Kālavañcana in the Konkan: How a Vajrayāna Hāṭhayoga 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 hāṭhayoga. 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 hāṭhayoga 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 Nāṭa Śaiva hāṭhayoga 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 Nāṭa 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 Nāṭas 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.

1 I use the designation “Nāṭa” 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 Nāṭa as the name of a grouping of yogi lineages. I use the vernacular form “Nāṭa” rather than the Sanskrit “Nātha” because it is in vernacular usage that the designation “Nāṭa” is most usually found.

2 (Dasgupta 1946, pp. 194–95) denies the possibility of Buddhist origins for the Nāṭas, partly on the spurious grounds that they were the first alchemists so must have existed before the Pāṭālajālayogaśāstra because of its mention (4.1) of ausaḍhi, 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 Nāṭas’ traditions “got mixed up with those of the Buddhist Siddhācāryas”, 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 Nāṭa 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 Gorakṣanātha or the Nāṭa Siddhas”. White does not address the possibility of elements of Nāṭa 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 Nāṭhamārāga”. Sen (1956, pp. 281–86) writes of the Nāṭas’ “Buddhist affiliation” and states that “[b]oth the Nāṭha 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 Nāṭha 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 Vidyāpītha.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 hathayoga, which in previous scholarship is usually said to have originated within Śaiva Nāth traditions, have shown that the term hathayoga 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 hathayoga’s distinctive practices and principles, was composed in a Vajrayāna milieu.8 The Amṛtasiddhi was directly drawn upon in the production of several subsequent hatha 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

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 Gāraḍa- and Bhūtatantras, Buddhist Kriyātantras, and the early Vidyāpītha 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).
7 Birch 2011, pp. 533–36. Isaacson and Sferra (2014, pp. 100–1); Mallinson (forthcoming b). There is one occurrence of the term hathayoga in the c. 3rd century CE Bodhisattvabhūmi (p. 318 II. 11–17), which is part of the Yogācārabhūmiśāstra.
8 Mallinson (forthcoming a).
9 Birch (forthcoming).
Buddhist traditions, in which he first appears in perhaps the 12th century. Tibetan hagiographic treatments of Virūpākṣa and textual cycles associated with him are particularly rich and diverse, as are his depictions in Tibetan paintings 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; (2) that the Sanskrit Amṛtasiddhi, whose teachings were attributed to Virūpākṣa, was translated into Tibetan (probably in the late 11th century) and an associated cycle of Tibetan texts (usually referred to in Sanskrit back-translation as Amarasiddhi), 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 (’krol ’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.

The sidhā Virūpākṣa has left few traces in Indian material and textual sources. Buddhist hagiographies mention a shrine to him at Somnath, but there is no evidence of one there now. The temple of Bhūmeśvara at Draksharama in Telangana, which predates 1130 CE 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 Mahuḍi Gate at Dabhoi in Gujarat (Figure 1), on the exterior wall of a c. 13th-century cave at Panhole Kaji in the north Konkan (Figure 2) and perhaps on the c. 14th-century Somaśvara temple at Pimpri Dumala near Pune; there is a Virūpākṣa cave on

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10 There have been many Virūpākṣas other than Virūpākṣa the sidhā: a Buddhist king known in early Pali sources (Malalasekera 1937, s.v. Virūpakṣa; I thank Hartmut Buescher for this reference); one of four great kings of early Mahāyāna in the pre-5th century Suvannaprabhāsottama (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 Śivadharma (pp. 193–208); a form of Śiva whose teachings are given in the c. 12th-century Vīraparīcāśīkā; and a form of Śiva which is the central deity of Vijayanagara. Monier-Williams (s.v. virūpacaks) 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 Grab thob bgyad bcu rtsa bzhhi ’i lo rgyus of Smon grub shes rab, which is translated in Gruñwedel 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 (Lacznits 2006, p. 82).

13 In the Grab thob bgyad bcu rtsa bzhhi ’i lo rgyus, Virūpa is said to have been born at Tripūra in East India and studied at the Somapuri vihāra, which is near Paharpur in Bangladesh (Robinson 1979, pp. 27–28). Tārānātha says that Virūpa lived in Mahara, i.e., Maharashtra, that he visited Srisailam 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 Tārānātha also tell a story of Virūpa destroying an icon of Śiva. The former names the destroyed Śiva as Mahāśiva and locates his temple in the unidentified land of Indra (Robinson 1979, pp. 29–30); the latter names the Śiva Viśvānātha and locates his temple in Trilīṅga, 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 to the c. 1280 CE Marathi Liñcaritra in locating this episode at Bhūmeśvara, which is one of the three lingas referred to in the name of Trilīṅga and whose temple complex at Draksharama houses a shrine to Virūpa; on the Liñcaritra’s story, see footnote 13.

14 Schaeffer 2002, pp. 421–22. One of the texts attributed to Virūpākṣa in the Vanaratna codex (on which see Isaacson 2008) is entitled Amarasiddhi. Cowell and Egeling (1876, p. 28) report the name of the text as Amarasidhiyantaraka but a transcription of the text kindly shared with me by Péter-Daniel Szántó shows that its name is Amarasiddhi (f.47 recto and verso). Chattopadhyaya (1970, p. 404) mentions an Amarasidhiyattti among Tibetan works attributed to Virūpākṣa.

15 Baker 2018, pp. 527, n. 12 finds no connection between the Virūpākṣa of the Amṛtasiddhi and the Virūpākṣa of the lam ’bras tradition, but in the Vanaratna codes described by Isaacson (2008), one of whose texts is, as noted above, an Amarasiddhi of Virūpākṣa, after the text of the Marmopadesa 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.

