

Latest News from a Kashmirian “Second Dharmakīrti”

On the Life, Works and Confessional Identity of Śāṅkaranandana according to New Manuscript Resources

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With its impressive educational and ritual complexes (Nālandā, Telāḍhaka, Vikramaśīla, Uddanḍapuri, etc.), Magadha remained the dominant centre of Buddhist intellectual life and religious creativity in India from the 6th to the 12th centuries CE. Probably as early as the 7th century, the rival centre of Valabhī in Gujrat, which had hosted such noted intellectuals as Sthiramati and Guṇamati, began to die out, likely not surviving the decline of the Maitraka dynasty that had so munificently supported it from the beginning of the 6th century. But sometime during the 8th century, Kashmir entered the scene of Buddhist religio-philosophical creativity with intellectuals such as Dharmottara.

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Less than two centuries later, Kashmir had become a major centre of Indian philosophical life, a centre that, contrary perhaps to Magadha, was extremely lively with philosophical interaction and competition between the representatives of various Buddhist, Śaiva and orthodox brahmanical denominations. And from the middle of the 10th century, Kashmir also became the focal point of the so-called second diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet, thus attracting the most gifted personalities among the Tibetan elite and providing Indian Buddhist intellectuals with positions in ever more numerous translation teams. The phenomenon would culminate at the end of the 11th century with personalities such as rÑog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab.

Among the non-Buddhists involved in this fascinating period, let us simply recall here the names of Jayantabhaṭṭa, one of the most creative representatives of the Nyāya, and of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, who were responsible for the development of the Pratyabhijñā system. On the Buddhist side, Śāṅkaranandana stands out both as the main interlocutor of the Śaiva Pratyabhijñā school and as one of the most influential thinkers among the early generations of Tibetan philosophers. Śāṅkaranandana was apparently so brilliant that, due perhaps to the extreme terseness of his style, to his philosophical penetration and to his doctrinal orthodoxy, he came to be famed as the “second Dharmakīrti.” Given the amount of quotations in Pratyabhijñā works as well as his impact on the “second diffusion” of Buddhism, Śāṅkaranandana must be considered the most outstanding representative of Buddhist philosophy in Kashmir.

Strange as it may seem, however, we know nearly nothing about him. His life, dates and even confessional (i.e., both socioreligious and doctrinal) identity are still shrouded in mystery. Until recently, only the four works recorded in the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur*, all left entirely unstudied, and a few titles were known to us. Things are, however, changing for the better due to the (re)discovery of (new) manuscript resources that shed entirely new light on Śāṅkaranandana's religious and philosophical identity. The present essay aims at summarizing previous research on the subject (SECTION 1), presenting the scope of the new resources (SECTION 2) and providing new insights into the internal chronology of Śāṅkaranandana's works (SECTION 3), their confessional identity (SECTION 4) and, finally, the kind of biographical hypotheses they allow or exclude (SECTION 5).

1 Previous Research on Śāṅkarānanda

1.1 When he published his pathbreaking *History of Indian Logic* (1921), S. Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was aware of four works by “Śāṅkarānanda,” all of them preserved in Tibetan translation only: the *Pramāṇavārtikaṭīkā*, the *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra*, the *Apoḥasiddhi* and the *Pratibandhasiddhi*.¹ Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s historical and biographical account relied entirely on the narrative recorded by the Tibetan hagiographer Tāranātha (16th–17th century). According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, “Śāṅkarānanda” was active during the reign of Nayapāla (around 1050):

Śāṅkarānanda... was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Kāśmīra. He was learned in all sciences, and was above all an expert in Logic. He intended to write an original work on Logic refuting Dharmakīrti, but in a dream he was told by Mañjuśrī: ‘Since Dharmakīrti is an Ārya (an elect), one cannot refute him, and if thou seest mistake in him, it is the mistake of thine own understanding.’ Thereupon Śāṅkarānanda repented and composed a commentary on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇa-vārtika* in seven chapters.²

1.2 In 1932, Th. Stcherbatsky classified “Śāṅkarānanda” among the representatives of the “Cashmere or philosophical school of commentators.” According to the Russian scholar, this tradition whose “active actors were often brahmins” intended to uncover the “deeper layers” of Dharmakīrti’s philosophy.³ In 1933, E. Frauwallner rightly emended the names recorded in the Tibetan sources (“Śāṅkarānanda,” “Śāṅkarānanta,” “Śāṅkananda”) to “Śāṅkarānanda.”⁴ It was also in the thirties that the scholars and adventurers R. Sāṅkrītyāyana and G. Tucci travelled across Tibet in search of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. In Ņor, the two of them photographed a Sanskrit manuscript amounting to thirty-one folios (hereafter MS A). As Bühnemann (1980) would point out, this manuscript contained

¹Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1921:344–345. Vidyābhūṣaṇa also translated the *maṅgalas* of the first two works quoted (1921:345, nn. 2 and 4).

²Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1921:344. For a second (and funnier) biographical legend associated with the alleged conversion of Śāṅkarānanda, see Krasser 2001:496, n. 30.

³Stcherbatsky 1932:40–42.

⁴See Frauwallner 1933:241/(1982:488) and Krasser 2001:489–490.

all the stanzas that formed the basic didactic structure of Śāṅkaranandana's thirteen independent treatises.⁵ In the report he published in 1935, R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana mentioned the titles of three new (but to him still anonymous) works: the *Prajñālaṅkārikā*, the *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā* and the *Āgamaprāmāṇyakārikā*.⁶ His list included one more title, the *Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa* which, like Tucci, he photographed in Nor and was able to ascribe to Śāṅkaranandana (sic).⁷ None of these materials were either described or edited until 1980.⁸

1.3 In 1960, R. Gnoli dedicated four pages of his introduction to the edition of the PVSV to the last among the known Indian commentators of this work, “Śāṅkarānanda.” As H. Krasser rightly points out, “Professor Gnoli was the first and only expert not to date Śāṅkaranandana... on the basis of Tibetan tradition but to use textual sources.”⁹ It is unclear whether Gnoli, a noted specialist of Kashmir Śaivism, noticed Abhinavagupta's or his commentators' explicit mention of two theretofore unknown works of Śāṅkaranandana, the *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā* and the *Dharmālaṅkāra*. Whatever the case may be, the Italian scholar added only one title to the list provided by the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur* and Vidyābhūṣaṇa, viz. a *Prajñālaṅkāra* whose doctrinal stance he interpreted in a way that I shall attempt to refute below.¹⁰ Gnoli's identification of the Sanskrit fragments scattered throughout Kashmir Śaiva literature marked a significant turning point. First, Gnoli was the first scholar to identify Abhinavagupta (950–1020) as the *terminus ad quem* for Śāṅkaranandana; as for the latter's *terminus post quem*, it was provided by Dharmottara, whom Śāṅkaranandana, according to Abhinavagupta again, is supposed to have criticised.¹¹ From this, the Italian scholar concluded that Śāṅka-

⁵See below, SECTION 1.5.

⁶Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935:42, [Nor] XXXVIII.3.173, 4.174, 5.175. See also Much 1988:16–17, 21 and 27. The title “*Āgamaprāmāṇyakārikā*” does not appear in the colophon of MS A, which presents the title as: “*Āgasiddhikārikā*,” and must therefore be either an error or an emendation by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana.

⁷Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935:42, [Nor] XXXVII.1.168. See also Much 1988:28, and below, SECTIONS 2.2.9 to 2.2.10.

⁸See below, SECTIONS 2.2.5 and 2.2.11.

⁹Krasser 2001:489.

¹⁰See below, SECTIONS 4.7 and 5.3.

¹¹Gnoli 1960:xxiii–xxiv. ĪPVV II.16,10–11: *tena yad āha bhaṭṭaśāṅkaranandanaha... iti dharmottaram dūṣayitum* /.

ranandana had been active sometime during the 9th and 10th century, a conclusion that, in my opinion, still holds today. Second, Gnoli turned the (Indo-)Tibetan legend upside down: that Śāṅkaranandana was praised by Abhinavagupta and composed such a non-Buddhistic work as the *Prajñālaṅkāra* could only be due to the fact that, far from having converted from Śaivism to Buddhism, Śāṅkaranandana had converted from Buddhism to Śaivism.¹²

1.4 In his *Les Bouddhistes kaśmīriens au moyen âge* (1968), J. Naudou located, allegedly on the basis of the Tibetan translations (and not without obvious contradictions), the *floruit* of Prajñākaragupta, Yamāri and “Śāṅkarānanda” in the 10th century.¹³ The French scholar was aware of the same four “Tibetan” works as Vidyābhūṣaṇa and partly misinterpreted the scope and meaning of the *Apoḥasiddhi* and the *Pratibandhasiddhi*.¹⁴ However, Naudou is to be credited with having drawn the attention to the important colophon of the *Pratibandhasiddhi*, which portrays Śāṅkaranandana as a “*paramopāsaka mahāpaṇḍita brāhmaṇa*” and as a “second Dharmakīrti” (*chos kyi grags pa gñis pa*).¹⁵ Let it be noted in passing that Naudou, in wondering whether “Śāṅkarānanda” was the same as that Śāṅkarabhadra “who received the *Yuddhajayārṇavatāntra Svaroḍaya nāma* and the *Svarodayalagnaphalopadeśa* from Abhinavagupta,”¹⁶ seemingly also suspected a close connection between the two intellectuals. Naudou (who obviously hadn’t read Gnoli) also relates the “story of [Śāṅkarānanda’s] hypothetical conversion” on the basis of Tāranātha’s account.

1.5 Like Gnoli’s comments, G. Bühnemann’s “*Identifizierung von Sanskrittexten Śāṅkaranandanas*” (1980) laid the foundations for the philological study of this philosopher’s works. First, Bühnemann collected and published all the Sanskrit fragments explicitly ascribed to Śāṅkaranandana in Kashmir Śaiva as well as Jaina sources. Second, her study was the first to rely on Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s photographs of the Ñor manuscript

¹²See below, SECTIONS 4.7 and 5.3.

¹³Naudou 1968:104.

¹⁴Naudou 1968:108.

¹⁵Naudou 1968:107. On this colophon, see below, FOOTNOTE 125.

¹⁶Naudou 1968:107; see also Naudou 1968:103.

(MS A). Though she did not edit the *poṭhi*, Bühnemann traced all the extant fragments to it or to the Tibetan translations¹⁷ and succeeded in identifying the thirteen independent works (didactic stanzas only) contained in MS A, thus suddenly raising the number of Śāṅkaranandana's works (commentarial or independent) to fifteen.¹⁸ Third, Bühnemann pointed out, on the evidence of both the Tibetan translation of the *Anyāpohasiddhi* and the form of certain Sanskrit fragments, that most of Śāṅkaranandana's independent treatises originally consisted of *miśraka* texts combining didactic stanzas and explanatory prose.¹⁹

1.6 The two decades separating Bühnemann's from H. Krasser's (2001) study were characterized by a growing interest in the Tibetan indigenous contribution to Buddhist logic and epistemology. Together with Bhavyarāja, Manoratha, Parahita (11th century) and Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127–1225), but also rNog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab (1059–1109) and Sa skya Paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), Śāṅkaranandana started to be reckoned among those Indian and Tibetan intellectuals who had exerted a deep and lasting impact on the first generations of Tibetan philosophers.²⁰ In this context, Śāṅkaranandana came to be (mistakenly) considered as a likely Indian predecessor of the dGe lugs pas' "moderate realism."²¹

¹⁷See Bühnemann 1980:193–197.

¹⁸See Bühnemann 1980:191–193 and Much 1988:16–17. For each work, Bühnemann added the number of stanzas as recorded in the colophons (on these "micro-colophons," see Eltschinger 2008:120) as well as the references in MS A. Steinkellner/Much 1995:80 presents a 22-item list that can easily be reduced to Bühnemann's provided one does not distinguish between the versified works and the prose commentaries: 6 and 7, 10 and 11, 12 and 13, 14 and 15, 16 to 18, 19 and 20 overlap.

¹⁹Bühnemann 1980:193.

²⁰See especially van der Kuijp 1983 and Jackson 1987.

²¹Śāṅkaranandana is frequently alluded to by the (dGa' ldan pas'/dGe lugs pas as an Indian authority regarding the kind of moderate realism they profess. Their Sa skya pa adversaries reject this interpretation as of purely Tibetan origin (i.e., as having originated in doctrines developed at gSañ phu sne'u thog monastery under the inspiration of rNog lotsāba and Phya pa chos kyi seṅ ge). The dGe lugs pas authenticate their ideas by resorting to PVAn on PV 1.40 as well as to the Kashmirian logician Bhavyarāja (Dreyfus 1992:42). See Tillemans 1984:64, n. 5, Dreyfus 1992:42–43, Yoshimizu 1999:463–464, n. 19, and Tillemans 1999:212–213. Let me mention in passing that this Tibetan-Western interpretation of the PVAn passage relies on a misunderstanding, for this *locus* does not reflect Śāṅkaranandana's own position, but the ideas he ascribes to a realist opponent.

Though it bears no connection with the “Indo-Tibetan” approach, T. Funayama’s study, “Remarks on Religious Predominance in Kashmir: Hindu or Buddhist?” (1994), is worth mentioning in this regard. According to the Japanese scholar, Śāṅkaranandana belonged to a socioreligious milieu characterized by a “syncretic attitude” that likely accounted for the fact that “there were a few Buddhist texts written by brahmins.”²² As Funayama has it (echoing Gnoli),

Śāṅkaranandana 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 *Prajñālaṅkāra* which was highly estimated by the Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta. This double attitude incurred a discussion regarding whether Śāṅkaranandana converted himself or not.

Funayama answers this question by declaring himself inclined to “assume that he composed Buddhist texts without conversion.” With the exception of Bühnemann (1980) and Steinkellner/Much (1995), who hadn’t touched upon the issue, Funayama was at that time the only scholar not to endorse any variant of the “conversion” hypothesis.

1.7 H. Krasser’s “On the Dates and Works of Śāṅkaranandana” (2001) is no doubt the most thoroughly documented study published before the “paradigm shift” induced by the discovery, in 2004, of several Sanskrit manuscripts containing works of Śāṅkaranandana. Let it be noted first that Krasser reorganized Bühnemann’s list of works in various directions: by identifying two new Sanskrit fragments, Krasser established that the *Dharmālaṅkāra* too originally consisted in a *miśra* composition;²³ by hypothesizing a now lost commentary on Dharmakīrti’s VN, he raised the number of Śāṅkaranandana’s works to sixteen;²⁴ finally, Krasser is to be credited with the first attempt at establishing the relative chronology of these works.²⁵ Turning Gnoli’s biographical outline upside down, Krasser rehabilitated the tradition of Śāṅkaranandana’s conversion from Śaivism

²²Funayama 1994:372 (same reference for the next three citations).

²³See Krasser 2001:492.

²⁴See Krasser 2001:490–493, and below, SECTION 2.1.3.

²⁵See especially Krasser 2001:508.

to Buddhism. Two arguments had allowed Gnoli to reverse the Tibetan legends: first, he interpreted the *Prajñālaṅkāra* as of Śaiva obedience; second, Abhinavagupta, in addition to praising Śaṅkaranandana, portrayed him as *pratīlabdhonmeṣa*, “[one who] recovered illumination.”²⁶ Krasser’s critique of this argument was two-sided.

1. Śaṅkaranandana’s *Prajñālaṅkāra* cannot have shifted so significantly from Buddhist “orthodoxy” since Abhinavagupta himself presents certain among its teachings as *saugata*, i.e., Buddhist; moreover, Gnoli’s translation of *pratīlabdhonmeṣa* raises several problems.²⁷
2. The Tibetan traditions (both biographical and doxographical) unanimously hold Śaṅkaranandana to have been (or at least become) a Buddhist, and the colophon of the Tibetan *Pratibandhasiddhi* can only be interpreted as testifying to a conversion to Buddhism. As for the concluding stanza of the *Īśvarāpākaṇasāṅkṣepa*, it suggests that this conversion took place rather late in Śaṅkaranandana’s life.

These observations led Krasser to divide Śaṅkaranandana’s literary production into two distinct periods. That Abhinavagupta praised Śaṅkaranandana was due to the fact that he was not aware of the latter’s polemical tracts against the existence of God (as well as of his commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works, since at least the *Tīkā* on the PV contains unambiguous anti-theistic statements). According to Krasser, these works must belong to a period posterior to Abhinavagupta’s final work, the *ĪPVV* (around 1014–1015), whereas Śaṅkaranandana’s remaining treatises must predate the *ĪPVV* (especially the *Anyāpohasiddhi*, the *Prajñālaṅkāra*, the **Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*, maybe also the *Dharmālaṅkāra*, all of which are quoted in the *ĪPVV*). Finally, on the grounds that a statement of Utpaladeva’s would seem to presuppose an (unidentified) stanza of Śaṅkaranandana’s, Krasser hypothesized a lifetime between 940/(950) and 1020/(1030).²⁸

1.8 Krasser is also to be credited with the only critical edition and annotated translation of a work of Śaṅkaranandana to date, the *Īśvarāpākaṇasāṅkṣepa* (2002). As the editor brilliantly points out, the doctrinal

²⁶Gnoli 1960:xxvi.

²⁷See below, respectively SECTION 4.7 and FOOTNOTE 98, and SECTION 5.3.

²⁸See Krasser 2001:494–505, and below SECTION 5.4.

and textual background of the treatise is purely Buddhist. This work amounts to an updated version of Dharmakīrti’s arguments against the existence of God.

