

# THE WORKS AND FLOURISHING PERIOD OF NĀRĀYAṆA TĪRTHA, THE AUTHOR OF THE *YOGASIDDHĀNTACANDRIKĀ* \*

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In the history of what is called the Yoga school after Vijñānabhikṣu, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa and Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha are the most remarkable commentators on the *Yogasūtra*. Compared to Nageśabhaṭṭa, who is well known as a great grammarian, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha seems to have drawn less attention from scholars. However, the quotation of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* in the *Jyotsnā* [p.6] on the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, one of the most brilliant works on yoga, tells us that Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha was regarded as an authority on yoga by later writers. Moreover, his *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* on the *Yogasūtra* is, indeed, an ambitious work which tries to put yoga in the highest place among various means of realizing the Self (*ātman*), and tries to synthesize various kinds of yoga into the eightfold yoga of the *Yogasūtra*. Three commentaries on the *Yogasūtra* by him, including the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, have been handed down to us. It is rare to find such a commentator like him who composed as many as three commentaries on the *Yogasūtra*. Moreover, this fact signifies his keen interest in the sutra.

First of all, I would like to enumerate his commentaries on the *Yogasūtra* to focus attention on Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha as a commentator on the sutra.

## 1. The *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* or *Gūḍhārthadyotikā*.

This is the largest among the three. The title *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* is known from colophons.<sup>1</sup> Another title, *Gūḍhārthadyotikā*, is found in the introductory verse 3 and colophons of P.ms. and M.ms..<sup>2</sup>

## 2. The *Pātāñjalasūtralaghuvṛtti* or *Yogacandrikā*.

This text is not published. From the often found expression ‘*anyatra vistarah*’ in the text, this commentary appears to be a shortened version

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<sup>1</sup> Ch. ed., colophon of chapter I [p.48, ll.22-23], chapter II [p.104, ll.14-15] and chapter III [p.140, ll.26-27]. P.ms., colophon of chapter I [18b, ll.11-12], chapter II [31a, ll.14-15] and chapter III [40a, ll.9-10]. M.ms., colophon of chapter II [195, l.17-196, l.2]. M.ms, colophon of chapter III reads *Yogacandrikā* [135, ll.12-16].

<sup>2</sup> Colophons of chapter I, II and III of P.ms. and that of chapter II of M.ms. mention both the titles.

of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. Both titles are known from the colophons of chapter I of the manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> In the present study, the work is called 'Laghuvṛtti.'

### 3. The *Sūtrārthabodhinī*.

This is the shortest among the three. The text is published together with the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. This work was intended as a brief, not a detailed, exposition (*saṅkṣepena na vistarāt*) [p.1]. From the closing verse, it is known that this work was composed in Prayāga [p.6].

Apart from the commentaries on the *Yogasūtra*, various philosophical works such as the *Sāṃkhyacandrikā* on the *Sāṃkhyakarikā*, and the *Laghuvyākhyā* on the *Siddhāntabindu* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, are ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha. As will be mentioned later in the present study, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha composed more than one commentary on several philosophical texts. This is perhaps because he composed easier commentaries, for the use of beginners, i.e., his disciples, after composing an extensive commentary. Therefore, we can surmise he guided many disciples, teaching various philosophical texts.

On the other hand, the author of the Sanskrit dance-drama *Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgiṇī* bears the name Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha. According to Natarajan [1988: xiii], the drama is still very influential in the musical scene in south India, and the sage Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha is worshipped even today. Herein a question arises: Could the ascetic poet be the author of commentaries on various philosophical treatises, a person who guided many disciples' study of *śāstra*-s, at the same time?

The life of the ascetic poet Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha has been studied by several scholars. B. Natarajan's recent study in particular provides us with very useful information about the subject. The account of this ascetic poet's life, however, seems not to fit with the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. In this paper, the present writer, following the study of Natarajan, would like to point out several problems regarding the identity of the two Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha-s, determine the number of works of the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and try to determine his flourishing period approximately, as a step toward the further study of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*.

<sup>3</sup> Colophon of chapter I: C.ms.: *iti nārāyaṇatīrthaviracitāyāṃ pātaṅjalasūtralaghuvṛttau yogacandrikāyāṃ samādhipādaḥ prathamah samāptah* 1 [18a, ll.10-11]; W.ms.: *iti nārāyaṇatīrthaviracitāyāṃ pātaṅjalasūtralaghuvṛttau yogacandrikāyāṃ samādhipādaḥ prathamah samāptah* //1// //cha// //śrīrām// //cha// //cha// [19a, ll.9-10].

## 1. Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's life

Various scholars' studies of the life of the ascetic poet Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha are summarized by B. Natarajan [1988: 56-167; 1990: 343-364]. According to Natarajan [1988: 163], several scholars suspect that the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātarāṅgiṇī* and the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* are one and the same person. N. Subramanian Sastri [1952: 40] also says that the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* is different from that of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātarāṅgiṇī*. Nevertheless, after examining the views of scholars who have studied the matter, Natarajan reached the conclusion that the saint poet Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha is the same person as the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, that is, the two Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha-s are identical [1988: 161-163]. This conclusion appears to reflect the tendency of scholars such as Sivasankara Sastri to identify the two Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha-s. The following points in Natarajan's conclusion draw our attention with regard to his identification of the ascetic poet with the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* :

1. Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's flourishing period is determined to be AD 1675-1745.
2. He is considered to have been a Telugu Brahmana born at Kaza in Guntur district.
3. He is considered to have been the son of Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī and Parvati Amma of Tallāvajjhala family, and was named Govinda Śāstrī.
4. He acquired proficiency in music and *śātra*-s early. He was devotee of Kṛṣṇa.
5. He was a disciple of Vāsudeva Paṇḍita.
6. Govinda Śāstrī was initiated into *sanyāsa* by Śivarāma Tīrtha at Kanchipuram. They are said to belong to the Vidyāraṇya school.
7. Later, he left for Kāśī, Prayāg, Mathura, Puri and other places. He attained *samādhi* at Tiruppunturutti, Tanjavur district, Tamil Nadu.

