

## The Date of Ādi Śa nkarāchārya

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Ādi Śankarāchārya was the greatest philosopher of India who single-handedly demolished the mightiest edifice of the Buddhist philosophy and re-established the authority of ancient philosophy of Upanishads & Vedānta. He was the founder of the theory of Brahmādvaitavāda i.e. Non-dualism. He was perhaps the greatest spiritual leader of the world has ever known who re-energized entire country in his short life of 32 years. Ancient records suggest that he lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE but historians say that the scrutiny of various evidences leads us to a date in the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE regarding the date of Buddha nirvaṇa in 483 BCE. In the last 125 years, many scholars have attempted to fix the date of Ādi Śankara but unfortunately, nobody has ever succeeded till date in presenting a date without any inconsistencies. Therefore, eminent historians have conveniently indulged in the selective acceptance of the data and selective rejection of the data to fix the date of Ādi Śankara around 788-820 CE.

Evidently, the failure in finding the real date of Ādi Śankara indicates that our basic assumption of the date of Buddha nirvaṇa around 483 BCE may be incorrect and needs to be reviewed. **Al Beruni states that “In former times, Khurasan, Persia, Iraq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathushtra (Zoroaster) went forth from Azarbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh..... In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh.”**<sup>1</sup> This statement of Al Beruni explicitly indicates that Buddha lived at least few hundred years before Zoroaster. But historians mistakenly fixed the date of Zoroaster around 628-551 BCE and the date of Buddha around 563-483 BCE. Therefore, the date of Buddha nirvaṇa in 483 BCE is factually incorrect. Moreover, the carbon dating of recent excavations at Lumbini suggest an earlier date than 483 BCE. Therefore, I have reviewed the epochs of ancient Indian eras based on the epigraphic and literary evidences and presented an alternative chronology with reference to revised epochs of the eras in my book<sup>2</sup> and articles<sup>3</sup>. I have considered the following epochs of the eras for arriving the date of Ādi Śankara.

### **The Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE):**

The epoch of Śaka era commenced in 583 BCE whereas Śakānta era commenced in 78 CE. Historians have mistakenly considered the epochs of Śaka and Śakānta as identical. I refer to my article “The Epoch of the Śaka era” and my book “The Chronology of Ancient India: Victim of Concoctions and Distortions”, Chapter 2.

### **The epoch of the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE)**

Kārttikādi Vikrama era commenced in 719-718 BCE 135 years before the epoch of the Śaka era i.e. 583 BCE. When the epoch of Śakānta (78 CE) was fixed by Indian astronomers, a Chaitrādi calendar was introduced considering the epoch of Vikrama era in 57 BCE 135 years before 78 CE. Historians have mistakenly considered the epochs of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BCE) as identical. I refer to my book “The Chronology of Ancient India: Victim of Concoctions and Distortions”, Chapter 5.

### **The epoch of Yudhishtira era (3162 BCE)**

During the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some scholars have propounded that the Mahābhārata war occurred in 3138 BC which became very popular though it is not supported by any epigraphic or literary evidence. Mahābhārata records that Sri Krishna died in the 36<sup>th</sup> year and Bhāgavata, Vishnu, Brahma Puranas mention that the epoch of Kaliyuga commenced from the death of Sri Krishna. Considering the epoch of Kaliyuga in 3102 BC, the date of Mahābhārata war has been fixed around 3138 BC. Evidently, the date of 3138 BC is based on the epoch of 3102 BC considering it to be the sheet anchor.

In fact, the epoch of 3102 BC became popular only after 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE when Indians started following Surya Siddhanta. The earliest epigraphic evidence indicates that the epoch of 3102 BC was in use in Andhra around the year 2628 (474-473 BCE). The Śaka King Chashtana introduced an epoch of 583 BCE when he took control over western India. Śakas followed Yavana Siddhanta and introduced “Yavanajataka of Sphujidhvaja” in India. Yavanajataka followed a shorter yuga cycle of 165 years which failed to impress Indian astronomers but successfully influenced a brain-storming in Indian astronomy. In this process of brain-storming, Indian astronomers got gradually attracted to the accuracy of Surya Siddhanta. It may be noted that Surya Siddhanta and Yavana Siddhanta both acknowledge “Maya” to be the originator of astronomy. Thus, Indians started following Surya Siddhanta from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE onwards. Gradually, the epoch of 3102 BC became popular as the epoch of Kaliyuga.

Prior to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Indians commonly used the epoch of Yudhishtira era which was identical to the epoch of Mahābhārata war. Udyoga Parva of Mahābhārata clearly indicates that the epoch of Kaliyuga has commenced from the year of Mahābhārata war (कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे, स्फीतसस्यमुखे काले कलेः सत्त्ववतां वरः | 81.7 & यस्मिन् यत्नः कृतो ऽस्माभिः स नो हीनः प्रयत्नतः, अकृते तु प्रयत्ने ऽस्मान उपावृत्तः कलिर महान | 151.21). Thus, the epochs of Kaliyuga, Yudhishtira era and Mahābhārata war have been identical in ancient times. Later, the epoch of Kaliyuga was assumed to be identical to the epoch of Mahābhārata war and the epoch of Yudhishtira era. Interestingly, an inscription of medieval era refers to the epoch of 3102 BC as Yudhishtira era.

Aryabhata also tells us that the fourth Yugapada (Kaliyuga) commenced before Mahābhārata war. Thus, there were four different views about the beginning of Kaliyuga.

1. The fourth Yugapada or Kaliyuga began before Mahābhārata war. (Aryabhata)
2. The epoch of Kaliyuga commenced from the year of Mahābhārata war. (Mahābhārata, Udyoga Parva, Bhagavatayana Parva)
3. The epoch of Kaliyuga commenced from the date of Sri Krishna nirvana. (Bhagavata Purana).
4. The epoch of Kaliyuga commenced from the conjunction of Sun, Moon and Planets in Revati nakshatra in 3102 BC. (Surya Siddhanta)

Evidently, the date of 3138 BC has been arrived based on the epoch of 3102 BC which was introduced around the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Therefore, the date of 3138 BC cannot qualify to be the traditional date of Mahābhārata war.

Varahamihira quotes from the ancient work of Vriddha Garga and mentions that Saptarshis were in Magha nakshatra around 3176-3076 BCE. He also records that total 2526 years elapsed up to the epoch of Śaka-kala. It unambiguously indicates the date of 3176 BCE when Yudhishtira was on the throne of Indraprastha. Ancient Indians traditionally referred to Saptarshi calendar for recording the chronology of historical events. Puranas also clearly tell us that Saptarshis were in Magha around 3176-3076 BCE. A Vakataka inscription of King Devasena mentions that Saptarshis were in Uttara Phalguni around Śaka 380 (203 BCE). Evidently, Indians followed the forward motion of the Saptarshis. If the Saptarshis were in Uttara Phalguni around 276-176 BCE, then undoubtedly the Saptarshis were in Magha around 3176-3076 BCE.

Kaliyuga-Raja Vrittanta records:

यदा युधिष्ठिरो राजा शक्रप्रस्थे प्रतिष्ठितः । तदा सप्तर्षयः प्रापुर्मघाः पितृहितेरताः ॥

पञ्चसप्ततिवर्षाणि प्राक्कलेः सप्त ते द्विजाः । मघास्वासन महाराजे शासत्युर्वीम युधिष्ठिरे ॥

“When Yudhishtira was crowned King at Sakraprastha i.e. Indraprastha, the constellation of the Great Bear or the Saptarshis entered the region of the star Magha. Seventy-five years before the commencement of the Kaliyuga, the seven Rishis crossed over into Magha star when Yudhishtira was ruling over the earth (Indraprastha).”

Kaliyuga Raja Vrittanta was written when the epoch of Kaliyuga (3102 BC) of Surya Siddhanta was established but the traditional date of Yudhishtira’s reign in Indraprastha was still known to the scholars of Puranas. An ancient manuscript describing the date wise chronology of all the kings of Hastinapur was published in the fortnightly magazine of Nathdwara (Rajasthan) called “Harishchandra Chandrika and Mohan Chandrika” in 1872. By adding the total number of years from the reign of Yudhishtira in Indraprastha to the end of the reign of Vikramaditya II, it comes

to 3178 years. According to Bhavishya Purana, Vikramaditya was born in 3000 Kali year (101 BCE) and lived for 100 years. Therefore, Yudhishtira was coronated in Indraprastha in 3177 BCE.

Though the movement of the Great Bear (Saptarshis) from one nakshatra to another in a period of 100 years is not an astronomical fact but Indians followed a Saptarshi calendar of 2700 years since ancient times. This ancient tradition unambiguously tells us that the Saptarshis entered into Magha nakshatra in 3176 BCE or 3177 BC when Yudhishtira was on the throne of Indraprastha. Therefore, the ancient tradition clearly indicates that Yudhishtira performed Rajasuya Yajna and ascended the throne of Indraprastha in 3177 BCE or 3178 BC. Thus, the chronology as follows:

		BC	BCE
1	Yudhishtira's coronation in Indraprastha	3178 BC	3177 BCE
2	The Great Bear (Saptarshis) entered into Magha as per ancient Saptarshi calendar.	3177-3176 BC	3176-3175 BCE
3	Pandavas lost in "akshadyuta" and proceeded for Vanavasa of 13 years.	3176 BC	3175 BCE
4	Vanavasa of 12 years	3176-3164 BC	3175-3163 BCE
5	Ajnatavasa of 1 year	3164-3163 BC	3163-3162 BCE
6	The year of Mahābhārata war	3163-3162 BC	3162-3161 BCE
7	The first day of Mahābhārata war (Karttika Amavasya)	25 <sup>th</sup> Oct 3163 BC	25 <sup>th</sup> Oct 3162 BCE
8	The war lasted for 18 days	25 <sup>th</sup> Oct 3163 BC to 11 <sup>th</sup> Nov 3163 BC	25 <sup>th</sup> Oct 3162 BCE to 11 <sup>th</sup> Nov 3162 BCE
9	The epoch of Yudhishtira era or the coronation of Yudhishtira in Hastinapur (on 28 <sup>th</sup> day)	21 <sup>st</sup> Nov 3163 BC	21 <sup>st</sup> Nov 3162 BCE
10	The date of Bhishma Nirvana (Magha Sukla Ashtami, Rohini Nakshatra and the 68 <sup>th</sup> day from the date of Mahābhārata war)	31 <sup>st</sup> Dec 3163 BC	31 <sup>st</sup> Dec 3162 BCE

Epigraphic evidence also supports the date of Mahābhārata war given in the literary sources. The Aihole inscription of the early Chalukya King Pulakesin II dated in Śaka 556 elapsed (27 BCE) explicitly mentions that  $30+3000+100+5 = 3135$  years elapsed up to 27 BCE from the year of Mahābhārata war; that means  $3135+27 = 3162$  BCE was the year of the Mahābhārata war. Western historians distorted the statement of Aihole inscription "*Sahābda- śata-yukteṣu*" into "*Saptābda- śata-yukteṣu*" and calculated that  $30+3000+700+5 = 3735$  years elapsed and not 3135 years. Considering the epoch of the Sakānta era (78 CE) as the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE), historians have arrived the year 3102 BCE [ $3735-(556+78) = 3102$ ] and concluded that Ravikirti,

the author of the Aihole inscription, referred to the epoch of the Kaliyuga era as the epoch of the Mahābhārata war. None of the Indian literary sources refer to the epochal year of Kaliyuga as the year of the Mahābhārata war. Therefore, the text “*Sahābda-śata-yukteṣu*” must be correct. Thus, the Aihole inscription tells us that 3135 years elapsed from “*Bhāratāt Āhavāt*” meaning “the war of Bharatas” i.e. Mahābhārata war. Thus, the year of the Mahābhārata war was 3162 BCE as recorded in the Aihole inscription.

As explained earlier, Indians also referred to the epoch of Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE) as the epoch of Yudhishtira era in ancient times. The same epoch was also presumed as the beginning of Kaliyuga but when Surya Siddhanta gained popularity after 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Indians gradually forgot the epoch of Yudhishtira era and regularly referred to the epoch of 3102 BCE as the epoch of Kaliyuga. Kalidasa mentions in his Jyotirvidabharanam that the use of the epoch of Yudhishtira era has finally been ended in the year 3044 (118 BCE).

In view of the above, we can fix the epoch of Yudhishtira era in 3162 BCE.

### **The Epoch of Kaliyuga (3101 BCE or 3102 BC)**

The ancient epoch of Kaliyuga was in 3176 BCE or 3162 BCE but later, it has been transformed into an astronomical epoch. Thus, the epoch of Kaliyuga was reset in 3101 BCE or 3102 BC. Indian literary sources and inscriptions referred to the epoch of 3102 BC starting from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

### **The Date of Buddha Nirvaṇa (1865 BCE)**

All inscriptions of Burma clearly indicate that there was a difference of 1182 years between the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the epoch of the Buddha religion. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Buddhist Council was held during the reign of Kālāśoka 100 years after Buddha nirvaṇa. This date of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Council became the epoch of Buddha religion. Thus, the epoch of Buddha nirvaṇa was 1282 years before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). I refer to my article “The Date of Buddha Nirvaṇa”.

### **The Date of Mahāvīra Nirvaṇa (1189 BCE)**

Mahāvīra attained nirvaṇa 470 years before the epoch of Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719-718 BCE) and 605 years & 5 months before the epoch of the Śaka era (583 BCE). I refer to my article “The Date of Mahāvīra Nirvaṇa”.

### **The Epoch of Śri Harṣa era (457 BCE)**

Al Beruni states that an epoch of Śri Harṣa era (457 BCE) was in vogue in India and total 1488 years elapsed in this epoch up to 1031 CE. I refer to my book “The Chronology of Ancient India: Victim of Concoctions and Distortions”, Chapter 6.

Let us critically examine the numerous evidences related to the date of Ādi Śankara with reference to the epochs of the eras as explained above.

### **The Date of 788-810 CE**

Eminent historians have erroneously fixed the date of Buddha nirvaṇa around 483 BCE and started examining the internal evidence of the works of Ādi Śankara. They found that Ādi Śankara referred to the Buddhist philosophers like Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti. Vasubandhu lived 1100 years after Buddha nirvaṇa, who was the teacher of Diṅnāga. Dharmakīrti was the disciple of Dharmapāla and lived 1200 years after nirvaṇa. Therefore, they concluded that Ādi Śankara must be dated at least 1200 years after Buddha nirvaṇa. Sh. KB Pathak found a manuscript of three pages in Belgaum which records that a Śankarāchārya was born in Kali 3889 (788 CE), Vibhava samvatsara and entered into cave in Kali 3921 (810 CE) and died on Vaishakha Purnima<sup>4</sup>. Some other works of Nilakantha Bhatta etc. also give the similar dates of a Śankarāchārya. Thus, historians fixed the date of Ādi Śankara around 788-810 CE. Unfortunately, the Śringeri Math has innocently accepted this date of Ādi Śankara under the undue influence of eminent historians ignoring its own historical records that explicitly refer to a date in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

There will be numerous inconsistencies if we agree to a date of Ādi Śankara in the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Historians are aware of these inconsistencies but prefer to brush aside them because these inconsistencies unambiguously suggest an earlier date which would ultimately lead to a complete review of the chronology of ancient India. Since eminent historians are either intellectually dishonest or academically incompetent, therefore, they have preferred to brush aside the inconvenient data rather accepting the challenge for a critical and comprehensive review of the chronology starting from the epoch of Buddha nirvaṇa. it would be pertinent to highlight the following serious inconsistency that clearly leads to a date of Ādi Śankara many centuries before 788 CE.

According to the chronology given in the textbooks of history, Kālidāsa flourished during the reign of the Gupta King Chandragupta II (380-415 CE). Kālidāsa authored a Sanskrit play “Mālavikāgnimitram”. In the beginning of this play, the Pāripārśvika asks Sūtradhāra that why we are going to stage a play of the contemporary poet like Kālidāsa ignoring the works of ancient poets like Bhāsa, Saumilla and Rāmilla (प्रथितयशसां भास-सौमिल्लिक-कविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायाम् कथं बहुमानः). Kāṭayavema, the commentator on the play, also clarifies that Bhāsa, Saumilla and Rāmilla were ancient poets (भासकविपुत्रसौमिल्लिका कवयः प्राक्तनाः). Thus, Mālavikāgnimitram of Kālidāsa and the commentary “Kumāragirirājīyam” of Kāṭayavema unambiguously mention that Bhāsa, Saumilla and Rāmilla (Kaviputra) lived earlier than Kālidāsa. Rāmilla and Saumilla were the contemporaries of Matr Gupta and Bhartṛmenṭha and in the court of King Śrī Harṣa. Rājatarāṅgini of Kalhaṇa informs us that Harṣa Vikramāditya

appointed Maṭṛgupta as the King of Kashmir. Maṭṛgupta ruled in Kashmir for four years, nine months and one day. Kalhaṇa also mentions that Kashmiri poet Bhartṛmenṭha enjoyed the patronage of Maṭṛgupta and authored “Hayagrīva-vadha”<sup>5</sup>. Soḍhala gives the chronological order of the great Sanskrit poets in his Udayasundarīkathā and places Bhartṛmenṭha before Kālidāsa but after Guṇāḍhya<sup>6</sup>. It is well known that Guṇāḍhya, the author of Brihatkathā, was in the court of the Śātavāhana King Hāla who flourished around 495-490 BCE according to the Puranic chronology. Harṣa Vikramāditya was the famous king Śrī Harṣa of Puṣyabhūti dynasty who reigned around 457-420 BCE considering the epoch of Śrī Harṣa era in 457 BCE as mentioned by Al Beruni. Rāmilla also authored a play named “Maṇiprabhā”. A verse quoted by Gururājaratnamālikā clearly tells us that Rāmilla was the contemporary of Śrī Harṣa. It is also said that Rāmilla and Bhartṛmenṭha were the keepers of elephants and horses of King Śrī Harṣa. Rāmilla also mentions Maṭṛgupta. Therefore, we can accurately date the great Sanskrit poets Saumilla, Rāmilla, Maṭṛgupta and Bhartṛmenṭha around 450-420 BCE.

Interestingly, Rāmilla mentions in his play “Maṇiprabhā” that Guru Śrī Śankarendra, the disciple of Jagadguru Vidyāghana was the contemporary Śankarāchārya and the head of Sarvajña Pīṭha. In Ātmabodhendra Sarasvatī’s commentary on “Gururājaratnamālikā”, there is a quotation from Rāmilla’s play “Maṇiprabhā”<sup>7</sup>.

विधाधिप रामिलाख्य स्वस्यैवाश्वीयशालाविचारकस्तादात्मिकविबुधजनमाननीय-  
तद्विरुदवाही मणिप्रभाकारो मैथिल इति लक्ष्यम् ॥

अत्रानुसन्धेय यत्किल मणिप्रभायां—  
सूत्रधार । आर्ये, अवधीयताम् ।

मङ्ग चन्दनमर्दिन प्रणतयो स्फूर्जद्रसां साहितीं  
हर्षक्षोणिपतेश्च हर्षमतुल दृष्टैव ये तानिषु ।  
धीरांस्तान् गुरुशङ्करेन्द्रयमिनश्चित्तेस्मरज्जामिल  
प्राणैर्षात्स मणिप्रभां प्रथयितु भक्तेर्गुरोर्गौरवम् ॥

नटी—अञ्जुत्त कोसों च दणमद्दीके पणदाको अहरिसमहीवालोके वा सुगहीतणामहे  
असरिंदा इति सकित्तिञ्च इगुरुपदेण समचे अक इणा ।

सूत्रधार —न जानासि ?

