

'Verità e bellezza'  
Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

*Series Minor*

XCVII.1–2

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Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo  
Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”

UniorPress  
Napoli  
2022

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI NAPOLI “L’ORIENTALE”  
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

*Series Minor*

XCVII.1

‘Verità e bellezza’  
Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

Edited by  
Francesco Sferra and Vincenzo Vergiani



UNIVERSITY OF  
CAMBRIDGE



European Research Council  
Established by the European Commission

UniorPress  
Napoli 2022

Volume pubblicato con contributi

- del Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo (Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”),
- della Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies (University of Cambridge),
- e del Progetto ERC n. 803624: «Translocal Identities. The Śivadharmā and the Making of Regional Religious Traditions in Premodern South Asia».



UniorPress

UniorPress - Via Nuova Marina 59, 80133 Napoli

ISBN 978-88-6719-209-0

Tutti i diritti riservati

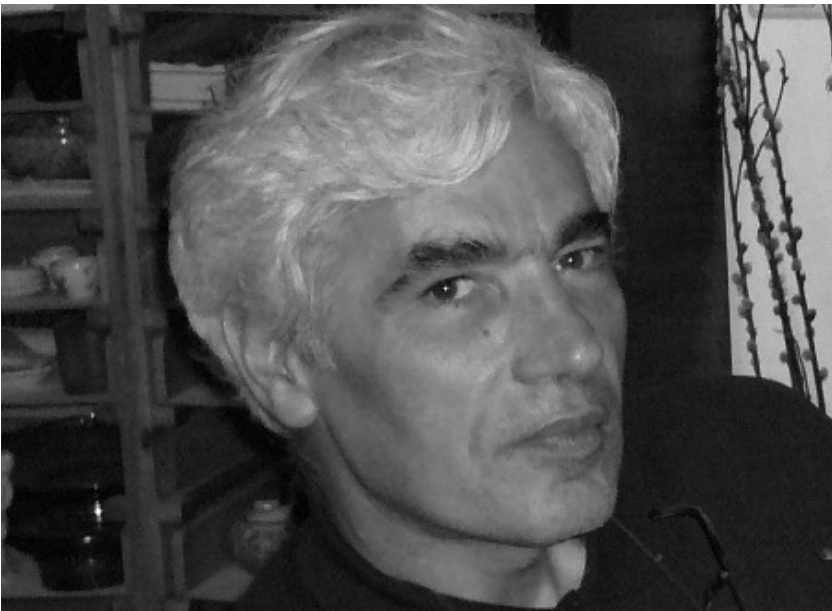
Stampato in Italia

Finito di stampare nel mese di settembre 2022

Officine Grafiche Francesco Giannini & Figli S.p.A.

Via Cisterna dell’Olio 6B, 80134 Napoli

Tutti gli articoli pubblicati in questo volume sono stati sottoposti al vaglio di due revisori anonimi.



Raffaele Torella



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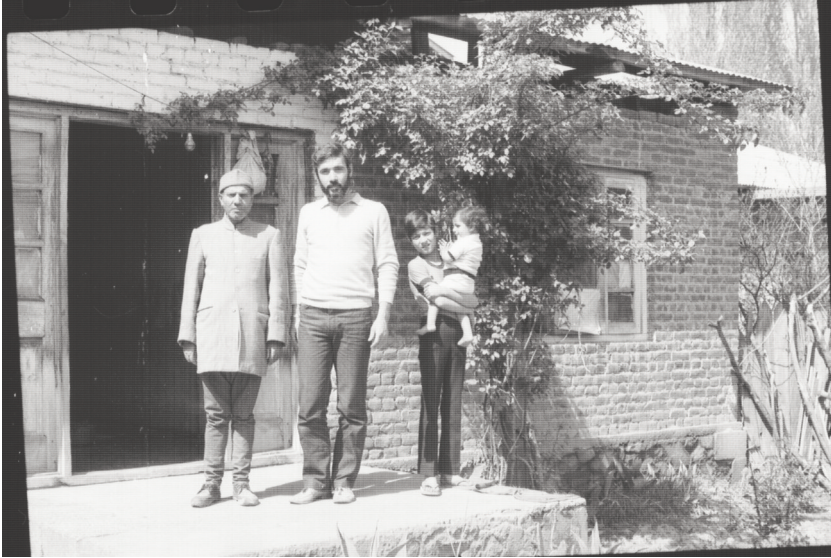
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Dīnanāth Yach and Raffaele Torella in Śrīnagar in the mid-1980s



Raffaele Torella in the countryside near Bracciano with students

*The Sarvadarśanasamgraha:  
One Text or Two? One Author or Two?\**

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The author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, according to one of its introductory verses (4), is Sāyaṇamādhava. Another introductory verse (3) calls him ‘Mādhava, the *kaustubha* jewel of Sāyaṇa’s milk-ocean.’ All this suggests that his name was Mādhava and that his father’s name was Sāyaṇa. Indeed, it appears that such compounds in which the father’s name occurs first are ‘well-known practice.’<sup>1</sup>

There has been much discussion about the identity of this Mādhava, and indeed about the authorship of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. The information contained in introductory verses goes against the view that he was the older brother of Sāyaṇa,<sup>2</sup> the famous Vedic commentator: the son of Sāyaṇa cannot be his older brother.

We learn from the second introductory verse of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* that Sarvajñaṣṇu the son of Śārṅgapāṇi was the

\* I thank Christophe Vielle, who made several editions available to me.

<sup>1</sup> Narasimhachar 1916: 20.