Several points with respect to the above must be reconsidered. First, I wish to examine the claim that his name as a householder was Govinda Śāstrī and the name of his father was Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrī. Among scholars whose studies were examined by Natarajan, Sivasankara Sastri, Vavilla Ramaswami Sastrulu, Nori Narasimhaśāstrī, Dhara Ramanandha Sastri and D.V.R.S. Chalapathi all seem to mention both names [Natarajan 1988: 119,122,127-8,140,152; Nori Narasimhaśāstrī 1969: 2,3]. V.R. Krishnaswamy, Swaminatha Atreya and Kudavayil Balasubramanian seem to mention the name Govinda [Natarajan 1988: 90-91,93,154]. On what grounds is this conclusion based? I could not refer to the studies of these scholars in original, except that of Nori Narasimhaśāstrī. However, we find the names Govinda and Nīlakaṇṭha in one of the works ascribed to

Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, i.e., in the colophon of the first chapter of the *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśa* published in A.D.1900.<sup>4</sup> Is not the conclusion that he was named Govinda and that he was the son of Nīlakaṇṭha based on this colophon? All the studies of the above scholars, except those of D.V.R.S. Chalapathi and Swaminatha Atreya, whose dates are not mentioned by Natarajan, are published later than AD 1900. If the conclusion that Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's name as a householder was Govinda and his father's name was Nīlakaṇṭha is based on the colophon of the edition of the *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśa* alone, the conclusion must be reconsidered. Because, with regard to the colophon, P.K. Gode [1938] has concluded on the basis of detailed examination that the father and son, Nīlakaṇṭha and Govinda, are in fact Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the famous commentator on the *Mahābhāratha*, who mentions Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha as his teacher of Mīmāṃsā, and his son Govinda Dīkṣita Caturdhari.<sup>5</sup>

The most remarkable aspect of Natarajan's conclusion is that Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's teachers were Śivarāma Tīrtha and Vāsudeva. The colophon of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* in the first chapter (*taraṅga*) presents the name of his teacher as Śivarāmānanda Tīrtha, and the name Śivarāma Tīrtha is also found in the eighth chapter [Natarajan 1988: 31, 105; 1990: 78, 181]. According to Natarajan, V.R. Krishnaswamy, Sivasankara Sastri, D.V.R.S. Chalapathi, Nori Narasimhaśāstrī, Dhara Ramanandha Sastri and Kudavayil Balasubramanian mention the name Vāsudeva [Natarajan 1988: 91, 122, 140, 143, 148, 153, 154; Nori Narasimhaśāstrī 1969: 2, 15]. As I mentioned above, I could not refer to most of their studies. Therefore, I cannot know on what grounds those scholars concluded the relation of the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* with Vāsudeva.<sup>6</sup> While we do not find Vāsudeva in the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* as the author's teacher, we find the

<sup>4</sup> *iti nīlakaṇṭhasūrisūnugovindaviracite bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśe prathamō 'dhyāyāḥ* [p.13, ll.4-5].

<sup>5</sup> About the colophon of chapter I, Gode's study is summarized as follows: 1) Ms. no.4357 in Stein's Catalogue, p.111, which is transcribed in AD 1773, has the colophon of chapter I that mentions the name of Nīlakaṇṭhasūrisūnugovinda. 2) Ms. no.587 of 1884-87 in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, transcribed in AD 1830 doesn't have the colophon. 3) Ms. no.376 of 1899-1915 in Bhandarkar Institute which doesn't have the colophon in question is transcribed by Govinda Dīkṣita Caturdhari whose son Śiva Dīkṣita Caturdhari composed one work in AD 1747. This ms. no.376 of 1899-1915 is supposed to be copied in about 1700-1720 and, therefore, older than the ms. no.4357 in Stein's Catalogue. 4) Thus, to regard the author of the work, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, as Nīlakaṇṭha's son Govinda must be a mistake.

<sup>6</sup> Sivasankara Sastri seems to have concluded the name Vāsudeva on the basis of the introductory verse of the *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇamālāṭikā* [Natarajan 1988: 124, ll.21-27]. See the next note. Nori Narasimhaśāstrī doesn't give any reason to regard Vasudeva as the teacher of the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* [Nori Narasimhaśāstrī 1969: 2, ll.22-26]. He says, "We can also surmise safely that whenever the writer refers to Sri Krishna as Vāsudeva, he was always reminded of his Guru, Vasudeva, at whose feet he mastered the Six Sastras as a lay man" [p.15, ll.22-25]. This statement seems to be based upon an assumption that the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* is identical with the author of the *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇamālāṭikā*.

name in the introductory verse of the *Sāṃkhyacandrikā* and other works ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha.<sup>7</sup> However, the same introductory verse of the *Sāṃkhyacandrikā* clearly mentions another teacher's name as Rāmagovinda Tīrtha and not as Śivarāma Tīrtha. In addition, manuscripts of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* tell us that Rāmagovinda Tīrtha is the author's teacher.<sup>8</sup> This fact prevents us from identifying the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* with the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātarāṅgiṇī*, where neither Vāsudeva nor Rāmagovinda Tīrtha are mentioned as author's teacher.

Even Natarajan is aware of the difficulty regarding the names of the teachers, although he does not hesitate to identify the two Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha-s [Natarajan 1991: 345-364].<sup>9</sup> His conclusion regarding the identification arises from another identification, i.e., that of Śivarāma Tīrtha with Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. According to Natarajan, Sivasankara Sastri identified Śivarāma Tīrtha with Rāmagovinda Tīrtha and B. Rajanikanti Rao follows the former [Natarajan 1988: 124, 134, 136]. Nori Narasimhaśāstrī says that Gauḍabrahmānanda Sarasvatī who is a disciple of the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*,<sup>10</sup> studied *śāstra*-s under both Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha and Śivarāma Tīrtha [1969: 5]. This opinion of Nori Narasimhaśāstrī is based upon closing verses of Gauḍabrahmānanda's *Laghucandrikā*, a commentary on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's *Advaitasiddhi*,<sup>11</sup> which reads as follows:

<sup>7</sup> The *Sāṃkhyacandrikā* introductory verse 1: *śrīrāmagovindasutīrthapādakṛpāviśeṣād upalabhya bodham / śrīvāsudevād adhigatya sarvaśāstrāṇi vaktuṃ kim api sprhā naḥ //* [p.1, ll.2-3]. In the *Bhaktiyadhikaranamālātikā* and the *Vedāntavibhāvanaṭikā*, the same introductory verse is found. See notes 22 and 27.

<sup>8</sup> Colophon of chapter I of P.ms.: *iti śrīparamahaṃ(sa)parivrājakācāryaśrīgovindatīrthapūjyapāda-śiṣyaśrīnārāyaṇatīrthaviracitāyāṃ pātaṃjalasūtravṛttau...*

Colophon of M.ms.: *iti śrīmatparamahaṃsaparivrājakācāryaśrīrāmagovindatīrthabhagavatpūjyapāda-śiṣyanārāyaṇatīrthasvāmīviracitāyāṃ pātaṃjalasūtravṛttau...*

<sup>9</sup> Natarajan examines the two names of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's guru, Śivarāma and Rāmagovinda, in the second volume of his study [1991: 345-356], while he did not attempt it in the first volume. In spite of the examination, he does not reach a different conclusion.

