Introduction

Chapter I

On the age of Nagarjuna and the Buddhist Alchemical Tantras.

In the first Volume it has been incidentally mentioned that side by side with the Sivaite Tantras we have their Buddhist counterparts in which the salient features of the former appear.* The question now arises: when did the votaries of the religion of Sakyamuni find themselves called upon to engraft upon their simple and pure creed the ensemble of the gross and grotesque superstitions, the hideous incantations, as also the speculative, the metaphysical and esoteric phases of spiritual aspirations of which the Tantras are the repositories? The answer cannot be given off hand.

* Vol. i, Intro. lxx.
in a few words, for it will lead us to a discussion of the origin and development of Maháyánism. Under ordinary circumstances we should have considered it beside our purpose to devote much space to this subject in a work dealing with the history of chemistry. But it so happens that the most prominent figure in Indian alchemy, who is acknowledged on all hands to be the discoverer of the processes of distillation, sublimation etc., is no other than the reputed founder of the Múdhyamika system of philosophy, the renowned Nágárjuna. A brief and rapid survey of the causes which led to the origin of Maháyánism and its intimate connection with the tenets of the Sivaite cult will be of help to us.

It is one of the saddest episodes in the history of the great religions of the world that the purity of life, right conduct, right living—in short, the moral code upon which their founders have always laid particular stress, soon begin to occupy a subordinate position and a dogmatic theology springs up in time, which gives occupation to the subtlest intellect.
As for the masses of the people it is doubtful if ever they have remained contented with the mere ethical aspect of a religion. At any rate we find that immediately after the tidings of the death of Buddha had spread about there was a squabble among his followers for the possession of the master’s corporeal relics and in course of time stupas were raised over them, which no less than the three jewels (Ratnatraya)—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Samgha,—and the Bodhi-tree became objects of worship of the devotee. The Chaityas, Viharas and other sanctuaries of divers sorts, with which Buddhistic India was dotted over in the first and second centuries after the decease of the great Teacher, afforded asylums for a vast multitude of monks, who, freed from all worldly cares, found ample leisure to formulate and draw up a code of spiritual and disciplinary exercises.

Although their high ideal was “to lead sweet lives of purest chastity” and induce their lay brethren to follow in their footsteps, rituals and ceremonials of an imposing and
elaborate character soon obscured the ray of light which shone forth from the founder. Thus we find that within 150 years after the passing away of Buddha tedious and circumstantial regulations as to the quality of robes to be worn by the Bhikshus, the mode of bathing and fasting, the taking of the midday meal, the drinking of unchurned milk, probation and penance, dwellings and furniture and so forth were amongst the weighty subjects for discussion in the Second General Council.* We need not pursue the subject further. The reader who is interested in the study of comparative religions will find striking parallels in the early history of the Christian Church. †


† The Sermon on the Mount was more or less forgotten. Idolatry disappeared. It is true, but only to re-appear in the shape of Mariolatry and the worship of Saints and relics. In the heat of the schismatic strifes, Christian Charity had to make shift for itself as best as it could. Theologians were busy with the interpretation of the writings of the fathers. In a word, the dogmatic to a large extent superseded the moral element of religion.
We are not concerned here with tracing the rise, progress or decline of Buddhism; if we have at all referred to its excrescences, it is only to prepare the mind of the reader for the proper understanding of the Mahāyānist development.

The India of Asoka and of the fourth and third centuries B.C. was in the main Buddhist, but it should not for a moment be supposed that the old faith was extinct. The triumph and ascendancy of the teachings of Śākyamuni and his followers were due in a large measure to the fact that they drew upon, and incorporated into, their creed much that was essentially of Hindu origin.* As Dr. Bhāndārkar observes:—

* Prof. Rhys Davids expresses the same views in several places:—“There is ample evidence even in the books of the orthodox body of Brahman teachers to show that when Buddhism arose there was not only much discussion of the ultimate problems of life, and a keen interest in the result, but also that there was a quite unusually open field for all sorts of speculations.”—“Buddhism.” American Lectures on the History of Religions (1896), p. 26. Again: “But Buddhism is essentially an Indian system. The Buddha himself was,
“But it was not the metaphysical doctrines of Buddhism that influenced the masses of the people. What proved attractive was its ethical side. The Buddhist preachers discoursed on Dharma or righteousness to the people. Such discourses on Dharma without the introduction of any theistic idea have their representatives in the Brahmanic literature. In many of the episodes of the Mahābhārata especially in the Śānti and Anusāsanika books we have throughout his career, a characteristic Indian. ... ... ... ... 

he was the greatest and wisest and best of Hindus.”—ibid, p. 117. The same high authority puts it more tersely when he says: “This is partly, no doubt, because we call them Buddhists, and imagine them, therefore, to belong to a separate class, quite distinct from other Indians of that stock. The Buddhists were, as a matter of fact, characteristically and distinctly Indian.”—“Buddhist India,” p. 165. Cf. “Buddhism, in fact, may be regarded as a reformed phase of Hindu religion and ethical activity. The Buddhistic doctrine of the vanity of the world had been thoroughly disseminated by Vṛṣṇivalkya (in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa) and with it the practice of subsistence upon alms as Prāvrājaka or Bhikshu; and a fruitful soil had thereby been prepared for Buddhism.” Weber’s “ Hist. Sans. Lit.” trans. 3rd Ed. (1892) p. 285. Again “This teaching contains, in itself, absolutely nothing new; on the contrary, it is essentially identical with the corresponding Brahminical doctrine; only the fashion in which Buddha proclaimed and disseminated it was something altogether novel and unwonted.”—ibid, p. 289.
simply ethical discourses without any reference to 
God, of the nature of those we find in the Buddhistic works; and sometimes the verses in the Mahá-bhárata are the same as those occurring in the 
latter. There appears to be at one time a period in which the thoughts of the Hindus were directed to the delineation of the right conduct in itself without any theistic learning. And Buddhism on its ethical scale represents that phase. Right conduct is the last of the four noble truths of Bud-dhism."

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"It was this phase of Buddhism that with the strenuous efforts of the missionaries and of the Em-peror Asoka enables it to achieve success amongst the masses of the people; and what was wanting on the theistic side was supplied by the perfection and marvellous powers attributed to the founder of the religion. Without this faith in the perfection or, what we should call the divine nature of Bud-dha, a mere ethical religion would probably not have succeeded. Buddhism was not a social re-volution as has been thought by some writers. It was a religion established and propagated by persons who had renounced the world and professed not to care for it. From times of old there existed in the Indian community such persons who were
called Sramanas and belonged originally to all castes. These gave themselves to contemplation and sometimes propounded doctrines of salvation not in harmony with the prevalent creed. Buddhism was not even a revolt against caste, for though men from all castes were admitted to the monastic order, and though in the discourses of Buddha himself and others the distinction of caste is pronounced to be entirely worthless, still the object of those who elaborated the system was not to level caste distinctions. They even left the domestic ceremonies of their followers to be performed according to the Vedic ritual. This is one of the arguments brought against Buddhism by Udayanāchārya. "There does not exist," he says, "a sect, the followers of which do not perform the Vedic rites beginning with Garbhādhāna and ending with the funeral, even though they regard them as having relative or tentative truth."* Buddhism, however, was a revolt against the sacrificial system and denied the authority of the Vedas as calculated to point out the path to salvation. And

* नार्त्तय सहस्नम् यथा साहित्यमेतिक्षुक्कापि गर्भाधानाय तिर्थपथं वै वैदिकी किष्णां अन्नो नामुक्तिः। Atmatattvaviveka, Calc. Ed. of Sامتvat 1906, p. 19, संहत relating to संहत, a Buddhist technical term.
this is the root of the hostility between itself and Brahmanism.”*

The zealous missionaries of Buddhism captured the heart of the masses by appealing to their moral instincts. Persuasion and not persecution was the instrument they chose to wield. King Asoka proclaimed universal toleration; he inculcated respect for Brahmins as well as Sramanas or ascetics of all sects. It is a relief to find that the mighty monarch had never recourse to brute force for the propagation of his creed. We are spared all the scenes of blood, rapine and violence, which disfigure the pages of religious history in the West.

It has already been pointed out that Buddhism itself may be looked upon as an offspring of Hinduism; nay, it is a logical outcome of the principles enunciated in the

*” A peep into the Early History of India from the foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty” (B.C. 322—Circa 500 A. D.) pp. 362-363.

Śāṇkhya system of philosophy. If India so readily responded to the teachings of the new faith, it is not because she renounced Hinduism but because she found that all that was highest and noblest in the latter was absorbed in the former. The great Teacher who now arose gave only a new shape and direction and a vigorous impetus to the germ of ideas already in existence and turned them to capital account. A good deal of confusion may be avoided by bearing in mind this aspect of the question. When speaking of Buddhist India one is apt to rush to the conclusion that every vestige of Hinduism had disappeared off the face of the vast continent. As a matter of fact even during the zenith of Buddhistic glory Brahminism was rearing its head and was professed by not a few among the cultured and intellectual classes and was ready to assert itself whenever a favourable occasion arose.