<sup>2</sup> This Mādhava is often identified with Vidyāraṇya, according to some erroneously; Clark 2006: 212–214.

teacher of its author. This same teacher is quoted under the name Sahaja-Sarvajñaviṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya in the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy, the final chapter in some editions (see below).<sup>3</sup> Sarvajñaviṣṇu is here presented as the author of a text called *Vivaraṇa-vivaraṇa*.<sup>4</sup> The *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* quotes the following passage from it: *na cātra pakṣadṛṣṭāntayor ekaprakāśarūpānanvayah śāṅkanīyah | tamovirodhyākāro hi prakāśaśabdavācyah | tenākāreṇaikyam ubhayatrāstīti*.<sup>5</sup> The author of a text called *R̥juvivaraṇa*, which comments on the *Pañcapādikā* and its commentary *Vivaraṇa*, is named Sarvajñaviṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya in its colophons,<sup>6</sup> and it seems likely that *R̥juvivaraṇa* and *Vivaraṇavivaraṇa* are two names for one and the same text.<sup>7</sup>

The evidence provided by the manuscripts presents some difficulties. To quote Narasimhachar (1916: 20):

In the manuscripts of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, the following sentence, which states that *Śāṅkara-darśana*, having been treated elsewhere, has been omitted here, occurs at the end of *Pātañjaladarśana*:

*itaḥ paraṃ sarvadarśanaśiromaṇibhūtaṃ sāmkaradarśanam anyatra nirūpitaṃ ity atropekṣitaṃ*

And the colophon at the end of *Śāṅkara-darśana*, which runs

*iti śrīsāyaṇāryaviracite sakaladarśanaśirolaṃkāratnam śrīmacchāṅkaradarśanam parisamāptaṃ*

attributes its authorship to Sāyaṇa. From this we have to infer that *Śāṅkara-darśana* having been treated of elsewhere by his father Sāyaṇa, Mādhava omitted to write on it in his work.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter 11, on Nyāya (ed. Abhyankar p. 250 l. 140), refers in passing to a certain Bhaṭṭa-Sarvajña. Is this the same person?

<sup>4</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 458 l. 766.

<sup>5</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 458 ll. 766–768.

<sup>6</sup> The editor calls him Viṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya, but to my knowledge he is never referred to under this name; *sarvajña-* is always prefixed to *-viṣṇu*, which suggests that he was known under the name Sarvajñaviṣṇu, with or without the part *-bhaṭṭopādhyāya*. The colophons to his *R̥juvivaraṇa* call him *svāmīndrapūrṇa-pūjyapādaśiṣyasarvaśāstraviśāradajanārdanātmajasarvajñaviṣṇubhaṭṭopādhyāya*, again with *sarvajña-*. These same colophons, incidentally, call his father Janārdana, not Śāringapāṇi; both are epithets of Viṣṇu.

<sup>7</sup> Even though I have not yet succeeded in locating the passage that Mādhava quotes in the edition of the *R̥juvivaraṇa*. One would expect to find it on pages 36 ff. of the edition, but I do not find it there.

Narasimhachar clearly speaks of manuscripts (perhaps only one, see below) that do contain the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy, even though the beginning and the end of this chapter as read there suggest that it once had a separate existence.<sup>8</sup> Cowell and Gough, the earliest translators of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, used a text that did not even have this final chapter. Their translation finishes with the philosophy of Patañjali (*pātañjaladarśana*), and more specifically with an observation that they translate as follows (Cowell & Gough 1892: 273):

The system of Śaṅkara, which comes next in succession, and which is the crest-gem of all systems, has been explained by us elsewhere; it is therefore left untouched here.

This translates the first line quoted by Narasimhachar,<sup>9</sup> with this proviso that the words 'by us' do not correspond to anything in the Sanskrit, and appear to disagree with the final colophon cited by Narasimhachar (which ascribes the whole text to Sāyaṇa).<sup>10</sup> Clearly Cowell and Gough did not have the final chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy, along with its final colophon, in their source. Instead they speculate in a note about this final chapter, and guess that it may be the *Pañcadaśī*; a Calcutta Pandit suggested that it might be the *Prameya-vivaraṇa-saṅgraha*. All this shows that neither the translators nor their counselors knew of the existence of this final chapter.<sup>11</sup>

Cowell says the following about the manuscript tradition of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* as it was known to them in the preface of the translation (Cowell & Gough 1892: vii):

<sup>8</sup> Narasimhachar may of course have seen the Ānandāśrama edition, which came out in 1906 and is the first edition to contain the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy. However, this edition has *śrīmatasāyaṇamādhaviye sarvadarśanasamgrahē* (p. 171), where Narasimhachar's quotation has *śrīsāyaṇāryaviracite* (without *sarvadarśanasamgrahē!*).

<sup>9</sup> The edition by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara has *itaḥ paraṃ sarvadarśanaśīroma-ṇibhūtaṃ sāmkaradarśanam anyatra nirūpitam ity atropekṣitam iti*, with *likhitam* instead of *nirūpitam*.

<sup>10</sup> In footnotes to the Ānandāśrama edition (p. 142) and Abhyankar's edition (p. 388), this line is as cited by Narasimhachar, but with *likhitam* for *nirūpitam*.

<sup>11</sup> Not surprisingly, Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary, which came out in 1899, states, under *sarvadarśanasamgraha*: 'N. of a treatise on the various systems of philosophy (*not including the vedānta*) ...' (my emphasis, JB).



I well remember the interest excited among the learned Hindus of Calcutta by the publication of the *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha* of Mādhava Achārya in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 1858. It was originally edited by Paṇḍit Īśvarachandra Vidyāsāgara, but a subsequent edition, with no important alterations, was published in 1872 by Paṇḍit Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati. [...] MS. copies of [the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*] are very scarce; and those found in the North of India, as far as I have had an opportunity of examining them, seem to be all derived from one copy, brought originally from the South, and therefore written in the Telugu character. Certain mistakes are found in all alike, and probably arose from some illegible readings in the old Telugu original.

The edition by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara / Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati does indeed *not* contain the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy, even though it is based on five manuscripts: two from Calcutta, three from Benares. Cowell's remarks further suggest that none of the manuscripts he was acquainted with had this chapter. Narasimhachar does not tell which manuscript(s) he consulted, but it is clear from what he says that his version of the text *did* contain the final chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy. However, this final chapter presented itself explicitly as a later addition to a perhaps earlier work, and mentions a different author: Sāyaṇa rather than Mādhava.

The entry *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (Dash 2015: 119) gives the following characterization of the surviving manuscripts:

*Sarvadarśanasamgraha* by Mādhavācārya, but some mss. ascribed to Sāyaṇācārya. [A] concise account of 15 philosophical systems, with the exception of Vedānta.

It is hard to believe that this characterization is valid for all surviving manuscripts, for more recent editions than the one used by Cowell and Gough do contain a final chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy (see below), and Narasimhachar speaks of one or more manuscripts that contain that chapter (while mentioning a different author). In fact, the claim in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* that 'some mss. [are] ascribed to Sāyaṇācārya' is in agreement with Narasimhachar's observation.

