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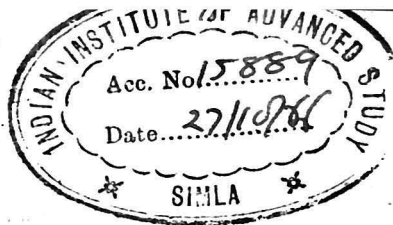


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## Dates of Early Historical Records of Bengal

It is a well-known fact that epigraphic records are rarely to be discovered in Bengal and Magadha and the few that have been discovered, being mostly undated or dated in regnal years of kings do not, for want of sufficient data, yield definite dates. In such an extreme dearth of chronological landmarks in the history of Bengal, the European savants of the last century, whenever they came across the slightest chronological clues anywhere, sought to verify them with commendable zeal. Cunningham thus calculated the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne to be 831 A.D. (Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. xv, pp. 150f.) Dr. Venis referred the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva to 1142 A.D. (Ep. Ind., vol. II, p. 349) and Dr. Kielhorn found out 1086 A.D. to be the the date of the Āmgāchi plate of Vighrahapāla (Ind. Ant., xxii, p. 108). Since the advent of Indian scholars in the field of archæology in Bengal, when chronological reconstruction in light of new materials rendered those dates untenable, this particular aspect of the question remained totally neglected. So much so that when the present writer attempted to offer a tentative chronology of Pāla kings based upon the working out of all the available epigraphic and literary data, it was held to be "quite useless" by an esteemed scholar, who however had his own reasons for saying so; while Mr. R. D. Banerjee summarily rejected it as ridiculous. A cogent apology is, therefore, due to the scholars, who are yet reluctant to recognise the value of astronomical calculations for the purposes of accurate chronology. And fortunately for us quite a number of calendrical records have been preserved in a work by an author who flourished in the very heart of Bengal late in the 11th century A.D. These will prove even to the most fastidious among historians that the astronomical results arrived at with the help of modern tables are based upon sound principles and should therefore demand better consideration from them. Jimūtavāhana, the celebrated author of the *Dāyabhāga* also wrote the *Kālavivēka*, in which a detailed examination of the *Purāṇimānta* and *Amānta* schemes of the lunar calendar is carried out with the help of a number of figures drawn from actual almanacs for the years 1013 and 1014 śaka (1091-93 A.D.). A comparison of

these figures with those arrived at by calculation with up-to-date apparatus is set forth below.

In the year 1013 śaka :

(1) On the 17th day of solar *Kārtika*, *badi* 15 coincided with the Citrā and Svāti *nakṣatras* without touching the Viśākhā (Kāla-viveka, p. 64). According to our calculation, on the 17th *Kārtika* (= Oct. 14, 1091 A.D.) *badi* 15 began at 23-53 *palas* after sunrise, ended at 17-57 *palas* after sunrise the next day, while Svāti began at 30-8 *palas* after sunrise and ended at 26-0 *palas* after sunrise the next day.

(2) In solar Agra-hāyaṇa, *badi* 15 coincided with Anurādhā and Jyēṣṭhā. On the day in question (Nov. 13 = 16th Agra-hāyaṇa) *badi* 15 ended at 43-23 *palas* (after mean sunrise) and Anurādhā ended at 38-14 *palas* the same day.

(3) In solar Caitra, the first quarter of Uttara-phalgunī ended at 15 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 46).

*Sudi* 15 ended at 50-56 *p.* on the day in question: Uttara-phalgunī began at 20-33 *p.* ending at 18-26 *palas* the next day: the first quarter of it thus ended at 35-2 *palas* i.e. 15-54 *palas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (difference of 54 *palas* only).

In the year 1014 śaka :

(4) In solar Vaiśākha, the latter half of Citrā began at 13 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 46).

On the day in question (March, 1092 A.D.) *sudi* 15 ended at 15-20 *palas*, Citrā ended at 32-20 *palas* (beginning at 35-43 *palas* the previous day): the incident occurred, therefore, 11-19 *palas* before the ending moment of *sudi* 15 (difference of 1-41 *palas* only).

(5) On the *Vṛṣa-saṃkrānti* day, *sudi* 15 began in Svāti and the last quarter of Viśākhā began 8 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (Ibid., pp. 43, 46).

The *Vṛṣa-saṃkrānti* occurred at 28-50 *palas* on the day; *sudi* 15 ended at 35-17 *palas* the next day and Viśākhā ended at 44-47 *p.* the next day (beginning at 50-40 *palas* on the *saṃkrānti* day); the last quarter of Viśākhā began, therefore, at 4-2 *palas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (difference of 3-58 *palas* only).