In the second century B.C., we find the Kābul valley, the Punjab and Mīlava ac-
knowledging the sway of the Princes of the Turkish race.* Wema Kadiphses, the second of the Kushana Dynasty is spoken of as a devotee of Mahesvara; his coins bear the emblem of Nandin on the reverse, which is accompanied by a human figure which holds a trident in its right arm representing Siva.† The last three Kushanas—Kanishka, Huvishka* and Vásudeva—have been noticed in the Rājataramgini,‡ and the emblems on the reverse of their coins are figures of deities borrowed from the Greek, Persian and Brahminical pantheon and of Buddha. Thus the Gods of all these four religions shared the adoration of these Turkish Kings. But the figure of Buddha in the

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† Ibid, pp 808-811.
‡ See next page. Regarding the reliability of the account in the Rājataramgini, Dr. Stein observes:—"Kalhana's account of the reign of these kings, who are supposed to have ruled simultaneously, is brief enough, but undoubtedly preserves data of genuine historical tradition. It clearly describes them as princes of Turuska, i.e., Turkish nationality, as powerful sovereigns and as faithful patrons of the Buddhist Church. On these points the statements of
sitting or meditative and the standing posture
is to be found on the coins of Kanishka alone.*

In the Buddhist ecclesiastical history Kanishka occupies a prominent place. It was in his reign and under his patronage that the Third Council was held to settle the canon once again. The church was convulsed by internal dissensions and schisms, resulting in its being split up into as many as 18 sects. "The most significant trait of the Third Council is that it closed a period of old quarrels between the sects; it did not prevent the rise of new aspirations. Mahāyānism, which in an incipient stage was already existing ere long, boldly raised its head."†

the Chronicle are fully supported by the evidence of our most authentic records. The continued existence of the three places, Kanishkapura, Hushkapura, and Jushkapura, which are described as foundations of these kings and which still survive to the present day is likely to have assisted in preserving a recollection of their founders."


Cunningham: "Num. Chr." 1892, pp. 63 ff.

Hinduism was now very much alive. After the Third Council the distinction between the Hínayánists and the Maháyánists became more and more accentuated. The apostles of the latter development became convinced that in order to draw into their folds the bulk of the people some sort of compromise was necessary, that orthodox Buddhism in all its rigidity must be given up. In other words, the neo-Buddhism which now sprang into existence began to absorb and assimilate the popular form of Brahminism and thus swell the ranks of its followers. A purely ethical creed has never secured a following except perhaps among a chosen few. To quote the eloquent words of the historian of "Rationalism in Europe":—

"There arise from time to time men who bear to the moral condition of their age much the same relations as men of genius bear to its intellectual condition. They anticipate the moral standard of a later age, cast abroad conceptions of disinterested virtue, of philanthropy, or of self-denial that seem to bear no relation to the spirit of their time, inculcate duties and suggest motives of action that
appear to most men altogether chimerical. Yet the magnetism of their perfection tells powerfully upon their contemporaries. An enthusiasm is kindled, a group of adherents is formed, and many are emancipated from the moral condition of their age. Yet the full effects of such a movement are but transient. The first enthusiasm dies away, surrounding circumstances resume their ascendancy, the pure faith is materialised, encrusted with conceptions that are alien to its nature, dislocated, and distorted till its first features have almost disappeared. The moral teaching being unsuited to the time becomes inoperative until its appropriate civilisation has dawned, or at most it faintly and imperfectly filters through an accumulation of dogmas, and thus accelerates in some measure the arrival of the condition it requires.” Vol. i. p. 305, Ed. 1900

The same historian in explaining the rapid spread of Christianity in Europe observes in another place:—“It triumphed not so much by superseding rival faiths as by absorbing and transforming them. Old systems, old rites, old images were grafted into the new belief, retaining much of their ancient character, but assuming new names and a new complexion.”
Among the bold spirits who took a leading part in this renovation the name of Nāgārjuna stands conspicuous. The Mādhyamika system, with its axiom—sarvam Sunyam—a form of Pyrrhonism pushed to its extreme limits, which is an essential part of Mahāyānaism is generally ascribed to him. Northern Buddhist literature is replete with the marvels and miracles performed by him, and tradition has invested him with superhuman powers. Hiouen 'Thsang calls him along with Deva, Asvaghosa and Kumāralabdha, "as the four suns which illumine the world."* As early as A.D. 401-409 we find a life of Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva translated into Chinese.† Tiṇanātha has committed to writing all the floating mass of legends connected with this venerable name, but as the Tibetan monk wrote so late as the beginning of the 17th century A.D., and as nothing was too astounding for his pious credulity, we have here only nuclei of facts round

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which have gathered accretions of vast proportions. It is now almost a hopeless task to separate the grain from the chaff. Nevertheless we can glean certain historical data from all that have been handed down. Before proceeding further we think it proper to treat the reader to a specimen of the materials with which one has to deal. We cull the following bits from the “Life and Legends of Nāgārjuna” gathered chiefly from Tibetan records including Tāranātha’s “History of Buddhism.”

“A rich Brahmin of the Vidarbha country to whom no son had been born for many years, once saw in a vision, that if he gave alms to, and entertained one hundred Brahmins, he could get a son. Accordingly he made offerings and prayers to the God and entertained one hundred Brahmins. After ten months his wife gave birth to a son. The rich man invited learned astrologers to predict the fortunes of his child; but they found that it could not live more than a week. In all other respects the child was calculated to be fortunate....... The astrologers assured them (his parents) that if they entertained one hundred Bhikshus, it would
live seven years, beyond which its life could not be prolonged by any means whatever. When the seventh year was about to expire the parents were overwhelmed with grief. To avoid the painful sight of their son's predicted death, they caused him to be removed to a certain solitary place in company with a few retainers.

"As the boy (Nāgarjuna) was passing his mournful days, one day the Mahābodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Khasarpaṇa visited him in disguise and advised him to go to the great monastery of Nālandra in Magadha as the surest means of escaping from the hands of death. He accordingly repaired to that famous Vihāra and arriving at the gate recited some gāthās. During that time the great sage Sri Saraha Bhadra was the high priest of Nālandra, .......... who ordained Nāgarjuna a Bhikshu of the Vihāra. * * * * During the latter part of his office the country was visited by a famine in consequence of which the monks fell into great distress. The Manager became very thoughtful about the terrible effects of the natural calamity. Distress and scarcity compelled the congregation more keenly to feel the necessity of money. The monks now determined to devise some means of acquiring treasures for the support
of the famished congregation, and Nāgārjuna accordingly started on an expedition to visit an island in the great ocean where lived a great saint well versed in the art of alchemy. As the sea could not be crossed by any earthly means, he, by dint of his divine learning, got two leaves of an enchanted tree, by means of which he crossed the ocean and miraculously visited the island and presented himself before the sage who was greatly surprised to see a human being arrived at his abode deemed inaccessible to mortal beings. The sage earnestly inquired how he succeeded in achieving this wonder. Nāgārjuna replied respectfully stating to him the reasons of his visit and circumstances that brought him thither. He also showed him one of the enchanted leaves, concealing the other in his mendicant's platter. He begged him to teach him the art of turning metals into gold. The sage consented to the proposal, but not liking to let the wonderful art be known in Jambudvīpa, he determined to detain him for ever in the island by depriving him of the enchanted leaf. To effect this, he said that he could not teach the art of alchemy unless Nāgārjuna consented to part with the leaf. Nāgārjuna consented, and was taught the art. When it was fully mastered,
he flew towards the Indian Continent by the help of the remaining leaf. Returning to Nālendra, by means of his easily acquired wealth he supported the whole body of monks. By his religious practices he obtained Siddhi (perfection). He refuted the theories of Samkarāchārya * and imparted religious instruction to the monks of Nālendra.

"Nāgārjuna returned to his country after a visit to Uttarakuru and erected many chaityas and temples, composed many works on science, medicine, astronomy and alchemy. After the death of Saraha Bhadra, the office of high priest fell upon Nāgārjuna, which he managed with great ability and indefatigable zeal. He matured the Mādhyaṃika philosophy which was only conceived by his illustrious teacher Saraha."

"Nāgārjuna is said to have been a great friend of king De-Chye (Samkara) of S. India, whom he converted to Buddhism."†

* An instance of glaring anachronism. Samkara flourished in the 8th—9th century A. D. See below, foot-note to p. xxii.

† S. C. Dás: Journ, As. Soc. li, Pt. i, pp. 115—120.
One thing seems to be clear from the above, namely, that Nāgārjuna was born and brought up in the Brahminical faith but was afterwards converted to Buddhism and was celebrated as an alchemist.