मूकामोऽपि जगद्गुरो करुणया विधाघनस्याप्तवा-  
गाचार्योऽस्ति हि शङ्करेन्द्रविरुदस्सर्वज्ञपीठाधिप ।  
अर्चाकिङ्करमातृगुप्तकवितागर्वस्य निर्वासना-  
याधायोश्वपनागपावपि कवी रामिल्लमेदू क्षणात् ॥\*

(Gururājaratnamālikā, p 53)

किञ्च—

आचार्येशद्विजन्मार्थ्यतिथिषु विनतो वैनतेयश्शकाहे  
कश्मीरानेव काव्य किमपि कवयितुर्दत्तवानप्रमत्तम् ।  
रक्षादत्तप्रहर्षप्रकृतिकृतिशताभ्यातहर्षस्सहर्ष  
कर्णाम्यर्णावतीर्णः कथमथतदनो विक्रमी विक्रमार्क ॥

Bhartṛmenṭha also mentions in his Kavya “Hayagrīva-vadha” that Śrī Śankarendra was his contemporary Śankarāchārya.

यच्च ह्यग्र्याववधेऽपि —

ख्यातश्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकपालब्धसाहिल्यविधः  
सद्यस्साधूक्तिसमोद्यपि परकवितामर्षिणो मातृगुप्तात् ।  
प्रौढाः प्रौढोक्तिरूढैर्निबिडरसमरैर्गुम्भनैर्यत्र मेदु-  
मैधुर्मोदादिनादीद्वयवदनवध वाग्यकुण्ठस्स मेण्ठ ॥

इति च प्रपञ्चितम् ।<sup>1</sup>

Considering the epoch of Śrī Harṣa era (457 BCE), Guru Śrī Śankarendra was the head of the Sarvajña Pīṭha around 460-420 BCE and his Guru Śrī Vidyāghana was the head of the Sarvajña Pīṭha around 480-460 BCE. Thus, Ādi Śankara undoubtedly flourished in 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE and lived before Vidyāghana, Śankarendra, Rāmilla and Bhartṛmenṭha.

In view of the above, Rāmilla, Saumilla and Bhartṛmenṭha must be dated at least few hundred years before Kālidāsa and Ādi Śankara must be placed at least a hundred years before Rāmilla and Bhartṛmenṭha. Considering the date of Kālidāsa around 380-415 CE as given in the modern text books, Ādi Śankara cannot be dated later than the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. Unfortunately, eminent historians have brushed aside all these facts and illogically fixed a date around 788-820 CE.

### The works of Ādi Śankara: Internal evidence

Ādi Śankara wrote commentaries on Brahmasūtras, ten Upanishads and Bhagadgītā. He also wrote a commentary on the Kārikas of Gauḍapāda and a philosophical work named “Upadeśasāhasrī”. Many other works are attributed to the name of Śankarāchārya but it appears that most of them were written by a later Śankarāchārya. Ādi Śankara has cited a line from Diṅnāga’s Ālambanaprakāśa in his Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya. Diṅnāga was the pupil of Vasubandhu. Ādi Śankara has quoted a verse from Dharmakīrti’s Pramāṇavārtika in his Upadeśasāhasrī. He has quoted Gauḍapāda in his Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya. He refers to Gauḍapāda as his “Paramaguru” in his commentary on Gauḍapāda’s Kārikas. Evidently, Ādi Śankara must be dated after Vasubandhu, Diṅnāga, Gauḍapāda and Dharmakīrti.



## The Chronological History of Buddhism

		Years after Buddha Nirvaṇa	In CE
	Buddha lived for 80 years and attained nirvaṇa on 5 <sup>th</sup> Apr 1865 BC		1945-1865 BC
	1 <sup>st</sup> Buddhist Council in Rajagṛha immediately after nirvaṇa during the reign of King Ajātaśatru.		1865 BC
	Aśoka (Kālāśoka) became the King of Magadha and ruled Magadha to Takśaśilā including Kashmir.	100 years	1765 BC
	2 <sup>nd</sup> Buddhist Council during the reign of Aśoka and Tripiṭakas were compiled. Buddhism (Theravāda) was introduced in Burma.	100 years	1765 BC
	According to Kalhaṇa, Turuṣka kings Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka became kings of Kashmir. <sup>8</sup>	150 years	1715 BC
	Kalhaṇa mentions that Chandrāchārya wrote his grammar and Mahābhāṣya during the reign of Kashmir king Abhimanu <sup>9</sup> . At the same time, Nāgārjuna I laid a strong foundation for Mūlasarvāstivāda school of Buddhist philosophy.	~240 years	1625 BC
	Maurya King Aśoka ascended the throne	318 years	1547 BC
	3 <sup>rd</sup> Buddhist Council was held at Pāṭalīputra	318 years	1547 BC
	Theravāda was established in South India and Śrī Lanka	336 years	1529 BC
	Mūlasarvāstivāda in the form of Sautrāntikas (later evolved as Hīnayāna) dominated in entire western India and Central Asia whereas a school of Sarvāstivāda (later evolved as Mahāyāna) started evolving in Kashmir and Gāndhāra which later evolved as Mahāyāna.		1500-1300 BC
	Zoroaster founded Zoroastrianism in Balkh and central Asia and ensured the decline of Buddhism.		1320-1260 BC
	Yavana King Milinda and Buddhist scholar Nāgasena <sup>10</sup> flourished 500 years after Buddha nirvaṇa.	500 years	1365 BC
	Mahākātyāyana or Kātyāyanīputra the author of Prajñapti lived in the 6 <sup>th</sup> century after Buddha nirvaṇa as mentioned in "Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha" <sup>11</sup> . <b>Kātyāyaniputra was the founder of Vaibhāṣika school of Hīnayāna</b> and authored. According to Life of	500-600 years	1365-1265 BC

	Vasubandhu written by Paramārtha, Bodhisattva Maming (Aśvaghoṣa) was the contemporary of Kātyāyanīputra. In my opinion, We have to identify Maming as Maitreya and not as Aśvaghoṣa who was the contemporary of Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka.		
	<b>Kumāralāta</b> was the famous scholar of <b>Sautrāntika school of Hīnayāna</b> . Harivarman was his disciple.	500-600 years	1365-1265 BC
	According to Samyukta Ratna Piṭaka Sūtra, Kuṣāṇa King Kaniṣka reigned 700 years after Buddha nirvāṇa.	700 years	~1140 BC
	Kashmir Buddhist Council was held during the reign of Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka.		1130 BC
	Vasumitra, Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna II were the contemporaries of Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka. <b>Nāgārjuna II founded Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna</b> and Nāgārjuna propounded the famous Śūnyavāda. Yaśomitra mentions in his Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā that Abhidharma works were composed by Mahākauṣṭhila, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Devaśarman, Vasumitra and Pūrṇa before Vasubandhu. Evidently, Mahākauṣṭhila, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana and Devaśarman must be dated before Vasumitra and Pūrṇa must be dated before Vasubandhu.		1150-1100 BC
	Asaṅga and Vasubandhu lived 900 years after nirvāṇa. <b>Asaṅga founded the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna</b> . Thus, Hīnayāna had two schools, Sautrāntika & Vaibhāṣika and Mahāyāna had two schools, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra.	900-1000 years	965-865 BC

## The Date of Vasubandhu

According to Tibetan sources, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were half-brothers from Puruṣapura of Gāndhāra Janapada. Asaṅga's father was a Kṣatriya whereas Vasubandhu's father was a Brāhmaṇa. Prasannaśīlā was the mother of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Professor J. Takakusu published "The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha" in the year 1904. It is a translation from a Chinese manuscript. It states that a Kauśika Brāhmaṇa family of Puruṣapura (Peshawar) had three sons, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Viriñchivatsa. Asaṅga studied Hīnayāna texts from Arhat Pindola and also studied Mahāyāna texts. He went to a cave of Kukkuṭapāda hill and did penance for 12

years and founded Yogāchāra school of Mahāyāna. Buddhamitra was the teacher of Vasubandhu. Manoratha, a Buddhist scholar of Law, was the junior contemporary of Vasubandhu.

King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā was the patron of Buddhamitra, a Buddhist scholar. Probably Āchārya Vṛṣagaṇa, the philosopher of Sāṅkhya school was also in Ayodhyā. Vindhyāvāsin was the pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa and lived in the caves of Vindhyā mountains in the kingdom of the Nāga kings (Probably, the Kings of Bhāraśiva Nāga dynasty). Once Vindhyāvāsin went to Ayodhyā and challenged Buddhamitra for debate. He defeated Buddhamitra, the teacher of Vasubandhu in a debate at Ayodhyā in the absence of Vasubandhu. Later, Vasubandhu came to know about the defeat of his guru and wished to avenge his teacher's defeat but he could not trace out the location of Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin. Therefore, Vasubandhu composed "Paramārthasaptatikā" in refutation of Vindhyāvāsin. Thus, Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin was the senior contemporary of Vasubandhu.

Vasubandhu authored the famous text Abhidhamma Kośa. King Bālāditya became the King of Ayodhyā after the death of his father Vikramāditya. King Bālāditya invited Vasubandhu to Ayodhyā. Vasubandhu debated with Vasurāta, a grammarian who was the brother-in-law of King Bālāditya. He also debated with Sanghabhadra, a Hīnayāna scholar. Bhartṛhari, the author of "Vākyapadīyam", was the son and pupil of Vasurāta. It may be noted that Bhartṛhari of Vākyapadīya and Bhartṛhari of Nīti-Śrīṅgāra-Vairāgya Śatakas were two different persons.

Asaṅga asked Vasubandhu to come back to Puruṣapura and persuaded him to promote Mahāyāna. Thus, Vasubandhu became the Āchārya of Mahāyāna and went back to Ayodhyā where he died at the age of 80 years. Paramārtha mentions in his commentary on the Madhyānta-Vibhāga of Maitreya that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after Buddha nirvaṇa. The Chinese manuscript of "Life of Vasubandhu" written by Paramārtha states that Vindhyāvāsin and Vasubandhu lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century after Buddha nirvaṇa<sup>12</sup>. Thus, the date of Vasubandhu can be fixed around 960-880 BC. Tibetan sources tell us that Diṅnāga was a disciple of Vasubandhu. Therefore, Diṅnāga can be dated around 920-850 BC.

Interestingly, Vamana's Kavyalankara-Sutravritti (3.2.2) clearly mentions that Chandraprakasha was the son of Chandragupta and his minister was Vasubandhu (960-880 BCE), the great Buddhist philosopher.

साभिप्रायत्वं यथा—

‘सोऽयं संप्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा  
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः ।’

आश्रयः कृतधियामित्यस्य वसुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात्साभि-  
प्रायत्वम् । एतेन ‘रतिविगलितबन्धे केशपाशे सुकेश्याः’ इत्यत्र सुके-  
श्या इत्यस्य च साभिप्रायत्वं व्याख्यातम् ।

Evidently, Ayodhya King Vikramaditya and his son Baladitya mentioned by Paramārtha were Chandragupta and Chandraprakasha respectively. We can roughly fix the date of Chandragupta Vikramaditya around 984-930 BCE and Chandraprakasha Baladitya around 930-880 BCE.

### **The Myth of Two Vasubandhus**

Historians unnecessarily created a confusion about the date of Vasubandhu. They say that Paramārtha gives two dates i.e. 900 or 1100 years after Buddha nirvaṇa whereas Hien Tsang says that Vasubandhu lived around 1000 years after Buddha nirvaṇa. But I have not found the date of 1100 years in the text of “Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha”. Paramārtha says in his commentary on Madhyānta Vibhāga of Maitreya that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after nirvaṇa whereas he says in his work “Life of Vasubandhu” that Vindhyāvāsin and Vasubandhu lived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century after nirvaṇa. Evidently, there is no contradiction in these two statements of Paramārtha which clearly indicate that Vasubandhu lived 900 years after nirvaṇa. If we consider the date of Buddha nirvaṇa around 483 BC and minimum 900 years’ gap, Vasubandhu cannot be dated before 417 CE. According to the Chinese sources, Kumārajīva translated Abhidharma Kośa of Vasubandhu. Historians have already fixed the date of Kumārajīva around 344-409 CE. Therefore, Vasubandhu must be dated before Kumārajīva but it will lead to certain chronological inconsistencies.

In 1911, PN Peri proposed the date of Vasubandhu around 350-430 CE and stated that Vasubandhu was the contemporary of Kumārajīva<sup>13</sup>. J. Takakusu opined that Vasubandhu can only be dated around 425-500 CE. In 1951, Prof. E. Frauwallner floated an idea that there were two Vasubandhus<sup>14</sup>. He proposed that the Vasubandhu, the brother of Asaṅga, who converted to Mahāyāna was a different person from the Vasubandhu, a contemporary of Vindhyāvāsin, the famous Sāṅkhya philosopher. Interestingly, Sh. Padmanabh S Jaini presented an evidence based on the manuscript of the Abhidhamma-dīpa with a commentary of the Vibhāṣā-Prabhā-vṛtti discovered in Tibet by Rahul Sankrityayana in 1937. This Vṛtti contains 17 hostile references to the Kośakāra (Vasubandhu) criticizing his Sautrāntika views and accusing him of entering the portals of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Evidently, the Vasubandhu who converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism under the influence of his elder brother Asaṅga and the Vasubandhu, the author of Abhidharmakośa were the same. Prof. E. Frauwallner also quoted Yaśomitra’s commentary on Abhidharma Kośa in which Yaśomitra has referred to Vasubandhu as Vṛddhāchārya. But Yaśomitra did not give any indication to prove the existence of two Vasubandhus. He has simply referred to Vasubandhu as Vṛddhāchārya because he was the earliest Āchārya and the founder of the Abhidhamma of Yogācāra school. There is no credible evidence to establish that there were two Vasubandhus. In fact, Prof. E. Frauwallner has failed to reconcile the chronological inconsistencies in dating of Vasubandhu and ultimately concocted the myth of the existence of two Vasubandhus.

## The Date of Paramārtha and Kumārajīva

There is the following note at the end of the Chinese manuscript “Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha”.

“From the beginning, as far as here the narrative refers to Vasubandhu and his brothers. Hereafter it records the travel of the Āchārya of the Tripiṭaka from the capital of Tai-chou to the east, and thence to Kwang Chou (Canton), where he re-translated the Mahāyāna works.”

J. Takakusu writes in the note that “We do not know who wrote this note. It is certain, however, that it is by one who struck out the portion relating to the author, Paramārtha, and made the life purely of Vasubandhu. We can see from this note that the original form of the work was different from what we have now, being a sort of memorandum giving biographical notes of Vasubandhu and Paramārtha.”

Evidently, historians blindly assumed the Āchārya of Tripiṭaka mentioned in this note as Paramārtha and fixed the date around 499-569 CE. If he was indeed Paramārtha, why the scribe of the manuscript mentions him as Āchārya of Tripiṭaka instead of Paramārtha? It appears that one Āchārya of Tripiṭaka translated it from Sanskrit text and a scribe made a copy of it. We should not fix the date of Paramārtha just based on the date of Āchārya of Tripiṭaka until we get an additional evidence to support it.

It is more logical that the date of Paramārtha must be fixed based on the internal evidence of his works. Paramārtha himself mentioned in his work that he wrote it 1265 years after Buddha nirvaṇa (600 BCE). Therefore, we can fix the date of Paramārtha around 630-550 BCE. It is generally assumed that Yaśomitra was a contemporary of Paramārtha.

There is also divergence of opinion about the date of birth and the date of death of Kumārajīva. Historians place Hien Tsang (602-664 CE) and I-Tsing (635-713 CE) in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. Hien Tsang mentions Buddhist scholars Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, Guṇamati, Sthiramati and Prabhāmitra. Prabhāmitra died in China as recorded by Hien Tsang. I-Tsing tells us that Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghoṣa belong to an early age of Buddhism whereas Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Sanghabhadra, Bhāvaviveka belong to the middle ages. According to him, Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Simhakandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Prāgñagupta, Guṇaprabha, Jinaprabha or Pramaprabha belong to later years.

I have reviewed entire Chinese chronology and found that there is also a chronological error of 660 years. I refer to my article “The Missing ~660 years in the Chronology of the World History”. Therefore, we must fix the dates of Buddhist scholars of China based on the date of Buddha nirvaṇa (1865 BCE). In all probability, Hien Tsang and I-tsing visited India in 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and Kumārajīva lived around 317-252 BCE.

## The Chronology of the Āchāryas of Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṃsā, Buddhism and Jainism Philosophies

Let us discuss the chronology of Āchāryas of various schools of philosophies who lived before Ādi Śāṅkara considering *the date of Buddha nirvaṇa (1865 BC) and the date of Vasubandhu (960-880 BC)* as sheet anchor.

No.	Indian Philosophers	In CE
1.	<b>Íśvara Krishna</b> was the author of Sāṅkhya Kārika. Undoubtedly, he lived before Vṛṣagaṇa and Vindhyāvāsin. This text of Sāṅkhya philosophy is the third oldest after the Sāṅkhya Sūtras of Kapila and Shashti-Tantra of Panchashikhacharya. Kapila, Asuri and Panchashikha were the earliest acharyas of Sankhya philosophy. Mahabharata's Shanti Parva mentions that Asuri was the disciple of Kapila. Panchashikha was the son of Kapila and the disciple of Asuri. Gautama, the founder of Nyaya-darshana lived during Ramayana era and he lived after Kapila. Thus, the Sankhya philosophers Kapila, Asuri and Panchashikha lived in pre-Ramayana era. In all probability, Íśvara Krishna wrote Sāṅkhya Kārikas before Buddhism established. Gauḍapāda wrote a commentary on 69 Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna. Vāchaspati Miśra wrote Sāṅkhya Tattva Kaumudi, a commentary on 72 Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna. Maṭharavṛtti is also a commentary on 73 Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna. The difference in number of Kārikas of Íśvara Krishna indicates that the text of Sāṅkhya Kārikā was very ancient by the time of Gauḍapāda and a divergence of opinion existed about the number of Kārikas.	~2300-2200 BCE
2.	<b>Māthara:</b> One Māthara Brahmin wrote a commentary on Sankhyakarika known as "Mātharavritti". Gilgit Manuscript of Vinayavastu mentions that Māthara was the contemporary of King Bimbisara. Thus, Mathara lived during the lifetime of Bimbisara and Buddha (1945-1865 BCE). Mathara refers to Ishvarakrishna as "Bhagavan". Therefore, we must fix the date of Ishvarakrishna at least few hundred years before Māthara.	1940-1860 BCE
3.	<b>Nāgārjuna II</b> , the founder of Mādhyamika school of Mahāyāna. He authored Mādhyamika Kārikas. Gauḍapāda was familiar with the Kārikas of Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna was the contemporary of Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka. He wrote a letter of advice to his friend King. The Tibetan translation of this letter is available. Historians simply speculated that Nāgārjuna's friend King was Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi considering him	1165-1085 BCE

	to be a contemporary of Later Śātavāhana King. There are no references of Śātavāhanas in his works. Most probably, Nāgārjuna might have written this letter to Kuṣāṇa King Kaniṣka. Hien Tsang clearly mentions that Nāgārjuna was the contemporary of Kaniṣka. <b>Aryadeva</b> was the disciple of Nāgārjuna and lived around 1150-1075 BCE.	
4.	<b>Śābara Swāmi</b> wrote the famous “Śābara Bhāṣya” on Mīmāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini (3100 BCE) who was one of the disciples of Veda Vyāsa. Śābara Swāmi’s real name was Ādityadeva but he had to disguise himself as a forester fearing Buddhist persecution.	1100-1000 BCE
5.	<b>Āchārya Taṅka</b> probably lived around 1100 BC. Yāmunamuni, the author of Siddhitraya, places him before Bhartṛprapañcha and Bhartṛhari I. He was the first pre-Ādi Śāṅkara philosopher who propounded Bhedābheda theory.	1100-1000 BCE
6.	<b>Bhadrabāhu I</b> was the 5 <sup>th</sup> Śrutakevalin and Jain scholar. He died 170 years after Mahāvīra Nirvaṇa (1189 BCE). He was the author of Daśavaikaika Niryukti.	1100-1019 BCE
7.	<b>Vātsyāyana</b> wrote a commentary on Nyāya Sūtras of Gautama. He refers to Kautilya Arthaśāstra. He alludes to certain logicians according to whom a syllogism consists of ten members as against the normally accepted five members. Bhadrabāhu I propounded the syllogism of ten members in his work Daśavaikaika Niryukti. Therefore, Vātsyāyana must be dated after Bhadrabāhu I. Diṅnāga criticized Vātsyāyana in his works. Udyotakara, the author of Nyāyabhāṣya-Vārtika and Vāchaspati Miśra also confirmed Diṅnāga’s criticism of Vātsyāyana. Therefore, Vātsyāyana must be dated before Diṅnāga. Vātsyāyana also authored the famous ‘Kāmasūtra’.	1050-970 BCE
8.	<b>Bhartṛprapañcha</b> probably lived around 1000 BCE. Yāmunamuni places him before Bhartṛhari I. He wrote a commentary (unavailable today) on Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad and supported Bhedābheda theory. Ādi Śāṅkara strongly criticized Bhartṛprapañcha in his commentary on Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad.	1040-960 BCE
9.	<b>Vṛṣagaṇa</b> , a great scholar of Sāṅkhya school, was the senior contemporary of King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā. He was the teacher of Vindhyāvāsini.	1025-960 BCE
10.	<b>Bhartṛmitra</b> probably lived around 1000 BCE. Yāmunamuni places him before Bhartṛhari I.	1000 BCE

