who flourished long after the 5th century A.D. The six systems (Śaḍdarśana) treated by him are (1) Bauddha, (2) Naiyāyika, (3) Sāṃkhya, (4) Jaina, (5) Vaiśeṣika, and (6) Jaiminiya.

In the *Anekānta-jaya-patākā-ṭikā*² attributed to Haribhadra Sūri, there are passages quoted from the works of Dinna or Dignāga, Dharma Pāla, Dharmakīrti, Bhartṛhari, Siddhasena Divākara, Samanta Bhadra, Mallavādin and Śubha Gupta. As the last mentioned two writers lived respectively in the 9th century and the 11th century A.D., we shall not be far wrong if we place Hari Bhadra early in 12th century A.D.

Haribhadra Sūri is often described³ as having protected the

Dr. Jacobi in his letter, dated the 21st October 1907, writes to me that "Haribhadra uses the word *viraha* in the *Samaracecakahā*, which is alluded to by Siddhars who wrote in 905 A.D."

Regarding the dates of the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, etc., he observes—These are "unanimously ascribed to the first Haribhadra," "whose date, I believe, with Prof. Leumann, to have been wrongly referred to the Samvat era instead of the Valabhi or Gupta era, which commenced in 319 A.D."

According to Dr. Jacobi, therefore, the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, etc., were written by the first Haribhadra Sūri, who died in 533 Gupta Saṃvat or 854 A.D.

Dr. Jacobi's theory removes many of our difficulties, yet it is far from being conclusive, as the Jaina authors very seldom used the Gupta era. Moreover, it is inexplicable why Vācaspati Miśra and Udayanācārya did not refer to such an excellent compendium of Indian philosophy as the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya if it existed as early as the 9th or 10th century A.D. I am therefore inclined to believe that Haribhadra Sūri II was the author of the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, Nyāyāvātāra-vṛtti, etc., while the *Samaracecakahā* and other treatises might be the works of the first Haribhadra Sūri.

But I must confess that the modern Jaina Panditas such as Munis Dharmavijaya and Indravijaya firmly believe that the author of all these works was the first Haribhadra Sūri who, according to them, flourished in 535 Vikrama Saṃvat, or 478 A.D.

¹

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोद्धमधान्त तत्र बुध्यताम् ।

त्रिरुपाङ्गिनो लिङ्गिज्ञानं लनुमानसञ्चितम् ॥

(Saddarśana-samuccaya, chapter on Baudhdha-darśana. p. 38, edited by Dr. Suah).

This verse refers without doubt to the definition of *Pratyakṣa* and *Anumāna* given by Dharmakīrti who lived about 550 A.D.

² *Anekānta-jaya-patākā-ṭikā*, chap. III, p. 116. 117; p. 150; pp. 35, 76, 79, 116, 120, 159, 170, 175, 192, 192; pp. 134, 127; p. 3; p. 131. pp. 19, 38.

उक्तञ्च वादिसुद्धेन मल्लवादिना सम्यगौ ।

(*Anekānta-jaya-patākā*, pp. 19, 38).

यथोक्तं वाचिकानुसारिणा शुभमुक्तेन ॥

(*Anekānta-jaya-patākā*, p. 117).

³ Klatt in his "Pattāvali of the Kharatāragaccha" in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, Sept. 1882, p. 247; also Peterson 3, p. 35. Also:

स्त्रीणि श्रीहरिमङ्गं तं येनाच्छ्रीमंश्चरत् ।

चतुर्दशप्रकरणमत्याशोप्यत नाहवत् ॥ १९ ॥

Amarasvāmicarita by Muniratna Sūri noticed in Peterson 3, p. 91.

word of the Arhats like a mother by his 1,400 works. He is said to have used the word *viraha* (separation or sorrow) as his mark in the last verse of each of his works. He was by birth a Brāhmaṇa and was chaplain to king Jitāri whose capital was Chittore near the Citrakūṭa hill.¹ He was instructed in the Jaina doctrine by Jinabhāṭa. Two of his pupils, named Haimsa and Paramahansa, are said to have left him as missionaries of the Jaina faith, and to have been slain in the Bhota country (Tibet) by the fanatical Buddhists whom they sought to convert. The sorrow caused by the death of these two pupils is said to have been symbolised in the word *viraha*.

It is generally supposed that Haribhadra Sūri, whose pupils were killed in Tibet, was the first author of that name. But there will be no inconsistency if we suppose him to be the second Haribhadra Sūri, for the religious intercourse between India and Tibet was more frequent in the 12th century A. D. than in the 5th century, when Tibet had scarcely emerged into the ken of history.

41. PĀRŚVADEVA GAṆĪ (1133 A. D.).

Pārśvadeva was the author of a commentary on Nyāya-praveśa, called Nyāyapraveśapañjikā.² He assisted Āmradeva Sūri in Saṃvat 1190 or 1133 A. D. in writing his commentary on the Ākhyāna-maṇi-kośa of Nemicandra.³

42. ŚRICANDRA (ABOUT 1137—1165 A. D.).

Candra or rather Śrī Candra,⁴ a disciple of Hema Candra Sūri of the Harṣapuriya gaṇḍhā, wrote about 1137 A. D. a work on Logic called the Nyāya-praveśa-ṭippaṇa, a super-commentary on the Nyāya-praveśa-vṛtti of Haribhadra Sūri. His Pradeśa-vyākhyā-ṭippaṇaka⁵ on the Āvaśyaka Sūtra appeared in Saṃvat 1222 or 1165 A. D.

¹ Vide Introduction to Śāṅkarāna-samuccaya published in the Chowkhamba series, Benares; and Peterson's Third Report, p. 35.

² दुर्वारमारधारि कुम्भतटप्रभेदकण्ठीरुषं जिनपतिं वरदं प्रथमम् ।

न्यायप्रवेशकमिति प्रथिते दुग्धाले प्रारभ्यते तनुधियापि हि यज्ञिकेयम् ॥

(Quoted in Peterson's First Report, p. 81).

³ Peterson's Fourth Part, p. lxxvii.

⁴ Vide "Jainistic Notices" by Professor N. D. Mironow published as a Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1911.

⁵ Vide Peterson's Fourth Report, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

43. DEVABHADRA
(ABOUT 1150 A.D.).

Devabhadra,¹ a disciple of both Hemacandra Sūri and Śrī Candra,² was the author of a logical treatise entitled the Nyāyāvatāra-ṭippana, a super-commentary on the Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti. In this work there are quotations from Vindhyavāsin, Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara, Jñānaśrī Mitra³ and others. He lived about 1150 A.D.

44. CANDRASENA SŪRI
(ABOUT 1150 A.D.).

Candrasena, who seems to have been a pupil of Pradyumna Sūri, wrote, with the assistance of Nemicandra, a work called Utpāda-siddhi-prakarāṇa with a commentary on the same in Sanskrit in Samvat 1207 or 1150 A.D.⁴

45. RATNAPRABHA SŪRI
(1181 A.D.).

Ratnaprabha Sūri, who belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect, was a logician of repute, being the author of a light commentary (*laghu-ṭīkā*) on the Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokāṅkāra called Syādvāda-ratnākarāvatārikā,⁵ in which are quoted the views of the Buddhist logicians Arcaṭa (q.v.) and Dharmottara (q.v.).

¹ Vide "Devabhadra and his Nyāyāvatāra-ṭippana" in the Jainistic Notices by Professor N. D. Mironow published as a Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1911.

Vide also Peterson's Fourth Report, p. liv.

² शैशवेऽयस्यतां तर्कं रतिं तत्रैव वाञ्छता ।
तस्य शिष्य स्रवेनेदं चक्रे किमपि दिप्यनम् ॥

(Prasasti of Pāṇḍava-caritra).

³ Devabhadra, in his Nyāyāvatāra-ṭippana, quotes Jñāna-śrī Mitra thus—

ननु चार्थक्रियासामान्यमेव सत्त्वं नान्यत् । तथा हि ज्ञानयोः— यदि नाम प्रतिदर्शनं
सत्त्वभेदस्यार्थीकार्यक्रियासामान्यमेव सत्त्वमभिप्रेतमिति ।

⁴ द्वादशवर्षशतेषु त्रीविक्रमतो गतेषु सुनिभिः ।
चैत्रे सम्पन्नमिदं साहाय्यं चात्र मे मेने ॥

(Colophon of Saṭika Utpāda-siddhiprakarāṇa quoted in Peterson's Third Report, p. 209).

⁵ प्रमाद्ये च प्रमेये च वासानां बुद्धिसिद्धये ।
किञ्चिद् वचनचातुर्य्येषापलाययमादधे ॥
प्रमेयरत्नकोटीभिः पूर्वा रत्नाकरो भवान् ।
मचावतारमाजेषु हत्तरस्याः कृतार्थता ॥

(Syādvāda-ratnākarāvatārikā, Muni Dharmavijaya's MSS p. 99). A part of the Syādvāda-ratnākarāvatārikā has been printed and published in the Benares Jaina Yāsovijaya series.

While in Broach at the Āśvāvabodhatīrtha in Saṃvat 1238 or 1181 A.D., he wrote another work called *Upadeśamālāvṛtti*¹ to please Bhadreśvara Sūri and in payment of the debt he owed to Vijayasena Sūri, the brother of Bhadreśvara. There he gives his spiritual descent in the Vrhadgaccha as follows: (1) Muni-candra Sūri; (2) Deva Sūri; (3) Bhadreśvara Sūri; and (4) Ratna-prabha Sūri.²

46. TILAKĀCĀRYA
(ABOUT 1180—1240 A.D.).

Tilaka Ācārya, who belonged to the Candragaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect, was a spiritual descendant of Candraprabha Sūri through Dharmaghoṣa, Cakreśvara and Śivaprabha. He was author of several works such as the *Āvaśyaka-laghu-vṛtti* written in 1239 A.D., and, the *Pratyeka-buddha-caritra* in 1204 A.D.³

47. MALLIṢEṆA SŪRI
(1292 A.D.).

Malliṣeṇa belonged to the Nagendra Gaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect, and was the author of the *Syādvādamañjarī*, a commentary on Hemacandra's *Vitarāga-stuti* or *Dvātrimśikā*. The *Syādvāda-mañjarī* contains an exposition of the *Pramāṇa, Saptabhaṅginaya*, etc., and criticises Akṣapāda's theories of *Pramāṇa, Chāla, Jāti, Nigrahasihāna*, etc. The doctrines of the Sāṃkhya, Aulūkyā, Jaiminīya, Bhaṭṭapāda, Vedānta, Yogācāra, Mādhyamika, Cār-vāka, etc., have also been his favourite subjects of attack. At the close of his work Malliṣeṇa describes himself as a pupil of Udaya-prabha Sūri and as having composed the work in Śaka 1214 or A.D. 1292.⁴

1 श्रीरत्नप्रभसूरिभिः श्रुमकृते श्रीदेवसूरिप्रभोः ।
मित्रैः सेवसकारि सन्मदकृते एत्तिर्विष्टेवार्थिनाम् ॥
विक्रमाद्वसुलोकार्के (१२९८) वर्षे ज्ञाये समर्थिता ।
एकादशसहस्राणि सार्धं पद्यसतं तथा ॥

(*Upadeśamālā-vṛtti*, noticed in Peterson 5, p. 124).

² For other particulars of Ratnaprabha Sūri, *vide* Peterson 4, p. cii. Compare also Weber II, p. 922, note 7.

³ *Vide* Peterson's Fourth Report, p. xlvi, and Fifth Report xxvi.

⁴ श्रीमल्लिषेणसूरिभिरकारि सत्यदमनदिनमणिभिः ।

इतिरियं सनुरनिमित्तकाद्ये दीपसहसि शनौ ॥ १ ॥

(*Syādvādamañjarī*, p. 220, printed in the Benares Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, and edited by Dāmodara Lal Gosvāmi).

48. RĀJĀŚEKHARA SŪRI
(1348 A.D.).

Rājāśekhara Sūri, or Maladhāri Śrī Rājāśekhara Sūri, belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect and was the author of the *Ratnāvātārikā-pañjikā*,¹ a sub-commentary on the *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvāloka-lāṅkāra*, as also of two other works called *Syādvāda-kalikā* and *Caturvimśatiprabandha*.² He is also the author of a *Pañjikā* (commentary) on the *Nyāya-kandalī* of the Hindu philosopher Śrīdhara. He studied the *Nyāya-kandalī* under the guidance of Jinaprabha,³ and completed his *Caturvimśatiprabandha* in Śaṃvat 1405 or 1348 A.D.⁴

49. JÑĀNA CANDRA
(1350 A.D.).

He belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect and was the author of a gloss on the *Ratnākarāvātārikā* called the *Ratnākarāvātārikā-tippana*, which discusses many abstruse points of logic and criticises the views of Dignāga⁵ and others. He composed this work⁶ under orders from his preceptor Rājāśekhara Sūri, who flourished in 1348 A.D. Jñāna Candra's date may approximately be fixed at about 1350 A.D.

¹ A part of the *Ratnākarāvātārikā-pañjikā* has been printed and published in the Benares Jaina Yaśovijaya series.

² This work has been published by Hira Lal Haṃsarāja at Jāmanagara in Kathiawar.

³ श्रीमद्विष्णुप्रभविभोरधिगत्य न्यायकदलीं किञ्चित् ।

तस्यां विद्वत्सुवमसं कर वै संपरोपकाराय ॥

(*Nyāyaskandalī* of Śrīdhara with the *Pañjikā* of Rājāśekhara noticed in Peterson 3, p. 273; cf. also Peterson 3, pp. 28-29).

⁴ Vide Weber II, p. 1207.

मरमममनुमितादौ ज्येष्ठा वृषीय धवलसप्तम्याम् ।

निष्पन्नमिदं शास्त्रं श्रीश धोषोः सुखं तन्यात् ॥

(Colophon of *Caturvimśatiprabandha*).

⁵ तेनान्यापीहविषयाः प्रोक्ताः सामान्यमोक्षराः ।

मन्दासु बुद्धयश्चैव वस्तुन्येषामसम्भवात् ॥

असु बाध्या वेनाचार्यदिग्भावेन

अन्यापीहविषयाः ... प्रोक्ताः ॥

Jñānacandra's *Ratnākarāvātārikā-tippana*, chap. I, p. 7, published in *Yaśovijaya-granthamālā* of Benares.

⁶ रत्नाकरावतारिका वररिप्यनं नत्
ज्ञानेन्दुरक्ष्यतरथी समतिः प्रदद्यौ ।
तन्निष्पन्नो रचितवान् सकुक्षारिपूज्य-
श्रीराक्षसिखगुरोश्च निदेशमाय ॥

Quoted from the MSS. of *Ratnākarāvātārikā-tippana*, lent to me by Muni Dharmavijaya. A part of this work has been printed and published in the Benares Jaina Yaśovijaya series.

50. GUṆARATNA
(1409 A.D.).

Guṇaratna belonged to the Tapāgaccha of the Śvetāmbara sect, and was the distinguished author of a commentary on the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya¹ called Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti or Tarkarāhasya-dīpikā in which the Nyāya (logic) along with other systems has been lucidly explained. He also wrote the Kriyā-ratna-samuccaya.

He is mentioned by Ratna-śekhara Sūri in the Śrāddha-pratikramaṇa-sūtra-vṛtti composed in Saṃvat 1496 or A.D. 1439.* In that work Guṇaratna is mentioned as a pupil of Devasundara, who attained the exalted position of Sūri at Anahillapattana in Saṃvat 1420 or A.D. 1363.² Guṇaratna must, therefore, have lived between A.D. 1363 and A.D. 1439. Devasundara Sūri, teacher of Guṇaratna, was a contemporary of Muni-sundara Sūri, the famous author of the Gurvāvalī⁴ composed in Saṃvat 1466 or A.D. 1409. Guṇaratna himself says that his Kriyāratna-samuccaya⁵ was composed in Saṃvat 1466 or A.D. 1409.

Guṇaratna, in his elaborate commentary (Vṛtti) on the Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, has mentioned Śauddhodani, Dharmottarā-

¹ Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya with Vṛtti, edited by Dr. Suali, and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. There is another commentary on Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya called Laghuvṛtti by Manibhadra. It has been published in the Chowkhamba series.

² The Śrāddha-prati-kramaṇa-sūtra-vṛtti, by Ratnaśekhara Sūri, has been noticed in Peterson 3, pp. 226-227, whence the following lines are quoted :—

विद्याततपेत्थाख्या जगत्तुल्यरथोऽधुवम् ।
 श्रीदेवशुन्दरगुरुत्तयास्तदनुकमाद्विदिता ॥ १ ॥
 पञ्च च वेर्षा शिष्यालेष्याया ज्ञानसागरा गुरुवः ।
 कुलमण्डना दितीया. श्रीगुरुत्तयाः श्रीश्याम् ॥ २ ॥
 षड्दर्शनवृत्तिश्चिन्ताश्चतुर्दशविचारविचरुज ।
 यथा श्रीगुरुत्तयां प्रसादतोऽहं षड्द्विविधप्रिते ।
 श्रीरक्षणेऽरगधिर्दत्तिसिमानज्जत कतितुष्टे ॥ ३ ॥

³ Vide Dr. Klatt on the Pattāvalī of the Kharataragaccha in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, September 1882, pp. 255-256; cf. also Weber II, p. 884 and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, p. 157.

⁴ रुरसमनुनितवर्षे १४१६ सुनिष्ठुन्दरस्वरिषा कृता पूर्वम् । ।
 मध्यस्वरिषा गुर्वालोयं कथञ्चिद्वा ॥ ११ ॥
 (Gurvāvalī, Jaina-Yaśovijaya granthamālā series, p. 109).

⁵ काके षड्दसपूर्व १४१६ बत्सरमिते श्रीविक्रमाकाङ्क्षिते
 गुर्वादिश्रवणादिषु च सदा खान्योपकारं षरम् ।
 ग्रन्थं श्रीगुणरत्नस्वरितमोत् प्रश्नाविहीनोऽग्र्यम्
 निर्देतुं पठतिप्रथमजन्मैः मोक्षस्वयं धीधनैः ॥ १३ ॥

(Kriyāratna-samuccaya, Jaina Yaśovijaya granthamālā series. p. 309).

cārya, Arcata, Dharmakīrti, Prajñākara, Kamalaśīla, Dignāga, and other Buddhist authors, as well as Tarkabhāṣā, Hetubindu, Arcata-tarkatikā, Pramāṇa-vārtika, Tattvasaṅgraha, Nyāyabindu, Nyāyapraveśaka, and other Buddhist works on logic, etc., in the chapter on the Bauddha system. Mention has also been made, in the chapter on the Nyāya, of such Hindu logicians as Akṣapāda, Vātsyāyana, Uddyotakara, Vācaspati, Udayana, Śrīkaṇṭha, Abhoystīlekopādhyāya Jayanta, and of such works as Nyāya-sūtra, Nyāyabhāṣya, Nyāyavārtika, Tātparyatikā, Tātparyaparīśuddhi, Nyāyālankāra Nyāyālankāravṛtti, etc. The Nyāya-sāra of Bhā-sarvajña and the eighteen commentaries on it such as Nyāyabhūṣana, Nyāyakalikā, Nyāyakusumāñjali, etc., have also been mentioned.

51. ŚRUTASĀGARA GAṆI
(ABOUT 1493 A.D.).

Śrutasāgara Gaṇi, author of Tattvārthadīpikā, was a pupil of Vidyānandin of the Sarasvatī Gaoccha of the Digambaras. Nemi-datta, who wrote in Śaivvat 1585 or 1523 A.D., describes himself as devoted to the service of Śrutasāgara whose literary activity must be referred to about Śaivvat 1550 or 1493 A.D.¹

52. DHARMA-BHŪṢANA
(ABOUT 1600 A.D.).

Dharmabhūṣana, a disciple of Vardhamāna Bhaṭṭāraka, was a Digambara who wrote the Nyāya-dīpikā about 300 years ago. He has been mentioned in the Tarkabhāṣā by Yaśovijaya Gaṇi.

The Nyāya-dīpikā begins with a salutation to Arhat Vardhamāna. It is divided into three chapters (*Prakāśa*), viz. (1) general characteristics of valid knowledge, *pramāṇa-sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*; (2) perception, *pratyakṣa*; and (3) indirect knowledge, *parokṣa*, including recollection, *smṛti*, recognition, *pratyabhijñāna*, argumentation, *tarka*, inference, *anumāna*, tradition, *āgama*, and the method of comprehending things from particular standpoints, *neya*.

The technical terms of logic have been defined and minutely examined, and the views of other logicians, specially of the Buddhists, have been severely criticised. There are references to Sugata, Saugata, Bauddha, Tāthāgata, Mimāṃsaka, Yauga, Naiyāyika, Bhāṭṭa, Prābhākara, Dignāga, Samanta Bhadra, Akalaṅka Deva, Śālikā Nātha, Jainendra, Svādvāda-vidyāpati, Māṇikyā Nandi Bhaṭṭāraka, Kumāra Nandi Bhaṭṭāraka, Udayana and others. The following works are also mentioned—Prameya kamala-mārtanda, Rājavārtika, Ślokavārtika, Ślokavārtika-bhāṣya,

¹ Peterson's Fourth Report, p. cxiii

Tattvārtha-sūtra, Tattvārtha-bhāṣya, Tattvārtha-śloka-vārtika, Āptamīmāṃsā-vivaraṇa, Nyāyaviniścaya, Pramāṇa-nirṇaya, Pramāṇa-parīkṣā, Parīkṣāmukha, Nyāyabindu, etc.

52a. VINAYAVIJAYA
(1613 A.D.—1681 A.D.).

Vinayavijaya was born in a Vaiśya family in Guzerat in Samvat 1670 or A.D. 1613. His spiritual teacher Kīrtivijaya¹ was a disciple of Hīravijaya, the well-known sūri of Akbara's time. Vinayavijaya, after prosecuting his studies in Jaina scriptures under Kīrtivijaya, proceeded to Benares to study the grammar and philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas Yaśovijaya, another Jaina ascetic, whose account will be given shortly, joined him in his journey to that famous seat of Brāhmaṇic learning. After undergoing a course of training for twelve years in Benares, Vinayavijaya travelled over various parts of India until he came to Junāgaḍh in Kathiawad on his pilgrimage to the Girnar hills in 1651 A.D. He visited Surat, Marwad, etc., and died at Rander in Guzerat in 1681 A.D. Of the numerous works written by him the undermentioned treatise on Jaina Nyāya deserves a special notice:—

Naya-karṇikā—"an ear-ring of *Naya*, the method of descriptions," which was composed at Diva near Junāgaḍh in Kathiawad in 1651 A.D. for the satisfaction of *Guru Vijayasīmha Sūri*.² *Naya* aims at describing things from all possible standpoints. There are altogether seven standpoints, viz. *naigama*, *saṅgraha*, *vyavahāra*, *ṛjusūtra*, *śabda*, *samabhirūḍha* and *evambhūta*, explanations of which have already been given. The first four of the standpoints come under a group called *dravyāsti-kāya*, noumenal or that which refers to a substance, and the last three under a group called *paryāyāsti kāya*, phenomenal or that which refers to an attribute. The treatise ends with the observation³ that

¹ Vide the concluding verses of the chapters of Vinayavijaya's Lokaprakāśa.

² इत्थं नयार्थकवचः कृतुमैर्किमेन्दु-
वीरोचितः सविनयं विनयाभिधेन ।
श्रीदीपबन्दरवरे विजयादिदेव
सुरीयितुर्विकयसिंहगुरोस तुष्टौ ॥ १३ ॥

(*Naya-karṇikā*).

सर्वं नया अपि विरोधशून्यं निश्चये
सम्भूय साधुसदयं भवन्तु भक्तौ ।
भूषा इव प्रतिभटा मुवि सार्वभौम-
पादात्मजं प्रधानपुक्ति पराश्रिता इव ॥ १४ ॥

(*Naya-karṇikā*).

though the standpoints are mutually conflicting, they serve collectively to establish the dogmas of the Jaina scripture.¹

53. YAŚOVIJAYA GAṆI
(1608—1688 A.D.).

Yaśovijaya Gaṇi, a member of the Śvetāmbara sect, was a distinguished logician who flourished at
Yaśovijaya's life. Dabhoi in the Baroda State (Guzerat), ap-

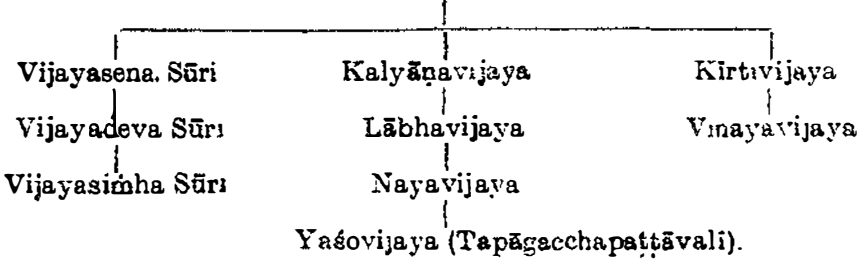
proximately between 1608 A.D. and 1688 A.D. He was a spiritual descendant of Hīravijaya Sūri, the well-known Jaina High-priest of the time of the Moghul Emperor Akbar.² In about 1626 A.D. he came to Benares,³ where he studied Nyāya-śāstra in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇa ascetic. By about 1638 A.D. he confessed that he was a Jaina and was asked at once to leave the Sanskrit academies of the Brāhmaṇas. On account of his vast erudition in Logic and Metaphysics he obtained the titles of Upādhyāya, Nyāya-viśārada and Nyāyācārya. He died at Dabhoi in 1688 A.D.⁴

¹ Vide Introduction to *Naya-karṇikā* edited by Mohan Lal Desai, pp. 3-4:—

The doctrine of *Naya* is often illustrated by the parable of an elephant and blind men. Several blind men desirous of knowing what an elephant was like, touched separate parts of its body and went home with the knowledge they derived in this way. Sitting down to compare notes, they discovered that there was no agreement among them as to the form of the animal. The man who had only touched its leg described it as a huge column, another man who had touched only the ear described it as a whirring fan, and so forth. They quarrelled among one another until a person who was not blind came before them. He took great pains to explain that their knowledge was only partial, and as such caused confusion. He said that all the different aspects of a thing must be examined in order to gain the complete knowledge of the thing. "A partial knowledge," continues he, "leads to conflict while a complete knowledge establishes harmony."

²

Hīravijaya (1526-1595 A.D.).



³

रक्षिषा कामीमते जेवथी मे भजे ।

याचद्दर्शनं विपुलभाद पाया ॥

(Mandharastuti).

पूर्वम् न्यायविशारदत्वविरुद्धं काष्ठां प्रदत्तं बुधैः

न्यायाचार्य्यपदं ततः कृतमतप्रत्यक्षं दस्त्रापितम् ।

शिक्षप्रार्थनया मयादिदिकथप्रज्ञोत्तमायां शिशुः

तज्जं किञ्चिदिदं यमीविजय इत्याख्यातदास्यातवान् ॥

Yaśovijaya wrote more than one hundred works (in Sanskrit and Guzerati) in which he has preserved a detailed criticism on the Logic of Mithilā and Nadia as taught in the Benares academies of the 17th century A.D. He must have been a man of extraordinary talent, or else he would not have ventured to attack Śiromaṇi, the greatest exponent of Modern Logic in Nadia. He satirises this Brāhmaṇa logician by saying: "woe to Bengal where there is Śiromaṇi blind of one eye!"

His review of other writers
Conscious of his own erudition he observes in another place: "The ocean of Logic is hard to approach owing to the uproar of waves of the Dīdhiti—Commentary (of Śiromaṇi); yet, is not the water of that ocean capable of being drunk by our cloud-like genius?"²

54. YAŚOVIJAYA'S WORKS.

Yaśovijaya was the author of several rare works on Logic such as Nyāya-pradīpa, Tarkabhāṣā, Nyāya-rahasya, Nyāyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī and Nyāya-khaṇḍa-khāḍya. He also wrote a commentary on the Digambara work Aṣṭasāhasrī called Aṣṭasāhasrī-vṛtti.³

The Tarkabhāṣā, which begins with a salutation to Jina,⁴ consists of three chapters, viz. (1) Valid knowledge, *pramāṇa*; (2) Knowledge from particular standpoints, *naya*; and (3) Imposition, *niḥkṣepa*. There is also an occasional discussion on *vyāpti-graha*, induction or the process of ascertaining a universal connection between the middle term and the major term.

1 क्भायं मौद्देश्यं यत्र काणः शिरोमणिः ।

(Nyāyakhāṇḍakhāḍya, leaf 43, MSS in possession of Vijaya-dharma or Dharma-vijaya Sūri).

2 न्यायबुद्धिर्दीधितिकारयुक्तिकलीकालाहलदुर्विमाह ।

तस्यापि दातुं न पय समर्थं किं मान शौकत् प्रतिभासुवाह ॥

(Aṣṭasāhasrī vivaraṇa, leaf 82, MSS. of Vijaya-dharma Sūri and Indravijaya Sūri).

The idea of the verse may be expressed as follows:—

Indian Logic is a veritable ocean whose water is saline and which is unapproachable owing to the tumults and uproars of commentators. Is not then the water of that ocean capable of being drunk? Why not, intelligent people, like clouds, can easily approach the ocean and drink its water pure and sweet!

³ For other particulars about Yaśovijaya, see Peterson 6, p. xiv. For his works see the Jaināgama List published in Bombay.

To perpetuate the memory of Yaśovijaya there has been established at Benares a college called Jaina Yaśovijaya-pāthśālā, under the auspices of which the sacred works of the Jainas are being published in a series called Jaina Yaśovijaya-granthamālā.

4 ऐन्द्रतन्ममं नवा जिम तन्नार्धैर्मिमाह ।

प्रसाध नयनिःशेषैर्लभादां तमोऽयसु ॥

The Nyāyāloka begins with a salutation to Mahāvira¹ as Paramātman (the supreme spirit) and ends with an entreaty² that its author may be freed from lust and hatred, which are the causes of all sufferings. The work discusses the nature of soul (*ātman*), emancipation (*mukti*), inference (*anumāna*), testimony (*śabda*), direct knowledge (*pratyakṣa jñāna*), indirect knowledge (*parokṣa jñāna*), validity of external things³ (*vāhyārtha-siddhi*), inherence (*samavāya*), negation (*abhāva*), ether (*ākāśa*), substance (*dravya*), etc.

The undermentioned philosophers, philosophical treatises and systems are quoted:—

Naiyāyika, Uchhrākhāla Naiyāyika Sāṅkhya, Cārvāka, Tautātita, Vedāntin, Nyāya, Yauktika, Bauddha, Aṅgerisada, Digambara, Syādvāda-rahasya, Syādvāda-ratnākara, Samantī tīkā, Jñānārṇava, Bhāṣyakāra, Jinabhadra Gani Kṣamā-śramaṇa, Bṛhaspati, Dharmakīrti, Ācārya, Cintāmaṅikṛt, Maṅikṛt, Miśra, Vardhamāna, and Pakṣadhara Miśra.

The Nyāya khaṇḍa khādyā⁴ is otherwise called Mahāvira stavana. It consists of 108 verses composed in eulogy of Mahāvira and at the same time embodying solutions of the deepest problems of Logic.⁵ There is an elaborate commentary in prose by the author himself, elucidating many intricate points in the precise style of modern logicians. The work opens with a salutation to Mahāvira who is called Śambhu and ends with a brief account of the author himself. The topics treated in the work are:—Soul (*ātman*), emancipation (*mukti*), momentariness (*kṣaṇikatva*), origination (*utpatti*), destruction (*dhvaṁsa*), syādvāda, class and individual (*jāti* and *vyakti*), space and time (*deśa* and *kāla*), middle

1 प्रणम्य परमात्मानं जगदानन्ददण्डिणम् ।
न्यायालोकं वितनुते श्रीमान् न्यायविशारद ॥
(Nyāyāloka)

2 कृत्वा न्यायालोकं नवसगरात् इदं दर्शितं मुखम् ।
तेन मम दुःखहेतू रामदेवौ विलीयताम् ।
(Nyāyāloka)

3 यदुक्तं बौद्धप्रधानेन,—
चित्तमेव हि संसारी राजादिक्लेशवासितम् ।
तदेव तैर्विभिर्दुःखं भवान्न इति कथ्यते ॥
(Nyāyāloka, leaf 13, printed at Ahmedabad)

4 The Nyāyakhaṇḍa-khādyā has been printed in Bombay

5 ऐक्यारजापरमाद्यक्रियविक्रमवशात्तुरदुमुपवर्तनभङ्गरुम् ।
स तैर्विकारिकुलुमेखन बीर शम्भोरस्योजयो चरणयोर्वितनीमि पूजाम् ।
(Nyāyāloka, leaf 13, printed at Ahmedabad)

term and major term (*vyāpya-vyāpaka*), knowledge and external world (*viññānavāda-nāhyārtavāda*), etc. The undermentioned philosophers, philosophical treatises and systems are referred to :—

Sāṅkhya, Kaṇabhakṣa, Akṣapāda, Naiyāyika, Bauddha, Mādhyamika, Prabhākara, Mīmāṃsaka, Bhāṣya, Vārtika, Tikā, Samantabhadra, Gandhahasti, Sammati, Miśra, Bhaṭṭa, Śrīdhara, Udayana, Nārāyaṇa,¹ Nārāyaṇācārya, Śīromaṇi,² Dīdhiti-kāra, Vardhamāna, and Guṇānanda.³

The *Aṣṭasāhasrī-vivarana*,⁴ which is a gloss on the *Aṣṭasāhasrī* of Vidyānanda, opens with an obeisance to Indrabhūti Gautama. The work makes reference to the undermentioned philosophers, philosophical treatises and systems :—Vācaspati, Naiyāyika, Maṇḍana Miśra, Prajñākara, Bhaṭṭa, Prābhākara, Hemacandra, Vācakacakravartī (Umāsvāti), Vaidānti-paśu, Kusumāñjali, Gurumata, Murāribhaṭṭa, Murāri Miśra, Gautamiya, Udayanācārya, Bhaṭṭācārya, Jarannaiyāyika, Raghudeva Bhaṭṭācārya,⁵ Bhūṣaṇasāra,⁶ etc.

¹ सत्येनैव ऋणभङ्गो वक्तव्य रत्ययमभिप्राय इति नारायणाचार्यः ।

(Nyāyakhanda-khāḍya, leaf 3, Bombay).

² जावेहिं एतिनिमनो गदितः सभावाद्
जातिं विना न च ततो व्यवहारसिद्धिः ।
उत्प्रेक्षितं ननु शिरोमणि कायदष्टैः
तदाक्य बोधरहितस्य न किञ्चिदेव ॥

(Nyāyakhanda-khāḍya, leaf 42, Bombay).

³ यत्त्वेवं सति तद्वदे भावभूतस्यैककालप्रतिसिद्धावपि प्रागभावस्य कालतया असम्भव-
धारणाय कथेत्यपि प्रथोजनवदिति गुणानन्देनोक्तं तदसत् ॥

(Nyāyakhanda-khāḍya, leaf 2, Bombay).

⁴ ऐक्यमहः प्रणिषाद्य न्यायशिक्षारदयतिर्देशोविजय ।
विषयामष्टसाहस्रीमष्टसाहस्र्या विवेचयति ॥

(*Aṣṭasāhasrī-vivarana*, MSS. belonging to Vijayadharma Sūri and Indravijaya Sūri).

⁵ Raghudeva is referred to in leaves 4, 22 of *Aṣṭasāhasrī*.

⁶ The *Bhūṣaṇasāra* (*Vyākaraṇa*) is referred to in leaves 34, 35, etc.

CHAPTER IV.

Continuity of Jaina Logic.¹

55. THE CONCILIATORY CHARACTER OF JAINA LOGIC.

In the previous pages there has been given an indication of the services rendered by the Jainas and the Buddhists in the formation of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic. Since the Brāhmanas did not in respect of their social practices differ so markedly from the Jainas as they did from the Buddhists, their attack on the Jaina Logic was not so violent as that on the Buddhist Logic. In fact the logical theories of the Jainas are in many instances akin to those of the Brāhmanas. The terms *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (comparison), *āgama* (verbal testimony), *āharaṇa* or *udāharaṇa* (example), *chala* (quibble), etc., of the Sthānāṅga-sūtra and the Sūtra-kṛtāṅga of the Jainas are in their meanings similar to, if not altogether identical with, the corresponding terms of the Caraka saṁhitā and the Nyāya-sūtra of the Brāhmanas. There was in the Logic of the Brāhmanas a casual review of the syllogism of ten members as propounded in certain works of the Jainas, but there was no protracted quarrel on that account between the two parties. The Jaina logicians quoted Brāhmanic authors² generally in an academic spirit. The special Jaina doctrines of *Naya* (method) and *sapta-bhaṅgī* (sevenfold paralogism), though occasionally criticised, did not receive any rude blows from the Brāhmanas.

The Jainas, in so far as they wrote regular treatises on Logic, did not differ much from the Buddhists in respect of their subject and style. The Nyāyāvatāra, by the Śvetāmbara Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara (500 A.D.), traverses almost the same ground as the Nyāya praveśa of the Buddhist logician Dignāga (450-530 A.D.). Rabhasa Nandī, a Digambara Jaina logician, wrote a commentary called Sambandhodyota on the Sambandha parīkṣā of the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti (635

¹ See Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣana's "Mediæval School of Indian Logic," his edition of "Nyāya-sāra" with the Nyāya-tātparyā-dīpikā of Jaya-sūtra Sūri; V.A. Smith's "Early History of India" and "Akbar", Epigraphia Indica Vol. II; and "Jaina Inscriptions" compiled by Puran Chand Nahar.

² Akṣapāda was attacked by Siddhasena Divākara in his Sammatitarka, and by Haribhadra Sūri in his Śāstravārtāsamuccaya and Anekānta-jayapatākā. Uddyotakara (Vārtikakāra) was attacked by Abhayadeva Sūri of Rājagaccha.

A.D.). The *Pramāṇa-vārtika-ṭīkā* of Jaina Kalyāṇa-candra is likewise a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika* of the Buddhist Dharmakīrti (635 A.D.). *Dharmottara-ṭippanaka* is the title of a Jaina commentary by Mallavādin (about 962 A.D.) on the Buddhist work *Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā* of Dharmottara (847 A.D.). If the Buddhist author Śānta Rakṣita (749 A.D.) instituted in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* an inquiry into the Jaina doctrine of soul, the Jaina author Haribhadra Sūri (1129 A.D.) gave in his *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* a complete summary of the Buddhist philosophy. In fact there was no bitter rivalry between the Jainas and the Buddhists.

56. ROYAL PATRONAGE AND PERSECUTION.

From time to time Jainism enjoyed patronage as well as suffered persecution at the hands of the rulers. King Candra Gupta,¹ who carried on controversies in the spirit of scholars, was a great supporter of the Jaina religion which spread widely in Northern India and was introduced into Mysore by Bhadrabāhu. Samprati, a grandson of Emperor Aśoka, accepted the Jaina faith which was welcomed throughout the Deccan about 215 B.C. The Śvetāmbara Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara (*Kṣapaṇaka*) was patronised at the court of Vikramāditya in Ujjainī about 500 A.D. The Chinese pilgrim Hwen-tūsang, who visited the Pallava, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms in 640 A.D., found that Jainism was the prevailing religion in Drāviḍa, old Trichinopoly and Malakūṭa, and that it was popular in Mathurā, Vaiśālī, Eastern Bengal and Southern Mārāṭhā country. The Digambara Jaina logician Akalaṅka Deva enjoyed favour at the court of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇarāja I or Subhantuṅga about 750 A.D. Hema Candra Sūri, surnamed *Kalikāla-sarvajña*, was the preceptor of Mahārāja Kumāra Pāla of Guzerat about 1142-1172 A.D.

In the latter half of the seventh century A.D. there occurred, however, a terrible persecution of Jainism in Southern India. King Kūna, Sundara or Nedumāran Pāṇḍya, who had been brought up as a Jaina, became a pupil of Saint Tirujñāna Sambandar and accepted the Śaiva faith. Displaying the zeal of a convert he persecuted with savage cruelty his late co-religionists of whom no fewer than eight thousand were put to death. Mahendra Varman of the Pallava dynasty, whose rule extended to Trichinopoly, was

¹ If we suppose this Candra Gupta to be identical with Candra Gupta Maurya, the date of introduction of Jainism into Mysore must be about 309 B.C. On the contrary if he is the same as Candra Gupta II, Mysore could not have welcomed Jainism before 375 A.D. The date of Bhadrabāhu will have to be determined accordingly.

originally a Jain. Through the influence of a Tamil saint he accepted Śaivism, and destroyed the large Jain monastery of Pāṭaliputtrī in South Arcot at about 610 A.D. In the Cālukya Kingdom of Vātāpi, where Jainism flourished to a certain extent during 550-750 A.D., Buddhism was supplanted by Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. King Amoghavarṣa of the Rāstrakūṭa line, whose capital was at Mānyakhēṭa (in the Nizam's Dominions) devoted the last part of his life to ascetic practices and patronised the Digambara Jain faith during 815-877 A.D. Jainism made a rapid progress in his kingdom up to the 10th century A.D. Ajaya Deva, a Śaiva King of Guzerat (about 1174-76 A.D.) mercilessly persecuted the Jainas and put their leader to death.

In spite of such persecutions the Jain religion went on flourishing in the Hindu period up till 1200 A.D. During the Mahomedan rule which followed, Jainism remained unperturbed. The Pathan King, Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-1388 A.D.), was kind towards the Jainas, and the Moghal Emperors showed them great favours. Three eminent Jain teachers—Hīravijaya Sūri, Vijaya-sena Sūri and Bhānucandra Upādhyāya—were received with high honours at the court of Akbar who is said to have been a convert to Jainism and to have prohibited the killing of animals on certain days.

57. SUPPORT OF THE JAINA COMMUNITY.

Though in all periods the Jainas enjoyed a fair share of royal patronage, the main source of their stay and strength lay in the community of Jain laymen. The founder of Jainism left the church not entirely at the mercy of the monks (*sādhu*) and nuns (*sādhvī*), but placed it also in the hands of the laymen (*śrāvaka*) and laywomen (*śrāvikā*) called respectively the male and female devotees. In all religious and social ceremonies the lay people exercise control in the full measure. It is at their choice and with their permission that the head of the church called *Ācārya* can be appointed. The management of temples and places of pilgrimage is entrusted entirely to the lay people, who select the residence of monks and nuns.

It is on account of the mutual help of the monks and lay people that the Jain church has continued undisturbed. The lay people, who belong mainly to the Vaiśya (merchant) community, command the wealth of India. They have uniformly supported Jain authors, and so long as they continue, the Jain logicians will never have to recede from literary pursuits for want of funds.

58. JAINA LOGIC WILL NOT BE EXTINCT.

We have seen that the Jaina monks were very seldom militant against the Brāhmaṇas or Buddhists. They also avoided, as far as practicable, incurring the displeasure of their rulers, and framed their ecclesiastical rules in liberal spirit to ensure the sympathy of the laity. Under such circumstances it is not at all strange that Jainism has not died and there is no fear that the Jaina Logic will ever be extinct.

SECTION II.

The Buddhist Logic.

(CIRCA 570 B.C.—1200 A.D.).

CHAPTER I

Topics of Logic mentioned in the old Buddhist Literature.

59. BUDDHA GAUTAMA (570 B.C.—490 B.C.).

The Buddhists maintain that their religion is eternal. It was taught at different cycles by sages called Buddhas (the Enlightened Ones) or Tathāgatas (those who have realized the truth). In the present cycle, called *Mahā-bhadra-kalpa* (the very blessed cycle), four Buddhas are said to have already appeared, *viz* Krakucchanda, Kanaka Muni, Kāśyapa and Gautama, while the fifth, *viz* Maitreya, is yet to be born.¹

Of the past Buddhas the last, *viz* Buddha Gautama, otherwise called Śākya Muni, was born at Kapilavastu (modern Nigliwa in the Nepal Terai) about 570 B.C., and attained *nirvāna* at Kuśinagara (modern Kuśinārā or Kasia near Gorakhpur) about 490 B.C.² He passed almost his whole life in Magadha (modern Behar). He is regarded by modern scholars as the real founder of Buddhism, while his predecessors are considered as purely mythical

60. ORIGIN OF THE PĀLI BUDDHIST LITERATURE (490 B.C.—76 B.C.).

Buddha Gautama is said to have delivered his teachings in the Māgadhī or Pāli language. On his death these teachings were rehearsed by the Buddhist monks in three councils³ held at Rājā-

¹ *Vide* Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, second edition, pp 88—91.

² The exact date of Buddha is unknown. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, Buddha was born in 623 B.C. and attained *nirvāna* in 543 B.C. The date of Buddha's *nirvāna* is placed by European scholars between 470—480 B.C. Cf. Dr. Fleet's article on "The Date of Buddha's Death" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, January 1904. We shall not be far wrong if we place Buddha's birth in 570 B.C. and his *nirvāna* in 490 B.C. There is a positive statement in chapter V of the *Mahāvamsa* that Aśoka was installed on the throne of Magadha 218 years after the *nirvāna* of Buddha. As Aśoka's installation took place about 272 B.C., the date of Buddha's *nirvāna* could approximately be placed in 490 B.C. Buddha, who lived 80 years, seems, therefore, to have been born about 570 B.C.

³ For an account of the first and second councils, *vide* *Vinaya Pitaka*, Colla

gr̥ha, Vaiśālī and Pātalīputra under the patronage of kings Ajātaśatru, Kālāśoka and Aśoka about the year 490 B.C., 390 B.C. and 255 B.C.¹ respectively. The texts of the teachings as discussed and settled in these councils form the sacred scripture of the Buddhists. This scripture is called in Pāli *Tipitaka* or *Piṭakattaya* and in Sanskrit *Tripitaka* or *Piṭakatraya*, which signifies 'Three Baskets'. It consists of the Sermon Basket (*Sutta Piṭaka*), Discipline Basket (*Vinaya Piṭaka*), and the Metaphysical Basket (*Abhidhamma Piṭaka*), each of which embodies a large number of distinct works.

The monks assembled in the First Council, that is, in the Council of Kāśyapa, in 490 B.C., were called (1) Theras, and the scripture canonised by them was the basis of Theravāda. Subsequently ten thousand monks of Vaiśālī having violated certain rules of Theravāda were, by the decision of the Second Council in 390 B.C., expelled from the community of the Theras. These excluded priests were called (2) Mahāsāṅghikas, who were the first heretical sect of the Buddhists. They made certain additions and alterations in the Theravāda. Afterwards, within two hundred years from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, 14 other heretical sects² arose, viz. (3) Gokulika, (4) Ekabbohārika, (5) Paññatti, (6) Bāhuhka, (7) Cetiya, (8) Sabbatthi, (9) Dhammaguttika, (10) Kassapiya, (11) Saṅkantika, (12) Sutta, (13) Himavata, (14) Rājagirīya, (15) Siddhatthika, (16) Pubbaseliya, (17) Aparaseliya, and (18) Vajiriya.

Just at the close of the Third Council about 255 B.C., the teachings of Buddha as canonised by the Theras in the form of the *Tipitaka*, were carried³ by Mahinda, son of Emperor Aśoka, to the island of Ceylon where they were perpetuated by priests in oral tradition. They are said to have been committed to writing⁴, for the first time in Ceylon, in the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi during 104—76 B.C. Besides the *Tipitaka* there were numerous other works written in Pāli which have immensely added to the bulk of the Pāli literature.

Vagga, 11th and 12th Khandhakas, translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S.B.E. series, vol. XX, pp. 370, 386. For an account of the third council as also of the first and second, *vide* Wijesimha's translation of the Mahāvamsa, chapter V, pp. 25—29, as also chapters III and IV.

¹ The first council was held in the year of Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, while the second council took place 100 years later. Aśoka ascended the throne in 272 B.C. (*vide* Vincent A. Smith's *Aśoka*, p. 63), and it was in the 17th year of his reign, that is, in 255 B.C., that the third council took place (*vide* Wijesimha's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 29).

² For a discussion about the variant names and subdivisions of these sects, *vide* Wijesimha's *Mahāvamsa*, part I, chapter V, p. 15; and Dr. Rhys Davids' "Schools of Buddhist Belief" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1892, pp. 1—37.

³ *Vide* the *Mahāvamsa*, chapter XII.

⁴ *Vide* the *Mahāvamsa*, chapter XXXIII. Cf. also Dr. Alwis's Lecture on the Pāli Language in the *Journal of the Pāli Text Society*, London, 1883, p. 42.

61 LOGICAL TOPICS IN THE PĀLI LITERATURE.

In the *Tipiṭaka*—nay in the whole Pāli literature¹—there is not a single treatise on Logic. *Pañca-samuppāda* (the Chain of Interdependent Causes or the Wheel of Life), which represents the central teaching of Buddha, throws some light on the doctrines of self (or soul) and sufferings, but none on logic or processes of reasoning. The only topic bearing upon Logic which has been touched on in the Pāli works, is the division of knowledge into six kinds. In the *Tipiṭaka*² knowledge (*Viññāna*³) has been classified as (1) ocular (*cakkhu-viññānam*), (2) auditory (*sota-viññānam*), (3) olfactory (*ghāna-viññānam*), (4) gustatory (*jivhā-viññānam*), (5) tactual (*kāya-viññānam*), and (6) mental (*mano-viññānam*). But this classification has not been carried far enough to lay the foundation of a Logic that deserves the name of science.

In the *Tipiṭaka* there are, however, occasional references to logical topics and to a class of men who were called *Takkī* (in Sanskrit: *Tarkin*) or *Takkika* (in Sanskrit: *Tārikika*)—that is, those versed in reasoning. It is not known whether these men were Buddhists, Jainas or Brāhmaṇas, perhaps they were recruited from all communities. They were not logicians in the proper sense of the term, but they appear to me to have been sophists who indulged in quibble and casuistry.

62. Suttapiṭaka: Dīgha-nikāya: Brahmajāla-sutta (490 B.C.).

In the *Brahma-jāla-sutta*,⁴ which forms a part of the *Dīgha-nikāya* of the *Sutta Piṭaka* and was rehearsed in the First Buddhist Council about 490 B.C., there is mention of certain Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who were *takki* (argumentationists) and *vimamsi* (casuists) and indulged in *takka* (argumentations) and *vimamsā* (casuistry). These Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas from the standpoints of their philo-

¹ Consult Mrs. Rhys Davids' article on Logic (Buddhist) in Dr. James Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

² For an explanation of *Pañca-samuppāda* or *Pratītya-samutpāda*, the doctrine of mutual dependence, see Saty Chandra Vidyabhusana's article on the subject in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, Vol. VII, part I. For the division of knowledge, vide the *Anguttara Nikāya* III, 61. 8, edited by Dr. Morris in the Pāli Text Society series of London. Vide also the *Dhammasaṅgani*, and compare *Pariccheda* IV of the *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* which, though not included in the *Tipiṭaka*, sums up the topics of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*.

³ *Viññāna* is translated as knowledge or consciousness, such as *cakkhavīññāna* signifies ocular knowledge or eye-consciousness.

⁴ The *Brahmajāla-sutta*, chaps. I—III, included in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, translated by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, London. The *Brahmajāla-sutta*, *bhāṇa-vāraṃ* 1—3, included in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, edited by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, London.

sophical views were divided into various classes such as the eternalists (*śassata-vādā*), eternalist-non-eternalists (*ekacca-sussatikā ekacca-asassatikā*), and the annihilationists (*uccheda-vādā*)

With regard to the eternalists who were perhaps the followers of (the Sāṅkhya philosophy of) Kapila, Buddha says :—

There are, brethren, some recluses and Brāhmaṇas who are eternalists, and who, on four grounds, pro-claim that both the soul and the world are eternal. . . . They are addicted to logic and reasoning [argumentation and casuistry], and give utterance to the following conclusion of their own, beaten out by their argumentations and based on their sophistry : “ eternal is the soul ; and the world, giving birth to nothing new, is steadfast as a mountain-peak, as a pillar firmly fixed ; and these living creatures, though they transmigrate and pass away, fall from one state of existence and spring up in another, yet they are for ever and ever.”

With regard to the eternalist-non-eternalists who were perhaps the followers (of the Āṅvikṣiki) of Medhātithi-Gautama, Buddha says :—

There are, brethren, some recluses and Brāhmaṇas who are eternalists with regard to some things, and in regard to others, non-eternalists ; who on four grounds maintain that the soul and the world are partly eternal and partly not. . . . They are addicted to logic and reasoning [argumentation and casuistry], and give utterance to the following conclusion of their own, beaten out by their argumentations and based on their sophistry : “ This which is called eye and ear and nose and tongue and body is a self which is impermanent, unstable, not eternal, subject to change. But this which is called heart, or mind, or consciousness, is a self which is permanent, steadfast, eternal, and knows no change, and will remain for ever and ever.”

With regard to the annihilationists who were perhaps the followers of the Lokāyata philosophy, Buddha observes :—

There are, brethren, recluses and Brāhmaṇas who are annihilationists, who in seven ways maintain the cutting off, the destruction, the annihilation of a living being . . . In the first place, brethren, they put forth the following opinion, the following view : “ Since, sir, this soul has form, is built up of the four elements, and is the offspring of father and mother, it is cut off, destroyed on the dissolution of the body ; and does not continue after death ; and then, sir, the soul is completely annihilated.”

There are other classes of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas such as

a class of fortuitous-originists (*adhicca-samuppannika*) of whom Buddha speaks as follows :—

“In this case, brethren, some recluse or Brāhmaṇa is addicted to *logic* [sophism] and *reasoning* [casuistry].” He gives utterance to the following conclusion of his own, beaten out by his *argumentations* and based on his *sophistry*. “The soul and the world arose without a cause.”

63. Suttapiṭaka : Majjhimanikāya : Anumāna sutta
(490 B.C.).

“Anumāna sutta,” which presupposes the use of the word *anumāna* in the sense of “inference” or rather “guess,” is the title of a chapter of the Majjhima Nikāya, while the word *vāda* in the sense of discussion occurs in the Upāhvāda-sutta of the same Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka.¹

64. Suttapiṭaka : Khuddaka Nikāya : Udāna
(490 B.C.).

In the Udāna, which is included in the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka and is supposed to have been rehearsed in the three Buddhist Councils during 490 B.C.—255 B.C., we read :—

“As long as the perfect Buddhas do not appear, the *Takkikas* [sophists] are not corrected nor are the Sāvakas owing to their evil views they are not released from misery.”²

This passage leaves no doubt that the *Takkikas* were sophists.

65. Vinaya-piṭaka : Parivāra
(490 B.C.).

The logical procedure of a Judicial Council of Monks.

Four kinds of cases for settlement (*adhikarāna*).

In the Parivāra,³ a work of the Vinaya-piṭaka, there is mention of four kinds of *adhikarāna*, cases for settlement, viz. : (1) *vivādādhikarāna*, a case pertaining to differences of opinion, (2) *anuvādādhikarāna*, a case in which one party accuses another party of the violation of a rule of good conduct ; (3) *āpattādhikarāna*, a case in

¹ Vide Majjhima Nikāya, vol. I, 15th sutta, and vol. II, 5th sutta.

² The original of this passage runs as follows :—

Yāva sammā sambuddhā loke n'uppaṇanti, na *takkikā* saṃhanti na e'āpi sāvakā, dudditthī na dukkhā pamuccare'ti

—Udānam, vi, 10, edited by Paul Steinthal in the Pāli Text Society series, London.

³ The Parivāra, chapters IX—XIII, included in the Vinaya-piṭakam, vol. V, edited by Dr. H. Oldenberg. Vide also the Pātimokkha of the Vinaya-piṭakam.

which a monk has actually transgressed an established rule of good conduct, and (4) *kiccādhikarana*, a case relating to the formal procedure of an ecclesiastical act.

Seven rules for the settlement of cases (*adhikarāṇa-samathā dhammā*).

There are laid down seven rules for the settlement of cases (*adhikarāṇa-samathā dhammā*), viz :—

- (1) *Sammukhā vinaya*, settlement in presence, which applies to a case that must be conducted in the presence of a council of monks (*saṅgha*), the complainant and the respondent, in accordance with the sacred procedure appropriate for it.
- (2) *Soti vinaya*, settlement from recollection, which applies to a case in which an Arhat (passionless person) is implicated. Such a case, which is evidently false, may be settled simply by asking the Arhat to recollect his past misdeeds, if any. An Arhat, being totally devoid of passions, is not at all liable to the transgression of any rule. Still to try him through *sati-vinaya*, is to settle the present charge and to grant him immunity from all further charges.
- (3) *Amūlha-vinaya*, settlement for the insane, which applies to a case in which a person while committing a crime was in an abnormal state of mind, and was therefore not liable to any charge for the committal of the crime. If at the time of his trial he denies all knowledge about the crime, he will be exempted from the charge once for all.
- (4) *Paṭiññāya kāretabbaṃ*, settlement by an undertaking, applies to a case in which the person implicated admits his guilt and promises to refrain from committing it in the future.
- (5) *Yebhuyyasikā*, settlement by a majority, applies to a case which is settled by the majority of votes of the members.
- (6) *Tassa pāpiyyasikā*, settlement with the prospect of further inquiry, applies to a case in which, the respondent having neither admitted nor denied a charge, the council of monks (*saṅgha*), with a view to awakening him to a sense of responsibility, declares that he will be expelled from the council any day that the charge is proved true, but will be welcomed into the council when the charge is proved false.
- (7) *Tiṇa vatthāraka*, covering over with grass, applies to a case in which a complainant and his respondent go on bringing charges and counter-charges against each other. The council of monks (*saṅgha*), finding no easy way to settle the case, hush it up without listening to either of the parties.

Of the four cases enumerated above the first may be settled by rules 1 and 5, the second by rules 1, 2, 3 and 6, the third by rules 1, 4 and 7, and the fourth by rule 1 alone.

A complaint (*codanā*).

A complaint (*codanā*) is intended for humiliating a person by reminding him of the nature of his criminal action. The complaint may be well founded or unfounded. It may arise from any thing seen, heard or apprehended.

A complainant, complainant and respondent. The complainant or plaintiff (*codaka*) must institute his complaint at the proper time, in its true detail, in gentle and relevant terms and in good spirit.

The respondent, accused or defendant (*coditaka*) must speak the truth and must not show temper.

A judicial council of monks (*saṅgha*).

A council of monks (*saṅgha*) engaged in trying a case, must receive the arguments of the complainant and the respondent who are the parties of the case. Deliberation (*matikamma*) must be shared in by each member of the council.

Members of a council (*saṅgāmāvacara bhikkhu*).

The monks who constitute the members of a judicial council (called in Pāli *saṅgāmāvacara bhikkhu*) must approach the council with meekness of spirit. They must know how to take their respective seats. They must refrain from irrelevant and useless talk. They may speak on good law, or they may solicit their brother monks to speak on it, or they may remain absolutely silent.

The members must ascertain the nature of the case under trial, the nature of the breach of morality, the section of the moral code applicable to the case and the nature of the personnel of the council and the parties. They must not be biassed. They should, when necessary, employ persuasion and exhortation towards the respondent and should at times express their satisfaction at his conduct.

They must not, on account of their own superiority in knowledge or seniority in age, hold anybody in contempt.

The judge or umpire (*anuvijjaka*).

The judge (*anuvijjaka*), elected by the council to act as such, must not talk rashly or in haste. He must refrain from talking of a subject which is in itself unprofitable, and which may rouse dispute or ill-feeling. He must hear attentively what the parties have to say. Having the welfare of all at heart, he must not hastily accept the version of one party as true. The complainant will say that the respondent "is guilty," *āpanno*, while the respondent himself will plead "not guilty," *anāpanno*. Instead of

discarding the statement of either of the parties, the judge must see that each party is consistent with his first statement.

The judge must satisfy himself that the complainant understands the nature of the complaint he makes. As regards the respondent the judge must not put to him questions which may refer to his preceptor, teacher, brother-priest, resident pupil, caste, name, family, tradition, clan or native place. The reason is that thereby the judge may be biassed towards or prejudiced against the respondent, and his judgment may be influenced by affection, hatred, fear or delusion.

The judge must have respect for the whole council and not for a particular individual, for justice and not for private interest, for what is really good and not for what is agreeable to a particular company in which he is interested. He must investigate the case in season and not out of season, as it is and not as it is not, gently and not rudely, with good will and with his limbs and sense-organs duly restrained.

He must control the complainant and the respondent, must take note of what they say, and must not add any thing that they do not say. He must make the languid cheerful, the timid hopeful, and the angry cool. He must not act from affection, hatred, fear or delusion. A judge who behaves himself in this way is a true follower of Buddha and is justly loved by all people.

66. Vinaya-piṭaka : Pātimokkha (490 B.C.).

As an instance of the method in which monks combined in a council (*saṅgha*) used to perform an ecclesiastical act (*kiccādhikarana*), I explain the several stages and requisites of the Buddhist sabbath called *uposatha*¹ in accordance with the Pātimokkhupadesa¹ of the Vinaya-piṭaka.

Uposatha (*Sabbath*).

1. *Pubba-karaṇa*, preparation, which refers to the following requisites:—

- (a) *Sammajjanī*, brooming or cleansing the ground, on which monks are to assemble.
- (b) *Paḍīpa*, lighting a lamp, if the uposatha is celebrated in the night.

¹ Vide the Pāli Pātimokkha of the Vinaya-piṭaka, and also the translation of the Vinaya texts by T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg. Compare also the Tibetan version of the Pātimokkha called *So-sor-thar-pa* edited with the Tibetan text and an English translation by Dr Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in J.A.S.B., nos. 3 and 4, 1915. *Pubba-karaṇa* and *pubba-kicca* are explained fully in the *Kankhā-vitaranī* and *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosa.

- (c) *Uḍaka*, water, for drinking or washing one's face and leg
 (d) *Āsana*, seat on which monks are to sit.

2. *Pubba-kicca*, the preliminary acts, which refer to the following :—

- (a) *Chanda*, vote by proxy. If a monk cannot, owing to any unavoidable cause, attend a council, he may authorize a brother-monk to exercise his vote. The formula of authorization runs thus :—

chandaṃ dānmi, I give authority,
chandaṃ me hara, do ye receive my authority.
chandaṃ me ārocehi, do ye convey my authority to the council

- (b) *Pārisuddhī*, purity. A monk who cannot attend a council of sabbath, must inform it of his purity through a brother-monk.
 (c) *Uṭṭakkhāna*, naming the season. In a year there are three seasons, viz the winter, summer and rain, in each of which there are celebrated eight *uposathas* (sabbaths). The third and seventh *uposathas* of every season are held on the 14th day of the moon while the remaining six are held on the 15th day of the moon. *Upasathas* are of three kinds, viz those held on the 14th day of the moon, those held on the 15th day of the moon, and those held on any day, by the common consent of a council of monks to establish amity between two contending parties.
 (d) *Bhikkhu-gaṇanā*, counting the number of monks present in a council. A council may consist of four five, ten, twenty or more monks.
 (e) *Ovāda*, arrangement for the instruction to be imparted to a council of nuns by a monk deputed for the purpose

3. *Pattakallam*, in season. When the *pubba-karaṇa* and *pubba-kicca* are over, the council should see whether it was the right time when every thing was in order and there was nothing objectionable

4. *Pātimokkhuḍḍesa*, recitation of the code of monastic laws. The introductory part of the *Pātimokkha*, called *nidāna*, is cited below :—

O brethren, listen to me, I pray. To-day is the 14th (or 15th) day of the lunar month for the celebration of sabbath by the council of monks. If it is convenient to the council, let us celebrate sabbath and recite the (rules of) *Pātimokkha*.

Have the preliminary acts been performed? O brethren, do ye now express your purity. I shall recite the *Pātimokkha*

We shall all listen to it calmly and bear the same in mind.

Whosoever among you has committed any fault, let him confess it. If there is no fault, say nothing whatsoever. If nothing is said I am to understand that the brethren are perfectly pure. As a monk gives an answer if a question is put to him individually, so each monk is

to give an answer when I repeat my question three times in a council of monks like this. Whatsoever monk, in such a council, thus interrogated three times, does not confess a fault of which there is recollection, is guilty of uttering a deliberate lie. The uttering of a deliberate lie has, O brethren, been declared by Lord Buddha to be a sin called obstacle. Therefore a monk, who has committed a fault and desires to be cleansed therefrom, should confess it if he remembers the same. Having made confession he will reside in happiness. But if he does not confess or declare his fault, he will not be happy.

O brethren, I have recited the Introduction to the Pātimokkha. I now ask you whether you are perfectly pure. I ask you a second time and a third time. The brethren are perfectly pure; therefore they say nothing; so do I understand.

Then are recited the four rules of defeat, thirteen rules of suspension from monkhood, two rules regarding undetermined matters, thirty rules regarding sins which involve forfeiture, ninety-two rules regarding sins which require expiation, four rules regarding matters which must be confessed, one hundred and twelve rules which must be learnt (committed to memory), and seven rules for the settlement of cases. If any monk makes any confession, it is noted and considered.

5. After the Pātimokkha in its entirety has been recited, the monks should leave the sabbath hall with a feeling of universal love.

67. Abhidhamma-piṭaka : Kathāvatthupparāṇa (ABOUT 255 B.C.).

The Kathāvatthupparāṇa, a work of the Abhidhamma-piṭaka, composed by Moggaliputta Tissa at the Third Buddhist Council during the reign of Aśoka about 255 B.C.,¹ mentions *anuyoga* (inquiry), *āharaṇa* (illustration), *paṭiññā* (in Sanskrit: *pratiññā*, proposition), *upanaya* (in Sanskrit, too: *upanaya*, application of reason), *niggaha* (in Sanskrit: *nigraha*, humiliation or defeat), etc.,² which are the technical terms of Logic. Though Moggaliputta Tissa has not made any reference to a specific work on Logic, his mention of some of its technical terms warrants us to suppose that that science in some shape existed in India in his time, about 255 B.C.

¹ Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha in 272 B.C. (vide Vincent A. Smith's *Aśoka*, p. 63). In the seventeenth year of his reign the Third Buddhist Council took place (Wijesimha's *Mahāvamsa*, p. 29).

² *Niggaha-catukkam* is the name of a section of the first chapter of the Kathāvatthupparāṇa. *Upanaya-catukkam* is the name of another section of that work. A passage, in which the terms *paṭiññā* and *niggaha* occur, is quoted below:—

No ca mayaṃ tayā tattha hetāya paṭiññāya hevaṃ paṭiñnantā hevaṃ niggahetabbo (Kathāvatthupparāṇa, Siamese edition, p. 3, kindly lent to me by Anagārika H. Dharmapāla).

In the commentary on the above passage even *chala* (quibble), which is another technical term of Logic, has been used.

Evāṃ tena, chalena niggāhe āropite idāni tass'eva paṭiññāya dhammena samena attavāde jayāṃ dassetum anulomanaye pucchā sakavādiessa attano nissāya paṭiññāṃ paravādiessa laddhiya okāsam adatvā. . .

68. METHODS OF DISPUTATION AS ILLUSTRATED IN
THE KATHĀVATTHU.

As a specimen of the method of reasoning carried on during the time of Aśoka, the following controversy (*kathā*) between a Theravādin (a Buddhist disputant who did not admit the existence of the soul, *puggala*, as a genuine reality) and a Puggalavādin (a heretic respondent who asserted that there was a genuine reality called soul, *puggala*) is quoted from the Kathāvattu¹:—

A case presented by a disputant in a regular form (*anuloma*).

Theravādin . Is the soul (*puggala*) known in the sense of a genuinely real thing ?

Puggalavādin : Yes.

Theravādin : Is the soul known in the same way as a genuinely real thing ?

Puggalavādin . No, that cannot be said

Theravādin . Acknowledge your defeat.

- (i) If the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, then, good sir, you should also say that the soul is known in the same way as any other genuinely real thing is known.
- (ii) That which you say here is wrong, *viz* (a) the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, but not (b) known in the same way as any other genuinely real thing is known.
- (iii) If the statement (b) is not admitted, then indeed the statement (a) cannot be admitted either.
- (iv) In admitting the statement (a) but in denying the statement (b), you are wrong.

A rejoinder by the respondent (*paṭikkamma*).

Puggalavādin : Is the soul not known in the sense of a genuinely real thing ?

Theravādin : No, it is not known.

Puggalavādin : Is it unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known ?

Theravādin : No, that cannot be said.

Puggalavādin : Acknowledge the rejoinder.

(Kathāvattuppakarāṇa-aṭṭhakathā, published by the Pali Text Society of London, p. 13).

¹ Kathāvattu, vol. I, pp. 1-69, edited by A. C. Taylor and published by the Pali Text Society, London.

Compare the English translation called "Points of Controversy," by Mr. Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, published by the Pali Text Society, London, pp. 1-70.

- (i) If the soul is not known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, then, good sir, you should also say that the soul is unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known
- (ii) That which you say here is wrong, viz (a) the soul is not known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, but not (b) unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known.
- (iii) If the statement (b) is denied, then the statement (a) cannot be admitted either
- (iv) In admitting the statement (a) but in denying the statement (b), you are wrong.

The rejoinder causing entanglement or defeat on the disputant
(*niggaha*)

Puggalavādin : If in your opinion we should say that the soul is not known in the sense of a genuinely real thing but not unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known, then, you have, by your own proposition, assented to the truth of our statement and have acknowledged defeat.

- (i) Your statement—that the soul is not known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, but not unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known—is wrong
- (ii) You should not say that the statement (a) is to be admitted, but the statement (b) is not to be admitted.
- (iii) If the statement (b) is not admitted, then the statement (a) cannot be admitted either.
- (iv) In admitting the statement (a) but in denying the statement (b), you are wrong.

Application of the reasoning of the disputant to his own case
(*upanaya*).

Puggalavādin : If the defeat we have inflicted on you is considered unfair, do ye apply your reasoning to your own case.

We said : “(a) the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, but (b) unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known.”

You observed : “if the statement (b) is not admitted, then the statement (a) cannot be admitted either.”

Now, you say : “(a) the soul is not known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, but not (b) unknown in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known.”

Following you we observe : “if you do not admit the statement (b), you cannot admit the statement (a) either.”

Conclusion (*niggamana*)

Puggalavādin As for ourselves we do not deserve any defeat

The following assumptions which you made are wrong :—

- (i) If the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, it must also be known in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known.
- (ii) It is wrong to couple the statement (a), viz. the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, with the statement (b), viz. the soul is not known in the same way as a genuinely real thing is known.
- (iii) If the statement (b) is denied, then the statement (a) must also be denied.
- (iv) If the statement (a) is admitted, then the statement (b) must also be admitted.

The defeat you propose to inflict on us is unfair. But our rejoinder is fair and demonstration well done.

The above is an instance of First Defeat (*pathamo niggaho*). The argument is suitably repeated in the Second Defeat (adverse controversy, *paccamka-niggaho*) in which the respondent is a Theravādin. In the Third, Fourth or Fifth Defeat the question runs respectively as follows: "Is the soul known *everywhere, always* or *in everything* in the sense of a genuinely real thing?" "In the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Defeats *not known* is substituted for *known* in the question.

A case presented through a simple comparison (*suddhika samsandana*).

Theravādin: Is the soul known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, and is matter also known in the same sense?

Puggalavādin: Yes.

Theravādin: Is matter one thing and the soul another?

Puggalavādin: No, that cannot be said.

Theravādin: Acknowledge defeat.

If the soul and matter be each known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, then, good sir, you should have admitted that they are distinct things. You are wrong to admit the former proposition and not the latter. If the latter cannot be admitted, neither should the former be admitted. To say that the soul and matter are both known in the sense of genuinely real things but that they are not mutually distinct things, is wrong.

If the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing, then, good sir, you should also have admitted one of the four alternatives. Your position is untenable. If you cannot admit any of the four alternatives, then indeed, good sir, you should not assent to the proposition that the soul is known in the sense of a genuinely real thing.

Definition of terms (*lakṣhaṇāyukti-kathā*).

Theravādin Is the soul known in the sense of a genuinely real thing ?

Puggalavādin Yes.

Theravādin Is the soul related or absolute, compounded or uncompounded, eternal or temporal, is possessed of form or without form ?

Puggalavādin : No, these cannot be said.

Theravādin : Acknowledge defeat.

Clearing the meaning of terms (*vacana-sodhāna*).

The extension of the subject in relation to its predicate is clearly set forth in the following controversy —

Theravādin . Is the soul (subject) known, and is that which is known (predicate) the soul ?

Puggalavādin : The soul is known, but of that which is known a portion is soul and the remaining portion is not soul.

Theravādin Do you say this with respect to the subject also, viz. of the soul, a portion is known and the remaining portion is not known.

Puggalavādin : No, that cannot be said, etc.

A case presented through an analogy (*opamma-samsandāna*).

Theravādin : Matter (*rūpa*) is, you have admitted, known as a genuinely real thing. Feeling (*vedanā*) too is known as such. Now, is matter one thing and feeling another ?

Puggalavādin . Yes.

Theravādin . Is the soul known also in the sense of a genuinely real thing, as matter is known ?

Puggalavādin : Yes.

Theravādin : Then, is matter one thing, the soul another thing ?

Puggalavādin : No, that cannot be admitted.

Theravādin . Acknowledge defeat.

If matter and feeling are both known as genuinely real things and yet are two different things, then by analogy, if the soul and matter are both known as genuinely real things, they, good sir, can equally be two different things. Your position in admitting the first pair of propositions but not the second pair, is wrong. If you cannot admit the second pair, neither should you have admitted the first pair. Your position is wrong.

A case presented through the four-fold method (*catukka-naya-sāmsandana*).

Theravādin . Is the soul known in the sense of a genuinely real thing ?

Puggalavādin Yes.

Theravādin (i) Is matter the soul ? or (ii) Is the soul in matter ? or (iii) Is the soul apart from matter ? or (iv) Is matter in the soul ?

Puggalavādin No, that cannot be said.

Theravādin . Acknowledge defeat.

The doctrine of impermanence (*khaṇika-kathā*).

The doctrine of momentariness (*khaṇika-kathā*)¹ in its crude form is discussed in the following dialogue :—

Theravādin : Do all things exist in our consciousness for a moment only ?

Pubbaseliyas . Yes.

Theravādin : Do you mean that it is in our consciousness that there exist the earth, ocean, Sumeru, water, fire, wind, grass, twigs and trees ?

Pubbaseliyas . No.

Theravādin : Do you mean that our sense-organs have grown along with our sense-cognitions ?

Pubbaseliyas : No.

Theravādin : Do you mean that the sense organs are coincident in time with our sense-cognitions ?

Pubbaseliyas : Yes

Theravādin : Do you accept the authority of the scripture which declares that there will be no cognition, if the sense-organs are conjoined with their objects but not with the mind, or with the mind but not with the objects, and that there will be cognition only when the sense-organs, their objects and the mind—all these three—are conjoined ?

Pubbaseliyas : Yes.

Theravādin : Therefore you can not say that the sense-organs are coincident in time with our sense-cognitions.

Pubbaseliyas : Should we say that things do not exist in our mind for a moment only ?

Theravādin : Yes.

¹ Kathāvatthu, Khaṇika-kathā XXII—8, pp 620—621, edited by A. C. Taylor in the Pāli Text Society. Compare also the translation called "Points of Controversy" by S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids. Also Majjhima Nikāya, 1, 190.

Pubbaselyas Are all things eternal stable permanent and im-
mutable ?

Theravādin No

Pubbaselyas Therefore all things exist in our mind for a moment
only

69. *Milinda-pañha* alias THE Bhikṣu-sūtra
(ABOUT 100 A.D.).

The only Pāli work in which an explicit reference to Logic called *Nīti* (or *Nyāya*) occurs is the *Milinda-pañha* otherwise known as the *Bhikṣu-sūtra*, which was composed about 100 A.D.¹ It was translated into Chinese under the Eastern Tsin dynasty A.D. 317—420.² In the Chinese collection of the Indian books it is designated as the *Nāgasena-Bhikṣu-sūtra*. This work contains questions of Milinda (the Greek King Menander of Bactria) and replies of Bhikṣu Nāga Sena on various abstruse matters. In it Milinda, who was versed in Logic (*Nīti* or *Nyāya*), is thus described :—

“ Many were the arts and sciences he knew—noly tradition and secular law, Hetu-vidyā or Nyāya the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, *Nyāya* and Vaiśeṣika systems of philosophy; arithmetic, music; medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, and the Itihāsas; astronomy, magic; causation and spells, the art of war, poetry, conveyancing—in a word, the whole nineteen.

As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness, and valour, there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich, too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end The king, who was fond of wordy disputation, and eager for discussion with *casuists*, *sophists*, and gentry of that sort, looked at the sun (to ascertain the time), and then said to his ministers.”³

The following dialogue between Milinda and Nāga Sena is quoted to show what was thought to be the proper mode of carrying on debate in the days of those notable persons⁴.—

The King said ‘ Reverend Sir, will you discuss with me again ? ’

A scholarly debate ‘ If your Majesty will discuss as a scholar (Paṇḍita), well, but if you will discuss as a king, no.’

‘ How is it then that scholars discuss ? ’

¹ For discussions about date *vide* Rhys Davids' Introduction to “ the Questions of King Milinda ” in the S.B.E. series, vol. xxxv. Menander seems to have belonged to the family of Enkratides and to have invaded India about 155 B.C.

² *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, No 1358

³ Taken from Rhys Davids' translation of the *Milinda-pañha* called “ the Questions of King Milinda ” in S.B.E. series, vol. xxxv, pp. 6-7.

Nyāya is taken as an equivalent for the original *Nīti*, causation for *Hetu*, *casuists* for *Lokāyata* and *sophists* for *Vuṇḍa*.

Nīti means “ polity,” but placed between Yoga and Vaiśeṣika it may signify *Nyāya*. Causation, *hetu*, very probably stands for *Hetu-vidyā*, *Nyāya* or Logic.

⁴ *Vide* Rhys Davids' Questions of King Milinda in the S.B.E. series, vol. xxxv, p. 46.

'When scholars talk a matter over with one another, then is there a winding up, an unravelling, one or other is convicted of error, and he then acknowledges his mistake, distinctions are drawn, and contradistinctions, and yet thereby they are not angered. Thus do scholars, O King, discuss'

'And how do kings discuss?'

'When a king, Your Majesty, discusses a matter, and he advances a point, if any one differ from him on that point, he is apt to fine him, saying: "Inflict such and such a punishment upon that fellow!" Thus, Your Majesty, do kings discuss'

'Very well. It is as a scholar, not as a king, that I will discuss. Let Your Reverence talk unrestrainedly, as you would with a brother, or a novice, or a lay disciple, or even with a servant. Be not afraid!'

70. ORIGIN OF THE MAHĀYĀNA (ABOUT 78 A D).

At the opening of the Christian era the north-western part of India was invaded by the Kusānas, Turuṣkas or Scythians. Kaniska,¹ who was one of their chiefs, conquered Kāśmīra, Palhava and Delhi, and is said to have founded the era called *Śakābda* in 78 A.D. He accepted the Buddhist faith and established a new system of Buddhism called *Mahāyāna*,² the Great Vehicle. The old system of Buddhism as promulgated in the Pāli Tipitaka was henceforth nicknamed *Hīnayāna*, the Little Vehicle. The *Mahāyāna* gradually spread to Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Japan, Corea, etc., while the *Hīnayāna* continued in Ceylon and thence spread to Burmah, Siam, etc. In India both the systems prevailed.

¹ Hwen-thsang, in the 7th century A.D., records a prophecy of Buddha that 400 years after his nirvāna, Kaniska would be born: *vide* Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol I, p. 9). The same prophecy is mentioned by Fa-hian about 399 A.D., showing thereby that Kaniska was regarded as historical even at that time. According to Tibetan books such as the *Sum-pa hi-choṣ-byun*, Kaniska flourished in 33 B.C., that is, 400 years after the nirvāna of Buddha which is said to have taken place in 433 B.C. Dr. J. F. Fleet holds that Kaniska founded the Vikrama era in 58 B.C. (*vide* Traditional Date of Kaniska in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, October 1906) Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar places Kaniska at the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D., as appears from "A peep into the early history of India" in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1897—98, p. 396. Vincent A. Smith places Kaniska in 125 A.D., while Sylvain Lévi assigns him an earlier date of 50 A.D. (*vide* J.R.A.S., January 1905, pp. 52—53). But Mr. Beal, Mr. Lassen, Professor Kern and others adopt the view that the Śaka era dates from Kaniska in 78 A.D. In the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, Mdo, Gi, there is *Mahārāja-Kanika-lekha*, which is a letter addressed by Maticitra (Aśvaghōṣa) to King Kaniska, an account of which has been published by Dr Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, no. 9, for 1910. It seems that Kaniska, who was a contemporary of Aśvaghōṣa and Nāgārjuna, was different from the king of that name under whose patronage the fourth Buddhist Council was held. Indeed Kaniska was often taken as a general name for the Kusāna kings

² *Vide* Takakusu's I-tsing, p. xxv; also Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January 1900.

71. ORIGIN OF THE SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE (ABOUT 78 A.D.)

Under the patronage of Kaniska, a council¹ was held at Jālandhara under the superintendence of Pārśva (or Pūṃaka) and Vasu-Mitra. It consisted of 500 monks who composed in Sanskrit three works explanatory of the Pāli *Tipitaka*, viz. Sūtra Upadeśa of the Sutta Piṭaka, Vinaya Vibhāṣā of the Vinaya Piṭaka, and Abhidharma Vibhāṣā of the Abhidharma Piṭaka. These three, works written in Sanskrit, were the earliest canonical books of the Mahāyāna School.

It must not, however, be supposed that there had been no Buddhist books written in Sanskrit before Kaniska held his council. As a fact Kaniska thought it expedient to introduce Sanskrit as the medium of Buddhistic communication, because there already existed many valuable Buddhist books in that language. For instance, the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā, or rather the Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra, which was compiled at the council of Kaniska, was a mere commentary on Kātyāyanī-putra's Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra.² This last is a Sanskrit work explanatory of the Pāli Abhidharma Piṭaka. It was composed 300 years after the nirvāṇa of Buddha or 100 years before the time of Kaniska. Though Kaniska was not thus the first founder of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature, it cannot but be acknowledged that it was he, who for the first time proclaimed Sanskrit as the language of the Buddhist Canon. Since his time there have been composed innumerable Buddhist works in Sanskrit of which nine called the *Nava Dharmas*³ are specially worshipped by the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

72. LOGIC MENTIONED IN THE SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE.

None⁴ of the works composed during or before the time of Kaniska has come down to us in its Sanskrit original, and I have

¹ An account of this council is given by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., in an article named "Some Historical facts connected with the rise and progress of Mahāyāna School of Buddhism, translated from the Sumpaḥ-chog-byun" in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta, vol. I, part III, p. 18. *Vide* also Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. I, p. 27; and also Monier Williams' Buddhism, pp. 68-69.

² *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, nos. 1263, 1273 and 1275. Regarding the authorship of Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā, or simply Mahāvibhāṣā, *vide* Takakusu in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January 1905, p. 159.

³ The *Nava Dharmas* or Nine Sacred Works are :-

(1) Asta-sāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, (2) Gaṇḍa-vyūha, (3) Daśa-bhūmīśvara, (4) Saṃādhi-rāja, (5) Laṅkāvatāra, (6) Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, (7) Tathāgata-guhyaka, (8) Lalitavistara, and (9) Suvarṇa-prabhāsa.

Vide Hodgson's Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists, p. 19.

⁴ Dr. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist India, p. 316, observes that the three works composed at the Council of Kaniska are extant in European libraries.

had no opportunity of examining the Chinese or Tibetan version of the same. I cannot, therefore, say whether there is any mention of Logic in those works. But we have before us a very large collection of Sanskrit Buddhist works composed after the time of Kaniška. Many of these works, such as some of the *Nava Dharmas*, contain references to Logic, and several works are even replete with logical discussions.

73. THE *Lalitavistara* (BEFORE 250 A.D.).

The *Lalitavistara*, which is one of the *Nava Dharmas*, was translated into Chinese in 221—263 A.D.¹ The Sanskrit original of it must have been prepared in India before that time. In this work Logic, under the name of *Hetu-vidyā*,² is mentioned along with the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, etc., in all of which the Boḍhi-sattva (Buddha Gautama) is said to have acquired distinction.

74. THE *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* (ABOUT 300 A.D.).

The *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*³ is a very sacred work, as it is one of the *Nava Dharmas*. The exact date of it is unknown, beyond the fact that it was translated into Chinese in 443 A.D.⁴ The approximate date seems to be 300 A.D., for, it mentions four heretical schools, refuted later by Ārya Deva.⁵ The four schools, as mentioned in the Chinese Tripitaka, are (1) the Sāṅkhyas who believe

¹ The *Lalitavistara* was translated into Chinese four times. The first and third translations were lost by 730 A.D. The first was prepared under the Han dynasty A.D. 221—263, the second under the Western Tsin dynasty A.D. 265—316, the third under the earlier Sun dynasty A.D. 420—479, and the fourth under the Thān dynasty A.D. 683. *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, nos. 159 and 160.

² निर्घण्टौ निममे पुराणे इतिहासे वेदे व्याकरणे निरुक्तौ शिक्षायां हन्सि यद्भक्तये ज्योतिषि सांख्ये योगे क्रियाकल्पे वैशेषिके वैशिके चार्थविज्ञायां वार्त्तस्यत्ये चाख्ये आहुरे स्रगपक्षिते हेतुविज्ञायां जतुयन्त्रे सर्वेषु बोधिस्तत्र एव विप्रिष्यते ॥

Lalitavistara, edited by Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta, Chapter XII, p. 179.

³ The Sanskrit original of this work has been published by the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta under the editorship of Rai Sarat Chandra Das and Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana. The work also exists in Chinese and Tibetan. Hwentsang mentions the *Laṅkāvatāra*; *vide* Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Book XI, p. 251. *Vide* an account of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1906.

⁴ *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, nos. 175, 176 and 177.

⁵ Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, nos. 1259, 1260 and Appendix I, no. 4.

in oneness,¹ (2) the Vaiśeṣikas who believe in difference, (3) the Nirgrantha-putras who believe in both, and (4) the Jñātiputras who believe in neither.²

The Lankāvatāra speaks in a prophetic style of the *Naiyāyikas* (logicians) and *Tārīkikas* (dialecticians). Thus in Chapter II of the work Mahāmāti asks Buddha :—

“ Say how in time to come *Naiyāyikas* will flourish ? ”³

“ How is *tarka* (reasoning) corrected, and how is it carried on ? ”⁴

“ What is the nature of the doctrine that draws conclusion from a reason and an example ? ”⁵

In Chapter X of the work we read :—

“ Whatever is produced is destructible: this is the conclusion of the *Tārīkikas*. ”⁶

¹ Here the word Sāṃkhya stands for the Upaniṣad or Vedānta. The Sāṃkhya as mentioned in the Mahābhārata really teaches the doctrine of oneness. Even Viṣṇu Bhikṣu, the author of Sāṃkhya-bhāṣya, admits that the Sāṃkhya philosophy is not opposed to the doctrine of oneness. Cf

एकमेवाद्वितीयं तन्नम् इति श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रवादास्तु सर्वतत्त्वानां पुरुषे विश्वापनेन शक्तिशक्तिमदभेदेनेत्यविरोधः । (Sāṃkhya-bhāṣya, Chap. I, Sūtra 61).

² Vide Bunyiu Nanjio, no. 1259. Cf. Lankāvatāra-sūtra, A.S.B. MSS., leaf 135:—

सांख्यै वैशेषिका नग्नौ विप्राः पाशुपतास्तथा ।

असत्सद्दृष्टि पतिता विविक्तार्थ विवर्जिताः ॥

³ The Sanskrit original runs as follows .—

नैयायिकाः कथं ब्रूहि भविष्यन्ति चनागताः ।

(Lankāvatāra sūtra, Asiatic Society of Bengal's MSS. Chap. II, leaf 11).

The Tibetan version runs thus :—

ङ्खे'व'क'स'गु'र'दे'ल'गु'र ।

म'र'द'स'दु'स'क'र'गु'र'व'ग'सु'र'स ॥

(Bkaḥ-hgyur, Mdo, vol. V, Asiatic Society of Bengal's xylograph).

⁴ कथं हि श्रूयते तर्कः कथं तर्कः प्रवर्तते ।

(Lankāvatāra sūtra, Chap. II, leaf 11, A.S.B. MSS.).

दे'ल'गु'र'ङ्खे'ग'वे'ठ'ये'सु'र'दु'र'गु'र ।

(Bkaḥ-hgyur, Mdo, vol. V).

⁵ दृष्टान्त हेतुभिर्युक्तः सिद्धान्तो देशना कथम् ?

Lankāvatāra sūtra, p. 36, Buddhist Text Society's edition).

⁶ अतकस्य विनाशः स्यात् तार्किकाणामयं नयः ॥

(Lankāvatāra sūtra, Chap. X, leaf 143, A.S.B. MSS.).

सु'स'क'क'स'ग'र'द'दे'ग'र'द'र'गु'र ।

र'दे'ङ्खे'ङ्खे'ग'वे'ठ'ये'सु'र'दु'र'गु'र ॥ (Bkaḥ-hgyur, Mdo, vol. V).

In Chapter II, the doctrine of idealism¹ (*viññāna-vāda*) is explained. According to this doctrine our knowledge alone is real and the so-called external objects are mere manifestations of it. Knowledge (*viññāna*) is stated to be of two kinds, viz (1) the potential knowledge (*khyāti-viññāna*) which remaining in us from time immemorial as a mass of potentialities, reminiscences, tendencies or impressions tends to produce the so-called external objects; and (2) the objectified knowledge (*vastu-prativikalpa viññāna*) or knowledge which is manifested as external objects through the act-force (*karma*) inherent in our aforesaid potentialities, reminiscences, tendencies or impressions.

These two kinds of knowledge combined constitute what is called *pravṛtti viññāna*, presentative knowledge which produces the external world drawing us towards it. The seat of *pravṛtti-viññāna* is called *ālaya-viññāna*, the basic knowledge. While the latter is compared to an ocean, the former is compared to high winds which agitate it.

This basic knowledge, *ālaya-viññāna*, is otherwise called an ego (*aham*). As we pass on our *pravṛtti-viññāna* changes but our ego persists. By means of concentration (*yoḡa*) we can understand the true nature of the ego. It alone is perfect (*pariniṣpanna*). Non-ego or the external world is false (*parikalpita*) and conditional (*paratantra*). When emancipated, our *pravṛtti-viññāna* totally disappears, but the ego or *ālaya viññāna* continues.² The

¹ Viññāna-vāda is called in Tibetan *mam-par-śes-paḥi-lta-wa*, མཁའ་པར་ཤེས་པའི་གླེང་པ།. It is designated in Sanskrit as *yogācāra-darśana* corresponding to Tibetan *ḥbyor-paḥi-lta-wa*, རྟེན་པའི་གླེང་པ།. *Pravṛtti-viññāna* is called in Tibetan: *len-paḥi-mam-par-śes*, རྟེན་པའི་མཁའ་པར་ཤེས་པ།, signifying knowledge as received. *Ālayaviññāna* is called in Tibetan: *kun-gshi nam par-śes-pa*, ཀུན་གྱི་མཁའ་པར་ཤེས་པ།, signifying knowledge which constitutes the basis or foundation of all. *Pariniṣpanna* is called in Tibetan: *yong-grub*, ཡོངས་རྒྱུག, complete in itself; *paratantra*: *gshan-dwan*, གཤན་དབང་, dependent on others, and *parikalpita*: *kun-btags*, ཀུན་བརྟམས།, fanciful or erroneous.

² It is perhaps not quite accurate to say that when emancipated the ego or *ālaya* of the viññāna-vādins becomes identical with the void or *śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamikas, because while the former look upon *ālaya* as perfect (*pariniṣpanna*), the latter do not consider *Sūngatā* to be so.

The *ālaya* of the viññāna-vādins corresponds to *ahamkāra* (and *purusa*) of the Sāṃkhya philosophy. In emancipation *ahamkāra*, according to the Sāṃkhyas, disappears, but *ālaya* according to the viññāna-vādins persists. The sāṃkhyas do however assume an additional principle called *purusa* (soul) which continues to exist. This contrast with the Sāṃkhya doctrine is noted in the following passage of the Lankāvatāra sūtra:—

आलयविज्ञाने पुनर्निश्चयमाने निर्विभ्रष्ट तौघं करोच्छेदवादेन यद्य वादः स्यात् । कारणं पुनः महामते प्रथमपुरुषास्त्रिकालानुप्रवादा ॥

(Lankāvatāra sūtra, Chap. II, p. 45, edited by Sarat Chandra Das and Satis Chandra Vidyabhūšana).

ego, unruffled by the external world and freed from all potentialities, reminiscences, tendencies or impressions, attains its pristine purity. This is its emancipation or final rest.

In chapter VI of the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra entitled *ksanika-parivarta* (a chapter on momentariness), there is a clear explanation of the theory that everything is momentary. In a passage of the sūtra the author observes as follows¹:—

“ A momentary thing is that which is inactive, distinct in itself, and not liable to cessation. By calling things momentary, I mean that they are not produced after being produced.”

The doctrine of momentariness. I do not, O fools, say that they are destroyed after being produced ”

75. EIGHTEEN SECTS OF THE BUDDHISTS

We have previously found that within 200 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha there arose in India 17 heretical sects besides the orthodox priesthood called the Theras. In course of time some of these sects disappeared while new ones grew up, the result being that at the time of Kaṅṣka, about 78 A.D., the Buddhists had already been divided into 18 sects² grouped into four classes as follows:—

- I. Ārya Sarvāstivāda
 - (1) Mūla Sarvāstivāda
 - (2) Kāśyapīya
 - (3) Mahīśāsaka
 - (4) Dharma-guṇṭīya
 - (5) Bahuśrutīya
 - (6) Tāmraśāṭīya
 - (7) Vibhāṣyavādin

Belonging to the *Vaibhāṣika*
School of Philosophy.
- II. Ārya Sammitīya
 - (8) Kurukullaka
 - (9) Āvantika
 - (10) Vātsīputrīya

1 निर्यापारं क्षणिकं विद्विक्तं सद्यर्जितम् ।
अनुत्पत्तिश्च धर्माणां क्षणिकार्थं वदाम्यहम् ।
उत्पत्त्यनन्तरं भङ्गं न वै दृष्टेमि वाञ्छिमाः ॥

(Laṅkāvatāra sūtra, Chap. VI, p. 99, Bengal Asiatic Society's MSS.)

² Vide the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta, vol. I, part III, p. 18; Takakusu's I-tsing, pp. xxiii, xxiv and xxv; Rhys Davids' article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1891, p. 411, and 1892, pp. 1—37; Rockhill's Buddha, p. 181 f; Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, pp. 270—274; and Wijesimha's Mahāvamsa, part I, Chapter V, p. 15.

III. Ārya Mahāsāṅghika

- (11) Pūrva-śāila
- (12) Aparā-śāila
- (13) Hāmavata
- (14) Lokottaravādin
- (15) Prajāptivādin

IV. Ārya Sthavira

- (16) Mahāvihāra
- (17) Jetavanjya and
- (18) Abhayagirivāsin

} Belonging to the *Sautrāntika*
School of Philosophy.

All the sects mentioned above belonged to the *Hīnayāna*, though later on they joined the *Mahāyāna* too.

76. FOUR SCHOOLS OF THE BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

The philosophical views of the sects mentioned above were gradually formulated into two schools, viz the (1) *Vaiśbhāsika* and (2) *Sautrāntika*. The Mahāyāna sect of the Buddhists founded by Kaniska established two other schools of philosophy, viz. the (3) *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra*. So there were altogether four schools of philosophy, two of the *Hīnayāna* and two of the *Mahāyāna* ¹

Vaiśbhāsika was a later appellation of the philosophy of the Sarvāstivāda (Pali: Sabbatthivāda) sect² who, as their name implies, admitted the reality of the world—internal and external. In fact the Vaiśbhāsika said that our cognition and its corresponding external object were both real. The fundamental philosophical work of this sect is Kātyāyanī-putra's Abhidharma-jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra,³ or simply Jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra, composed 300 years after the *nirvāna* of Buddha. The next work of this sect is the Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā-śāstra,⁴ or simply Vibhāṣā, compiled at the council of Kaniska about 78 A D. It was from this *Vibhāṣā* that the name *Vaiśbhāsika*⁵ was derived. *Vibhāṣā* means "commentary," and the

¹ Vide Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, pp. 121, 139 n., and Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. xxii.

² Vide Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. xxi. The Ārya Saṃmitīyas, at any rate their subclasses called the Vātsīputriyas, were followers of the Vaiśbhāsika philosophy. The Hindu philosopher Vācaspati Miśra in his *Nyāya vārtika-tātparyatikā* 3-1-1 quotes the opinions of the Vaiśbhāsikas who were called Vātsīputras.

³ This work exists in Chinese and Tibetan: vide Bunyiu Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, nos. 1273, 1275.

⁴ This work, too, exists in Chinese and Tibetan: vide Bunyiu Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, nos. 1263, 1264.

⁵ Compare the explanation of *Vaiśbhāsika* given by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya in his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, chapter on Baudhha-darśana, translated by Cowell and Gough, second edition, p. 24. Vide also Satish Chandra Vidya-bhusana's "Mādhyamika School" in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta* for 1895, part II, p. 4.

Vaiḥāsika philosophy seems to have been so called because it was based on the commentaries rather than on the original texts of the teachings of Buddha. Saṅghabhadra's *Nyāyanusāra-sāstra*,¹ otherwise called *Kosa-kāraka-sāstra*, composed about 489 A.D.,² is a most learned work of the *Vaiḥāsika* philosophy.

Sautrāntikas admit cognition and therefrom infer the existence of the external objects. The name Sautrāntika³ was derived from *Sūtrānta*, called in Pāli *Suttanta*, meaning "original text". The *Sautrāntika* philosophy seems to have been so called, because it was based on the original text of the teachings of Buddha rather than on the commentaries thereon. The text, on which the *Sautrāntika* philosophy was based, belonged to the sect of Ārya Sthavīras, called in Pāli Theras, who held the First Council in 490 B.C., and possibly also to the sect of the Mahāsāṅghikas⁴ who were the first dissenters in 390 B.C. The philosophical principles of this school are said to have been formulated in Kāśmīra⁵ during the reign of Kaṇiṣka about 78 A.D. by a sage named Dharmottara or Uttara-dharma.⁶ But the Chinese pilgrim Hwen-thsang, who visited India early in the 7th century A.D., states that the renowned teacher Kumāralabdha⁷ of Takṣaśilā (Taxila in the Punjab) was the founder of the *Sautrāntika* school and wrote several very valuable treatises on it. He is supposed to have lived about 300 A.D., as he was a contemporary of Nāgārjuna (q.v.), Ārya Deva (q.v.), and Aśvaghosa. There was another very famous teacher named Śrīlabdha⁸ who wrote *Vaiḥāsā-sāstra* (or commentary on a work) of the *Sautrāntika* school. Hwen thsang saw in Ayodhyā the ruins of a Saṅghārāma where Śrīlabdha resided.

¹ This work exists in Chinese and Tibetan, *vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, no. 1265.

² *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix II, no. 95. For Saṅgha-bhadra, *vide* also Hwen-thsang's Travel in Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. I, pp. 193—194.

³ Compare the explanation of the term *Sautrāntika* given by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya in the *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, chapter on Bauddhadarśana, translated by Cowell and Gough, second edition, p. 26. *Vide* also Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana's "Mādhyamika School" in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta for 1895, part II, p. 4.

Vide Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, p. 168, and Beal's Fahian and Sungyun, p. 143.

⁴ *Vide* Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. II, p. 161.

⁵ *Vide* the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta, vol. I, part III, pp. 18, 19, and Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, p. 59.

⁶ For the Dharmutteriya or Dharmottara sect, *vide* Wassilief's Buddhism, p. 233; and Mahāvānsa, part I, chapter V, p. 15, Wijesinha's foot note.

⁷ *Vide* Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. II, p. 302; and Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, p. 78, where Kumāralābha stands for Kumāra labdha.

⁸ *Vide* Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. I, pp. 225, 226, and Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, p. 67.

Yogācāras maintained that the external objects were unreal but the reality of our cognition could not be denied. The word 'yogācāra' (called in Tibetan *rnal-hbyor-wah* [ra-wa]) is compounded of *yoga* meaning 'meditation' and *ācārā* meaning 'practice.' The *yogācāra* or the contemplative system was so called, because it emphasised the practice of meditation as the means of attaining *bhūmis*² or the seventeen stages of Buddhistic Perfection. The chief dogma established in it is *ālaya-vijñāna*,³ the basis of conscious states, which is the same as our 'ego' or 'soul.' It is not known who was the founder of the *yogācāra* school, but in the Tibetan and Chinese books⁴ the *Lankāvatāra sūtra*, *Mahāsamaya sūtra*,⁵ *Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa* and *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-sāstra-yogācārya* have been named as the prominent old works of the system. Maitreyanātha and Ārya Asanga were the early teachers of it. The *yogācāra* school seems to have originated about 300 A.D. when the *Lankāvatāra sūtra* etc. were composed.

Mādhyamikas held that our cognition and its corresponding external object were neither absolutely real nor totally unreal. The name *Mādhyamika*⁶ (called in Tibetan: *Dwu-ma*) was derived from *madhyama*, the

¹ The *yogācāra* philosophy is generally known in China, Tibet and Nepal as *yogācārya*. For an account of this system, vide Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. I, p. 356; Dr. Schlagintweit's *Buddhism*, chap. V. Compare explanation of the word *yogācāra* given by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya in the *Sarvadarśana-samgraha*, chapter on *Buddha-darśana*, translated by Cowell and Gough, second edition, p. 24. Vide also Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "the *Mādhyamika* School" in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta*, 1895, part II, p. 4.

² Vide *Dharmasamgraha* LXIV and LXXV, edited by Max Muller and Wenzel.

³ For an explanation of *ālaya vijñāna*, see Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's note on p. 2 of the *Lankāvatāra sūtra*, Calcutta Buddhist Text Society's edition, and also see p. 45 of the same work.

⁴ Vide section *Mdo* of the *Éstan-hgyur*. Lama Tāranātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. III f, Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Appendix I, no. 1; Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 226, vol. II, pp. 220, 275, and Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. I, p. 371.

⁵ Vide Schlagintweit's *Buddhism*, chap. V.

⁶ Compare—

सतो भावाभावात्तद्वयसहितत्वात् सर्वसंभवानुत्पत्तिलक्षणा इत्यन्ता मध्यमा प्रतिपत्त्यसौ मार्ग इत्युच्यते ॥

(*Mādhyamikā vṛtti*, chap. XXIV, p. 185, Calcutta Buddhist Text Society's edition)

Compare the explanation of the term *Mādhyamika* given by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya, in the *Sarvadarśana-samgraha*, chapter on *Baudāha-darśana*, translated by Cowell and Gough, second edition, p. 24, and also Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's *History of the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna* in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta*, 1897, part IV, pp. 7—20.

Vide Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "Descriptive list of works on the *Mādhyamika* Philosophy, no. I" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, no. 7, 1908

middle. The *Mādhyamika* philosophy was so called because it avoided two extremes, i.e. advocated neither the theory of absolute reality, nor that of total unreality, of the world, but chose a *middle path*, inculcating that the world had only a conditional existence. The school is said to have been founded by Arya Nāgārjuna about 250—320 A.D. In fact the doctrines of the school are contained in older works such as the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The *Mādhyamika kārikā* by Nāgārjuna, *Mūla-madhyama-vṛtti* by Buddha Pālita, *Hastabala* by Arya Deva, *Madhyama-hṛdaya-kārikā* by Bhavya, *Madhyama-pratītya-samutpāda* by Kṛṣṇa, *Mādhyamika-vṛtti* by Candra Kīrti and *Mādhyamikavatāra-tīkā* by Jayānanta—are the principal works of the *Mādhyamika* School. *Mūla-madhyamika-vṛtti-akutobhaya*, a work of Nāgārjuna, was translated into Tibetan under orders of the great king Dpal-lha-tsan-po, by the Indian sage Jñāna-garbhā and the Tibetan official interpreter Kluhi-rgyal-mtshan. The translation closes by mentioning eight expounders of the *Mādhyamika* philosophy, viz. Arya Nāgārjuna, Sthavira Buddha Pālita, Candra Kīrti, Dev Śarmā, Guṇa-śrī, Guṇa-matī, Sthira-matī and Bhavya (or Bhāva-viveka).

CHAPTER II

Early Buddhist Writers on Logic.

77. RISE OF THE BUDDHIST LOGIC.

With the growth of the four philosophical schools just mentioned, the study of Logic spread far and wide in the Buddhist community. The adherents of each of the schools considered it advantageous to employ logical arguments in defending their own dogmas and attacking those of their opponents. This is clear from the writings of Nāgārjuna and Ārya Deva of the Mādhyamika School, and Maitreya, Asanga and Vasubandhu of the yogācāra. The arguments employed in the course of the defence and attack of the schools served to popularise the Ancient Logic of Akṣapāda, and to produce a band of logicians among the Buddhists.

78. ĀRYA NĀGĀRJUNA (ABOUT 250—320 A.D.).

Nāgārjuna or rather Ārya Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika School, was a great logician. He was born at Vidarbha (modern Berar) in Mahākośala,¹ during the reign of King Sadvāha or Sātavāhana² [of the Andhra dynasty],³ and passed many of his days in meditation in a cave-dwelling of the Śrī-parvata,⁴ that bordered on the river Kṛṣṇā. He was a pupil of Śaraṇa and is said to have converted a powerful king, named Bhoja Deva,⁵ to Buddhism.

¹ Vide Hwen-thsang's *Travel in Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II, Book VIII, p. 97, and Book X, p. 210; Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. II, pp. 201—202, and Wassiljew quoted by Schiefner in the *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, p. 301.

² Sadvāha is the same as Sātavāhana, which is a general name of the kings of the Andhra dynasty — Vide Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan*, second edition, pp. 25—37.

Nāgārjuna wrote an instructive letter to Sātavāhana, whose private name in Chinese was Shi'-yen-toh-cia. This letter is called Ārya Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva Suhrillekha. It was translated into Chinese in 434 A.D. An English translation of this letter has appeared in the *Journal of the Pali Text Society of London*, 1883, pp. 71—75. The Tibetan version of *Suhrillekha*, called *Bes-pahi-sprin-yig* (sent by Nāgārjuna to his friend Udayibhadra), is contained in the *Dstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, gi.

³ The Andhra kings ruled the northern portion of the Madras Presidency and the whole of Kalinga, and overthrew the Kauva dynasty in northern India about 31 B.C. They remained powerful up to 436 A.D. They were Buddhists, and it was by them that the magnificent marble stūpa at Amarāvati was erected. — Vide Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities in Madras*, vol. II, pp. 141—146.

⁴ For an account of Śrī-parvata or Śrī-śāla see Hwen-thsang's *Life*, Introduction, p. xi, by Beal; Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. 84, Wilson's *Mālatī-Mādhava*, act I; and Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana's *Notes on Ratnāvalī*, pp. 27—29.

⁵ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 66, 69—73.

Nāgārjuna is said to have lived four hundred years¹ after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, that is, in 33 B.C. But he does not appear to me to have had so early a date, as he was one of the early patrons or founders of the university of Nālandā,² which had not, perhaps, come into existence in the 1st century B.C., and was insignificant³ even in 399 A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian came to visit India. Nāgārjuna called in Tibetan “*Klu-sgrub*” is stated by Lama Tārānātha to have been a contemporary of King Nemi Candra, who is supposed to have reigned about 300 A.D.⁴ The latest date that can be assigned to Nāgārjuna is 401 A.D.,⁵ when⁶ his biography was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva.

¹ It is prophesied in the Mañju-śrī-mūla-tantra (called in Tibetan *Hjara-dpal-rtse-rgyud*) that:—

དེ་བཞིན་གཞིགས་པ་སྐྱེ་འདས་ནས།
 ལོ་ཞི་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ལོ་ན་པ་ན།
 དགེ་སྲོང་གྲུ་ཞེས་ཅེ་འཛོད་འབྱུང་།
 བཟུང་པ་ལ་ཞི་དད་ཅིང་ཡན།

(Quoted in the Introduction to *Ses-rab-sdon-bu* published in Calcutta).

“Four hundred years after Buddha’s departure from the world there will appear a Bhikṣu, named Nāgārjuna, who will do good to the believers in the doctrine.”

It should be noted that according to some books of Tibet, Buddha was born in 514 B.C., lived 81 years and attained *nirvāṇa* in 433 B.C. Nāgārjuna, who was born 400 years after the *nirvāṇa*, must, at this calculation, be placed in 33 B.C.

² *Vide* Tārānātha’s *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 66, 69—73.

³ Fa-hian describes Nālandā as a mere village Nā-lo: *vide* Beal’s *Travels of Fa-hian and Sung-yun*, p. 111.

⁴ According to Lama Tārānātha, Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of King Nemi Candra, whose genealogy is thus traced:—

Akṣa Candra	}	Ruled in Aparāntaka.
Jaya Candra		
Nemi Candra		
Phani Candra	}	Ruled in Magadha.
Bhāmā Candra		
Śāla Candra		
Candra Gupta		

The six kings, beginning with Akṣa Candra to Śāla Candra, are stated to have been weak and insignificant, while Candra Gupta, the seventh king, is described as having been very powerful. This Candra Gupta, who “did not take refuge in Buddha,” may be the same who founded the Gupta era in 19 A.D. The reigns of his predecessors were very short. Nemi Candra may be assigned to about 300 A.D.—*Cf.* Tārānātha’s *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 80—83

⁵ *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio’s *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Appendix I, No. 3.

⁶ For an account of some of the works on the Tantra by Nāgārjuna, *vide* Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana’s Introduction to the *Sragdharā-stotra* in the “*Bibliotheca Indica*” series. For the latest researches, in the medical works, of Nāgārjuna, see Dr. Palmyr Cordier’s “Introduction A L’Etude des Traités Médicaux Sanscrits”

79. NĀGĀRJUNA'S Mādhyamika-kārikā.
(ABOUT 300 A D).

The middle path doctrine—Madhyama-mārga.

The Mādhyamika-kārikā¹ is the first regular work on the Mādhyamika philosophy.

The doctrine, which permeates this work, is that of the middle path² which is to be comprehended from four aspects, viz (1) in contradistinction to onesidedness, (2) as the abnegation of onesidedness, (3) as unity in plurality, and (4) in the sense of absolute truth

As we cannot conceive of being (existence) independently of non-being (non-existence), it will be taking an onesided view if we are to say that the world *exists* or that it *does not exist*. The middle path furnishes a contrast to this onesidedness by avoiding the two extremes of being and non-being. This is the first aspect of the middle path

Denying the two extremes the middle path reveals itself through a complete harmony between them, that is, it transcends the extremes of being and non-being which are unified. This is the second aspect of the middle path

The middle path, which unifies all particulars, does not lie beyond them. The particulars attain their characters of particularity only through our conception of the unity among them

printed in Hanoi, 1903, and for his hymns such as धर्मधातुलव, निरूपनद्वय etc., vide *Bṣan-hgyur*, *Bṣtod-pa*, vol. *Ka*.

For an account of other works, vide the article "Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet, No. 3," by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series, vol III, No 7, 1907. For the philosophical works of Nāgārjuna, see Bunyiu Nanjo's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Appendix I, no 3.

The Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra or Hetu-vidyā nyāya dvāra śāstra, as noticed in Bunyiu Nanjo's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Nos. 1223, 1224, is not a work of Nāgārjuna but of Dignāga

¹ The Mādhyamika-kārikā with the Vṛtti of Candrar Kīrti has been published by the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta. It has also appeared in the St. Petersburg Buddhist Text Series under the editorship of Professor Louis de La Vallée Poussin. Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's translation of the Kārikās with notes appeared in several numbers of the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta*, 1895-1900.

²

अतो भावाभावकद्वयरहितत्वाद् सर्वस्वभावानुत्पत्तिलक्षणा
शून्यता नध्यमा प्रतिपद् मध्यमोन्माज इत्युच्यते ॥

(Mādhyamikā vṛtti, chap. XXIV, p. 185, Buddhist Text Society's edition, Calcutta).

For an Indian account of the Mādhyamika philosophy or the middle path doctrine, see Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's articles on the subject published in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, 1895-1900. For the Chinese account, see Dr. T Suzuki's article named "the Mādhyamika School in China" published in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, part IV, 1898.

Had there been no unifying principle, the particulars would have ceased to be such. This is the third aspect of the middle path

By "middle path" it is not to be understood that there is something between the two extremes of being and non-being. In fact, we must avoid not only the two extremes, but also the middle.¹ The middle path, which discards all limitations, expresses the human conception of the absolute truth. This is the fourth aspect of the middle path.

The absolute (*śūnyatā* or *void*)² is demonstrated through the assumption of two truths—the conditional (*saṃvṛti*) and the transcendental (*paramārtha*)³. Judged by the transcendental truth no object comes into being or dissolves into non-being. It is from the point of view of the conditional truth alone that we can speak of the existence or non-existence of an object. As a fact no object has a nature or self-existence. Objects come into existence in virtue of certain relations or conditions. Taking a substance and its qualities we find that the latter exist in relation to the former, and the former exists in relation to the latter. So a whole exists in relation to its parts, and the latter exist in relation to the former. Proceeding in this way we find that the world is an aggregate of relations or conditions in virtue of which it revolves like a water-wheel. These conditions being causes of confusion, the whole world is no better than an illusion.

Origination and cessation, persistence and discontinuance, The conditional and the unity and plurality, coming and going—transcendental truth. these are the eight fundamental conceptions of relation or condition.⁴ These conceptions, which are in es-

चार्य समाधिराजे चोक्तं भगवताः —
अस्तीति नास्तीति उभेऽपि सन्ताः ।
शुद्धीति अशुद्धीति इमेऽपि सन्ताः ॥
तस्मादुभेऽन विवर्ष्य चित्वा ।
मध्येऽपि स्थानं न करोति पण्डितः ॥

(Quoted in *Mādhyamikā Vṛtti*, Chap. V, p. 41, Buddhist Text Society's edition, Calcutta).

² *Śūnya-vāda* is called in Tibetan: *ston-pa-ñid*, མྱེང་པ་ཉིད། *Saṃvṛti satya* is called in Tibetan: *Kun-rdsob-bden-pa*, ཀུན་རྫོབ་བདེན་པ། *Paramārtha satya* is called *don-dam-pahi-bden-pa*, དོན་དམ་པ་ཉིད་པ།

Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's article on the "absolute" in Dr. Hastings' Dictionary of Religion, J and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

³
द्वैसत्ये समुपात्तस्य बुद्धानां चर्मादेशना ।
लोकसंघटिसत्यस्य परमार्थतः ॥

(*Mādhyamikāvṛtti*, chap. XXIV, p. 180, Buddhist Text Society's edition, Calcutta).

⁴
अनिरोधमनुत्पाद मनुष्येदमशास्त्रम्
अनेकार्यमनार्थं ममात्मनिर्गमम् ।

sence unreal, give rise to our prejudices and wrong judgments. There nestles in them the principle of unrest and misery, and as people cling to them, their life is an everlasting prey to the pendulous feeling of exultation and mortification.

Where there is conditionality, there is no truth. Truth and conditionality are incompatible. Therefore, to attain truth, conditionality must be completely cast aside. When our mind is purified from the smirch of conditionality, there will come out the serene moon-light of "suchness" (*tathatā*) or transcendental truth (*paramārtha*), otherwise known as the void or absolute (*sūnyatā*).

It may be asked as to whether there is actually a thing called 'suchness,' 'transcendental truth,' or 'the absolute.' The answer will be that the thing which lies beyond conditionality, cannot be expressed in terms of "is" and "is not" or "being" and "non-being." It avoids the two extremes of "being" and "non-being," nay, it unifies both by underlying each of them. This so-called thing (*sūnyatā*) is called *Nirvāṇa*,¹ which is an unconditional condition in which all contradictions are reconciled. Attempts have been made to express this condition by the term "Infinite," "Eternal," "Profound," "Unconditioned," "Absolute" or "Blissful," but in reality no language can give adequate expression to it.²

80. NĀGĀRJUNA'S REFERENCES TO THE LOGICAL DOCTRINES OF AKṢĀPĀDA.

In the *Mādhyamika-kārikā* Nāgārjuna has occasionally referred to certain technical terms of Ancient Technicalities of Logic, such as *punarukta* (repetition) in

यः प्रतीत्य समुत्पादं प्रपञ्चोपशमं शिवं
देक्ष्यामास सम्बुद्धसं वग्दे वदतां वरम् ॥

(*Mādhyamika-sūtra*, chap I).¹

1 न चाभावोऽपि निर्वाणं
कुत श्वास्त्र भावना ।
भावाभाव परामर्श-
स्यो निर्वाण मुच्यते ॥

(*Ratnāvalī* quoted in *Mādhyamikā vṛtti*, p. 194).

2 अनन्तरस्य धर्मस्य श्रुतिः का देशना च का ।
श्रूयते तस्य यदापि समारोपादनन्तरम् ॥

(*Mādhyamikāvṛtti*, chap. V).

chapter II, *siddha-sādhana*¹ (demonstration of what has already been established) in chapter III, and *sādhya-sama* (*petitio principii*) as well as *parihāna* (avoidance) in chapter IV

There is also a criticism of Aksapāda's doctrine of *Pramāṇa* (evidence). Aksapāda says that just as a lamp illumines itself and other objects, so does a *pramāṇa* establish itself as well as other objects. Nāgārjuna opposes him by saying that a lamp cannot illumine itself as there is no darkness in it. If a lamp could remove darkness even without coming in contact with it, why could it not, standing here, remove the darkness of the entire universe?²

91. NĀGĀRJUNA'S VIGRAHA-VYĀVARTANIKĀRIKĀ (ABOUT 300 A D).

Vigraha-vyāvartanikārikā is a work on the Mādhyamika philosophy which eventually criticises the Nyāya-theory of *pramāṇa*, the evidence or means of knowledge, as laid down by Aksapāda. The work, the Sanskrit original of which is lost, is called in Tibetan *Rtsod-pa-bzlog-paḥi tshig-lehur-byas-pa*, signifying memorial verses on quelling disputes. It consists of folios 26—29 of the *Bstan-hgyur Mdo, tsa*. The original Sanskrit text, which had been composed by Ārya Nāgārjuna, was translated into Tibetan by the Indian sage Jñāna-garbha and the Tibetan interpreter Ka-wa-dpal-brtsegs. Subsequently the translation was recast by the Kāśmirian Paṇḍita Jayānanta and the interpreter Khu-mdo-sde-dpal.

¹ The following verse refers to the fallacy of *sādhya-sama*:—

विग्रहे यः परीक्षारं हते शून्यतया वदेत् ।
सर्वं तस्यापरिहृतं समं साध्यम आच्यते ॥

(Mādhyamika-kārikā, chapter IV).

² Aksapāda says:—

न प्रदीप प्रकाशयत् तस्मिन्नेः

(Nyāya sūtra, 2-1-19).

Nāgārjuna says:—

प्रदीप स्वपरात्मनो सम्प्रकाशयिता यथा ।
प्रदीपे नाम्बकारोऽस्ति यच्च चासौ प्रतिष्ठितः ॥
अप्रार्थितं प्रदीपेन यदि वा निहतं तमः ।
रहस्यः सर्वं लोकस्यं स तसौ निवनिश्चति ॥

(Mādhyamika Kārikā, chap. VII, p. 47, Calcutta Buddhist Text Society's edition)

Bunyun Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, no. 1251.

Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, tsa, folios 27—28.

Cf. Prof. H. Ūi's Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, pp. 84—85.

The Chinese version of the Vighraha-vyāvartanī kārīkā is noticed by Banyin Nanjio under the name of Vivāda-Śamana-śāstra. It was translated into Chinese by the sage Vimokṣa-prajña and others in 541 A.D.

In the Vighraha-vyāvartanī kārīkā (as reproduced in Tibetan) Nāgārjuna criticises the validity of *pramāṇa*, the evidence or means of knowledge, as follows:—

If you establish objects through a *pramāṇa*, the *pramāṇa* itself must be established through another *pramāṇa* and that again by a fresh *pramāṇa*, until you commit the fallacy of *regressus ad infinitum*. If, on the other hand, you attempt to establish objects without a *pramāṇa*, your tenet (viz. that objects are established through *pramāṇa*) falls to the ground.

A *Pramāṇa* is not self-established. Had it been so, there would have been a complete cessation of gloom or ignorance. The view that a *pramāṇa* establishes itself as well as other objects, is untenable. A fire, which is cited as an illustration, can illumine other objects by removing darkness which besets them, but it cannot illumine itself inasmuch as a fire never co-abides with darkness.

A *pramāṇa* cannot be so called, if it is totally independent of *prameya* (objects). If, on the other hand a *pramāṇa* is dependent on *prameya* (objects), how can it, having no self-existence, establish the latter? etc., etc.

82. NĀGĀRJUNA'S Pramāṇa-viḥetana OR Pramāṇa-vidhvāṁsana (ABOUT 300 A.D.).

To Nāgārjuna is attributed the composition of a logical treatise called Pramāṇa-viḥetana or Pramāṇa-vidhvāṁsana, which literally signifies "the quelling of *pramāṇa*," and which was in fact a review of the definition of the sixteen categories as given by Akṣapāda. The Sanskrit original of this work is not available. There is however extant the Tibetan version of a commentary on the work called Pramāṇa-viḥetana-ṭeppitaka-vṛtti or Pramāṇa-vidhvāṁsana-sambhāṣita-vṛtti dated probably about 650 A.D. It extends over folios 415—418 of the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, ha. In Tibetan the commentary is called Tshad-ma-rnam par-hjoms-pa mdor-bśad-paṅi-hgrel, which literally signifies "a magic-stick commentary on Pramāṇa-viḥetana, or Pramāṇa-vidhvāṁsana." ¹

¹ Called by P. Cordier in his Tibetan Catalogue as Pramāṇa-vidhvāṁsana-ṭeppitaka-vṛtti.

This work does not perhaps represent the views of Nāgārjuna but refers to those of the commentator.

The commentator, whose name is not mentioned, pays obeisance to Mañju-śrī-kumāra-bhūta and introduces his work as follows:—

To please the learned people, I give an exposition of the vihetana or vidhvamsana [*i.e.* Pramāṇa-vihetana or Pramāṇa-vidhvamsana].¹

Then he observes that the instructions on Nyāya delivered by Nāgārjuna are put together to constitute the present work

He further observes that Nāgārjuna, who bore special marks of greatness, proceeded once for the dissemination of culture to the region of the Nāgas. They exhibited their magical powers which could not overcome him. Beholding his super-human greatness Upendra, king of the Nāgas, offered him his daughter, while the other Nāgas worshipped him in a befitting manner. They took orders and coming to the region of men practised the austerities of monks.

The commentator reproduced Nāgārjuna's definition of the categories which are stated in Tibetan as follows:—

(1) Tshad-ma (*pramāṇa*), (2) gshal-bya (*prameya*), (3) the-tshom (*samśaya*), (4) dgos-pa (*prayojana*), (5) dpe (*dr̥stānta*), (6) grub-paḥi-mthah (*siddhānta*), (7) cha-śas (*avayava*), (8) rtog-ge (*tarka*), (9) gtan-la-phab-pa (*nirṇaya*), (10) smra-wahi-mthah (*vāda*), (11) rtsod-paḥi-mthah (*jalpa*), (12) rnam-par-rtsoḍ-paḥi-mthah (*vitandā*), (13) gtan-tshigs-ltar-snañ-wa (*hetvābhāsa*), (14) tshig-dor (*chala*), (15) ltag-gcod (*jāti*), and (16) tshar-gcod-pa (*nigraha sthāna*).

A syllogism (*cha-śas, avayava*) is shown to consist of three members, *viz.* a proposition, a reason, and an example. It may be put in the affirmative or negative way.²

The reasons³ (*gtan-tshigs, hetu*) may appear in one of the following relations, *viz.* (1) an effect (*hbras-bu, kārya*), (2) an identity (*rnam-bshin, svabhāva*), and (3) non-perception (*mi-dmigs, anupalabdhi*).

An example⁴ (*dpe, dr̥stānta*) is defined as the place in which

¹ མཁས་པ་དགའ་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལྷོར།

རྗེས་པར་འཇོམས་པའི་དོན་བཤད་ཏུ།

(Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, ha, folio 415).

² རྗེས་ཅན་གྱི་རྩམ་པ་དང་གཏན་ཚིགས་དང་དཔེ་དང་བརྒྱབ་ཏུ་དང་ཉིད་གྱིས་ལྡན་པ་དང་། རྗེས་ལྷོ་བ་དང་། ལྷོག་པ་ངེས་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་རྩམ་པ་ལོ།

(Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, ha, folio 417).

³ It is doubtful whether this was the original doctrine of Nāgārjuna. It might be a later development known to the author of the vṛtti.

⁴ དཔེ་ནེས་པ་ནི་གཏན་ཚིགས་གྱི་ལྷོགས་ཀྱིས་པ་དང་འབྲེལ་པ་གཏན་ལ་དབབ་པའི་གཞིར་འདོད་ལ།

(Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, ha, folio 417).

is decisively shown the connection between the reason (middle term) and its universal companion the predicate (major term).

83. *Upāya kausālyā-hṛdaya-śāstra.*
(ABOUT 300 A.D.).

The *Upāya-kausālyā-hṛdaya-śāstra*,¹ the Essence of Skill in the Accomplishment of Action, is stated to be a work on the art of debate by Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna. In Chinese this work is called Fān-pien-sin-lun. It was translated into Chinese by Ci-cia-ye and Thān-yāo in A.D. 472.

Seeing that the Vaiśeṣika and other systems were obscure in their terminology, Nāgārjuna, it is reported, undertook to write this book to give a clear exposition of the art of debate. The book is divided into four chapters styled respectively as (I) an elucidation of debate [*vāda-viśadīkaraṇa*], (II) an explanation of the points of defeat [*nigraha-sthāna*], (III) an explanation of the truths [*tattva-vyākhyāna*], and (IV) the analogue or far-fetched analogy [*jāti*].

(I) The first chapter consists of eight sections which treat respectively of (1) an example (*udāharana*), (2) a tenet, truth or conclusion (*siddhānta*), (3) the excellence of speech (*vākya-prasamsā*), (4) the defect of speech (*vākya-doṣa*), (5) the knowledge of inference (*anumāna* or *hetu-jñāna*), (6) the appropriate or opportune speech (*samayocita-vākya*), (7) the fallacy (*hetvābhāsa*), and (8) the adoption of a fallacious reason (*duṣṭa-vākyaṅgusaraṇa*).

(1) The *example* is necessary to clear the reasons of a disputant and his respondent. It is of two kinds: (1) the affirmative or homogeneous example (*anvayī udāharana*), and (2) the negative or heterogeneous example (*vyatirekī udāharana*).

(2) The *tenet, truth or conclusion* is of four kinds, *viz.* (1) that accepted by all the schools (*sarvatantra siddhānta*), (2) that accepted by a particular school (*pratitantra siddhānta*), (3) that accepted hypothetically (*adhikaraṇa siddhānta*), and (4) that which is implied or accepted on assumption (*abhy-upagama siddhānta*).

The means, by which the tenets, truths or conclusions are established, are called *pramāṇas* (the sources of valid knowledge) which are of four kinds, *viz.* perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), comparison (*upamāna*), and scripture (*āgama*).

¹ This definition is criticised by Uddyotakara in his *Vārtika* on *Nyāya-sūtra*, 1-1-37.

² Some suspect that the work was not composed by Nāgārjuna whose name, though mentioned by some Chinese editors, does not appear in the Chinese version. In the absence of any introduction to the Chinese version we cannot deny altogether the authorship of Nāgārjuna. *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, no. 1257.

- (3) A *speech is said to be excellent* if its words are neither inadequate nor redundant, and its reason and example well expressed.
- (4) A *speech is said to be defective* if its words are inadequate, or redundant, or if it employs the same word to convey different meanings or different words to convey the same meaning.
- (5) The *inference* is of three kinds, viz. (1) *a priori* (*pūrvavat*), (2) *ā posteriori* (*śeṣavat*), and (3) *commonly, seen* (*sāmānyato dṛṣṭa*). The respective examples are: on seeing a cloud one infers that there will be rain; on seeing a swollen river one infers that there was rain; and on seeing a man move from one place to another, one infers that the sun, who rises in the east and sets in the west, must have moved.
- (6) The *appropriate or opportune speech* consists in its being pertinent to the subject and occasion, e.g. in the discussion as to whether there will be rain to-morrow, one may appropriately speak of the condition of the sky of the previous day.
- (7) The *fallacies* signify reasons which are derived from an imperfect perception, inference, or comparison, or which deviate from the scripture. There are various kinds of fallacies designated respectively as follows:—
- (a) The *quibble in respect of a term* (*vāk-chala*), e.g. a man pretends to use the term *nava-kambala* in the sense of nine blankets while he really means a new blanket.
- (b) The *erratic reason or undistributed middle term* (*savyabhicāra*), e.g. to say that all external things are non-eternal is to employ an erratic reason, because the sky is an external thing which is eternal.
- (c) *Balancing the doubt or false assumption* (*saiṁśaya-sama*), e.g. there is doubt as to a certain tall object being a post or a man, and yet if we proceed to act on the assumption that it is a man, we commit the fallacy of false assumption.
- (d) The *mistimed* (*kālātīta*), e.g. we attempt to prove the eternity of the Veda on the ground that sound is eternal, when no proof has been given for the eternity of sound.
- (e) *Balancing the point in dispute or begging the question* (*prakaraṇasama*), e.g. the soul is eternal, because it is distinct from the body [It is a matter of dispute if a thing which is distinct from the body is eternal or not].
- (f) *Balancing the predicate* (*sādhya-sama*), e.g. the sky is eternal, because it is intangible.
- (g) *Showing absurdity* (*vyūghāta-pradarśana*), e.g. the five objects are non-eternal, because they are apprehended by the senses: the four elements being also so apprehended are non-eternal. If you say so it will follow that a tortoise possesses hair and salt possesses smell, because they are apprehended by the mind: this is absurd.
- (h) The *contradictory* (*viruddha*)—either in respect of the example or in respect of the conclusion.

(8) The *adoption of a fallacious reason*—If in the course of one's argument one commits fallacies, one will be thrown into difficulties and disgrace.

(II) "The points of defeat" are the following:—

(1) The unintelligible (*aviññātārtha*), (2) non-ingenuity (*apratibhā*), (3) silence (*ananubhāsana*), (4) saying too little (*nyūna*), (5) saying too much (*adhika*), (6) the meaningless (*nirarthaka*), (7) the inopportune (*aprāptakāla*), (8) the incoherent (*apārthaka*), (9) hurting the proposition (*pratijñā-hāni*).

(III) "An explanation of the truths" deals mainly with the admission of an opinion (*matānujñā*).

(IV) The "analogue" or far-fetched analogy is of various kinds as follows:—

(1) Balancing an excess (*utkarṣa-samā*), (2) balancing a deficit (*apakarṣa-samā*), (3) balancing the unquestionable (*avarnya-samā*), (4) balancing the non-reason (*ahetu-samā*), (5) balancing the co-presence (*prāpti-samā*), (6) balancing the mutual absence (*aprāpti-samā*), (7) balancing the doubt (*sarṁsaya-samā*), and (8) balancing the counter-example (*pratidṛṣṭānta-samā*).

84. ĀRYA DEVA (ABOUT 320 A.D.).

Deva,¹ or rather Ārya Deva, was the next writer on the *Mādhyamika* philosophy. He is otherwise known as Karṣaripa, Kāṇa Deva, Nīla-netra and Piṅgala-netra. He was born in Southern India and was an eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna. According to Hwen-thsang,² he visited the countries of Mahākośala, Srughṇa, Prayāga, Coḷa and Vaiśālī, in all of which he won great renown by defeating the Tirthikas and preaching the true doctrines of Buddha. According to Lama Tārānātha,³ Deva resided for a long time in Nālandā, where he was a Paṇḍita. He flourished during the reign of Candra Gupta, whose date is supposed to be about 320 A.D.⁴ The latest date that can be assigned to Deva is 401 A.D.,⁵ when his biography was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. He wrote numerous works on the *Mādhyamika* philosophy, such as the *Śataka śāstra*, *Bhrama-prama-*

¹ Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix I, No. 4; and Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. I, p. 221, vol. II, pp. 225—226.

² Vide Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, vol. I, Book IV, pp. 186—190, Book V, p. 231; vol. II, Book X, pp. 210, 227, Book XII, p. 302, Book VIII, pp. 98—102.

³ Vide Lama Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, pp. 83—86 and 93.

⁴ Vide Nāgārjuna. Cf. Dr. Jacobi's "Dates of philosophical sūtras," J.A.O.S. for 1911, p. 2.

⁵ Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix I, No. 4—

thana-yukti-hetu-siddhi,¹ etc., all of which bear evidences of his knowledge of Logic

85 MAITREYA
(ABOUT 400 A D.).

Maitreya,² or rather Maitreya-nātha, who was an eminent teacher of the Yogācāra School, was called His life and age. in Chinese 'Mirok' and in Tibetan 'Byams-pahi-mgon-pa.' He was the author of several works such as the Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa which was translated into Chinese during 414—421 A.D., the Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra-yogācārya which was translated into Chinese in 646—647 A.D., and the Abhisamayā-lankāra-kārikā which was translated into Tibetan during 1059—1109 A.D. Maitreya, who lived 900 years after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, that is, about 400 A.D.,³ is reported by Hwen-thsang to have communicated the materials of three Buddhist treatises to Ārya Asaṅga while the latter was residing in a monastery in Ayodhyā.⁴

86 MAITREYA'S Abhisamayā-lankāra-kārikā.⁵

Maitreya strongly supported the doctrines of momentariness (*kṣaṇika-vāda*) and voidness (*sūnya-vāda*). Doctrines of Momentariness and Voidness. This is evident from the Abhisamayā-lankāra kārikā in which he says that when we attain perfect wisdom our thought neither precedes nor follows it, just as a lamp which removes darkness neither precedes nor follows the same. Profound indeed are the eight characters of objects.⁶ Profound is the origination of an object, and so are its

¹ Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet No. 3" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, new series, vol. III, No. 7, 1907.

² Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, Appendix I, no. 1; Dr. P. Cordier's Tibetan Catalogue, p. 273.

³ Vide "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan," by Dr. Sugiura, p. 30.

⁴ Vide Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," Vol. I, pp. 355—56. The three treatises are:—

Saptadaśa-bhūmi-śāstra-yogācārya, Sūtrā-lankāra-ṭikā, and Madhyāntavibhāga-śāstra.

⁵ The Abhisamayā-lankāra-kārikā, a Sanskrit text of which is available in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, was translated into Tibetan by Paṇḍita Amara Gomin and the interpreter Blo-ldan-śes-rab during 1059—1109 A.D. It extends over folios 1—14 of the *Bstan-hgyur*, Mdo, ka. The author of the work is named in Sanskrit as Maitreyanātha and in Tibetan as Byams-pahi-mgon-pa.

⁶

पूर्वोच्य बोधिधौरत्ता मनसा पश्चिमेन वा ।

दोषदहान्तयोगेन गम्भीरा धर्मात्मिका ॥

अथान्ते कश्चिदेवै कश्चिद्व्यस्यत्तं गच्छति ॥

cessation and suchness. The knowable, knowledge, action, means and expedients are all profound. Inasmuch as the objects partake of the character of a dream, there is no reality underlying our existence and its emancipation

Taking one's stand on the dreamy character of objects, one while practising charity, etc., realizes that these are void. One perceives in a moment that a dream and a seer of the dream are not connected but are non-dual in their essence.¹

The knowledge of objects and their connection and separation, is momentary.²

87. MAITREYA'S TREATISE ON the Art of Debate.

In the 15th volume of Maitreya's *Saptadaśa-bhūmi-sāstra-yogācārya*³ there is a treatise on the art of debate. It consists of seven chapters styled respectively as follows:—

1. *The subject of debate.*

In beginning a debate on a subject, we must first see that the subject is a useful one. A useless subject
Subjects of the treatise. should be abandoned.

2. *The place of debate.*

Debate should not be entered upon in any and every place. It should be carried on in the presence of scholars, in the palace of a king or the office of a minister or in a council (*pariṣad*).

ज्ञेयज्ञाने च चर्याया मद्रयोपाय हीमले ।
सङ्गोपमत्वाद् धर्माणां व्यवहारकस्यना ॥

(*Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā*, Chap. IV, p. 22, MSS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

1

सङ्गोपमेषु धर्मेषु सिद्धिना दानादिचर्याया ।
अलक्षणत्वं धर्माणां क्षणेनैकेन विवृति ॥
सङ्गन्तर्हिर्मन्त्रैव द्वययोगेन नेहते ।
धर्माणामद्रयमन्त्रं क्षणेनैकेन पश्यति ॥

(*Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā*, Chap. VII, p. 28, MSS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

2

धर्मज्ञानान्वयज्ञान क्षान्तिज्ञान क्षयात्प्रकः ।

(*Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā*, Chap. III, p. 14, MSS. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal).

³ It is perhaps this work which is called *yoga* by Dr. Sugiura; *vide* its Chinese version Yuka Ron, Book XV.

3. *The means of debate.*

The thesis (*sādhya* or that which is to be established) is of two kinds, *viz.* (1) that concerning one's self (*ātma-sambandha*) and (2) that concerning others (*para-sambandha*). The proof (or that which helps in establishing the thesis) may be of eight kinds as follows —

- (1) A proposition, tenet or conclusion (*siddhānta*), (2) reason (*hetu*), (3) example (*udāharana*), (4) the affirmative example (*sādharmya*), (5) the negative example (*vaidharmya*), (6) perception (*pratyakṣa*), (7) inference (*anumāna*), and (8) scripture (*āgama*)

4. *The qualifications of a debater.*

- (a) The debaters must be versed in each other's scriptures
- (b) They must not under any circumstances, use sordid or disrespectful language. In addressing each other they should employ words of dignity.
- (c) They must remain fearless
- (d) They must speak continuously without any break, and must be intelligible to the entire audience
- (e) They must speak in harmony—sometimes slowly and sometimes aloud—to please the audience.

5. *Points of defeat (nigrahasthāna).*

- (a) If a debater at first opposes an assertion and afterwards speaks in agreement with it, he is defeated
- (b) If a debater being unable to defend the subject which he has been discussing introduces another subject, he is defeated
- (c) If a debater talks irrelevantly (*atīta-vākya*), he is defeated

6. *Attending a place of debate.*

- (a) A person, in proceeding to a place of debate, should consider whether the debate will be of any benefit to him.
- (b) He should, before proceeding there, consider whether the debate will exercise any good influence on the debater, the opponent, the umpire, and the audience.
- (c) He should consider whether the debater and his opponent are persons worthy of carrying on debate through the process of a proposition (*siddhānta*), a reason (*hetu*), an example (*udāharana*), etc

7. *Confidence of a Debater.*

The debater should appear to the audience in such a way that he is, as it were, sure to gain victory. He should be understood by them to be one who knows the scripture of both the parties, who is self-possessed and full of enthusiasm, and who can speak without a break.