Ṭāranātha, it is true, completed his History in 1608 A. D., but he derived his materials from Tibetan sources and the analysis of Dulva by Csoma goes to confirm this account. We have already made use of the record left us by Hiouen 'Thsang.† It is thus clear that all the testimonies concur in ascertaining Nāgārjuna not only as the originator of the Mādhyamika philosophy but also as an adept in magic, conjuration and alchemy, and that even so early as the 7th century A. D. The exact time during which he flourished is a matter of controversy. He is generally regarded as a contemporary of

†† Vide Vol. i, Intro. xciii.
Kanishka. One cannot go far wrong in assigning *circa* 150 A.D. as the date of his succeeding to the Patriarchate.*

* According to Lassen Nāgārjuna lived about A.D. 25 during the reign of Kanishka. The Rājataramgini says: “Then there were in this land three kings called Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, who built three towns named after them (Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura). During the powerful reign of these kings the land of Kāsmīr was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Buddhās. At that time 150 years had passed in this terrestrial world since the blessed Sākya Simha (Buddha) had obtained complete beatitude (Nirvāṇa). And a Bodhisattva lived (then) in this country as the lord of the land, namely, the glorious Nāgārjuna. Stein's trans. Vol. I, pp. 30—31. As the tradition of the Northern Buddhists as recorded by Hiouen 'Thsang (Si-yu-ki, i. pp. 99, 151), the Tibetan Dulva (Csoma, As. Res. XX, pp. 92, 297) as also Schiefner (Tār. Gesch. d. Bud. p. 301) concur in placing the commencement of Kanishka's rule 400 years after Buddha’s Nirvāṇa, the date assigned here to Nāgārjuna is rather curious. Lassen sums up his conclusion on this knotty point in these words:—“Wegen der grossen Anzahl seiner Münzen mus dem Kanishka eine ziemlich lange Regierung Zugeschrieben werden; ich glaube daher annehmen zu dürfen, das er etwa bis 40 nach Chr. G. regiert habe.” Fleet maintains B. C. 57. V. Smith c. 120 A. D. While Messrs. Bhāndārkar c. 278 A. D. (Journ. Bombay Br. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XX, No. lvi, pp. 269—396) as the date of Kanishka.
An important document has been preserved for us in its Tibetan and Chinese versions, which seems to have an historical basis. It is in the shape of a "Friendly Epistle of Nāgārjuna to king Udyana." The original in Sanskrit, entitled Suhrillekha, has not yet been recovered and probably been lost. Udyana in the Tibetan subscription is Bdye-Spyod=Sadvāhanā. This Sadvāhanā is a prominent figure in the history of S. India. In ancient Sanskrit literature he is frequently spoken of as a patron of learning and there are several literary reminiscences associated with this name. 

† S, C. Dās (l. c.) says: "Nāgārjuna is said to have been a great friend of king De-Chye (i.e. Samkara) of S. India, whom he converted to Buddhism." Now De-Chye=Bdyeyed according to modern pronunciation. Dās is evidently in error in rendering De-Chye as Samkara (Wenzel).
‡ Cf. Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana. Referring to a "new" MS. of Harshacharita in his possession Hall remarks—"for Sālivāhana I there find Sātavāhana"—Intro. to "Vāsavadattā," p. 54. This by implication would suggest that the other MS. had the reading Sālivāhana.
Now "the Andhrabhūtyas or Sātavāhanas ruled over the Deccan from B. C. 73 to about A. D. 218, i.e. for about 3 centuries.

"The period during which they ruled over Mahārāṣṭra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings have been preserved. But that Sālivāhana or Sātavāhana was a family name must have been forgotten and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his Desikosha gives Sālivāhana, Sālana, Hāla and Kuntala as the names of one individual." *

The So-to-p'ō-ho of the Chinese version of the "Friendly Epistle" has been identified with one of the Sātavāhanas or Andhra kings, possibly Yajna-Srī-Sātakarni, who seems to have reigned about 172—202 A. D. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in this particular, Sātavāhana being a contemporary of Nāgārjuna. In the alchemical Tantra, "Rasaratnākara," ascribed to Nāgārjuna,

* Bhāndārkar's "Early History of the Deccan"—p. 36.
there is a dialogue between this sage and Śālivāhana (p. 6). We shall revert to this subject later on.

Numerous works have been fathered on Nāgārjuna and it is an open question if any of them be genuine.* As is well known Vyūsa or more properly named Vedavyūsa has been taken to be the compiler of not only the four Vedas but also of all the Purūnas put together. Piety and credulity go hand in hand and are seldom troubled with questions of anachronism. Plato, Democritus and Geber have been held responsible for writings which appeared several centuries later.

Nāgārjuna as a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahāyānism.

Names, venerable and illustrious, have often been pressed into service to lend weight and dignity to productions which otherwise would not have commanded respectful hearing. On the whole we are inclined to agree

* In Bunyin Nanjio’s Catalogue of the Bud. Tripitaka there is a list of 24 works ascribed to Nāgārjuna. The Suhrillekha was translated into Chinese in 434 A. D. App. pt. I, p. 368.
with Kern when he says, "The figure of Nāgārjuna, so prominent in the history of the rise of Mahāyānaism, shows a double character. It is, on the one side, the name of an influential person, the first eminent leader of a school imbued with Hinduism and the methods of Indian scholastic philosophy. On the other hand, Nāgārjuna is simply a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahāyānaism in the first phase of its onward course."*

* In Vol. I of this work (Intro. xciii), we quoted Alberúní as to the date of Nāgārjuna. This cultured Arab, ordinarily a very trustworthy guide, derived his information from the Brahmins of that part of India from which every vestige of Buddhism had disappeared in the 11th century and he was evidently misled on this point as the traditions relating to Nāgārjuna had at that distance of time become very vague. This will be clearly seen from what Prof. Sachau says in the preface to the Arabic edition of Alberúní.

"Its civilization was then essentially Brahminical as it had come to be in a protracted struggle with Buddhism. Alberúní does not know Indian Buddhism from personal experience, though it had not yet entirely withdrawn from India and in some part was still a political power. (p. v.)

"The valley of the Kābul river and the Punjab are all that Alberúní has seen of India. (p. xiii.)

"The high schools of Hindu science and learning, Kasmir and Benares, were in Alberúní's time unapproachable for Muslems. (p. xiv.)"
From the time of Nāgārjuna onwards Ma-hāyānism began to be tinged more and more with Brahminical bias. A notable and decided step in this direction was taken by Asamga, a monk of Gāndhāra, who composed the Yogāchāra-bhūmisāstra, in which by assimilating the doctrines of Patañjali he paved the way for the growth of the Tantras. He seems to have lived about 400 A. D.* Vasubandhu, Asamga’s younger brother, was another zea-


A life of Vasubandhu was translated into Chinese by Paramārtha, A. D. 557-569.—Bun. Nunj. Cata. p. 371. Gsoma Korosi following the Tibetan Chronology says:—“I know that Arya Asamga lived in the sixth or seventh century alter Jesus Christ.” As. Res. XX, p. 513. This date has been accepted by Lassen (Ind. Alt. ii. p. 460) as also by R. Davids (Buddhism. p. 207). But this chronology has now become untenable. The date of Asamga and his brother Vasubandhu should be put back by about two centuries, as some of their works were translated into Chinese in the beginning of the fifth century and perhaps earlier. (Bun. Nunj. Cata. App. i p. 371). It must have taken a century or two to have their works sufficiently recognised in India before they would deserve a place in the Chinese ‘Tripitaka.'
lous adherent of this school and is said to have been a teacher in the college attached to the monastery of Nālendra—the "Oxford of Indian Buddhism." From Tibetan sources we learn that the celebrated logician Dignīga was a disciple of Vasubandhu, a contemporary of Lha-tho-ri, king of Tibet, who lived up to 371 A. D. *

Mahāyānism now began to adapt itself to its environments. The absorption of the Yoga ideas made the transition into the Tantric cult easy and Northern Buddhism began to develop and expand by entering into an alliance with Sāivaism, which favored the growth of Buddhist Tantras. The origin and development of this class of literature have been the subject of a masterly exposition by Burnouf. The Mahāyānists not only set up their own deities but borrowed copiously from the pantheon of the Hindus. Thus in the Sivaite Tantras while

the God Siva is the fountain of all knowledge and sciences, in their Buddhist counterparts we have the celestial, metaphysical and potential Buddhas * occupying the same position. The worship of the female energies (Sakti) which plays such an important part in the Tantras was encouraged in the person of Tūrā. The Hindu Gods and Goddesses were also objects of adoration, only they were assigned a subordinate position. The question has often been asked: why did Buddhism seek alliance with Saivaism in preference to the Vishnuvite cult? The answer seems to lie in the fact that it was precisely in those parts of India where the worship of Siva, especially in its Tántric form, had struck root that Maháyánism asserted its sway; † and thus the apostles and propagators of the latter made most of the former. A few centuries later when Vaishnavism gained an ascendancy in Bengal the tables seem to have been turned. A gradual and imperceptible fusion

* i. e. the Bodhisattvas.
† Vide ante. p. xi. (under Wema kadiphses).
took place between the rival creeds. Thus in the celebrated adoration in the opening lines of Gītagovinda we find Buddha freely acknowledged as an incarnation of Vishnu and extolled for his abhorrence of sacrificial rites. *

From Fah-hian’s travels we gather that in the beginning of the 5th century A. D., the Mahāyānists were gaining the upper hand, though their rivals, the Hīnayānists, were still holding their own in several localities. Thus at Mathurā and Pātaliputra he found the members of both the sects living side by side and having monasteries of their own.