11.	<b>Budhamitra</b> was the junior contemporary of Vṛṣagaṇa and in the court of King Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā. He was the teacher of Vasubandhu.	990-930 BCE
12.	<b>Vindhyāvāsin</b> , the pupil of Vṛṣagaṇa, defeated Budhamitra in Ayodhyā. He was the senior contemporary of Vasubandhu.	990-920 BC
13.	<b>Asaṅga</b> was the elder brother of Vasubandhu. Gauḍapāda appears to have modelled a Kārika on a verse of Asaṅga.	962-880 BC
14.	<b>Vasubandhu</b> was the junior contemporary of Vindhyāvāsin and lived 900 years after Buddha nirvaṇa. Vasurāta and Sanghabhadra were his contemporaries.	960-880 BC
15.	<b>Vasurāta</b> , a grammarian, was the brother-in-law of King Bālāditya of Ayodhyā. He debated with Vasubandhu. He was the father and guru of Bhartṛhari I.	960-880 BC
16.	<b>Sanghabhadra</b> , a Hīnayāna philosopher, was the contemporary of Vasubandhu. He also debated with Vasubandhu.	950-870 BC
17.	<b>Bhartṛhari I</b> was the famous author of “Vākyapadīyam”, a greatest work on the philosophy of word and meaning. He was the pupil and son of Vasurāta. He has referred to Chandrāchārya, a grammarian who lived 200-250 years after Buddha nirvaṇa as stated by Kalhaṇa. He also mentions that a considerable time has elapsed from Patanjali, the author of Mahābhāṣya. Yāmunamuni, the author of Siddhitraya, gives the names of philosophers Taṅka, Bhartṛprapañcha, Bhartṛmitra, Bhartṛhari, Brahmadatta, Śankara, Śrivatsāṅka and Bhāskara. Evidently, Taṅka (1100 BCE), Bhartṛprapañcha (1040 BCE) and Bhartṛmitra (990 BCE) lived before Bhartṛhari I.	935-860 BC
18.	<b>Diṅnāga</b> was the disciple of Vasubandhu according to Tibetan sources. He refers to Vasubandhu as ‘Āchārya Vasubandhu’ Thus, Diṅnāga must be dated as a junior contemporary of Vasubandhu. Diṅnāga quoted Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari I.	920-840 BCE
19.	<b>Brahmadatta</b> probably lived around 800-700 BCE. Yāmunamuni places him before Ādi Śankara but after Bhartṛhari I.	800-700 BCE
20.	<b>Udyotakara</b> was the author of Nyāyabhāṣya-Vārtika. He wrote a commentary on Nyāya-bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana. He attacked Diṅnāga in his work. He mentions the name of ancient city “Sruḡhna” (Sugh in Yamunanagar of Haryana). He attacked Nāgārjuna. He also refers to Buddhist philosopher Vasubandhu as mentioned in the commentary of Vāchaspati Miśra. Dharmakīrti criticized Udyotakara.	800-700 BCE



21.	<b>Bhāvaviveka</b> wrote Mādhyamika Hridaya Kārika and a commentary called Tarka-jwāla. (He was a contemporary of Dharmapāla?). Some scholars claimed that Bhāvaviveka has quoted Gauḍapāda but it seems to be based on extreme speculations, hence, unsustainable.	700-620 BCE
22.	<b>Dharmapāla</b> was the teacher of Dharmakīrti and Śīlabhadra.	650-570 BCE
23.	<b>Íśvarasena</b> taught Nyāya to Dharmakīrti as mentioned by Tibetan monk Tārānātha. He was the follower of Diṅnāga.	650-570 BCE
24.	<b>Paramārtha</b> wrote one of his works 1265 years after Buddha nirvaṇa.	640-570 BCE
25.	<b>Yaśomitra</b> was a contemporary of Paramārtha	640-570 BCE
26.	<b>Kumārila Bhatta I</b> was the author of Ślokavārtika and Bṛhattika on Śābarabhāṣya. He referred Vindhyāvāsin in his Slokavartika. He criticized Diṅnāga. Jinendrabuddhi, a commentator on Diṅnāga's Pratyaksha Parichcheda, clearly informs us that Kumārila I criticized Diṅnāga. Dharmakīrti attacked Kumārila I in his works. Tibetan sources (Tārānātha) also tell us that Kumārila I and Dharmakīrti were contemporaries. There are some verses attributable to Kumārila Bhatta I but not traceable in Ślokavārtika. Evidently, Kumārila I might have also written another work that not traceable today. According to Sarvadarśana-Kaumudī, Kumārila Bhatta was senior to Prabhākara. Someśvara, in his commentary "Nyāyasudha" on Tantravārtika of Kumārila II, explicitly indicates that he relied on another celebrated writing of Kumārila for his comments on the Tantravārtika. Evidently, he distinguishes between Kumārila I and Kumārila II. A passage in Sanskrita Chandrika (collected from Jain Prabandhas) indicates that Kumarila Bhatta I was 48 years older than Adi Sankara as recorded by WR Athankar.	618-540 BCE
27.	<b>Dharmakīrti</b> was the disciple of Dharmapāla according to Tibetan sources. The same Tibetan sources also tell us that Dharmakīrti was the contemporary of Tibetan King Srong-btan-gampo who married a Chinese princess Kong-Cho who came to Tibet in 639 AD? The date of the Chinese princess is discernible from Chinese sources. The King Srong-btan-gampo's period is given in the works of Bai'Du'rya dkar-po, which have been cited in 'Tibetan Grammar' by L Soma de Koros. In all probability, Tibetan King Srong-btan-gampo lived for 80 years around 625-545 BCE. Dharmakīrti Attacked Udyotakara and Kumārila I. <b>Devendrabhūti</b> was the pupil of Dharmakīrti and <b>Śākyasiddhi</b> was the pupil of Devendrabhūti.	610-530 BCE

28.	<b>Prabhākara</b> was the disciple of Kumārila Bhatta I. He wrote a commentary “Bṛhatī” on Śābara-bhāṣya of <b>Mīmāṃsā</b> Sūtra. Prabhākara attacked Vārtikakāra (the author of Ślokavārtika i.e. Kumārila Bhatta I). Umveka mentions him as Anupāsitaguru. Prabhākara referred to Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari, Dharmakīrti. Some scholars speculated that Prabhākara lived after Bhāravi because he stated “अविवेकः परमापदां पदम्”. There were many oneliners existed traditionally. This cannot be the evidence to place Prabhākara after Bhāravi.	610-530 BCE
29.	<b>Śālikanātha</b> was the direct disciple of Prabhākara. He wrote a commentary on Bṛhatī of Prabhākara. Śālikanātha has explained many times how Prabhākara criticizes Vārtikakāra i.e. Kumārila Bhatta.	590-510 BCE
30.	<b>Śīlabhadra</b> was the disciple of Dharmakīrti.	590-510 BCE
31.	<b>Gauḍapāda</b> was the Paramaguru of Ādi Śankara. He wrote a commentary on Sāṅkhyakārikas of Iśwara Krishna. Most probably, he was alive during the lifetime of Ādi Śankara. Gauḍapāda was familiar with Yaśomitra’s works.	<b>650-550 BCE</b>
32.	<b>Govindapāda</b> was the disciple of Gauḍapāda. His real name was Chandra Śarma.	<b>620-540 BCE</b>
33.	<b>Viśvarūpa</b> was the disciple of Kumārila Bhatta I and the resident of Māhiṣmatī.	575-480 BCE
34.	<b>Ādi Śankara</b> refers to Gauḍapāda as his Paramaguru. He was the disciple of Govindapāda.	<b>569-537 BCE</b>
35.	<b>Śri Harha</b> was the king of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. He was the patron of Maṭṛgupta, Bhartṛmenṭha, Rāmilla and Saumilla. He wrote Nāgānikā etc.	457-406 BCE
36.	<b>Maṭṛgupta</b> became the king of Kashmir. He was also the patron of Bhartṛmenṭha.	410-406 BCE
37.	<b>Bhartṛmenṭha</b> was the author of Hayagrivavadha and also Mṛcchakaṭikam. He was the contemporary of Śri Śankarendra, the head of Sarvajña Pītha of Kanchi.	470-390 BCE
38.	<b>Rāmilla-Saumilla</b> brothers were the authors of Śudrakakathā. Rāmilla wrote a Play named “Maṇiprabhā”. Rāmilla and Saumilla were the contemporaries of Śri Śankarendra, the head of Sarvajña Pītha of Kanchi.	470-390 BCE

39.	<b>Kundakunda</b> , a Jain Āchārya, became pontiff of Mūla Saṅgha and Nandi Saṅgha around Śaka 49 (534 BCE) - Śaka 100 (483 BCE). He authored Samayasāra and criticized Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śankara.	534-483 BCE
40.	<b>Umāswāmi</b> was the disciple of Kundakunda and became pontiff of Nandi Saṅgha around Śaka 101 (482 BCE) and Śaka 141 (442 BCE). He authored Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra. Later, he became the founder of Kāṣṭha Saṅgha.	482-442 BCE
41.	<b>Samantabhadra</b> was the pupil of Bālakapiccha who was the disciple of Umāswāmi.	410-380 BCE
42.	<b>Akalaṅka I or Akalaṅka Vādibhasimha</b> was a Jain philosopher and the author of Tattvārtharājavārtika, a commentary on Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra of Umāswāmi. He also wrote Aṣṭa-śatī, a commentary on the Āpta <b>Mīmāṃsā</b> of Samantabhadra. <b>Siddhasenagaṇi</b> , the contemporary of <b>Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa</b> (203 BCE), has referred to Akalaṅka's Siddhiviniśchaya. Haribhadra has also referred to Akalaṅka's Nyāya. Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara wrote Nandichūrṇi in Śaka 598 (15 CE) and referred to Akalaṅka's Siddhiviniśchaya. Jain scholar Vidyānanda refers to Akalaṅka I.	380-300 BCE
43.	<b>Śrīvatsāṅka</b> lived after Ādi Śankara but before Bhāskara Batta as mentioned by Yāmunamuni.	~250 BCE
44.	<b>Kālidāsa</b> wrote Jyotirvidābharaṇam in Kaliyuga 3068 (34 BCE). He was one of the Navaratnas of Vikramāditya II of Ujjain.	105-25 BCE
45.	<b>Kumārila II</b> was the author of Tantra Vārtika and Tutika on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtra Bhāṣya of Śabara Swāmi. He quoted <i>Vākyapadīya</i> of Bhartṛhari I. Kumārila II has criticized Jain scholar Samantabhadra who wrote Gandhahastibhāṣya (Āpta-Mimāṃsa) on Tattvārthādhigamasūtra of Umāswāmi. Jain Scholars Vidyānanda and Prabhāchandra refer to Kumārila's criticism of Samantabhadra. Kumārila II has quoted a verse from Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna Śākuntalam in his Tantra Vārtika ( <i>satām hi sandehapadeṣu vastuṣu pramāṇa-mantaḥkaraṇasya vṛttayaḥ</i> ). Kālidāsa indirectly refers to Diṅnāga in his Meghaduta as mentioned by commentator Mallinātha. Kumārila also knew "Kasika-vritti" (Nyasa) of Jinendrabuddhi. WR Athankar mentions in his book that Kumarila II was born in Kaliyuga year 2930 (171 BCE) as recorded in Sankara Vijaya of Brahmananda Sarasvati.	70 BCE-10 CE (171-70 BCE?)

46.	<b>Mandana Mishra</b> quoted Kumārila. Tradition says that he was the disciple of Kumārila II. He strongly criticized Ādi Śankara in his Brahmasiddhi.	90 BCE-10 CE
47.	<b>Śankarāchārya II</b> was the founder of Śringeri, Puri, Dwāraka and Jyotirmath Pithas.	44 BCE-59 CE
48.	<b>Bhāskara Bhatta</b> authored a commentary on Brahmasūtras and criticized Ādi Śankara. He followed Pariṇāmavāda.	50 BCE-30 CE
49.	<b>Udayana I</b> was the author of Nyāyakusumāñjali and Bauddhādhikāra. Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha of Madhavāchārya refers to Udayana's Kusumāñjali.	50 BCE-30 CE
50.	<b>Bāṇabhatta</b> was the author of Kādambari and Harṣacharitam. Historians mistakenly assumed him to be the contemporary of Śrī Harṣa of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. He refers to Kālidāsa. Udayasundarikathā of Soḍhala places him between Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. Thus, he was the junior contemporary of Kālidāsa and senior contemporary of Bhavabhūti. Bhavabhūti was in the court of Yaśovarman and senior contemporary of Vakpatirāja as mentioned by Kalhaṇa.	40 BCE-40 CE
51.	<b>Mayūra</b> was the contemporary of Bāṇabhatta as mentioned in Mādhava Śankara Vijayam.	40 BCE-40 CE
52.	<b>Dandi</b> was also a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa. He himself mentions that his great grandfather was a contemporary of Bhāravi who was in the court of Ganga king Durvinīta (193-138 BCE)	40 BCE-40 CE
53.	<b>Abhinavagupta I</b> was a Śākta philosopher from Kāmarūpa. He wrote a Śāktabhāṣya. He was a great opponent of the advaita philosophy. Śankara digvijayam of Mādhava and an extract of another Śankara Vijayam mentions him. ( <i>Tadanantaramēṣa Kāmarūpān, Adhigatyābhinavaopaśabdaguptam   Ajayat kila Śāktabhāṣyakāram Sa cha bhagno manasedamāluloche   </i> ), Śankarāchārya II defeated him in a Śāstrārtha (debate) when he reached Assam in the course of Digvijaya.	40 BCE-40 CE
54.	<b>Nīlakantha</b> lived in the second half of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE as mentioned in Mādhava Śankara Vijayam.	40 BCE-40 CE
55.	<b>Murāri Miśra</b> lived in the second half of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE as mentioned in Mādhava Śankara Vijayam. He was the author of Anargharāghavam.	40 BCE-40 CE
56.	<b>Dharmagupta Miśra</b> lived in the second half of the 1 <sup>st</sup> century BCE as mentioned in Mādhava Śankara Vijayam.	40 BCE-40 CE

57.	<b>Umveka</b> wrote a commentary named “Tātparya Tīka” on Ślokavārtika of Kumārila I. He has also written a commentary on the Bhavana-Viveka of Mandana Miśra. Kamalasīla has referred to Umveka. He was the pupil of Kumārila II and the teacher of Bhavabhūti. In a manuscript of Mālatī-Mādhavam of Bhavabhūti, there is a reference to Umvekāchārya as a disciple of Kumārila II at end of Act III.	40 BCE-40 CE
58.	<b>Bhavabhūti</b> was the pupil of Umveka as mentioned in a manuscript of Mālatī-Mādhavam. Kalhaṇa mentions that Bhavabhūti was in the court of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja and a senior contemporary of Vakpatirāja, the author of Gauḍavaho.	30 BCE-50 CE
59.	<b>Sureśvarāchārya</b> was the famous disciple of Śankarāchārya II. He attacked Mandana Miśra in his works. TR Chintamani pointed out that Vidyānanda, the teacher of Jinasena, the author of Harivamśa Purāṇa quotes a verse from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Vārtika of Sureśvara, the disciple of Śankara. Jinasena wrote Harivamśa Purāṇa in Śaka 705 (122 CE). We can fix the date of Jinasena around 80-150 CE and his teacher Vidyānanda around 60-140 CE.	20 BCE -70 CE
60.	<b>Dharmottara</b> was a Buddhist scholar. He wrote <i>Nyāyabindutīkā</i> . He was the disciple of Archata and Śubhagupta. He was the contemporary of Kashmir King Jayāpīda (52-83 CE).	30-110 CE
61.	<b>Prajñākara Gupta</b> was the author of Pramāṇavārtikālankāra. He clarified the view of Dharmakīrti and criticized Devendrabhūti.	40-120 CE
62.	<b>Karṇakagomin</b> wrote a commentary on Pramāṇavārtika of Dharmakīrti. He has clearly mentioned the name of Umveka.	40-120 CE
63.	<b>Śāntarakṣita</b> quoted Gauḍapāda. He has repeatedly attacked Kumārila I’s Ślokavārtika. He wrote a commentary on a work of Dharmakīrti. According to Tibetan sources, Śāntarakṣita visited Tibet at the invitation of King Khri-sron-deu-tsari who was born around 67 CE. Śāntarakṣita worked in Tibet for 13 years. Śāntarakṣita was born during the reign of Pāla King Gopāla and died during the reign of King Dharmapāla.	50-130 CE
64.	<b>Kamalasīla</b> was the disciple of Śāntarakṣita. He quoted Gauḍapāda. He refers to Vindhyāvāsin in his Tattvasaṅgraha. Kamalasīla has not only mentioned Umveka but also quoted him.	60-140 BCE
65.	<b>Akalaṅka II</b> was the author of Pramāṇasaṅgraha. Akalaṅka II has attacked Karṇakagomin in his Pramāṇasaṅgraha. He was the junior contemporary of Raṣṭrakūṭa King Krishna I (94-109 CE). Kathākośa of Prabhāchandra explicitly tells us that Akalaṅka II was the son of	50-130 CE

	Puruṣottama, the minister of Raṣṭrakūṭa King Śubhattuṅga Krishna I. The Mallinatha Praśasti, a pillar inscription at Chandragiri, refers to Akalaṅka being in the court of Sāhasatuṅga (Dantidurga). Another Kathākośa of Brahmanemi Datta states that a debate between Akalaṅka II and Buddhists took place in Śaka 700 (117 CE).	
66.	<b>Trilochana</b> was the teacher of Vāchaspati Miśra. Rājaśekhara (240-320 CE) praised Trilochana.	120-200 CE
67.	<b>Jayanta Bhatta</b> , a Kashmiri scholar, was the author of “Nyāyamañjari”. He refers to Kashmir King Śankaravarman (184-202 CE). Sh. Satishchandra, the author of ‘History of Indian Logic’, has presented an instance of Jayanta Bhatta citing Vāchaspati Miśra.	150-225 CE
68.	<b>Vāchaspati Miśra</b> calls Diṅnāga as ‘Arvāchīna’ in his Nyāya-vārtika-tātparya-tīkā. Vāchaspati Miśra wrote Nyāyasūchi-nibandha in Kārttikādi Vikrama 898 (179 CE). He wrote a commentary called “Bhāmātī” on the Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya of Ādi Śankara. He also wrote commentaries on Mandana Miśra’s Brahmasiddhi and Vidhiviveka. He also referred to Dharmakīrti, Udyotakara, Samantabhadra and Dharmottara. He refers to Rājavārtika but it cannot be identified as the work of Paramāra Bhoja (338-394 CE). He also referred to Nyāyamañjari of Jayanta Bhatta.	150-225 CE
69.	<b>Kalyanarakṣita</b> refers to Vāchaspati. His disciple <b>Ratnakarashanti</b> became the teacher at Vikramasila University during the reign of King Chaṇaka who died in 322 CE.	225-300 CE
70.	<b>Abhinavagupta II</b> was the author of Tantrāloka and the founder of Śivādvaita.	230-320 CE.
71.	<b>Śri Harṣa</b> was the author of Khandanakhandakhadyaka and Naiṣadhīya-charitam.	250-320 CE.
72.	<b>Udayana II</b> authored “Lakṣaṇāvalī” in the Śakanta era 906 (984 CE). He wrote a commentary “Pariśuddhi” on Vāchaspati Miśra’s Tātparya Tīkā.	950-1030 CE

## Many Blunders committed by historians

### 1. *Two Kumārila Bhattas*

Historians mistakenly assumed that there was only one Kumārila Bhatta but in reality, there were two Kumārila Bhattas. Kumārila I, a South Indian, was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti and the

senior contemporary of Ādi Śankara whereas Kumārila II, a North Indian and the resident of Prayāga, was the teacher of Mandana Mishra of 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

**Kumārila Bhatta I (630-550 BCE):** According to Tibetan sources, Kumārila I was the senior contemporary of Dharmakīrti. Tārānātha says that he was a South Indian. Kumārila I was a rich man and owned many rice fields. During his times, Buddhism was dominating. He joined a Bauddha Vihāra in disguise and studied Buddhist philosophy so that he can effectively counter Buddhism and re-establish Vedic Mīmāṃsā philosophy. When Buddhists came to know his motives, they thrown him out of Vihāra. Kumārila I was hurt in one eye in this physical tussle with Buddhists. Thereafter, Kumārila I emerged as the biggest challenge to Buddhism. Dharmakīrti entered the service of Kumārila I in disguise and learnt Vedic Mīmāṃsā Philosophy from him. Later, Dharmakīrti attacked Kumārila I in his works.

