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Kālavañcana in the Konkan: How a Vajrayāna Haṭhayoga Tradition Cheated Buddhism's Death in India

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Received: 26 February 2019; Accepted: 12 March 2019; Published: 16 April 2019

Abstract: In recent decades the relationship between tantric traditions of Buddhism and Śaivism has been the subject of sustained scholarly enquiry. This article looks at a specific aspect of this relationship, that between Buddhist and Śaiva traditions of practitioners of physical yoga, which came to be categorised in Sanskrit texts as *haṭhayoga*. Taking as its starting point the recent identification as Buddhist of the c.11th-century *Amṛtasiddhi*, which is the earliest text to teach any of the methods of *haṭhayoga* and whose teachings are found in many subsequent non-Buddhist works, the article draws on a range of textual and material sources to identify the Konkan site of Kadri as a key location for the transition from Buddhist to Nāth Śaiva *haṭhayoga* traditions, and proposes that this transition may provide a model for how Buddhist teachings survived elsewhere in India after Buddhism's demise there as a formal religion.

Keywords: Śaivism; Buddhism; Hinduism; Tantra; Yoga; India

1. Introduction

It has long been recognised by indologists that Vajrayāna Buddhist and Nāth¹ Śaiva traditions have much in common, in particular adepts, sacred sites and metaphysical terminology. In recent years scholars have explained these commonalities either by pointing to the Nāths as their originators or by claiming that the two traditions share a common substratum. Early 20th-century Indian scholars, on the other hand, viewed Vajrayāna Buddhism as their source.²

¹ I use the designation “Nāth” here even though it was not current during the period under consideration (and I do the same for “Hindu”). See (Mallinson 2011, p. 409) for a discussion of the usage of the term Nāth as the name of a grouping of yogi lineages. I use the vernacular form “Nāth” rather than the Sanskrit “Nātha” because it is in vernacular usage that the designation “Nāth” is most usually found.

² (Dasgupta 1946, pp. 194–95) denies the possibility of Buddhist origins for the Nāths, partly on the spurious grounds that they were the first alchemists so must have existed before the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* because of its mention (4.1) of *auśadhi*, medicinal herbs, and thus long predated the esoteric forms of Buddhism with which they have much in common. In east India, Nepal and Tibet, continues Dasgupta, the Nāths’ traditions “got mixed up with those of the Buddhist Siddhacāryas”, a process which was facilitated by their common heritage of tantra and yoga. White (1996, pp. 106–9) suggests that Gorakṣanātha, the second of the human Nāth gurus, was originally Śaiva before being made out in later myths to be Buddhist, concluding that “since no extant tantric or Siddha alchemical works, either Hindu or Buddhist, emerged out of Bengal prior to the thirteenth century, we need not concern ourselves any further with the imagined east Indian Buddhist origins of Gorakṣnāth or the Nāth Siddhas”. (White does not address the possibility of elements of Nāth tradition deriving from Buddhist traditions from other parts of India.) Briggs (1938, p. 151 n. 1) names the stages of development of Buddhism in Bengal as Mantrayāna, Vajrayāna and then Kālacakrayāna, and that “[t]hese Buddhist elements were absorbed into the Nāthamārga”. Sen (1956, pp. 281–86) writes of the Nāths’ “Buddhist affiliation” and states that “[b]oth the Nātha cult and Vajrayāna had fundamental unity in their esoteric or yogic aspects”, but makes no suggestion as to which of the two traditions came first. Templeman (1997, p. 957) talks of a “shared praxis” which persisted up to the seventeenth century. In contrast, the polymath writer, poet and scholar M. Govinda Pai, who was from the Tulu region (whose Kadri monastery is the focus of this article), says that “the Nātha cult is known to have developed itself out of the Vajrayāna system of the

The relationship between Vajrayāna and Nāth Śaiva traditions is but one part of the complex relationship between Vajrayāna and Śaivism as a whole, which has been the subject of detailed analysis since an article by Alexis Sanderson published in 1994 in which he demonstrated the dependence of certain Buddhist Yoginītantras on texts of the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha.³ Shaman Hatley has shown that since the time of the earliest tantric texts there are likely to have been borrowings between the two traditions in both directions, albeit on a smaller scale than in the examples provided by Sanderson.⁴ David Seyfort Ruegg and Francesco Sferra, while accepting the borrowings demonstrated by Sanderson, have argued the case for a shared substrate, with Sferra proposing that “Buddhist and Hindu Tantric traditions only appear to be distant from one another at the theoretical level when the common practices and ‘substratum’ are imbued with a doctrinal content”.⁵ Sanderson has rejected the concept of a shared substratum because it is an entity that is only inferred, whereas everything we perceive in this context is either Śaiva or Buddhist.⁶

Recent studies in the field of *haṭhayoga*, which in previous scholarship is usually said to have originated within Śaiva Nāth traditions, have shown that the term *haṭhayoga* is first found in a range of Vajrayāna works dating from the 8th century onwards⁷ and that the c. 11th-century *Amṛtasiddhi*, the first text to teach any of *haṭhayoga*’s distinctive practices and principles, was composed in a Vajrayāna milieu.⁸ The *Amṛtasiddhi* was directly drawn upon in the production of several subsequent *haṭha* texts, none of which was Buddhist and the earliest of which was probably the Nāth Śaiva *Amaraughaprabodha*.⁹ In this paper I shall draw upon textual, epigraphic and material sources to show that the Konkan (the coastal region of modern-day Maharashtra, Goa and Karnataka), and in particular the Kadri monastery in Mangalore, is likely to be where the *Amaraughaprabodha* was composed, and that its composition was symptomatic of the appropriation from Vajrayāna Buddhists by the Śaiva Nāths of not only practice and terminology, but also the Kadri monastery itself. Unlike the parallels between earlier Vajrayāna and Śaiva traditions that have been the focus of recent scholarship, this transition coincides with the demise of Buddhism in India. The evidence presented suggests that the Kadri Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition was not destroyed or expelled, but absorbed into that of the Nāths, and provides a possible model for such transitions elsewhere.

2. Virūpākṣa

The *Amṛtasiddhi* makes no mention of any of the more celebrated adepts shared by the Vajrayāna and Nāth traditions, such as Matsyendra or Gorakṣa. Instead it attributes its teachings to a renowned Vajrayāna *siddha* called Virūpākṣa (or sometimes Virūpa), who is little known outside of Tibetan

Mahāyāna Buddhism, and thus being in its origin a form of Tāntrik Buddhism before it transformed itself into Tāntrik Śaivism, it naturally betrays no less affinity with the Buddhistic than with the Brāhmanical Tantra” (Pai 1946, p. 64), and his compatriot P. Gururaja Bhatt, who wrote the definitive history of Tuḷunāḍu, concurs (Bhatt 1975, p. 291). Bouillier (2008, pp. 85–86) notes how early historians of the Tuḷu region affirmed that the site was Buddhist before it became Nāth, but that from the 1970s local historians have denied Buddhism’s primacy. Thus Bhatt (1975, pp. 370–72), despite asserting the Nāths’ Buddhist origins, will not entertain the possibility that Kadri was Buddhist before being Nāth and ties himself in various improbable knots trying to defend his position.

³ (Sanderson 1994, pp. 92–99). See also Sanderson 2001; (Sanderson 2009, pp. 124–20). For summaries of the different positions held in this debate, see (Acri 2015, pp. 263–65) and (Hatley 2016, pp. 37–38).

⁴ (Hatley 2016, p. 30), the findings of which article were subsequently refined by Hatley (2018, pp. 114–20) on consideration of tantric medical texts, leading him to conclude that “[f]inding potential intertextuality at the level of the Śaiva *Gāruḍa*- and *Bhūtatantras*, Buddhist *Kriyātantras*, and the early Vidyāpīṭha points toward what is likely to be a history of interaction, shared ritual paradigms, and textual appropriation extending back to the earliest strata of tantric literature”.

⁵ Seyfort Ruegg 2001; (Sferra 2003, p. 62).

⁶ Sanderson 1994, p. 92.

⁷ Birch 2011, pp. 535–36; Isaacson and Sferra (2014, pp. 100–1); Mallinson (forthcoming b). There is one occurrence of the term *haṭhayoga* in the c. 3rd century CE *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (p. 318 ll. 11–17), which is part of the *Yogācārābhūmiśāstra*.

⁸ Mallinson (forthcoming a).

⁹ Birch (forthcoming).

Buddhist traditions, in which he first appears in perhaps the 12th century.¹⁰ Tibetan hagiographic treatments of Virūpākṣa and textual cycles associated with him are particularly rich and diverse,¹¹ as are his depictions in Tibetan paintings¹² and statuary. Here I shall draw upon these Tibetan materials to note only (1) that they indicate that after spending his early life in east India, Virūpākṣa was active in the Deccan and the south;¹³ (2) that the Sanskrit *Amṛtasiddhi*, whose teachings were attributed to Virūpākṣa, was translated into Tibetan (probably in the late 11th century)¹⁴ and an associated cycle of Tibetan texts (usually referred to in Sanskrit back-translation as *Amarasiddhi*),¹⁵ whose teachings were also attributed to Virūpākṣa, developed soon after; and (3) that Virūpākṣa is said to be the human conduit of the Tibetan Lamdre (*lam 'bras*) tradition, whose teachings include the practices of Trulkhor (*'krul 'khor*), some of which correspond to the three central techniques of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and which are predicated on an understanding of the yogic body first taught in the *Amṛtasiddhi*.¹⁶

The *siddha* Virūpākṣa has left few traces in Indian material and textual sources. Buddhist hagiographies mention a shrine to him at Somnath,¹⁷ but there is no evidence of one there now. The temple of Bhīmeśvara at Draksharama in Telangana, which predates 1130 CE¹⁸ and is associated with the Virūpākṣa legend in early Marathi texts and current Tibetan hagiographies, has a shrine to him; there are reliefs depicting him on the c. 1230 CE Mahudi Gate at Dabhoi in Gujarat (Figure 1), on the exterior wall of a c. 13th-century cave at Panhale Kaji in the north Konkan (Figure 2) and perhaps on the c. 14th-century Someśvara temple at Pimpri Dumala near Pune;¹⁹ there is a Virūpākṣa cave on

¹⁰ There have been many Virūpākṣas other than Virūpākṣa the *siddha*: a Buddhist king known in early Pali sources (Malalasekera 1937, s.v. Virūpakkha; I thank Hartmut Buescher for this reference); one of four great kings of early Mahāyāna in the pre-5th century *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* (6.1.1, 6.3.1, 6.6.25; I thank Gergely Hidas for this reference); a form of Rudra mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* (72.64 in the edition in preparation by Peter Bisschop et al.; I thank Professor Bisschop for this reference); one of eight *yakṣas* in the *Śivadharmā* (pp. 193–208); a form of Śiva whose teachings are given in the c. 12th-century *Virūpapañcāśikā*; and a form of Śiva which is the central deity of Vijayanagara. Monier-Williams (s.v. *virūpacakṣus*) gives many more references.

¹¹ See (Dowman 1985, pp. 43–52) and (Davidson 2005, pp. 49–54) for overviews of Virūpākṣa's legends (which are first found in the c. 12th-century *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus* of Smon grub shes rab, which is translated in Grunwedel 1916; Robinson 1979 and Dowman 1985); and (Chattopadhyaya 1970, p. 404) for a list of works in Tibetan attributed to him.

¹² A painting from the Drigung tradition which predates 1217 CE is perhaps the earliest Tibetan depiction of Virūpākṣa (Luczanits 2006, p. 82).

¹³ In the *Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*, Virūpa is said to have been born at Tripurā in East India and studied at the Somapuri *vihāra*, which is near Paharpur in Bangladesh (Robinson 1979, pp. 27–28). Tāranātha says that Virūpa lived in Mahārāṣṭra, i.e., Maharashtra, that he visited Srisailem and that his disciple Kāla Virūpa practised in the Konkan (Templeman 1983, p. 18 and Chattopadhyaya 1970, p. 215). Both Smon grub shes rab and Tāranātha also tell a story of Virūpa destroying an icon of Śiva. The former names the destroyed Śiva as Maheśvara and locates his temple in the unidentified land of Indra (Robinson 1979, pp. 29–30); the latter names the Śiva Viśvanātha and locates his temple in Triliṅga, i.e., the present-day Telangana region (Templeman 1983, p. 15). As a result of a transmission whose details are unknown to me, current Tibetan legend (see e.g., <http://www.ludingfoundation.org/Archive2016.html> accessed 7 June 2018) accords with the c. 1280 CE Marathi *Līlācaritra* in locating this episode at Bhīmeśvara, which is one of the three *liṅgas* referred to in the name of Triliṅga and whose temple complex at Draksharama houses a shrine to Virūpa; on the *Līlācaritra*'s story, see footnote 13.