(6) In solar Bhādra, *badi* 14 for 2 or 3 *daṇḍas*, then *badi* 15 and on the same day Aśleṣā for 7 *daṇḍas* then Maghā (Ibid., p. 21). On the day (Aug. 5, 1092 A.D.) *badi* 15 began at 1-4 *p.* ending the next morning. Aśleṣā ended at 16-42 *p.* on the same day (in the latter case, the difference is 9-42 *palas*).

(7) In solar Pauṣa, Ārdrā ended at 13 *danḍas* before *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 42). On the day *sudi* 15 ended at 47-14 *palas* while Ārdrā ended at 35-10 *palas* i.e. 12-4 *palas* before *sudi* 15 (difference of 56 *palas* only).

(8) In solar Māgha, *sudi* 15 joins half with Puṣyā and half with Aśleṣā roughly (Ibid., p. 42).

On the day *sudi* 15 ended at 34-44 *palas*, beginning at 30-58 *palas* the previous day, while the Puṣyā ended at 4-47 *palas* the same day.

(9) In solar Phālguna, Maghā ended at 15 *danḍas* after the beginning of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 43).

On the day *sudi* 15 began at 12-51 *palas* and the Maghā ended at 31-22 *palas* i.e. 18-31 *p.* after the beginning of the *tithi* (difference of 3-31 *palas* only).

(10) In the end of solar Jyaiṣṭha *sudi* 15 began 1 or 2 *danḍas* before Anurādhā ended (Ibid., p. 43).

On the day *sudi* 15 began at 4-10 *palas* and the Anurādhā ended at 3-54 *palas* i.e. just missing the *tithi* for 16 *p.* only.

(11) The most interesting statement is given, however, on page 119 of the work where Jīmūtavāhana cites the record of Andhūka Bhaṭṭa that in 955 Śaka (1033 A.D.) the *Tulā-saṃkrānti* (occurring, we find, at 12-5 *palas*) took place in *badi* 15 (ending at 20-24 *palas*, as we find, the same day); the *Dhanuḥ-saṃkrānti* also in *badi* 15 (ending at 51-25 *palas* while the *saṃkrānti* was at 35-51 *palas*); but the *Vṛścika-saṃkrānti* by the Sun's *aticūra* (whatever that may mean) in *sudi* 1. As a matter of fact, the *saṃkrānti* was at 6-26 *p.* while the *sudi* 1 began at 6-39 *p.* i.e. just 13 *palas* (5 minutes) after. It appears that Andhūka Bhaṭṭa and the early astronomers with no means of ascertaining absolutely accurate results had, in the event of such negligible intervals, recourse to a very curious practice of pushing on the *saṃkrānti* to the next *tithi* by a supposed *aticūra* in the Sun's motion.

It should be noticed that Jīmūtavāhana's figures are only roughly approximate given in whole numbers of *danḍas* and, as he himself admits, are subject to correction by 1 or 2 *danḍas* either way (*vide* p. 42). Considering that our calculations, given in exact *palas*, are about, a hundred times more accurate, the above differences are quite negligible. Only in one case the difference comes up to as much as 10 *danḍas* and our conviction is that the reading of the text is at fault there; it should be amended as *sapta-daśa-danḍān* in place of *sapta-danḍān* (Ibid., p. 21). It is hardly necessary to state that all



these figures are verified according to *true* calculations only. Jimūta-vāhana in conclusion gives his emphatic verdict in favour of what we had already stated on the strength of epigraphic evidence (Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 190) viz. the *Amānta* scheme must prevail over the the *Purnimānta*, the latter being current among the merchants alone (*Kāla.*, p. 54). His ruling in this respect, as in the Hindu Law of Succession, has been uniformly respected in Bengal proper. Jimūta's appeal to his sceptic readers can be repeated here with equal force and freshness, though after a lapse of eight centuries:

"Scholars should respect these findings after acquainting themselves with (the correctness of) these time-calculations from mathematicians" (*Kālaviveka*, p. 54).

## II

The most important literary data bearing on the chronology of the Sena kings are found in a few passages in the *Adbhutasāgara* already cited by us elsewhere. The work is an encyclopædia of omens and prodigies and consequently in its semi-astronomical character takes 1090 Śaka, the date of its beginning, as its working year. Thus, its method for finding out a year under the *Vedāṅga* Jyotiṣa calendar is as follows:

"The remainder of a particular Śaka year less 1090, divided by 5, would correspond to Sam, Pari, Idā, Anu, and Idu years respectively in the numerical order." (*Adbhuta.*, p. 236).