1.9 According to A. Sanderson’s unpublished “Notes (2005) on Helmut Krasser’s ‘On the Dates and Works of Śāṅkaranandana (2001)’” (2010 for the printout), three reasons at least plead against Krasser’s assumption of a conversion from Śaivism to Buddhism. First, the Tibetan legends only say that Śāṅkaranandana was a Brahmin who converted to Buddhism, but never allude to a former Śaiva persuasion; as for Śāṅkaranandana’s name, which many (including myself) had held to hint at a Śaiva environment, “it is not an initiation name (*dīkṣānāma*) and therefore tells us nothing about his religion. Only initiation names and ordination names reveal a person’s religious practice.”²⁹ Second, the hypothesis of a conversion from Śaivism to Buddhism would seem to presuppose that the works praised by Abhinavagupta were of Śaiva obedience; now, Sanderson sees “no evidence at all that [Śāṅkaranandana] wrote any but Buddhist works or that Abhinavagupta saw him as anything but a Buddhist in any of his works,”³⁰ and “Krasser provides no evidence of works which are un-Buddhist to any degree.”³¹ Third, Abhinavagupta’s terminology while referring to Śāṅkaranandana’s alleged illumination is characteristically Buddhist and points “to a Buddhist illumination or at least to the fruit of Buddhist practice,”³² thus making it difficult to admit that Śāṅkaranandana had been a Śaiva earlier in his life. Let it be noted, finally, that Sanderson also criticises the assumption that Utpaladeva might provide a *terminus ante quem* for Śāṅkaranandana. According to him, “the passage does not allow this inference. Abhinavagupta does not say that Utpaladeva attacks the verse in question but only that he attacks a certain position which Abhinavagupta illustrates by citing this verse.”³³

1.10 The present author has published a diplomatic edition of the stanzas of Śāṅkaranandana’s *Sarvajñāsiddhi* (MSS A and B) together

²⁹Sanderson 2005/(2010):2.

³⁰Sanderson 2005/(2010):2.

³¹Sanderson 2005/(2010):2. See below, SECTION 4.1.

³²Sanderson 2005/(2010):2.

³³Sanderson 2005/(2010):3.

with a preliminary study of this treatise's doctrinal stance (2008), of decidedly Buddhist and especially Dharmakīrtian allegiance.

1.11 Our knowledge of the available Sanskrit manuscripts, or, rather, of the extant photographs of manuscripts containing works by Śāṅkaranandana has increased very significantly in the past few years. Whereas Bühnemann had to draw her conclusions on the basis of one single manuscript(/set of photographs, MS A) and Krasser on the basis of two of them (MSS A and C), the present study can rely on seven manuscripts and 11 sets of photographs, the most important ones having emerged around 2004–2005. Among these 11 sets of photographs, only one (MS C) is of a currently still available physical manuscript. The remaining ones are of manuscripts found in Ānor in the thirties (MSS A and B) or in unspecified Tibetan monasteries (?) during or after the Cultural Revolution. At least some among these manuscripts of Tibetan provenance but Indian origin are likely to have been preserved in Lhasa (Potala). It is to be noted that, although these new manuscript resources shed an entirely new light on Śāṅkaranandana's literary production, intellectual personality and biographical sketch, much time and many more manuscripts will be needed in order to gain a thorough picture of Śāṅkaranandana's philosophy. Indeed, except for the manuscript edited by Krasser (2002, MS C), I am aware of no set of photographs that would, *at the same time*, be well readable *and* present a complete manuscript. This being said, one can reasonably expect that MSS D, E, F and G will allow, in a not too distant future, editions and/or studies of at least (parts of) the two *Pratibandhasiddhis*, the *Anyāpohasiddhi*, the *Dharmālaṅkāra* (chapters 2 and 3) and the three **Prāmāṇyaparīkṣās*. Here is a sketch of the resources currently available:

- **MS A**

- Found in Ānor and photographed thrice by R. Sāṅkr̥tyāyana (1934, 1936 and/or 1938) and once by G. Tucci (1939)
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs and/or negatives kept in Patna (BRS), Göttingen (NSU), Rome (IsIAO)
- 31 folios, complete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); for details and a description of the manuscript, see Eltschinger 2008:118–121

- Covers the thirteen independent treatises (stanzas only!) of Śāṅkaranandana (see below, SECTIONS 2.2.1 to 2.2.13; Bühnemann 1980; Eltschinger 2008:118–121)

- **MS B**

- Found in Nōr and photographed twice by R. Sāṅkr̥tyāyana (1936 and/or 1938) and once by G. Tucci (1939)
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs and/or negatives kept in Patna (BRS), Göttingen (NSU), Rome (IsIAO)
- 45 folios, incomplete (?); proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); for details and a description of the manuscript, see Eltschinger 2008:121–124
- Covers the SSi (incomplete), the SSiS (complete) and the ĪA (incomplete [?]) (*miśrakas!*); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.9 to 2.2.11

- **MS C**

- Found in Vārāṇasī (BHU) and photographed by R. Torella (1991)
- MS kept in Vārāṇasī (BHU); see Krasser 2002:I.xi
- Photographs kept in Rome (IsIAO)
- 15 folios, incomplete; Śāradā; for details and a description of the manuscript, see Krasser 2002:I.xi–xix
- Covers the ĪAS (complete) (*miśraka!*) together with an anonymous commentary (incomplete); see below, SECTION 2.2.12

- **MS D**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Dharmā-lāṅkāra*[?])
- 31 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*)
- Covers the DhA (chapter 2, incomplete; chapter 3, complete) (*miśraka!*); see below, SECTION 2.2.7

- **MS E**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown

- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Prāmāṇya-saṃkṣepo dvitīyaḥ*)
- 32 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); the complete original MS must have amounted to at least forty-five (?) folios
- Covers the *BPrP (*miśraka!*); see below, SECTION 2.2.5

● **MS F**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Prāmāṇya-saṃkṣepa*)
- 9 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); the complete original MS must have amounted to at least 12 (?) folios
- Covers the *SPrP (incomplete) and the *MPrP (incomplete) (*miśrakas!*); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.3 to 2.2.4

● **MS G**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Prāmāṇya-saṃkṣepa*)
- 22 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); the complete original MS must have amounted to at least thirty-one folios
- Covers the AAS (incomplete), the P*Si* (incomplete) and the *P*SiS* (incomplete) (*miśrakas!*); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.1 to 2.2.2, and SECTION 2.2.6

1.12 Even a preliminary study of these new or rediscovered materials sheds new light on the life, works and confessional identity of the Kashmirian philosopher Śāṅkaranandana. First, his own cross-references make it possible to draw sound conclusions regarding the relative chronology of his most important works (see below, SECTION 3); these

cross-references have, moreover, revealed a hitherto unknown (but still entirely lost) work of Śāṅkaranandana, the *Pramāṇaviniścayānusāriṇī* (see below, SECTION 2.1.4). Second, both the cross-references and the colophons allow us to provide several treatises and commentaries with more accurate titles (see below, SECTION 2). Third, thanks to the availability of the *maṅgalaśloka*s and concluding verses—but also, of course, of significant parts of the works themselves—we are now able to ascertain the confessional identity of Śāṅkaranandana’s works: these are unambiguously and exclusively Buddhist, with no identifiable Śāiva or even a simply brahmanical component or leaning, which urges us to rule out all variants of the “conversion” hypothesis (except Śāṅkaranandana’s alleged *upāsaka* condition; see below, SECTION 4). Fourth, both the relative chronology and the confessional identity of his works allow us to refine our understanding of Śāṅkaranandana’s chronological relationship to Abhinavagupta (see below, SECTION 5).

2 Śāṅkaranandana’s Works and the State of Their Transmission

Śāṅkaranandana has authored at least seventeen works. Four are direct commentaries on four distinct works by Dharmakīrti, whereas thirteen consist of independent treatises. Among the latter, twelve were *miśraka* works combining didactic stanzas and explanatory prose, and this is very likely to be true of the last one (the *Āgamasiddhi*) as well.

2.1 The Commentaries Among the four direct commentaries, two have come down to us in their Tibetan translation without any known Sanskrit fragment. The other two are known through Śāṅkaranandana’s own cross-references or through hearsay.³⁴

2.1.1 (Pramāṇa)vārttikānusāriṇī (1: PVAn) The work corresponds to D no. 4223 (*Pe* 1–293a7) and P no. 5721 (*Pe* 1–338a8). According to D/P1b1, its title is: *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (*Tshad ma rnam ’grel gyi ’grel*

³⁴Bu ston (*Chos ’byun* 853,1) remarks that Vinitadeva and Śāṅkaranandana have authored commentaries on the seven treatises of Dharmakīrti (*Dul lha dan bDe byed dga’ bas sde bdun la ’grel pa byas zes grag go* //).

bśad); according to P338a8, its title is: *rNam 'grel rjes 'brañs*, which Steinkellner/Much (1995:84) retranslate as: **Pramāṇavārttikānusāra*, a form that is very likely to reflect the original title of the work:

1. in AAS (AAS_t D298b1/P321a3), Śāṅkaranandana refers his readers back to his *rNam 'grel gyi rjes su 'brañ ba*, a title whose original Sanskrit, in MS G/AAS_{ms} 15b7, is *Vārttikānusāriṇī*;
2. in his commentary on DhAk 3.11cd–12a₁ (MS D/DhA_{ms} 27a4), Śāṅkaranandana also refers to his *Vārttikānusāriṇī*.

Whatever the amount of the PVSV originally covered by the *Vārttikānusāriṇī*, it is nearly certain that the extant Tibetan translation has not recorded it in its entirety: the translation stops abruptly at the end of the commentary on PVSV on PV 1.128 with no concluding stanza (contrary to *all* other works of Śāṅkaranandana) or colophon (in D), P338a8 ending with the following short statement: *Bram ze chen pos mdzad pa'i rNam 'grel rjes 'brañs ji sñed 'gyur ba'o*, “[This was] the *Vārttikānusāriṇī* composed by [Śāṅkaranandana,] the Great Brahmin, to the extent to which [it has been] translated [into Tibetan].”³⁵ The translators of the *Vārttikānusāriṇī* remain, therefore, unknown to us.³⁶ Any explanation regarding the circumstances responsible for such a state of transmission is utterly speculative. It is, however, certain that the composition of this comparatively early work cannot have been interrupted by the death of Śāṅkaranandana (see below, SECTION 3).³⁷

³⁵Or should we understand Tib. *ji sñed* in the sense: “[*Vārttikānusāriṇī*] to the extent that [it is/(was) available],” i.e., as something like **ji sñed yod pa?* This would suggest that the translators did not have access to the entire text.

³⁶Sa skya Paṇḍita may have taken part in a (translation)/revision: see van der Kuijp 1983:100–101, Jackson 1987:113 and Krasser 2001:498, n. 35; according to Go rams pa (5b5), Sa skya Paṇḍita is the author of the Tibetan version: *Paṇḍita Saṃ ga śrī las rNam 'grel le'u dañ po'i 'Grel pa dañ / Yid kyi śiñ rta'i bśad pa Kun las btus dañ sByar ba dañ / Bram ze'i 'Grel pa dañ bcas pa gsan nas bsgyur /*. Gro luñ pa (and maybe also Bu ston) ascribe this translation to rNog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab: see Kramer 1997:60.

³⁷Stcherbatsky (1932:42) remarks: “Unfortunately he did not finish it.” Note also the following remark by Go rams pa (5b2): *Chos mchog gis mdzad pa'i Tshad ma grub pa'i rab tu byed pa dañ Bram ze'i Tshad ma grub pa'i rab tu byed pa*. Should we interpret this statement as an allusion to two lost works commenting on PV 2 (*pramāṇasiddhi[pariccheda]*) or, rather, as indicating confusion regarding the titles of the works: in the latter hypothesis, Go rams pa would then refer to Dharmottara’s and Śāṅkaranandana’s *Prāmāṇyaparikṣās* as **Pramāṇasiddhis*. This second hypothesis is to be discarded on the grounds that Go rams pa (4a6) explicitly refers to the *Chos mchog gi Tshad ma brtag pa* (i.e., Dharmottara’s *Prāmāṇyaparikṣā*).

2.1.2 Sambandhaparīkṣānusāriṇī (2: SPAn) The work corresponds to D no. 4237 (*Že* 21b4–35a3) and P no. 5736 (*Ze* 27a1–44a3). According to D21b4/P27a1–2, its title is: *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* (*’Brel pa brtag pa’i rjes su ’brañ ba*). By analogy with the well attested titles of (1) and (4), I am inclined to favour the title: **Sambandhaparīkṣānusāriṇī*. According to D35a3/P44a2–3, this *’Brel pa brtag pa’i ’grel pa* of Bram ze Śaṃkarānanda (°nanta D) was translated into Tibetan by the *paṇḍita* Parahitabhadrā and the *lotsāba bhikṣu* dGa ba’i rdo rje.³⁸

2.1.3 Commentary on the Vādanyāya (3: *VNAn) Sa skya Paṇḍita is reported to have studied and translated, together with Saṃghaśrī, two commentaries on the VN, that of Śāntarakṣita and that of the Bram ze chen po, i.e., Śaṅkaranandana.³⁹ By analogy with the titles of the other known commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works, one may tentatively propose the title: **Vādanyāyanusāriṇī*. To the best of my knowledge, no other Indian or Tibetan testimony corroborates the existence of this work.

2.1.4 (Pramāṇa)vinīścayānusāriṇī (4: PVinAn) In his commentary on *BPrPk 32 (MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 11a2–3), Śaṅkaranandana says:

ata eva vinīścayas taddrṣṭāv evetyādinā drṣṭaviṣa[ya]parikalpavṛttim upadarśyaiva tatphalaviṣayasmarañābhilāśābhyām eva vyavahāraṃ pravṛtṭyādyātmakaṃ darśayatīti vivṛtaṃ vinīścayānusāriṇyām vistareṇa /.

And in his explanation of *BPrPk 41 (MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 14a6–7), he declares:

na [tu] yathā pratyakṣasya viṣayākāramahimnaiva viṣaya-samvidas tādrūpyam ity evaṃ samvidapekṣo viṣayabhāvo ’numānasya pramāṇabhāvā[ya] syād ity atra vinīścayānusāriṇy evānugantavyā /.

Furthermore, Śaṅkaranandana refers twice to the *Vinīścayānusāriṇī* (*rNam par nes pa’i rjes su ’brañ ba*) in his *Vārttikānusāriṇī*.⁴⁰

³⁸For a short characterization of the SP in the SPAn, see Stcherbatsky 1932:247.

³⁹See Jackson 1987:113 and Much 1991:I.xxvii, n. 24.

⁴⁰In PVAn on PV 1.19a/(PVSV 14,6), D86a6: *rjes su ’gro ba med par go bar byed pa nīd du mi srid do zes rNam par nes pa’i rjes su ’brañ bar bśad zin to //*. In PVAn on PV 1.28/(PVSV 19,15), D115a1–2: *yod pa bzin du mñan bya go bar byed pa ma yin na zes rNam par nes pa’i rjes su ’brañ bar gtan la phab pa’o //*.

Although “*Viniścayānusāriṇī*” does not echo any known commentary on the PVin, we are now familiar with the second element of the title, viz. “*anusāriṇī*”, which Śāṅkaranandana uses for his own commentaries on the works of Dharmakīrti. To the best of my knowledge, no external testimony corroborates the existence of this *Viniścayānusāriṇī*. Nor do we know, except for what the above-mentioned quotation of the PVin (1.18 and/or 18,11: *taddr̥ṣṭāv eva*) suggests, the amount of the PVin commented upon by Śāṅkaranandana’s *Viniścayānusāriṇī*.

2.2 The Independent Treatises (According to Their Order of Appearance in MS A)

2.2.1 Pratibandhasiddhi (5: PSi) The title of the work is well established: *Pratibandhasiddhikārikāḥ* in MS A 2a6–b1; *Pratibandhasiddhi / ’Brel pa grub pa* in D302b1/P325a8 (and *’Brel pa grub pa* in D303a5–6/P326a6); *Pratibandhasiddhi* in the Sanskrit colophon (MS G/PSi_{ms} *28a3). Moreover, Śāṅkaranandana refers his readers back to his *Pratibandhasiddhi* in his commentary on *PSiSk 2 (MS G/*PSiS_{ms} *28b6).⁴¹

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 21 didactic stanzas (PSi_k 1 in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, PSi_k 2–21 in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 1b1–2a6 (very corrupt).
- b) The 21 didactic stanzas in D no. 4257 (*Že* 302b1–303a7) and P no. 5755 (*Ze* 325a7–326b1), translated by Bhavyarāja and rÑog Blo ldan śes rab (D303a7/P326a8–b1).
- c) An incomplete but generally well readable manuscript (MS G/PSi_{ms}) of the *miśraka* (in which the PSi immediately follows upon the AAS). The numbering of the extant folios is problematic. The PSi starts on the verso of MS G/AAS_{ms} 19a, viz. virtually at *19b in continuous numbering. However, *19b is numbered “1” and *20b “2”, with no more numbering afterwards. I am inclined to hypothesize that the PSi covered *19b1 to *28a5 in continuous numbering, and 1a to *9b in the numbering that starts at *19b. Only one folio seems to be wanting in the PSi_{ms}, viz. *21a/b or *2b–3a, which probably covered PSi_k 4, PSi_k 5–7 and the beginning of the explanation of PSi_k 7.

⁴¹It is to this work and to this very stanza (2ab) that Go rams pa refers in the passage cited and translated in Steinkellner 1992:262, n. 40. Glo bo mkhan chen ascribes it explicitly to a *’Brel pa brtag pa*. See below, FOOTNOTE 84.

2.2.2 Laghupratibandhasiddhi (6: *PSiS) The only available title for this work is: *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikāh* (MS A 2b5). By analogy with the titles of other summarizing works of this type, I am inclined to prefer the conjectural form: **Pratibandhasiddhisankṣepa* (hence *PSiS).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 8 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 2b1–5 (relatively well readable).
- b) An incomplete but generally well readable manuscript (MS G/*PSiS_{ms}) of the *miśraka* (in which the *PSiS immediately follows the PSi). In this manuscript, 6 folios of the *PSiS are extant, viz *28a(6)–*30b in continuous numbering (see above, SECTION 2.2.1), which cover *PSiSk 1–8 together with their commentary (the commentary on *PSiSk 8 is interrupted).