¹⁴ Schaeffer 2002.

¹⁵ One of the texts attributed to Virūpākṣa in the Vanaratna codex (on which see Isaacson 2008) is entitled *Amarasiddhi*. Cowell and Eggeling (1876, p. 28) report the name of the text as *Amarasiddhiyantrakam* but a transcription of the text kindly shared with me by Péter-Dániel Szántó shows that its name is *Amarasiddhi* (f.47 recto and verso). Chattopadhyaya (1970, p. 404) mentions an *Amarasiddhivṛtti* among Tibetan works attributed to Virūpākṣa.

¹⁶ Baker 2018, pp. 421–22. Schaeffer (2002, p. 527, n. 12) finds no connection between the Virūpākṣa of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the Virūpākṣa of the *lam 'bras* tradition, but in the Vanaratna codex described by Isaacson (2008), one of whose texts is, as noted above, an *Amarasiddhi* of Virūpākṣa, after the text of the *Marmopadeśa* there is a lineage of teachers which starts from Virūpākṣa and which Isaacson (2008, pp. 3–4) identifies as being very close to some of the *lam 'bras* lineages.

¹⁷ See e.g., Tucci 1931, p. 690.

¹⁸ Vīra Rājendra Coḍā, who flourished c. 1130 CE, is recorded as having made a donation to Bhīmeśvara at Drākṣārāma in an undated inscription (*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IV, p. 51).

¹⁹ I am grateful to Amol Bankar for sharing with me these identifications of Virūpākṣa (personal communication 12 June 2018). Bankar identifies as Virūpākṣa the Dabhoi image, which is one of a group of twelve *siddhas* of whom some are clearly Nāths (Shah 1957), because, despite considerable damage to the sculpture, it is evident that he is accompanied by a woman and that there are images of the sun and moon above him. Both these motifs are suggestive of the legend of Virūpākṣa in which he stops the sun's path through the sky so that a lady innkeeper will keep serving him and he will not have to pay his bill (see e.g., Robinson 1979, p. 29). A *siddha* depicted on the exterior of cave 14 at Panhale Kaji is sitting with a *yogapaṭṭa* in a posture common in Tibetan images of Virūpākṣa and is accompanied by a woman who may be pouring him a drink.

Arunachala hill in which Ramaṇa Maharṣi spent long periods in retreat; and the Kāmākhyā temple in Assam has a relief which depicts him.²⁰



Figure 1. Virūpākṣa, Mahudi Gate, Dabhoi.



Figure 2. Virūpākṣa, Panhale Kaji cave 14.

Only one Indian Buddhist text other than the *Amṛtasiddhi* mentions Virūpākṣa: the *Caryāgīti*, a c. 11th-century collection of fifty middle Indic *dohā* verses attributed to various *siddhas*. One of its *dohās* is by Biruā (i.e., Virūpa/Virūpākṣa), who, in highly esoteric language, summarises a yoga method which is similar to that of the *Amṛtasiddhi* but is couched in a metaphor of alcohol production

Bankar's identification as Virūpākṣa of an image of a *siddha* at Pimpri Dimal (reproduced in Sarde 2014, p. 6, fig. 10) is more tentative, being dependent upon the *siddha*, who is standing, being accompanied by an anthropomorphic image of Sūrya, the sun god, and pointing at the sky.

²⁰ I thank Amol Bankar for informing me of the Kāmākhyā Virūpa image, which depicts the tavern episode summarised in footnote 19.

rather than the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s alchemy.²¹ The *Caryāgītī*'s place of composition is uncertain.²² I know of eight non-Buddhist texts which mention Virūpākṣa. One is the *Varṇaratnākara*, an early 14th-century Maithili compendium on a variety of subjects which gives a list of 84 siddhas and includes the name Virūpa.²³ The remaining seven texts are connected in some way with the Śaiva Nāth tradition and are from the Deccan or south India. The two oldest are Mahānubhava works in Marathi (which corroborates statements elsewhere that Virūpākṣa was from the Maratha region):²⁴ the c. 1280 CE *Līlācaritra*, a hagiography of the Mahānubhava guru Cakradhara composed by his devotees,²⁵ and the *Tattvasāra* of Cāṅgadeva, a compendium of Mahānubhava teachings which was completed in 1312 CE. After these Marathi works, the next texts to mention Virūpākṣa are the c. 1400 CE Telugu *Navanāthacaritramu*, an account of the lives of the nine Nāths composed by Gauraṇa at Srisailam, the contemporaneous *Vikramārkacaritramu* of Jakkana, which includes Virūpākṣa's name among those of the nine Nāths,²⁶ and the Sanskrit *Haṭhapradīpikā*, a compilation by Svātmārāma of teachings on *haṭhayoga* whose parallels with the *Navanāthacaritramu* (and other Telugu texts) suggest it is from the same period and region. The *Tārārahasya*, a 16th-century Sanskrit treatise on the worship of the goddess Tārā by the Bengali author Brahmānandagiri, includes Virūpākṣa in a list of eight human gurus to be worshipped.²⁷ The last non-Buddhist text to mention Virūpākṣa is the c. 17th-century Sanskrit *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya*, a celebration of the temple of Mañjunātha at Kadalī (now known as Kadri, a part of the coastal town of Mangalore), in which Virūpākṣa is again one of nine Nāths, seven of whose stories, including that of Virūpākṣa, are taught *in extenso*.

In the *Līlācaritra*, Cakradhara tells his disciples how Virūpākṣa broke in two the Bhīmeśvara śivaliṅga at Drākṣārāma in modern-day Telangana. Gorakṣa converted Virūpākṣa from *vajraolī*, i.e., the [Buddhist] Vajra lineage, to *amaraolī*, the [Śaiva] Amara lineage, and gave him the name Adaṇḍīnātha.²⁸ The Marathi *Tattvasāra* includes Virūpākṣa in a list of 84 *siddhas*.²⁹

In the *Navanāthacaritramu*, Virūpākṣa is one of the nine Nāths of the text's title and his life story is told in detail. He is the second son of king Gaṇyāvanta and Añjani, who were from Maharashtra.³⁰ Matsyendranātha, the first of the nine Nāths and the guru of the other eight, meets him in a forest. After Virūpākṣa recounts how he has eaten the heart of a bird which a hunter had informed him would make him a *siddha*,³¹ a voice from the sky confirms his story and tells that of his previous birth, at which Matsyendra initiates him and instructs Gorakṣa to teach him yoga. After receiving instruction, Virūpākṣa travels to the Karṇāṭa, Lalita, Kanauj, and Mālava regions, and initiates several

²¹ *Caryāgītī* 3 (Kvaerne 1977, pp. 81–86). I thank Lubomír Ondračka for informing me of this reference.

²² The middle Indic *dohā* verses of the *Caryāgītī*, as well as those of the *Dohakośas* attributed to the *siddhas* Saraha and Kāṇha, are usually said to be from east India but this is based on an unwarranted identification of their language as eastern Apabhraṃśa (Szántó forthcoming).

²³ *Varṇaratnākara*, p. 57.

²⁴ See footnote 13 and *Navanāthacaritramu*, p. 135 which says that Virūpākṣa was the son of a Maratha king.

²⁵ The *Līlācaritra* was compiled between 1274 and 1287 CE but then lost and reconstructed in the early 14th century (Raeside 1982, p. 491).

²⁶ *Vikramārkacaritramu* 6.4 (Jones 2018, p. 199, n. 7).

²⁷ *Tārārahasya*, p. 69.

²⁸ *Līlācaritra* pūrvārdha 198–99, *Ajñāta Līlā* 27. Elsewhere in the *Līlācaritra* there are said to be four *olīs* or lineages of the Nāth tradition, *vajroli*, *amaroli*, *siddholi* and *divyoli*, of which only the first two are extant in the Kali era (*Līlācaritra*, uttarārdha 475). *Vajroli*/*vajroli* and *amaroli*/*amaroli* are compounds of *vajra* and *amara* with *oli*, which Hemacandra says means *kulaparivāṭi*, i.e., "lineage" (*Deśināmamālā* 1.164b; I thank Alexis Sanderson for this reference, which is from the extensive commentary accompanying his forthcoming translation of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*). The distinction between Vajra and Amara lineages, while here being broadly understandable as one between Buddhist and Śaiva traditions, may also reflect a distinction in practice between traditions which engage in sexual rituals (Vajrayāna Buddhists and Kaula Śaivas), and those which spurn such rituals in favour of a method of celibate yoga aimed at *jīvanmukti* (the Vajrayāna *Amṛtasiddhi* and the Śaiva *Amaraughaprabodha*). Ultimately the celibate yoga tradition of the *Amaraughaprabodha* came to dominate the Nāth *saṃpradāya*.

²⁹ I thank Amol Bankar, who is editing the *Tattvasāra*, for providing me with this information.

³⁰ *Navanāthacaritramu*, p. 135.

³¹ This part of the story is perhaps an echo of an episode in Tibetan treatments of Virūpākṣa in which he is rebuked by his fellow monks for eating pigeons, prompting him to abandon his monastery and then restore the pigeons to life (see e.g., Dowman 1985, pp. 44–46).

disciples.³² In his *Vikramārka-caritramu*, Jakkana gives a list of nine Nāths almost identical to that of Gaurāṅga. He does not tell their stories but for each of them highlights one characteristic, which for Virūpākṣa is devotion.³³

In the *Haṭhapradīpikā* nothing is said about Virūpākṣa other than that he, along with 28 other *mahāsiddhas*, broke the rod of time by means of the power of *haṭhayoga*.³⁴ Virūpākṣa is at number 11 in the list, immediately after Caurāṅgi, Mīna (who is here differentiated from Matsyendra)³⁵ and Gorakṣa. As will be explored in more detail below, these three *siddhas* are closely associated with Kadri and the *Amaraughaprabodha*,³⁶ approximately twenty verses from which are found in the *Haṭhapradīpikā*.

In six chapters and more than 300 verses the *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya* gives a detailed account of several episodes in Virūpākṣa's life.³⁷ He is born to a pious Brahmin couple from the northern Konkan as an incarnation of Mañjunātha of Kadalīvana, i.e., the Śiva of the Kadri temple and monastery complex. He wanders across India and has various adventures, including the conquest of a demon threatening all the gods; the assumption of the appearance of an ascetic and subsequent humbling of the Veda-obsessed brahmins of Drākṣārāma (an episode which brings to mind the *Līlācaritra*'s story of his breaking of the Bhīmeśvara *liṅga* at Drākṣārāma);³⁸ and a sojourn in Kāñcī, where he teaches the citizens by day and sports with women by night. This last episode includes an echo of the popular Tibetan story in which Virūpākṣa stops the sun in its course until the king pays the bill for his drinks.³⁹ Here he falls for one of the women of Kāñcī and, in order to impress her, grabs the moon and makes it into a goblet with which to ply her with drink. The gods become concerned and, at Brahmā's instruction, go to Virūpākṣa and sing his praises, at which he puts the moon back in its rightful place.

With this, the historical trail left in India by Virūpākṣa goes cold,⁴⁰ but he has left enough clues for a tentative identification of the region in which his teachings were transmitted from Vajrayāna Buddhism to Nāth Śaivism. As noted above, Tibetan hagiographies point to south India and the Deccan as being central to his activities and almost all Indian material and textual sources associated with him are from the Konkan and Deccan.⁴¹ The *Navanāthacaritramu* identifies him as the author of the *Amṛtasiddhi*⁴² and anchors his story in the Deccan: the *Navanāthacaritramu* was composed at

³² His disciples are named as Rasendrapāya, Ratnapāya, Uccaya, Kālapāya, Vajrakākanātha, Jālāndhra, Śaindrapāla (Jālāndhra's student), Kāmaṇḍa, Pūrṇagirinātha, Endiyāṇiguru, Bhuvanendra and Trilocanasiddha (*Navanāthacaritramu*, pp. 211–14).