It is evident from the titles of the chapters just mentioned that Maitreya mainly discussed the practical questions of Logic. But occasionally there was mixed with the discussions some Pure Logic also. A thesis [*pratiññā*], according to Maitreya, is to be supported by a reason [*hetu*] and two examples [*drstānta*]. Validity of the reason and of the examples requires that they be based either (1) on fact or perception [*pratyakṣa*], (2) on inference [*anumāna*], or (3) on holy saying [*āgama*]. Analogy or Comparison [*upamāna*] is omitted. The form of his reasoning is illustrated as follows:—

- (1) Sound is non-eternal,
- (2) Because it is a product,
- (3) Like a pot but not like ether [*ākāśa*].
- (4) A product like a pot is non-eternal.
- (5) Whereas, an eternal thing like ether is not a product.¹

88. ĀRYA ASANĠA
(ABOUT 405—470 A.D.).

AsanĠa.² called in Chinese Mucak and in Tibetan Thogs-med, was born in Gāndhāra (modern Peshwar). His life He was at first an adherent of the Mahīśāsaka³ sect and followed the *Vaiśhāsika* philosophy of the *Hīnayāna*. Later on he became a disciple of Maitreya and adopted the *Yogācāra* philosophy of the *Mahāyāna*. He is said to have lived for some years as a paṇḍita in Nālandā⁴. He lived about 450 A.D.⁵ The latest date that can be assigned to him is 531 A.D.,⁶ when one of his works, called the *Mahāyāna-samparigrahaśāstra*, was translated into Chinese. Hwen-thsang in the 7th century A.D. saw the ruins of *Saṅghārāmas* in Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā, where AsanĠa resided for some years.⁷ He wrote 12 works, most of which still exist in Chinese and Tibetan versions.⁸

A short summary of the Logic of AsanĠa is found in the 11th volume of *Prakaranārya vācāśāstra*⁹ and His logical views. 7th and 16th volumes of *Mahāyānābhīdharma-samyukta-saṅgīti-śāstra*. The first work called in Chinese

¹ Vide "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan," p. 30.

² Vide Hwen-thsang's *Travel in Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, pp. 98, 227 and 236.

³ Vide Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," Vol. I, p. 357.

⁴ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. 122.

⁵ AsanĠa is approximately placed at 450 A.D. as he was the eldest brother of Vasubandhu (q. v.) who lived about 480 A.D.

⁶ Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Appendix I, No. 5.

⁷ See Beal's *Buddhist Records*, Vol. I, pp. 98, 227, 236.

⁸ Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Appendix I, No. 5.

⁹ Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Nos. 1177, 1178.

Hhien-yān-shān-ciāo-lun (signifying 'a śāstra on expounding the holy teaching') was composed by Bodhisattva Asanga. It was translated into Chinese by Hwen-thsang (Yuan chwang) of the Thān dynasty in A.D. 645—646. The second work called in Chinese Tā-shan ō-phi-tā-mo-tsā-tsi-lun was compiled by Bodhisattva Sthitamati. It was translated into Chinese by Hwen-thsang of the Thān dynasty in A.D. 646.

In logical views Asanga follows Maitreya except in respect of the theory of proof (*sādhaka* or that which helps in establishing a thesis). A proof is subdivided by Asanga as follows: (1) A proposition (*pratijñā*), (2) a reason (*hetu*), (3) an example (*udāharana*), (4) an application (*upanaya*), (5) a conclusion (*nigamana*), (6) perception (*pratyakṣa*), (7) comparison (*upamāna*), and (8) scripture (*āgama*).

The first five subdivisions constitute what is called an inference (*anumāna*).

Asaṅga's form of reasoning, which is somewhat different from Maitreya's, is given below:—

- (1) Sound is non-eternal,
- (2) Because it is a product.
- (3) Like a pot (but not like ether),
- (4) Because a pot is a product it is non-eternal; so is sound, as it is a product:
- (5) Therefore we know sound is non-eternal.

89. VASUBANDHU (ABOUT 410—490 A.D.).

Vasubandhu,¹ called in Chinese Seish and in Tibetan Dwyig-gñen, was born in Gāndhāra (modern Peshwar), where a tablet to his memory was seen by Hwen-thsang in the 7th century A.D. His father's name was Kauśika. He began his career as a *Vaibhāṣika* philosopher of the Sarvāstivāda sect, but was later converted by his eldest brother Asaṅga to the *Yogācāra* school of the *Mahāyāna*. He passed many years of his life in Śākala, Kauśāmbī and Ayodhyā, in the last of which places he died at the age of eighty years. He was a friend of Manoratha, a master of the *Vaibhāṣika* Śāstra, who flourished in the middle of the thousand years after the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha, that is before 500 A.D. He was a contemporary of another *Vaibhāṣika* teacher, named Saṅghabhadra, who lived about 489 A.D.²

¹ Vide Hwen-thsang's Travel in Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, pp. 98, 105, 172, 193, 225, 236; and Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," Vol. I, p. 210.

² Saṅghabhadra translated *Vibhāṣā-vinaya* into Chinese in 489 A.D. Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix II, No. 95.

Vāmana,¹ who lived at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century A.D., quotes a verse alluding to Vasubandhu as a counsellor (possibly of Kumāra Gupta during 413—455 A.D.). A biography² of Vasubandhu was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese during 557—569 A.D. Paramārtha,³ the translator of the biography (499—569 A.D.), tells us that Vasubandhu, who was patronised by Vikramāditya (possibly Skanda Gupta), died at the age of eighty years during the reign of Bālāditya Narasimha Gupta (485—490 A.D.). He was therefore a contemporary of Kumāra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, Pura Gupta and Bālāditya (from about 410 A.D. to about 490 A.D.).

Vasubandhu was the author of a large number of very valuable works,⁴ some of which are available in Sanskrit and the rest in Chinese and Tibetan translations

In the 7th century A.D. while Hwen-thsang was travelling in India, he saw three works on the art of debate attributed to Vasubandhu.⁵ The Sanskrit originals of these works as well as their Chinese versions are now lost. The works were styled in Chinese as (1) Ronki (*Vāda-vidhi*—the method of debate), (2) Ronshiki (*Vāda-mārga*—the course of debate), and (3) Ronshin (*Vāda-kauśala*—the expedients of debate).

90. VASUBANDHU'S Tarka-Śāstra

Besides these three works, there was a treatise on Logic called

Mr. Takakusu, in a very learned article called "Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu and the date of Vasubandhu" published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January 1905, says that Sanghabhadda, contemporary of Vasubandhu, was the translator of the Samantapāsādikā of Buddhaghosa into Chinese in 488 A.D.

सामिप्रायत्नं यथा, —

सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्तनयचन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा ।

आतो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिव्यं कृतार्थयत्नम् ॥

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यत्र च सुबन्धु सामिप्रयत्नपरत्वात् सामिप्रयत्नम् ।

(Kāvya-lāṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti, 3-2-2, p. 85, Benares Sanskrit series).

² Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, No. 1463 and Appendix I, No. 6. The statement that there was an older translation of the life of Vasubandhu by Kumārajīva A.D. 401—409, but that it was lost in 730 A.D., cannot be accepted without further testimony. Takakusu says that "some catalogues mention by mistake that such a work was then in existence": vide Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, January 1905, p. 39.

³ Vide Takakusu in J.R.A.S. 1905, pp. 33—53; Prof. K. B. Pathak in Indian Antiquary, pp. 170—171, for June 1911; V. A. Smith's Early History of India, pp. 293 and 327 (3rd edition); and Dr. Hoernle's correspondence in the Indian Antiquary for September 1911, p. 264.

⁴ Vide Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix I, No. 6.

⁵ Vide Dr. Sugiura's "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan," p. 32.

Tarka-śāstra¹ composed by Vasubandhu. There exists a Chinese

version of this work called Zu-shih lun. An analysis of the Tarka-śāstra. The Chinese version was prepared by

Paramārtha of the Chan dynasty in A.D. 550. The Tarka-śāstra consists of three chapters dealing respectively with (1) the five parts of a syllogism (*pañcāvayava*), (2) the analogous rejoinder (*jāti*), and (3) the points of defeat (*nigraha-sthāna*).

In chapter I. Vasubandhu treats of a proposition (*pratijñā*), a reason (*hetu*), an example (*udāharaṇa*), an application (*upanaya*), and a conclusion (*nigamana*), which constitute the five parts of a syllogism.

Though according to the Tarka-śāstra a syllogism consisted of five parts, in the Ronki, quoted by Kwei-ke, Vasubandhu maintained that a thesis could be proved by two parts only, viz. a proposition and a reason, and that, therefore, the necessary terms in a syllogistic inference were only three, viz. the minor term (*pakṣa*), the major term (*sādhya*), and the middle term (*hetu*).²

In chapter II there is an account of the Analogous Rejoinder (*jāti*) which is subdivided under three heads as follows :—

A. A rejoinder on the basis of reversion (*viparyaya-khaṇḍana*) which consists of (1) balancing the homogeneity (*sādharmya-samā*), (2) balancing the heterogeneity (*vaidharmya-samā*), (3) balancing the thesis (*sādhya-samā*), (4) balancing the unquestionable (*avarṇya-samā*), (5) balancing the mutual absence (*aprāpti-samā*), (6) balancing the non-reason (*ahetu-samā*), (7) balancing the demonstration (*upapatti-samā*), (8) balancing the doubt (*saṁśaya-samā*), (9) balancing the non-difference (*aviśeṣa-samā*), and (10) balancing the effect (*kārya-samā*).

B. A rejoinder on the ground of meaninglessness (*nirārtha-khaṇḍana*) which consists of (11) balancing the point in dispute (*prakaraṇa-samā*), (12) balancing the counter-example (*pratidṛṣṭānta-samā*), and (13) balancing the infinite regression (*prasaṅga-samā*).

C. A contrary rejoinder (*viparīta-khaṇḍana*), which consists of (14) balancing the non-produced (*anutpatti-samā*), (15) balanc-

¹ Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, No. 1252.

² The Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara probably refers to Vasubandhu, when he says that according to some logicians *antarvyāpti* (internal inseparable connection) consisting of *pakṣa* or minor term, *sādhya* or major term and *hetu* or middle term, is quite enough in establishing a thesis, and that *dṛṣṭānta* or example is altogether useless. Siddhasena Divākara writes :—

अकार्यमित्येव साध्यस्य सिद्धेर्विषयदाहृतिः ।

अथवा व्यापकसङ्घातेऽप्येवं न्यायविरो विदुः ॥ १० ॥

(Nyāyāvātāra of Siddha-sena Divākara, edited by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana and published by the Indian Research Society of Calcutta).

ing the eternal (*nitya-samā*), and (16) balancing the presumption (*arthāpatti-samū*)

Chapter III deals with twenty-two kinds of points of defeat (*nigraha-sthāna*) enumerated below:—

(1) Hurting the proposition (*pratijñā-hāni*) (2) shifting the proposition (*pratijñāntara*), (3) opposing the proposition (*pratijñā-virodha*), (4) renouncing the proposition (*pratijñā-samnyāsa*), (5) shifting the reason (*hetvantara*), (6) shifting the topic (*arthāntara*), (7) the meaningless (*nirarthaka*), (8) the unintelligible (*avijñātārtha*), (9) the incoherent (*āpārthaka*), (10) the inopportune (*aprapta-kāla*) (11) saying too little (*nyūnatā*), (12) saying too much (*adhika*) (13) repetition (*punarukta*), (14) silence (*anānu-bhāṣaṇa*), (15) ignorance (*ajñāna*), (16) non-ingenuity (*apratibhā*), (17) evasion (*vikṣepa*), (18) admission of an opinion (*matānujñā*), (19) overlooking the censurable (*paryānuyojyapekṣaṇa*), (20) censuring the non-censurable (*niranuyojyānuyoḡa*) (21) deviating from a tenet (*apasiddhānta*), and (22) the semblance of a reason or fallacy (*heivābhāsa*)

It is to be regretted that neither the Ronki nor its Sanskrit original is available. Vasubandhu seems, however, to have used two forms of syllogism, viz a syllogism of five parts at the time of a debate and a syllogism of two parts on an ordinary occasion. The two forms are exhibited below:—

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| A syllogism of five parts. | (1) Sound is non-eternal. |
| | (2) Because it is a product. |
| | (3) Products are non-eternal like a pot, which is a product and is non-eternal, |
| | (4) Sound is an instance of a product. |
| | (5) Therefore sound is non-eternal. |
| A syllogism of two parts. | (1) Sound is non-eternal. |
| | (2) Because it is a product. |

CHAPTER III.

Systematic Buddhist Writers on Logic.

91. THE COMMENCEMENT OF MEDIÆVAL LOGIC (450—1200 A.D.).

In the previous chapter we have seen that from the origin of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C. to its expansion into four philosophical schools in the 4th century A.D., there were no systematic Buddhist works on Logic, but only a few stray references to that science in the works on philosophy and religion. Nāgārjuna, about 300 A.D., wrote a tract on Logic which was a mere review of the common topics of the Ancient School of Brāhmaṇic Logic. During 400—500 A.D., Maitreya, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu handled Logic, but their treatment of it was merely incidental, being 'mixed up with the problems of the *Yogācāra* and *Vaiḥāsika* schools of philosophy. Vasubandhu's three works¹ on Pure Logic mentioned by Hwen-thsang are now lost and consequently their merits cannot be judged. With 450 A.D. began a period when Logic was completely differentiated from general philosophy, and a large number of Buddhist writers gave their undivided attention to that branch of learning. The works brought out by these writers, along with those brought out by the Jainas, constitute the Mediæval School of Indian Logic. Dignāga is the earliest known writer of this school.

92. ĀCĀRYA DIGNĀGA—FATHER OF MEDIÆVAL LOGIC (CIRCA 450—520 A.D.).

A portrait of Dignāga.

Dignāga is justly regarded as the Father of Mediæval Logic. Both in matter and in manner his works marked a distinct departure from those of his predecessors. The keenness of his insight and the soundness of his critical acumen combined to stamp him with an individuality all his own. No praise seems too high for him. Indeed he may fittingly be styled as the first and last of Indian logicians. His likeness recovered from Tibet is reproduced below.

The likeness of Dignāga reproduced here is taken from the Tibetan *Bḡtan-ḡgyur* (*ḡdo, Ce, folio 1*) which was put in its present form by the celebrated Lama Bu-ḡton, who passed the last days of his life at the monastery of Sha-lu, twelve miles south-east of Tash-lhun-po. Bu-ḡton, who lived at the close of the thirteenth

¹ *Vide* Book II, Chapter I, under the head "Vasubandhu"

century A.D., must have copied the likeness from some earlier specimen, which was taken to Tibet during her intercourse with India between 600 A.D. and 1200 A.D.

A peculiarity of this likeness is its cap. In the early Buddhist Church monks were not allowed to wear any head-dress (*vide* the Pātimokkha rules of the Vinaya Pitaka). With the introduction of Mahāyāna in the first century A.D. by Kaniska, a great change was effected in the dress of monks, and caps of various shapes were invented. The hat worn here is called Panchen-shwa-gmar¹ or "Pandita's red cap," with a pointed peak and long lappets. The lappets of the cap were lengthened in proportion to the rank of the wearer.

It is not known when the "Pandita's cap" was first introduced. It is said to have been taken to Tibet in 749 A.D. by Sānta Rakṣita. "Pandita" was a degree which was conferred by the Vikramaśilā University on its successful candidates. It is not known what title the University of Nālandā conferred on its distinguished



བུ་ལྷན་འགྲུབ་མདོ་ཅི་གཞིག།
 ལྷོ་བ་དཔོན་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱེད་ལ་ལོ།།

¹ *Vide* Waddell's Lamaism, pp. 194–196.

students. Perhaps in that University, too, the title "Pandita" was recognized and "Pandita's cap" was possibly a distinctive badge of the scholars of that famous University where Dignāga distinguished himself in philosophical controversies.

The woollen shawl in the figure is indicative of the fact that after Buddhism had spread into cold climes, monks like Brāhmanic sages were allowed to put on suitable warm clothes. There is also in the palms of the image a thunderbolt called in Sanskrit *Vajra* and in Tibetan *Ṛdoṃje*, which is a remover of all evils. The halo round the head of the image indicates that Dignāga was a saint.

93. LIFE OF DIGNĀGA.

Dignāga, or rather Ācārya Dignāga, is called in Tibetan Phyogs-glan. He¹ was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Simhavaktra near Kāñcī, modern Conjeeveram in the Madras Presidency. By Nāgadatta, a Paṇḍita of the Vātsīputriya sect, he was admitted to the religious system of that sect and attained erudition in the *Tripitaka* of the *Hīnayāna*. Afterwards he became a disciple of Ācārya Vasubandhu with whom he studied all the Piṭakas of the *Mahāyāna* and *Hīnayāna*. He miraculously saw the face of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of learning, from whom he received inspiration in the Law (Dharma). A few years later he was invited to Nālandā where he defeated Brāhmaṇa Sudurjaya and other Tirtha dialecticians and won them to the doctrine of Buddha. Since he had refuted chiefly the Tirtha controversialists he was called a "Fighting Bull" or a "Bull in discussion" (Sanskrit: *Tarka-puṅgava*, and Tibetan: *Ṛtsod-paḥi-khyu-mchog*). He travelled through Orissa and Mahārāṣṭra to the south, meeting the Tirtha controversialists in discussions. In Mahārāṣṭra he is said to have resided frequently in the Ācāra's Monastery.² In Orissa he converted Bhadra Pālita, Treasury-minister of the King of the country, to Buddhism. He was a man of vast learning and wisdom, and practised during his life-time twelve tested virtues. He lived a considerable part of his life in Andhra (Telingana) in the Madras Presidency. He is said to have died in a solitary wood in Orissa.

Dignāga must have lived before 557—569 A.D.³ when two of

¹ Vide Lama Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 130—135. Lama Tārānātha also relates that Dignāga frequently resided in Orissa in a cavern of a mountain called Bhoraśilā where he used to give himself up to contemplation. He was specially versed in incantation formulas. It is stated that the stem of a myrobalan tree called Muṣṭiharitakī in the garden of Bhadra Pālita in Orissa entirely withered, but it revived in seven days after Dignāga had uttered an incantation for its restoration. For a fuller account of Dignāga vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "Dignāga and his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, No. 9, 1905.

² Vide Watters' *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 122.

³ Vide Bynyiou Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, App 1, No. 10, where Dignāga is called Jina. The Chinese name of Dignāga has been wrongly rendered as Jina by Japanese writers as well as by the Rev. Mr. Beal.

his works were translated into Chinese. The early limit of his date is 430 A.D. when his teacher Vasubandhu lived. Dignāga flourished possibly about 500 A.D. when the Buddhist kings of the Pallava¹ dynasty ruled the eastern coast of Southern India.

We have already seen that Dignāga travelled in Nālandā, Orissa, Mahārāṣṭra and Dakṣiṇa (Madras), entering everywhere into disputes with controversialists. He attacked his opponents as frequently as he was attacked by them. His whole life was passed in giving blows and receiving counter-blows. Even his death did not terminate the great intellectual war in which he had been engaged: though he could no longer offer any violence, his opponents continued to fall upon him with force. Mark the volleys on his dead body coming from no mean warriors! Kālidāsa,² the prince of poets, warns his poem to avoid the "rugged hand" (*śihūla-hasta*) of Dignāga. Uddyotakara,³ the eminent logician, calls Dignāga "a quibbler" (*Kutārṅkika*). Vācaspati Miśra⁴ describes him as "an erring one" (*bhrānta*) and speaks of his "blunders" (*bhrānti*). Mallinātha⁵ compares him with a "rock" (*adri-kalpa*). Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Pārtha-sārathi Miśra⁶ turn their arrows against him. The Vedāntins and Jainas⁷ were not in-

¹ On the downfall of the Andhras in 436 A.D., the Pallavas rose to power. They were in their turn driven out of their northern possessions, the kingdom of Vengi, by Kubja Viṣnuvardhana of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. During 552—589 A.D., Kāñci, the capital of the Pallava kings, was captured by Vikramāditya I. of the Western Chalukya dynasty. *Vide* Sewell's Lists of Antiquities, Madras, Vol. II, pp. 141, 146, 148, 149 and 211, 212

² *Vide* Meghadūta, Pūrva-megha, verse 14.

³ यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां
शमाय शस्त्रं जगती जगाद् ।
कुताकिंकाशाननिवृत्तिहेतुः
करिष्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः ॥

Uddyotakara's Nyāya-vārtika, Introductory stanza, p. 1, in the Bibliotheca Indica series. Compare also Nyāya-vārtika, 1-1-4, pp. 43—44; 1-1-5, p. 52; 1-1-6, pp. 60—61; 1-1-7, p. 63, etc.

⁴ *Vide* Vācaspati Miśra's Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-tīkā, edited by Gangadhara Sastri, 1-1-1, pp. 1, 31; 1-1-4, pp. 76—77, 97—98, 102; 1-1-5, p. 102; 1-1-6, p. 135, etc.

⁵ Mallinātha's commentary on verse 14 of the Meghadūta, Pūrva-megha.

⁶ *Vide* Pārtha-sārathi's gloss on verses 59—60, Anumānapariccheda of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's vārtika on the 5th Sūtra of Jaimini

⁷ *Vide* the works of Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda referred to in the J.B.B. R.A.S., Vol. XVIII, p. 229. The Digambara Jaina logician Dharma-bhūṣana, in controverting the Vaiśeṣika doctrine of *Sāmānya*, generality, quotes in support of his own conclusion the following verse of Dignāga:—

न याति न च तत्रास्ते न पश्चादस्ति नाश्वत् ।

अस्ति पूर्वं नाधारमस्ती व्यसनसक्तति ॥

इति दिग्नामद्वेषितदूषणगणप्रसरप्रसङ्गात्

(Quoted in Dharmabhūṣana's Nyāya-dīpikā, Chapter III)

active in their hostility. Even Dharmakīrti,¹ a Buddhist sage, attempted to oppose him. Dignāga must have been a very strongly built man, both physically and mentally, otherwise he could hardly have lived for a single day under assaults from so many sides. Those of his works which still exist enable us to measure, to some extent, his strength and his weakness.

94. DIGNĀGA'S Pramāṇa-samuccaya.²

The Pramāṇa-samuccaya is one of the grandest literary monuments of Dignāga. It is said to have been composed while he was residing on a solitary hill near Veṅgi in Andhra³ (modern Telingāna) in the Madras Presidency. Seeing that the Śāstras on Dialectics written earlier by him remained scattered about, he resolved to collect them. Accordingly, putting together fragments from particular works, he engaged himself in compiling in verse a compendium called the Pramāṇa-samuccaya. While he was writing the opening lines, the earth trembled and all the places

were filled with light and a great tumult was audible. A Brāhmaṇa named Īśvara-kṛṣṇa⁴ surprised at this wonder came to

Dignāga and Īśvara-kṛṣṇa.

The same verse has been quoted in a little altered form by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya as follows :—

न याति न च तत्रासीदस्मि पश्चान्न चामवत् ।

अस्मिन् पूर्व्वं नाधारमहो बसन्सम्पत्तिः ॥

(Sarvadarśana saṅgraha, chapter on Bauddhadarśana).

¹ Vide the head "Dharmakīrti" which follows.

² For an account of the composition of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya vide Lama Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, pp. 13, 133; and the Tibetan Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzān edited by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., pp. 62, 75, 100 and LXVII.

³ Vide Hwen-thsang's Travel in Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, pp. 218, 219 and 220, where the Chinese term for Dignāga is wrongly rendered as Jina. Hwen-thsang gives the following account of the composition of the Pramāṇa-samuccaya :—“When Dignāga began to compose a useful compendium [presumably the Pramāṇa-samuccaya] for overcoming the difficulties of the Hetuvidyā-śāstra, the mountains and valleys shook and reverberated; the vapour and clouds changed their appearance, and the spirit of the mountain appeared before him, asking him to spread abroad the śāstra (Hetuvidyā). Then the Bodhisattva (Dignāga) caused a bright light to shine and illumine the dark places. Surprised at this wonder, the king of the country (Andhra) came near him and asked whether he was entering into *nirvāna*. When the king spoke of the infinite bliss of *nirvāna* Dignāga resolved to enter into it. Mañjuśrī, the god of learning, knowing his purpose was moved with pity. He came to Dignāga and said: “Alas! how have you given up your great purpose, and only fixed your mind on your own personal profit, with narrow aims, giving up the purpose of saving all” Saying this he directed him to explain the Yogācāryabhūmi-śāstra and Hetuvidyā-śāstra. Dignāga receiving these directions, respectfully assented and saluted the saint. Then he devoted himself to profound study and explained the Hetuvidyā-śāstra and the Yoga discipline.

⁴ Īśvarakṛṣṇa here referred to was very probably the author of the Sāṅkhya kārīkā.

Ācārya Dignāga, and finding that he had gone out to collect alms, wiped out the words he had written. Dignāga came and rewrote the words and Īśvara-kṛṣṇa wiped them out again. Dignāga wrote them a third time and added: "Let no one wipe these out even in joke or sport, for none should wipe out what are of great importance: if the sense of the words is not right, and one wishes to dispute on that account, let him appear before me in person." When after Dignāga had gone out to collect alms, the Brāhmaṇa again came to wipe out the writings, he saw what was added and paused. The Ācārya returning from his rounds for a meal met the Brāhmaṇa: they began a controversy, either staking his own doctrine. When he had vanquished the Tīrtha (Brāhmaṇa) several times and challenged him to accept the Buddhist doctrine, the Tīrtha scattered ashes, pronouncing incantations over them, and burnt all the goods of the Ācārya that happened to lie before him; and while the Ācārya was kept back by fire, the Tīrtha ran away. Thereupon Dignāga reflected that, since he could not work the salvation of this single individual, he would not be able to work that of others. So thinking he was on the point of giving up his purpose of compiling the Pramāṇa-samuccaya when the Bodhisattva Ārya Mañjuśrī miraculously appeared before him in person and said:—

"Son, refrain, refrain: the intellect is infected by arguing with mean persons. Please know that when you have demonstrated it, this Śāstra cannot be injured by the host of Tīrthas. I undertake to be your spiritual tutor till you have attained the stage of perfection. In later times this śāstra will become the sole eye of all the śāstras."¹

So saying Mañjuśrī disappeared, and Dignāga resumed his work and completed Pramāṇa-samuccaya.

The Pramāṇa-samuccaya² is a Sanskrit work written in *anustubh* metre. The Sanskrit original of it is lost, but a Tibetan translation still exists. The translation was prepared by an Indian sage named Hema (or Kanaka) Varma (in Tibetan: Gser-gyi-go-cha) and a Tibetan interpreter named Dad-paḥi-śeṣ-rab in the monastery of Śeṣ-paḥi-dge-gnas. It occupies folios 1—13 of the *Bstan-hgyur*,

The Tibetan version of Pramāṇa-samuccaya.

ཏུ་མ་བྱེད་མ་བྱེད་སྐྱེ་བོ་དམན་དང་འཕྲད་ལ་ས་སྤོ་གྲོ་མ་ངན་རྒྱུ་རྩེ།
 རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་བརྟན་ནས་འཚམ་འདི་ལ་སྤུ་ལྷག་ས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གནོད་མི་ཚུས་ཡང་ཤིས།
 རྒྱུ་ཀྱིས་ས་ས་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་དགེ་བའི་བཞེས་སྤུ་ང་འགྱུར་གྱི།
 ལྷི་མའི་དུས་སྤུ་བརྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱན་གྱི་མིག་གཅེན་ཏུ་ནི་འདི་འགྱུར་རོ།།

¹ Dpag-bsam-ljon-tzan, edited by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., p. 101.

² Probably the same as "The Śāstra on the grouped inferences," *vide* Takakusu's I-tsing, p. 167

section Mdo, volume Ce.¹ In Tibetan it is called Tshad-maḥi-Mdo-kun-las-btus-pa (=Pramāṇa-sūtra-samuccaya) or briefly Tshad-ma-kun-las-btus-pa (=Pramāṇa-samuccaya) signifying a compilation of aphorisms on Pramāṇa, valid knowledge. It begins thus:— “Bowing down before Sugata—the teacher and protector—who is *Pramāṇa* incarnate, and benefactor of the world, I, for the sake of expounding Pramāṇa (valid knowledge), put together here various scattered matters, compiled from my own works.”² In the closing lines it is stated that “Dignāga, the subduer of controversialists in all regions and the possessor of elephantine strength, compiled this from his own works.”³

It is divided into six chapters which are named respectively: (1) Perception (Sanskrit: *Pratyakṣa*, Tibetan: Mñon-sum); (2) Inference for one's own self (Sanskrit: *Svārthānumāna*, Tibetan: Raṅ-don-gyi-rje-dpag); (3) Inference for the sake of others (Sanskrit: *Parārthānumāna*, Tibetan: Gshan-gyi-don-gyi-rje-dpag); (4) Reason and example (Sanskrit: *Hetu-dṛṣṭānta*, Tibetan: Gtan-tshigs-daṅ-dpe); (5) Negation of the opposite (Sanskrit: *Apoha*, Tibetan: Tshan-sel-wa); and (6) Analogue (Sanskrit: *Jāti*, in Tibetan: ḷtag-gcod).

Chapter I—Perception.

In opposition to Akṣapāda who propounded four *pramāṇas* (*Pramāṇa*. means of valid knowledge), Dignāga⁴ states in Chapter I of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*

¹ The volume Ce of the Bstan-hgyur, section Mdo, was put at my disposal by the India Office, London, through Mr Thomas.

² ཚད་མར་གྱུར་པ་འགྲོ་ལ་ཕན་པར་བཞེད།
 རྩན་པ་བརྩོ་ག་སྤྲིན་སྐྱབ་ལ་ལྷག་འཚལ་ནས།
 ཚད་མ་ལྷུབ་ལྱིར་རང་གི་གཞུང་གྱུན་ལས།
 བཏུས་ཏེ་རྣམ་ཚུགས་འཚོར་རྣམས་འདིར་གཅིག་བྱ། ॥

(Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, folio 1).

³ ལྷོགས་རྣམས་གྱུན་གྱི་ཕས་ཀྱི་གིལ་བ་རྣམས།
 འཛོམས་པར་བྱེད་ལ་གྲུང་བའི་རྣམས་ལྷན་པ།
 ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུང་བའི་གཞུང་གྱུན་ལས་བཏུས་པ། ॥

(Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, folio 13)

⁴ མཚོན་ལུས་དང་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་
 ཚད་མ་དག་ནི་མཚན་ཉིད་གཉིས།
 གཞུགས་བྱ་དེ་ལ་རབ་ལྷོར་ལྱིར་
 ཚད་མ་གཞན་ནི་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན། ॥

(Tshad-ma-kun-las-btus-pa, Chapter I).

that *pramāṇas* are only two, viz. perception (*pratyakṣa*) and inference (*anumāna*). All objects being known through them, there is no other *pramāṇa*.

Dignāga does not give any formal definition of Perception, which is well known as the knowledge of objects derived through the channel of the senses. But he describes Perception as that which, being freed from preconception, is unconnected with name, genus, etc.¹ Suppose a man in twilight mistakes a rope for a snake: his knowledge of the snake is a preconception and is not, according to Dignāga, an act of Perception. Dignāga contends that Perception is not connected with the name, as we can perceive a thing without knowing its name. It is also unconnected with genus, so that the perception of a thing consists of the knowledge of its individual characteristics alone. Suppose I see a cow. This cow, which I see, is a peculiar one. Its infinite peculiarities can only be realised by me who have seen it. If I proceed to indicate this cow to other persons by saying that I saw a cow which is named *Dittha* or which is red, etc., I can only convey to those persons the idea of a cow of a certain class, that is, a cow possessing the common characteristics of a class of cows, but can never express to them the individual cow which I saw. Hence it follows that (a result of) Perception cannot be properly expressed by name, genus, etc. But very different is the case with inference. Knowledge derived through inference is general, and can be well expressed by name, genus, etc., whereas that derived through Perception is particular, and is incapable of being properly communicated to others by name, genus, etc.

The Sanskrit original may be restored as follows :—

प्रत्यक्षमनुमानञ्च प्रमाणं हि द्विलक्षणम् ।
प्रमेयं तत्र सिद्धं हि न प्रमाणान्तरं भवेत् ॥

(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, Chapter I).

¹ In Chapter I of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, Dignāga describes Perception as follows :—

अद्वैत-सुखं किं च दद-वृत्त-व ।
मिद-दद-दिवस-संशय-मि-वृत्त-व ॥

The Sanskrit equivalents for those two lines are as follows :—

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापीडं
नामजात्याद्यसंयुतम् ॥

(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, Chapter I).

The first of these lines has actually been quoted, and Dignāga's whole theory of Perception severely criticised, by the Hindu logician Uddyotakara in his *Nyāya-vārtika*, 1-1-4.

accepted in the Nyāya philosophy according to the scientific axiom, viz. “if I do not oppose a theory of my opponent, it is to be understood that I accept it.”

Dignāga laughs at Vātsyāyana by saying that the Naiyāyika (Akṣapāda) takes pride in borrowing his definition of perception (*pratyakṣa*) from the Sūtra of the Vaiśeṣikas,¹ viz. that perception is knowledge which arises from the intercourse of the soul with the mind, the mind with a sense-organ, and the sense-organ with its object. The Naiyāyika is however careful not to connect his perception with generality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśeṣa*), substance (*dṛavya*), quality (*guṇa*) and action (*karma*) on which, as pointed out by Dignāga, the Vaiśeṣika's intercourse is dependent. Oh! what a strange consistency

¹ Dignāga quotes the Vaiśeṣika definition as follows:—

ज्ञेयज्ञानात्कर्मसंज्ञितं च —

वदन्तं ददन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं ।

इदं तु ज्ञानं यथा यथा ज्ञानं यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya. Chapter I).

The Sanskrit original should stand thus:—

आत्मैन्द्रियमनोऽर्थसङ्घर्षात् यद्विषयते तदन्वत् ।

But it is actually found in the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra as follows:—

आत्मैन्द्रियार्थसङ्घर्षात् यद्विषयते तदन्वत् ।

(Vaiśeṣika-sūtra, 3-1-18, p. 121, Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad).

In another place of the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra in connection with the perception of pleasure, etc., the definition of perception, which includes the mind, is stated as follows:—

आत्मैन्द्रियमनोऽर्थसङ्घर्षात् सुखदुःखे ।

(Vaiśeṣika-sūtra, 5-2-15, p. 181, Sacred Books of the Hindus, Allahabad).

In the Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda, the mind (*मनस*) is explicitly mentioned as a sense-organ:—

अथापि इन्द्रियाणि प्राणरसनचक्षुस्त्वक्श्रोत्रमर्षि षट् ।

(Praśastapāda Bhāṣya, p. 186, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series)

Dignāga quotes the explanatory portion of the Vaiśeṣika definition as follows:—

ज्ञेयं ज्ञानं यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा यथा ।

इदं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं ।

अदं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं चोदन्तं ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, Chapter I).

The Sanskrit original of this portion should stand thus:—

सामान्यविशेषापेक्षश्च द्रव्यगुणकर्मापेक्षं हि प्रत्यक्षमिति न योजितम् ।

Compare Praśasta-pāda who gives a definition of perception (*pratyakṣa*) which is similar to the one criticised by Dignāga:—

सामान्यविशेषद्रव्यगुण कर्माविशेषापेक्षाद् आत्ममनःसङ्घर्षात् प्रत्यक्षमुच्यते ।

(Praśastapāda Bhāṣya, p. 186, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series).

As to the mind it is not, says Dignāga, a sense-organ, and pleasure (*sukha*), etc., are not objects of knowledge. The view, that the Naiyāyika, not having opposed the mind as a sense-organ, tacitly accepts it as such, is untenable. If non-opposition was a proof of assent, it was useless for the Naiyāyika to have mentioned the other sense-organs.¹

Chapter II—Inference for one's self.

Inference (called in Sanskrit *anumāna* and in Tibetan *rjes-dpag*) is of two kinds, *viz.* inference for one's self and inference for the sake of others

An inference for one's self² (*svārthānumāna*, *rañ-don-gyi-rjes-dpag*) is defined as the knowledge of a thing derived through its mark or sign of three characters.

The mark or sign (reason or middle term) should possess one of the following three characters :—

- (1) *Effect* (*kārya*, *hbras-bu*)—the mark may be an effect of the thing to be inferred (predicate or major term); *e.g.* smoke of fire.
- Three characters of the middle term.
- (2) *Identity* (*svabhāva*, *rañ-bshin*)—the mark may be in essence identical with the thing to be inferred; *e.g.* a *śimśapā* identical with a tree.

¹ Dignāga observes :—

བདེ་ཤོགས་གཞན་གྱི་མིན་པའམ་
 དབང་པོ་གཞན་ཡོད་ཡིད་དབང་པོ།
 བཀག་པ་མེད་ཕྱིར་ཐོས་ཅེ་ན
 དབང་པོ་གཞན་གྱི་སྐྱོར་རྒྱུ་མེད།

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, Chapter I).

The original Sanskrit text of the verse is quoted by Vācaspati Miśra thus :—

न सुखादि प्रमेयं वा मनो वाक्षीन्द्रियान्तरम् ।
 अनिर्वेधाहुपार्थं चेदु अन्येन्द्रियवत्त एवा ॥

(Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā, 1-1-4).

What Dignāga meant to say is :—

The Nyāya-sūtra distinctly mentions the eye, ear, nose, tongue and touch as sense-organs, but says nothing as to whether the mind (*manas*) is a sense-organ or not. The presumption from this silence is that the mind is not a sense-organ according to the Nyāya-sūtra.

But Vātsyāyana, the famous Hindu commentator on the Nyāya-sūtra, interprets the silence in a quite different way, concluding therefrom that the mind (*manas*) is a sense-organ according to the Nyāya-sūtra.

Dignāga contends " if silence was a proof of assent why did the Nyāya-sūtra not remain silent regarding the other five sense-organs too ? "

ཐོས་དཔག་ནམ་ག་ཉིས་རང་དོན་ནི།
 ལྷོས་གསུམ་ཉིགས་ལས་དོན་མཐོང་བམ།

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter II).

- (3) *Non-perception (anupalabdhi, mi-dmigs-pa)*—non-perception of the mark may be due to the non-existence of the thing to be inferred; e.g. non-perception of a pot is a mark of non-existence thereof.

Dignāga mentions the views of some logicians who from smoke, which is the middle term, infer *fire*, the major term, which is inseparably connected with it, and also of others, who from smoke infer the *connection* between fire (the major term) and the hill (the minor term). He argues against the first mentioned logicians saying that if they infer *fire* from smoke they gain no new knowledge from this inference, for it is already known that smoke is inseparably connected with fire. His argument against the other logicians is that they are not able to infer the *connection*, for connection implies two things, whereas here only one thing, *viz.* the hill, is visible, but the other, *viz.* fire, is not visible. What then do we really infer from smoke? Dignāga says it is not fire nor the connection between it and the hill, but it is the *fiery hill* that is inferred.¹

¹ Dignāga writes:—

རྟོགས་མི་འབྱུང་པ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར།
 ཁ་ཅིག་ཚམས་གཞན་དཔོག་བྱས་ཟེར།
 ཚམས་དང་ཚམས་ཅན་གྱིས་པའི་ཕྱིར།
 ཁ་ཅིག་འབྲེལ་བ་འདྲིའི་པ་ཡིན།
 ཚམས་ལ་རྟོགས་མི་བྱུང་ཅེ་ན།
 གཞན་དམ་ཅི་ཞེས་དཔག་བར་བྱེད།
 ཅི་ཚེ་ཚམས་ཅན་ལ་དེ་ཉིད།
 ཅི་ཕྱིར་ཚམས་ལུ་དཔོག་མི་བྱེད།
 འབྲེལ་པ་ལ་ཡང་གཉིས་པོ་མེད།
 དེ་ལྟར་ལ་མི་བྱུང་པ་ཚམས།
 བརྗོད་མིན་དོན་གྱིས་གཟུང་པར་འགྱུར།
 འདི་ལ་རྟོགས་དང་འབྲེལ་མ་ཡིན།
 རྟོགས་གྱི་མི་འབྱུང་པ་ཡང་ན།
 ཚམས་དང་གཞན་ཏུ་བརྟན་པར་བྱ།
 དེ་ལ་གྲུབ་ན་ཚམས་ཅན་མི།
 དེ་དང་ལྡན་པར་རྟོགས་པར་འགྱུར། ॥

(Pramāna-samuccaya, chapter II).

The Sanskrit originals of these lines are as follows:—

केचिद् धर्मान्तरं मेयं लिङ्गस्याव्यभिचारतः ।
 संबन्धं केचिदिच्छन्ति सिद्धत्वाद्धर्मधर्मिणोः ॥
 लिङ्गं धर्मं प्रसिद्धं चेत् किमन्यत् तेन मौयते ।
 अथ धर्मिणि तस्यैव किमर्थं नानुमेयता ॥

Chapter III—Inference for the sake of others.

An inference for the sake of others¹ (called in Sanskrit *parārthānumāna* and in Tibetan *gshan-gyi-don-gyi-rjes-dpag*) takes place when a person

Definition. demonstrates to others the conclusion drawn by him through an inference for one's self.

The predicate² or major term (called in Sanskrit *anumeya* or *sādhyā* and in Tibetan *dpag-bya* or *bsgrub bya*) is the object which is desired by one's self to be predicable of (attributed to) the subject (or minor term) and which is not opposed to perception, inference or verbal testimony; e.g. the hill is *fiery*.

संबन्धेऽपि इयं वाचि षष्ठी भूयते तदिति ।
 अवाच्यं ननु ह्येतन्नात्र आद्यो लिङ्गसंमतः ॥
 लिङ्गलाभमिच्छारं तु धर्मबान्धव दिच्छते ।
 तत्र प्रसिद्धं तदुक्तं धर्मिणं मनसिच्छति ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter II).

The Hindu logician Vācaspati Miśra has quoted and criticised these lines in the *Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā*, 1-1-5.

¹ Dignāga observes :—

आवकं चोद्देकं चोद्देकं दययं ३ ।
 एतन्मोक्षमर्थेनोद्देकं वासयं प्रुदं यिक ॥

(Pramāṇa samuccaya, chapter III).

The Sanskrit original of this verse runs thus :—

परार्थानुमानस्य लक्षणात्प्रकारणम् ।

(Quoted in Śloka-vārtika-ṭikā, p. 252).

Prāśastapāda defines *parārthānumāna* thus :—

पश्चादयमेव वाक्येन सन्निहितार्थं प्रतिपादनं परार्थानुमानम् ।

(Prāśastapāda Bhāṣya, p. 231, edited by M.M. Vindhyośvari Prasad Dvivedin, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series).

² Dignāga observes :—

एतन्मोक्षं चोद्देकं चोद्देकं दययं ३ ।
 एतन्मोक्षं चोद्देकं चोद्देकं दययं ३ ।
 एतन्मोक्षं चोद्देकं चोद्देकं दययं ३ ।
 एतन्मोक्षं चोद्देकं चोद्देकं दययं ३ ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter III).

The Sanskrit original should run thus :—

सर्वेषामेव निर्देशः
 स्वयमिच्छः स्वधर्मिणि ।
 प्रत्यक्षार्थानुमानेन
 आप्तवाचानिराकृतः ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter III).

The law of extension.—The law of extension¹ of the middle term (called in Sanskrit *pakṣa-dharma*¹ and in Tibetan phyogs-chos), which refers to the local area of a reason or middle term in relation to its minor and major terms, is stated as follows.—

- (1) The reason or middle term must cover the subject or minor term (*p'akṣa*)
- (2) The reason or middle term must be present in the homologue (*sapakṣa*) of the predicate or major term.
- (3) The reason or middle term must be absent from the heterologue (*vipakṣa*) of the predicate or major term.

Nine Reasons.—It is possible to conceive of nine reasons or middle terms² which are present in or absent from the homologues or heterologues wholly or partly. The reasons or middle terms, which are wholly or partly present in the homologues but wholly absent from the heterologues, are valid, their opposites are contradictory and the others are uncertain.³

A table of nine reasons, in reference to their homologues and heterologues, is given below :—

1 ལྷོགས་ཚེས་མཐུན་ལྷོགས་ ཡོད་མེད་དང་
 རྣམ་གཏིས་རེ་རེ་དག་ལ་ཡང་ ।
 རྣམ་གསུམ་མི་མཐུན་ལྷོགས་ལའང་
 ཡོད་མེད་རྣམ་ལ་གཏིས་ཕྱིར་རོ ॥

(Pramāna-samuccaya, chapter III).

The Sanskrit originals of these lines are quoted by Vācaspati Miśra as follows :—

सपक्षे सञ्चसन् द्वेषा
 सपक्षस्य पुनश्चिधा ।
 प्रत्येकमसपक्षे च
 सदसद् द्विविधत्वतः ॥

(Pramāna-samuccaya, chapter III, quoted in Nyāyavārtika-tātparya-tikā on Nyāya-sūtra, 1-1-35, p. 198, Vizianagaram Sanskrit series).

² In the commentaries on Nyāya-sūtra, 1-1-35, Uddyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra both severely criticize Dignāga's theory of Nine Reasons. Dignāga too reviews the definitions of a proposition (*pratijñā*) as given by Akṣapāda and the Mīmāṃsaka.

3 དེར་གང་མཐུན་ལྷོགས་ལ་ཡོད་དང་
 རྣམ་གཏིས་དེ་མེད་ལ་མེད་ལ།
 དེ་རྣམས་དེ་ལས་བརྗོད་ལ་མི
 འགལ་བ་གཞན་གྱིས་དེས་ཏེད ॥

(Pramāna-samuccaya, chapter III)

The Sanskrit originals quoted by Vācaspati run thus:—

तत्र यः सन् सजातीये
 द्वेषा चासन् तदत्यये ।

Nine reasons.

No.	Homologue of the major term (<i>sapaikṣa</i>)	Heterologue of the major term (<i>vipakṣa</i>).	Nature of the reason.
1	The reason is wholly present (<i>sat</i>) in the homologue	The reason is wholly present (<i>sat</i>) in the heterologue.	The reason is uncertain.
2	The reason is wholly present (<i>sat</i>) in the homologue.	The reason is wholly absent (<i>asat</i>) from the heterologue.	The reason is valid.
3	The reason is wholly present (<i>sat</i>) in the homologue.	The reason is partly present (<i>sadasat</i>) in the heterologue.	The reason is uncertain.
4	The reason is wholly absent (<i>asat</i>) from the homologue.	The reason is wholly present (<i>sat</i>) in the heterologue.	The reason is contradictory.
5	The reason is wholly absent (<i>asat</i>) from the homologue.	The reason is wholly absent (<i>asat</i>) from the heterologue.	The reason is uncertain.
6	The reason is wholly absent (<i>asat</i>) from the homologue.	The reason is partly present (<i>sadasat</i>) in the heterologue.	The reason is contradictory.
7	The reason is partly present (<i>sadasat</i>) in the homologue.	The reason is wholly present (<i>sat</i>) in the heterologue.	The reason is uncertain.
8	The reason is partly present (<i>sadasat</i>) in the homologue.	The reason is wholly absent (<i>asat</i>) from the heterologue.	The reason is valid.
9	The reason is partly present (<i>sadasat</i>) in the homologue.	The reason is partly present (<i>sadasat</i>) in the heterologue.	The reason is uncertain.

Illustration of the nine reasons.—The nine reasons¹ are illustrated by Dignāga in his Hetucakra (Wheel of Reasons) in which he assumes the following as reasons (or middle terms) and major terms respectively :—

Reasons or middle terms (*hetu*¹)—(1) knowable (*prameya*), (2) a product (*kṛtaka*), (3) non-eternal (*anitya*), (4) produced

स हेतु विपरीतोऽस्माद्
विद्वद्भ्यस्त्र निश्चितः ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter III, quoted in Nyāyavārtika-tātparya-ṭikā on 1-1-35, p. 198, Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series).

¹ The Sanskrit originals are quoted by Vācaspati Miśra from Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter III, as follows:—

(*krta*), (5) audible (*śrāvya*), (6) a product of effort (*yatnaja*), (7) non-eternal (*anitya*), (8) a product of effort (*yatnaja*), and (9) tangible (*sparsaja*).

Predicates or major terms (*sādhyā*¹)—(1) eternal (*nitya*), (2) non-eternal (*anitya*), (3) a product of effort (*yatnaja*), (4) eternal (*nitya*), (5) non-eternal (*anitya*), (6) eternal (*nitya*), (7) a non-product of effort (*ayatnaja*), (8) non-eternal (*anitya*), and (9) eternal (*nitya*).

Application of the Law of Extension.—Applying the Law of Extension to the Table of Nine Reasons or the Wheel of Reasons we find that the second and the eighth reasons are valid, and the remaining seven are invalid inasmuch as these are either contradictory or uncertain. Take the case illustrating the first reason in the Wheel of Law. It stands thus:—

Sound is eternal,
Because it is knowable,
Like ether and like a pot.

Here “knowability,” the reason, is wholly present in “sound” which is the subject and in “ether” which is a homologue of “eternal” the predicate. But being wholly present also in “a pot” which is a heterologue of the “eternal,” knowability becomes an uncertain reason. Take the case illustrating the eighth reason which stands thus:—

This sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product of effort,
Like a pot, unlike lightning and ether.

Here “a product of effort” abides in “this sound” which is the subject, and in “a pot” which is a homologue of “non-eternal” the predicate, but does not abide in “lightning” which is also a

प्रमेय कृतकानित्यकृत आवय यल्लजाः ।

अनित्य यल्लजस्यर्था नित्यत्वादिषु वै नच ॥

(Nyāyavārtika-tātparya-tīkā, on 1-1-35, p. 198, Vizianagram Sanskrit series).

The Tibetan version runs thus:—

गदय'सु'सु'स'मि'द्व'द'द'

सु'स'द'द'स'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द' ।

मि'द्व'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द' ।

द्व'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द'द' ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chap. III).

The Sanskrit originals are quoted by Vācaspati Miśra from Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter III, thus:—

1

नित्यानित्यप्रयत्नोत्पन्नमध्यम चिक्र शास्त्रताः ।

अथल्लानित्यनित्यास्य प्रमेयत्वादि साधनाः ॥

(Nyāyavārtika-tātparya-tīkā on 1-1-35).

homologue and in "ether" which is a heterologue of the predicate. Here the reason is partly present in the homologue and wholly absent from the heterologue and as such is valid

Chapter IV—Reason and Example.

From a certain point of view, the reason or middle term (called in Sanskrit *hetu* and in Tibetan *gtan-tshigs*)

Affirmative and negative reasons.

is of two kinds, viz. affirmative (*anvayi*) and negative (*vyatireki*). The affirmative reason

signifies that the thing signified by it is invariably accompanied by the thing signified by the predicate or major term, e.g. the hill is fiery, because it is smoky (where *smoke* is an affirmative reason). The function of the negative reason is stated thus: wherever there is absence of the thing signified by the major term, there is also absence of the thing signified by the reason or middle term, e.g. the hill is not smoky, because it is not fiery.

A person who desires to produce in others, as in his own self, a definite conclusion, should state (in words) the subject, the predicate and the reason as also their mutual connection, in reference to the Law of Extension ²

In pointing out the connection of the reason with the major term he should state examples ³ (called in

Examples, *dṛṣṭānta*.

Sanskrit *dṛṣṭānta* and in Tibetan *dpe*) which

are of two kinds, viz. affirmative or homogeneous (*anvayi* or

1 གཏན་ཚིགས་བསྐྱབ་བྱའི་རྗེས་འཁོལ་།
བསྐྱབ་བྱ་མེད་ལ་མེད་པ་ཉིས་༥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter IV).

2 རང་ལ་ངེས་བཞིན་གཞན་དག་ལ་
ངེས་པ་བསྐྱེད་པར་འདོད་པ་ཉིས་།
ཕྱོགས་ཚོས་ཉིད་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་དང་
བསྐྱབ་བྱ་བའི་དབྱ་གཞན་དག་གྲང་༥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter IV).

A similar idea is expressed in the Nyāyavatāra of the Jaina logician Siddhanta Divākara :—

स्वनिश्चयवदन्यथा निश्चयोत्पादनं बुधैः
परार्थे मानमाकाशतं वाक्यं तदुपसंरतः ॥ १० ॥

(Nyāyavatāra, edited by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta).

3 རྒྱུར་དཔེ་རྟོག་ཉིས་ཉིན་ཚོ་།
.....
རྗེས་འཁོལ་བཞུགས་པ་གཏིས་དག་ཚོ་༥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter IV).

sādharmya) and negative or heterogeneous (*vyatireki* or *vaidharmya*). An illustration of the examples is given below:—

The hill is fiery,
Because it is smoky,
That which is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen (affirmative example),
But that which is not fiery is not smoky, as a lake (negative example).

The two examples are in fact identical as they both point out the connection of the reason with the predicate or major term.

Chapter V—*Apoha* - negation of the opposite.

According to the doctrine of *Apoha*¹ (called in Tibetan *gshan-sel-wa*), an entity is defined as being the negation of its opposite, e.g. a cow is that which is not a not-cow. There is, in this connection, a review of the mutual relations of substance (*dravya*, *rdsas*), quality (*guṇa*, *yon-tan*), action (*karma*, *las*), particularity (*viśeṣa*, *bye-brag*, or, *khyad*), generality (*sāmānya*, *spyi*), and inherence (*samavāya*, *hdu-wa*).

According to Dignāga, Comparison² (*upamāna*, *ñer-hjal*) is useless as it is not a separate source of knowledge. He says that when we recognise a thing through perception of a similar thing, we really perform an act of Perception. Hence Comparison or Recognition of Similarity is not a separate source of knowledge, but is included in Perception.

Credible Word³ or Verbal Testimony (*śābda*, *yid-ches-tshig*, *sgra-las-byun-wa*, or, *ñag-don*) is also rejected as not being a separate source of

1 རྒྱལ་སོགས་བཞེན་དུ་རང་དོན་ལ །
གཞན་སེལ་བས་ནི་རྫོང་པར་བྱེད །
(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, chapter V).

2 རྒྱལ་འཇལ་བཞེན་དུ་དོན་མེད་ཡིན །
(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, chapter IV).

Vide a very interesting discussion on it in the *Nyāyavārtika*, I-1-6, where the Brāhmana Logician Uddyotakara defends the *Nyāya-sūtra* and the *Nyāya bhāṣya* from the attacks of Dignāga.

3 ལྟུ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ཇིས་དཔག་ལས །
རྫོང་མ་གཞན་སེན་ད་ལྟར་དེ །
(*Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, chapter V).

Compare—

तत्रामुमानमेवेदं नौहैवैद्यैषिकैः श्रिसम् ॥

(*Śloka-vārtika*, *śabda pariccheda*, verse 15).

knowledge. Dignaga asks: "What is the significance of a Credible Word? Does it mean that the person who spoke the word is credible, or that the fact he averred is credible?" "If the person," continues he, "is credible, it is a mere inference. On the other hand if the fact is credible, it is a case of Perception." Hence Dignaga concludes that Credible Word or Verbal Testimony is not a separate source of knowledge, but is included in Perception and Inference.¹

The mark (middle term)² is present where the thing to be inferred (major term) or its homologue is present, but absent where the thing or its homologue is non-existent, e.g. smoke is present only where there is fire or any thing homogeneous with it, but absent where there is no fire nor any thing homogeneous with the same.

Chapter VI—Analogues or Far-fetched analogy.

In this chapter there is an explanation of the Analogue³ or Far-fetched Analogy (called in Sanskrit *jāti* and in Tibetan *ltag-gcod*) which is of various kinds⁴; such as (1) *prāptisamā* (phrad-mtshuṅs), (2) *aprāptisamā* (ma-phrad-mtshuṅs), (3) *varṇyasamā*

शब्दानुमानयोरैकं धर्मादग्रानुमानवत् । २३ ॥
 अश्वयथतिरिकाभ्यामेक प्रत्यक्ष दर्शनात् ।
 सम्बन्धपूर्वकत्वाच्च प्रतिपत्तिरिति यतः ॥ २३ ॥
 प्रत्यक्षान्यप्रमाणात्तद्वद्व्यर्थ बोधनात् ।
 सामान्यविषयत्वाच्च त्रैकाग्र्यविषयात् ॥ २७ ॥

(Ślokovārtika, śabala pariccheda).

1
 अिदंकेसंज्ञेण के अे मशु म ।
 कुि अमंहेसंशुदपण अरे केद ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter II).

The Sanskrit original is quoted by Vācaspati Miśra thus—

आप्तवाक्याविसंवादे सामान्यादनुमानता ॥

(Nyāyavārtika-tātparya-tīkā on Nyāya-sūtra, 1-1-7).

Vide Uddyotakara's rejoinder in the Nyāyavārtika, 1-1-7.

2
 हेसंदपणकुददंमकुदम अ ।
 अदददंमदंमदंमदं ॥

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chapter II).

The Sanskrit originals of these lines, which have been quoted and criticised by Uddyotakara, run as follows:—

अनुमेयेय ननुत्तुल्ये । सङ्गावो नास्तिनाऽपत्ति ॥

(Nyāyavārtika, 1-1-5, p. 58, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta).

³ For an explanation of these terms vide the Nyāya-sūtra.

(*brjod-mtshuṅs*), (4) *avarṇya-samā* (*ma-brjod-mtshuṅs*), (5) *anut-patti samā* (*ma-skyes-mtshuṅs*), (6) *kārya samā* (*hbraṣ-mtshuṅs*), (7) *sādharmya-samā* (*chos-mthun-mtshuṅs*), (8) *vaidharmya-samā* (*chos-mi mthun-mtshuṅs*), (9) *vikalpa-samā* (*rnam-rtog-mtshuṅs*), (10) *upalabdhi-samā* (*dmigs-pa-mtshuṅs*), (11) *saṁśaya-samā* (*the-tshom-mtshuṅs*), (12) *arihāpatti samā* (*don-rtogs-mtshuṅs*), (13) *sādhyasamā* (*bsgrub-bya-mtshuṅs*) and (14) *prasaṅga-samā* (*thal-wa-mtshuṅs*) Some other kinds of *analogue* are said to be enumerated in the Tirthika works.

95. DIGNĀGA'S Nyāya-praveśa.

The Nyāya-praveśa¹, or rather "Nyāya-praveśo-nāma pramāṇa-prakarṇa." is another excellent work on Logic by Dignāga. The Sanskrit original is lost. There exists a Tibetan translation of it which extends over folios 183—188 of the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*. The translation was prepared by the great Kāsmīrian Paṇḍita Sarvajña-śrī Rakṣita and the Śākya monk *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzan*, in the great Śā-skyā monastery of Western Tibet. The work in Tibetan is called *Tshad-ma-rigs-par-hjug-pahi-sgo* signifying the "Door of Entrance to Logic." It opens thus:—

"Demonstration and refutation together with their fallacies are useful in arguing with others; and Perception and Inference together with their fallacies are useful for self-understanding: seeing these I compile this Śāstra."²

A Syllogism—Nyāyāvayava.

Parts of a Syllogism.³ Some of the subjects discussed in the work are noticed below:—

¹ I consulted the Nyāya-praveśa in the volume *Ce* of the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur* which was placed at my disposal by the India Office, London. I have also brought a copy of the Nyāya-praveśa from the monastery of Labrang in Sikkim which I visited in May 1907. This is probably the same as "Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra": *Vide* Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. 186, and *Banyu Nanjo's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Nos. 1223 and 1224. Cf. *Dr Sugiura's "Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan,"* pp. 36, 60, where Śānkara Svāmin's Nyāya-praveśa-tarka-śāstra is noticed.

² ལྟོན་པ་དང་རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དོན།
 ལྟོན་སྤྱོད་བཅས་པ་གཞན་རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དོན།
 མངོན་སུམ་དང་རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་ལྟོན་པ་གཞན།
 ལྟོན་སྤྱོད་བཅས་པ་བདག་རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དོན།
 རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་བཅས་པ་བདག་རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དོན།

(Nyāya-praveśa).

³ In Tibetan: *Rigs-pali-yan-lag* (རྗོལ་སྤྱོད་ལྟོན་པ་གཞན) and in Sanskrit: *Nyāyāvayava* (न्यायवयव) ।

Reasoning, according to the Nyāya-praveśa, is carried on by means of a minor term, a major term, a middle term and two examples. The minor term is also called the subject (in Sanskrit: *pakṣa* or *dharmīn*, and in Tibetan phyogs or choṣ-can). The major term is otherwise called the predicate (in Sanskrit: *sādhya* or *dharma*, in Tibetan: *bsgrub-par-bya* or choṣ). The middle term is also called the reason or mark (in Sanskrit: *hetu*, *līnga* or *sādhana*, in Tibetan: *gtan-tshigs* or *bsgrub-par-hyed*). The example (called in Sanskrit: *dṛṣṭānta*, in Tibetan: *dpe-brjod*) is of two kinds, viz. (1) homogeneous (in Sanskrit: *sādharma*, in Tibetan: choṣ-mthun-pa) and (2) heterogeneous (in Sanskrit: *vaidharma*, in Tibetan: choṣ-mi-mthun-pa).

The form of reasoning is as follows:—

Form of a Syllogism.

- (1) This hill is fiery,
- (2) Because it has smoke,
- (3) All that has smoke is fiery like a kitchen, and whatever is not fiery has no smoke, like a lake.

Here 'hill' is the minor term, 'fiery' the major term, 'smoke' the middle term, 'kitchen' a homogeneous example, and 'lake' a heterogeneous example.

The Minor Term.

Thesis. A minor term and a major term linked together constitute a proposition, e.g.

The *hill* (minor term) is *fiery* (major term).

A proposition which is offered for proof is a Thesis.

There are certain types of thesis which cannot stand the test of proof and are therefore fallacious.

The Fallacies of Thesis.¹

The following theses are fallacious:—

(1) A thesis incompatible with perception, such as: "sound is inaudible."

(2) A thesis incompatible with inference, such as: "A pot is eternal."

(Really "A pot is non-eternal, because it is a product.")

(3) A thesis incompatible with the public opinion, such as: "Man's head is pure, because it is the limb of an animate being." (Or, "money is an abominable thing." I or some men like me may say "money is an abominable thing," but the world does not say so).

¹ In Tibetan: phyogs-ltar-gnañ (ཕྱོགས་ལྗང་རྣམས་); and in Sanskrit: pakṣā-bhāsa (पक्षभास)!

(4) A thesis incompatible with one's own belief or doctrine, such as: A Vaiśeṣika philosopher saying "sound is eternal."

(5) A thesis incompatible with one's own statement, such as: "My mother is barren."

(6) A thesis with an unfamiliar minor term, such as: The Buddhist speaking to the Sāṃkhya, "Sound is perishable." (Sound is a subject well known to the Mīmāṃsaka, but not to the Sāṃkhya).

(7) A thesis with an unfamiliar major term, such as: The Sāṃkhya speaking to the Buddhist, "The soul is animate."

(8) A thesis with both the terms unfamiliar, such as: The Vaiśeṣika speaking to the Buddhist, "The soul has feelings as pleasurable, etc."

(The Buddhist deals neither with the soul nor with its feelings).

(9) A thesis universally accepted, such as: "Fire is warm." (This thesis cannot be offered for proof, as it is accepted by all).

The Middle Term and the Major Term.

Three Characteristics of the Middle Term.¹ The Middle Term (*hetu*) must possess three characteristics, viz.:—

(1) The whole of the minor term (*pakṣa*) must be connected with the middle term, *e.g.*

Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product,
Like a pot, but unlike ether.

In this reasoning, "product" which is the middle term includes the whole of "sound" which is the minor term.

(2) All things denoted by the middle term must be homogeneous with things denoted by the major term, *e.g.*

All things produced are non-eternal, as a pot.

(3) None of the things heterogeneous from the major term must be a thing denoted by the middle term, *e.g.*

No non-non-eternal (that is, no eternal) thing is a product, as ether.

If we suppose the minor term or subject to be 'S,' the middle term or reason to be 'R,' and the major term or predicate to be 'P,' then the above-mentioned three characteristics of the middle term may be symbolically set forth as follows:—

- (1) All S is R.
- (2) All R is P.
- (3) No R is non-P.

¹ Called in Tibetan: *ṭtan-tshigs-ni-tshul-gsum* (གཏན་ཚིགས་དྲེ་ཚུལ་གསུམ) and in Sanskrit: *Lingasya trairūpyam* (लिंगस्य त्रैरूप्यम्)।

Now, the negative aspect of the middle term, *viz.* no R is non-P, only confirms the truth conveyed by one of the positive aspects, *viz.* all R is P. Hence we may put aside the negative aspect, and exhibit the positive aspects as follows :—

- (1) All S is R.
- (2) All R is P.

Again, in the above instance 'R' and 'P' may be taken in their whole extent or partially. So the two positive aspects mentioned above may be fully exhibited as follows :—

- (1) (a) All S is all R.
(b) All S is some R.
- (2) (a) All R is all P.
(b) All R is some P.

Combining aspect (1) and aspect (2) together, we find that a syllogism may be of any one of the following forms :—

- (1) All S is all P (conclusion) :
Because All S is all R,
All R is all P.
- (2) All S is some P (conclusion) :
Because All S is all R,
All R is some P.
- (3) All S is some P (conclusion) :
Because All S is some R,
All R is all P.
- (4) All S is some P (conclusion) :
Because All S is some R,
All R is some P.

Hence we find that Dignāga admits only two conclusions, *viz.*

- All S is all P, and
All S is some P.

The second and third of the characteristics mentioned above indicate the relative extension of the middle term and major term. They show that the middle term is universally, invariably, or inseparably connected with the major term. This universal, invariable, or inseparable connection between them is called in Sanskrit *Vyāpti* and in Tibetan *Khyab* which was, as far as I find, first discovered by Dignāga

Supposing that the middle term or reason is R, and the major term or predicate is P, the connection between the two terms may be symbolically set forth as follows :—

- (1) All R is all P, and
- (2) All R is some P.

Fourteen Fallacies.

Owing to the violation of one or more of the three characteristics, there occur Fallacies of the Middle Term.¹ which may be of fourteen kinds as follows:—

A. The *unproved* (Sanskrit: *Asiddha*, Tibetan: Ma-grub) which occurs :

(1) When the lack of truth of the middle term is recognized by both the parties, *e.g.*

Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is *visible*.

(Neither of the parties admits that sound is visible).

(2) When the lack of truth of the middle term is recognized by one party only, *e.g.*

Sound is evolved.
Because it is a *product*.

(The Mīmāṃsakas do not admit that sound is a product).

(3) When the truth of the middle term is questioned, *e.g.*

The hill is fiery,
Because there is *vapour*.

(Vapour may or may not be an effect of fire, and may or may not be connected with it otherwise).

(4) When it is questioned whether the middle term is predicable of the minor term, *e.g.*

Ether is a substance,
Because it has qualities.

(It is questioned whether ether has qualities).

B. The *uncertain* (Sanskrit: *Aniścita*, Tibetan: Ma-ñeg-pa) which occurs :

(5) When the middle term is too general, abiding equally in the major term as well as in the opposite of it, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is *knowable*.

(The 'knowable' is too general, because it abides in the eternal as well as the non-eternal. This is a fallacy of being too general, called in Sanskrit: *Sādhāraṇa*, and in Tibetan: Thun-moñ).

(6) When the middle term is not general enough, abiding neither in the major term nor in its opposite, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is audible.

¹ In Tibetan: Stan-tshig-ltar-znan (གཏན་ཚིག་ལྟར་མྱང་) and in Sanskrit: Hetvābhāsa (हेतवभास) ।

(This is a fallacy of being not general enough, called in Sanskrit: *Asādhāraṇa*, and in Tibetan: Thun-moñ-ma-yin).

(7) When the middle term abides in some of the things homogeneous with, and in all things heterogeneous from, the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is not a product of effort,
Because it is *non-eternal*.

(The non-eternal abides in some of the things which are not products of effort, such as lightning, and abides in all things which are not non-products of effort).

(8) When the middle term abides in some of the things heterogeneous from, and in all things homogeneous with, the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is a product of effort,
Because it is non-eternal.

(The non-eternal abides in some of the things which are not products of effort, as lightning, and abides in all things which are products of effort).

(9) When the middle term abides in some of the things homogeneous with, and in some heterogeneous from, the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal.

(Some incorporeal things are eternal as ether, but others are not as intelligence).

(10) When there is a non-erroneous contradiction, that is, when a thesis and its contradictory are both supported by what appear to be valid reasons, *e.g.*

The Vaiśeṣika speaking to the Mīmāṃsaka :

“Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product.”

The Mīmāṃsaka speaking to the Vaiśeṣika :

“Sound is eternal,
Because it is always audible.”

(Both of the reasonings are correct, but as they lead to contradictory conclusions they are classed as *uncertain*).

C. The *contradictory* (Sanskrit: *Viruddha*, Tibetan: Hgal-wa) which occurs :

(11) When the middle term is contradictory to the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is a product.

(12) When the middle term is contradictory to the implied major term. *e.g.*

The eyes, etc., are serviceable to some being.
Because they are made of particles,
Like a bed, seat, etc.¹

(Here the major term "serviceable to some being" is ambiguous, for, the apparent meaning of 'some being' is 'the body,' but the implied meaning of it is 'the soul' Though things 'made of particles' are serviceable to the body, they are not, according to the Sāṅkhya, serviceable to the soul which is attributeless. Hence there is contradiction between the middle term and the implied major term).

(13) When the middle term is inconsistent with the minor term, *e.g.*

Sāmānya (generality) is neither a substance, nor a quality, nor an action ;

Because it depends upon one substance and possesses quality and action.

Like generality-particularity—(*Sāmānya* or generality does not depend upon one substance, etc)

(14) When the middle term is inconsistent with the implied minor term, *e.g.*

Objects are stimuli of action :
Because they are apprehended by the senses.

("Objects" is ambiguous, meaning (1) things and (2) purposes. The middle term is inconsistent with the minor term in the second meaning).

The Example.

Dignāga's theory of examples. Examples converted to universal propositions.

An example before the time of Dignāga served as a mere familiar case which was cited to help the understanding of the listener, *e.g.*

The hill is fiery,
Because it has smoke,
Like a kitchen (example).

Dignāga converted an example into a universal proposition, that is, a proposition² expressive of the universal, invariable or

¹ This example may lead us to presume that the author of Nyāya-praveśa knew Śvara Kṛṣṇa's Sāṅkhya-kārikā which is the oldest of the works on Sāṅkhya philosophy that have come down to us.

² The universal proposition, that is, the proposition expressive of the universal relation between the middle term and the major term, serves as the major premise in a syllogism of the celebrated Greek logician Aristotle. It was long unknown in India. Dignāga's discovery of the universal proposition marks a new era in the

inseparable connection between the middle term and the major term, which stand to each other in the causal relation or in the relation of inherence, *e.g.*

The hill is fiery,
Because it has smoke,
All that has smoke is fiery as a kitchen (homogeneous example).

The above example is homogeneous. A heterogeneous example is thus given :—

Whatever is not fiery has no smoke as a lake.

Examples have already been stated to be of two kinds. *viz.*

(1) Homogeneous and (2) Heterogeneous.

Fallacies of the homogeneous example.¹

Each of these kinds becomes fallacious under certain circumstances. Fallacies of

the homogeneous example are the following :—

(1) An example not homogeneous with the middle term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
That which is incorporeal is eternal as the atoms.

(The atoms cannot serve as an example, because they are not incorporeal. This is called a fallacy of the Excluded Middle Term).

(2) An example not homogeneous with the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
That which is incorporeal is eternal as intelligence.

(Intelligence cannot serve as an example, because it is not eternal. This is called a fallacy of the Excluded Major Term).

(3) An example homogeneous with neither the middle term nor the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
That which is incorporeal is eternal, as a pot.

(The pot cannot serve as an example, because it is neither incorporeal nor eternal. This is called a fallacy of the Excluded Middle and Major Terms).

(4) A homogeneous example showing a lack of universal connection between the middle term and the major term, *e.g.*

'This person is passionate,
Because he is a speaker,

history of Indian Logic, and shows a great development of the principle of induction.

¹ Called in Tibetan: Chos-wthun-dpe-itar-gnan-wa (མཚན་མཐུན་དཔེ་འཇཉག་གླང་བ) and in Sanskrit: Sādharmya-drṣṭāntābhāsa (साधर्म्यद्रष्टान्तभासा) ।

Whoever is a speaker is passionate, as a certain man in Magadha.

(Though a certain man in Magadha may be both a speaker and passionate, there is nevertheless no universal connection between being a speaker and being passionate. This is a fallacy of Absence of Connection, called in Sanskrit. *Ananvaya*, in Tibetan: *Rjes-su-hgro-wa-med*)

(5) A homogeneous example showing an inverse connection between the middle term and the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product of effort,
Whatever is non-eternal is a product of effort, as a pot.

(The pot cannot serve as an example, because though it is both non-eternal and a product of effort, the connection between the major term and the middle term has been inverted, *ie* all products of effort are non-eternal: but all non-eternals are not products of effort. This is a fallacy of Inverse Connection called in Sanskrit: *Viparītānvaya*, in Tibetan: *Rjes-su-hgro-wa-phyin-ci-log-pa*).

Fallacies of the heterogeneous example.¹

Fallacies of the heterogeneous example are the following:—

(6) An example not heterogeneous from the opposite of the middle term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
Whatever is non-eternal is not incorporeal, as intelligence.

(Intelligence is non-eternal, yet incorporeal. This is a fallacy of Included Middle Term in a heterogeneous example).

(7) An example not heterogeneous from the opposite of the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
Whatever is non-eternal is not incorporeal, as atoms.

(The atoms are not incorporeal, yet they are eternal. This is a fallacy of included Major Term in a heterogeneous example).

(8) An example heterogeneous from neither the opposite of the middle term nor the opposite of the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
Whatever is non-eternal is not incorporeal, as a pot.

¹ Called in Tibetan: *Chog-mi-uthun-dpe-ltar-snañ-wa* (ཚོག་མི་ལྷན་སྐྱེ་དཔེ་ལྷན་སྐྱེ་བ) and in Sanskrit: *Vaidharmya-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa* (वैधर्म्यदृष्टान्ताभास) ।

(A pot is neither eternal nor incorporeal. This is called a fallacy of Included Middle and Major Terms in a heterogeneous example).

(9) A heterogeneous example showing an absence of disconnection between the middle term and the major term, *e.g.*

This person is passionate,
Because he is a speaker.

Whoever is non-passionate is not a speaker, as a piece of stone.

(This is called a fallacy of Absence of Disconnection of a heterogeneous example).

(10) A heterogeneous example showing an absence of inverse disconnection between the middle term and the major term, *e.g.*

Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product,

Whatever is non-product is not non-eternal, as ether.

The example should be inverted as :

Whatever is non-non-eternal, *i.e.* eternal, is not a product, as ether. This is called a fallacy of Inverted Negation of a heterogeneous example.

All the three kinds of fallacies—of the Thesis, Middle Term and Example—are fallacies of reasoning Refutation (called in Sanskrit : *Dūṣaṇa*, and in Tibetan : Sun-hbyin) consists in finding out in the reasoning of the opponent any one of the fallacies aforementioned. Fallacy of Refutation (called in Sanskrit : *Dūṣaṇābhāsa*, and in Tibetan : Sun-hbyin-ltar-snañ-wa) consists in alleging a fallacy where there is no fallacy at all.

Perception and Inference.

Perception and Inference are the two kinds of valid knowledge for one's own self. Perception (called in Sanskrit : *Pratyakṣa*, and in Tibetan : Mñon-sum) is knowledge derived through the senses. It is free from illusory experiences and is not connected with name, genus, etc. Inference (called in Sanskrit : *Anumāna*, and in Tibetan : Rjes-su-dpag) is the knowledge of objects derived through a mark (Tibetan : Rtags) or middle term which has three characteristics. There are Fallacies of Perception as well as of Inference (called respectively *Pratyakṣābhāsa* and *Anumānābhāsa* in Sanskrit, and Mñon-sum-ltar-nañ and Rjes-dpag-ltar-snañ in Tibetan)

Perception and Inference and their Fallacies.

96 DIGNĀGA'S *Hetu-cakra-hamaru*.

(*Logic of Nine Reasons*).

The *Hetu-cakra-hamaru*¹ is another small treatise on Logic by Dignāga. The Sanskrit original is lost, but a Tibetan translation is preserved in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, folios 193-194. The Tibetan translation was prepared by the sage Bodhisattva of Za-hor and the Bhikṣu Dharmāśoka. The work in Tibetan is called *Gtan-tshigs-kyi-hkhor-lo-gtan-la-dwab-pa* signifying "the Wheel of Reasons put in order."² It begins thus:—

"Bowling down to the Omniscient One (Buddha), who has destroyed the net of errors, I explain the system of three characteristics of the Reason (or Middle Term)."³

In this work Dignāga has analysed all nine possible relations between the middle and the major terms and has found that there are among them two relations which conform to the three characteristics of the middle term already laid down, and the remaining seven relations are at variance with those characteristics. Accordingly he has concluded that only two relations are valid as will be evident from the annexed diagram.

97. *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*.

The *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti* is a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* by Dignāga himself. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation which extends over folios 13—96 of the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*. The Tibetan translation was prepared, at the command of king *Rigs-Idan-rgyal-po*, by the famous Indian sage Vasudhara Rakṣita, who was as it were the crest-gem of logicians, and the Tibetan interpreter *Sha-ma-dge-hṣṅen-sin-rgyal*. In Tibetan it is called *Tshad-ma-kun-las-btus-pahi-hgrel-wa*. It is divided into six chapters corresponding to those of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* itself. At

¹ I brought a copy of the Tibetan version of the *Hetu-cakra-hamaru* from the monastery of Labrang in Sikkim which I visited in June 1907. This work is probably the same as the *Hetu-dvāra śāstra*: *vide* Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. 187

² The *Hetu-cakra* is also called in Sanskrit *Pakṣadharmā-cakra* and in Tibetan *Phyogs-chos-dguhi-hkhor-lo*.

3
 འཇུག་པའི་དྲ་བ་འཇིགས་མཛད་པའི།
 བཅའ་སྲུང་མཁྱིལ་ལ་བྱུག་འཚེ་ལ་ནས།
 ལྟན་ཚིགས་ཚུལ་གསུང་ཁོ་པོ་ཡི།
 ལྟན་ལ་དབབ་པ་བཞད་པར་བྱ།

the end of the work it is stated that "led on by the command of Mañjunātha (the god of learning), Dignāga the great dialectician of sharp intellect, wrote this śāstra which is as deep as the ocean."

There is another translation of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti* in Tibetan extending over folios 96—183 of the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*. It was prepared by the Indian sage Hema or Kanaka Varma (called in Tibetan *Gser-gyi-go-cha*) and the Tibetan interpreter *Dad-pa-śeṣ-rab* in the monastery of *Śi-wahi-dge-gnas*.

98. *Pramāṇa-śāstra Nyāya-praveśa*.

*Pramāṇa-śāstra Nyāya-praveśa*¹ is another work by Dignāga. It was translated into Chinese by the Chinese interpreter *Tha sam-tsan*. The Chinese version² was translated into Tibetan by the Chinese scholar *Dge-śeṣ-siñ-gyañ* and the Tibetan monk *ston-gshon* in the *sa-škya* monastery of Western Tibet. The very venerable Chinese monk *Dharmaratna* (called in Tibetan *Chos-kyi-rin-chen*), who edited the Tibetan version, compared it thoroughly with the Chinese version. The Sanskrit original of the work appears to be lost but the Tibetan version still exists. It consists of folios 188—193 of the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*. In Tibetan the work is called *Tshad-maḥi-bṣtan-bcoṣ-rig-pa-la-hjug-pa* signifying "An Entrance to the Science of Logic." The Chinese title of the work is *Gyen-miñ-gshihi-ciñ-lihi-lun*.

99. *Ālambāṇa-parikṣā*.

The *Ālambāṇa-parikṣā*³ is another work by Dignāga. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation which consists of one folio only (folio 180)

¹ At the kind suggestion of Prof. H. Ui (*vide* his *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 68), I have re-examined the *Pramāṇa-Nyāya-praveśa* (fully entitled as *Nyāya-praveśo-nāma-pramāṇa-prakarana*) and *Pramāṇa-śāstra-Nyāya-praveśa* (fully called *Pramāṇa-śāstra-Nyāya-praveśo-nāma*), and find that they are identical in their contents. One was translated into Tibetan direct from Sanskrit and the other through the Chinese language. The original Sanskrit work, of which these two are translations, was perhaps called simply *Nyāya-praveśa*. The *Bṣtan-hgyur* ascribes this work to Dignāga who dealt in it with fourteen fallacies besides other subjects. The *Hetu-cakra*, which treats of nine reasons, is a part of it. The *Nyāya-praveśa* and the *Hetu-cakra* combined together constitute Dignāga's "Logic of nine reasons and fourteen fallacies."

² The *Nyāya-praveśa* corresponds to Nos. 1223 and 1224 of *Bunyiū Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*. No. 1223 represents I-tsing's translation of the *Nyāya-praveśa* brought out in 711 A.D., while No. 1224 is Hwen-thsang's translation finished in 648 A.D.

³ I have consulted the Tibetan xylograph of this work as contained in the India Office, London. This is probably the same as "*Ālambāṇa-pratyaya-dhyāna-śāstra*": *vide* *Bunyiū Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, No. 1372, and

of the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*. The work in Tibetan is called *Dmigs-pa-brtag-pa* signifying "An Examination of the Objects of Thought." It begins with an invocation to Buddha and all Bodhisattvas.

100. *Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti*.

The *Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti*¹ is a commentary on the *Ālambana-parīkṣā* by Dignāga himself. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan version which is embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*, folios 180—182. The work in Tibetan is called *Dmigs-pa-brtag-pahis-hgrel*.

101. *Trikāla-parīkṣā*.

The *Trikāla-parīkṣā*² is a work by Dignāga. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost but there exists a Tibetan version in the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, volume *Ce*, folios 182—183. This version was prepared by the great Paṇḍita Śāntakara Gupta and the interpreter-monk Tshul hkhriṃs-rgyal-mtshan. The work in Tibetan is called *Dus-bsum-brtag-pa* signifying "An Examination of Three Times."

102. PARAMĀRTHA (498 A.D.—569 A.D.).

Paramārtha,³ born in 498 A.D., was a Buddhist ascetic (*Śramana*) at Ujjainī in Western India. He was placed by Jivita Gupta I or Kumāra Gupta, as an interpreter at the disposal of a Chinese mission sent to Magadha by the Liang Emperor Wu-ti in 539 A.D. Paramārtha taking a large number of Sanskrit manuscripts went to China with the mission which spent several years in India. He reached Canton in 546 A.D. and was presented to the Emperor in 548 A.D. He arrived in 546 A.D. at Nankin where he translated numerous works into Chinese. His death took place in China in 569 A.D.

In 550 A.D. he translated Vasubandhu's *Tarka-śāstra* into Chinese. He is said to have translated the *Nyāya-sūtra* too. It

¹ I have consulted the xylograph of this work as contained in the India Office, London.

² I have consulted the Tibetan xylograph of this work as contained in the India Office, London. This work is probably the same that is called by Takakusu "The Śāstrs on the Meditation of the Three Worlds": *vide* Takakusu's I-sing, p. 187. The "worlds" evidently stand for "times."

³ *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka, Appendix II, Nos. 104-105. Cf. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 313, third edition, *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka No. 1252.

is further reported that he wrote a work called *Nyāya-bhāṣya*¹ or an explanation of the *Nyāya-sūtra* in five volumes.

103. ŚAṅKARA SVĀMIN (ABOUT 550 A.D.).

Śaṅkara Svāmin,² as it appears from Chinese records, was a pupil of Dignāga. He seems to have been a native of Southern India. Logic is said to have been handed down by Dignāga through Śaṅkara Svāmin and ten other masters to Śīlabhadra, who was the head of the Nālandā University, and the favourite teacher of the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen-thsang, in 635 A.D. According to the Chinese Tripitaka Śaṅkara Svāmin was the author of a work called *Hetuvidyā Nyāya-praveśa-śāstra*, or *Nyāya-praveśa Tarka-śāstra*,³ which was translated into Chinese by Hwen-thsang in 647 A.D. This work seems to be different⁴ from the “*Nyāya-praveśa*” or more fully the “*Nyāya-praveśo-nāma-pramāṇa-prakaraṇa*” which, as we have seen, is ascribed by the Tibetans to Dignāga.

104. DHARMAPĀLA.

(ABOUT 600—635 A.D.).

Dharmapāla,⁵ a logician, was a native of Kāñcīpura in Drāviḍa (modern Conjeeveram in Madras). He was the eldest son of a great minister of the country. From his childhood he exhibited much cleverness, and as he was a young man the king and queen of the country condescended to entertain him at a feast. In the evening of that day his heart was oppressed with sorrow and, assuming the robes of a Buddhist recluse, he left home and applied himself with unflinching earnestness to learning. He was admitted into the University at Nālandā in which he acquired great distinction. Subsequently he became the head

¹ Professor H. Ui observes:—

He (Paramārtha) also translated.....the Cañ-shwo (or lun-) tao-li-lun (one vol.); and he wrote a commentary (5 vols.) on the last, called the Explanation of the Cañ-lun. All have been lost.....Cañ-shwo (or lun) tao-li-lun.....may have been the translation of *Nyāya*.....that the commentary consisted of five volumes suggests the five adhyāyas of *Nyāya-sūtra*. (*Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, p. 84).

² *Vide* Dr. Sugiura's *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, pp. 36, 37.

³ *Vide* Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, No. 1216, and Appendix I, No. 13.

⁴ The Tibetans do not know Śaṅkara Svāmin at all. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, who visited India during 671—695, speaks of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, but does not mention Śaṅkara Svāmin. Even Hwen-thsang in his *Travel* does not mention him. Śaṅkara Svāmin's *Nyāya-praveśa Tarka-śāstra* seems to correspond to No. 1216 of Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue*. Is the original Sanskrit text of 1216 different from that of 1224?

⁵ *Vide* Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 1, p. 237; vol. 11, pp. 110—223, 229 and 230. *Vide* also Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. Ivii, and Bunyiu Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka*, Appendix I, No. 10.

of the University. He must have retired from Nālandā before 635 A.D., when Hwen-tsang visited it, and found that Śīlabhadra had succeeded him in the headship of the University. Dharmapāla conjointly with Bhartṛhari composed a *Beḍā-vṛtti* on Pāṇini's grammar.

He was a follower of the Yogācāra philosophy, and was the author of several works such as (1) *Ālambana-pratyaya-dhyāna-śāstra-vyākhyā*; (2) *Vidyāmātra-siddhi-śāstra-vyākhyā*; and (3) *Sāta-śāstra-vaipulya-vyākhyā* which was translated into Chinese in 650 A.D. Hwen-tsang, who visited India in 629 A.D., found in Kauśāmbī the ruins of a monastery where Dharmapāla had refuted the arguments of the heretics.

105. ĀCĀRYA ŚĪLABHADRA

(635 A.D.).

Śīlabhadra¹ belonged to the family of the king of Samatā (Bengal), and was of the Brāhmaṇa caste. He was a pupil of Dharmapāla at the Nālandā University of which subsequently he became the head. The Chinese pilgrim, Hwen-tsang, was his pupil² in 635 A.D. Śīlabhadra was a great logician and master of śāstras.

106. ĀCĀRYA DHARMAKĪRTI

(ABOUT 635--650 A.D.).

The excellent Dharmakīrti,³ called in Tibetan Chos-grags, according to the accounts of all earlier sages, was born in the south in the kingdom of Cūḍāmaṇi.⁴ Since, however, there is now no country of that name, and since on the other hand all the orthodox and heterodox alike name Trimalaya as the birth-place of Dharmakīrti, it is to be accepted that in olden times Trimalaya was called the kingdom of Cūḍāmaṇi. His father was a Tīrtha of the Brāhmaṇa caste, Parivrājaka Korunanda by name. Endowed from childhood up with a very keen intellect he attained to great skill in the fine arts, in the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, in the art of healing, in grammar, and in all the theories of the Tīrthas. When only sixteen or eighteen years old, he was already deeply versed in

¹ Vide Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. 11, p. 110; and Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. 181.

² Vide Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. xlv

³ Vide Lama Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 175--185.

⁴ Cūḍāmaṇi is probably the same as Coḍa or Chola country in the Eastern Deccan. As a fact Dharmakīrti was born in the Deccan. Vide *Pramāṇa-vārtikā-kārikā*.

the philosophy of the Tirthas. Occasionally he attended lectures of the Buddhists, and realised that the teachings of Buddha were without faults. There grew up in him a strong inclination towards Buddhism. He donned the dress of a Buddhist Upāsaka (devotee) When the Brāhmaṇas inquired the reason of this he praised the excellence of Buddhism for which he was out-casted. Thereupon he came to Madhyadeśa¹ (Magadha), was received into the Saṅgha (priesthood) by Ācārya Dharmapāla, attained to great learning in the three Piṭakas, and knew in all 500 sūtras and dhāraṇīs by heart.

Dharmakīrti, desiring to become acquainted with the secret doctrine of the Tīrtha system, donned a slave-attire and went southward. On inquiring who was versed in the Tīrtha system, he was informed that the Brāhmaṇa Kumārila was an incomparable master of the same. The assertion that Kumārila was an uncle of Dharmakīrti is unsupported by Indian authority. Kumārila had received a large fortune from his king, owned many rice-fields, five hundred male slaves and five hundred female slaves and many hundred men. When Dharmakīrti, after entering their service, performed the work of fifty slaves indoors and outdoors, Kumārila and his wife were satisfied. They allowed him to hear the secret doctrines. Obtaining knowledge of the secret teaching from Kumārila, he left his house. With the wages which he received from Kumārila for his special services he gave a great feast to the Brāhmaṇas in the night of his departure.

Thereupon he challenged the followers of the system of Kaṇāda named Kaṇāda Gupta and other followers of the Tīrtha system and entered upon debates with them. The debates lasted for three months, during which he withstood all his opponents and converted many of them to Buddhism. Upon this Kumārila was enraged and appeared with 500 Brāhmaṇas for debate. He proposed the condition that whoever was defeated should be killed. Dharmakīrti, who did not desire the death of Kumārila, induced the latter to enter upon the condition that whoever was defeated should accept the doctrine of the winner. Putting

¹ In Tibetan literature Madhya-deśa signifies Magadha (Behar). But Manu defines Madhya-deśa as the country lying between the Himālayas on the north, the Vindhya mountains on the south, Prayāga in the east, and the river Sarasvatī on the west :

द्विमद्विस्थयोर्मध्यं यत् प्राग् चिनमनादपि ।

प्रत्यग्वत् प्रथमान्तं मध्यदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

(Manusmhitā 2 : 21).

In this connection *vide* a very learned article named "Note on the Middle Country of Ancient India" by Rhys Davids in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January 1904.

Dharma (doctrine) up as the prize they began the debate, and finally Dharmakīrti was victorious. Kumārila and his 500 followers became followers of Buddha.¹

Dharmakīrti further withstood the Nirgranthas (Jainas), Rāhuvratin and others, who lived within Dharmakīrti's triumph. the range of the Vindhya mountains.² Returning to Dravali (Drāviḍa) he challenged by criers those who were ready for debate. The majority of the Tirthas fled; and some actually confessed that they were not equal to the fight. He re-established all the religious schools that had fallen into decay in that country, and lived in the loneliness of the forest given up to meditation.

Dharmakīrti towards the end of his life erected a vibāra in the land of Kalinga, and after having converted many people to the Law (*Dharma*) passed away. Those of his pupils, who by their lives had become like Brahma, carried him to the cemetery for cremation. Then there fell a heavy rain of flowers, and for seven days the whole country was filled with fragrance and music.

This Ācārya (Dharmakīrti) and the Tibetan king Sron-tsan-gam-po are said to have been contemporaries, which statement might be accepted as authoritative.

From this account it is evident that Dharmakīrti was a pupil of Dharmapāla. As the latter lived in 635 A.D., Dharmakīrti must also have lived about that time. This date agrees well with the statement that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Sron-

¹ This tradition, which is recorded in the Chog-byun of Tārānātha, is repeated in the Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan, as follows:—

དེའི་ཚེ་གཞན་ཚུ་རྒྱལ་པས་ཤོས་ནས་ཁྲོས་ཏི་འཁོར་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་བཅས་པོང་ནས་བརྩོམ་ཚེ་ཁོ་ལོ་བུ་མོང་
མིན་པའི་དམ་བཅས་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་བོ་སྲུ་རྣམས་ལྷ་རྩེ་ནང་པར་གཞུགས།

(Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, p. 106).

The extract may be translated thus:—Upon this Kumārila was enraged and appeared with 500 attendants for debate. Being defeated he and his attendants became, in pursuance of his extraordinary pledge, followers of Buddha.

² While sojourning in the Vindhya mountains Dharmakīrti was invited by a neighbouring king who, as a token of honour, had the following inscription recorded on his gate:—

གལ་ཏེ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པ་ཡི།
སྤྱི་བའི་ཏེ་ས་རྒྱལ་པ་ན།
ཚོས་ནམས་གཏེད་ཁོག་ཡང་ན་གྱི།
ཚོས་མ་ཡིན་ནམས་ད་གཤོད་ཁོངས།།

(Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan, p. 106).

If Dharmakīrti, the sun among disputants, sets and his doctrines sleep or die, the false doctrines of the Tirthikas will then rise.

tsan-gam-po who lived during 627—698 A.D.¹ It seems that in 635 A.D., Dharmakīrti was very young as Hwen-thsang does not mention him. On the other hand I-tsing, who travelled over India during 671—695 A.D., declares eloquently how “Dharmakīrti made further improvement in Logic”² after Dignāga. The Brāhmanic logician Uddyotakara³ is attacked by Dharmakīrti. The Mīmāṃsaka Sureśvarācārya,⁴ author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārtika, and the Digambara Jaina Vidyānanda, author of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā,⁵ have on the contrary criticised the definition of perception (*Pratyakṣa*) as given by Dharmakīrti, who is sometimes designated by the shorter name Kīrti. Vācaspati Miśra⁶ too quotes Dharmakīrti to criticise him.

107. Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā.

Dharmakīrti is the author of numerous works on Logic. The Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā is one of them. A verse⁷ of this work was quoted by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya in the 14th

¹ Vide Wassilief, p. 54; and Csoma de Koros's Tibetan Grammar, p. 183

² Takakusu's I-tsing, p. lviii.

³ Vide K. B. Pathak's "Bhartṛhari and Kumāriḷa," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1892, vol. xviii, p. 229.

* Cf. -

विद्येव त्वविनाभावाद्दिति यदर्थकीर्तिना ।
प्रत्यक्षादि प्रतिज्ञेयं हीवेनासौ न संशयः ॥

(Sureśvara's Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārtika, chap. vi.)

⁵ Vide *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xix, 1895—97, p. 56.

⁶ Cf. यथाह वरुणकीर्तिः—

तस्माद्गार्थेन च ज्ञाने ह्युल्लाभासस्तदात्मनः ।
एकत्र प्रतिविबलाद्दुःखेपि न संभवः ॥

(Vācaspati's Bhāmātī on Vedānta-sūtra, 2-2-28).

⁷ The verse runs thus:—

भेदश्च शक्तिविद्यमानिः ह्येतेन्द्राविवादये ॥

(Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā quoted in Mādhavācārya's Sarvadarsanasamgraha, chapter on Bauddha darśana).

The Tibetan version of the verse runs as follows:—

कुसु-क्षेप-वस्तु-वस-ह्यु-म-ग-रु-सा ॥

भेद-य-व-द-द-स-रु-द-व-व-सि-क ॥

(Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā embodied in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, folio 239 Vide Louis de la Vallée Pous-sin's Le Bouddhisme d'après les sources brahmaniques, p. 34).

century A.D. The following story¹ is told regarding the composition of this work :—

It is said that Dharmakīrti studied many dialectic sāstras, but his spirit was not satisfied. Once at the house of one Īśvara Sena,² a pupil of Dignāga, he heard the Pramāṇa-samuccaya. Having heard it for the first time, he at once became as proficient as Īśvara Sena who had minutely studied the work. When he heard it the second time, he became like Dignāga, the author of the work, and when he heard it the third time, he recognized several errors in the work. When he mentioned them to Īśvara Sena, the latter so far from being displeased, told him that he was at liberty to condemn all the mistakes of the work and to prepare a critical commentary on it. With the permission thus received he composed a metrical commentary on the Pramāṇa-samuccaya called the Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā.

The Sanskrit original of the Pramāṇa-vārtika appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ of it in the Bṣtan-hgyur, section Mdo, volume Ce, folios 194—258. This translation was prepared by the Indian sage Subhūti-śrī-śānti and the Tibetan interpreter Dge-wa-hi-blo-gros. The work in Tibetan is called Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-tshig signifying “Memorial Verses explanatory of *Pramāṇa* or Sources of Knowledge.” The work is divided into four chapters as follows :—(1) Inference for one’s own self (in Tibetan : Raṅ-gi-don-rjes-su-dpag-pa, in Sanskrit : *Svārthānumāna*) ; (2) Establishment of *Pramāṇa* (in Tibetan : Tsad-ma-grub-pa, in Sanskrit : *Pramāṇa-siddhi*) ; (3) Perception (in Tibetan : Mñon-sum, in Sanskrit : *Pratyakṣa*) ; and (4) Words for the sake of others (in Tibetan : Gshan-gyi-don-gyi-tshig, in Sanskrit : *Parārtha-vākya*). The colophon⁴ of the work runs as follows :—“Here is finished

¹ Vide Tārānātha’s *Geschichte des Buddhismus* von Schiefner, p. 176.

² It seems that Īśvara Sena, in whose house Dharmakīrti heard the Pramāṇa-samuccaya, was not a direct pupil of Dignāga, for, while Dignāga lived about 500 A.D., Dharmakīrti lived about 635 A.D.

³ I have consulted the copy of this work embodied in the Bṣtan-hgyur of the India Office, London.

* རྩོམ་པའི་ལུགས་ལ་མཚོན་པའི་ལུགས་ལ་
 ལུགས་ལྟོ་ལྟོགས་ཀྱི་གྱིད་བྱ་བྱུང་བ།
 བཞུང་ལུགས་འདྲ་བ་ལས་ཅད་ཚེས་ཤིན་ཏུ་འཇུག་པར་འཇུག་པ།
 ལྷན་པའི་ལུགས་ལས་མའི་ལྷན་པ་ལུགས་ལ་བྱུང་བ།
 འཇུག་ལྟོ་ལྟོགས་ལ་མཚོན་པའི་ལུགས་ལས་འཕྲོད་པ་ལྟོགས་སོ།།

(Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā in Bṣtan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, leaf 258).

Vide Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana’s Introduction to “Bilingual Index of *Nvāvabindu*” published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of Calcutta.

the Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā of Śrī Dharmakīrti who was born in a family of the Deccan, who exposed largely the errors of all the vicious texts (of the Tīrthikas), whose fame filled the entire earth, and who as a great sage had no rival ”

108. Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti.

There was a sub-commentary on the Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā called Pramāṇa vārtika-vṛtti by Dharmakīrti himself. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost. There exists, however, a Tibetan translation¹ of it in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, folios 420-535. In Tibetan the work is named Tshaḍ-ma-ṅnam hḡrel-gyi-hḡrel-wa. In the concluding lines of the work Dharmakīrti is described as “ a great teacher and dialectician, whose fame filled all quarters of the earth and who was, as it were, a lion, pressing down the head of elephant-like debaters.”²

109. Pramāṇa viniścaya.

Pramāṇa-viniścaya, quoted³ by Mādhavācārya, is another work on Logic by Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this

¹ I have consulted the Tibetan xylograph of this work embodied in the Bstan-hgyur of the India Office, London.

² དེགས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མའི་ལྷན་མ་གྲུབ་པ་ན་སྤྱི་པའི་སྤང་བོ་ཆེན་གྱི་བོ་གནོན་པར་མཛད་པའི་སྤང་གེ་རྩོགས་མ་གྲུབ་པར་རྟོན་པར་བྲགས་པ་ཅན་དཔལ་སྤོབ་དཔོན་ཆོས་གྲགས་ལྟུང་བ །

(Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti opening lines).

³ The following verses of Pramāṇa-viniścaya were quoted in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha, chapter on Bauddha darśana, by the Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya in the 14th century A.D. :—

नान्योऽनुभाषो बुद्ध्याति तस्या नानुभवोऽपरः ।
 प्राज्ञादाहकवैभुष्यात् स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥ (क)
 सद्योपलभनियमाद् अभेदो नीलतद्विधोः ॥ (ख)
 अविभागोऽपि बुद्ध्यात्मा विपर्ययसितदर्शनैः ।
 प्राज्ञादाहकसंविप्तिभेदवानिव लक्ष्यते ॥ (ग)

(Pramāṇa-viniścaya, chap. I).

Prof. Louis de la Vallee Poussin in his “ Le Bouddhisme d’après les sources brahmaniques,” pp. 32 and 34, identifies the above verses with their Tibetan versions as follows :—

སྤོ་ལེས་རྟོམས་ལྟུང་བ་གནོན་ཡོད་མེད །།
 དེ་ལོ་ལྟུང་བ་གནོན་ཡོད་མིན །།
 གཟུང་དང་འཛིན་པ་མེད་པའི་ལྟུང །།
 དེ་ལྷི་ལྟུང་རང་རྟོན་བསམ །། (ཀ)
 ལྟུང་ཅེག་དམིགས་པ་ངེས་པའི་ལྟུང །།

work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ of it in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ce, folios 259—347. The translation was prepared by the Kāśmīrian Paṇḍita Parahita Bhadra and the Tibetan interpreter Blo-ldan-śes-rab in the matchless city of Kāśmīra. The work in Tibetan is called Tshad-ma rnan-par-ñes-pa signifying “Determination of Pramāna, or Sources of Knowledge.” The work is divided into three chapters as follows:—(1) System of Perception (in Tibetan: Mñon-sum-gtan-la-dwab-pa, in Sanskrit: *Pratyakṣa-vyavasthā*); (2) Inference for one’s own self (in Tibetan: Rañ-gi-don-gyi-rjes-su-dpag-pa, in Sanskrit: *Svārthānumāna*); and (3) Inference for the sake of others (in Tibetan: Gshan-gyi-don-gyi-rjes-su-dpag-pa, in Sanskrit: *Parārthānumāna*). In the concluding lines Dharmakīrti is described as a great sage of unrivalled fame born in Southern India.

110. Nyāya-bindu.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE NYĀYA-BINDU.

Nyāya-bindu is another excellent work on Logic by Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work was discovered among the palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the Jaina temple of Sāntinātha, Cambay, and has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica series of Calcutta by Professor Peterson. There exists a Tibetan translation² of the work in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ce, folios 347—355. The work in Tibetan is called Rigs-paḥi-thigs-pa signifying “A Drop of Logic.” It is divided into three chapters as follows: (1) Perception (in Tibetan: Mñon-sum, in Sanskrit: *Pratyakṣa*); (2) Inference for one’s own self (in Tibetan: Bdag-gi-don-gyi-rjes-su-dpag-pa, in Sanskrit: *Svārthānumāna*); and (3) Inference for the sake of others (in Tibetan: Gshan-gyi-don-rjes-su-dpag-pa, in Sans-

ལྷོ་བདག་ཚཱ་པར་དབྱར་མེད་གྲུང་།།

མཐོང་བ་ལྱིན་ཅེ་ལྷག་ཚཱ་ས་གྱིས།།

གཟུང་བ་འཛིན་པ་རིག་པ་ཚཱ་ས།།

ཐམས་ཅད་དང་བཅས་བཞིན་རྫོགས་འགྱུར།། (ག)

(Pramāna-miśraṅka, chap. I, embodied in the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ce, folios 272, 274 and 273 respectively).

¹ I have consulted the Tibetan xylograph of this work embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur* of the India Office, London.

² I have consulted the Tibetan xylograph of the Nyāya-bindu embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur* of the India Office, London, as also the excellent edition of F. J. Sher-batski. The Sanskrit edition of the Nyāya-bindu and *Ṭikā* (by F. J. Sherebataki) is also available now. Compare a “Bilingual Index of Nyāyabindu” by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

krit: *Parārthānumāna*). Some of the subjects discussed in the work are noted below.

Perception.

In chapter I, it is stated that all objects of man are accomplished by perfect or valid knowledge. Valid knowledge is of two kinds: (1) Perception (in Sanskrit: *Pratyakṣa*) and (2) Inference (in Sanskrit: *Anumāna*). Perception, which is knowledge derived through the senses, etc., is described as that which is free from preconception (*kalpanā*) and devoid of error (*abhrānta*). Preconception refers to the experiences of false images which appear real as if they were capable of being addressed and touched, e.g. the shadow of a tree may appear as the tree itself or a rope may appear as a snake. Error is caused by such causes as darkness, quick motion, journey by boat, shaking, etc.; for instance, to a man journeying by boat, trees on both banks appear to move. Perception is of four kinds: (1) perception by the five senses; (2) perception by the mind; (3) self-consciousness; and (4) knowledge of a contemplative saint. An object of perception is like itself (*sva-lakṣaṇa*) while an object of inference is like any one of its class (*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*); for instance, a cow which I see is a peculiar one possessing an infinite number of qualities which distinguish it from all cows, whereas a cow which I infer is a general one possessing certain qualities in common with other cows: that is, perception is individual knowledge while inference is general knowledge. According to the proximity or remoteness of an object, perception of it varies. This is the peculiar characteristic of an object of perception, and this characteristic proves the object to be absolutely real (*paramārtha-sat*), as it shows that it possesses some practical efficiency, and this characteristic also shows that perception is a source of valid knowledge for it exactly corresponds to the object perceived.

Inference for one's self.

In chapter II, Inference for one's own self (*Svārthānumāna*) is defined as the knowledge of the inferable derived through the reason or middle term bearing its three forms or characteristics. In the instance 'this hill has fire, because it has smoke,' the knowledge of the hill as having fire is derived through smoke which is the reason or middle term.

Definition of Inference for one's own self.

The three forms or characteristics of the reason or middle term are the following:—

- (1) The middle term must abide in the minor term. e.g.

The hill has fire,
Because it has smoke,
Like a kitchen, but unlike a lake.

In this reasoning there must be 'smoke' on the 'hill.'

(2) The middle term must abide only in cases which are homologous with the major term, *e.g.* in the above reasoning 'smoke' abides in a kitchen which is homologous with things that contain fire

(3) The middle term must never abide in cases which are heterologous from the major term, *e.g.* in the above reasoning 'smoke' does not abide in a lake which is heterologous from things that contain fire.

The middle term is of three kinds according to the relation which it bears to the major term, thus:—

(1) Identity (in Tibetan : Rañ-bshin, in Sanskrit : *Svabhāva*),
e.g.

This is a tree,
Because it is śimśapā.

(2) Effect (in Tibetan : Hbraṣ-bu, in Sanskrit : *Kārya*), *e.g.*
Here there is fire, because there is smoke.

(3) Non-perception (in Tibetan : Mi-dmigs-pa, in Sanskrit : *Anupalabdhi*), which is of 11 kinds as follows:—

(i) Non-perception of identity (*Svabhāvānupalabdhi*), *e.g.*
Here is no smoke, because it is not perceived (though smoke is of such a nature that it is perceptible if existent).

(ii) Non-perception of effect (*Kāryānupalabdhi*), *e.g.*
Here there are no causes of smoke of unobstructed capacity, because there is no smoke here.

(iii) Non-perception of the pervader or container (*Vyāpakānupalabdhi*), *e.g.*

Here there is no Śimśapā, because there is no tree at all

(iv) Perception contrary to identity (*Svabhāva-viruddhopalabdhi*), *e.g.*

There is no cold sensation here, because there is fire.

(v) Perception of the opposite effect (*Viruddha-kāryopalabdhi*),
e.g.

Here there is no cold sensation, because there is smoke.

(vi) Perception of contrary connection (*Viruddha-vvāntopalabdhi*), *e.g.*

Even the destruction of the past entity is not certain, because it is dependent on other causes.

(vii) Perception contrary to the effect (*Kārya-viruddhopalabdhi*).
e.g.

Here there are no causes of cold of unobstructed capacity, because there is fire.

(viii) Perception contrary to the container (vyāpakaviruddho-
palabdhi), e.g.

Here there is no icy sensation, because there is fire.

(ix) Non-perception of the cause (Kāraṇānupalabdhi), e.g.

There is no smoke, because there is no fire.

(x) Perception contrary to the cause (Kāraṇa-viruddho-
labdhi), e.g.

Hair on his body does not stand erect, because he sits
near a fire.

(xi) Perception of effect contrary to its cause (Kāraṇa-viruddha-
kāryopalabdhi), e.g.

This place does not contain any person on whose body
hair stands erect, because there is smoke here.

Inference for the sake of others.

In chapter III, Inference for the sake of others (*Parārthā-
numāna*) is defined as the declaration of
the three-formed middle term in words :
that is, when the reason is set forth in
words with a view to producing a conviction in others, it is said
to be an inference for the sake of others.

Inference is a kind of knowledge ; and words are here called
inference by the attributing of effect to cause, for, though they
are not themselves knowledge, they produce it. Inference for the
sake of others is of two kinds : (1) positive or homogeneous (in
Sanskrit : *Sādharmaavat*) ; and (2) negative or heterogeneous (in
Sanskrit : *Vaidharmaavat*), as follows :—

(a) Sound is non-eternal,

Because it is a product,

All products are non-eternal as a pot (positive).

(b) Sound is non-eternal,

Because it is a product,

No non-non-eternal, i.e. eternal (thing) is a product as
ether (negative).

The minor term (*Pakṣa*) is that to which the relation of the
major term is to be proved, as—This hill
has fire, because it has smoke. In this
reasoning 'hill' is the minor term which is to be proved as having
'fire' which is the major term. A minor term and its correspond-
ing major term combined together, constitute a proposition which,
when offered for proof, is called a thesis.

Fallacies of the thesis
or Pakṣābhāsa.

There are four fallacies of the thesis
(*Pakṣābhāsa*).

A thesis is fallacious if it is incompatible with—

(1) Perception, e.g. Sound is inaudible ;

(2) Inference. e.g. Sound is eternal :

- (4) One's own statement, *e.g.* Inference is not a source of knowledge.

It has already been stated that the middle term must possess three characteristics. Fallacies of the middle term (*Hetvābhāsa*) occur even if one of the characteristics is unproved, uncertain or contradictory, thus—

A. Unproved (*asiādha*).

- (1) Sound is eternal, because it is visible.

(Visibility of sound is admitted by neither party).

- (2) Trees are conscious, because they die if their bark is taken off.

(This peculiar kind of death of trees is not admitted by the opponent).

- (3) The hill has fire, because it has vapour.

(Vapour as an effect of fire is questioned).

- (4) The soul is all-pervading, because it is perceived everywhere.

(It is a matter of doubt whether the soul is perceived everywhere).

B. Uncertain (*anaikāntika*)

- (1) Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is knowable.

(The knowable is too general, because it includes the eternal as well as the non-eternal).

- (6) A certain man is omniscient,
Because he is a speaker.

(The reason is not general enough, for speakers are not necessarily either omniscient or non-omniscient).

C. Contradictory (*viruddha*).

- (7) Sound is eternal,
Because it is a product.

(Here 'product' is not homogeneous with 'eternal,' that is, the middle term is opposed to the major term).

- (8) Sound is eternal,
Because it is a product.

(Here 'product' is not heterogeneous from 'non-eternal').

Example is of two kinds: (1) homogeneous and (2) heterogeneous. Fallacies of the homogeneous

- (1) Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
Like action.

(Action cannot serve as an example, because it is not eternal, that is, because it is excluded from the major term).

- (2) Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
Like atoms.

(Atoms cannot serve as an example, because they are not incorporeal, that is, because they are excluded from the middle term).

- (3) Sound is eternal,
Because it is incorporeal,
Like a pot.

(Pot cannot serve as an example, because it is neither eternal nor incorporeal, that is, because it is excluded from both major and middle terms).

- (4) This man is passionate.
Because he is a speaker,
Like the person in the street.

(The person in the street cannot serve as an example, as it is questionable whether he is passionate, that is, it involves doubt as to the validity of the major term).

- (5) This man is mortal,
Because he is passionate,
Like the person in the street.

(This example involves doubt as to the validity of the middle term, that is, it is questionable whether the person in the street is passionate).

- (6) This man is non-omniscient,
Because he is passionate,
Like the person in the street.

(This example involves doubt as to the validity of both the major and middle terms, that is, it is questionable whether the person in the street is passionate and non-omniscient).

- (7) This man is passionate,
Because he is a speaker,
Like a certain person.

(This example is unconnected (*ananvaya*), for there is no inseparable connection between being 'passionate' and being a 'speaker').

- (8) Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product.

(This example involves the fallacy of 'connection unshown,' *apradarśitānvaya* : the connection should be shown as follows : All products are non-eternal like a pot).

- (9) Sound is a product,
Because it is non-eternal,
All non-eternal things are products like a pot.

(The example involves the fallacy of inverted connection, *viparītānvaya* : the real connection should be shown as follows : All products are non-eternal like a pot)

Similarly there are nine fallacies of the heterogeneous example.

Refutation (Dūṣaṇa) consists in pointing out in the reasoning of an opponent any one of the fallacies mentioned above. The fallacies or semblances of refutation are the analogues or futilities called in Sanskrit *Jāti*.¹

In the concluding lines of the *Nyāyabindu* it is stated by the translators that "Dharmakīrti vanquished the entire Tīrthikas as Śākyamuni had subdued the large army of Māra ; and as the sun dispels darkness, the *Nyāyabindu* has exterminated the Ātmaka theory (that is, the Tīrthika doctrine)—wonderful !"²

Dharmakīrti criticises Dignāga.

The opposition of the middle term to the major term is a kind of fallacy called contradiction which is admitted by both Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. Opposition of the middle term to the implied major term (in the event of the major term being ambiguous) is noted by Dignāga in his *Nyāya-praveśa*³ as another kind of fallacy called implied contradiction (in Sanskrit: *iṣṭa-vighāta-kṛt-viruddha*, and in Tibetan: *chos-kyi-khyad-par-phyin-ci-log-tu-sgrub-par-byed-*

¹ For *Jāti* vide *Nyāya-sūtra*, Book I, aphorism 58.

²

སྐྱུ་ལྷ་ལས་བྱུང་གྱི་ལྗོངས་ཅེ ॥

ཚམས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པས་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་ལས་མ་ལུས་པ ॥

རྟེན་མས་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་ལས་ཤིགས་པའི་ཤིགས་པ་ཡིས ॥

བདག་གི་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་ལས་བྱུང་འོ་མཚོར་རྟེན ॥

(*Nyāya-bindu*).

³ Vide *Nyāya-praveśa*, Fallacies of the Middle Term, concluding lines

pa). Dharmakīrti in his Nyāya-bindu rejects this view saying that this second contradiction is included in the first kind.¹

An illustration of the second or implied contradiction is given thus :—

The eyes, etc., are for the use of another,
Because they are composite things,
Like a bed, seat, etc.

Here the major term “another” is ambiguous, inasmuch as it may signify either a composite thing (e.g. the body) or a non-composite thing (e.g. the soul). There would be a contradiction between the middle term and the major term if the word “another” were used by the speaker in the sense of a non-composite thing, but understood by the listener in the sense of a composite thing. The reasoning would then involve a contradiction of the middle term to the desired or implied major term.

Dharmakīrti² in his Nyāyā-bindu considers this case as an illustration of the first or natural contradiction. A word, which is the major term of a proposition, can, as such, admit of only one meaning, and if there is ambiguity between the meaning expressed and the meaning implied the real meaning is to be ascertained from the context. If the meaning implied is the real one, there is a natural contradiction between the middle term and the major term.

Dignāga³ mentions yet another fallacy called the “non-erroneous contradiction” (*viruddhā vyabhīcāri*, called in Tibetan: *hgal-wa-la-mi-khrul-pa*) which he includes among the

Non-erroneous contradiction.

¹ तत्र च द्वितीयांशमपि दृढविद्यामल्लकु विरुद्धः ।... स इह कस्मान्नोक्तः अन्यथोरेव सम्भवात् ।

(Nyāya-bindu, Peterson's edition, Bibliotheca Indica series, chapter III, p. 413.

अथ च विरुद्ध आचार्यं दिङ्नागेन उक्तः । स कस्मात् वार्तिककारेण सता खया उक्तः ।

(Nyāya-bindu-tīkā, Peterson's edition, Bibliotheca Indica series, chapter III, p. 78).

Compare K. B. Pathaka's “On the authorship of the Nyāyā-bindu” in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIX, p. 51.

² Nyāya-bindu, A.S.B., chapter III, pp. 113--114.

³ Vide Nyāya-praveśa in the *Bstan-hgyur*, Mdo, Ce, leaf 185. See ante Nyāya-praveśa, fallacy of the middle term.

विरुद्धावभिचार्यपि संशयहेतुवक्तः । स इह कस्मान्नोक्तः अनुमानविषये ऽसम्भवात् ।

अनु आचार्य्येव विरुद्धावभिचार्यपि संशयहेतुवक्तः । क्व तर्हि आचार्यं दिङ्नागेन अथं हेतुवोरेव उक्त इत्याह ।... तस्मादात्मसाक्ष्यमनुमानसादित्य विरुद्धावभिचार्युक्तः ।

(Nyāya-bindu-tīkā, p. 84

Compare also Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIX

“fallacies of uncertainty.” It takes place when two contradictory conclusions are supported by what appear to be valid reasons, e.g. :

A Vaiśeṣika philosopher says :—

Sound is non-eternal,
Because it is a product.

A Mīmāṃsaka replies :—

Sound is eternal,
Because it is audible.

The reasons employed in the above cases are supposed both to be correct according, respectively, to the tenets of the Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā Schools, but as they lead to contradictory conclusions they are uncertain and, as such, fallacious.

Dharmakīrti¹ in the Nyāya-hindu rejects this fallacy of “non-erroneous contradiction,” on the ground that it does not arise in connection with inference and is not based even on the scripture. A reason or middle term, which is valid, must stand to the major term in the relation of identity, causality or non-perception, and must lead to a correct conclusion.

Two conclusions which are contradictory can not be supported by reasons which are valid. Two different sets of scripture too can not be of any help in the establishment of two contradictory conclusions inasmuch as a scripture can not override perception and inference, and is authoritative only in the ascertainment of supersensuous objects. The non-erroneous contradiction is therefore impossible.

In opposition to Dignāga, Dharmakīrti² maintains that ‘ex-

The function of an ex- ample’ is not a part of a syllogism, as it is ample. included in the middle term, e.g.

¹ Nyāya-bindu, chap. III, p. 115.

² विरूपोऽहेतुद्वयः । तावन्तैव अर्थप्रतीतिरिति न ह्यद्य दृष्टान्तो नाम साधनावयवः कश्चित् वेदास्य लक्षणं पृथग् [न] उच्यते प्रतार्थत्वात् ।

(Nyāya-bindu, Peterson's edition, Bibliotheca Indica series, pp. 115—116).

The omission of न is perhaps an oversight. The न or negation appears in the Tibetan version which runs as follows :—

གཏན་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་རྟེན་གསུང་མཁོ་ས་པ་དེ་ཙམ་གྱིས་དོན་རྟོགས་པས།

དཔེ་རྟོགས་བྱ་བ་ལྟུང་པའི་ཡན་ལག་རྩི་ལོགས་སེག་ཏུ་མེ་ཡང་མེད་དོ།

དེས་ན་དེའི་མཚན་རྟེན་ལོགས་སེག་ཏུ་མ་བཟོད་དེ་དོན་གོ་བའི་བྱེད།

(Nyāya-bindu, Sher-batski's edition; St. Petersburg, p. 193).

The hill is fiery,
Because it is smoky,
Like a kitchen.

In this reasoning the term 'smoky' includes a 'kitchen,' as well as other similar things, hence it is almost unnecessary to cite the example 'kitchen.' Nevertheless, says Dharmakīrti, the example has this much value¹ that it points out in a particular way what has been expressed in a general form by the middle term: thus, the general expression "all smoky things are fiery" is made more impressive by the particular example 'kitchen' which is smoky as well as fiery.

111. Hetu-bindu-vivaraṇa.

The Hetu-bindu-vivaraṇa is another excellent work on Logic by Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, folios 355—375. The work in Tibetan is called Gtan-tshigs-kyi-thigs-pa signifying "A Drop of Reason." The work is divided into three chapters as follows:—

(1) Relation of identity between the middle term and the major term (in Tibetan: Raṅ-bshin-gyi-gtan-tshigs, in Sanskrit: *Svabhāva-hetu*); (2) Relation of effect and cause between the middle term and the major term (in Tibetan: Hbras-buḥi-gtan-tshigs, in Sanskrit: *Kārya-hetu*); and (3) Relation of negation between the middle term and the heterogeneous major term (in Tibetan: Mi-dmigs-paḥi-gtan-tshigs, in Sanskrit: *Anupalabdhi-hetu*).

112. Tarka-nyāya or Vāda-nyāya.

The Tarka-nyāya or Vāda-nyāya is another treatise on Logic by Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ce, folios 384—416. The work in Tibetan is called Rtsod-paḥi-rigs-pa, signifying the "Method of Discussion." The Tibetan translation was prepared by the great Indian sage Jñāna-śrī-bhadra and the Tibetan interpreter-monk Dge-waḥi-blo-gros. The translation was retouched by the great Paṇḍita Dīpaṅkara (of Vikramaṇipura in Bengal, born in 980 A.D. and started for Tibet in 1040 A.D.) and the interpreter-monk Dar-ma-grags.

¹ ... उक्तम् अभेदेन... पुनर्विशेषणं दर्शनीयावुक्तौ ।

(Nyāya-bindu, p. 116).

² I have consulted the copy embodied in the Bstan-hgyur of the India Office, London.

³ I have consulted the work embodied in the Bstan-hgyur of the India Office,

113. *Santānāntara-siddhi*.

The *Santānāntara-siddhi*, also called *Tantrāntara-siddhi*, is a philosophical treatise by Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of the work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan version¹ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ce*, folios 416—420. The work in Tibetan is called *Rgyud-gshan-grub-pa* signifying “Proof of the Continuity of Succession.” The Tibetan translation was prepared by the Indian sage Viśuddha Simha and the Tibetan official interpreter *Dpal-rtsegs*.

114. *Sambandha-parikṣā*.

The *Sambandha-parikṣā* is another philosophical treatise by Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of the work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ce*, folios 375—377. The work in Tibetan is called *Hbrel-wa-brtag-pa* signifying “Examination of Connection.” The Tibetan translation was prepared by the Indian teacher Jñāna-garbha and the interpreter *Vande-nam-mkhas*.

115. *Sambandha-parikṣā-vṛtti*.

The *Sambandha-parikṣā vṛtti*³ is a commentary on the *Sambandha-parikṣā* by Dharmakīrti himself. The Sanskrit original of the work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ce*, folios 377—384. The work in Tibetan is called *Hbrel-wa-brtag-paḥi-hgrel-wa*.

116. DEVENDRABODHI
(ABOUT 650 A.D.).

Devendrabodhi, called in Tibetan *Lha-dwan-ḥlo*, was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti,⁴ and so lived about 650 A.D. He wrote the following work on Logic:—

The *Framāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā*, called in Tibetan *Tshaḍ-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-dkah-hgrel*, signifying “An Explanation of Difficulties in the *Framāṇa-vārtika* of Dharmakīrti.” The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁵ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Che*, folios 1—380. The translation was

¹ I have consulted the Tibetan version embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur* of the India Office, London.

² I have consulted the copy embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur* of the India Office, London.

³ I have consulted the copy of this work embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur* of the India Office, London.

⁴ *Vide Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 186—187.

⁵ I consulted the work in the monastery of Labrang in Sikkim in 1907.

prepared by the Indian sage Subhūti-śrī and the Tibetan interpreter-monk Dge-waḥi-blo-gros.

This story¹ is told regarding the composition of the Pramāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā :—

Dharmakīrti chose Devendrabodhi to write a commentary on his Pramāṇa-vārtika. After Devendrabodhi had finished the commentary for the first time and had shown it to Dharmakīrti, the latter erased it with water. After he had compiled it a second time, Dharmakīrti burnt it in fire. He then compiled it a third time and gave it to Dharmakīrti with the observation ; “ Since the majority of men are incompetent and time is fleeting, I have written this commentary for the people of lighter understanding.” This time Dharmakīrti allowed the work to exist.

117. ŚĀKYABODHI (ABOUT 675 A.D.).

Śākyabodhi² is stated to have been a pupil of Devendrabodhi. He seems to have lived about 675 A.D. He was the author of the following work :—

The Pramāṇa vārtika(-pañjikā)-ṭikā, called in Tibetan : Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-hgrel-bśad, which is an annotation on the Pramāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā of Devendrabodhi. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ which covers volumes Je and Ne of the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo. The translation was prepared by the interpreter Dge-waḥi-blo-gros.

118. VINITA DEVA (ABOUT 700 A.D.).

Vinīta Deva,⁴ called in Tibetan Dul-lha, lived in Nālandā during the time of king Lalita Candra, son of Govi Candra, and Dharmakīrti died during the time of Govi Candra. Vimāla Candra, the father of Govi Candra, was married to the sister of Bhartṛhari, who sprang from the ancient royal family of Malwa. Supposing this Bhartṛhari to be identical with the famous grammarian of that name who died in 651—652 A.D.,⁵ we may place his contemporary Govi Candra in the middle of the 7th century A.D. This is exactly the time when Dharmakīrti died. Hence we may conclude that Lalita Candra, son of Govi Candra,

¹ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 186—187.

² Vide Tārānāth's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. 187.

³ I consulted this work in the monastery of Labrang in Sikkim in 1907.

⁴ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 195—198, 272 ; *Dpag-ḥsam-ljon-bzan* edited by Sarat Chandra Das, pp. xiviii, 108.

⁵ Vide Takakusu's *Issing*, p. lvii.

flourished towards the end of the 7th century A.D. Vinīta Deva, contemporary of Lalita Candra, must also have lived about this time, a view which harmonises with the date of Dharmakīrti on whose works Vinīta Deva wrote commentaries.

Vinīta Deva, who was the famous author of the Samayaḥhedoparacana-cakra, wrote the following works on Logic :—

Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā, called in Tibetan : Rigs-paḥi-thigs-pa-rgya-cher-ḥgrel-wa, which is a detailed commentary on the Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but a Tibetan translation¹ of it exists in the Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, She, folios 1—43. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Jina Mitra and the interpreter of Shu-chen named Vande-ye-śe-sde.

Hetu-bindu-ṭīkā, called in Tibetan : Gtan-tshigs-kyi-thigs-pa-rgya-cher-ḥgrel-wa, which is a detailed commentary on the Hetu-bindu of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² in the Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, She, folios 116—205. The translation was prepared by the Indian teacher Prajñā Varma and the interpreter-monk of Shu-chen named Dpal-brtsegs-raksita.

Vādā-nyāya-vyākhyā, called in Tibetan : Rtsod-paḥi-rigs-paḥi-ḥgrel-wa, which is a commentary on the Vāda-nyāya (otherwise called Tarka-nyāya) of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ in the Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, Ze, folios 39—65. The work opens thus : "Who is self-perfected in sweet logical discussion, supreme in patience, affection, charity and self-restraint, and who is the most excellent of logicians—to him (Buddha) bowing down I compose a commentary on the text of Vāda-nyāya."

Sambandha-parīkṣā-ṭīkā, called in Tibetan Ḥbrel-pa-paḥi-rgya-cher-bśad-pa, which is a copious commentary on the Sambandhaparīkṣā of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁴ in the Bstan-ḥgyur, Mdo, Ze, folios 1—24. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Jñāna-garbha and the Tibetan interpreter Vande-nam-mkhaṣ. The work opens thus :—

"Who is entirely unconnected with the world, and is yet designated as the supreme teacher of it—to him bowing down fully I explain the Sambandha-parīkṣā."

Ālambana-parīkṣā-ṭīkā, called in Tibetan Dmigs-pa-brtag-

¹ This work was brought down to Calcutta by the British Mission to Tibet during 1904. I examined it by permission of the Government of India. It is now deposited in the British Museum, London.

² I examined this work, by permission of the Government of India, when it was brought down to Calcutta by the British Mission to Tibet, 1904.

³ I have consulted the India Office copy.

⁴ I have consulted the India Office copy.

paḥi-hḡrel-bśad, is an annotation on the *Ālambaṇa-parīkṣā* of Dignāga. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, folios 186—200. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Śākya-simha and the interpreter Vande-dpal-brtsegs of Shu-chen. The work opens thus:—

“Meditating on the merciful Omniscient One, and saluting him by my head, I compose the *Ālambaṇa-parīkṣā-ṭikā*.”

It ends thus:—

“Here is finished the *Ālambaṇa-parīkṣā-ṭikā*, which is a clean work of the teacher Vinita Deva who weighed all sorts of *ālambaṇa* (objects of thought), and is a lion of speakers confounding the brains of the Tīrthika elephants”

Santānāntara-siddhi-ṭikā, called in Tibetan: *Rgyud-gshan-grub-paḥi-hḡrel-bśad*, being a commentary on the *Santānāntara-siddhi* of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Tshe*, folios 1—21. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Viśuddha-simha and the interpreter of Shu-chen named *Dpal-rtsegs-raksita*

119 RAVI GUPTA
(ABOUT 725 A.D.)

Ravi Gupta,³ called in Tibetan: *Ñi-ma-sbaṣ*, was born in Kāśmīra. He was a great poet, dialectician and Tāntric teacher, who established 12 great religious schools in his native country and Magadha. He was a contemporary of king Bharṣa of Vārendra, and flourished before Jayanta, the author of *Nyāya-mañjarī*.⁴ He must have lived in the first quarter of the eighth century A.D., for his disciple the famous Tāntric monk Sarvajña Mitra⁵ lived in the middle of that century. Ravi Gupta is mentioned in the inscription of Vasanta Sena⁶ as the *Sarva-daṇḍa-nāyaka* and *Mahāpramāṇa* in the Gupta saṁvat 435 corresponding to 754 A.D. He was the author⁷ of the following work on Logic:—

¹ I have consulted the India Office copy.

² I have consulted the India Office xylograph of the Tibetan version.

³ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 146, 147, 243, and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, part-i, pp. 90, 101, 118, xxxvii.

⁴ एतेन रविगुप्तोऽपि परिच्छानमुच्यते ।

सणिकलसमादिज्ञसनुत्प्रसङ्गपरिच्छेदः ॥

(*Nyāya-mañjarī*, chap. VII, p. 462, edited by M.M. Gangādhara Śāstri).

⁵ Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's *Sragdharā Stotra*, Introduction, p. xxx, printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of Calcutta.

⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX, p. 167.

⁷ For Ravi Gupta's *Āryā koṣa* see Rockhill's *Buddha*, p. 228; and for his

Pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti called in Tibetan: Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-hgrel-pa, which is an annotation on the Pramāṇa-vārtika of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Tshe, folios 132—252.

120. JINENDRABODHI
(ABOUT 725 A.D.).

In the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Re, there is the Tibetan version of a work called Viśālāmala-vatī-nāma-pramāṇa-samuccaya-tikā. This version was prepared by the Tibetan interpreter Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan with the assistance of Dpal-ldan-blo-gros.

The author of the original work was Jinendrabodhi, called in Tibetan Rgyal-dwañ-blo-gros, who was comparable to the Bodhisattva (Bodhisattva-deśīya). He is perhaps the same person who wrote the well-known Nyāsa on the grammar of Pāṇini in the eighth century A.D.

121. ŚĀNTA RAKṢITA
(749 A.D.).

Śānta Rakṣita,² called in Tibetan: Shi-wa-htsho, was born in the royal family of Za-hor [in Bengal or near Lahor?]. The exact date of his birth is unknown, but it is stated that he was born at the time of Go Pāla who reigned up to 705 A.D. and died at the time of Dharma Pāla who became king in 765 A.D. He followed the Svatantra Mādhyamika school, and was a Professor at Nālandā. He visited Tibet at the invitation of King Khri sroñ-deu-tsan who was born in 728 A.D. and died in 864 A.D. The king, with the assistance of Śānta Rakṣita, built in 749 A.D. the monastery of Sam-ye³ in Tibet, modelled after the Odantapura Vihāra of Magadha. Sam-ye was the first regular Buddhist monastery in Tibet and Śānta Rakṣita was its first abbot. He worked in Tibet for 13 years, that is, until 762 A.D. He was known there under the name of Ācārya Bodhisattva, and was the author of the following works on Logic:—

Vāda nyāya-vṛtti-vipañcitārtha, called in Tibetan: Rtsod-paḥi-rigs-paḥi-hbrel-pa-don-rnam-par-hbyed-pa, an elaborate commen-

works on Tantra, see Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's Sragdharā Stotra, Introduction, pp. v—vii.

¹ I have consulted the copy of the India Office, London.

² *Vide* Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan edited by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., Calcutta, p. 112.

³ For Sam-ye, སམ་ཡེ་ *vide* Csoma de Koros's Tibetan Grammar, p. 183, Sarat Chandra Das in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881, Part I, p. 226, and Waddell's Lamaism, p. 28.

tary on the Vāda-nyāya of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Tshe, folios 21—131, and in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, folios 65—186. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Kumāra-śrī-bhadra and the Tibetan interpreter-monks venerable Śeṣ-rab and Hbro-señ-kar (who was a native of the province of Hbro or Dö) in the holy monastery of Bsam-yaṣ (Sam-ye). The work opens thus:—

“Who constantly dispersing darkness by the ray of the heap of various pure precious qualities, exerted himself in fulfilling the desire of various sentient beings and rejoiced to do good to the entire world—to that Mañju-śrī bowing down in reverence, I compose this concise and stainless Vāda-nyā-vṛtti-vipaṅcitārtha.”

Tattva-saṁgraha-kārikā, called in Tibetan: De-kho-na-ñid-ḥsdus-paḥi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa, a work containing memorial verses on a summary of the Tattvas. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, He, folios 1—146. The translation was prepared by the Indian Paṇḍita Guṇākara-śrī bhadra (belonging to the religious circle first instituted by the great king Lalitāditya in the incomparable city of Kāśmīra) and the great Tibetan interpreter the Śākya monk Lha-ḥla-ma-shi-wa-ḥod in the province of Guge (S.-W. Tibet). The work reviews various systems of philosophy such as the Sāṁkhya, Jaina, etc.³

¹ I have consulted the xylograph of this work contained in the India Office, London.

² I have consulted the work in the monastery of Labrang, Sikkim, which I visited in June 1907. For a detailed account of this work *vide* my “Sāṁkhya Philosophy in the Land of the Lamas” in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series, Vol. iii, No. 8.