Kumārila was the author of Ślokavārtika and Bṛhaṭṭīkā on Śābarabhāṣya. He referred to Āchārya Vindhyāvāsin in his Ślokavārtika and criticized Diṅnāga. Prabhākara was the pupil of Kumārila Bhatta I but he had some differences with his guru and founded his own school of Mīmāṃsā philosophy. Since Prabhākara criticized his own teacher, Umveka calls him as “Anupāsītāguru” means a person who disrespects his teacher. Śālikanātha, the disciple of Prabhākara, explains how Prabhākara differs from Vārtikakāra i.e. the author of Ślokavārtika i.e. Kumārila I. Owing to the differences between Kumārila I and Prabhākara, two schools of Mīmāṃsā i.e. “Bhāṭṭa” & “Prābhākara” came into existence. According to Sarvadarśanakaumudī;

शबरस्वामिकृतं भाष्यम् । तदुपरि प्रस्थानद्वयं - भाट्टम प्राभाकरमिति । तत्र भट्टाचार्याणाम पञ्च व्याख्यानानि भाष्यस्य - एका बृहटीका , द्वितीया मध्यमटीका , तृतीया टुष्टीका, चतुर्थी कारिका पञ्चमं तन्त्रवार्तिकं..... । तत्र बृहन्मध्यमटीके संप्रति न वर्तेते ।

“There are two Prasthānas (schools) on the commentary named “Śābara-Bhāṣya” on Mīmāṃsā sūtras. One is Bhāṭṭa (Kumārila) school and another is Prābhākara school. There are five commentaries of the Āchāryas of Bhāṭṭa school, 1. Bṛhaṭṭīkā, 2. Madhyama Tīkā, 3. Tuptīkā, 4, Kārikā, 5. Tantravārtika. The texts of Bṛhaṭṭīkā and Madhyama Tīkā are not available today.”

Evidently, Bṛhaṭṭīkā of Kumārila Bhatta I was lost long time ago. This is the reason why many verses and quotes attributable to Kumārila Bhatta I are not traceable in Ślokavārtika. Nyāyaviveka, a text of Prabhākara school, indicates a contradiction in the works of Kumārila I. It says that Kumārila I has indeed given six meanings in his Ślokavārtika whereas he himself gives ten meanings elsewhere. The work of Kumārila I that gives ten meanings is not available today.

There is a controversy about the date of Kumārila and Prabhākara because of considering only one Kumārila Bhatta. There are many evidences which indicate that Prabhākara lived much earlier than Kumārila Bhatta. Ādi Śankara mentions Kumārila and Prabhākara. Kumārila criticizes Prabhākara whereas Prabhākara mentions himself to be the disciple of Kumārila Bhatta. These

facts clearly indicate that there were two Kumārilas. Kumārila I was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti and the teacher of Prabhākara. Kumārila II lived few centuries later and criticized Prabhākara. Hariswāmi, who wrote a commentary “Śrutiyarthavivṛti” in Kali year 3040 (62 BCE) or 3047? (55 BCE), refers to the works of Prabhākara. Hariswāmi was the “Dharmādhyakṣa” and “Dānādhyakṣa” of King Vikramāditya of 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

**Kumārila Bhatta II (70 BCE-10 CE):** According to one manuscript of Anandagiri’s Śāṅkara Digvijaya, Kumārila Bhatta II was a North Indian. Tradition says that he was born in Prayag. Mandana Miśra was not only Kumārila II’s disciple but also married his sister Sarasavāṇī. Kumārila II was the author of Tantravārtika and Tūṭikā. Kumārila II clearly attacked Prabhākara in his works. Interestingly, Someśvara, in his commentary “Nyāyasudha” on Tantravārtika of Kumārila II, explicitly indicates that he relied on another celebrated writing of Kumārila for his comments on the Tantravārtika. Evidently, Someśvara has referred to Bṛhaṭṭikā of Kumārila I. He also points out how Kumārila II attempted to show that he is not contradicting the Bṛhaṭṭikā which implicitly indicates that Kumārila II is showing utmost respect to the work “Bṛhaṭṭikā” of Kumārila I. Kumārila II has criticized Jain scholar Samantabhadra in his Tūṭikā. Samantabhadra lived at least 100 years after the death of Kundakunda. “Samayasāra” of Kundakunda criticizes Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śāṅkara whereas Ādi Śāṅkara mentions Kumārila. Evidently, Kumārila II, the critic of Samantabhadra cannot be the senior contemporary of Ādi Śāṅkara. Moreover, Kumārila II quotes Kālidāsa’s Abhijñāna Śākuntalam in his Tantravārtika. Kālidāsa lived around 105-25 BCE. Thus, Kumārila II was a junior contemporary of Kālidāsa. Interestingly, Tibetan Buddhist Scholar Tārānātha mentions that Ādi Śāṅkara flourished before Kumārila. Evidently, Tārānātha (1575-1634 CE) mixed up the details of two Kumārilas. In all probability, Tārānātha says that Dharmakīrti was a contemporary of Kumārila I and also informs that Ādi Śāṅkara lived before Kumārila II.

Interestingly, the reference of “भट्टाचार्याणाम्” in plural tense in Sarvadarśana Kaumudī clearly indicates that there were more than two Kumārila Bhattas. Ananda Chandra Agrawala’s book “Goalparar Puroni Biworon” claims that Kumārila Bhatta belongs to Assam based on Assamese literary sources. Wikipedia has accepted this claim. Out of five Bhatta commentaries on Śābara-Bhāṣya, Ślokaṁvārtika (Kārikā) and Bṛhaṭṭikā were written by Kumārila I (630-550 BCE) whereas Tantravārtika was written by Kumārila II (80-0 BCE). Madhyama tīkā is not available today. Tūṭikā refers to Jain philosopher Samantabhadra. Therefore, the author of Tūṭikā lived after 350 BCE. Probably, the author of Tūṭikā may be the Kumārila Bhatta who belonged to Assam. If there was only one Kumārila Bhatta, why he wrote three commentaries i.e. Bṛhaṭṭikā, Madhyama Tīkā and Tūṭikā on the same Śābara-Bhāṣya and ensured his Tūṭikā to be in conformity of his own Bṛhaṭṭikā? Evidently, there were more than one Kumārila Bhatta.



## 2. Two Akalaṅkas in the history of Digambara Jainism.

Historians again committed a blunder by considering two Akalaṅkas, the Digambara Jain scholars, as one. In reality, Akalaṅka I flourished in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE whereas Akalaṅka II lived in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.

**Akalaṅka I or Akalaṅka Vādibhasimha (380-300 BCE):** Akalaṅka was a Digambara Jain philosopher and the author of Tattvārtharājavārtika, a commentary on Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra of Umāswāmi. He also wrote Aṣṭa-śatī, a commentary on the Āpta Mīmāṃsā of Samantabhadra. Siddhasenagaṇi, the contemporary of Devardhigaṇi Kśamāśramaṇa (203 BCE), has referred to Akalaṅka's Siddhiviniśchaya. Haribhadra has also referred to Akalaṅka's Nyāya. Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara wrote Nandichūrṇi in Śaka 598 (15 CE) and referred to Akalaṅka's Siddhiviniśchaya. Jain Scholar Vidyānanda refers to Akalaṅka I. Akalaṅka I has criticized Kumārila I (a verse of Ślokavārtika). He had a title of Vādibhasimha, probably, given by early Ganga Kings. A copper plate of Harivarman dated Śaka 169 (414 BCE) refers to a debate between a Brāhmaṇa and a Buddhist. King Harivarman gave the title of Vādibhasimha to the Brāhmaṇa who defeated a Buddhist.

**Akalaṅka II (50-130 CE):** Akalaṅka II was the author of Pramāṇasaṅgraha. He was the junior contemporary of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Krishna I (94-109 CE). The Kathākośa of Prabhāchandra explicitly tells us that Akalaṅka II was the son of Puruṣottama, the minister of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Śubhattuṅga Krishna I. The Mallinatha Praśasti, a pillar inscription at Chandragiri, refers to Akalaṅka II being in the court of Sahasatuṅga (Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga) [78-93 CE]. According to Kathākośa of Brahmanemi Datta states that a debate between Akalaṅka II and Buddhists took place in Śaka 700 (117 CE). Akalaṅka II has attacked Buddhist scholar Karṇakagomin in his Pramāṇasaṅgraha.

## 3. Two Udayanas

Udayana I, the author of Nyāyakusumāñjali lived in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE whereas Udayana II, the author of Lakṣaṇāvalī, lived in 984 CE around a thousand years later. But historians mistakenly considered them to be the same person.

**Udayana I (50 BCE-30 CE):** Udayana I was the author of Nyāyakusumāñjali and Bauddhādhikāra. Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha of Madhāvachārya refers to Udayana's Kusumāñjali. Śrī Harṣa wrote Khandanakhandakhādyā, a criticism of Udayana I's Kusumāñjali at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

**Udayana II (984 CE):** authored "Lakṣaṇāvalī" in the Śakanta era 906 (984 CE). He wrote a commentary "Pariśuddhi" on Vāchaspati Miśra's Tātparya Tīkā. Probably, he also authored a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's Naiṣadhacharitam.

## 4. The date of Bāṇa Bhatta, the author of Kādambarī and Harṣacharitam

**Bāṇa Bhatta (40 BCE-40 CE):** Historians wrongly assumed that Bāṇa Bhatta was the contemporary of King Śrī Harṣa of Puṣpabhūti dynasty. In fact, Bāṇa refers to Kālidāsa. Therefore, we must date Bāṇa after Kālidāsa or at least as the junior contemporary of Kālidāsa. Kālidāsa informs us that Sanskrit poets Saumilla and Rāmilla lived few centuries before him. Rāmilla himself mentioned in his play Maṇiprabhā that he worked in the logistics department of the elephantry and the Cavalry of King Śrī Harṣa. Thus, Bāṇa cannot be a contemporary of King Śrī Harṣa of Puṣpabhūti dynasty.

Moreover, Bāṇa narrates his meeting with the King Śrī Harṣa in the capital city of Upamaṇipura. He was invited by Krishna, the brother of King Śrī Harṣa. Evidently, King Śrī Harṣa, the contemporary of Bāṇa was not the famous King Harṣa Vikramāditya. Soḍhala's Udayasundarikathā tells us that Śrī Harṣa honoured Bāṇa with one hundred crore of gold coins and coronated Bāṇa on a prestigious seat. Later, the crown prince (Yuvarāja), the son of Śrī Harṣa, offered the same seat to Abhinanda, the son of Bāṇa Bhatta. Therefore, Bāṇa Bhatta and his patron King Śrī Harṣa must be dated after Kālidāsa. Śankara Vijayam tells us that Śankarāchārya II (44 BCE-59 CE) debated with Bāṇa. Thus, the date of Bāṇa Bhatta must be fixed around 40 BCE-40 CE.

### **5. Two Abhinavaguptas**

**Abhinavagupta I (40 BCE-40 CE):** Abhinavagupta I was a Śākta philosopher from Kāmarūpa. He wrote a Śāktabhāṣya. He was a great opponent of the advaita philosophy. Mādhava's Śankara Digvijayam mentions him. Śankarāchārya defeated him in a Śāstrārtha (debate) when he reached Assam in the course of Digvijaya.

**Abhinavagupta II (230-320 CE):** Abhinavagupta II was the greatest philosopher of Advaita Śaivism of Kashmir. His ancestor Atrigupta had migrated to Pravarapura (Śrinagar), Kashmir from Antarvedi region of Madhyadeśa (Kānyakubja) on invitation from Kashmir king Lalitāditya in the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Abhinavagupta wrote a commentary on "Dhvanyāloka" of Ānandavardhana who was in the court of Kashmir King Avantivarma (156-184 CE). Varāhagupta was the grandfather of Abhinavagupta. His father was Narasimhagupta (also known as Chukhulaka) and mother was Vimalakalā. Abhinavagupta gives his personal details in his works "Tantrāloka" and "Parātrimśika Vivarana". Ambā was his elder sister. She was married to Karṇa, the grandson of Vallabha. Vallabha was the minister of Kashmir King Yaśaskara (239-248 CE). Karṇa was the one of the most favourite pupils of Abhinagupta. Karṇa and Ambā had a son, Yogeśvaridatta. Karṇa died when his son was probably a teenager. Abhinavagupta also mentions about his paternal uncle, Vāmanagupta and his brother, Manorathagupta. He also mentions his paternal cousins, Abhinava, Chakraka, Padmagupta, Rāmagupta, Kśema. He also tells us about his disciples, Mandra, Kśema, Utpala. Mandra was the same age group friend of Karṇa. In fact, Mandra invited Abhinavagupta to stay at his suburban residence where he wrote "Tantrāloka". Mandra's aunt Vatsalikā looked after Abhinagupta during this period.

Abhinavagupta wrote Kramastava in 66<sup>th</sup> year, on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa i.e. 24<sup>th</sup> November 289 CE. (*Ṣaṭṣaṣṭhike nāmake varṣe Navamyām asite ahani / Mayā Abhinavaguptena Mārgaśīrṣe stutaḥ śivaḥ /*) "Bhairavastava" was written in 68<sup>th</sup> year, on 10<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight in the month of Pauṣa i.e. 1<sup>st</sup> January 292 CE. (*Vasu-rasa pauṣe krishna daśamyām Abhinaguptaḥ stavamimāmakarot / yenāvibhurbhava marusantāpam samayati janasya jhaditi dayāyihī II*). Abhinavagupta refers to King Nānyadeva's commentary on Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra. Nānyadeva established his rule over Nepal in Śaka 811(228 CE), Kārttikādi Vikrama 948 and Nepali Samvat 9. He ruled for 50 years from 228-278 CE.

A manuscript of "Iśvarapratyabhijñā-Vivṛti-Vimarśiṇī" of Abhinavagupta contains a sloka at the end of the work (*iti navatitame'smin vatsare'ntye Yugamśe / Tithi-śaśi-jaladhi-sthe Mārgaśīrṣasāne /*). Based on this sloka, historians wrongly concluded that Abhinavagupta wrote it in 90<sup>th</sup> year and Kali year 4115 (1013 CE). It appears that someone has edited this verse with reference to the epoch of the Śakanta era (78 CE). We have to verify this distortion from the oldest manuscripts available. Considering the date of Kashmir King Yaśaskara (239-248 CE) and Nepal king Nānyadeva (228-278 CE), we can fix the lifetime of Abhinavagupta around 230-320 CE.

#### **6. The Date of Śri Harṣa, the author of Naiṣadhacharitam**

**Śri Harṣa (270-350 CE):** Śri Harṣa was the author of Naiṣadhacharitam and Khandanakhandakhādyam. He was the son of Śri Hīra and Māmalladevi. According to Rajaśekhara's Prabandhakośa, Jayantachandra, the son of Govindachandra was ruling in Vārānasi. Meghachandra was the son of King Jayantachandra. Śri Harṣa's father Hīra was in the court of Govindachandra. Śri Harṣa was still a young boy when his father Hīra died. Śri Hīra had suffered defeat in a debate in the royal court. Therefore, he wished that one day his son Śri Harṣa must defeat his opponent in the debate. Śri Harṣa went to Gurukulas and learnt all arts and sciences. Thereafter, he visited the court of King Jayantachandra. Śri Harṣa challenged his father's opponent for a debate and defeated. Thus, Śri Harṣa became a court poet of Jayantachandra of Vārānasi.

Śri Harṣa wrote Khandanakhandakhādyam and Naiṣadhīya-charitam. His Khandanakhandakhādyam is a critique of the views of Udayana I (Nyāyakusumāñjali). He also wrote Vijayaprasasti. Ram Prasad Chanda says that Vijayaprasasti is all about the Pratīhāra King Vijayapāla (286-310 CE)<sup>16</sup>. A manuscript was existed in Jaisalmer but it is not available today. It appears to be correct because Bhandarkar pointed out that Paramāra King Bhoja refers to Naiṣadha Charita in his Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa and Vāchaspati Mishra, a contemporary of the Sena Kings, has written a criticism of Śri Harṣa's Khandanakhandakhādyam. One Udayanāchārya (undoubtedly Udayana II) wrote a commentary on Naiṣadhacharitam.

Historians mistakenly considered him to be contemporary of Jayachandra of Kannauj. The Kings Govindachandra, Jayantachandra and Meghachandra of Prabandhakośa were not the Kings of Gāhadawāla dynasty. Moreover, Jayachandra was the son of Vijayachandra and not Govindachandra. The kings mentioned in Prabandhakośa were the Kings of Vārāṇasi and reigned around 230-350 CE. Since Bhoja refers to Naiṣadhacharita and Śrī Harṣa wrote Vijayapraśasti, a eulogy of Pratīhāra king Vijayapāla (286-310 CE), the lifetime of Śrī Harṣa around 270-350 CE.

## **Two Śankarāchāryas who have undertaken “Digvijaya Yatra”**

According to the chronological account of the āchāryas of various schools of philosophies as given above, it is evident that there were two Śankarāchāryas who have undertaken “Digvijaya Yātra” to challenge the philosophers for a debate. Ādi Śankara lived around 569-537 BCE whereas Śankarāchārya II lived around 44 BCE-59 CE. Unfortunately, the available texts of various Śankara Vijayas were composed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century or later. Puṇyaślokamañjarī and Gururājaratnamālikā have been composed only in the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. By this time, Indians forgot the real epochs of the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Kārttikādi Vikrama era (719 BCE). Consequently, the followers of Ādi Śankarāchārya mistakenly clubbed the historical account of Ādi Śankara of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE and Śankarāchārya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE.

### **The texts of Śankara Vijayam related to Ādi Śankara**

There was a “Brhat Śankara Vijaya” written by Chitsukhāchārya in ancient times but only available in excerpts. Another text “Prāchīna Śankara Vijayam” written by Ānandagiri is also lost. These two texts place Ādi Śankara in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Keralīya Śankara Vijaya or Śankarāchārya Charita written by Govindanātha also gives the account of Ādi Śankara.