2.2.3 Sūkṣmaprāmānya(parīkṣā) (7: *SPrP) The only available title for this work is: *Sūkṣmaprāmānyakārikāh* (MS A 3a5). On the element “*parīkṣā*,” see below, SECTION 2.2.5.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 10 didactic stanzas (and not 20, as Bühnemann 1980:192 has it), all of them in *anuṣṭubh* metre, in MS A 2b5–3a5 (generally well readable).
- b) Two unnumbered and scarcely readable folios (MS F/*SPrP_{ms}) covering the following parts of the work: *SPrP_{ms} recto 1 covers the end of the commentary on *SPrPk 3 (ll. 1–4), *SPrPk 4 and its commentary (ll. 4–8), *SPrPk 5 (beginning, l. 8); *SPrP_{ms} verso 1 covers *SPrPk 5 (end) and the beginning of its commentary (ll. 1–8); *SPrP_{ms} recto 2 covers the end of the commentary on *SPrPk 7 (ll. 1–7), *SPrPk 8 and the beginning of the commentary thereon (l. 7); *SPrP_{ms} verso 2 covers the end of the commentary on *SPrPk 8 (ll. 1–6), *SPrPk 9 and the beginning of the commentary thereon (ll. 6–7).

2.2.4 Madhyaprāmānya(parīkṣā) (8: *MPrP) The only available title for this work is: *Madhyaprāmānyakārikāh* (MS A 4a1). A title with a final element °*sankṣepa* cannot be excluded if one refers to (14) and (16); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.10 and 2.2.12. Moreover, the (scarcely legible) colophon of *MPrP_{ms} seems to begin with: *prāmānyasaṃ...* (MS

F/*MPrP_{ms} 7b7); finally, the box containing *MPrP_{ms} at the CTTC is labelled “*Prāmāṇyasamkṣepa*,” although I am not aware of the source of this label (a conjecture from this colophon?). In the same way, an element °*parīkṣā*(°) in the title of the work cannot be excluded (see below, SECTION 2.2.5).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 16 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 3a5–4a1 (quite well readable).
- b) A seemingly complete manuscript (MS F/*MPrP_{ms}, 7 folios) of the *miśraka*. Whereas MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 1a–6b are generally well readable (to the exception of the more corrupt MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 2a and 4a), MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 7a/b (covering *MPrPk 15 and 16 together with their commentary) is in a desperate state.

2.2.5 *Bṛhatprāmāṇya(parīkṣā) (9: *BPrP) Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikāḥ* (MS A 9b3); (2) *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā* (ĪPVV II.221,4). The first one seems less satisfactory to me than the title quoted by Abhinavagupta. Granted that this work serves as a reference for (7) and (8), which merely summarize it, one may preserve, for convenience’s sake, the element *Bṛhat*° (in my opinion rather implausible) and propose: **Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 124 didactic stanzas (*maṅgala* in *vasantatilakā* metre, *BPrPk 2–122 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, *BPrPk 123 in *drutavilambita* metre, and *BPrPk 124 in *vaṃśasthāvila* metre) in MS A 4a1–9b3 (generally well readable).
- b) 32 folios of an incomplete but good manuscript (MS E/*BPrP_{ms}) covering the following parts of the work: MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 1–29b covers *BPrPk 1–76 and commentary; 3 folios of MS E/*BPrP_{ms} cover *BPrPk 114–124 (*BPrPk 124 being interrupted in the middle of its third *pāda*). *BPrPk 77–113 and its commentary (12 to 15 folios?) as well as the last folio containing the end of *BPrPk 124 and maybe a colophon are missing.
- c) 1 Sanskrit fragment edited by Bühnemann (1980:193).⁴²

Outlook: A critical edition of the available Sanskrit and a study are under preparation (L. McCrea/P. Patil).

⁴²Identifiable as *BPrPk 32 (MS A 5b1 and MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 10b4).

2.2.6 Anyāpohasiddhi (10: AAS) Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Apohasiddhi* in D281a6/P302b3 (*Apohasiddhi / Sel ba grub pa*) and ĪPVV I.292,18; (2) *Anyāpohasiddhi* in D302a7/P325a6 (*gĪzan sel ba grub pa*) in MS A 11b4 (*Anyāpohasiddhikārikāḥ*) and in the colophon of MS G/AAS_{ms} (19a8). Since Śāṅkaranandana refers to his work as *Anyāpohasiddhi* (on DhAk 3.6cd–7ab, MS D/DhA_{ms} 20b6–7), one may take this last title to be well established.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) A Tibetan translation by the *paṇḍita* Manoratha and the *lotsāba* rÑog Blo ldan śes rab (realized in Anupamapura, Kashmir); it corresponds to D no. 4256 (*Īe* 281a6–302b1) and P no. 5754 (*Ze* 302b3–325a7).
- b) The 41 didactic stanzas (*maṅgala* in *vaṃśasthavila* metre, 2–39 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, concluding stanza in *prṛthvī* metre) in MS A 9b3–11b4 (often scarcely legible).
- c) Three fifths of the *miśraka* are available in a good manuscript (MS G/AAS_{ms}). The entire text covered 19 folios (MS G/AAS_{ms} 1–19a8, while 19b = PSi_{ms} 1[a], see above, SECTION 2.2.1). Extant are MS G/AAS_{ms} 7a/b, which covers approximately AAS_t D289b2–290b2/P311b2–312b3 (from the end of the commentary on AASk 16 to the end of the commentary on AASk 20), and MS G/AAS_{ms} 9a–19a, which covers approximately AAS_t D291b1–302a7/P313b2–325a6 (from the end of the commentary on AASk 22 to AASk 41).
- d) 5 short Sanskrit fragments edited by Bühnemann (1980:193–194), to which 2 others must be added.⁴³

Outlook: A critical edition of the Tibetan version and the available Sanskrit is under preparation (V. Eltschinger).

2.2.7 Dharmālaṅkāra (11: DhA) The only available title for this work is: *Dharmālaṅkārikārikāḥ*, attested in MS A 15b1, in the colophon of MS D/DhA_{ms} (31b1) and in TĀV 6.15,1 (Bühnemann 1980:194).

Of this *miśraka* in three chapters (see below, SECTION 4.4), we possess:

⁴³ĪPVV I.272,15–16 (*pratipadyata iti / pratipatter eva kathamcid bhāva uktaḥ syāt, na tv arthasya rūpātisāyo [nirvartyate]*) = AAS_t D281b6–7/P303a4–5 (on AASk 4); ĪPVV I.272,16–18 (*tathātve ’nyendriyādivyāpāram anyasya na pratītaye ’pekṣeta, yathā kṛto na punar anyasya karaṇam ityādi*) = AAS_t D282a1/P303a6 (on AASk 4).

- a) All the stanzas (general *maṅgala* in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre; 1.1–39 in *anuṣṭubhs*, 2.1–26ab (sic) in *anuṣṭubhs*, 3.1–16 in *anuṣṭubhs*, two concluding stanzas in *ratoddhatā* and *upajāti* metres) in MS A 11b4–15b1 (often hardly legible).
- b) Chapters 2 and 3 of the *miśraka* in a well readable but seemingly often faulty manuscript of 31 folios (MS D/DhA_{ms} 1–31b2). MS D/DhA_{ms} 16a (covering DhAk 2.25cd–26ab with its commentary) is missing due to the photographer’s clumsy manipulation of the folios.
- c) 4 short Sanskrit fragments edited by Bühnemann (1980:194);⁴⁴ 2 fragments edited by Krasser (2001:492);⁴⁵ 1 fragment edited by Jambuvijaya (1981:145).⁴⁶

Outlook: A critical edition and study of DhA 2 is under preparation (V. Eltschinger/I. Ratié). A critical edition and study of DhA 3 is under preparation (M. Sakai).

2.2.8 Prajñālaṅkāra (12: PA) The only available title for this work is: *Prajñālaṅkāra-kārikāḥ* (MS A 25a4), and *Prajñālaṅkāra* in ĪPVV I.234,12 and II.144,12, TĀV 2.54,8, 2.63,15 and 2.64,6.

Of this *miśraka* in three chapters, we possess:

- a) An indeterminate number of stanzas (approximately 50) of the first chapter in MS A 15b1–17b5, totally illegible. The 67 didactic stanzas (according to Bühnemann 1980:192 and MS A 20b4: *dvitīyaḥ // 67 /*) of chapter 2 in MS A 17b5–20b4, totally illegible. The 102 didactic stanzas (PAk 3.1–100 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, PAk 3.101 in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, PAk 3.102 in *vasantatilakā* metre) in MS A 20b4–25a4, poorly legible. It is to be noted that G. Tucci’s photographs of MS A, though generally weaker than Sāṅkrtyāyana’s 1934 photographs (glass-negative), seem to be slightly better as far as the folios covering the PAk are concerned. Future research may allow the recovery of at least the stanzas of the third chapter.
- b) 14 short Sanskrit fragments edited by Bühnemann (1980:194–196, partly identified in MS A).

⁴⁴1 = DhAk 1.11cd–12ab; 2 = DhAk 1.12cd–13ab; 3 = DhAk 3.1ab₁; 4 = DhAk 3.5cd.

⁴⁵Respectively identifiable as a part of the commentary on DhAk 3.6cd–7ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 19a7–b1) and part of the commentary on DhAk 3.7cd–8ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 21a4).

⁴⁶Identifiable as DhAk 1.3.

2.2.9 Sarvajñasiddhi (13: SSi) The only available title for this work is: *Sarvajñasiddhikārikāh* (MS A 27a6), and *Sarvajñasiddhih* (MS B/SSi_{ms} 26a3, colophon).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 48 didactic stanzas (SSi_k 1–45 and 47 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, SSi_k 46 in *nardāṭaka* metre, SSi_k 48 in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre) in MS A 25a4–27a6, generally well readable. For a diplomatic edition of MS A 25a4–27a6, see Eltschinger 2008:127–128.
- b) A (probably) incomplete manuscript (MS B) photographed by R. Sānkrṭyāyana and G. Tucci (see above, SECTION 1.11). The (incomplete: folio 15 is missing) SSi covers folios 1–26b4 of the manuscript. The poor quality of the photographs makes at least one half of the text unreadable. On this manuscript, see above, SECTION 1.11, and Eltschinger 2008:121–124; for a diplomatic edition of the stanzas as they appear in MS B, see Eltschinger 2008:129–138.

2.2.10 Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa (14: SSiS) Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Svalpasarvajñasiddhikārikāh* (MS A 27b6); (2) *Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa* (MS B 30a2, colophon; see Eltschinger 2008:124). I am inclined to prefer the title: *Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa*.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 12 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 27a6–b6, generally well readable.
- b) A (probably) incomplete manuscript (MS B) photographed by R. Sānkrṭyāyana and G. Tucci (see above, SECTION 1.11). The complete SSiS covers folios 26b4–30b2 of the manuscript. The poor quality of the photographs makes the SSiS nearly unreadable. On this manuscript, see above, SECTION 1.11, and Eltschinger 2008:121–124.

2.2.11 Īśvarāpākaraṇa (15: ĪA) The only available title for this work is: *Īśvarāpākaraṇakārikāh* (MS A 29a3).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 27 didactic stanzas (ĪA_k 1 in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, ĪA_k 2–27 in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 27b6–29a3, generally well readable.
- b) A (probably) incomplete manuscript (MS B) photographed by R. Sānkrṭyāyana and G. Tucci (see above, SECTION 1.11). The ĪA is likely

to cover at least folios 30b2–45b (the last among the folios photographed by G. Tucci in 1939) of the manuscript (ĪA*k* 10, 13, 16 are still identifiable in MS B 34a, 35a and 36a respectively). G. Tucci's (not to speak of Sāṅkrtyāyana's) photographs are so bad that the text is entirely unreadable (it is not even certain that MS B actually covers the whole of the ĪA). See Eltschinger 2008:123–124.

2.2.12 Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa (16: ĪAS) Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikāḥ* (MS A 29b2–3); (2) *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa* (MS C/ĪAS_{ms} 8,1; see Krasser 2002:I.7). Here as elsewhere, the form *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa* is to be preferred.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 10 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 29a3–b2 (see Krasser 2002:I.38–39 for a diplomatic edition and fac-simile reproduction).
- b) An incomplete but well readable Śāradā manuscript (MS C/ĪAS_{ms}, 15 pages). The complete ĪAS covers MS C/ĪAS_{ms} 1,9–8,2 (followed by an incomplete anonymous subcommentary on the ĪAS, the only known subcommentary on a work of Śāṅkaranandana). See Krasser 2002:xi–xix for a description of the manuscript, Krasser 2002:I.1–7 for a critical edition of the manuscript, and Krasser 2002:22–36 for a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript.

2.2.13 Āgamasiddhi (17: ĀS) The only available title for this work is: *Āgamasiddhikārikā* (MS A 31a7). The ĀS is the only independent treatise of Śāṅkaranandana that cannot be ascertained to have been a *miśraka*. Of the ĀS, we possess the 49 didactic stanzas (ĀSk 1–48 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, ĀSk 49 in *prṭhvī* metre) in MS A 29b3–31a7, not well readable towards the end.

3 Internal chronology of Śāṅkaranandana's works

Insofar as they provide us with enough prose, these materials allow us to conjecture chronological relationships between Śāṅkaranandana's major works (see FIGURE 11.1 for an overview). Let me make clear from the outset that the PA, the ĀS, the S*Si*[/S*Si*S], the *VN*An* and the ĪA[/ĪAS] have

resisted all my attempts to fit them into the series. Two types of chronological sequences should be distinguished: (1) what we may call the “thematic series,” which amount to four; (2) those series that connect thematically distinct works.

3.1 Thematic Series The textual evidence available confirms the intuitive hypothesis that the shorter treatises, generally entitled *Saṅkṣepa*, summarized longer, more systematic works dedicated to the same topic.

3.1.1 While commenting on *PSiSk 2, Śāṅkaranandana refers back to his PSi (...*ity uktam pratibandhasiddhau*), from which we may draw the sequence: **PSi** → ***PSiS**.

1. *MPrPk 1 is unambiguous: “Although [its] substance(/utility) has [already] been presented in detail along with the refutation of [our] opponents’ misconceptions [about it, we here] abridge and present again [the true exposition of] epistemic validity.”⁴⁷
2. *SPrPk 1ab is no less clear: “Although [we have already] abridged [it elsewhere, we] agree to abridge [the true exposition of] epistemic validity a second time (*dvir api*).”⁴⁸ From this we can posit the sequence: ***BPrP** → ***MPrP** → ***SPrP**.

3.1.2 The same holds true of the two works dedicated to omniscience: “Although the method [according to which] one demonstrates [the possibility of] an omniscient [being] has [already] been expounded in detail, [we shall] endeavour [here] to prove [it] again concisely.”⁴⁹ From this we can safely conclude: **SSi** → **SSiS**.

⁴⁷*MPrPk 1: *vistarenānyadurdr̥ṣṭapratīṣedhapuraḥsaram / uktārtham api saṅkṣipyā prāmāṇyaṃ punar ucyate //*. Note also *MPrPk 16: *nirṇayāpekṣiṇo ye ’rthāḥ kvacid uktā api svayam / te ’tra saṅkṣipyā nirṇītā na prasaṅgo ’nyagocaraḥ //*.

⁴⁸*SPrPk 1ab: *saṅkṣiptam api saṅkṣeptum prāmāṇyaṃ dvir apīṣyate /*.

⁴⁹SSiSk 1: *vistaroditasarvajñasamsādhanaavidhāv api / punas tatsiddhaye yatnaḥ saṅkṣepeṇa pravartyate //*.

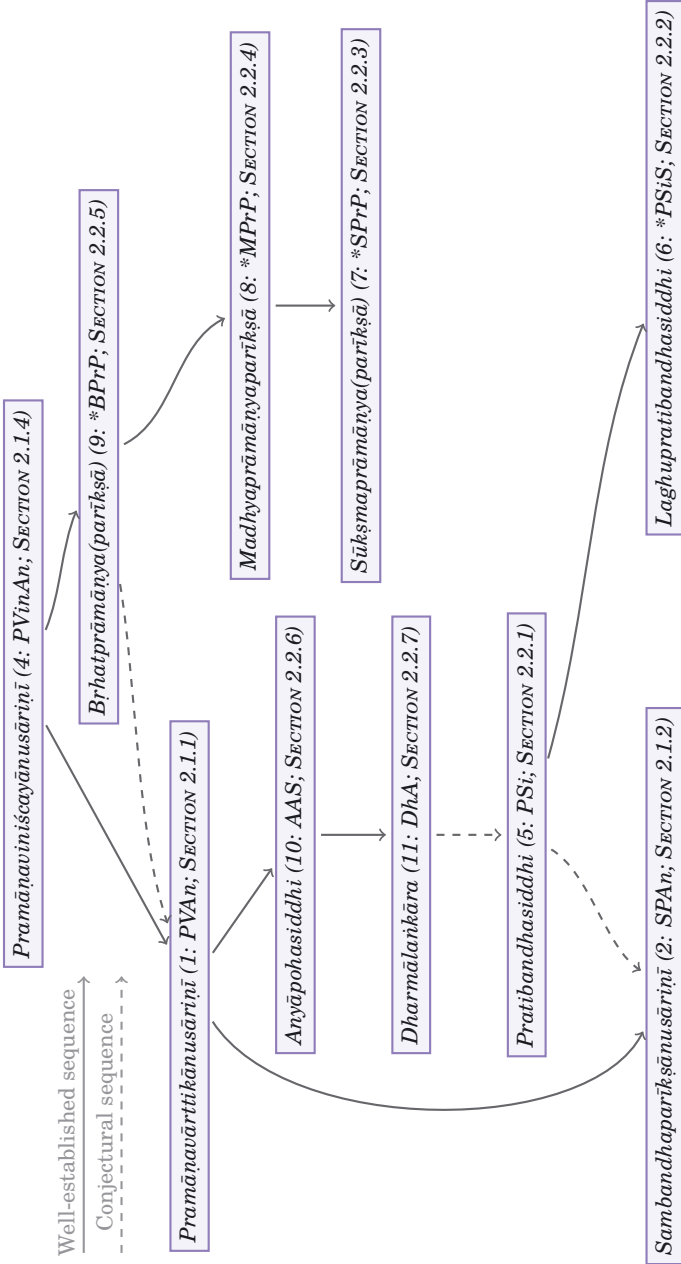


Figure 11.1 Sequences of Sankaranandana's works. The PA, the ĀS, the SSI/SSI|S, the *VNAn, and the ĪA/ĪAS] can not be placed in this schema.