³ Tattvasaṁgraha herein noticed is quite different from the Tattvasammāsa, a Brāhmanic work on the Sāṁkhya philosophy, a manuscript of which is contained in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Dr George Buhler, during his explorations of the Bṛhat-jñāna-koga in the temple of Pārśva-nātha at Jesalmir, found in 1873 a *Pothi*, consisting of 189 ancient palm-leaves showing the characters of the 12th or 13th century, and bearing on the outside corner the title kamala-śīla-tarka (*vide* Dr. G. Buhler's correspondence with Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., published in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta*, Vol. 1, part II, p. x). The real name of the work, according to Dr. Buhler, is Tarka-saṁgraha. Now, this Tarka-saṁgraha is nothing but Tattvasaṁgraha of Śānta Raksita with the commentary, by Kamala Śīla. The introductory part (Maṅgala) of the Tarka-saṁgraha, as noticed by Dr. Buhler, runs as follows:—

प्रकृतौशोभयात्मादि [क्रियया] रचितं चलम् ।

कर्म्म तत्फलसम्बन्ध शब्दस्यादिसमाश्रयम् ॥

गुणद्रव्यक्रियाजातिसमवायाद्युपाधिभिः ।

शून्यमारोपिताकारशब्दप्रत्ययगोचरम् ॥

स्यलक्षणमंशुक्त प्रमादितयनिश्चितम् ।

The subject-matter of the work begins thus:—

“ From *Pradhāna* (the primordial matter or nature) possessed of entire powers, all sorts of effects are produced. ”

असंक्रान्तिसनाद्यन्तं प्रतिविम्बादिसंनिभम् ।
 सत्त्वंप्रपञ्च सन्दोहनिर्मुक्तमग्रत परैः ॥
 सतन्त्रश्रुतिनिःसङ्गो जगद्वितविधित्थया ।
 अमल्यकल्पासंख्येय सात्मीभूत महोदयः ॥
 यः प्रतीत्य सदुत्पादं जगद् वदतां वरः ।
 तं सत्त्वं प्रणम्यायं क्रियते तर्कसंप्रहः ॥

The introductory part in the *Tattvasaṅgraha* is identical with the above, as is evident from the Tibetan version extracted below:—

२८ वक्ष्ये दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 शृङ्गादिषु २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
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 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 यथा २८ दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥
 कश्चिद् दग्धं शृङ्गादिषु ॥

Dr. Bühler further observes that the first section of the *Tarku-saṅgraha* contains ईश्वर-परीक्षा (examination of God), कपिलकल्पितात्म-परीक्षा (examination of Kapila's doctrine of the soul), अपिनिषदकल्पितात्म-परीक्षा (examination of the soul according to the Upanisads), स्थिरभाव-परीक्षा (examination of permanent

The work is divided into 31 chapters, *viz.* : (1) examination of nature (in Sanskrit : *Svabhāva parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Rañ-ḥshin-ḥrtag pa); (2) examination of the sense-organs (in Sanskrit : *Indriya-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Dwañ-phyug-ḥrtag-pa); (3) examination of both (in Sanskrit : *Ubhaya-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Gñis-ka-ḥrtag-pa); (4) examination of the theory that the world is self-existent (in Sanskrit : *Jagat-svabhāva vāda-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Hgro-wa-rañ-ḥshin-du-smra-wa-ḥrtag-pa); (5) examination of Brāhma the presiding deity of sound (in Sanskrit : *Śabda-Brahma-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Sgrahi-tshañs-pa-ḥrtag-pa); (6) examination of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Puruṣa parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : S_kyes-bu-ḥrtag-pa); 7) examination of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika doctrines of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Nyāya-vaiśeṣika-parikalpita-puruṣa-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Rigṣ-pa-can-dañ-bye-brag-pas-kun-tu-ḥrtags-paḥi-s_kyes-bu-ḥrtag-pa); (8) examination of the Mīmāṃsaka doctrine of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Mīmāṃsaka-kalpita-ātma-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : S_pyoḍ-pa-pas-ḥrtags-paḥi-ḥdag-ḥrtag-pa); (9) examination of Kapila's doctrine of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Kapila-parikalpita-ātma-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Ser-s_kya-pas-kun-tu-ḥrtags-paḥi-ḥdag-ḥrtag-pa); (10) examination of the Digambara Jaina doctrine of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Digambara parikalpita-ātma-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Nam-m_khaḥi-gos-can-gyis-kun-tu-ḥrtags-paḥi-ḥdag-ḥrtag-pa), (11) examination of the Upaniṣad-doctrine of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Upaniṣad-kalpita-ātma-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : U-pa-ni-ṣa-di-kaṣ-ḥrtags-paḥi-ḥdag-ḥrtag-pa); (12) examination of the Vātsīputra doctrine of the soul (in Sanskrit : *Vātsīputra-kalpita-ātma-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Gnaṣ-maḥi-buṣ-ḥdag-ḥrtag-pa); (13) examination of the permanence of entities (in Sanskrit : *Sthira padārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : B_rtan-paḥi-dñoṣ-po-ḥrtag-pa); (14) examination of the relation between *Karma* and its effect (in Sanskrit : *Karma-phala-sambandha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan . Laṣ-dañ-ḥbras-buḥi-ḥbrel-pa-ḥrtag-pa); (15) examination of the meaning of the word 'substance' (in Sanskrit : *Dravya-padārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Rdsas_kyi-tshig-gi-don-ḥrtag-pa); (16) examination of the meaning of the word 'quality'; (in Sanskrit : *Guṇa-śabdārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan . Yon-tan-gyi-tshig-gi-don-ḥrtag-pa); (17) examination of the meaning of the word *Karma* (in Sanskrit : *Karma-śabdārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : Laṣ-kyi-tshig-gi-don-ḥrtag-pa); (18) examination of the meaning of the word generality or genus (in Sanskrit . *Sāmānya-śabdārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan : S_pyihi-tshig-gi-don-ḥrtag-po); (19) examination of the meaning of the words 'generality,' and 'particularity' (in Sanskrit :

entity), etc. The last colophon appears to him to be खन प्रामाण्यवाद (examination of the doctrine of self-evidence). These are the very subjects treated in the

Sāmānya-viśeṣa-śabdārtha-parīkṣā, in Tibetan: *Ṣpyi-dan-bye-brag-gi-tshig-gi-don brtag-pa*); (20) examination of the meaning of the word 'co existent cause' (in Sanskrit: *Samavāya-śabdārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Ḥḥi-mah-tshig-don-brtag-pa*); (21) examination of the meaning of the word 'sound' (in Sanskrit: *Śabdārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Ṣgra-yi-don-brtag-pa*); (22) examination of the definition of perception (in Sanskrit: *Pratyakṣa-lakṣaṇa-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Mnon-sum gyi-mtshan-ñid-brtag-pa*); (23) examination of inference (in Sanskrit: *Anumānaparīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Rjes-su-dpag-pa-brtag-pa*); (24) examination of other kinds of valid knowledge (in Sanskrit: *Pramāṇāntara-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Tshad-ma-shan-brtag-pa*); (25) examination of the doctrine of evolution (in Sanskrit: *Vivartavāda-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Ḥgyur-war-ṣmra-wa-brtag-pa*); (26) examination of the three times (in Sanskrit: *Kālatraya-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Duṣ-gsum brtag-pa*); (27) examination of continuity of the world (in Sanskrit: *Samsārā-santati-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Ḥjig-rten-rgyud-pahi-brtag-pa*); (28) examination of external objects (in Sanskrit: *Vāhyārtha-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Phyi-rol-gyi-don-brtag-pa*); (29) examination of Śruti or Scripture (in Sanskrit: *Śruti-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Thos-pa-brtag-pa*); (30) examination of self-evidence (in Sanskrit: *Svataḥ-prāmāṇya-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Raṅ-laṣ-tshad-ma-drtag-pa*); and (31) examination of the soul which sees things beyond the range of senses (in Sanskrit: *Anyendriyātītārtha-darśana-puruṣa-parīkṣā*, in Tibetan: *Gshan-gyi-dwan-po-laṣ-hdas-pahi-don mthon-wa-can-gyi-skyes-bu-brtag-pa*).

122. KAMALA ŚĪLA
(ABOUT 750 A.D.).

Kamala Śīla,¹ also called Kamala Śrīla, was a follower of Śānta Rakṣita. He was for some time a Professor of Tantras in Nālandā whence he was invited to Tibet by king Khri-sroṅ-deu-tsan (728--786 A.D.). While in Tibet he vindicated the religious views of Guru Padma-sambhava and Śānta Rakṣita by defeating and expelling a Chinese monk named Mahāyana Hoshang. He was of wide fame and the author of the following works:—

Nyāya-bindu-pūrva-pakṣe-saṅkṣipta, called in Tibetan *Rigs-pahi-thigs-pahi-phyogs-ṣna-ma-mdor-bṣduṣ-pa*, a summary of criticisms on the Nyāyabindu of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan transla-

¹ Vide *Dpag-kam-ljon-bzan*, part 1, p. 112, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, and also the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 10, and Waddell's *Lamaism*, p. 31.

tion¹ in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *She*, Folios 106—115. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Viśuddha Sinha and the interpreter monk of Shu-chen named *Dpal-ṛtsëgs-rakṣita*.

Tattva-saṁgraha pañjikā, called in Tibetan *De-kho na-ñid-bsdus-paḥi-dkaḥ-hgrel*, a commentary on the *Tattva-saṁgraha* of Śānta Rakṣita. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² of part I of this work in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *He*, Folios 146—400, and part II of it in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ye*, Folios 1—385. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Devendra Bhadra and the interpreter monk *Gragṣ-hbyor-śeṣ-rab*.

123. KALYĀṆA RAKṢITA (ABOUT 829 A.D.).

Kalyāṇa Rakṣita,³ called in Tibetan *Dge-ḥsruñ*, was a great dialectician and teacher of Dharmottarācārya. He flourished during the reign of Mahārāja Dharma Pāla who died in 829 A.D. He was the author of the undermentioned works⁴.—

Sarvajña-siddhi-kārikā, called in Tibetan *Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa-grub-paḥi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa*, signifying “memorial verses on the attainment of omniscience.” It is contained in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, folios 201—202, and begins with a salutation to Sarvajña.

Vāhyārtha-siddhi-kārikā, called in Tibetan *phyi-rol-gyi-don-grub-pa-ces-bya-waḥi-tshig-lehur*, which signifies memorial verses on the reality of external things. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, Folios 202—210. The translation was prepared by the Vaibhāṣika teacher Jina Mitra of Kāśmīra and the Tibetan interpreter-monk *Dpal-brtsegs-rakṣita*.

Śruti parīkṣā, called in Tibetan *Thoṣ-pa-brtag-paḥi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa*, which signifies ‘memorial verses on the examination of Śruti or verbal testimony.’ The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, Folios 210—211.

¹ I have consulted the copy brought down by the British Mission to Tibet in 1904.

² I consulted this work in the monastery of Labrang, Sikkim, which I visited in June 1907.

³ *Vide Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 216—219; and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 114. The particle ‘*bsruñ*’ signifies “protected” and is an equivalent for Sanskrit “Rakṣita.” But Schiefner has taken it as an equivalent for “Gupta.” This does not seem to be correct, for the Tibetan equivalent for Gupta is “*gbas*.”

⁴ I have consulted Kalyāṇa Rakṣita's works in volume Ze of the *Bṣtan-hgyur* lent to me by the India Office, London.

Anyāpoha vicāra kārīkā, called in Tibetan *Gshan-la brtag-paḥi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa*, which signifies 'memorial verses on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites.' The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo, Ze, Folios 211—213*.

Īśvara-bhaṅga-kārīkā, called in Tibetan *Dwan-phyug-hjig-paḥi-tshig-lehur-byas-pa*, which signifies 'memorial verses on the refutation of God' The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo, Ze, Folios 214—215*

124. DHARMOTTARĀCĀRYA
(ABOUT 847 A.D.).

Dharmottara¹ (*Ācārya Dharmottara* or *Dharmottarācārya*), called in Tibetan *Chos-mchog*, was a pupil of Kalyāna Rakṣita and of Dharmākara Datta of Kāśmīra. He appears to have flourished in Kāśmīra while Vana Pāla was reigning in Bengal about 847 A.D., and is mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa logician Śrīdhara² about 991 A.D. and by the Jaina philosophers Mallavādin the author of *Dharmottara-ṭippanaka* about 962 A.D.³ and Ratnaprabha Śūri⁴ the famous author of *Syādvāda-ratnākarāvātārikā* dated 1181 A.D. Dharmottara was the author of the following works:—

Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā, called in Tibetan *Rigs-paḥi-thigs-paḥi-rgya-cher-hgrel-wa*, a detailed commentary on the *Nyāya-bindu* of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original⁵ of this work was preserved in the Jaina temple of Śāntinatha, Cambay, and has been published by Professor Peterson in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of Calcutta. There exists a Tibetan translation⁶ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo, She, Folios 43—106*. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Jñāna-garbha and an interpreter-monk of Shu-chen

¹ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus* von Schiefner, p. 225, and *Dpag bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 114

² Vide *Nyāya-kandalī*, p. 76, *Vizianagaram Sanskrit series*.

³ The Jaina logician Mallavādin (q.v.) wrote a gloss called *Dharmottara-ṭippanaka* on Dharmottarācārya's *Nyāyabindutīkā*. The year 884 in which Mallavādin flourished corresponds to 827 A.D. or 962 A.D. according as we take it to refer to Vikrama-samvat or Śakasamvat. On one supposition Mallavādin was a contemporary of Dharmottara and on the other he flourished a century later.

⁴ अथ धर्मांतरानुसारी ग्रन्थः । प्रयोजननादिवाक्येन साक्षादाश्रयते इति न श्ने ।

(*Syādvāda-ratnākarāvātārikā*, p. 10, *Jaina Yaśovijaya series* of Benares).

⁵ The palm-leaf manuscript of the *Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā* preserved in Cambay bears the date of samvat 1229 or 1173 A.D. (Peterson's *Third Report*, p. 33).

⁶ I consulted the copy brought down by the British Mission to Tibet during 1904. The Tibetan version has also been edited by F. J. Sherbatski and printed

named Dharmāloka, and afterwards recast by the Indian sage Sumati-kīrti and the Tibetan interpreter-monk Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab. Nyāyabindu-tīkā begins thus:—“Sugata, the conqueror of lust, etc., has overcome this world, the source of series of evils beginning with birth may his words dispelling the darkness of our mind attain glory.”¹

Framāṇa-parīkṣā, called in Tibetan Tshad-ma-brtag-pa, signifying ‘an examination of Pramāṇa or the sources of valid knowledge.’ The work begins with salutation to Sugata. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation² in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 215—253. The translation was prepared by monk Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab.

Apoha-nāma-prakarāṇa, called in Tibetan Gshan-sel-wa, signifying ‘a treatise on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites.’ The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 254—266. The translation was prepared by the Kāśmīrian Paṇḍita Bhavyarāja and the interpreter-monk Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab, in the incomparable city of Kāśmīra.

Pāra-loka-siddhi, called in Tibetan llijig-rten-pha-rol-grub-pa, signifying ‘proof of the world beyond.’ The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁴ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 266—270. The translation was prepared by the great Paṇḍita Bhavyarāja and the interpreter-monk Tshab-ñi-ma-grags during the lifetime of Śrī Harṣa Deva (king of Kāśmīra, 1089—1101 A.D.) in the great incomparable city of Kāśmīra.

The work begins thus:—

“Some say that the world beyond is possessed of the characteristics of a complete separation from the link of consciousness which began from before birth and continued after death, etc.”

Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga siddhi, called in Tibetan Ṣkad-cig-ma-hjig-pa-grub-pa, signifying ‘proof of the momentariness of things.’ The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁵ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 270—282. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Bhavyarāja and the interpreter-monk Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab.

Framāṇa-viniścaya-ṭīkā, called in Tibetan Tshad-ma-rnam-

1

अयं हि आतिथ्येन प्रथमं प्रकृतिकेनोर्जयतो विजेतु ।

राजाश्वराते. सुमतस्य वाचो मनससप्तानवमादधाना ॥

(Nyāyabindutīkā, chap. I).

² I have consulted the India Office copy.

³ I have consulted the India Office copy.

⁴ I have consulted the India Office copy.

ñeṣ-kyi-tīkā, which is a commentary on the Pramāṇa-viniścaya of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the *Bstan hgyur Mdo*, Dse, folios 346, and We, Folios 1--188. The translation was prepared by the Kāśmīrian Paṇḍita Parahita Bhadra and the Tibetan interpreter Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab in the model city of Kāśmīra. In the concluding lines of the work Dharmottara, the author of it is described as "the excellent subduer of bad disputants (quibblers)"²

125. MUKTĀ-KUMBHA
(AFTER 900 A.D.).

Muktā-kumbha,³ called in Tibetan Mu-tig-bum-pa, was the author of a work called Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi-vyākhyā, which is a commentary on Dharmottarācārya's Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi. Muktā-kumbha must have flourished after 847 A.D., when Dharmottara lived.

The Kṣaṇa-bhaṅga-siddhi-vyākhyā is called in Tibetan Śkad-cig-ma-hjig-grub-pahi-rnam-hgrel. The Sanskrit original of the work appears to be lost, but a Tibetan translation⁴ is embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ze, Folios 282—301. This version was prepared by the Indian sage Vināyaka and the interpreter-monk Grags-hbyor-śeṣ-rab

126. ARCAṬA
(ABOUT 900 A.D.).

Guṇa-ratna Sūri,⁵ the famous Jaina author of the Śaddarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti, who lived in 1409 A.D., mentions the Tarkaṭikā of Arcaṭa.⁶ Arcaṭa is also mentioned by the Jaina philosopher Ratnaprabha Sūri,⁷ the well-known author of Syādvādaratnākarāvatārikā, dated 1181 A.D. In the Jaina Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti⁸ it appears that Arcaṭa criticised Dharmottarācārya who lived about 847 A.D. Roughly speaking he flourished in the 9th century A.D.

¹ I have consulted the India Office copy.

² རྟོག་པོ་ལྟོ་མཚན་གྱི་གཞི་རྒྱ་ལ་ཇོ་མཚན་མཚན། (Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, We, Folio 188).

³ The name Muktākumbha is restored from Tibetan.

⁴ I have consulted the work belonging to the India Office, London.

⁵ Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's Jaina Logic under "Guṇaratna Sūri."

⁶ Vide Dr. Suālī's edition of the Śaddarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti, chapter on Bauddha darśana.

⁷ ལཱ་ཤེ་འཇུག་པོ་ལྟོ་མཚན་གྱི་གཞི་རྒྱ་ལ་ཇོ་མཚན་མཚན། (Syādvādaratnākarāvatārikā, chap. i, p. 17, published in Jaina Yaśovijaya granthamālā of Benares).

⁸ Vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's edition of the Nyāyāvatāra with vivṛti which has been published by the Indian Research Society of Calcutta

Arcata was the author of the following work on Logic :—

Hetu-bindu-vivarāṇa, called in Tibetan *Gtan-tshigs-thigs-pahi-hgrel-wa*, being a commentary on the Hetu-bindu of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation ¹ in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo, She*, Folios 205—375. It is divided into four chapters treating respectively of (1) Identity (in Tibetan: *Raṅ-bshin*, and in Sanskrit: *Sva-bhāva*); (2) Effect (in Tibetan: *hbras-bu*, and in Sanskrit: *Kārya*); (3) Non-perception (in Tibetan: *Mi-dmigs-pa*, and in Sanskrit: *Anupalabdhi*); and (4) Explanation of Six Characteristics (in Tibetan: *Mtshan-ñid-drug-bṣad-pa*, and in Sanskrit: *Ṣaḍ-lakṣaṇa-vyākhyā*). In the beginning of the work it is stated that Arcata was a Brāhmaṇa, and from the concluding part it appears that he lived in Kāśmīra. The Tibetan version ends thus :—

‘ In the city of Kāśmīra, the pith of Jambudvīpa, the commentary (on the work) of Dharmakīrti, who was the best of sages, was translated. From this translation of Pramāṇa the pith of holy doctrines, let the unlearned derive wisdom.’ ²

127. AŚOKA
(ABOUT 900 A D.).

Aśoka, otherwise known as Paṇḍita Aśoka or Ācārya Aśoka, is called in Tibetan *Mya-ñan-med*. It is stated that through his spiritual instructions ³ Candra-Gomin (q.v.) was able to behold the face of Avalokiteśvara the Lord of supreme mercy and Tārā the saviouress.

Aśoka quotes Dharmottara ⁴ (q.v.) and must therefore have flourished after 847 A.D. We may approximately place him at about 900 A.D.

¹ The volume *She*, containing this work, was brought down by the British Mission to Tibet in 1904. I borrowed it from the Government of India.

² འཇིག་རྒྱུད་སྤྱིར་བོ་ཁ་ཆེའི་རྫོང་ཁྱེད་དུ །
མཁས་པའི་སྤྱིར་བོ་ཚམས་ཀྱི་གྲགས་པའི་འབྲིལ །
དམ་ཚམས་སྤྱིར་བོ་རྩེད་མ་བསྟུང་བ་ལས །
སྤྱིར་བོ་མེད་པ་ཚམས་ཀྱི་རྫོང་ཁྱེད་ལོག །

(*Bṣtan-hgyur*, *Mdo, She*, folio 375).

³ ལྷོ་བོ་དཔོན་ཚུ་གོ་མེ་ནི ། ལྷོ་བོ་དཔོན་ལྷུ་རྩེད་ལྷོ་མ་ལ་འོས་ལུང་མ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱབས་པས་ །
ལྷོ་མ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྩེད་ལོག་ལོག་པའི་ལམ་གྱི་ལོག །

Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan, p. 95, Sarat Chandra Das's edition. Calcutta).

⁴ तदेतत् सकलमालोक्य भद्रमधर्मात्तरेणैदमुक्तम् । न चानावयवः क्रियावान् । अवयवेषु चि क्रियावत्सु विभाषो जायते ।

He wrote two logical treatises,¹ viz. *Avayavi-nirākaraṇa* (Refutation of the whole) and *Sāmānya-dūṣaṇa-dik-prasāritā* (Horizon of the refutation of generality extended). The first work, viz. *Avayavi-nirākaraṇa*, which begins with a salutation to Samantabhadra, upholds the theory that the whole (*avayavi*) is a mere collection of its parts (*arayava*) beyond which it has no separate existence.² There is no eternal relation³ called inherence (*samavāya*) existing between a whole and its parts.

The second work, viz. *Sāmānya-dūṣaṇa-dik-prasāritā*, begins with a resolution to oppose those who maintain that there is a category named generality (*sāmānya*) which, being one and eternal, abides in many individual objects. It is argued that though we can see fingers as individual things, we cannot see fingeriness as a generality pervading all fingers.

That Aśoka had to defend himself against the attacks of many Brāhmaṇa philosophers is evident from the last verse of his *Avayavi-nirākaraṇa* which runs as follows :—

“ Having uprooted the numerous thorns of criticism fabricated by wicked intellects, I have cleansed the broad moral path of our Teacher. Let people removing their spite, move on by this path.”⁴

128. CANDRA GOMIN (JUNIOR).
(ABOUT 925 A.D.).

Candra Gomin,⁵ called in Tibetan: *Zla-wa-dge-bṣṅen*, was born in a Kṣatriya family in the east as Vārendra (modern Rajshahye in Bengal). His life. He was endowed with a very keen intellect and acquired distinction in literature, grammar, logic, astronomy, music, fine arts

¹ The two treatises *Avayavi-nirākaraṇa* and *Sāmānya-dūṣaṇa-dik-prasāritā* are included in the “ Six Nyāya Tracts,” edited by M.M. Hara Prasad Shastri in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

² ननु भवद्भिरसंज्ञैव अवयवौ प्रतिज्ञायते स कथं प्रत्यक्षसिद्धः ।

(*Avayavi-nirākaraṇa*, p. 78).

³ व्यापकमित्यनेकस्य सामान्यं वैः प्रकल्पितम् ।
मोक्षयन्मिच्छिरे तेषां तदभावः प्रसाध्यते ॥

(*Sāmānya-dūṣaṇa-dik-prasāritā*, Calcutta, p. 64)

⁴ एवं मया बहूपु दुर्कति निर्मितेषु
प्रत्युद्धतेषु खलु दूषणकण्टकेषु ।
आचार्यनौतिपथ एव विशोधितोऽयम्
उत्सार्यमत्सरमनेन जनः प्रयातु ॥

(*Avayavi-nirākaraṇa*, p. 93)

⁵ Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 145—146, 148—158; and *Dpag-bṣam-ljon-bzan* edited in the original Tibetan by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, pp. 95—96.

and the science of medicine. Under Ācārya Sthiramati he learnt the Sūtra and Abhidharma Piṭakas of the Buddhist scripture, and was converted to Buddhism by the Vidyādhara Ācārya Aśoka. He had an ardent faith in the Buddhist god Avalokiteśvara and the goddess Tārā.¹ He was offered in marriage a daughter of the king of Vārendra. Being told that she was named Tārā, which was the name of his tutelary deity, he, thinking it improper to accept her hand shrank from her with fear. Upon this the king became angry and put Candra Gomin into a chest which was thrown into the Ganges. The chest was carried down until it stopped at an island at the place where the Ganges flows into the ocean. Candra Gomin with deep reverence offered a prayer to goddess Tārā by whose blessing he got out of the chest. He resided in the island, which was in course of time named Candra-dvīpa² or the island of Candra. He as a Buddhist devotee (*upāsaka*) established there stone-images of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā. At first only fishermen (*kaiivarta*) settled in the island, but afterwards other people came to live there. Gradually the island became a town.

There was another Candra Gomin called Candra Gomin the senior who went to Ceylon and on his way back found in Southern India, in the house of Vararuci, Nāga Śeṣa's (Patañjali's) Bhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar. Finding that it contained "many words but few thoughts," he himself composed a commentary on Pāṇini, which was named Candra-vyākaraṇa³. Afterwards he came to Nālandā—the store-house of knowledge—and met there Candra-kīrti, the famous commentator on the Mādhyamika Philosophy of Ārya Nāgārjuna. Candra Gomin himself was a follower of the Yogācāra system expounded by Ārya Asaṅga. While Candra Kīrti and Candra Gomin entered upon philosophical discussions people used to observe⁴: "Alas! the text

¹ For Candra Gomin's "Ārya-Tārā-antarbalī-vidhi" vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's *Sragdharā-stotra*, Introduction, pp. xx. xxi.

² Candra-dvīpa is situated in the district of Barisal in South-eastern Bengal at a place where the Padmā, which is a main outlet of the Ganges, falls into the ocean. Vārendra, in which Candra Gomin was born, is identical with the Rajshahve division in North-eastern Bengal through which the Padmā flows.

³ For Candra-vyākaraṇa vide Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's *Kaccāyana* and "Sanskrit works on Literature, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography, as preserved in Tibet" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series, Vol. iii, No. 2, 1907. The Candra-vyākaraṇa in the original Sanskrit has been printed in Germany.

ཀུ་མ་འཕགས་པ་གྲུ་ལྷུང་གཞིང་ །།

ལ་ལའི་སྐྱེ་ལ་ལ་ལའི་དུག །

མི་ལས་འཕགས་པ་ཐོགས་མེད་གསུང་ །

ཀུ་ཙོ་གུན་ལ་བདུད་རྩི་ཉིད །

of Ārya Nāgārjuna is medicine to some but poison to others, whereas the text of invincible Ārya Asaṅga is very ambrosia to all men." It is further stated that Candra Gomin threw the original manuscript of his grammar into a well at Nālandā, thinking that it was not better than the one which Candra Kīrti had written. At that time Tārā and Avalokiteśvara appeared before him saying: "Though Candra Kīrti is overwhelmed with pride as a sage, your work is more useful than all others and will do immense good to the world." They raised the manuscript from this well, which was thence reputed as "Candra's well" (in Sanskrit: *Candra-kūpa* and in Tibetan: *Tsandrahi-khron-pa*), the water of which was wont to be drunk by people in the belief that thereby their intellect would become sharp. Candra Kīrti was, however, a great admirer of Candra Gomin. When the latter arrived at Nālandā the monks refused to give him a reception, saying that it was not proper for priests to welcome a mere devotee (*upāsaka*). Hearing this, Candra Kīrti brought three chariots, two of which were occupied by himself and Candra Gomin respectively, while in the third was placed an image of Mañjuśrī, the Buddhist god of learning. The chariots passed through the town in a great procession, attended by the whole body of priests who came really to recite hymns to Mañjuśrī, but apparently to accord a fitting welcome to Candra Gomin.¹ It is not known as to whether the Candra Gomin lived at a time when Śīla, son of Śrī Harṣa, reigned in Kanoj and Siṃha of the Licchavi dynasty reigned in Varendra. The famous poet Ravi Gupta was a contemporary of Harṣa, son of Siṃha. Śrī Harṣa seems to be the same as king Harṣa Vardhana who was a contemporary of Hwen-thsang and reigned in 647 A.D. His son Śīla seems, on a rough calculation, to have reigned in 700 A.D., when his contemporary Candra Gomin must also have lived. Jaina Hema Candra Śūri, who lived during 1088—1172 A.D., refers to Candra Gomin while Jayāditya,² the famous author of the *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, who died in 661—662 A.D.,³ does not mention him. This may be explained on the supposition that Candra Gomin lived after Jayāditya, but preceded Hema Candra.

The other Candra Gomin called Candra Gomin the junior seems to have lived about 925 A.D., as his preceptor Ārya Aśoka (q.v.) flourished about 900 A.D. It is not known with certainty as to whether Candra Gomin, the author of *Candra Vyākaraṇa*, was identical with the sage of that name who was a contem-

¹ Vide *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, pp. 95—96.

² Vide Professor F. Kielhorn's "Indra Gomin and other grammarians" in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. xv, June 1886, pp. 181, 184.

³ Vide Takakusu's *I-tsing*, p. lvii

porary of Candra Kīrti. But it may be asserted safely that Candra Gomin, the logician, was different from either.

Candra Gomin was the author of the following work on Logic: *Nyāya-ūlka-siddhi*, or *Nyāya-siddhyāloka*, called in Tibetan *Rigs-pa-grub-pahi-sgron-ma*, signifying “a lamp of logical reasoning.” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, folios 200—201. The translation was prepared by Paṇḍita Śrī Sita-prabha and the interpreter-monk Vairocana

129. PRAJÑĀKARA GUPTA (ABOUT 940 A.D.).

Prajñākara Gupta,² called in Tibetan *Śeṣ-rab-hbyuñ-gnaṣ-sbaṣ*, lived at the time of Maha Pāla, who died in 940 A.D. He was a lay devotee and is quite different from Prajñākara Mati, who was a monk and keeper of the southern gate of the university of Vikrama-śilā during the reign of Canaka in 983 A.D. Prajñākara Gupta was the author of the following works:—

Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra, called in Tibetan *Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-rgyan*, which is a commentary on the *Pramāṇa-vārtika* of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ which is divided into two parts. The first part extends over folios 1—352 of volume *Te*, and the second part folios 1—328 of volume *She* of the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*. The translation was prepared by the great Kāśmīrian Paṇḍita Bhavya-rāja and the Tibetan interpreter *Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab*. Subsequently, it was looked through by Sumati and the interpreter *Blo-ldan-śeṣ-rab*. The translation has the advantage of having been assisted by numerous sages of the great monastery of Vikramaśilā in Middle India, under the supervision of the great wise Paṇḍita Śrī Śunaya-śrī Mitra and also of the wise Paṇḍita Kumāraśrī of the model city of Kāśmīra.

Sahāvalambha-nīścaya, called in Tibetan *Lhan-cig-dmigs-pa-ñeṣ-pa*, signifying “the ascertainment of objects and their knowledge arising together.” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁴ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, folios 301—308. The translation was prepared by the Nepalese Paṇḍita Śānti Bhadra and the Tibetan

¹ I have used the India Office copy.

² *Vide* Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus* von Schiefner, pp. 230, 235; and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 116.

³ I consulted this work in the monastery of Labrang in Sikkim, which I visited in June, 1907.

⁴ I have consulted the India Office copy.

interpreter-monk Śākya-hoḍ of the village of Seṅ-dkar in the province of Hbro (Do).

130. ĀCĀRYA JETĀRI
(941—980 A.D.).

Jetāri¹ or Ācārya Jetāri, called in Tibetan Dgra-las-rgyal-wa, was born of a Brāhmaṇa family. His father, Garbhapāda, lived in Vārendra at the court of Rājā Sanātana, who was a vassal to the Pala kings of Magadha. Being expelled by his kinsmen, Jetāri became a Buddhist devotee and worshipped Mañjuśrī, by whose grace he became a perfect master of sciences. He received from king Maha Pāla the royal diploma of Paṇḍita of the University of Vikramaśilā.

The famous Dīpaṅkara or Śrījñāna Atiśa is said, when very young, to have learnt five minor sciences from Jetāri. Maha Pāla reigned up to 940 A.D. and Dīpaṅkara was born in 980 A.D. Their contemporary, Jetāri, must have lived between those dates²

He was the author of the following works³ on Logic;—

Hetu-tattva-upadeśa, called in Tibetan Gtan-tshigs-kyi-dt̄-kho-na-ñid-bstan-pa, signifying “instruction on the real nature of the middle term in a syllogism.” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 344—354. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Paṇḍita Kumāra-kalasa and the Tibetan interpreter-monk Śākya-hoḍ

Dharma-dharmī-viniścaya, called in Tibetan Choṣ-daṅ-choṣ-can-gtan-la-dwab-pa, signifying “determination of the minor and major terms.” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 354—359.

Bālāvatāra-tarka, called in Tibetan Bis-wa-hjug-pahi-rtog-ge, signifying “children’s introduction to Logic.” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 359—372. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Nāga Rakṣita and the Tibetan interpreter of the province of Sum-pa (in Amdo) named Dpal-mchog-daṅ-pohi-rdo-rje. The work begins thus:—

“Who by the lustre of his sermon has completely dispersed and cleared the veil of the gloom of ignorance, who is a single

¹ Vide Tārānātha’s Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, pp. 230—233, and Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan, p. 116.

² Vide the “Journal” of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta, vol. 1, part 1, p. 8.

³ The Volume Ze, of the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, containing Jetāri’s works, was lent to me by the India Office, London

lamp to three worlds—may that Bhagavān long remain victorious.”¹ It consists of three chapters named respectively: (1) Perception; (2) Inference for one’s own self; and (3) Inference for the sake of others.

131. JINA
(ABOUT 940 A.D.)

Jina, called in Tibetan *Rgyal-wa-can*, was the author of the following work:—

Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra-ṭikā, called in Tibetan *Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi rgyan-gyi-hgrel-bśad*, a voluminous work, the Tibetan version of which occupies volumes De and Ne of the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*. This version was prepared by Paṇḍita *Dīpaṅkara Rakṣita* of *Vikramaśilā* (who arrived in Tibet in 1045 A.D.) and the Tibetan interpreter, *Byañ-chub-śeṣ-rab* of *Shan-shuñ*.

Jina, the author of the original work, is probably the same as Jina Bhadra of *Koṅkana*,² who was a contemporary of *Vāgīśvarakīrti*, about 940 A.D.

132. RATNAKĪRTI
(ABOUT 940—1000 A.D.).

Ratnakīrti,³ called in Tibetan *Rin-chen-grags*, was a Professor at the University of *Vikramaśilā*. As he was a teacher of *Ratnākara Śānti* (q.v.) he must have flourished about 950 A.D. This *Ratnakīrti*, designated as *Mahāpaṇḍita*, deeply eruditē, is different from the sage of that name who was patronised by King *Vimala Candra* of *Bengal*, *Kāmarūpa* and *Tirhut* about 650 A.D.

Ratnakīrti criticises the views of *Dharmottara*,⁴ *Nyāya-*

གང་གིས་གསུང་རབ་འདྲེན་པའི་མཁུན་གྱིས་།

ལུས་པའི་རབ་འདྲེན་པར་གྱིས་མཛེད་གསལ། །

ས་གསུང་གཙུག་ལྷན་དྲུག་ལ་གཞིགས་ཏེ་། །

བཅོམ་ལྷན་པ་ལ་དྲུག་རྩེ་གྱིས་གསར་ཅིག། །

(*Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ze, folio 359).

¹ Vide *Tārānātha's* *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. 235.

² Vide *Tārānātha's* *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 234—235, and 172, 174; also *Ūpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 105. edited by *Sarat Chandra Das*, Calcutta.

The colophons of *Aphasiddhi* and *Kṣaṇabhanga-siddhi* run as follows:—

कतिरियं महापण्डितरत्नकोर्त्तिपादानाम् ॥

4

नाकारस्य न वाक्यस्य तस्मै विधिमाधनम् ।

SYSTEMATIC WRITERS ON BUDDHIST LOGIC—RATNA VAJRA

bhūsana¹ and Vācaspati Misra² on the subjects of *apoha* (exclusion) and *kṣaṇa-bhaṅga* (momentariness).

He wrote two logical treatises,³ viz. *Apohasiddhi* and *Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi*, one of which begins with a salutation to Lokanātha and the other to Samanta Bhadra. The first work, which deals with the doctrine of *apoha*⁴, propounds that a word while denoting a thing positive excludes it from all other things different from it, that is, a word bears a negative denotation along with a positive one. The second work⁵ attempts, through affirmative and negative inferences, to prove that all things are momentary by showing that they do not require three moments for their production, continuance and destruction.

Ratnakīrti is said to have written two other treatises, viz. *Sthirasiddhidūṣaṇa*⁶ and *Citrādvaitasiddhi*.

133. RATNA VAJRA
(ABOUT 979—1040 A D.).

Ratnavajra,⁷ called in Tibetan Rat-chen-rdo-rje, was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Kāśmīra. His ancestors were deeply versed in the śāstra of the Tīrthikas. His father, Hari Bhadra, was the first convert to Buddhism in his family. Ratnavajra, who was an *upāsaka* (lay devotee), studied by himself up to the 36th year of his life all the Buddhist sūtras, mantras and sciences. After this he came to Magadha and Vajrāsana (Buddha-Gayā)

एतेन यद् धर्मांतर - आरोपितस्य वाङ्मलस्य विधिनिबधौ । इत्यलौकिकम्-
अनात्मस्य अतार्किकौय कथयति - तदपहसितम् ॥

(Apohasiddhi, pp. 16—17).

¹ यच्चान न्यायभूषणेन सूर्यादिसहस्रे बहुसंख्येऽप्यवस्तुतस्मिन् इत्यप्रवृत्तस्य तदभि-
प्रायानवमाचनफलम् .

(Apohasiddhi, pp. 11, 14. Also Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi, p. 58.)

² यदय्यवोचद् वाचस्यति जातिमत्या व्यक्तय ...

(Apohasiddhi, p. 4, pp. 7, 8, 10). Also Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi, p. 58, Calcutta edition.)

³ The Apohasiddhi and Kṣaṇa bhaṅgasiddhi are included in the "Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts," edited by M.M. Hara Prasad Shāstri in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

⁴ नास्मान्भिरदोषशब्देन विधिरेव केवलोऽभिप्रेत । नापि अन्यव्याहृतिमात्रं किन्त्वापीह
विशिष्टोविधिः शब्दानामर्थः ॥

(Apohasiddhi, p. 3, Calcutta edition)

⁵ प्रकृते सर्वधर्माणां यदोधान्तरिच्यते ।

स एव तीर्थान्तरार्थो क्षणभङ्ग प्रसाधित ॥

(Kṣaṇa-bhaṅgasiddhi, p. 77, Calcutta edition).

⁶ Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi, pp. 68, 71.

where he beheld the face of Cakra-saṃvara, Vajravārāhī and many other deities, by whose grace he completely mastered the Buddhist śāstras. He received the royal diploma of the University of Vikramaśilā and was appointed a gate-keeper of the university. Afterwards he came back to Kāśmīra, whence he went through Udyāna (Kabul) to Tibet, where he was known by the name of Ācārya. He flourished during the reign of Canaka, and his approximate date may be placed between 970 A.D. and 1040 A.D. He was the author of the following work :—

Yukti-prayoga, called in Tibetan Rigs-paḥi-sbyor-wa, signifying “application of reasoning” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Ze, Folios 372—373. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Śrī Subhūti-śānta and the interpreter-monk of Shu-chen, named Tiñ-ñe-hdsin-bzañ-po.

134. JINA MITRA
(ABOUT 1025 A.D.).

Jina Mitra² was a native of Kāśmīra who, together with Sarvajña Deva, Dāna-śīla and others, visited Tibet and helped the Tibetans in the work of translating Sanskrit books into Tibetan. Jina Mitra lived about 1025 A.D., when his contemporary king Mahī Pāla reigned in Bengal. He wrote the undermentioned work on Logic :—

Nyāya-bindu-piṇḍārtha, called in Tibetan Rigs-paḥi-thigs-paḥi-don-bṣduṣ-pa, which contains the purport of Dharmakīrti's Nyāya-bindu. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ in the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, She, Folios 115—116. The translation was prepared by the Indian teacher Surendrabodhi, and the interpreter of Shuchen, named Vande-ye-šeṣ-ṣde.

135. DĀNAŚĪLA
(ABOUT 1025 A.D.).

Dānaśīla,⁴ also called Dānaśrīla, was born in Kāśmīra about 1025 A.D., when Mahī Pāla II was reigning in Bengal. He was a contemporary of Paraḥita Bhadra, Jina Mitra, Sarvajña Deva and Tilopā. He visited Tibet and co-operated in the propaganda

¹ I have consulted the Tibetan version in the possession of the India Office, London.

² Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, p. 226; and Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzañ, pp. xcvi, 115.

of the translations of Sanskrit books into Tibetan. He was the author of the following work on Logic :--

Pustaka-pāṭhopāya, called in Tibetan *Gles-bam-bklag-pahi-thabs*, signifying the method of reading books. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ze, Folio 270. The translation was prepared by the author himself.

136. JÑĀNA-ŚRĪ MITRA
(ABOUT 1040 A.D.).

Jñāna-śrī Mitra,² designated as a great pillar of the University of Vikramaśilā, was born in Gauḍa. He was at first admitted into the Śrāvaka school of Buddhism, but afterwards imbibed faith in the Mahāyāna. Dīpaṅkara or Śrī-jñāna Atīśa (born in 980 A.D.) is said to have been much indebted to him. Jñāna-śrī Mitra was appointed a gate-keeper of the university of Vikramaśilā by Canaka who reigned in Magadha. Jñāna-śrī Mitra was attached to the University of Vikramaśilā even in 1040 A.D. when Dīpaṅkara Atīśa left for Tibet. Naropā while visiting Vikramaśilā got down from his conveyance leaning on the right arm of Atīśa and left arm of Jñāna-śrī Mitra. The Hindu philosopher Mādhavācārya in the 14th century quotes³ Jñāna-śrī, who is perhaps the same as Jñāna-śrī Mitra. He was the author of the following work on Logic :—

Kārya-kāraṇa bhāva-siddhi, called in Tibetan *Rgyu-dañ-hbras-buḥi-ṅo-wo-grub-pa*, signifying 'establishment of the relation of cause and effect.' The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁴ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, Ze, Folios 413--418. The translation was prepared by the great Indian sage Kumāra Kalasa and the interpreter-monk Śākya-hoḍ. Subsequently, it was retouched and published by the Nepalese Paṇḍita Ananta-śrī and the interpreter-monk afore-mentioned.

¹ I have consulted the India Office copy

² Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp 235—242. and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, pp. 117—120.

³ Vide the *Sarvadarśana-samgraha*, chapter on *Bauddha-darśana* :—

तदुक्तं ज्ञानत्रिया

यत् सत् तत् क्षणिक यथा जलधरः सन्तश्च भावा अमी ।

सत्ताशक्तिरिदार्थकर्षणं मिते सिद्धेषु सिद्धा न सा ॥

नाप्येकैव विधान्यथा परकृतेनापि क्रियादिर्भवेत् ।

137. JÑĀNA-ŚRĪ BHADRA
(ABOUT 1050 A.D.).

Jñāna-śrī Bhadra,¹ called in Tibetan Ye-śes-dpal-bzan-po, was a great logician. He was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of Kāśmīra² and became afterwards a convert to Buddhism. As junior to Naropā he lived about 1050 A.D. He visited Tibet where he was employed in translating Sanskrit books into Tibetan. In the land of the Lamas he was well known under the name of "Kha-che-jñāna-śrī"³ or Kāśmīrian Jñāna-śrī. He was the author of the following work on Logic:—

Pramāna viniscaya-tikā⁴ called in Tibetan Tshad-ma-rnam-par-ñes-paḥi-hgrel-bśad, which is a commentary on the Pramāna-viniścaya of Dharmakīrti and which begins with a salutation to Sarvajña. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *We*, Folios 188—322. The translation was prepared by the author himself with the co-operation of the interpreter-monk Chos-kyi-brtson-bgrus.

138. RATNĀKARA ŚĀNTI
(ABOUT 1040 A.D.).

Ratnākara Śānti,⁵ called Kalikāla-sarvajña, was known to the Tibetans as Ācārya Śānti or simply Śāntipa. He was ordained in the order of the Sarvāstivāda school of Odantapura, and learnt the Sūtra and Tantra at Vikramaśilā from Jetāri, Ratnakīrti⁶ and others. Thereafter he was appointed by King Canaka (who died in 983 A.D.) to be a gate-keeper of the University of Vikramaśilā, where he defeated the Tīrthika disputants. At the invitation of the king of Ceylon he visited that island where he spread the Buddhist doctrine. He was the author of a work on

¹ Jñāna-śrī Bhadra was perhaps the same as Jñāna-siddha Bhadra mentioned in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 117.

² *Vide* the Colophon of *Pramāna-viniścaya-tikā*. *Vide* also Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet, No. 3" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New series, Vol. iii, No. 7, 1907.

³ *Vide* *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 408.

⁴ I consulted the Tibetan version of this work in the monastery of Labrang in Sik-kun.

⁵ *Vide* Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 234, 235; and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, pp. 117, ex. The Tibetan equivalent for the name Ratnākara Śānti's is རྩ་མཚན་འགྲུང་གཞན་ཞེས།

⁶ This Ratnakīrti is different from the sage of that name who was patronised by King Vimāla Candra of Bengal, Kāmarūpa and Tirhut, about 650 A.D. (*vide* Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 172, 174; *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 105, Calcutta edition; and my discussion under the head *Vinīta Deva* in the *Buddhist Logic*). This earlier Ratnakīrti, known through a commentary

⁶ This Ratnakīrti is different from the sage of that name who was patronised by King Vimāla Candra of Bengal, Kāmarūpa and Tirhut, about 650 A.D. (*vide* Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner*, pp. 172, 174; *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*, p. 105, Calcutta edition; and my discussion under the head *Vinīta Deva* in the *Buddhist Logic*). This earlier Ratnakīrti, known through a commentary

Chanda (prosody) called Chando-ratnākara¹ and of the following works* on Logic :—

Viñāpti-mātra siddhi, called in Tibetan *Rnam-par-rig-pa-tsam-nīd-do-grub-pa*, signifying 'establishment of a mere communication of knowledge.' The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, *Folios* 335—338. The translation was prepared by the Nepalese Paṇḍita Śānti Bhadra, and the Tibetan interpreter-monk Śākya-hoḍ of the province of Hbro (Do). Subsequently, it was published by the same Paṇḍita and *Klog-skyas-śes-rab-brtsegs*.

Antar-vyāpti,³ called in Tibetan *Nañ-gi-khyab-pa*, signifying 'internal inseparable connection' It is embodied in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, *Folios* 338—344. The translation was prepared by the Indian sage Kumāra Kalasa and the interpreter-monk Śākya-hoḍ. The work argues that the inseparable connection between the middle term and the major term can be conceived without the aid of an example in which the things signified by the two terms co-abide. nay, without the aid even of a minor term in which we are to prove the co-presence of the things, e.g. fiery because smoky.

129. YAMĀRI
(ABOUT 1050 A.D.).

Yamāri was specially versed in Grammar and Logic. But he was very poor. Once, being unable to support his family and children, he came to Vajrāsana (Buddha-Gaya). There he related his poverty to a Yogin, who replied: "You Paṇḍits despise Yogins and do not solicit dharma from them, hence this has come to pass." Saying this, he uttered the Vasudhara benediction in virtue of which Yamāri rose to opulence. He afterwards received the royal diploma of the University of Vikramaśilā.⁴ He lived during the time of Naya Pāla who reigned in 1050 A.D. He was the author of the following work :—

¹ For an account of the Chandoratnākara see Satischandra Vidyabhusana's "Sanskrit works on Literature, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography as preserved in Tibet," in *J.A.S. B.*, New series, vol. III, no 2, 1907.

² The volume *Ze* of the *Bstan-hgyur*, section *Mdo*, containing *Ratnākara Śānti's* works, was lent to me by the India Office, London.

³ The Sanskrit original of 'Antarvyāpti' or more fully 'Antarvyāpti-samarthana' has recently been edited by M M Hara Prasad Shastri, M A , C I E , of Calcutta, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series. It begins thus—इह सत्त्वमर्थतियाकारितं तदिसरल्लक्षणयोगान् । तच्च क्रमथीशपस्याभ्यां व्याप्तं परस्परव्यवच्छेदलक्षणत्वादनयो । प्रकारान्तरिण करणसन्ध्यात् । It ends thus.—सत्त्वमर्थतिसमर्थनं समाप्तमिति । कतिरियं

Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra-tīkā, called in Tibetan Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-rgyan-gyi-hgrel-bśad, which is an annotation on the Pramāṇa-vārtikālaṅkāra of Prajñākara Gupta. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a very voluminous Tibetan translation which covers volumes Phe, pp. 104—342 and the whole of volumes Be, Me, and Tse of the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo. The translation was prepared by Paṇḍita Sumati and the interpreter Blo-ldan-śes-rab in the monastery of Sñe-thaṅ near Lhasa. The volume Be ends thus:—"From the immeasurable merit acquired by me by composing this regular annotation, may the world, subduing its adversary death, obtain the indestructible and perfected Nirvāṇa." ¹

140. ŚĀṄKARĀNANDA
(ABOUT 1050 AD.).

Śāṅkarānanda,² called in Tibetan Bde-byed-dgah-wa, was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Kāśmīra. He was learned in all sciences, and was above all an expert in Logic. He intended to write an original work on Logic refuting Dharmakīrti, but in a dream he was told by Mañjuśrī: "Since Dharmakīrti is an Ārya (an elect), one cannot refute him, and if thou seest m stake in him, it is the mistake of thine own understanding" Thereupon Śāṅkarānanda repented and composed a commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇa-vārtika in seven chapters. He flourished³ during the time of Naya Pāla, who reigned in 1050 A.D. He was the author of the following works on Logic :—

Pramāṇa-vārtika-tīkā, called in Tibetan Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-hgrel-bśad, being an annotation on the Pramāṇa-vārtika of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁴ which covers volumes Pe, pages 103--354 and Phe, pages 1—104 of the Bstan-hgyur, Mdo.

ཚུལ་བཞིན་འུ་ཀྱ་འདི་ནི་བྱས་པ་ལས་།
བསོད་ནམས་ཚད་མེད་བསགས་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་།
དེས་ནི་འཇིག་རྟེན་གཤིན་ཇིའི་དབྱེ་འཇོམས་ནི་།
མི་ཟད་རབ་བསྐྱུང་ག་ཏུས་མེད་ཉོབ་པར་ཤོག་།

(Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Be, folio 303).

² Vide Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, pp. 247, 349 ; and Dpag-ḥsam-ljon bzang, pp. 107, 120.

³ Some maintain that Sankarānanda was a personal pupil of Dharmakīrti. On this point Lama Tārānātha observes:—"The Brāhmaṇa Sankarānanda appeared at a much later time, and to call him a personal pupil of Dharmakīrti would be a great confusion."—Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner,

Sambandha-parikṣānusāra, called in Tibetan *Hbrel-pa-brtag-paḥi-rjes-su-hbrañ wa*, which is a commentary on the *Sambandha-parikṣā* of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation¹ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, Folios 24—39. The translation was prepared by the great Indian Paṇḍita Parahita, and the Tibetan interpreter-monk *Dgaḥ-waḥi-rdo-rje*.

The work begins thus :—

“By whom connection with the world has been renounced, in whom there are no “ I ” and “ mine,” who is called free from concerns—to that Omniscient One I bow down.”²

Apohasiddhi, called in Tibetan *Sel-wa-grub-pa*, signifying “establishment of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites.” The Sanskrit original of his work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation³ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, Folios 308—334. The translation was prepared by the Kāśmīrian Paṇḍita Manoratha and the Tibetan interpreter *Blo-ldan-śes-rab* in the incomparable city of Kāśmīra.

The work opens thus .

“The Omniscient One who is free from all mistakes and who looks to the interests of living beings in all times, saluting him and relying on his mercy, I elucidate the puzzle of ‘self’ and ‘others’ connected with the doctrine of *Apoha*.”⁴

Pratibandha-siddhi, called in Tibetan *Hbrel-pa-grub-pa*, signifying “establishment of the causal connection.” The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁵ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, Folios 334—335. The translation was prepared by Paṇḍita Bhāgya-rāja and the interpreter *Blo-ldan-śes-rab*.

¹ I have consulted the Tibetan version in the possession of India Office, London.

²

གང་གིས་འབྲེལ་བ་ཤུངས་ལྗེས་པ།།

འཇོ་བ་བདག་དང་བདག་གི་མི།།

གཟུང་འཛོལ་མེད་པ་ཅན་གསུངས་པ།།

ཀུན་མཁུན་རིལ་ཕྱག་འཇམ་ལོ།།

(*Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, folio 24).

³ I have consulted the India Office copy.

⁴

ཀུན་མཁུན་འཇུག་ལྷན་ལྷན་གསུམ་གནས་པ་ཡི།།

རྣམ་པར་མཛོལ་གཞིན་གཞིགས་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་རི།།

བཙོ་ལ་གནས་ན་སྐྱེལ་བ་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི།།

བདག་གཞན་རང་རྣམས་བའི་འཇུག་བསལ་བྱས།།

(*Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo*, *Ze*, folio 308)

141. ŚUBHAKARA GUPTA
(ABOUT 1080 A.D.).

Śubhakara Gupta was a disciple of Abhayākara Gupta, high-priest of the monastic University of Vikramasilā. He flourished during the reign of Rāma Pāla¹ and resided for some time at the shrine of Eṭapurī erected by Rāma Pāla's wife. As the reign of Rāma Pāla commenced about 1080 A.D. Śubhakara Gupta must have lived at the end of the 11th century A.D.

He wrote a treatise on Logic in which he closely followed Dharmakīrti. His logical views are quoted and criticised by the Jaina logician Haribhadra Sūri² who designates him as Śubha Gupta

142. MOKṢĀKARA GUPTA
(ABOUT 1100 A.D.).

Mokṣākara Gupta, called in Tibetan *Thar-paḥi hbyun-gnas-sbas*, was the High-priest of the great monastery of Jagaddala³ at the confluence of the Gangā (Padmā) and the Karatovā (perhaps near Bogra in North Bengal). He seems to have flourished early in the 12th century A.D., after the termination of the rule of the Pāla kings. He wrote the undermentioned work on Logic:—

Tarka bhāṣā, called in Tibetan *Rtog-geḥi-ṣkaḍ*, signifying 'technicalities of Logic.' The Sanskrit original of this work appears to be lost, but there exists a Tibetan translation⁴ in the *Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo, Ze, Folios 373—413*. The translation was prepared by the interpreter-monk *Dpal-ldan-ḥto-gros-brtan-po* without the co-operation of any Paṇḍita. The work is divided into three chapters named respectively: (1) Perception; (2) Inference for one's own self; and (3) Inference for the sake of others. It begins thus:—

1. རྩ་མ་ལུ་ལའི་བཅུན་མོས་སུལ་བའི་ལུ་རེ་ལྷ་ཁང་དུ་བསྐོས་མཛད་ཅིང་སློབ་བྱ་བྱེད་གར་གུལ་ཉ་
དང་མོད་ཀྱི་གཞི་མོགས་དང་བཅས་

(*Dpag-bsam-hjon-lzari*, p. 120, edited by S. C. Das).

² Haribhadra Sūri observes:—

यथाः क्तं वातिकानुसारिणा प्रभङ्गज्ञेन । कृपान्तरं सलक्षणादन्यत् विकल्पेन साभान्य-
सलक्षणात्तन् उभयोर्वेत्तमात्रोः प्रतिभासते स्युरन । व सत्यर्थे अपोहाप्रथे तत्र कृपान्तरे सकेत ।

(*Anekāntajaya-patātākāṭikā*, p. 117)

³ འཛེ་གུ་ཉ་ལའི་བཅུན་གཤམ་ཅེན་པོའི་སྐྱེས་ལ་ཅེན་པོ་དཔེ་བར་མར་ལའི་འབྲུང་ཀར་ས་སྐྱེས་པས་སྐྱེར་བའི།
(*Bstan-hgyur*, *Mdo, Ze, folio 413*).

For the identification of Jagaddala see Rāma Pāla-carita.
I have consulted the India Office copy.

“ Bowing down to the Teacher, the Lord of the world, I elucidate Tarkabhāṣā for the sake of introducing children of small intellect to the system of Dharmakīrti ”¹

སྐྱེས་པ་ལྷོ་གྲོ་འཇུག་པ་ལྟེན་པའི་
བྱེད་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟར་སྤྲོད་པ་རྒྱུ་ལས།
ཚུམས་ཀྱི་གྲུགས་པའི་ལྷོ་གྲོ་འཇུག་
རྒྱུ་ལྟེན་པ་ལྟར་སྤྲོད་པའི་གྲུགས་པ་ལས།

(Bstan hgyur, Mdo, Ze, folio 373)

CHAPTER IV.

The Decline of Buddhist Logic.¹

143. THE CONTENTIOUS SPIRIT OF BUDDHIST LOGIC.

Unlike the Jainas, the Buddhists, in upholding their logical tenets, offered a bold challenge to the Brāhmaṇas. In the second century A.D., the Brāhmaṇic logician Akṣapāda brought out his comprehensive work on Logic called Nyāya-sūtra in which there was an explanation of sixteen categories, including four means of valid knowledge and five members of a syllogism. The Buddhist logician Nāgārjuna, who flourished in the 3rd century A.D., affirmed in opposition to Akṣapāda that a syllogism consisted of three members only. The Brāhmaṇic commentator Vātsyāyana (about 400 A.D.) attempted in vain to defend the position of Akṣapāda until he was overthrown by the Buddhist logician Dignāga who reduced the sixteen categories of Nyāya-sūtra to one, viz. *pramāṇa*, and the four means of valid knowledge to two, viz. *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. "It was to dispel the error of Dignāga" that the Brāhmaṇic logician Uddyotakara wrote his Nyāya-vārtika about 635 A.D. He in his turn was assailed by the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti who defended Dignāga.

After Uddyotakara there occurred a long gap in the succession of Brāhmaṇa writers on Logic until in the 9th century A.D. Vācaspati Miśra wrote his Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā. By that time the Buddhist Logic had achieved a great triumph as is evident from the Buddhist writings of Devendra Bodhi, Śākya Bodhi, Vinīta Deva, Ravi Gupta, Jinendra Bodhi, Śānta Rakṣita, Kamala Śīla, Kalyāṇa Rakṣita and others. In the 9th and 10th centuries Dharmottara, Arçta and other Buddhist logicians, having attacked the Brāhmaṇic authors, Udayanācārya, a Brāhmaṇa of Mithilā brought out, at the close of the 10th century A.D., his Ātma-tattva-viveka, etc., to refute the views of the Buddhists. Subsequently a large number of logicians such as

¹ Vide V. A. Smith's "Early History of India," my "Indian Missionaries to Foreign Lands in the Buddhistic Age"; my papers on "The influence of Buddhism on the development of Nyāya Philosophy" in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, part III for 1898, on "Anuruddha Thera—a learned Pāli author of Southern India in the 12th century A.D.," in J.A.S.B., Vol. I, No. 4, 1905; and on "Ancient Indian Logic: an outline," published in Bhandarkar Commemorative Volume; Dr. Bunyū Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka; Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner; and "Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzañ," edited by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta.

Jina Mitra, Prajñākara Gupta, Jetāri, Śaṅkarānanda and Mokṣākara Gupta appeared in the field to vindicate the Buddhist Logic from the attack of Brāhmaṇas. For nearly 800 years from 300 A.D. to 1100 A.D. the Buddhists fought valiantly against the Brāhmaṇas. But at last their principles of thought were almost entirely absorbed into the Brāhmaṇic Logic which left no room for an independent existence of the Buddhist Logic

144. LOSS OF ROYAL PATRONAGE.

From time to time Buddhism received encouragement and favour from the rulers. As already stated Patronage in the past. the first, second, third and fourth Buddhist Councils were held in Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, Pāṭalīputra and Jālandhara under the patronage of kings Ajāta-śatru (about 490 B.C.), Kālāśoka (about 390 B.C.), Aśoka (255 B.C.) and Kaṇiṣka (about 78 A.D.) respectively. The Græco-Bactrian king Menander supported Buddhism, which he accepted as his religion about 150 B.C. King Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj (606—647 A.D.) while revering Śiva and the Sun entertained a special faith in Buddha whose doctrines he defended with much care and enthusiasm.

The Buddhist logician Nāgārjuna (about 300 A.D.) received help from Sātavāhana, a king of the Andhra dynasty. Vasubandhu, another Buddhist logician, was patronised in the 5th century A.D. by certain kings of the Gupta dynasty, viz. Kumāra Gupta, Skanda Gupta, Pura Gupta and Bālāditya. Dignāga, the foremost of Buddhist logicians, was backed up about 500 A.D. by King Simha Varman of the Pallava dynasty.

Though Śaśāṅka Narendra Gupta, King of Central Bengal and a worshipper of Śiva, burnt the Bodhi tree at Buddha-Gayā, destroyed the foot-prints of Buddha at Pāṭalīputra and smashed numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries about 600 A.D., Buddhism could not be totally extirpated by him. The kings of the Pāla dynasty, who ruled in Bengal and Behar during 750—1119 A.D., were Buddhists who bestowed great patronage on the Buddhist teachers and monastic communities.

Since the middle of the 6th century A.D. a great change took place in religion in the Deccan with the accession of the Cālukya kings on the throne at Vātapi. Buddhism, which had a stronghold there, slowly declined and was gradually superseded by Jainism and Brāhmaṇism. During the two hundred years of Cālukya rule the Paurāṇic forms of Brahmanism grew in popularity.

Numerous temples dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu were built and many manuals of worship were compiled. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Amoghavarṣa, whose reign extended from 815 A.D. to at

least 877 A.D., was a follower of Digambara Jainism. Under him and his successors Buddhism languished until it finally disappeared in the 12th century A.D.

Unlike the earlier kings the later rulers of the Pallava dynasty, from the 10th century onwards, became worshippers of Śiva, whose emblem the bull was adopted by them as their family crest

In 1019 A.D. Gāngeya Deva of the Cedi race set up a kingdom in Tirhut (Mithilā). He died in 1040 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Karṇa Deva who was a contemporary of Naya Pāla about 1038--1065 A.D.). Nānya Deva who was a Pramāra Ksatriya of Karnāta succeeded Karṇa Deva and reigned in Mithilā from 1089--1125 A.D. These kings, who overthrew Buddhism, brought about the revival of Brāhmaṇism in Mithilā.

Vijaya Sena, a member of the Karnāṭaka Kṣatriya race and a contemporary of Nanya Deva of Mithilā, wrested from the Pāla kings a large part of Bengal about 1119 A.D. Vijaya and his successors Vallala Sena, Lakṣmaṇa Sena and others who ruled in Bengal up to 1197 A.D. re-established the Brāhmaṇic religion in Bengal in opposition to their predecessors the Pāla kings who had been Buddhists.

Buddhism having thus lost all patronage, the Buddhist Logic could not prosper.

145. ADVENT OF THE MAHOMEDANS.

The Mahomedan invasion is said to have exerted a considerable influence on the disappearance of Buddhism from India. About 1021 A.D. the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of Kāśmīra was extirpated by the Mahomedans, and during the two centuries following there occurred great political disorders in the country. These circumstances led to the decline of Buddhism in Kāśmīra.

Lama Tārānātha, while speaking of Kamala Rakṣitā, observes that Magadha, a stronghold of Buddhism, was attacked by the Turuṣkas (Mahomedans) at the end of the 10th century A.D. while the Buddhist University of Vikramaśilā was burnt by Bakhtiar Khiliji about 1197 A.D. A large proportion of the Buddhist population thought it expedient to embrace the Mahomedan faith. The Buddhists having in large numbers turned Mahomedans, it became impossible for their Logic to attain a further development.

146 THE BRĀHMANIC PREACHERS.

In the seventh century A.D. and onwards many Brāhmanic preachers began to flourish in Southern India to revive the Brāhmanic religion there. The attempts made by Kumāriila Bhatta (about 630 A.D.) and Śankarācārya (about 785 A.D.) to re-establish the Brāhmanic faith there are too well known to need a detailed notice. Early in the 12th century A.D. Rāmānuja, the celebrated Vaisṇava preacher, flourished in Srīperumātur, 18 miles east north east of Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram), and converted the kings of the Cālukya and Cola dynasties to his religion.

As regards Northern India, I have already referred to the efforts made by Udayanācārya of Mithilā in the 10th century to replace Buddhism by the Brāhmanic faith. It is a matter of common knowledge how in the 15th century A.D. Caitanya founded the Vaisṇava sect in Bengal and Śankara Deva founded the Mahāpuruṣa sect in Assam. It is not necessary to give here a detailed account of the other sects that were founded in India to supplant Buddhism.

The Brāhmanic faith of new orders being thus established, there were left very few Buddhist writers who could continue to work in the field of Logic.

147. SHELTER IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

While Buddhism was undergoing persecution in India it was accorded a warm reception in foreign countries. Thousands of enterprising monks visited Nepal, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Corea, Japan, Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Sumatra, Java, etc., where they were cordially welcomed and accepted as revered preceptors. The Buddhist monks being thus attracted in large numbers, to foreign countries, the field of Buddhist Logic in India was entirely deserted and suffered to grow wild and barren.

Buddha instructed his followers, the monks, to take up the lives of missionaries, saying: "Go ye, Bhikkhus and wander forth for the gain of the many, the welfare of the many, in compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. Proclaim, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine glorious. Preach ye a life of holiness, perfect and pure." Following this instruction many monks turned missionaries. From the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha to the middle of the third century B.C. the Buddhist missionaries were busily engaged in carrying on their propaganda in India. It was about 260 B.C. that Buddhism was carried abroad. The Maurya emperor Aśoka despatched missionaries not only to all his protected states such as those of the Gāndhāras and Kāmbojas, but also to the

Spread of Buddhism
in Asia, Europe and
Africa.

Hellenistic monarchies of the Yona country (Graeco-Bactria), Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus governed respectively by Diodotus, Antiochos Theos, Ptolemy Philadelphos. Magas, Antioonos Gonatas and Alexander as is evident from his edicts.

To preach Buddhism in Ceylon Aśoka sent his own son Mahinda and own daughter Saṅghamittā with a number of priests to that island. Among the numerous learned missionaries that subsequently visited Ceylon the names of Buddha Ghoṣa of Gayā (about 431 A.D.) and Anuruddha Thera of Kāñcīpura (12th century A.D.) deserve a special notice.

Strabo the historian tells us that a Buddhist monk named Zarmana Chagos (Śramaṇcārya), a native of Barygaza (Broach) near Guzerat, went at the head of an embassy from the Indian king Poros to the court of Augustus Caesar at Rome about 29 B.C.

During the reign of the Kuśāna king Kanīṣka and his successors, Buddhist missionaries went in large numbers to Khotan, Khasgar and other provinces of Central Asia.

Buddhism was first known to China in the 2nd century B.C. But it was not till the time of Kanīṣka that arrangements could be made to send missionaries in large numbers to the celestial empire. It will be an impossible task to enumerate the missionaries that visited China during the thousand years of the Christian era. As late as in the 10th century A.D. Dharmadeva of Nālandā visited China where he translated many Sanskrit works into Chinese and received in 1001 A.D. a posthumous title of great honour. Dāna Pāla, a monk of Udyāna, who arrived in China in 980 A.D., was the recipient of a similar honour from the Chinese Emperor. Dharmarakṣa, a learned Buddhist monk of Magadha, who reached China in 1004 A.D. and received a special title of honour from the Chinese Emperor, translated numerous Sanskrit works into Chinese until he died in 1058 A.D. Instances may be enormously multiplied to show how Buddhist monks were received with honour in China.

In the 7th century A.D. Thon-mi-sam-bhota, a minister of king Sroṅ-tsan-gam-po of Tibet, visited Magadha, while in the 8th century A.D. the Indian sages Śānta Raksita and Kamala Śīla of the university of Nālandā and Guru Padma Sambhava of Udyāna was invited at the court of Khri-sroṅ-deu-tsan who ruled in Tibet from 728 A.D. to 864 A.D. About 1038 A.D. Lha-tsun-byañ-chub, a king of Tibet, sent an envoy named Rgya-tshon-señ-ge to invite Dipaṅkara Śrī-jñāna or Atiśa of Vikramaśīlā and to accompany him to Tibet. In the 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A.D. the number of Buddhist monks of Bengal and Behar that visited Tibet was enormously large. They were usefully employed with the co-operation of lamas to translate Sanskrit books into Tibetan. The Tibetan versions prepared by them were afterwards collected together to constitute the two encyclopaedias of *Bkah-havur* and *Bstan-havur* that were edited

by the great Tibetan sage Bu-ston of the monastery of Shālu near Tashi-lhun-po under orders of the Tibeto-Chinese-Mongol Emperor Kublai Khan in 1270 A. D.!

Numerous Buddhist monks were also graciously received in Coreā, Mongolia, Japan, Nepal, Burma, Siam, Java, Sumatra, etc.

Buddhism in other countries

148. EXTINCTION OF THE BUDDHISTS AND THEIR DOCTRINES IN INDIA.

I have shown that some of the Buddhists were received with hospitality in foreign countries while others became followers of Islam. The few that remained reverted to the Brāhmanic faith of the Tāntrika, Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava order. The Buddhist systems of thought were absorbed into the Brāhmanic systems, and the Modern School of Brāhmanic Logic was the result of a combination of the Brāhmanic *Nyāya* and the Buddhist science of *Pramāna*. The vitality of Buddhism as a separate organism was lost in the 13th century A. D. after which we hear no more of Buddhist logicians.

། མདོར་ན་ཐོད་བྱུང་བའི་པ་ཏྲ་གྲུབ་ནི། Indian Paṇḍitas, who were engaged in translating Sanskrit works into Tibetan, included the following:—

Śānta Rakṣita, Padma-sambhava, Dharmakīrti, Vimala Mitra, Buddha Guhya, Śānti Garbha, Viśuddhi Siṃha, Kamala Śīla, Kusara, Śankara Brāhmaṇa, Śīla Mañju (of Nepal), Ananta Varman, Kalyāṇa Mitra, Jina Mitra, Surendra Bodhi Śilendra Bodhi, Dāna Śīla, Bodhi Mitra, Muni Varma, Sarvajña Deva, Vidyākara Prabha, Śraddhākara Varma, Mukti Mitra, Buddha Śrī, Buddha Pāla, Dharma Pāla, Prajñā Pāla, Subhāsita, Prajñā Varma, Dīpankara Śrījñāna, Dāna Śrī, Smṛtījñāna-kīrti, Sangha Śrī, Jñāna Śrī of Kāśmīra, Candra Rāhula, Dhīra Pāla, Atulya Dāsa, Sumati Kīrti, Amara Candra, Bindu Kalasa, Kumāra Kalasa, Kanaka Varma, Sadbhārata, Jayānanta, Gayādhara, Amogha Vajra, Soma Nātha, Śūnyatā-samādhi Vajra, Jñāna Vajra, Prajñā Guhya, Mahāyāna Vajra, Bāla Candra, Mantra Kalukṣa, Sugata Śrī, Yamāri, Vairocana, Mañju Ghoṣa, Ravi Kīrti, Prajñā Śrījñāna, Gaṅgādhara, Dhana Gupta, Samantā Śrī, Niskalaika Deva, Jagat-mitra Nandi, Buddha Śrījñāna, Śākya Śrībhadra of Kāśmīra, Vibhūti Canda, Dāna Śīla, Sangha Śrī, Sambhoga Vajra, Ratna Śrī, Mahāsana of Nepal, Vajra Kīrti of Nepal, Gayā Śrī of Nepal, Kīrti of Nepal, Kumāra, Sanātana Śrī, Sādhu Kīrti, Vinaya Śrī, Śīla Śrī, Mandala Śrī, Vimala Śrī, Darpaṇa Ācārya, Jaya Deva, Lakṣmīkara, Ratna Śrī, Ananta Śrī, Rāhula Śrī of Tāmra Dvīpa and Kīrti Paṇḍita.

(Vide Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan, p. 403).

PART III.

THE MODERN SCHOOL OF INDIAN LOGIC.

SECTION I.

Prakarana—Manual of Logic.

CHAPTER I

The Nyāya-Prakarana reduces its Categories to one.

1. THE NEO-BRĀHMANIC AGE (CIRCA 900 A.D.—1920 A.D.).

In part II we have seen how Jainism and Buddhism exercised, for several centuries, a potent influence on the system of philosophy and culture of the Brāhmaṇas. In the Deccan, the decline of Buddhism commenced in the seventh century A.D., while in North India the Buddhists became almost extinct by 1200 A.D. The Brāhmaṇas, who survived them, organized their society on a secure basis. They took back into their folds some of their members who had embraced Buddhism or Jainism, but there arose the necessity of making strict rules for the maintenance of the integrity of their society and for the prevention of new admissions into it. It was at this period that different Brāhmanic legislators of different provinces composed treatises imposing laws, restrictions, and injunctions upon people of their province suited to their new local conditions. Thus there grew up a number of different schools of thought and culture, with local colourings of their own, which were quite different from the old schools so universal in their character and application. It may be observed that social exclusiveness became more marked in the Hindu Society at this period with the advent of the Muhammadans in India.

2. COMPOSITION OF THE *Prakaranas*, MANUALS OF LOGIC.

Placed in this new environment, the Brāhmanic writers, often under the patronage of local landholders, applied themselves to the study and teaching of Logic in quite a new spirit. The treatises on Logic, which were composed by them, borrowed their forms from the works of the mediaeval school, while for their subject-matter they went back to the works of the ancient school.

The works so composed in this period were technically called *Prakaraṇas*¹ or Manuals of Logic. In the *Parāśara Upapurāna* quoted in the commentaries on *Nyāya-sāra* and *Saptapadārthī*, the *prakaraṇa* is defined as a book which concerns itself with the topics of a portion of a *śāstra* which may deal even with matters not included in the *śāstra*, e.g. the *Nyāya-sāra* and *Saptapadārthī*—two very early manuals of Logic—treat in a very lucid way most topics of the *Nyāya sūtra* and *Vaiśeṣika sūtra* respectively, and at the same time some topics not included in those *sūtras*. Many matters which are elaborately treated in the works of the ancient school have been dismissed with scant ceremony in the logical manuals, while some subjects which were merely referred to in the former, have been clearly explained in the latter; for instance, the topics of *chāla* (quibble), *jāti* (analogue) and *nigrahasthāna* (points of defeat), which occupied so much space in the works of the ancient school, drew very little attention from the authors of the manuals. On the other hand, the syllogism (*avayava*) which was briefly treated in the ancient works has been elaborately explained in the manuals. This treatment of certain subjects in preference to other subjects was most probably due to the influence of the Jaina and Buddhist systems of Logic which intervened. In respect of their styles also the ancient works differed considerably from the manuals: while the style of the former was mostly aphoristic, the style of the latter was expository. The *parakaraṇas* (manuals) are in fact remarkable for their accuracy and lucidity as well as for their direct handling of various topics in their serial orders. Definitions of terms are broad and accurate and not full of niceties.

3. FOUR CLASSES OF *prakaraṇas*.

The manuals of Logic called *Prakaraṇas* may be principally divided into four classes: (1) The *Nyāya* works treating only of the *pramāṇa* to which the remaining fifteen categories were subordinated; (2) the *Nyāya* works which embody in them the categories of the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy; (3) the works which treat of six or seven *Vaiśeṣika* categories assimilating in them the *Nyāya* category of *pramāṇa*, and (4) the works which treat certain topics of the *Nyāya* and certain topics of the *Vaiśeṣika*. Most of the authors on manuals considered it necessary to combine such subjects of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* as would give us a complete

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नम्वेयं शास्त्रप्रकरणयोः को भेद इति चेत् ।

शास्त्रैकदेशसंबद्ध शास्त्रकार्याकारे स्थितम् ।

आहुः प्रकरणं नाम पन्थभेदं विपश्चितः ॥

(Saptapadārthī, Vidyābhāṣya Sanskrit Series, p. 2)

theory of valid knowledge as well as of the objects which would give rise to that knowledge.

4. NYĀYA-PRAKARAṆA DEVELOPING THE CATEGORY OF *pramāṇa*.

The Jaina and Buddhist writers, who founded the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, dealt with only one category, viz. *pramāṇa*, the means of valid knowledge. Following them some of the Brāhmaṇic writers chose only one category, viz. *Pramāṇa*, which they developed in such a way that it could assimilate in itself the remaining fifteen categories of the ancient school. Certain categories, such as *Prāmeya* (objects of knowledge), *jalpa* (wrangling), *vitandā* (cavil), *jāti* (analogue), and *nigrahasthāna* (the point of defeat) had to be excluded, while other categories were conveniently stuck on to *Pramāṇa* as its sub-divisions. These Brāhmaṇa writers, of whom accounts will shortly be given, were the true representatives of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic. The earliest of these writers seem to have been Bhā-sarvajña,¹ who flourished about 950 A.D.

5. BHĀ-SARVAJÑA
(ABOUT 950 A.D.).

The first Brāhmaṇic writer, who attempted to reduce the sixteen categories to one, was Bhā-sarvajña, the celebrated author of *Nyāya-sāra*.

Nothing is definitely known about the age in which he flourished or the country which he adorned by his birth. He seems to me to have been a native of Kāśmīra. His name, which is very peculiar, bears a close resemblance to the names of Sarvajña Mitra² and Sarvajña Deva³, who lived in Kāśmīra about 775 A.D. and 1025 A.D. respectively.

As the reputed author of *Nyāya-sāra*, he is mentioned by the Jaina sages Guṇaratna⁴ (1409 A.D.), and Maladhāri Rājasekhara⁵ (1348 A.D.).

¹ Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāya-sāra* with Jaya Simha's *Nyāyatātparyā-dīpikā* has been edited by Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana and published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series of Calcutta*.

² *Vide* Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's edition of *Sragdharā stotram*, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica series*, Introduction, p. xxx.

³ *Vide* Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's "History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic," pp. 134--135.

⁴ भासर्वज्ञ प्रणीते न्यायसारेऽष्टादशटीकाः । तानु सुख्या टीका न्यायभूषणस्य न्यायकलिका जयन्तरचिता न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिनर्कसः ।

(Guṇaratna's *Saddarśana-vṛtti*, edited by Dr. L. Suali, p. 94).

⁵

भासर्वज्ञी न्यायसारतर्कसूत्रविधायकः ।

न्यायसाराभिधे तर्के टीका षष्ठादशसुखाः ॥

During their times there were already eighteen commentaries on the Nyāya-sāra. One of them is named Nyāya bhūṣaṇa, which I believe to be identical with the work of same name quoted by the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti,¹ preceptor of Ratnākara Śānti,² who lived about 1000 A.D. This is therefore the latest date that we can assign to Bhā-sarvajña. The earliest limit may be fixed at 650 A.D. when there lived the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti³ whose controversy about the fallacy of “non-erroneous contradiction” (*viruḍdhāvvyabhicāri*) is referred to in the Nyāya-sāra.⁴ Bhā-sarvajña was evidently junior to Trilocana, whose fallacies of example have, according to Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, been quoted by him.⁵ On these and other considerations I am inclined to believe that Bhā-sarvajña lived about 950 A.D.

Bhā-sarvajña who attempted to reconstruct Brāhmaṇic Logic on the plan of Buddhist Logic, must indeed have flourished in Kāśmīra in the 10th century A.D. when Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism flourished there side by side.

6. BHĀ-SARVAJÑA'S NYĀYA-SĀRA.

The well-known logical treatise, which proceeded from the pen of Bhā-sarvajña, was designated as Nyāya-sāra, the Essence of Logic. It occupied a remarkable position in the history of Indian Logic. Following the method current in his time, Bhā-sarvajña undertook in his Nyāya-sāra, to treat only of *Pramāṇa* which he divided into three kinds : perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and verbal testimony (*āgama*). This threefold division of *Pramāṇa* furnished a contrast to Akṣapāda who recognized a fourth

न्यायभूषणनाम्नी तु टीका तासु प्रसिद्धिभाक् ।

(*Śaḍdarśana-sarnuccaya* by Maladhāri Rājasekhara Sūri, published in the *Yāsovijaya Granthamāla*, Benares)

¹ Ratnakīrti observes :—

यच्च न न्यायभूषणेन सूर्यादिग्रहणे तदुपकार्याशेषनस्तुराग्रिग्रहणप्रसङ्गननुक्तं तदभिप्रायानवगाहनफलं . . . ।

(Ratnakīrti's *Apohasiddhi*, edited by M.M. Hara Prasad Sastrī, p. 11, A.S.B.)

² *Vide* Part II on Buddhist Logic.

³ Dharmakīrti observes :—

विशदायमिसारी अपि संशयहेतुवक्तः ।

(*Nyāyabindu*, edited by Peterson, p. 115).

⁴ Bhā-sarvajña writes :—

एकत्र तुल्यलक्षण विशदहेतुद्वयोपनिपातो विशदा यमिचारी इत्येके ।

(*Nyāya-sāra*, edited by Saris Chandra Vidyabhusana, p. 12)

⁵ *Vide* Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Nyāya-sāra* in reference to the passage :

कन्ये तु सद्देहदारेण अपरान् अष्टासुदाहरणाभासान् वर्णयन्ति ।

(*Nyāya-sāra*, p. 13, Vidyabhusana's edition).

nature knows all truths, I shall explain *Pramāna*, and its division and definition, in order that children may understand them well.”¹

Pramāna is defined in the work as the means of right knowledge freed from doubt and error. It is of three kinds, viz. perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), and verbal testimony (*āgama*)

Perception, which is the means of direct cognition, may be either contemplative (*yogi-pratyakṣa*) or ordinary (*a-yogi-pratyakṣa*). The ordinary perception is that which exhibits gross objects through their intercourse with our senses brought about by a favourable combination of light, space, time, nature, etc.

The intercourse may be of six kinds, viz., (1) union, (2) united-inherence, (3) united-inherent inherence, (4) inherence, (5) inherent inherence, and (6) particularity—all of which have been explained before.

The *contemplative perception* exhibits objects which are too remote in time and space or too fine in nature. It is the perception of a saint, who may or may not be in a state of contemplation at the time.

While in a state of contemplation the saint perceives infinite objects through the mere union of his soul with his mind in consequence of his merit, etc. But while he is not in contemplation, he perceives objects through the union of four, three or two causes, viz. the soul, the mind, a sense and an object, or the soul, the mind and a sense, or merely the soul and the mind. In the olfactory, gustatory, visual and tactual perceptions there is a union of four causes. In the auditory perception there is a threefold union, viz. the soul, the mind and the ear (the sound which inheres in the ear being identical with the same). In the perception of pleasure, etc., there is a union of merely two causes, viz. the soul and the mind.

Perception may also be divided as determinate or mediate (*savikalpaka*) and indeterminate or immediate (*nirvikalpaka*). The determinate perception is knowledge of an object indicative of a relation of the object to its name, genus, quality, action, etc., e.g. this is Devadatta. The indeterminate perception is the knowledge which exhibits the mere essence of an object independent of its relation

1

प्रबन्धं यन्मुं जगतः पतिम्परं
समस्ततत्त्वार्थविद् सभायतः ।
सिद्धि प्रबोधाय नयाभिधास्यते
प्रभाव तद्दे तदन्यलक्षयम् ॥

to a name, genus, etc., e.g. the knowledge produced by the first union of a sense with its object or the knowledge of a saint while he is in a state of contemplation.

Inference—*anumāna*.

Inference defined. Inference (*anumāna*) is the means of knowing a thing beyond the range of the senses through its inseparable connection with another thing which lies within their range. “The hill is fiery, because it is smoky”—this is an inference in which we ascertain fire from smoke with which it is inseparably connected.

Invariable concomitance—*vyāpti*. The inseparable connection (in Sanskrit *avinābhāva*) is also designated as pervasion or invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*). It is of two kinds: (1) affirmative (*anvaya*) and negative (*vyatireka*). The affirmative invariable concomitance (*anvaya-vyāpti*) is the accompaniment of the middle term by the major term in all cases. The negative invariable concomitance (*vyatireka-vyāpti*) is the accompaniment of the absence of the major term by the absence of the middle term in all cases. In the affirmative universal proposition “wherever there is smoke, there is fire”—smoke is the middle term which is in all cases accompanied by fire the major term; and in the negative universal proposition “wherever there is no fire, there is no smoke”—the absence of fire is in all cases accompanied by the absence of smoke.

Kinds of Inference. Inference is of two kinds, viz. (1) inference for one’s self (*svārthānumāna*) and (2) inference for the sake of others (*parārthānumāna*). The first does not stand in need of demonstration but the second does. The demonstration consists of a syllogism of five parts: (1) a proposition, (2) a reason, (3) an example, (4) an application, and (5) a conclusion. A proposition is the statement of the subject (minor term) of which something is desired to be established, e.g. sound is non-eternal. A reason is the statement of the mark which enables us to establish something. The reason may be exclusively affirmative (*kevalānvayi*), exclusively negative (*kevala vyatireki*) and affirmative negative (*anvaya-vyatireki*).

Terms of an Inference. The subject or minor term (*pakṣa*) is that in which it is doubtful whether the quality of the major term abides. A homologue (*sapakṣa*) is that in which the quality of the major term is known, with certainty, to abide. A heterologue (*vipakṣa*) is that in which, it is known with certainty, that the quality of the major term does not abide. The essential nature of a syllogism (*pakṣa-dharmatā*) refers to the character of the pervasion of the middle term by the major term.

Take the following syllogism :—

The hill is fiery.
because it is smoky.
like a kitchen or like a lake.

Here “hill” is the subject or minor term on which the existence of fire is to be proved; “kitchen” is a homologue in which fire is known with certainty to abide; and “lake” is a heterologue in which, we are sure, fire does not abide

Exclusively affirmative is the reason which abides in the minor term of which there are homologues but no heterologues, e.g., this is *nameable*, because it is knowable.

Exclusively-negative is the reason which abides in the minor term of which there are no homologues and which is distinct from the heterologues, e.g. the earth is different from other elements, because it possesses *smell*

Affirmative-negative is the reason which abides in the minor term and its homologues but does not abide in the heterologues of the minor term, which is not counterbalanced and the sphere of which is not opposed by evidences, e.g. the hill is fiery, because it is *smoky*.

Hetvābhāsa—fallacy of the reason.

Fallacy (*hetvābhāsa*) is that which possesses the appearance of a reason but not its essential characters.

Fallacy of reason.

It is of various kinds as mentioned below :—

low :—

A. UNPROVED (*asiddha*).

Unproved (*asiddha*) is the reason whose existence in the minor term has not been known with certainty. It is of following kinds :—

- (1) Unproved in respect of its nature (*svarūpāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is *visible*.
- (2) Unproved on account of its abiding in a different locus (*vyadhikaranāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because a *pot* is a product.
- (3) Unproved in respect of the substantive (*viśeṣyāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is a *visible thing* possessing generality [sound possesses generality (soundness), but it is not visible].
- (4) Unproved in respect of the adjective (*viśeṣanāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it possesses generality *which is visible* [soundness is not visible].
- (5) Unproved in respect of a part (*bhāgāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is produced by effort. [The first.

- sound-wave is produced by effort, but the succeeding sound-waves do not, it is said, depend on it].
- (6) Unproved in respect of the abode (*āśrayāsiddha*) e.g. there is primordial matter, because it evolves into the universe. [The Naiyāyikas do not admit that primordial matter (*Prakṛti*) is the prime source of the universe]
- (7) Unproved in respect of a part of the abode (*āśrayaikadeśāsiddha*), e.g. the primordial matter, soul and God are eternal, because they are not products. [The Naiyāyikas admit the soul and God to be eternal but not the primordial matter *Prakṛti*]
- (8) Unproved on account of the substantive being useless (*vyarthaviśesyāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it possesses *generality* which is a product [To say that "soundness is a product" is not only useless but also incorrect].
- (9) Unproved on account of the adjective being useless (*vyarthaviśesanāsiddha*), e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is a product *which is possessed of generality* [It is superfluous here to say that "a product is possessed of generality"].
- (10) Unproved on account of the reason being doubtful (*sandigdhdhāsiddha*), e.g. a person without ascertaining whether there is *smoke* or *mist* says, this place is fiery, because it *smoky*. [Here if the smoke turns out to be mist, the inference will be invalid]
- (11) Unproved on account of the substantive being doubtful (*sandigdha- viśesyāsiddha*) e.g. Kapila is still overwhelmed with passions, because *true knowledge has not yet grown in him* who is a person. [It is doubtful as to whether true knowledge has not grown in him].
- (12) Unproved on account of the adjective being doubtful (*sandigdha- viśesanāsiddha*), e.g. Kapila is still overwhelmed with passions because he is a person *who is always devoid of true knowledge*. [It is doubtful as to whether he is always devoid of true knowledge]

The fallacies called *unproved* mentioned above are of two descriptions according as the lack of truth involved in them is recognized by both the parties or one of the parties engaged in a debate.

B. THE CONTRADICTIONARY (*viruddha*).

Contradictory (*viruddha*) is the reason which abides in the minor term as well as in the opposite of it.

If there are homologues to the minor term, the contradictory reason may be of four kinds as follows:—

- (1) The reason which abides in the minor term as well as in its heterologue (but not in its homologue), e.g. sound is eternal, because it is a product [like ether (homologue)

- and like a pot (heterologue). Productivity abides in sound as well as in its heterologue the pot].
- (2) The reason which abides in the minor term as well as in a part of its heterologue (but not in its homologue), e.g. sound is eternal because it is a thing which possesses generality and is cognized by our external senses. [Here an instance of the heterologue is a pot (*a*) which is non-eternal, (*b*) which possesses generality *potness*, and (*c*) which is cognized by our external senses. "Pleasure" cannot be an instance of the heterologue, because though non-eternal it is not cognized by our external senses. So the reason abides only in a part of the heterologue. We cannot cite *potness* as a homologue, because though *potness* is eternal and cognized by our external sense, it does not possess generality *potness-ness*].
 - (3) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term as well as in a part of its heterologue but not in its homologue, e.g. sound is eternal, because it is a product of effort. [The first wave of sound is a product of effort, but the succeeding waves are not products of the same nature. So the productivity of effort abides only in a part of the minor term. Similarly it abides only in a part of the heterologue. "Pot" is a heterologue which is a product of effort, but "grass" is a heterologue which is not a product of effort.
 - (4) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term, but in the whole of its heterologue (and not in its homologue), e.g. the earth is eternal, because it is a product. [Productivity abides in the earth which is gross, but not in the earth which is subtle or atomic. At the same time it abides in all things which are non-eternal or heterologues to the minor term].

While there are no homologues, the contradictory reasons are four as follow :—

- (1) The reason which abides in the minor term as well as in its heterologues, e.g. sound is a special quality of ether as it is knowable. [Knowableness abides in sound as well as in its heterologues such as smell. There are no homologues, because nothing but sound is a special quality of ether].
- (2) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term and in a part of its heterologues, e.g. sound is a special quality of ether, because it is a product of effort. [Productivity of effort abides in the first sound-wave but does not abide in the succeeding sound waves, it abides in some heterologues as pot, etc., but not in other heterologues as the soul, etc.].
- (3) The reason which abides in the minor term and in a part of its heterologues, e.g. sound is a special quality of ether.

because it is cognizable by the external senses [All sounds are cognizable by the external senses. It is only some heterologues such as a pot, cloth etc., that are cognizable by the external senses while other heterologues such as pleasure, pain, etc., are not so cognizable]

- (4) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term, but in the whole of its heterologues, e.g. sound is a special quality of ether, because it does not arise from words. [Some sounds arise from words such as those which we read in books, while others do not, such as the sounds of a drum. No sound which is not a special quality of ether, arises from words].

C. THE UNCERTAIN (*anaikāntika*).

Uncertain (*anaikāntika*) is the reason which abides in the minor term, its homologues and heterologues: its subdivisions are the following:—

- (1) The reason which abides in the minor term, its homologues and heterologues, e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is knowable.
- (2) The reason which abides in the minor term, in a part of its homologues and in a part of its heterologues, e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is perceptible [(1) Perceptibility abides in "sound," (2) it abides in some of the non-eternal as a pot, but does not abide in some of the non-eternal as the binary compound of atoms, and (3) it abides in some of the eternal as generality, but does not abide in some of the eternal as ether]
- (3) The reason which abides in the minor term and its homologues as well as in a part of its heterologues, e.g. this is a cow, because it has horns. [Horns abide in "this" as well as in its homologues cow, calf, etc. They abide with some of the heterologues such as a buffalo but do not abide in other heterologues such as a horse]
- (4) The reason which abides in the minor term and its heterologues and in a part of its homologues, e.g. this is not a cow, because it has horns.
- (5) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term, a part of its homologues and a part of its heterologues, e.g. the earth is non-eternal, because it is perceptible. [Perceptibility abides in earth which is gross, but not in earth which is subtle (atomic). It abides in some homologues as a pot, but not in other homologues as a binary compound of atoms. Similarly it abides in some heterologues as generality but not in other heterologues as ether].
- (6) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term, a part of its homologues and in the whole of its heterologues, e.g. space, time and mind are substances, because they are incorporeal. [Incorporeality abides in space and time but

not in mind which is an atom in dimension. It abides in some homologues as soul, ether, etc., but not in other homologues as earth, water, fire and air. It abides in all heterologues as quality, action, generality, particularity and inherence].

- (7) The reason which abides in all homologues and heterologues, but only in a part of the minor term, e.g. ether, time, space, soul and mind are not substances, because they are devoid of special qualities of momentary character. [The devoidance of special qualities of momentary character abides in space, time and mind but not in ether and soul, sound and intelligence which are respectively the special qualities of ether and soul being momentary. It abides in all homologues as quality, action, generality, particularity and inherence, and also in heterologues as earth, water, fire and air]

D. NON-TRIED OR NON-CONCLUSIVE (*anadhyavasita*, or *anupasamhāri*).¹

Non-tried (*anadhyavasita*) is the reason which abides in the minor term alone, without a definite connection with the major term. It is subdivided as follows :—

- (1) The reason which abides in the minor term of which there are neither homologues nor heterologues, e.g. all are non-eternal, because they are existent. [“All” having included every thing there is no homologue or heterologue left behind. The reason “existence” does however abide in “all”].
- (2) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term of which there are neither homologues nor heterologues, e.g. all are non-eternal, because they are products. [“All” which includes everything, has neither homologues nor heterologues. The reason “product” abides in non-eternal things but not in eternal things both of which are comprised by “all”].
- (3) The reason which abides in the minor term of which there are both homologues and heterologues, e.g. sound is non-eternal, because it is a special quality of ether. [Sound which is a special quality of ether, has homologues which are however not qualities of ether].
- (4) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term of which there are both homologues and heterologues, e.g. all substances are non-eternal, because they are possessed of

¹ Mr. V. P. Vaidya observes :—“ This hetvābhāsa is mentioned by Bhāsarvajña alone, except by Śaṅkara Miśra, who, about the 10th century, says that it is the same as *anupasamhāri-anaikāntika*, which latter did not take its name and form in the time of Bhāsarvajña.

(Nyāya-sāra, p. 30, V. P. Vaidya's edition).

activity. [There is activity in earth but not in ether, although both are substances. There is no activity in quality and action which are homologues and in generality, particularity and inherence which are heterologues of the non-eternal].

- (5) The reason which abides in the minor term and has homologues but no heterologues, e.g. all products are eternal, because they are originated. [There is no heterologue of "all products" which constitutes the minor term Ether, which is a homologue, is not originated].
- (6) The reason which abides in a part of the minor term and has homologues but no heterologues, e.g. all products are eternal, because they are composed of parts. ["Pot" and intelligence are both products, one is composed of parts but the other is not. There is no heterologue of "all products" which constitutes the minor term. Ether is a homologue but it is not composed of parts]

E. MISTIMED OR INCOMPATIBLE REASON (*kālātyayopadiṣṭa* ¹ or *bādhita*).

Mistimed or incompatible is the reason which abides in the minor term as opposed by evidences. It is subdivided as follows:—

- (1) Opposed by perception, e.g. this fire is non-warm, because it is a product.
- (2) Opposed by inference, e.g. the atoms are non-eternal, because they are corporeal.
- (3) Opposed by scripture, e.g. wine should be drunk by Brāhmaṇas, because it is a liquid thing like milk.
- (4) Partly opposed by perception, e.g. all heats are non-warm, because they have forms. [Heat of fire is warm but that of moon-stone is non-warm].
- (5) Partly opposed by inference, e.g. fluidity, colour, taste, smell and touch abiding in eternal things are eternal, because they abide in atoms which do not occupy space, etc.
- (6) Partly opposed by scripture, e.g. bodies of all celestial sages are earthy, because they are bodies like those of ours. [Bodies of some celestial sages are earthy, those of others watery, fiery, etc.]

F. BALANCING THE CONTROVERSY (*prakaraṇa-sama*).

Balancing the controversy (*prakaraṇa-sama*) is the reason which possesses its three forms, but establishes one's own side as well as the opposite side, e.g.

¹ Mr. V. P. Vaidya observes:—"This fallacy is known in later works as *bādhita*. According to later writers "*kālātya*" is the name of the fallacy.

- (1) Sound is eternal,
- (2) because it is sound,
- (3) like ether.

or,

- (1) sound is non-eternal,
- (2) because it is sound,
- (3) like a pot.

G. NON-ERRONEOUS CONTRADICTION—*viruddhāvyabhicārī*.

Some say that there is a fallacy called non-erroneous contradiction which occurs when there is an advancement of two contradictory reasons of equal characters, e.g. a disputant says:—

Ether is eternal, because it is an incorporeal substance, like the soul.

His opponent says:—

Ether is non-eternal, because it is the abode of a special quality cognized by one of our external senses, like a pot.

The non-erroneous contradiction is a fallacy with reference to one party, but is a good reasoning with reference to the other party.

Example—*udāharana*.

An example (*udāharana*) is the statement of a complete illustration. It is of two kinds, viz. (1) homogeneous or affirmative (*sādharmya*), and (2) heterogenous or negative (*vaidharmya*). An affirmative example is the statement of an illustration in the positive or direct order, e.g.

- (1) sound is non-eternal,
- (2) because it possesses acuteness, etc.,
- (3) whatever possesses acuteness, etc., is non-eternal, like pleasure, etc. (affirmative example).

A negative example is the statement of a complete illustration in negative or indirect order, e.g.

- (1) Sound is non-eternal,
- (2) because it possesses acuteness, etc.,
- (3) whatever is not non-eternal does not possess acuteness, etc., like ether etc. (negative example).

A fallacious example (the fallacy or semblance of an example, *udāharanābhāsa*) is one which appears as an example but is really devoid of its essential character.

Fallacies of an affirmative example. The fallacies of affirmative example are the following:—

- (1) An example defective in the major term (*sādhya-vikala*), e.g. the mind is non-eternal, because it is corporeal like an atom.

- (2) An example defective in the middle term (*sādhana-vikala*) e.g. the mind is non-eternal, because it is corporeal like an *action*
- (3) An example defective in both the major and middle terms (*ubhayavikala*), e.g. the mind is non-eternal, because it is corporeal, like *ether*.
- (4) An example which is supportless (*āśraya-hīna*), e.g. the mind is non-eternal, because it is corporeal, like the *horn of a hare*.
- (5) An example which is non-pervasive (*avyāpti*), e.g. the mind is non-eternal, because it is corporeal, like a *pot*. [There is no pervasion or universal connection between corporeality and non-eternality.]
- (6) An example whose pervasion is inversely stated (*viparīta-vyāpti*), e.g.
 - (i) the mind is non-eternal,
 - (ii) because it is corporeal,
 - (iii) whatever is non-eternal is corporeal like a *pot*. [This should have been stated thus: whatever is corporeal is non-eternal, like a pot].

Fallacies of negative example.

The fallacies of negative example are similarly of six kinds specified below :—

- (1) An example of excluded major term, e.g. whatever is not non-eternal is not corporeal as an *atom*
- (2) An example of excluded middle term (*sādhanāvyāvṛtta*), e.g. whatever is not non-eternal is not corporeal, as an *action*.
- (3) An example of excluded major and middle terms (*ubhayāvyāvṛtta*), e.g. whatever is not non-eternal is not corporeal, as a *pot*.
- (4) An example which is without support (*āśraya-hīna*), e.g. whatever is not non-eternal is not corporeal, as a sky-flower.
- (5) A non-pervasive example (*avyāptyabhīdhāna*), e.g. whatever is not non-eternal is not corporeal, as ether.
- (6) An example with inverse pervasion (*viparīta-vyāptyabhīdhāna*), e.g. whatever is not corporeal is not non-eternal, as ether.

Other fallacies of example.

Bhā-sarvajña¹ mentions another four kinds of fallacious examples of the affirmative form as follow :—

- (1) An example of doubtful major term, e.g. this person will exercise sovereignty, because he is sprung from the lunar race, like a certain prince of that race.
- (2) An example of doubtful middle term, e.g. this person is

¹ Rāghava Bhatta in his commentary on the Nyāya-sāra says, that these eight kinds of fallacious examples (four of the affirmative form and four of the negative form) were laid down by Trilocana, who must therefore have flourished before Bhā-sarvajña. (Cf. V. P. Vaidya's edition of Nyāya-sāra, notes, p. 35)

not omniscient, because he is passionate like the man on the street.

(3) An example of doubtful major and middle terms, e.g. this person will go to heaven, because he has accumulated merits, like Devadatta.

(4) An example whose support is doubtful, e.g. this person is not omniscient, because he speaks evil, like Devadatta's son who will be born.

Similarly there are four kinds of fallacious examples of the negative form based on their doubtful character

Bhā-sarvajña¹ closely follows the Nyāya-sūtra in his explanation of *upanaya* (application), *nigamana* (conclusion), *nirṇaya* (ascertainment), *kathā* (disputation), *vāda* (discussion), *jalpa* (wrangling), *vitandā* (cavil), *ṛāti* (analogue), *nigrahassthāna* (point of defeat), etc.

Verbal testimony—*āgama*.

Verbal testimony or reliable assertion (*āgama*) is the means of knowing things accurately through indicatory signs (or convention). It is of two kinds, according as the assertion refers to matter open to our senses or to matter beyond our senses. The authoritativeness of the first kind of assertion is evident from the action one takes on hearing the assertion, e.g. a boy runs to receive a mango when he is asked by his father to do so. The authoritativeness of the second kind of assertion is inferred from its having proceeded from a person who possesses supersensuous knowledge, and is, as such, reliable, e.g. one performs sacrifice on the strength of the Vedic injunction that a son is born when a sacrifice is performed for the same.

The three means of right knowledge have been explained. All other so-called means are included in them, e.g. presumption (*arthāpatti*) and probability (*sambhava*) are included in inference, rumour (*aitihya*) and muscular movement (*ceṣṭā*), in verbal testimony, and negation or non-existence (*abhāva*) in any of the three according to circumstances. Muscular movement alleged to be a means of knowledge is only an action substituted for a word or assertion.

Emancipation—*mokṣa*.

The object of our knowledge (*prameya*) is of four kinds as follows:—

¹ Bhā-sarvajña uses the word *āgama* as a synonym for *śabda*. In reality one signifies "scripture" which enables us to know things beyond our senses, and the other signifies "the assertion of a reliable person."

- (1) That which is fit only to be avoided, viz. misery or suffering (*dūḥkha*), of which there are twenty-one varieties already explained.
- (2) That which causes misery or suffering, viz. ignorance (*avidyā*), lust (*trṣṇā*), merit (*dharma*) or demerit (*adharmā*).
- (3) The cessation of misery or suffering.
- (4) The means for the removal of misery or suffering, viz. the true knowledge of soul (*ātmā*).

The soul is of two kinds, viz. the individual soul (*apara ātmā* and the supreme soul (*para ātmā*). The individual soul, which has to undergo sufferings from the bondage of the world, attains final emancipation (*mokṣa*) through the knowledge of the supreme soul called Śiva. In the state of final emancipation the individual soul, being finally freed from misery, enjoys eternal pleasure.

8. COMMENTARIES ON THE NYĀYASĀRA.

Of the eighteen commentaries on Nyāyasāra enumerated by Jaina writers some are noticed below :—

- (1) Nyāya-bhūṣana the oldest commentary mentioned by Maichāri Rāja Śekhara (1348 A.D.) and Gunaratna (1409 A.D.) and quoted by the Buddhist sage Ratnakīrti in his *Śpohasiddhāntī* (about 1000 A.D.) and by the Jaina sage Jayasīmha Sūri, in his *Nyāyatātparyādīpikā*. No manuscript of it has yet been recovered.
- (2) Nyāyakalikā by Jayanta, mentioned by Gunaratna in the *Saddarśana samuccaya Vṛtti* (1409 A.D.). No manuscript of it has yet been recovered.
- (3) Nyāyakusumāñjali tarka mentioned by Gunaratna in the *Saddarśana samuccaya Vṛtti* (1409 A.D.). No manuscript of it has yet been recovered.
- (4) Nyāyasāratikā by Vijaya Siṃha Gaṇi. A manuscript of it has been recovered from Bikaner. (*Vide* S. K. Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS. in the Deccan College, 1888, p. 58).
- (5) Nyāyasāratikā by Jayatīrtha (*vide* India Office Catalogue, No. 3132—1412)
- ¹(6) Nyāyasārapadapañjikā by Vāsudeva. A manuscript of it has been recovered from Kāśmīra. (*Vide* S. R. Bhandarkar's Catalogue of MSS. in the Deccan College, 1888, p. 95) Another manuscript of it written in Kāśmīri character is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal bearing No. 1552. In the opening lines ²

¹ *Vide* Rāja Śekhara's *Saddarśana samuccaya* and Gunaratna's *Saddarśana samuccaya vṛtti*.

² The opening line- of the Nyāyasārapadapañjikā run as follows :—

देवदेवमभिवन्द्य भास्वरं
योगिन्द्रहृदयैकमन्दिरम् ।

Vāsudeva speaks of himself as the author of the work and in the colophon he is stated to be a native of Kāśmīra.

- (7) Nyāyasāravīcāra by Bhatta Rāghava. A manuscript of it dated¹ Śaka 1174 A.D. 1252 is contained in the library of the Queen's College, Benares.
- (8) Nyāyatātparyadīpikā² by Jayasiṃha Sūri, a Jaina of the Svetāmbhara Sect, who lived in the fourteenth century A.D. as his Kumārapālacaritra³ is dated Śaṃvat 1422 or A.D. 1365.

वासुदेवविदुषा विरच्यते
न्यायसारपदपङ्क्तिः सया ॥

¹ The Nyāyasāravīcāra ends as follows :—

शके चतुःसप्तति संख्यके शतैः
शताधिकैरभ्यधिके च पञ्चभिः ।
द्विघातितैस्तत्र बभूव वत्सरै
भ्रुवं विचारः परिसाधि राघवः ॥

इति सारंगसुतवादीन्द्रशिष्यन्यायनिपुणतर्कविचारचतुरभङ्गराघवविरचिते न्यायसारविचारि
हृत्तौय. परिच्छेद. समाप्तः ॥

The verse may be interpreted to give Śaka 1174 (A.D. 1252) or Śaka 1274, 1352 A.D.)

² Nyāyatātparyadīpikā with the text of Nyāyasāra has been edited by Satya Chandra Vidyabhusana and published in the Bibliotheca Indica series, Calcutta.

³

त्र्योविक्रमखण्डपादु द्वि द्वि मन्वब्देऽयमजायत ।
यन्य सप्तविंशतीषट्सहस्राण्यनुष्टुभाम् ॥

(Kumārapāla Caritra Praśasti, Chap. X).

CHAPTER II.

Nyāya-prakaranas embodying Vaiśeṣika categories.

9. THE NYĀYA INCORPORATES THE VAIŚEṢIKA.

The Vaiśeṣika philosophy rendered considerable help to the development of the Nyāya (Logic) and many of the sūtras of the Nyāya philosophy presuppose those of the Vaiśeṣika. In fact the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya philosophies of the Ancient and Mediaeval periods supplemented each other in respect of their subjects and styles. Hence the two philosophies were called *samāna-tantra* or allied systems. At last the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya philosophies actually coalesced. The six or seven categories of the Vaiśeṣika were entirely absorbed in the treatise on Nyāya philosophy and the Nyāya categories of *pramāṇa* in its developed form were actually absorbed in the treatises on Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

As instances of Nyāya absorbing the Vaiśeṣika categories, we may cite the cases of *Tārkikarakṣā* by Varadarāja and *Tarkabhāṣā* by Keśava Miśra. Varadarāja, who deals with all the sixteen categories of Nyāya, includes in the second category, viz. *Prameya*, not only the twelve objects of Nyāya, such as, “ātman,” etc., but also the six categories of the Vaiśeṣika, such as *dravya*, etc. Keśava Miśra on the other hand brings the six categories of the Vaiśeṣika under “*artha*”, which is one of the twelve objects included in the second Nyāya category “*Prameya*.” A short account of the two works is given here

10. VARADARĀJA (ABOUT 1150 A.D.).

Varadarāja¹ wrote a work on Logic called *Tārkikarakṣā*, or “Protection of Logicians.” He seems to have been a native of Andhra or Telingana, in the Madras Presidency. Varadarāja must have flourished after the 10th century A.D., possibly also after the 11th century A.D., as he mentions *Trilocana*, *Vācaśpati Miśra*,²

¹ Varadarāja wrote a commentary on Udayana’s *Kusumāñjali* called *Nyāya Kusumāñjali ṭīkā*. Compare

एतच्च ध्वजतेव स्यष्टीकृतं न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिटीकायाः प्रथमं भागम् ।

(Mallinātha’s commentary on *Tārkikarakṣā*, edited by M.M. Vindhyaśvarī Prasād, page 46).

²

बालीष दुस्तरगभीरतरान् प्रवक्ष्यान्
वाचस्पदेवदशनस्य तथा परेषाम् ।

Udāyanācāryya, Śalikānātha, Viśvarūpa, Jayanta, Nyāyācāryya (Śivāditya), Bhā-sarvajña,¹ and Bhūṣaṇakāra. On the other hand, he is mentioned by Mādhvacāryya² in the Sarvadarśana samgraha, composed in the 14th century A.D. Very probably he flourished about 1150 A.D., shortly after which Jñāna Pūrṇa or Jñāna Deva, a disciple of Viṣṇu Svāmin, wrote a commentary on the Tārkikarakṣā called Laghudīpikā.³ Viṣṇu Svāmin is said to have been the original founder of a Vaiṣṇava sect called in later times the Vallabhācāri. The immediate disciple of Viṣṇu Svāmin was Jñāna Deva who was succeeded consecutively by Nāma Deva and the junior Trilocana. Perhaps there followed a few other preceptors before Vallabhācāryya, son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, of Andhra (Telingana), occupied the seat of guru at the end of the 15th century A.D. As Vallabhācāryya lived between 1450 and 1530 A.D., and as several preceptors intervened, the date of Varadarāja, if placed in 1150 A.D., will not be far wrong.⁵

11. TĀRKIKARAKṢĀ.

The Tārkikarakṣā, which at once begins its subject, is divided into three chapters, the first of which deals with the first fourteen categories of Nyāya, viz. (1) *pramāna*, (2) *prameya*, (3) *saṁśaya*, (4) *prayojana*, (5) *drṣtānta*, (6) *siddhānta*, (7) *avayava*, (8) *tarka*, (9) *nirṇaya*, (10) *vāda*, (11) *jalpa*, (12) *vitandā*, (13) *hetvābhāsa*, and (14) *chala*. The second chapter deals with the fifteenth category, viz. *jāti*, while the third chapter treats of the sixteenth category viz. *nigrahasthāna*.

सारी मयाच समष्ट्यत वाचकके

नित्यं कथासु विजिगीषुभिरिष धार्यं ॥

(Tārkikarakṣā, p. 364, edited by M. M. Vinchhyesvari Prasād, Benares)

¹ Varadarāja quotes Bhū-sarvajña thus:—

यथाऽऽ,— तन्मै प्रमाणं शिव । (Tārkikarakṣā, p. 58).

² Vide Sarvadarśanasamgraha, chapter on Pūrṇa-prajña-darśana in which we read:—

तार्किकरक्षायं च,—

यर्कस्य तद्वत्द्रूप विकल्पानुपपत्तितः ।

धर्मिण्यस्तद्विशिष्टत्व भङ्गो नित्यसमो भवेत् ॥

³ सर्वैर्धर्म्यं निजावास सर्वविद्या निसेवितम् ।

श्रीयज्ञेश्वरहरः । छन्दुं श्रीविष्णुस्वामिगुरुं नमः ॥

इति श्रीज्ञानपूर्वकता वरदारजीसवारसंघरठीका लघुदीपिका समाप्ता ॥

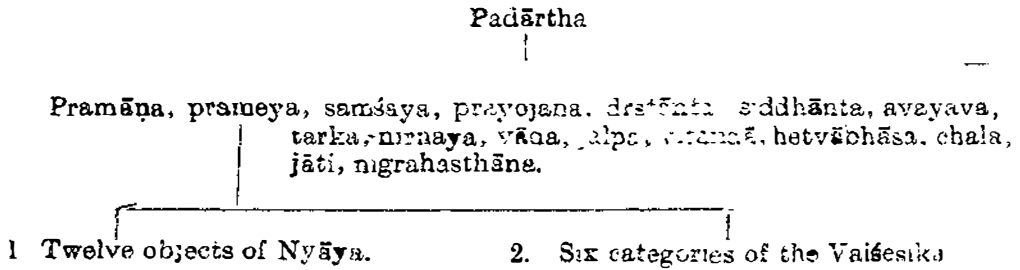
⁴ Vide Imperial Gazetteer.

⁵ Vide Dr. Venis' prefatory notice to Tārkikarakṣā, edited by M. M. Vinchhyesvari Prasād, Benares.

Prameya, according to the Nyāya-sūtra, signifies *ātman*, *śarīra*, *indriya*, *artha*, *buddhi*, *manas*, *pravṛtti*, *doṣa*, *pretyabhāva*, *phala*, *duḥkha*, and *apavarga*, but, according to Varadarāja, it incorporates also the six predicaments of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, viz. the substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*karma*), generality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśeṣa*), and co-existence or inherence (*sambandha*).

The categories of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are thus combined together, but the combination is far from being satisfactory. It is evident that the categories of the Vaiśeṣika and objects coming under Prameya of the Nyāya overlap each other. Moreover there is hardly any truth in the statement¹ that the knowledge of the sixteen categories of Nyāya is the direct means of our attaining emancipation, whereas that of the seven categories of the Vaiśeṣika is only an indirect means, because *ātman* (the soul), *manas* (the mind), *buddhi* (intellect or knowledge), *duḥkha* (pain), etc., are included in both the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems.

Varadarāja's scheme of combination of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems is shown below:—



Valid knowledge—*pramāṇa*.

The sixteen categories of Nyāya have already been explained. Varadarāja, in his Tārkikarakṣā, introduces here and there some peculiar discussions which are mentioned here. For instance, the Buddhists define valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) as that which is not non-correspondent with our practical activity,² e.g. my knowledge of a cup of water is valid if the activity prompted by it is fruitful. Varadarāja condemns

The Buddhist definition of *pramāṇa* condemned.

¹ लोके साक्षादनङ्गत्वाद्दृष्टपादैर्न लक्षितम् ।

तन्त्रान्तरानुसारेण षट्कं द्रव्यादि लक्षणम् ॥

(Tārkikarakṣā, p. 130).

² अविशंवादिभिर्ज्ञानं प्रमाणमिति वीगमा ।

Tārkikarakṣā, p. 13, edited by M.M. Vinḍhyeśvarī Prasād, Benares).

this definition by observing that it is too narrow. For instance, it cannot apply to our inferential knowledge of a thing that existed in the past or will exist in the future. We can test the validity of our knowledge only of a thing that exists in the present time. With regard to a past or future thing¹ we can draw an inference, but cannot prove the validity of the inference inasmuch as there is no practical activity prompted by it.

Inference—*anumāna*.

According to Varadarāja, inference (*anumāna*)² is the knowledge of a thing derived through its invariable concomitance with another thing. Invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*)³ also called inseparableness (*avinābhāva*), is that relation which is devoid of condition (*upādhi*).⁴

The Naiyāyikas say that the invariable concomitance of one thing with another thing is based on their uniform agreement in presence and absence, e.g. smoke is in invariable concomitance with fire, because where there is smoke there is fire and where there is no fire there is no smoke. In opposition to this definition the Buddhists⁵ say that the invariable concomitance of one thing with another thing is really based on their mutual relation of cause

¹ अविसंवादनमिति तदसत् ।

भूतभविष्यद्विषयेषु अनुमानेषु अस्मात् ।

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 14).

² व्याप्तिप्रत्यक्षसापेक्षं प्रमितेः साधनं विदुः ।

अनुमानमिति ।

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 64).

³ व्याप्तिः सम्बन्धो निरुपाधिकः ।

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 65).

⁴ *Upādhi*, condition, is thus defined :—

साधनाभावात् साध्यसम्बन्धात् उपाधयः ॥

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 66).

It is of two kinds: (1) sure (*niscita*) and (2) suspected (*saṅkita*). I do not quote here the definition of these terms as they will recur in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*.

⁵ लौकतास्तु तादात्म्यात्तदुत्पत्तिभ्यामेवाविनाभावः । ... यथाहः,—

कार्यकारणभावाद्वा स्वभावाद्वा नियामकात् ।

अविनाभाव नियमो दर्शनाच्च मदर्शनात् ॥

तदयुक्तम् । अकार्यानात्मनो रसादेरकारणमात्मभूतरूपाद्यनुमानस्य लोके बल्लसुपलब्धेः ।

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 82).

This verse is quoted from Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-vārtika-kārikā*. The Tibetan version runs as follows :—

शुद्धिर्दत्तमवस्यति पुनरेतदस्यैव

सद्विषयदेशयत्तुदेयव्यस्य ।

and effect or identity in essence, e.g. there is rain, because there was cloud (cloud being the cause of rain); and this is a tree, because it is a *śimśapā* (*śimśapā* being a species of tree which is its genus).

Varadarāja condemns the Buddhists by saying that their definition is untenable. We infer the form of an orange from its taste, though between the taste and form there is neither the causal relation nor the relation of identity in essence.

Syllogism—*avayava*.

In explaining the seventh category, viz. *avayava*¹ parts of a syllogism, Varadarāja says that according to the Mīmāṃsaka, a syllogism, which consists of three parts, may either begin with an example or end with the same, as follows:—

The Mīmāṃsā form of syllogism, *avayava*.

All that is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen,
The hill is smoky,
Therefore the hill is fiery.

or

The hill is fiery,
Because it is smoky.
All that is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen

The Saugatās (Buddhists) are said to maintain that a syllogism consists of only two parts, viz. an example and an application in the following form:—

All that is smoky is fiery, as a kitchen,
This hill is smoky.

The sign—*liṅga*.

A sign, reason or middle term (*liṅga* or *hetu*) which is in invariable concomitance with the predicate or major term (*sādhya*), possesses five characteristics as follows:—

Five characteristics of the middle term.

- (1) *Pakṣadharmatā*, the existence of the sign in the subject or minor term, e.g. the hill has smoke.

सिद्धं कश्चिद्व्युत्पन्नं यथा
स अर्द्धं यथा सिद्धं अर्द्धं यथा सिद्धं ॥

(*Pramāna-vārtika-kārikā*. Bstan-hgyur, Mdo, Co, leaf 196, also Prof. De La Vallee Poussin's French translation of *Sarvadarśana-samgraha*, p. 4, in *La Bouddhisme*).

1

चीनुदाहरणान्नाम वा यद्वोदाहरणादिकान् ।
सीमांसका सीमास्तु सीपनीतिमुदाहृतिम् ॥

(*Tārkikaraksā*, p. 175).

- (2) *Sapakṣesattvam*, existence of the sign in homologue, e.g. that which has smoke has fire, as a kitchen.
- (3) *Vipakṣe asativam*, non-existence of the sign in heterologues, e.g. that which has no fire has no smoke, as a lake.
- (4) *Abādhitā viśayatvam*, the object of the sign not being incompatible, e.g. there is no incompatibility for smoke abiding in the hill.
- (5) *Asatpratipakṣatvam*, there being no counterbalancing sign, e.g. there is nothing else which counterbalances smoke in respect of proving fire.

In the case of an exclusively affirmative or exclusively negative inference, the sign bears only four characteristics, as it does not then abide in the heterologue or homologue.

In the logical work called *Lakṣanamālā*¹ a sign (*linga*) is defined as that which is in invariable concomitance with the major term freed from any condition (*upādhi*), e.g. smoke is the sign of fire, but fire is not necessarily a sign of smoke unless it is nourished by wet fuel (here wet fuel is the condition).

Debate—*kathā*.

In treating of the tenth category, viz. *vāda*, Varadarāja gives an elaborate exposition of debate (*kathā*)² which is defined as a number of sentences spoken by more persons than one as constituting the subjects for their judgment. The six requisites for a council of debate are the following:—

- (1) A set of rules as to a certain thesis and its proof.
- (2) The method to be followed in carrying on a particular debate.
- (3) Specification of the disputant and his respondent.
- (4) Election of the President and members of the Council.
- (5) Determination of the points of defeat involved wholly or partly in a debate.
- (6) Agreement as to the stage of termination of a debate.

Some logicians hold that the requisites for a council of debate are only four, viz. (1) the disputant, (2) the respondent, (3) the president, and (4) the members.

¹ निरूपयितुं साध्यसम्बन्धशालिङ्गमिति लक्षणायात् ।

(*Tārīkīkarakṣā*, page 179, edited by M.M. Vinḍhyeśvari Prasād Dvivedi, Benares). The *Lakṣanamālā* is said to be the works of Śivāditya Miśra.

² विचारविषयो ज्ञानावज्ञको वाक्यविकारः ।

कथा लक्ष्यः षडङ्गानि प्राञ्जल्यकारि केषुचन ॥

(*Tārīkīkarakṣā*, p. 206).

If it is intended to record a debate, a writer (*lekhaka*) must be employed with the approval of the disputant and his respondent.

The disputant (*vādī*) must be equal to the respondent (*prati-vādī*) in respect of his learning. A debate, in which an expert stands against an ordinary person, is useless, inasmuch as the conclusion drawn from such a debate could have been obtained from the expert alone.

The members (*sabhya*), acceptable to both the parties and conversant with their tenets, must be freed from affection and aversion. They must be capable of receiving, retaining and demonstrating the purport of others' speech, while their number must be uneven and not less than three. Their duty is to control the debate, to point out the excellence or defect of the debates, to awaken one who is broken-hearted and to repeat a speech to one who is slow.

The president (*sabhāpati*) must be satisfactory to the disputant, the respondent and the members. Capable of showing favour or frown, he must not be influenced by affection or aversion. His duty is to announce to the council the conclusion of a debate when it comes to a close.

Persons coming by chance before a council of debate may, if the parties agree, point out irregularities, etc., in the debate. They cannot however be admitted into the council as its regular members to settle the main points at issue. This procedure applies to a council¹ of fair debate or discussion, but in the case of wrangling and cavil even chance-comers act as regular members.

A debate is of three kinds, viz. (1) discussion (*vāda*), (2) Kind of debate. wrangling (*jālpa*), and (3) cavil (*vitandā*).

A wrangling or cavil may be stopped by exposing the points of defeat (*nigrahasthāna*) which are necessarily involved in them.² A discussion end³ only when one points out in it a fallacy of reason, *hetvābhāsa*, or a point of defeat called censuring the non-censurable. The seven points of defeat which may

¹ नयाः च खरजि, —

राजद्वेषनिर्मुक्तः सप्तमवधोऽपि वा ।

वधोपविष्टा विप्राः स्युः सा यश्चवदसौ सभा ॥

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 308).

²

इते सप्तविनः सर्वे समुद्भावाश्च नियताः ।

विच्छेदकाः कथायां च द्वयोर्लक्ष्यवितण्डयोः ॥

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 362).

³

वादे कथावसानस्य हेत्वाभासो हि कारणम् ।

तथा निरनुचोच्छ्वासः स्युपोऽत्र इति इयम् ॥

(Tārīkīkarakṣā, p. 363).

be pointed out in a discussion are :--(1) saying too little, (2) saying too much, (3) deviating from the tenet, (4) opposing the proposition, (5) silence, (6) repetition, and (7) the inopportune. The seven points of defeat which are not to be pointed out in a discussion are :--(1) evasion, (2) non ingenuity, (3) ignorance, (4) shifting the reason, (5) overlooking the censurable, (6) shifting the topic, and (7) the admission of an opinion.

The six points of defeat which are impossible in a discussion are :--(1) shifting the topic, (2) the unintelligible, (3) hurting the proposition, (4) renouncing the proposition, (5) the meaningless, and (6) the incoherent

12. COMMENTARIES ON TĀRKIKARAKṢĀ.

Sārsaṅgraha.—A “summary of essences” (*sārasaṅgraha*), is the name of a commentary on the *Tārkikarakṣā* by Varadarāja himself. Varadarāja wrote also a commentary on *Nyāyakuśumāñjali* called *Sārsaṅgraha-tīkā*.

Laghudīpikā.—Jñānapūrṇa is the author of a commentary on the *Tārkikarakṣā* called *Laghudīpikā*, “a light lamp.” He seems to have flourished in about 1200 A.D. as he was a disciple of Viṣṇu Svāmin,¹ who lived in about 1200 A.D. He mentions Jayanta² and Viśvarūpa.

Niṣkaṅṭakā.—A commentary on *Tārkikarakṣā* called *Niṣkaṅṭakā*, the thornless, was composed by sage named Mallinātha, who lived in Kolācala. The sage in his commentary on *Kirātārjunīya* mentions Pijūṣavaṛṣa whose date is unknown. Mallinātha must have lived before śaka 1580 or A.D. 1658, when a manuscript of the aforesaid commentary on *Kirātārjunīya* was copied.³ He seems to have preceded also Dinakara Miśra, whose commentary on *Raghuvamśa* was composed in 1385 A.D. Mallinātha is generally supposed to have lived in the 14th * century A.D. Mr. A. C. Burnell thinks that Mallinātha’s son lived during the reign of Pratāpa Rudra,⁴ of the Kākāṭīya dynasty in 1310 A.D.

सर्वैश्वर्यं निजावासं सर्वविद्यानिषेवितम् ।

श्रीयज्ञेश्वरहरैः कृतं श्रीविष्णुस्वामिभिरुक्तं नमः ॥

Colophon to *Laghudīpikā* on *Tārkikarakṣā*, page 364, edited by M.M. Vindhyaśvari Prasād, Benares.

² तस्मिन् विश्वरूपजयन्तयोर्नते कथाभेदाविशेषमाह ।

Laghudīpikā on *Tārkikarakṣā*, page 356, edited by M.M. Vindhyaśvari Prasād, Benares.

³ The copy of the manuscript is preserved in Benares College.

⁴ Macdonell’s *History of Sanskrit Literature*, page 324.

⁵ *Vide* preface to *Vamśa Brāhmaṇa*, edited by Mr. A. C. Burnell, and M.M. Vindhyaśvari Prasād’s preface to *Tārkikarakṣā*, page 19.

13. KEŚAVA MIŚRA
(ABOUT 1275 A.D.).

Kesāva Miśra was the author of a Nyāya treatise called *Tarkabhāṣā*. He was a native of Mithilā and a preceptor of Govardhana Miśra who wrote a commentary on *Tarkabhāṣā*, called *Tarkabhāṣā Prakāśa*. His life. Padmanābha Miśra, author of *Kiraṇāvalī Bhāskara* and *Kaṇādarahasya Mukṭāhāra*, was an elder brother of Govardhana.¹ Hence it follows that Keśava Miśra, Padmanābha and Govardhana were contemporaries.² Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar in his Reports of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1882-1883, observed Cinna Bhaṭṭa was the author of a commentary on *Tarkābhāṣā* called *Tarkabhāṣā Praveśikā* and that he lived in Vijayanagar at the Court of King Harihara at the latter half of the 14th century. Padmanābha, brother of Keśava, is said to have been younger to Vardhamāna whom he mentions in his *Kiraṇāvalībhāskara*. So Padmanābha lived between the beginning of the 13th century and end of the 14th century A.D. Probably he lived at the end of the 13th century A.D.

14. *Tarkabhāṣā*—TECHNICALITY OF LOGIC.

Categories—*padārtha*.

Keśava Miśra opens his work thus—“In order that even dull people may get admittance into the science of Logic, I bring out this *Tarkabhāṣā* (Technicality of Logic) replete with concise arguments.”

The *Tarkabhāṣā* deals with the sixteen categories of the Nyāya sūtra, viz. (1) *pramāna*, (2) *prameya*, (3) *saṁśaya*, (4) *prayojana*, (5) *drṣṭānta*, (6) *siddhānta*, (7) *avayava*, (8) *tarka*, (9) *nirṇaya*, (10) *vāda*, (11) *jalpa*, (12) *vitaṇḍā*, (13) *hetvābhāsa*, (14) *chala*, (15) *jāti*, (16) *nigrahasthāna*. The second

Tarkabhāṣā incorporated the Vaiśeṣika categories.

¹ Govardhana Miśra, his *Tarkabhāṣā Prakāśa*, observes:—

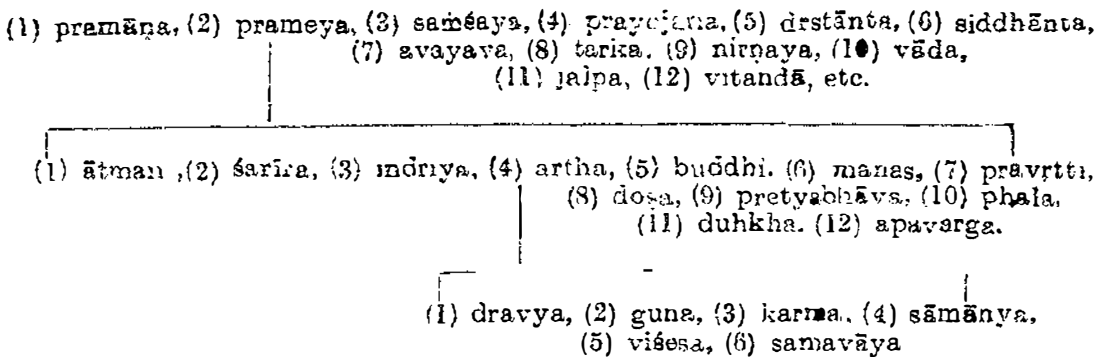
विजयश्रीतनुजन्मा गोवर्द्धन इति शतः ।
तर्कानुभाषी तनुते विविच्य गुह्यं निर्मितम् ॥
श्री विश्वनाथानुज पद्मनाभानुजो गरीयान् बलभद्रश्च ।
तनोति तर्कानधिगत्य सर्वान् श्रीपद्मनाभाद्विदुषोविनोदम् ॥
उपदिष्टा गुरुचरणैरसृष्ट्वा बर्धमानेन ।
किरणाबल्यामर्थास्तन्यन्ते पद्मनाभेन ॥

(Quoted in preface to *Tarkabhāṣā*, page 1, edited by Surendralal Goswami, Benares)

² Surendralal Goswami's preface to *Tarkabhāṣā*, page 4.

The *Tarkabhāṣā* has also been edited with a learned introduction by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, in the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The book has been translated into English by M.M. Dr. Ganga Nath Jha, in the Indian Thought, Allahabad.

category, namely *prameya* includes (a) *ātman*, (b) *śarīra*, (c) *indriya*, (d) *artha*, (e) *buddhi*, (f) *manas*, (g) *pravṛtti*, (h) *doṣa*, (i) *pretyabhāva*, (j) *phala*, (k) *duḥkha*, and (l) *apavarga*. The word *artha*, in the Nyāya sūtra signified five objects of sense, viz. (1) *gandha* (smell), (2) *rasa* (taste), (3) *rūpa* (colour), (4) *sparsa* (touch), and (5) *śabda* (sound). In order to incorporate the Vaiśeṣika categories into Nyāya, Keśava Miśra explained *artha* as signifying (1) *dravya*, (2) *guṇa*, (3) *karma*, (4) *sāmānya*, (5) *viśeṣa*, and (6) *samavāya*. Though the sixteen categories of the Nyāya are included in the six categories of the Vaiśeṣika, the two sets of categories are separately stated and the Vaiśeṣika categories are explained identically with *artha*. Keśava confesses that he adopts this overlapping division for a special purpose. The scheme of combination of the two sets of categories is shown below:—



Instrument—*kaṛaṇa*.

Under the first category, Keśava defines instrument (*kaṛaṇa*) as a cause which is most effective in bringing about a result. A thing is said to be the cause (*kāraṇa*) of another thing, if it is a necessary antecedent of the latter, that is, if it necessarily exists before the latter and does not bring about anything else. e.g. threads constitute the cause of a cloth. Suppose an ass had existed at a place where a cloth was made; the ass, whose existence there was not necessary, is not a cause of the cloth; and the ass is an irrelevant antecedent. Similarly the colour of the threads is not a cause of the cloth, inasmuch as it brings about something else, viz. the colour of the cloth. In so far as the cloth itself is concerned, it is produced by the threads alone.

An effect (*kārya*) is defined as that necessary consequence which is not brought about by something else, e.g. a cloth is an effect of threads.

Cause—*kāraṇa*.

The cause is of three kinds as follows:—

- (1) The material, constituent or inherent cause (*samavāyi kāraṇa*) is that in which an effect inheres, that which constitutes

the effect or that which forms the material out of which the effect is produced. e.g. threads are such a cause of the cloth. Inherence (*samavāya*) is the relation of two things which one, as long as it is not destroyed, continues to subsist in the other. The relation of inherence (*samavāya*) exists between its parts and a whole, the qualities and substance, action and an actor the individual and a class, its specific qualities and the eternal substance

- (2) The non-material, non-constituent or non-inherent cause (*asamavāyī kāraṇa*)—is that which inheres in the material cause and whose efficiency is well known, e.g. the conjunction of the threads is a non-material cause of the cloth, the colour of the threads is a non-material cause of the colour of the cloth. Colour inheres in threads and its efficiency in producing the colour of the cloth is well known.
- (3) The efficient, instrumental or general cause is that which as a cause is distinct from both the preceding ones, e.g. the loom is the instrumental cause of the cloth. Of the several causes the most efficient is called an instrumental (*nimitta*) cause.

Perception—*pratyakṣa*.

Perception (*pratyakṣa*) is of two kinds :—

(1) *Nirvikalpaka*, non-determinate, non-effective or abstract, and (2) *savikalpaka*, determinate, reflective or concrete. The Buddhists admit only the first kind of perception and reject the second kind. They say that our perception is certainly indeterminate and individual, it has for its object an individual which alone can come in contact with our senses. A determinate perception (*savikalpaka pratyakṣa*) is according to them an impossibility, because it has for its object a generic entity which cannot come in contact with our senses. We can perceive an individual cow but cannot perceive the cowness generic to all individual cows. In fact the Buddhists altogether deny a genus or generic entity. If, for instance, the genus cowness at all exists, it is to be defined as that which is excluded by non-cowness, i.e. which is not horse-ness, tigerness, etc.

Now if we are unable to perceive cowness because it pertains to all cows, how can we perceive non-cowness which covers a still wider area? Keśava's reply to the objection of the Buddhists is that even a genus is to be regarded as an entity, like an individual, which is, as such, capable of coming in contact with our senses.

Inference—*anumāna*.

Inference is consideration from sign. A sign (*liṅga*) is that which indicates the predicate (*sādhya*) by the force of their

invariable concomitance, e.g. smoke is a sign of fire, inasmuch as there is an invariable concomitance of smoke with fire in the form "wherever there is smoke there is fire" Consideration (*parāmarśa*) is the knowledge that the sign pervaded by the predicate abides in the subject. Inferential knowledge (*anumiti*) is the knowledge which is derived through consideration, e.g. this hill has fire, because it has smoke, which is in invariable concomitance with fire. Invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) is the constant association of the sign with the predicate, e.g. the co-presence of smoke with fire. The concomitance or co-presence must be natural and not conditional (*aupādhika*)¹

Comparison—*upamāna*.

Comparison or analogy (*upamāna*) is the knowledge of a certain thing as similar to another thing, derived through the remembrance of an indicative declaration on the subject, e.g. a man who has heard from a forester that a bosgavaeus (*gavaya*) is like a cow, goes into a forest and sees an animal like a cow. Remembering the declaration of the forester, he ascertains that the animal he sees is a bosgavaeus. This knowledge is analogical or comparative knowledge derived through an analogy or comparison.

Word—*śabda*.

Word (*śabda*), if it is the assertion of a trustworthy person, is a means of right knowledge, e.g. the Veda is a means of right knowledge, inasmuch as it was spoken by God who is supremely trustworthy.

15. COMMENTARIES ON THE TARKABHĀSĀ.

There are numerous commentaries on the Tarkabhāṣā; such as, those by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, Guṇḍu Bhaṭṭa, Bhinnī Bhaṭṭa, and Murāri Bhaṭṭa.

The following commentaries are also well known: Ujjvalā by Gopinātha, Tarkabhāṣā bhāva by Rama Vilva Veṅkaṭa Buddha, Nyāya saṁgraha by Rāma Liṅga, Sāramañjarī by Mādhava Deva, Paribhāṣā-darpaṇa by Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa, Tarkabhāṣā prakāśikā by Bāla Candra, Yuktimuktāvali by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa about 1700 A.D. (Nāgeśa was a contemporary of Hari Dīkṣita, a grandson of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita who lived between 1619 A.D. and 1659 A.D.). Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā by Cinna Bhaṭṭa about 1390 A.D. (Cinna Bhaṭṭa, son of Sahaja Sarvajña, and brother of Sarvajña, must have flourished about 1390² A.D. when his patron Harihara, King of

¹ A condition (*upādhi*) will be explained later.

² Vide Surendralal Goswami's preface to Tarkabhāṣā, page 3.

Vijayanagar, lived). *Tattva Prabodhini* by Gaṇeśa Dīkṣita, *Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśikā* by Kaundinya Dīkṣita, *Tarkadīpikā* by Keśava Bhaṭṭa, *Tarkabhāṣā-prākāśikā* by Govardhana Miśra, *Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśikā* by Gaurikānta Sārvabhauma, and *Nyāyapradīpa* by Viśvakarmā.¹

¹ *Vide* Surendralal Goswami's Preface to *Tarkabhāṣā*, pp 9-13

CHAPTER III.

The Vaiśeṣika Prakaraṇa embodying the Nyāya Category of Pramāṇa.

16. THE VAIŚEṢIKA INCORPORATES THE NYĀYA CATEGORY.

There appeared numerous treatises on the Vaiśeṣika philosophy which incorporated in them the Nyāya category of *pramāṇa*. In some of the treatises the Nyāya category of *pramāṇa* was included in the Vaiśeṣika category of *guṇa*, while others brought it under *ātman*, which was included in the category *dravya*. Some ingenious writers kept the categories of the Vaiśeṣika separate from the Nyāya category of *pramāṇa*, but they made them the subjects of distinct chapters of one and the same treatise. This incorporation of the Nyāya category of *pramāṇa* into the categories of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy must have commenced after the tenth century A.D. Lakṣaṇāvalī, written by Udayana in that century, deals with seven categories of the Vaiśeṣika, including *abhāva*, without any reference to the Nyāya category of *pramāṇa*. The Nyāya category of *pramāṇa* is included by Vallabhācārya in the Vaiśeṣika category of *guṇa*.

17. VALLABHĀCĀRYA
(ABOUT 12TH CENTURY A.D.).

The exact date of Vallabhācārya is unknown. He seems to have lived in the twelfth century A.D. In the Nyāyalīlāvati he mentions Kīrti (Dharmakīrti), Tutāti and Vyomācārya as well as Udayanācārya,¹ the famous author of Kiraṇāvalī, who flourished in 984 A.D. As Bhāsarvajña² and Bhūṣaṇa³ are also mentioned, Vallabha could not have flourished before the 10th century A.D. The latest limit of his time is the 13th century A.D., when Vardhamāna Upādhyāya wrote a commentary on the Nyāyalīlāvati called the Nyāyalīlāvati-prakāśa. The Nyāyalīlāvati is mentioned in a Kanarese poem written by a poet of the time of King Ciṅghaṇa of the Yādava dynasty who reigned in Devagiri

¹ यथाभिर्याकाशसंयोगस्योभयाद्विद्वेषि नभसि शब्दजनननियम इति किरणावलीकारः ।
Nyāyalīlāvati, page 39, -edited by Mungeśa Rāmakṛṣṇa Telang (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay). Compare also pages 53 and 57 of the same.

² तदियमनाम्नातता भासर्वज्ञस्य यद्यमाचार्यमण्यवमन्यते । *Nyāyalīlāvati*, page 33.
Compare also page 40.

³ तदिदं चिरन्तन वैशेषिकमतदृषणं भूषणकारस्यातिवपाकरम् । *Nyāyalīlāvati*, page 33.
Compare also pages 25, 46 and 102.

