Remarks on Religious Predominance in Kashmir; Hindu or Buddhist?

Toru FUNAYAMA

The aim of this paper is to make a preliminary survey of the historical interactions between the orthodox religions (Brahmanism/Hinduism) and Buddhism in Kashmir.

According to Buddhist materials, Kashmir was a sacred place for Buddhists: The Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese sources more or less unanimously state that Buddhism in Kashmir began with its propagation by *arhat* *Madhyāntika (Majjhantika),[1] a disciple of Ānanda. Later it became a stronghold of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism. This was supported by a story of Mahādeva and King Aśoka and also generated an undemonstrable legend of the Fourth Buddhist Congress called by King Kaniṣka, a story absent from the Pāli transmission. In any case it is certain that Kashmir was at least a doctrinal center of the Sarvāstivāda school,[2] even if one omits the legendary elements. Moreover, the place produced eminent Buddhist logicians at later periods.

These cases may give us the impression that the land of Kashmir was occupied only by Buddhism. However, this is not the case: the impression is just the opposite when one surveys Brahmanic/Hinduistic materials. In reality, Kashmir was a somewhat special place where the orthodox power and Buddhism coexisted side by side, as is often pointed out by modern scholars.[3] Assuming that this is true, however, it is not yet clear how they actually stood in relation to each other. Did they exist peacefully side by side for hundreds of years? Did they not try to exclude each other on the basis of doctrinal discrepancies? In order to examine these questions, I would like to survey the description of Buddhism in the *Nīlamata-purāṇa* (abbrev. as *NM*, hereafter), then compare it with some descriptions in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (abbrev. as *RT*, hereafter), and finally try to fill in a gap between these texts, making use of reports by Chinese pilgrims in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D.

I

It is not difficult to ascertain what idea the *NM* held about Buddhism because the text hardly refers to it. The only exception is the section on festivals for Buddha's birthday which begins from v. 684 as a part of the long description of

rituals in Kashmir. The section starts as follows: "O brahman, when the twenty-eighth *kali-yuga* arrives, Viṣṇu, the protector of the world, shall become a preceptor of the world named Buddha." (v. 684). After this, the text explains in minute detail how and when the people should celebrate the Buddha. The reason why they worship Him lies in the very Hinduistic belief that Śākyamuni the Buddha is none other than an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu himself: through the former, they indirectly worship the latter. Hence the Buddha is treated as one of the innumerable deities in Hinduism. It is certain that in this context Buddhism was not a menace to the orthodox religion. That is, the *NM* suggests that Buddhism and the orthodox power of that time got along together.

On the whole it is plausible to assume that this kind of peaceful coexistence continued as a relationship of the two religious powers for the following centuries. As seen below, however, it is certain that this amity between them continued not uniformly but only intermittently through the history of Kashmir.

First, let us pick up an account of the *RT* (i, 177–184) to show the antagonism of the orthodox side to Buddhism in the reign of Abhimanyu I. It is summarized as follows: Buddhists who were under the protection of *bodhisattva* Nāgārjuna defeated their opponents and became prosperous for a while. However, as they did not keep the rituals taught by Nīla in the *NM*, *nāga*s were stoppped from receiving offerings from the people. The *nāga*s got angry and caused a heavy snowfall in the country in order to afflict the Buddhists, as a result of which the Buddhists perished at last. Meanwhile, brahmins who kept offering to the *nāga*s survived. Then a brahmin named Candradeva appeared and did penance to please *nāga* Nīla, so that Nīla, transforming himself into Candraḍeva, stopped the snow and restored the rituals which were once prescribed by Nīla himself. Thus thanks to this second Candradeva, intolerable damages owing to the Buddhists were finally stopped.

It is interesting that, though this story is composed in relation to the *NM*, which is named, the attitudes toward Buddhism are quite different from the descriptions of the *NM*. The story is indeed of a legendary character, but it does not necessarily undermine its importance; it is probable that, in some period before Kalhaṇa, people on the orthodox side felt hostile toward Buddhism to the degree that they inspired such a sequal to the *NM*.