<sup>10</sup> Gauḍabrahmānanda Sarasvatī is a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the author of the *Laghuṭīkā* on the *Siddhāntabindu* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Gauḍabrahmānanda salutes Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha in the closing verse of his commentary *Nyāyaratnāvalī* on the *Siddhāntabindu* [p.462, ll.14-15]. According to Tryambakramśāstrī Bhaṭṭa [1928: 11, ll.27-30], the *Nyāyaratnāvalī* presupposes the *Guruṭīkā* which is Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's another commentary on the *Siddhāntabindu*, and the name *Guruṭīkā* is mentioned in the *Laghuṭīkā* by Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha himself. This Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha is identified with the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* because both are the disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. See note 30.

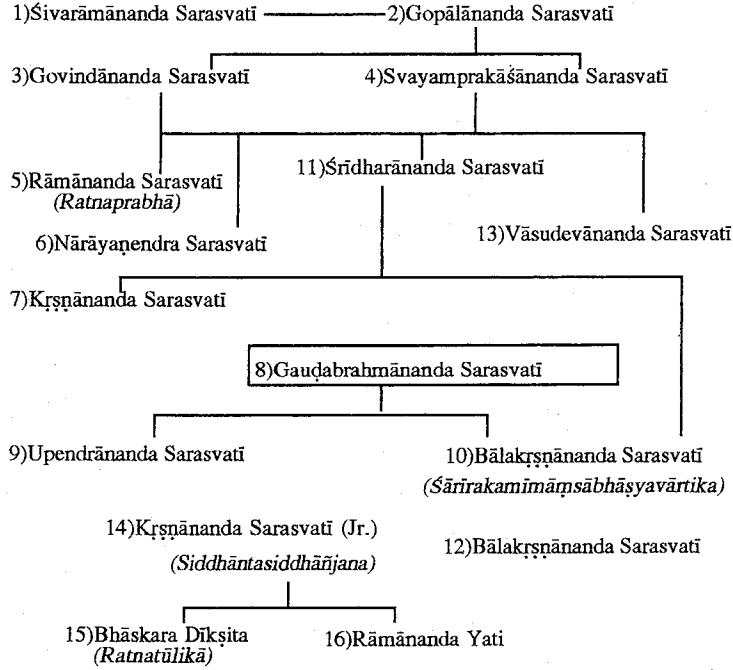
<sup>11</sup> Nori Narasimhaśāstrī says that the author of the *Advaitasiddhi* is "Brahmananda Saraswati(sic)" [1969: 5, l.33-6, l.1]. Nori Narasimhaśāstrī's study appears faulty regarding bibliographical references. For example, he mentions "Kashmir Sadananda(sic)", i.e. Sadānanda Kāśmīraka, who is also known as a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha and Gauḍabrahmānanda Sarasvatī, as author of the *Vedāntasāra* [5, ll.26-27]. But it is well known that this Sadānanda is the author of the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* and is different from Sadānanda, the author of the *Vedāntasāra*.

*mahānubhavadhaureyaśivarāmākhyavarṇināḥ /  
 etadgranthasya kartāro lekhakāḥ kevalam vāyam //  
 śrīnārāyaṇatīrthānām śaśāstripāramīyūṣām /  
 caraṇau śaraṇīkṛtya tīrṇaḥ sārasvatārṇavaḥ //  
 bhaje śrīparamānandasarasvatyaṅghripañkajam /  
 yat kṛpādr̥ṣṭileśena tīrṇaḥ saṃsārasāgaraḥ //*<sup>12</sup>

These verses clearly show that Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha and Paramānanda Sarasvatī, whose name Nori Narasimhaśāstrī does not even mention, were teachers of Gaudābrahmānanda Sarasvatī, and that Śivarāma does not appear to have been his teacher. The first verse in the above quotation, where Gaudābrahmānanda calls Śivarāma the author of the work and himself a mere copyist, has been noted by scholars. Tryambakramśāstrī Bhaṭṭa [1928: 11-12] has suggested three possibilities: 1. that the verse is later addition; 2. that Śivarāma's authorship is merely a pretext (*vyavahāramātra*); or 3. that the author of the *Gurucandrikā*, on which the *Laghucandrikā* depends a great deal and which is generally ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, was Śivarāma. However, he refrains from offering a conclusion as to who this Śivarāma was. Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Śukla [1934: (1)-(2)] concludes that Śivarāma must have been the donor when Gaudābrahmānanda engaged himself in writing the work. Natarajan's description [1988: 125] gives the impression that this verse gave Sivasankara Sastri a basis for identifying Śivarāma Tīrtha with Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. Although Natarajan, who quotes Tryambakramśāstrī Bhaṭṭa's study [1991: 351-353], doesn't give his own comment on this Śivarāma, he refers to another interesting opinion regarding the *guruśiṣya-paramparā* of Gaudābrahmānanda Sarasvatī found in an edition of Bālakṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī's *Śārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣyavārtika*, edited in 1941 by Anantakrishna Sastri and Ashoknath Bhattacharya in the Asutosh Sanskrit series [Natarajan 1991: 353-355]. The hypothesis on the lineage of teachers and pupils is based upon the introductory verses of the text. Unfortunately, although I could not refer to the edition, I was able to see the same verses quoted by Anantakrishna Sastri [1984: 14-23] in "Bhūmikā" of his edition of the *Nyāyāmṛta* and the *Advaitasiddhi*. I would like to quote, with a slight modification, the chart of the lineage reproduced by Natarajan from the edition of the *Śārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣyavārtika* [Natarajan 1991: 354] on the next page. The chart appears to be prepared from various materials such as the *Ratnaprabhā* of Rāmānanda Sarasvatī, the *Siddhāntasiddhāñjana* of Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī, apart from the *Śārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣyavārtika*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The *Laghucandrikā* [p.900, ll.29-31].

<sup>13</sup> The *Śārīrakamīmāṃsābhāṣyavārtika* mentions the names of Pūmānanda [in the introductory verse 13], Puruṣottamānanda [v. 14,15], Śivarāma [v. 16], Gopālānanda [v. 17], Svayaṃprakāśānanda [v.18, 23], Śrīdhara [v. 19], Brahmānanda [v. 20], Upadeva [v. 21], Vāsudeva [v. 22], Bālakṛṣṇānanda [v. 24,



In the chart, however, we cannot help but notice that the names Rāmāgovinda Tīrtha, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, Paramānānda Sarasvatī do not appear. In other words, this chart doesn't say anything about Gauḍabrahmānanda's teachers. Therefore, we cannot conclude anything about who the Śivarāma, whose name Gauḍabrahmānanda mentions in the *Laghuṭikā*, was, nor anything about the identity of Śivarāma with Rāmāgovinda Tīrtha. Consequently, we must hesitate to recognize Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, as the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*.