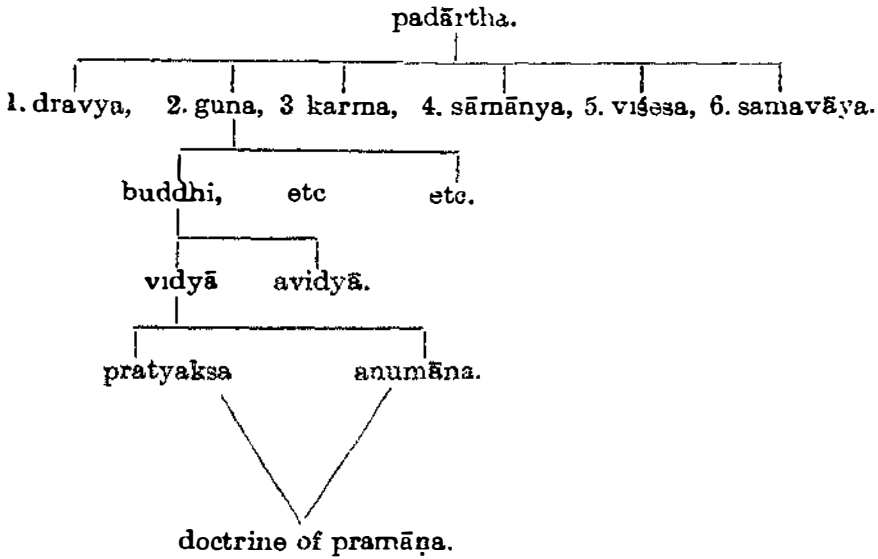
from 1210 to 1247 A.D.¹ This Vāllabhāchāryā is different from Vallabhāchārya who founded a Vaiṣṇava sect.

18. Nyāyalilāvati.

The Nyāyalilāvati, which is an expository treatise on Vaiśeṣika philosophy, opens with a salutation to Puruṣottama. It deals with six categories, viz. (1) substance (*dravya*), (2) quality (*guṇa*), (3) action (*karma*), (4) generality (*sāmānya*), (5) particularity (*viśeṣa*), and (6) inherence (*samavāya*). Under the category *guṇa* there comes *buddhi* (intellect or knowledge) which is divided as *vidyā*, right knowledge, and *avidyā*, wrong knowledge. The means for ascertaining right knowledge are called perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), comparison (*upamāna*), and verbal testimony (*śabda*). Presumption (*arthāpatti*), probability (*sambhava*), tradition (*aitihya*), are not separate means of right knowledge.

The Nyāya doctrine of *pramāṇa* ² (means of knowledge) is thus included in the categories of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The scheme of incorporation is shown below :—

The scheme of amalgamation.



19. COMMENTARIES ³ ON THE NYĀYALĪLĀVATĪ.

The following commentaries on the Nyāyalilāvati are available :—

¹ Vide Mr M. R. Bodās's introduction to Tarkasaṅgraha, pp 41-42
² A valuable account of *pramāṇa* is available in the Sivajñāna Siddhyār. and in the Maṇimekalai canto 29.
³ Vide Mangesā Rāmkrṣṇa Telang, preface to Nyāyalilāvati, page 2.

- (1) Nyāyalilāvati-prakāśa by Vardhamāna-Upādhyāya (about 1215 A.D.).
- (2) Nyāyalilāvati-dīdhiti by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (1500 A.D.).
- (3) Nyāyalilāvati-kanthābharana by Śaṅkara Miśra (about 1492 A.D.).
- (4) Nyāyalilāvati-prakāśaviveka (gloss on Vardhamāna) by Mathurānātha Tarkavāgiśa (about 1570 A.D.).

20. ANNAM BHAṬṬA (1623 A.D.).

Annām Bhaṭṭa is the author of an excellent Vaiśeṣika treatise called Tarkasaṁgraha and of a commentary thereon called Dīpikā, which two, taken together, are often designated as Annambhaṭṭīyam. The Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa Prakāśa, a commentary on the Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa of Udayana, is also ascribed to him. The prevailing tradition in Southern India¹ is that Annām Bhaṭṭa was an Andhra (Telugu) of North Arcot (Chittur) district, who settled down in Benares at beginning of the 17th century A.D. He refers in his Dīpikā to King Tribhuvanatilaka, a Pallava chief of Kāñcī. A manuscript of Tarkasaṁgraha² was, as appears from Weber's Berlin Catalogue, copied in the year 1724 A.D.³ He is supposed by some to have written a commentary on the Tattvacintāmaṇi. He could not have flourished before the 17th century A.D.

21. Tarkasaṁgraha.

Annām Bhaṭṭa opens his Tarkasaṁgraha with a salutation * to Siva thus:—“Placing the Lord of the universe in my heart and making obeisance to my preceptor, I compile this Tarkasaṁgraha to enable beginners to understand the dialectical philosophy easily.” The work deals with seven categories, viz. (1) substance (*dravya*), (2) quality (*guṇa*), (3) action (*karma*), (4) generality (*sāmānya*), (5) particularity (*viśeṣa*), (6) inherence

¹ The above information was supplied by Mr. Ramanan of Vedaraniyam (Tanjore) to Hon'ble Sir P. Arunāchalam, Kt., M.A., C.S., Bar-at-Law, of Colombo, who kindly communicated the same to me in August 1909.

² Tarkasaṁgraha was translated into English by J. R. Ballantyne in Benares

³ The colophon of the manuscript gives the date Śamvat 1781 (A.D. 1724).

नमोमास्यसिते कृष्णे चन्द्रनागाश्विचन्द्रके ।

वाराहस्यां मिते वर्षे स्वार्थमिदुर्लभम् ॥

Weber's Berlin Catalogue No. 683, p. 203.

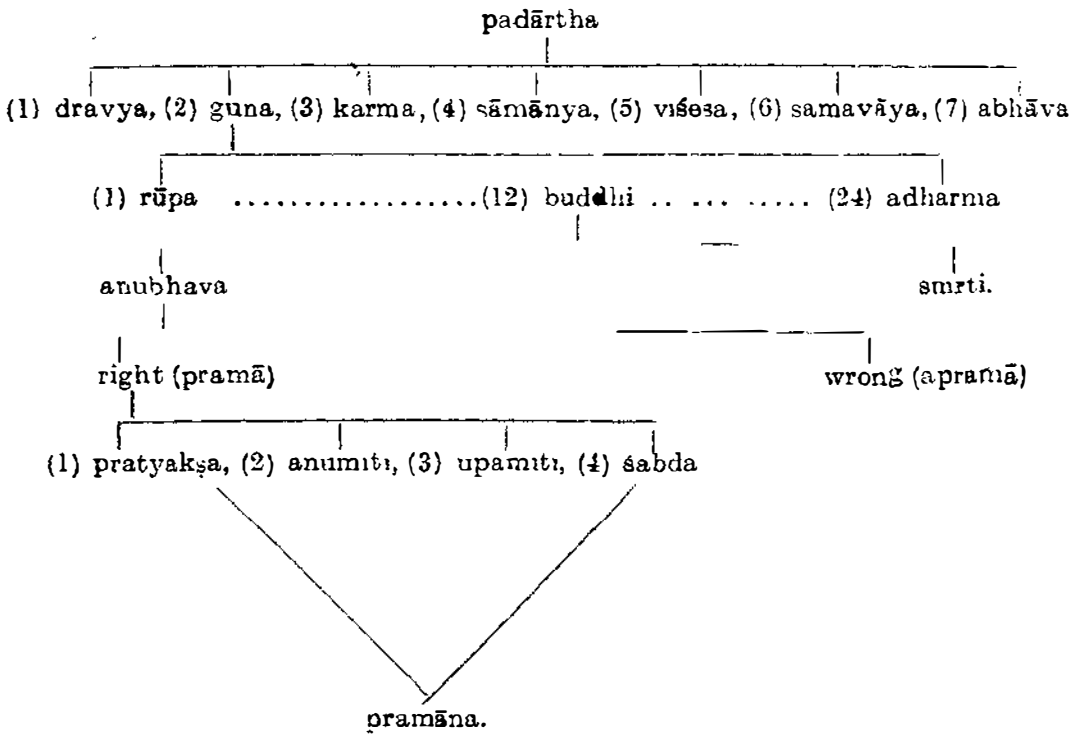
* निधाय हृदि विश्वेवं विधाय गुरुवन्दनम् । बालानां सुखबोधाय क्रियते तर्कसंग्रहः ॥

Tarkasaṁgraha, opening lines, edited by Mr. M. R. Bodas, Bombay).

(*samavāya*), and (7) non-existence (*abhāva*). Quality is of twenty-four kinds, of which *buddhi* (intellect or knowledge) is one. *Buddhi* or knowledge is of two kinds, experience (*anubhava*) and *smṛti* (recollection). *Anubhava* or experience may be right or wrong. The right experience (*yathārthānubhava*) is of four kinds. viz. (1) perceptual knowledge (*pratyakṣa*), (2) inferential knowledge (*anumiti*), (3) comparative knowledge (*upamiti*), and verbal knowledge (*śabda*). The means by which these four kinds of knowledge are derived are called respectively (1) perception (*pratyakṣa*), (2) *anumāna* (inference), (3) comparison (*upamāna*), and verbal testimony (*śabda*).

Perception, inference, comparison and verbal testimony, together called *pramāṇa*, are thus included in *buddhi*, which is one of the twenty-four qualities. This sort of inclusion of the *pramāṇa* in the categories of the Vaiśeṣika is not altogether satisfactory. inasmuch as they do not completely fit into each other.

The scheme of incorporation is shown below :—



The seven categories and their numerous subdivisions are most lucidly treated.

A right experience (*yathārthānubhava*) is defined as the experience of a generic nature as abiding in its subject, e.g. in the case of a piece of silver, the experience that "this is silver," that is, this is the subject in which "silverness" abides, is a right experience.

An instrument (*kaṛaṇa*) is defined as a special cause which is in operation, that is, which brings about an effect, *e.g.*, he cuts a tree with an axe. Here Instrument and Cause. axe is the instrument. A cause (*kāraṇa*) is that which invariably precedes an effect, which cannot otherwise take place, *e.g.* "clay is the material cause of a pot."

An effect (*kārya*) is the counterpart of an antecedent which dissolves into non-existence, *e.g.*, "a pot is the effect of clay."

A cause is of three kinds: (1) a material or intimate cause (*samavāyikāraṇa*), (2) non-intimate or non-co-existent cause (*asamvāyikāraṇa*), and (3) the instrumental cause (*nimittakāraṇa*),¹ all of which will be explained later.

Perception (*pratyakṣa*) is the knowledge which is produced from the intercourse of the sense organs with their objects. It is of two kinds: (1) indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) and (2) determinate (*savikalpa*). The Perception. intercourse is of six kinds, which will be explained later.

Inference (*anumāna*) is the means for deriving inferential knowledge. Inferential knowledge is the knowledge which arises from consideration (*parāmarśa*). Inference Consideration (*parāmarśa*) is the knowledge that the reason or the middle term, in invariable concomitance with the major term, abides in the minor term, *e.g.* this hill has smoke which is in invariable concomitance with the fire. Invariable concomitance (*vyāpti*) is the constant association of the middle term with the major term, *e.g.*, wherever there is smoke, there is fire. *Pakṣadharmatā* (subjective law) refers to the fact that the smoke abides in the hill. As the Vaiśeṣika philosophy does not form a subject of this volume, the topics of Tarkasaṃgraha are not treated here.

22. COMMENTARIES ON TARKASAṂGRAHA :—

- (1) Tarkasaṃgraha dipikā (or Tarkadīpikā) by Annam Bhaṭṭa.
- (2) Tarkasaṃgraha-ṭikā by Ananta Nārāyaṇa.
- (3) Siddhānta-candrodaya by Srikr̥ṣṇa Dhūrjati Dikṣita.
- (4) Tarka-phakkikā by Kṣamākalyāṇa. Kṣamākalyāṇa was a pupil of Jinalābha Sūri and wrote his commentary on both Tarkasaṃgraha and Tarkadīpikā in 1772 A.D.
- (5) Nyāya-bodhini by Govardhana Mīśra.
- (6) Nyāyārtha-laghubodhinī by Govardhana Raṅgācārya.
- (7) Tarkasaṃgraha-ṭikā by Gaurikānta.

¹ Samavāyikāraṇa corresponds to Aristotle's *material* cause. Asamavāyikāraṇa corresponds to Aristotle's *formal* cause. Nimittakāraṇa corresponds to Aristotle's *efficient* cause. The final cause is the thing in its completeness, as a pot, when it has actually been made.

- (8) **Padakṛtya** by Candraja Simha.
- (9) **Tarkasaṁgraha-tattva-prakāśa** by Nilakanṭha. [Perhaps he is the same person who wrote a commentary on the Mahābhārata in Mahārāṣṭra in the 16th century A.D.].
- (10) **Nirukti** by Jagannātha Śāstrin
- (11) **Nirukti** by Paṭṭābhurāma.
- (12) **Tarkasaṁgraha-vākyārtha-nirukti** by Mādhava Padābhīrāma.
- (13) **Tarkasaṁgraha-candrikā** by Mukunda Bhaṭṭa Gāḍgil.
- (14) **Tarkasaṁgrahopanyāsa (vākyavṛtti)** by Meru Śāstri Godbolé.
- (15) **Nyāya-bodhanī** by Śuklaratnanātha.
- (16) **Tarkasaṁgraha-ṭikā** by Ramānātha
- (17) **Tarkasaṁgraha-taraṅgiṇī** by Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda.
- (18) **Tarkasaṁgraha-ṭikā** by Viśvanātha
- (19) **Tarka-candrikā (prabhā)** by Vaidyanātha Gāḍgil.
- (20) **Tarkasaṁgraha-ṭikā (Hanumanti)** by Hanumat, son of Vyāsa. He was a Karnatic from Mysore who lived for some time in the Gwalior Court about 80 years ago.
- (21) **Tarkasaṁgraha-vyākhyā** by Murāri.
- (22) **Tarkasaṁgraha-ṭikā**, author unknown.
- (23) **Tarkasaṁgraha-śaṁku**, ditto.
- (24) **Nyāya-candrikā**, ditto.
- (25) **Tarkasaṁgrahopanyāsa**, ditto
- (26) **Tarkasaṁgraha dīpikā-prakāśa (gloss)** by Nilkanṭha Śāstrin, author of **Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-ṭikā**.
- (27) **Surata-kalpataru (gloss)** by Śrinivāsa.
- (28) **ṭikā** by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa.
- (29) **ṭikā** by Jagadīśa Bhaṭṭa.
- (30) **ṭikā** by Rāmarudra Bhaṭṭa.
- (31) **Tattvārtha-dīpikā** by Vadhulaveṅkaṭa Guru.
- (32) **Tarkasaṁgraha-dīpikā-prakāśa** by Nilakanṭha. This Nilkanṭha, who also wrote a commentary on **Tattva-cintāmaṇi**, is the last representative of the School of Gaṅgeśa; born at Pāṇya near Ahobala in the district of Kurnool, he died in Benares in 1840. His son (born 1816, died at Benares in 1887) wrote a commentary on the **Tarkasaṁgraha-dīpikā-prakāśa** of his father, entitled **Bhāskarodaya**. **Bhāskarodaya-ṭikā** is a gloss on the Nilkanṭhi-ṭikā (see below No. 33) of **Tarkadīpikā** written by the son of Nilakanṭha in Benares about 25 years ago.
- (33) **Nilkanṭhi-ṭikā**, a gloss on **Tarkadīpikā**, by Nilkanṭha, who was a Tailanga, and who wrote about 70 years ago, while residing at Benares.
- (34) **Bhāśyavṛtti** on **Tarkasaṁgraha** by Meru Śāstri, who was a Marāṭha. He died in Benares about 60 years ago.
- (35) **Tarkasaṁgraha-candrikā** by Mukunda Bhaṭṭa

23. VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYAPAÑCĀNANA
(1634 A.D.).

Viśvanātha Nyayapañcānana, or simply Pañcānana, was the author of a Vaiśeṣika treatise called *Bhāṣā-pariccheda*¹ (determination of categories), and of a commentary on the same called *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* (rows of pearls of logical truths). Viśvanātha, as it appears from his *Pingala-prakāśikā*,² as also from other sources, was the son of Vidyānivāsa and a brother of Rudra Vācaspati. Vidyānivāsa lived in 1588 A.D.³ when a book called *Dānakāṇḍā* was copied for him by a scribe called Kavicaandra. Viśvanātha himself composed the *Gautamasūtravṛtti* at Vṛndāvana in the year 1634 A.D.⁴ He was a native of Navadvīpa and an adherent of the Nyāya School of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi.⁵

24. BHĀṢĀPARICCHEDA.

Viśvanātha opens his *Bhāṣāpariccheda* with a salutation to Śrī Kṛṣṇa,⁶ and while in his *Siddhānta-muktāvalī* he invokes the blessings of Śiva. The

Subjects.

¹ The *Bhāṣāpariccheda* has been edited and translated into English by Dr. G. Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta.

² In the *Pingala-prakāśikā* Viśvanātha says :—

विद्यानिवाससूनोः कृतिरेषा विश्वनाथस्य
विदुषामतिस्त्रुक्कथिता समस्यराणां सुदे भविता ॥
3 सर्वेषां मौलिरत्नानां मद्राचार्यमहात्मनां
एतद्विद्यानिवासानां दानकाण्डास्यपुस्तकम् ।
ओमेन्दुग्ररशौतांशुमिनशक्ते विश्वेशतः
शूद्रेण कविचन्द्रेण विश्वस्य परिशोधितम् ॥

(*Vide* Eggeling's *India Office Catalogue*, Vol. III, page 409B; and M.M. Hara Prasād Śāstri's *Nepal Catalogue*, Preface, p. xvi)

+ रसवाणतिथौ शकेन्द्रकाले
वज्रले कामतिथौ शुचौ धिताहे ।
अकरोन्मुनिस्तु नष्टतिमेतां
ननु दृश्याविपिने स विश्वनाथ ॥

(*Vide* M.M. Hara Prasād Śāstri's article on *Bhāṣāpariccheda* in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, No. 7)

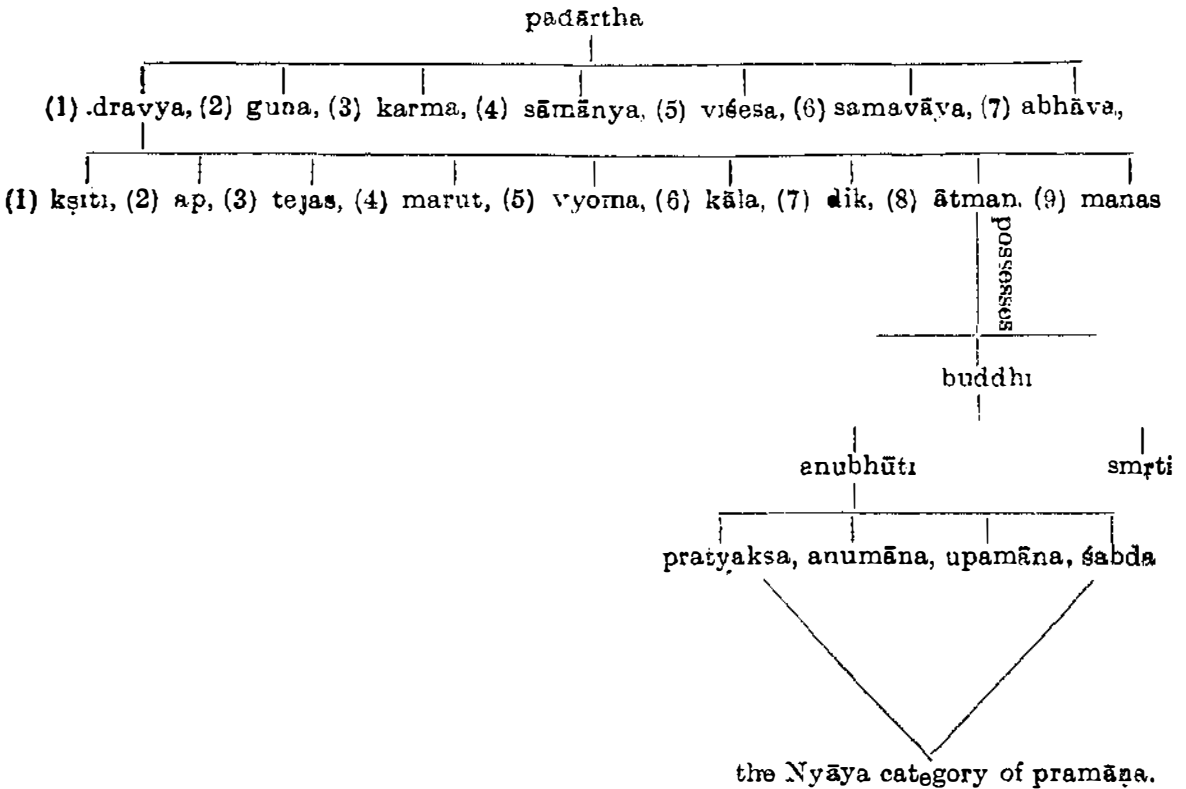
6 एषा मुनिप्रवरगौतमस्तुष्टमिः
श्रीविश्वनाथ कृतिना सुगमाष्टवर्षी ।
श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रचरणाम्बुज चक्षुरीक-
श्रीमच्छिरोमणि वचः प्रचरैरकारि ॥

(*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, No. 7, page 313).

7 ब्रह्माद्या निखिलार्चितादिदश सम्बोधाः सदाभीष्टदाः ।
अज्ञानप्रशमाय यच्च मनसो वृत्तिं समस्तां दधु ॥

Bhāṣāpariccheda deals with seven categories, viz. (1) *dravya* (substance), (2) *guṇa* (quality), (3) *karma* (action), (4) *sāmānya* (generality), (5) *viśeṣa* (particularity), (6) *samavāya* (inherence), and (7) *abhāva* (non-existence). *Dravya* or substance is subdivided *kṣiti* (earth), *ap* (water), *tejas* (light), *marut* (air), *vyoma* (ether), *kāla* (time), *dik* (space), *ātman* (soul), and *manas* (mind). The eighth substance called *ātman* or soul is the seat of intellect or knowledge (*buddhi*) and several other qualities. *Buddhi* is of two kinds: apprehension (*anubhūti*) and remembrance (*smṛti*). Apprehension includes perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*), comparison (*upamāna*), and verbal testimony (*śabda*).

The Nyāya doctrine of *pramāṇa*, as represented by perception, inference, comparison and verbal testimony, is incorporated in the categories of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. The scheme of incorporation is shown below.



25. TARKĀMṚTA (ABOUT 1635 A.D.).

The *Tarkāmṛta*¹ by Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra is an important treatise on Vaiśeṣika philosophy, which begins with a salutation to

¹ *Tarkāmṛta* edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Mahēś Chandra Nyāyaratna in Calcutta. It has been translated into Bengali by Babu Rājendra Nāth Ghose in Calcutta.

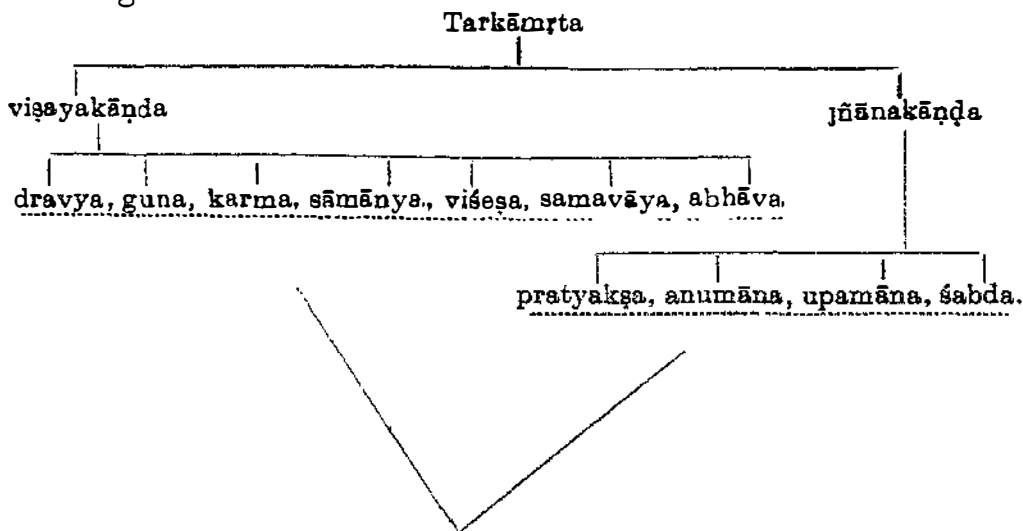
Viṣṇu.¹ A man who is desirous of attaining emancipation should, according to Jāgadiśa, possess a true knowledge of the soul (*ātman*). In acquiring this knowledge, one should also be conversant with things which are connected with and opposed to the soul.

In the first part of the Tarkāmṛta called *Viśaya-kāṇḍa* (section on subjects), Jāgadiśa divides things into two kinds, viz. (1) positive (*bhāva*) and (2) negative (*abhāva*). The positive things or *bhāvas* are substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*karma*), generality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśeṣa*), and inherence (*samavāya*). The negative things or *abhāvas* are of two kinds, viz. (1) relative non-existence (*saṁsargābhāva*), and (2) reciprocal non-existence (*anyonyābhāva*). The first kind is subdivided as: (1) antecedent non-existence (*prāgabhāva*), (2) subsequent non-existence (*pradhvaṁsābhāva*), and (3) absolute non-existence (*atyantābhāva*).

The second part of the Tarkāmṛta, called *Jñāna-kāṇḍa*, section on knowledge, treats of right knowledge (*pramā*), which is derived through four means called respectively, (1) perception (*pratyakṣa*), (2) inference (*anumāna*), (3) comparison (*upamāna*), and (4) verbal testimony (*śabda*).

The manner in which the seven categories of the Vaiśeṣika and the four *pramāṇas* of the Nyāya have been combined, is ingenious and reasonable. The categories do not coalesce with each other, but are treated as a consistent whole.

A scheme of combination of the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya categories is given below :—



Vaiśeṣika combined with Nyāya.

श्रीविष्णोरष्टाशुभं भवभयघ्नं पैकबीजं परं ।
सुखयो विविधाय तन्निष्पन्नकर्माद्यतं तन्वते ॥

26. LAUGĀKṢI BHĀSKARA.

Laugākṣi Bhāskara, well versed in Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā philosophies, was the son of Mudgala and nephew of the poet Rudra. His proper name was Bhāskara, his surname being Īaugākṣi. From the fact that he mentions the temple of Viśveśvara and the pool of Maṇikarṇikā,—the two most sacred spots in Benares,—we may reasonably suppose that Laugākṣi Bhaskara lived in that sacred city.¹

His age may be placed probably in the 17th century.

27. TARKAKAUMUDĪ.

His Tarkakaumudī, which opens with a salutation to Vāsudeva, pays due obeisance to Akṣapāda and Kaṇāda. He divides categories into seven kinds, viz. (1) substance (*dravya*), (2) quality (*guṇa*), (3) action (*karma*), (4) generality (*sāmānya*), (5) particularity (*viśeṣa*), (6) inherence (*samavāya*); and (7) non-existence (*abhāva*). *Buddhi* (intellect or knowledge), which is a quality of the soul, is of two kinds—apprehension (*anubhava*) and recollection (*smṛti*). Apprehension is of two kinds, (1) right apprehension (*pramā*) and (2) wrong apprehension (*apramā*). The means of acquiring right apprehension or *pramā* is *pramāṇa*, which is of two kinds, viz. (1) (*pratyakṣa*) and (2) inference (*anumāna*).

The doctrine of *pramāṇa*, which forms the main subject of the Nyāya philosophy, is thus amalgamated with the doctrine of seven categories, forming the subject-matter of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

¹ Laugākṣi Bhāskara mentions Maṇikarṇikā, the bathing place, and Viśveśvara, the presiding deity of Benares, in quite a familiar tone:—यथा सा मणिकर्णिका, स विश्वेश्वर etc (Tarkakaumudī, page 6. edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣṇaṇa Śāstrī Pansikar, Bombay).

CHAPTER IV.

Works treating of certain topics of the Nyāya and certain topics of the Vaiśeṣika.

28. THE NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKA PROMISCUOUSLY AMALGAMATED.

Some manuals of Logic dealt neither with the entire categories of the Vaiśeṣika, nor with those of the Nyāya. Some important topics or sub-topics of the two systems were selected by them and elucidated in an abstruse and recondite style. These manuals assumed more or less the nature of critical notes on the important or controversial topics of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophies. Śāśadhara's Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa (about 1300 A.D.) is a most important work of this kind.

29. ŚĀŚADHARA
(ABOUT 1125 A.D.).

Śāśadhara, styled Mahopādhyāya Śāśadhara,¹ is reputed to have been a native of Mithilā. The time in which he flourished is not definitely known. Probably he flourished before Gaṅgeśa but after Udayana whose words he quotes under the designation of *kecit* (some). Śāśadhara and Maṇidhara were, according to a Bengali tradition, two logicians, whose definitions of *vyāpti* (invariable concomitance) were criticised by Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya in the 12th century A.D., under the title of *simha-vyāghroktā-lakṣaṇa* or definitions as given by "the Lion" and "the Tiger." In reality it was the Jaina logicians, Ānanda Sūri and Amaracandra Sūri, who were called the Lion (*simha*) and the Tiger (*vyāghra*), not Śāśadhara and Maṇidhara. According, however, to the Bengali tradition, Śāśadhara lived in the 12th century A.D.

30. NYĀYA-SIDDHĀNTA-DĪPA.

The only logical treatise of Śāśadhara that has come down to us, is Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa (a lamp of logical truths) which opens² with a salutation to

¹ Vide the colophon of the Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa, in the possession of M.M. Vindhyaśvarī Prasād Dvivedī of Benares. It runs thus:—

इति महोपाध्याय शशधरकृतं न्यायसिद्धांतं समाप्तम् ।

²

धंसितमरसिद्धांतध्वान्तं

गीतममतेकसिद्धांतम् ।

नत्वा नित्यमघौशं

शशधर शर्मा प्रकाशयति ॥

From the manuscript of Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa, in the possession of Asiatic Society of Bengal

Adhīsa (Śiva). It deals with the topics of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika philosophy in a promiscuous way. This is evident from the titles of the various chapters of the work, viz. (1) invocation of blessings (*maṅgalācaraṇa*), (2) controversy on darkness (*andhakāra-vipratipatti*), (3) examination of causality (*kāranatā-vicāra*), (4) the power in generality as maintained by the Tautātikas (*jāti-śakti-vādi-tautātikāmata*), (5) ascertainment of powers and conditions (*śakti-nirūpaṇa* and *upādhi*), (6) natural power (*sahaja-śakti*), (7) power of the content (*ādheya-śakti*), (8) nature of the mind (*manastattva-nirūpaṇa*), (9) word as a means of knowledge (*sahaja-pramāṇa*), (10) an aggregate of knowledge and action (*jñāna-karma-samuccaya*), (11) nature of emancipation (*apavarga-nirūpaṇa*), (12) the inseparable meaning (*siddhārtha*), (13) power of connected words (*anvīta-śakti-vādimata*), (14) refutation of the perceptibility of air (*vāyu-pratyakṣa-vādi-mata-khanḍana*), (15) controversy about indeterminate perception (*nirvikalpaka-vipratipatti*), (16) gold as a fiery thing (*suvarṇa-taijasa-prakaraṇa*), (17) the etymologo-conventional use of a word as "mud-born" (*pañkaja iti padānām yogarūḍhitva-kathana*), (18) inference, consideration, etc. (*anumiti, liṅgaparāmarśādi-nirūpaṇa*), (19) determination of invariable concomitance (*vyāpti-nirūpaṇa*, etc.). The work ends with an examination of non-existence (*abhāva*) as a means of knowledge.

Commentary. There is a commentary on the Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa called Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa-tīkā by Śeṣānanta.

31. MĀDHAVĀCĀRYA (ABOUT 1331—1391 A.D.).

Mādhavācārya flourished in 1391¹ A.D. (1313 Śāka). He is the well-known author of Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha, Jaiminiya-nyāyamālā-vistara, Kathā-nirṇaya and Parāśarasmṛti-vyākhyā. He was elected² the head of the *smārta* order in the *matha* of Sringeri, in the Mysore territory, founded by Śaṅkara. He is said by some to have been brother of Sāyana, while others hold that he was the same as Sāyana,³ though essentially he was a writer on Mīmāṃsā

¹ Vide Preface to Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṁgraha printed in the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.

² Preface to Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha, translated by E. B. Cowell and A. G. Gough, pp. vii-viii.

³ Perhaps Mādhava was born in the family of Sāyana. Compare—

श्रीमत्सायणदुग्धाश्विबोस्तुभेन महौजसा ।
क्रियते माधवार्येण सर्वदुर्गैर्नमःप्रदः ॥
पूर्वेषामतिदुस्तराणि सुतरामालीढ्य राजान्यसौ
श्रीमत्सायणमाधवः प्रभुपन्थास्यत् सतां प्रीतये ।

(Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha, opening lines).

philosophy. His preceptor was Sarvajña-*viṣṇu*, son of Śarṅga-pānī.¹ He is mentioned here because he has supplied, among other things, some important information about the Nyāya philosophy. Besides giving a complete exposition of the Nyāya system under the head of Akṣapādadarśana, Mādhava thrōws a good deal of light on Logic of the Cārvākas and Buddhists.

32. SARVADARŚANA-SAMGRAHA,—AKṢAPĀDA DARŚANA.

In the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha under the title of Akṣapādadarśana, Mādhava has given a brief exposition of the sixteen categories treated in the Nyāya-sūtra. The Nyāya philosophy was so called, because it specially treated of *Nyāya*, otherwise called *avayava* (syllogism), which formed the predominant feature of the system and proved useful in the acquisition of all kinds of knowledge.²

INFERENCE AS A MEANS OF RIGHT KNOWLEDGE.

Cārvāka denies inference as a means of right knowledge.

Those who maintain the authority of inference (*anumāna*), accept something as a sign or middle term, which is supposed to abide in the minor term, and to be in invariable concomitance with the major term. The invariable concomitance must be freed from all conditions, whether they are sure (*nīścita*) or suspected (*sandigdha*). Now this concomitance by its mere existence cannot produce inference. The concomitance, if it is to produce inference, must be known. How do we then know this concomitance? We cannot know the concomitance by means of perception, which does not cognize past and future events. We cannot employ inference, the validity of which has not yet been established. Verbal testimony, which is included in inference, cannot help us in this matter. Comparison is useless. Hence, the invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term cannot be known by any of the so-called four means of knowledge.

श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणितनयं निश्चिन्नागमज्ञं

सर्वज्ञविष्णुगुरुमन्त्रमाश्रयेऽहम् ॥

(Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha, opening lines).

² ननु प्रमाणादिपदार्थबोद्धव्यके प्रतिपाद्यमाने कथमिदं न्यायशास्त्रमिति व्यपदिश्यते सत्यं तथाप्यसाधारणेन व्यपदेशा भवन्तीति न्यायेन न्यायस्य परार्थापुमानापरपर्यायस्य सकलविद्यानु-
प्रादकतया सर्वकर्मानुष्ठानसाधनतया प्रधानत्वेन तथाव्यपदेशां युज्यते । Sarvadarśana-saṅ-
graha, Akṣapādadarśanam, p. 130, edited by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati, Calcutta.

Similarly, the invariable concomitance has also been described as freed from conditions (*upādhi*). A condition (*upādhi*) is that which constantly accompanies the major term, but does not constantly accompany the middle term, e.g. the hill has smoke because it has fire nourished by wet fuel (where wet fuel is a condition). A condition may be fully defined as that (1) which does not constantly accompany the middle term, (2) which constantly accompanies the major term, and (3) is constantly accompanied by the major term. That the condition must be equipollent in extension with the major term is evident from the statement of the Great Doctor (probably Udayanācārya) who says: "When an equipollent concomitance and a non-equipollent concomitance do both abide in an object, the non-equipollent concomitance, if it is not covered by the equipollent concomitance, is inadmissible, that is, not conducive to the true conclusion."¹

A thing is said to be in equipollent concomitance (*samavyāpti*) with another thing, when the two are equal in their extensions, e.g., "this is nameable because it is knowable," where "knowable" and "nameable" are equal in their extensions. Similarly, "this hill has smoke because it has fire nourished by wet fuel," where "smoke" and "fire nourished by wet fuel," are equal in their extensions; that is, wherever there is smoke, there is fire nourished by wet fuel; and wherever there is fire nourished by wet fuel, there is smoke.

A thing is said to be in non-equipollent concomitance (*viśamavyāpti*) with another thing, when the two are unequal in their extensions, e.g., "this hill has fire, because it has smoke," where the fire is greater in extension than smoke, that is, wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in a kitchen, but wherever there is fire there is not necessarily smoke, as in a red-hot iron ball.

Now an equipollent concomitance and a non-equipollent concomitance do both abide in smoke in the following instances:— (1) the hill has smoke because it has fire, and (2) the hill has smoke because it has fire nourished by wet fuel.

In the first instance smoke is in non-equipollent concomitance with fire, whereas in the second instance smoke is in equi-

¹ Varadarāja in his commentary on Tārkikaraksā called Sārasaṅgraha quotes this verse as an example of the fallacy *hetvābhāsā*, called *aprayojaka* (inadmissible), which is identified in the conditional (*upādhi*), quoted in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha chapter I, Cārvāka-darśana

समासमादिनाभावावेककक्षी यदा तदा ।

समेन यदि नो व्याप्तस्तथोच्चीनोऽप्रयोजकः ॥

The portion which is added to the middle term or subtracted from the major term is called an *upādhi* (condition), *anyathāsiddhi* (conditionality) or *aprayojaka* (inadmissible). Tārkikaraksā, page 232, edited by Vaidhyeśvarī Prasad, Benares

pollent concomitance with "fire nourished by wet fuel." The first instance is inadmissible because in it, the reason "fire" is not covered by the reason of the second instance, viz. "fire nourished by wet fuel."

Again (1) the hill has fire because it has smoke, (2) the hill has fire nourished by wet fuel, because it has smoke. The first is an instance of non-equipollent concomitance, while the second is that of an equipollent one. The first instance here, is not inadmissible, because the reason of it, viz. "smoke," is covered by the reason of the second instance, which is also smoke.

The middle term can on no account be greater in extent than the major term, but may be equal in extent to or less in extent than that term.

Now this absence of conditions referred to above cannot be known through perception, specially in the cases of past and future instances. Cārvāka says that the step which the mind takes from the knowledge of smoke, etc., to the knowledge of fire, etc., can be accounted for by its being based on a former perception or by its being an error; and that in some cases this step is justified by the result is accidental, just like the coincidence of effects observed in the employment of gems, charms, drugs, etc. As it is impossible to know the concomitance which is invariable and unconditional, the inference as a means of knowledge cannot be established.

Upadhi

THE INFERENCE AS A MEANS OF RIGHT KNOWLEDGE CANNOT BE DENIED.

The Buddhists maintain that the concomitance (*avinābhāva*), which is invariable and unconditional, is known through the relation of identity (*svabhāva*) or causality (*kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva*). No effect can, they say, be produced without a cause, for, if it could, it would destroy itself by putting a stop to activity of all kinds.

Through the relation of cause and effect, which is unalterable, we can ascertain that the middle term is invariable concomitance with the major term. In like manner the invariable concomitance is known through the relation of identity, e.g., the *śiśu* is a tree, wherever we observe the attribute of a *śiśu* we observe also the attribute of "arboreity." A *śiśu* cannot lose its arboreity without losing its own self. Though there are differences between a *śiśu* and a tree, they are essentially the same. We are therefore quite competent to say that a *śiśu* is a tree and that the relation between the two is that of identity. We cannot however say, that a jar is a jar or that there is a relation of

Causal relation and the relation of identity.

identity between the jars. We cannot predicate one thing of another thing, if there is no difference whatever between the two. It is therefore proved that we can infer one thing from another thing through the relation of cause and effect or when the two things are in essence the same.

The Buddhists further maintain that inference as a means of knowledge can on no account be denied. It would be a mere assertion, if a person were to say that inference is not a means of knowledge. To think of inference as a means of knowledge and yet to deny it involves him in an absurdity, as if, he were saying that his mother was barren.

SECTION II.

Tarka-Śāstra—the Science of Dialectics.

CHAPTER I.

Formation of the Tarka-Śāstra.

33. THE NYĀYA CANNOT BE COMBINED WITH THE VAIŚEṢIKA.

In the previous section, while treating of the Prakaraṇas, we have found that it is impossible to combine the Nyāya with Vaiśeṣika, the categories of the two systems being altogether different. The sixteen categories of the Nyāya cannot assimilate the seven categories of the Vaiśeṣika nor can the latter assimilate the former. The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika categories cannot be assimilated in any other way. It was, therefore, found necessary to keep them separate, though a futile attempt was made by the authors of the Prakaraṇas to combine in some way the categories of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika.

34. ADOPTION OF *Pramāṇa* ALONE.

After their struggle with the Buddhists and Jains for over a thousand years the Brāhmaṇas found it expedient, in treating of the Nyāya, to take up only one topic, viz. *pramāṇa*, to the exclusion of the remaining fifteen topics. The division of *pramāṇa* into two sub-divisions, viz. Perception and Inference, was rejected. Akṣapāda's division of *pramāṇa* into four sub-divisions, viz. perception, inference, comparison, and verbal testimony, was retained. Great ingenuity was shown to establish the authorities of the four *pramāṇas*. Whole arguments from the Buddhistic and Jaina works were collected to establish inference while the works of the Mīmāṃsā philosophy were resorted to in establishing the authority of verbal testimony.

35. ADOPTION OF THE VAIŚEṢIKA PRINCIPLES.

The theory of *pramāṇa* became very subtle when it adopted the principles of generality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśeṣa*), inherence (*samavāya*), negation (*abhāva*), etc. Thus in perceiving the colour of a jar we must admit a relation called inherence; an invariable concomitance may be of a general form or special forms; and whatever thing is perceptible by a sense, the non-existence of that thing is also perceptible by the same sense.

Thus the Nyāya theory of perception, etc., considered from the standpoint of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, became very subtle and intricate.

36. SUBTLETY OF MEANINGS AIMED AT.

A hair-splitting subtlety in the discussion of meanings of terms is the distinguishing characteristic of the Tarka-śāstra (the science of dialectics). Thus Akṣapāda defines a proposition in quite a simple style as “the laying down of what is to be established.” But in elucidating the meaning of a proposition Gaṅgeśa, Raghunātha, Gadādhara and others produce definitions which are terribly long and intricate. The subtle explanation is, however, an excellent training for the intellect.

37. FINE DEFINITION OF TERMS.

The technicalities of Tarka-śāstra have repelled students of Sanskrit from its study. The immemorial practice has been for Naiyāyikas to explain verbally to their pupils the meaning of each term as it turns up in the course of their teaching.

The old works on Nyāya dealt with things, while the modern ones deal only with the verbal description or definition of things. Modern Logicians do not trouble themselves about the nature of things. They are satisfied if they can evolve a correct definition, and in their verbal definitions they evince a subtlety and skill, which to a certain extent compensate for the paucity of their materials.

38 THE USE OF TECHNICAL TERMS.

In bringing out the subtlety of meanings and in giving fine definitions, the modern logicians have invented numerous technical terms of which some are given here.

ativyāpti—Being too wide.

anugata-dharma—Common property.

anugama—Generalisation.

anuyogitā—The quality of being an *anuyogi*. When a thing stands to another thing in a particular relation, that upon which it stands is called *anuyogi*, while it itself is called *pratiyogi* (counterpart) in regard to the relation. Thus a jar standing on the ground in the relation of union is called *pratiyogi* and the ground is the *anuyogi* of the relation.

anyathā-siddhi—Concomitant circumstances which are not causes.

¹ Vide Rajendra Candra Śastrin's *Muktāvali* Vol. II, and Mahāmahopādhyāya Mahēś Chandra Nyāyaratna's *Brief notes on the modern Nyāya system of Philosophy*, and also M.M. Gangānāth Jhā's *Indian Thought*.

avacchinna—That which is qualified or determined by some attribute

avacchedaka—A quality or attribute which is determined by the special characters of a thing Thus *daṇḍatva* is the special character of *daṇḍa* as a *hetu*.

avyāpti—Being too narrow.

kurvad-rūpatva—Causing activity, i.e. the property which abides in a cause actually producing its effect.

pratiyogi—The thing of which a negation is predicated, e.g. a jar is the *pratiyogi* of the negation of the jar.

vyāpti—Pervasion or invariable concomitance.

And there are numerous others.

Some of the characteristics of the Tarka-śāstra have been already given above.

Cintāmāṇi by Gangeśa Upādhyāya is the earliest work on Tarka-śāstra, though Jānakīnātha Cuḍāmāṇi's Nyāya-siddhānta-maṅjarī is another excellent work on the same subject.

CHAPTER II.

Tattva-cintāmaṇi the earliest Work on Tarka-sāstra.

39. IMPORTANCE OF TATTVA-CINTĀMAṆI.

The **Tattva-cintāmaṇi** ("a thought-jewel of truth"), otherwise known as **Pramāṇa-cintāmāṇi** ("a thought-jewel of valid knowledge"), of which a short summary in English is given in the following pages, was written by a Brāhmaṇa logician of Mithilā named **Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya**. It introduces a new era in the development of Logic in India and is justly reckoned as the first work on the Modern School of Hindu Logic. In modern India Sanskrit scholarship is not considered of any worth unless it is accompanied by a knowledge of the **Tattva-cintāmaṇi** or at least a portion of it. The study of this work develops to an enormous extent the discursive faculty in the reader and enables him to argue with hair-splitting distinctions and subtleties.

The book, since its first composition in the 12th century A.D., has been a subject of close study by the Paṇḍits of Mithilā, and about the middle of the 15th century its study was introduced into Bengal by **Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma**, who had been educated in the academies of Mithilā. Since 1503 A.D., when the university of **Navadvīpa** was established, the **Tattva-cintāmaṇi** was much popularised in Bengal through the endeavours of the famous **Raghunātha Śiromaṇi** and others. Gradually the book was introduced into **Madras, Mabarāṣṭra** and **Kāśmīra**, and in a couple of centuries it became known all over India. The influence of this epoch-making book can be traced in the works on almost all the branches of Sanskrit learning that have appeared during the last five hundred years. Unfortunately no attempt has yet been made to present the contents of the work in English, Bengali, Hindi or any other modern language, perhaps on account of the bewildering abstruseness of its style and thought.

40. GANGEŚA—THE AUTHOR OF THE TATTVA-CINTĀMAṆI. (1200 A.D.).

The **Tattva-cintāmāṇi** is the immortal work of **Gaṅgeśa**, also called **Gaṅgeśvara**, surnamed **Upādhyāya**, who was a **Maithilā Brāhmaṇa**. He was born in a village named **Karion** on the banks of the river **Kamalā**, twelve miles south-east of **Darbhanga**. It is said that **Gaṅgeśa** while young was altogether illiterate. He propitiated the goddess **Kālī**, on the cremation ground adjacent to

his uncle's house, and acquired from her, as a boon, deep erudition in the science of Logic.

Gaṅgeśa mentions the name of Śivāditya Miśra,¹ the well-known author of Saptapadārthī, and makes frequent quotations from Ratna-kośa,² which is a work on the Vaiśeṣika philosophy. Nothing is definitely known about the Gauḍa Mimāmsaka³ or Śrīkara⁴ mentioned by him. Gaṅgeśa must have flourished after 1093-1150 A.D., the period when Ānanda Sūri and Amaracandra Sūri,⁵ whose opinions he has quoted, flourished. As he criticises the Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā, he must have been posterior also to Śrī Harṣa who lived in Kanauj in the Court of King Jayacandra in 1186 A.D.⁶ The earliest date that has been assigned to Gaṅgeśa is before the first quarter of the 13th century A.D., when his son Vardhamāna Upādhyāya lived, in other words Gaṅgeśa is assigned to the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.⁷

¹ Vide Tattva-cintāmaṇi, pratyaksa-khaṇḍa, p. 830.

² The Ratnakośa, a work on Vaiśeṣika philosophy, has been quoted not only by Gaṅgeśa in the Tattva-cintāmaṇi (śabda-khaṇḍa, ākhyāta-vāda, p. 830, and anumāna-khaṇḍa, p. 885), but also by Vardhamāna in the Nyāya-kusumāñjali and by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in the Anumāna-dīdhiti. Glosses on Ratnakośa are said to have been written both by Harirāma and Gadādhara. This Ratnakośa is different from the Advaita-ratna-kośa—a work on the Vedānta philosophy by Akhaṇḍānanda—as well as from the Prameya-ratna-kośa, a work on Jaina philosophy by Candraprabha Sūri (1102 A.D.)

³ Vide Tattva-cintāmaṇi, śabda-khaṇḍa, śabda-prāmānya-vāda, p. 88.

⁴ Vide Tattva-cintāmaṇi, śabda-khaṇḍa, jāti-śakti-vāda, p. 569.

⁵ Vide S. C. Vidyabhūṣaṇa's 'Indian Logic: Mediæval School', pp. 47-48. Ānanda and Amaracandra, nicknamed respectively Vyāghraśiśuka and Simhaśiśuka, have been referred to by Gaṅgeśa in the Tattva-cintāmaṇi under *simha-vyāghroktalaksana* of *vyāpti*. (Vide p. 396 above.)

⁶ Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā is quoted in the Tattva-cintāmaṇi, anumāna-khaṇḍa, p. 233. Bibliotheca Indica Series For Śrī Harṣa and Jayacandra, see the Indian Antiquary, 1911-12; Prācīna-lekha-mālā, nos. 22-23; and B.B.R.A.S. of 1875, p. 279. Jayacandra was killed by Sahabuddin Ghori in 1194 A.D.

⁷ According to the Dhanukhā inscription Maheśa Thakkura, brother of Bhagīratha Thakkura, the well-known author of a sub-commentary on the Tattva-cintāmaṇi, lived in 1556 A.D. Considering that in the succession of the generations of pupils Bhagīratha Thakkura was seventh in descent from Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, and allowing an average life of thirty years for each generation, we may assume that Gaṅgeśa lived 180 years before Bhagīratha, that is, about the year 1376 A.D.

The succession of pupils from Gaṅgeśa is as follows:—

1. Gaṅgeśa; 2. Vardhamāna, 3. Yajñapati; 4. Hari Miśra; 5. Pākṣadhara;
6. (a) Vāsudeva, (b) Rucidatta, (c) Candrapati (?); 7. (a) Maheśa Thakkura, (b) Bhagīratha Thakkura 8. A pupil; 9. Bhavanātha; 10. Śaṅkara Miśra.

The inscription is found on a stone-slab attached to a well at the village Dhanukhā near Janakapura in Darbhanga. It runs thus:—

आसीत् पश्चिमसखलायगणितो भूमसखलायगणितो,
 आत्त-सखलामुक्ते मिरिमुताभन्तो महेशः कृतौ।
 शाके रघुनुररुमश्रुतिमहो संजचिते दायने,
 शाकनेनी कण्ठगत त्रेत्र विचिन्तयेत्त-सखलो जित् ।

[Those who maintain that Gangeśa lived in the fourth quarter of the 12th century A.D.¹ base their contention on the mention of Vardhamāna, son of Gangeśa, in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha in the 14th century A.D.² and upon an interpretation of the expression *śakābdā la sam 1509*, occurring in a manuscript of Pakṣadhara Miśra's commentary on Gangeśa's Tattva-cintāmaṇi, as equivalent to 1278 A.D.³ Now the verse on the authority of which Vardhamāna is supposed to have been mentioned in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha is obviously an interpolation, and the expression *śakābdā la sam 1509*, written in very modern characters, refers in my opinion *not* to Lakṣmana samvat 159, corresponding to 1278 A.D., but to śaka year 1509 corresponding to 1587 A.D., the word *la sam* being either redundant or signifying simply a year. In fact, if Gangeśa had been older than the author of the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha, his work would have been reviewed, or at any rate referred to, in-it.]

41. THE TEXT OF TATTVA-CINTĀMAṆĪ.

Book I.—Perception—*Pratyakṣa-khaṇḍa*.

The Tattva-cintāmaṇi is divided into four books dealing respectively with (1) Perception (*pratyakṣa*), (2) Inference (*anumāna*), (3) Comparison (*upamāna*), and (4) Verbal testimony (*śabda*), which are the four means of deriving valid knowledge. The first book, which treats of perception, opens with stanzas saluting God Śiva.⁴

¹The śaka 1478 referred to here corresponds to 1556 A.D. That Maheśa Thakura was a brother of Bhagīratha Thakura appears from the opening lines of the *Dravya-prakāśikā* by the latter

²*Vide* M. M. Chakravarti's *History of Navya-nyāya*, J.A.S.B. for 1915, p. 265
Rājendra Nath Ghose's *Vyāpti-pañcaka*, Introduction, p. 33

³*Vide* Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha. Pāṇinīya-darśana.

⁴प्रत्यक्षालोक (Pratyakṣāloka), which is a commentary on Gangeśa's Tattva-cintāmaṇi by Pakṣadhara Miśra, was, according to its colophon, copied in the Śaka year 1509 (corresponding to 1587 A.D.) and *not* in the Lakṣmana samvat 159 (corresponding to 1278 A.D.), as the date contained in the colophon runs thus :—

शुभमस्तु त्रौरसु यकाब्दा ॥ स सं १५०९ ते आवसस्व १ ॥

4

गुहातीतोऽपीमस्त्रिगुणसचिवस्त्र्यवरमयः

विश्वूर्जिर्यः स्वर्गस्थितिविलयकर्मोच्चितनुते ।

रूपापारावारः परममतिरेकस्त्रिजगतां

नमस्तस्मै कस्मैचिदमितमस्त्रिजे पुरभिदे ॥ १ ॥

अन्वेषान यमाकलय्य गुह्यभिर्ज्ञात्वा गुह्यां मतं

चिन्तादिब्यविलोचनेन च तयो सारं विलोक्याच्छिलम् ।

तन्त्रे दोषगणेन दुर्बमतरे सिद्धान्तदीक्षागुह्य

गङ्गेयस्त्रुते मितेन वचसा त्रीतस्त्रचिन्तामणिम् ॥ १ ॥

Invocation of Blessings—*Maṅgala-vāda*.

Salutation is offered to Śiva to invoke his blessings. The invocation is of three kinds, *niz* bodily, vocal, and mental. The bodily invocation consists in saluting a deity, the vocal in reciting the eulogy of the deity, and the mental in meditating on him. "All polite people," says Gaṅgeśa, "must observe the *dēorum* of invoking blessings if they wish to bring their work to a successful completion." Though we do not find any explicit text in the Veda enjoining invocation of blessings, yet from the laudable practice of good people we can easily infer the implicit existence of such a text. It should be stated that the invocation of blessings is not the immediate cause of the completion of a work but is the means of removing obstacles which beset the work. In the case of an atheist finishing his work successfully without any invocation of blessings, we are to suppose that there were no obstacles in his way, or that he performed the invocation in his previous life. The case of a theist invoking blessings and yet failing to finish his work, is explained on the supposition that he encountered enormous obstacles which his feeble invocation could not remove. The *Kādambarī*, which opens with a profuse invocation of blessings, furnishes an illustration of a work remaining unfinished, owing to the excess of obstacles in its way.

The Validity of Knowledge—*Prāmāṇya-vāda*.

In determining the true meaning of *pramāṇa* (the means of valid knowledge) one must understand the true meaning of the word *pramā* (valid knowledge). *Prāmā* or valid knowledge is the knowledge of a thing as it is,—it is the knowledge of the generic nature as abiding in its own subject, that is, abiding in every one of its individual embodiments. For instance, to know a piece of silver to be as such, is valid knowledge inasmuch as "silverness," which is a generic nature, really abides in the individual silver which is its subject.

Two questions arise here: (1) whence is the validity of knowledge derived, and (2) how are we conscious of the validity? To the first question the *Mīmāṃsakas* (*Prābhākaras*) reply by saying that knowledge derives its validity from its own general grounds (or causes). As to the second question they say that knowledge is self-evident, that is, the very grounds, out of which arises consciousness of knowledge, produce also the consciousness of its validity, and this consciousness of validity prompts us to activity.

Gaṅgeśa opposes the first reply by saying that if the validity

of knowledge were derived from the general grounds of knowledge itself, then invalid knowledge would have been identical with valid knowledge. The second reply is also opposed on the ground that if we were conscious of the validity of knowledge along with our consciousness of knowledge itself, there could not have arisen in us doubt with regard to the validity of any kind of knowledge specially in the unhabitual condition. But there often arises in us knowledge of a dubious character, and the Mīmāṃsakas cannot satisfactorily explain the production of this dubious knowledge or doubt. If there is consciousness of knowledge, there is, according to them, along with it a consciousness of its validity which leaves no room for doubt, and if, on the other hand, there is no consciousness of knowledge, there cannot arise any consciousness of its dubiousness. Hence Gaṅgeśa concludes that the validity of knowledge is not derived from its general grounds (or causes). It is, according to him, derived through its special cause called instrument. The general grounds of knowledge are the union of the tactual surface with the mind and that of the latter with the soul, while the special causes are different. The special cause of perception is the intercourse of a sense-organ with its object without any hindrance, that of inference is consideration (or the knowledge of premisses), that of comparison is the knowledge of similarity, and that of verbal testimony is the knowledge of consistency. Our knowledge of colour, for instance, is valid if there is the contact of our eye with the colour without any hindrance. Gaṅgeśa further observes that our consciousness of the validity of a particular knowledge does not arise from our consciousness of the particular knowledge itself, but from a different source, *viz* inference from the fruitful correspondence between our knowledge (idea) and the activity prompted by it. "This knowledge (idea)," says he, "is valid because it is conducive to activity which is fruitful; whatever is not conducive to activity which is fruitful, is not valid knowledge." Suppose, for instance, a person cognises from distance a white thing to be a piece of silver. His knowledge will be valid if it harmonises with his actual experience when he approaches the piece of silver. Our consciousness of the validity of a particular knowledge arises therefore from our consciousness of the fruitful correspondence or harmony between the particular knowledge (idea) and the activity which it leads to.

Invalid Knowledge—*Anyathākhyāti*.

Gaṅgeśa says that invalid knowledge or error, in Sanskrit

apramā, anyathākhyāti, bhrama, or invalid knowledge.

apramā, anyathākhyāti or *bhrama*, is the knowledge (experience) of a thing as it is not,—it is the knowledge (experience) of a generic nature, which does not abide in its

own subject, but which abides in the subject of another generic nature. For instance, to know a pearl to be a piece of silver is invalid knowledge, inasmuch as the generic nature "silverness" does not abide here in the piece of silver which is its own subject, but abides in a pearl which is the subject of another generic nature, *viz.* "pearlness."

The Mīmāṃsakas (*Prābhākaras*) do not admit invalid knowledge or error. All knowledge, according to them, is valid and, as such, prompts us to activity. In the case of a person who takes a pearl to be a piece of silver by saying "this is silver," we should bear in mind that he acquires the knowledge of "this" (pearl) through perception and that of "silver" through recollection. But he, owing to some defect, is not conscious of the distinction between "this" (pearl) and "silver," that is, between "perception" and "recollection"; and this non-consciousness of distinction leads him to activity.

Gaṅgeśa opposes the Mīmāṃsakas by saying that the non-consciousness of distinction cannot account for the activity to which the person is prompted. There are here, according to the Mīmāṃsakas, grounds for activity, counter-activity and non-activity. The knowledge of "silver," for which the person is solicitous, must cause in him an activity, while the knowledge of "this" (pearl), for which he is not solicitous, must cause in him a counter-activity, and the non-consciousness of distinction (which is absence of knowledge) causes in him neither activity nor counter-activity, but leaves him in non-activity. The non-consciousness of distinction is not therefore the cause which leads him to activity.

According to Gaṅgeśa, when a person takes a pearl to be a piece of silver by saying "this is silver," he acquires the knowledge of both "this" (pearl) and "silver" by means of perception (the first through the ordinary intercourse between the sense-organ and its object, and the second through the transcendent intercourse whose character is knowledge). He, through some defect (of his eye, etc.), identifies "this" (pearl) with "silver," that is, becomes conscious of the generic nature "silverness" as abiding in "this" (pearl), which is not its own subject. Here his knowledge is invalid, or, in other words, he commits an error. When a person, on the other hand, takes a piece of silver to be silver by saying "this is silver," he identifies "this" with "silver," or, in other words, becomes conscious of the generic nature "silverness" as abiding in "silver" which is its own subject. His knowledge is valid.

Whether a particular knowledge is valid or invalid, it must be of a determinate character, if it is to lead us to activity. Determinate knowledge is the knowledge of a generic nature as abiding

in a subject. As already stated, when the generic nature abides in its own subject, the knowledge is valid: but when it abides in the subject of another generic nature, the knowledge is invalid. A valid determinate knowledge (*pramā*) leads us to activity which is fruitful, while an invalid determinate knowledge (*apramā*) leads us to activity which does not end in fruition. In explaining the cause of activity, whether fruitful or fruitless, we must assume determinate knowledge, and in accounting for fruitless activity we must assume error. Moreover, it is a matter of experience that in our consciousness, valid or invalid, of the form "this is silver," there is only one kind of knowledge, *viz.* determinate knowledge, and it will be cumbrous to assume two kinds, *viz.* perception and recollection.

Intercourse between Senses and their Objects—*Sannikarṣa*.

Ordinary Preception (*laukika-pratyakṣa*).

Perceptual knowledge, or, more simply, perception, has been defined (by Akṣapāda) as knowledge which arises from the intercourse of a sense with its object, and which is non-erratic, being either reflective (mediate) or non-reflective (immediate). This definition, according to Gaṅgeśa, is too wide in so far as it includes recollection and inference of the soul, and is also too narrow in so far as it excludes perception by God. To avoid such defects Gaṅgeśa proposes to define perception as a direct apprehension. When, for instance, a visual perception takes place, there arises in us a corresponding knowledge of the form "I apprehend direct." Perception is further defined by Gaṅgeśa as knowledge whose instrumental cause is not knowledge. The instrumental causes of inference, comparison and verbal testimony are respectively the knowledge of premisses, the knowledge of similarity and the knowledge of consistency; but the instrumental cause of the perception is a sense-organ which is not knowledge.

The word perception, which ordinarily signifies perceptual knowledge or rather the means by which we derive perceptual knowledge, does sometimes stand for the whole process in which a sense in intercourse with its object produces knowledge. The senses are six, *viz.* (1) the eye, (2) the ear, (3) the nose, (4) the tongue, (5) the tactual surface, and (6) the mind. Their objects are respectively the following:—(1) colour, (2) sound, (3) odour, (4) savour, (5) touch (of warmth, coldness, hardness, softness, etc.), and (6) feeling (of pleasure, pain, etc.). Correspondent with the senses there are six kinds of knowledge (perception), *viz.* the visual, auditory, olfactory, gustatory, tactual and mental (inter-
nal).

The intercourse, or rather the ordinary intercourse, which is the connection of a sense with its object, is of six kinds as mentioned below :—

- (1) *Union (samyoga)*, e.g. in the visual perception of a jar there is a union of our eye with the jar.
- (2) *United-inherence (samyukta-samavāya)*, that is, inherence in that which is in union, e.g. in the visual perception of the colour of a jar there is a union of our eye with the jar in which colour inheres.
- (3) *United-inherent-inherence (samyukta - samaveta - samavāya)*, that is, inherence in that which inheres in what is in union, e.g. in the visual perception of the “colourness” (the generic nature of colour) of a jar there is a union of our eye with the jar in which inheres colour wherein again abides “colourness” in the relation of inherence.
- (4) *Inherence (samavāya)*, e.g. in the auditory perception of sound there is the inherence of sound in the ether which pervades the cavity of our ear.
- (5) *Inherent-inherence (samaveta-samavāya)*, that is, inherence in that which inheres, e.g. in the auditory perception of “soundness” (the generic nature of sound), there is the inherence of “soundness” in sound which again inheres in the ether of our ear-cavity.
- (6) *Particularity (viśeṣanā)*, e.g. in the perception of non-existence of a jar on a ground, there is a union of our eye with the ground which is possessed of non-existence of the jar.

Transcendent Perception (*alaukika-pratyakṣa*).

The supersensuous or transcendent perception does not take place through any of the six kinds of ordinary intercourse described above. But it is produced through an intercourse which is transcendent. The transcendent intercourse is of three kinds, *viz.* (1) the intercourse whose character is general (*sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*); (2) the intercourse whose character is knowledge (*jñāna-lakṣaṇa*); and (3) the intercourse which is produced by meditation (*yogaja*).

Intercourse (perception) whose character is general.—In the perception of all individuals possessing a generic nature, the knowledge of the generic nature constitutes the intercourse. This is a transcendent intercourse whose character is general. When, for instance, there is an intercourse of our eye with a case of smoke, there arises in us a perception of smoke of all times and all places. The process by which this perception takes place is as follows :—

The intercourse between our eye and the case of smoke is an ordinary one called union (*samyoga*) and that between our

eye and “smokeness” (the generic nature of smoke) is also an ordinary one which is called united-inherence (*saṃyukta-samavāya*). But the intercourse between our eye and all cases of smoke is not an ordinary one. It is a transcendent intercourse, as there is no ordinary union of our eye with all cases of smoke of all times and all places. The intercourse consists here of the knowledge of “smokeness”, a generic nature which is possessed by all cases of smoke of all times and all places. This sort of intercourse which consists of the knowledge of a generic nature, is called a transcendent intercourse whose character is general. The objection that if there were a transcendent intercourse (perception) whose character is general, we could become omniscient, inasmuch as in perceiving an object of knowledge we could perceive all objects of knowledge, is untenable because, though we can perceive all objects of knowledge comprehended under a generic nature, we cannot perceive their mutual differences, and as such cannot be omniscient.

Intercourse (perception) whose character is knowledge.—If in the perception of a thing the knowledge of the thing itself constitutes the intercourse, it is called an intercourse whose character is knowledge. On seeing a piece of sandal-wood we often say that it is fragrant. How does this visual perception of fragrance take place? The answer is that when the eye comes in union with the piece of sandal-wood, there arises within us a kind of knowledge (recollection) of fragrance which serves as the intercourse for our perception of the same. This is an instance of what is called in Western Psychology an “indirect perception”.

Some say that the case cited above may be explained by the intercourse whose character is general, and there is no necessity for our assuming another intercourse whose character is knowledge. On seeing a piece of sandal-wood there arises in us the recollection of fragrance and “fragrancy” (the generic nature of fragrance), which abide in sandal-wood in the relations of inherence (*samavāya*) and inherent-inherence (*samaveta-samavāya*) respectively. From the recollection of “fragrancy”, through the intercourse whose character is general, there arises in us the perception of all individual fragrances including the fragrance of this particular piece of sandal-wood.

In reply Gaṅgeśa says that, though, through the intercourse whose character is general, we can somehow explain the perception of fragrance, we cannot through this intercourse explain the perception of “fragrancy”. Had there been a “fragranciness” (which is the generic nature of *fragrancy*), we could have, through the intercourse whose character is general, derived the perception of “fragrancy”. But there is no generic nature of “fragrancy”, which is itself the generic nature of fragrance. We cannot therefore perceive

“fragrance” through the intercourse whose character is general. It is through the intercourse whose character is knowledge that we can perceive “fragrance”, the recollection of which serves as the intercourse for such perception.

Intercourse (perception) produced by meditation.—It is of two kinds, *viz.* (1) the intercourse (perception) of an ascetic who has attained union with the Supreme Being, and (2) that of an ascetic who is endeavouring to attain such union. The first ascetic enjoys a constant perception of all things, while the second ascetic can secure perception only when he is attended with mediation.

Inherence—*Samavāya-vāda.*

In the visual perception of the colour of a jar, the intercourse that exists between our eye and the colour has been designated as united-inherence. It is not possible to understand the meaning of this term unless we understand the meaning of inherence. Inherence (*samavāya*) is an intimate relation between two things which cannot exist separately. Of the two things one exists only as lodged in the other. Such things are the whole and its parts, the substance and its qualities or action, the community and individuals, and the eternal substances and their final particulars. The relation that exists between these things is called inherence, *e.g.* threads inhere in the cloth, colour inheres in the jar, and so on. The knowledge of a whole as composed of parts, or of a substance as possessing qualities, etc. is determinate knowledge. In such knowledge we have to consider three things, *viz.* the subject, the predicate, and the relation that exists between them. For instance, in our determinate knowledge of the form “the man has a stick,” the man is the subject and the stick is the predicate, while the relation that exists between them is union. Similarly in our determinate knowledge of the form “the flower has colour,” the flower is the subject and the colour is the predicate, but the relation that exists between them is not union but inherence. When two things can be separated from each other, the relation between them is union, but when they cannot be mutually separated their relation is inherence. In fact colour is not united with flower but inheres in it.

The Invalidity of Non-perception—*Anupalabdhyaprāmānya-vāda.*

Some say that non-existence is not perceptible by any of our senses and that the knowledge of non-existence of a thing arises through non-perception of the thing itself. For instance, the way in which the knowledge of non-existence of a pot arises is as follows: Had there been a pot here, it would have been per-

ceived : since it is not perceived, there is no pot here. The non-perception of a pot is therefore the means of knowing the non-existence of the pot. Gaṅgeśa does not admit non-perception to be a means of knowledge. Non-existence, according to him, is perceived by our senses through the intercourse of particularity. For instance, in the perception of non-existence of a pot on the floor, there is the union of our eye with the floor in which abides non-existence of the pot as a particularity, that is, there is perception of the floor as possessed of the non-existence of the pot. The sense employed in the perception of a thing is the same as that which is employed in the perception of its non-existence. Whatever thing is perceptible by a sense, the non-existence of that thing is also perceptible by the same sense, e.g. a colour and its non-existence are both perceived by the eye, a sound and its non-existence by the ear, an odour and its non-existence by the nose, a savour and its non-existence by the tongue, warmth and its non-existence by the tactual surface, and pleasure and its non-existence by the mind.

Non-existence (or negation)—*Abhāva-vāda*.

Some say that there is no separate entity called non-existence (*abhāva*), that perception of what is ordinarily called the “non-existence of a thing” depends upon the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of non-existence of the thing, and that the intercourse through which we perceive the thing, must be the same as that through which we perceive its non-existence, viz. union, etc. For instance, our perception of the non-existence of a pot (in the form “there is no pot on the floor”) does not presuppose a separate entity called “non-existence”, but rests entirely on “the floor” which is the locus of the non-existence of the pot, and is carried on through the intercourse of union.

Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view by saying that we must admit a separate entity called non-existence, that our perception of what is ordinarily called the non-existence of a thing, does not rest entirely on the locus of the non-existence of the thing, and that the intercourse through which we perceive the non-existence of the thing is not union etc., but particularity (*viśeṣanā*). In the instance cited above our perception of the non-existence of the pot does not rest on “the floor”, that is, the non-existence of the pot is not identical with the floor. Had the one rested on the other, or had the two been identical, there would have been perception of the non-existence of the pot even when the pot was on the floor, and further there would have been a disturbance of the relation of container and contained that exists between the two. Since this contingency is disastrous, we must admit that there is something on the ground which operates in our failure to perceive the

pot. This something is “non-existence” which is a separate entity lying over and above the floor. Our failure to perceive a thing does not therefore rest on the mere locus of the thing, but on the locus as possessed of this something or “non-existence.” The relation that exists between the locus and non-existence is that of particularity (*viśeṣanātā*). When we perceive the non-existence of a pot on the floor our eye comes in union with the floor on which abides the non-existence of the pot in the relation of particularity. The intercourse in this case is, therefore, of united particularity (*samyukta-viśeṣanātā*). Similarly the relation of particularity is to be associated with inherence, united-inherence, etc.

Every non-existence has a counterpart, e.g. with reference to the non-existence of a pot and that of a piece of cloth, the pot and the piece of cloth are respectively the counterparts. The perception of a non-existence is subject to that of its counterpart. The process, by which we perceive non-existence through the relation of particularity, involves knowledge of its counterpart which is produced through memory or from any other source. In our perception of the non-existence of a pot on the floor, there arises in us first of all recollection of the pot, and as soon as our eye comes in union with the floor we perceive the non-existence of the pot on the same.

Non-existence is of two kinds: (1) universal, and (2) reciprocal. The universal non-existence is sub-divided into (a) the antecedent, (b) the subsequent, and (c) the absolute. The antecedent non-existence is that which has no beginning but has an end, e.g. a jar is in antecedent non-existence before it is made up. The subsequent non-existence has a beginning but no end, e.g. a jar is in subsequent non-existence after it is destroyed. The absolute non-existence is that whose counterpart is viewed in relation to all the three times—past, present, and future, e.g. there is no jar on the floor. The reciprocal non-existence is the non-existence of identity, e.g. a jar is not a pot.

Causes of Perception—*Pratyakṣa-kāraṇa-vāda*.

The causes of perception are the following:—

- (1) A union of the mind with the tactual surface and the soul.

Causes of knowledge in general While a person is in deep sleep there is produced in him no knowledge, as there is then a union of his mind with the soul alone but not with the tactual surface. The mind abides at that time near the heart in a *nāḍī* called pericardium which is without a tactual surface. In recollecting a thing our mind is in union with both the tactual surface and the soul.

the senses with their objects, *e.g.* in the perception of a colour there is a union of our mind with the eye which is in intercourse with the colour.

- (3) Proportionate extension of the objects of sense, that is, the objects must not be of infinite extension as ether, or of no extension as atoms. The ether and atoms are not perceived but inferred, the former being the locus of sound, and the latter the final particulars of things.
- (4) An obviousness or manifest form of an object of sense, *e.g.* a colour, if it is to be perceptible, must possess obviousness. A meteor, which is obscured in the midday blaze, cannot be perceived. Similarly, a fire which exists in the latent condition in a heated frying-pan, is not perceptible.
- (5) A special connection of light with the object of sense, *e.g.* a pot, if it is to be perceptible, must have sufficient light on its front rather than on its back.
- (6) Absence of obstacles, *e.g.* too much proximity or too much distance, is often obstructive to our perception.

The Atomic Nature of the Mind—*Manoṅutva-vāda*.

The senses through the instrumentality of which we perceive colour, sound, odour, savour and touch, are the eye, ear, nose, tongue and tactual surface respectively. The sense which operates as an instrument in our perception of pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, intellect and volition, is the mind, which is called the internal sense in contrast to the other five senses which are external.

The mind is atomic in extension, inasmuch as we cannot perceive various objects at one and the same time. Although there may exist intercourse of our external senses with their corresponding objects, no perception will be produced until the mind comes in union with them. Had the mind been of infinite extension, or even of proportionate extension, it could have come into union with all the five external senses at once so as to give rise to the five kinds of perception simultaneously. But everybody is aware that it is impossible for more than one kind of perception to arise at one and the same time. This shows that the mind can come into union with only *one* external sense at a time, or in other words, the mind is atomic in extension.

Those who deny the atomic nature of the mind on the ground that sometimes, *e.g.* in eating a large cake soaked in milk and sugar, we find the operations of the mind united with several senses simultaneously, should be told that the operations, which they suppose to be simultaneous, do really take place in succession, as the hundred leaves of a lotus are pierced one after another by a needle.

The Doctrine of Self-consciousness—*Anu-vyavasāya-vāda*.

Some philosophers maintain that any particular kind of knowledge performs by itself all its practical functions and does not depend upon another knowledge for the same. For instance, all practical functions connected with a pot can, according to them, be performed when there is knowledge of the pot, but we cannot perform those functions when there is no such knowledge. It is therefore knowledge which performs all its practical functions. We must not however suppose that all practical functions are performed by all kinds of knowledge promiscuously. In fact each kind of knowledge is, by its very nature, related to a particular object which enables us to perform its corresponding functions.

Some others, who hold the doctrine of triangular perception (*tripuṭī-pratyakṣa-vādinah*), say that each kind of knowledge is self-manifest and that it manifests itself in the form "I know this," which involves an assumption of a knower (the soul), a knowable (the object), and knowledge (the act), and as such performs all its practical functions.

Gaṅgeśa, in opposing the above views, says that a particular kind of knowledge cannot by itself perform its practical functions, but is dependent upon another sort called self-consciousness (*anu-vyavasāya*) which enables it to perform the same. Our knowledge, continues Gaṅgeśa, arises in the form "this" or "pot," but not in the form "I know this" or "I know the pot"; and until it assumes the latter form no practical functions can be performed. He therefore lays down that after the origination of knowledge of the form "this" or "pot," there arises another knowledge called self-consciousness of the form "I know this" or "I know the pot," which performs all practical functions. This latter variety, called self-consciousness, arises through the intercourse of the previous knowledge with our mind. The intercourse is united-inherence (*samyukta-samavāya*), inasmuch as there is a union of the mind with the soul in which resided the previous knowledge in the relation of inherence. In fact the latter knowledge or self-consciousness is the mental (or internal) perception of the previous knowledge.

Immediate Perception—*Nirvikalpaka-vāda*.

Perception is of two kinds, *viz.* (1) the immediate, non-reflective or abstract (*nirvikalpaka*) and (2) the mediate, reflective or concrete (*savikalpaka*). The immediate is perception of an indeterminate character. It is perception of a subject and its generic nature as separate from each other, *e.g.* the perception of a mere "pot" or mere "potness" without any mutual connection.

Even the mere "pot" or mere "potness" is of the form "something" of which it is absurd to talk as a "pot" or "potness." On the intercourse of a sense with its object the first perception that takes place is immediate or non-reflective. It is supersensuous, that is, not cognisable by any of our senses, not even by the mind. It has been defined as knowledge which is devoid of all connection with name, generic nature, etc., which indicates no relation and involves no specification.

Mediate Perception—*Savikalpaka-vāda*.

The mediate or reflective perception is of a determinate character. It indicates a subject and its generic nature through their relation to each other, e.g. "this is a pot" where "potness" (the generic nature) abides in "this" (the subject) in the relation of inherence. The perception of the form "this is a pot" is therefore mediate or reflective.

The doctrine of mediate or reflective perception may be set forth as follows:—

Immediate perception—the perception of "pot" and "potness" as separate from each other.

Mediate perception—the perception of "potness" as abiding in "this" in the form "this is a pot."

Self-consciousness—the mental perception of the knowledge of "potness" as abiding in "this," in the form "I know this is a pot."

Book II.—Inference—*Anumāna-khaṇḍa*.

THE DETERMINATION OF INFERENTIAL KNOWLEDGE—*Anumiti-nirūpaṇa*.

Inferential knowledge (*anumiti*) is that knowledge which is derived through another kind of knowledge, viz. that the middle term, in invariable concomitance with the major term, abides in the minor term, e.g.

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Here "hill" is the minor term which is also called the subject, locus or side; "fire" is the major term, also called the predicate or probandum; and "smoke" is the middle term, also called the reason or mark. The knowledge of the form "the hill is full of smoke" is inferential knowledge inasmuch as it is derived through another kind of knowledge, viz. that of the smoke which, as being in invariable concomitance with fire, abides in the hill. This other knowledge, viz. that smoke, in invariable concomitance with fire, abides in the hill, is an instance of what is called

consideration, knowledge of premises or inference (parāmarśa or anu-māna). It is the intercourse or operation through which we arrive at the inferential knowledge. The whole process of arriving at that knowledge is also sometimes called inference.

Inference distinct from Perception.

Some say that perception is the only means of knowledge and that there is no separate means of knowledge called inference. Their reasons are as follows :—

- (1) There cannot be any knowledge of the invariable concomitance between the middle term and the major term ;
- (2) The middle term may be erratic owing to its connection with a condition accepted or disputed ; and
- (3) We often associate the middle term with the major term through a mere probability which involves no certainty.

Gaṅgeśa sets aside the above view by saying that there are other means of knowledge over and above perception, and that inference is at any rate one means of knowledge. The doctrine of invariable concomitance, etc., will be treated later. In support of inference as a means of knowledge it will suffice at present to observe the following arguments :—

1. One cannot establish the invalidity of an inference unless one *infers* the invalidity from the similarity of the inference with things previously known as invalid. This process presupposes inference as a means of knowledge.

2. The statement that “inference is not a means of knowledge” is of no use to an expert who is aware of the invalidity of inference. It may be advanced usefully before a suspicious or an erring person. Now, how are we to know that the person is in suspicion or error? It is certainly not through perception but through inference.

3. “Inference is not a means of knowledge”: is this statement valid or invalid? If it is valid, we must admit verbal testimony to be a means of knowledge. If on the other hand it is invalid, inference is to be admitted as a means of knowledge. Both the alternatives are incompatible with the opponent’s view.

4. Moreover if inference is not valid, perception, too, cannot be valid. The validity being an object of inference, how can we, in the absence of inference, ascertain the validity of perception? If again perception were by itself valid, then there could not arise any doubt about its validity.

Perception is, therefore, not the only means of knowledge, but inference also is one of the means.

Inferential knowledge having been based upon an invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term, it is

necessary to define the phrase “invariable concomitance.” In Sanskrit it is called *vyāpti* which is rendered by such expressions as pervasion, inseparable connection, perpetual attendance, constant co-presence, etc.

Five Provisional Definitions of Invariable Concomitance—*Vyāpti-pañcakam.*

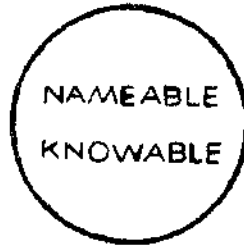
1. Invariable concomitance is the non-presence of the middle term in the locus of the non-existence of the major term, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Diagram I.



Diagram II.



Here smoke (the middle term) is absent from all regions outside the region of fire (the major term) as shown in diagram I. Gaṅgeśa observes that the definition is defective inasmuch as it does not apply to an exclusively affirmative inference, such as “all are nameable, because they are knowable”, illustrated in diagram II, in which outside the region of the nameable there is nothing from which the knowable may be absent.

Diagram III.



2. Invariable concomitance is the non-presence of the middle term in that locus of the non-existence of the major term which is not the locus of the major term itself, *e.g.*

This is occupied by the ape because it is the tree

Here "the tree" is the middle term, and "occupied by the ape" is the major term. In diagram III the tree is totally absent from the region not occupied by the ape. The part of the tree not occupied by the ape is excluded from the locus of the non-existence of the major term by the clause "which is not the locus of the major term itself." This definition too is defective, because it, like the previous one, does not apply to an exclusively affirmative inference.

3. Invariable concomitance is the non-co-presence of the middle term with that reciprocal non-existence whose counterpart abides in the locus of the major term, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

In diagram I. we find that smoke is not co-present with anything which is non-existent in reciprocity to fire. Water, book, cloth, table, etc., are all non-existent in their reciprocal relation to fire, that is, they are not fire.

Gaṅgeśa observes that this definition too is defective, as it does not cover the case of an exclusively affirmative inference. In diagram II. we find that there is no reciprocal non-existence whose counterpart is the region of the nameable.

4. Invariable concomitance is the state in which the middle term forms the counterpart of that non-existence which abides in the locus of the non-existence of the entire major term, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Here smoke forms the counterpart of the non-existence of smoke which abides in the region of the non-existence of entire fire.

According to Gaṅgeśa this definition is defective, as it fails to explain the case of an exclusively affirmative inference. In diagram II. we find that there is no non-existence of the knowable which abides in the region of the non-existence of the nameable.

5. Invariable concomitance is the non-presence of the middle term in what is not the locus of the major term, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire.
because it is full of smoke.

Here smoke is not present in anything which is not the abode of fire. This definition too, according to Gaṅgeśa, is defective, as it does not meet the case of an exclusively affirmative inference. In diagram II. we find that there is no non-presence of the know-

Definition of Invariable Concomitance given by "Lion" and "Tiger"—*Siṃha-vyāghroḱta-vyāptilakṣaṇa*.

1. Invariable concomitance is the state in which the middle term has not a locus in which there is the non-co-presence of the major term, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Here fire is always co-present with smoke in the locus of the latter. It never occurs that in the locus of smoke there is no fire.

2. Invariable concomitance is the state in which the middle term has not a locus which is different from the locus of the major term, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

The locus of smoke is never different from that of fire, that is, the former never extends beyond the latter.

Gaṅgeśa observes that both these definitions are defective, inasmuch as their import is to show that the middle term has not a locus which is also not the locus of the major term. On the contrary we find that the middle term has often a locus which is not the locus of the major term. For instance, smoke on a hill has a locus which is not the locus of fire in a kitchen.

Non-existence whose Counterpart is Qualified by a Nature abiding in a Different Locus—*Vyadhikaraṇa-dharmāvachchinnābhāvaḱ*.

Most of the definitions of invariable concomitance given above were defective inasmuch as they did not cover the case of an exclusively affirmative inference. They involved such phrases as "non-existence of the major term" and "difference of locus of the major term" which could not apply to an exclusively affirmative inference in which the major term was all-pervading. To make the "non-existence of the major term" and "difference of locus of the major term" possible, even in an exclusively affirmative inference, some logicians assume a non-existence whose counterpart is qualified by a nature abiding in a locus different from the counterpart. The expression "there is no fire possessing the nature of a pot" signifies that "there is non-existence of a fire as qualified by the nature of a pot" which, according to them, is quite correct inasmuch as the nature of a pot abides in the relation of inherence in a pot and not in fire. Similarly "there is no nameableness possessing the nature of a pot" signifies that "there is non-existence of nameableness as qualified by the nature of a pot." Though nameableness (major term) is all-pervading we have, they say, been able to talk of its non-existence by assuming the nature of a pot to abide in it (instead of it in the pot).

Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view in four ways :—(1) On the assumption of a non-existence of this form, invariable concomitance has to be defined as the state in which the middle term has not the co-presence with a non-existence whose counterpart is qualified by a nature which is the nature of the major term. This definition, in which the counterpart and the major term are identical, does not involve a non-existence of the form proposed. The definitions already condemned cannot also be defended by the assumption of this non-existence. (2) This sort of non-existence is not well known and cannot be established by any evidence. (3) The counterpart of the non-existence is said to be qualified by a quality which does not abide in it. This is impossible because our knowledge of non-existence depends on that of its counterpart as possessed of the nature (4) And to assert a non-existence of this form is as absurd as to say that there is no hare-horn (*śaśa-śṛṅga*) in a cow.

Other Objectionable Definitions of Invariable Concomitance—*Pūrvapakṣah.*

Gaṅgeśa examines and condemns twelve other definitions of invariable concomitance called objectionable definitions given by previous logicians.

The Conclusive Definition of Invariable Concomitance—*Siddhāntalakṣaṇam.*

Invariable concomitance is the co-presence of the middle term with the major term which is not qualified by the nature of the counterpart of that absolute non-existence, which abides in the same locus with the middle term, but abides in a different locus in respect of that counterpart. *e.g*

The hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Diagram IV.

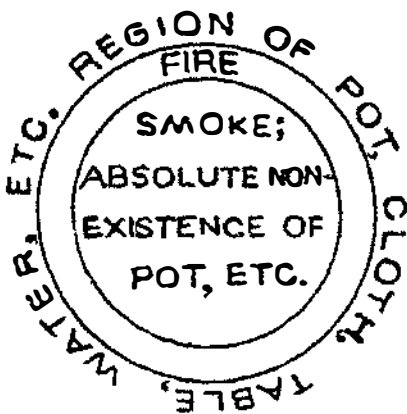
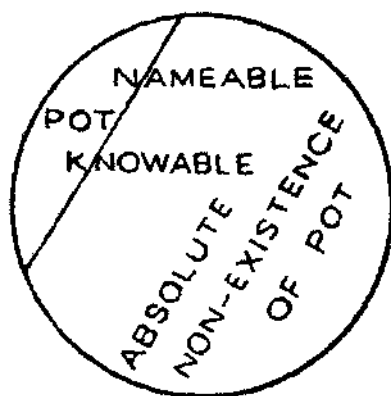


Diagram V.



Here there is co-presence of smoke (the middle term) with fire (the major term) which is not qualified by the nature of a pot, and the absolute non-existence, whose counterpart is the pot, abides in the same locus with smoke, but abides in a different locus in respect of the pot.

This definition covers the case of an exclusively affirmative inference inasmuch as it does not involve a non-existence of the major term, and the major term is not the counterpart of that non-existence which abides in the same locus with the middle term. Looking at diagram V, we find that there is co-presence of the knowable with the nameable which is not qualified by the nature of a pot (though the pot is qualified by the nature of the nameable), and the absolute non-existence, whose counterpart is the pot, abides in the same locus with the knowable, but in a different locus in respect of the pot.

Non-existence of the General Form—*Sāmānyābhāvaḥ*.

Some say that even the conclusive definition given above is defective inasmuch as in seeking to establish the invariable concomitance of smoke with fire we notice that fires are manifold owing to the difference of their loci, *e.g.* the fire of a kitchen, of a sacrificial ground, and so on. There is non-existence of these fires, except one, in the locus of a particular case of smoke. This, by making fire the counterpart of that non-existence which abides in the same locus with smoke, altogether upsets the conclusive definition.

Gaṅgeśa in reply says that though in the locus of smoke there is the non-existence of various fires, the natures which qualify the counterparts of those non-existences are not one and the same, *viz.* the nature of fire in general. They are different, that is, particular fires have particular natures, as for instance, the nature of the fire of a kitchen is different from that of the fire of a sacrificial ground, and so on. It is therefore necessary to admit a non-existence of fire of the general form—such as ‘there is no fire’ distinguished from non-existences of particular forms as ‘there are not such and such fires’. A non-existence of the general form is the non-existence whose counterpart is not of a particular nature. Had the non-existence of the general form been a name merely for the sum total of particular non-existences then there would not have arisen in us a doubt of the form—‘is not there a colour in air?’ It is perfectly known to us that in air there are no particular colours as red, yellow, etc.; yet we entertain a doubt in our mind as to whether there is not in air a non-existence of colour of the general form.

invariable Concomitance of Special Forms—*Viśeṣa-vyāptih.*

It is to be admitted that there is non-existence of the fire of a hill in the locus of smoke of a sacrificial ground, and there is non-existence of the fire of a sacrificial ground in the locus of smoke of a hill. There is no invariable concomitance of smoke with fire if the two occupy different loci, that is, if the locus of smoke is different from that of the fire. But nobody can deny the invariable concomitance of smoke with fire if the two occupy the same locus, e.g. there is an invariable concomitance of smoke of a hill with the fire of the same. Though there is no invariable concomitance of all cases of smoke with all cases of fire, there is the concomitance of particular cases of smoke with their corresponding fires. The comprehensive connection of smoke with fire is not, by this particular concomitance, disturbed, for there is no smoke without fire.

This sort of invariable concomitance, called the invariable concomitance of special forms, may be defined as follows:—

1. Invariable concomitance is the co-presence of the middle term with the major term which is different from the counterpart of that absolute non-existence which does not abide in the locus of that counterpart, but abides with the middle term in the latter's own locus.
2. Invariable concomitance is the co-presence of the middle term with the major term, the locus of which is different from that of the counterpart of the reciprocal non-existence which abides in the locus of the middle term.
3. Invariable concomitance is the connection of the middle term with the major term which is different from the counterpart of that reciprocal non-existence which abides in the same locus with the middle term.
4. Invariable concomitance may also be defined as the co-presence of the middle term with the major term when there is no condition attached to the middle term.
5. Invariable concomitance is the co-presence of the middle term with the major term which co-abides with that absolute existence whose counterpart is that which is qualified by the nature of the counterpart of the absolute non-existence abiding in the same locus with the middle term.
6. Invariable concomitance is the possession of that nature which establishes the connection (that is, brings about the co-presence) of the middle term with the major term.

The Means of Apprehending Invariable Concomitance—*Vyāpti-grahopāyah.*

Some logicians maintain that repeated observations of one thing as accompanying another thing are the means of appre-

hending invariable concomitance of the one with the other, e.g. we apprehend the invariable concomitance of smoke with fire after we have observed repeatedly that the one accompanies the other.

Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view on the following grounds :—

(1) Of the repeated observations each one separately cannot be the cause of apprehension of invariable concomitance owing to lack of unity among the observations. As the successive observations perish quickly there is nothing which unites them together to cause in us an apprehension of invariable concomitance. The impression left in our mind by the past observations are no doubt competent to produce recollection and recognition of equal things, but they cannot produce apprehension of invariable concomitance which involves unequal things such as occurrence of smoke in a kitchen, a sacrificial ground, a hill, etc.

(2) What again is the meaning of repeated observations? Does it mean observation in numerous places, or observation of numerous instances, or observation of the same instance numerous times? None of these alternatives are of any help to us in apprehending invariable concomitance. Can we establish invariable concomitance of colour with savour, even if we have observed them together in numerous places? Can numerous instances of colour observed along with savour in the same place (as a pot) entitle us to establish invariable concomitance between them? As regards the observation of an instance numerous times, it may be asked how many times? There is certainly no fixity as to the number of times. There cannot in fact be an invariable concomitance of a pen with the floor even if they have been observed together a hundred times.

2. Some other logicians say that a reasoning (*tarka*) coupled with the observation of co-accompaniment (*sahacāra*) is the means of our apprehending invariable concomitance. For instance, smoke is in invariable concomitance with fire inasmuch as we observe the former co-accompanied by the latter; and by applying our reasoning we further find that had there been no inseparable connection between smoke and fire, we could have seen the former without the latter, but as such a contingency is an absurdity, there is certainly an invariable concomitance of smoke with fire.

According to Gaṅgeśa the above view is untenable inasmuch as a reasoning, being itself based on an apprehension of invariable concomitance, cannot be the cause of the same. Unless a person apprehends the invariable concomitance of one thing with another thing, his reasoning, which is to reveal the absurdity of all contrary apprehensions, cannot come into operation. We could argue *ad infinitum* without being able to ascertain whether reasoning

preceded the apprehension of invariable concomitance, or the latter preceded the former.'

Conclusion as to the Means of Apprehending Invariable Concomitance—*Vyāptigrahopāya-siddhānta*.

The observation of co-accompaniment attended with the absence of knowledge of exceptions is the means of apprehending invariable concomitance, e.g. there is invariable concomitance of smoke with fire as the former constantly accompanies the latter without any exceptions.

The knowledge of exceptions may assume the form of a certainty or doubt. In the former alternative we cannot at all apprehend invariable concomitance, and in the latter there is great difficulty in apprehending it. Doubt arises from two sources, viz. sometimes from the suspicion of a condition (*upādhi*) and sometimes from the recognition of common properties and non-recognition of special properties. As an instance of the latter source we may point out a tall object which in the twilight produces in us a doubt as to whether it is a man or a post, because we recognize in it tallness which is the common property of a man and a post without the recognition of locomotion, etc., which are the special properties of a man. As an instance of the former source, we may cite the case of a fire which, if wet fuel is attached to it as a condition, may be inseparably connected with smoke. In asserting the invariable concomitance of smoke with fire¹ we are therefore in doubt as to whether wet fuel is not a condition.

In certain instances the doubt does not arise at all on account of absence of such defects as myopia, long distance, etc. In certain other instances the doubt is removed by the employment of reasoning. For instance, our doubt as to whether there is invariable concomitance of fire with smoke, is removed by reasoning as follows: Had fire constantly accompanied smoke there would have been smoke in a red-hot iron-ball; but in it there is fire and no smoke; so there is no invariable concomitance of fire with smoke (but there is that of smoke with fire).

The reasoning which is to remove doubt, is to be carried on only as long as the doubt is not removed. The charge of *regressus ad infinitum* brought against the reasoning employed to establish invariable concomitance, does not apply to the present case, in which reasoning ceases with the disappearance of doubt, and does not continue up to the commencement of the processes establishing invariable concomitance.

¹ There is invariable concomitance of smoke with fire but not of fire with smoke: that is, wherever there is smoke there is fire, but, not, *vice versa*.

Reasoning (or Confutation)—*Tarka*.

The processes of reasoning (or confutation) may be illustrated as follows :—

Interrogation.—Can smoke abide without fire?

Reasoning.—If smoke could abide without fire, it would not have been a product of fire

Re-interrogation.—Is smoke a product of fire?

Reasoning.—If smoke were produced neither from fire nor from non-fire, then it would have been a non-product. But it is not so.

Doubt.—Smoke then may have been produced either from fire or without a cause.

Incompatibility.—Why a person, who thus indulges in doubt, is nevertheless led on to activity? If he doubts whether an effect may or may not be produced without a cause, why does he seek for a fire to obtain smoke, and for food to get satisfaction? His own activity indicates that he is well aware of the connection between a cause and its effect. Why does he then entertain doubt? It is incompatible with his own activity. There is no doubt that smoke as an effect cannot be produced without a cause. Smoke is in fact a product of fire without which it cannot abide.

Comprehensiveness of Invariable Concomitance—*Vyāptyanugamaḥ*.

Comprehensiveness (*anugama*) is the nature which exhibits in one form all the various kinds of invariable concomitance previously defined. The invariable concomitance involving reciprocal non-existence is a comprehensive one, and is on account of shortness to be accepted as the cause of inference. Of the five provisional definitions of invariable concomitance the third and the fifth, and of those of the invariable concomitance of a special form, the second and the third involve reciprocal non-existence. The conclusive definition of invariable concomitance may also be so modified as to involve reciprocal non-existence. Of these the third definition of the invariable concomitance of a special form is very short by far.

Intercourse whose Character is General—*Sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*.

We observed that there is invariable concomitance of smoke of a kitchen with fire of the same, and similarly there is invariable concomitance of smoke of a sacrificial ground with fire of the same. Though we thus observe that there is invariable concomitance of particular cases of smoke with particular cases of fire, we cannot infer fire on a hill by seeing smoke there, until we can establish the invariable concomitance of all cases of smoke with

all cases of fire. We can establish the invariable concomitance of all cases of smoke with all cases of fire, if we assume the knowledge of "smokeness" (the generic nature of smoke) as the intercourse for our perception of all cases of smoke, and the knowledge of "fire-ness" (the generic nature of fire) as the intercourse for our perception of all cases of fire. This sort of intercourse which consists of the knowledge of a generic nature is called an intercourse whose character is general. It is described by some logicians as an ordinary intercourse of particularity, while others describe it as a transcendent intercourse. The logicians, who hold the first view, say that in perceiving a particular smoke by means of our eye there is the intercourse of union, while in perceiving "smokeness" there is the intercourse of united-inherence, and in perceiving all cases of smoke (at all times and in all places) through the knowledge of "smokeness" there is the intercourse of particularity. All these cases of intercourse are ordinary ones

The logicians, who hold the second view, say that in the perception as a particular smoke and "smokeness" there are no doubt ordinary intercourses of union and united-inherence respectively, but in the perception of all cases of smoke through the knowledge of "smokeness" the intercourse is a transcendent one. It cannot be an ordinary intercourse because of all cases of smoke the present ones can be perceived by our eyes independent of the knowledge of "smokeness," while the past and future cases of smoke with which our eyes are not connected, cannot be perceived at all through any of the six ordinary intercourses. Therefore the intercourse, *viz.* the knowledge of "smokeness", through which we perceive all cases of smoke, is a transcendent one whose character is general. Hence the apprehension of invariable concomitance of a particular case of smoke with a particular case of fire refers through the intercourse whose character is general to all cases of smoke and all cases of fire.

Conclusion about the Intercourse whose Character is General.—
Sāmānya-lakṣaṇa-siddhāntaḥ.

If the intercourse, whose character is general, were not accepted, there could not arise any doubt as to whether there were instances in which smoke (the middle term) did not accompany fire (the major term). As to the cases of smoke which were present, we could perceive their co-accompaniment with cases of fire, and they could leave no room for doubt regarding any case of exception. As for the past and future cases of smoke, or the cases of smoke of distant places, we could not know them as they were beyond the range of our eyes. In the absence of knowledge of those cases of smoke it would be impossible for us to entertain any doubt as to whether they constantly accompanied fire. Doubt

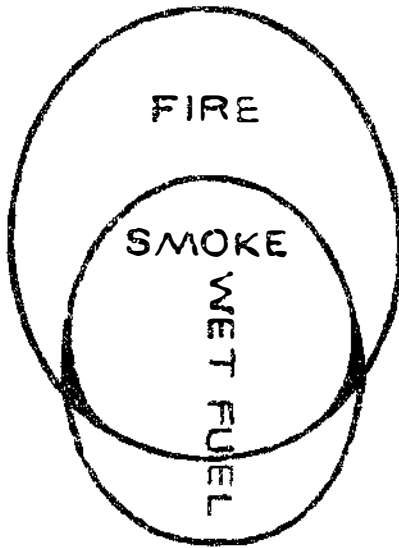
being impossible, there could not be any reasoning employed to remove it. Hence we could not apprehend an invariable concomitance. But if the intercourse whose character is general, is admitted, we can explain the perception of all cases of smoke through the intercourse of "smokeness." It is possible for doubt to arise in respect of some of these cases of smoke through non-recognition of their special properties. We must therefore admit intercourse whose character is general.

The Conditional Middle Term—*Upādhi-vādaḥ*.

The middle term, if it is to be in invariable concomitance with the major, should be devoid of condition, that is, should be unconditional. A condition (*upādhi*) is that which constantly accompanies the major term, but does not always accompany the middle term, e.g.

The hill is full of smoke,
because it is full of fire (nourished by wet fuel).

Diagram VI.



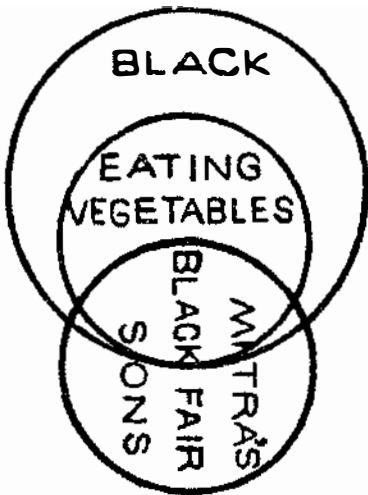
Here smoke is the major term, fire is the middle term and wet fuel is a condition. The wet fuel constantly accompanies smoke, but does not always accompany fire. For instance, the fire in an ignited iron-ball is not accompanied by wet fuel at all.

“Accompanying the major term” signifies the state of not being the counterpart of that absolute non-existence which abides in the locus of the major term, that is, the state of not being absent from the locus of the major term. “Not accompanying the middle term” is the state of being the counterpart of that absolute non-existence which abides in the locus of the middle term, that is, the state of being absent from the locus of the

middle term. In diagram VI. "wet fuel" is not absent from the region of smoke, but it is present in some regions of fire and absent from the remaining regions of the same.

"Mitrā has many sons of whom one is black, and the rest fair-complexioned. The son conceived at a time when Mitrā ate vegetables, is black, but other sons that were conceived while she did not eat vegetables but drank milk, are fair-complexioned." In diagram VII. we find that "eating vegetable" is a condition which accompanies Mitrā's black son, but does not accompany her fair-complexioned sons.

Diagram VII.



He is black,
because he is a son of Mitrā
(who eats vegetables).

Some say that "eating vegetables" is not a condition inasmuch as it does not always accompany blackness; for instance, the blackness of a pot is not the result of eating vegetables. Gaṅgeśa meets the objection by saying that the blackness marking Mitrā's son is not of the same nature as the blackness which abides in a pot. A "condition" is, according to him, to be clearly defined as follows:—

A condition is that which constantly accompanies the major term, but does not always accompany the middle term, in respect of an entity of a fixed nature.

Condition is of two kinds, viz. (1) sure, and (2) suspected. A condition is said to be "sure" when we know with certainty that it constantly accompanies the major term, but does not always accompany the middle term; and it is said to be "suspected" when there is doubt as to its accompanying the major term or as to its not accompanying the middle term. An instance of a suspected condition is given below:—

The earth has a maker,
because it is a product (caused by a body).

Here "caused by a body" is a condition which constantly accompanies a maker (if the maker is a person, but not if the maker

is a collection of atoms), but does not always accompany a product (for instance, a product like a pot is caused by a body, but a product like a lightning is not so caused). The condition, *viz.* "causing by a body", is therefore a suspected one.

A condition is not in itself a defect, but its attachment to the middle term indicates that that term is erratic and the conclusion drawn therefrom wrong.

The State of Being the Locus or Minor Term—*Pakṣatā*.

The state of being the locus or the minor term (*pakṣatā*) has been defined by some logicians as the state in which it is doubtful whether the major term abides in it or not. Seeing that the connection of the major term with the locus or minor term, may not necessarily involve a doubt, Gaṅgeśa prefers to define the minor term as that whose connection with the major term is not known with certainty in consequence of the absence of a desire to know the connection. *E.g.* in the proposition "the hill is full of fire", the hill is the minor term whose connection with fire was hitherto neither investigated nor known. The minor term is so named not merely if there is an absence of knowledge of its connection with the major term, but also if the absence of knowledge is due to the absence of a desire to arrive at the knowledge. We cannot treat the minor term as such merely by establishing with it a connection of the major term if that connection has already been known, but we shall be justified in treating it as the minor term if there is in us a desire again to establish the connection.

A homologue, a similar locus, a homogeneous affirmative or positive example (*sapakṣa*), is that in which the major term is known with certainty to abide, *e.g.* the hill is full of fire, because it is full of smoke, as a *kitchen*.

A heterologue, a dissimilar locus, a heterogeneous or negative example (*vipakṣa*), is that in which the major term is known not to abide, *e.g.* the hill is full of fire, because it is full of smoke: where there is no fire, there is no smoke, as a *lake*.

Consideration or Knowledge of Premises—*Parāmarśaḥ*.

Consideration (*parāmarśaḥ*) is the knowledge that the middle term, in invariable concomitance with the major term, abides in the minor, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire.
because it is full of smoke.

Here consideration consists of the knowledge that in the hill abides smoke which is in invariable concomitance with fire. This knowledge (consideration) is the cause of inference.

The ancients held that smoke actually perceived together with the knowledge that it is in invariable concomitance with fire was the cause of inference. But Gāṅgeśa opposes this view by saying that if smoke actually perceived were the cause, then inference could not take place from smoke that had been destroyed or that had not yet arisen. On hearing that there *will be* smoke here, a person can at once infer that there *will be* fire here, although he does not actually perceive the smoke which is not present. It is therefore not smoke itself but the knowledge of it that is the cause of the inference. In other words, the middle term actually perceived together with the knowledge that it is in invariable concomitance with fire, is not the cause of inference, but consideration or knowledge that in the minor term abides the middle term which is, in invariable concomitance with the major term, such a cause.

An Exclusively Affirmative Inference—*Kevalānvayyanumānam*.

Inference is of three kinds, *viz.* (1) an exclusively affirmative inference (*kevalānvayyanumānam*), (2) an exclusively negative inference (*kevalavyatirekyanumānam*), and (3) an affirmative negative inference (*anvaya-vyatirekyanumānam*).

The exclusively affirmative is an inference in which there is no negative example. It may also be defined as an inference in which the major term is not the counterpart of that absolute non-existence which has an abode; or, as an inference in which there is no non-presence of the major term, *e.g.*

This is nameable,
because it is knowable—(*vide* diagram II).

An Exclusively Negative Inference—*Kevalavyatirekyanumānam*.

An exclusively negative inference is the inference in which the major term has no affirmative example. It may also be defined as the inference in which the major term does not abide in anything else but in the minor term, *e.g.*

Diagram VIII.



An Affirmative-Negative Inference.

The affirmative-negative is an inference in which the major term has both affirmative and negative examples, *e.g.*

The hill is full of fire.
because it is full of smoke,
as a kitchen and not as a lake.

Presumption—*Arthāpatti*.

The Mīmāṃsakas say that presumption (*arthāpatti*) is a separate means of knowledge. On hearing that “Devadatta, who is fat, does not eat in the day”, we at once conclude that he eats in the night. Since a person cannot become fat unless he eats either in the day or in the night, and, since he does not eat in the day, it follows by presumption that he eats in the night.

Gaṅgeśa does not admit presumption to be a separate means of knowledge, but includes it in the negative inference¹ which establishes the absence of the middle term through the absence of the major term. Here the absence of eating in the night would have been followed by the absence of that fatness which is attended with non-eating in the day.

Inference for One's Self—*Svārthānumāna*.

Inference is of two kinds: (1) inference for one's self (*svārthānumāna*) and (2) inference for the sake of others (*parārthānumāna*). A person having himself repeatedly observed in the kitchen and other places the invariable concomitance of smoke with fire, goes near a hill and sees smoke on it. He recollects that, wherever there is smoke, there is fire, and thereupon knowledge arises in him that “this hill has smoke which is in invariable concomitance with fire.” This knowledge is called “consideration of the sign” (*liṅgaparāmarśa*) or simply “consideration” (*parāmarśa*), from which follows the knowledge that “this hill has fire”, which is called inferential conclusion (*anumiti*). This is the process of inference for one's self.

Inference for the sake of Others—*Parārthānumāna*.

When a person, having inferred fire from smoke, demonstrates it to others by the employment of a syllogism, it is called “an inference for the sake of others.” The process of this inference is as follows:—

¹ A person to be fat must take his food either in the day or in the night—(A proposition)

Devadatta, who is fat, does not take his food in the day—(E proposition).

Therefore Devadatta must take his food in the night. (This is a disjunctive categorical syllogism.)

- (1) The hill is full of fire,
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) All that is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.
- (4) This hill is full of smoke.
- (5) Therefore this hill is full of fire

The demonstration given above produces in other people "consideration of the sign", which necessarily makes them admit that the hill has fire.

Syllogism—*Nyāyah*.

Syllogism (*nyāya*) is the name for a collection of five sentences which give rise to knowledge that produces consideration. It is set forth as follows:—

- (1) This hill is full of fire—*Proposition*
- (2) Because it is full of smoke—*Reason*.
- (3) All that is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen—*Example*.
- (4) This hill is full of smoke—*Application*
- (5) Therefore this hill is full of fire—*Conclusion*

After these five sentences have been employed there arises in the mind of the listener consideration of the form, 'this hill is full of smoke, which is in invariable concomitance with fire', from which follows the conclusion, "this hill is full of fire." Syllogism is therefore the name for the entire collection of these five sentences, each of which is called a part or member.

Parts of a Syllogism—*Avayavah*.

A part or member (*avayavah*) is a sentence that gives rise to knowledge which contributes to the production of an entire knowledge which produces consideration. On the employment of the five sentences there arises, at first, knowledge from each of them separately. Then arises collective knowledge from the five sentences combined together. This collective knowledge which produces consideration is based on each of the five sentences called a part or member. The parts are five, *viz.* (1) the proposition, (2) the reason, (3) the example, (4) the application, and (5) the conclusion.

The Proposition—*Pratijñā*.

The proposition (*pratijñā*) is a sentence which causes knowledge, whose object is the same as that of the conclusion and which contributes to the production of the entire knowledge which produces consideration, *e.g.*

This hill is full of fire.

It may also be defined as a sentence which gives rise to an inquiry necessitating the mention of the reason, *e.g.* this hill is full of fire. (Why so? because it is smoky.)

The Reason or Middle Term—*Hetuh*.

The reason or middle term (*hetuh*) is a word, with the instrumental or ablative suffix attached to it, which produces knowledge whose object is not the *probandum* (major term) but which contributes to the production of the entire knowledge that gives rise to consideration, *e.g.* because it is full of smoke (*i.e.* by or from smokiness).

The reason is of two kinds. (1) the affirmative (*anvayī*) and (2) the negative (*vyatirekī*). The affirmative reason is a member with the instrumental or ablative suffix attached to it, which produces knowledge that necessitates the mention of the member expressive of an affirmative invariable concomitance, *e.g.* because it has smoke (*i.e.* by or from "smokiness"), all that has smoke has fire, as a kitchen. The negative reason is a member with the instrumental or ablative suffix attached to it, which produces knowledge that necessitates the mention of the member expressive of a negative invariable concomitance, *e.g.* because it has smoke, (*i.e.* by or from "smokiness"), all that has no fire has no smoke, as a lake.

Example—*udāharaṇam*

The example (*udāharaṇam*) is a word which, while producing knowledge of connection of the form that the locus of the middle term is constantly occupied by the major term, causes another knowledge which proceeds from the sentence expressive of consideration,¹ *e.g.*

All that has smoke has fire, as a kitchen,
[So this hill has smoke].

Application—*upanayaḥ*.

The application (*upanayaḥ*) is a member which produces consideration, *e.g.* All that has smoke has fire, this hill too has smoke.

Conclusion—*Nigamanam*.

Conclusion (*nigamanam*) is a sentence which, while causing the knowledge which gives rise to consideration, produces knowledge of the major term as indicated by that of the middle term through its invariable concomitance with the major term and

¹ *i.e.* application (*upanayaḥ*), the sentence expressive of consideration.

its nature of abiding in the minor term, *e.g.* In this hill there is smoke, which is in invariable concomitance with fire. Therefore in this hill there is fire, or therefore this hill is full of fire.

Fallacies—*Hetvābhāsāḥ*.

A General Definition of Fallacy—*Hetvābhāsa-sāmānya-niruktiḥ*.

A person can ascertain truths and achieve victory by exposing fallacies in the argument of his opponent. It is therefore necessary to define a fallacy, which in Sanskrit is called *hetvābhāsa*, a semblance of reason, a fallacy of reason or a fallacious reason.

A fallacy is an object of knowledge which obstructs an inference. It is in brief a defective reason. There are five kinds of fallacy or defective reason, viz. (1) the erratic or uncertain (*savyabhicāra* or *anaikānta*), (2) the contradictory (*viruddha*), (3) the counterbalanced (*satpratipakṣita*), (4) the unproved or inconclusive (*asiddha*), and (5) the incompatible (*bādhita*). The defects involved in the above reasons are respectively the following:—(1) the erraticalness or uncertainty (*vyabhicāra*), (2) contradiction (*virodha*), (3) counterbalance (*satpratipakṣa*), (4) absence of proof or inclusiveness (*asiddhi*), and (5) incompatibility, (*bādhā*).

The Erratic Reason—*Savyabhicārah*.

The erratic (*savyabhicāra*) is a reason or middle term in which abides a character, the possession of which causes that presence of two alternatives which produces doubt in the *probandum* or major term. The nature refers to the constant accompaniment with, or absence from, both the major term and its non-existence. The erratic reason is subdivided into (1) that which is too general (*sādhāraṇa*), (2) that which is non-general or not general enough (*asādhāraṇa*), and (3) that which is non-exclusive (*anupasaṃhārī*).

A reason is said to be *too general*, if it abides in the locus of the major term as well as in that of its absence, *e.g.*

This hill is full of smoke,
because it is full of fire.

Here the reason “fire” abides in the region of smoke (as in a kitchen) as well as in the region of the absence of smoke (as in an ignited iron-ball).

A reason is said to be *non-general* or *not general enough*, if it abides neither in the locus of the major term nor in that of its absence, *e.g.*

This hill is full of smoke,
because it is full of ether

Here the reason is ether, which has no locus. Ether abides neither in the locus of fire nor in that of the absence of fire.

A reason is said to be *non-exclusive*, if it is destitute of an example, whether affirmative or negative, *e.g.*

All things are impermanent,
because they are knowable.

Here we cannot cite any example, as “all things” is the subject.

The Contradictory Reason—*Viruddhaḥ*.

The contradictory (*viruddhaḥ*) is a reason which is the counterpart of that non-existence which constantly accompanies the major term, *e.g.*

This hill is full of fire,
because it is full of water.

Here the reason is contradictory, inasmuch as water is the counterpart of the *non-existence of water*, which constantly accompanies fire.

The contradictory may also be defined as a reason (middle term) which is constantly accompanied by the absence of the *probandum*, major term.

The Counterbalanced Reason—*Satpratipakṣitaḥ*

If, at the time of the consideration of a reason which seeks to establish the *existence* of the *probandum* or major term, there occurs the consideration of another reason which seeks to establish the *non-existence* of that term, the first reason is a counterbalanced one,—in fact, *both* the reasons are counterbalanced, *e.g.*

One reason—Sound is eternal, because it is audible.

Opposite reason—Sound is non-eternal, because it is a product.

In the above instances, as consideration of both the sides prevails, there is no real inference. The inference from one reason being of as much force as that from the other reason, the two inferences neutralize each other.

The Unproved Reason—*Asiddhaḥ*.

The unproved (*asiddhaḥ*) reason is of three kinds: (1) unproved on the part of its locus or the subject (*āśrayāsiddhaḥ*), (2) unproved with regard to its own nature (*svarūpāsiddhaḥ*), and (3) unproved in respect of accompaniment (*vyāpyatvāsiddhaḥ*).

(1) A reason is said to be unproved on the part of its locus, if the characteristic distinguishing the locus does not belong to it, *e.g.*

This golden hill is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Here the reason "smoke" is unproved, as its locus is unreal, on account of the "goldenness" not belonging to a hill.

(2) A reason is said to be unproved with regard to its own nature, if it does not abide in the locus or minor term, *e.g.*

The lake is full of fire,
because it is full of smoke.

Here the reason is unproved, as smoke from its very nature does not abide in a lake.

(3) A reason is said to be unproved in respect of constant accompaniment, if its generic nature is not useful in establishing its invariable concomitance with the major term. It is subdivided as follows:—

(a) Unproved on the part of the major term (*sādhyāsiddhi*) which occurs when there is a useless adjective appended to that term, *e.g.*

This hill is full of golden fire,
because it is full of smoke.

"Golden" is useless.

(b) Unproved on the part of the reason (*hetvasiddhi*) which occurs when there is a useless adjective appended to it, *e.g.*

This hill is full of fire,
because it is full of blue smoke.

"Blue" is useless.

(c) Unproved in respect of invariable concomitance (*vyāptya-siddhi*) which occurs when there is a condition attached to the reason, *e.g.*

This hill is full of smoke,
because it is full of fire nourished by wet fuel (which is a condition attached to the reason).

The Incompatible Reason—*Bādhitaḥ*.

An incompatible reason (*bādhitaḥ*) occurs when there is the knowledge that the major term, which is assigned to the minor term, does not really abide in it, *e.g.*

Fire is cold,
because it is a substance.

The incompatible reason, which is of ten kinds, occurs under the following circumstances:—

(1) The minor term being incompatible with perception (*pakṣaḥ nratuakṣa-bādhitaḥ*). *e.g.*

A pot is all-pervading,
because it is existent.

- (2) The minor term being incompatible with inference (*pakṣaḥ anumāna-bādhitaḥ*), e.g.

An atom has parts,
because it has a shape.

An atom has in fact no shape and no parts.

- (3) The minor term being incompatible with verbal testimony (*pakṣaḥ śabda-bādhitaḥ*), e.g.

The golden mountain (Meru) is stony
because it is a mountain.

- (4) The minor term being incompatible with perception which establishes the counterpart of the major term (*pakṣaḥ sādhyā-pratīyogī-pratyakṣa-bādhitaḥ*), e.g.

Fire is non-warm,
because it is a product.

- (5) The minor term being incompatible with the inference which establishes the counterpart of the major term (*pakṣaḥ sādhyā-pratīyogy anumāna-bādhitaḥ*), e.g.

Sound is inaudible,
because it is a quality (of ether).

- (6) The minor term being incompatible with comparison which establishes the counterpart of the major term (*pakṣaḥ sādhyā-pratīyogy upamāna-bādhitaḥ*), e.g.

Bos-gavaeus-ness is not the connotation of the term
bos-gavaeus,
because it is a general notion.

- (7) The minor term being incompatible with the evidence which is analogous to the evidence that establishes the major term (*pakṣaḥ sādhyā-grāhaka-pramāṇa-jātīya-pramāṇa-viruddhaḥ*), e.g.

The skull of a deceased person is pure,
because it is the limb of a being that had life, as a
conch-shell.

[The scripture declares a conch-shell to be pure but not the skull of a deceased person.]

- (8) The minor term being incompatible with perception which establishes the middle term (*pakṣaḥ hetu-grāhaka-pratyakṣa-bādhitaḥ*), e.g.

Water and air are warm,
because they are possessed of touch, unlike that of the
earth.

- (9) The minor term being incompatible with inference which establishes the middle term (*pakṣaḥ hetu-grāhaka-numāna-bādhitah*), e.g.

The mind is all-pervading,
because it is a seat of union which is a non-coexistent cause of knowledge.

- (10) The minor term being incompatible with verbal testimony which establishes the middle term (*pakṣaḥ hetu-grāhaka-śabda-bādhitah*), e.g.

The Rājasūya sacrifice should be celebrated by Brāhmanas,
because it is the means of conquering heaven.

[From verbal testimony the Rājasūya sacrifice is ascertained to be a duty of the Kṣatriyas and not of the Brāhmaṇas].

Fallacies are serviceable as they point out Inefficiency—*Hetvābhāsānām-asādhakatā-sādhalatva-nirūpaṇam.*

A fallacy when exposed is a good reply to an opponent, whose argument is thus pointed out to be inefficient. Quibbles and far-fetched analogies are not good replies as they are of no use in this respect. Far-fetched analogies are moreover self-destructive.

Inference of God—*Īśvarānumānam.*

By inference we can prove the existence of God, the Maker of the universe. The inference employed for this purpose is as follows :—

The universe has a maker,
because it is a product, as a pot.

The causes which operate in the case of a product may be stated thus :—

There must be (1) a direct knowledge (perception) by an agent himself of the materials which constitute a product, (2) a desire on the part of the agent to make it, and (3) an act of making it.

For instance, in making a product called a pot there are in the potter, (1) a perception of the pieces that constitute a pot, (2) a desire on his part to make it, and (3) his actual making of it.

Similarly in the case of a product called a binary atomic compound (*dvyanuka*) there must be (1) perception by an agent of the atoms which constitute the compound, (2) a desire in him to make it, (3) and his actual making of it. Now atoms are supersensuous, and, as such, cannot be perceived by man. Hence the maker of the binary atomic compound is an agent, who is not man but God.

Book III. Comparison—*Upamāna-khaṇḍa*.

A man, who does not know the signification of the word *bos-gavaeus*, hearing from an elder that the word *bos-gavaeus* signifies an animal which is like a cow, goes into a forest where he sees an animal like a cow. Recollecting the instructive assertion of the elder, he institutes a comparison by which he arrives at the conclusion that the animal which he sees is the thing signified by the word *bos-gavaeus*. The means by which this conclusion has been arrived at is called comparison (*upamāna*). This means is the knowledge of likeness between a cow and a *bos-gavaeus*. The word comparison is ordinarily taken to signify the whole process.

The intercourse or operation (*vyāpāra*), in the case of comparison, consists in the recollection of the instructive assertion of the elder, *viz.* that the word *bos-gavaeus* signifies an animal which is like a cow. The result of comparison (*upamiti*) is the knowledge of the relation of a name to something so named.

The Mīmāṃsikas maintain that likeness (*sādrśya*) is a distinct object which is not included in the seven categories of the Vaiśeṣikas. The signification of the word *bos-gavaeus* is, according to them, an animal which possesses likeness to a cow. Gaṅgeśa opposes this view by saying that it is cumbersome. A thing is said to bear likeness to another thing, if it, while possessing the special property of the latter thing, is different from the same in the generic nature. Such being the definition of likeness, we have to admit an infinite number of likenesses corresponding to the thing to which they refer. The real signification of the word *bos-gavaeus*, according to Gaṅgeśa, is not an animal which possesses likeness to a cow but an animal which possesses the generic nature of a *bos-gavaeus* (that is, which is a type of all *bos-gavaeus*). Hence the result of comparison consists of knowledge of the relation between the word *bos-gavaeus* and the animal which possesses the generic nature of a *bos-gavaeus*.

Some say that the knowledge of the signification of the word *bos-gavaeus* is derived through perception. This is absurd. Though the relation between the word *bos-gavaeus* and the animal called *bos-gavaeus* may be perceived in a particular case with which our eyes are in union, it is impossible for us to perceive such a relation in other cases which are beyond our eyes. Therefore the knowledge of signification of the word *bos-gavaeus* is not derived through perception, but through a separate means of knowledge, called comparison.

Neither can the knowledge of signification of the word *bo-*
gavaeus be derived through inference, inas-
 Comparison is not infer- much as in the case of comparison know-
 ence. ledge is derived through the knowledge
 of likeness, independent of knowledge of invariable concomi-
 tance which is indispensable to an inference. Moreover in the
 case of knowledge derived through comparison there is in us a
 self-consciousness of the form "I compare", but not of the form
 "I infer."

Book IV. Verbal Testimony—*Śabda-khaṇḍa*.

Definition of Verbal Testimony—*Śabda-nirūpaṇam*.

Speech¹ (*śabda*) is a means of valid knowledge if it is uttered
 by a person as an outcome of the true knowledge of its meaning.
e.g. the speech, the *horse runs*, is a means of valid knowledge if
 it has been uttered by a person who knows its meaning. The
 means by which or the process through which the valid knowledge
 is derived is called verbal testimony (*śabda-pramāṇam*). A speech
 uttered by a person who does not know its meaning may produce
 knowledge the validity of which is uncertain.

Verbal Knowledge—*Śabda-bodhaḥ*.

Any knowledge derived from a speech is called verbal know-
 ledge (*śabda bodhaḥ*). It is the knowledge of the mutual connection
 of things signified by words which possess expectancy, consis-
 tency, contiguity and potentiality, and convey intention. The
 process through which verbal knowledge is produced is described
 as follows:—

In a speech—*ghataḥ asti* (there is a pot)—are to be noted the
 following:

- (i) At first there is the *hearing*² of (*śabdasya śravaṇam*) words in
 the speech, *viz.* *ghata + h + as + ti* (there + is + a + pot).
- (ii) Then there is the *recollection of things* (*arthasya smaranam*)
 signified by the words, *viz.* the recollection of "pot" signi-
 fied by the word *ghata*, of "one" signified by *h* (a modi-
 fication of the first-case-ending *su*), of "existing" signi-
 fied by *as* and of "the state of abiding" signified by *ti*,
 (a verbal termination of the third person. singular number,
 present tense).
- (iii) Afterwards there is the knowledge of the *mutual connection*
of things thus recollected (*samsarga-bodhaḥ*), that is, the
 knowledge that 'pot' as qualified by oneness is an abode

¹ "Speech" signifies "the knowledge of speech."

² The words need not always be actually heard, for sometimes we may recol-

of existence. The knowledge in this third step is specially called a verbal knowledge.

- (iv) Lastly there is *self-consciousness* (*anuvyavasāya*) of the knowledge in the following form: "I am the possessor of the knowledge of pot which as qualified by oneness is an abode of existence."

Speech as a means of Valid Knowledge—*Śabda-prāmāṇyavādaḥ*.

(a) *Can it be denied that speech is a means of valid knowledge?*

A means, otherwise called an instrument (*karana*), is that cause which, when brought into operation, necessarily produces its effect. Speech is not, according to the Buddhists, such a means, inasmuch as it does not, even when uttered by a person who knows its meaning, produce knowledge, unless it is attended with expectancy, consistency, etc. Therefore "speech is not," say the Buddhists, "a means of valid knowledge."

Speech is indeed a means of valid knowledge, and Gaṅgesa opposes the above view by asking whence, if the Buddhists do not admit speech to be a means of valid knowledge, they derive the validity of their own speech. *viz.* "speech is not a means of valid knowledge." The verbal testimony being denied, their speech cannot be proved as valid, and as such cannot be advanced against any party. On the contrary if their speech is admitted as valid, they will have to abandon their contention that "speech is not a means of valid knowledge." The contention of the Buddhists is therefore baseless, and speech is indeed a means of valid knowledge. But speech, if it is to be a means of valid knowledge, must not be a bare one: it should be attended with expectancy, consistency, etc.

Speech is mentioned as the means or instrument because it is the main cause in the production of valid knowledge, while expectancy, consistency, etc., are mere attendant causes or conditions. It should be stated here that only one cause without attendant conditions cannot produce any effect.

(b) *Is verbal testimony included in perception?*

The Buddhists, while not claiming their speech to be valid, say that it serves at any rate to produce in us a mental perception of the form "speech is not a means of valid knowledge" by causing the recollection of things signified by it. When we hear the speech, *viz.* "speech is not a means of valid knowledge," there arises in us a knowledge (recollection) of the things signified by it, and, through the intercourse whose character is knowledge, we actually perceive the thing in our mind. The function of verbal testimony being thus performed by mental perception, there is no necessity for assuming the former as a distinct means of valid knowledge.

(c) *Verbal testimony is not included in perception.*

Gaṅgeśa holds that speech which is attended with expectancy, etc., and produces recollection of things signified by it, must be accepted as a means of valid knowledge quite distinct from perception. Just as in the perception of a colour our eye is the means or instrument, its union with the colour is the intercourse, and the perceptual knowledge is the result, so in verbal testimony, speech is the means or instrument, the recollection of things signified by it is the intercourse and the verbal knowledge is the result. Speech therefore serves the same purpose in verbal testimony as the sense-organs do in perception. In other words, speech is the means of verbal knowledge, and considering the distinct nature of this means we must admit verbal testimony to be a distinct means of valid knowledge.

(d) *Is verbal testimony included in inference?*

The Vaiśeṣikas maintain that verbal testimony is not a distinct means of valid knowledge but is included in inference. In deriving knowledge from speech we first hear the words constituting the speech and then recollect the things signified by the words. The knowledge of the mutual connection of things thus recollected, which is designated as verbal knowledge, is, according to the Vaiśeṣikas, derived from inference. Suppose one utters a speech thus: "he beat the cow with a stick." On hearing this speech the listener may, say the Vaiśeṣikas, infer as follows:—

- (1) The words constituting this speech must have been preceded by knowledge of the mutual connection of things as intended by the speaker and recollected by his words,—*proposition.*
- (2) Because they are possessed of expectancy, etc., and convey the intention of the speaker,—*reason.*
- (3) The words of all speeches possessing expectancy, etc. and conveying the intention of a speaker are preceded by the knowledge of the mutual connection of things as intended by the speaker and recollected by his words, just as the words of a speech, *viz.*, "bring a pot" uttered by me (the listener),—*example.*

If we can thus derive knowledge of the speech by means of inference, there is, according to the Vaiśeṣikas, no necessity for admitting a separate means of knowledge called verbal testimony.

(e) *Verbal knowledge is not included in inference.*

Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view as follows:

The inference as shown above is not valid, inasmuch as it does not involve knowledge (recollection) of actual things as in the case of verbal testimony, but the knowledge of things recol-

things. This is not only cumbersome but also fallacious. Our activity in respect of a thing arises from our knowledge of the thing itself, but not from our knowledge of knowledge of the thing, which, as in the case of knowledge of error, may not contain in itself the cause of activity. Moreover, verbal knowledge is not, like inferential knowledge, dependent on the knowledge of invariable concomitance between the words of a speech and knowledge of the mutual connection of things signified by them, but results immediately from the words as soon as expectancy, consistency, etc., existing among them have been known. Again, after verbal knowledge has been produced, there arises self-consciousness of the form "I know from *the speech*" but not of the form "I know through *inference*."

It has already been observed that a speech cannot produce verbal knowledge unless the words composing it possess expectancy, consistency, contiguity and potentiality and convey intention.

Expectancy—*Ākāṅkṣā-vādaḥ*.

A word is said to bear the relation of expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*) to another word if it cannot without the latter produce knowledge of its interconnection in a speech. For instance. *Devadattaḥ grāmam gacchati* (Devadatta goes to the village) is a speech in which the word *Devadattaḥ* (in the nominative case) is expectant for the word *gacchati* ('goes', the verb), and this latter in its turn is expectant for *grāmam* ('village,' in the objective case). In the same way the crude word *Devadatta* is expectant for *ḥ* (the same as *su*, the first-case-ending), the crude word *grāma* for *am* (the second-case-ending) and *gam* (the root) for *ti* (the verbal suffix). A crude word (*nāma*) and a case-ending (*vibhakti*), a root (*dhātu*) and a verbal suffix (*ākhyāta*), and a verb (*kriyā*) and a case (*kāraka*) are expectant for each other.

Consistency—*Yogyatā*.

Consistency (*yogyatā*) consists in a word not bearing a meaning which is incompatible with the meanings of other words in a speech. For instance, no verbal knowledge is derived from such a speech as *agninā siñca* (sprinkle with fire) because it is incompatible with fire being an instrument in the act of sprinkling. Consistency may be certain or doubtful, but in either case there will be verbal knowledge.

Contiguity—*Āsattiḥ*.

Contiguity (*āsattiḥ*) consists in the enunciation of words, which

them, e.g. the speech, viz. "bring water", will convey no meaning if one utters the word "bring" now, and the word "water" after an hour.

Intention—*Tātparyam*.

Intention (*tātparyam*), which indicates the wish of a speaker, consists in the utterance of a word to convey knowledge of a special thing. If at the time of eating a meal, one says "bring *saindhava*" we are to understand by the word *saindhava* a quantity of salt and not a horse

The Non-eternity of Sound—*Śabdānityatā-vādaḥ*.

Sounds (*śabda*) such as *k*, etc., are multifarious, inasmuch as we find that a sound uttered by a man is different from the corresponding sound uttered by a parrot. On the ground that sounds are many, each of which is produced and destroyed, we must admit them to be non-eternal. In fact such an expression as 'the uproar that arose in the market has now ceased' proves beyond a doubt that sound is liable to destruction.

Sound destroyed and not concealed—*Ucchanna-pracchanna-vādaḥ*.

If sounds are destructible, their aggregates, the speeches, must also be so. The Veda, a collection of speeches, is consequently non-eternal. The Mīmāṃsakas say that, though the Veda as a collection of speeches is liable to destruction, as it has come down through succession of teachers, its continuity is uninterrupted. Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view by saying that from allusions occurring in the socio-religious institutes (*smṛti*) and from usages that have prevailed from olden times we can infer that once there existed certain branches of the Vedas which have since disappeared. Therefore the Veda is non-eternal.

The Veda is defined by Gaṅgeśa as a collection of valid speeches which are not the outcome of knowledge of things signified by words, and the things signified by which are not the objects of those kinds of knowledge which are derived from means other than verbal testimony.

Injunction—*Vidhi-vādaḥ*.

The Veda is the foundation of our good customs inasmuch as it is the source of all injunctions. An injunction (*vidhi*) is a speech which produces in a person such conviction as induces him to perform or desist from performing the act signified by the speech, e.g. "Let a person, who wishes to go to heaven, perform a horse-sacrifice" is an injunction. "Let not a man drink wine" is another injunction

According to Kumārila the conviction, which in an ordinary speech represents the purpose of the speaker, and in the case of the Vedic speech (not emanating from any person) the potentiality of the speech itself, consists of an idea of the form: "this speech directs me to perform or to desist from performing the act signified by it."

Prabhākara says that the conviction consists of the belief that merit or demerit that accrues from the act signified by the speech, is capable of being earned by our efforts.

Gaṅgeśa, who is not satisfied with any of the above explanations, maintains that the conviction produced in the person consists of the consciousness (a) that the act signified by the speech is capable of being performed by him, (b) that the performance of it will fulfil the object of his desire, and (c) that no serious inconvenience will accompany the performance.

All logicians agree, however, in holding that the conviction is produced by the potentiality of the hortative particle *lin* (corresponding to the English word "let") in the speech itself.

Merit and Demerit—*Apūrva-vādaḥ*.

Prabhākara says that the conviction produced by a Vedic speech, consists first of the belief that the merit or demerit that accrues from the act signified by the speech, is capable of being acquired by our efforts. This belief is followed by the presumption that the act from which merit or demerit accrues, is such as can be performed by us. Gradually there arise two other beliefs, viz. (1) that the act, if performed, will fulfil the object of our desire, and (2) that there is no serious inconvenience involved in the act.

Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view by saying that it is cumbersome to assume that so many kinds of belief are produced from a speech to induce us to perform or desist from performing the act signified by it. Let us, for the sake of brevity, assume that the conviction produced by a speech consists merely of the belief that the act signified by the speech is such as can be performed by us. This belief in the theory of Gaṅgeśa includes in it two other beliefs, viz. that the act is capable of fulfilling our desire and that there is no serious inconvenience involved in it.

Potentiality—*Śakti-vādaḥ*.

The relation that exists between a word and the thing referred to by it is a special relation¹ called *indication* (*vṛtti*). It

¹ The relation is not an ordinary one, e.g. the word (sound) jar does not produce in us the recollection of either although the former abides in the latter in the relation of inherence (*samavāya*).

is on account of this special relation that we are, on hearing the word *pot*, able to recollect the thing known as a pot. This special relation possessed by a word is generally called its *potentiality* (*śakti*). Nice distinctions are however often made in this matter. The special relation is described as being of two kinds, viz. (1) signification (*saṅketa*) and (2) implication (*lakṣaṇā*). The signification is again subdivided into, (a) permanent and (b) occasional. The permanent signification which a word bears is called specially its *potentiality* (*śakti*). This potentiality, which is the capacity of a word to refer to (*i.e.* produce recollection of) a particular thing, depends upon the will of God manifesting itself in the form: "let such and such a thing be understood by such and such a word." For instance the potentiality of the word *pot* consists in its producing the recollection of an earthen vessel. The occasional signification is called *technicality* (*paribhāṣā*) which depends upon the will of man manifesting itself in the form: "such and such a thing is to be understood by such and such a word." A word is said to be *technical* if it produces recollection of a particular thing as desired by man. For instance *nadī* is a technical word for nouns ending in *ī* or *ū*. The distinction between the permanent and occasional significations is overlooked by those logicians who maintain that words derive their signification, or rather potentiality, not from the will of God but from the will of man. There is according to them as much potentiality in an ordinary word as in a technical one. The potentiality of a word is ascertained from the following sources:—

- (1) *Grammar* (*vyākaraṇa*), *e.g.* in the sentence: *Caitraḥ pacati* (Caitra cooks), the potentiality of the crude word *Caitra*, the nominative case-ending *ḥ*, the root *pac* and the verbal suffix *ti* is ascertained from grammar.
- (2) *Comparison* (*upamāna*), *e.g.* in the sentence: "a bos-gavaeus is like a cow," the potentiality of "bos-gavaeus" is ascertained through comparison.
- (3) *Dictionary* (*koṣa*), *e.g.* the potentiality of the word *pika* to refer to the quality of blueness is ascertained from dictionary.
- (4) *Reliable assertion* (*āpta-vākya*), *e.g.* that the word *pika* signifies a black cuckoo is ascertained from the word of a competent scholar.
- (5) *Usage* (*vyavahāra*), *e.g.* on hearing "bring a table," "take away a table," etc., and on seeing the table brought and taken away, one understands the potentiality of the word "table."
- (6) *Context* (*vākya-śeṣa*), *e.g.* if in a sentence the meaning of the word *yava* (which may refer to a barley-corn or a panic seed) is not clear, we can ascertain its true meaning (as a barley-corn) by a reference to the remaining sentences in which it is spoken of as being a corn.

- (7) *Description (virṭi)*, e.g. when we describe a belligerent nation as a warlike one, we can understand the potentiality of the word “belligerent.”
- (8) *Association* with well-known words, e.g. the potentiality of the word *pika* to refer to a bird is easily understood when the word is associated with some well-known words such as : “in this mango-tree the *pika* sings sweetly.”

We have seen that each word possesses the potentiality of producing the recollection of a thing dependent upon the will of God or man. Now the question arises as to whether the potentiality refers to the genus of the thing or to the thing as an individual. If we suppose that the potentiality refers to an individual, we shall have to assume, say the Mīmāṃsakas, an infinite number of potentialities corresponding to the individuals to which they refer. If, on the other hand, we assume that the potentiality refers to a genus, we shall have to assume only one potentiality corresponding to the genus which will also include individuals without which it cannot stand.