³³ *Vikramārka-caritramu* 6.4 (Jones 2018, p. 199, n. 7).

³⁴ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.9.

³⁵ Both *mīna* and *matsya* mean fish. In Śaiva texts which predate the *haṭha* corpus, Mīnanātha and Matsyendra are one and the same (see e.g., *Devīvyardhaśatikā* vv. 161c–163b and *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya* 7.50 (I thank Alexis Sanderson for these references), in both of which Mīnanātha is given as the name of the propagator of the Kaula Pūrvāmnāya, who elsewhere is identified as Macchanda (*Tantrāloka* 1.7), Matsyendra (*Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.43) and Macchaghna (*Kaulajñānanirṇaya* chapter colophons)). Subsequent Tibetan and Indian *siddha* lists and depictions include two fish-related *siddhas* (e.g., Lūyipa and Mīnapa in the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*, Matsyendra and Mīna in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* (1.5), and statuary in Maharashtra (Sarde 2017)).

³⁶ Mīnanātha is invoked in the *maṅgala* verse of the long recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha*. The hemistich in which his name is given (after Ādinātha) is not found in the two manuscripts of the older, short recension, but is likely to have dropped out in the course of their transmission. Two *siddhas* are mentioned in the other hemistich, Caurāṅgi and Siddhabuddha. Their close association in legend with Matsyendra indicates that Mīnanātha here is another name for Matsyendra.

³⁷ *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya* chps. 48–53.

³⁸ See footnote 13.

³⁹ See footnote 19.

⁴⁰ Virūpākṣa is included, together with Mañjunātha, in a list of 84 *siddhas* current at the Nāth headquarters in Gorakhpur: <http://yogindr.blogspot.com/2014/03/chaursi-siddhas.html>. This is likely to be due to their inclusion in the list of nine Nāths in the *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya*, which was edited under the auspices of the Nāth order in 1956.

⁴¹ Exceptions are tantric Buddhist images from the Himalayan region, the *Caryāgiti*, whose place of composition is uncertain, and the Maithili *Varṇaratnākara*.

⁴² *Navanāthacaritramu* 213 (the title is given as *Amṛtajñāsiddhi*). By identifying Virūpākṣa as the author of the *Amṛtasiddhi* and locating his origins in present-day Maharashtra, the *Navanāthacaritramu* points to that region as the place of composition of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, an inference supported by parallels between the *Amṛtasiddhi* and the c. 12th- or 13th-century old Marathi *Vivekadarpaṇa*, whose teachings on the yogic body are similar to those of the *Amṛtasiddhi* (see e.g., *Vivekadarpaṇa*

the request of the pontiff of the Bhikṣāvṛtti monastery in Srisailam⁴³ and Virūpākṣa is said therein to have been born in present-day Maharashtra and to have travelled to Karnataka.⁴⁴ The *Haṭhpradīpikā* adds nothing to his lore, but strengthens the connection with Srisailam since it has many parallels with the *Navanāthacaritramu* and was probably composed in the same region and in the same period.⁴⁵ The *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya*, one of whose manuscripts is likely to have been copied in 1730 CE and may not, in its present form, be much older than that, but which preserves some old legends from the Kadri site,⁴⁶ identifies Virūpākṣa with Śiva Mañjunātha of Kadri. All of the Nāths whose stories are told in the *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya* are similarly identified with Mañjunātha, but Virūpākṣa is further tied to the region by virtue of being the only one to be given the epithets *koṅkaṇādhīśa*, *koṅkaṇeśvara* and *koṅkaṇa*.⁴⁷

3. Nāth Śaivism and Vajrayāna in the Konkan

Virūpākṣa's legend thus points to the south of the Indian subcontinent and in particular the Konkan as the likely location of the transition of his teachings from Vajrayāna to Nāth Śaivism, but gives little detail of how it might have happened, with only the Marathi *Līlācaritra* actually indicating a transition from Buddhism to Śaivism. I shall now widen the enquiry from Virūpākṣa to evidence for the presence of Vajrayāna and Nāth Śaivism in the Konkan, which will further support the supposition that such a transition occurred there and provide more detail on how it happened.

3.1. Nāth Śaivism in the Konkan

Nāth Śaivism has a long history in the Konkan. Western India and the Konkan region were important centres of early Pāścimāmnāya Kaula Śaivism, elements of which were preserved by subsequent Nāth lineages.⁴⁸ Matsyendranātha, the revealer of the Kaula doctrine in the Kali age and the first human guru of the later Nāth *sampradāya*, is closely associated with the region. His consort was called Kuṅkuṇāmbā, “the mother of the Konkan”;⁴⁹ a c. 13th-century anthology of his teachings, the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, is associated with the Konkan and was composed either there or in the Tamil region;⁵⁰ and among the earliest material evidence of the Nāth *sampradāya* is the c. 13th-century

ch. 5 on the sun and moon) and which, like the *Amṛtasiddhi*, gives its chapters the unusual designations of *viveka* and *lakṣaṇa*. On the date of the *Vivekadarpaṇa*, see [Reinelt 2000](#), pp. 93–95.

⁴³ *Navanāthacaritramu* canto 1 ([Jones 2018](#), pp. 185–86).

⁴⁴ *Navanāthacaritramu* cantos 4–5 ([Jones 2018](#), pp. 189–94).

⁴⁵ [Mallinson forthcoming b](#).

⁴⁶ The *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya* is a palimpsest of Buddhist, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachings, reflecting the passing of the control of the Mañjunātha temple from Vajrayāna Buddhists to Nāth Śaivas and then Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas, with the latter responsible for its final redaction. For an overview of its contexts and context, see [Nagaraju 1969](#).

⁴⁷ *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya* 14.9, 48.7, 50.11, 50.17, 53.27. The c. 15th-century *Ānandakanda*, which was composed at Srisailam, gives a list of nine Nāths whose fourth is Koṅkaṇeśvara and may correspond to Virūpākṣa (1.3.47a–48b):

ādināthaṃ mīnanāthaṃ gorakṣaṃ koṅkaṇeśvaram |
jālandhreṣaṃ kandhanīśaṃ oḍḍīśaṃ ciñciñīśvaram ||
cauraṅgim etān nāthākhyān nava saṃtarpayet tataḥ |

⁴⁸ See ([Schoterman 1975](#), pp. 934–35); ([Sanderson 2011](#), pp. 44–45 and 2014, pp. 62–64), and ([Mallinson 2011](#), pp. 412–14). The Śaiva tradition of the southern Nāths is Śāmbhava, a variant of the Pāścimāmnāya ([Kiss forthcoming](#)). The oldest known statues of Nāths date from the 12th century CE onwards and are found in western India and the Deccan ([Sarde 2017](#), pp. 96, 108–10).

⁴⁹ *Tantrāloka* 29.32.

⁵⁰ [Kiss \(forthcoming](#), p. 32) says that the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* was “composed in South India, probably in the Tamil region, or alternatively, around Goa, in the 13th-century”. Kiss chooses the Tamil region over the Konkan because of the mention in the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* of the god Śaṣṭr, whom he identifies as a specifically Tamil deity, but the Kadri Mañjunāth temple has an image of Śaṣṭr dated to the twelfth century and other, earlier images of Śaṣṭr are found in the region ([Bhatt 1975](#), pp. 354–55) and plates 290 and 291. Of the two toponyms mentioned in the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, the first, Gomanta, is likely to be in present-day Goa ([Kiss forthcoming](#), pp. 30–31) while the location of the second, Alūra, whose king's dead body was taken over by Matsyendra, is uncertain. Kiss gives various possible identifications of Alūra, including Ellora, Eluru in Andhra Pradesh and Vellore ([Kiss forthcoming](#), p. 31). The five manuscripts of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* all have

statuary at Panhale Kaji on the Konkan coast between Mumbai and Goa, which includes at least two images of Matsyendra.⁵¹

The monastery at Kadri is today the most important Nāth site in south India. Statues of three Nāths at the Mañjunātha temple below the monastery have been dated on stylistic grounds to the 14th or 15th centuries.⁵² The first firmly datable evidence of the presence of the Nāths at Kadri is in a Kannada inscription of 1475 which records a grant of land to Maṅgalanātha Oḍeya “at the pure place of Śiva, Kadire”, the income from which will support the worship of Gōrakṣanātha and Candranātha, a deity at the temple.⁵³ Bhatt notes an inscription from Bārakūru dated 1490 CE which refers to the position of *arasu* or king at Kadri in the context of one Subuddhinātha Oḍeya, disciple of Anupamanātha Oḍeya, and to the worship of Gōrakhanātha at the *maṭha* of the latter.⁵⁴ Subsequent descriptions of the head of the Kadri monastery also call him the “King of the Yogīs” and until the demise of the Vijayanagara kingdom and resultant depredations by the Nāyaka kings he lived in great style. Writing at the beginning of the 16th century, the Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema said that the king ruled over 30,000 people and travelled about India with an impressive entourage including a troop of warrior yogis.⁵⁵ By the 17th century the king lived in much reduced circumstances⁵⁶ and it seems that at this point the Kadri monastery was taken over by a northern Nāth lineage intent on creating a pan-Indian yogi order. By 1820 CE Kadri was recognised as the southern seat of the four seats of the Nāth *sampradāya*.⁵⁷ To this day the head of the Kadri monastery, who retains the title of “King Yogi” (*rājā yogī*), is drawn from northern Nāth lineages. The changes at Kadri in the 17th century resulted in the migration southwards from Mangalore to northern Kerala of the yogi caste associated with the previous royal lineage.⁵⁸ Some members of the caste remained at Kadri, but they have a fraught relationship with the King Yogi, whom they look to for leadership but who cannot speak their language. The King Yogi is elected once every 12 years at a council of the Nāth *sampradāya* at the Nasik Simhashta festival (which nowadays is recognised as one of the four Kumbh Melas), after which he and several hundred Nāths walk barefoot for six months to Kadri, where he is installed in a lengthy consecration ritual called the *rājyābhiṣeka*, which has parallels with traditional royal initiations.⁵⁹

the reading *alūrādhpatiṃ bhūpaṃ dākṣiṇātyaṃ purā kila* (55.3ab). The text is likely to have been redacted in the early 19th century at the request of the Mahārāja of Jodhpur (Kiss forthcoming, p. 32); perhaps the original reading, obscure to north Indian scribes, was *ālupādhpatiṃ*, referring to a king of the Ālupa dynasty, which ruled the Tuḷu region from the early centuries CE until the end of the 14th century (Bhatt 1975, p. 18), and whose capital was at Mangalore from the 11th to 13th centuries, the likely period of composition of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*. In the *Navanāthacaritramu*, the king who plays the same rôle in the story of Matsyendra rules over Kadri, which at the time would have been under Ālupa rule. The *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* does not, however, mention Kadri in its version of the story of Gorakṣa rescuing Matsyendra. Supporting a Tamil origin for the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* is its identification of Gorakṣa as a Coḷa king (*paṭalas* 1 and 55) and its naming at 55.20 of Matsyendra’s son and grandson as Kharparīṣa and Vyālinḍra, both of whom are associated with alchemy in various Tamil traditions but are not mentioned in texts associated with Kadri (or Srisailem).

⁵¹ Deshpande 1986. Panhale Kaji has various Nāth statues, including a group of 9 or perhaps 10 *siddhas*. A group of 12 Nāth *siddhas*, dating to 1230 CE, is found at Dabhoi near Ahmedabad in Gujarat. A statue of Matsyendra from the Kadri monastery and now in the Mangalore Government Museum has been dated to the 10th century, but, as will be explained below, this date is likely to be too early and was probably proposed for ideological reasons.

⁵² Bhatt 1975, p. 299 and plates 303 and 304(a).

⁵³ I thank Manu Devadevan for sharing with me his transcription and translation of this inscription. Bouillier (2008, p. 96) reports that the inscription refers to Candranātha as a king (*arasu*) but Devadevan tells me that this is not the case. Bhatt (1975, p. 295) notes that an inscription from Mangalore dated 1434 CE mentions “the gift of land to one Jugādikuṇḍala Jōgi-Puruṣa by Jōgi-Oḍeya alias Chauṭa”.