II

Buddhism, it seems, found opposition from the preceding orthodox power in Kashmir from the beginning. As referred to above, Buddhism in Kashmir

originated from Madhyāntika's missionary work. According to the oldest Chinese version of the legend,[4] there lived a great *nāga*[5] who resisted Madhyāntika. It was only after they competed for over a week, each by means of his own supernatural powers, that the defeated *nāga* finally conceded to the propagation of Buddhism. This suggests that Buddhists who composed this story held the feeling that at first Buddhism had not been warmly welcomed by orthodox Kashmirians.

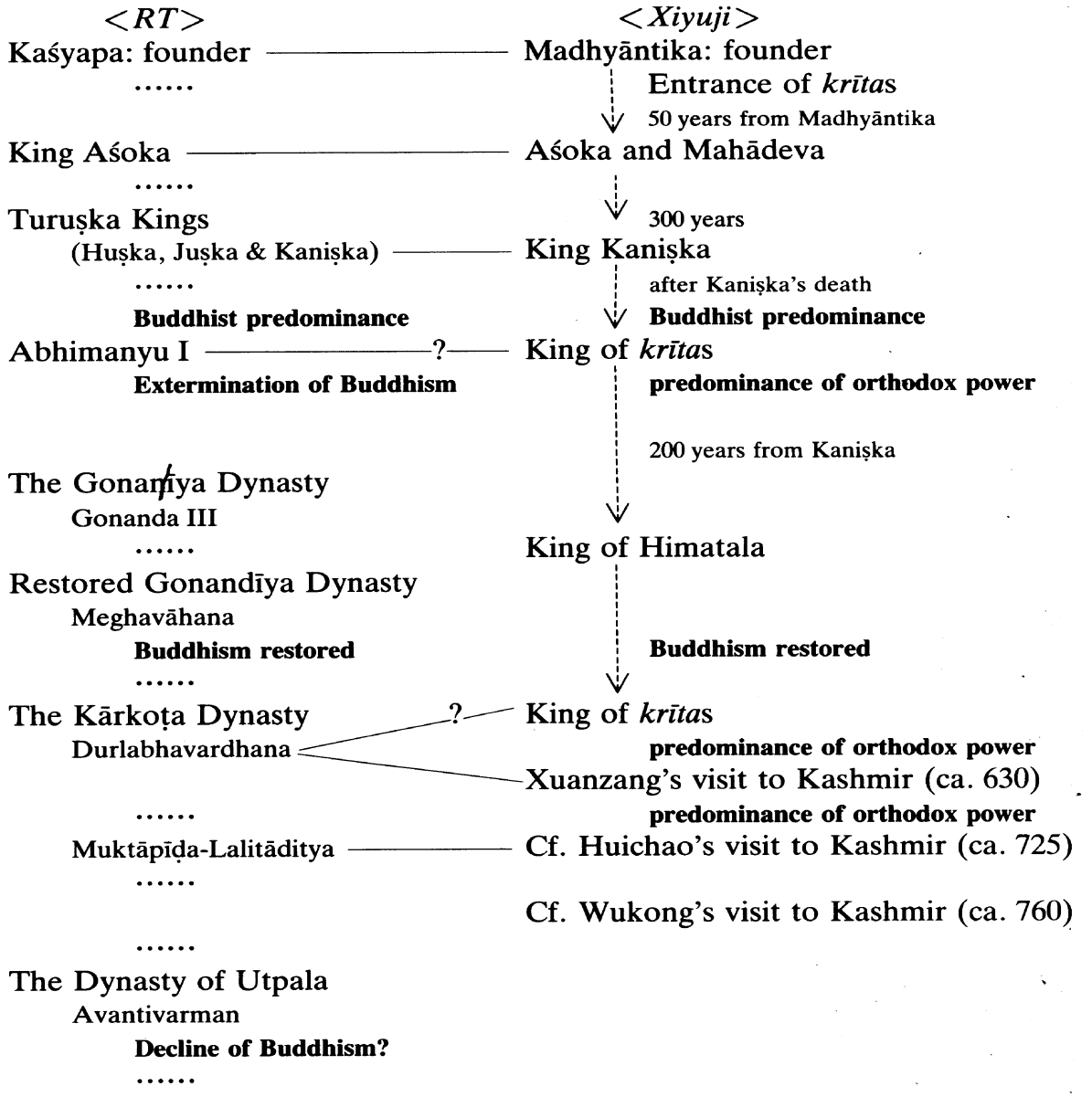
More evidences of antagonism in later periods are found in the *Datang Xiyuji* (大唐西域記, abbrev. as *Xiyuji*, hereafter) by Xuanzang (玄奘; 600/602–664 A.D.) who probably visited Kashmir in the reign of King Durlabhavardhana. Xuanzang reports: After Madhyāntika died, a group of **krītas* (? 訖利多; people who had been traded from outside) put up their own king. After King Kaniṣka died, too, they put up a new king and dispelled the Buddhist monks in an attempt to destroy Buddhism. Then the king of *Himatala (? 呬摩呾/怛邏) of Tokhāra came to this land, dispelled the ministers of the anti-Buddhist government, restored Kashmirian Buddhism as before, and then went back to his country.[6] And thus, having described some historical/legendary events before his time, Xuanzang states the contemporary state of religion in the following way:

> As Buddhists had overturned their religion and exterminated traditional rituals, the *krītas* for generations increasingly felt a grudge against and hatred for the Law of Buddha. Long time passed, they now again state that they have their own king.[7] This is the reason why the people of this country at present do not make much of (Buddhism) and devote themselves to anti-Buddhism and *deva*-temples.[8]

It is difficult to trace accurately all these descriptions as long as we have neither evidence of *krītas* nor the king of Himatala. As for the latter, Xuanzang states elsewhere that Kaniṣka ascended the throne in the 400th year after Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, on the one hand, and that the king of Himatala flourished in the 600th year, on the other.[9] That is, according to the *Xiyuji*, the king of Himatala restored Kashmirian Buddhism about two hundred years after King Kaniṣka. The above stated report suggests that the orthodox religion was predominant over Buddhism in ca. 630 A.D. when Xuanzang visited Kashmir.

Comparing these descriptions in the *Xiyuji* with those in the *RT*, we get the table (next page).

It is of course dangerous to correlate each event in the two texts, believing all the descriptions in the written order, because the sources for their chronological sequences are completely different. However, several events in the texts seem to correspond to each other as indicated with lines in the table. According to the



RT, Buddhist predominance was overturned at the time of Abhimanyu I, which possibly has some connection to the predominance of the *krītas* after the death of King Kaniṣka in the *Xiyuji*. It is still uncertain how the king of Himatala should be compared with stories in the *RT*.

In Xuanzang's time, the prosperity of Buddhism was often dependent on the attitude of the king in power, viz., Durlabhavardhana. For example, Xuanzang mentions two monasteries, Jayendravihāra and *Huṣkaravihāra. The former was built by a royal family.[10] The king received Xuanzang as a guest in Dharmaśālā in the vicinity of the capital. Moreover, it was because the king called twenty-five persons for transcription of *sūtras* and *śāstras*, as well as another five

persons for errands, that Xuanzang could see Buddhist texts in Kashmir.[11]

About a hundred years later (ca. 725 A.D.), Huichao (慧超) visited Kashmir probably in the reign of Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya (724–760 A.D.?),[12] under whom the country was at the peak of its cultural achievements. Huichao testifies that there were a lot of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna temples along with monks in the country and that temples were built by kings, queens, and powerful clans in order to gain merits for themselves in the same manner as in the case of other countries in India.[13] Thus, it is certain that a lot of temples in Kashmir at this period were built under the influence of the kingdom of the time.