16 See e.g., Tucci 1931, p. 690.

17 Vira Rājendra Coḍā, who flourished c. 1130 CE, is recorded as having made a donation to Bhūmeśvara at Drakṣārāma in an undisated inscription (Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV, p. 51).

18 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 sidhā depicted on the exterior of cave 14 at Panhole Kaji is sitting with a yogapātha 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 Mahārṣi 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 doḥā verses attributed to various siddhas. One of its doḥās 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 Dumal (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 Amrtasiddhi’s alchemy.\textsuperscript{21} The Caryāgīti’s place of composition is uncertain.\textsuperscript{22} I know of eight non-Buddhist texts which mention Virūpākṣa. One is the Varnaratnakāra, an early 14th-century Maithili compendium on a variety of subjects which gives a list of 84 siddhas and includes the name Virūpā.\textsuperscript{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);\textsuperscript{24} the c. 1280 CE Līlācaritra, a hagiography of the Mahānubhava guru Cakradhara composed by his devotees,\textsuperscript{25} and the Tattvasāra of Cāṇḍadeva, 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 Navaṅnāṭha caraṇīramu, an account of the lives of the nine Nāths composed by Gauraraṇa at Srisailam, the contemporaneous Vikramārkacaritramu of Jakkana, which includes Virūpākṣa’s name among those of the nine Nāths,\textsuperscript{26} and the Sanskrit Hathapradīpikā, a compilation by Śvātmārama of teachings on hathayoga whose parallels with the Navaṅnāṭha caraṇīramu (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.\textsuperscript{27} The last non-Buddhist text to mention Virūpākṣa is the c. 17th-century Sanskrit Kadallimāṇjunāthamāhātmya, a celebration of the temple of Mañjunātha at Kadali (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 Bhūmeśvara sivalinga at Drākṣārāma in modern-day Telangana. Gorakṣa converted Virūpākṣa from vajarolī, i.e., the [Buddhist] Vajra lineage, to amarolī, the [Śaiva] Amara lineage, and gave him the name Adaṇḍīnātha.\textsuperscript{28} The Marathi Tattvasāra includes Virūpākṣa in a list of 84 siddhas.\textsuperscript{29}

In the Navaṅnāṭha caraṇīramu, 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 Gānyāvanta and Aṭjīṇa, who were from Maharashtra.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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 Karnāṭa, Lalita, Kanauj, and Māḷava regions, and initiates several

\textsuperscript{21} Caryāgīti 3 (Kværne 1977, pp. 81–86). I thank Lubomír Ondračka for informing me of this reference.

\textsuperscript{22} The middle Indic doḥ verses of the Caryāgīti, as well as those of the Doḥakośas 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 Apābhrāṃśa (Szántó forthcoming).

\textsuperscript{23} Varnaratnakāra, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{24} See footnote 13 and Navaṅnāṭha caraṇīramu, p.135 which says that Virūpākṣa was the son of a Maratha king.

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

\textsuperscript{26} Vikramārkacaritramu 6.4 (Jones 2018, p. 199, n. 7).

\textsuperscript{27} Tārārahasya, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{28} Līlācaritra piyārādhā 198–99. Ajjīṭha Līlā 27. Elsewhere in the Līlācaritra there are said to be four olīs or lineages of the Nāth tradition, vajarolī, amaroḷī, siddholī and divoḷī, of which only the first two are extant in the Kali era (Līlācaritra, uttārārādhī 475). Vajarolī/vajroḷī and amaroḷī/amarolī are compounds of vajra and amara with olī, which Hemacandra says means kulaparivatī, i.e., “lineage” (Desinānamalā 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 jīvamukti (the Vajrayāna Amṛtasiddhi and the Śaiva Amaraugha-prapobodha). Ultimately the celibate yoga tradition of the Amaraugha-prapobodha came to dominate the Nāth sampradāya.

\textsuperscript{29} I thank Amol Bankar, who is editing the Taṭṭvasāra, for providing me with this information.

\textsuperscript{30} Navaṅnāṭha caraṇīramu, p. 135.

\textsuperscript{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. In his Vikramārka-caritra-ramu, Jakkana gives a list of nine Nāths almost identical to that of Gaurana. He does not tell their stories but for each of them highlights one characteristic, which for Virūpākṣa is devotion.

In the Hathapradīpikā 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 hathayoga. Virūpākṣa is at number 11 in the list, immediately after Caurāṅgi, Mīna (who is here differentiated from Matsyendra) and Gorakṣa. As will be explored in more detail below, these three siddhas are closely associated with Kadri and the Amaraughaprabodha, approximately twenty verses from which are found in the Hathapradīpikā.