⁵⁴ Bhatt 1975, p. 294.

⁵⁵ Badger 1863, pp. 111–13.

⁵⁶ Grey 1892, pp. 345–52.

⁵⁷ Tashrīh al-Aqvām chp. 104 (British Library Board, Add.27255 f.399). I thank Bruce Wannell for translating this passage for me.

⁵⁸ This migration is recorded in the Teyyam performances regularly put on by the Cōyī (the vernacular for *yogī*) caste in northern Kerala, in which it is precipitated by the death of the king’s son and the resultant ending of his lineage (Freeman 2006, pp. 167–69).

⁵⁹ On the *rājyābhiṣeka*, see Bouillier 2008, chp. 6.

3.2. Vajrayāna in the Konkan

Buddhism was well established in the Konkan when Hsüan-Tsang visited the region in the seventh century,⁶⁰ and Vajrayāna had a small but significant presence there and in surrounding areas from the sixth to thirteenth centuries, and perhaps later. Sixth-century statues of Tārā and Avalokiteśvara are found in the western Deccan.⁶¹ The colophon of the ninth-century *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā* of Jayabhadra (who was also known as Koṅkaṇapāda) says that its author visited a temple of Tārā at the Konkan site of Mahābimba.⁶² A statue of Mañjuḥṣa from the Kadri monastery but now in the Mangalore government museum dates to the ninth century or earlier.⁶³ One of the 29 caves at Panhale Kaji contains a tenth-century image of the Vajrayāna deity Acala (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Acala, Panhale Kaji cave 10.

⁶⁰ (Sastri 1939, pp. 104–5). On early traces of Buddhism in Karnataka see (Nagaraju 1983, pp. 6–10).

⁶¹ Acri 2016, p. 8.

⁶² (Szántó 2016b, p. 2). The exact location of Mahābimba is uncertain. I know of two further possible references to it. Tāranātha says that in Koṅkaṇa his guru Buddhaguptanātha saw “the self-created image of Mañjuśrī in the middle of a pond. It is called Jñānakāya... Then he saw also the *bimbakāya* which looks like a rainbow raising the stūpa of the accumulated vapour beyond touch” (Tucci 1931, p. 696). A manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated 1015 CE mentions a pilgrimage site in Koṅkaṇa called Mahāviśva, which Szántó (2012, Vol. 1/2 p. 40, fn. 61) suggests may be a corruption of Mahābimba. A puzzling verse in the long recension of the *Amarāughaprabodha* (67 in Jason Birch’s edition, from which the variant readings below are taken), which does not appear to fit its context and is also found, with significant variants, at *Sekoddeśa* 26, indicates that these two unusual compounds may refer to a single object, which lights up various heavenly bodies (including smoke (*dhūma*^o) and specks of dust (*marīci*^o), suggestive of the vapour reported by Tāranātha):

dhūmamarīcikhadyotadīpajvālendubhāskarāḥ |
amūḥ kalā mahābimbaṃ mahāviśvaṃ prakāśate ||
a dhūma^o] T₁ *Sekoddeśa* (contra *metrum*); rumo^o B₁A₁G₂Ed
b °bhāskarāḥ] °bhāskaraiḥ *Sekoddeśa*
c amūḥ] *em.* Mallinson; amī *codd.*, tamaḥ *Sekoddeśa* • mahābimbaṃ] mahābindur *Sekoddeśa*
d mahāviśvaṃ prakāśate] viśvabimbaṃ prabhāsavaram *Sekoddeśa*

⁶³ Bhatt 1975, plate 298(a). A relief of the Buddha still *in situ* at Kadri has been dated to the ninth or tenth centuries (Bhatt 1975, plate 304(b)).

The early ninth-century Vajrayāna adepts Dharmākara and his fellow initiate Pālitapāda lived in the Konkan.⁶⁴ Pālitapāda was twice visited there, probably at Kadri, by Jñānapāda, the founder of an important eponymous tradition of exegesis of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.⁶⁵ The Vajrayāna teacher Śākyamitra visited the Konkan region in the tenth century⁶⁶ and the same century saw the composition of the *Hevajratāntra*, which includes Koṅkaṇa in a list of 24 sacred sites.⁶⁷ An illustrated manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* dated 1015 CE⁶⁸ includes six sites in the Konkan among 72 Vajrayāna places of worship.⁶⁹ An inscription at Balligāve in Karnataka (80 kilometres inland from Gokarna) dated 1065 CE records the construction of a *vihāra* containing images of Buddha, Lokeśvara and Tārā Bhagavatī⁷⁰ and another inscription from the same location dated 1067 CE records the establishment of a temple of Tārā Bhagavatī.⁷¹ An 11th-century stone statue of Tārā from Balligāve is still visible at the site and may be one of those mentioned in the contemporaneous inscriptions.⁷² As will be explored in more detail below, the Kadri Mañjunātha temple contains bronze sculptures of the Vajrayāna deities Lokeśvara and Mañjuvājra (as well as a bronze of the Buddha), with an 11th-century inscription recording the establishment of the Lokeśvara image in the *kadirikā vihāra*, i.e., a Buddhist monastery at Kadri. An image dated to the 11th century in the Lokanātha temple at Haṭṭiyaṅgaḍi, Coondapur, might be of Jāmbāla.⁷³ A 12th-century inscription at Dharmavolal (today known as Dambal, 60 km east of Hubli) records the worship of Buddha and Tārā.⁷⁴ An image of Akṣobhya from Puttige, Mūḍabidure, dates to the 12th or 13th century.⁷⁵ A 13th-century inscription from the village of Koḷivaḍ (20 km east of Hubli) records the worship of Tārā.⁷⁶ According to the Jain exegete Vīrānandī, Buddhist ascetics called Ājīvakas were active in the Kanara region in the 12th century.⁷⁷ Finally, two Tuḷu inscriptions, one dating to 1187 CE, the other to 1545 CE, mention Buddhism.⁷⁸

The accounts of tantric Buddhism in India by the 17th-century Tibetan scholar Tāranātha include several references to the Konkan. Tāranātha's histories are notoriously unreliable, but some of his reports of teachers visiting the Konkan are corroborated by the older evidence noted above. Thus he says that Jayabhadra lived for some time at Mahābimba,⁷⁹ describes Jñānapāda's visit to Pālitapāda and his initiation into the *Guhyasamājatantra*,⁸⁰ and confirms that Pālitapāda's co-initiate Dharmākara was from the Konkan.⁸¹ Tāranātha makes several more mentions of the Konkan in his accounts of early Vajrayāna adepts and teachers.⁸²

Writing of more recent events, Tāranātha says that Śāntigupta, the guru of his own guru Buddhaguptanātha, who lived during the 16th century and had close links with the Nāth *saṃpradāya*,

⁶⁴ Szántó 2015, pp. 546 and 550–52.

⁶⁵ Szántó 2015, p. 558.

⁶⁶ Davidson 2002, p. 159.

⁶⁷ *Hevajratāntra* 1.6.16.

⁶⁸ Cambridge University Library Add. 1643.

⁶⁹ These are Lokanātha in Śrīkhaīravāṇa, Sahasrabhūja Lokanātha in Śivapura, Lokanātha at Mahāviśva, Khaḍgacaitya in Kṛṣṇagiri (i.e., Kanheri), a *cāitya* on Pratyekabuddha peak at Kṛṣṇagiri and a Lokanātha *cāitya* at Maṇṇava (Kim 2014, pp. 42, 44, 66–68).

⁷⁰ *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII Sk 170.

⁷¹ *Epigraphia Carnatica* VII Sk 169.

⁷² (Nagaraju 1983, pp. 12–13 and fig. 9), which draws on the 1941 *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* but has a better picture of the statue.

⁷³ Bhatt 1975, p. 373 and plate 304a (b).

⁷⁴ *Indian Antiquary* X, pp. 185ff.; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* 1927–28, Appendix E, Nos. 65–66.

⁷⁵ Bhatt 1975, plate 299.

⁷⁶ Desai 1954, p. 91.

⁷⁷ Pathak 1912.

⁷⁸ Bhatt 1975, pp. 372–73.

⁷⁹ Chattopadhyaya 1970, p. 325.

⁸⁰ Templeman 1983, p. 56.

⁸¹ Templeman 1983, p. 60.

⁸² See (Templeman 1983, pp. 17–18) on Virūpa's disciple Kāla Virūpa practising asceticism in the Konkan before returning to his guru in the Maratha region; (Templeman 1983, p. 81) on the *siddha* Nāgopa; (Templeman 1995, p. 5) on king Haribhadra, who mastered the *siddhi* of making magical pills; and (Chattopadhyaya 1970, p. 351) on Jñānākara Gupta.

went to Suvarṇadhvaja in the Konkan, which was "... a noble well-proportioned place. Its monastic colleges flourished. There were about fifty fully ordained monks there and at most about one thousand upasakas".⁸³ Subsequently "[t]he monks of Maharata and Kongkuna invited him and he went to all their temples giving empowerments, upadesas, alms, sermons on the tantras, etc., and he clearly explained the Vajrayana teachings".⁸⁴

These references to a flourishing Vajrayāna tradition in 16th-century Konkan are intriguing, but are likely to be garbled reports from earlier times. In Tāranātha's detailed account of the travels of his guru Buddhaguptanātha, he writes the following:

Then in Koṅkaṇa he embarked and went to the west up to an island called *ḥgro ling*[.] in Sanskrit *Dramiladvīpa*. In the language of the Muhammadans, the barbarians and [the inhabitants] of the small island, it is called *la sam lo ra na so* (in *Śambh*: sam lo ra na so). In that island the teachings of the *guhyamantras* are largely diffused. He heard these from a paṇḍit called Sumati who had acquired the mystic revelations (*abhijñā*), the mystic power of the Saṃvara (tantra) and of the Hevajra (tantra) and then he learnt the detailed explanation of the Hevajratantra. This Hevajratantra belongs to the system of the Ācārya Padmasambhava. Generally speaking, the tradition of the fourfold tantras is still uninterrupted in that island, and if we except the sublime and largely diffused Kālacakratantra, whatever is in India is also there such as the (Vajra)kīlatantra and the Tantra of the daśakrodhas, many Heruka-tantras, Vajrapāṇi, mkhaḥ Idīṇ (Garuḍa), Māmakī, Mahākāla, etc. Then the sublime order of Hayagrīva which is largely spread in India is to be found there. Moreover there are many sacred teachings (*chos*) belonging to the Tantras expounded by Padmasambhava. Though the community is numerous, the rules of the discipline are not so pure. The monks wear black garments and usually drink intoxicating liquors ... " (Tucci 1931, p. 690).

The likely location for this small island is among those near Karwar on the coast of northern Karnataka, with Anjediva the best candidate,⁸⁵ but it and all the other islands off the Konkan coast were taken over by the Portuguese at the beginning of the 16th century, well before Buddhaguptanātha would have visited the region.⁸⁶ Tāranātha appears to have been mistaking Jesuit priests for bibulous black-clad Buddhists.⁸⁷

⁸³ Templeman 1983, pp. 82–83.

⁸⁴ Templeman 1983, p. 94.

⁸⁵ (Yule and Burnell 1903, p. 28) s.v. Anchediva:

"c. 1345.—Ibn Batuta gives no name, but Anjediva is certainly the island of which he thus speaks: "We left behind the island (of Sindābūr or Goa) passing close to it, and cast anchor by a small island near the mainland, where there was a temple, with a grove and a reservoir of water. When we had landed on this little island we found there a *Jogi* leaning against the wall of a *Budhkhānah* or house of idols."—*Ibn Batuta*, iv. 63."

Anjediva was taken over by the Portuguese in 1505 (Mathew 1988, p. 163). The name of the island given by Tāranātha appears to be San Lorenzo, but the Portuguese church on Anjediva has always been known as Nossa Senhora das Brotas (Our Lady of the Springs) in homage to the island's good supply of fresh water. San Lorenzo was a name for Madagascar, but that is by no means a "small island", so it seems that either Tāranātha was again conflating his sources or he was, as suggested by Templeman (1997, p. 962, n. 38), referring to a Portuguese settlement by that name elsewhere in the Konkan. The only such reference I have found is to a church of San Lorenzo in Goa mentioned by della Valle in the early 17th century, but which was no longer standing in the 19th century (Grey 1892, p. 495).