* निन्दिति वज्रविष्णुरष्ट्र मुलिन्तात्मक सदयुगद्विशिंतपपर्तात्मक। भैशव ग्यतगुर्भारी जय गौरीक हः॥

It is scarcely correct to assert that Buddhism was exterminated in the land of its birth by cruel persecution. Cf. Vol. i. Intro. lxvii. The Bengali poet Ramchandra Kavibharatī, author of Bauddha Sataka, though a devoted Buddha, belonged to the same class of thinkers as Jayadeva. Pandit S. P. Sāstrī is inclined to place him in the latter end of the 13th century.—Journal of Buddhist Text Society, Vol. I, Pt. iii. So late as 1441 A. D. MSS. of Buddhist works used to be copied from in Magadha.—Bendall’s Camb. Cata. of Bud. Sans. MSS. (1883), Pref. iv.
From the fact, however, that the pious Chinese pilgrim repeats the Sūtra for his protection, we may conclude, since he is by no means a pronounced Mahāyānist, that the predisposing causes for the origin of the Tantras were already in existence. "In this Sūtra is contained the most complete list of Dhūranīs (invocations) found in any Chinese compilation. There are 426 distinct sections containing the names of the different Buddhas and Hindu deities worshipped at the time of the composition of the Sūtra. Considering that Fah-hian in the early part of the 5th century regarded this book with reverence. . . . . . . We may reasonably assign it to a period not later than the end of the 1st century. Now amongst the invocations we find distinct reference to Dhyānī Buddha, Vairochana, Akshobhya, Amitābha and others shewing that they were coming to be recognised and worshipped even at that early date."*

* Intro. to Beal's "Fah-hian." (Lxxii).
These Dhúranís may be looked upon as
the precursors of the Tantras
and they fully support the
views that when they were
composed Buddhism had turned a new leaf.
The repeating of certain magic formulas
along with the names of Buddha Amitúbha,
etc., was to secure salvation, in other words,
"instead of the old doctrine [of Karman]—
as a man soweth, so he shall reap—a new
and easier way of salvation is here preached.
vis., as a man prayeth, so he shall be saved.
It is what is known to us as salvation by
faith rather than by works. . . . . . . . . It
would almost seem as if this popular and
easy doctrine had secured to itself the name
of Maháyána, as meaning the Broad Way, in
opposition to the Narrow Way, the Híná-
yána. *

The new class of literature which now
arose in order to meet the demands of the
Maháyánist revival is collectively known as

* Max Müller, Buddhist Maháyána Sútras. Intro. to larger
the Vaipulya Sūtras or the Sūtras of the 
Vaipulya Sūtras, developed school, of which the Dhāranīs are an integral part. It found expression in such works as the “Saddharmapundarīka,” “Lalitavistara,” “Tathāgataguhyaka,” “Prajñāpāramitā,” etc., all of which soon acquired almost canonical sanctity in the estimation of the N. Buddhists. Burnouf has tried hard to differentiate between the simple Sūtras as represented by the literature of the primitive orthodox Buddhism and the expanded Sūtras of which the distinguishing mark is the occurrence of Bodhisattvas.* This drawing of hard and fast

* “La présence des Bodhisattvas ou leur absence intéresse donc le fonds même des livres où on la remarque, et il est bien évident que ce seul point trace une ligne de démarcation profonde entre les Sūtras ordinaires et les Sūtras développés. —Burnouf, Intro. p. 112; ibid., p. 120. Ed. 1844. Vide Max Muller’s remarks at the end of the Smaller Sukhāvatī-Vyūha, p. 102, S. B. E. Series, Vol. xlix.

Cf. also “Some Vaipulyas are, materially, much like the old Sūtras, whole passages e. g. of Lalita-Vistara recur almost word for word in the Pāli Scriptures.” Kern (Ind. Bud., p. 5). This eminent Buddhist scholar also very appositely re-
lines has been found to be well nigh untenable.*

By the second century A. D, we find the leading beliefs and ideas as crystallised in the Mahāyāna literature fully in vogue. Thus we marks elsewhere: "The results arrived at by Burnouf may be right so far as Mahāvaipulya Sūtra as a whole is concerned, they cannot be applied to all the component parts of such a work. Not to go further than the Saddh. and the I. Vistara, it can hardly be questioned that these works contain parts of very different dates, and from various sources." Kern—Intro. to Saddhar, pp. x-xi. Passages in L. V. are literally identical with those in Mahāvagga. Again:—"These few examples I have chosen will suffice to prove that the material of a Mahāvaipulya Sūtra is partly as old as that of any other sacred book of the Buddhists."—ibid, xiv.

* The truth seems to be that "the historical relation between the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism is to me as great a puzzle as ever."—Max Muller, Intro. to I. Sukh. Vyūha, ix. Even the very distinction between the N. and the S Buddhism has been taken strong exception to by R. Davids, who says:—"There is not now and never has been, any unity either of opinion or of language in what is called northern, or in what is called southern Buddhism. There is a distinct disadvantage in continually suggesting a unity which has no existence in fact. In a word the current division of Buddhist literature into northern and southern is entirely unscientific, and misleading."—Bud. India, p. 173.
come across in the "Buddhacharita" of Asvaghosha, who is admitted on all hands to be a contemporary of Kanishka, such a passage as this: "this, Sirs, is the Mahāyāna, the instrument of the law of the perfect Buddha, which is the establisher of the welfare of all beings, set forth by all the Buddhas."* The "Lotus of good Law" was translated into Chinese at the close of the second century A. D. †

Side by side with the growth of the scriptures another class of literature was called into being by the exigencies of the times—we mean the Tantras, the necessity for which has been hinted at in the first volume. ‡ However esoteric may be the doctrines sought to be conveyed through the medium of these productions, it would be idle to deny that there

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† Edkin's "Chinese Buddhism." p. 89. There were several versions of this sacred book.—Vide Kern's Intro. p. xxiii (S. B. E. Series).
‡ Vol. i, Intro. lxx.
is much in them which is calculated to pander to the baser instincts of frail humanity. At what particular time these Tantras appeared on the scene is yet a matter of conjecture, but the views of Wilson which held the ground for more than 30 years have now been found to be erroneous. Evidence is now forthcoming from quite an unexpected source, which goes to prove that Buddhist Tantras existed as early as the fifth or sixth century A.D., if not earlier. * If Buddhist Tantras, again, pre-suppose the existence of Hindu Tantras, one need not be considered as rash in assigning an earlier age to the latter.  

* Vide the palm-leaf MSS. discovered in the monastery of Horiuzi in Japan and carried from Central India. One of these is in the handwriting of a famous Chinese priest, named Kanshin, who came to Japan in A.D. 753. The MS. contains besides a Dharani, five Tantras. "Bud. Texts from Japan," ed. by Max Muller. Vol. i, pt. i. Intro. pp. 6-8. It is fair to conclude that these Tantras existed in the land of their birth at least two centuries earlier.

† Waddell says:—"No one has yet realised the vast extent to which Mahayana and Tantric Buddhist remains cover India; nor sufficiently realised the leading part played by the Mahayana in Indian Buddhism during its popular period." Journal of the Roy. As. Soc. (1894).
The Tantras found a congenial home in China. Amoghavagra, a Sramana of northern India and a Brahmin by caste resided in the Celestial Empire for several years between 746 and 771 A. D., and under his influence the Tantric doctrines dealing with talismanic forms and professions of supernatural power first gained currency there. * Hence long before his time Tantras must have been popular in India. From the eighth to the eleventh century A. D. we are in possession of authentic records as regards the prevalence of Tantras in Northern India; as it was about this period that several of these were gradually imported into Tibet by Indian Pandits, but they must have been composed much earlier. †


*Cf.—Also “The existence of the Tantra Sūstras may thus apparently be traced at least as far back as the 6th century A. D.” — Vide “Annual Report,” As. Soc. Beng. 1906.

† In the first half of the eighth century two eminent
Atisa gave a fresh impetus to Tantrism in the land of snow. From the analysis of Mdo by Csoma we also come to know in detail the names with the dates of the Indian scholars who with the aid of the local interpreters (lochavas) rendered into Tibetan the various Sanskrit Tantras. The faithful accuracy with which these translations were made and their fidelity to the original enable us often to reproduce the Sanskrit Texts and thus we are in possession of valuable histori-

Pandits of Bengal visited Tibet at the invitation of its king and formally introduced there Buddhism; these Pandits were Sánti Rakshita, high priest of the monastery of Núlenda and his co-adjutor Padma Sambhava, a native of Udyana, who took charge of the Tantric part of the Buddhist liturgy. They were followed by the sage Dípakara-Sríjñána (Atisa), b. A. D. 980, d. 1053. He acquired proficiency in the three pitakas of the four classes of the Hínayána Srávakas, in the Vaiseshika philosophy, in the three pitakas of the Maháyána doctrine, the metaphysics of the Mádhyamika and the Yogáchárya schools and the four classes of the Tantras. At the request of king Naya Púla he accepted the post of high priest of the monastery of Vikramaśila.—*Vide S. C. Dás,*—Journal of the Buddhist Text Soc. Pt. i.
cal data.* Some of these Tantras deal with alchemy and their contents reveal to us the knowledge of chemical processes in India from about the 6th to the 8th century A.D.†

Fortunately we are not dependent upon the Tibetan Tantras alone for gaining an insight into this dark recess in the history of Hindu intellectual activity. In the course of our search

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* Speaking of the Tibetan translation of Asyaghośha’s Buddha-Charita, Cowell remarks: “The Tibetan version appears to be much closer to the original Sanskrit than the Chinese; in fact from its verbal accuracy we can often reproduce the exact words of the original, since Sanskrit words are always represented by the same Tibetan equivalents, as for instance the prepositions prefixed to verbal roots.”—l. c. Intro. p. x. Waddell is equally impressed with the “profoundly accurate and scholarly nature of the Lāmaist translations of Sanskrit Buddhist books;” and he again observes: “It is clear that the Tantric and Mahāyāna features of Lāmaism were imported en bloc from Indian Buddhism.”—Journal of the Royal As. Soc. for 1894, p. 15.