In six chapters and more than 300 verses the Kadilmañjunāthamahāhaṃtya gives a detailed account of several episodes in Virūpākṣa’s life. He is born to a pious Brahmin couple from the northern Konkan as an incarnation of Mañjunātha of Kadilivana, 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 Dārāshāhama (an episode which brings to mind the Līlācaritra’s story of his breaking of the Bhimesvara linga at Dārāshāhama), and a sojourn in Kāṭcī, 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. Here he falls for one of the women of Kāṭcī 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, 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. The Navanāthacaritra-ramu identifies him as the author of the Amṛtasiddhi and anchors his story in the Deccan: the Navanāthacaritra-ramu was composed at

32 His disciples are named as Rasendrapāya, Ratnapāya, Uccaya, Kālapāya, Vajrakālanātha, Jālāndhra, Śaindrapāla (Jālāndhra’s student), Kāṃanda, Pūmāgarinātha, Endiyānguru, Bhuvanendra and Trilocanasiddha (Navanāthacaritra-ramu, pp. 211–14).
33 Hathapradīpikā 1.9.
34 Both mīna and matsya mean fish. In Śaiva texts which predate the jāta corpus, Mananātha and Matsyendra are one and the same (see e.g., Devidvyardhaśatikā vv. 161–163b and Cīrīcintamātasārasamucayac 7:50 (I thank Alexis Sanderson for these references), both of which Mananātha is given as the name of the propagator of the Kaula Pūrvaśāya, who elsewhere is identified as Macchanda (Tantrāloka 1.7, Matsyendra (Kaulajñānanimāya 11.43) and Macchagnha (Kaulajñānanimāya chapter colophons)). Subsequent Tibetan and Indian siddha lists and depictions include two fish-related siddhas (e.g., Lūypā and Mīnapa in the Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhis lo rgyus, Matsyendra and Mīna in the Hathapradīpikā (1.5), and statuary in Maharashtra (Sarde 2017)).
35 Mananātha is invoked in the mangala verse of the long recension of the Amaraughaprabodha. The hemistich in which his name is given (after Ādīnātha) 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, Caurangi and Siddhabuddha. Their close association in legend with Matsyendra indicates that Mananātha here is another name for Matsyendra.
36 Kadilmañjunāthamahāhaṃtya chps. 48–53.
37 See footnote 13.
38 See footnote 19.
39 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/chaurasi-siddhas.html. This is likely to be due to their inclusion in the list of nine Nāths in the Kadilmañjunāthamahāhaṃtya, which was edited under the auspices of the Nāth order in 1956.
40 Exceptions are tantric Buddhist images from the Himalayan region, the Caryāgīti, whose place of composition is uncertain, and the Maithili Varnaratnakara.
41 The Navanāthacaritra-ramu identifies him as the author of the Amṛtasiddhi and locates his origins in present-day Maharashatra, the Navanāthacaritra-ramu 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 Bhikṣāvrīṭti monastery in Srissailam and Virūpākṣa is said therein to have been born in present-day Maharashtra and to have travelled to Karnataka. The Hathapradīpikā adds nothing to his lore, but strengthens the connection with Srissailam since it has many parallels with the Navanāthacaritramu and was probably composed in the same region and in the same period. The Kadallīmañjunāthathamāthmya, 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, identifies Virūpākṣa with Śiva Mañjunātha of Kadri. All of the Nāths whose stories are told in the Kadallīmañjunāthathamāthmya 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 koṅkanādhiśa, konkaṇeśvara and koṅkana.

3. Nāṭha 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 Nāṭha 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 Nāṭha 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. Nāṭha Śaivism in the Konkan

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

\[
\text{jālandhreśaṃ kandhanīśaṃ od̐diśaṃ ciñcinīśaṃ |} \\
\text{cauraōṅim etāṃ nāthākhyaṃ nava saṃtarpayet tataḥ |}
\]

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 Nāṭhas whose fourth is Koṅkanēśvara and may correspond to Virūpākṣa (1.5.47a–48b):

\[
\text{Adinātham mānānātham gorakṣaṃ koṅkanēśvaram |} \\
\text{jālandhreśaṃ kandhanīśaṃ od̐diśaṃ ciñcinīśvaram |} \\
\text{cauraōṅim etāṃ nāthākhyaṃ nava saṃtarpayet tataḥ |}
\]

See (Schoterman 1975, pp. 935–36); (Sanderson 2011, pp. 44–45 and 2014, pp. 62–64), and (Mallinson forthcoming b). The oldest known statues of Nāṭhas date from the 12th century CE onwards and are found in western India and the Deccan (Sarde 2017, pp. 96, 108–10). The Śaiva tradition of the southern Nāṭhas whose fourth is Koṅkanēśvara and may correspond to Virūpākṣa (1.5.47a–48b) is the c. 13th-century

\[
\text{adhinātham mānānātham gorakṣaṃ koṅkanēśvaram |} \\
\text{jālandhreśaṃ kandhanīśaṃ od̐diśaṃ ciñcinīśvaram |} \\
\text{cauraōṅim etāṃ nāthākhyaṃ nava saṃtarpayet tataḥ |}
\]

