

JNĀNAŚRĪMITRA AND HIS WORKS

By

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In the history of Indian thought the Buddhist and Brāhmanical systems of Logic present a unique picture of parallel development. There is, however, a fundamental difference in their outlook : that between idealism and realism. This led to mutual refutation which continued in an unbroken line for generations of scholars resulting in the growth of a rich and vigorous literature. The Buddhist philosophers had bitter rivalry with other schools of thought also. But nowhere else it is so systematic and of such a long duration as in the case of the *Nyāyaśāstra*. Each logician tried to uphold the position of his predecessor in the same school by refuting the views of the opponent of the latter in the opposite camp. This rivalry became more and more marked with the progress of time. And it became highly difficult to study the works of one author when those of his immediate predecessors in both the schools were not available. Let us take one example: Vācaspatimiśra I wrote his *Nyāyavārtikatātparyatikā* in order to vindicate the position of Uddyotakara as given in his *Nyāyavārtika*. Naturally he criticised the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti who in his *Pramāṇavārtika* had refuted Uddyotakara. Thus Logic was a living science and anything introduced in either of these schools is the result of historical necessity.

In the continuous development of these two schools there was so long a big gap between Vācaspatimiśra I and Udayanācārya and we had no works of any outstanding Buddhist philosopher whose criticism provoked Udayana to vindicate the position of Vācaspati. That there was no such Buddhist work seemed to be impossible, for the Buddhist views criticised in Udayana's works are not found in pre-Vācaspati Buddhist philosophy. Again, those were the heydays of Buddhist philosophers at Nālandā

and Vikramaśilā under the patronage of the Pāla rulers of Gauḍa and Magadha.

References, however, show that Jñānaśrimitra was an important figure before Udayana. But we were in the dark about his contributions. Tibetan sources, however, inform us that this Jñānaśrimitra hailed from Gauḍa, had a high place of honour among the scholars in Vikramaśilā and was appointed the second *Mahāstambha* (great pillar) among the gate-keeping scholars of the Vikramaśilā *mahāvihāra*. The great Atīśa is said to have sought Jñānaśrī's advice on esoteric matters before his departure for Tibet. Again, Jñānaśrī is said to have received special recognition from Naropant at the time of the latter's visit to Vikramaśilā. We further learn that one of the works of this Jñānaśrimitra called the *Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi* is preserved in Tibetan translation.¹ He is again said to have been a disciple of Ācārya Dharmapāla of Suvarṇadvīpa.²

References to and quotations from his works are found in many philosophical works in Sanskrit also. And we find Vādi Devasūri attributing one *Apoḥaprakaraṇa* to him. All these go to show the important place he occupied and the recognition his works received till their disappearance from India, after the fifteenth century A.D. When Śaṅkaramiśra is found to quote him extensively.

The pilgrimages of Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana to Tibet have brought within our easy reach a number of works of this Jñānaśrimitra along with other valuable works in original Sanskrit and we are now in a position to see how Vācaspati-miśra was criticised by him and what provoked Udayana to write his *Nyāyavārtikatātparyapariśuddhi* and *Bauddhādhikāra*.

The photoprints of palm-leaf manuscripts brought by the Mahāpaṇḍita and preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna, show that one bundle of 208 palm-leaves is entirely dedicated to Jñānaśrī's works. It is written in legible Maithil script

1. Cf. *Indian Pandits in Tibet*, JBTS. 1893 and *History of Indian Logic Vidyābhūṣana* p. 341.

2. *2500 Years of Buddhism* p. 230.

of circa 12th century A. D. It consists of the following works:—

1. Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya¹ (1b—62a),
2. vyāptīcarcā (1b—9a),
3. Bhedābheda-parīkṣā (1b—2b),
4. Anupalabdhirahasya (2b—6 2, b).
5. Sarvāsadbābhāvacarcā (6, b—8a),
6. Apohaprakaraṇa (8a—20b),
7. Īśvaravāda (20b—54b, consting of three sections)
 - (i) Pūrvapakṣa,
 - (ii) Īśvaradūṣaṇa, and
 - (iii) Vārtikasaptaśloki-vyākhyāna,
8. Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi (446—56a),
9. Yoginirṇaya-prakaraṇa (56a—65b),
10. Advaitabindu-prakaraṇa (65b—72a),
11. Sākārasiddhiśāstra (72a—122b), and
12. Sākārasamgrahasūtra (122-137a).

Among these Nos. 1, 2, 11 and 12 have been specifically attributed to Jñānaśrīmitra. No. 6 has been quoted and ascribed to our author by Vādi Devasūri. The author also mentions it as his own composition in his *Vyāptīcarcā* (4a. 4). The Tibetan translation of No. 8 mentions Jñānaśrīmitra as its author. Nos 7 and 10 also have been referred to by the author as his own works (766 and 96b). That No. 9 is also a work of Jñānaśrī seems to be certain as it refers to the *Sarvajñāsiddhi* (58a) which is elsewhere mentioned as another work of this author (656 and 114b). The contents of this work (No. 9) seem to show that Ratnakṛiti, Jñānaśrī's disciple, utilised it in his *Sarvajñāsiddhi*. The rest are small tracts and betray no clue as regards their authorship. The learned discoverer, however, accepts all these twelve works as Jñānaśrī's contributions and he designates the entire bundle of MSS. under consideration as *Jñānaśrī-nibandhaḥ*.