### **The texts of Śankara Vijayam related to Śankarāchārya II**

The copper plates of Kudali Math dated Śālivāhana 1073 (1152 CE) clearly tell us that one text of Śankaravijayam related to Śankarāchārya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE existed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. These copper plates give some historical narrations based on a treatise named “Śankara Vijayam” like the city of Vidyānagara, Vidyāraṇya I, a debate between Śankarāchārya and Mandana Miśra in Vārāṇasi and Sureśvara, the first disciple of Śankarāchārya, etc. Evidently, this old Śankara Vijaya clearly narrates the historical account of Śankarāchārya of 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Unfortunately, this Śankara Vijaya is not available today.

Today, we have mainly three Śankara Vijayas written by Vidyāraṇya, Chidvilāsayati and Vyasāchala. I have already explained in my article “Vijayanagara: A greatest South Indian Empire” that there were three Vidyāraṇyas based on epigraphic evidence. Most probably, the famous “Mādhava-Śankara Vijayam” was written by either Vidyāraṇya II (1380-1387 CE) or Vidyāraṇya III (1415-1450 CE). Two commentaries named “Dindima” and “Advaitarājyalakṣmi” on Vidyāraṇya’s Śankara Vijaya are available written by Dhanapati Sūri (1798 CE) and Achyuta Rāya (1824 CE)

respectively. The “Śankara Vijaya” of Chidvilāsa was written around 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is written as a dialogue between Chidvilāsa and his disciple Vijñanakanda. This text gives the account of Śankarāchārya II similar to the account given in Mādhava Śankara Vijaya but it also provides the information related to the Sarvajña Pīṭha of Kanchipuram. Vyasāchala’s Śankara Vijaya also gives the account similar to Mādhava Śankara Vijaya but it says that Śankara died in Kanchipuram. The available Śankara Vijaya of Vyasāchala appears to be edited by someone or it is not the original Vyasāchalīya Śankara Vijaya because the verses of Vyasāchalīya quoted by Gururājaratnamālikā (16<sup>th</sup> century) are not found in the available text.

Thus, there are three main Śankara Vijayas that provide the historical account of Śankarāchārya II but it appears that all these texts mistakenly mix up the history of Ādi Sankara with that of Śankarāchārya II considering both as the same person.

1. Śankara Vijaya of Vidyāranya II or III (14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century)
2. Śankara Vijaya of Vyasāchala (16<sup>th</sup> century)
3. Śankara Vijaya of Chidvilāsa (17<sup>th</sup> century)

### **Śankara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri (17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century)**

This text is available but it reports supernatural events associated with Śankara. According to the author, one Sarvajña lived in Chidambaram. His wife was Kāmākṣī and Viśiṣṭhā was his daughter. After Gṛhasthāśrama, he went to the forest for penance. He had two disciples, Lakśmaṇa and Hastāmalaka. The same Lakśmaṇa became the famous Rāmānujāchārya. He left his body in Kanchipuram and attained Mokṣa. The author, Anantānandagiri calls himself the disciple of Śankarāchārya. Certain portions of this text appear to be unreliable because the author either erroneously distorted the chronological history to prove that Rāmānuja was the disciple of Śankarāchārya II or he mixed up the account of Sarvajñatman with the account of Śankarāchārya II.

### **Ādi Śankara (569-537 BCE)**

Ādi Śankara was born in a village named Kālāti or Kālady situated on the banks of Pūrṇā River, in Kerala. He was the son of Śivaguru and Āryāmbā. There are more than 300 works attributed to Śankarāchārya but most of them have been written by the Śankarāchārya II. Ādi Śankara, who lived for only 32 years, wrote commentaries on Brahmasūtras, ten Upanishads and Bhagadgītā. He also authored Upadeśasāhasrī and Saundaryalaharī. The internal evidence of Ādi Śankara’s works provides most authentic clues about his date.

1. Ādi Śankara discussed a Kārika of the Buddhist Philosopher Diṅnāga in his Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya (2.2.28). This Kārika was “*Yadantarjñeyarūpam tat bahirvadavabhāsate*” from the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* of Diṅnāga. Ādi Śankara also criticized the interpretations of the Yogāchāra sect of Buddhism. It is well known that Vasubandhu was the founder of

Yogāchāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism and Diṅnāga was his disciple. Vasubandhu lived around 960-880 BCE 900 years after Buddha nirvaṇa (1865 BCE). Dingnaga was the pupil of Vasubandhu and lived around 920-840 BCE.

2. Ādi Śankara also quoted a passage from Pramāṇa Viniśchaya of Dharmakīrti in his Upadeśa Sāhasrī: “*Abhinnopi hi buddhyātmā viparyasitadarśanaih grāhyagrāhaka-samvitti bhedavartiva lakshyate*” (18.142). Dharmakīrti was the great Buddhist logician and he wrote a commentary on the work of Diṅnāga. Dharmakīrti lived around 610-530 BCE.
3. Ādi Śankara refers to Gauḍapāda as his Paramaguru who lived around 650-550 BCE. Govindapāda was the pupil of Gauḍapāda and the teacher of Ādi Śankara as recorded in various Śankara Vijayas. We can assume the date of Govindapāda around 620-540 BCE. Govindapada’s real name was Chandra Śarma and he was from Kashmir.
4. Professor TMP Mahadevan states in his book ‘Gauḍapāda’, “Gauḍapāda effectively countered the erroneous views of Bauddhas headed by Ayārcya who was being attended by such Yogins of the western border of India as **Apalunya** and **Damisa** as well as by Pravrti, the Śaka chief of Takśaśilā.” Sh. Mahadevan has paraphrased this information based on the Gururājaratnamālikā (अभियुञ्जदयार्च्यपूज्यपदान् अपलून्यादिनिष्ठाकसिद्धनेतृन् ... Verse 10) and its commentary named “Suṣamā”. Evidently, Gururājaratnamālikā claims that Gauḍapāda was the contemporary of **Apalunya** and **Damisa** who were none other than **Apollonius of Tyana** and his disciple **Damis**. Modern historians place Apollonius around 15 AD – 100 AD. Considering the error of 661 years in the chronology of Greeks, Apollonius of Tyana must be dated around 646-561 BCE. Damis, the disciple of Apollonius, lived around 630-550 BCE. Thus, Gauḍapāda was the contemporary of **Apalunya** (Apollonius of Tyana) and **Damisa** (Damis).

**[Note:** Unfortunately, ancient work “Gauḍapādollāsa” written by Harimiśra is not available today. Suṣamā, a commentary on Gururājaratnamālikā, quotes from Gauḍapādollāsa and informs us that how Gauḍapāda logically prevailed over the Buddhist philosophers and Greek Yogins of Takśaśilā and consequently, Apollonius of Tyana became the follower of him. Evidently, Greek scholars starting from Pythagoras (1238-1163 BCE) to Apollonius of Tyana (646-561 BCE) used to visit India regularly and learnt the basics of Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy and Medicine, etc. This is how Hellenistic sciences flourished. In fact, the rise of Christianity led Europe into dark ages. Interestingly, the Christians astronomers introduced a fictitious epoch from 1 AD but later it got linked with the birth of Jesus of Nazareth during 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century. This Christian forgery in the chronology has brought forward the lifetime of King Augustus from 724- 647 BC to 63 BC – 14 AD. Thus, the chronology of Greece has also been brought forward by 661 years.

**The Kavale Math (Gauḍapāda Math) of Gomantak (Goa), unfortunately lost all records in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Francis Xavier, a murderer Saint of Vatican, led forcible conversions and killing of hundreds of Hindus and destroyed the Gauḍapāda Math in the 16<sup>th</sup> century during the Portuguese occupation of Goa. Many Acharyas of the Kavale Math were forced to leave Goa (from 57<sup>th</sup> Guru to 62<sup>nd</sup> Guru). Later, the Kavale Math was rebuilt in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.]**

5. Interestingly, Ādi Śankara mentions the names of kings like Pūrṇavarman, Rājavarman, Balavarman, Jayasimha, Krishnagupta etc. and the city of Pāṭalīputra. It is evident that Ādi Śankara flourished later than the time of these kings.

- Na hi vandhyāputro Rājā babhūva prāk Pūrṇavarmaṇo'bhīṣekāt ityevam jātīyakena maryādākāraṇena nirupākhya vandhyāputropajāḥ babhūva bhavati bhaviṣyati iti va viśiṣyate || (Brahmsūtra Bhāṣya, 2.1.17)*
- Tathā cha loke prasiddheṣvapi ativāhikeṣu evam jātīyaka upadeśo dṛśyate, Gachcha ! tvam ito Balavarmāṇam tato Jayasimham tataḥ Krishnaguptamiti || (Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya, 4.3.5)*
- Sādrīṣye sati upamānam syāt, Yathā Simhaḥ tathā Balavarmeti |*
- Yathā Pūrṇavarmaṇaḥ sevābhakta-paridhānamatraphala Rājavarmaṇastu Rājatulyaphala iti tadvat || (Chāndogyopanishad-Bhāṣya, 2.23.1)*
- Yathā asadevedam Rājñāḥ kulam sarvaguṇasampanne Pūrṇavarmaṇi Rājanye Satīti tadvat || (Chāndogyopanishad-Bhāṣya, 2.19.1)*

Sarvajñātman, the author of Sankśepa-śārīraka, clarified that there was a king named Pūrṇavarman who lived before Yudhiṣṭhira (युधिष्ठिरात्प्रागभवन्नरेंद्रो वंध्यासुतः शुर इतीह तद्वत्). Evidently, Ādi Śankara gave examples of historical kings and not contemporary kings. Therefore, we should not speculate about the date of these kings.

6. Ādi Śankara quoted Upavarṣa, Śabara Swāmi, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Bhartṛprapañcha, Drāmidāchārya, Vṛttikāra, Kumārila Bhatta, Prabhākara, Udyotakara, Praśastapāda and Íśvarakrishna. Upavarṣa wrote a commentary on Pūrva Mīmāṃsā much before Śabara Swāmi (1100-1000 BCE). Upavarṣa was the teacher of Pāṇini. Therefore, Upavarṣa cannot be dated later than 2000 BCE. Praśastapāda authored a commentary on Vaiśeṣika Sūtras of Kaṇāda. He might have lived before the rise of Buddhism. Milindapanho (1300 BCE) mentions that Vaiśeṣika was an established branch of Indian philosophy. Praśastapāda had no knowledge of Buddhist philosophy. Therefore, Praśastapāda might have lived not later than 1800 BCE. Nāgārjuna was the contemporary of Kuṣāṇa Kaniṣka and lived around 1165-1080 BCE. Āryadeva was the disciple of Nāgārjuna and lived around (1150-1070 BCE). Drāmidāchārya wrote a commentary on Brahmasūtras and lived much before the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Íśvara Krishna, the author of Sāṅkhya Kārika, lived around 2300-2200 BCE. Bhartṛprapañcha (1040-970 BCE), Udyotakara (800-700 BCE), Kumārila Bhatta I (618-550 BCE) and Prabhākara (620-540 BCE) flourished before Ādi Śankara.

7. We learn from Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya that Ādi Śankara knew about Bhavadāsa's Vṛtti and Śabara's criticism of Bhavadāsa regarding ananyatārtha. Ādi Śankara also refers to Bhavadāsa as Vṛttikāra. Evidently, Bhavadāsa lived before Śabara Swāmi (1100-1000 BCE). While refuting Sphoṭavāda in the Devatādhikaraṇa, Ādi Śankara criticises Śabara and Bhagawan Upavarṣa but he was completely unaware of Mandana Miśra's Sphoṭasiddhi.
8. In Māndukya Upanishad Bhāṣya, Ādi Śankara refers to "Kārṣāpaṇa", a gold coin of his times. Kārṣāpaṇa was in use in India from ancient times to the era of the Śātavāhanas. Pāṇini also refers to Kārṣāpaṇa. When the Śaka Kśatrapas emerged as the powerful rulers in India under the leadership of the Śaka king Rudradāman, they introduced "Dinara" and "Dramma" coins in India by replacing Kārṣāpaṇas. Gupta kings also used the term "Dinara" for gold coins in their inscriptions which indicates that the term "Dinara" became popular by the period of the Gupta kings (335-94 BCE). It is evident that the term "Kārṣāpaṇa" was in use maximum up to the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Therefore, Ādi Śankara cannot be dated later than the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.
9. Ādi Śankara states in his Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya (1.3.33) that there was no Sārvabhauma king in his time. Evidently, the empire of the Śātavāhanas was on decline in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The Śaka kings had well established themselves in western India around 583 BCE. Pallava dynasty had already established their kingdom in Kanchipuram by 600 BCE and the Ratta King Trivikrama Bhatta was ruling in Kongudeśa including Kerala around 580-540 BCE.
10. Historians claim that Ādi Śankara refers to Dravida Śīśu in Soundaryalahari who was none other than Śaiva Tamil Saint Thirujnana Sambandar. But, the commentators of "Soubhāgyavardhini", "Arunamodini", "Ānandagiriya" and "Padārthachandrikā" identify Dravida Śīśu with Ādi Śankara. Therefore, the speculation of historians is completely baseless.

### **Traditional date of Ādi Śankara (the year 2593 and the year 2625)**

Ancient Indian tradition tells us that Ādi Śankara was born in the year 2593 and attained Mokṣa in the year 2625. Puṇyaślokamañjarī and Gururājaratnamālikā written around 16<sup>th</sup> century referred to these traditional dates in the epoch of Kaliyuga (3102 BC). Swami Rajarajeshvara Śankara, a pontiff of Dwāraka Math wrote a book titled "Vimarśa" in 1896 CE and records that Ādi Śankara was born in the year 2631 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era, on Vaiśākha Śukla Pañchami and disappeared in the year 2663 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era on Kārttika Pūrnimā. He also claimed that Dwāraka Math had a copper plate issued by King Sudhanva in the year 2663 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era but Dwāraka Math did not provide any evidence of the existence of the copper plate till date. Sh. TN Shastry wrote a book titled "The age of Śankara" around 1918 but published in 1971. He claimed that he has found a manuscript of Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya of Chitsukhāchārya which gives the dates in the Yudhiṣṭhira era. With respect to Sh. TN Shastry, I have found that either he might



have edited the verses of Chitsukhāchārya's Śankara Vijaya or the manuscript found by him was not a copy of the original Śankara Vijaya of Chitsukhāchārya. He quoted five verses of Chitsukhāchārya which give the details of the date of Ādi Śankara (षड्विंशे शतके श्रीमदयुधिष्ठिरशकस्य वै ।). The use of the word 'Śaka' for Samvat clearly indicates that this verse has been edited by someone who lived after 800 CE. The word 'Śaka' became synonymous to Samvat only after 8<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, the year 2631 and the year 2663 of Yudhiṣṭhira era given by Dwāraka Math and Sh. TN Shastri cannot qualify to be traditional dates.

### **Traditional dates (2593 & 2625) must be in the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE)**

In the last 150 years of Indian historical research, the year 3138 BCE as the date of Mahābhārata war became popular considering 36 years before the epoch of Kaliyuga (3102 BCE) but this date has no literary, epigraphic or traditional evidence. There is a statement in Purāṇas that Mahābhārata war occurred 36 years before Kaliyuga but it contradicts with the statement of Āryabhaṭa. Āryabhaṭa says that third Yugapada (Dwāpara Yuga) ended before Mahābhārata war. Moreover, Kaliyuga Rajavrittanta records that Saptarshis entered Magha constellation when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling in Indrapastha around 3176 BCE.

I have already explained that the fourth Yugapada (kaliyuga) might have commenced in 3176 BCE according to Aryabhaṭa but Lātadeva, the author of Surya Siddhanta has reset the epoch of Kaliyuga in 3102 BC or 3101 BCE considering the great conjunction of planets. The Aihole inscription dated Śaka 556 (27 BCE) clearly says that Mahābhārata war took place in 3162 BCE. Undoubtedly, 3162 BCE was the traditional date of Mahābhārata war which was also the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era. The statement of Āryabhaṭa is also correct because Mahābhārata war occurred in 3162 BC after the epoch of 3176 BCE. The epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE) was in vogue for more than 3000 years. Kālidāsa mentions that the Yudhiṣṭhira era ended in the year 3044 (118 BCE). Evidently, an epoch of Yudhiṣṭhira era was popularly in use before the introduction of Saka era (583 BCE) and gradually faded away around the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. Thus, the traditional dates of Ādi Śankara must have been recorded in Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BCE) in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Therefore, Ādi Śankara born in the year 2593 of Yudhiṣṭhira era (569 BCE) and attained Mokṣa in the year 2625 of Yudhiṣṭhira era (537 BCE).

### **Two Sarvajña Pīthas and Four Mathas established by Ādi Śankara**

Keraliya Śankara Vijaya of Govindanātha gives the variant traditions about the Sarvajña Pītha. It mentions about two Sarvajña Pīthas, Kanchipuram and Kashmir. It completely silent about the establishment of four Mathas but other texts of Sankara Vijayas like Prachina Sankara Vijaya and Brihat Sankara Vijaya indicates that Ādi Śankara also established four Mathas. Evidently, Ādi Śankara established two Sarvajña Pithas; one in Kanchipuram and another in Kashmir. He also founded four Mathas of Sringeri, Puri, Dwaraka and Jyotirmath. Sixteen verses of the 25th chapter of Chidvilāsa's Śankara Vijaya describe the story of Sarvajña Pītha of Kanchipuram. An

aśareeri voice (a divine voice) informed Śankara, when he was about to ascend the Pītha, that it would be proper for him to ascend after winning in debate, the scholars assembled there. Śankara thought for a while. A group of scholars who had come there from some villages of the Tamraparṇi valley put some questions to Śankarāchārya on his philosophy of Advaita, Māyā (the theory of illusion), Devabeda, Mūrtibeda, etc. Śankara explained to them the eternal and all-pervading nature of Brahman, the inability of man to understand the Supreme One seeming as different entities, because of ignorance, the non-existence of a second other than the Brahman and the means for attaining emancipation. The scholars were fully convinced. They bowed before the Great Āchārya. Thereafter Śankara ascended the Sarvajña Pītha amidst the sounding of musical instruments and the tumultuous shouts of joy of the vast number of devoted spectators. Showers of flowers fell from above and a fragrant breeze blew all around. Evidently, Ādi Śankara might have challenged the Buddhists and other philosophers in Kanchipuram for a debate and defeated the scholars of all philosophical schools. The king of Kanchipuram might have coronated Ādi Śankara on Sarvajña Pītha.

Ādi Śankara also went to Śrinagar, Kashmir and defeated many scholars in a debate. Kashmir King Sandhiman might have coronated Ādi Śankara on Sarvajña Pītha on the famous Śankarāchārya hill. This is the reason why the hill is traditionally called as “Sandhiman Parvat”. Ādi Śankara particularly chose the cities of Kanchipuram and Śrinagar because these two were the major centers of Buddhism in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### **Sarvajña Pītha of Kanchipuram**

Ādi Śankara established the Sarvajña Pītha in Kanchipuram. Śiva Rahasya, a semi-puranic text, states that the birth of Ādi Śankara took place in 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium of Kaliyuga era and he founded a Pītha in Kanchipuram. Keraliya Śankara Vijayam of Govindanātha and Śankara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri also refer to the Pītha of Kanchipuram. In all probability, Ādi Śankara also attained Mokṣa in Kanchipuram at the age of 32 years.

According to the traditional account, Ādi Śankara met Kumārila Bhatta I (618-545 BCE) when he was on deathbed and decided to leave material world by burning himself on a pile of peanut shells. Ādi Śankara persuaded him not to undergo such painful death but Kumārila Bhatta I did not listen to him. Kumārila I advised Ādi Śankara to meet his disciple Viśvarūpa at Māhiṣmatī. Ādi Śankara went to Mahishmati and had a debate with Viśvarūpa. Mādhava Śankara Vijayam mistakenly identifies Mandana Miśra, the disciple of Kumārila II, as the resident of Māhiṣmatī. But the Kudali copper plates of 12<sup>th</sup> century explicitly tells us that Mandana Miśra lived in Vārāṇasi. Moreover, Mandana Miśra lived around 40 BCE-40 CE and he cannot be the contemporary of Ādi Śankara. It appears that Viśvarūpa became the disciple of Ādi Śankara who succeeded the Sarvajña Pītha after the death of Ādi Śankara in 544 BCE.