Gaṅgeśa opposes the above view by saying that we could not recollect individuals unless the potentiality resided in them. On the supposition of the potentiality referring to an individual, it is not, continues he, necessary to assume an infinite number of potentialities, as one and the same potentiality refers to all the individuals which are comprehended under one genus. Hence, he concludes that the potentiality really refers to the individuals coming under a genus and possessing a form.

Words possessed of potentiality may be specified as follows —

- (1) The *etymological (yaugika)* is a word which is understood by the potentiality of its component parts alone, e.g. the word *dātā* (giver) refers to the agent of giving.
- (2) The *conventional (rūḍha)* is a word which is understood by the potentiality of its entirety independently of that of its parts, e.g. the word *go* signifies a cow (and not ‘the agent of going’ which is the meaning of its parts).
- (3) The *etymologo-conventional (yoga-rūḍha)* is a word which is understood by the potentiality of the whole harmoniously with the potentiality of its parts, e.g. the word *pañkaja* signifies a water-lily, which is born in the mud.
- (4) The *etymological-conventional (yaugika-rūḍha)* is a word which is understood either by the power of its entirety or by that of its parts, e.g. the word *udbhid* signifies a germ, the sprouting of a seed or a sacrifice.

Implication—*Lakṣaṇā*.

By implication (*lakṣaṇā*) a word refers to a thing which is related to another thing which is the signification of the word,

word 'Ganges' in the sentence, 'the cow-keeper dwells on the Ganges,' does not signify the current which is referred to by the potentiality of the word but signifies the bank which bears to the current the relation of proximity. Similarly the word 'crow' in the sentence, 'protect the curd from the crow' signifies by implication any thing that injures the curd.

Compound Words—*Samāsa-vādaḥ*.

In Sanskrit the compound word (*sāmāsa*) is of six kinds, *viz.*: (1) an *attributive compound* (*bahuvrīhi*), (2) a *determinative compound* (*tatpuruṣa*) including the negative determinative compound (*nañ-tatpuruṣa*), (3) a *descriptive compound* (*karmadhāraya*), (4) a *numeral compound* (*dvigu*) including the *unified numeral compound* (*samāhāra*), (5) an *aggregative compound* (*dvandva*) comprising the *mutually aggregative compound* (*itaretara*), the *unified aggregative compound* (*samāhāra*), and the *residual aggregative compound* (*ekaseṣa*) and (6) an *indeclinable compound* (*avyayībhāva*).

In the attributive compound the first word possesses its fixed potentiality and the second word, which through its potentiality points out a thing, refers also by implication to another thing, *e.g.* *citraḡum ānaya* (lit. bring the brindled-cow-man) signifies "bring the man having a brindled-cow." The first word *citra* (brindled) refers through its potentiality to the quality of "brindledness" while the second word *go* (cow) besides pointing out, through its potentiality, the thing called "cow" refers also by implication to its owner.

Grammarians maintain that, when two words are combined together to form an attributive compound, the combination possesses the potentiality of referring to a thing which is connected with but lies beyond the things signified by its component words, *e.g.* *citra-gu* (brindled-cow) refers to "ownership" over and above the quality of being "brindled" and the "cow." Gaṅgeśa holds that in an attributive compound all potentialities lie in the words which are combined together to form the compound, and there is no potentiality in the combination itself.

In the determinative compound the second word possesses its fixed potentiality while in the first word there are both potentiality and implication, *e.g.* *rāja-puruṣaḥ* (a "king-officer", that is, an officer of the king) signifies an officer belonging to the king in which the word *rāja* refers to a "king" as well as to "connection with him."

In the descriptive compound in which the component words stand to each other in the relation of identity, there is no special rule for the possession of potentialities by them, *e.g.* *nīlotpalam* (blue-lotus). The same is the case with the numeral compound, *e.g.* *pañca-guṃ* (five cows)

In the aggregative compound there is no special rule for the assumption of potentiality or implication by the component words, e.g. *yama-varuṇau* (Yama and Varuṇa).

In an indeclinable compound there are both potentiality and implication in the last word, e.g. *upakumbham* (near the jar).

Verbal Suffixes—*Ākhyāta-vādaḥ*.

A verbal suffix (*ākhyāta—ti, tas, anti, etc.*) used after a root, refers to the effort favourable to what is signified by the root, e.g. *Caitraḥ pacati* (Caitra cooks) signifies that Caitra is possessed of efforts favourable to cooking. If the agent is an inanimate thing the verbal suffix refers by implication to the operation favourable to what is signified by the root, e.g. *ratho gacchati* (a chariot moves) signifies that the chariot is possessed of the operation favourable to moving.

The Roots—*Dhātu vādaḥ*.

The root (*dhātu*) of a verb refers to the operation favourable to the effect of what is signified by the verb, e.g. the root *gam* (going) in the sentence, viz. *sa grāmaṁ gacchati* (he goes to the village) refers to moving, which is favourable to his connection with the village, which is the effect of his going. In the case of an intransitive verb the root refers merely to the operation, e.g. *sa tiṣṭhati* (he stays) in which *sthā* signifies merely 'staying.'

Prefixes—*Upasarga-vādaḥ*.

The prefix (*upasarga*) by itself does not bear any meaning but points out the speciality of meaning borne by the root that follows, e.g. *vi* in *viṣayate* (completely conquers) signifies a completeness of conquest.

Validity of the Four Means of Knowledge—*Pramāṇa-catustaya-prāmāṇya-vādaḥ*.

Some say that a gesture (*ceṣṭā*) is a means of valid knowledge. But this is absurd, inasmuch as a gesture merely reminds us of words which produce knowledge. That a deaf person is sometimes prompted to activity by a gesture, must be due to the fact that he infers the desire of the man who makes the gesture. So a gesture is included in either verbal testimony or inference. Similarly tradition (*aitihya*) and rumour (*janaśruti*) are not distinct from verbal testimony while presumption (*arthāpatti*) and non-perception (*anupalabdhi*) are comprised in inference.

CHAPTER III.

COMMENTARIES ON THE TATTVA-CINTĀMAṆI.

42. THE POPULARITY OF TATTVA-CINTĀMAṆI.

The popularity of the Tattva-cintāmaṇi is attested in unmistakeable terms by the numerous commentaries, sub-commentaries and glosses that have grown around the book since its first appearance. The text of the work covers about 300 pages, but its expository treatises extend to over 1,000,000 pages. In the following pages are enumerated some of the important expository treatises, and the accompanying table shows their mutual relationship.

43. THE MITHILĀ SCHOOL.

The Mithilā School of Nyāya flourished from the 12th to the 15th century A.D. The great masters were Gaṅgeśa, Vardhamāna, Pakṣadhara and others. Their style of writing was terse and they discussed the meaning of *vyāpti* more than did their predecessors. In the 16th century Nyāya studies waned in Mithila and made progress in Nadīa. The Principal Naiyāyikas¹ of Mithila School are mentioned below.

44. VARDHAMĀNA UPĀDHYĀYA (1250 A.D.).

Vardhamāna Upādhyāya was the son² of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, and surnamed Mahopādhyāya³ or Mahāmahopādhyāya⁴. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa, commentary on Tattva-cintāmaṇi.
- (2) Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa, a commentary on Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-pariśuddhi.

¹ Vide my *Logic in the University of Nadia* (1907), *Yasovijaya Gani*, from the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 9, 1910. Also *History of Navya-nyāya in Bengal and Mithila* by Rai Manmoh n Chakravarti Bahadur and Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript in Madras Sanskrit College.

² *Lilāvati-prakāśa*, Ind. Off. Cat., p. 668, No. 2080, verse 2 :—

न्यायान्मोज पतङ्गाय मीमांसापारदम्भे ।

गङ्गेश्वराय गुरवे पित्रेऽजभवते नमः ॥ १ ॥

³ Vide *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*, No. XIII. Pānini-darśana

⁴ Jaydeva speaks of Vardhamāna as Mahāmahopādhyāya-caraṇāh. Vide *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, Bibliotheca Indica. 1—6—674.

- (3) Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa, commentary on Udayanācārya's Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa.
- (4) Prameya-nibandha-prakāśa, which may be the same as the Prameya-tattva-bodha.
- (5) Kiranāvali-prakāśā.
- (6) Nyāya-kusumañjalī-prakāśa.
- (7) Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa.
- (8) Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-prakāśa

Vardhamāna Mahopādhyāya is named in the Sarva-darśana-samgraha of Mādhavācārya, under No. XIII, Pāṇini-darśana, so he must be older than the second half of the 14th century.¹ He must be older than Jayadeva, who commented on two of his Vaiśeṣika works. Jayadeva's time cannot be later than the third quarter of the 13th century. He speaks of Varddhamāna reverently as *Mahāmahopādhyāya-caraṇāḥ*: and so a fair interval must have elapsed between the two. Vardhamāna's time thus falls probably in the first quarter of the 13th century.

45. PAKṢADHARA MIŚRA
(1275 A.D.).

Pakṣadhara Miśra whose early name was Jaydeva was born in Saisava, 16 miles east of Darbhanga, on the Kamalā. His father's name was Mahādeva Miśra and mother's name was Sumitrā. He was a pupil of his uncle Hari Miśra.² He was called Pakṣadhara on account of his gaining victory in a debate which he conducted for a fortnight or a pakṣa. With regard to Pakṣadhara it is observed: "Saṅkara and Vāchaspati are comparable to Siva and Brihaspati, but there was none who could be compared to Pakṣadhara."³ He was the author of the following works:—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmanyāloka.
- (2) Dravya-padārtha on the Dravya-kiranāvali-prakāśa.
- (3) Lilāvati-viveka on the Lilāvati-prakāśa.

In spite of his being a logician, he was the author of two charming Sanskrit plays, viz. *Prasanna Rāghava* and *Candrāloka*.⁴

¹ According to Rai Manmohan Chakravarti Bahadur he must be older than the second half of the 14th century A.D., vide his *History of Navya-nyāya in Bengal* (September 1915), p. 266.

² अधीत्य अयदेवेन हरिमित्रात् पिबन्तः ।

तत्त्वचिन्तामणेरित्यं जालोकोदयं प्रकाशते ॥

(तत्त्वचिन्तामण्याश्लोक, opening lines)

³ मङ्करवाचस्पतः मङ्करवाचस्पती सदृशौ । पक्षधरः प्रतिपक्षौ लक्ष्मीभूतो न च कापि ।

⁴ येषां कोमलकान्तकौमलकला लीलावती भारती ।

तेषां कर्कशतर्कवक्रवचनोद्धारोऽपि किं ह्यौ शते ॥

(Prasanna Rāghava. Introduction).

Rakṣadhara had two disciples named Vāsudeva Miśra (his nephew), and Rucidatta Miśra. He must be older than *la sam* 1509¹ the date of copying of his Pratyakṣāloka, which, according to some, corresponds with 1278 A.D. He might be placed in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.²

It is traditionally known that Pakṣadhara lived in the court of Raja Bhairava Sinha of Mithilā and was a class-fellow of Vidyāpati. But as Bhairava Sinha lived in 1435 to 1450 A.D., Pakṣadhara, if the tradition be true, must have lived in the middle of the 15th century A.D. He is said to have copied a manuscript of Viṣṇupurāna in 1452 A.D.³

46. VĀSUDEVA MIŚRA (ABOUT 1275 A.D.).

He was nephew and pupil of Jayadeva Miśra, and he wrote a commentary on the famous Tattva-cintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyaīya, called Tattva-cintāmaṇi-tika in order to vindicate the work of his teacher, Jayadeva or Pakṣadhara Miśra.⁴ He is called Nyāya-sidhāntā-sārābhijña (versed in the quintessence of logical truth) in the colophon of his work.⁵ Being a nephew of Pakṣadhara he probably lived in the fourth quarter of the 13th century.

¹ R. Mitra. Notices V. p. 299, No 1976, (प्रत्यक्षांशक). The date is written curiously, and runs thus:—शुभमस्तु शकाब्दा ॥ लसं १५०९ ॥ ते आषणस्य ६ ॥ Some think that 1509=159=*la sam* 159+1119=1278 A.D. But I think it probable that 1509= 1509+78=1587 A.D., *la sam* means a year.

² It is traditionally known that Pakṣadhara was a contemporary of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi of Navadvīpa, and it is asserted by the Darbhanga Rajas that Maheśa Thakkura, from whom they trace their descent lived in 1556 A.D. during the time of Akbar; and that Śankara Miśra was a disciple of Maheśa Thakkura. But the contrary evidence is equally strong. Rai Manmohan Chakraverti Bahadur fixes the date as given in the manuscripts of Pakṣadhara's Pratyakṣāloka to be Śāka *la sam* 159 or 1278 A.D. and Śankara Miśra's Bhedaprakāśa as copied in Samvat 1519 or 1462 A.D. This date is accepted in this work.

³ वाणीवेदयुतैः सशस्त्रयनैः आगते वायने ।

श्रीमद् गौडमहोदधतो गुहदिने मागे च पक्षेक्षिते ॥

(A palm-leaf manuscript of Viṣṇupurāna from Mithilā, colophon).

⁴ लघुदेवगुरोर्वाचि ये केचिदोपदर्शिनः ।

प्रबोधाय मया तेषां दीप्तीभूयाभिदीक्ष्यते ॥

(Introductory verse).

⁵ इति न्यायसिद्ध जसाराभिज्ञमित्रवर्यपञ्चधरनिश्चलाष्टपुत्रन्यायसिद्धात्मसाराभिज्ञवाकुदेव-
मित्रविरचितायां चिन्तामणिटीकायाम्...

(Colophon of Anumānakhanda).

47. RUCIDATTA MIŚRA
(ABOUT 1275 A.D.).

He was a pupil of Pakṣadhara or Jaydeva Miśra.¹ His parents were named Devadatta and Reṇukā and he had two brothers named Śaktidatta and Matidatta.² The name of his family is given as Sodarapurakula.³

Two of his works are now extant: (1) *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa*, a commentary on the famous work of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya, (2) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-prakāśa-makaranda*, a commentary on the commentary of Vardhamāna on the *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* of Udayanācārya.

A Ms. copy of a portion of his *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa* is said to be as old as 1370 A.D.⁴ He had the title *Mahāmahopādhyāya* added to his name. As a pupil of Pakṣadhara he may be placed in the fourth quarter of the 13th century A.D.

48. BHAGĪRATHA OR MEGHA ṬHAKKURA
(ABOUT 1400 A.D.).

He was the second among the three elder brothers of Maheśa Ṭhakkura and he was the author of a commentary, called *Jalāda*, on the *Kusumāñjali-prakāśa* of Vardhamāna. It is also called *Kusumāñjali-prakāśa-prakāśikā*. Besides this, he prepared two other commentaries on Vardhamāna's work. They are (1) *Kiraṇāvālī-prakāśa-prakāśikā*; (2) *(Nyāya)-līlāvati-prakāśa-vyākhyā*. He seems to have lived about 1400 A.D.

49. MAHEŚA ṬHAKKURA.
(ABOUT 1400 A.D.).

He was born in Bhaur, 17 miles N.E. of Darbhanga on the *Kamalā*. He was son of Dhīrā and Candrapatī,⁵ and younger

1 अधीत्य हचिदत्तेन जयदेवाच्छगदुगरोः ।
चिन्तामणी ग्रन्थमणी प्रकाशोऽयं प्रकाशते ॥

(*Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa*, Introductory verse 2.)

2 श्रीदेवदत्ततनयो विनयोपमूढः
श्रीरेणुका विरलमर्भपुटोपजातः ।
श्रीशक्तिदत्तमतिदत्तसहोदरो यः
सोऽसुं चकार हचिदत्तकृती प्रकाशम् ॥

(*Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa*, Śabda-khaṇḍa, verse 2 at the end.)

3 इति श्रीसोदरपुरकुलसमुद्भूतमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीहचिदत्तविरचिते नखचिन्तामणि
प्रकाशे.....(Colophon of *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa*. Pratyakṣa khaṇḍa.)

4 See Peterson's Sixth Report, p. 76, No. 190.

5 जनकविषयजन्मा राजसम्मान पावं

brother of Mahādeva, Bhagīratha and Dāmodara.¹ He belonged to the Khaṇḍwāl family. He wrote a commentary called *Darpaṇa* on the *Āloka* of Pakṣadhara Miśra on Gangeśa's work, of which only the chapter on perception is extant. He was also the author of several *Smṛti* works, such as *Tirtha-cintāmaṇi*.

His work on logic, the *Darpaṇa*, is held as an authority in Śāṅkara Miśra's *Tri-sūtri-nibandha-vyākhyā*.² He lived between Pakṣadhara and Śāṅkara or between 1270 and 1450 A.D.

One of his pupils, Raghunandanadāsa Rāya, was a great logician, who at the suggestion of Akbar went out to all quarters for discussion. Akbar, being pleased, installed him in the province of Mithilā, which he however made over to Maheśa Ṭhakkura, his teacher as preceptor's fee (गुरुदक्षिणा). So the latter became a landholder and founder of the Darbhanga Raj family.

50. ŚĀṅKARA MIŚRA
(1450 A.D.).

He was born in Sarisava in Darbhanga. He was the son of Bhavanātha Miśra, *alias* Ayācī Dube, who was eager to live on the bank of the Gangeś towards the close of his life, the Ganges being about 40 miles south of Darbhanga forming its southern boundary. He refers to his father's instructions in this introductory verses of several of his work³. He was nephew of Jīvanātha and pupil of Raghudeva Upādhyāya or Kaṇāda⁴ as of well as Maheśa Ṭhakkura.

महि...धीराध्वन्प्रपत्योऽनूजः ।
अवचयदनुमाना लोकमाश्रित्य जित्त-
प्रमथित अलक्ष्मीं दर्पकं श्रीमहेश ॥

(Anumānāloka-darpaṇa, verse 1 at the end)

ज्येष्ठा मयादेवमगौरयदानौदरीं शिष्यं ह्यशोभुवाभ्याम् ।
(स) दर्पकं निर्मितवानमीशं सद्योदरो विष्णुपरो महेशः ॥

(Anumānāloka-darpaṇa of Maheśa Ṭhakkura, verse 2 at the end.)

प्रकाशदर्पणीस्रोतस्तुर्वाङ्मया कृतोऽप्यसा ।
तथापि योजनासावमुद्दिश्यायं मनोव्यसः ॥

(Tri-sūtri nibandha-vyākhyā, Introductory verse 2,)

Quoted by H. Śāstii, Notices, Vol. III, pp. 68-9, No. 136.

अधीतमध्यापितकार्जित यशो
न शोचनीयं किमपीह भूतकी ।
अतःपरं श्रीभवनाथ शर्मसो
मनोमनोहारिणि जाऊबीतटे ॥
साभ्यां वैशेषिके तन्त्रे सम्यग् बुत्यादितोऽस्म्यचम् ।
कणादभवनाथाभ्यां ताभ्यां मम वसः सदा ॥

(Vaiśeṣika-Sūtropaskāra, Intro verse.)

He was a contemporary of arendrasinha Rāya. He was the author of various works on various subjects.

- (1) Paṇḍita-vijaya, in which he speaks of himself thus :

बाह्योऽहं जगदानन्दः न मे बाला सरस्वती ।

स्वपूर्णे पञ्चमे वर्षे वर्षयामि जगन्नाथम् ॥

- (2) Ātma-tattva-viveka-kalpa-latā, a commentary on Udayanācārya's polemical treatise.
- (3) Ānanda-vardhana, a commentary on Śrī Harsa's Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā, which is referred to in Pragalbhācārya's commentary thereon.
- (4) Tattva-cintāmani-mayūkha, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's famous work on Nyāya.
- (5) Tri-sūtri-nibandha-vyākhyā, a commentary on the commentary of Udayanācārya on the first three sūtras of Gotama.
- (6) Nyāya-lilāvati-kaṅṭhābharāṇa, a commentary on the Nyāya-lilāvati of Vallabhācārya
- (7) Bheda-prakāśa or Bheda-ratna-prakāśa, a criticism of the non-dualistic Vedānta. It is criticised in its turn in the Saṅkṣepa-sāriraka of Sarvajñātma-muni.
- (8) Gauri-digambara-prahasana, a small comedy on the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, which was played at the instance of his father.¹
- (9) Vaiśeṣika-sūtropaskāra, a popular commentary on the Kaṇāda-sūtras.
- (10) Vēdi-vinoda, contains a discussion on the categories of Nyāya.
- (11) Bauddha-dhikkāra-tikā.
- (12) Abheda-dhikkāra, a refutation of non-dualistic Vedānta.

Besides these, he wrote three important works on smṛti. He lived towards the close of the fifteenth century.

Śaṅkara must be older than 1462 A.D., in which year a MS. of the Bheda-prakāśa was copied. As Guru of the jurist Vardhamāna-Upādhyāya he cannot be much older than this time. He may be placed in the second and third quarters of the fifteenth century.

51. VĀCASPATI MIŚRA (THE YOUNGER OR JUNIOR) (ABOUT 1450 A.D.).

He is known as Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra. Though he is more famous as a smṛti-writer, yet he writes ten works in philosophy, as he himself has said in his Pitr-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī. He flourished in Mithilā about 400 years ago, and was the Paṛiṣad or court-officer of the kings Bhairavendra and Rāmabhadra (who reigned in the third and fourth quarters of the fifteenth century).

Of the ten works. four at least are traceable :—

- (1) **Anumāṇa-khaṇḍa-tika**, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's famous work, giving the substance of both the Nyāya and the Mīmāṃsā views.
- (2) **Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍoddhāra**. It is, as the name implies, a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's famous criticism of the Nyāya-sūtras.
- (3) **Nyāya-sūtroddhāra**, a gloss on the Nyāya-sūtras.
- (4) **Śabda-nirṇaya**, a treatise on the nature of words.

No MS. has yet been found of this last work, but the name is known from his smṛti work called Dvaita-nirṇaya.

52 MISARU MIŚRA
(ABOUT 1475 A.D.).

He is the author of an original treatise on the Vaiśeṣika system, named Padārtha-candra. The work deals, as the name implies, with the seven categories. But the actual authorship of this work, like that of his work on smṛti (the Vivāda-candra), is attributed to Lachimā Devī, who was the chief queen of Candrasimha¹, the younger step-brother of Bhairavasimha Deva. So it seems that our author flourished in the third quarter of the 15th century.

It is to be noted here that Misaruka, the author of the Nyāya-dīpaka, is a different person.

53. DURGĀDATTA MIŚRA
(ABOUT 1550 A.D.).

He wrote the Nyāya-bodhinī², an elementary work, on the first principles of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems combined. Though we have as yet no data to fix his exact time, it seems most probable that he flourished in the 16th century.

54. DEVANĀTHA THAKKURA
(1562 A.D.).

He is the author of the Tattva-cintāmanyāloka-pariśiṣṭa, which, as the name implies, aimed at supplying the shortcomings of Jayadeva's Āloka on Gaṅgeśa's work. From the date of a copy

¹ श्रीचन्द्रसिंहनृपतेर्दयिता लक्ष्मिामहादेवी ।

रचयति पदार्थचन्द्रं मिसरुमिश्रोपदेशेन ॥

R. Mitra, Notices, IX, 12, No. 2901, introd. verse 2.

² R. Mitra, Notices, V, p. 84, No. 1764 and IX, p. 129, No. 3029: H. Śāstri

of his work (*viz. la samvat 443 or 1562 A.D.*)¹ made by his order, it is ascertained that he must have lived in the third quarter of the 16th century.

55. MADHUSUDANA THAKKURA
(1575 A.D.).

He is the author of the *Tattva-cintāmanyāloka-kaṅṭhakoddhāra*,² a refutation of the hostile criticisms of Pakṣadhara in his *Āloka* on Gaṅgeśa's work.

His date must fall between that of the younger Vācaspati Miśra on whose *Dvāita-nirṇaya* he wrote another *Kaṅṭhakoddhāra* and *la samvat 491 or 1610 A.D.*, the date of a Ms. of his work. Thus roughly speaking, he flourished in the third quarter of the 16th century.

56. THE NADIA SCHOOL
(1600—1800 A.D.).

The Nadia School of Nyāya flourished during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries under the great masters Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, Mathurānāth Tarkavāgiśa, Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra and Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. They explained the *Tattva-chintamaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa in a critical way.

Before the Navadvīpa Naiyāyikas, the Mithilā Logicians stooped down. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi and others made the language of Nyāya quite stereotyped and made the use of *avacchedaka* and *avacchinna* very extensive. Their pride and abnormal growth of critical faculty put the logicians of all other provinces into the shade. The principal logicians of Nadia School are mentioned below.

57. VĀSUDEVA SĀRVABHAUMA
(ABOUT 1450—1525 A.D.).

Vāsudeva was born at Nadia in the middle of the 15th century A.D. His father, Maheśvara Viśārada, gave him a sound education in Sanskrit grammar, literature and jurisprudence. With a view to prosecuting his studies in Logic (Nyāya), Vāsudeva, while about 25 years old, went to Mithilā, where he was admitted into the academy of Pakṣadhara Miśra, the foremost logician of the place at that time. After finishing his studies in Mithilā he was subjected to a difficult test called *Śalaka-parīkṣa*, "probe-examination," in the course of which he had to explain any leaf of a manuscript that was pierced last by the probe as it was pushed into the manuscript. One by one he explained one hundred

¹ See R. Mitra, *Notices*, V, p. 84, No. 1764, IX, p. 129, No. 3029. See H. Śāstri, *Notices*, III, 75, No. 116.

² See Śāstri, *Notices*, III, p. 75, No. 116.

such leaves and his teacher was so much pleased that he conferred on him the title of Sārvabhauma.

Finding that the Professors of Mithilā did not allow outsiders to copy their works on Logic, Vāsudeva committed to memory the entire Tattva-cintāmaṇi and the metrical portion of the Kusumāñjali, and, being afraid that his life would be in danger on the way back from Mithilā, he, on the pretext of coming to Nadia, went secretly to Benares where he studied for some years the Vedānta philosophy, returning home at the close of the 15th century A.D.

Having transcribed the above mentioned two works from memory Vāsudeva set up the first great academy of Logic in Nadia, where students flocked in large numbers. He had two distinguished pupils, viz. Raḡunātha Siromaṇi, the highest authority on modern Logic, and Chaitanya,¹ the founder of Vaisnavism in Bengal.

In his old age Vāsudeva is said to have accepted the Vaiṣṇava tenets preached by his pupil Caitanya. He passed the closing portion of his life in Orissa, where he was patronised by king Gajapati Pratāpa Rudra about 1520 A.D.² He was the author of a work on Logic called Sārvabhauma-nirukti, which is a commentary on Gangeśa.

Though an academy of Logic was thus for the first time opened outside Mithilā and schools of it gradually multiplied in the

¹ *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, Madhya-līla, Chap. VI. Caitanya while beholding Jagannāth at Puri fell down senseless in consequence of his ecstasy. He was taken by Sārvabhauma to his house. He regained consciousness and Sārvabhauma asked him to be a student of Vedānta under him. Caitanya consented. After a course of studies for seven days Caitanya observed that the Vedānta Sūtras like the Upanisads were clear to him, but the commentaries of Śaṅkara as explained by Sārvabhauma, eclipsed the Sūtras. A discussion followed and Sārvabhauma became a convert to Vaiṣṇavism.

পূৰ্বে মহাপ্ৰভু সবে
চলিলা দক্ষিণে ।
শ্ৰতাপৰুদ্র রাজা
বোলইল সাক্ষৰভোমে ॥ Madhya-līla, X.

নৌমি নং গৌৰচন্দ্ৰং
যঃ কৃতকং কৰ্কশাময়ম্ ।
সার্বভৌমং সৰ্ব্বম্মমা
মক্তিধূমানমাশ্বৰত্ ॥ *Ib.*, VI, 31.

² Vide Rajendra Lal Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit MSS., Vols. I-IX, L 2854 ; Śāstri X-XI.

heart of Bengal, all was not gained. It yet remained for the academies of Nadia to acquire a university character and authority. To procure that power for Nadia, it was necessary that a representative from it should vanquish the teachers of Mithilā in philosophical controversy. That honour it was reserved for the genius and patriotic perseverance of Raghunātha Śīromaṇi to win for his country.

58. RAGHUNĀTHA ŚĪROMAṆĪ
(1477--1547 A.D.).

Raghunātha was born in Nadia about the year 1477 A.D. While he was about four years old he lost his father. His mother supported him with the greatest difficulty. When a boy of five years, Raghunātha once at the order of his mother had to fetch fire from the academy. He did not take with him any vessel for carrying the fire. Accordingly when a student in the academy offered him a spoonful of blazing charcoal, Raghunātha instantly picked up a handful of sand on which he asked the charcoal to be placed. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, being astonished at his marvellous presence of mind and thinking that some extraordinary work was reserved to be done by him, took up the entire charge of maintaining and educating the boy. While Raghunātha began to learn the consonants he used to ask why *k* should precede *kh*, and his teachers had to explain to him the rules of phonetics and grammar along with the alphabet. After finishing grammar, literature, lexicon and jurisprudence Raghunātha began assiduously to study Logic under Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and discussed with him the knotty points of that branch of learning. He used sometimes to sit in deep meditation on problems of Logic under banyan trees in the neighbouring field, which he did not quit until his doubts were cleared. Soon he surpassed his teacher in many respects and demonstrated the worthlessness of the latter's commentary on Logic. To exact a charter for the academy of Nadiya to confer degrees, Raghunātha went with the permission of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma to Mithilā in the disguise of a pupil, and entered the academy of the famous teacher, Pakṣadhara Miśra, who was still alive. Raghunātha who was blind of one eye was ridiculed by the students of the academy: "Indra is thousand-eyed, Siva is three-eyed, all others are two-eyed, verily why art thou one-eyed?"

However, getting admittance into the academy, Raghunātha very soon demonstrated his own worth and was promoted to the highest class. The teacher found him a hard pupil to deal with, and many were the controversies the brilliant pupil carried on with him. Matters soon came to a crisis. One day in the course of a hot and protracted disputation before all the numerous students and doctors, the renowned teacher, foiled and exasperat-

ed, insulted his brilliant pupil-polemic with the savagery of a schoolman. Raghunātha's nature rebelled against the treatment he had received—treatment undeserved by him and unworthy of the teacher. Brooding in silence over his wrongs, Raghunātha's proud nature proposed vengeance on his adversary, teacher now no longer. That very night, armed with a drawn sword, he went and hid himself in Pakṣadhara's house. At midnight, thinking the moment opportune, he went up the stairs and looking about descried Pakṣadhara lounging on the terrace with his wife at his side. Raghunātha hesitated in his fell purpose. It was a most glorious night in autumn when the full moon was shining in all her glory. The sky was serene and transparent and all nature was hushed, All were happy save the two unfortunate logicians—one brooding sadly on the imminent loss of his reputation and the other sorely anxious to achieve glory for himself. The young would-be murderer was perplexed for a while but instantly rushed in fury from his hiding place towards the couple. Suddenly he stopped. He was no hardened old sinner. He paused to listen. As the teacher and his wife were gazing at the full moon, the wife admired her beauty and asked her husband saying: "My lord, is there anything as bright as this grand queen of the night?" The teacher replied: "There is one thing, my dear, which is quite as bright, even more so; I was all the evening thinking of such a thing; there has come from Bengal a young logician who has for some time been a difficulty at Mithilā. He has this morning vanquished me by an obstinately conducted argument. His intellect in my opinion is more luminous than the full-moon herself." Raghunātha overheard this conversation. The sword fell from his involuntarily opened palm and he came and fell at the feet of his startled teacher. Pakṣadhara forgave him and embraced him warmly and on the next morning before the entire academy confessed himself beaten by the young Bengali logician. This confession in fact entitled Raghunātha to confer degrees. His triumph took place about the year 1514 A.D., from which the foundation of the university of Nadia is reckoned. On his return he established a college at Nadia.

The above story¹ is traditional only, but some particulars that he was blind of one eye are confirmed by contemporaneous writers.²

¹ This story about Raghunath Śiromani and Pakṣadhara is widely known in this country. It appeared in "Mookerjee's Magazine," New series, Vol. 1, 1872, kindly lent to me by Babu Sanjib Chandra Sanyal. But depending on the date of manuscripts ascertained from the manuscripts themselves, we find that Raghunath and Pakṣadhara were not contemporaries.

² न्यायं मौड्देमस्य यत्र काष्ठः शिरोमणिः ।

(Nyāya-khandana-khādyā, leaf 43; ms. in possession of Vijayadharma or Dharmavijaya Śūri.)

Yasovijaya in another place speaks of Raghunātha as follows:—

“The ocean of Logic is hard to approach owing to the uproar of waves of the Dīdhiti-commentary (of Śiromaṇi); yet is not the water of that ocean capable of being drunk by our cloud-like genius?”¹

Raghunātha must be earlier than 1602 A.D. in which year a manuscript of Kṛṣṇadāsa Śārva-bhauma's sub-commentary on his Anumāna-dīdhiti was copied. He must have lived at the close of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th century when Caitanya lived. He died about 1547 A.D. at the age of 70 years.

- (1) His foremost work is Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti. It is a critical commentary on the Tattva-cintāmaṇi of Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya. In this work Raghunātha calls himself “the crest-gem of logicians” (Tārkika-śiromaṇi). Elsewhere he is called crest-gem (Śiromaṇi). Mss of this work are found all over India. It was commented upon by many writers, at least a dozen and half, of whom the majority came from provinces outside Bengal.

His other works are:—

- (2) Bauddha-dhikkāra-śiromaṇi (which is a commentary on the Ātma-tattva-viveka of Udayanāchārya).
 (3) Padārtha-tattva-nirupaṇam or Padārtha-khaṇḍa.
 (4) Kirāṇavali-prakāśa-dīdhiti.
 (5) Nyāya-līlāvati-prakāśa-dīdhiti (or °vistārikā).
 (6) Avacchedakatva-nirukti, an original treatise.
 (7) Nāivāda²
 (8) Ākhyāta-vāda.³
 (9) Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā-dīdhiti.

69. HARIDĀSA NYĀYALĀNKĀRA BHATṬĀCĀRYA
 (1480—1540 A.D.).

Haridāsa Nyāyālānkāra was a pupil of Vāsudeva Śārva-bhauma, and therefore lived about 1520 A.D.

Haridāsa Nyāyālānkāra must be older than Śaka 1521, or 1599 A.D., in which year a ms. of his Maṇyāloka-ṭippanī (*śabda*) was copied. He was the author of the following works:—

- (1) Kusumāñjali-kārikā-vyākhyā, a commentary on Udayana's Kusumāñjali verses.

¹ न्यायाम्बुदीधितिकारयुक्तिकलोलकोलाहलदुर्विनाशः ।

तस्यापि पातुं न पथ समर्थः किं नाम धौमसु प्रतिभाशुभासः ॥

(Aṣṭasāhasrī-vivaraṇa, leaf 82, ms. of Vijayadharmas Sūri and Indrajīya Sūri.)

² Published in the Chowkhamba Series.

³ Published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

- (2) *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa*, a commentary on Gangeśa's famous work.
 (3) *Maṇyāloka-ṭippaṇī* (or °*vyākhyā*), a sub-gloss on Jayadeva's commentary, the *Āloka*.

In the Śankara Maṭha of Puri there is a copy of the second work prepared during 1599, 1600 and 1607 A.D.¹

60. JĀNAKĪNĀTHA ŚARMĀ
 (1550 A.D.).

He wrote the *Nyāya-śiddhānta-maṇjarī*, an elementary treatise on the four kinds of proof. Probably it was composed in 1550 A.D. This work mentions Śivāditya Miśra, Murāri Miśra and *Cintāmaṇi*. He has been commented upon a dozen times. He is called *Bhaṭṭācārya Cūḍāmaṇi* or *Nyāya-cūḍāmaṇi*.

61. KAṆĀDA TARKAVĀGĪŚA
 (ABOUT 1560 A.D.).

According to tradition Kaṇāda Tarkavāgīśa and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi were co-pupils of Vāsudeva Śārvabhauma. In the introductory verse of *Bhāṣā-ratnam* Kaṇāda salutes one Cūḍāmaṇi. Is this Jānakinath Cūḍāmaṇi? In that case Kaṇāda's date falls about 1560 A.D.

Kaṇāda wrote the following works :—

- (1) *Maṇi-vyākhyā*,² a commentary on Gangeśa's *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*.
 (2) *Bhāṣā-ratnam*, on the seven Categories of the *Vaiśeṣika* system.
 (3) *Āpa-śabda-khaṇḍanam*, another *Vaiśeṣika* work.³

62. RĀMARĀṢṆA BHATṬĀCĀRYA CAKRAVARTI
 (ABOUT 1560 A.D.).

Hall says that he was the son of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. He himself calls Śiromaṇi his Guru⁴ or preceptor. He must be older

1

माके नियुक्तविशिष्टतण्डाधिनाथे
 कन्वर्परायपदवीक इदं लिखेत् ।

(Quoted in *Navadvīpa-mahimā*).

² For the *Maṇi-vyākhyā*, see R. Mitra, *Notices IV*, p. 167, *Sans. Coll. Cat. III*, p. 327, No. 582 (Śaka 1705); and H. Śāstri, *Notices V*, p. 13, No. 14. For the *Bhāṣā-ratna*, see R. Mitra, *Notices IV*, p. 119, No. 1531, intro. verse 1 :—

सूडामणियदाथोकश्चरौभूतमौलिना ।

संख्येय श्रीकृपादेव भाषारत्नं वितन्वते ॥ १ ॥

For No. 3, See Peterson's Sixth Report, p. 74, No. 773.

³ For some traditionary account of Kaṇāda, see H. Śāstri's Introduction to his *Notices*, Vol. I, p. xviii.

⁴ *Ind. Off. Cat. No. 2068*, introd. verse 2 ;

than 1603 A.D., the date of a manuscript of his *Guṇa-Śiromaṇi-prakāśa*. He in all probability flourished in 1560 A.D. He was the author of *Guṇa-Śiromaṇi-prakāśikā*¹ and possibly also of *Nyāya-dīpikā*.

63. MATHURĀNĀTHA TARKAVĀGĪŚA.
(ABOUT 1570 A.D.).

Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa lived about 1570 A.D.² His father, Sri Rāma Tarkālaṅkāra³, was a pupil of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Mathurānātha, who was a pupil of Sri Rāma Tarkālaṅkāra as well as of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, wrote numerous valuable commentaries on Logic which are known under the general name of *Māthurī*. They are very lucid and easy, and for this reason are not much appreciated by the scholars of Nadia. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya*.⁴ This work is familiarly known in Bengal as *Phakkikā* or *Māthurī*
- (2) *Tattvacintāmaṇy āloka-rahasya*, a sub-commentary on Jayadeva's *Āloka*.
- (3) *Dīdhiti-rahasya*.
- (4) *Siddhānta-rahasya*
- (5) *Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-rahasya*, a sub-commentary on Var-
dhamāna's work.
- (6) *Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-rahasya*, a sub-commentary on Var-
dhamāna's *Prakāśa*.
- (7) *Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-dīdhiti-rahasya*.
- (8) *Bauddha-dhikkāra-rahasya*.
- (9) *Ayur-daya-bāvanā*.
- (10) (?) *ādi-kriya-viveka*.

Mathurānātha mentions *Sundara Upādhyāya* and *Harinātha Upādhyāya*, but nothing is known about these.

(?) यन्मूलमेव सुकृतानि तयोः कृतानि
व्यासादयः सदसि नित्यमुदाहरन्ति ।
तस्मात्प्रयं गुणविवेचनमाकलय्य
ब्रूते शिरोमणिगुरोरिह रामकृष्णः ॥ १ ॥

¹ Ind. Off. Cat., No. 2069.

² Vide Notices of Sanskrit Mss in Bengal, 2nd series, Vol. I, p. xvi.

³ The beginning of the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-rahasya* runs thus :—

न्यायान्बुद्धिक्लृतासेतुं हेतुं श्रीराममखिलसम्पत्तेः ।
तानं विभुवनगौतं तर्कालङ्कारमादराश्रुत्वा ॥ १ ॥
श्रीमता नयुरानाथ तर्कवागीश धीमता ।
विमर्दीकृत्य दर्शने प्रत्यक्षमपिफक्त्तिका ॥ २ ॥

⁴ This work has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*.

64. KRṢṆADĀSA SĀRVABHAUMA BHATṬĀCĀRYA
(ABOUT 1575 A.D.).

Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma was older than 1602 A.D., when the manuscript of his *Anumāna-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī*¹ was composed. As the note differs in reading the dīdhiti he must be considerably later than Raghunātha Śiromaṇi. Roughly speaking, he flourished in 1575 A.D. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī*, a sub-commentary on Raghunātha's commentary.
- (2) *Anumānāloka-prasāriṇī*, a sub-commentary on Jayadeva's *Āloka* (*Anumāna khaṇḍa*).

65. GUṆĀNANDA VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA
(ABOUT 1570 A.D.).

He has been criticized by the Jaina logician, Yasovijaya Gani² (1608—1688 A.D.), in his *Nyāya-khaṇḍana-khādyā*. Guṇānanda must be older than 1622 A.D., in which year a manuscript of his *Guṇavivṛti-viveka* was copied. He was considerably later than Raghunātha Śiromaṇi whose works he commented on, and he may be placed roughly at about 1570 A.D. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) *Anumāna-dīdhiti-viveka*.
- (2) *Ātma-tattva-viveka-dīdhiti-tikā*.
- (3) *Guṇa-vivṛti-viveka*.
- (4) *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-viveka*.³
- (5) *Nyāya-līlāvati-prakāśa-dīdhiti-viveka*.
- (6) *Śabdāloka-viveka*.

66. RĀMABHADRA SĀRVABHAUMA
(ABOUT 1680 A.D.).

Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma, son of Bhavanātha and Bhavānī praises his father's teachings as better than those contained in

¹ This work is being printed in the Bib. Ind. Series ; for No. 2 see p. 8 :—

विचारस्तु अनुमानालोकप्रसारिणामनुसन्धेयः ।

² Guṇānanda is mentioned by Yasovijaya in his *Nyāya-khaṇḍa-khādyā*, leaves 2, 11, 56, 70, 80. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana's *Yasovijaya Gani* (1910,) p. 468.

³ He was the author of *Nyāya-kusumāñjali-viveka*, which begins :—

नमः कर्मण्यधिष्ठाने वेदप्रामाण्यहेतवे
निरस्ताखिलबाधाय प्रसाधे विश्वकर्माणे ।
गुणानन्देन विदुषा विचार्ये प्रतिपत्तिकं
विविचन्ते प्रथमेन कुतुमाञ्जलिकारिकाः ॥

the Prakāśa and the Makaranda.¹ From his famous *toḷ* were produced such learned scholars as Jayarāma Nyāya-pañcānana and Jagadīśā Tarkālaṅkāra. He is older than 1613 A.D.,² when, a manuscript of his Padārtha-tattva-vivecana-prakāśa was copied. He was later than Raghunātha. He probably flourished in 1680 A. D. He was the author of the following works:—

- (1) Dīdhiti-ṭikā.
- (2) Nyāya-rahasya.
- (3) Guṇa-rahasya.
- (4) Nyāya-kusumāñjali-kārikā-vyākhyā.
- (5) Padārtha-viveka-prakāśa, a commentary on Raghunātha Śiromani's Padārtha-khaṇḍana.
- (6) Sat-cakra-krama-dīpikā.

67. JAGADĪŚĀ TARKĀLANKĀRA
(ABOUT 1625 A.D.).

Jagadīśā Tarkālaṅkāra was the fourth in descent from Sanātana Mīśra, the father-in-law of the famous Caitanya. As Caitanya was born in 1485 A.D., Sanātana must have lived about the same time. Allowing 30 years for each generation, we find that Jagadīśā was born about 1605 A.D. The date of his literary activity may be approximately fixed at about 1635 A.D. This date agrees well with the fact that a work of his named Kāvya-prakāśa-rahasya was copied by a pupil of his in Śaka 1599 or 1657 A.D.

Jagadīśā was a naughty boy in his early years. At the age of 18 years he began to learn the alphabet under an ascetic. Thereupon he entered the academy of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśā, where he finished his studies in Logic. Jāgadīśā Tarkālaṅkāra calls himself the pupil of a Sārvabhauma,³ who should be identified with Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma, as Jagadīśā quotes his Nyāya-rahasya with the remark that it was his Guru's.⁴ Jagadīśā

¹ The Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā, Sans. Coll. Ms. Cat. III. 318, intro. verses and 3:—

भवानीभवनाद्याभ्यां विद्वभ्यां प्रणमाम्यहं ।
यत्प्रसादादिदं शास्त्रं करत्तौरोपमं कृतम् ॥ २ ॥
मकरन्दप्रकाशे या व्याख्या मल्लिमलेऽथवा ।
ततोऽधिकं पितुर्व्याख्यामाख्यातुमद्यसुखम् ॥ ३ ॥

² Sans. Coll. Cat., III, p. 241, No. 399, final colophon.

इति श्रीरामभद्र सार्वभौमस्तुतपदार्यतत्वविवेचनप्रकाशः संसारात् ॥
संवत् १६७० समवे चाश्विनशुक्लद्वादश्यां लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं परोपकारार्थम् ॥

³ The Maṇi-mayūkha, Sans. Coll. Cat., III, p. 324, No. 575, intro. verse 2.

सार्वभौमस्य गुरोः पदाङ्गं विद्यार्थिनाथ कल्पतरोः प्रणम्य ।
विनिर्मितं श्रीजगदीशविज्ञेयिद्योत तामाद्य मजेर्मद्युख ॥ २ ॥

⁴ For his Guru's work, see the Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā, Cal. ed., p. 25:—

इति पुनर्न्यायरहस्ये अक्षरवचरणाः ।

Tarkālaṅkāra was older than 1631 A.D., the date of a copy of his manuscript of Tarkāmṛta. As he was a pupil of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma, his date falls about 1625 A.D.

He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-prakāśikā, familiarly known as Jāgidiśī.¹
- (2) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-mayūkha, a commentary directly on Gaṅgesa's works, of which only portions have survived.
- (3) Nyāyādarśa or Nyāya-sārāvalī, dealing with the doctrine of causality.
- (4) Śabdaśakti-prakāśikā on the force of words, etc., a grammatico-philosophical treatise.²
- (5) Tarkāmṛta.
- (6) Dravya-bhāṣya-ṭikā or Padārtha-tattva-nirṇaya.
- (7) Nyāya-lilāvati-dīdhiti-vyākhyā.

68. ŚABDA-ŚAKTI-PRAKĀŚIKĀ (ELUCIDATION OF THE POWER OF WORDS).

In illustration of Jagadīśa's style of argument, I give below an English translation of the first five couplets of the Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā. This will give some idea of the *śabda*, verbal knowledge, as explained by Jagadīśa :—

VERBAL KNOWLEDGE (*śabda-bodha*).

1. The Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā, delighting the learned, is composed by Jagadīśa, who was versed in debate as well as in the dogmas.

2. The goddess Sarasvatī who is gracious and approaches all persons and is able to fulfil their ends, makes herself manifest immediately, when she is worshipped.

or,

Words, which possess the three requisites of mutual interdependence, juxtaposition and compatibility in their signification, become at once a means of knowledge to any man who hears them.³

3. Knowledge of the mutual connection of things signified by correspondent words is neither perception nor inference, being limited in its scope.

4. Word or verbal testimony is the knowledge of the mutual connection of things signified (presented) by correspondent words. This knowledge is neither perception nor inference, for, in the case of

¹ Published in the Chowkhamba series.

² Printed in Calcutta (Saka 1769) and in Benares; later (1918) by the Calcutta University.

³ This verse is capable of this double meaning.

perception, knowledge of things is derived through the contact of sense and in the case of inference through consideration (recognition of sign). Such is not the case here. Here arises the knowledge only of those things which are signified by corresponding words.

In the case of verbal testimony there is (1) the hearing of words, then (2) there is the recollection of things signified by the words, e.g. *ghato'sti*. Here from *ghata* + *su* + *as* + *ti*, there is recollection of *ghata* a pot, *su* one, *as* existing and *ti* abode ; (3) there is knowledge of the mutual connection of the four things thus recollected, i.e. *ghata* (pot) as the abode of oneness and existence. This is verbal knowledge, testimony or word.

Then there is mental perception (*anuvyavasāya*) of the knowledge thus: I am the possessor of the verbal knowledge of *ghata*, as an abode of oneness and existence.

Some may say that verbal knowledge is simply the recollection of things signified by words. This is impossible, for there cannot be any recollection of the mutual connection of things if there was no perception of the mutual connection of those things. Hence it is necessary to admit an extra means of knowledge, namely, "verbal knowledge."

Verbal knowledge is not inference ; compatibility pertains to things, whereas correspondence pertains to words. These two combined together do not abide in anyone thing, and cannot therefore be the cause (sign) in an inference. Each one of these separately too cannot be the cause, for compatibility can abide in non-correspondent words where there is no verbal knowledge. Correspondence does not abide in things at all and cannot therefore be the cause in an inference.

There is a cow : hearing this expression we may, according to a modern Vaiśeṣika, make the following inference :—

A cow is existent, because it is recollected by words conducive to the knowledge of the mutual connection between itself and existence, just like a pot.

Or we may say : A cow is existent because it is recollected by the word *go* connected with existence, just as an eye.

If we can thus draw knowledge of the expression by means of inference, what is the necessity for admitting a separate means of knowledge named verbal testimony ?

In verbal testimony the recollection of things signified by words is the cause (sign), but not the knowledge of things recollected by words. In inference the knowledge of sign is the cause. Therefore, where we have such knowledge as "the word *cow* is not the thing of which I am reminded by the word *cow* connected with the word

Naiyāyika's reply.

existence," we can draw (from the expression *there is a cow*) verbal knowledge but *not* inference, because there is no knowledge of the sign (middle term, reminding us of the connection of *cow* and *existence*) in the abode.

That is, where we have no previous knowledge of a cow as connected with existence, we can on hearing, "there is a cow", draw verbal knowledge, but not inference, because the knowledge of a cow as connected with existence is not recollected by me, not having seen *cow* and *existence* together previously. Therefore verbal testimony is a means of knowledge different from inference.

Inference cannot serve the purpose of verbal knowledge so far as mental perception of the knowledge (अनुभवसाध) is concerned. *There is a cow*: by this expression we first draw knowledge of the mutual connection of *cow* and *existence* (in the form: *a cow exists*), and then we have mental perception of the knowledge as: I hear that a cow exists. If you say that this form of mental perception is wrong and that verbal knowledge is really included in inference, I may say, as there is no fixed rule, that inference is included in verbal knowledge. Just as you incorporate verbal knowledge in inference by contriving a general proposition on the recollection of things through words. I shall include inference too in verbal knowledge by postulating correspondence between words recollected by things.

In an inference where the thing signified by the major term is unfamiliar, knowledge of the general proposition (major premise) is derived by means of a heterogeneous example, e.g. "the lake has not smoke because it has not fire." This inference is carried on by a heterogeneous example, thus: "whatever has smoke has fire, as a hill." Here the knowledge of the major term, viz. the thing signified by "no smoke" (absence of smoke) did not exist before the inference was drawn, hence there was no knowledge of the word "no smoke" (absence of smoke) as also there was no knowledge of the thing of which it was a sign. Consequently the knowledge derived from the expression, "the lake has not smoke because it has not fire", is not drawn through verbal testimony but through inference. Therefore inference is to be admitted as a separate means of knowledge.

It is true there was no knowledge of the thing signified by the major term, but the *word* of which the thing was a sign could be recollected by means of an association. Hence there is no necessity for admitting inference as a separate source of knowledge.

All verbal testimony cannot be included in inference. The expression "being different from a *pot*" affords the verbal knowledge (testimony) of the form: "possessing distinction as counterpart of a *not*"

Objection.

Reply 1.

Reply 2.

This knowledge cannot be drawn from inference, for inference cannot take place where there is no minor term, as here. Hence it is necessary to admit a separate means of knowledge named verbal testimony.

If you say that the knowledge can be drawn from inference thus: the distinction is counterpart of a pot as it is recollected by another word correspondent with the same distinction. This is absurd, for the inference merely affords knowledge of distinction which is counterpart of the pot, but not of the thing which possesses the distinction. But, if you admit a separate means of knowledge named verbal testimony, then the peculiar knowledge of the expression can be easily drawn from correspondence, etc.

“Being different from a pot”: here *different* may, by a secondary application (अनुव्यवसाय), refer to anything other than a pot, *i.e.*, non-pot. As a single word cannot afford any verbal knowledge, we may form connection with any other word, such as a “cloth.” Consequently now we can make the inference of this form: “a cloth is non-pot.”

If you say so, statements arrive at absurdity, *e.g.* if the word “different” itself could afford the knowledge of “non-pot,” the words “from a pot” would be useless. Similarly, if in the expression “there is (exists) a pot,” a pot itself, by a secondary application, could afford the knowledge of “an existing pot,” the word “is” (exists) would be useless.

Consciousness that it is the assertion of a competent person, is the cause of verbal knowledge. Knowledge of an expression is based on the belief that the expression is that of a competent person.

Opinion of the Mimāṃsakas. On hearing the expression “there is a pot”—a listener can derive verbal knowledge only if he is conscious that it is the expression of a competent person, otherwise not; or, in other words, the consciousness that a certain expression is that of a competent person precedes verbal knowledge. Now if the conclusion (*viz.*, that there is a pot) thus precedes verbal knowledge and there is no desire for drawing an inference, there cannot be any. Consequently it is to be admitted that verbal knowledge is a separate means of knowledge. Also that verbal knowledge is not right knowledge, for right knowledge concerns itself with things which are unknown, but not with things which are known to the competent person. Therefore verbal knowledge is not right knowledge.

If right knowledge does not concern itself with things already known, then in the case of a series of perceptions right knowledge cannot abide in the series beginning with the second perception. For the

thing already known by the first perception is the object of knowledge at the second perception.

Right knowledge which concerns itself with things unknown
 Reply. is the correct knowledge which is different from that which is produced after knowledge of the same form in a series.

In the case of a series of perceptions, the series beginning with the second perception was produced no doubt after the first perception, but the first perception did not follow any. Therefore the first as well as the following perceptions are right knowledge. This rejects recollection as right knowledge, for all recollection takes place after a previous perception. Then verbal knowledge is also not right knowledge, for that succeeds a knowledge of the same form or kind, *viz.* the consciousness that it is the assertion of a competent person.

5. The belief that something has been asserted by a competent person cannot be the cause of verbal knowledge, because it depends on the meaning of a sentence. The meaning of a sentence remains really unknown before verbal knowledge occurs. And verbal knowledge occurs even when there is doubt as to whether a certain assertion is that of a competent person. If the cause of verbal knowledge was the belief that something was the assertion of a competent person who was aware of the meaning of a sentence as signifying connection of one thing with another thing, then verbal knowledge could not be inference as the knowledge of the conclusion preceded the same. In fact it is not necessary that the knowledge of the meaning of a sentence should precede verbal knowledge. Otherwise the Vedic text which is a competent assertion would be a mere reiteration, not being a source of right knowledge because it would indicate what was already known. Therefore the belief in the assertion of a competent person is not the cause of verbal knowledge.

The belief, *viz.* it is the assertion of a competent person, is the cause of verbal knowledge which is derived from human speech, but not of that verbal knowledge which is derived from the Vedic text. Then the Veda will not be devoid of authority.

It is cumbrous to suppose that consciousness of the assertion of a competent person is the cause in one place but not in the other. This difference of hypothesis is unnecessary. The belief that it is the assertion of a competent person is not the cause of verbal knowledge, because that knowledge takes place even where there is doubt of the connection of one thing with another or where there is doubt that a certain expression is the assertion of a competent person.

Answer.

In verbal knowledge, even if the assertion of a competent person is not the cause, context must be admitted to be the cause. Otherwise the word *ghaṭa* would have afforded the verbal knowledge, viz., "an object connected with *ghaṭa*", even though we had not the belief that it was pronounced with the desire of expressing the same. Hence we must admit that, in ascertaining the meaning of expression *ghaṭa*, we must have knowledge of the context (intention) of the form: "it was pronounced, with the intention of expressing an object specified as *ghaṭa*." Hence verbal knowledge is not inference, because the true meaning of the expression is contained in the context, and so conclusion precedes the so-called inference, which is absurd.

Even if knowledge of the context was the cause of verbal knowledge, the true meaning of the expression (viz., one thing as connected or qualified by another thing) is not contained in the former when there is the knowledge, viz., the word *ghaṭa* is not pronounced with the desire of expressing an object specified as *ghaṭa*, even if there be verbal knowledge of *ghaṭa* (viz., an object specified as *ghaṭa*); because there is knowledge of context of the form, it is pronounced with the desire of expressing an object specified as 'knowable.' But this does not take place: wherefore knowledge of context of the form: "it is pronounced with the desire of expressing an object specified as *ghaṭa*" must be admitted as the cause of the verbal knowledge of an object specified as *ghaṭa*. Now, the true meaning is not contained in the knowledge of the context. Therefore there is no harm in admitting an inference beyond verbal knowledge.

The word *saindhava* in the expression "bring *saindhava*" would indicate salt and not a horse if the expression is used at the hour of meal. Hence the cause of such verbal knowledge is admitted to be the knowledge of context of the form: "This word *saindhava* has been pronounced with the desire of indicating salt." That knowledge of context arises from knowledge of the particular occasion, such as that of meal, etc. Therefore in regard to verbal knowledge we may take knowledge of the occasion as the cause but not an extra cause named knowledge of context. If you say that knowledge of occasion is not comprehensive, hence knowledge of context should be adopted as being comprehensive, it would also be absurd, for knowledge of context too is non-comprehensive.

Suppose the belief: "it is pronounced with the desire of expressing an object called *ghaṭa*", exists elsewhere in the word *ghaṭam*, but not in the word which is heard now; or there exists in it the belief: "it is not pronounced with the desire of

expressing an object called *ghata*”; and suppose the belief, “it is,” exists in the word *ghaṭam* which existed at another time, but not in the one which exists now, in such cases there is no verbal knowledge. Therefore each expression must be taken as indicating an object called *ghata* which exists at the time of the expression. Hence owing to the expressions being different on different occasions, knowledge of context becomes different. Therefore we may rather admit knowledge of occasion as the cause, but not knowledge of context.

Knowledge of context must be admitted as the cause of verbal knowledge, because where there is uncertainty or absence of knowledge of context there is no verbal knowledge.

Refutation of Prabhākara.

Moreover knowledge of context is the regulator of the knowledge of one meaning where a word admits of different meanings, and is the establisher of secondary meaning.

Therefore if knowledge of context is the cause of verbal knowledge, then the meaning of an expression having already been contained in the context, the conclusion is presupposed there. Therefore verbal knowledge is not inference. Though verbal knowledge is different from inference, it is not right knowledge because there is no “knowing what was unknown.”

Knowledge of context is not the cause of verbal knowledge.

Naiyāyikas' reply.

A poet uses a word in one sense, while a thoughtful person may take it in a different sense, though the poet had no knowledge of context in that sense. A parrot which has no knowledge of context utters words which produce verbal knowledge in us.

In the complete ‘set’ the author has said that verbal knowledge is produced by correspondent words. But it should be added that verbal knowledge arises from significant corresponding words. Now he gives the definition and division of significant words.

A certain word is significant in a certain sense, if that word with the association of another word produces verbal knowledge of the thing which is presented by its own power or by the power of its marks. Significant words are of three kinds: crude word, suffix and indeclinable. In the expression *paṭah* (पटः), the word (पटः) *paṭa* in association with the suffix *su* (सु) produces verbal knowledge of the form पटः (cloth) as possessing oneness, i.e. one piece of cloth.

69. RUDRA NYĀYAVĀCASPATI.

Rudra Nyāyavācaspati was son of Vidyānivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya and grandson of Vidyāvācaspati¹ who had been honoured by the

¹ Vidyāvācaspati is named as a smṛtic writer in Raghunandana's Durgotsava tattva.

king of Gauḍa. Viśvanāthā Siddhāntapañcānana was his younger brother, and Govinda Bhaṭṭācārya Cakravartī was his son. By order of his father, Vidyānivāsa, copies of the *Kalpa-taru*, the smṛtic digest of Lakṣmīdhara (Naiyatakālika and Dāna-khaṇḍas) were copied in Śaka 1510 or 1558 A.D. His time is further fixed by the poem composed in honour of Bhāvasimha, whose father, Mānasimha, was governor of Bengal, from the 38th to the 50th year of Akbar's reign or from 1593 to 1605 A.D. Rudra must therefore have lived at the beginning of the 17th century. Rudra Nyāyavācaspati should be distinguished from Rāmarudra Tarkavāgīśa, grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa whose philosophical treatise is often called *Raudrī*. Rudra Nyāyavāchaspati was the author of the following works :—

- (1) *Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-parikṣā*.
- (2) *Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-vivṛti-parikṣā*.
- (3) *Padārtha-khaṇḍana-vyākhyā*.
- (4) *Bhāva-vilāsa*, a poem in praise of the prince Bhāvasimha, a son of Mānasimha, the Rājput Governor of Bihar and Bengal.
- (5) *Bhramara-dūtam*.
- (6) *Vṛndāvana-vinoda-kāvya*

70. JAYARĀMA NYĀYAPAÑCĀNANA
(ABOUT 1700 A.D.).

Jayarāma was a pupil of Rāmabhadra Sārvābhauma¹. His title Nyāyapañcānana is sometimes shortened into Pañcānana.

Jayarāma, with Devanātha Tarkapañcānana, is mentioned as an authority in the rhetorical *Eka-śaṣṭhyalaṅkāra-prakāśa*, and in the *Alaṅkāra-sāra-sthiti* of Bhīmasena Dīkṣita², composed in Samvat 1712 during the rule of Ajitasimha in Jodhpur. He is older than 1659 A.D., the year in which the *Padārthāmālā* was composed. As pupil of Rāmabhadra Sārvābhauma, he lived about 1700 A.D.

He was patronised by Rājā Rāmkrṣṇa of Krishnagar who obtained from the Pandits of Nadia the hereditary title of Nava-

¹ The *Anumāna-dīdhiti-gudhārtha-vidyotana* (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 620, No. 7900, and Peterson's Sixth Report, p. 15) introd. verse :—

श्रीविश्वेश्वरमशेषसङ्गसुखं भूयोऽभिवन्द्यादरान्
 कुर्याथाय च रामभद्रपरणन्द्यारविन्ददयम् ।
 गूढज्ञानघनाहतामविषयप्रोद्धोषिनीदीधितिम्
 तस्माच्छ्रीजयराम एष तनुते गूढार्थविद्योत्तमम् ॥ १ ॥

² *Madras Catalogue*, No. 43037, introd. verse 2 :—

शक्तिर्न शक्तिवादस्यास्या या शक्त्यादासक्तौ ।
 शरत्तं जयरामगोखरत्तं स्मरन्तस्य सतिधीकरणम् ।

dvīpādhipati (Lord of Nadia). Jayarāma's Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā was composed in Samvat 1750 or 1693 A.D.

He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhitī-guḍhārtha-vidyotana, a sub-commentary on Śiromani's Dīdhitī.
- (2) Tattva-cintāmaṇyāloka-viveka, a sub-commentary on Jayadeva's Āloka.
- (3) Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā, a commentary on sūtras 4 to 7 of Gotama's Nyāya-sūtra.
- (4) Sabdārtha-mālā, on śabda or words.

And in Vaiśeṣika—

- (5) Guṇa-dīdhitī-vivṛti, a sub-sub-commentary on the Dīdhitī, the sub-commentary of Varddhamāna's commentary on Udayanācārya's Kiraṇāvalī.
- (6) Nyāya-kusumāñjali-kārikā-vyākhyā, a commentary on Udayanācārya's Kārikās or verses.
- (7) Padārtha-ṃaṇi-mālā, or Padārtha-māla, an original treatise examining the Vaiśeṣika categories. It was the best known of his works and was commented upon by Janārḍana Vyāsa and Laugākṣi Bhāskara.

And in rhetoric :—

- (8) Kāvya-prakāśā-tilaka, a philosophical commentary on the rhetorical work of Mammata.

71. GAURĪKĀNTA SĀRVABHAUMA (ABOUT 1725 A.D.).

Gaurikānta Sārvabhauma was born in the northern part of Gaur¹ and got favours from the king for composing many nibandhas. He was older than 1714 A.D., the date of a manuscript of his Ānanda-laharī-tarī. He was later than Tāntrika Pūrṇānanda whose Shyama Rahasya is quoted in the said Tari and who wrote the Śākta-krama in 1571 A.D. Gaurikānta must have flourished in the first quarter of the 17th century A.D. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Bhāvārtha-dīpikā, a commentary on the Tarkabhāṣā of Keśava Miśra.
- (2) Sad-yukta-muktāvalī.

* The Ānanda-laharī-tarī (R. Mitra, Notices VII, p. 245, No. 2490), endorse and colophon :—

यो नामाविषयास्तर्कनिपुणश्चक्रे निरन्धान् वदन्
 पूजां भूरिमन्त्रीभुजां सदसि यो केभेऽतिषीमान् कविः ।
 यो गौडीकदेहदियज इह श्री सार्धभौमो महाम्
 भद्राचार्य्य इमां स एव सिद्धे ठीकां मुदे वाम्बिदां ॥ १ ॥

- (3) Ānanda-laharī-tarī.
- (4) Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana-vitīkā.

72. BHAVĀNANDA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚĀ
(ABOUT 1625 A.D.).

Bhavānanda, as a preceptor of Rāghavendra, must be a generation older than the latter. Rāghavendra was a contemporary of Kṛpārāma favoured by the Delhi Emperors Jehāngir and Shāh-jehān. Bhavānanda must have lived in the first quarter of the 17th century. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-prakāśikā, familiarly known as Bhavānandī.
- (2) Pratyak-āloka-sāra-maṇjarī.
- (3) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-ṭīkā.
- (4) Kāraka-vivecana.

73. HARIRĀMA TARKAVĀGĪŚĀ
(ABOUT 1625 A.D.).

Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa is sometimes called Tarkālaṅkāra, Tarkālaṅkāra-vāgīśa and Nyāyalaṅkāra-tarkavāgīśa. He was the teacher of Raghudeva Nyāyalaṅkāra and of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. He must be older than 1654 A.D., the date of a manuscript of his Vāda-buddhī-vicāra, a section of his Tattvā-cintāmaṇi-ṭīkā. As a teacher of Raghudeva, he might be placed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-ṭīkā-vicāra.
- (2) Ācārya-mata-rahasya-vicāra.
- (3) Ratna-koṣa-vicāra or vāda as it is sometimes named.
- (4) Sva-prākāśa-rahasya-vicāra or Bhaṭṭā-mata-siddhānta-vicāra.

74. VIŚVANĀTHA SIDDHĀNTAPAÑCĀNANA
(ABOUT 1634 A.D.).

Viśvanātha was the son of Vidyānivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya and a younger brother of Rudra Nyāyavācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya. He composed his Bhāṣāpariccheda in 1634 A.D. He was the writer of the following works :—

- (1) Alāṅkāra-pariṣkāra.
- (2) Nañ-vāda-ṭīkā.
- (3) Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti.¹

¹ Published under the authority of the General Committee of Public Instruction, Benzal.

- (4) Suvārtha-tattvāloka or Kāraka-cakra.
- (5) Nyāya-tantra-bodhinī or Nyāya-bodhinī.
- (6) Padārtha-tattvāloka a commentery on Raghunātha's Padārtha-khaṇḍana.
- (7) Bhāṣā-pariccheda.¹
- (8) Pingala-prakāśa.²

75. RĀMABHADRA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚA
(ABOUT 1660 A.D.).

Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa was a grandson of Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra and was the author of a commentary called Subodhinī on the Sabda-śakti-prakāśikā of the latter. As Jagadīśa lived about 1635 A.D., his grandson Rāmabhadra flourished approximately about 1660 A.D. He calls himself Navadvīpiya § on a resident of Navadvīpa.

76. GOVINDA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA
(ABOUT 1650 A.D.).

Govinda Nyāyavāgīśa was a descendant of Vāsudeva Sārva-bhauma and was the senior logician of his time. He was patronised by Rājā Rāghava of the town of Revi which was afterwards called Kṛishnagar. Rājā Rāghava dug a tank at Dignagara in 1669 A.D. Govinda calls himself son of Nyāyavācaspati⁴ who is no other than Rudra Nyāyavācaspati. Roughly, he lived in 1650 A.D. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Nyāya-saṁkṣepa.
- (2) Padārtha-khaṇḍana-vyākhyā.
- (3) Possibly Samāsa-vāda.

¹ J.A.S.B., 1910, p. 313. M. M. Shastri's article on Bhāṣā-pariccheda. Published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series of Calcutta.

² In the Pingala-prakāśa Viśvanātha says :—

विद्यानिवाससूतोः कतिरेषा विद्यनाथस्य ।

§ Sans. Coll. Cat., III, p. 226, No. 461, introd. verse 2 :—

जिरिमिह गुहमिह अत्वा तत्कृतशब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिकासु ।

श्रीरामभद्रकृतौ कुरुते टीकां सुद्रे सुधीयः ॥ २ ॥

and the final colophon :—रति नवद्वीपीय नद्यानद्योपाध्याय श्रीरामभद्रसिद्धान्त-वागीश-
in R. Mitra, No. 794] भद्राचार्य विरचिता शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिकासुबोधिनी समाप्ता ।

⁴ The Nyāya-saṁkṣepa (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 644, No. 1893), intro. verse 3 :—

न्यायवाचस्पतेः सूत्रोरियं गोविन्दशर्कणः ।

कतिः कतधियां भूषादनन्दामन्ददाधिनौ ॥

77. RAGHUDEVA NYĀYĀLAŅKĀRA
(ABOUT 1650 A.D.).

Raghudeva was a disciple of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa.¹ Raghudeva is older than 676 A.D., the date in which Anumiti-parāmarśa-vāda was copied. He is older than Yaśovijaya Gaṇi (1608-1688 A.D.) who quotes him in his Aṣṭa-sāhasrī-vīvaṛaṇa.² He probably flourished in 1650 A.D. He was the author of the following works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-guḥhārtha-dīpikā
- (2) Navina-nirmāṇa.
- (3) Dīdhiti ṭīkā.
- (4) Nyāya-kusumāñjali-kārikā-vyākhyā.
- (5) Dravya-sāra-saṅgraha.
- (6) Padārtha-khaṇḍana-vyākhyā.

78. GADĀDHARA BHATṬĀCHĀRYA
(ABOUT 1650 A.D.).

Gadādhara, whose father was Jīvācārya, was born in the middle of the 17th century A.D. in the district Lakshmipasa, Bogra, in Eastern Bengal. He came to Nadia and became a pupil of the famous logician Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa. On the death of the teacher, Gadādhara became the head of his academy. But the students in Nadia did not at first accept him as their teacher as he was a man of Eastern Bengal and did not belong to a family of hereditary Pandits. Gadādhara left the academy and established a new college on a public street, where he also set up a garden of flowers. As soon as any student came to collect flowers from the garden, Gadādhara used to deliver lectures on logic, addressing a tree there. Charmed with his exposition of the knotty points of logic, young men came and secretly enrolled themselves as his pupils. Soon after this he composed an excellent gloss on the Dīdhiti of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi which made his fame spread far and wide, and he was recognized as the chief logician of his time. Gadādhara has been called "the prince of Indian Schoolmen", with whom modern Logic reached its climax. He was such a thoroughgoing logician that when asked on his death-bed to think of the prime cause of the Universe instead of thinking on God he is said to have repeated the words "atoms, atoms, atoms." He wrote numerous commentaries on Logic which are known under the general name of Gadādhari.

¹ The Nañ-vāda-vyakhyā (Madras Catalogue, No. 4254) introd verse, 1 :—

शिवं प्रथमं तत् पश्चात् तर्कवनीश्वरं गुरुम् ।

क्रियते रघुदेवेन नञ्वादे सुविशेषणम् ॥ १ ॥

² J.A.S.B., 1910, p. 468. Satis Chandra Vidyabhushana's article on Yasovijaya Gaṇi.

Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya must be older than 1625 A.D.,¹ the date of a manuscript of his Vyutpatti-vāda. His Śakti-vāda was commented upon by a pupil of Jayarāma. He probably flourished in 1650 A.D. He is a resident of Navadvīpa and is often called Gauda-deśīya.

His collected works are called Gadādhari and are spread all over India, especially Southern India. He was the author of the following chief works :—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-dīdhi-*prakāśikā*.
- (2) Tattva-cintāmaṇi-vyākhyā.
- (3) Tattva-cintāmanyāloka-*ṭikā*.
- (4) *Muktāvalī-ṭikā*.
- (5) *Ratna-koṣa-vāda-rahasya*.

Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya's other works are :—

- (6) *Anumānā-cintāmaṇi-dīdhi-ṭikā*.
- (7) *Ākhyāta-vāda*.
- (8) *Kāraka-vāda*.
- (9) *Nañ-vāda*.²
- (10) *Prāmānya-vāda-dīdhi-ṭika*.³
- (11) *Buddhi-vāda*.
- (12) *Muktī-vāda*.
- (13) *Vidhi-vāda*.
- (14) *Viś-ayatā-vāda*.
- (15) *Vyutpatti-vāda*.
- (16) *Śakti-vāda*.⁴
- (17) *Smṛti-saṃskāra-vāda*.
- (18) *Śabda-prāmānya-vāda-rahasya*.⁵

79. NṚSĪMHA PAÑCHĀNANA (ABOUT 1675 A.D.).

Nṛsīma Pañchānana Bhaṭṭācārya was older than 1673 A.D. when his Bhūṣā was composed. He probably lived about 1675 A.D. He wrote Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī-bhūṣā a commentary on Jānakīnātha's work. He praises highly one Govinda⁶ perhaps son of Rudra.

¹ Gadādhara, lived in the time of Rāghava Rāy, grandson of Bhavānanda Rāy of Nadia Rāj, who built the Dighi of Dignaga, in Śaka 1591 (1669 A.D.) and also granted land in Śaka 1553.

² Published in the Bibliotheca Indica series.

³ Published in the Śāstra Muktāvalī series of Kanci.

⁴ Published at Benares.

⁵ Published in the Śāstra Muktāvalī series of Kanci.

⁶ The Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī-bhūṣā, introd. verse 2 (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 641, No. 1976):—

त्रिसहस्रीयुत मोदुमस्यसमस्तीविज्ञान सत्कीर्तिना-

सत्कालं कतिमः परं सुकतिमो गोविन्दनामाभिवा ।

80. RĀMDEVA CIRANĪVA
(ABOUT 1700 A.D.).

Rāmdeva who is generally known as Cirañjīva must be older than 1703 A.D., when his Kāvya-vilāsa was composed. He is generally believed to have lived about 1700 A.D. He was the author of the following works:—

- (1) Vidvānāmōda-taraṅgiṇī.
- (2) Kāvya-vilāsa.
- (3) Mādhava-campu.
- (4) Vṛtta-ratnāvalī.

81. RĀMARUDRA TARKAVĀGĪṢA
(ABOUT 1700 A.D.).

Ramrudra, or simply Rudra, was the grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīṣa and son of Śrī Rāma or Rāmeśvara. He was probably a pupil of Madhusūdana. He probably lived about 1700 A.D. He was the author of the following works:—

- (1) Tattva-cintāmaṇī-dīdhiti-ṭikā,
- (2) Vyutaptti-vāda-vyākhyā.
- (3) Kāra-kādyartha-nirṇaya-ṭikā.
- (4) Dinakarya-prakāśa-taraṅgiṇī.
- (5) Tattva-saṅgraha-dīpikā-tippaṇī.
- (6) Siddhānta-muktāvalī-ṭikā.

82. ŚRĪ KṚṢṆA NYĀYĀLAṆKĀRA
(ABOUT 1650 A.D.).

Śrī Kṛṣṇa Nyāyālaṅkāra was a son of Govinda Nyāyavāgīṣa and author of the Bhāva-dīpikā, a commentary on the Nyāya-siddhānta-maṅjarī.

83. JAYARĀMA TARKĀLAṆKĀRA
(ABOUT 1700 A.D.).

Jayarāma Tarkālaṅkāra was born in the district of Pabna in Eastern Bengal. His father was a court pandit at Putia. He was a pupil of Gadādhara and wrote a commentary on the Śaktivāda in the year 1700 A.D.

तस्मिन्सिंहि यष सुलती भावं तु पञ्चाननो

बाह्यानां हितकांक्षया स्फुटयति प्राप्तायसिद्धान्ति ॥

And the final colophon: संवत् १७२० ज्येष्ठ वदि ४ शुक्ले समाप्तोऽयं उच्यते ॥

84. RUDRARĀMA
(ABOUT 1750 A.D.).

Rudrarāma was a son of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa and therefore lived about 1725 A.D. He was the author of :—

- (1) Vāda-pariccheda.
- (2) Kāraka-vyūha.
- (3) Citta-rūpa.
- (4) Adhikaraṇa candrikā.
- (5) Vaiśeṣika-śāstriya-padārtha-nirūpaṇa.

85. "BUNO" RĀMANĀTHA
(ABOUT 1780 A.D.).

At the close of the 18th century there were two scholars in Nadia who both bore the name of Rāmanātha Tarkasiddhānta— one was versed in Logic and the other in Jurisprudence. The logician, who had his school in a wood on the outskirts of the town, was called *Buno* (wild) Rāmanātha in contradistinction to the jurist, who lived at the centre of the town.

Buno Rāmanātha was a pupil of Rāma Nārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana. He was a man of extraordinary genius, but has left no work behind him. His circumstances were very poor, yet he did not seek help from any body. He had sometimes to live on boiled tamarind leaves only

Once Maharāja Śiva Chandra of Krishnagar, wishing to patronise him, came to Nadia and asked him ; " Are you in any difficulty ? " Buno Rāmanātha replied " No, thanks ; I have repeatedly gone through the Tattvacintāmaṇi but have met with no difficulty." Then the Mahārāja said ; " I did not enquire of any difficulty of yours in Logic, but I desire to know whether you have any pecuniary wants." The reply again was : " No, thanks."

86. KRṢṢNA KĀNTA VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA
(ABOUT 1780 A.D.).

He was a pupil of Rāma Nārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana and was equally versed in Logic and Jurisprudence. He wrote the following works :—

- (1) Nyāya-ratnāvali.
- (2) Dāyabhāga-ṭika.
- (3) Gopāla-līlāmṛta.
- (4) Caitanya-candrāmṛta.
- (5) Kāminī-kāma-kautuka.

¹ *Buno* is the Bengali colloquial equivalent for Sanskrit *vanya* signifying "wild."

- (6) Upamāna cintāmaṇi-ṭikā.
 (7) Śabda sakti-prakāśikā-ṭikā.

He flourished during the time of Maharajā Giriśa Chandra of Krishnagar. He was too conscious of his genius. On his death-bed when he found that his end was drawing nigh, he said :—
 “ Let many stars shine in the sky, let lamps too spread their lustre in every house, let the little fireflies glitter from quarters to quarters; alas! the sun having set, what things do not shine before people !”¹

87. RĀJACUḌĀMAṆIMAKHIN.

Writers of Navya Nyāya have spread all over the country. In Madras Rājacuḍāmaṇimakhin² who was a minister in the Court of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, wrote a Tattva cintāmaṇi-darpaṇa in 1630 A.D.

88. DHARMARĀJĀDHVARIN.

Dharmarājādhvarin, a native of Kaṇḍaramāṇikkam, wrote a commentary on the Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa of Rucidatta.³

89. GOPĪNĀTHA MAUNI.
 (ABOUT 1650 A.D.).

He wrote Śabdāloka-rahasya, Tarkabhāṣā-ṭikā, and Padārthaviveka-ṭikā. He was a Maratha and lived in Benares during the time of Raja Jai Singh. He calls himself Lord of the Lily of Logic.⁴

- 1 अघिअगनसनेकासारका दोषिभाजः
 प्रतिष्ठहमपि दीपा दर्शयन्तु प्रभुलम्
 दिशि दिशि विलम्बु चन्द्रखसीतपोताः
 सवितरि परिभूते किञ्च लौकैर्व्यलोकि ॥
- 2 अधीत्य निश्चिन्तं शासनमजादौशरेष्ठिन ॥
 राजसूयामविमखौ कुरुते मणिदपणम् ॥
 तत्र कच्छरमाथिकमामरत्रनिवासिना ।
 मणिप्रकाशविष्टतिर्धर्मराजेन तन्यते ॥
 दशानामपि डीकानां भद्रं कुर्वन् कश्चित् कश्चित् ।
 अनुमानप्रकाशस्य विष्टतिं करवाण्यहम् ॥

⁴ Śabdāloka begins thus.—

सनामस्मिन् ग्रहणे प्रबन्धे परं परिहासकरः प्रयासः ।
 तथाप्यशक्ये मम साहसिके सेवा ममालम्बनसम्बिकायाः ॥
 उपदिष्टं पिष्टचरसौ स्वयमपि निष्टहि तं यज्ञैः ।
 शब्दालोकरहस्यं गोपीनाथो विवेचयति ॥

90. KRṢṢNA BHATṬA ĀDE.

Kṛṣṣna Bhaṭṭa Āde was a Maratha, who wrote a gloss on Gadādhari called Gadādhari-karsikā¹ and one on Śiromaṇi's Tat-tvacintāmaṇi while residing at Benares, where he died about 150 years ago. The gloss has been printed in Telegu characters.

91. MAHĀDEVA PUNTAMKAR
(ABOUT 1790 A.D.).

He was a Maratha resident in Poona and flourished about 125 years ago, during time of the end of the Peshawas (1795 A.D.) He wrote glosses on Bhavānandi-ṭikā.²

and ends:—

पितृहर्षनपतेर्बाह्यामत्र व्याख्यानवाचकं
तन्न भव्यापि मव्यासाविति त्याच्या मनीषिभिः ॥

इति श्री महामहोपाध्याय व्यायकुमुदिनीपति श्रीगोपीनाथविरचितं शब्दालोकरचमं ।
समाप्तं ॥

The MS., which is in Benares College, dated Śaivvat 1750, ends वन्द्ये
नमः । विद्वेच्छदाय नमः । अन्नपूर्णाय नमः ।

Gopinātha was also the author of पदार्थविवेक टीका which begins:—

अभेद भावनाऽकादभेदं हेतुचरं
विद्यतो दम्पती कौशित् कौशित्यार्थप्रदौ सुमः ॥

ends:—

राज्ञःश्रीजयसिंहस्य निरावाचेरि संज्ञके ।
सिद्धान्ततन्त्रसर्व्वस्यं गोपीनाथो विनिर्मिते ॥

इति श्रीगोपीनाथ मौनिनः कृतो पदार्थविवेकटीकायां ब्रह्मपदार्थः ।

1 Kṛṣṣna Bhaṭṭa's Gadādhari-karsikā begins thus:—

श्रीकृष्णं सुहृद्वानस्य कृष्णो मारुचयानुज-
गदाधरमतार्थाभां विप्यशीं तनुतेऽङ्गताम् ॥
रात्रनाथो दृष्यमर्मा पण्डितेभ्य कृतज्ञसिः
यासते भूय आनस्य दूष्यं बुद्धा वचो मन ॥

2 In one of the opening lines he states as follows:—

मन्ना पदान्मोज युगं शिवस्य
दन्ता गुरीशाखिलयुक्तिजातम् ।
हन्नातिगूढार्थविभावनं च
आप्यायते व्याप्तिरदभ्यसत्र ॥

ends:—

श्रीमत् पुण्यलक्षोपनायकसुकुम्भदपण्डितात्मजनहादेवपण्डितविरचिते भवानन्दोपकाशे उपा-
धिवाद्: समाप्तः ॥ गुजरातपञ्जासककेशवपण्डितात्मजवासुदेवपण्डितस्य सत्यमिदं पुस्तकम् ॥

92. RAGHUNĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ (PARVATA)
(ABOUT 1815 A.D.).

He was a Maratha, who wrote a gloss on Gadādhari-pañcavāda¹ while residing at Poona about 70 years ago.

¹ आग्निपञ्चकं, पञ्चता, अथवा, सामान्य निबन्धे ।

CHAPTER IV.

Present state of the Science of dialectics.

(1700—1900 A.D.).

93. PATRONAGE OF THE MAHARAJA OF NADIA.

Nadia is still the best centre where students from all parts of India come to study Nyāya, for it represents the best traditions of Nyāya at the present time. Towards the end of the seventeenth century Mahārāja Rāmakṛṣṇa Rāya of Nadia, having granted valuable landed properties to the Pandits, specially the Nyāya Pandits of Nadia, enlisted their sympathy and was styled Navadvīpādhipatī, overlord of Navadvīpa.

Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra Rāya of Nadia (1728—1782) was the last land-holder to encourage Pandits with monetary help. His council-room was adorned by Harirāma Tarkasiddhānta and Kṛṣṇānanda Vācaspati of Navadvīpa, Vaneśvara Vidyālaṅkāra of Guptipārā, Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana of Triveṇī and Rādhāmohana Goswami of Śāntīpura. There lived in the time of his son, Mahārāja Sivacandra Rāya (1782—1788) such famous Pandits as Śāṅkara Tarkavāgīśa and others. Mahārāja Iśvaracandra Rāya (1788—1802), Mahārāja Girīśacandra Rāya (1802-1842), and the Mahārājas of Burdwan and Nātore, gave a little encouragement, but it was not adequate.

94. THE PORTUGUESE TAKE AN INTEREST IN DIALECTICS.

The Jesuit missionaries, who lived in India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, took a great interest in Sanskrit and much valuable information is available from the accounts which they have left. The Portuguese Jesuits, while sending manuscripts from Pondicherry and Chandernagore to the King's Library at Paris, remark in 1732, that most of the manuscripts were collected from Navadvīpa. One missionary says: "The founder of the Nyāya School, which means disputation, is a famous Brāhmaṇa called Gautama." "Whatever research I made," says he, "I could not get his principles or aphorisms. I have obtained a commentary on them, which we have sent. The Nyāya School is the only one in vogue in the kingdom of Bengal, and it is for this reason that a large number of books by the authors of this sect are sent."

The missionary goes on to observe:—

"Gaṅgeśa is very famous: he is the author of the Cintā-

mañi, the name of which has clung to him. It is a book containing the whole of dialectics, according to Gotama's sentiments. Gaṅgeśa's dialectics have caused people to forget all the other parts of philosophy and to neglect the best authors, who are almost unknown since the decadence of letters under the Mogols."¹

Father Pons remarks :—

“The School of Nyāya (reason or judgment) has surpassed all the others in Logic, especially from the time, some centuries back, that the Academy of Nadia, in Bengal, became the most celebrated of India, thanks to its famous Professors, whose works have spread in every direction. . . . Nowadays they teach in the Nyāya schools hardly anything else besides Logic, which the Brāhmaṇas have stuffed with an endless number of questions, a great deal more subtle than useful. It is a chaos of minutiae, as Logic was in Europe about two centuries ago. The students spend several years in studying a thousand varieties of subtleties on the members of the syllogism, the causes, the negations, the genera, the species etc. They dispute stubbornly on suchlike trifles and go away without having acquired any other knowledge. The Nyāya has in consequence been given the name of *Tarkaśhāstram*.”²

Anquetil Du Perron, who had known Father Mosac at Chander-nagore since 1756, says that Father Mosac learnt Sanskrit at Nadia University and that his translation of the four Vedas, specially the Yajur Veda forms a part of his vast and learned collections.³

At the time the Portuguese searched for the books, the following works of Nyāya were prevalent in Bengal :—

- (1) Kusumāñjali, of Udayana.
- (2) Commentary on Kusumāñjali by Vardhamāna.
- (3) Dravya-kiraṇāvali of Udayana.
- (4) Commentary on Dravya-kiraṇāvali by Vardhamāna.
- (5) Guṇa-kiraṇāvali of Udayana.
- (6) Commentary on Guṇa-kiraṇāvali by Vardhamāna.
- (7) Commentary on Gotama-sūtra of Vacaspati.
- (8) Līlāvātī with Commentary.
- (9) Vādārtha in one volume comprising (i) Devatā-vāda, on the nature of the gods ; (ii) Mukti-vāda, on salvation ; (iii) Prāgabhāva, on future contingent things; (iv) Viśiṣṭha-

¹ Written on the 16th January, 1732.

² Letter of Father Pons, missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father Du Holde, of the same Society at Carical on the coast of Tanjour, in the East Indies, the 23rd of November, 1740 (translated by Father H. Hosten).

³ Mosac died at Pondicherry, 4th December, 1779, aged 75, a humble, able and deeply learned missionary, he was little communicative though very conciliating. See Anquetil Du Perron, *Mem. de l'Ann. des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XLIV, p. 395; Anquetil Du Perron, *Zend Avesta*, I, pt. 1, p. 225; Paris 1771.

- vaiśiṣṭha-vāda, on the qualities; (v) Vidhi-vāda, true meaning of laws, etc.
- (10) Bauddhādhikāra of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi in the volume of Kusumāñjali.
 - (11) Vādārtha-khaṇḍana showing that there is no other cause but God.
 - (12) Ākhyāta-vāda of Mathuranātha, on some points of grammar.
 - (13) Apūrva-vāda, on fate.
 - (14) Śakti-vāda, on power.
 - (15) Siddhānta-mukṭāvalī.
 - (16) Cintāmaṇi by Gaṅgesa.
 - (17) Pratyakṣa and Anumāna-khaṇḍa by Raghunātha.
 - (18) Commentary on Pratyakṣa and Anumāna-khaṇḍa of Mathurānātha.
 - (19) Mathurānātha on Vidhi-vāda.
 - (20) Bhavānanda on Anumāna.
 - (21) Bhavānanda on Śabda.
 - (22) Gadādhara the Master on the Pratyakṣa of Śiromaṇi.
 - (23) Gadādhara the Master on Anumāna of Śiromaṇi.
 - (24) Some special works of Gadādhara the Master.
 - (25) Jagadīśā on Anumāna of Śiromaṇi.¹

96. BRITISH GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES NYĀYA.

India came into the possession of British in 1757 A.D. Since then the students of Navadvīpa have received grants from the British Raj. In the year 1829 this was stopped, but was again restored in 1830 by the Governor-General in Council at the request of H. H. Wilson, the great orientalist.²

¹ The manuscripts were bought by Jesuit missionaries of Pondicherry and Chandernagore for the library of the King of France. These were sent to Paris on the 16th and 24th January, 1732. They are also mentioned in Abbe Jourdain's Journal. The accounts about sending these have been translated by Father H. Hosten through whose kindness I got access to the account and lists of books.

² The correspondence quoted below shows how great was the work done at a nominal expense. At present Bengal Government spends 28,000 Rupees annually for Sanskrit Tols. In every Province including Benares, pecuniary aid is being given to Tols:—

THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE IN CALCUTTA.

The humble petition of Sib Chandra Siromoni and other students belonging to the Nuddea Sanskrit College.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That your petitioners from the establishment of the College of Nuddea, they always received Sicca Rupees one hundred from the late zemindar Rajah Kissen Chunder Bahadoor, and during his zemindary being disposed off, your petitioners even obtained their said allowance from the Sirkar of the Honourable Company, but which being stopped from the month of June last, your petitioners had presented a petition before his Excellency the Governor-General in Council, and whereupon it was ordered that your petitioners must submit their representation through the Collector to the Board and then to the Government. Your poor petitioners in conformity of the said order, represented their case before the

The Government is spending lots of money for the maintenance of the chairs of Nyāya in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, at

day August 1829 has before the Commissioner W. Money of the Moorshidabad Division and who also being kindly pleased to report on the subject before your Board. Your petitioners do not know what they have stated within, but they your petitioners now confidently trust on the generosity of your Boardship.

As your petitioners hold the respective documents of obtaining their said allowance from the Sirkar of the Honourable Company and accordingly which they have even received without any molestation thereof

Your petitioners therefore now most humbly pray, that your honour will be so kindly pleased as to take this your petitioners deplorable case into your worship's kind and merciful consideration and be pleased to do the needful order as to retain and continue their said pension as they have obtained all along and thereby they might be able to acquire a competent knowledge of their progress etc., and by such an act of benevolence your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

CALCUTTA, }
February 1830. }

To

A. STERLING, ESQ.

The humble petition of Sib Chandra Siromoni and other students belonging to the Nuddea Sanskrit College.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That it is about a month ago your petitioners had presented a petition before His Excellency the Governor-General in Council respecting their allowance of Sicca Rupees one hundred which was restored by the late zemindar Rajah Kissen Chunder Bahadoor being since stopped, your (petitioner) being out of their pittance are under utmost trouble without any remedy thereof, the petition they your petitioners heard and believes has been referred to you for the adjustment of their prayer, if so the fact your petitioners humbly pray of your worship will be so kindly pleased as to do the needful order for the succession of their said allowance through the Collector of that district as that is has been all along carried and by your such an act of humanity your petitions shall ever pray for your welfare and increase of wealth.

CALCUTTA.

(No. 1031.)

To

W. W. BIRD AND W. FAME, ESQ.,

Sudder Board of Revenue.

GENTLEMEN,

With reference to your letter, dated the 12th February last, relative to a monthly allowance of 100 rupees paid from Treasury of the Collector of Nuddea for the support and instruction of students, resorting from distant parts of the country to that place, I am directed by the Governor in Council to transmit to you for information the accompanying copy of a letter and of its enclosures from the Deputy Persian Secretary to Government, dated the 16th ultimo, on that subject. You will be pleased to instruct the Collector to continue the pension in question to the Nuddea students and to discharge the arrears which may have accrued from the date on which the payment of it was stopped.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(SD.) W. H. MACNAGHTEN,

Off. Deputy Secy. to Govt.

FORT WILLIAM, (

Navadvīpa, Bhātpārā, Puri and other places. Public examinations have been instituted for the encouragement of Nyāya along with other branches of learning.

A subsidy has also been granted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for publication of Sanskrit books, including dialectical works.

At present all the works and dialectics are being collected. English, French, German and other scholars are collecting Sanskrit books including books on dialectics.

There are heaps of manuscripts in the libraries of Europe, such as the British Museum, India Office, the Imperial Academy of Vienna, the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, Musée National of Paris, etc. Catalogues are being prepared, and great facilities are being given for the study of dialectical works

97. RISE OF VERNACULAR DETRIMENTAL TO NYĀYA.

On account of the great attention given to vernaculars at the present day the study of Nyāya is declining. Great encouragement is being given to vernacular studies. The Dacca University Committee observes¹ that "the Bengali language has made great progress under British Rule, and its further development should be regarded as one of the duties of the state universities of the Bengal Presidency." The Calcutta University has already recognized—as the result of the zealous and devoted work of Sir Asutosh Mukerjee—the vernaculars up to the M.A. standard. Several well-organized societies such as the Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad and the Sāhitya Sabhā have been founded to cultivate the Bengali language. Nyāya written in Sanskrit is not much appreciated. Nyāya written in an easier language is acceptable, but even then the diction of such works cannot be easy.

97. THE UNIVERSITIES ON THE WESTERN MODEL.

As a result of long controversies dating from 1792 A.D. the Calcutta University was founded in 1854. The universities of Calcutta and other places have made suitable arrangements for the study of western learning. Nadia and other archaic universities are declining, being unable to make headway against the more scientific methods of study which are developing under the influence of Calcutta and of the other universities, established by the Imperial British Government, with the object of encouraging eastern and western learning side by side. In spite of the strenuous efforts made by the British Government to foster study and research in indigenous Logic, it is at its lowest ebb, as the degrees of

¹ Dacca University Committee Report, Chap. VII, p. 31.

a modern university are held in greater regard than those of the archaic universities of Mithilā and Nadia, because, it is often alleged, that in comparison with the Logic of Europe, Indian Logic though subtle, is cumbrous in its method, forbidding in its language, and less profitable in its material results.

APPENDIX A.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TAXILA.

A.

Takṣaśilā or Taxila was the capital of a province of Gāndhāra and is situated near the river of Sadheri in the Rawalpindi district. The high antiquity of Taxila can be best gathered from the fact that it was famous in the time of Buddha as a University town in India and that Gāndhāra, of which it forms a part, is mentioned in both the Rig-veda and the Atharva-veda, and in the Upanishads and Buddhist literature. In historical times¹ we notice it came under the sway of Cyrus the Great (558—530 B.C.), who is said to have conquered it along with other provinces of Gāndhāra. It is said to have remained in the possession of his successor, Cambyses, who ruled the Persian empire from 530 to 522 B.C. It remained a Persian province for nearly two centuries; and after the downfall of the empire in 331 B.C., it, along with other provinces, came under the sway of Alexander the Great. Herodotus relates that Skylax was first sent by Darius (probably about 510 B.C.) to conduct a fleet of ships from a tributary of the Indus into the Gāndhāra country. Ctesias (415-319 B.C.) resided at the Persian Court for 17 years as physician during the reigns of Darius II and Artaxerxes Memnon, during which time Gāndhāra is said to have remained a Persian province. An interesting relic of Persian influence at Taxila is an inscription in Aramaic character of the fourth or fifth century B.C., which is the only Aramaic record that has yet been found in India.²

Early in the spring of 326 B.C. Alexander with his army entered into the territories of the king of Taxila, who had already tendered his submission. Later on we find it to be a part of the Magadha Empire under the Mauryas, which is clearly evidenced by the fact that Aśoka was viceroy of Taxila. The territory of Gāndhāra, including Taxila, was again conquered by Euthydemus or Democritus and was subsequently wrested from the family of Greek princes by Eucratides. The inscriptions and coins further show that the family of Eucratides was supplanted

¹ E. J. Rapson's 'Ancient India.'

² 'A Guide to Taxila' by Sir John Marshall.

by the Śaka satraps in Taxila, but the princes continued to hold the Kabul valley until the last vestiges of their rule, which had survived the attacks of the Śakas, were swept away by the Kushans.

There is a copper-plate inscription of the satrap of Taxila, Pātilā by name, which records the deposit of the relics of Buddha and a donation made in the 78th year of some (Parthian ?) era (probably corresponding to 93 B.C.) during the reign of king Mogo or Manes. There has been discovered a column-inscription of one Heliodorus, a Greek native of Taxila and a Vaishnava convert which runs as follows :—

“ This Garuda-column of Vāsudeva (Vishnu) the god of gods, was erected here by Heliodorus, a worshipper of Vishnu, the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Taxila, who came as Greek Ambassador from the great king Antialcidas to king Kaśiputra Bhāgabhadra, the Saviour, then reigning, prosperously in the fourteenth year of his kingship.”

B.

“ Three immortal precepts (footsteps) . . . when practised lead to heaven—self restraint, charity, conscientiousness.”¹

Taxila was one of the great cities of the East, and was famous as the principal seat of Hindu learning in Northern India, to which scholars of all classes flocked for instruction, especially in medical science.² In the *Mahāvagga* VIII. 3 (Dr. Oldenberg's ed.), we find Jīvaka, who was a physician to Buddha, was educated in surgery and medicine at Taxila. Ample references have been met with in the Jātakas that people received education in lieu for school-fees or service rendered to their-teachers. Jīvaka, the physician of Buddha is said to have received education by rendering service to the physicians at Taxila.³ Generally the three Vedas and eighteen Vidyās or *sippas* were taught there.

Philostratus in his life of Apollonius of Tyana gives an account of that philosopher's visit to India. The account tells us that the philosopher had a Babylonian guide, named Damis; that Phrontes, king of Taxila, spoke in Greek and that up to 12 years of age he was educated in the Greek fashion and was sent afterwards to the Brahmins. Also that Taxila was about the size of Nineveh and walled like a Greek city

¹ Sir John Marshal, K.C.I.E., in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, p. 1053.

² Vide Archæological discoveries at Taxila by Sir John Marshall.

³ Vide my Buddha-deva, pp. 160—170 and 220—223, also Jātakas, Vol. I, p. 259, Vol. V, pp. 161, 210, 457.

and was the residence of a sovereign, who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus. From Taxila to the hill of Saphoi the villagers also spoke Greek. That the people living in Saphoi knew the Pythagorean philosophy. We also learn from the narrative that the Greek and the Indian philosophers were mutually acquainted with each other's systems, and held each other in high honour. The Brahmins specially loved the Greeks and looked upon them as akin to themselves in mind and disposition. There was inter-communication between India, Babylon, and Egypt. Apollonius's journey shows that overland journeys from Babylon to India was constantly made by travellers. That the Babylonians were in the habit of making this journey regularly, is clearly indicated by the fact that Philostratus engaged the services of a Babylonian guide. That the Indian king showed much courtesy to the travellers and that such visits were frequently made, is clearly proved by the fact that travelling allowances paid to the guides formed a recognised and well-known item of expenditure of the frontier sovereign.

Arrian, Strabo, Ptolemy, Dionysius, Pliny, Fa-Hien and Hieun-Tsang all have spoken of this place. Hieun-Tsang, who visited Taxila in the 7th century A.D. says that the royal family was extinct; that formerly it was in subjection to Kapisa and latterly was a tributary to Kashmir, and that the nobles contended for power by force. After the 9th century we hear no more of Taxila.¹

¹ Beal's 'Buddhist records of the Western World'; 'Early History of India' by V. A. Smith; Buddha-deva by Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan; Arrian, etc., Jātaka, Archæological Survey; B., C. Law's, 'Taxila,' volume 12, No. 1, etc.

APPENDIX B

INFLUENCE OF ARISTOTLE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYLLOGISM IN INDIAN LOGIC.

1. TARKA-ŚĀSTRA OF GOTAMA (ABOUT 550 B.C.).

The Nyāya-sūtra, which is supposed to be the earliest work extant on Nyāya philosophy, treats of four distinct subjects, viz. (1) the art of debate (*tarka*), (2) the means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*), (3) the doctrine of syllogism (*avayava*), and (4) the examination of contemporaneous philosophical doctrines (*anyamata-parīkṣā*). The first subject, ample references to which are met with in the old Brahmanic, Buddhistic, and Jaina works, seems to have been first handled by a sage named Gotama or Gautama, who is reputed to have flourished in Mithilā (North Behar) about 550 B.C. The second subject, which is also referred to in old books, was associated with the art of debate at a very early stage. These two subjects, combined together, constitute the Tarka-śāstra (the philosophy of reasoning), popularly known as Gautamī-vidyā (the Gotamide learning).³

2. THE NYĀYA-SŪTRA OF AKṢAPĀDA (ABOUT 150 A.D.).

The third subject, the doctrine of the Syllogism, does not appear to have been known in India a considerable time before the Christian era. The fourth subject refers to numerous philosophical doctrines that were propounded from time to time up to the second century A.D.³ Gotama's Tarka-śāstra, after these two subjects had been introduced into it, became, about the second century A.D., designated as the Nyāya-sūtra—the aphorisms on logic. The term "Nyāya" in the sense of logic occurs in the Mahābhārata (Ādi-parva, adhyāya 1, verse 67; adhyāya 70, verses 42-4; and Sānti-parva, adhyāya 210, verse 22); Viṣṇu-purāṇa (3rd pt., adhyāya 6); Matsya-purāṇa (3, 2); Padma-purāṇa (Uttara-

¹ This is a reprint, in an altered form, of an article published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

² For Gotama or Gautama as the founder of Tarka-śāstra, see Naiṣadhacarita, Bk. xvii. verse 75; Padma-purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa, ch. 263; and Skanda-purāṇa, Kālikā-khaṇḍa, ch. xvii.

³ Some philosophical doctrines of the third and fourth centuries A.D. were incorporated into the Nyāya-sūtra of Akṣapāda by Vātsyāyana the first commentator (about 400 A.D.), through the introduction of certain sūtras of his own, making fathered upon Akṣapāda.

khaṇḍa, ch. 263); Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā (I, 3), etc., in passages which are presumed to have been written after the second century A.D. We are not surprised to find that the Mahābhārata mentions even a syllogism,¹ called a speech of five parts, in which Nārada is said to have been an expert, when we consider that the Great Epic refers also to the voracious Romans called Romaka,² who, according to it, "came adorned with helmets and clad in endless garments to pay tributes" to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his coronation at Delhi. It is quite possible that the passage which refers to the syllogism was written after the intercourse of Rome with India had commenced and possibly after the second century A.D.

In the early commentaries³ on the Nyāya-sūtra, the author of the sūtra is distinctly named as Akṣapāda, while in the Padma-purāṇa⁴ and other works Gotama or Gautama is credited with the authorship of the sūtra Ananta-yajvan,⁵ in his commentary on the Piṭṛmedha-sūtra, observes that Gautama and Akṣapāda were the same person, while the Nyāya-koṣa⁶ mentions a legend to account for the name as applied, according to it, to Gautama. As no credible evidence has been adduced in either case, I consider the identification as fanciful, and maintain that Gotama or Gautama was quite different from Akṣapāda, but that both of them contributed to the production of the Nyāya-sūtra, one at its early stage and the other in its final form. Indeed, Akṣapāda, unlike Gotama or Gautama, is reported in the Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa⁷ to have been a son of Somaśarmā, who resided at Prabhāsa, near Broach, in Kathiawar, on the sea-coast.

3. WHEN WAS THE SYLLOGISM FIRST USED IN INDIA?

Though Akṣapāda introduced into the Nyāya-sūtra the doctrine of the syllogism, he was by no means the first promulgator of the doctrine—nay, not even its first disseminator. The doctrine⁸

¹ Pañcāvayava-yuktasya vākyasya guṇa-doṣavit (Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, adhyāya 51, verse 5).

² Auṣṇikānantavāsāśmīca Romakān puruṣādakān (Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, adhyāya 51, verse 16).

³ Vide the concluding verse of the Nyāya-bhāṣya (about 400 A.D.), the opening verse of the Nyāya-vārttika (about 630 A.D.), and the opening lines of the Nyāya-vārttika tātparyā-tikā (about 976 A.D.).

⁴ Padma-purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa, ch. 263.

⁵ Vide Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, p. 85.

⁶ Nyāya-koṣa, 2nd ed., Bombay.

⁷ The Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa, published under the name of Vāyu-purāṇa by A.S.B., adhyāya 23, verses 201-3.

⁸ Seeing that the Greek word "Syllogismos" and the Sanskrit word "Satīkhyā" or "Sāṁkhyā" are identical in signification, one may say that Aristotle derived his doctrine of the Syllogism from the Sāṁkhyā Philosophy of Kapila. But the Sāṁkhyā Philosophy is not known to have dealt with the doctrine of the Syllogism at all.

was carried to great perfection in Greece by Aristotle in the fourth century B.C. (384–322 B.C.). That it was known even in India prior to Akṣapāda is apparent from a notice of the same in the Caraka-saṁhitā,¹ about 78 A.D. In fact, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact date at which the syllogistic reasoning was first used in India. It is also a problem of enormous difficulty to determine whether there is any genetical connexion between the syllogism as propounded in the Indian Logic and that propounded in the Greek Logic. Of the four subjects treated in the Nyāya-sūtra already referred to, the first, second, and fourth are undoubtedly of Indian origin. As to the third subject (syllogism), some scholars say that it, too, is of indigenous growth, as it forms a part of inference, a kind of *pramāṇa*, which originated in India. But on investigation into the history of the development of inference and the syllogism we find that in origin they were altogether distinct, though ultimately there was an amalgamation between them.

4. NO CONNEXION BETWEEN AN INFERENCE AND A SYLLOGISM AT THEIR EARLY STAGE.

The notice of inference (*anumāna*) in old books such as the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra (3, 1, 9 and 9, 2, 1) and the Caraka-saṁhitā (Sūtra-sthāna, ch. xi, and Vimāna-sthāna, ch. viii) is very meagre. The Nyāya-sūtra (1, 2, 5), which gives a more comprehensive account, defines inference as knowledge which is preceded by perception and as being of three kinds, *viz.* : (1) (knowledge which arises from the perception of what is) like the prior (*pūrvavat*), *e.g.* on seeing clouds one infers that there will be rain; (2) (knowledge which arises from the perception of what is) like the posterior (*śeṣavat*), *e.g.* on seeing a river swollen one infers that there was rain; and (3) (knowledge which arises from the perception of what is) commonly seen (*sāmānyato dr̥ṣṭa*) *e.g.* on seeing an animal possessing horns one infers that it also possesses a tail. The inference, as illustrated here from the Nyāya-sūtra, was in essence a guess or conjecture which was neither a source of absolutely valid knowledge nor in any way connected with a syllogism. In order, therefore, to ascertain whether there is any genetical connexion between the syllogism of Indian Logic and that of the Greek Logic, I shall analyse here the two syllogisms side by side, with occasional references to the rules controlling them.

¹ Concerning the date of the Caraka-saṁhitā see *Journal Asiatique*, tom. viii, pp. 447-51, 1896, where M. Sylvain Lévi maintains on the authority of Chinese books that Caraka, the author of the Caraka-saṁhitā, lived at the Court of Kaniska (in Jālandhara, Punjab). I provisionally take the date of Kaniska to be 78 A.D.

5. *The Syllogism in Indian Logic conforms to the logical rules of Aristotle.*

A. CARAKA-SAMHITĀ
(78 A.D.)

A. ARISTOTLE
(384-322 B.C.)

a. *Demonstration and Counter-demonstration.*

a. *Demonstrative and Refutative Enthymemes.*

The Caraka-samhitā (Vimāna-sthāna, ch. viii), which contains the earliest information available on syllogism, analyses a demonstration (*sthāpanā*) and a counter-demonstration (*pratiṣṭhāpanā*) as follows :—

Aristotle, in his Rhetoric (bk. ii, p. 194, Welldon's ed.), speaks of two species of enthymemes, viz. demonstrative and refutative, which correspond respectively to the demonstration and counter-demonstration of the Caraka-samhitā. The demonstrative enthymeme of Aristotle, like the demonstration of the Caraka-samhitā, consists in drawing conclusions from admitted propositions, while the

DEMONSTRATION (*sthāpanā*).

(1) Proposition (*pratījñā*). The soul is eternal.

(2) Reason (*hetu*). Because it is non-produced.

1 Dr. B. M. Barua, a distinguished pupil of mine, differs from me on this point. He would however hold that syllogistic forms existed prior to the time of the Greek influence. As an authority he points out the following passages from the Mahāpadāna Suttantā (Dīgha, II, No. 1) where the *Dhammatā* doctrine put in the syllogistic forms involves the double process of deduction and induction :—

Deductive method :—

All Buddhas are equal in all respects,
One Buddha lost his mother on the seventh day of his birth,
All Buddhas lost their mothers on the seventh day of their birth,

Inductive method :—

All past Buddhas had lost their mothers on the seventh day of their birth,
The present Buddha lost his mother on the seventh day of his birth,
All future Buddhas will lose their mothers on the seventh day of their birth.

Thus by the law (*Dhammatā*) all Buddhas lose their mothers on the seventh day of their birth. This conclusion though formally correct is materially absurd.

My other pupil, Mr. Hirendra Lal Sen Gupta, M.A., a distinguished student of the Mahāyāna philosophy, in the Calcutta University, agrees with the above view and as illustrations he alludes to the numerous passages of controversy in the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, Suttas 1 and 2, one of which having a crude form of syllogism thus:

My being wrong is a hindrance to me.
The sense of remorse is due to my being wrong.
The sense of remorse is a hindrance to me.

These illustrations according to Dr. Barua and Mr. Sen Gupta goes to prove that the ancient Hindus knew the syllogism before the Greeks came to India.

In reply I may say that one may use language involving Syllogism, yet one may not be aware of the art of Syllogism. Syllogism being a simple course of reasoning, men all over the world may use expressions illustrative of Syllogism. It was the Hindus and the Greeks that systematised the expressions and made a law out of them and I believe the Greeks preceded the Hindus in making that law.

(3) Example (*dr̥ṣṭānta*). That which is non-produced is eternal, as ether.

(4) Application (*upanaya*). The soul is non-produced.

(5) Conclusion (*nigamana*). Therefore the soul is eternal.

COUNTER-DEMONSTRATION (*pratiṣṭhāpanā*).

(1) The soul is non-eternal.

(2) Because it is cognized by the senses.

(3) That which is cognized by the senses is non-eternal, as a pot.

(4) The soul is cognized by the senses.

(5) Therefore the soul is non-eternal.

The Caraka-saṁhitā, which analyses demonstration and counter-demonstration into five members, does not give any clear definition of those members. "Dr̥ṣṭānta," which in the old Tarka-śāstra signified an instance familiar to the learned and the fool alike, was adopted designate the third member, although in its old sense it did not indicate the principle of connexion (between the middle term and the major term) involved in the member.

refutative enthymeme of Aristotle, like the counter-demonstration of the Caraka-saṁhitā, consists in drawing conclusions which are inconsistent with those of one's adversary.

The enthymeme is defined by Aristotle (in his Rhetoric, bk. i, p. 16, Welldon's ed.) as a syllogism with its constituent parts fewer than those of a normal syllogism, that is, a syllogism of which the major premise, minor premise, or the conclusion is suppressed as being well known to the audience, who can supply the same of their own accord.

The demonstration in the Caraka-śaṁhitā is obviously a combination of an enthymeme which comprises the first two parts of the demonstration and an example which comprises the last three parts of it. This is quite in conformity with the rule of Aristotle, who (in his Rhetoric, bk. ii, p. 184, Welldon's ed.) observes that an example may be used as a supplement to an enthymeme to serve the purpose of a testimony which is invariably persuasive. This rule may be illustrated as follows :—

Enthymeme.

(1) The soul is eternal,

(2) Because it is non-produced.

Example.

(3) That which is non-produced is eternal, as ether,

(4) The soul is non-produced,

(5) Therefore the soul is eternal.

B. AKṢAPĀDA
(ABOUT 150 A.D.).¹

b. *Analysis into five members*
(*Avayava*).

Akṣapāda in his Nyāya-sūtra (1, 1, 32) mentions the five parts of a demonstration under the name of *avayava* (members) as follows :—

(1) Proposition (*pratijñā*). This hill is full of fire.

(2) Reason (*hetu*). Because it is full of smoke.

(3) Example (*udāharaṇa*). That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

(4) Application (*upanaya*). This hill is full of smoke

(5) Conclusion (*nigamana*). Therefore, this hill is full of fire.

c. *Example (udāharaṇa)*.

Akṣapāda calls the example an *udāharaṇa* which he divides into two kinds, *viz.* affirmative (*sādharmya*) and negative (*vaidharmya*). An affirmative example is defined in the Nyāya-sūtra (1, 1, 36) as a familiar instance, which, being similar to the minor term, possesses the property of that term as co-present (with the reason). A negative example is defined (in the Nyāya-sūtra, 1, 1, 37) as a familiar instance, which is contrary to what has been stated in the case of the affirmative example, that is, in which there is an absence of the property implying an absence of the reason. The definition may be illustrated as follows :—

B. ARISTOTLE.

Analysis of syllogism and demonstration (analytics).

The term *avayava*, used by Akṣapada to signify parts or members of a syllogism or demonstration, corresponds to the term *analytics*, which refers to the section of the *Organon* in which Aristotle analyses the syllogism and demonstration into their principles (*vide* O.F. Owen's translations of the *Organon*, Prior Analytics, bk. i ch. i, p. 80).

c. *Example (paradeigma)*.

The affirmative example (*sādharmya udāharaṇa*), as defined by Akṣapāda, corresponds exactly to the example (*paradeigma*), as explained by Aristotle (in his Prior Analytics, bk. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 232). An example, according to Aristotle, occurs when the major term is shown to be present with the middle, through something similar to the minor; but it is necessary to know that the middle is with the minor, and the major with what is similar, *e.g.* :—

(1) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

(2) The hill is full of smoke.

(3) Therefore the hill is full of fire.

¹ Concerning the age of Akṣapāda, *vide* introduction to *Daśapadārthī*, translated by Mr. Ui and edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (in the press).

Affirmative Example.

- (1) The hill is full of fire.
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen (affirmative conclusion).

- (1) The hill is not smoky.
- (2) Because it is non-fiery.
- (3) That which is non-fiery is not smoky, as a lake (negative conclusion).

Negative Example.

- (1) The hill is full of fire.
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) That which is not full of fire is not full of smoke, as a lake.

The reason (*hetu*), as expounded by Akṣapāda (in the Nyāya-sūtra, 1, 1, 34, 35), is of two kinds, *viz.* affirmative and negative. An affirmative reason is the means which, through its homogeneity or connexion with the example, establishes what is to be established, while a negative reason is the means which, through its heterogeneity or separation from the example, establishes what is to be established. The definitions may be illustrated as follows :—

Affirmative Reason.

- (1) The hill is full of fire.
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

Negative Reason.

- (1) The hill is not full of smoke.
- (2) Because it is not full of fire.
- (3) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

The negative example and negative reason expounded by Akṣapāda (in the Nyāya-sūtra, 1, 1, 35, 37) possess apparently no counterparts in the *Organon* (Prior Analytics) of Aristotle. From the illustration of the example and reason (affirmative and negative) given by Akṣapāda it appears that he admitted the universal affirmative conclusion in what is called by Aristotle the "first figure" and the universal negative conclusion in the first and second figures. Now, if a conclusion in the first figure is to be negative, the major premise must be negative, and, if a conclusion in the second figure is to be negative, the minor premise must be negative (*vide* Prior Analytics, bk. i, chs. iv, v, pp. 85-94). Considering that the major and minor premises of Aristotle correspond respectively to the example and reason of Akṣapāda, it becomes absolutely necessary to admit a negative example and a negative reason as counter-parts of the negative major premises and the negative minor premise.

C. NĀGĀRJUNA (250-300 A.D.).
MAITREYA (400 A.D.)¹

d. Function of an Example.

The Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna, in his *Upāya-kauśalya-hṛdaya-śāstra* (Chinese version, ch. i, sect. 1), gives an elaborate explanation of example (*udāharana*), which is either affirmative or negative, and which must, according to him be mentioned to make clear the reasons of the disputant and his respondent. The Buddhist philosopher Maitreya, in his *Yoga-caryā-bhūmi-śāstra* (Chinese version, vol. xv), treats of proofs (*sādhaka*) which include a proposition (*siddhānta*), a reason (*hetu*), and an example (*udāharana*, affirmative or negative). Though in the commentaries (*Nyāya-bhāṣya*, 1, 1, 37, and *Nyāya-vārttika*, 1, 1, 37) on the *Nyāya-sūtra* the "application" and "conclusion" are considered as essential parts of a syllogism, inasmuch as these on the strength of the general principle involved in the example, reassert the reason and restate the proposition in a decisive way; Nāgārjuna and Maitreya, on the other hand, reject them as superfluous on the ground of their not being different from the reason and proposition.² The three members of a syllogism expounded by Nāgārjuna and Maitreya are as follows:—

C. ARISTOTLE.

d. Use of an Example.

The three members of a syllogism, as explained by Nāgārjuna, Maitreya, and others, constitute what is called an example. Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric* (bk. ii, p. 184, Welldon's ed.), observes that it is proper, in default of enthymemes, to make use of examples as logical proofs, these being the natural means of producing conviction. In the *Prior Analytics* (bk. ii, ch. xxiv, p. 233, O. F. Owen's ed.), it is further observed that the example differs from induction in that the latter proves the universal from a complete enumeration of individuals, while the former attempts to prove it from a single individual or from some selected individuals, and in that the induction steps at the universal, while the example draws syllogistically a conclusion in respect of the minor term, *e.g.* :

- (1) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.
- (2) The hill is full of smoke
- (3) Therefore the hill is full of fire.

The above may also be put in the reverse order as follows :

- (1) The hill is full of fire.
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp 68, 73.

² It is perhaps the view of Nāgārjuna and Maitreya, and surely also of Dignāga, that is referred to under the name of "Bauddha" in the *Nyāya-vārttika*, 1, 1, 37.

- (1) The hill is full of fire.
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) That which is full of smoke is full of fire, as a kitchen.

D. VASUBANDHU
(ABOUT 450 A.D.).

e. Syllogism of two members.

Vasubandhu in his *Tarka-śāstra* (Chinese version, ch. 1) treats of syllogism as consisting of five members, but in his *Ronki* (*Vādavidhi*), as quoted by Kwei-ke² he is said to have maintained that a syllogism consists of two members only, *viz.* the proposition and the reason, and that the terms necessary for a syllogism are only three, *viz.* the minor, the major, and the middle. In the *Nyāya-vārttika* (1, 1, 37) and the *Nyāya-vārttika - tātparya-ṭikā* (1, 1, 37)³ Vasubandhu, designated as Subandhu, is stated to have held that a syllogism consists of only two members, and that the example is quite superfluous. The Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara⁴ (in his *Nyāyāvatāra*, v. 20) refers to Vasubandhu, when he says that according to experts in logic a

We may also regard the syllogism expounded by Nāgārjuna and Maitreya as comprising an enthymeme and an example, for the example sometimes consists of only one proposition.¹

D. ARISTOTLE.

e. A perfect Syllogism.

The form of syllogism laid down by Vasubandhu conforms in the main to the rules laid down by Aristotle with regard to a perfect syllogism, *viz.* that every syllogism consists of two premises and one conclusion, so that there are altogether three terms in a syllogism (*vide* *Prior Analytics*, bk. i, ch. xxv, pp. 140—2). A syllogism is defined by Aristotle (in *Prior Analytics*, bk. i, ch. i, p. 92) as a sentence (or speech) in which, certain things being laid down, something different from the premises necessarily results in consequence of their existence, *e.g.*

Premises.

- (1) All that is full of smoke is full of fire.
- (2) This hill is full of smoke.

¹ George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, ii, ch. vi, p. 275, observes in a footnote as follows: "If we turn to ch. xxvii, p. 70, a. 30—4, we shall find Aristotle on a different occasion disallowing altogether the so-called syllogism from example."

² Sugiura's *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, p. 32.

³ *Vide* S. C. Vidyabhusana's "Vātsvāyana, author of the *Nvāvabhāsva*" in the *Indian Antiquary* for April, 1915.

⁴ *Nyāyāvatāra* (verse 20), edited by S. C. Vidyabhusana and published by the Indian Research Society, Calcutta. Siddhasena Divākara flourished about 500—33 A.D. *Vide* S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 15.

proposition can be proved without any example, if there is invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term, and in the absence of such invariable concomitance the proof is impossible even with the example.

Such being the view of Vasubandhu, his syllogism is of the following form:—

- (1) This hill is full of fire.
- (2) Because it is full of smoke.
- (3) All that is full of smoke being full of fire.

E. DIGNĀGA
(ABOUT 590 A.D.).

Inference for one's self and inference for the sake of others.

Asaṅga in his Prakaraṇārya-vācā-sūtra (Chinese version, vol. xi) omits inference altogether and substitutes for it a syllogism of five members. Dignāga in his Pramāṇa-samuccaya retains inference under the name of an inference for one's self and affiliates syllogism to inference by calling it an inference for the sake of others.²

g. Definition of the minor term.

In the Pramāṇa-samuccaya,³ ch. iii, Dignāga defines a minor term (*pakṣa*) as that of which the major term is chosen to be

Conclusion.

- (3) Therefore this hill is full of fire.

E. ARISTOTLE.

f. The dialectic proposition and demonstrative proposition.

The distinction made by Dignāga between an inference for one's self and that for the sake of others corresponds exactly to the distinction made by Aristotle (in his Prior Analytics, bk. i, ch. i, p. 81) between a dialectic proposition and a demonstrative proposition.

g. Explanation of a proposition.

Just as in an inference for one's self the predicability of the major term in respect of the minor term is a matter of ques-

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, p. 80.

² Rañ-don-ni tshul-gsum-rtag-las don-mthoñ waño.

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, ch. ii, Tangyur, Mdo, xc, fol. 5).

Gshan-gyi-don-gyi-rjes-dpag-ni ran-gis mthoñ-don-gsal-byed-yin

(Pramāṇa-samuccaya, ch. iii, Tangyur, Mdo, xc, fol. 9).

³ Vide Tangyur, Mdo, xc, fol. 7.

predicated. The Jaina logician Siddhasena Divākara ¹ (500-550 A.D.), in his Nyāyāvatāra, verse 14, says that in an inference for the sake of others the minor term is to be defined as that of which it is assumed that the major term is predicable. In an inference for one's self, on the other hand, the minor term is to be defined, according to old Indian logicians, as that of which it is questionable whether the major term is predicable.

tion or doubt, while in an inference for the sake of others it is a matter of assumption, so also in the *Organon* of Aristotle (Prior Analytics, bk. i, ch. i, p. 81) the dialectic is an interrogation of contradiction, while the demonstration is an assumption of one part of the contradiction. In the *Organon* (De Interpretatione, ch. xi, pp. 67-8. O. F. Owen's edition) a dialectic is stated indeed to be an interrogation, for a choice should be given from the interrogation to enunciate this or that part of the contradiction. This statement coincides with the definition of Dignāga, according to whom the debater chooses the major term as predicable of the minor.

h. Three characteristics of the middle term.

In an inference for one's self, as well as in that for the sake of others, the middle term, if it is to lead to a valid conclusion, must possess the following characteristics ² :—

(1) The middle term must cover the minor term. *e.g.* the hill is smoky.

(2) The middle term must be present in places in which there is the major term, *e.g.* that which is smoky is fiery.

(3) The middle term must be absent from places where there is an absence of the major term, *e.g.* that which is not fiery (non-fiery) is not smoky.

h. The middle term in a syllogism.

The characteristics laid down by Dignāga correspond exactly to those laid down by Aristotle. In the *Organon* (Prior Analytics, bk. i, ch. iv, pp. 85-6. O. F. Owen's edition) it is stated that, when three terms so subsist with reference to one another that the minor is covered by the middle and the middle is or is not covered by the major, then there is necessarily a perfect syllogism of the major and the minor.

This statement may be illustrated as follows :—

¹ Sādhyābhyupagamah pakṣah (Nyāyāvatāra, verse 14, edited by S. C. Vidya-bhusana). Sandigdha-sādhyā-dharmatvam pakṣatvam (quoted in the Tattva-cintāmani, anumāna-khaṇḍa, p. 407, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

² (1) Phyogs-kyi chos-ñid-dan, (2) Mthun-pahi-phyogs-ñid-la yod-par-nes-pa-dan, (3) Mi-mthun-pahi-phyogs la-med-pa-ñid-du-nes-pa-yan-ño, (Dignāga's Nyāya-pra-veśa, Tangyur, Mdo, xcv, fol. 183b).

The above characteristics, as applicable to an affirmative or negative conclusion, may be illustrated as follows: —

A

- (1) This hill is fiery.
- (2) Because it is smoky.
- (3) That which is smoky is fiery.

B

- (1) This hill is not smoky.
- (2) Because it is non-fiery.
- (3) That which is non-fiery is not smoky.

F. DHARMAKĪRTI¹
(600-50. A.D.).

*Demonstration through three kinds of middle term.*²

The Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, in his Nyāya-bindu, ch. ii, divides the middle term (*linga*, sign)³ into three kinds in accordance with the relations which it bears to the major term. The relations are as follows:—

(1) Selfsameness, inherence, or “being the essence of that” (*svabhāva*, *samavāya*, *tādātmya*), which occurs when the predicate (or major term) is in essence wholly included in the subject, (or middle term), e.g. this is a tree, because it is *śimśapā*.

(2) Effect, also called “origination from that” (*kāryya*, *tadutpatti*), which occurs when the predicate (major term) and the sub-

A

- (1) That which is smoky is fiery.
- (2) This hill is smoky.
- (3) Therefore this hill is fiery.

B

- (1) That which is non-fiery is not smoky.
- (2) This hill is non-fiery.
- (3) Therefore this hill is not smoky.

F. ARISTOTLE.

Demonstration through the medium of essence and cause.

The two relations, viz. “selfsameness” (or “inherence”) and “effect”, as expounded by Dharmakīrti, correspond to the two relations, viz. “*per se*” (inherence) and “causal”, as expounded by Aristotle in his Posterior Analytics (bk. i, ch. iv, pp. 253-5, and bk. i, ch. xxiv, p. 301).

(1) *Per se* (essence or inherence).—The predicate (major term) is said to be related to the subject (middle term *per se* essentially), if the properties of the former are inherent in the definition of the latter.

(2) The causal.—The predicate (major term), which is essentially present with the subject (middle

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyabhusana's *Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 103-5.

² Dignāga in his *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Chap. II.

³ *Trīṇyeva ca liṅgāni, anupalabdhiḥ svabhāva-kāryye ceti* (Nyāyabindu, ch. ii. v. 164. *Bibliotheca Indica*).

ject (middle term) stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect. e.g. all that is smoky is fiery.

(3) Non-perception¹ (*anupalabdhi*) e.g. whatever thing (being perceptible) is not perceived is non-existent.

term), is said to be the cause of the latter.

j. Nature of the universal proposition.

The relations which establish invariable concomitance of the middle term with the major term are the bases of universal propositions. "Invariable concomitance" is designated in Sanskrit as *vyāpti* (pervasion or co-presence), *nāntarīyaka* (non-separation), and *avinābhāva* (the relation owing to which one cannot exist without the other).

j. Nature of the universal proposition.

The proposition in which the predicate is related to the subject *per se* or *causally* is a universal one. Aristotle in his Posterior Analytics (bk. i, ch. iv, pp. 253-5, O. F. Owen's edition) calls that (the) universal (major term) which is predicated "of every" and "*per se*", that is, which being predicable of the middle term *per se* is predicated of it in every instance. In the Posterior Analytics (bk. i, ch. xxiv, p. 301) Aristotle further observes that the universal (major term) is the cause of the middle term, which is essentially co-present within it. In Prior Analytics, bk. i, ch. xxiv, pp. 138-9, Aristotle says that in all syllogisms we must have a universal proposition (premise) which is shown by the universal term.

¹ Dharmakīrti and his followers, who say that non-existence is *inferred* and not perceived, assume non-perception as a middle term (sign). But the majority of Indian logicians maintain that non-existence of a thing is *perceived* by the same sense by which the thing itself is perceived. Hence non-perception is not acknowledged by them as a middle term (sign).

G. UDDYOTAKARA
(600-50 A.D.)¹

G. ARISTOTLE.

k. *Syllogism from a sign (liṅga-parāmarśa).*

k. *Enthymeme from a sign.*

Uddyotakara, who completely incorporated syllogism into inference in his Nyāya-vārttika,² defines inference as knowledge which is preceded by the perception of the middle term (sign) and recollection of its invariable concomitance with the major term in the following form: "I perceive that this hill has smoke, which I remember to be invariably concomitant with fire, and hence I infer that this hill has fire." The above may be properly put in the following form:—

- (1) Whatever is smoky is fiery.
- (2) This hill is smoky.
- (3) Therefore this hill is fiery.

The first part (major premise) of the above inference is called *vyāpti* (a universal proposition); the second part (minor premise) is called *upanaya* (an application of the universal); and the third part is called *anumiti* (inferential knowledge or conclusion). The first two parts (premises) constitute what is

Aristotle, in his Prior Analytics (bk. ii, ch. xxvii, pp. 238-40), speaks of two kinds of enthymemes, viz. the enthymeme from a sign and that from a likelihood. Now, the enthymeme from a sign³ in the first figure (especially if the sign is infallible, *tekmerion*) leads to a conclusion which is necessarily true. It is this kind of enthymeme from a sign that corresponds to the syllogism from a sign⁴ (*liṅga-parāmarśa*) as expounded by Uddyotakara.

Just as in the Nyāya-vārttika of Uddyotakara the syllogism (*parāmarśa*) comprises only the first two parts of an inference, so also in the Arabic Logic⁵ (e.g. in bk. iii of the Risalah Shamsiyyah, dated about 1250 A.D.) the syllogism (*qayās*) comprises only the two premises and not the conclusion. It may be added that the Arabic Logic of the schools of Baghdad (ninth century A.D.), Kufa (750 A.D.), and Bassora (700 A.D.) is re-

¹ Vide S. C. Vidyābhusana's "Uddyotakara, a contemporary of Dharmakīrti", in J.R.A.S., July 1914.

² Liṅga-liṅgī-sambandha-darśanāntaram liṅga-darśana-sambandha-smṛtibhir liṅga-parāmarśo viśiṣyate . . . Smṛtyanugṛhīto liṅga-parāmarśo 'numānam bhavati (Nyāya-vārttika, I, 1, 5, p. 47, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

³ Dr. George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, ch. vi, pp. 291-2, gives a lucid explanation of a sign.

⁴ Dr. George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. i, *Analytica Priora*, ch. vi, p. 292, states in a footnote as follows: "Aristotle throws in the remark (a. 24) that, when one premises only of the Enthymeme is enunciated, it is a sign: when the other is added, it becomes a syllogism. In the examples given to illustrate the description of the Enthymeme that which belongs to the first figure has its three terms and two propositions specified, like a complete and regular syllogism."

⁵ The Risalah Shamsiyyah was published under the name of "The Logic of the Arabians" in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by Dr. A. Sprenger.

called by Uddyotakara *parāmarśa*¹ (syllogism) or *liṅga-parāmarśa* (syllogism from a sign), and all the three parts combined together are designated as *parāmarśa rūpanumāna*² (a syllogistic inference). Since the time of Uddyotakara no further development has been made in the form of the syllogistic inference, except that the three parts of it have been called respectively the instrument (*karaṇa*), operation (*vyāpāra*), and consequence (*phala*). The first two parts (premises) combined together have been uniformly designated as *parāmarśa* (syllogism or enthymeme).

puted to have been derived from the *Organon* of Aristotle, as taught in a developed form in the Syro-Persian School of Gundeshapur³ in Susiana about 350 A.D.

According to certain Roman commentators⁴ too, the premises alone constitute the syllogism.

6. *Migrations of the Logical Theories of Aristotle from Alexandria into India (175 B.C.-600 A.D.)*

Considering the antiquity of the syllogism as propounded by Aristotle and the close connexion that exists between it and the syllogism promulgated in the Hindu Logic, we may fairly conclude that the latter was greatly influenced by, if not based on, the former. Aristotle's works⁵ were brought down to Alexandria (in Egypt) by Callimachus, the celebrated librarian of Ptolemy Philadelphus during 285-247 B.C., and it seems that copies of some of these works reached India through Syria, Susiana, Bactria, and Taxila in subsequent times. From the stages in the development of the syllogism in Hindu Logic, as indicated above, it will appear that Aristotle's works migrated into India during three distinct periods. The first period extends roughly from 175 B.C. to 30 B.C., when the Greeks occupied the north-western parts of

¹ Tasmāt smṛtyanugṛhīto *liṅga parāmarśo* 'bhīstārtha pratipādako bhavati (Nyāya-vārttika, 1, 1, 5, p. 47, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

² Tad idam antimam pratyakṣam pūrvābhyām. Pratyakṣābhyām smṛtyanugṛhyamānam *parāmarśa-rupam anumānam* bhavati (Nyāya-vārttika, 1, 1, 5, p. 46, *Bibliotheca Indica*).

³ Vide C. Huart's *Arabic Literature*, pp. 137, 280.

⁴ George Grote, in his *Aristotle*, vol. 1, *Analytica Priora*, i, ch. v, p. 206, says that Aristotle includes in a syllogism the two premises as well as the conclusion. But on the same page he quotes in a footnote the opinion of Julius Pacius (*ad. Analyt. Prior i*), who said that the syllogism consisted of the two premises alone and the conclusion was not a part thereof, but something distinct and superadded.

⁵ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. i, p. 498.

India¹ and had their capital at Śākala, officially called Euthydemia (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab. The work of Aristotle of which we find a trace in this period is the Art of Rhetoric, which was evidently a favourite subject of study among the Indian Greeks, and from which the syllogism of five members as illustrated in the Caraka-samhitā, referred to above, seems to have been derived. It is worthy of note that the first trace in India of Aristotle's syllogism is met with in a work the author of which was the chief physician to King Kaṇiṣka, who reigned in the Punjab, if not exactly in the city of Śākala, at any rate near to it. The second period extends from about 39 B.C. to 450 A.D., when the Romans, masters of Alexandria, Syria, and Persia, carried on a brisk trade between Alexandria and India. The work of Aristotle which comes to our notice in this period is the Prior and Posterior Analytics (and possibly also the De Interpretatione), from which Akṣapāda, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, and Dignāga seem to have, as shown above, borrowed the definition of some of the most important logical terms, the explanation of the various structures of the syllogism and the idea of a universal position, the basis of a true syllogism. The two chief among these logicians, Akṣapāda and Dignāga, were inhabitants of Kathiawar (Prabhāsa) and Conjeeveram (Kāñchī), which were the principal seaports on the eastern and western coasts of India, frequented by merchants and travellers from Alexandria. It is probable that the Prior Analytics was widely read in those days, either in the original or in vernacular translation. The introduction of different parts of the Greek Prior Analytics into Indian Logic must needs have been gradual, as these had to be assimilated into and harmonized with the parts previously ingrafted into Indian thought and language. The third period extends from about 450 A.D. to 600 A.D. when the Syro-Persian school of Gundeshapur,² established in Susiana (Persia) in 350 A.D. on the dispersion there of some of the best works of the school of Alexandria, was in the height of its glory and spread its light all around. But it is not quite certain whether any influence was exerted at this period.

I have endeavoured in the preceding pages to show that the works of Aristotle were very well known in India during the first six centuries of the Christian era. As regards the remarks of Cicero and Strabo, quoted by Sir A. Grant, that most of Aristotle's "writings had been lost,"³ I have to state that after the death of Aristotle his entire works were bought up by Callimachus⁴ for the

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. xviii, p. 599. ² *Vide* Huart's *Arabic Literature*, p. 137.

³ Sir Alexander Grant's article on Aristotle in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. ii, p. 512.

⁴ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., vol. i, p. 498.

library of Alexandria, where they were duly appreciated and whence they gradually spread to India and other countries. To the scholars at Athens and Rome these works were practically lost, until copies of some of them reached the island of Rhodes, where they were edited by Andronicus in 50 B.C. Even the edition of Andronicus was not available in the Middle Ages to the Greeks and Romans, who depended for their knowledge of Aristotle on the Latin translation of Boethius (480-525 A.D.). But the original works of Aristotle seem to have been carefully preserved in Alexandria, and on the downfall of the Greeks and Romans they found their way into Syria and Persia, whence they reached the Arabic school of Bagdad about the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The original Greek texts of Aristotle's works after these strange vicissitudes reached the country of their birth via Constantinople about 1204 A.D. The presumption, therefore, is that from the third century B.C. to 1200 A.D. Aristotle's works were more extensively read and better appreciated in the East than in the West.

APPENDIX C.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ.

(ABOUT 300—850 A.D.).