I am not at present in a position to collect and inspect all the surviving manuscripts of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. However, it will be worth our while to see what Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar



based his edition on. This edition, it may be recalled, dates from 1924 and is at present the one most widely used; it is used and copied in subsequent publications, at the expense of all earlier editions. Most important for us at present is that this edition contains a final chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy. How did this chapter get there?

In his *Prastāvanā*, Abhyankar mentions four sources, which he calls A, B, C and D. A and B are earlier editions, called the Ānandāśrama edition and the Calcutta edition respectively. C and D are manuscripts; Abhyankar found C in the Deccan College in Pune, D belonged to pandits in a place he calls Saptarṣigrāma. Manuscript C did *not* contain the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy. Manuscript D did, but that chapter made the impression of being an independent text (*kiṃ tu tatra pātañjaladarśanāntaṃ graṅthaṃ samāpya svatantram etal likhitam iva saṃdṛśyate*).<sup>12</sup> That is to say, Abhyankar's two manuscripts resembled in this respect the text used by Cowell and Gough (and therefore the original edition by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara) and the one mentioned by Nara-simhachar respectively: the former did not have the final chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy, the latter did, but as if it were a separate text (whatever this may mean; see below). We may assume that Abhyankar's edition presents the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy as an integral part of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* because one of the earlier editions he used did so.

Which were those earlier editions? As we have seen, these are stated to be the Ānandāśrama edition and the Calcutta edition. Since there was to my knowledge only one Ānandāśrama edition, here there is no ambiguity. Unfortunately, according to Potter's bibliography, there are two editions of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* that came out in Calcutta before Abhyankar published his commentary: the one by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara (used by Cowell and Gough, see above) and one by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, that came out in 1889. We know that the former of these two editions ended with chapter 15; the same is true of the latter. Both end with the remark we have come across already, viz. (p. 177):<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (ed. Abhyankar), *Prastāvanā* p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, the edition with Hindi translation by Pandit Udaya Narain Sinh (1905) does not have this phrase in the Sanskrit, but does have it in the Hindi translation.

*itah param sarvadarśanaśiromaṇibhūtaṃ śāṅkaradarśanam anyatra  
likhitam ity atropakṣitam iti |  
sampūrṇaḥ |*

Apparently the Ānandāśrama edition is the first one to include the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy.<sup>14</sup> According to the information it provides after the title page, it used one earlier edition (from Calcutta) and five manuscripts. One of these manuscripts (called *gha*), written in a South Indian script (*drāviḍalipi*), also contained the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy, and another one (called *ka*) contained nothing but that. That is to say: only two of its six sources, i.e., two manuscripts, contained the chapter. What is more, manuscript *ka* may not have contained the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* or part thereof, but rather the independent text to which the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* refers (at the end of chapter 15) and which was to become chapter 16 of that text.<sup>15</sup> This means that the Ānandāśrama edition added the chapter on Vedānta on the basis of one single manuscript.

The Ānandāśrama edition adds in a note after the title page that, in editing the final chapter, help has been provided by Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar!<sup>16</sup> This is the same Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar who brought out his edition with commentary of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (already referred to) less than two decades later (in 1924). It can cause no surprise that in Abhyankar's own

<sup>14</sup> So Sharma 1964: Introduction: 22. (According to Sharma, it is the "only text with Śāṅkara system," but this is of course a mistake, for also Abhyankar's edition, known to Sharma, has that chapter.) Agrawal (2002: VIII-IX, n. 22) enumerates six editions *without* the Śāṅkara system, the last one dating from 1906; and four (five if we take Agrawal's own edition into consideration) that include (or only consist of) that system. All the editions with the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy go back, directly or indirectly, to the Ānandāśrama edition.

<sup>15</sup> As in the case of Abhyankar's manuscript D, one would like to know how manuscript *ka* began. Did it contain the introductory portion that connects it with what precedes? See further below.

<sup>16</sup> *śāṅkaradarśanasya pustakadvayam eva labdham | tasya samśodhane phargyusanakālejasthasaṃskṛtādhyāpakaiḥ paṇḍitavaryair abhyankaropāhvavāsudevāśāstriḥ sāhāyyaṃ dattvopakārahāreṇarṇitvaṃ nīto 'sya pustakasya prakāśakaḥ |* Surprisingly, the footnotes to chapter 16 contain numerous variant readings that supposedly occur in manuscript *kha*, occasionally in manuscript *ga*, neither of which should contain this chapter; *gha* does not occur here at all, and *ka* a small number of times. There seems to have been some confusion.

edition that final chapter is closely similar to the shape it has in the Ānandāśrama edition (but with far fewer variants in the notes).

Where does all this leave us? One single manuscript is responsible for the fact that the Ānandāśrama edition includes the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy. Abhyankar used a manuscript that contained this chapter, but observes that the final chapter looks like an independent text. Since Abhyankar collaborated in editing the final chapter of the Ānandāśrama edition, this manuscript may or may not have been identical with the one used for that edition. One further manuscript used for the Ānandāśrama edition contained the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy as an independent text. To my knowledge no new manuscripts have been inspected for subsequent editions.<sup>17</sup>

Without the inspection of further manuscripts, the conclusion we have to draw is evident. Virtually all manuscripts of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* have only 15 chapters. At best only one (!) of the manuscripts consulted for the editions that are now in use — essentially Abhyankar's edition plus a number of copies of this edition — unambiguously gives a text with 16 chapters. The manuscript tradition therefore supports the view that the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* with 16 chapters is a combination of two texts: the first 15 chapters were originally one text, chapter 16 another. It also seems clear that chapter 16 was once an independent text, composed *before* chapters 1–15: the past passive participles in the original colophon of chapter 15 (*nirūpitam* or *likhitam*) barely leave room for doubt. Judging by the introductory verses, chapters 1–15 were composed by (or attributed to) a Mādhava son of Sāyaṇa. Narasimha-char and the entry in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* give us some reason to think that what became chapter 16 may have been composed by someone else, perhaps Sāyaṇa.

In spite of all this, modern scholars tend to look upon chapter 16 as an integral part of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. Nakamura (1969: 246) states: 'As the XVIth chapter is closely and consistently linked up with the preceding chapters and the idioms and style

<sup>17</sup> Agrawal's (2002: xi) edition follows the edition by Uma Shankar Sharma (and his translation follows Cowell and Gough [no translation is therefore provided for chapter 16]); Sharma's (1964: Introduction p. 22) edition itself follows Abhyankar, as does Klostermaier's (1999) edition of the final chapter.

of this chapter are similar to those in the preceding chapters, there is a possibility of assuming that this chapter was written by Mādhava afterwards as the additional and concluding one and on that occasion the above-cited sentence [i.e. *itah param ...*] was eliminated to make the whole work consistent.’