Rāmilla's Maṇiprabhā mentions that Śrī Śankarendra, the disciple of Vidyāghana, was the head of Sarvajña Pītha around 460-410 BC. Gururājaratnamālikā of the 16<sup>th</sup> century mistakenly identified Śankarendra to be the 20<sup>th</sup> Āchārya of Kanchi Math owing to ignorance of the true chronology. In reality, Kanchi Math have records only after Śrī Sarvajñātman who lived in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

### The Guruparamparā of Sarvajña Pītha (ancient Kanchi Math)

		In CE
<i>As recorded in Rāmilla's play "Maṇiprabhā" written around 430 BCE.</i>		
1	Ādi Śankarāchārya Bhagavatpāda	576-544 BCE
2	Viśvarūpa	544-500 BCE
3	Vidyāghana	500-460 BCE
4	Śankarendra	460-410 BCE
No records of Guruparamparā is available from 400 BCE to 150 CE. Kanchi Math records have the details of Guruparamparā starting from <b>Śrī Sarvajñātman</b> .		

### The Date of Sarvajñātman (310-400 CE)

According to Gururājaratnamālikā and Guruparamparā-stotra, Sarvajñātman died in Kali 2695 (407 BC) whereas Puṇyaślokamañjarī tells us that Sarvajñātman died in Kali 2737 (365 BC). Kānchi Pitha claims that he was the disciple of Sureśvara. But the internal evidence of the works of Sarvajñātman clearly indicates that he cannot be dated before 300 CE. Sarvajñātman was the author of "Samkṣepa-Śārīraka". He refers to "Iṣṭasiddhi" of Vimuktātman. Iṣṭasiddhi refers to Bhāskara, the author of a commentary on Brahmasūtras and criticised Ādi Śankara. Yamunāchārya, the Guru of Rāmānujāchārya, wrote a treatise named Siddhitraya and chronologically mentioned the names of Ādi Śankara, Śrīvatsāṅka and Bhāskara. I have already explained above that Bhāskara Bhatta lived around 40 BCE-40 CE and the contemporary of Śankarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Interestingly, Sarvajñātman himself mentions that Deveśvara was his Guru and Deveśvara was the disciple of Devānanda and Devānanda was the disciple of Śreṣṭhānanda. Sarvajñātman himself refers to Sureśvara as the author of Vārtikas and quotes him in his works. Therefore, Sarvajñātman cannot be the disciple of Sureśvara.

Moreover, Sarvajñātman himself mentions to the reigning king Manukulāditya. Some scholars identified Manukulāditya as the Chola king Āditya whereas some other scholars identified Manukulāditya as a Kulaśekhara King Bhāskara Ravi Varman. In fact, Cholas claimed in their inscriptions that they belonged to Manukula. And also Kulaśekhara kings of Kollam had a regnal title of Manukulāditya. Sitāharana kāvya of Kerala poet Nārāyana also refers to the reign of King Manukulāditya. A Vishnu temple inscription refers to Bhāskara Ravi varman as Manukulāditya.

Sarvajñātman refers to Bhasarvajña, the author of Nyāyasāra. Bhasarvajña was a Kashmiri scholar. Bhasarvajña was the senior contemporary of Jayanta Bhatta who refers to Kashmiri King Śankara Varma (184-202 CE). Ānandabodha, the author of Nyāyamakaranda, was the disciple of Vimuktātman. He refers to Vāchaspati Miśra. Vāchaspati wrote Nyāyasūchi-nibandha in Kārttikādi Vikrama 898 (179 CE). Thus, we can fix the date of Vimuktātman around 180-220 CE and Ānandabodha around 220-260 CE.

In view of the above, Sarvajñātman can only be dated around 310-400 CE. Therefore, with due respect to the traditions, we can conclude that the extent Guruparamparā of Kanchi Math starts from the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Sarvajñātman cannot be a contemporary of Sureśvara based on the chronology given above. Moreover, Sarvajñātman himself mentions that he was the disciple of Deveśvara. We can reconstruct the Guruparamparā of Kanchi Math before Sarvajñātman as given below.

1	Avyayātman Bhagavat Puṣyapāda (The Guru of Vimuktātman)	170-200 CE
2.	Vimuktātman	200-230 CE
3.	Ānandabodha	230-260 CE
4	Śreṣṭhānandapāda	260-290 CE
5	Devānandapāda	290-320 CE
6	Deveśvarapāda	320-350 CE
<b>7</b>	<b>Sarvajñātman</b>	<b>350-380 CE</b>

Now the question is why Puṇyaślokamañjarī and Gururājaratnamālikā starts the Guruparamparā from Sarvajñātman considering him to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> Āchārya? What was the list of Guruparamparā of Kanchi before Puṇyaślokamañjarī (16<sup>th</sup> century)? It is almost impossible to find the answers to these questions. I do not know whether Kanchi Math has any records of Guruparamparā written before the 14<sup>th</sup> century. I have attempted to reconstruct the Guruparamparā based on the epigraphic evidence available.

The copper plate inscription of Telugu Chola king Vijaya Ganda Gopāla is the earliest epigraphic evidence that refers to the Āchārya, Śrī Śankara Yogin. King Vijaya Ganda Gopāla issued this grant in his 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year and in Khara Samvatsara, Karkataka solar month, Śukla pakṣa, 10<sup>th</sup> tithi, Mitra Daivata (Anuradha) Nakṣatra and Sunday. One inscription of a Telugu Chola King Ganda Gopāla is dated in Śālivāhana 1207 (1285 AD). Many other inscriptions also suggest that Telugu Chola Kings started ruling in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Though there were more than one traditions of the cycle of 60 years, the popular tradition suggests that the year 1291 AD or 1351 AD was the Khara Samvatsara.

A grant of Vijayanagara king Vira Narasimha issued a grant to Āchārya Maheshvara Sarasvati, the disciple of Sadasiva Sarasvati in Śālivāhana 1429 (1507 AD). Vijayanagara king Krishnadeva Raya issued a grant of village Ambi in Śālivāhana 1436 (1514 AD) according to an inscription on the walls of the Kanchi temple. The Kanchipuram plates of Krishnadeva Raya were issued to Āchārya Chandrachuda Sarasvati, the disciple of Mahadeva Sarasvati in Śālivāhana 1444 (1522 AD). It is clearly written in this grant that Chandrachuda Sarasvati was the resident of Kanchipuram (*Kāñchipura-nivasāya Māyāvāda Budhindave | Chandrachūda-sarasvatyai Yatirājāya Dhimate /*). Considering the dates of epigraphs and the records of Kanchi Pitha, we can fix the dates of Āchāryas from the 47<sup>th</sup> Āchārya to the 52<sup>nd</sup> Āchārya.

47	Śiva Yogin	<b>1297-1340 AD</b> <i>Śiva Yogin or Śankara Yogin was the contemporary of King Vijaya Ganda Gopāla. Therefore, the year 1351 must be taken as Khara samvatsara. Thus, his date can be around 1340-1385 AD. The time of Vidyātīrtha (46<sup>th</sup> Āchārya) given is too long from 1297 to 1385 AD. The period of Vidyātīrtha can be accepted around 1297-1340 AD.</i>
48	Śankarananda	1385-1417 AD
49	Sadāśiva I	1417-1498 AD
50	Mahādeva	1498-1507 AD
51	Chandrachūda IV	1507-1524 AD
52	Sadāśiva II	1524-1539 AD

Now, we have to place the Guruparamparā of 42 Āchāryas (from the 4<sup>th</sup> Āchārya to the 46<sup>th</sup> Āchārya) between 380 CE and 1297 AD. Ānandajñāna, the 7<sup>th</sup> Āchārya has referred to Śrī Harṣa's Khandanakhandakhādyā. Śrī Harṣa lived around 250-320 CE. Ānandajñāna's teacher Anubhūtiśvarūpa also referred to Śrī Harṣa. Thus, Ānandajñāna can only be dated at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Interestingly, the date of Śrī Sarvajñātman in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century indicates that he was the senior contemporary of Śrī Ramanujāchārya. According to Anantānandagiri's Śankara Vijaya, one Sarvajña lived in Chidambaram. His wife was Kamakṣī and Viśiṣṭhā was his daughter. After Grihasthāśrama, he went to the forest for Tapasyā. He had two disciples, Lakṣmaṇa and Hastāmalaka. The same Lakṣmaṇa became the famous Rāmānujāchārya. He left his body in Kanchipuram and attained Mokṣa. We have to research further to ascertain whether Anantānandagiri gives the account of Sarvajñātman or a story of Śankarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

Evidently, the Guruparamparā of Kanchi as presented in Puṇyaślokamañjarī and Gururājaratnamālikā in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is erroneous and needs to be corrected as suggested above.

### **Sarvajña Pītha of Śrinagar, Kashmir**

Keraliya Śankara Vijaya of Govindanātha, Vyasāchala's Śankara Vijaya and the traditional account of Kashmir inform us that Ādi Śankara went to Śrinagar, Kashmir and ascended the Sarvajña Pītha at the Śankarāchārya hill. Kalhaṇa mentions that Aśoka's son Jalauka constructed a Śiva temple on the hill around 1737-1715 BCE. Later, King Gopāditya reconstructed the temple known as Jyeṣṭheśvara temple around 917-857 BCE. King Sandhiman was ruling around 555-509 BCE when Ādi Śankara visited Kashmir.

As I have already explained that Matr̥gupta was the contemporary of Puṣpabhūti King Śrī Harṣa Vikramāditya (457-406 BCE) and reigned for 4 years & 9 months. Śrī Harṣa died while Matr̥gupta was ruling in Kashmir. Thus, we can accurately fix the date of Matr̥gupta around 410-405 BCE. Kalhaṇa states that Pratapāditya was the relative of Śakāri Vikramāditya of 719 BCE. Therefore, we can also convincingly fix the date of Pratapāditya around 701-669 BCE. I have also pointed out that there was an error of 270 years in the chronology of ancient Kashmir. Kalhaṇa could not solve this error and was compelled to assign 300 years to Rāṇāditya instead of 30 years. The corrected chronology of ancient Kashmir as follows:

Kalhaṇa gave the history of Kashmir up to the 22<sup>nd</sup> regnal year of Simhadeva i.e. 25<sup>th</sup> year of Laukika era i.e. 449 AD. Since Kalhaṇa covered the history of Kashmir for a period of 3596 years, he gives the history and chronology of Kashmir from 3147 BCE to 449 CE.

**The history of Kashmir - From 3147 BCE to 1881 BCE (1266 years): To be corrected after adjusting the error of 270 years: From 3147 BCE to 1611 CE (1536 years)**

		In CE
1	Gonanda I	<i>Kalhaṇa considered Kali epoch 3102 BC and starts the chronology from 3147 BCE. If we correct the date of Mahābhārata war (3162 BCE), the date of Gonanda I must be around 3183 BCE</i>
2	Damodara I	
3	Yasovati	
4	Gonanda II	
5 to 39. The names of 35 kings lost		
40	Lava	
41	Kusheshaya	
42	Khagendra	
43	Surendra	
44	Godhara	
		<b>3183 BCE to 1765 BCE</b>

45	Suvarna	
46	Janaka	
47	Shachinara	
48	Asoka or Kalashoka (ascended the throne 100 years after Buddha nirvaṇa [1865 BC] and reigned for 28 years)	1765-1737 BCE
49	Jaloka	1737-1715 BCE
50	Damodara II	1715 BCE
51	Hushka, Jushka & Kanishka (reigned 150 years after Buddha nirvaṇa [1865 BC])	1715-1655 BCE
52	Abhimanyu	1655-1611 BCE

**The history of Kashmir: From 1881 BCE to 449 CE (2330 years) (To be corrected as 1611 BCE to 449 CE (2060 years))**

		Duration			In CE	Corr.	In CE
		Y	M	D			
1	Gonanda III	35			1881-1846 BCE	35	1611-1576 BCE
2	Vibhishana I	53			1845-1792 BCE	53	1576-1523 BCE
3	Indrajita	35	6	0	1792-1757 BCE	35	1523-1488 BCE
4	Ravana						
5	Vibhishana II	35	6	0	1756-1720 BCE	35	1487-1452 BCE
6	Nara I / Kinnara	39	9		1720-1680 BCE	39	1452-1412 BCE
7	Siddha	60			1680-1620 BCE	60	1412-1352 BCE
8	Utpalaksha	30	6		1620-1589 BCE	30	1352-1322 BCE
9	Hiranyaksha	37	7		1589-1552 BCE	37	1322-1285 BCE
10	Hiranyakula	60			1551-1491 BCE	<b>40</b>	1285-1245 BCE
11	Mukula / Vasukula	60			1491-1431 BCE	60	1245-1185 BCE
12	Mihirakula	70			1431-1361 BCE	<b>50</b>	1185-1135 BCE
13	Vaka	63	0	13	1361-1298 BCE	<b>43</b>	1135-1092 BCE
14	Kshitinanda	30			1298-1268 BCE	30	1092-1062 BCE
15	Vasunanda	52	2		1268-1216 BCE	32	1062-1030 BCE
16	Nara II	60			1215-1155 BCE	60	1030-970 BCE
17	Aksha	60			1155-1095 BCE	<b>53</b>	970-917 BCE
<b>18</b>	<b>Gopaditya</b>	<b>60</b>			<b>1095-1035 BCE</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>917-857 BCE</b>
19	Gokarna	57	1 1		1035-977 BCE	57	857-800 BCE

20	Narendraditya I / Kinkhila	36	3	10	977-944 BCE	36	800-764 BCE
21	Yudhiṣṭhira I	70	5	10	944-874 BCE	<b>62</b>	764-702 BCE
22	<b>Pratapaditya*</b>	<b>32</b>			<b>874-842 BCE</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>701-669 BCE</b>
23	Jalauka	32			842-810 BCE	32	668-636 BCE
24	Tungjina I	36			809-773 BCE	36	637-601 BCE
25	Vijaya	8			772-764 BCE	8	600-592 BCE
26	Jayendra	37			763-726 BCE	37	593-556 BCE
27	<b>Sandhiman / Aryaraja*</b>	<b>47</b>			<b>725-678 BCE</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>555-506 BCE</b>
28	Meghavahana	34			677-643 BCE	34	506-476 BCE
29	Shreshthasena/Pravarasena I / Tungjina II	30			642-612 BCE	30	472-442 BCE
30	Hiranya	30	2		611-581 BCE	30	441-411 BCE
31	<b>Matṛgupta*</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>580-576 BCE</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>410-405 BCE</b>
32	Pravarasena II	60			576-516 BCE	60	405-345 BCE
33	Yudhiṣṭhira II	21	3		515-494 BCE	21	344-323 BCE
34	Narendraditya I / Lakshmana	13			493-480 BCE	13	322-309 BCE
35	<b>Ranaditya /Tungjina III</b>	<b>300</b>			<b>479-179 BCE</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>309-179 BCE</b>
36	Vikramāditya	42			179-137 BCE	42	179-138 BCE
37	Baladitya	37	4		137-99 BCE	37	137-99 BCE

As explained above, there is an error of 270 years in the chronology of Kashmir from Gonanda I to Rāṇāditya. It is evident that this error of 270 years got reduced to 170 years in the chronology of Kashmir from Gonanda III to Pratāpāditya I. Pratāpāditya I was the relative of Śākāri Vikramāditya who founded the Kārttikādi Vikrama era in 719-718 BCE. If we deduct 170 years, his reign was around 701-669 BCE. Similarly, Matṛgupta was in the court of Śrī Harṣa Vikramāditya who founded Śrī Harṣa era in 457 BCE. If we deduct 170 years, Matṛgupta's reign was around 410-406 BCE. Śrī Harṣa and Matṛgupta both died in 406 BCE. Kalhaṇa could not solve this error of 270 years in the chronology and forced to assign 300 years for Rāṇāditya because he had a credible evidence that Vikramāditya (36<sup>th</sup> King from Gonanda III) started his rule in 179 BCE. If we deduct the error of 170 years, Rāṇāditya's reign was 130 years. Evidently, there were few more kings between Matṛgupta to Baladitya but it appears that Kalhaṇa could not get the names of the successors or predecessors of Rāṇāditya.



As far as the temple of Śankarāchārya on the hill of Śrinagar is concerned, Tarikh-i-Hassani, and Waquiai Kashmir of Mulla Ahmed also inform us that the temple was known originally as Anjana and later as Jeth Ludrak (Jeshtharudra). Thereafter, the temple was built by King Sandhiman of the Gonanda dynasty of Kashmir. Thus, the hill came to be known as Sandhiman Parbat after the name of the King. Evidently, Ādi Shankarāchārya is believed to have visited Kashmir and stayed at the temple complex during the reign of King Sandhiman. The timeline of King Sandhiman given by Tarikh-i-Hassani and Mulla Ahmed is speculative and completely different from the traditional account of Kashmir.

The 'Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh' published in 1890 also says: "It is also known by the name Śankarāchārya". JN Gankar wrote in his book 'Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh', 'One ruler of the period who prominently stands out for his patronage of Śaivism and the Brāhmaṇas was Gopāditya, who built a new temple, Jyeṣṭheśvara, on the Śankarāchārya hill in Śrinagar. Earlier. A Śiva shrine known as Jyeṣṭharudra had been founded here by Aśoka's son and successor Jalauka.' Dr. Sarla Khosla also says in her book "History of Buddhism in Kashmir", 'The Śankarāchārya temple is the oldest temple of the valley in the Sandhiman Parvata (now called Takht-i-Sulaiman). According to local tradition, it was built by Aśoka's son Jalauka in ancient times.

Evidently, the temple on the hill of Śrinagar was built by Aśoka's son Jalauka (1737-1715 BCE) and Known as Jyeṣṭharudra temple. When King Gopāditya (917-857 BCE) rebuilt the same temple and also an "Agrahara", the temple came to be known as "Jyeṣṭheśvara" and the hill came to be known as "Gopādrī". During the reign of King Sandhiman (555-508 BCE), Ādi Śankara visited Śrinagar, Kashmir and defeated Buddhist scholars. King Sandhiman honoured Ādi Śankara and built a Sarvajña Pītha in the temple. Thereafter, the temple came to be known as "Śankarāchārya temple" and the hill came to be known as "Sandhiman Parvat". Thus, Ādi Śankara established two Sarvajña Pīthas (Kanchipuram and Kashmir) alongwith four Mathas in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE. I have no information whether Kashmir Pītha had any Gurupamparā. It may be noted that these Sarvajña Pīthas and Mathas could not get royal and public support after 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE because Indian philosophers used to refer to Ādi Śankara as Prachchanna Bauddha. Later, Śankarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC again revived the philosophy of Brahmadvaitavada and re-established the four Mathas.

### **Why is it so important to consider the date of Ādi Śankara around 569-537 BCE and not 509-476 BCE?**

If we consider the date of Ādi Śankara in the epoch of Kaliyuga (3102 BC) and place him around 509-477 BCE, we will miserably fail to explain the following inconsistencies.

1. According Paṭṭāvalis of Digambara Jainism, Āchārya Kundakunda became the pontiff of Mūla Nandi Saṅgha in Śaka 49 (534 BCE) at the age of 33 years. He was the pontiff of Mūla

Saṅgha for 51 years and passed away. Thus, we can accurately fix the lifetime of Āchārya Kundakunda around 567-483 BCE. Interestingly, Kundakunda criticized Advaitavāda giving the example of Setiya (Śvetamṛttikā) in his work “Samayasāra”. He argues that if we put white color on the wall made of soil, it becomes completely white but it does not mean that the soil of the wall becomes white. Similarly, Jiva cannot become ultimate divinity. Apparently, it is the criticism of Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śankara. Historians ridiculously distorted this statement of Kundakunda and concocted that he criticized the Vijñānavāda of Buddhism and not Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śankara but all commentators of Samayasāra unambiguously referred to Brahmādvaitavāda of Ādi Śankara. Undoubtedly, Kundakunda wrote Samayasāra not later than 500 BCE. If Ādi Śankara was born in 509 BCE, we cannot explain the criticism of Brahmādvaitavāda by Kundakunda.