Nālandā was a village which is identified with modern Bara-goon,¹ 7 miles north of Rajgir, in Behar. Though occasionally mentioned in the Pāli literature, Nālandā was not of great importance before the rise of the Mahāyāna at the beginning of the Christian era. Nāgārjuna, about 300 A.D., and Ārya Deva, about 320 A.D., were the earliest scholars to take an interest in the educational institution at that village. A Brahmaṇa named Suviṣṇu, a contemporary of Nāgārjuna, is said to have established 108 temples there in order that the Abhidharma of the Mahāyāna might not decline.² About 400 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim, Fahian,³ visited this place, which he calls "the village of Nalo." He saw there a tower which had been erected on the spot where Sāriputra, the right-hand disciple of Buddha, had entered Nirvāṇa. Early in the 7th century A.D. another Chinese pilgrim, the famous Hwen-thsang, visited Nālandā and halted⁴ there 15 months to study the Sanskrit language under Śilabhadra. According to him⁵ the site of Nālandā was originally a mango garden which was bought by 500 merchants at a cost of ten crores of gold pieces and given to Buddha.⁶ After the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, five kings, named Sakrāditya, Buddha Gupta, Tathāgata Gupta, Bālāditya, and Vajra, built five Saṅghārāma or monasteries at Nālandā. A king of Central India established another magnificent monastery, and began to build round these edifices a high wall with one gate. A long succession of kings continued the work of building, using all the skill of the sculptor, till at the time of Hwen-thsang in 637 A.D. the whole was "truly marvellous to behold." In the establishment were some thousands of monks, all men of great ability and learning. They were very strict in observing the rules of Vinaya, and were looked up to as models by all India. Learning and discussing, they found the day too short, day and night

1 From the author's "Indian Logic: Medieval School" (Appendix A).

2 *Vide* Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. 468.

3 *Vide* Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus von Schiefner, pp. 70—86.

4 *Vide* Beal's Fa-hian, p. 111.

5 *Vide* Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, p. x.

6 *Vide* Beal's Buddhist Remains of the Western World, vol. ii, pp. 168, 170.

they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. Learned men from different cities came to Nālandā to acquire renown, and some persons even usurped the name of Nālandā students in order that they might be received everywhere with honour. 'Of those from abroad who wished to enter the schools discussion, the majority, beaten by the difficulties of the problems, withdrew; and those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted, only two or three out of ten succeeding.'¹ Hwen-thsang mentions some celebrated men of Nālandā, such as Dharmapāla and Candrapāla, Guṇamati and Sthiramati,² Prabhāmitra and Jinamitra, and Jñānacandra and Śilabhadra.

Another Chinese pilgrim named I-tsing, who resided in Nālandā for ten years (probably 675—685 A.D.), says that there were eight halls and 300 apartments in the monastery of Nālandā with more than 3,000 resident monks. The lands in its possession contained more than 200 villages which had been bestowed upon the monastery by kings of different generations.³

Nālandā assumed the character of a university from about 450 A.D.⁴ Bālāditya, king of Magadha, who built a monastery at Nālandā, was a contemporary of the Hun king Mihirakula, who reigned first in Śākala and afterwards in Kāśmīra. Now Mihirakula⁵ began his reign in 515 A.D., and his contemporary, Bālāditya, must also have lived about that time. There were three predecessors of Bālāditya who built monasteries at Nālandā. Of them, the earliest, named Śakrāditya, must have reigned about 450 A.D. if we suppose 25 years as the average duration of the reign of each of them. The year 450 A.D. is then the earliest limit which we can roughly assign to the royal recognition of Nālandā. The latest limit which we know with certainty is

¹ *Vide* Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. ii, pp. 164—165.

² This Sthiramati seemed to be the one mentioned by I-tsing (*vide* Takakusu, p. 181). He flourished after Asanga and Vasubandhu.

³ *Vide* Takakusu's I-tsing, pp. xxxiii, 65 and 154.

⁴ *Vide* Watters' "On Yuan Chwang," vol. i, p. 289.

Takakusu, in his "Paramārtba's Life of Vasubandhu," published in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," January 1905, maintains that Bālāditya came to the throne in 481 A.D., but this statement is by no means final. The date (452—480 A.D.) of Vikramāditya, Bālāditya's father, is also open to dispute.

⁵ Dr. D. B. Spooner observes:—

Nālandā, as is widely known, was one of the principal seats and centres of Buddhist culture and Buddhist learning in the Gupta period of Indian history, and for some centuries thereafter. The precise date of its foundation as "University" is now unknown, but from the circumstance that the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hien, makes no particular mention of the place, whereas the pilgrim who followed him, Hieun Thsang, describes the place at length, leads modern scholars to infer that it must have risen in the interval between the visits of these two, namely, some-

750 A.D., when Kamalaśīla (*q. v.*) was the professor of Tantras at Nālanda. But as we read in the accounts of Vikramaśīla that there was for some time an intercourse between that university and Nālandā, we may suppose that the latter continued to exist approximately until 850 A.D.

According to Tibetan accounts¹ the quarter in which the Nālandā University, with its grand library, was located, was called Dharmagañja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three grand buildings called Ratnasāgara, Ratnodadhi, and Ratnarañjaka, respectively. In Ratnodadhi, which was nine-storeyed, there were the sacred scriptures called Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, and Tāntrik works such as Samāja-guhya, etc. After the Turuṣka raiders had made incursions in Nālandā, the temples and *Caityas* there were repaired by a sage named Mudita Bhadra. Soon after this, Kukutasiddha, minister of the king of Magadha, erected a temple at Nālandā, and, while a religious sermon was being delivered there, two very indigent Tirthika mendicants appeared. Some naughty young novice-monks in disdain threw washing-water on them. This made them very angry. After propitiating the sun for 12 years, they performed a *yajña*, fire-sacrifice, and threw living embers and ashes from the sacrificial pit into the Buddhist temples, etc. This produced a great conflagration which consumed Ratnodadhi. It is, however, said that many of the Buddhist scriptures were saved by water which leaked through the sacred volumes of Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra and Tantra.

¹ Vide Pag-sam jon-zang, edited in the original Tibetan by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., at Calcutta, p. 92.

APPENDIX D.¹

A LIST OF KINGS OF THE PĀLA DYNASTY OF BENGAL AND BEHAR.

(From Tibetan sources.)

In the Tibetan books,² such as Pag-sam-jon-zang, Lama Tara-natha's Choṣ-byuñ, etc., we find a short account of the kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. Go Pāla, the founder of the dynasty, lived principally in Puṇḍra-varḍhana. His successor, Deva Pāla, annexed Vārendra to his kingdom. Deva Pāla's grandson, Dharma Pāla, conquered Magadha and annexed it to Bengal. Dharma Pāla's power is said to have extended in the east to the ocean, in the west to Delhi, in the north to Jālandhara, and in the south to the Vindhya ranges. It is stated that during his reign Śānta Rakṣita died. Now Śānta Rakṣita visited Tibet during the reign of Thi-srong-deu-tsan in 749 A.D., and worked there for 13 years, that is, till 762 A.D. His death must therefore have taken place after 762 A.D. Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna *alias* Atiṣa, High-priest Vikramaśilā, who was a contemporary of king Naya Pāla of Magadha, visited Tibet in company with Nag-tsho-lotsava in 1040 A.D. during the reign of Lha-tsun-byañ-chub, son of Lha-lama-ye-šeṣ-ḥoḍ, who held his court at Tholing in Nāri. These facts throw a good deal of light on the dates of the Pāla kings.³ It is further stated that the death of Mahī Pāla is exactly synchronous with that of the Tibetan king Khri-ral. Now Khri-ral (or Ral-pa-can) died in 899 A.D.⁴ This fixes the date of the death of Mahī Pāla. As the period of reign of each of the kings that preceded and succeeded Mahī Pāla is definitely stated by Lama Tārānātha, and also by the author of the Pag-sam-jon-zang, there is no difficulty in ascertaining the dates of the Pāla kings. Proceeding in this way, we can fix the dates as follows :—

1. Go Pāla	..	..	660—705 A.D.
2. Deva Pāla	..	..	705—753 A.D.
3. Rasa Pāla	..	..	753—765 A.D.

¹ From the author's "Indian Logic, Medieval School" (Appendix B).

² Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, von Schiefner, pp. 202—252; and Pag-sam-jon-zang, edited by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, Bahadur, C.I.E., pp. 112—121.

³ Vide the 16th volume of *Klon-rdol-gsun-ḥbum*, and Sarat Chandra Das's "Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow," pp. 50—76.

⁴ Vide the Chronological Table extracted from the *Vaidurvakarno* in Csoma de Koros's *Tibetan Grammar*, p. 183.

4.	Dharma Pāla	..	..	765— 829 A.D.
5.	Māsu Raksita	..	..	829— 837 A.D.
6.	Vana Pāla	..	..	837— 847 A.D.
7.	Mahi Pāla	..	..	847— 899 A.D.
8.	Mahā Pāla	..	..	899— 940 A.D.
9.	Samu Pāla	..	..	940— 952 A.D.
10.	Śreṣṭha Pāla or Praiṣṭha Pāla			952— 955 A.D.
11.	Canaka	..	..	955— 983 A.D.
12.	Bhaya Pāla	..	..	983—1015 A.D.
13.	Naya Pāla	..	..	1015—1050 A.D.
14.	Āmra Pāla	..	..	1050—1063 A.D.
15.	Hasti Pāla	..	..	1063—1078 A.D.
16.	Kṣānti Pāla	..	..	1073—1092 A.D.
17.	Rāma Pāla	..	..	1092—1138 A.D.
18.	Yakṣa Pāla	..	..	1138—1139 A.D.

The researches on the Pāla kings, by the late Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra, arrived at a conclusion which is somewhat different from mine. Dr. Mitra's list of Pāla kings² is given below:—

1.	Go Pāla..	..	..	855— 875 A.D.
2.	Dharma Pāla	..	..	875— 895 A.D.
3.	Deva Pāla	..	..	895— 915 A.D.
4.	Vigraha Pāla I	..	..	915— 935 A.D.
5.	Nārāyaṇa Pāla	..	..	935— 955 A.D.
6.	Rāja Pāla	..	..	955— 975 A.D.
7.	.... Pāla	..	..	795— 995 A.D.
8.	Vigraha Pāla II	..	..	995—1015 A.D.
9.	Mahi Pāla	..	..	1015—1040 A.D.
10.	Naya Pāla	..	..	1040—1060 A.D.
11.	Vigraha Pāla III	..	..	1060—1080 A.D.

¹ Probably the same as Nārāyaṇa Pāla who, in the Bhagalpur plate, is styled "the lord of Aṅga."

² Vide Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra's "Indo-Aryans," vol. ii, p. 232.

APPENDIX E.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF VIKRAMAŚILĀ.

(ABOUT 800—1200 A.D.).

Vikramaśilā,¹ mentioned in Sanskrit Sragdharāstotra-tīkā,² Vṛhat-svayambhū-purāṇa,⁴ Tibetan Tangyur,⁵ etc., was a great collegiate monastery, or rather University, founded by king Dharma Pāla at the close of the 8th century A.D. It was situated on a precipitous hill⁶ in Behar at the right bank of the Ganges, possibly at Śīla-saṅgama, now called Pātharghātā near Colgong in the Bhagalpur district. Dharmapāla endowed the university with rich grants sufficing for the maintenance of 108 resident monks besides numerous non-resident monks and pilgrims. At the head of the university was always a most learned and pious sage. Thus at the time of Dharma Pāla, Ācārya Buddha-jñāna-pāda directed the affairs of the university, and during 1034—1038 A.D. Dīpaṅkara or Śrījñāna Atiśa

¹ From the author's "Indian Logic: Medieval School" (Appendix C).

² Vide Tārānātha's *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, von Schiefner, pp. 234—242, 259—261; Pag-sam-jon-zang, pp. 113, 117, 118, and Sarat Chandra Das's article in the "Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta", vol. i, part i, pp. 10—12; and his "Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow," pp. 50—76.

³ The colophon of the Sragdharā-stotra-tīkā runs as follows:—

श्रीमद्विक्रमशीलदेवमहाविहारोय राजगुहदण्डितमिच्छु श्रीजिनरत्नकृता शास्त्रार्कसुति-
नीका परिसमाप्ता (Sragdharā-stotra, edited in the Bibliotheca Indica series by Satis
Chandra Vidyabhusana, p. 50).

गराणस्यां महर्ष्यां च विचारे यत्र स्थापितके ।

तदा विक्रमशीलसि विचारे वसदुत्तमः ॥

धर्मश्रीमिच नामाद्ये भिन्नः परंखनकसुक्तः ।

धर्मो दिदेम्यानास वासमङ्गलित च सुदाम् ॥

(Vṛhat-svayambhū-purāṇa, edited by M. M. Dash Prasad Sastri, chap. vi, 320—321).

⁴ Numerous Sanskrit works such as *सर्वदेवविजयविजयसंग्रह*, *सारा-विरहलोचनम्*, etc., were translated into Tibetan in the monastery of Vikramaśilā, as is evident from the Tangyur, Rgyud, La, Folios 11—26, 54, etc.

⁵ At the distance of a day's sail below Sultanganj there is a steep hill called Pātharghātā overhanging the Ganges, which here is *uttaravāhinī* (or flows towards the north). This corresponds exactly with the account of Vikramaśilā given in Tibetan books. There are also ruins of Buddhistic images at Pātharghātā. For its old name Śīlasaṅgama vide Francklin's "Site of Ancient Palibothra," pp. 54—55, Appendix, p. xiii. General Cunningham identifies Vikramaśilā with modern Silao, which is a small village three miles to the south of Bargaon (ancient Nālandā) and six miles to the north of Rajgir in the subdivision of Behar (vide Report of the Archaeological Survey, vol. viii, p. 83). But this identification does not tally with the description found in Tibetan books, for the Ganges never passed by Silao, nor is there any hill near to it.

was at its head, and Sthavira Ratnākara was the superior of the monastery. The famous Tibetan scholar Nag-tshul-khrimrgyal-wa, better known as Nag-tsho Lotsava, who came to take Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna *alias* Atiśa to Tibet, resided in the monastery of Vikramaśilā for three years, 1035—1038 A.D.¹ Kamalākuliśā, Narendra-śrījñāna, Dāna Rakṣita, Abhayakara Gupta, Śubhākara Gupta, Sunāyakaśrī, Dharmākara Śānti and Śākyaśrī Paṇḍita also belonged to the university of Vikramaśilā. Provision was made specially for the study of grammar, metaphysics (including logic) and ritualistic books. On the walls of the university were painted images of paṇḍitas eminent for their learning and character. The distinguished scholars of the university received a diploma of "Paṇḍita" from the kings themselves. For instance, the distinguished logicians, Ācārya Jetāri of Vārendra and Ratnavajra of Kāśmīra, were granted such a diploma. The most erudite sages were appointed to guard the gates of the university. These were six in number, each of which had to be guarded by scholars designated "Gatekeepers" (called in Tibetan Go-sruṅ, corresponding, perhaps, to our Dvāra-paṇḍita). During the reign of Canaka (855—983 A.D.) the undermentioned eminent logicians acted as gatekeepers :—

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| (i) At the eastern gate | .. | Ācārya Ratnākara Śānti. - |
| (ii) At the western gate | .. | Vāgīśvarakīrti, of Benares. |
| (iii) At the northern gate | .. | The famous Naropa. |
| (iv) At the southern gate | .. | Prajñākaramati. |
| (v) At the first central gate | .. | Ratnavajra of Kāśmīra. |
| (vi) At the second central gate | .. | Jñāna-śrimitra of Gauḍa. |

The university of Vikramaśilā is said to have been destroyed by the Mahomedan invader Bakhtiar Kbilīji' about 1203 A.D. when Śākya śrī-paṇḍita, of Kāśmīra, was at its head.

¹ Vide Klon-rdol-gsun-hbum, vol. xvi.

² Vide the Tibetan English Dictionary compiled by Rai Sarat Chandra Das, p: 869; Waddell's "Lamaism," p. 16.

The Turuṣkas or Mahomedans attacked Magadha several times. Thus Tārānātha, speaking of Ācārya Kamala Rakṣita who was at the head of the Vikramaśilā university at the end of the 10th century A.D., observes :— "A minister of the Turuṣka king, out of the Karṇa land in the west, together with 500 Turuṣkas, drew to Magadhā to plunder. They plundered the sacrificial materials, but when they began to walk all in a body to the Ācārya (Kamala Rakṣita) the Ācārya got into a rage and walked up along, throwing a jug, filled with water, over which he had spoken the mantras. On the spot a great and indomitable storm collected, out of the wind came forth many black men armed with swords who fell upon the Turuṣkas; the minister himself perished spitting blood, and various contagious illnesses repulsed the others in such a way that none of them could reach their native country, and a great terror came over the Tīrthas and Turuṣkas—Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus, von Schiefner, pp. 266, 261.

APPENDIX F.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MITHILĀ. (1175—1575 A.D.).

In the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and in Buddhistic literature, Mithilā or Tirhut figures as a renowned kingdom. Mithilā was protected on the north by the impenetrable jungles of the Himalayas. On the other three sides the three rivers Gandaki, Ganges and Kauśaki¹ surrounded it, while the land itself is intersected by small rivers. On account of the natural protection, Tirhut was not attacked by foreign invaders frequently though we hear that in the 13th century it was attacked by the ninth Malik Izzuddin-Tughril (1233—1244 A.D.) When Vijaya Sen was reigning in Bengal, Nānyadeva² of the Karṇatak dynasty was ruling in Mithilā in 1097 A.D. He was defeated by king Vijaya³ from whom again Nānyadeva's son, Gangadeva, recovered Mithilā. Nānyadeva reigned for 36 years and died in 1125 A.D. He was succeeded by Gangadeva. He was succeeded by his son, Nṛsiṃhadeva. The kings that succeeded Nṛsiṃhadeva were Rām Siṃha, Śakti Siṃha, Bhūpati Siṃha and Hara Siṃha. Their reign comprised 216 years. Roughly speaking the Karṇāta dynasty reigned from 1150—1395 A.D. Then the Kāmeśvaradynasty succeeded whose reign extended from 1350—1515 A.D. They are:—(1) Kameśvara, (2) Bhāgīśvara, (3) Gaṇesvara, (4) Vīsiṃhadeva (5) Kīrtisiṃha, (6) Bhavasīṃhadeva, (7) Devasīṃha, (8) Śivasīṃha, (9) Padmasīṃha, (10) Harasīṃhadeva, (11) Nṛsiṃha or Narasīṃha, (12) Dhīrasīṃha, (13) Bhairava, (14) Rāmabhadradeva, (15) Lakṣmīnāthadeva. Then followed Maheśvara Ṭhakkura, who founded a line of Rajas in 1556, during the time of Emperor Akbar

¹ History of Mithilā during the pre-Mughal period and History of Navya-Nyāya and Smṛiti, November and December, 1915. Rai Monmohan Chakravarti Bahadur; *vide* also University of Nadia by Satis Chandra Vidya-bhusana.

²

नन्देन्दुविन्दुसन्धितशाकवर्षे
नच्छावणे सितदले सुनिसिद्ध तिर्य्यां
स्वाती शमैस्वरदुते कविवैरि लगे
तन्नान्यदेव नृपतिर्विदधौत वा सुम ॥

Vide the Rock Edicts on the ruined walls of the ancient fort of Simrāon.

³

तं नान्यवीर विजयीति गिरः कवीनां
अत्यान्यथामनन निगूढ बोध ।

which has continued up to the present time. Most of the later productions of Mithilā appeared in these periods.

The Modern School of Nyāya commenced with Gaṅgeśa on the eve of the 12th century. Similar is the case with Smṛti writers who began with Grabeśvara in the 13th century.

The most important scholar of the Kāmeśvara period is Jagaddhara who besides writing commentaries on a variety of subjects, such as the Gītā, Devīmahātmya, Meghadūta, Gīta Govinda and Mālātī Mādhava and others, wrote original treatises on erotics (Rasika Sarvasva. Saṅgīta Sarvasva). The next is Vidyāpati whose name is associated with Maithili songs or Padāvalī generally. His works stirred up the later Vaiṣṇava writers of Bengal. The next scholar to be mentioned is Śaṅkara Miśra. His works on the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya are of high value. His other works on Smṛti are also of great value.

The next scholar of great importance is Vācaspati Miśra who flourished in the time of Bhairavendra and Rāmabhadra and wrote mainly on the Smṛti. But the great influence of the age did not spare him and he wrote also on Nyāya. His works on the latter subject are the Nyāya-sūtrādhāra, Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍādhāra and the Anumāna-khaṇḍa-ṭika, his other works being the Nīti-cintāmaṇi, a work on the morals.

Many other scholars flourished at this time. But they are overshadowed by the glory and achievements of the scholars named above. It was an age of great scholastic activities. The glory of Mithilā was at its height, and its fame spread throughout all centres of oriental learning in India.

Thus Mithilā was the principal seat of Hindu learning in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries A.D. and was the resort of a large number of students who flocked there from all parts of India to study specially Logic or Nyāya philosophy.¹

¹ Students who finished their education in Mithilā had to undergo an examination called Needle Examination, Śalākā-parīksā. They were asked to explain the page pierced last by a needle. In this way they had to show their skill in any part of a book. After passing the examination they received the diploma of the Mithilā University.

APPENDIX G.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NADIA.

(1575—1920 A.D.).

Navadvīpa, which is popularly known as Nadia, is a small town in Bengal situated on the river Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) at the point of its junction with the Jalāngī. It occupies the north-western part of the Gangetic delta and literally signifies “a new isle.” Once it was a very important centre through which trade was carried on by the Bhāgīrathī between Saptagrāma (a port on the river Sarasvatī, a little to the north-west of Hūglī and nearly 15 krośas south of Nadia) and the United Provinces and by the Jalāngī between Saptagrāma and Eastern Bengal.

Nearly four miles to the east of the modern town of Nadia there is a small village called Suvarṇa-vihāra (golden hermitage) which is often pointed out as the place where the Buddhist Kings of the Pāla dynasty used to reside in the days of yore, when a branch of the Bhāgīrathī, flowing from the north of the modern village Māyāpur, rolled below the hermitage. Even now the ruins of the ancient buildings can be found here and there, silently testifying to the former grandeur of the place. The decaying stone column and fragments found here bear clearly the architectural designs of Buddhist India, which may be taken as proof that the place was once a temporary resort of the Pāla Kings. Relying upon these facts the existence of Nadia can be traced back to the 10th century A.D.

But, practically speaking, Nadia was unknown in history until it rose to importance for the first time in 1063 A.D. (or rather about 1106 A.D.) when, according to a local legend cited in the Imperial Gazetteer¹ of India and Statistical Account of Bengal² it was selected by Mahārāja Lakṣmaṇa Sena of Gauda³ as the place of his residence in consideration of the sanctity of the Bhāgīrathī flowing by it. The ruins of the palace of Lakṣmaṇa Sena are still extant in Nadia at the south of the village Bilpukur and north of the village Samudragada

¹ W. W. Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VII, p. 13.

² W. W. Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 142.

³ Lakṣmaṇa Sena is said to have reigned in Bengal between 1106 and 1138 A.D. For the date of the kings of the Sena dynasty, *vide* Rajendra Lal Mitra's

between the Bhāgīrathī and Jalāngī. About a mile to the north-east of Nadia there is a tank called Ballāla Dighi which is said to have been dug by Lakṣmaṇa Sena to commemorate the name of his father, the famous Ballāla Sena.

Lakṣmaṇa Sena (1106-1138 A.D.), who raised Nadia to the status of a town, is said to have been a great hero, whose prime minister was Halāyudha, the renowned author of Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva, Smṛti-sarvasva, Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva, and Nyāya-sarvasva. The court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena was also adorned by Paśupati, the eldest brother of Halāyudha, who wrote a treatise on Hindu ceremonials called Paśupati-paddhati; Sūlapāṇī, the reputed author of Smṛti-viveka, Jayadeva, a native of Kendubilva, Birbhūm and the well-known author of Gītagovinda; Dhoyi, the author of Pāvana-dūta; and Umāpati, the poet who made "language to sprout into luxuriant foliage"—all these flourished in the court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.¹

Though Lakṣmaṇa Sena resided in Nadia, he greatly embellished the city of Gauḍa, which was the capital of Bengal at that time and was called Lakṣmaṇāvati or Lakhnauti after his name. Nadia conquered by the Mahomedans. Lakṣmaṇa Sena was succeeded by Mādhava Sena (1138-39) - Keśava Sena (1139) and Lakṣmaṇeya Sena *alias* Aśoka Sena (1139-1205 A.D.) The last king named Lakṣmaṇeya, designated by Mahomedan writers as Lakṣmaniya, was overthrown by Mahammad Bakhtiar Khiliji and was forced to run away to Vikramapura in Eastern Bengal about 1197 A.D. Bakhtiar Khiliji who marched with his troops from Behar to Nadia, plundered the latter town, and placing a Kazi there to look after its internal administration, himself proceeded to Gauḍa which he conquered. Subduing Gauḍa he chose it as the capital of whole Bengal which he ruled up to 1200 A.D. The Mahomedans ruled Bengal from 1198 to 1757 A.D., when the battle of Plassey took place and the country came into the possession of the British.

During the Mahomedan rule from 1198 to 1757 A.D., Nadia became the greatest centre of Hindu learning in Bengal. In the 15th century A.D. the nucleus of a university was formed here. It is not known how much aid was directly given by the Mahomedan rulers towards the formation of this university, but it cannot be denied that their having expelled the Buddhists from every corner of Bengal and having stood as safeguards against all for-

¹ Batū Dāsa was the general of the army of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. His son, Śrīdhara Dāsa, who wrote a book named Sadukti-karṇāmṛta in 1209 A.D., has mentioned many of the learned men of his time.

eign invaders, enabled the Brāhmanas to lay the foundation of this new university on strictly orthodox Hindu principles.

Before the rise of the Nadia University in Bengal there were two famous Universities in Behar, viz. the Buddhist University of Vikramaśilā and the Brahmanic University of Mithilā. Vikramaśilā is said to have been burnt and destroyed by Bakhtiar Khiliji about 1198 A.D., when he marched from Behar towards Nadia, while the glory of the University of Mithilā was extinguished by the energy of the rising scholars of Nadia. Mithilā, which was a principal seat of Hindu learning in the 14th century A.D., was the resort of a large number of students who flocked there from all parts of India to study specially the Nyāya philosophy (Logic). Knowing her importance Mithilā guarded with extreme care and even jealousy her own teachings and did not permit any student to take away from any *tol*¹ any logical book or even notes of the lectures delivered there. Students were allowed to go away only with their diplomas. This rule was a great obstacle to the study and teaching of Logic outside Mithilā. This great inconvenience was at last removed by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi of Nadia, as already related in his life.

Raghunāthā Śiromaṇi of immortal memory founded in the University of Nadia a special Chair of Logic which has since been occupied by the best and foremost logicians of Bengal. Ability to write works of original merit did not alone constitute the sole and sufficient qualification of an occupant of the chair, but an exceptional dialectical skill was regarded to be the *sine qua non* for the candidate. Accordingly it was only those who in a large assembly of scholars could effectively silence their opponents in open debate, could with any chance of success lay a claim to the chair. The Nadia University has produced numerous logicians of eminence since the time of Raghunāthā Śiromaṇi, who was the

The chair of Logic in the Nadia University.

¹ A *tol* consists generally of a thatched chamber in which the Pandit and the class meet, and a collection of mud hovels round a quadrangle, in which the students live in the simplest manner. Each student has his own hut, in which there is scarcely any furniture except his brass water-pot and mat. A student remains at the *tol* often for eight or ten years, according to whether he is studying law or logic. The Pandit does not always live at the *tol*, but comes every day on which study takes place, from an early hour till sunset. The huts are built and repaired at his expense. No fees are charged, and until recent years the Pandit even helped to provide his pupils with food and clothing. He himself obtained the necessary funds by grants and by the presents which his fame as a teacher ensured to him at religious ceremonies. The usual number of students in a *tol* is about twenty-five, though there may be more. These in most cases have no means of subsistence. The teacher provides them with shelter and free tuition, and food and clothes they obtain from him and also from shopkeepers and landholders and by begging at the chief festivals.

(“ Ancient Indian Education ” by Prof. F. F. Kees, p. 52)

founder and first occupant of the Chair of Logic. During recent times the following were the senior logicians of Bengal :—

- (1) Harirāma Tarka-siddhānta (about 1730 A.D.).
- (2) Ramanārāyaṇa Tarka-pañcānana (about 1760 A.D.).
- (3) Buno Rāmanātha (probably 1770).
- (4) Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgīśa (probably 1780 A.D.).
- (5) Śankara Tarkavāgīśa (about 1800 A.D.).
- (6) Śivanātha Vidyāvācaspai (1810 A.D.).

This last mentioned gentleman was son of Śankara Tarkavāgīśa and exhibited his dialectic skill in a debate with the famous Jagannātha Tarka-pañcānana of Bansberia. He was succeeded by

- (7) Kāśinātha Cūḍāmaṇi (about 1820 A.D.).
- (8) Daṇḍī (about 1830 A.D.).
- (9) Śrīrāma-Śiromāṇi – (author of Padārtha-tattva).

(10) Mādhava Tarka-siddhānta (about 1850 A.D.) was originally a court Pandit of Naldānga, but subsequently came to settle at Nadia. He was the author of a commentary called Subodhā on the Padārtha-tattva. He was succeeded by

(11) Haramohan Cūḍāmaṇi, author of Sāmānya-lakṣaṇa, who was a contemporary of Mādhava Tarkasiddhānta and Prasanna Tarkaratna (1870 A.D.) Principal and founder of Paka-toi. About this time Golakanātha Nyāyaratna (about 1854 A.D.) was a great logician.

Pandit Harinātha Tarka-siddhāntā, who died in 1890 A.D. was a logician of high order, though not the senior logician. Subsequently Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhuvanamohana Vidyāratna, Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājakṛṣṇa Tarkapañcānana, Mahāmahopādhyāya Jadunātha Sārvabhauma and Mahāmahopādhyāya Kāmikhyānātha Tarkavāgīśa became the senior logicians.

I happened to be present at the Council of debate, held at Rājibāti, Nadia, in which Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājakṛṣṇa Tarkapañcānana was declared the senior logician in 1894 A.D. The rival candidate was Jadunātha Sārvabhauma. The Maharaja of Nadia opened the debate in the presence of Pandits and Professors, which was to decide the fate of the two candidates. The questions to be debated were (1) “ Whether there is re-birth ! ” and (2) “ Whether Nirvāna is possible ! ”

Mahāmahopādhyāya Jadunātha Sārvabhauma, whose erudition and energy were manifest to all and commanded the respect of every scholar, was first to take up the questions and lead the debate. He tackled the questions thoroughly and answered them from every possible point of view. But his exposition was of such an abstruse character that it was only the experts who could follow

him. Then came the turn of Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājakṛṣṇa Tarkapañcānana, who took up the same questions and explained them fully, steadily and clearly. He elucidated each difficult word and that so thoroughly and clearly that every point in the argument was driven home to the audience. He then assailed the arguments put forward by his rival and thoroughly exposed his hasty exposition. Mahāmahopādhyāya Rajakṛṣṇa, in recognition of his lucid exposition and convincing logic, was declared senior logician by the Council.

In Smṛti there is a chair¹ of the Senior Smārta (Jurist), which was inaugurated by Raghunandana, the most famous jurist of his time. Raghunandana

Chair of Smṛiti.

flourished in the sixteenth century A.D. His Jyotiś-tattva was compiled in 1489 Śaka or 1567 A.D. After him there flourished Srikrṣṇa Sārvabhauma, Srikrṣṇa Tarkālaṅkāra, Gopāla Nyāyā-
laṅkāra, Daitya Bireśvara and Ramānanda Vācaspati, Bireśvara Nyāyapañcānana, Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgīśa, Lakṣmikānta Nyāyabhūṣaṇa, Brajanātha Vidyāratna, Mathurānātha Padaratna, Lālmohan Vidyāvāgīśa, Śivanātha Vacaspati, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana and Jogendranātha Smṛtitīrtha.

Tāntrik studies flourished under Kṛṣṇānanda Agamvāgīśa and his followers.

A chair of astronomy was established in Nadīa a long time ago. As late as 1718 A.D. there was born

Chair of Astronomy.

in Gārgya gotra an astronomer named Rāmarudra Vidyānidhi who was the author of Jyotiṣa-sāra-saṅgraha and Court-Pandit of Pañcakota. From the time of Mahārāj Kṛṣṇacandra Roy, Rāmarudra Vidyānidhi, who is related by blood with the compiler of this work, was also a Court-Pandit to the Raj-family of Krishnagar. He and his successors, Rāmakṛṣṇa Vidyāmaṇi, Prāṇanātha Vidyābharṇa, Rāmajaya Śiromaṇi, Śrī-dāma Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Tāriṇīcharṇa Vidyāvāgīśa, Durgādāsa Vidyāratna and Pandit Bīśvambhara Jyotiṣārṇava successively held the chair of senior astronomer in Nadīa. Almanacs were prepared by them, which were supplied to the Nawab's Court in Murshidabad as well as to the East India Company, the Supreme Court, the High Court, the Bengal Government, etc. Pandit Viśveśvara Jyotiṣārṇava, the brother of the compiler of this work, was the last senior astronomer, who supplied almanacs to the High Court, etc. The Navadvīpa Pañjikā under the imprimatur of Nava-dvīpādhipate-
ranujñayā is accepted by all the landholders of Bengal.

¹ Vide Navadvīpa Mahimā, by Kanti Chandra Barhi and "Nadīa Kāhmi," by Kumudanath Mullick.

APPENDIX H.

THE TASHI LAMA'S VISIT TO INDIA.

During the year 1905, His Holiness the Tashi Lama, accepted the invitation of the Government of India to be present at the reception to be held by their Royal Highnesses, the Prince and Princess of Wales. With full staff His Holiness left Shigatse for India early in November (8th-Nov.). The Government of India made ample provision for the reception and escort of the party. Accordingly Captain W. F. O'Connor, C.I.E., British Trade Agent, Gyantse (Tibet), Captain R. Steen, I.M.S., Medical Officer, Gyantse, Maharaj Kumar Sidkyong Tulku, C.I.E. of Sikkim, Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana of the Presidency College, were deputed by the Government of India to receive the party.

In addition to this about sixty Lamas and laymen accompanied the party. From Shigatse to Darjeeling, the Tashi Lama travelled by easy stages halting at various stations. At Gangtok His Holiness and his followers were the guests of the Maharaja of Sikkim who placed his palace at their disposal. The party then started for Darjeeling. Great was the excitement when the party arrived there about afternoon on Wednesday, the 29th November, 1905. Crowds went out to meet him. At Jalapahar and Ghoom, the Bhutias prostrated themselves as he passed, touching his garments and even his baggage to receive a blessing. Special arrangements were made at the Drumdruid Hotel, and His Holiness was received with a Tibetan salutation. The party started for Kurseong by a special train and a special trolley conveyed His Holiness to Siliguri where he was joined by Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana. At Siliguri, all round the camp lay camps of devout Bhutias, who, clad in their motley dress, had ridden in for miles to pay their respects to the Lama. His Holiness and suite arrived at Rawalpindi on the 7th December at 2-30 P.M. and on the same day His Holiness had an audience with His Royal Highness the Prince and Princess of Wales. On the 10th December, 9-30 A.M., His Holiness left for Taxila, called in Tibetan Do-Jog, about 26 miles north of Rawalpindi, whence he started for Agra, which place he reached on 11th December. About five days after, 16th December, the party arrived at Benares where he was accommodated in the Hotel de Paris. On the same day the Lama visited the Buddhist ruins of Sarnath about 4 miles north of Benares. Here, on the 18th December, Captain O'Connor accompanied by Professor

Tashi Lama in India.

Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana and the tutor of the Lama went to the Government College to make a preliminary examination of the Brahminic Sanskrit manuscripts, copies of which had already been translated into Tibetan at various dates between 629 A.D. and 1400 A.D. At 4 P.M. the Tāshi Lama, together with his minister and the Māharāj Kumar of Sikkim, visited the College and examined the various Sanskrit manuscripts. The party started for Buddha Gaya where His Holiness was a guest of the Mahant. On the 20th December Captain O'Connor, accompanied by Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana and others, made a preliminary inspection of the sacred sites in Buddha Gaya. The Tāshi Lama offered his worship to the Bodhi tree and the image of Buddha on the 21st December, one of the most auspicious days according to the Tibetan calendar. On entering the sacred shrine His Holiness bowed down before the great image and sat down himself. An hour after His Holiness came out of the temple and changed his dress for a yellow one and sat in meditation in the *vaijāsana* under the Bodhi tree for about three hours from 9 A.M. to 12 A.M., while his numerous devotees stood round him in deep silence. At noon the Lama opened his eyes and received ovations and gifts from his followers.

The Tāshi Lama left Buddha Gaya at 10 P.M. on the 25th December and reached Calcutta by a special train on the 26th at 7-30 A.M. He was greeted by a salute of 17 guns and was received by the Aide-de-Camp of the Viceroy. His Holiness was accommodated at Hastings House and was a guest of the Government of India. On the 2nd January His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales received a state visit from the Tashi Lama. His Highness appeared before the heir-apparent of the Imperial throne of Great Britain in all the dignity of his high place and made offerings to His Royal Highness. From the 5th to the 11th January, His Holiness attended the garden party at the Government House, witnessed illuminations and was greatly delighted with all he saw. His Holiness also received their Royal Highnesses when they paid their return visit. On the 11th January, His Holiness left Calcutta, and, on the eve of his departure, in appreciation of the great assistance rendered by Professor Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, presented to him the Khatag or complimentary silken scarf. The departure was public and was honoured by 17 guns.

Captain O'Connor accompanied His Holiness up to Siliguri and Lieutenant Bailey accompanied the Tāshi Lama's departure. Lama all the way up to Shigatse. On the way back His Holiness was hospitably received at Chumbi. The party reached Gyantse on the 3rd February.

APPENDIX I.

REMINISCENCES OF A VISIT TO LABRANG, PAMIYANG-CHI AND PADANGI.

Having being associated with Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., in the compilation of the Tibetan Dictionary, I heard of the fame of Labrang and Pamiyangchi as two old monasteries

About 1907 I learnt that there were two block prints of the *Bgtan h-gyur* and *Bka h-gyur* at Labrang and Pamiyangchi and I undertook my journey there with the express purpose of examining the manuscripts and endeavouring to extend the knowledge of Sanskrit through the study of the Tibetan.

I started with credentials, from Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. Earle, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, and Mr. C. H. Bompas, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. On the 31st May, 1907, I left Darjeeling at 10 A.M. At the time of my departure from my residence at Darjeeling Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das came to see me, offering me a dozen of oranges and a lantern. He said, "Accept these as a traveller's humble gifts." I received them with delight and found them very useful on the way.

Riding a distance of about 22 miles I arrived in the evening at the Teesta Bridge. This is a very important frontier station between Tibet, Sikkim, and India, and through it the British mission passed to Lhasa in 1903-04. There is a magnificent bridge over the river Teesta and there is a small bazar where edibles are procurable. I was welcomed here by the Deputy Forest Ranger, who accommodated me in the upper flat of a new building erected by a Marwari trader in the centre of the bazar. Within a mile of the bazar there is a Triveni junction, where the Rangeet and another river flow into the Teesta. Nepalese and other hillmen attach great sanctity to these junctions, where they wash themselves every year at *Pous Sankranti* (about the middle of January) On this occasion they sacrifice goats and sheep and hold a fair which continues for three days. Teesta Bridge is a very charming place surrounded by hills and dales.

In the morning of 1st June, I left the Teesta Bridge Valley and following up the course of the river Teesta, by the Tibetan trade route, I arrived in the evening at the Rung-Po Valley. It is fifteen miles to the north of Teesta Bridge and is situated on the river Rung-Po, on which there is an artistic drawbridge. The source of the river,

according to local information, lies on a snow-covered lake at Phari. The Rung-Po Valley commands a very conspicuous position in Sikkim on the way to the territory of the Grand Lama. The musical rippling of the river and the artless beauty of the hills surrounding the valley are imposing and impressive. The grandeur of the landscape, specially in the evening, can better be imagined than described.

There are very few human habitations here, still there is a bazar where rice, *dal*, *ghee* and even potatoes are available. Besides, there are a post office, a telegraph office, a medical hospital, a police station and an excise patrol and a magnificent Dak Bungalow—all testifying to the great importance of the place.

In the morning of 2nd June I left Rung-Po Valley for Gangtok. The river Rung-Po falls into the Teesta at a place called Bhotang which is about a mile down the Rung-Po Valley. Again following up the course of the river Teesta, I arrived at a place called Singdom which is 7 miles up the Rung-Po Valley. Here there is a magnificent bridge over a small river which flowing from upper Sikkim, empties itself into the Teesta. Bidding farewell to my old friend—the Teesta—I pursued this new river which took me to a place called Khola Bridge, 12 miles north of Rung-Po Valley. This place derives its name from the beautiful bridge which is supported by a spring. Crossing this and several other bridges and passing through hills and dales, I arrived in the evening at Gangtok, 27 miles north of Rung-Po Valley. It is the present capital of Sikkim, situated on the peak of a hill girt by two rivers on its sides. There is a good road from Gangtok. The good-natured Maharaja of Sikkim and the intelligent Maharani are both very much interested in Buddhism and showed me the kindest consideration.

Mr. J. C White, C.I.E. Political Resident of Sikkim, to whom I was already known in connection with the Tashi Lama's pilgrimage in India, received me very kindly and gave me letters of introduction to the Lamas at Labrang and Phodang, a copy of it is given below :—

ལམ་ཡིག།

༄༅། འབྲས་ལྗོངས་སྤྱི་ཁབ་ཕྱོད་ས་ཉེ་བ་ནས། རྒྱ་བྱང་འདུས་ཚོགས་
 རྒྱལ་གྲུས་ལགས་སུ། ལྷོ་བས་འབྲུལ་དེ་ལམ་འདི་ནས་འབར་སྐྱུ་ཤོ་དེ་སི་ཅན་སྐར་
 འབི་མི་ཡ་འབྲས་ན་དེ་བཞིན་དེ་ག་རྒྱ་བྱང་དུ་བསྐྱམ་འགྱུར་ཤོ་དེ་མི་ཡོད་ཞེས་ཚ་སྐྱ་
 རྒྱ་བྱང་དུ་བསྐྱམ་འགྱུར་ཤོ་དེ་མི་ཡོད་ཞེས་ཚ་སྐྱ་

བཅུག་དགོས་དང་། ལྷག་པར་ཁོང་ལ་རོགས་རམ་གང་དགོས་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་དགོས་པ་
 དེ་ལྷགས་ཐུགས་འདུགས་ལྟ། མི་ལྷག་ལྷ་བ་བཞི་བའི་ཚོས་ཉེས་ལྷ་ལ་སྐང་དོག་གོ་
 བྱིནས། ལུལ།

འབྲས་ལྗོངས་སྤྱི་བྱེད་ལྷོ་ས་ཉེས་ཀྱི་ས་ཡིག།

PASS-PORT.

From

WARA SAHIB,

Political Resident of Sikkim.

To

The Council of Monks,
 Labrang.

Communication :

Now from here Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana is going to Labrang to see and examine Bstan-h-gyur, how much of it is there. For that purpose the Lamas must let him read the Puthis. Moreover whatever assistance he wants must be given. In this direction keep your heart--I request.

Fire sheep year, fourth month, date 25th, from Gangtok Kuthi sent letter from

WARA SAHIB,

Political Resident, Sikkim,

1907

(SD.) G. J. WHITE,

Political Officer.

Gangtok, 4th June, 1907.

A similar letter was written to the Phodang Lama's monastery.

I got this letter at about 2 P.M. and started in the company of my attendants towards Labrang. The weather that day was extremely foul and some inhabitants of Sikkim advised us not to set out that afternoon. But as the time at our disposal was rather short, and we could ill afford to lose even a single day, we felt constrained to start that very afternoon, even in the face of the stormy weather. We had not gone far when the sky began to pour forth in torrents. Taking the reins of the horse in one hand and the umbrella in the other we tried to brave the elemental frowns as best as we could. But we got terribly drenched and thoroughly exhausted after a short time, and to our consternation we saw the shades of the evening were falling fast. Swiftly we rode on but no trace of human habitation was to be found. At last the darkness of the night made it absolutely impossible for us to keep the horses on the roads, and every moment they began to stumble. Thoroughly exhausted and horribly frightened, we looked for

all around. We saw one or two lights on the way but we could never reach them, they seemed ever so far off and twinkled more like will-o'-the-wisp. At last at about 11 we saw the unmistakable glow of a lamp, coming out from a humble cottage. The Lama, who was our guide and interpreter, knocked at the door, but the inmate would not open the door easily. "Are these ghosts or elves that come to me at so late an hour in the night?" That was the first murmur that reached our ears, and we came to know that it was a woman that spoke. We had no breath to argue with her. We begged and implored, and to our relief the door flew open and we saw she was preparing barley flour then. She received us very hospitably and gave us plenty of milk she had kept reserved for selling in the following morning. Our cook got this milk properly warmed on the fire and some of our attendants prepared tea with it. I drank a quantity of milk and felt somewhat refreshed. She supplied us with water which she kept in very big bamboos from which the soft portions had been carefully scooped out. These bamboos contained enough water for us to cleanse our hands and feet, etc. We learnt from her that her son was a Thapa Lama that is, one who is dedicated to the service of the church, which he serves for six days in the week, and is also allowed to keep his connection with his home to which he is allowed to return on the seventh day. Next morning we were going to take leave of her when she insisted on my divining some future truth with regard to her son. The inhabitants of the place have no other conception of a scholar than as an astrologer and a physician. Learning that I was a scholar, she had inferred that *ipso facto* I knew divination and pressed me with importunity to let her know whether her son was to be blessed with a child or not. I found myself in a queer position. I looked at the palm of her hands and said: "Your object will be fulfilled by the grace of Buddha whom you will adore with devotion for two years."

Then we took leave of her and arrived in the morning of the 4th at the Labrang Monastery. Subsequently I visited Phodang, which is only one mile from Labrang.

Labrang, which is 77 miles north of Darjeeling, is situated on a beautiful hill overlooking the snowy range of Khangri. There is an old monastery belonging to the oldest religious sect of Tibet, named *Nying-ma-pa* or the unreformed sect. It contains images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and saints, and a very large collection of the Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts and block prints including the encyclopædias of the Kangyur and the Tangyur.

Phodang is nearly a mile below Labrang. Here, too, there is an old monastery (which is being reconstructed) belonging to the

founded in 1725 A.D. by the then Maharaja of Sikkim who visited the headquarters of the Karma-pa sect in the north of Lhasa and was asked by the head of that sect to establish some Karma-pa monasteries in Sikkim. In the Phodang monastery too there are numerous images and books, but the Tangyur is not to be found here. It is surprising to find that the veneration shown here by Lamas to Buddha is not so great as that shown to Karma-pa, the founder of the sect. Karma-pa's image adorns the very centre of the sanctuary, while on his left side is the image of the Indian saint Pe-ma-jungne (called in Sanskrit Padma-sambhava) who founded Lamaism in Tibet about 747 A.D. To his left is the image of Sākya-Thub-pa or Buddha, who preached the doctrine of Nirvāṇa nearly 2,400 years ago. There are images of such saints as Srid-du-rim-po-che, Chong-kha-pa, Gye-chag-rim-po-che and others.

I examined a considerable portion of the manuscripts and block prints at Labrang where the Lamas gave me all possible help in the matter. I could not stay there for more than a week because the provisions I carried from Darjeeling and Gangtok were all exhausted. At Phodang and Labrang very few edibles are available, even rice, salt and oil are not obtainable there. The people pass their days round their blazing hearth and depend entirely upon *tsam-pa* or flour from the parched barley. A dish of bamboo offshoot being regarded as a great delicacy. Their only luxury is tea unmixed with milk or sugar. The Marwaris, whom one can see in almost every hill or wood where there are three or four householders or coolies, have totally failed in their enterprise here. I heard that a Marwari retail-dealer had once set up a small shop here, but finding demand of no kind had to break it up.

Both Phodang and Labrang are solitary places almost abandoned by men. On the way from Gangtok to Labrang—a distance of thirteen miles—I found no human habitation and came across only three cowherds who had come from distant villages to graze their cattle. Sikkim is very thinly populated. I asked an old man at Labrang why the road from Gangtok to that place was bad and there were no shops. The reply was: “because no Englishman treads the path. There are very few people here. Our only hope is that with the increase of population in the plains men might revert to the hills to make them comfortable.”

I passed a week at Phodang and Labrang very happily. I have never seen people more simple or more charitable than the Lamas there.

Sikkim was inhabited by Lepchas who were a mild pastoral race without any settled government. Buddhism was unknown in the country and the

only creed that seems to have prevailed was Bon which was a kind of devil worship. Sikkim emerges into the ken of history in 1641 A.D., when a man named Phun-tshog-nam-gyal, supposed to be of Tibetan origin, was, in fulfilment of a prophecy, made king by Lha-tsun-chen-po and two other learned priests who had come from Tibet to spread Lamaism. By efforts of the priests and their followers and patronage of the king and his successors Buddhism or rather Lamaism, was firmly established and became the state religion in Sikkim. People from Tibet, Bhutan, China, Mongolia and Nepal migrated to Sikkim and were mixed up with the Lepchas to give rise to a new race called Bhuteas. They profess Lamaism and have built numerous monasteries, temples, *chaityas*, etc. The Tibetan term for a monastery is *gompa*, meaning a solitary place or hermitage. There are 35 monasteries in Sikkim of which Sang-ngag-tsi-ling, Pamiangchi, Tashiding, Phodang and Labrang are the chief. These were visited by the writer of this both during his travels in Sikkim in June 1907 and October 1908, Sang-ngag tsi-ling, 47 miles west of Gantok and founded in 1697 A.D., is a most democratic institution which is open to all classes of Tibetans, Lepchas, Limbus, etc., both male and female. It consists of several two-storeyed stone-buildings with a spacious quadrangle and the largest collection of curios and arts. Pamiangchi, facing the Kanchanjangha peaks and founded in 1705 A.D., is an aristocratic institution whose gates are shut against women and which is supposed to be managed by celibate monks of pure Tibetan race. It has lately been reconstructed and consists of a grand three-storeyed stone building. Tashiding, situated on the confluence of the rivers Rathong and Rungeet, was founded in 1716 A.D. It is the holiest place resorted to by pilgrims from all quarters. Phodang, 13 miles north-east of Gangtok and facing the snow of Khangri, was founded in 1740 A.D. on the site once occupied by the fort of the Bhutanese invaders. All its Head Lamas were disturbed by evil spirits that appeared in the shapes of scorpions, rock-snakes, etc., until one named Dumchot totally destroyed them by his magic powers. The monastery has recently been rebuilt, and its Head Lama at the time of my visit was the late Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim, Sid-kayong-tul-ku. Labrang, 2 miles above Phodang, is a very secluded monastery founded by a prince of Sikkim in 1844 A.D. All these monasteries, built on the traditions of old Buddhist monasteries, stand on the tops of hills, and belong to the Nying-ma-pa or Redhat sect, with the exception of Phodang which belongs to the Karmapa sect. They contain a large collection of Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs, but the famous encyclopædia called the Tangyur is contained only in Labrang and Pamiangchi. Almost every family in Sikkim is bound to spare at least one boy for devotion to the

monastery, and he has to undergo various grades of training before attaining the exalted position of a Lama. It is to be regretted that the pure Lepchas are rapidly dying out, and the Bhuteas cannot stand the heat of Sikhim below the height of 6,000 feet. Since the termination of the wars with Nepal, the Nepalese have been rushing in large numbers and in a few years almost the whole of Sikhim will be occupied by them.

APPENDIX J.

REMINISCENCES OF A VISIT TO PAMIYANGCHI.

During the Puja vacation of the year 1908, I received a letter of invitation from the Maharaja and Maharani of Sikkim. His Highness the Maharaja Sir Thu-tob-nam-gyal, K.C.I.E., of Sikkim was very anxious to give me all comforts on the way to Pamiyangchi, and the Maharani, a daughter of the Prime Minister of Tibet, wrote to the authorities of the Pamiyangchi monastery on my behalf. I also received the following letter from Her Highness the Maharani of Sikkim enquiring the date on which I might start:—

Bhutia Sa Tel
Year, 4th month,
GANGTOK,
26th June, 1908.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR,

Last year when you came up about this time to go through the Tengyur at Labrang, you told me that you were so much interested that you would come up again this year to Pamiyangchi. Do you think that you will be able to do so, and if you do about what time will it be? You must let me know beforehand, as to when you intend coming up, so that I may make some arrangements about making your journey and sojourn in Sikkim as easy as we can. At present we are having copious rains here, but we are all in sound health. Trusting you also to be in perfect health.

I remain,
Yours truly,
ཇུ་ཐོ་ནལ་།

MAHARANI.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA SATIS CHADRA VIDYABHUSANA, M.A.,

Secy. to the Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society,

CALCUTTA.

The letter was very kind, and I at once made up my mind to undertake a journey to Pamiyangchi. Reception on the way. I started from Darjeeling on the 10th of October with a passport from Mr. Crawford, Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling, and on first setting foot on the territory of the Maharaja of Sikkim I was simply surprised to notice the extraordinary arrangements that had been made by the Maharaja to provide me with all possible necessaries and comforts on the way. The royal mandate had gone forth to furnish us with all possible help and at every stage of our halt, we found numbers of men waiting for us with various articles of provision and fuel—
all much too great for us to carry. Dips dal, oranges, fruits, rice,

tables, hay, butter, milk, etc., almost in cartloads, were placed freely and abundantly at our disposal. On the third day we arrived at Pamiyangchi. Here we saw three European Consuls, who had come here on a pleasure trip, mainly for sight-seeing. Pamiyangchi commands an excellent view of the lofty and snow-covered hills of Kinchinjanga, and the Europeans were enjoying themselves immensely seeing sights and taking photos. They were a large company, being attended by a good many servants and camp-followers. They were however badly in need of provisions, and as we had more than what was necessary for ourselves we gave them a quantity of our own.

When I reached the monastery I was wonder-struck at the majestic and imposing sight which was presented from the lofty heights of the peak of Pamiyangchi which commands an excellent prospect of the picturesque and snowy peaks of Kanchanjanga from which silver-white liquid streams seem to be perpetually running out. On entering the monastery I introduced myself to the monks and presented before them the following letter of introduction, which had been sent to me by the Maharaja of Sikkim before I started from Calcutta :—

(TRANSLATION.)

To

THE INCOMPARABLE SCHOOL OF PRECIOUS MONKS.

Communication :

From Calcutta, India, a Sanskrit Pandit named Satis Chandra Acharyya Vidyabhusana goes to have access to Bs-tan-h-gyur. He being of a different kingdom, provide him with a good residence. Whatever necessary objects the Babu himself wants, be that done in a worthy way. Whatever may benefit and assist him that should be immediately rendered. This is very important. Bear this in mind, I beseech you.

From Gangtok Palace, Earth-Ape Year, month 8, date 8.

The monks received me well and gave me a ready access to the Bs-tan-h-gyur Block Prints. They offered me a seat there for the night. But this I thankfully declined and put up in the Dak Bungalow. I stayed at Pamiyangchi for eight days during which time I had every opportunity and facility for making a searching examination of and for studying of the Bs-tan-h-gyur.

APPENDIX K.

JOURNEY TO CEYLON.

The Government of Bengal in accordance with the advice of the Hon. Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. G. Thibaut, C.I.E., having deputed me to prosecute studies in Pali and Buddhism for six months in Ceylon, I started for the island on the 20th June, 1909. Starting at 6 p.m., 20th June, I arrived at Colombo on the 25th June via Madras and Tuticorin. I passed six months in Ceylon making researches in the Pali language, under the guidance of Venerable Sri Sumungala Mahathero, High Priest of western Ceylon, and Prof. Venerable Nanisar and Deva Mitta helped in my research work. Sir P. Arunachalam, Member, Executive Council, Ceylon, kindly helped me with various books and information. I also derived much help from Rev. Anagarika Dharmapala, Secretary, Maha Bodhi Society. On the 25th November, I started back for Benares *via* Colombo, Pamban, Madura, Trichinopoly, Chidambaram, Madras and Calcutta, arriving on the 11th December, at 10 A.M. In Ceylon I visited, on the 27th October, the Buddhist monasteries and remains at Galle, Dodondwa and To-to-go-mo, and on 1st-7th July Anuradhapur, Mihintale Hill and Kandy, etc.

I received addresses from all the important monasteries including the To-to-go-mo (Tirthagrāma), in which the Bhikkus observed that for more than 450 years after the demise of Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, no learned Pandit had come from India. Tirthagrāma is a chosen spot of nature. On one side rolls the limitless ocean and on the other side rise the eternal hills and in front is spread a charming lake. The stone-walls of the monastery I found still standing at the time of my visit eleven years ago, though in ruins. But a new monastery has been erected in the midst of a grove of areca-nuts and cocoa-nuts and flowers innumerable, and here the monks resident therein honoured me with an address of welcome and asked me with a simplicity most befitting to monks, whether I, Satis Chandra, a Bengali Brahmin, was a relation to Rāmacandra—so green was the memory of the Kavibhāratī in their minds.

The Venerable Sumungala Mahāthero convened on the day previous to my departure a grand meeting in which most of the learned gentlemen of Ceylon were present. I first addressed the meeting in English

then read an address in Sanskrit in forty stanzas describing my reminiscences of Ceylon.

One of the incidents on my way to Ceylon may here be narrated. At Tuticorin I stayed at a Dharamsala, which was a very big building consisting of long rows of rooms. The building covers a wide space and can accommodate over a thousand people. Any stranger would find food and lodging there for three days. Its doors remain open to all, night and day, and no question is asked of any one who enters its precincts. We were offered food and shelter when we went there. But, as we had enough provisions with ourselves, we would take no articles from them but merely sought shelter for the night. One elderly supervisor of the Dharamsala happening to find me a foreigner there was curiously speculating with a countryman of his as to where I lived, whither I was going and with what object. Wishing to satisfy his curiosity, I told him that I was an inhabitant of Calcutta and was going to Ceylon to learn Pali. He seemed to take my statement with a good big grain of salt and turned to his companion and spoke to him in Tamil, which I partly understood "Surely this is a good story-teller! No doubt he is a trader and is going to Ceylon for commercial purposes, but look you how he fables! Calcutta is the centre of learning and this man says he comes all the way from there to Ceylon of all places!" This conversation evidently shows how poor an opinion common people themselves have about Ceylon being a seat of learning, although scholars from Siam, Burma, Bombay, Calcutta and even Europe go there for the study of Pali and Buddhism.

Another of my reminiscences with regard to Ceylon is put down in detail, as the incident made a rather deep impression on my mind then. One evening I was taking my usual walk in the Victoria Park, which is surrounded on three of its sides by the sea. This is perhaps the most picturesque spot in all Ceylon, and is resorted to by all lovers of nature. Whilst taking my rounds amongst the beautiful pathways and groves of the park, the striking loveliness and singular attraction of this most wonderful work of nature, threw me in a fanciful reverie, and for a time I was lost to the world. When I came to myself, I realised that the park was almost deserted and I was the solitary figure present there. It was about 8-30 P.M. and I thought it expedient to return to my residence at once. But this I could hardly do. Having travelled through many pathways and groves I had completely lost sight of my direction and found myself in a labyrinth as it were. I then wanted to go near the sea, but the sea seemed to be on every side of me. I walked for a time towards one direction and then

Estimate of Ceylon by common people.

How I lost my way and a strange Bengali song saved me.

caught the noise of the roaring sea, and immediately receded, lest, in the darkness of the night, by one hasty step I might at once drop down into the waters below. Immediately turning back I travelled in the opposite direction and again the roar of the ocean frightened me away! To the right, and to the left, in my front, and behind my back, the sea seemed to be everywhere! Impatient and restless, I was getting excited and frightened when the short snatch of a popular Bengalee love-song reached my ears. I had been for one month in Ceylon and had not come across a single Bengalee. Hence I was beside myself with astonishment on catching the notes of the song there. The loneliness of the place, the helplessness of my position and the quaintness of the voice, heightened my sense of horror and astonishment and put me in mind of sirens about whom I had read many a tale describing how they beguile and seduce innocent victims. My hair stood on end as soon as I could see the singer, who seemed to be approaching towards me, I felt myself trembling, but I was not so thoroughly unnerved as not to make bold to ask him who he was. Somewhat to my surprise and relief, he answered me, much in the same way as a human being would do, that he was a native of Malabar and a sailor by profession. Then my fear of sirens vanished and I learnt on further enquiry that he had been to France, England, Japan, Germany, Sweden, Belgium, Calcutta, and other places and had picked up a smattering and speaking knowledge of the language of every country he had visited. While he was in Calcutta, he used to stay at Mechuabazar and had learnt there the love-song of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, which he liked very much and used to sing whenever he was alone. The romantic grandeur of the picturesque park had let loose his sentiments and he was singing loudly this favourite song of his. At my request he showed me the way out of the park to the stand for carriages. Hardly any was available at this late hour of the night. Still I managed to secure one and reached home at about 10-30.

INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Abandonment of a proposition ..	35	Akhyāti (non-manifestation) ..	139
Abhayadeva Sūri ..	196f.	Akṣapāda (see Gautama, his doctrine embodied in Nyāya Sūtra of Akṣapāda) 16, 26, 47, 112, 348, 358, 359, 395	
—particulars about ..	196 (ftn. 2)	—age of ..	50, 502 (ftn. 1)
Abhayākara Gupta ..	347	—Aksapada darśana ..	48, 398
Abhayatilakopādhyāya ..	151	—attacked by Jaina logicians 221 (ftn. 2)	
Abhihitānvaya-vēda (connection of the expressed) ..	146	—birth-place of ..	512
Abhinanda ..	147 (ftn. 2)	—compiler of the Nyāya Sūtra ..	50
Absolute (Śūnyatā) ..	254	—(his) definition of perception criticised by Dignāga ..	278
Absolute non-existence 184, 394, 416		—designated as Naiyāyika ..	278
—Deva Sūri on ..	203	—different from Gautama ..	49
Absolute truth ..	255	—(his) identification with Gautama ..	48
Abstract perception ..	383	—not conversant with the Yogācāra ..	110 (ftn. 3)
Ācāra's monastery ..	272	—Nyāya philosophy as the philosophy of ..	48
Ācārya Buddhajñānapāda ..	519	—Nyāya Sūtra of ..	497f
Ācārya Bodhisattva ..	323	—on the relation of thought and language ..	55
Action ..	37, 114	—real author of the Nyāya Sūtra ..	50
—bodily ..	58	—redactor of the Ānvikṣiki of Gautama ..	50
—mental ..	58	—son of Soma Śarmā ..	155
—three kinds of ..	58	—(in) Tibetan ..	47
—vocal ..	58	Akṣapāda and the Mīmāṃsakas, their definition of proposition criticised by Dignāga 283 (ftn. 2)	
Activity ..	58	Alarka ..	10
—grounds for ..	410	Ālaya-vijñāna, explanation of 249 (ftn. 3)	
Ādinātha or Ṛṣabhadeva ..	159	Alexander ..	352
Admission ..	35	Amaracandra Sūri 207, 396, 406 (ftn. 5)	
—of an opinion ..	89	—details about ..	207 (ftn. 5)
Advaita-vedāntins ..	139	Amradeva Sūri ..	210
Affection ..	114	Amṛtacandra Sūri ..	195
Affirmative-negative inference 131, 435		Analogue ..	65
Affirmative reason ..	437	—application of ..	816
Agniveśa ..	25 (ftn. 1)	—kinds of ..	67, 261, 288f.
—in Tibetan ..	25 (ftn. 1)	—principles to be applied to ..	81f
Abalyā ..	17f.		
Abalyā-sthāna (Ahirā) ..	18		
Abhākāra or Puruṣa of the Sāṃkhya philosophy ..	245 (ftn. 2)		
Ajāta śatru ..	226, 349		
Ajaya Deva ..	223		
Ajita Sīmha ..	477		
Akalāṅka Deva. age of ..	186		
—works of ..	185		

	Page		Page
Analogue—		Ānvikṣiki—	
—test of	81f.	—followers of ..	107 (ftn. 1)
Ānanda ..	112 (ftn. 2), 406 (ftn. 5)	—formation of ..	5
Ānanda Sūri ..	207, 398	—founding of ..	17
—details about ..	207, (ftn. 5)	—generally designated as, in the	
Ananta-vīrya ..	122 (ftn. 1), 98	first stage ..	40
Ananta-yajvan ..	498	—(in a) general sense ..	6
Ancient School of Indian Logic,		—held in high esteem in some	
termination of ..	157	quarters ..	37f.
Andhra Dynasty ..	251 (ftn. 2, 3)	—Kali satirising the founder of ..	37
Andhras 272 273 (ftn. 1), 274, 274 (ftn. 3)		—(in) Kautiliya ..	52, 7
Āṅga ..	160	—known as Nyāya-śāstra in the	
Āṅgīrasa, name of Buddha Gau-		second stage ..	40
tama ..	19 (ftn. 2)	—(as the) lamp of all sciences ..	38
Āṅgīrasa tribe ..	19	—(in its) logical aspects ..	7
Annambhatta ..	388	—(in) Manu ..	4
Anvivacaniya-khāyti (manifesta-		—Mānavas' description of ..	5
tion of the undefinable) ..	139	—meant by Nyāya ..	20
Annihilation of things impossible	105	—(as a) necessary study ..	38
Annihilationists followers of the		—not a part of the original Āyur-	
Lokāyata philosophy ..	228f.	veda ..	26
Antecedent non-existence ..	184, 416	—not in Brahma Sūtra ..	37
—Deva Sūri on ..	203	—opposed to the Vedas ..	36
Antigonos Gonetas ..	352	—par excellence is Logic ..	6, 3
Antiochos ..	352	—penalties for studying ..	37
Anuruddha Thera ..	352	—philosophical aspect of ..	6
Ānvikṣiki (see Hetu-śāstra and		—principal topic of ..	27
Tarka-vidyā) ..	36	—replacable by the word 'Darśana'	6
—accepting Vedas ..	39	—(used in) special sense of Logic ..	7
—bifurcates into Philosophy and		—(as) Science of inquiry ..	4
Logic ..	5	—(as) Science of true reasoning ..	8
—Brāhmana addicted to ..	37	—(in) Sulabhā ..	12
—called Nyāya-Śāstra ..	8, 40	—teachers of ..	9
—called Nyāya-Śāstra when Nyāya		—(in) Tibetan ..	7
constituted its special scope ..	40	—training prescribed in ..	37
—condemned by certain Brāhmanas	36	—unfavourable criticism of ..	39
—condemned by Manu ..	36	—useful for ascertaining truths ..	38
—condemned by Vālmiki ..	36	—utility of ..	37f.
—condemned in certain circles ..	36	—Vātsyāyana on ..	5
—dealt with two subjects ..	5	—Vyāsa arranges Upaniṣads with	
—Dharma should be ascertained		the help of ..	33
by ..	38	Ānvikṣiki-vidyā of Gautama ..	50
—distinction between Ātma-vidyā		—styled the Nyāya-śūtras ..	50
and ..	5	Anvitābhidhāna-vāda (expression	
—(as) expounded by Dattatreya ..	10f.	of the connected) ..	147

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Anya-mata-pariksā (examination of the doctrines of others) ..	51f	Ascertainment ..	33, 62
Anyathā-khyāti (converse manifestation)	139	Aśoka 222, 226, f., 335. 349-51, 352 53	
Apoha (knowledge of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites) criticised by Javanta ..	149	Assembly—	
Application (upanaya) 32, 61, 437 (ftn 1)		—(of) fools	29
—affirmative	61	—friendly	29
—Deva Sūri on	202	—hostile	29
—(as an) essential part of a syllogism	504	—how to influence	29
—kinds of	61, 395	—indifferent or impartial	29
—means of	395	—(of) wise men	29
—negative	81	Assumption, based on doubt	34
—of the example	60	Astāvakra, his debate with Vandin 13f	
—of the reasoning of the disputant to his own case	236	—his ingenuity 16f, 114 (ftn. 1)	
Āraṇyakas (Forest treatises) ..	1	—shouts of victory for	15f
Arcata	211, 331f. 348	—a violent debator	13ff.
Ardashīr	20	Āsuri	10
Argumentation (Tarka)	189	Aśvaghosa	248
—Deva Sūri on	201	Atheistic doctrine	9
Aristotle	295 (ftn. 2)	Ātmaka theory (i.e. Tīrthaka doctrine)	315
—and Akṣapāda	502f.	Ātma-khyāti (manifestation of the self)	138
—and Caraka Saṁhitā	500f.	Ātma-tattva-viveka, analysis of ..	145f.
—and Dharma-kīrti	503	Atom	105f.
—and Dignāga	506	—what it is	105
—and Maitreya	504	Ātreya	11f.
—and Nāgārjuna	504	—mentioned in Tibetan	11
—and Uddyotakara	510f.	—(the) original author the Caraka-saṁhitā	6
—and Vasubandhu	505	Attribution of censure	35
Art of Rhetoric	512	Augustus Caesar	352
Ārya Āsanga 249, 262, 265f., 334		Avadhī	169 (ftn. 1)
—age of	265 (ftn. 5)	Avalokiteśvara	332, 334, 335
—logical views of	265f.	Avayava (members of a syllogism) 51	
Ārya Deva	248, 261f.	—corresponding to analytics	502
—names of	261	Avesta	29 (ftn. 4)
Ārya Mahāsaṁghika and its sub-sects	247, 248	Avoidance of defeat	35
Ārya Sammitīya and its subjects	246, 247 (ftn. 2)	Ayodhyā	262, 265, 266
Ārya Sarvāstivāda and its subjects 246		Āyurveda	11
Ārya Sthavira and its sub-sects 247, 248		—eight books of	11
Asat-khyāti (manifestation of the unreal)	139	Bakhtiar Khilij	356
		Bālāditya	349, 515
		Bālāditya Narasimha Gupta	267*
		Balancing the alternative	70
		—(the) co-presence	71

	Page		Page
Balancing—		Bhairavendra ..	459, 522
—(the) counter-example ..	73	Bharsu ..	335
—(a) deficit ..	69	Bhartṛhari ..	320
—(the) demonstration ..	78	Bhāgā-pariccheda (a manual of	
—(the) doubt ..	74	logic by Viśvanātha) ..	392
—(the) effect ..	81	Bhāsarvajña ..	155, 357ff., 386
—(the) eternal ..	80	—date of ..	357
—(an) excess ..	68	—life of ..	357
—(the) heterogeneity ..	68	Bhatta Mīmāṃsakas ..	147
—(the) homogeneity ..	67	Bhavānanda Rāya ..	482 (ftn. 1)
—(the) infinite regression ..	73	Bhavānanda Siddhānta Vāgīśa ..	479
—(the) mutualabsence ..	72	Bhavanātha ..	406 (ftn. 7)
—(the) non-difference ..	77	Bhikṣu Nāga Sena ..	240
—(the) non-eternal ..	79	Bhoja Deva ..	251
—(the) non-perception ..	79	Bhora Śilā ..	272 (ftn. 1)
—(the) non-produced ..	74	Bhūsana ..	386
—(the) non-reason ..	75	Birth ..	58
—(the) perception ..	78	—a source of pain ..	102
—(the) point at issue the contro-		Blo-ḍan-seṣ-rab ..	336, 344, 345
versial ..	75	Bodhi Sattva of Za-hor ..	299
—(the) the presumption ..	76	Body ..	57
—(the) question ..	11	—made of earth ..	99
—(the) questionable ..	69	Brahma, region of ..	3
—(the) subject ..	34f.	Brahman (the Pervading Essence) ..	4
—(the) unquestionable ..	70	Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist logicians	
Bāpa, date of ..	124	antagonism between ..	348f.
Barygoza ..	352	Brāhmaṇas ..	1
Batū Dās ..	524 (ftn. 1)	Brāhmaṇa Vasubhūti ..	160
Bauddhas' doctrine of the non-		Brāhmanic Sages, conceits of ..	50
ātman ..	127 (ftn.)	Brāhmanī Pṛthvī ..	160
Bde-byed-dyah-wa ..	344	Brāhmanism in Bengal, revival of ..	350
Begging the question ..	34	Brāhmanism in Mithila, revival of ..	350
Being ..	253	Brāhmanism, in Northern India ..	351
Bengal, senior logicians of ..	526	—in Southern India ..	351
Bhadanta, same as Dignāga ..	129	—preachers of ..	351
Bhadrabāhu ..	164ff. (ftn. 1, 2, 3)	Brahmavidyā (the Divine Science) ..	4
—date of 164f., 164 (ftn. 1), 165 (ftn. 2)		Buddha Gautama ..	225
—(his) explanation of Syādvāda ..	167f.	—date of ..	225 (ftn. 2)
—syllogism of ..	165f.	Buddha Ghoṣa ..	352
Bhadrabāhu the Junior, date of ..	165	Buddhism—	
Bhadra Pālita ..	272	—at Rome ..	352
Bhadreśvara Sūri ..	212	—disappearance of ..	353
Bhagīratha Thākkurra ..	406 (ftn. 7)	—in Central Asia ..	352
Bhagīratha or Megha Thākkura ..	457	—in Ceylon ..	352
Bhāgya Rāja ..	345	—in China ..	352

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Buddhism—		Calukya kings	349
—in other countries	353	Canaka 336, 340, 341, 342, 520	
—in Tibet	352f.	Candra Dvīpa	334 (ftn. 2)
—persecution of	349	Candra Gomin	332
—reception in foreign countries of	351ff	Candra Gomin the Junior ..	334f.
—royal patronage received by ..	349	—date of	335f.
—spread of, in Asia, Europe and		—life of	333f.
Africa	351f.	Candra Gomin the Senior, date of	335
—Śrāvaka School of	341	Candra Gupta	261
Buddhists—		Candra Gupta II	117
—eighteen sects of	246f.	Candrakīrti	334
—heretical sects of	226	Candra Pati	406 (ftn. 7)
Buddhist and Jainā Scripture—		Candraprabha Sūri	206
—condemned by Vācaspati Miśra	141	—particulars about	206 (ftn. 3)
Buddhist Council	225f.	Candra Sena Sūri	211
—account of	225 (ftn. 3)	Candra Simha	460
—fourth	50	Candra's well	335
Buddhist denial of the soul—		Canonical Scriptures of the Jainas	
—criticised by Uddyotakara	125	divisions of	163f.
Buddhist doctrines of 'apoha,'		Canons of speech	12f.
'kṣanabhanga' etc.—criticised		Canons, logical subjects in ..	161ff.
by Udāyanacārya	143	Canton	301
Buddhist Logic	158	Caraka	25, 26, 499 (ftn. 1)
—contentious spirit of	348f.	—according to Pānini	25
—rise of	251	—borrowed terms from Vaiśeṣika	
—triumph of	348	philosophy and incorporated	
Buddhist Philosophy, four schools		them into Vādamārga	27
of	247	—date of	26 (ftn. 4)
Buddhist Sabbath (uposatha)	232ff.	—introduces terms unknown to	
—preliminary acts of	233	Gautama into Vādamārga	27
—preparation for	232f.	—lived in the court of Kaṇṣka 26 (ftn. 3)	
—recitation of the code of monas-		—(a) name for śākhās of the Yajur-	
tic laws in (pātimokkhudeśa)	233	veda	25
—right season for	233	—(a) physician named	26
—three kinds of	233	—(the) wandering sect named 26 (ftn. 1)	
Buddhist Sūtras, quoted by Brah-		Caraka Samhitā—	
maṇṣa authors	126 (ftn. 2)	—also called the Agniveśa-tan-	
Buno Rāmanātha	484	tra	25 (ftn. 1)
Burden and the burden-bearer	127 (ftn.)	—contains for the first time an ex-	
Bu-ṣton	270, 353	position of the doctrine of syl-	
Bzam-paḥi-ḡgon-pa	262	logism	42
Caitanya	351, 462 (ftn. 1)	—(its) exact meaning unknown ..	26
Cakra Saṁvara	340	—means the Āyurveda	26
		—older in logical doctrines than	

	Page		Page
Caraka Samhitā—		Chos-grags	303
—terms explained in	27	Chos-nychog	329
Cārvāka	9, 398ff	Chos-mi-m Them-dpe-ltar-ṣṅam-wa	296 (ftn. 1), 297 (ftn. 1)
—followers of	9	Cinna Bhaṭṭa	384
—not the name of any individual	9	Cirakārīn (son of Gautama. see Gautama as mentioned in the Mahābhārata)	18
Cases for settlement (adhikarana)	229f.	Clearing the meaning of terms	238
(A) Case presented by a disputant in a regular form (anuloma)	235	Cola Dynasty	351
(A) Case presented through an ana- logy	238	Collective Nyāya (Samgraha)	171
(A) Case presented through a simple comparison	237f.	Colour	57
(A) Case presented through the fourfold method	239	Commentaries—	
Casuists	227	—nature of	115
Category	374ff, 387, 393, 395	—(as) store-houses of informations	115
—defined in Nāgārjuna's Pramāṇa Vihetana	258	Comparative estimate of the Ān- vikṣikī and the Nyāya	152
—definition of	54ff.	Comparison	33, 56, 384, 443
—examination of	90ff.	—Dignāga on	287
—reduced to one	357	—(a) distinct means of right know- ledge	9
—treatment of	53	—instrumental causes of	411
Category of pramāṇa, (means of knowledge) in the prakaranas	357	—(a) mere inference	94
Causality	400f.	—(a) mere perception	94
Cause	390	—not a means of right knowledge	93f.
—kinds of	382f., 390	—operation of	443
Causes of Inference—		—process of	443
—ancient on	434	—really a means of right know- ledge	94
—Gaṅgeśa on	434	—result of	443
Cavil	62, 63	—(a) Separate means of knowledge	99, 443
Caviller	63	—special cause of	409
Cedi race	359	Complainant or Plaintiff (codaka)	231
Censuring the non-censurable	90	Complaint (codanā)	23
Ceylon—		Compound—	
—an incident of Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in	541f.	—attributive	452
—Dr Vidyābhūṣaṇa's departure from	540	—kinds of	452
—Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's experience in	540	—potentiality of aggregative	453
—estimate of	541	—potentiality of attributive	452
Candra Kīrti	126 (ftn. 2)	—potentiality of descriptive	452
Censurable	33	—potentiality of determinative	452
Chan Dynasty	268	—potentiality of indeclinable	453
Chinese Mission, sent to Macartha	301	Comprehensiveness	429
		Conclusion (nigamana)	32, 61, 167,

Page	Page
Compound—	Darśana—
—as an essential part of a syllogism 504	—(a) branch of philosophy .. 6
—Deva Sūri on 202	—(an) explanation of the term .. 6
—kinds of 259	—literal sense 6
Concrete cause 383	Dattātreyā
Condition (upādhi) 140, 376 (ftn. 4), 378, 399, 431, 432	—(his) parable of a tree .. 10f.
—kinds of 432f.	—(his) proper name 10
—sure 432	Death 58
—suspected 432	Debate (vāda) 31
Conditionality 255	Debate—the art of (Tarka-vidyā), (see also Vāda-vidvā)
Conditional middle term .. 431	Debate—
Conditional truth 254	—attending a place of .. 264
Conflicting testimony 59	—categories for the knowledge of the course of 31
Confutation 61	—(a) congenial 29
Conjoined inherence (samyukta-samavāya) 130	—(a) council of (pariṣad) .. 29
Conjoined inherent-inherence (samyukta-samaveta samavāya) .. 130	—(the) course of (see Vāda-mārga) 31
Conjunction (samīyoga) .. 130	—defects of 163
Consideration (parāmarśa) 384, 390, 420, 433	—disputant of 379
Consistency 447	—(the) expedients of (see Vādo-pāya) 30f.
Context 113	—expedients in 163
Contiguity 447f.	—kinds of 29, 31, 379
Contradiction 34	—(a) hostile 29
Contradictory fallacy 63, 64	—(the) limits of (see Vāda-maryādā) 31
Contradictory reason 439	—means of 264
Controversial fallacy 63, 64	—members of 379
Council of Discussion—Deva Sūri on 204	—method of 28f
Counter-activity	—or dialogues in the Upaniṣads .. 23
—grounds for 410	—place of 263
Counter-balanced reason .. 439	—president of 379
Counter-demonstration .. 32	—several terms of 162
—analysis of 501	—technical terms of 23ff.
Counter-proposition 166	—requisites of 378
Counter-questioned fallacy .. 63, 64	—requisites of a council of .. 378
Cūdāmaṇi 303	—respondent of 379
Cunningham 124 (ftn. 7)	—rules of 378
Daḍ-paḥi-śes-rab 275	—rules of, according to Deva Sūri 204f
Dāna Pāla 352	—subjects of 263
Dāna Śīla 340f.	—utility of (see sambhāṣā-prasāmsā) 28f.
Dar-ma-graḡa 318	Debater—
	—confidence of 264f

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Debater—		Deva Sūri—	
—qualifications of	284	—on superimposition ..	201
Debts, three kinds of ..	102 (ftn. 1)	—on the method of debate ..	204
Defeat—		—on the soul	204
—points of (see points of defeat) ..	379	—(his) Pramāṇa-nayatātvalokā-	
—eight kinds of	237	lankāra	200
Defect of speech	34	Devendra Bodhi	319f.
—various types of	34	Deviating from a tenet ..	90
Definition	53	Dgah-waḥi-rdo-rje	345
—of terms	238	Dge-bruñ	328
—of the minor term and explana-		Dgra-las-rgyal-wa	337
tion of a proposition ..	506f.	Dhammatā doctrine ..	500 (ftn. 1)
Demonstration (sthāpanā) ..	32	Dhammuttariya or Dhammottara	
—and counter-demonstration of		.. ..	248 (ftn. 6)
Caraka-Saṃhitā compared with		Dhaneśvara Sūri	197 (ftn. 3)
demonstration and refutative		Dhanukha Inscription ..	406 (ftn. 7)
Enthymeme of Arts to the ..	500	Dharma Bhāṣana ..	215f. 237 (ftn. 7)
—analysis of	500f	—his references to other philoso-	
—through three kinds of middle		phers	215
terms and through the media of		—his references to works on logic	215
essence and cause	508	Dharma Deva	352
Deprecating description ..	108	Dharmagañja	516
Description—		Dharma Ghosa	208
—kinds of	108	Dharmākara Gupta	329
Desert (merit or demerit) ..	57	Dharmakīrti 124, 133, 135, 136 (ftn.),	
—grounds for the existence of		274 (ftn. 1), 303ff., 344, 346, 348, 358	
.. ..	(ftn. 1)	—age of	124 (ftn. 3), 305f., 321
Desire	57	—birth-place of	303 (ftn. 4)
—and aversion	113	—criticises Dignāga	315f
Determinate	55	—designated as a Bhikṣu, Sangata.	
Determinate knowledge ..	414	Buddha or Śākya	150
Determinate perception (see Savi-		—(his) division of the point of	
kalpaka)	138	defeat (nigrahasthāna) criti-	
Deva Bhadra	211	cised by Vācaspati Miśra ..	136
Deva Nātha Ṭhākkura ..	460f.	—triumph of	305
Deva Pāla	517	Dharmakīrti and Kumārila ..	304
Devardhi Gaṇi, known as Kṣamā-		Dharmapāla 117, 302f., 304, 323,	
śramaṇa	172	.. ..	517, 519
Devasena Bhaṭṭāraka ..	195	—works of	303
Deva Sundara	214	Dharmarājadhvarin	485
Deva Sūri—		Dharmarakṣa	352
—called Vādi-pravara ..	198	Dharmaratna	300
—on fallacies of Naya ..	203f.	Dharmavijaya	165 (ftn. 22)
—on non-existence	203	Dharmottara	143, 338, 348
—on right knowledge ..	200f.		

	Page		Page
Dharmottarācārya	329	Divine Science (Brahma-vidya)	4
Dialogue	62	Doctrine of Impermanence ..	239
—three kinds of	62	Doctrine of inter-relation leading	
Digambaras	159 ²	to the doctrine of voidness 117 (ftn. 3)	
Dignāga 116, 117, 125, 135, 307		Doctrine of momentariness 246, 262f.	
(ftn. 2), 348, 349		—criticised by Vātsyāyana ..	121
—age of .. 116, 135, 272f ²		Doctrine of Mutual Dependence	
—birth place of	512.	(Paṭicca samuppāda) 227 (ftn. 2)	
—called Bhadanta .. 125, 135 (ftn. 3)		Doctrine of Nyāya (method) 217 (ftn. 1)	
*—(his) definition of balancing the		Doctrine of Phonetic Explosion	
effect (kārya-sama) criticised by		(sphoṭavāda)	131f.
Vācaspati Miśra	135	Doctrine of Self-consciousness ..	418
—(as) founder of the Mediaeval		Doctrine of Voidness	262f.
Logic	158, 270ff.	—time of	119 (ftn.)
—fuller accounts of	272 (ftn. 1)	Dogma	59
—life of	272f.	—hypothetical	60
—(a) portrait of	271	—implied	60
—(his) criticism of the definition of		—of all the schools	59
perception as given by Akṣapāda		—peculiar to some schools ..	60
and Vātsyāyana	278	Doubt	33, 58f.
—(his) theory of examples 295ff.		—Deva Sūri on	201
—(his) theory of Nine Reasons		—grounds for	104
criticised by Uddyotakara and		—impossibility of	103
Vācaspati Miśra	283 (ftn. 2)	—possibility of	104
—(his) views on inference 281ff.		—sources of	428
Dignāga and Jīvara Kṛṣṇa 274f.		Dpal-ldan-blo-gros-brtan-po ..	349
Dinakara Miśra	380	Dravali (Drāvida)	305
Dīnāra (the Roman coin denarius)		Dress of monks	271
imported into India 45 (ftn. 2)		Dr. H Jacobi—	
Diodotus	352	—on commentaries of the Nyāya	
Dīpaṅkara or Śrījāna Atiśa 337,		Sūtra	116 (ftn. 1, 3)
341, 352, 517, 519f.		—on the date of the Nyāya Sūtra	
Direct knowledge (Pratyakṣa) 169,		50 (ftn. 2)	
174, 184		—on Hari bhadra Sūri 209 (ftn.)	
—Deva Sūri on	201	Dr. Sherbatski	120 (ftn. 3)
—kinds of	174	Dṛṣṭivāda .. 161, 161 (ftn. 3)	
Discussion	62	Dul-lha	320f.
—art of (Vāda-vidyā).. ..	6	Durgādatta Miśra	460
(See also Tarka-vidyā)		Dvividha Saṁbhāṣā (see Debate—	
Deva Suri on	204	kinds of)	29
—with whom to hold	104	Dvyyiggūen	266
Disjunctive categorical syllogism		Ear	57
435 (ftn. 1)		Eastern Cālukya dynasty 273 (ftn. 1)	
Disputation, methods of, as illus-			
trated by the Kathāvattan .. 235ff.			

	Page		Page
Effect ..	280, 311, 382, 390	Example—	
Efficient Cause ..	383, 390 (ftn. 1)	—heterogeneous, fallacies of ..	297f.
Ego ..	245, 246, 249	—homogeneous or affirmative ..	60,
Ego or Ālaya—		191, 259, 286, 290, 368	
—of the Viñāna-vādins ..	245 (ftn. 2)	—homogeneous, fallacies of ..	296f., 313ff
E. Harding—		—fallacies of ..	368f., 163, 176, 191,
—on the Sūtra of the Burden and		289, 290, 311	
the Burden-bearer ..	127 (ftn.)	—kinds of ..	286f.
Elements ..	57	—superfluous ..	193
Emancipation or release ..	57, 58, 246, 370	—theory of ..	298ff.
—attainment of ..	102	—uselessness of, according to Deva	
—definition of ..	103	Sūri ..	202
—means of attainment of ..	103	Excellence of speech ..	24
Emperor Kublai Khan ..	353	Excess ..	113
Enthymemes ..	500f	Exclusively affirmative (anvayī)	
—definition of ..	501	inference ..	130, 434
Entreaty ..	113	Exclusively negative (vyatirekī)	
Enunciation ..	53	inference ..	131, 434
Emipollent concornittance ..	399	Exercise ..	113
Erratic fallacy ..	63	Existence, as a thing ..	97 (ftn. 1)
Erratic reason ..	438	Expectancy ..	447
—non-general ..	438	Explanation of the truths ..	261
—too general ..	437	Explanatory example ..	60
Etapuri ..	346	Extrinsic inseparable connection	
Eternalists (sassata-vādins)—		(bahir-vyāpti) ..	177
—followers of the Sāṃkhya philo-		—Deva Sūri on ..	202
sophy of Kapila ..	228	Eye ..	57, 111f.
Eternalists—non-eternalists (eka-		—(a) material substance ..	111, 112
ccasassatikā-ekacca-asassatikā)—		—(a) non-material substance ..	112
—followers of the Ārvīksikī of			
Medhātithi-Gautama ..	228	Fa-hian ..	241 (ftn. 1), 252
Evasion ..	89	—his description of Ārya Nāgār-	
Examination ..	53	juna ..	251 (ftn. 3)
—different means for ..	28	Fallacy ..	63f., 362, 438ff.
—four standards of ..	28	—general definition of ..	438
Example (dṛṣṭānta) ..	32, 59, 167,	—kinds of ..	192f., 260f., 438
258f., 366f., 437		—of absence of connection ..	297
—affirmative or homogeneous ..	502	—of absence of disconnection ..	298
—and major premise ..	503	—of affirmative example ..	368f.
—and paradigma ..	502f.	—of argumentation ..	193
—converted into universal pro-		—of balancing the controversy ..	367f.
position ..	295f.	—of balancing the predicate ..	260
—function of ..	504	—of balancing the point in dispute	
—heterogeneous or negative ..	61, 191,	or begging the question ..	260
159, 287, 290, 368, 502		—of example ..	178, 193, 368, 369f

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Fallacy—		Fallacy of the homogeneous ex-	
—of false assumption ..	260	example—	
—of implied contradiction ..	315f	—of connection unshown ..	179
—of included major term ..	297	of inverted connection ..	179
—of included major and middle		—three kinds of ..	179
terms ..	298	—unconnected ..	179
—of included middle term ..	297	Fallacy of the immediate, Deva	
—of inverse connection ..	297	Sūri on ..	203
—of inverted negation ..	298	Fallacy of the middle term or	
—of 'Naigama,' according to Deva		reason ..	178, 193, 293
Sūri ..	203	Fallacy of the middle term or sem-	
—of negative example ..	369	blance of reason—	
—of non-erroneous contradiction		—contradictory ..	178
316, 368		—kinds of ..	178
—of perception ..	192	—uncertain ..	178
—of quibble in respect of a term	260	—unproved ..	177
—of regressus ad infinitum ..	257	Fallacy of the minor term	177, 193
—of reason ..	63f, 90	—of the mistimed ..	260
—of reasoning (see fallacies of the		—of the mistimed reason and its	
thesis, middle term and example)	298	subdivision ..	367
—of recognition ..	193	—of the non-tried reason ..	356
—of recollection ..	193	—of the non-tried reason, subdivi-	
—of Sūdhya-sama ..	256 (ftn. 1)	sions of ..	366f
—of showing absurdity ..	260	—of the practical, Deva Sūri on ..	203
—of the adoption of a fallacious		—of the subtle, Deva Sūri on ..	204
reason ..	261	—of the such-like, Deva Sūri on ..	204
—of the collective, Deva Sūri on	203	—of the uncertain middle term	
—of the contradictory ..	260	293f., 313	
—of the contradictory middle term		—of the uncertain reason ..	355
294f., 313		—of the uncertain reason, subdivi-	
—of the contradictory reason ..	363	sions of ..	365f.
—of the contradictory reason, kinds		—of the undistributed middle ..	260
of ..	363ff.	—of the unproved middle term	293, 313
—of the excluded major term ..	296	—of the unproved reason ..	362
—of the excluded major and middle		—of the unproved reason, kinds of	
terms ..	296	362f.	
—of the excluded middle term ..	296	—of verbal testimony ..	193
Fallacy of the heterogeneous ex-		—of verbal testimony, Deva Sūri	
ample,—kinds of ..	180	on ..	204
Fallacy of the homogeneous ex-		—services of ..	442
ample ..	178	Faults ..	58
—of contrary separation ..	180	—subdivisions of ..	101
—of separation unshown ..	180	Fear ..	113
—of six kinds ..	180	Firoz Shah Tughlak ..	223
—unseparated ..	180		

	Page		Page
First academy of Logic in Nadia	462	Gautama—	
Five Śāndhas (aggregates of being)	126, 127 (ftn.)	—birthplace of	17
Fixed signification of numbers	114	—Buddha	19
—Akṣapāda on	114	—(as) described in the Rāmāyaṇa	18
Forefathers—		—(his) doctrine embodied in the Nyāya sūtra of Akṣapāda (see Akṣapāda)	26
—(the) path of the	3	Gautama—	
Form	111	—Gotamaka, his followers	21
Formal cause	390 (ftn. 1)	—(his) identification with Akṣapāda	48
Fortuitous-originists (adhicca-samuppannika)	229	—(and) Medhātithi the same person	18
Four schools of Buddhists—		—mentioned in old Persian scripture	20f.
—(as) mentioned in the Chinese Tripiṭaka	243f.	—Naciketas	19
Fruit	58	—Nodhā	19
Future time	106	—(his) theory of reasoning	20
Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya	481	—(his) theory of soul	20
—date of	482	—(his) wife Ahalyā	17f.
—(the) prince of Indian schoolmen	481	—(his) work on Ānvīkṣikī	20
Gajapati Pratāparudra	462	Gautama-Medhātithi (see above)—	
Gāndhāra	265, 266, 351	—age of	21
Ganeśa Upādhyāya	155	—(his) doctrines as reproduced in the Caraka Saṃhītā	25ff.
Gaṅgā (Padmā)	346	—family and tribe of	19
Gaṅgā Deva	521	—(the) founder of Ānvīkṣikī	17ff.
Gaṅgeśa	396, 405ff., 522	—(and) Gautama or Gotama the same person (see Ahalyā),	20
—date of	406 (ftn. 7), 407	—mentioned in the Mahābhārata	20
—Portuguese account of	488f.	—(his) Nyāya	20
—succession of pupils from	406 (ftn. 7)	—terms unknown to	27
—Gāngeya Deva	350	Gautamī-vidyā	20, 497
Gangtok—		Generality (samavāya)	32, 333
—Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's journey to	531	Genus or type	111
—hospitality of a lady to Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa at	532f.	Gestures	57
Garbhapāda	337	—as means of knowledge	453
Gautama	21	God—	
Gauḍa	341, 524	—(the) giver of fruits	101
Gaurī Kāṅṭha Sārvabhauma	478f.	—proof of the existence of	143f.
Gautama (see Gautama Medhātithi)—		—path of	3
—(in) Avesta Gaotema	21	Gopāla	323, 517
—believed to be the author of the Nyāya Sūtra	48	Gopinātha Maunī	485
		Gotama (see Gautama)	37, 497 (ftn. 2)

	Page		Page
Gotama—		Heretical—	
—descendants of	19	—names and subdivisions of	226 (ftn. 2)
—Tarka Śāstra of	497	Heterogeneous or negative example	176
Gotamaka (see Gautama, his fol- lowers)	21	Heterologue	361, 433
Govardhana Mīra	381	Hetu (reason)	162
Govindandra	320	—(as) identical with valid know- ledge	162
Govinda Nyāyavāgīśa	480	—(in the) sense of inference	162
Grags-pa-rgyal-ntshan-ḡpal-le zan	289	—kinds of	162
Graheśvara	522	Hetu-śāstra (see Ānvīkṣikī)	7, 25
Graug-can-pa	278	Hetu-vidyā (see Ānvīkṣikī) 7, 240, 243, 274 (ftn. 3)	
Ḡser-gyi-go cba	275	Hetu-vidyā-śāstra	274 (ftn. 3)
Ḡtan-tshigs-ltar-gnan	293 (ftn. 1)	Hīnayāna	247, 272
Ḡtan-tsigḡ-ni-tshul-gsum	291 (ftn. 1)	—spread of	241
Guge	324	Hindu Logic—	
Guṇānanda Vidyāvāgīśa	468	—Amstotarian influence on	511f.
Guṇaratna 151, 206 (ftn. 4), 214, 357, 371		Hīravijaya	216
—his references to other philoso- phers	214f.	History of Jaina literature	172
—his references to works on logic	215	Homogeneous example	176
Gupta Dynasty, kings of	349	Homologue	361, 433
Halāyudha	524	Huen-Tsang 124, 241 (ftn. 1), 248, 261, 265, 266 ³ , 267, 274 (ftn. 3), 302, 302 (ftn. 4), 303, 306, 335	
Haṃsa	210	Hurting the proposition	84f.
Han Dynasty	243 (ftn. 1)	Hymn	108
Hanumat	391	Idealism (vijñāna-vāda)	120f.
Haramohan Cūḡamanī	526	—in the Laṅkāvatāra	245
Haribhadra	337	Identity	311
Haribhadra Sūri 152, 154, 208, 346		Ignorance	89
—age of	209	Illustrative description	108
Haribhadra Sūri II	209 (ftn.)	Immediate perception	418f.
Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra Bhaṭṭā- cārya	465	Immediate subsequency	113
Hari Dīkṣita	384	Imperceptible reason in the affirma- tive form—	
Hari Mīra	406 (ftn. 7)	—three subdivisions of	191
Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa	479	Imperceptible reason in the nega- tive form—	
Harṣa Vardhana	335	—seven subdivisions of	191
Hbro or Do	324, 337, 343	Implication (of a word)	450, 451f.
Hellenestic monarchies	352	Imposition	218
Hemacandra Sūri (surnamed Kal- kāla Sarvajña)	205, 335	Inadequacy	34
—details about	205	Incoherence	34
Hema (or Kanaka) Varmā	275	Incoherent	87
Heretical sects of the Buddhists 226, 226 (ftn. 2)			

	Page		Page
Incompatible reason	440	Inference—	
—kinds of	440f.	—instrumental causes of	411
Indeterminate perception (nirvikal- peka)	138	—kinds of 130f., 361, 260, 175, 192, 202, 280, 434, 435	
Indian Parāḍits, as translator of Sanskrit works into Tibetan 353 (ftn. 1)		—not a means of right knowledge	93
Indication	449	—really a means of right know- ledge	93
Indirect knowledge (parokṣa) 169, 189		—special cause of	409
—five kinds of, according to Deva Sūri	201	—terms of	361f.
Indirect perception	413	Inference for one's self and dialectic proposition	506
Indirect valid knowledge—		Inference for the sake of others and demonstrative proposition	506
—two kinds of	175	Inference of God	442
Individual	111	Inferential knowledge	384, 390, 419f.
Indrabhūti Gautama—		Inherence (samavāya) 32, 130, 333, 383, 412, 414	
—(a) disciple of Mahāvīra	159f.	—relation of	383
—birthplace of		Inherence and union—	
—date of		—distinguished	414
—parentage of	160	Inherent inherence	130, 412
Indravijaya	165 (ftn. 2)	Injunction	103, 448f.
Inference 33, 56, 175, 189, 298, 361f., 376, 383, 390		—Gangeśa on	449
—a posteriori	56	—Kumārila on	449
—a priori	56	—Prabhākara on	449
—as a means of knowledge	420	Inopportune	87
—Cārvāka on	398f.	Inquiry	33
—cause of	433	Inseparable connection or invari- able concomittance (vyāpti) 177, 189, 361	
—commonly seen	56	—affirmative	361
—demonstration of	361	—kind of	177, 361
—denied by Cārvāka	398f.	—negative	361
—Deva Sūri on	202	Instrument (karaṇa)	382, 390
—Dignāga on	281f.	Intellect	50
—distinct from perception	420	—impermanent	101, 112
—established	400f.	—kinds of	395
—for one's own self (svārthānumā- na)	175, 192, 280, 310, 435	—permanent	112
—for one's own self, Deva Sūri on	202	—(a) quality of a conscious agent, the soul	101
—for the sake of others (parārthā- numāna) 176, 192, 282, 312, 435f.		—(an) unconscious instrument	112
—for the sake of others, Deva Sūri on	202	Intention	448
—for the sake of others, kinds of	312	Intercourse (sannikarṣa)—	
		—kinds of	130, 360, 412
		—produced by meditation	414

	Page		Page
Intercourse—		Jaines ..	158, 273
—whose character is general	412f .	—canonical scriptures.	160f
	429, 430f	Jaina sects ..	159
—whose character is knowledge	413	Jainism—	
Interrogation ..	33	—persecution suffered by ..	222f.
Intervention	113	—rights and privileges of the laity of	223
Intrinsic inseparable connection		—royal patronage enjoyed by	222
(antar-vyāpti) ..	177f	—support of the Jaina community	
—Deva Sūri on ..	202	received by ..	223
Invalid knowledge ..	409ff	—unperturbed by the Mahomed-	
—Mīmāṃsakas on ..	410	ans	223
Invariable concomittance (see In-		Jalandhara	349
separable connection)	376, 384, 390	Jambudvīpa ..	332
—Buddhist views on ..	400f	Janaka	12, 13
—comprehensiveness of ..	429	Jānakīnātha Śarmā ..	466
—conclusive definition of ..	424	Jātukarnya, probably a compiler ..	50
—defined by the 'Lion' and the		Jātukarnya Vyāsa	50
'Tiger' ..	423	Jayadeva ..	455, 524
—five provisional definitions of ..	421	Jayanta ..	137 (ftn 1),
—knowable ..	400f	—author of the Nyāya-mañjarī ..	146f
—means of apprehending ..	426ff.	—criticises the doctrines of Kalyā-	
—nature of ..	140	na Rakṣita and Dharmottara ..	149f
—objectionable definitions of ..	424	—(his) criticism of Sphoṭa-vāda ..	149
—of special forms ..	426	—(his) criticism of the doctrines of	
—of the Buddhist condemned ..	376	apoha, kṣana-bhaṅga, Īśvara-	
—right means of apprehending ..	428	bhaṅga, etc	149f.
—unknowable ..	398ff.	—date of	147
Inversion, Deva Sūri on ..	201	—(his) explanation of verbal know-	
Invocation of Blessings ..	408	ledge	147f.
Invocation, kinds of ..	408	—life of	146f.
Irrelevancy ..	34	—(his) reproach of the Buddhists	150
Īśvarabhāṅga (non-existence of		—(his) review of some Buddhist	
God) criticised by Jayanta ..	150	doctrines	150
Īśvara Sena ..	307 (ftn. 2)	Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana ..	477f.
I-tsing	306	Jayarāma Tarkālakāra ..	483
Jagaddala	346 (ftn. 3)	Jaya Simha Deva	199
Jagadhara	522	Jaya Simha Sūri	206, 371, 372
Jagadīśa Tarkālakāra ..	469f.	Jehāngīr	479
Jayāditya	335	Jehāri	337f., 342, 349
Jaina Āgamas	172	Jinadatta Sūri	152, 154
Jaina Logic	158	—date of	152 (ftn. 3)
—conciliatory character of ..	221f.	Jinas	159, 274 (ftn. 3), 338
—not conflicting with the Brāh-		Jina Bhadra Gaṅkṣamā Śramana	174,
manas	221f.		181
—permanency of	24	Jina Bhatta	210
		Jina Bhatta Sūri	390

	Page		Page
Jina Mitra ..	340, 349	Karatoyā ..	.. 346
Jinendrabodhi ..	.. 323	Kāryābhiniṣṭti—	
Jineśvara Sūri ..	.. 197	—(not in) Ānvikaikī ..	.. 272
Jīvita Gupta I ..	.. 301	—(a) part of the Vaiśeṣika Philo-	
Jñānacandra ..	.. 213	sophy ..	.. 27
Jñānagarbha ..	.. 250	Kāsthāsaṅgha ..	169 (ftn.)
Jñānapūrṇa or Jñāna Deva	374, 380	Kāśyapa ..	.. 43
Jñāna Śrī Bhadra ..	.. 342	—hermitage of ..	39, 42
—same as Jñānasiddha Bhadra	342	Kauśāmbī 117 (ftn. 2)	265, 266, 303
	(ftn. 1)	Kauśika ..	.. 262
Jñāna Śrī Mitra ..	211 (ftn. 3), 341	Kavīcandra ..	.. 396
Jñātiputras ..	.. 244	Keśava Mīśra ..	.. 318
Judicial Council of monks (saṅgha)	231	—life of ..	.. 381
—judge or umpire in ..	.. 231 f.	Kevala ..	169 (ftn.)1
—member of ..	.. 231	Kha-che jñāna Śrī ..	.. 329
Kākaṭiya Dynasty ..	.. 380	Khajuttarā ..	112 (ftn. 2)
Kālāsoka ..	226, 346	Kri-sroṅ-den-tsan ..	.. 352
Kālidāsa ..	.. 273	King Amoghavarṣa ..	223, 349
Kaliṅga ..	.. 305	King Bhaṣa ..	.. 322
Kalyāna Candra ..	.. 198	King Candra Gupta ..	.. 222
Kalyāna Rakṣita ..	143, 328	King Ciṅghana ..	.. 386
Kamala Rakṣitā ..	.. 250	King Dpal-lha-tsan-po ..	.. 250
Kamala Śīla ..	327, 352, 516	King Harihara ..	.. 381
Kāmbojas ..	.. 351	King Jayacandra ..	406, 406 (ftn. 6)
Kāmeśvara Dynasty ..	.. 521	King Jaya Siṃha ..	.. 205
Kaṇāda ..	.. 395	King Jitāra ..	.. 210
—system of ..	.. 304	King Kaniṣka ..	.. 512
Kaṇāda Gupta ..	.. 304	King Khri-sroṅ-den-tsan	323, 327
Kaṇāda Tarṅkavāgīśa ..	.. 466	King Kōma ..	.. 222
—traditionary account of	466 (ftn. 3)	King Lalitacandra ..	.. 320
Kāñcī ..	117, 272, 512	King Lalitāditya ..	.. 324
Kāñcīpura ..	117, 302, 351	King Mukṭāpīḍa ..	.. 147
Kaniṣka 26 (ftn. 3), 50, 241, 242, 349	352	King Muāja ..	.. 197
—date of ..	241 (ftn. 1)	King Nemicandra ..	.. 252
Kanoj ..	.. 335	—date of ..	252 (ftn. 4)
Kaṇva ..	.. 45	—genealogy of ..	252 (ftn. 4)
Kaṇva Dynasty ..	251 (ftn. 3)	King Poros ..	.. 352
Kapila—		King Riga-ltan-rgyal-po	.. 299
—date of ..	.. 10	King Śrī Haṛṣa or Haṛṣavardhana	123
—(his) doctrine of matter and soul	9f.	King Sroṅ-tsan-gan-po ..	.. 305
Kapilas ..	.. 278	King Tribhuvantilaka ..	.. 388
Karna Deva ..	.. 350	King Vimalacandra of Bengal,	
Karṇāta Dynasty ..	.. 521	Kāmarūpa and Tirhut	338, 342
Karṇātaka Kṣatriya race ..	350		(ftn. 6)
		Kirti (see Dharmakīrti)	.. 386

	Page		Page
Kīrti—		Labrang—	
—time of	137	—monastery of ..	342 (ftn. 4), 344 (ftn. 4)
Kīrtivijaya	216	Lachimā Devī	460
Klog-akya-śeṣ-rab-brtryś ..	343	Laghusamantabhadra ..	197f.
Knowledge (viññāna)	227	Laksana Bhaṭṭa	374
Knowledge	3	Lakṣmana Sena ..	350, 523 (ftn. 3)
—basic	243	—court of	524
—distinguished from work ..	)	—successors of	424
—divisions of	227 (ftn.) 2	Lalitacandra	321
—from particular standpoint (Naya)	218	Laugākṣī	395
—(a) function of the intellect ..	112	Law of	328
—general grounds of	409	—apph	285
—kinds of	245, 389, 411	Lha	319f
—objectified	245	Liang	301
—potential	245	Licchavi Dynasty	335
—practical functions of	418	Likeness	113
—presentative	245	—Gangeśa on	443
—(a) quality of the soul	98	—Mīmāṃsakason	443
Konkana	338	Limitation of the proposition (prati- tijñā-vibhakti)	166
Kṛpārāma	479	Limitation of the reason	166
Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa Āde	486	Logic (sophism)	229
Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭa- cārya	468	—called Nīti or Nyāya	240
Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvagiśa	384f.	—called pre-eminently the Ānvik- ṣikī	6
Kṣamākalyāna	390	Logical theories of Aristotle migra- ted from Alexandria into India	511ff.
Kṣana-bhaṅga (the momentary ex- istence)—		Logical works—	
—criticised by Jayanta	149	—brought to Nadia from Mithilā ..	462
Kṣirodadhi (khiroi)	17	Logic and Logicians—	
Kṣitīścandra Roy	526	—in the Laṅkāvatāra	244
Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana	273 (ftn. 1)	Logic of Mithilā and Nadia	218
Kukutasiddha	516	Lohācārya II	169 (ftn. 8)
Kumāra Gupta	267	Lokanātha	339
Kumārajīva	252	Lokāyata	5, 6, 9
Kumāra Kalasa	343	Louis De La Vallée Poussin—	
Kumāra-lābha	248 (ftn. 7)	—on the Buddhistic doctrine of the soul	126 (ftn. 2)
Kumāra-pāṣha	114 (ftn. 1)		
Kumāra Śrī	336	Mādhavācārya 247 (ftn. 5), 248 (ftn. 3), 249 (ftn. 1, 6), 274 (ftn.), 306, 308 (ftn. 3), 341, 397f.	
Knārila Bhaṭṭa	138, 183, 273, 351	Mādhava Tarkasiddhānta	526
Knārila and Dharmakīrti	304		
Kumudacandrācārya	198		
Kaunda kuṇḍa	169 (ftn.)		
Labrang	533f.		
—Dr. Vidyābhūṣa's journey to ..	530		

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Madhusūdana Ṭhakkura	.. 461	—canonical books of	.. 242
Madhyadeśa	.. 304 (ftn. 1)	—rise of	.. 514
Mādhyamika	.. 135, 253, 249f.	—spread of	.. 241
—Chinese account of	253 (ftn. 2)	Mahāyāna Hoshang	.. 327
—criticised by Jayanta	.. 150	Mahendra Varman	.. 222
—explanation of	249 (ftn. 6)	Mahinda	.. 352
—expounders of	.. 250	Mahesā Ṭhakkura	406 (ftn. 7), 456 (ftn. 2), 457f.
—founder of	.. 250	Mahesvara Ṭhakkura	.. 521
—Indian account of	253 (ftn. 3)	Mahipāla	.. 340, 517
—principal works of	.. 250	Mahipāla II	.. 340
—Tibetan and Chinese versions of	.. 256	Mahomedans—	
Mādhyamika Buddhists	.. 139	—in Bengal and Behar	.. 350
Mādhyamika doctrine of inter-re- lation—		—in Kāśmīra	.. 350
—criticised by Vātsyāyana	.. 117	Mahī Śāsaka sect	.. 265
Mādhyamika doctrine of Śūnyatā (voidness)—		Maitreya	.. 262
—criticised by Vātsyāyana	.. 118	Maitreyanātha	120 (ftn. 3), 249
Magadha	322, 332, 341, 350, 352 ^a	Major term	.. 64 ^a , 128 ^a , 176
Mogas	.. .. 352	Maladhāri Srī Rāja Sekhara Sūri	153, 154, 155, 357, 371
Māgha	.. .. 147 (ftn. 4)	Mallasena Sūri	.. .. 212
Mahādeva Puntamkar	.. 486	Mallavādin	194f., 329 (ftn. 3)
Mahāmahopādhyāya Jadunātha		Mallinātha	.. 273, 380
Sārvabhauma	.. .. 528	Mālwa	.. .. 320
Mahāmahopādhyāya Rājakṛṣṇa		Manah-paryāya	.. 169 (ftn. 1)
Tarkapañcānana	.. .. 526	Māna Simha	.. .. 477
Mahāpāla	.. .. 336, 337	Manadhara	.. .. 396
Mahāpuruṣiya sect	.. .. 351	Mānkyā Nandi—	
Mahārāja Dharmapāla	.. 328	—age of	.. .. 188
Mahārāja Girīśacandra	.. 485	—(his) parīksāmukha sūtra	.. 188
Mahārāja Kumārapāla	205, 222	—(his) references to contempora- neous systems of philosophy	.. 193
Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra Ray	.. 488	Mañjunātha	.. .. 300
Mahārājā of Sikkim—		Mañjuśrī	272, 274 (ftn. 3), 275, 335, 337, 344
—invites Dr. Vidyabhūṣana	.. 537	Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta	.. 258
—original letter of introduction in Tibetan given by	.. .. 539	Manoratha	.. 266, 345
Mahārāja Rāmakṛṣṇa Rāya	.. 498	Manu	.. .. 4
Mahārāja Śivacandra	484, 498	Manuals of Logic—	
Mahāsāṅghikas	.. .. 226	—classes of	.. .. 356
Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna	.. 159	—composition of	.. .. 355f.
—date of	.. 159 (ftn. 1)	Māra	.. .. 315
—the founder of Jainism	.. 158f.	Mark	.. .. 113
Mahāyāna	126 (ftn. 2), 247 ^a , 272 ^a	Material cause	382f., 390 (ftn. 1)

	Page		Page
Mathurānātha Tarkavāgiśa ..	467	Method of comprehending a thing	
Mati	169 (ftn. 1)	from particular points of view—	
Maticitra (Aśvaghoṣa) ..	241 (ftn. 1)	—Deva Sūri on ..	203
(The) Meaningless	82	Method of debate, Deva Sūri on ..	204
Meaninglessness	34	Method of description (Naya)	
Means	445	seven kinds of	181
Means of rightknowledge 54ff., 90ff.,		(The) Middle Path Doctrine (Ma-	
	370 387	dhyama-mārga)	253
—critical examination of ..	80 (ftn. 1)	—four aspects of	253f.
—criticised by Nāgārjuna ..	257	Middle term (hetu)	120, 128, 176
—Dignāga on	276ff.	—affirmative negative	362
—impossibility of	91	—characteristics of 310f, 377f., 202	
—invalidity of	90f.		(ftn. 1)
—kinds of	259, 360	—conditional	431
—non-self established	257	—Deva Sūri on	202
—number of	95	—exclusively affirmative	362
—validity of	91f., 457	—exclusively negative	362
Medhātithi (see Gautama) ..	6, 20	—fallacies (see fallacy of the middle	
—of Bhāsa	13	term)	293, 313, 315 (ftn. 3)
—(his) work on Ānvīksikī ..	20	—kinds of	311, 362
Mediaeval School of Indian Logic		—law governing	288
	172, 270ff.	—law of extension of	283
—(its) difference from the Ancient		—three characters of	280f., 291
School	158	Middle term and major term—	
—early writers of	270ff.	—relative extension of	292
—formation of	157f.	—relation between	503
—founded by the Jainas and the		Migration of Aristotle's works into	
Buddhists	157f.	India—	
—special features of	157f.	—first period of	511
Mediate perception	419	—second period of	512
—doctrine of	419	—third period of	512
Meeting of the question (āsānkā-		Milinda	240
pratiśedha)	167	Milinda and Nāga Sena—	
Memory	112f.	—dialogue between	240f.
—belongs to the soul	112	Mind	417
—causes of	112 (ftn. 2)	—(an) atom	98f., 101, 417
—ground of	112f.	—mark of	57
Menander	349	—one in number	101
Merit and Demerit	114	—whether a sense organ 280, 280 (ftn. 1)	
—Gaṅgeśa on	449	Minor commentaries on the Nyāya	
—Prabhākara on	449	sūtra	151f.
Meru Śāstri	391	Minor term	60, 120, 176, 312, 361
Method—		Mirok	262
—fallacies of	203f	Misarūka	460

	Page		Page
Misaru Misra	460	Nadiā University—	
Mistimed	35	—chair of Smṛti at	527
Mistimed fallacy	63, 64	—Tāntric studies at	527
Mithilā	497	Nāgadatta	272
—decay of	525	Nāgārjuna 24 (ftn. 2), 106 (ftn. 1),	
—modern history of	521f.	125, 248, 250, 251ff., 348, 349	
—modern writers of	522	—age of	117f., 252
—University of	521f.	—(his) criticism of the Nyāya doc-	
Mithilā School of Logic	454ff	trine of Pramāṇa	256
—principal logicians of	454ff.	—legend about	258
Modern School of Hindu Logic ..	405	—(his) letter to Sātavāhana 257 (ftn. 2)	
Modern School of Nyāya	522	—(his) logical theory of examples	
Moggaliputta Tissa	234	(udāharāṇa) criticised by Vātsyā-	
Mokṣākara Gupta	346f., 349	yana	119
Monastery of Bsam-yaṣ (Sam-ye)	324	—(his) Mādhyamika-kārikā	253
Monastery of Labrang 289 (ftn. 1),		—mentioned neither by Vātsyā-	
299 (ftn. 1), 319 (ftn. 5), 320		yana nor by Uddyotakara by	
(ftn. 3), 324 (ftn. 2), 328 (ftn. 2),		name	119 (ftn. 1)
336 (ftn. 3)		—philosophical works of	253 (ftn.)
Monastery of Sam-ye (see Monastery		—(his) references to the logical	
of Bsam-yaṣ)	323	doctrines of Akṣapāda	255f.
Monastery of Śi-waḥi-gge-inas ..	300	—Tibetan name of	252
Monastery of Vikramaśīla	336	—(his) Vighraha-vyāvartanī-kārikā	256
Mudita Bhadra	516	—(his) works on Tantra	252 (ftn. 6)
Mudgala	395	Nāgas	258
Mukta kumbha	331	Nāgasena	112 (ftn. 2), 334
Munisundara Sūri	214	Nāgeśa	384
Muscular movement	370	Nag-tshul-khrims-rgyal-wa	320
Mu-tig-leum-pa	331	Naiyāyikas	139, 146, 244
Mutual non-existence	184	—also called Yaugas	154 (ftn. 2)
—Deva Sūri on	203	—are Śaivas	154, 155
Mya-nau-med	332	—characteristics of	155
Nadiā—		Nālandā 261, 265, 272, 273, 303,	
—college at	464	320, 323, 327, 334, 335, 352	
—Mahomedan conquest of	524	—as a University	515
—nucleus of a university at	524	—celebrated men of	515
—raised to the status of a town		—Dr. Spooner's observation of 515	
under the Sena kings	523f.	(ftn. 5)	
—situation of	523	—earliest scholars of	514
—traces of the Pāla kings in	523	—Fa-hian's visit to	514
Nadiā School of Logic	461ff.	—Hwen-Thsang's visit to	514
—principal logicians of	461ff.	—I-teing's visit to	515
—chair of Astronomy at	527	—kings building monasteries at	514
—chair of Logic at	525f.	—monks at	514f.
		—royal recognition of	515

	Page		Page
Nālandā—		Negative reason	437
—Saṅghārāmas or monasteries at	514	Negative things	394
—situation of	514	Nemicandra Kavi	207
—Tibetan account of	616	—details about	207 (ftn. 2)
—University of (see University)	252, 302, 303, 352	Neo-Brahmanic age	355
Nāma Deva	374	Nilakantha	16 (ftn. 1), 391 ²
Nanken	301	Ñi-ma-sīas (a Tāntric teacher) ..	322
Nānyadeva	521	Nine reasons (see wheel of reasons)	283
Nārada	498	—illustration of	284
—(an) expert in Nyāya Śāstra	43	—logic of	299
—legends about	44, 44 (ftn. 2)	—(a) table of	284
—(as a) logician doubtful		Nine Sacred Works (Navadharmas)	242 (ftn. 3), 243
—(his) other works	45	Nirgranthas	305
—(the) real	45	Nirgrantha putras	244
—represents the philosophical cul- ture of the first cent. A D.	44	Nirukta kāras	138 (ftn. 1)
—shrouded in mystery	44	—criticised by Vācaspati Miśra ..	138
—(his) skill in syllogistic reasoning	43	Nirvāna	255
—(his) visit to Śvetadvīpa	44f.	Nirvikalpaka (indeterminate per- ception)—	
—(his) works in Smṛti	45	—defined	137
Nārada Smṛti—		Non-activity—	
—represents the theories of Smṛti and Nyāya of the early centuries of Christ	45 (ftn. 2)	—grounds for	410
Nārāyaṇa	153	Non-analytical Naya (Nigama) ..	170
Naropā	341, 342	Non-being	253
Narrative description	108	Non-censurable	33
Nature of the universal proposition—		Non-equipollent concomittance ..	399
—as understood by Dharmakīrti and Aristotle	509	Non-erratic	35
Navadvīpa—		Non-existence	58, 96., 370
—university of	405	—as a separate entity	415
Naya (method) of description or mood of statements 161, 161 (ftn. 4), 170f.		—counterpart of	416
—five kinds of	170f.	—Deva Sūri on	203
Nayapāla	343, 344, 350	—included in inference	97
Nedumāran Pāṇḍya	222	—kinds of	97, 184, 419f., 416
Negation—		—(a) means of right knowledge ..	96
—absolute	97 (ftn. 1)	—not a means of right knowledge	96
—of correlation	97 (ftn. 1)	—of the general form	425
—of identity	97 (ftn. 1)	—perception of	416
—of the opposite	132, 287	—subdivision of, according to Deva Sūri	203
		—(as a) thing	97 (ftn. 1)
		—whose counterpart is qualified by a Nature already in a different Locus	423
		Non-ingenuity	89

	Page		Page
Non-material cause	383	Nyāya—	
Non-perception	281	—rise of vernacular detrimental to	492
—eleven kinds of	311	—(in the) sense of Logic first in the	
—invalidity of	414f.	Mahābhārata	42
—irregularity of	59	—(in the) sense of logic in the	
Non-reason (see fallacy) three kinds		Caraka Saṃhitā	42
of	34, 39f.	—signifies just or justice in Artha	
Nese	57	Śāstra	41 (ftn. 6)
Nṛga	134	—spread of the study of	39
Nṛsimha Deva and his successors	521	—supported by reasoning and scrip-	
Nṛsinha pañcānana	482	ture	39
Numbers doctrine of things fixed in	14f.	—supports the Veda	39
Nyāya (the science of true reason-		—technical meaning of	40
ing)	8	—tenets of	39
—adopts Pramāṇa alone	402	—used in the sense of logic from	
—called Gautamīvidyā and Akṣa-		about the first cent. A.D.	42
pāda-darśana	50	—three causes for its popularity	155f.
—causes of its present disregard	492f.	—(in) Tibetan	8
—(in) Chinese	40 (ftn. 2)	—Vātsyāyana on	40f.
—competition for the chair of	526	—very popular about the 2nd cent.	
—encouraged by the British Govern-		A.D.	42
ment	490ff.	—Viśvanātha on	41
—included among the fourteen		Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika amalgamated	396
principal sciences	382	Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika categories	
—included in Śaḍdarśana by		impossible to assimilate	402
Jaina writers	152f.	Nyāya-bhāṣya earliest commentary	
—included in Śaḍdarśana by the		on	115
Brāhmanic writers	153	Nyāyabhūṣana	338
—in the sense of logic not known		Nyāya category of Pramāṇa in-	
to Pāṇini and Patañjali	41	corporated in the Vaiśeṣika	386
—introduction of this word	40	Nyāya doctrine of tātparya (inten-	
—Mādhavācārya on	41	tion)	148
—Mahābhārata full of references to	39	Nyāya līlāvātī commentaries on ..	387f.
—meaning of	40	Nyāya philosophy	279
—mentioned in the Veda and Cikitsā	39	—incorporates the Vaiśeṣika	373
—origin of the name of	40	—why termed Akṣapāda darśana ..	396
—Pāṇini derives the word in the		Nyāya-ratnāvalī (a prakaraṇa by	
sense of justice	4, 41 (ftn. 4)	Vallabhācārya)	387
—patronised by the Mahārāja of		Nyāya-sāra (a manual of logic by	
Nadiā	488	Bhāṣarvajña	358ff.
—popularity of	39, 155f.	—commentaries on	371f.
—Portuguese account of	489	Nyāya Śāstra (see Ānvikṣikī)	39
—Portuguese interest in	488ff.	—antiquity of	41f.
—regarded as a branch of Ortho-		—early teachers or	42f.
dox Learning	152ff.	—first regular work on	46

	Page		Page
Nyāya Śāstra—		Opposing the proposition ..	85
—science of right judgment or true reasoning ..	40 ²	Opposition ..	113
—science of syllogism and of inference ..	41	Opposition to the counter-proposition ..	166f.
—technical terms of, as used in the Caraka Samhitā ..	43	Ordinary Intercourse of Particularity ..	430
—(in) Tibetan ..	40 (ftn. 3)	Originating cause ..	33
Nyāya Siddhānta Dīpa (manual of logic by Śeṣadhara) ..	396f.	Overlooking the censurable ..	89f.
Nyāya Sūtra (see Nyāya Śāstra) ..	46	Padmanābha Miśra ..	381
—arrangement of categories in ..	52	Padma-sarabhava ..	327, 352
—author of ..	47f.	Pain ..	58
—Bhāṣya (commentary) on ..	46	Pakṣadhara Miśra 406 (ftn. 7), 455f.	
—contains the principles both of logic and philosophy ..	46	Pāla Dynasty—	
—criticised by Nāgārjuna ..	50	—kings of ..	349
—Gautama and Akṣapāda both authors of ..	49	—of Bengal and Behar ..	517f.
—(as) Gotama sūtra ..	48	Pāla kings dates of ..	517f.
—not the work of one person ..	46	Pāli Buddhist Literature—	
—authorship of ..	498	—logical topics in ..	227
—passage quoted from later Buddhist works in ..	46	—origin of ..	225f.
—reviews doctrines of various periods ..	46	Pallava Dynasty kings of ..	350
—subject-matter of ..	49, 50ff.	Pallavas ..	273 (ftn. 1)
Nyāya theory of Pramāṇa criticised by Nāgārjuna ..	258	Pamiangchi ..	535
Nyāya-vidyā emanated from the mouth of Brahmā ..	38f.	—Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's reception on the way to ..	537f.
Nyāya works found by Portuguese missionaries ..	489	—monastery of ..	538
Nying-ma-pa ..	533	Pañcaśikha ..	10
Object of knowledge (see premeya) ..	375	Panchen-shwa gmar ..	271
—kinds of ..	370f.	Pandita Candra father of Jayanta ..	147
Object of right knowledge ..	97	Paṇḍita Dīpānkara ..	318
Objects of sense distribution of ..	100	Paṇḍita's red cap ..	271
Occasional signification ..	450	Pānini ..	11
Odantapura Sarvāstivāda school of ..	342	Parahita ..	345
Old man respect for ..	30	Parahita Bhadra ..	340
Opponent how to argue with ..	30f.	Paramahansa ..	210
—how to vanquish ..	30	Paramārtha ..	267, 301f.
		Parikṣā (see examination) ..	28
		Paṇḍad (council)—	
		—constituents of ..	22
		—(a) council of debate ..	22
		—various names of ..	22
		Parivṛājaka Karuṇānanda ..	303
		Parokṣa and Pratyakṣa senses of, according to Umāsvāti and early Jaina writers ..	170

	Page		Page
Pārēvanātha	159	Pleasure—	
Parēvadeva Gaṇi	210	—as the summum bonum	102
Pārtha Sāra hiMīra	273	Pleasure and pain	113
Particularity (viśeṣa)	32, 412, 416	Point of defeat or an occasion for	
Parts	333	rebuke	35, 66, 261, 264
—alone are realities	105	—twenty-two kinds of	269
Past time	106	—varieties of	84ff.
Pāsupata Śaiva sect	155	Positive things	394
Pāṭaliputra	349	Possession	113
Pātinokkha introductory part of	233f.	Posterior non-existence	97, 97 (ftn. 1)
Perceptible reason in the affirma-		Potentiality (of a word)	449ff.
tive form six subdivisions of	190	—Gaṅgeśa on	451
Perceptible reason in the negative		—Mīmāṃsakas on	451
form—		—sources of	450f.
—six subdivisions of	190f.	Prabhācandra	183 193f.
Perception	33, 55 ² , 298, 359ff.	—his references to other philoso-	
—causes of	92, 416f.	phers	194
—characteristic of an object of	310	Prabhākara Mīmāṃsakas	148
—contemplative	360	Prabhākaras	139, 35 ^c
—defined a knowledge	92	Prabhāsa	49 (ftn. 2) ² , 512
—(as) defined by Akṣapāda	130	Practical direct valid knowledge	174
—definition of	92, 310	—Deva Sūri on	201
—determinate	360	—subdivisions of, according to Deva	
—different from inference	93	Suri	201
—Dignāga on	277ff.	Practical Naya	171
—five special kinds of	92	Pradyumna Sūri	196, 205
—how it arises	57	—particulars about	196 (ftn. 1)
—indeterminate	360	Prahlāda	10
—instrumental causes of	411	Prajñākara	187 (ftn. 1)
—irregularity of		Prajñākara Gupta	187 (ftn. 2), 335f.,
—kinds of	310, 360f., 383, 390		349
—ordinary	360	Prajñākara mati	126 (ftn. 2), 336
—parts taken by soul and mind in	92	Prakṛti (primordial matter)	10
—same as inference	93	Pramāna (means of knowledge)	50f.,
—special cause of	92, 409		161
Perceptual knowledge	411	—four kinds of	170 (ftn.)
Permanent signification	450	Prameya (object of knowledge)	51
Philosophy or darśana	5	Pratāparudra	380
Phodang	533f., 535	Prayer	2
Phun-tahog-nam-gyal	535	Predicate or major term	282, 285, 290
Pbyogs-glan	272	Prefixes	453
Phyogs-ltar-suan	290 (ftn. 1)	Present time—	
Pippalāda	22	—critical examination of	106 (ftn. 1)
Pijūṣa varṣa	380	—denied	106
Pleasure	58	—established	106

Page	Page
Present time—	Quibble—
—indication 106	—in respect of a term .. 65
Presumption .. 33, 56, 370	—three kinds of 65
—Mīmāṃsakas on 435	Rabhasa Nandi 194
—not valid 96	Rāghava Bhatta 358, 339 (ftn. 1)
—(a) special kind of inference .. 96	Rāghava Rāya .. 482 (ftn. 1)
—validity of 93	Raghudeva Nyāyāṅkara 220
Prior non-existence .. 97, 97 (ftn. 1)	(ftn. 5), 481
Probability .. 56, 370	Raghunandana 527
—(a) special kind of inference .. 96	Raghunandana Dāsa Mīśra .. 458
Production of fruits—	Raghunātha Nāyaka .. 485
—time of 102	Raghunātha Sāstri 487
Prof. H. U—	Raghunātha Śīromaṇi 405, 456
—on the date of the Nyāya sūtra	(ftn. 2), 463ff., 525
50 (ftn. 2)	—date of 465
Prof. L. Suali—	Raghuvratin 305
—on the date of the Nyāya sūtra	Rājacūḍāmaṇi Makhin .. 485
50 (ftn. 2)	Rājā ballāla Sena .. 153
Proofs—	Rājā Bhairava Sīrha .. 456
—eight kinds of 264	Rājagṛha 349
—subdivisions of 366	Rājā Rāghava 480
Proposition 32, 602, 166, 200, 312,	Rājā Rāmakṛṣṇa 477
361, 436f.	Rājā Sanātana 337
Protector and Protégé .. 113	Rājasekhara .. 134, 213
Ptolemy Philadelphos .. 352	Rāmabhadra .. 459, 522
Pudgalavāda .. 127 (ftn.)	Rāmabhadra Siddhānta Vāgīśa .. 480
Pudgalavādins .. 127 (ftn.)	Rāmacandra Kavibhārati .. 540
Puggalavādins .. 235	Rāmacandra Vidyāvāgīśa .. 468f.
Punarvasu Ātreya—	Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭācharya Cakra-
—(his) dissertation on the senses 11f.	varty 466f.
—(the) original author of the Cara-	Rāmānuja 351
ka Samhītā 11	Rāmapāla 346
Purpose 33, 592	Rāmarudra Tarkavāgīśa .. 477
Puragupta .. 227, 49	Rāmadeva Cirañjīva .. 433
Puṣpapura .. 26 (ftn. 3)	Rāmarudra Tarkavāgīśa .. 483
Qualification or Particularity	Rāmarudra Vidyānidhi .. 327
(Viśeṣanātā) 130	Rāṣṭrakūta king Kṛṣṇarāja I or
Quality (guṇa) 31	Śubhatunga 222
—kinds of 38	Ratnākara Śānti .. 333, 342f., 338
Questioning the validity of the	Ratnakīrti 133, 134, 333f., 358, 371
example 167	—identification of .. 342 (ftn. 6)
Quibble 34, 65	Ratnprabhā .. 147, 211
—in respect of a genus .. 65	—particulars about .. 212 (ftn. 2)
—in respect of a metaphor .. 65	—spiritual descent of .. 212

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Ratnavajra	339f.	Rejoinder (uttara)	32
Ravi Gupta	322	—causing entanglement or defeat	
—date of	335	on the disputant (niggaha) ..	236
Reason (hetu,) (see middle term)		—by the respondent (patikamma)	235f.
32, 32 (ftn. 2), 60 ² , 166, 190, 258,		Relation of Identity	400
284f., 290, 361, 437		Relation—	
—and the minor premise	503	—fundamental conceptions of ..	255
—affirmative	286, 503	Relative non-existence	394
—different phases of	190f.	Renouncing the proposition	86
—kinds of	286, 437	Repetition	34, 38f.
—negative	286, 503	Resources for the accomplishment	
—unproved in respect of constant		of an action	27
accompaniment	440	Respondent accused or defendant	
—unproved in respect of invariable		(cuditaka)	231
concomittance	440	—three classes or	29
—unproved on the part of its locus	439	Rgyal-wa-can	338
—unproved on the part of the		Rgya-tshan-señ-ge	352
major term	440	Right knowledge 138, 174, 389, 394	
—unproved on the part of the		—objects of	56ff.
reason	440	—two kinds of	169, 174
—unproved with regard to its own		Rigs-pa-can	278
mature	440	Rigs-paḥi-yan-lag	289 (ftn. 3)
Reasoning (casuistry) 229, 290, 429		Rin-chen-grags	338
—form of	290	Rituals	2, 108
—processes of	429	—three subdivisions of	108
—theory of	5	Rual-hbyor-pa	278
Reasons—		Root	453
—distinguished from Ānvikṣikī		Rucidatta	406 (ftn. 7), 457
and Ātma vidyā	5	Rudra	395
—theory of	5, 22	Rudra Nyāyavācaspati	476f.
Receipt	113	Rudrarāma	484
Reciprocal non-existence 394, 416		Rudra Vācaspati	392
Recognition 101, 112, 139, 201		Rumour	56, 370
—(a) function of a conscious agent,		—not a separate means of know-	
the soul	112	ledge	95
—of common properties	59	—(a) special kind of verbal testi-	
—of properties not common	59	mony	95
Recollection (smṛti)	189, 201	Rung-po—	
Redundancy	34	—Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's journey to..	529f.
Reflection	129	Sabda-śakti-prakāśikā (a logico-	
—Vācaspati and Jayanta on 129 (ftn. 3)		grammatical treatise of Jagadīśa	
Refutation (Dūṣana)	181, 298, 315	Tarkālakāra)	470ff.
—semblance of	181, 298	Sadvāha or Śātavāhana	251
Re-inculcation	108	Sahabuddin Ghori	406 (ftn. 6)
Re-interrogation	33		

	Page		Page
Sahaja Sarvajña	384	Śānta Rakṣita 271, 323, 327, 352, 517	
Saint Tiruññana Sambandar	222	Śāntideva	126 (ftn. 2)
Śakābda	241	Śānti Sūri	197
Śākala	266	Sapta-hhaṅga Naya (sevenfold	
Śakrāditya	515	paralogism, see Syādvāda) ..	167f.
Śaktisvāmin	147	—particulars about	167 (ftn. 2)
Śākvabodhi	320	Śaraha	251
Śākya hoḍ	343	Śarṅgapāṇi	398
Śākya muni	315	Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha	398
Salvation (see emancipation)	359	Sarvajña	342
Sāmantabhadra 182f., 333, 339		Sarvajña Deva	340 ² , 357
—age of	183	Sarvajña Mitra	322, 357
—(his) Āptamīmāṃsā	184f.	Sarvajña Śrī Rakṣita	289
Sāmbhāṣā (see Vāda-vidhi and de-		Sarvajña Viṣṇu	398
bate)	28f.	Sarvāstivāda	247
—method of	28f.	Sarvāstivāda sect	266
Sāmbhāṣā-prasamsā (see debate-		Śasadhara	396
utility of)	28f.	Śaśānka Narendra Gupta	349
Sāmbhāṣā-vidhi (see Vāda-vidhī		Śā-ākya monastery of Western	
and Ānvīkṣikī)—the principal		Tibet	289, 300
topic of	27	Śāntavāhana (see Sadvāha) 251 (ftn.	
Sāmbhūtivijaya	164 (ftn. 4)	2), 349	
Sāmkhya	5, 6, 10, 243, 278	Sautrāntika	135, 248
—same as Upaniṣad and Vedān-		—criticised by Jayanta	150
ta	244 (ftn. 1)	—explanation of	248 (ftn. 3)
Sāmkhya Philosophy—		—founder of	248
—the oldest work of	295 (ftn. 1)	Sautrāntikas—	
Samprati	222	—philosophical principles of	248
Sam-ye	323 (ftn. 3)	—sects belonging to	247
Śankara Svāmin	302, 202 (ftn. 4)	Svavikalpaka (determinate percep-	
Sangha	304	tion)—	
Sangha-bhadra	248 (ftn. 2), 266	—definition of	137
—a contemporary of Vasubandhu		Sāyaṇa	397
.. ..	267 (ftn.)	Saying too little	88
Saṅghamittā	352	Saying too much	88
Saṅghārāma	248, 265	Scheme—	
Sang-ugag-tsi-ling	535	—for the reduction of sixteen cate-	
Śaṅkarācārya	351	gories into one	359
Śankara Deva	351	—of incorporation of the Nyāya	
Śaṅkara Mīśra 366 (ftn. 1), 406 (ftn.		and the Vaiśeṣika 375, 382, 387,	
7), 456 (ftn. 2), 458 f., 522		389, 393, 394	
Śaṅkarānanda	344f., 349	Scholarly debate	240
Sanskrit Buddhist Literature—		School of Gaṅgeśa	391
—logic mentioned in	242f.	School of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi	392
—origin of	242		