⁸⁶ Anjediva is now under the control of the Indian Navy and closed to visitors, including local Christians wanting to visit its two churches. I visited the neighbouring Kurumgad, another possible candidate for Tāranātha's island, in March 2016, only to discover that it was covered in Portuguese fortifications dating to the beginning of the 16th century and to be told that all the other habitable islands in the vicinity were similarly fortified.

⁸⁷ Tucci 1931, p. 692, n. 2.

4. Vajrayāna-Śaiva Interaction

Of the Konkan sites mentioned above, there are two where both Vajrayāna and Śaiva traditions flourished and which are thus possible locations for a transition from the former to the latter.⁸⁸

4.1. Panhale Kaji

At Panhale Kaji, which is eight kilometres inland from the Konkan coast about halfway between Mumbai and Goa, there are 29 rock-cut caves dating from approximately the 6th century CE onwards.⁸⁹ As noted above, one of them houses a statue of the Vajrayāna deity Acala. Two others contain multiple images of Nāths, including depictions of Matsyendra overhearing Śiva teach Pārvaṭī the Kaula doctrine, Virūpākṣa,⁹⁰ groups of 9 (or perhaps 10) and 84 *siddhas*, and a relief of Tripurasundarī. An impressive but damaged statue of Gorakṣa was also found at the site when it was restored in the 1970s.⁹¹

There are no textual or epigraphic sources to suggest that either the Vajrayāna or Nāth presence at Panhale Kaji was of wider significance, and the site fell into disuse from the 14th century onwards.

4.2. Kadri

It is the Kadri Mañjunātha temple and monastery complex that gives us our best evidence of links between Vajrayāna and Nāth traditions in the Konkan, with a wealth of material showing that both traditions flourished there.⁹² There is a gap of more than four centuries between the last firmly datable evidence of Vajrayāna Buddhism at the site and the first of a Nāth presence, but there is much to indicate continuity between the two.

The Kadri statuary is a key indicator of such continuity. The three bronzes housed in passages to the north and south of the central shrine of Mañjunātha (a *svayambhū* or “self-born” *liṅga* representing Śiva), are perhaps the finest Buddhist images still worshipped in India (albeit now as Hindu deities, on which see below). The inscription on the plinth of the single bronze in the corridor on the south side of the Mañjunātha shrine records how the Āḷupa king Kundavarman established an image of the god Lokeśvara in the Kadirikā *vihāra* on the 16th of January 1068 CE.⁹³ The iconography and workmanship of the image support this date and the two other bronzes appear to be of a similar age.

The three images are currently worshipped as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Vyāsa, and have been since at least 1730 CE because they are identified as such in the *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya*.⁹⁴ Their

⁸⁸ The location of a thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara at a site called Śivapura in a 1025 CE manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (see p. 10) indicates another possible site of Vajrayāna-Śaiva interaction (I thank Andrea Acri for suggesting this in an email dated 24th January 2019). Bankar (2013) and Sarde (2016) describe early Buddhist sites in the Deccan which were later occupied by Nāths, but there is no evidence of Vajrayāna Buddhism at the sites, nor of direct links between the Buddhist and Nāth traditions.

⁸⁹ Deshpande (1986, p. 121) dates the oldest caves at Panhale Kaji to before the 5th century, but Rees (forthcoming) has shown that a later date, probably in the latter half of the first millennium, is more likely.

⁹⁰ See figure

⁹¹ Deshpande 1986, pp. 146–48.

⁹² On Kadri, see Bouillier 2008, chp. 4 and Bouillier 2009; also Saletore 1937; Pai 1946; (Bhatt 1975, pp. 287–97) and (Freeman 2006, pp. 164–67).

⁹³ See *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. VII No. 191, in which the transcription of the part of the inscription which gives its year reads thus:

kalau va-[r]-ṣa-sahasrāṇām-atikrāntē catuṣṭaye |
pu-[narabda]-gatē caivāṣṭaṣṭyā samanvitē

As it stands this is an unlikely formulation which must correspond to the year 4069 (4000 + 68 + 1) of Kaliyuga, i.e., 967–68 CE, and this date has been repeated in most secondary literature on Kadri. Pai, however, without viewing the inscription itself, demonstrated that °gate must be a misreading of °śate (ga and śa are similar in the Grantha script in which the inscription is written), not only because °śate is much better Sanskrit, but also because the *tithi* given only makes sense if the year is 1068 rather than 968 (Pai 1946, pp. 60–62). Dominic Goodall visited Kadri in 2017 and confirmed that the correct reading is °śate (personal communication 6th February 2017).

⁹⁴ *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya* 13.10–11:

uttarārāmamadhya tu sthito viṣṇur manoharaḥ |

iconography, however, is clearly Buddhist. The statue on the inscribed plinth is worshipped as Brahmā, but is in fact a form of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, most likely Mañjuvajra (Figure 4).⁹⁵



Figure 4. Mañjuvajra, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.

Of the two bronzes in the northern corridor, that which is worshipped as Viṣṇu is a form of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara (better known as Avalokiteśvara), who can be identified by the representation of the cosmic Buddha Amitābha on his crown of matted hair, his antelope skin, his hand gestures and his *sattvaparyāṅka* seated position (Figure 5).⁹⁶

ālaye mañjunāthathasya pūrvottaragato hariḥ ||
 pūrvadakṣiṇayor bhāge bhagavāṃś caturāṇanaḥ ||
 taylor uttarabhāge tu vyāsaḥ satyavatisutaḥ ||

“In the middle of the northern grove is situated a delightful Viṣṇu. In the abode of Mañjunātha, to the northeast, is Hari. In the area to the southeast is the four-faced Lord [i.e., Brahmā]. To the north of both of them is Vyāsa, the son of Satyavati.”

I do not know what image is being referred to as Viṣṇu here; it may no longer be at the site.

⁹⁵ Alexis Sanderson first suggested this to me, in a meeting in December 2010. His identification was subsequently confirmed to me by Christian Luczanits (email communication 30 January 2018).

⁹⁶ I thank Christian Luczanits for this identification (email communication 26 April 2016).



Figure 5. Lokeśvara, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.

The bronze worshipped as Vyāsa is the Buddha, in a form which closely matches Sri Lankan, Tamil and some Southeast Asian Buddha images; his seated position with the legs half-crossed (*sattvaparyāṅka*) rarely occurs in Buddha images from India, apart from in the Tamil region (Figure 6).⁹⁷

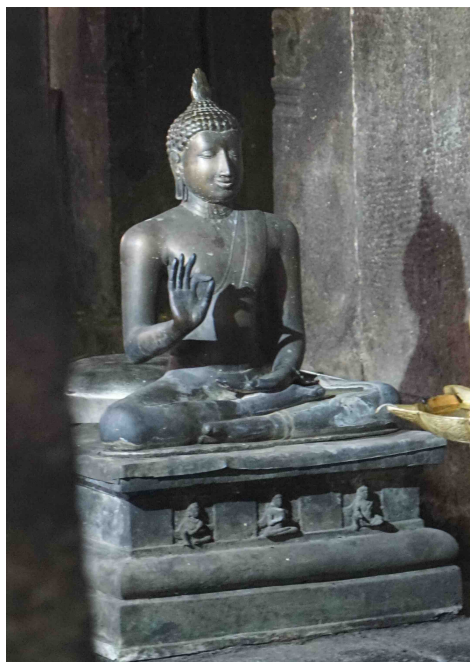


Figure 6. Buddha, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.

These identifications are well supported by comparison with other such images. Muddying the waters, however, is the inscription on the plinth of the Mañjuvajra image, which records the

⁹⁷ I thank Christian Luczanits (email communication 26 April 2016) and Andrea Acri (email communication 24 January 2019) for these observations.

establishment of an image of Lokeśvara. It seems that at some point the image of Lokeśvara was removed from its original plinth and replaced with the image of Mañjuvajra.⁹⁸

In the Mangalore Museum is a stone statue of Matsyendranātha, the first human guru of the Nāth *saṃpradāya* (Figure 7).⁹⁹ The statue is said in its label to be from the Kadri monastery and is cracked across its neck, which may account for its having been removed from its original location.



Figure 7. Matsyendra, Mangalore Museum.

The *mūrti* shares many features with the Lokeśvara bronze: it is three and a half feet high; it is seated in *sattvaparyāṅka*, an easy cross-legged position; its right hand rests on its right thigh, palm open;¹⁰⁰ and it has a crown of *jaṭā*, matted locks, on which is depicted an indistinct icon. This latter is of particular significance, because no other non-Buddhist sculpture in India includes such an element.

Today the Matsyendra shrine in the Kadri monastery houses an apparently newer and whole *mūrti* of Matsyendra, which is very similar to that found in the museum and was presumably made to replace it (Figure 8).

⁹⁸ Comparison of photographs of the image show that its composition has been altered in recent years, and confirm that the *mūrti* is not of one piece with the plinth. The photographs in the Government of Madras's *Annual Report for Epigraphy for the Year Ending 31 March 1921* (Plate 1), Bhatt (1975, plates 300 and 301) and Shetti (1988, fig. 10) show the *prabhāvalī* (halo) behind Mañjuvajra higher than it is today, and the image now has a metal sheet between it and the plinth. The sheet has small posts at its rear which support the *prabhāvalī* in its new position. In the oldest photograph Mañjuvajra holds a lotus flower in each of his middle left and right hands as he does today, while in the photographs found in Bhatt 1975 and Shetti 1988 the lotuses are not in Mañjuvajra's hands but in those of his two attendants.

⁹⁹ The image is identifiable as Matsyendra (whose name means "lord of fish") because the subject is seated on a fish.

¹⁰⁰ The Lokeśvara image has four arms and his other right hand may have held something, but is now empty. Matsyendra, being human-born, has only two arms.



Figure 8. Kadri Monastery, Matsyendra.

There are two small but significant differences between the two Matsyendra images. In both statues Matsyendra wears on a thread around his neck a *śiṅgī*, the small horn signifying membership of a Nāth lineage. That on the older statue is shaped like an antelope's horn, while that on the later statue is a whistle like that worn by yogis of today's Nāth *saṃpradāya*. Mughal miniatures depict the earlier style of horn from the mid 16th-century onwards; the whistles are not seen until the 18th century.¹⁰¹ On its label in the museum, the older image is dated to the 10th century. I do not know the grounds for this dating, but Bhatt (1975, plate 302(b)) gives the same date so may be its source. He accepts the incorrect reading °gate found in the published transcription of the inscription on the plinth of "Lokeśvara" (i.e., Mañjuvajra) so takes the image to be dated 968 CE and proposes the 10th-century date for Matsyendra because he believes the Nāth tradition to have predated Buddhism at the site. I see no need to propose such an early date for the Matsyendra image in the Mangalore Museum. The other difference between the two images of Matsyendra is that the icon on the crown of *jaṭā* on the older image is unclear (Figure 9), unlike that of the newer one (Figure 10).

¹⁰¹ Mallinson 2013.



Figure 9. Matsyendra, Mangalore Museum (detail).



Figure 10. Matsyendra, Kadri Monastery (detail). Photograph by Jacqueline Hargreaves.

Images of Bodhisattvas wear small representations of one of the five Tathāgatas, indicating their lineage. The cosmic Buddha on Lokeśvara is Amitābha (Figure 11) and that on Mañjuvajra (and on his *prabhāvalī*) is Akṣobhya (Figure 12). The icon on the newer Matsyendra is clearly a four-armed deity with the *jaṭāmukuta*, club and fish seat of the Matsyendra image itself, together with the *ḍamaru* drum usually carried by Śiva, especially in his Bhairava form. Pai (1946, p. 64) identifies this icon as Ādinātha, i.e., the form of Śiva seen as the founder of the Nāth *saṃpradāya*. The fish seat, however, which is also faintly identifiable on the older Matsyendra image in the Mangalore Museum, indicates that this is an image of Matsyendra himself, while his four arms suggest that he has been deified.