We have to note here that Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī<sup>14</sup>(6 in the chart) must be different from Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. Another disciple of Govindānanda Sarasvatī (3 in the chart), Rāmānanda Sarasvatī (5 in the chart), is the author of the famous *Ratnaprabhā* on Vācaspatimiśra's *Bhāmatī* and the *Yogamañiprabhā* on the *Yogasūtra*. Here and there in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, sentences

31]. From the *Ratnaprabhā*, the lineage Śivarāma - Gopālānanda - Govinda - Rāmānanda is known. The *Siddhāntasiddhāñjana* tells us that the author Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī was a disciple of Vāsudeva and Rāmābhadrā, both of whom were disciples of Svayamprakāśānanda, and that Kṛṣṇānanda was a teacher of Rāmānanda Yati (fl. 1670) and Bhāskara Dikṣita. [See "Preface" and "Bhūmika" of the *Siddhāntasiddhāñjana*. Ed. by S. Narayanaswamy Sastry and R. Rama Sastry. Mysore: Univ. of Mysore, 1965].

<sup>14</sup> J.H.Woods says that according to F.Hall, Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī wrote a book in AD 1592 [Woods (tr.) 1915: 1 note; Chand 1987: xxi]

corresponding to those of the *Yogamañiprabhā* are found. In addition, in I.36 of the *Laghuvṛtti*, sentences of the *Yogamañiprabhā* I.36 are quoted.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, the *Mañiprabhā*'s influence on the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* is not great compared to that of the *Yogavārttika*. This is strange if the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* is a brother disciple of the author of the *Yogamañiprabhā*. This, adding to the fact that the *guru*'s name of Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī is different from that of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, prevents us from identifying Nārāyaṇendra Sarasvatī with the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*.

The question of the identification of the two Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha-s is not easy to answer, due to the limitation of reference data. However, in so far as data which support the identification cannot be found, we must leave the question unanswered, or we should not identify Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha, with another Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, disciple of Śivarāma Tīrtha.

## 2. Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's works

Having determined that the identification of the two Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha-s is unacceptable, various works bearing the name Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha as their author should be classified into two groups, i.e., the works of the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and those of the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlā-taraṅgiṇī*. In the following, first I would like to enumerate the works ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha from several bibliographies, and then attempt to classify them. The numbers put at the head of each title are given by the present writer for the convenience of the study.

*New Catalogs Catalogorum* (henceforth *NCC*) vol.X has four entries 'Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha,' and lists twenty-one works in total under them as follows:<sup>16</sup>

Nārāyaṇa (Tīrtha) [*NCC* vol.X: 75-76]

18th.cent. son of Nīlakaṇṭhasūri of Vārāṇasī; known as Govindaśāstrī as householder; initiated by Śivarāmatīrtha; disciple of Rāmagovindatīrtha and Vāsudevatīrtha; teacher of Brahmānanda Sarasvatī (author of commentary on the *Siddhāntabindu*).

1. *Bālabodhinī*, a commentary on the *Ātmabodha* by Śaṅkarācārya
2. A commentary on the *Kusumāñjalikārikā* by Udayana
3. A commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti*
4. *Prabhā*, a subcommentary on the *Tarkasaṃgraha* by Annaṃbhaṭṭa

<sup>15</sup> C.ms., 14b, ll.1-4, W.ms., 15a, ll.5-9.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Natarajan 1988: 164-165.



5. A commentary on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra*
6. A commentary (*ṭīkā*) on the *Brahmasūtra*
7. *Bhakticandrikā*, a commentary on the *Bhaktisūtra* of Śāṇḍilya
8. *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇa* and a commentary
9. *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśa*
10. *Nyāyacandrikā*, a commentary on the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* by Viśva-nātha
11. *Yogacandrikā*
12. *Sūtrārthabodhinī* or *Gūḍhārthadyotanikā*, a commentary on the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali
13. A commentary on the *Vedastuti*
14. *Vedāntavibhāvanā* and commentary
15. *Sāṃkhyacandrikā*, a commentary on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* by Īśvara-kṛṣṇa
16. *Tattvacandrikā*, a commentary on the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* by Vācaspatimiśra
17. *Guruṭīkā*, a commentary on the *Siddhāntabindu*
18. *Laghuṭīkā* or *Nārāyaṇī*, a commentary on the *Siddhāntabindu*

Nārāyaṇa (Tīrtha) [NCC vol.X: 75-76]

Native of Andhra, settled at Varahūr, Tamilnād; propagator of Bhakti doctrine; disciple of Śivarāmānanda Tīrtha.

19. *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*
9. *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśikā*

Nārāyaṇa (Tīrtha) [NCC vol.X: 95]

20. *Haribhaktisudhāṛṇava*

Nārāyaṇa (Tīrtha) [NCC vol.X: 297]

21. A commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Brahmasūtra*

The *Sūtrārthabodhinī* and the *Gūḍhārthadyotanikā* (or-<sup>o</sup>*dyotikā*), both listed as no.12 in the above, must be taken as different works [See, pp.41-42 of the present study]. It is not clear whether the *Yogacandrikā* (no.11 in the list) is the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* or the *Laghuṭīkā*.

Apart from the works listed above, the following are ascribed to the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* by V.S.V. Guruswamysastry [Guruswamysastry 1986: xxii]:

22. *Pañcīkaraṇavārtikavivarāṇa* and *Dīpikā*, a commentary on it
23. *Subodhinī*, a commentary on the *Catuḥsūtrī* portion of the *Brahmasūtra*
24. *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* (in Telugu)
25. *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* (in Sanskrit)

*Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, vol.I, adds the following work [Potter comp. 1983: 42]:<sup>17</sup>

26. *Tarkaratnākara*

Thus, twenty-six works in total are ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha. It is indeed strange, as Natarajan points out [1988: 166], that *NCC* lists the *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśikā* or -<sup>o</sup>*prakāśa* under two entries. This means that the editors of *NCC* identified Śivarāma Tīrtha mentioned under the first entry and Śivarāmānanda Tīrtha mentioned under the second. Why, then, the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* should be mentioned under separate entries? The name of their guru, Rāmagovinda Tīrtha, which is found neither in the *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśa* nor in the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*, may be the reason they are distinguished as two separate people.