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Scripture (Āgama)	189	Shifting the topic	35, 86f.
—definition of	175	Shi-wa-htsho	323
Seish	266	Shu-chen 321, 322, 328, 329, 340 ^f	
Self-consciousness	418	Sh'-yen-tōh-cia	251 (ftn. 2)
Señ-dkar	337	Siddharṣi	147 (ftn. 4)
Senses	55, 57 ² , 411, 417	Siddhasena Divākara	268 (ftn. 2)
—Ātreya's doctrine of	12	alias Kṣapānkara 173 ft., 268 (ftn. 2)	
—five characteristic of knowledge		—date of	173, 505 (ftn. 9)
corresponding to	100	—first Jaina writer on systematic	
—five in number	99, 100	logic	173
—five objects of	100	—founder of Mediaeval Logic	158
—forms of	100	—(his) Nyāyā vatāra	174
—grounds of their being five	100	—particulars about	173
—material	99	—(a) pupil of Vṛddhavādi Sūri	173
—materials of	100	Siddhasena Gaṇi	182
—(as) modifications of touch 99, 99		—a contemporary of Devardhi	
(ftn. 1)		Gaṇi Kṣamā Śramaṇa	182
—objects of	57	Sign (see middle term, reason) 113,	
—processes of	100	377, 383	
—sites of	100	Signification (of a word)	450
Sentiments	57	Signification (of letters)	131f.
Separation	113	Sikkim—	
Ser-skya-wa	278	—Buddhism in	535
Śes-paṇi-dge-gnas	275	—monasteries in	534f.
Śeṣ-rab-hbyun-gnas-gbag	336f.	Śīla	335
Settlement of cases—		Śīlabhadra	302, 303
—by a majority	230	Śīla Saṅgama	519 (ftn. 6)
—by an undertaking	230	Silence	89
—covering over with grass	230	Siṃha	335
—for the insane	230	Siṃha Giri or Siṃha Sūri 182, 182	
—from recollection	230	(ftn. 3)	
—in presence	230	Siṃhavaktra	272
—seven rules for	230	Siṃha Varman	349
—with the prospect of further in-		Similar employment	113
quiry	230	Śiromaṇi—	
Seven categories of the Jaina phil-		—satirised by Yaśovijaya	18
osophers	168	Śivanātha Vidyāvācaspati	526
Sevenfold paralogism (syādvāda,	185	Six Systems	209
Shahiya Dynasty	350	Six-winged disputation	82f.
Shābjehān	479	Skanda Gupta	267 ² , 349
Sha-lu	270	Skin	57
—monastery of	353	Smell	57
Shapur	20	Sñe-thaṇ monastery of	344
Shifting the proposition	85	Soma Śarmā—	
Shifting the reason	35, 36	—father of Akṣapāda and Kaṇāda	

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Sophists	227	Sound—	
Soul	181, 393	—destroyed and not concealed ..	448
—(an) abstract conception of ..	4	—cognised by the senses ..	109f.
—compared to a charioteer ..	3	—having a beginning ..	109
—compromise between the two		—merely a manifestation of itself	109
ideas of	4	—nature of	109
—(a) concrete substance ..	4	—non-eternal	109
—connection with a body ..	57	—non-eternity of	448
—destiny of	3	—(a) product	109
—Deva Sūri's views of ..	204	—reasons for its being non-eternal	109f.
—different from body ..	3, 98	—substratum of	110
—different from mind ..	98	—traditionary teaching of ..	110
—different from the senses ..	93	Speech—	
—(the) enjoyer	7	—Buddhists on	445
—existence of	57	—canons of a sound	12f.
—evolution in the doctrine of ..	2	—defect of	260
—good work of	3	—excellence of	260
—ideas of	4	—(a) means of valid knowledge	444, 445
—identical with the senses ..	97	—opportune	260
—individual	371	Sphoṭa (the outburst of a conglomerate sound)	131
—individuality of	99	Sphoṭavāda (theory of phonetic explosion)—	
—(in the) Kathopaniṣad ..	3	—Jayanta's examination of ..	148f
—kinds of	371	Śrī Candra	210, 211
—Lokāyata doctrine of ..	9	Śrīdhara	213, 329
—marks or signs of	57	Śrī Harṣa 330, 335, 349, 406 (ftn. 6)	
—pre-existence of	99	Śrī Kanṭha	151
—(as consciousness) produced by the combination of elements ..	9	Śrī Kṛṣṇa Nyāyālaṅkāra ..	483
—qualities of	57	Śrīlabdha	248
—(puruṣa)		Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila 251 (ftn. 4)	
—sāṃkhya doctrine of	10	Śrīprerumātur	351
—(in the) Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ..	2	Śrī Śūnya Śū Mitra	336
—(the) seat of knowledge (cognitions)	98	Sron-tsan-gam-po	352
—science of (Ātmavidyā)	4	Śrughṇa	124 (ftn. 1)
—seeing	6	Śruta	169 (ftn. 1)
—supreme	371	Śruta Sāgara Gaṇi	215
—theory of	5	Śrutya Prāmānya (denial of the authority of the Vedāy criticised by Jayanta ..	149f.
—two ideas regarding	4	Statement of the Conclusion ..	60
—(in the) Upaniṣads	3	State of being the locus or the minor term	433
—(spirit) (in the) Vedas	2	Sthavira Ratnākara	520
—yoga doctrine of	11		
Sound	57		
—according to the Nyāya Sūtra ..	109		
—artificial properties attributed to	110		

	Page		Page
Sāhīramati ..	334, 515 (ftn. 2)	Syllogism ..	258, 361, 377, 436, 497
Sāhīramati ..	266	—form of ..	290
Sāhīrabhadra ..	161	—members of ..	60f.
Strabo ..	352	—of five members ..	43, 269
Straight or immediate Naya (Rjū-sūtra) ..	171	—of ten parts ..	166
Subandhu same as Vasubandhu ..	128	—criticised by Vātsyāyana ..	121f.
Śubhakarā Gupta ..	346	—essential nature of ..	361
Śubhatūṅga ..	186 (ftn. 3)	—first introduction of ..	498f.
Subject ..	290	—Greek influence in ..	500 (ftn. 1)
Subjective law (Pakṣadharmatā)	390	—Mīmāṃsā form of ..	377
Subsequent non-existence 184, 394, 416		—of two parts ..	269
—Deva Suri on ..	203	—parts of ..	203, 289f., 436
Substance (dravya) ..	31	—(a) Speech of five parts ..	43
Subtle śabda ..	171	—terms of ..	176, 189f.
Such-like śabda ..	171	Syllogism and Inference—	
Sudharma Svāmī ..	160 (ftn. 1)	—connexion between ..	499
Sufferings—		Syllogism from a sign—	
—channels of ..	132f.	—and Enthymeme from a sign ..	510
—kinds of ..	132f.	Syllogism in Indian Logic—	
Suitable śabda ..	171	—conforms to the logical reeba of Aristotle ...	500f.
Sulabhā ..	12	Syllogism of two parts—	
—(his) interview with king Janaka	12f.	—and a perfect syllogism ..	505f.
—probably a fictitious person ..	24	Syllogism and Sāṅkhya or Sāṃ- khya ..	498 (ftn. 8)
Sumati ..	336, 314	Systematic Jaina Logic ..	172
Summary—		Takṣaśilā ..	248
—of a dissertation or the senses	12	Tantrayukti (forms of scientific argument) ..	24
Summum bonum ..	54	—added to the Carakasamhitā	24 (ftn. 1)
Sumpa ..	337	—in the Caraka Samhitā ..	25
Sundara ..	222	—oldest work of Logic ..	25
Sun Dynasty ..	243 (ftn. 1)	—(in the) Suśruta-Samhitā 24f., 24	(ftn. 2)
Śūnyatā or Nirvāṇa ..	127 (ftn.), 255	—for the systematisation of de- bates ..	24
—of the Mādhyamikas	245 (ftn. 2)	—technical terms constituting ..	25
Śūnyavāda ..	245 (ftn. 2)	Tāntrika Pūrṇānanda ..	478
Superimposition, three kinds of ..	201	Tārā ..	332, 334, 335
Sūtas of the Burden-bearer	127 (ftn.) ²	Tarka ..	37
Suvarṇa vihāra ..	323	Tarka-bhāṣā (a treatise by Keśava Mīra) ..	381
Svatantra Mādhyamika school ..	323	—commentaries on ..	384
Svāmin ..	117		
Śveta dvīpa, identical with Syria	44 (ftn. 3)		
Śvetāmbaras ..	1592		
Syādvēda (assertion of possibi- lities) ..	167f., 181, 184		
—particulars about ..	167 (ftn. 2)		

Page	Page
Tarka-bhāṣā—	Taxila—
—incorporates the Vaiśeṣika categories 381	—Persian influence at 494
Tarkakaumudī (a manual of logic by Laugākṣi Bhāskara) .. 395	—political history of 494
Tarkāmṛta (a manual of logic by Jagadīśa Tarkālakāra) .. 393f.	Technicality 460
Tarka Samgraha (a manual of logic by Annam Bhatta) .. 388ff.	Technicalities of Logic in the Mādhyamika kārika 255
—commentaries on 390f.	Teesta Bridge 530
Tarka Śāstra—the science of diabetes 402ff.	Temple of Pārśvanātha 324 (ftn. 3)
Tarkavidyā (see Vāda-vidyā and Ānvikṣikī) .. 7, 8 & 9	Temple of Śāntinātha 329
Tārkika—	Tenet or conclusion 33, 59
—(as) indispensable member of a legal assembly 38	—four kinds of 33, 59
Tārkika-rakṣā (a treatise by Varadārāja) 374ff	Terms—
Tārkikas 244	—five definitions of 403
—Vyāsa against 37	—meanings of 403
Tashi-lhum-po 270	—of scientific argument 24
Tashiding 535	Terns technical 23, 403f.
Tashi Lāmā—	—(used) in the) Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads
—and his party 528	—(used in the) Manusamhitā 23
—departure of 529	—constituting the tantra-yukti 25
—his reception of the Prince of Wales 529	—(used in the) Rāmāyana 23
—his visit to Buddha Gayā 529	Thān Dynasty .. 343 (ftn. 1), 266 ^a
—in Calcutta 529	Thas-paḥi hbyun-gnas-gbas .. 346
—in India 528f.	Theory of Condition (upādhi)—
—reception accorded to 528	—Vācaspati Miśra on 140
Taste 57	Theory of cause and effect—
Tathāgata 126	—Vācaspati Miśra on 140
Tattva-cintāmaṇi (the earliest work on Tarka Śāstra) .. 405ff.	Theory of Impermanence (kṣanika vāda) 121
—popularity of 454	Theory of perception as set forth by Dignāga—
Taxila—	—controverted by Uddyotakara .. 126
—antiquity of 494	Theory of Proof 266
—as the great seat of Hindu learning and culture 495	Theras 226, 246
—Greek regime at 494f.	Theravāda 226
—mutual exchange of Hindu and Greek culture at 495	Theravādin 235
—Persian conquest of 494	Thesis (see proposition) 290, 312
	—fallacies of 290f., 312
	—two kinds of 264
	Things—
	—kinds of 394
	Third Buddhist Council 234
	Thoggs-med 265
	Thon-mi-gam-bhota 352

	Page		Page
Three characteristics of the middle term—		Tsin Dynasty ..	243 (ftn. 1)
—and the middle term in a syllogism ..	507f.	Turuskas ..	350
Three Times ..	106	Tutāri ..	386
Tilakācārya ..	212	Udayakara ..	141
Tilopā ..	340	Udayana 155, 209 (ftn.)	348, 351, 386, 396, 399
Tipitakas ..	226	—author of the Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-tikā-parisuddhi ..	141
Tirhut ..	350	—better known as Ācārya ..	142
Tīrtha 275 ^b , 303 ² , 304, 305, 308, 315		—combats the Buddhist ..	142
Tīrtha dialecticians ..	272	—(his) contention of the Buddhist doctrines ..	146
Tīrtha-grāma ..	540	—(his) criticism of the doctrine of apoha, kṣaṇabhāṅga, etc. ..	143
Tīrthakas ..	261, 339, 342	—(his) Kusumāñjali ..	143
Tīrthankaras ..	158	—opposes Kalyāna-rakṣita and Dharmottara ..	143
Tīrtha system—		—(his) victory over the Buddhists causes his death ..	142
—doctrines of ..	304	—(his) works ..	141
—followers of ..	304	—(his) work Ātmatattva vidyā ..	145f.
Tal (a Śanskrit school) ..	525 (ftn. 1)	Uddyotakara 119 (ftn.) 127 (ftn.), 155, 273, 306, 348	
Tongue ..	57	—attacked by Abhayadeva Sūri 221 (ftn. 2)	
To-to-go-mo—		—author of the Nyāyavārtika ..	123
—Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa receives an address at ..	540	—(his) controversy with the Buddhists ..	125
Touch ..	57	—criticises Dignāga ..	129
Tradition ..	33	—criticises Nāgarjuna ..	128
Transcendent Intercourse ..	430	—(his) criticism of the Buddhist denial of the soul ..	125
—kinds of ..	412f.	—criticism of the theory of perception as held by Dignāga ..	129
Transcendent perception ..	412ff.	—date of ..	123, 124
—consequence of ..	181	—(his) defence of the Nyāya-Sūtra and the Nyāyabhāṣya ..	287 (ftn. 2)
—process of ..	412f.	—(his) definition of Inference ..	130
Transcendental direct valid knowledge ..	175, 201	—(his) explanation of perception ..	130
—subdivisions of ..	201	—(his) main object to write the sub-commentary ..	125
Transcendental truth ..	254	—(his) Nyāya theory of signification of words ..	131
Transmigration—		—on Dignāga's theory of perception ..	277 (ftn. 1)
—belongs to the soul ..	101		
—(the) path of ..	3, 57, 58		
Triangular perception ..	418		
Trilocana ..	358, 369 (ftn. 1)		
—date of ..	134		
—(a) writer on Vaiśeṣika philosophy ..	134		
Trilocana the Junior ..	374		
Trimalaya ..	303		
Trividha paraḥ (see respondents)—			
three classes of ..	29		

	Page
Uddyotakara—	
—(as a) rescuer of the Nyāya ..	123
—residence of	124
—(his) theory of sufferings ..	132f.
—(his) theory of verbal knowledge	131
—various names of	124
Udyāna (Kabul)	340, 352 ²
Ujjayinī	301
Umāsvāti 161 (ftn. 4, 5), 164	
—(his) doctrine of right knowledge	169f.
—(his) explanation of Naya (mood of statements)	170f
—life of	168f.
—known as Vācaka Śramaṇa, Nāga- ra-vācaka and Umāsvāti Vācakā- cārya	168
—(his) particulars about 168 (ftn. 3)	
Umā Svāmin (same as Umāsvāti)	
	168 (ftn. 3)
Uncertain	33
Uncertainty—	
—Deva Sūri on	201
Unintelligible	87
Union	412, 414
United-inherent-inherence ..	412
United inherence	412, 414
Universal non-existence	416
Universal proposition—	
—discovery of	295 (ftn. 2)
University of Nadia (see Nadia)—	
—foundation of	464
University of Nālandā (see Nālan- dā)	271
University of Vikramaśilā (see Vikramaśilā)	271
Unnameable	55
Unproved reason	439
Upānga	160
Upaniṣads	134
Upendra	258
Uttara Tantra	24 (ftn. 2)
Vācaspati Miśra 120 (ftn. 3), 155, 183, 209 (ftn.), 247 (ftn. 2), 273, 299 (ftn.) 320 348 529	

	Page
Vācaspati—	
—author of the Nyāya—Vārtika- tātparya-ṭikā	133
—(his) condemnation of the Bud- dhist and Jaina scriptures ..	141
—criticises Dharmakīrti	136
—(his) criticism of Dharmakīrti's division of the point of defeat (Nigrahasthāna)	136
—(his) criticism of Dignāga's definition of kārya-sama (balanc- ing the effect)	135
—(his) criticism of the Nirukta- kāra's	138
—(his) explanation of determinate and indeterminate perceptions ..	137f.
—(on the) name Paksila Svamī 115 (ftn. 2)	
—opposes Dignāga	135
—place and time of	133
—(his) reference to the four Bud- dhist schools	135
—supports the Brahmanic interpre- tations of the Nyāya sūtra ..	133
—(his) theory of cause and effect	140f.
—(his) theory of condition	140
—(his) theory of right and wrong knowledge	138ff.
—Trilocana, the preceptor of ..	134
—works of	134
Vācaspati Miśra, the junior 151, 459f.	
Vaccagotta	117 (ftn. 3)
Vāda (discussion)	51
—subject of	51
Vāda-mārga (see debate-course of)	31
Vāda-maryādā (see debate-limits of)	31
Vāda-vidhi (see Ānvikṣiki)—the principal topics of	27
(also see Sambhāsā and debate)	28
Vāda-vidyā (see Tarka-vidyā) ..	7
Vādupāya (see debate-expedients of)	30f.
Vāgīśvarkīrti	338
Vaiḥbhāika	128

	Page		Page
Vaiśeṣikas ..	244, 247	Vasubandhu	116, 266ff., 272, 349
—criticised by Jayanta ..	150	—age of ..	116
—explanation of ..	247 (ftn. 5)	—biography of ..	267
—fundamental principal work of	247	—works of ..	267
Vaiśeṣika School of Philosophy—		Vāsudeva	372, 406 (ftn. 7), 456
—sects belonging to ..	246	Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma	405, 456 (ftn. 2), 461
Vaiśālī ..	349	Vasudhara Rakṣita ..	299
Vaiśeṣika Philosophy ..	27, 278, 393	Vātāpi ..	349
—incorporated into the Nyāya ..	373	Vātsīputriya sect ..	135, 272
—incorporates the Nyāya categories ..	386	Vātsyāyana 46, 106 (ftn. 1),	155, 348
Vaiśeṣika principles—		—age of ..	116f.
—adopted in Nyāya ..	402	—author of the Nyāya bhāṣya ..	115ff.
Vaiyākaraṇa doctrine of apoha (exclusion) ..	132 (ftn. 1)	—birthplace of ..	117
Vajrāsana (Buddhagayā)	339, 343	—criticises Nāgārjuna ..	117f.
Vajra-varāhī ..	340	—(his) criticism of the doctrine of momentariness ..	121
Valedictory description ..	108	—(his) criticism of the Mādhyamika doctrine of inter-relation ..	117
Validity of knowledge ..	408f.	—(his) criticism of the Mādhyamika doctrine of voidness (śūnyatā) ..	118
—consciousness of ..	409	—(his) criticism of Nāgārjuna's logical theory of examples ..	119
—derived from its general grounds	408	—(his) criticism of the syllogism of ten parts ..	121f.
—derived through the instrument	409	—(his) criticism of the Yogācāra doctrine of Viññāna (knowledge)	120
—Gangeśa on ..	409	—(his) definition of perception cri- ticised by Dignāga ..	278
Valid knowledge (see right know- ledge) ..	218, 375f., 408f.	—designated as Drāmila ..	117
—consequence of ..	181, 192	—followed Nāgārjuna and the Lan- kāvatāra ..	116
—Deva Sūri on ..	200ff.	—(his) idea of emancipation ..	122
—defined by Mānikya Nandi ..	189	—(his) idea of God ..	122
—how derived and known ..	408f.	—on mind as a sense-organ 280 (ftn. 1)	
—kinds of ..	189, 310, 201	—(his) other name Pakṣila Svāmī ..	115
—objects of ..	192	—precedes Dignāga and Vasuban- dhu ..	116
—of the Buddhist condemned ..	375f.	—(his) references to previous com- mentators ..	115 (ftn. 3)
Vallabhācārya ..	374 ² , 386f.	—(in) Uddyotakara's Nyāya Vārti- ka ..	115 (ftn. 1)
—founder of a Vaiṣṇava Sect ..	387	Vatṭagāmaṇi ..	226
Vallāla Sena ..	350	Vedānta ..	4
Vāmana ..	267	Vedāntins ..	273
Vana Pāla ..	329		
Vandin (a famous sophist) ..	13		
Varadārāja 373ff., 399 (ftn. 1)			
Varāha Mihira 165, 165 (ftn. 2),	173		
Vararuci ..	334		
Vardhamāna 151, 386, 403 (ftn. 7),	406, 454f.		
Vārendra 322, 333, 334 (ftn. 2),	335, 337		
Vasanta Sena ..	722		

	Page
Veda	1
—(its) authority established ..	107
—faultless	107
—faulty	107
—refers to unbelievers ..	9
—(its) reliability established ..	108
—subject-matter of ..	2
—two main divisions of ..	108
Vedic speech—	
—classification of	108
Vengi ..	273 (ftn. 1), 274
Verbal knowledge (śabda) ..	444, 470ff.
—cause of ..	473ff.
—different from perception and inference ..	470f.
—different from recollection ..	471
—Mīmāṃsakas on ..	473f.
—Naiyāyikas on ..	471
—process of ..	444, 471
—Vaiśeṣikas on ..	471
Verbal Naya (śabda) ..	171
—three kinds of ..	171
Verbal suffix ..	453
Verbal testimony (Āgama śabda)	
..	175, 192, 444
—Deva Sūri on ..	201
—Dignāga on ..	287f.
—distinct from inference ..	95, 446
—distinct from perception ..	446
—included in inference according to the Vaiśeṣikas ..	446
—included in perception according to the Buddhists ..	445
—instrumental causes of ..	44
—kinds of ..	370
—(a) mere inference ..	94f.
—Mīmāṃsakas on ..	408
—special cause of ..	409
Vidyādhara Ācārya Aśoka ..	334
Vidyānanda ..	183 (ftn. 2)
—age of ..	187
—identical with Pātrakeśari ..	187, 188 (ftn. 1)
—works of ..	187
Vidyānivāsa ..	392

	Page
Vidyāpati ..	456, 522
Vidyāvācaspati ..	476 (ftn. 1)
Vijaya Sena Sūri ..	212, 350, 521
Vijaya Simha ..	216
Vijñāna-vāda ..	135
—in Tibetan ..	245 (ftn. 1)
Vijñāna-vādins or yogācāras ..	146
Vikramāditya ..	173, 222, 267
Vikrama Samvat or Śaka era 329 (ftn. 3)	
Vikrama Śilā ..	336, 342, 352
—decay of ..	525
—Mahomedan attacks on ..	520 (ftn. 2)
—situation of ..	519 (ftn. 6)
—university of ..	337, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 350, 519f.
Vikramaśilā University—	
—destruction of ..	520
—gate-keepers of ..	520
—head of ..	519
—scholars of ..	520
Vimalacandra ..	320
Vinaya. Vijaya ..	216
Vmdhyavāsin ..	211
Vinīta Deva ..	320f.
Viṣṇu Svāmin ..	374
Viśvanātha ..	151
Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana ..	392
Viśvanātha Siddhānta-pañcānana ..	479f.
Viśveśvara Jyotiṣārṇava ..	527
Vyāsa—	
—signifies a compiler ..	50
Vyomācārya ..	386
Western Calukya Dynasty ..	273 (ftn. 1)
Wheel of reasons (see table of nine reasons) ..	285, 298
—analysis of ..	298
Whole ..	105, 333
—beyond its parts ..	105
Word ..	33, 56, 384
—compound (see compound) ..	452
—conventional ..	451
—connotes the genus ..	111
—denotes the individual ..	111
—does it denote ' apoha ' (exclusion) ..	132

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Word—		Yaśovijaya—	
—etymological ..	451	—his references to works on philo-	
—etymological-conventional ..	451	sophy ..	219
—etymologo-conventional ..	451	—his reviews of other writers ..	218
—four kinds of ..	33	—life of ..	217
—how it signifies a thing ..	131	—particulars about ..	218 (ftn 3)
—presents the form ..	111	—spiritual descent of ..	217 (ftn 2)
—signification of ..	111	—works of ..	218f.
—species of ..	451	Yośodharma Deva ..	173
—two kinds of ..	56, 110f.	Ye-śes-ḍpal-bzañ-po ..	342
Words and their meanings ..	106f.	Yoga ..	5, 6, 11, 274 (ftn 3)
—Jayanta on ..	147f.	Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra ..	274 (ftn 3)
—their connection conventional ..	107	Yogācāra Buddhists ..	138
—their connection natural ..	106	Yogācāras or Viññānavādins ..	146, ..
Wrangler ..	63	249, 278	
Wrangling ..	62, 63	—criticised by Jayanta ..	150
Wrangling and Cavil—		—explanation of ..	249 (ftn. 1)
—use of ..	104	—founds of ..	249
Wrong knowledge or error ..	138f.	—in China, Tibet and Nepal ..	249 (ftn. 1)
—nature of ..	138f.	Yogācāra-darśana ..	245
Yādava Dynasty ..	386	Yogācāra doctrine of Viññāna	
Yajñapati ..	406 (ftn. 7)	(knowledge)—	
Yama (the lord of death) ..	2	—criticised by Vātsyāyana ..	124f
Yamāri ..	343f	Yogins ..	278
Yaśovijaya Gaṇi ..	217	Za-hor ..	323
—his references to other philoso-		Zarmana Chagos ..	352
phers ..	219	Zla-wa-dge-bṣñen ..	333f.

INDEX OF BOOKS.

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Abheda-dhikkāra	459	Ancient India by	
Abhidharma jñāna-prasthāna-śāstra	242	Rapson ..	494 (ftn. 1)
Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā	242	Ancient Indian Education ..	525 (ftn. 1)
	(ftn. 2), 247	Ancient Indian Logic ..	348 (ftn. 1)
Abhidhamma Pitaka 228, 227		Anekānta-jaya-patākā ..	221 (ftn. 2)
	(ftn. 2), 242, 334	Anekānta-jaya-patākā-tikā ..	209 (ftn. 2)
Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha 227 (ftn. 2)		Anekārtha samgraha	205
Abhidhāna Cintāmani	205	Ānguttaranikāya III 21 (ftn. 2), 26	
Abhidharmakośa	127 (ftn.)		(ftn. 1) 227 (ftn. 2)
Abhidharma-vibhāṣā	242 ²	Antarvyāpti	343 (ftn. 3)
Abhisamayāṅkārā-kārikā 262 ² ,		Anumāna-cintāmani-dīdhīti-tikā ..	482
	262 (ftn. 5)	Anumāna-dīdhīti	406 (ftn. 2)
Ācārāṅga Sūtra	165	Anumāna-dīdhīti-prasārini ..	468
Ācārya-mata-rahasya-vicāra	479	Anumāna-dīdhīti-viveka	468
Adhikaraṇa Candrikā	484	Anumāna-khanda-tikā	460, 522
(?) Ādi-kriyā viveka	467	Anumānāloka-prasārini	468
Ādipurāna	176, 183	Anumāna Sutta	229
Advaitaratnakosa	408 (ftn. 2)	Anuṅgati-parāmarśa-vāda	481
Ain-i Akbari	201 (ftn. 1)	Anyāpoha-vicāra-kārikā 143, 150, 329	
Aitareya Brāhmana	23, 23 (ftn. 6)	Apasabda-khandana	466
Akalanka stotra	185	Apoha-nāma-prakarana 143, 150, 330	
Akbar	221 (ftn. 1)	Apoha-siddhi 133 (ftn. 4), 134, 339	
Ākhyānamanikosa	210		(ftn. 3), 345, 371
Ākhyātsvāda	465, 482	Āpta-mīmāṃsā 18 ² , 184, 185, 186	
Ālambana-parikṣā	300, 301, 322	Āpta-mīmāṃsālaṅkāra	186
Ālambana-parikṣā-tikā	321 ³	Āpta-parikṣā	187
Ālambana-parikṣā-vṛtti	301	Archæological Discoveries at Taxila	
Ālambana-pratyayadhyāna-śāstra			495 (ftn. 2)
	300 (ftn. 3)	Archæological Survey of Western	
Ālambana-Pratyayadhyāna Vyākhyā		India 49 (ftn. 2), 496 (ftn. 1), 515	
Alaṅkāra-parikṣā	479		(ftn. 5)
Alaṅkāra-sāra-sthiti	477	Arda-Viraṭ-Nāma	20 (ftn. 4)
Āloka 458, 460, 465, 467, 468, 478		Arabic Literature 511 (ftn. 3), 512	
Amarakośa	7 (ftn. 1)		(ftn. 2)
Ānanda-lahari-tarī	478, 479	Aristotle by Grote 505 (ftn. 1), 510	
Ānanda-varadhana	45)		(ftn. 3, 4,) 511 (ftn. 4)
Ancient Geography of India 514		Arrian	496 (ftn. 1)
	(ftn. 2, 4)	Artha Śāstra	24, 117
		Ārya-kośa	322 (ftn. 7)
		Ārya Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva-Suh-	
		vilekha	251 (ftn. 2)

	Page		Page
Ārya-Tārā-antarbali-vidhi	334 (ftn. 1)	Bhāṣya-vṛtti	.. 391
Aśoka by V. A. Smith	234 (ftn. 1)	Bhāva-dīpikā	.. 483
Aṣṭa-sāhasrī	.. 186, 197	Bhāvārtha-dīpikā	.. 478
Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā prajñā-pāramitā	242 (ftn. 3)	Bhāva-vilāsa	.. 477
Aṣṭa-sāhasrī - viṣamapada- tātpa- rya-ṭikā..	.. 185 (ftn. 3)	Bheda-prakāśa	.. 456 (ftn. 2), 459 ²
Aṣṭa-sāhasrī-vivarana	.. 481	Bheda-ratna-prakāśa	.. 459
Aṣṭa-sāhasrī-vṛtti	.. 218	Bhikṣu Sūtra	.. 240
Aṣṭaśatī	.. 185 (ftn. 2)	Bhrama-pramathana-yukti-hetu- siddhi	.. 261
Atharva-veda Samhitā	2 (ftn. 2)	Bhramara-dūtam	.. 477
Ātmakhyāti	.. 195 (ftn. 6)	Bhūṣana Sāra	.. 220 (ftn. 6)
Ātma-tattva-viveka	143, 145, 348, 465	Bilingual Index of Nyāya-bindu, introduction	307 (ftn. 4), 309 (ftn. 2)
Ātma-tattva-viveka-dīdhīti-ṭikā	.. 468	Biṣ-wa hjug-paḥi-rtog-ge	.. 337
Ātma-tattva-viveka-kalpa-latā	.. 459	Bkaḥ-hgyur'	.. 11 (ftn. 3), 352 530
Avacchedakatva-nirukti	.. 465	Bodha-siddhi	.. 141 ²
Āvaśyaka-laghu-vṛtti	.. 212	Bodhi-caryāvatāra-ṭikā	126 (ftn. 2) ²
Āvaśyaka-niryukti	.. 181	Bodhisattva-caryā-nirdeśa	249, 262
Āvaśyaka-sūtra	.. 165, 210	Brahmajāla-sutta 20, 21 (ftn. 4), 227 (ftn. 4)	.. 524
Avayavi-nirākaraṇa	.. 333 (ftn. 1)	Brāhmaṇa Sarvasva	.. 498 (ftn. 7)
Āyur-daya-bāvanī	.. 467	Brahmāṇḍa Purāna 155 (ftn. 1), 498 (ftn. 7)	.. 324 (ftn. 3)
Ayurveda-samhitā	.. 27	Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣad	3 (ftn. 3)
Bālāvatāra-tarka	.. 337	Bṛhad-jñāna-koṣa	.. 324 (ftn. 3)
Bauddha-dhikkāra	.. 145	Brief notes on the modern Nyāya system of Philosophy by MM. Maheścandra Nyāyaratna	403 (ftn. 1)
Bauddha dhikkāra-ṭikā	.. 459	Bṣan-hgyur, Bṣtod-ṣa	253 (ftn.)
Bauddha-dhikkāra-rahasya	.. 467	Bṣes-paḥi-sprin-yig	.. 215 (ftn. 1)
Bauddha-dhikkāra-śiromani	.. 465	Bstan-hgyur 7 (ftn. 7), 8 (ftn. 7), 54 (ftn. 2), 55 (ftn. 1), 241 (ftn. 1), 249 (ftn. 4), 251 (ftn. 2), 256, 256 (ftn. 2), 257, 262 (ftn. 5), 270, 276 (ftn. 1), 289 (ftn. 1), 299 ² , 300 ² , 300 (ftn. 1), 301 ³ , 306 (ftn. 7), 307 (ftn. 3, 4), 308 (ftn. 1), 309 (ftn. 1, 2), 316 (ftn. 3), 318 (ftn. 2, 3), 319 (ftn. 1, 2, 3), 320, 321 ⁴ , 322 ² , 323 ² , 324 ³ , 328 ⁵ , 328 (ftn. 4), 329 ³ , 330 ⁴ , 331 ² , 332, 336 ³ , 337 ⁵ , 337 (ftn. 3), 338, 340 ² ,	
B.B.R.A.S. (Journal)	.. 406 (ftn. 6)		
Bedā-vṛtti	.. 303		
Berlin Catalogue by Weber	388 (ftn. 3)		
Bhagavad-gītā	.. 4 (ftn. 2)		
Bhāgavata-purāṇa	.. 23 (ftn. 4, 6)		
Bhagavati-sūtra	.. 161, 161 (ftn. 4)		
Bhāmatī	.. 127 (ftn.)		
Bhāmatī-ṭikā	.. 134		
Bhatṛhari and Kumārila by K. B. Pāthak	186 (ftn. 3), 188 (ftn. 2, 3, 7)		
Bhāṣāpariccheda 392f., 392 (ftn. 1), 480 (ftn. 1)			
Bhāṣāratnam	.. 466 (ftn. 21)		
Bhāskarodaya	.. 39		
Bhāskarodaya-ṭikā	.. 391		
Bhāṣya (Patañjali's)	41 (ftn. 5)		
.. (Vātsyāyana's)	.. 55		

<i>Page</i>	<i>Page</i>
341 ² , 342, 341 (ftn. 6), 343 ² , 343 (ftn. 2), 344 ² , 345 ³ , 346, 352, 530, 538 ²	Chandonuśāsana-vṛtti .. 205
Buddha by Rockhill 246 (ftn. 2), 322 (ftn. 7)	Chandoratnākara .. 343 (ftn. 1)
Buddha Deva 495 (ftn. 3), 496 (ftn. 1)	Chinese Tripitaka .. 26, 243
Buddhism by Schlagintweit 249 (ftn. 1, 5)	Choś-byun .. 305 (ftn. 1), 517
„ by Wassilief 248 (ftn. 6)	Choś-dan-choś-can-gtan-la-dwal-pa 337
Buddhist India by Rhys Davids .. 242 (ftn. 4), 248 (ftn. 3)	Cintāmaṇi .. 404
Buddhist Records by Rea 124 (ftn. 7), 173 (ftn. 5), 241 (ftn. 1), 243 (ftn. 3), 247 (ftn. 1), 248, (ftn. 2. 7, 8), 249 (ftn. 4), 251 (ftn. 1), (261 (ftn. 2), 265 (ftn. 2, 7), 266 (ftn. 1), 274 (ftn. 3), 302 (ftn. 5), 303 (ftn. 1), 496 (ftn. 1), 514 (ftn. 6)	Citrādāvaita siddhi .. 394
Buddhi-vāda .. 482	Cittarūpa .. 438
Gaitanya Candrāmṛta .. 484	Commentary on the Ṛgveda by Sāyana 45 (ftn. 3)
Gaitanya Caritāmṛta .. 462 (ftn. 1)	Comparative studies in Vaiṣṇavism and Christianity by B.N. Seal 44 (ftn. 3)
Candrāloka .. 455	Cūrṇika of Nandī-sūtra 161 (ftn. 2)
Cāndra Vyākaraṇa .. 334 (ftn. 3), 335	Damśāṇa-sāra .. 195
Can-shwo (or here) tso-li-ein 302 (ftn. 1) ²	Dānakāṇḍa .. 392
Caraka Saṁhitā 9 (ftn. 4), 20, 26 (ftn. 5), 31 (ftn. 3) ² , 42 (ftn. 2), 51 ⁴ , 221, 499 (ftn. 1), 500 ⁺ , 501 ² , 512	Dānakhaṇḍa .. 477
Catalogue by Eggeling 392 (ftn. 3)	Darpaṇa .. 458
Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka 240 (ftn. 2), 242 (ftn. 2), 243 (ftn. 1, 4, 5), 244 (ftn. 2), 247 (ftn. 3, 4), 248 (ftn. 1, 2), 259 (ftn. 4), 252 (ftn. 5), 253 (ftn. 2), 256 (ftn. 2), 259 (ftn. 1), 261 (ftn. 1, 5), 262 (ftn. 2), 265 (ftn. 6, 8, 9), 266 (ftn. 2) 267 (ftn. 2, 4), 268 (ftn. 1), 272 (ftn. 3), 289 (ftn. 1), 300 (ftn. 2, 3), 301 (ftn. 3) ² , 302 (ftn. 3, 4, 5), 348 (ftn. 1)	Darśana-siddhi (or Samyaktva-pra- karana) .. 206
Caturvīṁśati-jina-stuti .. 183	Daśabhūmīśvara .. 242 (ftn. 3)
Caturvīṁśati-prabandha 165, 208 (ftn. 4), 213	Daśapadārtha .. 503
Chāndogyopaniṣad 3 (ftn. 2), 45 (ftn. 4)	Daśa-sruta-skandha-sūtra .. 165
	Daśa-vaikālīka-niryukti 164, 165 ⁺ Daśa-vaikālīka-niryukti-ṭīkā 208 (ftn. 4)
	Daśa-vaikālīka-sūtra .. 164
	Dāyabhāga-ṭīkā .. 484
	De Interpretatione .. 512
	De kho-na-ñid- bśduṣ- pañi- dkañi- hgrei .. 328
	De-kho-no- ñid- bśduṣ- pañi- Tshig- lehwi-byas-pa .. 324
	Devabhadra and his Nyāyāvatāra ṭippaṇa .. 211 (ftn. 1)
	Devapraṭīṣṭhā-tatva .. 153
	Devīmāhātmya .. 522
	Devīpurāṇa .. 145 (ftn. 4)
	Dhamma saṅgaṇī .. 227 (ftn. 2)
	Dharmādharma-viṁśaya .. 337
	Dharma-dhātu-stava .. 253 (ftn.)
	Dharma Samgraha .. 249 (ftn. 2)
	Dharma-viṁśaya .. 342 (ftn. 6)
	Dharmottara-ṭippaṇaka 195 ² , 222, 329 (ftn. 3)

	Page		Page
Dialogue of the Buddha by Rhys Davids ..	9 (ftn. 5)	Edicts of Aśoka ..	49 (ftn. 2)
Dictionary of Religion	254 (ftn. 2)	Eka-ṣaṣṭhyalankāra-prakāśa ..	47)
Dīdhīti ..	478 ² , 481	Encyclopædia Britannica 511 (ftn. 5), 512 (ftn. 1, 3, 4)	
Dīdhīti-rahasya ..	467	Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics 227 (ftn. 1)	
Dīdhīti-tikā ..	469, 481	Epigraphia Indica ..	221 (ftn. 1)
Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse by Weber ..	197 (ftn. 3, 4)	Explanation of the Can-lun 302 (ftn. 1)	
Digambara Paṭṭāvalī ..	168 (ftn. 3)	Fa-hian ..	514 (ftn. 4)
Dīgha Nikāya 227 (ftn. 2), 500 (ftn. 1)		Fa-hian and Sungyun by Beal 248 (ftn. 3)	
Dinakarya-prakāśa-tippaṇī ..	483	Fān-pien-sin-lun ..	259
Dīpikā ..	388	Filosofia Indiana 26 (ftn. 4), 119 (ftn. 4)	
Dīṭṭhivās ..	161 (ftn. 3)	Gacchotpatti prakaraṇa 208 (ftn. 4)	
Dmigs-pa-bṅtag-pa ..	301	Gadādhari-pancavāda ..	487
Dmigs-pa-bṅtag-pa-lu-hgrel-bśad ..	321	Ganapātha ..	41 (ftn. 5)
Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan 274 (ftn. 1), 320 (ftn. 4), 322 (ftn. 3), 323 (ftn. 2), 327 (ftn. 1), 328 (ftn. 3), 329 (ftn. 1), 333 (ftn. 5), 335 (ftn. 1), 336 (ftn. 2), 338 (ftn. 3), 340 (ftn. 2, 4), 341 (ftn. 2), 342 (ftn. 1, 3, 5, 6), 344 (ftn. 2), 348 (ftn. 1), 353 (ftn. 1)		Gaṇḍa-vyūha ..	242 (ftn. 3)
Dravya-bhāṣya-tikā (or Padārthattattvanirṇaya) ..	470	Gandhahasti-mahābhāṣya ..	182
Dravya-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa ..	455	Gāthāsāhasrī ..	208 (ftn. 1, 4)
Dravya-padārtha ..	455	Gaurī digambara-prahasana ..	459
Dravya-parīkṣā ..	407 (ftn.)	Gautama-dharma-sūtra 7 (ftn. 3), 8 (ftn. 4), 48 (ftn. 4)	
Dravya-sāra-saṅgraha ..	481	Gaūtama-sūtra-vṛtti ..	392
Dṛṣṭivāda ..	161, 161 (ftn. 3)	Geschichte des Buddhismus by Schiefner 246 (ftn. 2), 248 (ftn. 5, 7, 8), 249 (ftn. 4), 251 (ftn. 4, 5), 252 (ftn. 2, 4), 261 (ftn. 3), 265 (ftn. 4), 274 (ftn. 1), 274 (ftn. 2), 303 (ftn. 3), 307 (ftn. 1), 319 (ftn. 4), 320 (ftn. 1, 2, 4), 322 (ftn. 3), 328 (ftn. 3), 329 (ftn. 1), 333 (ftn. 5); 336 (ftn. 2), 337 (ftn. 1), 338 (ftn. 2, 3), 339 (ftn. 7), 340 (ftn. 2, 9), 341 (ftn. 2), 342 (ftn. 5, 6), 343 (ftn. 4), 344 (ftn. 2, 3), 348 (ftn. 1), 514 (ftn. 3), 517 (ftn. 2), 519 (ftn. 2), 520 (ftn. 2)	
Durgotsava-tattva ..	476 (ftn. 1)	Gītā ..	522
Dus-brum bṅtag-pa ..	301	Gīta Govinda ..	522, 524
Dvaita-nirṇaya ..	460, 461	Gṅg-bam-bkṅag-paḥi-thabz ..	341
Dvāśraya mahākāvya ..	205	Gopāla-līlāṅṛta ..	484
Dvātrīṃśat-dvātrīṃśikā ..	174	Grimm's Phonetic Law of the Indo-European Languages 1 (ftn. 1)	
Dvātrīṃśikā ..	212		
Dvyartha-tatikā ..	118 (ftn. 3)		
Dwan-phyug-hjig-paḥi-tshig-bhur-byas-pa ..	329		
Early History of India by Smith 221 (ftn. 1), 267 (ftn. 3), 301 (ftn. 3), 348 (ftn. 1), 496 (ftn. 1)			
Early History of the Dekkan by R. G. Bhandarkar 186 (ftn. 4), 251 (ftn. 2)			

Page	Page
Gslase-la-bstag-pahi-tshig-bhur- byas-pa 329	History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit- erature by Max Müller 22 (ftn. 2), 25 (ftn. 2)
Gshan-sel-wa 330	History of Indian Literature by Weber 10 (ftn. 5), 48 (ftn. 4), 498 (ftn. 5)
Gtan-Tshigs-kyi-de-kho-na-ñid- bstan-pa 337	History of Logic by Dr. Robert Adamsou 52 (ftn. 1)
Gtan-tshigs-kyi-hkhor-lo-gtan-la- dwab-pa 299	History of Mithilā during the pre- Moghal period .. 521 (ftn. 1)
Gtan-tshigs-kyi-thigs-pa .. 318	History of Navya-Nyāya in Bengal and Mithilā by M. Chakravarty 454 (ftn. 1), 455 (ftn. 1)
Gtan tshigs-kyi-thigs-pa-ugya-cher- hgrel-wa 321	History of Navya Nyāya and Smṛti 521 (ftn. 1)
Gtan-tshigs-thigs-pahi-hgrel-wa .. 332	History of Sanskrit Literature by Macdonell 1 (ftn. 1), 10 (ftn. 2), 380 (ftn. 4)
Guide to Taxila by Marshall 494 (ftn. 2)	History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic 26 (ftn. 3), 357 (ftn. 3)
Guṇa-dīdhīti-vivṛti 478	Hjig-rten-pha-rot-grub-pa .. 330
Guṇa rahasya 469	Hwentsang's Life by Beal 251 (ftn. 4)
Guṇa Śīromaṇi prakāśa .. 467	Illustration of the Literature and religion of the Buddhists 242 (ftn. 3)
Guna-vivṛti-viveka 468	Imperial Gazeteer of India 623 (ftn. 1)
Gurugītā 153	Indian Antiquary 116 (ftn. 4), 198 (ftn. 3), 199 (ftn. 1), 200 (ftn. 1, 2), 206 (ftn. 1), 209 (ftn. 3) 214 (ftn. 3), 267 (ftn. 3) ² , 322 (ftn. 6), 335 (ftn. 2), 406 (ftn. 6), 505 (ftn. 3)
Gurvāvalī Sūtra .. 164 (ftn. 4)	Indian Logic—Medieval school by Dr Vidyābhūṣaṇa .. 406 (ftn. 5)
Gyen-mn-gshih-ei-lihi-lun .. 300	Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow 517 (ftn. 3), 519 (ftn. 2)
Harṣa-carita .. 123 (ftn. 4)	Indian Thought .. 403 (ftn. 1)
Hastābala 250	Indo-Aryans 518 (ftn. 2), 523 (ftn. 3)
Hayaśirṣa-Pañcarātra.. 153 (ftn. 3)	Inscription of Rudradama 49 (ftn. 2)
Hbrel-pa-bstag-pahi-rgya-cher-les- ad-pa 321	Introduction à l'Étude des Traites Médicaux Sanskritas 252 (ftn. 6)
Hbrel-pa-bstag-pahi-rges-su-beran- wa 345	Introduction to the Kūṭadabha- Sūtra by Rhys Davids 9 (ftn. 5)
Hbrel-pa-grub-pa 345	Introduction to the Pañca-siddhān- tikā 174 (ftn. 1)
Hbrel-wa-bstag-pa 319	
Hbrel-wa-bstag-pahi-hgrel-wa .. 319	
Hetu-cakra .. 300 (ftn. 1) ²	
Hetu-cakra-hamaru .. 290 (ftn. 1)	
Hetu-dvāra śāstra .. 299 (ftn. 1)	
Hetu-vidyā nyāya-praveśa-śāstra.. 302	
Hetu vindu .. 321, 332	
Hetu vindu-ṭikā 321	
Hetu vindu-vivarāṇa .. 318, 332	
Hetu-tattva-upadeśa 337	
Hhien-yān-Stan-ciāo-ben .. 266	
Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan 262 (ftn. 3), 265 (ftn. 1), 267 (ftn. 5), 289 (ftn. 1), 302 (ftn. 1), 505 (ftn. 2)	
Historical Record of the Jainas 199 (ftn. 1), 200 (ftn. 2)	

Page	Page
Introduction to Śaṅḍarśana Samuccaya .. 210 (ftn. 1)	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 7 (ftn. 9), 26 (ftn. 1), 267 (ftn. 3), 304 (ftn. 1), 495 (ftn. 1), 510 (ftn. 1), 126 (ftn. 2), 225 (ftn. 2), 220 (ftn. 2), 241 (ftn. 1, 2), 242 (ftn. 2), 243 (ftn. 3), 246 (ftn. 2), 267 (ftn.), 267 (ftn. 2), 515 (ftn. 4)
Introduction to the Sragdharā-stotra .. 252 (ftn. 6)	J. A. S. G. B. I .. 497 (ftn. 1)
Íśvarabhaṅga kārīkā.. 143, 150, 329	J. R. S. B. 18 (ftn. 3), 19 (ftn. 4)
I-tsing 241 (ftn. 2), 247 (ftn. 1, 2), 275 (ftn. 2), 289 (ftn. 1), 299 (ftn. 1), 300 (ftn. 3), 301 (ftn. 2), 302 (ftn. 5), 303 (ftn. 2) 306 (ftn. 2, 5), 320 (ftn. 5), 335 (ftn. 3), 515 (ftn. 3)	Jyotisa-sāra-saṅgraha .. 527
Jaiminiya Nyāya-mālā vistara .. 397	Jyotiṣ-tattva .. 527
Jaina Inscription .. 221 (ftn. 1)	Kādambarī-kathā-sāra 147 (ftn. 2)
Jaina Logic by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa 331 (ftn. 5)	Kalpa Sūtra 159 (ftn. 1), 164 (ftn. 1), 165, 172 (ftn. 1)
Jaina Sthānāṅga Sūtra.. 51	Kalpataru .. 477
Jainistic Notices 210 (ftn. 4), 211 (ftn. 1)	Kalyāṇakāṇḍa .. 342 (ftn. 6)
Jalada .. 457	Kamala-sīla-tarka .. 324 (ftn. 3)
Jambudvīpa-Samāsa .. 169 (ftn.)	Kāmandakiya Nītisāra 23 (ftn. 6)
Jātakas 495 (ftn. 3), 496 (ftn. 1)	Kāma Śāstra .. 117
Journal Asiatique 26 (ftn. 3), 499 (ftn. 1)	Kāminī-kāma-kautuka .. 484
Journal of the American Oriental Society 50 (ftn. 2), 116 (ftn. 3), 120 (ftn. 3), 261 (ftn. 4)	Kanādarahasya-muktā-hāra .. 381
Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 232 (ftn. 1), 241 (ftn. 1), 249 (ftn. 6), 253 (ftn.), 262 (ftn. 1), 272 (ftn. 1), 323 (ftn. 3), 324 (ftn. 2), 334 (ftn. 3), 342 (ftn. 2), 343 (ftn. 1), 348 (ftn. 1), 407 (ftn. 1), 454 (ftn. 1), 480 (ftn. 1), 481 (ftn. 2)	Kanāda Sūtra .. 459
J. B. B. R. A. S. 183 (ftn. 3), 187 (ftn. 5), 88 (ftn. 1 ^a , 2, 3, 7), 189 (ftn.), 241 (ftn. 1), 273 (ftn. 7), 306 (ftn. 3), 316 (ftn. 1, 3)	Kangyur .. 533
Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta 227 (ftn. 2), 348 (ftn. 1), 242 (ftn. 1), 246 (ftn. 2), 247 (ftn. 5), 248 (ftn. 3, 5), 249 (ftn. 1; 6), 253 (ftn. 1, 2), 324 (ftn. 3), 327 (ftn. 1), 337 (ftn. 2), 519 (ftn. 2)	Kankhā-vītarāṇī .. 232 (ftn. 1)
Journal of the Pali Text Society 226 (ftn. 4) 251 (ftn. 2)	Kaṅṭhakodhāra .. 461
	Kārakādyartha-nirṇayaṭīkā .. 483
	Kāraḱa-vāda .. 482
	Kāraḱa-vivecana .. 478
	Kāraḱa-vyūha .. 484
	Kārikās .. 478
	Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva-siddhi .. 341
	Kāśīka-vṛtti .. 335
	Kathākoṣa .. 188 (ftn. 4)
	Kathānirṇaya .. 397
	Kathāvatthu 235 (ftn. 1), 239 (ftn. 1)
	Kathāvatthupparakaṇa 234 (ftn. 2)
	Kauśīka Sūtra of the Atharva veda .. 10 (ftn. 5)
	Kāthopaniṣad 3 (ftn. 4), 23, 23 (ftn. 4)
	Kauṭilya .. 23 (ftn. 12)
	Kāvyaṇuśāsaṇa vṛtti .. 205
	Kāvya-prakāśa-rahasya .. 469
	Kāvya-prakāśa-saṅketa 207 (ftn. 1)
	Kāvya-prakāśa-tilaka .. 478

	Page		Page
Kāvya-vilāsa	483	Lecture on the Story of Hemacandra by Peterson (in the Bombay Gazette, Aug. 29, 1895)	205 (ftn. 1)
Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍādhāra	522	Līlāvati-prakāśa	455
Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā 406 (ftn. 6),	459	Līlāvati-viveka	455
Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā-dīdhiti ..	465	Lhan-cig-dmigs-pa-ñes-pa	336
Khaṇḍana khaṇḍa-prakāśa	455	Life of Buddha by Rockhull	11 (ftn. 3)
Khaṇḍana khaṇḍoddhara	460	List of Antiquities in Madras by Sewell	251 (ftn. 3), 273 (ftn. 1)
Kharatara-gaccha-pattāvalī 164 (ftn. 1),	208 (ftn. 4)	Logic of nine reasons and fourteen fallacies	300 (ftn. 1)
Khorda Avestā	20	Loke-prakāśa	216 (ftn. 1)
Khuddakā Nikāya	229	Mādhava-campū	483
Kiraṇāvalī	141, 478	Madhyama-hṛdayakārikā	250
Kiraṇāvalī-bhāskara	381	Mādhyamika kārikā	250
Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa	455	Mādhyamika philosophy	334
Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-dīdhiti	465	Madhyama-pratītya-samutpāda ..	250
Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-parīkṣā	457	Mādhyamika Sūtra 116 ² , 118 (ftn. 3)	
Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-rahasya	467	Mādhyamikāvatāra tīkā	250
Kirātārjuniya	380	Mādhyamika vṛtti 126 (ftn. 2),	250
Klon-idoi-gsun-hbum 517 (ftn. 3),	520 (ftn. 1)	Madhyāntavibhāga Śāstra 262 (ftn. 4)	
Koṣakāraka Śāstra	248	Mahābhārata 7 (ftn. 5, 9), 8 (ftn.),	12 (ftn. 1), 13 (ftn. 1), 16 (ftn. 2),
Kriyārātna-samuccaya	214	18 (ftn. 1), 20, 23 (ftn. 4, 7, 8,	10, 11, 12, 13), 42 (ftn. 2), 51,
Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi 133 (ftn. 4),		114 (ftn. 1), 244 (ftn. 1), 407, 521	
134, 143, 150, 330, 331, 339 (ftn. 3, 6)		Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali 129 (ftn. 3)	
Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi-vyākhyā	331	Mahāpadāna Suttanta 500 (ftn. 1)	
Kusumāñjali 17, 141, 143, 155 (ftn. 3),	373 (ftn. 1), 462	Mahāsamaya Sūtra	249
Kusumāñjali-kārikā-vyākhyā	465	Mahāvagga	495
Kusumāñjali-prakāśa	457	Mahāvamsa 225 (ftn. 2), 226 (ftn. 3, 4),	246 (ftn. 2), 248 (ftn. 6)
Kusumāñjali-prakāśa-parīkṣā	457	Mahāvastu	26 (ftn. 1)
Laghīyastraya	185, 194	Mahāv्यutpatti 7 (ftn. 7), 11 (ftn. 1),	25 (ftn. 1), 40 (ftn. 3), 43 (ftn. 2),
Laghu-dīpikā	374, 380	2), 47 (ftn. 1), 54 (ftn. 2), 55 (ftn. 1)	
Laghuvṛtti	214 (ftn. 1)	Mahāyānābhidharma - saṃyukta-saṅgīti-śāstra	265
(The) Logic of the Arabians 510 (ftn. 5)		Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra	265
Lakṣāṇārati	388	Majjhima Nikāya 229 (ftn. 1),	239 (ftn. 1)
Lakṣaṇamālā	378 (ftn. 1)	Makaranda	469
Lakṣmīdhara	477	Mālatīmādhava	261 (ftn. 4), 522
Lalitavistara 242 (ftn. 3), 243 (ftn. 1)			
Lamaism by Waddell 271 (ftn. 1),	323 (ftn. 3), 327 (ftn. 1), 520		
Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra 116 ² , 118 (ftn. 3),	121, 121 (ftn. 2), 242 (ftn. 3),		
243 (ftn. 3), 249, 249 (ftn. 3) ²			
Le Buddhisme d'après les Sources			
Bramaniques 306 (ftn. 7), 30 (ftn. 3)			

	Page		Page
Mallinātha's commentary on the		Nirupama Stava ..	253 (ftn 1)
Meghadūta ..	273 (ftn. 5)	Niskarṇṭakā ..	380
Maṇimekalai ..	387 (ftn 2)	Nīti-cintāmani ..	522
Maṇi-vyākhyā ..	466 (ftn. 2)	Notices of Sanskrit MSS. by H Śāstri	459 (ftn. 1), 460 (ftn. 1), 461 (ftn. 1, 2), 466 (ftn 2)
Manual of Buddhism by Hardy	225 (ftn. 1)	Notices of Sanskrit MSS by R. Mitra	460 (ftn. 1), 461 (ftn. 1), 462 (ftn. 2), 478 (ftn.), 466 (ftn 2);
Manusamhitā 7 (ftn. 2, 8), 8 (ftn. 1), 23 (ftn. 4, 5, 9, 11, 12), 56		Notices of Sanskrit MSS. in Bengal	(467 (ftn. 2)
Maṇyāloka-ṭīpanī ..	465, 464	Nyāsa ..	323
Matsyapurāṇa ..	20, 42 (ftn. 1)	Nyāya ..	302 (ftn. 1)
Medieval School of Indian Logic		Nyāya-bhāṣya 52 (ftn. 1), 57, 97 (ftn. 1), 115, 115 (ftn. 3), 116 (ftn 2), 117 (ft. 4), 119 (ftn. 1), 121 ² , 155, 155 (ftn. 2), 302, 498 (ftn. 3), 504	
221 (ftn. 1), 504 (ftn. 1), 505 (ftn 4), 506 (ftn. 1), 508 (ftn. 1), 514 (ftn. 1), 517 (ftn 1), 519 (ftn. 1)		Nyāya-bhūṣaṇa ..	358, 371
Meghadūta ..	273 (ftn. 2), 522	Nyāya-bindu-piṇḍārtha ..	340
Mem. de l'Ann. des Inscriptions et belles letters ..	499 (ftn 3)	Nyāya-bindu-pūrvapakṣa-sarṅkṣipta ..	327
Mṛinda paṇha ..	240	Nyāya-bmdu-ṭīkā 194, 195, 222, 321, 329 (ftn. 3, 5), 330	
Mīmāṃsā sarvasva ..	524	Nyāya-bodhinī ..	390, 391, 460
Mīmāṃsāvārtika ..	132 (ftn. 1)	Nyāya-cakra ..	195
Mookerjee's Magazine..	464 (ftn. 1)	Nyāya-candrikā ..	391
Muir's Sanskrit Texts..	2 (ftn. 2, 3)	Nyāyādarśa or Nyāya-sārāvalī ..	470
Muktāvalī ..	403 (ftn. 1)	Nyāya-dīpikā ..	215, 460, 467
Muktāvalī-ṭīkā ..	482	Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-śāstra 289 (ftn. 1)	
Muktivāda ..	482	Nyāyālokasiddhi or Nyāyasiddhyāloka..	336
Mīlamadhyama-vṛtti ..	250	Nyāya-kalikā ..	371
Mūlamadhyamaka vṛtti-akutobha-ya ..	260	Nyāya-kandali ..	329 (ftn 1)
Mundakopaniṣad ..	4 (ftn. 2)	Nyāya kanikā ..	134, 140
Nadiā Kāhinī ..	527 (ftn. 1)	Nyāya karnikā ..	216, 217 (ftn. 1)
Nāgasena Bhikṣu Sūtra ..	240	Nyāya khaṇḍa-khādyā 218, 219 (ftn. 4), 468 (ftn. 2)	
Naiṣadha-carita ..	153, 497 (ftn. 2)	Nyāya-koṣa 48 (ftn. 5), 498 (ftn. 6)	
Naiyatakālika ..	477	Nyāya-kumuda-candrodaya or Candrodaya ..	194
Nāma-mālā ..	205	Nyāyakusumāñjali 380, 406 (ftn. 2), 457b	
Nandi Sūtra ..	161 (ftn. 1)	Nyāyakusumāñjali - kārikā - vyākhyā 469, 478, 481	
Naṅ-gi-khyab-pa ..	343		
Naṅvāda ..	465, 482		
Naṅ-vāda-ṭīkā ..	479		
Navadvīpa-mahimā ..	527 (ftn. 1)		
Navadvīpa-pañjikā ..	527		
Navina-nirmāṇa ..	481		
Nighantu śeṣa ..	205		
Nilakaṇṭha ṭīkā ..	391		
Nirukti ..	391		

Page	Page
Nyāyakusumāñjali-prakāśa .. 455	Nyāyasārapada-pañjikā .. 371
Nyāya kusumāñjali-prakāśa maks- randa 457	Nyāyasāra-ṭikā .. 371
Nyāya-kusumāñjali-tarka .. 371	Nyāyasāra vicāra .. 372
Nyāya-kusumāñjali-ṭikā 373 (ftn. 1)	Nyāya-sarvasva .. 524
Nyāya-kusumāñjali-viveka .. 468	Nyāya Śāstra .. 107 (ftn. 1)
Nyāyalañkāra .. 151	Nyāya-siddhānta dīpa .. 396f.
Nyāya-lilāvati .. 386, 387f., 459	Nyāya-siddhānta dīpa ṭikā .. 397
Nyāya-lilāvati-dīdhiti .. 388	Nyāya-siddhānta mālā .. 478
Nyāya-lilāvati-dīdhiti-vyākhyā .. 470	Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī 404, 466, 483
Nyāya-lilāvati kaṇṭhābharaṇa 388, 459	Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī-bhūṣā .. 482
Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa 386, 388 455	Nyāya Sūtra 16 (ftn. 1), 20, 84 (ftn. 1), 97, 101 (ftn. 1), 105, 106 (ftn. 1), 109, 109 (ftn. 1), 112 (ftn. 1), 114 (ftn. 1), 115 ³ , 116, 117 (ftn. 5), 136 (ftn. 1), 154 (ftn. 1), 155, 221, 280 (ftn. 1) ³ , 283 (ftn. 1, 2), 288 (ftn. 3), 301, 302, 302 (ftn. 1), 315 (ftn. 1), 348, 356. 359 ² , 370, 460 ² , 478, 497 ² , 499, 502 ² , 503 ² , 504
Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-dīdhiti-ra- hasya 467	Nyāya-sūtradhāra 522
Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-dīdhiti-vi- veka 468	Nyāya Sūtra in the Indian thought 40 (ftn. 4)
Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-rahasya .. 467	Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti 17, 41 (ftn. 2), 52 (ftn. 1), 479
Nyāya-lilāvati-prakāśa-viveka .. 388	Nyāya-sūtroddhāra 460
Nyāya lilāvati prakāśa vyākhyā .. 457	Nyāyatānta-bodhinī or Nyāya- bodhinī 480
Nyāyamañjarī 132 (ftn. 1), 147 (ftn. 3, 4, 7), 148 (ftn. 1), 149, 150, 153 (ftn. 4)	Nyāya-tātparya-dīpikā 221 (ftn. 1) 357 (ftn. 1), 371, 372 (ftn. 2)
Nyāyāmiṛta-taranginī .. 218	Nyāyavārtika 57, 97 (ftn. 1), 119 (ftn. 1), 124, 125, 130, 131 ² , 132, 132 (ftn. 1), 133, 138, 155, 273 (ftn. 3), 277 (ftn. 1), 287 (ftn. 2), 288 (ftn. 1), 348, 498 (ftn. 3), 504 (ftn. 2), 505
Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa 151, 454	Nyāyavārtika-tātparya-ṭikā 97 (ftn. 1), 129 (ftn. 3), 131, 134 (ftn. 6), 135, 135 (ftn. 2, 3), 138, 140 ² , 155, 273 (ftn. 4), 282 (ftn.), 283 (ftn. 1), 284 (ftn.), 348, 498 (ftn. 3), 505
Nyāyānusāra Śāstra .. 243	Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya - pariśud- dhi 454
Nyāyaparīśiṣṭa .. 141, 388, 455	Nyāyāvātāra 122 (ftn. 1), 166, 173, 173 (ftn. 1) ² , 174, 200, 206 (ftn. 4),
Nyāyaparīśiṣṭa prakāśa 388, 455	
Nyāyapradīpa .. 218, 385	
Nyāyapraveśa 210, 221, 289 (ftn 1) ² , 295 (ftn. 1), 300 (ftn. 12, 2), 302, 315 (ftn. 3), 316 (ftn. 3) ²	
Nyāyapraveśaka Sūtra .. 208	
Nyāyapraveśa-tarka-śāstra 289 (ftn. 1), 302, 302 (ftn. 4)	
Nyāyapraveśa-tippaṇa .. 210	
Nyāyapraveśa-vṛtti .. 210	
Nyāyarahasya .. 218, 469 ²	
Nyāyarahasya-dīpikā .. 151 (ftn. 2, 3)	
Nyāya-ratnāvalī .. 484	
Nyāyārtha-laghubodhinī .. 390	
Nyāya-samkṣepa .. 480	
Nyāya-saṃgraha .. 384	
Nyāyasāra 221 (ftn. 1), 356, 357 ² , 358, 366 (ftn. 1), 367 (ftn. 1), 369 (ftn. 1), 371ff., 372 ² (ftn. 2)	

<i>Page</i>	<i>Page</i>
208 (ftn. 4), 221, 331 (ftn. 8), 565 (ftn. 4), 507	Parāsara Upapurāṇa 356
Nyāyāvatāra-tippaṇa 211	Paribhāsā-darpana 384
Nyāyāvatāra-vivṛti 179, 180, 211, 206 (ftn. 4) ² , 208 (ftn. 4) ² , 331	Parikṣā-mukha-pañjikā 198
Nyāya.vindu 309 (ftn. 2) ² , 316 (ftn. 2), 317 (ftn. 1), 327, 329, 340, 508	Parikṣā-mukha-śāstra 188 (ftn 5, 7)
Nyāya-viniścaya .. 185, 198, 200	Parikṣa-mukha-sūtra 185, 188, 193, 194, 198, 200
Nyāya-viniścaya-vṛtti 198	Parisiṣṭa Parvan .. 159 (ftn. 1)
Nyāya-vṛtti 151 ^a	Parivāra .. 229 (ftn. 3)
On Yuan Chwang 242 (ftn. 1), 248 (ftn 4), 249 (ftn. 1, 9), 251 (ftn. 1), 261 (ftn. 1), 262 (ftn. 4), 265 (ftn. 3), 266 (ftn. 1), 272 (ftn 2), 515 (ftn. 1, 4)	Pārtha Sārathi's Gloss on Kumāri- la Bhaṭṭa's Vārtika on the Sūtra of Jaimini .. 273 (ftn. 6)
Organon 502 ² , 503 ² , 506 ³	Pārtha-vijaya 134
Padakṛtya 391	Paśupati-paddhati 524
Padārtha-candra 460	Pañcca-samuppāda 227
Padārtha-khaṇḍana 480	Pātimokkha of the Vinaya-Piṭa- kam 229 (ftn. 3), 232 (ftn. 1), 271
Padārtha-khaṇḍana-vyakhyā 477, 480, 481	Pattāvali of the Kharataragaccha 160 (ftn. 5), 172 (ftn. 1), 209 (ftn. 3), 214 (ftn. 3)
Padhārtha-maṇi mālā .. 478	Pattāvali of the Sarasvatī gaccha 169 (ftn.)
Padārtha-tattva 526	Pavanadūta 524
Padārtha-tattvāloka 480	Persia by Dr. K. Geldner 20 (ftn. 4)
Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa: or Pa- dārtha-khaṇḍa 465	Phyi-rol don-grub-pa ces-bya-waḥi- tshig-bḥur 328
Padārtha-tattva-vivecana-prakāśa 469	Pingala-prakāśa 480
Padārtha-viveka-prakāśa .. 469	Piṭakas 272, 304
Padārtha-viveka-tīkā 485	Piṭṛbhakti-taranginī 459
Padma Caritra 195	Piṭṛmedha Sūtra .. 48 (ftn. 4), 498
Padmapurāṇa 10, 20, 42 (ftn. 5), 497, 497 (ftn. 2), 498 (ftn. 4)	Points of controversy by Shwe Zan- Aung 235 (ftn. 1), 239 (ftn. 1)
Pag-sam-jon-zang 516 (ftn.1), 517 ² , 517 (ftn. 2), 519 (ftn. 2)	Posterior Analyties .. 508, 509 ² , 517
Pāli-kathāvatthuppakaraṇa .. 51	Prabandhacintamaṇi 152 (ftn. 3), 173 (ftn. 4), 195 (ftn. 1)
Pāli Mahāvagga .. 11 (ftn. 3)	Prabhākara-caritra 195
Pañcatantra .. 179 (ftn. 2)	Prabhāvaka-caritra 173 (ftn. 3), 208 (ftn. 4)
Paṇḍitavijaya 459	Prācīna-lekha-mālā .. 406 (ftn. 6)
Pānini 23 (ftn. 8), 303, 323	Pradeśa-vyakhyā-tippaṇaka .. 210
Pānini by Goldstucker 41 (ftn. 4)	Prajñāpanā Sūtra .. 161 161 (ftn. 4)
Paraloka siddhi 330	Prajñāpāramitā .. 250, 516
Parāśara-smṛti-vyakhyā .. 397	Prakaranārya-vācā Śāstra 265, 506
	Prakāśa .. 153, 469
	Pramāṇa-cintāmaṇi 405
	Pramāṇa-mīmāṃsā .. 205 (ftn. 2)

Page	Page
Pramāna-naya-tattva-lokālankāra 170 (ftn.), 198, 200, 211, 213	Questions of King Milinda 113 (ftn.), 240 (ftn. 1, 3, 4)
Pramāna-nyāya-praveśa (or Nyāya praveśa-nāma, Pramāna-praka- raṇa) 300 (ftn. 1), 302	Raghuvamśa 380
Pramāna-parīksā .. 187, 330	Rāmāyaṇa 7 (ftn. 4), 8 (ftn. 5), 23 (ftn. 5, 6, 9, 12, 13), 51, 521
Pramāna-samuccaya 116 (ftn. 2), 274 (ftn. 2), 275 ³ , 284 (ftn. 1), 299, 307 (ftn. 2), 508 (ftn. 2)	Rāmapāla-carita .. 246 (ftn. 3)
Pramāna-samuccaya vṛtti 299, 300	Rasika-sarvasva 522
Pramāna - śāstra - nyāya - praveśa (or Pramāna-śāstra-nyāya-pra- veśa-nāma) .. 300 (ftn. 1)	Ratnakaraṇḍaka 183
Pramāna-vārtika 198, 222, 319, 323, 344 ²	Ratnākarāvatārikā 213
Pramāna-vārtikā-kārikā 307, 308	Ratnākarā-vatārikā-panjikā 213 (ftn. 1)
Pramāna-vārtikālankāra 336, 344	Ratnakoṣa .. 406 (ftn. 2)
Pramāna-vārtikālankāra-tīkā 338, 344	Ratna-koṣa vāda rahaaya .. 482
Pramāna-vārtika-panjikā .. 319	Ratnakoṣa-vicāra or vāda .. 479
Pramāna-vārtika-panjikā-tīkā .. 320	Ratnāvālī .. 261 (ftn. 4)
Pramāna-vārtika-tīkā 198, 222, 344	Ratnāloka-dhāraṇī . 29 (ftn. 1)
Pramāna-vārtika-vṛtti .. 323	Report on Sanskrit MSS. by Peter- son 168 (ftn. 3), 181 (ftn. 1), 182 (ftn. 3), 186 (ftn. 3), 194 (ftn. 4), 195. (ftn. 1, 2, 5, 7), 196 (ftn. 1, 2), 197 (ftn. 1, 2, 5), 198 (ftn. 2), 199 (ftn. 1, 2), 200 (ftn. 1), 205 (ftn. 1, 2, 3), 206 (ftn. 3, 4 ³), 207 (ftn. 1 ² , 2, 4, 5), 208 (ftn. 1, 2, 3), 209 (ftn. 3 ²), 210 (ftn. 1, 2, 3, 5), 211 (ftn. 1, 4), 212 (ftn. 1, 2, 3 ²), 213 (ftn. 3), 214 (ftn. 2), 215 (ftn. 1), 218 (ftn. 3), 329 (ftn. 5), 457 (ftn. 5), 466 (ftn. 3), 47
Pramāna-vidhvamsana .. 126	Report of Sanskrit MSS. by R. G. Bhandarkar 160 (ftn. 2), 164 (ftn. 3), 165 (ftn. 2), 173 (ftn. 4), 183 (ftn. 3), 185 (ftn. 1), 197 (ftn. 4), 198 (ftn. 3), 201 (ftn. 1), 206 (ftn. 2), 207 (ftn. 3), 214 (ftn. 3), 384
Pramāna-vihetana 128 (ftn. 4), 257, 258	Report II by Weber 212 (ftn. 2), 213 (ftn. 4), 214 (ftn. 37)
Pramāna-vihetana - ṭipānaka - vṛtti (or Pramāna-vidhvamsana - sam- bhāṣita-vṛtti) 257, 257 (ftn. 1)	Report of the Archaeological Sur- vey 519 (ftn. 6)
Pramāna-viniścaya .. 308 (ftn. 3), 331	Rgyal-dwan-blo-gros 323
Pramāna-viniścaya-tīkā 330, 342 (ftn. 2)	Rgyu-dan-hbraṣ-buḥi-no-wo-grub- pa 341
Prāmānya-vāda-dīdhiti-tīkā .. 482	Rgyud-gshan-grub-pa 319
Prameya-kamala-mārtanḍa 188, 193	Rgyud-gshan-grub-paḥi-hgrél-bśad 322
Prameya-nibandha-prakāśa .. 455	Rhetoric .. 500, 501 ² , 509
Prameya-ratna-koṣa .. 206, 406 (ftn. 2)	
Prameya-ratna-mālā 198	
Prameya-tattva-bodha .. 455	
Praśamarati .. 169 (ftn.)	
Prasanna Rāghava 455	
Praśnopaniṣad .. 22 (ftn. 3)	
Pratibandha-siddhi 345	
Pratyakṣāloka 456 (ftn. 2)	
Pratyakṣāloka-sāramañjarī .. 479	
Pratyeka buddha caritra .. 212	
Prāyaścitta 185	
Prior Analytics 504, 505 ² , 506, 509, 510, 512	
Pūjā-prakarāṇa .. 169 (ftn.)	
Pustaka-pāthopāya 341	

	Page		Page
Riḡḡ-pa grub paḡi-sgron-ma ..	336	Śākta-krama ..	478
Riḡḡ-paḡi-sbyor-wa ..	340	Śakti-vāda ..	482, 483
Riḡḡ-paḡi-thiḡḡ-pa ..	309	Sālistambha-sūtra ..	126 (ftn. 2)
Riḡḡ-paḡi-thiḡḡ-paḡi-don-bśduḡ-pa	340	Samādhi-rāja ..	242 (ftn. 3)
Riḡḡ-paḡi-thiḡḡ-paḡi-phyogs-ḡna- ma-ḡdor-bś duḡ-pa ..	327	Samāja-guhya ..	516
Riḡḡ-paḡi-thiḡḡ-paḡi-rgya-cher- ḡgrel wa ..	329	Samantapāsādikā 232 (ftn. 1), 267 (ftn.)	
Riḡḡ-paḡi-thiḡḡ-pa-rgya-cher-ḡgrel- wa ..	321	Sārnānya-dūḡḡana-dik-prasaritā 333 (ftn. 1)	
Riḡveda Samhitā 2 (ftn. 1), 9 (ftn. 1), 19 (ftn. 3)		Sāmānya-lakḡḡana ..	526
Rnam-par-rig-pa-tsam-ḡid-do- grub-pa ..	343	Samaya-prābhḡḡta ..	195 (ftn. 6)
Ronki ..	267, 268, 269, 505	Samaraccakḡḡhā ..	209 (ftn.)
Ronshun ..	267	Samāsa-vāda ..	480
Ronshiki ..	267	Samayabhedoparacana-cakra ..	321
Rśibhāḡḡita-sūtra ..	165	Sambandha-parikḡḡā 194, 221, 319, 321, 345	
Rśimandala prakarana vḡḡḡti ..	165	Sambandha-parikḡḡānu-sāra ..	345
Rtog-geḡi-ḡkaḡ ..	346	Sambandha-parikḡḡā-ḡikā ..	321
Rtsod-pa-bzlog-paḡi-tshig-bḡur- bya-pa ..	256	Sambandha-parikḡḡā-vḡḡḡti ..	319
Rtsod-paḡi-riḡḡ-pa ..	318	Sambandhoddyota ..	194, 221
Rtsod-paḡi-riḡḡ-paḡi-ḡbrel-pa- don-ruam-par-ḡbyeḡ-pa ..	323	Samkḡḡepa Śāriraka ..	459
Rtsod-paḡi-riḡḡ-paḡi-ḡgrel-wa ..	321	Sāmkhya Kārikā 10 (ftn. 1), 274 (ftn. 4), 295 (ftn. 1)	
Śabda-kaustubha ..	148 (ftn. 1)	Sāmkhya-tattva-kaumudī ..	134
Śabdāloka-viveka ..	468	Sammati-tarka ..	221 (ftn. 2)
Śabdānirḡḡaya ..	460	Sammati-tarka-sūtra ..	173, 197
Śabda-prāmānya-vāda-rahasya ..	482	Samyutta Nikāya ..	127 (ftn.)
Śabda-śakti-prakāḡḡikā ..	470, 480	Sangīta-sarvasva ..	522
Śabda-śakti-prakāḡḡikā ḡikā ..	485	Śāḡkara-bhḡḡḡya on the Vedānta- sūtra ..	6 (ftn. 7)
Sacred Literature of the Jainas 161 (ftn. 3)		Saptapadārḡḡhi ..	356
Śaddarśana-samuccaya 154 (ftn. 3), 208 (ftn. 4) ² , 209 (ftn.) ² , 214 (ftn. 1), 222, 371 (ftn. 1)		Santānāntara-siddhi or Tantrān- tara-siddhi ..	319, 322
Śaddarśana-samuccaya-vḡḡḡti 151 (ftn. 2, 3), 214, 331 (ftn. 6), 371 ² , 371 (ftn. 1)		Santāntara-siddhi-ḡikā ..	322
Saddharmapūḡḡarika ..	242 (ftn. 3)	Sapta bhangī taraḡḡḡiḡī 167 (ftn. 2)	
Sadukti karnāmḡḡta ..	524 (ftn. 1)	Saptadaśa bhūmī-śāstra-yogācārya 249, 262, 262 (ftn. 4), 263	
Sad-yukti-muktāvalī ..	478	Sapta-padārḡḡtha ..	406
Śahāvalambha-nīcāya ..	336	Sāramaḡḡjarī ..	384
		Sāra-Saḡgraha ..	380, 399 (ftn. 1)
		Sarasvatī-gaccha-patḡḡāvalī 165 (ftn. 1)	
		Sārasaḡgraha-ḡikā ..	380
		Sārvabhauma-nirukti ..	462
		Sārvābhīsamaya-sūtra ..	126

	Page		Page
Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha	41 (ftn. 3), 48, 126 (ftn. 2), 127 (ftn.), 186 (ftn. 5), 167 (ftn. 1), 168 (ftn. 2), 198, 247 (ftn. 5), 248 (ftn. 3), 249 (ftn. 1, 6), 306 (ftn. 7), 308 (ftn. 3), 377 (ftn.), 397, 398 ff., 407 (ftn. 2), 454 (ftn. 3).	Śrutipariksā	143, 150, 328
Sarvajña-siddhi-kārikā	328	Statistical Account of Bengal	523 (ftn. 2)
Sarvānukramanikā	45	Sthānānga Sūtra	161 (ftn. 5) ² , 167 (ftn. 1), 170 (ftn.), 221
Sarvārtha-siddhi	168 (ftn. 1)	Sthira-siddhi-dūsana	339
Śāstra on the Meditation of the three worlds	301 (ftn. 2)	Surbodhā	526
Śāstra-vārtā samuccaya	221 (ftn. 2)	Subodhmi	480
Śataka-śāstra	261	Sukṛta Saṅkīrtana	152 (ftn. 3)
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa	3 (ftn. 3), 4 (ftn. 1), 19 (ftn. 4)	Sukra Saṅkīrtana	208 (ftn. 2)
Śata-śāstra-vaipulya-vyākhyā	303	Sum-paṅ-choḡ-byun	24 (ftn. 1), 242 (ftn. 1)
Śat-cakra-krama-dīpikā	469	Śurata kalpataru	391
Śei-wa-grub-pa	345	Sūrya-prajāpati-sūtra	165
Siddhānta-candrodaya	390	Sūtra-kṛtāṅga-sūtra	165, 221
Siddhāntamuktāvalī	392	Sūtrāṅkārā tikā	262 (ftn. 4)
Siddhāntamuktāvalī-ṭīkā	483	Sūtra pitakas	334
Siddhānta-rahasya	467	Sūtra Upadeśa	242
Śikṣā-samuccaya	126 (ftn. 2)	Sutta Pitaka	226, 227, 229 ² , 242
Site of Ancient Palibothra	589 (ftn. 6)	Suvarna vṛabhāsa	242 (ftn. 3)
Śivajñānasiddhyār	387 (ftn. 2)	Suvartha tattvāloka or Hāraka-cakra	480
Six Buddhist Nyāya Texts	339 (ftn. 3)	Sva-prakāśa-rahasya-vicāra or Bhaṭṭa-mata-siddhānta-vicāra	479
Six Nyāya Tracts by H. P. Śāstri	322 (ftn. 4), 333 (ftn. 1)	Svarūpa-sambodhana	185
Six Systems of Indian Philosophy	148 (ftn. 1)	Svayambhū Stotra	183
Škaḡ-cig-ma-hjig-grub-paḡi-ṣam-hḡrel	331	Syādvādakalika	213
Škal-cig-ma-hjig-pa-grub-pa	330	Syādvāda-ratnākara	198
Skandapurāna	8 (ftn. 3), 497 (ftn. 2)	Syādvāda-ratnākara-vatārikā	329, 331
Śloka-vārtika	187	Takakusu	515 (ftn. 2)
Smṛti-saṅskāra-vāda	482	Tangyur	506 (ftn. 3), 519 (ftn. 5), 533, 534, 535
Smṛti-sarvasva	524	Tantra	516
Smṛti-viveka	524	Tantrayukti	51
So-sor-thar-pa	232 (ftn. 1)	Tapāgaccha-pattāvalī	159 (ftn. 1), 161, 208 (ftn. 4)
Sragdharā Stotra, Introduction to	322 (ftn. 5, 6), 334 (ftn. 1)	Tāraikavimsatikāṅga-sūtra Saṅkṣepa	518 (ftn. 5)
Sragdharā-stotram	357 (ftn. 2)	Tārā-triratna Stotram	519 (ftn. 5)
Sragdharā-stotra-ṭīkā	519	Tarka bhāṣā	215, 218, 346, 373, 381 ff., 478
Śrīpattāvalī-vācanā	160 (ftn. 5)	Tarka bhāṣā bhāva	384
		Tarka bhāṣā prakāśa	381
		Tarka bhāṣā prakāśikā	384 ² , 385 ²

	Page		Page
Tarkabhāṣā-praveśikā ..	381	Tattvacintāmaṇi-rahasya (Phak-	
Tarkabhāṣā-tikā ..	485	kikā or Māthurī) ..	467
Tarka-candrikā (Prabhā) ..	391	Tattvacintāmaṇi-tikā ..	479 ² , 456
Tarkadīpikā ..	385, 391 ²	Tattvacintāmaṇi-tikā-vicāra ..	479
Tarkakaumudī ..	395	Tattvacintāmaṇi-vyākhyā ..	482
Tarkāmṛta ..	393 (ftn. 1), 393f.	Tattvacintāmanyāloka ..	455
Tarkanyāya or Vāda-nyāya ..	318	Tattvacintāmanyāloka - kaṅṭako -	
Tarka-phakkikā ..	390	ddhāra	461
Tarka-rahasya-dīpikā ..	214	Tattvacintāmanyāloka-prakāśa ..	460
Tarka-saṁgraha 324 (ftn. 3), 387		Tattvacintāmanyāloka-tikā ..	482
(ftn. 1), 388 ff		Tattva-cintāmanyāloka-rahasya ..	467
Tarka-saṁgraha-candrikā ..	391 ²	Tattvacintāmanyāloka-viveka ..	478
Tarka-saṁgraha-dīpikā ..	390	Tattva-prabodhini ..	385
Tarka-saṁgraha-dīpikā-prakāśa ..	391 ³	Tattvārtha ..	187
Tarka saṁgraha, sanku ..	391	Tattvārtha-bodhavidhāyini ..	197
Tarka-saṁgraha-tarangṇī ..	391	Tattvārtha-dīpikā ..	391
Tarka-saṁgraha-tattva-prakāśa ..	391	Tattvārtha-śloka-vārtika ..	187 (ftn. 4)
Tarka-saṁgraha-tikā ..	390 ² , 391 ⁴	Tattvārtha-tikā ..	182, 182 (ftn. 1)
Tarka-saṁgraha-vākyārtha-niruk-		Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra 168 (ftn.	
ta	391	1), 169 (ftn.), 182 ²	
Tarka-saṁgraha-vyākhyā ..	391	Tattvārtha-dīpikā ..	182 ²
Tarka-saṁgrahopanyāsa ..	391 ²	Tattvārtha-sāra ..	195
Tarka Śāstra ..	268 ² , 301, 505	Tattvārtha-vārtikālaṅkāra ..	168
Tarkatikā ..	331	(ftn. 1), 169 (ftn.)	
Tarkika-rahasya ..	373 ² , 374ff.	Tattvārtha-vārtika-vyākhyānālan-	
Tarkika-raksā ..	399 (ftn. 1)	kāra	185
Tā-shan-ō-phi-tā matā-tsi-hen ..	266	Tattvasamāsa ..	324 (ftn. 3)
Tathāgata-guhyaka ..	292 (ftn. 3)	Tattvasamgraha 222, 324 (ftn. 3) ² ,	
Tattvacintāmaṇi 155, 208, 376		326 (ftn.), 328	
(ftn. 4), 388, 405, 406 (ftn. 1, 2,		Tattvasamgraha-dīpikā-ṭippanī ..	483
3, 4, 5, 6), 454 (ftn. 4), 456, 461,		Tattvasamgraha-kārikā ..	324
462, 465, 466, 484		Tattvasamgraha-pañjikā ..	328
Tattvacintāmaṇi-darpana ..	485	Taxila by Law ..	496 (ftn. 1)
Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti ..	465	Thema-caḍ-akhyān-pa-grub - paḥi -	
Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti - guḍhār -		tshig-bhur ..	328
tha-vidyotana ..	478	Thog-pa - brtag, paḥi - tshig - bur -	
Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-parikāśa ..	477	byag-pa	328
Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-prakāśikā		Tibetan Catalogue by Cordier ..	262
470, 479, 482		(ftn. 2)	
Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-prasāriṇī ..	468	Tibetan Dictionary ..	530
Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti-tikā ..	483	Tibetan Grammar 306 (ftn. 1), 323 (ftn. 3)	
Tattvacintāmaṇi-guḍhārtha - dīpi-		ṭikā (on Tarkasamgraha) ..	391 ³
kā	481	Ṭipitaka ..	226, 227, 242
Tattvacintāmaṇi-mayūkha ..	459, 470	Ṭippunaka ..	195
Tattvacintāmaṇi-prakāśa ..	454,	Tirthacintāmaṇi ..	458
457, 466, 485			

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Tīrthakalpa ..	159 (ftn. 1), 169	Upālivāda Sutta ..	229
Tīrthika works ..	289	Upamiti-bhava-prapañca-kathā	147
Translation of the Mahāvaiṃsa	226		(ftn. 4)
(ftn.), 226 (ftn. 1, 2), 234 (ftn. 1)		Upaniṣads by F. Max Muller	45 (ftn. 4)
Translation of the Nyāya-praveśa		Upamānacintāmañi-tīkā ..	485
—by Hwen-thsang ..	300 (ftn. 2)	Upāsakādhyayana ..	183
—by I-tsing ..	300 (ftn. 2)	Upāyakausalya-hṛdaya ..	259, 504
Translation of the Vinaya Texts by		Upāyakausalya Sūtra ..	119
Rhys Davids ..	232 (ftn.)	Utpāda-siddhi-prakarāṇa ..	211
Travels of Fa-hian and Suṃg-yun		Uttarādhyayana Sūtra ..	165
by Beal ..	252 (ftn. 3)	Uvāsagadasāo ..	182 (ftn. 3)
Tripitaka ..	272		
Triṣaṣṭi-śalāka-purusa-caritra ..	205	Vādabuddhivicāra ..	479
Trisūtri-nibandha-vyākhyā	458, 459	Vāda-mahārṇava ..	196, 197, 124
Tshad-ma-brtag pa ..	330	Vādanyāya ..	321, 324
Tshad-maḥi-hstan-bcos-rig-pa-la-		Vādanyāya-vṛtti-vipañcīcārtha	323, 324
hjug-pa ..	300	Vādayāya vyākhyā ..	321
Tshad-maḥi-Mdo-kun-las-bhus-pa	276	Vāda-pariccheda ..	484
Tshad-me-kun-las btus pa ..	276	Vāda-vidhi ..	124 (ftn. 1)
Tshad-ma-kun-las-btus-pehi-bgrel-		Vāhyārtha-siddhi kārikā ..	328
we ..	299	Vaiduryakarpo ..	517 (ftn. 4)
Tshud-ma-rigs-par-hjug-paḥi-ago ..	289	Vaiśeṣika philosophy by Prof. H.	
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi ḍkah	319	U 40 (ftn. 2), 256 (ftn. 2), 300	
hgrel ..	319		(ftn. 1), 302 (ftn. 1)
Tshad-ma-rnam hgrel-gyi-hgrel-		Vaiśeṣika-śāstriya-padārtha-nirū-	
bśad ..	320, 344	pana ..	484
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-hgrel-wa	308	Vaiśeṣika Sūtra ..	356, 499
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-lshing ..	307	Vaiśeṣika-sūtropadeśa ..	459
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi hgrel-pa	323	Vaiyākaraṇa-bhuṣaṇa-sāra	132 (ftn. 1), 148 (ftn. 1)
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi rgyan ..	336	Vākyapadiya ..	148 (ftn. 1)
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-gyi-rgyan-		Vaiṃsa Brāhmana ..	330 (ftn. 5)
gyi-hgrel-bśad ..	338	Varāhapurāṇa ..	45 (ftn. 1)
Tshad-ma-rnam-hgrel-rgyan-gyi-		Vārtika on the Nyāya Sūtra	259 (ftn.)
hgrel bśad ..	344	Vātsyāyana, author of the Nyāya-	
Tshad-ma-rnam-neṣ-kyi-tīkā ..	331	bhāṣya ..	116 (ftn. 4)
Tshad-ma-rnam-par-hjoms-pa-		Vāyupurāṇa ..	498 (ftn. 7)
ḡdor-bśad-paḥi-hgrel ..	257	Vedi-vinoda ..	459
Tshad-ma-rnam-parneṣ-pa ..	309	Vibhāṣā-śāstra ..	248
Tshad-ma-rnam-parniṣ-paḥi-hgrel-		Vibhāṣa-vinaya ..	266 (ftn. 2)
bśad ..	342	Vicārāmṛta-saṃgraha	208 (ftn. 4)
Ueber das Lebens des Jaina Mön-		Vicāra-ratna-saṃgraha	169 (ftn. 2)
ches Hemacandra ..	205 (ftn. 1)	Vicāra-sāra-prakarāṇa	159 (ftn. 1),
Ujjvala ..	384		208 (ftn. 4)
University of Nadia (see Nadia)	521	Vicāra-śreṇī ..	159 (ftn. 1)
	(ftn. 1)		

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana-viṭikā	479	Vṛndāvana-vinoda-kāvya	.. 477
Vidhi-vāda	482	Vṛtta-ratnā valī	483
Vidvānamoda-taranginī	483	Vṛtti on Ganaśharasārdhaśata-	
Vidyāmātra-siddhi - śāstra - vyā-		kam	160 (ftn. 1)
khyā	303	Vyāptipañcaka	407 (ftn. 1)
Vienna Oriental Journal 195 (ftn. 3)		Vyavahāra sūtra	165
Vigraha-vyāvartanī-kārikā	257 ²	Vyutpatti-vāda	482
Vijñapti-mātra siddhī	343	Vyutpatti-vāda-vyākhyā	483
Vinaya-pitaka 225 (ftn. 3), 226, 229		W assihof	306 (ftn. 1)
(ftn. 3) ² , 242		V ajñavalka Samhitā 8 (ftn. 6), 23	
Vinaya-vibhāṣā	241	(ftn. 5, 11), 42 (ftn. 6), 152 (ftn.	
Viśālāmalavatīmānca - pramāna-		1), 498	
samuccaya-tīkā	323	Yast	20 (ftn. 3)
Viśayatā-vāda	482	Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra	504
Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya	181	Yogācāra philosophy	303
Viṣṇupurāṇa 42 (ftn. 3), 456, 497		Yoga Śāstra	205
Viśvasāra-tantra	153	Yukti-muktāvalī	384
Vitarāga-stuti	212	Yukti-prayoga	340
Vivādacandra	466	Yuktyanuśāsana	183
Vivādaśamana-śāstra	257	Yuka Pon	263 (ftn. 3)
Vivarana-prameya-saṅgraha 397 (ftn. 1)		Z end Avesta	489 (ftn. 3)
Viveka-vilāsa 153, 154		Z u-shih-ben	268
Vṛhadgaccha	212		
Vṛhatsvayambhūpurāṇa	519		

INDEX OF AUTHORS.

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Abhayadeva Sūri ..	199	Candra Sena ..	205 (ftn. 3), 211
Abhayatilakopādhyāya ..	151	Caraka ..	50
Abhinanda ..	147 (ftn. 2)	Choṅ-kyi-bytson-bgrus..	342
Ācārya Dignāga ..	270ff.	Choṅ-kyi rin-chen ..	300
Akalaṅka Deva ..	168 (ftn. 1)	Ci-cia-ye ..	259
Akhaṇḍānanda ..	406 (ftn. 2)	Cinna Bhaṭṭa ..	381, 384
Amaracandra Sūri ..	207	Dad-pa-śes-rab ..	300
Amrtacandra Sūri ..	195	Dāna Śīla ..	340
Ānanda Sūri ..	207	Devabhadra ..	211
Ananta Nārāyana ..	390	Devardhi Gaṃi ..	172
Ananta Śrī ..	341	Devasena Bhaṭṭāraka..	195
Anantavīrya ..	188 (ftn. 6), 198	Deva Sūri ..	198ff.
Annam Bhaṭṭa ..	388, 390	Devendrabhadra ..	328
Arcaṭa ..	331f.	Devendrabodddhi ..	319f., 348
Ārya Āsanga ..	265f.	Dge-śes-sisi-gyan ..	300
Ārya Deva..	250, 261f.	Dge-waḥi-blo-gros ..	307, 318, 320 ²
Aśoka ..	332f.	Dharma-bhūṣana ..	215, 273 (ftn. 7)
Bāla Candra ..	384	Dharmakīrti 124, 133, 136 (ftn.),	303ff., 340, 345
Bāna ..	123 ²	Dharmapāla ..	302
Bhadrabāhu ..	122 (ftn. 1)	Dharmottara ..	150, 329ff.
Bhāsa ..	20	Dhoyī ..	524
Bhāsarvajña ..	155	Dignaya ..	42, 135
Bhāskara Bhaṭṭa ..	384	Dipānkara Rakṣita ..	338
Bhaṭṭa Rāghava ..	372	Dpal-bytsegs-rakṣita ..	321, 322, 328
Bhavya ..	250	Dpal-mchog-daṅ-poḥi-rdo-rje ..	337
Bhavyarāja ..	330 ³ , 336	Dpal-ldan-blo-gros ..	323
Bhīma Sena Dīkṣita ..	477	Dpal-rtsegees-rakṣita ..	328
Bhimi Bhaṭṭa ..	384	Dpal-trsegs..	319
Blo-ldan-śes-rab 262 (ftn. 5), 309,	330 ³ , 331, 336 ²	Dr. J. Jolly ..	45 (ftn. 2)
Brahmanemi Datta ..	188 (ftn. 4)	Gaḍādhara ..	406 (ftn. 2)
Buddhaghosa 232 (ftn. 1), 267 (ftn.)		Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa ..	391
Buddha Pālita ..	250	Gaṅgeśa Dīkṣita ..	385
Byaṅ-chub-śes-rab ..	338	Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya 155, 404, 405ff.	
Candra Gomin ..	333ff.	Gaurī Kānta ..	390, 385
Candraja Simha ..	391	Gautama ..	48 (ftn. 4)
Candra Kīrti ..	126 (ftn. 2), 250	Govardhana Mīśra ..	385, 390
Candraprabha Sūri 166 (ftn. 1),		Grogs-hbyor-śes-rab ..	323, 331
~ 206, 406 (ftn. 2)		Gser-gyi-go-cha ..	300

	<i>Page</i>
Guṇākara Śrībhadrā	323
Gunaratna	151, 214, 331
Guṇḍu Bhaṭṭa	384
Maṇumat	391
Haribhadra Sūri 152, 154, 160 (ftn. 6), 206 (ftn. 4), 208f.	
Harirāma	406 (ftn. 2)
Hbro-señ-kar	324
Hemacandra Sūri	205
Hema (or kanaka) Varma	300
Hwon-thsang	300 (ftn. 2), 302
Isvara Kṛṣṇa 274 (ftn. 4), 295 (ftn. 1)	
I-tsing	300 (ftn. 2)
Jābāla	9
Jagadīśa Bhaṭṭa	391
Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra	393
Jagannātha Śāstrin	391
Jānakinātha Cuḍāmaṇi	404
Janārdana Vyāsa	478
Jayadeva	524
Jayānanta	250, 256
Jayanta	371
Jayasimha Sūri	372
Jayasoma Sūri	164 (ftn. 2)
Jaya Tīrtha	371
Jetāri	337
Jina	338
Jinabhadra Gaṇi	181
Jinadatta Sūri	152, 154
Jina Mitra	321, 328, 340
Jinaprabha Sūri	159, (ftn. 1), 169
Jinendrabodhi	323, 348
Jñāna Candra	213
Jñāna Garbha	256, 319, 321, 329
Jñāna Pūrṇa	374, 380
Jñāna-śrī Bhadrā	318, 342
Jñānaśrī Mitra	341
Kalyāna Candra	198
Kalyāna Rakṣita	150, 328f., 348
Kamala Śīla	324 (ftn. 3), 327f., 348
Kapila	9f.

	<i>Page</i>
Kātyāyana	41 (ftn. 4)
Kātyāyani-putra	242, 247
Kaunda Bhaṭṭa	132
Kaundinya	385
Kautilya	24
Ka-wa-gpal-brtsegs	258
Keśava Bhaṭṭa	385
Keśava Miśra	373, 381ff., 478
Khu-wdo-sde-dpal	256
Kṛṣṇa	250
Ksamākalyāna	398
Kumārājīva	261, 267
Kumāra-kalasa	337, 341
Kumāra Śrībhadrā	324
Kumārila Bhaṭṭa	138 (ftn. 1), 273
Kundakundācārya	195 (ftn. 6)
Laugāksi Bhāskara	395, 478
Laghu Sāmantabhadra 185 (ftn. 3), 197	
Lha-bla-ma-shi-wa-hod	323
Mādhavācārya	198
Mādhava Deva	384
Mādhavapadābhirāma	391
Māhopādhyāya Dharma-sāgara	
Gaṇi	164 (ftn. 4)
Maitreya	262
Maladhāri Śrī Rājasekhara Sūri 153, 154, 155	
Mallasena Sūri	212
Mallavādin	194
Mallinātha	273, 373 (ftn. 1), 380
Mammata	473
Maṇibhadra	214 (ftn. 1)
Mānikyanandi	185, 189
Mathurānātha Tarkavāgīśa	388
Meru Śāstri	391
Meru Śāstri Goḍbole	391
Merutuṅga	159 (ftn. 1)
Mokṣakara Gupta	346
Muktākumbha	331
Mukunda Bhaṭṭa	391
Mukunda Bhaṭṭa Gāḍgil	391
Munisundara Sūri	165 (ftn.)
Murāri	391
Murāri Bhaṭṭa	384

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Nāga Rakṣita	337	Saṅghabbadra	248
Nāgārjuna	50, 250, 256, 334	Śaṅkara Mīśra	388
Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa	384	Śaṅkarānanda	344
Nārāyana	153	Śaṅkara Svāmin	289 (ftn. 1), 320
Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa	384	Śānta Rakṣita	323f., 348
Nemicandra Kavi	207, 210	Śānti Bhadra	336, 343
Nilakaṇṭha	391	Śāntyācārya	147 (ftn. 4)
Padmanābha Mīśra	381	Sarvajñātma Muni	459
Paśādhara Mīśra	407 (ftn. 3)	Śāsadhara	398
Pañcīta Amara Gomin	262 (ftn. 5)	Śeṅ-rab	323
Parahita Bhadra	309	Sha-ma-dge-bgūen-sii-rgyal	299
Paramārtha	267, 268, 301f.	Siddharṣi	147 (ftn. 4)
Pārśvadeva Gaṇi	210	Siddhasena Divākara	173ff.
Pārthasārathi Mīśra	273	Siddhasena Divākara-vyākhyāna- ka	206 (ftn. 4)
Paśupati	524	Siddhasena Gaṇi	168 (ftn. 3), 182
Patañjali	41 (ftn. 4, 5)	Śilabhadra	303
Pattābhirāma	391	Śivāditya Mīśra	378 (ftn. 1), 406
Prabhā Candra 193, 208 (ftn. 4), 273 (ftn. 7)		Śrī.Candra	210
Pradyumna Sūri	173, 196	Śrīdhara Dāsa	524 (ftn. 1)
Prajñākara Gupta	331f., 344	Śrīkaṇṭha	151
Prajñākaramati	126 (ftn. 2)	Śrīkṛṣṇā Dhūrjaṭi Dikṣita	390
Prajñā Varma	321	Śrīnivāsa	391
Pūjyapāda Svāmin	168 (ftn. 1)	Śrī Śitaprabha	336
Rabhasa, Nandi	194	Śrī Śubhūti Śānta	340
Raghuṇandana	153 (ftn. 3)	Śrutasaṅgāra Gaṇi	215
Raghuṇātha Śiromaṇi	388, 406 (ftn. 2)	Stou-gshon	300
Rāja Śekbara 134, 147 (ftn. 6) 213		Subandu	123
Rāma Liṅga	384	Śubhakara Gupta	346
Ramānātha	391	Subhūti-śrī-Śānti	307, 320
Rāmarudra Bhaṭṭa	391	Śuklaratna Nātha	391
Ratnākara Śānti	342	Śūlapāṇi	524
Ratnakīrti	133, 338	Surendrabodhi	340
Ratnaprabha Sūri 166 (ftn. 1), 211, 331		Sureśvarācārya	306
Ratna Vajra	339	Thān-yāo	259
Ravi Gupta	322f., 348	Thasam-tsan	300
Rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan	323	Tilakācārya	206 (ftn. 5), 212
Romavilva-Veṅkata.Buddha	384	Tiā-ne-hdsiṅ-bzañ-po	340
Śākya bodhi	320, 348	Tsab-ñi-ma-gragz	330
Śākya-hoḍ	337 ² , 341, 343	Udayana	386
Śākya Simha	322	Umāpati	524
Samanta Bhadra	182ff., 185	Vācaspati Mīśra	131, 133ff
		Vācaspati Mīśra—the Junior	151, 306

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Vadhulavenkata Guru ..	391	Vimokṣa Prajñā ..	257
Vaidyanātha Gadgil ..	391	Vināyaka ..	331
Vairocana ..	336	Vinaya Vijaya ..	216
Vande-gpal-brtsegs ..	322	Vindhyeśvari Prasād ..	391
Vande-nam-ukhaṣ ..	319, 321	Vinīta Deva ..	348
Vande-ye-śeṣ-gde ..	321, 340	Viśuddha Sīmha ..	319, 322, 328
Varadā rāja ..	373ff	Viśva Karmā ..	385
Vardhamāna ..	151, 388, 406 (ftn. 2)	Viśvanātha ..	52 (ftn. 1), 151, 391
Vasubandu ..	124 (ftn. 1), 266ff, 300, 371	Viśvanātha Nyāya pañcānana ..	392
Vātsyāyana ..	40 (ftn. 1), 52 (ftn. 1)		
Vidyānanda ..	186, 273 (ftn. 7), 306	Vamāri ..	.. 343
Vijayasīmha Gaṇi ..	371	Yaśovijaya Gaṇi ..	.. 217
Vijñāna Bhikṣu ..	244 (ftn. 1)	Yayanta ..	146 (ftn.)
Vimala Dāsa ..	167 (ftn. 2)	Yuan Chwang ..	40 (ftn. 2)

INDEX OF QUOTATIONS.

	Page		Page
Abhidhāna cintāmaṇi—		Anumānāloka-darpaṇa—	
—वात्सायनो मङ्गलाग ..	117 (ftn. 2)	—जनकविषयजन्मा राजसम्मानपात्र	
Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā—			457 (ftn. 5)
—धर्मज्ञानान्वयज्ञान .	263 (ftn. 2)	—ज्येष्ठा महादेवभगीरथ .	458 (ftn. 1)
—पूर्वेण बोधिधीरुक्ता ..	262 (ftn. 6)	Apoḥasiddhi—	
—स्वप्नोपमेषु धर्मेषु .	263 (ftn. 1)	—ततिरियं महापण्डित ..	338 (ftn. 3)
Ācāra-dinakara—		—नाकाठस्य न वाह्यस्य ..	338 (ftn. 4)
—मुत्तुण दिट्ठिवायं कालिय	161 (ftn. 1)	—नास्माभिरत्रोदरशब्देन विधिरेव	339 (ftn. 4)
Address of Udayana—		—यच्च न्यायभूषणेन	339 (ftn. 1), 358
—ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तः सन् ..	142 (ftn. 3)		(ftn. 1)
Ādipurāna—		—यत्तु त्रिलोचनः । अश्वत्थमोत्वादिना	
—चन्द्रांशु शुभयशस ..	194 (ftn. 3)		134 (ftn. 3)
—महाकलकं त्रीपाल ..	188 (ftn. 1)	—यदप्यवोचद्वाचस्पति .	339 (ftn. 2)
Alankāra-sāra-sthiti—		Āptamīmāṃsā—	
—शक्तिर्न शक्तिवाद व्याख्या	477 (ftn. 2)	—अद्वैतैकान्तपक्षेऽपि .	182 (ftn. 5)
Amarasvāmi-carita—		—भावैकान्ते पदार्थानाम् उपयोगात्	
—सौमि त्रीहरिभद्र न	209 (ftn. 3)	सर्वथा ..	184 (ftn. 1)
Ānanadala-hari-tarī—		—स्याद्वादुसर्वथैकान्त	183 (ftn. 1)
—यो नानाबेधशास्त्रतर्कनिपुण	478 (ftn. 1)	Āptamīmāṃsā-sālikṛti-tikā—	
Anekānta-jaya-patākā—		—येनाशेष कुनीति एतिसरित	183 (ftn. 2)
—उक्तञ्च वादिसुखेन ..	209 (ftn. 2)	Arthasāstra of Kautilya—	
—यथोक्तं वार्तिकानुसारिणा	209 (ftn. 2)	—त्रयी वार्ता दण्डनीति .	5 (ftn. 1)
Anekāntajaya-patākā-tikā—		—धर्माधर्मो त्रय्याम् अश्वदान्तीचिकी	
—यथोक्तं वार्तिकानुसारिणा शुभगुप्तेन	346 (ftn. 2)	मता ..	7 (ftn. 6)
Antarvyāpti—		—प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानाम् .	38 (ftn. 4)
—अन्तर्धर्मासमर्थन समाप्तम्	343 (ftn. 3)	—शास्त्रं विप्रतिपद्यत ..	41 (ftn. 6)
—इह सत्यमर्थक्रियाकारित्व	343 (ftn. 3)	—सघमुल्लेख संघेषु .	42 (ftn. 1)
Anumāna . dīdhitī - gūdhārtha - vi- dyotana—		—सांख्य योगी लोकायतं ..	5 (ftn. 4)
—त्रैविश्वेश्वरमशेषमङ्गलभुवं	477 (ftn. 1)	—ह्यान्वीचिकी त्रयी वार्ता	5 (ftn. 2)
Anumāna-dīdhitī-prasārini—		Aṣṭasāhasri—	
—विचारस्तु अनुमानालोक	468 (ftn. 1)	—अथोपयोगेऽपि पुनः ..	187 (ftn. 1)
Anumāna khaṇḍa—		—प्रज्ञाकरस्येदं वचः क्रमप्रतीतिरेव स्यात्	187 (ftn. 2)
—इति न्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञ	456 (ftn. 5)	—यदुक्तं धर्मकीर्तिनाश्वतद्रूप पराहत	187 (ftn. 1)

	Page
—यदुक्तं दृष्टदारण्यकवार्तिके चात्मापि	
सदिदं ब्रह्म ..	187 (ftn. 4)
—श्रीमदकलङ्कविहतां ..	187 (ftn.)
—श्रीनन्दकलङ्कग्रन्थधरकुल	186 (ftn. 6)
—श्रीवर्द्धमानमभिवन्द्य समन्तभद्रं	186 (ftn. 6)
Aṣṭasāhasrī-vivaraṇa—	
—रेन्दुमहः प्रणिधाय न्याय	220 (ftn. 4)
—न्यायानुधिर्दोषितिकारयुक्ति	218
	(ftn. 2), 465 (ftn. 1)
Aṣṭasāhasrī-ṣaṣṭha-pada-tātparyā- ṭīkā—	
—द्वेषं स्वाभिनमसलं विद्यानन्दं	197 (ftn. 6)
Ātma-tattva-viveka—	
—बहुतरपटतन्त्रप्रान्तरध्वान्तभीत	141
	(ftn. 2)
Avadāna Kaiṣalī—	
—भगवद्भाषितं तत्तु ..	174 (ftn. 2)
Āvaśyaka nirukti—	
—ब्रह्मास सहाइं ननुतरादं	159 (ftn. 2)
Avayavinirākarāṇa—	
—एवं मया बहुषु दुर्मतिनिमित्तेषु	333
	(ftn. 4)
—तदेतत् सकलमालोक्य ..	332 (ftn. 4)
—ननु भवद्भि रसन्नेवापयवी	333 (ftn. 2)
Bhadrabālu-canta—	
—मृते विक्रमभूपाले ..	159 (ftn. 2)
Bhāgavata—	
—न वस्तुयसिद्धास्त्राभिः ..	49 (ftn. 2)
—स्त्रियो बालास्य दृष्टास्य ..	49 (ftn. 2)
Bhāgavatapurāṇa—	
—षष्ठमवेरपत्यत्वतः ..	10 (ftn. 4)
—सूयमानो जनैरेभिः ..	6 (ftn. 6)
Bhagavati Sūtra—	
—अथवाहेज चउच्चिहे एत्थि संः हेज	
	162 (ftn. 1)
Bhāmati—	
—नरेश्वरा यशरितानुकारम्	134 (ftn. 1)
—यथाह धर्मकीर्तिः तस्यान्नायं न च ज्ञाने	
	306 (ftn. 6)
—स्याद्वादसर्वथेकान्त ..	183 (ftn. 1)

	Page
Bhāṣāpariccheda—	
—ब्रह्माद्या निखिलार्थितास्त्रिदश	392 (ftn. 6)
—रसवाणतिथौ शकेन्द्रकाले	392 (ftn. 4)
Bhāṣāratna—	
—चूडासण्णिपदाभोज ..	466 (ftn. 2)
Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa—	
—वने त्वाङ्गिरसः श्रेष्ठो ..	19 (ftn. 2)
—सप्तविंशतिर्मे प्राप्ते उलूकी वत्स एव च	
	49 (ftn. 1)
Bṛhadāraṇyaka—	
—अरेऽयमात्मानन्तरोऽवाह्यः	9 (ftn. 2)
—आत्मा वारे दृष्टयः ..	6 (ftn. 1)
—तदेतत् क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रम् ..	3 (ftn. 1)
—श्वेतकेतुर्ह्य आरुण्यः ..	22 (ftn. 2)
Bṛhadāraṇyaka-vārtika—	
—विर्चव त्वविनाभावाद् ..	306 (ftn. 4)
Ācārya Caitanya Caritamṛta—	
—नौमि त गौरचन्द्र ..	462 (ftn. 1)
—शूद्रस्य शशशु मते ..	462 (ftn. 1)
Caraka Saṁhitā—	
—अथात् इन्द्रियापक्रमणीयमध्यायं 11	(ftn. 2)
—एवं प्रमाणैः श्रुतिभिः ..	28 (ftn. 3)
—चतुस्त्रिंशद् विचित्राभि भवत्येतानि	
कृत्स्नशः ..	24 (ftn. 1)
—द्विविधमेव खलु ..	28 (ftn. 1)
—हेतुर्नामोपलब्धि कारणम्	28 (ftn. 2)
Caturviṁśati-prabandha—	
—शरगगनमनुमितादौ ज्येष्ठा	213 (ftn. 4)
Commentary on Tārakīkarakṣā	
—एतच्च ग्रन्थस्यैव स्पष्टीकृत	373 (ftn. 1)
Commentary on Utpāda-siddhipra- kāraṇa—	
—श्रीसांख्यकुलोऽभवद् ..	205 (ftn. 3)
Dāna-kāṇḍa—	
—सर्वेषां मौलिकरानां ..	392 (ftn. 3)
Daśa-vaikālika-niryukti—	
—तेषु पदत्र विभक्ती ..	166 (ftn. 1)
Daśa-vaikālika ṭīkā—	
—तीर्थे वीरविभोः सुधर्मगणशब्द	206 (ftn. 5)

	Page
Daśa-vaikālika-vṛtti—	
—बालस्त्रीष्टकसूत्राणाः ..	160 (ftn. 6)
Deopara Vijaya Sena Inscription—	
—लं नान्यवीरविजयीतिगिरः कवीना	521 (ftn. 3)
Devīpurāṇa—	
—शम्भोः रूपाननुप्राय ..	164 (ftn. 4)
Dhanukhā Inscription—	
—आसीत् पण्डितमण्डलाग्रगणितो	408
	(ftn. 7)
Dharmābhyudaya Mahā-kāvya—	
—आनन्दस्वरिरिति तस्य बभूव शिष्यो	
याप्रसिद्धशिष्यकविति सिद्धिराजः	207 (ftn. 4)
—सिद्धान्तोपनिषद्भिषणसूत्रयो	208 (ftn. 3)
Gacchhotpatti-prakirṇaka—	
—पंचसह पण्णोए ..	208 (ftn. 1)
Gadādhari-karṣikā—	
—श्रीकृष्णं सुहृदानभ्य ..	486 (ftn. 1)
Gandharva-tantra—	
—गौतमप्रोक्तशास्त्रार्थनिरताः	17 (ftn.
	3), 36 (ftn. 3)
Gautama Dharma Sūtra—	
—राजा सर्वस्येष्ट ब्रह्मणवर्जः प्रत्यवहृत्य	
निष्ठां गमयेत् ..	37 (ftn. 5)
Gautama-sūtra-vṛtti—	
—एषा सुनिप्रवरगौतमसूत्रवृत्तिः	392 (ftn. 5)
Gloss on Bhavānandi-tīkā—	
—नत्वा पदाभोजयुगं शिवस्य	486 (ftn. 2)
—श्रीमत्पुण्यस्तम्भोपनायक	486 (ftn. 2)
Gotama-stotra—	
—श्रीमन्तं ममशेषु गेर्वर इति यासी-	
भिरासः त्रिया ..	160 (ftn. 4)
Guru-śiromani-prakasa—	
—यन्मूलमेव सुकृतानि तयोः कृतानि	467
	(ftn.)
Gurvāvalī Sūtra—	
—अवशिष्टमः पूर्वभृतां द्वितीयः श्रीसूल-	
भद्रश्च ददातु शर्म ..	164 (ftn. 5)
—उभावपि षष्ठपट्टधरौ	164 (ftn. 4)

	Page
—वेनादिमस्यतुरशीति सुवादिस्त्रीला	
शिष्या बहवोऽभवन् विदिताः	199 (ftn. 2)
—रसरसमनुमितवषे २४६६	214 (ftn. 4)
Harṣa-carita—	
—कवीनामगलद्दुर्पो ..	123 (ftn. 3)
Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra—	
—गौतमस्य कणादस्य ..	153 (ftn. 3)
Introductory verses to Sankara	
Mīśra's works—	
—अधीतमध्यापितमर्जितयशो	458 (ftn. 3)
Jaina Harivaṃśa Purāṇa—	
—अथ सप्तर्षिसम्पन्न ..	159 (ftn. 3)
Jambudvīpa-samāsa—	
—कृतिः सिताम्बराचार्यस्य	169 (ftn.)
Jyotirvidābharāṇa—	
—धन्वन्तरिः रूपणकोऽमरसिंह	174 (ftn. 2)
Kādambari—	
—रजोजुषे जन्मनि सन्वहृत्ये	194 (ftn. 1)
Kalpasūtra-subodhikāvṛtti—	
—प्रतिष्ठानपुरे वराहमिहिरभद्रवाज	165
	(ftn. 3)
Kā tantra—	
—भृग्व्यद्विः ..	19 (ftn. 5)
Kathāvatthupparakana—	
—नो च मयम् तथा तस्य ..	234 (ftn. 2)
Kathāvatthupparakana - aṭṭaha -	
kathā--	
—एवं तेन, धुलेन निगृहे	234 (ftn. 2)
Kathopaniṣad—	
—शान्तसंकल्पसुमनाः आत्मा भवति	
गौतमः	19 (ftn. 1)
Kāvyaṅkāra sūtra vṛtti—	
—साभिप्रायत्वं यथा सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्र-	
गुप्तमनय	267 (ftn. 1)
Khuddakapāṭha of the Pāli Sutta-	
piṭaka—	
—एक नाम किं ? पशुपादानकूलम्	
	114 (ftn. 1)
Kriyārātna-samuccaya—	
—काले षड् रसपूर्वं २४६६	214 (ftn. 5)

	Page
Kṣaṇabhaṅga-siddhi—	
—कृतिरियं महापण्डितरत्न	338 (ftn. 3)
—त्रिलोचनस्याप्ययं सच्चिप्रार्थः	134 (ftn. 4)
—प्रकृतेः सर्वधर्माणां ..	339 (ftn. 5)
—यज्ञात् न्यायभूषणेन ..	339 (ftn. 1)
—यदप्यवोचद् वाचस्पतिः	339 (ftn. 2)
Kumārapāla-carita-prāśasti—	
—श्री विक्रमवृषाद् द्वि द्वि	372 (ftn. 3)
Kusumāñjali—	
—अस्माकन्तु निरर्गसुन्दर चिराच्चेतो	
निमग्न त्वयि ..	145 (ftn. 2)
—इत्येव अतिनीति संभवजलैर्भूयोभि-	
राक्षसिते ..	145 (ftn. 1)
—व्याघातावधिराशङ्का ..	31 (ftn. 2)
—सपेक्षत्वाद्नादित्वाद् ..	144 (ftn.)
Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā—	
—भवानीभवनाशाम्यां ..	469 (ftn. 1)
Laghu-dīpikā—	
—तस्मिन् विश्वरूपजयन्तयोर्मते	380 (ftn. 2)
—सर्वैश्वर्यनिजावासं ..	380 (ftn. 1)
Lakṣanāvalī—	
—तर्काभ्रारङ्ग प्रमितेषु ..	142 (ftn. 1)
Lalitavistara—	
—निर्घण्टौ निगमे पुराणे ..	243 (ftn. 2)
Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra—	
—अनुत्पत्तिस्तु धर्माणाः ..	46 (ftn. 1)
—सालयविज्ञाने पुनर्निरूप्यमाने	245 (ftn. 2)
—कथं हि शूच्यते तर्कः ..	244 (ftn. 4)
—दृष्टान्तैस्तुभिर्युक्तं ..	244 (ftn. 5)
—निर्वापारं क्षणिकं ..	246 (ftn. 1)
—नैयायिकाः कथं ब्रूहि ..	244 (ftn. 3)
—बुद्ध्या विविच्यमानानां	46 (ftn. 1),
	120 (ftn. 2)
—सांख्य वैशेषिका नगा ..	244 (ftn. 2)
Last words of Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyā-	
vāgiśa—	
—अधिगमनमनेका ..	485 (ftn. 1)
Līlāvati-prakāśa—	
—न्यायाभोजपतङ्गाय ..	454 (ftn. 2)

	Page
Mādhyamika kārikā—	
—प्रदीपं स्वपरात्मनोः ..	256 (ftn. 2)
—वियहे थः परीक्षार ..	256 (ftn. 1)
Mādhyamika Sūtra—	
—अनिरोधमनुत्यादम ..	254 (ftn. 4)
—जत 'न गम्यते तावत् ..	47 (ftn.)
—न सन् नासन् न सदसन	46 (ftn. 2)
—न सन्भवः स्वभावस्य ..	118 (ftn.)
—न हि स्वभावो भावानां	46 (ftn. 2)
—यथा माया यथा स्वप्नो	47 (ftn.),
	118 (ftn. 2)
—रूपादि यतिरेकेण ..	117 (ftn.6)
Mādhyamikā-vṛtti—	
—अतो भवानावानन्दयरदितत्वात्	249
	(ftn. 6), 253 (ftn. 2)
—अनक्षरस्य धर्मस्य ..	255 (ftn. 2)
—आर्य समाधिराजे चोक्त भगवता	254
	(ftn. 1)
—एव शून्यमुपादानमुपादाना	119 (ftn.)
—इ सत्ये समुपात्रित्य ..	254 (ftn. 3)
—यथैव गन्धर्वपुरं मरौचिका	118 (ftn. 2)
—जः प्रतीत्य समुत्यादः सर्वधर्मनिःस्वभाव	
योगेन इति ..	118 (ftn. 3)
Mahābhārata—	
—अवाप्युदाररत्नीमाम् ..	19 (ftn. 2)
—अहमासं पण्डितको शृंगालत्वं मम	
द्विज ..	36 (ftn. 3)
—श्रीशिकानन्तवासांश्च ..	498 (ftn. 2)
—क्षीरोदधेरुत्तरतो ..	44 (ftn. 3)
—चतुर्थशोपनिषदो धर्मः ..	20 (ftn. 2)
—तत्रोपनिषदं तात् ..	38 (ftn. 6)
—तस्मिन् यज्ञे प्रष्टते तु ..	39 (ftn. 4)
—तुल्यं शौचं तपोयुक्तं ..	6 (ftn. 4)
—न्यायतत्वात्मविज्ञान ..	39 (ftn. 2)
—न्यायतन्वाण्यनेकानि	39 (ftn. 3), 42
	(ftn. 10)
—न्यायशिक्षा चिकित्सा ..	39 (ftn. 1)
—वेदोपनिषदां वेत्ता यथावत् कृतनिश्चयः	
	43 (ftn. 3)

	<i>Page</i>
—मालिनीमभितो राजन्	43 (ftn. 1)
—मेधातिथिर्महाप्राज्ञो ..	18 (ftn. 4)
—ज्ञानकानामिदं शास्त्र ..	37 (ftn. 1)
Mahāvagga—	
—अङ्गरक्षसु काये ..	19 (ftn. 2)
Mahāvīracarita—	
—इन्द्रभूतिप्रभृतीनां ..	160 (ftn. 1)
Mandhara-Stuti—	
—रक्षिया काशीमठे ..	217 (ftn. 3)
Manimayūkha—	
—सार्धभौमस्य गुरोः पदाङ्ग	469 (ftn. 3)
Manu Samhitā—	
—आर्ष धर्मोपदेशच ..	38 (ftn. 1)
—त्रैविद्योभ्यस्त्रयी विद्यादु 4 (ftn. 3),	38 (ftn. 2)
—त्रैविद्यो त्रैतुकस्तर्को 22 (ftn. 4), 38	(ftn. 3)
—प्रत्यक्षमनुमानच .	23 (ftn. 3)
—योगवमन्येत ते मूल ..	36 (ftn. 1)
—द्विमवद्विन्वययोर्मध्य	304 (ftn. 1)
Mārkandeyapurāna—	
—शृणु तात यथा योगो ..	10 (ftn. 5)
Matsyapurāna—	
—अनन्तर च वक्रोभ्यां ..	38 (ftn. 8)
Mundakopaniṣad—	
—भियते हृदयग्रन्थिः ..	6 (ftn. 3)
Naiṣadha-carita—	
—मुक्तये कः शिलात्वाय 17 (ftn. 4), 37	(ftn. 4)
—साम्प्र प्रयच्छति न पञ्चतुष्टये तां 153	(ftn. 2)
Naiṣadha-carita—Nārāyana's com- mentary on—	
—मतानां सांख्यदिग्दर्शनानां 153 (ftn. 2)	
Nāñ-vāda-vyākhyā—	
—शिवं प्रणम्य तत्पश्चात् ..	481 (ftn. 1)
Nārada-smṛti-pariṣiṣṭa—	
—तद्गुहादशसुवर्णस्तु ..	45 (ftn. 2)

	<i>Page</i>
Navadvīpa-mahimā—	
—शाके त्रियुगमविशेषज्ञानदाधिनाये	466 (ftn. 1)
Nītisāra of Kamandaka—	
—आन्वीक्षिक्यात्म विज्ञानम् 4 (ftn. 3)	
Nyāyabhāṣya—	
—अवयवविपर्ययस्यचन 115 (ftn. 3)	
—इमास्तु चतस्रो विद्या 5 (ftn. 3)	
—उपनयनश्चान्तराण न वैधर्ममात्रस्य	
वेति	119 (ftn. 1)
—तच्चैतन्मन्त्रस्य ..	278 (ftn. 4)
—तत्र नानुपलब्धेन ..	40 (ftn. 4)
—त्रिविधा चास्य शास्त्रस्य 53 (ftn. 1)	
—दशदाडिमानि षड्रूपाः 117 (ftn. 1)	
—पटमत्तमप्रतिसिद्धम् ..	24 (ftn. 3)
—प्रसाधैर्यपरौक्षण न्याय 41 (ftn. 1)	
—यत् पुरुषधर्मो ज्ञानम् .	6 (ftn. 6)
—योऽज्ञपादस्त्वपि न्यायः ..	47 (ftn. 2)
—बुद्ध्या विवेचनात्तु भावानां 120 (ftn. 1)	
—सर्वेषामेकार्थं समवाये ..	42 (ftn. 8)
—वेद्यमान्वीक्षिकी 40 (ftn. 1), 116 (ftn. 5)	
Nyāya-dīpikā—	
—न याति न च तत्रास्ते .	273 (ftn. 7)
Nyāya-kandali—	
—श्रीमञ्जिनप्रभविभोरधिगत्य 213 (ftn. 3)	
Nyāya-karṇikā—	
—इत्थं न वार्थकवचकुसुमेर्जिनेन्दु 216 (ftn. 2)	
—सर्वे नया अपि विरोधस्तो मियत्से	216 (ftn. 3)
Nyāya-khaṇḍanakhādyā—	
—अभाष्यं गौडदेशस्य 218 (ftn. 1),	464 (ftn. 2)
—ऐङ्कारजापरमाद्य कविलविल 219 (ftn. 5)	
—जानेर्हि एतिनियमोगदित 220 (ftn. 2)	
—यत्त्वेवं सति तद्वये भावभूतस्यूल 220 (ftn. 3)	
—सत्येनैव क्षणभङ्गो वक्तव्य 220 (ftn. 1)	
Nyāyakusumāñjali-viveka—	
—नमः कर्मण्यधिसुत्रे ..	463 (ftn. 3)
Nyāya-līlavati—	
—तदिदं चिरन्तन वैशेषिक 386 (ftn. 3)	

	Page
—सद्विद्यमनाम्नातता भासर्वज्ञस्य	386 (ftn. 2)
—यथाभेर्याकार सयोगस्य	386 (ftn. 1)
Nyālāloka—	
—कृत्वा न्यायालीकं प्रवचनरागाद्	219 (ftn. 2)
—प्रणम्य पटमात्मामं ..	219 (ftn. 1)
—यदुक्तं षोडशप्रधानेन, चित्रमेव हि संसारं ..	219 (ftn. 3)
Nyāyamañjarī—	
—अक्षपादप्रणीतो हि ..	47 (ftn. 5)
—अत्र कीर्तिराह द्वाविंशति धा	137 (ftn. 1)
—अथोच्यते अनादिरवैषा	26 (ftn. 2)
—एतेन रविगुप्तोऽपि ..	322 (ftn. 4)
—एतेषां धर्मं कीर्तेऽपि ..	137 (ftn. 3)
—नास्त्यात्मा फलभोगमात्रमथ च स्वर्गाथ चेत्यर्थेन	151 (ftn. 1)
—पञ्च चैताः कल्पना भवन्ति	129 (ftn. 3)
—यथाह नारदः सारस्तु व्यवहाराणां 44 (ftn. 1)	
—यदपि उच्यते-नानिष्पन्नस्य	147 (ftn. 3)
—वादेऽप्यप्रजेथो जयन्त इति यः ख्यातः सतामग्रणीः ..	147 (ftn. 1)
—षट् पक्ष्यामुभयोरसिद्धिः	84 (ftn. 1)
Nyāya-praveśa-paūjikā--	
—दुर्वारसारधारि कुम्भतदप्रभेद	210 (ftn. 2)
Nyāya-saṁkṣepa—	
—न्यायवाचस्पतेः सूत्रो ..	480 (ftn. 4)
Nyāyasāra—	
—अन्ये तु सदैह द्वारेण ..	358 (ftn. 5)
—एकत्र तुल्यलक्षणविरुद्ध	358 (ftn. 4)
—प्रणम्य शम्भुं जगतः पतिम्बर	155 (ftn. 4), 360 (ftn. 1)
Nyāyasāra-pada-paūjikā—	
—देवदेवमभिवन्द्य भास्वरं	371 (ftn. 2)
Nyāyasāra-vicāra—	
—शक्ते चतुःसप्तति संख्यके शक्तेः	372 (ftn. 1)
Nyāya siddhānta-dīpa—	
—इति महोपाध्याय ..	396 (ftn. 1)
—ध्वसितनरसिद्धान्तध्वान्तं	396 (ftn. 2)

	Page
Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī-bhāṣā—	
—श्रीमच्छ्रीयुतगौडमण्डलमहोविख्यात	482 (ftn. 6)
Nyāya-sūci-nibandha—	
—न्यायसूची निबन्धोऽसां..	133 (ftn. 3)
Nyāya Sūtra—	
—रन्ध्रियार्थं संज्ञिकर्षोत्पन्नं	278 (ftn. 4)
—न प्रदीपप्रकाशवत्सिद्ध	25 (ftn. 7)
—न सन् नासन् न सदसद्	46 (ftn. 2)
—न स्वभावसिद्धिः 46 (ftn. 2), 118 (ftn.)	
—नियमहेत्वभावाद् ..	121 (ftn. 1)
—नोत्पत्तिविनाश ..	121 (ftn. 1)
—मन्त्रायुर्वेदप्रामाण्यवच ..	50 (ftn. 1)
—साध्यागन्धर्वनगर ..	46 (ftn. 2)
—वर्तमानाभावः पततः ..	47 (ftn.)
—बुद्ध्या विवेचनासु ..	46 (ftn. 1)
—स्फटिकेऽपि अपरोत्यक्ते 46 (ftn. 1), 121 (ftn. 1)	
—स्वप्न विषयाभिमानवत्	118 (ftn. 1)
Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti—	
—एषा मुनिवरगौतम स्वप्नवृत्तिः	48 (ftn. 3)
Nyāya-vārtika—	
—अनुमेयेऽथ तत्तुल्ये ..	288 (ftn. 2)
—अपरे तु मन्यन्ते प्रत्यक्षं कोऽन्यो भदन्तादङ्गुमर्हति ..	129 (ftn. 1)
—अहो प्रमाणाभिज्ञता भदन्तस्य	125 (ftn. 2)
—इति श्रीपरमर्षिभारद्वाज	124 (ftn. 4, 5)
—उपनयनिगमने ..	110 (ftn. 1)
—एतेन तयोः सम्बन्धिः ..	128 (ftn. 4)
—एष पन्याः श्रुत्वा गच्छति	124 (ftn. 6)
—तथा भाटं वो भिक्षुवो पुग्गल्लोः वचनीयं	(ftn. 1)
—तथा सिद्धो दृष्टान्त इत्यन्ये	3 (ftn. 3)
—तद्विद्वन्निमित्तं प्रत्यक्षम् ..	511 (ftn. 2)
—तदेतस्मिन्प्रवयवत्रये एवं	128 (ftn. 1)
—तस्मात् स्मृत्यनुष्ठहीतो लिङ्ग	511 (ftn. 1)
—न चात्मानमनभ्युपगच्छता	125 (ftn. 3)
—यदक्षपाद प्रतिमाः 115 (ftn. 1), 123 (ftn. 1)	

	Page
—यद्दृष्टपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां	47 (ftn. 3), 125 (ftn. 1), 273 (ftn. 3)
—यदपि वादविधौ ..	124 (ftn. 1)
—लिङ्गलिङ्गीसम्बन्ध ..	510 (ftn. 2)
—सृत्यनुगृह्णितौ लिङ्ग परामर्शोऽनुमानम्	130 (ftn. 1)
Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā—	
—अथ सुबन्धुना प्रतिज्ञादयः	128 (ftn. 2)
—अथ भगवता अक्षपादेन	47 (ftn. 4), 115 (ftn. 2)
—अस्माभिः	
—आप्तवाक्याविस्वादाः ..	288 (ftn. 1)
—आहुः समाधनाद्भवचनम्	136 (ftn. 2)
—तस्माद् यदुक्तं कौर्तिना	137 (ftn. 2)
—त्रिलोचन गुरुद्वीतमार्गानु	134 (ftn. 2), 137 (ftn. 5)
—न सुखादिप्रमेय वा ..	280 (ftn. 1)
—नित्यानित्यप्रयत्नोत्तमसम्यग्	285 (ftn. 1)
—प्रमेयगतकानित्यगत ..	285 (ftn.)
—यथाहुः निरुक्तकाराः । निर्विकल्पक- बोधेन	138 (ftn. 1)
—यद्यपि भाष्यकृतकृतव्युत्पादनम्	133 (ftn. 1)
—अवसायात्मकं पदं साक्षात्	137 (ftn. 4)
—सप्रति दिग्गगस्य लक्षणम्	129 (ftn. 2)
—साध्येनानुमानात् कार्यं ..	136 (ftn.)
Nyāya-vārtika-tātparyā-ṭikā-pari- śuddhi—	
—मातः सरस्वति पुनः पुनरेव मत्वा	141 (ftn. 1)
Nyāyāvātāra—	
—अन्त व्यङ्ग्येव साध्यस्य ..	268 (ftn. 2)
—आप्तोपसमनुसङ्गम ..	175 (ftn. 1)
—साध्याभ्युपगमः पक्षः ..	507 (ftn.)
—सनिश्चयवदन्वेषां ..	286 (ftn. 2)
Nyāyāvātāra-ṭippana—	
—ननु चार्थक्रिया सामान्यमेव	211 (ftn. 3)
Nyāyāvātāra-vivṛti—	
—अवयवापेक्षया अवयवसम्यग्भोक्तृणां	166 (ftn. 1)
—प्रमाद्येत्यादि अनेन च ..	206 (ftn. 6)

	Page
Nyāya-vindu—	
—उक्तमभेदेन पुनर्विशेषेण	318 (ftn. 1)
—तत्र च तृतीयोऽपि ..	316 (ftn. 1)
—त्रिरूपे हेतुरक्तः । तावतेव	317 (ftn. 2)
—वीण्येव च लिङ्गानि	508 (ftn. 3)
—वैरूप्य पुनर्लिङ्गस्य ..	202 (ftn. 1)
—विरह्यभिचारी अपि ..	358 (ftn. 3)
—स्यमिति वादिना ..	124 (ftn. 2)
Nyāya-vindu-ṭikā—	
—अथ च विरह आचार्य	316 (ftn. 1)
—जयन्ति जाति यजनप्रबन्ध	330 (ftn. 1)
—विरहाद्यभिचर्यपि ..	316 (ftn. 3)
Padārtha-candra—	
—श्रीचन्द्रसिंह स्वपतेर्दयिता	460 (ftn. 1)
Padārtha-tattva-vivecana-prakāśa—	
—इति श्रीरामभद्र सार्वभौम	469 (ftn. 2)
Padārtha-viveka ṭikā—	
—अभेदभावनोद्रेकाद् ..	486 (ftn.)
—राक्षः श्रीजयसिंहस्य ..	486 (ftn.)
Padmapurāna—	
—अङ्गानि चतुरो वेदान् ..	38 (ftn. 7)
—कणादेन तु सर्वाङ्गं 17 (ftn. 1), 48 (ftn. 1)	
Pañcasiddhāntikā—	
—सप्तसिद्धेदसस्य एककालम्	174 (ftn. 1)
Pāṇḍavapurāna—	
—अकलङ्कोऽकलङ्कः स ..	186 (ftn. 1)
—समन्तभद्रो भद्रार्थो ..	182 (ftn. 4)
Pānini's Aṣṭādhyāyī—	
—अध्यायन्यायोद्याव संहाराश्च	41 (ftn. 4)
—कठचरकालुक् ..	25 (ftn. 2)
—इन्द्रसि पुनर्वसोरेकवचनम्	11 (ftn. 4)
—ऋतुकथकादि सूत्रान्तत् ठक्	41 (ftn. 4)
Pañjikā on Syādvāda-ratnākara- vātā-ṭikā—	
—स्याद्वादरत्नाकर इत्यसि	198 (ftn. 4)
Parāśāra Saṁhitā—	
—अनादिताग्रयो येऽन्ये ..	22 (ftn. 5)
Parīkṣāmukham saṭikam—	
—वैजय प्रियपुत्रस्य ..	198 (ftn. 2)

	Page
Parīkṣāmukha Sūtra—	
—परीक्षामुखसादर्शं ..	193 (ftn. 2)
—सह क्रमभाव नियमो ..	189 (ftn. 2)
—साधनात् साध्य विज्ञानम	189 (ftn. 1)
—साध्याविनावाभिलेन ..	193 (ftn. 1)
Parivāra—	
—अक्षीरसी साख्यमुनि ..	19 (ftn. 2)
Pārśvanātha-carita—	
—तर्कान्यविचारदुर्गमवनी	विजय
श्रीसंग्रहं संबधात् ..	197 (ftn. 3)
—पुंसां विप्रहजं विकारमाखिलं गौर्य-	
दास्यमभिप्रियत् ..	196 (ftn. 2)
—षड्भित्कीललना विलास	207 (ftn. 1)
Peterson's Report V—	
—इति धर्मान्तर टिप्पणके ..	195 (ftn. 2)
—संवत् १९३१ वर्षे भाद्रपद शुद्धि	195
	(ftn. 2)
Piṅgala prakāśikā—	
—विद्यानिवाससूत्रोः 392 (ftn. 2), 480	
	(ftn. 2)
Prabhāvakacar—	
—चन्द्राष्टशिववर्षेऽत्र ..	199 (ftn. 1)
—श्रवणेदेश्वरे वर्षे ..	206 (ftn. 1)
—शिखिवेदशिवे जन्म दीक्षा श्रीदेव-	
सूरयः	200 (ftn. 2)
Pramāna-mimāṃsā—	
—वाचकमुख्य विरचितानि	186 (ftn. 2), 205 (ftn. 2)
Pramāṇa - naya - tattvālokālaṅ-	
kāra—	
—अन्तर्व्याप्त्या हेतोः ..	202 (ftn. 3)
—त्रिविधं साधनमभिधायैव	202 (ftn. 2)
—सन्दर्भतोस्तु व्युत्पादयितुं	203 (ftn. 1)
Pramāṇasamuccaya—	
—आत्मैन्द्रियमनोऽर्थ सन्निकर्षाद्	279 (ftn. 1)
—कार्यलान्यत्वलेशेन यत् ..	135 (ftn. 4)
—केचिद्दु धर्मान्तरं मेयं धर्मिणं	
ममयिष्यति ..	281 (ftn. 1)
—तत्र यः सन् सजातीये ..	283 (ftn. 3)
—प्रत्यक्षमनुमानश्च ..	277 (ftn.)