About thirty-five years later Wukong (悟空 ; 731–? A.D.) went to Kashmir and received *upasaṃpadā* in 759 A.D. at the age of twenty-nine. According to him, there were more than three hundred *vihāra*s, as well as other *stūpa*s and Buddhà statues. He knew Xuanzang's reports well and stayed in Kashmir for four years.[14] Therefore, he must have been conscious of the number of temples in the *Xiyuji*, viz., more than a hundred *vihāra*s (this is roughly half the number of those in Gandhāra in the *Xiyuji*). If a simple calculation is allowed, the number of *vihāra*s had, roughly speaking, tripled in the one hundred and thirty years since Xuanzang's visit. At any rate, it seems true that the number of Buddhist temples increased very much during this period. Wukong also states that there were *vihāra*s build by a queen and a prince of Turks.[15]

In the *pramāṇa* tradition (or logico-epistemological tradition) of Buddhism, the period of the 8th century in Kashmir is famous for two great commentators upon Dharmakīrti's works: Arcaṭa (=Dharmākaradatta; ca. 710–770 A.D./ 720–780 A.D.),[16] the author of the *Hetubinduṭīkā*, and his disciple Dharmottara (ca. 740–800 A.D.),[17] the author of the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* and the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* as well as other important works. In particular, Dharmottara entered Kashmir from outside (according to the *RT*, v. 498) and had a great influence throughout India, and Kashmir, on the development of this tradition at later periods. Further, Tibetan sources state that Ravigupta[18] who was a pupil of Prajñākaragupta,[19] wrote a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, and *Jñānaśrībhadra*,[20] who wrote a commentary on the same master's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, flourished in Kashmir. It is interesting that Wukong was in Kashmir during an early stage of the flourishing of the Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition, probably when Arcaṭa's name had become famous and slightly before Dharmottara entered Kashmir.

III

Buddhism was often under the patronage of royal families. As seen above, we can trace this tendency at least to the beginning of the 7th century, and it became more evident in the 8th century. It is likely that Buddhism —— apart from its theoretical side —— could be prosperous only when the king or royal family of the time was tolerant enough to accept and protect it as a form of Hinduism.

With the establishment of the Dynasty of Utpala by Avantivarman (855/6–883 A.D. according to Stein), construction of Buddhist temples seems to have begun to decline; the *RT* states nothing about new Buddhist monuments. About one hundred years later under the reign of Kṣemagupta (950–958 A.D. according to Stein), Jayendravihāra, which is mentioned in the *Xiyuji*, was burnt and the building materials were reused for the construction of the Śaiva temple named Kṣemagaurīśvara (*RT* vi, 171–173). As far as we know from this text, it was by Queen Diddā under the reign of Nandigupta (972–973 A.D. according to Stein) that Buddhist temples were built again (*RT* vi, 299–306). At the same time, she built Viṣṇu temples, i.e., Abhimanyusvāmin, two Diddāsvāmins and Siṃhasvāmin. All of them were made in order to increase the merits of certain of her blood relatives. These reveal that she built Buddhist temples, not from her special devotion to Buddhism but only as one among a variety of her religious activities.

It is likely that such a syncretic attitude as seen in the case of Queen Diddā is closely related with the fact that there were a few Buddhist texts written by brahmins. For example, a famous poet Ānandavardhana is recorded to have written a lost sub-commentary (*vivṛtti*) to Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā*.[21] He was a celebrated poet who flourished in the reign of Avantivarman (*RT* v, 34) and one cannot find any evidence of his conversion. Further, Śaṅkaranandana who flourished in the 9th or 10th century wrote a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* as well as other works, on the one hand, and as a Hindu wrote the lost *Prajñālaṃkāra* which was highly estimated by the Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta, on the other. This double attitude incurred a discussion regarding whether Śaṅkaranandana converted himself or not.[22] I am inclined to assume that he composed Buddhist texts without conversion. The fact that he is called "brahmin Śaṅkaranandana" (*bram ze bDe byed dga' ba*)[23] in Tibetan sources does not necessarily entail that he converted from Hinduism to Buddhism.[24] It should be noted here that non-Buddhists composed commenta-

