## Madhava, An Early Unfaithful Exponent of the Sankhya

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Early Sānkya was characterised by a large variety of doctrines, Paramārtha mentioning no less than eighteen schools of Sānkhya. Iśvarakṛṣṇa's work not only swallowed all the earlier literature but also codified the system into some homogeneity. The glimpses that we have of the early Sānkhya authorities, Kapila, Āsuri, Pañcaś kha, Vīrṣagaṇya, Jaigiṣavya and Vindhya-vāsin, as also the views in the Ycga-Sūtras, Aśvaghoṣa, Caraka and the Great Epic, show a considerable body of divergent views. While, on one side, following a common law in the history of Sanskrit literature, the compendious Kārikās of Iśvarakṛṣṇa threw into oblivion all the earlier literature, the system itself was soon absorbed and rendered superfluous by both the theistically oriented epic version and the Vedānta. The reconstruction of the early history of Sānkhya and the views of its different exponents becomes thus a very interesting-work. Mādhava, of whose contribution and its peculiar nature we shall speak here, is one of the little known celebrities of this early history of Sānkhya.

Umveka makes an interesting reference to him in his commentary on the Slokavārttika,2 from which it appears that Mādhava is presupposed by Kumārila himself. The reference occurs under the Codanā Sītra during the course of the discussion that the scriptural injunction or interdiction alone is authority for determining dharma and adharma and not any inference, such as the one based on the apparent good or injury relating from an act. According to Umveka, the subsection beginning from verse 231 under the Codanā Sūtra is directed against the Sānkhya who does not accept the scriptural authority and opposes Vedic sacrifices as being on a par with any mundane act of injury (himsā). After showing that neither benefit to another nor injury to him is criterion for dharma or adharma, but the injunction or interdiction of the Veda alone is, Kumārila considers the view of a clever opponent who said that it was not on the basis of any inference that he considered the Vedic sacrifice as adharma, that he considered he Vedic vidhi-nisedha as the competent authority in this respect and that as the Veda prohibited himsā and it could not draw a line between one kind of himsa and another or remove

- 1. See E. H. Johnston: Early Sānkhya, London.
- 2. Madras University Sanskrit Series, p. 112.

the injurious nature in one case by its vidhi, the Vedic sacrifice too should be considered to be adharma. Now, Umveka introduces this view as that of a leader of  $S\bar{a}nkhya$  thought ( $S\bar{a}nkhya$ -nayaka), by name  $M\bar{a}dhava$ .

सांख्यनायकमाधवस्त्वाह—विहायानुमानादीन् विधिप्रतिषधनिबन्धनत्वमेव धर्माधर्मयो-रवलम्ब्य अगनीषोमीयादिज्वधर्मतामाह क्व चिद्ति स्रोकत्रयेश x x शिंसा नाम तावदेका व्यक्तिरत्रेलोक्यऽपि, तस्माच क्वचिछोके ब्रह्महत्वादिषु "न हिंस्यात्स्वाणि भूतानि" इति प्रतिषधादनिष्ट-साधनत्वशक्तिरवगमिता; न च प्रतिहता इदानीम् ; विधेयेष्वग्रीषोमीयादिषु हिंसाया अविश्वषान्नाप-गच्छति x x x अतः सर्वशास्त्रानुसारादेव हिंसादीनामधर्भत्वं कल्प्यते न पुनरनुमानत इति स्थितमग्नीषोमीयादिष्वधर्मत्वम् ।

There are two references to this Mādhava in Jinendrabuddhi's gloss Viśālāmalavati on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dinnāga (ch. I)³ from which it is seen that this Sāṅkhya writer was earlier than Dinnāga himself who presupposes him. Here again, Mādhava is seen to hold a peculiar view. From verse 28 onwards, Dinnāga proceeds to criticise the Sāṅkhya conception of *pratyakṣa* or sensory perception and the nature of sense and its object; in this context, the gloss of Jinendrabuddhi (on verse 31) says that, as against Kapila, Mādhava held that the nature of sukhá etc. differed in every case: कपिलादयो मन्यन्ते सुखादीनां स्वरूं। सर्वत्र एकमेव। माधवरत्र तानि सर्वत्र भिचन्त इति। Jinendrabuddhi says again under verse 34: माधवरत्रादरथ न्यूनदोषत्वादिरयेवमुक्तमिति न दोष:।

A third text where we have a very significant reference to Mādhava is Karṇakagomin's gloss on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika; from Karṇakagomin we learn that the reading in Umveka's gloss on Kumārila, Sānkhya nāyaka is really corrupt and that Mādhava was really not a 'leader of Sānkhya thought, Sānkhya nāyaka', but a Sānkhya nāsaka, 'a destroyer of Sānkhya.' During his examination of the conception of verbal testimony such as of the Veda and of the conception of an 'āpta', the trustworthy person whose word (sabda) is an authority (pramāṇa), Dharmakīrti says that the view that the Veda or its interpretation has had the transmission from mouth to mouth in an unbroken manner rests solely on the conventional and customary belief within a group of persons, and it is quite possible that corrupters, out of self-importance, inner dislike or the vile satisfaction of vandalism, had misrepresented the tradition:

अपि च वेदस्तद्वयाख्यानं वा पुरुषेण पुरुषायोपदिश्यमानमनष्टसम्प्रदायमेवानुवर्तत इत्यन्नापि समयः स(श?)रणम् । आगमअंशकारिणामाहोपुरुषिकया तद्शनिविद्रेषेण वा तत्वितिपन्नखली-करणाय धूर्तव्यसनेन श्रन्यतो वा कुतश्चित् कारणाद् अन्यथारचनासम्भवात् ।

When explaining the above, Karnakagomin says that for misrepresentation, there is the example of Mādhava who ruined the Sānkhya by expounding it in

<sup>3.</sup> Edn. H. R. R. Iyengar, Mysore, pp. 77, 80.

<sup>4.</sup> BORS edn. by Rahual Sankrityayana, p. 59,

an unfaithful manner : आगमअंशकारिणामित्यादिना सम्प्रदायविच्छेदेन रचनान्तरसम्भवमेव सम्धयते । आगमअंशकारिणां पुंसामन्यथा । पूर्वरचनावैपरीत्येन रचनादर्शनादिति सम्बन्ध: । अन्यथा रचनायां कारणमाद् । आहोपुरुषिकयेत्यादि । आहोपुरुषिकयेत्यादि । आहोपुरुषिकयेत्यादि । यथा सांख्यनाश्वकमाध्येन सांख्यसिद्धान्तस्यान्यथा रचनं कृतम् । तद्दर्शनविद्वेषेण वान्यथा रचना-सम्भवात् । 'Sānkhya-nāśaka' is thus a badge of notriety gained by Mādhava for the s'alya-sārathya he did for the Sānkhya system.

Corroboration of the existence of an early Sānkhya writer of this name comes from Hieun-Tsiang who mentions in his Travels<sup>5</sup> that in Magadha was a monastery dedicated to the Buddhist teacher Guṇamati, "who here vanquished in discussion the great Sānkhya Doctor Mādhava". It is significant to note in this connection that Guṇamati<sup>6</sup> wrote what is called the Lakṣaṇānuśāstra which Paramārtha rendered into the Chinese about 560 A. D., a text which shows "an intimate acquaintance with the Sānkhya teachings".

<sup>5.</sup> T. Watters: On Yuan Chevang's Travels in India, London, Vol. II, pp. 108-9.

<sup>6. &</sup>quot;One Sthiramati was a pupil of Gunamati and lived before 425 A. D." Winternitz: History of Indian Literature, Calcutta University, Vol. II, p. 362, fn. 3.