	Page
—प्रत्यक्ष कल्याणापीड ..	277 (ftn. 1)
—स्वपक्षे सद्रसनं द्वेषा ..	283 (ftn. 1)
—सामान्य विशेषापेक्षश्च ..	279 (ftn. 1)
—स्वरूपैव निर्देश्य ..	282 (ftn. 2)
Pramāna-vārtika-kārikā—	
—भेदश्च भ्रान्तिविज्ञानैः ..	306 (ftn. 7)
Pramāna-viniścaya—	
—नान्याऽनुभाव्या बुद्ध्यास्ति भेदवानिव	
लक्ष्यते	308 (ftn. 3)
Prameya-kamala-mārtanda—	
—तथा अर्थापत्तिरपि प्रमाणान्तर	194
	(ftn. 2)
—रजोजुषे जन्मनि सत्वदृष्टये	194 (ftn. 2)
Prameya-ratnakoṣa—	
—प्रमेयरत्नकोशोऽयं ..	206 (ftn. 4)
Prameya-ratnamālā—	
—अकलङ्कवचोऽभोधेः ..	188 (ftn. 6)
Prasanna Rāghava—	
—येषां कोमलकान्तकौशलकला	455 (ftn. 4)
Prasastapāda-Bhāṣya—	
—अक्षाणि इन्द्रियाणि ..	279 (ftn. 1)
—पञ्चावयवेन वाक्येन ..	282 (ftn. 1)
—सामान्यविशेष द्वयगुण ..	279 (ftn. 1)
Prasasti of Pāṇḍava-caritra—	
—शैशवेऽभ्यस्तनां तर्कः ..	211 (ftn. 2)
Pratimā Nāṭaka—	
—भोः काश्यपगोत्रोऽस्ति ..	18 (ftn. 2)
Pratyakṣāloka—	
—शुभमस्तु श्रीरस्तु शकान्ता	407 (ftn. 3), 456 (ftn. 1)
Rāmāyaṇa—	
—इतिस्ममनुमानश्च ..	23 (ftn. 2)
—धर्मशास्त्रेषु मुख्येषु ..	36 (ftn. 2)
—मिथिलोपवने तत्र राजपुत्र महायशः	17 (ftn. 6)
—स नास्ति परमित्येतत् ..	9 (ftn. 3)
Ratnākara-vatārikā-ṭippaṇa—	
—तेनान्यापीडविषयाः प्रोक्ताः	198 (ftn. 1), 213 (ftn. 5)
—रत्नाकरावतारिकावरटिपणं तत्	213
	(ftn. 6)

	Page
Ratnāvalī—	
—न चाभावोऽपि निर्वासं	255 (ftn. 1)
Ratnāvntārikā—	
—तथा च जयन्तः स्वरूपादुद्भवत्	147 (ftn. 5)
Rock Edicts on the ruined walls of the ancient part of Simraon—	
—नन्देन्दुबिन्दुविधुसम्मितशकवर्षे	521 (ftn. 2)
Śabdāloka—	
—पितृहानपतेरत्र व्याख्यान	486 (ftn.)
—सतामस्मिन् गहने प्रबन्धे	485 (ftn. 4)
Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā—	
—इति पुनर्न्यायरक्षस्ये ..	469 (ftn. 4)
Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya—	
—अथादौ नैयायिकानां नित्यबुद्धि समा- ययः	154 (ftn. 2)
—जयन्ताचार्यरचितौ ..	147 (ftn. 6)
—जैन सांख्य जैमिनियं ..	153 (ftn. 1)
—प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम् ..	209 (ftn. 1)
—भासर्वज्ञो न्यायसारतर्क	357 (ftn. 5)
—बौद्ध नैयायिकं सांख्यं ..	152 (ftn. 2)
Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya-vṛtti—	
—एषां तर्कग्रन्थन्यायसूत्रं	151 (ftn. 2, 3)
Ṣaḍdarśana-vṛtti—	
—भासर्वज्ञप्रणीते न्यायसारे	357 (ftn. 4)
Syādvāda-ratnākara—	
—यद्त्र शक्तिसिद्धौ ..	147 (ftn. 6)
Sāmānya-dūṣaṇa-dikprasārikā—	
—व्यापकनित्यमेकस्य ..	333 (ftn. 3)
Sāṃkhya-bhāṣya—	
—एकमेवाद्वितीयं तत्वं ..	244 (ftn. 1)
Sāṃgatva-prakāśa—	
—मथा श्लोकवार्तिके विद्यामन्यपरः	188 (ftn. 1)
Saptapadārthi—	
—नन्वेवं शास्त्रप्रकरणयोः ..	356 (ftn. 1)
Sarvadarśanasamgraha—	
—तदुक्तं ज्ञानत्रिधा यत् सत् तत् क्षणिक यथा	341 (ftn. 3)
—तार्किकरक्षायां च धर्मस्य तदतद्रूप	374 (ftn. 2)

	Page
—ननु प्रमाणादि पदार्थ षोडशके	398 (ftn. 2)
—न याति न च तत्रासीत्	274 (ftn.)
—श्रीमन्सायणदुग्धाब्धि ..	397 (ftn. 3)
—श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणितनय ..	398 (ftn. 1)
—समासमाविनाभावा ..	399 (ftn. 1)
Saṭika Utpāda-siddhi-prakarana—	
—द्वादशवर्षशतेषु श्रीविक्रमतौ	211 (ftn. 4)
(A) Saying—	
—शङ्करवाचस्पत्योः ..	455 (ftn. 3)
Siddha - Hema - Śabdānuśāsana-br- hat-tikā—	
—अनुमल्लवादिन तार्किकाः	195 (ftn. 4)
Siddha-jayanti-carita-tikā—	
—यत्प्रज्ञाप्रसरेतिशयिनि तथा प्रालेय शैलोऽज्जाले ..	160 (ftn. 3)
Skandapurāna—	
—गोतमः खेन तर्कैश्च 17 (ftn. 2), 48 (ftn. 2), 37 (ftn. 3)	
Ślokavārtika—	
—तत्तानुमानमेवेद ..	287 (ftn. 3)
—शब्दानुमानयोरेक्य त्रैकाल्यविषया- श्रयात्	288 (ftn.)
Ślokavārtika-tikā—	
—परार्थानुमानन्तु ..	282 (ftn. 1)
Śrāddha - prati - kramana - sūtra - vṛtti—	
—विख्याततपेत्याख्या जगति वृत्तिमि- मामकृत इतितुष्टौ ..	214 (ftn. 2)
Śragdharā-stotra-tikā—	
—श्रीमद्विक्रमश्रीसुदेवमहाविहारीय	519 (ftn. 3)
Sthānāṅga Sūtra—	
—चण्डव्विहे णार पञ्चमे ..	163 (ftn. 1)
—कव्विहे विवादे पञ्चमे ..	163 (ftn. 2)
—इसविहे दोसे पञ्चमे ..	163 (ftn. 3)
—पमाणे चण्डव्विहे पञ्चमे ..	161 (ftn. 5)
Subodhini—	
—इति नवद्विपीथ महामहोपाध्याय	480 (ftn. 3)
—गिरिनिव गुणमिह ..	480 (ftn. 3)

	Page		Page
Sukhabodhikā-ṭīkā to	Kalpa	Tārkkikarakṣā—	
sūtra—		—अविस्वादि विज्ञानमिति	376 (ftn. 1), 375 (ftn. 1)
—बलदिपुरमि नयरे ..	172 (ftn. 1)	—आलोच्य दुस्तरगभीरतरान् प्रबन्धान्	373 (ftn. 2)
Sūkti-muktāvalī—		—एते सम्बन्धिनः सर्वे ..	379 (ftn. 2)
—कर्तुं विलोचनादन्यः ..	134 (ftn. 5)	—तथा च स्मरन्ति, रामद्वेषविनिर्मुक्ताः	379 (ftn. 1)
Suśruta Samhitā—		—वीनुदाहरणान्ताः वा ..	377 (ftn. 1)
—असद्वादिप्रयुक्तानां ..	24 (ftn. 4)	—निरुपाधिकसाध्यसम्बन्ध	378 (ftn. 1)
—द्वानिश्चद्युक्तयो ..	24 (ftn. 4)	—मीचे साक्षादनङ्गत्वाद् ..	375 (ftn. 1)
Sūtrakṛtāṅga—		—यथाङ्गः तन्मे प्रमाणं शिवः	374 (ftn. 1)
—सस्त्रिस्तुभावं न गिरा गरीय सञ्जयी-		—वादे कथावचनस्य ..	379 (ftn. 3)
पञ्जरं जहा ..	162 (ftn. 2)	—विचारविषयो माना ..	378 (ftn. 2)
Sūtrakṛtāṅga-niryukti—		—व्याप्तिप्रकरणसाधकं ..	376 (ftn. 2)
—असिधसयं किरियाणं ..	167 (ftn. 1)	—व्याप्ति सम्बन्धी निरुपाधिकः	376 (ftn. 3)
Svetāśvataropaniṣad—		—साधनाव्यापकाः साध्य ..	376 (ftn. 4)
—अज्ञानेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां	10 (ftn. 3)	—सौगताश्च तादात्म्यतदुत्पत्तिभ्यां	376 (ftn. 5)
—अग्निं प्रसृतं कपिलं ..	9 (ftn. 6)		
Syādvādamañjarī—		Tattvacintāmaṇi—	
—श्रीमस्त्रियेण स्मरिभिरकारि	212 (ftn. 4)	—गुणातीतोऽपीशस्त्रिगुणसचिव श्रीतत्त्व-	
Syādvāda-ratnākarā vatārikā—		चिन्तामणिम् ..	407 (ftn. 4)
—अत्र घर्मेत्तरानुसारी प्राह	329 (ftn. 4)	—सन्धिगन्धसाध्यधर्मत्वम् ..	507 (ftn. 1)
—अर्षं चर्षं चतुरः पुनराह	331 (ftn. 7)		
—पक्षादिप्रयुज्यस्य पक्षपाक्षाः	166 (ftn. 1)	Tattvacintāmaṇi-darpaṇam—	
—प्रमाणे च प्रमेये च ..	211 (ftn. 5)	—अधीत्य निखिल शास्त्रम्	485 (ftn. 2)
Taittiriya Āranyaka—		—अधीत्य रुचिदत्तेन ..	457 (ftn. 1)
—स्मृतिः प्रत्यक्षमैतिह्यम् ..	23 (ftn. 1)	—इति श्रीसोदरपुरकुलसमुद्भूत	457 (ftn. 3)
Tarkabhāṣā—		—तत्र कण्ठरसाणिकं ग्राम	485 (ftn. 3)
—येन्द्रदृष्टनतं नत्वा ..	218 (ftn. 4)	—श्रीदेवदत्ततनया ..	457 (ftn. 2)
—पूर्वं न्यायविशारदत्वं विरुद्धं	217 (ftn. 4)		
Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśa—		Tattvacintāmaṇi-rahasya—	
—विजय श्रीतनुजम्मा तन्यन्ते पद्मनाभेन	381 (ftn. 1)	—न्यायाम्बुधिज्ञतासेतुं ..	467 (ftn. 3)
Tarkakaumudī—		Tattvacintāmaṇi-ṭīkā—	
—यथा सा मणिकर्षिका ..	395 (ftn. 1)	—जयदेव गुरोर्वाचि ..	456 (ftn. 4)
Tarkāmṛta—		Tattvacintāmanyāloka—	
—श्रीविष्णोश्चरणाम्बुजं ..	394 (ftn. 1)	—अधीत्य जयदेवेन ..	455 (ftn. 2)
Tarkasamgraha—		Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra—	
—तपोसास्यसिते ह्येषे ..	388 (ftn. 3)	—अनुमानोपमानागमार्थापत्ति	169 (ftn. 2)
—निधाय हृदि विश्वेशं ..	398 (ftn. 4)	—चतुर्विधमित्येके ..	170 (ftn. 1)
—प्रकृती शोभयामादि क्रियते तर्कसंग्रहः	234 (ftn. 3)		

	<i>Page</i>
—नैमिसप्रह व्यवहारर्जु सूत्रशब्दा 170 [*]	(ftn. 2)
—न्यग्रोधिका प्रसूतेन विहरता स्पष्टसु-	
माहातिना शास्त्रम्	168 (ftn. 3)
—यथार्थाभिधान शब्द	171 (ftn. 1)
—यथा वा प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमाना . . प्रवचनैः	170 (ftn.)
Tattvārtha ṭikā—	
—तत् पादरजोऽवयवः	182 (ftn 2)
Tiiloka Sāra—	
—पण्डस्य दस पाणमास	159 (ftn. 1)
Tri-sūtrī (nibandha-vyākhyā)	
—प्रकाशदर्पणोद्योत	458 (ftn. 2)
Udānam—	
—याव सम्प्रा सम्बद्धा लोके	229 (ftn. 2)
Upadeśa mālā ṭikā—	
—शिशुः श्रीमुनिचन्द्र सूरिगुरुभि इति-	
विशेषार्थिनाम्	199 (ftn. 2)
Upadeśa mālā. viśesa Vṛtti—	
—ब्राह्मणद्वेषु डामणि सिद्धनाम्नः	206 (ftn. 4)
Upadeśa mālā vṛtti—	
—श्रीरत्नप्रभ सूरिभिः शुभलते	212 (ftn. 1)
Upāsakādhyayana—	
—यनाज्ञानतपो विनाशश्च निखिल	
भव्यात्मचेतोमतं	183 (ftn. 2)

	<i>Page</i>
Uttarādhyayana tṛṣhadvṛtti—	
—यस्याभूद्गुरुरागमं गुणनिधि	197 (ftn. 4)
Vaiśeṣika Sūtra—	
—आत्मोन्द्रियमनोऽर्थ सन्निकर्षात्	279 (ftn. 1)
Vaiśeṣika Sūtropaśkāra—	
—याभ्यां वैशेषिके तन्त्रे	458 (ftn. 4)
Vākyapādiya—	
—न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके	187 (ftn 3)
Vāsava datta—	
—आयस्त्रितिभिर्बोद्धोत्तकर	123 (ftn 2)
Vedānta Sūtra—	
—अपरिग्रहाश्चात्यक्तमनपेक्षा	37 (ftn 2)
Vicāra sāra prakaraṇa—	
—पंचे व च वरिसस्य	173 (ftn. 2)
Viṣṇu purāna—	
—तस्मात्लोकेषु ते मुद	44 (ftn. 2)
—वाणैर्देवयुतैः सशम्भुनयनै	456 (ftn. 3)
Vṛhatsvayambhū purāna—	
—वाराणस्यां नगर्यां च	519 (ftn 4)
Yajñavalka Saṁhitā—	
—अयन्तु परमो धर्मो	6 (ftn. 2)
—चलारो वेद धर्मश्च	22 (ftn 6)
—पुराणन्यायमौमसा	38 (ftn. 3)

INDEX OF SANSKRIT TERMS.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Page</i>
Akevala jñāna (defective knowledge) 161 (ftn. 5 ²)	Adhikarana siddhānta (conclusion accepted hypothetically) 259
Akṛtabhyāgama (gain of unmerited action) 99, 101	Adhucca-samuppannika (fortuitous originists) 229
Akṣapāda darśana (the philosophy of Akṣapāda) 48	Adhyātma vidyā (spiritual science) 4
Akhyāti (non-manifestation) 134	Adhvaryu (priest) 14
Agni (fire god) 19	Anadhyavasāya (uncertainty) 201
Ankābhidhāna (distinctionary of numbers) 16 (ftn. 1)	Anadhyavasita or Anupasaṃhāra (non-tried) 366
Ajīva (soul-less) 168	Ananubhāṣaṇa (silence) 34, 261, 269
Aja-bhāga (the unborn part) 2	Ananvaya (unconnected) 179, 297, 314
Ajñāna (ignorance) 84, 269	Ananuyojya (non-censurable) 33
Anuloma sambhāṣā (congenial debate) 29	Anāgatāvekṣaṇa (anticipation) 25
Anulomaitta (propitiating the authority) 163	Anāpanna (not guilty) 231
Anuvāda (re-inculcation) 108 ²	Anārsa (non-saintly) 359
Atikrāntāvekṣaṇa (retrospection) 25	Anitya (non-eternal) 284, 285 ⁴
Aticchandas (a kind of metre) 15	Antya-sama (balancing the non-eternal) 67
Ativyāpti (being too wide) 403	Anindriya-nibandhana (not through sense-organs) 201
Atīta kāla (mistimed) 35	Anirvacanīya-khyāti (manifestation of the undefinable) 139
Atīta vākya (irrelevant talk) 264	Aniścita (uncertain) 293
Atideśa (extended application) 25	Anugata dharma (common property) 403 ²
Attā (soul) 127 (ftn.)	Anugama (generalisation) 403, 421 ⁹
Atyantābhāva (absolute negation) 97 (ftn. 1), 189, 203, 394	Anutpatti-sama (balancing the non-produced) 67, 268, 289.
Adṛṣṭa (desert) 143 ² , 143 (ftn. 1) ² , 144	Anupalambha (voidness of the world) 145
Adoṣodbhāvana (allegation of an unmerited action) 136	Anupalabdhi (imperceptible) 190, 203, 258, 281, 311, 332, 453, 599
Adrikalpa (like a rock) 273	Anupalabdhi-sama (balancing the non-perception) 67
Adharma (demerit) 371, 389	Anupalabdhi-hetu (relation of negation) 318
Adhika (saying too much) 84, 261, 269	Anupalabhya pramānya-vāda (invalidity of non-perception) 414
Adhikarana (subject) 25	Anupasaṃhārī (non-exclusiveness) 438
Adhikaraṇa (hypothetical dogma) 59	Anubhāva (experience) 389 ³ , 395
Adhikaraṇa (cases for settlement) 229 ²	
Adhikaraṇa (locus) 415	
Adhikaraṇa - samatha - dhamma (rules for the settlement of cases) 230 ²	

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Anubhūti (apprehension)	.. 393 ²	Anyathākhyāti (caverse manifes- tation)	.. .. 139, 140
Anumata (assent)	.. .. 25	Anyathākhyāti (invalid know- ledge)	.. .. 409 ⁴
Anumāna (inference) 23 ² , 27 ² , 28, 32, 33, 50, 54, 130, 162 ² , 169, 175 ² , 189, 192, 201, 209 (ftn. 1), 215, 219, 221, 229, 310, 259, 264, 265, 266, 259, 277, 280, 298, 348, 358, 359, 360, 361 ² , 376 ² , 383, 387 ² , 389, 390, 393 ² , 394 ² , 395, 398, 407	440	Anyathāsiddhi (conditionality)	399 (ftn. 1), 403
Anumāna khaṇḍa (chapter on in- ference)	.. .. 419	Anyamata parīksā (examination of contemporaneous philosphi- cal doctrines)	.. 49, 51, 497
Anumāna parīksā (examination of inference)	.. .. 327	Anyāpoha (mutual non-existence)	184
Anumānā bhāsa (semblance of inference)	.. .. 298	Anyendriyātītārtha - darśana - pu- ruṣa-parīksā (examination of the soul which sees things beyond the range of senses)	.. .. 327
Anumiti (inferential knowledge) 384, 389 ² , 397, 419, 435,	510	Anyonyābhāva or Anyāpoha (mutual non-existence)	184, 394
Anumiti nirūpana (determination of inferential knowledge)	.. 419	Anvaya (affirmation)	.. .. 361
Anumeya (inferred)	.. .. 282	Anvaya-vyatirekī (affirmative-ne- gative)	.. .. 130, 361
Anuyoga (interrogation)	33, 234	Anvaya-vyatirekī anumāna (affirm- ative-negative inference)	.. 434
Anuyogī (a thing in a particular re- lation to another)	.. .. 403 ²	Anvaya-vyāpti (affirmative insep- arable connection)	.. .. 361
Anuyogitā (quality of being in a particular relation)	.. .. 403	Anvayī udāharana (homogeneous example)	.. .. 259
Anuyojya (censurable)	.. .. 33	Anvayī (exclusively affirmative) 130, 191, 86 ² ,	437
Anuloma (regular form)	.. .. 235	Anvita-śakti-vādimata (opinion of those who hold the power of con- nected words)	.. .. 397
Anubandha (adjunct)	.. .. 27	Anvitābhīdhāna-vāda (expression of the connected)	.. .. 147
Anuvādādhikarana (a case in which one party accuses another party of the violation of a rule of good conduct)	.. .. 229	Ap (water)	.. .. 393 ²
Anuvijjaka (judge or umpire)	.. .. 231 ²	Apakarṣa-sama (balancing the de- ficit)	.. .. 67, 201
Anuvyavasāya (self-consciousness) 418, 445, 471, 472, 473		Apadeśa (specification)	.. .. 25
Anuvyavasāya vāda (doctrine of self-consciousness)	.. .. 418	Apara ātmā (individual soul)	.. .. 371
Anuṣṭubh (a kind of metre)	.. .. 275	Apavarga (exception)	25, 375, 382
Anekānta (uncertain)	.. .. 25	Apavarga nirūpana (nature of emancipation)	.. .. 397
Anaikānta (erratic)	.. .. 438	Apasiddhānta (deviating from the tenet)	.. .. 84, 269
Anaikāntika (uncertain)	178, 313, 365	Apārthaka (incoherent)	84, 117, 150, 269, 261
Antarvyāpti (intrinsic inseparable connection)	177, 178, 202, 268 (ftn. 2)	Apūrva vādaḥ (doctrine of merit and demerit)	.. 449
Andhakāra-vipratipatti (contro- versy on darkness)	397		

	Page
Apekṣā (inter-relation)	117, 118 (ftn. 3)
Apoḥa (negation of the opposite)	132 ² , 143 ² , 146, 149, 276, 287, 339 ² , 345
Apratipatti (not understanding an argument)	.. .. 136
Apratibhā (non-ingenuity)	84, 261 269
Apratibhāna (non-ingenuity)	.. 137
Apradarśita vyatireka (fallacy of separation/unshowna)	.. 180
Apradarśitānvaya (fallacy of connection unshowna)	179, 315
Apramā (error)	138, 38 ² , 395 ² , 409 ² , 410
Aprayojaka (inadmissible)	399 (ftn. 1) ²
Aprāpta kāla (inopportune)	65, 84, 261, 269
Aprāpti sama (balancing the mutual absence)	67, 261, 268, 288
Abādhita viṣayatvam (object of the sign not being incompatible)	378
Abhāva (non-existence)	56, 95, 97, 97 (ftn. 1), 170, 184 ² , 203, 219, 370, 386, 389 ² , 393 ² , 394 ³ , 395, 397, 402, 415
Abhāva vāda (doctrine of non-existence)	.. .. 416
Abhinibodha or Mati (knowledge of existing things acquired through the senses and the mind)	161 (ftn. 5)
Abhihitānvaya vāda (connection of the expressed)	.. .. 147
Abhyantijñā (admission)	.. .. 35
Abhyupagama (implied dogma)	.. 69
Abhyupagama siddhānta (conclusion assumed)	.. .. 259
Abhrānta (devoid of error)	.. 310
Amūdhā-vinaya (settlement for the insane)	.. .. 280
Ayukta (erroneous)	.. .. 359
Ayogi-pratyakṣa (ordinary perception)	.. .. 360
Artha (object)	.. 373, 375, 382
Artha vāda (description)	.. 108 ²
Arthasya smaraṇam (recollection of a thing)	.. .. 444

	Page
Arthāntara (shunting the topic)	35, 84, 269
Arthāpatti (presumption)	25, 33, 56 95, 370, 387, 435 ² , 453
Arthāpatti sama (balancing the presumption)	67, 269, 289
Arhat (one freed from all faults or obstructions)	.. .. 201
Alaukika pratyakṣa (transcendental perception)	.. .. 412
Avagraha (distinguishing)	201, 201 (ftn. 1)
Avacchinna (determined)	.. 404
Avacchedaka (that which determines)	.. .. 404
Avadhī (knowledge of things beyond the range of perception)	161 (ftn. 5), 169 (ftn. 1)
Avadhī jñāna (limited knowledge)	201
Avayava (member of the syllogism)	49, 51, 52, 60, 105, 203, 356, 359 ² , 377 ² , 258 ² , 333, 497, 502 ² , 374, 375, 381, 436 ² , 487 (ftn. 1)
Avayavam (whole)	105, 332
Avaryā sama (balancing the unquestionable)	67, 261, 268, 289
Avasarpanī kāla (period of involu- tion)	.. .. 158
Avāya (arriving at)	.. .. 201
Avijñātārtha (the unintelligible)	84, 261, 269
Avidyā (ignorance)	.. 371, 387 ²
Avinābhāva (pervasion)	189, 361, 376 ² , 400, 509
Aviśeṣa sama (balancing the non-difference)	.. 67, 268
Avyatireki (unseparated)	.. 180
Avyaya (indeclinable)	110 (ftn. 1)
Avyayī-bhāva (indeclinable com- pound)	.. .. 452
Avyāpti (non-pervasive)	.. 369
Avyāpti (being too narrow)	.. 404
Avyāptyabhīdhāna (non-pervasive example)	.. .. 369

	Page
Asakkaittā (taking some time in making oneself ready) ..	163
Asiddha (unproved) ..	362
Asti (it is existence) ..	184
Aśvinikumāras (the twin gods) ..	14
Asat (absent) ..	284 ⁶
Asat khyāti (manifestation of the unreal) ..	139
Asataḥ sajjāyate (effect springs up from nothing) ..	140
Asat pratipaksatvam (there being no counterbalancing sign) ..	378
Asamavāyi, kāraṇa (non-material cause) ..	383, 390
Asādhanaṅga vacana (improper reason) ..	136
Asādhāraṇa (not general) ..	294, 438
Asiddha (unproved) 178, 293, 313, 438, 439 ²	
Asiddhi (absence of proof) ..	438
Asu (breath, life) ..	2
Ahaṁ (ego) ..	245
Ahamkāra (ego) ..	245 (ftn. 2) ²
Ahetu (fallacy) ..	34, 51 ²
Ahetu sama (balancing the non-reason) ..	67, 261, 268
Ākāṅkṣā (expectancy) ..	447
Ākāṅkṣā vādah (expectancy) ..	447
Ākāśa (ether) ..	105, 219, 265
Ākṣepa (refutation) ..	43
Ākhyāta (verbal suffix) ..	447, 453
Ākhyātavāda (doctrine of verbal suffix) ..	453
Āgama (verbal testimony) 162, 170, 189, 192 ² , 201, 203, 215, 219, 221, 259, 266, 264, 265, 358, 359, 360, 370 ² , 370 (ftn. 1)	
Āgamākhyā pramāṇa nirṇaya (determination of the nature of valid knowledge derived from verbal testimony) ..	200
Āgamābhāsa (fallacy of verbal testimony) ..	193
Ācāra (practice) ..	249
Ācārya (head of the church) ..	223

	Page
Ātman (soul) ..	2, 3, 278
Ātma-khyāti (manifestation of the soul) ..	138
Ātma-vidyā (the science of soul) ..	4 ⁸
Ātma sambandha (concerning one's self) ..	264
Ātmā (soul) 4, 5, 146, 204, 126 ² , 127 (ftn.) ² , 219 ² , 371 ² , 375 ² , 382, 386, 393 ³ , 394	
Ādityas (a group of gods) ..	15
Ādeśa (substitution) ..	111
Ādheya śakti (power of the content) ..	397
Ānvīksikī (the science of logic) 1, 4 ² , 38, 39, 40 ² , 152	
Ānvīksikī vidyā (the science of logic) ..	49, 50 ²
Āpattādhikarana (case in which a monk has actually transgressed an established rule of good conduct) ..	229
Āpanno (guilty) ..	231
Āpta vākya (reliable assertion) ..	450
Āptopadeśa (reliable assertion) 27, 28, 51	
Ābhāsa (fallacy) ..	188, 192, 203
Ārya (reliable person) ..	56
Āryas (the civilised) ..	107
Ārṣa (saintly) ..	359
Ālambana (objects of thought) ..	322
Ālaya (ego) ..	245 (ftn. 2) ⁴
Ālaya vijñāna (the abiding cognition, or ego) 146, 245, 245 (ftn. 1)	
Āśankā (questioning the validity of the instance) ..	167
Āśankā pratiśedha (meeting the question) ..	167
Āśraya-hīna (supportless) ..	369 ²
Āśrayāsiddha (unproved in respect of the abode) ..	363, 439
Āśrayaika deśāsiddha (unproved in respect of a part of the abode) ..	363
Āsattiḥ (contiguity) ..	447 ²
Āsrava (action) ..	168
Āsana (seat) ..	233

<i>Page</i>	<i>Page</i>
Āharana (complete example) 163, 221, 234	Udāharanābhāsa (fallacious exam- ple) 368
Āharana-taddeśa (limited example) 163 ²	Uddeśa (enunciation) .. 25, 53
Āhnikā (diurnal portion) .. 46	Uddhāra (citation) .. 25
Itaretara (mutually aggregative compound) 452	Upadeśa (instruction) .. 25
Itaretarābhāva (mutual non-exist- ence) 203	Upanaya (application) 27, 32, 60, 119 ² , 119 (ftn. 1), 120, 122, 176, 191, 202, 203, 234, 236, 266, 370, 437 ² , 437 (ftn. 1), 501, 502, 510
Indra (lord of gods) 142	Upānyāsopānaya (anecdote used as an example) 163
Indriya (senses) .. 11, 375, 382	Upapatti sama (balancing the de- monstration) .. 67, 268
Indriya nibandhana (through - sense-organs) 201	Upamāna (comparison) 25, 50, 51, 54, 125, 162, 170, 221, 259, 265, 266, 268, 287, 359, 384 ² , 387 ² , 389, 393 ² , 394 ² , 407, 443, 450
Indriya parīksā (examination of the sense-organs) 326	Upamāna-khaṇḍa (section of com- parison) 443
Iṣṭa-vighāta-kṛtviruddha (implied contradiction) 315	Upamiti (comparative knowledge) 389 ² , 443
Iśvara (God) .. 122, 143, 155	Upaniṣad kalpita ātma parīkṣā (ex- amination of the Upaniṣad- doctrine of the soul) .. 326
Iśvara parīksā (examination of God) 325 (ftn.)	Upalabdhi (perception) .. 190
Iśvara bhāṅga (non-existence of God) 150	Upalabdhi sama (balancing the perception) .. 67, 289
Iśvarānumānam (inference of God) 442	Upasarga (prefix) 453
Ihā (inquiring) 201	Upasarga vāda (doctrine of, pre- fixes) 453
Ukthādi-gana (a group of words beginning with Uktha) 41, 41 (ftn. 5)	Upādhi (condition) 140 ² , 376, 376 (ftn. 4), 378, 384, 399 ² , 399 (ftn. 1), 400, 428, 431
Ucchanna-pracchannavāda (doc- trine of the sound as destroyed or concealed) 448	Upādhi māna (conditional) 399 (ftn. 1)
Uccheda-vāda (annihilationism) .. 228	Upādhi vāda (doctrine of the con- ditional middle term) .. 431
Utukkhāna (naming the season) .. 233	Upāya (favourable condition) .. 27
Utkarṣa sama (balancing the excess) 67, 261	Upālabha (attribution of cen- sure) 35
Uttara (rejoinder) .. 27, 32, 51	Upāsaka (devotee) 304, 334, 335, 338
Uttara (posterior) .. 190, 191 ²	Upāsana (prayer) .. 24
Uttara-pakṣa (reply) 25	Uposatha (Buddhist sabbath) 232 ² , 233 ²
Uttara-vahinī (flowing towards the north) 519 (ftn. 6)	Ubhaya parīkṣā (examination of both) 326
Utpatti (origination) 219	Ubhaya vikāla (defective in both) 389
Utsarpanikāla (period of evolution) 158	
Udaka (water) 233	
Udāharana (example) 60, 119, 121, 191, 221, 259, 264 ² , 266, 268, 359, 368, 437 ² , 502 ² , 504 ²	

	<i>Page</i>
Ussakkaitha (gaming enthusiasm)	163
Urddhvatā (heterogenous)	192
Ūha (argumentation)	189
Ūhya (ellipsis)	25
Rju-sūtra (straight method of description) 161 (ftn. 1), 170, 171, 181, 216	
Rju-sūtrābhāsa (fallacy of the straight)	203
Rṣi-rna (debt to sages)	102 (ftn. 1)
Rṣi (sage)	56, 107
Ekacca sassatika - ekacca - asassa - tikā (eternalist-non-eternalists)	228
Ekānta (certain)	25
Evāmbhūta. (such-like) 161 (ftn. 4), 171 ² , 181, 216	
Evāmbhūtābhāsa (fallacy of the such-like)	204
Aitihya (tradition) 23 ² , 32, 33, 51, 56, 95, 370, 387, 453	
Opamma-samsandana (a case presented through analogy)	238
Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya (hail, obeisance to Śiva)	155
Ovāda (arrangement)	233
Aupameya (comparison) 27, 32, 33, 51	
Aupanisadakaḷpitātma-parīkṣā (examination of the soul according to the upanisads)	325 (ftn.)
Aupādhika (conditional)	384
Ausadha (medicine)	34
Kathā (discourse) 51, 62, 235, 370, 378 ²	
Kapila-kaḷpitātma-parīkṣā (examination of Kapila's doctrine of the soul)	325 (ftn.), 326
Karana (instrument) 27 ² , 382 ² , 390, 445	
Karma (work)	3
Karma (rituals)	22
Karma (action) 27, 32, 279, 287, 326 ² , 375, 382, 387 ² , 388, 389, 393 ² , 394 ² , 395	

	<i>Page</i>
Karma (merits and demerits) 127, 204, 245	
Karmadhāraya (descriptive compound)	452
Karma-phala sambandha - parīkṣā (examination of the relation between karma and its effect)	326
Karma śabdārtha parīkṣā (examination of the meaning of the word karma)	326
Kalpanā (reflection) 125, 129, (ftn. 3) ² , 321	
Kavi (poet)	185
Kāraka (case)	447
Kāya-viññāna (tactual perception)	227
Kāraṇa (cause) 189, 190 ² , 191 ² , 332 ² , 390, 511	
Kāranata-vicāra (examination of causality)	397
Kāraṇa-doṣa (defect of arguing)	163
Kāraṇa - viruddha - kāryopalabdhī (perception of effect contrary to its cause)	312
Kāraṇa-viruddhopalabdhī (perception contrary to the cause)	312
Kāranānupalabdhī (non-perception of the cause)	312
Kārya (action)	27
Kārya (causality)	134
Kārya (effect) 180, 190 ² , 191 ² , 140, 258, 280, 311, 332, 382, 390, 508	
Kārya-kāraṇa (causal relation)	140 ²
Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva (causality)	400
Kārya-phala (effect)	27
Kārya-yoni (material cause)	27
Kārya-viruddhopalabdhī (perception contrary to the effect)	311
Kārya sama (balancing the effect) 67, 135 ² , 135 (ftn. 4), 268, 289	
Kārya-hetu (relation of effect)	318
Kāryānupalabdhī (non-perception of effect)	311
Kāryābhinirvṛtti (the aggregate of resources for the accomplishment of an action)	26 ² , 27 ²
Kāla (time) 27, 106, 219, 392 ²	

	Page		Page
Kālatraya-parīkṣā (examination of the three times)	327	K-iti (earth)	393 ²
Kālatīta (mistimed) 63, 115 (ftn 3), 367 (ftn. 1)		Khanika-kathā (doctrine of impermanence)	239
Kālātyayopadista or -badhita (mistimed or incompatible)	357	Khyāti-viññāna (potential knowledge)	245
Kiccādhikarāna (case relating to the formal procedure of an ecclesiastical act)	230, 232	Gana-dhara (leader of the assembly)	160
Kutārkika (quibbler)	273	Gavaya (bos gavaeus)	384
Kumāra-pāṭha (<i>Pali</i>) (novice's question)	16 (ftn. 1)	Guna (quality) 27, 31, 129 (ftn 3 ²), 279, 287, 375, 382, 386, 387, 388, 389, 393 ² , 394 ²	395
Kurvad-rūpatva (causing activity)	404	Guna-guni-bheda-bhāga (a substance is not distinct from its qualities)	145
Kṛta (produced)	285	Guna-śabdārtha-parīkṣā (examination of the meaning of the word Guna)	326
Kṛtaka (product)	284	Guru (preceptor)	216
Kṛta-hāni (loss of merited action)	99, 101	Guru-dakṣiṇā (preceptor's fee)	458
Kṛttikā (constellation)	14	Gautamī-vidyā (Gotamide science)	20
Kecit (some)	396	Ghāna-viññāna (olfactory perception)	227
Kevala (absolute)	189 (ftn 1), 175	Cakkhu-viññāna (ocular perception)	227, 227 (ftn. 3)
Kevala-jñāna (absolute knowledge)	160, 161, (ftn. 5)	Cakṣuh (eye)	111
Kevala-vyatireki (exclusively negative)	361	Can-li (<i>Chinese</i>) (right or justice)	40
Kevala-vyatirekya-numāna (exclusively negative inference)	434 ²	Catukka-naya-sāmsandana (case presented through the four-fold method)	339
Kevalānvayi (exclusively affirmative)	361	Candra-kāpa (Candra's well)	335
Kevalānvayanumāna (exclusively affirmative inference)	434 ²	Cikitsā (the science of medicine)	39
Kevalin (one who has attained absolute knowledge)	160	Cestā (muscular movement)	370
Keśi (a presiding deity)	15	Cestā (gesture)	453
Keśa (dictionary)	450	Cuditaka (defendant)	231
Kaivarta (fisherman)	334	Codaka (complainant)	231
Kriyā (action)	129 (ftn. 3) ²	Codanā (complaint)	231
Kriyā (verb)	447	Caitya (tower)	150
Kṣaṇa-bhāga (momentariness)	143 ² , 145, 149, 339	Chanda (vote by proxy)	233
Kṣaṇikatva (momentariness)	121, 219	Chandas (prosody)	343
Kṣaṇika-vāda (doctrine of momentariness)	52, 121, 262	Chandaṃ danami (I give authority)	233
Kṣaṇika-vādin (upholder of the doctrine of momentariness)	121	Chandaṃ me ārocēhi (do ye con-	
Kṣatrasya ksatram (strength of the ksatriya)	3		

	<i>Page</i>
vey my authority to the council)	232
Chandaṃ me hara (do ye receive my authority)	233
Chala (quibble) 23, 34, 52, 65, 162, 212, 231, 234 (ftn. 2), 258, 356, 359, 374, 375, 381	
Jagat-svabhāva-parīksā (examination of the nature of the world)	326
Jagati (a kind of metre)	15
Jana-śruti (rumour)	453
Jalpa (wrangling) 23, 31, 51, 52, 62, 63, 258, 357, 359, 370, 374, 375, 379, 381	
Jalpa-vitandā (wrangling and cavil)	104
Jāti (analogue)	51 ³ , 52, 65, 135
Jāti (genus) 129 (ftn. 3) ² , 219, 212, 258 259, 288 ² , 276, 315, (ftn. 1), 315 356, 357, 370, 374, 375, 381	
Jāti-śakti - vādi - tantāṭikā-mata (power in generality as maintained by Tantāṭikas)	397
Jātyuttara (analogous rejoinder)	119
Jijñāsā (inquiry)	33, 122
Jina (conqueror of passions)	158, 159
Jivhā-viññāna (gustatory perception)	227
Jīva (soul)	168, 181
Jñāta (example)	163
Jñāna (knowledge) 2 ² , 3, 161, 161 (ftn. 5)	
Jñāna-karma-samuccaya (aggregate of knowledge and action)	397
Jñāna-kāṇḍa (section on knowledge)	394 ²
Jñāna-lakṣaṇa (imagination)	140
Jñāna-lakṣaṇa (intercourse whose character is knowledge)	412
Jñā (=Sans. <i>jñāna</i>) (example)	163
Tol (school)	525 (ftn. 1)
Takka (<i>Prak.</i>) (debate)	162, 227
Takki (argumentationist)	21, 227 ²
Takkika (logician)	227, 229 ²

	<i>Page</i>
Tajjāta-doṣa (defeat arising from a disputant being agitated in mind)	163
Tatpuruṣa (determinative compound)	452
Tattva-jñāna (right knowledge)	138
Tattva-vyākhyāna (explanation of truth)	259
Tathātā (suchness)	255
Tadutpatti (effect)	508
Tantra-yukti (terms of scientific argument)	24 ⁸
Tarka (debate) 23, 37, 38, 52, 61, 61 (ftn. 1), 162, 189, 201, 215, 244, 258, 359, 374, 375, 381, 427, 429, 497	
Tarka-pungava (bull in discussion)	272
Tarka-vidyā (logic)	7, 40
Tarkābhāsa (fallacy of argumentation)	193
Tarkin (logician)	38
Tassa pāpiyya sikā (settlement with the prospect of further inquiry)	230
Tātparya (intention)	148, 448
Tādātmya (inherence)	508
Tādātmyābhavā (negation of identity)	97 (ftn. 1)
Tārkika (logician)	37, 244 ²
Tiṅa-vatthāraṅka (settlement by covering over with grass)	230
Tipīṭaka or Piṭakattaya (the three baskets of Buddhist teachings)	226
Tiryak (homogeneous)	192
Tirthaṅkara (builder of a landing place in the sea of existence)	158
Toṣānala (penitentiary rite of putting an end to one's life in a slow fire)	142 ²
Tūṣṇīm bhāva (speechlessness)	137
Tṛṇā (lust)	371
Tejas (light)	393 ²
Trayī (the three Vedas)	5

<i>Page</i>	<i>Page</i>
Trasarenu (triad or tertiary compound) 106 ²	Dvandva (aggregative compound) 452
Tripitaka or Piṭakatraya (three baskets of Buddhist teachings) 226	Dvātrīṃśadākāra-śrauta-yutaya (the thirty-two forms of set argument) 42
Tripuṭī-pratyakṣa-vādin (supporter of triangular perception) 418	Dvigu (numeral compound) .. 452
Trividha-paralā (three classes of respondents) 29	Dvividha-sambhāṣā (two kinds of debate) 29
Damsana (<i>Prak.</i>) (philosophy) 5 (ftn. 5)	Dvyanuka (dyad or binary compound) 106, 442
Darśana (Philosophy) 5, 5 (ftn. 5), 6, 152	Dhammatā (law) .. 500 (ftn. 1)
Daśāvayava-vākya (syllogism of ten parts) 166	Dharma (duty) 38
Dassana (<i>Pali</i>) (philosophy) 5 (ftn. 5)	Dharma (predicate) .. 190, 290
Dik (space) 393 ²	Dharma (doctrine) 30, 32
Digambara-parikalpita-ātma-parīkṣā (examination of the Digambara Jaina doctrine of the soul) 326	Dharma (merit) 371
Dīnāra (the Roman coin <i>denarius</i>) 45 (ftn. 2)	Dharma-putra (foster son) .. 208
Duṣṭa-vākyaṅgusaraṇa (adoption of a fallacious reason) 259	Dharmin (subject) 290
Duḥkha (pain) 132, 371, 375 ² , 382	Dhātu (root) 447, 453
Duḥkha-satya (misery as a pain) 127 (ftn.)	Dhātu-vādaḥ (doctrine of roots)
Dūṣaṇa (refutation) .. 181, 298, 315	Dhāraṇā (recollecting) .. 201
Dūṣaṇābhāsa (semblance of a refutation) 181, 298	Dhāraṇī (numonics) .. . 304
Dṛṣṭānta (familiar instance) 27, 32, 52, 59, 128, 128 (ftn. 4), 167, 176 ² , 177, 191 ² , 203, 258 ² , 265, 268 (ftn. 2), 286, 290, 359, 374, 375, 381, 501 ²	Dhvaṅsa (destruction) .. 219
Dṛṣṭāntābhāsa (fallacy of example) 178, 193	Naya (method of comprehending things from particular standpoints) 168, 174, 181 ² , 182, 203 ² , 215, 216 ² , 218
Deva-ṛṇa (debt to gods) 102 (ftn. 1)	Nayātmā-svarūpa-nirnaya (determination of the nature of one-sided knowledge) 200
Deśa (place) 27, 219	Nayābhāsa (fallacy of Naya) .. 203
Doṣa (defect) 163, 375, 382	Nava-dharma (nine sacred works) 242 (ftn. 3)
Dravya (substance) 27, 31, 129 (ftn. 3), 219, 279, 287, 373, 375, 382, 386, 387 ² , 388, 389, 393 ³ , 394 ² , 395	Nāntariyaka (non-co-presence) .. 504
Dravya (cause) 171	Nāma (name) 129 (ftn. 3) ¹ , 171
Dravya-padārtha-parīkṣā (examination of the meaning of the word substance) 326	Nāma (crude word) 447
Dravyāstikāya (a group of substance) 216	Nāma (valid knowledge) .. 161
	Nārada (a celestial sage) .. 14
	Nāsti (it is not, non-existence) .. 184
	Niḥśreyasa (summum bonum) .. 54
	Nigamana (conclusion) 27, 32, 42, 60, 119 ² , 167, 176, 191, 202, 203, 237, 266, 268, 370, 437 ² , 501, 502
	Niggaha (= Sans. <i>nigraha</i>) (defeat) 234, 234 (ftn. 2), 236

	Page		Page
Nigraha (defeat)	51	Niścita (sure)	376 (ftn. 4), 398
Nigraha-dosa (defect of under- standing)	163	Nihkṣepa (imposition)	218
Nigraha-sthāna (point of defeat) 35, 44, 51 ³ , 52, 65, 66, 136, 136 (ftn. 1), 150, 212, 258, 259, 264, 268; 269, 356, 357, 359, 370, 374. 375, 379, 381		Niti or Nyāya (logic) 240 ² , 240 (ftn. 3)	
Nitya (eternal)	285 ⁴	Naigama (non-analytical method of description) 161 (ftn. 4), 170 ² , 181, 216	
Nitya-sama (balancing the eternal) 67, 269		Naigamābhāsa (fallacy of the Nai- gama)	203
Nidāna (the introductory part of the Pātunokkha)	233	Nairātinya-vāda (doctrine of non- soul)	127 (ftn.)
Nidarśana (example)	25	Naiyāyika (logician) .. 41 (ftn. —	244
Nindā (deprecation)	108	Nyāya (logic) 20, 38, 39 ² , 40 ² , 15 240 ² , 240 (ftn. 3 ³), 497	
Nimitta (efficient cause)	383	Nyāya (syllogism) .. 41 (ftn. 2), 436 ²	
Nimitta-kāraṇa instrumental cause)	390	Nyāya-tattva (categories of logic) 39	
Niyoga (injunction)	25	Nyāya-pūrvāṅga (first part of logic)	41 (ftn. 2)
Niranuyojyānuयोग (overlooking the censurable)	84	Nyāya-vidyā (science of logic)	38
Niranuyojyānuयोग (censuring the non-censurable)	264	Nyāya-vaiśeṣika-parikalpita-puru- ṣa-parikṣā (examination of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika doctrine of soul)	326
Nirarthaka (meaningless) 34, 261,	269	Nyāya-sāstra (science of logic) 39, 40, 116	
Nirartha-khaṇḍana (rejoinder on the ground of meaninglessness) 268		Nyāya-sūtra (science of true logic) 8	
Nirukti (explanation) .. 487 (ftn. 1)		Nyāya-svarūpa (essential form of a syllogism)	41 (ftn. 2)
Nirjara (destruction of the conse- quences of action)	168	Nyāyāvayava (members of a syllo- gism)	42, 289, 289 (ftn. 3)
Nirṇaya (ascertainment) 23 ² , 52, 62, 258, 359, 370, 374, 375, 381		Nyāyāśraya	41 (ftn. 2)
Niryukti (commentarie)	165	Nyāyottaranga (the last part of logic)	41 (ftn. 2)
Nirvacana (etymological explana- tion)	25	Nyāyāya (reasonable)	41 (ftn. 5)
Nirvāna (Buddhist emancipation) 159 ² , 159 (ftn. 1 ² , 2), 160 ² , 160 (ftn. 1)		Nyūna (saying too little) 84, 261, 269	
Nirvikalpa (indeterminate)	55	Pakkha (<i>Prak.</i>) (party)	162
Nirvikalpaka (indeterminate) 134, 137 ² , 138 ² , 138 (ftn. 1), 179, 360, 383, 390, 418		Pakṣa (party)	162
Nirvikalpaka-vāda (doctrine of in- determinate perception)	418	Pakṣa (minor term) 176 ³ , 177, 193, 292, 268, 268 (ftn. 2), 283, 291, 312, 361, 506	
Nirvikalpaka-vipratipatti (contro- versy about indeterminate per- ception)	397	Pakṣatā (nature of the minor term) 433 ² , 487 (ftn. 1)	
		Pakṣa-dharma (law of extension of the minor term)	283
		Pakṣa-dharma-cakra (wheel of rea- sons put in order)	299 (ftn. 2)

	Page
Pakṣa-dharmatā (essential nature of a syllogism) ..	361, 377, 390
Pakṣa-prayoga (use of the minor term) ..	203
Pakṣābhāsa (fallacy of the minor term) 176, 177, 193, 290 (ftn. 1),	312
Pakṣaḥ anumāna-bādhitah (minor term being incompatible with inference) ..	441
Pakṣaḥ pratyakṣa-bādhitah (minor term being incompatible with perception) ..	440
Pakṣaḥ śabda-bādhitah (minor term being incompatible with verbal testimony) ..	441
Pakṣaḥ sādhyā-grāhaka-pramāṇa-jātiyā-pramāṇa-viruddhah (minor term being incompatible with the evidence which is analogous to the evidence that establishes the major-term) ..	441
Pakṣaḥ hetu-grāhaka-pratyakṣa-bādhitah (minor term being incompatible with perception which establishes the middle term) ..	441
Pakṣaḥ hetu-grāhakanumāna-bādhitah (minor term being incompatible with inference which establishes the middle term) ..	442
Pankaja iti padānām yogarūḍhiva-kathana (etymologico-conventional use of a word as mud-born) ..	397
Pañkti (a kind of metre) ..	14
Paccanika-niggaho (adverse controversy) ..	237
Pañcāvayava (five parts of a syllogism) ..	286
Pañcāvayava-vākya (speech of five parts) ..	43
Pañjikā (commentary) ..	213
Paṇḍita (scholar) ..	240
Patikamma (rejoinder) ..	235

	Page
Pāṭicā-sarāuppāda (= Sans. <i>Prāti-tya samutpāda</i> , doctrine of mutual dependence) ..	227 (ftn. 2)
Patiññā (= Sans. <i>Pratijñā</i>) (proposition) ..	234, 234 (ftn. 2)
Patiññaya kāretabbam (settlement by an undertaking) ..	230
Patta (sacred chair) ..	199
Pattakallam (in season) ..	233
Pathamo niggaho (first defeat) ..	237
Pada (word) ..	110 ² , 149
Pada-sphoṭa (word-explosion) 143, 149	
Padārtha (category) 25, 381, 387,	389, 393
Padipa (lighting a lamp) ..	236
Pamāna (valid knowledge) ..	161
Pāra-ātmā (supreme soul) ..	371
Paratantra (conditional) 245, 245 (ftn. 1)	
Parama-nyāya (conclusion) ..	42
Paramātmā (supreme soul) ..	143
Paramānu (atom) ..	105
Paramārtha (transcendental) 254, 255	
Paramārtha-sat (absolutely real) ..	310
Para-sambandha (concerning others) ..	264
Parāmarśa (consideration) 384, 390 ² , 420, 433 ² , 435, 510, 511 ²	
Parāmarśānurūpānumāna (syllogistic inference) ..	511
Parārthānūmāna (inference for the sake of others) 175, 192, 202, 276, 282, 307, 309, 310, 312, 359 ² , 361, 435 ²	
Parikalpita (false) 245, 245 (ftn. 1)	
Pariccheda (chapter) ..	184, 200
Pariniṣpanna (perfect) 245, 245 (ftn. 1, 2)	
Paribhāṣā (technicality) ..	450
Parisad (council of debate) 7, 222, 24, 29 ² , 263	
Pariharana-dosa (avoidance of charges) ..	163
Parihāra (avoidance of defeat) ..	35
Parikṣā (examination) 26, 27, 28 ² , 51, 53, 90	

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Paroksa (indirect knowledge) 161 (ftn. 5) ² , 169 ² , 170 ² , 170 (ftn. 1), 174, 175, 188, 189, 201 ² , 215		Pūrvavat (à priori) 36, 116 (ftn. 1), 260, 499	
Paroksa-jñāna (indirect know- ledge) 219		Pothi (book) 324 (ftn. 3)	
Paryanuyojoyopeksana (admission of an opinion) 84		Pausa samkrānti (the last day of the month of Pausa) 530	
Paryanuyojoyopeksana (overlook- ing the censurable) 269		Prakarana (expository treatise) 205	
Paryāstikāya (group of attributes) 216		Prakarana-sama (begging the ques- tion) 34, 63, 67, 260, 268, 367	
Parvata (a celestial sage) 14		Prakāśa (chapter) 215	
Pātimokkhuddesa (recitation of the code of monastic laws) 233		Prakṛti (primordial matter) 10, 363 ²	
Pāramārthika (transcendental) 175, 201 ² , 203		Prakṛti (illustration) 108	
Pāramārthika-dosā (transcenden- tal condition) 4		Pratijñā (proposition) 27, 32, 60, 121, 166, 203, 265, 266, 436 ² , 500, 502	
Pāramārthika-pratyakṣa (transcen- dental perception) 170 (ftn. 1)		Pratijñāntara (shifting the propo- sition) 84, 264	
Pāramārthika-pratyakṣa-pramāna (transcendental perception) 181		Pratijñā-vibhakti (limitation of the proposition) 166	
Pārisuddhi (purity) 233		Pratijñā-virodha (opposing the proposition) 34, 269	
Pārṣad (council) 22		Pratijñā-sannyāsa (renouncing the proposition) 84, 137, 269	
Pāśupata (follower of Paśupati) 154		Pratijñā-hāni (hurting the propo- sition) 34, 44, 84, 261, 268, 269	
Pitr-ṛṇa (debt to our progenitors) 102 (ftn. 1)		Prati tantra (dogma peculiar to some school) 59	
Pitr-yāna (path of the forefathers) 3		Pratitantra-siddhānta (conclusion accepted by a particular school) 259	
Puggala (soul) 235 ³		Prati-drstānta-sama (balancing the counter-example) 67, 261, 268	
Putresti (sacrifice for the sake of a son) 107		Pratiyogi (counter-part) 403 ² , 404 ²	
Pudgala (burden-bearer) 126, 127 (ftn.)		Pratilomaittā (making the autho- rities hostile) 163	
Pudgala-vāda (doctrine of the bur- den-bearer) 127 (ftn.)		Prativādī (opponent) 204, 379	
Punarukta (repetition) 84, 255, 269		Pratishedha (negation) 190	
Purākālpa (narration) 108		Pratisthāpanā (counter-demonstra- tion) 27, 32, 500, 501	
Puruṣa (soul) 10, 245 (ftn. 2) ²		Pratyakṣa (perception) 27 ² , 28, 32, 33, 50, 54, 125, 129, 130, 134, 150, 161 (ftn. 5), 162, 169 ² , 170, 174 ² , 188, 189, 201, 209, (ftn. 1), 215, 221, 259, 264, 265, 266, 276, 277, 279, 298, 300, 307, 309, 310, 348, 358, 359 ² , 360, 383 ² , 387 ² , 389 ² , 390, 393 ² , 394 ² , 395, 407, 411	
Puruṣa-parīkṣā (examination of the soul) 326			
Pubba-karana (preparation) 232, 232 (ftn. 1), 233			
Pubba-kicca (preliminary acts) 232 (ftn. 1), 233 ²			
Pūrva (prior) 190 ² , 191			
Pūrva-pakṣa (question) 25 424			

	<i>Page</i>
Pratyaksa-kōrana-vāda (causes of perception) ..	416
Pratyaksa-jñāna (direct knowledge)	219
Pratyaksa-laksana-parīksā (examination of the definition of perception) ..	327
Pratyaksa-vyavasthā (system of perception) ..	309
Pratyaksa-svarūpa-nirṇaya (determination of the nature of perception) ..	200
Pratyaksābhāsa (fallacy of perception) ..	192, 298
Pratyanyoga (re-interrogation) ..	33
Pratyabhijñāna (recognition) ..	189, 201, 215
Pratyabhijñānābhāsa (fallacy of recognition) ..	193
Pratyaya (inter-relation) ..	117, 118 (ftn. 3)
Pratyuccāraṇa (repetition) ..	25
Pradeśa (determination) from a statement to be made ..	25
Pradhāna (Primordial matter) ..	325
Pradhvaṁsābhāva (posterior non-existence) ..	97, 97 (ftn. 1), 184, 203, 394
Pramā (right knowledge) ..	138 ² , 389, 394, 395 ² , 408 ³ , 411
Pramāna (means of right knowledge) ..	23, 28, 43, 49, 50, 51 ³ , 52, 84, 84 (ftn. 1), 113, 155, 158 ⁴ , 161, 162 ² , 168, 169, 174 ³ , 181 ³ , 182, 189 ³ , 200, 201 ³ , 201 (ftn. 1), 203, 212 ² , 218 ³ , 256 ³ , 257 ¹¹ , 258, 259, 276 ² , 277 ² , 307 ² , 309, 330, 348, 357 ⁴ , 358, 359 ⁴ , 381, 386 ⁶ , 387 ² , 389 ³ , 393 ² , 394, 395 ² , 402 ⁶ , 408, 497, 499
Pramāna-catustaya-prāmānya-vādaḥ (doctrine of the validity of the four means of knowledge) ..	453
Pramāna-śāstra (science of right knowledge) ..	158

	<i>Page</i>
Pramāna-sāmānya-laksana (general characteristics of valid knowledge) ..	215
Pramāna-siddhi (establishment of proof) ..	307
Pramāna-svarūpa (characteristics of valid knowledge) ..	188
Pramāna-svarūpa-nirṇaya (determination of the nature of valid knowledge) ..	200
Pramānāntara-parīksā (examination of other kinds of valid knowledge) ..	327
Prameya (object of knowledge) ..	23, 49, 51 ² , 52, 56, 97, 113, 158 ² , 257 ² , 258, 284, 357 ² , 359, 370, 373 ² , 374, 375, 381
Prayojana (purpose) ..	23, 28, 33, 52, 59, 122, 258, 359, 374, 375, 381
Pralaya (dissolution of the world) ..	105
Pralāpita (irrelevant talk) ..	137
Pravṛtti (exertion) ..	27, 375, 382, 410
Pravṛtti-vijñāna (continuous flow of momentary cognitions) ..	146, 245 ⁴ , 245 (ftn. 1)
Prasanga (connected argument) ..	25
Prasanga-sama (balancing the infinite regression) ..	67, 268, 289
Prasāstr-dosa (defeat arising from the authorities) ..	163
Prāgabhāva (prior non-existence) ..	97, 97 (ftn. 1), 189, 203, 394
Prāna (breath) ..	2
Prāpti-sama (balancing the co-presence) ..	67, 261, 288
Prābhākaraḥ (the Mīmāṃsakas) ..	408
Prāmānya-vāda (the doctrine of the validity of knowledge) ..	408
Pretyabhāva (condition after death) ..	375, 382
Phala (result) ..	188, 375, 382, 511
Phala-pramāṇa-svarūpādyābhāsa-nirṇaya (determination of the consequences and fallacies of knowledge) ..	200

	<i>Page</i>
Bandha (bondage)	168
Bahir-vvāpti (extrinsic in-eparable connection)	177 178 202
Bahuvrihi (attributive compound)	452
Bādhā (incompatibility)	435
Bādhita (incompatible) 367 (ftn 1) 438, 440	367 (ftn 1) 438, 440
Buddhi (intellect) 32, 112, 375, 382, 387, 389, 393, 395	32, 112, 375, 382, 387, 389, 393, 395
Brahman (the pervading essence)	4
Brahma-parināma-vāda (doctrine of the transformation of Brah- man)	52
Brahma-vidyā (divine science)	4
Brāhmana (ritual)	108
Bhāgāśiddha (unproved in respect of a part)	362
Bhāra (burden)	127 (ftn.)
Bhāva (entity itself)	171, 184, 394
Bhāṣya (commentary)	116, 121
Bhikkhu-gananā (counting the number of monks)	233
Bhūmi (stage)	249
Bhavaitta (creating divisions)	163
Bhaitta (serving the authorities)	163
Bhaisajya (medicine)	34
Bhrama (error)	138, 409
Bhrānta (erring)	273
Bhrānti (blunder)	273
Mangala (benedictory portion) 324 (ftn. 3)	324 (ftn. 3)
Mangala-vāda (invocation of bles- sings)	408
Mangalācarana (invocation of bles- sing)	397
Matānujñā (admission of an opi- nion)	84, 261, 269
Mati (knowledge of existing things acquired through the senses and the mind)	169 (ftn. 1)
Mati-kamma (deliberation)	231
Mati-bhanga-doṣa (defeat arising from the failure of the disputants memory)	163

	<i>Page</i>
Madhyama (middle)	249
Manas (mind) 116, 201, 278, 280 (ftn. 1), 375, 382, 393	116, 201, 278, 280 (ftn. 1), 375, 382, 393
Manah (intelligence)	2
Manah-paryāya (knowledge derived from reading the thoughts of others)	161 (ftn. 5), 169 (ftn. 1), 201
Manas tattva-nirūpana (determina- tion of the nature of the mind)	397
Manonutva-vāda (atomic nature of mind)	417
Mano-viññāna (mental perception)	227
Mantras	15
Marut (air)	393
Mahāpratibhāra (the great gate- keeper)	322
Mahābhadra-kalpa (the very bles- sed cycle)	225
Mahāvāna (the Great vehicle)	241
Mithyā-jñāna (error)	138
Mīmāṃsaka-kalpita-ātma - parīksā (examination of the Mīmāṃsaka doctrine of the soul)	326
Mukti (emancipation)	210
Mokṣa (emancipation) 57, 122, 123, 168, 181, 359, 370, 371	57, 122, 123, 168, 181, 359, 370, 371
Mleccha (non-Aryan)	56, 107
Yajña (sacrifice)	516
Yatnaja (product of effort)	285
Yathārthānubhava (right experi- ence)	389
Yama (the god of death)	14
Yava (grain)	107
Yukta (right)	359
Yukti (continuous argument) 23, 27, 28	23, 27, 28
Yuga-pradhāna (foremost man of the age)	164
Yūpa (stake)	15
Yebhuyyasikā (settlement by a majority)	230
Yoga (union of words)	25
Yoga (concentration)	245, 249
Yoga-rūdhā (etymologo-conven- tional)	451

	<i>Page</i>
Yogācāra (practice of meditation)	249
Yogācāra or Vijñāna-vādin (a sect of Buddhist philosophers who maintain that cognitions alone are real)	146
Yogin (contemplative)	359
Yogi-pratyakṣa (contemplative perception)	360
Yogyatā (consistency)	447 ²
Yaugika (etymological)	451
Yaugika-rūḍha (etymological conventional)	451
Rudra (a sect of gods)	15
Rūḍha (conventional)	451
Rūpa (form)	126 ² , 389
Rūpa (matter)	238
Lakṣhanāyutti-kathā (definition of terms)	238
Lakṣana (definition)	53
Lakṣana-doṣa (defect of definition)	163
Lakṣanā (implication)	450, 451 ²
Laghu-tikā (light commentary)	211
Linga (sign) 175, 190, 290, 377 ² , 383, 508	
Linga-parāmarśa (remembrance of a sign; a syllogism from a sign) 130 (ftn. 1), 435, 510, 511	
Linga-parāmarśādi-mūḍhana (determination of the consideration of the sign, etc.)	397
Lingasya trai-rūpyam (three characteristics of the middle term)	291 (ftn. 1)
Lekhaka (writer)	379
Lokāyata (casuist)	240 (ftn. 3)
Laukika (personal)	175, 359
Laukika-pratyakṣa (ordinary-pratyakṣa)	
Vacana-śodhana (clearing the meaning of terms)	238
Vajra (thunderbolt)	272
Vanya (wild)	484 (ftn. 1)

	<i>Page</i>
Varna-sphota (letter-explosion)	148
Varnya-sama (balancing the subject)	34, 67, 289
Vartamāna (present time) 106 (ftn. 1)	
Vasu (a sect of gods)	15
Vastu-doṣa (defect of the subject)	163
Vastu-prativikalpa-vijñāna (objectified knowledge)	245
Vāk-chala (quibble in respect of a term)	260
Vākovākya (grammar, rhetoric or debate)	45.45 (ftn. 5)
Vākya (sentence)	149
Vākya-doṣa (defect of speech) 34, 259	
Vākya-prasamsā (excellence of speech)	34, 259
Vākya-sphota (sentence-explosion)	148, 140
Vākya-śeṣa (context)	25, 459
Vājapeya (a sacrifice)	14
Vāda (discussion) 23, 31, 49, 51 ⁵ , 52, 62 ² , 104, 204, 229, 258, 359, 370, 374, 375, 378, 379, 381	
Vāda-maryādā (limits of debate)	31
Vāda-mārga (course of debate) 27 ⁴ , 31, 51	
Vāda-vidyā (art of discussion) 7, : 6, 27, 28	
Vāda-viśādī-karaṇa (elucidation of debate)	259
Vādī (disputant)	195, 204, 379
Vādi-prativādi-nyāya-nirṇaya (determination of the right procedure of a disputant and his opponent)	200
Vāuopāya (expedients of debate)	30
Vāyu-pratyakṣatvādimata-khanḍana (refutation of the perceptibility of air)	397
Vārttā (commerce)	5
Vāstūputra-kalpita - ātma-parikṣā (examination of the Vāstūputra doctrine of the soul)	326
Vāhyārtha-parikṣā (examination of external objects)	327

	Page		Page
Vāhyārtha-bhāṅga (things possess no external reality) ..	145	Viparyaya-khaṇḍana (rejoinder on the basis of reversion) ..	268
Vāhyārtha-vāda (doctrine of the external world) ..	220	Vipratipatti (misunderstanding an argument) ..	136
Vāhyārtha-siddhi (validity of ex- ternal things) ..	219	Vibhakti (case-ending) ..	447
Vikalā (defective) ..	201	Vibhāṣā (commentary) ..	247 ²
Vikalpa (alternative) ..	25	Viyakka (speculation) ..	162
Vikalpa-sama (balancing the alter- native) ..	67, 289	Viraha (separation) ..	209 (ftn.), 210 ²
Vikāra (modification) ..	111	Viruddha (contradictory) 63, 178, 260, 294, 313, 363, 438, 439 ²	
Vikṣepa (evasion) ..	84, 269	Viruddha-kāryopalabdhi (percep- tion of the opposite effect) ..	311
Vigraha (in a spirit of opposition) 29		Viruddhāvyaabhicāri (non-erro- neous contradiction) 316, 358, 368	
Vigraha-sambhāṣā (hostile debate) 29		Virodha (contradiction) ..	438
Vijñāna (knowledge) ..	120, 126 ² , 245	Vivarta-vāda-parīkṣā (examination of the doctrine of evolution) ..	327
Vijñāna-vāda (idealism) 120, 120 (ftn. 3), 220, 245 ²		Vivādādhikaraṇa (case pertaining to differences of opinion) ..	229
Vijñāna-vādin (see <i>Yogācāra</i>) ..	146	Vivṛti (description) ..	451
Viññāna (knowledge) 227, 227 (ftn. 3)		Viśeṣa (particularity) 27, 32, 138, 192, 279, 287, 375, 382, 387 ² , 388, 389, 393 ² , 394 ² , 395, 402	
Vitaṇḍā (cavil) 23, 31, 51, 52, 62, 63, 240 (ftn. 3), 258, 357, 359, 370, 374, 375, 379, 381		Viśeṣanātā (qualification or parti- cularity) 130, 412, 415, 416	
Vitarka (speculation) ..	162	Viśeṣāśiddha (improved in res- pect of the adjective) ..	362
Vidyā (knowledge) ..	387 ²	Viśeṣa-vyāpti (invariable conco- mittance of special terms) ..	426
Vidhāna (arrangement) ..	25	Viśeṣyāśiddha (unproved in res- pect of the substantive) ..	362
Vidhi (injunction) ..	108 ² , 190, 448	Viśama-vyāpti (non-equipotent concomittance) ..	399
Vidhi-vāda (doctrine of injunc- tion) ..	448	Viśaya (object of knowledge) 188, 192	
Vipakṣa (counter-proposition) 166, 283, 284, 361, 433		Viśaya-kāṇḍa (section on subject) 394 ²	
Vipakṣa-pratiṣedha (opposition to the counter-proposition) ..	166	Viśaya-svarūpa-nirṇaya (determi- nation of the nature of objects of knowledge) ..	200
Vipakṣe asattvaṃ (non-existence of the sign in heterologues) ..	378	Vimāṃsā (casuistry) ..	227
Viparīta-khaṇḍana (contrary re- joinder) ..	268	Vimāṃsi (casuist) ..	21, 227
Viparīta-vyatireka (of contrary separation) ..	180	Vṛtti (commentary) ..	214
Viparīta-vyāpti (inverse pervasion) 369		Vṛtti (indication) ..	449
Viparīta-vyāptyabhidhāna (exam- ple with inverse pervasion) ..	369	Vṛhatī (a kind of metre) ..	15
Viparītānvaya (of inverted connec- tion) ..	179, 297, 315	Vedas ..	14
Viparyaya (reversion) ..	25, 201, 359		

	Page		Page
Vedanā (feeling) ..	126 ² , 238	Vyāpaka-viruddhopalabdhi (perception contrary to the container) ..	312
Vaidharmya (heterogeneous) 176,	191, 264, 287, 290, 368, 502	Vyāpakānupalabdhi (non-perception of the pervader) ..	311
Vaidharmya dr̥ṣṭāntābhāsa (fallacy of the heterogeneous example) 179,	180, 297	Vyāpāra (operation) ..	443, 511
Vaidharmyavat (negative inference) ..	312	Vyāpti (invariable concomitance) 140, 177 ² , 179, 189 ² , 292, 361, 376, 384, 390, 393, 404, 406 (ftn 5), 421, 454, 509, 510	510
Vaidharmya-sama (balancing the heterogeneity) ..	67, 266, 289	Vyāpti-graha (indication or the process of ascertaining the middle term and the major term) ..	218
Vyakti (individual) ..	219	Vyāpti-grahopāya (means of apprehending invariable concomitance) ..	426
Vyatireka (relating to things) ..	192	Vyāpti-grahopāya-siddhānta (conclusion as to the means of apprehending invariable concomitance) ..	428
Vvatireka (negative) ..	361	Vyāpti-nirūpana (determination of invariable concomitance) ..	397
Vyatireka-vyāpti (invariable separation) ..	180, 361	Vyāpti-parīcakam (five provisional definitions of invariable concomitance) ..	421, 487 (ftn. 1)
Vyatirekī (exclusively negative) 130, 191, 286, 287, 437	259	Vyāptyanugama (comprehensiveness of invariable concomitance) ..	429
Vyatirekī-udāharaṇa (heterogeneous example) ..	259	Vyāptyasiddhi (unproved in respect of invariable concomitance) ..	440
Vyadhikarana - dharmāvachinnābhāva (non-existence whose counter part is qualified by a nature abiding in different locus) 423	372	Vyāpya (pervaded) 189, 199 ² , 191, 220	439
Vyadhikaranāsiddha (unproved on account of abiding in a different locus) ..	372	Vyāpyatvāsiddha (unproved in respect of accompaniment) ..	439
Vyabhicāra (erraticality) ..	438	Vyāvahārika (practical) 170, 171, 174	4
Vyārtha-viśeṣanāsiddha (unproved on account of the adjective being useless) ..	363	Vyāvahārika-daśā (practical condition) ..	4
Vyārtha-viśeṣyāsiddha (unproved on account of the substantive being useless) ..	363	Vyoma (ether) ..	393 ²
Vyavasāya (ascertainment) ..	33	Vrata (religious vow) ..	164, 205
Vyavahāra (practical method of description) 161 (ftn. 4), 181, 216, 450	203	Śakti (strength) ..	171
Vyavaharābhāsa (fallacy of the practical) ..	203	Śakti (potentiality) ..	450 ²
Vyākaraṇa (grammar) ..	450	Śakti nirūpana and upādhi (ascertainment of power and condition) ..	397
Vyākhyāna (description) ..	25	Śakti-vāṇa (doctrine of potentiality of word) ..	449
Vyāghāta pradarsana (showing absurdity) ..	260		
Vyāghra (tiger) ..	396		
Vyāghra-śiśuka (tiger cub) ..	207		
Vyāpaka (pervader) ..	189, 220		

	Page		Page
Śakya-prāpti (capacity of the example to warrant the conclusion)	122	Śūnyatā (voidness) 52, 118 (ftn. 3), 245, (ftn. 2, 2, 254, 255	
Śakra (strong)	171	Śūnya-vāda (doctrine of voidness)	119 (ftn.), 262
Śānkita (suspected) .. 140, 376 (ftn. 4)		Śesavat (a posteriori) 56, 116 (ftn. 1), 260, 499	
Śarīra (body)	375, 382	Śaivas (followers of Śiva) ..	154
Śabda (sound)	109, 448	Śrāvaka (layman)	223
Śabda (verbal testimony) 50 ² , 125, 175 ² , 287, 370 (ftn. 1), 387, 389 ³ , 393 ² , 394, 407, 444, 465, 470		Śrāvana (audible)	285
Sabda (verbal method of description) 161 (ftn. 4) ² , 170, 171, 181, 216		Śrāvikā (laywoman)	223
Śabda (word) .. 33, 51 54, 384 ⁷		Śruta (knowledge of things acquired through reasoning and study) .. 161 (ftn. 5), 169 (ftn. 1)	
Śabā-khaṇḍa (book of verbal testimony)	444	Śruta-kevalin (one versed in the 14 pūrvas of the Dṛṣṭivāda) ..	164
Śabda-nirūpanam (definition of verbal testimony)	414	Śruti-parīkṣā (examination of scripture)	327
Śabda-prāmāna (verbal testimony as a means of valid knowledge) 397, 444		Śrutya-prāmānya (denial of the authority of the Veda) 143, 149	
Śabda-prāmānya-vāda (speech as means of valid knowledge) ..	445	Ṣaṭ-pakṣī-kathā (six-winged disputation)	82
Śabda-bodha (verbal knowledge) 444 ² , 470		Ṣaḍ-darśana (six systems of philosophy)	152 ² , 153
Śabda-Brahma-parīkṣā (examination of Brahma the presiding deity of sound)	326	Ṣaḍ-darśana-vicāra (criticism of the six systems of philosophy) ..	153
Śabdasya śravanam (hearing of a word)	444	Ṣaḍ-lakṣaṇa-vyākhyā (explanation of six characteristics) ..	332
Śabdānityatā-vāda (doctrine of the non-eternity of sound) ..	448	Sakala (perfect)	201
Śabdābhāsa (fallacy of verbal testimony)	204	Sakala- tārīkika - cakra - cūḍāmeṇī the crest-gem of the circle of all logicians)	185
Śabdārtha (words and their meanings)	106	Saṅgha (council) .. 230 ² , 231 ² , 232	
Śabdārtha-parīkṣā (examination of the meaning of the word 'sound')	327	Sat (present)	284 ²
Śaiḥkā-parīkṣā (probe-examination) 461, 522, (ftn. 1)		Sataḥ sajjāyate (effect pre-exists in its cause).. ..	141
Śasa-śrīṅga (hare horn)	421	Sat-pratipakṣa (counter-balance) 438 ² , 439	
Śīkhūs (spiritual genealogy) 25, 168		Sativinaya (settlement from recollection)	230 ²
Śāstra (scripture)	23 ²	Śadasat (partly present and partly absent)	284 ⁶
Śāstraja-śabda (spiritual testimony)	175	Sadyaska (a kind of sacrifice) ..	14
		Sandigdha (doubtful)	398

<i>Page</i>	<i>Page</i>
Sandigdha - viśeṣanā - siddha (unproved on account of the adjective being doubtful) .. 363	Samāropa (superimposition) .. 201
Sandigdha - viśeṣyā siddha (unproved on account of the substantive being doubtful) .. 363	Samīropita (charged).. .. 140
Sandighā-siddha (unproved on account of the reason being doubtful) .. 363	Samāsa (compound) 452
Sandhāya (peacefully) .. 29	Samāsa-vādaḥ (doctrine of compound words) 452
Sannikarṣa (intercourse) 130, 411	Samāhāra (unified aggregative compound) 452 ^a
Sapaksa (homologue of the reason) 283, 284, 361, 433	Samiti (council) 22
Śapakṣe sattvam (existence of the sign in the homologue) .. 378	Samuccaya (aggregate) .. 25
Saptabhaṅgī-naya (sevenfold paralogism) 203, 212, 221	Samkramana-doṣa (diversion to other subjects) 163
Sabhā (council) .. 22, 27	Saṅketa (signification) .. 450
Sabhā-pati (president) . 204, 379	Samkhyāikānta (final signification of numbers) .. . 114
Sabhya (member) . 204, 379	Samkhyāikānta-vāda (doctrine of the fixity of things signified by numbers) .. 16 (ftn. 1)
Samabhirūḍha (subtle verbal method of description) 161 (ftn. 4), 171 ² , 181, 216	Saṅgāmāvacara-bhukku (member of a council) 231 ²
Samabhirūḍhābhāsa (fallacy of the subtle) 204	Samgraha (collective method of description) 161 (ftn. 4), 170, 171, 181, 216
Samayocita - vākya (opportune speech) 259	Samgrahābhāsa (fallacy of the collective) 203
Samavāya (inherence) 27, 32, 130, 134, 219, 287, 333, 375, 382, 383 ² , 387 ² , 389 ² , 393 ² , 394 ² , 395, 402, 412, 413, 414 449 (ftn. 1), 508	Samjñā (sensation) 126 ^a
Samāvāya-vāda (doctrine of inherence) 414	Sambhava (probability) 25, 56 95, 170, 370, 387
Samavāya-śabdārtha-parīkṣā (examination of the meaning of the word 'co-existent cause') .. 327	Sambhava (the originating cause) 33
Samavāyābhāva (absolute non-existence) 184	Sambhāṣā (method of debate) .. 28
Samavāyi-kāraṇa (material cause) 382, 390	Sambhāṣā praśamsā (utility of debate) 29
Samavota-samavāya (inherent inherence) 130, 412, 413	Sambhāṣā-vidhi (method of debate) 28, 27 ^a
Sama-vyāpti (equipotent concomitance) 399	Sammajjanī (cleansing the ground) 232
Samāna-tantra (allied system) .. 373	Sammukhābhinaya (settlement in presence) 230
	Samyukta-viśeṣanā (united particularity) 416
	Samyukta-samavāya (conjoined inherence) .. 130, 412, 413, 413
	Samyukta - samaveta - samavāya (conjoined inherent inherence) 130, 412
	Samyoga (conjunction) 130, 412 ^a
	Samvara (restraint) 168
	Samvṛti (veil) 146

	<i>Page</i>
Saivṛti (illusory)	203
Saivṛti (conditional)	254
Samsāya (doubt) 25, 33, 51, 52, 58, 103, 122, 201, 258, 359, 374, 375,	381
Samsāya-vidhi (method of debate)	51
Samsāya-vyudāsa (dispelling all questions)	122
Samsāya-sama (balancing the doubt) 34, 67, 260, 261, 268,	289
Samsad (council)	22
Samsarga-bodhaḥ (knowledge of the mutual connection of things)	444
Samsargābhāva (negation of corre- lation) 97 (ftn. 1),	394
Samsāra (path of transmigra- tion)	3
Samsāra-santati-parīkṣā (examina- tion of continuity of the world)	327
Samskāra (impression)	126 ²
Saṃhitā (hymn)	108
Sarva-tantra (dogma of all schools)	59
Sarva-tantra siddhānta (conclusion accepted by all schools)	259
Sarva-dan la-nāyaka (the leader of all dandas)	322
Savikalpa (determinate)	55
Savikalpaka (determinate) 134, 137 ² , 133, 133 (ftn. 1), 179, 360, 383, 390	
Savikalpaka-pratyakṣa (determin- ate perception)	383
Savikalpaka-vāda (doctrine of the determinate)	419
Savyabhicāra (erratic) 33, 63, 438 ³	
Savyabhicāra (undistributed mid- dle)	260
Sāssata-vādā (eternalists)	228
Sahakāri-kāraṇa (causality)	134
Sahacāra (simultaneous) 190, 191 ² , 427	
Sahaja śakti (natural power)	397
Sādrśya (likeness)	443
Sādhaka (theory of proof) 266, 514	
Sādhana (medicine)	34
Sādhana (middle term) 180 ³ , 190, 290	

	<i>Page</i>
Sādhana-vikala (defective in the middle term)	369
Sādhanāvyaṅvṛtta (example of ex- cluded middle term)	369
Sādharmya (homogeneous) 176, 191, 264 ² , 247, 290	368, 502
Sādharmyodāharaṇa (affirmative example)	502
Sadharmya-dṛṣṭāntābhāsa (fallacy of the homogeneous example) 178, 296 (ftn. 1)	
Sādharmya-vat (positive inference)	312
Sādharmya-sama (balancing the homogeneity) 67, 268, 289	
Sādhāraṇa (general)	293, 438
Sādhu (monk)	223
Sādhya (major term) 175, 176 ² , 177 ² , 178 ⁴ , 179, 180 ³ , 189, 264, 268, 268 (ftn. 2), 282, 285, 290, 377, 383	
Sādhya-vikala (example defective in the major term)	368
Sādhya-sama (counter-questioned) 63, 67, 256, 260, 268, 289	
Sādhyāsiddha (unproved on the part of the major term)	440
Sādhvī (nun)	223
Sāmānya (generality) 27, 32, 138, 192, 279, 287 ² , 295, 333, 375, 382, 387 ² , 388, 389, 393 ² , 394 ² , 395, 402, 487 (ftn. 1)	
Sāmānyato dṛṣṭa (commonly seen) 56, 116 (ftn. 1), 260, 499	
Sāmānyato-’ dṛṣṭa (not commonly seen)	56
Sāmānya lakṣaṇa (like any one of its kind)	310
Sāmānya-lakṣaṇa (intercourse whose character is general) 412, 429	
Sāmānya lakṣaṇa-siddhānta (con- clusion about the intercourse whose character is general)	430
Sāmānya-viśeṣa (general particu- lar)	177
Sāmānya-viśeṣa-śabdārtha parīkṣā (examination of the meaning, of	

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
the words 'generality' and 'particularity'	327	Sthira-bhāva-parikṣā (examination of permanent entities)	325 (ftn.)
Sāmānya-śabdārtha parikṣā (examination of the meaning of the word 'generality')	326	Sthūla-hasta (rugged hand) ..	273
Sāmānyābhāvah (non-existence of the general form)	425	Sparśa (tangible)	285
Sāmprata (suitable)	171 ²	Sphota (outburst of a conglomerate sound)	131, 132 ¹ , 148 ² , 149 ³
Sāmvivahārika (practical)	201	Sphota-vāda (doctrine of phonetic explosion)	131 ²
Sāmvivahārika-pratyakṣa (practical perception)	170 (ftn. 1)	Smarana (recollection)	201
Sāvaka (layman)	229	Smarana-pratyabhijñāna-tarkānūmāna-svarūpa-nirṇaya (determination of the nature of recollection, recognition, argumentation, and inference)	200
Siddha-sādhana (demonstration of what has already been established)	256	Smaranābhāsa (fallacy of recollection)	193
Siddhānta (conclusion) 27, 32, 33, 52, 59, 258, 259, 264, 350, 374, ..	375, 381, 504	Sṁṛta (scripture)	23
Siddhānta-lakṣaṇa (conclusive definition)	424	Smṛti (memory) 112 ¹ , 188, 215, 393 ² , 395	
Siddhārtha (inseparable meaning)	397	Syād-asti (may be, it is)	184
Śimha (lion)	396	Syād-nāsti (may be, it is not)	184
Śimha-vyaghroktā-lakṣaṇa (definition as given by the Lion and the Tiger)	396 406 (ftn. 5)	Syād-vāda (see Sapta-bhaṅgī naya)	184, 219
Śimha-vyaghroktā-vyāpti-lakṣaṇa (definition of invariable concomitance given by the Lion and the Tiger)	423	Syād-vāda-śrūta (perfect knowledge of things taken from all possible standpoints)	181
Śimha-śiṣuka (lion cub)	207	Svataḥ-prāmānya-vāda (doctrine of self-evidence) 326 (ftn.), 327	
Sukhs. (pleasure)	280	Svabhāva (relation of identity) 140, 191 ² , 258, 280, 311, 332, 400, 508	
Suddhika-saṁsandana (simple comparison)	237	Svabhāva-parikṣā (examination of nature)	326
Suvarṇa taijasa-prakarṇa (section on gold as a fiery thing)	397	Svabhāva-viruddhopalabdhi (perception contrary to identity)	311
Sūtrānta or sūttānta (original text)	248 ²	Svabhāva-hetu (relation of identity)	318
Sota-viññāna (auditory perception)	227	Svabhāvānupalabdhi (non-perception of identity)	311
Skandhas (aggregates of beings) 126 ⁷ , 127 (ftn.) ²		Svarūpa (specific individual)	129
Stuti (validiction)	108	Svarūpāsiddha (unproved in respect of nature)	362, 439
Sthāpanā (demonstration) 28, 42, 43, 51, 171, 500 ²		Sva-lakṣaṇa (like itself)	310
Sthira padārtha-parikṣā (examination of the permanence of entities)	326	Sva-samjñā (special term)	25
		Śvārthānumāna (inference for one's own self) 175, 192, 202, 276, 280, 307, 309 ² , 310, 359 ² , 361, 435 ²	

	<i>Page</i>		<i>Page</i>
Hāra (bearer) ..	127 (ftn.)	Hetu-vādin (logician) .	.. 39
Hināyāna (the little vehicle) ..	241	Hetu-vidyā (logic) ..	240 (ftn 3)
Hetu (middle term or reason) 5, 22,		Hetu-vibhakti (limitation of the	
27 ² , 28-32, 32 (ftn 1), 60, 121,		reason) ..	.. 166
162 ² , 166, 175, 176 ² , 177 ² , 178 ³ ,		Hetu-śāstra (logic) ..	7, 37, 40
180, 190 ³ , 193, 202 ⁴ , 258, 264 ² ,		Hetvantara (shifting the reason)	
265, 266, 268 ² , 268 ³ (ftn 2), 284,			35, 84, 269
286, 290, 291, 377, 437 ² , 500, 502,		Hetvartha (implication) ..	25
	503, 504	Hetvasiddhi (unproved on the part	
Hetu (means of knowledge) 51, 161,		of the reason) ..	.. 440
	162, 189	Hetvābhāsa (semblance of a rea-	
Hetu (cause) 240 (ftn. 3) ² , 404		son) 51 ² , 52, 63, 84, 137, 178, 193,	
Hetu-cakra (wheel of reasons) 299		258, 259, 269, 293 (ftn 1), 313,	
	(ftn. 2)	359, 362, 374, 375, 379, 381, 399,	
Hetu-dr̥ṣṭānta (reason and ex-			(ftn 1), 438 ²
ample) .. ..	.. 276	Hetvābhāsa-sāmānya-nirukti (ge-	
Hetu-doṣa (committing fallacies) ..	163	neral definition of fallacy) ..	438
Hetu-prayoga (use of the middle		Hetvābhāsānām asādhakatā-	
term)	203	sādhakatva-nirūpaṇam (deter-	
Hetu-vāda (theory of reasons) .	23	mination of the serviceableness	
		of fallacies)	442

TIBETAN INDEX.

This index is intended to facilitate the finding of all references and all general matter contained in the volume connected, in any way, with Tibet, its language and literature. It is meant for those who wish to consult the work not for its main subject, logic, but for the data it contains in connection with Tibetan studies. For this reason, in this index, only such names, whether Tibetan or Indian, have been given as are referred to in some specific Tibetan connection. Only those works are quoted of which the Tibetan versions are mentioned. Indian paṇḍits collaborating in Tibetan translation, but whose Tibetan names are not given, are excluded. On the contrary the names of Tibetan interpreters have all been given. A list of Indian translator-paṇḍits may be found on p. 353. Also excluded are the details contained in appendices H, I and J except a very few items. A list of errata, as far as observed, but only in Tibetan words, or connected with them, is added. The plan of the index is as follows:—

- I. Logical terms—Tibetan, Sanskrit, English.
- II. Initial words of Tibetan quotations.
- III. Books.
 1. Titles of Logical Books—Tibetan, Sanskrit, English.
 2. id. —Sanskrit only.
 3. References to (a) the Tanjur.
(b) the Kanjur.
 4. References to other Tibetan works.
 5. References to other Indian works.
 6. References to 'Tibetan books' in general.
 7. Modern books quoted.
- IV. Proper names.
 1. Tibetan.
 2. Indian
 3. Modern authors.
- V. Place names.
 1. Tibetan spelling.
 2. English spelling.
- VI. Residuals.
 1. Tibetan.
 2. English.
- VII. Errata.

J. v. M.

	Page
ཚམ་མི་མཐུན་མཚུངས་	vaidharmya-
samāḥ	289
འཇིག་རྟོན་གྱི་དཔེ་བརྟན་པ་	samsārā-san-
tati-parikṣā, examination of the	
continuity of the world ..	327
ཚུལ་དཔག་	see ཚུལ་སྤྲད་པ་
inference	280, 298
ཚུལ་དཔག་ལྟར་རྣམ་	anumānābhāsa,
fallacy of inference	298
ཚུལ་སྤྲད་འགྲོ་བའི་བརྟན་ཅི་ལྟག་པ་	viparitān-
vaya, fallacy of inverse connec-	
tion	297
ཚུལ་སྤྲད་འགྲོ་བའི་མེད་	ananvaya, absence
of connection	297
ཚུལ་སྤྲད་པ་	see ཚུལ་དཔག་
ཚུལ་སྤྲད་པ་ལ་བརྟན་པ་	anumānapari-
kṣā, examination of inference	327
བརྟོན་པ་	jalpa, wrangling
54 n 2	
བརྟོན་མཚུངས་	varṇyasamā
288, 289	
རྟེན་འབྲེལ་	upamāna, comparison ..
287	
གཉིས་ཀྱི་བརྟན་པ་	ubhaya-parikṣā, ex-
amination of both [nature and	
sense-organs]	326
གཉན་རྗེས་	hetu, reason, middle
term	258, 286
གཉན་རྗེས་	or བསྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་
hetu, liṅga,	
sādhana, middle term, reason,	
mark	290
གཉན་རྗེས་ལྟར་	རྣམ་ [བ་]
hetvā-	
bhāsa, fallacy of the middle term	
293 n 1, 258	
གཉན་རྗེས་དང་དཔེ་	hetu-dṛṣṭānta,
reason and example ..	276
གཉན་རྗེས་ [རྗེ] ལྗོངས་གསུམ་	lingasya
trairūpyam, three characteristics	
of the middle term ..	291 n 1
གཉན་རྗེས་ལཱ་ལྷན་པ་	hetu sāstra, hetu-
vidyā, science of reasoning ..	7 n 7
གཉན་ལཱ་ལྷན་པ་	nirṇaya ..
258	
གཉན་ལཱ་དབབ་པ་	nirṇaya, demonstra-
tion, ascertainment ..	54 n 2
རྟོགས་	mark
298	
རྟོག་གི་	tarka, corroborating a pro-

	Page
position by showing that its	
denial is impossible, <i>reductio ad</i>	
<i>absurdum</i> , confutation, 54 n 2,	268
རྟོག་གི་རག་	tarka-vidyā, art of de-
bate	7 n 10
ལྟ་བུ་	darṣana, philosophy ..
5 n 6	
ལྟག་གཞི་	jāti, analogue, far-fetched
analogue, ..	258, 276, 288
ལྟག་ཚད་	jāti, evasive answer, analo-
gue	54 n 2
རྣམ་པ་རྟེན་	śūnyatā [śūnya-vāda], the
absolute, the void ..	254 n 2
བརྟན་པའི་དངོས་པོ་བརྟན་པ་	sthira-padār-
tha-parikṣā, examination of the	
permanence of entities ..	326
མལ་བའི་མཚུངས་	prasanga samā ..
289	
ཐུན་མོང་	sādhāraṇa, the too general
293	
ཐུན་མོང་མ་ལོན་	asādhāraṇa, the not
general enough	294
ཐེ་ཚོམ་	samsāya, doubt ..
54 n 2, 258	
ཐེ་ཚོམ་མཚུངས་	samsāya-samā ..
289	
ཐོས་པ་བརྟན་པ་	śruti-parikṣā, exami-
nation of śruti or scripture ..	327
ཐུས་གསུམ་བརྟན་པ་	kālatraya-parikṣā,
examination of the three times	327
རྟོན་རྟོགས་མཚུངས་	arthāpatti-samā
289	
རྟོན་དམ་པའི་བརྟོན་པ་	paramārtha
satyā, transcendental truth	254 n 2
འབྲུ་བྱུང་	samavāya, inherence ..
287	
འབྲུ་བའི་རྗེས་རྟོན་བརྟན་པ་	samavāya-
śabdārtha-parikṣā, examination	
of the word 'co-existent cause'	327
རྣམ་མཁའི་གོས་ཅན་གྱིས་ཀྱུན་ཏུ་	བརྟན་པ་
པའི་	
བདག་བརྟན་པ་	digambara parikal-
pita-ātma-parikṣā, examination	
of the Digambara Jaina doctrine	
of the soul	326
གནས་མཁའི་བྱས་བདག་བརྟན་པ་	Vātsī-
putra-kalpita-ātma-parikṣa, ex-	
amination of the Vātsīputra doc-	
trine of the soul	326
རྣམ་རྟོག་མཚུངས་	vikalpa-samā ..
289	

	Page
ནམ་པར་རྫོང་པའི་མཐའ་ vitandā ..	258
ནམ་པར་ལེས་པའི་ལྷ་བ་ see རྣམ་འབྲེར་པའི་ ལྷ་བ་ vijñāna vāda (yogācāra- darśana), the doctrine of idealism	245 n 1
ནམ་བཞིན་ svabhāva, identity ..	258
རྣམ་འབྲེར་པ་ yogin, yogācāra ..	278
རྣམ་འབྲེར་པའི་ལྷ་བ་ see རྣམ་པར་ལེས་པའི་ ལྷ་བ་ yogācāra darśana, yogācāra [in Tibet yogācārya], practice of meditation	245 n 1, 249, 249 n 1
དབལ་བྱ་ or དབུབ་བྱ་ anumeya or sādhya, predicate or major term	282
དཔེ་ drṣṭānta, example 54 n 2, 128 n 4, 258, 286	
དཔེ་བཞིན་ drṣṭānta, example ..	290
སྤྱི་ sāmānya, generality ..	287
སྤྱི་དང་བྱེ་བྲག་གི་རྟོག་པའི་དོན་བརྟག་པ་ sāmānya-viśeṣa-sabdārtha-parikṣā, examination of the words 'gener- ality' and 'particularity' 326, 327	
སྤྱིའི་ཚིག་གི་དོན་བརྟག་པ་ sāmānya śab- dārtha parikṣā, examination of the meaning of the word 'gener- ality' or 'genus'	326
སྤྱི་དཔེ་པ་ལ་མ་བརྟག་པའི་བདག་བརྟག་པ་ mīmāṃsaka-kalpita-ātma-parikṣā, examination of the mīmāṃsaka doctrine of the soul. . . .	326
སྤྱི་རྣམ་གྱི་དོན་བརྟག་པ་ vāhyārtha- parikṣā, examination of external objects	327
བྱེ་བྲག་ or ཚེས་ཅན་ pakṣa or dharmin, minor term or subject ..	290
བྱེ་བྲག་ཚེས་ pakṣa-dharma, law of ex- tension of the middle term ..	283
བྱེ་བྲག་གི་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་ pakṣābhāsa, fallacy of thesis	290 n 1
པར་མཐུང་ས་ prāpti-samā ..	288
བྱེ་བྲག་ or བྱེ་བྲག་ viśeṣa, particularity	287
དཔེ་བཞིན་བྱེ་བྲག་པའི་ indriya parikṣā, ex- amination of the sense-organs ..	328

	Page
དབུ་མ་ mādhyamika ..	249
འབྲས་བུ་ kārya, effect 258, 280, 311, 332	
འབྲས་བུའི་གཏན་རྟོགས་ kārya-hetu, re- lation of effect and cause ..	318
འབྲས་མཐུང་ས་ kārya-samā ..	289
མ་ཐུགས་མཐུང་ས་ anutpatti-samā ..	289
མ་པོ་ asiddha, the unproved ..	293
མ་པོ་པ་ anīcīta, the uncertain ..	293
མ་པོ་པའི་མཐུང་ས་ avarṇya-samā ..	289
མ་པོ་པའི་མཐུང་ས་ aprāpti-samā ..	288
མི་དམིགས་ anupalabdhi, non-percep- tion	258, 281, 311, 332
མི་དམིགས་པའི་གཏན་རྟོགས་ anupalab- dhi-hetu, relation of negation ..	318
དམིགས་པ་མཐུང་ས་ upalabdhi-sāmā [etc.]	289
བྱེ་བའི་མཐའ་ vāda	258
རྫོང་པ་ anvikṣikī, vāda, logic, discus- sion	7 n 1, 54 n 2
རྫོང་པའི་མཐའ་ jalpa	258
རྩོད་མ་ pramāṇa, source of right cog- nition, means of right knowledge 54 n 2, 258	
རྩོད་མ་བྱེ་བྲག་པ་ pramāṇa-siddhi, estab- lishment of pramāṇa ..	307
རྩོད་མ་[ག]ཞུ་བརྟག་པ་ pramāṇān- tara-parikṣā, examination of other kinds of valid knowledge	327
རྩོད་མེད་ apoha, negation of the opposite	276, [287]
རྩོད་ག་དཔ་ nigraha sthāna ..	258
ཚིག་གི་དོན་བརྟག་པ་ ṣoḍaśa padārthāḥ, the sixteen categories [in Akṣa- pāda's Nyāya-sūtra] 54 n 2	
ཚིག་དོར་ chala, quibble 54 n 2, 258	
མཚན་ཉིད་ལྟག་པ་ལའི་པ་ ṣaḍ-lakṣaṇa- vyākhyā, explanation of six char- acteristics	332
རྩོད་ dravya, substance ..	287
རྩོད་མའི་ཚིག་གི་དོན་བརྟག་པ་ dravya- padārtha-parikṣā, examination of the meaning of the word 'sub- stance'	326

	Page
གཞན་གྱི་དོན་གྱི་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པོ་ parārthānumāna, inference for the sake of others	276, 282
གཞན་གྱི་དོན་གྱི་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པོ་ parārthānumāna, inference for the sake of others	309
གཞན་གྱི་དོན་གྱི་རྗེས་སུ་ parārtha-vākya, words for the sake of others	307
གཞན་དང་པོ་ paratantra, dependent on others, conditional	245 n 1
གཞན་གྱི་དབང་པོ་ལས་འདས་པའི་དོན་མཐོང་བ་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་ལུ་བརྟེན་པ་ anyendriyā tītārtha-darśana-purusa-parikṣā, examination of the soul which sees things beyond the range of senses	327
གཞན་སེལ་པ་ apoha, negation of the opposite	287, [276]
གནལ་བྱ་ prameya, object of right cognition, object of right knowledge	54 n 2, 258
ཡིད་ཆེས་ཚིག་འཁྱུ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་འདུག་དོན་ śabda, credible word or verbal testimony	287
ཡོངས་བཟུམ་ parinispāna, complete in itself, perfect	245 n 1
ཡོན་ཏན་ guna, quality	287
ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཚིག་གི་དོན་བརྟེན་པ་ guna-śabdārtha parikṣā, examination of the meaning of the word 'quality'	326
རང་གི་དོན་གྱི་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པོ་ svārthānumāna, inference for one's self	276, 280, 307, 309
རང་བཞིན་ svabhāva, identity	280, 311, 332
རང་བཞིན་གྱི་གཞན་ཚིག་སྐྱེས་ svabhāva-hetu, relation of identity	318
རང་བཞིན་བརྟེན་པ་ svabhāva-parikṣā, examination of nature	326
རང་ལས་རྐྱེན་མཐོང་བརྟེན་པ་ svataḥ-prāmānya-parikṣā, examination of self-evidence	327

	Page
རྟོགས་བརྟེན་བཅོས་ nyāya-śāstra, science of right judgment, of true reasoning	40, 40 n 3
རྟོགས་པ་ nyāya, true reasoning	8 n 7
རྟོགས་པ་ཅན་ nāyāyika	287, 287 n 3
རྟོགས་པ་ཅན་དང་བྱེ་བྲག་པས་ཀྱང་ཏུ་བརྟེན་པ་པའི་སྐྱེས་ལུ་བརྟེན་པ་ nyāya-vaiśeṣika-parikalpita-purusa parikṣā, examination of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika doctrines of the soul	326
རྟོགས་པ་འི་བརྟེན་བཅོས་ see རྟོགས་བརྟེན་བཅོས་	
རྟོགས་པའི་ཡན་ལག་ nyāyāvayava, the (five) parts or members of a syllogism, syllogism	42 n 9, 289 n 3
ལས་ karma, action	287
ལས་གྱི་ཚིག་གི་དོན་བརྟེན་པ་ karma-śabdārtha parikṣa, examination of the meaning of the word 'karma'	326
ལས་དང་འབྲས་བུའི་འབྲེལ་པ་བརྟེན་པ་ karma-phala-sambandha-parikṣā, examination of the relation between karma and its effect	326
ལེན་པའི་ཚེས་པར་ལེས་ pravṛtti-vijñāna, knowledge as received, presentative knowledge which produces the external world drawing us toward it.	245 n 1
ལུས་འབྲེན་ dūṣana, refutation	298
ལུས་འབྲེན་ལྟར་སྐྱོང་བ་ dūsanābhāsa, fallacy of refutation	298
ལུས་འབྲེན་བྱ་གོལ་བ་ vitandā, cavil or reducing a proposition ad absurdum without caring to establish one's own view	54 n 2
ལེར་སྐུ་པས་ཀྱང་ཏུ་བརྟེན་པ་པའི་བདག་བརྟེན་པ་ kapila-parikalpita-ātma-parikṣā, examination of Kapila's doctrine of the soul	326
ལེར་སྐུ་བ་ see ལྟུང་ས་ཅན་པ་ Kāpila or Sāṃkhya	278
ལྟུང་ས་ཅན་དེ་གསལ་བརྟེན་པ་པའི་བདག་བརྟེན་པ་ Upaniṣad-kalpita-ātma-parikṣā, examination of the Upaniṣad doctrine of the soul.	326

II. TIBETAN QUOTATIONS.

	Page		Page
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	345 n 4	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	507 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	334 n 4	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	283 n 1
གཤམ་གྱི་ལྷན་པ་	345 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	276 n 3
གཤམ་གྱི་ལྷན་པ་	338 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	275 n 1
གཤམ་གྱི་ལྷན་པ་	278 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	244 n 6
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	305 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	287 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	277 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	279 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	276 n 4	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	347 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	376 n 5	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	308 n 3
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	287 n 3	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	120 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	289 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	278 n 3
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	258 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	55 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	299 n 3	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	135 n 5
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	258 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	307 n 4
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	244 n 4	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	276 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	280 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	344 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	288 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	346 n 3
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	287 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	332 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	317 n 2	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	282 n 1, 506 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	286 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	285 n 1*
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	281 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	288 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	244 n 3	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	282 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	124 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	506 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	286 n 3	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	325 n 3*
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	252 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	278 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	305 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	286 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	283 n 3	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	346 n 1
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	279 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	278 n 3
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	280 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	308 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	353 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	42 n 9
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	306 n 7	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	331 n 2
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	128 n 4, 258 n 4	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	332 n 3
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	279 n 1	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	315 n 2

III. BOOKS.

1. Logical Works, Tibetan.

	Page		Page
ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	kṣa- na-bhaṅga-siddhi vyākhyā,	ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་ལྷན་པ་	kṣaṇa- bhaṅga-siddhi, proof of the mo- mentariness of things...
commentary on the kṣaṇa-bhaṅga- siddhi	331	.. ..	330

	<i>Page</i>
शुद्धिपथस्य पठनप्रणाल्याः पुस्तक-पठनप्रणाल्याः, the method of reading books	341
कार्य-कारण-सिद्धिः, establish-ment of the relation of cause and effect	341
सन्तान-सिद्धिः, proof of the continuity of succes- sion	319
सन्तान-सिद्धि-टीका, commentary on the above	322
धर्म-धर्म-विनिश्चयः, determi- nation of the minor and major terms	337
पारलौकिक-सिद्धिः, proof of the world beyond	330
कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, or हेतु-कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, hetu cakra- hamaru or pakṣa dharma cakṛā, the wheel of reasons put in order	299, 299 n 1, 2, 3
कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, हेतु-बिन्दु-वि- varana, a drop of reason	318
कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, हेतु-बिन्दु-टीका, detailed commen- tary on the above	321
कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, हेतु-सिद्धि-टीका, instruction on the real nature of the middle term in a syllogism	337
कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, हेतु-सिद्धि-टीका, commentary on the hetu-bindu	332
कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, तार्किक-सिद्धि-टीका, technicali- ties of logic	346
सर्वज्ञ-सिद्धि-टीका, sarvajña siddhi-kārikā, memorial verses on the attainment of om- niscience	328
श्रुति-परिच्छेद-टीका, śruti- parikṣā, memorial verses on the	

	<i>Page</i>
examination of śruti or verbal testimony	328
त्रिकाल-परिच्छेद-टीका, trikāla-parikṣā, ex- amination of [the] three times	301
तत्त्व-संग्रह-परिच्छेद-टीका, tatt- va-saṅgrāha-parikṣā, comment- ary on the tattva-saṅgraha	328
तत्त्व-संग्रह-परिच्छेद-टीका, तत्त्व-संग्रह-परिच्छेद-टीका, memo- rial verses on a summary of the tattvas	324
अन्तर्व्यपत्ति-टीका, antar-vyāpti, internal inseparable connection	343
विज्ञाप-ति-सिद्धि-टीका, vijñap- ti-rnātra-siddhi, establish-ment of a mere communication of know- ledge	343
व्यवहारीक-सिद्धि-टीका, vāhyārtha-siddhi-kārikā, memo- rial verses on the reality of ex- ternal things	328
पक्ष-धर्म-सिद्धि-टीका, pak- ṣa-dharma-siddhi, see कारण-सिद्धि-टीका, or पक्ष-धर्म-सिद्धि-टीका, pak- ṣa-dharma-cakra	
बालवार्तिका, bālāvātāra- tarka, children's introduction to logic	337
इश्वर-सिद्धि-टीका, īśvara- bhaṅga-kārikā, memorial verses on the refutation of God	329
प्रतिबन्ध-सिद्धि-टीका, pratibandha-siddhi, establish-ment of the causal con- nection	345
सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, sambandha-parikṣā, examination of connection	319
सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, commentary on the above	319
सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, copious commentary on the above	321
सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, सम्बन्ध-परिच्छेद-टीका, sam- bandha-parikṣānusāra, comment- ary on the above	345
श्लेष-परिच्छेद-टीका, ślambha-parikṣā,	

	Page
examination of the objects of thought	301
དམིགས་པ་བརྟེན་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་[པ] ālambana-parikṣā-vṛtti, commentary on the above	301
དམིགས་པ་བརྟེན་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་བཤད་ ālambana par kṣā-tīkā, annotation on the above	321, 322
ཚིང་པ་བཞུག་པའི་ཚིག་ལེན་རྒྱས་པ་ vigraha-vyāvartanī-kārikā, memorial verses on quelling disputes	256, 257
ཚིང་པའི་ཚིགས་པ་ tarka-nyāya or vāda-nyāya, method of discussion	318
ཚིང་པའི་ཚིགས་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་ vāda-nyāya-vyākhyā, commentary on the above	321
ཚིང་པའི་རྒྱས་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་དོན་རྟོགས་པར་འབྲེན་པ་ vāda-nyāya-vṛtti-vipañcitārtha, elaborate commentary on the above	323
ཚད་མ་གྱུར་ལས་བརྒྱས་པ་ see ཚད་མའི་མཛོ་ etc., pramāṇa-samuccaya, compilation on pramāṇa, valid knowledge	42 n 9, 133 n 5, 278
ཚད་མ་གྱུར་ལས་བརྒྱས་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་ pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti, commentary on the above	299, 300
ཚད་མ་བརྟེན་པ་ pramāṇa parikṣā, examination of pramāṇa or the sources of valid knowledge	330
ཚད་མ་ཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་དཀའ་འབྲེལ་ pramāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā, explanation of difficulties in the pramāṇa-vārtika	319
ཚད་མ་ཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་འབྲེལ་པ་ pramāṇa-vārtika-vṛtti, annotation on the pramāṇa-vārtika	308, 308 n 2, 323
ཚད་མ་ཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་འབྲེལ་པ་བཤད་ pramāṇa-vārtika (-pañjikā)-tīkā, annotation on the pramāṇa-vārtika-pañjikā	320, 344
ཚད་མ་ཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་གྱིན་ pramāṇa-vārtikāḷankāra, commentary on the pramāṇa-vārtika	336

	Page
ཚད་མ་རྟོགས་འབྲེལ་[གྱི] གྱིན་གྱི་འབྲེལ་པ་བཤད་ pramāṇa-vārtikāḷankāra - tīkā, annotation on the above	338, 344
ཚད་མ་རྟོགས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཚིག་ pramāṇa-vārtika[kārikā], memorial verses explanatory of pramāṇa or sources of knowledge	307, 307 n 4
ཚད་མ་རྟོགས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སྲོལ་གྱི་ pramāṇa-viniścaya-tīkā. see below. commentary on the pramāṇa-viniścaya	330, 331
ཚད་མ་རྟོགས་པར་ངེས་པ་ pramāṇa-viniścaya, determination of pramāṇa or sources of knowledge	308, 309, 308/9 n 3
ཚད་མ་རྟོགས་པར་ངེས་པའི་འབྲེལ་པ་བཤད་ pramāṇa-viniścaya-tīkā, see above, commentary on the pramāṇa-viniścaya	342
ཚད་མ་ཉམ་པར་འཇོམས་པ་མཛོ་བཤད་པའི་འབྲེལ་ pramāṇa-vidhvaṇsana-tip-pitaka vṛtti, or Pr°-vihetana-teppitaka-vṛtti, or Pr°-vidhvamsana-saṁbhāṣita-vṛtti, a magic-stick commentary on Pr°-vihetana or Pr°-vidhvams. na	257
ཚད་མ་ཚིགས་པར་འབྲེལ་པའི་ཚོ་ nyāya-praveśa, door of entrance to logic	289
ཚད་མའི་བརྟེན་པ་མཛོ་སྲོལ་ཚིག་པ་ལ་འབྲེལ་པ་ pramāṇa-śāstra nyāya-praveśa, an entrance to the science of logic	300, 300 n 1
ཚད་མའི་མཛོ་གྱུར་ལས་བརྒྱས་པ་ see ཚད་མ་གྱུར་ etc., pramāṇa-sūtra samuccaya, compilation of aphorisms on pramāṇa, valid knowledge	276, 276 n 4
གཞན་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་ཚིག་ལེན་རྒྱས་པ་ anyāpoha-vicāra-kārikā, memorial verses on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites	329
གཞན་སེལ་བ་[ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་] apoha-namā-prakarana, treatise on the determination of a thing by the exclusion of its opposites	330

	Page
[<i>vyākhyāna-vatī-nāma-pramāṇa-samuccaya-tikā</i>]	323
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	336
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	309
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	321, 329
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	321, 329

	Page
bindu-pindārtha, purport of the above	340
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	327
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	340
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	345
འགྲུབ་པའི་ལྷན་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་	336

2 *Logical Works, Sanskrit.*

(Translated into Tibetan.)

	Page
[<i>Abhidharma-]jñāna - prasthāna-sāstra</i>]	247 n 3
[<i>Abhidharma-mahā-]vibhāṣā [sāstra]</i>]	247 n 4
<i>Abhisamayālanakāra-kārikā</i> 262, 262	n 5
<i>Ālambana-parīkṣā</i>	300, 300 n 3
(<i>perhaps identical with Ālambana-pratyaya-dhyāna-sāstra</i>).	
<i>Ālambana-parīkṣā-tīkā</i>	321/322
<i>Ālambana-parīkṣā-vṛtti</i>	301, 301 n 1
<i>Antar-vyāpti</i>	343
<i>Anyāpoha-vicāra-kārikā</i>	329
<i>Apoha-nāma-prakarana</i>	330
<i>Apoha-siddhi</i>	345
<i>Bālāvatāra-tarka</i>	337
<i>Dharma-dharmi-viniścaya</i>	337
<i>Hetu-bindu-tīkā</i>	321
<i>Hetu-bindu-vivarana</i>	318, 332
<i>Hetu-cakra-hamaru</i>	299, 299 n 1, 3
<i>Hetu-tattva-upadeśa</i>	337
<i>Īśvara-bhaṅga-kārikā</i>	329
<i>Kārya-kāraṇa-bhava-siddhi</i>	341
<i>Kṣana-bhaṅga-siddhi</i>	330
<i>Kṣana-bhaṅga-siddhi-vyākhyā</i>	331
<i>Mūla-madhyamaka-vṛtti-akuto-bhaya</i>	250

	Page
<i>Nyāya-bindu</i> 309, 309 n 2, 315, 315	n 2, 317 n 2
<i>Nyāya-bindu-pindārtha</i>	340
<i>Nyāya-bindu-pūrva-pakṣe-saṅkṣipta</i>	327
<i>Nyāya-bindu-tīkā</i>	321, 329, 329 n 6
<i>Nyāyāloka-siddhi or Nyāya-siddhyāloka</i>	336
<i>Nyāyānusāra-sāstra or Kosa-kāraṅka-sāstra</i>	248 n 1
<i>Nyāya-praveśa or Nyāya-praveśo-nāma-pramāna-prakarana, perhaps Nyāya-dvāra-tarka-sāstra</i> .	289, 289 n 1, 2, 300, 300 n 1, 302, 302 n 4, 507 n 2
<i>Pāra-loka-siddhi</i>	330
<i>Pramāna-nyāya-praveśa see Nyāya-praveśa</i>	
<i>Pramāna-parīkṣā</i>	330
<i>Pramāna-samuccaya</i> 275, 277 n 1, 278 n 1, 2, 3, 279 n 1, 280 n 1, 2; 281 n 1, 282 n 1, 2; 283 n 1, 3; 285 n 1, 286 n 1*, 2, 3; 287 n 1, 2, 3; 288 n 1, 2; 506 n 2	
<i>Pramāna-samuccaya-vṛtti</i>	299

	Page		Page
Pramāna-sāstra-nyāya-praveśa <i>see</i>		Santānāntara-siddhi ..	319
Nyūya praveśa		Santānāntara-siddhi-tikā ..	322
Pramāna vārtika [-kārikā] 306 n 7,		Sarvajña siddhi-kārikā ..	328
307, 376 n 5		Śruti-parīksā ..	328
Pramāna-vārtikā-lankāra ..	336	Tarka-bhāsā ..	346
Pramāna-vārtikā-lankāra-tikā ..	338, 341	Tarka-nyūya or Vāda-nyūya 124 n 1,	318
Pramāna-vārtika-pañjikā ..	319	Tattva-saṅgraha or Tarka-saṅgra-	
Pramāna-vārtika (-pañjikā) tikā ..	320	ha ..	325 n
Pramāna-vārtika-tikā ..	341	Tattva-saṅgraha-kārikā ..	324
Pramāna-vārtika-vṛtti ..	308, 323	Tattva-saṅgraha-pañjikā ..	328
Pramāna-viniścaya ..	308/309, 308 n 3	Trikāla-parīksā ..	301, 301 n 2
Pramāna-viniścaya-tikā ..	330/331, 342	Vāda-nyūya <i>see</i> Tarka-nyūya.	
Pratibandha-siddhi ..	345	Vāda-nyūya-vṛtti vipaścītārtha 323/324	
Pustaka-pāthopāya ..	341	Vāda-nyūya-vyākhyā ..	321
Sahāvalambha-niścaya ..	336	Vāhyārtha-siddhi-kārikā ..	328
Sambhandha-parīksā ..	319	Vijñapti-mātra-siddhi ..	343
Sambhandha-parīksānusēra ..	345	Vikāṣāmala-vati-nāma-pramāna-	
Sambhandha-parīksā-tikā ..	321	samuccaya-tikā ..	323
Sambhandha-parīksā-vṛtti ..	319	Yukti-prayoga ..	340

3A References to the *Tanjur*.

	Page		Page
<i>Tibetan Tanjur</i> —		མཛ་ gi རྟེ = 33	241 n 1, 251 n 2
general ..	519, 530 <i>et seq.</i> , 537 <i>et seq.</i>	.. ku ཀུ = 61	342 n 6
collection of ..	352	.. ee རེ = 95	42 n 9.
mdo, on the yogācāra school ..	249 n 4		124 n 1, 135 n 5, 270, 275, 276,
<i>British Mission Copy</i> —			276 n 1, 2, 3; 289, 289 n 1, 299,
in British Museum 321 n 1, 2; 328			299, n 1, 2; 300, 301, 306 n 7,
n 1, 329 n 6, 332			307, 307 n 4, 308, 308 n 3, 309,
<i>India Office Copy</i> 300 n 3, 301 n 1, 2,			316 n 3, 318, 319, 376 n 5, 506 n 2,
302, 302 n 4, 307 n 3, 308 n 1, 309 n			3; 507 n 2
1, 2; 313 n 2, 3; 319 n 1, 2, 3; 321 n		.. , che རྗ = 96	319
3, 4; 322 n 1, 2; 323 n 1, 324 n 1, 328		.. je རྟེ = 97	320
n 4, 330 n 2, 3, 4, 5; 331 n 1, 4; 336		.. fie རྟེ = 98	320
n 1, 4; 337 n 3, 340 n 1, 3; 341		.. te རྟེ = 99	336
n 1; 343 n 2; 345 n 1, 3, 5; 346		.. the རྟེ (misprint she) = 100	336
n 4		.. de རྟེ = 101	338
<i>Sikkim, Labrang, Copy</i> 299 n 1,		.. ne རྟེ = 102	338
319 n 5, 320 n 4, 324 n 2, 336 n		.. pe རྟེ = 103	344
3, 342 n 4, 344 n 1, 530-538		.. phe རྟེ = 104	344
<i>Single Volumes</i> —		.. be རྟེ = 105	344, 344 n 1
མཛ་མཛ་, ka ཀུ = 1 ..	253 n 6*	.. me རྟེ = 106	344
མཛ་ ka ཀུ = 1 ..	262 n 5	.. tse རྟེ = 107	344
.. tsa རྟེ = 17	256 n 2	.. tshe རྟེ = 108	322, 323, 334
.. ha རྟེ = 29	128 n 4,		
	257, 258 n 1, 2, 4		

མདྲ་	dse ཇ = 109	Page 331	341, 343, 345, 345 n 2, 4, 346, 346	Page n 3, 347 n 1
..	ve ཇ = 110	331 n 2, 342		
..	she ཇ = 111	321, 322,	མདྲ་	he ཇ = 113 .. 328
	328, 329, 332, 332 n 2, 340		..	ye ཇ = 114 . 328
..	ze ཇ = 112	324, 328, 328 n	..	re ཇ = 115 . 328
4, 329, 330, 331, 336, 336 n 1, 4, 337,		337 n 3, 338 n 1, 340	..	he ཇ = 119 .. 324
			..	go ཇ = 123 7 n 7, 8 n
				7, 54 n 2, 55 n 1

3E. References to the Kanjur.

		Page		Page
འདྲ་ལྟ་བུ་,	ga ཇ = 3 ..	11 n 3	collection of	.. 352
མདྲ་,	ca ཇ = 5	120 n 2, 244	general	.. 530-538
		n 3, 4, 6		

4. Other Tibetan Works.

		Page		Page
གྲོ་ལྷོ་གཟུང་འབྲུག་		517, 520 n 1	334 n 4, 335 n 1, 336 n 2, 337	
ཚེས་བྱུང་	see also under Tibetan		n 1, 338 n 3, 340 n 2, 4; 341 n	
names s v Tārānātha	305 n 1, 517		2, 342 n 1, 5, 6, 344 n 2, 346 n	
འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚྭ་གླུ་	mañju-sri-mūla-		1, 348 n 1, 353 n 1, 516 n 1,	
tantra	.. ..	252 n 1	517, 517 n 2, 519 n 2	
དཔལ་བསམ་ལྗོན་བཟང་	see also under Modern		བོད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་བོ་	.. 517
Authors, s. v. Das, Sarat Chandra,	305		ཤེས་རབ་ལྗོན་པོ་	prajñā-danda 252 n 1
n 1, 2; 320 n 4, 322 n 3, 323 n 2,			བཤེས་པའི་ལྗོན་པོ་	suhṛllekha 251 n 2
327 n 1, 328 n 3, 329 n 1, 332 n 3,			ལུས་པའ་ཚེས་བྱུང་	241 n 1, 242 n 1
333 n 5,			པོ་ཚེས་བཟང་པ་	pātimokkha 232 n 1

5. Other Indian Works.

		Page		Page
Amarakosa..	..	7 n 1, 10	Lankāvatāra sūtra	120 n 2, 243 n
Mahārāja-kanika-lekha		241 n 1		3. 244 n 3, 4, 6
Mahāvvyutpatti	7n7, 8n7, 11n1,		Pātimokkha	.. 232 n 1
	25n1, 40n3, 43n2, 47n		Subhṛllekha ..	251 n 2
	1, 54 n 2, 55 n 1			

6. Tibetan Books in general.

		Page		Page
T. authorities on the sūtra of " the			T. books on yogācāra ..	.. 249
burden and the burden-bearer "	127		Sanskrit books translated into	
T. accounts of Nālandā	..	516	Tibetan ..	.. 352, 519 n 5, 6
T. books ..	..	11, 241 n 1	T. literature about Madhya-deśa	304 n 1
T. books on the Pāla dynasty of			T. translations of Vasubandhu's	
Bengal ..	..	517	works ..	.. 267
Some books of T. on date of Bud-			T. versions of Asanga's works	.. 265
dha ..	..	252 n 1		

7. Modern Books

(See Modern Authors.)

Page	Page
Bilingual Index of the Nyāyabindu, Vidyābhūṣana 370 n 4, 309, n 2	Life of Buddha, Rockhill 11 n 3, 246 n , 322 n 7
Buddhism, Schlagintweit 249 n 1, 5	Sāṅkhya Philosophy in the Land of the Lamas, Vidyābhūṣana 324 n 2
Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain, Cordier .. 257 n 1, 262 n 2	Sanskrit works on Literature, Grammar, Rhetoric and Lexicography as preserved in Tibet, Vidyābhūṣana 334 n 3, 343 n 1
Geschichte des Buddhismus, Tārānātha, Schiefner, see under Tibetan names s. v. Tārānātha.	Sragdharā Stotra, Vidyābhūṣana 322 n 5, 7
Indian Logic as preserved in Tibet, No. 3, Vidyābhūṣana 262 n 1, 342 n 2	Tibetan-English Dictionary, Sarat Chandra Das .. 520 n 2, 530
Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow, Sarat Chandra Das 517, 519 n 2	Tibetan Grammar, Csoma de Koros 306 n 1, 323 n 3, 517
Jainism, Waddell 271 n 1, 323 n 3, 327 n 1, 520 n 2	

IV. PROPER NAMES.

1. Tibetan.

[Abbreviations : Chinese : C. Editor : e; Interpreter : i; King : k; Monk : m; Official : o, Scholar : s; Tibetan : T; Translator : t, Venerable : v; Very Venerable : vv.]

Page	Page
ཀ་མ་དཔལ་བཅའ་གསུང་པོ་ T i 256	འཇམ་དབང་ལྷ་སྐོས་ Jinendrabodhi .. 323
ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ Nāgārjuna. date of .. 252	ལྷོ་རྩ་ལེས་ཀྱི་དུ་ Ātreya .. 11 n 1.
ལྷ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ T o i 250	ཚམས་ཀྱི་བཅོམ་འགྲུས་ i m 342
ལྷ་གཟུ་ཚམས་རབ་བཅོམ་གསུང་ .. 343	ཚམས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཆེན་ Dharmaratna vv C m e T t 300
ཀྱང་ལྷོ་གཟུ་མཚན་ Aksapada .. 47 n 1	ཚམས་གྲགས་ Dharmakirti .. 303
འཇམ་དབང་ལྷ་སྐོས་ = ལྷོ་ལེས་དཔལ་བཅའ་པོ་	ཚམས་མཚན་ Dharmottara 329, 331 n 2
ལྷ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ i 256	ཉི་མ་ལྷས་ Ravi Gupta 322
ལྷོ་རྩ་ལེས་ or འཇམ་དབང་ལྷ་སྐོས་ k 517	ཏ་ར་རྒྱ་མ་ Lama 246 n 2, 248 n 5, 7, 8; 249 n 4, 251, 251 n 1, 4, 5; 252, 252 n 2, 4; 261 n 3, 265 n 4, 272 n 1, 274 n 2, 303 n 3, 305 n 1, 307 n 1, 319 n 4, 320 n 1, 2, 4; 322 n 3, 328 n 3, 329 n 1, 333 n 5, 336 n 2, 337 n 1, 338 n 2, 3; 339 n 7, 305 n 1, 340 n 2, 4; 341 n 2, 342 n 5, 6; 343 n 4, 344 n 2, 3; 348 n 1, 350 514 n 3, 517, 517 n 2, 519 n 2 520 n 2
ལྷ་ལོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚན་ [ལྷོ་བཅོམ་] k 323, 327, 352, 517	ཉི་མོ་པ་ 340
ལྷ་གསུང་པོ་ལྷོ་ལེས་མཚན་དཔལ་བཅའ་ Sāskya m 289	
ལྷ་གསུང་པོ་ལྷོ་ལེས་རབ་ i m .. 331, 328	
དཀར་པོ་ལྷོ་སྐོས་ Tim 345	
དཀར་པོ་ལྷོ་སྐོས་ Tim .. 307, 318, 320	
དཀོ་བོ་ལེས་ལྷོ་ལྷ་ Cs 300	
དཔལ་བཅའ་ Kalyāṇa Rakṣita .. 328	
དབྱེ་ལས་ལྷོ་ལ་ [Ācārya] Jetāri .. 337	
ལྷོ་རྩ་ལེས་ལོ་ envoy 352	
ལྷོ་ལ་ཚན་ Jina 338	

	Page
ཤུ་ཅན་པོ་འཇམ་མེད་པོ། Shu-chen	340
ཤུ་ཅན་གཞོན་པོ། tin	.. 300
མུ་ཤུ་འབྲུང་གནས་ལུས་ Mokṣākara	
Gupta ..	.. 346
འཇགས་མེད་ Aaanga	.. 265
འཇོན་མི་སེམས་གྲོ་མ་ minister	.. 352
དཔལ་ལེས་རབ་པ། ti	.. 300
དཔལ་ལེས་ལེས་རབ་པ། ti	.. 275
དཔལ་ལེས་གྲགས་ [ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ཤི་ཤི་] im	.. 318
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ Vinita Deva	.. 320
ཤུ་ཅན་གྲུང་དཀར་པོ་ Śaṅkarānanda	.. 341
རྩོམ་གྲུང་མཚན་ T i	.. 323
མུ་ཤུ་པོ། ..	341, 520
མུ་ཤུ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ། ..	.. 517
དཔལ་མཚན་གྲུང་པོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ། T i	.. 337
དཔལ་ལེས་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལོ། ..	.. 323
དཔལ་ལེས་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ། im	.. 346
དཔལ་ལོ་གས་ T o i	.. 319
དཔལ་ལོ་གས་དཀར་པོ་ T i m of Shu-chen	.. 321, 322, 328
དཔལ་ལེས་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ། k	.. 270
ལྷོ་གས་ལུང་ Dignāga	.. 272-301
portrait of ..	.. 271
nick-name of ..	.. 272
ལན་རྩོམ་མཁས་ i	.. 319, 321
ལན་རྩོམ་དཔལ་ལོ་གས་ see དཔལ་ལོ་གས་ i of Shu-chen	.. 322
ལན་རྩོམ་ལོ་གས་ལོ་ i of Shu-chen	321, 340
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ great T. sage	.. 270, 353
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ im	.. 336
ལྷོ་ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ T i	.. 338
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Maitreya-nātha or Maitreya	.. 262, 262 n 5
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ T i m 262 n 5, 309, 330, 331, 336, 344, 345	
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Vasubandhu	.. 266
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ v i m	.. 324
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Nārada	.. 43 n 2

	Page
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Mukṭā-kumbha	.. 331
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Agni-veśa	.. 25 n 1
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Pandita or Ācārya Aśoka	332
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Tarka-puṅgava, Fighting Bull, nickname of Dig-nāga	.. 272
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ im	.. 330
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ im t	.. 301
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ T i	.. 299
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Śānta Raksita	.. 323
ལྷོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Candra Gomin	332, 332 n 2, 333
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Jñāna-śrī	
Bhadra ..	.. 342
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ or ལྷོ་ལོ་ k	.. 517
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ l	.. 299
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Ratnakīrti	.. 338
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Ratnavajra	.. 338
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ see ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Ratnākara Śānti	.. 342 n 5
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ T i m of Hbro	330, 337, 341, 348
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ v i m	.. 324
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Prajñākara Gupta	.. 336
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ k contemp. of Dharma-kīrti	.. 305, 306, 352
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Ācārya, Tib name of Ratnavajra	.. 340
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Hema (or Kanaka) Varma, Indian sage	.. 275, 300
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ great T i Śākya m	.. 324
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་	.. 517
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Devendrabodhi	.. 319
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ k	.. 352, 517
ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ or ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ see ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ Ratnākara Śānti	.. 342

2. Indian.

	Page
Ācārya, T name for Ratnavajra	.. 340
Atiśa (Śrī Jñāna Atiśa), visits Tibet	.. 341

	Page
Ārya Deva, Tārānātha on	.. 261
Ātreya	.. 11, 11 n 3
Dānaśīla or Dānaśrīla, visits Tibet	340

	Page
Dharmakīrti, quoted ..	121 n 1
Dignāga epithet of ..	272
Dīpankara, starts for Tibet ..	318
Hansa, killed in Tibet ..	210
Jina Mitra, visits Tibet ..	340
Jñāna-siddha Bhadra, perhaps identical with Jñāna-śrī Bhadra	342 n 1
Kamala Śīla (Śrīla), called to Tibet ..	327
Kaniska, date of ..	241 n 1
Nāgārjuna, quoted 128 n 4, 250	
Nāgārjuna. Tārānātha's date of	252. 252 n 4

	Page
Muktākumbha, name restored from the Tibetan ..	331 n 3
Paramahansa, killed in Tibet ..	210
Ratna Vajra, see Ācīrya	
Sanghabhadra, existence of his work in Tibetan ..	248 n 1
Śankara Svāmin, Tibetan knowledge of ..	302, 302 n 4
(Tārānātha, see under Tibetan names)	
Tarka-pungava, see Dignāga.	

3 Modern Authors.

	Page
Cordier, P., Tibetan catalogue 257	n 1, 262 n 2
Cooma de Koros, A., Tibetan Grammar 55 n 1, 306 n 1, 323 n 3, 517	
Das, Sarat Chandra, various, 43 n 2, 47 n 1, 242 n 1, 274 n 2, 275 n 1, 305 n 1, 320 n 4, 323 n 2, 3, 324 n 3, 327 n 1, 332 n 3, 338 n 3, 348 n 1, 516 n 1, 517 n 2, 517 n 3, 519 n 2, 520 n 2, 530	
Rockhill, W. W., Life of Buddha 11 n 3, 246 n 2, 322 n 7	
Ross, E. D., Mahāvvyutpatti, 7 n 7, 8 n 7, 40 n 3, 43 n 2, 47 n 1	
Schiefner, A., Tārānātha, Ge-	

	Page
schichte des Buddhismus, see under Tibetan names <i>sv</i> Tārānātha.	
Schlagintweit, E., Buddhism, 249 n 1, 5	
Sherbatski, F. J., Nyāya-bindu 309 n 2, 329 n 6	
Vidyābhuṣana, Satis Chandra, various, 7 n 1, 7, 10; 40 n 3, 241 n 1, 262 n 1, 307 n 4, 309 n 2, 322 n 5, 7; 324 n 2, 334 n 3, 343 n 1, 342 n 2	
Waddell, L. A., Lamaism 271 n 1, 323 n 3, 327 n 1, 520 n 2	
Wassiljew, W., 251 n 1, 306 n 1	

V PLACE NAMES.

1. Tibetan Spelling.

	Page
བཀྲ་ལིས་ལྷན་པོ་ ..	270, 353
ལྷ་གྲོ་, in W. Tibet ..	324
མ་རྩི་, [?] Tholing in ..	517
ལྷ་གྲོ་, monastery near Lhasa ..	344
ལྷ་གྲོ་ [?], in Nari ..	517
ལྷ་གྲོ་, province, translators of 324,	337, 343
ལྷ་གྲོ་ལྷན་པོ་, Candra-kūna ..	336

	Page
ལྷ་གྲོ་, near Tashi Lhunpo	270, 338
ལམ་ལྷན་, interpreter of ..	338
ལྷ་གྲོ་, interpreters of 321, 322, 328, (See errata)	329, 340
ལྷ་གྲོ་, Bodhisattva t of	299, 323
ལྷ་གྲོ་ལྷན་པོ་, monastery ..	300
ལྷ་གྲོ་ལྷན་པོ་, monastery ..	275

	Page		Page
ས རྒྱ་, monastery . . .	289, 300	འཇམ་མཁའ་, holy monastery	323, 323
གཡུ་པ་ province in Amdo . . .	337		n 2, 324
མེང་དཀར་, village . . .	337	ལྷ་ས་, Nyethang near . . .	344

2 *English Spelling.*

	Page		Page
Amdo, province of Sum-pa in . . .	337	Sikkim, see Labrang . . .	537-539
Do-jog, Taxila . . .	528	Tibet, spread of Mahāyāna in . . .	241
Labrang, in Sikkim 289 n 1, 299		Buddhist Missionaries in . . .	352
n 1, 319 n 5, 320 n 4, 324 n 2,		Enterprising monks visiting . . .	351
328 n 2, 336 n 3, 342 n 4, 344		Śānta Rakṣita visits . . .	517
n 4, 530-536		Western Tibet, Saṣkyā monastery	
Padang . . .	530, et seq.	in . . .	289, 300
Pamiyangchi . . .	530, et seq., 537-539		

VI. RESIDUALS.

1 *Tibetan*

	Page		Page
ལོ་མུང་ dvāra-paṇḍita?, gate keeper	520	ལུས་ gupta . . .	328 n 3
རྩོམ་པོ་ vajra, thunderbolt . . .	272	ལམ་ལོག་ . . .	531
པ་ཚེན་འདམར་ paṇḍita's red cap . . .	271	བལྟུང་ rakṣita, protected	328 n 3

2. *English.*

	Page		Page
Illustration, likeness of Dignāga	271	Mahārāṇī of Sikkim, letter from	537
Mahārājā of Sikkim, letter from	538, 539	Tashū Lama, visit to India	528, 529

VII. ERRATA.

PAGE:	FOR:	READ:
124, n 1:	Dhamakīrti.	Dharmakīrti
245, n 1:	ཡོང་ས་གྲུབ་	ཡོང་ས་གྲུབ་
252, n 1:	ལྷ་འདམ་	འདམ་
252 3 n 6:	Bṣan-hgyur,	Bṣtan-hgyur
257, § 82:	ṭeppitakā,	-ṭippitaka
276, l. 15/16:	rje ḡpag,	rjes-ḡpag.
288, n 1:	དཔག་པའི་ཕྱིད་	དཔག་པའི་ཕྱིད་
298, bottom:	Mnon-sum ltar-nan,	Mnon-sum-ltar-snan.
299, l 5:	ལ་do,	ལ་do, Vol. ce.
299, bottom:	hgrel-wa,	hgrel-pa.
300, § 98:	Dge-ses	Dge-bśes.
301, § 100:	brtag-pahis hgrel,	brtag-pahi-hgrel-pa.
301, § 101:	Duṣ-bsum.	Duṣ-gsum.

PAGE:	FOR:	READ:
303, n 3.	von,	von
307, n 4.	ཅང་མ་རྣམས་འབྲུག་	ཅང་མ་རྣམས་འབྲུག་
308, n 3, i 2, fr. b	ལྷན་	ལྷན་
309, l 5:	gnan-par	gnam-par.
309, n 2.	Sher-batski, Shere-bataki.	Sherbatski
317, n 2:	<i>id.</i>	<i>id.</i>
319, § 114, § 115:	Hbrol-wa	Hbrol-pa
321, passim:	<i>id</i>	<i>id.</i>
323, last line:	hbrel,	hgrel.
323, n 3:	Koros,	Koros.
325, Tib. l. 4, fr. b :	འབྲུག་	འབྲུག་
326, l. 26:	Tibtan,	Tibetan.
326, l. 2 fr. b.	po,	pa.
327, l. 12.	shan,	gshan
327, l 23.	ditag,	brtag.
336, § 129, l. 13:	She,	The.
337, l. 9 fr b. :	Bis-wa,	Byis pa
342, § 137, last l :	hgrus,	hgrus.
343, l 4:	do,	du.
335, n 4, l. 1	མཁྱེན་	མཁྱེན་
353, n 1, l. 1 :	བྱུང་པ་ལྷན་པ་	བྱུང་པ་ལྷན་པ་
517, l. 11:	Thu-srong,	Khri-sron.
517, l 17:	lama,	bla-ma.

Passim, See Index V. I. ལྷ་མོ་ is not the name of a country, but a title great revisor. Certain other irregularities have not been indicated, as the index enables the reader to draw his own inferences.