A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. 1 by Surendranath Dasgupta

A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. 1 by Surendranath Dasgupta

Produced by Srinivasan Sriram and sripedia.org, William Boerst and PG Distributed Proofreaders.

nikhilam anujachittaM jnanasutair naverya@h
sajabhiva kusumanaM kalandhhrair vidhatte/
sa laghum api mamaitaM prAchyavijnanatantuM
upah@rtamatibhaktya modataM mai g@rhitva/

May He, who links the minds of all people,
through the apertures of time, with new threads
of knowledge like a garland of flowers, be pleased
to accept this my thread of Eastern thought, offered,
though it be small, with the greatest devotion.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA
DEDICATION

The work and ambition of a life-time is herein humbly dedicated with supreme reverence to the great sages of India, who, for the first time in history, formulated the true principles of freedom and devoted themselves to the holy quest of truth and the final assessment and discovery of the ultimate spiritual essence of man through their concrete lives, critical thought, dominant will and self-denial.

NOTE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF TRANSLITERATED SANSKRIT AND PALI WORDS

The vowels are pronounced almost in the same way as in Italian, except that the sound of _a_ approaches that of _o_ in _bond_ or _u_ in _but_, and _a_ that of _a_ as in _army_.

The consonants are as in English, except _c_, _ch_ in church;
_@t_, _@d_, _@n_ are cerebrals, to which English _t_, _d_, _n_ almost
correspond; _t_, _d_, _n_ are pure dentals; _kh_, _gh_, _ch_, _jh_,
@th_, _@dh_, _th_, _dh_, _ph_, _bh_ are the simple sounds plus an
aspiration; _n_ is the French _gn_; _@r_ is usually pronounced
as _ri_, and _s'_, _@s_ as _sh_.

PREFACE

The old civilisation of India was a concrete unity of many-sided
developments in art, architecture, literature, religion, morals, and
science so far as it was understood in those days. But the most important
achievement of Indian thought was philosophy. It was regarded as the goal
of all the highest practical and theoretical activities, and it indicated
the point of unity amidst all the apparent diversities which the complex
growth of culture over a vast area inhabited by different peoples produced.

It is not in the history of foreign invasions, in the rise of independent
kingdoms at different times, in the empires of this or that great monarch
that the unity of India is to be sought. It is essentially one of
spiritual aspirations and obedience to the law of the spirit, which were
regarded as superior to everything else, and it has outlived all the
political changes through which India passed.

The Greeks, the Huns, the Scythians, the Pathans and the Moguls who
occupied the land and controlled the political machinery never ruled
the minds of the people, for these political events were like hurricanes
or the changes of season, mere phenomena of a natural or physical order
which never affected the spiritual integrity of Hindu culture. If after
a passivity of some centuries India is again going to become creative it
is mainly on account of this fundamental unity of her progress and
civilisation and not for anything that she may borrow from other
countries. It is therefore indispensably necessary for all those who
wish to appreciate the significance and potentialities of Indian culture
that they should properly understand the history of Indian philosophical
thought which is the nucleus round which all that is best and highest in
India has grown. Much harm has already been done by the circulation of
opinions that the culture and philosophy of India was dreamy and abstract.
It is therefore very necessary that Indians as well as other peoples
should become more and more acquainted with the true characteristics
of the past history of Indian thought and form a correct estimate of its
special features.

But it is not only for the sake of the right understanding of India

that Indian philosophy should be read, or only as a record of the past
thoughts of India. For most of the problems that are still debated in
modern philosophical thought occurred in more or less divergent forms
to the philosophers of India. Their discussions, difficulties and
solutions when properly grasped in connection with the problems of our
own times may throw light on the course of the process of the future
reconstruction of modern thought. The discovery of the important features
of Indian philosophical thought, and a due appreciation of their full
significance, may turn out to be as important to modern philosophy as
the discovery of Sanskrit has been to the investigation of modern
philological researches. It is unfortunate that the task of
re-interpretation and re-valuation of Indian thought has not yet been
undertaken on a comprehensive scale. Sanskritists also with very few
exceptions have neglected this important field of study, for most of
these scholars have been interested more in mythology, philology, and
history than in philosophy. Much work however has already been done in
the way of the publication of a large number of important texts, and
translations of some of them have also been attempted. But owing to the
presence of many technical terms in advanced Sanskrit philosophical
literature, the translations in most cases are hardly intelligible to
those who are not familiar with the texts themselves.

A work containing some general account of the mutual relations of the
chief systems is necessary for those who intend to pursue the study
of a particular school. This is also necessary for lay readers interested
in philosophy and students of Western philosophy who have no inclination
or time to specialise in any Indian system, but who are at the same time
interested to know what they can about Indian philosophy. In my two books
_The Study of Patanjali_ and _Yoga Philosophy in relation to other Indian
Systems of Thought_ I have attempted to interpret the Saemkhya and Yoga
systems both from their inner point of view and from the point of view
of their relation to other Indian systems. The present attempt deals with
the important features of these as also of all the other systems and seeks
to show some of their inner philosophical relations especially in regard
to the history of their development. I have tried to be as faithful to
the original texts as I could and have always given the Sanskrit or Pali
technical terms for the help of those who want to make this book a guide

for further study. To understand something of these terms is indeed
essential for anyone who wishes to be sure that he is following the actual
course of the thoughts.

In Sanskrit treatises the style of argument and methods of treating the
different topics are altogether different from what we find in any modern
work of philosophy. Materials had therefore to be collected from a large
number of works on each system and these have been knit together and
given a shape which is likely to be more intelligible to people
unacquainted with Sanskritic ways of thought. But at the same time I
considered it quite undesirable to put any pressure on Indian thoughts
in order to make them appear as European. This will explain much of what
might appear quaint to a European reader. But while keeping all the
thoughts and expressions of the Indian thinkers I have tried to arrange
them in a systematic whole in a manner which appeared to me strictly
faithful to their clear indications and suggestions. It is only in very
few places that I have translated some of the Indian terms by terms of
English philosophy, and this I did because it appeared to me that those
were approximately the nearest approach to the Indian sense of the term.
In all other places I have tried to choose words which have not been made
dangerous by the acquirement of technical senses. This however is
difficult, for the words which are used in philosophy always acquire
some sort of technical sense. I would therefore request my readers to
take those words in an unsophisticated sense and associate them with
such meanings as are justified by the passages and contexts in which
they are used. Some of what will appear as obscure in any system may I
hope be removed if it is re-read with care and attention, for
unfamiliarity sometimes stands in the way of right comprehension. But
I may have also missed giving the proper suggestive links in many places
where condensation was inevitable and the systems themselves have also
sometimes insoluble difficulties, for no system of philosophy is without
its dark and uncomfortable corners.

Though I have begun my work from the Vedic and Brahma@nic stage, my
treatment of this period has been very slight. The beginnings of the
evolution of philosophical thought, though they can be traced in the
later Vedic hymns, are neither connected nor systematic.

More is found in the Brahmanas, but I do not think it worth while to
elaborate the broken shreds of thought of this epoch. I could have dealt
with the Upani@sad period more fully, but many works on the subject have
already been published in Europe and those who wish to go into details
will certainly go to them. I have therefore limited myself to the dominant
current flowing through the earlier Upani@sads. Notices of other currents
of thought will be given in connection with the treatment of other systems in the second volume with which they are more intimately connected. It will be noticed that my treatment of early Buddhism is in some places of an inconclusive character. This is largely due to the inconclusive character of the texts which were put into writing long after Buddha in the form of dialogues and where the precision and directness required in philosophy were not contemplated. This has given rise to a number of theories about the interpretations of the philosophical problems of early Buddhism among modern Buddhist scholars and it is not always easy to decide one way or the other without running the risk of being dogmatic; and the scope of my work was also too limited to allow me to indulge in very elaborate discussions of textual difficulties. But still I also have in many places formed theories of my own, whether they are right or wrong it will be for scholars to judge. I had no space for entering into any polemic, but it will be found that my interpretations of the systems are different in some cases from those offered by some European scholars who have worked on them and I leave it to those who are acquainted with the literature of the subject to decide which of us may be in the right. I have not dealt elaborately with the new school of Logic (Navya-Nyaya) of Bengal, for the simple reason that most of the contributions of this school consist in the invention of technical expressions and the emphasis put on the necessity of strict exactitude and absolute preciseness of logical definitions and discussions and these are almost untranslatable in intelligible English. I have however incorporated what important differences of philosophical points of view I could find in it. Discussions of a purely technical character could not be very fruitful in a work like this. The bibliography given of the different Indian systems in the last six chapters is not exhaustive but
consists mostly of books which have been actually studied or consulted in
the writing of those chapters. Exact references to the pages of the

xi
texts have generally been given in footnotes in those cases where a
difference of interpretation was anticipated or where it was felt that
a reference to the text would make the matter clearer, or where the
opinions of modern writers have been incorporated.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to acknowledge my deepest gratefulness
to the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nundy, K.C.I.E. Kashimbazar,
Bengal, who has kindly promised to bear the entire expense of the
publication of both volumes of the present work.

The name of this noble man is almost a household word in Bengal for
the magnanimous gifts that he has made to educational and other causes.
Up till now he has made a total gift of about L300,000, of which those
devoted to education come to about L200,000. But the man himself is far
above the gifts he has made. His sterling character, universal sympathy
and friendship, his kindness and amiability make him a veritable
Bodhisattva--one of the noblest of men that I have ever seen. Like many
other scholars of Bengal, I am deeply indebted to him for the
encouragement that he has given me in the pursuit of my studies and
researches, and my feelings of attachment and gratefulness for him are
too deep for utterance.
I am much indebted to my esteemed friends Dr E.J. Thomas of the Cambridge University Library and Mr Douglas Ainslie for their kindly revising the proofs of this work, in the course of which they improved my English in many places. To the former I am also indebted for his attention to the transliteration of a large number of Sanskrit words, and also for the whole-hearted sympathy and great friendliness with which he assisted me with his advice on many points of detail, in particular the exposition of the Buddhist doctrine of the cause of rebirth owes something of its treatment to repeated discussions with him.

I also wish to express my gratefulness to my friend Mr N.K. Siddhanta, M.A., late of the Scottish Churches College, and Mademoiselle Paule Povie for the kind assistance they have rendered in preparing the index. My obligations are also due to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press for the honour they have done me in publishing this work.

To scholars of Indian philosophy who may do me the honour of reading my book and who may be impressed with its inevitable shortcomings and defects, I can only pray in the words of Hemacandra:

Pramasiddhantaviruddham atra
Prasadam adhaya vis'odhayantu. [Footnote ref 1]

S.D.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE.

_February_, 1922.

[Footnote 1: May the noble-minded scholars instead of cherishing ill feeling kindly correct whatever errors have been here committed through the dullness of my intellect in the way of wrong interpretations and misstatements.]

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY.................................................................1
CHAPTER II

THE VEDAS, BRAHMA@NAS AND THEIR PHILOSOPHY

1 The Vedas and their antiquity.................................10
2 The place of the Vedas in the Hindu mind.................10
3 Classification of the Vedic literature......................11
4 The Sa@mhitas.................................................12
5 The Brahma@nas.............................................13
6 The Ara@nyakas.............................................14
7 The @Rg-Veda, its civilization..............................14
8 The Vedic gods..............................................16
9 Polytheism, Henotheism, and Monotheism...............17
10 Growth of a Monotheistic tendency; Prajapati, Vis'vakarma.....19
11 Brahma......................................................20
12 Sacrifice; the First Rudiments of the Law of Karma.......21
13 Cosmogony--Mythological and Philosophical............23
14 Eschatology; the Doctrine of Atman......................25
15 Conclusion...............................................26

CHAPTER III

THE EARLIER UPANI@SADS (700 B.C.-600 B.C.)
1 The place of the Upani@sads in Vedic literature..........28
2 The names of the Upani@sads; Non-Brahmanic influence........30
3 Brahma@nas and the Early Upani@sads.....................31
4 The meaning of the word Upani@sad..........................38
5 The composition and growth of diverse Upani@sads..........38
6 Revival of Upani@sad studies in modern times...............39
7 The Upani@sads and their interpretations..................41
8 The quest after Brahman: the struggle and the failures......42
9 Unknowability of Brahman and the Negative Method..........44
10 The Atman doctrine.........................................45
11 Place of Brahman in the Upani@sads........................48
12 The World..................................................51
13 The World-Soul............................................52
14 The Theory of Causation....................................52
15 Doctrine of Transmigration..................................53
16 Emancipation..............................................58

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

1 In what sense is a History of Indian Philosophy possible?.....62
2 Growth of the Philosophic Literature........................65
3 The Indian systems of Philosophy............................67
4 Some fundamental points of agreement.....................71
1 _The Karma theory_......................................71
CHAPTER V

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

1 The State of Philosophy in India before Buddha.................78
2 Buddha: his Life...............................................81
3 Early Buddhist Literature........................................82
4 The Doctrine of Causal Connection of early Buddhism..........84
5 The Khandhas...................................................93
6 Avijja and Asava...............................................99
7 Sila and Samadhi..............................................100
8 Kamma.........................................................106
9 Upani@sads and Buddhism.......................................109
10 The Schools of Theravada Buddhism.............................112
11 Mahayanism....................................................125
12 The Tathata Philosophy of As'vagho@sa (80 A.D.)..........129
13 The Madhyamika or the Sunyavada school--Nihilism...........138
14 Uncompromising Idealism or the School of Vijnanavada Buddhism.145
15 Sautrantika theory of Perception..............................151
16 Sautrantika theory of Inference...............................155
17 The Doctrine of Momentariness.................................158
18 The Doctrine of Momentariness and the Doctrine of Causal Efficiency (Arthakriyakaritva)..................................163
19 Some Ontological Problems on which the Different Indian Systems diverged........................................................164
20 Brief Survey of the Evolution of Buddhist Thought............166

CHAPTER VI

THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY

1 The Origin of Jainism.........................................169
2 Two Sects of Jainism..........................................170
3 The Canonical and other Literature of the Jains..........171
4 Some General Characteristics of the Jains.....................172
5 Life of Mahavira..............................................173
6 The Fundamental Ideas of Jaina Ontology.....................173
7 The Doctrine of Relative Pluralism (Anekantavada).........175
8 The Doctrine of Nayas........................................176
9 The Doctrine of Syadvada......................................179
10 Knowledge, its value for us...................................181
11 Theory of Perception..........................................183
12 Non-Perceptual knowledge......................................185
CHAPTER VII

THE KAPILA AND THE PATANJALA SA@MKHYA (YOGA)

1 A Review.....................................................208

2 The Germs of Sa@mkhya in the Upani@sads.......................211

3 Sa@mkhya and Yoga Literature.....................................212

4 An Early School of Sa@mkhya....................................213

5 Sa@mkhya karika, Sa@mkhya sutra, Vacaspati Mis'ra and Vijnana Bhiksu.........................................................222

6 Yoga and Patanjali...................................................226

7 The Sa@mkhya and the Yoga doctrine of Soul or Purusa........238
CHAPTER VIII

THE NYAYA-VAISESIKA PHILOSOPHY

1 Criticism of Buddhism and Sa@mkhya from the Nyaya standpoint...274
2 Nyaya and Vais'ea@sika sutras..........................276
3 Does Vais'\'e@sika represent an old school of Mima@msa?..........280

4 Philosophy in the Vais'\'e@sika sutras..........................285

5 Philosophy in the Nyaya sutras.................................294

6 Philosophy of Nyaya sutras and Vais'\'e@sika sutras.........301

7 The Vais'\'e@sika and Nyaya Literature..........................305

8 The main doctrine of the Nyaya-Vais'\'e@sika Philosophy.......310

9 The six Padarthas: Dravya, Gu@na, Karma, Samanya, Vis'e@sa,
   Samavaya.........................................................313

10 The Theory of Causation.......................................319

11 Dissolution (Pralaya) and Creation (S@r@s@ti).............323

12 Proof of the Existence of Is'vara.............................325

13 The Nyaya-Vais'\'e@sika Physics.................................326

14 The Origin of Knowledge (Prama@na)..........................330

15 The four Prama@nas of Nyaya..................................332

16 Perception (Pratyak@sa).....................................333

17 Inference......................................................343

18 Upamana and S'abda............................................354

19 Negation in Nyaya-Vais'\'e@sika...............................355

20 The necessity of the Acquirement of debating devices for
   the seeker of Salvation........................................360

21 The Doctrine of Soul..........................................362

22 Is'vara and Salvation..........................................363

xvi

CHAPTER IX
MIMA@MSA PHILOSOPHY

1 A Comparative Review...........................................367
2 The Mima@msa Literature........................................369
3 The Parata@h-prama@nya doctrine of Nyaya and the
   Svata@h-prama@nya doctrine of Mima@msa......................372
4 The place of Sense-organs in Perception.......................375
5 Indeterminate and Determinate Perception.....................378
6 Some Ontological Problems connected with the Doctrine of
   Perception..................................................................379
7 The Nature of Knowledge........................................382
8 The Psychology of Illusion.....................................384
9 Inference..........................................................387
10 Upamana, Arthapatti...........................................391
11 S'abda-prama@na...............................................394
12 The Prama@na of Non-perception (anupalabdhi).............397
13 Self, Salvation, and God......................................399
14 Mima@msa as Philosophy and Mima@msa as Ritualism.....403

CHAPTER X

THE S'A@NKARA SCHOOL OF VEDANTA

1 Comprehension of the Philosophical Issues more essential than
   the Dialectic of Controversy........................................406
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY
The achievements of the ancient Indians in the field of philosophy are but very imperfectly known to the world at large, and it is unfortunate that the condition is no better even in India. There is a small body of Hindu scholars and ascetics living a retired life in solitude, who are well acquainted with the subject, but they do not know English and are not used to modern ways of thinking, and the idea that they ought to write books in vernaculars in order to popularize the subject does not appeal to them. Through the activity of various learned bodies and private individuals both in Europe and in India large numbers of philosophical works in Sanskrit and Pali have been published, as well as translations of a few of them, but there has been as yet little systematic attempt on the part of scholars to study them and judge their value. There are hundreds of Sanskrit works on most of the systems of Indian thought and scarcely a hundredth part of them has been translated. Indian modes of expression, entailing difficult technical philosophical terms are so different from those of European thought, that they can hardly ever be accurately translated. It is therefore very difficult for a person unacquainted with Sanskrit to understand Indian philosophical thought in its true bearing from translations. Pali is a much easier language than Sanskrit, but a knowledge of Pali is helpful in understanding only the earliest school of Buddhism, when it was in its semi-philosophical stage. Sanskrit is generally regarded as a difficult language. But no one from an acquaintance with Vedic or ordinary literary Sanskrit can have any idea of the difficulty of the logical and abstruse parts of Sanskrit philosophical literature. A man who can easily understand the Vedas, the Upani@sads, the Puranas, the Law Books and the literary works, and is also well acquainted with European
philosophical thought, may find it literally impossible to understand
even small portions of a work of advanced Indian logic, or the
dialectical Vedanta. This is due to two reasons, the use of
technical terms and of great condensation in expression, and
the hidden allusions to doctrines of other systems. The

tendency to conceiving philosophical problems in a clear and unambiguous
manner is an important feature of Sanskrit thought, but from the ninth
century onwards, the habit of using clear, definite, and precise
expressions, began to develop in a very striking manner, and as a result
of that a large number of technical terms began to be invented. These
terms are seldom properly explained, and it is presupposed that the reader
who wants to read the works should have a knowledge of them. Any one in
olden times who took to the study of any system of philosophy, had to do
so with a teacher, who explained those terms to him. The teacher himself
had got it from his teacher, and he from his. There was no tendency to
popularize philosophy, for the idea then prevalent was that only the
chosen few who had otherwise shown their fitness, deserved to become
fit students ( _adhikari_ ) of philosophy, under the direction of a
teacher. Only those who had the grit and high moral strength to devote
their whole life to the true understanding of philosophy and the
rebuilding of life in accordance with the high truths of philosophy
were allowed to study it.
Another difficulty which a beginner will meet is this, that sometimes
the same technical terms are used in extremely different senses in
different systems. The student must know the meaning of each technical
term with reference to the system in which it occurs, and no dictionary
will enlighten him much about the matter [Footnote ref 1]. He will have
to pick them up as he advances and finds them used. Allusions to the
doctrines of other systems and their refutations during the discussions
of similar doctrines in any particular system of thought are often very
puzzling even to a well-equipped reader; for he cannot be expected to
know all the doctrines of other systems without going through them, and
so it often becomes difficult to follow the series of answers and
refutations which are poured forth in the course of these discussions.
There are two important compendiums in Sanskrit giving a summary of some
of the principal systems of Indian thought, viz. the
_Sarvadars'anasa@mgraha_, and the _Sa@ddars'anasamuccaya_ of
Haribhadra with the commentary of Gu@naratna; but the former is very
sketchy and can throw very little light on the understanding
of the ontological or epistemological doctrines of any of the
systems. It has been translated by Cowell and Gough, but I

[Footnote 1: Recently a very able Sanskrit dictionary of technical
philosophical terms called Nyayakos'a has been prepared by M.M.
Bhimacarya Jhalkikar, Bombay, Govt. Press.]
am afraid the translation may not be found very intelligible.

Gu@naratna's commentary is excellent so far as Jainism is concerned, and it sometimes gives interesting information about other systems, and also supplies us with some short bibliographical notices, but it seldom goes on to explain the epistemological or ontological doctrines or discussions which are so necessary for the right understanding of any of the advanced systems of Indian thought. Thus in the absence of a book which could give us in brief the main epistemological, ontological, and psychological positions of the Indian thinkers, it is difficult even for a good Sanskrit scholar to follow the advanced philosophical literature, even though he may be acquainted with many of the technical philosophical terms. I have spoken enough about the difficulties of studying Indian philosophy, but if once a person can get himself used to the technical terms and the general positions of the different Indian thinkers and their modes of expression, he can master the whole by patient toil. The technical terms, which are a source of difficulty at the beginning, are of inestimable value in helping us to understand the precise and definite meaning of the writers who used them, and the chances of misinterpreting or misunderstanding them are reduced to a minimum. It is I think well-known that avoidance of technical terms has often rendered philosophical works unduly verbose, and liable to misinterpretation. The art of clear writing is indeed a rare virtue and every philosopher cannot expect to have it. But when technical expressions are properly formed, even a bad writer can make himself understood. In the early days of Buddhist philosophy in the Pali literature, this difficulty is greatly
felt. There are some technical terms here which are still very elastic and
their repetition in different places in more or less different senses
heighten the difficulty of understanding the real meaning intended to be
conveyed.

But is it necessary that a history of Indian philosophy should be
written? There are some people who think that the Indians never rose
beyond the stage of simple faith and that therefore they cannot have
any philosophy at all in the proper sense of the term. Thus Professor
Frank Thilly of the Cornell University says in his _History of Philosophy_

[Footnote ref 1], "A universal history of philosophy would include
the philosophies of all peoples. Not all peoples, however

__________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: New York, 1914, p. 3.]

4

have produced real systems of thought, and the speculations of only a
few can be said to have had a history. Many do not rise beyond the
mythological stage. Even the theories of Oriental peoples, the Hindus,
Egyptians, Chinese, consist, in the main, of mythological and ethical
doctrines, and are not thoroughgoing systems of thought: they are shot
through with poetry and faith. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves to
the study of the Western countries, and begin with the philosophy of the
ancient Greeks, on whose culture our own civilization in part, rests."

There are doubtless many other people who hold such uninformed and
untrue beliefs, which only show their ignorance of Indian matters.

It is not necessary to say anything in order to refute these views,
for what follows will I hope show the falsity of their beliefs. If
they are not satisfied, and want to know more definitely and elaborately
about the contents of the different systems, I am afraid they will have
to go to the originals referred to in the bibliographical notices of
the chapters.

There is another opinion, that the time has not yet come for an attempt
to write a history of Indian philosophy. Two different reasons are given
from two different points of view. It is said that the field of Indian
philosophy is so vast, and such a vast literature exists on each of the
systems, that it is not possible for anyone to collect his materials
directly from the original sources, before separate accounts are prepared
by specialists working in each of the particular systems. There is some
truth in this objection, but although in some of the important systems
the literature that exists is exceedingly vast, yet many of them are more
or less repetitions of the same subjects, and a judicious selection of
twenty or thirty important works on each of the systems could certainly
be made, which would give a fairly correct exposition. In my own
undertaking in this direction I have always drawn directly from the
original texts, and have always tried to collect my materials from those
sources in which they appear at their best. My space has been very limited
and I have chosen the features which appeared to me to be the most
important. I had to leave out many discussions of difficult problems
and diverse important bearings of each of the systems to many
interesting aspects of philosophy. This I hope may be excused
in a history of philosophy which does not aim at completeness.

There are indeed many defects and shortcomings, and

these would have been much less in the case of a writer abler than the
present one. At any rate it may be hoped that the imperfections of the
present attempt will be a stimulus to those whose better and more
competent efforts will supersede it. No attempt ought to be called
impossible on account of its imperfections.

In the second place it is said that the Indians had no proper and
accurate historical records and biographies and it is therefore impossible
to write a history of Indian philosophy. This objection is also partially
valid. But this defect does not affect us so much as one would at first
sight suppose; for, though the dates of the earlier beginnings are very
obscure, yet, in later times, we are in a position to affirm some dates
and to point out priority and posteriority in the case of other thinkers.
As most of the systems developed side by side through many centuries their
mutual relations also developed, and these could be well observed. The
special nature of this development has been touched on in the fourth
chapter. Most of the systems had very early beginnings and a continuous
course of development through the succeeding centuries, and it is not
possible to take the state of the philosophy of a particular system at
a particular time and contrast it with the state of that system at a
later time; for the later state did not supersede the previous state,
but only showed a more coherent form of it, which was generally true to
the original system but was more determinate. Evolution through history
has in Western countries often brought forth the development of more
coherent types of philosophic thought, but in India, though the types
remained the same, their development through history made them more and
more coherent and determinate. Most of the parts were probably existent
in the earlier stages, but they were in an undifferentiated state; through
the criticism and conflict of the different schools existing side by side
the parts of each of the systems of thought became more and more
differentiated, determinate, and coherent. In some cases this development
has been almost imperceptible, and in many cases the earlier forms have
been lost, or so inadequately expressed that nothing definite could be
made out of them. Wherever such a differentiation could be made
in the interests of philosophy, I have tried to do it. But I
have never considered it desirable that the philosophical interest
should be subordinated to the chronological. It is no

6

doubt true that more definite chronological information would be
a very desirable thing, yet I am of opinion that the little
chronological data we have give us a fair amount of help in forming
a general notion about the growth and development of the different
systems by mutual association and conflict. If the condition of the
development of philosophy in India had been the same as in Europe, definite chronological knowledge would be considered much more indispensable. For, when one system supersedes another, it is indispensably necessary that we should know which preceded and which succeeded. But when the systems are developing side by side, and when we are getting them in their richer and better forms, the interest with regard to the conditions, nature and environment of their early origin has rather a historical than a philosophical interest. I have tried as best I could to form certain general notions as regards the earlier stages of some of the systems, but though the various features of these systems at these stages in detail may not be ascertainable, yet this, I think, could never be considered as invalidating the whole programme. Moreover, even if we knew definitely the correct dates of the thinkers of the same system we could not treat them separately, as is done in European philosophy, without unnecessarily repeating the same thing twenty times over; for they all dealt with the same system, and tried to bring out the same type of thought in more and more determinate forms.

The earliest literature of India is the Vedas. These consist mostly of hymns in praise of nature gods, such as fire, wind, etc. Excepting in some of the hymns of the later parts of the work (probably about 1000 B.C.), there is not much philosophy in them in our sense of the term. It is here that we first find intensely interesting philosophical questions of a more or less cosmological character expressed in terms of poetry and imagination. In the later Vedic works called the Brahmanas and the Aranyakas written mostly in prose, which followed
the Vedic hymns, there are two tendencies, viz. one that sought to establish the magical forms of ritualistic worship, and the other which indulged in speculative thinking through crude generalizations. This latter tendency was indeed much feebler than the former, and it might appear that the ritualistic tendency had actually swallowed up what little of philosophy the later parts of the Vedic hymns were trying to express, but there are unmistakable marks that this tendency existed and worked. Next to this come certain treatises written in prose and verse called the Upaniṣads, which contain various sorts of philosophical thoughts mostly monistic or singularistic but also some pluralistic and dualistic ones. These are not reasoned statements, but utterances of truths intuitively perceived or felt as unquestionably real and indubitable, and carrying great force, vigour, and persuasiveness with them. It is very probable that many of the earliest parts of this literature are as old as 500 B.C. to 700 B.C. Buddhist philosophy began with the Buddha from some time about 500 B.C. There is reason to believe that Buddhist philosophy continued to develop in India in one or other of its vigorous forms till some time about the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The earliest beginnings of the other Indian systems of thought are also to be sought chiefly between the age of the Buddha to about 200 B.C. Jaina philosophy was probably prior to the Buddha. But except in its earlier days, when it came in conflict with the doctrines of the Buddha, it does not seem to me that the Jaina thought came much in contact with other systems of Hindu thought. Excepting in some forms of Vaiṣṇava
thought in later times, Jaina thought is seldom alluded to by the Hindu writers or later Buddhists, though some Jains like Haribhadra and Guṇaratna tried to refute the Hindu and Buddhist systems. The non-aggressive nature of their religion and ideal may to a certain extent explain it, but there may be other reasons too which it is difficult for us to guess. It is interesting to note that, though there have been some dissensions amongst the Jains about dogmas and creeds, Jaina philosophy has not split into many schools of thought more or less differing from one another as Buddhist thought did.

The first volume of this work will contain Buddhist and Jaina philosophy and the six systems of Hindu thought. These six systems of orthodox Hindu thought are the Saṃkhya, the Yoga, the Nyaya, the Vais'ësika, the Mimaṃsa (generally known as Purva Mimaṃsa), and the Vedanta (known also as Uttara Mimaṃsa). Of these what is differently known as Saṃkhya and Yoga are but different schools of one system. The Vais'ësika and the Nyaya in later times became so mixed up that, though in early times the similarity of the former with Mimaṃsa was greater than that with Nyaya, they came to be regarded as fundamentally almost the same systems. Nyaya and Vais'ësika have therefore been treated together. In addition to these systems some theistic systems began to grow prominent from the ninth century A.D. They also probably had their early beginnings at the time of the Upaniṣads. But at
that time their interest was probably concentrated on problems of morality and religion. It is not improbable that these were associated with certain metaphysical theories also, but no works treating them in a systematic way are now available. One of their most important early works is the _Bhagavadgata_. This book is rightly regarded as one of the greatest masterpieces of Hindu thought. It is written in verse, and deals with moral, religious, and metaphysical problems, in a loose form. It is its lack of system and method which gives it its peculiar charm more akin to the poetry of the Upani@sads than to the dialectical and systematic Hindu thought. From the ninth century onwards attempts were made to supplement these loose theistic ideas which were floating about and forming integral parts of religious creeds, by metaphysical theories. Theism is often dualistic and pluralistic, and so are all these systems, which are known as different schools of Vai@s@nava philosophy. Most of the Vai@s@nava thinkers wished to show that their systems were taught in the Upani@sads, and thus wrote commentaries thereon to prove their interpretations, and also wrote commentaries on the _Brahmasutra_, the classical exposition of the philosophy of the Upani@sads. In addition to the works of these Vai@s@nava thinkers there sprang up another class of theistic works which were of a more eclectic nature. These also had their beginnings in periods as old as the Upani@sads. They are known as the S'aiva and Tantra thought, and are dealt with in the second volume of this work.

We thus see that the earliest beginnings of most systems of Hindu thought can be traced to some time between 600 B.C. to 100 or 200 B.C. It is extremely difficult to say anything about the relative priority of the
Some conjectural attempts have been made in this work with regard to some of the systems, but how far they are correct, it will be for our readers to judge. Moreover during the earliest manifestation of a system some crude outlines only are traceable. As time went on the systems of thought began to develop side by side. Most of them were taught from the time in which they were first conceived to about the seventeenth century A.D. in an unbroken chain of teachers and pupils. Even now each system of Hindu thought has its own adherents, though few people now care to write any new works upon them. In the history of the growth of any system of Hindu thought we find that as time went on, and as new problems were suggested, each system tried to answer them consistently with its own doctrines. The order in which we have taken the philosophical systems could not be strictly a chronological one. Thus though it is possible that the earliest speculations of some form of Sa@mkhya, Yoga, and Mima@msa were prior to Buddhism yet they have been treated after Buddhism and Jainism, because the elaborate works of these systems which we now possess are later than Buddhism. In my opinion the Vais'e@sika system is also probably pre-Buddhistic, but it has been treated later, partly on account of its association with Nyaya, and partly on account of the fact that all its commentaries are of a much later date. It seems to me almost certain that enormous quantities of old philosophical literature have been lost, which if found could have been of use to us in showing the stages of the early growth of the systems.
and their mutual relations. But as they are not available we have to be satisfied with what remains. The original sources from which I have drawn my materials have all been indicated in the brief accounts of the literature of each system which I have put in before beginning the study of any particular system of thought.

In my interpretations I have always tried to follow the original sources as accurately as I could. This has sometimes led to old and unfamiliar modes of expression, but this course seemed to me to be preferable to the adoption of European modes of thought for the expression of Indian ideas. But even in spite of this striking similarities to many of the modern philosophical doctrines and ideas will doubtless be noticed. This only proves that the human mind follows more or less the same modes of rational thought. I have never tried to compare any phase of Indian thought with European, for this is beyond the scope of my present attempt, but if I may be allowed to express my own conviction, I might say that many of the philosophical doctrines of European philosophy are essentially the same as those found in Indian philosophy. The main difference is often the difference of the point of view from which the same problems appeared in such a variety of forms in the two countries. My own view with regard to the net value of Indian philosophical development will be expressed in the concluding chapter of the second volume of the present work.
CHAPTER II

THE VEDAS, BRAHMANAS AND THEIR PHILOSOPHY

The Vedas and their antiquity.

The sacred books of India, the Vedas, are generally believed to be the earliest literary record of the Indo-European race. It is indeed difficult to say when the earliest portions of these compositions came into existence. Many shrewd guesses have been offered, but none of them can be proved to be incontestably true. Max Mueller supposed the date to be 1200 B.C., Haug 2400 B.C. and Bal Gangadhar Tilak 4000 B.C. The ancient Hindus seldom kept any historical record of their literary, religious or political achievements. The Vedas were handed down from mouth to mouth from a period of unknown antiquity; and the Hindus generally believed that they were never composed by men. It was therefore generally supposed that either they were taught by God to the sages, or that they were of themselves revealed to the sages who were the "seers" (_mantradra@tsa_) of the hymns. Thus we find that when some time had elapsed after the composition of the Vedas, people had come to look upon them not only as very old, but so old that they had, theoretically at least, no beginning in time, though they were believed to have been revealed at some unknown remote period at the beginning of each creation.

The place of the Vedas in the Hindu mind.
When the Vedas were composed, there was probably no system of writing prevalent in India. But such was the scrupulous zeal of the Brahmins, who got the whole Vedic literature by heart by hearing it from their preceptors, that it has been transmitted most faithfully to us through the course of the last 3000 years or more with little or no interpolations at all. The religious history of India had suffered considerable changes in the latter periods, since the time of the Vedic civilization, but such was the reverence paid to the Vedas that they had ever remained as the highest religious authority for all sections of the Hindus at all times. Even at this day all the obligatory duties of the Hindus at birth, marriage, death, etc., are performed according to the old Vedic ritual. The prayers that a Brahmin now says three times a day are the same selections of Vedic verses as were used as prayer verses two or three thousand years ago. A little insight into the life of an ordinary Hindu of the present day will show that the system of image-worship is one that has been grafted upon his life, the regular obligatory duties of which are ordered according to the old Vedic rites. Thus an orthodox Brahmin can dispense with image-worship if he likes, but not so with his daily Vedic prayers or other obligatory ceremonies. Even at this day there are persons who bestow immense sums of money for the performance and teaching of Vedic sacrifices and rituals. Most of the Sanskrit literatures that flourished after the Vedas
base upon them their own validity, and appeal to them as authority.

Systems of Hindu philosophy not only own their allegiance to the Vedas, but the adherents of each one of them would often quarrel with others and maintain its superiority by trying to prove that it and it alone was the faithful follower of the Vedas and represented correctly their views. The laws which regulate the social, legal, domestic and religious customs and rites of the Hindus even to the present day are said to be but mere systematized memories of old Vedic teachings, and are held to be obligatory on their authority. Even under British administration, in the inheritance of property, adoption, and in such other legal transactions, Hindu Law is followed, and this claims to draw its authority from the Vedas. To enter into details is unnecessary. But suffice it to say that the Vedas, far from being regarded as a dead literature of the past, are still looked upon as the origin and source of almost all literatures except purely secular poetry and drama. Thus in short we may say that in spite of the many changes that time has wrought, the orthodox Hindu life may still be regarded in the main as an adumbration of the Vedic life, which had never ceased to shed its light all through the past.

Classification of the Vedic literature.

A beginner who is introduced for the first time to the study of later Sanskrit literature is likely to appear somewhat confused when he meets with authoritative texts of diverse purport and subjects having the same generic name "Veda" or "S'ruti" (from _s'ru_ to hear); for Veda in its wider sense is not the name of any
particular book, but of the literature of a particular epoch extending
over a long period, say two thousand years or so. As this literature
represents the total achievements of the Indian people in different
directions for such a long period, it must of necessity be of a
diversified character. If we roughly classify this huge literature from
the points of view of age, language, and subject matter, we can point out
four different types, namely the _Sa@mhita_ or collection of verses (_sam_
together, _hita_ put), _Brahma@nas_, _Ara@nyakas_ ("forest treatises")
and the _Upani@sads_. All these literatures, both prose and verse,
were looked upon as so holy that in early times it was thought
almost a sacrilege to write them; they were therefore learnt by
heart by the Brahmins from the mouth of their preceptors and
were hence called _s'ruti_ (literally anything heard)[Footnote ref 1].

The _Sa@mhitas_.

There are four collections or _Sa@mhitas_, namely _@Rg-Veda_, _Sama-Veda_,
@Yajur-Veda and @Atharva-Veda. Of these the _@Rg-Veda_ is probably the
earliest. The _Sama-Veda_ has practically no independent value, for
it consists of stanzas taken (excepting only 75) entirely from the
_Rg-Veda_, which were meant to be sung to certain fixed melodies, and
may thus be called the book of chants. The _Yajur-Veda_ however contains
in addition to the verses taken from the _Rg-Veda_ many original prose
formulas. The arrangement of the verses of the Sama-Veda is solely with reference to their place and use in the Soma sacrifice; the contents of the Yajur-Veda are arranged in the order in which the verses were actually employed in the various religious sacrifices. It is therefore called the Veda of Yajus--sacrificial prayers. These may be contrasted with the arrangement in the Rg-Veda in this, that there the verses are generally arranged in accordance with the gods who are adored in them. Thus, for example, first we get all the poems addressed to Agni or the Fire-god, then all those to the god Indra and so on. The fourth collection, the Atharva-Veda, probably attained its present form considerably later than the Rg-Veda. In spirit, however, as Professor Macdonell says, "It is not only entirely different from the Rigveda_ but represents a much more primitive stage of thought. While the Rigveda_ deals almost exclusively with the higher gods as conceived by a comparatively advanced and refined sacerdotal class, the Atharva-Veda_ is, in the main a book of spells and incantations appealing to the demon world, and teems with notions about witchcraft current among the lower grades of the population, and derived from an immemorial antiquity. These two, thus complementary to each other in contents are obviously the most
important of the four Vedas [Footnote ref 1]."

The Brahmanas. [Footnote ref 2]

After the Samhitas there grew up the theological treatises called the Brahmanas, which were of a distinctly different literary type. They are written in prose, and explain the sacred significance of the different rituals to those who are not already familiar with them.

"They reflect," says Professor Macdonell, "the spirit of an age in which all intellectual activity is concentrated on the sacrifice, describing its ceremonies, discussing its value, speculating on its origin and significance." These works are full of dogmatic assertions, fanciful symbolism and speculations of an unbounded imagination in the field of sacrificial details. The sacrificial ceremonials were probably never so elaborate at the time when the early hymns were composed.

But when the collections of hymns were being handed down from generation to generation the ceremonials became more and more complicated. Thus there came about the necessity of the distribution of the different sacrificial functions among several distinct classes of priests. We may assume that this was a period when the caste system was becoming established, and when the only thing which could engage wise and religious minds was sacrifice and its elaborate rituals. Free speculative thinking was thus subordinated to the service of the sacrifice, and the result was the production of the most fanciful sacramental and symbolic
Footnote 1: A.A. Macdonell's _History of Sanskrit Literature_, p. 31.

Footnote 2: Weber (_Hist. Ind. Lit._, p. 11, note) says that the word Brahma@na signifies "that which relates to prayer _brahman_." Max Muller (_S.B.E._, I.p. lxvi) says that Brahma@na meant "originally the sayings of Brahmans, whether in the general sense of priests, or in the more special sense of Brahman-priests." Eggeling (S.B.E. XII. Introd. p. xxii) says that the Brhama@nas were so called "probably either because they were intended for the instruction and guidance of priests (brahman) generally; or because they were, for the most part, the authoritative utterances of such as were thoroughly versed in Vedic and sacrificial lore and competent to act as Brahmans or superintending priests." But in view of the fact that the Brahma@nas were also supposed to be as much revealed as the Vedas, the present writer thinks that Weber's view is the correct one.

14 system, unparalleled anywhere but among the Gnostics. It is now generally believed that the close of the Brahma@na period was not later than 500 B.C.

The Ara@nyakas.
As a further development of the Brahmana narratives however we get the Aranyakas or forest treatises. These works were probably composed for old men who had retired into the forest and were thus unable to perform elaborate sacrifices requiring a multitude of accessories and articles which could not be procured in forests. In these, meditations on certain symbols were supposed to be of great merit, and they gradually began to supplant the sacrifices as being of a superior order. It is here that we find that amongst a certain section of intelligent people the ritualistic ideas began to give way, and philosophic speculations about the nature of truth became gradually substituted in their place. To take an illustration from the beginning of the Brahadaranyaka we find that instead of the actual performance of the horse sacrifice (as'vamedha) there are directions for meditating upon the dawn (U@sas) as the head of the horse, the sun as the eye of the horse, the air as its life, and so on. This is indeed a distinct advancement of the claims of speculation or meditation over the actual performance of the complicated ceremonials of sacrifice. The growth of the subjective speculation, as being capable of bringing the highest good, gradually resulted in the supersession of Vedic ritualism and the establishment of the claims of philosophic meditation and self-knowledge as the highest goal of life. Thus we find that the Aranya age was a period during which free thinking tried gradually to shake off the shackles of ritualism which had fettered it for a long time. It was thus that the Aranyakas could pave the way for the Upani@sads, revive the germs of philosophic speculation in the Vedas, and develop them in a manner which made the Upani@sads the source of all philosophy that arose in the world of Hindu thought.
The hymns of the Rg-Veda are neither the productions of a single hand nor do they probably belong to any single age. They were composed probably at different periods by different sages, and it is not improbable that some of them were composed before the Aryan people entered the plains of India. They were handed down from mouth to mouth and gradually swelled through the new additions that were made by the poets of succeeding generations. It was when the collection had increased to a very considerable extent that it was probably arranged in the present form, or in some other previous forms to which the present arrangement owes its origin. They therefore reflect the civilization of the Aryan people at different periods of antiquity before and after they had come to India. This unique monument of a long vanished age is of great aesthetic value, and contains much that is genuine poetry. It enables us to get an estimate of the primitive society which produced it—the oldest book of the Aryan race. The principal means of sustenance were cattle-keeping and the cultivation of the soil with plough and harrow, mattock and hoe, and watering the ground when necessary with artificial canals. "The chief food consists," as Kaegi says, "together with bread, of various preparations of milk, cakes of flour and butter, many sorts of vegetables and fruits; meat cooked on the spits or in pots,
is little used, and was probably eaten only at the great feasts and family gatherings. Drinking plays throughout a much more important part than eating [Footnote ref 1]." The wood-worker built war-chariots and wagons, as also more delicate carved works and artistic cups. Metal-workers, smiths and potters continued their trade. The women understood the plaiting of mats, weaving and sewing; they manufactured the wool of the sheep into clothing for men and covering for animals. The group of individuals forming a tribe was the highest political unit; each of the different families forming a tribe was under the sway of the father or the head of the family. Kingship was probably hereditary and in some cases electoral. Kingship was nowhere absolute, but limited by the will of the people. Most developed ideas of justice, right and law, were present in the country. Thus Kaegi says, "the hymns strongly prove how deeply the prominent minds in the people were persuaded that the eternal ordinances of the rulers of the world were as inviolable in mental and moral matters as in the realm of nature, and that every wrong act, even the unconscious, was punished and the sin expiated."[Footnote ref 2] Thus it is only right and proper to think that the Aryans had attained a pretty high degree


[Footnote 2: _Ibid_. p. 18.]
of civilization, but nowhere was the sincere spirit of the Aryans more manifested than in religion, which was the most essential and dominant feature of almost all the hymns, except a few secular ones. Thus Kaegi says, "The whole significance of the Rigveda in reference to the general history of religion, as has repeatedly been pointed out in modern times, rests upon this, that it presents to us the development of religious conceptions from the earliest beginnings to the deepest apprehension of the godhead and its relation to man [Footnote ref 1]."

The Vedic Gods.

The hymns of the @Rg-Veda were almost all composed in praise of the gods. The social and other materials are of secondary importance, as these references had only to be mentioned incidentally in giving vent to their feelings of devotion to the god. The gods here are however personalities presiding over the diverse powers of nature or forming their very essence. They have therefore no definite, systematic and separate characters like the Greek gods or the gods of the later Indian mythical works, the Pura@nas. The powers of nature such as the storm, the rain, the thunder, are closely associated with one another, and the gods associated with them are also similar in character. The same
epithets are attributed to different gods and it is only in a few specific qualities that they differ from one another. In the later mythological compositions of the Pura@nas the gods lost their character as hypostatic powers of nature, and thus became actual personalities and characters having their tales of joy and sorrow like the mortal here below. The Vedic gods may be contrasted with them in this, that they are of an impersonal nature, as the characters they display are mostly but expressions of the powers of nature. To take an example, the fire or Agni is described, as Kaegi has it, as one that "lies concealed in the softer wood, as in a chamber, until, called forth by the rubbing in the early morning hour, he suddenly springs forth in gleaming brightness. The sacrificer takes and lays him on the wood. When the priests pour melted butter upon him, he leaps up crackling and neighing like a horse--he whom men love to see increasing like their own prosperity. They wonder at him, when, decking himself with changing colors like a suitor, equally beautiful on all sides, he presents to all sides his front.

[Footnote 1: _The Rigveda_, by Kaegi, p. 26.]
"All-searching is his beam, the gleaming of his light,
His, the all-beautiful, of beauteous face and glance,
The changing shimmer like that floats upon the stream,
So Agni's rays gleam over bright and never cease."

[Footnote ref 1] R.V.I. 143. 3.

They would describe the wind (Vata) and adore him and say

"In what place was he born, and from whence comes he?
The vital breath of gods, the world's great offspring,
The God where'er he will moves at his pleasure:
His rushing sound we hear--what his appearance, no one."


It was the forces of nature and her manifestations, on earth
here, the atmosphere around and above us, or in the Heaven
beyond the vault of the sky that excited the devotion and
imagination of the Vedic poets. Thus with the exception of a
few abstract gods of whom we shall presently speak and some
dual divinities, the gods may be roughly classified as the
terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial.
Polytheism, Henotheism and Monotheism.

The plurality of the Vedic gods may lead a superficial enquirer to think the faith of the Vedic people polytheistic. But an intelligent reader will find here neither polytheism nor monotheism but a simple primitive stage of belief to which both of these may be said to owe their origin. The gods here do not preserve their proper places as in a polytheistic faith, but each one of them shrinks into insignificance or shines as supreme according as it is the object of adoration or not. The Vedic poets were the children of nature. Every natural phenomenon excited their wonder, admiration or veneration. The poet is struck with wonder that "the rough red cow gives soft white milk." The appearance or the setting of the sun sends a thrill into the minds of the Vedic sage and with wonder-gazing eyes he exclaims:

"Undropped beneath, not fastened firm, how comes it
That downward turned he falls not downward?
The guide of his ascending path,--who saw it?"


The sages wonder how "the sparkling waters of all rivers flow into one ocean without ever filling it." The minds of the Vedic
people as we find in the hymns were highly impressionable and fresh. At this stage the time was not ripe enough for them to accord a consistent and well-defined existence to the multitude of gods nor to universalize them in a monotheistic creed. They hypostatized unconsciously any force of nature that overawed them or filled them with gratefulness and joy by its beneficent or aesthetic character, and adored it. The deity which moved the devotion or admiration of their mind was the most supreme for the time. This peculiar trait of the Vedic hymns Max Muller has called Henotheism or Kathenotheism: "a belief in single gods, each in turn standing out as the highest. And since the gods are thought of as specially ruling in their own spheres, the singers, in their special concerns and desires, call most of all on that god to whom they ascribe the most power in the matter,—to whose department if I may say so, their wish belongs. This god alone is present to the mind of the suppliant; with him for the time being is associated everything that can be said of a divine being;—he is the highest, the only god, before whom all others disappear, there being in this, however, no offence or depreciation of any other god [Footnote ref 1]." "Against
this theory it has been urged," as Macdonell rightly says in his _Vedic Mythology_ [Footnote ref 2], "that Vedic deities are not represented as 'independent of all the rest,' since no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combination, and that even the mightiest gods of the Veda are made dependent on others. Thus Varuṇa and Surya are subordinate to Indra (I. 101), Varuṇa and the As'vins submit to the power of Viṣṇu (I. 156)....Even when a god is spoken of as unique or chief (_eka_), as is natural enough in laudations, such statements lose their temporarily monotheistic force, through the modifications or corrections supplied by the context or even by the same verse [Footnote Ref 3]. "Henotheism is therefore an appearance," says Macdonell, "rather than a reality, an appearance produced by the indefiniteness due to undeveloped anthropomorphism, by the lack of any Vedic god occupying the position of a Zeus as the constant head of the pantheon, by the natural tendency of the priest or singer in extolling a particular god to exaggerate his greatness and to ignore other gods, and by the

____________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: _The Rigveda_, by Kaegi, p. 27.]

[Footnote 2: See _Ibid._ p. 33. See also Arrowsmith's note on it for other references to Henotheism.]

[Footnote 3: Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_, pp. 16, 17.]
growing belief in the unity of the gods (cf. the refrain of 3, 35)
each of whom might be regarded as a type of the divine [Footnote ref 1]."
But whether we call it Henotheism or the mere temporary exaggeration
of the powers of the deity in question, it is evident that this
stage can neither be properly called polytheistic nor monotheistic,
but one which had a tendency towards them both, although it
was not sufficiently developed to be identified with either of them.
The tendency towards extreme exaggeration could be called a
monotheistic bias in germ, whereas the correlation of different
deities as independent of one another and yet existing side by side
was a tendency towards polytheism.

Growth of a Monotheistic tendency; Prajapati, Vis'vakarma.

This tendency towards extolling a god as the greatest and
highest gradually brought forth the conception of a supreme
Lord of all beings (Prajapati), not by a process of conscious
generalization but as a necessary stage of development of the mind,
able to imagine a deity as the repository of the highest moral and
physical power, though its direct manifestation cannot be perceived.
Thus the epithet Prajapati or the Lord of beings, which
was originally an epithet for other deities, came to be recognized
as a separate deity, the highest and the greatest. Thus it is said
In the beginning rose Hira@nyagarbha,
Born as the only lord of all existence.
This earth he settled firm and heaven established:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Who gives us breath, who gives us strength, whose bidding
All creatures must obey, the bright gods even;
Whose shade is death, whose shadow life immortal:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Who by his might alone became the monarch
Of all that breathes, of all that wakes or slumbers,
Of all, both man and beast, the lord eternal:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Whose might and majesty these snowy mountains,
The ocean and the distant stream exhibit;
Whose arms extended are these spreading regions:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?
Who made the heavens bright, the earth enduring,
Who fixed the firmament, the heaven of heavens;
Who measured out the air's extended spaces:
What god shall we adore with our oblations?

[Footnote 1: Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_, p. 17.]
Similar attributes are also ascribed to the deity Vis'vakarma
(All-creator) [Footnote ref 1]. He is said to be father and procreator of
all beings, though himself uncreated. He generated the primitive waters.
It is to him that the sage says,

Who is our father, our creator, maker,
Who every place doth know and every creature,
By whom alone to gods their names were given,
To him all other creatures go to ask him [Footnote ref 2]
R.V.x.82.3.

Brahma.

The conception of Brahman which has been the highest glory
for the Vedanta philosophy of later days had hardly emerged in
the @Rg-Veda from the associations of the sacrificial mind. The
meanings that Sayana the celebrated commentator of the Vedas
gives of the word as collected by Haug are: (_a_) food, food offering,
(_b_) the chant of the sama-singer, (_c_) magical formula or text,
(_d_) duly completed ceremonies, (_e_) the chant and sacrificial gift
together, (f) the recitation of the hotar priest, (g) great. Roth says that it also means "the devotion which manifests itself as longing and satisfaction of the soul and reaches forth to the gods." But it is only in the S'atapatha Brahmana that the conception of Brahman has acquired a great significance as the supreme principle which is the moving force behind the gods. Thus the S'atapatha says, "Verily in the beginning this (universe) was the Brahman (neut.). It created the gods; and, having created the gods, it made them ascend these worlds: Agni this (terrestrial) world, Vayu the air, and Surya the sky.... Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, 'How can I descend again into these worlds?' It then descended again by means of these two, Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is name; and that again which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'this is (of a certain) form,' that is form: as far as there are Form and Name so far, indeed, extends this (universe). These indeed are the two great forces of Brahman; and, verily, he who knows these two great forces of Brahman becomes himself a great force [Footnote ref 3]. In another place Brahman is said to be the ultimate thing in the Universe and is identified with Prajapati, Purusa and Pra@na

__________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _The Rigveda_, by Kaegi, p. 89, and also Muir's _Sanskrit Texts_, vol. IV, pp. 5-11.]
the vital air [Footnote ref 1]). In another place Brahman is described as being the Svayambhu (self-born) performing austerities, who offered his own self in the creatures and the creatures in his own self, and thus compassed supremacy, sovereignty and lordship over all creatures [Footnote ref 2]. The conception of the supreme man (Puru@sa) in the @Rg-Veda also supposes that the supreme man pervades the world with only a fourth part of Himself, whereas the remaining three parts transcend to a region beyond. He is at once the present, past and future [Footnote ref 3].

Sacrifice; the First Rudiments of the Law of Karma.

It will however be wrong to suppose that these monotheistic tendencies were gradually supplanting the polytheistic sacrifices. On the other hand, the complications of ritualism were gradually growing in their elaborate details. The direct result of this growth contributed however to relegate the gods to a relatively unimportant
position, and to raise the dignity of the magical characteristics of the sacrifice as an institution which could give the desired fruits of themselves. The offerings at a sacrifice were not dictated by a devotion with which we are familiar under Christian or Vaišnav influence. The sacrifice taken as a whole is conceived as Haug notes "to be a kind of machinery in which every piece must tally with the other," the slightest discrepancy in the performance of even a minute ritualistic detail, say in the pouring of the melted butter on the fire, or the proper placing of utensils employed in the sacrifice, or even the misplacing of a mere straw contrary to the injunctions was sufficient to spoil the whole sacrifice with whatsoever earnestness it might be performed. Even if a word was mispronounced the most dreadful results might follow. Thus when Tvaṣṭar performed a sacrifice for the production of a demon who would be able to kill his enemy Indra, owing to the mistaken accent of a single word the object was reversed and the demon produced was killed by Indra. But if the sacrifice could be duly performed down to the minutest detail, there was no power which could arrest or delay the fruition of the object. Thus the objects of a sacrifice were fulfilled not by the grace of the gods, but as a natural result of the sacrifice. The performance of the rituals invariably produced certain mystic or magical results by virtue of which the object desired

[Footnote 1: See _S.B.E._ XLIII. pp.59,60,400 and XLIV. p.409.]
by the sacrificer was fulfilled in due course like the fulfilment of a natural law in the physical world. The sacrifice was believed to have existed from eternity like the Vedas. The creation of the world itself was even regarded as the fruit of a sacrifice performed by the supreme Being. It exists as Haug says "as an invisible thing at all times and is like the latent power of electricity in an electrifying machine, requiring only the operation of a suitable apparatus in order to be elicited." The sacrifice is not offered to a god with a view to propitiate him or to obtain from him welfare on earth or bliss in Heaven; these rewards are directly produced by the sacrifice itself through the correct performance of complicated and interconnected ceremonies which constitute the sacrifice. Though in each sacrifice certain gods were invoked and received the offerings, the gods themselves were but instruments in bringing about the sacrifice or in completing the course of mystical ceremonies composing it. Sacrifice is thus regarded as possessing a mystical potency superior even to the gods, who it is sometimes stated attained to their divine rank by means of sacrifice. Sacrifice was regarded as almost the only kind of duty, and it was also called _karma_ or _kriya_ (action) and
the unalterable law was, that these mystical ceremonies for good
or for bad, moral or immoral (for there were many kinds of
sacrifices which were performed for injuring one's enemies or
gaining worldly prosperity or supremacy at the cost of others)
were destined to produce their effects. It is well to note here that
the first recognition of a cosmic order or law prevailing in nature
under the guardianship of the highest gods is to be found in the
use of the word @Rta (literally the course of things). This word
was also used, as Macdonell observes, to denote the "order"
in the moral world as truth and 'right' and in the religious
world as sacrifice or 'rite'[Footnote ref 1]" and its unalterable law of
producing effects. It is interesting to note in this connection that it
is here that we find the first germs of the law of karma, which exercises
such a dominating control over Indian thought up to the present
day. Thus we find the simple faith and devotion of the Vedic
hymns on one hand being supplanted by the growth of a complex
system of sacrificial rites, and on the other bending their course
towards a monotheistic or philosophic knowledge of the ultimate
reality of the universe.

[Footnote 1: Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_, p. 11.]
The cosmogony of the Rg-Veda may be looked at from two aspects, the mythological and the philosophical. The mythological aspect has in general two currents, as Professor Macdonell says, "The one regards the universe as the result of mechanical production, the work of carpenter's and joiner's skill; the other represents it as the result of natural generation [Footnote ref. 1]."

Thus in the Rg-Veda we find that the poet in one place says, "what was the wood and what was the tree out of which they built heaven and earth [Footnote ref. 2]?" The answer given to this question in Taittiriya-Brahmaṇa is "Brahman the wood and Brahman the tree from which the heaven and earth were made [Footnote ref 3]." Heaven and Earth are sometimes described as having been supported with posts [Footnote ref 4]. They are also sometimes spoken of as universal parents, and parentage is sometimes attributed to Aditi and Dakṣa.

Under this philosophical aspect the semi-pantheistic Man-hymn [Footnote ref 5] attracts our notice. The supreme man as we have already noticed above is there said to be the whole universe, whatever has been and shall be; he is the lord of immortality who has become diffused everywhere among things animate and inanimate, and all beings came out of him; from his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters. Again there are other hymns in which the Sun is called the soul (_atman_) of all that is movable and
all that is immovable [Footnote ref 6]. There are also statements to the
effect that the Being is one, though it is called by many names by the
sages [Footnote ref 7]. The supreme being is sometimes extolled as the
supreme Lord of the world called the golden egg (Hira@nyagarbha [Footnote
ref 8]). In some passages it is said "Brahma@naspati blew forth these
births like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent
sprang from the non-existent. In the first age of the gods, the
existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions
sprang, thereafter, from Uttanapada [Footnote ref 9]." The most remarkable
and sublime hymn in which the first germs of philosophic speculation

[Footnote 1: Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_, p. 11.]

[Footnote 2: R.V.x. 81. 4.]

[Footnote 3: Taitt. Br. II. 8. 9. 6.]

[Footnote 4: Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_, p. 11; also R.V. II. 15 and IV.
56.]

[Footnote 5: R.V.x. 90.]
with regard to the wonderful mystery of the origin of the world
are found is the 129th hymn of R.V.x.

1. Then there was neither being nor not-being.
The atmosphere was not, nor sky above it.
What covered all? and where? by what protected?
Was there the fathomless abyss of waters?

2. Then neither death nor deathless existed;
Of day and night there was yet no distinction.
Alone that one breathed calmly, self-supported,
Other than It was none, nor aught above It.
3. Darkness there was at first in darkness hidden;  
The universe was undistinguished water.  
That which in void and emptiness lay hidden  
Alone by power of fervor was developed.

4. Then for the first time there arose desire,  
Which was the primal germ of mind, within it.  
And sages, searching in their heart, discovered  
In Nothing the connecting bond of Being.

6. Who is it knows? Who here can tell us surely  
From what and how this universe has risen?  
And whether not till after it the gods lived?  
Who then can know from what it has arisen?

7. The source from which this universe has risen,  
And whether it was made, or uncreated,  
He only knows, who from the highest heaven  
Rules, the all-seeing lord--or does not He know [Footnote ref 1]?

The earliest commentary on this is probably a passage in the  
S'atapatha Brahma@na (x. 5. 3.I) which says that "in the beginning  
this (universe) was as it were neither non-existent nor existent;  
in the beginning this (universe) was as it were, existed and did  
not exist: there was then only that Mind. Wherefore it has been
declared by the Rishi (@Rg-Veda X. 129. 1), 'There was then neither
the non-existent nor the existent' for Mind was, as it were, neither
existent nor non-existent. This Mind when created, wished to
become manifest,--more defined, more substantial: it sought after
a self (a body); it practised austerity: it acquired consistency [Footnote
ref 2]." In the Atharva-Veda also we find it stated that all forms of
the universe were comprehended within the god Skambha [Footnote ref 3].

Thus we find that even in the period of the Vedas there sprang
forth such a philosophic yearning, at least among some who could

[Footnote 1: _The Rigveda_, by Kaegi, p. 90. R.V.x. 129.]

374, 375.]

[Footnote 3: _A.V._ x. 7. 10.]

question whether this universe was at all a creation or not, which
could think of the origin of the world as being enveloped in the
mystery of a primal non-differentiation of being and non-being;
and which could think that it was the primal One which by its
inherent fervour gave rise to the desire of a creation as the first
manifestation of the germ of mind, from which the universe sprang
forth through a series of mysterious gradual processes. In the
Brahma@nas, however, we find that the cosmogonic view generally
requires the agency of a creator, who is not however always the
starting point, and we find that the theory of evolution is combined
with the theory of creation, so that Prajapati is sometimes
spoken of as the creator while at other times the creator is said
to have floated in the primeval water as a cosmic golden egg.

Eschatology; the Doctrine of Atman.

There seems to be a belief in the Vedas that the soul could
be separated from the body in states of swoon, and that it could
exist after death, though we do not find there any trace of the
doctrine of transmigration in a developed form. In the S'atapatha
Brahma@na it is said that those who do not perform rites with
correct knowledge are born again after death and suffer death
again. In a hymn of the @Rg-Veda (X. 58) the soul (_manas_) of a man'apparently unconscious is invited to come back to him from the
trees, herbs, the sky, the sun, etc. In many of the hymns there
is also the belief in the existence of another world, where the
highest material joys are attained as a result of the performance
of the sacrifices and also in a hell of darkness underneath
where the evil-doers are punished. In the S'atapatha
Brahmaṇa we find that the dead pass between two fires which burn the
evil-doers, but let the good go by [Footnote ref 1]; it is also said
there that everyone is born again after death, is weighed in a balance,
and receives reward or punishment according as his works are good or bad.

It is easy to see that scattered ideas like these with regard to
the destiny of the soul of man according to the sacrifice that he
performs or other good or bad deeds form the first rudiments of
the later doctrine of metempsychosis. The idea that man enjoys
or suffers, either in another world or by being born in this world
according to his good or bad deeds, is the first beginning of the
moral idea, though in the Brahmanic days the good deeds were

[Footnote 1: See _S.B._ I. 9.3, and also Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_,
pp. 166, 167.]

26

more often of the nature of sacrificial duties than ordinary good
works. These ideas of the possibilities of a necessary connection
of the enjoyments and sorrows of a man with his good and bad
works when combined with the notion of an inviolable law or
order, which we have already seen was gradually growing with
the conception of ārta, and the unalterable law which produces
the effects of sacrificial works, led to the Law of Karma and the
doctrine of transmigration. The words which denote soul in the
@Rg-Veda are _manas_, _atman_ and _asu_. The word _atman_ however
which became famous in later Indian thought is generally used
to mean vital breath. Manas is regarded as the seat of thought
and emotion, and it seems to be regarded, as Macdonell says, as
dwelling in the heart[Footnote ref 1]. It is however difficult to

understand how atman as vital breath, or as a separable part of man
going out of the dead man came to be regarded as the ultimate essence
or reality in man and the universe. There is however at least one

passage in the @Rg-Veda where the poet penetrating deeper and
deeper passes from the vital breath (_asu_) to the blood, and thence
to atman as the inmost self of the world; "Who has seen how
the first-born, being the Bone-possessing (the shaped world), was
born from the Boneless (the shapeless)? where was the vital
breath, the blood, the Self (_atman_) of the world? Who went to
ask him that knows it [Footnote ref 2]?" In Taittirya Ara@nyaka I. 23,
however, it is said that Prajapati after having created his self (as
the world) with his own self entered into it. In Taittirya Brahma@na
the atman is called omnipresent, and it is said that he who knows
him is no more stained by evil deeds. Thus we find that in the
pre-Upani@sad Vedic literature atman probably was first used to
denote "vital breath" in man, then the self of the world, and then
the self in man. It is from this last stage that we find the traces
of a growing tendency to looking at the self of man as the omnipresent
supreme principle of the universe, the knowledge of which
makes a man sinless and pure.
Conclusion.

Looking at the advancement of thought in the @Rg-Veda we find first that a fabric of thought was gradually growing which not only looked upon the universe as a correlation of parts or a construction made of them, but sought to explain it as having emanated from one great being who is sometimes described as one with the universe and surpassing it, and at other times as being separate from it; the agnostic spirit which is the mother of philosophic thought is seen at times to be so bold as to express doubts even on the most fundamental questions of creation—"Who knows whether this world was ever created or not?" Secondly the growth of sacrifices has helped to establish the unalterable nature of the law by which the (sacrificial) actions produced their effects of themselves. It also lessened the importance of deities.

[Footnote 1: Macdonell's _Vedic Mythology_, p.166 and R.V. viii.89.]

[Footnote 2: R.V.i. 164. 4 and Deussen's article on Atman in _Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics_.]
as being the supreme masters of the world and our fate, and the
tendency of henotheism gradually diminished their multiple
character and advanced the monotheistic tendency in some
quarters. Thirdly, the soul of man is described as being separable
from his body and subject to suffering and enjoyment in another
world according to his good or bad deeds; the doctrine that the
soul of man could go to plants, etc., or that it could again be reborn
on earth, is also hinted at in certain passages, and this may
be regarded as sowing the first seeds of the later doctrine of
transmigration. The self (_atman_) is spoken of in one place as the
essence of the world, and when we trace the idea in the Brahma@nas
and the Ara@nyakas we see that atman has begun to mean the
supreme essence in man as well as in the universe, and has thus
approached the great Atman doctrine of the Upani@sads.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLIER UPANI@SADS [Footnote ref 1]. (700 B.C.-600 B.C.)

The place of the Upani@sads in Vedic literature.

Though it is generally held that the Upani@sads are usually
attached as appendices to the Ara@nyakas which are again attached
to the Brahma@nas, yet it cannot be said that their distinction as
separate treatises is always observed. Thus we find in some cases
that subjects which we should expect to be discussed in a Brahma@na
are introduced into the Ara@nyakas and the Ara@nyaka materials
are sometimes fused into the great bulk of Upani@sad teaching.
This shows that these three literatures gradually grew up in one

[Footnote 1: There are about 112 Upani@sads which have been published by
the "Nir@naya-Sagara" Press, Bombay, 1917. These are 1 Isa, 2 Kena,
3 Katha, 4 Pras'na, 5 Mun@daka, 6 Ma@n@dukya, 7 Taittiriya, 7 Aitareya,
9 Chandogya, 10 B@rhadara@nyaka, 11 S'vetas'vatara, 12 Kau@sitaki,
13 Maitreyi, 14 Kaivalya, 15 Jabala, 16 Brahmobindu, 17 Ha@msa,
18 Aru@nika, 19 Garbha, 20 Naraya@na, 21 Naraya@na, 22 Paramaha@msa,
23 Brahma, 24 Am@rta@nada, 25 Atharvas'iras, 26 Atharvas'ikha,
27 Maitraya@ni, 28 B@ra@hajabala, 29 N@rsi@mhapuvatapini,
30 N@rsi@mhottaratapini, 31 Kalagnirudra, 32 Subala, 33 K@surika,
34 Yantrika, 35 Sarvasara, 36 Niralamba, 37 S'ukarahasya, 38 Vajrasucika,
39 Tejobindu, 40 Nadabindu, 41 Dhyanabindu, 42 Brahmaidvyad, 43 Yogatattva,
44 Atmabodha, 45 Naradaparivrajaka, 46 Tris'ikhibrahma@na, 47 Sita,
48 Yogacu@dama@ni, 49 Nirvana, 50 Ma@ndalabrahma@na, 51 Dak@si@namurtti,
52 S'arabha, 53 Skanda, 54 Tripadvibhutilimahanary@na, 55 Advayataraka,
56 Ramarahasya, 57 Ramapurvapatini, 58 Ramottaratapini, 59 Vasudeva,
60 Mudgala, 61 Sa@n@dilya, 62 Pai@ngala, 63 Bhik@suka, Maha, 65 S'ariraka,
66 Yogas'ikha, 67 Turiyatita, 68 Sa@mnyasa, 69 Paramaha@msaparivrajaka,
70 Ak@samala, 71 Avyakta, 72 Ekak@sara, 73 Annapurna, 74 Surya, 75 Aksi,
76 Adhyatma, 77 Ku@n@dali, 78 Savitri, 79 Atman, 80 Pa'supatabrahma,
81 Parabrahma, 82 Avadhuta, 83 Tripurarapini, 84 Devi, 85 Tripura,
86 Ka@tharudra, 87 Bhavana, 88 Rudrah@rdaya, 89 Yogaku@n@dali,
The collection of Upaniṣads translated by Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb's brother, contained 50 Upaniṣads. The Muktika Upaniṣad gives a list of 108 Upaniṣads. With the exception of the first 13 Upaniṣads most of them are of more or less later date. The Upaniṣads dealt with in this chapter are the earlier ones. Amongst the later ones there are some which repeat the purport of these, there are others which deal with the Śaiva, Śaktī, the Yoga and the Vaiṣṇava doctrines. These will be referred to in connection with the consideration of those systems in Volume II. The later Upaniṣads which only repeat the purport of those dealt with in this chapter do not require further mention. Some of the later Upaniṣads were composed even as late as the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.

Deussen supposes that the principle of this division was to be found in this, that the Brāhmaṇas were intended for the householders, the Araṇyakas for those who in their old age withdrew...
into the solitude of the forests and the Upani@sads for those who renounced the world to attain ultimate salvation by meditation.

Whatever might be said about these literary classifications the ancient philosophers of India looked upon the Upani@sads as being of an entirely different type from the rest of the Vedic literature as dictating the path of knowledge (_jnana-marga_) as opposed to the path of works (_karma-marga_) which forms the content of the latter. It is not out of place here to mention that the orthodox Hindu view holds that whatever may be written in the Veda is to be interpreted as commandments to perform certain actions (_vidhi_) or prohibitions against committing certain others (_ni@sedha_). Even the stories or episodes are to be so interpreted that the real objects of their insertion might appear as only to praise the performance of the commandments and to blame the commission of the prohibitions. No person has any right to argue why any particular Vedic commandment is to be followed, for no reason can ever discover that, and it is only because reason fails to find out why a certain Vedic act leads to a certain effect that the Vedas have been revealed as commandments and prohibitions to show the true path of happiness. The Vedic teaching belongs therefore to that of the Karma-marga or the performance of Vedic duties of sacrifice, etc. The Upani@sads however do not require the performance of any action, but only reveal the ultimate truth and reality, a knowledge of which at once emancipates a man.

Readers of Hindu philosophy are aware that there is a very strong controversy on this point between the adherents of the Vedanta (_Upani@sads_) and those of the Veda. For the latter seek in analogy to the other parts of the Vedic literature to establish the principle
that the Upani@sads should not be regarded as an exception, but
that they should also be so interpreted that they might also be
held out as commending the performance of duties; but the
former dissociate the Upani@sads from the rest of the Vedic literature
and assert that they do not make the slightest reference to
any Vedic duties, but only delineate the ultimate reality which
reveals the highest knowledge in the minds of the deserving.

30

S'a@nkara the most eminent exponent of the Upani@sads holds that
they are meant for such superior men who are already above
worldly or heavenly prosperities, and for whom the Vedic duties
have ceased to have any attraction. Wheresoever there may be
such a deserving person, be he a student, a householder or an
ascetic, for him the Upani@sads have been revealed for his ultimate
emancipation and the true knowledge. Those who perform the
Vedic duties belong to a stage inferior to those who no longer
care for the fruits of the Vedic duties but are eager for final
emancipation, and it is the latter who alone are fit to hear the
Upani@sads [Footnote ref 1].

The names of the Upani@sads; Non-Brahmanic influence.

The Upani@sads are also known by another name Vedanta, as
they are believed to be the last portions of the Vedas (_veda-anta_,
end); it is by this name that the philosophy of the Upani@sads,  
the Vedanta philosophy, is so familiar to us. A modern student  
knows that in language the Upani@sads approach the classical  
Sanskrit; the ideas preached also show that they are the culmination  
of the intellectual achievement of a great epoch. As they  
thus formed the concluding parts of the Vedas they retained their  
Vedic names which they took from the name of the different  
schools or branches (s’akha_) among which the Vedas were studied  
[Footnote ref 2]. Thus the Upani@sads attached to the Brahma@nas  
of the Aitareya and Kau@sitaki schools are called respectively  
Aitareya and Kau@sitaki Upani@sads. Those of the Ta@n@dins and  
Talavakaras of the Sama-veda are called the Chandogya and Talavakara  
(or Kena) Upani@sads. Those of the Taittiriya school of the Yajurveda  

[Footnote 1: This is what is called the difference of fitness  
(_adhikaribheda_). Those who perform the sacrifices are not fit to  
hear the Upani@sads and those who are fit to hear the Upani@sads  
have no longer any necessity to perform the sacrificial duties.]  

[Footnote 2: When the Sa@mhita texts had become substantially fixed,  
they were committed to memory in different parts of the country and  
transmitted from teacher to pupil along with directions for the  
practical performance of sacrificial duties. The latter formed the  
matter of prose compositions, the Brahma@nas. These however were
gradually liable to diverse kinds of modifications according to the
special tendencies and needs of the people among which they were recited.
Thus after a time there occurred a great divergence in the readings of
the texts of the Brahmanas even of the same Veda among different people.
These different schools were known by the name of particular S'akhas
(e.g. Aitareya, Kau@sitaki) with which the Brahmanas were associated
or named. According to the divergence of the Brahmanas of the different
S'akhas there occurred the divergences of content and the length of the
Upani@sads associated with them.]

31

form the Taittiriya and Mahanarayana, of the K@tha school
the K@thaka, of the Maitraya@ni school the Maitraya@ni. The
B@rhadara@nyaka Upani@sad forms part of the S'atapatha Brahmana
of the Vajasaneyi schools. The Is'a Upani@sad also belongs to the
latter school. But the school to which the S'vetas'vatara belongs
cannot be traced, and has probably been lost. The presumption
with regard to these Upani@sads is that they represent the
enlightened views of the particular schools among which they
flourished, and under whose names they passed. A large number
of Upani@sads of a comparatively later age were attached to the
Atharva-Veda, most of which were named not according to the
Vedic schools but according to the subject-matter with which
they dealt [Footnote ref 1].
It may not be out of place here to mention that from the frequent episodes in the Upaniṣads in which the Brahmins are described as having gone to the Kṣattriyas for the highest knowledge of philosophy, as well as from the disparateness of the Upaniṣad teachings from that of the general doctrines of the Brahmānas and from the allusions to the existence of philosophical speculations amongst the people in Pali works, it may be inferred that among the Kṣattriyas in general there existed earnest philosophic enquiries which must be regarded as having exerted an important influence in the formation of the Upaniṣad doctrines. There is thus some probability in the supposition that though the Upaniṣads are found directly incorporated with the Brahmānas it was not the production of the growth of Brahmanic dogmas alone, but that non-Brahmanic thought as well must have either set the Upaniṣad doctrines afoot, or have rendered fruitful assistance to their formulation and cultivation, though they achieved their culmination in the hands of the Brahmins.

Brahmānas and the Early Upaniṣads.

The passage of the Indian mind from the Brahmanic to the Upaniṣad thought is probably the most remarkable event in the history of philosophic thought. We know that in the later Vedic hymns some monotheistic conceptions of great excellence were developed, but these differ in their nature from the absolutism of the Upaniṣads as much as the Ptolemaic and the Copernican
systems in astronomy. The direct translation of Vis'vakarman or Hira@nyagarbha into the atman and the Brahman of the Upani@sads seems to me to be very improbable, though I am quite willing to admit that these conceptions were swallowed up by the atman doctrine when it had developed to a proper extent. Throughout the earlier Upani@sads no mention is to be found of Vis'vakarman, Hira@nyagarbha or Brahma@naspati and no reference of such a nature is to be found as can justify us in connecting the Upani@sad ideas with those conceptions [Footnote ref l]. The word puru@sa no doubt occurs frequently in the Upani@sads, but the sense and the association that come along with it are widely different from that of the puru@sa of the Puru@sasukta of the @Rg-Veda.

When the @Rg-Veda describes Vis'vakarman it describes him as a creator from outside, a controller of mundane events, to whom they pray for worldly benefits. "What was the position, which and whence was the principle, from which the all-seeing Vis'vakarman produced the earth, and disclosed the sky by his might? The
one god, who has on every side eyes, on every side a face, on every side arms, on every side feet, when producing the sky and earth, shapes them with his arms and with his wings....Do thou, Visvakarman, grant to thy friends those thy abodes which are the highest, and the lowest, and the middle...may a generous son remain here to us [Footnote ref 2]; again in R.V.X. 82 we find "Visvakarman is wise, energetic, the creator, the disposer, and the highest object of intuition....He who is our father, our creator, disposer, who knows all spheres and creatures, who alone assigns to the gods their names, to him the other creatures resort for instruction [Footnote ref 3]."

Again about Hira@nyagarbha we find in R.V.I. 121, "Hira@nyagarbha arose in the beginning; born, he was the one lord of things existing. He established the earth and this sky; to what god shall we offer our oblation?... May he not injure us, he who is the generator of the earth, who ruling by fixed ordinances, produced the heavens, who produced the great and brilliant waters!--to what god, etc.? Prajapati, no other than thou is lord over all these created things: may we obtain that, through desire of which we have invoked thee; may we become masters of riches [Footnote ref 4]." Speaking of the puru@sa the @Rg-Veda

[Footnote 1: The name Visvakarma appears in S'vet. IV. 17.
Hira@nyagarbha appears in S'vet. III. 4 and IV. 12, but only as the first created being. The phrase Sarvahammani Hira@nyagarbha which Deussen refers to occurs only in the later N@rsi@m@h. 9. The word...
Brahma@naspati does not occur at all in the Upani@sads.]

[Footnote 2: Muir's _Sanskrit Texts_, vol. IV. pp. 6, 7.]

[Footnote 3: _Ibid._ p, 7.]

[Footnote 4: _Ibid._ pp. 16, 17.]

33

says "Purusha has a thousand heads...a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth he transcended [it] by a space of ten fingers....He formed those aerial creatures, and the animals, both wild and tame [Footnote ref 1]," etc. Even that famous hymn (R.V.x. 129) which begins with "There was then neither being nor non-being, there was no air nor sky above" ends with saying "From whence this creation came into being, whether it was created or not--he who is in the highest sky, its ruler, probably knows or does not know."

In the Upani@sads however, the position is entirely changed, and the centre of interest there is not in a creator from outside but in the self: the natural development of the monotheistic position of the Vedas could have grown into some form of developed theism, but not into the doctrine that the self was the only reality
and that everything else was far below it. There is no relation
here of the worshipper and the worshipped and no prayers are
offered to it, but the whole quest is of the highest truth, and the true
self of man is discovered as the greatest reality. This change of
philosophical position seems to me to be a matter of great interest.
This change of the mind from the objective to the subjective does
not carry with it in the Upani@sads any elaborate philosophical
discussions, or subtle analysis of mind. It comes there as a matter
of direct perception, and the conviction with which the truth has
been grasped cannot fail to impress the readers. That out of the
apparently meaningless speculations of the Brahma@nas this doctrine
could have developed, might indeed appear to be too improbable
to be believed.

On the strength of the stories of Balaki Ga'rgya and Ajatas'atru
(B@rh. II. i), S'vetaketu and Pravaha@na Jaibali (Cha. V. 3 and B@rh.
VI. 2) and Aru@ni and As'vepati Kaikeya (Cha. V. 11) Garbe thinks
"that it can be proven that the Brahman's profoundest wisdom, the
doctrine of All-one, which has exercised an unmistakable influence
on the intellectual life even of our time, did not have its origin
in the circle of Brahmans at all [Footnote ref 2]" and that "it took
its rise in the ranks of the warrior caste [Footnote ref 3]." This
if true would of course lead the development of the Upani@sads away
from the influence of the Veda, Brahma@nas and the Ara@nyakas. But do
the facts prove this? Let us briefly examine the evidences that Garbe
himself
self has produced. In the story of Balaki Gargya and Ajatas'atru (B@rh. II. 1) referred to by him, Balaki Gargya is a boastful man who wants to teach the K@sattriya Ajatas'atru the true Brahman, but fails and then wants it to be taught by him. To this Ajatas'atru replies (following Garbe's own translation) "it is contrary to the natural order that a Brahman receive instruction from a warrior and expect the latter to declare the Brahman to him [Footnote ref l]." Does this not imply that in the natural order of things a Brahmin always taught the knowledge of Brahman to the K@sattriyas, and that it was unusual to find a Brahmin asking a K@sattriya about the true knowledge of Brahman? At the beginning of the conversation, Ajatas'atru had promised to pay Balaki one thousand coins if he could tell him about Brahman, since all people used to run to Janaka to speak about Brahman [Footnote ref 2]. The second story of S'vetaketu and Pravaha@na Jaibali seems to be fairly...
conclusive with regard to the fact that the transmigration doctrines, the way of the gods (_devayana_) and the way of the fathers (_pit@ryana_) had originated among the K@sattriyas, but it is without any relevancy with regard to the origin of the superior knowledge of Brahman as the true self.

The third story of Aru@ni and As'vapati Kaikeya (Cha. V. 11) is hardly more convincing, for here five Brahmins wishing to know what the Brahman and the self were, went to Uddalaka Aru@ni; but as he did not know sufficiently about it he accompanied them to the K@sattriya king As'vapati Kaikeya who was studying the subject. But As'vapati ends the conversation by giving them certain instructions about the fire doctrine (_vaisvanara agni_) and the import of its sacrifices. He does not say anything about the true self as Brahman. We ought also to consider that there are only the few exceptional cases where K@satriya kings were instructing the Brahmins. But in all other cases the Brahmins were discussing and instructing the atman knowledge. I am thus led to think that Garbe owing to his bitterness of feeling against the Brahmins as expressed in the earlier part of the essay had been too hasty in his judgment. The opinion of Garbe seems to have been shared to some extent by Winternitz also, and the references given by him to the Upani@sad passages are also the same as we
just examined [Footnote ref 1]. The truth seems to me to be this, that
the K@sattriyas and even some women took interest in the
religio-philosophical quest manifested in the Upani@sads. The enquirers
were so eager that either in receiving the instruction of Brahman
or in imparting it to others, they had no considerations of sex and
birth [Footnote ref 2]; and there seems to be no definite evidence for
thinking that the Upani@sad philosophy originated among the K@sattriyas
or that the germs of its growth could not be traced in the
Brahma@nas and the Ara@nyakas which were the productions of
the Brahmins.

The change of the Brahma@na into the Ara@nyaka thought is
signified by a transference of values from the actual sacrifices to
their symbolic representations and meditations which were regarded
as being productive of various earthly benefits. Thus we
find in the B@rhadara@nyaka (l.1) that instead of a horse sacrifice
the visible universe is to be conceived as a horse and meditated
upon as such. The dawn is the head of the horse, the sun is the
eye, wind is its life, fire is its mouth and the year is its soul,
and so on. What is the horse that grazes in the field and to what good can its sacrifice lead? This moving universe is the horse which is most significant to the mind, and the meditation of it as such is the most suitable substitute of the sacrifice of the horse, the mere animal. Thought-activity as meditation, is here taking the place of an external worship in the form of sacrifices. The material substances and the most elaborate and accurate sacrificial rituals lost their value and bare meditations took their place. Side by side with the ritualistic sacrifices of the generality of the Brahmins, was springing up a system where thinking and symbolic meditations were taking the place of gross matter and action involved in sacrifices. These symbols were not only chosen from the external world as the sun, the wind, etc., from the body of man, his various vital functions and the senses, but even arbitrary alphabets were taken up and it was believed that the meditation of these as the highest and the greatest was productive of great beneficial results. Sacrifice in itself was losing value in the eyes of these men and diverse mystical significances and imports were beginning to be considered as their real truth

[Footnote ref 3].

______________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Winternitz's _Geschichte der indischen Litteratur_, I. pp. 197 ff.]
The Uktha (verse) of Āṛg-Veda was identified in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka under several allegorical forms with the Praṇa [Footnote ref 1], the Udgītha of the Samaveda was identified with Om, Praṇa, sun and eye; in Chandogya II. the Saman was identified with Om, rain, water, seasons, Praṇa, etc., in Chandogya III. 16-17 man was identified with sacrifice; his hunger, thirst, sorrow, with initiation; laughing, eating, etc., with the utterance of the Mantras; and asceticism, gift, sincerity, restraint from injury, truth, with sacrificial fees (_dākṣiṇā_). The gifted mind of these cultured Vedic Indians was anxious to come to some unity, but logical precision of thought had not developed, and as a result of that we find in the Āraṇyakas the most grotesque and fanciful unifications of things which to our eyes have little or no connection. Any kind of instrumentality in producing an effect was often considered as pure identity. Thus in Ait. Āraṇ. II. 1. 3 we find "Then comes the origin of food. The seed of Prajapati are the gods. The seed of the gods is rain. The seed of rain is herbs. The seed of herbs is food. The seed of food is seed. The seed of seed is creatures. The seed of creatures is the heart. The seed of the heart is the mind. The seed
of the mind is speech. The seed of speech is action. The act done
is this man the abode of Brahman [Footnote ref 2]."

The word Brahman according to Saya@na meant mantras
(magical verses), the ceremonies, the hot@r priest, the great.
Hillebrandt points out that it is spoken of in R.V. as being new,
"as not having hitherto existed," and as "coming into being from
the fathers." It originates from the seat of the @Rta, springs forth
at the sound of the sacrifice, begins really to exist when the soma
juice is pressed and the hymns are recited at the savana rite,
endures with the help of the gods even in battle, and soma is its
guardian (R.V. VIII. 37. I, VIII. 69. 9, VI. 23. 5, 1. 47. 2, VII. 22.
9, VI. 52. 3, etc.). On the strength of these Hillebrandt justifies the
conjecture of Haug that it signifies a mysterious power which can
be called forth by various ceremonies, and his definition of it, as
the magical force which is derived from the orderly cooperation of
the hymns, the chants and the sacrificial gifts [Footnote ref 3]. I am
disposed to think that this meaning is closely connected with the
meaning as we find it in many passages in the Ara@nyakas and the
Upani@sads. The meaning in many of these seems to be midway between

[Footnote 1: Ait. Ara@n. II 1-3.]

[Footnote 2: Keith's _Translation of Aitareya Aranyaka_.]
"magical force" and "great," transition between which is rather easy. Even when the sacrifices began to be replaced by meditations, the old belief in the power of the sacrifices still remained, and as a result of that we find that in many passages of the Upaniṣads people are thinking of meditating upon this great force “Brahman” as being identified with diverse symbols, natural objects, parts and functions of the body.

When the main interest of sacrifice was transferred from its actual performance in the external world to certain forms of meditation, we find that the understanding of particular allegories of sacrifice having a relation to particular kinds of bodily functions was regarded as Brahman, without a knowledge of which nothing could be obtained. The fact that these allegorical interpretations of the Pancagnividya are so much referred to in the Upaniṣads as a secret doctrine, shows that some people came to think that the real efficacy of sacrifices depended upon such meditations.

When the sages rose to the culminating conception, that he is really ignorant who thinks the gods to be different from him, they thought that as each man was nourished by many beasts, so the gods were nourished by each man, and as it is unpleasant for a
man if any of his beasts are taken away, so it is unpleasant for
the gods that men should know this great truth. [Footnote ref 1].

In the Kena we find it indicated that all the powers of
the gods such as that of Agni (fire) to burn, Vayu (wind) to
blow, depended upon Brahman, and that it is through Brahman
that all the gods and all the senses of man could work. The
whole process of Upaniṣad thought shows that the magic power
of sacrifices as associated with Ṛta (unalterable law) was being
abstracted from the sacrifices and conceived as the supreme power.
There are many stories in the Upaniṣads of the search after the
nature of this great power the Brahman, which was at first only
imperfectly realized. They identified it with the dominating power
of the natural objects of wonder, the sun, the moon, etc. with
bodily and mental functions and with various symbolical
representations, and deluded themselves for a time with the idea
that these were satisfactory. But as these were gradually found
inadequate, they came to the final solution, and the doctrine of
the inner self of man as being the highest truth the Brahman
originated.

___________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Bṛh. I. 4. 10.]
The meaning of the word Upani@sad.

The word Upani@sad is derived from the root _sad_ with the prefix _ni_ (to sit), and Max Muller says that the word originally meant the act of sitting down near a teacher and of submissively listening to him. In his introduction to the Upani@sads he says, “The history and the genius of the Sanskrit language leave little doubt that Upani@sad meant originally session, particularly a session consisting of pupils, assembled at a respectful distance round their teacher [Footnote ref 1].” Deussen points out that the word means “secret” or “secret instruction,” and this is borne out by many of the passages of the Upani@sads themselves. Max Muller also agrees that the word was used in this sense in the Upani@sads [Footnote ref 2]. There we find that great injunctions of secrecy are to be observed for the communication of the doctrines, and it is said that it should only be given to a student or pupil who by his supreme moral restraint and noble desires proves himself deserving to hear them. S’ankara however, the great Indian exponent of the Upani@sads, derives the word from the root _sad_ to destroy and supposes that it is so called because it destroys inborn ignorance and leads to salvation by revealing the right knowledge. But if we compare the many texts in which the word Upani@sad occurs in the Upani@sads themselves it seems that Deussen’s meaning is fully justified [Footnote ref 3].

The composition and growth of diverse Upani@sads.
The oldest Upani@sads are written in prose. Next to these we have some in verses very similar to those that are to be found in classical Sanskrit. As is easy to see, the older the Upani@sad the more archaic is it in its language. The earliest Upani@sads have an almost mysterious forcefulness in their expressions at least to Indian ears. They are simple, pithy and penetrate to the heart. We can read and read them over again without getting tired. The lines are always as fresh as ever. As such they have a charm apart from the value of the ideas they intend to convey. The word Upani@sad was used, as we have seen, in the sense of "secret doctrine or instruction"; the Upani@sad teachings were also intended to be conveyed in strictest secrecy to earnest enquirers of high morals and superior self-restraint for the purpose of achieving

[Footnote 1: Max Muller's _Translation of the Upanishads, S.B.E._ vol. I, p. lxxxi.]


[Footnote 3: Deussen's _Philosophy of the Upanishads._ pp. 10-15.]
emancipation. It was thus that the Upanisad style of expression, when it once came into use, came to possess the greatest charm and attraction for earnest religious people; and as a result of that we find that even when other forms of prose and verse had been adapted for the Sanskrit language, the Upanisad form of composition had not stopped. Thus though the earliest Upanisads were compiled by 500 B.C., they continued to be written even so late as the spread of Mahomedan influence in India. The earliest and most important are probably those that have been commented upon by S'ankara namely Brhadaranyaka, Chandogya, Aitareya, Taittiriya, Is'a, Kena, Katha, Pras'na, Mundaka and Mandukya [Footnote ref 1]. It is important to note in this connection that the separate Upanisads differ much from one another with regard to their content and methods of exposition. Thus while some of them are busy laying great stress upon the monistic doctrine of the self as the only reality, there are others which lay stress upon the practice of Yoga, asceticism, the cult of S'iva, of Visnu and the philosophy or anatomy of the body, and may thus be respectively called the Yoga, S'aiva, Visnu and S'arira Upanisads. These in all make up the number to one hundred and eight.

Revival of Upanisad studies in modern times.

How the Upanisads came to be introduced into Europe is an interesting story Dara Shiko the eldest son of the Emperor
Shah Jahan heard of the Upani@sads during his stay in Kashmir in 1640. He invited several Pandits from Benares to Delhi, who undertook the work of translating them into Persian. In 1775 Anquetil Duperron, the discoverer of the Zend Avesta, received a manuscript of it presented to him by his friend Le Gentil, the French resident in Faizabad at the court of Shuja-uddaulah. Anquetil translated it into Latin which was published in 1801-1802. This translation though largely unintelligible was read by Schopenhauer with great enthusiasm. It had, as Schopenhauer himself admits, profoundly influenced his philosophy. Thus he

[Footnote 1: Deussen supposes that Kausitaki is also one of the earliest. Max Mueller and Schroeder think that Maitray@ani also belongs to the earliest group, whereas Deussen counts it as a comparatively later production. Winternitz divides the Upani@sads into four periods. In the first period he includes Bhadara@nyaka, Chandogya, Taittiriya, Aitareya, Kausitaki and Kena. In that second he includes Ka@thaka, Is'a, S'vetas'vatara, Mu@ndaka, Mahanarayana, and in the third period he includes Pras'na, Maitraya@ni and Man@dukya. The rest of the Upani@sads he includes in the fourth period.]

writes in the preface to his _Welt als Wille und Vorstellung_
And if, indeed, in addition to this he is a partaker of the benefit conferred by the Vedas, the access to which, opened to us through the Upanishads, is in my eyes the greatest advantage which this still young century enjoys over previous ones, because I believe that the influence of the Sanskrit literature will penetrate not less deeply than did the revival of Greek literature in the fifteenth century: if, I say, the reader has also already received and assimilated the sacred, primitive Indian wisdom, then is he best of all prepared to hear what I have to say to him....I might express the opinion that each one of the individual and disconnected aphorisms which make up the Upanishads may be deduced as a consequence from the thought I am going to impart, though the converse, that my thought is to be found in the Upanishads is by no means the case." Again, "How does every line display its firm, definite, and throughout harmonious meaning! From every sentence deep, original, and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit....In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanikhat. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death! [Footnote ref 2]" Through Schopenhauer the study of the Upani@sads attracted much attention in Germany and with the growth of a general interest in the study of Sanskrit, they found their way into other parts of Europe as well.

The study of the Upani@sads has however gained a great impetus by the earnest attempts of our Ram Mohan Roy who
not only translated them into Bengali, Hindi and English and published them at his own expense, but founded the Brahma Samaj in Bengal, the main religious doctrines of which were derived directly from the Upani@sads.

[Footnote 1: Translation by Haldane and Kemp, vol. I. pp. xii and xiii.]

[Footnote 2: Max Muller says in his introduction to the Upanishada (S.B.E. I p. lxii; see also pp. lx, lxi) “that Schopenhauer should have spoken of the Upanishads as ‘products of the highest wisdom’...that he should have placed the pantheism there taught high above the pantheism of Bruno, Malebranche, Spinoza and Scotus Erigena, as brought to light again at Oxford in 1681, may perhaps secure a more considerate reception for those relics of ancient wisdom than anything that I could say in their favour.”]

The Upani@sads and their interpretations.

Before entering into the philosophy of the Upani@sads it may be worth while to say a few words as to the reason why diverse and even contradictory explanations as to the real import of the
Upani@sads had been offered by the great Indian scholars of past times. The Upani@sads, as we have seen, formed the concluding portion of the revealed Vedic literature, and were thus called the Vedanta. It was almost universally believed by the Hindus that the highest truths could only be found in the revelation of the Vedas. Reason was regarded generally as occupying a comparatively subservient place, and its proper use was to be found in its judicious employment in getting out the real meaning of the apparently conflicting ideas of the Vedas. The highest knowledge of ultimate truth and reality was thus regarded as having been once for all declared in the Upani@sads. Reason had only to unravel it in the light of experience. It is important that readers of Hindu philosophy should bear in mind the contrast that it presents to the ruling idea of the modern world that new truths are discovered by reason and experience every day, and even in those cases where the old truths remain, they change their hue and character every day, and that in matters of ultimate truths no finality can ever be achieved; we are to be content only with as much as comes before the purview of our reason and experience at the time. It was therefore thought to be extremely audacious that any person howsoever learned and brilliant he might be should have any right to say anything regarding the highest truths simply on the authority of his own opinion or the reasons that he might offer. In order to make himself heard it was necessary for him to show from the texts of the Upani@sads that they supported him, and that their purport was also the same. Thus it was that most schools of Hindu philosophy found it one of their principal duties to interpret the Upani@sads in order to show that
they alone represented the true Vedanta doctrines. Any one who should feel himself persuaded by the interpretations of any particular school might say that in following that school he was following the Vedanta.

The difficulty of assuring oneself that any interpretation is absolutely the right one is enhanced by the fact that germs of diverse kinds of thoughts are found scattered over the Upaniṣads which are not worked out in a systematic manner. Thus each interpreter in his turn made the texts favourable to his own doctrines prominent and brought them to the forefront, and tried to repress others or explain them away. But comparing the various systems of Upaniṣad interpretation we find that the interpretation offered by Śaṅkara very largely represents the view of the general body of the earlier Upaniṣad doctrines, though there are some which distinctly foreshadow the doctrines of other systems, but in a crude and germinal form. It is thus that Vedanta is generally associated with the interpretation of Śaṅkara and Śaṅkara’s system of thought is called the Vedanta system, though there are many other systems which put forth their claim as representing the true Vedanta doctrines.

Under these circumstances it is necessary that a modern interpreter
of the Upani@sads should turn a deaf ear to the absolute
claims of these exponents, and look upon the Upani@sads not as
a systematic treatise but as a repository of diverse currents of
thought--the melting pot in which all later philosophic ideas were
still in a state of fusion, though the monistic doctrine of S'a@nkara,
or rather an approach thereto, may be regarded as the purport of
by far the largest majority of the texts. It will be better that a
modern interpreter should not agree to the claims of the ancients
that all the Upani@sads represent a connected system, but take the
texts independently and separately and determine their meanings,
though keeping an attentive eye on the context in which they
appear. It is in this way alone that we can detect the germs of
the thoughts of other Indian systems in the Upani@sads, and thus
find in them the earliest records of those tendencies of thoughts.

The quest after Brahman: the struggle and the failures.

The fundamental idea which runs through the early Upani@sads
is that underlying the exterior world of change there is an unchangeable
reality which is identical with that which underlies
the essence in man [Footnote ref 1]. If we look at Greek philosophy in
Parmenides or Plato or at modern philosophy in Kant, we find the
same tendency towards glorifying one unspeakable entity as the
reality or the essence. I have said above that the Upani@sads are
no systematic treatises of a single hand, but are rather collations or compilations of floating monologues, dialogues or anecdotes. There are no doubt here and there simple discussions but there is no pedantry or gymnastics of logic. Even the most casual reader cannot but be struck with the earnestness and enthusiasm of the sages. They run from place to place with great eagerness in search of a teacher competent to instruct them about the nature of Brahman. Where is Brahman? What is his nature?

We have noticed that during the closing period of the Sa@mhita there were people who had risen to the conception of a single creator and controller of the universe, variously called Prajapati, Vis'vakarman, Puru@sa, Brahma@naspati and Brahman. But this divine controller was yet only a deity. The search as to the nature of this deity began in the Upani@sads. Many visible objects of nature such as the sun or the wind on one hand and the various psychological functions in man were tried, but none could render satisfaction to the great ideal that had been aroused. The sages in the Upani@sad had already started with the idea that there was a supreme controller or essence presiding over man and the universe. But what was its nature? Could it be identified with
any of the deities of Nature, was it a new deity or was it no deity at all? The Upaniṣads present to us the history of this quest and the results that were achieved.

When we look merely to this quest we find that we have not yet gone out of the Aroñyaka ideas and of symbolic (_pratika_) forms of worship. _Praṇa_ (vital breath) was regarded as the most essential function for the life of man, and many anecdotes are related to show that it is superior to the other organs, such as the eye or ear, and that on it all other functions depend. This recognition of the superiority of praṇa brings us to the meditations on praṇa as Brahman as leading to the most beneficial results. So also we find that owing to the presence of the exalting characters of omnipresence and eternality _akāśa_ (space) is meditated upon as Brahman. So also manas and Aditya (sun) are meditated upon as Brahman. Again side by side with the visible material representation of Brahman as the pervading Vayu, or the sun and the immaterial representation as akāśa, manas or praṇa, we find also the various kinds of meditations as substitutes for actual sacrifice. Thus it is that there was an earnest quest after the discovery of Brahman. We find a stratum of thought which shows that the sages were still blinded by the old ritualistic associations, and though meditation had taken the place of sacrifice
yet this was hardly adequate for the highest attainment of Brahman.

Next to the failure of the meditations we have to notice the history of the search after Brahman in which the sages sought to identify Brahman with the presiding deity of the sun, moon, lightning, ether, wind, fire, water, etc., and failed; for none of these could satisfy the ideal they cherished of Brahman. It is indeed needless here to multiply these examples, for they are tiresome not only in this summary treatment but in the original as well. They are of value only in this that they indicate how toilsome was the process by which the old ritualistic associations could be got rid of; what struggles and failures the sages had to undergo before they reached a knowledge of the true nature of Brahman.

Unknowability of Brahman and the Negative Method.

It is indeed true that the magical element involved in the discharge of sacrificial duties lingered for a while in the symbolic worship of Brahman in which He was conceived almost as a deity. The minds of the Vedic poets so long accustomed to worship deities of visible manifestation could not easily dispense with the idea of seeking after a positive and definite content of Brahman. They tried some of the sublime powers of nature and also many symbols, but these could not render ultimate satisfaction. They
did not know what the Brahman was like, for they had only a
dim and dreamy vision of it in the deep craving of their souls
which could not be translated into permanent terms. But this
was enough to lead them on to the goal, for they could not be
satisfied with anything short of the highest.

They found that by whatever means they tried to give a
positive and definite content of the ultimate reality, the Brahman,
they failed. Positive definitions were impossible. They could not
point out what the Brahman was like in order to give an utterance
to that which was unutterable, they could only say that it was not
like aught that we find in experience. Yajnavalkya said "He
the atman is not this, nor this (_neti neti_). He is inconceivable,
for he cannot be conceived, unchangeable, for he is not changed,
untouched, for nothing touches him; he cannot suffer by a stroke

of the sword, he cannot suffer any injury [Footnote ref 1]." He is
_asat_, non-being, for the being which Brahman is, is not to be
understood as such being as is known to us by experience; yet he is
being, for he alone is supremely real, for the universe subsists by
him. We ourselves are but he, and yet we know not what he is. Whatever
we can experience, whatever we can express, is limited, but he is the
unlimited, the basis of all. "That which is inaudible, intangible,
invisible, indestructible, which cannot be tasted, nor smelt, eternal,
without beginning or end, greater than the great (mahat), the fixed.

He who knows it is released from the jaws of death [Footnote ref 2].”

Space, time and causality do not appertain to him, for he at once forms their essence and transcends them. He is the infinite and the vast, yet the smallest of the small, at once here as there, there as here; no characterisation of him is possible, otherwise than by the denial to him of all empirical attributes, relations and definitions. He is independent of all limitations of space, time, and cause which rules all that is objectively presented, and therefore the empirical universe. When Bahva was questioned by Va@skali, he expounded the nature of Brahman to him by maintaining silence--“Teach me,” said Va@skali, “most reverent sir, the nature of Brahman.” Bahva however remained silent. But when the question was put forth a second or third time he answered, "I teach you indeed but you do not understand; the Atman is silence [Footnote ref 3]". The way to indicate it is thus by _neti neti_, it is not this, it is not this. We cannot describe it by any positive content which is always limited by conceptual thought.

The Atman doctrine.

The sum and substance of the Upani@sad teaching is involved in the equation Atman=Brahman. We have already seen that the word Atman was used in the @Rg-Veda to denote on the one hand the ultimate essence of the universe, and on the other the vital breath in man. Later on in the Upani@sads we see that the word Brahman is generally used in the former sense, while the word
Atman is reserved to denote the inmost essence in man, and the

[Footnote 1: B@rh. IV. 5. 15. Deussen, Max Muller and Roer have all
misinterpreted this passage; _asito_ has been interpreted as an
adjective or participle, though no evidence has ever been adduced;
it is evidently the ablative of _asi_, a sword.]

[Footnote 2: Ka@tha III. 15.]

[Footnote 3: Sa@nkara on _Brahmasutra_, III. 2. 17, and also Deussen,
_Philosophy of the Upanishads_, p. 156.]

46

Upani@sads are emphatic in their declaration that the two are one
and the same. But what is the inmost essence of man? The self
of man involves an ambiguity, as it is used in a variety of senses.
Thus so far as man consists of the essence of food (i.e. the physical
parts of man) he is called _annamaya_. But behind the sheath of
this body there is the other self consisting of the vital breath
which is called the self as vital breath (_pramaya atman_).
Behind this again there is the other self "consisting of will" called
the _manomaya atman_. This again contains within it the self
"consisting of consciousness" called the _vijnanamaya atman_. But behind it we come to the final essence the self as pure bliss (the _anandamaya atman_). The texts say: "Truly he is the rapture; for whoever gets this rapture becomes blissful. For who could live, who could breathe if this space (_akasa_) was not bliss? For it is he who behaves as bliss. For whoever in that Invisible, Self-surpassing, Unspeakable, Supportless finds fearless support, he really becomes fearless. But whoever finds even a slight difference, between himself and this Atman there is fear for him [Footnote ref 1]."

Again in another place we find that Prajapati said: "The self (_atman_) which is free from sin, free from old age, from death and grief, from hunger and thirst, whose desires are true, whose cogitations are true, that is to be searched for, that is to be enquired; he gets all his desires and all worlds who knows that self [Footnote ref 2]." The gods and the demons on hearing of this sent Indra and Virocana respectively as their representatives to enquire of this self from Prajapati. He agreed to teach them, and asked them to look into a vessel of water and tell him how much of self they could find. They answered: "We see, this our whole self, even to the hair, and to the nails." And he said, "Well, that is the self, that is the deathless and the fearless, that is the Brahman." They went away pleased, but Prajapati thought, "There they go away, without having discovered, without having realized the self." Virocana came away with the conviction that the body was the self; but Indra did not return back to the gods, he was afraid and pestered with doubts and came back to Prajapati and said, "just
as the self becomes decorated when the body is decorated, well-dressed
when the body is well-dressed, well-cleaned when the
body is well-cleaned, even so that image self will be blind when
the body is blind, injured in one eye when the body is injured in
one eye, and mutilated when the body is mutilated, and it perishes

[Footnote 1: Taitt. II. 7.]

[Footnote 2: Cha. VIII. 7. 1.]

47

when the body perishes, therefore I can see no good in this theory." Prajapati then gave him a higher instruction about the self, and
said, "He who goes about enjoying dreams, he is the self, this
is the deathless, the fearless, this is Brahman." Indra departed
but was again disturbed with doubts, and was afraid and came
back and said "that though the dream self does not become blind
when the body is blind, or injured in one eye when the body is
so injured and is not affected by its defects, and is not killed by
its destruction, but yet it is as if it was overwhelmed, as if it
suffered and as if it wept--in this I see no good." Prajapati gave a
still higher instruction: "When a man, fast asleep, in total
contentment, does not know any dreams, this is the self, this is the
deathless, the fearless, this is Brahman." Indra departed but was
again filled with doubts on the way, and returned again and said "the
self in deep sleep does not know himself, that I am this, nor does
he know any other existing objects. He is destroyed and lost.
I see no good in this." And now Prajapati after having given a
course of successively higher instructions as self as the body, as
the self in dreams and as the self in deep dreamless sleep, and
having found that the enquirer in each case could find out that this
was not the ultimate truth about the self that he was seeking,
ultimately gave him the ultimate and final instruction about the
full truth about the self, and said "this body is the support of the
deathless and the bodiless self. The self as embodied is affected
by pleasure and pain, the self when associated with the body cannot
get rid of pleasure and pain, but pleasure and pain do not
touch the bodiless self [Footnote ref 1]."

As the anecdote shows, they sought such a constant and unchangeable
essence in man as was beyond the limits of any change.
This inmost essence has sometimes been described as pure
subject-object-less consciousness, the reality, and the bliss. He is
the seer of all seeing, the hearer of all hearing and the knower of all
knowledge. He sees but is not seen, hears but is not heard, knows
but is not known. He is the light of all lights. He is like a lump
of salt, with no inner or outer, which consists through and through
entirely of savour; as in truth this Atman has no inner or outer,
but consists through and through entirely of knowledge. Bliss is
not an attribute of it but it is bliss itself. The state of Brahman
is thus likened unto the state of dreamless sleep. And he who
has reached this bliss is beyond any fear. It is dearer to us than

[Footnote 1: Cha. VIII. 7-12.]

Place of Brahman in the Upaniṣads.

There is the atman not in man alone but in all objects of the
universe, the sun, the moon, the world; and Brahman is this atman.
There is nothing outside the atman, and therefore there is no
plurality at all. As from a lump of clay all that is made of clay
is known, as from an ingot of black iron all that is made of
black iron is known, so when this atman the Brahman is known
everything else is known. The essence in man and the essence
of the universe are one and the same, and it is Brahman.

Now a question may arise as to what may be called the nature
of the phenomenal world of colour, sound, taste, and smell. But
we must also remember that the Upaniṣads do not represent so
much a conceptional system of philosophy as visions of the seers
who are possessed by the spirit of this Brahman. They do not
notice even the contradiction between the Brahman as unity and
nature in its diversity. When the empirical aspect of diversity
attracts their notice, they affirm it and yet declare that it is all
Brahman. From Brahman it has come forth and to it will it
return. He has himself created it out of himself and then entered
into it as its inner controller (antaryamin). Here is thus a glaring
dualistic trait of the world of matter and Brahman as its controller,
though in other places we find it asserted most emphatically that
these are but names and forms, and when Brahman is known
everything else is known. No attempts at reconciliation are made
for the sake of the consistency of conceptual utterance, as
S'aṅkara the great professor of Vedanta does by explaining away
the dualistic texts. The universe is said to be a reality, but the
real in it is Brahman alone. It is on account of Brahman that
the fire burns and the wind blows. He is the active principle in
the entire universe, and yet the most passive and unmoved. The
world is his body, yet he is the soul within. "He creates all,
wills all, smells all, tastes all, he has pervaded all, silent and
unaffected [Footnote ref 1]." He is below, above, in the back, in front,
in the south and in the north, he is all this [Footnote ref 2]." These
rivers in the east and in the west originating from the ocean, return
back into it and become the ocean themselves, though they do not know
that they are so. So also all these people coming into being from the
Being do not know that they have come from the Being...That which
is the subtlest that is the self, that is all this, the truth, that self
thou art O S'vetaketu [Footnote ref 3]." "Brahman," as Deussen points out,
"was regarded as the cause antecedent in time, and the universe
as the effect proceeding from it; the inner dependence of the
universe on Brahman and its essential identity with him was
represented as a creation of the universe by and out of Brahman."
Thus it is said in Mund. I.I. 7:

As a spider ejects and retracts (the threads),
As the plants shoot forth on the earth,
As the hairs on the head and body of the living man,
So from the imperishable all that is here.
As the sparks from the well-kindled fire,
In nature akin to it, spring forth in their thousands,
So, my dear sir, from the imperishable
Living beings of many kinds go forth,
And again return into him [Footnote ref 4].

Yet this world principle is the dearest to us and the highest teaching of the Upani@sads is "That art thou."

Again the growth of the doctrine that Brahman is the "inner controller" in all the parts and forces of nature and of mankind as the atman thereof, and that all the effects of the universe are the result of his commands which no one can outstep, gave rise to a theistic current of thought in which Brahman is held as standing aloof as God and controlling the world. It is by his ordaining, it is said, that the sun and moon are held together, and the sky and earth stand held together [Footnote ref 5]. God and soul are distinguished again in the famous verse of S'vetas'vatara [Footnote ref 6]:

Two bright-feathered bosom friends
Flit around one and the same tree;
One of them tastes the sweet berries,
The other without eating merely gazes down.

[Footnote 1: Cha. III. 14. 4.]
But in spite of this apparent theistic tendency and the occasional
use of the word _Is'a_ or _Is'ana_, there seems to be no doubt
that theism in its true sense was never prominent, and this acknowledgement
of a supreme Lord was also an offshoot of the exalted
position of the atman as the supreme principle. Thus we read in
Kauśitaki Upaniṣad 3. 9, "He is not great by good deeds nor low
by evil deeds, but it is he makes one do good deeds whom he
wants to raise, and makes him commit bad deeds whom he wants
to lower down. He is the protector of the universe, he is the
master of the world and the lord of all; he is my soul (_atman_)."
Thus the lord in spite of his greatness is still my soul. There are again other passages which regard Brahman as being at once immanent and transcendent. Thus it is said that there is that eternally existing tree whose roots grow upward and whose branches grow downward. All the universes are supported in it and no one can transcend it. This is that, "...from its fear the fire burns, the sun shines, and from its fear Indra, Vayu and Death the fifth (with the other two) run on [Footnote ref 1]."

If we overlook the different shades in the development of the conception of Brahman in the Upaniṣads and look to the main currents, we find that the strongest current of thought which has found expression in the majority of the texts is this that the Atman or the Brahman is the only reality and that besides this everything else is unreal. The other current of thought which is to be found in many of the texts is the pantheistic creed that identifies the universe with the Atman or Brahman. The third current is that of theism which looks upon Brahman as the Lord controlling the world. It is because these ideas were still in the melting pot, in which none of them were systematically worked out, that the later exponents of Vedanta, Śaṅkara, Ramanuja, and others quarrelled over the meanings of texts in order to develop a consistent systematic philosophy out of them. Thus it is that the doctrine of Maya which is slightly hinted at once in Bhadāraṇyaka and thrice in Śvetāsvatara, becomes the foundation of Śaṅkara's philosophy of the Vedanta in which Brahman alone is real and all else beside him is unreal [Footnote ref 2].
The World.

We have already seen that the universe has come out of Brahman, has its essence in Brahman, and will also return back to it. But in spite of its existence as Brahman its character as represented to experience could not be denied. S'ヴァnkarā held that the Upaniṣsads referred to the external world and accorded a reality to it consciously with the purpose of treating it as merely relatively real, which will eventually appear as unreal as soon as the ultimate truth, the Brahman, is known. This however remains to be modified to this extent that the sages had not probably any conscious purpose of according a relative reality to the phenomenal world, but in spite of regarding Brahman as the highest reality they could not ignore the claims of the exterior world, and had to accord a reality to it. The inconsistency of this reality of the phenomenal world with the ultimate and only
reality of Brahman was attempted to be reconciled by holding
that this world is not beside him but it has come out of him, it
is maintained in him and it will return back to him.

The world is sometimes spoken of in its twofold aspect, the
organic and the inorganic. All organic things, whether plants,
animals or men, have souls [Footnote ref 1]. Brahman desiring to be many
created fire (_tejas_), water (_ap_) and earth (_k@siti_). Then the
self-existent Brahman entered into these three, and it is by their
combination that all other bodies are formed [Footnote ref 2]. So all
other things are produced as a result of an alloying or compounding
of the parts of these three together. In this theory of the threefold
division of the primitive elements lies the earliest germ of the later
distinction (especially in the Sa@mkhya school) of pure infinitesimal
substances (_tanmatra_) and gross elements, and the theory that each
gross substance is composed of the atoms of the primary elements. And
in Pras'na IV. 8 we find the gross elements distinguished from their
subtler natures, e.g. earth (_p@rthivi_), and the subtler state of earth
(_p@rthivimatra_). In the Taittiriya, II. 1, however, ether (_akas'a_)
is also described as proceeding from Brahman, and the other elements,
air, fire, water, and earth, are described as each proceeding
directly from the one which directly preceded it.

[Footnote 1: Cha. VI.11.]
The World-Soul.

The conception of a world-soul related to the universe as the soul of man to his body is found for the first time in R.V.X. 121. I, where he is said to have sprung forth as the firstborn of creation from the primeval waters. This being has twice been referred to in the S'vetas'vatara, in III. 4 and IV. 12. It is indeed very strange that this being is not referred to in any of the earlier Upani@sads. In the two passages in which he has been spoken of, his mythical character is apparent. He is regarded as one of the earlier products in the process of cosmic creation, but his importance from the point of view of the development of the theory of Brahman or Atman is almost nothing. The fact that neither the Puru@sa, nor the Vis'vakarma, nor the Hira@nyagarbha played an important part in the earlier development of the Upani@sads leads me to think that the Upani@sad doctrines were not directly developed from the monotheistic tendencies of the later @Rg-Veda speculations. The passages in S'vetas'vatara clearly show how from the supreme eminence that he had in R.V.X. 121, Hira@nyagarbha had been brought to the level of one of the created beings. Deussen in explaining the philosophical significance of the Hira@nyagarbha
doctrine of the Upani@sads says that the "entire objective universe is possible only in so far as it is sustained by a knowing subject. This subject as a sustainer of the objective universe is manifested in all individual objects but is by no means identical with them. For the individual objects pass away but the objective universe continues to exist without them; there exists therefore the eternal knowing subject also (_ hira@nyagarbha_) by whom it is sustained.

Space and time are derived from this subject. It is itself accordingly not in space and does not belong to time, and therefore from an empirical point of view it is in general non-existent; it has no empirical but only a metaphysical reality [Footnote ref 1]." This however seems to me to be wholly irrelevant, since the Hira@nyagarbha doctrine cannot be supposed to have any philosophical importance in the Upani@sads.

The Theory of Causation.

There was practically no systematic theory of causation in the Upani@sads. S'a@nkara, the later exponent of Vedanta philosophy, always tried to show that the Upani@sads looked upon the cause
as mere ground of change which though unchanged in itself in reality had only an appearance of suffering change. This he did on the strength of a series of examples in the Chandogya Upaniṣad (VI. 1) in which the material cause, e.g. the clay, is spoken of as the only reality in all its transformations as the pot, the jug or the plate. It is said that though there are so many diversities of appearance that one is called the plate, the other the pot, and the other the jug, yet these are only empty distinctions of name and form, for the only thing real in them is the earth which in its essence remains ever the same whether you call it the pot, plate, or Jug. So it is that the ultimate cause, the unchangeable Brahman, remains ever constant, though it may appear to suffer change as the manifold world outside. This world is thus only an unsubstantial appearance, a mirage imposed upon Brahman, the real par excellence.

It seems however that though such a view may be regarded as having been expounded in the Upaniṣads in an imperfect manner, there is also side by side the other view which looks upon the effect as the product of a real change wrought in the cause itself through the action and combination of the elements of diversity in it. Thus when the different objects of nature have been spoken of in one place as the product of the combination of the three elements fire, water and earth, the effect signifies a real change produced by their compounding. This is in germ (as we
shall see hereafter) the Pari\-nama theory of causation advocated by the Sa\-mkhya school [Footnote ref 1].

Doctrine of Transmigration.

When the Vedic people witnessed the burning of a dead body they supposed that the eye of the man went to the sun, his breath to the wind, his speech to the fire, his limbs to the different parts of the universe. They also believed as we have already seen in the recompense of good and bad actions in worlds other than our own, and though we hear of such things as the passage of the human soul into trees, etc., the tendency towards transmigration had but little developed at the time.

In the Upani\-sads however we find a clear development in the direction of transmigration in two distinct stages. In the one the Vedic idea of a recompense in the other world is combined with

[Footnote 1: Cha. VI. 2-4.]

54
the doctrine of transmigration, whereas in the other the doctrine
of transmigration comes to the forefront in supersession of the
idea of a recompense in the other world. Thus it is said that
those who performed charitable deeds or such public works as the
digging of wells, etc., follow after death the way of the fathers
(_pit@ryana_), in which the soul after death enters first into smoke,
then into night, the dark half of the month, etc., and at last reaches
the moon; after a residence there as long as the remnant of his
good deeds remains he descends again through ether, wind, smoke,
mist, cloud, rain, herbage, food and seed, and through the assimilation
of food by man he enters the womb of the mother and is
born again. Here we see that the soul had not only a recompense
in the world of the moon, but was re-born again in this world [Footnote
ref 1].

The other way is the way of gods (_devayana_), meant for those
who cultivate faith and asceticism (_tapas_). These souls at death
enter successively into flame, day, bright half of the month, bright
half of the year, sun, moon, lightning, and then finally into
Brahman never to return. Deussen says that "the meaning of
the whole is that the soul on the way of the gods reaches regions
of ever-increasing light, in which is concentrated all that is bright
and radiant as stations on the way to Brahman the 'light of
lights'" (_jyoti@sa@m jyoti@h_) [Footnote ref 2].

The other line of thought is a direct reference to the doctrine
of transmigration unmixed with the idea of reaping the fruits of
his deeds (_karma_) by passing through the other worlds and without reference to the doctrine of the ways of the fathers and gods, the _Yanas_. Thus Yajnavalkya says, "when the soul becomes weak (apparent weakness owing to the weakness of the body with which it is associated) and falls into a swoon as it were, these senses go towards it. It (Soul) takes these light particles within itself and centres itself only in the heart. Thus when the person in the eye turns back, then the soul cannot know colour; (the senses) become one (with him); (people about him) say he does not see; (the senses) become one (with him), he does not smell, (the senses) become one (with him), he does not taste, (the senses) become one (with him), he does not speak, (the senses) become one (with him), he does not hear, (the senses) become one (with him), he does not think, (the senses) become one with him, he does not touch, (the senses) become one with him, he does not know, they say. The

______________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Cha. V. 10.]

[Footnote 2: Deussen's _Philosophy of the Upanishads_, p. 335.]

55

tip of his heart shines and by that shining this soul goes out.
When he goes out either through the eye, the head, or by any other part of the body, the vital function (_praṇa_) follows and all the senses follow the vital function (_praṇa_) in coming out. He is then with determinate consciousness and as such he comes out. Knowledge, the deeds as well as previous experience (_prajña_) accompany him. Just as a caterpillar going to the end of a blade of grass, by undertaking a separate movement collects itself, so this self after destroying this body, removing ignorance, by a separate movement collects itself. Just as a goldsmith taking a small bit of gold, gives to it a newer and fairer form, so the soul after destroying this body and removing ignorance fashions a newer and fairer form as of the Pitārs, the Gandharvas, the gods, of Prajapati or Brahma or of any other being....As he acts and behaves so he becomes, good by good deeds, bad by bad deeds, virtuous by virtuous deeds and vicious by vice. The man is full of desires. As he desires so he wills, as he wills so he works, as the work is done so it happens. There is also a verse, being attached to that he wants to gain by karma that to which he was attached. Having reaped the full fruit (lit. gone to the end) of the karma that he does here, he returns back to this world for doing karma [Footnote ref 1]. So it is the case with those who have desires. He who has no desires, who had no desires, who has freed himself from all desires, is satisfied in his desires and in himself, his senses do not go out. He being Brahma attains Brahmahood. Thus the verse says, when all the desires that are in his heart are got rid of, the mortal becomes immortal and attains Brahma here” (Bṛh. IV. iv. 1-7).
A close consideration of the above passage shows that the self itself destroyed the body and built up a newer and fairer frame by its own activity when it reached the end of the present life. At the time of death, the self collected within itself all senses and faculties and after death all its previous knowledge, work and experience accompanied him. The falling off of the body at the time of death is only for the building of a newer body either in this world or in the other worlds. The self which thus takes rebirth is regarded as an aggregation of diverse categories. Thus it is said that “he is of the essence of understanding, of the vital function, of the visual sense, of the auditory sense, of the essence of the five elements (which would make up the physical body in accordance with its needs) or the essence of desires, of the essence of restraint of desires, of the essence of anger, of the essence of turning off from all anger, of the essence of dharma, of the essence of adharma, of the essence of all that is this

[Footnote 1: It is possible that there is a vague and obscure reference here to the doctrine that the fruits of our deeds are reaped in other worlds.]
manifest) and that is that (unmanifest or latent)" (B@rh. IV. iv. 5).
The self that undergoes rebirth is thus a unity not only of moral and psychological tendencies, but also of all the elements which compose the physical world. The whole process of his changes follows from this nature of his; for whatever he desires, he wills and whatever he wills he acts, and in accordance with his acts the fruit happens. The whole logic of the genesis of karma and its fruits is held up within him, for he is a unity of the moral and psychological tendencies on the one hand and elements of the physical world on the other.

The self that undergoes rebirth being a combination of diverse psychological and moral tendencies and the physical elements holds within itself the principle of all its transformations. The root of all this is the desire of the self and the consequent fruition of it through will and act. When the self continues to desire and act, it reaps the fruit and comes again to this world for performing acts. This world is generally regarded as the field for performing karma, whereas other worlds are regarded as places where the fruits of karma are reaped by those born as celestial beings. But there is no emphasis in the Upani@sads on this point. The Pit@ryana theory is not indeed given up, but it seems only to form a part in the larger scheme of rebirth in other worlds and sometimes in this world too. All the course of these rebirths is effected by the self itself by its own desires, and if it ceases to desire, it suffers no rebirth and becomes immortal. The most distinctive feature of this doctrine is this, that it refers to desires as the cause of rebirth
and not karma. Karma only comes as the connecting link between desires and rebirth—for it is said that whatever a man desires he wills, and whatever he wills he acts.

Thus it is said in another place "he who knowingly desires is born by his desires in those places (accordingly), but for him whose desires have been fulfilled and who has realized himself, all his desires vanish here" (Mun@d III. 2. 2). This destruction of desires is effected by the right knowledge of the self. "He who knows his self as 'I am the person' for what wish and for what desire will he trouble the body,...even being here if we know it, well if we do not, what a great destruction" (B@rh. IV. iv. 12 and 14). "In former times the wise men did not desire sons, thinking what shall we do with sons since this our self is the universe" (B@rh. IV. iv. 22). None of the complexities of the karma doctrine which we find later on in more recent developments of Hindu thought can be found in the Upani@sads. The whole scheme is worked out on the principle of desire (_kama_) and karma only serves as the link between it and the actual effects desired and willed by the person.

It is interesting to note in this connection that consistently with the idea that desires (_kama_) led to rebirth, we find that
in some Upani@sads the discharge of the semen in the womb of a
woman as a result of desires is considered as the first birth of
man, and the birth of the son as the second birth and the birth
elsewhere after death is regarded as the third birth. Thus it is
said, "It is in man that there comes first the embryo, which is
but the semen which is produced as the essence of all parts of
his body and which holds itself within itself, and when it is put
in a woman, that is his first birth. That embryo then becomes
part of the woman's self like any part of her body; it therefore
does not hurt her; she protects and develops the embryo within
herself. As she protects (the embryo) so she also should be
protected. It is the woman who bears the embryo (before birth)
but when after birth the father takes care of the son always, he
is taking care only of himself, for it is through sons alone that
the continuity of the existence of people can be maintained. This
is his second birth. He makes this self of his a representative
for performing all the virtuous deeds. The other self of his after
realizing himself and attaining age goes away and when going
away he is born again that is his third birth" (Aitareya, II. 1-4)

[Footnote ref 1]. No special emphasis is given in the Upani@sads to
the sex-desire or the desire for a son; for, being called kama, whatever
was the desire for a son was the same as the desire for money and the
desire for money was the same as any other worldly desire (B@rh.
IV. iv. 22), and hence sex-desires stand on the same plane as any
other desire.
Emancipation.

The doctrine which next attracts our attention in this connection is that of emancipation (mukti). Already we know that the doctrine of Devayana held that those who were faithful and performed asceticism (tapas) went by the way of the gods through successive stages never to return to the world and suffer rebirth. This could be contrasted with the way of the fathers (pitryana) where the dead were for a time recompensed in another world and then had to suffer rebirth. Thus we find that those who are faithful and perform s'raddha had a distinctly different type of goal from those who performed ordinary virtues, such as those of a general altruistic nature. This distinction attains its fullest development in the doctrine of emancipation. Emancipation or Mukti means in the Upanisads the state of infiniteness that a man attains when he knows his own self and thus becomes Brahman. The ceaseless course of transmigration is only for those who are ignorant. The wise man however who has divested himself of all passions and knows himself to be Brahman, at once becomes Brahman and no bondage of any kind can ever affect him.

[Footnote 1: See also Kau@sitaki, II. 15.]
He who beholds that loftiest and deepest,
For him the fetters of the heart break asunder,
For him all doubts are solved,
And his works become nothingness [Footnote ref 1].