The Kadallīmañjunāthathamāthmya is a palimpsest of Buddhist, Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava teachings, reflecting the passing of the control of the Mañjunātha temple from Vajrayāna Buddhists to Nāṭha Śaivas and then Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas, with the latter responsible for its final redaction. For an overview of its contexts and context, see Nagaraju 1969.
The monastery at Kadri is today the most important Nāṭh site in south India. Statues of three Nāṭhs at the Maṇjunāṭha temple below the monastery have been dated on stylistic grounds to the 14th or 15th centuries. The first firmly datable evidence of the presence of the Nāṭhs at Kadri is in a Kannada inscription of 1475 which records a grant of land to Maṇganāṭha Oḍeya “at the pure place of Śiva, Kadire”, the income from which will support the worship of Gorakṣanāṭha and Candranāṭha, a deity at the temple. Bhatt notes an inscription from Bārakūr dated 1490 CE which refers to the position of arasu or king at Kadri in the context of one Subuddhinnāṭha Oḍeya, disciple of Anupamanāṭha Oḍeya, and to the worship of Gorakhanāṭha at the maṭha of the latter. 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 yogīs. By the 17th century the king lived in much reduced circumstances and it seems that at this point the Kadri monastery was taken over by a northern Nāṭh lineage intent on creating a pan-Indian yogī order. By 1820 CE Kadri was recognised as the southern seat of the four seats of the Nāṭh sampradāya. To this day the head of the Kadri monastery, who retains the title of “King Yogī” (rājā yogī), is drawn from northern Nāṭh lineages. The changes at Kadri in the 17th century resulted in the migration southwards from Mangalore to northern Kerala of the yogī caste associated with the previous royal lineage. Some members of the caste remained at Kadri, but they have a fraught relationship with the King Yogī, whom they look to for leadership but who cannot speak their language. The King Yogī is elected once every 12 years at a council of the Nāṭh sampradāya at the Nasik Simhastha festival (which nowadays is recognised as one of the four Kumbh Melas), after which he and several hundred Nāṭhs walk barefoot for six months to Kadri, where he is installed in a lengthy consecration ritual called the rājyābhiseka, which has parallels with traditional royal initiations.

the reading alūrādhipatim bhūpam daksinātyam purā kila (55.3ab). The text is likely to have been redacted in the early 19th century at the request of the Maharāja of Jodhpur (Kiss forthcoming, p. 32); perhaps the original reading, obscure to north Indian scribes, was alupādhipatim, referring to a king of the Āḷupa dynasty, which ruled the Tulū 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 Matsyendraśāmhitā. In the Navaṇṇāthacaritraṇam, the king who plays the same rôle in the story of Matsyendra rules over Kadri, which at the time would have been under Āḷupa rule. The Matsyendraśāmhitā does not, however, mention Kadri in its version of the story of Gorakṣa rescuing Matsyendra. Supporting a Tamil origin for the Matsyendraśāmhitā is its identification of Gorakṣa as a Cōla king (patalas 1 and 55) and its naming at 55.20 of Matsuṣyendra’s son and grandson as Kharparāśa and Vyālīndra, both of whom are associated with alchemy in various Tamil traditions but are not mentioned in texts associated with Kadri (or Srīsailam).

51 Deshpande 1986. Panhale Kaji has various Nāṭh statues, including a group of 9 or perhaps 10 siddhas. A group of 12 Nāṭh 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. Boullier (2008, p. 96) reports that the inscription refers to Candranāṭha 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 Juguḍikūṇḍala Jōgī-Purusā by Jōgī-Oḍeya alias Chauṭra”.

54 Bhatt 1975, p. 294.


56 Grey 1892, pp. 345–52.

57 Tashrīḥ 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 Cōyi (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 rājyābhiseka, see Boullier 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, 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. The colophon of the ninth-century Cakrasamvaraṇaratna of Jayabhādra (who was also known as Konkanapāda) says that its author visited a temple of Tārā at the Konkan site of Mahābimba. A statue of Mañjūṣhri from the Kadri monastery but now in the Mangalore government museum dates to the ninth century or earlier. 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).
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 Konkana his guru Buddhaguptanātha saw “the self-created image of Mañjuśrī in the middle of a pond. It is called Jñanakāya... 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 Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā dated 1015 CE mentions a pilgrimage site in Konkana called Mahāviśvā, 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 Amaraughaprabodha (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) and specks of dust (“marīci”), suggestive of the vapour reported by Tāranātha):

\[
dhūma\textcircled{a} \text{marīci}\textcircled{b} \text{dhūma\textcircled{c}} \text{marīci}\text{mahāvīriṃaḥ prakāśate} \mid \mid \\
dhūma\textcircled{d} \text{marīci}\textcircled{e} \text{marīci}\text{mahāvīriṃaḥ prakāśate} \mid viśvābimbaḥ prabhāsavaram Sekoddeśa
\]

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 Pāliṭapāda lived in the Konkan.64 Pāliṭapāda was twice visited there, probably at Kadri, by Jñānapāda, the founder of an important eponymous tradition 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 Hevajra tantra, which includes Konkana in a list of 24 sacred sites.67 An illustrated manuscript of the Aṣṭaśahasrika Prajñāpāramitā dated 1015 CE68 includes six sites in the Konkan among 72 Vajrayāna places of worship.69 An inscription at Ballīgāve in Karnataka (80 kilometres inland from Gokarna) dated 1065 CE records the construction of a vihāra containing images of Buddha, Lokēsvara and Tārā Bhagavati70 and another inscription from the same location dated 1067 CE records the establishment of a temple of Tārā Bhagavati.71 An 11th-century stone statue of Tārā from Ballīgāve 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 Lokēsvara and Mañjuvajra (as well as a bronze of the Buddha), with an 11th-century inscription recording the establishment of the Lokēsvara image in the kadirikā vihāra, i.e., a Buddhist monastery at Kadri. An image dated to the 11th century in the Lokanātha temple at Haṭṭiyaṅgaṇḍi, Coonapur, might be of Jambāla.73 A 12th-century inscription at Dharmavolal (today known as Dāmbal, 60 km east of Hubli) records the worship of Buddha and Tārā.74 An image of Akṣobhya from Puttige, Mūrabidure, dates to the 12th or 13th century.75 A 13th-century inscription from the village of Kolivid (20 km east of Hubli) records the worship of Tārā.76 According to the Jain exegete Virāṇand, 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 Pāliṭapāda and his initiation into the Guhyasamājatantra,80 and confirms that Pāliṭapāda’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 Natha sampradāya,
went to Suvarṇādhvaja 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”. 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”.