Now, the works listed above are classified into three categories, i.e., A) works of the disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha, B) works of the disciple of Śivarāma Tīrtha, C) works not specified. The classification is based mainly on published texts and catalogs of Sanskrit manuscripts, not on an examination of all the extant manuscripts. Therefore, the classification must be considered as tentative, not conclusive.

A) Works of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha.

1. *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyaḥkhyā* on the *Kusumāñjalikārikā* by Udayana<sup>18</sup>
2. *Nyāyacandrikā* on the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* generally ascribed to Viśvānātha<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In *NCC* vol.VIII, p.122, under the entry *Tarkaratnākara*, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha is mentioned as the author.

<sup>18</sup> In the *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyaḥkhyā* V.1 [p.73, ll.3-7], the same sentences that are seen in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* I.23 [Ch.ed. p.22, ll.20-24] and in the *Bhakticandrikā* II.1.29 [vol.2, p.134, ll.9-14] are found.

<sup>19</sup> At present, I do not have the full conviction to attribute this work to the disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. However, the following evidence shows some grounds to attribute the work to him. To deny the objection which regards *upamāna* as *anumāna* and to show *upamāna* as an independent means of valid knowledge, the *Nyāyacandrikā* 80 says the following:

[A] *nāpi gavayo gavayapadavācyo gosadṛṣatvāt vyatireke ghaṭavat* ] [B] *gavayapadaṃ gavayavācakam asati vṛṭtyantare vṛddhaiḥ prayujyamānatvāt* ] [b] *yathā gopadaṃ gavāṃ vācakam ityādy anumānasya phalam* ] [p.118, ll.13-15, bracketed and marked with A, B, and b by the present writer].

In the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* I.7, almost same sentences in which the author asserts that *upamāna* is nothing but *anumāna* are found:

*tatropamānasya* [B] *gavayapadaṃ gavayavācakam / asati vṛṭtyantare vṛddhais tatra prayujyamānatvāt /* ] [b] *yo 'sati vṛṭtyantare vṛddhair yatra prayujyate sa tadvācakam /* ] *yathā gośabdādīḥ /* [A] *gavayo gavayapadavācyo gosadṛṣatvāt / vyatireke ghaṭavad* ] *ityādy anumāne* [Ch.ed. p.8, ll.15-18, bracketed and marked with A, B and b by the present writer].

The *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* 140, 141 also has similar sentences:

*evam gavayavyaktipratyākṣānantaram* [B] *gavayapadaṃ gavayatvapravṛttinimittikam asati vṛṭtyantare vṛddhais tatra prayujyamānatvāt* ] [b] *asati ca vṛṭtyantare vṛddhair yatra yat prayujyate tatra tat pravṛtti-*

3. *Tarkaratnākara* on the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* <sup>20</sup>
4. *Bhakticandrikā* on the *Bhaktisūtra* of Śāṅḍilya <sup>21</sup>
5. *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇa* or *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇamālā* based upon Śāṅḍilya's *Bhaktisūtra*, and a commentary (*tīkā*) <sup>22</sup>
6. *Bhaktimīmāṃsābhāṣya* on Śāṅḍilya's *Bhaktisūtra* <sup>23</sup>

*nimittikam yathā gotvapravṛttinimittikam / ] yad vā gavayapadam sapravṛttinimittikam sādhipadatvād ity anumānena* [bracketed and marked with B and b by the present writer].

It is obvious that each part bracketed and marked with A), B) and b) corresponds respectively, especially A) and B) of the *Nyāyacandrikā* and the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. From the above evidence, we can conclude that the author of the *Nyāyacandrikā* is identical with that of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*.

The model of these syllogistic sentences is seen in Vācaspatimiśra's *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* 5 [p.88, ll.1-3], and in Udayana's *Nyāyakusumāñjali* III.11 [p.339, ll.5-7]. Shiv Kumar [1980: 121] says Vācaspati intended to criticize the Nyāya-theory of *upamāna*, not the view of the Mīmāṃsā-school. Nārāyaṇa Tirtha, who is the author of the *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyaḥyā* and is said to have written the *Tattvacandra* on the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī*, knew these criticisms mentioned by Vācaspati and Udayana against the Nyāya-theory of *upamāna* as a matter of course. Moreover, in all probability, he must have made the sentences of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* based upon the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*. This means he knew the answer of the Nyāya-school when he criticized their theory of *upamāna* in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. His expression in the *Nyāyacandrikā*, therefore, appears as if he answers the question posed by himself in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. However, this must not prevent us from attributing the authorship of the former to the author of the latter.

<sup>20</sup> According to manuscripts catalog of Vāṅḍiya Sahitya Parishat, the work is a commentary on the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, and the introductory verses of the work run as follows:

*nārāyaṇapadam amalam natvā nārāyaṇākhyāyatīḥ / nyāyakārikānām suvyākhyānam tanoti satprītyai //1//  
sūksmārthadhāraṇāyām budheḥ paṭutā na tarkamate / bālāvabodhanakṛte saphalo bhavitāyam āyāśah //2//*  
[p.xxxiv, ll.11-12, and note 93 in the same page].

The first verse is exactly the same as the introductory verse of the *Nyāyacandrikā*. Moreover, in the *Nyāyacandrikā* 139, the author mentions the work *Sattarkaratnākara* as his own work: *adhikam tv asmatkṛtasattarkaratnākare draṣṭavyam //* [p.174, l.14]. Therefore, it is clear that the *Tarkaratnākara* was written by the author the *Nyāyacandrikā* preceding it.

<sup>21</sup> The ending verses 2 and 3 of the *Bhakticandrikā* run as follows:

*adhitya sarvasāstrāṇi vāsudevadayānidheḥ / tīrthaśrīrāmagovindakṛpayaiṣā kṛtir mama //2//  
rāmagovindatīrthānām gurūṇam anv aham mama / tīrthaśrīvāsudevānām caraṇau śaraṇam sadā //3//*  
[vol.2, p.255, ll.5-8].

<sup>22</sup> The introductory verse of the *Bhaktiyadhikaraṇamālā* runs as follows:

*śrīrāmagovindasutīrthapādakṛpāviśeṣād upalabhya bodham / śrīvāsudevād adhigatya sarvasāstrāṇi vaktum kim api spṛhā naḥ //* [p.1, ll.6-7].

