

BHARTṬHARI AND DIṆNĀGA *

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The date of the great grammarian Bhartṛhari, author of the Vākyapadīya, which is regarded as a landmark in the literary history of India in as much as it forms the basis for determining the dates of several saṅskṛit authors,¹ has been determined so far on the statements of Itsing in his, "Record of Buddhist religion". The Chinese traveller has recorded that Bhartṛhari was a great grammarian, whose fame had spread all over India, that he was the author of the three works Vākyapadīya, the-commentary on the Mahābhāṣṭya and another work, Peina, (which may perhaps be the Prakirna Kanda or the third and last chapter of the Vākyapadīya), and that he died in about 650 A.D. i.e., forty years before the date of his record.² The accuracy with which Itsing has reported other contemporary events as well as about the extent of the Vākyapadīya itself has led scholars to assign Bhartṛhari to the seventh century A.D.

But new evidences which have come to light, completely falsify the statement of Itsing and push back the date of Bhartṛhari to the 5th century A.D.³

In the second Kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya, while describing how the science of grammar, which had been almost extinct, was restored and propagated by the great grammarians, Chandra and Vasurāta, Puṇyarāja, the commentator of the Vākyapadīya, mentions several times Vasurāta as the teacher of Bhartṛhari.⁴ In the Kārikā 490 of the Vākyapadīya⁵ Bhartṛhari himself seems to refer to his teacher Vasurāta by, 'Guruṇā' as is evident from the words

¹ Cf. "A Record of the Buddhist Religion," by I-tsing translated into English by J. Takakusu. p. xv—

"The most important of all the dates given by I-tsing are those of Bhartṛhari, Jayāditya, and their contemporaries. They serve as a rallying-point for a number of literary men belonging to what I called the 'Renaissance period of Saṅskṛit literature.'"

² *Ibid* pp. LVII and pp. 178-180.

³ See.—I-tsing and Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya ; By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja contributed to the Krishnaswamy Iyengar Memorial Volume. (pp. 285-298).

⁴ See the comment of Puṇyarāja on Kārikā 486 of Kāṇḍa II :— न तेनास्मद्गुरोस्तत्रभवतो-
र्वसुरातादन्यः कश्चिदिमं भाष्यार्णवमवगाहितुमलमित्युक्तं भवति । See *Ibid* II. 489 :—

केनचिच्च ब्रह्मरक्षसानीय चन्द्राचार्यवसुरातगुरुप्रभृतीनां दत्त इति । तैः खलु यथावत् व्याकरणस्य
स्वरूपं तत उपलभ्य सततं च शिष्याणां व्याख्याय बहुशाखित्वं नीतो विस्तरं प्रापित इत्यनुश्रूयते ।

⁵ cf. II. 490b :—प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ।

* Read at the 15th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

of Punyarāja prefaced to the verse.⁶ Again a Jaina writer Simhasūrigaṇi, who may be assigned to the beginning of the 6th century A.D., in his unpublished work, *Nayacakraṭika*,⁷ a commentary on the *Nayacakra* of Mallavādin the senior⁸, which is not now extant, mentions, twice in his work, Vasurāta as the Upādhyāya of Bhartṛhari.⁹ This confirms the statement of Punyarāja and establishes that Vasurāta was a great grammarian of the day under whom Bhartṛhari studied and that Bhartṛhari often held views quite different from those of his master.

According to Paramārtha, Vasurāta was a brahmin and brother-in-law of Balāditya, a pupil of Vasubandhu.¹⁰ He was well-versed in grammar. He defeated Vasubandhu, through the intervention of Chandra, another great grammarian. This means that Vasurāta, Chandra, and Vasubandhu should be regarded as contemporaries and Bhartṛhari, the pupil of Vasurāta, assigned to the 5th century A.D.

Another important piece of evidence, which I have discovered in my study of the *Pramāṇa Samuccaya* of Dinnāga, lends support to this view. In the fifth chapter of this work, which is devoted to the exposition of the Apoha theory of Dinnāga, the following two *Kārikas* are found, which may be rendered into Sanskrit¹¹ as given below.