† Analysis of the contents of the Mdo (Sūtra) by Csoma de Korosi—Asiatic Researches, XX (1836), p. 583. “A work on preparing quicksilver, the most powerful for subduing every sickness and for improving the vigor of the body.”—“A work on turning base metals into gold.” We are thus reminded of the contents of the Rasārabhava and the Rasaratnakara. Vide p. 2.
for MSS. of alchemical Tantras we have come upon a precious find, in the shape of a Buddhist Tantra, with Nāgārjuna as its reputed author. Of alchemical Tantras we have had enough and to spare; but there is great difficulty in assigning dates to them, as they one and all pretend to emanate from the mouth of the God Siva himself. We are only left to internal evidences—evidences based upon the gradual evolution of chemical processes, which we have not been slow to take advantage of. The MS. in question is a mere fragment, but it is calculated to evoke all the zeal and enthusiasm of a Palæontologist—of an Owen or a Marsh—in his efforts to restore an animal and assign to it its proper place in the economy of the laws of evolution, when he luckily chances upon a fossil impression of its tooth or claws. From this point of view Rasaratnākara, for such is the name of our MS., is of uncommon interest. It is a Tantra of the Mahāyānist school and as such its invocations are
addressed to all the Buddhas; * and in one place there is a pointed reference to Prajñā-pāramitā † (perfection of wisdom) appearing before Nāgārjuna in a dream and revealing to him chemical knowledge. ‡

A noteworthy feature of this work is that some chemical processes are discussed in the form of a dialogue between Sālivāhana and Nāgārjuna, and Ratnaghosha and Māndavya.§ These last two names are held equally in veneration with Nāgārjuna and grateful acknowledgments to their services occur in some later chemical treatises.¶ The bringing together of these four dramatis personae,

* प्रविष्टप्रवीण समथुद्यान्। Cf. The opening invocation in the Sukhāvatī Vyuha: चौ नमः श्रीसमथुद्यान्तिविविधाय। also नमः प्रविष्टप्रवीण समथुद्यानाम् नमः बंधिकस्यानाम् in Arya Manjusrīmūla Tantra.—Vide As. Res. xx, p. 512.

† Cf.—The invocation in Vagrachchhedikā: नमः समथुद्यासन्नाय अर्थप्रकाशपारिप्रमिताः.

‡ Vide Sans. Texts, p. 10, also Trans. p. 5.

§ Vide Sans. Texts, pp. 12-14, also Trans., pp. 6-8.

¶ Cf. Vol. i, p. 77.
especially of the first two has a significance of its own. We have already seen that references to Nāgārjuna and his contemporary king Śālivāhana are only to be met with in ancient classical literature (vide ante xxii). It seems probable that Rasaratnākara was written at a time when the memory of these personages was still fragrant. Judging from internal evidences also we come to the conclusion that it is one of the earliest works extant on the subject. In our attempt at throwing light on the text of Rasārṇava, we had to quote several parallel passages from it, * and from a careful perusal of both we are of opinion that the latter is the inspirer rather than the borrower. Rasaratnākara, in short, seems to us to be a typical production representing the Mahāyānist period of intellectual activity and we may not be wide of the mark if we put down 7th or 8th century A. D. as its latest date.

* Vide Vol. i, Sans. Texts, pp. 7, 12, 13 and 18.
From the 5th to the 11th century A. D. the colleges in connection with the monasteries of Pútaliputra, Nálandá, Vikramasíla, Udandapura, etc., were the great seats of learning as the temples attached to the pyramids in ancient Egypt; and alchemy was included in the curricula of studies.

The existence of a vast ancient Tantric literature with alchemy as a component part has now been placed beyond doubt, thanks to the searching examination of the Mahárájá's collection of valuable MSS. of Nepal by the eminent scholars Bendall, H. P. Sástrí and S. Lévi. Of surpassing interest is the discovery of a Tantra belonging to the extinct school Kubjikáñí, written in Gupta character and copied about the sixth century A. D. This

*Cf. "By the side of the tower of king Asoka is built a Šamghávása, belonging to the great vehicle, very imposing and elegant. There is also a temple belonging to the little vehicle........... In the college attached to the temple one may see eminent Sramanas from every quarter of the globe."—Beal's "Fah-hian," ed. 1869, p. 105.
school, though itself very ancient, presupposes the existence of other schools and we have distinct mention of the Mahá-yána.* We now learn that the gradual fusion and amalgamation of Sivaite and Buddhist Tantras had begun even anterior to the sixth century. The Kubjiká-tantra was evidently composed outside India proper, probably in Nepal. The Goddess Párvatí encourages her consort to proceed to the continent for the spread of the tenets propounded by it. † In one place we come across a passage ‡ in which Siva himself speaks of párada (mercury) as his generative prin-

* Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbár Library, Nepal, by H. P. Sástrí (1905), lxxviii, et. seq.

† कस्य संस्कृति च वर्ग्यापेक्ष रूपम् ॥
‡ संस्कृत भूमिकारण्यां स्वरूपां ॥
‡‡ संस्कृति प्रस्तावाभ्यें मात्रायं दृढाति वाचः ॥

For the passages cited here we are indebted to the industry and courtesy of Pandit H. P. Sástrí, who has wended his way through the bulky MS.
ciple and eulogises its efficacy when it has been killed six times. * We also find allusions to the transmutation of copper into gold with the aid of mercury. In short, we have ample references to alchemical processes described in the very technical terms in which Rasārnava, Rasaratnākara and other typical works of the Tantric period abound. †

It is now only necessary to wind up this chapter with an extract from the work of an eminent Buddhistologist with this reservation that the growing influence of Tantrism began as we have seen long before the 8th century.

"The decline of Buddhism in India from the 8th century downwards nearly coincides with the

* Even at the present day mercury, which has been killed six times in succession, each time with an equal weight of sulphur शुश्रुषा संजारित, is reputed to be one of the most potent of remedies.

† e.g. पश्चिम विद्यापीती वेधः किं क्षणलो न विद्यते। रसविन्द्र वधा तां तां न भूयदाग्यतां प्रजीत॥
For the meaning of the word वेध (Vedha) see this Vol. p. 18, footnote, also Vol. i, p. 120.
growing influence of Tantrism and sorcery, which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice. The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common. The object of Hindu Tantrism is the acquisition of wealth, mundane enjoyments, rewards for moral actions, deliverance, by worshipping Durgā, the Sakti of Siva—Prajñā in the terminology of the Mahāyāna—through means of spells, muttered prayers, Samādhi, offerings, etc. Similarly the Buddhist Tantras purpose to teach the adepts how by a supernatural way to acquire desired objects, either of a material nature, as the elixir of longevity, invulnerability, invisibility, alchemy; or of a more spiritual character as the power of evoking a Buddha or a Bodhisattva to solve a doubt, or the power of achieving in this life the union with some divinity. There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side, and the system of Yoga and Kammathāna on the other. Tantrism is, so to say, a popularised and, at the same time, degraded form of Yoga, because the objects are commonly of a coarser character, and the practices partly more childish partly more revolting.

“Ṭāranātha informs us that Tantrism existed and was transmitted in an occult manner in the period between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti, but that after
Dharmakīrti's times the Anuttarayoga became more and more general and influential. Substantially his statement is certainly right. He adds that during the reign of the Pāla dynasty, there were many masters of magic, Mantra-Vajrāchāryas, who, being possessed of various Siddhis, performed the most prodigious feats.

"The kings of the Pāla dynasty, whose sway over Gauda and the adjacent regions lasted from about A. D. 800 to 1050, are known both from the annals and their inscriptions as protectors of the Faith. It was during that period that the monastery of Vikramasīla was a renowned centre of Tantrist learning.

"The Sena kings, who followed the Pālas in the dominion over Eastern India, though belonging to a Hindu persuasion, were not hostile to the Faith. Still Buddhism declined during their reign and more so after the invasion of the country by the Muhammedans in A.D. 1200. The monasteries of Udamapura and Vikramasīla were destroyed; the monks were killed or fled to other countries. The learned Sākṣyārī went to Orissa, and afterwards to Tibet; Ratnarakshita to Nepāl; Buddhāmitra and others sought a refuge in S. India, whilst Saṅgama-Sriyāna with several of his followers betook themselves to Burma, Camboja, etc. And thus the Law of Buddha became extinct in Magadha."
“Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South and founded colleges on a modest scale in Vijayanagara, Kalinga, and Konkan. The comparatively satisfactory condition of Buddhism in Dekkhan about that time is attested by the rich donations to the monastery at Dambal.”

It will be noted that the monks of the monasteries of Udanapura and Vikramasila on their dispersion carried with them their learning and arts in the same manner of the Byzantine Greeks on their expulsion from Constantinople bore with them their intellectual treasuries to the Italian cities. In the kingdom of the Deccan and in Tibet the Buddhist refugees found hospitable asylums,† just as the Greek Philosophers did in the Florentine Republic under the Medici.