2. Ādi Śankara visited Kashmir during the reign of King Sandhiman. We can accurately fix the dates of Kashmir Kings Pratapāditya (701-669 BCE), Sandhiman (555-508 BCE) and Maṛṅgupta (410-406 BCE). The date of Sandhiman cannot be explained if we place Ādi Śankara around 509-477 BCE. The hill was still known as Sandhiman Parvat during the time of Muslim rulers as recorded in Tarikh-i-Husaini. Today, the hill is known as Takht-i-Sulaiman.
3. Gaudapada (650-550 BCE) was the contemporary of Apollonius of Tyana (646-561 BCE). Ādi Śankara refers to Gauḍapāda as “Paramaguru” which unambiguously indicates that he might have met him at least once in his lifetime. The meeting of Ādi Śankara with Gauḍapāda was not possible if we fix the date of birth of Ādi Śankara in 509 BCE.
4. According to Kongudeśarājakkal, a Tamil chronicle, mentions that Ādi Śankara lived in the time of King Trivikrama Deva I. Konguni Varman, the first King of Ganga Dynasty reigned around Śaka 111 (472 BCE) and seven Ratta kings ruled before 472 BCE. King Trivikrama Deva I was the first king out of seven Ratta kings. Therefore, King Trivikrama Deva I cannot be dated later than 570-540 BCE.
5. When Ādi Śankara met Kumārila Bhaṭṭa I, he advised him to meet his disciple Viśvarūpa, the resident of Māhiṣmatī. Ādi Śankara went to Māhiṣmatī and debated with him. In all probability, Viśvarūpa became the follower of Ādi Śankara. Viśvarūpa wrote a commentary "Bālakṛida" on Yājñavalkyasmṛti and referred to the reigning king Pratāpaśīla I (Iti sambhṛti mandalah sudhāmā Pururuchiro ramaṇah Pratāśīlah | Raviriva nṛpatih samah prajānām jagadakhila-oyavahārato bibharti ||). Kalhaṇa refers to a King Pratāpaśīla II, the son of Sri Harsha Vikramaditya (457-406 BCE) who was the contemporary of Kashmir King Pravarasena II (405-355 BCE). In all probability, King Pratāpaśīla I was Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Sri Harṣa Vikramāditya. We can fix the chronology of the kings of Puṣpabhūti kings as given below:

	In CE
Pratāpaśīla I or Prabhākaravardhana	520-470 BCE
Rājyavardhana	470-457 BCE
Śri Harṣa Vikramāditya	457-406 BCE
Pratāpaśīla II	405-375 BCE

Viśvarūpa himself states that he was the contemporary of King Pratāpaśīla I. Thus, Viśvarūpa lived around 575-480 BCE.

6. Moreover, it is not logical to accept the date of Mahābhārata war around 3138 BCE. It also contradicts with the statement of Āryabhaṭa that Mahābhārata war occurred after the commencement of fourth Yuga (Kali Yuga). The Aihole inscription clearly informs us that Mahābhārata war occurred in 3162 BCE.
7. It appears that Sh. TN Shastri had indeed some excerpts of Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya of Chitsukhāchārya. Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya had three parts, 1. Purvāchārya Saptaha 2. Śankarāchārya Saptaha and 3. Sureshvarāchārya Saptaha. Evidently, Chitsukhāchārya was not the direct disciple of Ādi Śankara. Moreover, it gives the account of Sureśvarāchārya. Therefore, Chitsukhāchārya, the author of Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya, must be either the 24<sup>th</sup> or the 35<sup>th</sup> pontiff of Kanci Math. Adyar Library of Madras could find a mutilated manuscript of Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya containing only the Śankarāchārya Saptaha but it was impossible to extract the text. Though Sh. TN Shastri distorted one or two verses to incorporate the year 2631 of Yudhiṣṭhira era but he quoted the original verses that give the planetary positions at the time of Ādi Śankara's birth.

The details of planetary positions given in Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya are as under:

..... हायने नंदने शुभे । मेषराशिं गते सूर्ये वैशाखे मासि शोभने ॥ शुक्लपक्षे च पञ्चम्यां तिथ्यां भास्करवासरे । पुनर्वसुगते चन्द्रे लग्ने कर्कटाह्वये ॥ मध्याह्ने चाभिजिन्नाममुहूर्ते शुभवीक्षिते । स्वोच्चस्थे च केन्द्रस्थे गुरौ मन्दे कुजे रवौ ॥ निजतुङ्गगते शुक्रे रविणा संगते बुधे । प्रासुत तनयं साध्वी गिरिजेव षडाननम् ॥

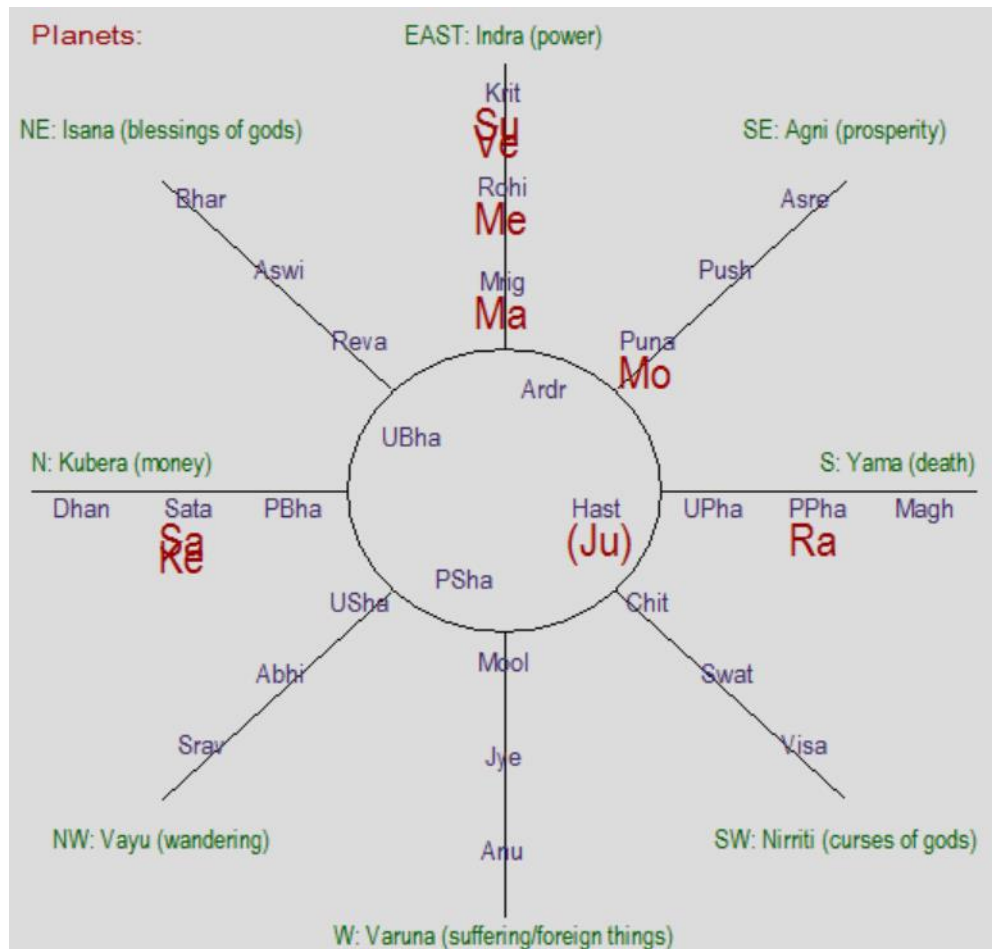
According to Mādhava Śankara Vijayam:

..... शिवगुरोः निजतुङ्गसंस्थे सूर्ये कुजे रविसुते च गुरौ च केन्द्रे ।

A Śloka of Prāchīna Śankara Vijaya quoted by Ātmabodha in his commentary "Suṣamā":

तिष्ठे प्रयात्यनलशेवधिबाणनेत्रे, यो नंदने दिनमणावुदगध्वभाजि । राधेऽदितेरुडुविनिर्गतमस्रलग्नेऽप्याहूतवान् शिवगुरुसः च शंकरेति ।

The planetary positions given in Bṛhat Śankara Vijaya and Madhava Śankara Vijaya cannot be explained in 509 BCE. If we consider the birth of Ādi Śankara in 569 BCE, these astronomical details can be explained on 18<sup>th</sup> April 569 BCE. There was a conjunction of Sun and Budha on 18<sup>th</sup> March 576 BCE in Meṣa Rāśi. Moon was in Punarvasū nakṣatra, Mesha Rashi (Aries) and Karkata lagna during noon time. Sun was in Mesha Rashi (Aries), Venus in Meena Rashi (Pisces), Saturn in Kumbha Rashi (Aquarius), Mars in Mithuna Rashi (Gemini), Jupiter in Kanya Rashi (Virgo) and Mercury in Vrishabha Rashi (Taurus). Evidently, Sun, Moon and Venus were in Exaltation (Uchcha) on 18<sup>th</sup> April 569 BCE. Saturn was in Kumbha rashi which is the Swami graha (Lordship) of Kumbha Rashi. Mars and Mercury can also be in Exaltation considering minor errors in the calculations. Jupiter was in Kendra but it was not in Exaltation. Interestingly, no planet was in Debilitation (Neecha).



In view of the above, the traditional dates (2593 & 2625) must be calculated with reference to the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era (3162 BC) and not the epoch of Kaliyuga (3102 BC). Thus, Ādi Śankara was born on 18<sup>th</sup> April 569 BCE during noon time.

## Śankarāchārya II (44 BCE-59 CE)

Ādi Śankara mentions in his works that Sāṅkhya philosophers are “Pradhāna-Malla” meaning the main opponents of Advaitavāda. Some Indian philosophers even declared Ādi Śankara to be “Pracchanna-Bauddha” meaning a Buddhist in disguise. Evidently, though Ādi Śankara defeated Buddhist philosophers and ensured the decline of Buddhism from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE onwards but Indian philosophers of Sāṅkhya, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta could not digest the Brahmādvaitavāda. Thus, the school of Advaitavāda got stagnated owing to strong opposition from other schools of Indian philosophies after the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

Buddhism was on decline in Kashmir and North-western India from the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE onwards. Zoroastrianism was dominating in Bactria, Khurasan and Azarbaijan etc. Buddhism remained limited to Gāndhāra and Takśaśilā regions but it started gaining ground in China and a revival of Buddhism in Tibet. The cultural and educational exchanges between eastern India, Tibet and China led to a revival of Buddhism in eastern India (Bihar and Bengal), Nepal, Burma and Śri Lanka. Nalanda University has emerged as the center of education of Buddhism during the Gupta period (335-94 BCE). Gradually, Buddhism has been revived in eastern India during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC after the fall of Gupta empire and it has reached its zenith during the reign of the early kings of the Pāla dynasty (1<sup>st</sup> century CE to 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE). The Buddhist philosophers have again started posing a challenge to the Indian philosophers from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC onwards.

At this time, the second Śankarāchārya was born in 44 BC, in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of the Chaitrādi Vikrama era (57 BC) and lived more than 85 years. He himself mentions in “Devyaparādha Stotra” that he crossed the age of 85 years “*Mayā pañchāśīteradhikamapanīte tu vayasī*”. It is also recorded in “Darśanaprakāśa” composed in 1638 CE that Śankarāchārya entered the cave in Śaka 642. Considering the epoch of the Śaka era in 583 BC, the 642<sup>nd</sup> year corresponds to 58-59 CE. Thus, we can fix the lifetime of Śankarāchārya II from 44 BCE to 59 CE and he might have lived for 102-103 years. He undertook an extensive travel in India (Digvijaya Yātra) and defeated many philosophers of various schools. He revived and re-established four Mathas in Śringeri, Dwāraka, Puri and Badrinath. Undoubtedly, he was the author of the most of the Prakaraṇa Granthas and Stotras.

Unfortunately, all available Śankara Vijayas give the account of the Digvijaya of Śankarāchārya II but inadvertently mix up the biographical account of Ādi Śankara. Only Keraliya Śankara Vijayam of Govindanātha gives the account of Ādi Śankara and mentions that Ādi Śankara established two Sarvajña Pīthas in Kanchipuram and Kashmir. Interestingly, the account given in Keraliya Śankara Vijayam differs from the account given in other Śankara Vijayas. Therefore, we can conclude that Ādi Śankara was born in Kālady, Kerala and lived only for 32 years whereas Śankarāchārya II lived for 102-103 years. It appears that the account of the early life of Śankarāchārya II is now lost due to the erroneous mixing up of the account of the early life of Ādi Śankara and the account of

Digvijaya of Śankarāchārya II. If the Śankara Vijaya of Anantānandagiri is to be believed, one Sarvajña was born in Chidambaram but it is extremely difficult to say anything affirmatively whether the account given by Anantānandagiri belongs to Śankarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or Sarvajñātman of the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE.

Interestingly, Viśvarūpa of Māhiṣmatī was the disciple of Kumārila Bhatta I (618-540 BCE) who became the disciple of Ādi Śankara but the later authors of Śankara Vijayas mistakenly identified him to be Mandana Miśra (60 BCE -20 CE) because he was the pupil of Kumārila Bhatta II (70 BCE-10 CE). Accordingly, a myth has been floated around that Sureśvarāchārya, the disciple of Śankarāchārya II was the real Mandana Miśra. Interestingly, Sureśvarāchārya himself strongly attacked Mandana Miśra's "Brahmasiddhi" in his works "Naiṣkarmyasiddhi" and "Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Bhāṣya-vārtika" because Mandana Miśra criticized Ādi Śankara in his Brahmasiddhi. Undoubtedly, Sureśvara was at least a junior contemporary of Mandana Miśra and he can never himself be Mandana Miśra.

Vyasāchaliya Śankara Vijaya tells us that Ādi Śankara completely annihilated the philosophers of Śaiva, Śākta, Bhākta, Bhāgavata, Vaiṣṇava, Hiraṇyagarbha, Agnivādin, Saura, Mahāgaṇapati, Gāṇapatya, Ekadeśin, Ucchiṣṭha-Gaṇapati, Kāpālika, Chārvāka, Saugata, Jaina, Bauddha, Mallari, Viśvaksena, Manmatha, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Karma, etc. He visited the places like Madhyārjuna, Rameśvara, Anantaśayana, Guṇapura, Bhavānipura, Kuvalayapura, Ujjayini, Anumalla, Varudhapuri, Arthapura, Indraprastha, Dharmapratstha, Prayaga, Vārāṇasi, Kedāra, Badari, Dwāraka, Ayodhyā, Gayā Magadha, Vṛshāchala, Venkatāchala, Kanchi, Chidambara, Madura, Gokarna, Jagannatha, Kashmira, etc. He founded five Mahalingas, namely, Bhogalinga at Śrīmatha in Śringeri, Varalinga at Nilakantha Kshetra in Nepal, Mokshalinga at Chidambaram and Yogalinga in the Śrīmatha at Kanchipura. He had pupils like Sureśvara, Padmapāda, Hastāmalaka and Totaka and established four Mathas.

Mādhava Śankara Vijaya (written by Vidyāraṇya II or Vidyāraṇya III) informs us that Śankarāchārya II defeated Mandana Miśra in a Śāstrārtha (debate). He also defeated Bhāskara Bhatta, Udayana I, Bāṇa Bhatta, Mayūra, Dandin, Abhinavagupta I, Murāri Miśra, Dharmagupta and Nilakantha. I have already explained above that these scholars can be roughly dated around 50 BCE to 40 CE. Mayura was a contemporary of Bana and both were in the court of King Sri Harsha as mentioned by Rajashekhara (Aho prabhāvo vāgdevyāḥ yanmātaṅga-divākaraḥ, Sri Harshasyābhavat sabhyah samo Bāṇa-Mayūrayoh – as quoted by Jalhana in his Sūktimuktavālī).

Mādhava Śankara Vijaya also mentions that Śankarāchārya II established four Mathas and placed Sureśvara at Śringeri Math, Padmapāda at Dwāraka Math, Hastāmalaka at Govardhana Math, Puri and Totakāchārya at Jyotirmath, Badrinath. Thus, four Mathas have been established in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.

## The Guruparamparā of Śringeri Math

Śrī Sureśvarāchārya was the 1<sup>st</sup> successor of Śankarāchārya II in Śringeri Math. Evidently, the official Guruparamparā given by Śringeri Pitha is completely false and distorted one which was reconstructed under the influence of colonial and leftist historians. According to a manuscript “Śringeri Guruparamparā”, Vidyāraṇya was the 22<sup>nd</sup> Āchārya but it starts from Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesha etc., whereas the official Guruparamparā of Śringeri Math places him as the 11<sup>th</sup> Āchārya. Considering the date of Kaivalya Mukti of Śankaracharya II in Śaka 642 (59 CE). I have reconstructed the following list of the Śankarāchāryas of Śringeri Pitha based on epigraphic evidence but it needs to be completed with reference to the other records held at Śringeri Math or elsewhere.

	Riṣyasriṅgapurādhivasa Āchāryas	(Śringeri)	Date	Reference
1	Sureśvarāchārya		59-75 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 68
2	Vidyānanda I (Disciple of Sureśvarāchārya)		75-120 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 68
3	Vidyābodhaghanāchārya		120-170 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 67
4	Vidyānanda II (Jyeṣṭha Śiṣhya of Vidyā Bodhaghana)		170-200 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, No. 67
5	Nityabodhaghana		200-250 CE	Reconstructed based on the official Guru- parampara of Śringeri Math. Needs to be reviewed.
6	Jñanaghana		250-290 CE	
7	Jñanottama		290-350 CE	
8	Jñanagiri		350-400 CE	
9	Simhagiri		400-450 CE	
10	Íśvara Tīrtha		450-500 CE	
11	Nṛsimha Tīrtha		500-550 CE	IVR, Vol 1, Part 2, No. 208
12	Vidyātīrtha		550-650 CE	
13	Vidyāraṇya I		560-660 CE	
14	Bharati Tīrtha		575-675 CE	
No epigraphic evidence is available				
	Narasimha Sarada or Narasimha Bharati (Śaka 1315, 1328, 1329)		710-747 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, No. 22 & 26
	Chandrashekhara Bharati (Śaka 1331, 1337)		748-756 CE	
	Purushottama Bharati (Śaka 1340)		757-759 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, No. 33 & 36
	Śankara Bharati (Śaka 1343)		759-795 CE	EC, VIII, Ti. 144 & IVR, I, Pt.3, no. 498.
	Narasimha Bharati (Śaka 1380)		795-830 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, No. 3
No epigraphic evidence is available				

	Vijaya Śankara Bharati (Sali 1073)	1125-1175 CE	EC, Vol VII, Shimoga, No.79 & 80
<i>No epigraphic evidence is available</i>			
	Śankara Bharati (Sali 1261)	1330-1380 CE	IVR, Vol 1, Part 5, No. 748.
	Vidyaranya II (Sali 1302 to 1309)	1380-1387 CE	IVR, Vol 1, Part 2, No. 180 & IVR, Vol 1, Part 2, No. 208.
	Krishna Tirtha	1387-1415 CE	IVR, Vol 1, Part 4, No. 681.
	Vidyaranya II (Sali 1371)	1415-1450 CE	IVR, Vol 1, Part 4, No. 681.
	Ananda Tirtha – Ananta Tirtha (Sali 1377)	1450-1463 CE	EC, VIII, Tirthahalli, 200
	Raghaveshvara Sarasvati (Sali 1386 to 1429)	1464-1506 CE	EC, VIII, Nagar, 69 & 64
	Śri Ramachandra Bharati (Sali- 1446)	1506- 1542 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, 21
	Śri Narasimha Bharati (Sali-1465)	1543-1590 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, 10
	Śri Abhinava Narasimha Bharati (Sali- 1525, 1529 & 1542)	1590-1620 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, 2 ,8 & 5
	Śri Sachchidananda Bharati (Sali- 1550, 1564, 1574, 1574, 1574, 1581, 1584)	1620-1662 CE	EC, VI, Śringeri, 12, 14, 13, 11, 9, 24, 17
	Śri Jnanendra Bharati (Sali-1585)	1662-1666 CE	EC, VIII, Tirthahalli, 145
	Śri Krishnananda Bharati [Sishya of Sachchidananda Bharati] (Sali-1588)	1666-1669 CE	EC, VIII, Tirthahalli, 156
	Śri Narasimha Bharati (Sali-1591)	1669-1682 CE	EC, VII, Shimoga, 81
	Śri Śankara Bharati (Sali-1605)	1682-1700 CE	EC, VII, Shimoga, 82

According to the research thesis of WR Antarkar, a representative of Śringeri Math filed an affidavit in the court in 1865 and claimed that the Math has a list of 66 āchāryas and having Guruparamparā starting from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. The Śringeri Math must clarify to the nation how the list of 66 got reduced to 32 (up to 1865). Interestingly, the date of Śankarāchārya was mentioned as 44 BC on the wall of Kālady temple till 1904. It seems that Śringeri Math started formally claiming 788 CE as the date of birth of Ādi Śankara since 1960 under the influence of leftist historians.