The knowledge of the self reveals the fact that all our passions
and antipathies, all our limitations of experience, all that is
ignoble and small in us, all that is transient and finite in us is
false. We "do not know" but are "pure knowledge" ourselves.
We are not limited by anything, for we are the infinite; we do
not suffer death, for we are immortal. Emancipation thus is not
a new acquisition, product, an effect, or result of any action, but
it always exists as the Truth of our nature. We are always
emancipated and always free. We do not seem to be so and
seem to suffer rebirth and thousands of other troubles only because
we do not know the true nature of our self. Thus it is that the
true knowledge of self does not lead to emancipation but is
emancipation itself. All sufferings and limitations are true only
so long as we do not know our self. Emancipation is the natural
and only goal of man simply because it represents the true nature
and essence of man. It is the realization of our own nature that

[Footnote 1: Deussen's _Philosophy of the Upanishads_, p. 352.]
is called emancipation. Since we are all already and always in our own true nature and as such emancipated, the only thing necessary for us is to know that we are so. Self-knowledge is therefore the only desideratum which can wipe off all false knowledge, all illusions of death and rebirth. The story is told in the Ka@tha Upani@sad that Yama, the lord of death, promised Naciketas, the son of Gautama, to grant him three boons at his choice. Naciketas, knowing that his father Gautama was offended with him, said, "O death let Gautama be pleased in mind and forget his anger against me." This being granted Naciketas asked the second boon that the fire by which heaven is gained should be made known to him. This also being granted Naciketas said, "There is this enquiry, some say the soul exists after the death of man; others say it does not exist. This I should like to know instructed by thee. This is my third boon." Yama said, "It was inquired of old, even by the gods; for it is not easy to understand it. Subtle is its nature, choose another boon. Do not compel me to this." Naciketas said, "Even by the gods was it inquired before, and even thou O Death sayest that it is not easy to understand it, but there is no other speaker to be found like thee. There is no other boon like this." Yama said, "Choose sons and grandsons who may live a hundred years, choose herds of cattle; choose elephants and gold and horses; choose the wide expanded earth, and live thyself as many years as thou wishest.
Or if thou knowest a boon like this choose it together with wealth and far-extending life. Be a king on the wide earth. I will make thee the enjoyer of all desires. All those desires that are difficult to gain in the world of mortals, all those ask thou at thy pleasure; those fair nymphs with their chariots, with their musical instruments; the like of them are not to be gained by men. I will give them to thee, but do not ask the question regarding death."

Naciketas replied, "All those enjoyments are of to-morrow and they only weaken the senses. All life is short, with thee the dance and song. Man cannot be satisfied with wealth, we could obtain wealth, as long as we did not reach you we live only as long as thou pleasest. The boon which I choose I have said."

Yama said, "One thing is good, another is pleasant. Blessed is he who takes the good, but he who chooses the pleasant loses the object of man. But thou considering the objects of desire, hast abandoned them. These two, ignorance (whose object is what is pleasant) and knowledge (whose object is what is good), are known to be far asunder, and to lead to different goals. Believing that this world exists and not the other, the careless youth is subject to my sway. That knowledge which thou hast asked is not to be obtained by argument. I know worldly happiness is transient for that firm one is not to be obtained by what is not firm. The wise by concentrating on the soul, knowing him whom it is hard to behold, leaves both grief and joy. Thee
O Naciketas, I believe to be like a house whose door is open to
Brahman. Brahman is deathless, whoever knows him obtains
whatever he wishes. The wise man is not born; he does not die;
he is not produced from anywhere. Unborn, eternal, the soul is
not slain, though the body is slain; subtler than what is subtle,
greater than what is great, sitting it goes far, lying it goes everywhere.
Thinking the soul as unbodily among bodies, firm among
fleeting things, the wise man casts off all grief. The soul cannot
be gained by eloquence, by understanding, or by learning. It
can be obtained by him alone whom it chooses. To him it reveals
its own nature [Footnote ref 1]." So long as the Self identifies itself
with its desires, he wills and acts according to them and reaps the
fruits in the present and in future lives. But when he comes to know the
highest truth about himself, that he is the highest essence and principle
of the universe, the immortal and the infinite, he ceases to have
desires, and receding from all desires realizes the ultimate truth
of himself in his own infinitude. Man is as it were the epitome
of the universe and he holds within himself the fine constituents
of the gross body (_annamaya ko@sa_), the vital functions (_pra@namaya
ko@sa_) of life, the will and desire (_manomaya_) and the
thoughts and ideas (_vijnanamaya_), and so long as he keeps himself
in these spheres and passes through a series of experiences
in the present life and in other lives to come, these experiences
are willed by him and in that sense created by him. He suffers
pleasures and pains, disease and death. But if he retires from
these into his true unchangeable being, he is in a state where he
is one with his experience and there is no change and no movement.
What this state is cannot be explained by the use of
concepts. One could only indicate it by pointing out that it is not any of those concepts found in ordinary knowledge; it is not

[Footnote 1: Ka@tha II. The translation is not continuous. There are some parts in the extract which may be differently interpreted.]

61

whatever one knows as this and this (_neti neti_). In this infinite and true self there is no difference, no diversity, no _meum_ and _tuum_. It is like an ocean in which all our phenomenal existence will dissolve like salt in water. "Just as a lump of salt when put in water will disappear in it and it cannot be taken out separately but in whatever portion of water we taste we find the salt, so, Maitreyi, does this great reality infinite and limitless consisting only of pure intelligence manifesting itself in all these (phenomenal existences) vanish in them and there is then no phenomenal knowledge" (B@rh. II. 4. 12). The true self manifests itself in all the processes of our phenomenal existences, but ultimately when it retires back to itself, it can no longer be found in them. It is a state of absolute infinitude of pure intelligence, pure being, and pure blessedness.
CHAPTER IV

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE SYSTEMS
OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

In what Sense is a History of Indian Philosophy possible?

It is hardly possible to attempt a history of Indian philosophy
in the manner in which the histories of European philosophy have
been written. In Europe from the earliest times, thinkers came
one after another and offered their independent speculations
on philosophy. The work of a modern historian consists in
chronologically arranging these views and in commenting upon
the influence of one school upon another or upon the general
change from time to time in the tides and currents of philosophy.
Here in India, however, the principal systems of philosophy had
their beginning in times of which we have but scanty record, and
it is hardly possible to say correctly at what time they began,
or to compute the influence that led to the foundation of so many
divergent systems at so early a period, for in all probability these
were formulated just after the earliest Upani@sads had been composed
or arranged.
The systematic treatises were written in short and pregnant half-sentences (_sutras_) which did not elaborate the subject in detail, but served only to hold before the reader the lost threads of memory of elaborate disquisitions with which he was already thoroughly acquainted. It seems, therefore, that these pithy half-sentences were like lecture hints, intended for those who had had direct elaborate oral instructions on the subject. It is indeed difficult to guess from the sutras the extent of their significance, or how far the discussions which they gave rise to in later days were originally intended by them. The sutras of the Vedanta system, known as the S'ariraka-sutras or Brahma-sutras of Badaraya@na for example were of so ambiguous a nature that they gave rise to more than half a dozen divergent interpretations, each one of which claimed to be the only faithful one. Such was the high esteem and respect in which these writers of the sutras were held by later writers that whenever they had any new speculations to offer, these were reconciled with the doctrines of one or other of the existing systems, and put down as faithful interpretations of the system in the form of commentaries. Such was the hold of these systems upon scholars that all the orthodox teachers since the foundation of the systems of philosophy belonged to one or other of these schools. Their pupils were thus naturally brought up in accordance with the views of their teachers. All the independence of their thinking was limited and enchained by the faith of the school.
to which they were attached. Instead of producing a succession of
free-lance thinkers having their own systems to propound and establish,
India had brought forth schools of pupils who carried the traditionary
views of particular systems from generation to generation, who explained
and expounded them, and defended them against the attacks of other
rival schools which they constantly attacked in order to establish
the superiority of the system to which they adhered. To take an
example, the Nyaya system of philosophy consisting of a number
of half-sentences or sutras is attributed to Gautama, also called
Akāśapada. The earliest commentary on these sutras, called the
_Vatsyayana bhaṣya_, was written by Vatsyayana. This work was
sharply criticized by the Buddhist Diṇṇaga, and to answer these
criticisms Udyotakara wrote a commentary on this commentary
called the _Bhaṣya-bhaṣya_ [Footnote ref 1]. As time went on the original
force of this work was lost, and it failed to maintain the old dignity of
the school. At this Vacaspati Miśra wrote a commentary called
_Varttika-tatparya-tīka_ on this second commentary, where he tried
to refute all objections against the Nyaya system made by other
rival schools and particularly by the Buddhists. This commentary,
called _Nyaya-tatparya-tīka_, had another commentary called
_Nyaya-tatparya-tīka-pariṣuddhi_ written by the great Udayana. This
commentary had another commentary called _Nyaya-nibandha-prakṣaṇa_
written by Varuddhamana the son of the illustrious Gaṇgesa. This
again had another commentary called _Varuddha-manendu_ upon it by
Padmanabha Miśra, and this again had another named
_Nyaya-tatparya-tīka-pariṣuddhi_ by Śaṅkara Miśra. The names of
Vatsyayana, Vacaspati, and Udayana are indeed very great,
but even they contented themselves by writing commentaries
on commentaries, and did not try to formulate any

[Footnote 1: I have preferred to spell Di@nnaga after Vacaspati's _Tatparyatika_ (p. I) and not Dignnaga as it is generally spelt.]

64

original system. Even S'@nkara, probably the greatest man of India after Buddha, spent his life in writing commentaries on the _Brahma-sutras_, the Upani@sads, and the _Bhagavadgita_.

As a system passed on it had to meet unexpected opponents and troublesome criticisms for which it was not in the least prepared. Its adherents had therefore to use all their ingenuity and subtlety in support of their own positions, and to discover the defects of the rival schools that attacked them. A system as it was originally formulated in the sutras had probably but few problems to solve, but as it fought its way in the teeth of opposition of other schools, it had to offer consistent opinions on other problems in which the original views were more or less involved but to which no attention had been given before.

The contributions of the successive commentators served to
make each system more and more complete in all its parts, and
stronger and stronger to enable it to hold its own successfully
against the opposition and attacks of the rival schools. A system
in the sutras is weak and shapeless as a newborn babe, but if
we take it along with its developments down to the beginning
of the seventeenth century it appears as a fully developed man
strong and harmonious in all its limbs. It is therefore not possible
to write any history of successive philosophies of India, but it is
necessity that each system should be studied and interpreted in
all the growth it has acquired through the successive ages of
history from its conflicts with the rival systems as one whole [Footnote
ref 1]. In the history of Indian philosophy we have no place for systems
which had their importance only so long as they lived and were
then forgotten or remembered only as targets of criticism. Each
system grew and developed by the untiring energy of its adherents
through all the successive ages of history, and a history of this
growth is a history of its conflicts. No study of any Indian system
is therefore adequate unless it is taken throughout all the growth
it attained by the work of its champions, the commentators whose
selfless toil for it had kept it living through the ages of history.

[Footnote 1: In the case of some systems it is indeed possible to suggest
one or two earlier phases of the system, but this principle cannot be
carried all through, for the supplementary information and arguments
given by the later commentators often appear as harmonious elaborations]
Growth of the Philosophic Literature.

It is difficult to say how the systems were originally formulated, and what were the influences that led to it. We know that a spirit of philosophic enquiry had already begun in the days of the earliest Upaniṣads. The spirit of that enquiry was that the final essence or truth was the atman, that a search after it was our highest duty, and that until we are ultimately merged in it we can only feel this truth and remain discontented with everything else and say that it is not the truth we want, it is not the truth we want (_neti neti_). Philosophical enquiries were however continuing in circles other than those of the Upaniṣads. Thus the Buddha who closely followed the early Upaniṣad period, spoke of and enumerated sixty-two kinds of heresies [Footnote ref 1], and these can hardly be traced in the Upaniṣads. The Jaina activities were also probably going on contemporaneously but in the Upaniṣads no reference to these can be found. We may thus reasonably suppose that there were different forms of philosophic enquiry in spheres other than those of the Upaniṣad sages, of which we have but scanty records. It seems probable that the Hindu systems of thought originated among the sages who though attached chiefly to the Upaniṣad circles used to take note of the discussions and views of the antagonistic
and heretical philosophic circles. In the assemblies of these
sages and their pupils, the views of the heretical circles were probably
discussed and refuted. So it continued probably for some time
when some illustrious member of the assembly such as Gautama
or Kanada collected the purport of these discussions on various
topics and problems, filled up many of the missing links, classified
and arranged these in the form of a system of philosophy and
recorded it in sutras. These sutras were intended probably for
people who had attended the elaborate oral discussions and thus
could easily follow the meaning of the suggestive phrases contained
in the aphorisms. The sutras thus contain sometimes
allusions to the views of the rival schools and indicate the way in
which they could be refuted. The commentators were possessed
of the general drift of the different discussions alluded to and
conveyed from generation to generation through an unbroken
chain of succession of teachers and pupils. They were however
free to supplement these traditionary explanations with their own

[Footnote 1: _Brahmajala-sutta, Digha_, 1. p. 12 ff.]

views or to modify and even suppress such of the traditionary
views with which they did not agree or which they found it difficult
to maintain. Brilliant oppositions from the opposing schools often made it necessary for them to offer solutions to new problems unthought of before, but put forward by some illustrious adherent of a rival school. In order to reconcile these new solutions with the other parts of the system, the commentators never hesitated to offer such slight modifications of the doctrines as could harmonize them into a complete whole. These elaborations or modifications generally developed the traditionary system, but did not effect any serious change in the system as expounded by the older teachers, for the new exponents always bound themselves to the explanations of the older teachers and never contradicted them. They would only interpret them to suit their own ideas, or say new things only in those cases where the older teachers had remained silent. It is not therefore possible to describe the growth of any system by treating the contributions of the individual commentators separately. This would only mean unnecessary repetition. Except when there is a specially new development, the system is to be interpreted on the basis of the joint work of the commentators treating their contributions as forming one whole.

The fact that each system had to contend with other rival systems in order to hold its own has left its permanent mark upon all the philosophic literatures of India which are always written in the form of disputes, where the writer is supposed to be always faced with objections from rival schools to whatever he has got to say. At each step he supposes certain objections put forth against him which he answers, and points out the defects
of the objector or shows that the objection itself is ill founded. It is thus through interminable byways of objections, counter-objections and their answers that the writer can wend his way to his destination. Most often the objections of the rival schools are referred to in so brief a manner that those only who know the views can catch them. To add to these difficulties the Sanskrit style of most of the commentaries is so condensed and different from literary Sanskrit, and aims so much at precision and brevity, leading to the use of technical words current in the diverse systems, that a study of these becomes often impossible without the aid of an expert preceptor; it is difficult therefore for all who are not widely read in all the different systems to follow any advanced work of any particular system, as the deliberations of that particular system are expressed in such close interconnection with the views of other systems that these can hardly be understood without them. Each system of India has grown (at least in particular epochs) in relation to and in opposition to the growth of other systems of thought, and to be a thorough student of Indian philosophy one should study all the systems in their mutual opposition and relation from the earliest times to a period at which they ceased to grow and came to a stop--a purpose for which a work like the present one may only be regarded as forming a preliminary introduction.
Besides the sutras and their commentaries there are also independent
treatises on the systems in verse called _karikas_, which
try to summarize the important topics of any system in a succinct
manner; the _Sa@mkhya karika_ may be mentioned as a work of this
kind. In addition to these there were also long dissertations,
commentaries, or general observations on any system written in
verses called the varttikas; the _S'lokavarttika_, of Kumarila or the
_Varttika_ of Sures'vara may be mentioned as examples. All these
of course had their commentaries to explain them. In addition
to these there were also advanced treatises on the systems in prose
in which the writers either nominally followed some selected
sutras or proceeded independently of them. Of the former class
the _Nyayamanjari_ of Jayanta may be mentioned as an example
and of the latter the _Pras'astapada bha@sya_, the _Advaitasiddhi_ of
Madhusudana Sarasvati or the _Vedanta-paribha@sa_ of Dharmarajadhvarindra.
The more remarkable of these treatises were of a masterly nature in
which the writers represented the systems they adhered to in a highly
forcible and logical manner by dint of their own great mental powers
and genius. These also had their commentaries to explain and elaborate
them. The period of the growth of the philosophic literatures of India
begins from about 500 B.C. (about the time of the Buddha) and practically
ends in the later half of the seventeenth century, though even now some
minor publications are seen to come out.

The Indian Systems of Philosophy.
The Hindus classify the systems of philosophy into two classes, namely, the _nastika_ and the _astika_. The nastika ( _na asti_ "it is not") views are those which neither regard the Vedas as infallible nor try to establish their own validity on their authority. These are principally three in number, the Buddhist, Jaina and the Carvaka.

The astika-mata or orthodox schools are six in number, Sa@mkhya, Yoga, Vedanta, Mima@msa, Nyaya and Vais'e@sika, generally known as the six systems (_@sa@ddars'ana_ [Footnote ref 1]).

The Sa@mkhya is ascribed to a mythical Kapila, but the earliest works on the subject are probably now lost. The Yoga system is attributed to Patanjali and the original sutras are called the _Patanjala Yoga sutras_. The general metaphysical position of these two systems with regard to soul, nature, cosmology and the final goal is almost the same, and the difference lies in this that the Yoga system acknowledges a god (_Is'vara_) as distinct from Atman and lays much importance on certain mystical practices (commonly known as Yoga practices) for the achievement of liberation, whereas the Sa@mkhya denies the existence of Is'vara and thinks that sincere philosophic thought and culture are sufficient to produce the true conviction of the truth and thereby bring about liberation. It is probable that the system of Sa@mkhya associated with Kapila and the Yoga system
associated with Patanjali are but two divergent modifications of
an original Sa@mkhya school, of which we now get only references
here and there. These systems therefore though generally counted
as two should more properly be looked upon as two different
schools of the same Sa@mkhya system--one may be called the
Kapila Sa@mkhya and the other Patanjala Sa@mkhya.

The Purva Mima@msa (from the root _man_ to think--rational
conclusions) cannot properly be spoken of as a system of philosophy.
It is a systematized code of principles in accordance with
which the Vedic texts are to be interpreted for purposes of sacrifices.

[Footnote 1: The word "_dars'ana_" in the sense of true philosophic
time has its earliest use in the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ of Ka@nada
(IX. ii. 13) which I consider as pre-Buddhistic. The Buddhist pi@takas
(400 B.C.) called the heretical opinions "_ditthi_" (Sanskrit--dr@sti
from the same root _d@rs'_ from which dars'ana is formed). Haribhadra
(fifth century A.D.) uses the word Dars'ana in the sense of systems of
philosophy (_sarvadars'anavacyo' rtha@h--@Sa@ddars'endasamuccaya_ I.).
Ratnakirtti (end of the tenth century A.D.) uses the word also in the
same sense ("_Yadi nama dars'ane dars'ane nanaprakaram sattvatak@sanam
uktamasti._" _K@sa@nabha@ngas@ddars'ana_ in Six Buddhist Nyaya tracts_. p.20).
Madhava (1331 A.D.) calls his Compendium of all systems of philosophy,
_Sarvadars'anasa@mgra@na_. The word "_mata_" (opinion or view) was also
freely used in quoting the views of other systems. But there is no word
to denote 'philosophers' in the technical sense. The Buddhists used to call
those who held heretical views "_tairthika._" The words "siddha,"
"_jnanin_," etc. do not denote philosophers, in the modern sense, they are
used rather in the sense of "seers" or "perfects."

The Vedic texts were used as mantras (incantations) for sacrifices,
and people often disputed as to the relation of words in a
sentence or their mutual relative importance with reference to the
general drift of the sentence. There were also differences of view
with regard to the meaning of a sentence, the use to which it may
be applied as a mantra, its relative importance or the exact
nature of its connection with other similar sentences in a complex
Vedic context. The Mima@msa formulated some principles according
to which one could arrive at rational and uniform solutions
for all these difficulties. Preliminary to these its main objects, it
indulges in speculations with regard to the external world, soul,
perception, inference, the validity of the Vedas, or the like, for in
order that a man might perform sacrifices with mantras, a definite
order of the universe and its relation to man or the position and
nature of the mantras of the Veda must be demonstrated and
established. Though its interest in such abstract speculations is
but secondary yet it briefly discusses these in order to prepare a
rational ground for its doctrine of the mantras and their practical
utility for man. It is only so far as there are these preliminary
discussions in the Mima@msa that it may be called a system of philosophy. Its principles and maxims for the interpretation of the import of words and sentences have a legal value even to this day. The sutras of Mima@msa are attributed to Jaimini, and S'abara wrote a bha@syā upon it. The two great names in the history of Mima@msa literature after Jaimini and S'abara are Kumarila Bha@t@ta and his pupil Prabhakara, who criticized the opinions of his master so much, that the master used to call him guru (master) in sarcasm, and to this day his opinions pass as _guru-mata_, whereas the views of Kumarila Bha@t@ta pass as _bha@t@ta-mata_ [Footnote ref 1]. It may not be out of place to mention here that Hindu Law (_sm@rτi_) accepts without any reservation the maxims and principles settled and formulated by the Mima@msa.

[Footnote 1: There is a story that Kumarila could not understand the meaning of a Sanskrit sentence "_Atra tunoktam tatrapi noktam iti paunaraktam_" (hence spoken twice). _Tunoktam_ phonetically admits of two combinations, _tu noktam_ (but not said) and _tunauktam_ (said by the particle _tu_) and _tatrapi noktam_ as _tatra api na uktam_ (not said also there) and _tatra api uktam_ (said there by the particle _api_). Under the first interpretation the sentence would mean, "Not spoken here, not spoken there, it is thus spoken twice." This puzzled Kumarila, when Prabhakara taking the second meaning pointed out to him that the meaning was "here it is indicated by _tu_ and there by _api_, and so it is indicated twice." Kumarila was so pleased that he called]
The _Vedanta sutras_, also called Uttara Mimaṇsā, written by Badarayana, otherwise known as the _Brahma-sutras_, form the original authoritative work of Vedanta. The word Vedanta means "end of the Veda," i.e., the Upaniṣads, and the _Vedanta sutras_ are so called as they are but a summarized statement of the general views of the Upaniṣads. This work is divided into four books or adhyayas and each adhyaya is divided into four padas or chapters. The first four sutras of the work commonly known as _Catuḥsūtri_ are (1) How to ask about Brahman, (2) From whom proceed birth and decay, (3) This is because from him the Vedas have come forth, (4) This is shown by the harmonious testimony of the Upaniṣads. The whole of the first chapter of the second book is devoted to justifying the position of the Vedanta against the attacks of the rival schools. The second chapter of the second book is busy in dealing blows at rival systems. All the other parts of the book are devoted to settling the disputed interpretations of a number of individual Upaniṣad texts. The really philosophical portion of the work is thus limited to the first four sutras and the first and second chapters of the second book. The other portions are like commentaries to the Upaniṣads, which however contain many theological views of the system. The first commentary of the _Brahma-sutra_ was probably written by Baudhayana, which however is not available now. The earliest commentary that is now found is that
of the great S'a@nkara. His interpretations of the _Brahma-sutras_

of the school of Vedanta philosophy (i.e. the Vedanta philosophy

of the school of absolute monism). Variant forms of dualistic

philosophy as represented by the Vai@s@navas, S'aivas, Ramayatas,

etc., also claim to express the original purport of the Brahma

sutras. We thus find that apostles of dualistic creeds such as

Ramanuja, Vallabha, Madhva, S'rika@n@tha, Baladeva, etc., have

written independent commentaries on the _Brahma-sutra_ to show

that the philosophy as elaborated by themselves is the view of

the Upani@sads and as summarized in the _Brahma-sutras_. These
differed largely and often vehemently attacked S'a@nkara's interpretations

of the same sutras. These systems as expounded by them also pass by

the name of Vedanta as these are also claimed to be the real

interpretations intended by the Vedanta (Upani@sads)

71

and the _Vedanta sutras_. Of these the system of Ramanuja has
great philosophical importance.

The _Nyaya sutras_ attributed to Gautama, called also Ak@sapada,

and the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ attributed to Ka@nada, called also Uluka,

represent the same system for all practical purposes. They are
in later times considered to differ only in a few points of minor
importance. So far as the sutras are concerned the _Nyaya sutras_
lay particular stress on the cultivation of logic as an art, while
the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ deal mostly with metaphysics and physics.
In addition to these six systems, the Tantras had also philosophies
of their own, which however may generally be looked upon
largely as modifications of the Sa@mkhya and Vedanta systems,
though their own contributions are also noteworthy.

Some fundamental Points of Agreement.

I. _The Karma Theory._

It is, however, remarkable that with the exception of the
Carvaka materialists all the other systems agree on some fundamental
points of importance. The systems of philosophy in India
were not stirred up merely by the speculative demands of the
human mind which has a natural inclination for indulging in
abstract thought, but by a deep craving after the realization of
the religious purpose of life. It is surprising to note that the
postulates, aims and conditions for such a realization were found
to be identical in all the conflicting systems. Whatever may be
their differences of opinion in other matters, so far as the general
postulates for the realization of the transcendent state, the _summum
bonum_ of life, were concerned, all the systems were practically in
thorough agreement. It may be worth while to note some of them
First, the theory of Karma and rebirth. All the Indian systems agree in believing that whatever action is done by an individual leaves behind it some sort of potency which has the power to ordain for him joy or sorrow in the future according as it is good or bad. When the fruits of the actions are such that they cannot be enjoyed in the present life or in a human life, the individual has to take another birth as a man or any other being in order to suffer them.

The Vedic belief that the mantras uttered in the correct accent at the sacrifices with the proper observance of all ritualistic details, exactly according to the directions without the slightest error even in the smallest trifle, had something like a magical virtue automatically to produce the desired object immediately or after a lapse of time, was probably the earliest form of the Karma doctrine. It postulates a semi-conscious belief that certain mystical actions can produce at a distant time certain effects without the ordinary process of the instrumentality of visible agents of ordinary cause and effect. When the sacrifice is performed, the action leaves such an unseen magical virtue, called the _ad@r@s@ta_ (the unseen) or the _apurva_ (new), that by it the desired
object will be achieved in a mysterious manner, for the _modus operandi_ of the _apurva_ is unknown. There is also the notion prevalent in the Sa@mhitas, as we have already noticed, that he who commits wicked deeds suffers in another world, whereas he who performs good deeds enjoys the highest material pleasures. These were probably associated with the conception of _@rta_, the inviolable order of things. Thus these are probably the elements which built up the Karma theory which we find pretty well established but not emphasized in the Upani@sads, where it is said that according to good or bad actions men will have good or bad births.

To notice other relevant points in connection with the Karma doctrine as established in the astika systems we find that it was believed that the unseen (_ad@r@s@ta_) potency of the action generally required some time before it could be fit for giving the doer the merited punishment or enjoyment. These would often accumulate and prepare the items of suffering and enjoyment for the doer in his next life. Only the fruits of those actions which are extremely wicked or particularly good could be reaped in this life. The nature of the next birth of a man is determined by the nature of pleasurable or painful experiences that have been made ready for him by his maturing actions of this life. If the experiences determined for him by his action are such that they are possible to be realized in the life of a goat, the man will die and be born as a goat. As there is no ultimate beginning in time of this world process, so there is no time at which any person first began his
actions or experiences. Man has had an infinite number of past
lives of the most varied nature, and the instincts of each kind of
life exist dormant in the life of every individual, and thus whenever
he has any particular birth as this or that animal or man,

73

the special instincts of that life (technically called _vasana_) come
forth. In accordance with these vasanas the person passes through
the painful or pleasurable experiences as determined for him by
his action. The length of life is also determined by the number
and duration of experiences as preordained by the fructifying
actions of his past life. When once certain actions become fit for
giving certain experiences, these cannot be avoided, but those
actions which have not matured are uprooted once for all if the
person attains true knowledge as advocated by philosophy. But
even such an emancipated (_mukta_) person has to pass through
the pleasurable or painful experiences ordained for him by the
actions just ripened for giving their fruits. There are four kinds
of actions, white or virtuous (_s'ukla_), black or wicked (_k@r@s@na_),
white-black or partly virtuous and partly vicious (_s'ukla-k@r@s@na_) as
most of our actions are, neither black nor white (_as'uklak@r@s@na_),
i.e. those acts of self-renunciation or meditation which are not
associated with any desires for the fruit. It is only when a person
can so restrain himself as to perform only the last kind of action
that he ceases to accumulate any new karma for giving fresh fruits.
He has thus only to enjoy the fruits of his previous karmas which
have ripened for giving fruits. If in the meantime he attains true knowledge, all his past accumulated actions become destroyed, and as his acts are only of the as'uklak@r@s@na type no fresh karma for ripening is accumulated, and thus he becomes divested of all karma after enjoying the fruits of the ripened karmas alone.

The Jains think that through the actions of body, speech and mind a kind of subtle matter technically called karma is produced. The passions of a man act like a viscous substance that attracts this karma matter, which thus pours into the soul and sticks to it. The karma matter thus accumulated round the soul during the infinite number of past lives is technically called _karmas'arira_, which encircles the soul as it passes on from birth to birth. This karma matter sticking to the soul gradually ripens and exhausts itself in ordaining the sufferance of pains or the enjoyment of pleasures for the individual. While some karma matter is being expended in this way, other karma matters are accumulating by his activities, and thus keep him in a continuous process of suffering and enjoyment. The karma matter thus accumulated in the soul produces a kind of coloration called _les'ya_, such as white, black, etc., which marks the character of the soul. The idea of the s'ukla and k@r@s@na karmas of the Yoga system was probably suggested by the Jaina view. But when a man is free from
passions, and acts in strict compliance with the rules of conduct, his actions produce karma which lasts but for a moment and is then annihilated. Every karma that the sage has previously earned has its predestined limits within which it must take effect and be purged away. But when by contemplation and the strict adherence to the five great vows, no new karma is generated, and when all the karmas are exhausted the worldly existence of the person rapidly draws towards its end. Thus in the last stage of contemplation, all karma being annihilated, and all activities having ceased, the soul leaves the body and goes up to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls stay for ever.

Buddhism also contributes some new traits to the karma theory which however being intimately connected with their metaphysics will be treated later on.

2. _The Doctrine of Mukti_.

Not only do the Indian systems agree as to the cause of the inequalities in the share of sufferings and enjoyments in the case of different persons, and the manner in which the cycle of births and rebirths has been kept going from beginningless time, on the basis of the mysterious connection of one’s actions with the happenings of the world, but they also agree in believing that this beginningless chain of karma and its fruits, of births and rebirths, this running on from beginningless time has somewhere
its end. This end was not to be attained at some distant time or in some distant kingdom, but was to be sought within us. Karma leads us to this endless cycle, and if we could divest ourselves of all such emotions, ideas or desires as lead us to action we should find within us the actionless self which neither suffers nor enjoys, neither works nor undergoes rebirth. When the Indians, wearied by the endless bustle and turmoil of worldly events, sought for and believed that somewhere a peaceful goal could be found, they generally hit upon the self of man. The belief that the soul could be realized in some stage as being permanently divested of all action, feelings or ideas, led logically to the conclusion that the connection of the soul with these worldly elements was extraneous, artificial or even illusory. In its true nature the soul is untouched by the impurities of our ordinary life, and it is through ignorance and passion as inherited from the cycle of karma from beginningless time that we connect it with these. The realization of this transcendent state is the goal and final achievement of this endless cycle of births and rebirths through karma. The Buddhists did not admit the existence of soul, but recognized that the final realization of the process of karma is to be found in the ultimate dissolution called Nirvana, the nature of which we shall discuss later on.
3. _The Doctrine of Soul_.

All the Indian systems except Buddhism admit the existence of a permanent entity variously called atman, puruṣa or jiva. As to the exact nature of this soul there are indeed divergences of view. Thus while the Nyaya calls it absolutely qualityless and characterless, indeterminate unconscious entity, Saṃkhya describes it as being of the nature of pure consciousness, the Vedanta says that it is that fundamental point of unity implied in pure consciousness (_cit_), pure bliss (_ananda_), and pure being (_sat_). But all agree in holding that it is pure and unsullied in its nature and that all impurities of action or passion do not form a real part of it. The _summum bonum_ of life is attained when all impurities are removed and the pure nature of the self is thoroughly and permanently apprehended and all other extraneous connections with it are absolutely dissociated.

The Pessimistic Attitude towards the World and the Optimistic Faith in the end.

Though the belief that the world is full of sorrow has not been equally prominently emphasized in all systems, yet it may be considered as being shared by all of them. It finds its strongest utterance in Saṃkhya, Yoga, and Buddhism. This interminable chain of pleasurable and painful experiences was looked upon as nearing no peaceful end but embroiling and entangling us in the
meshes of karma, rebirth, and sorrow. What appear as pleasures
are but a mere appearance for the attempt to keep them steady is
painful, there is pain when we lose the pleasures or when we are
anxious to have them. When the pleasures are so much associated
with pains they are but pains themselves. We are but duped
when we seek pleasures, for they are sure to lead us to pain. All
our experiences are essentially sorrowful and ultimately sorrow-begetting.
Sorrow is the ultimate truth of this process of the

world. That which to an ordinary person seems pleasurable
appears to a wise person or to a yogin who has a clearer vision as
painful. The greater the knowledge the higher is the sensitiveness
to sorrow and dissatisfaction with world experiences. The yogin
is like the pupil of the eye to which even the smallest grain of
disturbance is unbearable. This sorrow of worldly experiences cannot
be removed by bringing in remedies for each sorrow as it comes,
for the moment it is remedied another sorrow comes in. It cannot
also be avoided by mere inaction or suicide, for we are continually
being forced to action by our nature, and suicide will but lead to
another life of sorrow and rebirth. The only way to get rid of
it is by the culmination of moral greatness and true knowledge
which uproot sorrow once for all. It is our ignorance that the self
is intimately connected with the experiences of life or its pleasures,
that leads us to action and arouses passion in us for the enjoyment
of pleasures and other emotions and activities. Through
the highest moral elevation a man may attain absolute dispassion
towards world-experiences and retire in body, mind, and speech
from all worldly concerns. When the mind is so purified, the self
shines in its true light, and its true nature is rightly conceived.
When this is once done the self can never again be associated
with passion or ignorance. It becomes at this stage ultimately
dissociated from _citta_ which contains within it the root of all
emotions, ideas, and actions. Thus emancipated the self for ever
conquers all sorrow. It is important, however, to note in this
connection that emancipation is not based on a general aversion
to intercourse with the world or on such feelings as a disappointed
person may have, but on the appreciation of the state of mukti
as the supremely blessed one. The details of the pessimistic
creed of each system have developed from the logical necessity
peculiar to each system. There was never the slightest tendency
to shirk the duties of this life, but to rise above them through
right performance and right understanding. It is only when a
man rises to the highest pinnacle of moral glory that he is fit for
aspiring to that realization of selfhood in comparison with which
all worldly things or even the joys of Heaven would not only
shrink into insignificance, but appear in their true character as
sorrowful and loathsome. It is when his mind has thus turned from
all ordinary joys that he can strive towards his ideal of salvation.
In fact it seems to me that a sincere religious craving after some
ideal blessedness and quiet of self-realization is indeed the fundamental
fact from which not only her philosophy but many of the
complex phenomena of the civilization of India can be logically
deduced. The sorrow around us has no fear for us if we remember
that we are naturally sorrowless and blessed in ourselves. The
pessimistic view loses all terror as it closes in absolute optimistic
confidence in one's own self and the ultimate destiny and goal of
emancipation.

Unity in Indian Sadhana (philosophical, religious
and ethical endeavours).

As might be expected the Indian systems are all agreed upon
the general principles of ethical conduct which must be followed
for the attainment of salvation. That all passions are to be controlled,
no injury to life in any form should be done, and that all
desire for pleasures should be checked, are principles which are
almost universally acknowledged. When a man attains a very
high degree of moral greatness he has to strengthen and prepare
his mind for further purifying and steadying it for the attainment
of his ideal; and most of the Indian systems are unanimous with
regard to the means to be employed for the purpose. There are
indeed divergences in certain details or technical names, but the
means to be adopted for purification are almost everywhere essentially
the same as those advocated by the Yoga system. It is only
in later times that devotion (_bhakti_) is seen to occupy a more
prominent place specially in Vaisnava schools of thought. Thus it was that though there were many differences among the various systems, yet their goal of life, their attitude towards the world and the means for the attainment of the goal (sadhana) being fundamentally the same, there was a unique unity in the practical sadhana of almost all the Indian systems. The religious craving has been universal in India and this uniformity of sadhana has therefore secured for India a unity in all her aspirations and strivings.

CHAPTER V

BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

Many scholars are of opinion that the Sāmkhya and the Yoga represent the earliest systematic speculations of India. It is also suggested that Buddhism drew much of its inspiration from them. It may be that there is some truth in such a view, but the systematic Sāmkhya and Yoga treatises as we have them had decidedly been written after Buddhism. Moreover it is well-known to every student of Hindu philosophy that a conflict with the Buddhists has largely stimulated philosophic enquiry in most of the systems of Hindu thought. A knowledge of Buddhism is therefore indispensable for a right understanding of the different systems in their mutual relation and opposition to Buddhism. It
seems desirable therefore that I should begin with Buddhism first.

The State of Philosophy in India before the Buddha.

It is indeed difficult to give a short sketch of the different philosophical speculations that were prevalent in India before Buddhism. The doctrines of the Upani@sads are well known, and these have already been briefly described. But these were not the only ones. Even in the Upani@sads we find references to diverse atheistical creeds [Footnote ref 1]. We find there that the origin of the world and its processes were sometimes discussed, and some thought that "time" was the ultimate cause of all, others that all these had sprung forth by their own nature (_svabhava_), others that everything had come forth in accordance with an inexorable destiny or a fortuitous concourse of accidental happenings, or through matter combinations in general. References to diverse kinds of heresies are found in Buddhist literature also, but no detailed accounts of these views are known. Of the Upani@sad type of materialists the two schools of Carvakas (Dhurtta and Sus'ik@sita) are referred to in later literature, though the time in which these flourished cannot rightly be discovered [Footnote ref 2]. But it seems
probable however that the allusion to the materialists contained in the Upaniṣads refers to these or to similar schools. The Carvakas did not believe in the authority of the Vedas or any other holy scripture. According to them there was no soul. Life and consciousness were the products of the combination of matter, just as red colour was the result of mixing up white with yellow or as the power of intoxication was generated in molasses (madas'akti). There is no after-life, and no reward of actions, as there is neither virtue nor vice. Life is only for enjoyment. So long as it lasts it is needless to think of anything else, as everything will end with death, for when at death the body is burnt to ashes there cannot be any rebirth. They do not believe in the validity of inference. Nothing is trustworthy but what can be directly perceived, for it is impossible to determine that the distribution of the middle term (hetu) has not depended upon some extraneous condition, the absence of which might destroy the validity of any particular piece of inference. If in any case
any inference comes to be true, it is only an accidental fact and there is no certitude about it. They were called Carvaka because they would only eat but would not accept any other religious or moral responsibility. The word comes from _carv_ to eat. The Dhurtta Carvakas held that there was nothing but the four elements of earth, water, air and fire, and that the body was but the result of atomic combination. There was no self or soul, no virtue or vice. The Sus'ik@sita Carvakas held that there was a soul apart from the body but that it also was destroyed with the destruction of the body. The original work of the Carvakas was written in sutras probably by B@rhaspati. Jayanta and Gu@naratna quote two sutras from it. Short accounts of this school may be found in Jayanta's _Nyayamanjari_, Madhava's _Sarvadars'anasa@mgraha_ and Gu@naratna's _Tarkarahasyadipika_. _Mahabharata_ gives an account of a man called Carvaka meeting Yudhi@s@thira.

Side by side with the doctrine of the Carvaka materialists we are reminded of the Ajivakas of which Makkhali Gosala, probably a renegade disciple of the Jain saint Mahavira and a contemporary of Buddha and Mahavira, was the leader. This was a thorough-going determinism denying the free will of man and his moral responsibility for any so-called good or evil. The essence of Makkhali's system is this, that "there is no cause, either proximate or remote, for the depravity of beings or for their purity. They
become so without any cause. Nothing depends either on one's own efforts or on the efforts of others, in short nothing depends on any human effort, for there is no such thing as power or energy, or human exertion. The varying conditions at any time are due to fate, to their environment and their own nature [Footnote ref 1]."

Another sophistical school led by Ajita Kesakambali taught that there was no fruit or result of good or evil deeds; there is no other world, nor was this one real; nor had parents nor any former lives any efficacy with respect to this life. Nothing that we can do prevents any of us alike from being wholly brought to an end at death [Footnote ref 2].

There were thus at least three currents of thought: firstly the sacrificial Karma by the force of the magical rites of which any person could attain anything he desired; secondly the Upanishad teaching that the Brahman, the self, is the ultimate reality and being, and all else but name and form which pass away but do not abide. That which permanently abides without change is the real and true, and this is self. Thirdly the nihilistic conceptions that there is no law, no abiding reality, that everything comes into being by a fortuitous concourse of circumstances or by some unknown fate. In each of these schools, philosophy had probably come to a deadlock. There were the Yoga practices prevalent in the country and these were accepted partly on the strength of traditional custom among certain sections, and partly by virtue
of the great spiritual, intellectual and physical power which they
gave to those who performed them. But these had no rational
basis behind them on which they could lean for support. These
were probably then just tending towards being affiliated to the
nebulous Sa@mkhya doctrines which had grown up among certain
sections. It was at this juncture that we find Buddha erecting
a new superstructure of thought on altogether original lines which
thenceforth opened up a new avenue of philosophy for all posterity
to come. If the Being of the Upani@sads, the superlatively motionless,
was the only real, how could it offer scope for further new
speculations, as it had already discarded all other matters of
interest? If everything was due to a reasonless fortuitous conourse
of circumstances, reason could not proceed further in the
direction to create any philosophy of the unreason. The magical

[Footnote 1: _Samannaphala-sutta_, _Digha_, II. 20. Hoernle's article on
the Ajivakas, E.R.E.]

[Footnote 2: _Samannaphala-sutta_, II. 23.]

force of the hocus-pocus of sorcery or sacrifice had but little that
was inviting for philosophy to proceed on. If we thus take into account the state of Indian philosophic culture before Buddha, we shall be better able to understand the value of the Buddhistic contribution to philosophy.

Buddha: his Life.

Gautama the Buddha was born in or about the year 560 B.C. in the Lumbini Grove near the ancient town of Kapilavastu in the now dense terai region of Nepal. His father was Suddhodana, a prince of the Sakya clan, and his mother Queen Mahamaya. According to the legends it was foretold of him that he would enter upon the ascetic life when he should see "A decrepit old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a monk." His father tried his best to keep him away from these by marrying him and surrounding him with luxuries. But on successive occasions, issuing from the palace, he was confronted by those four things, which filled him with amazement and distress, and realizing the impermanence of all earthly things determined to forsake his home and try if he could to discover some means to immortality to remove the sufferings of men. He made his "Great Renunciation" when he was twenty-nine years old. He travelled on foot to Rajag@rha (Rajgir) and thence to Uruvela, where in company with other five ascetics he entered upon a course of extreme self-discipline, carrying his austerities to such a length that his body became utterly emaciated and he fell down senseless and was believed to be dead. After six years of this great
struggle he was convinced that the truth was not to be won by
the way of extreme asceticism, and resuming an ordinary course
of life at last attained absolute and supreme enlightenment. Thereafter
the Buddha spent a life prolonged over forty-five years in
travelling from place to place and preaching the doctrine to
all who would listen. At the age of over eighty years Buddha
realized that the time drew near for him to die. He then entered
into Dhyana and passing through its successive stages attained
nirvana [Footnote ref 1]. The vast developments which the system of this
great teacher underwent in the succeeding centuries in India and in
other countries have not been thoroughly studied, and it will
probably take yet many years more before even the materials for

[Footnote 1: _Mahaparinibbanasuttanta_, _Digha_, XVI. 6, 8, 9.]

such a study can be collected. But from what we now possess
it is proved incontestably that it is one of the most wonderful and
subtle productions of human wisdom. It is impossible to overestimate
the debt that the philosophy, culture and civilization
of India owe to it in all her developments for many succeeding
centuries.
Early Buddhist Literature.

The Buddhist Pali Scriptures contain three different collections: the Sutta (relating to the doctrines), the Vinaya (relating to the discipline of the monks) and the Abhidhamma (relating generally to the same subjects as the suttas but dealing with them in a scholastic and technical manner). Scholars of Buddhistic religious history of modern times have failed as yet to fix any definite dates for the collection or composition of the different parts of the aforesaid canonical literature of the Buddhists. The suttas were however composed before the Abhidhamma and it is very probable that almost the whole of the canonical works were completed before 241 B.C., the date of the third council during the reign of King Asoka. The suttas mainly deal with the doctrine (Dhamma) of the Buddhistic faith whereas the Vinaya deals only with the regulations concerning the discipline of the monks.

The subject of the Abhidhamma is mostly the same as that of the suttas, namely, the interpretation of the Dhamma. Buddhaghosa in his introduction to _Atthasalini_, the commentary on the _Dhammasaṅgaṇi_, says that the Abhidhamma is so called (_abhi_ and _dhamma_) because it describes the same Dhammas as are related in the suttas in a more intensified (_dhammatireka_) and specialized (_dhammavisesathena_) manner. The Abhidhammas do not give any new doctrines that are not in the suttas, but they deal somewhat elaborately with those that are already found in the suttas. Buddhaghosa in distinguishing the special features
of the suttas from the Abhidhammas says that the acquirement of the former leads one to attain meditation (samadhi) whereas the latter leads one to attain wisdom (pannasampadā). The force of this statement probably lies in this, that the dialogues of the suttas leave a chastening effect on the mind, the like of which is not to be found in the Abhidhammas, which busy themselves in enumerating the Buddhistic doctrines and defining them in a technical manner, which is more fitted to produce a reasoned insight into the doctrines than directly to generate a craving for following the path of meditation for the extinction of sorrow.

The Abhidhamma known as the Kathavatthu differs from the other Abhidhammas in this, that it attempts to reduce the views of the heterodox schools to absurdity. The discussions proceed in the form of questions and answers, and the answers of the opponents are often shown to be based on contradictory assumptions.

The suttas contain five groups of collections called the Nikayas. These are (1) Dīgha Nikaya, called so on account of the length of the suttas contained in it; (2) Majjhima Nikaya (middling Nikaya), called so on account of the middling extent of the suttas contained in it; (3) Saṃyutta Nikaya (Nikayas relating to special meetings), called saṃyutta on account of their being
delivered owing to the meetings (sa@myoga_) of special persons which were the occasions for them; (4) _A@nguttara Nikaya_, so called because in each succeeding book of this work the topics of discussion increase by one [Footnote ref 1]; (5) _Khuddaka Nikaya_ containing _Khuddaka pa@tha, Dhammapada, Udana, Itivuttaka, Sutta Nipata, Vimana-vatthu, Petavatthu, Theragatha, Therigatha, Jataka, Niddesa, Pa@tisambhidamagga, Apadana, Buddhava@msa, Caryapi@taka_.

The Abhidhammas are _Pa@t@thana, Dhammasa@nga@ni, Dhatukatha, Puggalapannatti, Vibha@nga, Yamaka_ and _Kathavatthu_. There exists also a large commentary literature on diverse parts of the above works known as atthakatha. The work known as _Milinda Panha_ (questions of King Milinda), of uncertain date, is of considerable philosophical value.

The doctrines and views incorporated in the above literature is generally now known as Sthaviravada or Theravada. On the origin of the name Theravada (the doctrine of the elders) _Dipava@msa_ says that since the Theras (elders) met (at the first council) and collected the doctrines it was known as the Thera Vada [Footnote ref 2]. It does not appear that Buddhism as it appears in this Pali literature developed much since the time of Buddhagho@sa (400 A.D.), the writer of _Visuddhimagga_ (a compendium of theravada doctrines) and the commentator of _Dighanikaya, Dhammasa@nga@ni_, etc.

Hindu philosophy in later times seems to have been influenced
by the later offshoots of the different schools of Buddhism, but it does not appear that Pali Buddhism had any share in it. I

[Footnote 1: See Buddhagho@sa's _Atthasalini_, p. 25.]

[Footnote 2: Oldenberg's _Dipava@msa_, p. 31.]

84

have not been able to discover any old Hindu writer who could be considered as being acquainted with Pali.

The Doctrine of Causal Connection of early Buddhism [Footnote ref 1].

The word Dhamma in the Buddhist scriptures is used generally in four senses: (1) Scriptural texts, (2) quality (_gu@na_), (3) cause (_hetu_) and (4) unsubstantial and soulless (_nissatta nijjiva_ [Footnote ref 2]). Of these it is the last meaning which is particularly important, from the point of view of Buddhist philosophy. The early Buddhist philosophy did not accept any fixed entity as determining all reality; the only things with it were the unsubstantial phenomena and these were called dhammas. The question arises that
if there is no substance or reality how are we to account for the
phenomena? But the phenomena are happening and passing
away and the main point of interest with the Buddha was to find
out "What being what else is," "What happening what else
happens" and "What not being what else is not." The phenomena
are happening in a series and we see that there being
certain phenomena there become some others; by the happening
of some events others also are produced. This is called
(_pa@ticca-samuppada_) dependent origination. But it is difficult to
understand what is the exact nature of this dependence. The question as
_Sa@myutta Nikaya_ (II. 5) has it with which the Buddha started
before attaining Buddhahood was this: in what miserable condition
are the people! they are born, they decay, they die, pass away
and are born again; and they do not know the path of escape
from this decay, death and misery.

How to know the Way to escape from this misery of decay
and death. Then it occurred to him what being there, are decay
and death, depending on what do they come? As he thought
deeply into the root of the matter, it occurred to him that decay
and death can only occur when there is birth (_jati_), so they depend

[Footnote 1: There are some differences of opinion as to whether one could
take the doctrine of the twelve links of causes as we find it in the]
Sa@myutta Nikaya_ as the earliest Buddhist view, as Sa@myutta does not represent the oldest part of the suttas. But as this doctrine of the twelve causes became regarded as a fundamental Buddhist doctrine and as it gives us a start in philosophy I have not thought it fit to enter into conjectural discussions as to the earliest form. Dr E.J. Thomas drew my attention to this fact.]

[Footnote 2: _Atthasatini_, p. 38. There are also other senses in which the word is used, as _dhamma-desana_ where it means religious teaching. The _La@nkavatara_ described Dharmma as _gu@nadravyapurvaka dharmma_, i.e. Dharmmas are those which are associated as attributes and substances.]
it occurred to him that there must be a sense-contact (_phassa_) in order that there may be feeling [Footnote ref 4]. If there should be no sense-contact there would be no feeling. But on what does sense-contact depend? It occurred to him that as there are six sense-contacts, there are the six fields of contact (_ayatana_) [Footnote ref 5]. But on what do the six ayatanas depend? It occurred to him that there must be the mind and body (_namarupa_) in order that there may be the six fields of contact [Footnote ref 6]; but on what does namarupa depend? It occurred to him that without consciousness (_vinnana_ ) there could be no namarupa [Footnote ref 8].

But what being there would there

[Footnote 1: This word bhava is interpreted by Candrakirtti in his _Madhyamika vṛtti_, p. 565 (La Vallee Poussin’s edition) as the deed which brought about rebirth (_punarbhavajanaka@m karma samutthapayali kayena vaca manasa ca_).]

[Footnote 2: _Atthasalini_, p. 385, upadanantida@lhagaha@na@m. Candrakirtti in explaining upadana says that whatever thing a man desires he holds fast to the materials necessary for attaining it (_yatra vastuni sat@r@s@nastasya vastuno 'rjanaya vi@dhapanaya upadanamupadatte tatra tatra prarthayate_). _Madhyamika vṛtti_, p. 565.]

[Footnote 3: Candrakirtti describes t@r@s@na as]
asvadanabhinandanadhyavasanasthanadatmapriyarupairviyogo ma bhut,
nityamaparityago bhavediti, yeyam prarthana--the desire that there
may not ever be any separation from those pleasures, etc., which
are dear to us. _Ibid._ 565.]

[Footnote 4: We read also of phassayatana and phassakaya. _M. N._ II. 261,
III. 280, etc. Candrakirtti says that _@sa@dbhirayatanadvarai@h
k@rtiaprak@riya@h pravarttante prajnayante. tannamarupapratyaya@m
@sa@dayatanamucyate. sa@dbhyas`cayatane`bhya@h @sa@tspars`akaya@h
pravarttante. M.V._ 565.]

[Footnote 5: Ayatana means the six senses together with their objects.
Ayatana literally is "Field of operation." Sa@layatana means six senses
as six fields of operation. Candrakirtti has _ayatanadvarai@h_.]

[Footnote 6: I have followed the translation of Aung in rendering namarupa
as mind and body, _Compendium_, p. 271. This seems to me to be fairly
correct. The four skandhas are called nama in each birth. These together
with rupa (matter) give us namarupa (mind and body) which being developed
render the activities through the six sense-gates possible so that there
may be knowledge. Cf. _M. V._ 564. Govindananda, the commentator on
S'a@nkara's bhasya on the _Brahma sutras_ (II. ii. 19), gives a different
interpretation of Namarupa which may probably refer to the Vijnanavada
view though we have no means at hand to verify it. He says--To think
the momentary as the permanent is Avidya; from there come the samskaras
of attachment, antipathy or anger, and infatuation; from there the first

vijnana or thought of the foetus is produced, from that alayavijnana,
and the four elements (which are objects of name and are hence called nama)
are produced, and from those are produced the white and black, semen
and blood called rupa. Both Vacaspati and Amalananda agree with
Govindananda in holding that nama signifies the semen and the ovum
while rupa means the visible physical body built out of them. Vijnana
entered the womb and on account of it namarupa were produced through
the association of previous karma. See _Vedantakalpataru_, pp 274,
275. On the doctrine of the entrance of vijnana into the womb compare
_D N_ II. 63.]

86

be vinnana. Here it occurred to him that in order that there
might be vinnana there must be the conformations (_sa@nkara_) [Footnote
ref 1]. But what being there are there the sa@nkharas? Here it occurred
to him that the sa@nkharas can only be if there is ignorance
(_avijja_). If avijja could be stopped then the sa@nkharas will be
stopped, and if the sa@nkharas could be stopped vinnana could be
stopped and so on [Footnote ref 2].

It is indeed difficult to be definite as to what the Buddha
actually wished to mean by this cycle of dependence of existence
sometimes called Bhavacakra (wheel of existence). Decay and
death (_jaramarana_) could not have happened if there was no
birth [Footnote ref 3]. This seems to be clear. But at this point the
difficulty begins. We must remember that the theory of rebirth was

[Footnote 1: It is difficult to say what is the exact sense of the word here. The Buddha was one of the first few earliest thinkers to introduce proper philosophical terms and phraseology with a distinct philosophical method and he had often to use the same word in more or less different senses. Some of the philosophical terms at least are therefore rather elastic when compared with the terms of precise and definite meaning which we find in later Sanskrit thought. Thus in _S N_ III. p. 87, "_Sankhata@m abdisa@nkharonta_," sa@nkharana means that which synthesises the complexes. In the _Compendium_ it is translated as will, action. Mr. Aung thinks that it means the same as karma; it is here used in a different sense from what we find in the word sa@nkharanta khandha (viz mental states). We get a list of 51 mental states forming sa@nkharanta khandha in _Dhamma Sangam_, p 18, and another different set of 40 mental states in _Dharmasamgraha_, p. 6. In addition to these forty _cittasamprayuktasa@mskara_, it also counts thirteen _cittaviprayuktasa@mskara_. Candrakirtti interprets it as meaning attachment, antipathy and infatuation, p 563. Govindananda, the commentator on S'a@nkara's _Brahma sutra_ (II. ii. 19), also interprets the word in connection with the doctrine of _Pratityasamutpada_ as attachment, antipathy and infatuation.]

[Footnote 2: _Samyutta Nikaya_, II. 7-8.]
enunciated in the Upani@sads. The B@rhadara@nyaka says that just as an insect going to the end of a leaf of grass by a new effort collects itself in another so does the soul coming to the end of this life collect itself in another. This life thus presupposes another existence. So far as I remember there has seldom been before or after Buddha any serious attempt to prove or disprove the doctrine of rebirth [Footnote ref 1]. All schools of philosophy except the Carvakas believed in it and so little is known to us of the Carvaka sutras that it is difficult to say what they did to refute this doctrine. The Buddha also accepts it as a fact and does not criticize it. This life therefore comes only as one which had an infinite number of lives before, and which except in the case of a few emancipated ones would have an infinite number of them in the future. It was strongly believed by all people, and the
Buddha also, when he came to think to what our present birth might be due, had to fall back upon another existence (bhava). If bhava means karma which brings rebirth as Candrakirtti takes it to mean, then it would mean that the present birth could only take place on account of the works of a previous existence which determined it. Here also we are reminded of the Upaniṣad note "as a man does so will he be born" (yat karma kurute tadabhisampadyate_, Brh IV. iv. 5). Candrakirtti's interpretation of "bhava" as Karma (punarbhavajanakam karma_) seems to me to suit better than "existence." The word was probably used rather loosely for kammabhava_. The word bhava is not found in the earlier Upaniṣads and was used in the Pali scriptures for the first time as a philosophical term. But on what does this bhava depend? There could not have been a previous existence if people had not betaken themselves to things or works they desired. This betaking oneself to actions or things in accordance with desire is called upadana. In the Upaniṣads we read, "whatever one betakes himself to, so does he work" (yatkraturbhavati tatkarma kurute_, Brh. IV. iv. 5). As this betaking to the thing depends upon desire (tarṣa_), it is said that in order that there may be upadana there must be tanha. In the Upaniṣads also we read "Whatever one desires so does he betake himself to" (sa yathakamo bhavati tatkaturbhavati_). Neither the word upadana nor t@rs@na (the Sanskrit word corresponding
to ta@nha) is found in the earlier Upani@sads, but the ideas contained in them are similar to the words "_kratu_" and "_kama_". Desire (ta@nha) is then said to depend on feeling or sense-contact. Sense-contact presupposes the six senses as fields of operation [Footnote ref 1]. These six senses or operating fields would again presuppose the whole psychosis of the man (the body and the mind together) called namarupa. We are familiar with this word in the Upani@sads but there it is used in the sense of determinate forms and names as distinguished from the indeterminate indefinable reality [Footnote ref 2]. Buddhagho@sa in the _Visuddhimagga_ says that by "Name" are meant the three groups beginning with sensation (i.e. sensation, perception and the predisposition); by "Form" the four elements and form derivative from the four elements [Footnote ref 3]. He further says that name by itself can produce physical changes, such as eating, drinking, making movements or the like. So form also cannot produce any of those changes by itself. But like the cripple and the blind they mutually help one another and effectuate the changes [Footnote ref 4]. But there exists no heap or collection of material for the production of Name and Form; "but just as when a lute is played upon, there is no previous store of sound; and when the sound comes into existence it does not come from
any such store; and when it ceases, it does not go to any of the

cardinal or intermediate points of the compass;...in exactly the

same way all the elements of being both those with form and

those without, come into existence after having previously been

non-existent and having come into existence pass away [Footnote ref 5]."

Namarupa taken in this sense will not mean the whole of mind and

body, but only the sense functions and the body which are found
to operate in the six doors of sense (_sa@layatana_). If we take

namarupa in this sense, we can see that it may be said to depend

upon the vinnana (consciousness). Consciousness has been compared

in the _Milinda Panha_ with a watchman at the middle of


[Footnote 1: The word ayatana is found in many places in the earlier
Upani@sads in the sense of "field or place," Cha. I. 5, B@rh. Ill. 9.
10, but @sa@dayatana does not occur.]

[Footnote 2: Candrakirtti interprets nama as _Vedanadayo' 
rupi@nas'catvara@h skandhastatra tatra bhave namayantili nama. saha
rupaskandhena ca nama rupam ceti namarupamucyate._ The four skandhas
in each specific birth act as name. These together with rupa make
namarupa. _M. V._ 564.]

[Footnote 3: Warren's _Buddhism in Translations_, p. 184.]
the cross-roads beholding all that come from any direction [Footnote ref 1]. Buddhagho@sa in the _Atthasalini_ also says that consciousness means that which thinks its object. If we are to define its characteristics we must say that it knows (_vijanana_), goes in advance (_pubba@ngama_), connects (_sandhana_), and stands on namarupa (_namarupapada@t@thanam_). When the consciousness gets a door, at a place the objects of sense are discerned (_arammana-vibhavana@t@thane_) and it goes first as the precursor. When a visual object is seen by the eye it is known only by the consciousness, and when the dhammas are made the objects of (mind) mano, it is known only by the consciousness [Footnote ref 2]. Buddhagho@sa also refers here to the passage in the _Milinda Panha_ we have just referred to. He further goes on to say that when states of consciousness rise one after another, they leave no gap between the previous state and the later and consciousness therefore appears as connected. When there are the aggregates of the five khandhas it is lost; but there are the four aggregates as namarupa, it stands on nama and therefore it is said that it stands on namarupa. He further asks, Is this consciousness the same as the previous consciousness or different from it? He answers that it is the same. Just so, the sun shows
itself with all its colours, etc., but he is not different from those in truth; and it is said that just when the sun rises, its collected heat and yellow colour also rise then, but it does not mean that the sun is different from these. So the citta or consciousness takes the phenomena of contact, etc., and cognizes them. So though it is the same as they are yet in a sense it is different from them [Footnote ref 3].

To go back to the chain of twelve causes, we find that jati (birth) is the cause of decay and death, jaramara@na, etc. Jati is the appearance of the body or the totality of the five skandhas [Footnote ref 4]. Coming to bhava which determines jati, I cannot think of any better rational explanation of bhava, than that I have already

________________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Warren's _Buddhism in Translations_, p. 182, _Milinda Panha_ (628).]

[Footnote 2: _Atthasalini_, p. 112...]

[Footnote 3: _Ibid._ p. 113, _Yatha hi rupadini upadaya pannatta suriyadayo na atthato rupadihi anne honti ten' eva yasmin samaye suriyo udeti tasmin samaye tassa teja-sa@nkhatam rupa@m piti eva@m vuccamane pi na rupadihi anno suriyo nama atthi. Tatha cittam
phassadayo dhamme upadaya pannapiyati. Atthato pan' ettha tehi annam eva. Tena yasmin samaye cittam uppanna@m hoti eka@msen eva tasmin samaye phassadihi atthato annad eva hoti ti_.

[Footnote 4: "'_Jatirdehajanma pancaskandhasamudaya@h,_' Govindananda's _Ratnaprabha_ on S'a@nkara's bha@sya, II. ii. 19.]

90

suggested, namely, the works (_karma_) which produce the birth [Footnote ref 1]. Upadana is an advanced t@r@s@na leading to positive clinging [Footnote ref 2]. It is produced by t@r@s@na (desire) which again is the result of vedana (pleasure and pain). But this vedana is of course vedana with ignorance (_avidya_), for an Arhat may have also vedana but as he has no avidya, the vedana cannot produce t@r@s@na in turn. On its development it immediately passes into upadana. Vedana means pleasurable, painful or indifferent feeling. On the one side it leads to t@r@s@na (desire) and on the other it is produced by sense-contact (_spars'a_). Prof. De la Vallee Poussin says that S'rilabha distinguishes three processes in the production of vedana. Thus first there is the contact between the sense and the object; then there is the knowledge of the object, and then there is the vedana. Depending on _Majjhima Nikaya_, iii. 242, Poussin gives the other opinion that just as in the case of two sticks heat takes place simultaneously with rubbing, so here also vedana takes place simultaneously with spars'a for they are "produits par un meme complexe de causes (_samagri_) [Footnote
Sparśa is produced by saḍayatana, saḍayatana by namarupa, and namarupa by vijnana, and is said to descend in the womb of the mother and produce the five skandhas as namarupa, out of which the six senses are specialized.

Vijnana in this connection probably means the principle or germ of consciousness in the womb of the mother upholding the five elements of the new body there. It is the product of the past karmas (saṃkhara) of the dying man and of his past consciousness too.

We sometimes find that the Buddhists believed that the last thoughts of the dying man determined the nature of his next

[Footnote 1: Govindananda in his _Ratnaprabha_ on S'ānkara's bhaṣya, II. ii. 19, explains "bhava" as that from which anything becomes, as merit and demerit (dharmadi). See also _Vibhanga_, p. 137 and Warren's _Buddhism in Translations_, p. 201. Mr Aung says in _Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha_, p. 189, that bhavo includes kammabhavo (the active side of an existence) and upapattibhavo (the passive side). And the commentators say that bhava is a contraction of "kammabhava"]
or Karma-becoming i.e. karmic activity.]

[Footnote 2: Prof. De la Vallee Poussin in his _Theoric des Douze Causes_, p. 26, says that _S'alistambhasutra_ explains the word "upadana" as "t@r@s@na\textsuperscript{2} or hyper-t@r@s@na and Candrakirtti also gives the same meaning, _M. V._ (B.T.S.p. 210). Govmdananda explains "upadana" as prav@rtti (movement) generated by t@r@s@na (desire), i.e. the active tendency in pursuance of desire. But if upadana means "support" it would denote all the five skandhas. Thus _Madhyamaka v@rtti_ says _upadanam pancaskandhalak@sa@nam...pancopadanaskandhakhyam upadanam. M.V._ XXVII. 6.]


91

birth [Footnote ref 1]. The manner in which the vijnana produced in the womb is determined by the past vijnana of the previous existence is according to some authorities of the nature of a reflected image, like the transmission of learning from the teacher to the disciple, like the lighting of a lamp from another lamp or like the impress of a stamp on wax. As all the skandhas are changing in life, so death also is but a similar change; there is no great break, but the same uniform sort of destruction and coming into being. New skandhas are produced as simultaneously as the two scale pans of a balance rise up and fall, in the same manner as a lamp is lighted or an image is reflected. At the death of the man the
vijnana resulting from his previous karmas and vijnanas enters into the womb of that mother (animal, man or the gods) in which the next skandhas are to be matured. This vijnana thus forms the principle of the new life. It is in this vijnana that name (_nama_) and form (_rupa_) become associated.

The vijnana is indeed a direct product of the sa@mskaras and the sort of birth in which vijnana should bring down (_namayati_) the new existence (_upapatti_) is determined by the sa@mskaras [Footnote ref 2], for in reality the happening of death (_mara@nabhava_) and the instillation of the vijnana as the beginning of the new life (_upapattibhava_) cannot be simultaneous, but the latter succeeds just at the next moment, and it is to signify this close succession that they are said to be simultaneous. If the vijnana had not entered the womb then no namarupa could have appeared [Footnote ref 3].

This chain of twelve causes extends over three lives. Thus avidya and sa@mskara of the past life produce the vijnana, namarupa,

[Footnote 1: The deities of the gardens, the woods, the trees and the plants, finding the master of the house, Citta, ill said "make your resolution, 'May I be a cakravartti king in a next existence,'" _Sa@myutta_, IV. 303.]
[Footnote 2: "_sa cedanandavijnana@m matu@hkuk@sim navakrameta, na tat kalalam kalalatvaya sannivartteta_." _M. V._ 552. Compare _Caraka, S'arira_, III. 5-8, where he speaks of a "upapiduka sattva" which connects the soul with body and by the absence of which the character is changed, the senses become affected and life ceases, when it is in a pure condition one can remember even the previous births; character, purity, antipathy, memory, fear, energy, all mental qualities are produced out of it. Just as a chariot is made by the combination of many elements, so is the foetus.]

[Footnote 3: _Madhyamaka v@riti_ (B.T.S. 202-203). Poussin quotes from _Digha_, II. 63, "si le vijnana ne descendait pas dans le sein maternel la namarupa s'y constituerait-il?" Govindananda on _S'a@nkara's commentary on the _Brahma-sutras_ (II. ii. 19) says that the first consciousness (vijnana) of the foetus is produced by the sa@mskaras of the previous birth, and from that the four elements (which he calls nama) and from that the white and red, semen and ovum, and the first stage of the foetus (kalala-budbudavastha) is produced.]

92

@sa@dayatana, spars'a, vedana, t@r@s@na, upadana and the bhava (leading to another life) of the present actual life. This bhava produces the jati and jaramara@na of the next life [Footnote ref I].
It is interesting to note that these twelve links in the chain extending in three sections over three lives are all but the manifestations of sorrow to the bringing in of which they naturally determine one another. Thus _Abhidhammattha@ngaha_ says "each of these twelve terms is a factor. For the composite term 'sorrow,' etc. is only meant to show incidental consequences of birth. Again when 'ignorance' and 'the actions of the mind' have been taken into account, craving (_t@r@s@na_), grasping (_upadana_) and (_karma_) becoming (_bhava_) are implicitly accounted for also. In the same manner when craving, grasping and (_karma_) becoming have been taken into account, ignorance and the actions of the mind are (implicitly) accounted for, also; and when birth, decay, and death are taken into account, even the fivefold fruit, to wit (rebirth), consciousness, and the rest are accounted for. And thus:

Five causes in the Past and Now a fivefold 'fruit.'

Five causes Now and yet to come a fivefold 'fruit' make up the Twenty Modes, the Three Connections (1. sa@nkhara and vinnana, 2. vedana and tanha, 3. bhava and jati) and the four groups (one causal group in the Past, one resultant group in the Present, one causal group in the Present and one resultant group in the Future, each group consisting of five modes) [Footnote ref 2]."
These twelve interdependent links (_dvadas'anga_) represent
the pa@ticcasamuppada (_pratityasamutpada_) doctrines (dependent
origination) [Footnote ref 3] which are themselves but sorrow and lead to
cycles of sorrow. The term pa@ticcasamuppada or pratityasamutpada has
been differently interpreted in later Buddhist literature [Footnote ref
4].

___________________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: This explanation probably cannot be found in the early Pali
texts; but Buddhagho@sa mentions it in _Suma@ngalavilasini_ on _Mahanidana
suttanta_. We find it also in _Abhidhammatthasa@ngaha_ VIII. 3. Ignorance
and the actions of the mind belong to the past; "birth," "decay and death"
to the future; the intermediate eight to the present. It is styled as
tri@ka@n@daka (having three branches) in _Abhidkarmakos'a_ III. 20-24.
Two in the past branch, two in the future and eight in the middle "_sa
pratityasamutpado dvadas'a@ngastrika@n@daka@h purvaparantayordve dve
madhye@s@tau_."]

[Footnote 2: Aung and Mrs Rhys Davids' translation of
_Abidhammatthasa@ngaha_, pp. 189-190.]

[Footnote 3: The twelve links are not always constant. Thus in the list
given in the _Dialogues of the Buddha_, II. 23 f., avijja and sa@nkhara
have been omitted and the start has been made with consciousness, and it
has been said that "Cognition turns back from name and form; it goes
not beyond."]

[Footnote 4: _M. V._ p. 5 f.]

93

Samutpada means appearance or arising (_pradurbhdava_) and pratitya
means after getting (_prati+i+ya_); combining the two we
find, arising after getting (something). The elements, depending
on which there is some kind of arising, are called hetu (cause) and
paccaya (ground). These two words however are often used in
the same sense and are interchangeable. But paccaya is also
used in a specific sense. Thus when it is said that avijja is the
paccaya of sa@nkharas it is meant that avijja is the ground (_@thiti_)
of the origin of the sa@nkharas, is the ground of their movement,
of the instrument through which they stand (_nimitta@t@thiti_), of
their ayuhana (conglomeration), of their interconnection, of their
intelligibility, of their conjoint arising, of their function as cause
and of their function as the ground with reference to those which
are determined by them. Avijja in all these nine ways is
the ground of sa@nkharas both in the past and also in the future,
though avijja itself is determined in its turn by other grounds [Footnote
ref 1]. When we take the betu aspect of the causal chain, we cannot
think of anything else but succession, but when we take the
paccaya aspect we can have a better vision into the nature of the
cause as ground. Thus when avijja is said to be the ground
of the saṅkharas in the nine ways mentioned above, it seems
reasonable to think that the saṅkharas were in some sense
regarded as special manifestations of avijja [Footnote ref 2]. But as this
point was not further developed in the early Buddhist texts it would
be unwise to proceed further with it.

The Khandhas.

The word khandha (Skr. skandha) means the trunk of a tree
and is generally used to mean group or aggregate [Footnote ref 3]. We
have seen that Buddha said that there was no atman (soul). He said
that when people held that they found the much spoken of soul,
they really only found the five khandhas together or any one of
them. The khandhas are aggregates of bodily and psychical
states which are immediate with us and are divided into five

[Footnote 1: See _Paṭisambhidamagga_, vol. I.p. 50; see also _Majjhima
Nikaya_, I. 67, _saṅkharas...avijjanidana avijjasamudaya avijjajatika
avijjapabhava_.]

[Footnote 2: In the Yoga derivation of asmita (egoism), raga (attachment),
dveṣa (antipathy) and abhinivesa (self love) from avidya we find also
that all the five are regarded as the five special stages of the growth
of avidya (pancaparvi avidya_].

[Footnote 3: The word skandha is used in Chandogya, II. 23 (trayo
dharmaskandha@h yajna@h adhyayanam danam_) in the sense of branches
and in almost the same sense in Maitri, VII. II.]

94

classes: (1) rupa (four elements, the body, the senses), sense
data, etc., (2) vedana (feeling--pleasurable, painful and indifferent),
(3) sanna (conceptual knowledge), (4) sa@nkhara (synthetic
mental states and the synthetic functioning of compound
sense-affections, compound feelings and compound concepts),
(5) vinnana (consciousness) [Footnote ref 1].

All these states rise depending one upon the other (pa@ticcasamuppanna_)
and when a man says that he perceives the self he only deludes himself,
for he only perceives one or more of these. The word rupa in rupakhandha
stands for matter and material qualities, the senses, and the sense
data [Footnote ref 2]. But "rupa" is also used in the sense of pure
organic affections or states of mind as we find in the Khandha Yamaka_,
I.p. 16, and also in Sa@myutta Nikaya_, III. 86. Rupaskandha according
to Dharmasa@mgraha_ means the aggregate of five senses, the five
sensations, and the implicatory communications associated in sense
perceptions vijnapti_].
The elaborate discussion of _Dhammasaṅgaṇī_ begins by defining rupa as "_cattaro ca mahabhuta catunnaṇca mahabhntanam upadaya rupam_" (the four mahabhutas or elements and that proceeding from the grasping of that is called rupa) [Footnote ref 3]. Buddhaghosa explains it by saying that rupa means the four mahabhutas and those which arise depending (_nissaya_) on them as a modification of them. In the rupa the six senses including their affections are also included. In explaining why the four elements are called mahabhutas, Buddhaghosa says: "Just as a magician (_mayakara_) makes the water which is not hard appear as hard, makes the stone which is not gold appear as gold; just as he himself though not a ghost nor a bird makes himself appear as a ghost or a bird, so these elements though not themselves blue make themselves appear as blue (_nilam upada rupam_), not yellow, red, or white make themselves appear as yellow, red or white (odatam upadarupam), so on account of their similarity to the appearances created by the magician they are called mahabhuta [Footnote ref 4]."

In the _Saṃyutta Nikaya_ we find that the Buddha says, "O Bhikkhus it is called rupam because it manifests (_rupyati_) how

[Footnote 1: _Saṃyutta Nikaya_, III. 86, etc.]
95

does it manifest? It manifests as cold, and as heat, as hunger and as thirst, it manifests as the touch of gnats, mosquitos, wind, the sun and the snake; it manifests, therefore it is called rupa.

[Footnote ref 1]."

If we take the somewhat conflicting passages referred to above for our consideration and try to combine them so as to understand what is meant by rupa, I think we find that that which manifested itself to the senses and organs was called rupa. No distinction seems to have been made between the sense-data as colours, smells, etc., as existing in the physical world and their appearance as sensations. They were only numerically different and the appearance of the sensations was dependent upon the sense-data and the senses but the sense-data and the sensations were "rupa." Under certain conditions the sense-data were followed by the sensations. Buddhism did not probably start with the same kind of division of matter and
mind as we now do. And it may not be out of place to mention that
such an opposition and duality were found neither in the Upani@sads
nor in the Sa@mkhya system which is regarded by some as pre-Buddhistic.
The four elements manifested themselves in certain forms and
were therefore called rupa; the forms of affection that appeared
were also called rupa; many other mental states or features
which appeared with them were also called rupa [Footnote ref 2]. The
ayatanas or the senses were also called rupa [Footnote ref 3]. The
mahabhutas or four elements were themselves but changing manifestations,
and they together with all that appeared in association with them were
called rupa and formed the rupa khandha (the classes of sense-materials,
sense-data, senses and sensations).

In _Sa@myutta Nikaya_ (III. 101) it is said that "the four
mahabhutas were the hetu and the paccaya for the communication
of the rupakkhandha (_rupakkhandhassa pannapanaya_). Contact
(sense-contact, phassa) is the cause of the communication of
feelings (_vedana_); sense-contact was also the hetu and paccaya
for the communication of the sannakkhandha; sense-contact is
also the hetu and paccaya for the communication of the
sa@nkharakkhandha. But namarupa is the hetu and the paccaya for
the communication of the vinnanakkhandha." Thus not only feelings
arise on account of the sense-contact but sanna and sa@nkha
also arise therefrom. Sanna is that where specific knowing or
conceiving takes place. This is the stage where the specific distinctive knowledge as the yellow or the red takes place.

Mrs. Rhys Davids writing on sanna says: "In editing the second book of the Abhidhamma pitaka I found a classification distinguishing between sanna as cognitive assimilation on occasion of sense, and sanna as cognitive assimilation of ideas by way of naming. The former is called perception of resistance, or opposition (_patigha-sanna_). This, writes Buddhagho-sa, is perception on occasion of sight, hearing, etc., when consciousness is aware of the impact of impressions; of external things as different, we might say. The latter is called perception of the equivalent word or name (_adhivachana-sanna_) and is exercised by the _sensus communis_ (mano), when e.g. 'one is seated...and asks another who is thoughtful: "What are you thinking of?" one perceives through his speech.' Thus there are two stages of sanna-consciousness,
1. contemplating sense-impressions, 2. ability to know what they are by naming [Footnote ref 1]."

About sa@nkhara we read in _Sa@myutta Nikaya_ (III. 87) that it is called sa@nkhara because it synthesises (_abhisa@nkharonti_), it is that which conglomerated rupa as rupa, conglomerated sanna as sanna, sa@nkhara as sa@nkhara and consciousness (_vinnana_) as consciousness. It is called sa@nkhara because it synthesises the conglomerated (_sa@nkhatam abhisa@nkharonti_). It is thus a synthetic function which synthesises the passive rupa, sanna, sa@nkhara and vinnana elements. The fact that we hear of 52 sa@nkhara states and also that the sa@nkhara exercises its synthetic activity on the conglomerated elements in it, goes to show that probably the word sa@nkhara is used in two senses, as mental states and as synthetic activity.

Vinnana or consciousness meant according to Buddhagho@sa, as we have already seen in the previous section, both the stage at which the intellectual process started and also the final resulting consciousness.

Buddhagho@sa in explaining the process of Buddhist psychology says that "consciousness(_citta_) first comes into touch (_phassa_) with its object (_aramma@na_) and thereafter feeling, conception (_sanna_) and volition (_cetana_) come in. This contact is like the pillars of a palace, and the rest are but the superstructure built upon it
(_dabbasambhasasadisa_). But it should not be thought that contact

[Footnote 1: _Buddhist Psychology_, pp. 49, 50.]

is the beginning of the psychological processes, for in one whole
consciousness (_ekacittasmi@m_) it cannot be said that this comes
first and that comes after, so we can take contact in association
with feeling (_vedana_), conceiving (_sanna_) or volition (_cetana_);
it is itself an immaterial state but yet since it comprehends
objects it is called contact.” “There is no impinging on one side
of the object (as in physical contact), nevertheless contact causes
consciousness and object to be in collision, as visible object and
visual organs, sound and hearing; thus impact is its _function_; or
it has impact as its _essential property_ in the sense of attainment,
owing to the impact of the physical basis with the mental object.
For it is said in the Commentary:--“contact in the four planes of
existence is never without the characteristic of touch with the
object; but the function of impact takes place in the five doors.
For to sense, or five-door contact, is given the name 'having the
characteristic of touch' as well as 'having the function of impact.'
But to contact in the mind-door there is only the characteristic
of touch, but not the function of impact. And then this Sutta is
quoted 'As if, sire, two rams were to fight, one ram to represent the eye, the second the visible object, and their collision contact. And as if, sire, two cymbals were to strike against each other, or two hands were to clap against each other; one hand would represent the eye, the second the visible object and their collision contact. Thus contact has the characteristic of touch and the function of impact [Footnote ref 1]. Contact is the manifestation of the union of the three (the object, the consciousness and the sense) and its effect is feeling (_vedana_); though it is generated by the objects it is felt in the consciousness and its chief feature is experiencing (_anubhava_) the taste of the object. As regards enjoying the taste of an object, the remaining associated states enjoy it only partially. Of contact there is (the function of) the mere touching, of perception the mere noting or perceiving, of volition the mere coordinating, of consciousness the mere cognizing. But feeling alone, through governance, proficiency, mastery, enjoys the taste of an object. For feeling is like the king, the remaining states are like the cook. As the cook, when he has prepared food of diverse tastes, puts it in a basket, seals it, takes it to the king, breaks the seal, opens the basket, takes the best of all the soup and curries, puts them in a dish, swallows (a portion) to find out

[Footnote 1: _Atthasalini_, p. 108; translation, pp. 143-144.]
whether they are faulty or not and afterwards offers the food of various excellent tastes to the king, and the king, being lord, expert, and master, eats whatever he likes, even so the mere tasting of the food by the cook is like the partial enjoyment of the object by the remaining states, and as the cook tastes a portion of the food, so the remaining states enjoy a portion of the object, and as the king, being lord, expert and master, eats the meal according to his pleasure so feeling being lord expert, and master, enjoys the taste of the object and therefore it is said that enjoyment or experience is its function [Footnote ref 1]."

The special feature of sanna is said to be the recognizing (_paccabhinna_) by means of a sign (_abhinnanena_). According to another explanation, a recognition takes place by the inclusion of the totality (of aspects)--_sabbasa@ngahikavasena_. The work of volition (_cetana_) is said to be coordination or binding together (_abhisandahana_). "Volition is exceedingly energetic and makes a double effort, a double exertion. Hence the Ancients said 'Volition is like the nature of a landowner, a cultivator who taking fifty-five strong men, went down to the fields to reap. He was exceedingly energetic and exceedingly strenuous; he doubled his strength and said "Take your sickles" and so forth, pointed out the portion to be reaped, offered them drink, food, scent, flowers, etc., and took an equal share of the work.' The simile should be thus applied: volition is like the cultivator, the fifty-five moral
states which arise as factors of consciousness are like the fifty-five strong men; like the time of doubling strength, doubling effort by the cultivator is the doubled strength, doubled effort of volition as regards activity in moral and immoral acts [Footnote ref 2]."

It seems that probably the active side operating in sa@nkhara was separately designated as cetana (volition).

"When one says 'I,' what he does is that he refers either to all the khandhas combined or any one of them and deludes himself that that was 'I.' Just as one could not say that the fragrance of the lotus belonged to the petals, the colour or the pollen, so one could not say that the rupa was 'I' or that the vedana was 'I' or any of the other khandhas was 'I.' There is nowhere to be found in the khandhas 'I am [Footnote ref 3]."

---

[Footnote 1: _Atthasalini_, pp. 109-110; translation, pp. 145-146.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid._ p. 111; translation, pp. 147-148.]

[Footnote 3: _Samyutta Nikaya_, III. 130.]
As to the question how the avijja (ignorance) first started
there can be no answer, for we could never say that either
ignorance or desire for existence ever has any beginning [Footnote ref 1].
Its fruition is seen in the cycle of existence and the sorrow that comes
in its train, and it comes and goes with them all. Thus as we
can never say that it has any beginning, it determines the elements
which bring about cycles of existence and is itself determined by
certain others. This mutual determination can only take place
in and through the changing series of dependent phenomena, for
there is nothing which can be said to have any absolute priority
in time or stability. It is said that it is through the coming into
being of the asavas or depravities that the avijja came into
being, and that through the destruction of the depravities (_asava_)
the avijja was destroyed [Footnote ref 2]. These asavas are classified in
the _Dhammasaṅgaṇī_ as kamasava, bhavasava, diṭṭhasava and avijjasava.
Kamasava means desire, attachment, pleasure, and thirst
after the qualities associated with the senses; bhavasava means
desire, attachment and will for existence or birth; diṭṭhasava
means the holding of heretical views, such as, the world is eternal
or non-eternal, or that the world will come to an end or will not
come to an end, or that the body and the soul are one or are
different; avijjasava means the ignorance of sorrow, its cause, its
extinction and its means of extinction. _Dhammasaṅgaṇī_ adds
four more supplementary ones, viz. ignorance about the nature of
anterior mental khandhas, posterior mental khandhas, anterior
and posterior together, and their mutual dependence [Footnote ref 3].
Kamasava and bhavasava can as Buddhagho@sa says be counted as one, for
they are both but depravities due to attachment [Footnote ref 4].

XVII.), p. 175.]

[Footnote 2: _M. N._ I.p. 54. Childers translates "asava" as "depravities"
and Mrs Rhys Davids as "intoxicants." The word "asava" in Skr. means
"old wine." It is derived from "su" to produce by Buddhagho@sa and the
meaning that he gives to it is "_cira parivasa@t@thena_" (on account
of its being stored up for a long time like wine). They work through the
eye and the mind and continue to produce all beings up to Indra.
As those wines which are kept long are called "asavas" so these are also
called asavas for remaining a long time. The other alternative that
Buddhagho@sa gives is that they are called asava on account of their
producing sa@msaradukkha (sorrows of the world), _Atthasalini_, p. 48.
Contrast it with Jaina asrava (flowing in of karma matter). Finding it
difficult to translate it in one word after Buddhagho@sa, I have
translated it as "depravities," after Childers.]

[Footnote 3: See _Dhamma@nga@ni_, p. 195.]
The diṭṭhasavas by clouding the mind with false metaphysical views stand in the way of one's adopting the true Buddhistic doctrines.

The kamasavas stand in the way of one's entering into the way of Nirvāṇa (anagamimagga) and the bhavasavas and avijjasavas stand in the way of one's attaining arha or final emancipation. When the Majjhima Nikaya says that from the rise of the asavas avijja rises, it evidently counts avijja there as in some sense separate from the other asavas, such as those of attachment and desire of existence which veil the true knowledge about sorrow.

The afflictions (kilesas) do not differ much from the asavas for they are but the specific passions in forms ordinarily familiar to us, such as covetousness (lobha), anger or hatred (dosa), infatuation (moha), arrogance, pride or vanity (mana), heresy (diṭṭhi), doubt or uncertainty (vicikiccha), idleness (thina), boastfulness (udhacca), shamelessness (ahirika) and hardness of heart (anottapa); these kilesas proceed directly as a result of the asavas. In spite of these varieties they are often counted as three (lobha, dosa, moha) and these together are called kilesa. They are associated with the vedanakkhandha, sannakkhandha, saṅkhārakkhandha.
and vinnanakkhandha. From these arise the three kinds of actions, of speech, of body, and of mind [Footnote ref 1].

Sila and Samadhi.

We are intertwined all through outside and inside by the tangles of desire (_ta@nha ja@ta_), and the only way by which these may be loosened is by the practice of right discipline (_sila_), concentration (_samadhi_) and wisdom (_panna_). Sila briefly means the desisting from committing all sinful deeds (_sabbapapassa akara@nam_). With sila therefore the first start has to be made, for by it one ceases to do all actions prompted by bad desires and thereby removes the inrush of dangers and disturbances. This serves to remove the kilesas, and therefore the proper performance of the sila would lead one to the first two successive stages of sainthood, viz. the sotapannabhava (the stage in which one is put in the right current) and the sakadagamibhava (the stage when one has only one more birth to undergo). Samadhi is a more advanced effort, for by it all the old roots of the old kilesas are destroyed and the ta@nha or desire is removed and

[Footnote 1: _Dhammasa@nga@ni_, p. 180.]
by it one is led to the more advanced states of a saint. It
directly brings in panna (true wisdom) and by panna the saint
achieves final emancipation and becomes what is called an
arhat [Footnote ref 1]. Wisdom (_panna_) is right knowledge about the
four ariya saccas, viz. sorrow, its cause, its destruction and its cause
of destruction.

Sila means those particular volitions and mental states, etc.
by which a man who desists from committing sinful actions
maintains himself on the right path. Sila thus means 1. right
volition (_cetana_), 2. the associated mental states (_cetasika_),
3. mental control (_sa@mvara_) and 4. the actual non-transgression
(in body and speech) of the course of conduct already in the mind
by the preceding three silas called avitikkama. Sa@mvara is
spoken of as being of five kinds, 1. Pa@timokkhasa@mvara (the
control which saves him who abides by it), 2. Satisa@mvara (the
control of mindfulness), 3. Nanasa@mvara (the control of knowledge),
4. Khantisa@mvara (the control of patience), 5. Viriyasa@mvara
(the control of active self-restraint). Pa@timokkhasa@mvara
means all self-control in general. Satisa@mvara means
the mindfulness by which one can bring in the right and good
associations when using one's cognitive senses. Even when
looking at any tempting object he will by virtue of his mindfulness
(_sati_) control himself from being tempted by avoiding to
think of its tempting side and by thinking on such aspects of it
as may lead in the right direction. Khantisa@mvara is that by which one can remain unperturbed in heat and cold. By the proper adherence to sila all our bodily, mental and vocal activities (_kamma_) are duly systematized, organized, stabilized (_samadhanam, upadhara@na@m, pati@t@tha_) [Footnote ref 2].

The sage who adopts the full course should also follow a number of healthy monastic rules with reference to dress, sitting, dining, etc., which are called the dhuta@ngas or pure disciplinary parts [Footnote ref 3]. The practice of sila and the dhutangas help the sage to adopt the course of samadhi. Samadhi as we have seen means the concentration of the mind bent on right endeavours (_kusalacittekaggata samadhi@h_) together with its states upon one particular object (_ekaramma@na_) so that they may completely cease to shift and change (_samma ca avikkhipamana_) [Footnote ref 4].

[Footnote 1: _Visuddhimagga Nidanadikatha_.]

[Footnote 2: _Visuddhimagga-silaniddeso_, pp. 7 and 8.]

[Footnote 3: _Visuddhimagga_, II.]

[Footnote 4: _Visuddhimagga_, pp. 84-85.]
The man who has practised sila must train his mind first
in particular ways, so that it may be possible for him to acquire
the chief concentration of meditation called jhana (fixed and
steady meditation). These preliminary endeavours of the mind
for the acquirement of jhanasamadhi eventually lead to it
and are called upacara samadhi (preliminary samadhi) as distinguished
from the jhanasamadhi called the appanasamadhi (achieved samadhi)
[Footnote ref 1]. Thus as a preparatory measure, firstly he
has to train his mind continually to view with disgust the appetitive
desires for eating and drinking (_ahare patikkulasanna_) by
emphasizing in the mind the various troubles that are associated
in seeking food and drink and their ultimate loathsome transformations
as various nauseating bodily elements. When a man
continually habituates himself to emphasize the disgusting
associations of food and drink, he ceases to have any attachment
to them and simply takes them as an unavoidable evil,
only awaiting the day when the final dissolution of all sorrows
will come [Footnote ref 2]. Secondly he has to habituate his mind to the
idea that all the parts of our body are made up of the four elements,
kāsitī (earth), ap (water), tejas (fire) and wind (air), like the carcase
of a cow at the butcher's shop. This is technically called
catudhatuvavaṭhanabhavana (the meditation of the body as being
made up of the four elements) [Footnote ref 3]. Thirdly he has to
habituate his mind to think again and again (_anussati_) about the
virtues or greatness of the Buddha, the saṅgha (the monks following
the Buddha), the gods and the law (_dhamma_) of the Buddha, about
the good effects of sila, and the making of gifts (_caganussati_).
about the nature of death (_mara@nanussati_) and about
the deep nature and qualities of the final extinction
of all phenomena (_upasamanussati_) [Footnote ref 4].

[Footnote 1: As it is not possible for me to enter into details, I follow
what appears to me to be the main line of division showing the
interconnection of jhana (Skr. _dhyana_) with its accessory stages
called parikammas (_Visuddhimagga_, pp. 85 f.).]

[Footnote 2: _Visuddhimagga_, pp. 341-347; mark the intense pessimistic
attitude, "_Iman ca pana ahare pa@tikulasanna@m anuyuttassa bhikkhu@no
rasata@nhaya cittam pa@tiliyati, pa@tiku@t@tati, pa@tiva@t@tati; so,
kantarani@ttara@na@t@thiko viya puttama@msa@m vigatamado ahara@m ahareti
yavad eva dukkhassa ni@t@thara@natthaya_," p. 347. The mind of him who
inspires himself with this supreme disgust to all food, becomes free from
all desires for palatable tastes, and turns its back to them and flies off
from them. As a means of getting rid of all sorrow he takes his food
without any attachment as one would eat the flesh of his own son to
sustain himself in crossing a forest.]

[Footnote 3: _Visuddhimagga_, pp. 347-370.]
Advancing further from the preliminary meditations or preparations called the upacara samadhi we come to those other sources of concentration and meditation called the appanasamadhi which directly lead to the achievement of the highest samadhi. The processes of purification and strengthening of the mind continue in this stage also, but these represent the last attempts which lead the mind to its final goal Nibbana. In the first part of this stage the sage has to go to the cremation grounds and notice the diverse horrifying changes of the human carcases and think how nauseating, loathsome, unsightly and impure they are, and from this he will turn his mind to the living human bodies and convince himself that they being in essence the same as the dead carcases are as loathsome as they [Footnote ref.1] This is called asubhakamma@t@thana or the endeavour to perceive the impurity of our bodies. He should think of the anatomical parts and constituents of the body as well as their processes, and this will help him to enter into the first jhana by leading his mind away from his body. This is called the kayagatasati or the continual mindfulness about the nature of the body [Footnote ref 2]. As an aid to concentration the sage should sit in a quiet place and fix his mind on the inhaling (_passasa_) and the exhaling (_assasa_) of his breath, so that instead
of breathing in a more or less unconscious manner he may be
aware whether he is breathing quickly or slowly; he ought to
mark it definitely by counting numbers, so that by fixing his
mind on the numbers counted he may fix his mind on the whole
process of inhalation and exhalation in all stages of its course.
This is called the anapanasati or the mindfulness of inhalation
and exhalation [Footnote ref 3]

Next to this we come to Brahmavihara, the fourfold meditation
of metta (universal friendship), karuṇa (universal pity),
mudita (happiness in the prosperity and happiness of all) and
upekkha (indifference to any kind of preferment of oneself, his
friend, enemy or a third party). In order to habituate oneself to
the meditation on universal friendship, one should start with thinking
how he should himself like to root out all misery and become
happy, how he should himself like to avoid death and live cheerfully,
and then pass over to the idea that other beings would also
have the same desires. He should thus habituate himself to think
that his friends, his enemies, and all those with whom he is not

___________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: _Visuddhimagga_, VI.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid._ pp. 239-266.]
connected might all live and become happy. He should fix himself
to such an extent in this meditation that he would not find any
difference between the happiness or safety of himself and of others.
He should never become angry with any person. Should he at any
time feel himself offended on account of the injuries inflicted on
him by his enemies, he should think of the futility of doubling
his sadness by becoming sorry or vexed on that account. He
should think that if he should allow himself to be affected by
anger, he would spoil all his sila which he was so carefully practising.
If anyone has done a vile action by inflicting injury,
should he himself also do the same by being angry at it? If he
were finding fault with others for being angry, could he himself
indulge in anger? Moreover he should think that all the dhammas
are momentary (kha@nikatta_); that there no longer existed the
khandhas which had inflicted the injury, and moreover the infliction
of any injury being only a joint product, the man who was
injured was himself an indispensable element in the production
of the infliction as much as the man who inflicted the injury, and
there could not thus be any special reason for making him responsible
and of being angry with him. If even after thinking
in this way the anger does not subside, he should think that by
indulging in anger he could only bring mischief on himself through
his bad deeds, and he should further think that the other man
by being angry was only producing mischief to himself but not
to him. By thinking in these ways the sage would be able to
free his mind from anger against his enemies and establish himself
in an attitude of universal friendship [Footnote ref 1]. This is called
the metta-bhavana. In the meditation of universal pity (_karu@na_)
also one should sympathize with the sorrows of his friends and
foes alike. The sage being more keen-sighted will feel pity for
those who are apparently leading a happy life, but are neither
acquiring merits nor endeavouring to proceed on the way to
Nibbana, for they are to suffer innumerable lives of sorrow [Footnote
ref 2].

We next come to the jhanas with the help of material things
as objects of concentration called the Kasi@nam. These objects of
concentration may either be earth, water, fire, wind, blue colour,
yellow colour, red colour, white colour, light or limited space
(_paricchinnakasa_). Thus the sage may take a brown ball of earth
and concentrate his mind upon it as an earth ball, sometimes

[Footnote 1: _Visuddhimagga_, pp. 295-314.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid._ pp. 314-315.]
with eyes open and sometimes with eyes shut. When he finds
that even in shutting his eyes he can visualize the object in his
mind, he may leave off the object and retire to another place to
concentrate upon the image of the earth ball in his mind.

In the first stages of the first meditation (pathamam jhanam)
the mind is concentrated on the object in the way of understanding
it with its form and name and of comprehending it with its diverse
relations. This state of concentration is called vitakka (discursive
meditation). The next stage of the first meditation is that in
which the mind does not move in the object in relational terms
but becomes fixed and settled in it and penetrates into it without
any quivering. This state is called vicara (steadily moving). The
first stage vitakka has been compared in Buddhagho Saunders Visuddhimagga
to the flying of a kite with its wings flapping, whereas
the second stage is compared to its flying in a sweep without the
least quiver of its wings. These two stages are associated with
a buoyant exaltation (piti) and a steady inward bliss called sukha
[Footnote ref 1] instilling the mind. The formation of this first
jhana roots out five ties of avijja, kamacchando (dallying with
desires), vyapado (hatred), thinamiddham (sloth and torpor),
uddhaccakukkuccam (pride and restlessness), and vicikiccha (doubt).
The five elements of which this jhana is constituted are vitakka,
vicara, piti, sukham and ekaggata (one pointedness).
When the sage masters the first jhana he finds it defective
and wants to enter into the second meditation (_dutiya jhanam_),
where there is neither any vitakka nor vicara of the first jhana,
but the mind is in one unruffled state (_ekodibhavam_). It is a
much steadier state and does not possess the movement which
characterized the vitakka and the vicara stages of the first jhana
and is therefore a very placid state (_vitakka-vicarakkhobha-virahe@na
ativiya acalata suppasannata ca_). It is however associated
with piti, sukha and ekaggata as the first jhana was.

When the second jhana is mastered the sage becomes disinclined
towards the enjoyment of the piti of that stage and becomes
indifferent to them (_upekkhako_). A sage in this stage sees the
objects but is neither pleased nor displeased. At this stage all
the asavas of the sage become loosened (khi@nasava). The
enjoyment of sukha however still remains in the stage and the

[Footnote 1: Where there is piti there is sukha, but where there is sukha
there may not necessarily be piti. _Visuddhimagga_, p. 145.]
mind if not properly and carefully watched would like sometimes
to turn back to the enjoyment of piti again. The two characteristics
of this jhana are sukha and ekaggata. It should however
be noted that though there is the feeling of highest sukha here,
the mind is not only not attached to it but is indifferent to it
(_atimadhhurasukhe sukhaparamippatte pi tatiyajhane upekkhako,
na tattha sukhabhisangena aka@d@dhiyati_) [Footnote ref 1]. The earth
ball (_pa@thavi_) is however still the object of the jhana.

In the fourth or the last jhana both the sukha (happiness) and
the dukkha (misery) vanish away and all the roots of attachment
and antipathies are destroyed. This state is characterized by
supreme and absolute indifference (_upekkha_) which was slowly
growing in all the various stages of the jhanas. The characteristics
of this jhana are therefore upekkha and ekaggata. With the
mastery of this jhana comes final perfection and total extinction
of the citta called cetovimutti, and the sage becomes thereby an
arhat [Footnote ref 2]. There is no further production of the khandhas,
no rebirth, and there is the absolute cessation of all sorrows and
sufferings—Nibbana.

Kamma.

In the Katha (II. 6) Yama says that "a fool who is blinded
with the infatuation of riches does not believe in a future life; he
thinks that only this life exists and not any other, and thus he
comes again and again within my grasp." In the Digha Nikaya
also we read how Payasi was trying to give his reasons in support
of his belief that "Neither is there any other world, nor are there
beings, reborn otherwise than from parents, nor is there fruit or
result of deeds well done or ill done [Footnote ref 3]." Some of his
arguments were that neither the vicious nor the virtuous return to tell
us that they suffered or enjoyed happiness in the other world, that
if the virtuous had a better life in store, and if they believed
in it, they would certainly commit suicide in order to get it at
the earliest opportunity, that in spite of taking the best precautions
we do not find at the time of the death of any person that
his soul goes out, or that his body weighs less on account of
the departure of his soul, and so on. Kassapa refutes his arguments
with apt illustrations. But in spite of a few agnostics of

[Footnote 1: _Visuddhimagga_, p. 163.]

167-168.]

[Footnote 3: _Dialogues of the Buddha_, II. p. 349; _D. N._ II. pp. 317
ff.]
Payasi’s type, we have every reason to believe that the doctrine of rebirth in other worlds and in this was often spoken of in the Upani@sads and taken as an accepted fact by the Buddha. In the _Milinda Panha_, we find Nagasena saying "it is through a difference in their karma that men are not all alike, but some long lived, some short lived, some healthy and some sickly, some handsome and some ugly, some powerful and some weak, some rich and some poor, some of high degree and some of low degree, some wise and some foolish [Footnote ref 1]." We have seen in the third chapter that the same soil of views was enunciated by the Upani@sad sages.

But karma could produce its effect in this life or any other life only when there were covetousness, antipathy and infatuation. But "when a man's deeds are performed without covetousness, arise without covetousness and are occasioned without covetousness, then inasmuch as covetousness is gone these deeds are abandoned, uprooted, pulled out of the ground like a palmyra tree and become non-existent and not liable to spring up again in the future [Footnote ref 2]."

Karma by itself without craving (_ta@nha_) is incapable of bearing good or bad fruits. Thus we read in the _Mahasatipa@t@tha sutta_, "even this craving, potent for rebirth, that is accompanied by lust and self-indulgence, seeking satisfaction now here, now there, to wit, the craving for the life of sense, the craving for becoming (renewed life) and the craving for not becoming (for no new rebirth) [Footnote
Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled. These are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does craving take its rise, there does it dwell [Footnote ref 4]." Pre-occupation and deliberation of sensual gratification giving rise to craving is the reason why sorrow comes. And this is the first arya satya (noble truth).

The cessation of sorrow can only happen with "the utter cessation of and disenchantment about that very craving, giving it up, renouncing it and emancipation from it [Footnote ref 5]."

When the desire or craving (ṭhāṇha_) has once ceased the sage becomes an arhat, and the deeds that he may do after that will bear no fruit. An arhat cannot have any good or bad

[Footnote 1: Warren's _Buddhism in Translations_, p. 215.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid._ pp. 216-217.]

[Footnote 3: _Dialogues of the Buddha_, II. p. 340.]
fruits of whatever he does. For it is through desire that karma finds its scope of giving fruit. With the cessation of desire all ignorance, antipathy and grasping cease and consequently there is nothing which can determine rebirth. An arhat may suffer the effects of the deeds done by him in some previous birth just as Moggallana did, but in spite of the remnants of his past karma an arhat was an emancipated man on account of the cessation of his desire [Footnote ref 1].

Kammas are said to be of three kinds, of body, speech and mind (_kayika_, _vacika_ and _manasika_). The root of this kamma is however volition (_cetana_) and the states associated with it [Footnote ref 2]. If a man wishing to kill animals goes out into the forest in search of them, but cannot get any of them there even after a long search, his misconduct is not a bodily one, for he could not actually commit the deed with his body. So if he gives an order for committing a similar misdeed, and if it is not actually carried out with the body, it would be a misdeed by speech (_vacika_) and not by the body. But the merest bad thought or ill will alone whether carried into effect or not would be a kamma of the mind (_manasika_)
But the mental kamma must be present as the root of all bodily and vocal kammas, for if this is absent, as in the case of an arhat, there cannot be any kammas at all for him.

Kammas are divided from the point of view of effects into four classes, viz. (1) those which are bad and produce impurity, (2) those which are good and productive of purity, (3) those which are partly good and partly bad and thus productive of both purity and impurity, (4) those which are neither good nor bad and productive neither of purity nor of impurity, but which contribute to the destruction of kammas.

Final extinction of sorrow (nibbana) takes place as the natural result of the destruction of desires. Scholars of Buddhism have tried to discover the meaning of this ultimate happening, and various interpretations have been offered. Professor De la Vallee Poussin has pointed out that in the Pali texts Nibbana has sometimes been represented as a happy state, as pure annihilation, as an inconceivable existence or as a changeless state [Footnote 5].

[Footnote 1: See _Kathavatthu_ and Warren's _Buddhism in Translations_, pp, 221 ff.]
Mr Schrader, in discussing Nibbana in _Pali Text Society Journal_, 1905, says that the Buddha held that those who sought to become identified after death with the soul of the world as infinite space (_akasa_) or consciousness (_vinnana_) attained to a state in which they had a corresponding feeling of infiniteness without having really lost their individuality. This latter interpretation of Nibbana seems to me to be very new and quite against the spirit of the Buddhistic texts. It seems to me to be a hopeless task to explain Nibbana in terms of worldly experience, and there is no way in which we can better indicate it than by saying that it is a cessation of all sorrow; the stage at which all worldly experiences have ceased can hardly be described either as positive
or negative. Whether we exist in some form eternally or do not
exist is not a proper Buddhistic question, for it is a heresy to
think of a Tathagata as existing eternally (_s'as'vata_) or not-existing
(_as'as'vata_) or whether he is existing as well as not
existing or whether he is neither existing nor non-existing. Any
one who seeks to discuss whether Nibbana is either a positive
and eternal state or a mere state of non-existence or annihilation,
takes a view which has been discarded in Buddhism as heretical.
It is true that we in modern times are not satisfied with it, for
we want to know what it all means. But it is not possible to
give any answer since Buddhism regarded all these questions as
illegitimate.

Later Buddhistic writers like Nagarjuna and Candrakirtti
took advantage of this attitude of early Buddhism and interpreted
it as meaning the non-essential character of all existence.
Nothing existed, and therefore any question regarding the existence
or non-existence of anything would be meaningless. There
is no difference between the worldly stage (_sa@msara_) and Nibbana,
for as all appearances are non-essential, they never existed during
the sa@msara so that they could not be annihilated in Nibbana.

Upani@sads and Buddhism.

The Upani@sads had discovered that the true self was ananda
(bliss) [Footnote ref 1]. We could suppose that early Buddhism tacitly
presupposes some such idea. It was probably thought that if there was
the self (_atta_) it must be bliss. The Upani@sads had asserted that
the self(_atman_) was indestructible and eternal [Footnote ref 2]. If we
are allowed

[Footnote 1: Tait, II.5.]

[Footnote 2: B@rh. IV. 5. 14. Ka@tha V. 13.]

110
to make explicit what was implicit in early Buddhism we could
conceive it as holding that if there was the self it must be bliss,
because it was eternal. This causal connection has not indeed
been anywhere definitely pronounced in the Upani@sads, but he
who carefully reads the Upani@sads cannot but think that the
reason why the Upani@sads speak of the self as bliss is that it is
eternal. But the converse statement that what was not eternal
was sorrow does not appear to be emphasized clearly in the
Upani@sads. The important postulate of the Buddha is that that
which is changing is sorrow, and whatever is sorrow is not self
[Footnote ref 1]. The point at which Buddhism parted from the
Upani@sads lies in the experiences of the self. The Upani@sads
doubtless considered that there were many experiences which we often identify with self, but which are impermanent. But the belief is found in the Upani@sads that there was associated with these a permanent part as well, and that it was this permanent essence which was the true and unchangeable self, the blissful. They considered that this permanent self as pure bliss could not be defined as this, but could only be indicated as not this, not this (_neti
neti_) [Footnote ref 2]. But the early Pali scriptures hold that we could nowhere find out such a permanent essence, any constant self, in our changing experiences. All were but changing phenomena and therefore sorrow and therefore non-self, and what was non-self was not mine, neither I belonged to it, nor did it belong to me as my self [Footnote ref 3].

The true self was with the Upani@sads a matter of transcendental experience as it were, for they said that it could not be described in terms of anything, but could only be pointed out as "there," behind all the changing mental categories. The Buddha looked into the mind and saw that it did not exist. But how was it that the existence of this self was so widely spoken of as demonstrated in experience? To this the reply of the Buddha was that what people perceived there when they said that they perceived the self was but the mental experiences either individually or together. The ignorant ordinary man did not know the noble truths and was not trained in the way of wise men, and considered himself to be endowed with form (_rupa_) or found the forms in his self or the self in the forms. He
experienced the thought (of the moment) as it were the self or 
experienced himself as being endowed with thought, or the thought 
in the self or the self in the thought. It is these kinds of 
experiences that he considered as the perception of the self 
[Footnote ref 1].

The Upaniṣads did not try to establish any school of discipline 
or systematic thought. They revealed throughout the dawn of an 
experience of an immutable Reality as the self of man, as the only 
abiding truth behind all changes. But Buddhism holds that this 
immutable self of man is a delusion and a false knowledge. 
The first postulate of the system is that impermanence is sorrow. 
Ignorance about sorrow, ignorance about the way it originates,
ignorance about the nature of the extinction of sorrow, and ignorance about the means of bringing about this extinction represent the fourfold ignorance (_avijja_) [Footnote ref 2]. The avidya, which is equivalent to the Pali word avijja, occurs in the Upani@sads also, but there it means ignorance about the atman doctrine, and it is sometimes contrasted with vidya or true knowledge about the self (_atman_) [Footnote ref 3]. With the Upani@sads the highest truth was the permanent self, the bliss, but with the Buddha there was nothing permanent; and all was change; and all change and impermanence was sorrow [Footnote ref 4]. This is, then, the cardinal truth of Buddhism, and ignorance concerning it in the above fourfold ways represented the fourfold ignorance which stood in the way of the right comprehension of the fourfold cardinal truths (_ariya sacca_)—sorrow, cause of the origination of sorrow, extinction of sorrow, and the means thereto.

There is no Brahman or supreme permanent reality and no self, and this ignorance does not belong to any ego or self as we may ordinarily be led to suppose.

Thus it is said in the _Visuddhimagga_ "inasmuch however as ignorance is empty of stability from being subject to a coming into existence and a disappearing from existence...and is empty of a self-determining Ego from being subject to dependence,---...or in other words inasmuch as ignorance is not an Ego, and similarly with reference to Karma and the rest--therefore is it to be understood of the wheel of existence that it is empty with
a twelvefold emptiness [Footnote ref 5]."

[Footnote 1: _Samyutta Nikaya_, II. 46.]

[Footnote 2: _Majjhima Nikaya_, I.p. 54.]

[Footnote 3: Cha. I.i. 10. B@rh. IV. 3.20. There are some passages where vidya and avidya have been used in a different and rather obscure sense, I's'a 9-11.]

[Footnote 4: _A@ng. Nikaya_, III. 85.]

[Footnote 5 Warren's _Buddhism in Translations_ (_Visuddhimagga_, chap. XVII.), p. 175.]

112

The Schools of Theravada Buddhism.

There is reason to believe that the oral instructions of the Buddha were not collected until a few centuries after his death.
Serious quarrels arose amongst his disciples or rather amongst
the successive generations of the disciples of his disciples about
his doctrines and other monastic rules which he had enjoined
upon his followers. Thus we find that when the council of Vesali
decided against the V@rjin monks, called also the Vajjiputtakas,
they in their turn held another great meeting (Mahasa@ngha) and
came to their own decisions about certain monastic rules and thus
came to be called as the Mahasa@nghikas [Footnote ref 1]. According to
Vasumitra as translated by Vassilief, the Mahasa@nghikas seceded in
400 B.C. and during the next one hundred years they gave rise
first to the three schools Ekavyavaharikas, Lokottaravadins, and
Kukkulikas and after that the Bahus'rutiyas. In the course of the
next one hundred years, other schools rose out of it namely the
Prajinaptivadins, Caittikas, Aparas'ailas and Uttaras'ailas. The
Theravada or the Sthaviravada school which had convened the
council of Vesali developed during the second and first century B.C.
into a number of schools, viz. the Haimavatas, Dharmaguptikas,
Mahis'asakas, Kas'yapiyas, Sa@nkrantikas (more well known as
Sautrantikas) and the Vatsiputtriyas which latter was again split up
into the Dharmottariyas, Bhadrayaniyas, Sammitiyas and Channagarikas.
The main branch of the Theravada school was from
the second century downwards known as the Hetuvadins or
 Sarvastivadins [Footnote ref 2]. The _Mahabodhiva@msa_ identifies the
Theravada school with the Vibhajjavadins. The commentator of the
_Kathavatthu_ who probably lived according to Mrs Rhys Davids sometime
in the fifth century A.D. mentions a few other schools of
Buddhists. But of all these Buddhist schools we know very little.
Vasumitra (100 A.D.) gives us some very meagre accounts of
Footnote 1: The _Mahava@msa_ differs from _Dipava@msa_ in holding that
the Vajjiputtakas did not develop into the Mahasa@nghikas, but it was
the Mahasa@nghikas who first seceded while the Vajjiputtakas seceded
independently of them. The _Mahabodhiva@msa_, which according to
Professor Geiger was composed 975 A.D.--1000 A.D., follows the
Mahava@msa in holding the Mahasa@nghikas to be the first seceders
and Vajjiputtakas to have seceded independently.

Vasumitra confuses the council of Vesali with the third council of
Pa@taliputra. See introduction to translation of _Kathavatthu_ by
Mrs Rhys Davids.]

[Footnote 2: For other accounts of the schism see Mr Aung and Mrs Rhys
Davids's translation of _Kathavatthu_, pp. xxxvi-xlv.]

113
certain schools, of the Mahasa@nghikas, Lokottaravadins,
Ekavyavaharikas, Kakkulikas, Prajnaptivadins and Sarvastivadins, but
these accounts deal more with subsidiary matters of little philosophical
importance. Some of the points of interest are (1) that the
Mahasa@nghikas were said to believe that the body was filled with
mind (_citta_) which was represented as sitting, (2) that the
Prajnaptivadins held that there was no agent in man, that there was
no untimely death, for it was caused by the previous deeds of man,
(3) that the Sarvastivadins believed that everything existed. From
the discussions found in the _Kathavatthu_ also we may know the
views of some of the schools on some points which are not always
devoid of philosophical interest. But there is nothing to be found
by which we can properly know the philosophy of these schools. It
is quite possible however that these so-called schools of Buddhism
were not so many different systems but only differed from one
another on some points of dogma or practice which were considered
as being of sufficient interest to them, but which to us now
appear to be quite trifling. But as we do not know any of their
literatures, it is better not to make any unwarrantable surmises.
These schools are however not very important for a history of later
Indian Philosophy, for none of them are even referred to in any
of the systems of Hindu thought. The only schools of Buddhism
with which other schools of philosophical thought came in direct
contact, are the Sarvastivadins including the Sautrantikas and
the Vaibha@sikas, the Yogacara or the Vijnanavadins and the
Madhyamikas or the S'unyavadins. We do not know which of the
diverse smaller schools were taken up into these four great schools,
the Sautrantika, Vaibha@sika, Yogacara and the Madhyamika
schools. But as these schools were most important in relation
to the development of the different systems in Hindu thought,
it is best that we should set ourselves to gather what we can
about these systems of Buddhistic thought.
When the Hindu writers refer to the Buddhist doctrine in general terms such as "the Buddhists say" without calling them the Vijnanavadins or the Yogacaras and the S'unyavadins, they often refer to the Sarvustivudins by which they mean both the Sautruntikas and the Vaibhu@sikas, ignoring the difference that exists between these two schools. It is well to mention that there is hardly any evidence to prove that the Hindu writers were acquainted with the Theravuda doctrines as expressed in the Pali works. The Vaibha@sikas and the Sautrantikas have been more or less associated with each other. Thus the _Abhidharmakos'as'astra_ of Vasubandhu who was a Vaibha@sika was commented upon by Yas'omitra who was a Sautrantika. The difference between the Vaibha@sikas and the Sautrantikas that attracted the notice of the Hindu writers was this, that the former believed that external objects were directly perceived, whereas the latter believed that the existence of the external objects could only be inferred from our diversified knowledge [Footnote ref 1]. Gu@naratna (fourteenth century A.D.) in his commentary _Tarkarahasyadipika on @Sa@ddars'anasamuccaya_ says that the Vaibhasika was but another name of the Aryasammitiya school. According to Gu@naratna the Vaibha@sikas held that things existed for four moments, the moment of production, the moment of existence, the moment of decay and the moment of annihilation. It has been pointed out
in Vastibandhu's _Abhidharmakosa_ that the Vaibha@ sikas believed
these to be four kinds of forces which by coming in combination
with the permanent essence of an entity produced its impermanent
manifestations in life (see Prof. Stcherbatsky's translation
of Yas'omitra on _Abhidharmakosa karika_, V. 25). The self called
pudgala also possessed those characteristics. Knowledge was
formless and was produced along with its object by the very
same conditions (_arthasahabhasi ekasamagryadhinah_). The Sautrantikas
according to Gu@naratna held that there was no soul but
only the five skandhas. These skandhas transmigrated. The past,
the future, annihilation, dependence on cause, akas'a and pudgala
are but names (_sa@mjnamatram_), mere assertions (_pratijnamatram_),
mere limitations (_samv@rtamatram_) and mere phenomena (_vyavaharamatram_).
By pudgala they meant that which other people called eternal
and all pervasive soul. External objects are never directly
perceived but are only inferred as existing for explaining the
diversity of knowledge. Definite cognitions are valid; all
compounded things are momentary (_k@sa@nikah sarvasa@mskarah_).

[Footnote 1: Madhavacarya's _Sarvadars'anasa@mgraha_, chapter II.
_S'astradipika_, the discussions on Pratyak@sa, Amalananda's commentary
(on _Bhamati_) _Vedantakalpataru_, p 286. "vaibha@sikasya bahyo'rtha@h
pratyak@sa@h, sautrantikasya jnanagatakara@vaicitrye@n anumeya@h_." The
nature of the inference of the Sautrantikas is shown thus by
Amalananda (1247-1260 A.D.) "_ye yasmin satyapi kadacitka@h te
tadatiriktapek@sa@h_" (those [i.e. cognitions] which in spite of certain unvaried conditions are of unaccounted diversity must depend on other things in addition to these, i.e. the external objects) _Vedantakalpataru_, p. 289.]

115

The atoms of colour, taste, smell and touch, and cognition are being destroyed every moment. The meanings of words always imply the negations of all other things, excepting that which is intended to be signified by that word (_anyapoha@h s'abdartha@h_).

Salvation (_mok@sa_) comes as the result of the destruction of the process of knowledge through continual meditation that there is no soul [Footnote ref 1].

One of the main differences between the Vibhajjavadins, Sautrantikas and the Vaibha@sikas or the Sarvastivadins appears to refer to the notion of time which is a subject of great interest with Buddhist philosophy. Thus _Abhidharmakos'a_ (v. 24...) describes the Sarvastivadins as those who maintain the universal existence of everything past, present and future. The Vibhajjavadins are those "who maintain that the present elements and those among the past that have not yet produced their fruition, are existent, but they deny the existence of the future ones and of those among the past that have already produced fruition."

There were four branches of this school represented by Dharmatrata,
Gho@sa, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva. Dharmatrata maintained that when an element enters different times, its existence changes but not its essence, just as when milk is changed into curd or a golden vessel is broken, the form of the existence changes though the essence remains the same. Gho@sa held that "when an element appears at different times, the past one retains its past aspects without being severed from its future and present aspects, the present likewise retains its present aspect without completely losing its past and future aspects," just as a man in passionate love with a woman does not lose his capacity to love other women though he is not actually in love with them. Vasumitra held that an entity is called present, past and future according as it produces its efficiency, ceases to produce after having once produced it or has not yet begun to produce it. Buddhadeva maintained the view that just as the same woman may be called mother, daughter, wife, so the same entity may be called present, past or future in accordance with its relation to the preceding or the succeeding moment.

All these schools are in some sense Sarvastivadins, for they maintain universal existence. But the Vaibha@sika finds them all defective excepting the view of Vasumitra. For Dharmatrata's

[Footnote 1: Gu@naratna's _Tarkahasyadipika_, pp. 46-47.]
view is only a veiled Sa@mkhya doctrine; that of Gho@sa is
a confusion of the notion of time, since it presupposes the coexistence
of all the aspects of an entity at the same time, and
that of Buddhadeva is also an impossible situation, since it would
suppose that all the three times were found together and included
in one of them. The Vaibha@sika finds himself in agreement
with Vasumitra's view and holds that the difference in time
depends upon the difference of the function of an entity; at the
time when an entity does not actually produce its function it is
future; when it produces it, it becomes present; when after having
produced it, it stops, it becomes past; there is a real existence
of the past and the future as much as of the present. He thinks
that if the past did not exist and assert some efficiency it could
not have been the object of my knowledge, and deeds done in
past times could not have produced its effects in the present
time. The Sautrantika however thought that the Vaibha@sika's
document would imply the heretical doctrine of eternal existence,
for according to them the stuff remained the same and the time-difference
appeared in it. The true view according to him was,
that there was no difference between the efficiency of an entity,
the entity and the time of its appearance. Entities appeared
from non-existence, existed for a moment and again ceased to
exist. He objected to the Vaibha@sika view that the past is to
be regarded as existent because it exerts efficiency in bringing
about the present on the ground that in that case there should be no difference between the past and the present, since both exerted efficiency. If a distinction is made between past, present and future efficiency by a second grade of efficiencies, then we should have to continue it and thus have a vicious infinite. We can know non-existent entities as much as we can know existent ones, and hence our knowledge of the past does not imply that the past is exerting any efficiency. If a distinction is made between an efficiency and an entity, then the reason why efficiency started at any particular time and ceased at another would be inexplicable. Once you admit that there is no difference between efficiency and the entity, you at once find that there is no time at all and the efficiency, the entity and the moment are all one and the same. When we remember a thing of the past we do not know it as existing in the past, but in the same way in which we knew it when it was present. We are never attracted to past passions as the Vaibha@sika suggests, but past passions leave residues which become the causes of new passions of the present moment [Footnote ref.1].

Again we can have a glimpse of the respective positions of the Vatsiputriyas and the Sarvastivadins as represented by Vasubandhu if we attend to the discussion on the subject of
the existence of soul in _Abhidharmakos'a_. The argument of
Vasubandhu against the existence of soul is this, that though
it is true that the sense organs may be regarded as a determining
cause of perception, no such cause can be found which
may render the inference of the existence of soul necessary.
If soul actually exists, it must have an essence of its own and
must be something different from the elements or entities of a
personal life. Moreover, such an eternal, uncaused and unchanging
being would be without any practical efficiency (arthakriyakaritva)
which alone determines or proves existence. The
soul can thus be said to have a mere nominal existence as a
mere object of current usage. There is no soul, but there are
only the elements of a personal life. But the Vatsiputtriya
school held that just as fire could not be said to be either the
same as the burning wood or as different from it, and yet it is
separate from it, so the soul is an individual (pudgala) which has
a separate existence, though we could not say that it was
altogether different from the elements of a personal life or the
same as these. It exists as being conditioned by the elements
of personal life, but it cannot further be defined. But its existence
cannot be denied, for wherever there is an activity, there must
be an agent (e.g. Devadatta walks). To be conscious is likewise
an action, hence the agent who is conscious must also exist.
To this Vasubandhu replies that Devadatta (the name of a
person) does not represent an unity. "It is only an unbroken
continuity of momentary forces (flashing into existence), which
simple people believe to be a unity and to which they give the
name Devadatta. Their belief that Devadatta moves is conditioned,
and is based on an analogy with their own experience,
but their own continuity of life consists in constantly moving
from one place to another. This movement, though regarded as

[Footnote 1: I am indebted for the above account to the unpublished
translation from Tibetan of a small portion of _Abhidharmakośa_ by
my esteemed friend Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky of Petrograd. I am grateful
to him that he allowed me to utilize it.]

belonging to a permanent entity, is but a series of new productions
in different places, just as the expressions 'fire moves,'
'sound spreads' have the meaning of continuities (of new productions
in new places). They likewise use the words 'Devadatta
cognises' in order to express the fact that a cognition (takes place
in the present moment) which has a cause (in the former moments,
these former moments coming in close succession being called
Devadatta)."

The problem of memory also does not bring any difficulty,
for the stream of consciousness being one throughout, it produces
its recollections when connected with a previous knowledge of
the remembered object under certain conditions of attention, etc., and absence of distractive factors, such as bodily pains or violent emotions. No agent is required in the phenomena of memory. The cause of recollection is a suitable state of mind and nothing else. When the Buddha told his birth stories saying that he was such and such in such and such a life, he only meant that his past and his present belonged to one and the same lineage of momentary existences. Just as when we say "this same fire which had been consuming that has reached this object," we know that the fire is not identical at any two moments, but yet we overlook the difference and say that it is the same fire. Again, what we call an individual can only be known by descriptions such as "this venerable man, having this name, of such a caste, of such a family, of such an age, eating such food, finding pleasure or displeasure in such things, of such an age, the man who after a life of such length, will pass away having reached an age." Only so much description can be understood, but we have never a direct acquaintance with the individual; all that is perceived are the momentary elements of sensations, images, feelings, etc., and these happening at the former moments exert a pressure on the later ones. The individual is thus only a fiction, a mere nominal existence, a mere thing of description and not of acquaintance; it cannot be grasped either by the senses or by the action of pure intellect. This becomes evident when we judge it by analogies from other fields. Thus whenever we use any common noun, e.g. milk, we sometimes falsely think that there is such an entity as milk, but what really exists is only certain momentary colours, tastes, etc.,
fictitiously unified as milk; and "just as milk and water are

conventional names (for a set of independent elements) for some
colour, smell (taste and touch) taken together, so is the designation
'individual' but a common name for the different elements
of which it is composed."

The reason why the Buddha declined to decide the question
whether the "living being is identical with the body or not" is
just because there did not exist any living being as "individual,"
as is generally supposed. He did not declare that the living
being did not exist, because in that case the questioner would
have thought that the continuity of the elements of a life was
also denied. In truth the "living being" is only a conventional
name for a set of constantly changing elements [Footnote ref 1].

The only book of the Sammitiyas known to us and that by
name only is the _Sammitiyas'astra_ translated into Chinese between
350 A.D. to 431 A.D.; the original Sanskrit works are however
probably lost [Footnote ref 2].

The Vaibha@sikas are identified with the Sarvastivadins who
according to _Dipava@msa_ V. 47, as pointed out by Takakusu,
branched off from the Mahis'asakas, who in their turn had
separated from the Theravada school.

From the _Kathavatthu_ we know (1) that the Sabbatthivadins
believed that everything existed, (2) that the dawn of right attainment
was not a momentary flash of insight but by a gradual
process, (3) that consciousness or even samadhi was nothing but

________________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: This account is based on the translation of
_@A@s@tamakos'asthananibaddha@h pudgolavinis'caya@h_, a special appendix
to the eighth chapter of Abhidharmakos'a, by Prof Th. Stcherbatsky,
_Bulletin de l' Academie des Sciences de Russie_, 1919.]

[Footnote 2: Professor De la Vallee Poussin has collected some of the
points of this doctrine in an article on the Sammityyas in the _E. R.E._
He there says that in the _Abhidharmakos'avyakhya_ the Sammityyas have
been identified with the Vatsiputriyas and that many of its texts were
admitted by the Vaibha@sikas of a later age. Some of their views are as
follows: (1) An arhat in possession of nirvana can fall away; (2) there is
an intermediate state between death and rebirth called _antarabhava_; (3)
merit accrues not only by gift (_tyaganvaya_) but also by the fact of the
actual use and advantage reaped by the man to whom the thing was given
(_paribhoganvaya pu@nya_); (4) not only abstention from evil deeds but a
declaration of intention to that end produces merit by itself alone; (5)
they believe in a pudgala (soul) as distinct from the skandhas from which it can be said to be either different or non-different. “The pudgala cannot be said to be transitory (_anitye_) like the skandhas since it transmigrates laying down the burden (_skandhas_) shouldering a new burden; it cannot be said to be permanent, since it is made of transitory constituents.” This pudgala doctrine of the Sammitiyas as sketched by Professor De la Vallee Poussin is not in full agreement with the pudgala doctrine of the Sammitiyas as sketched by Gu@naratna which we have noticed above.

120

a flux and (4) that an arhat (saint) may fall away [Footnote ref 1]. The Sabbatthivadins or Sarvastivadins have a vast Abhidharma literature still existing in Chinese translations which is different from the Abhidharma of the Theravada school which we have already mentioned [Footnote ref 2]. These are 1. _Jnanaprasthana S’astra_ of Katyayaniputra which passed by the name of _Maha Vibha@sa_ from which the Sabbatthivadins who followed it are called Vaibha@sikas [Footnote ref 3]. This work is said to have been given a literary form by As‘vagho@sa. 2. _Dharmaskandha_ by S’ariputta. 3. _Dhatukaya_ by Pur@na. 4. _Prajnaptis’astra_ by Maudgalyayana. 5. _Vijnanakaya_ by Devak@sema. 6. _Sa@ngitiparyyaya_ by Sariputta and _Prakara@napada_ by Vasumitra. Vasubandhu (420 A.D.-500 A.D.) wrote a work on the Vaibha@sika [Footnote ref 4] system in verses (_karika_) known as the _Abhidharmakos’a_. to which he appended a commentary of his own which passes by the name _Abhidharma Kos'abha@syta_ in which he pointed out some of the defects
of the Vaibha@sika school from the Sautrantika point of view [Footnote ref 5]. This work was commented upon by Vasumitra and Gu@namati and later on by Yas'omitra who was himself a Sautrantika and called his work _Abhidharmakos'a vyakhya_; Sa@nghabhadra a contemporary of Vasubandhu wrote _Samayapradipa_ and _Nyayanusara_ (Chinese translations of which are available) on strict Vaibha@sika lines. We hear also of other Vaibha@sika writers such as Dharmatata, Gho@saka, Vasumitra and Bhadanta, the writer of _Sa@myuktabhidharmas'astra_ and _Mahavibha@sa_. Di@nnaga(480 A.D.), the celebrated logician, a Vaibha@sika or a Sautrantika and reputed to be a pupil of Vasubandhu, wrote his famous work _Prama@nasamuccaya_ in which he established Buddhist logic and refuted many of the views of Vatsyayana the celebrated commentator of the _Nyaya sutras_; but we regret

[Footnote 1: See Mrs Rhys Davids's translation _Kathavatthu_, p. xix, and Sections I.6,7; II. 9 and XI. 6.]