Some eminent orientalists, whose opinions naturally carry weight, have hitherto taken

† Cf.—“The Deccan, which from the eleventh century was the refuge and centre of literary activity generally. In Hindustan it had been substantially arrested by the inroads and ravages of the Muhammadans.”—Weber. Hist. Ind. lit. p. 283.
for granted that the knowledge of chemistry such as we find reflected in the Tantras quoted by Mádhava in Rasesvaradarsana* was derived by intercourse with the Arabs.†

* Vol. i, Intro. lxxviii. et seq.
† E.g. Barth: "In regard to alchemy, anyhow in which the Sittars are zealous adepts, they were disciples of the Arabians, although other Sivaites had preceded them in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone. Already, in his exposition of the different doctrines of the Saivas, Sáyana thought he ought to dedicate a special chapter to the Rasesvara-darsana or "system of mercury," a strange amalgamation of Vedantism and alchemy. The object contemplated in this system is the transmutation of the body into an incorruptible substance by means of rasapāna i.e., the absorption into it of elixirs compounded principally of mercury and mica, that is to say, of the very essential qualities of Siva and Gaurí, with whom the subject of the operation is thus at length identified. This species of transubstantiation constitutes the jivanmukti, or state of deliverance commencing with this present life, the sole and indispensable condition of salvation. It is clear that the devotional formulæ of the Vedanta are here only a sort of jargon, under which there lies hid a radically impious doctrine; and it is not less clear that in this doctrine, which had from the fourteenth century produced a rather considerable literature, there is an infusion of Mohammedan ideas.

The Arabs of the Khalifat had arrived on these shores in the character of travellers or merchants, and had established commercial relations and intercourse with these parts long before the Afghans, Turks, or Mongols, their coreligionists, came as conquerors."—"Religions of India," ed. 1891, pp. 210-211.
The attentive reader who has followed us all along could not have failed to notice that it was in the Universities of Nálandá, Udandapura and Vikramasíla, in Central India and Magadha, precisely the regions which were cut off from communication with the external world, that Tantric mysticism with alchemy as an integral part was cultivated and from thence spread to Bhot (Tibet) and the regions lying to the south-east of it, * and South India. †

* See under colophons to Rasahridaya and Rasasára respectively.

† The last rallying point of Hindu learning and sciences was the kingdom of Vijayanagara, which was in the heyday of its glory under Bukka I (A. D. 1354-1371) with Múdhava as his prime Minister. Wilson says:—“The history of Vijayanagara is a subject of considerable interest in the annals of India, as the last barrier that was opposed to Muhammedan invasions, and that preserved the southern part of the Peninsula from foreign rule until a very modern period.”—As. Res. Vol. xx (1830), p. 1. See also Sewell’s “A Forgotten Empire.”—(Vijayanagara).
CHAPTER II.

Having thus far prepared the ground for believing that alchemy along with other cognate branches of learning was the outcome of Indian intellectual activity, we shall now proceed to follow it up with its further development. At the outset it is, however, necessary to remember that on the decline of Buddhism the vigorous impetus which its followers gave to literature and science was not lost to India. Nay, during and after the revival of Brahminism under the Gupta dynasty and its successors we have some mighty intellectual giants whose productions will continue to shed lustre as long as the Hindu nation exists. Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, Brahma Gupta and Âryabhaṭṭa, Samkara and Rāmānuja are names which may be regarded as the heritage not of India alone but of the entire civilized world. At the time of the Brahminic revival Buddhist works of acknowledged merit far from
being cast aside were held in veneration. Amarasimha in his Lexicon and Vāgbhata in his Ashtāmgahṛidaya* as also the pseudo-Vāgbhata* commence with an invocation to Buddha, which has never shocked the tolerant spirit of the Hindu. Charaka and Susruta also bear distinct impress of Buddhist retouching. The Buddhist Tantras became likewise a part and parcel of Hindu religious philosophical literature, † the subject-matter of the former was incorporated into the latter, the names of Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā and Buddha being simply changed into those of Pārvatī and Śiva. In Rasaratnākara itself we have distinct indications that it is an admixture of both.

* Vol. i, p. 76.

† Speaking of a typical Buddhist production belonging to this category Burnouf observes: "Ce morceau est exclusivement spéculatif, et il nous'offre une nouvelle preuve de l'alliance intime que le système des Tantras a contractée avec la philosophie bouddhique la plus élevée." (l. c. p. 543 ed. 1844).
It should thus be understood that the works under review in this chapter are based upon their Buddhist counterparts; in short, there is no disposition to ignore the debt of obligation the authors are under to Nágárjuna, Ratnaghosha, Mándavya and others.

In the introduction to the first volume we stated: "It is to be regretted that of the several works quoted by Mádhava [on the science of mercury] Rasárnava alone seems to have survived to our days" (L. c. lxxxiii). Since then we have been fortunate enough to procure as many as three transcripts of MSS. of Rasahrídaya by Govindabhagavat from different quarters. As Mádhava speaks of this author in terms of the deepest reverence and regards him as "ancient," * we think we should not err on the wrong side if we place the author some three centuries before his time. If our surmise be

* Cf. Vol. i, Intro. lxxx.

The qualifying epithet समवत् is only applied to venerable Rishis of old.
correct, he should have lived about the eleventh century A. D. The only personal allusion which the author has condescended to offer for the edification of posterity is that he wrote his book at the request of the king of the Kirátaland, i.e., the region adjoining modern Bhotan. Portions of this remarkable treatise after a careful collation of three MSS. have been reproduced in the proper place. The worm-eaten fragmentary MS. procured from Benares is 386 years old. Internal evidence equally goes to establish the antiquity of this work. The author was evidently a Buddhist as we learn from the colophon to the Benares MS. (vide trans. p. 12). It is, however, not to be found either in the India office or the Nepál MS. This important omission is easily accounted for. It is the reluctance of the latter day Hindus to acknowledge their obligations to a Buddhist author.

Rasárnava which has been noticed at length in the first volume and to which was assigned the 12th century A. D., as also Rasaratnasamuchchaya, (13th to 14th century), need not further arrest our attention.
The presentation of the various treatises of the Tantric and iatro-chemical periods under discussion in their exact chronological sequence is not an easy task; in the absence of more definite information, we are afraid, we shall now and then have to hazard a conjecture.

The introductory lines of Books viii and ix of Basaratnasamuchchaya, in which Somadeva is mentioned as the author of the descriptive part, led us to suspect that they are merely reproductions from "a standard work on the subject by Somadeva, no longer extant."*. Our surmise has proved to be partially correct. We have at last been able to recover the supposed lost work. A transcript of a MS. of Basendrachúdámani by Somadeva, preserved in the Library of the Deccan College, Poona, reveals to us the fact that practically all the important portions of this book have been woven into the text of Basaratnasamuchchaya; and this gives us

* Vol. i, p. 118.
an additional opportunity of collating many doubtful passages in both. But the present work itself does not lay claim to originality. It makes a candid admission that it culls all its materials from pre-existing chemical treatises.* It further puts forward the alchemist Nandi as the inventor of the process of sublimation and of the Koshtthi apparatus (Vol. i, pp. 69 and 89).† Nāgārjuna, Dandi, Sambhu and the sage Brahmajyoti are also spoken of as sources of his inspiration. We get very little inkling into the personal history of Somadeva, except that he was the ruler of a city named Karavālabhairava. The fact that R. R. S. lays Rasendrachudāmani so amply under contribution would suggest that the latter had become somewhat rare or that its contents had been well nigh forgotten when the former was compiled. Its date may therefore be put down between the 12th and 13th centuries A. D.

* अध वन्दनानि वचनेण रसस्तन्त्रायनिधिः ।
   समाकंक्ष समाखं योजितं शास्त्रतम् ॥

† अंबापातवन्यं दि नन्दिना परिकृताश्च ।
   कोषिकायथानुभवसि नन्दिना परिकृताश्च ॥
Another important work of this period is Rasaprakāsa-sudhākara by Yasodhara. The author of R. R. S. in the opening lines mentions the names of 27 alchemists to whom, he is beholden, among which occurs that of Yasodhana. We have little doubt the correct reading is Yasodhara. We now find that there is very little original matter in R. R. S., it being made up of citations from Rasārṇava and the works of Somadeva and Yasodhara. We should not, however, be understood to retract the high encomiums we thought fit to bestow upon R. R. S. for “its methodical and scientific arrangements of the subject-matter, which would do credit to any modern work.”* Its author has never laid claims to originality, but on the contrary has freely acknowledged the sources he drew upon. The student of Hindu chemistry, however, like a weary but devout pilgrim, must wind his way through intricate and thorny paths and feel ineffable joy at being able to approach the original

* Vol. i, Intro. lxxvi.
fountain undefiled. It now transpires that the credit for the accurate observations on the metallurgy of zinc (Vol. i, pp. 88 & 156) really belongs to Yasodhara. While the author of R. R. S. always scrupulously admits that his work is a mere compilation, Yasodhara, on the other hand, is anxious to let the world know that the processes he describes have been verified by experiments performed with his own hands. * Among the authorities he cites are Nágárrjuna, Devíśástra (probably Rasárnavá), Nandi, Somadeva, Svachchhandhábháirava and Manthanabháirava. As Yasodhara quotes Somadeva, he must have been posterior to the latter by at least a hundred years and he should therefore be placed in the 13th century A. D. †

* Cf. ख्रेण्य जतं सम्बन्धं जारणं न चर्चं मया ।
ख्रेण्य समशोधितं जतं सम्बन्धं सुतेगं वि ॥
धातुकमस्तथायोरसीख्रेण्य जतो मया ।
हष्टप्रभायोरसं कथितो नात संशयः ॥

† We are using a copy of the MS. preserved in the Runbír Library, Kásmír. The readings are on the whole accurate.
Basakalpa likewise seems to belong to this period. It is in the shape of a Tantra, but curiously enough it is not much troubled with consistency. In the opening salutation, Siva, "the king of mercurial lore" and his consort Chandikā are reverentially bowed to—a procedure scarcely reconcilable with the position of a revealed document. The colophon at the end of each Chapter (क्षण) claims the work to be a part and parcel of Rudrayamala Tantra; at the same time due acknowledgment is made to the contributions of Govinda, the author of Rasahridaya, Svachchhandabhairava and other adepts.* Towards the end the author says: "The processes described have all been verified by me and not borrowed at second-hand from my teachers." Needless to add here that the God Siva would not have been at pains in justifying the necessity of his production with such a timorous apology. From internal evidence it is abundantly clear that it could not have been composed earlier than the 13th century A. D.