Thigs-pa-daṅ. ni. tshogs. pa-yi,
chu. sogs. rnams, la. rjod byed-ni ।
graṅs daṅ. tshad. daṅ. dbyibs. rnams la
ltos. pa. med. par. I jug. par. byed ॥
deyibs. daṅ. kha. dog. yan. lag. rnams
khyad. par. can. la. gaṅ. I jug. pa.
de. yi. yantag. la sgra-ni
rah tu. I jug. la. dun asma yin.

⁶ cf. : Ibid :— अथ कदाचित् योगतो विचार्य तत्र भगवता वसुरातगुरुणा ममायमागमः संज्ञाय वात्सल्यात् प्रणीत इति स्वरचितस्य ग्रन्थस्य गुरुपूर्वकमभिधातुमाह

⁷ I am deeply grateful to Sri Jambu Vijayaswami, Talegaon—(Poona) for kindly lending a manuscript copy of this important work for my study.

⁸ Mallavādin, author of *Dvādasāranayacakra* should be distinguished from another Jaina writer of the same name who is the author of *Nyayabindutika*-Tippaṇi.

⁹ cf. *Nayacakraṭika*, folio 272a—

सोऽभिज्ञल्पोऽभिषेयार्थपरिग्राही बाह्याच्छब्दादन्य इति भर्तृहर्यादिमतम् । वसुरातस्य भर्तृहर्युपाध्यायस्य मतं तु. . .

cf. Ibid folio 277a— एवं तावत् भर्तृहर्यादिदर्शनमुक्तम् । वसुरातः भर्तृहरेरुपाध्यायः. . .

¹⁰ cf. "A study of Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu and the Date of Vasubandhu" by J. Takakusu J. R. A. S. 1905. pp. 33ff.

¹¹ The two *Kārikās* may be restored into Sanskrit as :—

- 1) द्विन्दौ च समुदाये च वाचकः सल्ललादिषु । संख्याप्रमाणसंस्थाननिरपेक्षः प्रवर्तते ।
- 2) संस्थानवर्णावयवैर्विशिष्टे यः प्रयुज्यते । शब्दो न तस्यावयवे प्रवृत्तिरुपलभ्यते ।

They are only Tibetan renderings of the two Kārikās occurring in the second Kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadiya of Bhartṛhari.¹² This means that either Diñnāga took the Kārikās from Bhartṛhari's work or both Diñnāga and Bhartṛhari took them from quite a different work. But there is no evidence to support the latter alternative. We learn from Jinendra-Buddhi, author of Viśālāmalaṭikā on¹³ the Pramāṇa Samuccayaṣṭi of Diñnāga, that Diñnāga is here referring to the views of Bhartṛhari. This evidently supports the former alternative that Diñnāga is quoting from Bhartṛhari.

Now if Diñnāga, a famous Buddhist logician of the 5th century A.D. quotes from the Vākyapadiya, how can we assign Bhartṛhari to the 7th century A.D. ? We have only to conclude that Bhartṛhari, the author of the Vākyapadiya lived in the 5th century A.D. and that the statement of Itsing that Bhartṛhari died some forty years before the date of his record is incorrect.

¹² cf. Karikas. II. 160 and 157.—Benares. Edition. pp. 144-145.

¹³ cf. Viśālāmalaṭikā : Mdo. re folio 33lb. line 6ff : Kha. cig. tu gtso. bor. cha tshas rnam
la. 'jug. te l bha. rite. ha. ris. yis smras. pa l cha. sogs. rnam la zes pai sogs pai sgras. sa la. sogs pa.
yoñs su gzuñ ño. l केचित्तु प्रधानमंशेषु वर्तते । भर्तृहरिणा उक्तं सलिलादिष्विति आदिशब्देन
पृथिव्यादीनां परिग्रहः ।