Nakamura’s suggestion is not very probable. The sentence that he thinks was subsequently eliminated refers to the philosophy of Śāṅkara that had been considered (*nirūpita*), or written about (*likhita*) elsewhere. It refers to a text that existed already when chapters 1–15 were being completed, and had perhaps been written by a different author (e.g. Sāyaṇa). In spite of this, Klostermaier (1997: 151), in his translation of this chapter, ‘agree[s] with Hajime Nakamura.’ He adds that ‘[t]here are frequent (implicit) cross-references to former chapters (especially in the polemics against Sāṅkhya and Mīmāṃsā) and it makes use of sources drawn upon before.’ Klostermaier does not give a single example of such an implicit cross-reference. The way Śāṅkara’s philosophy is presented in chapter 16 involves frequent references to other systems of thought, but this is not the same as ‘cross-references to former chapters.’

Also Uma Shankar Sharma accepts that chapter 16 is an integral part of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (1964: Introduction: 11):

There are still some scholars who dispute over the question of authorship and even a[u]thenticity of this system [i.e., Śāṅkara’s philosophy] as treated in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* but no convincing argument is advanced so f[a]r. The style of language and the method of treatment are the same in the Śāṅkara system as in others. Therefore there is nothing in the Śāṅkara-darśana which may go against its validity. It was not proper for an author like Mādhavācārya to omit such a reputed system in a work like this.

The expression ‘an author like Mādhavācārya’ betrays Sharma’s conviction that the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* is the famous older brother of Sāyaṇa called Mādhava. This he confirms (but does not try to prove) in the Hindi introduction to his book (*Pūrvapīṭhikā* p. 41). This conviction may have strengthened his belief in Mādhava’s authorship of the final chapter, but apart from some general reflections (‘style of language and method of treatment’) he provides no arguments.

Finally, Madan Mohan Agrawal discusses the question in a footnote, where he repeats the same arguments (2002: VIII, n. 22):

[...] internal as well as external reasons prove that Śāṅkara-darśanam is a part of the original work SDS. It is closely and consistently linked up with the preceding chapters. Its language and style are similar to these of the preceding discussions. There are frequent cross-references to former chapters.

Agrawal then refers to Nakamura 1969 and Klostermaier 1999.

How does the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy relate to the preceding 15 chapters? The answer to this question only adds to the confusion. Its first few pages (in the existing editions, i.e. Ānandāśrama and Abhyankar) explicitly refer back to the preceding chapters; the remainder never does so, even though there was plenty of occasion to do so in its discussion of the various positions it criticizes: Jainism, Yogācāra, Mīmāṃsā, Madhyamaka, Nyāya, etc. We will consider the evidence below. Anticipating its outcome, we can state that the content of the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy is compatible with the view that an originally independent work was adapted in its first pages to its new role as final chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.

Let us turn to the evidence. The very first sentence of chapter 16 reads:<sup>18</sup> *so 'yaṃ pariṇā mavādaḥ prāmāṇikagarhaṇam arhati* 'This doctrine of modification (*pariṇā mavāda*) should be censured by those who follow valid means of cognition.' The *pariṇā mavāda* characterizes primarily the philosophy of Sāṃkhya (*sāṃkhyadarśana*) and the philosophy of Patañjali (*pātañjaladarśana*), which are dealt with in the immediately preceding chapters 14 and 15. It seems reasonable to assume that the first line of chapter 16 refers back to those.

The same assumption must be made with respect to a passage that covers 38 lines in Abhyankar's edition (p. 391 l. 16.26 – p. 393 l. 16.63), and explicitly refers back to earlier passages. We will consider the relevant extracts. The first sentence of the passage recalls what had been said before:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 389 l. 1.

<sup>19</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 391 ll. 26–27.

*yad avādi nidarśanam pūrvavādinā kṣīrādikam acetanam cetanāna-  
dhiṣṭhitam eva vatsavivṛddhyartham pravartata iti*

Regarding **the example presented by an earlier discussant** to the extent that milk etc., which are insentient, have the purpose of making calves grow, even though they are not supervised by something sentient [...]

This cannot but refer back to a sentence in the chapter on Sāṃkhya:<sup>20</sup>

*dṛṣṭam cācetanam cetanānadhiṣṭhitam puruṣārthāya pravartamānam  
yathā vatsavivṛddhyartham acetanam kṣīraṃ pravartate [...]*

Soon after, the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* refers to an earlier discussion, saying:<sup>21</sup>

*na ca parameśvarasya karuṇayā pravṛttyaṅgikāre **prāgukta**vikalpāvasa-  
rah*

The occasion **stated earlier** for [unacceptable] alternatives, if we accept that the Lord acts through compassion, does not arise.

The discussion referred to occurs, once again, in the chapter on Sāṃkhya:<sup>22</sup>

*yas tu parameśvarah karuṇayā pravartaka iti parameśvarāstitvavādi-  
nām dīṇḍimahaḥ sa garbhasrāveṇa gataḥ | vikalpānuḥpapatteḥ | [...]*

The assertion of those who accept the existence of the Lord, to the extent that the Lord acts through compassion, is aborted, because neither of the following alternatives would be possible. [...]

The introduction to the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy refers back to the chapter on Sāṃkhya on one further occasion. The passage concerned begins as follows (ch. 16, ll. 14–17):

*nāpi śrutih pradhānakāraṇatvavāde pramāṇam | yataḥ — yad agne  
rohitaṃ rūpaṃ tejasas tad rūpaṃ yac chuklaṃ tad apām yat kṣṇam tad  
annasya (Chāndogya Upaniṣad 6.4.1) iti cchāndogyaśākhāyāṃ tejo-  
bannātmikāyāḥ prakṛter lohitaśuklakṣṇarūpāṇi samāmnātāni tāny  
evātra pratyabhijñāyante |*

<sup>20</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 14, ed. Abhyankar p. 328 ll. 117–118.

<sup>21</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 391 ll. 28–29.

<sup>22</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 14, ed. Abhyankar p. 328 ll. 124–125.