* E.g. सम्बोधार्थेन्द्रियाः
As the author has confined himself solely to a description of the metals, minerals and the processes of "killing" them with the agency of various apparatus and has not gone into the treatment of diseases with the aid of mineral preparations, he has been able to condense much important information within the narrow compass of a few short chapters.

Rasarájalakshmi also deserves some prominence here, not because of its intrinsic worth but because of the references to previous Tantras and alchemists, amongst which are Rasárnavā, Kákachandisvāra, Nágájrīna, Vyádi, Svachchhandā, Dámodara, Vásudeva and Bhagabat Govinda. We have also categorical mention of the purely Ayurvedic works, such as Charaka, Susruta, Harīta and Vāgbhata, to which our author is equally indebted.* From the colophon to the MS. procured from Benares we learn that the author Vishnudeva

* Vide Sanskrit Texts, pp. 80-81.
was Court Physician to king Bukka. * If this statement be accepted—and *prima facie* there is no reason to question it—this treatise must have been compiled in the latter part of the 14th century. Internal evidence equally supports this date.

* Vide ante., footnote, xlix.
CHAPTER III.

C. 1350 A. D.

We now proceed to examine the contents of another series of works belonging also to the Iatro-Chemical period; the one characteristic feature of which is that opium is recognised as an official drug in the materia medica portion. These may be taken to date from the middle of the 14th century A.D.

Rasnakshatramālikā by Mathanasimha, physician to the king of Malwa, should find a place in this chapter. For particulars as to the contents the reader may consult p. 22. The date given by the copyist of the MS. is Samvat 1557 i.e. 1500 A. D. The work itself is therefore older.

Rasaratnākara by Siddha Nityanātha, son of Pārvatī, comes under this category.* The author gives the sources of his information and explains the object of his compila-

* Two editions of this somewhat voluminous work have been published—one by Ganesa Chandra Ghose (Calcutta),
tion in the following words: "Whatever has been revealed by Sīva in Rasārṇaya under the preparations of mercury; the Dīpikā of Rasamāngala on mercury; all that has been said by Nāgarjuna for the benefit of people afflicted with diseases, as also by Siddha Charpatī, by Vāgbhāta and Su-

sruta,—all these and many other treatises on mercury and minerals being consulted, I have, after rejecting the drugs and medicaments which have become rare and difficult to procure, put together [in my work] the essential features thereof. * * * * All that I have learned from my teachers and have been in a position to subject to practical tests has been incorporated into my work for the benefit of mankind." In addition to the authorities cited above Nityanātha quotes from Chakrapāṇi and Rasendrachūdāmanī (ante liv).

the other at the "Venkatesvara Press" (Bombay). We have compared the readings of these two editions with the MS. in the Library of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. They agree fairly well.
Rasendrachintámani will next claim our attention. We have before us the printed copy, edited by Umesa Chandra Sena Gupta, late librarian, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, in which the text has been adopted, as the editor informs us in the preface, after collaboration of 3 or 4 MSS. We have carefully gone over this edition and compared its readings with those of a MS. procured from Benares and another from the Runbír Library, Kásmír. All these agree in the main, but there happen to be certain omissions and additions, which form an interesting chapter in the history of interpolations in the literature of this description. To begin with: there is a dispute over its very authorship. Some MSS. ascribe it to Dhundhukanátha, disciple of Kálanátha, others to Rámachandra. After the customary salutation there occur two couplets in the Calcutta edition, which are not met with in the Benares and Kásmír exemplars. In these the author is made to justify his raison d’être for undertaking his task in these words: “I shall give publicity only to such processes
as I have been able to verify by my own experiments." Such protestations have already been noticed more than once.* In another place we have: "Those mercurial operations alone have found a place in my book, which I have been able to put to tests. Those who teach without being able to perform experiments labour in vain." This last couplet is quite out of place as it hangs like a tail to a long extract from Rastirnava and is in fact conspicuous by its absence in the Benares and Kāsmīr MSS.† For the second time we find calomel designated as Raskarpura (lit. camphor of mercury; vide vol. i, p. 250). This preparation no doubt occurs in the older

* Such pretentions put forth on behalf of the author, especially in the first person singular, lead one to suspect that they are later interpolations. In the Arabian alchemy Geber is often made to declare to the same effect: e.g. "J'ai expérimenté moi-même tout ce que je rapporté."—Berthelot, "La Chimie au moyen Âge," t. 1. p. 338. The well known egoistic couplet in Susruta, Ch. i, रङ्गत्रक वचनानारादिदेविः is generally regarded as an interpolation.

† The extract commences with लं माता संवेब्रूताग।
works, e. g. Rasárnava; but it is described there as the white "ash" of mercury (svetabhasma). The recipé for calomel as given in the Calcutta edition, however, is quite different from that in the Benares and Kásmír MSS. and it is altogether wanting in one of the MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library. We are therefore not without suspicion that it has been foisted into the ornamental composition. The author refers to Declanava, Nágúrjuna, Govinda, Nityanátha prodhá Lakshmísvara, Trivikramabhatta, Chakrapáni. There is a lengthy col that but no direct information can be derived neg- it as to the age of the author.

Rasására: It is a comprehensive but purely chemical work dealing with 18 operations on mercury; various chemical processes are incidentally described, a good many of which, however, overlap each other. There does not seem to be any justification for coining a multiplicity of technical jargons to connote each of these. But prolixity was never regarded in the light of a vice by the
alchemical writers of the middle ages either in India or in Europe. The contents of Basasāra often remind us of a poem on alchemy by George Ripley, canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire (b. about 1460), of which Rodwell says:—

"But we cannot point to a new fact which he mericidated. He divided all chemical operations quite twelve processes—calcination, dissolution, long evation, conjunction, putrefaction, congelation, conspicion, sublimation, fermentation, exaltation, Kāsmīr lication and projection. Several MS. copies find ca poem exist in the British Museum, bound up copies of the works of Roger Bacon and other writers. Here is a specimen of his rugged ymes:—

The first chapter shall be of natural Calcination;
The second of Dyssolution, secret and phylosophycall;
The third of our elementall Separation;
The fourth of Conjunction matrimoniall;
The fifth of Putrefaction then followe shall:
Of Congelation Albyficative shall be the Sixt,
Then of Cybation, the seaventh shall follow next." *

* Vide "Birth of Chemistry."
The author, Govindāchārya, as a devout Hindu, begins with his adoration of Śiva and Viṣṇu and tells us at the outset that his treatise is a compilation and epitome based upon standard works on the subject and the contributions of the adepts. We have every reason to be thankful to him for the many hints he throws on the sources of his information. Of surpassing interest is his declaration that for a knowledge of certain processes he is indebted to the Buddhists of Tibet.* This must be taken to mean that the cultivation of alchemy had become neglected and almost forgotten in India proper and the earnest searchers for this lore had to repair during the time of our author to Tibet. Confirmatory evidence to this effect is equally

* एवं ब्रह्माविशेषतः भारतेन्द्रियनिवासिनः।
Towards the close of his work the author again acknowledges his obligation to the Buddhists.

श्चेसस्य स जातं ज्ञानं रसस्यः क्षत्री मया।
We have in our possession five transcripts of the MSS. of Rasasāra procured from the Libraries of Kāśmīr, Tanjore, Ulwar, Madras and the Temple of the Goddess Kāli, at Ramnā, near Dacca, Bengal.
furnished in the colophon to Rasahridaya (trans. p. 12). During the decadence of Buddhism and the corresponding ascendancy of Brahminism in Bengal, say about the 11th to 13th centuries A.D., this branch of science also found a safe retreat in the land of the Kirátas as we have already seen. Burnell, under the influence of his preconceived notion, namely that Indian alchemy owed its origin to the Arabs, very naively remarks: "By Baudhás he (the author) probably means the Muhammedans (cf. the vernacular Malayálam use of the word), though studies of this nature were much pursued by the later Buddhists." *

Some idea of the date of Rasasára may be formed from the fact that there is mention of opium in it. But our author was evidently quite in the dark as to its origin; for, says he: "There are 4 different kinds of poisonous

* Catalogue of the Tanjore Palace MSS. pt. 1, p. 70.* Burnell draws his conclusions from the reference to Buddhists in the colophon; but we have quoted another passage in which distinct mention is made of the Buddhists of Tibet.
sea-fish, and it is from their foam that 4 different kinds of opium are derived, namely, white, red, black and yellow; while others maintain that it is derived from the foam of the snake and it is very properly used for chemical operations,” * e.g.—killing and fixation of mercury. From the context it is, however, doubtful if the narcotic drug is really alluded to here. But independently of the use of this term we may safely place this work in the 13th century A. D.