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

Then in Konkan he embarked and went to the west up to an island called ngro 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 pāṇḍit called Sumati who had acquired the mystic revelations (abhijñā), the mystic power of the Śāṃvara (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 Kālacakra-tantra, whatever is in India is also there such as the (Vajra)kīlatantra and the Tantra of the daśakrodhas, many Heruka-tantras, Vajrapāṇi, mkaḥ i Dīṅ (Garuda), 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, 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. Tārāṇātha appears to have been mistaking Jesuit priests for bibulous black-clad Buddhists.

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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 Budhkhānā 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 Tārāṇātha 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 Tārāṇātha 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 Tārāṇātha’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 Pārvati 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 Nāṭha 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 Nāṭha 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 Nāṭha 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 Alupa king Kundavarman established an image of the god Lokeśvara in the Kadirkā 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 Kadalimañjunāthamahātmya.94 Their

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88 The location of a thousand-armed Avalokitēśvara at a site called Śivapura in a 1025 CE manuscript of the Āstasaḥsārikā 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 Nāṭhas, but there is no evidence of Vajrayāna Buddhism at the sites, nor of direct links between the Buddhist and Nāṭha 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.


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]-sa-sahasrānām-ātikrāntē catustaye 1 
    pu-[narabda]-gāte caivāśaṣṭayā samanvītē

    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 ‘sate (ga and sa are similar in the Grantha script in which the inscription is written), not only because ‘sate 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 ‘sate (personal communication 6th February 2017). Their

94 Kadalimañjunāthamahātmya 13.10–11:
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 Mañuvajra (Figure 4). 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).

Of the two bronzes in the northern corridor, that which is worshipped as Viṣṇu is a form of the Bodhisattva Lokesvara (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).

“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 Satyavatī.”

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

95 Christian Luczanits for this identification (email communication 26 April 2016).
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 (sattvaparyanka) rarely occurs in Buddha images from India, apart from in the Tamil region (Figure 6).97

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

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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 sampradāya (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.

The mūrti shares many features with the Lokeśvara bronze: it is three and a half feet high; it is seated in sattvaparyāṇka, an easy cross-legged position; its right hand rests on its right thigh, palm open;100 and it has a crown of jātā, 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 Lokesvara 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.
There are two small but significant differences between the two Matsyendra images. In both statues Matsyendra wears on a thread around his neck a ςɪŋɡ̃, 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 sampradāya. Mughal miniatures depict the earlier style of horn from the mid 16th-century onwards; the whistles are not seen until the 18th century. 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 jatā on the older image is unclear (Figure 9), unlike that of the newer one (Figure 10).

101 Mallinson 2013.
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 prabhavali) is Ākṣobhya (Figure 12). The icon on the newer Matsyendra is clearly a four-armed deity with the jatāmukuta, club and fish seat of the Matsyendra image itself, together with the damaru 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 sampradāya. 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.
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 Kadirkā vīhāra, 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 matha 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.\textsuperscript{102} There are meditation caves at the monastery which date to approximately the 12th to 13th centuries CE.\textsuperscript{103} The oldest inscription in the temple courtyard is dated śaka 1308, i.e., 1385 or 1386 CE.\textsuperscript{104} Today the temple is in the control of Mādhva priests and the Nāth presence is confined to the monastery,\textsuperscript{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, \textit{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).\textsuperscript{106}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure13}
\caption{Matsyendra, Mañjunātha temple, Kadri.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{102} Grey 1892, p. 348.
\textsuperscript{103} Personal communication from Shreekant Jadhav 27th February 2019.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{South Indian Inscriptions} Vol. VII No. 189 (pp.84–85).
\textsuperscript{105} The head or Rājā of the monastery does play a role in the temple’s annual car festival (Nagaraju 1969, p. 68).
\textsuperscript{106} Photographs of the statues without their silver coverings are reproduced by Bhatt (1975, plates 303 and 304(a)). Caurāṅginātha (“Chowranginātha” on the label) is referred to as Śrīṅginātha 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.
Bhatt dates these images to the 14th or 15th century,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{siṅgi} or horn otherwise found only in north Indian depictions of ṇath yogis from the 15th century onwards, and which is not found on the three images in the

\textsuperscript{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 Āḻupā king Kundavarman, who the 1068 CE inscription says established the image of Lokeśvara, is described in the sixth verse of the inscription as pāḍāravindabhramarō bālacandraśikhāmanē, “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 Tulu 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 Mañjuvajra, 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 Mañjuvajra, a sādhanā 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 Kadirikā vihāra, the temple may already have become a Śaiva shrine: in an inscription of the Āḻupā 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 matsuya, “fish”, and indra, “lord”: mā[c]chi is a middle Indic form of matsuya, 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 Tulu inscriptions dated 1329 CE kept inside the Kadri monastery mention Kadire Mañjunāthesvara 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 Mañjuvajra, 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 inferrable from material and epigraphic sources. If we return to our textual sources, however, some further information may be obtained.

The c. 1400 Telugu Navañāthacaritramu of Gauranā 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

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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 svayambhu 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 mathādhipati of the Mādhva matha at Udipi (Nagaraju 1969, p. 68).