3.1.3 Despite the fact that neither *san-√kṣip*, nor any of its derivatives occurs in *ĪASk* 1,⁵⁰ I am inclined to hypothesize that the *ĪAS* summarized the twice longer *ĪA*. I would, therefore, conjecture: **ĪA** *→ **ĪAS**.

3.2 Non-thematic Series The internal chronology of the thematically distinct works is more fragmentary. However, three sequences are beyond doubt.

3.2.1 As we have seen,⁵¹ Śāṅkaranandana refers twice, while commenting on *BPrPk 32 and *BPrPk 41, to his PVinAn, from which we can conclude: **PVinAn** → ***BPrP** [→ ***MPrP** → ***SPrP**].

3.2.2 We also saw⁵² that Śāṅkaranandana refers twice to his PVinAn in the PVAn; while commenting on DhAk 3.7ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 20b6–7), Śāṅkaranandana refers to his AAS;⁵³ since the latter refers to the PVAn,⁵⁴ we can posit the sequence: **PVinAn** → **PVAn** → **AAS** → **DhA**.

3.2.3 While commenting on SPk 4cd, Śāṅkaranandana refers his readers back to the PVAn,⁵⁵ from which we can safely conclude: **PVAn** → **SPAn**.

3.3 Can the thematic series opened by the PSi and the *BPrP be brought back to any of these three well-established sequences?

⁵⁰*ĪASk* 1 (Krasser 2002:I.1): *kudṛṣṭidhvāntavidhvamsaprayatnaparayā dhiyā / samāseneśvarāstitvapramāṇābhāva ucyate //*. “Aufgrund der Einsicht (*dhiyā*), bei der die Bemühung um völlige Beseitigung (*vidhvamsa*) der Dunkelheit schlechter Ansichten (*kudṛṣṭi*) das höchste ist, wird kurz erklärt, daß es für die Existenz Gottes (*iśvara*) kein Erkenntnismittel gibt.” Translation Krasser 2002:II.167.

⁵¹See above, SECTION 2.1.4.

⁵²See above, SECTION 2.1.4.

⁵³MS D/DhA_{ms} 20b6–7: ... *iti nirṇītam etad anyāpohasiddhau /*.

⁵⁴MS G/AAS_{ms} 15b7: *vastuvimarśas tu vistarato vārttika eva vārttikānusāriṇīto 'vagan-tavyaḥ /*. AAS_t D298b1/P321a3: *dños po rnam par dpyad pa ni rgyas par rNam 'grel 'ñid dam rNam 'grel gyi rjes su 'brañ ba las khoñ du chud par bya'o //*.

⁵⁵SPAn_t D27b6/P35a5: *de yañ* tha dad par grub pa ma yin no žes bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par ni spyi 'ñid la rNam 'grel gyi rjes su 'brañ bar ston pa'i phyir ro** //*. *D: *de ltar P*; **D: *phyir P*.

3.3.1 The *BPrP contains several discussions dedicated to the *apoha* theory. Śāṅkaranandana was certainly not in a position to abridge his treatment of *apoha* by referring back to his PVinAn since the latter, like its *mūla*, is not likely to have included any significant elaboration on *apoha*. The AAS and the PVA_n (more than two thirds of the extant Tibetan translation bear on *apoha*) would have allowed him to abridge these discussions, as he generally did. However, Śāṅkaranandana never refers back to them in the *BPrP and limits himself to the quotation (*pratīka*) of PV 1.58a/PVSV 32,1.⁵⁶ I am inclined to believe, admittedly on rather weak grounds, that Śāṅkaranandana had not yet commented on the PV or authored the AAS when he wrote his *BPrP. I would, then, conjecture the sequence: **PVinAn** → ***BPrP** *→ **PVA_n** → **AAS**.

3.3.2 At the close of a rather lengthy presentation of momentariness (on PSi_k 18, MS G/PSi_{ms} 27b1), Śāṅkaranandana declares: ...*yathā vipaṅcitam anyatra*. Concerning *anyatra*, three candidates are worthy of consideration: PVinAn on PVin 2.76,11–83,10, PVA_n on PV 1.193–196, and the first chapter of the DhA (*kṣanabhaṅgasiddhi*). As it has been preserved in Tibetan translation, the PVA_n ends with PV 1.128; in the same way, it is far from certain that the PVinAn ever extended beyond PVin 1.18. I would conjecture, though on even weaker grounds than in SECTION 3.3.1, that *anyatra* refers back to DhA 1, and hence: **DhA** *→ **PSi**.

3.3.3 While commenting on DhAk 3.8ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 21a7–b1), Śāṅkaranandana says: ... *iti vipaṅcitam ācāryeṇa sambandhaparīkṣāyām*; and while commenting on PSi_k 10 (MS G/PSi_{ms} 23a8–b1), he declares: ... *uktaḥ sambandhaparīkṣāyām*. Considering that Śāṅkaranandana is prone to refer to his own works whenever possible, I am inclined to believe that he had not yet commented on the SP when he composed the DhA and the PSi, and to conjecture the sequence: **DhA** *→ **PSi** *→ **SPAN**.

3.4 One can only regret the miserable state of transmission of the PA and hence the impossibility of locating Śāṅkaranandana's *magnum opus* in the series, for the chronology of Śāṅkaranandana himself is closely dependent on the PA (see below, SECTION 5).

⁵⁶On DhAk 3.5ab, MS D/DhA_{ms} 18a1: *pratyakṣeṇa grhīta ityādi tu cintitam anyāpo-haprastāve /*.

4 Confessional Identity of Śāṅkaranandana’s Works

4.1 S. Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was not aware of any other works than those contained in the *bsTan ’gyur* (PVAṅ, AAS, PSi, SPAn); rather than elaborating on their confessional identity, the Indian scholar repeated the Tibetan legend portraying Śāṅkaranandana as a brahmin who converted to Buddhism under the inspiration of Mañjuśrī.⁵⁷ The very fact that these four works belonged to the Tibetan canon incited R. Gnoli to consider them as “of Buddhist nature”;⁵⁸ however, from the fragments of the PA that he found scattered throughout Kashmir Śaiva literature, R. Gnoli reversed the pious legend and hypothesized Śāṅkaranandana’s conversion to Śaivism, an event the PA would bear testimony to.⁵⁹ Although G. Bühnemann did not deal with the confessional identity of the works she identified, she remarked that the MS A “enthält, wie die Übersicht zeigt, Texte, die fast die ganze Thematik der vollentwickelten Pramāṇaschule betreffen.”⁶⁰ As we have seen, H. Krasser portrays Śāṅkaranandana as a Śaiva with a strong Buddhist leaning; his conversion to Buddhism would have taken place late in Śāṅkaranandana’s life and resulted in the composition of “atheistic” tracts as well as commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works. H. Krasser must be credited with a close consideration of both the fragments identified by G. Bühnemann and the *maṅgalas* of the ĪAS, the SPAn, the PSi and the *BPrP.⁶¹ He concludes: “This, however, means that all Ś[āṅkaranandana]’s works cited by or preceding Abhinavagupta already contain strong Buddhist tendencies or exclusively Buddhist ideas, and that Abhinavagupta did not know any purely Śaivite work by him to which he could have referred in his writings.”⁶² This conclusion closely matches A. Sanderson’s views on the topic; note, however, that the British scholar sees evidence neither for Śāṅkaranandana’s having been a Śaiva at any point of his life nor for a conversion to Buddhism.

⁵⁷Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1921:344–345.

⁵⁸Gnoli 1960:xxiv.

⁵⁹On the PA, see below, SECTION 4.7.

⁶⁰Bühnemann 1980:193.

⁶¹Respectively Krasser 2001:502, n. 49 (AAS and SPAn); 502, n. 51; 503, n. 56.

⁶²Krasser 2001:503.

In what follows, I shall attempt to demonstrate that *all* of Śaṅkaranandana's works are of strictly Buddhist persuasion. For each of these works (except, of course, the PVinAn and the *VNAn), I have endeavoured to exhibit at least one *maṅgala* and/or concluding/votive stanza. Whenever possible, I have also tried to briefly characterize the work. Since the *Saṅkṣepas* lack *maṅgalas* and final/votive stanzas, I hypothesize that their confessional identity does not differ from that of the work they purport to summarize.

4.2 The *BPrP opens with a stanza paying homage to the three Buddhist jewels:

With devotion, with [my] head bowed down, with [my] mind [and] words, [I] pay reverence to the Buddha together with [His] law as well as [His] community and dedicate this endeavour [of mine] to present the true nature of epistemic validity, the core of which has not been [adequately] perceived/(determined) by [our] opponents/(others) who are going on a wrong path.⁶³

From the outset, the treatise places itself under the authority of Dharmakīrti, for *BPrP 2ab is nothing but a quotation of PV 2.1ab: *pramāṇam avisamvādi jñānam arthakriyāsthitiḥ*.⁶⁴ As already noticed by L. van der Kuijp and E. Steinkellner, Śaṅkaranandana was noted among Tibetan philosophers for having held, against Dharmottara and Kamalaśīla, the view that the validity (*prāmāṇya*) of a cognition can *only* be ascertained extrinsically (*parataḥ*).⁶⁵ Even a short glance at our materials allows us to confirm the Tibetan authorities in their opinion. *MPrP 2d = *SPrP 2d claims that *pramāṇam parato 'khillam*;⁶⁶ the following remark is even more straightforward: *tasmāt sāpekṣam eva sarvaṃ pramāṇam na*

⁶³*BPrP 1, MS A 4a1–2 and MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 1a1: *buddhaṃ sadharmam* atha sāryagaṇaṃ praṇamya bhaktyā natena** śirasā manasā vacobhiḥ / prāmāṇyatattvam anirūpitāsāram anyair unmārgagair gaditum āhita eṣa yatnaḥ //*. *Against *saddharmam* MS A 4a1, unmetrical; **against *matena* MS A 4a1. *vasantatilakā* metre.

⁶⁴MS A 4a2 and MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 1a1–2.

⁶⁵See especially Steinkellner 1992:259, 262–263.

⁶⁶MS A 3a6 and MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 1a1.

svatantram asti,⁶⁷ or else: *parataḥ pramāṇatvam*.⁶⁸ As for the connection with the epistemological doctrine of PV 2.1ab, it is as follows:

When [Dharmakīrti] says that a valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) consists in a reliable cognition (*jñāna*), the meaning [he intends] is that that cognition (*saṃvedana*) whose compliance (*tathābhāva*) with the [real] thing it takes as its object is caused(/provided) by [its] reliability, is a valid cognition. [And] all that [which meets this criterion] is either perception or inference (*pratyakṣānumānabhedena*). Since the cognition (*vi-jñāna*) [only] becomes a valid cognition with the attainment (*sādhana*) of the [real] thing it takes as its object, [we] claim that a valid cognition [is only ascertained] extrinsically.⁶⁹

The *MPrP opens with a discussion of a general nature on *prāmāṇya* and goes on, until *MPrPk 9ab, with the demonstration that the epistemic validity of a perception is established extrinsically. From *MPrPk 9cd onwards, the treatise enters a similar discussion regarding inference, as the following excerpt makes clear: *anumānasyedānīm katham parataḥ pramāṇatvam ity āha...*⁷⁰ Let me conclude this short notice by quoting the very suggestive final/votive stanza of the *BPrP:

From the merit arisen from the discrimination of the true nature of valid cognition, may this auspicious result be mine so that, while engaged for a long time, in [innumerable] existences, in the practice of the vow of awakening, my faculties may keep alert(/unwearied).⁷¹

⁶⁷MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 6a2.

⁶⁸MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 1a6.

⁶⁹MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 1a4–5: *yad āha – pramāṇam avisaṃvādi jñānam ity avisaṃvādopa-pāditaviṣayibhūtārthataḥbhāvaṃ tat saṃvedanaṃ pramāṇam ity arthaḥ. tad idaṃ sarvam eva pratyakṣānumānabhedena. vijñānaṃ viṣayibhūtārthasāadhanena saha pramāṇī-bhavatīti parataḥ pramāṇam iti gīyate.*

⁷⁰MS F/*MPrP_{ms} 4b6–7.

⁷¹*BPrPk 124, MS A 9b2–3 and MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 30 + x + 3b6: *pramāṇa*tattva-pra**vivecanodayāc chubhāc chubhaṃ syāt phalam etad eva me*** / bhaveṣu bodhivratacaryāyā caraṃś cirāya bhūyāsam atan[d]ritendriyaḥ**** //*. *Against *prāmāṇā°* MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 30 + x + 3b6, faulty and unmetrical; **MS A 9b2 om. °pra°; ***MS A 9b3 om. me; ****MS E/*BPrP_{ms} (30 + x + 4a is missing) with no equivalent of °yā caraṃś cirāya bhūyāsam atan[d]ritendriyaḥ. vaṃśasthāvila metre. Needless to say, this verse is open to alternative translations.

4.3 The *maṅgala* of the PVAn is of similar intent. The technical terminology used in this initial reverence to the three jewels is unmistakably Buddhist:

Glory (*jaya*) to the Sugata who is victorious over all the cankers (*āsrava*) that project (**ā-√kṣip*) the three [realms of] existence (**bhavatraya*), who has thoroughly understood existence (*bhava*) and liberation (**niryāna*, **niḥśaraṇa*)! [Glory] to His law (*dharma*) that is born of perfect vision (**samyagdarśana*), that must be realized personally (**pratyātmavedya*) by the sage, that is well said (**subhāṣita*) and without affliction (**nirjvara*)! [Glory] to [His] community (*saṅgha*), [to] the eight noble personalities (**āryāṣṭapudgala*, **aṣṭāryapudgala*)!⁷²

The AAS opens with an homage to the omniscient one:

Paying homage to the omniscient [being] who is free from error and perceives as they are the objects belonging to the three times, and having reached/(being full of) compassion, [we] discard the faults [made] by the Buddhist as well as [the] non-Buddhist proponents (*svaparapravādin*) concerning the [doctrine of] exclusion.⁷³

If needed, SSik 47 and ĀSk 1 testify to the fact that Śāṅkaranandana's omniscient being is no one else than the Buddha Sugata. Suffice it to say here that the only quotations occurring in the AAS are borrowed from the PV.⁷⁴ Far from substantiating objections, these seven citations (sometimes preceded or followed by "*ācāryeṇa*") aim at shortening those of Śāṅkaranandana's own discussions that might overlap with the PV or the PVAn. In his

⁷²PVAn_t D1b2–3/P1b4–2a1: / srid gsum 'phen par byed pa yi // zag pa ma lus las rgyal ba // bde gśegs gañ dag srid pa dañ // nes 'byuñ legs par rtogs pa dañ // de chos yañ dag gzigs las byuñ // mkhas pas so so rañ rig bya // legs gsuñs rims bral dañ dge 'dun // 'phags pa'i gañ zag brgyad po rgyal / .

⁷³AASk 1, MS A 9b3–4: *praṇāmya sarvajñam apetaṅgaviplavam trikālavartyarthayathārthadarśinam / kṛpām upetya svaparapravādinām apohaniṣṭho vinivartyate bhramaḥ //*. AAS_t D281a6–7/P302b4: / kun mkhyen 'khrul bral dus gsum gnas pa yi / don rnamz ji bzin gzigs pa la btud de // brtse la gnas nas sel ba la brten pa'i / bdag gzan rab tu smra ba'i 'khrul bsal byas / . *vaṃśasthāvila* metre.

⁷⁴PV 3.165ac₁ (AAS_t P316b8–317a1/D294b3); PV 1.84 (AAS_t P317a1–2/D294b4); PV 1.112a₂ d (AAS_t P317a3/D294b5); PV 1.107cd (AAS_t P321a2–3/D298b1); PV 1.70 (AAS_t P321b4/D299a1–2); PV 1.68ab (AAS_t P321b6/D299a3); PV 3.9c–10b (AAS_t P321b7/D299a3–4).

AAS, Śāṅkaranandana places himself under the philosophical authority of Dharmakīrti alone.

4.4 The same holds true of another major treatise of Śāṅkaranandana, the DhA. The work is divided into three chapters (of which the first one is known to us in its stanzas alone). The prose introduction to DhA 2 makes it perfectly clear that DhA 1 consisted of a proof of momentariness (*kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*):

And as soon as momentariness, which consists in [the fact that] all things (*dharma*) cease to exist immediately after they have come into existence, is established in the way [we have done in the first chapter, their] selflessness too is [*ipso facto*] established.⁷⁵

As this remark suggests, DhA 2 consists in a proof of selflessness, a fact confirmed by the colophon appended to this chapter: *nairātmyasiddhir dvitīyaḥ paricchedaḥ*.⁷⁶ If the contents of DhA 1 and 2 were not sufficient evidence to this effect, the strictly Buddhist character of the treatise is made undisputable in DhAk 2.1–2ab:

Momentariness results in selflessness, the fact that there is nothing left to be clung to, the supreme tranquility; one takes possession of the self-supported *nirvāṇa*, the secure, the highest.⁷⁷

The following excerpt of the commentary testifies to the fact that, like Dharmakīrti, Śāṅkaranandana assented to the Mahāyānist buddhology according to which awakening consists in the final elimination of the defilements together with their after-effects (*vāsanā*):

[And] indeed, for the one who sees that everything possesses, in this way, a nature that is purely dependent on causes [and

⁷⁵MS D/DhA_{ms} 1a1: *evaṅ ca sarvadharmāṅāṃ bhūtvaiivānantaram abhavanātmake-kṣaṇikatvasiddh[ā]v anātmakatvam api siddham eva /* . See also the DhA fragment cited and translated by Krasser (2001:492 for the Sanskrit text, and 503 for the translation). This fragment can be identified as DhAk 1.12cd–13ab together with the beginning of the commentary thereon.