*Bhaktiyadhikaraṇamālā*'s introductory verse 1 runs as follows:

*sūtranyāyagranthinām bhaktiyadhikaraṇākhyam uktānām / sadratibhūṣām mālām kurute nārāyaṇākhyayatiḥ //* [p.1, l.5-p.2, l.1].

<sup>23</sup> Although *NCC*, vol.X, p.75, regards this work to be identical with the *Bhakticandrikā*, this work appears to be different from it. Manuscripts catalog of *Tanjore*, vol.XIV, p.6372, no.8226, describes some portions of the work. Among the description, the sentences reproducing the beginning of the manuscript [l.11-18 in the catalog] seem to be a commentary on the *Śāṅḍilya-Bhaktisūtra* II.1.21. However, these are not found in the *Bhakticandrikā* II.1.21. The end of the manuscript is also reproduced in the catalog [p.6372, l.20-p.6373, l.9]. There, the portion of the word 'āvīr iti' [p.6372, l.20] up to the word 'vā' [p.6373, l.6] corresponds to the sentences in the *Bhakticandrikā*, p.252, l.21-p.253, l.5. From the word 'ityādī' [p.6373, l.6] to the word 'vistaraḥ' [p.6373, l.9] also correspond to p.254, ll.19-21 of the *Bhakticandrikā*. However, the *Bhakticandrikā* has sentences in about 35 lines between the two portions, while the ms. of the *Bhaktimīmāṃsābhāṣya* has only one word

7. *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* or *Gūḍhārthadyotikā* on the *Yogasūtra* <sup>24</sup>
8. *Yogacandrikā* or *Pātañjalasūtralaghuvṛtti* on the *Yogasūtra* <sup>25</sup>
9. *Sūtrārthabodhinī* on the *Yogasūtra* <sup>26</sup>
10. *Vedāntavibhāvanā* and commentary (*tīkā*)<sup>27</sup>
11. *Sāṃkhyacandrikā* on the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* <sup>28</sup>
12. *Tattvacandrikā* or -<sup>o</sup>candra on the *Sāṃkhyatattvakaumudī* by Vācaspatimiśra<sup>29</sup>
13. *Laghuvyākhyā* on the *Siddhāntabindu* by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī<sup>30</sup>
14. *Gurūtīkā* on the *Siddhāntabindu* <sup>31</sup>

B) Works of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, disciple of Śivarāma Tīrtha.

1. *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī* <sup>32</sup>
2. *Haribhaktisudhāmava* <sup>33</sup>
3. *Pārijātāpaharaṇa*, Kāvya in Telugu<sup>34</sup>
4. *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* in Sanskrit<sup>35</sup>
5. *Subodhinī* on the *Brahmasūtrasāṅkarabhāṣya* I.1.1-4<sup>36</sup>

'atiprasaktor' between the two words 'vā' and 'ityādi' [p.6373, l.6], which runs as "vā tiprasaktor ityādi anyatra vistaraḥ / etat sarvaṃ kathanam kāra...". For the above reason, the *Bhaktimimāṃsābhāṣya* and the *Bhakticandrikā* must be different works but written by the same author.

<sup>24</sup> See note 8.

<sup>25</sup> Colophon of C.ms.: *iti śrīrāmagovindatīrthaśiṣyanārāyaṇatīrthakṛtā yogasūtravṛttih govindagirilim saṃvat 1878 śake 1743 śuklapakṣe tithi aṣṭamyāṃ ravivāre*. Colophon of W.ms.: // *iti śrīrāmagovindatīrthaśiṣyanārāyaṇatīrthakṛtā yogasūtravṛtticatūrthapādaḥ samāptaḥ // govindārpanam astu śivārpanam ca // //cha// //cha// //śrīrām//*

<sup>26</sup> The colophon of the printed edition: *iti śrīrāmagovindatīrthaśiṣyaśrīnārāyaṇatīrthaviracitā pātañjalasūtravyākhyā samāptā //4//* [p.61, ll.24-25].

<sup>27</sup> Perterson's manuscripts catalog describes this work in p.48, Extract 134. According to the catalog, introductory verse 1 of the *tīkā* runs as follows: *śrīrāmagovindasutīrthapādakṛpāviśeṣād upalabhya bodham / śrīvāsudevād adhigamya sarvasāstrāṇi vaktum kim api sprhā naḥ //1//*.

Verse 222 of the *Vedāntavibhāvanā* : *natvā śrīpuruṣottamākhyacaranau dāmodarasvāmināṃ tau govindakṛpānidheś ca caranau śrīrāmapūrvasya ca // vidyākāraṇāvāsudevayatināṃ tau pūrṇatām āgatā sadvedāntavibhāvanā harirayaṃ prīṇātu tena svayam //222//*.

<sup>28</sup> See note 7.

<sup>29</sup> See Hall 1979: 38, l.8.

<sup>30</sup> Colophon of the printed text: *iti śrīmatparamahāṃsaparivrājākācāryaśrīrāmagovindatīrthaśiṣya[ta-thā]vāsudevātīrthavidyāśiṣyaśrīnārāyaṇatīrthaviracitā siddhāntabindulaghuvyākhyā sampūrṇā /* [p.156, ll.4-6 in (1).ed., p.462, ll.28-30 in (2).ed.].

<sup>31</sup> See Tryambakramśāstrī Bhaṭṭa 1928:11.

<sup>32</sup> Colophon of the first *tarāṅga* : *iti śivarāmānandatīrthapādasevakaśrīnārāyaṇatīrthaviracitāyāṃ śrī-kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇyāṃ śrīkṛṣṇaprādurbhāvavarnāṇāmaprathamā tarāṅgas samāptaḥ //* [p.311, ll.5-7].

<sup>33</sup> Guruswamysastry 1986: xxii.

<sup>34</sup> Guruswamysastry 1986: xxii.

<sup>35</sup> Guruswamysastry 1986: xxii.

<sup>36</sup> I could not refer to the edition which is said to be published from the Advaita Sabha, Kumbakonam in 1954. Guruswamysastry [1986: xxi-xxii] quotes a portion from this work in roman transliteration without diacritical marks. Natarajan [1988: 105], summarizing Guruswamysastry's

6. *Pañcīkaraṇavārtikavivarāṇa* on Sureśvara's *Pañcīkaraṇavārttika*, and commentary *Dīpikā* <sup>37</sup>
7. *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśikā* or -<sup>o</sup>*prakāśa* <sup>38</sup>
8. *Prabhā* on the *Tarkasaṃgrahadīpikā* by Annambhaṭṭa <sup>39</sup>

C) Works not specified.