[Footnote 2: _Mahavyutpatti_ gives two names for Sarvastivada, viz. Mulasarvastivada and Aryyasarvastivada. Itsing (671-695 A.D.) speaks of Aryyamulasarvastivada and Mulasarvastivada. In his time he found it prevailing in Magadha, Guzrat, Sind, S. India, E. India. Takakusu says (_P.T.S._ 1904-1905) that Paramartha, in his life of Vasubandhu, says that it was propagated from Kashmere to Middle India by Vasubhadra, who studied it there.]
[Footnote 3: Takakusu says (_P.T.S._ 1904-1905) that Katyayaniputtra's work was probably a compilation from other Vibha@sas which existed before the Chinese translations and Vibha@sa texts dated 383 A.D.]

[Footnote 4: See Takakusu's article _J.R.A.S._ 1905.]

[Footnote 5: The Sautrantikas did not regard the Abhidharmas of the Vaibha@sikas as authentic and laid stress on the suttanta doctrines as given in the Suttapi@taka.]

121
to say that none of the above works are available in Sanskrit, nor have they been retranslated from Chinese or Tibetan into any of the modern European or Indian languages.

The Japanese scholar Mr Yamakami Sogen, late lecturer at Calcutta University, describes the doctrine of the Sabbatthivadins from the Chinese versions of the _Abhidharmakos'a, Mahaviba@s'astra_, etc., rather elaborately [Footnote ref 1]. The following is a short sketch, which is borrowed mainly from the accounts given by Mr Sogen.

The Sabbatthivadins admitted the five skandhas, twelve
ayatanas, eighteen dhatus, the three asa@msk@rta dharmas of
pratisa@mkhyanirodha apratisa@mkhyanirodha and akas’a, and the
sa@msk@rta dharmas (things composite and interdependent) of rupa
(matter), citta (mind), caitta (mental) and cittaviprayukta (non-mental)

[Footnote ref 2]. All effects are produced by the coming together
(sa@msk@rta) of a number of causes. The five skandhas, and the
rupa, citta, etc., are thus called sa@msk@rta dharmas (composite
things or collocations--_sambhuyakari_). The rupa dharmas are
eleven in number, one citta dharma, 46 caitta dharmas and 14
cittaviprayukta sa@mskara dharmas (non-mental composite things);
adding to these the three asa@msk@rta dharmas we have the seventy-five
dharmas. Rupa is that which has the capacity to obstruct the
sense organs. Matter is regarded as the collective organism or
collocation, consisting of the fourfold substratum of colour, smell,
taste and contact. The unit possessing this fourfold substratum
is known as parama@nu, which is the minutest form of rupa. It
cannot be pierced through or picked up or thrown away. It is
indivisible, unanalysable, invisible, inaudible, untastable and intangible.

But yet it is not permanent, but is like a momentary
flash into being. The simple atoms are called _dravyaparama@nu_
and the compound ones _sa@mghataparama@nu_. In the words of
Prof. Stcherbatsky "the universal elements of matter are manifested
in their actions or functions. They are consequently more
energies than substances." The organs of sense are also regarded
as modifications of atomic matter. Seven such parama@nus combine
together to form an a@nu, and it is in this combined form
only that they become perceptible. The combination takes
place in the form of a cluster having one atom at the centre and
others around it. The point which must be remembered in connection
with the conception of matter is this, that the qualities
of all the mahabhutas are inherent in the parama@nus. The special
characteristics of roughness (which naturally belongs to earth),
viscousness (which naturally belongs to water), heat (belonging
to fire), movableness (belonging to wind), combine together to
form each of the elements; the difference between the different
elements consists only in this, that in each of them its own special
characteristics were predominant and active, and other characteristics
though present remained only in a potential form. The
mutual resistance of material things is due to the quality of
earth or the solidness inherent in them; the mutual attraction of
things is due to moisture or the quality of water, and so forth.
The four elements are to be observed from three aspects, namely, (1) as things, (2) from the point of view of their natures (such as activity, moisture, etc.), and (3) function (such as _dh@rti_ or attraction, _sa@mgraha_ or cohesion, _pakti_ or chemical heat, and _vyuhana_ or clustering and collecting). These combine together naturally by other conditions or causes. The main point of distinction between the Vaibha@sika Sarvastivadins and other forms of Buddhism is this, that here the five skandhas and matter are regarded as permanent and eternal; they are said to be momentary only in the sense that they are changing their phases constantly, owing to their constant change of combination. Avidya is not regarded here as a link in the chain of the causal series of pratityasamutpada; nor is it ignorance of any particular individual, but is rather identical with "moha" or delusion and represents the ultimate state of immaterial dharmas. Avidya, which through sa@mskara, etc., produces namarupa in the case of a particular individual, is not his avidya in the present existence but the avidya of his past existence bearing fruit in the present life.

"The cause never perishes but only changes its name, when it becomes an effect, having changed its state." For example, clay becomes jar, having changed its state; and in this case the name clay is lost and the name jar arises [Footnote ref 1]. The Sarvastivadins allowed simultaneousness between cause and effect only in the case of composite things (_sa@mprayukta hetu_) and in the case of
the interaction of mental and material things. The substratum of "vijnana" or "consciousness" is regarded as permanent and the aggregate of the five senses (_indriyas_) is called the perceiver. It must be remembered that the indriyas being material had a permanent substratum, and their aggregate had therefore also a substratum formed of them.

The sense of sight grasps the four main colours of blue, yellow, red, white, and their combinations, as also the visual forms of appearance (_sa@msthana_) of long, short, round, square, high, low, straight, and crooked. The sense of touch (_kayendriya_) has for its object the four elements and the qualities of smoothness, roughness, lightness, heaviness, cold, hunger and thirst. These qualities represent the feelings generated in sentient beings by the objects of touch, hunger, thirst, etc., and are also counted under it, as they are the organic effects produced by a touch which excites the physical frame at a time when the energy of wind becomes active in our body and predominates over other
energies; so also the feeling of thirst is caused by a touch which excites the physical frame when the energy of the element of fire becomes active and predominates over the other energies. The indriyas (senses) can after grasping the external objects arouse thought (_vijnana_); each of the five senses is an agent without which none of the five vijnanas would become capable of perceiving an external object. The essence of the senses is entirely material. Each sense has two subdivisions, namely, the principal sense and the auxiliary sense. The substratum of the principal senses consists of a combination of parama@nus, which are extremely pure and minute, while the substratum of the latter is the flesh, made of grosser materials. The five senses differ from one another with respect to the manner and form of their respective atomic combinations. In all sense-acts, whenever an act is performed and an idea is impressed, a latent energy is impressed on our person which is designated as avijnapti rupa. It is called rupa because it is a result or effect of rupa-contact; it is called avijnapti because it is latent and unconscious; this latent energy is bound sooner or later to express itself in karma effects and is the only bridge which connects the cause and the effect of karma done by body or speech. Karma in this school is considered as twofold, namely, that as thought (_cetana karma_) and that as activity (_caitasika karma_). This last, again, is of two kinds, viz.

124

that due to body-motion (_kayika karma_) and speech (_vacika
karma). Both these may again be latent (avijnapti) and patent (vijnapti), giving us the kayika-vijnapti karma, kayikavijnapti karma, vacika-vijnapti karma and vacikavijnapti karma. Avijnapti rupa and avijnapti karma are what we should call in modern phraseology sub-conscious ideas, feelings and activity. Corresponding to each conscious sensation, feeling, thought or activity there is another similar sub-conscious state which expresses itself in future thoughts and actions; as these are not directly known but are similar to those which are known, they are called avijnapti.

The mind, says Vasubandhu, is called cittam, because it wills (cetati), manas because it thinks (manvate) and vijnana because it discriminates (nirdis'ati). The discrimination may be of three kinds: (1) svabhava nirdesa (natural perceptual discrimination), (2) prayoga nirdesa (actual discrimination as present, past and future), and (3) anusm@rti nirdesa (reminiscent discrimination referring only to the past). The senses only possess the svabhava nirdesa, the other two belong exclusively to manovijnana. Each of the vijnanas as associated with its specific sense discriminates its particular object and perceives its general characteristics; the six vijnanas combine to form what is known as the Vijnanaskandha, which is presided over by mind (mano). There are forty-six caitta sa/msk@rtta dharmas. Of the three asa/msk@rtta dharmas akas'a (ether) is in essence the freedom from obstruction, establishing it as a permanent omnipresent immaterial substance (nirupakhya, non-ru)pa. The second asa/msk@rtta dharma, apratisa@mkhya nirodha, means the non-perception of dharmas caused
by the absence of pratyayas or conditions. Thus when I fix my
attention on one thing, other things are not seen then, not because
they are non-existent but because the conditions which would
have made them visible were absent. The third asaṃskāra
dharma, pratisaṃkhya nirodha, is the final deliverance from
bondage. Its essential characteristic is everlastingness. These
are called asaṃskāra because being of the nature of negation
they are non-collocative and hence have no production or dissolution.
The eightfold noble path which leads to this state consists of right
views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood,
right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture [Footnote ref 1].

[Footnote 1: Mr Sogen mentions the name of another Buddhist Hinayana
thinker (about 250 A.D.), Harivarman, who founded a school known as
Satyasiddhi school, which propounded the same sort of doctrines as
those preached by Nagarjuna. None of his works are available in Sanskrit
and I have never come across any allusion to his name by Sanskrit writers.]

125

Mahayanism.

It is difficult to say precisely at what time Mahayanism took
its rise. But there is reason to think that as the Mahasanghikas
separated themselves from the Theravadins probably some time in
400 B.C. and split themselves up into eight different schools, those
elements of thoughts and ideas which in later days came to be
labelled as Mahayana were gradually on the way to taking their
first inception. We hear in about 100 A.D. of a number of works
which are regarded as various Mahayana sutras, some of which
are probably as old as at least 100 B.C. (if not earlier) and others
as late as 300 or 400 A.D.[Footnote ref 1]. These Mahayanasutras, also
called the Vaipulyasutras, are generally all in the form of instructions
given by the Buddha. Nothing is known about their authors or
compilers, but they are all written in some form of Sanskrit and
were probably written by those who seceded from the Theravada
school.

The word Hinayana refers to the schools of Theravada, and
as such it is contrasted with Mahayana. The words are generally
translated as small vehicle (_hina_ = small, _yana_ = vehicle) and great
vehicle (_maha_ = great, _yana_ = vehicle). But this translation by
no means expresses what is meant by Mahayana and Hinayana
[Footnote ref 2]. Asanga (480 A.D.) in his Mahayanasutralamkara gives

[Footnote 1: Quotations and references to many of these sutras are found in
Candrakirtti’s commentary on the Madhyamika karikas of Nagarjuna; some of
these are the following: _A@s@tasahasrikaprajnaparamita_ (translated into Chinese 164 A.D.-167 A.D.), _S'atasahasrikaprajnaparamita, Gaganaganja, Samadhisutra, Tathagataguhyasutra, D@r@dhadhyas'ayasancodanasutra, Dhyayitamu@s@tisutra, Pitaputrasamagamasutra, Mahayanasutra, Maradamanasutra, Ratnaku@tasutra, Ratnacu@daparip@rcchasutra, Ratnameghasutra, Ratnaras`isutra, Ratnakarasutra, Ra@s@trapalaparip@rcchasutra, La@nkavatasutra, Lalitavistarasutra, Vajracchedikasutra, Vimalakirttinirdes'asutra, S'alistambhasutra, Samadhirajasutra, Sukhavativyuha, Suvar@naprabhasasutra, Saddharmapu@n@darika (translated into Chinese A.D. 255), Amitayurdhyanasutra, Hastikakhyasutra, etc.]

[Footnote 2: The word Yana is generally translated as vehicle, but a consideration of numerous contexts in which the word occurs seems to suggest that it means career or course or way, rather than vehicle (_Lalitavistara_, pp. 25, 38; _Prajnaparamita_, pp. 24, 319; _Samadhirajasutra_, p. 1; _Karu@napu@ndarika_, p. 67; _La@nkavatasutra_, pp. 68, 108, 132). The word Yana is as old as the Upani@sads where we read of Devayana and Pit@ryana. There is no reason why this word should be taken in a different sense. We hear in _La@nkavatara_ of S'ravakayana (career of the S'ravakas or the Theravadin Buddhists), Pratyekabuddhayana (the career of saints before the coming of the Buddha), Buddha yana (career of the Buddhas), Ekayana (one career), Devayana (career of the gods), Brahmayana (career of becoming a Brahma), Tathagatayana (career of a Tathagata). In one place _Lankavatara_ says that ordinarily distinction is made between the three careers and one career and no career, but these distinctions are only for the ignorant (_Lankavatara_, p. 68).]
us the reason why one school was called Hinayana whereas the other, which he professed, was called Mahayana. He says that, considered from the point of view of the ultimate goal of religion, the instructions, attempts, realization, and time, the Hinayana occupies a lower and smaller place than the other called Maha (great) Yana, and hence it is branded as Hina (small, or low). This brings us to one of the fundamental points of distinction between Hinayana and Mahayana. The ultimate good of an adherent of the Hinayana is to attain his own nirvana or salvation, whereas the ultimate goal of those who professed the Mahayana creed was not to seek their own salvation but to seek the salvation of all beings. So the Hinayana goal was lower, and in consequence of that the instructions that its followers received, the attempts they undertook, and the results they achieved were narrower than that of the Mahayana adherents. A Hinayana man had only a short business in attaining his own salvation, and this could be done in three lives, whereas a Mahayana adherent was prepared to work for infinite time in helping all beings to attain salvation. So the Hinayana adherents required only a short period of work and may from that point of view also be called _hina,_ or lower.

This point, though important from the point of view of the
difference in the creed of the two schools, is not so from the point of view of philosophy. But there is another trait of the Mahayanists which distinguishes them from the Hinayanists from the philosophical point of view. The Mahayanists believed that all things were of a non-essential and indefinable character and void at bottom, whereas the Hinayanists only believed in the impermanence of all things, but did not proceed further than that.

It is sometimes erroneously thought that Nagarjuna first preached the doctrine of S'unya (essencelessness or voidness of all appearance), but in reality almost all the Mahayana sutras either definitely preach this doctrine or allude to it. Thus if we take some of those sutras which were in all probability earlier than Nagarjuna, we find that the doctrine which Nagarjuna expounded with all the rigour of his powerful dialectic was quietly accepted as an indisputable truth. Thus we find Subhuti saying to the Buddha that vedana (feeling), samjna (concepts) and the sa@mskaras (conformations) are all maya (illusion) [Footnote ref 1]. All the skandhas, dhaetus (elements) and ayatanas are void and absolute cessation. The highest knowledge of everything as pure void is not different from the skandhas, dhatus and ayatanas, and this absolute cessation of dharmas is regarded as the highest knowledge.
Everything being void there is in reality no process and no cessation. The truth is neither eternal nor non-eternal but pure void. It should be the object of a saint's endeavour to put himself in the "thatness" and consider all things as void. The saint has to establish himself in all the virtues, benevolence, the virtue of character, the virtue of forbearance, the virtue of tenacity and strength and the virtue of meditation.

The saint is firmly determined that he will help an infinite number of souls to attain nirvana. In reality, however, there are no beings, there is no bondage, no salvation; and the saint knows it but too well, yet he is not afraid of this high truth, but proceeds on his career of attaining for all illusory beings illusory emancipation from illusory bondage. The saint is actuated with that feeling and proceeds in his work on the strength of his paramitas, though in reality there is no one who is to attain salvation in reality and no one who is to help him to attain it. The true prajnaparamita is the absolute cessation of all appearance.

The Mahayana doctrine has developed on two lines, viz. that of S'unyavada or the Madhyamika doctrine and Vijnanavada. The difference between S'unyavada and Vijnanavada is not fundamental, but is rather one of method. Both of them
agree in holding that there is no truth in anything, everything
is only passing appearance akin to dream or magic. But
while the S'unyavadins were more busy in showing this
indefinableness of all phenomena, the Vijnanavadins, tacitly accepting

[Footnote 1: _A@s@tesahasihaprajnaparamita_, p. 16.]

[Footnote 2: Ibid p. 177.]

[Footnote 3: Ibid p. 21.]

[Footnote 4: Ibid p. 177.]

128

the truth preached by the S'unyavadins, interested themselves in
explaining the phenomena of consciousness by their theory of
beginningless illusory root-ideas or instincts of the mind (_vasana_).

As'vagho@sa (100 A.D.) seems to have been the greatest teacher
of a new type of idealism (_vijnanavada_) known as the Tathata
philosophy. Trusting in Suzuki's identification of a quotation in
As'vaghо'sа's _S'raḍḍhotpada'sastra_ as being made from
_Laṅkavаṭаrasuṭra_, we should think of the _Laṅkаvаṭаrasuṭra_ as
being one of the early works of the Vijnanavadins [Footnote ref 1].
The greatest later writer of the Vijnanavada school was Asаnga
(400 A.D.), to whom are attributed the _Sаptаdаs'аbhумi suṭrа,
Mahаvаṇа suṭrа, Уpаdе'sа, Mahаvаṇаsапаrіgраhа s'astra, Yoγаcаrabhumі
s'astra_ and _Мahаvаṇаsаturаlа@mkаrа_. None of these works excepting the
last one is available to readers who have no access to the
Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts, as the Sanskrit originals are
in all probability lost. The Vijnanavada school is known to
Hindu writers by another name also, viz. Yogаcаrа, and it does
not seem an improbable supposition that Asаnga's _Yоγаcаrabhumі
s'astra_ was responsible for the new name. Vasubandhu,
a younger brother of Asаnga, was, as Paramаrtha (499-569) tells
us, at first a liberal Sarvаstиваdаn, but was converted to Vijnanavada,
lаte in his life, by Asаnga. Thus Vasubandhu, who
wrote in his early life the great standard work of the Sarvаstиваdаns,
_Aбhіdхаrмаса'_а, devoted himself in his later life to Vijnanavada
[Footnote ref 2]. He is said to have commented upon a number of
Mahаvаṇа suṭrаs, such as _Аvаtа@msаkа, Nirvа@nа, Saddhаrmapu@n@darіkа,
Praјnаpаrіmаtа, Vіmаlаkіrтtі_ and _S'rіmаlаsі@mхаnаdа_, аnd
compiled some Mahаvаṇа suṭrаs, such as _Vіjнаnаmаtраsіddhі,
Rаtnаtrаyа_, etc. The school of Vijnanavada continued for at
least a century or two after Vasubandhu, but we are not in
possession of any work of great fame of this school after him.

We have already noticed that the S'уnьяvada formed the fundamental
principle of all schools of Mahayana. The most powerful
exponent of this doctrine was Nagarjuna (100 A.D.), a brief account
of whose system will be given in its proper place. Nagarjuna's
karikas (verses) were commented upon by Aryyadeva, a disciple
of his, Kumarajiva (383 A.D.). Buddhapatita and Candrakirtti
(550 A.D.). Aryyadeva in addition to this commentary wrote at

[Footnote 1: Dr S.C. Vidyabhushana thinks that _Lankavatana_ belongs to
about 300 A.D.]

[Footnote 2: Takakusu's "A study of the Paramartha's life of Vasubandhu,"
_J.R.A.S_. 1905.]

least three other books, viz. _Catu@hs'ataka, Hastabalaprakara@nav@rtti_
and _Cittavis’uddhiparakara@na_ [Footnote ref 1]. In the small work called
_Hastabalaprakara@nav@rtti_ Aryyadeva says that whatever depends
for its existence on anything else may be proved to be illusory;
all our notions of external objects depend on space perceptions
and notions of part and whole and should therefore be regarded
as mere appearance. Knowing therefore that all that is dependent
on others for establishing itself is illusory, no wise man
should feel attachment or antipathy towards these mere phenomenal appearances. In his _Cittavis'uddhiprakara@na_ he says that just as a crystal appears to be coloured, catching the reflection of a coloured object, even so the mind though in itself colourless appears to show diverse colours by coloration of imagination (_vikalpa_). In reality the mind (_citta_) without a touch of imagination (_kalpana_) in it is the pure reality.

It does not seem however that the S'unyavadins could produce any great writers after Candrakirtti. References to S'unyavada show that it was a living philosophy amongst the Hindu writers until the time of the great Mima@msa authority Kumarila who flourished in the eighth century; but in later times the S'unyavadins were no longer occupying the position of strong and active disputants.

The Tathataa Philosophy of As'vagho@sa (80 A.D.) [Footnote ref 2].

As'vagho@sa was the son of a Brahmin named Sai@mhaguhya who spent his early days in travelling over the different parts of India and defeating the Buddhists in open debates. He was probably converted to Buddhism by Par@sva who was an important person in the third Buddhist Council promoted, according to some authorities, by the King of Kashmere and according to other authorities by Pu@nyayas'as [Footnote ref 3].
[Footnote 1: Aryadeva's _Hastabalaprakara_ has been reclaimed by Dr. F.W. Thomas. Fragmentary portions of his _Cittavisuddhiprakara_ were published by Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada s'asti in the Bengal Asiatic Society's journal, 1898.]

[Footnote 2: The above section is based on the _Awakening of Faith_, an English translation by Suzuki of the Chinese version of _Sraddhotpad'sastra_ by As'vagho@sa, the Sanskrit original of which appears to have been lost. Suzuki has brought forward a mass of evidence to show that As'vagho@sa was a contemporary of Kani@ska.]

[Footnote 3: Taranatha says that he was converted by Aryadeva, a disciple of Nagarjuna, _Geschichte des Buddhismus_, German translation by Schiefner, pp. 84-85. See Suzuki's _Awakening of Faith_, pp. 24-32. As'vagho@sa wrote the _Buddhacaritakavya_, of great poetical excellence, and the _Mahala@mkaras'astra_. He was also a musician and had invented a musical instrument called Rastavara that he might by that means convert the people of the city. "Its melody was classical, mournful, and melodious, inducing the audience to ponder on the misery, emptiness, and non-atmaness of life." Suzuki, p. 35.]

130

He held that in the soul two aspects may be distinguished
the aspect as thatness (_bhutatathata_) and the aspect as the cycle of birth and death (_sa@msara_). The soul as bhutatathata means the oneness of the totality of all things (_dharmadhatu_). Its essential nature is uncreate and external. All things simply on account of the beginningless traces of the incipient and unconscious memory of our past experiences of many previous lives (_sm@rti_) appear under the forms of individuation [Footnote ref 1]. If we could overcome this sm@rti "the signs of individuation would disappear and there would be no trace of a world of objects." "All things in their fundamental nature are not nameable or explicable. They cannot be adequately expressed in any form of language. They possess absolute sameness (_samata_). They are subject neither to transformation nor to destruction. They are nothing but one soul" --thatness (_bhutatathata_). This "thatness" has no attribute and it can only be somehow pointed out in speech as "thatness."

As soon as you understand that when the totality of existence is spoken of or thought of, there is neither that which speaks nor that which is spoken of, there is neither that which thinks nor that which is thought of, "this is the stage of thatness." This bhutatathata is neither that which is existence, nor that which is non-existence, nor that which is at once existence and non-existence, nor that which is not at once existence and non-existence; it is neither that which is plurality, nor that which is at once unity and plurality, nor that which is not at once unity and plurality. It is a negative concept in the sense that it is beyond all that is conditional and yet it is a positive concept in the sense that it holds all within it. It cannot be comprehended by any kind of particularization or distinction. It is
only by transcending the range of our intellectual categories of
the comprehension of the limited range of finite phenomena that
we can get a glimpse of it. It cannot be comprehended by the
particularizing consciousness of all beings, and we thus may call
it negation, "s'nyata," in this sense. The truth is that which

[Footnote 1: I have ventured to translate "_sm@rti_" in the sense of vasana
in preference to Suzuki's "confused subjectivity" because sm@rti in the
sense of vasana is not unfamiliar to the readers of such Buddhist works
as _La@nkavatara_. The word "subjectivity" seems to be too European a
term to be used as a word to represent the Buddhist sense.]

subjectively does not exist by itself, that the negation (_s'nyata_) is
also void (_s'nya_) in its nature, that neither that which is negated
nor that which negates is an independent entity. It is the pure
soul that manifests itself as eternal, permanent, immutable, and
completely holds all things within it. On that account it may be
called affirmation. But yet there is no trace of affirmation in it,
because it is not the product of the creative instinctive memory
(_sm@rti_) of conceptual thought and the only way of grasping the
truth--the thatness, is by transcending all conceptual creations.
"The soul as birth and death (saṃsāra) comes forth from the Tathagata womb (tathagatagarbha), the ultimate reality. But the immortal and the mortal coincide with each other. Though they are not identical they are not duality either. Thus when the absolute soul assumes a relative aspect by its self-affirmation it is called the all-conserving mind (alayavijnana).

It embraces two principles, (1) enlightenment, (2) non-enlightenment. Enlightenment is the perfection of the mind when it is free from the corruptions of the creative instinctive incipient memory (smṛti). It penetrates all and is the unity of all (dharmadhatu). That is to say, it is the universal dharmakaya of all Tathagatas constituting the ultimate foundation of existence.

"When it is said that all consciousness starts from this fundamental truth, it should not be thought that consciousness had any real origin, for it was merely phenomenal existence--a mere imaginary creation of the perceivers under the influence of the delusive smṛti. The multitude of people (bahujana) are said to be lacking in enlightenment, because ignorance (avidya) prevails there from all eternity, because there is a constant succession of smṛti (past confused memory working as instinct) from which they have never been emancipated. But when they are divested of this smṛti they can then recognize that no states of mentation, viz. their appearance, presence, change and disappearance, have any reality. They are neither in a temporal nor in a spatial relation with the one soul, for they are not self-existent."
"This high enlightenment shows itself imperfectly in our corrupted phenomenal experience as prajna (wisdom) and karma (incomprehensible activity of life). By pure wisdom we understand that when one, by virtue of the perfuming power of dharma, disciplines himself truthfully (i.e. according to the dharma), and accomplishes meritorious deeds, the mind (i.e. the _alayavijnana_) which implicates itself with birth and death will be broken down and the modes of the evolving consciousness will be annulled, and the pure and the genuine wisdom of the Dharmakaya will manifest itself. Though all modes of consciousness and mentation are mere products of ignorance, ignorance in its ultimate nature is identical and non-identical with enlightenment; and therefore ignorance is in one sense destructible, though in another sense it is indestructible. This may be illustrated by the simile of the water and the waves which are stirred up in the ocean. Here the water can be said to be both identical and non-identical with the waves. The waves are stirred up by the wind, but the water remains the same. When the wind ceases the motion of the waves subsides, but the water remains the same. Likewise when the mind of all creatures, which in its own nature is pure and clean, is stirred up by the wind of ignorance (_avidya_), the waves of mentality (_vijnana_) make their appearance. These three (i.e.
the mind, ignorance, and mentality) however have no existence, and they are neither unity nor plurality. When the ignorance is annihilated, the awakened mentality is tranquillized, whilst the essence of the wisdom remains unmolested. The truth or the enlightenment "is absolutely unobtainable by any modes of relativity or by any outward signs of enlightenment. All events in the phenomenal world are reflected in enlightenment, so that they neither pass out of it, nor enter into it, and they neither disappear nor are destroyed." It is for ever cut off from the hindrances both affectional (_kles'avara@na_) and intellectual (_jneyavara@na_), as well as from the mind (i.e. _alayavijnana_) which implicates itself with birth and death, since it is in its true nature clean, pure, eternal, calm, and immutable. The truth again is such that it transforms and unfolds itself wherever conditions are favourable in the form of a tathagata or in some other forms, in order that all beings may be induced thereby to bring their virtue to maturity.

"Non-enlightenment has no existence of its own aside from its relation with enlightenment _a priori_." But enlightenment _a priori_ is spoken of only in contrast to non-enlightenment, and as non-enlightenment is a non-entity, true enlightenment in turn loses its significance too. They are distinguished only in mutual relation as enlightenment or non-enlightenment. The manifestations of non-enlightenment are made in three ways: (1) as a disturbance of the mind (_alayavijnana_), by the avidyakarma (ignorant

133
action), producing misery (_du@hkha_); (2) by the appearance of an ego or of a perceiver; and (3) by the creation of an external world which does not exist in itself, independent of the perceiver. Conditioned by the unreal external world six kinds of phenomena arise in succession. The first phenomenon is intelligence (sensation); being affected by the external world the mind becomes conscious of the difference between the agreeable and the disagreeable.

The second phenomenon is succession. Following upon intelligence, memory retains the sensations, agreeable as well as disagreeable, in a continuous succession of subjective states.

The third phenomenon is clinging. Through the retention and succession of sensations, agreeable as well as disagreeable, there arises the desire of clinging. The fourth phenomenon is an attachment to names or ideas (_sa@mjna_), etc. By clinging the mind hypostatizes all names whereby to give definitions to all things.

The fifth phenomenon is the performance of deeds (_karma_). On account of attachment to names, etc., there arise all the variations of deeds, productive of individuality. "The sixth phenomenon is the suffering due to the fetter of deeds. Through deeds suffering arises in which the mind finds itself entangled and curtailed of its freedom." All these phenomena have thus sprung forth through avidya.

The relation between this truth and avidya is in one sense a mere identity and may be illustrated by the simile of all kinds of pottery which though different are all made of the same clay.
Likewise the undefiled (_anasrava_) and ignorance (_avidya_) and their various transient forms all come from one and the same entity. Therefore Buddha teaches that all beings are from all eternity abiding in Nirvana.

It is by the touch of ignorance (_avidya_) that this truth assumes all the phenomenal forms of existence.

In the all-conserving mind (_alayavijnana_) ignorance manifests itself; and from non-enlightenment starts that which sees, that which represents, that which apprehends an objective world, and that which constantly particularizes. This is called ego (_manas_).

Five different names are given to the ego (according to its different modes of operation). The first name is activity-consciousness (_karmavijnana_) in the sense that through the agency of ignorance an unenlightened mind begins to be disturbed (or

[Footnote 1: Compare Chandogya, VI. 1. 4.]

134

awakened). The second name is evolving-consciousness (_prav@rttivijnana_) in the sense that when the mind is disturbed, there
evolves that which sees an external world. The third name is representation-consciousness in the sense that the ego (manas) represents (or reflects) an external world. As a clean mirror reflects the images of all description, it is even so with the representation-consciousness. When it is confronted, for instance, with the objects of the five senses, it represents them instantaneously and without effort. The fourth is particularization-consciousness, in the sense that it discriminates between different things defiled as well as pure. The fifth name is succession-consciousness, in the sense that continuously directed by the awakening consciousness of attention (manaskara) it (manas) retains all experiences and never loses or suffers the destruction of any karma, good as well as evil, which had been sown in the past, and whose retribution, painful or agreeable, it never fails to mature, be it in the present or in the future, and also in the sense that it unconsciously recollects things gone by and in imagination anticipates things to come. Therefore the three domains (kamaloka, domain of feeling--rupaloka, domain of bodily existence--arupaloka, domain of incorporeality) are nothing but the self manifestation of the mind (i.e. alayavijnana which is practically identical with bhutatathata). Since all things, owing the principle of their existence to the mind (alayavijnana), are produced by smrti, all the modes of particularization are the self-particularizations of the mind. The mind in itself (or the soul) being however free from all attributes is not differentiated. Therefore we come to the conclusion that all things and conditions in the phenomenal world, hypostatized and established only through ignorance (avidya) and memory (smrti), have no more reality than the images in a mirror. They
arise simply from the ideality of a particularizing mind. When
the mind is disturbed, the multiplicity of things is produced; but
when the mind is quieted, the multiplicity of things disappears.
By ego-consciousness (_manovijnana_) we mean the ignorant mind
which by its succession-consciousness clings to the conception of
I and Not-I and misapprehends the nature of the six objects of
sense. The ego-consciousness is also called separation-consciousness,
because it is nourished by the perfuming influence of the
prejudices (_asrava_), intellectual as well as affectional. Thus believing
in the external world produced by memory, the mind becomes

oblivious of the principle of sameness (_samata_) that underlies all
things which are one and perfectly calm and tranquil and show no
sign of becoming.

Non-enlightenment is the _raison d'etre_ of samsara. When
this is annihilated the conditions--the external world--are also
annihilated and with them the state of an interrelated mind is also
annihilated. But this annihilation does not mean the annihilation
of the mind but of its modes only. It becomes calm like an unruffled
sea when all winds which were disturbing it and producing
the waves have been annihilated.

In describing the relation of the interaction of avidya (ignorance),
karmavijnana (activity-consciousness--the subjective mind),
vil@saya (external world--represented by the senses) and the tathata
(suchness), As'vaghosa says that there is an interperfuming of
these elements. Thus As'vaghosa says, "By perfuming we mean
that while our worldly clothes (viz. those which we wear) have no
odour of their own, neither offensive nor agreeable, they can yet
acquire one or the other odour according to the nature of the substance
with which they are perfumed. Suchness (_tathata_) is likewise
a pure dharma free from all defilements caused by the perfuming
power of ignorance. On the other hand ignorance has nothing to
do with purity. Nevertheless we speak of its being able to do the
work of purity because it in its turn is perfumed by suchness.
Determined by suchness ignorance becomes the _raison d'etre_ of
all forms of defilement. And this ignorance perfumes suchness
and produces sm@rti. This sm@rti in its turn perfumes ignorance.
On account of this (reciprocal) perfuming, the truth is misunderstood.
On account of its being misunderstood an external world
of subjectivity appears. Further, on account of the perfuming
power of memory, various modes of individuation are produced.
And by clinging to them various deeds are done, and we suffer
as the result miseries mentally as well as bodily." Again "suchness
perfumes ignorance, and in consequence of this perfuming
the individual in subjectivity is caused to loathe the misery of
birth and death and to seek after the blessing of Nirvana. This
longing and loathing on the part of the subjective mind in turn
perfumes suchness. On account of this perfuming influence we
are enabled to believe that we are in possession within ourselves
of suchness whose essential nature is pure and immaculate; and
we also recognize that all phenomena in the world are nothing but the illusory manifestations of the mind (_alayavijnana_) and have no reality of their own. Since we thus rightly understand the truth, we can practise the means of liberation, can perform those actions which are in accordance with the dharma. We should neither particularize, nor cling to objects of desire. By virtue of this discipline and habituation during the lapse of innumerable asa@nkhyeyakalpas [Footnote ref 1] we get ignorance annihilated. As ignorance is thus annihilated, the mind (_alayavijnana_) is no longer disturbed, so as to be subject to individuation. As the mind is no longer disturbed, the particularization of the surrounding world is annihilated. When in this wise the principle and the condition of defilement, their products, and the mental disturbances are all annihilated, it is said that we attain Nirva@na and that various spontaneous displays of activity are accomplished." The Nirva@na of the tathata philosophy is not nothingness, but tathata (suchness or thatness) in its purity unassociated with any kind of disturbance which produces all the diversity of experience.

To the question that if all beings are uniformly in possession of suchness and are therefore equally perfumed by it, how is it that there are some who do not believe in it, while others do, As'vagho@sa's reply is that though all beings are uniformly in
possession of suchness, the intensity of ignorance and the principle
of individuation, that work from all eternity, vary in such
manifold grades as to outnumber the sands of the Ganges, and
hence the difference. There is an inherent perfuming principle
in one's own being which, embraced and protected by the love
(_maitri_) and compassion (_karuna_) of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas,
is caused to loathe the misery of birth and death, to believe
in nirvana, to cultivate the root of merit (_kusalamula_), to habituate
oneself to it and to bring it to maturity. In consequence
of this, one is enabled to see all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and, receiving
instructions from them, is benefited, gladdened and induced
to practise good deeds, etc., till one can attain to Buddhahood and
enter into Nirvana. This implies that all beings have such perfuming
power in them that they may be affected by the good wishes
of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas for leading them to the path
of virtue, and thus it is that sometimes hearing the Bodhisattvas
and sometimes seeing them, "all beings thereby acquire (spiritual)
benefits (_hitata_)" and "entering into the samadhi of purity, they

________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Technical name for a very vast period of time.]

137

destroy hindrances wherever they are met with and obtain all-penetrating
insight that enables them to become conscious of the absolute oneness (samata) of the universe (sarvaloka) and to see innumerable Buddhas and Bodhisattvas."

There is a difference between the perfuming which is not in unison with suchness, as in the case of s'ràvakas (theravadin monks), pratyekabuddhas and the novice bodhisattvas, who only continue their religious discipline but do not attain to the state of non-particularization in unison with the essence of suchness. But those bodhisattvas whose perfuming is already in unison with suchness attain to the state of non-particularization and allow themselves to be influenced only by the power of the dharma. The incessant perfuming of the defiled dharma (ignorance from all eternity) works on, but when one attains to Buddhahood one at once puts an end to it. The perfuming of the pure dharma (i.e. suchness) however works on to eternity without any interruption. For this suchness or thatness is the effulgence of great wisdom, the universal illumination of the dharmadhatu (universe), the true and adequate knowledge, the mind pure and clean in its own nature, the eternal, the blessed, the self-regulating and the pure, the tranquil, the inimitable and the free, and this is called the tathagatagarbha or the dharmakaya. It may be objected that since thatness or suchness has been described as being without characteristics, it is now a contradiction to speak of it as embracing all merits, but it is held, that in spite of its embracing all merits, it is free in its nature from all forms of distinction, because all objects in the world are of one and the same taste; and being
of one reality they have nothing to do with the modes of particularization
or of dualistic character. "Though all things in their
(metaphysical) origin come from the soul alone and in truth are
free from particularization, yet on account of non-enlightenment
there originates a subjective mind (_alayavijnana_) that becomes
conscious of an external world." This is called ignorance or
avidya. Nevertheless the pure essence of the mind is perfectly
pure and there is no awakening of ignorance in it. Hence we assign
to suchness this quality, the effulgence of great wisdom. It is
called universal illumination, because there is nothing for it to
illumine. This perfuming of suchness therefore continues for ever,
though the stage of the perfuming of avidya comes to an end with
the Buddhas when they attain to nirva@na. All Buddhas while at

138

the stage of discipline feel a deep compassion (_mahakaru@na_) for all
beings, practise all virtues (_paramitas_) and many other meritorious
deeds, treat others as their own selves, and wish to work out a
universal salvation of mankind in ages to come, through limitless
numbers of _kalpas_, recognize truthfully and adequately the
principle of equality (_samata_) among people; and do not cling
to the individual existence of a sentient being. This is what is
meant by the activity of tathata. The main idea of this tathata
philosophy seems to be this, that this transcendent "thatness" is
at once the quintessence of all thought and activity; as avidya veils
it or perfumes it, the world-appearance springs forth, but as the
pure thatness also perfumes the avidya there is a striving for the
good as well. As the stage of avidya is passed its luminous
character shines forth, for it is the ultimate truth which only
illusorily appeared as the many of the world.

This doctrine seems to be more in agreement with the view
of an absolute unchangeable reality as the ultimate truth than
that of the nihilistic idealism of _La@nkavatara_. Considering the
fact that As'vagho@sa was a learned Brahmin scholar in his early
life, it is easy to guess that there was much Upani@sad influence in
this interpretation of Buddhism, which compares so favourably
with the Vedanta as interpreted by S'a@nkara. The _La@nkavatara_
admitted a reality only as a make-believe to attract the Tairthikas
(heretics) who had a prejudice in favour of an unchangeable self
(_atman_). But As'vagho@sa plainly admitted an unspeakable reality
as the ultimate truth. Nagarjuna's Madhyamika doctrines which
eclipsed the profound philosophy of As'vagho@sa seem to be more
faithful to the traditional Buddhist creed and to the Vijnanavada
creed of Buddhism as explained in the La@nkavatara [Footnote ref 1].

The Madhyamika or the S'untavada school.--Nihilism.

Candrakirtti, the commentator of Nagarjuna's verses known as
"_Madhyamika karika_" in explaining the doctrine of dependent
origination (_pratityasamutpada_) as described by Nagarjuna starts
with two interpretations of the word. According to one the word
pratityasamutpada means the origination (utpada) of the nonexistent (abhava) depending on (pratitya) reasons and causes.

[Footnote 1: As I have no access to the Chinese translation of As'vaghoṣa's Saraddhotpada S'āstra, I had to depend entirely on Suzuki's expressions as they appear in his translation.]

139

(hetupratyaya). According to the other interpretation pratitya means each and every destructible individual and pratityasamutpada means the origination of each and every destructible individual. But he disapproves of both these meanings. The second meaning does not suit the context in which the Pali Scriptures generally speak of pratityasamutpada (e.g. cakṣuḥ pratitya rupani ca utpadyante cakṣuḥsvijñanam) for it does not mean the origination of each and every destructible individual, but the originating of specific individual phenomena (e.g. perception of form by the operation in connection with the eye) depending upon certain specific conditions.

The first meaning also is equally unsuitable. Thus for example if we take the case of any origination, e.g. that of the visual percept, we see that there cannot be any contact between visual
knowledge and physical sense, the eye, and so it would not be intelligible that the former should depend upon the latter. If we interpret the maxim of pratityasamutpada as this happening that happens, that would not explain any specific origination. All origination is false, for a thing can neither originate by itself nor by others, nor by a co-operation of both nor without any reason. For if a thing exists already it cannot originate again by itself. To suppose that it is originated by others would also mean that the origination was of a thing already existing. If again without any further qualification it is said that depending on one the other comes into being, then depending on anything any other thing could come into being—from light we could have darkness! Since a thing could not originate from itself or by others, it could not also be originated by a combination of both of them together. A thing also could not originate without any cause, for then all things could come into being at all times. It is therefore to be acknowledged that wherever the Buddha spoke of this so-called dependent origination (pratityasamutpada) it was referred to as illusory manifestations appearing to intellects and senses stricken with ignorance. This dependent origination is not thus a real law, but only an appearance due to ignorance (avidya). The only thing which is not lost (amo:sadharma) is nirva@na; but all other forms of knowledge and phenomena (sa:mskara) are false and are lost with their appearances (sarvasa:mskaras'ca m@r:samo:sadharma@na@h).

It is sometimes objected to this doctrine that if all appearances
are false, then they do not exist at all. There are then no
good or bad works and no cycle of existence, and if such is the
case, then it may be argued that no philosophical discussion
should be attempted. But the reply to such an objection is that the
nihilistic doctrine is engaged in destroying the misplaced confidence
of the people that things are true. Those who are really
wise do not find anything either false or true, for to them clearly
they do not exist at all and they do not trouble themselves with
the question of their truth or falsehood. For him who knows thus
there are neither works nor cycles of births (sa@msara_) and also he
does not trouble himself about the existence or non-existence of
any of the appearances. Thus it is said in the Ratnakutasutra that
howsoever carefully one may search one cannot discover consciousness
(cita_); what cannot be perceived cannot be said to exist,
and what does not exist is neither past, nor future, nor present, and
as such it cannot be said to have any nature at all; and that which
has no nature is subject neither to origination nor to extinction.
He who through his false knowledge (viparyyasa_) does not comprehend
the falsehood of all appearances, but thinks them to be
real, works and suffers the cycles of rebirth (sa@msara_). Like all
illusions, though false these appearances can produce all the harm
of rebirth and sorrow.
It may again be objected that if there is nothing true according to the nihilists (_s'unyavadins_), then their statement that there is no origination or extinction is also not true. Candrakirtti in replying to this says that with s'unyavadins the truth is absolute silence. When the S'unyavadin sages argue, they only accept for the moment what other people regard as reasons, and deal with them in their own manner to help them to come to a right comprehension of all appearances. It is of no use to say, in spite of all arguments tending to show the falsehood of all appearances, that they are testified by our experience, for the whole thing that we call "our experience" is but false illusion inasmuch as these phenomena have no true essence.

When the doctrine of pratityasamutpada is described as "this being that is," what is really meant is that things can only be indicated as mere appearances one after another, for they have no essence or true nature. Nihilism (_s'unyavada_) also means just this. The true meaning of pratityasamutpada or s'unyavada is this, that there is no truth, no essence in all phenomena that appear [Footnote ref 1]. As the phenomena have no essence they are neither produced nor destroyed; they really neither come nor go. They are merely the appearance of maya or illusion. The void (_s'unya_) does not mean pure negation, for that is relative to some kind of
position. It simply means that none of the appearances have any intrinsic nature of their own (_niḥsvabhavatvam_).

The Madhyamaka or Śunyata system does not hold that anything has any essence or nature (svabhava) of its own; even heat cannot be said to be the essence of fire; for both the heat and the fire are the result of the combination of many conditions, and what depends on many conditions cannot be said to be the nature or essence of the thing. That alone may be said to be the true essence or nature of anything which does not depend on anything else, and since no such essence or nature can be pointed out which stands independently by itself we cannot say that it exists. If a thing has no essence or existence of its own, we cannot affirm the essence of other things to it (_parabhava_). If we cannot affirm anything of anything as positive, we cannot consequently assert anything of anything as negative. If anyone first believes in things positive and afterwards discovers that they are not so, he no doubt thus takes his stand on a negation (_abhava_), but in reality since we cannot speak of anything positive, we cannot speak of anything negative either [Footnote ref 2].

It is again objected that we nevertheless perceive a process going on. To this the Madhyamaka reply is that a process of change could not be affirmed of things that are permanent. But we can hardly speak of a process with reference to momentary things; for those which are momentary are destroyed the next moment after they appear, and so there is nothing which can continue to
justify a process. That which appears as being neither comes
from anywhere nor goes anywhere, and that which appears as destroyed
also does not come from anywhere nor go anywhere,
and so a process (_sa@msara_) cannot be affirmed of them. It cannot
be that when the second moment arose, the first moment had
suffered a change in the process, for it was not the same as the
second, as there is no so-called cause-effect connection. In fact
there being no relation between the two, the temporal determination
as prior and later is wrong. The supposition that there is a
self which suffers changes is also not valid, for howsoever we

[Footnote 1: See _Madhyamikav@rtti_ (B.T.S.), p. 50.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid_. pp. 93-100.]

142

may search we find the five skandhas but no self. Moreover if
the soul is a unity it cannot undergo any process or progression,
for that would presuppose that the soul abandons one character
and takes up another at the same identical moment which is
inconceivable [Footnote ref 1].
But then again the question arises that if there is no process, and no cycle of worldly existence of thousands of afflictions, what is then the nirvana which is described as the final extinction of all afflictions (klesa)? To this the Madhyamaka reply is that it does not agree to such a definition of nirvana. Nirvana on the Madhyamaka theory is the absence of the essence of all phenomena, that which cannot be conceived either as anything which has ceased or as anything which is produced (aniruddham antnpannam). In nirvana all phenomena are lost; we say that the phenomena cease to exist in nirvana, but like the illusory snake in the rope they never existed [Footnote ref 2]. Nirvana cannot be any positive thing or any sort of state of being (bhava), for all positive states or things are joint products of combined causes (sa@msk@rta) and are liable to decay and destruction. Neither can it be a negative existence, for since we cannot speak of any positive existence, we cannot speak of a negative existence either. The appearances or the phenomena are communicated as being in a state of change and process coming one after another, but beyond that no essence, existence, or truth can be affirmed of them. Phenomena sometimes appear to be produced and sometimes to be destroyed, but they cannot be determined as existent or non-existent. Nirvana is merely the cessation of the seeming phenomenal flow (prapancapravrtti). It cannot therefore be designated either as positive or as negative for these conceptions belong to phenomena (na capravrttimatram bhavabhavet parikalpitum paryyate evam na bhavabhavanirva@nam_, M.V. 197). In this state there is nothing which is known, and even the knowledge that the phenomena have ceased to
appear is not found. Even the Buddha himself is a phenomenon, a mirage or a dream, and so are all his teachings [Footnote ref 3].

It is easy to see that in this system there cannot exist any bondage or emancipation; all phenomena are like shadows, like the mirage, the dream, the maya, and the magic without any real nature (_ni@hsvabhava_). It is mere false knowledge to suppose that one is trying to win a real nirva@na [Footnote ref 1]. It is this false egoism that is to be considered as avidya. When considered deeply it is found that there is not even the slightest trace of any positive existence. Thus it is seen that if there were no ignorance (_avidya_), there would have been no conformations (_sa@mskaras_), and if there were no conformations there would have been no consciousness, and so

[Footnote 1: See _Madhyamikav@rtti_ (B.T.S.), pp. 101-102.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid_. p. 194.]

[Footnote 3: _Ibid_. pp.162 and 201.]
on; but it cannot be said of the ignorance “I am generating the
sa@mskaras,” and it can be said of the sa@mskaras “we are being
produced by the avidya.” But there being avidya, there come the
sa@mskaras and so on with other categories too. This character of
the pratityasamutpada is known as the coming of the consequent
depending on an antecedent reason (_hetupanibandha_).

It can be viewed from another aspect, namely that of dependence
on conglomeration or combination (_pratyayopanibandh_).

It is by the combination (_samavaya_) of the four elements, space
(_akas'a_) and consciousness (_vijnana_) that a man is made. It is
due to earth (_p@rthivi_) that the body becomes solid, it is due to
water that there is fat in the body, it is due to fire that there is
digestion, it is due to wind that there is respiration; it is due
to akas'a that there is porosity, and it is due to vijnana that
there is mind-consciousness. It is by their mutual combination
that we find a man as he is. But none of these elements think
that they have done any of the functions that are considered to be
allotted to them. None of these are real substances or beings or
souls. It is by ignorance that these are thought of as existents and
attachment is generated for them. Through ignorance thus come
the sa@mskaras, consisting of attachment, antipathy and thoughtlessness
(_raga, dve@sa, moha_); from these proceed the vijnana and
the four skandhas. These with the four elements bring about name
and form (_namarupa_), from these proceed the senses (_@sa@dayatana_),
from the coming together of those three comes contact (_spars’a_);
from that feelings, from that comes desire (_tr@s@na_) and so on.
These flow on like the stream of a river, but there is no essence or truth behind them all or as the ground of them all [Footnote ref 2].

The phenomena therefore cannot be said to be either existent or non-existent, and no truth can be affirmed of either eternalism (s'as'vatavada) or nihilism (ucchedavada), and it is for this reason

[Footnote 1: See _Madhyamikavrtti_ (B.T.S.), pp. 101-108.]

[Footnote: _Ibid._ pp. 209-211, quoted from _Salistambhasutra_.
Vacaspatimis'ra also quotes this passage in his _Bhamati_ on S'anka's _Brahma-sutra_.]

144

that this doctrine is called the middle doctrine (madhyamaka) [Footnote ref 1]. Existence and non-existence have only a relative truth (samvatisatya) in them, as in all phenomena, but there is no true reality (paramarthasatya) in them or anything else. Morality plays as high a part in this nihilistic system as it does in any other Indian system. I quote below some stanzas from Nagarjuna's _Sukrllekha_ as translated by Wenzel (P.T.S. 1886) from the Tibetan translation.
6. Knowing that riches are unstable and void (asara) give according to the moral precepts, to Bhikshus, Brahmins, the poor and friends for there is no better friend than giving.

7. Exhibit morality (s'ila) faultless and sublime, unmixed and spotless, for morality is the supporting ground of all eminence, as the earth is of the moving and immovable.

8. Exercise the imponderable, transcendental virtues of charity, morality, patience, energy, meditation, and likewise wisdom, in order that, having reached the farther shore of the sea of existence, you may become a Jina prince.

9. View as enemies, avarice (matsaryya), deceit (s'atha), duplicity (maya), lust, indolence (kausidy), pride (mana), greed (raga), hatred (dve) and pride (mada) concerning family, figure, glory, youth, or power.

15. Since nothing is so difficult of attainment as patience, open no door for anger; the Buddha has pronounced that he who renounces anger shall attain the degree of an anagamin (a saint who never suffers rebirth).

21. Do not look after another's wife; but if you see her, regard her, according to age, like your mother, daughter or sister.
24. Of him who has conquered the unstable, ever moving objects of the six senses and him who has overcome the mass of his enemies in battle, the wise praise the first as the greater hero.

29. Thou who knowest the world, be equanimous against the eight worldly conditions, gain and loss, happiness and suffering, fame and dishonour, blame and praise, for they are not objects for your thoughts.

37. But one (a woman) that is gentle as a sister, winning as a friend, careful of your well being as a mother, obedient as a servant her (you must) honour as the guardian god(dess) of the family.

40. Always perfectly meditate on (turn your thoughts to) kindness, pity, joy and indifference; then if you do not obtain a higher degree you (certainly) will obtain the happiness of Brahman's world (_brahmavihara_).

41. By the four dhyanas completely abandoning desire (_kama_), reflection (_vicara_), joy (_priti_), and happiness and pain (_sukha, duhkha_) you will obtain as fruit the lot of a Brahman.

49. If you say "I am not the form, you thereby will understand I am not endowed with form, I do not dwell in form, the form does not dwell in me; and in like manner you will understand the voidness of the other four aggregates."
50. The aggregates do not arise from desire, nor from time, nor from nature (_prakrti_), not from themselves (_svabhavat_), nor from the Lord (_isvara_), nor yet are they without cause; know that they arise from ignorance (_avidya_) and desire (_tarasna_).

51. Know that attachment to religious ceremonies (_silabrataparamarsa_), wrong views (_mithyadrati_) and doubt (_vicikitsa_) are the three fetters.

53. Steadily instruct yourself (more and more) in the highest morality, the highest wisdom and the highest thought, for the hundred and fifty one rules (of the _pratimoksa_) are combined perfectly in these three.

58. Because thus (as demonstrated) all this is unstable (_anitya_) without substance (_anatma_) without help (_as'ara@na_) without protector (_anatha_) and without abode (_asthana_) thou O Lord of men must become

[Footnote 1: See _Madhyamikavrtti_ (B.T.S.), p. 160.]
discontented with this worthless (asara) kadali-tree of the orb.

104. If a fire were to seize your head or your dress you would extinguish and subdue it, even then endeavour to annihilate desire, for there is no other higher necessity than this.

105. By morality, knowledge and contemplation, attain the spotless dignity of the quieting and the subduing nirvana not subject to age, death or decay, devoid of earth, water, fire, wind, sun and moon.

107. Where there is no wisdom (prajna) there is also no contemplation (dhyana), where there is no contemplation there is also no wisdom; but know that for him who possesses these two the sea of existence is like a grove.

Uncompromising Idealism or the School of Vijnanavada Buddhism.

The school of Buddhist philosophy known as the Vijnanavada or Yogacara has often been referred to by such prominent teachers of Hindu thought as Kumarila and S'ankara. It agrees to a great extent with the Sunyavadins whom we have already described. All the dharmas (qualities and substances) are but imaginary constructions of ignorant minds. There is no movement in the so-called external world as we suppose, for it does not exist. We
construct it ourselves and then are ourselves deluded that it exists by itself (निर्मिताप्रतिमोही) [Footnote ref 1]. There are two functions involved in our consciousness, viz. that which holds the perceptions (क्षयति विज्ञान), and that which orders them by imaginary constructions (वृष्टप्रतिविकालपविज्ञान). The two functions however mutually determine each other and cannot be separately distinguished (अभिन्नलक्षण सत्य नस्ते अन्योन्यते). These functions are set to work on account of the beginningless instinctive tendencies inherent in them in relation to the world of appearance (अनदिकला-प्रसंग-विश्वविश्वसन्ति) [Footnote ref 2].

All sense knowledge can be stopped only when the diverse

__________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: लंकावतारसूत्र, pp. 21-22.]

[Footnote 2: इबिद. p. 44.]

146

unmanifested instincts of imagination are stopped (अभूत-परिकल्प-विश्व-वैचित्र-निरोधा)

[Footnote ref 1]. All our phenomenal knowledge is without any essence or truth (निःस्वभावा) and is but a
creation of maya, a mirage or a dream. There is nothing which
may be called external, but all is the imaginary creation of the
mind (_svacitta_), which has been accustomed to create imaginary
appearances from beginningless time. This mind by whose movement
these creations take place as subject and object has no
appearance in itself and is thus without any origination, existence
and extinction (_utpadasthitibha@ngavarjjam_) and is called the
alayavijnana. The reason why this alayavijnana itself is said to be
without origination, existence, and extinction is probably this,
that it is always a hypothetical state which merely explains all
the phenomenal states that appear, and therefore it has no existence
in the sense in which the term is used and we could not
affirm any special essence of it.

We do not realize that all visible phenomena are of nothing
external but of our own mind (_svacitta_), and there is also the
beginningless tendency for believing and creating a phenomenal world
of appearance. There is also the nature of knowledge (which
takes things as the perceiver and the perceived) and there is also
the instinct in the mind to experience diverse forms. On account
of these four reasons there are produced in the alayavijnana (mind)
the ripples of our sense experiences (_prav@rttivijnana_) as in a lake,
and these are manifested as sense experiences. All the five skandhas
called _panchavijnananakaya_ thus appear in a proper synthetic
form. None of the phenomenal knowledge that appears is either
identical or different from the alayavijnana just as the waves cannot
be said to be either identical or different from the ocean. As
the ocean dances on in waves so the citta or the alayavijnana
is also dancing as it were in its diverse operations (_v@rtti_). As
citta it collects all movements (_karma_) within it, as manas it
synthesizes (_vidhiyate_) and as vijnana it constructs the fivefold
perceptions (_vijnanan vijanati d@rs'yam kalpate pancabhi@h_) [Footnote ref 2].

It is only due to maya (illusion) that the phenomena appear in their
twofold aspect as subject and object. This must always be regarded as
an appearance (_samv@rtisatyata_) whereas in the real aspect we could
never say whether they existed (_bhava_) or did not exist [Footnote ref 3].

........................................................................................................

[Footnote 1: _Pancavatarastra_, p. 44.]

[Footnote 2: _Ibid_, pp. 50-55.]

[Footnote 3: Asa@nga's _Mahayanasutra@mkara_, pp. 58-59.]

147

All phenomena both being and non-being are illusory (_sadasanta@h
mayopama@h_). When we look deeply into them we find that
there is an absolute negation of all appearances, including even
all negations, for they are also appearances. This would make the
ultimate truth positive. But this is not so, for it is that in which
the positive and negative are one and the same (_bhavabhavasamanata_)
[Footnote ref 1]. Such a state which is complete in itself and has no
name and no substance had been described in the _Lakavatara_sutra
as thatness (_tathata_) [Footnote ref 2]. This state is also described in
another place in the _Lakavatara_ as voidness (_s'uniyata_) which is one
and has no origination and no essence [Footnote ref 3]. In another place
it is also designated as tathagatagarbha [Footnote ref 4].

It may be supposed that this doctrine of an unqualified
ultimate truth comes near to the Vedantic atman or Brahman
like the tathata doctrine of As'vagho'sa; and we find in _Lakavatara_
that Rava'sna asks the Buddha "How can you say that
your doctrine of tathagatagarbha was not the same as the atman
document of the other schools of philosophers, for those heretics
also consider the atman as eternal, agent, unqualified, all pervading
and unchanged?" To this the Buddha is found to reply
thus--"Our doctrine is not the same as the doctrine of those
heretics; it is in consideration of the fact that the instruction
of a philosophy which considered that there was no soul or substance
in anything (nairatmya) would frighten the disciples, that
I say that all things are in reality the tathagatagarbha. This
should not be regarded as atman. Just as a lump of clay is made
into various shapes, so it is the non-essential nature
of all phenomena and their freedom from all characteristics
that is variously described as the garbha or the nairatmya (essencelessness). This explanation of tathagatagarbha as the ultimate truth and reality is given in order to attract to our creed those heretics who are superstitiously inclined to believe in the atman doctrine [Footnote ref 5]."

So far as the appearance of the phenomena was concerned, the idealistic Buddhists (vijnanavadins) agreed to the doctrine of pratityasamutpada with certain modifications. There was with them an external pratityasamutpada just as it appeared in the

[Footnote 1: Asanga's _Mahayanasutralamkara_, p. 65.]

[Footnote 2: _Lankavatarasutra_, p. 70.]

[Footnote 3: _Ibid._ p. 78.]

[Footnote 4: _Ibid._ p. 80.]

[Footnote 5: _Ibid._ pp. 80-81.]
objective aspect and an internal pratityasamutpada. The external
pratityasamutpada (dependent origination) is represented in the
way in which material things (e.g. a jug) came into being by the
cooperation of diverse elements--the lump of clay, the potter,
the wheel, etc. The internal (_adhyatmika_) pratityasamutpada
was represented by avidya, t@r@s@na, karma, the skandhas, and the
ayatanas produced out of them [Footnote ref 1].

Our understanding is composed of two categories called the
_pravichayabuddhi_ and the
_vikalpalak@sa@nagrahabhinives'aprati@s@thapikabuddhi_. The
pravicayabuddhi is that which always seeks to take things in either
of the following four ways, that they are either this or the other
(_ekatvanyaiva_); either both or not both (_ubhayanubhaya_), either
are or are not (_astinasti_), either eternal or non-eternal (_nityanitya_).
But in reality none of these can be affirmed of the phenomena. The second
category consists of that habit of the mind by virtue of which it
constructs diversities and arranges them (created in their turn by
its own constructive activity--_parikalpa_) in a logical order of diverse
relations of subject and predicate, causal and other relations. He who
knows the nature of these two categories of the mind knows that there
is no external world of matter and that they are all experienced only
in the mind. There is no water, but it is the sense construction of
smoothness (_sneha_) that constructs the water as an external substance;
it is the sense construction of activity or energy that
constructs the external substance of fire; it is the sense construction
of movement that constructs the external substance of air.

In this way through the false habit of taking the unreal as the real (mithyasatyabhinives’a_) five skandhas appear. If these were to appear all together, we could not speak of any kind of causal relations, and if they appeared in succession there could be no connection between them, as there is nothing to bind them together. In reality there is nothing which is produced or destroyed, it is only our constructive imagination that builds up things as perceived with all their relations, and ourselves as perceivers. It is simply a convention (vyavahara_) to speak of things as known [Footnote ref 2]. Whatever we designate by speech is mere speech-construction (vagvikalpa_) and unreal. In speech one could not speak of anything without relating things in some kind of causal relation, but none of these characters may be said to be true;

[Footnote 1: _Lanavasarutrasutra_, p. 85.]

[Footnote 2: _Lankavatara sutra_, p. 87, compare the term "vyavaharika" as used of the phenomenal and the conventional world in almost the same sense by S'anka._]

149
the real truth (_paramartha_) can never be referred to by such speech-construction.

The nothingness (_s'unyata_) of things may be viewed from seven aspects--(1) that they are always interdependent, and hence have no special characteristics by themselves, and as they cannot be determined in themselves they cannot be determined in terms of others, for, their own nature being undetermined, a reference to an "other" is also undetermined, and hence they are all indefinable (_laksanas'unyata_); (2) that they have no positive essence (_bhavasvabhavas'unyata_), since they spring up from a natural non-existence (_svabhavabhavotpatti_); (3) that they are of an unknown type of non-existence (_apracaritas'unyata_), since all the skandhas vanish in the nirvana; (4) that they appear phenomenally as connected though non-existent (_pracaritas'unyata_), for their skandhas have no reality in themselves nor are they related to others, but yet they appear to be somehow causally connected; (5) that none of the things can be described as having any definite nature, they are all undemonstrable by language (_nirabhilapyas'unyata_); (6) that there cannot be any knowledge about them except that which is brought about by the long-standing defects of desires which pollute all our vision; (7) that things are also non-existent in the sense that we affirm them to be in a particular place and time in which they are not (_itaretaras'unyata_).

There is thus only non-existence, which again is neither eternal nor destructible, and the world is but a dream and a maya; the
two kinds of negation (_nirodha_) are akas'a (space) and nirvana;

things which are neither existent nor non-existent are only

imagined to be existent by fools.

This view apparently comes into conflict with the doctrine of
this school, that the reality is called the tathagatagarbha (the
womb of all that is merged in thatness) and all the phenomenal
appearances of the clusters (_skandhas_), elements (_dhatus_), and
fields of sense operation (_ayatanas_) only serve to veil it with
impurities, and this would bring it nearer to the assumption of a
universal soul as the reality. But the _La@nkavatara_ attempts to
explain away this conflict by suggesting that the reference to
the tathagatagarbha as the reality is only a sort of
false bait to attract those who are afraid of listening
to the nairatmya (non-soul doctrine) [Footnote ref 1].

[Footnote 1: _La@nkavarasutra_, p. 80.]

150

The Bodhisattvas may attain their highest by the fourfold
knowledge of (1) _svacittad@rs'hyabhavana_, (2)
_ulpadasthitibha@ngavivarjanata_.

___________________________________________________________________

150
(3) _bahiyaabhavabhavopalak@sanata_ and

(4) _svapratyaryajnanadhigamabhinnalak@sanata_. The first means
that all things are but creations of the imagination of one's mind.
The second means that as things have no essence there is no origination,
existence or destruction. The third means that one should
know the distinctive sense in which all external things are said
either to be existent or non-existent, for their existence is merely
like the mirage which is produced by the beginningless desire
(_vasana_) of creating and perceiving the manifold. This brings us
to the fourth one, which means the right comprehension of the
nature of all things.

The four dhyanas spoken of in the _Lankavatara_ seem to be
different from those which have been described in connection with
the Theravada Buddhism. These dhyanas are called (1) _balopacarika_,
(2) _arthapravichaya_, (3) _tathatalambana_ and (4) _tathagata_.
The first one is said to be that practised by the s'rvakas
and the pratyekabuddhas. It consists in concentrating upon the
doctrine that there is no soul (_pudgalanairatmya_), and that everything
is transitory, miserable and impure. When considering all
things in this way from beginning to end the sage advances on
till all conceptual knowing ceases (_asa@mjnanirodhat_); we have
what is called the valopacarika dhyana (the meditation for beginners).

The second is the advanced state where not only there is
full consciousness that there is no self, but there is also the
comprehension that neither these nor the doctrines of other heretics
may be said to exist, and that there is none of the dharmas that
appears. This is called the _arthapravicayadhyana_, for the sage
concentrates here on the subject of thoroughly seeking out
(_pravichaya_) the nature of all things (_artha_).

The third dhyana, that in which the mind realizes that the
thought that there is no self nor that there are the appearances,
is itself the result of imagination and thus lapses into the thatness
(_tathata_). This dhyana is called _tathatalambana_, because it has for
its object tathata or thatness.

The last or the fourth dhyana is that in which the lapse of
the mind into the state of thatness is such that the nothingness
and incomprehensibility of all phenomena is perfectly realized;

and nirvana is that in which all root desires (_vasana_) manifesting
themselves in knowledge are destroyed and the mind with knowledge
and perceptions, making false creations, ceases to work. This
cannot be called death, for it will not have any rebirth and it cannot
be called destruction, for only compounded things (_sa@msk@rtaka_)
suffer destruction, so that it is different from either death or
destruction. This nirvana is different from that of the s'rvakas
and the pratyekabuddhas for they are satisfied to call that state
nirva@na, in which by the knowledge of the general characteristics
of all things (transitoriness and misery) they are not attached to things and cease to make erroneous judgments [Footnote ref 1].

Thus we see that there is no cause (in the sense of ground) of all these phenomena as other heretics maintain. When it is said that the world is maya or illusion, what is meant to be emphasized is this, that there is no cause, no ground. The phenomena that seem to originate, stay, and be destroyed are mere constructions of tainted imagination, and the tathata or thatness is nothing but the turning away of this constructive activity or nature of the imagination (_vicalpa_) tainted with the associations of beginningless root desires (_vasana_) [Footnote ref 2]. The tathata has no separate reality from illusion, but it is illusion itself when the course of the construction of illusion has ceased. It is therefore also spoken of as that which is cut off or detached from the mind (_cittavimukta_), for here there is no construction of imagination (_sarvakalpanavirahitam_) [Footnote ref 3].

Sautrantika Theory of Perception.

Dharmottara (847 A.D.), a commentator of Dharmakirtti's [Footnote ref 4] (about 635 A.D.) _Nyayabindu_, a Sautrantika logical and epistemological work, describes right knowledge (_samyagjnana_) as an invariable antecedent to the accomplishment of all that a man
Footnote 1: _Lankavatara Sutra_, p. 100.


Footnote 3: This account of the Vijnana Vada school is collected mainly from _Lankavatara Sutra_, as no other authentic work of the Vijnana Vada school is available. Hindu accounts and criticisms of this school may be had in such books as Kumarila's _S'loka vartika_ or S'anka's _bhasya_, II. ii, etc. Asak@nga's _Mahayana sutralamkara_ deals more with the duties concerning the career of a saint (_Bodhisattva_) than with the metaphysics of the system.

Footnote 4: Dharmakirtti calls himself an adherent of Vijnana Vada in his _Santananta rasiddhi_, a treatise on solipsism, but his _Nyayabindu_ seems rightly to have been considered by the author of _Nyayabindu@tika@tippani_ (p. 19) as being written from the Sautrantika point of view.

152

desires to have (_samyagjnanapurvak sarvapuru@sartha sindhi_) [Footnote ref 1]. When on proceeding, in accordance with the presentation of any knowledge, we get a thing as presented by it we call it right knowledge. Right knowledge is thus the knowledge by which one can practically acquire the thing he wants to acquire (_arthadhigati_).
The process of knowledge, therefore, starts with the perceptual presentation and ends with the attainment of the thing represented by it and the fulfilment of the practical need by it (_arthadhigamat samapta@h prama@navyaparah_). Thus there are three moments in the perceptual acquirement of knowledge: (1) the presentation, (2) our prompting in accordance with it, and (3) the final realization of the object in accordance with our endeavour following the direction of knowledge. Inference is also to be called right knowledge, as it also serves our practical need by representing the presence of objects in certain connections and helping us to realize them. In perception this presentation is direct, while in inference this is brought about indirectly through the li@nga (reason). Knowledge is sought by men for the realization of their ends, and the subject of knowledge is discussed in philosophical works only because knowledge is sought by men. Any knowledge, therefore, which will not lead us to the realization of the object represented by it could not be called right knowledge. All illusory perceptions, therefore, such as the perception of a white conch-shell as yellow or dream perceptions, are not right knowledge, since they do not lead to the realization of such objects as are presented by them. It is true no doubt that since all objects are momentary, the object which was perceived at the moment of perception was not the same as that which was realized at a later moment. But the series of existents which started with the first perception of a blue object finds itself realized by the realization of other existents of the same series (_niladau ya eva santana@h paricchinno nilajnanena sa eva tena prapita@h tena nilajnanam prama@nam_) [Footnote ref 2].
When it is said that right knowledge is an invariable antecedent
of the realization of any desirable thing or the retarding
of any undesirable thing, it must be noted that it is not meant

[Footnote 1: Brief extracts from the opinions of two other commentators of
_Nyayabindu_, Vinitadeva and S’antabhadra (seventh century), are found in
_Nyayabindu@tikatippani_, a commentary of _Nyayabindutika_ of Dharmottara,
but their texts are not available to us.]

[Footnote 2: _Nyayabindu@tika@tippani_, p. 11.]

153

that right knowledge is directly the cause of it; for, with the rise
of any right perception, there is a memory of past experiences,
desire is aroused, through desire an endeavour in accordance with
it is launched, and as a result of that there is realization of the
object of desire. Thus, looked at from this point of view, right
knowledge is not directly the cause of the realization of the object.
Right knowledge of course directly indicates the presentation, the
object of desire, but so far as the object is a mere presentation it
is not a subject of enquiry. It becomes a subject of enquiry only in
connection with our achieving the object presented by perception.

Perception (_pratyaks'a_) has been defined by Dharmakirtti as a presentation, which is generated by the objects alone, unassociated by any names or relations (_kalpana_) and which is not erroneous (_kalpanapo@dhamabhrantam_) [Footnote ref 1]. This definition does not indeed represent the actual nature (_svarupa_) of perception, but only shows the condition which must be fulfilled in order that anything may be valid perception. What is meant by saying that a perception is not erroneous is simply this, that it will be such that if one engages himself in an endeavour in accordance with it, he will not be baffled in the object which was presented to him by his perception (_tasmadgrahye arthe vasturupe yadaviparyastam tadabhramantih veditavyam_). It is said that a right perception could not be associated with names (_kalpana_ or _abhilapa_). This qualification is added only with a view of leaving out all that is not directly generated by the object. A name is given to a thing only when it is associated in the mind, through memory, as being the same as perceived before. This cannot, therefore, be regarded as being produced by the object of perception. The senses present the objects by coming in contact with them, and the objects also must of necessity allow themselves to be presented as they are when they are in contact with the proper senses. But the work of recognition or giving names is not what is directly produced by the objects themselves, for this involves the unification of previous experiences, and this is certainly not what is presented
[Footnote 1: The definition first given in the _Pramanasamucaya_ (not available in Sanskrit) of Diṇnaga (500 A.D.) was "_Kalpanapodham_."

According to Dharmakirtti it is the indeterminate knowledge (_nirvikalpa jnana_) consisting only of the copy of the object presented to the senses that constitutes the valid element presented to perception. The determinate knowledge (_savikalpa jnana_), as formed by the conceptual activity of the mind identifying the object with what has been experienced before, cannot be regarded as truly representing what is really presented to the senses.]

154

to the sense

(_purvad@r@s@taparad@r@stancarthamekikurvadvijnanamasan@sayam purvad@r@s@tasysan@sayam_). In all illusory perceptions it is the sense which is affected either by extraneous or by inherent physiological causes. If the senses are not perverted they are bound to present the object correctly. Perception thus means the correct presentation through the senses of an object in its own uniqueness as containing only those features which are its and its alone (_svalak@sa@sayam_). The validity of knowledge consists in the sameness that it has with the objects presented by it (_arthena saha yatsarupya sad@rs@yam@sayam_). But the objection here is that if our percept is only similar to the external object then this similarity is a thing which
is different from the presentation, and thus perception becomes
invalid. But the similarity is not different from the percept which
appears as being similar to the object. It is by virtue of their
sameness that we refer to the object by the percept ( _taditi sarupyam
tasya vas'at_ ) and our perception of the object becomes possible.
It is because we have an awareness of blueness that we speak of
having perceived a blue object. The relation, however, between
the notion of similarity of the perception with the blue object and
the indefinite awareness of blue in perception is not one of
causation but of a determinant and a determinate
(_vyavasthayavyavasthapakabhavena_). Thus it is the same cognition
which in one form stands as signifying the similarity with the object
of perception and is in another indefinite form the awareness as the
percept ( _tata ekasya vastuna@h kincidrupam prama@nam kincitprama@naphalam
na virudhyate_ ). It is on account of this similarity
with the object that a cognition can be a determinant of the
definite awareness ( _vyavasthapanaheturhi sarupyam_ ), so that by
the determinate we know the determinant and thus by the
similarity of the sense-datum with the object ( _prama@na_ ) we come
to think that our awareness has this particular form as "blue"
(_prama@naphala_ ). If this sameness between the knowledge and its
object was not felt we could not have spoken of the object from
the awareness ( _sarupyamanubhutam vyavasthapanahetu@h_ ). The
object generates an awareness similar to itself, and
it is this correspondence that can lead us to the realization
of the object so presented by right knowledge [Footnote ref l].
Footnote 1: See also pp. 340 and 409. It is unfortunate that, excepting the _Nyayabindu, Nyayabindu@tika, Nyayabindu@tika@tippani_ (St Petersburg, 1909), no other works dealing with this interesting doctrine of perception are available to us. _Nyayabindu_ is probably one of the earliest works in which we hear of the doctrine of _arthakriyakaritva_ (practical fulfilment of our desire as a criterion of right knowledge). Later on it was regarded as a criterion of existence, as Ratnakirtti’s works and the profuse references by Hindu writers to the Buddhistic doctrines prove. The word _arthakriya_ is found in Candrakirtti’s commentary on Nagarjuna and also in such early works as _Lalitavistara_ (pointed out to me by Dr E.J. Thomas of the Cambridge University Library) but the word has no philosophical significance there.]

155

Sautrantika theory of Inference [Footnote ref 1].

According to the Sautrantika doctrine of Buddhism as described by Dharmakirtti and Dharmottara which is probably the only account of systematic Buddhist logic that is now available to us in Sanskrit, inference (_anumana_) is divided into two classes, called svarthanumana (inferential knowledge attained by a person arguing in his own mind or judgments), and pararthanumana (inference through the help of articulated propositions for convincing
others in a debate). The validity of inference depended, like the
validity of perception, on copying the actually existing facts of
the external world. Inference copied external realities as much
as perception did; just as the validity of the immediate perception
of blue depends upon its similarity to the external blue thing
perceived, so the validity of the inference of a blue thing also,
so far as it is knowledge, depends upon its resemblance to the
external fact thus inferred (_sarupyavas'addhi tannilapratitirupam
sidhyati_).

The reason by which an inference is made should be such
that it may be present only in those cases where the thing to
be inferred exists, and absent in every case where it does not
exist. It is only when the reason is tested by both these joint
conditions that an unfailing connection (_pratibandha_) between
the reason and the thing to be inferred can be established. It is
not enough that the reason should be present in all cases where
the thing to be inferred exists and absent where it does not
exist, but it is necessary that it should be present only in the
above case. This law (_niyama_) is essential for establishing the
unfailing condition necessary for inference [Footnote ref 2]. This
unfailing natural connection (_svabhavapratibandha_) is found in two types

[Footnote 1: As the _Prama@nasamuccaya_ of Dinnaga is not available in
Sanskrit, we can hardly know anything of developed Buddhist logic except what can be got from the _Nyayabindu@tika_ of Dharmottara.]

[Footnote 2: _tasmat niyamavatorevanvayatirekayo@h prayoga@h karttavya@h yena pratibandho gamyeta sadhanyasa sadhyena. Nyayabindu@tika_, p. 24.]

156

of cases. The first is that where the nature of the reason is contained in the thing to be inferred as a part of its nature, i.e. where the reason stands for a species of which the thing to be inferred is a genus; thus a stupid person living in a place full of tall pines may come to think that pines are called trees because they are tall and it may be useful to point out to him that even a small pine plant is a tree because it is pine; the quality of pineness forms a part of the essence of treeness, for the former being a species is contained in the latter as a genus; the nature of the species being identical with the nature of the genus, one could infer the latter from the former but not _vice versa_; this is called the unfailing natural connection of identity of nature (_ tadatmya_).

The second is that where the cause is inferred from the effect which stands as the reason of the former. Thus from the smoke the fire which has produced it may be inferred. The ground of these inferences is that reason is naturally indissolubly connected with the thing to be inferred, and unless this is the case, no inference is warrantable.
This natural indissoluble connection (_svabhavapratibandha_), be it of the nature of identity of essence of the species in the genus or inseparable connection of the effect with the cause, is the ground of all inference [Footnote ref 1]. The svabhavapratibandha determines the inseparability of connection (avinabhavaniyama) and the inference is made not through a series of premisses, but directly by the liṅga (reason) which has the inseparable connection [Footnote ref 2].

The second type of inference known as pararthanumana agrees with svarthanumana in all essential characteristics; the main difference between the two is this, that in the case of pararthanumana, the inferential process has to be put verbally in premisses.

Pandit Ratnakarasanti, probably of the ninth or the tenth century A.D., wrote a paper named _Antarvyaptisamarthana_ in which

[Footnote 1: _na hi yo yatra svabhavena na pratibaddhaḥ sa tam apratibaddhaviṇaḥ svayam na vyabhicaratī nasti tayoravyabhicaraniyama. Nyayabinduṭīka_, p. 29.]
[Footnote 2: The inseparable connection determining inference is only possible when the liṅga satisfies the three following conditions, viz. (1) pakāsattva (existence of the liṅga in the pakāsa--the thing about which something is inferred); (2) sapakāsattva (existence of the liṅga in those cases where the sadhya oc probandum existed), and (3) vipakāsattva (its non-existence in all those places where the sadhya did not exist). The Buddhists admitted three propositions in a syllogism, e.g. The hill has fire, because it has smoke, like a kitchen but unlike a lake.]

157

he tried to show that the concomitance is not between those cases which possess the liṅga or reason with the cases which possess the sadhya (probandum) but between that which has the characteristics of the liṅga with that which has the characteristics of the sadhya (probandum); or in other words the concomitance is not between the places containing the smoke such as kitchen, etc., and the places containing fire but between that which has the characteristic of the liṅga, viz. the smoke, and that which has the characteristic of the sadhya, viz. the fire. This view of the nature of concomitance is known as inner concomitance ( Antarvyapti ), whereas the former, viz. the concomitance between the thing possessing liṅga and that possessing sadhya, is known as outer concomitance ( Bahirvyapti ) and generally accepted by the Nyaya school of thought. This antarvyapti doctrine of concomitance is
indeed a later Buddhist doctrine.

It may not be out of place here to remark that evidences of some form of Buddhist logic probably go back at least as early as the _Kathavatthu_ (200 B.C.). Thus Aung on the evidence of the _Yamaka_ points out that Buddhist logic at the time of As'oka "was conversant with the distribution of terms" and the process of conversion. He further points out that the logical premisses such as the udahara@na (_Yo yo aggima so so dhumava_--whatever is fiery is smoky), the upanayana (_ayam pabbato dhumava_--this hill is smoky) and the niggama (_tasmadayam aggima_--therefore that is fiery) were also known. (Aung further sums up the method of the arguments which are found in the _Kathavatthu_ as follows:

"Adherent. Is _A B_? (_@thapana_).
Opponent. Yes.

Adherent. Is _C D_? (_papana_).
Opponent. No.

Adherent. But if _A_ be _B_ then (you should have said) _C_ is _D_.
That _B_ can be affirmed of _A_ but _D_ of _C_ is false.
Hence your first answer is refuted."
The antecedent of the hypothetical major premiss is termed \textit{\text{thapana}}, because the opponent's position, \textit{\text{\_A\_}} is \textit{\text{\_B\_}}, is conditionally established for the purpose of refutation.

The consequent of the hypothetical major premiss is termed \textit{\text{\text{papana}}} because it is got from the antecedent. And the conclusion

\textbf{158}

is termed \textit{\text{\text{ropana}}} because the regulation is placed on the opponent. Next:

"If \textit{\text{\_D\_}} be derived of \textit{\text{\_C\_}}.
Then \textit{\text{\_B\_}} should have been derived of \textit{\text{\_A\_}}.
But you affirmed \textit{\text{\_B\_}} of \textit{\text{\_A\_}}.
(therefore) That \textit{\text{\_B\_}} can be affirmed of \textit{\text{\_A\_}} but not of \textit{\text{\_D\_}} or \textit{\text{\_C\_}} is wrong."

This is the \textit{\text{\text{\text{patiloma}}}}, inverse or indirect method, as contrasted with the former or direct method, \textit{\text{\text{anuloma}}}. In both methods the consequent is derived. But if we reverse the hypothetical major in the latter method we get

"If \textit{\text{\_A\_}} is \textit{\text{\_B\_}} \textit{\text{\_C\_}} is \textit{\text{\_D\_}}.
But \textit{\text{\_A\_}} is \textit{\text{\_B\_}}."
Therefore _C_ is _D_.

By this indirect method the opponent's second answer is reestablished

[Footnote ref 1].

The Doctrine of Momentariness.

Ratnakirtti (950 A.D.) sought to prove the momentariness of all existence (_sattva_), first, by the concomitance discovered by the method of agreement in presence (_anvayavyapti_), and then by the method of difference by proving that the production of effects could not be justified on the assumption of things being permanent and hence accepting the doctrine of momentariness as the only alternative. Existence is defined as the capacity of producing anything (_arthakriyakaritva_). The form of the first type of argument by anvayavyapti may be given thus: "Whatever exists is momentary, by virtue of its existence, as for example the jug; all things about the momentariness of which we are discussing are existents and are therefore momentary." It cannot be said that the jug which has been chosen as an example of an existent is not momentary; for the jug is producing certain effects at the present moment; and it cannot be held that these are all identical in the past and the future or that it is producing no effect at all in the past and future, for the first is impossible, for those which are done now could not be done again in the future; the second is impossible, for if it has any capacity to
produce effects it must not cease doing so, as in that case one might as well expect that there should not be any effect even at the present moment. Whatever has the capacity of producing anything at any time must of necessity do it. So if it does produce at one moment and does not produce at another, this contradiction will prove the supposition that the things were different at the different moments. If it is held that the nature of production varies at different moments, then also the thing at those two moments must be different, for a thing could not have in it two contradictory capacities.

Since the jug does not produce at the present moment the work of the past and the future moments, it cannot evidently do so, and hence is not identical with the jug in the past and in the future, for the fact that the jug has the capacity and has not the capacity as well, proves that it is not the same jug at the two moments (s'aktas'aktasvabhavataya pratik@sa@nam bheda@h_). The
capacity of producing effects (arthakriyas'akti_), which is but the
other name of existence, is universally concomitant with momentariness
(_k@sa@nikatvavyapta_).

The Nyaya school of philosophy objects to this view and says
that the capacity of anything cannot be known until the effect
produced is known, and if capacity to produce effects be regarded
as existence or being, then the being or existence of the effect
cannot be known, until that has produced another effect and
that another _ad infinitum_. Since there can be no being that has
not capacity of producing effects, and as this capacity can
demonstrate itself only in an infinite chain, it will be impossible
to know any being or to affirm the capacity of producing effects
as the definition of existence. Moreover if all things were
momentary there would be no permanent perceiver to observe
the change, and there being nothing fixed there could hardly be
any means even of taking to any kind of inference. To this
Ratnakirtti replies that capacity (saamarthya_) cannot be denied,
for it is demonstrated even in making the denial. The observation
of any concomitance in agreement in presence, or agreement in
absence, does not require any permanent observer, for under
certain conditions of agreement there is the knowledge of the
concomitance of agreement in presence, and in other conditions
there is the knowledge of the concomitance in absence. This
knowledge of concomitance at the succeeding moment holds within
itself the experience of the conditions of the preceding moment, and this alone is what we find and not any permanent observer.

The Buddhist definition of being or existence (sattva) is indeed capacity, and we arrived at this when it was observed that in all proved cases capacity was all that could be defined of being;--seed was but the capacity of producing shoots, and even if this capacity should require further capacity to produce effects, the fact which has been perceived still remains, viz. that the existence of seeds is nothing but the capacity of producing the shoots and thus there is no vicious infinite [Footnote ref l].

Though things are momentary, yet we could have concomitance between things only so long as their apparent forms are not different (atadrapaparavṛttayoreva sadhyasadhanayoḥ pratyakṣena vyaptigrahaḥ). The vyapti or concomitance of any two things (e.g. the fire and the smoke) is based on extreme similarity and not on identity.

Another objection raised against the doctrine of momentariness is this, that a cause (e.g. seed) must wait for a number of other collocations of earth, water, etc., before it can produce the effect (e.g. the shoots) and hence the doctrine must fail. To this Ratnakirtti replies that the seed does not exist before and produce the effect when joined by other collocations, but such is the special effectiveness of a particular seed-moment, that it produces both
the collocations or conditions as well as the effect, the shoot.

How a special seed-moment became endowed with such special effectiveness is to be sought in other causal moments which preceded it, and on which it was dependent. Ratnakirtti wishes to draw attention to the fact that as one perceptual moment reveals a number of objects, so one causal moment may produce a number of effects. Thus he says that the inference that whatever has being is momentary is valid and free from any fallacy.

It is not important to enlarge upon the second part of Ratnakirtti's arguments in which he tries to show that the production of effects could not be explained if we did not suppose

[Footnote 1: The distinction between vicious and harmless infinites was known to the Indians at least as early as the sixth or the seventh century. Jayanta quotes a passage which differentiates the two clearly (Nyayamanjari_, p. 22):

"_mulak@satikarimahuranavastham hi du@sa@nam.
mulasiddhau tvarucyapi nanavastha nivaryate._"

The infinite regress that has to be gone through in order to arrive at the root matter awaiting to be solved destroys the root and is hence
vicious, whereas if the root is saved there is no harm in a regress 
though one may not be willing to have it.]

161

all things to be momentary, for this is more an attempt to refute
the doctrines of Nyaya than an elaboration of the Buddhist
principles.

The doctrine of momentariness ought to be a direct corollary
of the Buddhist metaphysics. But it is curious that though all
dharmas were regarded as changing, the fact that they were all
strictly momentary (_k@sa@nika_--i.e. existing only for one moment)
was not emphasized in early Pali literature. As'vagho@sa in his
_S'raddhotpadas'astra_ speaks of all skandhas as k@sa@nika (Suzuki's
translation, p. 105). Buddhaghosa also speaks of the meditation
of the khandhas as kha@nika in his _Visuddhimagga_. But from the
seventh century A.D. till the tenth century this doctrine together
with the doctrine of arthakriyakaritva received great attention at
the hands of the Sautrantikas and the Vaibha@sikas. All the
Nyaya and Vedanta literature of this period is full of refutations
and criticisms of these doctrines. The only Buddhist account
available of the doctrine of momentariness is from the pen of
Ratnakirtti. Some of the general features of his argument in
favour of the view have been given above. Elaborate accounts of it
may be found in any of the important Nyaya works of this period
such as _Nynyamanjari, Tatparyya@tika_ of Vacaspati Mis'ra, etc.

Buddhism did not at any time believe anything to be permanent.

With the development of this doctrine they gave great emphasis to this point. Things came to view at one moment and the next moment they were destroyed. Whatever is existent is momentary. It is said that our notion of permanence is derived from the notion of permanence of ourselves, but Buddhism denied the existence of any such permanent selves. What appears as self is but the bundle of ideas, emotions, and active tendencies manifesting at any particular moment. The next moment these dissolve, and new bundles determined by the preceding ones appear and so on. The present thought is thus the only thinker. Apart from the emotions, ideas, and active tendencies, we cannot discover any separate self or soul. It is the combined product of these ideas, emotions, etc., that yield the illusory appearance of self at any moment. The consciousness of self is the resultant product as it were of the combination of ideas, emotions, etc., at any particular moment. As these ideas, emotions, etc., change every moment there is no such thing as a permanent self.

The fact that I remember that I have been existing for

162

a long time past does not prove that a permanent self has been
existing for such a long period. When I say this is that book, I perceive the book with my eye at the present moment, but that "this book" is the same as "that book" (i.e. the book arising in memory), cannot be perceived by the senses. It is evident that the "that book" of memory refers to a book seen in the past, whereas "this book" refers to the book which is before my eyes. The feeling of identity which is adduced to prove permanence is thus due to a confusion between an object of memory referring to a past and different object with the object as perceived at the present moment by the senses [Footnote ref 1]. This is true not only of all recognition of identity and permanence of external objects but also of the perception of the identity of self, for the perception of self-identity results from the confusion of certain ideas or emotions arising in memory with similar ideas of the present moment. But since memory points to an object of past perception, and the perception to another object of the present moment, identity cannot be proved by a confusion of the two. Every moment all objects of the world are suffering dissolution and destruction, but yet things appear to persist, and destruction cannot often be noticed. Our hair and nails grow and are cut, but yet we think that we have the same hair and nail that we had before, in place of old hairs new ones similar to them have sprung forth, and they leave the impression as if the old ones were persisting. So it is that though things are destroyed every moment, others similar to these often rise into being and are destroyed the next moment and so on, and these similar things succeeding in a series produce the impression that it is one and the same thing which has been persisting through all the passing moments [Footnote ref 2]. Just as the
flame of a candle is changing every moment and yet it seems to us as
if we have been perceiving the same flame all the while, so
all our bodies, our ideas, emotions, etc., all external objects
around us are being destroyed every moment, and new ones are
being generated at every succeeding moment, but so long as the
objects of the succeeding moments are similar to those
of the preceding moments, it appears to us that things
have remained the same and no destruction has taken place.

[Footnote 1: See pratyabhijnanirasa of the Buddhists, _Nyayamanjari_, V.S.
Series, pp. 449, etc.]

[Footnote 2: See _Tarkarahasyadipika_ of Gūṇaratna, p. 30, and also
_Nyayamanjari_, V.S. edition, p. 450.]

163

The Doctrine of Momentariness and the Doctrine
of Causal Efficiency (Arthakriyakaritva).

It appears that a thing or a phenomenon may be defined from
the Buddhist point of view as being the combination of diverse
characteristics [Footnote ref 1]. What we call a thing is but a
conglomeration of diverse characteristics which are found to affect, determine or influence other conglomerations appearing as sentient or as inanimate bodies. So long as the characteristics forming the elements of any conglomeration remain perfectly the same, the conglomeration may be said to be the same. As soon as any of these characteristics is supplanted by any other new characteristic, the conglomeration is to be called a new one [Footnote ref 2]. Existence or being of things means the work that any conglomeration does or the influence that it exerts on other conglomerations. This in Sanskrit is called _arthakriyakaritva_ which literally translated means--the power of performing actions and purposes of some kind [Footnote ref 3]. The criterion of existence or being is the performance of certain specific actions, or rather existence means that a certain effect has been produced in some way (causal efficiency). That which has produced such an effect is then called existent or _sat_. Any change in the effect thus produced means a corresponding change of existence. Now, that selfsame definite specific effect

[Footnote 1: Compare _Milindapanha,_ II. I. 1--The Chariot Simile.]

[Footnote 2: Compare _Tarkarahasyadipika_ of Gu@naratna, A.S.'s edition, pp. 24, 28 and _Nyayamanjari,_ V.S. edition, pp. 445, etc., and also the paper on _K@sa@nabha@ngasiddhi_ by Ratnakirtti in _Six Buddhist Nyaya tracts_.]
Footnote 3: This meaning of the word "arthakriyakaritva" is different from the meaning of the word as we found in the section "sautrantika theory of perception." But we find the development of this meaning both in Ratnakirtti as well as in Nyaya writers who referred to this doctrine. With Vinitadeva (seventh century A.D.) the word "_arthakriyasiddhi_" meant the fulfilment of any need such as the cooking of rice by fire (_arthas'abdena prayojanamucyate puru@s s'abdena prayojana@m darupakadi tasya siddhi@h ni@spatti@h_--the word _artha_ means need; the need of man such as cooking by logs, etc.; _siddhi_ of that, means accomplishment). With Dharmottara who flourished about a century and a half later _arthasiddhi_ means action (anu@sthiti) with reference to undesirable and desirable objects (_heyopadeyarthavi@saya_). But with Ratnakirtti (950 A.D.) the word _arthakriyakaritva_ has an entirely different sense. It means with him efficiency of producing any action or event, and as such it is regarded as the characteristic definition of existence _sattva_). Thus he says in his _K@sa@nabha@ngasiddhi_, pp. 20, 21, that though in different philosophies there are different definitions of existence or being, he will open his argument with the universally accepted definition of existence as _arthakriyakaritva_ (efficiency of causing any action or event). Whenever Hindu writers after Ratnakirtti refer to the Buddhist doctrine of _arthakriyakaritva_ they usually refer to this doctrine in Ratnakirtti's sense.]
which is produced now was never produced before, and cannot
be repeated in the future, for that identical effect which is once
produced cannot be produced again. So the effects produced in
us by objects at different moments of time may be similar but
cannot be identical. Each moment is associated with a new effect
and each new effect thus produced means in each case the coming
into being of a correspondingly new existence of things. If things
were permanent there would be no reason why they should be
performing different effects at different points of time. Any
difference in the effect produced, whether due to the thing itself
or its combination with other accessories, justifies us in asserting
that the thing has changed and a new one has come in its place.
The existence of a jug for example is known by the power it
has of forcing itself upon our minds; if it had no such power
then we could not have said that it existed. We can have no
notion of the meaning of existence other than the impression
produced on us; this impression is nothing else but the power
exerted by things on us, for there is no reason why one should
hold that beyond such powers as are associated with the production
of impressions or effects there should be some other
permanent entity to which the power adhered, and which existed
even when the power was not exerted. We perceive the power
of producing effects and define each unit of such power as
amounting to a unit of existence. And as there would be
different units of power at different moments, there should also
be as many new existences, i.e. existents must be regarded as
momentary, existing at each moment that exerts a new power.
This definition of existence naturally brings in the doctrine of
momentariness shown by Ratnakirtti.

Some Ontological Problems on which the Different Indian Systems Diverged.

We cannot close our examination of Buddhist philosophy without briefly referring to its views on some ontological problems which were favourite subjects of discussion in almost all philosophical circles of India. These are in brief: (1) the relation of cause and effect, (2) the relation of the whole (_avayavi_) and the part (_avayava_), (3) the relation of generality (_samanya_) to the specific individuals, (4) the relation of attributes or qualities and the substance and the problem of the relation of inherence, (5) the relation of power (_s'akti_) to the power-possessor (_s'aktiman_). Thus on the relation of cause and effect, S'a@nkara held that cause alone was permanent, real, and all effects as such were but impermanent illusions due to ignorance, Sa@mkhya held that there was no difference between cause and effect, except that the former was only the earlier stage which when transformed through certain changes became the effect. The history of any causal activity is the history of the transformation of the cause into the effects. Buddhism holds everything to be momentary, so neither cause nor effect can abide. One is called the effect because its momentary existence has been determined by the destruction of its momentary
antecedent called the cause. There is no permanent reality which undergoes the change, but one change is determined by another and this determination is nothing more than "that happening, this happened." On the relation of parts to whole, Buddhism does not believe in the existence of wholes. According to it, it is the parts which illusorily appear as the whole, the individual atoms rise into being and die the next moment and thus there is no such thing as "whole [Footnote ref 1]. The Buddhists hold again that there are no universals, for it is the individuals alone which come and go. There are my five fingers as individuals but there is no such thing as fingerness (aṅgilva) as the abstract universal of the fingers. On the relation of attributes and substance we know that the Sautrantika Buddhists did not believe in the existence of any substance apart from its attributes; what we call a substance is but a unit capable of producing a unit of sensation. In the external world there are as many individual simple units (atoms) as there are points of sensations. Corresponding to each unit of sensation there is a separate simple unit in the objective world. Our perception of a thing is thus the perception of the assemblage of these sensations. In the objective world also there are no substances but atoms or reals, each representing a unit of sensation, force or attribute, rising into being and dying the next moment. Buddhism thus denies the existence of any such relation as that of inherence (samavaya) in which relation the attributes are said to exist in the substance, for since there are no separate substances there is no necessity for admitting the relation of inherence. Following the same logic Buddhism also does not
believe in the existence of a power-possessor separate from the power.

Brief survey of the evolution of Buddhist Thought.

In the earliest period of Buddhism more attention was paid to the four noble truths than to systematic metaphysics. What was sorrow, what was the cause of sorrow, what was the cessation of sorrow and what could lead to it? The doctrine of \texttt{pa@ticcasamuppada_} was offered only to explain how sorrow came in and not with a view to the solving of a metaphysical problem. The discussion of ultimate metaphysical problems, such as whether the world was eternal or non-eternal, or whether a Tathagata existed after death or not, were considered as heresies in early Buddhism. Great emphasis was laid on sila, samadhi and panna and the doctrine that there was no soul. The Abhidhammas hardly give us any new philosophy which was not contained in the Suttas. They only elaborated the materials of the suttas with enumerations and definitions. With the evolution of Mahayana scriptures from some time about 200 B.C. the doctrine of the non-essentialness and voidness of all \texttt{dhammas_} began to be preached. This doctrine, which was taken up and elaborated by Nagarjuna, Aryyadeva, Kumarajiva and Candrakirtti, is more or less a corollary
from the older doctrine of Buddhism. If one could not
say whether the world was eternal or non-eternal, or whether a
Tathagata existed or did not exist after death, and if there was
no permanent soul and all the dhammas were changing, the only
legitimate way of thinking about all things appeared to be to
think of them as mere void and non-essential appearances. These
appearances appear as being mutually related but apart from
their appearance they have no other essence, no being or reality.
The Tathata doctrine which was preached by As'vagho@sa oscillated
between the position of this absolute non-essentialness of all
dhammas and the Brahminic idea that something existed as the
background of all these non-essential dhammas. This he called
tathata, but he could not consistently say that any such permanent
entity could exist. The Vijnanavada doctrine which also
took its rise at this time appears to me to be a mixture of the
S'unyavada doctrine and the Tathata doctrine; but when carefully
examined it seems to be nothing but S'unyavada, with an attempt
at explaining all the observed phenomena. If everything was

non-essential how did it originate? Vijnanavada proposes to give an
answer, and says that these phenomena are all but ideas of the mind
generated by the beginningless vasana (desire) of the mind. The
difficulty which is felt with regard to the Tathata doctrine that
there must be some reality which is generating all these ideas
appearing as phenomena, is the same as that in the Vijnanavada
doctrine. The Vijnanavadins could not admit the existence of such a reality, but yet their doctrines led them to it. They could not properly solve the difficulty, and admitted that their doctrine was some sort of a compromise with the Brahminical doctrines of heresy, but they said that this was a compromise to make the doctrine intelligible to the heretics; in truth however the reality assumed in the doctrine was also non-essential. The Vijnanavada literature that is available to us is very scanty and from that we are not in a position to judge what answers Vijnanavada could give on the point. These three doctrines developed almost about the same time and the difficulty of conceiving s'unya (void), tathata, (thatness) and the alayavijnana of Vijnanavada is more or less the same.

The Tathata doctrine of As'vagho@sa practically ceased with him. But the S'unyavada and the Vijnanavada doctrines which originated probably about 200 B.C. continued to develop probably till the eighth century A.D. Vigorous disputes with S'unyavada doctrines are rarely made in any independent work of Hindu philosophy, after Kumarila and S'a@nkara. From the third or the fourth century A.D. some Buddhists took to the study of systematic logic and began to criticize the doctrine of the Hindu logicians. Di@nnaga the Buddhist logician (500 A.D.) probably started these hostile criticisms by trying to refute the doctrines of the great Hindu logician Vatsyayana, in his Prama@nasamuccaya. In association with this logical activity we find the activity of two other schools of Buddhism, viz. the Sarvastivadins
(known also as Vaibha@sikas) and the Sautrantikas. Both the Vaibha@sikas and the Sautrantikas accepted the existence of the external world, and they were generally in conflict with the Hindu schools of thought Nyaya-Vais'e@sika and Sa@mkhya which also admitted the existence of the external world. Vasubandhu (420-500 A.D.) was one of the most illustrious names of this school. We have from this time forth a number of great Buddhist thinkers such as Yas'omitra (commentator of Vasubandhu's work), Dharmmakirtti (writer of Nyayabindu 635 A.D.), Vinitadeva and S'antabhadra (commentators of Nyayabindu), Dharmmottara (commentator of Nyayabindu 847 A.D.), Ratnakirtti (950 A.D.), Pa@n@dita As'oka, and Ratnakara S'anti, some of whose contributions have been published in the _Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts_, published in Calcutta in the _Bibliotheca Indica_ series. These Buddhist writers were mainly interested in discussions regarding the nature of perception, inference, the doctrine of momentariness, and the doctrine of causal efficiency (_arthakriyakaritva_) as demonstrating the nature of existence. On the negative side they were interested in denying the ontological theories of Nyaya and Sa@mkhya with regard to the nature of class-concepts, negation, relation of whole and part, connotation of terms, etc. These problems hardly attracted any notice in the non-Sautrantika and non-Vaibha@sika schools of Buddhism of earlier times. They of course agreed with the earlier Buddhists in denying the existence
of a permanent soul, but this they did with the help of their
doctrine of causal efficiency. The points of disagreement between
Hindu thought up to S’a@nkara (800 A.D.) and Buddhist thought
till the time of S’a@nkara consisted mainly in the denial by the
Buddhists of a permanent soul and the permanent external world.
For Hindu thought was more or less realistic, and even the
Vedanta of S’a@nkara admitted the existence of the permanent
external world in some sense. With S’a@nkara the forms of the
external world were no doubt illusory, but they all had a permanent
background in the Brahman, which was the only reality
behind all mental and the physical phenomena. The Sautrantikas
admitted the existence of the external world and so their quarrel
with Nyaya and Sa@mkhya was with regard to their doctrine
of momentariness; their denial of soul and their views on the
different ontological problems were in accordance with their
doctrine of momentariness. After the twelfth century we do not
hear much of any new disputes with the Buddhists. From this
time the disputes were mainly between the different systems of
Hindu philosophers, viz. Nyaya, the Vedanta of the school of
S’a@nkara and the Theistic Vedanta of Ramanuja, Madhva, etc.

169

CHAPTER VI

THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY
Notwithstanding the radical differences in their philosophical notions Jainism and Buddhism, which were originally both orders of monks outside the pale of Brahmanism, present some resemblance in outward appearance, and some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jaina literature easily persuaded themselves that it was an offshoot of Buddhism, and even Indians unacquainted with Jaina literature are often found to commit the same mistake. But it has now been proved beyond doubt that this idea is wrong and Jainism is at least as old as Buddhism. The oldest Buddhist works frequently mention the Jains as a rival sect, under their old name Nigantha and their leader Nataputta Vardhamana Mahavira, the last prophet of the Jains. The canonical books of the Jains mention as contemporaries of Mahavira the same kings as reigned during Buddha's career.

Thus Mahavira was a contemporary of Buddha, but unlike Buddha he was neither the author of the religion nor the founder of the sect, but a monk who having espoused the Jaina creed afterwards became the seer and the last prophet (Tirtha@nkara) of Jainism[Footnote ref 1]. His predecessor Pars'va, the last Tirtha@nkara but one, is said to have died 250 years before Mahavira, while Pars'va's predecessor Ari@s@tanemi is said to have died 84,000 years before
Mahavira's Nirvana. The story in _Uttaradhyayasutra_ that a disciple of Pars'va met a disciple of Mahavira and brought about the union of the old Jainism and that propounded by Mahavira seems to suggest that this Pars'va was probably a historical person.

According to the belief of the orthodox Jains, the Jaina religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world by innumerable Tirthankaras. In the present period the first Tirthankara was R@sabha and the last, the 24th, was Vardhamana Mahavira. All Tirthankaras have reached moksa at their death, and they neither care for nor have any influence on worldly affairs, but yet they are regarded as "Gods" by the Jains and are worshipped [Footnote ref 1].

Two Sects of Jainism [Footnote ref 2].
There are two main sects of Jains, S'vetambaras (wearers of white cloths) and Digambaras (the naked). They are generally agreed on all the fundamental principles of Jainism. The tenets peculiar to the Digambaras are firstly that perfect saints such as the Tirtha@nkaras live without food, secondly that the embryo of Mahavira was not removed from the womb of Devananda to that of Tris'ala as the S'vetambaras contend, thirdly that a monk who owns any property and wears clothes cannot reach Mok@sa, fourthly that no woman can reach Mok@sa [Footnote ref 3]. The Digambaras deny the canonical works of the S'vetambaras and assert that these had been lost immediately after Mahavira. The origin of the Digambaras is attributed to S'ivabhuti (A.D. 83) by the S'vetambaras as due to a schism in the old S'vetambara church, of which there had already been previous to that seven other schisms. TheDigambaras in their turn deny this, and say that they themselves alone have preserved the original practices, and that under Bhadrabahu, the eighth sage after Mahavira, the last Tirtha@nkara, there rose the sect of Ardhaphalakas with laxer principles, from which developed the present sect of S'vetambaras (A.D. 80). The Digambaras having separated in early times from the S'vetambaras developed peculiar religious ceremonies of their own, and have a different ecclesiastical and literary history, though there is practically no difference about the main creed. It may not be out of place here to mention that the Sanskrit works of the Digambaras go back to a greater antiquity than those of the S'vetambaras, if we except the canonical books of the latter. It may be noted in this connection that there developed in later times about 84 different schools of Jainism differing from
one another only in minute details of conduct. These were called
_gacchas_, and the most important of these is the Kharatara Gaccha,
which had split into many minor gacchas. Both sects of Jains have

171

preserved a list of the succession of their teachers from Mahavira
(_sthaviravali, pa@t@tavali, gurvali_) and also many legends about
them such as those in the _Kalpasutra_, the _Paris'i@s@ta-parvan_ of
Hemacandra, etc.

The Canonical and other Literature of the Jains.
According to the Jains there were originally two kinds of
sacred books, the fourteen Purvas and the eleven A@ngas. The
Purvas continued to be transmitted for some time but were
gradually lost. The works known as the eleven A@ngas are now
the oldest parts of the existing Jain canon. The names of these
are _Acara, Sutrak@rta, Sthana, Samavaya Bhagavati, Jnatadharmakathas,
Upasakadas'as, Antak@rtadas'as Anuttaraupapatikadas'as,
Pras'nivyakara@na, Vipaka_. In addition to these there are the twelve
_Upa@ngas_ [Footnote ref 1], the ten _Prakir@nas_ [Footnote ref 2], six
_Chedasutras_ [Footnote ref 3], _Nandi_ and _Anuyogadvara_
and four _Mulasutras_ (_Uttaradhyayana, Avas'yaka,
Das'avaikalika_, and _Pi@n@riyukti_). The Digambaras however
assert that these original works have all been lost, and that the
present works which pass by the old names are spurious. The
original language of these according to the Jains was Ardhamagadhi,
but these suffered attempts at modernization and it is best
to call the language of the sacred texts Jaina Prakrit and that
of the later works Jaina Mahara@s@tri. A large literature of glosses
and commentaries has grown up round the sacred texts. And
besides these, the Jains possess separate works, which contain
systematic expositions of their faith in Prakrit and Sanskrit.
Many commentaries have also been written upon these independent
treatises. One of the oldest of these treatises is Umasvati's
_Tattvarthadhigamasutra_ (1-85 A.D.). Some of the most important
later Jaina works on which this chapter is based are
_Vis'e@savas'yakabha@sya_, Jaina _Tarkavarttika_, with the commentary
of S'antyacaryya, _Dravyasa@mgraha_ of Nemicandra (1150 A.D.),
_Syadvadamanjari_ of Malli@sena (1292 A.D.), _Nyayavatara_ of
Siddhasena Divakara (533 A.D.), _Parik@samukhasutralaghuv@rtti_ of
Anantaviryya (1039 A.D.), _Prameyakalamamarta@n@da_ of Prabhacandra

172

(825 A.D.), _Yogas'astra_ of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A.D.), and
_Prama@nanayatattvalokala@mkara_ of Deva Suri (1086-1169 A.D.).
I am indebted for these dates to Vidyabhu@sa@na's _Indian Logic_.

[Footnote 1: _Aupapatika, Rajapras'niya, Jivabhigama, Prajnapana,
Jambudvipaprajnapti, Candraprajnapti, Suryaprajnapti, Nirayavali,
Kalpavata@msika, Pu@spika, Pu@spaculika, V@rr@s@nida@as_.]

[Footnote 2: _Catu@hs'ara@na, Sa@mstara, Aturapratyakhyana, Bhaktaparijna,
Ta@ndulavaiyali, Ca@n@davija, Devendrastava, Ga@nivija, Mahapratyakhyana,
Virastava_.]

[Footnote 3: _Nis'itha, Mahanis'itha, Vyavahara, Das'as'rtaskandha,
B@rhatkalpa, Pancakalpa_.]
It may here be mentioned that the Jains also possess a secular literature of their own in poetry and prose, both Sanskrit and Prakrit. There are also many moral tales (e.g., _Samaraicca-kaha_, _Upamitabhavaprapanca-katha_ in Prakrit, and the _Yas'astilaka_ of Somadeva and Dhanapala's _Tilakamanjari_); Jaina Sanskrit poems both in the Pura@na and Kavya style and hymns in Prakrit and Sanskrit are also very numerous. There are also many Jaina dramas. The Jaina authors have also contributed many works, original treatises as well as commentaries, to the scientific literature of India in its various branches: grammar, biography, metrics, poetics, philosophy, etc. The contributions of the Jains to logic deserve special notice [Footnote ref 1].

Some General Characteristics of the Jains.

The Jains exist only in India and their number is a little less than a million and a half. The Digambaras are found chiefly in Southern India but also in the North, in the North-western provinces, Eastern Rajputana and the Punjab. The head-quarters of the S'vetambaras are in Gujarat and Western Rajputana, but they are to be found also all over Northern and Central India.

The outfit of a monk, as Jacobi describes it, is restricted to bare necessaries, and these he must beg--clothes, a blanket, an alms-bowl, a stick, a broom to sweep the ground, a piece of cloth to cover his mouth when speaking lest insects should enter it [Footnote ref 2]. The
outfit of nuns is the same except that they have additional clothes. The
Digambaras have a similar outfit, but keep no clothes, use brooms
of peacock's feathers or hairs of the tail of a cow (camara) [Footnote
ref 3]. The monks shave the head or remove the hair by plucking it out.
The latter method of getting rid of the hair is to be preferred, and is
regarded sometimes as an essential rite. The duties of monks
are very hard. They should sleep only three hours and spend
the rest of the time in repenting of and expiating sins, meditating,
studying, begging alms (in the afternoon), and careful inspection of
their clothes and other things for the removal of insects. The
laymen should try to approach the ideal of conduct of the monks

[Footnote 1: See Jacobi's article on Jainism. _E.R.E._]

[Footnote 2: See Jacobi, _loc. cat._]

[Footnote 3: See _@Sa@ddars'anasanamuccaya_, chapter IV.]

by taking upon themselves particular vows, and the monks are
required to deliver sermons and explain the sacred texts in
the upas'rayas (separate buildings for monks like the Buddhist
viharas). The principle of extreme carefulness not to destroy any
living being has been in monastic life carried out to its very
last consequences, and has shaped the conduct of the laity in a
great measure. No layman will intentionally kill any living being,
not even an insect, however troublesome. He will remove it carefully
without hurting it. The principle of not hurting any living
being thus bars them from many professions such as agriculture,
etc., and has thrust them into commerce [Footnote ref 1].

Life of Mahavira.

Mahavira, the last prophet of the Jains, was a Kṣatriya of
the Jnata clan and a native of Vais'ali (modern Besarh, 27 miles
north of Patna). He was the second son of Siddhartha and Tris'ala.
The S'vetambaras maintain that the embryo of the Tirtha@nkara
which first entered the womb of the Brahmin lady Devananda
was then transferred to the womb of Tris'ala. This story the
Digambaras do not believe as we have already seen. His parents
were the worshippers of Pars'va and gave him the name Varddhamana
(Vira or Mahavira). He married Yas'oda and had a daughter
by her. In his thirtieth year his parents died and with the permission
of his brother Nandivardhana he became a monk. After
twelve years of self-mortification and meditation he attained
omniscience ( _kevala_ , cf. _bodhi_ of the Buddhists). He lived to
preach for forty-two years more, and attained mok@sa (emancipation)
some years before Buddha in about 480 B.C. [Footnote ref 2].
The Fundamental Ideas of Jaina Ontology.

A thing (such as clay) is seen to assume various shapes and to undergo diverse changes (such as the form of a jug, or pan, etc.), and we have seen that the Chandogya Upaniṣad held that since in all changes the clay-matter remained permanent, that alone was true, whereas the changes of form and state were but appearances, the nature of which cannot be rationally demonstrated or explained. The unchangeable substance (e.g. the clay-matter) alone is true, and the changing forms are mere illusions of the senses, mere objects of name (nama-rupa) [Footnote ref 1]. What we call tangibility, visibility, or other sense-qualities,

[Footnote 1: See Jacobi's article on Jainism, _E. R.E._]

[Footnote 2: See Hoernle's translation of _Uvasagadasao_, Jacobi, _loc. cit_, and Hoernle's article on the Ajivakas, _E. R.E._ The S'vetambaras, however, say that this date was 527 B.C. and the Digambaras place it eighteen years later.]
have no real existence, for they are always changing, and are like mere phantoms of which no conception can be made by the light of reason.

The Buddhists hold that changing qualities can alone be perceived and that there is no unchanging substance behind them. What we perceive as clay is but some specific quality, what we perceive as jug is also some quality. Apart from these qualities we do not perceive any qualityless substance, which the Upani@sads regard as permanent and unchangeable. The permanent and unchangeable substance is thus a mere fiction of ignorance, as there are only the passing collocations of qualities. Qualities do not imply that there are substances to which they adhere, for the so-called pure substance does not exist, as it can neither be perceived by the senses nor inferred. There are only the momentary passing qualities. We should regard each change of quality as a new existence.

The Jains we know were the contemporaries of Buddha and possibly of some of the Upani@sads too, and they had also a solution to offer. They held that it was not true that substance alone was true and qualities were mere false and illusory appearances. Further it was not true as the Buddhists said that there was no permanent substance but merely the change of passing qualities, for both these represent two extreme views and are contrary to experience. Both of them, however, contain some elements of truth but not the whole truth as given in experience. Experience shows that in all changes there are
three elements: (1) that some collocations of qualities appear to remain unchanged; (2) that some new qualities are generated; (3) that some old qualities are destroyed. It is true that qualities of things are changing every minute, but all qualities are not changing. Thus when a jug is made, it means that the clay-lump has been destroyed, a jug has been generated and the clay is permanent, i.e. all production means that some old qualities have been lost, some new ones brought in, and there is some part in it which is permanent. The clay has become lost in some form, has generated itself in another, and remained permanent in still another form. It is by virtue of these unchanged qualities that a thing is said to be permanent though undergoing change. Thus when a lump of gold is turned into a rod or a ring, all the specific qualities which come under the connotation of the word "gold" are seen to continue, though the forms are successively changed, and with each such change some of its qualities are lost and some new ones are acquired. Such being the case, the truth comes to this, that there is always a permanent entity as represented by the permanence of such qualities as lead us to call it a substance in

[Footnote 1: See Chandogya, VI. 1.]
spite of all its diverse changes. The nature of being (_sat_) then is neither the absolutely unchangeable, nor the momentary changing qualities or existences, but involves them both. Being then, as is testified by experience, is that which involves a permanent unit, which is incessantly every moment losing some qualities and gaining new ones. The notion of being involves a permanent (_dhruva_) accession of some new qualities (_utpada_) and loss of some old qualities (_vyaya_) [Footnote ref.1]. The solution of Jainism is thus a reconciliation of the two extremes of Vedantism and Buddhism on grounds of common-sense experience.

The Doctrine of Relative Pluralism (anekantavada).

This conception of being as the union of the permanent and change brings us naturally to the doctrine of Anekantavada or what we may call relative pluralism as against the extreme absolutism of the Upani@sads and the pluralism of the Buddhists.

The Jains regarded all things as _anekanta_ (_na-ekanta_), or in other words they held that nothing could be affirmed absolutely, as all affirmations were true only under certain conditions and limitations. Thus speaking of a gold jug, we see that its existence as a substance (_dravya_) is of the nature of a collocation of atoms and not as any other substance such as space (_akas'a_), i.e. a gold jug is a _dravya_ only in one sense of the term and not in every sense; so it is a _dravya_ in the sense that it is a collocation of atoms and not a _dravya_ in the sense of space or time (_kala_). It is thus both a dravya and not a dravya at one
and the same time. Again it is atomic in the sense that it is a composite of earth-atoms and not atomic in the sense that it is not a composite of water-atoms. Again it is a composite of earth-atoms only in the sense that gold is a metallic modification of earth, and not any other modification of earth as clay or stone. Its being constituted of metal-atoms is again true in the sense that it is made up of gold-atoms and not of iron-atoms. It is made up again of gold-atoms in the sense of melted and unsullied gold and not as gold in the natural condition. It is again made up of such unsullied and melted gold as has been hammered and shaped by the goldsmith Devadatta and not by Yajnadatta. Its being made up of atoms conditioned as above is again only true in the sense that the collocation has been shaped as a jug and not as a pot and so on. Thus proceeding in a similar manner the Jains say that all affirmations are true of a thing only in a certain limited sense. All things (vastu) thus possess an infinite number of qualities (anantadharmatmakavastu), each of which can only be affirmed in a particular sense. Such an ordinary thing

[Footnote: 1: See Tattvarthadhigamasutra, and Gunaratna's treatment of Jainism in Sa@ddars'anasamuccaya.]
as a jug will be found to be the object of an infinite number of affirmations and the possessor of an infinite number of qualities from infinite points of view, which are all true in certain restricted senses and not absolutely [Footnote ref l]. Thus in the positive relation riches cannot be affirmed of poverty but in the negative relation such an affirmation is possible as when we say "the poor man has no riches." The poor man possesses riches not in a positive but in a negative way. Thus in some relation or other anything may be affirmed of any other thing, and again in other relations the very same thing cannot be affirmed of it. The different standpoints from which things (though possessed of infinite determinations) can be spoken of as possessing this or that quality or as appearing in relation to this or that, are technically called _naya_ [Footnote ref 2].

The Doctrine of Nayas.

In framing judgments about things there are two ways open to us, firstly we may notice the manifold qualities and characteristics of anything but view them as unified in the thing; thus when we say "this is a book" we do not look at its characteristic qualities as being different from it, but rather the qualities or characteristics are perceived as having no separate existence from
the thing. Secondly we may notice the qualities separately and regard the thing as a mere non-existent fiction (cf. the Buddhist view); thus I may speak of the different qualities of the book separately and hold that the qualities of things are alone perceptible and the book apart from these cannot be found. These two points of view are respectively called _dravyanaya_ and _paryayanaya_.

[Footnote ref 1]. The dravyanaya again shows itself in three forms, and paryayanaya in four forms, of which the first form only is important for our purposes, the other three being important rather from the point of view of grammar and language had better be omitted here. The three nayas under dravyanaya are called naigama-naya, sa@mgraha-naya and vyavahara-naya.

When we speak of a thing from a purely common sense point of view, we do not make our ideas clear or precise. Thus I may hold a book in my hand and when asked whether my hands are empty, I may say, no, I have something in my hand, or I may say,
I have a book in my hand. It is evident that in the first answer I looked at the book from the widest and most general point of view as a "thing," whereas in the second I looked at it in its special existence as a book. Again I may be reading a page of a book, and I may say I am reading a book, but in reality I was reading only one of the pages of the book. I may be scribbling on loose sheets, and may say this is my book on Jaina philosophy, whereas in reality there were no books but merely some loose sheets. This looking at things from the loose common sense view, in which we do not consider them from the point of view of their most general characteristic as "being" or as any of their special characteristics, but simply as they appear at first sight, is technically called the naigama standpoint. This empirical view probably proceeds on the assumption that a thing possesses the most general as well as the most special qualities, and hence we may lay stress on any one of these at any time and ignore the other ones. This is the point of view from which according to the Jains the Nyaya and Vais’ēśika schools interpret experience.

Śaṃgraha-naya is the looking at things merely from the most general point of view. Thus we may speak of all individual things from their most general and fundamental aspect as "being." This according to the Jains is the Vedanta way of looking at things.
The vyavahara-naya standpoint holds that the real essence of things is to be regarded from the point of view of actual practical experience of the thing, which unifies within it some general as well as some special traits, which has been existing from past times and remain in the future, but yet suffer trifling changes all the while, changes which are serviceable to us in a thousand ways. Thus a "book" has no doubt some general traits, shared by all books, but it has some special traits as well. Its atoms are continually suffering some displacement and rearrangement, but yet it has been existing as a book for some time past and will exist for some time in the future as well. All these characteristics, go to make up the essence of the "book" of our everyday experience, and none of these can be separated and held up as being the concept of a "book." This according to the Jains is the Sa@mkhya way of looking at things.

The first view of paryaya-naya called _@rjusutra_ is the Buddhist view which does not believe in the existence of the thing in the past or in the future, but holds that a thing is a mere conglomeration of characteristics which may be said to produce effects at any given moment. At each new moment there are new collocations of new qualities and it is these which may be regarded as
the true essence of our notion of things [Footnote ref 1].

The nayas as we have already said are but points of view, or aspects of looking at things, and as such are infinite in number.

The above four represent only a broad classification of these. The Jains hold that the Nyaya-Vais'eka, the Vedanta, the Sa'mkhya, and the Buddhist, have each tried to interpret and systematize experience from one of the above four points of view, and each regards the interpretation from his point of view as being absolutely true to the exclusion of all other points of view. This is their error (_nayabhasa_), for each standpoint represents only one of the many points of view from which a thing can be looked at. The affirmations from any point of view are thus true in a limited sense and under limited conditions. Infinite numbers of affirmations may be made of things from infinite points of view. Affirmations or judgments according to any naya or standpoint cannot therefore be absolute, for even contrary affirmations of the very selfsame

[Footnote 1: The other standpoints of paryaya-naya, which represent grammatical and linguistic points of view, are _s'abda-naya_, _samabhira@dha-naya_, and _evambhula-naya_. See _Vis'e@savas'yaka bha@sy@_, pp. 895-923.]
things may be held to be true from other points of view. The
truth of each affirmation is thus only conditional, and inconceivable
from the absolute point of view. To guarantee correctness
therefore each affirmation should be preceded by the phrase _syat_
(may be). This will indicate that the affirmation is only relative,
made somehow, from some point of view and under some reservations
and not in any sense absolute. There is no judgment
which is absolutely true, and no judgment which is absolutely
false. All judgments are true in some sense and false in another.
This brings us to the famous Jaina doctrine of Syadvada [Footnote ref 1].

The Doctrine of Syadvada.

The doctrine of Syadvada holds that since the most contrary
characteristics of infinite variety may be associated with a thing,
affirmation made from whatever standpoint (_naya_) cannot be regarded
as absolute. All affirmations are true (in some _syadasti_ or
"may be it is" sense); all affirmations are false in some sense;
all affirmations are indefinite or inconceivable in some sense
(_syadavaktavya_); all affirmations are true as well as false in some
sense (_syadasti syannasti_); all affirmations are true as well as
indefinite (_syadasti cavaktavyas'ca_); all affirmations are false as
well as indefinite; all affirmations are true and false and indefinite
in some sense (_syadasti syannasti syadavaktavyas'ca_). Thus we may
say "the jug is" or the jug has being, but it is more correct to
say explicitly that "may be (syat) that the jug is," otherwise if "being" here is taken absolutely of any and every kind of being, it might also mean that there is a lump of clay or a pillar, or a cloth or any other thing. The existence here is limited and defined by the form of the jug. "The jug is" does not mean absolute existence but a limited kind of existence as determined by the form of the jug, "The jug is" thus means that a limited kind of existence, namely the jug-existence is affirmed and not existence in general in the absolute or unlimited sense, for then the sentence "the jug is" might as well mean "the clay is," "the tree is," "the cloth is," etc. Again the existence of the jug is determined by the negation of all other things in the world; each quality or characteristic (such as red colour) of the jug is apprehended and defined by the negation of all the infinite varieties (such as black, blue, golden), etc., of its class, and it is by the combined negation of all the infinite number of characteristics or qualities other than those constituting the jug that a jug may be apprehended or defined. What we call the being of the jug is thus the non-being of all the
rest except itself. Thus though looked at from one point of view
the judgment "the jug is" may mean affirmation of being, looked
at from another point of view it means an affirmation of non-being
(of all other objects). Thus of the judgment "the jug is" one may
say, may be it is an affirmation of being (_syadasti_), may be it is a
negation of being (_syannasti_); or I may proceed in quite another
way and say that "the jug is" means "this jug is here," which
naturally indicates that "this jug is not there" and thus the judgment
"the jug is" (i.e. is here) also means that "the jug is not
there," and so we see that the affirmation of the being of the jug
is true only of this place and false of another, and this justifies us
in saying that "may be that in some sense the jug is," and "may
be in some sense that the jug is not." Combining these two
aspects we may say that in some sense "may be that the jug is,"
and in some sense "may be that the jug is not." We understood
here that if we put emphasis on the side of the characteristics
constituting being, we may say "the jug is," but if we put emphasis
on the other side, we may as well say "the jug is not." Both the
affirmations hold good of the jug according as the emphasis is
put on either side. But if without emphasis on either side we try
to comprehend the two opposite and contradictory judgments
regarding the jug, we see that the nature of the jug or of the existence
of the jug is indefinite, unspeakable and inconceivable--_avaktavya_--for
how can we affirm both being and non-being of the same thing, and yet
such is the nature of things that we cannot but do it. Thus all
affirmations are true, are not true, are both true and untrue, and are
thus unspeakable, inconceivable, and indefinite. Combining these four
again we derive another three, (1) that in some sense it may be that
the jug is, and (2) is yet unspeakable, or (3) that the jug is not and
is unspeakable, or finally that the jug is, is not, and is unspeakable.

Thus the Jains hold that no affirmation, or judgment, is absolute in its
nature, each is true in its own limited sense only, and for each one of
them any of the above seven alternatives (technically called _saptabha@ngi_
holds good [Footnote ref 1]. The Jains say that other Indian systems each
from its own point of view asserts itself to be the absolute and the only

[Footnote 1: See _Syadvadamanjari_, with Hemacandra's commentary, pp. 166,
e tc.]

181

point of view. They do not perceive that the nature of reality
is such that the truth of any assertion is merely conditional,
and holds good only in certain conditions, circumstances, or
senses (_upadhi_). It is thus impossible to make any affirmation
which is universally and absolutely valid. For a contrary or
contradictory affirmation will always be found to hold good of
any judgment in some sense or other. As all reality is partly
permanent and partly exposed to change of the form of losing
and gaining old and new qualities, and is thus relatively permanent
and changeful, so all our affirmations regarding truth are also
only relatively valid and invalid. Being, non-being and indefinite,
the three categories of logic, are all equally available in some sense
or other in all their permutations for any and every kind of
judgment. There is no universal and absolute position or negation,
and all judgments are valid only conditionally. The relation of
the naya doctrine with the syadvada doctrine is therefore this,
that for any judgment according to any and every naya there are as
many alternatives as are indicated by syadvada. The validity of
such a judgment is therefore only conditional. If this is borne
in mind when making any judgment according to any naya,
the naya is rightly used. If, however, the judgments are made absolutely
according to any particular naya without any reference to
other nayas as required by the syadvada doctrine the nayas are
wrongly used as in the case of other systems, and then such
judgments are false and should therefore be called false nayas
(_nayabhasa_) [Footnote ref 1].

Knowledge, its value for us.

The Buddhist Dharmottara in his commentary on _Nyayabindu_
says that people who are anxious to fulfil some purpose or end in
which they are interested, value the knowledge which helps them
to attain that purpose. It is because knowledge is thus found
to be useful and sought by men that philosophy takes upon it the
task of examining the nature of true knowledge (_samyagjnana_ or
_prama@na_). The main test of true knowledge is that it helps us
to attain our purpose. The Jains also are in general agreement with the
above view of knowledge of the Buddhists [Footnote ref 2]. They also
say that knowledge is not to be valued for its own sake. The
validity (pramāṇya) of anything consists in this, that it directly
helps us to get what is good for us and to avoid what is bad
for us. Knowledge alone has this capacity, for by it we can
adapt ourselves to our environments and try to acquire what
is good for us and avoid what is bad [Footnote ref 1]. The conditions that
lead to the production of such knowledge (such as the presence
of full light and proximity to the eye in the case of seeing an
object by visual perception) have but little relevancy in this connection.
For we are not concerned with how a cognition is
produced, as it can be of no help to us in serving our purposes.
It is enough for us to know that external objects under certain
conditions assume such a special fitness (yogyata) that we can
have knowledge of them. We have no guarantee that they
generate knowledge in us, for we are only aware that under
certain conditions we know a thing, whereas under other conditions
we do not know it [Footnote ref 2]. The enquiry as to the nature of the
special fitness of things which makes knowledge of them possible
does not concern us. Those conditions which confer such
a special fitness on things as to render them perceivable have but
little to do with us; for our purposes which consist only in the
acquisition of good and avoidance of evil, can only be served by
knowledge and not by those conditions of external objects.