Revelation (*śruti*) is no proof (*pramāṇa*) either with regard to the doctrine that Nature is the cause of everything, for the following reason. There is a Vedic statement in the Chāndogya branch of the Sāmaveda: ‘The red color of fire is the color of heat, the white, that of water, the black, that of food.’<sup>23</sup> Here the colors red, white and black that are mentioned as belonging to Nature consisting of heat, water and food, are recognized as being the same.

The colors concerned are here called ‘the same’ (*tāny eva*). But the same as what? Abhyankar’s commentary proposes that the three colors —red, white and black — are the same as those mentioned in a Vedic verse quoted in the chapter on Sāṃkhya (ch. 14, ll. 108–111), so that the present passage then refers back to that chapter. The Vedic verse concerned is *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 4.5:

*ajām ekāṃ lohitaśuklakṛṣṇāṃ  
bahvīḥ prajāḥ sṛjamānāṃ sarūpāḥ |  
ajo hy eko juṣamāṇo ’nuśete  
jahāty enāṃ bhuktabhogām<sup>24</sup> ajo ’nyaḥ ||*

One unborn male [billy goat], burning with passion, covers one unborn female [nanny goat] colored red, white, and black, and giving birth to numerous offspring with the same colors as hers, while another unborn male leaves her as soon as she has finished enjoying the pleasures.<sup>25</sup>

Abhyankar’s proposition is supported by the remainder of the passage in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, which reads (ch. 16, ll. 17–25)

*tatra śrautapratyabhijñāyāḥ prābalyāl lohitādiśabdānāṃ mukhyārthasambhavāc ca tejobannātmikā jarāyujāṇḍajasvedajodbhijjaccatuṣṭayasya bhūtagrāmasya prakṛtir avasiyate | yady api tejobannānāṃ prakṛter jātatvena yogavṛtyā na jāyata ity ajatvaṃ na sidhyati tathāpi rūḍhivṛttāvagatam ajātatvam uktaprakṛtau sukhāvabodhāya prakalpyate | yathā asau vādītyo devamadhu (Chāndogya Upaniṣad 3.1.1) ityādivākyenādītyasya madhutvaṃ parikalpyate tathā tejobannātmikā prakṛtir evājeti | ato ’jām ekām ityādikā śrutir api na pradhānapratipādikā |*

<sup>23</sup> *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 6.4.1.

<sup>24</sup> Olivelle’s edition has *bhuktabhogyām*.

<sup>25</sup> Tr. Olivelle 1998: 425.

Because of the superior relative strength of recognition based on Revelation (*śruti*)<sup>26</sup> and because the primary meaning of the words ‘red’ etc. is here possible, the origin (*prakṛti*) consisting of heat, water and food of the four kinds of living being — born from a womb, from an egg, from sweat or from a sprout — is here ascertained. Even though the origin of heat, water and food, since it has come into being, is not literally (*yogavṛtyā*) established as unborn (*ajā*) in the sense of ‘it has not been born,’ the origin here discussed (*uktapṛakṛti*) is yet determined to be unborn since it is conventionally (*rūdhivṛtyā*) cognized that way. The origin that consists of heat, water and food is ‘unborn’ (*ajā*), just as the sun is determined to be honey through the Vedic statement that begins with ‘The honey of the gods, clearly, is the sun up there.’<sup>27</sup> For this reason, the Revelation that begins with *ajām ekām* does not convey Nature (*pradhāna*) either.

It is clear that once again the introduction to the chapter on Śāṅkara’s philosophy refers back to the chapter on Sāṃkhya.

We can conclude that the introduction to the chapter on Śāṅkara’s philosophy refers back to earlier chapters (or rather: to one earlier chapter) of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. However, all the sentences discussed occur in the introductory portion of that chapter, which rejects the *pariṇāmavāda*, and extends up to line 63 in Abhyankar’s edition (out of a total of 918 lines for the chapter).

I am aware of only one further explicit back reference in the chapter on Śāṅkara’s philosophy, and this one is related to an earlier passage *in the same chapter* (but not in its introduction). It runs as follows:<sup>28</sup>

*tad anena kṛśo ’ham kṛṣṇo ’ham ityādīnāṃ prakhyānānāṃ buddhyā sarūpatākhyānenaupacārikatvaṃ pratyākhyātam | tadvyāpakabhedabhānāsambhavasya prāg eva prapañcitatvāt |*

In this way the view has been rejected according to which statements such as ‘I am thin, I am black’ etc. are metaphorical on

<sup>26</sup> The implicit reference appears to be to *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 3.3.14: *śruti-līṅga-vākya-prakarāṇa-sthāna-samākhyānāṃ samavāye pāradaurbalyam arthaviṇṇakārṣāt* “If the following criteria apply at the same time — ‘direct statement’ (*śruti*), ‘word-meaning,’ ‘connection,’ ‘context,’ ‘position’ and ‘name’ — each item situated later in this enumeration is weaker than all the items preceding it, because it is more remote in meaning.”

<sup>27</sup> *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 3.1.1, tr. Olivelle 1998: 201.

<sup>28</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar pp. 412–413 ll. 223–225.



account of the similarity of what they describe with a mental notion. **Because it has been discussed at length above that the appearance of difference, which is the pervading feature (*vyāpaka*) of [metaphorical attribution], is not possible.**

This refers back to a passage that occurs a few pages earlier in the same chapter:<sup>29</sup>

*tathā ca vyāpakasya bhedabhānasya nivṛtter vyāpyasya gauṇatvasya nivṛttir iti niravadyam |*

As a result of the absence of the pervading feature, viz. the appearance of difference, there is absence of the pervaded feature (*vyāpya*), viz. secondary usage; this much is unobjectionable.

As I stated earlier, there are no further explicit back references, and we have seen that neither Nakamura nor Klostermaier give any. Abhyankar's commentary refers back to earlier chapters at a few occasions. None of these cases are back references, as the following examples will show. We begin with what appears to be the closest parallel between the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy and earlier chapters.

The chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy rejects the intermediate size of the soul adhered to by the Jainas:<sup>30</sup>

*na cārhatamatānusāreṇāhampratyayaaprāmāṇyāyātmano dehaparimāṇatvam aṅgikaraṇīyam iti sāmpratam | madhyamaparimāṇasya sāvaya-  
vatvena dehādivadanīyatve kṛtahānākṛtābhyāgamaprasaṅgāt |*

It is not proper to maintain that we must accept that the self has the size of the body in order to prove the self-awareness (*ahaṃpratyaya*) in accordance with the opinion of the Jainas. Because this would result in **the abandonment of what has been done and the addition of what has not been done**, given that what has a body etc. is impermanent on account of the fact that something of intermediate size has parts.

This corresponds to the following passage in the chapter on Jain philosophy (No. 3):<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 409 ll. 193–194.

<sup>30</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar pp. 410–411 ll. 206–208.

<sup>31</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 3, ed. Abhyankar p. 52 ll. 36–42.

*na ca kāryakāraṇabhāvanīyamo 'tīprasaṅgaṃ bhañktum arhati | tathā  
hy upādhyāyabuddhyanubhūtasya śiṣyabuddhiḥ smaret tadupacitaka-  
rmaphalam anubhaved vā | tathā ca kṛtapraṇāśākṛtābhyāgamapra-  
saṅgaḥ | tad uktaṃ siddhasenavākyakāreṇa —*

*kṛtapraṇāśākṛtakarmabhoga-  
bhavaḥpramokṣasmṛtibhaṅgadoṣān |  
upekṣya sākṣāt kṣaṇabhāṅgam icchann  
aho mahāsāhasikah paro 'sau || iti |*

The restriction imposed by causality cannot avoid overextension (*atīprasaṅga*). For example, the mind of the pupil would remember what had been experienced in the mind of the teacher; or it might experience the result of the acts accumulated by the latter. In this way there would be **destruction of what has been done and addition of what has not been done**. This has been stated by the author of the *Siddhasenavākya*:<sup>32</sup>

‘Oh that opponent is very daring, since he immediately accepts momentariness while neglecting the shortcomings connected with it: destruction of what has been done, experiencing acts not carried out, the impossibility of existence, of liberation, of memory.’

It is clear from the context that these passages do not refer to each other, in spite of using a similar expression. What is more, there is an important difference between the two: the chapter on Śāṅkara’s philosophy has *hāna* ‘abandonment’ where the chapter on Jainism has *praṇāśa* ‘destruction.’ (The same compound, again with *praṇāśa*, occurs in chapter 4, on Rāmānuja’s philosophy,<sup>33</sup> and in chapter 11, on Nyāya.)<sup>34</sup>

In passing, attention can be drawn to the fact that the line at the end of chapter 15 that originally may have constituted the end

<sup>32</sup> Balcerowicz (2001) has convincingly argued that Siddhasena the author of the *Sammatītarakaparakāṇa* is different from the Siddhasena who wrote the *Nyāyāvātāra* (he calls them Siddhasena Divākara and Siddhasena Mahāmāti respectively). The *Sammatītarakaparakāṇa*, he further argues, may belong to an earlier date than the *Nyāyāvātāra*, and was indeed composed before Dignāga, or at any rate without knowledge of his work. The verse cited here is Hemacandra’s *Vītarāga-stuti*, v. 18.

<sup>33</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 4, ed. Abhyankar p. 114 l. 222: *kṛtapraṇāśākṛtābhyāgamaprasaṅgaḥ*.

<sup>34</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 11, ed. Abhyankar p. 249 l. 129: *kṛtapraṇāśākṛtābhyāgamau*.

of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* characterizes Śaṅkara's philosophy as *śiromaṇi* 'crest-jewel,' whereas the end of the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy calls it *śirolaṅkāratna*. The two terms are synonyms, but the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*'s author's preference for the former manifests itself in his use, twice over, of the compound *nāstikaśiromaṇi* 'crest-jewel of the *nāstikas*' (ch. 1, p. 2 l. 14; ch. 11, p. 255 l. 204).

Elsewhere the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy points out that certain cognitions do not count as cognitions of absence:<sup>35</sup>

*kiṃ ca nedam rajatam iti bādhakāvabodho nābhāvam avagāhate |  
bhāvavyatirekeṇābhāvasya durgrahaṇatvāt |*

Moreover, an obstructing cognition such as 'this is not silver' does not concern absence, for an absence cannot be grasped as being distinct from an existing entity.

These lines are part of a long presentation of the Mīmāṃsā view of Prabhākara regarding the error of seeing silver where there is an oyster-shell.<sup>36</sup> Abhyankar's commentary sees a parallel with some lines that occur in a section on Advaita Vedānta in chapter 4, on the philosophy of Rāmānuja. Here, too, Prabhākara's view is presented, then rejected:<sup>37</sup>

*bhāvāntaram abhāvo hi kayācit tu vyapekṣayā |  
bhāvāntarād abhāvo 'nyo na kaścid anirūpaṇāt ||  
iti vadatā bhāvavyatiriktasyābhāvasyānabhyuṣagamāt*

[...,] because [Prabhākara] does not accept non-existence as something different from something existing, saying:

Something non-existing is another existing thing from a certain point of view. There is no non-existing thing that is different from another existing thing, because it cannot be determined.<sup>38</sup>

These two passages deal with the same topic (Prabhākara's rejection of absence as a positive entity), but clearly they do not refer to each other.

<sup>35</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 430 ll. 462–463.

<sup>36</sup> This presentation covers lines 16.344–489 in Abhyankar's edition.

<sup>37</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 4, ed. Abhyankar p. 94 ll. 57–59.

<sup>38</sup> Cp. *Slokavārttika*, Autpattikasūtra Nirālambanavāda 118cd: *bhāvāntaram abhāvo 'nyo na kaś cid anirūpaṇāt*.

There is a curious parallel between two passages, one in the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy, the other in the one on Jaimini's philosophy. In the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy we read:<sup>39</sup>

*tatra prathamam adhikaraṇam athāto brahmajijñāsā iti brahmamīmāṃsārambhopapādanāparam | adhikaraṇam ca pañcāvayavam prasiddham | te ca viśayādayaḥ pañcāvayavā nirūpyante |*

The first topic (*adhikaraṇa*) in this science presents the beginning of the reflection on Brahma (*brahmamīmāṃsā*) with the words: 'Next the desire to know Brahma.'<sup>40</sup> It is well-known that a topic has five parts. Those five parts — object (*viśaya*), etc. — are now examined.