⁷⁶MS D/DhA_{ms} 16b1–2.

⁷⁷DhAk 2.1–2ab, MS A 13b2–3 and MS D/DhA_{ms} 1a1 and 5: *kṣaṇikatvāt*... nirātmatā nupādeyaśeṣatvam śāntir uttamā // hast[e]**kṛtanirālambanirvāṇam abhayaṃ param /* . *Against *kṣaṇikatvāt* MS A 13b2; **against *hasta*° MS A 13b3, *hastī*° MS D/DhA_{ms} 1a5.

conditions]..., what can be clung to? Therefore, there is nothing left to be clung to for the one whose cognition [of selflessness] has been strengthened [through mental cultivation]; whereas in [somebody] in whom desire finds a resting place due to [the presence of its causal] conditions [i.e., the belief in a self], it will (*syāt*) project a very extensive series [of existences]. Therefore, it is this selflessness that is the supreme tranquility because it is the abode of/(entrance gate to) the cessation of the defilements together with their after-effects. And it is through this very [selflessness, when it has been] thoroughly contemplated/(has saturated the mind) [in one's cognition,] that *nirvāṇa* is at hand because [any] doubt regarding rebirth is dispelled.⁷⁸

As for DhA 3, it consists, according to its colophon, of a *kṣaṇikatvabādhābhāvasiddhi*.⁷⁹ The *maṅgala* of the DhA paid homage to the Sage (*muni*) who promulgated the good law (*saddharma*) that is nothing but selflessness (*nairātmya*).⁸⁰ As for DhAk 3.18, the work's final stanza, it also places itself under the authority of the Law preached by the blessed one;⁸¹ here, Śaṅkaranandana purports to have the religious merit gained from the composition of the DhA serve the success (or: settlement?) of the law:

Having honoured the exalted Dharma of the Buddha (*maunīndra*) that teaches the sublime truth(/*dharmas*), may this

⁷⁸DhA on DhAk 1.1–2ab, MS D/DhA_{ms} 1a5–7: *sarvam eva hy evaṃ hetuparatantramātrarūpaṃ paśyataḥ* { {. . . . (..)} } *kim upādeyam iti sthīrīkṛtamater na kiñcid apy upādeyam avaśiṣyate / yatra kṛtāspado 'yaṃ rāgaḥ punaḥ pratyayavaśād vitatataraprabandhākṣepakāḥ syāt / tad iyam anātmataiva paramā śāntiḥ savāsanakleśaprasamāyatanatvāt / { { [a/nayai] } va ca suparibhāvītayā hastastham ayaṃ nirvāṇam apagatapunarbhavasam[śa] { { [yatvā/ti] } } /*. Elements that do not appear in italics are conjectural.

⁷⁹MS D/DhA_{ms} 31a7–b1: *kṣaṇikatvabādhābhāvasiddhis trītyaḥ paricchedaḥ*.

⁸⁰According to DhAk 1.1cd, nearly illegible in MS A 11b5: *tan nairātmyam ananyavedyam [i]ha saddharmanṃ ja[g]au yo munis taṃ* vande 'samaśāstrbhāvavaśi[gaṃ] taṃ cāpi tadvādinam //*. *Against *tad* MS A 11b5. *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

⁸¹On *dharma* and *bhagavatpravacana*, note the concluding prose of the DhA (MS D/DhA_{ms} 31a6–7 on DhAk 3.17): *tad evam ayaṃ nairātmyākāro mārgo virāga ity anupādeyaśeṣo nirodhaḥ sakalāparaparikalpitadharmotkarṣayogi bhagavatpravacanam evaivaṃvidhaheyopādeyavastusamdarśakam dharmo yathoditanyāyopapāditasarvatīrthyāśayavi[ya]jīśreyah //*.

merit that I have acquired serve to establish the Path of that [Dharma], for the welfare of [this] world.⁸²

4.5 In the *maṅgala* of the PSi, Śaṅkaranandana pays homage to the Sugata; but here, the Buddhist affiliation has decidedly martial overtones:

With [my] mind ever intent [on Him] I praise the Sugata, whose vast victory-drum that is the proclamation of the True Way sounds forth irresistibly to [bring about] an act of cognizing reality that is confined [entirely] to its object, being characterized by the fact that it is a [direct] perception, for the certain victory of those that follow His path and the [certain] refutation of those that adhere to false religions.⁸³

Such is the epistemological doctrine defended in the PSi according to Go rams pa’s description (and quotation of PSi_k 2ab):

‘Although something (*don*) is proven by a valid cognition, the validity (*tshad ma*, **prāmāṇya*) [of this valid cognition] is not (proven) by this same [valid cognition].’ (That means:) Although the respective object of activity (*’jug yul*) is ascertained by the two valid cognitions, an ascertainment of the definitory character (*mtshan ṅid*), [i.e.] reliability (*mi slu ba*) is not provided through itself. Therefore the general definition and [its] contrary concomitance (*’gal ’brel*) etc. are ascertained by a cognition called ‘examination’ (*dpyod pa*, **vicāra*) which occurred

⁸²DhAk 3.18, MS A 15b1 and MS D/DhA_{ms} 31b1: *satkṛtya maunīndram udāradharmapradarśakam* dharmam udārārūpam / yad arjitam naḥ** śubham etad astu tanmārgasiddhyai jagato vibhūtyai //*. * *udāradharmapradarśakam* (em. A. Sanderson) against *udāravamme pradarśakam* MS A 15b1 and *udāradharme pradarśakam* MS D/DhA_{ms} 31b1; **against *na* MS A 15b1. *upajāti* metre. My interpretation of this verse is much indebted to A. Sanderson (electronic communication, May 2, 2010).

⁸³PSi_k 1, MS A 1b1–2 and MS G/PSi_{ms} 1a1–2: *taṃ vande sugataṃ sadā prayatadhīḥ sannīti*vādātmakas tattvajñānavidhau padārthaniyate pratyakṣatālakṣaṇe / tanmārgānugatair jayāya niyatam dustirthikāpākṛtau yasyāyam jayaḍiṇḍimahaḥ suvitato nīrādham udghoṣyate //*. *Against *sanīti* ° MS A 1b2, unmetrical. PSi_k D302b1–2/P325a8–b1: */ de ṅid śes tshul don nes mñon sum mtshan la de lam rjes žugs kyis // mu stegs can nan bsal bas rgyal phyir gaṅ gi rgyal rña rgyas* chen nam // dam pa’i tshul lugs brjod pa’i bdag ’di gnod med nes par rab bsgrags pa // bde bar gśegs pa de la rtag tu rtse gcig blos ni phyag ’tshal lo /*. *Against *rgyas* DP. *sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. My understanding of this verse owes much to A. Sanderson’s comments on an earlier translation. It is, of course, theoretically possible to construe *sannītivādātmakaḥ* with *sadā prayatadhīḥ* (against the evidence of the Tibetan translation) rather than *jayaḍiṇḍimahaḥ*.

subsequent to the valid cognition. As such the definitory character of a valid cognition is ascertained only by another (valid cognition).⁸⁴

The SPAn opens with a homage to the omniscient being who, as the final stanza makes clear, is none other than the Sugata:

[I] pay reverence to the omniscient [being] who has proclaimed that the world (**jagat*), which is free of [any real] relation, is without self (*ātman*) and one's own (*ātmīya*), without an object (*grāhya*) and a subject (*grāhaka*) of cognition.⁸⁵

To this omniscient one, Śāṅkaranandana ascribes three doctrines that are well attested in Dharmakīrti's works: the denial of all real relations, which is the doctrinal standpoint of the SP itself; the "Sautrāntika" definition of the Buddhist path in terms of perceptual realization of selflessness (*nairātmyadarśana*, etc., PV 2); the "Yogācāra" definition of the path in terms of direct realization of non-duality (*advaya*, etc., PV 3, PVin 1).⁸⁶

⁸⁴Translation Steinkellner 1992:262. PSik 2ab, MS A 1b2 and MS G/PSi_{ms} 19b3: *siddhaḥ pramāṇato 'rtho 'pi pramāṇam tata eva na /*. Glo bo mkhan chen ascribes this half-stanza to Śāṅkaranandana's '*Brel pa brtag pa*'; since Tib. '*brel pa*' renders both *sambandha* and *pratibandha*, one should understand, not *Sambandhapariḥṣā(nusāriṇī)*, but *Pratibandha(siddhi)*. See Steinkellner 1992:262, n. 40. Go rams pa, *rNam bśad* 127a5sq as quoted in Steinkellner 1992:262, n. 40: *Bram zes — / tshad ma las don grub pa yañ / tshad ma de ñid las ma yin / zes tshad ma gñis kyis rañ rañ gi 'jug yul ñes par byed kyañ mtshan ñid mi bslu ba la ñes par rañ stobs kyis 'dren par mi byed pas tshad ma'i rjes su skyed pa'i blo dpyod pa zes bya bas spyi'i mtshan ñid dañ / 'gal 'brel la sogs pa ñes par byed pas na tshad ma'i mtshan ñid ni gžan kho na las ñes par byed do – zes bzed do //*. On *vicāra*, see, e.g., MS G/*PSiS_{ms} 29a5–6: *tadvicāra [i]ti vikalpadharmaḥ sūkṣmībhūtasvaviśayātmaniṣṭhā pratīti[śa]kṭiḥ / na tu pramāṇam kimcit /*. The *PSiS consistently describes this *vicāra* as an insight (*prajñā*); note, e.g., MS G/*PSiS_{ms} 29a5: *vicārātmakayaiva prajñāyā...*, MS G/*PSiS_{ms} 29a8: *prajñāyā vikalpamatyā...*, and MS G/*PSiS_{ms} 28b3: *dharmaparikalpanātmakapratīti°...* Such was the aim of the *PSiS (hence of the PSi also): *sthite dharmaikātmye na sambandhagrahaṇāpekṣā tatas tadātmany eva dharme pratipattir anu-mitir iti sañkṣepenopapādyate /* (MS G/PSiS_{ms} 28a6).

⁸⁵SPAN_t, *maṅgala*, D21b4–5/P27a2–3: */ gañ gis 'brel pa spañs gyur pa // 'gro ba bdag dañ bdag gi min // gzuñ 'dzin med pa can gsuñs pa // kun mkhyen de la phyag 'tshal lo //*. SPAN_t, final stanza, D35a2–3/P44a1–2: */ 'di la bdag gis gsal bar byas pa de ñid don // bde gśegs rigs pa zla ba'i gzugs brñan mtshon byed pa // ches rgya che ba'i blo la rnam* gzigs bya bar ni // blo yi chu bo 'phel phyir myur bar 'byuñ bar 'gyur /*. *DP *rnam*s. I cannot make sense of this stanza.

⁸⁶On these last two issues, see Eltschinger 2005:162–179.

4.6 Several works do not lend themselves to a clear location within the sequence of Śāṅkaranandana’s treatises. Whatever their place in the sequence, however, these works are no less unambiguously Buddhist than the ones considered so far. In the *maṅgala* of the SSi,⁸⁷ Śāṅkaranandana once again pays homage to the omniscient one and acknowledges being moved by compassion:

With [my] body, speech and mind, [I] bow down with devotion to the [one being] who sees everything and [shall now] present a proof [of the possibility] of this [omniscient being] out of compassion for [those] who are led astray by its denial.⁸⁸

The treatise ends with a stanza that not only equates the omniscient one with the Sugata, but also testifies to the fact that Śāṅkaranandana longs for nothing but be(com)ing “himself” a Buddha:

We revere him, we salute him [respectfully], the Sugata who sees everything. May he be our great refuge until [we ourselves] attain the rank of a Sugata.⁸⁹

The omniscient Sugata reappears in the *maṅgala* of the ĀS:

We [respectfully] salute the omniscient Sugata who, after having made [it] directly perceptible [to himself], taught the proper analysis (? *samyagbheda*) bearing on the factors, etc.⁹⁰

⁸⁷For an outline of the (fully Dharmakīrtian, though updated,) doctrine of the SSi, see Eltschinger 2008:140–145.

⁸⁸SSi_k 1, MS A 25a4–5 and MS B/SSi_{ms} 1b1: *kāyavānīmānasair bhaktyā natvā sarvārthadarśinam / tatpratikṣepamūḍhānām tatsiddhiḥ kṛpayocyate //*.

⁸⁹SSi_k 47, MS A27a4–5 and MS B/SSi_{ms} 26b2–3: *taṃ stumas taṃ namasyāmaḥ sugataṃ sarvadarśinam / ā saugatapadaprāpteḥ sa naḥ syāc charaṇaṃ mahat //*.

⁹⁰ĀSk 1, MS A 29b3: *pratyakṣīkṛtya yaḥ samyagbhedaṃ dharmādigocaram / dideśa taṃ namasyāmaḥ sugataṃ sarvavedinam //*. The ĀS appears to be an anti-Mīmāṃsaka tract elaborating on the subject-matter of PV 1.213–338 and PVSV thereon. The treatise opens with a definition of scripture (ĀSk 2ab, MS A 29b3): *sarvajñasambhavajñānasiddhasambhava āgamaḥ*. Like Dharmakīrti, Śāṅkaranandana seems to admit that the knowledge derived from scripture is an inference (see already *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 2.5ab), but also indicates that this inference is far from flawless and only “practically” (not to say “pragmatically”) valid, i.e., as far as human religious practice is concerned (ĀSk 4ab, MS A 29b4: *tatpratītir amānatve ’py eṣṭavyā drṣṭavastuvat /*; ĀSk 48cd, MS A 31a6: *pramānatvāprasiddhāv apy āgamasya pariagrahaḥ /*). As for religious practice itself, Śāṅkaranandana defines it as follows (ĀSk 3cd, MS A 29b4): *pravṛttis tu... drṣṭātirikta-hetūtthasukhaduḥkḥāptihānaye*. True to Dharmakīrti’s way of dealing with scripture, the

Remember that the DhA equated *paramā śāntiḥ* with *nirvāṇa* and described the latter as the final uprooting of the defilements together with their after-effects; this very same *paramā śāntiḥ* occurs again in the final stanza of the ĀS:

Thanks to the merit (*kuśala*) caused by the belief (? *grahaṇa*), the [right] conduct and the right perception that are based on [the Buddha's] word, may the [entire] mass of living beings (*sattvadhātu*) always be committed to the supreme tranquility due to [having their] thought intent on abandoning [their] own good (*nijavastu*), however dear [it may be], which is assuredly the basis of a [new] embodiment.⁹¹

By identification and contrast, the final stanzas of the ĪA play on the notions of *śāstr* and *īśvara*. In the *maṅgala*, the *śāstr* (understand: the blessed Buddha) who revealed the path to *nirvāṇa* alone is *īśvara*:

Bowing down to him who is the teacher, the unique lord whose thought is intent on the good of [this] world saturated with suffering, who has expounded here all that is profitable for [attaining] *nirvāṇa* together with that which must be eliminated [in order to attain it, we now] speak concisely in order to lay down the method [according to which] one establishes the negation(/proceeds to the refutation) of [that] god whom others take for the origin of existence.⁹²

treatise goes on with a lengthy advocacy of conventionalism in philosophy of language (e.g., ĀSk 5ab, MS A 29b4–5: *saṃketasaṃśrayā soktā vācyadhīr nāparābhīdhā /*). Śāṅkaranandana accordingly criticises the “realistic” accounts of the relation between words and objects (*śakti*, *sāmarthyā*, *yogyatā*), the factors responsible for *śābdabodha* (ĀSk 31ab, MS A 30b4: *nākāṃkṣādīkṛtaikārthaviśayatve...* Note that Śāṅkaranandana is likely to be the first Buddhist philosopher to criticise this analysis of verbal understanding), the notion of a perceptual recollection (ĀSk 44cd, MS A 31a4: *nākṣajam pratyabhijñānam ...*). The ĀS also answers Kumāriḷa's arguments on the issue of *apabhraṃśa* (ĀSk 41–42, MS A 31a2–3) and criticises the doctrine of the authorlessness of scripture (ĀSk 45cd, MS A 31a4: *apauruṣyatā sā tu na pratyakṣeṇa gamyate /*; ĀSk 46ab, MS A 31a4–5: *svasamīhāvasīyeta karaṇocāraṇāśrayā /*; ĀSk 47a, MS A 31a5: *pratyakṣam pauruṣyatvam ...*).

⁹¹ĀSk 49, MS A 31a6–7: *iti pravacanāśrayagrahaṇānītisaddarśanapravṛttakuśalād ayaṃ bha{ {vatu sa ttva dhātu} }h sadā / priye 'pi nijavastuni prakāṣam ātmabhāvāśraye prahāṇaparayā dhīyā paramasāntisamniśritah //*. *prthvī* metre. I leave *iti* untranslated.

⁹²ĪAk 1, MS A 27b6–28a1: *duḥkhāghrātaḥ jagaddhitāhitamatīḥ sāsātaika eveśvaro nirvāṇāya hitam saheyam amuto yaḥ sarvam ākhyātavān / tam natvā bhavasambhāvāya kalitasānyair dviṣor' īśvarasyādhātum pratiśedhasādhanavidhim saṅkṣepataḥ kathayate //*. *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. I leave *dviṣor'* untranslated.