1. *Bālabobhinī* on the *Ātmabodha* <sup>40</sup>
2. *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhitivyākhyā* on the *Tattvacintāmaṇidīdhiti* by Raghunātha Śiromaṇi <sup>41</sup>
3. A commentary (*tīkā*) on the *Brahmasūtra* <sup>42</sup>
4. A commentary (*vṛtti*) on the *Brahmasūtra* <sup>43</sup>
5. A commentary on the *Dakṣinamūrtistotra* <sup>44</sup>
6. A commentary (*tīkā*) on the *Vedastuti* <sup>45</sup>

study, a different study from the one mentioned above, also shows the same portion as follows: *advaitaṃ śivam ity ataś śivapadaṃ saṃsāntabhedam tu yat yasmin rāmapade cidātmani sukhe siddhā ramante 'niśam / tattīrthaṃ paramārthatas suviditaṃ tīrthāgrāṇisevitaṃ taṃ seve śivarāmatīrtham atulaṃ kaivalyam asmad gurum //*

*Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, vol.I, attributes this work to Śivanārāyaṇa Ānandatīrtha, who flourished about AD 1550 [Potter (comp.) 1983: 360]. The grounds for AD 1550 are not known. Śivanārāyaṇānandatīrtha is one of the names used by the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātarāṅgiṇī*. See Natarajan 1988: 190-191.

<sup>37</sup> Colophon of *Dīpikā* : *iti śrīśivarāmatīrthapūjyapādaśiṣyaśrīnārāyaṇatīrthaviracitāyāṃ vārtikavivarāṇadīpikāyāṃ jīvanmuktinirūpaṇaṃnāma caturthaṃ prakaraṇaṃ samāptam //* [p.76, ll.5-7].

<sup>38</sup> The closing verse and colophon:

*bhagavacchivarāmatīrthaśiṣyo muninārāyaṇatīrthanāmādhyeyaḥ  
vya(a)tanod adhikāśī bhāṭṭabhāṣāgrathanam bhāṭṭanayapraveśahetoḥ //  
iti śrīparamahaṃsaparivrājakācāryabhagavacchivarāmatīrthapūjyapādaśiṣyaśrīnārāyaṇatīrthamuniviracito  
bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśo yaṃ samāptiṃ agamat //* [p.61, ll.11-15].

<sup>39</sup> *Madras-Triennial manuscripts catalog*, vol.II, pt.1, lists one manuscript, R.no.1044 [p.1371-1372]. The catalog describes the colophon of the manuscript as follows: *iti śrīmatparamahaṃsaparivrājakācāryaśrīśivarāmatīrthabha(ga)vatpūjyapādaśiṣyena śrīnārāyaṇatīrtha(thena) kṛtā tarka(saṃgraha)dīpikā-prabhā samāptā //*

<sup>40</sup> See manuscripts catalog of *BORI*, vol.IX, pt.1; No.145-no.555/1886-92 [p.186]. The manuscript has a date of transcription as *Samvat 1742 = AD 1685 or 1686*.

<sup>41</sup> See *Stein's manuscripts catalog*; No.1431,1463 [p.144]. The name of the author is *Nārāyaṇatīrthavivaryah*.

<sup>42</sup> See manuscripts catalog of *BORI*, vol.IX, pt.2; No.592-no.670/1887-91 [p.200].

<sup>43</sup> See manuscripts catalog of *Wai* ; serial no.6516 [p.826].

<sup>44</sup> According to *NCC*, vol.X [p.76], the work is mentioned in Fascicle XXII of *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh*, compiled by Pandit Deviprasada. I could not consult the catalog.

<sup>45</sup> See manuscripts catalog of *North-West* ; No.144 [p.492].

### 3. The flourishing period of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha

As I have argued in the previous discussion, we do not have at present any firm evidence to identify the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅginī* with the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. Therefore, here, concerning the flourishing period of the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅginī*, disciple of Śivarāma Tīrtha, I shall confine myself only to pointing out several problems found in Natarajan's study on the matter. Secondly, I shall examine the flourishing period of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*'s author.

Natarajan gives Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's active period as AD 1675-1745 [1988: 160]. The date of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's death, AD 1745, is based on the study of Kurukanti Sitarama Bhattacharya [Natarajan 1988: 97; Nori Narasimhaśāstrī 1969: 13-14].<sup>46</sup> Natarajan clearly mentions that further study is needed, because of the lack of identification of the reference works utilized by scholars including Nori Narasimhaśāstrī.<sup>47</sup> According to Nori Narasimhaśāstrī, Kurukanti Sitarama Bhattacharya gave the death date as "1745 on Thursday, the eighth day of the bright half of the Phalguṇa lunar month"; in addition, the date was given "by Tamil writers as the eighth day of the bright half of Masi month, Krittika star, Thursday" [Nori Narasimhaśāstrī 1969: 13-14]. The dates correspond to February 28th and January 30th respectively [Swamikannu Pillai 1922: 292]. However, the grounds for these opinions are not known. Unless we know the basis of the conclusion, we cannot be convinced, for there is another opinion based upon somewhat firmer grounds, which is also reported in Natarajan's study.

Natarajan says that Kudavayil Balasubramanian fixed the date as February 28th, 1645, Sunday; *Mṛgaśīrṣa* star, eighth day of bright half and twenty-third day of the *Māśī* month in the year of *Tāraṇa* [Natarajan 1988: 154, 514-515]. Natarajan cites [1988: 167, note] the following verse on which the opinion is based:

*śrīmattāraṇavatsare śubhadine śuklāṣṭamīsaṃyute  
nakṣatre mṛgaśīrṣake navadine śrīmāghamāse kalau  
kristvādaḥ śatāṣoḍaśānvitacatupañcaśatābde mahān  
śrīnārāyaṇatīrthasādguruvaro jīvatsamādhim yayau//*

Natarajan [1988: 167, note] says that the source of this verse is not known. However, this verse gives us the following data: *Tāraṇa* year, *Māgha* month, eighth day of bright half, *Mṛgaśīrṣa nakṣatra*, AD 1645. The meaning of 'navadine' is not clear. According to *Indian Ephemeris*

<sup>46</sup> Nori Narasimhaśāstrī spells 'Kuruganti' for 'Kurukanti'. Natarajan also spells as 'Kuruganti' [1988: 514-515], though he spells differently in other pages.