Knowledge reveals our own self as a knowing subject as well
as the objects that are known by us. We have no reason to
suppose (like the Buddhists) that all knowledge by perception of
external objects is in the first instance indefinite and indeterminate,
and that all our determinate notions of form, colour, size and other
characteristics of the thing are not directly given in our perceptual
experience, but are derived only by imagination (_utprek@sa_), and
that therefore true perceptual knowledge only certifies the validity
of the indefinite and indeterminate crude sense data (_nirvikalpa
jnana_). Experience shows that true knowledge on the one hand
reveals us as subjects or knowers, and on the other hand gives
a correct sketch of the external objects in all the diversity of
their characteristics. It is for this reason that knowledge is our
immediate and most prominent means of serving our purposes.
Of course knowledge cannot directly and immediately bring to us the good we want, but since it faithfully communicates to us the nature of the objects around us, it renders our actions for the attainment of good and the avoidance of evil, possible; for if knowledge did not possess these functions, this would have been impossible. The validity of knowledge thus consists in this, that it is the most direct, immediate, and indispensable means for serving our purposes. So long as any knowledge is uncontradicted it should be held as true. False knowledge is that which represents things in relations in which they do not exist. When a rope in a badly lighted place gives rise to the illusion of a snake, the illusion consists in taking the rope to be a snake, i.e. perceiving a snake where it does not exist. Snakes exist and ropes also exist, there is no untruth in that [Footnote ref 1]. The error thus consists in this, that the snake is perceived where the rope exists. The perception of a snake under relations and environments in which it was not then existing is what is meant by error here. What was at first perceived as a snake was later on contradicted and thus found false. Falsehood therefore
consists in the misrepresentation of objective facts in experience. True knowledge therefore is that which gives such a correct and faithful representation of its object as is never afterwards found to be contradicted. Thus knowledge when imparted directly in association with the organs in sense-perception is very clear, vivid, and distinct, and is called perceptional (pratyakṣa); when attained otherwise the knowledge is not so clear and vivid and is then called non-perceptional (parokṣa) [Footnote ref 2]).

Theory of Perception.

The main difference of the Jains from the Buddhists in the theory of perception lies, as we have already seen, in this, that the Jains think that perception (pratyakṣa) reveals to us the external objects just as they are with most of their diverse characteristics of colour, form, etc., and also in this, that knowledge arises in the soul

[Footnote 1: Illusion consists in attributing such spatial, temporal or other kinds of relations to the objects of our judgment as do not actually exist, but the objects themselves actually exist in other relations. When I mistake the rope for the snake, the snake actually exists though its relationing with the "this" as "this is a snake" does not exist, for the snake is not the rope. This illusion is thus called satkhyati_ or misrelationing of existents (sat_).]
from within it as if by removing a veil which had been covering it before. Objects are also not mere forms of knowledge (as the Vijnanavadin Buddhist thinks) but are actually existing. Knowledge of external objects by perception is gained through the senses. The exterior physical sense such as the eye must be distinguished from the invisible faculty or power of vision of the soul, which alone deserves the name of sense. We have five such cognitive senses. But the Jains think that since by our experience we are only aware of five kinds of sense knowledge corresponding to the five senses, it is better to say that it is the "self" which gains of itself those different kinds of sense-knowledge in association with those exterior senses as if by removal of a covering, on account of the existence of which the knowledge could not reveal itself before. The process of external perception does not thus involve the exercise of any separate and distinct sense, though the rise of the sense-knowledge in the soul takes place in association with the particular sense-organ such as eye, etc. The soul is in touch with all parts of the body, and visual knowledge is that knowledge which is generated in the soul through that part of it which is
associated with, or is in touch with the eye. To take an example,

I look before me and see a rose. Before looking at it the knowledge
of rose was in me, but only in a covered condition, and
hence could not get itself manifested. The act of looking at the
rose means that such a fitness has come into the rose and into
myself that the rose is made visible, and the veil over my knowledge
of rose is removed. When visual knowledge arises, this
happens in association with the eye; I say that I see through
the visual sense, whereas in reality experience shows that I have
only a knowledge of the visual type (associated with eye). As
experience does not reveal the separate senses, it is unwarrantable
to assert that they have an existence apart from the self. Proceeding
in a similar way the Jains discard the separate existence of manas
(mind-organ) also, for manas also is not given in experience, and the
hypothesis of its existence is unnecessary, as self alone can serve
its purpose [Footnote ref 1]. Perception of an object means

[Footnote 1: _Tanna indriyam bhautikam kim tu atma ca
indriyam...anupahatacak@suradides'e@su eva atmana@h
karmak@sayopas'amaslenastthagitagavak@satulyani cak@suradini
upakara@nani. Jaina-Vattika-V@rtti,_ II. p. 98. In many places,
however, the five senses, such as eye, ear, etc., are mentioned as
senses, and living beings are often classified according to the number
of senses they possess. (See _Prama@namima@msa._ See also
_Tattvartha-dhigamasutra_, ch. II. etc.) But this is with reference to]
the sense organs. The denial of separate senses is with reference to admitting them as entities or capacities having a distinct and separate category of existence from the soul. The sense organs are like windows for the soul to look out. They cannot thus modify the sense-knowledge which rises in the soul by inward determination; for it is already existent in it; the perceptual process only means that the veil which as observing it is removed.

185

that the veil of ignorance upon the "self" regarding the object has been removed. Inwardly this removal is determined by the karma of the individual, outwardly it is determined by the presence of the object of perception, light, the capacity of the sense organs, and such other conditions. Contrary to the Buddhists and many other Indian systems, the Jains denied the existence of any nirvikalpa (indeterminate) stage preceding the final savikalpa (determinate) stage of perception. There was a direct revelation of objects from within and no indeterminate sense-materials were necessary for the development of determinate perceptions. We must contrast this with the Buddhists who regarded that the first stage consisting of the presentation of indeterminate sense materials was the only valid part of perception. The determinate stage with them is the result of the application of mental categories, such as imagination, memory, etc., and hence does not truly represent the presentative part [Footnote ref 1].
Non-Perceptual Knowledge.

Non-perceptual knowledge (parokṣa) differs from pratyakṣa in this, that it does not give us so vivid a picture of objects as the latter. Since the Jains do not admit that the senses had any function in determining the cognitions of the soul, the only distinction they could draw between perception and other forms of knowledge was that the knowledge of the former kind (perception) gave us clearer features and characteristics of objects than the latter. Parokṣa thus includes inference, recognition, implication, memory, etc.; and this knowledge is decidedly less vivid than perception.

Regarding inference, the Jains hold that it is unnecessary to have five propositions, such as: (1) "the hill is fiery," (2) "because of smoke," (3) "wherever there is smoke there is fire, such as the kitchen," (4) "this hill is smoky," (5) "therefore it is fiery," called respectively _pratijña, hetu, drṣṭanta, upanaya_ and _nīgamana_, except for the purpose of explicitness. It is only the first two propositions which actually enter into the inferential process (Prameyakalamārtana, pp. 108, 109). When we make an

[Footnote 1 Prameyakalamārtana, pp. 8-11.]
inference we do not proceed through the five propositions as
above. They who know that the reason is inseparably connected
with the probandum either as coexistence (_sahabhava_) or as invariable
antecedence (_kramabhava_) will from the mere statement
of the existence of the reason (e.g. smoke) in the hill jump to the
conclusion that the hill has got fire. A syllogism consisting of
five propositions is rather for explaining the matter to a child
than for representing the actual state of the mind in making an
inference [Footnote ref 1].

As regards proof by testimony the Jains do not admit the
authority of the Vedas, but believe that the Jaina scriptures give
us right knowledge, for these are the utterances of persons who
have lived a worldly life but afterwards by right actions and
right knowledge have conquered all passions and removed all
ignorance [Footnote ref 2].

Knowledge as Revelation.

The Buddhists had affirmed that the proof of the existence of
anything depended upon the effect that it could produce on us.
That which could produce any effect on us was existent, and that
[Footnote 1: As regards concomitance (vyahti) some of the Jaina logicians like the Buddhists prefer antarvyapti (between smoke and fire) to bahirvyapti (the place containing smoke with the place containing fire). They also divide inference into two classes, svarthanumana for one’s own self and pararthanumana for convincing others. It may not be out of place to note that the earliest Jaina view as maintained by Bhadrabahu in his Das'avaikalikaniryukti was in favour of ten propositions for making an inference; (1) Pratijna (e.g. non-injury to life is the greatest virtue), (2) Pratijnavibhakti (non-injury to life is the greatest virtue according to Jaina scriptures), (3) Hetu (because those who adhere to non-injury are loved by gods and it is meritorious to do them honour), (4) Hetu vibhakti (those who do so are the only persons who can live in the highest places of virtue), (5) Vipaksa (but even by doing injury one may prosper and even by reviling Jaina scriptures one may attain merit as is the case with Brahmins), (6) Vipaksa prati@sedha (it is not so, it is impossible that those who despise Jaina scriptures should be loved by gods or should deserve honour), (7) D@r@s@anta (the Arhats take food from householders as they do not like to cook themselves for fear of killing insects), (8) As'a@nka (but the sins of the householders should touch the arhats, for they cook for them), (9) As'a@naprati@sedha (this cannot be, for the arhats go to certain houses unexpectedly, so it could not be said that the cooking was undertaken for them), (10) Naigamana (non-injury is therefore the greatest virtue) (Vidyabhu@sa@na's_ Indian
Logic). These are persuasive statements which are often actually
adopted in a discussion, but from a formal point of view many of these
are irrelevant. When Vatsyayana in his _Nyayasutrabhasya_, I. 1. 32,
says that Gautama introduced the doctrine of five propositions as
against the doctrine of ten propositions as held by other logicians, he
probably had this Jaina view in his mind.]

[Footnote 2: See _Jainatarkavarttika_, and _Pariksutratvrtti_, and
_Sa@ddars'anasamuccaya_ with Gu@naratna on Jainism.]

which could not non-existent. In fact production of effect was
with them the only definition of existence (being). Theoretically
each unit of effect being different from any other unit of effect
they supposed that there was a succession of different units of
effect or, what is the same thing, acknowledged a succession of
new substances every moment. All things were thus momentary.
The Jains urged that the reason why the production of effect
may be regarded as the only proof of being is that we can assert
only that thing the existence of which is indicated by a corresponding
experience. When we have a unit of experience we
suppose the existence of the object as its ground. This being so,
the theoretical analysis of the Buddhists that each unit of effect
produced in us is not exactly the same at each new point of time,
and that therefore all things are momentary, is fallacious; for experience
shows that not all of an object is found to be changing
every moment; some part of it (e.g. gold in a gold ornament) is
found to remain permanent while other parts (e.g. its form as earrings
or bangles) are seen to undergo change. How in the face
of such an experience can we assert that the whole thing vanishes
every moment and that new things are being renewed at each
succeeding moment? Hence leaving aside mere abstract and
unfounded speculations, if we look to experience we find that the
conception of being or existence involves a notion of permanence
associated with change--_paryaya_ (acquirement of new qualities
and the loss of old ones). The Jains hold that the defects of other
systems lie in this, that they interpret experience only from one
particular standpoint (_naya_) whereas they alone carefully weigh
experience from all points of view and acquiesce in the truths
indicated by it, not absolutely but under proper reservations and
limitations. The Jains hold that in formulating the doctrine of
_arthakriyakaritva_ the Buddhists at first showed signs of starting
on their enquiry on the evidence of experience, but soon they
became one-sided in their analysis and indulged in unwarrantable
abstract speculations which went directly against experience.
Thus if we go by experience we can neither reject the self nor
the external world as some Buddhists did. Knowledge which
reveals to us the clear-cut features of the external world certifies
at the same time that such knowledge is part and parcel of myself
as the subject. Knowledge is thus felt to be an expression of my
own self. We do not perceive in experience that knowledge
in us is generated by the external world, but there is in us the rise of knowledge and of certain objects made known to us by it. The rise of knowledge is thus only parallel to certain objective collocations of things which somehow have the special fitness that they and they alone are perceived at that particular moment. Looked at from this point of view all our experiences are centred in ourselves, for determined somehow, our experiences come to us as modifications of our own self. Knowledge being a character of the self, it shows itself as manifestations of the self independent of the senses. No distinction should be made between a conscious and an unconscious element in knowledge as Sāmkhya does. Nor should knowledge be regarded as a copy of the objects which it reveals, as the Sautrantikas think, for then by copying the materiality of the object, knowledge would itself become material. Knowledge should thus be regarded as a formless quality of the self revealing all objects by itself. But the Mīmāṃsā view that the validity (pramāṇya) of all knowledge is proved by knowledge itself (svatāhpramāṇya) is wrong. Both logically and psychologically the validity of knowledge depends upon outward correspondence (saṃvada) with facts. But in those cases where by previous knowledge of correspondence a right belief has been produced there may be a psychological ascertainment of validity without reference to objective facts (pramāṇyaṁutpattau parata eva jñaptau svakāre ca svataḥ paratas'ca. abhyasanabhayasapekṣaṁya) [Footnote ref 1]. The objective world exists as it is certified by experience. But
that it generates knowledge in us is an unwarrantable hypothesis, for knowledge appears as a revelation of our own self. This brings us to a consideration of Jaina metaphysics.

The Jivas.

The Jains say that experience shows that all things may be divided into the living (_jiva_) and the non-living (_ajiva_). The principle of life is entirely distinct from the body, and it is most erroneous to think that life is either the product or the property of the body [Footnote ref 2] It is on account of this life-principle that the body appears to be living. This principle is the soul. The soul is directly perceived (by introspection) just as the external things are. It is not a mere symbolical object indicated by a phrase or

[Footnote 1: _Prameyakalamarta@n@da_, pp. 38-43.]

[Footnote 2: See _Jaina Varttika_, p. 60.]

189

a description. This is directly against the view of the great
Mima@msa authority Prabhakara [Footnote ref 1]. The soul in its pure state is possessed of infinite perception (_ananta-dars'ana_), infinite knowledge (_ananta-jnana_), infinite bliss (_ananta-sukha_) and infinite power (_ananta-virya_) [Footnote ref 2]. It is all perfect. Ordinarily however, with the exception of a few released pure souls (_mukta-jiva_) all the other jivas (_sa@msarin_) have all their purity and power covered with a thin veil of karma matter which has been accumulating in them from beginningless time. These souls are infinite in number. They are substances and are eternal. They in reality occupy innumerable space-points in our mundane world (_lokakas`a_), have a limited size (_madhyama-parima@na_) and are neither all-pervasive (_vibhu_) nor atomic (_anu_); it is on account of this that _jiva_ is called _Jivastikaya_. The word _astikaya_ means anything that occupies space or has some pervasiveness; but these souls expand and contract themselves according to the dimensions of the body which they occupy at any time (bigger in the elephant and smaller in the ant life). It is well to remember that according to the Jains the soul occupies the whole of the body in which it lives, so that from the tip of the hair to the nail of the foot, wherever there may be any cause of sensation, it can at once feel it. The manner in which the soul occupies the body is often explained as being similar to the manner in which a lamp illumines the whole room though remaining in one corner of the room. The Jains divide the jivas according to the number of sense-organs they possess. The lowest class consists of plants, which possess only the sense-organ of touch. The next higher class is that of worms, which possess two sense-organs of touch and taste. Next come the ants, etc., which possess touch, taste, and smell.
The next higher one that of bees, etc., possessing vision in addition to touch, taste, and smell. The vertebrates possess all the five sense-organs. The higher animals among these, namely men, denizens of hell, and the gods possess in addition to these an inner sense-organ namely _manas_ by virtue of which they are

[Footnote 1: See _Prameyakalamamarta@nda_ p. 33.]

[Footnote 2: The Jains distinguish between _dars'ana_ and _jnana_. Dars'ana is the knowledge of things without their details, e.g. I see a cloth. Jnana means the knowledge of details, e.g. I not only see the cloth, but know to whom it belongs, of what quality it is, where it was prepared, etc. In all cognition we have first dars'ana and then jnana. The pure souls possess infinite general perception of all things as well as infinite knowledge of all things in all their details.]

called rational (_sa@mjnin_) while the lower animals have no reason and are called _asamjinin_.

Proceeding towards the lowest animal we find that the Jains regard all the four elements (earth, water, air, fire) as being animated
by souls. Thus particles of earth, etc., are the bodies of
souls, called earth-lives, etc. These we may call elementary lives;
they live and die and are born again in another elementary body.
These elementary lives are either gross or subtle; in the latter case
they are invisible. The last class of one-organ lives are plants.
Of some plants each is the body of one soul only; but of other
plants, each is an aggregation of embodied souls, which have all
the functions of life such as respiration and nutrition in common.
Plants in which only one soul is embodied are always gross; they
exist in the habitable part of the world only. But those plants
of which each is a colony of plant lives may also be subtle and
invisible, and in that case they are distributed all over the world.
The whole universe is full of minute beings called _nigodas_; they
are groups of infinite number of souls forming very small clusters,
having respiration and nutrition in common and experiencing extreme
pains. The whole space of the world is closely packed with
them like a box filled with powder. The nigodas furnish the supply
of souls in place of those that have reached Moksa. But an
infinitesimally small fraction of one single nigoda has sufficed to
replace the vacancy caused in the world by the Nirvana of all the
souls that have been liberated from beginningless past down to
the present. Thus it is evident the sa@msara will never be empty
of living beings. Those of the _nigodas_ who long for development
come out and continue their course of progress through successive
stages [Footnote ref 1].

Karma Theory.
It is on account of their merits or demerits that the jivas are
born as gods, men, animals, or denizens of hell. We have already
noticed in Chapter III that the cause of the embodiment of soul
is the presence in it of karma matter. The natural perfections of
the pure soul are sullied by the different kinds of karma matter.
Those which obscure right knowledge of details (_jnana_) are
called _jnanavaraniya_, those which obscure right perception
(_dars'ana_) as in sleep are called _dars'anavaraniya_, those which

[Footnote 1: See Jacobi's article on Jainism, _E. R.E._, and
_Lokaprakas'a_, VI. pp. 31 ff.]

obscure the bliss-nature of the soul and thus produce pleasure and
pain are _vedaniya_, and those which obscure the right attitude of the
soul towards faith and right conduct _mohaniya_ [Footnote ref 1]. In
addition to these four kinds of karma there are other four kinds of karma
which determine (1) the length of life in any birth, (2) the peculiar body
with its general and special qualities and faculties, (3) the nationality,
caste, family, social standing, etc., (4) the inborn energy of the
soul by the obstruction of which it prevents the doing of a good
action when there is a desire to do it. These are respectively called

1. _ayu@ska karma_, 2. _nama karma_, 3. _gotra karma_, 4. _antaraya karma_. By our actions of mind, speech and body, we are continually producing certain subtle karma matter which in the first instance is called _bhava karma_, which transforms itself into _dravya karma_ and pours itself into the soul and sticks there by coming into contact with the passions (_ka@saya_) of the soul. These act like viscous substances in retaining the inpouring karma matter. This matter acts in eight different ways and it is accordingly divided into eight classes, as we have already noticed. This karma is the cause of bondage and sorrow. According as good or bad karma matter sticks to the soul it gets itself coloured respectively as golden, lotus-pink, white and black, blue and grey and they are called the _les'yas_. The feelings generated by the accumulation of the karma-matter are called _bhava-les'ya_ and the actual coloration of the soul by it is called _dravya-les'ya_. According as any karma matter has been generated by good, bad, or indifferent actions, it gives us pleasure, pain, or feeling of indifference. Even the knowledge that we are constantly getting by perception, inference, etc., is but the result of the effect of karmas in accordance with which the particular kind of veil which was obscuring any particular kind of knowledge is removed at any time and we have a knowledge of a corresponding nature. By our own karmas the veils over our knowledge, feeling, etc., are so removed that we have just that kind of knowledge and feeling that we deserved to have. All knowledge, feeling, etc., are thus in one sense generated from within, the external objects which are ordinarily said to be generating them all being but mere coexistent external conditions.
After the effect of a particular karma matter (_karma-varga@na_) is once produced, it is discharged and purged from off the soul. This process of purging off the karmas is called _nirjara_. If no new karma matter should accumulate then, the gradual purging off of the karmas might make the soul free of karma matter, but as it is, while some karma matter is being purged off, other karma matter is continually pouring in, and thus the purging and binding processes continuing simultaneously force the soul to continue its mundane cycle of existence, transmigration, and rebirth.

After the death of each individual his soul, together with its karmic body (_karma@nas'arira_), goes in a few moments to the place of its new birth and there assumes a new body, expanding or contracting in accordance with the dimensions of the latter.

In the ordinary course karma takes effect and produces its
proper results, and at such a stage the soul is said to be in the 
_audayika_ state. By proper efforts karma may however be prevented
from taking effect, though it still continues to exist, and
this is said to be the _aupas'amika_ state of the soul. When karma
is not only prevented from operating but is annihilated, the soul
is said to be in the _k@sayika_ state, and it is from this state that
Mok@sa is attained. There is, however, a fourth state of ordinary
good men with whom some karma is annihilated, some neutralized,
and some active (_k@sayopas'amika_) [Footnote ref 1].

Karma, Asrava and Nirjara.

It is on account of karma that the souls have to suffer all
the experiences of this world process, including births and rebirths
in diverse spheres of life as gods, men or animals, or insects.
The karmas are certain sorts of infra-atomic particles of matter
(_karma-varga@na_}. The influx of these karma particles into the
soul is called asrava in Jainism. These karmas are produced by
body, mind, and speech. The asravas represent the channels or
modes through which the karmas enter the soul, just like the
channels through which water enters into a pond. But the Jains
distinguish between the channels and the karmas which actually

___________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: The stages through which a developing soul passes are

_________________________________________
technically called _gu@nasthanas_ which are fourteen in number. The first three stages represent the growth of faith in Jainism, the next five stages are those in which all the passions are controlled, in the next four stages the ascetic practises yoga and destroys all his karmas, at the thirteenth stage he is divested of all karmas but he still practises yoga and at the fourteenth stage he attains liberation (see Dravyasa@mgrahav@rtti, 13th verse).

193

enter through those channels. Thus they distinguish two kinds of asravas, bhavasrava and karmasrava. Bhavasrava means the thought activities of the soul through which or on account of which the karma particles enter the soul [Footnote ref 1]. Thus Nemicandra says that bhavasrava is that kind of change in the soul (which is the contrary to what can destroy the karmasrava), by which the karmas enter the soul [Footnote ref 2]. Karmasrava, however, means the actual entrance of the karma matter into the soul. These bhavasravas are in general of five kinds, namely delusion (_mithyatva_), want of control (_avirati_), inadvertence (_pramada_), the activities of body, mind and speech (_yoga_) and the passions (_ka@sayas_). Delusion again is of five kinds, namely _ekanta_ (a false belief unknowingly accepted and uncritically followed), _viparita_ (uncertainty as to the exact nature of truth), _vinaya_ (retention of a belief knowing it to be false, due to old habit), _sa@ms'aya_ (doubt as to right or wrong) and _ajnana_ (want of any belief due to the want of application of reasoning powers). Avirati is again of five kinds, injury (_hi@msa_), falsehood (_an@rta_),
stealing (_cauryya_), incontinence (_abrahma_), and desire to have things which one does not already possess (_parigrahaka@nk@sa_).

Pramada or inadvertence is again of five kinds, namely bad conversation (_vikatha_), passions (_ka@saya_), bad use of the five senses (_indriya_), sleep (_nidra_), attachment (_raga_) [Footnote ref 3].

Coming to dravyasrava we find that it means that actual influx of karma which affects the soul in eight different manners in accordance with which these karmas are classed into eight different kinds, namely jnanavara@niya, dars'anavara@niya, vedaniya, mohaniya, ayu, nama, gotra and antaraya. These actual influxes take place only as a result of the bhavasrava or the reprehensible thought activities, or changes (_pari@nama_) of the soul. The states of thought which condition the coming in of the karmas is called bhavabandha and the actual bondage of the soul by the actual impure connections of the karmas is technically called dravyabandha. It is on account of bhavabandha that the actual connection between the karmas and the soul can take place [Footnote ref 4].

The actual connections of the karmas with the soul are like the sticking

____________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: _Dravyasa@mgraha_, S'I. 29.]

[Footnote 2: Nemicandra's commentary on _Dravyasa@mgraha_, S'I. 29, edited by S.C. Ghoshal, Arrah, 1917.]
of dust on the body of a person who is besmeared all over with oil. Thus Gunaratna says "The influx of karma means the contact of the particles of karma matter, in accordance with the particular kind of karma, with the soul just like the sticking of dust on the body of a person besmeared with oil. In all parts of the soul there being infinite number of karma atoms it becomes so completely covered with them that in some sense when looked at from that point of view the soul is sometimes regarded as a material body during its sa@msara stage [Footnote ref 1]." From one point of view the bondage of karma is only of _puf@nya_ and _papa_ (good and bad karmas) [Footnote ref 2]. From another this bondage is of four kinds, according to the nature of karma (_prak@rti_), duration of bondage (_sthti_), intensity (_anubhaga_), and extension (_prades'a_). The nature of karma refers to the eight classes of karma already mentioned, namely the jnanavaraniya karma which obscures the infinite knowledge of the soul of all things in detail, dars'anavara@niya karma which obscures the infinite general knowledge of the soul, vedaniya karma which produces the feelings of...
pleasure and pain in the soul, mohaniya karma, which so infatuates souls that they fail to distinguish what is right from what is wrong, ayu karma, which determines the tenure of any particular life, nama karma which gives them personalities, gotra karma which brings about a particular kind of social surrounding for the soul and antaraya karma which tends to oppose the performance of right actions by the soul. The duration of the stay of any karma in the soul is called sthiti. Again a karma may be intense, middling or mild, and this indicates the third principle of division, anubhaga. Prades'a refers to the different parts of the soul to which the karma particles attach themselves. The duration of stay of any karma and its varying intensity are due to the nature of the kasayas or passions of the soul, whereas the different classification of karmas as jnanavaraniya, etc., are due to the nature of specific contact of the soul with karma matter [Footnote ref 3].

Corresponding to the two modes of inrush of karmas (bhavasrava and dravyasrava) are two kinds of control opposing this inrush, by actual thought modification of a contrary nature and by the actual stoppage of the inrush of karma particles, and these are respectively called bhavasa@mvara and dravyasa@mvara [Footnote ref 4].

[Footnote 1: See Gu@naratna, p. 181]
The bhavasamvaras are (1) the vows of non-injury, truthfulness, abstinence from stealing, sex-control, and non-acceptance of objects of desire, (2) samitis consisting of the use of trodden tracks in order to avoid injury to insects (_irya_), gentle and holy talk (_bhasa_), receiving proper alms (_esa_), etc, (3) _guptis_ or restraints of body, speech and mind, (4) _dharmas_ consisting of habits of forgiveness, humility, straightforwardness, truth, cleanliness, restraint, penance, abandonment indifference to any kind of gain or loss, and supreme sex-control [Footnote ref 1], (5) _anupreksa_ consisting of meditation about the transient character of the world, about our helplessness without the truth, about the cycles of world-existence, about our own responsibilities for our good and bad actions, about the difference between the soul and the non-soul, about the uncleanliness of our body and all that is associated with it, about the influx of karma and its stoppage and the destruction of those
karmas which have already entered the soul, about soul, matter
and the substance of the universe, about the difficulty of attaining
true knowledge, faith and conduct, and about the essential principles
of the world [Footnote ref 2], (6) the _pari@sahajaya_ consisting of the
conquering of all kinds of physical troubles of heat, cold, etc, and
of feelings of discomforts of various kinds, (7) _caritra_ or right
conduct.

Next to this we come to nirjara or the purging off of the
karmas or rather their destruction. This nirjara also is of two
kinds bhavanirjara and dravyanirjara. Bhavanirjara means that
change in the soul by virtue of which the karma particles are
destroyed. Dravyanirjara means the actual destruction of these
karma particles either by the reaping of their effects or by
penances before their time of fruition, called savipaka and avipaka
nirjaras respectively. When all the karmas are destroyed mok@sa
or liberation is effected.

Pudgala.

The _ajiva_ (non-living) is divided into _pudgalastikaya, dharmastikaya,
adhamastikaya, akas'astikaya, kala, pu@nya, papa_. The word _pudgala_
means matter [Footnote ref 3], and it is called _astikaya_
in the sense that it occupies space. Pudgala is made up of atoms
which are without size and eternal. Matter may exist in two states, gross (such as things we see around us), and subtle (such as the karma matter which sullies the soul). All material things are ultimately produced by the combination of atoms. The smallest indivisible particle of matter is called an atom (_a@nu_).

The atoms are all eternal and they all have touch, taste, smell, and colour. The formation of different substances is due to the different geometrical, spherical or cubical modes of the combination of the atoms, to the diverse modes of their inner arrangement and to the existence of different degrees of inter-atomic space (_ghanapratatarabhedena_). Some combinations take place by simple mutual contact at two points (_yugmaprades'a_) whereas in others the atoms are only held together by the points of attractive force (_oja@hprades'a_) (_Prajnapanop@ngasutra_, pp. 10-12).

Two atoms form a compound (_skandha_), when the one is viscous
and the other dry or both are of different degrees of viscosity or
dryness. It must be noted that while the Buddhists thought that
there was no actual contact between the atoms the Jains regarded
the contact as essential and as testified by experience. These
compounds combine with other compounds and thus produce
the gross things of the world. There are, however, liable to
constant change (_{pari@nama_}) by which they lose some of their
old qualities (_{gu@nas_}) and acquire new ones. There are four
elements, earth, water, air, and fire, and the atoms of all these
are alike in character. The perception of grossness however
is not an error which is imposed upon the perception of the
atoms by our mind (as the Buddhists think) nor is it due to the
perception of atoms scattered spatially lengthwise and breadthwise
(as the Sa@mkhya-Yoga supposes), but it is due to the accession of
a similar property of grossness, blueness or hardness in the combined
atoms, so that such knowledge is generated in us as is given
in the perception of a gross, blue, or a hard thing. When a thing
appears as blue, what happens is this, that the atoms there have
all acquired the property of blueness and on the removal of the
dars'anavara@niya and jnanavara@niya veil, there arises in the soul
the perception and knowledge of that blue thing. This sameness
(_samana-rupata_) of the accession of a quality in an aggregate of
atoms by virtue of which it appears as one object (e.g. a cow)
is technically called _tiryaksamanya_. This samanya or generality
is thus neither an imposition of the mind nor an abstract entity
(as maintained by the Naiyayikas) but represents only the accession
of similar qualities by a similar development of qualities
of atoms forming an aggregate. So long as this similarity of
qualities continues we perceive the thing to be the same and
to continue for some length of time. When we think of a thing
to be permanent, we do so by referring to this sameness in the
developing tendencies of an aggregate of atoms resulting in the
relative permanence of similar qualities in them. According to
the Jains things are not momentary and in spite of the loss of
some old qualities and the accession of other ones, the thing as
a whole may remain more or less the same for some time. This
sameness of qualities in time is technically called _urdhvasamanya_
[Footnote ref 1]. If the atoms are looked at from the point of
view of the change and accession of new qualities, they may be
regarded as liable to destruction, but if they are looked at from
the point of view of substance (_dravya_) they are eternal.

Dharma, Adharma, Akas'a.

The conception of dharma and adharma in Jainism is
absolutely different from what they mean in other systems of
Indian philosophy. Dharma is devoid of taste, touch, smell,
sound and colour; it is conterminous with the mundane universe
(_lokakas'a_) and pervades every part of it. The term _astikaya_
is therefore applied to it. It is the principle of motion, the accompanying
circumstance or cause which makes motion possible,
like water to a moving fish. The water is a passive condition
or circumstance of the movement of a fish, i.e. it is indifferent
or passive (_udasina_) and not an active or solicitous (_preraka_)
cause. The water cannot compel a fish at rest to move; but if
the fish wants to move, water is then the necessary help to its
motion. Dharma cannot make the soul or matter move; but
if they are to move, they cannot do so without the presence of
dharma. Hence at the extremity of the mundane world (_loka_)
in the region of the liberated souls, there being no dharma, the
liberated souls attain perfect rest. They cannot move there
because there is not the necessary motion-element, dharma [Footnote ref 2].
Adharma is also regarded as a similar pervasive entity which

[Footnote 1: See _Prameyakalamartanada_, pp. 136-143;
_Jainatarkavarttika_, p. 106.]

[Footnote 2: _Dravyasamgrahavartti_, 17-20.]

198

helps jivas and pudgalas to keep themselves at rest. No substance
could move if there were no dharma, or could remain at rest if
there were no adharma. The necessity of admitting these two
categories seems probably to have been felt by the Jains on
account of their notion that the inner activity of the jiva or the
atoms required for its exterior realization the help of some other
extraneous entity, without which this could not have been transformed
into actual exterior motion. Moreover since the jivas
were regarded as having activity inherent in them they would be
found to be moving even at the time of liberation (moksa), which
was undesirable; thus it was conceived that actual motion required
for its fulfilment the help of an extraneous entity which was absent
in the region of the liberated souls.

The category of akas’a is that subtle entity which pervades
the mundane universe (_loka_) and the transcendent region of
liberated souls (_aloka_) which allows the subsistence of all other
substances such as dharma, adharma, jiva, pudgala. It is not a
mere negation and absence of veil or obstruction, or mere emptiness,
but a positive entity which helps other things to interpenetrate
it. On account of its pervasive character it is called
_akas’astikaya_ [Footnote ref 1].

Kala and Samaya.

Time (_kala_) in reality consists of those innumerable particles
which never mix with one another, but which help the happening
of the modification or accession of new qualities and the change
of qualities of the atoms. Kala does not bring about the changes of qualities, in things, but just as akas'a helps interpenetration and dharma motion, so also kala helps the action of the transformation of new qualities in things. Time perceived as moments, hours, days, etc., is called _samaya_. This is the appearance of the unchangeable kala in so many forms. Kala thus not only aids the modifications of other things, but also allows its own modifications as moments, hours, etc. It is thus a dravya (substance), and the moments, hours, etc., are its paryayas. The unit of samaya is the time required by an atom to traverse a unit of space by a slow movement.

[Footnote 1: _Dravyasamgrahavārtti_, 19.]

199

Jaina Cosmography.

According to the Jains, the world is eternal, without beginning or end. Loka is that place in which happiness and misery are experienced as results of virtue and vice. It is composed of three parts, _urdhva_ (where the gods reside), _madhya_ (this world of ours), and _adho_ (where the denizens of hell reside). The mundane universe (_lokakāla_) is pervaded with dharma which makes all movement
possible. Beyond the lokaksa’a there is no dharma and therefore no movement, but only space (_akas’a_). Surrounding this lokaksa’a are three layers of air. The perfected soul rising straight over the urdhvaloka goes to the top of this lokaksa’a and (there being no dharma) remains motionless there.

Jaina Yoga.

Yoga according to Jainism is the cause of moksa (salvation).

This yoga consists of jnana (knowledge of reality as it is), s’raddha (faith in the teachings of the Jinas), and caritra (cessation from doing all that is evil). This caritra consists of _ahi@msa_ (not taking any life even by mistake or unmindfulness), _sun@rta_ (speaking in such a way as is true, good and pleasing), _asteya_ (not taking anything which has not been given), brahmacurrya (abandoning lust for all kinds of objects, in mind, speech and body), and _aparigraha_ (abandoning attachment for all things) [Footnote ref 1].

These strict rules of conduct only apply to ascetics who are bent on attaining perfection. The standard proposed for the ordinary householders is fairly workable. Thus it is said by Hemacandra, that ordinary householders should earn money honestly, should follow the customs of good people, should marry a good girl from a good family, should follow the customs of the country and so forth. These are just what we should expect from any good and
[Footnote 1: Certain external rules of conduct are also called caritra. These are: _Iryya_ (to go by the path already trodden by others and illuminated by the sun's rays, so that proper precaution may be taken while walking to prevent oneself from treading on insects, etc., which may be lying on the way), _bhasa_ (to speak well and pleasantly to all beings), _isana_ (to beg alms in the proper monastic manner), _danasamiti_ (to inspect carefully the seats avoiding all transgressions when taking or giving anything), _utsargasamiti_ (to take care that bodily refuse may not be thrown in such a way as to injure any being), _manogupti_ (to remove all false thoughts, to remain satisfied within oneself, and hold all people to be the same in mind), _vaggupti_ (absolute silence), and _kayagupti_ (absolute steadiness and fixity of the body). Five other kinds of caritra are counted in _Dravyasamgrahavrtti_ 35.]

200

honest householder of the present day. Great stress is laid upon the virtues of ahi@msa, sun@rta, asteya and brahmacaryya, but the root of all these is ahi@msa. The virtues of sun@rta, asteya and brahmacaryya are made to follow directly as secondary corollaries of ahi@msa. Ahi@msa may thus be generalized as the fundamental ethical virtue of Jainism; judgment on all actions may be passed in accordance with the standard of ahi@msa; sun@rta, asteya
and brahmacaryya are regarded as virtues as their transgression leads to hi@msa (injury to beings). A milder form of the practice of these virtues is expected from ordinary householders and this is called anubrata (small vows). But those who are struggling for the attainment of emancipation must practise these virtues according to the highest and strictest standard, and this is called mahabrata (great vows). Thus for example brahmacaryya for a householder according to the anubrata standard would be mere cessation from adultery, whereas according to mahabrata it would be absolute abstention from sex-thoughts, sex-words and sex-acts. Ahi@msa according to a householder, according to anubrata, would require abstinence from killing any animals, but according to mahavrata it would entail all the rigour and carefulness to prevent oneself from being the cause of any kind of injury to any living being in any way.

Many other minor duties are imposed upon householders, all of which are based upon the cardinal virtue of ahi@msa. These are (1) _digvirati_ (to carry out activities within a restricted area and thereby desist from injuring living beings in different places), (2) _bhogopabhogamana_ (to desist from drinking liquors, taking flesh, butter, honey, figs, certain other kinds of plants, fruits, and vegetables, to observe certain other kinds of restrictions regarding time and place of taking meals), (3) _anarthada@n@da_ consisting of (a) _apadhyana_ (cessation from inflicting any bodily injuries, killing of one's enemies, etc.), (b) _papopades'a_ (desisting from advising people to take to agriculture which leads to the killing
of so many insects), (c) __hi@msopakaridana__ (desisting from giving implements of agriculture to people which will lead to the injury of insects), (d) __pramadacara@na__ (to desist from attending musical parties, theatres, or reading sex-literature, gambling, etc.), (4) __s'ik@sapadabrata__ consisting of (a) __samayikabrata__ (to try to treat all beings equally), (b) des'avakas'ikabrata (gradually to practise the __digviratibrata__ more and more extensively), (c) __po@sadhabrata__

200

(certain other kinds of restriction), (d) __atithisa@mvibhagabrata__ (to make gifts to guests). All transgressions of these virtues, called __aticara__, should be carefully avoided.

All perception, wisdom, and morals belong to the soul, and to know the soul as possessing these is the right knowledge of the soul. All sorrows proceeding out of want of self-knowledge can be removed only by true self-knowledge. The soul in itself is pure intelligence, and it becomes endowed with the body only on account of its karma. When by meditation, all the karmas are burnt (__dhyanagnidagdhakarma__) the self becomes purified. The soul is itself the sa@msara (the cycle of rebirths) when it is overpowered by the four ka@sayas (passions) and the senses. The four ka@sayas are _krodha_ (anger), _mana_ (vanity and pride), _maya_ (insincerity and the tendency to dupe others), and _lobha_ (greed).
These kasyas cannot be removed except by a control of the senses; and self-control alone leads to the purity of the mind (_manaḥsuddhi_). Without the control of the mind no one can proceed in the path of yoga. All our acts become controlled when the mind is controlled, so those who seek emancipation should make every effort to control the mind. No kind of asceticism (_tapas_) can be of any good until the mind is purified. All attachment and antipathy (_ragadcasa_) can be removed only by the purification of the mind. It is by attachment and antipathy that man loses his independence. It is thus necessary for the yogin (sage) that he should be free from them and become independent in the real sense of the term. When a man learns to look upon all beings with equality (_samatva_) he can effect such a conquest over raga and dveśa as one could never do even by the strictest asceticism through millions of years. In order to effect this samatva towards all, we should take to the following kinds of meditation (_bhavana_):

We should think of the transitoriness (_anityata_) of all things, that what a thing was in the morning, it is not at mid-day, what it was at mid-day it is not at night; for all things are transitory and changing. Our body, all our objects of pleasure, wealth and youth all are fleeting like dreams, or cotton particles in a whirlwind.

All, even the gods, are subject to death. All our relatives will by their works fall a prey to death. This world is thus full of
misery and there is nothing which can support us in it. Thus in

whichever way we look for anything, on which we can depend, we
find that it fails us. This is called as'ara@nabhavana (the meditation
of helplessness).

Some are born in this world, some suffer, some reap the fruits
of the karma done in another life. We are all different from one
another by our surroundings, karma, by our separate bodies and
by all other gifts which each of us severally enjoy. To meditate
on these aspects is called ekatvabhavana and anyatvabhavana.

To think that the body is made up of defiled things, the flesh,
blood, and bones, and is therefore impure is called as'ucibhavana
(meditation of the impurity of the body).

To think that if the mind is purified by the thoughts of universal
friendship and compassion and the passions are removed,
then only will good (_s'ubha_) accrue to me, but if on the contrary
I commit sinful deeds and transgress the virtues, then all evil
will befall me, is called asravabhavana (meditation of the befalling
of evil). By the control of the asrava (inrush of karma)
comes the sa@mvara (cessation of the influx of karma) and the
destruction of the karmas already accumulated leads to nirjara
(decay and destruction of karma matter).

Again one should think that the practice of the ten dharmas
(virtues) of self control (_sa@myama_), truthfulness (_sun@rta_), purity
(_s'auca_), chastity (_brahma_), absolute want of greed (_akincanata_),
asceticism (_tapas_), forbearance, patience (_ks'anti_), mildness
(_mardava_), sincerity (_@rjuta_), and freedom or emancipation from
all sins (_mukti_) can alone help us in the achievement of the
highest goal. These are the only supports to which we can
look. It is these which uphold the world-order. This is called
dharmasvakhyatatabhavana.

Again one should think of the Jaina cosmology and also
of the nature of the influence of karma in producing all the
diverse conditions of men. These two are called _lokabhavana_
and _bodhibhavana_.

When by the continual practice of the above thoughts man
becomes unattached to all things and adopts equality to all beings,
and becomes disinclined to all worldly enjoyments, then with a
mind full of peace he gets rid of all passions, and then he should
take to the performance of dhyana or meditation by deep concentration.
The samatva or perfect equality of the mind and dhyana
are interdependent, so that without dhyana there is no samatva
and without samatva there is no dhyana. In order to make the
mind steady by dhyana one should think of _maitri_ (universal
friendship), _pramoda_ (the habit of emphasizing the good sides of
men), _karu@na_ (universal compassion) and _madhyastha_ (indifference
to the wickedness of people, i.e. the habit of not taking any
note of sinners). The Jaina dhyana consists in concentrating
the mind on the syllables of the Jaina prayer phrases. The
dhyana however as we have seen is only practised as an aid to
making the mind steady and perfectly equal and undisturbed
towards all things. Emancipation comes only as the result of the
final extinction of the karma materials. Jaina yoga is thus a complete
course of moral discipline which leads to the purification
of the mind and is hence different from the traditional Hindu
yoga of Patanjali or even of the Buddhists [Footnote ref 1].

Jaina Atheism [Footnote ref 2].

The Naiyayikas assert that as the world is of the nature of
an effect, it must have been created by an intelligent agent and
this agent is Is'vara (God). To this the Jain replies, "What does
the Naiyayika mean when he says that the world is of the nature
of an effect"? Does he mean by "effect," (1) that which is made
up of parts (_savayava_), or, (2) the coinherence of the causes of a
non-existent thing, or, (3) that which is regarded by anyone as
having been made, or, (4) that which is liable to change (v__rikritvam__).

Again, what is meant by being "made up of parts"? If it
means existence in parts, then the class-concepts (samanya)
existing in the parts should also be regarded as effects, and hence
destructible, but these the Naiyayikas regard as being partless and
eternal. If it means "that which has parts," then even "space"
(akas'a_) has to be regarded as "effect," but the Naiyayika regards
it as eternal.

Again "effect" cannot mean "coinherence of the causes of a
thing which were previously non-existent," for in that case one
could not speak of the world as an effect, for the atoms of the
elements of earth, etc., are regarded as eternal.

Again if "effect" means "that which is regarded by anyone as
___________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1:_Yogas'stra, by Hemacandra, edited by Windisch, in
_Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morg. Gesellschaft_, Leipsig, 1874,
and_Dravyasagraha, edited by Ghoshal, 1917.]

[Footnote 2: See Gu@naratna's _Tarkarahasyadipika_.]
having been made," then it would apply even to space, for when a man digs the ground he thinks that he has made new space in the hollow which he dug.

If it means "that which is liable to change," then one could suppose that God was also liable to change and he would require another creator to create him and he another, and so on _ad infinitum_. Moreover, if God creates he cannot but be liable to change with reference to his creative activity.

Moreover, we know that those things which happen at some time and do not happen at other times are regarded as "effects." But the world as a whole exists always. If it is argued that things contained within it such as trees, plants, etc., are "effects," then that would apply even to this hypothetical God, for, his will and thought must be diversely operating at diverse times and these are contained in him. He also becomes a created being by virtue of that. And even atoms would be "effects," for they also undergo changes of colour by heat.

Let us grant for the sake of argument that the world as a whole is an "effect." And every effect has a cause, and so the world as a whole has a cause. But this does not mean that the cause is an intelligent one, as God is supposed to be. If it is argued that he is regarded as intelligent on the analogy of human
causation then he might also be regarded as imperfect as human beings. If it is held that the world as a whole is not exactly an effect of the type of effects produced by human beings but is similar to those, this will lead to no inference. Because water-vapour is similar to smoke, nobody will be justified in inferring fire from water-vapour, as he would do from smoke. If it is said that this is so different an effect that from it the inference is possible, though nobody has ever been seen to produce such an effect, well then, one could also infer on seeing old houses ruined in course of time that these ruins were produced by intelligent agents. For these are also effects of which we do not know of any intelligent agent, for both are effects, and the invisibility of the agent is present in both cases. If it is said that the world is such that we have a sense that it has been made by some one, then the question will be, whether you infer the agency of God from this sense or infer the sense of its having been made from the fact of its being made by God, and you have a vicious circle (anyonyas'raya).

Again, even if we should grant that the world was created by an agent, then such an agent should have a body for we have never seen any intelligent creator without a body. If it is held that we should consider the general condition of agency only, namely, that the agent is intelligent, the objection will be that this is impossible, for agency is always associated with some kind
of body. If you take the instances with some kind of effects such
as the shoots of corn growing in the fields, it will be found that
these had no intelligent agents behind them to create them. If it
is said that these are also made by God, then you have an
argument in a circle (cakraka), for this was the very matter which
you sought to prove.

Let it be granted for the sake of argument that God exists.

Does his mere abstract existence produce the world? Well, in
that case, the abstract existence of a potter may also create the
world, for the abstract existence is the same in both cases. Does
he produce the world by knowledge and will? Well, that is impossible,
for there cannot be any knowledge and will without a
body. Does he produce the world by physical movement or any
other kind of movement? In any case that is impossible, for there
cannot be any movement without a body. If you suppose that
he is omniscient, you may do so, but that does not prove that
he can be all-creator.

Let us again grant for the sake of argument that a bodiless
God can create the world by his will and activity. Did he take
to creation through a personal whim? In that case there would
be no natural laws and order in the world. Did he take to it
in accordance with the moral and immoral actions of men? Then
he is guided by a moral order and is not independent. Is it
through mercy that he took to creation? Well then, we suppose
there should have been only happiness in the world and nothing
else. If it is said that it is by the past actions of men that they suffer pains and enjoy pleasure, and if men are led to do vicious actions by past deeds which work like blind destiny, then such a blind destiny (ad@r@s@ta) might take the place of God. If He took to creation as mere play, then he must be a child who did things without a purpose. If it was due to his desire of punishing certain people and favouring others, then he must harbour favouritism on behalf of some and hatred against others. If the creation took place simply through his own nature, then, what is the good of admitting him at all? You may rather say that the world came into being out of its own nature.

It is preposterous to suppose that one God without the help of any instruments or other accessories of any kind, could create this world. This is against all experience.

Admitting for the sake of argument that such a God exists, you could never justify the adjectives with which you wish to qualify him. Thus you say that he is eternal. But since he has no body, he must be of the nature of intelligence and will. But this nature must have changed in diverse forms for the production of diverse kinds of worldly things, which are of so varied a nature. If there were no change in his knowledge and will, then
there could not have been diverse kinds of creation and destruction.

Destruction and creation cannot be the result of one unchangeable will and knowledge. Moreover it is the character of knowledge to change, if the word is used in the sense in which knowledge is applied to human beings, and surely we are not aware of any other kind of knowledge. You say that God is omniscient, but it is difficult to suppose how he can have any knowledge at all, for as he has no organs he cannot have any perception, and since he cannot have any perception he cannot have any inference either. If it is said that without the supposition of a God the variety of the world would be inexplicable, this also is not true, for this implication would only be justified if there were no other hypothesis left. But there are other suppositions also. Even without an omniscient God you could explain all things merely by the doctrine of moral order or the law of karma. If there were one God, there could be a society of Gods too. You say that if there were many Gods, then there would be quarrels and differences of opinion. This is like the story of a miser who for fear of incurring expenses left all his sons and wife and retired into the forest. When even ants and bees can co-operate together and act harmoniously, the supposition that if there were many Gods they would have fallen out, would indicate that in spite of all the virtues that you ascribe to God you think his nature to be quite unreliable, if not vicious. Thus in whichever way one tries to justify the existence of God he finds that it is absolutely a hopeless task. The best way then is to dispense with the supposition altogether [Footnote ref 1].
Moksa (emancipation).

The motive which leads a man to strive for release (moksa) is the avoidance of pain and the attainment of happiness, for the state of mukti is the state of the soul in pure happiness. It is also a state of pure and infinite knowledge (anantajnana) and infinite perception (anantadarsana). In the saṃsara state on account of the karma veils this purity is sullied, and the veils are only worn out imperfectly and thus reveal this and that object at this and that time as ordinary knowledge (mati), testimony (sruta), supernatural cognition, as in trance or hypnotism (avadhi), and direct knowledge of the thoughts of others or thought reading (manahparyaya). In the state of release however there is omniscience (kevala-jnana) and all things are simultaneously known to the perfect (kevalin) as they are. In the saṃsara stage the soul always acquires new qualities, and thus suffers a continual change though remaining the same in substance. But in the emancipated stage the changes that a soul suffers are all exactly the same, and thus
it is that at this stage the soul appears to be the same in substance as well as in its qualities of infinite knowledge, etc., the change meaning in this state only the repetition of the same qualities.

It may not be out of place to mention here that though the karmas of man are constantly determining him in various ways yet there is in him infinite capacity or power for right action (_anantavirya_), so that karma can never subdue this freedom and infinite capacity, though this may be suppressed from time to time by the influence of karma. It is thus that by an exercise of this power man can overcome all karma and become finally liberated. If man had not this anantavirya in him he might have been eternally under the sway of the accumulated karma which secured his bondage (_bandha_). But since man is the repository of this indomitable power the karmas can only throw obstacles and produce sufferings, but can never prevent him from attaining his highest good.

208

CHAPTER VII

THE KAPILA AND THE PATANJALA SAMKHYA (YOGA) [Footnote ref 1].

A Review.
The examination of the two ancient Nastika schools of Buddhism and Jainism of two different types ought to convince us that serious philosophical speculations were indulged in, in circles other than those of the Upaniṣad sages. That certain practices known as Yoga were generally prevalent amongst the wise seems very probable, for these are not only alluded to in some of the Upaniṣads but were accepted by the two nastika schools of Buddhism and Jainism. Whether we look at them from the point of view of ethics or metaphysics, the two Nastika schools appear to have arisen out of a reaction against the sacrificial disciplines of the Brahmaṇas. Both these systems originated with the Kṣatriyas and were marked by a strong aversion against the taking of animal life, and against the doctrine of offering animals at the sacrifices.

The doctrine of the sacrifices supposed that a suitable combination of rites, rituals, and articles of sacrifice had the magical power of producing the desired effect—a shower of rain, the birth of a son, the routing of a huge army, etc. The sacrifices were enjoined generally not so much for any moral elevation, as for the achievement of objects of practical welfare. The Vedas were the eternal revelations which were competent so to dictate a detailed procedure, that we could by following it proceed on a certain course of action and refrain from other injurious courses in such a manner that we might obtain the objects we desired by the accurate performance of any sacrifice. If we are to define
truth in accordance with the philosophy of such a ritualistic
culture we might say that, that alone is true, in accordance with
which we may realize our objects in the world about us; the truth
of Vedic injunctions is shown by the practical attainment of our

[Footnote 1: This chapter is based on my _Study of Patanjali_, published
by the Calcutta University, and my _Yoga philosophy in relation to other
Indian Systems of thought_, awaiting publication with the same authority.
The system has been treated in detail in those two works.]

209

objects. Truth cannot be determined _a priori_ but depends upon
the test of experience [Footnote ref l].

It is interesting to notice that Buddhism and Jainism though
probably born out of a reactionary movement against this artificial
creed, yet could not but be influenced by some of its fundamental
principles which, whether distinctly formulated or not, were at
least tacitly implied in all sacrificial performances. Thus we see
that Buddhism regarded all production and destruction as being
due to the assemblage of conditions, and defined truth as that
which could produce any effect. But to such a logical extreme
did the Buddhists carry these doctrines that they ended in
formulating the doctrine of absolute momentariness [Footnote ref 2].

Turning to the Jains we find that they also regarded the value of
knowledge as consisting in the help that it offers in securing what
is good for us and avoiding what is evil; truth gives us such an
account of things that on proceeding according to its directions
we may verify it by actual experience. Proceeding on a correct
estimate of things we may easily avail ourselves of what is good
and avoid what is bad. The Jains also believed that changes
were produced by the assemblage of conditions, but they did not
carry this doctrine to its logical extreme. There was change in
the world as well as permanence. The Buddhists had gone so
far that they had even denied the existence of any permanent
soul. The Jains said that no ultimate, one-sided and absolute
view of things could be taken, and held that not only the happening
of events was conditional, but even all our judgments, are true
only in a limited sense. This is indeed true for common sense,
which we acknowledge as superior to mere _a priori_ abstractions,
which lead to absolute and one-sided conclusions. By the
assemblage of conditions, old qualities in things disappeared, new
qualities came in, and a part remained permanent. But this
common-sense view, though in agreement with our ordinary
experience, could not satisfy our inner _a priori_ demands for
finding out ultimate truth, which was true not relatively but
absolutely. When asked whether anything was true, Jainism
would answer, "yes, this is true from this point of view, but
untrue from that point of view, while that is also true from such
a point of view and untrue from another." But such an answer
cannot satisfy the mind which seeks to reach a definite pronouncement,
an absolute judgment.

The main departure of the systems of Jainism and Buddhism
from the sacrificial creed consisted in this, that they tried to
formulate a theory of the universe, the reality and the position of
sentient beings and more particularly of man. The sacrificial creed was
busy with individual rituals and sacrifices, and cared for principles
or maxims only so far as they were of use for the actual performances
of sacrifices. Again action with the new systems did not mean...
sacrifice but any general action that we always perform. Actions were here considered bad or good according as they brought about our moral elevation or not. The followers of the sacrificial creed refrained from untruth not so much from a sense of personal degradation, but because the Vedas had dictated that untruth should not be spoken, and the Vedas must be obeyed. The sacrificial creed wanted more and more happiness here or in the other world. The systems of Buddhist and Jain philosophy turned their backs upon ordinary happiness and wanted an ultimate and unchangeable state where all pains and sorrows were for ever dissolved (Buddhism) or where infinite happiness, ever unshaken, was realized. A course of right conduct to be followed merely for the moral elevation of the person had no place in the sacrificial creed, for with it a course of right conduct could be followed only if it was so dictated in the Vedas, Karma and the fruit of karma (_karmaphala_) only meant the karma of sacrifice and its fruits-temporary happiness, such as was produced as the fruit of sacrifices; knowledge with them meant only the knowledge of sacrifice and of the dictates of the Vedas. In the systems however, karma, karmaphala, happiness, knowledge, all these were taken in their widest and most universal sense. Happiness or absolute extinction of sorrow was still the goal, but this was no narrow sacrificial happiness but infinite and unchangeable happiness or destruction of sorrow; karma was still the way, but not sacrificial karma, for it meant all moral and immoral actions performed by us; knowledge here meant the knowledge of truth or reality and not the knowledge of sacrifice.
Such an advance had however already begun in the Upanishads which had anticipated the new systems in all these directions. The pioneers of these new systems probably drew their suggestions both from the sacrificial creed and from the Upanishads, and built their systems independently by their own rational thinking. But if the suggestions of the Upanishads were thus utilized by heretics who denied the authority of the Vedas, it was natural to expect that we should find in the Hindu camp such germs of rational thinking as might indicate an attempt to harmonize the suggestions of the Upanishads and of the sacrificial creed in such a manner as might lead to the construction of a consistent and well-worked system of thought. Our expectations are indeed fulfilled in the Saṃkhya philosophy, germs of which may be discovered in the Upanishads.

The Germs of Saṃkhya in the Upanishads.

It is indeed true that in the Upanishads there is a large number of texts that describe the ultimate reality as the Brahman, the infinite, knowledge, bliss, and speak of all else as mere changing forms and names. The word Brahman originally meant in the earliest Vedic literature, _mantra_., duly performed sacrifice,
and also the power of sacrifice which could bring about the desired result

[Footnote ref 1]. In many passages of the Upanishads this Brahman appears as the universal and supreme principle from which all others derived their powers. Such a Brahman is sought for in many passages for personal gain or welfare. But through a gradual process of development the conception of Brahman reached a superior level in which the reality and truth of the world are tacitly ignored, and the One, the infinite, knowledge, the real is regarded as the only Truth. This type of thought gradually developed into the monistic Vedanta as explained by S'ankara. But there was another line of thought which was developing alongside of it, which regarded the world as having a reality and as being made up of water, fire, and earth. There are also passages in S'vetas'vatara and particularly in Maitrayani from which it appears that the Samkhya line of thought had considerably developed, and many of its technical terms were already in use [Footnote ref 2]. But the date of Maitrayani has not yet been definitely settled, and the details

[Footnote 1: See Hillebrandt's article, "Brahman" (_E. R.E._).]

[Footnote 2: Katha III. 10, V. 7. S'veta. V. 7, 8, 12, IV. 5, I. 3. This has been dealt with in detail in my _Yoga Philosophy in relation to other Indian Systems of Thought_, in the first chapter.]
found there are also not such that we can form a distinct notion
of the Sa@mkhya thought as it developed in the Upani@sads. It is
not improbably that at this stage of development it also gave
some suggestions to Buddhism or Jainism, but the Sa@mkhya-Yoga
philosophy as we now get it is a system in which are found all
the results of Buddhism and Jainism in such a manner that it
unites the doctrine of permanence of the Upani@sads with the
doctrine of momentariness of the Buddhists and the doctrine of
relativism of the Jains.

Sa@mkhya and Yoga Literature.

The main exposition of the system of Sa@mkhya and Yoga in
this section has been based on the _Sa@mkhya karika_, the _Sa@mkhya
sutras_, and the _Yoga sutras_ of Patanjali with their commentaries
and sub-commentaries. The _Sa@mkhya karika_ (about
200 A.D.) was written by Is'varak@r@s@na. The account of Sa@mkhya
given by Caraka (78 A.D.) represents probably an earlier school and
this has been treated separately. Vacaspati Mis'ra (ninth century
A.D.) wrote a commentary on it known as _Tattvakaumudi_. But
before him Gaudapada and Raja wrote commentaries on the
_Sa@mkhya karika_ [Footnote ref 1]. Narayanatirtha wrote his _Candrika_ on
Gaudapada's commentary. The _Sa@mkhya sutras_ which have been commented
on by Vijnana Bhik@su (called _Pravacanabha@syu_) of the
sixteenth century seems to be a work of some unknown author
after the ninth century. Aniruddha of the latter half of the
fifteenth century was the first man to write a commentary on the
_Sa@mkhya sutras_. Vijnana Bhiksu wrote also another elementary
work on Sa@mkhya known as _Sa@mkhyasara_. Another short work
of late origin is _Tattvasamasa_ (probably fourteenth century). Two
other works on Sam@khya, viz Simananda's _Samkhyaatattvavivecana_
and Bhavaga@nes'a's _Sa@mkhyatattvayatharthiyadipana_ (both later
than Vijnanabhik@su) of real philosophical value have also been
freely consulted. Patanjali's _Yoga sutra_ (not earlier than 147 B.C.)
was commented on by Vaysa (400 A.D.) and Vyasa's bhasya
commented on by Vacaspati Mis'ra is called _Tattvavais'aradi_
by Vijnana Bhik@su _Yogavarttika_, by Bhoja in the tenth century
_Bhojav@rtti_, and by Nages'a (seventeenth century) _Chayavyakhya_.

[Footnote 1: I suppose that Raja's commentary on the _Karika_ was the same
as _Rajavarttika_ quoted by Vacaspati. Raja's commentary on the _Karika_
has been referred to by Jayanta in his _Nyayamanjari_, p. 109. This book
is probably now lost.]

213

Amongst the modern works to which I owe an obligation I may
mention the two treatises _Mechanical, physical and chemical theories
of the Ancient Hindus and the Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus_

by Dr B.N. Seal and my two works on Yoga _Study of Patanjali_ published
by the Calcutta University, and _Yoga Philosophy in relation
to other Indian Systems of Thought_ which is shortly to be published,
and my _Natural Philosophy of the Ancient Hindus_, awaiting publication
with the Calcutta University.

Gu@naratna mentions two other authoritative Sa@mkhya works,
viz. _Ma@tharabha@sya_ and _Atreyatantra_. Of these the second is
probably the same as Caraka's treatment of Sa@mkhya, for we know
that the sage Atri is the speaker in Caraka's work and for that it
was called Atreyasa@mhita or Atreyatantra. Nothing is known
of the Matharabhasya [Footnote ref 1].

An Early School of Sa@mkhya.

It is important for the history of Sa@mkhya philosophy that
Caraka's treatment of it, which so far as I know has never been
dealt with in any of the modern studies of Sa@mkhya, should
be brought before the notice of the students of this philosophy.
According to Caraka there are six elements (_dhatus_), viz. the
five elements such as akas'a, vayu etc. and cetana, called also
puru@sa. From other points of view, the categories may be said to
be twenty-four only, viz. the ten senses (five cognitive and five
conative), manas, the five objects of senses and the eightfold
prak@rti (prak@rti, mahat, aha@mkara and the five elements)[Footnote ref
The manas works through the senses. It is atomic and its existence is proved by the fact that in spite of the existence of the senses there cannot be any knowledge unless manas is in touch with them. There are two movements of manas as indeterminate sensing (uha) and conceiving (vicara) before definite understanding (buddhi) arises. Each of the five senses is the product of the combination of five elements but the auditory sense is made with a preponderance of akasa, the sense of touch with a preponderance of air, the visual sense with a preponderance of light, the taste with a preponderance of water and the sense of smell with a preponderance of air.

---

[Footnote 1: Readers unacquainted with Samkhya-Yoga may omit the following three sections at the time of first reading.]

[Footnote 2: Puru is here excluded from the list. Cakrapani, the commentator, says that the prakrti and puru both being unmanifested, the two together have been counted as one. Prakrtiyatiriktacodasina prp puru samavyaktavasdharmyat avyaktayam prakrti praveva prak sipya avyaktas avbdena g@rh@nati. Harinatha Vis'arada's edition of Caraka, S'arira, p. 4.]
of earth. Caraka does not mention the tanmatras at all [Footnote ref 1].
The conglomeration of the sense-objects (_indriyartha_) or gross matter, the ten senses, manas, the five subtle bhutas and prakṛti, mahat
and ahaṃkara taking place through rajas make up what we call man. When the sattva is at its height this conglomeration ceases.
All karma, the fruit of karma, cognition, pleasure, pain, ignorance, life and death belongs to this conglomeration. But there is also the puruṣa, for had it not been so there would be no birth, death, bondage, or salvation. If the atman were not regarded as cause, all illuminations of cognition would be without any reason. If a permanent self were not recognized, then for the work of one others would be responsible. This puruṣa, called also _paramatman_, is beginningless and it has no cause beyond itself. The self is in itself without consciousness. Consciousness can only come to it through its connection with the sense organs and manas. By ignorance, will, antipathy, and work, this conglomeration of puruṣa and the other elements takes place. Knowledge, feeling, or action, cannot be produced without this combination. All positive effects are due to conglomeration of causes and not by a single cause, but all destruction comes naturally and without cause. That which is eternal is never the product of anything. Caraka identifies the avyakta part of prakṛti with puruṣa as forming one category. The vikara or evolutionary products of prakṛti are called kṣetra, whereas the avyakta part of prakṛti is regarded as the kṣetrajna (_avyaktamasya kṣetrasya kṣetrajnam@r@sayo viduh_). This avyakta and cetana are one and the same entity. From this unmanifested prakṛti or cetana is derived the buddhi, and from the buddhi is derived the ego (_ahaṃkara_) and from the ahaṃkara the five
elements and the senses are produced, and when this production is complete, we say that creation has taken place. At the time of pralaya (periodical cosmic dissolution) all the evolutes return back to prakṛti, and thus become unmanifest with it, whereas at the time of a new creation from the puruṣa the unmanifest (_avyakta_), all the manifested forms—the evolutes of buddhi, ahaṁkara,

[Footnote 1: But some sort of subtle matter, different from gross matter, is referred to as forming part of _prakṛti_ which is regarded as having eight elements in it _prakṛtis'ca@s@tadhatuki_), viz. avyakta, mahat, ahaṁkara, and five other elements. In addition to these elements forming part of the prakṛti we hear of indriyartha, the five sense objects which have evolved out of the prakṛti.]

215

etc.—appear [Footnote ref 1]. This cycle of births or rebirths or of dissolution and new creation acts through the influence of rajas and tamas, and so those who can get rid of these two will never again suffer this revolution in a cycle. The manas can only become active in association with the self, which is the real agent. This self of itself takes rebirth in all kinds of lives according to its own wish, undetermined by anyone else. It works according to its own free will and reaps the fruits of its karma. Though all the souls are pervasive,
yet they can only perceive in particular bodies where they are
associated with their own specific senses. All pleasures and pains
are felt by the conglomeration (_ras‘i_), and not by the atman presiding
over it. From the enjoyment and suffering of pleasure and
pain comes desire (_\@r@s@na_) consisting of wish and antipathy, and
from desire again comes pleasure and pain. Mok@sa means complete
cessation of pleasure and pain, arising through the association
of the self with the manas, the sense, and sense-objects. If the
manas is settled steadily in the self, it is the state of yoga when
there is neither pleasure nor pain. When true knowledge dawns
that "all are produced by causes, are transitory, rise of themselves,
but are not produced by the self and are sorrow, and do
not belong to me the self," the self transcends all. This is the last
renunciation when all affections and knowledge become finally
extinct. There remains no indication of any positive existence
of the self at this time, and the self can no longer be perceived [Footnote
ref 2]. It is the state of Brahman. Those who know Brahman call this
state the Brahman, which is eternal and absolutely devoid of any
characteristic. This state is spoken of by the Sa@mkhyas as their
goal, and also that of the Yogins. When rajas and tamas are
rooted out and the karma of the past whose fruits have to be
enjoyed are exhausted, and there is no new karma and new birth,

[Footnote 1: This passage has been differently explained in a commentary
previous to Cakrapa@ni as meaning that at the time of death these resolve}
back into the prakṛti—the puruṣa—and at the time of rebirth they become manifest again. See Cakrapāṇi on s'arīra, l. 46.]

[Footnote 2: Though this state is called brahmabhuta, it is not in any sense like the Brahman of Vedanta which is of the nature of pure being, pure intelligence and pure bliss. This indescribable state is more like absolute annihilation without any sign of existence (_alakṣa-nam_), resembling Nagarjuna's Nirvāṇa. Thus Caraka writes:—

\[
\text{tasmiṃ caramasanyase samulahḥsarvavedanah asaṃmājnanavijnana nivārttīmah ataḥparaḥ brahmabhuto bhutatma nopalabhyate niḥṣarāḥ sarvabhāvebhyaḥ cihnaṃ yasya na vidyate. gatir brahmavidaḥ brahma taccakṣamālamālaḥ s'arīra. Caraka, S'arīra 1. 98-100.}
\]

216

the state of mokṣa comes about. Various kinds of moral endeavours in the shape of association with good people, abandoning of desires, determined attempts at discovering the truth with fixed attention, are spoken of as indispensable means. Truth (tattva) thus discovered should be recalled again and again [Footnote ref 1] and this will ultimately effect the disunion of the body with the self. As the self is avyakta (unmanifested) and has no specific nature or character, this state can only be described as absolute cessation (_mokṣa nivṛttaḥṣeṣa_).
The main features of the Sa@mkhya doctrine as given by Caraka are thus: 1. Puru@sa is the state of avyakta. 2. By a conglomera of this avyakta with its later products a conglomeration is formed which generates the so-called living being. 3. The tanmatras are not mentioned. 4. Rajas and tamas represent the bad states of the mind and sattva the good ones. 5. The ultimate state of emancipation is either absolute annihilation or characterless absolute existence and it is spoken of as the Brahman state; there is no consciousness in this state, for consciousness is due to the conglomeration of the self with its evolutes, buddhi, aha@mkara etc. 6. The senses are formed of matter (_bhautika_).

This account of Sa@mkhya agrees with the system of Sa@mkhya propounded by Pancas’ikha (who is said to be the direct pupil of Asuri the pupil of Kapila, the founder of the system) in the Mahabharata XII. 219. Pancas’ikha of course does not describe the system as elaborately as Caraka does. But even from what little he says it may be supposed that the system of Sa@mkhya he sketches is the same as that of Caraka [Footnote ref 2]. Pancas’ikha speaks of the ultimate truth as being avyakta (a term applied in all Sa@mkhya literature to prak@rti) in the state of puru@sa (_purusavasthamavyaktam_). If man is the product of a mere combination of the different elements, then one may assume that all ceases with death. Caraka in answer to such an objection introduces a discussion, in which he tries to establish the existence of a self as the postulate of all our duties and sense of moral responsibility. The same discussion occurs in Pancas’ikha also, and the proofs
[Footnote 1: Four causes are spoken of here as being causes of memory:
(1) Thinking of the cause leads to the remembering of the effect,
(2) by similarity, (3) by opposite things, and (4) by acute attempt to
remember.]

[Footnote 2: Some European scholars have experienced great difficulty
in accepting Pancas'ikha's doctrine as a genuine Sa@mkhya doctrine.
This may probably be due to the fact that the Sa@mkhya doctrines sketched
in _Caraka_ did not attract their notice.]
The state of the conglomeration is spoken of as the kāsetra, as Caraka says, and there is no annihilation or eternality; and the last state is described as being like that when all rivers lose themselves in the ocean and it is called aliṅga (without any characteristic)--a term reserved for prakṛti in later Saṁkhya. This state is attainable by the doctrine of ultimate renunciation which is also called the doctrine of complete destruction (samyagbadha).

Guṇaratna (fourteenth century A.D.), a commentator of Saṁdars'anasamuccaya, mentions two schools of Saṁkhya, the Maulikya (original) and the Uttara or (later) [Footnote ref 1]. Of these the doctrine of the Maulikya Saṁkhya is said to be that which believed that there was a separate pradhana for each atman (maulikyasaṁkhya hyatmanatmanam prati pārthak pradhanam vadanti). This seems to be a reference to the Saṁkhya doctrine I have just sketched. I am therefore disposed to think that this represents the earliest systematic doctrine of Saṁkhya.

In Mahabharata XII. 318 three schools of Saṁkhya are mentioned, viz. those who admitted twenty-four categories (the school I have sketched above), those who admitted twenty-five (the well-known orthodox Saṁkhya system) and those who admitted twenty-six categories. This last school admitted a supreme being in addition to puruṣa and this was the twenty-sixth principle. This agrees with the orthodox Yoga system and the form of Saṁkhya advocated in the Mahabharata. The schools of
Sa@mkhya of twenty-four and twenty-five categories are here denounced as unsatisfactory. Doctrines similar to the school of Sa@mkhya we have sketched above are referred to in some of the other chapters of the _Mahabharata_ (XII. 203, 204). The self apart from the body is described as the moon of the new moon day; it is said that as Rahu (the shadow on the sun during an eclipse) cannot be seen apart from the sun, so the self cannot be seen apart from the body. The selfs (_s'ariri@na@h_) are spoken of as manifesting from prak@rti.

We do not know anything about Asuri the direct disciple of Kapila [Footnote ref 1]. But it seems probable that the system of Sa@mkhya we have sketched here which appears in fundamentally the same form in the _Mahabharata_ and has been attributed there to Pancas'ikha is probably the earliest form of Sa@mkhya available to us in a systematic form. Not only does Gu@naratna's reference to the school of Maulikya Sa@mkhya justify it, but the fact that Caraka (78 A.U.) does not refer to the Sa@mkhya as described by Is'varak@r@s@na

[Footnote 1: Gu@naratna's _Tarkarahasyadipika_, p. 99.]
and referred to in other parts of _Mahabharata_ is a definite proof that Is'varakaṇṭha's Saṁkhyā is a later modification, which was either non-existent in Caraka's time or was not regarded as an authoritative old Saṁkhyā view.

Wassilief says quoting Tibetan sources that Vindhyavasini altered the Saṁkhyā according to his own views [Footnote ref 2]. Takakusu thinks that Vindhyavasini was a title of Is'varakaṇṭha [Footnote ref 3] and Garbe holds that the date of Is'varakaṇṭha was about 100 A.D. It seems to be a very plausible view that Is'varakaṇṭha was indebted for his karikās to another work, which was probably written in a style different from what he employs. The seventh verse of his _Karika_ seems to be in purport the same as a passage which is found quoted in the

[Footnote 1: A verse attributed to Asuri is quoted by Guṇaratna (_Tarkarahasyadipika_, p. 104). The purport of this verse is that when buddhi is transformed in a particular manner, it (puruṣa) has experience. It is like the reflection of the moon in transparent water.]

[Footnote 2: Vassilief's _Buddhismus_, p. 240.]

[Footnote 3: Takakusu's "A study of Paramartha's life of Vasubandhu," _J. R.A.S._, 1905. This identification by Takakusu, however, appears to be
extremely doubtful, for Gu@naratna mentions Is'varak@r@s@na and Vindhyavasin as two different authorities (_Tarkarahasyadipika_, pp. 102 and 104). The verse quoted from Vindhyavasin (p. 104) in anu@s@tubh metre cannot be traced as belonging to Is'varak@r@s@na. It appears that Is'varak@r@s@na wrote two books; one is the _Sa@mkhya karika_ and another an independent work on Sa@mkhya, a line from which, quoted by Gu@naratna, stands as follows:

"_Pratiniyatadhyasaya@h s'rotradisamuttha adhyak@sam_" (p. 108).

If Vacaspati's interpretation of the classification of anumana in his _Tattvakaumudi_ be considered to be a correct explanation of _Sa@mkhya karika_ then Is'varak@r@s@na must be a different person from Vindhyavasin whose views on anumana as referred to in _S'lokavarttika_, p. 393, are altogether different. But Vacaspati's own statement in the _Tatparyya@tika_ (pp. 109 and 131) shows that his treatment there was not faithful.]

219

_Mahabhasya_ of Patanjali the grammarian (147 B.C.) [Footnote ref 1]. The subject of the two passages are the enumeration of reasons which frustrate visual perception. This however is not a doctrine concerned with the strictly technical part of Sa@mkhya, and it is just possible that the book from which Patanjali quoted the passage, and which was probably paraphrased in the Arya metre by Is'varak@r@s@na
was not a Sa@mkhya book at all. But though the subject of the
verse is not one of the strictly technical parts of Sa@mkhya, yet
since such an enumeration is not seen in any other system of
Indian philosophy, and as it has some special bearing as a safeguard
against certain objections against the Sa@mkhya doctrine of
prak@rti, the natural and plausible supposition is that it was the
verse of a Sa@mkhya book which was paraphrased by Is'varak@r@s@na.

The earliest descriptions of a Sa@mkhya which agrees with
Is'varak@r@s@na's Sa@mkhya (but with an addition of Is'vara) are to be
found in Patanjali's _Yoga sutras_ and in the _Mahabharata_; but we
are pretty certain that the Sa@mkhya of Caraka we have sketched
here was known to Patanjali, for in _Yoga sutra_ I. 19 a reference is
made to a view of Sa@mkhya similar to this.

From the point of view of history of philosophy the Sa@mkhya
of Caraka and Pancas'ikha is very important; for it shows a
transitional stage of thought between the Upani@sad ideas and
the orthodox Sa@mkhya doctrine as represented by Is'varak@r@s@na.
On the one hand its doctrine that the senses are material, and
that effects are produced only as a result of collocations, and that
the puru@sa is unconscious, brings it in close relation with Nyaya,
and on the other its connections with Buddhism seem to be nearer
than the orthodox Sa@mkhya.

We hear of a _Sa@s@titantras'astra_ as being one of the oldest Sa@mkhya
works. This is described in the _Ahirbudhnya Sa@mhita_ as containing two books of thirty-two and twenty-eight chapters [Footnote ref 2]. A quotation from _Rajavarttika_ (a work about which there is no definite information) in Vacaspati Mis'ra's commentary on the Sa@mkhya karika_(72) says that it was called the _@Sa@s@titantra because it dealt with the existence of prak@rti, its oneness, its difference from puru@sas, its purposefulness for puru@sas, the multiplicity of puru@sas, connection and separation from puru@sas, the evolution of the categories, the inactivity of the puru@sas and the five _viparyyayas_, nine tu@s@lis, the defects of organs of twenty-eight kinds, and the eight siddhis [Footnote ref 1].

But the content of the _Sa@s@titantra_ as given in _Ahirbudhnya Sa@mhita_ is different from it, and it appears from it that the Sa@mkhya
of the _Sa@s@titantra_ referred to in the _Ahirbudhnya Sa@mhita_ was of a theistic character resembling the doctrine of the Pancaratra Vai@snavas and the _Ahirbudhnya Sa@mhita_ says that Kapila's theory of Sa@mkhya was a Vai@sa@na one. Vijnana Bhiksu, the greatest expounder of Sa@mkhya, says in many places of his work _Vijnanam@rta Bha@sya_ that Sa@mkhya was originally theistic, and that the atheistic Sa@mkhya is only a _prau@dhivada_ (an exaggerated attempt to show that no supposition of Is'vara is necessary to explain the world process) though the _Mahabharata_ points out that the difference between Sa@mkhya and Yoga is this, that the former is atheistic, while the latter is theistic. The discrepancy between the two accounts of _@Sa@s@titantra_ suggests that the original _Sa@s@titantra_ as referred to in the _Ahirbudhnya Sa@mhita_ was subsequently revised and considerably changed. This supposition is corroborated by the fact that Gu@naratna does not mention among the important Sa@mkhya works _@Sa@s@titantra_ but _@Sa@s@titanroddhara_

[Footnote 1: The doctrine of the _viparyyaya, tusti_, defects of organs, and the _siddhi_ are mentioned in the _Karika_ of Is'varakr@sna, but I have omitted them in my account of Samkhya as these have little philosophical importance. The viparyyaya (false knowledge) are five, viz. avidya (ignorance), asmita (egoism), raga (attachment), dve@sa (antipathy), abhimives'a (self-love), which are also called _tamo, moha, mahamoha, tamisra_, and _andhatamisra_. These are of nine kinds of tusti, such as the idea that no exertion is necessary, since prak@rti]
will herself bring our salvation (ambhas), that it is not necessary
to meditate, for it is enough if we renounce the householder's
life (sallila), that there is no hurry, salvation will come in time
(megha), that salvation will be worked out by fate (bhagya), and
the contentment leading to renunciation proceeding from five kinds of
causes, e.g. the troubles of earning (para), the troubles of
protecting the earned money (supara), the natural waste of things
earned by enjoyment (parapara), increase of desires leading to greater
disappointments (anuttambhas), all gain leads to the injury of others
(uttambhas). This renunciation proceeds from external considerations
with those who consider prakrti and its evolutes as the self. The
siddhis or ways of success are eight in number, viz. (1) reading of
scriptures (tara), (2) enquiry into their meaning (sutara).
(3) proper reasoning (taratara), (4) corroborating one's own ideas
with the ideas of the teachers and other workers of the same field
(ramyaka), (5) clearance of the mind by long-continued practice
(sadamudita). The three other siddhis called pramoda, mudita, and
modamanas lead directly to the separation of the prakrti from the purus'a.
The twenty-eight sense defects are the eleven defects of the eleven senses
and seventeen kinds of defects of the understanding corresponding to the
absence of siddhis and the presence of tustis. The viparyayas, tu@stis
and the defects of the organs are hindrances in the way of the
achievement of the Sa@mkhya goal.]

221

(revised edition of Sa@satitantra) [Footnote ref 1]. Probably the
earlier @Sa@s@titantra was lost even before Vacaspati's time.

If we believe the @Sa@s@titantra referred to in the _Ahirbudhnya_ Sa@mhita_ to be in all essential parts the same work which was composed by Kapila and based faithfully on his teachings, then it has to be assumed that Kapila's Sa@mkhya was theistic [Footnote ref 2]. It seems probable that his disciple Asuri tried to popularise it. But it seems that a great change occurred when Pancas’ikha the disciple of Asuri came to deal with it. For we know that his doctrine differed from the traditional one in many important respects. It is said in _Sa@mkhya karika_ (70) that the literature was divided by him into many parts ( _tena bahudhak@rtam tantram_ ). The exact meaning of this reference is difficult to guess. It might mean that the original _@Sa@s@titantra_ was rewritten by him in various treatises.

It is a well-known fact that most of the schools of Vai@s@navas accepted the form of cosmology which is the same in most essential parts as the Sa@mkhya cosmology. This justifies the assumption that Kapila's doctrine was probably theistic. But there are a few other points of difference between the Kapila and the Patanjala Sa@mkhya (Yoga). The only supposition that may be ventured is that Pancas’ikha probably modified Kapila's work in an atheistic way and passed it as Kapila's work. If this supposition is held reasonable, then we have three strata of Sa@mkhya, first a theistic one, the details of which are lost, but which is kept in a modified form by the Patanjala school of Sa@mkhya, second an atheistic one as represented by Pancas’ikha, and a third atheistic modification as the orthodox Sa@mkhya system.
An important change in the Sa@mkhya doctrine seems to have been introduced by Vijnana Bhik@su (sixteenth century A.D.) by his treatment of gu@nas as types of reals. I have myself accepted this interpretation of Sa@mkhya as the most rational and philosophical one, and have therefore followed it in giving a connected system of the accepted Kapila and the Patanjala school of Sa@mkhya. But it must be pointed out that originally the notion of gu@nas was applied to different types of good and bad mental states, and then they were supposed in some mysterious way by mutual increase and decrease to form the objective world on the one hand and the

totality of human psychosis on the other. A systematic explanation of the gunas was attempted in two different lines by Vijnana Bhik@su and the Vai@s@nava writer Ve@nka@ta [Footnote ref l]. As the Yoga philosophy compiled by Patanjali and commented on by Vyasa, Vacaspati and Vijn@ana Bhik@su, agree with the Sa@mkhya doctrine

[Footnote 1: _Tarkarahasyadipika_, p. 109.]

[Footnote 2: _eva@m sa@dvims'akam prahah s'ariramth manavah sa@mkhyam sa@mkhyatmakatvacca kapiladibirucyate. Matsyapurana_, IV. 28.]
as explained by Vacaspati and Vijnana Bhikṣu in most points I have preferred to call them the Kapila and the Patanjala schools of Saṁkhya and have treated them together—a principle which was followed by Haribhadra in his _Saḍaśānāsarmūṣcaya_.

The other important Saṁkhya teachers mentioned by Gaudapada are Sanaka, Sananda, Sanatana and Vadhū. Nothing is known about their historicity or doctrines.

Saṁkhya karika, Saṁkhya sutra, Vacaspati Mis'ra and Vijnana Bhikṣu.

A word of explanation is necessary as regards my interpretation of the Saṁkhya-Yoga system. The _Saṁkhya karika_ is the oldest Saṁkhya text on which we have commentaries by later writers. The _Saṁkhya sutra_ was not referred to by any writer until it was commented upon by Aniruddha (fifteenth century A.D.). Even Guṇaratna of the fourteenth century A.D. who made allusions to a number of Saṁkhya works, did not make any reference to the _Saṁkhya sutra_. and no other writer who is known to have flourished before Guṇaratna seems to have made any reference to the _Saṁkhya sutra_. The natural conclusion therefore is that these sūtras were probably written some time after the fourteenth century. But there is no positive evidence to prove that it was so late a work as the fifteenth century. It is said at the end of the _Saṁkhya karika_ of Is'varakṛṣṇa that the
karikas give an exposition of the Sa@mkhya doctrine excluding
the refutations of the doctrines of other people and excluding the
parables attached to the original Sa@mkhya works--the
Sa@mkhya karikas. The Sa@mkhya sutras contain refutations
of other doctrines and also a number of parables. It is not improbable
that these were collected from some earlier Sa@mkhya work which is
now lost to us. It may be that it was done from some later edition
of the Sa@mkhya sutras as mentioned by

[Footnote 1: Venka@ta's philosophy will be dealt with in the second volume
of the present work.]

223

Gu@naratna), but this is a mere conjecture. There is no reason to
suppose that the Sa@mkhya doctrine found in the sutras differs in
any important way from the Sa@mkhya doctrine as found in the
Sa@mkhya karika. The only point of importance is this, that the
Sa@mkhya sutras hold that when the Upani@sads spoke of one absolute
pure intelligence they meant to speak of unity as involved
in the class of intelligent puru@sas as distinct from the class of
the gu@nas. As all puru@sas were of the nature of pure intelligence,
they were spoken of in the Upani@sads as one, for they all form
the category or class of pure intelligence, and hence may in some
sense be regarded as one. This compromise cannot be found in
the _Sa@mkhya karika_. This is, however, a case of omission and not
of difference. Vijnana Bhik@su, the commentator of the _Sa@mkhya
sutra_, was more inclined to theistic Sa@mkhya or Yoga than
to atheistic Sa@mkhya. This is proved by his own remarks in
his _Samkhyaaparavacanabha@ya_, Yogavarttika_, and _Vijananam@rtabhasya_
(an independent commentary on the Brahmasutras of
Badarayana on theistic Sa@mkhya lines). Vijnana Bhiksu's own
view could not properly be called a thorough Yoga view, for he
agreed more with the views of the Sa@mkhya doctrine of the
Pura@nas, where both the diverse puru@sas and the prak@rti are said
to be merged in the end in Is'vara, by whose will the creative
process again began in the prakrti at the end of each pralaya.
He could not avoid the distinctively atheistic arguments of the
_Sa@mkhya sutras_, but he remarked that these were used only with
a view to showing that the Sa@mkhya system gave such a rational
explanation that even without the intervention of an Is'vara it could
explain all facts. Vijnana Bhik@su in his interpretation of Sa@mkhya
differed on many points from those of Vacaspati, and it is difficult
to say who is right. Vijnana Bhik@su has this advantage that
he has boldly tried to give interpretations on some difficult points
on which Vacaspati remained silent. I refer principally to the
nature of the conception of the gu@nas, which I believe is the most
important thing in Sa@mkhya. Vijnana Bhik@su described the
gu@nas as reals or super-subtle substances, but Vacaspati and
Gau@dapada (the other commentator of the _Sa@mkhya karika_)
remained silent on the point. There is nothing, however, in their
interpretations which would militate against the interpretation of
Vijnana Bhikṣu, but yet while they were silent as to any definite explanations regarding the nature of the guṇas, Bhikṣu definitely came forward with a very satisfactory and rational interpretation of their nature.

Since no definite explanation of the guṇas is found in any other work before Bhikṣu, it is quite probable that this matter may not have been definitely worked out before. Neither Caraka nor the _Mahabharata_ explains the nature of the guṇas. But Bhikṣu's interpretation suits exceedingly well all that is known of the manifestations and the workings of the guṇas in all early documents. I have therefore accepted the interpretation of Bhikṣu in giving my account of the nature of the guṇas. The _Karika_ speaks of the guṇas as being of the nature of pleasure, pain, and dullness (_sattva, rajas_ and _tamās_). It also describes sattva as being light and illuminating, rajas as of the nature of energy and causing motion, and tamas as heavy and obstructing. Vacaspati merely paraphrases this statement of the _Karika_ but does not enter into any further explanations. Bhikṣu's interpretation fits in well with all that is known of the guṇas, though it is quite possible that this view might not have been known before, and when the original Śaṅkhyā doctrine was formulated there was a real vagueness as to the conception of the guṇas.
There are some other points in which Bhikṣu’s interpretation differs from that of Vacaspati. The most important of these may be mentioned here. The first is the nature of the connection of the buddhi states with the puruṣa. Vacaspati holds that there is no contact (sāmyoga) of any buddhi state with the puruṣa but that a reflection of the puruṣa is caught in the state of buddhi by virtue of which the buddhi state becomes intelligized and transformed into consciousness. But this view is open to the objection that it does not explain how the puruṣa can be said to be the experiencer of the conscious states of the buddhi, for its reflection in the buddhi is merely an image, and there cannot be an experience (bhoga) on the basis of that image alone without any actual connection of the puruṣa with the buddhi. The answer of Vacaspati Mis'ra is that there is no contact of the two in space and time, but that their proximity (sannidhi) means only a specific kind of fitness (yogyata) by virtue of which the puruṣa, though it remains aloof, is yet felt to be united and identified in the buddhi, and as a result of that the states of the buddhi appear as ascribed to a person. Vijnana Bhikṣu differs from Vacaspati and says that if such a special kind of fitness be admitted, then there is no reason why puruṣa should be deprived of such a fitness at the time of emancipation, and thus there would be no emancipation at all.
for the fitness being in the puruṣa, he could not be divested of it, and he would continue to enjoy the experiences represented in the buddhi for ever. Vijnana Bhikṣu thus holds that there is a real contact of the puruṣa with the buddhi state in any cognitive state. Such a contact of the puruṣa and the buddhi does not necessarily mean that the former will be liable to change on account of it, for contact and change are not synonymous. Change means the rise of new qualities. It is the buddhi which suffers changes, and when these changes are reflected in the puruṣa, there is the notion of a person or experiencer in the puruṣa, and when the puruṣa is reflected back in the buddhi the buddhi state appears as a conscious state. The second, is the difference between Vacaspati and Bhikṣu as regards the nature of the perceptual process. Bhikṣu thinks that the senses can directly perceive the determinate qualities of things without any intervention of manas, whereas Vacaspati ascribes to manas the power of arranging the sense-data in a definite order and of making the indeterminate sense-data determinate. With him the first stage of cognition is the stage when indeterminate sense materials are first presented, at the next stage there is assimilation, differentiation, and association by which the indeterminate materials are ordered and classified by the activity of manas called saṁkalpa which coordinates the indeterminate sense materials into determinate perceptual and conceptual forms as class notions with particular characteristics. Bhikṣu who supposes that the determinate character of things is directly perceived by the senses has necessarily to assign a subordinate position to manas as being only the faculty of desire, doubt, and imagination.
It may not be out of place to mention here that there are one or two passages in Vacaspati’s commentary on the _Sa@mkhya karika_ which seem to suggest that he considered the ego (_aha@mkara_) as producing the subjective series of the senses and the objective series of the external world by a sort of desire or will, but he did not work out this doctrine, and it is therefore not necessary to enlarge upon it. There is also a difference of view with regard to the evolution of the tanmatras from the mahat; for contrary to the view of _Vyasabha@sya_ and Vijnana Bhik@su etc. Vacaspati holds that from the mahat there was aha@mkara and from aha@mkara the tanmatras [Footnote ref 1]. Vijnana Bhik@su however holds that both the separation of aha@mkara and the evolution of the tanmatras take place in the mahat, and as this appeared to me to be more reasonable, I have followed this interpretation. There are some other minor points of difference about the Yoga doctrines between Vacaspati and Bhik@su which are not of much philosophical importance.

Yoga and Patanjali.

The word yoga occurs in the @Rg-Veda in various senses such
as yoking or harnessing, achieving the unachieved, connection, 
and the like. The sense of yoking is not so frequent as the 
other senses; but it is nevertheless true that the word was 
used in this sense in @Rg-Veda and in such later Vedic works as 
the S'atapatha Brahmana and the B@rhadara@nyaka Upani@sad [Footnote ref 2].
The word has another derivative "yugya" in later Sanskrit literature 
[Footnote ref 3].

With the growth of religious and philosophical ideas in the 
@Rg-Veda, we find that the religious austerities were generally very 
much valued. Tapas (asceticism) and brahmacarya (the holy vow 
of celibacy and life-long study) were regarded as greatest virtues 
and considered as being productive of the highest power [Footnote ref 4].

As these ideas of asceticism and self-control grew the force 
of the flying passions was felt to be as uncontrollable as that of 
a spirited steed, and thus the word yoga which was originally 
applied to the control of steeds began to be applied to the control 
of the senses [Footnote ref 5].

In Pa@nini's time the word yoga had attained its technical 
meaning, and he distinguished this root "._yuj samadhau_" (_yuj_ 
in the sense of concentration) from "._yujir yoge_" (root _yujir_ in 
the sense of connecting). _Yuj_ in the first sense is seldom used as 
a verb. It is more or less an imaginary root for the etymological 
derivation of the word yoga [Footnote ref 6].
[Footnote 1: See my _Study of Patanjali_, p. 60 ff.]

[Footnote 2: Compare R.V.I. 34. 9/II. 67. 8/III. 27. II/X. 30. II/X. 114. 9/IV. 24. 4/I. 5. 3/I. 30. 7; S’atapatha Brahma@na 14. 7. I. II.]

[Footnote 3: It is probably an old word of the Aryan stock; compare German Joch, A.S. geoc. I atm jugum.]

[Footnote 4: See Chandogya Ill. 17. 4; B@rh. I. 2. 6; B@rh. Ill. 8. 10; Taitt. I. 9. I/III. 2. I/III. 3. I; Taitt, Brah. II. 2. 3. 3; R.V.x. 129; S’atap. Brah. XI. 5. 8. 1.]

[Footnote 5: Katha Ill. 4, _indriya@ni hayanahu@h vi@sayate@sugocaran_. The senses are the horses and whatever they grasp are their objects. Maitr. 2. 6. _Karmendriya@nyasya haya@h_ the conative senses are its horses.]

[Footnote 6: _Yugya@h_ is used from the root of _yujir yoge_ and not from _yuja samadhau_. A consideration of Pa@nini’s rule “Tadasya brahmacaryam,” V.i. 94 shows that not only different kinds of asceticism and rigour which passed by the name of brahmacarya were prevalent in the country at the time]
(Panini as Goldstucker has proved is pre-buddhistic), but associated with these had grown up a definite system of mental discipline which passed by the name of Yoga.]

227

In the _Bhagavadgita_, we find that the word yoga has been used not only in conformity with the root "_yuj-samadhau_" but also with "_yujir yoge_". This has been the source of some confusion to the readers of the _Bhagavadgita_. "Yogin" in the sense of a person who has lost himself in meditation is there regarded with extreme veneration. One of the main features of the use of this word lies in this that the _Bhagavadgita_ tried to mark out a middle path between the austere discipline of meditative abstraction on the one hand and the course of duties of sacrificial action of a Vedic worshipper in the life of a new type of Yogin (evidently from _yujir yoge_) on the other, who should combine in himself the best parts of the two paths, devote himself to his duties, and yet abstract himself from all selfish motives associated with desires.

Kautilya in his _Arthasastra_ when enumerating the philosophic sciences of study names Sa@mkhya, Yoga, and Lokayata. The oldest Buddhist sutras (e.g. the _Satipa@thana sutta_) are fully familiar with the stages of Yoga concentration. We may thus infer that self-concentration and Yoga had developed as a technical method of mystic absorption some time before the Buddha.
As regards the connection of Yoga with Samkhya, as we find it in the _Yoga sutras_ of Patanjali, it is indeed difficult to come to any definite conclusion. The science of breath had attracted notice in many of the earlier Upaniṣads, though there had not probably developed any systematic form of prāṇayāma (a system of breath control) of the Yoga system. It is only when we come to Maitrayāni that we find that the Yoga method had attained a systematic development. The other two Upaniṣads in which the Yoga ideas can be traced are the Śvetas'vatara and the Kaṇṭha. It is indeed curious to notice that these three Upaniṣads of Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, where we find reference to Yoga methods, are the only ones where we find clear references also to the Samkhya tenets, though the Samkhya and Yoga ideas do not appear there as related to each other or associated as parts of the same system. But there is a remarkable passage in the Maitrayāni in the conversation between Śakyayana and Bṛhadrathā where we find that the Samkhya metaphysics was offered in some quarters to explain the validity of the Yoga processes, and it seems therefore that the association and grafting of the Samkhya metaphysics on the Yoga system as its basis, was the work of the followers of this school of ideas which was subsequently systematized by Patanjali. Thus Śakyayana says: “Here some
say it is the guña which through the differences of nature goes
into bondage to the will, and that deliverance takes place when
the fault of the will has been removed, because he sees by the
mind; and all that we call desire, imagination, doubt, belief, unbelief,
certainty, uncertainty, shame, thought, fear, all that is but
mind. Carried along by the waves of the qualities darkened in
his imagination, unstable, fickle, crippled, full of desires, vacillating
he enters into belief, believing I am he, this is mine, and
he binds his self by his self as a bird with a net. Therefore, a
man being possessed of will, imagination and belief is a slave,
but he who is the opposite is free. For this reason let a man
stand free from will, imagination and belief--this is the sign of
liberty, this is the path that leads to Brahman, this is the opening
of the door, and through it he will go to the other shore of darkness.
All desires are there fulfilled. And for this, they quote a
verse: "When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together
with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called
the highest state [Footnote ref 1]."

An examination of such Yoga Upaniṣads as S'ānḍilya, Yogatattva,
Dhyānabindu, Haṁsa, Amṛtana, Varaha, Maṅḍala
Brahmaṇa, Nadabindu, and Yogakuṇḍalā, shows that the Yoga
practices had undergone diverse changes in diverse schools, but
none of these show any predilection for the Saṁkhya. Thus the
Yoga practices grew in accordance with the doctrines of the
[Footnote 1: Vatsyayana, however, in his bhaṣya on _Nyaya sutra_, I. i 29, distinguishes Saṃkhya from Yoga in the following way: The Saṃkhya holds that nothing can come into being nor be destroyed, there cannot be any change in the pure intelligence (_nirātis'ayaḥ cetanaḥ_). All changes are due to changes in the body, the senses, the manas and the objects. Yoga holds that all creation is due to the karma of the puruṣa. Doṣas (passions) and the pravṛtti (action) are the cause of karma. The intelligences or souls (cetana) are associated with qualities. Non-being can come into being and what is produced may be destroyed. The last view is indeed quite different from the Yoga of _Vyasabhaṣya_. It is closer to Nyaya in its doctrines. If Vatsyayana's statement is correct, it would appear that the doctrine of there being a moral purpose in creation was borrowed by Saṃkhya from Yoga. Udyotakara's remarks on the same sutra do not indicate a difference but an agreement between Saṃkhya and Yoga on the doctrine of the _indriyas_ being "_abhautika._" Curiously enough Vatsyayana quotes a passage from _Vyasabhaṣya_, III. 13, in his bhaṣya, I. ii. 6, and criticizes it as self-contradictory (_viruddha_).]

229

S'aivas and S'aktas and assumed a peculiar form as the Mantrayoga; they grew in another direction as the Haṭhayoga which was supposed to produce mystic and magical feats through constant practices of elaborate nervous exercises, which were also associated with healing and other supernatural powers. The
Yogatattva Upaniṣad says that there are four kinds of yoga, the Mantra Yoga, Laya Yoga, Hatha Yoga and Rajayoga [Footnote ref 1]. In some cases we find that there was a great attempt even to associate Vedantism with these mystic practices. The influence of these practices in the development of Tantra and other modes of worship was also very great, but we have to leave out these from our present consideration as they have little philosophic importance and as they are not connected with our present endeavour.

Of the Patanjala school of Saṃkhya, which forms the subject of the Yoga with which we are now dealing, Patanjali was probably the most notable person for he not only collected the different forms of Yoga practices, and gleaned the diverse ideas which were or could be associated with the Yoga, but grafted them all on the Saṃkhya metaphysics, and gave them the form in which they have been handed down to us. Vacaspati and Vijnana Bhikṣu, the two great commentators on the _Vyasabhāṣya_, agree with us in holding that Patanjali was not the founder of Yoga, but an editor. Analytic study of the sutras brings the conviction that the sutras do not show any original attempt, but a masterly and systematic compilation which was also supplemented by fitting contributions. The systematic manner also in which the first three chapters are written by way of definition and classification shows that the materials were already in existence and that Patanjali systematized them. There was no missionizing zeal, no attempt to overthrow the doctrines of other systems, except as far as they might come in by way of...
explaining the system. Patanjal is not even anxious to establish
the system, but he is only engaged in systematizing the facts
as he had them. Most of the criticism against the Buddhists
occur in the last chapter. The doctrines of the Yoga are
described in the first three chapters, and this part is separated
from the last chapter where the views of the Buddhist are

criticized; the putting of an "_iti_" (the word to denote the conclusion
of any work) at the end of the third chapter is evidently to
denote the conclusion of his Yoga compilation. There is of course
another "_iti_" at the end of the fourth chapter to denote the
conclusion of the whole work. The most legitimate hypothesis
seems to be that the last chapter is a subsequent addition by a
hand other than that of Patanjali who was anxious to supply
some new links of argument which were felt to be necessary for

[Footnote 1: The Yoga writer Jaig@savya wrote "_Dharanas'astra_" which
dealt with Yoga more in the fashion of Tantra then that given by Patanjali.
He mentions different places in the body (e.g. heart, throat, tip of the
nose, palate, forehead, centre of the brain) which are centres of memory
where concentration is to be made. See Vacaspati's _Tatparya@tika_ or
Vatsyayana's bha@sya on _Nyaya sutra_, III. ii. 43.]
the strengthening of the Yoga position from an internal point of view, as well as for securing the strength of the Yoga from the supposed attacks of Buddhist metaphysics. There is also a marked change (due either to its supplementary character or to the manipulation of a foreign hand) in the style of the last chapter as compared with the style of the other three.

The sutras, 30-34, of the last chapter seem to repeat what has already been said in the second chapter and some of the topics introduced are such that they could well have been dealt with in a more relevant manner in connection with similar discussions in the preceding chapters. The extent of this chapter is also disproportionately small, as it contains only 34 sutras, whereas the average number of sutras in other chapters is between 51 to 55.

We have now to meet the vexed question of the probable date of this famous Yoga author Patanjali. Weber had tried to connect him with Kapya Patañmcha of S'atapatha Brahma@na [Footnote ref l]; in Katyayana’s _Varttika_ we get the name Patanjali which is explained by later commentators as _patanta@h anjalaya@h yasmai_ (for whom the hands are folded as a mark of reverence), but it is indeed difficult to come to any conclusion merely from the similarity of names. There is however another theory which identifies the writer of the great commentary on Pa@nini called the _Mahabh@sa_ with the Patanjali of the _Yoga sutra_. This theory has been accepted by many western scholars probably on the strength of
some Indian commentators who identified the two Patanjalis.

Of these one is the writer of the _Patanjalicarita_ (Ramabhadra Dikṣita) who could not have flourished earlier than the eighteenth century. The other is that cited in S'ivarama's commentary on _Vasavadatta_ which Aufrecht assigns to the eighteenth century. The other two are king Bhoja of Dhar and Cakrapaṇidatta.

---

[Footnote 1: Weber's _History of Indian Literature_, p. 223 n.]

231

the commentator of _Caraka_, who belonged to the eleventh century A.D. Thus Cakrapaṇi says that he adores the Ahipati (mythical serpent chief) who removed the defects of mind, speech and body by his _Patanjala mahabhaṣya_ and the revision of _Caraka_. Bhoja says: "Victory be to the luminous words of that illustrious sovereign Raṇarāṇigamalla who by composing his grammar, by writing his commentary on the Patanjala and by producing a treatise on medicine called _Rajamargaṇka_ has like the lord of the holder of serpents removed defilement from speech, mind and body." The adoration hymn of Vyasa (which is considered to be an interpolation even by orthodox scholars) is also based upon the same tradition. It is not impossible therefore that the later Indian commentators might have made some confusion.
between the three Patanjalis, the grammarian, the Yoga editor, 
and the medical writer to whom is ascribed the book known as  
_Patanjalatantra_ and who has been quoted by S'ivadasa in his 
commentary on _Cakradatta_ in connection with the heating of 
metals.

Professor J.H. Woods of Harvard University is therefore 
in a way justified in his unwillingness to identify the grammarian 
and the Yoga editor on the slender evidence of these 
commentators. It is indeed curious to notice that the great 
commentators of the grammar school such as Bhart@rhari, Kaiyya@ta, 
Vamana, Jayaditya, Nages'a, etc. are silent on this point. 
This is indeed a point against the identification of the two 
Patanjalis by some Yoga and medical commentators of a later 
age. And if other proofs are available which go against such 
an identification, we could not think the grammarian and the 
Yoga writer to be the same person.

Let us now see if Patanjali's grammatical work contains anything 
which may lead us to think that he was not the same 
person as the writer on Yoga. Professor Woods supposes that the 
philosophic concept of substance (_dravya_) of the two Patanjalis 
differs and therefore they cannot be identified. He holds that 
_dravya_ is described in _Vyasabha@sy a_ in one place as being the 
unity of species and qualities (_samanyavis'e@satmaka_), whereas 
the _Mahabha@sy a_ holds that a dravya denotes a genus and also 
specific qualities according as the emphasis or stress is laid on
either side. I fail to see how these ideas are totally antagonistic. Moreover, we know that these two views were held by

Vya@di and Vajapyayana (Vya@di holding that words denoted qualities or dravya and Vajapyayana holding that words denoted species [Footnote ref 1]). Even Pa@nini had these two different ideas in "_jatyakhyayamekasmin bahuvacanamanyatarasyam_" and "_sarupanamekas'e@samekavibhaktau_," and Patanjali the writer of the _Mahabha@sya_ only combined these two views. This does not show that he opposes the view of _Vyasabha@sya_, though we must remember that even if he did, that would not prove anything with regard to the writer of the sutras. Moreover, when we read that dravya is spoken of in the _Mahabha@sya_ as that object which is the specific kind of the conglomeration of its parts, just as a cow is of its tail, hoofs, horns, etc.--"_yat sasnala@ngulakudakudhravi@sa@nyartharupam_." we are reminded of its similarity with "_ayutasiddhavayavabhedanugata@h samuha@h dravyam_." (a conglomeration of interrelated parts is called dravya) in the _Vyasabhasya_. So far as I have examined the _Mahabha@sya_ I have not been able to discover anything there which can warrant us in holding that the two Patanjalis cannot be identified. There are no doubt many apparent divergences of view, but even in these it is only the traditional views of the old grammarians that are exposed and reconciled, and it would be very unwarrantable for us to judge anything about the personal views
of the grammarian from them. I am also convinced that the
writer of the _Mahabha@syasya_ knew most of the important points of
the Sa@mkhya-Yoga metaphysics; as a few examples I may refer
to the gu@na theory (1. 2. 64, 4. 1. 3), the Sa@mkhya dictum of ex
nihilo nihil fit (1. 1. 56), the ideas of time (2. 2. 5, 3. 2. 123), the
idea of the return of similars into similars (1. 1. 50), the idea of
change _vikara_ as production of new qualities _gu@nantaradhana_
(5. 1. 2, 5. 1. 3) and the distinction of indriya and Buddhi (3. 3. 133).
We may add to it that the _Mahabha@syasya_ agrees with the Yoga
view as regards the Spho@tavada, which is not held in common
by any other school of Indian philosophy. There is also this
external similarity, that unlike any other work they both begin
their works in a similar manner (_atha yoganus'asanam_ and
_athas'abdanus'asanam_)--"now begins the compilation of the
instructions on Yoga" (_Yoga sutra_)--and "now begins the compilation
of the instructions of words" (_Mahabha@syasya_).

It may further be noticed in this connection that the arguments

[Footnote 1: Patanjali's _Mahabha@syasya_, 1. 2. 64.]
which Professor Woods has adduced to assign the date of the
_Yoga sutra_ between 300 and 500 A.D. are not at all conclusive,
as they stand on a weak basis; for firstly if the two Patanjalis
cannot be identified, it does not follow that the editor of the
Yoga should necessarily be made later; secondly, the supposed
Buddhist [Footnote ref 1] reference is found in the fourth chapter which,
as I have shown above, is a later interpolation; thirdly, even if they
were written by Patanjali it cannot be inferred that because
Vacaspafi describes the opposite school as being of the Vijnana-vadi
type, we are to infer that the sutras refer to Vasubandhu or
even to Nagarjuna, for such ideas as have been refuted in the sutras
had been developing long before the time of Nagarjuna.

Thus we see that though the tradition of later commentators
may not be accepted as a sufficient ground to identify the two
Patanjalis, we cannot discover anything from a comparative
critical study of the _Yoga sutras_ and the text of the _Mahabha@ya_,
which can lead us to say that the writer of the _Yoga_
sutras_ flourished at a later date than the other Patanjali.

Postponing our views about the time of Patanjali the Yoga
editor, I regret I have to increase the confusion by introducing
the other work _Kitab Patanjal_, of which Alberuni speaks, for
our consideration. Alberuni considers this work as a very famous
one and he translates it along with another book called _Sanka_
(Sa@mkhya) ascribed to Kapila. This book was written in the
form of dialogue between master and pupil, and it is certain that
this book was not the present _Yoga sutra_ of Patanjali, though it
had the same aim as the latter, namely the search for liberation
and for the union of the soul with the object of its meditation.
The book was called by Alberuni _Kitab Patanjal_, which is to
be translated as the book of Patanjala, because in another place,
speaking of its author, he puts in a Persian phrase which when
translated stands as "the author of the book of Patanjal." It
had also an elaborate commentary from which Alberuni quotes
many extracts, though he does not tell us the author’s name. It
treats of God, soul, bondage, karma, salvation, etc., as we find in
the _Yoga sutra_, but the manner in which these are described (so

[Footnote 1: It is important to notice that the most important Buddhist
reference _naraika-cittatantram vastu tadaprama@nakam tada kim syat_
(IV. 16) was probably a line of the Vyasa@syama, as Bhoja, who had
consulted many commentaries as he says in the preface, does not count
it as sutra.]

234

far as can be judged from the copious extracts supplied by
Alberuni) shows that these ideas had undergone some change
from what we find in the _Yoga sutra_. Following the idea of God
in Alberuni we find that he retains his character as a timeless
emancipated being, but he speaks, hands over the Vedas and
shows the way to Yoga and inspires men in such a way that they
could obtain by cogitation what he bestowed on them. The name
of God proves his existence, for there cannot exist anything of
which the name existed, but not the thing. The soul perceives
him and thought comprehends his qualities. Meditation is identical
with worshipping him exclusively, and by practising it
uninterruptedly the individual comes into supreme absorption
with him and beatitude is obtained [Footnote ref 1].

The idea of soul is the same as we find in the _Yoga sutra._
The idea of metempsychosis is also the same. He speaks of the
eight siddhis (miraculous powers) at the first stage of meditation
on the unity of God. Then follow the other four stages of meditation
corresponding to the four stages we have as in the _Yoga
sutra._ He gives four kinds of ways for the achievement of salvation,
of which the first is the _abhyasa_ (habit) of Patanjali, and the
object of this abhyasa is unity with God [Footnote ref 2]. The second
stands for vairagya; the third is the worship of God with a view to seek
his favour in the attainment of salvation (cf. _Yoga sutra,_ I. 23 and
I. 29). The fourth is a new introduction, namely that of rasayana
or alchemy. As regards liberation the view is almost the
same as in the _Yoga sutra,_ II. 25 and IV. 34, but the liberated
state is spoken of in one place as absorption in God or being
one with him. The Brahman is conceived as an _urddhvamula
avaks’akha as’vattha_ (a tree with roots upwards and branches
below), after the Upani@sad fashion, the upper root is pure
Brahman, the trunk is Veda, the branches are the different doctrines and schools, its leaves are the different modes of interpretation. Its nourishment comes from the three forces; the

[Footnote 1: Cf. _Yoga sutra_ I. 23-29 and II. 1, 45. The _Yoga sutras_ speak of Is'vara (God) as an eternally emancipated puru@sa, omniscient, and the teacher of all past teachers. By meditating on him many of the obstacles such as illness, etc., which stand in the way of Yoga practice are removed. He is regarded as one of the alternative objects of concentration. The commentator Vyasa notes that he is the best object, for being drawn towards the Yogin by his concentration. He so wills that he can easily attain concentration and through it salvation. No argument is given in the _Yoga sutras_ of the existence of God.]

[Footnote 2: Cf. Yoga II. 1.]

235

object of the worshipper is to leave the tree and go back to the roots.

The difference of this system from that of the _Yoga sutra_ is:

(1) the conception of God has risen here to such an importance
that he has become the only object of meditation, and absorption
in him is the goal; (2) the importance of the yama [Footnote ref 1] and
the niyama has been reduced to the minimum; (3) the value of the
Yoga discipline as a separate means of salvation apart from any
connection with God as we find in the _Yoga sutra_ has been lost
sight of; (4) liberation and Yoga are defined as absorption in
God; (5) the introduction of Brahman; (6) the very significance
of Yoga as control of mental states (_citta@rttirodha_) is lost
sight of, and (7) rasayana (alchemy) is introduced as one of the
means of salvation.

From this we can fairly assume that this was a new modification
of the Yoga doctrine on the basis of Patanjali's _Yoga sutra_ in
the direction of Vedanta and Tantra, and as such it
probably stands as the transition link through which the Yoga
doctrine of the sutras entered into a new channel in such a way
that it could be easily assimilated from there by later developments
of Vedanta, Tantra and S'aiva doctrines [Footnote ref 2]. As the author
mentions rasayana as a means of salvation, it is very probable
that he flourished after Nagarjuna and was probably the same
person who wrote _Patanjala tantra_, who has been quoted by
S'ivadasa in connection with alchemical matters and spoken of
by Nages'a as "_Carake_ Patanjali@h." We can also assume with some
degree of probability that it is with reference to this man that
Cakrapa@ni and Bhoja made the confusion of identifying him with
the writer of the _Mahabha@sy_. It is also very probable that Cakrapa@ni
by his line "_patanjalamahabha@syacarakapratisa@msk@rtai@h_"
refers to this work which was called "Patanjala." The commentator of this work gives some description of the lokas, dvipas and the sagaras, which runs counter to the descriptions given in the _Vyasabha@syā_, III. 26, and from this we can infer that it was probably written at a time when the _Vyasabha@syā_ was not written or had not attained any great sanctity or authority. Alberuni

________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Alberuni, in his account of the book of Sa@mkhya, gives a list of commandments which practically is the same as yama and niyama, but it is said that through them one cannot attain salvation.]

[Footnote 2: Cf. the account of _Pas'upatadars'ana_ in _Sarvadas'anasa@mgraha_.]

236

also described the book as being very famous at the time, and Bhoja and Cakrapa@ni also probably confused him with Patanjali the grammarian; from this we can fairly assume that this book of Patanjali was probably written by some other Patanjali within the first 300 or 400 years of the Christian era; and it may not be improbable that when _Vyasabha@syā_ quotes in III. 44 as "_iti_ Patanjali@h," he refers to this Patanjali.
The conception of Yoga as we meet it in the Maitrayana Upanisad consisted of six angas or accessories, namely pranayama, pratyahara, dhyana, dhara@na, tarka and samadhi [Footnote ref 1].

Comparing this list with that of the list in the _Yoga sutras_ we find that two new elements have been added, and tarka has been replaced by asana. Now from the account of the sixty-two heresies given in the _Brahmajala sutta_ we know that there were people who either from meditation of three degrees or through logic and reasoning had come to believe that both the external world as a whole and individual souls were eternal. From the association of this last mentioned logical school with the Samadhi or Dhyana school as belonging to one class of thinkers called s’as’vatavada, and from the inclusion of tarka as an a@nga in samadhi, we can fairly assume that the last of the angas given in Maitrayana Upanisad represents the oldest list of the Yoga doctrine, when the Sa@mkhya and the Yoga were in a process of being grafted on each other, and when the Sa@mkhya method of discussion did not stand as a method independent of the Yoga. The substitution of asana for tarka in the list of Patanjali shows that the Yoga had developed a method separate from the Sa@mkhya.

The introduction of ahi@msa (non-injury), satya (truthfulness), asteya (want of stealing), brahmacaryya (sex-control), aparigraha (want of greed) as yama and s’auca (purity), sant@sa (contentment) as niyama, as a system of morality without which Yoga is deemed impossible (for the first time in the sutras), probably marks the period when the disputes between the Hindus and the
Buddhists had not become so keen. The introduction of maitri, karuṇa, mudita, upeka is also equally significant, as we do not find them mentioned in such a prominent form in any other literature of the Hindus dealing with the subject of emancipation. Beginning from the _Acarāṅgasūtra, Uttaradhyayānasūtra_,

[Footnote 1: _praṇayamah pratyaharah dhyanam dhāraham tarkah samadhih saṅgā ityucyate yoga_ (Maitr. 6 8).]

237

the _Sutrāṅgasūtra_ etc., and passing through Umasvati's _Tattvarthadhigamasūtra_ to Hemacandra's _Yogasāstra_ we find that the Jains had been founding their Yoga discipline mainly on the basis of a system of morality indicated by the yamas, and the opinion expressed in Alberuni's _Patanjal_ that these cannot give salvation marks the divergence of the Hindus in later days from the Jains. Another important characteristic of Yoga is its thoroughly pessimistic tone. Its treatment of sorrow in connection with the statement of the scope and ideal of Yoga is the same as that of the four sacred truths of the Buddhists, namely suffering, origin of suffering, the removal of suffering, and of the path to the removal of suffering [Footnote ref 1]. Again, the metaphysics of the saṃsara (rebirth) cycle in connection with sorrow, origination,
decease, rebirth, etc. is described with a remarkable degree of similarity with the cycle of causes as described in early Buddhism.

Avidya is placed at the head of the group; yet this avidya should not be confused with the Vedanta avidya of S'ānkara, as it is an avidya of the Buddhist type; it is not a cosmic power of illusion nor anything like a mysterious original sin, but it is within the range of earthly tangible reality. Yoga avidya is the ignorance of the four sacred truths, as we have in the sutra

"_anityas'ucidu@hkhanatmasu nityas'ucidu@hkhatmakhyatiravidya_" (II. 5).

The ground of our existing is our will to live (_abhinives'a_).

"This is our besetting sin that we will to be, that we will to be ourselves, that we fondly will our being to blend with other kinds of existence and extend. The negation of the will to be, cuts off being for us at least [Footnote ref 2]." This is true as much of Buddhism as of the Yoga abhinives'a, which is a term coined and used in the Yoga for the first time to suit the Buddhist idea, and which has never been accepted, so far as I know, in any other Hindu literature in this sense. My sole aim in pointing out these things in this section is to show that the _Yoga sutras_ proper (first three chapters) were composed at a time when the later forms of Buddhism had not developed, and when the quarrels between the Hindus and the Buddhists and Jains had not reached such
a stage that they would not like to borrow from one another.

As this can only be held true of earlier Buddhism I am disposed to think that the date of the first three chapters of the _Yoga sutras_ must be placed about the second century B.C. Since there is no evidence which can stand in the way of identifying the grammarian Patanjali with the Yoga writer, I believe we may take them as being identical [Footnote ref 1].

The Sa@mkhya and the Yoga Doctrine of Soul or Puru@sa.

The Sa@mkhya philosophy as we have it now admits two principles, souls and _prak@rti_, the root principle of matter. Souls are many, like the Jaina souls, but they are without parts and qualities. They do not contract or expand according as they occupy a
smaller or a larger body, but are always all-pervasive, and are not contained in the bodies in which they are manifested. But the relation between body or rather the mind associated with it and soul is such that whatever mental phenomena happen in the mind are interpreted as the experience of its soul. The souls are many, and had it not been so (the Sa@mkhya argues) with the birth of one all would have been born and with the death of one all would have died [Footnote ref 2].

The exact nature of soul is however very difficult of comprehension, and yet it is exactly this which one must thoroughly grasp in order to understand the Sa@mkhya philosophy. Unlike the Jaina soul possessing _anantajnana, anantadars'ana, anantasukha_, and _anantaviryya_, the Sa@mkhya soul is described as being devoid of any and every characteristic; but its nature is absolute pure consciousness (_cit_). The Sa@mkhya view differs from the Vedanta, firstly in this that it does not consider the soul to be of the nature of pure intelligence and bliss (_ananda_) [Footnote ref 3]. Bliss with Sa@mkhya is but another name for pleasure and as such it belongs to prak@rti and does not constitute the nature of soul; secondly, according to Vedanta the individual souls (_Jiva_) are

[Footnote 1: See S.N. Das Gupta, _Yoga Philosophy in relation to other Indian systems of thought._ ch. II. The most important point in favour
of this identification seems to be that both the Patanjalis as against
the other Indian systems admitted the doctrine of _spho@ta_ which was
denied even by Sa@mkhya. On the doctrine of Spho@ta see my _Study
of Patanjali_, Appendix I.]

[Footnote 2: _Karika_, 18.]  

[Footnote 3: See Citsukha's _Tattvapradipika_, IV.]  

239

but illusory manifestations of one soul or pure consciousness the
Brahman, but according to Sa@mkhya they are all real and many.

The most interesting feature of Sa@mkhya as of Vedanta is
the analysis of knowledge. Sa@mkhya holds that our knowledge
of things are mere ideational pictures or images. External things
are indeed material, but the sense data and images of the mind,
the coming and going of which is called knowledge, are also in
some sense matter-stuff, since they are limited in their nature
like the external things. The sense-data and images come and go,
they are often the prototypes, or photographs of external things,
and as such ought to be considered as in some sense material,
but the matter of which these are composed is the subtlest.
These images of the mind could not have appeared as conscious,
if there were no separate principles of consciousness in connection
with which the whole conscious plane could be interpreted
as the experience of a person [Footnote ref 1]. We know that the
Upani@sads consider the soul or atman as pure and infinite
consciousness, distinct from the forms of knowledge, the ideas,
and the images. In our ordinary ways of mental analysis we do not
detect that beneath the forms of knowledge there is some other principle
which has no change, no form, but which is like a light which
illumines the mute, pictorial forms which the mind assumes.
The self is nothing but this light. We all speak of our "self"
but we have no mental picture of the self as we have of other
things, yet in all our knowledge we seem to know our self. The
Jains had said that the soul was veiled by karma matter, and
every act of knowledge meant only the partial removal of the
veil. Sa@mkhya says that the self cannot be found as an image
of knowledge, but that is because it is a distinct, transcendent
principle, whose real nature as such is behind or beyond the subtle
matter of knowledge. Our cognitions, so far as they are mere forms
or images, are merely compositions or complexes of subtle mind-substance,
and thus are like a sheet of painted canvas immersed
in darkness; as the canvas gets prints from outside and moves,
the pictures appear one by one before the light and arc illuminated.
So it is with our knowledge. The special characteristic
of self is that it is like a light, without which all knowledge would
be blind. Form and motion are the characteristics of matter, and
so far as knowledge is mere limited form and movement it is the
same as matter; but there is some other principle which enlivens
these knowledge-forms, by virtue of which they become conscious.
This principle of consciousness (_cit_) cannot indeed be
separately perceived _per se_, but the presence of this principle in
all our forms of knowledge is distinctly indicated by inference.
This principle of consciousness has no motion, no form, no quality,
no impurity [Footnote ref 1]. The movement of the knowledge-stuff takes
place in relation to it, so that it is illuminated as consciousness by it,
and produces the appearance of itself as undergoing all changes
of knowledge and experiences of pleasure and pain. Each item
of knowledge so far as it is an image or a picture of some sort is
but a subtle knowledge-stuff which has been illumined by the
principle of consciousness, but so far as each item of knowledge
carries with it the awakening or the enlivening of consciousness,
it is the manifestation of the principle of consciousness.
Knowledge-revelation is not just the unveiling or revelation of a
particular part of the self, as the Jains supposed, but it is a revelation
of the self only so far as knowledge is pure awakening, pure enlivening,
pure consciousness. So far as the content of knowledge or the image is concerned, it is not the revelation of self but is the blind knowledge-stuff.

The Buddhists had analysed knowledge into its diverse constituent parts, and had held that the coming together of these brought about the conscious states. This coming together was to them the point of the illusory notion of self, since this unity or coming together was not a permanent thing but a momentary collocation. With Sa@mkhya however the self, the pure _cit_, is neither illusory nor an abstraction; it is concrete but transcendent. Coming into touch with it gives unity to all the movements of the knowledge-composites of subtle stuff, which would otherwise have remained aimless and unintelligent. It is by coming into connection with this principle of intelligence that they are interpreted as the systematic and coherent experience of a person, and may thus be said to be intelligized. Intelligizing means the expression and interpretation of the events or the happenings of

[Footnote 1: It is important to note that Sa@mkhya has two terms to denote the two aspects involved in knowledge, viz. the relating element of awareness as such (_cit_) and the content (_buddhi_) which is the form of the mind-stuff representing the sense-data and the image. Cognition takes place by the reflection of the former in the latter.]
knowledge in connection with a person, so as to make them a
system of experience. This principle of intelligence is called
puru@sa. There is a separate puru@sa in Sa@mkhya for each individual,
and it is of the nature of pure intelligence. The Vedanta
atman however is different from the Sa@mkhya puru@sa in this that
it is one and is of the nature of pure intelligence, pure being,
and pure bliss. It alone is the reality and by illusory maya it
appears as many.

Thought and Matter.

A question naturally arises, that if the knowledge forms are
made up of some sort of stuff as the objective forms of matter
are, why then should the puru@sa illuminate it and not external
material objects. The answer that Sa@mkhya gives is that the
knowledge-complexes are certainly different from external objects
in this, that they are far subtler and have a preponderance
of a special quality of plasticity and translucence (_sattva_), which
resembles the light of puru@sa, and is thus fit for reflecting and
absorbing the light of the puru@sa. The two principal characteristics
of external gross matter are mass and energy. But it
has also the other characteristic of allowing itself to be photographed
by our mind; this thought-photograph of matter has
again the special privilege of being so translucent as to be able
to catch the reflection of the _cit_--the super-translucent transcendent
principle of intelligence. The fundamental characteristic
of external gross matter is its mass; energy is common to
both gross matter and the subtle thought-stuff. But mass is
at its lowest minimum in thought-stuff, whereas the capacity
of translucence, or what may be otherwise designated as the
intelligence-stuff, is at its highest in thought-stuff. But if the
gross matter had none of the characteristics of translucence that
thought possesses, it could not have made itself an object of
thought; for thought transforms itself into the shape, colour,
and other characteristics of the thing which has been made its
object. Thought could not have copied the matter, if the matter
did not possess some of the essential substances of which the
copy was made up. But this plastic entity (_sattva_) which is
so predominant in thought is at its lowest limit of subordination
in matter. Similarly mass is not noticed in thought, but some
such notions as are associated with mass may be discernible in

242

thought; thus the images of thought are limited, separate, have
movement, and have more or less clear cut forms. The images
do not extend in space, but they can represent space. The translucent
and plastic element of thought (_sattva_) in association with
movement (_rajas_) would have resulted in a simultaneous revelation
of all objects; it is on account of mass or tendency of obstruction
( _tamas_ ) that knowledge proceeds from image to image and discloses things in a successive manner. The buddhi (thought-stuff) holds within it all knowledge immersed as it were in utter darkness, and actual knowledge comes before our view as though by the removal of the darkness or veil, by the reflection of the light of the puru@sa. This characteristic of knowledge, that all its stores are hidden as if lost at any moment, and only one picture or idea comes at a time to the arena of revelation, demonstrates that in knowledge there is a factor of obstruction which manifests itself in its full actuality in gross matter as mass. Thus both thought and gross matter are made up of three elements, a plasticity of intelligence-stuff (_sattva_), energy-stuff (_rajas_), and mass-stuff (_tamas_), or the factor of obstruction. Of these the last two are predominant in gross matter and the first two in thought.

Feelings, the Ultimate Substances [Footnote ref 1].

Another question that arises in this connection is the position of feeling in such an analysis of thought and matter. Samkhya holds that the three characteristic constituents that we have analyzed just now are feeling substances. Feeling is the most interesting side of our consciousness. It is in our feelings that we think of our thoughts as being parts of ourselves. If we should analyze any percept into the crude and undeveloped sensations of which it is composed at the first moment of its appearance, it comes more as a shock than as an image, and we find that it is felt more as a feeling mass than as an image.
Even in our ordinary life the elements which precede an act of knowledge are probably mere feelings. As we go lower down the scale of evolution the automatic actions and relations of matter are concomitant with crude manifestations of feeling which never rise to the level of knowledge. The lower the scale of evolution the less is the keenness of feeling, till at last there comes a stage where matter-complexes do not give rise to feeling reactions but to mere physical reactions. Feelings thus mark the earliest track of consciousness, whether we look at it from the point of view of evolution or of the genesis of consciousness in ordinary life. What we call matter complexes become at a certain stage feeling-complexes and what we call feeling-complexes at a certain stage of descent sink into mere matter-complexes with matter reaction. The feelings are therefore the things-in-themselves, the ultimate substances of which consciousness and gross matter are made up. Ordinarily a difficulty might be felt in taking feelings to be the ultimate substances of which gross matter and thought are made up; for we are more accustomed to take feelings as being merely subjective, but if we remember

[Footnote 1: _Karika_, 12, with Gau@dpada and Naraya@natirtha.]
the Sāmkhya analysis, we find that it holds that thought and
matter are but two different modifications of certain subtle substances
which are in essence but three types of feeling entities.
The three principal characteristics of thought and matter that we
have noticed in the preceding section are but the manifestations
of three types of feeling substances. There is the class of feelings
that we call the sorrowful, there is another class of feelings that
we call pleasurable, and there is still another class which is neither
sorrowful nor pleasurable, but is one of ignorance, depression
(_viśada_) or dullness. Thus corresponding to these three types of
manifestations as pleasure, pain, and dullness, and materially as
shining (_prakāśa_), energy (_pravṛtti_), obstruction (_niyama_), there
are three types of feeling-substances which must be regarded as
the ultimate things which make up all the diverse kinds of gross
matter and thought by their varying modifications.