109 Kasthuri 2016, p. 88 and, n. 60, table p.91. The Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakratantra, 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 saka 1308 prescribes materials for the worship of Śrīmañjinātha of Kadali. No.190 (pp. 85–87) dated saka 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 kūrmaśana 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 Buddhhasiddha. 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 kūrmaśana, which Śaivasiddhānta Pratiṣṭhātantras 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 hathayoga 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. Gaurana mentions two types of yoga, a royal (rācull) method as practised by Matsyendra, and a “peerless” (anuturya) method which Matsyendra teaches to Caurāngi.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; Gaurana writes of “a large city on the western shore rich in auspiciousness (mangalāvṛtam)”: pomyāru paścimāmbudhitīramanu mangalāvṛtam agu mahāniyam aino putabhedanamu (Navanāthacaritramu, p.176).
117 The 55th and last pātala of the Mātsyendrasamhitā, 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 Kaulajñānanirnaya, 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 Pārvati the Kaudya 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 nādićakravīduśapātalāḥ 3.6–7, Sahasrāgama kriyāpāda 45.6–7, Yogaśāgama pāvitrārohaṇapātalāḥ verse 58 and mahosavapātalāḥ verse 166. Cf. Goodall (2011, p. 224) on the kūrmaśilalā, the turtle-stone which supports a linga.
120 Muñoz 2011.
121 Navanāthacaritramu, p.94.
122 I thank Jamal Jones for this observation (personal communication 23 March 2018).
works.\textsuperscript{123} The element \textit{buddha} in the pre- and post-initiation names of the minister of the Kadri king, Prabuddha and Buddhahsiddha, 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 Nāṭh Śaivism at Kadri. This is demonstrated most clearly by the parallels between the Buddhist \textit{Amṛtasiddhi} and the Śaiva \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha}. The \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} borrows five verses from the \textit{Amṛtasiddhi} and paraphrases it extensively elsewhere.\textsuperscript{124} As shown above, the \textit{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 \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha}, but its dependence upon the \textit{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 \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} may be traced to both the \textit{Amṛtasiddhi} and tantric Buddhist traditions of \textit{ḥathayoga} 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 sādhanā of Mañjuvajra, who is the chief deity of the \textit{Guhyasamāja} in his teaching\textsuperscript{125} and is depicted in the most spectacular of the three Kadri bronzes. The \textit{Guhyasamājatantra} advocates \textit{ḥathayoga}, albeit as a fallback method of achieving awakening.\textsuperscript{126} The \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} draws on this understanding of the term \textit{ḥathayoga} when it uses it as the name of the yoga method of the \textit{Amṛtasiddhi}, which, it states, is subordinate to rājayoga. As suggested by the primacy of celibate practice implied by the \textit{Navaññathacarītramu}’s legend of Matsyendra’s rescue by Gorakṣa (who, like all his co-disciples, is avowedly celibate), the \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} teaches that the control of \textit{bindu}, i.e., semen, is central to \textit{ḥathayoga}. 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.\textsuperscript{127} This transition from Vajrayāna to Śaiva \textit{ḥaṭha} practice evident in the \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} is echoed in the story from the \textit{Līlācarītra} referred to above,\textsuperscript{128} in which Virūpa, the first teacher of the yoga of the \textit{Amṛtasiddhi}, is said to switch allegiance from the Vajra to Amara lineage after his conversion by Gorakṣa. The polyvalence of the term \textit{oghā} in the name of the \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} (whose teachings are attributed to Gorakṣa), allows it to mean both “Awakening (prabodha) by the Stream (oghā) of the Nectar of Immortality (amara)” and “Awakening in the Amara lineage (oghā)”.

The strongest indication of a link between Kadri and the \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} is found in the \textit{siddhas} it invokes. It opens with a \textit{māṅgala} verse to Ādinātha, Minanātha,\textsuperscript{129} Caurāṅgī and Siddhabuddha, and in the next verse ascribes its teachings to Gorakṣa.\textsuperscript{130} Ādinātha is the name of the form of Śiva to which many Nāṭh lineages trace their origin. The triad of Mna, Gorakṣa and Caurāṅgī has primacy only in Nāṭh lineages from the Deccan and Konkan. Caurāṅgī rarely features in Nāṭh traditions from further north\textsuperscript{131} and no Sanskrit \textit{ḥaṭha} texts apart from the \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha},

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{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 \textit{maṅ} ‘byor bla med kyi rgyud, which rather renders the Sanskrit \textit{yoganiruttaratantram}”. It is noteworthy that unlike the \textit{Ḥathapradipikā}, which teaches royal (rāja) yoga and \textit{ḥaṭha} yoga, the \textit{Navaññathacarītramu} uses the name anuturya rather than \textit{haṭha} or a related term, perhaps because of \textit{haṭha}’s negative connotations (on which see Mallinson forthcoming b).
\textsuperscript{124} See the forthcoming edition of the \textit{Amṛtasiddhi} by Péter-Dániel Szántó and me for details.
\textsuperscript{125} Szántó 2015, p. 543.
\textsuperscript{126} See (Birch 2011, p. 535) and (Mallinson forthcoming b).
\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha} (short recension) verse 7.
\textsuperscript{128} p. 13.
\textsuperscript{129} On Minanātha and Matsyendranātha, see note 35.
\textsuperscript{130} The first half of the \textit{māṅgala} verse, which mentions Ādinātha and Minanātha, is absent in the two manuscripts of the older recension of the \textit{Amarauğhaprabodha}.
\textsuperscript{131} Caurāṅgī does not occur in northern lists of the nine Nāṭh, but he is included in a list of 84 \textit{siddhas} given in the early 14th-century Maithili \textit{Vargrāṭrānākara} (p. 57), in which his name comes third, after Minanātha and Gorakṣānātha [sic].
\end{flushright}
Hat.hapradīpikā and derivative works mention him. Matsyendra, Gorakṣa and Cauraṅgi are the main protagonists in both the Navanāthacaritramu and KadaliMaṅjunāthamāhātmya. 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 Maṅjunātha.