<sup>47</sup> Natarajan [1988: 514] says he could not find the mention to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha in 'Kuruganti' Sitarama Bhattacharya's study, "Tanjapura Andhra Nayaka Raja Charitram (written in Telugu)", No.17 of Andhra Grantha Mala, Tanjavur: Sarasvati Mahal Library, 1932.

vol.VI, the eighth day of bright half of the *Māgha* month in the year of *Tāraṇa* (AD 1645) corresponds to January 25th, Saturday [Swamikannu Pillai 1922: 92]. Since I could not refer to the study of Kudavayil Balasubramanian directly and I also do not have any knowledge of ephemeris, I cannot know the reason why Kudavayil Balasubramanian fixed the date as twenty-third<sup>48</sup> of the month of (*Kumbha*)*māsī*, which does not correspond to days of the *Māgha* month but corresponds to days of the *Phālguna* month. These problems must be solved before fixing the death date.

Further, P.K. Gode [1938: 70b] suggested the active period of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the author of the *Bhāṭṭabhāṣāprakāśikā* and the disciple of Śivārāma Tīrtha, as about AD 1650. If we identify this Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha with the author of the *Kṛṣṇalīlātaraṅgiṇī*, the flourishing period given above, AD 1675-1745, must be reconsidered.

I would like to argue that the flourishing period of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha, can be determined in the following way.

Among the works to which he wrote a commentary, the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, generally attributed to Viśvanātha, is the latest. Therefore, the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*'s date is the upper limit of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's flourishing period. From the closing verses of Viśvanātha's *Nyāyasūtravṛtti*<sup>49</sup>, we know Viśvanātha flourished around AD 1634, and we can surmise the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* to have been written around AD 1634. In the case that we cannot consider Viśvanātha the author of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda*, and rather regard Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma as its author<sup>50</sup>, the upper limit of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's flourishing period becomes approximately AD 1600.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> 'Subhadina' can be read as the 23rd day. However, according to *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol.VI, Feb. 28th, 1645 is not the 23rd day of the *Kumbhamāsī* month. The 23rd of the month is 18th, Feb., and is the 2nd of bright half of the *Phālguna* month. On the contrary, the 23rd, Feb., which is the 28th of the *Kumbhamāsī* month, is the 8th of bright half of the *Phālguna* month. See Swamikannu Pillai 1922: 92.

<sup>49</sup> The closing verse 2 of the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* runs as follows: *rasabāpatithau śakendrakāle bahule kāmātithau śucau sithē / akaron munisūtravṛttim etāṃ nanu vṛndāvīpine sa viśvanāthaḥ* // [p.1201, ll.20-23]. 'Rasabāpatithi (1556)' of the Śaka era corresponds to AD 1634.

<sup>50</sup> Viśvanātha's authorship of the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* and commentary *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* was denied and both works were ascribed to Kṛṣṇadāsa Sārvabhauma (16th century) by D.C. Bhattacharya and Umesha Mishra [Mishra 1966: 422; Matilal 1977: 109]. However, scholars generally have not accepted this opinion [Matilal 1977: 110; Potter (comp.) 1983: 411].

<sup>51</sup> Several correspondences between Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's works and the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti*, however, may suggest that Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha utilized the latter. The explanation of three kinds of *anumāna* in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* I.7 [Ch. ed. p.9, ll.3-8] corresponds to the sentences found in the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* I.1.5 very much [p.147, ll.27-29; cf. *Siddhāntamuktāvalī* 142,143]. The interpretation of the three kinds of inference, viz., *pūrvavat*, *śeṣavat* and *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*, mentioned in the *Nyāyasūtra* I.1.5, as *kevalānvayin*, *kevalavyatirekin* and *anvayavyatirekin* is seen in various works of the Nyāya-school, and the syllogistic sentences used as illustrations in both the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* are often found in other works of the Navya-Nyāya-school. While explaining the three kinds of *anumāna* in *Sāṃkhyacandrikā* 5, Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha does not use the terms *kevalānvayin*,

The lower limit of his period can be fixed in the following way. As we have seen previously, Gauḍabrahmānanda Sarasvatī is known as a disciple of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. According to P.K. Gode [1954: 210, note 1], one manuscript of Gauḍabrahmānanda Sarasvatī's *Nyāyaratnāvalī*, a commentary on the *Siddhāntabindu* of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, was transcribed in AD 1687 (Vikrama 1743).<sup>52</sup> Further, both Gopinath Kaviraj and Umesha Mishra say Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's *Nyāyacandrikā* was written before AD 1701, the date of a manuscript of the *Muktāvalīprakāśa* of Dinakara.<sup>53</sup> In view of the above, the lower limit of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's flourishing period can be argued approximately AD 1690.

Thus, I would like to suggest that the flourishing period of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha, is AD 1600-1690 rather than 1675-1745.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

Above, problems of the works of the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and his flourishing period have been briefly examined. The conclusions derived are merely tentative, due to the limitation of reference materials. However, the list of the works attributed to Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha, the author of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, clearly shows his philosophical interest and familiarity not only with Sāṃkhya and Yoga, but also with Advaitavedānta, Nyāya and Bhakti. Many passages concerning the doctrine of Advaitin, Naiyāyika and philosophy of Bhakti appear in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and this is a reflection of his philosophical interest. Although Advaitin and Naiyāyika are found sometimes as opponents, their influence on Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's interpretation of the *Yogasūtra* is remarkable, especially in his

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*kevalavyatirekin* and *anvavyatirekin*. Therefore, in the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*, he must have followed some of the Nyāya-school's text. Moreover, the resemblance in detail between the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* and the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* is striking. Another example of the correspondence between Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha's sentences and the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* is found in the explanation of the fivefold classification of *tarka*. The explanation of *tarka* in the *Kusumāñjalikārikāvyaḥkhyā* III.7 [p.39, ll.4-15] resembles that in the *Nyāyasūtravṛtti* I.1.40 [p.325, l.25-p.327, l.25]. These two examples of correspondence between Viśvanātha and Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha may not be firm evidence to prove the posteriority of the latter. Here, I confine my remarks to pointing out the possibility.

<sup>52</sup> According to Gode, the manuscript is listed in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Pt.I, p.719, and Hall's *A Contribution toward an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, p.109.

<sup>53</sup> See Kaviraj 1982 (rpt.): 109-110 and Mishra 1966: 472. Kaviraj and Mishra hold that the manuscript was possessed by Dinakara himself. Though the manuscript is said to be preserved in 'Sarasvati Bhavana Sanskrit Library', I could not find it in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of Sanskrit University Library (Sarasvati Bhavana), Varanasi*.



understanding of the Self (*ātman* or *puruṣa*) and of the means of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*). Moreover, his emphasis on Bhakti-yoga is one of the most striking characteristics of the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā*. In other words, it is this philosophical interest of Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha that gives unique position to the *Yogasiddhāntacandrikā* among various commentaries on the *Yogasūtra*.

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