According to the final stanza, this world devoid of a god is, however, not without a *sāstr* provided one admits the existence of an omniscient being:

Therefore, that world which[, as we have demonstrated,] is devoid of a [creator] god [and] arises on the basis of only [that] agent [that is *karman*,] can [nevertheless] have a teacher provided there is a proof [of the possibility] of an omniscient [being].⁹³

4.7 Be it by its dimensions or the number of quotations (especially in Pratyabhijñā literature), the PA seems by far the most important among the independent treatises of Śāṅkaranandana.⁹⁴ However, three factors make its overall interpretation quite difficult. (1) The most often quoted work is also the most poorly preserved: the stanzas of PA 1 and 2 are illegible in (the currently available photographs of) MS A, while the reading of PA 3 is, to say the least, often conjectural. (2) As we have seen (see above, SECTION 3), the PA has resisted all attempts to locate it within the internal chronology of Śāṅkaranandana’s works. (3) Although R. Gnoli recognized that “[t]he scanty fragments of this work hardly permit us to get an idea of its contents,”⁹⁵ he nevertheless viewed the PA as a work “that wanders far from Buddhist orthodoxy or that is frankly contrary to the Buddhist logic and gnoseology commonly accepted.”⁹⁶ According to this Italian scholar, the PA conforms at times so closely with the doctrine and terminology of Kashmirian Śaivism that, at least as far as this work is concerned, Śāṅkaranandana “must have been an important link between the Buddhist and the Śaiva gnoseology.”⁹⁷ This alleged heterodoxy would have prevented the PA from entering the Tibetan “canon” or, at least, from being translated

⁹³ĪAk 27, MS A 29a3: *nirīśvaram idaṃ tasmāt kartṛmātrāśrayodbhavam / saśāstrkaṃ jagad yuktam sati sarvajñasādhane //*.

⁹⁴The PA amounts to about 200 stanzas (ten folios in MS A), i.e., is five times longer than the AAS and two and half times longer than the DhA. From among the twenty-three fragments collected by Bühnemann (1980:193–196), eleven can be traced in the PA. Three further fragments definitely belonging to the PA resist identification in MS A either because they are in prose or because they belong to the illegible chapters 1 and 2.

⁹⁵Gnoli 1960:xxiv, n. 3.

⁹⁶Gnoli 1960:xxiv.

⁹⁷Gnoli 1960:xxv, n. 3, *in fine*.

into Tibetan. Now in my opinion, and notwithstanding possible but certainly rare Śaiva terminological overtones, the PA by no means deviated from the Dharmakīrtian Buddhist orthodoxy.⁹⁸

Let me start where Gnoli himself started. While commenting on “*viññānavādibhiḥ*” (ĪPV/Ṭ on ĪP 1.5.6), Abhinavagupta places Dignāga’s *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, Vasubandhu’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi(s)* and Śāṅkaranandana’s PA on the same doctrinal level.⁹⁹ This is tantamount to saying that, in denying the existence of the external world (or at least of any external object of cognition), the PA was meant to establish mind-only, the final philosophical stance of Śāṅkaranandana’s predecessors, viz. Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.¹⁰⁰ Whereas Gnoli discerned, in the “confutation of the atomistic view and, accordingly, of a reality external to consciousness,” “one topic” of the PA,¹⁰¹ I am inclined to see it as the very *raison d’être* of Śāṅkaranandana’s *magnum opus*.

Although the rest of this treatise’s initial stanza is illegible, the following words can still be deciphered: *prajñāṃ viśuddhāṃ dvayanirmuktāṃ*,¹⁰² which suggests that the PA was somehow related to the pure insight devoid of duality, an expression whose terminology and presuppositions are strongly reminiscent of Buddhist idealism. Let us consider now PA 3.1:

That the entities [commonly believed to be external in fact] only consist in cognition is called ‘consciousness-only.’ And [we draw] the absence of duality [between an object and a subject of cognition] from an inference.¹⁰³

⁹⁸See already Krasser 2001:496: “Since Abhinavagupta himself quotes a stanza from the *Prajñālaṅkāra* in his *Tantrāloka*, and interprets this as Buddhist doctrine (*uktaṃ ca... iti saugataiḥ* ...), it is difficult to interpret the *Prajñālaṅkāra* as a work that is entirely Śaivite and opposed to Buddhist doctrine.” On this passage, see Krasser 2001:504, n. 59 and Bühnemann 1980:196.

⁹⁹ĪPVV II.144,11–12: *ālambanaparīkṣādau daiñnāge, vijñaptimātrādisiddh[au] āsambandh[vy]yāṃ, prajñālaṅkāradīṣu bhāṭṭadarśaneṣu*.

¹⁰⁰ĪPVV II.144,13–16: *ayaṃ bhāvaḥ – dūṣanakalāpenānena viśayasyāsattvam āvedayatā bāhyārthaviśayam yat pramāṇam pareṇa pratyakṣaṃ samabhāvayata, tad asamarthatayā pramāṇābhāsīkartavyam / tato niṣpramāṇako bāhyo ’rthaḥ katham sidhyet ...*

¹⁰¹Gnoli 1960:xxiv–xxv, n. 3.

¹⁰²PAk 1.1, MS A 15b2.

¹⁰³PAk 3.1ac₁, MS A 20b3–4: *jñānātmataiva vastūnām uktā vijñaptimātratā / advayaṃ cānumānāt...*

In Dharmakīrti’s PV, the demonstration of mind-only proceeds not only through the refutation of the atomistic theories, but also by way of an inference generally referred to as the *sahopalambhaniyama*. Now, the *sahopalambhaniyama* appears very explicitly in PA 3: “Because they are necessarily perceived together, blue and the cognition of [blue] are not distinct.”¹⁰⁴ It is therefore hardly surprising that in another stanza, Śāṅkaranandana may claim: “Consciousness-only is [therefore] established, [and] it amounts to the refutation of an external object [of cognition].”¹⁰⁵

The PA did not limit itself to establishing an idealistic ontology and gnoseology. True to Dharmakīrti’s PV 3 and PVin 1, Śāṅkaranandana didn’t neglect the closely related soteriology.¹⁰⁶ Through the mental cultivation (*bhāvanā*) of non-duality (*advaya*, itself prompted by the inferential reflections constitutive of *cintā / yukti*), through the gradual resorption of the fictitious polarity between the subject and the object of cognition (*grāhyagrāhaka*), and through the uprooting of the impregnation of duality (*dvayavāsanā*), the Buddhist saint realizes emptiness/non-duality directly. Such is the transformation of the basis-of-existence (*āśraya-parivṛtti*, which, to the best of my knowledge, Śāṅkaranandana does not allude to), which coincides with awakening (*bodhi*), with the attainment of the Buddha stage (*buddhabhūmi*), with the obtention of the rank of a Buddha (*buddhatvapada*). Śāṅkaranandana devotes several passages to the description of the path of elimination and its culminating stage. PAk 3.97cd–98, e.g., exhibits the sequence linking the rational determination of the salvational contents, their mental cultivation, the elimination of the impregnation of duality and the direct realization of non-duality:

[One then turns to the mental] cultivation of the empti[ness] of duality (*dvayaśūnya*) that was ascertained [previously] by this [argument]. Although this [emptiness] is made an object [of cognition at the beginning of the cultivation process], it annihilates, once [it has been duly] cultivated, the impregnation

¹⁰⁴PAk 3.41cd, MS A 22b2: *sahopalambhaniyamābhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ //*. I read: *sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ //*.

¹⁰⁵PAk 3.71cd, MS A 23b5: *viññaptimātratā siddhā sā bāhyārthanirākṛtiḥ //*. Note also PAk 3.86c₂, MS A 24b1: *viññaptimātre ’pi*, and PAk 3.94c₁, MS A 24b5: *viññaptidharmāḥ*. Note also PAk 3.83a₂–c₁, MS A 24a5, with clear idealistic overtones: ... *ādihīnatvād bhavasyoktāsyā kāraṇam / vāsanā ...*

¹⁰⁶On what follows, see Eltschinger 2005:162–174.

[of duality] that is contradictory [to it, and] the dual appearance no [longer] appears.¹⁰⁷

In PAk 3.96ab, Śāṅkaranandana provides an equivalent formulation of the same sequence (substituting the no less Dharmakīrtian *jānīyāt tattvam advayam* for *dvyābhāsaṃ nāvabhāsaṃ*):

The one who cultivates [non-duality] may cognize, once he has abandoned the impregnation [of duality], the true reality that is devoid of duality.¹⁰⁸

PAk 3.95bd testifies to the fact that *prajñā*, for Śāṅkaranandana as for Dharmakīrti, does not exhaust the list of the *pāramitās*, and that its gradual development towards a spontaneous cognition of non-duality parallels the development that leads the so-called “immeasurables” (*apramāṇa*, such as benevolence and compassion) from their *sattvāmbana* type to their *anāmbana* type:

[We] admit that the [mental] cultivation [of non-duality] has such a result once it has provided (*ādhāya*) a cognition which, like a cognition such as [that of] benevolence [when it reaches its objectless stage], is empty of any object [whatsoever].¹⁰⁹

As for the last didactic stanza of the PA, it connects the three key-terms of this idealistic soteriology:

Therefore the non-duality of cognition appears in the cognition of emptiness. The cognition of selflessness purifies(/improves) it [and, when it has been brought to its maximum intensity,] gives rise to the *summum bonum*[, the unsurpassable complete awakening].¹¹⁰

Whether Śāṅkaranandana accepted an *ālayavijñāna* or not, his picture of the Buddhist path is characteristically idealistic and Dharmakīrtian. We have met with a pure insight devoid of duality in PA 1.1. PAk

¹⁰⁷PAk 3.97cd–98, MS A 24b6–25a1: *tenāvasīyamānasya dvayaśūnyasya bhāvanā // viṣayibhūtam apy etad bhāvya mānaṃ virodhinīm / vāsanāṃ pratisaṃhṛtya dvyābhāsaṃ nāvabhāsaṃ //*.

¹⁰⁸PAk 3.96ab, MS A 24b5–6: *bhāvayan vāsanāṃ hitvā jānīyāt tattvam advayam /* .

¹⁰⁹PAk 3.95bd, MS A 24b5: *...bhāvanaivamphalā matā / dhiyam ādhāya sarvārthasūnyāṃ maitryādibuddhivat //*. On the type of *apramāṇa* called “*anāmbana*,” see Eltschinger 2011: §4.

¹¹⁰PAk 3.100, MS A 25a1–2: *tatas tac chūnyatājñāne jñānādvaitam prapadyate / tac chodhayati nairātmyasaṃvic chreyaḥ prasūyate //*.

3.101, one of two final stanzas of the treatise, has still more Mahāyānistic overtones:

[I] present respectfully the immensely precious Prajñāpāramitā with the honour of [this] well-contrived *Ornament [of insight]* along with an aid (*ādhāra*) to ruin [those] rival doctrines (*vādāntara*) that are born from the dirt of bad reasoning. From the high (*uccais*) merit acquired with this [composition], may this [Prajñāpāramitā] which is good to attain (*svadhigama*) be for this world the token (*pada*) of the perfections of Buddhahood.¹¹¹

Of particular interest is the very last stanza of the PA, where Śāṅkaranandana, to the best of my knowledge for the first and only time in his *œuvre*, clearly exhibits his own religio-philosophical affiliation. Here, Śāṅkaranandana gives free expression to the bitterness—after all, was he not recognized as the “second Dharmakīrti”?—caused by a sense of isolation due to his being situated between Buddhist coreligionists (*svayūthya*) unwilling to accept his idealism and worthless non-Buddhist outsiders (*tīrthya*):

Knowing that [even our] externalist coreligionists have not made our own doctrine their final position because [they deem it] worthless, the false view of the vile outsiders does not seem to be worthy of our consideration. Though it was [indeed] great, this endeavour [of ours] appears therefore to be insignificant (*alpa*).¹¹²

Let me conclude this first outline of the PA. Contrary to R. Gnoli, I discern here all the features of the idealistic epistemology and soteriology as they were developed by Dharmakīrti in his PV 3 and PVI in 1—two chapters that were almost *terra incognita* when Gnoli published his excellent edition of the PVS. But, besides Śāṅkaranandana’s doctrine of

¹¹¹PAk 3.101, MS A 25a2–3: *prajñāpāramitāṃ kutarkakaluṣaprodhbhūtavādāntara-dhvaṃsādāhārapuraḥsaraṃ sughaṭitālaṃkārasampūjayā / sampūjyārthyatamāṃ yad atra kuśalaṃ samprāptam uccais tato lokasyāsya bhavatu iyaṃ svadhigamā buddhatvasampatpadam // . śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.*

¹¹²PAk 3.102, MS A 25a3–4: *bāhyārthavādibhir asāratayā svayūthyaiḥ siddhāntatām na gamitāṃ svamatāṃ viditvā / gaṅṅyā na naḥ samaḥvabhāti kutīrthyadrṣṭir yatno* mahān api vibhāti tato 'yam alpaḥ // . *Against yatnā MS A 25a4. vasantatilakā metre.*

error,¹¹³ two among his alleged doctrinal deviations are worthy of closer examination. I shall try to interpret Śaṅkaranandana's allusion to the *sphuradrūpatā* below (SECTION 5.3). But what about this prose fragment that is likely to point to Śaṅkaranandana's affinity with Kashmir Śaivism:

But if [it is] so, let the world be, in the aforementioned way, the body (*rūpa*) of a certain [being that would be] one [and] undivided[, viz. of Parameśvara who consists in pure consciousness]. How (*kim*) does it affect us?¹¹⁴

I am inclined to interpret Śaṅkaranandana in the following way. Once it is admitted that the supposedly external world is nothing but consciousness, as the Buddhist idealist claims, there can be no harm in letting someone, say a Śaiva, believe that this consciousness is Parameśvara. But whatever the correct interpretation of this statement might be, two things ought to be borne in mind: first, given the Buddhist idealist persuasion of the work, it seems hard to interpret *yathoktavidhinā* as referring to a preceding and more systematic elaboration of Śaṅkaranandana on the topic of Śiva's consciousness unless it was a critique of this doctrine; second, given Śaṅkaranandana's repeated refutations of (a creator) god (ĪA, ĪAS, PVAn), it seems difficult to read in this statement more than a rhetorical and rather condescending concession to his Śaiva environment.

¹¹³Gnoli (1960:xxv, n. 3) writes: "All that exists does exist to the extent to which it appears to our consciousness, and then the error, too, in so far as it appears, is reality; that is, it is, by itself, unreality (*ābhāsabhede tv arthaḥ kas tatrābhedo bhramo 'vapuḥ*, ĪPVV I.248 and III.35: note the word *ābhāsa*, this also proper to the Śaiva doctrine). This affirmation, thoroughly agreeing with the Śaiva position, upsets all the Buddhist gnoseology, according to which discursive knowledge is, truly speaking, erroneous." Besides the fact that *ābhāsa* is as regularly and much earlier attested in Buddhist logico-epistemological literature, note that the issue of error should be discussed in the perspective of Śaṅkaranandana's idealism. Now, while commenting on PVSV 50,16–51,5, Śaṅkaranandana remarks (PVAn, D264b5–6): *rnam par rig par smra ba ni 'jig rten pa'i tshad ma dan / tshad ma ma yin pa'i ran bzin dpyad pa na / bag chags brtan pa dan mi brtan pa tsam rgyu mtshan ne bar len to //*. "When he analyzes the nature of [that which] is and is not an ordinary valid cognition (**laukikapramāṇāpramāṇasvarūpa*), the advocate of consciousness[only] (*vijñaptivādin*) resorts to the criterion (*nimitta*) [that consists in] the mere stability or non-stability of the impregnation (*vāsanādārḍhyādārḍhyamātra*) [responsible for the cognition]." This is precisely the point at stake in Abhinavagupta's quotation, the explanatory prose on which explicitly refers to the *drḍhābhāsavāsanā* (ĪPVV I.248,23). On this, see Eltschinger 2005:156, n. 8.

¹¹⁴TĀV 54,9–10: (*yad uktaṃ prajñālaṅkāre /*) *evaṃ tarhi jagad ekasyaiva kasyacid anamśasya yathoktavidhinā rūpam astu kiṃ naḥ kṣiyate /*. Quoted in Bühnemann 1980:196 and Gnoli 1960:xxv.

4.8 Close examination of the initial/benedictive and final/votive stanzas bears an unambiguous testimony: from the beginning to the end of his *œuvre*, Śāṅkaranandana composed Buddhist treatises only. Two works likely to have been composed early in Śāṅkaranandana’s life, the *BPrP and the PVAn, place themselves under the protection of the three Buddhist jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Āryagaṇa in the *BPrP, the Sugata, the Dharma and the Saṅgha in the PVAn. Two subsequent works pay homage to the Sugata (PSi, SPAn), two others to the omniscient Sugata (*sarvārthadarśin* SSi; *sarvavedin* ĀS), whereas three *maṅgalas* revere the omniscient one (AAS, SPAn, SSi). As for the DhA and the ĪA, they pay respect to the Śāstr, the only legitimate Īśvara. Finally, while the DhA twice places itself under the protection of the Dharma (*saddharma*, *udāradharma*), the PA places itself under the authority of the Prajñāpāramitā.

The properly votive parts of these stanzas testify to the agenda of a Mahāyānist bodhisattva. In the *BPrP, Śāṅkaranandana expects from the merit (*śubha*, *kuśala*) gained by composing his treatises that it may hasten his way to awakening (*bodhi*); in the SSi, he takes refuge (*śaraṇa*) in the Sugata as long as he has not himself attained the rank of a Buddha (*saugatapada*), i.e., the final elimination of defilements together with their after-effects (*savāsana*). As a good bodhisattva, our “logician” doesn’t neglect for all of this his altruistic duties, the *parārtha*: For this world beset with suffering (*duḥkḥāghrāta*) and enslaved by *karman*, Śāṅkaranandana wishes the perfections inherent in the state of a Buddha (*buddhatvasampad*, PA), *nirvāṇa* (*paramaśānti*, ĀS), prosperity (*vibhūti*, DhA), the establishment of the Buddhist path (*tanmārgasiddhi*, DhA), itself regularly defined as selflessness (*nairātmya*, passim). Twice at least, Śāṅkaranandana confesses his being moved by compassion (*kṛpā*, etc.).