The Guṇas [Footnote ref 1].

These three types of ultimate subtle entities are technically
called _guṇa_ in Sāmkhya philosophy. Guṇa in Sanskrit has three
meanings, namely (1) quality, (2) rope, (3) not primary. These
entities, however, are substances and not mere qualities. But it
may be mentioned in this connection that in Sāmkhya philosophy
there is no separate existence of qualities; it holds that each
and every unit of quality is but a unit of substance. What
we call quality is but a particular manifestation or appearance
of a subtle entity. Things do not possess quality, but quality
signifies merely the manner in which a substance reacts; any object we see seems to possess many qualities, but the Sa@mkhya holds that corresponding to each and every new unit of quality, however fine and subtle it may be, there is a corresponding subtle entity, the reaction of which is interpreted by us as a quality. This is true not only of qualities of external objects but also of mental qualities as well. These ultimate entities were thus called gu@nas probably to suggest that they are the entities which by their various modifications manifest themselves as gu@nas or qualities. These subtle entities may also be called gu@nas in the sense of ropes because they are like ropes by which the soul is chained down as if it were to thought and matter. These may also be called gu@nas as things of secondary importance, because though permanent and indestructible, they continually suffer modifications and changes by their mutual groupings and re-groupings, and thus not primarily and unalterably constant like the souls (_puru@sa_). Moreover the object of the
world process being the enjoyment and salvation of the purusas, the matter-principle could not naturally be regarded as being of primary importance. But in whatever senses we may be inclined to justify the name guṇa as applied to these subtle entities, it should be borne in mind that they are substantive entities or subtle substances and not abstract qualities. These guṇas are infinite in number, but in accordance with their three main characteristics as described above they have been arranged in three classes or types called sattva (intelligence-stuff), rajas (energy-stuff) and tamas (mass-stuff). An infinite number of subtle substances which agree in certain characteristics of self-shining or plasticity are called the sattva-guṇas and those which behave as units of activity are called the rajo-guṇas and those which behave as factors of obstruction, mass or materiality are called tamo-guṇas. These subtle guṇa substances are united in different proportions (e.g. a larger number of sattva substances with a lesser number of rajas or tamas, or a larger number of tamas substances with a smaller number of rajas and sattva substances and so on in varying proportions), and as a result of this, different substances with different qualities come into being. Though attached to one another when united in different proportions, they mutually act and react upon one another, and thus by their combined resultant produce new characters, qualities and substances. There is however one and only one stage in which the guṇas are not compounded
in varying proportions. In this state each of the gu@na substances is opposed by each of the other gu@na substances, and thus by their equal mutual opposition create an equilibrium, in which none of the characters of the gu@nas manifest themselves. This is a state which is so absolutely devoid of all characteristics that it is absolutely incoherent, indeterminate, and indefinite. It is a qualitiless simple homogeneity. It is a state of being which is as it were non-being. This state of the mutual equilibrium of the gu@nas is called prak@rti [Footnote ref 1]. This is a state which cannot be said either to exist or to non-exist for it serves no purpose, but it is hypothetically the mother of all things. This is however the earliest stage, by the breaking of which, later on, all modifications take place.

Prak@rti and its Evolution.

Sa@mkhya believes that before this world came into being there was such a state of dissolution--a state in which the gu@na compounds had disintegrated into a state of disunion and had by their mutual opposition produced an equilibrium the prak@rti. Then later on disturbance arose in the prak@rti, and as a result of that a process of unequal aggregation of the gu@nas in varying proportions took place, which brought forth the creation of the manifold. Prak@rti, the state of perfect homogeneity and incoherence of the gu@nas, thus gradually evolved and became more and more determinate, differentiated, heterogeneous, and coherent. The gu@nas are always uniting, separating, and uniting again [Footnote ref 2]. Varying
qualities of essence, energy, and mass in varied groupings act on one another and through their mutual interaction and interdependence evolve from the indefinite or qualitatively indeterminate the definite or qualitatively determinate. And though co-operating to produce the world of effects, these diverse moments with diverse tendencies never coalesce. Thus in the phenomenal product whatever energy there is is due to the element of rajas and rajas alone; all matter, resistance, stability, is due to tamas, and all conscious manifestation to sattva. The particular gu@na which happens to be predominant in any phenomenon becomes manifest in that phenomenon and others become latent, though their presence is inferred by their

[Footnote 1: _Yogavarttika_, II. 19, and _Pravacanabha@syā_ l. 61.]

[Footnote 2: _Kaumudi_ 13-16; _Tattvavais'aradi_ II. 20, IV. 13, 14; also _Yogavarttika_, IV. 13,14.]

effect. Thus, for example, in a body at rest mass is patent, energy latent and potentiality of conscious manifestation sublatent. In a moving body, the rajas is predominant (kinetic) and the mass is partially overcome. All these transformations of the groupings of
the guṇas in different proportions presuppose the state of prakṛti as the starting point. It is at this stage that the tendencies to conscious manifestation, as well as the powers of doing work, are exactly counterbalanced by the resistance of inertia or mass, and the process of cosmic evolution is at rest. When this equilibrium is once destroyed, it is supposed that out of a natural affinity of all the sattva reals for themselves, of rajas reals for other reals of their type, of tamas reals for others of their type, there arises an unequal aggregation of sattva, rajas, or tamas at different moments. When one guṇa is preponderant in any particular collocation, the others are co-operant. This evolutionary series beginning from the first disturbance of the prakṛti to the final transformation as the world-order, is subject to "a definite law which it cannot overstep." In the words of Dr B.N.Seal [Footnote ref 1], "the process of evolution consists in the development of the differentiated (_vaiṣamya_) within the undifferentiated (_samyavastha_) of the determinate (_viesa_) within the indeterminate (_avis'esa_) of the coherent (_yutasiddha_) within the incoherent (_ayutasiddha_). The order of succession is neither from parts to whole nor from whole to the parts, but ever from a relatively less differentiated, less determinate, less coherent whole to a relatively more differentiated, more determinate, more coherent whole." The meaning of such an evolution is this, that all the changes and modifications in the shape of the evolving collocations of guṇa reals take place within the body of the prakṛti. Prakṛti consisting of the infinite reals is infinite, and that it has been disturbed does not mean that the whole of it has been disturbed and upset, or that the totality of the guṇas in the prakṛti has been unhinged
from a state of equilibrium. It means rather that a very vast
number of guânas constituting the worlds of thought and matter
has been upset. These guânas once thrown out of balance begin to
group themselves together first in one form, then in another, then
in another, and so on. But such a change in the formation of
aggregates should not be thought to take place in such a way
that the later aggregates appear in supersession of the former ones,
so that when the former comes into being the latter ceases to exist.

[Footnote 1: Dr B.N. Seal's _Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus_,
1915, p.7.]

247

For the truth is that one stage is produced after another; this
second stage is the result of a new aggregation of some of the
reals of the first stage. This deficiency of the reals of the first
stage which had gone forth to form the new aggregate as the
second stage is made good by a refilling from the prakârti. So also,
as the third stage of aggregation takes place from out of the reals
of the second stage, the deficiency of the reals of the second stage
is made good by a refilling from the first stage and that of the
first stage from the prakârti. Thus by a succession of refillings the
process of evolution proceeds, till we come to its last limit, where
there is no real evolution of new substance, but mere chemical
and physical changes of qualities in things which had already
evolved. Evolution (_tattvantarapar@nama_) in Sa@mkhya means the
development of categories of existence and not mere changes of
qualities of substances (physical, chemical, biological or mental).
Thus each of the stages of evolution remains as a permanent
category of being, and offers scope to the more and more differentiated
and coherent groupings of the succeeding stages. Thus
it is said that the evolutionary process is regarded as a differentiation
of new stages as integrated in previous stages (_sa@ms@rstaviveka_).

Pralaya and the disturbance of the Prak@rti Equilibrium.

But how or rather why prak@rti should be disturbed is the most
knotty point in Sa@mkhya. It is postulated that the prak@rti or the
sum-total of the gu@nas is so connected with the puru@sas, and there
is such an inherent teleology or blind purpose in the lifeless prak@rti,
that all its evolution and transformations take place for the sake
of the diverse puru@sas, to serve the enjoyment of pleasures and
sufferance of pain through experiences, and finally leading them
to absolute freedom or mukti. A return of this manifold world
into the quiescent state (_pralaya_) of prak@rti takes place when the
karmas of all puru@sas collectively require that there should be
such a temporary cessation of all experience. At such a moment
the gu@na compounds are gradually broken, and there is a backward
movement (_pratisancara_) till everything is reduced, to the gu@nas in
their elementary disintegrated state when their mutual opposition
brings about their equilibrium. This equilibrium however is not a mere passive state, but one of utmost tension; there is intense activity, but the activity here does not lead to the generation of new things and qualities (_visā曙光parinama_); this course of new production being suspended, the activity here repeats the same state (_sad曙光parinama_) of equilibrium, so that there is no change or new production. The state of pralaya thus is not a suspension of the teleology or purpose of the guṇas, or an absolute break of the course of guṇa evolution; for the state of pralaya, since it has been generated to fulfil the demands of the accumulated karmas of puruṣas, and since there is still the activity of the guṇas in keeping themselves in a state of suspended production, is also a stage of the saṃsara cycle. The state of mukti (liberation) is of course quite different, for in that stage the movement of the guṇas ceases forever with reference to the liberated soul. But still the question remains, what breaks the state of equilibrium? The Saṃkhya answer is that it is due to the transcendental (non-mechanical) influence of the puruṣa [Footnote ref 1]. This influence of the puruṣa again, if it means anything, means that there is inherent in the guṇas a teleology that all their movements or modifications should take place in such a way that these may serve the purposes of the puruṣas. Thus when the karmas of the puruṣas had demanded that there should be a suspension of all experience, for a period there was a pralaya. At the end of it, it is the same inherent purpose
of the prakṛti that wakes it up for the formation of a suitable
world for the experiences of the puruṣas by which its quiescent
state is disturbed. This is but another way of looking at the
inherent teleology of the prakṛti, which demands that a state of
pralaya should cease and a state of world-framing activity should
begin. Since there is a purpose in the guṇas which brought
them to a state of equilibrium, the state of equilibrium also presupposes
that it also may be broken up again when the purpose
so demands. Thus the inherent purpose of the prakṛti brought
about the state of pralaya and then broke it up for the creative
work again, and it is this natural change in the prakṛti that may
be regarded from another point of view as the transcendental
influence of the puruṣas.

Mahat and Āhamkara.

The first evolute of the prakṛti is generated by a preponderance
of the sattva (intelligence-stuff). This is indeed the earliest state
from which all the rest of the world has sprung forth; and it is a
state in which the stuff of sattva predominates. It thus holds

[Footnote 1: The Yoga answer is of course different. It believes that the
disturbance of the equilibrium of prakṛti for new creation takes place by
the will of Is'vara (God).]
within it the minds (_buddhi_) of all puru@sas which were lost in the prak@rti during the pralaya. The very first work of the evolution of prak@rti to serve the puru@sas is thus manifested by the separating out of the old buddhis or minds (of the puru@sas) which hold within themselves the old specific ignorance (_avidya_) inherent in them with reference to each puru@sa with which any particular buddhi is associated from beginningless time before the pralaya. This state of evolution consisting of all the collected minds (buddhi) or all the puru@sas is therefore called _buddhitattva._ It is a state which holds or comprehends within it the buddhis of all individuals. The individual buddhis of individual puru@sas are on one hand integrated with the buddhitattva and on the other associated with their specific puru@sas. When some buddhis once begin to be separated from the prak@rti, other buddhi evolutions take place. In other words, we are to understand that once the transformation of buddhis is effected for the service of the puru@sas, all the other direct transformations that take place from the prak@rti take the same line, i.e. a preponderance of sattva being once created by the bringing out of some buddhis, other transformations of prak@rti that follow them have also the sattva preponderance, which thus have exactly the same composition as the first buddhis. Thus the first transformation from prak@rti becomes buddhi-transformation. This stage of buddhis may thus be regarded as the most universal stage, which comprehends within it
all the buddhis of individuals and potentially all the matter of
which the gross world is formed. Looked at from this point of
view it has the widest and most universal existence comprising
all creation, and is thus called _mahat_ (the great one). It is called
_li@nga_ (sign), as the other later existences or evolutes give us the
ground of inferring its existence, and as such must be distinguished
from the prak@rti which is called _ali@nga_ i.e. of which no
li@nga or characterise may be affirmed.

This mahat-tatva being once produced, further modifications
begin to take place in three lines by three different kinds of
undulations representing the sattva preponderance, rajas preponderance
and tama preponderance. This state when the mahat
is disturbed by the three parallel tendencies of a preponderance of
tamas, rajas and sattva's called _aha@mkara_ and the above three
tendencies are respectively called _tamasika aha@mkara_ or _bhutadi_,
_rajasika_ or _taijasa aha@mkara_, and _vaikarika aha@mkara_. The rajasika
aha@mkara cannot make a new preponderance by itself; it only

helps (_sahakari_) the transformations of the sattva preponderance
and the tama preponderance. The development of the former
preponderance, as is easy to see, is only the assumption of a more
and more determinate character of the buddhi, for we remember
that buddhi itself has been the resulting transformation of a sattva
preponderance. Further development with the help of rajas on
the line of sattva development could only take place when the
buddhi as mind determined itself in specific ways. The first
development of the buddhi on this line is called _sattvika_ or _vaikarika_
aha@mkara_. This aha@mkara represents the development
in buddhi to produce a consciousness-stuff as I or rather "mine,"
and must thus be distinguished from the first stage as buddhi the
function of which is a mere understanding and general datun as
thisness.

The ego or aha@mkara (_abhimanadravya_) is the specific expression
of the general consciousness which takes experience as mine.
The function of the ego is therefore called _abhimana_ (self-assertion).
From this again come the five cognitive senses of vision,
touch, smell, taste, and hearing, the five cognitive senses of speech,
handling, foot-movement, the ejective sense and the generative
sense; the _pra@nas_ (bio-motor force) which help both conation and
cognition are but aspects of buddhi-movement as life. The individual
aha@mkaras and senses are related to the individual buddhis
by the developing sattva determinations from which they had come
into being. Each buddhi with its own group of aka@mkara (ego)
and sense-evolutes thus forms a microcosm separate from similar
other buddhis with their associated groups. So far therefore as
knowledge is subject to sense-influence and the ego, it is different
for each individual, but so far as a general mind (_kara@na buddhi_) 
apt from sense knowledge is concerned, there is a community of
all buddhis in the buddhitattva. Even there however each buddhi
is separated from other buddhis by its own peculiarly associated ignorance (_avidya_). The buddhi and its sattva evolutes of aha@mkara and the senses are so related that though they are different from buddhi in their functions, they are all comprehended in the buddhi, and mark only its gradual differentiations and modes. We must again remember in this connection the doctrine of refilling, for as buddhi exhausts its part in giving rise to aha@mkara, the deficiency of buddhi is made good by prak@rti; again as aha@mkara partially exhausts itself in generating sense-faculties, the deficiency is made good by a refilling from the buddhi. Thus the change and wastage of each of the stadia are always made good and kept constant by a constant refilling from each higher state and finally from prak@rti.

The Tanmatras and the Parama@nus [Footnote ref 1].

The other tendency, namely that of tamas, has to be helped by the liberated rajas of aha@mkara, in order to make itself preponderant, and this state in which the tamas succeeds in overcoming the sattva side which was so preponderant in the buddhi, is called _bhutadi_. From this bhutadi with the help of rajas are generated the _tanmatras_, the immediately preceding causes of the gross elements. The bhutadi thus represents only the intermediate
stage through which the differentiations and regroupings of tamas reals in the mahat proceed for the generation of the tanmatras.

There has been some controversy between Sa@mkhya and Yoga as to whether the tanmatras are generated from the mahat or from aha@mkara. The situation becomes intelligible if we remember that evolution here does not mean coming out or emanation, but increasing differentiation in integration within the evolving whole.

Thus the regroupings of tamas reals marks the differentiation which takes place within the mahat but through its stage as bhutadi. Bhutadi is absolutely homogeneous and inert, devoid of all physical and chemical characters except quantum or mass.

The second stadium tanmatra represents subtle matter, vibratory, impinging, radiant, instinct with potential energy. These "potentials" arise from the unequal aggregation of the original mass-units in different proportions and collocations with an unequal distribution of the original energy (rajas). The tanmatras possess something more than quantum of mass and energy; they possess physical characters, some of them penetrability, others powers of impact or pressure, others radiant heat, others again capability of viscous and cohesive attraction [Footnote ref. 2].

In intimate relation with those physical characters they also possess the potentials of the energies represented by sound, touch, colour, taste, and smell; but, being subtle matter, they are devoid
of the peculiar forms which these "potentials" assume in particles
of gross matter like the atoms and their aggregates. In other
words, the potentials lodged in subtle matter must undergo peculiar
transformations by new groupings or collocations before they can
act as sensory stimuli as gross matter, though in the minutest
particles thereof the sensory stimuli may be infra-sensible (_atindriya_
but not _anudbhuta_) [Footnote ref 1].

Of the tanmatras the _s'abda_ or _akas'a tanmatra_ (the sound-potential)
is first generated directly from the bhutadi. Next
comes the _spars'a_ or the _vayu tanmatra_ (touch-potential) which is
generated by the union of a unit of tamas from bhutadi with the
akas'a tanmatra. The _rupa tanmatra_ (colour-potential) is generated
similarly by the accretion of a unit of tamas from bhutadi; the
_rasa tanmatra_ (taste-potential) or the _ap tunmatra_ is also similarly
formed. This ap tanmatra again by its union with a unit of tamas from bhutadi produces the _gandha tanmatra_ (smell-potential) or the _k@siti tanmatra_ [Footnote ref 2]. The difference of tanmatras or infra-atomic units and atoms (_parama@nu_) is this, that the tanmatras have only the potential power of affecting our senses, which must be grouped and regrouped in a particular form to constitute a new existence as atoms before they can have the power of affecting our senses.

It is important in this connection to point out that the classification of all gross objects as k@siti, ap, tejas, marut and vyoman is not based upon a chemical analysis, but from the points of view of the five senses through which knowledge of them could be brought home to us. Each of our senses can only apprehend a particular quality and thus five different ultimate substances are said to exist corresponding to the five qualities which may be grasped by the five senses. In accordance with the existence of these five elements, the existence of the five potential states or tanmatras was also conceived to exist as the ground of the five gross forms.

The five classes of atoms are generated from the tanmatras as follows: the sound-potential, with accretion of rudiment matter from bhutadi generates the akasa-atom. The touch-potentials combine with the vibratory particles (sound-potential) to generate the
vayu-atom. The light-and-heat potentials combine with touch-potentials and sound-potentials to produce the tejas-atom. The
taste-potentials combine with light-and-heat potentials, touch-potentials and sound-potentials to generate the ap-atom and the smell-potentials combine with the preceding potentials to generate the earth-atom. The akas'a-atom possesses penetrability, the vayu-atom impact or mechanical pressure, the tejas-atom radiant heat and light, the ap-atom viscous attraction and the earth-atom cohesive attraction. The akasa we have seen forms the transition link from the bhutadi to the tanmatra and from the tanmatra to the atomic production; it therefore deserves a special notice at this stage. Sa@mkhya distinguishes between a kara@na-akas'a and karyakas'a. The kara@na-akas'a (non-atomic and all-pervasive) is the formless tamas--the mass in prak@rti or bhutadi; it is indeed all-pervasive, and is not a mere negation, a mere unoccupiedness (_avara@nabhava_) or vacuum [Footnote ref 1]. When energy is first associated with this tamas element it gives rise to the sound-potential; the atomic akas'a is the result of the integration of the
original mass-units from bhutadi with this sound-potential (_s'abda tanmatra_). Such an akas'a-atom is called the karyakas'a; it is formed everywhere and held up in the original kara@na akas'a as the medium for the development of vayu atoms. Being atomic it occupies limited space.

The aha@mkara and the five tanmatras are technically called _avis'e@sa_ or indeterminate, for further determinations or differentiations of them for the formation of newer categories of existence are possible. The eleven senses and the five atoms are called _vis'e@sa_ i.e. determinate, for they cannot further be so determined as to form a new category of existence. It is thus that the course of evolution which started in the prak@rti reaches its furthest limit in the production of the senses on the one side and the atoms on the other. Changes no doubt take place in bodies having atomic constitution, but these changes are changes of quality due to spatial changes in the position of the atoms or to the introduction of new atoms and their re-arrangement. But these are not such that a newer category of existence could be formed by them which was substantially different from the combined atoms.

_________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Dr B.N. Seal in describing this akas'a says "Akas'a corresponds in some respects to the ether of the physicists and in others to what may be called proto-atom (protyle)." Ray's _History
The changes that take place in the atomic constitution of things certainly deserve to be noticed. But before we go on to this, it will be better to enquire about the principle of causation according to which the Sa@mkhya-Yoga evolution should be comprehended or interpreted.

Principle of Causation and Conservation of Energy [Footnote ref 1].

The question is raised, how can the prak@rti supply the deficiencies made in its evolutes by the formation of other evolutes from them? When from mahat some tanmatras have evolved, or when from the tanmatras some atoms have evolved, how can the deficiency in mahat and the tanmatras be made good by the prak@rti?

Or again, what is the principle that guides the transformations that take place in the atomic stage when one gross body, say milk, changes into curd, and so on? Sa@mkhya says that "as the total energy remains the same while the world is constantly evolving, cause and effect are only more or less evolved forms of the same ultimate Energy. The sum of effects exists in the sum of causes
in a potential form. The grouping or collocation alone changes, and this brings on the manifestation of the latent powers of the guṇas, but without creation of anything new. What is called the (material) cause is only the power which is efficient in the production or rather the vehicle of the power. This power is the unmanifested (or potential) form of the Energy set free (_udbhuta-vṛtti_) in the effect. But the concomitant conditions are necessary to call forth the so-called material cause into activity [Footnote ref 2]."

The appearance of an effect (such as the manifestation of the figure of the statue in the marble block by the causal efficiency of the sculptor's art) is only its passage from potentiality to actuality and the concomitant conditions (_sahakari-s'akti_) or efficient cause (_nimitta-karana_, such as the sculptor's art) is a sort of mechanical help or instrumental help to this passage or the transition [Footnote ref 3]. The refilling from prakṛti thus means nothing more than this, that by the inherent teleology of the prakṛti, the reals there are so collocated as to be transformed into mahat as those of the mahat have been collocated to form the bhutadi or the tanmatras.

[Footnote 1: _Vyasabhasya_ and _Yogavarttika_, IV. 3; _Tattvavais'aradi_, IV. 3.]

[Footnote 2: Ray, _History of Hindu Chemistry_, p. 72.]
Yoga however explains this more vividly on the basis of transformation of the liberated potential energy. The sum of material causes potentially contains the energy manifested in the sum of effects. When the effectuating condition is added to the sum of material conditions in a given collocation, all that happens is that a stimulus is imparted which removes the arrest, disturbs the relatively stable equilibrium, and brings on a liberation of energy together with a fresh collocation

As the owner of an adjacent field in transferring water from one field to another of the same or lower level has only to remove the obstructing mud barriers, whereupon the water flows of itself to the other field, so when the efficient or instrumental causes (such as the sculptor's art) remove the barrier inherent in any collocation against its transformation into any other collocation, the energy from that collocation flows out in a corresponding manner and determines the collocation. Thus for example the energy which collocated the milk-atoms to form milk was in a state of arrest in the milk state. If by heat or other causes this barrier is removed, the energy naturally changes direction in a corresponding manner and collocates the atoms accordingly for the formation of curd. So also as soon as the barriers are removed from the prakrti, guided by the constant will of Isvara, the reals
in equilibrium in the state of prakṛti leave their state of arrest
and evolve themselves into mahat, etc.

Change as the formation of new collocations.

It is easy to see from what we have already said that any
collocation of atoms forming a thing could not change its form,
unless the barrier inherent or caused by the formation of the
present collocation could be removed by some other extraneous
instrumental cause. All gross things are formed by the collocation
of the five atoms of kṣiti, ap, tejas, marut, and vyoman. The
difference between one thing and another is simply this, that its
collocation of atoms or the arrangement or grouping of atoms
is different from that in another. The formation of a collocation
has an inherent barrier against any change, which keeps that
collocation in a state of equilibrium, and it is easy to see that
these barriers exist in infinite directions in which all the other
infinite objects of the world exist. From whichever side the barrier
is removed, the energy flows in that direction and helps the

formation of a corresponding object. Provided the suitable barriers
could be removed, anything could be changed into any other thing.
And it is believed that the Yogins can acquire the powers by
which they can remove any barriers, and thus make anything out of
any other thing. But generally in the normal course of events the
line of evolution follows "a definite law which cannot be overstepped"
(_pari@namakramaniyama_) or in other words there are
some natural barriers which cannot be removed, and thus the
evolutionary course has to take a path to the exclusion of those
to lines where the barriers could not be removed. Thus saffron grows
in countries like Kashmere and not in Bengal, this is limitation of
countries (_des'apabandha_); certain kinds of paddy grow in the rainy
season only, this is limitation of season or time (_kalapabandha_);
deer cannot beget men, this is limitation by form (_akarapabandha_);
curd can come out of milk, this is the limitation of causes
(_nimittapabandha_). The evolutionary course can thus follow only that
path which is not barricaded by any of these limitations or natural
obstructions [Footnote ref 1].

Change is taking place everywhere, from the smallest and least
to the highest. Atoms and reals are continually vibrating and
changing places in any and every object. At each moment the
whole universe is undergoing change, and the collocation of atoms
at any moment is different from what it was at the previous
moment. When these changes are perceivable, they are perceived
as _dharmapari@nama_ or changes of _dharma_ or quality; but perceived
or unperceived the changes are continually going on. This
change of appearance may be viewed from another aspect by
virtue of which we may call it present or past, and old or new,
and these are respectively called the _lak@sa@napari@nama_ and
_avasthapari@nama_. At every moment every object of the world is
undergoing evolution or change, change as past, present and future,
as new, old or unborn. When any change is in a potential state
we call it future, when manifested present, when it becomes sub-latent
again it is said to be past. Thus it is that the potential,
manifest, and sub-latent changes of a thing are called future,
present and past [Footnote ref 2].

[Footnote 1: _Vyasabha@syas, Tattvavais'aradi_ and _Yogavarttika_, III. 14.]

[Footnote 2: It is well to note in this connection that Sa@mkhya-yoga does
not admit the existence of time as an independent entity like the
Nyaya-Vais'e@sika. Time represents the order of moments in which the mind
grasps the phenomenal changes. It is hence a construction of the mind
(_buddhi-nirma@na_). The time required by an atom to move its own measure
of space is called a moment (_k@sa@na_) or one unit of time. Vijnana
Bhik@su regards one unit movement of the gu@nas or reals as a moment. When
by true wisdom the gu@nas are perceived as they are both the illusory
notions of time and space vanish. _Vyasabha@syas, Tattvavais'aradi_, and
_Yogavarttika_, III. 52 and III. 13.]
exists before it is generated by the movement of the cause).

The above consideration brings us to an important aspect of the Saṁkhya view of causation as _satkaryavada_. Saṁkhya holds that there can be no production of a thing previously non-existent; causation means the appearance or manifestation of a quality due to certain changes of collocations in the causes which were already held in them in a potential form. Production of effect only means an internal change of the arrangement of atoms in the cause, and this exists in it in a potential form, and just a little loosening of the barrier which was standing in the way of the happening of such a change of arrangement will produce the desired new collocation--the effect. This doctrine is called _satkaryavada_, i.e. that the karya or effect is _sat_ or existent even before the causal operation to produce the effect was launched. The oil exists in the sesarnum, the statue in the stone, the curd in the milk, The causal operation (_karakaiyapara_) only renders that manifest (_avirbhuta_) which was formerly in an unmanifested condition (_tirohita_) [Footnote ref 1].

The Buddhists also believed in change, as much as Saṁkhya did, but with them there was no background to the change; every change was thus absolutely a new one, and when it was past, the next moment the change was lost absolutely. There were only the passing dharmas or manifestations of forms and qualities, but there was no permanent underlying dharma or substance. Saṁkhya also holds in the continual change of dharmas,
but it also holds that these dharmas represent only the conditions of the permanent reals. The conditions and collocations of the reals change constantly, but the reals themselves are unchangeable.

The effect according to the Buddhists was non-existent, it came into being for a moment and was lost. On account of this theory of causation and also on account of their doctrine of s'unya, they were called _vainas'ikas_ (nihilists) by the Vedantins. This doctrine is therefore contrasted to Sa@mkhya doctrine as _asatkaryavada._

[Footnote 1: _Tattvakaumudi,_ 9.]

The jain view holds that both these views are relatively true and that from one point of view satkaryavada is true and from another asatkaryavada. The Sa@mkhya view that the cause is continually transforming itself into its effects is technically called _pari@namavada_ as against the Vedanta view called the _vivarttavada_: that cause remains ever the same, and what we call effects are but illusory impositions of mere unreal appearance of name and form--mere Maya [Footnote ref. 1].

Sa@mkhya Atheism and Yoga Theism.
Granted that the interchange of the positions of the infinite number of reals produce all the world and its transformations; whence comes this fixed order of the universe, the fixed order of cause and effect, the fixed order of the so-called barriers which prevent the transformation of any cause into any effect or the first disturbance of the equilibrium of the prak@rti? Sa@mkhya denies the existence of Is'vara (God) or any other exterior influence, and holds that there is an inherent tendency in these reals which guides all their movements. This tendency or teleology demands that the movements of the reals should be in such a manner that they may render some service to the souls either in the direction of enjoyment or salvation. It is by the natural course of such a tendency that prak@rti is disturbed, and the gu@nas develop on two lines--on the mental plane, _citta_ or mind comprising the sense faculties, and on the objective plane as material objects; and it is in fulfilment of the demands of this tendency that on the one hand take place subjective experiences as the changes of the buddhi and on the other the infinite modes of the changes of objective things. It is this tendency to be of service to the puru@sas (_puru@sartha_) that guides all the movements of the reals, restrains all disorder, renders the world a fit object of experience, and finally rouses them to turn back from the world and seek to attain liberation from the association of prak@rti and its gratuitous service, which causes us all this trouble of sa@msara.

Yoga here asks, how the blind tendency of the non-intelligent
prakṛti can bring forth this order and harmony of the universe,
how can it determine what course of evolution will be of the best
service to the puruṣas, how can it remove its own barriers and
lend itself to the evolutionary process from the state of prakṛti
equilibrium? How too can this blind tendency so regulate the
evolutionary order that all men must suffer pains according to
their bad karmas, and happiness according to their good ones?
There must be some intelligent Being who should help the course
of evolution in such a way that this system of order and harmony
may be attained. This Being is Is'vara. Is'vara is a puruṣa who
had never been subject to ignorance, afflictions, or passions. His
body is of pure sattva quality which can never be touched by
ignorance. He is all knowledge and all powerful. He has a permanent
wish that those barriers in the course of the evolution of
the reals by which the evolution of the guṇas may best serve the
double interest of the puruṣa’s experience (_bhoga_) and liberation
(_apavarga_) should be removed. It is according to this permanent
will of Is'vara that the proper barriers are removed and the
guṇas follow naturally an intelligent course of evolution for the
service of the best interests of the puruṣas. Is'vara has not created
the prakṛti; he only disturbs the equilibrium of the prakṛti in its
quiescent state, and later on helps it to follow an intelligent order
by which the fruits of karma are properly distributed and the order
of the world is brought about. This acknowledgement of Is'vara
in Yoga and its denial by Saṅkhya marks the main theoretic
difference between the two according to which the Yoga and
Saṅkhya are distinguished as Ses'vara Saṅkhya (Saṅkhya with
Is'vara) and Niris'vara Saṅkhya (Atheistic Saṅkhya) [Footnote ref 1].

Buddhi and Puruṣa.

The question again arises that though puruṣa is pure intelligence,
the guṇas are non-intelligent subtle substances, how
can the latter come into touch with the former? Moreover,
the puruṣa is pure inactive intelligence without any touch of
impurity and what service or need can such a puruṣa have of
the guṇas? This difficulty is anticipated by Saṅkhya, which has
already made room for its answer by assuming that one class of
the guṇas called sattva is such that it resembles the purity and
the intelligence of the puruṣa to a very high degree, so much so
that it can reflect the intelligence of the puruṣa, and thus render
its non-intelligent transformations to appear as if they were intelligent.
Thus all our thoughts and other emotional or volitional
operations are really the non-intelligent transformations of the
buddhi or citta having a large sattva preponderance; but by virtue
of the reflection of the puruṣa in the buddhi, these appear as if
they are intelligent. The self (puruṣa) according to Sāmkhya-Yoga
is not directly demonstrated by self-consciousness. Its
existence is a matter of inference on teleological grounds and
grounds of moral responsibility. The self cannot be directly
noticed as being separate from the buddhi modifications. Through
beginningless ignorance there is a confusion and the changing
states of buddhi are regarded as conscious. These buddhi changes
are further so associated with the reflection of the puruṣa in the
buddhi that they are interpreted as the experiences of the puruṣa.
This association of the buddhi with the reflection of the puruṣa
in the buddhi has such a special fitness (yogyata) that it is interpreted
as the experience of the puruṣa. This explanation of
Vacaspati of the situation is objected to by Vijnana Bhikṣu.

Vijnana Bhikṣu says that the association of the buddhi with the image of the puruṣa cannot give us the notion of a real person who undergoes the experiences. It is to be supposed therefore that when the buddhi is intelligized by the reflection of the puruṣa, it is then superimposed upon the puruṣa, and we have the notion of an abiding person who experiences [Footnote ref 1]. Whatever may be the explanation, it seems that the union of the buddhi with the puruṣa is somewhat mystical. As a result of this reflection of _cit_ on buddhi and the superimposition of the buddhi the puruṣa cannot realize that the transformations of the buddhi are not its own. Buddhī resembles puruṣa in transparency, and the puruṣa fails to differentiate itself from the modifications of the buddhi, and as a result of this non-distinction the puruṣa becomes bound down to the buddhi, always failing to recognize the truth that the buddhi and its transformations are wholly alien to it. This non-distinction of puruṣa from buddhi which is itself a mode of buddhi is what is meant by _avidya_ (non-knowledge) in Saṁkhya, and is the root of all experience and all misery [Footnote ref 2].

[Footnote 1: _Tattvavaiśaradī_ and _Yogavarttika_, I. 4.]

[Footnote 2: This indicates the nature of the analysis of illusion with Saṁkhya. It is the non-apprehension of the distinction of two things]
(e.g. the snake and the rope) that is the cause of illusion; it is
therefore called the _akhyati_ (non-apprehension) theory of illusion
which must be distinguished from the _anyathakhyati_ (misapprehension)
theory of illusion of Yoga which consists in positively misapprehending
one (e.g. the rope) for the other (e.g. snake). _Yogavarttika._ I. 8.]

261

Yoga holds a slightly different view and supposes that the
puru@sa not only fails to distinguish the difference between itself
and the buddhi but positively takes the transformations of
buddhi as its own. It is no non-perception of the difference
but positively false knowledge, that we take the puru@sa to be
that which it is not (_anyathakhyati_). It takes the changing,
impure, sorrowful, and objective prak@rti or buddhi to be the
changeless, pure, happiness-begetting subject. It wrongly thinks
buddhi to be the self and regards it as pure, permanent and
capable of giving us happiness. This is the avidya of Yoga.
A buddhi associated with a puru@sa is dominated by such an
avidya, and when birth after birth the same buddhi is associated
with the same puru@sa, it cannot easily get rid of this avidya.
If in the meantime pralaya takes place, the buddhi is submerged
in the prak@rti, and the avidya also sleeps with it. When at the
beginning of the next creation the individual buddhis associated
with the puru@sas emerge, the old avidyas also become manifest
by virtue of it and the buddhis associate themselves with the
puru@sas to which they were attached before the pralaya. Thus
proceeds the course of sa@msara. When the avidya of a person is rooted out by the rise of true knowledge, the buddhi fails to attach itself to the puru@sa and is forever dissociated from it, and this is the state of mukti.

The Cognitive Process and some characteristics of Citta.

It has been said that buddhi and the internal objects have evolved in order to giving scope to the experience of the puru@sa.

What is the process of this experience? Sa@mkhya (as explained by Vacaspati) holds that through the senses the buddhi comes into touch with external objects. At the first moment of this touch there is an indeterminate consciousness in which the particulars of the thing cannot be noticed. This is called _nirvikalpa pratyak@sa_ (indeterminate perception). At the next moment by the function of the _sa@mkalpa_ (synthesis) and _vikalpa_ (abstraction or imagination) of manas (mind-organ) the thing is perceived in all its determinate character; the manas differentiates, integrates, and associates the sense-data received through the senses, and thus generates the determinate perception, which when intelligized by the puru@sa and associated with it becomes interpreted as the experience of the person. The action of the senses, ahamkara, and buddhi, may take place sometimes successively and at other
times as in cases of sudden fear simultaneously. Vijnana Bhikṣu differs from this view of Vacaspati, and denies the synthetic activity of the mind-organ (manas), and says that the buddhi directly comes into touch with the objects through the senses. At the first moment of touch the perception is indeterminate, but at the second moment it becomes clear and determinate [Footnote ref 1]. It is evident that on this view the importance of manas is reduced to a minimum and it is regarded as being only the faculty of desire, doubt and imagination.

Buddhi, including ahamkara and the senses, often called _citta_ in Yoga, is always incessantly suffering changes like the flame of a lamp, it is made up of a large preponderance of the pure sattva substances, and is constantly moulding itself from one content to another. These images by the dual reflection of buddhi and puruṣa are constantly becoming conscious, and are being interpreted as the experiences of a person. The existence of the puruṣa is to be postulated for explaining the illumination of consciousness and for explaining experience and moral endeavour. The buddhi is spread all over the body, as it were, for it is by its functions that the life of the body is kept up; for the Saṃkhya does not admit any separate prana vayu (vital breath) to keep the body living. What are called _vayus_ (bio-motor force) in Vedanta are but the different modes of operation of this category of buddhi, which acts all through the body and by its diverse movements performs the life-functions and sense-functions of the body.
[Footnote 1: As the contact of the buddhi with the external objects takes place through the senses, the sense data of colours, etc., are modified by the senses if they are defective. The spatial qualities of things are however perceived by the senses directly, but the time-order is a scheme of the citta or the buddhi. Generally speaking Yoga holds that the external objects are faithfully copied by the buddhi in which they are reflected, like trees in a lake

"_tasims'ca darpane sphare samasta vastudrstayah
imastah pratibimbanti sarasiva tatadrumah_" _Yogavarttika_, I. 4.

The buddhi assumes the form of the object which is reflected on it by the senses, or rather the mind flows out through the senses to the external objects and assumes their forms: "_indriyanye pranalika cittasancaranamargah taiah samyujya tadgola kadvara bahyavastusuparaktasya cittasyendryasahityenaivarthakarah parinamo bhavati_" _Yogavarttika_, I.

VI. 7. Contrast _Tattvakaumudi_, 27 and 30.]

Apart from the perceptions and the life-functions, buddhi, or rather citta as Yoga describes it, contains within it the root impressions (_sa@mskaras_) and the tastes and instincts or tendencies
of all past lives (\_vasana\_) [Footnote ref 1]. These sa@mskaras are revived under suitable associations. Every man had had infinite numbers of births in their past lives as man and as some animal. In all these lives the same citta was always following him. The citta has thus collected within itself the instincts and tendencies of all those different animal lives. It is knotted with these vasanas like a net. If a man passes into a dog life by rebirth, the vasanas of a dog life, which the man must have had in some of his previous infinite number of births, are revived, and the man's tendencies become like those of a dog. He forgets the experiences of his previous life and becomes attached to enjoyment in the manner of a dog. It is by the revival of the vasana suitable to each particular birth that there cannot be any collision such as might have occurred if the instincts and tendencies of a previous dog-life were active when any one was born as man.

The sa@mskaras represent the root impressions by which any habit of life that man has lived through, or any pleasure in which he took delight for some time, or any passions which were

[Footnote 1: The word sa@mskara is used by Pa@nini who probably preceded Buddha in three different senses (1) improving a thing as distinguished from generating a new quality (\_Sata utkar@sadhana@m sa@mskara@h\_, Kas'ila on Pa@nini, VI. ii. 16), (2) conglomeration or aggregation, and]
adornment (Pāṇini, VI. i. 137, 138). In the Pitakas the word saṅkhara is used in various senses such as constructing, preparing, perfecting, embellishing, aggregation, matter, karma, the skandhas (collected by Childers). In fact saṅkhara stands for almost anything of which impermanence could be predicated. But in spite of so many diversities of meaning I venture to suggest that the meaning of aggregation (samavaya of Pāṇini) is prominent. The word _saṃskaroti_ is used in Kauśitaki, II. 6, Chandogya IV. xvi. 2, 3, 4, viii. 8, 5, and Brhadāraṇyaka, VI. iii. 1, in the sense of improving. I have not yet come across any literary use of the second meaning in Sanskrit. The meaning of saṃskara in Hindu philosophy is altogether different. It means the impressions (which exist subconsciously in the mind) of the objects experienced. All our experiences whether cognitive, emotional or conative exist in subconscious states and may under suitable conditions be reproduced as memory (smṛti). The word vasana (_Yoga sutra_, IV. 24) seems to be a later word. The earlier Upanishads do not mention it and so far as I know it is not mentioned in the Pali pitakas. _Abhidhanappadipika_ of Moggallana mentions it, and it occurs in the Muktika Upanisad. It comes from the root "_vas_" to stay. It is often loosely used in the sense of saṃskara, and in _Vyasabhaṭṭa_ they are identified in IV. 9. But vasana generally refers to the tendencies of past lives most of which lie dormant in the mind. Only those appear which can find scope in this life. But saṃskaras are the sub-conscious states which are being constantly generated by experience. Vasanas are innate saṃskaras not acquired in this life. See _Vyasabhaṭṭa, Tattvavaiśaradi_ and _Yogavarttika_, II. 13.}
engrossing to him, tend to be revived, for though these might not now be experienced, yet the fact that they were experienced before has so moulded and given shape to the citta that the citta will try to reproduce them by its own nature even without any such effort on our part. To safeguard against the revival of any undesirable idea or tendency it is therefore necessary that its roots as already left in the citta in the form of sa@mskaras should be eradicated completely by the formation of the habit of a contrary tendency, which if made sufficiently strong will by its own sa@mskara naturally stop the revival of the previous undesirable sa@mskaras.

Apart from these the citta possesses volitional activity (ce@s@ta) by which the conative senses are brought into relation to their objects. There is also the reserved potent power (s’akti) of citta, by which it can restrain itself and change its courses or continue to persist in any one direction. These characteristics are involved in the very essence of citta, and form the groundwork of the Yoga method of practice, which consists in steadying a particular state of mind to the exclusion of others.

Merit or demerit (_pu@nya, papa_) also is imbedded in the citta as its tendencies, regulating the mode of its movements, and giving pleasures and pains in accordance with it.
Sorrow and its Dissolution [Footnote ref 1].

Sâmkhya and the Yoga, like the Buddhists, hold that all experience is sorrowful. Tamas, we know, represents the pain substance. As tamas must be present in some degree in all combinations, all intellectual operations are fraught with some degree of painful feeling. Moreover even in states of temporary pleasure, we had sorrow at the previous moment when we had solicited it, and we have sorrow even when we enjoy it, for we have the fear that we may lose it. The sum total of sorrows is thus much greater than the pleasures, and the pleasures only strengthen the keenness of the sorrow. The wiser the man the greater is his capacity of realizing that the world and our experiences are all full of sorrow. For unless a man is convinced of this great truth that all is sorrow, and that temporary pleasures, whether generated by ordinary worldly experience or by enjoying heavenly experiences through the performance of Vedic sacrifices, are quite unable to

[Footnote 1: Tattvais'aradi and Yogavarttika, II. 15, and Tattvakaumudi, I.]

265
eradicate the roots of sorrow, he will not be anxious for mukti or
the final uprooting of pains. A man must feel that all pleasures
lead to sorrow, and that the ordinary ways of removing
sorrows by seeking enjoyment cannot remove them ultimately;
he must turn his back on the pleasures of the world and on the
pleasures of paradise. The performances of sacrifices according
to the Vedic rites may indeed give happiness, but as these involve
the sacrifice of animals they must involve some sins and hence also
some pains. Thus the performance of these cannot be regarded
as desirable. It is when a man ceases from seeking pleasures
that he thinks how best he can eradicate the roots of sorrow.
Philosophy shows how extensive is sorrow, why sorrow comes,
what is the way to uproot it, and what is the state when it is
uprooted. The man who has resolved to uproot sorrow turns to
philosophy to find out the means of doing it.

The way of eradicating the root of sorrow is thus the practical
enquiry of the Sa@mkhya philosophy [Footnote ref 1]. All experiences are
sorrow. Therefore some means must be discovered by which all experiences
may be shut out for ever. Death cannot bring it, for after
death we shall have rebirth. So long as citta (mind) and puru@sa
are associated with each other, the sufferings will continue.
Citta must be dissociated from puru@sa. Citta or buddhi, Sa@mkhya
says, is associated with puru@sa because of the non-distinction
of itself from buddhi [Footnote ref 2]. It is necessary therefore that in
buddhi we should be able to generate the true conception of the
nature of puru@sa; when this true conception of puru@sa arises in
the buddhi it feels itself to be different, and distinct, from
and quite unrelated to puru@sa, and thus ignorance is destroyed. As
a result of that, buddhi turns its back on puru@sa and can no
longer bind it to its experiences, which are all irrevocably connected
with sorrow, and thus the puru@sa remains in its true
form. This according to Sa@mkhya philosophy is alone adequate
to being about the liberation of the puru@sa. Prak@rti which was
leading us through cycles of experiences from birth to birth, fulfils
its final purpose when this true knowledge arises differentiating

[Footnote 1: Yoga puts it in a slightly modified form. Its object is the
cessation of the rebirth-process which is so much associated with sorrow
{ _du@hkhabahla@h sa@msarah heya@h _} ]

[Footnote 2: The word _citta_ is a Yoga term. It is so called because it is
the repository of all sub-conscious states. Samkhyn generally uses, the
word buddhi. Both the words mean the same substance, the mind, but they
emphasize its two different functions. Buddhi means intellection.

266

puru@sa from prak@rti. This final purpose being attained the
prakṛti can never again bind the purusa with reference to whom this right knowledge was generated; for other puruṣas however the bondage remains as before, and they continue their experiences from one birth to another in an endless cycle.

Yoga, however, thinks that mere philosophy is not sufficient. In order to bring about liberation it is not enough that a true knowledge differentiating puruṣa and buddhi should arise, but it is necessary that all the old habits of experience of buddhi, all its samskaras should be once for all destroyed never to be revived again. At this stage the buddhi is transformed into its purest state, reflecting steadily the true nature of the puruṣa. This is the _kevala_ (oneness) state of existence after which (all saṃskaras, all avidya being altogether uprooted) the citta is impotent any longer to hold on to the puruṣa, and like a stone hurled from a mountain top, gravitates back into the prakṛti [Footnote ref 1]. To destroy the old saṃskaras, knowledge alone not being sufficient, a graduated course of practice is necessary. This graduated practice should be so arranged that by generating the practice of living higher and better modes of life, and steadying the mind on its subtler states, the habits of ordinary life may be removed. As the yogin advances he has to give up what he had adopted as good and try for that which is still better. Continuing thus he reaches the state when the buddhi is in its ultimate perfection and purity. At this stage the buddhi assumes the form of the puruṣa, and final liberation takes place.
Karmas in Yoga are divided into four classes: (1) _s'ukla_ or white (_pu@nya_, those that produce happiness), (2) _k@r@s@na_ or black (_papa_, those that produce sorrow), (3) _s'ukla-k@r@s@na_ (_pu@nya-papa_, most of our ordinary actions are partly virtuous and partly vicious as they involve, if not anything else, at least the death of many insects), (4) _as'uklak@r@s@na_ (those inner acts of self-abnegation, and meditation which are devoid of any fruits as pleasures or pains).

All external actions involve some sins, for it is difficult to work in the world and avoid taking the lives of insects [Footnote ref 2]. All karmas

[Footnote 1: Both Sa@mkhya and Yoga speak of this emancipated state a _Kaivalya_ (alone-ness), the former because all sorrows have been absolutely uprooted, never to grow up again and the latter because at this state puru@sa remains for ever alone without any association with buddhi, see _Sa@mkhya karika_, 68 and _Yoga sutras_, IV. 34.]

[Footnote 2: _Vyasabha@syas_and _Tattvavais'aradi_, IV. 7.]

267

proceed from the five-fold afflictions (_kles'as_), namely _avidya, asmita, raga, dve@sa_ and _abhinives'a_.

---

[Page 517 / 926]
We have already noticed what was meant by avidya. It consists generally in ascribing intelligence to buddhi, in thinking it as permanent and leading to happiness. This false knowledge while remaining in this form further manifests itself in the other four forms of asmita, etc. Asmita means the thinking of worldly objects and our experiences as really belonging to us—the sense of "mine" or "I" to things that really are the qualities or transformations of the gu@nas. Raga means the consequent attachment to pleasures and things. Dve@sa means aversion or antipathy to unpleasant things. Abhinives'a is the desire for life or love of life—the will to be. We proceed to work because we think our experiences to be our own, our body to be our own, our family to be our own, our possessions to be our own; because we are attached to these; because we feel great antipathy against any mischief that might befall them, and also because we love our life and always try to preserve it against any mischief. These all proceed, as is easy to see, from their root avidya, which consists in the false identification of buddhi with puru@sa. These five, avidya, asmita, raga, dve@sa and abhinives'a, permeate our buddhi, and lead us to perform karma and to suffer. These together with the performed karmas which lie inherent in the buddhi as a particular mode of it transmigrate with the buddhi from birth to birth, and it is hard to get rid of them [Footnote ref 1]. The karma in the aspect in which it lies in the buddhi as a mode or modification of it is called _karmas'aya_. (the bed of karma for the puru@sa to lie in). We perform a karma actuated by the vicious tendencies (_kles'a_) of the buddhi. The karma when thus performed leaves its stain or
modification on the buddhi, and it is so ordained according to the
teleology of the prakṛti and the removal of obstacles in the course
of its evolution in accordance with it by the permanent will of
Is'vara that each vicious action brings sufferance and a virtuous
one pleasure.

The karmas performed in the present life will generally accumulate,
and when the time for giving their fruits comes, such
a life is ordained for the person, such a body is made ready for
him according to the evolution of prakṛti as shall make it possible
for him to suffer or enjoy the fruits thereof. The karma of the

[Footnote 1: _Vyasabha@syā_ and _Tattvavais'aradi_, II. 3-9.]

present life thus determines the particular kind of future birth
(as this or that animal or man), the period of life (_ayu@ś_) and the
painful or pleasurable experiences (_bhoga_) destined for that life.

Exceedingly good actions and extremely bad actions often produce
their effects in this life. It may also happen that a man has
done certain bad actions, for the realization of the fruits of which
he requires a dog-life and good actions for the fruits of which
he requires a man-life. In such cases the good action may remain
in abeyance and the man may suffer the pains of a dog-life first
and then be born again as a man to enjoy the fruits of his good
actions. But if we can remove ignorance and the other afflictions,
all his previous unfulfilled karmas are for ever lost and cannot
again be revived. He has of course to suffer the fruits of those
karmas which have already ripened. This is the _jivanmukti_ stage,
when the sage has attained true knowledge and is yet suffering
mundane life in order to experience the karmas that have already
ripened (_ti@s@thati sa@mskaravas'at cakrabhramivaddh@rtas'arira@h_).

Citta.

The word Yoga which was formerly used in Vedic literature
in the sense of the restraint of the senses is used by Patanjali in
his _Yoga sutra_ in the sense of the partial or full restraint or
steadying of the states of citta. Some sort of concentration may
be brought about by violent passions, as when fighting against
a mortal enemy, or even by an ignorant attachment or instinct.
The citta which has the concentration of the former type is called
_k@sipta_ (wild) and of the latter type _pramu@dha_ (ignorant). There
is another kind of citta, as with all ordinary people, in which
concentration is only possible for a time, the mind remaining
steady on one thing for a short time leaves that off and clings to
another thing and so on. This is called the _vik@sipta_ (unsteady)
stage of mind (_cittabhumi_). As distinguished from these there is
an advanced stage of citta in which it can concentrate steadily on
an object for a long time. This is the _ekagra_ (one-pointed) stage.

There is a still further advanced stage in which the citta processes are absolutely stopped. This happens immediately before mukti, and is called the _nirvada_ (cessation) state of citta. The purpose of Yoga is to achieve the conditions of the last two stages of citta.

The cittas have five processes (_vrtti_), (1) _prama na_ [Footnote ref 1] (valid

[Footnote 1: Sa@mkhya holds that both validity and invalidity of any cognition depend upon the cognitive state itself and not on correspondence with external facts or objects (_svatah prama@nya@m svatah aprama@nya@m_). The contribution of Sa@mkhya to the doctrine of inference is not definitely known. What little Vacaspati says on the subject has been borrowed from Vatsyayana such as the _purvavat, s'e@savat_ and _samanyatodr@sa@ta_ types of inference, and these may better be consulted in our chapter on Nyaya or in the Tatparya@tika_ of Vacaspati. Sa@mkhya inference was probably from particular to particular on the ground of seven kinds of relations according to which they had seven kinds of inference "_matranimittasa@myogivrodhisahacaribhi@h. Svasvamibadhyaghatadyai@h sa@mkhya@m saptadhanuma_" (_Tatparya@tika_, p. 109). Sa@mkhya definition of inference as given by Udyotakara (I.I. V) is "_sambandhadekasmat pratyak@sa@che@sasiddhiranumanam_"]
cognitive states such as are generated by perception, inference
and scriptural testimony), (2) _viparyaya_ (false knowledge, illusion,
etc.), (3) _vikalpa_ (abstraction, construction and different kinds of
imagination), (4) _nidra_ (sleep, is a vacant state of mind, in which
tamas tends to predominate), (5) _sm@rti_ (memory).

These states of mind (_v@rtti_) comprise our inner experience.
When they lead us towards sa@msara into the course of passions
and their satisfactions, they are said to be _kli@s@ta_ (afflicted or
leading to affliction); when they lead us towards liberation, they
are called _akli@s@ta_ (unafflicted). To whichever side we go, towards
sa@msara or towards mukti, we have to make use of our states of
mind; the states which are bad often alternate with good states,
and whichever state should tend towards our final good (liberation)
must be regarded as good.

This draws attention to that important characteristic of citta,
that it sometimes tends towards good (i.e. liberation) and sometimes
towards bad (sa@msara). It is like a river, as the _Vyasabha@syay_
says, which flows both ways, towards sin and towards the
good. The teleology of prak@rti requires that it should produce
in man the sa@msara as well as the liberation tendency.
Thus in accordance with it in the midst of many bad thoughts and bad habits there come good moral will and good thoughts, and in the midst of good thoughts and habits come also bad thoughts and vicious tendencies. The will to be good is therefore never lost in man, as it is an innate tendency in him which is as strong as his desire to enjoy pleasures. This point is rather remarkable, for it gives us the key of Yoga ethics and shows that our desire of liberation is not actuated by any hedonistic attraction for happiness or even removal of pain, but by an innate tendency of the mind to follow the path of liberation.

[Footnote ref 1: Removal of pains]

[Footnote 1: Sa@mkhya however makes the absolute and complete destruction of three kinds of sorrows, _adhyatmika_ (generated internally by the illness of the body or the unsatisfied passions of the mind), _adhibhautika_ (generated externally by the injuries inflicted by other men, beasts, etc.) and _adhidaivika_ (generated by the injuries inflicted by demons and ghosts) the object of all our endeavours (_puru@sartha_).]
tendency of the mind. Man has power (_s'akti_) stored up in his
citta, and he has to use it in such a way that this tendency may
gradually grow stronger and stronger and ultimately uproot the
other. He must succeed in this, since prak@rti wants liberation for
her final realization [Footnote ref 1].

Yoga Purificatory Practices (Parikarma).

The purpose of Yoga meditation is to steady the mind on
the gradually advancing stages of thoughts towards liberation,
so that vicious tendencies may gradually be more and more
weakened and at last disappear altogether. But before the mind
can be fit for this lofty meditation, it is necessary that it should
be purged of ordinary impurities. Thus the intending yogin
should practise absolute non-injury to all living beings (_ahi@msa_),
absolute and strict truthfulness (_satya_), non-stealing (_asteya_),
absolute sexual restraint (_brahmacarya_) and the acceptance of
nothing but that which is absolutely necessary (_aparigraha_).
These are collectively called _yama_. Again side by side with these
abstinences one must also practise external cleanliness by ablutions
and inner cleanliness of the mind, contentment of mind, the
habit of bearing all privations of heat and cold, or keeping the
body unmoved and remaining silent in speech (_tapas_), the study
of philosophy (_svadhyaya_) and meditation on Is'vara
(_Is'varapra@nidhana_). These are collectively called _niyamas_.
To these are also to be added certain other moral disciplines such as
_pratipak@sa-bhavana, maitri, karu@na, mudita_ and _upek@sa_.

---

---
Pratipaksa-bhavana means that whenever a bad thought (e.g. selfish motive) may come one should practise the opposite good thought (self-sacrifice); so that the bad thoughts may not find any scope. Most of our vices are originated by our unfriendly relations with our fellow-beings. To remove these the practice of mere abstinence may not be sufficient, and therefore one should habituate the mind to keep itself in positive good relations with our fellow-beings. The practice of maitri means to think of all beings as friends. If we continually habituate ourselves to think this, we can never be displeased with them. So too one should practise karuna or kindly feeling for sufferers, mudita

____________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See my "Yoga Psychology," _Quest_, October, 1921.]

271

or a feeling of happiness for the good of all beings, and upeksha
or a feeling of equanimity and indifference for the vices of others.
The last one indicates that the yogin should not take any note of the vices of vicious men.

When the mind becomes disinclined to all worldly pleasures (_vairagya_) and to all such as are promised in heaven by the performances
of Vedic sacrifices, and the mind purged of its dross
and made fit for the practice of Yoga meditation, the yogin may
attain liberation by a constant practice (_abhyasa_) attended with
faith, confidence (_s'raddha_), strength of purpose and execution
(_virya_) arid wisdom (_prajna_) attained at each advance.

The Yoga Meditation.

When the mind has become pure the chances of its being
ruffled by external disturbances are greatly reduced. At such
a stage the yogin takes a firm posture (_asana_) and fixes his mind
on any object he chooses. It is, however, preferable that he should
fix it on Is'vara, for in that case Is'vara being pleased removes
many of the obstacles in his path, and it becomes easier for
him to attain success. But of course he makes his own choice,
and can choose anything he likes for the unifying concentration
(_samadhi_) of his mind. There are four states of this unifying
concentration namely _vitarka, vicara, ananda_ and _asmita_. Of
these vitarka and vicara have each two varieties, _savitaruka, nirvitarka,
savicara, nirvicara_ [Footnote ref 1]. When the mind concentrates on
objects, remembering their names and qualities, it is called the savitaruka
stage; when on the five tanmatras with a remembrance of their
qualities it is called savicara, and when it is one with the tanmatras
without any notion of their qualities it is called nirvicara.
Higher than these are the ananda and the asmita states. In the
ananda state the mind concentrates on the buddhi with its functions
of the senses causing pleasure. In the asmita stage buddhi
concentrates on pure substance as divested of all modifications.

In all these stages there are objects on which the mind
consciously concentrates, these are therefore called the _samprajnata_
(with knowledge of objects) types of samadhi. Next to this comes
the last stage of samadhi called the _asamprajnata_ or nirodha
samadhi, in which the mind is without any object. By remaining

[Footnote 1: Vacaspati, however, thinks that ananda and asmita have also
two other varieties, which is denied by Bhikṣu.]

long in this stage the old potencies (saṃskaras) or impressions
due to the continued experience of worldly events tending towards
the objective world or towards any process of experiencing inner
thinking are destroyed by the production of a strong habit of the
nirodha state. At this stage dawns the true knowledge, when the
buddhi becomes as pure as the puruṣa, and after that the citta not
being able to bind the puruṣa any longer returns back to prakṛti.

In order to practise this concentration one has to see that
there may be no disturbance, and the yogin should select a
quiet place on a hill or in a forest. One of the main obstacles
is, however, to be found in our constant respiratory action. This has to be stopped by the practice of _pra@nayama_. Pra@nayama consists in taking in breath, keeping it for a while and then giving it up. With practice one may retain breath steadily for hours, days, months and even years. When there is no need of taking in breath or giving it out, and it can be retained steady for a long time, one of the main obstacles is removed.

The process of practising concentration is begun by sitting in a steady posture, holding the breath by pra@nayama, excluding all other thoughts, and fixing the mind on any object (_dhara@na_). At first it is difficult to fix steadily on any object, and the same thought has to be repeated constantly in the mind, this is called _dhyana_. After sufficient practice in dhyana the mind attains the power of making itself steady; at this stage it becomes one with its object and there is no change or repetition. There is no consciousness of subject, object or thinking, but the mind becomes steady and one with the object of thought. This is called _samadhi_ [Footnote ref 1]. We have already described the six stages of samadhi. As the yogin acquires strength in one stage of samadhi, he passes on to a still higher stage and so on. As he progresses onwards he attains miraculous powers (_vibhuti_) and his faith and hope in the practice increase. Miraculous powers bring with them many temptations, but the yogin is firm of purpose and even though the position of Indra is offered to him he does not relax. His wisdom (_prajna_) also increases at each step. Prajna knowledge is as clear as perception, but while perception is limited to
certain gross things and certain gross qualities [Footnote ref 1] prajna has no such limitations, penetrating into the subtlest things, the tanmatras, the gu@nas, and perceiving clearly and vividly all their subtle conditions and qualities [Footnote ref 2]. As the potencies (_sa@mskara_) of the prajna wisdom grow in strength the potencies of ordinary knowledge are rooted out, and the yogin continues to remain always in his prajna wisdom. It is a peculiarity of this prajna that it leads a man towards liberation and cannot bind him to sa@msara. The final prajnas which lead to liberation are of seven kinds, namely, (1) I have known the world, the object of suffering and misery, I have nothing more to know of it. (2) The grounds and roots of sa@msara have been thoroughly uprooted, nothing more of it remains to be uprooted. (3) Removal has become a fact of direct cognition by inhibitive trance. (4) The means of knowledge in the shape of a discrimination of puru@sa from prak@rti has been
understood. The other three are not psychological but are rather
metaphysical processes associated with the situation. They are
as follows: (5) The double purpose of buddhi experience and
emancipation (_bhoga_ and _apavarga_) has been realized. (6) The
strong gravitating tendency of the disintegrated gu@nas drives
them into prak@rti like heavy stones dropped from high hill tops.
(7) The buddhi disintegrated into its constituents the gu@nas
become merged in the prak@rti and remain there for ever. The
puru@sa having passed beyond the bondage of the gu@nas shines
forth in its pure intelligence. There is no bliss or happiness in
this Sa@mkhya-Yoga mukti, for all feeling belongs to prak@rti. It
is thus a state of pure intelligence. What the Sa@mkhya tries to
achieve through knowledge, Yoga achieves through the perfected
discipline of the will and psychological control of the mental states.

[Footnote 1: The limitations which baffle perception are counted in the
_Karika_ as follows: Extreme remoteness (e.g. a lark high up in the sky),
extreme proximity (e.g. collyrium inside the eye), loss of sense-organ
(e.g. a blind man), want of attention, extreme smallness of the object
(e.g. atoms), obstruction by other intervening objects (e.g. by
walls), presence of superior lights (the star cannot be seen in daylight),
being mixed up with other things of its own kind (e.g. water thrown
into a lake).]
[Footnote 2: Though all things are but the modifications of gu@nas yet the real nature of the gu@nas is never revealed by the sense knowledge. What appears to the senses are but illusory characteristics like those of magic (maya):

"_Gunana@m parama@m rupam na d@r@s@tipatham@rcchati
Yattu d@rs@tipatham praptam tanmayeva sutucchakam._"

_Vyasabha@syasya_, IV. 13.

The real nature of the gu@nas is thus revealed only by _prajna_.]

274

CHAPTER VIII
THE NYAYA-VAIS'E@SIKA PHILOSOPHY

Criticism of Buddhism and Sa@mkhya from the Nyaya standpoint.

The Buddhists had upset all common sense convictions of substance and attribute, cause and effect, and permanence of things, on the ground that all collocations are momentary; each group of collocations exhausts itself in giving rise to
another group and that to another and so on. But if a collocation representing milk generates the collocation of curd it is said to be due to a joint action of the elements forming the cause-collocation and the _modus operandi_ is unintelligible; the elements composing the cause-collocation cannot separately generate the elements composing the effect-collocation, for on such a supposition it becomes hard to maintain the doctrine of momentariness as the individual and separate exercise of influence on the part of the cause-elements and their coordination and manifestation as effect cannot but take more than one moment. The supposition that the whole of the effect-collocation is the result of the joint action of the elements of cause-collocation is against our universal uncontradicted experience that specific elements constituting the cause (e.g. the whiteness of milk) are the cause of other corresponding elements of the effect (e.g. the whiteness of the curd); and we could not say that the hardness, blackness, and other properties of the atoms of iron in a lump state should not be regarded as the cause of similar qualities in the iron ball, for this is against the testimony of experience.

Moreover there would be no difference between material (_upadana_, e.g. clay of the jug), instrumental and concomitant causes (_nimitta_ and _sahakari_, such as the potter, and the wheel, the stick etc. in forming the jug), for the causes jointly produce the effect, and there was no room for distinguishing the material and the instrumental causes, as such.

Again at the very moment in which a cause-collocation is
brought into being, it cannot exert its influence to produce its
effect-collocation. Thus after coming into being it would take the
cause-collocation at least another moment to exercise its influence
to produce the effect. How can the thing which is destroyed the
moment after it is born produce any effect? The truth is that
causal elements remain and when they are properly collocated
the effect is produced. Ordinary experience also shows that we
perceive things as existing from a past time. The past time is
perceived by us as past, the present as present and the future as
future and things are perceived as existing from a past time onwards.

The Saṃkhya assumption that effects are but the actualized
states of the potential cause, and that the causal entity holds
within it all the future series of effects, and that thus the effect is
already existent even before the causal movement for the production
of the effect, is also baseless. Saṃkhya says that the
oil was already existent in the sesamum and not in the stone, and
that it is thus that oil can be got from sesamum and not from the
stone. The action of the instrumental cause with them consists
only in actualizing or manifesting what was already existent in
a potential form in the cause. This is all nonsense. A lump of
clay is called the cause and the jug the effect; of what good is it
to say that the jug exists in the clay since with clay we can never
carry water? A jug is made out of clay, but clay is not a jug.

What is meant by saying that the jug was unmanifested or was in a potential state before, and that it has now become manifest or actual? What does potential state mean? The potential state of the jug is not the same as its actual state; thus the actual state of the jug must be admitted as non-existent before. If it is meant that the jug is made up of the same parts (the atoms) of which the clay is made up, of course we admit it, but this does not mean that the jug was existent in the atoms of the lump of clay. The potency inherent in the clay by virtue of which it can expose itself to the influence of other agents, such as the potter, for being transformed into a jug is not the same as the effect, the jug. Had it been so, then we should rather have said that the jug came out of the jug. The assumption of Sa@mkhya that the substance and attribute have the same reality is also against all experience, for we all perceive that movement and attribute belong to substance and not to attribute. Again Sa@mkhya holds a preposterous doctrine that buddhi is different from intelligence. It is absolutely unmeaning to call buddhi non-intelligent. Again what is the good of all this fictitious fuss that the qualities of buddhi are reflected on puru@sa and then again on buddhi. Evidently in all our experience we find that the soul (_atman_) knows, feels and wills, and it is difficult to understand why Sa@mkhya does not accept this patent fact and declare that knowledge,
feeling, and willing, all belonged to buddhi. Then again in
order to explain experience it brought forth a theory of double
reflection. Again Sa@mkhya prak@rti is non-intelligent, and where
is the guarantee that she (prak@rti) will not bind the wise again
and will emancipate him once for all? Why did the puru@sa become
bound down? Prak@rti is being utilized for enjoyment by
the infinite number of puru@sas, and she is no delicate girl (as
Sa@mkhya supposes) who will leave the presence of the puru@sa
ashamed as soon as her real nature is discovered. Again pleasure
(_sukha_), sorrow (_du@hkha_) and a blinding feeling through ignorance
(_moha_) are but the feeling-experiences of the soul, and with what
impudence could Sa@mkhya think of these as material substances?
Again their cosmology of a mahat, aha@mkara, the tanmatras,
is all a series of assumptions never testified by experience nor
by reason. They are all a series of hopeless and foolish blunders.
The phenomena of experience thus call for a new careful reconstruction
in the light of reason and experience such as cannot be found in other
systems. (See _Nyayamanjari_, pp. 452-466 and 490-496.)

Nyaya and Vais'e@sika sutras.

It is very probable that the earliest beginnings of Nyaya are
to be found in the disputations and debates amongst scholars
trying to find out the right meanings of the Vedic texts for use
in sacrifices and also in those disputations which took place between
the adherents of different schools of thought trying to
defeat one another. I suppose that such disputations occurred in
the days of the Upani@sads, and the art of disputation was regarded
even then as a subject of study, and it probably passed then by
the name _vakovakya_. Mr Bodas has pointed out that Apastamba
who according to Buehler lived before the third century B.C. used the
word Nyaya in the sense of Mima@msa [Footnote ref 1]. The word Nyaya
derived

------------------------------------------------------------------

[Footnote 1 _Apastamba_, trans. by Buehler, Introduction, p. XXVII., and
Bodas's article on the _Historical Survey of Indian Logic_ in the Bombay
Branch of J.R.A.S., vol. XIX.]

277

from the root _ni_ is sometimes explained as that by which sentences
and words could be interpreted as having one particular meaning
and not another, and on the strength of this even Vedic accents of
words (which indicate the meaning of compound words by pointing
out the particular kind of compound in which the words entered
into combination) were called Nyaya [Footnote ref 1]. Prof. Jacobi on the
strength of Kau@tilya's enumeration of the _vidya_ (sciences) as Anvik@siki
(the science of testing the perceptual and scriptural knowledge
by further scrutiny), _trayi_ (the three Vedas), _vartta_ (the sciences
of agriculture, cattle keeping etc.), and _da@n@daniti_ (polity), and the
enumeration of the philosophies as Sa@mkhya, Yoga, Lokayata
and Anvik@siki, supposes that the _Nyaya sutra_ was not in existence in Kau@tilya's time 300 B.C.) [Footnote ref 2]. Kau@tilya's reference to Nyaya as Anvik@siki only suggests that the word Nyaya was not a familiar name for Anvik@siki in Kau@tilya's time. He seems to misunderstand Vatsyayana in thinking that Vatsyayana distinguishes Nyaya from the Anvik@siki in holding that while the latter only means the science of logic the former means logic as well as metaphysics. What appears from Vatsyayana's statement in _Nyaya sutra_ I.i. 1 is this that he points out that the science which was known in his time as Nyaya was the same as was referred to as Anvik@siki by Kau@tilya. He distinctly identifies Nyayavidya with Anvik@siki, but justifies the separate enumeration of certain logical categories such as _sa@ms'aya_ (doubt) etc., though these were already contained within the first two terms _prama@na_ (means of cognition) and _prameya_ (objects of cognition), by holding that unless these its special and separate branches (_p@rthakprasthana_) were treated, Nyayavidya would simply become metaphysics (_adhyatmavidya_) like the Upani@sads. The old meaning of Nyaya as the means of determining the right meaning or the right thing is also agreed upon by Vatsyayana and is sanctioned by Vacaspati in his _Nyayavarttikatatparya@tika_ I.i. 1). He compares the meaning of the word Nyaya (_prama@nairarthaparik@sa@nam_--to scrutinize an object by means of logical proof) with the etymological meaning of the word anvik@siki (to scrutinize anything after it has been known by perception and scriptures). Vatsyayana of course points out that so far as this logical side of Nyaya is concerned it has the widest scope for
itself as it includes all beings, all their actions, and all the sciences

[Footnote ref 1]. He quotes Kauṭilya to show that in this capacity Nyaya
is like light illumining all sciences and is the means of all works. In its
capacity as dealing with the truths of metaphysics it may show the
way to salvation. I do not dispute Prof. Jacobi's main point that
the metaphysical portion of the work was a later addition, for this
seems to me to be a very probable view. In fact Vatsyayana himself
designates the logical portion as a pārthakprasthana (separate
branch). But I do not find that any statement of Vatsyayana or
Kauṭilya can justify us in concluding that this addition was made
after Kauṭilya. Vatsyayana has no doubt put more stress on the
importance of the logical side of the work, but the reason of that
seems to be quite obvious, for the importance of metaphysics or
_adhyatmavidya_ was acknowledged by all. But the importance of
the mere logical side would not appeal to most people. None of
the dharmas'astras (religious scriptures) or the Vedas would lend
any support to it, and Vatsyayana had to seek the support of Kauṭilya in the matter as the last resource. The fact that Kauṭilya was not satisfied by counting Anvikṣikī as one of the four vidyas but also named it as one of the philosophies side by side with Saṃkhyā seems to lead to the presumption that probably even in Kauṭilya's time Nyaya was composed of two branches, one as adhyatmavidya and another as a science of logic or rather of debate. This combination is on the face of it loose and external, and it is not improbable that the metaphysical portion was added to increase the popularity of the logical part, which by itself might not attract sufficient attention. Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada S'astri in an article in the _Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society_ 1905 says that as Vacaspati made two attempts to collect the _Nyaya sutras_, one as _Nyayasuci_ and the other as _Nyayasutroddhara_, it seems that even in Vacaspati's time he was not certain as to the authenticity of many of the _Nyaya sutras_. He further points out that there are unmistakable signs that many of the sutras were interpolated, and relates the Buddhist tradition from China and Japan that Mirok mingled Nyaya and Yoga. He also

[Footnote 1: _Yena prayuktaḥ pravarttate tat prayojanam_ (that by which one is led to act is called _prayojanam_); _yamartham abhipsan jihasan va karma arabhate tenanena sarve pra@nina@h sarva@ni karma@ni sarvas'ca vidya@h vyapta@h tadas'rayas'ca nyaya@h pravarttate_ (all those which one tries to have or to fly from are called prayojana, therefore all]
beings, all their actions, and all sciences, are included within prayojana, and all these depend on Nyaya. _Vatsyayana bhas'ya_, i.i. 1.]

279

thinks that the sutras underwent two additions, one at the hands of some Buddhists and another at the hands of some Hindu who put in Hindu arguments against the Buddhist ones. These suggestions of this learned scholar seem to be very probable, but we have no clue by which we can ascertain the time when such additions were made. The fact that there are unmistakable proofs of the interpolation of many of the sutras makes the fixing of the date of the original part of the _Nyaya sutras_ still more difficult, for the Buddhist references can hardly be of any help, and Prof. Jacobi's attempt to fix the date of the _Nyaya sutras_ on the basis of references to S'unyavada naturally loses its value, except on the supposition that all references to S'unyavada must be later than Nagarjuna, which is not correct, since the _Mahayana sutras_ written before Nagarjuna also held the S'unyavada doctrine.

The late Dr S.C. Vidyabhus@na in _J.R.A.S._ 1918 thinks that the earlier part of Nyaya was written by Gautama about 550 B.C. whereas the _Nyaya sutras_ of Ak@sapada were written about 150 A.D. and says that the use of the word Nyaya in the sense of logic in _Mahabharata_ i.i. 67, i. 70. 42-51, must be regarded as interpolations. He, however, does not give any
reasons in support of his assumption. It appears from his treatment of the subject that the fixing of the date of Ak@sapada was made to fit in somehow with his idea that Ak@sapada wrote his _Nyaya sutras_ under the influence of Aristotle—a supposition which does not require serious refutation, at least so far as Dr Vidyabhu@sa@na has proved it. Thus after all this discussion we have not advanced a step towards the ascertainment of the date of the original part of the Nyaya. Goldstuecker says that both Patanjali (140 B.C.) and Katyayana (fourth century B.C.) knew the _Nyaya sutras_ [Footnote ref 1]. We know that Kau@tilya knew the Nyaya in some form as Anvik@siki in 300 B.C., and on the strength of this we may venture to say that the Nyaya existed in some form as early as the fourth century B.C. But there are other reasons which lead me to think that at least some of the present sutras were written some time in the second century A.D. Bodas points out that Badaraya@na's sutras make allusions to the Vais'e@sika doctrines and not to Nyaya. On this ground he thinks that _Vais'e@sika sutras_ were written before Badarayana's _Brahma-sutras_, whereas the Nyaya sutras were written later. Candrakanta Tarkala@mkara also contends in his

[Footnote 1: Goldstuecker's _Pa@nini_, p. 157.]
edition of Vais'e@sika that the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ were earlier than the Nyaya. It seems to me to be perfectly certain that the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ were written before Caraka (80 A.D.); for he not only quotes one of the _Vais'e@sika sutras_, but the whole foundation of his medical physics is based on the Vais'e@sika physics [Footnote ref 1]. The _La@nkavatara sutra_ (which as it was quoted by As'vagho@sa is earlier than 80 A.D.) also makes allusions to the atomic doctrine. There are other weightier grounds, as we shall see later on, for supposing that the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ are probably pre-Buddhist [Footnote ref 2].

It is certain that even the logical part of the present _Nyaya sutras_ was preceded by previous speculations on the subject by thinkers of other schools. Thus in commenting on I.i. 32 in which the sutra states that a syllogism consists of five premisses (_avayava_) Vatsyayana says that this sutra was written to refute the views of those who held that there should be ten premisses [Footnote ref 3]. The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ also give us some of the earliest types of inference, which do not show any acquaintance with the technic of the Nyaya doctrine of inference [Footnote ref 4].

Does Vais'e@sika represent an Old School of Mima@msa?

The Vais'e@sika is so much associated with Nyaya by tradition that it seems at first sight quite unlikely that it could be supposed to represent an old school of Mima@msa, older than that represented in the _Mima@msa sutras_. But a closer inspection of the _Vais'e@sika
sutras seems to confirm such a supposition in a very remarkable way. We have seen in the previous section that Caraka quotes a Vais'ësika sutra. An examination of Caraka's Sutrasthana (I.35-38) leaves us convinced that the writer of the verses had some compendium of Vais'e@sika such as that of the Bha@sapariccheda before him. Caraka sutra or karika (I.i. 36) says that the gu@nas are those which have been enumerated such as heaviness, etc., cognition, and those which begin with the gu@na "_para_" (universality) and end with "_prayatna_" (effort) together with the sense-qualities (_sartha_). It seems that this is a reference to some well-known enumeration. But this enumeration is not to be found in the Vais'e@sika sutra (I.i. 6) which leaves out the six gu@nas,

____________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: _Caraka, S'arira_, 39.]

[Footnote 2: See the next section.]

[Footnote 3: Vatsyayana's Bha@sy on the Nyaya sutras, I.i.32. This is undoubtedly a reference to the Jaina view as found in Das'avaikalikaniryuki as noted before.]

[Footnote 4: _Nyaya sutra_ I.i. 5, and _Vais'e@sika sutras_ IX. ii. 1-2, 4-5, and III. i. 8-17.]
heaviness (_gurutva_), liquidity (_dravatva_), oiliness(_sneha_),
elasticity (_sa@mskara_), merit (_dharma_) and demerit (_adharma_);
in one part of the sutra the enumeration begins with "para"
(universality) and ends in "prayatna," but buddhi (cognition)
comes within the enumeration beginning from para and ending in
prayatna, whereas in Caraka buddhi does not form part of the list
and is separately enumerated. This leads me to suppose that Caraka's
sutra was written at a time when the six gu@nas left out in the
Vais'e@sika enumeration had come to be counted as gu@nas, and
compendiums had been made in which these were enumerated.
_Bha@sapariccheda_ (a later Vais'e@sika compendium), is a compilation
from some very old karikas which are referred to by Vis'vanatha
as being collected from "_atisa@mk@siptacirantanoktibhi@h_"--(from
very ancient aphorisms [Footnote ref 1]); Caraka's definition of samanya
and vis'e@sa shows that they had not then been counted as separate
categories as in later Nyaya-Vais'e@sika doctrines; but though
slightly different it is quite in keeping with the sort of definition
one finds in the _Vais'e@sika sutra_ that samanya (generality) and
vi'se@sa are relative to each other [Footnote ref 2]. Caraka's sutras were
therefore probably written at a time when the Vais'e@sika doctrines were
undergoing changes, and well-known compendiums were beginning
to be written on them.
The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ seem to be ignorant of the Buddhist doctrines. In their discussions on the existence of soul, there is no reference to any view as to non-existence of soul, but the argument turned on the point as to whether the self is to be an object of inference or revealed to us by our notion of "I." There is also no other reference to any other systems except to some Mima@msa doctrines and occasionally to Sa@mkhya. There is no reason to suppose that the Mima@msa doctrines referred to allude to the _Mima@msa sutras_ of Jaimini. The manner in which the nature of inference has been treated shows that the Nyaya phraseology of "_purvavat_" and "_s'e@savat_" was not known. _Vais'e@sika sutras_ in more than one place refer to time as the ultimate cause [Footnote ref 3]. We know that the S'vetas'vatara Upani@sad refers to those who regard time as the cause of all things, but in none of the

[Footnote 1: Professor Vanamali Vedantatirtha's article in _J.A.S.B._, 1908.]

[Footnote 2: Caraka (I.i. 33) says that samanya is that which produces unity and vis'e@sa is that which separates. V.S. II. ii. 7. Samanya and vis'e@sa depend upon our mode of thinking (as united or as separate).]

[Footnote 3: _Vais'e@sika sutra_ (II. ii. 9 and V. ii. 26).]
systems that we have can we trace any upholding of this ancient
view [Footnote ref 1]. These considerations as well as the general style of
the work and the methods of discussion lead me to think that these
sutras are probably the oldest that we have and in all probability
are pre-Buddhistic.

The _Vais'e@sika sutra_ begins with the statement that its object
is to explain virtue, "dharma" This is we know the manifest duty
of Mima@msa and we know that unlike any other system Jaimini
begins his _Mima@msa sutras_ by defining "dharma". This at first
seems irrelevant to the main purpose of Vais'e@sika, viz, the description
of the nature of padartha [Footnote ref 2]. He then defines dharma as
that which gives prosperity and ultimate good (_nihsreyasa_) and
says that the Veda must be regarded as valid, since it can dictate
this. He ends his book with the remarks that those injunctions
(of Vedic deeds) which are performed for ordinary human motives
bestow prosperity even though their efficacy is not known to us
through our ordinary experience, and in this matter the Veda must
be regarded as the authority which dictates those acts [Footnote ref 3].
The fact that the Vais'e@sika begins with a promise to describe dharma
and after describing the nature of substances, qualities and actions
and also the _ad@r@s@ta_ (unknown virtue) due to dharma (merit
accruing from the performance of Vedic deeds) by which many
of our unexplained experiences may be explained, ends his book
by saying that those Vedic works which are not seen to produce
any direct effect, will produce prosperity through adṛṣṭa, shows
that Kaṇāda's method of explaining dharma has been by showing
that physical phenomena involving substances, qualities, and
actions can only be explained up to a certain extent while a
good number cannot be explained at all except on the assumption
of adṛṣṭa (unseen virtue) produced by dharma. The

[Footnote 1: S'vetas'vatara I.i.2]

[Footnote 2: I remember a verse quoted in an old commentary of the _Kalapa
Vyakarana_, in which it is said that the description of the six categories
by Kaṇāda in his _Vais'eṣika sutras_, after having proposed to describe
the nature of dharma, is as irrelevant as to proceed towards the sea while
intending to go to the mountain Himavat (Himalaya).

"_Dharma@m vyakhyatukam sa@tpadarthopavarnana@m Himavadgantukamasya
sagaragamanopamam_."]

[Footnote 3: The sutra "_Tadvacanad amnyasya prama@nyam_ (I.i.3 and
X.ii.9) has been explained by _Upaskara_ as meaning "The Veda being the
word of Is'vara (God) must be regarded as valid," but since there is no
mention of Is'vara anywhere in the text this is simply reading the later
Nyaya ideas into the Vais'ēsika. Sutra X.ii.8 is only a repetition of VI.ii.1.

283

description of the categories of substance is not irrelevant, but is the means of proving that our ordinary experience of these cannot explain many facts which are only to be explained on the supposition of ad@r@s@ta proceeding out of the performance of Vedic deeds. In V.i. 15 the movement of needles towards magnets, in V. ii. 7 the circulation of water in plant bodies, V. ii. 13 and IV. ii. 7 the upward motion of fire, the side motion of air, the combining movement of atoms (by which all combinations have taken place), and the original movement of the mind are said to be due to ad@r@s@ta. In V. ii. 17 the movement of the soul after death, its taking hold of other bodies, the assimilation of food and drink and other kinds of contact (the movement and development of the foetus as enumerated in _Upaskara_) are said to be due to ad@r@s@ta. Salvation (moksa) is said to be produced by the annihilation of ad@r@s@ta leading to the annihilation of all contacts and non production of rebirths Vais'esika marks the distinction between the drṣṭa (experienced) and the ad@r@s@ta. All the categories that he describes are founded on drṣṭa (experience) and those unexplained by known experience are due to ad@r@s@ta. These are the acts on which depend all life-process of animals and plants, the continuation of atoms or the construction of the worlds, natural motion of fire and air,
death and rebirth (VI. ii. 15) and even the physical phenomena
by which our fortunes are affected in some way or other (V. ii. 2),
in fact all with which we are vitally interested in philosophy.

Ka@nada's philosophy gives only some facts of experience regarding
substances, qualities and actions, leaving all the graver issues of
metaphysics to ad@r@s@ta. But what leads to ad@r@s@ta? In answer to
this, Ka@nada does not speak of good or bad or virtuous or
sinful deeds, but of Vedic works, such as holy ablutions (_snana_),
fasting, holy student life (_brahmacarya_), remaining at the house
of the teacher (_gurukulavasa_), retired forest life (_vanaprastha_),
sacrifice (_yajna_), gifts (_dana_), certain kinds of sacrificial
sprinkling and rules of performing sacrificial works according to the
prescribed time of the stars, the prescribed hymns (mantras)
(VI. ii. 2).

He described what is pure and what is impure food, pure
food being that which is sacrificially purified (VI. ii. 5) the contrary
being impure, and he says that the taking of pure food
leads to prosperity through ad@r@s@ta. He also described how

feelings of attachment to things are also generated by ad@r@s@ta.
Throughout almost the whole of VI. i Ka@nada is busy in showing
the special conditions of making gifts and receiving them. A reference
to our chapter on Mima@msa will show that the later Mima@msa
writers agreed with the Nyaya-Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a doctrines in most of their views regarding substance, qualities, etc. Some of the main points in which Mima\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a differs from Nyaya-Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a are (1) self-validity of the Vedas, (2) the eternality of the Vedas, (3) disbelief in any creator or god, (4) eternality of sound (s'\text{\texti{ab}}\text{\textd{a}}), (5) (according to Kumarila) direct perception of self in the notion of the ego.

Of these the first and the second points do not form any subject of discussion in the Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a. But as no Is'\text{\texti{vara}} is mentioned, and as all ad\text{\texti{r}}\text{\texti{s}\text{s}a} depends upon the authority of the Vedas, we may assume that Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a had no dispute with Mima\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a. The fact that there is no reference to any dissension is probably due to the fact that really none had taken place at the time of the \textit{Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a sutras}. It is probable that Ka\text{\texti{nada}} believed that the Vedas were written by some persons superior to us (II. i. 18, VI. i. 1-2). But the fact that there is no reference to any conflict with Mima\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a suggests that the doctrine that the Vedas were never written by anyone was formulated at a later period, whereas in the days of the \textit{Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a sutras} the view was probably what is represented in the \textit{Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a sutras}. As there is no reference to Is'\text{\texti{vara}} and as ad\text{\texti{r}}\text{\texti{s}\text{s}a proceeding out of the performance of actions in accordance with Vedic injunctions is made the cause of all atomic movements, we can very well assume that Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a was as atheistic or non-theistic as the later Mima\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a philosophers.

As regards the eternality of sound, which in later days was one of the main points of quarrel between the Nyaya-Vais'\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a and the Mima\text{\texti{s}}\text{s}a, we find that in II. ii. 25-32, Ka\text{\texti{nada}} gives reasons in favour of the non-eternality of sound, but after that from II. ii. 33 till the end of the chapter he closes the argument in favour of the
eternality of sound, which is the distinctive Mimaṇsā view as we know from the later Mimaṇsā writers [Footnote ref 1]. Next comes the question of the proof of the existence of self. The traditional Nyaya view is [Footnote 1: The last two concluding sutras II. ii. 36 and 37 are in my opinion wrongly interpreted by Śaṅkara Mīra in his Upasākara (II. ii. 36 by adding an "_api_" to the sutra and thereby changing the issue, and II. ii. 37 by misreading the phonetic combination "samkhyabhava" as saṁkhya and bhava instead of saṁkhya and abhava, which in my opinion is the right combination here) in favour of the non-eternality of sound as we find in the later Nyaya Vais'eśaṇika view.]

that the self is supposed to exist because it must be inferred as the seat of the qualities of pleasure, pain, cognition, etc. Traditionally this is regarded as the Vais'eśaṇika view as well. But in Vais'eśaṇika III. ii. 4 the existence of soul is first inferred by reason of its activity and the existence of pleasure, pain, etc., in III. ii. 6-7 this inference is challenged by saying that we do not perceive that the activity, etc. belongs to the soul and not to the body and so no certainty can be arrived at by inference, and in III. ii. 8 it is suggested that therefore the existence of soul is to be accepted on the authority of the scriptures (_agama_). To this the final
Vais'e@sika conclusion is given that we can directly perceive the self in our feeling as "I" (_aham_), and we have therefore not to depend on the scriptures for the proof of the existence of the self, and thus the inference of the existence of the self is only an additional proof of what we already find in perception as "I" (_aham_) (III. ii. 10-18, also IX. i. 11).

These considerations lead me to think that the Vais'e@sika represented a school of Mima@msa thought which supplemented a metaphysics to strengthen the grounds of the Vedas.

Philosophy in the Vais'e@sika sutras.

The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ begin with the ostensible purpose of explaining virtue (_dharma_) (I.i. 1) and dharma according to it is that by which prosperity (_abhyudaya_) and salvation (_ni@hs'reyasa_) are attained. Then it goes on to say that the validity of the Vedas depends on the fact that it leads us to prosperity and salvation. Then it turns back to the second sutra and says that salvation comes as the result of real knowledge, produced by special excellence of dharma, of the characteristic features of the categories of substance (_dravya_), quality (_gu@na_), class concept (_samdanya_), particularity (_vis'e@sa_), and inherence (_samavayay_) [Footnote ref 1]. The dravyas are earth, water, fire, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind. The gu@nas are colour, taste, odour, touch, number, measure, separations, contact, disjoining, quality of belonging to high genus or to
species [Footnote ref 2]. Action (karma) means upward movement

[Footnote 1: Upaskara notes that vis'ea sa here refers to the ultimate differences of things and not to species. A special doctrine of this system is this, that each of the indivisible atoms of even the same element has specific features of difference.]

[Footnote 2: Here the well known qualities of heaviness (gurutva),
liquidity (dravatva), oiliness (sneha), elasticity (sa@mskara),
merit (dharma), and demerit (adharma) have been altogether omitted.
These are all counted in later Vais'e@sika commentaries and compendiums.
It must be noted that "gu@na" in Vas'e@sika means qualities and not subtle reals or substances as in Sa@mkhya Yoga. Gu@na in Vas'e@sika would be akin to what Yoga would call _dharma_.]

286

downward movement, contraction, expansion and horizontal movement. The three common qualities of dravya, gu@na and karma are that they are existent, non-eternal, substantive, effect, cause, and possess generality and particularity. Dravya produces other dravyas and the gu@nas other gu@nas. But karma is not necessarily produced by karma. Dravya does not destroy either its cause or
its effect but the gu@nas are destroyed both by the cause and by
the effect. Karma is destroyed by karma. Dravya possesses
karma and gu@na and is regarded as the material (_samavayi_) cause.
Gu@nas inhere in dravya, cannot possess further gu@nas, and are
not by themselves the cause of contact or disjoining. Karma is
devoid of gu@na, cannot remain at one time in more than one
object, inheres in dravya alone, and is an independent cause of
contact or disjoining. Dravya is the material cause (samavayi)
of (derivative) dravyas, gu@na, and karma, gu@na is also the non-material
cause (_asamavayi_) of dravya, gu@na and karma. Karma
is the general cause of contact, disjoining, and inertia in motion
(_vega_). Karma is not the cause of dravya. For dravya may be
produced even without karma [Footnote ref 1]. Dravya is the general effect
of dravya. Karma is dissimilar to gu@na in this that it does not produce
karma. The numbers two, three, etc, separateness, contact
and disjoining are effected by more than one dravya. Each karma
not being connected with more than one thing is not produced
by more than one thing [Footnote ref 2]. A dravya is the result of many
contacts (of the atoms). One colour may be the result of many
colours. Upward movement is the result of heaviness, effort and
contact. Contact and disjoining are also the result of karma. In
denying the causality of karma it is meant that karma is not the
cause of dravya and karma [Footnote ref 3].

In the second chapter of the first book Ka@nada first says that
if there is no cause, there is no effect, but there may be the cause
even though there may not be the effect. He next says that
genus (_samanya_) and species (_visesa_) are relative to the understanding;

[Footnote 1: It is only when the karya ceases that dravya is produced. See _Upaskara_ I.i. 22.]

[Footnote 2: If karma is related to more than one thing, then with the movement of one we should have felt that two or more things were moving.]

[Footnote 3: It must be noted that karma in this sense is quite different from the more extensive use of karma as meritorious or vicious action which is the cause of rebirth.]

287

being (_bhava_) indicates continuity only and is hence only a genus. The universals of substance, quality and action maybe both genus and species, but visesa as constituting the ultimate differences (of atoms) exists (independent of any percipient). In connection with this he says that the ultimate genus is being (_satta_) in virtue of which things appear as existent, all other genera may only relatively be regarded as relative genera or species. Being must be regarded as a separate category, since it is different from dravya, gu@na and karma, and yet exists in them,
and has no genus or species. It gives us the notion that something
is and must be regarded as a category existing as one
identical entity in all dravya, guṇa, and karma, for in its universal
nature as being it has no special characteristics in the
different objects in which it inheres. The specific universals of
thingness (_dravyatva_) qualitiness (_guṇatva_) or actionness (_karmatva_)
are also categories which are separate from universal being
(_bhava_ or _satta_) for they also have no separate genus or species
and yet may be distinguished from one another, but bhava or
being was the same in all.

In the first chapter of the second book Kanada deals with
substances. Earth possesses colour, taste, smell, and touch, water,
colour, taste, touch, liquidity, and smoothness (_snigdha_), fire,
colour and touch, air, touch, but none of these qualities can be
found in ether (_akas'a_). Liquidity is a special quality of water
because butter, lac, wax, lead, iron, silver, gold, become liquids
only when they are heated, while water is naturally liquid itself [Footnote
ref 1]. Though air cannot be seen, yet its existence can be inferred by
touch, just as the existence of the genus of cows may be inferred
from the characteristics of horns, tails, etc. Since this thing inferred
from touch possesses motion and quality, and does not
itself inhere in any other substance, it is a substance (dravya)
and is eternal [Footnote ref 2]. The inference of air is of the type of
inference of imperceptible things from certain known characteristics
called _samanyato d@r@s@ta_. The name of air "_vayu_" is derived
from the scriptures. The existence of others different from us
has (asmadvisi@s@tana@m) to be admitted for accounting for the

[Footnote 1: It should be noted that mercury is not mentioned. This is important for mercury was known at a time later than Caraka.]

[Footnote 2: Substance is that which possesses quality and motion. It should be noted that the word "_adravyatvena_" in II. i. 13 has been interpreted by me as "_adravyavattvena_".]

288

giving of names to things (_sa@mjnakarma_). Because we find that the giving of names is already in usage (and not invented by us) [Footnote ref 1]. On account of the fact that movements rest only in one thing, the phenomenon that a thing can enter into any unoccupied space, would not lead us to infer the existence of akas'a (ether). Akas'a has to be admitted as the hypothetical substance in which the quality of sound inheres, because, since sound (a quality) is not the characteristic of things which can be touched, there must be some substance of which it is a quality. And this substance is akas'a. It is a substance and eternal like air. As being is one so akas'a is one [Footnote ref 2].
In the second chapter of the second book Ka@nada tries to prove that smell is a special characteristic of earth, heat of fire, and coldness of water. Time is defined as that which gives the notion of youth in the young, simultaneity, and quickness. It is one like being. Time is the cause of all non-eternal things, because the notion of time is absent in eternal things. Space supplies the notion that this is so far away from this or so much nearer to this. Like being it is one. One space appears to have diverse inter-space relations in connection with the motion of the sun. As a preliminary to discussing the problem whether sound is eternal or not, he discusses the notion of doubt, which arises when a thing is seen in a general way, but the particular features coming under it are not seen, either when these are only remembered, or when some such attribute is seen which resembles some other attribute seen before, or when a thing is seen in one way but appears in another, or when what is seen is not definitely grasped, whether rightly seen or not. He then discusses the question whether sound is eternal or non-eternal and gives his reasons to show that it is non-eternal, but concludes the discussion with a number of other reasons proving that it is eternal.

The first chapter of the third book is entirely devoted to the inference of the existence of soul from the fact that there must be some substance in which knowledge produced by the contact of the senses and their object inheres.
The knowledge of sense-objects (_indriyartha_) is the reason by

[Footnote 1: I have differed from _Upaskara_ in interpreting
"_sa@mnakarma_" in II. i. 18, 19 as a genitive compound while
_Upaskara_ makes it a _dvandva_ compound. Upaskara's interpretation
seems to be far-fetched. He wants to twist it into an argument for
the existence of God.]

[Footnote 2: This interpretation is according to S'a@nkara Mis'ra's
_Upaskara_.]

which we can infer the existence of something different from the
senses and the objects which appear in connection with them. The
types of inferences referred to are (1) inference of non-existence of
some things from the existence of some things, (2) of the existence
of some things from the non-existence of some things, (3) of the
existence of some things from the existence of others. In all
these cases inference is possible only when the two are known to
be connected with each other (_prasiddhipurvakatvat apades'asya_) [Footnote
ref 1]. When such a connection does not exist or is doubtful, we have
_anapades'a_ (fallacious middle) and _sandigdha_ (doubtful middle);
thus, it is a horse because it has a horn, or it is a cow because it has a horn are examples of fallacious reason. The inference of soul from the cognition produced by the contact of soul, senses and objects is not fallacious in the above way. The inference of the existence of the soul in others may be made in a similar way in which the existence of one’s own soul is inferred [Footnote ref 2], i.e. by virtue of the existence of movement and cessation of movement. In the second chapter it is said that the fact that there is cognition only when there is contact between the self, the senses and the objects proves that there is manas (mind), and this manas is a substance and eternal, and this can be proved because there is no simultaneity of production of efforts and various kinds of cognition; it may also be inferred that this manas is one (with each person).

The soul may be inferred from inhalation, exhalation, twinkling of the eye, life, the movement of the mind, the sense-affections pleasure, pain, will, antipathy, and effort. That it is a substance and eternal can be proved after the manner of vayu. An objector is supposed to say that since when I see a man I do not see his soul, the inference of the soul is of the type of _samanyatat@r@s@ta_ inference, i.e., from the perceived signs of pleasure, pain, cognition to infer an unknown entity to which they belong, but that this was the self could not be affirmed. So the existence of soul has to be admitted on the strength of the scriptures. But the Vais'e@sika reply is that since there is nothing else but self to which the expression "I" may be applied, there is no need of falling back on the scriptures for the existence of the soul. But
Footnote 1: In connection with this there is a short reference to the methods of fallacy in which Gautama's terminology does not appear. There is no generalised statement, but specific types of inference are only pointed out as the basis.

Footnote 2: The forms of inference used show that Ka@nada was probably not aware of Gautama's terminology.

290

then it is said that if the self is directly perceived in such experiences as "I am Yajnadatta" or "I am Devadatta," what is the good of turning to inference? The reply to this is that inference lending its aid to the same existence only strengthens the conviction. When we say that Devadatta goes or Yajnadatta goes, there comes the doubt whether by Devadatta or Yajnadatta the body alone is meant; but the doubt is removed when we think that the notion of "I" refers to the self and not to anything else. As there is no difference regarding the production of pleasure, pain, and cognition, the soul is one in all. But yet it is many by special limitations as individuals and this is also proved on the strength of the scriptures [Footnote ref 1].
In the first chapter of the fourth book it is said that that
which is existent, but yet has no cause, should be considered
eternal (_nitya_). It can be inferred by its effect, for the effect can
only take place because of the cause. When we speak of anything
as non-eternal, it is only a negation of the eternal, so that
also proves that there is something eternal. The non-eternal
is ignorance (_avidya_) [Footnote ref 2]. Colour is visible in a thing
which is great (_mahat_) and compounded. Air (_vayu_) is not perceived to
have colour, though it is great and made up of parts, because it has not
the actuality of colour (_rupasamskara_--i.e. in air there is only
colour in its unmanifested form) in it. Colour is thus visible only
when there is colour with special qualifications and conditions [Footnote
ref 3]. In this way the cognition of taste, smell, and touch is also
explained. Number, measure, separateness, contact, and disjoining, the
quality of belonging to a higher or lower class, action, all these as they
abide in things possessing colour are visible to the eye. The
number etc. of those which have no colour are not perceived by the
eye. But the notion of being and also of genus of quality (gunatva)

[Footnote 1: I have differed here from the meaning given in _Upaskara_. I
think the three sutras "_Sukhaduhkhajnananispattyavis'esadekatmyam,"
"vyavasthato nana," _ and _"vastrasamarthyat ca"_ originally meant that
the self was one, though for the sake of many limitations, and also
because of the need of the performance of acts enjoined by the scriptures, they are regarded as many.]

[Footnote 2: I have differed here also in my meaning from the _Upaskara_, which regards this sutra "avidya" to mean that we do not know of any reasons which lead to the non-eternity of the atoms.]

[Footnote 3: This is what is meant in the later distinctions of _udbhutarupavattva_ and _anudbhutarupavattva_. The word _samskara_ in Vais'e@sika has many senses. It means inertia, elasticity, collection (_samavaya_), production (_udbhava_) and not being overcome (_anabhavibhava_). For the last three senses see _Upaskara_ IV. i. 7.]

291

are perceived by all the senses (just as colour, taste, smell, touch, and sound are perceived by one sense, cognition, pleasure, pain, etc. by the manas and number etc. by the visual and the tactile sense) [Footnote ref 1].

In the second chapter of the fourth book it is said that the earth, etc. exist in three forms, body, sense, and objects. There cannot be any compounding of the five elements or even of the three, but the atoms of different elements may combine when one of them acts as the central radicle (_upa@s@tambhaka_). Bodies are of
two kinds, those produced from ovaries and those which are otherwise produced by the combination of the atoms in accordance with special kinds of dharma. All combinations of atoms are due to special kinds of dharmas. Such super-mundane bodies are to be admitted for explaining the fact that things must have been given names by beings having such super-mundane bodies, and also on account of the authority of the Vedas.

In the first chapter of the fifth book action (karma) is discussed. Taking the example of threshing the corn, it is said that the movement of the hand is due to its contact with the soul in a state of effort, and the movement of the flail is due to its contact with the hand. But in the case of the uprising of the flail in the threshing pot due to impact the movement is not due to contact with the hands, and so the uplifting of the hand in touch with the flail is not due to its contact with the soul; for it is due to the impact of the flail. On account of heaviness (gurutva) the flail will fall when not held by the hand.

Things may have an upward or side motion by specially directed motions (nodanavis'eśa) which are generated by special kinds of efforts. Even without effort the body may move during sleep. The movement of needles towards magnets is due to an unknown cause (adrṣtakaranaka). The arrow first acquires motion by specially directed movement, and then on account of its inertia (vegasamskara) keeps on moving and when that ceases it falls down through heaviness.
The second chapter abounds with extremely crude explanations

[Footnote 1: This portion has been taken from the _Upaskara_ of S'ankara Mis'ra on the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ of Ka@nada. It must be noted here that the notion of number according to Vais'e@sika is due to mental relativity or oscillation (_apeksabuddhijanya_). But this mental relativity can only start when the thing having number is either seen or touched; and it is in this sense that notion of number is said to depend on the visual or the tactual sense.]

292

of certain physical phenomena which have no philosophical importance. All the special phenomena of nature are explained as being due to unknown cause (_ad@r@s@takaritam_) and no explanation is given as to the nature of this unknown (_ad@r@s@ta_). It is however said that with the absence of _ad@r@s@ta_ there is no contact of body with soul, and thus there is no rebirth, and therefore mok@sa (salvation); pleasure and pain are due to contact of the self, manas, senses and objects. Yoga is that in which the mind is in contact with the self alone, by which the former becomes steady and there is no pain in the body. Time, space, akas'a are regarded as inactive.
The whole of the sixth book is devoted to showing that gifts are made to proper persons not through sympathy but on account of the injunction of the scriptures, the enumeration of certain Vedic performances, which brings in ad@r@s@ta, purification and impurities of things, how passions are often generated by ad@r@s@ta, how dharma and adharma lead to birth and death and how mok@sa takes place as a result of the work of the soul.

In the seventh book it is said that the qualities in eternal things are eternal and in non-eternal things non-eternal. The change of qualities produced by heat in earth has its beginning in the cause (the atoms). Atomic size is invisible while great size is visible. Visibility is due to a thing's being made up of many causes [Footnote ref 1], but the atom is therefore different from those that have great size. The same thing may be called great and small relatively at the same time. In accordance with a@nutva (atomic) and mahattva (great) there are also the notions of small and big. The eternal size of _parima@n@dala_ (round) belongs to the atoms. Akas'a and atman are called _mahan_ or _paramamahan_ (the supremely great or all-pervasive); since manas is not of the great measure it is of atomic size. Space and time are also considered as being of the measure "supremely great" (paramamahat). Atomic size (parima@n@dala) belonging to the atoms and the mind (manas) and the supremely great size belonging to space, time, soul and ether (akas'a) are regarded as eternal.
In the second chapter of the seventh book it is said that unity and separateness are to be admitted as entities distinct from other qualities. There is no number in movement and quality; the appearance of number in them is false. Cause and effect are neither one, nor have they distinctive separateness (_ekap@rthaktva_).

The notion of unity is the cause of the notion of duality, etc. Contact may be due to the action of one or two things, or the effect of another contact and so is disjoining. There is neither contact nor disjoining in cause and effect since they do not exist independently (_yutasiddhyabhavat_). In the eighth book it is said that soul and manas are not perceptible, and that in the apprehension of qualities, action, generality, and particularity perception is due to their contact with the thing. Earth is the cause of perception of smell, and water, fire, and air are the cause of taste, colour and touch[Footnote ref 1]. In the ninth book negation is described; non-existence (_asat_) is defined as that to which neither action nor quality can be attributed. Even existent things

[Footnote 1: I have differed from the _Upaskara_ in the interpretation of this sutra.]
may become non-existent and that which is existent in one
way may be non-existent in another; but there is another kind
of non-existence which is different from the above kinds of
existence and non-existence [Footnote ref 2]. All negation can be directly
perceived through the help of the memory which keeps before the
mind the thing to which the negation applies. Allusion is also
made in this connection to the special perceptual powers of the
yogins (sages attaining mystical powers through Yoga practices).

In the second chapter the nature of hetu (reason) or the
middle term is described. It is said that anything connected
with any other thing, as effect, cause, as in contact, or as contrary
or as inseparably connected, will serve as liṅga (reason).
The main point is the notion "this is associated with this," or
"these two are related as cause and effect," and since this may
also be produced through premisses, there may be a formal syllogism
from propositions fulfilling the above condition. Verbal
cognition comes without inference. False knowledge (_avidya_) is
due to the defect of the senses or non-observation and mal-observation
due to wrong expectant impressions. The opposite
of this is true knowledge (_vidya_). In the tenth it is said that
pleasure and pain are not cognitions, since they are not related to
doubt and certainty.
A dravya may be caused by the inhering of the effect in it, for because of its contact with another thing the effect is produced. Karma (motion) is also a cause since it inheres in the cause. Contact is also a cause since it inheres in the cause. A contact which inheres in the cause of the cause and thereby helps the production of the effect is also a cause. The special quality of the heat of fire is also a cause.

Works according to the injunctions of the scriptures since they have no visible effect are the cause of prosperity, and because the Vedas direct them, they have validity.

Philosophy in the Nyaya sutras [Footnote ref 1].
The _Nyaya sutras_ begin with an enumeration of the sixteen subjects, viz. means of right knowledge (_prama@na_), object of right knowledge (_prameya_), doubt (_sa@ms'aya_), purpose (_prayojana_), illustrative instances (_d@r@s@tanta_), accepted conclusions (_siddhanta_), premisses (_avayava_), argumentation (_tarka_), ascertainment (_nir@naya_), debates (_vada_), disputations (_jalpa_), destructive criticisms (_vita@n@da_), fallacy (_hetvabhasa_), quibble (_chala_), refutations (_jati_), points of opponent's defeat (_nigrahasthana_), and hold that by a thorough knowledge of these the highest good (_nihs'reyasa_), is attained. In the second sutra it is said that salvation (_apavarga_) is attained by the successive disappearance of false knowledge (_mithyajnana_), defects (_do@sa_), endeavours (_prav@rtti_, birth (_janma_), and ultimately of sorrow. Then the means of proof are said to be of four kinds, perception (_pratyak@sa_), inference (_anumana_), analogy (_upamana_), and testimony (_s'abda_). Perception is defined as uncontradicted determinate knowledge unassociated with names proceeding out of sense contact with objects. Inference is of three kinds, from cause to effect (_purvavat_), effect to cause (_s'e@savat_), and inference from common characteristics (_samanyato d@r@s@ta_).

Upamana is the knowing of anything by similarity with any well-known thing.

S'abda is defined as the testimony of reliable authority (apta)

[Footnote ref 2].
[Footnote 1: This is a brief summary of the doctrines found in _Nyaya sutras_, supplemented here and there with the views of Vatsyayana, the commentator. This follows the order of the sutras, and tries to present their ideas with as little additions from those of later day Nyaya as possible. The general treatment of Nyaya-Vais'ēsika expounds the two systems in the light of later writers and commentators.]

[Footnote 2: It is curious to notice that Vatsyayana says that an arya, a ārṣi or a mleccha (foreigner), may be an apta (reliable authority).]

295

Such a testimony may tell us about things which may be experienced and which are beyond experience. Objects of knowledge are said to be self (_atman_), body, senses, sense-objects, understanding (_buddhi_), mind (_manas_), endeavour (pravṛtti), rebirths, enjoyment of pleasure and suffering of pain, sorrow and salvation. Desire, antipathy, effort (_prayatna_), pleasure, pain, and knowledge indicate the existence of the self. Body is that which upholds movement, the senses and the rise of pleasure and pain as arising out of the contact of sense with sense-objects [Footnote ref l]; the five senses are derived from the five elements, such as prthivi, ap, tejas, vayu and akas'a; smell, taste, colour, touch, and sound are the qualities of the above five elements, and these are also the objects of the senses. The fact that many cognitions cannot
occur at any one moment indicates the existence of mind (_manas_).

Endeavour means what is done by speech, understanding, and body. Do@sas (attachment, antipathy, etc) are those which lead men to virtue and vice. Pain is that which causes suffering [Footnote ref 2]. Ultimate cessation from pain is called _apavarga_ [Footnote ref 3]. Doubt arises when through confusion of similar qualities or conflicting opinions etc., one wants to settle one of the two alternatives. That for attaining which, or for giving up which one sets himself to work is called _prayojana_.

Illustrative example (_d@r@s@tanta_) is that on which both the common man and the expert (_parik@saka_) hold the same opinion. Established texts or conclusions (_siddhanta_) are of four kinds, viz (1) those which are accepted by all schools of thought called the _sarvatantrasiddhanta_; (2) those which are held by one school or similar schools but opposed by others called the _pratitantrasiddhanta_; (3) those which being accepted other conclusions will also naturally follow called _adhirkarasiddhanta_; (4) those of the opponent's views which are uncritically granted by a debater, who proceeds then to refute the consequences that follow and thereby show his own special skill and bring the opponent's intellect to disrepute (_abhyupagamasiddhanta_) [Footnote ref 4]. The premisses are five:

[Footnote 1: Here I have followed Vatsayana's meaning.]
[Footnote 2: Vatsyayana comments here that when one finds all things full
of misery, he wishes to avoid misery, and finding birth to be associated
with pain becomes unattached and thus is emancipated.]

[Footnote 3: Vatsyayana wants to emphasise that there is no bliss in
salvation, but only cessation from pain.]

[Footnote 4: I have followed Vatsyayana’s interpretation here.]

296

(1) _pratijna_ (the first enunciation of the thing to be proved);
(2) _hetu_ (the reason which establishes the conclusion on the
strength of the similarity of the case in hand with known examples
or negative instances); (3) _udahara@na_ (positive or negative
illustrative instances); (4) _upanaya_ (corroboration by the instance);
(5) _nigamana_ (to reach the conclusion which has been proved).

Then come the definitions of tarka, nir@naya, vada, jalpa, vita@n@da,
the fallacies (hetvabhasa), chala, jati, and nigrahasthana, which
have been enumerated in the first sutra.

The second book deals with the refutations of objections
against the means of right knowledge (pramana). In refutation
of certain objections against the possibility of the happening
of doubt, which held that doubt could not happen, since there was always a difference between the two things regarding which doubt arose, it is held that doubt arises when the special differentiating characteristics between the two things are not noted.

Certain objectors, probably the Buddhists, are supposed to object to the validity of the pramāṇa in general and particularly of perceptions on the ground that if they were generated before the sense-object contact, they could not be due to the latter, and if they are produced after the sense-object contact, they could not establish the nature of the objects, and if the two happened together then there would be no notion of succession in our cognitions. To this the Nyaya reply is that if there were no means of right knowledge, then there would be no means of knowledge by means of which the objector would refute all means of right knowledge; if the objector presumes to have any means of valid knowledge then he cannot say that there are no means of valid knowledge at all. Just as from the diverse kinds of sounds of different musical instruments, one can infer the previous existence of those different kinds of musical instruments, so from our knowledge of objects we can infer the previous existence of those objects of knowledge [Footnote ref 1].

The same things (e.g. the senses, etc.) which are regarded as instruments of right knowledge with reference to the right cognition of other things may themselves be the objects of right
knowledge. There are no hard and fast limits that those which are instruments of knowledge should always be treated as mere instruments, for they themselves may be objects of right knowledge. The means of right knowledge (pramaṇa) do not require other sets of means for revealing them, for they like the light of a lamp in revealing the objects of right knowledge reveal themselves as well.

Coming to the question of the correctness of the definition of perception, it is held that the definition includes the contact of the soul with the mind [Footnote ref 1]. Then it is said that though we perceive only parts of things, yet since there is a whole, the perception of the part will naturally refer to the whole. Since we can pull and draw things wholes exist, and the whole is not merely the parts collected together, for were it so one could say that we perceived the ultimate parts or the atoms [Footnote ref 2].
Some objectors hold that since there may be a plurality of causes it is
wrong to infer particular causes from particular effects. To this
the Nyaya answer is that there is always such a difference in the
specific nature of each effect that if properly observed each particular
effect will lead us to a correct inference of its own particular
cause [Footnote ref 3]. In refuting those who object to the existence of
time on the ground of relativity, it is said that if the present time
did not exist, then no perception of it would have been possible.
The past and future also exist, for otherwise we should not have
perceived things as being done in the past or as going to be
done in the future. The validity of analogy (upamana) as a
means of knowledge and the validity of the Vedas is then proved.
The four prama@nas of perception, inference, analogy, and scripture

[Footnote 1: Here the sutras, II. i. 20-28, are probably later
interpolations to answer criticisms, not against the Nyaya doctrine
of perception, but against the wording of the definition
of perception as given in the_Nyaya sutra_, II. i. 4.]

[Footnote 2: This is a refutation of the doctrines of the Buddhists, who
rejected the existence of wholes (avayavi). On this subject a later
Buddhist monograph by Pandita As'oka (9th century A.D.),
_Avayavinirakara@na_ in _Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts_, may be referred
to.]
The inference that there has been rain up the river is not made merely from seeing the rise of water, but from the rainwater augmenting the previous water of the river and carrying with its current large quantities of foam, fruits, leaves, wood, etc. These characteristics, associated with the rise of water, mark it as a special kind of rise of water, which can only be due to the happening of rain up the river.

are quite sufficient and it is needless to accept arthapatti (implication), aithihya (tradition), sambhava (when a thing is understood in terms of higher measure the lower measure contained in it is also understood--if we know that there is a bushel of corn anywhere we understand that the same contains eight gallons of corn as well) and abhava (non-existence) as separate pramaṇas for the tradition is included in verbal testimony and arthapatti, sambhava and abhava are included within inference.

The validity of these as pramaṇas is recognized, but they are said to be included in the four pramaṇas mentioned before. The theory of the eternity of sound is then refuted and the non-eternity proved in great detail. The meaning of words is said to
refer to class-notions (_jati_), individuals (_vyakti_), and the specific position of the limbs (_akṛti_), by which the class notion is manifested.

Class (_jati_) is defined as that which produces the notion of sameness (_samanaprasavatmika jatiḥ_).

The third book begins with the proofs for the existence of the self or atman. It is said that each of the senses is associated with its own specific object, but there must exist some other entity in us which gathered together the different sense-cognitions and produced the perception of the total object as distinguished from the separate sense-perceptions. If there were no self then there would be no sin in injuring the bodies of men: again if there were no permanent self, no one would be able to recognize things as having seen them before; the two images produced by the eyes in visual perception could not also have been united together as one visual perception of the things [Footnote ref 1]; moreover if there were no permanent cognizer then by the sight of a sour fruit one could not be reminded of its sour taste. If consciousness belonged to the senses only, then there would be no recognition, for the experience of one could not be recognized by another. If it is said that the unity of sensations could as well be effected by manas (mind), then the manas would serve the same purpose as self and it would only be a quarrel over a name, for this entity the knower would require some instrument by which it would co-ordinate the sensations and cognize; unless manas is admitted as a separate instrument of the soul, then though the sense perceptions could be explained as being the work of the
senses, yet imagining, thinking, etc., could not be explained.

Another argument for the admission of soul is this, that infants show signs of pleasure and pain in quite early stages of infancy and this could not be due to anything but similar experiences in previous lives. Moreover every creature is born with some desires, and no one is seen to be born without desires. All attachments and desires are due to previous experiences, and therefore it is argued that desires in infants are due to their experience in previous existences.

The body is made up of the k@siti element. The visual sense is material and so also are all other senses [Footnote ref l]. Incidentally the view held by some that the skin is the only organ of sensation is also refuted. The earth possesses four qualities, water three, fire two, air one, and ether one, but the sense of smell, taste, eye, and touch which are made respectively by the four elements of
earth, etc., can only grasp the distinctive features of the elements of which they are made. Thus though the organ of smell is made by earth which contains four qualities, it can only grasp the distinctive quality of earth, viz. smell.

Against the Sāmkhya distinction of _buddhi_ (cognition) and _cit_ (pure intelligence) it is said that there is no difference between the _buddhi_ and _cit_. We do not find in our consciousness two elements of a phenomenal and a non-phenomenal consciousness, but only one, by whichever name it may be called. The Sāmkhya epistemology that the antaḥkaraṇa assumes diverse forms in cognitive acts is also denied, and these are explained on the supposition of contacts of manas with the senses, atman and external objects. The Buddhist objection against the Sāmkhya explanation that the antaḥkaraṇas catch reflection from the external world just as a crystal does from the coloured objects that may lie near it, that there were really momentary productions of crystals and no permanent crystal catching different reflections at different times is refuted by Nyaya; for it says that it cannot be said that all creations are momentary, but it can only be agreed to in those cases where momentariness was actually experienced. In the case of the transformation of milk into curd there is no coming in of new qualities and disappearance of old ones, but
the old milk is destroyed and the curd originates anew. The
contact of manas with soul (_atman_) takes place within the body
and not in that part of atman which is outside the body; knowledge
belongs to the self and not to the senses or the object for
even when they are destroyed knowledge remains. New cognitions
destroy the old ones. No two recollections can be simultaneous.
Desire and antipathy also belong to the soul. None of
these can belong either to the body or to the mind (manas).
Manas cannot be conscious for it is dependent upon self. Again
if it was conscious then the actions done by it would have to be
borne by the self and one cannot reap the fruits of the actions of
another. The causes of recollection on the part of self are given
as follows: (1) attention, (2) context, (3) repetition, (4) sign,
(5) association, (6) likeness, (7) association of the possessor
and the possessed or master and servant, or things which
are generally seen to follow each other, (8) separation (as of
husband and wife), (9) simpler employment, (10) opposition,
(11) excess, (12) that from which anything can be got, (13) cover
and covered, (14) pleasure and pain causing memory of that
which caused them, (15) fear, (16) entreaty, (17) action such
as that of the chariot reminding the charioteer, (18) affection,
(19) merit and demerit [Footnote ref 1]. It is said that knowledge does
not belong to body, and then the question of the production of the body
as due to ad@r@s@ta is described. Salvation (_apavarga_) is effected by
the manas being permanently separated from the soul (atman)
through the destruction of karma.

In the fourth book in course of the examination of do@sa
(defects), it is said that moha (ignorance), is at the root of all
other defects such as raga (attachment) and dve@sa (antipathy).
As against the Buddhist view that a thing could be produced by
destruction, it is said that destruction is only a stage in the
process of origination. Is'vara is regarded as the cause of the
production of effects of deeds performed by men's efforts, for
man is not always found to attain success according to his efforts.
A reference is made to the doctrine of those who say that all
things have come into being by no-cause (_animitta_), for then
no-cause would be the cause, which is impossible.

The doctrine of some that all things are eternal is next refuted
on the ground that we always see things produced and destroyed.

[Footnote 1: _Nyaya sutra_ III. ii. 44.]
The doctrine of the nihilistic Buddhists (s'unyavadin Bauddhas) that all things are what they are by virtue of their relations to other things, and that of other Buddhists who hold that there are merely the qualities and parts but no substances or wholes, are then refuted. The fruits of karmas are regarded as being like the fruits of trees which take some time before they can ripen. Even though there may be pleasures here and there, birth means sorrow for men, for even the man who enjoys pleasure is tormented by many sorrows, and sometimes one mistakes pains for pleasures. As there is no sorrow in the man who is in deep dreamless sleep, so there is no affliction (kles'a) in the man who attains apavarga (salvation) [Footnote ref 1]. When once this state is attained all efforts (prav@rtti) cease for ever, for though efforts were beginningless with us they were all due to attachment, antipathy, etc. Then there are short discussions regarding the way in which egoism (aha@mkara) ceases with the knowledge of the true causes of defects (do@sa); about the nature of whole and parts and about the nature of atoms (a@nus) which cannot further be divided. A discussion is then introduced against the doctrine of the Vijnanavadins that nothing can be regarded as having any reality when separated from thoughts. Incidentally Yoga is mentioned as leading to right knowledge.

The whole of the fifth book which seems to be a later addition...
is devoted to the enumeration of different kinds of refutations
(_nigrahasthana_) and futilities (_jati_).

Caraka, Nyaya sutras and Vais'e@sika sutras.

When we compare the _Nyaya sutras_ with the _Vais'e@sika sutras_
we find that in the former two or three different streams of purposes
have met, whereas the latter is much more homogeneous. The large
amount of materials relating to debates treated as a practical art
for defeating an opponent would lead one to suppose that it was
probably originally compiled from some other existing treatises
which were used by Hindus and Buddhists alike for rendering
themselves fit to hold their own in debates with their
opponents [Footnote ref 2]. This assumption is justified when

-------------------------------------------------------------------

[Footnote 1: Vatsyayana notes that this is the salvation of him who has
known Brahman, IV. i. 63.]

[Footnote 2: A reference to the _Suvar@naprabhasa sutra_ shows that the
Buddhist missionaries used to get certain preparations for improving
their voice in order to be able to argue with force, and they took to
the worship of Sarasvati (goddess of learning), who they supposed would
help them in bringing readily before their mind all the information]
and ideas of which they stood so much in need at the time of debates.]

302

we compare the futilities (jati) quibbles (chala), etc., relating to
disputations as found in the _Nyaya sutra_ with those that are
found in the medical work of Caraka (78 A.D.), III. viii. There
are no other works in early Sanskrit literature, excepting the
_Nyaya sutra_ and _Caraka-samhita_ which have treated of these
matters. Caraka's description of some of the categories (e.g.
d@r@s@tanta, prayojana, pratijna and vita@n@da) follows very closely
the definitions given of those in the _Nyaya sutras_. There are
others such as the definitions of jalpa, chala, nigrahamathana, etc.,
where the definitions of two authorities differ more. There are
some other logical categories mentioned in Caraka (e.g. _prati@s@thapana,
jijnasa, vyavasaya, vakyado@sa, vakyapras'a@msa, upalambha,
parihara, abhyanujna_, etc.) which are not found in the
_Nyaya sutra_ [Footnote ref 1]. Again, the various types of futilities
(jati) and points of opponent's refutation (nigrahamathana) mentioned in
the _Nyaya sutra_ are not found in _Caraka_. There are some terms which
are found in slightly variant forms in the two works, e.g. _aupamya_ in
_Caraka, upamana_ in _Nyaya sutra, arthapatti_ in _Nyaya sutra_ and
_arthapraapti_ in _Caraka_. Caraka does not seem to know anything
about the Nyaya work on this subject, and it is plain that the
treatment of these terms of disputations in the _Caraka_ is much
simpler and less technical than what we find in the _Nyaya sutras_.
If we leave out the varieties of jati and nigrahamathana of the
fifth book, there is on the whole a great agreement between the
treatment of Caraka and that of the _Nyaya sutras_. It seems therefore
in a high degree probable that both Caraka and the _Nyaya
sutras_ were indebted for their treatment of these terms of disputation
to some other earlier work. Of these, Caraka's compilation
was earlier, whereas the compilation of the _Nyaya sutras_ represents
a later work when a hotter atmosphere of disputations had
necessitated the use of more technical terms which are embodied
in this work, but which were not contained in the earlier work.

It does not seem therefore that this part of the work could have
been earlier than the second century A.D. Another stream flowing
through the _Nyaya sutras_ is that of a polemic against the doctrines
which could be attributed to the Sautrantika Buddhists, the
Vijnanavada Buddhists, the nihilists, the Sa@mkhya, the Carvaka,
and some other unknown schools of thought to which we find no

[Footnote 1: Like Vais'e@sika, Caraka does not know the threefold division
of inference (_anumana_) as _purvavat, s'e@savat and samanyatod@r@s@ta_.]

303

further allusion elsewhere. The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ as we have already
seen had argued only against the Mima@msa, and ultimately agreed
with them on most points. The dispute with Mima@msa in the
The _Nyaya sutras_ is the same as in the Vais'e@sika over the question of the doctrine of the eternality of sound. The question of the self-validity of knowledge (_svata@h prama@nyavada_) and the akhyati doctrine of illusion of the Mima@msists, which form the two chief points of discussion between later Mima@msa and later Nyaya, are never alluded to in the _Nyaya sutras_. The advocacy of Yoga methods (_Nyaya sutras_, IV.i.38-42 and 46) seems also to be an alien element; these are not found in Vais'e@sika and are not in keeping with the general tendency of the _Nyaya sutras_, and the Japanese tradition that Mirok added them later on as Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada S'astri has pointed out [Footnote ref l] is not improbable.

The _Vais'e@sika sutras_, III.i.18 and III.i.1, describe perceptional knowledge as produced by the close proximity of the self (atman), the senses and the objects of sense, and they also adhere to the doctrine, that colour can only be perceived under special conditions of sa@mskara (conglomeration etc.). The reason for inferring the existence of manas from the non-simultaneity (_ayaugapadya_) of knowledge and efforts is almost the same with Vais'e@sika as with Nyaya. The _Nyaya sutras_ give a more technical definition of perception, but do not bring in the questions of sa@mskara or udbhutarupavattva which Vais'e@sika does. On the question of inference Nyaya gives three classifications as purvavat, s'e@savat and samanyatod@r@s@ta, but no definition. The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ do not know of these classifications, and give only particular types or instances of inference (V.S. III. i. 7-17, IX. ii. 1-2, 4-5). Inference is said to be made
when a thing is in contact with another, or when it is in a relation
of inherence in it, or when it inheres in a third thing; one kind
of effect may lead to the inference of another kind of effect, and
so on. These are but mere collections of specific instances of inference
without reaching a general theory. The doctrine of vyapti
(concomitance of _hetu_ (reason) and _sadhya_ (probandum)) which became
so important in later Nyaya has never been properly formulated
either in the _Nyaya sutras_ or in the Vais'e@sika. _Vais'e@sika
sutra_, III. i. 24, no doubt assumes the knowledge of concomitance
between hetu and sadhya (_prasiddhipurvakatvat apades'asya_).