Figure 11. Lokeśvara (Amitābha detail), Mañjunātha Temple.



Figure 12. Mañjuvājra (Akṣobhya detail), Mañjunātha Temple.

The 1068 CE inscription on the plinth supporting the image of Mañjughoṣa at the Mañjunātha temple says that an image of Lokeśvara was established in the Kadirikā *vihāra*, i.e., a Buddhist monastery at Kadri. No mention of a separate temple is made in the inscription, but today there are two sites at Kadri, the Mañjunātha temple and, a few minutes walk up a neighbouring hill, the Kadri *maṭha* or monastery. It is unclear whether the Kadri temple and monastery have always been separate sites. The first reference to the existence of both is from the report of a visit to Mangalore of Pietro della

Valle in 1624 CE.¹⁰² There are meditation caves at the monastery which date to approximately the 12th to 13th centuries CE.¹⁰³ The oldest inscription in the temple courtyard is dated śaka 1308, i.e., 1385 or 1386 CE.¹⁰⁴ Today the temple is in the control of Mādhva priests and the Nāth presence is confined to the monastery,¹⁰⁵ but three stone statues in the middle of the south, west and north exterior walls of the inner shrine of the temple which sport yogi iconography (earrings, *jaṭā* and, for two of them, a cross-legged seated position) are said in accompanying labels to be Matsyendranātha (Figure 13), Gorakṣanātha (Figure 14) and Caurāṅginātha (Figure 15).¹⁰⁶



Figure 13. Matsyendra, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.

¹⁰² Grey 1892, p. 348.

¹⁰³ Personal communication from Shreekanth Jadhav 27th February 2019.

¹⁰⁴ South Indian Inscriptions Vol. VII No. 189 (pp.84–85).

¹⁰⁵ The head or Rājā of the monastery does play a role in the temple's annual car festival (Nagaraju 1969, p. 68).

¹⁰⁶ Photographs of the statues without their silver coverings are reproduced by Bhatt (1975, plates 303 and 304(a)). Caurāṅginātha ("Chowranginatha" on the label) is referred to as Śṛṅginātha by Bhatt (1975, p. 299). As noted by Bouillier (2008, p. 84), no source is known for the ascription of the names to these images. They now have full-length silver covers replicating, with embellishment, the iconography of the stone images, but at the base of the cover on the image said to be of Matsyendra is a fish which is not found on the image beneath.

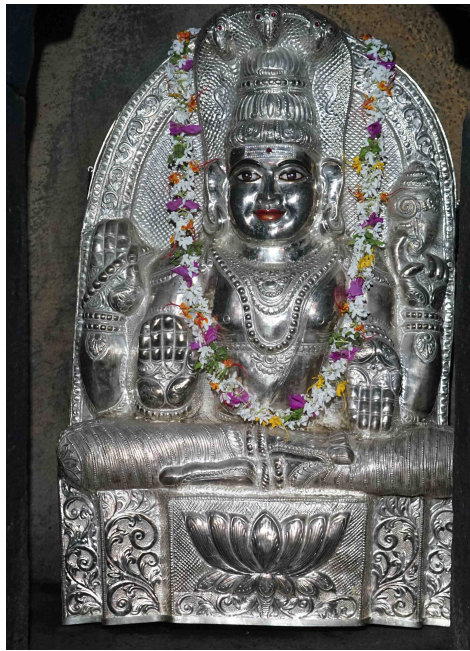


Figure 14. Cauraṅgi, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.



Figure 15. Goraksa, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.

Bhatt dates these images to the 14th or 15th century,¹⁰⁷ which seems plausible and renders the ascription of a date of the 10th-century to the image of Matsyendra in the Mangalore Museum even more unlikely, since that statue has the *śiṅgī* or horn otherwise found only in north Indian depictions of Nāth yogis from the 15th century onwards, and which is not found on the three images in the

¹⁰⁷ Bhatt 1975, p. 299 and plates 303 and 304(a).

Mañjunātha temple. The statues indicate that there was previously a stronger Nāth presence at the temple than there is now.

The Āḷupa king Kundavarman, who the 1068 CE inscription says established the image of Lokeśvara, is described in the sixth verse of the inscription as *pādāravindabhramaro bālacandraśikhāmaṇeḥ*, “a bee at the lotus feet of he whose crest-jewel is a young moon”, i.e., a devotee of Śiva. There are no indications that the region’s primary religion was ever Buddhism; when Kadri was Buddhist it would have been an enclave within a Śaiva kingdom. Today the central shrine of the temple at Kadri contains a self-born *liṅga* worshipped as a form of Śiva called Mañjunātha. This name of Śiva is attested nowhere other than the Tuḷu region (and possibly its environs),¹⁰⁸ where it is understood to mean “the gentle Lord”, *mañju* meaning “gentle” in Sanskrit. It is of course also redolent of Mañjuśrī (or Mañjuvājra, the form in which Mañjuśrī is found at Kadri), for which it is an alternative name,¹⁰⁹ and it is likely that the primary focus of worship at Kadri when it was Buddhist was the Bodhisattva Mañjuvājra, a *sādhana* of whom was written there by Jñānapāda in the ninth century¹¹⁰ and an icon of whom was installed there in the eleventh century. Within two centuries of the establishment of the Lokeśvara image at the Kadrikā *vihāra*, the temple may already have become a Śaiva shrine: in an inscription of the Āḷupa queen Ballamahādevī who ruled 1277–92, she calls herself a worshipper of Machinātha.¹¹¹ Bhatt sees this as possibly the first reference to Śiva as Mañjunātha.¹¹² Machinātha could alternatively refer to Matsyendra, whose name is a compound of *matsya*, “fish”, and *indra*, “lord”: *ma[c]chi* is a middle Indic form of *matsya*, and *nātha* a synonym of *indra*. Two late 14th-century inscriptions at Kadri mention the worship of Mañjinātha¹¹³ and della Valle, who visited the site in 1624, says that the temple deity (which he was not allowed to see) was called “Moginato”.¹¹⁴ In contrast, two copper plate Tuḷu inscriptions dated 1329 CE kept inside the Kadri monastery mention Kadire Mañjunātheśvara and Kadre Śrī Mañjunāth.¹¹⁵

The specific referents of the name Mañjunātha and its variants as found in historical sources pertaining to Kadri are thus often uncertain, but they are likely to have referred, in sequence, to the Buddhist deity Mañjuvājra, the Nāth Matsyendra, and a localised form of Śiva.

Textual, material and epigraphic sources point to Kadri’s importance as a centre of Vajrayāna Buddhism from the early 9th to late 11th centuries, and indicate that it had become Śaiva by the early 14th century at the latest. The similarities between the statues of Lokeśvara and Matsyendra from the site indicate a direct continuity between Vajrayāna and specifically Nāth Śaiva traditions, but the Nāth presence is not confirmed by epigraphic evidence until the late 15th century, and the details of the transition from Buddhism to Śaivism are not inferable from material and epigraphic sources. If we return to our textual sources, however, some further information may be obtained.

The c. 1400 Telugu *Navanāthacaritramu* of Gaurāṇa tells the stories of seven of the nine Nāths of its title, including Matsyendra, who is the guru of the other eight, and Mañjunātha, the only one of the

¹⁰⁸ Bhatt 1975, p. 290, n. 1, p. 296, n. 27. The best known temple of Śiva Mañjunātha is at Dharmasthala, c. 50 kilometres inland from Mangalore. The Mañjunātha *liṅga* at Dharmasthala, which is of the usual iconic form unlike the simple *svayambhū liṅga* at Kadri, is said to be the original object of worship at Kadri Mañjunātha and to have been transported to Dharmasthala from Kadri in the 16th century by Vādirāja, the *maṭhādhipati* of the Mādhva *maṭha* at Udipi (Nagaraju 1969, p. 68).

¹⁰⁹ Kasthuri 2016, p. 88 and, n. 60, table p. 91. The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakratāntra*, whose teachings have some parallels with those of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, opens with an invocation to Mañjunātha.

¹¹⁰ See page 23.

¹¹¹ Bhatt 1975, p. 296.

¹¹² Loc. cit.

¹¹³ *South Indian Inscriptions* Vol. VII No. 189 (pp. 84–85) dated śaka 1308 prescribes materials for the worship of Śrīmañjinātha of Kadali. No. 190 (pp. 85–87) dated śaka 1311 is very hard to read, but mentions Mañjinātha and possibly the establishment of an image at the temple. I thank Manu Devadevan for sharing with me his transcriptions and translations of these Kannada inscriptions.

¹¹⁴ Grey 1892, p. 348.

¹¹⁵ Bouillier 2008, p. 96 and n. 42, citing a transcription by Ānandanāth Jogī.

eight to be identified as the son of Matsyendra. Mañjunātha's story takes place in Mangalore¹¹⁶ and is one of the earliest tellings of a famous Nāth legend found in many different sources and versions.¹¹⁷ Matsyendra travels to Mangalore with a group of his disciples. On their arrival the king of the city dies. His minister Prabuddha conceals his death, but Matsyendra, through his yogic sight, knows what has happened. He decides to leave his body and enter that of the king in order to experience worldly pleasures and thereby confirm that the way of the yogi is superior to worldly life. He uses a yogic technique to enter and reanimate the body of the king. Prabuddha realises what has happened but decides not to tell the people and advises Matsyendra on how to rule. Matsyendra enjoys sexual relations with his queens, and fathers a son by the chief queen. His disciples, who have been guarding his body in a mountain cave in the meantime, realise that he has forgotten himself and Gorakṣa is sent to rescue him. Gorakṣa manages to convince Matsyendra to shed all his worldly attachments with the exception of his love for his son. Gorakṣa kills the boy and the shock brings Matsyendra to his senses. He returns to his body, Gorakṣa revives the prince, and Prabuddha joins Matsyendra after arranging the king's succession.

Matsyendra's son is initiated as a *siddha*, placed on a *kūrmāsana* and given the name Mañjunātha. Leaving him there, Matsyendra and the other *siddhas* go to a cave in the Narendra mountains,¹¹⁸ where Prabuddha is initiated, thus becoming one of the nine Nāths of the text's title, and given the name Buddhasiddha. Matsyendra instructs his disciples in yoga and they go on a tour of the the holy sites of north India to disseminate his teachings.

The story is in part an origin myth for the shrine of Mañjunātha at Kadri. Mañjunātha is placed on a *kūrmāsana*, which Śaivasiddhānta Pratiṣṭhāntas identify as the altar on which an image of a deity is to be installed.¹¹⁹ He is left in Kadri, while Matsyendra and his disciples continue to have adventures across India. Gorakṣa's rescue of his guru Matsyendra from a life of debauchery is an allegory of his reformation of Nāth religious practice, i.e., the triumph of his celibate *haṭhayoga* over Matsyendra's Kaula sexual rites.¹²⁰ Sexual ritual was central to the practices of the Vajrayāna traditions which flourished at Kadri; the Kadri Matsyendra legend as told in the *Navanāthacaritramu* may also reflect the specific takeover by celibate Nāth yogis of the Kadri Vajrayāna tradition. There are faint traces of Buddhism in the *Navanāthacaritramu*. Gauraṇa mentions two types of yoga, a royal (*rāculī*) method as practised by Matsyendra, and a "peerless" (*anuturya*) method which Matsyendra teaches to Caurāṅgi.¹²¹ The name *anuturya* may be a contraction, *metri causa*,¹²² of *anuttarīya*, which is unattested as a name for a type of yoga in Sanskrit but which, as *anuttara*, has parallels in Tibetan

¹¹⁶ The actual name Mangalore is not given; Gauraṇa writes of "a large city on the western shore rich in auspiciousness (*maṅgalāvṛtam*)": *poṃgāru paścimāmbudhitīramunānu maṅgalāvṛtam agu mahaniyam aina puṭabhedanam* (*Navanāthacaritramu*, p.176).

¹¹⁷ The 55th and last *paṭala* of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā*, which dates to perhaps the 13th century, tells a version of the story similar to that found in the *Navanāthacaritramu* (see Kiss forthcoming, p. 12 for a synopsis). Ondračka (2011) analyses medieval Bengali versions of the legend and Muñoz (2011, pp. 115–27) gives summaries and analysis of current north Indian versions. The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, which is ascribed to Matsyendra and is transmitted in a manuscript dated to the mid-11th-century on palaeographic grounds (NAK ms. 3–362/NGMPP A48/13; I thank Shaman Hatley for the dating (personal communication 15th January 2018)), tells the story of Matsyendra overhearing Śiva teach Pārvaṭī the Kaula doctrine but not that of his sojourn at Kadri, suggesting that it predates the events on which the legend is likely to be based.