ries on Buddhist *pramāṇa* works not only in Kashmir but in other countries as well. For instance, the above mentioned Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang testifies that he learned Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* for over a month under a brahmin who was skilled in logic (*hetuvidyā*) in the region of Kosala (or South Kosala).[25] Also, Śaṅkarasvāmin who is considered to be the author of the *Nyāyapraveśaka*, a concise guidebook to Dignāga's system of logic, may not have been a Buddhist and its commentaries were certainly written by Jainas. Such connections between brahmins/Jainas and Buddhist *pramāṇa* works are relevant to the significance of those texts, apart from its Buddhist peculiarity, as belonging to the section of logic and debates (*hetuvidyā*), a requisite for all scholars. I suppose that the syncretic attitude evident in Kashmir promoted an acceptance of Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition among scholarly brahmins and later gave rise to Śaiva philosophers such as Abhinavagupta who often utilized and incorporated Buddhist theories, such as Dharmakīrti's, into his own system.

1. There are several Skt. forms concerning his name. I provisionally follow the most popular notation. His name could be expressed by such Skt. forms as "Madhyāntika," "Mādhyantika" (<*madhya*+*anta*+*ika*), "Mǎdhyaṃdina" (<*madhya*+*dina*), and "Mǎdhyaṃdaka" (<*madhya*+*udaka*) in later periods when Sanskrit became the common language for Buddhism. As far as I see, however, "Madhyāntika" which modern scholars often employ is not attested to in extant Skt. texts. For "Madhyaṃdina" and "Mādhyaṃdina" see F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, New Haven, 1953, vol. 2, p. 417 and p. 429. The form "Mādhyantika" is found in the *Mādhyantikāvadāna* (the 70th *pallava*) of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Yijing (義淨; 635–713 A.D.) in the *Gebenshuoyiqieyoubu pinaiye zashi* (根本説一切有部毘奈耶雜事) inserts an commentary upon the name "Midday" (日中, i.e. Mǎdhyaṃdina). It runs as follows:

   > (He is) originally called "*Motiandina*" (末田地那, i.e. Mǎdhyaṃdina): "*motian*" means "the middle," "*dina*" means "a day." Thus, he is called "Midday" (日中). He is also called "*Motianduojia*" (末田鐸迦, i.e. *Mǎdhyaṃdaka): "*motian*" means "the middle" and "*duojia*" means "water." As he became a monk in the water, he is called "Mid-water" (水中). Formerly the name was rendered (into Chinese) as "*Motiandi*" (末田地), but it was only a name and no one (in China) so far has known its detailed etymology. This is why I have here given an explanation of his name. (Taishō vol. 24, 410c–411a)

   For the explanation of "Mid-water," Watters suggests the reconstruction "Madhyan-taka (for udaka)." Th. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Tranvels in India 629–645 A.D.*, vol. 1, London, 1904, p. 266. I surmise, however, that "Mid-water" (末田鐸迦) should be the translation of "*Mǎdhyaṃdaka" because *daka* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit means *udaka* in classical Sanskrit (Edgerton, op. cit., p. 260).

   If this reconstruction is not mistaken, we can conclude that there existed three groups concerning the Skt. notation of Majjhantika: (1) Grammatically speaking, "Madhyāntika" is the most suitable since it corresponds to the *form* "Majjhantika" in Pāli which is analized as "*majjha*+*anta*+*ika*" (see T.W.R. Davids and W. Stede, *The Pali Text Societty's Pali-English Dictionary*, London, 1979, p. 514). Xuanzang's rendering "末田底迦" also suggests this Skt. form. The form "Mādhyantika" might have been derived from "Madhyāntika." (2) "Mǎdhyaṃdina" seems to have been derived from the *literal meaning* of the original word as it corresponds to the meaning of "Majjhantika"

(mid-day or noon; see Davids and Stede, loc., cit.). (3) "Mādhyaṃdaka" is connected with the meaning related to his legendary *career*. This last etymology which Yijing gives can go back to the beginning of the 4th century. See the *Ayuwang zhuan* (阿育王傳), Taishō vol. 50, 116a (是諸仙人。在恆河中受戒故。即名爲摩田提；cf. 阿育王經, Taishō vol. 50, 155c).