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 hatha corpus his name is otherwise found only in the list of 29 siddhas in the Hat.hapradīpikā and texts deriving from it. The Hat.hapradīpikā 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 Hat.hapradīpikā’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 Hat.hapradīpikā 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 Vikramārka-caritramu of Jakana. The Hat.hapradīpikā has several parallels with the Navanāthacaritramu, in particular in the names of the siddhas found in both texts, 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 Vikramārka-caritramu, which gives a list of nine Nāths almost identical to that of the Navanāthacaritramu (Maṅjunātha is replaced by Ādinātha). A further detail supports the identification of the Siddhabuddha of the Amaraughaprabodha with the Buddhasiddha/Siddhabuddha of the Navanāthacaritramu and Vikramārka-caritramu. In the Navanāthacaritramu, before his initiation Buddhasiddha is Prabuddha, the crafty minister of the king of Mangalore. The Vikramārka-caritramu highlights a quality of each of the nine Nāths. Siddhabuddha comes after Ādinātha, Matsyendra, Sārāṅga (the pre-initiatory name of Cauraṅgi) and Gorakṣa, and is praised for his intellect. In the Amaraughaprabodha’s maṅgala verse Siddhabuddha is the only siddha to have an epithet, which is dhimāte, “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. Furthermore, the later Nāth statues of Matsyendra are modelled on that of the Buddhist Lokesvara, 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 Pūran Bhagat (see e.g., White 1996, pp. 298–99). Cauraṅgi’s legend is also found in the Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhis’ los 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 Jñāneśvari (pp. 1730–40).

The bulk of the KadaliMaṅjunāthamāhātmya, chp. 15–45, is devoted to their exploits.

Hat.hapradīpikā 1.6.

Mallinson forthcoming b.

Jones 2018, p. 199, n. 7: siddhabuddhuni buddhicittamūrtaṃ jerci.

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 śivalinga at Drāksārāma.\(^{143}\) The Nityāhnīkatīlaka, a text of the Paśimāmnaya Kaula tradition from which some Nāth lineages developed, reports that Unmanāśānatha 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.\(^{146}\) Kularatnoddhota 11.31 includes the Buddha (and the Jina and Matsyendra as well as many others) in a list of Siddhas who were taught the Kaulajña of the Pūrvāmnaya by Mitranātha.\(^{147}\) One instance in which the transmission went the other way, suggesting a

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137 Thus Amaraughaprabodha (short recension) 35 is a reworking of Amṛtasiddhi 19.15, in which the Vajrayāna concept of the vicītraśaṇa, one of four kṣanas or “moments” associated with the four blisses experienced during sexual ritual, becomes vicītraśravaka, “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 sahajananda, and similarly, at vv. 39 and 40, those of atisānya and mahaśānya.

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 Nepālikabhatavamśavāli. Of particular note is that Lokeśvara became Matsyendra after overhearing the Kaijajñāna of the Kaula doctrine which is the subject of the Kaulajñānamantrana of Matsyendra (on which see footnote 117). See also Locke 1980, pp. 288–89 and chap. 13, and Tuladhar-Douglas 2006, pp. 181–82.


140 The 15th-century Gunakāraṇadvīpyuṣa 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 Gopālapārapavamsavāli.

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 Nityāhnīkatīlaka f.16v\(^3\)-f.18r\(^5\), for an edition of which by Alexis Sanderson, see https://www.academia.edu. 