No other Mss. of any of the works mentioned above except No. 1,² has been traced.

1. Noticed in JBRS, XXXVI, pp. 67—69.

2. Rahulji himself discovered a second Ms. of the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* which has been of immense help in filling up the missing portions in the photoprints.

Over and above these, our author refers to a few other works or sections there of as his own of which the *Vyāptigrahassamarthanaprastāva* the *Apohaprastāva* and the *Trikapañcakacinta* seem to be identical with Nos. 2, and 8 of our above list respectively. The *Sthānanirūpaṇa* and the *Tattvacinta* could not be identified. The *Sarvajñasiddhi* as mentioned before, was another work of this author.

The titles of the works give an idea of the vast field traversed by our author. Kṣaṇabhaṅga, Sākāravāda and Īśvaravāda were the burning topics during those days and he has naturally devoted considerable space to them. Writing on the abstruse philosophical topics, he has never become tiresome. On the other hand, his sense of humour and mastery over the language have made the works attractive. The *Śākārasaṃgrahasūtra* is written entirely in verse. Other works are also interspersed with beautiful verses in a number of metres skillfully used. The initial verse of the *Śākārasaṃgrahasūtra* reminds us of the *nāndi-īśloka* of the *Veṇī saṃhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa. It is at the same time a fine instance of double entendre.¹

To a student of the History of Philosophy these works are a veritable mine of information. Jñānaśrī gives us an idea about the richness of the Vikramaśilā monastery in the Śāstric side. That all the important works of Mahāyāna Buddhism were studied there is proved by the numerous quotations from and references to authors like *Maitreya-nāthapāda*, *Nāgārjuna*, *Asaṅga*, *Vasubandhu*, *Sthiramati*, *Dignāga*, *Dharmakīrti*, *Āryasvāmin*, *Pra-nākaragupta*, *Dharmottara*, *Śubhagupta*, *Śāntideva* *Arcaṭa* etc. etc.

1. प्रज्ञा येन खलीकृताम्बरदशामाकृत्य नः प्रेयसी
सास्यं सद्दसि स्थितेषु कृतिषु प्रख्यातकीर्तिष्वपि ।
क्रूरन्यायमयो निराकृतिनियो दुःशासनः सांप्रतं
सोऽयं मद्भुजपञ्चरे निपतितः संरक्ष्यतां कौरवाः ॥

122b. 4.

1. The following are the important Buddhist texts cited : Hetubindu, Pramāṇavārtika, Apohasiddhi of Dharmottara, Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra, Abhisamayālaṃkāra, Mahāyānottaratantra, Sūtrālaṃkāra, Sūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya, Sandhīnirmocana sūtra, Piṇḍārtha of Dignāga, Candrapradīpa and Pajñāpāramitā,

Some of the works quoted here have not as yet been found in original Sanskrit while others are extremely rare. One particular author on whose view Jñānaśrī has devoted considerable space in both the *Sākārasiddhi* and the *Sākārasaṃgrahasūtra* deserves our special attention. He is Kumāranātha or Yuvarāja. Jñānaśrī gives him a place of eminence by counting him among the great Ācāryas of the Vijñānavāda School as an associate of Dignāga. Dignāga, as we hear, received much help from Āryamañjuśrīkumārabhūta, who was so long supposed to be a semi-mythological being. But the quotations and references here seem to bring him down to the concrete land of history.¹

The references decide Jñānaśrīmitra's affiliation also. He belongs to the school of Āryamaitreya-nāthapāda which was successively strengthened by Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. It is well known that Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika* was the basis of three different schools among which Jñānaśrī belonged to the religious school started by Prajñākaragupta, the author of the *Pramāṇavārtikabhāṣya*.²

2. He is variously hinted at, cf. युवराजराजः (72a & 130a)

यौवराजकराजस्य मुनेः (94a), युवराजमीलः (113a), युवराजः (113b & 121a)
युवराजनीतिः (118b, 132b) and युवराजनयः (128a). One chapter in the *Sākārasaṃgrahasūtra* has been devoted to the exposition of the views of Asanga and Yuvarāja.

cf. इति धर्मं कायस्वरूपचिन्ता पर्यन्तप्रवचन मार्यासङ्गयुवराजोक्तिनिर्णयो द्वितीयः । (128b). This Yuvarāja seems to be identical with Rājaku-lapāda mentioned by Ratnakīrti.