This passage does not specify which are the five parts (*avayava*) of a topic (*adhikaraṇa*). The parallel passage in the chapter on Jaimini's philosophy does. Here it is:<sup>41</sup>

*tatrāthāto dharmajijñāsā<sup>42</sup> iti prathamam adhikaraṇam pūrvamīmāṃsārambhopapādanāparam | adhikaraṇam ca pañcāvayavam ācakṣate parīkṣakāḥ | te ca pañcāvayavā viśayasamśayapūrvapakṣasiddhāntasamgatirūpāḥ | tatrācāryamatānusāreṇādhikaraṇam nirūpyate |*

The two passages clearly resemble each other, so much so that one may wonder whether they have one and the same author; alternatively, the author of one knew the other passage, or both passages drew inspiration from an earlier text. For our present purposes it is important to note that the latter passage enumerates the five parts of a topic, whereas the former does not. Does this mean that the passage in the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy refers back to the passage in Jaimini's philosophy? The answer must almost certainly be negative, because an explicit back reference might have been expected, for example: *\*adhikaraṇam ca pañcāvayavam ity uktam*. We know that the author of the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy does not hesitate to refer back where this is appropriate. The fact that he does not do so here strongly suggests that this is not a back reference.

<sup>39</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 399 ll. 84–86.

<sup>40</sup> This is *Brahmasūtra* 1.1.1: *athāto brahmajijñāsā*.

<sup>41</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 12, ed. Abhyankar p. 261 ll. 18–22.

<sup>42</sup> This is *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 1.1.1: *athāto dharmajijñāsā*.

[A minor difference in terminology might mistakenly be looked upon as further evidence for difference of authorship. The second of the five *adhikaraṇas*, in the chapter on Jaimini's philosophy, is *saṁśaya*. In the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy, on the other hand, it is *saṁdeha*. No conclusions can be drawn from this difference, because the chapter on Jaimini's philosophy itself uses *saṁdeha* a few lines after the above enumeration (ch. 12, p. 261 l. 25).]

The chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy mentions, in an example that illustrates an objection, two technical terms — *pīlupāka* “baking of the atoms” and *piṭharapāka* “baking of the pot” — that have their place in the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya philosophy respectively.<sup>43</sup> The procedure designated by the first of these terms is elaborately discussed in the chapter on Vaiśeṣika (ch. 10; *aulūkyadarśana*).<sup>44</sup> But once again, there is no hint that the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy refers back to that passage. The author of that chapter took it clearly for granted that his educated readers were familiar with those terms.

The chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy quotes (ch. 16, l. 162–163) a verse that is also quoted in the chapter 5 (ll. 283–284):

*upakramopasaṁhārāv abhyāso 'pūrvatā phalam |*  
*arthavādopapattī ca liṅgaṁ tātparyanirṁaye ||*

Interestingly, chapter 5 attributes it to the *Byhatsaṁhitā* (*uktam byhatsaṁhitāyām*), where I do not succeed in tracing it, while the chapter on Śāṅkara's philosophy ascribes it to earlier teachers (*pūrvācārya*). In itself this may not be a strong argument in support of different authorship, but it increases the weight of those arguments, if ever so little.

We finally consider a misprint in Abhyankar's edition that might create the impression that the chapter on Śāṅkara's philo-

<sup>43</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 400 ll. 95–98: *athocyeta yathā pīlupākapakṣe piṭharapākapakṣe vā kālabhedenaikasmin vastuni pākajabhedo yujyate tathākasmiñ śarīrābhidhe vastuni kālabhedena parimāṇabhedaḥ |* ‘One might say that in one single thing called body there can be difference of size on account of difference of time, just as there can be a difference arising from baking in one single thing (such as a pot) on account of difference of time, whether one accepts baking of the atoms (*pīlupāka*) or baking of the pot (*piṭharapāka*).’

<sup>44</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 10, ed. Abhyankar pp. 224–225 ll. 114–124.

sophy refers back to the chapter on Buddhism. We find here:<sup>45</sup>

*nanu mādhyamikamatāvalambanena rajatādivibhramāmbanānam asad  
iti cet — tad uktam |*

The final word of this sentence must clearly be *ayuktam* rather than *uktam*. This is the reading of the Ānandāśrama edition, and is confirmed by the immediate sequel, in which two ablatives give the reasons why the objection here expressed is inappropriate (*ayukta*). These ablatives are not followed by *iti*, and are not therefore the content of what was supposedly said (*ukta*). In spite of this, the word *ukta* ‘said’ might suggest to the inadvertent reader that this line refers back to what had been said in an earlier chapter, preferably the chapter on Buddhism. This is not however the case. Interestingly, both Klostermaier (1999: 58) and Sharma (1964: 839) accept Abhyankar’s reading *uktam* and try to translate it, though not without difficulty.

We can conclude that, if we remove the introduction to the chapter on Śāṅkara’s philosophy, what remains does not refer back to the earlier chapters and is completely coherent; it also has an appropriate beginning:<sup>46</sup> *tac ca vedāntaśāstraṃ caturlakṣaṇam* ‘This science of Vedānta deals with four topics.’<sup>47</sup> If we assume that the introductory portion was added by those who turned the text on Śāṅkara’s philosophy into the final chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, we are left with a text on Śāṅkara’s philosophy (chapter 16 minus the introductory portion) that can stand on its own, and presumably once did so.

We have arrived at the provisional conclusion that the chapter on Śāṅkara’s philosophy minus its introduction was originally a separate text that was at some point added to the fifteen chapters of the original *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. The conclusion is provisional, because we do not know for sure what the inspection of thus far unexplored manuscripts may reveal. But the conclusion is firm enough to accept it as the so far most likely depiction of historical reality.

<sup>45</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 439 ll. 582–583.

<sup>46</sup> *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 16, ed. Abhyankar p. 394 l. 64.

<sup>47</sup> We may have to look upon the words *tac ca* at the beginning of this sentence as added by those who added the introductory portion.

In what manner could this conclusion be jeopardized by the inspection of further manuscripts? Among the so far uninspected manuscripts there are no doubt many that contain only 15 chapters, presumably with the concluding sentence reproduced above. There will be some that contain the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* as we find it in Abhyankar's edition, i.e., with a final chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy. Such manuscripts will not jeopardize the position here taken. On the other hand, our conclusion will be strengthened if more manuscripts were to come to light that contain only this final chapter (whether under the title *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* or some other title), preferably without the introductory portion. We know that the Ānandāśrama edition used one such manuscript, but details are hard to obtain after more than a century. The indications given in the edition are far too cursory to provide us with useful information. It is hard to think of manuscript evidence that would weaken our conclusion.