[Footnote 1: _J.A.S.B._ 1905.]

but the technical vyapti is not known, and the connotation of
the term _prasiddhipurvakatva_ of Vais'e@sika seems to be more
loose than the term _vyapti_ as we know it in the later Nyaya. The
_Vais'e@sika sutras_ do not count scriptures (_s'abda_) as a separate
prama@na, but they tacitly admit the great validity of the Vedas.
With _Nyaya sutras_ s'abda as a prama@na applies not only to the
Vedas, but to the testimony of any trustworthy person, and
Vatsyayana says that trustworthy persons may be of three
kinds _@r@si, arya_ and _mleccha_ (foreigners). Upamana which is
regarded as a means of right cognition in Nyaya is not even referred to in the _Vais'e@sika sutras_. The _Nyaya sutras_ know of other prama@nas, such as _arthapatti, sambhava_ and _aitihya_, but include them within the prama@nas admitted by them, but the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ do not seem to know them at all [Footnote ref 1]. The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ believe in the perception of negation (abhava) through the perception of the locus to which such negation refers (IX. i. 1-10). The _Nyaya sutras_ (II. ii. 1, 2, 7-12) consider that abhava as non-existence or negation can be perceived; when one asks another to "bring the clothes which are not marked," he finds that marks are absent in some clothes and brings them; so it is argued that absence or non-existence can be directly perceived [Footnote ref 2]. Though there is thus an agreement between the Nyaya and the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ about the acceptance of abhava as being due to perception, yet their method of handling the matter is different. The _Nyaya sutras_ say nothing about the categories of _dravya, gu@na, karma, vis'e@sa_ and _samavaya_ which form the main subjects of Vais'e@ska discussions [Footnote ref 3]. The _Nyaya sutras_ take much pains to prove the materiality of the senses. But this question does not seem to have been important with Vais'e@ska. The slight reference to this question in VIII. ii. 5-6 can hardly be regarded as sufficient. The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ do not mention the name of "Is'vara," whereas the _Nyaya sutras_ try to prove his existence on eschatological grounds. The reasons given in support of the existence of self in the _Nyaya sutras_ are mainly on the ground of the unity of sense-cognitions and the phenomenon of recognition, whereas the
Vaisesika lays its main emphasis on self-consciousness as a fact of knowledge. Both the Nyaya and the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ admit the existence of atoms, but all the details of the doctrine of atomic structure in later Nyaya-Vais'e@sika are absent there. The Vai'se@sika calls salvation _ni@hs'reyasa_ or _mok@sa_ and the Nyaya _apavarga_. Mok@sa with Vais'e@sika is the permanent cessation of connection with body; the apavarga with Nyaya is cessation of pain [Footnote ref l]. In later times the main points of difference between the Vais'e@sika and Nyaya are said to lie with regard to theory of the notion of number, changes of colour in the molecules by heat, etc. Thus the former admitted a special procedure of the mind by which
cognitions of number arose in the mind (e.g. at the first moment there is the sense contact with an object, then the notion of oneness, then from a sense of relativeness--apek@sabuddhi--notion of two, then a notion of two-ness, and then the notion of two things); again, the doctrine of pilupaka (changes of qualities by heat are produced in atoms and not in molecules as Nyaya held) was held by Vais'e@sika, which the Naiyayikas did not admit [Footnote ref 2]. But as the _Nyaya sutras_ are silent on these points, it is not possible to say that such were really the differences between early Nyaya and early Vaise@sika. These differences may be said to hold between the later interpreters of Vais'e@sika and the later interpreters of Nyaya. The Vais'e@sika as we find it in the commentary of Pras'astapada (probably sixth century A.D.), and the Nyaya from the time of Udyotakara have come to be treated as almost the same system with slight variations only. I have therefore preferred to treat them together. The main presentation of the Nyaya-Vais'e@sika philosophy in this chapter is that which is found from the sixth century onwards.

The Vais'e@sika and Nyaya Literature.

It is difficult to ascertain definitely the date of the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ by Ka@nada, also called Aulukya the son of Uluka, though there is every reason to suppose it to be pre-Buddhistic. It
[Footnote 1: Professor Vanamali Vedantatirtha quotes a passage from _Sa@mk@sepas'a@nkarajaya_, XVI. 68-69 in _J.A.S.B._, 1905, and another passage from a Nyaya writer Bhasarvajna, pp. 39-41, in _J.A.S.B._, 1914, to show that the old Naiyayikas considered that there was an element of happiness (_sukha_) in the state of mukti (salvation) which the Vais'e@sikas denied. No evidence in support of this opinion is found in the Nyaya or the _Vais'e@sika sutras_, unless the cessation of pain with Nyaya is interpreted as meaning the presence of some sort of bliss or happiness.]

[Footnote 2: See Madhava's _Sarvadars'anasa@mgraha-Aulukyadars'ana_.]

appears from the _Vayu purana_ that he was born in Prabhasa near Dvaraka, and was the disciple of Somas'arma. The time of Pras'astapada who wrote a bha@syā (commentary) of the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ cannot also unfortunately be ascertained. The peculiarity of Pras'astapada's bha@syā is this that unlike other bha@syas (which first give brief explanations of the text of the sutras and then continue to elaborate independent explanations by explaining the first brief comments), it does not follow the sutras but is an independent dissertation based on their main contents [Footnote ref 1]. There were two other bha@syas on the _Vais'e@sika sutras_, namely _Rava@na-bha@syā_ and _Bharadvaja-v@rtti_, but these are now
probably lost. References to the former are found in
_Kira@navalibhaskara_ of Padmanabha Mis'ra and also in _Ratnaprabha_.

2. 2. II. Four commentaries were written on this bha@syas, namely
_Vyomavati_ by Vyomas'ekharacarya, _Nyayakandali_ by S'ridhara,
_Kira@navali_ by Udayana (984 A.D.) and _Lilavati_ S'rivatsacarya.

In addition to these Jagadis'a Bha@t@tacarya of Navadvipa and S'a@nkara
Mis'ra wrote two other commentaries on the _Pras'astapada-bhasya_,
namely _Bhasyasukti_ and _Ka@nada-rahasya_. S'a@nkara Mis'ra (1425
A.D.) also wrote a commentary on the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ called the
_Upaskara_. Of these _Nyaya-kandali_ of S'ridhara on account of its
simplicity of style and elaborate nature of exposition is probably
the best for a modern student of Vais'e@sika. Its author was a
native of the village of Bhuris@r@s@ti in Bengal (Ra@dha). His father's
name was Baladeva and mother's name was Acchoka and he
wrote his work in 913 S'aka era (990 A.D.) as he himself writes
at the end of his work.

The _Nyaya sutra_ was written by Ak@sapada or Gautama, and
the earliest commentary on it written by Vatsyayana is known
as the _Vatsyayana-bha@syas_. The date of Vatsyayana has not

[Footnote 1: The bha@syas of Pras'astapada can hardly he called a
bha@syas (elaborate commentary). He himself makes no such claim and
calls his work a compendium of the properties of the categories]
He takes the categories of dravya, guṇa, karma, samanya, vis'esa and samavaya in order and without raising any discussions plainly narrates what he has got to say on them. Some of the doctrines which are important in later Nyaya-Vais'esa discussions, such as the doctrine of creation and dissolution, doctrine of number, the theory that the number of atoms contributes to the atomic measure of the molecules, the doctrine of pilupaka in connection with the transformation of colours by heat occur in his narration for the first time as the _Vais'esa sutras_ are silent on these points. It is difficult to ascertain his date definitely; he is the earliest writer on Vais'esa available to us after Kānada and it is not improbable that he lived in the 5th or 6th century A.D.]

307

been definitely settled, but there is reason to believe that he lived some time in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. Jacobi places him in 300 A.D. Udyotakara (about 635 A.D.) wrote a _Varttika_ on Vatsyayana's bha@syā to establish the Nyaya views and to refute the criticisms of the Buddhist logician Di@nnaga (about 500 A.D.) in his _Prama@nasamuccaya_. Vacaspatimis'ra (840 A.D.) wrote a sub-commentary on the _Nyayavarttika_ of Udyotakara called _Nyayavarttikatatparya@tika_ in order to make clear the right meanings of Udyotakara's _Varttika_ which was sinking in the mud as it were through numerous other bad writings (_dustarakunibandhapa@nkamagnanam_). Udayana (984 A.D.) wrote
a sub-commentary on the _Tatparya@tika_ called
_Tatparya@tikaparisp'uddhi_. Varddhamana (1225 A.D.) wrote a
sub-commentary on that called the _Nyayanibandhaprakas'a_. Padmanabha
wrote a sub-commentary on that called _Varddhamanendu_ and S'a@nkara
Mis'ra (1425 A.D.) wrote a sub-commentary on that called the
_Nyayataparyama@n@dana_. In the seventeenth century Vis'vanatha
wrote an independent short commentary known as _Vis'vanathavr@tti_,
on the _Nyaya sutra_, and Radhamohana wrote a separate
commentary on the _Nyaya sutras_ known as _Nyayasutravivara@na_.

In addition to these works on the _Nyaya sutras_ many other
independent works of great philosophical value have been written
on the Nyaya system. The most important of these in medieval
times is the _Nyayamanjari_ of Jayanta (880 A.D.), who flourished
shortly after Vacaspatimis'ra. Jayanta chooses some of the _Nyaya
sutras_ for interpretation, but he discusses the Nyaya views quite
independently, and criticizes the views of other systems of Indian
thought of his time. It is far more comprehensive than Vacaspati's
_Tatparya@tika_, and its style is most delightfully lucid. Another
important work is Udayana's _Kusumanjali_ in which he tries to
prove the existence of Is'vara (God). This work ought to be read
with its commentary _Prakas'a_ by Varddhamana (1225 A.D.) and its
sub-commentary _Makaranda_ by Rucidatta (1275 A.D.). Udayana's
_Atmatattvaviveka_ is a polemical work against the Buddhists, in
which he tries to establish the Nyaya doctrine of soul. In addition
to these we have a number of useful works on Nyaya in later
times. Of these the following deserve special mention in connection
with the present work: _Bhasapariccheda_ by Vis'vanatha with
its commentaries _Muktavali, Dinakari_ and _Ramarudri, Tarkasamgraha_
The new school of Nyaya philosophy known as Navya-Nyaya began with Gaṅgās'ā Upadhyaya of Mithila, about 1200 A.D. Gaṅgās'ā wrote only on the four pramaṇas admitted by the Nyaya, viz. pratyakṣa, anumāna, upamāna, and s'abda, and not on any of the topics of Nyaya metaphysics. But it so happened that his discussions on anumāna (inference) attracted unusually great attention in Navadvipa (Bengal), and large numbers of commentaries and commentaries of commentaries were written on the anumāna portion of his work _Tattvacintamani, and many independent treatises on sabda and anumāna were also written by the scholars of Bengal, which became thenceforth for some centuries the home of Nyaya studies. The commentaries of Raghunatha S'iromaṇi (1500 A.D.), Mathura Bhaṭṭacarya (1580 A.D.), Gadadhara Bhaṭṭacarya (1650 A.D.) and Jagadisa Bhaṭṭacarya (1590 A.D.), commentaries on S'iromaṇi's commentary on _Tattvacintamani, had been

308
very widely read in Bengal. The new school of Nyaya became the
most important study in Navadvipa and there appeared a series
of thinkers who produced an extensive literature on the subject
[Footnote ref I]. The contribution was not in the direction of
metaphysics, theology, ethics, or religion, but consisted mainly
in developing a system of linguistic notations to specify accurately
and precisely any concept or its relation with other concepts [Footnote
ref 2]. Thus for example when they wished to define precisely the
nature of the concomitance of one concept with another (e.g. smoke
and fire), they would so specify the relation that the exact nature
of the concomitance should be clearly expressed, and that there
should be no confusion or ambiguity. Close subtle analytic
thinking and the development of a system of highly technical

[Footnote 1: From the latter half of the twelfth century to the third
quarter of the sixteenth century the new school of Nyaya was started
in Mithila (Behar); but from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century
Bengal became pre-eminently the home of Nyaya studies. See Mr
Cakravartti's paper, _J. A.S.B._ 1915. I am indebted to it for some
of the dates mentioned in this section.]

[Footnote 2: _Is'varanumana_ of Raghunatha as well as his
_Padarthatattvanirupa@na_ are, however, notable exceptions.]
expressions mark the development of this literature. The technical expressions invented by this school were thus generally accepted even by other systems of thought, wherever the need of accurate and subtle thinking was felt. But from the time that Sanskrit ceased to be the vehicle of philosophical thinking in India the importance of this literature has gradually lost ground, and it can hardly be hoped that it will ever regain its old position by attracting enthusiastic students in large numbers.

I cannot close this chapter without mentioning the fact that so far as the logical portion of the Nyaya system is concerned, though Ak@sapada was the first to write a comprehensive account of it, the Jains and Buddhists in medieval times had independently worked at this subject and had criticized the Nyaya account of logic and made valuable contributions. In Jaina logic _Das'avaikalikaniryukt_ of Bhadrabahu (357 B.C.), Umasvati's _Tattvarthadhigama sutra_, _Nyayavatara_ of Siddhasena Divakara (533 A.D.) Ma@nikya Nandi's (800 A.D.) _Parik@samukha sutra_, and _Prama@nanayatattvalokala@mkara_ of Deva Suri (1159 A.D.) and _Prameyakalamamarta@n@da_ of Prabhacandra deserve special notice. _Prama@nasamuccaya_ and _Nyayapraves'a_ of Di@nnaga (500 A.D.), _Prama@nayarttika karika_ and _Nyayabindu_ of Dharmakirtti (650 A.D.) with the commentary of Dharmottara are the most interesting of the Buddhist works on systematic logic [Footnote ref l].
The diverse points of difference between the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist logic require to be dealt with in a separate work on Indian logic and can hardly be treated within the compass of the present volume.

It is interesting to notice that between the _Vatsyayana_ bha@sy@ya_ and the Udyotakara’s _Varttika_ no Hindu work on logic of importance seems to have been written: it appears that the science of logic in this period was in the hands of the Jains and the Buddhists; and it was Di@nnaga’s criticism of Hindu Nyaya that roused Udyotakara to write the _Varttika_. The Buddhist and the Jain method of treating logic separately from metaphysics as an independent study was not accepted by the Hindus till we come to Ga@nges’a, and there is probably only one Hindu work of importance on Nyaya in the Buddhist style namely _Nyayasara_ of Bhasarvajna. Other older Hindu works generally treated of

____________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _Indian Logic Medieval School_, by Dr S.C. Vidyabhu@sa@na, for a bibliography of Jain and Buddhist Logic.]

310

inference only along with metaphysical and other points of Nyaya
The main doctrine of the Nyaya-Vais'é@sika Philosophy [Footnote ref 2].

The Nyaya-Vais'é@sika having dismissed the doctrine of momentariness took a common-sense view of things, and held that things remain permanent until suitable collocations so arrange themselves that the thing can be destroyed. Thus the jug continues to remain a jug unless or until it is broken to pieces by the stroke of a stick. Things exist not because they can produce an impression on us, or serve my purposes either directly or through knowledge, as the Buddhists suppose, but because existence is one of their characteristics. If I or you or any other perceiver did not exist, the things would continue to exist all the same.

Whether they produce any effect on us or on their surrounding environments is immaterial. Existence is the most general characteristic of things, and it is on account of this that things are testified by experience to be existing.

As the Nyaya-Vais'é@sikas depended solely on experience and on valid reasons, they dismissed the Sa@mkhya cosmology, but accepted the atomic doctrine of the four elements (_bhutas_), earth (_k@siti_), water (_ap_), fire (_tejas_), and air (_marut_). These atoms are eternal; the fifth substance (_akas'a_) is all pervasive and eternal. It is regarded as the cause of propagating sound; though all-pervading and thus in touch with the ears of all persons, it manifests
sound only in the ear-drum, as it is only there that it shows
itself as a sense-organ and manifests such sounds as the man deserves
to hear by reason of his merit and demerit. Thus a deaf
man though he has the akas'a as his sense of hearing, cannot hear
on account of his demerit which impedes the faculty of that sense
organ [Footnote ref 3]. In addition to these they admitted the existence
of time (_kala_) as extending from the past through the present to the

__________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Almost all the books on Nyaya and Vais'e@sika referred to
have been consulted in the writing of this chapter. Those who want to be
acquainted with a fuller bibliography of the new school of logic should
refer to the paper called "The History of Navya Nyaya in Bengal," by Mr.
Cakravartti in _J.A.S.B._ 1915.]

[Footnote 2: I have treated Nyaya and Vais'e@sika as the same system.
Whatever may have been their original differences, they are regarded
since about 600 A.D. as being in complete agreement except in some
minor points. The views of one system are often supplemented by those
of the other. The original character of the two systems has already
been treated.]

[Footnote 3: See _Nyayakandali_, pp. 59-64.]
endless futurity before us. Had there been no time we could
have no knowledge of it and there would be nothing to account
for our time-notions associated with all changes. The Sa@mkhya
did not admit the existence of any real time; to them the unit
of kala is regarded as the time taken by an atom to traverse its
own unit of space. It has no existence separate from the atoms
and their movements. The appearance of kala as a separate entity
is a creation of our buddhi _(buddhinirma@na) as it represents the
order or mode in which the buddhi records its perceptions. But
kala in Nyaya-Vais'e@sika is regarded as a substance existing by
itself. In accordance with the changes of things it reveals itself
as past, present, and future. Sa@mkhya regarded it as past, present,
and future, as being the modes of the constitution of the things
in its different manifesting stages of evolution _(adhvan)_ . The
astronomers regarded it as being clue to the motion of the planets.
These must all be contrasted with the Nyaya-Vais'e@sika conception
of kala which is regarded as an all-pervading, partless
substance which appears as many in association with the changes
related to it [Footnote ref I].

The seventh substance is relative space _(dik)_ . It is that substance
by virtue of which things are perceived as being on the
right, left, east, west, upwards and downwards; kala like dik is
also one. But yet tradition has given us varieties of it in the eight
directions and in the upper and lower [Footnote ref 2]. The eighth
substance is the soul \(_{\text{atman}}\) which is all-pervading. There are separate atmans for each person; the qualities of knowledge, feelings of pleasure and pain, desire, etc. belong to \(_{\text{atman}}\). Manas (mind) is the ninth substance. It is atomic in size and the vehicle of memory; all affections of the soul such as knowing, feeling, and willing, are generated by the connection of manas with soul, the senses and the objects. It is the intermediate link which connects the soul with the senses, and thereby produces the affections of knowledge, feeling, or willing. With each single connection of soul with manas we have a separate affection of the soul, and thus our intellectual experience is conducted in a series, one coming after another and not simultaneously. Over and above all these we have Isvara. The definition

\[\text{Footnote 1: See } \_\_\_\text{Nyayakandali}, \_\_\_ \text{pp. 64-66, and } \_\_\_\text{Nyayamanjari}, \_\_\_, \text{pp. 136-139. The } \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\text{Vais\'e@sika sutras}_\_\_\_\_\_\_\text{regarded time as the cause of things which suffer change but denied it of things which are eternal.}\]

\[\text{Footnote 2: See } \_\_\_\_\_\text{Nyayakandali}, \_\_\_\_\_ \text{pp. 66-69, and } \_\_\_\_\_\text{Nyayamanjari}, \_\_\_, \text{p. 140.}\]

312

of substance consists in this, that it is independent by itself, whereas the other things such as quality (\(_{\text{gu@na}}\), action (\(_{\text{karma}}\), sameness
or generality (samanya), speciality or specific individuality (vis'e@sa) and the relation of inherence (samavaya) cannot show themselves without the help of substance (dravya). Dravya is thus the place of rest (as'raya) on which all the others depend (as'@rta).

Dravya, gu@na, karma, samanya, vis'e@sa, and samavaya are the six original entities of which all things in the world are made up [Footnote ref 1].

When a man through some special merit, by the cultivation of reason and a thorough knowledge of the fallacies and pitfalls in the way of right thinking, comes to know the respective characteristics and differences of the above entities, he ceases to have any passions and to work in accordance with their promptings and attains a conviction of the nature of self, and is liberated [Footnote ref 2]. The Nyaya-Vais'e@sika is a pluralistic system which neither tries to reduce the diversity of experience to any universal principle, nor dismisses patent facts of experience on the strength of the demands of the logical coherence of mere abstract thought. The entities it admits are taken directly from experience. The underlying principle is that at the root of each kind of perception there must be something to which the perception is due. It classified the percepts and concepts of experience into several ultimate types or categories (padartha), and held that the notion of each type was due to the presence of that entity. These types are six in number—dravya, gu@na, etc. If we take a percept "I see a red book," the book appears to be an independent entity on which rests the concept of "redness" and "oneness," and we thus call the book a substance (dravya); dravya is thus defined as that which has the characteristic of a dravya (dravyatva). So also gu@na and karma. In the subdivision of different kinds of dravya also the
same principle of classification is followed. In contrasting it with
Sa@mkhya or Buddhism we see that for each unit of sensation (say

[Footnote 1: _Abhava_ (negation) as dependent on bhava (position) is
mentioned in the _Vais'e@sika sutras_. Later Nyaya writers such as
Udayana include _abhava_ as a separate category, but S'ridhara a
contemporary of Udayana rightly remarks that abhava was not
counted by Pras'astapada as it was dependent on bhava--"_abhavasya
prthagunanapades'a@h bhavaparatantryat na tvabhavat_" _Nyayakandali_,
p. 6, and _Lak@sa@navali_, p. 2.]

[Footnote 2: "_Tattvato jnate@su bahyadhyatmike@su vi@saye@su
do@sadars'anat viraktasya samihaniv@rttau atmajnasya tadarthani
karmayakurvatah tatparityagasadhanani s'rutism@ryuditani
asa@nkalpitaphalani upadadanasya atmajnanamabhasyasyata@h
prak@r@s@tanivarttakadharmopacaye sati
paripakvatmajనanasyatyantikas'ariraviyogasya bhavat_" _Ibid._ p. 7.]

313

whiteness) the latter would admit a corresponding real, but
Nyaya-Vais'e@sika would collect "all whiteness" under the name
of "the quality of white colour" which the atom possessed [Footnote ref 1].
They only regarded as a separate entity what represented an ultimate mode of thought. They did not enquire whether such notions could be regarded as the modification of some other notion or not; but whenever they found that there were some experiences which were similar and universal, they classed them as separate entities or categories.

The six Padarthas: Dravya, Gu@na, Karma, Samanya, Vis'e@sa, Samavaya.

Of the six classes of entities or categories (_padartha_) we have already given some account of dravya [Footnote ref 2]. Let us now turn to the others. Of the qualities (_gu@na_) the first one called _rupa_ (colour) is that which can be apprehended by the eye alone and not by any other sense. The colours are white, blue, yellow, red, green, brown and variegated (_citra_). Colours are found only in k@siti, ap and tejas. The colours of ap and tejas are permanent (_nitya_), but the colour of k@siti changes when heat is applied, and this, S'ridhara holds, is due to the fact that heat changes the atomic structure of k@siti (earth) and thus the old constitution of the substance being destroyed, its old colour is also destroyed, and a new one is generated. Rupa is the general name for the specific individual colours. There is the genus _rupatva_ (colourness), and the rupa gu@na (quality) is that on which rests this genus; rupa is not itself a genus and can be apprehended by the eye.
The second is _rasa_ (taste), that quality of things which can be apprehended only by the tongue; these are sweet, sour, pungent (_ka@tu_), astringent (ka@saya) and bitter (tikta). Only k@siti and ap have taste. The natural taste of ap is sweetness. Rasa like rupa also denotes the genus rasatva, and rasa as quality must be distinguished from rasa as genus, though both of them are apprehended by the tongue.

The third is _gandha_ (odour), that quality which can be apprehended by the nose alone. It belongs to k@siti alone. Water or air is apprehended as having odour on account of the presence of earth materials.

[Footnote 1: The reference is to Sautrantika Buddhism, "yo yo vruddhadhyasavan nasaveka@h." See Pa@n@ditas'oka's _Avayavinirakarana, Six Buddhist Nyaya tracts_.]

[Footnote 2: The word "padartha" literally means denotations of words.]
The fourth is _spars'a_ (touch), that quality which can be apprehended only by the skin. There are three kinds of touch, cold, hot, neither hot nor cold. Spars'a belongs to k@siti; ap, tejas, and vayu. The fifth _s'abda_ (sound) is an attribute of akas'a. Had there been no akas'a there would have been no sound.

The sixth is sa@mkhya (number), that entity of quality belonging to things by virtue of which we can count them as one, two, three, etc. The conception of numbers two, three, etc. is due to a relative oscillatory state of the mind (_apek@sabuddhi_); thus when there are two jugs before my eyes, I have the notion--This is one jug and that is another jug. This is called apek@sabuddhi; then in the two jugs there arises the quality of twoness (_dvitva_) and then an indeterminate perception (_nirvikalpa-dvitva-gu@na_) of dvitva in us and then the determinate perceptions that there are the two jugs. The conceptions of other numbers as well as of many arise in a similar manner [Footnote ref 1].

The seventh is _parimiti_ (measure), that entity of quality in things by virtue of which we perceive them as great or small and speak of them as such. The measure of the partless atoms is called _parima@n@dala parima@na_; it is eternal, and it cannot generate the measure of any other thing. Its measure is its own absolutely; when two atoms generate a dyad (_dvya@nuka_) it is not the measure of the atom that generates the a@nu (atomic) and the _hrasva_ (small) measure of the dyad molecule (_dvya@nuka_).
for then the size (parima@na) of it would have been still smaller
than the measure of the atom (parima@na@dala), whereas the
measure of the dya@nuka is of a different kind, namely the
small (hrasva) [Footnote ref 2]. Of course two atoms generate a dyad, but
then the number (sa@mkhya) of the atom should be regarded as
bringing forth a new kind of measure, namely the small (hrasva)
measure in the dyads. So again when three dyads (dya@nuka)
compose a trya@nuka the number and not the measure "small"

[Footnote 1: This is distinctively a Vais'e@sika view introduced by
Pras'astapada. Nyaya seems to be silent on this matter. See S'a@nkara
Mis'ra's _Upaskara_, VII. ii. 8.]

[Footnote 2 It should be noted that the atomic measure appears in two forms
as eternal as in "parama@nus" and non-eternal as in the dvya@nuka. The
parima@n@dala parima@na is thus a variety of a@nuparima@na. The
a@nuparima@na and the hrasvaparima@na represent the two dimensions of
the measure of dvya@nukas as mahat and dirgha are with reference
to trya@nukas. See _Nyayakandali_, p. 133.]

315

(_hrasva_) of the dyad is the cause of the measure "great" (_mahat_)
of the trya@nuka. But when we come to the region of these gross
trya@nukas we find that the "great" measure of the trya@nukas is
the cause of the measure of other grosser bodies composed by
them. For as many trya@nukas constitute a gross body, so much
bigger does the thing become. Thus the cumulation of the trya@nukas
of mahat parima@na makes things of still more mahat parima@na.
The measure of trya@nukas is not only regarded as mahat
but also as dirgha (long) and this dirgha parima@na has to be admitted
as coexisting with mahat parima@na but not identical, for
things not only appear as great but also as long (_dirgha_). Here
we find that the accumulation of trya@nukas means the accumulation
of "great" (_mahat_) and "long" (_dirgha_) parima@na, and hence
the thing generated happens to possess a measure which is greater
and longer than the individual atoms which composed them.
Now the hrasva parima@na of the dyads is not regarded as having
a lower degree of greatness or length but as a separate and distinct
type of measure which is called small (_hrasva_). As accumulation
of grossness, greatness or length, generates still more greatness,
grossness and length in its effect, so an accumulation of the
hrasva (small) parima@na ought to generate still more hrasva
parima@na, and we should expect that if the hrasva measure of
the dyads was the cause of the measure of the trya@nukas, the
trya@nukas should be even smaller than the dya@nukas. So also if
the atomic and circular (_parima@na@dala_) size of the atoms is regarded
as generating by their measure the measure of the dya@nukas,
then the measure of the dya@nukas ought to be more atomic
than the atoms. The atomic, small, and great measures should
not be regarded as representing successively bigger measures produced
by the mere cumulation of measures, but each should be regarded as a measure absolutely distinct, different from or foreign to the other measure. It is therefore held that if grossness in the cause generates still more greatness in the effect, the smallness and the parima@n@dala measure of the dyads and atoms ought to generate still more smallness and subtleness in their effect. But since the dyads and the trya@nuka molecules are seen to be constituted of atoms and dyads respectively, and yet are not found to share the measure of their causes, it is to be argued that the measures of the atoms and dyads do not generate the measure of their effects, but it is their _number_ which is the cause of the measure of the latter. This explains a@nuparima@na, hrasva parima@na, mahat parima@na, and dirgha parima@na. The parima@na of akas'a, kala, dik and atman which are regarded as all-pervasive, is said to be paramamahat (absolutely large). The parima@nas of the atoms, akas'a, kala, dik, manas, and atman are regarded as eternal (nitya). All other kinds of parima@nas as belonging to non-eternal things are regarded as non-eternal.

The eighth is _p@rthaktva_ (mutual difference or separateness of things), that entity or quality in things by virtue of which things appear as different (e.g. this is different from that). Difference is perceived by us as a positive notion and not as a mere negation
such as this jug is not this pot.

The ninth is _sa@myoga_ (connection), that entity of gu@na by
turtle of which things appear to us as connected.

The tenth is _vibhaga_ (separation), that entity of gu@na which
destroys the connection or contact of things.

The eleventh and twelfth gu@nas, _paratva_ and _aparatva_, give
rise in us to the perceptions of long time and short time, remote
and near.

The other gu@nas such as _buddhi_(knowledge), _sukha_ (happiness),
_du@hkha_ (sorrow), _iccha_ (will), _dve@sa_ (antipathy or hatred) and
_yatna_ (effort) can occur only with reference to soul.

The characteristic of _gurutva_ (heaviness) is that by virtue of
which things fall to the ground. The gu@na of _sneha_ (oiliness)
belongs to water. The gu@na of _sa@mskara_ is of three kinds, (i) _vega_
(velocity) which keeps a thing moving in different directions,
(2) _sthiti-sthapaka_ (elasticity) on account of which a gross thing
tries to get back its old state even though disturbed, (3) _bhavana_
is that quality of atman by which things are constantly practised or by
which things experienced are remembered and recognized [Footnote ref l].
_Dharma_ is the quality the presence of which enables the soul to enjoy
happiness or to attain salvation [Footnote ref 2]. _Adharma_ is

[Footnote 1: Pras'astapada says that bhavana is a special characteristic of the soul, contrary to intoxication, sorrow and knowledge, by which things seen, heard and felt are remembered and recognized. Through unexpectedness (as the sight of a camel for a man of South India), repetition (as in studies, art etc.) and intensity of interest, the sa@mskara becomes particularly strong. See _Nyayakandali_, p. 167. Ka@nada however is silent on these points. He only says that by a special kind of contact of the mind with soul and also by the sa@mskara, memory (sm@rti) is produced (ix. 2. 6).]

[Footnote 2: Pras'astapada speaks of _dharma_ (merit) as being a quality of the soul. Thereupon S'ridhara points out that this view does not admit that dharma is a power of karma (_nakarmasamarthyam_). Sacrifice etc. cannot be dharma for these actions being momentary they cannot generate the effects which are only to be reaped at a future time. If the action is destroyed its power (_samarthya_) cannot last. So dharma is to be admitted as a quality generated in the self by certain courses of conduct which produce happiness for him when helped by certain other conditions of time, place, etc. Faith (_s'raddha_), non-injury, doing good to all beings, truthfulness, non-stealing, sex-control, sincerity, control of anger, ablutions, taking of pure food, devotion to particular gods, fasting, strict adherence to scriptural duties, and the performance of
duties assigned to each caste and stage of life, are enumerated by
Pras'astapada as producing dharma. The person who strictly adheres to
these duties and the _yamas_ and _niyamas_ (cf. Patanjali's Yoga) and
attains Yoga by a meditation on the six padarthas attains a dharma
which brings liberation (_mok@sa_). S'riddhara refers to the Sa@mkhya-Yoga
account of the method of attaining salvation (_Nyayakandali_, pp. 272-280).
See also Vallabha's _Nyayalilavati_, pp. 74-75. (Bombay, 1915.])

317

the opposite quality, the presence of which in the soul leads a
man to suffer. _Ad@r@s@ta_ or destiny is that unknown quality of
things and of the soul which brings about the cosmic order, and
arranges it for the experience of the souls in accordance with
their merits or demerits.

_Karma_ means movement; it is the third thing which must
be held to be as irreducible a reality as dravya or gu@na. There
are five kinds of movement, (1) upward, (2) downward, (3) contraction,
(4) expansion, (5) movement in general. All kinds of
karmas rest on substances just, as the gu@nas do, and cause the
things to which they belong to move.

_Samanya_ is the fourth category. It means the genus, or aspect
of generality or sameness that we notice in things. Thus in spite
of the difference of colour between one cow and another, both of
them are found to have such a sameness that we call them cows.

In spite of all diversity in all objects around us, they are all perceived as \_sat\_ or existing. This sat or existence is thus a sameness, which is found to exist in all the three things, dravya, gu\@na, and karma. This sameness is called \_samanya\_ or \_jati\_, and it is regarded as a separate thing which rests on dravya, gu\@na, or karma. This highest genus \_satta\_ (being) is called \_parajati\_ (highest universal), the other intermediate jatis are called aparajati (lower universals), such as the genus of dravya, of karma, or of gu\@na, or still more intermediate jatis such as \_gotvajati\_ (the genus cow), \_nilatvajati\_ (the genus blue). The intermediate jatis or genera sometimes appear to have a special aspect as a species, such as \_pas'utva\_ (animal jati) and \_gotva\_ (the cow jati); here however gotva appears as a species, yet it is in reality nothing but a jati. The aspect as species has no separate existence. It is jati which from one aspect appears as genus and from another as species.

This jati or \_samanya\_ thus must be regarded as having a separate independent reality though it is existent in dravya, gu\@na and karma. The Buddhists denied the existence of any independent reality of samanya, but said that the sameness as cow was really but the negation of all non-cows (\_apoha\__). The perception of cow realizes the negation of all non-cows and this is represented in consciousness as the sameness as cow. He who should regard this sameness to be a separate and independent
reality perceived in experience might also discover two horns on his own head [Footnote ref 1]. The Nyaya-Vais'ea@sika said that negation of non-cows is a negative perception, whereas the sameness perceived as cow is a positive perception, which cannot be explained by the aforesaid negation theory of the Buddhists. Samanya has thus to be admitted to have a separate reality. All perception as sameness of a thing is due to the presence of this thing in that object [Footnote ref I]. This jati is eternal or non-destructible, for even with the destruction of individuals comprehended within the jati, the latter is not destroyed [Footnote ref 2].

Through _vis'e@sa_ things are perceived as diverse. No single sensation that we receive from the external world probably agrees with any other sensation, and this difference must be due to the existence of some specific differences amongst the atoms themselves. The, specific difference existing in the atoms, emancipated souls and minds must be regarded as eternally existing, and it

[Footnote 1: The Buddhist Panditas'oka says that there is no single thing running through different individuals (e.g. cooks) by virtue of which the samanya could be established, for if it did exist then we could have known it simply by seeing any cook without any reference to his action of cooking by virtue of which the notion of generality is formed. If there is a similarity between the action of cooks that cannot establish
jati in the cooks, for the similarity applies to other things, viz. the
action of the cooks. If the specific individualities of a cow should
require one common factor to hold them together, then these should
require another and that another, and we have a regressus ad infinitum.
Whatever being perceptible is not perceived is non-existent
(\(\text{yadyadupalabdhilaksanapraptam sannopalabhyate tattadasat}\)). Samanya is
such, therefore samanya is non existent. No samanya can be admitted to
exist as an entity. But it is only as a result of the impressions of past
experiences of existence and non existence that this notion is formed and
transferred erroneously to external objects. Apart from this no samanya
can be pointed out as being externally perceptible
--_Samanyadusanadikprasarita_--in _Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts_. The Vedanta
also does not think that either by perception or by inference we can know
jati as a separate substance. So it discards jati. See _Vedantaparibhasa_,
_Sikhamani_ and _Mamprabha_, pp. 69-71. See also Sriharsa's
_Khan@danakhandakhadya, pp 1079-1086._

[Footnote 2: Similarity (sads'ya_) is not regarded as a separate category,
for it is defined as identity in difference (\(_\text{tadbhinnatve sati}
\text{tadgatabhuyodharmavat\text{vam}}\)).]

319

is on account of its presence that atoms appear as different to the
yogins who can perceive them.
Samavaya, the inseparable relation of inherence, is a relation by virtue of which two different things such as substance and attribute, substance and karma, substance and samanya, karana (cause) and karya (effect), atoms and vis'e@sa, appear so unified that they represent one whole, or one identical inseparable reality. This peculiar relation of inseparable inherence is the cause why substance, action, and attribute, cause and effect, and jati in substance and attribute appear as indissolubly connected as if they are one and the same thing Samyoga or contact may take place between two things of the same nature which exist as disconnected and may later on be connected (_yutasiddha_), such as when I put my pen on the table. The pen and the table are both substances and were disconnected, the samynga relation is the gu@na by virtue of which they appear to be connected for a while. Samavaya however makes absolutely difficient things such as dravya and gu@na and karma or karana and karya (clay and jug) appear as one inseparable whole (_ayutasiddha_). This relation is thus a separate and independent category. This is not regarded as many like sa@myogas (contact) but as one and eternal because it has no cause. This or that object (eg. jug) may be destroyed but the samavaya relation which was never brought into being by anybody always remains [Footnote ref 1].

These six things are called the six padarthas or independent realities experienced in perception and expressed in language.
The Theory of Causation.

The Nyaya-Vais'esa in most of its speculations took that view of things which finds expression in our language, and which we tacitly assume as true in all our ordinary experience. Thus

[Footnote 1: The Vedanta does not admit the existence of the relation of samavaya as subsisting between two different entities (e.g. substance and qualities). Thus S'a@nkara says (_Brahma-sutraba@syi II. ii. 13_) that if a samavaya relation is to be admitted to connect two different things, then another samavaya would be necessary to connect it with either of the two entities that it intended to connect, and that another, and so there will be a vicious infinite (_anavastha_). Nyaya, however, would not regard it as vicious at all. It is well to remember that the Indian systems acknowledge two kinds of _anavastha_--_prama@niki_ (valid infinite, as in case of the question of the seed and the tree, or of the avidya and the passions), and another _aprama@niki anavastha_ (vicious infinite) as when the admission of anything invokes an infinite chain before it can be completed.]
had to admit as the ultimate peculiarities of atoms, for they did not admit that things were continually changing their qualities, and that everything could be produced out of everything by a change of the collocation or arrangement of the constituting atoms.

In the production of the effect too they did not admit that the effect was potentially pre-existent in the cause. They held that the material cause (e.g. clay) had some power within it, and the accessory and other instrumental causes (such as the stick, the wheel etc.) had other powers; the collocation of these two destroyed the cause, and produced the effect which was not existent before but was newly produced. This is what is called the doctrine of \textit{asatkaryavada}. This is just the opposite of the \textit{Sa\@mkhya} axiom, that what is existent cannot be destroyed \textit{nabhavo vidyate sata@h} and that the non-existent could never be produced \textit{nasato vidyate bhavah}. The objection to this view is that if what is non-existent is produced, then even such impossible things as the hare's horn could also be produced. The \textit{Nyaya-Vais'e@sika} answer is that the view is not that anything that is non-existent can be produced, but that which is produced was non-existent [Footnote ref 1].

It is held by \textit{Mima@msa} that an unseen power resides in the cause which produces the effect. To this Nyaya objects that this is neither a matter of observation nor of legitimate hypothesis, for there is no reason to suppose that there is any transcendental operation in causal movement as this can be satisfactorily explained by molecular movement \textit{parispanda}. There is nothing
except the invariable time relation (antecedence and sequence)

between the cause and the effect, but the mere invariableness of

an antecedent does not suffice to make it the cause of what

succeeds; it must be an unconditional antecedent as well

(_anyathasiddhis'nyasya niyatapuruvavarttita_). Unconditionality

and invariability are indispensable for _karyakara@na-bhava_ or

cause and effect relation. For example, the non-essential or

adventitious accompaniments of an invariable antecedent may also

be invariable antecedents; but they are not unconditional, only

collateral or indirect. In other words their antecedence is conditional

upon something else (_na svatantrye@na_). The potter's stick is an

unconditional invariable antecedent of the jar; but the colour


[Footnote 1: _Nyayamunjari_, p. 494.]
of the antecedents of which they are effects. For example, the sound produced by the stick or by the potter's wheel invariably precedes the jar but it is a co-effect; and akas'a (ether) as the substrate and vayu (air) as the vehicle of the sound enter into the production of this co-effect, but these are no unconditional antecedents, and must therefore be rejected in an enumeration of conditions or causes of the jar. The conditions of the conditions should also be rejected; the invariable antecedent of the potter (who is an invariable antecedent of the jar), the potter's father, does not stand in a causal relation to the potter's handiwork. In fact the antecedence must not only be unconditionally invariable, but must also be immediate. Finally all seemingly invariable antecedents which may be dispensed with or left out are not unconditional and cannot therefore be regarded as causal conditions. Thus Dr. Seal in describing it rightly remarks, "In the end, the discrimination of what is necessary to complete the sum of causes from what is dependent, collateral, secondary, superfluous, or inert (i.e. of the relevant from the irrelevant factors), must depend on the test of expenditure of energy. This test the Nyaya would accept only in the sense of an operation analysable into molar or molecular motion (_parispanda eva bhautiko vyapara@h karotyartha@h atindriyastu vyaparo nasti._ Jayanta's Manjari Ahnika I), but would emphatically reject, if it is advanced in support of the notion of a mysterious causal power or efficiency (_s'akti_) [Footnote ref 1]." With Nyaya all energy is necessarily kinetic. This is a peculiarity of Nyaya--its insisting that the effect is only the sum or resultant of the operations of the different causal conditions--that these operations are of
the nature of motion or kinetic, in other words it firmly holds
to the view that causation is a case of expenditure of energy,
i.e. a redistribution of motion, but at the same time absolutely
repudiates the Sa@mkhya conception of power or productive

[Footnote 1: Dr P.C. Ray's _Hindu Chemistry_, 1909, pp. 249-250.]

efficiency as metaphysical or transcendental (_atindriya_) and finds
nothing in the cause other than unconditional invariable complements
of operative conditions (_kara@na-samagri_), and nothing
in the effect other than the consequent phenomenon which results
from the joint operations of the antecedent conditions [Footnote ref 1].
Certain general conditions such as relative space (_dik_), time
(_kala_), the will of Is'vara, destiny (_ad@r@s@ta_) are regarded
as the common cause of all effects (_karyatva-prayojaka_). Those are
called _sadhara@na-kara@na_ (common cause) as distinguished from the
specific causes which determine the specific effects which are called
_sadhara@na kara@na_. It may not be out of place here to notice that
Nyaya while repudiating transcendental power (_s'akti_) in the mechanism
of nature and natural causation, does not deny the existence of
metaphysical conditions like merit (_dharma_), which constitutes a
system of moral ends that fulfil themselves through the mechanical
systems and order of nature.

The causal relation then like the relation of genus to species, is a natural relation of concomitance, which can be ascertained only by the uniform and uninterrupted experience of agreement in presence and agreement in absence, and not by a deduction from a certain _a priori_ principle like that of causality or identity of essence [Footnote ref 2].

The material cause such as the clay is technically called the _samavayi-kara@na_ of the jug. _Samavaya_ means as we have seen an intimate, inseparable relation of inherence. A kara@na is called _samavayi_ when its materials are found inseparably connected with the materials of the effect. Asamavayi-kara@na is that which produces its characteristics in the effect through the medium of the samavayi or material cause, e.g. the clay is not the cause of the colour of the jug but the colour of the clay is the cause of the colour of the jug. The colour of the clay which exists in the clay in inseparable relation is the cause of the colour of the jug. This colour of the clay is thus called the asamavayi cause of the jug. Any quality (_gu@na_) or movement which existing in the samavaya cause in the samavaya relation determines the characteristics of the effect is called the asamavayi-kara@na. The instrumental
_nimitta_ and accessory (_sahakari_) causes are those which help the material cause to produce the effect. Thus the potter, the wheel and the stick may be regarded as the nimitta and the sahakari causes of the effect.

We know that the Nyaya-Vais'ea@sika regards the effect as nonexistent, before the operation of the cause in producing it, but it holds that the gu@nas in the cause are the causes of the gu@nas in the effect, e.g. the black colour of the clay is the cause of the black colour of the effect, except in cases where heat comes as an extraneous cause to generate other qualities; thus when a clay jug is burnt, on account of the heat we get red colour, though the colour of the original clay and the jug was black. Another important exception is to be found in the case of the production of the parima@nas of dvya@nukas and trasare@nus which are not produced
by the parima@nas of an a@nu or a dya@nuka, but by their number as we have already seen.

Dissolution (Pralaya) and Creation (S@r@s@ti).

The doctrine of pralaya is accepted by all the Hindu systems except the Mima@msa [Footnote ref 1]. According to the Nyaya-Vais'e@sika view Is'vara wishing to give some respite or rest to all living beings desires to bring about dissolution (_sa@mhareccho bhavati_). Simultaneously with it the ad@r@s@ta force residing in all the souls and forming bodies, senses, and the gross elements, ceases to act (_s'akti-pratibandha_). As a result of this no further bodies, senses, or other products come into being. Then for the bringing about of the dissolution of all produced things (by the desire of Is'vara) the separation of the atoms commences and thus all combinations as bodies or senses are disintegrated; so all earth is reduced to the disintegrated atomic state, then all ap, then all tejas and then all vayu. These disintegrated atoms and the souls associated with dharma, adharma and past impressions (_sa@mskara_) remain suspended in their own inanimate condition. For we know that souls in their natural condition are lifeless and knowledgeless, non-intelligent entities. It is only when these are connected with bodies that they possess knowledge through the activity of manas. In the state of pralaya owing to the ad@r@s@ta of souls the
atoms do not conglomerate. It is not an act of cruelty on the part of Is'vara that he brings about dissolution, for he does it to give some rest to the sufferings of the living beings.

At the time of creation, Is'vara wishes to create and this desire of Is'vara works in all the souls as ad@r@s@ta. This one eternal desire of Is'vara under certain conditions of time (e.g. of pralaya) as accessory causes (_sahakari_) helps the disintegration of atoms and at other times (e.g. that of creation) the constructive process of integration and unification of atoms for the world-creation.

When it acts in a specific capacity in the diverse souls it is called ad@r@s@ta. At the time of dissolution the creative function of this ad@r@s@ta is suspended and at the time of creation it finds full play. At the time of creation action first begins in the vayu atoms by the kinetic function of this ad@r@s@ta, by the contact of the souls with the atoms. By such action the air atoms come in contact with one another and the dvya@nukas are formed and then in a similar way the trya@nukas are formed, and thus vayu originates.

After vayu, the ap is formed by the conglomeration of water
atoms, and then the tejas atoms conglomerate and then the earth atoms. When the four elements are thus conglomerated in the gross form, the god Brahma and all the worlds are created by Is'vara and Brahma is directed by Is'vara to do the rest of the work. Brahma thus arranges for the enjoyment and suffering of the fruits of diverse kinds of karma, good or bad. Is'vara brings about this creation not for any selfish purpose but for the good of all beings. Even here sorrows have their place that they may lead men to turn from worldly attachment and try for the attainment of the highest good, mukti. Moreover Is'vara arranges for the enjoyment of pleasures and the suffering of pains according to the merits and demerits of men, just as in our ordinary experience we find that a master awards prizes or punishments according to good or bad deeds [Footnote ref 1]. Many Nyaya books do not speak of the appointment of a Brahma as deputy for supervision of the due disposal of the fruits of karma according to merit or demerit. It is also held that pralaya and creation were brought about in accordance with the karma of men, or that it may be due to a mere play (_lila_) of Is'vara. Is'vara is one, for if there were many Is'varas they might quarrel. The will of Is'vara not only brings about dissolution and creation,

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayakandali_, pp. 48-54.]
but also acts always among us in a general way, for without it
our karmas could not ripen, and the consequent disposal of
pleasures and sorrows to us and a corresponding change in the
exterior world in the form of order or harmony could not happen.
The exterior world is in perfect harmony with men's actions.
Their merits and demerits and all its changes and modifications
take place in accordance with merits and demerits. This desire
(_iccha_) of Is'vara may thus be compared with the _iccha_ of Is'vara
as we find it in the Yoga system.

Proof of the Existence of Is'vara.

Sa@mkhya asserts that the teleology of the prak@rti is sufficient
to explain all order and arrangement of the cosmos. The
Mima@msakas, the Carvakas, the Buddhists and the Jains all
deny the existence of Is'vara (God). Nyaya believes that Is'vara
has fashioned this universe by his will out of the ever-existing
atoms. For every effect (e.g. a jug) must have its cause. If
this be so, then this world with all its order and arrangement
must also be due to the agency of some cause, and this cause is
Is'vara. This world is not momentary as the Buddhists suppose,
but is permanent as atoms, is also an effect so far as it is a
collocation of atoms and is made up of parts like all other individual
objects (e.g. jug, etc.), which we call effects. The world
being an effect like any other effect must have a cause like any other effect. The objection made against this view is that such effects as we ordinarily perceive may be said to have agents as their causes but this manifest world with mountains, rivers, oceans etc. is so utterly different in form from ordinary effects that we notice every day, that the law that every effect must have a cause cannot be said to hold good in the present case. The answer that Nyaya gives is that the concomitance between two things must be taken in its general aspect neglecting the specific peculiarities of each case of observed concomitance. Thus I had seen many cases of the concomitance of smoke with fire, and had thence formed the notion that "wherever there is smoke there is fire"; but if I had only observed small puffs of smoke and small fires, could I say that only small quantities of smoke could lead us to the inference of fire, and could I hold that therefore large volumes of smoke from the burning of a forest should not be sufficient reason for us to infer the existence of fire in the forest?

Thus our conclusion should not be that only smaller effects are preceded by their causes, but that all effects are invariably and unconditionally preceded by causes. This world therefore being an effect must be preceded by a cause, and this cause is Is'vara. This cause we cannot see, because Is'vara has no visible body, not because he does not exist. It is sometimes said that we see every day that shoots come out of seeds and they are
not produced by any agent. To such an objection the Nyaya
answer is that even they are created by God, for they are also
effects. That we do not see any one to fashion them is not
because there is no maker of them, but because the creator cannot
be seen. If the objector could distinctly prove that there was
no invisible maker shaping these shoots, then only could he point
to it as a case of contradiction. But so long as this is not done
it is still only a doubtful case of enquiry and it is therefore legitimate
for us to infer that since all effects have a cause, the shoots
as well as the manifest world being effects must have a cause.
This cause is Is'vara. He has infinite knowledge and is all merciful.
At the beginning of creation He created the Vedas. He is like our
father who is always engaged in doing us good [Footnote ref 1].

Tht Nyaya-Vais'e@sika Physics.

The four kinds of atoms are earth, water, fire, and air atoms.
These have mass, number, weight, fluidity (or hardness), viscosity
(or its opposite), velocity, characteristic potential colour,
taste, smell, or touch, not produced by the chemical operation of
heat. Akas'a (space) is absolutely inert and structure-less being
only as the substratum of sound, which is supposed to travel
wave-like in the manifesting medium of air. Atomic combination
is only possible with the four elements. Atoms cannot
exist in an uncombined condition in the creation stage; atmospheric
air however consists of atoms in an uncombined state.
Two atoms combine to form a binary molecule (dvya@nuka_). Two, three, four, or five dvya@nukas form themselves into grosser molecules of trya@nuka, catura@nuka, etc. [Footnote ref 2]. Though this was the generally current view, there was also another view as has been pointed out by Dr B.N. Seal in his _Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus_, that the "atoms have also an inherent tendency to unite," and that

---

[Footnote 1: See Jayanta's _Nyayamanjari_, pp. 190-204, and Udayana's _Kusumanjali_ with _Prakas'a_ and _Is'varanumana_ of Raghunatha.]

[Footnote 2: _Kadacit tribhirarabhyate iti trya@nukamityucyate, kadacit caturbhirarabhyate kadacin pancabhiriti yathe@st@m kalpana. Nyayakandali_, p. 32.]

327

they do so in twos, threes, or fours, "either by the atoms falling into groups of threes, fours, etc., directly, or by the successive addition of one atom to each preceding aggregate [Footnote ref l]." Of course the atoms are regarded as possessed of an incessant vibratory motion. It must however be noted in this connection that behind this physical explanation of the union of atoms there is the ad@r@s@ta, the
will of Is'vara, which gives the direction of all such unions in harmony
with the principle of a "moral government of the universe,"
so that only such things are produced as can be arranged for the
due disposal of the effects of karma. "An elementary substance
thus produced by primary atomic combination may however suffer
qualitative changes under the influence of heat (_pakajotpatti_)
"The impact of heat corpuscles decomposes a dvya@nuka into the
atoms and transforms the characters of the atoms determining
them all in the same way. The heat particles continuing to impinge
reunite the atoms so transformed to form binary or other
molecules in different orders or arrangements, which account for
the specific characters or qualities finally produced. The Vais'e@sika
holds that there is first a disintegration into simple atoms, then
change of atomic qualities, and then the final re-combination,
under the influence of heat. This doctrine is called the doctrine
of _pilupaka_ (heating of atoms). Nyaya on the other hand thinks
that no disintegration into atoms is necessary for change of qualities,
but it is the molecules which assume new characters under the
influence of heat. Heat thus according to Nyaya directly affects
the characters of the molecules and changes their qualities without
effecting a change in the atoms. Nyaya holds that the
heat-corpuscles penetrate into the porous body of the object and
thereby produce the change of colour. The object as a whole is
not disintegrated into atoms and then reconstituted again, for
such a procedure is never experienced by observation. This is
called the doctrine of _pi@tharapaka_ (heating of molecules). This
is one of the few points of difference between the later Nyaya
and Vais'e@sika systems [Footnote ref 2].
Chemical compounds of atoms may take place between the atoms of the same bhuta or of many bhutas. According to the Nyaya view there are no differences in the atoms of the same bhuta, and all differences of quality and characteristics of the compound of the same bhuta are due only to diverse collocations of those atoms. Thus Udyotakara says (III. i. 4) that there is no difference between the atom of a barley seed and paddy seed, since these are all but atoms of earth. Under the continued impact of creation and atomic combinations appear to have taken place after Vatsyayana.

328
of heat particles the atoms take new characters. It is heat and heat alone that can cause the transformations of colours, tastes etc. in the original bhuta atoms. The change of these physical characters depends on the colours etc. of the constituent substances in contact, on the intensity or degree of heat and also on the species of tejas corpuscles that impinge on the atoms. Heat breaks bodies in contact into atoms, transforms their qualities, and forms separate bodies with them.

Pras'astapada (the commentator of Vais'ea@iska) holds that in the higher compounds of the same bhuta the transformation takes place (under internal heat) in the constituent atoms of the compound molecules, atoms specially determined as the compound and not in the original atoms of the bhuta entering into the composition of the compound. Thus when milk is turned into curd, the transformation as curd takes place in the atoms determined as milk in the milk molecule, and it is not necessary that the milk molecule should be disintegrated into the atoms of the original bhuta of which the milk is a modification. The change as curd thus takes place in the milk atom, and the milk molecule has not to be disintegrated into k@siti or ap atoms. So again in the fertilized ovum, the germ and the ovum substances, which in the Vais'ea@iska view are both isomeric modes of earth (with accompaniments of other bhutas) are broken up into homogeneous earth atoms, and it is these that chemically combine under the animal heat and biomotor force vayu to form the germ (_kalala_). But when the germ plasm develops, deriving its nutrition from the
blood of the mother, the animal heat breaks up the molecules of
the germ plasm into its constituent atoms, i.e. atoms specifically
determined which by their grouping formed the germ plasm.
These germ-plasm atoms chemically combine with the atoms of
the food constituents and thus produce cells and tissues [Footnote ref 1].
This atomic contact is called _arambhaka-sa@myoga_.

[Footnote 1: See Dr B.N. Seal's _Positive Sciences_, pp. 104-108, and
_Nyayakandali_, pp. 33-34, "_S'arirambhe paramanava eva kara@nam na
s'ukra-s'onitasannipata@h kriyavibhagadinyayena tayorvinas'e sati
utpannapakajai@h parama@nubhirarambhat, na ca s'ukras'onitaparama@nuna@m
kas'cidvis'e@sa@h parthivatvavis'e@sat....Pitu@h s'ukra@m matuh s'onita@m
tayos sannipatanantara@m ja@tharanalasambandhat s'ukra-s'onitarambha@ke@su
parama@nu@su purvarupadivinas'e sama@nagu@nantarotpattau
dvya@nukadi@krame@na kalalas'ariotpatti@h tatrantahkara@napra@ves'o...tatra
maturahararaso matraya sa@mkramate, ad@r@s@tavas'attatra
punarja@tharanalasambandhat kalalarambhakaparama@nu@su
kriyavibhagadinyayena kalalas'arire na@s@te samutpannapakajai@h
kalalarambhakaparama@nubhirad@r@s@tavas'ad
upajatokriyairaharaparama@nitbhi@h saha sambhuya
s'arirantaramarakkyate._"]
In the case of poly-bhautik or bi-bhautik compounds there is another kind of contact called upa@s@tambha_. Thus in the case of such compounds as oils, fats, and fruit juices, the earth atoms cannot combine with one another unless they are surrounded by the water atoms which congregate round the former, and by the infra-atomic forces thus set up the earth atoms take peculiar qualities under the impact of heat corpuscles. Other compounds are also possible where the ap, tejas, or the vayu atoms form the inner radicle and earth atoms dynamically surround them (e.g. gold, which is the tejas atom with the earth atoms as the surrounding upa@s@tambhaka). Solutions (of earth substances in ap) are regarded as physical mixtures.

Udayana points out that the solar heat is the source of all the stores of heat required for chemical change. But there are differences in the modes of the action of heat; and the kind of contact with heat-corpuscles, or the kind of heat with chemical action which transforms colours, is supposed to differ from what transforms flavour or taste.

Heat and light rays are supposed to consist of indefinitely small particles which dart forth or radiate in all directions rectilineally with inconceivable velocity. Heat may penetrate through the interatomic space as in the case of the conduction of heat, as when water boils in a pot put on the fire; in cases of transparency light rays penetrate through the inter-atomic spaces with _parispanda_
of the nature of deflection or refraction (_tiryag-gamana_).

In other cases heat rays may impinge on the atoms and rebound back—which explains reflection. Lastly heat may strike the atoms in a peculiar way, so as to break up their grouping, transform the physico-chemical characters of the atoms, and again recombine them, all by means of continual impact with inconceivable velocity, an operation which explains all cases of chemical combination [Footnote ref 1]. Govardhana a later Nyaya writer says that paka means the combination of different kinds of heat. The heat that

[Footnote 1: See Dr Seal's _Positive Sciences of the Hindus_.]

changes the colour of a fruit is different from that which generates or changes the taste. Even when the colour and taste remain the same a particular kind of heat may change the smell. When grass eaten by cows is broken up into atoms special kinds of heat-light rays change its old taste, colour, touch and smell into such forms as those that belong to milk [Footnote ref 1].

In the Nyaya-Vais`e@sika system all action of matter on matter is thus resolved into motion. Conscious activity (_prayatna_) is
distinguished from all forms of motion as against the Sa@mkhya doctrine which considered everything other than puru@sa (intelligence) to arise in the course of cosmic evolution and therefore to be subject to vibratory motion.

The Origin of Knowledge (Prama@na).

The manner in which knowledge originates is one of the most favourite topics of discussion in Indian philosophy. We have already seen that Sa@mkhya-Yoga explained it by supposing that the buddhi (place of consciousness) assumed the form of the object of perception, and that the buddhi so transformed was then intelligized by the reflection of the pure intelligence or puru@sa.

The Jains regarded the origin of any knowledge as being due to a withdrawal of a veil of karma which was covering the all-intelligence of the self.

Nyaya-Vais`e@sika regarded all effects as being due to the assemblage of certain collocations which unconditionally, invariably, and immediately preceded these effects. That collocation (_samagri_) which produced knowledge involved certain non-intelligent as well as intelligent elements and through their conjoint action uncontradicted and determinate knowledge was produced, and this collocation is thus called prama@na or the determining cause of the origin of knowledge [Footnote ref 2]. None of the separate elements composing
[Footnote 1: Govardhana's _Nyayabodhini_ on _Tarkasa@mgraha_, pp. 9, 10.]

[Footnote 2: "_Avyabhicarinimasandigdharopalabdhi@m vidadhati bodhabodhasvabhava samagri prama@nam._" _Nyayamanjari_, p. 12.

Udyotakara however defined "prama@na" as upalabdhihetu (cause of knowledge). This view does not go against Jayanta's view which I have followed, but it emphasizes the side of vyapara or movement of the senses, etc. by virtue of which the objects come in contact with them and knowledge is produced. Thus Vacaspati says: "_siddhamindriyadi, asiddhanca tatsannikar@sadi vyaparayannutpadayan kara@na eva caritartha@h kar@na@m tvindriyadi tatsannikar@sadi va nanyatra caritarthamiti sak@sadupalabdhaveva phale vyapiyate._" _Tatparya@tika_, p. 15. Thus it is the action of the senses as prama@na which is the direct cause of the production of knowledge, but as this production could not have taken place without the subject and the object, they also are to be regarded as causes in some sense. _"Pramat@rprameyayo@h. pramane caritarthatvamacaritarthatvam pramanasya tasmad tadeva phalhetu@h. Pramat@rprameye tu phaloddes'ena prav@rtte iti taddhetu kathancit."_ Ibid._ p. 16.]

331

the causal collocation can be called the primary cause; it is only
their joint collocation that can be said to determine the effect, for
sometimes the absence of a single element composing the causal
collocation is sufficient to stop the production of the effect. Of
course the collocation or combination is not an entity separated
from the collocated or combined things. But in any case it is the
preceding collocations that combine to produce the effect jointly.
These involve not only intellectual elements (e.g. indeterminate
cognition as qualification (vis'e@sa@na) in determinate perceptions,
the knowledge of li@nga in inference, the seeing of similar things in
upamana, the hearing of sound in s'abda) but also the assemblage
of such physical things (e.g. proximity of the object of perception,
capacity of the sense, light, etc.), which are all indispensable for
the origin of knowledge. The cognitive and physical elements
all co-operate in the same plane, combine together and produce
further determinate knowledge. It is this capacity of the collocations
that is called prama@na.

Nyaya argues that in the Sa@mkhya view knowledge originates
by the transcendent influence of puru@sa on a particular
state of buddhi; this is quite unintelligible, for knowledge does
not belong to buddhi as it is non-intelligent, though it contains
within it the content and the form of the concept or the percept
(knowledge). The puru@sa to whom the knowledge belongs, however,
neither knows, nor feels, neither conceives nor perceives, as
it always remains in its own transcendental purity. If the transcendental
contact of the puru@sa with buddhi is but a mere semblance
or appearance or illusion, then the Sa@mkhya has to admit
that there is no real knowledge according to them. All knowledge is false. And since all knowledge is false, the Sa@mkhyists have precious little wherewith to explain the origin of right knowledge.

There are again some Buddhists who advocate the doctrine that simultaneously with the generation of an object there is the knowledge corresponding to it, and that corresponding to the rise of any knowledge there is the rise of the object of it. Neither is the knowledge generated by the object nor the object by the knowledge; but there is a sort of simultaneous parallelism. It is evident that this view does not explain why knowledge should

332

express or manifest its object. If knowledge and the object are both but corresponding points in a parallel series, whence comes this correspondence? Why should knowledge illuminate the object. The doctrine of the Vijnana vadins, that it is knowledge alone that shows itself both as knowledge and as its object, is also irrational, for how can knowledge divide itself as subject and object in such a manner that knowledge as object should require the knowledge as subject to illuminate it? If this be the case we might again expect that knowledge as knowledge should also require another knowledge to manifest it and this another, and so on _ad infinitum_. Again if prama@na be defined as _prapa@na_ (capacity of being realized) then also it would not hold, for all things being
momentary according to the Buddhists, the thing known cannot be realized, so there would be nothing which could be called pramaṇa. These views moreover do not explain the origin of knowledge. Knowledge is thus to be regarded as an effect like any other effect, and its origin or production occurs in the same way as any other effect, namely by the joint collocation of causes intellectual and physical [Footnote ref 1]. There is no transcendent element involved in the production of knowledge, but it is a production on the same plane as that in which many physical phenomena are produced [Footnote ref 2].

The four Pramaṇas of Nyaya.

We know that the Carvakas admitted perception (pratyakṣa) alone as the valid source of knowledge. The Buddhists and the Vaisēṣika admitted two sources, pratyakṣa and inference (anumana); Saṃkhya added s'abda (testimony) as the third source;

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayamanjari_, pp. 12-26.]

[Footnote 2: Discussing the question of the validity of knowledge Ganges'a, a later naiyayika of great fame, says that it is derived as a result of our inference from the correspondence of the perception of a thing with
the activity which prompted us to realize it. That which leads us to
successful activity is valid and the opposite invalid. When I am sure
that if I work in accordance with the perception of an object I shall be
successful, I call it valid knowledge. _Tattvacintama@ni_, K.
Tarkavagis'a's edition, _Prama@nyavada_.

"The _Vais'e@sika sutras_ tacitly admit the Vedas as a prama@na. The view
that Vais'e@sika only admitted two prama@nas, perception and inference, is
traditionally accepted, _"pratyak@sameka@mcarvaka@h ka@nadasugatau puna@h
anumananca taccapi, _ etc." Pras'astapada divides all cognition (_buddhi_)
as _vidya_ (right knowledge) and _avidya_ (ignorance). Under _avidya_ he
counts _sa@ms'aya_ (doubt or uncertainty), _viparyaya_ (illusion or
error), _anadhyavasaya_ (want of definite knowledge, thus when a man who
had never seen a mango, sees it for the first time, he wonders what it
may be) and _svapna_ (dream). Right knowledge (_vidya_) is of four kinds,
perception, inference, memory and the supernatural knowledge of the sages
(_ar@sa`). Interpreting the _Vais'e@sika sutras_ i.i. 3, Vi. i. 1, and Vi.
i. 3, to mean that the validity of the Vedas depends upon the trustworthy
currency of their author, he does not consider scriptures as valid in
themselves. Their validity is only derived by inference from the
trustworthy character of their author. _Arthapatti_ (implication) and
_anupalabdhi_ (non-perception) are also classed as inference and _upamana_
(analogy) and _aithiyasa_ (tradition) are regarded as being the same as
faith in trustworthy persons and hence cases of inference.]
Nyaya adds a fourth, _upamana_ (analogy). The principle on which the four-fold division of prama@nas depends is that the causal collocation which generates the knowledge as well as the nature or characteristic kind of knowledge in each of the four cases is different. The same thing which appears to us as the object of our perception, may become the object of inference or s'abda (testimony), but the manner or mode of manifestation of knowledge being different in each case, and the manner or conditions producing knowledge being different in each case, it is to be admitted that inference and s'abda are different prama@nas, though they point to the same object indicated by the perception. Nyaya thus objects to the incorporation of s'abda (testimony) or upamana within inference, on the ground that since the mode of production of knowledge is different, these are to be held as different prama@nas [Footnote ref 1].

Perception (Pratyak@sa).

The naiyayikas admitted only the five cognitive senses which they believed to be composed of one or other of the five elements. These senses could each come in contact with the special characteristic of that element of which they were composed. Thus the ear could perceive sound, because sound was the attribute of akas'a, of which the auditory sense, the ear, was made up. The eye could send forth rays to receive the colour, etc., of things. Thus the cognitive senses can only manifest their specific objects
by going over to them and thereby coming in contact with them.

The cognitive senses (_vak, pani, pada, payu_, and _upastha_) recognized
in Sa@mkhya as separate senses are not recognized here as such
for the functions of these so-called senses are discharged by the
general motor functions of the body.

Perception is defined as that right knowledge generated by the
contact of the senses with the object, devoid of doubt and error
not associated with any other simultaneous sound cognition (such

[Footnote 1:

_Samagribhedai phalabhedacca prama@nabheda@h
Anye eva hi samagriphale pratyak@sali@ngayo@h
Anye eva ca samagriphale s'abdopamanayo@h. Nyayamanjari_, p. 33.]

334

as the name of the object as heard from a person uttering it, just
at the time when the object is seen) or name association, and determinate
[Footnote ref 1]. If when we see a cow, a man says here is a cow,
the knowledge of the sound as associated with the percept cannot be
counted as perception but as sound-knowledge (_s'abda-prama@na_).
That right knowledge which is generated directly by the contact of the senses with the object is said to be the product of the perceptual process. Perception may be divided as indeterminate (_nirvikalpa_) and (_savikalpa_) determinate. Indeterminate perception is that in which the thing is taken at the very first moment of perception in which it appears without any association with name. Determinate perception takes place after the indeterminate stage is just passed; it reveals things as being endowed with all characteristics and qualities and names just as we find in all our concrete experience. Indeterminate perception reveals the things with their characteristics and universals, but at this stage there being no association of name it is more or less indistinct. When once the names are connected with the percept it forms the determinate perception of a thing called savikalpa-pratyakṣa. If at the time of having the perception of a thing of which the name is not known to me anybody utters its name then the hearing of that should be regarded as a separate auditory name perception. Only that product is said to constitute nirvikalpa perception which results from the perceiving process of the contact of the senses with the object. Of this nirvikalpa (indeterminate) perception it is held by the later naiyayikas that we are not conscious of it directly, but yet it has to be admitted as a necessary first stage without which the determinate consciousness could not arise. The indeterminate perception is regarded as the first stage in the process of perception. At the second stage it joins the other conditions of perception in producing the determinate perception. The contact of the sense with the object is regarded as being of six kinds: (1) contact with the dravya (thing) called
sa@myoga, (2) contact with the gu@nas (qualities) through the thing
(_sa@myukta-samavaya_) in which they inhere in samavaya (inseparable)
relation, (3) contact with the gu@nas (such as colour etc.) in
the generic character as universals of those qualities, e.g. colourness
(rupatva), which inhere in the gu@nas in the samavaya relation.

[Footnote 1: Ganges'a, a later naiyayika of great reputation, describes
perception as immediate awareness (_pratyak@sasya sak@satkaritvam
lak@sa@nam_).]

335

This species of contact is called sa@myukta-samaveta-samavaya,
for the eye is in contact with the thing, in the thing the colour
is in samavaya relation, and in the specific colour there is the
colour universal or the generic character of colour in samavaya
relation. (4) There is another kind of contact called samavaya
by which sounds are said to be perceived by the ear. The auditory
sense is akas'a and the sound exists in akas'a in the samavaya
relation, and thus the auditory sense can perceive sound in a peculiar
kind of contact called samaveta-samavaya. (5) The generic
character of sound as the universal of sound (s'abdatva) is perceived
by the kind of contact known as samaveta-samavaya. (6) There is
another kind of contact by which negation (_abhava_) is perceived,
namely sa@myukta vis'e@sa@na (as qualifying contact). This is so called because the eye perceives only the empty space which is qualified by the absence of an object and through it the negation. Thus I see that there is no jug here on the ground. My eye in this case is in touch with the ground and the absence of the jug is only a kind of quality of the ground which is perceived along with the perception of the empty ground. It will thus be seen that Nyaya admits not only the substances and qualities but all kinds of relations as real and existing and as being directly apprehended by perception (so far as they are directly presented).

The most important thing about the Nyaya-Vais'e@sika theory of perception is this that the whole process beginning from the contact of the sense with the object to the distinct and clear perception of the thing, sometimes involving the appreciation of its usefulness or harmlessness, is regarded as the process of perception and its result perception. The self, the mind, the senses and the objects are the main factors by the particular kinds of contact between which perceptual knowledge is produced. All knowledge is indeed _arthaprakas'a,_ revelation of objects, and it is called perception when the sense factors are the instruments of its production and the knowledge produced is of the objects with which the senses are in contact. The contact of the senses with the objects is not in any sense metaphorical but actual. Not only in the case of touch and taste are the senses in contact with the objects, but in the cases of sight, hearing and smell as well. The senses according to Nyaya-Vais'e@sika are material and we have
seen that the system does not admit of any other kind of transcendental
(_atindriya_) power (_s'akti_) than that of actual vibratory

336

movement which is within the purview of sense-cognition [Footnote ref 1].
The production of knowledge is thus no transcendental occurrence,
but is one which is similar to the effects produced by
the conglomeration and movements of physical causes. When
I perceive an orange, my visual or the tactual sense is in touch
not only with its specific colour, or hardness, but also with the
universals associated with them in a relation of inherence and also
with the object itself of which the colour etc. are predicated. The
result of this sense-contact at the first stage is called _alocanajnana_
(sense-cognition) and as a result of that there is roused the
memory of its previous taste and a sense of pleasurable character
(_sukhasadhanatvasm@rti_) and as a result of that I perceive the
orange before me to have a certain pleasure-giving character [Footnote ref
2]. It is urged that this appreciation of the orange as a pleasurable
object should also be regarded as a direct result of perception
through the action of the memory operating as a concomitant
cause (sahakari). I perceive the orange with the eye and understand
the pleasure it will give, by the mind, and thereupon
understand by the mind that it is a pleasurable object. So though
this perception results immediately by the operation of the mind,
yet since it could only happen in association with sense-contact,
it must be considered as a subsidiary effect of sense-contact and
hence regarded as visual perception. Whatever may be the successive
intermediary processes, if the knowledge is a result of sense-contact
and if it appertains to the object with which the sense is
in contact, we should regard it as a result of the perceptual process.
Sense-contact with the object is thus the primary and indispensable
condition of all perceptions and not only can the senses
be in contact with the objects, their qualities, and the universals
associated with them but also with negation. A perception is
erroneous when it presents an object in a character which it does
not possess (_atasmi@mstaditi_) and right knowledge (_prama_) is that
which presents an object with a character which it really has

[Footnote 1:

_Na khalvatindriya s'aktirasmabhirupagamyate
yaya saha na karyyasya sambandhajnanasambhava@h._

_Nyayamanjari_, p. 69.]

[Footnote 2:

_Sukhadi manasa buddhva kapitthadi ca cak@su@sa
tasya karanata tatra manasaivavagamyate..._
In all cases of perceptual illusion the sense is in real contact with the right object, but it is only on account of the presence of certain other conditions that it is associated with wrong characteristics or misapprehended as a different object. Thus when the sun's rays are perceived in a desert and misapprehended as a stream, at the first indeterminate stage the visual sense is in real contact with the rays and thus far there is no illusion so far as the contact with a real object is concerned, but at the second determinate stage it is owing to the similarity of certain of its characteristics with those of a stream that it is misapprehended as a stream. Jayanta observes that on account of the presence of the defect of the organs or the rousing of the memory of similar objects, the object with which the sense is in contact hides its own characteristics and appears with the characteristics of other objects and this is what is meant by illusion. In the case of mental delusions however there is no sense-contact with any object and the rousing of irrelevant memories is sufficient to produce illusory notions.
The doctrine of illusion is known as _viparitakhyati_ or _anyathakhyati_. What existed in the mind appeared as the object before us (_h@rdaye parisphurato'rthasya bahiravabhasanam_) [Footnote ref 5]. Later Vais'e@sika as interpreted by Pras'astapada and S'ridhara is in full agreement with Nyaya in this doctrine of illusion (_bhrama_ or as Vais'e@sika calls it _viparyaya_) that the object of illusion is always the right thing with which the sense is in contact and that the illusion consists in the imposition of wrong characteristics [Footnote ref 6].

I have pointed out above that Nyaya divided perception into two classes as nirvikalpa (indeterminate) and savikalpa (determinate) according as it is an earlier or a later stage. Vacaspati says, that at the first stage perception reveals an object as a particular; the perception of an orange at this _avikalpika_ or _nirvikalpika_ stage gives us indeed all its colour, form, and also the universal of orangeness associated with it, but it does not reveal

[Footnote 1: See Udyotakara's _Nyayavarttika_, p. 37, and Ga@nges'a's _Tattvacintama@ni_, p. 401, _Bibliotheca Indica_.]

[Footnote 2: "_Indriye@nalocya maricin uccavacamuccalato nirvikalpena g@rhitva pas'cattatropaghatado@sat viparyyeti, savikalpako'sya pratyayo bhranto jayate tasmadvijnanasya uvabhicaro narthasya_ Vacaspati's _Tatparyatika_, p. 87.]
it in a subject-predicate relation as when I say "this is an orange."

The avikalpika stage thus reveals the universal associated with
the particular, but as there is no association of name at this stage,
the universal and the particular are taken in one sweep and not
as terms of relation as subject and predicate or substance and
attribute (_jatyadisvarupavagahi na tu jatyadina@m mitho
vis'e@sa@navis'e@syabhavavagahiti yavat_) [Footnote ref 1]. He thinks
that such a stage, when the object is only seen but not associated
with name or a subject-predicate relation, can be distinguished in
perception not only in the case of infants or dumb persons that do
not know the names of things, but also in the case of all ordinary
persons, for the association of the names and relations could be
distinguished as occurring at a succeeding stage [Footnote ref 2]. S'riddhara, in explaining the Vais'e@sika view, seems to be largely in agreement with the above view of Vacaspati. Thus S'riddhara says that in the nirvikalpa stage not only the universals were perceived but the differences as well. But as at this stage there is no memory of other things, there is no manifest differentiation and unification such as can only result by comparison. But the differences and the universals as they are in the thing are perceived, only they are not consciously ordered as "different from this" or "similar to this," which can only take place at the savikalpa stage [Footnote ref 3]. Vacaspati did not bring in the question of comparison with others, but had only spoken of the determinate notion of the thing in definite subject-predicate relation in association with names. The later Nyaya writers however, following Ga@nges'a, hold an altogether different opinion on the subject. With them nirvikalpa knowledge means the knowledge of mere predication without any association with the subject or the thing to which the predicate refers. But such a knowledge is never testified by experience. The nirvikalpa stage is thus a logical stage in the development of perceptual cognition and not a psychological stage. They would

[Footnote 1: _Tatparya@tika_, p. 81, also _ibid._ p. 91, 
"_prathamamalocito'rtha@h samanyavis'e@savam._"]
not like to dispense with it for they think that it is impossible
to have the knowledge of a thing as qualified by a predicate or a
quality, without previously knowing the quality or the predicate

(\_\text{vis'}i@s@s@tavais'i@s@stajnanam prati hi vis'e@sa@natavacchedakapra$kara@m
jnana@m kara@na@m_) \text{[Footnote ref 1]. So, before any determinate knowledge
such as "I see a cow," "this is a cow" or "a cow" can arise it must
be preceded by an indeterminate stage presenting only the
indeterminate, unrelated, predicative quality as nirvikalpa, unconnected
with universality or any other relations (\_\text{jatyadiyojanarahita@m
vais'i@s@tyanavagahi ni@sprakarakam nirvikalpaka@m_) \text{[Footnote ref 2].
But this stage is never psychologically experienced (\_\text{atindriya}_)
and it is only a logical necessity arising out of their synthetic

[Footnote 2: _Ibid._ p.84, "_tasmadvutpannasyapi namadheyasmara@naya
purvame@sitavyo vinaiva namadheyamarthapratyaya@h._"]

[Footnote 3: _Nyayakandali_, p. 189 ff., "_ata@h savikalpakamicchata
nirvikalpakamapye@sitavyam, tacca na samanyamatram g@rh@nati bhedasyapi
pratibhasanat napi svalak@sa@namatram samanyakarasyapi sa@mvedanat
vyaktyantaradars'ane pratisandhanacca, kintu samanya@m
vis'e@sa$cobhayamapi g@rh@nati yadi paramida@m samanyamayam vis'e@sa@h
ityeva@m vivicya na pratyeti vastvantaranusandhanavirahat,
p@ndantarunuv@rttigraha@naddhi samanya@m v@ivyate,
vya@vyav@rttigraha@nadvis'e@soyamiti viveka@h._"]
conception of a proposition as being the relationing of a predicate
with a subject. Thus Vis'vanatha says in his Siddhantamuktavali,
"the cognition which does not involve relationing
cannot be perceptual for the perception is of the form 'I know
the jug'; here the knowledge is related to the self, the knower,
the jug again is related to knowledge and the definite content of
jugness is related to the jug. It is this content which forms the
predicative quality (_vis'e@sa@natavacchedaka_) of the predicate 'jug'
which is related to knowledge. We cannot therefore have the
knowledge of the jug without having the knowledge of the predicative
quality, the content [Footnote ref 3]." But in order that the knowledge
of the jug could be rendered possible, there must be a stage at
which the universal or the pure predication should be known
and this is the nirvikalpa stage, the admission of which though
not testified by experience is after all logically indispensably
necessary. In the proposition "It is a cow," the cow is an
universal, and this must be intuited directly before it could be
related to the particular with which it is associated.

But both the old and the new schools of Nyaya and Vais'e@sika
admitted the validity of the savikalpa perception which
the Buddhists denied. Things are not of the nature of momentary
particulars, but they are endowed with class-characters or universals
and thus our knowledge of universals as revealed by the
perception of objects is not erroneous and is directly produced
by objects. The Buddhists hold that the error of savikalpa perception
consists in the attribution of jati (universal), gu@na (quality),
kriya (action), nama (name), and dravya (substance) to things [Footnote ref 1]. The universal and that of which the universal is predicated are not different but are the same identical entity. Thus the predication of an universal in the savikalpa perception involves the false creation of a difference where there was none. So also the quality is not different from the substance and to speak of a thing as qualified is thus an error similar to the former. The same remark applies to action, for motion is not something different from that which moves. But name is completely different from the thing and yet the name and the thing are identified, and again the percept "man with a stick" is regarded as if it was a single thing or substance, though "man" and "stick" are altogether different and there is no unity between them. Now as regards the first three objections it is a question of the difference...
of the Nyaya ontological position with that of the Buddhists,
for we know that Nyaya and Vais'ea@nika believe jati, gu@na
and kriya to be different from substance and therefore the predicating
of them of substance as different categories related to it
at the determinate stage of perception cannot be regarded as
erroneous. As to the fourth objection Vacaspati replies that the
memory of the name of the thing roused by its sight cannot make
the perception erroneous. The fact that memory operates cannot
in any way vitiate perception. The fact that name is not associated
until the second stage through the joint action of memory
is easily explained, for the operation of memory was necessary in
order to bring about the association. But so long as it is borne in
mind that the name is not identical with the thing but is only associated
with it as being the same as was previously acquired, there
cannot be any objection to the association of the name. But the
Buddhists further object that there is no reason why one should
identify a thing seen at the present moment as being that which
was seen before, for this identity is never the object of visual
perception. To this Vacaspati says that through the help of
memory or past impressions (sa@mskara) this can be considered
as being directly the object of perception, for whatever may be
the concomitant causes when the main cause of sense-contact is

[Footnote 1: _Nyayamanjari_, pp. 93-100, "_Panca caite kalpana bhavanti
jatikalpana, gu@nakalpana, kriyakalpana, namakalpana dravyakalpana ceti,"
present, this perception of identity should be regarded as an
effect of it. But the Buddhists still emphasize the point that an
object of past experience refers to a past time and place and
is not experienced now and cannot therefore be identified with
an object which is experienced at the present moment. It
has to be admitted that Vacaspati's answer is not very satisfactory
for it leads ultimately to the testimony of direct perception
which was challenged by the Buddhists [Footnote ref 1]. It is easy to see
that early Nyaya-Vais'ea\textsuperscript{s}ika could not dismiss the savikalpa perception
as invalid for it was the same as the nirvikalpa and
differed from it only in this, that a name was associated with
the thing of perception at this stage. As it admits a gradual
development of perception as the progressive effects of causal
operations continued through the contacts of the mind with the
self and the object under the influence of various intellectual
(e.g. memory) and physical (e.g. light rays) concomitant causes,
it does not, like Vedanta, require that right perception should only
give knowledge which was not previously acquired. The variation
as well as production of knowledge in the soul depends upon
the variety of causal collocations.
Mind according to Nyaya is regarded as a separate sense and can come in contact with pleasure, pain, desire, antipathy and will. The later Nyaya writers speak of three other kinds of contact of a transcendental nature called _samanyalakśa_, _jnanalakśa_ and _yogaja_ (miraculous). The contact _samanyalakśa_ is that by virtue of which by coming in contact with a particular we are transcendentally (_alaukika_) in contact with all the particulars (in a general way) of which the corresponding universal may be predicated. Thus when I see smoke and through it my sense is in contact with the universal associated with smoke my visual sense is in transcendental contact with all smoke in general. _Jnanalakśa_ contact is that by virtue of which we can associate the perceptions of other senses when perceiving by any one sense. Thus when we are looking at a piece of sandal wood our visual sense is in touch with its colour only, but still we perceive it to be fragrant without any direct contact of the object with the organ of smell. The sort of transcendental contact (_alaukika sannikāra_) by virtue of which this is rendered

[Footnote 1: _Tatpāryatikā_, pp. 88-95.]
Pleasures and pains (_sukha_ and _duhkha_) are held by Nyaya to be different from knowledge (jnana). For knowledge interprets, conceives or illumines things, but sukha etc. are never found to appear as behaving in that character. On the other hand we feel that we grasp them after having some knowledge. They cannot be self-revealing, for even knowledge is not so; if it were so, then that experience which generates sukha in one should have generated the same kind of feeling in others, or in other words it should have manifested its nature as sukha to all; and this does not happen, for the same thing which generates sukha in one might not do so in others. Moreover even admitting for argument's sake that it is knowledge itself that appears as pleasure and pain, it is evident that there must be some differences between the pleasurable and painful experiences that make them so different, and this difference is due to the fact that knowledge in one case was associated with sukha and in another case with duhkha, This shows that sukha and duhkha are not themselves knowledge. Such is the course of things that sukha and duhkha are generated by the collocation of certain conditions, and are manifested through or in association with other objects either in direct perception or in memory. They are thus the qualities which are generated in the self as a result of causal operation. It should however be remembered that merit and demerit act as concomitant causes in their production.
The yogins are believed to have the pratyakṣa of the most
distant things beyond our senses; they can acquire this power
by gradually increasing their powers of concentration and perceive
the subtlest and most distant objects directly by their
mind. Even we ourselves may at some time have the notions
of future events which come to be true, e.g. sometimes I may
have the intuition that "To-morrow my brother will come."

[Footnote 1: _Siddhantamuktavali_ on _Karika_ 63 and 64. We must remember
that Gaṅgāṣṭa discarded the definition of perception as given in the
_Nyaya sutra_ which we have discussed above, and held that perception
should be defined as that cognition which has the special class-character
of direct apprehension. He thinks that the old definition of perception
as the cognition generated by sense-contact involves a vicious circle
(_Tattvacintamāṇi_, pp. 538-546). Sense-contact is still regarded by him
as the cause of perception, but it should not be included in the
definition. He agrees to the six kinds of contact described first by
Udyotakara as mentioned above.]

343

and this may happen to be true. This is called pratibhanajnana,
which is also to be regarded as a pratyakṣa directly by the mind. This is of course different from the other form of perception called manasa-pratyakṣa, by which memories of past perceptions by other senses are associated with a percept visualized at the present moment; thus we see a rose and perceive that it is fragrant; the fragrance is not perceived by the eye, but the manas perceives it directly and associates the visual percept with it. According to Vedanta this acquired perception is only a case of inference. The pratibha-pratyakṣa however is that which is with reference to the happening of a future event. When a cognition is produced, it is produced only as an objective cognition, e.g. This is a pot, but after this it is again related to the self by the mind as “I know this pot.” This is effected by the mind again coming in contact for reperception of the cognition which had already been generated in the soul. This second reperception is called anuvyavasaya, and all practical work can proceed as a result of this anuvyavasaya [Footnote ref. l].

Inference.

Inference (_anumana_) is the second means of proof (pramaṇa) and the most valuable contribution that Nyaya has made has been on this subject. It consists in making an assertion about a thing on the strength of the mark or linga which is associated with it, as when finding smoke rising from a hill we remember that since smoke cannot be without fire, there must also be fire in yonder hill. In an example like this smoke is technically
called linga, or hetu. That about which the assertion has been
made (the hill in this example) is called pak@sa, and the term
"fire" is called sadhya. To make a correct inference it is
necessary that the hetu or linga must be present in the pak@sa,

[Footnote 1: This later Nyaya doctrine that the cognition of self in
association with cognition is produced at a later moment must be
contrasted with the _triputipraty@ya_ doctrine of Prabhakara, which
holds that the object, knower and knowledge are all given simultaneously
in knowledge. Vyavasaya (determinate cognition), according to Ga@nges'a,
gives us only the cognition of the object, but the cognition that I am
aware of this object or cognition is a different functioning succeeding
the former one and is called anu (after) vyavasaya (cognition), "_idamaha@m
janamiti vyavasaye na bhasate taddhakendriyasannikar@sabhavat
kintv@da@mvi@sa@sayakajnanatvavis'i@s@tasya jnanasya vais'i@styamatmani
bhasate; na ca svaparakas'e vyavasaya tad@rs'a@m svasya vais'i@s@tya@m
bhasitumarhati, purva@m vis'e@s@nasya tasyajnanat, tasmadidamaha@m
janamiti na vyavasaya@h kintu anuvyavasayah." _Tattvacintama@ni_, p. 795.]

and in all other known objects similar to the pak@sa in having the
sadhya in it (sapak@sa-satta), i.e., which are known to possess the
sadhya (possessing fire in the present example). The linga must
not be present in any such object as does not possess the sadhya (vipaka\textunderscore sa-vyav\textunderscore rtti\_ absent from vipaka\textunderscore sa or that which does not possess the sadhya). The inferred assertion should not be such that it is invalidated by direct perception (pratyak\textunderscore sa) or the testimony of the s\'astra (abadhita-vi\textunderscore sayatva\_). The linga should not be such that by it an inference in the opposite way could also be possible (asat\textunderscore pratipaka\textunderscore sa\_). The violation of any one of these conditions would spoil the certitude of the hetu as determining the inference, and thus would only make the hetu fallacious, or what is technically called hetvabhasa or seeming hetu by which no correct inference could be made. Thus the inference that sound is eternal because it is visible is fallacious, for visibility is a quality which sound (here the pak\textunderscore sa) does not possess [Footnote ref l]. This hetvabhasa is technically called \textunderscore asiddha\textunderscore hetu\_. Again, hetvabhasa of the second type, technically called \textunderscore viruddha\textunderscore hetu\_, may be exemplified in the case that sound is eternal, since it is created; the hetu \textquoteleft being created\textquoteright is present in the opposite of sadhya (\_vipaka\textunderscore sa\_), namely non-eternality, for we know that non-eternality is a quality which belongs to all created things. A fallacy of the third type, technically called \_anaikantika\textunderscore hetu\_, is found in the case that sound is eternal, since it is an object of knowledge. Now \textquoteleft being an object of knowledge\textquoteright (prameyat\_a) is here the hetu, but it is present in things eternal (i.e. things possessing sadhya), as well as in things that are not eternal (i.e. which do not possess the sadhya), and therefore the concomitance of the hetu with the sadhya is not absolute (anaikantika\_). A fallacy of the fourth type, technically called \_kalatyayapada\textunderscore s\textunderscore ta\_, may be found in the
example--fire is not hot, since it is created like a jug, etc.

Here pratyakṣa shows that fire is hot, and hence the hetu is fallacious. The fifth fallacy, called prakaraṇasama, is to be found in cases where opposite hetus are available at the same time for opposite conclusions, e.g. sound like a jug is non-eternal, since no eternal qualities are found in it, and sound like akasa is eternal, since no non-eternal qualities are found in it.

[Footnote 1: It should be borne in mind that Nyaya did not believe in the doctrine of the eternality of sound, which the Mimaṣa did. Eternality of sound meant with Mimaṣa the theory that sounds existed as eternal indestructible entities, and they were only manifested in our ears under certain conditions, e.g. the stroke of a drum or a particular kind of movement of the vocal muscles.]

The Buddhists held in answer to the objections raised against inference by the Carvakas, that inferential arguments are valid, because they are arguments on the principle of the uniformity of nature in two relations, viz. _tadatmya_ (essential identity) and _tadutpatti_ (succession in a relation of cause and
effect). Tadatmya is a relation of genus and species and not of causation; thus we know that all pines are trees, and infer that this is a tree since it is a pine; tree and pine are related to each other as genus and species, and the co-inherence of the generic qualities of a tree with the specific characters of a pine tree may be viewed as a relation of essential identity (_tadatmya_). The relation of tadutpatti is that of uniformity of succession of cause and effect, e.g. of smoke to fire.

Nyaya holds that inference is made because of the invariable association (_niyama_) of the li@nga or hetu (the concomitance of which with the sadhya has been safeguarded by the five conditions noted above) with the sadhya, and not because of such specific relations as tadatmya or tadutpatti. If it is held that the inference that it is a tree because it is a pine is due to the essential identity of tree and pine, then the opposite argument that it is a pine because it is a tree ought to be valid as well; for if it were a case of identity it ought to be the same both ways. If in answer to this it is said that the characteristics of a pine are associated with those of a tree and not those of a tree with those of a pine, then certainly the argument is not due to essential identity, but to the invariable association of the li@nga (mark) with the li@ngin (the possessor of li@nga), otherwise called niyama. The argument from tadutpatti (association as cause and effect) is also really due to invariable association, for it explains the case of the inference of the type of cause and effect as well as of other types of inference, where the association as cause and
effect is not available (e.g. from sunset the rise of stars is inferred). Thus it is that the invariable concomitance of the li@nga with the li@ngin, as safeguarded by the conditions noted above, is what leads us to make a valid inference [Footnote ref l].

We perceived in many cases that a li@nga (e.g. smoke) was associated with a li@ngin (fire), and had thence formed the notion

___________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayamanjari_ on anumana.]

346

that wherever there was smoke there was fire. Now when we perceived that there was smoke in yonder hill, we remembered the concomitance (_vyapti_) of smoke and fire which we had observed before, and then since there was smoke in the hill, which was known to us to be inseparably connected with fire, we concluded that there was fire in the hill. The discovery of the li@nga (smoke) in the hill as associated with the memory of its concomitance with fire (_t@rtiya-li@nga-paramars'a) is thus the cause (_anumitikara@na_ or _anumana_) of the inference (_anumiti_). The concomitance of smoke with fire is technically called _vyapti_. When this refers to the concomitance of cases containing smoke with
those having fire, it is called _bahirvyapti_; and when it refers to the
conviction of the concomitance of smoke with fire, without any
relation to the circumstances under which the concomitance was
observed, it is called _antarvyapti_. The Buddhists since they did
not admit the notions of generality, etc. preferred antarvyapti
view of concomitance to bahirvyapti as a means of inference [Footnote ref
1].

Now the question arises that since the validity of an inference
will depend mainly on the validity of the concomitance of sign
(_hetu_) with the signate (_sadhya_), how are we to assure ourselves in
each case that the process of ascertaining the concomitance (_vyaptigraha_)
had been correct, and the observation of concomitance
had been valid. The Mima@msa school held, as we shall see in
the next chapter, that if we had no knowledge of any such case
in which there was smoke but no fire, and if in all the cases
I knew I had perceived that wherever there was smoke there
was fire, I could enunciate the concomitance of smoke with fire.
But Nyaya holds that it is not enough that in all cases where
there is smoke there should be fire, but it is necessary that in
all those cases where there is no fire there should not be any
smoke, i.e. not only every case of the existence of smoke should
be a case of the existence of fire, but every case of absence of fire
should be a case of absence of smoke. The former is technically
called _anvayavyapti_ and the latter _vyatirekavyapti_. But even this
is not enough. Thus there may have been an ass sitting, in a
hundred cases where I had seen smoke, and there might have
been a hundred cases where there was neither ass nor smoke, but it cannot be asserted from it that there is any relation of concomitance,

[Footnote 1: See _Antarvyaptisamarthana,_ by Ratnakaras'anti in the _Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts, Bibliotheca Indica_, 1910.]

347

or of cause and effect between the ass and the smoke. It may be that one might never have observed smoke without an antecedent ass, or an ass without the smoke following it, but even that is not enough. If it were such that we had so experienced in a very large number of cases that the introduction of the ass produced the smoke, and that even when all the antecedents remained the same, the disappearance of the ass was immediately followed by the disappearance of smoke (_yasmin sati bhavanam yato vina na bhavanam iti bhuyodars'ana@m, Nyayamanjari_ p. 122), then only could we say that there was any relation of concomitance (_vyapti_) between the ass and the smoke [Footnote ref 1]. But of course it might be that what we concluded to be the hetu by the above observations of anvaya-vyatireka might not be a real hetu, and there might be some other condition (_upadhi_) associated with the hetu which was the real hetu. Thus we know that fire in green wood (_ardrendhana_) produced smoke, but one might
doubt that it was not the fire in the green wood that produced
smoke, but there was some hidden demon who did it.

But there would be no end of such doubts, and if we indulged
in them, all our work endeavour and practical activities would
have to be dispensed with (vyaghata). Thus such doubts as
lead us to the suspension of all work should not disturb or
unsettle the notion of vyapti or concomitance at which we
had arrived by careful observation and consideration [Footnote ref 2]. The
Buddhists and the naiyayikas generally agreed as to the method
of forming the notion of concomitance or vyapti (vyaptigraha),
but the former tried to assert that the validity of such a concomitance
always depended on a relation of cause and effect
or of identity of essence, whereas Nyaya held that neither the
relations of cause and effect, nor that of essential identity of
genus and species, exhausted the field of inference, and there was
quite a number of other types of inference which could not be
brought under either of them (e.g. the rise of the moon and the
tide of the ocean). A natural fixed order that certain things happening
other things would happen could certainly exist, even
without the supposition of an identity of essence.

But sometimes it happens that different kinds of causes often
have the same kind of effect, and in such cases it is difficult to
infer the particular cause from the effect. Nyaya holds however that though different causes are often found to produce the same effect, yet there must be some difference between one effect and another. If each effect is taken by itself with its other attendant circumstances and peculiarities, it will be found that it may then be possible to distinguish it from similar other effects. Thus a flood in the street may be due either to a heavy downpour of rain immediately before, or to the rise in the water of the river close by, but if observed carefully the flooding of the street due to rain will be found to have such special traits that it could be distinguished from a similar flooding due to the rise of water in the river. Thus from the flooding of the street of a special type, as demonstrated by its other attendant circumstances, the special manner in which the water flows by small rivulets or in sheets, will enable us to infer that the flood was due to rains and not to the rise of water in the river. Thus we see that Nyaya relied on empirical induction based on uniform and uninterrupted agreement in nature, whereas the Buddhists assumed _a priori_ principles of causality or identity of essence.
It may not be out of place here to mention that in later Nyaya works great emphasis is laid on the necessity of getting ourselves assured that there was no such upadhi (condition) associated with the hetu on account of which the concomitance happened, but that the hetu was unconditionally associated with the sadhya in a relation of inseparable concomitance. Thus all fire does not produce smoke; fire must be associated with green wood in order to produce smoke. Green wood is thus the necessary condition (_upadhi_) without which, no smoke could be produced. It is on account of this condition that fire is associated with smoke; and so we cannot say that there is smoke because there is fire. But in the concomitance of smoke with fire there is no condition, and so in every case of smoke there is fire. In order to be assured of the validity of vyapti, it is necessary that we must be assured that there should be nothing associated with the hetu which conditioned the concomitance, and this must be settled by wide experience (_bhuyodars'ana_).

Pras'astapada in defining inference as the "knowledge of that (e.g. fire) associated with the reason (e.g. smoke) by the sight of the reason" described a valid reason (_li@nga_) as that which is connected with the object of inference (_anumeya_) and which exists wherever the object of inference exists and is absent in all cases.
where it does not exist. This is indeed the same as the Nyaya qualifications of _pak@sasattva, sapak@sasattva and _vipak@sasattva_ of a valid reason (hetu). Pras'astapada further quotes a verse to say that this is the same as what Kas'yaapa (believed to be the family name of Ka@nada) said. Ka@nada says that we can infer a cause from the effect, the effect from the cause, or we can infer one thing by another when they are mutually connected, or in opposition or in a relation of inherence (IX. ii. 1 and III. i. 9). We can infer by a reason because it is duly associated (_prasiddhipurvakatva_) with the object of inference. What this association was according to Ka@nada can also be understood for he tells us (III. i. 15) that where there is no proper association, the reason (hetu) is either non-existent in the object to be inferred or it has no concomitance with it (_aprasiddha_) or it has a doubtful existence _sandigdha_). Thus if I say this ass is a horse because it has horns it is fallacious, for neither the horse nor the ass has horns. Again if I say it is a cow because it has horns, it is fallacious, for there is no concomitance between horns and a cow, and though a cow may have a horn, all that have horns are not cows. The first fallacy is a combination of pak@sasattva and sapak@sasattva, for not only the present pak@sa (the ass) had no horns, but no horses had any horns, and the second is a case of vipak@sasattva, for those which are not cows (e.g. buffaloes) have also horns. Thus, it seems that when Pras'astapada says that he is giving us the view of Ka@nada he is faithful to it. Pras'astapada says that wherever there is smoke there is fire, if there is no fire there is no smoke. When one knows this concomitance and unerringly perceives the smoke, he remembers the concomitance and feels certain that
there is fire. But with regard to Ka@nada's enumeration of types of
inference such as "a cause is inferred from its effect, or an effect
from the cause," etc., Pras'astapada holds that these are not the
only types of inference, but are only some examples for showing
the general nature of inference. Inference merely shows a connection
such that from this that can be inferred. He then divides
inference into two classes, d@r@s@ta (from the experienced characteristics
of one member of a class to another member of the same
class), and samanyato d@r@s@ta. D@r@s@ta (perceived resemblance) is
that where the previously known case and the inferred case is
exactly of the same class. Thus as an example of it we can point
out that by perceiving that only a cow has a hanging mass of
flesh on its neck (_sasna_), I can whenever I see the same hanging
mass of flesh at the neck of an animal infer that it is a cow. But
when on the strength of a common quality the inference is extended
to a different class of objects, it is called samanyato d@r@s@ta.
Thus on perceiving that the work of the peasants is rewarded
with a good harvest I may infer that the work of the priests,
namely the performance of sacrifices, will also be rewarded with
the objects for which they are performed (i.e. the attainment of
heaven). When the conclusion, to which one has arrived (_svanis'citartha_) is
expressed in five premisses for convincing others
who are either in doubt, or in error or are simply ignorant, then
the inference is called pararthanumana. We know that the distinction
of svarthanumana (inference for oneself) and pararthanumana (inference for others) was made by the Jains and Buddhists. Pras'astapada does not make a sharp distinction of two classes of inference, but he seems to mean that what one infers, it can be conveyed to others by means of five premisses in which case it is called pararthanumana. But this need not be considered as an entirely new innovation of Pras'astapada, for in IX. 2, Ka@nada himself definitely alludes to this distinction (_asyeda@m karyakara@nasambandhas'cavayavadbhavati_). The five premisses which are called in Nyaya _pratijna, hetu d@r@s@tanta, upanaya, _and _nigamana_ are called in Vais'e@sika _pratijna, apades'a, nidars'ana, anusandhana_, and _pratyamnaya_. Ka@nada however does not mention the name of any of these premisses excepting the second "apades'a." Pratijna is of course the same as we have in Nyaya, and the term nidars'ana is very similar to Nyaya d@r@s@tanta, but the last two are entirely different. Nidars'ana may be of two kinds, (1) agreement in presence (e.g. that which has motion is a substance as is seen in the case of an arrow), (2) agreement in absence (e.g. what is not a substance has no motion as is seen in the case of the universal being [Footnote ref l]). He also points out cases of the fallacy of the example

---

{Footnote 1: Dr Vidyabhu@sa@na says that "An example before the time of Dignaga served as a mere familiar case which was cited to help the understanding of the listener, e.g. The hill is fiery; because it has smoke; like a kitchen (example). Asa@ngal made the example more serviceable
to reasoning, but Dignaga converted it into a universal proposition, that
is a proposition expressive of the universal or inseparable connection
between the middle term and the major term, e.g. The hill is fiery; because
it has smoke; all that has smoke is fiery as a kitchen" (_Indian Logic_,
pp. 95, 96). It is of course true that Vatsyayana had an imperfect example
as "like a kitchen" (_s'abda@h utpatvidharmakatvadanuya@h sthalyadivat_,
I.i. 36), but Pras'astapada has it in the proper form. Whether
Pras'astapada borrowed it from Dig@nnaga or Dig@nnaga from Pras'astapada
cannot be easily settled.]

351

(_nidars'anabhasa_). Pras'astapada's contribution thus seems to consist
of the enumeration of the five premisses and the fallacy of
the nidars'ana, but the names of the last two premisses are so
different from what are current in other systems that it is reasonable
to suppose that he collected them from some other traditional
Vais'e@sika work which is now lost to us. It however definitely
indicates that the study of the problem of inference was being
pursued in Vais'e@sika circles independently of Nyaya. There is
no reason however to suppose that Pras'astapada borrowed anything
from Di@nnaga as Professor Stcherbatsky or Keith supposes,
for, as I have shown above, most of Pras'astapada's apparent innovations
are all definitely alluded to by Ka@nada himself, and
Professor Keith has not discussed this alternative. On the
question of the fallacies of nidars'ana, unless it is definitely proved
that Di@nnaga preceded Pras'astapada, there is no reason whatever
to suppose that the latter borrowed it from the former [Footnote ref 1].

The nature and ascertainment of concomitance is the most important part of inference. Vatsyayana says that an inference can be made by the sight of the liṅga (reason or middle) through the memory of the connection between the middle and the major previously perceived. Udyotakara raises the question whether it is the present perception of the middle or the memory of the connection of the middle with the major that should be regarded as leading to inference. His answer is that both these lead to inference, but that which immediately leads to inference is liṅgaparamāṣa, i.e. the present perception of the middle in the minor associated with the memory of its connection with the major, for inference does not immediately follow the memory of the connection, but the present perception of the middle associated with the memory of the connection (ṣmṛtyanugraḥito liṅgaparamāṣa). But he is silent with regard to the nature of concomitance. Udyotakara's criticisms of Diśnaga as shown by Vacaspati have no reference to this point. The doctrine of _tadatmya_ and _tadutpatti_ was therefore in all probability a new contribution to Buddhist logic by Dharmakirtti. Dharmakirtti's contention was that the root principle of the connection between the middle and the major was that the former was either identical in essence with the latter or its effect and that unless this was grasped a mere collection of positive or negative instances will not give us
the desired connection [Footnote ref 1]. Vacaspati in his refutation of this view says that the cause-effect relation cannot be determined as a separate relation. If causality means invariable immediate antecedence such that there being fire there is smoke and there being no fire there is no smoke, then it cannot be ascertained with perfect satisfaction, for there is no proof that in each case the smoke was caused by fire and not by an invisible demon. Unless it can be ascertained that there was no invisible element associated, it cannot be said that the smoke was immediately preceded by fire and fire alone. Again accepting for the sake of argument that causality can be determined, then also cause is known to precede the effect and therefore the perception of smoke can only lead us to infer the presence of fire at a preceding time and not contemporaneously with it. Moreover there are many cases where inference is possible, but there is no relation of cause and effect or of identity of essence (e.g. the sunrise of this morning by the sunrise of yesterday morning). In the case of identity of essence (_tadatmya_ as in the case of the pine and the tree) also there cannot be any inference, for one thing has to be inferred by another, but if they are identical there cannot be any inference. The nature of concomitance therefore cannot be described
in either of these ways. Some things (e.g. smoke) are naturally connected with some other things (e.g. fire) and when such is the case, though we may not know any further about the nature of this connection, we may infer the latter from the former and not vice versa, for fire is connected with smoke only under certain conditions (e.g. green wood). It may be argued that there may always be certain unknown conditions which may vitiate the validity of inference. To this Vacaspati’s answer is that if even after observing a large number of cases and careful search such conditions (upadhi) cannot be discovered, we have to take it for granted that they do not exist and that there is a natural connection between the middle and the major. The later Buddhists introduced the method of _Pancakara_ in order to determine effectively the causal relation. These five conditions determining the causal relation are (1) neither the cause nor the effect is perceived, (2) the cause is perceived, (3) in immediate succession the effect is perceived, (4) the cause disappears, (5) in

[Footnote 1: _Karyyakara@nubhavadva svabhavadva niyamakat avinabhavaniyam'o' dars'ananna na dars'anat. Tatparya@tika_, p. 105.]

immediate succession the effect disappears. But this method
cannot guarantee the infallibility of the determination of cause
and effect relation; and if by the assumption of a cause-effect
relation no higher degree of certainty is available, it is better
to accept a natural relation without limiting it to a cause-effect
relation [Footnote ref 1].

In early Nyaya books three kinds of inference are described,
namely purvavat, s'e@savat, and samanyato-d@r@s@ta. Purvavat is the
inference of effects from causes, e.g. that of impending rain from
heavy dark clouds; s'e@savat is the inference of causes from effects,
e.g. that of rain from the rise of water in the river; samanyato-d@r@s@ta
refers to the inference in all cases other than those of
cause and effect, e.g. the inference of the sour taste of the
tamarind from its form and colour. _Nyayamanjari_ mentions
another form of anumana, namely paris'e@samana (_reductio ad
absurdum_), which consists in asserting anything (e.g. consciousness)
of any other thing (e.g. atman), because it was already
definitely found out that consciousness was not produced in any
other part of man. Since consciousness could not belong to
anything else, it must belong to soul of necessity. In spite of
these variant forms they are all however of one kind, namely
that of the inference of the probandum (_sadhya_) by virtue of the
unconditional and invariable concomitance of the hetu, called
the vyapti-niyama. In the new school of Nyaya (Navya-Nyaya)
a formal distinction of three kinds of inference occupies an
important place, namely anvayavyatireki, kevalanvayi, and
kevalavyatireki. Anvayavyatireki is that inference where the
vyapti has been observed by a combination of a large number of instances of agreement in presence and agreement in absence, as in the case of the concomitance of smoke and fire (wherever there is smoke there is fire (anvaya), and where there is no fire, there is no smoke (vyatireka)). An inference could be for one's own self (svarthanumana) or for the sake of convincing others (pararthanumana). In the latter case, when it was necessary that an inference should be put explicitly in an unambiguous manner, live propositions (avayavas) were regarded as necessary, namely pratijna (e.g. the hill is fiery), hetu (since it has smoke), udaharana (where there is smoke there is fire, as in the kitchen), upanaya (this hill has smoke), niga@mana (therefore it has got

[Footnote 1: Vatsyaya@na's bhasya, Udyotakara's _Varttika_ and _Tatparyya@tika_, l.i. 5.]

354

fire). Kevalanvayi is that type of inference, the vyapti of which could not be based on any negative instance, as in the case "this object has a name, since it is an object of knowledge (ida@m, vacyam prameyatvat)." Now no such case is known which is not an object of knowledge; we cannot therefore know of any case where there was no object of knowledge (prameyatva) and
no name (_vacyatva_); the vyapta here has therefore to be based
necessarily on cases of agreement--wherever there is prameyatva
or an object of knowledge, there is vacyatva or name.
The third form of kevalayatireki is that where positive instances
in agreement cannot be found, such as in the case of the
inference that earth differs from other elements in possessing
the specific quality of smell, since all that does not differ from
other elements is not earth, such as water; here it is evident
that there cannot be any positive instance of agreement and the
concomitance has to be taken from negative instances. There
is only one instance, which is exactly the proposition of our
inference--earth differs from other elements, since it has the
special qualities of earth. This inference could be of use only in
those cases where we had to infer anything by reason of such
special traits of it as was possessed by it and it alone.

Upamana and S'abda.

The third prama@na, which is admitted by Nyaya and not by
Vais'e@sika, is _upamana_, and consists in associating a thing unknown
before with its name by virtue of its similarity with some
other known thing. Thus a man of the city who has never
seen a wild ox (_gavaya_) goes to the forest, asks a forester--"what
is gavaya?" and the forester replies--"oh, you do not
know it, it is just like a cow"; after hearing this from the
forester he travels on, and on seeing a gavaya and finding it to
be similar to a cow he forms the opinion that this is a gavaya.
This knowing an hitherto unknown thing by virtue of its similarity to a known thing is called _upamana_. If some forester had pointed out a gavaya to a man of the city and had told him that it was called a gavaya, then also the man would have known the animal by the name gavaya, but then this would have been due to testimony (_s'abda-prama@na). The knowledge is said to be generated by the upamana process when the association of the unknown animal with its name is made by the observer on the strength of the experience of the similarity of the unknown animal to a known one. The naiyayikas are thorough realists, and as such they do not regard the observation of similarity as being due to any subjective process of the mind. Similarity is indeed perceived by the visual sense but yet the association of the name in accordance with the perception of similarity and the instruction received is a separate act and is called _upamana_ [Footnote ref 1].

_S'abda-prama@na_ or testimony is the right knowledge which we derive from the utterances of infallible and absolutely truthful persons. All knowledge derived from the Vedas is valid, for the Vedas were uttered by Is'vara himself. The Vedas give us right knowledge not of itself, but because they came out as the utterances of the infallible Is'vara. The Vais'e@sikas did not admit
s'abda as a separate pramaṇa, but they sought to establish the
validity of testimony (_s'abda_) on the strength of inference (_anumiti_)
on the ground of its being the utterance of an infallible
person. But as I have said before, this explanation is hardly
corroborated by the Vais'ēśa@sika sutras, which tacitly admit the
validity of the scriptures on its own authority. But anyhow this
was how Vais'e@sika was interpreted in later times.

Negation in Nyaya-Vais'e@sika.

The problem of negation or non-existence (_abhava_) is of great interest
in Indian philosophy. In this section we can describe its nature only
from the point of view of perceptibility. Kumarila [Footnote ref 2]

___________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayamanjari_ on upamana. The oldest Nyaya view was that
the instruction given by the forester by virtue of which the association
of the name "wild ox" to the strange animal was possible was itself
"upamana." When Pras'astapada held that upamana should be treated as a
case of testimony (_aptavacana_), he had probably this interpretation
in view. But Udyotakara and Vacaspati hold that it was not by the
instruction alone of the forester that the association of the name
"wild ox" was made, but there was the perception of similarity, and
the memory of the instruction of the forester too. So it is the
perception of similarity with the other two factors as accessories]
that lead us to this association called upamana. What Vatsyayana meant is not very clear, but Dhanna supposes that according to him the result of upamana was the knowledge of similarity or the knowledge of a thing having similarity. Vacaspati of course holds that he has correctly interpreted Vatsyayana's intention. It is however definite that upamana means the associating of a name to a new object (Samakhyasambandhapratipattirupamanarthah, Vatsyayana). Jayanta points out that it is the perception of similarity which directly leads to the association of the name and hence the instruction of the forester cannot be regarded as the direct cause and consequently it cannot be classed under testimony (sabda). See Prasastapada and Nyayakandali, pp. 220-22, Vatsyayana, Udyotakara, Vacaspati and Jayanta on Upamana.

[Footnote 2: See Kumarila's treatment of abhava in the Slokavarttika, pp. 473-492.]

356

and his followers, whose philosophy we shall deal with in the next chapter, hold that negation (abhava) appears as an intuition (manam) with reference to the object negated where there are no means of ordinary cognition (prama@na) leading to prove the existence (satparicchedakam) of that thing. They held that the notion "it is not existent" cannot be due to perception, for there is no contact here with sense and object. It is true indeed that when
we turn our eyes (e.g. in the case of the perception of the non-existence
of a jug) to the ground, we see both the ground and
the non-existence of a jug, and when we shut them we can see
neither the jug nor the ground, and therefore it could be urged
that if we called the ground visually perceptible, we could say
the same with regard to the non-existence of the jug. But even
then since in the case of the perception of the jug there is sense-contact,
which is absent in the other case, we could never say
that both are grasped by perception. We see the ground and
remember the jug (which is absent) and thus in the mind rises
the notion of non-existence which has no reference at all to visual
perception. A man may be sitting in a place where there were
no tigers, but he might not then be aware of their non-existence
at the time, since he did not think of them, but when later on he
is asked in the evening if there were any tigers at the place where
he was sitting in the morning, he then thinks and becomes aware
of the non-existence of tigers there in the morning, even
without perceiving the place and without any operation of the
memory of the non-existence of tigers. There is no question of
there being any inference in the rise of our notion of non-existence,
for it is not preceded by any notion of concomitance of any kind,
and neither the ground nor the non-perception of the jug could
be regarded as a reason (_li@nga_) for the non-perception of the jug
is related to the jug and not to the negation of the jug, and no
concomitance is known between the non-perception of the jug and
its non-existence, and when the question of the concomitance of
non-perception with non-existence is brought in, the same difficulty
about the notion of non-existence (_abhava_) which was sought
to be explained will recur again. Negation is therefore to be
admitted as cognized by a separate and independent process
of knowledge. Nyaya however says that the perception of
non-existence (e.g. there is no jug here) is a unitary perception
of one whole, just as any perception of positive existence (e.g.

there is a jug on the ground) is. Both the knowledge of the
ground as well as the knowledge of the non-existence of the jug
arise there by the same kind of action of the visual organ, and
there is therefore no reason why the knowledge of the ground
should be said to be due to perception, whereas the knowledge of
the negation of the jug on the ground should be said to be due
to a separate process of knowledge. The non-existence of the jug
is taken in the same act as the ground is perceived. The principle
that in order to perceive a thing one should have sense-contact
with it, applies only to positive existents and not to negation or
non-existence. Negation or non-existence can be cognized even
without any sense-contact. Non-existence is not a positive substance,
and hence there cannot be any question here of sense-contact.
It may be urged that if no sense-contact is required
in apprehending negation, one could as well apprehend negation
or non-existence of other places which are far away from him.
To this the reply is that to apprehend negation it is necessary
that the place where it exists must be perceived. We know a
thing and its quality to be different, and yet the quality can only
be taken in association with the thing and it is so in this case as well. We can apprehend non-existence only through the apprehension of its locus. In the case when non-existence is said to be apprehended later on it is really no later apprehension of non-existence but a memory of non-existence (e.g. of jug) perceived before along with the perception of the locus of non-existence (e.g. ground). Negation or non-existence (_abhava_) can thus, according to Nyaya, generate its cognition just as any positive existence can do. Negation is not mere negativity or mere vacuous absence, but is what generates the cognition "is not," as position (_bhava_) is what generates the cognition "it is."

The Buddhists deny the existence of negation. They hold that when a negation is apprehended, it is apprehended with specific time and space conditions (e.g. this is not here now); but in spite of such an apprehension, we could never think that negation could thus be associated with them in any relation. There is also no relation between the negation and its _pratiyogi_ (thing negated--e.g. jug in the negation of jug), for when there is the pratiyogi there is no negation, and when there is the negation there is no pratiyogi. There is not even the relation of opposition (_virodha_), for we could have admitted it, if the negation of the jug existed before and opposed the jug,
for how can the negation of the jug oppose the jug, without
effecting anything at all? Again, it may be asked whether negation
is to be regarded as a positive being or becoming or of the
nature of not becoming or non-being. In the first alternative it
will be like any other positive existents, and in the second case it
will be permanent and eternal, and it cannot be related to this or
that particular negation. There are however many kinds of non-perception,
e.g. (1) svabhavanupalabdhi (natural non-perception--there
is no jug because none is perceived); (2) kara@nanupalabdhi
(non-perception of cause--there is no smoke here, since there is
no fire); (3) vyapakanupalabdhi (non-perception of the species--there
is no pine here, since there is no tree); (4) karyanupalabdhi
(non-perception of effects--there are not the causes of smoke here,
since there is no smoke); (5) svabhavaviruddhopalabdhi (perception
of contradictory natures--there is no cold touch here because
of fire); (6) viruddhakaryopalabdhi (perception of contradictory
effects--there is no cold touch here because of smoke); (7)
virudhavyaptopalabdhi (opposite concomitance--past is not of necessity
destructible, since it depends on other causes); (8) karyyaviruddhopalabdhi
(opposition of effects--there is not here the causes
which can give cold since there is fire); (9) vyapakaviruddhopalabdhi
(opposite concomitants--there is no touch of snow here,
because of fire); (10) kara@naviruddhopalabdhi (opposite causes--there
is no shivering through cold here, since he is near the fire);
(11) kara@naviruddhakaryyopalabdhi (effects of opposite causes--this
place is not occupied by men of shivering sensations for it
is full of smoke [Footnote ref 1]).
There is no doubt that in the above ways we speak of negation,
but that does not prove that there is any reason for the
cognition of negation (hetumabhavasamvda). All that we can
say is this that there are certain situations which justify the use
(yogyata) of negative appellations. But this situation or yogyata
is positive in character. What we all speak of in ordinary usage
as non-perception is of the nature of perception of some sort.
Perception of negation thus does not prove the existence of
negation, but only shows that there are certain positive perceptions
which are only interpreted in that way. It is the positive
perception of the ground where the visible jug is absent that

_________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See Nyayabindu, p. 11, and Nyayamanjari, pp. 53-7.]

359

leads us to speak of having perceived the negation of the jug
(anupalambhaabhavam vyavaharayati) [Footnote ref 1].

The Nyaya reply against this is that the perception of positive
existents is as much a fact as the perception of negation, and we
have no right to say that the former alone is valid. It is said
that the non-perception of jug on the ground is but the perception of the ground without the jug. But is this being without the jug identical with the ground or different? If identical then it is the same as the ground, and we shall expect to have it even when the jug is there. If different then the quarrel is only over the name, for whatever you may call it, it is admitted to be a distinct category. If some difference is noted between the ground with the jug, and the ground without it, then call it "ground, without the jugness" or "the negation of jug," it does not matter much, for a distinct category has anyhow been admitted. Negation is apprehended by perception as much as any positive existent is; the nature of the objects of perception only are different; just as even in the perception of positive sense-objects there are such diversities as colour, taste, etc. The relation of negation with space and time with which it appears associated is the relation that subsists between the qualified and the quality (_vis'e@syá vis'e@sa@na_). The relation between the negation and its pratiyogi is one of opposition, in the sense that where the one is the other is not. The _Vais'e@si@ka sutra_ (IX. i. 6) seems to take abhava in a similar way as Kumarila the Mima@msist does, though the commentators have tried to explain it away [Footnote ref 2]. In Vais'e@si@ka the four kinds of negation are enumerated as (1) _pragabhava_ (the negation preceding the production of an object--e.g. of the jug before it is made by the potter); (2) _dhva@msabhava_ (the negation following the destruction of an object--as of the jug after it is destroyed by the stroke of a stick); (3) _anyonyabhava_ (mutual negation--e.g. in the cow there is the negation of the horse and...
in the horse that of the cow); (4) _atyantabhava_ (a negation which always exists--e.g. even when there is a jug here, its negation in other places is not destroyed) [Footnote ref 1].

The necessity of the Acquirement of debating devices for the seeker of Salvation.
It is probable that the Nyaya philosophy arose in an atmosphere of continued disputes and debates; as a consequence of this we find here many terms related to debates which we do not notice in any other system of Indian philosophy. These are _tarka_, _nir@naya_, _vada_, _jalpa_, _vita@n@da_, _hetvabhasa_, _chala_, _jati_ and _nigrahasthana_.

Tarka means deliberation on an unknown thing to discern its real nature; it thus consists of seeking reasons in favour of some supposition to the exclusion of other suppositions; it is not inference, but merely an oscillation of the mind to come to a right conclusion. When there is doubt (_sa@ms'aya_) about the specific nature of anything we have to take to tarka. Nir@naya means the conclusion to which we arrive as a result of tarka. When two opposite parties dispute over their respective theses, such as the doctrines that there is or is not an atman, in which each of them tries to prove his own thesis with reasons, each of the theses is called a _vada_. Jalpa means a dispute in which the disputants give wrangling rejoinders in order to defeat their respective opponents. A jalpa is called a _vita@n@da_ when it is only a destructive criticism which seeks to refute the opponent's doctrine without seeking to establish or formulate any new doctrine. Hetvabhasas are those which appear as hetus but are really not so. _Nyaya_ sutras enumerate five fallacies (_hetvabhasas_) of the middle (hetu): _savyabhicara_ (erratic), _viruddha_ (contradictory), _prakara@nasama_ (tautology), _saddhyasama_ (unproved reason) and _kalatita_ (inopportune).
Savyabhicara is that where the same reason may prove opposite conclusions (e.g. sound is eternal because it is intangible like the atoms which are eternal, and sound is non-eternal because it is intangible like cognitions which are non-eternal); viruddha is that where the reason opposes the premiss to be proved (e.g. a jug is eternal, because it is produced); prakarasama is that where the reason repeats the thesis to be proved in another form (e.g. sound is non-eternal because it has not the quality of eternality); sadhyasama is that where the reason itself requires to be proved (e.g. shadow is a substance because it has motion, but it remains to be proved whether shadows have motion or not); kalatita is a false analogy where the reason fails because it does not tally with the example in point of time. Thus one may argue that sound is eternal because it is the result of contact (stick and the drum) like colour which is also a result of contact of light and the object and is eternal. Here the fallacy lies in this, that colour is simultaneous with the contact of light which shows what was

[Footnote 1: The doctrine of negation, its function and value with reference to diverse logical problems, have many diverse aspects, and it is impossible to do them justice in a small section like this.]
already there and only manifested by the light, whereas in the case of sound it is produced immediately after the contact of the stick and drum and is hence a product and hence non-eternal.

The later Nyaya works divide savyabhicara into three classes, (1) sadhara@na or common (e.g. the mountain is fiery because it is an object of knowledge, but even a lake which is opposed to fire is also an object of knowledge), (2) asadhara@na or too restricted (e.g. sound is eternal because it has the nature of sound; this cannot be a reason for the nature of sound exists only in the sound and nowhere else), and (3) anupasa@mharin or unsubsuming (e.g. everything is non-eternal, because they are all objects of knowledge; here the fallacy lies in this, that no instance can be found which is not an object of knowledge and an opposite conclusion may also be drawn). The fallacy _satpratipak@sa_ is that in which there is a contrary reason which may prove the opposite conclusion (e.g. sound is eternal because it is audible, sound is non-eternal because it is an effect). The fallacy _asiddha_ (unreal) is of three kinds (i) _as'rayasiddha_ (the lotus of the sky is fragrant because it is like other lotuses; now there cannot be any lotus in the sky), (2) _svarupasiddha_ (sound is a quality because it is visible; but sound has no visibility), (3) _vyapyatvasiddha_ is that where the concomitance between the middle and the consequence is not invariable and inevitable; there is smoke in the hill because there is fire; but there may be fire without the smoke as in a red hot iron ball, it is only green-wood fire that is invariably associated with smoke. The fallacy _badhita_ is that which pretends to prove a thesis which is against direct experience, e.g. fire is not hot because it is a substance. We have already enumerated the
fallacies counted by Vais'e@sika. Contrary to Nyaya practice

Pras'astapada counts the fallacies of the example. Di@nnaga also counted fallacies of example (e.g. sound is eternal, because it is incorporeal, that which is incorporeal is eternal as the atoms; but atoms are not incorporeal) and Dharmakirtti counted also the fallacies of the pak@sa (minor); but Nyaya rightly considers that the fallacies of the middle if avoided will completely safeguard inference and that these are mere repetitions. Chala means the intentional misinterpretation of the opponent's arguments for the purpose of defeating him. Jati consists in the drawing of contradictory conclusions, the raising of false issues or the like with the deliberate intention of defeating an opponent. Nigrahasthana means the exposure of the opponent's argument as involving self-contradiction, inconsistency or the like, by which his defeat is conclusively proved before the people to the glory of the victorious opponent. As to the utility of the description of so many debating tricks by which an opponent might be defeated in a metaphysical work, the aim of which ought to be to direct the ways that lead to emancipation, it is said by Jayanta in his _Nyayamanjari_ that these had to be resorted to as a protective measure against arrogant disputants who often tried to humiliate a teacher before his pupils. If the teacher could not silence the opponent, the faith of the pupils in him would be shaken and great disorder would follow, and it was therefore deemed necessary that he who was plodding
onward for the attainment of moksa should acquire these devices for the protection of his own faith and that of his pupils. A knowledge of these has therefore been enjoined in the Nyaya sutra as being necessary for the attainment of salvation [Footnote ref l].

The doctrine of Soul.

Dhurtta Carvakas denied the existence of soul and regarded consciousness and life as products of bodily changes; there were other Carvakas called Susik@sita Carvakas who admitted the existence of soul but thought that it was destroyed at death. The Buddhists also denied the existence of any permanent self. The naiyayikas ascertained all the categories of metaphysics mainly by such inference as was corroborated by experience. They argued that since consciousness, pleasures, pains, willing, etc. could not belong to our body or the senses, there must be

_____________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayamanjari_, pp. 586-659, and _Tarkikaraksa_ of Varadaraja and _Niska@n@taka_ of Mallinatha, pp. 185 ff.]

363

some entity to which they belonged; the existence of the self
is not proved according to Nyaya merely by the notion of our self-consciousness, as in the case of Mima@msa, for Nyaya holds that we cannot depend upon such a perception, for it may be erroneous. It often happens that I say that I am white or I am black, but it is evident that such a perception cannot be relied upon, for the self cannot have any colour. So we cannot safely depend on our self-consciousness as upon the inference that the self has to be admitted as that entity to which consciousness, emotion, etc. adhere when they are produced as a result of collocations. Never has the production of atman been experienced, nor has it been found to suffer any destruction like the body, so the soul must be eternal. It is not located in any part of the body, but is all-pervading, i.e. exists at the same time in all places (\textit{vibhu}_), and does not travel with the body but exists everywhere at the same time. But though atman is thus disconnected from the body, yet its actions are seen in the body because it is with the help of the collocation of bodily limbs, etc. that action in the self can be manifested or produced. It is unconscious in itself and acquires consciousness as a result of suitable collocations [Footnote ref l].

Even at birth children show signs of pleasure by their different facial features, and this could not be due to anything else than the memory of the past experiences in past lives of pleasures and pains. Moreover the inequalities in the distribution of pleasures and pains and of successes and failures prove that these must be due to the different kinds of good and bad action that men performed
in their past lives. Since the inequality of the world
must have some reasons behind it, it is better to admit karma as
the determining factor than to leave it to irresponsible chance.