1. साक्षात्ख्यात कुमारमूर्तिमहिते मञ्जुश्रियां शास्तरि
प्राप्योद्भवेदमिव प्रवृत्तिं शिशुकीडानुकारेऽपि यत् ।
श्रेयस्तेन जनोऽयमस्तु परितो नियन्त्रमन्त्रीमय
ज्ञानश्रीवशितोपनीत परमानन्दक कन्दाडकुरः ॥

(122b)

2. आर्यासङ्गमनङ्गजिह्वयवहो यद्भूपतीशोऽन्वशा-
दाचार्यो वसुबन्धुरदुरमतिस्तस्याज्ञयाविद्युतत् ।
दिग्गणोऽयं कुमारनाथविहितासामान्यसहामक-
स्तस्मिन् वातिकभाष्यकार कृत्तिनोरक्षा मवक्षा स्थितिः ॥

(119b)

As a logician Jñānaśrī had to face eminent Nyāya scholars like Śaṅkara, the author of the *Sthirasiddhi*; Bhāsarvajña, the author of the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, Trilocana, the author of the *Nyāyamanjarī*¹ and Vācaspati-miśra I who is called *sarvatantrasvatantra*, an independent thinker in all the systems of Brahmanical philosophy. Jñānaśrī regards these as the four pillars of the edifice of the Varṇāśrama culture and spares no pains to refute them. Vittoka and Śatānanda are two more important figures whose views have been criticised in connection with the refutation of the theory of God. We may point out in this connection that these quotations and references are of immense value to a student of logic, since most of the works are lost.

Among the Mīmāṃsakas, Kumārila, Kāśikākāra (Succarita-miśra) and Mahodadhi (author of the *Mīmāṃsāmahodadhi*) have been mentioned and the *Brhaṭṭikā* (of Kumārila), the *Vidhi-viveka* (of Maṇḍanamīśra) and the *Nyāyakaṇikā* (of Vācaspati) have been quoted.

We miss here any reference to the Jaina philosophers for want of his contemplated *Anekāntacintā* in refutation of the Jaina theory of non-absolutism. Nothing shows that he actually wrote it.

The influence of Jñānaśrī has been left in all the three branches of Indian Logic—Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina. In the Brahmanical side we find Udayana's *Bauddhādhikkāra* otherwise called the *Ātmatattvaviveka* devoted mainly to the refutation of the views of Jñānaśrī as found in the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* and the *Sākārasiddhiśāstra*. His *Nyāyavārtikatātparyapariśuddhi* also criticises Jñānaśrī. The *Kiraṇavali* gives a summary of his views on momentariness. Gaṅgeśa quotes a verse from the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* in the *Tattvacintamaṇi*. Śaṅkaramiśra was conversant with the works of our author. He mentions Jñānaśrīmitra as an authority on Buddhist philosophy along with Dignāga, Dharma-

1. *Nyāyamanjarī of Guru Trilocana* JBRŚ. Vol. XII

2, cf. ...व्यवस्थित प्रतिसम्वात्वावस्तु प्रस्तोष्यतेऽनेकान्तचिन्तायाम् ।

(क्षणभङ्गाध्याये 4b.6)

kīrti and Prajñākara.¹ Śaṅkara's *Ātmatattvavivekakalpalatā* extensively quotes passages from the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* and the *Sākārasiddhi*. The *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya* has been utilised by Mādhavācārya in the *Sarvadarśanasanagraha*.

Among the Buddhists, Ratnakīrti has summarised the *Kṣaṇabhaṅgādhyāya*, *Vyāptīcarcā*, *Apohaprakaraṇa* and *Īśvaravāda* respectively in his *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhis* (I and II), *Vyāptinirṇaya*, *Apohasiddhi* and *Īśvara sādhanadūṣaṇa*. Again Ratnakīrti's *Sarvajñasiddhi* seems to be based on the *Yogiṇīrṇaya* and the *Sarvajñasiddhi* of Jñānaśrī. His *Citrādvaitaparakāśavāda* presupposes the *Sākārasiddhi* of Jñānaśrīmitra. Mokṣākara of Jagaddalavihāra also quotes Jñānaśrīmitra as an authority in his *Tarkabhāṣā*.

The Jaina logician Vādi Deva quotes our author several times and as we have seen before refers to the *Apohaprakaraṇa* by name in his *Syādvādaratnākara*. Devabhadra quotes him.

It may be noted in this connection that our author is to be distinguished from Jñānaśrībhadra of Kāśmīra, who wrote the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* now preserved in Tibetan translation. Whether our author wrote any commentary on any of the works of Dharmakīrti is not known. But his elaborate exposition on the seven verses of the *Pramāṇavārtika* dealing with the refutation of God and his upholding the views of Dharmakīrti and Prajñākara justify his claim that he has made the position of both free from undeserved attacks वातिकभाष्यकारकृतिनोरखानवद्या स्थिति ।

1. *Vādivinoda*, p. 55.