¹¹⁸ This is perhaps the Narendra Hill in Sawantwadi, southern Maharashtra. I thank Jason Birch for this suggestion.

¹¹⁹ *Suprabhedāgama yogapāda nāḍīcakravidhipaṭalaḥ* 3.6–7, *Sahasrāgama kriyāpāda* 45.6–7, *Yogajāgama pavitrārōhaṇapaṭalaḥ* verse 58 and *mahotsavapaṭalaḥ* verse 166. Cf. Goodall (2011, p. 224) on the *kūrmaśilā*, the turtle-stone which supports a *liṅga*.

¹²⁰ Muñoz 2011.

¹²¹ *Navanāthacaritramu*, p.94.

¹²² I thank Jamal Jones for this observation (personal communication 23 March 2018).

works.¹²³ The element *buddha* in the pre- and post-initiation names of the minister of the Kadri king, Prabuddha and Buddhasiddha, is also suggestive of a connection with Buddhism.

If we turn now to doctrinal texts, we find further details of the transition from Vajrayāna Buddhism to Nāth Śaivism at Kadri. This is demonstrated most clearly by the parallels between the Buddhist *Amṛtasiddhi* and the Śaiva *Amaraughaprabodha*. The *Amaraughaprabodha* borrows five verses from the *Amṛtasiddhi* and paraphrases it extensively elsewhere.¹²⁴ As shown above, the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s place of composition is uncertain but is likely to have been in the Deccan. There is similarly no firm evidence for the place of composition of the *Amaraughaprabodha*, but its dependence upon the *Amṛtasiddhi* suggests a southern origin, which is supported by all its extant manuscripts being written in southern scripts and further corroborated by parallels with other southern texts and traditions, which will be explored below.

In addition, the new formulation of yoga taught in the *Amaraughaprabodha* may be traced to both the *Amṛtasiddhi* and tantric Buddhist traditions of *haṭhayoga* which are known to have been practised at Kadri. The Buddhist scholar Jñānapāda, who, as we have seen, is likely to have resided at Kadri during the first half of the ninth century, wrote a *sādhana* of Mañjuvajra, who is the chief deity of the *Guhyasamāja* in his teaching¹²⁵ and is depicted in the most spectacular of the three Kadri bronzes. The *Guhyasamājantra* advocates *haṭhayoga*, albeit as a fallback method of achieving awakening.¹²⁶ The *Amaraughaprabodha* draws on this understanding of the term *haṭhayoga* when it uses it as the name of the yoga method of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, which, it states, is subordinate to *rājayoga*. As suggested by the primacy of celibate practice implied by the *Navanāthacaritramu*'s legend of Matsyendra's rescue by Gorakṣa (who, like all his co-disciples, is avowedly celibate), the *Amaraughaprabodha* teaches that the control of *bindu*, i.e., semen, is central to *haṭhayoga*. It refers to the practice of *vajrolimudrā*, a method of controlling semen which is likely to have been part of certain traditions of Vajrayāna sexual ritual, but makes no mention of its use in such rites, saying that in the Amara tradition it is equanimity and the flowing of the breath in the central channel.¹²⁷ This transition from Vajrayāna to Śaiva *haṭha* practice evident in the *Amaraughaprabodha* is echoed in the story from the *Līlācaritra* referred to above,¹²⁸ in which Virūpa, the first teacher of the yoga of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, is said to switch allegiance from the Vajra to Amara lineage after his conversion by Gorakṣa. The polyvalence of the term *ogha* in the name of the *Amaraughaprabodha* (whose teachings are attributed to Gorakṣa), allows it to mean both "Awakening (*prabodha*) by the Stream (*ogha*) of the Nectar of Immortality (*amara*)" and "Awakening in the Amara lineage (*ogha*)".

The strongest indication of a link between Kadri and the *Amaraughaprabodha* is found in the *siddhas* it invokes. It opens with a *maṅgala* verse to Ādinātha, Mīnanātha,¹²⁹ Caurāṅginātha and Siddhabuddha, and in the next verse ascribes its teachings to Gorakṣa.¹³⁰ Ādinātha is the name of the form of Śiva to which many Nāth lineages trace their origin. The triad of Mīna, Gorakṣa and Caurāṅgi has primacy only in Nāth lineages from the Deccan and Konkan. Caurāṅgi rarely features in Nāth traditions from further north¹³¹ and no Sanskrit *haṭha* texts apart from the *Amaraughaprabodha*,

¹²³ (Sanderson 2005, pp. 135–36, n. 345) writes "[t]he term *Anuttarayogatantra that has long been current in academic writing on Tibetan Buddhism does not occur to my knowledge in any Sanskrit text but is an erroneous reconstruction from Tibetan *rnal 'byor bla med kyi rgyud*, which rather renders the Sanskrit *yoganiruttaratantram*". It is noteworthy that unlike the *Haṭhapradīpikā*, which teaches royal (*rāja*) yoga and *haṭha* yoga, the *Navanāthacaritramu* uses the name *anuturya* rather than *haṭha* or a related term, perhaps because of *haṭha*'s negative connotations (on which see Mallinson forthcoming b).

¹²⁴ See the forthcoming edition of the *Amṛtasiddhi* by Péter-Dániel Szántó and me for details.

¹²⁵ Szántó 2015, p. 543.

¹²⁶ See (Birch 2011, p. 535) and (Mallinson forthcoming b).

¹²⁷ *Amaraughaprabodha* (short recension) verse 7.

¹²⁸ p. 13.

¹²⁹ On Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha, see note 35.

¹³⁰ The first half of the *maṅgala* verse, which mentions Ādinātha and Mīnanātha, is absent in the two manuscripts of the older recension of the *Amaraughaprabodha*.

¹³¹ Caurāṅgi does not occur in northern lists of the nine Nāths, but he is included in a list of 84 *siddhas* given in the early 14th-century Maithili *Varṇaratnākara* (p. 57), in which his name comes third, after Mīnanātha and Gorakṣanātha [sic].

Haṭhapradīpikā and derivative works mention him. Matsyendra, Gorakṣa and Caurāṅgi are the main protagonists in both the *Navanāthacaritramu* and *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya*.¹³² The invocation of these three Nāths thus supports a southern origin for the *Amaraughaprabodha*, with Kadri a strong candidate not only because they are central to its *māhātmya*, but also because, as we have seen, the same triad adorns the main shrine of Mañjunātha.

The mention of Siddhabuddha in the *Amaraughaprabodha's maṅgala* verse points more specifically to Kadri as the location of that text's composition. Unlike the other three *siddhas* named in the verse, Siddhabuddha is little known; within the Sanskrit *haṭha* corpus his name is otherwise found only in the list of 29 *siddhas* in the *Haṭhapradīpikā* and texts deriving from it.¹³³ The *Haṭhapradīpikā* borrows twenty verses directly from the *Amaraughaprabodha* and may have taken Siddhabuddha's name from its *maṅgala* verse. Arguing against this possibility, however, is that in the *Haṭhapradīpikā's* list of *siddhas*, Siddhabuddha is not grouped with the other three *siddhas* named in the *Amaraughaprabodha's maṅgala* verse. A more likely source, or milieu, for the *Haṭhapradīpikā* to have taken the name Siddhabuddha from is suggested by the only other texts known to me in which he is mentioned. These are two Telugu works, the c. 1400 CE *Navanāthacaritramu* and the contemporaneous *Vikramārkacaritramu* of Jakkana. The *Haṭhapradīpikā* has several parallels with the *Navanāthacaritramu*, in particular in the names of the *siddhas* found in both texts,¹³⁴ some of which are otherwise obscure. As we have seen, the *Navanāthacaritramu* includes Buddhasiddha among the nine Nāths of its title. That this Buddhasiddha is simply Siddhabuddha with the elements of his name transposed is indicated by his name being found as Siddhabuddha in the *Vikramārkacaritramu*, which gives a list of nine Nāths almost identical to that of the *Navanāthacaritramu* (Mañjunātha is replaced by Ādinātha). A further detail supports the identification of the Siddhabuddha of the *Amaraughaprabodha* with the Buddhasiddha/Siddhabuddha of the *Navanāthacaritramu* and *Vikramārkacaritramu*. In the *Navanāthacaritramu*, before his initiation Buddhasiddha is Prabuddha, the crafty minister of the king of Mangalore. The *Vikramārkacaritramu* highlights a quality of each of the nine Nāths. Siddhabuddha comes after Ādinātha, Matsyendra, Sāraṅga (the pre-initiatory name of Caurāṅgi) and Gorakṣa, and is praised for his intellect.¹³⁵ In the *Amaraughaprabodha's maṅgala* verse Siddhabuddha is the only *siddha* to have an epithet, which is *dhīmate*, "the wise one". These parallels allow for a tentative identification of the Siddhabuddha of the *Amaraughaprabodha's maṅgala* verse with the Buddhasiddha of the *Navanāthacaritramu*, who resided at Kadri.

5. Final Remarks

Our available evidence indicates that the transition from Buddhism to Śaivism at Kadri was peaceful. No textual sources related to Kadri suggest a violent takeover and the Vajrayāna bronzes at the site remained more or less *in situ* without being damaged.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the later Nāth statues of Matsyendra are modelled on that of the Buddhist Lokeśvara, indicating direct continuity between the Nāth tradition at Kadri and its Vajrayāna forerunner. Other than the icon on Matsyendra's crown of matted locks, however, all material traces of Buddhism were removed, or, as in the case of the three bronzes, reassigned as Hindu. This is true also for the *Amaraughaprabodha*, which, in adopting and

His story was current in Bengal and Mithila (it is told in the *Gorakh Vijay* cycle) and is popular in Punjab, where he is known as Pūraṇ Bhagat (see e.g., White 1996, pp. 298–99). Caurāṅgi's legend is also found in the *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*, a 12th-century Tibetan account of the lives of the 84 *siddhas* (the story is similar to that taught in the *Navanāthacaritramu*) and he is mentioned in the 13th-century Marathi *Jñāneśvarī* (pp. 1730–40).

¹³² The bulk of the *Kadalīmañjunāthamāhātmya*, chp. 15–45, is devoted to their exploits.

¹³³ *Haṭhapradīpikā* 1.6.

¹³⁴ Mallinson forthcoming b.

¹³⁵ Jones 2018, p. 199, n. 7: *siddhabuddhuni buddhicittambunam jerci*.

¹³⁶ Similarly, the Nāth presence at Panhale Kaji did not result in the destruction or removal of Buddhist statuary.

adapting the teachings of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, removes features that are obviously Buddhist but leaves traces of more obscure Buddhist doctrines which were not recognised by its redactors.¹³⁷

The Śaiva tradition which took over at Kadri thus absorbed elements of the earlier Vajrayāna tradition but tried to efface anything overtly Buddhist. This is in contrast with the Newar tradition in the Kathmandu Valley, where Avalokiteśvara/Lokeśvara and Matsyendra have been identified since at least the 15th century, and Buddhism and Śaivism remain inextricably entangled.¹³⁸ 19th-century chronicles claim an 11th-century Karnatakan origin for the Newar kings and mention connections with the Konkan,¹³⁹ hinting at a possible origin in south India for the Newari identification of Avalokiteśvara and Matsyendra, and at links with the Kadri tradition, but the earliest record of their identification in Nepal whose date is certain is from the 15th century.¹⁴⁰ Buddhism's survival in the Kathmandu Valley is in stark contrast with its almost complete demise in India. There is no clear reason for either of these outcomes, but the Kathmandu Valley's isolation was responsible for other divergences from the history of the subcontinent, such as its not being subjugated by the Mughals or British, and is likely also to be at least partly responsible for Buddhism's survival there.