Is'vara and Salvation.

Nyaya seeks to establish the existence of Is'vara on the basis of
inference. We know that the Jains, the Sa@mkhya and the Buddhists did
not believe in the existence of Is'vara and offered many antitheistic
arguments. Nyaya wanted to refute these and prove the existence
of Is'vara by an inference of the samanyato-d@r@s@ta type.

[Footnote 1: _Jnanasamavayanibandhanamevatmanas'cetayit@rtvam_, &c. See
_Nyayamanjari_, pp. 432 ff.]

364

The Jains and other atheists held that though things in the
world have production and decay, the world as a whole was never
produced, and it was never therefore an effect. In contrast to
this view the Nyaya holds that the world as a whole is also an
effect like any other effect. Many geological changes and landslips
occur, and from these destructive operations proceeding in
nature it may be assumed that this world is not eternal but a
result of production. But even if this is not admitted by the
atheists they can in no way deny the arrangement and order of
the universe. But they would argue that there was certainly a
difference between the order and arrangement of human productions
(e.g. a jug) and the order and arrangement of the universe;
and therefore from the order and arrangement(_sannives'a-visorisa-tata_)
of the universe it could not be argued that the universe was
produced by a creator; for, it is from the sort of order and
arrangement that is found in human productions that a creator
or producer could be inferred. To this, Nyaya answers that the
concomitance is to be taken between the "order and arrangement"
in a general sense and "the existence of a creator" and not with
specific cases of "order and arrangement," for each specific case
may have some such peculiarity in which it differs from similar
other specific cases; thus the fire in the kitchen is not the same
kind of fire as we find in a forest fire, but yet we are to disregard
the specific individual peculiarities of fire in each case and consider
the concomitance of fire in general with smoke in general.
So here, we have to consider the concomitance of "order and
arrangement" in general with "the existence of a creator," and
thus though the order and arrangement of the world may be
different from the order and arrangement of things produced by
man, yet an inference from it for the existence of a creator would
not be inadmissible. The objection that even now we see many
effects (e.g. trees) which are daily shooting forth from the ground
without any creator being found to produce them, does not hold,
for it can never be proved that the plants are not actually created
by a creator. The inference therefore stands that the world has
a creator, since it is an effect and has order and arrangement in
its construction. Everything that is an effect and has an order
and arrangement has a creator, like the jug. The world is an
effect and has order and arrangement and has therefore a creator.
Just as the potter knows all the purposes of the jug that he makes,

365

so Is'vara knows all the purposes of this wide universe and is thus
omniscient. He knows all things always and therefore does not
require memory; all things are perceived by him directly without
any intervention of any internal sense such as manas, etc. He is
always happy. His will is eternal, and in accordance with the
karma of men the same will produces dissolution, creates, or
protects the world, in the order by which each man reaps the
results of his own deeds. As our self which is in itself bodiless
can by its will produce changes in our body and through it in
the external world, so Is'vara also can by his will create the
universe though he has no body. Some, however, say that if any
association of body with Is'vara is indispensable for our conception
of him, the atoms may as well be regarded as his body,
so that just as by the will of our self changes and movement of
our body take place, so also by his will changes and movements
are produced in the atoms [Footnote ref l].
The naiyayikas in common with most other systems of Indian philosophy believed that the world was full of sorrow and that the small bits of pleasure only served to intensify the force of sorrow. To a wise person therefore everything is sorrow (_sarva@m du@hkha@m vivekina@h_); the wise therefore is never attached to the so-called pleasures of life which only lead us to further sorrows.

The bondage of the world is due to false knowledge (_mithyajnana_) which consists in thinking as my own self that which is not my self, namely body, senses, manas, feelings and knowledge; when once the true knowledge of the six padarthas and as Nyaya says, of the proofs (_prama@na_), the objects of knowledge (_prameya_), and of the other logical categories of inference is attained, false knowledge is destroyed. False knowledge can be removed by constant thinking of its opposite (_pratipak@sabhavana_), namely the true estimates of things. Thus when any pleasure attracts us, we are to think that this is in reality but pain, and thus the right knowledge about it will dawn and it will never attract us again. Thus it is that with the destruction of false knowledge our attachment or antipathy to things and ignorance about them (collectively called do@sa, cf. the kles’a of Patanjali) are also destroyed.

With the destruction of attachment actions (_prav@rtti_) for the
fulfilment of desires cease and with it rebirth ceases and with it sorrow ceases. Without false knowledge and attachment, actions cannot produce the bondage of karma that leads to the production of body and its experiences. With the cessation of sorrow there is emancipation in which the self is divested of all its qualities (consciousness, feeling, willing, etc.) and remains in its own inert state. The state of mukti according to Nyaya-Vais'ek 's state of perfect qualitilessness, in which the self remains in itself in its own purity. It is the negative state of absolute painlessness in mukti that is sometimes spoken of as being a state of absolute happiness (_ananda_), though really speaking the state of mukti can never be a state of happiness. It is a passive state of self in its original and natural purity unassociated with pleasure, pain, knowledge, willing, etc. [Footnote ref 1].
The Nyaya-Vais'e@sika philosophy looked at experience from a purely common sense point of view and did not work with any such monistic tendency that the ultimate conceptions of our common sense experience should be considered as coming out of an original universal (e.g. prak@rti of the Sam@khya). Space, time, the four elements, soul, etc. convey the impression that they are substantive entities or substances. What is perceived of the material things as qualities such as colour, taste, etc. is regarded as so many entities which have distinct and separate existence but which manifest themselves in connection with the substances. So also karma or action is supposed to be a separate entity, and even the class notions are perceived as separate entities inhering in substances. Knowledge (_jnana_) which illuminates all things is regarded only as a quality belonging to soul, just as there are other qualities of material objects. Causation is viewed merely as the collocation of conditions. The genesis of knowledge is also viewed as similar in nature to the production of any other physical event. Thus just as by the collocation of certain physical circumstances a jug and its qualities are produced, so by the
combination and respective contacts of the soul, mind, sense, and
the objects of sense, knowledge (jnana) is produced. Soul with
Nyaya is an inert unconscious entity in which knowledge, etc.
inhere. The relation between a substance and its quality, action,
class notion, etc. has also to be admitted as a separate entity, as
without it the different entities being without any principle of
relation would naturally fail to give us a philosophic construction.

Sa@mkhya had conceived of a principle which consisted of an
infinite number of reals of three different types, which by their
combination were conceived to be able to produce all substances,
qualities, actions, etc. No difference was acknowledged to exist
between substances, qualities and actions, and it was conceived

[Footnote 1: On the meaning of the word Mima@msa see Chapter IV.]

368

that these were but so many aspects of a combination of the three
types of reals in different proportions. The reals contained within
them the rudiments of all developments of matter, knowledge,
willing, feelings, etc. As combinations of reals changed incessantly
and new phenomena of matter and mind were manifested, collocations
did not bring about any new thing but brought about a
phenomenon which was already there in its causes in another
form. What we call knowledge or thought ordinarily, is with them
merely a form of subtle illuminating matter stuff. Sa@mkhya holds
however that there is a transcendent entity as pure consciousness
and that by some kind of transcendent reflection or contact
this pure consciousness transforms the bare translucent thought-matter
into conscious thought or experience of a person.

But this hypothesis of a pure self, as essentially distinct and
separate from knowledge as ordinarily understood, can hardly
be demonstrated in our common sense experience; and this has
been pointed out by the Nyaya school in a very strong and
emphatic manner. Even Sa@mkhya did not try to prove that the
existence of its transcendent puru@sa could be demonstrated in
experience, and it had to attempt to support its hypothesis of the
existence of a transcendent self on the ground of the need of
a permanent entity as a fixed object, to which the passing states
of knowledge could cling, and on grounds of moral struggle
towards virtue and emancipation. Sa@mkhya had first supposed
knowledge to be merely a combination of changing reals, and
then had as a matter of necessity to admit a fixed principle as
puru@sa (pure transcendent consciousness). The self is thus here
in some sense an object of inference to fill up the gap left by
the inadequate analysis of consciousness (_buddhi_) as being
non-intelligent and incessantly changing.
Nyaya fared no better, for it also had to demonstrate self
on the ground that since knowledge existed it was a quality,
and therefore must inhere in some substance. This hypothesis
is again based upon another uncritical assumption that substances
and attributes were entirely separate, and that it was the nature
of the latter to inhere in the former, and also that knowledge was
a quality requiring (similarly with other attributes) a substance
in which to inhere. None of them could take their stand upon
the self-conscious nature of our ordinary thought and draw their
conclusions on the strength of the direct evidence of this self-conscious

thought. Of course it is true that Sa@mkhya had approached
nearer to this view than Nyaya, but it had separated
the content of knowledge and its essence so irrevocably that it
threatened to break the integrity of thought in a manner quite
unwarranted by common sense experience, which does not seem
to reveal this dual element in thought. Anyhow the unification
of the content of thought and its essence had to be made, and this
could not be done except by what may be regarded as a makeshift--a
transcendent illusion running on from beginningless
time. These difficulties occurred because Sa@mkhya soared to a
region which was not directly illuminated by the light of common
sense experience. The Nyaya position is of course much worse
as a metaphysical solution, for it did not indeed try to solve anything,
but only gave us a schedule of inferential results which could not be tested by experience, and which were based ultimately on a one-sided and uncritical assumption. It is an uncritical common sense experience that substances are different from qualities and actions, and that the latter inhere in the former. To base the whole of metaphysics on such a tender and fragile experience is, to say the least, building on a weak foundation. It was necessary that the importance of the self-revealing thought must be brought to the forefront, its evidence should be collected and trusted, and an account of experience should be given according to its verdict. No construction of metaphysics can ever satisfy us which ignores the direct immediate convictions of self-conscious thought. It is a relief to find that a movement of philosophy in this direction is ushered in by the Mima@msa system. The _Mima@msa sutras_ were written by Jaimini and the commentary (_bha@syas_) on it was written by S'abara. But the systematic elaboration of it was made by Kumarila, who preceded the great S'a@nkarcarya, and a disciple of Kumarila, Prabhakara.

The Mima@msa Literature.

It is difficult to say how the sacrificial system of worship grew in India in the Brahma@nas. This system once set up gradually began to develop into a net-work of elaborate rituals, the details of which were probably taken note of by the priests. As some generations passed and the sacrifices spread over larger tracts of India and grew up into more and more elaborate details, the old
rules and regulations began to be collected probably as tradition

had it, and this it seems gave rise to the sm@rti literature. Discussions
and doubts became more common about the many
intricacies of the sacrificial rituals, and regular rational enquiries
into them were begun in different circles by different scholars and
priests. These represent the beginnings of Mima@msa (lit. attempts
at rational enquiry), and it is probable that there were
different schools of this thought. That Jaimini's _Mima@msa sutras_
(which are with us the foundations of Mima@msa) are only a comprehensive
and systematic compilation of one school is evident from
the references he gives to the views in different matters of other
preceding writers who dealt with the subject. These works are not
available now, and we cannot say how much of what Jaimini has
written is his original work and how much of it borrowed. But it
may be said with some degree of confidence that it was deemed so
masterly a work at least of one school that it has survived all other
attempts that were made before him. Jaimini's _Mima@msa sutras_
were probably written about 200 B.C. and are now the ground work
of the Mima@msa system. Commentaries were written on it by
various persons such as Bhart@rmitra (alluded to in _Nyayaratnakara_
verse 10 of _S'lokavarttika_), Bhavadasa (_Pratijnasutra_ 63), Hari and
Upav@ra (mentioned in _S'astradipika_). It is probable that at least
some of these preceded S'abara, the writer of the famous commentary
known as the _S'abara-bha@sya_. It is difficult to say anything
about the time in which he flourished. Dr Ga@nganatha
Jha would have him about 57 B.C. on the evidence of a current
verse which speaks of King Vikramaditya as being the son
of S'abarasvamin by a K@satriya wife. This bha@sya of S'abara
is the basis of the later Mima@msa works. It was commented
upon by an unknown person alluded to as Varttikakara by
Prabhakara and merely referred to as "yathahu@h" (as they say)
by Kumarila. Dr Ga@nganatha Jha says that Prabhakara's commentary
_B@rhati_ on the _S'abara-bha@sya_ was based upon the work
of this Varttikakara. This _B@rhati_ of Prabhakara had another
commentary on it--_@Rjuvimala_ by S'alikanatha Mis'tra, who also
wrote a compendium on the Prabhakara interpretation of Mima@msa
called _Prakara@napancika_. Tradition says that Prabhakara
(often referred to as Nibandhakara), whose views are
often alluded to as "gurumata," was a pupil of Kumarila. Kumarila
Bha@t@ta, who is traditionally believed to be the senior contemporary
of S'a@nkara (788 A.D.), wrote his celebrated independent

371

exposition of S'abara's bha@sy in three parts known as _S'lokavarttika_
(dealing only with the philosophical portion of S'abara's
work as contained in the first chapter of the first book known as
Tarkapada), _Tantravarttika_ (dealing with the remaining three
chapters of the first book, the second and the third book) and
_@Tup@tika_ (containing brief notes on the remaining nine books)
[Footnote ref 1]. Kumarila is referred to by his later followers
as Bha@t@ta, Bha@t@tapada, and Varttikakara. The next great Mima@msa
scholar and follower of Kumarila was Ma@n@dana Mis'ra, the author of
_Vidhiviveka, Mima@msanukrama@ni_ and the commentator of _Tantravarttika,_
who became later on converted by S'a@nkara to Vedantism. Parthasarathi
Mis'ra (about ninth century A.D.) wrote his _S'astradipika,
Tantraratna, _ and _Nyayaratnamala_ following the footsteps
of Kumarila. Amongst the numerous other followers of Kumarila,
the names of Sucarita Mis'ra the author of _Kas'ika_ and Somes'vara
the author of _Nyayasudha_ deserve special notice. Ramak@r@s@na
Bha@t@ta wrote an excellent commentary on the _Tarkapada_ of
_S'astradipika_ called the _Yuktisnehapura@ni-siddhanta-candrika_ and
Somanatha wrote his _Mayukhamalika_ on the remaining chapters
_of S'astradipika_. Other important current Mima@msa works which
deserve notice are such as _Nyayamalavistara_ of Madhava, _Subodhini,
Mima@msabalaprakas'a_ of S'a@nkara Bha@t@ta, _Nyayaka@nika_ of
Vacaspati Mis'ra, _Mima@msaparibha@sa_ by K@r@s@nayajvan,
_Mima@msanyayaprakas'a_ by Anantadeva, Gaga Bha@t@ta's
_Bha@t@tacintama@ni_ etc. Most of the books mentioned here have been
consulted in the writing of this chapter. The importance of the
Mima@msa literature for a Hindu is indeed great. For not only are all
Vedic duties to be performed according to its maxims, but even the
sm@rti literatures which regulate the daily duties, ceremonials and rituals
of Hindus even at the present day are all guided and explained
by them. The legal side of the sm@rtis consisting of inheritance,
proprietary rights, adoption, etc. which guide Hindu civil life even
under the British administration is explained according to the
Mima@msa maxims. Its relations to the Vedanta philosophy will
be briefly indicated in the next chapter. Its relations with
Nyaya-Vais'eka have also been pointed out in various places of this chapter. The views of the two schools of Mimaṃsa as propounded by Prabhakara and Kumarila on all the important topics have also been pointed out. Prabhakara's views however could not win many followers in later times, but while living it is said that he was regarded by Kumarila as a very strong rival [Footnote ref 1]. Hardly any new contribution has been made to the Mimaṃsa philosophy after Kumarila and Prabhakara. The Mimaṃsa sutras deal mostly with the principles of the interpretation of the Vedic texts in connection with sacrifices, and very little of philosophy can be gleaned out of them. S'abara's contributions are also slight and vague. Varttikakara's views also can only be gathered from the references to them by Kumarila and Prabhakara. What we know of Mimaṃsa philosophy consists of their views and theirs alone. It did not develop any further after them. Works written on the subject in later times were but of a purely expository nature. I do not know of any work on Mimaṃsa written in English except

[Footnote 1: Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasada S'astri says, in his introduction to Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts, that "Kumarila preceded Sṅkara by two generations."]
the excellent one by Dr Ganganatha Jha on the Prabhakara Mimaśa to which I have frequently referred.

The Paratah-pramāṇya doctrine of Nyaya and the Svatah-pramāṇya doctrine of Mimaśa.

The doctrine of the self-validity of knowledge (_svatah-pramāṇya_) forms the cornerstone on which the whole structure of the Mimaśa philosophy is based. Validity means the certitude of truth. The Mimaśa philosophy asserts that all knowledge excepting the action of remembering (_smṛti_) or memory is valid in itself, for it itself certifies its own truth, and neither depends on any other extraneous condition nor on any other knowledge for its validity. But Nyaya holds that this self-validity of knowledge is a question which requires an explanation. It is true that under certain conditions a piece of knowledge is produced in us, but what is meant by saying that this knowledge is a proof of its own truth? When we perceive anything as blue, it is the direct result of visual contact, and this visual contact cannot certify that the knowledge generated is true, as the visual contact is not in any touch with the knowledge documented.

[Footnote 1: There is a story that Kumarila, not being able to convert Prabhakara, his own pupil, to his views, attempted a trick and pretended]
that he was dead. His disciples then asked Prabhakara whether his burial rites should be performed according to Kumarila's views or Prabhakara's. Prabhakara said that his own views were erroneous, but these were held by him only to rouse up Kumarila's pointed attacks, whereas Kumarila's views were the right ones. Kumarila then rose up and said that Prabhakara was defeated, but the latter said he was not defeated so long as he was alive. But this has of course no historic value.]

373

it has conditioned. Moreover, knowledge is a mental affair and how can it certify the objective truth of its representation? In other words, how can my perception "a blue thing" guarantee that what is subjectively perceived as blue is really so objectively as well? After my perception of anything as blue we do not have any such perception that what I have perceived as blue is really so. So this so-called self-validity of knowledge cannot be testified or justified by any perception. We can only be certain that knowledge has been produced by the perceptual act, but there is nothing in this knowledge or its revelation of its object from which we can infer that the perception is also objectively valid or true. If the production of any knowledge should certify its validity then there would be no invalidity, no illusory knowledge, and following our perception of even a mirage we should never come to grief. But we are disappointed often in our perceptions, and this proves that when we practically follow the directions of our perception we are undecided as to its validity,
which can only be ascertained by the correspondence of the perception
with what we find later on in practical experience. Again,
every piece of knowledge is the result of certain causal collocations,
and as such depends upon them for its production, and
hence cannot be said to rise without depending on anything else.
It is meaningless to speak of the validity of knowledge, for
validity always refers to objective realization of our desires and
attempts proceeding in accordance with our knowledge. People
only declare their knowledge invalid when proceeding practically
in accordance with it they are disappointed. The perception of
a mirage is called invalid when proceeding in accordance with
our perception we do not find anything that can serve the purposes
of water (e.g. drinking, bathing). The validity or truth of
knowledge is thus the attainment by practical experience of the
object and the fulfilment of all our purposes from it (_arthakriyajnana_
or _phalajnana_) just as perception or knowledge represented
them to the perceiver. There is thus no self-validity of
knowledge (_svataḥ-pramāṇa_), but validity is ascertained by
_saṃvada_ or agreement with the objective facts of experience [Footnote
ref I].

It is easy to see that this Nyaya objection is based on the
supposition that knowledge is generated by certain objective
collocations of conditions, and that knowledge so produced can
only be tested by its agreement with objective facts. But this
theory of knowledge is merely an hypothesis; for it can never be
experienced that knowledge is the product of any collocations;
we have a perception and immediately we become aware of certain
objective things; knowledge reveals to us the facts of the
objective world and this is experienced by us always. But that
the objective world generates knowledge in us is only an hypothesis
which can hardly be demonstrated by experience. It is the supreme
prerogative of knowledge that it reveals all other things. It is not a
phenomenon like any other phenomenon of the world. When we
say that knowledge has been produced in us by the external
collocations, we just take a perverse point of view which is unwarranted
by experience; knowledge only photographs the
objective phenomena for us; but there is nothing to show that
knowledge has been generated by these phenomena. This is
only a theory which applies the ordinary conceptions of causation
to knowledge and this is evidently unwarrantable. Knowledge is
not like any other phenomena for it stands above them and
interprets or illumines them all. There can be no validity in
things, for truth applies to knowledge and knowledge alone. What
we call agreement with facts by practical experience is but the
agreement of previous knowledge with later knowledge; for objective
facts never come to us directly, they are always taken on the evidence of knowledge, and they have no other certainty than what is bestowed on them by knowledge. There arise indeed different kinds of knowledge revealing different things, but these latter do not on that account generate the former, for this is never experienced; we are never aware of any objective fact before it is revealed by knowledge. Why knowledge makes different kinds of revelations is indeed more than we can say, for experience only shows that knowledge reveals objective facts and not why it does so. The rise of knowledge is never perceived by us to be dependent on any objective fact, for all objective facts are dependent on it for its revelation or illumination. This is what is said to be the self-validity (svata@h-prama@ya_) of knowledge in its production (_utpatti_). As soon as knowledge is produced, objects are revealed to us; there is no intermediate link between the rise of knowledge and the revelation of objects on which knowledge depends for producing its action of revealing or illuminating them. Thus knowledge is not only independent of anything else in its own rise but in its own action as well (svakaryakara@ne svata@h prama@nya@m jnanasya__). Whenever there is any knowledge it carries with it the impression that it is certain and valid, and we are naturally thus prompted to work (_prav@rtti_) according to its direction. There is no indecision in our mind at the time of the rise of knowledge as to the correctness
of knowledge; but just as knowledge rises, it carries with
it the certainty of its revelation, presence, or action. But in cases
of illusory perception other perceptions or cognitions dawn which
carry with them the notion that our original knowledge was not
valid. Thus though the invalidity of any knowledge may appear
to us by later experience, and in accordance with which we
reject our former knowledge, yet when the knowledge first revealed
itself to us it carried with it the conviction of certainty which
goaded us on to work according to its indication. Whenever a man
works according to his knowledge, he does so with the conviction
that his knowledge is valid, and not in a passive or uncertain temper
of mind. This is what Mima@msa means when it says that the
validity of knowledge appears immediately with its rise, though
its invalidity may be derived from later experience or some other
data (_jnanasya pra@ma@nyam svata@h aprama@nya@m parata@h_). Knowledge
attained is proved invalid when later on a contradictory
experience (_badhakajnana_) comes in or when our organs etc. are
known to be faulty and defective (_kara@nado@sajnana). It is from
these that knowledge appearing as valid is invalidated; when
we take all necessary care to look for these and yet find them
not, we must think that they do not exist. Thus the validity of
knowledge certified at the moment of its production need not
be doubted unnecessarily when even after enquiry we do not find
any defect in sense or any contradiction in later experience. All
knowledge except memory is thus regarded as valid independently
by itself as a general rule, unless it is invalidated later on. Memory
is excluded because the phenomenon of memory depends upon
a previous experience, and its existing latent impressions, and
cannot thus be regarded as arising independently by itself.

The place of sense organs in perception.

We have just said that knowledge arises by itself and that it could not have been generated by sense-contact. If this be so, the diversity of perceptions is however left unexplained. But in

376

face of the Nyaya philosophy explaining all perceptions on the ground of diverse sense-contact the Mimaṣa probably could not afford to remain silent on such an important point. It therefore accepted the Nyaya view of sense-contact as a condition of knowledge with slight modifications, and yet held their doctrine of svātāḥ-pramāṇa. It does not appear to have been conscious of a conflict between these two different principles of the production of knowledge. Evidently the point of view from which it looked at it was that the fact that there were the senses and contacts of them with the objects, or such special capacities in them by virtue of which the things could be perceived, was with us a matter of inference. Their actions in producing the knowledge are never experienced at the time of the rise of knowledge, but when the knowledge arises we argue that such and such senses must have acted. The only case where knowledge is found to be dependent on anything else seems to be the case where one
knowledge is found to depend on a previous experience or knowledge as in the case of memory. In other cases the dependence of the rise of knowledge on anything else cannot be felt, for the physical collocations conditioning knowledge are not felt to be operating before the rise of knowledge, and these are only inferred later on in accordance with the nature and characteristic of knowledge. We always have our first start in knowledge which is directly experienced from which we may proceed later on to the operation and nature of objective facts in relation to it. Thus it is that though contact of the senses with the objects may later on be imagined to be the conditioning factor, yet the rise of knowledge as well as our notion of its validity strikes us as original, underived, immediate, and first-hand.

Prabhakara gives us a sketch as to how the existence of the senses may be inferred. Thus our cognitions of objects are phenomena which are not all the same, and do not happen always in the same manner, for these vary differently at different moments; the cognitions of course take place in the soul which may thus be regarded as the material cause (samavayikara@na_); but there must be some such movements or other specific associations (asamavayikara@na_) which render the production of this or that specific cognition possible. The immaterial causes subsist either in the cause of the material cause (e.g. in the case of the colouring of a white piece of cloth, the colour of the yarns which

377
is the cause of the colour in the cloth subsists in the yarns which
form the material cause of the cloth) or in the material cause itself
(e.g. in the case of a new form of smell being produced in a
substance by fire-contact, this contact, which is the immaterial
cause of the smell, subsists in that substance itself which is put
in the fire and in which the smell is produced). The soul is
eternal and has no other cause, and it has to be assumed that
the immaterial cause required for the rise of a cognition must
inhere in the soul, and hence must be a quality. Then again
accepting the Nyaya conclusions we know that the rise of qualities
in an eternal thing can only take place by contact with some
other substances. Now cognition being a quality which the soul
acquires would naturally require the contact of such substances.
Since there is nothing to show that such substances inhere in
other substances they are also to be taken as eternal. There are
three eternal substances, time, space, and atoms. But time and
space being all-pervasive the soul is always in contact with them.
Contact with these therefore cannot explain the occasional rise
of different cognitions. This contact must then be of some kind
of atom which resides in the body ensouled by the cognizing soul.
This atom may be called _manas_ (mind). This manas alone by
itself brings about cognitions, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion,
effort, etc. The manas however by itself is found to be devoid
of any such qualities as colour, smell, etc., and as such cannot
lead the soul to experience or cognize these qualities; hence
it stands in need of such other organs as may be characterized
by these qualities; for the cognition of colour, the mind will need the aid of an organ of which colour is the characteristic quality; for the cognition of smell, an organ having the odorous characteristic and so on with touch, taste, vision. Now we know that the organ which has colour for its distinctive feature must be one composed of tejas or light, as colour is a feature of light, and this proves the existence of the organ, the eye—for the cognition of colour; in a similar manner the existence of the earthly organ (organ of smell), the aqueous organ (organ of taste), the akasic organ (organ of sound) and the airy organ (organ of touch) may be demonstrated. But without manas none of these organs is found to be effective. Four necessary contacts have to be admitted, (1) of the sense organs with the object, (2) of the sense organs with the qualities of the object, (3) of the manas with the sense organs, and (4) of the manas with the soul. The objects of perception are of three kinds,(1) substances, (2) qualities, (3) jati or class. The material substances are tangible objects of earth, fire, water, air in large dimensions (for in their fine atomic states they cannot be perceived). The qualities are colour, taste, smell, touch, number, dimension, separateness, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and effort [Footnote ref 1].
It may not be out of place here to mention in conclusion that Kumarila Bhat was rather undecided as to the nature of the senses or of their contact with the objects. Thus he says that the senses may be conceived either as certain functions or activities, or as entities having the capacity of revealing things without coming into actual contact with them, or that they might be entities which actually come in contact with their objects [Footnote ref 2], and he prefers this last view as being more satisfactory.

Indeterminate and determinate perception.

There are two kinds of perception in two stages, the first stage is called _nirvikalpa_ (indeterminate) and the second _savikalpa_ (determinate). The nirvikalpa perception of a thing is its perception at the first moment of the association of the senses and their objects. Thus Kumarila says that the cognition that appears first is a mere _alocana_ or simple perception, called non-determinate pertaining to the object itself pure and simple, and resembling the cognitions that the new-born infant has of things around himself. In this cognition neither the genus nor the differentia is presented to consciousness; all that is present there is the individual wherein these two subsist. This view of indeterminate perception may seem in some sense to resemble the Buddhist view which defines it as being merely the specific individuality (_svalak@sa@na_) and regards it as being the only valid element in perception, whereas all the rest are conceived as being imaginary.
impositions. But both Kumarila and Prabhakara think that both
the genus and the differentia are perceived in the indeterminate
stage, but these do not manifest themselves to us only because
we do not remember the other things in relation to which, or in
contrast to which, the percept has to show its character as genus or
differentia; a thing can be cognized as an "individual" only in
comparison with other things from which it differs in certain well-defined
characters; and it can be apprehended as belonging to a
class only when it is found to possess certain characteristic features in common with some other things; so we see that as other things are not presented to consciousness through memory, the percept at the indeterminate stage cannot be fully apprehended as an individual belonging to a class, though the data constituting the characteristic of the thing as a genus and its differentia are perceived at the indeterminate stage [Footnote ref 1]. So long as other things are not remembered these data cannot manifest themselves properly, and hence the perception of the thing remains indeterminate at the first stage of perception. At the second stage the self by its past impressions brings the present perception in relation to past ones and realizes its character as involving universal and particular. It is thus apparent that the difference between the indeterminate and the determinate perception is this, that in the latter case memory of other things creeps in, but this association of memory in the determinate perception refers to those other objects of memory and not to the percept. It is also held that though the determinate perception is based upon the indeterminate one, yet since the former also apprehends certain such factors as did not enter into the indeterminate perception, it is to be regarded as a valid cognition. Kumarila also agrees with Prabhakara in holding both the indeterminate and the determinate perception valid [Footnote ref 2].

Some Ontological Problems connected with the Doctrine of Perception.
The perception of the class (jati) of a percept in relation to other things may thus be regarded in the main as a difference between determinate and indeterminate perceptions. The problems of jati and avayavayavi (part and whole notion) were

---

[Footnote 1: Compare this with the Vais'ẽsika view as interpreted by S'ridhara.]

[Footnote 2: See _Prakaraṇapancika_ and _S'astradipika_.]

380

the subjects of hot dispute in Indian philosophy. Before entering into discussion about jati, Prabhakara first introduced the problem of _avayava_ (part) and _avayavi_ (whole). He argues as an exponent of svataḥ-pramāṇavāda that the proof of the true existence of anything must ultimately rest on our own consciousness, and what is distinctly recognized in consciousness must be admitted to have its existence established. Following this canon Prabhakara says that gross objects as a whole exist, since they are so perceived. The subtle atoms are the material cause and their connection (_sa@myoga_) is the immaterial cause (_asamavayikara@na_), and it is the latter which renders the whole
altogether different from the parts of which it is composed; and
it is not necessary that all the parts should be perceived before the
whole is perceived. Kumarila holds that it is due to the point of
view from which we look at a thing that we call it a separate
whole or only a conglomeration of parts. In reality they are identical,
but when we lay stress on the notion of parts, the thing
appears to be a conglomeration of them, and when we look at it
from the point of view of the unity appearing as a whole, the thing
appears to be a whole of which there are parts (see _S'lokavarttika,
Vanavada_) [Footnote ref 1].

Jati, though incorporating the idea of having many units within one, is
different from the conception of whole in this, that it resides in its
entirety in each individual constituting that jati (_vyas'ajyav@rtti_).

[Footnote 1: According to Sa@mkhya-Yoga a thing is regarded as the unity
of the universal and the particular (_samanyavis'esasamudayo dravyam,
Vyasabhasya_, Ill. 44), for there is no other separate entity which is
different from them both in which they would inhere as Nyaya holds.
Conglomerations can be of two kinds, namely those in which the parts
exist at a distance from one another (e.g. a forest), and those in which
they exist close together (_mrantara hi tadavayavah_), and it is this
latter combination (_ayutasiddhayavaya_) which is called a dravya, but
here also there is no separate whole distinct from the parts; it is the
parts connected in a particular way and having no perceptible space between them that is called a thing or a whole. The Buddhists as Panditas'oka has shown did not believe in any whole (_avayavi_), it is the atoms which in connection with one another appeared as a whole occupying space (_paramanava eva pararupades'apariharenotpannah parasparasahita avabhasamana desavitanavanto bhavanti__). The whole is thus a mere appearance and not a reality (see _Avayavinirakarana, Six Buddhist Nyaya Tracts_). Nyaya however held that the atoms were partless (_nirayava_) and hence it would be wrong to say that when we see an object we see the atoms. The existence of a whole as different from the parts which belong to it is directly experienced and there is no valid reason against it:

"_adustakaranodbhutamanavirbhutabadhakam asandigdanca vijnanam katham mithyeti kathyate._"

_Nyayamanjari_, pp. 550 ff.]

but the establishment of the existence of wholes refutes the argument that jati should be denied, because it involves the conception of a whole (class) consisting of many parts (individuals). The class character or jati exists because it is distinctly perceived by us in the individuals included in any particular class. It is eternal in the sense that it continues to exist in other individuals, even
when one of the individuals ceases to exist. When a new individual
of that class (e.g. cow class) comes into being, a new
relation of inherence is generated by which the individual is
brought into relation with the class-character existing in other
individuals, for inherence (_samavaya_) according to Prabhakara
is not an eternal entity but an entity which is both produced
and not produced according as the thing in which it exists is
non-eternal or eternal, and it is not regarded as one as Nyaya
holds, but as many, according as there is the infinite number of
things in which it exists. When any individual is destroyed, the
class-character does not go elsewhere, nor subsist in that individual,
nor is itself destroyed, but it is only the inherence of
class-character with that individual that ceases to exist. With
the destruction of an individual or its production it is a new
relation of inherence that is destroyed or produced. But the
class-character or jati has no separate existence apart from the
individuals as Nyaya supposes. Apprehension of jati is essentially
the apprehension of the class-character of a thing in relation to
other similar things of that class by the perception of the common
characteristics. But Prabhakara would not admit the existence of
a highest genus satta (being) as acknowledged by Nyaya. He
argues that the existence of class-character is apprehended because
we find that the individuals of a class possess some common
characteristic possessed by all the heterogeneous and disparate
things of the world as can give rise to the conception of a separate
jati as satta, as demanded by the naiyayikas. That all things are
said to be _sat_ (existing) is more or less a word or a name without
the corresponding apprehension of a common quality. Our experience
always gives us concrete existing individuals, but we
can never experience such a highest genus as pure existence or
being, as it has no concrete form which may be perceived. When
we speak of a thing as _sat_, we do not mean that it is possessed
of any such class-characters as satta (being); what we mean
is simply that the individual has its specific existence or svarupasatta.

Thus the Nyaya view of perception as taking only the
thing in its pure being apart from qualities, etc, (_sanmatra-vi@sayam
pratyak@sa@m_) is made untenable by Prabhakara, as according to
him the thing is perceived direct with all its qualities. According
to Kumarila however jati is not something different from the
individuals comprehended by it and it is directly perceived.
Kumarila's view of jati is thus similar to that held by Sa@mkhya,
namely that when we look at an individual from one point of
view (jati as identical with the individual), it is the individual that
lays its stress upon our consciousness and the notion of jati becomes
latent, but when we look at it from another point of view
(the individual as identical with jati) it is the jati which presents
itself to consciousness, and the aspect as individual becomes latent.
The apprehension as jati or as individual is thus only a matter
of different points of view or angles of vision from which we look
at a thing. Quite in harmony with the conception of jati, Kumarila
holds that the relation of inherence is not anything which is distinct
from the things themselves in which it is supposed to exist,
but only a particular aspect or phase of the things themselves
(S'lokavarttika, Pratyak@sasutra_, 149, 150, _abhedat samavayo'stu
svarupam dharmadharmi@no@h_), Kumarila agrees with Prabhakara
that jati is perceived by the senses (_tatraikabuddhinirgrahya
jatirindriyagocara_).

It is not out of place to mention that on the evidence of
Prabhakara we find that the category of vis'e@sa admitted by the
Ka@nada school is not accepted as a separate category by the
Mima@msa on the ground that the differentiation of eternal
things from one another, for which the category of vis'e@sa is
admitted, may very well be effected on the basis of the ordinary
qualities of these things. The quality of parthaktva or specific
differences in atoms, as inferred by the difference of things they
constitute, can very well serve the purposes of vis'e@sa.

The nature of knowledge.

All knowledge involves the knower, the known object, and the
knowledge at the same identical moment. All knowledge whether
perceptual, inferential or of any other kind must necessarily reveal
the self or the knower directly. Thus as in all knowledge the self
is directly and immediately perceived, all knowledge may be regarded
as perception from the point of view of self. The division
of the pramañnas as pratyakṣa (perception), anumana (inference), etc. is from the point of view of the objects of knowledge with reference to the varying modes in which they are brought within the purview of knowledge. The self itself however has no illumining or revealing powers, for then even in deep sleep we could have knowledge, for the self is present even then, as is proved by the remembrance of dreams. It is knowledge (samyakvid) that reveals by its very appearance both the self, the knower, and the objects. It is generally argued against the self-illuminative character of knowledge that all cognitions are of the forms of the objects they are said to reveal; and if they have the same form we may rather say that they have the same identical reality too. The Mimaṃsā answer to these objections is this, that if the cognition and the cognized were not different from one another, they could not have been felt as such, and we could not have felt that it is by cognition that we apprehend the cognized objects. The cognition (samyakvedana) of a person simply means that such a special kind of quality (dharma) has been manifested in the self by virtue of which his active operation with reference to a certain object is favoured or determined, and the object of cognition is that with reference to which the active operation of the self has been induced. Cognitions are not indeed absolutely formless, for they have the cognitional character by which things are illumined and manifested. Cognition has no other character than this, that it illumines and reveals objects. The things only are believed to have forms and only such forms as knowledge reveal
to us about them. Even the dream cognition is with reference to objects that were perceived previously, and of which the impressions were left in the mind and were aroused by the unseen agency \(_{ad@r@s@t\alpha_}\). Dream cognition is thus only a kind of remembrance of that which was previously experienced. Only such of the impressions of cognized objects are roused in dreams as can beget just that amount of pleasurable or painful experience, in accordance with the operation of \(ad@r@s@t\alpha\), as the person deserves to have in accordance with his previous merit or demerit.

The Prabhakara Mima\(\text{ms}\)a, in refuting the arguments of those who hold that our cognitions of objects are themselves cognized by some other cognition, says that this is not possible, since we do not experience any such double cognition and also because it would lead us to a \(\text{regressus ad infinitum}\) for if a second cognition is necessary to interpret the first, then that would require a third and so on. If a cognition could be the object of another cognition, then it could not be self-valid. The cognition is not of course unknown to us, but that is of course because it is self-cognized, and reveals itself to us the moment it reveals its objects. From the illumination of objects also we can infer the presence of this self-cognizing knowledge. But it is only its presence that is inferred and not the cognition itself, for inference can only indicate the
presence of an object and not in the form in which it can be 
apprehended by perception (_pratyaksa_). Prabhakara draws a 
subtle distinction between perceptuality (_sa@mvedayatva_) and being 
object of knowledge (_prameyatva_). A thing can only be apprehended 
(_sa@mvedayate_) by perception, whereas inference can only 
indicate the presence of an object without apprehending the 
object itself. Our cognition cannot be apprehended by any other 
cognition. Inference can only indicate the presence or existence 
of knowledge but cannot apprehend the cognition itself [Footnote ref 1].

Kumarila also agrees with Prabhakara in holding that perception 
is never the object of another perception and that it ends 
in the direct apprehensibility of the object of perception. But he 
says that every perception involves a relationship between the 
perceiver and the perceived, wherein the perceiver behaves as 
the agent whose activity in grasping the object is known as cognition. 
This is indeed different from the Prabhakara view, that 
in one manifestation of knowledge the knower, the known, and 
the knowledge, are simultaneously illuminated (the doctrine of 
_tripu@tiprtyaksa_) [Footnote ref 2].

The Psychology of Illusion.

The question however arises that if all apprehensions are 
valid, how are we to account for illusory perceptions which cannot 
be regarded as valid? The problem of illusory perception and
its psychology is a very favourite topic of discussion in Indian philosophy. Omitting the theory of illusion of the Jains called _satkhyati_ which we have described before, and of the Vedantists, which we shall describe in the next chapter, there are three different theories of illusion, viz. (1) _atmakhyati_, (2) _viparitakhyati_ or _anyathakhyati_, and (3) _akhyati_ of the Mima@msa school. The

[Footnote 1: See _Prabhakaramima@msa_, by Dr Ga@nganatha Jha.]

[Footnote 2: _loc. cit._ pp. 26-28.]

385

_viparitakhyati_ or _anyathakhyati_ theory of illusion is accepted by the Nyaya, Vais'e@sika and the Yoga, the akhyati theory by Mima@msa and Sa@mkhya and the atmakhyati by the Buddhists.

The commonest example of illusion in Indian philosophy is the illusory appearance of a piece of broken conch-shell as a piece of silver. That such an illusion occurs is a fact which is experienced by all and agreed to by all. The differences of view are with regard to its cause or its psychology. The idealistic Buddhists who deny the existence of the external world and think that there are only
the forms of knowledge, generated by the accumulated karma of
to past lives, hold that just as in the case of a correct perception, so
also in the case of illusory perception it is the flow of knowledge
which must be held responsible. The flow of knowledge on account
of the peculiarities of its own collocating conditions generates
sometimes what we call right perception and sometimes wrong
perception or illusion. On this view nothing depends upon the so-called
external data. For they do not exist, and even if they did
exist, why should the same data sometimes bring about the right
perception and sometimes the illusion? The flow of knowledge
creates both the perceiver and the perceiver and unites them. This
is true both in the case of correct perception and illusory perception.
Nyaya objects to the above view, and says that, if
knowledge irrespective of any external condition imposes upon
itself the knower and the illusory percept, then the perception
ought to be of the form "I am silver" and not "this is silver."
Moreover this theory stands refuted, as it is based upon a false
hypothesis that it is the inner knowledge which appears as coming
from outside and that the external as such does not exist.

The viparitakhyati or the anyathakhyati theory supposes that
the illusion takes place because on account of malobservation we
do not note the peculiar traits of the conch-shell as distinguished
from the silver, and at the same time by the glow etc. of the
conch-shell unconsciously the silver which I had seen elsewhere
is remembered and the object before me is taken as silver. In
illusion the object before us with which our eye is associated is
not conch-shell, for the traits peculiar to it not being grasped, it is merely an object. The silver is not utterly non-existent, for it exists elsewhere and it is the memory of it as experienced before that creates confusion and leads us to think of the conch-shell as silver. This school agrees with the akhyati school that the fact

386

that I remember silver is not taken note of at the time of illusion. But it holds that the mere non-distinction is not enough to account for the phenomenon of illusion, for there is a definite positive aspect associated with it, viz. the false identification of silver (seen elsewhere) with the conch-shell before us.

The akhyati theory of Mima@msa holds that since the special peculiarities of the conch-shell are not noticed, it is erroneous to say that we identify or cognize positively the conch-shell as the silver (perceived elsewhere), for the conch-shell is not cognized at all. What happens here is simply this, that only the features common to conch-shell and silver being noticed, the perceiver fails to apprehend the difference between these two things, and this gives rise to the cognition of silver. Owing to a certain weakness of the mind the remembrance of silver roused by the common features of the conch-shell and silver is not apprehended, and the fact that it is only a memory of silver seen in some past time that has appeared before him is not perceived; and it is as
a result of this non-apprehension of the difference between the silver remembered and the present conch-shell that the illusion takes place. Thus, though the illusory perception partakes of a dual character of remembrance and apprehension, and as such is different from the ordinary valid perception (which is wholly a matter of direct apprehension) of real silver before us, yet as the difference between the remembrance of silver and the sight of the present object is not apprehended, the illusory perception appears at the moment of its production to be as valid as a real valid perception. Both give rise to the same kind of activity on the part of the agent, for in illusory perception the perceiver would be as eager to stoop and pick up the thing as in the case of a real perception. Kumarila agrees with this view as expounded by Prabhakara, and further says that the illusory judgment is as valid to the cognizor at the time that he has the cognition as any real judgment could be. If subsequent experience rejects it, that does not matter, for it is admitted in Mima@msa that when later experience finds out the defects of any perception it can invalidate the original perception which was self-valid at the time of its production [Footnote Ref. 1]. It is easy to see that the Mima@msa had to adopt this view of illusion to maintain the doctrine that all cognition at the moment of its production is valid. The akhyati theory

[Footnote 1: See _Prakara@napancika, S'astradipika_, and _S'lokavarttika_, sutra 2.]
tries to establish the view that the illusion is not due to any positive wrong knowledge, but to a mere negative factor of non-apprehension due to certain weakness of mind. So it is that though illusion is the result, yet the cognition so far as it is cognition, is made up of two elements, the present perception and memory, both of which are true so far as they are individually present to us, and the cognition itself has all the characteristics of any other valid knowledge, for the mark of the validity of a cognition is its power to prompt us to action. In doubtful cognitions also, as in the case "Is this a post or a man?" what is actually perceived is some tall object and thus far it is valid too. But when this perception gives rise to two different kinds of remembrance (of the pillar and the man), doubt comes in. So the element of apprehension involved in doubtful cognitions should be regarded as self-valid as any other cognition.

Inference.

S'abara says that when a certain fixed or permanent relation has been known to exist between two things, we can have the idea of one thing when the other one is perceived, and this kind of knowledge is called inference. Kumarila on the basis of this tries to show that inference is only possible when we notice
that in a large number of cases two things (e.g. smoke and fire) subsist together in a third thing (e.g. kitchen, etc.) in some independent relation, i.e. when their coexistence does not depend upon any other eliminable condition or factor. It is also necessary that the two things (smoke and fire) coexisting in a third thing should be so experienced that all cases of the existence of one thing should also be cases involving the existence of the other, but the cases of the existence of one thing (e.g. fire), though including all the cases of the existence of the other (smoke), may have yet a more extensive sphere where the latter (smoke) may not exist. When once a permanent relation, whether it be a case of coexistence (as in the case of the contiguity of the constellation of K@rttika with Rohi@ni, where, by the rise of the former the early rise of the latter may be inferred), or a case of identity (as in the relation between a genus and its species), or a case of cause and effect or otherwise between two things and a third thing which had been apprehended in a large number of cases, is perceived, they fuse together in the mind as forming one whole, and as a result of that when the existence of the one (e.g. smoke) in a thing (hill) is noticed, we can infer the existence of the thing (hill) with its counterpart (fire). In all such cases the thing (e.g. fire) which has a sphere extending beyond that in which the other (e.g. smoke) can exist is called _gamya_ or _vyapaka_ and the other (e.g. smoke) _vyapa_ or _gamaka_
and it is only by the presence of gamaka in a thing (e.g. hill, the pak@sa) that the other counterpart the gamya (fire) may be inferred. The general proposition, universal coexistence of the gamaka with the gamya (e.g. wherever there is smoke there is fire) cannot be the cause of inference, for it is itself a case of inference. Inference involves the memory of a permanent relation subsisting between two things (e.g. smoke and fire) in a third thing (e.g. kitchen); but the third thing is remembered only in a general way that the coexisting things must have a place where they are found associated. It is by virtue of such a memory that the direct perception of a basis (e.g. hill) with the gamaka thing (e.g. smoke) in it would naturally bring to my mind that the same basis (hill) must contain the gamya (i.e. fire) also. Every case of inference thus proceeds directly from a perception and not from any universal general proposition. Kumarila holds that the inference gives us the minor as associated with the major and not of the major alone, i.e. of the fiery mountain and not of fire. Thus inference gives us a new knowledge, for though it was known in a general way that the possessor of smoke is the possessor of fire, yet the case of the mountain was not anticipated and the inference of the fiery mountain is thus a distinctly new knowledge (_des'akaladhiyuktamag@rhitagrahitvam anumanasya, Nyayaratnakara_, p. 363) [Footnote ref 1]. It should also be noted that in forming the notion of the permanent relation between two things, a third thing in which these two subsist is always remembered and for the conception of this permanent relation it is enough that in the large number of cases where the concomitance was noted there was no knowledge of any case where the concomitance
failed, and it is not indispensable that the negative instances
in which the absence of the gamya or vyapaka was marked by an

[Footnote 1: It is important to note that it is not unlikely that Kumarila
was indebted to Di@nnaga for this; for Di@nnaga's main contention is that
"it is not fire, nor the connection between it and the hill, but it is
the fiery hill that is inferred" for otherwise inference would give us
no new knowledge see Vidyabhu@sa@na's _Indian Logic_, p. 87 and
_Tatparya@tika_, p. 120.]

389

absence of the gamaka or vyapya, should also be noted, for a
knowledge of such a negative relation is not indispensable for
the forming of the notion of the permanent relation [Footnote ref 1]. The
experience of a large number of particular cases in which any two
things were found to coexist together in another thing in some
relation associated with the non-perception of any case of failure
creates an expectancy in us of inferring the presence of the
gamya in that thing in which the gamaka is perceived to exist
in exactly the same relation [Footnote ref 2]. In those cases where the
circle of the existence of the gamya coincides with the circle of the
existence of the gamaka, each of them becomes a gamaka for the other.
It is clear that this form of inference not only includes all cases
of cause and effect, of genus and species but also all cases of coexistence as well.

The question arises that if no inference is possible without a memory of the permanent relation, is not the self-validity of inference destroyed on that account, for memory is not regarded as self-valid. To this Kumarila’s answer is that memory is not invalid, but it has not the status of pramana, as it does not bring to us a new knowledge. But inference involves the acquirement of a new knowledge in this, that though the coexistence of two things in another was known in a number of cases, yet in the present case a new case of the existence of the gamya in a thing is known from the perception of the existence of the gamaka and this knowledge is gained by a means which is not perception, for it is only the gamaka that is seen and not the gamya. If the gamya is also seen it is no inference at all.

As regards the number of propositions necessary for the explicit statement of the process of inference for convincing others (pararthanumana) both Kumarila and Prabhakara hold that three premisses are quite sufficient for inference. Thus the first three premisses pratijna, hetu and d@rstanta may quite serve the purpose of an anumana.

There are two kinds of anumana according to Kumarila viz. pratyak@satod@rstasambandha and samanyatod@r@s@tasambandha.
The former is that kind of inference where the permanent

relation between two concrete things, as in the case of smoke and
fire, has been noticed. The latter is that kind of inference where
the permanent relation is observed not between two concrete
things but between two general notions, as in the case of movement
and change of place, e.g. the perceived cases where there is
change of place there is also motion involved with it; so from the
change of place of the sun its motion is inferred and it is held
that this general notion is directly perceived like all universals

[Footnote ref 1].
Prabhakara recognizes the need of forming the notion of the permanent relation, but he does not lay any stress on the fact that this permanent relation between two things (fire and smoke) is taken in connection with a third thing in which they both subsist. He says that the notion of the permanent relation between two things is the main point, whereas in all other associations of time and place the things in which these two subsist together are taken only as adjuncts to qualify the two things (e.g. fire and smoke). It is also necessary to recognize the fact that though the concomitance of smoke in fire is only conditional, the concomitance of the fire in smoke is unconditional and absolute [Footnote ref 2]. When such a conviction is firmly rooted in the mind that the concept of the presence of smoke involves the concept of the presence of fire, the inference of fire is made as soon as any smoke is seen. Prabhakara counts separately the fallacies of the minor (pak@sabhasa_), of the enunciation (pratijnabhasa_) and of the example (d@r@s@tantabhasa_) along with the fallacies of the middle and this seems to indicate that the Mima@msa logic was not altogether free from Buddhist influence. The cognition of smoke includes within itself the cognition of fire also, and thus there would be nothing left unknown to be cognized by the inferential cognition. But this objection has little force with Prabhakara, for he does not admit that a prama@na should necessarily bring us any new knowledge, for prama@na is simply defined as "apprehension."

So though the inferential cognition always pertains to things already known it is yet regarded by him as a prama@na, since it is in any case no doubt an apprehension.
Upamana, Arthapatti.

Analogy (upamana) is accepted by Mimaśa in a sense which is different from that in which Nyaya took it. The man who has seen a cow (go) goes to the forest and sees a wild ox (gavaya), and apprehends the similarity of the gavaya with the go and then cognizes the similarity of the go (which is not within the limits of his perception then) with the gavaya. The cognition of this similarity of the gavaya in the go as it follows directly from the perception of the similarity of the go in the...
_gavaya_ is called upamana (analogy). It is regarded as a separate pramaṇa, because by it we can apprehend the similarity existing in a thing which is not perceived at the moment. It is not mere remembrance, for at the time the _go_ was seen the _gavaya_ was not seen, and hence the similarity also was not seen, and what was not seen could not be remembered. The difference of Prabhakara and Kumarila on this point is that while the latter regards similarity as only a quality consisting in the fact of more than one object having the same set of qualities, the former regards it as a distinct category.

_Arthapatti_ (implication) is a new pramaṇa which is admitted by the Mīmāṃsā. Thus when we know that a person Devadatta is alive and perceive that he is not in the house, we cannot reconcile these two facts, viz. his remaining alive and his not being in the house without presuming his existence somewhere outside the house, and this method of cognizing the existence of Devadatta outside the house is called _arthapatti_ (presumption or implication).

The exact psychological analysis of the mind in this arthapatti cognition is a matter on which Prabhakara and Kumarila disagree. Prabhakara holds that when a man knows that Devadatta habitually resides in his house but yet does not find him there, his knowledge that Devadatta is living (though acquired previously by some other means of proof) is made doubtful, and the cause of this doubt is that he does not find Devadatta at his
The absence of Devadatta from the house is not the cause of implication, but it throws into doubt the very existence of Devadatta, and thus forces us to imagine that Devadatta must remain somewhere outside. That can only be found by implication, without the hypothesis of which the doubt cannot be removed. The mere absence of Devadatta from the house is not enough for making the presumption that he is outside the house, for he might also be dead. But I know that Devadatta was living and also that he was not at home; this perception of his absence from home creates a doubt as regards my first knowledge that he is living, and it is for the removal of this doubt that there creeps in the presumption that he must be living somewhere else. The perception of the absence of Devadatta through the intermediate link of a doubt passes into the notion of a presumption that he must then remain somewhere else. In inference there is no element of doubt, for it is only when the smoke is perceived to exist beyond the least element of doubt that the inference of the fire is possible, but in presumption the perceived non-existence in the house leads to the presumption of an external existence only when it has thrown the fact of the man's being alive into doubt and uncertainty [Footnote ref 1].

Kumarila however objects to this explanation of Prabhakara,
and says that if the fact that Devadatta is living is made doubtful by the absence of Devadatta at his house, then the doubt may as well be removed by the supposition that Devadatta is dead, for it does not follow that the doubt with regard to the life of Devadatta should necessarily be resolved by the supposition of his being outside the house. Doubt can only be removed when the cause or the root of doubt is removed, and it does not follow that because Devadatta is not in the house therefore he is living. If it was already known that Devadatta was living and his absence from the house creates the doubt, how then can the very fact which created the doubt remove the doubt? The cause of doubt cannot be the cause of its removal too. The real procedure of the presumption is quite the other way. The doubt about the life of Devadatta being removed by previous knowledge or by some other means, we may presume that he must be outside the house when he is found absent from the house. So there cannot be any doubt about the life of Devadatta. It is the certainty of his life associated with the perception of his absence from the house that leads us to the presumption of his external existence. There is an opposition between the life of Devadatta and his absence from the house, and the mind cannot come to rest without the presumption of his external existence. The mind oscillates between two contradictory poles both of which it accepts but

[Footnote 1: See _Prakara@napancika_, pp. 113-115.]
cannot reconcile, and as a result of that finds an outlet and a reconciliation in the presumption that the existence of Devadatta must be found outside the house.

Well then, if that be so, inference may as well be interpreted as presumption. For if we say that we know that wherever there is smoke there is fire, and then perceive that there is smoke in the hill, but no fire, then the existence of the smoke becomes irreconcilable, or the universal proposition of the concomitance of smoke with fire becomes false, and hence the presumption that there is fire in the hill. This would have been all right if the universal concomitance of smoke with fire could be known otherwise than by inference. But this is not so, for the concomitance was seen only in individual cases, and from that came the inference that wherever there is smoke there is fire. It cannot be said that the concomitance perceived in individual cases suffered any contradiction without the presumption of the universal proposition (wherever there is smoke there is fire); thus arthapatti is of no avail here and inference has to be accepted. Now when it is proved that there are cases where the purpose of inference cannot be served by arthapatti, the validity of inference as a means of proof becomes established. That being done we admit that the knowledge of the fire in the hill may come to us
either by inference or by arthapatti.

So inference also cannot serve the purpose of arthapatti, for in inference also it is the hetu (reason) which is known first, and later on from that the sadhya (what is to be proved); both of them however cannot be apprehended at the same moment, and it is exactly this that distinguishes arthapatti from anumana. For arthapatti takes place where, without the presumption of Devadatta's external existence, the absence from the house of Devadatta who is living cannot be comprehended. If Devadatta is living he must exist inside or outside the house. The mind cannot swallow a contradiction, and hence without presuming the external existence of Devadatta even the perceived non-existence cannot be comprehended. It is thus that the contradiction is resolved by presuming his existence outside the house. Arthapatti is thus the result of arthanupapatti or the contradiction of the present perception with a previously acquired certain knowledge.

It is by this arthapattiprama@na that we have to admit that there is a special potency in seeds by which they produce the shoots, and that a special potency is believed to exist in sacrifices by which these can lead the sacrificer to Heaven or some such beneficent state of existence.
S'abda prama@na.

S'abda or word is regarded as a separate means of proof by most of the recognized Indian systems of thought excepting the Jaina, Buddhist, Carvaka and Vais'e@sika. A discussion on this topic however has but little philosophical value and I have therefore omitted to give any attention to it in connection with the Nyaya, and the Sa@mkhya-Yoga systems. The validity and authority of the Vedas were acknowledged by all Hindu writers and they had wordy battles over it with the Buddhists who denied it. Some sought to establish this authority on the supposition that they were the word of God, while others, particularly the Mima@msists strove to prove that they were not written by anyone, and had no beginning in time nor end and were eternal. Their authority was not derived from the authority of any trustworthy person or God. Their words are valid in themselves. Evidently a discussion on these matters has but little value with us, though it was a very favourite theme of debate in the old days of India. It was in fact the most important subject for Mima@msa, for the _Mima@msa sutras_ were written for the purpose of laying down canons for a right interpretation of the Vedas. The slight extent to which it has dealt with its own epistemological doctrines has been due solely to their laying the foundation of its structure of interpretative maxims, and not to writing philosophy for its own sake. It does not dwell so much upon salvation as other systems do, but seeks to serve as a
rational compendium of maxims with the help of which the
Vedas may be rightly understood and the sacrifices rightly performed.

But a brief examination of the doctrine of word (_s'abda_) as a means of proof cannot be dispensed with in connection with
Mima@msa as it is its very soul.

S'abda (word) as a prama@na means the knowledge that we get about things (not within the purview of our perception) from relevant sentences by understanding the meaning of the words of which they are made up. These sentences may be of two kinds, viz. those uttered by men and those which belong to the Vedas. The first becomes a valid means of knowledge when it is not uttered by untrustworthy persons and the second is valid in itself. The meanings of words are of course known to us before, and cannot therefore be counted as a means of proof; but the meanings of sentences involving a knowledge of the relations of words cannot be known by any other acknowledged means of proof, and it is for this that we have to accept s'abda as a separate means of proof. Even if it is admitted that the validity of any sentence may be inferred on the ground of its being uttered by a trustworthy person, yet that would not explain how we understand the meanings of sentences, for when even the name or person of a writer or speaker is not known,
we have no difficulty in understanding the meaning of any sentence.

Prabhakara thinks that all sounds are in the form of letters, or are understandable as combinations of letters. The constituent letters of a word however cannot yield any meaning, and are thus to be regarded as elements of auditory perception which serve as a means for understanding the meaning of a word. The reason of our apprehension of the meaning of any word is to be found in a separate potency existing in the letters by which the denotation of the word may be comprehended. The perception of each letter-sound vanishes the moment it is uttered, but leaves behind an impression which combines with the impressions of the successively dying perceptions of letters, and this brings about the whole word which contains the potency of bringing about the comprehension of a certain meaning. If even on hearing a word the meaning cannot be comprehended, it has to be admitted that the hearer lacks certain auxiliaries necessary for the purpose. As the potency of the word originates from the separate potencies of the letters, it has to be admitted that the latter is the direct cause of verbal cognition. Both Prabhakara and Kumarila agree on this point.

Another peculiar doctrine expounded here is that all words have natural denotative powers by which they themselves out of their own nature refer to certain objects irrespective of their comprehension or non-comprehension by the hearer. The hearer will
not understand the meaning unless it is known to him that the 
word in question is expressive of such and such a meaning,
but the word was all along competent to denote that meaning
and it is the hearer's knowledge of that fact that helps him to

396

understand the meaning of a word. Mimamsa does not think
that the association of a particular meaning with a word is due
to conventions among people who introduce and give meanings
to the words [Footnote ref 1]. Words are thus acknowledged to be denotative
of themselves. It is only about proper names that convention
is admitted to be the cause of denotation. It is easy to see
the bearing of this doctrine on the self-validity of the Vedic
commandments, by the performance of which such results would
arise as could not have been predicted by any other person.
Again all words are believed to be eternally existent; but though
they are ever present some manifestive agency is required by
which they are manifested to us. This manifestive agency consists
of the effort put forth by the man who pronounces the
word. Nyaya thinks that this effort of pronouncing is the cause
that produces the word while Mimamsa thinks that it only manifests
to the hearer the ever-existing word.

The process by which according to Prabhakara the meanings
of words are acquired maybe exemplified thus: a senior commands
a junior to bring a cow and to bind a horse, and the
child on noticing the action of the junior in obedience to the
senior's commands comes to understand the meaning of "cow"
and "horse." Thus according to him the meanings of words can
only be known from words occurring in injunctive sentences; he
deduces from this the conclusion that words must denote things
only as related to the other factors of the injunction (_anvitabhidhana
vada_), and no word can be comprehended as having any
denotation when taken apart from such a sentence. This doctrine
holds that each word yields its meaning only as being generally
related to other factors or only as a part of an injunctive sentence,
thus the word _gam_ accusative case of _go_ (cow) means that it is
intended that something is to be done with the cow or the bovine
genus, and it appears only as connected with a specific kind of
action, viz. bringing in the sentence _gam anaya_--bring the cow.
Kumarila however thinks that words independently express
separate meanings which are subsequently combined into a sentence
expressing one connected idea (_abhihitanvayavada_). Thus
in _gam anaya_, according to Kumarila, _gam_ means the bovine
class in the accusative character and _anaya_ independently means

[Footnote 1: According to Nyaya God created all words and associated them
with their meanings.]
bring; these two are then combined into the meaning "bring the
cow." But on the former theory the word _gam_ means that it is
connected with some kind of action, and the particular sentence
only shows what the special kind of action is, as in the above
sentence it appears as associated with bringing, but it cannot
have any meaning separately by itself. This theory of Kumarila
which is also the Nyaya theory is called abhijatanvayavada [Footnote ref
1].

Lastly according to Prabhakara it is only the Veda that can
be called s'abda-pramāṇa, and only those sentences of it which
contain injunctions (such as, perform this sacrifice in this way
with these things). In all other cases the validity of words is
only inferred on the ground of the trustworthy character of the
speaker. But Kumarila considers the words of all trustworthy
persons as s'abda-pramāṇa.

The Pramāṇa of Non-perception (anupalabdhi).

In addition to the above pramāṇas Kumarila admits a fifth
kind of pramāṇa, viz. _anupalabdhi_ for the perception of the
non-existence of a thing. Kumarila argues that the non-existence of
a thing (e.g. there is no jug in this room) cannot be perceived
by the senses, for there is nothing with which the senses could
come into contact in order to perceive the non-existence. Some
people prefer to explain this non-perception as a case of anumana. They say that wherever there is the existence of a visible object there is the vision of it by a perceiver. When there is no vision of a visible object, there is no existence of it also. But it is easy to see that such an inference presupposes the perception of want of vision and want of existence, but how these non-perceptions are to be accounted for is exactly the point to be solved. How can the perception of want of vision or want of existence be grasped? It is for this that we have to admit a separate mode of pramaṇa namely anupalabdhi.

All things exist in places either in a positive (sadrupa) or in a negative relation (asadrupa), and it is only in the former case

[Footnote 1: See _Prabhakaramimasa_ by Dr Ganganatha Jha and S.N. Dasgupta's _Study of Patanjali_, appendix. It may be noted in this connection that Mimaśa did not favour the Sphoṭa doctrine of sound which consists in the belief that apart from the momentary sounds of letters composing a word, there was a complete word form which was manifested (sphoṭa) but not created by the passing sounds of the syllables. The work of the syllable sounds is only to project this word manifestation. See Vacaspati's _Tattvabindu, S'lokavarttika_ and _Prakara@napancika_. For the doctrine of anvitabhidhana see Sahkanatha's _Vakyarthamat@rkav@rtti_]
that they come within the purview of the senses, while in the latter case the perception of the negative existence can only be had by a separate mode of the movement of the mind which we designate as a separate pramāṇa as anupalabdhi. Prabhakara holds that non-perception of a visible object in a place is only the perception of the empty place, and that therefore there is no need of admitting a separate pramāṇa as anupalabdhi. For what is meant by empty space? If it is necessary that for the perception of the non-existence of a jug there should be absolutely empty space before us, then if the place be occupied by a stone we ought not to perceive the non-existence of the jug, inasmuch as the place is not absolutely empty. If empty space is defined as that which is not associated with the jug, then the category of negation is practically admitted as a separate entity. If the perception of empty space is defined as the perception of space at the moment which we associated with a want of knowledge about the jug, then also want of knowledge as a separate entity has to be accepted, which amounts to the same thing as the admission of the want or negation of the jug. Whatever attempt may be made to explain the notion of negation by any positive conception, it will at best be an attempt to shift negation from the objective field to knowledge, or in other words to substitute for the place of the external absence of a thing an associated want of knowledge about the thing (in spite of its being a visible object) and this naturally ends
in failure, for negation as a separate category has to be admitted either in the field of knowledge or in the external world. Negation or abhava as a separate category has anyhow to be admitted.

It is said that at the first moment only the ground is seen without any knowledge of the jug or its negation, and then at the next moment comes the comprehension of the non-existence of the jug. But this also means that the moment of the perception of the ground is associated with the want of knowledge of the jug or its negation. But this comes to the same thing as the admission of negation as a separate category, for what other meaning can there be in the perception of "only the ground" if it is not meant that it (the perception of the ground) is associated with or qualified by the want of knowledge of the jug? For the perception of the ground cannot generate the notion of the non-existence of the jug, since even where there is a jug the ground is perceived. The qualifying phrase that "only the ground is perceived" becomes

meaningless, if things whose presence is excluded are not specified as negative conditions qualifying the perception of the ground. And this would require that we had already the notion of negation in us, which appeared to us of itself in a special manner unaccountable by other means of proof. It should also be noted that non-perception of a sensible object generates the notion of negation immediately and not through other negations, and this is true not only of things of the present moment but also
of the memory of past perceptions of non-existence, as when we remember that there was no jug here. Anupalabdhi is thus a separate pramaṇa by which the absence or want of a sensible object—the negation of a thing—can be comprehended.

Self, Salvation, God.

Mimāṃsā has to accept the existence of soul, for without it who would perform the Vedic commandments, and what would be the meaning of those Vedic texts which speak of men as performing sacrifices and going to Heaven thereby? The soul is thus regarded as something entirely distinct from the body, the sense organs, and buddhi; it is eternal, omnipresent, and many, one in each body. Prabhakara thinks that it is manifested to us in all cognitions. Indeed he makes this also a proof for the existence of self as a separate entity from the body, for had it not been so, why should we have the notion of self-persistence in all our cognitions—even in those where there is no perception of the body? Kumarila however differs from Prabhakara about this analysis of the consciousness of self in our cognitions, and says that even though we may not have any notion of the parts of our body or their specific combination, yet the notion of ourselves as embodied beings always appears in all our cognitions. Moreover in our cognitions of external objects we are not always conscious of the self as the knower; so it is not correct to say that self is different from the body on the ground that the consciousness of self is present in all our cognitions, and that the body is not cognized in
many of our cognitions. But the true reason for admitting that
the self is different from the body is this, that movement or
willing, knowledge, pleasure, pain, etc., cannot be attributed to
the body, for though the body exists at death these cannot then be
found. So it has to be admitted that they must belong to some
other entity owing to the association with which the body appears
to be endowed with movement etc. Moreover knowledge,
feeling, etc. though apparent to the perceiver, are not yet perceived
by others as other qualities of the body, as colour etc.,
are perceived by other men. It is a general law of causation
that the qualities of the constituent elements (in the cause) impart
themselves to the effect, but the earth atoms of which the body
is made up do not contain the qualities of knowledge etc., and
this also corroborates the inference of a separate entity as the
vehicle of knowledge etc. The objection is sometimes raised that
if the soul is omnipresent how can it be called an agent or a
mover? But Mima@msa does not admit that movement means
atomic motion, for the principle of movement is the energy which
moves the atoms, and this is possessed by the omnipresent soul.
It is by the energy imparted by it to the body that the latter
moves. So it is that though the soul does not move it is called an
agent on account of the fact that it causes the movement of
the body. The self must also be understood as being different
from the senses, for even when one loses some of the senses
he continues to perceive his self all the same as persisting all through.

The question now arises, how is self cognized? Prabhakara holds that the self as cognizor is never cognized apart from the cognized object, nor is the object ever cognized without the cognizor entering into the cognition as a necessary factor. Both the self and the object shine forth in the self-luminous knowledge in what we have already described as tripu@ti-pratyak@sa (perception as three-together). It is not the soul which is self-illumined but knowledge; so it is knowledge which illumines both the self and the object in one operation. But just as in the case of a man who walks, the action of walking rests upon the walker, yet he is regarded as the agent of the work and not as the object, so in the case of the operation of knowledge, though it affects the self, yet it appears as the agent and not as the object. Cognition is not soul, but the soul is manifested in cognition as its substratum, and appears in it as the cognitive element "I" which is inseparable from all cognitions. In deep sleep therefore when no object is cognized the self also is not cognized.

Kumarila however thinks that the soul which is distinct from the body is perceived by a mental perception (_manasa-pratyak@sa_ as the substratum of the notion of "I," or in other words the self perceives itself by mental perception, and the perception of its
own nature shines forth in consciousness as the "I." The objection
that the self cannot itself be both subject and object to its
own operation does not hold, for it applies equally to Prabhakara's
theory in which knowledge reveals the self as its object and yet
considers it as the subject of the operation. The analogy of
linguistic usage that though the walking affects the walker yet
he is the agent, cannot be regarded as an escape from this charge,
for the usage of language is not philosophical analysis. Though
at the time of the cognition of objects the self is cognized, yet it
does not appear as the knower of the knowledge of objects, but
reveals itself as an object of a separate mental perception which
is distinct from the knowledge of objects. The self is no doubt
known as the substratum of "I," but the knowledge of this self
does not reveal itself necessarily with the cognition of objects,
nor does the self show itself as the knower of all knowledge of
objects, but the self is apprehended by a separate mental intuition
which we represent as the "I." The self does not reveal itself as
the knower but as an object of a separate intuitive process of the
mind. This is indeed different from Prabhakara's analysis, who
regarded the cognition of self as inseparable from the object-cognition,
both being the result of the illumination of knowledge.
Kumarila agrees with Prabhakara however in holding that soul
is not self-illuminating (_svayamprakas'a_), for then even in deep
sleep the soul should have manifested itself; but there is no such
manifestation then, and the state of deep sleep appears as an
unconscious state. There is also no bliss in deep sleep, for had it been so people would not have regretted that they had missed sensual enjoyments by untimely sleep. The expression that "I slept in bliss" signifies only that no misery was felt. Moreover the opposite representation of the deep sleep state is also found when a man on rising from sleep says "I slept so long without knowing anything not even my own self." The self is not atomic, since we can simultaneously feel a sensation in the head as well as in the leg. The Jaina theory that it is of the size of the body which contracts and expands according to the body it occupies is unacceptable. It is better therefore that the soul should be regarded as all-pervading as described in the Vedas. This self must also be different in different persons for otherwise their individual experiences of objects and of pleasure and pain cannot be explained [Footnote ref 1].

[Footnote 1: See _S'lokavarttika_, atmavada _S'astra-dipika_, atmavada and mok@savada.]

402

Kumarila considered the self to be merely the potency of knowledge (jnanas'akti) [Footnote ref 1]. Cognitions of things were generated by the activity of the manas and the other senses. This self itself can only be cognized by mental perception, Or at the
time of salvation there being none of the senses nor the manas
the self remains in pure existence as the potency of knowledge
without any actual expression or manifestation. So the state of
salvation is the state in which the self remains devoid of any
of its characteristic qualities such as pleasure, pain, knowledge,
willing, etc., for the self itself is not knowledge nor is it bliss
or ananda as Vedanta supposes; but these are generated in it by
its energy and the operation of the senses. The self being divested
of all its senses at that time, remains as a mere potency of the
energy of knowledge, a mere existence. This view of salvation
is accepted in the main by Prabhakara also.

Salvation is brought about when a man enjoys and suffers
the fruits of his good and bad actions and thereby exhausts them
and stops the further generation of new effects by refraining from
the performance of kamya-karmas (sacrifices etc. performed for
the attainment of certain beneficent results) and guarantees
himself against the evil effects of sin by assiduously performing
the nitya-karmas (such as the sandhya prayers etc., by the performance
of which there is no benefit but the non-performance
of which produces sins). This state is characterized by the
dissolution of the body and the non-production of any further
body or rebirth.

Mimaśa does not admit the existence of any God as the
creator and destroyer of the universe. Though the universe is
made up of parts, yet there is no reason to suppose that the
universe had ever any beginning in time, or that any God created
it. Every day animals and men are coming into being by the
action of the parents without the operation of any God. Neither
is it necessary as Nyaya supposes that dharma and adharma
should have a supervisor, for these belong to the performer and

[Footnote 1: It may be mentioned in this connection that unlike Nyaya
Mimaśa did not consider all activity as being only of the nature of
molecular vibration (_parispanda_). It admitted the existence of energy
(_s'akti_) as a separate category which manifested itself in actual
movements. The self being considered as a s'akti can move the body and
yet remain unmoved itself. Manifestation of action only means the
relationing of the energy with a thing. Nyaya strongly opposes this
doctrine of a non-sensible (atindriya) energy and seeks to explain all
action by actual molecular motion.]
beginning there were no beings towards whom should he be
actuated with a feeling of mercy? Moreover he would himself
require a creator to create him. So there is no God, no creator,
no creation, no dissolution or pralaya. The world has ever been
running the same, without any new creation or dissolution, s@r@s@ti
or pralaya.

Mima@msa as philosophy and Mima@msa as ritualism.

From what we have said before it will be easy to see that
Mima@msa agrees in the main with Vais'e@sika about the existence
of the categories of things such as the five elements, the qualities,
rupa, rasa, etc. Kumarila's differences on the points of jati,
samavaya, etc. and Prabhakara's peculiarities have also been
mentioned before. On some of these points it appears that
Kumarila was influenced by Sa@mkhya thought rather than by
Nyaya. Sa@mkhya and Vais'e@sika are the only Hindu systems which
have tried to construct a physics as a part of their metaphysics;
other systems have generally followed them or have differed from
them only on minor matters. The physics of Prabhakara and
Kumarila have thus but little importance, as they agree in
general with the Vais'e@sika view. In fact they were justified in not
laying any special stress on this part, because for the performance
of sacrifices the common-sense view of Nyaya-Vais'e@sika about
the world was most suitable.
The main difference of Mima@msa with Nyaya consists of the theory of knowledge. The former was required to prove that the Veda was self-valid and that it did not derive its validity from God, and also that it was not necessary to test its validity by any other means. To do this it began by trying to establish the self-validity of all knowledge. This would secure for the Veda the advantage that as soon as its orders or injunctions were communicated to us they would appear to us as valid knowledge, and there being nothing to contradict them later on there would be nothing in the world which could render the Vedic injunctions invalid. The other prama@nas such as perception, inference, etc. were described, firstly to indicate that they could not show to us how dharma could be acquired, for dharma was not an existing thing which could be perceived by the other prama@nas, but a thing which could only be produced by acting according to the injunctions of the Vedas. For the knowledge of dharma and adharma therefore the s'abdaprama@na of the Veda was our only source. Secondly it was necessary that we should have a knowledge of the different means of cognition, as without them it would be difficult to discuss and verify the meanings of debatable Vedic sentences. The doctrine of creation and dissolution which is recognized by all other Hindu systems could not be acknowledged by the Mima@msa as it would have endangered the eternity of the Vedas. Even God had to be dispensed with on
The Veda is defined as the collection of Mantras and Brahma@nas (also called the _vidhis_ or injunctive sentences). There are three classes of injunctions (1) apurva-vidhi, (2) niyama-vidhi, and (3) parisa@nkhya-vidhi. Apurva-vidhi is an order which enjoins something not otherwise known, e.g. the grains should be washed (we could not know that this part of the duty was necessary for the sacrifice except by the above injunction). Niyama-vidhi is that where when a thing could have been done in a number of ways, an order is made by the Veda which restricts us to following some definite alternative (e.g. though the chaff from the corn could be separated even by the nails, the order that "corn should be threshed" restricts us to the alternative of threshing as the only course acceptable for the sacrifice). In the niyama-vidhi that which is ordered is already known as possible but only as an alternative, and the vidhi insists upon one of these methods as the only one. In apurva-vidhi the thing to be done would have remained undone and unknown had it not been for the vidhi. In parisa@nkhya-vidhi all that is enjoined is already known but not necessarily as possible alternatives. A certain mantra "I take up the rein" (_imam ag@rbhna@m ras'ana@m_) which could be used in a number of cases should not however be used at the time of holding the reins of an ass.

There are three main principles of interpreting the Vedic sentences. (1) When some sentences are such that connectively
they yield a meaning but not individually, then they should be taken together connectively as a whole. (2) If the separate sentences can however yield meanings separately by themselves they should not be connected together. (3) In the case of certain sentences which are incomplete suitable words from the context of immediately preceding sentences are to be supplied.

The vidhis properly interpreted are the main source of dharma. The mantras which are generally hymns in praise of some deities or powers are to be taken as being for the specification of the deity to whom the libation is to be offered. It should be remembered that as dharma can only be acquired by following the injunctions of the Vedas they should all be interpreted as giving us injunctions. Anything therefore found in the Vedas which cannot be connected with the injunctive orders as forming part of them is to be regarded as untrustworthy or at best inexpressive. Thus it is that those sentences in the Vedas which describe existing things merely or praise some deed of injunction (called the _arthavadas_) should be interpreted as forming part of a vidhi-vakya (injunction) or be rejected altogether. Even those expressions which give reasons for the performance of certain actions are to be treated as mere arthavadas and interpreted as praising injunctions. For Vedas have value only as
mandates by the performance of which dharma may be acquired.

When a sacrifice is performed according to the injunctions of the Vedas, a capacity which did not exist before and whose existence is proved by the authority of the scriptures is generated either in the action or in the agent. This capacity or positive force called _apurva_ produces in time the beneficent results of the sacrifice (e.g. leads the performer to Heaven). This apurva is like a potency or faculty in the agent which abides in him until the desired results follow [Footnote ref 1].

It is needless to dilate upon these, for the voluminous works of S'abara and Kumarila make an elaborate research into the nature of sacrifices, rituals, and other relevant matters in great detail, which anyhow can have but little interest for a student of philosophy.

[ Footnote 1: See Dr Ga@nganatha Jha's _Prabhakaramima@msa_ and Madhava's _Nyayamalavistara_. ]
Comprehension of the philosophical issues more essential
than the Dialectic of controversy.

_Prama@na_ in Sanskrit signifies the means and the movement
by which knowledge is acquired, _pramata_ means the subject or
the knower who cognizes, _prama_ the result of prama@na—right
knowledge, _prameya_ the object of knowledge, and _prama@nya_ the
validity of knowledge acquired. The validity of knowledge is
sometimes used in the sense of the faithfulness of knowledge to
its object, and sometimes in the sense of an inner notion of
validity in the mind of the subject—-the knower (that his perceptions
are true), which moves him to work in accordance with
his perceptions to adapt himself to his environment for the
attainment of pleasurable and the avoidance of painful things.
The question wherein consists the prama@nya of knowledge has
not only an epistemological and psychological bearing but a
metaphysical one also. It contains on one side a theory of knowledge
based on an analysis of psychological experience, and on
the other indicates a metaphysical situation consistent with the
theory of knowledge. All the different schools tried to justify
a theory of knowledge by an appeal to the analysis and interpretation
of experience which the others sometimes ignored or
sometimes regarded as unimportant. The thinkers of different
schools were accustomed often to meet together and defeat one another in actual debates, and the result of these debates was frequently very important in determining the prestige of any school of thought. If a Buddhist for example could defeat a great Nyaya or Mima@msa thinker in a great public debate attended by many learned scholars from different parts of the country, his fame at once spread all over the country and he could probably secure a large number of followers on the spot. Extensive tours of disputation were often undertaken by great masters all over the country for the purpose of defeating the teachers of the opposite schools and of securing adherents to their own. These debates were therefore not generally conducted merely in a passionless philosophical mood with the object of arriving at the truth but in order to inflict a defeat on opponents and to establish the ascendancy of some particular school of thought. It was often a sense of personal victory and of the victory of the school of thought to which the debater adhered that led him to pursue the debate. Advanced Sanskrit philosophical works give us a picture of the attitude of mind of these debaters and we find that most of these debates attempt to criticize the different schools of thinkers by exposing their inconsistencies and self-contradictions by close dialectical reasoning, anticipating the answers of the opponent, asking him to define his statements, and ultimately proving that his theory was inconsistent, led to contradictions, and was opposed
to the testimony of experience. In reading an advanced work on
Indian philosophy in the original, a student has to pass through an
interminable series of dialectic arguments, and negative criticisms
(to thwart opponents) sometimes called _vita@n@da_, before he can
come to the root of the quarrel, the real philosophical divergence.
All the resources of the arts of controversy find full play
for silencing the opponent before the final philosophical answer
is given. But to a modern student of philosophy, who belongs to
no party and is consequently indifferent to the respective victory
of either side, the most important thing is the comprehension of
the different aspects from which the problem of the theory of
knowledge and its associated metaphysical theory was looked at
by the philosophers, and also a clear understanding of the deficiency
of each view, the value of the mutual criticisms, the speculations
on the experience of each school, their analysis, and their
net contribution to philosophy. With Vedanta we come to an
end of the present volume, and it may not be out of place here
to make a brief survey of the main conflicting theories from the
point of view of the theory of knowledge, in order to indicate the
position of the Vedanta of the S'a@nkara school in the field of
Indian philosophy so far as we have traversed it. I shall therefore
now try to lay before my readers the solution of the theory
of knowledge (_prama@navada_) reached by some of the main
schools of thought. Their relations to the solution offered by
the S'a@nkara Vedanta will also be dealt with, as we shall attempt
to sketch the views of the Vedanta later on in this chapter.
The philosophical situation. A Review.

Before dealing with the Vedanta system it seems advisable to review the general attitude of the schools already discussed to the main philosophical and epistemological questions which determine the position of the Vedanta as taught by S'ānkara and his school.

The Sautrāntika Buddhist says that in all his affairs man is concerned with the fulfilment of his ends and desires (_puruṣārtaka_). This however cannot be done without right knowledge (_samyagjnana_) which rightly represents things to men. Knowledge is said to be right when we can get things just as we perceived them. So far as mere representation or illumination of objects is concerned, it is a patent fact that we all have knowledge, and therefore this does not deserve criticism or examination. Our enquiry about knowledge is thus restricted to its aspect of later verification or contradiction in experience, for we are all concerned to know how far our perceptions of things which invariably precede all our actions can be trusted as rightly indicating what we want to get in our practical experience (_arthapradpakatva_). The perception is right (_abhranta_ non-illusory) when following its representation we can get in the external world such things as were represented by it (_sa@mvadakatva_). That perception alone can be right which is
generated by the object and not merely supplied by our imagination. When I say "this is the cow I had seen," what I see is the object with the brown colour, horns, feet, etc., but the fact that this is called cow, or that this is existing from a past time, is not perceived by the visual sense, as this is not generated by the visual object. For all things are momentary, and that which I see now never existed before so as to be invested with this or that permanent name. This association of name and permanence to objects perceived is called _kaipana_ or _abhilapa_.

Our perception is correct only so far as it is without the abhilapa association (_kalpanapo@dha_), for though this is taken as a part of our perceptual experience it is not derived from the object, and hence its association with the object is an evident error. The object as unassociated with name--the nirvikalpa--is thus what is perceived. As a result of the pratyak@sa the manovijnana or thought and mental perception of pleasure and pain is also determined. At one moment perception reveals the object as an object of knowledge (_grahya_), and by the fact of the rise of such a percept, at another moment it appears as a thing realizable or attainable in the external world. The special features of the object undefinable in themselves as being what they are in themselves (_svalak@sa@na_) are what is actually perceived (_pratyak@savi@saya_) [Footnote ref 1]. The _prama@naphala_ (result of perception) is the
[Footnote 1: There is a difference of opinion about the meaning of the word "svalakṣaṇa" of Dharmakirtti between my esteemed friend Professor Stcherbatsky of Petrograd and myself. He maintains that Dharmakirtti held that the content of the presentative element at the moment of perception was almost totally empty. Thus he writes to me, "According to your interpretation svalakṣaṇa mean,--the object (or idea with Vijnanavadin) from which everything past and everything future has been eliminated., this I do not deny at all. But I maintain that if everything past and future has been taken away, what remains? _The present_ and the present is a _kṣaṇa_ i.e. nothing.... The reverse of kṣaṇa is a kṣaṇamātana or simply saṁtana and in every saṁtana there is a synthesis ekabhava of moments past and future, produced by the intellect (buddhi = nis'caya = kalpana = adhyavasaya)...There is in the perception of a jug _something_ (a kṣaṇa of sense knowledge) which we must distinguish from the _idea_ of a jug (which is always a saṁtana, always vikalpita), and if you take the idea away in a strict unconditional sense, no knowledge remains: kṣaṇasya jñāne prapayitum 'akyatvat. This is absolutely the Kantian teaching about _Synthesis of Apprehension_. Accordingly pratyakṣa is a _transcendental_ source of knowledge, because practically speaking it gives no knowledge at all. This _pramaṇa_ is _asatkāla_. Kant says that without the elements of intuition (= sense-knowledge = pratyakṣa = kalpanapoḍha) our cognitions would be empty and without the elements of intellect (kalpana = buddhi = synthesis = ekabhava) they would be blind. Empirically both are always combined. This is exactly the theory of]
Dharmakirtti. He is a Vijnanavadi as I understand, because he maintains
the cognizability of ideas (vijnana) alone, but the reality is an
incognizable foundation of our knowledge; he admits, it is bahya, it is
artha, it is arthakriyak@sa@na = svalak@sa@na; that is the reason for
which he sometimes is called Sautrntika and this school is sometimes
called Sautranta-vijnanavada, as opposed to the Vijnanavada of As'vagho@sa
and Aryasanga, which had no elaborate theory of cognition. If the jug as
it exists in our representation were the svalak@sa@na and paramarthasat,
what would remain of Vijnanavada? But there is the perception of the jug
as opposed to the _pure idea_ of a jug (s'uddha kalpana), an element of
reality, the sensational k@sa@na, which is communicated to us by sense
knowledge. Kant's 'thing in itself' is also a k@sa@na and also an element
of sense knowledge of pure sense as opposed to pure reason, Dharmakirtti
has also _s'uddha kalpana_ and _s'uddham pratyak@sam_. ...And very
interesting is the opposition between pratyak@sa and anumana, the first
moves from k@sa@na to sa@mtana and the second from sa@mtana to k@sa@na,
that is the reason that although bhranta the anumana is nevertheless
prama@na because through it we indirectly also reach k@sa@na, the
arthakriyak@sa@na. It is bhranta directly and prama@na indirectly;
pratyak@sa is prama@na directly and bhranta (asatkalpa) indirectly... ."
So far as the passages to which Professor Stcherbatsky refers are
concerned, I am in full agreement with him. But I think that he pushes
the interpretation too far on Kantian lines. When I perceive "this is
blue," the perception consists of two parts, the actual presentative
element of sense-knowledge (_svalak@sa@na_) and the affirmation
(_nis'caya_). So far we are in complete agreement. But Professor
Stcherbatsky says that this sense-knowledge is a k@sa@na (moment)
and is nothing. I also hold that it is a k@sa@na, but it is nothing
only in the sense that it is not the same as the notion involving
affirmation such as "this is blue." The affirmative process
occurring at the succeeding moments is determined by the presentative
element of the first moment (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{pratyak\textunderscore sabalotpanna\textunderscore N.T., p. 20}) but
this presentative element divested from the product of the affirmative
process of the succeeding moments is not characterless, though we cannot
express its character; as soon as we try to express it, names and other
ideas consisting of affirmation are associated and these did not form
a part of the presentative element. Its own character is said to be its
own specific nature (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{svalak\textunderscore sa\textunderscore na\textunderscore N.}). But what is this specific nature?
Dharmakirtti's answer on this point is that by specific nature he means
those specific characteristics of the object which appear clear when
the object is near and hazy when it is at a distance (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{yasyarthasya
sannidhanasannidhanabkyam jnanapratibhasabhedastat svalak\textunderscore sa\textunderscore nam\textunderscore N.,
p. 1 and N.T., p. 16}). Sense-knowledge thus gives us the specific
characteristics of the object, and this has the same form as the
object itself; it is the appearance of the "blue" in its specific
character in the mind and when this is associated by the affirmative
or ideational process, the result is the concept or idea "this is blue"
(\textit{\textunderscore\textit{nilasarupa\textunderscore m pratyak\textunderscore samanubhuyamana\textunderscore m nilabodharupamavasthayate ...\textunderscore\textit{nilasarupyamasya prama\textunderscore nam nilavikalpanarupa\textunderscore m tvasya prama\textunderscore naphalam\textunderscore N.T.p. 22}). At the first moment there is the appearance of the blue
(\textit{\textunderscore\textit{nilanirbhasa\textunderscore m hi vijnanam\textunderscore N.T. 19}) and this is direct acquaintance
(\textit{\textunderscore\textit{yatkincit arthasya sak\textunderscore satkarijnanam tatpratyak\textunderscore samucyte\textunderscore N.T. 7}) and
this is real (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{paramarthasat\textunderscore}) and valid. This blue sensation is
different from the idea "this is blue" (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{nilabodha\textunderscore N.T. 22}) which is
the result of the former (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{prama\textunderscore naphala\textunderscore}) through the association of
the affirmative process (\textit{\textunderscore\textit{adhyavasaya\textunderscore}) and is regarded as invalid for
it contains elements other than what were presented to the sense and is
a _vikalpapratyaya_. In my opinion _svalak@sa@na_ therefore means pure
sensation of the moment presenting the specific features of the object
and with Dharmakirtti this is the only thing which is valid in perception
and vikalpapratyaya or pramanaphala is the idea or concept which follows
it. But though the latter is a product of the former, yet, being the
construction of succeeding moments, it cannot give us the pure stage
of the first moment of sensation-presentation (_k@sa@nasya
prapayitum@sa@nasya pr@payitum@sa@nasya_). N.T. = _Nyayabindu@tika_,
N = _Nyayabindu (Peterson's edition).]

410

ideational concept and power that such knowledge has of showing
the means which being followed the thing can be got (_yena k@rtan
artha@h prapito bhavati_). Prama@na then is the similarity of the
knowledge with the object by which it is generated, by which we
assure ourselves that this is our knowledge of the object as it is
perceived, and are thus led to attain it by practical experience.
Yet this later stage is prama@naphala and not prama@na which
consists merely in the vision of the thing (devoid of other associations),
and which determines the attitude of the perceiver towards
the perceived object. The prama@na therefore only refers
to the newly-acquired knowledge (_anadhigatadhigant@r_) as this is
of use to the perceiver in determining his relations with the objective
world. This account of perception leaves out the real
epistemological question as to how the knowledge is generated
by the external world, or what it is in itself. It only looks to
the correctness or faithfulness of the perception to the object and
its value for us in the practical realization of our ends. The
question of the relation of the external world with knowledge as
determining the latter is regarded as unimportant.

The Yogacaras or idealistic Buddhists take their cue from
the above-mentioned Sautrantika Buddhists, and say that since
we can come into touch with knowledge and knowledge alone,
what is the use of admitting an external world of objects as the
data of sensation determining our knowledge? You say that
sensations are copies of the external world, but why should you
say that they copy, and not that they alone exist? We never come
into touch with objects in themselves; these can only be grasped
by us simultaneously with knowledge of them, they must therefore
be the same as knowledge (sahopalambhaniyamat abheda
nilataddhiyo@h_); for it is in and through knowledge that external
objects can appear to us, and without knowledge we
are not in touch with the so-called external objects. So it is
knowledge which is self-apparent in itself, that projects itself in
such a manner as to appear as referring to other external objects.
We all acknowledge that in dreams there are no external
objects, but even there we have knowledge. The question
why then if there are no external objects, there should be so
much diversity in the forms of knowledge, is not better solved
by the assumption of an external world; for in such an assumption,
the external objects have to be admitted as possessing the
ininitely diverse powers of diversely affecting and determining
our knowledge; that being so, it may rather be said that in
the beginningless series of flowing knowledge, preceding knowledge-moments
by virtue of their inherent specific qualities determine
the succeeding knowledge-moments. Thus knowledge
alone exists; the projection of an external word is an illusion of
knowledge brought about by beginningless potencies of desire
(_vasana_) associated with it. The preceding knowledge determines
the succeeding one and that another and so on. Knowledge,
pleasure, pain, etc. are not qualities requiring a permanent entity
as soul in which they may inhere, but are the various forms
in which knowledge appears. Even the cognition, "I perceive a
blue thing," is but a form of knowledge, and this is often erroneously
interpreted as referring to a permanent knower. Though
the cognitions are all passing and momentary, yet so long as
the series continues to be the same, as in the case of one person,
say Devadatta, the phenomena of memory, recognition, etc. can
happen in the succeeding moments, for these are evidently illusory
cognitions, so far as they refer to the permanence of the objects

believed to have been perceived before, for things or knowledge-moments,
whatever they may be, are destroyed the next
moment after their birth. There is no permanent entity as perceiver
or knower, but the knowledge-moments are at once the
knowledge, the knower and the known. This thoroughgoing
idealism brushes off all references to an objective field of experience,
interprets the verdict of knowledge as involving a knower
and the known as mere illusory appearance, and considers the
flow of knowledge as a self-determining series in successive
objective forms as the only truth. The Hindu schools of thought,
Nyaya, Sa@mkhya, and the Mima@msa, accept the duality of soul
and matter, and attempt to explain the relation between the
two. With the Hindu writers it was not the practical utility of
knowledge that was the only important thing, but the nature of
knowledge and the manner in which it came into being were also
enquired after and considered important.

Prama@na is defined by Nyaya as the collocation of instruments
by which unerring and indubitable knowledge comes into being.
The collocation of instruments which brings about definite knowledge
consists partly of consciousness (_bodha_) and partly of material
factors (_bodhabodhasvabhava_). Thus in perception the
proper contact of the visual sense with the object (e.g. jug) first
brings about a non-intelligent, non-apprehensible indeterminate
consciousness (nirvikalpa) as the jugness (gha@tatva) and this later
on combining with the remaining other collocations of sense-contact
etc. produces the determinate consciousness: this is a jug.
The existence of this indeterminate state of consciousness as a
factor in bringing about the determinate consciousness, cannot of
course be perceived, but its existence can be inferred from the
fact that if the perceiver were not already in possession of the qualifying factor (_vis'e@sanajana_ as jugness) he could not have comprehended the qualified object (_vis'i@s@tabuddhi_) the jug (i.e. the object which possesses jugness). In inference (_anuma@na_) knowledge of the li@nga takes part, and in upamana the sight of similarity with other material conglomerations. In the case of the Buddhists knowledge itself was regarded as prama@na; even by those who admitted the existence of the objective world, right knowledge was called prama@na, because it was of the same form as the external objects it represented, and it was by the form of the knowledge (e.g. blue) that we could apprehend that the external object was also blue. Knowledge does not determine the external world but simply enforces our convictions about the external world. So far as knowledge leads us to form our convictions of the external world it is prama@na, and so far as it determines our attitude towards the external world it is prama@naphala. The question how knowledge is generated had little importance with them, but how with knowledge we could form convictions of the external world was the most important thing. Knowledge was called prama@na, because it was the means by which we could form convictions (_adhyavasaya_) about the external world. Nyaya sought to answer the question how knowledge was generated in us, but could not understand that knowledge was not a mere phenomenon like any other objective phenomenon, but
thought that though as a guṇa (quality) it was external like other
guṇas, yet it was associated with our self as a result of collocations
like any other happening in the material world. Pramaṇa does not necessarily bring to us new knowledge (_anadhigatadhi-gantar_) as the Buddhists demanded, but whenever there were collocations of pramaṇa, knowledge was produced, no matter whether the object was previously unknown or known. Even the knowledge of known things may be repeated if there be suitable collocations. Knowledge like any other physical effect is produced whenever the cause of it namely the pramaṇa collocation is present. Categories which are merely mental such as class (_samanya_), inherence (_samavaya_), etc., were considered as having as much independent existence as the atoms of the four elements. The phenomenon of the rise of knowledge in the soul was thus conceived to be as much a phenomenon as the turning of the colour of the jug by fire from black to red. The element of indeterminate consciousness was believed to be combining with the sense contact, the object, etc. to produce the determinate consciousness. There was no other subtler form of movement than the molecular. Such a movement brought about by a certain collocation of things ended in a certain result (_phala_). Jnana (knowledge) was thus the result of certain united collocations (_samagri_) and their movements (e.g. contact of manas with soul, of manas with the senses, of the senses with the object, etc.). This confusion renders it impossible to understand the real philosophical distinction between knowledge and an external event of the objective world. Nyaya thus fails to explain the cause
of the origin of knowledge, and its true relations with the objective world. Pleasure, pain, willing, etc. were regarded as qualities which belonged to the soul, and the soul itself was regarded as a qualitiless entity which could not be apprehended directly but was inferred as that in which the qualities of jnana, sukha (pleasure), etc. inhered. Qualities had independent existence as much as substances, but when any new substances were produced, the qualities rushed forward and inhered in them. It is very probable that in Nyaya the cultivation of the art of inference was originally pre-eminent and metaphysics was deduced later by an application of the inferential method which gave the introspective method but little scope for its application, so that inference came in to explain even perception (e.g. this is a jug since it has jugness) and the testimony of personal psychological experience was taken only as a supplement to corroborate the results arrived at by inference and was not used to criticize it [Footnote ref 1].

Sāmkhya understood the difference between knowledge and material events. But so far as knowledge consisted in being the copy of external things, it could not be absolutely different from the objects themselves; it was even then an invisible translucent sort of thing, devoid of weight and grossness such as the external objects possessed. But the fact that it copies those gross objects
makes it evident that knowledge had essentially the same substances
though in a subtler form as that of which the objects were
made. But though the matter of knowledge, which assumed the
form of the objects with which it came in touch, was probably
thus a subtler combination of the same elementary substances
of which matter was made up, yet there was in it another element,
viz. intelligence, which at once distinguished it as utterly
different from material combinations. This element of intelligence
is indeed different from the substances or content of
the knowledge itself, for the element of intelligence is like a
stationary light, "the self," which illuminates the crowding,
bustling knowledge which is incessantly changing its form in
accordance with the objects with which it comes in touch. This
light of intelligence is the same that finds its manifestation in
consciousness as the "I," the changeless entity amidst all the
fluctuations of the changeful procession of knowledge. How this
element of light which is foreign to the substance of knowledge

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayamanjari_ on prama@na.]
of the Sa@mkhya epistemology and metaphysics. The substance of knowledge copies the external world, and this copy-shape of knowledge is again intelliligized by the pure intelligence (_puru@sa_) when it appears as conscious. The forming of the buddhi-shape of knowledge is thus the prama@na (instrument and process of knowledge) and the validity or invalidity of any of these shapes is criticized by the later shapes of knowledge and not by the external objects (_svata@h-prama@nya_ and _svata@h-aprama@nya_). The prama@na however can lead to a prama or right knowledge only when it is intelliligized by the puru@sa. The puru@sa comes in touch with buddhi not by the ordinary means of physical contact but by what may be called an inexplicable transcendental contact. It is the transcendental influence of puru@sa that sets in motion the original prak@rti in Sa@mkhya metaphysics, and it is the same transcendent touch (call it yogyata according to Vacaspati or samyoga according to Bhik@su) of the transcendent entity of puru@sa that transforms the non-intelligent states of buddhi into consciousness. The Vijnanavadin Buddhist did not make any distinction between the pure consciousness and its forms (_akara_) and did not therefore agree that the akara of knowledge was due to its copying the objects. Sa@mkhya was however a realist who admitted the external world and regarded the forms as all due to copying, all stamped as such upon a translucent substance (_sattva_) which could assume the shape of the objects.

But Sa@mkhya was also transcendentalist in this, that it did not think like Nyaya that the akara of knowledge was all that knowledge had to show; it held that there was a transcendent element which shone forth in knowledge and made it conscious. With
Nyaya there was no distinction between the shaped buddhi and the intelligence, and that being so consciousness was almost like a physical event. With Sa@mkhya however so far as the content and the shape manifested in consciousness were concerned it was indeed a physical event, but so far as the pure intelligizing element of consciousness was concerned it was a wholly transcendent affair beyond the scope and province of physics. The rise of consciousness was thus at once both transcendent and physical.

The Mima@mists Prabhakara agreed with Nyaya in general as regards the way in which the objective world and sense contact induced knowledge in us. But it regarded knowledge as a unique phenomenon which at once revealed itself, the knower and the known. We are not concerned with physical collocations, for whatever these may be it is knowledge which reveals things—the direct apprehension that should be called the prama@na. Prama@na in this sense is the same as pramiti or prama, the phenomenon of apprehension. Prama@na may also indeed mean the collocations so far as they induce the prama. For prama or right knowledge is never produced, it always exists, but it manifests itself differently under different circumstances. The validity of knowledge means the conviction or the specific attitude that is generated in us with reference to the objective
world. This validity is manifested with the rise of knowledge, and it does not await the verdict of any later experience in the objective field (_sa@mvadin_). Knowledge as nirvikalpa (indeterminate) means the whole knowledge of the object and not merely a non-sensible hypothetical indeterminate class-notion as Nyaya holds. The savikalpa (determinate) knowledge only re-establishes the knowledge thus formed by relating it with other objects as represented by memory [Footnote ref 1].

Prabhakara rejected the Sa@mkhya conception of a dual element in consciousness as involving a transcendent intelligence (_cit_) and a material part, the buddhi; but it regarded consciousness as an unique thing which by itself in one flash represented both the knower and the known. The validity of knowledge did not depend upon its faithfulness in reproducing or indicating (_pradars'akatva_) external objects, but upon the force that all direct apprehension (_anubhuti_) has of prompting us to action in the external world; knowledge is thus a complete and independent unit in all its self-revealing aspects. But what the knowledge was in itself apart from its self-revealing character Prabhakara did not enquire.

Kumarila declared that jnana (knowledge) was a movement brought about by the activity of the self which resulted in producing consciousness (_jnatata_) of objective things. Jnana itself cannot be perceived, but can only be inferred as the movement necessary for producing the jnatata or consciousness of things. Movement with Kumarila was not a mere atomic vibration, but
was a non-sensuous transcendent operation of which vibration

[Footnote 1: Sa@mkhya considered nirvikalpa as the dim knowledge of the first moment of consciousness, which, when it became clear at the next moment, was called savikalpa.]

417

was sometimes the result. Jnana was a movement and not the result of causal operation as Nyaya supposed. Nyaya would not also admit any movement on the part of the self, but it would hold that when the self is possessed of certain qualities, such as desire, etc., it becomes an instrument for the accomplishment of a physical movement. Kumarila accords the same self-validity to knowledge that Prabhakara gives. Later knowledge by experience is not endowed with any special quality which should decide as to the validity of the knowledge of the previous movement. For what is called sa@mvadi or later testimony of experience is but later knowledge and nothing more [Footnote ref 1]. The self is not revealed in the knowledge of external objects, but we can know it by a mental perception of self-consciousness. It is the movement of this self in presence of certain collocating circumstances leading to cognition of things that is called jnana [Footnote ref 2]. Here Kumarila distinguishes knowledge as movement from knowledge
as objective consciousness. Knowledge as movement was
beyond sense perception and could only be inferred.

The idealistic tendency of Vijnanavada Buddhism, Sa@mkhya,
and Mima@m@sa was manifest in its attempt at establishing the unique
color of knowledge as being that with which alone we are in
touch. But Vijnanavada denied the external world, and thereby
did violence to the testimony of knowledge. Sa@mkhya admitted
the external world but created a gulf between the content of knowledge
and pure intelligence; Prabhakara ignored this difference,
and was satisfied with the introspective assertion that knowledge
was such a unique thing that it revealed with itself, the knower and
the known, Kumarila however admitted a transcendent element
of movement as being the cause of our objective consciousness,
but regarded this as being separate from self. But the question
remained unsolved as to why, in spite of the unique character of
knowledge, knowledge could relate itself to the world of objects,
how far the world of external objects or of knowledge could be
regarded as absolutely true. Hitherto judgments were only relative,
either referring to one’s being prompted to the objective
world, to the faithfulness of the representation of objects, the
suitability of fulfilling our requirements, or to verification by later

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayaratnamala_, svata@h-prama@nya-nir@naya.]
uncontradicted experience. But no enquiry was made whether
any absolute judgments about the ultimate truth of knowledge
and matter could be made at all. That which appeared was regarded
as the real. But the question was not asked, whether
there was anything which could be regarded as absolute truth,
the basis of all appearance, and the unchangeable, reality. This
philosophical enquiry had the most wonderful charm for the
Hindu mind.

Vedanta Literature.

It is difficult to ascertain the time when the _Brahma-sutras_
were written, but since they contain a refutation of almost all the
other Indian systems, even of the S'unyavada Buddhism (of course
according to S'va@nkara's interpretation), they cannot have been
written very early. I think it may not be far from the truth in
supposing that they were written some time in the second century
B.C. About the period 780 A.D. Gau@dapada revived the monistic
teaching of the Upani@sads by his commentary on the Ma@n@dukhya
Upanisads in verse called Manukarika. His disciple Govinda was the teacher of Sankara (788–820 A.D.). Sankara's commentary on the Brahmasutras is the root from which sprang forth a host of commentaries and studies on Vedantism of great originality, vigour, and philosophic insight. Thus Anandagiri, a disciple of Sankara, wrote a commentary called Nyayannayaya, and Govindananda wrote another commentary named Ratnaprabha.

Vacaspati Misra, who flourished about 841 A.D., wrote another commentary on it called the Bhamati. Amalananda (1247–1260 A.D.) wrote his Kalpataru on it, and Apyayaditya (1550 A.D.) son of Ranganatadhvarindra of Kanchi wrote his Kalpataruparamala on the Kalpataru. Another disciple of Sankara, Padmapada, also called Sanandana, wrote a commentary on it known as Pancapadika. From the manner in which the book is begun one would expect that it was to be a running commentary on the whole of Sankara's bhasya, but it ends abruptly at the end of the fourth sutra. Madhava (1350), in his Sankaravijaya, recites an interesting story about it. He says that Suresvara received Sankara's permission to write a varttika on the bhasya. But other pupils objected to Sankara that since Suresvara was formerly a great Mimamsist (Mānandarājputrī was called Suresvara after his conversion to Vedantism) he was not competent to write a good varttika on the bhasya. Suresvara, disappointed, wrote a treatise called Nairskarmyasiddhi. Padmapada wrote a tika.
but this was burnt in his uncle's house. S'anka, who had once seen it, recited it from memory and Padmapada wrote it down.

Prakas'atman (1200) wrote a commentary on Padmapada's _Pancapadika_ known as _Pancapadikavivara_. Akhanda wrote his _Tattvadipana_ and the famous Nrsi Muni (1500) wrote his _Vivara_ on it. Amalananda and Vidyasagara also wrote commentaries on _Pancapadika_, named _Pancapadikadarpa_ and _Pancapadika_tika_ respectively, but the _Pancapadikavivara_ had by far the greatest reputation.

Vidyaranya who is generally identified by some with Madhava (1350) wrote his famous work _Vivara_ [Footnote ref 1], elaborating the ideas of _Pancapadikavivara_; Vidyaranya wrote also another excellent work named _Jivanmuktiviveka_ on the Vedanta doctrine of emancipation. Sures'vara's (800 A.D.) excellent work _Nai@skarmyasiddhi_ is probably the earliest independent treatise on S'anka's philosophy as expressed in his bha@syas. It has been commented upon by Jnanottama Mis'sra.

Vidyaranya also wrote another work of great merit known as _Pancadas'i_, which is a very popular and illuminating treatise in verse on Vedanta. Another important work written in verse on the main teachings of S'anka's bha@syas is _Sa@mk@sepas'ariraka_, written by Sarvajnatma Muni (900 A.D.). This has also been commented upon by Ramatirtha. S'rihar@sa (1190 A.D.) wrote his _Kha@danakha@n@dakhadya_, the most celebrated work on the Vedanta dialectic. Citsukha, who probably flourished shortly after S'rihar@sa, wrote a commentary on it, and also wrote an independent work on Vedanta dialectic known as _Tattvadipika_, which has also a commentary called _Nayanaprasadini_ written...
by Pratyagrupa. S'ānka Mīśra and Raghunatha also wrote

commentaries on _Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍdakha_. A work on Vedanta

epistemology and the principal topics of Vedanta of
great originality and merit known as _Vedantaparibhāṣa_ was

written by Dharmarajaḍhvarindra (about 1550 A.D.). His son
Ramakṛṣṇaḍhvarin wrote his _Sīkhamāṇi_ on it and Amaradasa his
_Māniprabhā_. The _Vedantaparibhāṣa_ with these two commentaries
forms an excellent exposition of some of the fundamental
principles of Vedanta. Another work of supreme importance

______________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See Narasiṃhacarya’s article in the _Indian Antiquary_,
1916.]

420

(though probably the last great work on Vedanta) is the
_Advaitasiddhi_ of Madhusudana Sarasvati who followed Dharmarajaḍhvarindra.

This has three commentaries known as _Gauḍabrahmanandī_,
_Viṭṭhaṇḍopadhyāyi_ and _Siddhyākhyā_. Sadananda

Vyasa wrote also a summary of it known as _Advaitasiddhisiddhāntasara_.

Sadananda wrote also an excellent elementary work
named _Vedantasara_ which has also two commentaries _Subodhini_
and _Vidvanmanoranjini_. The _Advaitabrahmasiddhi_ of Sadananda

Yati though much inferior to _Advaitasiddhi_ is important, as it
The above is only a list of some of the most important Vedanta works on which the present chapter has been based.

Vedanta in Gauḍapada.

It is useless I think to attempt to bring out the meaning of the Vedanta thought as contained in the _Brahma-sutras_ without making any reference to the commentary of Śaṅkara or any other commentator. There is reason to believe that the _Brahma-sutras_ were first commented upon by some Vaiṣṇava writers who held some form of modified dualism [Footnote ref 1]. There have been more than a half dozen Vaiṣṇava commentators of the _Brahma-sutras_
who not only differed from S'aṅkara's interpretation, but also
differed largely amongst themselves in accordance with the
different degrees of stress they laid on the different aspects of
their dualistic creeds. Every one of them claimed that his interpretation
was the only one that was faithful to the sutras and to

[Footnote 1: This point will be dealt with in the 2nd volume, when I shall
deal with the systems expounded by the Vaiṣṇava commentators of the
_Brahma-sutras_.]

421

the Upaniṣads. Should I attempt to give an interpretation
myself and claim that to be the right one, it would be only
just one additional view. But however that may be, I am
myself inclined to believe that the dualistic interpretations of the
_Brahma-sutras_ were probably more faithful to the sutras than the
interpretations of S'aṅkara.

The _S'rīmadbhagavadgītā_, which itself was a work of the
Ekanti (singularistic) Vaiṣṇavas, mentions the _Brahma-sutras_ as
having the same purport as its own, giving cogent reasons [Footnote ref 1].
Professor Jacobi in discussing the date of the philosophical
sutras of the Hindus has shown that the references to Buddhism
found in the _Brahma-sutras_ are not with regard to the Vijnana-vada
of Vasubandhu, but with regard to the S'unyavada, but he regards
the composition of the _Brahma-sutras_ to be later than Nagarjuna.
I agree with the late Dr S.C. Vidyabhusana in holding that
both the Yogacara system and the system of Nagarjuna evolved
from the _Prajnaparamita_ [Footnote ref 2]. Nagarjuna's merit
consisted in the dialectical form of his arguments in support
of S'unyavada; but so far as the essentials of S'unyavada are
concerned I believe that the Tathata philosophy of As'vaghoasa
and the philosophy of the _Prajnaparamita_ contained no less.
There is no reason to suppose that the works of Nagarjuna were
better known to the Hindu writers than the _Mahayana sutras_.
Even in such later times as that of Vacaspati Misra, we find
him quoting a passage of the _S'alistambha sutra_ to give an account
of the Buddhist doctrine of pratityasamutpada [Footnote ref 3].
We could interpret any reference to S'unyavada as pointing to
Nagarjuna only if his special phraseology or dialectical methods
were referred to in any way. On the other hand, the reference in
the _Bhagavadgita_ to the _Brahma-sutras_ clearly points out a date
prior to that of Nagarjuna; though we may be slow to believe such
an early date as has been assigned to the _Bhagavadgita_ by Telang,
yet I suppose that its date could safely be placed so far back
as the first half of the first century B.C. or the last part
of the second century B.C. The _Brahma-sutras_ could thus be
placed slightly earlier than the date of the _Bhagavadgita_.

---

---
I do not know of any evidence that would come in conflict with this supposition. The fact that we do not know of any Hindu writer who held such monistic views as Gau@dapada or S'a@nkara, and who interpreted the _Brahma-sutras_ in accordance with those monistic ideas, when combined with the fact that the dualists had been writing commentaries on the _Brahma-sutras_, goes to show that the _Brahma-sutras_ were originally regarded as an authoritative work of the dualists. This also explains the fact that the _Bhagavadgita_, the canonical work of the Ekanti Vai@s@navas, should refer to it. I do not know of any Hindu writer previous...
to Gau@dapada who attempted to give an exposition of the monistic doctrine (apart from the Upani@sads), either by writing a commentary as did S'a@nkara, or by writing an independent work as did Gau@dapada. I am inclined to think therefore that as the pure monism of the Upani@sads was not worked out in a coherent manner for the formation of a monistic system, it was dealt with by people who had sympathies with some form of dualism which was already developing in the later days of the Upani@sads, as evidenced by the dualistic tendencies of such Upani@sads as the S'vetas'vatara, and the like. The epic S'a@mkhya was also the result of this dualistic development.

It seems that Badaraya@na, the writer of the _Brahma-sutras_, was probably more a theist, than an absolutist like his commentator S'a@nkara. Gau@dapada seems to be the most important man, after the Upani@sad sages, who revived the monistic tendencies of the Upani@sads in a bold and clear form and tried to formulate them in a systematic manner. It seems very significant that no other karikas on the Upani@sads were interpreted, except the _Man@dukyakarika_ by Gau@dapada, who did not himself make any reference to any other writer of the monistic school, not even Badaraya@na. S'a@nkara himself makes the confession that the absolutist (_advaita_ ) creed was recovered from the Vedas by Gau@dapada. Thus at the conclusion of his commentary on Gau@dapada's karika, he says that "he adores by falling at the feet of that great guru (teacher) the adored of his adored, who on finding all the people sinking in the ocean made
dreadful by the crocodiles of rebirth, out of kindness for all people, by churning the great ocean of the Veda by his great churning rod of wisdom recovered what lay deep in the heart of the Veda, and is hardly attainable even by the immortal gods [Footnote ref I].” It seems particularly significant that S’a@nkara should credit Gau@dapada and not Badaraya@na with recovering the Upani@sad creed. Gau@dapada was the teacher of Govinda, the teacher of S’a@nkara; but he was probably living when S’a@nkara was a student, for S’a@nkara says that he was directly influenced by his great wisdom, and also speaks of the learning, self-control and modesty of the other pupils of Gau@dapada [Footnote ref 2]. There is some dispute about the date of S’a@nkara, but accepting the date proposed by Bha@n@darkar, Pa@thak and Deussen, we may consider it to be 788 A.D. [Footnote ref 3], and suppose that in order to be able to teach S’a@nkara, Gau@dapada must have been living till at least 800 A.D.

Gau@dapada thus flourished after all the great Buddhist teachers As’vagho@sa, Nagarjuna, Asa@nga and Vasubandhu; and I believe that there is sufficient evidence in his karikas for thinking that he was possibly himself a Buddhist, and considered that the teachings of the Upani@sads tallied with those of Buddha. Thus at the beginning of the fourth chapter of his karikas he says that he adores that great man (_dvipadam varam_) who by knowledge...
as wide as the sky realized (_sambuddha_) that all appearances
(_dharma_) were like the vacuous sky (_gaganopamam_ [Footnote ref 4]. He
then goes on to say that he adores him who has dictated (_des'ita_)
that the touch of untouch (_aspars'ayoga_--probably referring to
Nirva@na) was the good that produced happiness to all beings,
and that he was neither in disagreement with this doctrine nor
found any contradiction in it (_avivada@h aviruddhas'ca_).
Some disputants hold that coming into being is of existents,
whereas others quarrelling with them hold that being (_jata_)
is of non-existents (_abhutasya_); there are others who quarrel
with them and say that neither the existents nor non-existents
are liable to being and there is one non-coming-into-being
(_adrayamajatim_). He agrees with those who hold that there
is no coming into being [Footnote ref 5]. In IV. 19 of his
karika he again says that the Buddhas have shown that there was
no coming into being in any way (_sarvatha Buddhairajati@h paridipita@h_).

[Footnote 1: S'a@nkara's bha@sya on Gau@dapada's karika, Anandas'rama
edition, p. 214.]

[Footnote 2: Anandas'rama edition of S'a@nkara's bha@sya on Gau@dapada's
karika, p. 21.]

[Footnote 3: Telang wishes to put S'a@nkara's date somewhere in the 8th
century, and Ve@nkates'vara would have him in 805 A.D.-897 A.D., as he
did not believe that S'a@nkara could have lived only for 32 years.
_J.R.A.S._ 1916.]

[Footnote 4: Compare _Lankavatara_, p. 29, _Katha@m ca gaganopamam_.]

[Footnote 5: Gau@dapada's karika, IV. 2, 4.]

Again, in IV. 42 he says that it was for those realists (_vastuvadi_),
who since they found things and could deal with them and
were afraid of non-being, that the Buddhas had spoken of
origination (_jati_). In IV. 90 he refers to _agrayana_ which we
know to be a name of _Mahayana_. Again, in IV. 98 and 99
he says that all appearances are pure and vacuous by nature.
These the Buddhas, the emancipated one (_mukta_) and the leaders
know first. It was not said by the Buddha that all appearances
(_dharma_) were knowledge. He then closes the karikas with an
adoration which in all probability also refers to the Buddha [Footnote ref
1].

Gau@dapada's work is divided into four chapters: (i) Agama
(scripture), (2) Vaitathya (unreality), (3) Advaita (unity), (4)
Alatas'anti (the extinction of the burning coal). The first chapter is
more in the way of explaining the Ma@n@duky@ Upani@sad by
to virtue of which the entire work is known as _Ma@n@dukyakarika_.

The second, third, and fourth chapters are the constructive parts
of Gau@dapada's work, not particularly connected with the Ma@n@dukya
Upani@sad.

In the first chapter Gau@dapada begins with the three apparent
manifestations of the self: (1) as the experiencer of the
external world while we are awake (_vis'va_ or _vais'vanara atma_),
(2) as the experiencer in the dream state (_taijasa atma_), (3) as the
experiencer in deep sleep (_su@supti_). called the _prajna_ when there
is no determinate knowledge, but pure consciousness and pure
bliss (_ananda_). He who knows these three as one is never
attached to his experiences. Gau@dapada then enumerates some
theories of creation: some think that the world has proceeded
as a creation from the pra@na (vital activity), others
consider creation as an expansion (_vibhuti_) of that cause
from which it has proceeded; others imagine that creation is
like dream (_svapna_) and magic (_maya_); others, that creation
proceeds simply by the will of the Lord; others that it proceeds
from time; others that it is for the enjoyment of the Lord
(_bhogartham_) or for his play only (_kri@dartham_), for such
is the nature (_svabhava_) of the Lord, that he creates, but he
cannot have any longing, as all his desires are in a state of fulfilment.
Gauḍapāda does not indicate his preference one way or the other, but describes the fourth state of the self as unseen (अदरस्त), unrelationable (अव्यवहार्य), ungraspable (अग्रहयम्), indefinable (अलक्षण), unthinkable (अचिन्त्य), unspeakable (अव्यापदेश्य), the essence as oneness with the self (एकत्मप्रत्ययसरा), as the extinction of the appearance (प्रपंचोपासम्), the quiescent (सांतम्), the good (सिवम्), the one (अद्वैता)

[Footnote ref 1]. The world-appearance (प्रपंच) would have ceased if it had existed, but all this duality is mere maya (magic or illusion), the one is the ultimately real (परमर्थताḥ). In the second chapter Gauḍapāda says that what is meant by calling the world a dream is that all existence is unreal. That which neither exists in the beginning nor in the end cannot be said to exist in the present. Being like unreal it appears as real. The appearance has a beginning and an end and is therefore false. In dreams things are imagined internally, and in the experience that we
have when we are awake things are imagined as if existing outside, but both of them are but illusory creations of the self.

What is perceived in the mind is perceived as existing at the moment of perception only; external objects are supposed to have two moments of existence (namely before they are perceived, and when they begin to be perceived), but this is all mere imagination. That which is unmanifested in the mind and that which appears as distinct and manifest outside are all imaginary productions in association with the sense faculties. There is first the imagination of a perceiver or soul (_jiva_) and then along with it the imaginary creations of diverse inner states and the external world. Just as in darkness the rope is imagined to be a snake, so the self is also imagined by its own illusion in diverse forms.

There is neither any production nor any destruction (_na nirodho, na cotpatti@h_), there is no one who is enchained, no one who is striving, no one who wants to be released [Footnote ref 2]. Imagination finds itself realized in the non-existent existents and also in the sense

________________________________________

[Footnote 1: Compare in Nagarjuna's first karika the idea of _prapancopas'amam s'ivam. Anirodhanutpadamanucchedamas'as'vatam anekarthamananarthamanagamanirgamam ya@h pratityasamutpadam prapancopas'amam s'ivam des'ayamava sambuddhastam vande vadamvaram_. Compare also Nagarjuna's Chapter on _Nirva@naparik@sa, Purvopalambhopas'ama@h prapancopas'ama@h s'iva@h na kvacit kasyacit kas'cit dharmmo buddhenades'ita@h_. So far as I know the Buddhists]
were the first to use the words _prapancopas'aman s'ivam_.]

[Footnote 2: Compare Nagarjuna's k@arika, "anirodhamanutpadam" in _Madhyamikav@rtti, B.T.S._, p. 3.]

426

of unity; all imagination either as the many or the one (_advaya_) is false; it is only the oneness (_advayata_) that is good. There is no many, nor are things different or non-different (_na nanedam ...na p@rthag nap@rthak_) [Footnote ref 1]. The sages who have transcended attachment, fear, and anger and have gone beyond the depths of the Vedas have perceived it as the imaginationless cessation of all appearance (nirvikalpa@h prapancopas'ama@h_), the one [Footnote ref 2].

In the third chapter Gau@dapada says that truth is like the void(_akas'a_) which is falsely conceived as taking part in birth and death, coming and going and as existing in all bodies; but howsoever it be conceived, it is all the while not different from akas'a. All things that appear as compounded are but dreams (_svapna_) and maya (magic). Duality is a distinction imposed upon the one (_advaita_) by maya. The truth is immortal, it cannot therefore by its own nature suffer change. It has no birth. All birth and death, all this manifold is but the result of an imposition of maya upon it [Footnote ref 3]. One mind appears as many in the dream, as also in the waking state one appears as many, but when the
mind activity of the Togins (sages) is stopped arises this fearless state, the extinction of all sorrow, final cessation. Thinking everything to be misery (_du@hkham sarvam anusm@rtya_) one should stop all desires and enjoyments, and thinking that nothing has any birth he should not see any production at all. He should awaken the mind (_citta_) into its final dissolution (_laya_) and pacify it when distracted; he should not move it towards diverse objects when it stops. He should not taste any pleasure (_sukham_) and by wisdom remain unattached, by strong effort making it motionless and still. When he neither passes into dissolution nor into distraction; when there is no sign, no appearance that is the perfect Brahman. When there is no object of knowledge to come into being, the unproduced is then called the omniscient (_sarvajna_).

In the fourth chapter, called the Alats’anti, Gau@dapada further

[Footnote 1: Compare _Madhyamikakarika, _B.T.S._, p.3 _anekartham anar@tham_, etc.]

[Footnote 2: Compare _Lankavat@rasutra_, p.78, _Advay@sam@r@parin@rva@nvatsarvadh@arma@h tasmat tarhi mahamat S’unyan@n@t@padadvay@ni@hsv@bh@valak@sa@ne yoga@h kara@niya@h_; also 8,46, _Yaduta svacittavi@sayavikalpa@r@s@t@yan@v@bodh@na@h vij@nanam svacitt@r@s@ty@ma@trana@va@t@re@na mahamat valapr@thag@ja@h_]
bhavabhavasvabhavaparamarthad@r@s@tidvayadino bhavanti_.

[Footnote 3: Compare Nagarjuna's karika, _B.T.S._ p. 196, _Akas'am s'as'as'@r@nganca bandhyaya@h putra eva ca asantas'cabhivyajyante tathabhavena kalpana_, with Gau@dapada's karika, Ill. 28, _Asato mayaya janma tatvato naiva jayate bandhyaputro na tattvena mayaya vapi jayate_.]

427

describes this final state [Footnote ref l]. All the dharmas (appearances) are without death or decay [Footnote: ref 2].

Gau@dapada then follows a dialectical form of argument which reminds us of Nagarjuna. Gau@dapada continues thus: Those who regard kara@na (cause) as the karyya (effect in a potential form) cannot consider the cause as truly unproduced (_aja_), for it suffers production; how can it be called eternal and yet changing? If it is said that things come into being from that which has no production, there is no example with which such a case may be illustrated. Nor can we consider that anything is born from that which has itself suffered production. How again can one come to a right conclusion about the _regressus ad infinitum_ of cause and effect (_hetu_ and _phala_)? Without reference to the effect there is no cause, and without reference to cause there is no effect. Nothing is born either by itself or through others; call it either being, non-being, or being-non-being, nothing suffers any birth,
neither the cause nor the effect is produced out of its own nature
(_svabhavatah_), and thus that which has no beginning anywhere cannot
be said to have a production. All experience (_prajnapti_) is
dependent on reasons, for otherwise both would vanish, and there
would be none of the afflictions (_sa@mkles'a_) that we suffer. When
we look at all things in a connected manner they seem to be
dependent, but when we look at them from the point of view of
reality or truth the reasons cease to be reasons. The mind (_citta_)
does not come in touch with objects and thereby manifest
them, for since things do not exist they are not different from
their manifestations in knowledge. It is not in any particular
case that the mind produces the manifestations of objects while
they do not exist so that it could be said to be an error, for in
present, past, and future the mind never comes in touch with
objects which only appear by reason of their diverse manifestations.
Therefore neither the mind nor the objects seen by it are
ever produced. Those who perceive them to suffer production are
really traversing the reason of vacuity (_khe_), for all production
is but false imposition on the vacuity. Since the unborn is
perceived as being born, the essence then is the absence of

[Footnote 1: The very name Alata@santi is absolutely Buddhistic. Compare
Nagarjuna's karika, _B.T.S._, p. 206, where he quotes a verse from the
SnackBar_]
production, for it being of the nature of absence of production it
could never change its nature. Everything has a beginning and
an end and is therefore false. The existence of all things is like
a magical or illusory elephant (mayahasti) and exists only as far
as it merely appears or is related to experience. There is thus
the appearance of production, movement and things, but the one
knowledge (vijnana) is the unborn, unmoved, the unthingness
(avastutva), the cessation (s'antam). As the movement of
burning charcoal is perceived as straight or curved, so it is the
movement (spandita) of consciousness that appears as the perceiving
and the perceived. All the attributes (e.g. straight or
curved) are imposed upon the charcoal fire, though in reality it
does not possess them; so also all the appearances are imposed
upon consciousness, though in reality they do not possess
them. We could never indicate any kind of causal relation
between the consciousness and its appearance, which are therefore
to be demonstrated as unthinkable (acintya). A thing
dravya is the cause of a thing (dravya), and that which is not
a thing may be the cause of that which is not a thing, but all
the appearances are neither things nor those which are not things, so neither are appearances produced from the mind (_citta_) nor is the mind produced by appearances. So long as one thinks of cause and effect he has to suffer the cycle of existence (_sa@msara_), but when that notion ceases there is no sa@msara. All things are regarded as being produced from a relative point of view only (_sa@mv@rti_), there is therefore nothing permanent (_s'as'vata_). Again, no existent things are produced, hence there cannot be any destruction (_uccheda_). Appearances (_dharma_) are produced only apparently, not in reality; their coming into being is like maya, and that maya again does not exist. All appearances are like shoots of magic coming out of seeds of magic and are not therefore neither eternal nor destructible.

As in dreams, or in magic, men are born and die, so are all appearances. That which appears as existing from an imaginary relative point of view (_kalpita sa@mv@rti_) is not so in reality (_para-martha_), for the existence depending on others, as shown in all relative appearance, is after all not a real existence. That things exist, do not exist, do exist and not exist, and neither exist nor not exist; that they are moving or steady, or none of those, are but thoughts with which fools are deluded.