Moreover, the date of Vidyāraṇya needs to be revised with reference to the copper plate of Kudali Math which is dated Śālivāhana 1073 and the inscription of later Vijayanagara king Harihara dated Śālivāhana 1109. I refer to my article “Vijayanagara: A Greatest South Indian Empire” in which I have presented various evidences to prove that Vijayanagara was founded around 660 CE and not in 1336 CE.



### **Guruparampara of Kudali Math**

Interestingly, Sringeri Math and Kudali Math both claim themselves to be the original math established by Adi Sankara. According to Kudali math, Adi Sankara made the original wooden idol of Saraswati in a standing position and placed at Kudali. The founders of Vijayanagara empire and Bharati Krishna Tirtha shifted to present location of Sringeri Math and made the golden idol of Sharada (Saraswati) in a sitting position.

Kudali Math is located 100 kms away from the Sringeri Math. There is a confluence of Tunga and Bhadra rivers close to the city of Sringeri. This River after the confluence is known as Tungabhadra. Kudali math claims that Sharada or Saraswati is addressed as looking at the Tungabhadra River by Adi Sankara in his Bhujanga Prayata Stotra. Therefore, the original Math was located on the banks of Tungabhadra River.

According to the inscriptions of Sringeri Pitha, the present temple and Math was indeed constructed by Vijayanagara King Harihara I around 668 CE during the time of Bharati Krishna Tirtha. But it is difficult to say that the math was not existed in the present location before the time of Bharati Krishna Tirtha. It is also possible that the old math might have been reconstructed by King Harihara I.

The oldest copper plates found at Kudali refer to Vijaya Sankara Bharati and his guru Vishvarupacharya. These plates are dated Salivahana 1073 (1151 CE) and clearly mention Vidyaranya, Vidyanagara and Vidya Sankara. These plates are also signed off at the end as “Sri Vidya Sankara Sarasvati Sri”. Most of the inscriptions of Sringeri Math have the seal of “Sri Vidya Sankara”. Kudali Math claims that Vijaya Sankara Bharati was the pontiff of Kudali but there is no reference of Kudali Math in these copper plates.

Evidently, it appears that Sringeri and Kudali Mathas both are ancient Pithas and belong to the same Guruparampara since ancient times. Probably, Kudali has been separated from Sringeri in 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The book “Jagadguru Parampara Darpana” (in Kannada language) published in 1999 by Kudali relates that Adi Sankara established Kudali Math in 47 CE (102 Vikrama era). Kudali Math has only the detailed history of Guruparampara starting from 1546 CE when Nrisimha Bharati was the pontiff. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to verify the dates given above but it clearly indicates the following:

- Kudali Math records that Adi Sankara was the pontiff for the period 19-51 CE. Evidently, he was the Sankaracharya II who lived more than 85 years. Thus, Sankaracharya II (44 BCE – 59 CE) has established the Kudali Math.

- I have already pointed out that there were at least three Vidyaranya in the guruparampara of Sringeri based on the epigraphic evidence. The guruparampara of Kudali Math clearly endorses it.

### **Guruvamśakāvya of Sh. Kashi Lakshmana Shastri**

This kavya is an account of the pontiffs of the Śringeri Math. Sh. Kashi Lakshmana Shastri wrote Guruvamśakāvya during the second half of 18<sup>th</sup> century (1750-1800 CE). Śrī Sachchidananda Bharati, the disciple of Śrī Nrisimha Bharati was the pontiff of Śringeri Math at that time.

This Kavya has also erroneously mixed up the account of Ādi Śankara and Śankarāchārya II. According to this Kavya, Ādi Śankara met Kumārila Bhatta on his death bed. He asked Śankara to meet his disciple Viśvarūpa in Magadha (instead of Māhiṣmatī). Interestingly, this Kāvya clearly says that Mandana Miśra was different from Sureśvarāchārya but it erroneously says that Viśvarūpa adopted the name of Sureśvarāchārya. In reality, Viśvarūpa, the disciple of Kumārila Bhatta I, was the contemporary of Ādi Śankara (569-537 BCE) and became the disciple of Ādi Śankara whereas Sureśvarāchārya was the disciple of Śankaracharya II (44 BCE-59 CE).

This Kāvya also records that Śankarāchārya established four Maths and handed over to his four disciples. Interestingly, it says that Śankarāchārya attained Mokṣa at Siddheśvari Temple, in Nepal. After Śankarāchārya, Sureśvarāchārya, Bodhaghana, Jñanaghana, Jñanottamaśiva, Jñanagiri, Simhagiri, Íśvaratīrtha, Nṛsimhatīrtha and Vidyātīrtha succeeded him.

Interestingly, this kāvya clearly says that Vidyāraṇya was entirely different from the two brothers Sāyaṇa and Mādhava. I have also proven in my article “Vijayanagara: A Greatest South Indian Empire” based on epigraphic evidence that Vidyāraṇya cannot be the brother of Sāyaṇa. The 18<sup>th</sup> century author of this kāvya had no knowledge of the difference between the Śaka era (583 BCE) and the Śakānta era (78 CE). Therefore, he has assumed the Vidyāraṇya of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the Vidyāraṇya of the 14<sup>th</sup> century as the same and mixed up the historical account of both Vidyāraṇyas. This Kāvya contains several interesting historical events in the life of Vidyāraṇya. Historians miserably failed to reconcile these events. Therefore, they have preferred to brush aside this Kāvya. In reality, this Kāvya gives the mixed historical account of two Vidyāraṇyas mistakenly considering them to be one. We can easily reconcile the historical account if we separate the events related to Vidyāraṇya I.

This Kāvya clearly indicates that Śringeri Math might have lost its records of Guruparamparā between Vidyāraṇya I and Vidyāraṇya II by the 17<sup>th</sup> century. As explained above, epigraphic evidence explicitly proves that the existing list of Śringeri Guruparamparā is wrong and needs to be reconstructed based on the information available from epigraphic sources.

### **The Guruparamparā of Dwaraka Math**

Śri Padmapādāchārya was the 1<sup>st</sup> successor of Śankarāchārya II in Dwāraka Math. Swami Rajarajeshwara Śankara wrote a book “Vimarśa” in 1896 CE. He gives the dates starting from Ādi Śankara to Brahmajyotsna, the 9<sup>th</sup> pontiff in Yudhiṣṭhira era considering the epoch in 3138 BC. Evidently, the epoch of 3138 BC is not a traditional epoch. Rajarajeshwara Śankara gives the date of other pontiffs (10<sup>th</sup> pontiff onwards) in Vikrama era. According to him, Ādi Śankara attained mokṣa in the year 2663 of Yudhiṣṭhira era, on Kārttika Pūrṇimā. He refers to a copper plate of King Sudhanva but it appears to be a fake claim.

Dwāraka Pītha has a list of 77 Āchāryas. We have to verify the records whether the list is chronologically correct or not.

### **The Guruparamparā of Govardhana Math, Puri**

Śri Hastāmalakāchārya was the 1<sup>st</sup> successor of Śankarāchārya II in Govardhana Math, Puri. This Math has a list of 144 Āchāryas.

### **The Guruparamparā of Jyotirmath, Badrinath**

Śri Totakāchārya was the 1<sup>st</sup> successor of Śankarāchārya II in Jyotirmath. Unfortunately, Jyotirmath does not have any records of its history. It was only revived in 1940. The Dasnāmi Sannyāsi Sampradāya was affiliated with Jyotirmath. There is historical evidence that indicates the existence of the oldest Dasnāmi Akhada as early as in 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.

### **Where did Ādi Śankara and Śankarāchārya II attain mokṣa?**

Vyasāchaliya Śankara Vijaya, Keraliya Śankara Vijaya (as quoted in commentary named “Suṣamā”) and Anantānandagiri’s Śankara Vijaya mention that Śankarāchārya attained mokṣa in Kanchi. According to other texts, Śankarāchārya attained mokṣa at Kedarnath. Chidvilāsayati’s Śankara Vijaya tells us that Śankarāchārya entered Dattatreya Cave at Badarikāśrama and went to Kailash to unite himself with Śiva. Guruvamśakāvya of the 18<sup>th</sup> century says that Śankarāchārya proceeded to Nepal to see Siddheśvari and attained mokṣa. However, it can be concluded that Ādi Śankara, in all probability, attained mokṣa at Kanchipuram and Śankarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE attained mokṣa in a cave at Kedarnath or Badrinath.

Interestingly, Mādhava Śankara Vijayam and Guruvamśakāvya tell us that Śankarāchārya was suffering from “Bhagandara” disease (Fitsula-in-ano) in his last days. Evidently, “Bhagandara” disease is a middle age or old age related problem. How a 32-year-old young man was suffering of such disease. Undoubtedly, Śankarāchārya II of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was suffering from “Bhagandara” disease in his last days who lived for more than 85 years. The cause of the death of Ādi Śankara (569-537 BCE) is not known. We just come to know that he died in Kanchipuram.

### **Nepāla-Rājavamśāvalī written by a Buddhist Monk in 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century**

This Nepāla-Rājavamśāvalī mentions that Ādi Śankara visited during the reign of Licchavi king Vṛṣadeva. Ancient Vamśāvalīs like Gopāla-Rājavamśāvalī did not refer to the visit of Ādi Śankara. There are many Vamśāvalīs found in Nepal but there is no reference of the visit of Ādi Śankara. Interestingly, the Buddhist author places Buddha during the time of Mahābhārata war. There are many chronological inconsistencies in this Vamśāvalī.

We learn from Vyasāchaliya Śankara Vijaya that Śankarāchārya of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC visited Nepal. There is no reference of Ādi Śankara' visit to Nepal in Indian sources. However, King Manadeva I (580-539 BCE), the grandson of Vṛṣadeva was ruling in Nepal.

### **Śankarāchārya in Kaliyuga 3501 (399-400 CE)**

Accodring to Keralotpatti, a historical work written in Malayalam language, states that a Śankarāchārya was born in the month of August under Ardra nakṣatra, in the year 3501 of Kaliyuga and that within 38 years he established the Smārta sect during the reign of Kulaśekhara King Cheraman Perumal. Undoubtedly, Keralotpatti refers to a later Śankarāchārya of 400 CE and not Ādi Śankara.

### **Śankarāchārya of 788-810 CE**

KB Pathak recovered only three leaves of a manuscript and Born in Śaka 710 and died in Śaka 742. Āryavidyāsudhākara (17<sup>th</sup> century), refers to Śankaravijaya of Madhava and says that Śankara born in Kālaṭi in the year 3889 of Kaliyuga. Śankaramandārasaurabha also says that he was born in the year 3889 of Kaliyuga. Evidently, the Śankarāchārya of 788-810 CE was a later Śankarāchārya. It appears that the authors of these texts mistakenly considered him to be Ādi Śankara and calculated the dates accordingly.

### **Śankarāchārya of the 9<sup>th</sup> century**

The Cambodian inscription of Indravarman (877-889 CE) mentions the name of Āchārya Śivasoma who was the pupil of Bhagwan Śankara. Evidently, Śivasoma was the disciple of a later Śankarāchārya who lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century CE.

### **The Manuscript of Jinavijaya**

TN Shastry has claimed that there is a Jain work called Jinavijaya that describes Kumārila Bhatta having deceptively studied under Mahāvīra. This manuscript also gives the year of Kumārila's birth as the year 2077 and the year of Ādi Śankara' death as the year 2157 of the Yudhiṣṭhira era. Sh. TN Shastry has also claimed that there is a difference of 468 years in the epoch of the Yudhiṣṭhira era used by Jains.

First of all, nobody has any information about this manuscript. Moreover, the verse quoted by TN Shastry refers to Samvat as “Śaka” [Yaudhishtire Sake]. Evidently, either someone has tampered these slokas or this text has been written after the 9<sup>th</sup> century because “Śaka” became synonymous to Samvat only after the 9<sup>th</sup> century. If it is a late work, why the author has referred to an outdated epoch? No author has ever referred to the Yudhiṣṭhira era after 500 BCE. Moreover, Jain āchāryas have no information of a text named “Jinavijaya” and Jains never referred to the Yudhiṣṭhira era. Therefore, we can ignore the evidence of the unknown text named “Jinavijaya”.

### **Śaktibhadra, a Sanskrit poet of Kerala**

According to the tradition, Śaktibhadra of Kerala wrote a play Aścharyachūdāmaṇi and read out to Śankarāchārya II when he had been observing silence for a year. Śaktibhadra was the contemporary of the Kulaśekhara Kings. Since Śankarāchārya did not respond to Śaktibhadra, he in despair threw his play into the fire. When Śankarāchārya II ended his year-long silence, he came to know about the destruction of the play of Śaktibhadra. Śankarāchārya II reproduced the whole play from memory. The story may be exaggerated but it clearly indicates that Śaktibhadra was a junior contemporary of Śankarāchārya II and lived in 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. Though his plays are not available today but Vallabhadeva of Kashmir quoted some verses from Aścharyachūdāmaṇi in his Subhāṣitāvalī. Vallabhadeva lived in 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE considering the chronological error of 661 years. However, modern historians place Vallabhadeva in 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. Śaktibhadra’s Aścharyachūdāmaṇi has been rated high as play in ancient and medieval times.

### **King Rājaśekhara of Kerala**

Guruvamśakāvya says that a Kerala king Rājaśekhara composed three plays and read out to Śankaracharya II. King Rajashekhara was the son of King Kulashekhara who authored the famous stotra named “Mukundamala” (Rājñā kṛtā kṛtiriyam Kulaśekharena). Evidently, King Kulashekhara and his son Rajashekhara were the contemporaries of Sankaracharya II. According to some scholars, King Rajashekhara wrote three plays in the name of Śaktibhadra.

The Valappalli or Vazhapalli copper plates<sup>20</sup> and the Kurumattur prasasti slab inscription<sup>21</sup> refer to the King Rajashekara. Unfortunately, these inscriptions are not dated but literary evidence clearly indicates that King Rajashekhara was the contemporary of Shankaracharya II.

### **King Sudhanvā**

Dwāraka Math has claimed that a copper plate inscription dated in the year 2663 of Yudhiṣṭhira era was issued by King Sudhanvā. Sh. TN Shastry has provided a transcript of this inscription but nobody has ever produced at least an image of the copper plate. But, the tradition says that King Sudhanvā was a contemporary of Śankarāchārya. Madhava Śankara Vijayam also mentions the name of King Sudhanvā. According to tradition, King Sudhanvā favoured Bauddhas initially but

he again started following Sanatana Vedic rituals under the influence of Kumarila Bhatta I. Unfortunately, there is no further information available. Most probably, King Sudhanvā was either the contemporary of Ādi Śankara (569-537 BCE) or Sankarāchārya II (44 BCE-59 CE). He was either the king of Lāṭadeśa or Māhiṣmatī.

### **Patañjalicharitam and Govindapāda**

Ramabhadra Dikṣita, a contemporary of Paramashivendra Sarasvati, a pontiff of Kanchi Math (16<sup>th</sup> century) wrote “Patañjalicharitam”. He gives a mythological account of Gauḍapāda and his disciple Govindapāda. He also says that Chandra Sharma (later known as Govindapāda) had four wives from four varnas and Bhartṛhari, Vikramāditya, Bhatti & Vararuchi were his sons. Interestingly, a tradition also gives the similar account of Śabara Swāmi. In reality, it is chronologically incorrect to say that Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya were the sons of Chandra Sharma. Ancient sources tell us that Bhartṛhari I, the author of Vākyapadīya, was the son and pupil of Vasurāta and belonged to the royal family of Ayodhyā. Vetāla Bhatta’s “Vetālapañchavimśati” and “Dvātrimśatputtalikā” inform us that King Gandharva Sena of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC had four wives from four varnas. He had six sons, Brahmavīta, Śankha, Vikramāditya, Bhartṛhari, Chandra and Dhanvantari. King Gandharva Sena’s son Vikramāditya was the famous king of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. Bhartṛhari II, the younger brother of Vikramāditya, was the author of Śataktraya i.e. Nīti Śataka, Śrīṅgāra Śataka and Vairāgya Śataka. Therefore, Govindapāda cannot be the father of Bhartṛhari and Vikramāditya. Moreover, Govindapāda was the teacher of Ādi Śankara.

### **Why Śankara was called as “Ādi Śankara”?**

The epithet "Ādi" clearly indicates that there were many Śankarāchāryas and he was the first. Generally, it is believed that since four Mathas had a succession of many Āchāryas, therefore, Śankara was referred to as Ādi Śankara. First of all, the successors of the Mathas were never referred to in common name as Śankarāchārya. In the inscriptions, they were generally referred to as “Padavākyapramāṇajña Paramahamsa Parivrājākāchārya”. In the last 100 or 200 years, we have started referring to them as Śankarāchārya in general. Rāmānujāchārya and Mādhavāchārya also had many successors but we have never referred to them as Ādi Rāmānuja or Ādi Mādhava.

According to Kanchi records, there were five Śankarāchāryas namely Ādi, Kṛpā, Ujjwala, Mūka and Abhinava. Ātmabodha in his commentary "Suṣamā" mentions a rival tradition, apparently in favour of Ādi Śankara and Abhinava Śankara. It is also recorded that Mūka Śankara died in Śaka 359. Thus, most probably, there were five Śankarāchāryas. Ādi Śankara lived around 569-537 BCE. Probably, Kṛpā Śankara was Sankarendra who was the head of Sarvajna Pitha around 460-410 BCE during the time of Ramilla and Bhartrimentha. Ujjwala Śankara was probably the Sankarāchārya II (44 BCE-59 CE). Ātmabodha tells us that Mūka Śankara died around Sakānta 359

(437 CE). It appears that the Sankaracharya of Kaliyuga 3501 (399 CE) mentioned in the treatise of Keralotpatti was Muka Sankara. In all probability, Abhinava Śankara lived around 788-810 CE.

## Conclusion

In view of the comprehensive and critical study of various evidences as attempted above, it can be concluded that there were two Śankarāchāryas. Ādi Śankarāchārya was born on 18<sup>th</sup> April 569 BCE and lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE whereas Sankarāchārya II was born in 44 BC and flourished around 44 BCE-59 CE. Owing to the chronological error of 661 years, Indians mistakenly considered both Śankarāchāryas as the same person during the medieval period. The authors of all available Śankara Vijayas have committed this blunder and mixed up the biographical account of Ādi Śankara and the Digvijaya account of Śankarāchārya II. In reality, Ādi Śankara lived for 32 years whereas Śankarāchārya II lived for more than 85 years. Ādi Śankara established only two Sarvajña Pīthas (Kanchi and Kashmir) whereas Śankarāchārya II founded four Mathas (Śringeri, Dwāraka, Puri and Jyotirmath). Ādi Śankara attained mokṣa at Kanchipuram whereas Śankarāchārya II attained mokṣa in a cave in Badrinath or Kedaranath.

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