It is possible, as we have seen, that the original chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy had an author different from the author of the original *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. But who wrote the original *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*?

We know that the introductory stanzas of this text attribute it to Mādhava the son of Sāyaṇa. We further know that his teacher was Sarvajñaviṣṇu, who was also known to the author of the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy.

We know from various sources that Sarvajñaviṣṇu had a son called Cannibhaṭṭa. This Cannibhaṭṭa states in one of his surviving texts that he had composed a work called *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. A close comparison of Cannibhaṭṭa's surviving works and the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* ascribed to Mādhava has led Anantalal Thakur (1961) to the conclusion that Cannibhaṭṭa was the author of 'Mādhava's' *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. Among the supplementary arguments he presents, there are these: The second introductory verse of 'Mādhava's' *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* is also found in one of Cannibhaṭṭa's works. And the works have passages and expressions in common. These shared passages and expressions, be it noted, are not found in the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy, so that this argument cannot be used to support the view that Cannibhaṭṭa also composed that chapter. Some of the shared quo-

ted passages, on the other hand, do occur in the chapter on Śaṅkara's philosophy, but this, I submit, carries less weight.

What about the colophons? In both the Ānandāśrama and the Abhyankar editions (and in the editions that copy the latter), each chapter is followed by a colophon that qualifies the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* as *śrīmatśāyaṇamādhavīya*. However, none of the earlier editions have this qualification anywhere. The only exception is the colophon at the conclusion of the first chapter (*cārvāka-darśana*) in the 1858 Calcutta edition by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara; it reads: *iti sāyaṇamādhavīye sarvadarśanasamgrahē cārvākadarśanam*. All the other fourteen chapters in this edition omit the specification *sāyaṇamādhavīya*, as do all the chapters in the 1889 Calcutta edition (by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya) and in the edition by Udaya Narain Sinh. We may suspect that Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara added this specification after this one chapter on the basis of the information he found in the introductory verses. If so, we can be sure that the qualification *śrīmatśāyaṇamādhavīya* in the Ānandāśrama and Abhyankar editions (and in subsequent editions) are editorial additions.<sup>48</sup> This means that two of the introductory verses are the only reason to ascribe the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* to Mādhava the son of Śāyaṇa.

This confronts us with the following issue. If those two introductory verses are additions, or are somehow incorrectly interpreted, no reason remains to look upon Mādhava as the name of the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. In that case, we only know that the teacher of its author was Sarvajñaṣṇu, in accordance with the second introductory verse. Since Cannibhaṭṭa was Sarvajñaṣṇu's son, the claim that Cannibhaṭṭa composed the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* would then to a large extent be supported by that second introductory verse. Indeed, we have seen that this same introductory verse was used in one of Cannibhaṭṭa's recognized works.

Let us have a closer look at the introductory verses. They read:

*nityajñānāśrayaṃ vande niḥśreyasanidhiṃ śivam |  
yenaiva jātaṃ mahyādi tenaivedaṃ sakartṛkam || 1 ||*

<sup>48</sup> Another editorial addition in these editions is the phrase *atha ...darśanam* introducing each chapter.



I pay homage to Śiva, the seat of eternal knowledge [and] the abode of the highest good (*niḥśreyasa*), owing to whom the earth etcetera have come into being. It is owing to him that this has a maker.<sup>49</sup> (1)

*pāraṃ gataṃ sakaladarśanasāgarāṇām  
ātmocitārthacaritārthitasarvalokam |  
śrīśārṅgapāṇitanayaṃ nikhilāgamajñām  
sarvajñaviṣṇugurum anvaham āśraye 'ham || 2 ||*

Every day I take recourse to my teacher, Sarvajñaviṣṇu the son of Śārṅgapāṇi, who has gone to the other shore of all oceans of philosophy, has satisfied the whole world with things that are suitable to the Highest Self, and knows the entire tradition. (2)

*śrīmatsāyaṇadugdhābdhikaustubhena mahaujasā |  
kriyate mādhavāryeṇa sarvadarśanasamgrahaḥ || 3 ||*

The *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* is composed by the noble Mādhava, of great power, the gem of the venerable Sāyaṇa's milk-ocean. (3)

*pūrveṣāṃ atidustarāṇi sutarām āloḍya śāstrāṇy asau  
śrīmatsāyaṇamādhavaḥ prabhur upanyāsyat satāṃ pṛitaye |  
dūrotsāritamatsareṇa manasā śṛṅvantu tat sajjanā  
mālyaṃ kasya vicitrapuṣparacitaṃ pṛityai na samjāyate || 4 ||*

That venerable master Sāyaṇamādhava, having studied with great care the difficult treatises of earlier scholars, has explained them for the delight of the virtuous. Let virtuous people listen to it with a mind from which passion has been cast far away. To whom does a garland made of various flowers not bring delight? (4)

The line immediately following these verses is

*atha kathaṃ parameśvarasya niḥśreyasapradatvam abhidhīyate |*

How can it be stated that the Supreme Lord (*parameśvara*) gives the highest good (*niḥśreyasa*)?

which refers back to verse 1. Verses 2, 3 and 4 come in between this line and the verse it refers back to.

<sup>49</sup> It is not clear what *this (idam)* is. Different interpreters understand it differently: Cowell & Gough (1892: 1) take it as referring to the universe ('in him only has this all a maker'); Ballanfāt (1997: 47) thinks it refers to the text of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* ('à lui seul ce qui suit devra d'être accompli').

One is struck by the laudatory and impersonal character of verses 3 and 4 — the only ones that urge us to believe that Mādhava was the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. Mādhava is here ‘noble’ (*ārya*), ‘of great power’ (*mahaujas*), the ‘gem of Sāyaṇa’s milk-ocean’ (*śrīmatśāyaṇadugdadhādhikaustubha*), a ‘master’ (*prabhū*). Such verses might easily have come from the pen of someone else, in which case it is not Mādhava himself who claims to have composed the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*. This other person may have been the real author of that text — who then wanted to express his admiration for Mādhava — or someone else altogether. Either way these verses do not stand in the way of accepting that someone different from Mādhava — perhaps Cannibhaṭṭa — composed the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, or at least the first fifteen chapters of this work.

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