As for the “*svayūthya*” occurring at the end of the PA, it amounts to a confession. In conformity with the epistemological and soteriological doctrines he defends in this treatise, Śāṅkaranandana portrays himself as opposed to his “realist” coreligionists (*bāhyārthavādin*, PA). The non-Buddhist outsiders are regularly described in disparaging terms: they are rivals (*anya*, *para*, passim), dull-witted (*mūḍha*, SSi), vile or bad outsiders (*kutīrthya*, PA; *dustīrthika*, PSi) going on (an) erroneous path(s) (*unmārgaga*, *BPrP) and professing theories born of the dirt of their vile reasoning (*kutarkakaluṣaprodhbhūtavāda*, PA). It belongs to a bodhisattva’s duties to fight against and to vanquish (*jaya*, PSi) those who

spread error: Śāṅkaranandana therefore endeavours to ruin (*dhvaṃsa*, PA) these theories, to eliminate the error inherent in them (*bhramam vini-√vrt*, AAS), to refute them (*apākṛti*, PSi). In so doing, he just gives voice to the word of the blessed one (*bhagavatpravacana*, DhA), which eliminates those things wrongly imagined/postulated by the adversaries (*paraparikalpita*, DhA) of Buddhism, indicates what is instrumental in or harmful to the *nirvāṇa* (*nirvāṇāya hitam saheyam... ākhyātavān*, ĪA; *heyopādeyavastusamdarśaka*, DhA), and defeats all of the non-Buddhist outsiders' intentions (*sarvatīrthyāśayaviḥṅgin*, DhA).

Śāṅkaranandana is the representative of the most orthodox, i.e., idealistic version of the Buddhist logico-epistemological movement. He not only commented on four works of the “*ācārya*” (i.e., Dharmakīrti), but he also composed independent treatises dedicated to all the topics—with the remarkable exception of “logic” itself, i.e., the so-called *parārthānumāna*—that were of interest to this intellectual stream: identity relation (*tādātmya*, PSi); genesis of language, concepts and universals (*apoha*, AAS); issues related to scriptural and verbal authority: buddhology and omniscience (*sarvajñā[tā]*, SSi), refutation of the existence of God (ĪA), critique of the Mīmāṃsā's *apauruṣeyatā* (ĀS); proofs of momentariness and selflessness (*kṣaṇikatva*, *nairātmya*, DhA); the doctrine of (purely extrinsic) epistemic validity (*prāmāṇya*, *BPrP), demonstration of the mind-only idealism (*viññaptimātratā*, PA).

Śāṅkaranandana quotes or refers with parsimony, but when he does, it is almost always to Buddhist and especially logico-epistemological works: the treatises of Dharmakīrti¹¹⁵ that he himself commented upon, such as the PV¹¹⁶ and the SP,¹¹⁷ certain works of Dharmakīrti which, to the best of my knowledge, he did not comment upon, such as the *Santānāntarasiddhi*¹¹⁸ and the *Hetubindu*;¹¹⁹ Dignāga's *Traikālyaparīkṣā*¹²⁰ and

¹¹⁵Named, like Dignāga, *ācārya* (passim), and even “*śrīdharmakīrti*” (*dpal chos kyi grags pa*, in SPAn_t D29a6/P37a2).

¹¹⁶In SPAn_t D29b2/P37a7; in AAS_t D298b1/P321a3.

¹¹⁷On DhAk 3.7cd–8ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 21a7–b1: *iti vipaṅcitam ācāryeṇa sambandhaparīkṣāyām*); on PSik 10 (MS G/PSi_{ms} 23a8–b1: ... *uktaḥ sambandhaparīkṣāyām*).

¹¹⁸In SPAn_t D22a1/P27a8; on *BPrPk 65 (MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 24b6).

¹¹⁹In SPAn_t D21b6/P27a5.

¹²⁰On DhAk 3.5cd–6ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 18b2: *ācāryadignāgena traikālyaparīkṣāyām upadiṣṭā*, and MS D/DhA_{ms} 18b2–4 for the full quotation of *Traikālyaparīkṣā* 24, 25 and 27 [= VP 3.3.76, 77, 79]).

maybe *Sāmānyaparīkṣā*;¹²¹ *Pramāṇāntarbhāva*;¹²² Vasubandhu’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*.¹²³

5 Conclusions and Conjectures

5.1 Let me briefly outline the biographical/exegetical hypotheses proposed to date.

1. Most of them entail a conversion scenario:

a) from Brahmanism (with or without Śaiva leaning) to Buddhism, either

i. *before* the start of literary activity (Tibetan legendary and/or scholastic accounts, colophon of the P*Si*, S. Ch. Vid-yābhūṣaṇa, J. Naudou), or

ii. *late in life*, but before the composition of both the commentaries on Dharmakīrti and the “atheistic” treatises (H. Krasser);

b) from Buddhism (at least as far as the doctrinal stance of the works is concerned) to non-dualistic Śaivism (R. Gnoli).

2. Certain hypotheses renounce any conversion scenario: Śāṅkaranandana is portrayed as a Śaivite brahmin who, in a Kashmirian milieu characterized by syncretism, composed Buddhist treatises (T. Funayama); as someone, probably a brahmin by birth, who, without any conversion, wrote consistently and exclusively Buddhist works (A. Sanderson).

5.2 In my opinion, the two Tibetan legends lack any probative value. In contradistinction to them, two elements speak in favour of Śāṅkaranandana’s having been a brahmin throughout his life (pardon the redundancy!): first (though conjecturally), the epithet “*bhaṭṭa*” which is con-

¹²¹In SPAn_t D31b4/P39b8–40a1 (*gžan gyi ran bžin ŋid ci yin zes spyi brtag* [P: D brtags] *par bśad zin to //*).

¹²²On *BPrPk 58 (MS E/*BPrP_{ms} 22a1: *iti darśitaṃ pramāṇāntarbhāve*). On the *Pramāṇāntarbhāva*, see Steinkellner/Much 1995:111 (§42.1).

¹²³On DhAk 2.5cd–6ab (MS D/DhA_{ms} 3b2: *ity uktaṃ vijñaptimātratāsiddhau*).

sistently associated with him in most Sanskrit sources;¹²⁴ second, the colophon of the P*Si*, which is the likely point of origin for the Tibetan legends and is no less likely to have been translated from a Sanskrit original (and hence cannot be later than the 11th-century r*Ñog* lotsāba and Bhavyarāja).¹²⁵ As for the description of Śāṅkaranandana as an *upāsaka*, it is, at least in my opinion, difficult to interpret since the denomination of “lay adherent” (of Buddhism) remains sociohistorically shrouded in obscurity. This description may equally well mirror the brahmin’s effective leaning towards Buddhism, or reflect the translators’ embarrassment before

¹²⁴ Apart from *all* the colophons (except the thirteen “micro-colophons” of MS A, which never allude to Śāṅkaranandana by name), Abhinavagupta is the only one to call Śāṅkaranandana “*bhaṭṭa*” (ĪPVV I.236,1, 248,12, 272,13, 292,18, 293,11; ĪPVV II.16,10, 34,12, 71,14, 83,22, 132,16, 144,12, 220,23, 221,4, 250,15, 369,12) or to use the equivalent expression “*bhaṭṭapādāḥ*” (ĪPVV III.35,12). Let it be noted that, contrary to R. Gnoli’s opinion, these epithets accompany *all* the quotations from Śāṅkaranandana and not just those from the allegedly Śaiva PA. To judge from the dictionaries, it is certainly not obvious that the epithet “*bhaṭṭa*” should necessarily refer to a brahmin (PW: “*Gewöhnlich Bez. grosser Gelehrter*”; MMW: “also affixed or prefixed to the names of learned Brāhmins... also any learned man = doctor or philosopher”; Āpte: “a title used with the names of learned Brāhmaṇas... any learned man or philosopher”; SNR: “*titre ajouté iic. au nom d’un savant*”). Among the cases where “*bhaṭṭa*” undoubtedly refers to brahmins are those quoted by Witzel (1994:290, and nn. 194 and 216) and Scharfe (2002:184 and 235), to which one can add Arcaṭa, called “*bhaṭṭa*” when the name mentioned is “Arcaṭa,” but “*bhadanta*” (Buddhist title) when he is referred to under his Buddhist ordination name of “Dharmākara-datta” (see Sanghavi 1949:xi). According to W. Slaje (2007: 125), the epithets “*bhaṭṭa*,” “*svāmin*” and “*miśra*” refer to erudite brahmins taking up the state of life-long *grhasthas* (and among whom the ritualist Mīmāṃsakas would allegedly be recruited) by opposition to the *saṃnyāsins*. Slaje (2007: 125, n. 35) also quotes Kṣemendra’s *Lokapra-kāśa* (stanza 8): *rtviḥyo yājñiko yajvā sāmanto bhaṭṭa ucyate / trisandhyopāsakaś caiva vipraś caiva purohitaḥ //*. Among the more problematic cases, one may think of the Jaina philosopher Akalaṅka(ḍeva), who is regularly referred to as “Bhaṭṭākalāṅka” (but does Akalaṅka fall into the same category as Arcaṭa?).

¹²⁵ P*Si*, colophon, D303a5–7/P326a6–8 (for the Tibetan text, see Krasser 2001:499): “The *Pratibandhasiddhi* written by the teacher (*slob dpon*, **ācārya*), the great scholar (*mkhas pa chen po*, **mahāpāṇḍita*), the honourable (*dam pa*) Upāsaka Śāṅkarānanda has been completed. [Namely by the teacher Śāṅkarānanda,] born to the Brahmin caste (and) celebrated by the people (*jig rten na gtam du*) as a “second Dharmakīrti,” who destroyed the doctrines (*g’zūn*) of the ordinary logicians, who is invincible (*gran zla med pa*, **asapatna*) thanks to his unmatched (*thogs pa med pa*) spirit, which recognises how things really are (*don gyi de kho na*, **arthatattva*), and who, since he highly appreciates (*gces spras su ’dzin pa*) the teachings of the Sugata, persists with his spirit (*sems*) in concentration of the enjoyment (*ro myaṅ ba*, **āsvāda*) of [his] exquisite utterances.” Translation Krasser 2001:499.

a brahmin who has authored Buddhist works exclusively: one (socioreligious) foot in Brahmanism, and one (doctrinal) foot in Buddhism...

To the best of my knowledge, nothing contradicts this portrayal of Śāṅkaranandana as a brahmin householder (*grhastha*) sympathetic to Buddhism.¹²⁶ But we have to take into consideration another, less legendary and much better established series of *facts* in our appreciation of Śāṅkaranandana’s religious identity: the all-pervading ideology of a Mahāyānist bodhisattva; the only marker of religio-philosophical (and not, as far as I am aware, socioreligious) identity expressed by Śāṅkaranandana himself (“*svayūthya*,” in the specific context of the PA); and the ever repeated adhesion to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. It is indeed the main interest of the benedictive and votive stanzas to exhibit a Śāṅkaranandana who, in addition to defending the programme of late Buddhist philosophy, endorses all the religious ideals of Mahāyāna. But, here as elsewhere, our insufficient knowledge of the socio-institutional *realia* should inspire humility in us and prevent us from playing one series against the other, for they are perfectly compatible. To put it in a nutshell: I am inclined to portray Śāṅkaranandana as a scholar who was born a brahmin and made a career as a (lay) Buddhist bodhisattva.

5.3 I don’t hold the hypothesis of a conversion to Śaivism and a philosophical turn to the Pratyabhijñā to be more solidly established. R. Gnoli

¹²⁶In this connection, I cannot help mentioning a story found in Tāranātha’s *rGya gar chos ’byuñ* (Schieffner 1868:182,10–183,11; see Chattopadhyaya 1980:301–302 for an English translation, and Scharfe 2002:139–140 for a summary). According to Tāranātha, Haribhadra belonged to a Kashmirian brahmin family renowned for its erudition. Haribhadra was once defeated in a debate, had to convert to Buddhism (*nañ pa la žugs* 182,14–15) and became an expert in the Buddhist *dharma* (*chos kyañ mkhas par mkhyen pa’i pa ṇḍi tar gyur* 182,15). His son Ratnavajra was an *upāsaka* (*dge bsñen* 182,16) who studied all the branches of knowledge in Kashmir and then moved to Magadha in order to develop his scholarship further. There he was awarded the famous *patrā* of Vikramaśīla and taught the *mantrayāna* (*sñags kyi theg pa* 182,20), Dharmakīrti’s seven treatises on *pramāna* (*tshad ma sde bdun* 182,20–21) as well as Maitreya’s five works (*Byams pa’i chos lña* 182,21). At the end of his life he returned to Kashmir, where he defeated and converted a large number of outsiders (*mu stegs mañ po žig rtsod pas sun phyuñs nas sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa la dkod* 182,22–183,1). The story ends with the mention of Ratnavajra’s son (Mahājāna) and grandson (Sajjana). Of course I do not intend to imply that Śāṅkaranandana and Ratnavajra were one and the same person, but I would like to draw attention (on the basis of an admittedly late and not always reliable testimony) to the fact that the portrayal of Śāṅkaranandana as a **mahābrāhmaṇa*, an *upāsaka* and a specialist in Buddhist *pramāna* may find an interesting Kashmirian parallel in the story of Ratnavajra.

interpreted a long epithet to “*bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanena*” as bearing testimony to Śaṅkaranandana’s conversion:

[T]his is suggested by an eulogizing epithet that Abhinavagupta gives to Śaṅkarānanda, of whom he says that ‘he recovered illumination thanks to the force of asceticism and to a constant exercise of thought on consciousness, owed to the maturation of his good actions carried out earlier.’ Such an epithet fits well one who, after having followed a doctrine held to be false (in this case, Buddhism), finally opens his eyes and becomes aware of how things really are.¹²⁷

Taking into consideration the immediate context of this strange (and endless) epithet, I feel inclined to read it, not as the eulogizing expression of an illumination and/or conversion, but as *sarcasm* at the expense of Śaṅkaranandana’s *Buddhist persuasion*. Let us have a closer look at this passage.

In his commentary on ĪPV on ĪP 1.5.14,¹²⁸ Abhinavagupta introduces the notion of *spanda* (“*vibration cosmique*”¹²⁹) by authorizing himself with three quotations of Vasugupta (“*sūtrakārah*,” ĪPVV II.199,6): SK 2.6d, 2.3a and 2.5b (ĪPVV II.199,7–11). While explaining the word “*spanda*,” Abhinavagupta (ĪPVV II.199,7–13) quotes the following two *pādas*: *ūrmir eṣā vibodhābdher nistarāṅgasya kīrtitā*.¹³⁰ Having characterized the cosmic vibration as a wave on the conscious ocean, Abhinavagupta then explains *ūrmi* by quoting from Somānanda’s ŚD.¹³¹ He concludes (ĪPVV II.199,16): “The energy of reflexive consciousness is therefore referred to by the word ‘*sphurattā*’ (*iti sphurattāśabdena sāvimarśaśaktir uktā /*). Abhinavagupta then declares: “Why [should we say] much/(more) [about this]?” (*kiṃ bahunā*, ĪPVV II.199,16), and it is at this point that the problematic reference to Śaṅkaranandana occurs (ĪPVV II.199,16–20): *prāktanakuśalavipākapravartitasamvitparāmarśābhyāsatapaḥ prabhāva pratilabdhonmeṣeṇa bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanēpi... iti nirūpitam*. In my opinion, the whole of it relates to the

¹²⁷Gnoli 1960:xxvi.

¹²⁸See Torella 2002:121–122.

¹²⁹TAK I.245 s.v. *ūrmi*.

¹³⁰Sic! Is this the half-verse ascribed to the *Ūrmikaulatantra*: *ūrmir eṣā(/a) vibodhābdheḥ śaktir icchātmikā*? See TAK I.245 s.v. *ūrmi*, and TĀV 830,11–12 on TĀ 4.184.

¹³¹ĪPVV II.199,15: ... *sphurannivṛtacit* ... (ŚD 1.2).

sequence: *kiṃ bahunā... bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanenāpi... nirūpitam*, “why [should we say] much/(more) [about this if/(since)] **even** Bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandana has explained [it when he says, in his PA,] that...” My translation of *api* by “even” rather than “too/also” reflects my understanding of the epithet not as the eulogizing expression of Abhinavagupta’s agreement, even less as bearing witness to an “illumination” of any kind, but as the expression of sarcasm targeting Śaṅkaranandana’s Buddhist affiliation.¹³²

In spite of the technical overtones of “*unmeṣa*” in the Spandapratyabhiññā tradition,¹³³ I am inclined to interpret the word in the meaning of a “(sudden) intuition” or “(sudden) revelation” the object of which is nothing but the *sphuradrūpatā*. In other words, Śaṅkaranandana has had the sudden revelation of a truth already taught in the Śaiva *āgamas* and *śāstras*. Did he obtain or *reobtain* it? Though I am inclined to favour the first hypothesis, the choice does not affect my interpretation.¹³⁴ Śaṅkaranandana does not owe this sudden intuition to his erudition or to his intellectual penetration, as one may expect, but to the “power of asceticism” (*tapahprabhāva*, as Dharmakīrti says, e.g., of the *śabara* “Bar-

¹³²Dr. Isabelle Ratié (electronic communication, April 28, 2010) proposes the following interpretation of the passage, an interpretation that I make mine and that slightly differs from my initial understanding: “Il me semble que selon Abhinavagupta, même Śaṅkaranandana (qui pourtant est un bouddhiste) en vient à expliquer (tout comme les śivaïtes) que la manifestation consciente est une forme de fulguration, et Abhinavagupta insiste sur le fait que Śaṅkaranandana parvient à cette explication non pas grâce à sa science bouddhique, mais grâce à sa pratique ascétique et à son *saṃvidvimsābhya* obtenue grâce à ses bonnes actions passées. (...) S’il y a bien une forme de sarcasme, je ne crois pas qu’il soit dirigé contre le ‘philosophical acumen’ de Śaṅkaranandana [which I initially held to be the target of Abhinavagupta’s sarcasm, VE] (d’ordinaire Abhinavagupta semble avoir de l’estime pour l’intellect de ses ennemis préférés; et puis *saṃvidvimsābhya*, ce n’est pas rien... C’est même tout, d’un certain point de vue, pour les śivaïtes). Il me semble que le sarcasme est plutôt dirigé contre la logique et l’épistémologie bouddhiques (*en dépit desquelles* Śaṅkaranandana semble être parvenu à une position semblable à celle des śivaïtes—ce qui est finalement d’autant plus méritoire...): Abhinavagupta semble souligner le prodige par lequel un bouddhiste a pu, malgré son bouddhisme, comprendre quelque chose à sa propre conscience.” I. Ratié also attracts my attention to passages such as ĪPV I.213,2–4: *baudhair apy adhyavasāyāpekṣam prakāśasya prāmāṇyam vadadbhir upagataprāya evāyam artho bhilāpātmakatvād adhyavasāyasyeti /*.