145 On which see p. 13.

146 Līlācarita pūṭvārdhā 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.
willingness by Śaiva traditions to accept at least some Buddhist teachings: the Saḥāsrasamhitā, a Paścimānāya Kaula Śaiva text, tells the story of eight Nāths being given teachings by a teacher whose name, Vajrabodhi, indicates a Buddhist affiliation. The demise of Buddhism, at Kadri and elsewhere, thus seems to have usually been peaceful. It may in fact have been imperceptible to all but a few. Boundaries between Śaiva and Vajrayāna siddha traditions were porous. Some siddhas were clearly originally either Śaiva or Vajrayāna, but others cannot be tied to one or other tradition. The Amṛtasiddhi has some features which definitively identify it as Buddhist, such as a metaphysics that has only four basic elements, not the five of Hindu traditions, but it is also peculiarly Śaiva for a Buddhist work, including such un-Buddhist notions as jīvanmukti, liberation while living. Patronage and devotion were similarly non-partisan. We have seen how the Kadri Lokeśvara inscription records the installation of a Buddhist icon by a Śaiva king. Further north in the subcontinent, some Gāhadaśa and Pāla monarchs had both Buddhist and Kaula gurus. Thus there was a shared siddha world, especially of praxis, from which, in India, the Śaiva siddha tradition emerged, mostly free from Buddhist vestiges. The above evidence for the existence of Vajrayāna Buddhism in the Konkan is compelling, but scant. Vajrayāna was never a state religion in the Tulu region, whose rulers were Śaiva, but the 1068 CE Kadri inscription shows that it was patronised by at least one Tulu monarch. It may also have had patrons from further afield. Gomin Avighnakāra, a Buddhist devotee from Gauda, made an endowment at Kanheri in the northern Konkan in 854 CE and it is not impossible that Kadri was also supported by patrons from Gauda. But there is much more evidence for a Tamil connection. Unlike all other inscriptions at Kadri, which are written in the Kannada script and make no reference to Buddhism, the 1068 CE inscription recording the installation of Lokeśvara is in Grantha, the script used in the Tamil region for writing Sanskrit. In the c. 13th-century Matsyendrasamhitā, which was composed in either the Tamil or Konkan regions, Gorakṣa is a Cola king before he becomes a yogi. The Tamil Tirumantiram, whose composition, like the installation of Lokeśvara at Kadri,
dates to the second half of the 11th century CE,\textsuperscript{156} has both Buddhist and Śaiva elements in its yoga, and several features of its cult are shared with the Kadri yogi tradition.\textsuperscript{157} The bronzes of Lokesvara and Mahājuvaṇa at Kadri are similar to contemporaneous Colā pieces.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{159} A connection between Kadri and Sri Lanka is supported by the inclusion of Matsyanārāmaḥam 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.\textsuperscript{160} In addition, the Gubhayaṃaṇāja exegete Jayabhadra, who spent some time in the Konkan before travelling to Vikramaśīla, was originally from Sri Lanka.\textsuperscript{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 Nātha influence on the mixed Śaiva-Buddhist traditions of Java and Bali is hinted at by the presence of an image of Mātsyaṇendra on a statue of Camunḍi in Java dated 1292.\textsuperscript{162} The links between Kadri and the Tamil sphere of influence point to Kadri being supported by the Colā empire, which would have been connected to Mangalore by sea and land: the most important centres of Buddhism in the Colā empire were the ports of Kanchi and Nagapattinam, and its territory reached near Mangalore until its demise in the 14th century. Like Kundaṇavarma, who established the Lokesvara image at Kadri, certain Colā rulers such as Rājarāja I (pp. 985–1014 CE) were Śaivas who also patronised Buddhism.\textsuperscript{163} The Kadri vihāra may thus have benefited from Colā 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 Alūpa\textsuperscript{164} and Colā kings or the demise of the Colā empire, the Kadri Buddhist tradition was left isolated and unsupported.

\textsuperscript{156} The Tirumantiram mentions the Kālacakratantra (Tirumantiram “III chp.14”; see (Venkatraman 1990), p. 193) for this reference, which I have been unable to confirm. The Kālacakratantra may be dated to between 1025 and 1040 CE (Newman 1998). The Tirumantiram is cited in a commentary on the Yāpparungalakkārigai by Gunaśāgara, 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 1996, p. xxvii, n. 85 and Goodall 2004, pp. xxix-xxx.)

\textsuperscript{157} The Tirumantiram makes no mention of the Nātha tradition but its doctrinal parallels with the Mātsyendrasamhīta 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 Mātsyasiddhi, but, like the ṣaṁghaṣṣa of other Vajrayāna texts and in contrast with the celibate yoga of the Āmṛtasiddhi, includes sexual intercourse without ejaculation. (In the sexual ritual taught in pāṭala 40 of the Mātsyendrasamhīta the yogi is to ejaculate.) The Tirumantiram mentions the Buddhist Kālacakratantra (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).

\textsuperscript{158} The Kadri Lokesvara, for example, resembles a Colā Śiva sold by Christies in New York in 2015: https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-large-bronze-figure-of-shiva-south-5873978-details.aspx

\textsuperscript{159} Ghosh 1994.

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

caturbhujam trinetram ca pāsadaṇḍāyudham tathā
\textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{1}}
cūndikāhombhasam ca purībhadrasaumulikam \textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{1}}
sanīkhamabalabhaḥ ca raktabharaṇadharāṇīvītam \textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{1}}
yugamatsyasamāruḍham mātsyendranārāham eva ca \textsuperscript{1\textsuperscript{1}}

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

\textsuperscript{161} Jayabhadra gives his place of birth in his Paṭijāka (Şántō 2016a, p. 2).

\textsuperscript{162} See (Scheurleer 2006, p. 292, n. 21). I thank Andrea Acri for drawing my attention to this statue (personal communication 24th January 2019).

\textsuperscript{163} (Veluppillai 2013, pp. 65–77); see also (Acri 2018, p. 13).

\textsuperscript{164} Saleore (1936, pp. 384–85) argues that the strong Śaivism of Tulu rulers was responsible for disappearance of Buddhism from the Tulu 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. 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 yogi — 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 parakāyapravēśa, 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, Shamen Hatley, Ken Ishikawa, Shreekant Jadhav, the late Ānandanāṭh Jogī, Jamal Jones, Christian Luczanits, Lubomír Ondračka, Gethin Rees and Péter-Dániel Szántó.

**Abbreviations**

The following abbreviations are used in this manuscript:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NAK</td>
<td>National Archives Kathmandu</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGMPP</td>
<td>Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**References**

**Primary Sources**

*Amaraughaprabodha*, ongoing critical edition by Jason Birch.


165 Jaini 1980; see also (Bouillier 2008, p. 112).

166 See (Bisschop 2018, p. 396) on Avalokiteśvara as a Buddhist Iśvara in the pre-630 CE Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra.
Grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi’i lo rgyus, see Robinson 1979.
Nityāniṅkatiṇaka. NAK 3–384, NGMPP A41/11; palm-leaf; dated c. 1452.
Nepālākhabavamsāvalī. See Bajracharya and Michaels 2015.
Yogajāgama Institut français de Pondichéry transcript T0024.
Śatsāhasrasaṃhitā. NGMPP b32–6.
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