The apparently peaceful transition at Kadri does not support arguments that Brahmanism or Islam violently removed Buddhism from India.¹⁴¹ Textual and epigraphical sources do however suggest that interactions between tantric Buddhists and Śaivas in the region of Kadri were not always friendly. Desai notes two late 12th-century south Indian inscriptions from Karnataka which indicate that Śaiva aggression may have been responsible for the destruction of Buddhist *vihāras*.¹⁴² And, as we have seen above, several texts tell the story of Virūpa himself destroying a *śivaliṅga* at Drākṣārāma.¹⁴³ The *Nityāhnikatilaka*, a text of the Paścimāmnāya Kaula tradition from which some Nāth lineages developed, reports that Unmanīśanātha destroyed 125,000 Buddhist *vihāras* in heaven, as a result of which nine Buddhists fell to earth and were subsequently initiated by him.¹⁴⁴

But these hints of a violent transfer are exceptional. Other sources point to debate or instruction as the means by which one doctrine superseded the other. Unsurprisingly, the Śaiva sources at our disposal almost always tell of Buddhists capitulating to Śaiva arguments. Of particular relevance to the topic in hand is a story in the *Līlācaritra* of Virūpa, after his conversion by Gorakṣa from Buddhism to Śaivism,¹⁴⁵ defeating in debate *kṣapaṇakas*, i.e., Jain or Buddhist ascetics, and re-establishing the Vedic religion at Ellora.¹⁴⁶ *Kularatnoddya* 11.31 includes the Buddha (and the Jina and Matsyendra as well as many others) in a list of siddhas who were taught the Kaulajñāna of the Pūrvāmnāya by Mitranātha.¹⁴⁷ I know of one instance in which the transmission went the other way, suggesting a

¹³⁷ Thus *Amaraughaprabodha* (short recension) 35 is a reworking of *Amṛtasiddhi* 19.15, in which the Vajrayāna concept of the *vicitrakṣaṇa*, one of four *kṣaṇas* or “moments” associated with the four blisses experienced during sexual ritual, becomes *vicitrakṣaṇaka*, “having variegated tones”, an epithet of the *anāhata*, “unstruck”, sound heard internally by the yogi. At vv. 38 and 40 of its short recension the *Amaraughaprabodha* retains the *Amṛtasiddhi*'s teachings on the Vajrayāna concepts of *paramānanda* and *sahajānanda*, and similarly, at vv. 39 and 40, those of *atisūnya* and *mahāśūnya*.

¹³⁸ See Bajracharya and Michaels 2016, pp. 5–51 for a translation of a legend explaining the identification of Avalokiteśvara and Matsyendra in the 1830 CE *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī*. Of particular note is that Lokeśvara became Matsyendra after overhearing the Kaulajñāna, the Kaula doctrine which is the subject of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* of Matsyendra (on which see footnote 117). See also Locke 1980, pp. 288–89 and chp. 13, and Tuladhar-Douglas 2006, pp. 181–82.

¹³⁹ Bajracharya and Michaels 2016, pp. 69–72, Malla 2006, pp. 4–9. Cf. Michaels 1985 and Lévi 1905, pp. 218–21, 353 (in the latter reference, Lévi names Bengal, Malabar and Sri Lanka as possible sources for the Nepalese Matsyendra cult).

¹⁴⁰ The 15th-century *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha* identifies Avalokiteśvara and Matsyendra (Tuladhar-Douglas 2006, p. 7). Arguing against claims of an earlier identification is the absence of mentions of Matsyendra, Gorakṣa or Lokeśvara in the late 14th-century *Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī*.

¹⁴¹ On the former, see Verardi 2011; on the latter as a recurrent historical trope, see Truschke 2018.

¹⁴² Desai 1954, pp. 91–92.

¹⁴³ See footnote 13.

¹⁴⁴ *Nityāhnikatilaka* f.16v³-f.18r⁵, for an edition of which by Alexis Sanderson, see [https://www.academia.edu/35397806/Mallinson_\\$Harvard_\\$Talk\\$Nov_2017_\\$Handout](https://www.academia.edu/35397806/Mallinson_$Harvard_$Talk$Nov_2017_$Handout).

¹⁴⁵ On which see p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ *Līlācaritra pūrvārdha* 198–99, A.27. I thank Amol Bankar for this reference and for sharing with me his translation of the relevant passage.

¹⁴⁷ I thank Alexis Sanderson for this reference, which is from a draft of his forthcoming commentary on the *Tantrāloka*.

dates to the second half of the 11th century CE,¹⁵⁶ has both Buddhist and Śaiva elements in its yoga, and several features of its cult are shared with the Kadri yogi tradition.¹⁵⁷ The bronzes of Lokeśvara and Mañjuvāra at Kadri are similar to contemporaneous Coḷā pieces.¹⁵⁸ The Kadri Buddha may also be from the Tamil region, or perhaps Sri Lanka or southeast Asia, bringing to mind Mangalore's importance as a trading port (whose cosmopolitanism in the 12th-century has been vividly reimagined by Amitav Ghosh).¹⁵⁹ A connection between Kadri and Sri Lanka is supported by the inclusion of Matsyendranātha among a list of eight forms of Avalokiteśvara (who in Sri Lanka is also commonly known as Nātha) described in the *Śāriputra*, a text of uncertain date used by the makers of images in Sri Lankan temples.¹⁶⁰ In addition, the Guhyasamāja exegete Jayabhadra, who spent some time in the Konkan before travelling to Vikramaśīla, was originally from Sri Lanka.¹⁶¹ Kadri was at the western extremity of a Buddhist maritime world whose hub was Sri Lanka and which extended to southeast Asia. The possibility of Nāth influence on the mixed Śaiva-Buddhist traditions of Java and Bali is hinted at by the presence of an image of Matsyendra on a statue of Cāmuṇḍī in Java dated 1292.¹⁶² The links between Kadri and the Tamil sphere of influence point to Kadri being supported by the Coḷā empire, which would have been connected to Mangalore by sea and land: the most important centres of Buddhism in the Coḷā empire were the ports of Kanchi and Nagapattinam, and its territory reached near Mangalore until its demise in the 14th century. Like Kundavarman, who established the Lokeśvara image at Kadri, certain Coḷā rulers such as Rājārāja I (pp. 985–1014 CE) were Śaivas who also patronised Buddhism.¹⁶³ The Kadri *vihāra* may thus have benefited from Coḷā patronage as well as that of its local overlords. When these sources of support dried up, either as the result of increasingly exclusive patronage of Śaivism by both the Ālupa¹⁶⁴ and Coḷā kings or the demise of the Coḷā empire, the Kadri Buddhist tradition was left isolated and unsupported.

¹⁵⁶ The *Tirumantiram* mentions the *Kālacakra*[tantra] (*Tirumantiram* “III chp.14”; see (Venkatraman 1990, p. 193) for this reference, which I have been unable to confirm). The *Kālacakratāntra* may be dated to between 1025 and 1040 CE (Newman 1998). The *Tirumantiram* is cited in a commentary on the *Yāpparuṅgalakkārigai* by Guṇasāgara, who was active c. 1100 CE (Venkatraman 1990, p. 193). A text-critical study of the *Tirumantiram* remains a desideratum; if the text as it is currently constituted does not contain additions to its earliest layer, it may thus be dated to the second half of the 11th century CE. (On the implausibility of the very early datings of the *Tirumantiram* often found in secondary sources, see Goodall 1998, p. xxxvii, n. 85 and Goodall 2004, pp. xxix–xxx.)

¹⁵⁷ The *Tirumantiram* makes no mention of the Nāth tradition but its doctrinal parallels with the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* lead Kiss (forthcoming, pp. 51–52) to conclude that the two texts are “not completely unrelated”. The *Tirumantiram*'s yoga method has much in common with that of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, but, like the *haṭhayoga* of other Vajrayāna texts and in contrast with the celibate yoga of the *Amṛtasiddhi*, includes sexual intercourse without ejaculation. (In the sexual ritual taught in *pāṭala* 40 of the *Matsyendrasaṃhitā* the yogi is to ejaculate.) The *Tirumantiram* mentions the Buddhist *Kālacakratāntra* (see note 156) and celebrates the Śaiva site of Chidambaram, which is also a cultic centre for the Keralan caste yogis who moved south from Kadri in perhaps the 17th century (Freeman 2006, pp. 172–73).

¹⁵⁸ The Kadri Lokeśvara, for example, resembles a Coḷā Śiva sold by Christies in New York in 2015: <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-large-bronze-figure-of-shiva-south-5875978-details.aspx>

¹⁵⁹ Ghosh 1994.

¹⁶⁰ Kasthuri (2016, p. 160) notes that the *Śāriputra* has been variously dated to between the 5th to 15th centuries. Its mention of Matsyendra indicates that it was composed in the latter few centuries of this period. Parānavitana (1928, pp. 60–62) edits the verses describing Avalokiteśvara thus:

caturbhujam trinetram ca pāśadaṇḍāyudham tathā |
kuṇḍikāhomahastam ca puribhadrāsamaulikam ||
śaṅkhakambalahāraṃ ca raktāmbāradharāṇvitam |
yugamatsyasamārūḍham matsyendranātham eva ca ||

Avalokiteśvara/Nātha is identified with eight Nāthas in the *Śāriputra*: Śiva Nātha, Brahma Nātha, Viṣṇunātha, Gaurī Nātha, Matsyendra Nātha, Bhadrā Nātha, Bauddha Nātha and Gaṇa Nātha (*ibid.*). Additionally, Avalokiteśvara's role as the protector of mariners in Sri Lanka (Bopearachchi 2014, p. 182), is echoed by Matsyendra's identification as a fisherman in many of the various legends associated with him.

¹⁶¹ Jayabhadra gives his place of birth in his *Pañjikā* (Szántó 2016a, p. 2).

¹⁶² See (Scheurleer 2008, p. 292, n. 21). I thank Andrea Acri for drawing my attention to this statue (personal communication 24th January 2019).

¹⁶³ (Velupillai 2013, pp. 65–77); see also (Acri 2018, p. 13).

¹⁶⁴ Saletore (1936, pp. 384–85) argues that the strong Śaivism of Tuḷu rulers was responsible for disappearance of Buddhism from the Tuḷu region.

Padmanabh Jaini, analysing the very different historical outcomes for Buddhism and Jainism in India and citing the example of Kadri, argues convincingly that Hinduism was able to assimilate Buddhism — and not Jainism — because the Bodhisattvas that were central to Buddhist devotional cults could be reconfigured as Śaiva deities and *siddhas*.¹⁶⁵ The Vajrayāna cult at Kadri had the Bodhisattva Mañjuvajra as its central deity, hence Jñānapāda's writing a *sādhana* of him there in the ninth century and the name of the temple being Mañjunātha, an alternative for Mañjuvajra. But then the Śaiva king Kundavarman established an image of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara in the temple. Lokeśvara's iconography is closely related to that of Śiva — with whom he shares a dual role as ruler and ascetic yogi¹⁶⁶ — and thus also to that of Matsyendra, who subsequently became the central object of worship at the Kadri monastery. Legend has it that Matsyendra used the yogic technique of *parakāyapraveśa*, entry into another's body, to revive the dead king of Kadri; historical sources indicate that Kundavarman's act of inclusive benevolence at Kadri paved the way for a moribund tantric Buddhism to use the same technique to achieve the yogic aim of *kālavañcana*, cheating death, by entering both the iconic body of Matsyendra and the corpus of teachings attributed to his putative disciple Gorakṣa.

Funding: The research for this article was carried out as part of the *Hatha Yoga Project* (hyp.soas.ac.uk). This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 647963).

Acknowledgments: I would like to thank Véronique Bouillier, whose pioneering studies on Kadri first brought it to scholarly attention, for her support and encouragement. I would also like to thank the following for their help with this article: Andrea Acri, Amol Bankar, Daniela Bevilacqua, Jason Birch, Crispin Branfoot, Lucy May Constantini, Manu Devadevan, Rich Freeman, Dominic Goodall, Viswanatha Gupta, John Guy, Jacqueline Hargreaves, Shaman Hatley, Ken Ishikawa, Shreekant Jadhav, the late Ānandanāth Jogī, Jamal Jones, Christian Luczanits, Lubomír Ondračka, Gethin Rees and Péter-Dániel Szántó.



European Research Council
Established by the European Commission

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this manuscript:

NAK National Archives Kathmandu
NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project

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