* समुद्रे चैव जाभे विषमक्षेवादतिबिष ।
   नेयं भृंग समुर्पक्ष बलिक्षिणि विषं स भृंगविंदं ।
   के शिषदलि संपांशं द्रेन आदिविकिषं ।
   यथा—धारणं धेतुर्वचं च रलवर्धं च भारकं ।
   सारणं पीतवर्धं च कुःवर्धं च सारवं ।
   विषविदुस्सं द्रेन बुधने रसायाश्र ।

The Sanskrit word for opium, “ahiphana,” lit., foam of the snake, is of modern date. It is generally held that this word has been Sanskritised from the Arabic “aphiyah.”

These identical distichs also occur in the commentary on Sārṇagadharā by Kādamallā with the additional line, जावः:
(खाखः): चौरविशेषः, namely, it is the milky juice of poppy; proving that during the time of the latter its real origin was known, at the same time its supposed origin was not disbelieved.
Sāṅgadharasamgraha—a compilation by Sāṅgadharas: its peculiarity is that it is based upon the Ayurvedas (Charaka, etc.) on the one hand and the Tantric chemical treatises on the other. In the chapter on the purification and incineration of metals, 7 of these are recognised, but strange to say there does not occur any mention of zinc. Later on, 9 metals are named including two alloys, brass and bell-metal, after the 9 planets, the significance of which will be discussed in the proper place.

The date of Sāṅgadharas can be ascertained with accuracy, as besides this medical compendium he is the author of the Paddhati, a voluminous miscellany, containing, with other matters, a poetical anthology. The author dates his work in samvat 1420 or A. D. 1363. The name of the author's father is Dāmodara and that of the grandfather Rūghavadeva. The latter was highly considered by Rājū Hammira, the Chauhan.*

* After the sack of Chitor by Alla-ud-din in A. D. 1303, Mewar was occupied by the garrisons of Delhi. Hammira
There is a big commentary on this work by Adhamalla, whose ancestors settled in the city founded by Hammíra.*

Rasendrasárasamgraha: The author, Gopúlakrishna, begins by admitting that his treatise is a mere compilation based upon many Tantras, though he mentions by name only two, namely, Rasamañjarí and Chandriká. Special stress is laid on the therapeu-

recovered his ancestral throne and during his prosperous rule of sixty-four years (1301-1365) and that of his successors arts and literature found liberal patrons (vide Tod’s "Annals of Rájastan.") The court of Hammíra attracted another distinguished physician named Saugata Simha as we gather from the colophon to a noted recipé,

एषा सौगतसिंहजामभिषजज्ञ चाँके प्रकाशीक्षा
हस्योराय महीभूजि * * संभोजभाजि मृत्यम्।

* Adhamalla gives an account of his family. His Grandfather was one Chakrapáni, not to be confounded with the celebrated medical author of Bengal (Vol. i, Intro. liv) and he himself was attached to the court of a ruler named, Jaitrasimha, whose capital Hástikántapuri was situated on the river Charmanvatí. We reproduce in the next page the text which is somewhat corrupt from the copy preserved in the Library of the Sanskrit College, Benares.
tic efficacy of mineral preparations. Like Basendrachintamani it assigns a minor place to the ancient Ayurvedic method of treatment by kashayayoga, i.e., by herbs and simples; as far as the knowledge of chemical processes goes, it must be held inferior to the former. Numerous medicinal recipes

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* For a description of some of these vide "Journal des Savants." April 1898.
agree word for word with those in Rasendrachintamani, which only proves that both have drawn on a common stock. There is no question of the one borrowing from the other, as internal evidence proves that both belong to the same period. Abhayánanda Gupta in the preface to his edition says:—“There is a tradition to the effect that Gopála Kavibhúshana of Dakshina Baṅga is the compiler of this book; but this can scarcely be accepted as he lived not long ago.” Again. “Its commentator, Rámasena Kavíndramani (author of Arthabodhiká) was court physician to Nawáb Jaffer Ali Khan of Bengal (Mir Jaffer) some 200 years ago.” Rámasena himself quotes from 3 commentaries of this book; hence it was recognised as of some degree of importance at that time and must have been composed long before. This work is very popular in Bengal and is a vade mecum of the local Kavirájas.

Rasendralkalpadruma is another work of this period. It deals chiefly with mineral preparations and is a mere compilation from
Rasárna, Rasaman-gala, Ratnákara, Rasá-mrita and Rasaratnasamuchchaya; the numerous citations with which it is replete are of some use in correcting many doubtful readings in these latter. Our MS. is incomplete, the first few couplets and the sequel being lost; for the opening lines of the work see Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, MSS., pt. i., p. 321.

Dháturatnamálá: This epitome is devoted exclusively to short processes of killing metals and minerals. Six metals are recognised at the outset, namely, gold, silver, copper, lead, tin and iron as in the ancient works; but strange to say later on kharpara, * which is the mineral calamine, is taken as synonymous with jasada or zinc. We have before us a MS. procured from Benares. It is full of corrupt readings. The copy noticed in the Bodleian Library Catalogue seems to be more correct. From the colophon in the latter we learn that the author is one Devadatta of Gujaríta, but in the Benares exemplar

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* Vol. i, p. 158.
this portion has been coolly tampered with, so that this poor compilation may be palmed off as an integral part of a Samhitá of the Asviníkumáras, the divine physicians, and thus entitled to the respect due to revelation. This work cannot be placed earlier than in the 14th century. Here we have a serious side-light into the history of literary forgeries.
noteworthy circumstance in connection with this is that the Bhávaprakása, which is posterior to Rasapradípa, is silent about sam-khadrávaka, which had come to be prescribed by this time as a favorite remedy for indigestion and derangement of liver and spleen; the solvents being borax, treacle, etc.—(cf. vol. i, p. 130). In the Bhávaprakása among the acids we have only the juices of acid fruits. This is only another instance of the danger one is liable to incur by drawing inferences from argumentum ex silentiio.

Rasakaumudí is another compilation belonging to this period and as far as its contents go it is comparable to Rasapradípa in many respects; both opium and mineral acids are prescribed. From the colophon in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library MS. we gather that the author is a physician named Mándhava. Curiously enough he is often confounded with the celebrated Mándhavakara, the author of the Nidánasamgraha, who preceded the former by some 8 or 9 hundred years.
The next work which should now claim our attention is the well known Bhávaprapákása of Bhávamisra. It is a voluminous compilation in which the Ayurvedic method of treatment has been mainly adopted and as such ample citations are given from the Charaka, Susruta, Vágbhata, Háríta, Vrinda and Chakrapáni. But the Tantric remedies could not altogether be given a wide berth and accordingly one or two chapters have been devoted to mineral preparations; but these have been borrowed chiefly from Rasa-pradípa, Rasendrachintúmaní, Súríñagadhara and other standard works. Bhávamisra has been scrupulously candid in his acknowledgments to the various authorities quoted by him. Phirangaroja is mentioned as also its treatment with the help of calomel and chob-chini. The author lived about the time of the Emperor Akbar and evidently in that part of India which is now known as the United Provinces and it is not to be wondered at that Mussulman influence is discernible in his book.

We conclude our survey of this period with the notice of a remarkable production
entitled Dhátukriya or "operations with metals"; it is in the shape of a dialogue between Siva and Párvatí; in short, it pretends to be a part and parcel of the Rudrayámala Tantra. * The work cannot be placed earlier than in the 16th century A. D., as it contains reference to the country of the Phirangas and to Búma, the Arabic name for Constantinople. For the first time we come across the very appropriate term dháhajala (lit. burning water) coined to denote sulphuric acid. The information about the metals is of a very meagre and poor description and it has been needlessly spun into an inordinate length. The author evidently considers it a pious fraud to make such statements as follow emanate from the mouth of Siva himself:

"By using coins made of imitation gold one can carry on exchange . . . and thus enrich oneself."

* We have in hand transcripts of two MSS.—one from the Library of the Maharájá of Ulwar; the other named somewhat differently, Dhátumājári, from Benares. They agree very closely.
The curious reader who is referred to the translations of the selected portions of the text given elsewhere will not fail to recollect similar passages in the Leyden Parchment where the dishonest goldsmith gives numerous recipes for "augmenting gold." * Fraudulent attempts in the direction of palming off alloys of base metals, possessing bright, yellow lustre, for gold, have been made in all ages and in all climes (cf. extracts from Rasārnava, Vol. i, p. 74).

Arkaprakāsa or a treatise on the preparation of medicinal tinctures and essences should also find a place here; † its authorship is ascribed to Rāvana, the mythical king of Ceylon. The contents of the work, however, reveal its date. For instance, mercury, treated with Samkhadrāvaka, is prescribed as the remedy for "Phiraṅgaroga" (syphilis).

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† There is a Calcutta edition published by Gaṇesa Chandra Ghosha; we have compared it with a MS. procured from the Sanskrit College, Benares. They agree remarkably well.
Opium also is prescribed; while the term yasada is used to indicate zinc. As a distilling apparatus a tinned copper vessel is recommended. Mahommedan influence is distinctly discernible in this hybrid production. The very title of the book is no doubt Sanskritised from the Persian arrak (essence).

It is unnecessary to proceed further. We have before us the MSS. of Rasamañjarí by Sálinátha, of Rasarañjana, of Gandhaka-kalpa (a Tantra), of Rasárñava (quite distinct from the standard work bearing the same title,) of Rasaratnánkara (altogether different from that of Nityanátha) and several others. As all of these repeat ad nauseam the processes already described, we refrain from examining their contents here.