¹³³See TAK I.236–237 s.v. *unmeṣa*, and Krasser 2001:494–495, n. 26.

¹³⁴One may understand “reobtained” as pointing to the fact that Śaṅkaranandana has regained what he had already been in possession of, be it in (a) former life/(lives) or (why not?) at the time of his education.

barians” who possess the capacity to “make *mantras*”¹³⁵). Śāṅkaranandana owes this sudden intuition to the power of asceticism and to the “constant exercise of thought on consciousness” (Gnoli; *saṃvitparāmarśā-bhyāsa*) that has been “provoked by the maturation of former good deeds” (*prāktanakuśalavipākapravartita*), a likely allusion to Śāṅkaranandana’s beliefs as they can be grasped from the votive stanzas examined earlier in this essay (see SECTION 4). In other words, Śāṅkaranandana has obtained the intuition of the *sphuradrūpatā* in spite of a Buddhist persuasion that should have prevented him from discerning the true nature of consciousness.

As for the half-verse of the PA quoted by Abhinavagupta,¹³⁶ its obvious terminological proximity with the Pratyabhijñā¹³⁷ does not, in my opinion, force us to interpret it as testifying to Śāṅkaranandana’s assent to this doctrine. For, once the strictly Buddhist character of the PA is established,¹³⁸ it would seem more relevant to interpret this half-verse according to the Buddhist *topos* presenting the mind as radiant by its very nature (*cittaṃ prakṛtyā prabhāsvaram*, etc.),¹³⁹ and specifically along the “Sautrāntika” interpretation provided by Dharmakīrti in PV 2.205–210.¹⁴⁰ According to Dharmakīrti, this radiance (*prabhāsvaratā*_{PV} ≈ *sphuradrūpatā*_{PA}) of the *citta* / (*vi*)*jñāna* consists in the fact that, once it has rid itself of nescience (*avidyā*, a “counter-” or “anti-science”), the mind/cognition perceives the entities as they really are, i.e., in their real aspects of impermanence, selflessness, painfulness, etc.¹⁴¹ This is tantamount to saying that the mind

¹³⁵See PVSV 124:5–10, and more generally Eltschinger 2001:18–21.

¹³⁶ĪPVV II.199,19: *sākṣātkāraḥ svataḥsiddhaḥ sā sphuradrūpatāsyā ca /*.

¹³⁷See ĪPV 23,13 on ĪP 1.5.14: *sphuradrūpatā*. Note the following remark by Professor Raffaele Torella (electronic communication, August 14, 2005; note that R. Torella admits the Buddhist character of the PA): “The *pratilabdha*- phrase is most probably to be taken as an allusion to the fact that now and then in his (Buddhist) works some unexpected Śaiva ideas come to the foreground, but integrated to the Buddhist context. This is very interesting as, so far, we were only aware of the very significant presence of Buddhist ideas in Śaiva philosophy. So this shows that, at least to a limited extent, also the other way round obtained, thus giving also a philosophical counterpart to the much debated issue of the reciprocal influence between the Śaiva and Buddhist tantras. The shade of sarcasm you detect in Abh.’s phrase is not to be excluded, but to my mind is rather unlikely.”

¹³⁸See above, SECTION 4.7.

¹³⁹See Seyfort Ruegg 1969:410–454.

¹⁴⁰On this, see Eltschinger 2005:180–197, and especially 190–192.

¹⁴¹See PV 2.206–207a₁.

now possesses the direct or perceptual realization (*sākṣātkāra*_{PA}) of them, which is nothing but its originary or natural condition (*svataḥsiddha*_{PA} < *prakṛtyā [siddhaḥ]*_{PV}).

5.4 What about the hypothesis of a late conversion to Buddhism? As we have seen,¹⁴² it is *certain* that Abhinavagupta was aware of at least two of Śāṅkaranandana’s commentaries on Dharmakīrti, of which at least one contained “atheistic claims”: the PVinAn and the PVAn. This makes Krasser’s assumption, that Abhinavagupta praised Śāṅkaranandana because he was not aware of such works, problematic. Now what is true of the commentaries should be true of Śāṅkaranandana’s two *Īśvarāpākaraṇas*, which could only arbitrarily be held to be posterior to the ĪPVV or even to Abhinavagupta’s death. I am therefore inclined to believe that Abhinavagupta was aware of Buddhist works *only*. But in this case, no argument remains in favour of the contemporaneity of Abhinavagupta and Śāṅkaranandana. In other words, nothing prevents us from seeing Śāṅkaranandana as a junior contemporary of Dharmottara (provided Abhinavagupta is right when he claims that the former criticized the latter), i.e., at the end of the 8th or the beginning 9th century.

But let me go a step further and speculate myself. For want of any better arguments, let me start from the following premisses:

1. Jayaratha is right when he holds Abhinavagupta’s TĀ to presuppose Śāṅkaranandana’s DhA and PA,¹⁴³

¹⁴²See above, SECTION 3.

¹⁴³See Bühnemann 1980:194 and 196. In the French version of this essay, I considered a third premiss as relevant: Abhinavagupta is close enough a witness to Utpaladeva and Śāṅkaranandana to be trusted when he claims (which he actually does *not* do, see below) that Utpaladeva was aware of at least one work of Śāṅkaranandana, the work in which the following, still unidentified stanza occurs: *kāryaucityāt prāk svasamvidasamvitsmaraṇāntare* / (see Bühnemann 1980:197 and Krasser 2001:501). Rather than hypothesizing that one among Śāṅkaranandana’s commentaries on Dharmakīrti was a *miśraka* (of the type, say, of Prajñākaragupta’s *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*), or that a versified work got lost, I am inclined to conjecture that these two *pādas* belong to (the illegible first two chapters of) the PA. Though on the basis of another argument, Krasser (2001:501, n. 44) also ascribes this stanza to the PA. Note, however, the following remark of A. Sanderson (2005[2010]:3): “As for his *terminus ante quem* of Śāṅkaranandana (940/50) Krasser depends on what he claims to be Abhinavagupta’s testimony in [ĪPVV II.369,9–14] that Utpaladeva criticises a statement of the *Prajñālaṅkāra* in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti*. But the passage does not allow this inference. Abhinavagupta does not say that Utpaladeva attacks the verse in question but only that he attacks a certain position which Abhinavagupta illustrates by citing this verse.”

2. the PA, Śaṅkaranandana's *magnum opus*, is a work of maturity.¹⁴⁴

Let me follow here Gnoli's chronology of Abhinavagupta, i.e., 950 to 1020.¹⁴⁵ Both the MVV and the TĀ were produced rather early in Abhinavagupta's literary career.¹⁴⁶ Now, the MVV quotes the PA,¹⁴⁷ and the slightly later TĀ is supposed to be familiar with both the PA and the DhA. Since the DhA is posterior to such important works as the PVinAn, the PVAn and the AAS, I feel justified in hypothesizing that around 985, Śaṅkaranandana had published all of his major works. And if one admits that the PA belongs to his very last works, one may conjecture that Śaṅkaranandana was either old or already dead in 980–985, when Abhinavagupta started his prestigious career. On this hypothesis, one should put Śaṅkaranandana's dates back at least twenty to thirty years, and propose a birth around 910–920 at the latest (be it reminded here that Krasser proposed 940/950–1020/1030).

As is obvious, this revised chronology still presupposes that the dates of Śaṅkaranandana and Abhinavagupta somehow overlap. Now, I am aware of only one argument on the basis of which one could coordinate the two Kashmirian scholars. Interestingly enough, Abhinavagupta is rather talkative with regard to his own education, the teachings he attended and the interest one should take in studying with different masters: "As a black bee seeking the fragrance [of nectar] would go from one flower to the other, a student eager for knowledge should go from one teacher/(master) to the other."¹⁴⁸ A little later in the same work, Abhinavagupta declares that, "out of curiosity for the views of *śāstras* [that are] inferior to this

¹⁴⁴I am aware of no reference to the PA in any of the other works of Śaṅkaranandana. It is also my feeling — and nothing more — that Śaṅkaranandana, in the PA, exposes his final philosophical standpoint, an idealistic doctrine that already appears in the *maṅgala* of the SPAn (as well as in the SSi, which cannot be located in the sequence either; see Eltschinger 2008:144–145). I am of course aware of the weakness of these arguments.

¹⁴⁵Rastogi (1987:27) proposes 950–1020/1025; Pandey (2000:8–9) locates his birth around 950/960, and the end of the literary activity in 1014/1015; Deshpande (1989:14) proposes 950/960 for Abhinavagupta's birth and 1020 for the end of the *floruit*.

¹⁴⁶On the relative/internal chronology of Abhinavagupta's works, see Pandey 2000:27–34. As I. Ratié informs me (*ibid.*), Pandey's chronology is likely to be flawed as regards the relationship between tantric and aesthetic works. See Ingalls *et al.* 1990:32 and McCrea 2008:363, n. 2.

¹⁴⁷See the next paragraph.

¹⁴⁸TĀ 13.335: *āmodārthī yathā bhṛṅgaḥ puṣpāt puṣpāntaraṃ vrajet / vijñānārthī tathā śiṣyo guror gurvantaraṃ vrajet //*.

one, I have also attended teachers who were Nāstikas, Jains, Buddhists, etc./reasoners, ritualists, Buddhists, Jains, Vaiṣṇavas, etc.)”¹⁴⁹ Could one, then, draw the hypothesis that the young Abhinavagupta attended teachings of the Buddhist master Śāṅkaranandana? Yes, one could if one were justified in interpreting MVV 1.431 (where 431cd = PAK 1.4cd/MS A 15b3–4) in this way: *etad eva tathā cāha guruḥ śāṅkaranandanaḥ / na mānatvāt tato ’nyatvān na bādhdā asthiteḥ sthitiḥ //*. On this hypothesis, the (say) twenty-year-old Abhinavagupta would have attended the teaching of the Buddhist Śāṅkaranandana whose career was already coming to a close, and this around 970. One might even imagine that Abhinavagupta owed his astounding familiarity with things Dharmakīrtian to his early frequenting of the lectures of such a noted *guru*.

As A. Sanderson kindly informs me,¹⁵⁰ however, Abhinavagupta does not apply the word “*guru*” to Śāṅkaranandana alone, but also to early Saiddhāntikas such as Brhaspati and Sadyojyotis, and to the Pāñcarātrika Vaiṣṇava author Vāmanadatta.¹⁵¹ Moreover, Abhinavagupta normally does not refer to his own teachers as “*guru*,” but as “*asmadguru*.” Finally, Abhinavagupta does not allude to Śāṅkaranandana in the detailed list of his (lesser) teachers that appears in the TĀ.¹⁵² In brief, “[t]he word *guruḥ* does not imply that Abhinavagupta was Śāṅkaranandana’s pupil but only indicates respect.”¹⁵³ We are left, then, with no other chronology than Gnoli’s: the bodhisattva brahmin Śāṅkaranandana must have been active in Kashmir some time during the 9th or 10th century. Further research will show the extent to which Śāṅkaranandana was familiar with the Pratyabhijñā system. In this case, the “second Dharmakīrti” and “great brahmin” Śāṅkaranandana might belong to the 10th century and his dates coincide roughly with Utpaladeva’s.

¹⁴⁹TĀ 8.206 (quoted in Pandey 2000:734): *aham apy ata evādhaḥśāstradrṣṭikutūhalāt / nāstikārhatābauddhādīn upādhyāyān aseviṣam //*

TĀ 13.345cd–346ab (Dvivedī/Rastogi edition 2406,13–16; quotation in Rastogi 1987:33, n. 5): *aham apy ata evādhaḥśāstradrṣṭikutūhalāt // tārkikaśrautabauddhārhad-vaiṣṇavādīn aseviṣi /*

¹⁵⁰Electronic communication (May 2, 2010).

¹⁵¹See respectively TĀ 1.104ab, 6.134cd, 8.230ab, 8.345ab, etc., and TĀ 5.154c–155b.

¹⁵²TĀ 37.62: *śrīcandraśarmabhavabhaktivilāsayogānandābhinandaśivaśaktivicitranā-thāḥ / anye ’pi dharmāśivauāmanakodbhaṭaśrībhūteśabhāskaramukhapramukhā mahān-taḥ /*. According to A. Sanderson (*ibid.*), only the name “Udbhaṭaśrī” could be interpreted as referring to a non-Śaiva, Buddhist master.

¹⁵³A. Sanderson, *ibid.*

Abbreviations

For the abbreviations of Śāṅkaranandana's works, see SECTION 2. For the abbreviations of the manuscripts, see SECTION 1.11.

Āpte V. S. Āpte. *The practical Sanskrit-English dictionary*. 4th ed. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.

BHU Benares Hindu University.

BRS Bihar Research Society (Patna).

Chos 'byung L. Chandra, ed. *The collected Works of Bu-ston*. Vol. 24 (ya). Śāta-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures 64. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971.

CTRC China Tibetology Research Center (Beijing).

D K. Hayashima et al., eds. *Tibetan Tripiṭaka Sde dge Edition: Bstan ḥgyur; Preserved at the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo*. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kanko Kyokai Co., Ltd. for the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo, 1981–.

Go rams pa Go rams pa. “Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bśad pa sde bdun rab gsal”. In: *The Collected Works of Kun-Mkhyen Go-rams-pa bsod-nams-seng-ge (Kun-mkhyen Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge'i bka' 'bum)*. Vol. 3. Dehra-Dun: Sakya College, 1979.

IKGA Institut für Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens (Vienna).

ĪP(V) P. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. *The Īshvara-Pratyabhijñā Vimarshinī of Utpaladeva with Commentary by Abhinava-Gupta*. 2 vols. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, 22 and 33. Nirnaya-Sagar Press, 1918–1921.

ĪPVV P. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. *The Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛtivismarśinī by Abhinavagupta*. 3 vols. Reprint of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay 1938 [vol. 60], 1941 [vol. 62], 1943 [vol. 65]. New Delhi: Akay Book Corporation, 1987.

IsIAO Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Rome).

- MMW** S. M. Monier-Williams. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. First edition Oxford 1899. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.
- MV** P. M. K. Shāstrī. *Śrīmālinīvijayavārttikam of Abhinava Gupta*. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 31. Śrīnagar, 1921.
- NSU** Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Göttingen).
- P** D. T. Suzuki, ed. *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition; Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Tokyo/Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1957.
- PV** Y. Miyasaka, ed. *Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā: Sanskrit and Tibetan*. Acta Indologica 2. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1971/1972.
- PVA** R. Sāṅkrtyāyana, ed. *Pramāṇavārttikabhāshyam or Vārtikālaṅkāraḥ of Prajñākaragupta: Being a Commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttikam*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 1. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1953.
- PVin** E. Steinkellner, ed. *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya: Chapters 1 and 2*. Sanskrit Texts From the Tibetan Autonomous Region 2. Beijing, Vienna: China Tibetology Research Center, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2007.
- PVSV** R. Gnoli, ed. *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti: The First Chapter with the Autocommentary; Text and Critical Notes*. Serie Orientale Roma 23. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1960.
- PW** O. Böthlingk and R. Roth. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. Reprint of the St. Petersburg Edition, 1855–1875. Osnabrück, Wiesbaden: Otto Zeller Verlagsbuchhandlung / Antiquariat Otto Harrassowitz, 1966.
- ŚD** P. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. *The Śivadriṣṭi of Somānandanātha, with the Vṛitti by Utpaladeva*. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 54. Śrīnagar, 1934.
- SK** J. Chatterji, ed. *The Spanda Kārikās: With the Vivṛiti of Rāmakāṇṭha*. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 6. Śrīnagar, 1913.

- SNR** N. Stchoupak, L. Nitti and L. Renou. *Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français*. First edition Paris 1932. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne), 1980.
- SVR** M. L. Osavāla, ed. *Śrīmadvādīdevasūriviracitaḥ pramāṇanayatatvālokāṅkārāḥ tadvyākhyā ca syādvādaratnākaraḥ*. 5 vols. New Delhi: Bhāratīya Buk Kārporeśan, 1988.
- TAK I** H. Brunner, G. Oberhammer and A. Padoux, eds. *Tantrikābhidhānakośa: Dictionnaire des termes techniques de la littérature hindoue tantrique*. Vol. 1. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 35. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.
- TĀ(V)** R. Dwivedi and N. Rastogi, eds. *The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha*. 8 vols. First edition Śrīnagar 1918–1938. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.
- VN** M. T. Much. *Dharmakīrtis Vādanyāyaḥ*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens 25. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991.
- VP** W. Rau. *Bhartrharis Vākyapadīya*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 42.4. Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1977.

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