429

It is so obvious that these doctrines are borrowed from the Madhyamika doctrines, as found in the Nagarjuna's karikas and the Vijnanavada doctrines, as found in _La@nkavatara_, that it is
needless to attempt to prove it, Gaudapada assimilated all the
Buddhist S'utvayana and Vijnanavada teachings, and thought that
these held good of the ultimate truth preached by the Upanisads.
It is immaterial whether he was a Hindu or a Buddhist, so long
as we are sure that he had the highest respect for the Buddha and
for the teachings which he believed to be his. Gaudapada took
the smallest Upanisads to comment upon, probably because he
wished to give his opinions unrestricted by the textual limitations
of the bigger ones. His main emphasis is on the truth
that he realized to be perfect. He only incidentally suggested
that the great Buddhist truth of indefinable and unspeakable
vijñana or vacuity would hold good of the highest atman of the
Upanisads, and thus laid the foundation of a revival of the
Upanisad studies on Buddhist lines. How far the Upanisads
guaranteed in detail the truth of Gaudapada's views it was left
for his disciple, the great S'ankyara, to examine and explain.

Vedanta and S'ankyara (788-820 A.D.).

Vedanta philosophy is the philosophy which claims to be
the exposition of the philosophy taught in the Upanisads and
summarized in the _Brahma-sutras_ of Badarayana. The Upanisads
form the last part of the Veda literature, and its philosophy is
therefore also called sometimes the Uttara-Mimamsa or the
Mimamsa (decision) of the later part of the Vedas as distinguished
from the Mimamsa of the previous part of the Vedas and the
Brahma-nas as incorporated in the _Purva-Mimamsa-sutras_ of
Jaimini. Though these _Brahma-sutras_ were differently interpreted by different exponents, the views expressed in the earliest commentary on them now available, written by S'a@nkaracarya, have attained wonderful celebrity, both on account of the subtle and deep ideas it contains, and also on account of the association of the illustrious personality of S'a@nkara. So great is the influence of the philosophy propounded by S'a@nkara and elaborated by his illustrious followers, that whenever we speak of the Vedanta philosophy we mean the philosophy that was propounded by S'a@nkara. If other expositions are intended the names of the exponents have to be mentioned (e.g. Ramanuja-mata, Vallabha-mata, etc.), In this chapter we shall limit ourselves to the exposition of the Vedanta philosophy as elaborated by S'a@nkara and his followers. In S'a@nkara's work (the commentaries on the _Brahma-sutra_ and the ten Upani@sads) many ideas have been briefly incorporated which as found in S'a@nkara do not appear to be sufficiently clear, but are more intelligible as elaborated by his followers. It is therefore better to take up the Vedanta system, not as we find it in S'a@nkara, but as elaborated by his followers, all of whom openly declare that they are true to their master's philosophy.

For the other Hindu systems of thought, the sutras (_Jaimini sutra, Nyaya sutra,_ etc.) are the only original treatises, and no
foundation other than these is available. In the case of the Vedanta however the original source is the Upani@sads, and the sutras are but an extremely condensed summary in a systematic form. S'a@nkara did not claim to be the inventor or expounder of an original system, but interpreted the sutras and the Upani@sads in order to show that there existed a connected and systematic philosophy in the Upani@sads which was also enunciated in the sutras of Badaraya@na. The Upani@sads were a part of the Vedas and were thus regarded as infallible by the Hindus. If S'a@nkara could only show that his exposition of them was the right one, then his philosophy being founded upon the highest authority would be accepted by all Hindus. The most formidable opponents in the way of accomplishing his task were the Mima@msists, who held that the Vedas did not preach any philosophy, for whatever there was in the Vedas was to be interpreted as issuing commands to us for performing this or that action. They held that if the Upani@sads spoke of Brahman and demonstrated the nature of its pure essence, these were mere exaggerations intended to put the commandment of performing some kind of worship of Brahman into a more attractive form. S'a@nkara could not deny that the purport of the Vedas as found in the Brahma@nas was explicitly of a mandatory nature as declared by the Mima@msa, but he sought to prove that such could not be the purport of the Upani@sads, which spoke of the truest and the highest knowledge of the Absolute by which the wise could attain salvation. He said that in the karmak@n@da--the (sacrificial injunctions) Brahma@nas of the Vedas--the purport of the Vedas was certainly of a mandatory nature, as it was intended
for ordinary people who were anxious for this or that pleasure,

and were never actuated by any desire of knowing the absolute
truth, but the Upani@sads, which were intended for the wise who
had controlled their senses and become disinclined to all earthly
joys, demonstrated the one Absolute, Unchangeable, Brahman
as the only Truth of the universe. The two parts of the Vedas
were intended for two classes of persons. S'a@nkara thus did not
begin by formulating a philosophy of his own by logical and
psychological analysis, induction, and deduction. He tried to show
by textual comparison of the different Upani@sads, and by reference
to the content of passages in the Upani@sads, that they
were concerned in demonstrating the nature of Brahman (as he
understood it) as their ultimate end. He had thus to show that
the uncontradicted testimony of all the Upani@sads was in favour
of the view which he held. He had to explain all doubtful and
apparently conflicting texts, and also to show that none of the
texts referred to the doctrines of mahat, prak@rti, etc. of the
Sa@mkhya. He had also to interpret the few scattered ideas
about physics, cosmology, eschatology, etc. that are found in the
Upani@sads consistently with the Brahman philosophy. In order
to show that the philosophy of the Upani@sads as he expounded it
was a consistent system, he had to remove all the objections that
his opponents could make regarding the Brahman philosophy, to
criticize the philosophies of all other schools, to prove them to
be self-contradictory, and to show that any interpretation of the
Upaniṣads, other than that which he gave, was inconsistent and
wrong. This he did not only in his bhasya on the _Brahma-sutras_
but also in his commentaries on the Upaniṣads. Logic with him
had a subordinate place, as its main value for us was the aid
which it lent to consistent interpretations of the purport of the
Upaniṣad texts, and to persuading the mind to accept the uncontradicted
testimony of the Upaniṣads as the absolute truth.
His disciples followed him in all, and moreover showed in great
detail that the Brahman philosophy was never contradicted
either in perceptual experience or in rational thought, and that
all the realistic categories which Nyaya and other systems
had put forth were self-contradictory and erroneous. They also
supplemented his philosophy by constructing a Vedanta epistemology,
and by rethinking elaborately the relation of the maya,
the Brahman, and the world of appearance and other relevant
topics. Many problems of great philosophical interest which

had been left out or slightly touched by Śaṅkara were discussed
fully by his followers. But it should always be remembered that
philosophical reasonings and criticisms are always to be taken
as but aids for convincing our intellect and strengthening our
faith in the truth revealed in the Upaniṣads. The true work of
logic is to adapt the mind to accept them. Logic used for upsetting
the instructions of the Upaniṣads is logic gone astray. Many
lives of Śaṅkaracarya were written in Sanskrit such as the _Śaṅkaradīgviṣaya_, _Śaṅkara-viṣaya-vilasa_, _Śaṅkara-jaya_, etc. It is regarded as almost certain that he was born between 700 and 800 A.D. in the Malabar country in the Deccan. His father Śivaguru was a Yajurvedi Brahmin of the Taittiriya branch. Many miracles are related of Śaṅkara, and he is believed to have been the incarnation of Śiva. He turned ascetic in his eighth year and became the disciple of Govinda, a renowned sage then residing in a mountain cell on the banks of the Narbuda. He then came over to Benares and thence went to Badarikas'rama. It is said that he wrote his illustrious bhaṣya on the _Brahma-sutra_ in his twelfth year. Later on he also wrote his commentaries on ten Upaniṣads. He returned to Benares, and from this time forth he decided to travel all over India in order to defeat the adherents of other schools of thought in open debate. It is said that he first went to meet Kumarila, but Kumarila was then at the point of death, and he advised him to meet Kumarila's disciple. He defeated Maṇdana and converted him into an ascetic follower of his own. He then travelled in various places, and defeating his opponents everywhere he established his Vedanta philosophy, which from that time forth acquired a dominant influence in moulding the religious life of India.

Śaṅkara carried on the work of his teacher Gaudapada and by writing commentaries on the ten Upaniṣads and the _Brahma-sutras_ tried to prove, that the absolutist creed was the one which was intended to be preached in the Upaniṣads and the _Brahma-sutras_.

Throughout his commentary on the _Brahma-sutras_, there is ample evidence that he was contending against some other rival interpretations of a dualistic tendency which held that the Upani@sads partly favoured the Sa@mkhya cosmology of the existence of prak@rti. That these were actual textual interpretations of the _Brahma-sutras_ is proved by the fact that S'a@nkara in some places tries to show that these textual constructions were faulty [Footnote ref 1]. In one place he says that others (referring according to Vacaspati to the Mima@msa) and some of us (referring probably to those who interpreted the sutras and the Upani@sads from the Vedanta point of view) think that the soul is permanent. It is to refute all those who were opposed to the right doctrine of perceiving everything as the unity of the self (_atmaikatva_) that this S'ariraka commentary of mine is being attempted [Footnote ref 2]. Ramanuja, in the introductory portion of his bha@sy@ on the _Brahma-sutra_ says that the views of

[Footnote 1: The main works of S'a@nkara are his commentaries (bha@sy@) on the ten Upani@sads (Is'a, Kena, Katha, Pras'na, Mu@ndaka, Ma@n@dukya, Aitareya, Taittiriya, B@rhadara@nyaka, and Chandogya), and on the _Brahma-sutra_.]
Bodhayana who wrote an elaborate commentary on the _Brahma-sutra_ were summarized by previous teachers, and that he was following this Bodhayana bha@syā in writing his commentary. In the _Vedarthsamgraha_ of Ramanuja mention is made of Bodhayana, Tanka, Guhadeva, Kapardin, Bharuci as Vedantic authorities, and Dravi@dacaryya is referred to as the "bha@syakara" commentator. In Chandogya III. x. 4, where the Upani@sad cosmology appeared to be different from the _Vi@s@napurana_ cosmology, S'a@nkara refers to an explanation offered on the point by one whom he calls "acaryya" (_atrotkah pariharah acaryyaih_) and Anandagiri says that "acaryya" there refers to Dravi@dacaryya. This Dravi@dacaryya is known to us from Ramanuja's statement as being a commentator of the dualistic school, and we have evidence here that he had written a commentary on the Chandogya Upani@sad.

A study of the extant commentaries on the _Brahma-sutras_ of Badaraya@na by the adherents of different schools of thought leaves us convinced that these sutras were regarded by all as condensations of the teachings of the Upani@sads. The differences of opinion were with regard to the meaning of these sutras and the Upani@sad texts to which references were made by them in each particular case. The _Brahma-sutra_ is divided into four adhyayas or books, and each of these is divided into four chapters or padas. Each of these contains a number of topics of discussion (_adhikara@na_) which are composed of a number of sutras, which raise the point at issue, the points that lead to doubt and uncertainty, and the considerations that should lead one to favour
a particular conclusion. As explained by S'a@nkara, most of these
sutras except the first four and the first two chapters of the
second book are devoted to the textual interpretations of the
Upani@sad passages. S'a@nkara's method of explaining the absolutist
Vedanta creed does not consist in proving the Vedanta to
be a consistent system of metaphysics, complete in all parts, but
in so interpreting the Upani@sad texts as to show that they all agree
in holding the Brahman to be the self and that alone to be the
only truth. In Chapter I of Book II S'a@nkara tries to answer
some of the objections that may be made from the Sa@mkhya
point of view against his absolutist creed and to show that some
apparent difficulties of the absolutist doctrine did not present
any real difficulty. In Chapter II of Book II he tries to refute
the Sa@mkhya, Yoga, Nyaya-Vais'e@sika, the Buddhist, Jaina, Bhagavata
and S'aiva systems of thought. These two chapters and
his commentaries on the first four sutras contain the main points
of his system. The rest of the work is mainly occupied in showing that the conclusion of the sutras was always in strict agreement with the Upaniṣad doctrines. Reason with Śaṅkara never occupied the premier position; its value was considered only secondary, only so far as it helped one to the right understanding of the revealed scriptures, the Upaniṣads. The ultimate truth cannot be known by reason alone. What one debater shows to be reasonable a more expert debater shows to be false, and what he shows to be right is again proved to be false by another debater. So there is no final certainty to which we can arrive by logic and argument alone. The ultimate truth can thus only be found in the Upaniṣads; reason, discrimination and judgment are all to be used only with a view to the discovery of the real purport of the Upaniṣads. From his own position Śaṅkara was not thus bound to vindicate the position of the Vedanta as a thoroughly rational system of metaphysics. For its truth did not depend on its rationality but on the authority of the Upaniṣads. But what was true could not contradict experience. If therefore Śaṅkara's interpretation of the Upaniṣads was true, then it would not contradict experience. Śaṅkara was therefore bound to show that his interpretation was rational and did not contradict experience. If he could show that his interpretation was the only interpretation that was faithful to the Upaniṣads, and that its apparent contradictions with experience could in some way be explained,
he considered that he had nothing more to do. He was not writing
a philosophy in the modern sense of the term, but giving us the
whole truth as taught and revealed in the Upani@sads and not
simply a system spun by a clever thinker, which may erroneously
appear to be quite reasonable, Ultimate validity does not belong
to reason but to the scriptures.

He started with the premise that whatever may be the reason
it is a fact that all experience starts and moves in an error which
identifies the self with the body, the senses, or the objects of the
senses. All cognitive acts presuppose this illusory identification,
for without it the pure self can never behave as a phenomenal
knower or perceiver, and without such a perceiver there would
be no cognitive act. S'a@nkara does not try to prove philosophically
the existence of the pure self as distinct from all other
things, for he is satisfied in showing that the Upani@sads describe
the pure self unattached to any kind of impurity as the ultimate
truth. This with him is a matter to which no exception can be
taken, for it is so revealed in the Upani@sads. This point being
granted, the next point is that our experience is always based
upon an identification of the self with the body, the senses, etc. and
the imposition of all phenomenal qualities of pleasure, pain, etc.
upon the self; and this with S'a@nkara is a beginningless illusion.
All this had been said by Gau@dapada. S'a@nkara accepted Gau@dapada's
conclusions, but did not develop his dialectic for a positive
proof of his thesis. He made use of the dialectic only for the
refutation of other systems of thought. This being done he
thought that he had nothing more to do than to show that his idea was in agreement with the teachings of the Upaniṣads. He showed that the Upaniṣads held that the pure self as pure being, pure intelligence and pure bliss was the ultimate truth. This being accepted the world as it appears could not be real. It must be a mere magic show of illusion or maya. Śaṅkara never tries to prove that the world is maya, but accepts it as indisputable. For, if the self is what is ultimately real, the necessary conclusion is that all else is mere illusion or maya. He had thus to quarrel on one side with the Māmsa realists and on the other with the Saṁkhya realists, both of whom accepted the validity of the scriptures, but interpreted them in their own way. The Māmsists held that everything that is said in the Vedas is to be interpreted as requiring us to perform particular kinds of action, or to desist from doing certain other kinds. This would mean that the Upaniṣads being a part of the Veda should also be interpreted as containing injunctions for the performance of certain kinds of actions. The description of Brahman in the Upaniṣads does not therefore represent a simple statement of the nature of Brahman, but it implies that the Brahman should be meditated upon as possessing the particular nature described there, i.e. Brahman should be meditated upon as being an entity which possesses a nature which is identical with our self; such a procedure would then lead to beneficial results to the man who so meditates.
S'ānkara could not agree to such a view. For his main point was that the Upaniṣads revealed the highest truth as the Brahman. No meditation or worship or action of any kind was required; but one reached absolute wisdom and emancipation when the truth dawned on him that the Brahman or self was the ultimate reality. The teachings of the other parts of the Vedas, the karmakaṇḍa (those dealing with the injunctions relating to the performance of duties and actions), were intended for inferior types of aspirants, whereas the teachings of the Upaniṣads, the jnanakaṇḍa (those which declare the nature of ultimate truth and reality), were intended only for superior aspirants who had transcended the limits of sacrificial duties and actions, and who had no desire for any earthly blessing or for any heavenly joy. Throughout his commentary on the Bhagavadgītā S'ānkara tried to demonstrate that those who should follow the injunctions of the Veda and perform Vedic deeds, such as sacrifices, etc., belonged to a lower order. So long as they remained in that order they had no right to follow the higher teachings of the Upaniṣads. They were but karmins (performers of scriptural duties). When they succeeded in purging their minds of all desires which led them to the performance of the Vedic injunctions, the field of karmamarga (the path of duties), and wanted to know the truth alone, they entered the jnanamarga (the way of wisdom) and had no duties to perform. The study of Vedanta was thus reserved for advanced persons who were no longer inclined to the ordinary joys of life but wanted complete emancipation. The qualifications necessary for a man intending to study the Vedanta are (1) discerning knowledge about what is
eternal and what is transitory (_nityanitam__vastuviveka_), (2) disinclination to the enjoyment of the pleasures of this world or of

the after world (_ihamutraphalabhogaviraga_), (3) attainment of peace, self-restraint, renunciation, patience, deep concentration and faith (_s'amadamadisadhanasampat_) and desire for salvation (_mumukṣutva_). The person who had these qualifications should study the Upaniṣads, and as soon as he became convinced of the truth about the identity of the self and the Brahman he attained emancipation. When once a man realized that the self alone was the reality and all else was maya, all injunctions ceased to have any force with him. Thus, the path of duties (_karma_) and the path of wisdom (_jnana_) were intended for different classes of persons or adhikarins. There could be no joint performance of Vedic duties and the seeking of the highest truth as taught in the Upaniṣads (_jnana-karma-samuccayabhava@h_). As against the dualists he tried to show that the Upaniṣads never favoured any kind of dualistic interpretations. The main difference between the Vedanta as expounded by Gauḍapada and as explained by S'āṅkara consists in this, that S'āṅkara tried as best he could to dissociate the distinctive Buddhist traits found in the exposition of the former and to formulate the philosophy as a direct interpretation of the older Upaniṣad texts. In this he achieved remarkable success. He was no doubt regarded by some as a hidden Buddhist (_pracchanna Bauddha_), but his influence on
Hindu thought and religion became so great that he was regarded in later times as being almost a divine person or an incarnation. His immediate disciples, the disciples of his disciples, and those who adhered to his doctrine in the succeeding generations, tried to build a rational basis for his system in a much stronger way than S'a@nkara did. Our treatment of S'a@nkara's philosophy has been based on the interpretations of Vedanta thought, as offered by these followers of S'a@nkara. These interpretations are nowhere in conflict with S'a@nkara's doctrines, but the questions and problems which S'a@nkara did not raise have been raised and discussed by his followers, and without these one could not treat Vedanta as a complete and coherent system of metaphysics. As these will be discussed in the later sections, we may close this with a short description of some of the main features of the Vedanta thought as explained by S'a@nkara.

Brahman according to S'a@nkara is "the cause from which (proceeds) the origin or subsistence and dissolution of this world which is extended in names and forms, which includes many agents and enjoyers, which contains the fruit of works specially determined according to space, time, and cause, a world which is formed after an arrangement inconceivable even by the (imagination of the) mind [Footnote ref 1]." The reasons that S'a@nkara adduces for the
existence of Brahman may be considered to be threefold: (1) The world must have been produced as the modification of something, but in the Upaniṣads all other things have been spoken of as having been originated from something other than Brahman, so Brahman is the cause from which the world has sprung into being, but we could not think that Brahman itself originated from something else, for then we should have a _regressus ad infinitum_ (_anavastha_). (2) The world is so orderly that it could not have come forth from a non-intelligent source. The intelligent source then from which this world has come into being is Brahman. (3) This Brahman is the immediate consciousness (_sakṣi_) which shines as the self, as well as through the objects of cognition which the self knows. It is thus the essence of us all, the self, and hence it remains undenied even when one tries to deny it, for even in the denial it shows itself forth. It is the self of us all and is hence ever present to us in all our cognitions.

Brahman according to S'aṅkara is the identity of pure intelligence, pure being, and pure blessedness. Brahman is the self of us all. So long as we are in our ordinary waking life, we are identifying the self with thousands of illusory things, with all that we call "I" or mine, but when in dreamless sleep we are absolutely without any touch of these phenomenal notions the nature of our true state as pure blessedness is partially realized. The individual self as it appears is but an appearance only, while the real truth is the true self which is one for all, as pure intelligence, pure blessedness, and pure being.
All creation is illusory maya. But accepting it as maya, it
can be conceived that God (Is'vara) created the world as a mere
sport; from the true point of view there is no Is'vara who creates
the world, but in the sense in which the world exists, and we all
exist as separate individuals, we can affirm the existence of
Is'vara, as engaged in creating and maintaining the world. In
reality all creation is illusory and so the creator also is illusory.
Brahman, the self, is at once the material cause (upadana-kara@na)
as well as the efficient cause (nimitta-kara@na) of the world.

[Footnote 1: S'a@nkara's commentary, I.i. 2. See also Deussen's _System of
the Vedanta_.]

There is no difference between the cause and the effect, and the
effect is but an illusory imposition on the cause--a mere illusion
of name and form. We may mould clay into plates and jugs and
call them by so many different names, but it cannot be admitted
that they are by that fact anything more than clay; their transformations
as plates and jugs are only appearances of name and
form (_namarupa_). This world, inasmuch as it is but an effect
imposed upon the Brahman, is only phenomenally existent
(_vyavaharika_) as mere objects of name and form (_namarupa_), but
the cause, the Brahman, is alone the true reality(_paramarthika_)

[Footnote ref 1].

The main idea of the Vedanta philosophy.

The main idea of the advaita (non-dualistic) Vedanta philosophy as taught by the @S'a@kara school is this, that the ultimate and absolute truth is the self, which is one, though appearing as many in different individuals. The world also as apart from us the individuals has no reality and has no other truth to show than this self. All other events, mental or physical, are but passing appearances, while the only absolute and unchangeable truth underlying them all is the self. While other systems investigated the pramanas only to examine how far they could determine the objective truth of things or our attitude in practical life towards them, Vedanta sought to reach beneath the surface of appearances, and enquired after the final and ultimate truth underlying the microcosm and the macrocosm, the subject and the object. The famous instruction of @S'vetaketu, the most important Vedanta text (mahavakya) says, "That art thou, O S'vetaketu." This comprehension of my self as the ultimate truth is the highest knowledge, for when this knowledge is once produced, our cognition of world-appearances will automatically cease. Unless the mind is chastened and purged of all passions and desires, the soul cannot comprehend this truth; but when this is once done, and the soul is anxious for salvation by a knowledge of the highest truth, the preceptor
instructs him, “That art thou.” At once he becomes the truth itself, which is at once identical with pure bliss and pure intelligence; all ordinary notions and cognitions of diversity and of the

[Footnote 1: All that is important in S'ānkara's commentary of the _Brahma-sūtras_ has been excellently systematized by Deussen in his _System of the Vedanta_; it is therefore unnecessary for me to give any long account of this part. Most of what follows has been taken from the writings of his followers.]

440

many cease; there is no duality, no notion of mine and thine; the vast illusion of this world process is extinct in him, and he shines forth as the one, the truth, the Brahman. All Hindu systems believed that when man attained salvation, he became divested of all world-consciousness, or of all consciousness of himself and his interests, and was thus reduced to his own original purity untouched by all sensations, perceptions, feelings and willing, but there the idea was this that when man had no bonds of karma and no desire and attachment with the world and had known the nature of his self as absolutely free and unattached to the world and his own psychosis, he became emancipated from the world and all his connections with the world ceased, though the world continued
as ever the same with others. The external world was a reality
with them; the unreality or illusion consisted in want of true
knowledge about the real nature of the self, on account of which
the self foolishly identified itself with world-experiences, worldly
joys and world-events, and performed good and bad works accordingly.
The force of accumulated karmas led him to undergo
the experiences brought about by them. While reaping the fruits
of past karmas he, as ignorant as ever of his own self, worked
again under the delusion of a false relationship between himself
and the world, and so the world process ran on. Mufti (salvation)
meant the dissociation of the self from the subjective psychosis
and the world. This condition of the pure state of self was regarded
as an unconscious one by Nyaya-Vais'e@sika and Mima@msa,
and as a state of pure intelligence by Sa@mkhya and Yoga. But
with Vedanta the case is different, for it held that the world as
such has no real existence at all, but is only an illusory imagination
which lasts till the moment when true knowledge is acquired.
As soon as we come to know that the one truth is the self, the
Brahman, all our illusory perceptions representing the world as
a field of experience cease. This happens not because the connections
of the self with the world cease, but because the appearance
of the world process does not represent the ultimate and
highest truth about it. All our notions about the abiding
diversified world (lasting though they may be from beginningless
time) are false in the sense that they do not represent the real
truth about it. We not only do not know what we ourselves
really are, but do not also know what the world about us is.
We take our ordinary experiences of the world as representing
it correctly, and proceed on our career of daily activity. It is no
doubt true that these experiences show us an established order
having its own laws, but this does not represent the real truth.
They are true only in a relative sense, so long as they appear to
be so; for the moment the real truth about them and the self is
comprehended all world-appearances become unreal, and that one
truth, the Brahman, pure being, bliss, intelligence, shines forth as
the absolute—the only truth in world and man. The world-appearance
as experienced by us is thus often likened to the
illusory perception of silver in a conch-shell; for the moment
the perception appears to be true and the man runs to pick
it up, as if the conch-shell were a real piece of silver; but
as soon as he finds out the truth that this is only a piece of
conch-shell, he turns his back on it and is no longer deluded
by the appearance or again attracted towards it. The illusion
of silver is inexplicable in itself, for it was true for all purposes
so long as it persisted, but when true knowledge was
acquired, it forthwith vanished. This world-appearance will also
vanish when the true knowledge of reality dawns. When false
knowledge is once found to be false it cannot return again.
The Upaniṣads tell us that he who sees the many here is
doomed. The one, the Brahman, alone is true; all else is but
delusion of name and form. Other systems believed that even
after emancipation, the world would continue as it is, that
there was nothing illusory in it, but I could not have any
knowledge of it because of the absence of the instruments by
the processes of which knowledge was generated. The Saṁkhya
puruṣa cannot know the world when the buddhi-stuff
is dissociated from it and merged in the prārthi, the Mīmāṣa
and the Nyāya soul is also incapable of knowing the world
after emancipation, as it is then dissociated from manas. But
the Vedanta position is quite distinct here. We cannot know
the world, for when the right knowledge dawns, the perception
of this world-appearance proves itself to be false to the
person who has witnessed the truth, the Brahman. An illusion
cannot last when the truth is known; what is truth is known to
us, but what is illusion is undemonstrable, unspeakable, and
indefinite. The illusion runs on from beginningless time; we do
not know how it is related to truth, the Brahman, but we know
that when the truth is once known the false knowledge of this
world-appearance disappears once for all. No intermediate link
is necessary to effect it, no mechanical dissociation of buddhi or
manas, but just as by finding out the glittering piece to be a conch-shell
the illusory perception of silver is destroyed, so this illusory
perception of world-appearance is also destroyed by a true
knowledge of the reality, the Brahman. The Upaniṣads held
that reality or truth was one, and there was "no many" anywhere,
and Śaṅkara explained it by adding that the "many" was merely
an illusion, and hence did not exist in reality and was bound to disappear when the truth was known. The world-appearance is maya (illusion). This is what S'ankara emphasizes in expounding his constructive system of the Upani@sad doctrine.

The question is sometimes asked, how the maya becomes associated with Brahman. But Vedanta thinks this question illegitimate, for this association did not begin in time either with reference to the cosmos or with reference to individual persons. In fact there is no real association, for the creation of illusion does not affect the unchangeable truth. Maya or illusion is no real entity, it is only false knowledge (_avidya_) that makes the appearance, which vanishes when the reality is grasped and found.

Maya or avidya has an apparent existence only so long as it lasts, but the moment the truth is known it is dissolved. It is not a real entity in association with which a real world-appearance has been brought into permanent existence, for it only has existence so long as we are deluded by it (_pratitika-satta_). Maya therefore is a category which baffles the ordinary logical division of existence and non-existence and the principle of excluded middle. For the maya can neither be said to be "is" nor "is not" (_tattvanyatvabhyan anirvacaniya_). It cannot be said that such a logical category does not exist, for all our dream and illusory cognitions demonstrate it to us. They exist as they are perceived, but they do not exist since they have no other independent existence than the fact of their perception. If it has any creative function, that function is as illusive as its own nature, for the creation only lasts so long as the error lasts.

Brahman, the truth, is not in any way sullied or affected by association
with maya, for there can be no association of the real with the empty, the maya, the illusory. It is no real association but a mere appearance.

In what sense is the world-appearance false?

The world is said to be false—a mere product of maya. The falsehood of this world-appearance has been explained as involved in the category of the indefinite which is neither _sat_ "is" nor _asat_ "is not." Here the opposition of the "is" and "is not" is solved by the category of time. The world-appearance is "is not," since it does not continue to manifest itself in all times, and has its manifestation up to the moment that the right knowledge dawns. It is not therefore "is not" in the sense that a "castle in the air" or a hare's horn is "is not," for these are called _tuccha_, the absolutely non-existent. The world-appearance is said to be "is" or existing, since it appears to be so for the time the state of ignorance persists in us. Since it exists for a time it is _sat_ (is), but since it does not exist for all times it is _asat_ (is not). This is the appearance, the falsehood of the world-appearance (_jagat-prapanca_) that it is neither _sat_ nor _asat_ in an absolute sense. Or rather it may also be said in another way that the falsehood of the world-appearance consists in this, that though it appears to be the reality or an expression or manifestation of the reality, the being, _sat_, yet when the reality is once rightly comprehended, it
will be manifest that the world never existed, does not exist, and will never exist again. This is just what we find in an illusory perception; when once the truth is found out that it is a conch-shell, we say that the silver, though it appeared at the time of illusory perception to be what we saw before us as "this" (this is silver), yet it never existed before, does not now exist, and will never exist again. In the case of the illusory perception of silver, the "this" (pointing to a thing before me) appeared as silver; in the case of the world-appearance, it is the being (_sat_), the Brahman, that appears as the world; but as in the case when the "this" before us is found to be a piece of conch-shell, the silver is at once dismissed as having had no existence in the "this" before us, so when the Brahman, the being, the reality, is once directly realized, the conviction comes that the world never existed. The negation of the world-appearance however has no separate existence other than the comprehension of the identity of the real. The fact that the real is realized is the same as that the world-appearance is negated. The negation here involved refers both to the thing negated (the world-appearance) and the negation itself, and hence it cannot be contended that when the conviction of the negation of the world is also regarded as false (for if the negation is not false then it remains as an entity different from Brahman and hence the unqualified monism fails), then this reinstates the reality of the world-appearance; for negation of the
world-appearance is as much false as the world-appearance itself, and hence on the realization of the truth the negative thesis, that the world-appearance does not exist, includes the negation also as a manifestation of world-appearance, and hence the only thing left is the realized identity of the truth, the being. The peculiarity of this illusion of world-appearance is this, that it appears as consistent with or inlaid in the being (_sat_) though it is not there. This of course is dissolved when right knowledge dawns. This indeed brings home to us the truth that the world-appearance is an appearance which is different from what we know as real (_sadvil@ka@na_); for the real is known to us as that which is proved by the prama@nas, and which will never again be falsified by later experience or other means of proof. A thing is said to be true only so long as it is not contradicted; but since at the dawn of right knowledge this world-appearance will be found to be false and non-existing, it cannot be regarded as real [Footnote ref I]. Thus Brahman alone is true, and the world-appearance is false; falsehood and truth are not contrary entities such that the negation or the falsehood of falsehood will mean truth. The world-appearance is a whole and in referring to it the negation refers also to itself as a part of the world-appearance and hence not only is the positive world-appearance false, but the falsehood itself is also false; when the world-appearance is contradicted at the dawn of right knowledge, the falsehood itself is also contradicted.

Brahman differs from all other things in this that it is self-luminous
(_svaprakas'a_) and has no form; it cannot therefore be the
object of any other consciousness that grasps it. All other things,
ideas, emotions, etc., in contrast to it are called _d@rs'ya_ (objects of
consciousness), while it is the _dra@s@ta_ (the pure consciousness
comprehending all objects). As soon as anything is comprehended as
an expression of a mental state (_v@rtti_), it is said to have a form and
it becomes d@rs'ya, and this is the characteristic of all objects of
consciousness that they cannot reveal themselves apart from being
manifested as objects of consciousness through a mental state.

[Footnote 1: See _Advaitasiddhi, Mithyatvanirukti_.]

Brahman also, so long as it is understood as a meaning of the
Upani@sad text, is not in its true nature; it is only when it shines
forth as apart from the associations of any form that it is svaprakas'a
and dra@s@ta. The knowledge of the pure Brahman is devoid of any
form or mode. The notion of _d@rs'yatva_ (objectivity) carries with
it also the notion of _ja@datva_ (materiality) or its nature as
non-consciousness (_ajnanatva_) and non-selfness (_anatmatva_) which
consists in the want of self-luminosity of objects of consciousness.
The relation of consciousness (_jnana_) to its objects cannot be
regarded as real but as mere illusory impositions, for as we shall
see later, it is not possible to determine the relation between
knowledge and its forms. Just as the silver-appearance of the
conch-shell is not its own natural appearance, so the forms in
which consciousness shows itself are not its own natural essence.
In the state of emancipation when supreme bliss (ananda) shines
forth, the ananda is not an object or form of the illuminating
consciousness, but it is the illumination itself. Whenever there
is a form associated with consciousness, it is an extraneous illusory
imposition on the pure consciousness. These forms are different
from the essence of consciousness, not only in this that they
depend on consciousness for their expression and are themselves
but objects of consciousness, but also in this that they are all
finite determinations (paricchinnā), whereas consciousness, the
abiding essence, is everywhere present without any limit whatsoever.
The forms of the object such as cow, jug, etc. are limited
in themselves in what they are, but through them all the pure
being runs by virtue of which we say that the cow is, the jug is,
the pot is. Apart from this pure being running through all the
individual appearances, there is no other class (jāti) such as
cowness or jugness, but it is on this pure being that different
individual forms are illusorily imposed (gha[tadikam sadarthekalpitam,
pratyekam tadanubiddhatvena pra[tiyamanatvat). So
this world-appearance which is essentially different from the
Brahman, the being which forms the material cause on which it
is imposed, is false

( upadanani@sthaiyaniabhavapratyogitvalak@sa@namithyatvasiddhi@h
--as Citsukha has it).
The nature of the world-appearance, phenomena.

The world-appearance is not however so illusory as the perception of silver in the conch-shell, for the latter type of worldly illusions is called _pratibhasika_, as they are contradicted by other later experiences, whereas the illusion of world-appearance is never contradicted in this worldly stage and is thus called _vyavaharika_ (from _vyavahara_, practice, i.e. that on which is based all our practical movements). So long as the right knowledge of the Brahman as the only reality does not dawn, the world-appearance runs on in an orderly manner uncontradicted by the accumulated experience of all men, and as such it must be held to be true. It is only because there comes such a stage in which the world-appearance ceases to manifest itself that we have to say that from the ultimate and absolute point of view the world-appearance is false and unreal. As against this doctrine of the Vedanta it is sometimes asked how, as we see the reality (_sattva_) before us, we can deny that it has truth. To this the Vedanta answers that the notion of reality cannot be derived from the senses, nor can it be defined as that which is the content of right knowledge, for we cannot have any conception of right knowledge without a conception of reality, and no conception of reality without a
conception of right knowledge. The conception of reality comprehends within it the notions of unalterability, absoluteness, and independence, which cannot be had directly from experience, as this gives only an appearance but cannot certify its truth. Judged from this point of view it will be evident that the true reality in all our experience is the one self-luminous flash of consciousness which is all through identical with itself in all its manifestations of appearance. Our present experience of the world-appearance cannot in any way guarantee that it will not be contradicted at some later stage. What really persists in all experience is the being (sat) and not its forms. This being that is associated with all our experience is not a universal genus nor merely the individual appearance of the moment, but it is the being, the truth which forms the substratum of all objective events and appearances (ekenaiva sarvanugatena sarvatra satpratiti). Things are not existent because they possess the genus of being (sat) as Nyaya supposes, but they are so because they are themselves but appearance imposed on one identical being as the basis and ground of all experience. Being is thus said to be the basis (adhi@sthana) on which the illusions appear. This being is not different with different things but one in all appearances. Our perceptions of the world-appearance could have been taken as a guarantee of their reality, if the reality which is supposed of them could be perceived by the senses, and if inference and s'ruti (scriptures)
did not point the other way. Perception can of course invalidate
inference, but it can do so only when its own validity
has been ascertained in an undoubted and uncontested manner.
But this is not the case with our perceptions of the world-appearance,
for our present perceptions cannot prove that these
will never be contradicted in future, and inference and s’ruti are
also against it. The mere fact that I perceive the world-appearance
cannot prove that what I perceive is true or real, if it is contradicted
by inference. We all perceive the sun to be small, but our perception
in this case is contradicted by inference and we have
hence to admit that our perceptions are erroneous. We depend
_(upajivya_) indeed for all our transactions on perception, but such
dependence cannot prove that on which we depend is absolutely
valid. Validity or reality can only be ascertained by
proper examination and enquiry (_parikṣa_), which may convince
us that there is no error in it. True it is that by the universal
testimony of our contemporaries and by the practical fruition and
realization of our endeavours in the external world, it is proved
beyond doubt that the world-appearance before us is a reality.
But this sort of examination and enquiry cannot prove to us with
any degree of satisfaction that the world-appearance will never
be contradicted at any time or at any stage. The Vedanta also
admits that our examination and enquiry prove to us that the
world-appearance now exists as it appears; it only denies that it
cannot continue to exist for all times, and a time will come when
to the emancipated person the world-appearance will cease to
exist. The experience, observation, and practical utility of the
objects as perceived by us cannot prove to us that these will
never be contradicted at any future time. Our perception of the world-appearance cannot therefore disprove the Vedanta inference that the world-appearance is false, and it will demonstrate itself to be so at the time when the right knowledge of Brahman as one dawns in us. The testimony of the Upaniṣads also contradicts the perception which grasps the world-appearance in its manifold aspect.

Moreover we are led to think that the world-appearance is false, for it is not possible for us to discover any true relation between the consciousness (_dārku_) and the objects of consciousness (_dārs'ya_). Consciousness must be admitted to have some kind of connection with the objects which it illumines, for had it not been so there could be any knowledge at any time irrespective of its connections with the objects. But it is not possible to imagine any kind of connection between consciousness and its objects, for it can neither be contact (_sa@myoga_) nor inheritance (_samavaya_); and apart from these two kinds of connections we know of no other. We say that things are the objects of our consciousness, but what is meant by it is indeed difficult to define. It cannot be that objectivity of consciousness means that a special effect like the jnatata of Mimaśa is produced upon the object, for such an effect is not admissible or perceivable in any way; nor can
Objectivity also mean any practical purpose (of being useful to us) associated with the object as Prabhakara thinks, for there are many things which are the objects of our consciousness but not considered as useful (e.g. the sky). Objectivity also cannot mean that the thing is the object of the thought-movement (_jnana-karaṇa_) involved in knowledge, for this can only be with reference to objects present to the perceiver, and cannot apply to objects of past time about which one may be conscious, for if the thing is not present how can it be made an object of thought-movement? Objectivity further cannot mean that the things project their own forms on the knowledge and are hence called objects, for though this may apply in the case of perception, it cannot be true of inference, where the object of consciousness is far away and does not mould consciousness after its own form. Thus in whatever way we may try to conceive manifold things existing separately and becoming objects of consciousness we fail. We have also seen that it is difficult to conceive of any kind of relation subsisting between objects and consciousness, and hence it has to be admitted that the imposition of the world-appearance is after all nothing but illusory.

Now though all things are but illusory impositions on consciousness yet for the illumination of specific objects it is admitted even by Vedanta that this can only take place through specific sense-contact and particular mental states (_vārtti_) or modes; but if that be so why not rather admit that this can take place even on the assumption of the absolute reality of the manifold
external world without? The answer that the Vedanta gives to such a question is this, that the phenomenon of illumination has not to undergo any gradual process, for it is the work of one

flash like the work of the light of a lamp in removing darkness; so it is not possible that the external reality should have to pass through any process before consciousness could arise; what happens is simply this, that the reality (_sat_) which subsists in all things as the same identical one reveals the object as soon as its veil is removed by association with the v@rtti (mental mould or state). It is like a light which directly and immediately illuminates everything with which it comes into relation. Such an illumination of objects by its underlying reality would have been continuous if there were no veils or covers, but that is not so as the reality is hidden by the veil of ajnana (nescience). This veil is removed as soon as the light of consciousness shines through a mental mould or v@rtti, and as soon as it is removed the thing shines forth. Even before the formation of the v@rtti the illusory impositions on the reality had still been continuing objectively, but it could not be revealed as it was hidden by ajnana which is removed by the action of the corresponding v@rtti; and as soon as the veil is removed the thing shines forth in its true light. The action of the senses, eye, etc. serves but to modify the v@rtti of the mind, and the v@rtti of the mind once formed, the corresponding ajnana veil which was covering the corresponding specific part of
the world-appearance is removed, and the illumination of the object which was already present, being divested of the veil, shows itself forth. The illusory creations were there, but they could not be manifested on account of the veil of nescience. As soon as the veil is removed by the action of the vṛtti the light of reality shows the corresponding illusory creations. So consciousness in itself is the ever-shining light of reality which is never generated but ever exists; errors of perception (e.g. silver in the conch-shell) take place not because the doṣa consisting of the defect of the eye, the glaze of the object and such other elements that contributed to the illusion, generated the knowledge, but because it generated a wrong vṛtti. It is because of the generation of the wrong vṛtti that the manifestation is illusory. In the illusion "this is silver" as when we mistake the conch-shell for the silver, it is the cit, consciousness or reality as underlying the object represented to us by "this" or "idam" that is the basis (adhiśthana) of the illusion of silver. The cause of error is our nescience or non-cognition (ajñana) of it in the form of the conch-shell, whereas the right knowledge is the cognition of it as conch-shell. The basis is not in the content of my knowledge as manifested in my mental state (vṛtti), so that the illusion is not of the form that the "knowledge is silver" but of "this is silver." Objective phenomena as such have reality as their basis, whereas the expression of illumination of them as states of knowledge is made
through the _cit_ being manifested through the mental mould or states. Without the _v@rtti_ there is no illuminating knowledge.

Phenomenal creations are there in the world moving about as shadowy forms on the unchangeable basis of one cit or reality, but this basis, this light of reality, can only manifest these forms when the veil of nescience covering them is temporarily removed by their coming in touch with a mental mould or mind-modification (_v@rtti_). It is sometimes said that since all illumination of knowledge must be through the mental states there is no other entity of pure consciousness apart from what is manifested through the states. This Vedanta does not admit, for it holds that it is necessary that before the operation of the mental states can begin to interpret reality, reality must already be there and this reality is nothing but pure consciousness. Had there been no reality apart from the manifesting states of knowledge, the validity of knowledge would also cease; so it has to be admitted that there is the one eternal self-luminous reality untouched by the characteristics of the mental states, which are material and suffer origination and destruction. It is this self-luminous consciousness that seems to assume diverse forms in connection with diverse kinds of associations or limitations (_upadhi_). It manifests _ajnana_ (nescience) and hence does not by itself remove the ajnana, except when it is reflected through any specific kind of v@rtti. There is of course no difference, no inner and outer varieties between the reality, the pure consciousness which is the essence, the basis and the ground of all phenomenal appearances of the objective world, and the consciousness that manifests itself through the mental states. There is only one
identical pure consciousness or reality, which is at once the basis of the phenomena as well, is their interpreter by a reflection through the mental states or vârttis.

The phenomena or objects called the drs'ya can only be determined in their various forms and manifestations but not as to their ultimate reality; there is no existence as an entity of any relation such as sa@myoga (contact) or samavaya (inherence)

451

between them and the pure consciousness called the d@rk; for the truth is this, that the d@rk (perceiver) and the d@rs'ya (perceived) have one identical reality; the forms of phenomena are but illusory creations on it.

It is sometimes objected that in the ordinary psychological illusion such as "this is silver," the knowledge of "this" as a thing is only of a general and indefinite nature, for it is perceived as a thing but its special characteristics as a conch-shell are not noticed, and thus the illusion is possible. But in Brahman or pure consciousness there are neither definite nor indefinite characteristics of any kind, and hence it cannot be the ground of any illusion as the piece of conch-shell perceived indefinitely as a mere "this" can be. The answer of Vedanta is that when the Brahman stands as the ground (_adhi@s@thana_) of the world-appearance its
characteristic as sat or real only is manifested, whereas its special
caracter as pure and infinite bliss is never noticed; or rather it
may be said that the illusion of world-appearance is possible
because the Brahman in its true and correct nature is never revealed
to us in our objective consciousness; when I say "the jug is,"
the "isness," or "being," does not shine in its purity, but only as
a characteristic of the jug-form, and this is the root of the illusion.
In all our experiences only the aspect of Brahman as real shines
forth in association with the manifold objects, and therefore the
Brahman in its true nature being unknown the illusion is made
possible. It is again objected that since the world-appearance
can serve all practical purposes, it must be considered as real and
not illusory. But the Vedanta points out that even by illusory
perceptions practical effects are seen to take place; the illusory
perception of a snake in a rope causes all the fear that a real snake
could do; even in dreams we feel happy and sad, and dreams
may be so bad as to affect or incapacitate the actual physical
functions and organs of a man. So it is that the past impressions
imbedded in us continuing from beginningless time are sufficient
to account for our illusory notions, just as the impressions produced
in actual waking life account for the dream creations.
According to the good or bad deeds that a man has done in
previous lives and according to the impressions or potencies
(_sa@mskara_) of his past lives each man has a particular kind of
world-experience for himself and the impressions of one cannot
affect the formation of the illusory experience of the other. But
the experience of the world-appearance is not wholly a subjective
creation for each individual, for even before his cognition the
phenomena of world-appearance were running in some unknowable
state of existence ( _svena adhyastasya sa@mskarasya
viyadadyadhyasajanakatvopapatte@h tatpratityabh@vepi tadadhyasasya
purvam sattvat k@rtsnasyapi vyavaharakapadarthasya
ajnatasattvabhupagamat_ ). It is again sometimes objected that illusion
is produced by malobserved similarity between the ground ( _adhi@s@tha_ )
and the illusory notion as silver in "this is silver," but
no such similarity is found between the Brahman and the world-appearance.
To this Vedanta says that similarity is not an indispensable
factor in the production of an illusion (e.g. when a
white conch is perceived as yellow owing to the defect of the eye
through the influence of bile or _pitta_ ). Similarity helps the production
of illusion by rousing up the potencies of past impressions
or memories; but this rousing of past memories may as well be
done by _ad@r@s@ta_--the unseen power of our past good or bad deeds.
In ordinary illusion some defect is necessary but the illusion of
this world-appearance is beginningless, and hence it awaits no
other _do@sa_ (defect) than the avidya (nescience) which constitutes
the appearance. Here avidya is the only _do@sa_ and Brahman is the
only _adhi@s@tha_ or ground. Had there not been the Brahman, the
self-luminous as the _adhi@s@tha_, the illusory creations could not
have been manifested at all. The cause of the direct perception
of illusion is the direct but indefinite perception of the _adhi@s@tha_.

______________________________
page 855 / 926
Hence where the adhi śāthana is hidden by the veil of avidya, the association with mental states becomes necessary for removing the veil and manifesting thereby the self-luminous adhi śāthana. As soon as the adhi śāthana, the ground, the reality, the blissful self-luminous Brahman is completely realized the illusions disappear. The disappearance of the phenomena means nothing more than the realization of the self-luminous Brahman.

The Definition of Ajnana (nescience).

Ajnana the cause of all illusions is defined as that which is beginningless, yet positive and removable by knowledge (_anadibhavarupatve sati jnananivartyatvam_). Though it manifests itself in all ordinary things (veiled by it before they become objects of perception) which have a beginning in time, yet it itself has no beginning, for it is associated with the pure consciousness which is beginningless. Again though it has been described as positive (_bhavarupa_) it can very well constitute the essence of negation (_abhava_) too, for the positivity (_bhavatva_) does not mean here the opposite of abhava (negation) but notes merely its difference from abhava (_abhava-vilak@sa@natvamatram vivak@sitam_). Ajnana is not a positive entity (_bhava_) like any other positive entity, but it is called positive simply because it is not a mere negation (_abhava_).
It is a category which is believed neither to be positive in the ordinary sense nor negative, but a third one which is different both from position as well as from negation. It is sometimes objected that ajnana is a mere illusory imagination of the moment caused by defect (do@sa_) and hence it cannot be beginningless (anadi_); but Vedanta holds that the fact that it is an imagination or rather imposition, does not necessarily mean that it is merely a temporary notion produced by the defects; for it could have been said to be a temporary product of the moment if the ground as well as the illusory creation associated with it came into being for the moment, but this is not the case here, as the cit, the ground of illusion, is ever-present and the ajnana therefore being ever associated with it is also beginningless. The ajnana is the indefinite which is veiling everything, and as such is different from the definite or the positive and the negative. Though it is beginningless yet it can be removed by knowledge, for to have a beginning or not to have it does not in any way determine whether the thing is subject to dissolution or not for the dissolution of a thing depends upon the presence of the thing which can cause it; and it is a fact that when knowledge comes the illusion is destroyed; it does not matter whether the cause which produced the illusion was beginningless or not. Some Vedantists however define ajnana as the substance constituting illusion, and say that though it is not a positive entity yet it may be regarded as forming the substance of the illusion; it is not necessary that only a positive entity should be the matter of any thing, for what is necessary for the notion of a material cause (upadana_) is this, that it should continue or persist as the same in all changes of
effects. It is not true that only what is positive can persist in
and through the effects which are produced in the time process.
Illusion is unreal and it is not unnatural that the ajnana which
also is unreal should be the cause of it.

Ajnana established by Perception and Inference.

Ajnana defined as the indefinite which is neither positive nor
negative is also directly experienced by us in such perceptions
as "I do not know, or I do not know myself or anybody else,"
or "I do not know what you say," or more particularly "I had
been sleeping so long happily and did not know anything." Such
perceptions point to an object which has no definite characteristics,
and which cannot properly be said to be either positive or negative.
It may be objected that the perception "I do not know" is not
the perception of the indefinite, the ajnana, but merely the negation
of knowledge. To this Vedanta says that had it been the
perception of a negation merely, then the negation must have
been associated with the specific object to which it applied.
A negation must imply the thing negated; in fact negation
generally appears as a substantive with the object of negation
as a qualifying character specifying the nature of the negation.
But the perception "I do not know or I had no knowledge" does
not involve the negation of any particular knowledge of any
specific object, but the knowledge of an indefinite objectless ignorance. Such an indefinite ajnana is positive in the sense that it is certainly not negative, but this positive indefinite is not positive in the same sense in which other definite entities are called positive, for it is merely the characterless, passive indefinite showing itself in our experience. If negation meant only a general negation, and if the perception of negation meant in each case the perception of a general negation, then even where there is a jug on the ground, one should perceive the negation of the jug on the ground, for the general negation in relation to other things is there. Thus negation of a thing cannot mean the general notion of the negation of all specific things; similarly a general negation without any specific object to which it might apply cannot manifest itself to consciousness; the notion of a general negation of knowledge is thus opposed to any and every knowledge, so that if the latter is present the former cannot be, but the perception "I do not know" can persist, even though many individual objects be known to us. Thus instead of saying that the perception of "I do not know" is the perception of a special kind of negation, it is rather better to say that it is the perception of a different category namely the indefinite, the ajnana. It is our common experience that after experiencing the indefinite (ajnana) of a specific type we launch forth in our endeavours to remove it. So it has to be admitted that the perception of the indefinite is different from the
perception of mere negation. The character of our perceiving
consciousness (_sak@si_) is such that both the root ajnana as well
as its diverse forms with reference to particular objects as represented
in mental states (_v@rtti-jnana_), are comprehended by it.
Of course when the v@rttijnana about a thing as in ordinary
perceptions of objects comes in, the ajnana with regard to it is
temporarily removed, for the v@rttijnana is opposed to the ajnana.
But so far as our own perceiving consciousness (_sak@si-caitanya_) is
conceived it can comprehend both the ajnana and the jnana
(knowledge) of things. It is thus often said that all things show
themselves to the perceiving consciousness either as known or
as unknown. Thus the perceiving consciousness comprehends all
positives either as indefinite ajnana or as states of knowledge
or as specific kinds of ajnana or ignorance, but it is unable to
comprehend a negation, for negation (_abhava_) is not a perception,
but merely the absence of perception (_anupalabdhi_). Thus when
I say I do not know this, I perceive the indefinite in consciousness
with reference to that thing, and this is not the perception of a
negation of the thing. An objection is sometimes raised from
the Nyaya point of view that since without the knowledge of a
qualification (_vis'e@sana_) the qualified thing (_vis'i@s@ta_) cannot be
known, the indefinite about an object cannot be present in consciousness
without the object being known first. To this Vedanta
replies that the maxim that the qualification must be known
before the qualified thing is known is groundless, for we can as
well perceive the thing first and then its qualification. It is not
out of place here to say that negation is not a separate entity,
but is only a peculiar mode of the manifestation of the positive.
Even the naiyayikas would agree that in the expression "there is no negation of a jug here," no separate negation can be accepted, for the jug is already present before us. As there are distinctions and differences in positive entities by illusory impositions, so negations are also distinguished by similar illusory impositions and appear as the negation of jug, negation of cloth, etc.; so all distinctions between negations are unnecessary, and it may be accepted that negation like position is one which appears as many on account of illusory distinctions and impositions. Thus the content of negation being itself positive, there is no reason to object that such perceptions as "I do not know" refer to the perception of an indefinite ajnana in consciousness. So also the perception "I do not know what you say" is not the perception of negation, for this would require that the hearer should know first what was said by the speaker, and if this is so then it is impossible to say "I do not know what you say."

So also the cognition "I was sleeping long and did not know anything" has to be admitted as referring to the perception of the indefinite during sleep. It is not true as some say that during sleep there is no perception, but what appears to the awakened man as "I did not know anything so long" is only an inference; for, it is not possible to infer from the pleasant and
active state of the senses in the awakened state that the activity
had ceased in the sleep state and that since he had no object of
knowledge then, he could not know anything; for there is no
invariable concomitance between the pleasant and active state of
the senses and the absence of objects of knowledge in the immediately
preceding state. During sleep there is a mental state
of the form of the indefinite, and during the awakened state it is
by the impression (_sa@mskara_) of the aforesaid mental state of
ajnana that one remembers that state and says that "I did not
perceive anything so long." The indefinite (_ajnana_) perceived in
consciousness is more fundamental and general than the mere
negation of knowledge (_jnanabhava_) and the two are so connected
that though the latter may not be felt, yet it can be inferred from
the perception of the indefinite. The indefinite though not definite
is thus a positive content different from negation and is perceived as
such in direct and immediate consciousness both in the awakened
state as well as in the sleeping state.

The presence of this ajnana may also be inferred from the
manner in which knowledge of objects is revealed in consciousness,
as this always takes place in bringing a thing into consciousness
which was not known or rather known as indefinite before we
say "I did not know it before, but I know it now." My present
knowledge of the thing thus involves the removal of an indefinite
which was veiling it before and positing it in consciousness, just
as the first streak of light in utter darkness manifests itself by
removing the darkness[Footnote ref 1]. Apart from such an inference its
existence

[Footnote 1: See _Pancapadikavivara_, Tattvadipana_, and _Advaitasiddhi_.]

457

is also indicated by the fact that the infinite bliss of Brahman does not show itself in its complete and limitless aspect. If there was no ajnana to obstruct, it would surely have manifested itself in its fullness. Again had it not been for this ajnana there would have been no illusion. It is the ajnana that constitutes the substance of the illusion; for there is nothing else that can be regarded as constituting its substance; certainly Brahman could not, as it is unchangeable. This ajnana is manifested by the perceiving consciousness (_sakṣi_) and not by the pure consciousness. The perceiving consciousness is nothing but pure intelligence which reflects itself in the states of avidya (ignorance).

Locus and Object of Ajnana, Ahaṁkara, and Antaḥkaraṇa.

This ajnana rests on the pure _cit_ or intelligence. This cit or Brahman is of the nature of pure illumination, but yet it is not
opposed to the ajnana or the indefinite. The cit becomes opposed to the ajnana and destroys it only when it is reflected through the mental states (_v@rtti_). The ajnana thus rests on the pure cit and not on the cit as associated with such illusory impositions as go to produce the notion of ego "_aham_" or the individual soul. Vacaspati Mis'ra however holds that the ajnana does not rest on the pure cit but on the jiva (individual soul). Madhava reconciles this view of Vacaspati with the above view, and says that the ajnana may be regarded as resting on the jiva or individual soul from this point of view that the obstruction of the pure cit is with reference to the jiva (_Cinmatras'ritam ajnanam jivapak@sapatitvat jivas'ritam ucyate_ Vivara@naprameya, p. 48). The feeling "I do not know" seems however to indicate that the ajnana is with reference to the perceiving self in association with its feeling as ego or "I"; but this is not so; such an appearance however is caused on account of the close association of ajnana with anta@hkara@na (mind) both of which are in essence the same (see Vivara@naparneyasa@mgraha, p. 48).

The ajnana however does not only rest on the cit, but it has the cit as its visaya or object too, i.e. its manifestations are with reference to the self-luminous cit. The self-luminous cit is thus the entity on which the veiling action of the ajnana is noticed; the veiling action is manifested not by destroying the self-luminous character, nor by stopping a future course of luminous career on the part of the cit, nor by stopping its relations with the vi@saya,
but by causing such an appearance that the self-luminous cit
seems so to behave that we seem to think that it is not or it does
not shine (_nasti na prakas'ate iti vyavahara@h_) or rather there is no
appearance of its shining or luminosity. To say that Brahman is
hidden by the ajnana means nothing more than this, that it is
such (_tadyogyata_) that the ajnana can so relate itself with it that
it appears to be hidden as in the state of deep sleep and other
states of ajnana-consciousness in experience. Ajnana is thus
considered to have both its locus and object in the pure cit. It
is opposed to the states of consciousness, for these at once dispel
it. The action of this ajn@ana is thus on the light of the reality
which it obstructs for us, so long as the obstruction is not dissolved
by the states of consciousness. This obstruction of the cit is not
only with regard to its character as pure limitless consciousness
but also with regard to its character as pure and infinite bliss;
so it is that though we do not experience the indefinite in our
pleasurable feelings, yet its presence as obstructing the pure cit
is indicated by the fact that the full infinite bliss constituting the
essence of Brahman is obstructed; and as a result of that there
is only an incomplete manifestation of the bliss in our phenomenal
experiences of pleasure. The ajnana is one, but it seems to obstruct
the pure cit in various aspects or modes, with regard to which it
may be said that the ajnana has many states as constituting the
individual experiences of the indefinite with reference to the
diverse individual objects of experience. These states of ajnana
are technically called tulajnana or avastajnana. Any state of consciousness (vârttijnana) removes a manifestation of the ajnana as tulajnana and reveals itself as the knowledge of an object.

The most important action of this ajnana as obstructing the pure cit, and as creating an illusory phenomenon is demonstrated in the notion of the ego or aha@mkara. This notion of aha@mkara is a union of the true self, the pure consciousness and other associations, such as the body, the continued past experiences, etc.; it is the self-luminous characterless Brahman that is found obstructed in the notion of the ego as the repository of a thousand limitations, characters, and associations. This illusory creation of the notion of the ego runs on from beginningless time, each set of previous false impositions determining the succeeding set of impositions and so on. This blending of the unreal associations held up in the mind (_anta@hkara@na_) with the real, the false with

the true, that is at the root of illusion. It is the anta@hkara@na taken as the self-luminous self that reflects itself in the cit as the notion of the ego. Just as when we say that the iron ball (red hot) burns, there are two entities of the ball and the fire fused into one, so, here also when I say "I perceive", there are two distinct elements of the self, as consciousness and the mind or antahkarana fused into one. The part or aspect associated with sorrow, materiality,
and changefulness represents the antaḥkaraṇa, whereas that which appears as the unchangeable perceiving consciousness is the self.

Thus the notion of ego contains two parts, one real and other unreal.

We remember that this is distinctly that which Prabhakara sought to repudiate. Prabhakara did not consider the self to be self-luminous, and held that such is the threefold nature of thought (_tripūti_), that it at once reveals the knowledge, the object of knowledge, and the self. He further said, that the analogy of the red-hot iron ball did not hold, for the iron ball and the fire are separately experienced, but the self and the antaḥkaraṇa are never separately experienced, and we can never say that these two are really different, and only have an illusory appearance of a seeming unity. Perception (_anubhava_) is like a light which illuminates both the object and the self, and like it does not require the assistance of anything else for the fulfilment of its purpose. But the Vedanta objects to this saying that according to Prabhakara's supposition, it is impossible to discover any relation between the self and the knowledge. If knowledge can be regarded as revealing itself, the self may as well be held to be self-luminous; the self and the knowledge are indeed one and the same. Kumarila thinks this thought (_anubhava_), to be a movement, Nyaya and Prabhakara as a quality of the self [Footnote ref 1]. But if it was a movement like other movements, it could not affect itself as illumination. If it were a substance and atomic in size, it would only manifest a small portion of
a thing, if all pervasive, then it would illuminate everything,
if of medium size, it would depend on its parts for its own

______________________________

[Footnote 1: According to Nyaya the _atman_ is conscious only through
association with consciousness, but it is not consciousness(_cit_).
Consciousness is associated with it only as a result of suitable
colloctions. Thus, _Nyayamanjari_ in refuting the doctrine of
self-luminosity (_svaprakas'a_) says (p.432)

_sacetanas'cita yogattadyogena vina ja@da@h
narthavabhasadanyaddhi caitanya@m nama manma@he._]

460

constitution and not on the self. If it is regarded as a quality
of the self as the light is of the lamp, then also it has necessarily
to be supposed that it was produced by the self, for from what
else could it be produced? Thus it is to be admitted that the
self, the atman, is the self-luminous entity. No one doubts any
of his knowledge, whether it is he who sees or anybody else.
The self is thus the same as vijnana, the pure consciousness,
which is always of itself self-luminous [Footnote ref 1].
Again, though consciousness is continuous in all stages, waking or sleeping, yet aha@mkara is absent during deep sleep.

It is true that on waking from deep sleep one feels "I slept happily and did not know anything"; yet what happens is this, that during deep sleep the anta@hkara@na and the aha@mkara are altogether submerged in the ajnana, and there are only the ajnana and the self; on waking, this aha@mkara as a state of anta@hkara@na is again generated, and then it associates the perception of the ajnana in the sleep and originates the perception "I did not know anything." This aha@mkara which is a mode (_v@rtti_) of the anta@hkara@na is thus constituted by avidya, and is manifested as jnana's'akti (power of knowledge) and kriya's'akti (power of work). This kriya's'akti of the aha@mkara is illusorily imposed upon the self, and as a result of that the self appears to be an active agent in knowing and willing. The aha@mkara itself is regarded, as we have already seen, as a mode or _v@rtti_ of the anta@hkara@na, and as such the aha@mkara of a past period can now be associated; but even then the _v@rtti_ of anta@hkara@na, aha@mkara, may be regarded as only the active side or aspect of the anta@hkara@na. The same anta@hkara@na is called manas in its capacity as doubt buddhi in its capacity as achieving certainty of knowledge, and citta in its capacity as remembering [Footnote ref 2]. When the pure cit shines forth in association with this anta@hkara@na, it is called a jiva. It is clear from the above account that the ajnana is not a mere nothing, but is the principle of the phenomena. But it cannot stand alone, without the principle of the real to support it (_as'raya_); its own nature as the ajnana or indefinite is perceived
directly by the pure consciousness; its movements as originating
the phenomena remain indefinite in themselves, the real as underlying

[Footnote 1: See _Nyayamakaranda_, pp. 130-140, _Citshkha_ and
_Vivara@naprameyasa@mgraha_, pp. 53-58.]

[Footnote 2: See _Vedanta-paribha@sa_, p. 88, Bombay edition.]

461

the phenomenal movements can only manifest itself
through these which hide it, when corresponding states arise in
the _anta@hkara@na_, and the light of the real shines forth through
these states. The _anta@hkara@na_ of which _aha@mkara_ is a moment,
is itself a beginningless system of ajnana-phenomena containing
within it the associations and impressions of past phenomena as
merit, demerit, instincts, etc. from a beginningless time when the
jiva or individual soul began his career.

Anirvacyavada and the Vedanta Dialectic.

We have already seen that the indefinite ajnana could be
experienced in direct perception and according to Vedanta there are only two categories. The category of the real, the self-luminous Brahman, and the category of the indefinite. The latter has for its ground the world-appearance, and is the principle by which the one unchangeable Brahman is falsely manifested in all the diversity of the manifold world. But this indefinite which is different from the category of the positive and the negative, has only a relative existence and will ultimately vanish, when the true knowledge of the Brahman dawns. Nothing however can be known about the nature of this indefinite except its character as indefinite. That all the phenomena of the world, the fixed order of events, the infinite variety of world-forms and names, all these are originated by this avidya, ajnana or maya is indeed hardly comprehensible. If it is indefinite nescience, how can all these well-defined forms of world-existence come out of it? It is said to exist only relatively, and to have only a temporary existence beside the permanent infinite reality. To take such a principle and to derive from it the mind, matter, and indeed everything else except the pure self-luminous Brahman, would hardly appeal to our reason. If this system of world-order were only seeming appearance, with no other element of truth in it except pure being, then it would be indefensible in the light of reason. It has been proved that whatever notions we have about the objective world are all self-contradictory, and thus groundless and false. If they have all proceeded from the indefinite they must show this character when exposed to discerning criticism. All categories have to be shown to be so hopelessly confused and to be without any conceivable notion that though apparent before
us yet they crumble into indefiniteness as soon as they are examined, and one cannot make such assertion about them as that they are or that they are not. Such negative criticisms of our fundamental notions about the world-order were undertaken by S’rihar@sa and his commentator and follower Citsukha. It is impossible within the limits of this chapter, to give a complete account of their criticisms of our various notions of reality. I shall give here, only one example.

Let us take the examination of the notion of difference (_bheda_)from _Kha@n@danakha@n@dakhadya_. Four explanations are possible about the notion of difference: (1) the difference may be perceived as appearing in its own characteristics in our experience (_svarupa-bheda_) as Prabhakara thinks; (2) the difference between two things is nothing but the absence of one in the other (_anyonyabhava_), as some Naiyayikas and Bha@t@tas think; (3) difference means divergence of characteristics (_vaidharmya_) as the Vais’e@sikas speak of it; (4) difference may be a separate quality in itself like the p@rthaktva quality of Nyaya. Taking the first alternative, we see that it is said that the jug and the cloth represent in themselves, by their very form and existence, their mutual difference from each other. But if by perceiving the cloth we only perceive its difference from the jug as the characteristic
of the cloth, then the jug also must have penetrated
into the form of the cloth, otherwise how could we perceive
in the cloth its characteristics as the difference from the jug?
i.e. if difference is a thing which can be directly perceived by
the senses, then as difference would naturally mean difference
from something else, it is expected that something else such
as jug, etc. from which the difference is perceived, must also
be perceived directly in the perception of the cloth. But if
the perception of "difference" between two things has penetrated
together in the same identical perception, then the self-contradiction
becomes apparent. Difference as an entity is not what
we perceive in the cloth, for difference means difference from
something else, and if that thing from which the difference is
perceived is not perceived, then how can the difference as an
entity be perceived? If it is said that the cloth itself represents
its difference from the jug, and that this is indicated by the jug,
then we may ask, what is the nature of the jug? If the difference
from the cloth is the very nature of the jug, then the cloth
itself is also involved in the nature of the jug. If it is said that

463

the jug only indicates a term from which difference
is intended to be conveyed, then that also becomes impossible,
for how can we imagine that there is a term which is independent
of any association of its difference from other things,
and is yet a term which establishes the notion of difference? If
it is a term of difference, it cannot be independent of its relation
to other things from which it is differentiated. If its difference
from the cloth is a quality of the jug, then also the old difficulty
comes in, for its difference from the cloth would involve the
cloth also in itself; and if the cloth is involved in the nature of
the jug as its quality, then by the same manner the jug would
also be the character of the cloth, and hence not difference but
identity results. Moreover, if a cloth is perceived as a character
of the jug, the two will appear to be hanging one over the other,
but this is never so experienced by us. Moreover, it is difficult to
ascertain if qualities have any relation with things; if they have
not, then absence of relation being the same everywhere, everything
might be the quality of everything. If there is a relation
between these two, then that relation would require another
relation to relate itself with that relation, and that would again
require another relation and that another, and so on. Again, it
may be said that when the jug, etc. are seen without reference
to other things, they appear as jug, etc., but when they are
viewed with reference to cloth, etc. they appear as difference.
But this cannot be so, for the perception as jug is entirely
different from the perception of difference. It should also be
noted that the notion of difference is also different from the
notions of both the jug and the cloth. It is one thing to say
that there are jug and cloth, and quite another thing to say
that the jug is different from the cloth. Thus a jug cannot appear
as difference, though it may be viewed with reference to cloth.
The notion of a jug does not require the notions of other things
for its manifestation. Moreover, when I say the jug is different
from the cloth, I never mean that difference is an entity which is
the same as the jug or the cloth; what I mean is that the
difference of the cloth from the jug has its limits in the jug, and
not merely that the notion of cloth has a reference to jug. This
shows that difference cannot be the characteristic nature of the
thing perceived.

Again, in the second alternative where difference of two

things is defined as the absence of each thing in the other, we
find that if difference in jug and cloth means that the jug is not
in the cloth or that cloth is not in jug, then also the same
difficulty arises; for when I say that the absence or negation of
jug in the cloth is its difference from the jug, then also the
residence of the absence of jug in the cloth would require
that the jug also resides in the cloth, and this would reduce
difference to identity. If it is said that the absence of jug in the
cloth is not a separate thing, but is rather the identical cloth
itself, then also their difference as mutual exclusion cannot be
explained. If this mutual negation (_anyonyabhava_) is explained
as the mere absence of jugness in the cloth and of clothness in
the jug, then also a difficulty arises; for there is no such quality
in jugness or clothness that they may be mutually excluded;
and there is no such quality in them that they can be treated as
identical, and so when it is said that there is no jugness in cloth
we might as well say that there is no clothness in cloth, for
clothness and jugness are one and the same, and hence absence
of jugness in the cloth would amount to the absence of clothness
in the cloth which is self-contradictory. Taking again the third
alternative we see that if difference means divergence of characteristics
(_vaidharmya_) then the question arises whether the
vaidharmya or divergence as existing in jug has such a divergence
as can distinguish it from the divergence existing in the cloth; if
the answer is in the affirmative then we require a series of endless
vaidharmyas progressing _ad infinitum_. If the answer is in the
negative then there being no divergence between the two divergences
they become identical, and hence divergence of characteristics
as such ceases to exist. If it is said that the natural forms of
things are difference in themselves, for each of them excludes the
other, then apart from the differences—the natural forms—the
things are reduced to formlessness (_ni@hsvapurapata_). If natural forms
(_svarupa_) mean special natural forms (_svarupa-vis'e@sa_) then as the
special natural forms or characteristics only represent difference,
the natural forms of the things as apart from the special ones
would appear to be identical. So also it may be proved that there
is no such quality as p@rthakta (separateness) which can explain
differences of things, for there also the questions would arise as
to whether separateness exists in different things or similar ones
or whether separateness is identical with the thing in which it
exists or not, and so forth.
The earliest beginnings of this method of subtle analysis and dialectic in Indian philosophy are found in the opening chapters of _Kathavatthu_. In the great _Mahabha@sya_ on Pa@nini by Patanjali also we find some traces of it. But Nagarjuna was the man who took it up in right earnest and systematically cultivated it in all its subtle and abstruse issues and counter-issues in order to prove that everything that appeared as a fixed order or system was non-existent, for all were unspeakable, indescribable and self-contradictory, and thus everything being discarded there was only the void (_s'unya_). S'a@nkara partially utilized this method in his refutations of Nyaya and the Buddhist systems; but S'rihar@sa again revived and developed it in a striking manner, and after having criticized the most important notions and concepts of our everyday life, which are often backed by the Nyaya system, sought to prove that nothing in the world can be defined, and that we cannot ascertain whether a thing is or is not. The refutations of all possible definitions that the Nyaya could give necessarily led to the conclusion that the things sought to be defined did not exist though they appeared to do so; the Vedantic contention was that this is exactly as it should be, for the indefinite ajnana produces only appearances which when exposed to reason show that no consistent notions of them can be formed, or in other words the world-appearance, the phenomena of maya or ajnana, are indefinable or anirvacaniya. This great work of S'rihar@sa was followed by _Tattvadipika_ of Citsukha, in which he generally
followed S'rihar@sa and sometimes supplemented him with the
addition of criticisms of certain new concepts. The method of
Vedanta thus followed on one side the method of S'unyavada in
annulling all the concepts of world-appearance and on the other
Vijnanavada Buddhism in proving the self-illuminating character
of knowledge and ultimately established the self as the only self-luminous
ultimate reality.

The Theory of Causation.

The Vedanta philosophy looked at the constantly changing
phenomena of the world-appearance and sought to discover the
root whence proceeded the endless series of events and effects.
The theory that effects were altogether new productions caused
by the invariable unconditional and immediately preceding antecedents,
as well as the theory that it was the cause which evolved

and by its transformations produced the effect, are considered
insufficient to explain the problem which the Vedanta had before
it. Certain collocations invariably and unconditionally preceded
certain effects, but this cannot explain how the previous set of
phenomena could be regarded as producing the succeeding set.
In fact the concept of causation and production had in it
something quite undefinable and inexplicable. Our enquiry
after the cause is an enquiry after a more fundamental and primary form of the truth of a thing than what appears at the present moment when we wished to know what was the cause of the jug, what we sought was a simpler form of which the effect was only a more complex form of manifestation, what is the ground, the root, out of which the effect has come forth? If apart from such an enquiry we take the pictorial representation of the causal phenomena in which some collocations being invariably present at an antecedent point of time, the effect springs forth into being, we find that we are just where we were before, and are unable to penetrate into the logic of the affair. The Nyaya definition of cause and effect may be of use to us in a general way in associating certain groups of things of a particular kind with certain other phenomena happening at a succeeding moment as being relevant pairs of which one being present the other also has a probability of being present, but can do nothing more than this. It does not answer our question as to the nature of cause. Antecedence in time is regarded in this view as an indispensable condition for the cause. But time, according to Nyaya, is one continuous entity; succession of time can only be conceived as antecedence and consequence of phenomena, and these again involve succession; thus the notions of succession of time and of the antecedence and consequence of time being mutually dependent upon each other (_anyonyas'raya_) neither of these can be conceived independently. Another important condition is invariability. But what does that mean? If it means invariable antecedence, then even an ass which is invariably present as an antecedent to the smoke rising from the washerman's
house, must be regarded as the cause of the smoke [Footnote ref 1]. If it
means such an antecedence as contributes to the happening of the effect,
it becomes again difficult to understand anything about its contributing

[Footnote 1: Asses are used in carrying soiled linen in India. Asses are
always present when water is boiled for washing in the laundry.]

467
to the effect, for the only intelligible thing is the antecedence
and nothing more. If invariability means the existence of
that at the presence of which the effect comes into being, then also
it fails, for there may be the seed but no shoot, for the mere presence
of the seed will not suffice to produce the effect, the shoot. If it
is said that a cause can produce an effect only when it is associated
with its accessory factors, then also the question remains
the same, for we have not understood what is meant by cause.
Again when the same effect is often seen to be produced by a
plurality of causes, the cause cannot be defined as that which
happening the effect happens and failing the effect fails. It cannot
also be said that in spite of the plurality of causes, each particular
cause is so associated with its own particular kind of effect that
from a special kind of cause we can without fail get a special
kind of effect (cf. Vatsyayana and _Nyayamanjari_), for out of the
same clay different effects come forth namely the jug, the plate, etc. Again if cause is defined as the collocation of factors, then the question arises as to what is meant by this collocation; does it mean the factors themselves or something else above them? On the former supposition the scattered factors being always present in the universe there should always be the effect; if it means something else above the specific factors, then that something always existing, there should always be the effect. Nor can collocation (_\text{samagri}_) be defined as the last movement of the causes immediately succeeding which the effect comes into being, for the relation of movement with the collocating cause is incomprehensible. Moreover if movement is defined as that which produces the effect, the very conception of causation which was required to be proved is taken for granted. The idea of necessity involved in the causal conception that a cause is that which must produce its effect is also equally undefinable, inexplicable, and logically inconceivable. Thus in whatsoever way we may seek to find out the real nature of the causal principle from the interminable series of cause-effect phenomena we fail. All the characteristics of the effects are indescribable and indefinable \text{ajnana} of maya, and in whatever way we may try to conceive these phenomena in themselves or in relation to one another we fail, for they are all carved out of the indefinite and are illogical and illusory, and some day will vanish for ever. The true cause is thus the pure being, the reality which is unshakable in itself, the ground upon
which all appearances being imposed they appear as real. The
ture cause is thus the unchangeable being which persists through
all experience, and the effect-phenomena are but impositions upon
it of ajnana or avidya. It is thus the clay, the permanent, that
is regarded as the cause of all clay-phenomena as jug, plates,
etc. All the various modes in which the clay appears are mere
appearances, unreal, indefinable and so illusory. The one truth
is the clay. So in all world-phenomena the one truth is
being, the Brahman, and all the phenomena that are being
imposed on it are but illusory forms and names. This is what
is called the _satkaryavada_ or more properly the _satkara@navada_
of the Vedanta, that the cause alone is true and ever existing,
and phenomena in themselves are false. There is only this
much truth in them, that all are imposed on the reality or being
which alone is true. This appearance of the one cause the
being, as the unreal many of the phenomena is what is called
the _vivarttavada_ as distinguished from the _sa@mkhyayogapari@namavada_.
in which the effect is regarded as the real development
of the cause in its potential state. When the effect has a
different kind of being from the cause it is called _vivartta_ but
when the effect has the same kind of being as the cause it is called
_pariva@mam (kara@nasvalak@sa@nanyathabhava@h pari@nama@h tadvilak@sa@no
vivartta@h_ or _vastunastatsamattako'nyathabhava@h pari@nama@h
tadvi@samastaka@h vivartta@h)_ Vedanta has as much to object
against the Nyaya as against the pari@nama theory of causation
of the Sa@mkhya; for movement, development, form, potentiality,
and actuality—all these are indefinable and inconceivable in the light of reason; they cannot explain causation but only restate things and phenomena as they appear in the world. In reality however though phenomena are not identical with the cause, they can never be defined except in terms of the cause (_Tadabhedam vinaiva tadvyatireke@na durvacam karyyam vivartta@h)_.

This being the relation of cause and effect or Brahman and the world, the different followers of S'a@nkara Vedanta in explaining the cause of the world-appearance sometimes lay stress on the maya, ajnana or avidya, sometimes on the Brahman, and sometimes on them both. Thus Sarvaj@natmamuni, the writer of _Sa@nk@sepa-s'ariraka_ and his followers think that the pure Brahman should be regarded as the causal substance (_upadana_) of the world-appearance, whereas Prakas'atman Akhan@dananda, and Madhava hold that Brahman in association with maya, i.e. the maya-reflected form of Brahman as Is'vara should be regarded as the cause of the world-appearance. The world-appearance is an evolution or pari@nama of the maya as located in Is'vara, whereas Is'vara (God) is the vivartta causal matter. Others however make a distinction between maya as the cosmical factor of illusion and avidya as the manifestation of the same entity in the individual or jiva. They hold that though the world-appearance
may be said to be produced by the maya yet the
mind etc. associated with the individual are produced by the
avidya with the jiva or the individual as the causal matter
(_upadana_). Others hold that since it is the individual to whom
both Is'vara and the world-appearance are manifested, it is better
rather to think that these are all manifestations of the jiva in
association with his avidya or ajnana. Others however hold that
since in the world-appearance we find in one aspect pure being
and in another materiality etc., both Brahman and maya are to
be regarded as the cause, Brahman as the permanent causal
matter, upadana and maya as the entity evolving in pari@nama.
Vacaspati Mis'ra thinks that Brahman is the permanent cause of
the world-appearance through maya as associated with jiva.
Maya is thus only a sahakari or instrument as it were, by which
the one Brahman appears in the eye of the jiva as the manifold
world of appearance. Prakas'ananda holds however in his _Siddhanta
Muktavali_ that Brahman itself is pure and absolutely unaffected
even as illusory appearance, and is not even the causal
matter of the world-appearance. Everything that we see in the
phenomenal world, the whole field of world-appearance, is the
product of maya, which is both the instrumental and the upadana
(causal matter) of the world-illusion. But whatever these divergences
of view may be, it is clear that they do not in any way affect
the principal Vedanta text that the only unchangeable cause is
the Brahman, whereas all else, the effect-phenomena, have only
a temporary existence as indefinable illusion. The word maya
was used in the @Rg-Veda in the sense of supernatural power and
wonderful skill, and the idea of an inherent mystery underlying
it was gradually emphasized in the Atharva Veda, and it began
to be used in the sense of magic or illusion. In the B@rhadara@nyaka,
Pras’na, and Svetas’vatara Upani@sads the word means magic. It
is not out of place here to mention that in the older Upani@sads

470

the word maya occurs only once in the B@rhadara@nyaka and once
only in the Pras’na. In early Pali Buddhist writings it occurs
only in the sense of deception or deceitful conduct. Buddhagho@sa
uses it in the sense of magical power. In Nagarjuna and the _Lankavatara_
it has acquired the sense of illusion. In S’a@nkara the
word maya is used in the sense of illusion, both as a principle
of creation as a s’akti (power) or accessory cause, and as the
phenomenal creation itself, as the illusion of world-appearance.

It may also be mentioned here that Gau@dapada the teacher
of S’a@nkara’s teacher Govinda worked out a system with the help
of the maya doctrine. The Upani@sads are permeated with the
spirit of an earnest enquiry after absolute truth. They do not
pay any attention towards explaining the world-appearance or
enquiring into its relations with absolute truth. Gau@dapada asserts
clearly and probably for the first time among Hindu thinkers, that
the world does not exist in reality, that it is maya, and not reality.
When the highest truth is realized maya is not removed, for it is
not a thing, but the whole world-illusion is dissolved into its own
airy nothing never to recur again. It was Gau@dapada who compared
the world-appearance with dream appearances, and held that objects
seen in the waking world are unreal, because they are capable
of being seen like objects seen in a dream, which are false and
unreal. The atman says Gau@dapada is at once the cognizer and
the cognized, the world subsists in the atman through maya.
As atman alone is real and all duality an illusion, it necessarily
follows that all experience is also illusory. S'a@nkara expounded
this doctrine in his elaborate commentaries on the Upani@sads
and the Brahma-sutra, but he seems to me to have done little
more than making explicit the doctrine of maya. Some of his
followers however examined and thought over the concept of
maya and brought out in bold relief its character as the indefinable
thereby substantially contributing to the development of
the Vedanta philosophy.

Vedanta theory of Perception and Inference [Footnote ref 1].

Prama@na is the means that leads to right knowledge. If
memory is intended to be excluded from the definition then

[Footnote 1: Dharmarajadhvarindra and his son Ramak@r@s@na worked out a
complete scheme of the theory of Vedantic perception and inference.
This is in complete agreement with the general Vedanta metaphysics.]
The early Vedantists were more interested in demonstrating the illusory nature of the world of appearance, and did not work out a logical theory. It may be incidentally mentioned that in the theory of inference as worked out by Dharmarajadhvarindra he was largely indebted to the Mimamsa school of thought. In recognizing arthapatti, upamana s'abda and anupalabdhi also Dharmarajadhvarindra accepted the Mimamsa view. The Vedantins, previous to Dharmarajadhvarindra, had also tacitly followed the Mimamsa in these matters.]

471

pramaṇa is to be defined as the means that leads to such right knowledge as has not already been acquired. Right knowledge (pramaṇa) in Vedanta is the knowledge of an object which has not been found contradicted (abadhitarthavayajnanatva). Except when specially expressed otherwise, prama is generally considered as being excludent of memory and applies to previously unacquired (anadhigata) and uncontradicted knowledge. Objections are sometimes raised that when we are looking at a thing for a few minutes, the perception of the thing in all the successive moments after the first refers to the image of the thing acquired in the previous moments. To this the reply is that the Vedanta considers that so long as a different mental state does not arise, any mental state is not to be considered as momentary but as remaining ever the same. So long as we continue to perceive one thing there is no reason to suppose that there has been a series of mental states. So there is no question as to the knowledge
of the succeeding moments being referred to the knowledge
of the preceding moments, for so long as any mental
state has any one thing for its object it is to be considered as
having remained unchanged all through the series of moments.
There is of course this difference between the same percept of a
previous and a later moment following in succession, that fresh
elements of time are being perceived as prior and later, though
the content of the mental state so far as the object is concerned
remains unchanged. This time element is perceived by the senses
though the content of the mental state may remain undisturbed.
When I see the same book for two seconds, my mental state
representing the book is not changed every second, and hence
there can be no _such supposition_ that I am having separate mental
states in succession each of which is a repetition of the previous
one, for so long as the general content of the mental state remains
the same there is no reason for supposing that there has been any
change in the mental state. The mental state thus remains the
same so long as the content is not changed, but though it remains
the same it can note the change in the time elements as extraneous

addition. All our uncontradicted knowledge of the objects of the
external world should be regarded as right knowledge until the
absolute is realized.
When the antahkaraṇa (mind) comes in contact with the
external objects through the senses and becomes transformed as
it were into their forms, it is said that the antahkaraṇa has
been transformed into a state (vṛti) [Footnote 1]. As soon as the
antahkaraṇa has assumed the shape or form of the object of its
knowledge, the ignorance (ajñāna) with reference to that object is
removed, and thereupon the steady light of the pure consciousness
(cit) shows the object which was so long hidden by
ignorance. The appearance or the perception of an object
is thus the self-shining of the cit through a vṛti of a form
resembling an object of knowledge. This therefore pre-supposes
that by the action of ajñāna, pure consciousness or being
is in a state of diverse kinds of modifications. In spite of
the cit underlying all this diversified objective world which is
but the transformation of ignorance (ajñāna), the former cannot
manifest itself by itself, for the creations being of ignorance
they are but sustained by modifications of ignorance. The
diversified objects of the world are but transformations of
the principle of ajñāna which is neither real nor unreal. It
is the nature of ajñāna that it veils its own creations. Thus
on each of the objects created by the ajñāna by its creating
(vikṣepa) capacity there is a veil by its veiling (avarāṇa) capacity.
But when any object comes in direct touch with antahkaraṇa
through the senses the antahkaraṇa becomes transformed into
the form of the object, and this leads to the removal of the veil
on that particular ajñāna form—the object, and as the self-shining
cit is shining through the particular ajñāna state, we
have what is called the perception of the thing. Though there is
in reality no such distinction as the inner and the outer yet the
ajnana has created such illusory distinctions as individual souls
and the external world of objects the distinctions of time, space,

[Footnote 1: Vedanta does not regard manas (mind) as a sense (indriya). The
same anta@hkara@na, according to its diverse functions, is called manas,
buddhi, aha@mkara, and citta. In its functions as doubt it is called
manas, as originating definite cognitions it is called buddhi. As
presenting the notion of an ego in consciousness aha@mkara, and as
producing memory citta. These four represent the different modifications
or states (v@rtti) of the same entity (which in itself is but a special
kind of modification of ajnana as anta@hkara@na).]

473

etc. and veiled these forms. Perception leads to the temporary
and the partial breaking of the veil over specific ajnana forms
so that there is a temporary union of the cit as underlying the
subject and the object through the broken veil. Perception on
the subjective side is thus defined as the union or undifferentiation
(_abheda_) of the subjective consciousness with the objective
consciousness comprehending the sensible objects through the
specific mental states
(_tattadindriyayogyavi@sayavacchinnacaitanyakabhinatvam_
tattadakaravi@sayavacchinnajnanasya tattadams'e pratyak@satvam_).

This union in perception means that the objective has at that
moment no separate existence from the subjective consciousness of
the perceiver. The consciousness manifesting through the anta@hkara@na
is called jivasak@si.

Inference (_anumana_), according to Vedanta, is made by our
notion of concomitance (_vyaptijnana_) between two things, acting
through specific past impressions (_sa@mskara_). Thus when I see
smoke on a hill, my previous notion of the concomitance of smoke
with fire becomes roused as a subconscious impression, and I
infer that there is fire on the hill. My knowledge of the hill and
the smoke is by direct perception. The notion of concomitance
revived in the subconscious only establishes the connection between
the smoke and the fire. The notion of concomitance is
generated by the perception of two things together, when no
case of the failure of concomitance is known (_vyabhicarajnana_)
regarding the subject. The notion of concomitance being altogether
subjective, the Vedantist does not emphasize the necessity
of perceiving the concomitance in a large number of cases (_bhuyodars'anam
sak@rddars'anam veti vis'e@so nadara@niya@h_). Vedanta is
not anxious to establish any material validity for the inference,
but only subjective and formal validity. A single perception of
concomitance may in certain cases generate the notion of the
concomitance of one thing with another when no contradictory
instance is known. It is immaterial with the Vedanta whether this
concomitance is experienced in one case or in hundreds of cases.
The method of agreement in presence is the only form of concomitance (_anvayavyapti_) that the Vedanta allows. So the Vedanta discards all the other kinds of inference that Nyaya supported, viz. _anvayavyatireki_ (by joining agreement in presence with agreement in absence), _kevalanvayi_ (by universal agreement where no test could be applied of agreement in absence) and _kevalavyatireki_ (by universal agreement in absence). Vedanta advocates three premisses, viz. (1) _pratijna_ (the hill is fiery); (2) _hetu_ (because it has smoke) and (3) _d@rs@tanta_ (as in the kitchen) instead of the five propositions that Nyaya maintained [Footnote ref 1]. Since one case of concomitance is regarded by Vedanta as being sufficient for making an inference it holds that seeing the one case of appearance (silver in the conch-shell) to be false, we can infer that all things (except Brahman) are false (_Brahmabhinnam sarvam mithya Brahmbhinnatvat yedevam tadevam yatha s'uktirupyam_).

First premiss (_pratijna_) all else excepting Brahman is false; second premiss (_hetu_) since all is different from Brahman; third premiss (_d@rs@tanta_) whatever is so is so as the silver in the conch [Footnote ref 2].

Atman, Jiva, Is'vara, Ekajivavada and D@r@s@tis@r@s@tivada.

We have many times spoken of truth or reality as self-luminous
(svayamprakasa). But what does this mean? Vedanta defines it as that which is never the object of a knowing act but is yet immediate and direct with us (avedyatvē sati aparokṣavyavaharyogyatvam). Self-luminosity thus means the capacity of being ever present in all our acts of consciousness without in any way being an object of consciousness. Whenever anything is described as an object of consciousness, its character as constituting its knowability is a quality, which may or may not be present in it, or may be present at one time and absent at another.

This makes it dependent on some other such entity which can produce it or manifest it. Pure consciousness differs from all its objects in this that it is never dependent on anything else for its manifestation, but manifests all other objects such as the jug, the cloth, etc. If consciousness should require another consciousness to manifest it, then that might again require another, and that another, and so on ad infinitum (anavastha). If consciousness did not manifest itself at the time of the object-manifestation, then even on seeing or knowing a thing one might doubt if he had seen or known it. It is thus to be admitted that consciousness (anubhuti) manifests itself and thereby maintains the appearance

[Footnote 1: Vedanta would have either pratijna, hetu and udaharana, or udahara@na, upanaya and nigamana, and not all the five of Nyaya, viz. pratijna, hetu, udahara@na, upanaya and nigamana.]
of all our world experience. This goes directly against
the jnatata theory of Kumarila that consciousness was not immediate
but was only inferable from the manifesting quality
(_jnatata_ ) of objects when they are known in consciousness.

Now Vedanta says that this self-luminous pure consciousness
is the same as the self. For it is only self which is not the object
of any knowledge and is yet immediate and ever present in
consciousness. No one doubts about his own self, because it
is of itself manifested along with all states of knowledge. The
self itself is the revealer of all objects of knowledge, but is
never itself the object of knowledge, for what appears as the
perceiving of self as object of knowledge is but association
comprehended under the term aha@mkara (ego). The real self is
identical with the pure manifesting unity of all consciousness.
This real self called the atman is not the same as the jiva or
individual soul, which passes through the diverse experiences
of worldly life. Is'vara also must be distinguished from this
highest atman or Brahman. We have already seen that many
Vedantists draw a distinction between maya and avidya. Maya is that aspect of ajnana by which only the best attributes are projected, whereas avidya is that aspect by which impure qualities are projected. In the former aspect the functions are more of a creative, generative (\_vik@sepa\_) type, whereas in the latter veiling (\_avara@na\_) characteristics are most prominent. The relation of the cit or pure intelligence, the highest self, with maya and avidya (also called ajnana) was believed respectively to explain the phenomenal Is'vara and the phenomenal jiva or individual. This relation is conceived in two ways, namely as upadhi or pratibimba, and avaccheda. The conception of pratibimba or reflection is like the reflection of the sun in the water where the image, though it has the same brilliance as the sun, yet undergoes the effect of the impurity and movements of the water. The sun remains ever the same in its purity untouched by the impurities from which the image sun suffers. The sun may be the same but it may be reflected in different kinds of water and yield different kinds of images possessing different characteristics and changes which though unreal yet phenomenally have all the appearance of reality. The other conception of the relation is that when we speak of akas'a (space) in the jug or of akas'a in the room. The akas'a in reality does not suffer any modification in being within the jug or within the room. In reality it is all-pervasive and is neither limited (\_avachinna\_).
within the jug or the room, but is yet conceived as being limited by the jug or by the room. So long as the jug remains, the akas'a limited within it will remain as separate from the akas'a limited within the room.

Of the Vedantists who accept the reflection analogy the followers of N@rsi@mhas'rama think that when the pure cit is reflected in the maya, Is'vara is phenomenally produced, and when in the avidya the individual or jiva. Sarvajnatma however does not distinguish between the maya and the avidya, and thinks that when the cit is reflected in the avidya in its total aspect as cause, we get Is'vara, and when reflected in the anta@hkara@na--a product of the avidya--we have jiva or individual soul.

Jiva or individual means the self in association with the ego and other personal experiences, i.e. phenomenal self, which feels, suffers and is affected by world-experiences. In jiva also three stages are distinguished; thus when during deep sleep the anta@hkara@na is submerged, the self perceives merely the ajnana and the jiva in this state is called prajna or anandamaya. In the dream-state the self is in association with a subtle body and is called taijasa. In the awakened state the self as associated with a subtle and gross body is called vis'va. So also the self in its pure state is called Brahman, when associated with maya it is called Is'vara, when associated with the fine subtle element of matter as controlling them, it is called hira@nyagarbha; when with the gross elements as the ruler or controller of them it is called vira@t
The jiva in itself as limited by its avidya is often spoken of as paramarthika (real), when manifested through the sense and the ego in the waking states as vyavaharika (phenomenal), and when in the dream states as dream-self, pratibha@sika (illusory).

Prakas'atma and his followers think that since ajnana is one there cannot be two separate reflections such as jiva and Is'vara; but it is better to admit that jiva is the image of Is'vara in the ajnana. The totality of Brahma-cit in association with maya is Is'vara, and this when again reflected through the ajnana gives us the jiva. The manifestation of the jiva is in the anta@hkara@na as states of knowledge. The jiva thus in reality is Is'vara and apart from jiva and Is'vara there is no other separate existence of

Brahma-caitanya. Jiva being the image of Is'vara is thus dependent on him, but when the limitations of jiva are removed by right knowledge, the jiva is the same Brahman it always was.

Those who prefer to conceive the relation as being of the avaccheda type hold that reflection (pratibimba) is only possible of things which have colour, and therefore jiva is cit limited (avacchinna)
by the anta@hkara@na (mind). Is'vara is that which is beyond it; the diversity of anta@hkara@nas accounts for the diversity of the jivas. It is easy however to see that these discussions are not of much fruit from the point of view of philosophy in determining or comprehending the relation of Is'vara and jiva. In the Vedanta system Is'vara has but little importance, for he is but a phenomenal being; he may be better, purer, and much more powerful than we, but yet he is as much phenomenal as any of us. The highest truth is the self, the reality, the Brahman, and both jiva and Is'vara are but illusory impositions on it. Some Vedantists hold that there is but one jiva and one body, and that all the world as well as all the jivas in it are merely his imaginings. These dream jivas and the dream world will continue so long as that super-jiva continues to undergo his experiences; the world-appearance and all of us imaginary individuals, run our course and salvation is as much imaginary salvation as our world-experience is an imaginary experience of the imaginary jivas. The cosmic jiva is alone the awakened jiva and all the rest are but his imaginings. This is known as the doctrine of ekajiva (one-soul).

The opposite of this doctrine is the theory held by some Vedantists that there are many individuals and the world-appearance has no permanent illusion for all people, but each person creates for himself his own illusion, and there is no objective datum which forms the common ground for the illusory perception of all people; just as when ten persons see in the darkness a
rope and having the illusion of a snake there, run away, and
agree in their individual perceptions that they have all seen
the same snake, though each really had his own illusion and
there was no snake at all. According to this view the illusory
perception of each happens for him subjectively and has no
corresponding objective phenomena as its ground. This must
be distinguished from the normal Vedanta view which holds
that objectively phenomena are also happening, but that these

are illusory only in the sense that they will not last permanently
and have thus only a temporary and relative existence in comparison
with the truth or reality which is ever the same constant
and unchangeable entity in all our perceptions and in all world-appearance.
According to the other view phenomena are not
objectively existent but are only subjectively imagined; so that
the jug I see had no existence before I happened to have the
perception that there was the jug; as soon as the jug illusion
occurred to me I said that there was the jug, but it did not exist
before. As soon as I had the perception there was the illusion,
and there was no other reality apart from the illusion. It is therefore
called the theory of d@r@s@tivada, i.e. the theory that the
subjective perception is the creating of the objects and that there
are no other objective phenomena apart from subjective perceptions.
In the normal Vedanta view however the objects of
the world are existent as phenomena by the sense-contact with
which the subjective perceptions are created. The objective
phenomena in themselves are of course but modifications of ajnana,
but still these phenomena of the ajnana are there as the common
ground for the experience of all. This therefore has an objective
epistemology whereas the darśanādharma has no proper
epistemology, for the experiences of each person are determined
by his own subjective avidya and previous impressions as modifications
of the avidya. The darśanādharma theory approaches
nearest to the Vijnanavada Buddhism, only with this difference
that while Buddhism does not admit of any permanent being
Vedanta admits the Brahman, the permanent unchangeable
reality as the only truth, whereas the illusory and momentary
perceptions are but impositions on it.

The mental and physical phenomena are alike in this, that
both are modifications of ajnana. It is indeed difficult to
comprehend the nature of ajnana, though its presence in consciousness
can be perceived, and though by dialectic criticism
all our most well-founded notions seem to vanish away and
become self-contradictory and indefinable. Vedanta explains
the reason of this difficulty as due to the fact that all these
indefinable forms and names can only be experienced as modes
of the real, the self-luminous. Our innate error which we continue
from beginningless time consists in this, that the real in
its full complete light is ever hidden from us, and the glimpse
that we get of it is always through manifestations of forms and names; these phenomenal forms and names are undefinable, incomprehensible, and unknowable in themselves, but under certain conditions they are manifested by the self-luminous real, and at the time they are so manifested they seem to have a positive being which is undeniable. This positive being is only the highest being, the real which appears as the being of those forms and names. A lump of clay may be moulded into a plate or a cup, but the plate-form or the cup-form has no existence or being apart from the being of the clay; it is the being of the clay that is imposed on the diverse forms which also then seem to have being in themselves. Our illusion thus consists in mutually misattributing the characteristics of the unreal forms--the modes of ajnana and the real being. As this illusion is the mode of all our experience and its very essence, it is indeed difficult for us to conceive of the Brahman as apart from the modes of ajnana. Moreover such is the nature of ajnanas that they are knowable only by a false identification of them with the self-luminous Brahman or atman. Being as such is the highest truth, the Brahman. The ajnana states are not non-being in the sense of nothing of pure negation (_abhava_), but in the sense that they are not being. Being that is the self-luminous illuminates non-being, the ajnana, and this illumination means nothing more than a false identification of being with non-being. The forms of ajnana if they are to be known must be associated with pure consciousness, and this association means an illusion, superimposition, and
mutual misattribution. But apart from pure consciousness these
cannot be manifested or known, for it is pure consciousness alone
that is self-luminous. Thus when we try to know the ajnana
states in themselves as apart from the atman we fail in a dilemma,
for knowledge means illusory superimposition or illusion, and
when it is not knowledge they evidently cannot be known. Thus
apart from its being a factor in our illusory experience no other
kind of its existence is known to us. If ajnana had been a non-entity
altogether it could never come at all, if it were a positive
entity then it would never cease to be; the ajnana thus is a
mysterious category midway between being and non-being and
undefinable in every way; and it is on account of this that it is
called _tattvanyatvabhyam anirvacya_ or undefinable and undeterminable
either as real or unreal. It is real in the sense that it is

480

a necessary postulate of our phenomenal experience and unreal
in its own nature, for apart from its connection with consciousness
it is incomprehensible and undefinable. Its forms even while they
are manifested in consciousness are self-contradictory and incomprehensible
as to their real nature or mutual relation, and
comprehensible only so far as they are manifested in consciousness,
but apart from these no rational conception of them can be
formed. Thus it is impossible to say anything about the ajnana
(for no knowledge of it is possible) save so far as manifested in
consciousness and depending on this the D@r@s@r@svad@vins asserted
that our experience was inexplicably produced under the influence of avidya and that beyond that no objective common ground could be admitted. But though this has the general assent of Vedanta and is irrefutable in itself, still for the sake of explaining our common sense view (pratikarmavyavasatha) we may think that we have an objective world before us as the common field of experience. We can also imagine a scheme of things and operations by which the phenomenon of our experience may be interpreted in the light of the Vedanta metaphysics.

The subject can be conceived in three forms: firstly as the atman, the one highest reality, secondly as jiva or the atman as limited by its psychosis, when the psychosis is not differentiated from the atman, but atman is regarded as identical with the psychosis thus appearing as a living and knowing being, as jivasak@si or perceiving consciousness, or the aspect in which the jiva comprehends, knows, or experiences; thirdly the anta@hkara@na psychosis or mind which is an inner centre or bundle of avidya manifestations, just as the outer world objects are exterior centres of avidya phenomena or objective entities. The anta@hkara@na is not only the avidya capable of supplying all forms to our present experiences, but it also contains all the tendencies and modes of past impressions of experience in this life or in past lives. The anta@hkara@na is always turning the various avidya modes of it into the jivasak@si (jiva in its aspect as illuminating mental states), and these are also immediately manifested, made known, and transformed into experience. These avidya states of the anta@hkara@na
are called its \textit{vārttis} or states. The specific peculiarity of the
\textit{vārttiajñanas} is this that only in these forms can they be superimposed
upon pure consciousness, and thus be interpreted as states of consciousness
and have their indefiniteness or cover removed. The

481

forms of \textit{ajñana} remain as indefinite and hidden or veiled only
so long as they do not come into relation to these \textit{vārttis} of
\textit{antaḥkaraṇa}, for the \textit{ajñana} can be destroyed by the \textit{cit} only in the
form of a \textit{vārtti}, while in all other forms the \textit{ajñana} veils the \textit{cit}
from manifestation. The removal of \textit{ajñana-vārttis} of the \textit{antaḥkaraṇa}
or the manifestation of \textit{vārtti-jñana} is nothing but this, that
the \textit{antaḥkaraṇa} states of \textit{avidya} are the only states of \textit{ajñana}
which can be superimposed upon the self-luminous \textit{atman}
(_adhyāsa_, false attribution). The objective world consists of the
\textit{avidya} phenomena with the self as its background. Its objectivity
consists in this that \textit{avidya} in this form cannot be superimposed
on the self-luminous \textit{cit} but exists only as veiling the \textit{cit}. These
\textit{avidya} phenomena may be regarded as many and diverse, but in
all these forms they serve only to veil the \textit{cit} and are beyond
consciousness. It is only when they come in contact with the \textit{avidya}
phenomena as \textit{antaḥkaraṇa} states that they coalesce with the
\textit{avidya} states and render themselves objects of consciousness or
have their veil of \textit{avaraṇa} removed. It is thus assumed that in
ordinary perceptions of objects such as jug, etc. the \textit{antaḥkaraṇa}
goes out of the man’s body (_śariramadhyat_) and coming in
touch with the jug becomes transformed into the same form, and as soon as this transformation takes place the cit which is always steadily shining illuminates the jug-form or the jug.

The jug phenomena in the objective world could not be manifested (though these were taking place on the background of the same self-luminous Brahman or atman as forms of the highest truth of my subjective consciousness) because the ajnana phenomena in these forms serve to veil their illuminator, the self-luminous.

It was only by coming into contact with these phenomena that the antahkaraṇa could be transformed into corresponding states and that the illumination dawned which at once revealed the antaḥkaraṇa states and the objects with which these states or vṛttis had coalesced. The consciousness manifested through the vṛttis alone has the power of removing the ajnana veiling the cit. Of course there are no actual distinctions of inner or outer, or the cit within me and the cit without me. These are only of appearance and due to avidya. And it is only from the point of view of appearance that we suppose that knowledge of objects can only dawn when the inner cit and the outer cit unite together through the antaḥkaraṇavṛtti, which makes the external objects translucent as it were by its own translucence, removes the ajnana which was veiling the external self-luminous cit and reveals the object phenomena by the very union of the cit as reflected through it and the cit as underlying the object phenomena. The
pratyakṣa-prama or right knowledge by perception is the cit, the pure consciousness, reflected through the vṛtti and identical with the cit as the background of the object phenomena revealed by it. From the relative point of view we may thus distinguish three consciousnesses: (1) consciousness as the background of objective phenomena, (2) consciousness as the background of the jiva or pramāta, the individual, (3) consciousness reflected in the vṛtti of the antahkāraṇa; when these three unite perception is effected.

Prama or right knowledge means in Vedanta the acquirement of such new knowledge as has not been contradicted by experience (_abadhita_). There is thus no absolute definition of truth. A knowledge acquired can be said to be true only so long as it is not contradicted. Thus the world appearance though it is very true now, may be rendered false, when this is contradicted by right knowledge of Brahman as the one reality. Thus the knowledge of the world appearance is true now, but not true absolutely. The only absolute truth is the pure consciousness which is never contradicted in any experience at any time. The truth of our world-knowledge is thus to be tested by finding out whether it will be contradicted at any stage of world experience or not. That which is not contradicted by later experience is to be regarded as true, for all world knowledge as a whole will be contradicted when Brahma-knowledge is realized.

The inner experiences of pleasure and pain also are generated by a false identification of antahkārana transformations as
pleasure or pain with the self, by virtue of which are generated
the perceptions, "I am happy," or "I am sorry." In continuous
perception of anything for a certain time as an object
or as pleasure, etc. the mental state or \texttt{v\textsubscript{rtti}} is said to last in the
same way all the while so long as any other new form is not
taken up by the \texttt{anta@hkara@na} for the acquirement of any new
knowledge. In such case when I infer that there is fire on the
hill that I see, the hill is an object of perception, for the \texttt{anta@hkara@na}
\texttt{v\textsubscript{rtti}} is one with it, but that there is fire in it is a matter
of inference, for the \texttt{anta@hkara@na} \texttt{v\textsubscript{rtti}} cannot be in touch with the
fire; so in the same experience there may be two modes of

483

mental modification, as perception in seeing the hill, and as
inference in inferring the fire in the hill. In cases of acquired
perception, as when on seeing sandal wood I think that it is
odoriferous sandal wood, it is pure perception so far as the sandal
wood is concerned, it is inference or memory so far as I assert it
to be odoriferous. Vedanta does not admit the existence of the
relation called \texttt{_samavaya\_} (inheritence) or \texttt{_jati\_} (class notion); and
so does not distinguish perception as a class as distinct from the
other class called inference, and holds that both perception and
inference are but different modes of the transformations of the
\texttt{anta@hkara@na} reflecting the cit in the corresponding \texttt{v\textsubscript{rttis}}. The
perception is thus nothing but the cit manifestation in the \texttt{anta@hkara@na}
\texttt{v\textsubscript{rtti}} transformed into the form of an object with which it is
in contact. Perception in its objective aspect is the identity of
the cit underlying the object with the subject, and perception in
the subjective aspect is regarded as the identity of the subjective
cit with the objective cit. This identity of course means that
through the v@rtti the same reality subsisting in the object and
the subject is realized, whereas in inference the thing to be inferred,
being away from contact with anta@hkara@na, has apparently
a different reality from that manifested in the states of consciousness.
Thus perception is regarded as the mental state representing
the same identical reality in the object and the subject by
anta@hkara@na contact, and it is held that the knowledge produced
by words (e.g. this is the same Devadatta) referring identically
to the same thing which is seen (e.g. when I see Devadatta
before me another man says this is Devadatta, and the knowledge
produced by "this is Devadatta" though a verbal (_s'abda_) knowledge is to be regarded as perception, for the anta@hkara@na
v@rtti is the same) is to be regarded as perception or pratyak@sa.
The content of these words (this is Devadatta) being the same
as the perception, and there being no new relating knowledge as
represented in the proposition "this is Devadatta" involving the
unity of two terms "this" and "Devadatta" with a copula, but
only the indication of one whole as Devadatta under visual perception
already experienced, the knowledge proceeding from
"this is Devadatta" is regarded as an example of nirvikalpa
knowledge. So on the occasion of the rise of Brahma-consciousness
when the preceptor instructs "thou art Brahman" the
knowledge proceeding from the sentence is not savikalpa, for
though grammatically there are two ideas and a copula, yet from the point of view of intrinsic significance (\_tatparya\_) one identical reality only is indicated. Vedanta does not distinguish nirvikalpa and savikalpa in visual perception, but only in s\'abda perception as in cases referred to above. In all such cases the condition for nirvikalpa is that the notion conveyed by the sentence should be one whole or one identical reality, whereas in savikalpa perception we have a combination of different ideas as in the sentence, "the king's man is coming" (_rajapuru@sa agacchati\_). Here no identical reality is signified, but what is signified is the combination of two or three different concepts [Footnote ref 1].

It is not out of place to mention in this connection that Vedanta admits all the six prama@nas of Kumarila and considers like Mima@msa that all knowledge is self-valid (_svat@ah-prama@na\_). But prama has not the same meaning in Vedanta as in Mima@msa. There as we remember prama meant the knowledge which goaded one to practical action and as such all knowledge was prama, until practical experience showed the course of action in accordance with which it was found to be contradicted. In Vedanta however there is no reference to action, but prama means only uncontradicted cognition. To the definition of self-validity as given by Mima@msa Vedanta adds another
objective qualification, that such knowledge can have svataḥ-pramāṇa as is not vitiated by the presence of any doṣa (cause of error, such as defect of senses or the like). Vedanta of course does not think like Nyaya that positive conditions (e.g. correspondence, etc.) are necessary for the validity of knowledge, nor does it divest knowledge of all qualifications like the Mīmasās, for whom all knowledge is self-valid as such. It adopts a middle course and holds that absence of doṣa is a necessary condition for the self-validity of knowledge. It is clear that this is a compromise, for whenever an external condition has to be admitted, the knowledge cannot be regarded as self-valid, but Vedanta says that as it requires only a negative condition for the absence of doṣa, the objection does not apply to it, and it holds that if it depended on the presence of any positive condition for proving the validity of knowledge like the Nyaya, then only its theory of self-validity would have been damaged. But since it wants only a negative condition, no blame can be attributed to its theory of self-validity. Vedanta was bound to follow this slippery middle course, for it could not say that the

[Footnote 1: See _Vedantartha_ and _Śikṣaṇa._]
pure cit reflected in consciousness could require anything else
for establishing its validity, nor could it say that all phenomenal
forms of knowledge were also all valid, for then the world-appearance
would come to be valid; so it held that knowledge
could be regarded as valid only when there was no do@sa
present; thus from the absolute point of view all world-knowledge
was false and had no validity, because there was the
avidya-do@sa, and in the ordinary sphere also that knowledge was
valid in which there was no do@sa. Validity (prama@nya) with
Mima@msa meant the capacity that knowledge has to goad us to
practical action in accordance with it, but with Vedanta it meant
correctness to facts and want of contradiction. The absence of
do@sa being guaranteed there is nothing which can vitiate the
correctness of knowledge [Footnote ref 1].

Vedanta Theory of Illusion.

We have already seen that the Mima@msists had asserted that
all knowledge was true simply because it was knowledge (_yathartha@h
sarve vivadaspadibhuta@h pratyaya@h pratyayatvat_). Even
illusions were explained by them as being non-perception of the
distinction between the thing perceived (e.g. the conch-shell), and
the thing remembered (e.g. silver). But Vedanta objects to this,
and asks how there can be non-distinction between a thing which
is clearly perceived and a thing which is remembered? If it is
said that it is merely a non-perception of the non-association (i.e.
non-perception of the fact that this is not connected with silver),
then also it cannot be, for then it is on either side mere negation, and negation with Mima@msa is nothing but the bare presence of the locus of negation (e.g. negation of jug on the ground is nothing but the bare presence of the ground), or in other words non-perception of the non-association of “silver” and “this” means barely and merely the “silver” and “this.” Even admitting for argument’s sake that the distinction between two things or two ideas is not perceived, yet merely from such a negative aspect no one could be tempted to move forward to action (such as stooping down to pick up a piece of illusory silver). It is positive

[Footnote 1: See _Vedantaparibha@sa, S’ikhama@ni, Ma@niprabha_ and Citsukha on svata@hprama@nya.]

486

conviction or perception that can lead a man to actual practical movement. If again it is said that it is the general and imperfect perception of a thing (which has not been properly differentiated and comprehended) before me, which by the memory of silver appears to be like true silver before me and this generates the movement for picking it up, then this also is objectionable. For the appearance of the similarity with real silver cannot lead us to behave with the thing before me as if it were real silver. Thus
I may perceive that gavaya (wild ox) is similar to cow, but despite this similarity I am not tempted to behave with the gavaya as if it were a cow. Thus in whatever way the Mimaśa position may be defined it fails [Footnote ref 1]. Vedanta thinks that the illusion is not merely subjective, but that there is actually a phenomenon of illusion as there are phenomena of actual external objects; the difference in the two cases consists in this, that the illusion is generated by the doṣa or defect of the senses etc., whereas the phenomena of external objects are not due to such specific doṣas.

The process of illusory perception in Vedanta may be described thus. First by the contact of the senses vitiated by doṣas a mental state as "thisness" with reference to the thing before me is generated; then in the thing as "this" and in the mental state of the form of that "this" the cit is reflected. Then the avidya (nescience) associated with the cit is disturbed by the presence of the doṣa, and this disturbance along with the impression of silver remembered through similarity is transformed into the appearance of silver. There is thus an objective illusory silver appearance, as well as a similar transformation of the mental state generated by its contact with the illusory silver. These two transformations, the silver state of the mind and external phenomenal illusory silver state, are manifested by the perceiving consciousness (sakṣicaitanya). There are thus here two phenomenal transformations, one in the avidya states forming the illusory objective silver phenomenon, and another in the antaḥkaraṇa-vṛtti or mind state. But in spite of there being two distinct and separate phenomena, their object being the same as the "this" in perception, we have one knowledge of illusion. The special feature of this theory of
illusion is that an indefinable (_anirvacaniya-khyati_) illusory silver
is created in every case where an illusory perception of silver
occurs. There are three orders of reality in Vedanta, namely the

__________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _Vivara@na-prameya-sa@mgraha_ and _Nyayamakaranda_ on
akhyati refutation.]

487

__paramarthika__ or absolute, __vyavaharika__ or practical ordinary
experience, and __pratibhasika__ illusory. The first one represents
the absolute truth; the other two are false impressions due
to do@sa. The difference between vyavaharika and pratibhasika
is that the do@sa of the vyavaharika perception is neither discovered
nor removed until salvation, whereas the do@sa of the
pratibhasika reality which occurs in many extraneous forms (such
as defect of the senses, sleep, etc.) is perceived in the world of
our ordinary experience, and thus the pratibhasika experience
lasts for a much shorter period than the vyavaharika. But just
as the vyavaharika world is regarded as phenomenal modifications
of the ajnana, as apart from our subjective experience and
even before it, so the illusion (e.g. of silver in the conch-shell) is
also regarded as a modification of avidya, an undefinable creation
of the object of illusion, by the agency of the do@sa. Thus in the
case of the illusion of silver in the conch-shell, indefinable silver is created by the do@sa in association with the senses, which is called the creation of an indefinable (_anirvacaniya_) silver of illusion. Here the cit underlying the conch-shell remains the same but the avidya of anta@hkara@na suffers modifications (_pari@nama_) on account of do@sa, and thus gives rise to the illusory creation. The illusory silver is thus _vivartta_ (appearance) from the point of view of the cit and pari@nama from the point of view of avidya, for the difference between vivartta and pari@nama is, that in the former the transformations have a different reality from the cause (cit is different from the appearance imposed on it), while in the latter case the transformations have the same reality as the transforming entity (appearance of silver has the same stuff as the avidya whose transformations it is). But now a difficulty arises that if the illusory perception of silver is due to a coalescing of the cit underlying the anta@hkara@na-v@rtti as modified by do@sa and the object--cit as underlying the "this" before me (in the illusion of "this is silver"), then I ought to have the experience that "I am silver" like "I am happy" and not that "this is silver"; the answer is, that as the coalescing takes place in connection with my previous notion as "this," the form of the knowledge also is "this is silver," whereas in the notion "I am happy," the notion of happiness takes place in connection with a previous v@rtti of "I." Thus though the coalescing of the two "cits" is the same in both cases, yet in one case the
knowledge takes the form of "I am," and in another as "this is" according as the previous impression is "I" or "this." In dreams also the dream perceptions are the same as the illusory perception of silver in the conch-shell. There the illusory creations are generated through the defects of sleep, and these creations are imposed upon the cit. The dream experiences cannot be regarded merely as memory-products, for the perception in dream is in the form that "I see that I ride in the air on chariots, etc." and not that "I remember the chariots." In the dream state all the senses are inactive, and therefore there is no separate objective cit there, but the whole dream experience with all characteristics of space, time, objects, etc. is imposed upon the cit. The objection that since the imposition is on the pure cit the imposition ought to last even in waking stages, and that the dream experiences ought to continue even in waking life, does not hold; for in the waking stages the anta@hkara@na is being constantly transformed into different states on the expiry of the defects of sleep, etc., which were causing the dream cognitions. This is called _niv@rtti_ (negation) as distinguished from _badha_ (cessation). The illusory creation of dream experiences may still be there on the pure cit, but these cannot be experienced any longer, for there being no do@sa of sleep the anta@hkara@na is active and suffering modifications in accordance with the objects presented before us. This is what is called niv@rtti, for though the illusion is there I cannot experience it, whereas badha or cessation occurs when the illusory creation ceases, as when on finding out the real nature of the conch-shell
the illusion of silver ceases, and we feel that this is not silver, this
was not and will not be silver. When the conch-shell is perceived
as silver, the silver is felt as a reality, but this feeling of reality
was not an illusory creation, though the silver was an objective
illusory creation; for the reality in the s'ukti (conch-shell) is
transferred and felt as belonging to the illusion of silver imposed upon
it. Here we see that the illusion of silver has two different kinds
of illusion comprehended in it. One is the creation of an indefinable
silver (_anirvacaniya-rajatotpatti_) and the other is the attribution
of the reality belonging to the conch-shell to the illusory
silver imposed upon it, by which we feel at the time of the illusion
that it is a reality. This is no doubt the _anyathakhyati_
form of illusion as advocated by Nyaya. Vedanta admits that
when two things (e.g. red flower and crystal) are both present

489

before my senses, and I attribute the quality of one to the other
by illusion (e.g. the illusion that the crystal is red), then the illusion
is of the form of anyathakhyati; but if one of the things is not
present before my senses and the other is, then the illusion is not
of the anyathakhyati type, but of the anirvacaniyakhyati type.
Vedanta could not avoid the former type of illusion, for it believed
that all appearance of reality in the world-appearance
was really derived from the reality of Brahman, which was self-luminous
in all our experiences. The world appearance is an
illusory creation, but the sense of reality that it carries with it
is a misattribution (_anyathakhyati_) of the characteristic of the Brahman to it, for Brahman alone is the true and the real, which manifests itself as the reality of all our illusory world-experience, just as it is the reality of s'ukti that gives to the appearance of silver its reality.

Vedanta Ethics and Vedanta Emancipation.

Vedanta says that when a duly qualified man takes to the study of Vedanta and is instructed by the preceptor—"Thou art that (Brahman)," he attains the emancipating knowledge, and the world-appearance becomes for him false and illusory. The qualifications necessary for the study of Vedanta are (1) that the person having studied all the Vedas with the proper accessories, such as grammar, lexicon etc. is in full possession of the knowledge of the Vedas, (2) that either in this life or in another, he must have performed only the obligatory Vedic duties (such as daily prayer, etc. called _nitya-karma_) and occasionally obligatory duty (such as the birth ceremony at the birth of a son, called _naimittika-karma_) and must have avoided all actions for the fulfilment of selfish desires (_kamya-karmas_, such as the performance of sacrifices for going to Heaven) and all prohibited actions (e.g. murder, etc. _ni@siddha-karma_) in such a way that his mind is purged of all good and bad actions (no karma is generated by the _nitya_ and _naimittika-karma_ and as he has not performed the _kamya_ and prohibited karmas, he has acquired no new karma). When he has thus properly purified
his mind and is in possession of the four virtues or means of
fitting the mind for Vedanta instruction (called _sadhana_) he
can regard himself as properly qualified for the Vedanta instruction.
These virtues are (1) knowledge of what is eternal

and what is transient, (2) disinclination to enjoyments of this
life and of the heavenly life after death, (3) extreme distaste for
all enjoyments, and anxiety for attaining the means of right knowledge,
(4) control over the senses by which these are restrained
from everything but that which aids the attainment of right
knowledge (_dama_), (a) having restrained them, the attainment
of such power that these senses may not again be tempted towards
worldly enjoyments (_uparati_), (b) power of bearing extremes
of heat, cold, etc., (c) employment of mind towards the attainment
of right knowledge, (d) faith in the instructor and
Upani@sads; (5) strong desire to attain salvation. A man possessing
the above qualities should try to understand correctly
the true purport of the Upani@sads (called _s'rava@na_), and by
arguments in favour of the purport of the Upani@sads to
strengthen his conviction as stated in the Upani@sads (called
_manana_) and then by _nididhyasana_ (meditation) which includes
all the Yoga processes of concentration, try to realize the truth
as one. Vedanta therefore in ethics covers the ground of
Yoga; but while for Yoga emancipation proceeds from understanding
the difference between puru@sa and prak@rti, with Vedanta
salvation comes by the dawn of right knowledge that Brahman alone is the true reality, his own self [Footnote ref 1]. Mima@msa asserts that the Vedas do not declare the knowledge of one Brahman to be the supreme goal, but holds that all persons should act in accordance with the Vedic injunctions for the attainment of good and the removal of evil. But Vedanta holds that though the purport of the earlier Vedas is as Mima@msa has it, yet this is meant only for ordinary people, whereas for the elect the goal is clearly as the Upani@sads indicate it, namely the attainment of the highest knowledge. The performance of Vedic duties is intended only for ordinary men, but yet it was believed by many (e.g. Vacaspati Mis'ra and his followers) that due performance of Vedic duties helped a man to acquire a great keenness for the attainment of right knowledge; others believed (e.g. Prakas'atma and his followers) that it served to bring about suitable opportunities by securing good preceptors, etc. and to remove many obstacles from the way so that it became easier for a person to attain the desired right knowledge. In the acquirement of ordinary knowledge the ajnanas removed

___________________________________________________________________

[Footnote 1: See _Vedantasara_ and _Advaitabrahmasiddhi._]
are only smaller states of ajnana, whereas when the
Brahma-knowledge dawns the ajnana as a whole is removed.
Brahma-knowledge at the stage of its first rise is itself also a
state of knowledge, but such is its special strength that when
this knowledge once dawns, even the state of knowledge which
at first reflects it (and which being a state is itself ajnana
modification) is destroyed by it. The state itself being destroyed,
only the pure infinite and unlimited Brahman shines forth in its
own true light. Thus it is said that just as fire riding on a piece
of wood would burn the whole city and after that would burn
the very same wood, so in the last state of mind the Brahma-knowledge
would destroy all the illusory world-appearance and
at last destroy even that final state [Footnote ref I].

The mukti stage is one in which the pure light of Brahman
as the identity of pure intelligence, being and complete bliss
shines forth in its unique glory, and all the rest vanishes as
illusory nothing. As all being of the world-appearance is but
limited manifestations of that one being, so all pleasures also
are but limited manifestations of that supreme bliss, a taste
of which we all can get in deep dreamless sleep. The being
of Brahman however is not an abstraction from all existent
beings as the _satta_ (being as class notion) of the naiyayika, but
the concrete, the real, which in its aspect as pure consciousness
and pure bliss is always identical with itself. Being (_sat_) is pure
bliss and pure consciousness. What becomes of the avidya during
mukti (emancipation) is as difficult for one to answer as the
question, how the avidya came forth and stayed during the world-appearance.

It is best to remember that the category of the

indefinite avidya is indefinite as regards its origin, manifestation

and destruction. Vedanta however believes that even when the

ture knowledge has once been attained, the body may last for a

while, if the individual's previously ripened karmas demand it.

Thus the emancipated person may walk about and behave like

an ordinary sage, but yet he is emancipated and can no longer

acquire any new karma. As soon as the fruits due to his ripe

karmas are enjoyed and exhausted, the sage loses his body and

there will never be any other birth for him, for the dawn of

perfect knowledge has burnt up for him all budding karmas of

beginningless previous lives, and he is no longer subject to any


[Footnote 1: _Siddhantes'a_.]

492

of the illusions subjective or objective which could make any

knowledge, action, or feeling possible for him. Such a man is
called _jivanmukta_, i.e. emancipated while living. For him all

world-appearance has ceased. He is the one light burning alone

in himself where everything else has vanished for ever from the

stage [Footnote ref 1].
Vedanta and other Indian Systems.

Vedanta is distinctly antagonistic to Nyaya, and most of its powerful dialectic criticism is generally directed against it. S'anka himself had begun it by showing contradictions and inconsistencies in many of the Nyaya conceptions, such as the theory of causation, conception of the atom, the relation of samavaya, the conception of jati, etc [Footnote ref 2]. His followers carried it to still greater lengths as is fully demonstrated by the labours of S'rihar@sa, Citsukha, Madhusudana, etc. It was opposed to Mima@msa so far as this admitted the Nyaya-Vais'e@sika categories, but agreed with it generally as regards the prama@nas of anumana, upamiti, arthapatti, s'abda, and anupalabdhi. It also found a great supporter in Mima@msa with its doctrine of the self-validity and self-manifesting power of knowledge. But it differed from Mima@msa in the field of practical duties and entered into many elaborate discussions to prove that the duties of the Vedas referred only to ordinary men, whereas men of higher order had no Vedic duties to perform but were to rise above them and attain the highest knowledge, and that a man should perform the Vedic duties only so long as he was not fit for Vedanta instruction and studies.

With Sa@mkhya and Yoga the relation of Vedanta seems to be very close. We have already seen that Vedanta had accepted
all the special means of self-purification, meditation, etc., that
were advocated by Yoga. The main difference between Vedanta
and Sa@mkhya was this that Sa@mkhya believed, that the stuff of
which the world consisted was a reality side by side with the
puru@sas. In later times Vedanta had compromised so far with
Sa@mkhya that it also sometimes described maya as being made
up of sattva, rajas, and tamas. Vedanta also held that according
to these three characteristics were formed diverse modifications

[Footnote 1: See _Pancadas'i_.]

[Footnote 2: See S'a@nkara's refutation of Nyaya, _S'a@nkara-bha@sya_, II.
ii.]

493

of the maya. Thus Is'vara is believed to possess a mind of pure
sattva alone. But sattva, rajas and tamas were accepted in
Vedanta in the sense of tendencies and not as reals as Sa@mkhya
held it. Moreover, in spite of all modifications that maya was
believed to pass through as the stuff of the world-appearance, it
was indefinable and indefinite, and in its nature different from
what we understand as positive or negative. It was an unsubstantial
nothing, a magic entity which had its being only so long
as it appeared. Prak@rtl also was indefinable or rather undemonstrable
as regards its own essential nature apart from its manifestation,
but even then it was believed to be a combination of
positive reals. It was undefinable because so long as the reals
composing it did not combine, no demonstrable qualities belonged
to it with which it could be defined. Maya however was undemonstrable,
indefinite, and indefinable in all forms; it was a
separate category of the indefinite. Sa@mkhya believed in the
personal individuality of souls, while for Vedanta there was only
one soul or self, which appeared as many by virtue of the maya
transformations. There was an adhyasa or illusion in Sa@mkhya
as well as in Vedanta; but in the former the illusion was due
to a mere non-distinction between prak@rtl and puru@a or mere
misattribution of characters or identities, but in Vedanta there
was not only misattribution, but a false and altogether indefinable
creation. Causation with Sa@mkhya meant real transformation,
but with Vedanta all transformation was mere appearance.
Though there were so many differences, it is however easy to
see that probably at the time of the origin of the two systems
during the Upani@sad period each was built up from very similar
ideas which differed only in tendencies that gradually manifested
themselves into the present divergences of the two systems.
Though S'a@nkara laboured hard to prove that the Sa@mkhya
view could not be found in the Upani@sads, we can hardly be
convinced by his interpretations and arguments. The more
he argues, the more we are led to suspect that the Sa@mkhya
thought had its origin in the Upani@sads. Sa'a@nkara and his
followers borrowed much of their dialectic form of criticism from
the Buddhists. His Brahman was very much like the s'unya
of Nagarjuna. It is difficult indeed to distinguish between
pure being and pure non-being as a category. The debts of
S`a@nkara to the self-luminosity of the Vijnanavada Buddhism
can hardly be overestimated. There seems to be much truth
in the accusations against S'a@nkara by Vijnana Bhik@su and
others that he was a hidden Buddhist himself. I am led to
think that S'a@nkara's philosophy is largely a compound of
Vijnanavada and S'unyavada Buddhism with the Upani@sad
notion of the permanence of self superadded.