2. As is known well, the expression *Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣikāṇām* is often used in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* by Vasubandhu in the context where he expresses his disagreement to the view established by the Kashmirian Sarvāstivādins (=Vaibhāṣikas). This reveals their theoretical authenticity and popularity at that time.
3. E.g., A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, London, 1900, vol. 1., p. 9; L. Joshi, *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India*, second revised edition, Delhi, 1977, p. 16.
4. The *Ayuwang zhuan* (n. 1 above), Taishō vol. 50, 116a.
5. Though it is often stated that Kashmir was protected by *nāga*s, the *Xiyuji* states that the country was protected by *yakṣa*s (Taishō vol. 51, 886a and 886c). Cf. The *Datang Ciensi sanzangfashi zhuan* (大唐慈恩寺三藏法師傳, abbrev. as *Cien zhuan*, hereafter), Taishō vol. 50, 231c. It must have something to do with the fact that the text is written from a Buddhist standpoint and that *nāga*s were often opposed to Buddhism. The names of the *yakṣa*s are not mentioned by Xuanzang. On the other hand, the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī* names two *yakṣa*s, Prabhaṃkara and Pāñcika, as related with the district of Kashmir. For the text together with Chinese and Tibean versions see S. Lévi, Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī, *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, p. 51.
6. The *Xiyuji*, Taishō vol. 51, 886b and 887a; the *Cien zhuan*, Taishō vol. 50, 250a. For Skt. reconstructions of the king's name, see the following studies: Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's* ... (n. 1 above), pp. 274–275; Sh. Mizutani (水谷眞成), *Daitō saiiki ki* (大唐西域記), Tokyo, 1971, p. 377, n. 1; Sh. Kuwayama (桑山正進), *Daitō saiiki ki* (大唐西域記), Tokyo, 1987, p. 270, n. 165. Mizutani states that the Skt. form of the name would be "Hīmatala," but the long vowel "*-ī-*" seems impossible in this case. I provisionally take the name as Himatala. Another form "Hematala" also seems possible.
7. This may suggest the establishment of the Kārkoṭa Dynasty by King Durlabhavardhana.
8. The *Xiyuji*, Taishō vol. 51, 887b.
9. Ibid., 886b and 887a.
10. The *RT* (iii, 355) states that Jayendravihāra was built by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of King Pravarasena II. According to Xuanzang, it was built by the father-in-law of the king (=Durlabhavardhana?). The *Cien zhuan*, Taishō vol. 50, 231a.
11. The *Cien zhuan*, loc. cit. As pointed out by Prof. Kuwayama (n. 6 above, p. 249, n. 136), one has to take care of Xuanzang's inconsistent estimation of Buddhism in Kashmir; though Buddhism looks prosperous in the *Cien zhuan*, the *Xiyuji* reveals that Kashmirian Buddhism of his time was on the decline. Moreover, the passage of the latter (see p. 369 of this paper) looks inserted in an irregular way when one compares it with the descriptions of other countries.
12. Sh. Kuwayama (ed.), *Echō Ōgotenjikukokuden kenkyū* (慧超往五天竺國傳研究；or Huichao's *Wang Wu-Tainzhuguo zhuan*. Record of Travels in Five Indic Regions), Kyoto: Institute for Research in Humanities, Kyoto University, 1992, p. 5 and pp. 98–99, n. 80.
13. Ibid., pp. 20, 36, 103.
14. Wukong was well acquainted with the *Xiyuji*, because after describing his pilgrimage to sacred places in India, he explicitly states "Thus traveling and making a pilgrimage to all the sacred places, (I found that) there is not even a slight difference between (my experience) and the descriptions of the *Datang Xiyuji*." The *Datang Zhenyuan xinyi Shididengjingji* (大唐貞元新譯十地等經記), Taishō vol. 17, 716b; vol. 51, 980b.
15. I.e, 也里特勒寺 and 可敦寺. Ibid., Taishō vol. 17, 716a; vol. 51, 980a.
16. T. Funayama, Arcaṭa, Śāntarakṣita, Jinendrabuddhi, and Kamalaśīla on the Aim of a Treatise (*prayojana*), *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 39 (forthcoming).
17. H. Krasser, On the Relationship between Dharmottara, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, *Tibetan*

Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989, Narita, 1992, p. 157.

18. According to Tāranātha, the *pramāṇa* tradition of Buddhism became very popular at a certain period in Kashmir and there appered the logician Ravigupta (Tib. Ñi ma sbas pa). A. Schiefner (tr.), *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 243. He must be the same Ravigupta, as the author of the *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā*.
19. The colophon of Ravigupta's *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* testifies that he was a pupil of Prajñākaragupta, the author of the *Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣya*. See H. Tosaki (戸崎宏正), *Bukkyō ninshikiron no kenkyū* (仏教認識論の研究), vol. 1, Tokyo, 1979, p. 31. Prajñākaragupta is considered to have flourished after Dharmottara at the beginning of the 9th century. See M. Ono (小野基), Prajñākaragupta ni yoru Dharmakīrti no *pramāṇa* no teigi (プラジュニャーカラグプタによるダルマキールティのプラマーナの定義), *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* (*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*) 42–2, 1994, pp. 198–205 (=pp. 885–868). There is not any decisive evidence of Prajñākaragupta's place of activity, though it is a natural conjecture that Prajñākaragupta, who criticized Dharmottara's view and taught Ravigupta, was also from Kashmir. As for Dharmottara, the *RT* (iv, 498) states that he entered Kashmir from outside (Krasser loc. cit.) but there is no information about his previous place of activity. For Ravigupta see n. 18 above.
20. I provisionally follow the following studies for the information about Jñānaśrībhadra: S. Ch. Vidyabhusana, *A History of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 342; Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, vol. 1, Bibliotheca Buddhica 26, 1932, p. 42. These studies state that Jñānaśrībhadra was a brahmin. However, I myself could not confirm it during this research. In particular, although Vidyabhusana refers to the colophon of the *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* as well as one of his previous papers to corroborate his statement "He was born in a Brāhmaṇa family of Kaśmīra..." (Vidyabhusana loc. cit.), the colophon in question merely states as follows: *tshad ma rnam par ṅes pa'i grel bśad...//slob dpon ye śes dpal bzaṅ po'i źal sṅa nas mdzad pa rdzogs so//gnas brtan mkhas pa chen po dzñā na śrī bha dra daṅ/lo tsā ba* [Derge: *lo tstsha ba* Peking] *dge sloṅ chos kyi brtson 'grus kyis bsgyur/...*, where Jñānaśrībhadra's previous career such as "brahmin" (**bram ze*) is not mentioned at all.
21. Stcherbatsky, op. cit., p. 41.
22. R. Gnoli, *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti: The First Chapter with the Autocommentary*, Roma: IsMEO, 1960, pp. xxiii–xxvi.
23. E.g., Schiefner, op. cit., p. 247.
24. Does the expression "brahmin Śaṅkaranandana" mean that he was born in a brahmin family and later became a Buddhist monk? I think that is highly doubtful. As an alternative, Prof. Gnoli (op. cit., pp. xxv–xxvi) refers to Śaṅkaranandana's surname "Great Brahmin" to suggest a possibility of conversion in explaining the ambiguity of Śaṅkarananana's religious standpoint, an opinion contrary to my conjecture. For the notation of his name and Skt. fragments of his works see the following paper: G. Bühnemann, Identifizierung von Sanskrittexten Śaṅkaranandanas, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 24, 1980, pp. 191–198.
25. The *Cien zhuan*, Taishō vol. 50, 241b.