So that 1091 Śaka was a *Samvatsara*, a fact actually found in a ms. of the *Dānasāgara*. The statement is an important one, as forming perhaps the only authentic reference in mediæval times to a long-lost and ancient system. According to Garga's scheme of the calendar a coincidence of Māgha *sudī* 1 with the Sun in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and the moon also in Dhaniṣṭhā (the winter solstice having shifted long ago) is indispensable to start the five-years' cycle of the *Vedāṅga* Jyotiṣa. This is actually the case in the year 1091 Śaka (1170 A.D.), when on January 19, there was Māgha *sudī* 1, *badi* 15 having ended the previous night at 57-47 *palas*: Dhaniṣṭhā began at *p.* 47-54 the previous night and ended at 53-50 *palas* the same day: the Sun with a longitude of 295° was also in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā. It is apparent that in the year 1170 A.D., a necessary adjustment by the dropping of an *adhika māsa*, as explained by the late Mr. Pillai (Ind. Chronology, p. 450) took place in the calendar. This cycle is, however, found to be in variance with the

Annuary given by the same scholar (*Ibid.*, pp. 454f.) and it is our contention that strictly the Annuary is wrong and should be properly adjusted. For in Feb. 2, 1897 A.D., the Sun's longitude was  $291^{\circ}8'$ , which is not exactly in Dhaniṣṭhā ( $293^{\circ}3'$ ). Quite in consonance with the *Adbhutasāgara*, we can start a cycle in Feb. 5, 1905 A.D. (after 735 years or 21 cycles of 35 years each: cf. *Ib.*, p. 456) when there was Māgha *sudi* 1 (which began at 24 *daṇḍas* the previous day) and Dhaniṣṭhā (began at 27-40 *p.* the previous day): the Sun with a longitude of  $293^{\circ}8'$  just reached Dhaniṣṭhā. So that a strictly correct Annuary can be constructed for a cycle of 35 years, the next adjustment taking place in Feb. 9, 1940 A.D. (not in 1935 A.D.).

The figure 1090 is similarly incorporated in the formula for determining a year under the Jovian cycle of 60 years (*Adbhuta*, p. 125) and that for calculating the *Varṣādhīpa* (*Ib.*, p. 235). Under the *Saptarṣi* cycle, the year selected is however 1082 Śaka, instead of the usual 1090, which could easily have been selected. There must have been some reasons for this deviation here and it is our surmise that the year 1082, falling in the beginning of his reign, probably marked the coronation ceremony of Ballāla, his regnal year actually beginning a little earlier (1158 A.D.). In the year 1082 Śaka (= 1160 A.D.) the *Saptarṣis* completed 61 years' stay in Viśākhā (*Ib.*, p. 203). Here we find a clue to the right explanation of a convention that has appeared ridiculous to all European scholars (cf. G. R. Kaye: *Hindu Astronomy*, p. 16)—the *Saptarṣis* are supposed apparently by an astronomical fiction to spend 100 years in each Nakṣatra (*Br. Saṃhita*, XIII, 4). This convention, as the late Dewan Bahadur Pillai alone has stated (*loc. cit.*, p. 483) is merely equivalent to a reckoning by centuries. The *Adbhuta* calculates by taking the fictitious longitude of the *Saptarṣis* at the beginning of the Kali Yuga to be in Aśvinī (and not Kṛttikā as in ancient reckoning) and thus in 1082 Śaka (= 4261 Kali Yuga Era) they have completed one revolution (in 2700 years) and after occupying 15 nakṣatras in 15 centuries, they are now 61 years in the 16th nakṣatra Viśākhā. The statement is, therefore, nothing but a mention of the Kali Yuga Era in the language of an astronomical fiction.

The above date of the *Adbhutasāgara*, thus figuring correctly in the very technique of the work in several places, has been shown by us to be in accord with the historical and literary references of the period, counting about a dozen in all (*Ind. Ant.*, 1922, pp. 145 ff.). But Mr. R. D. Banerjee, who professes too much of the scientific

nature of his historical researches, in the second edition of his History of Bengal (vol. I), would still stick to his old views, deliberately remaining blind to the numerous adverse references, and touching only the most shaky one<sup>1</sup> among them, though they are, he says, nothing new to him. Further he has made the statement that the present writer has cut a most ludicrous figure in proving, what as a matter of fact he has himself nowhere disputed, viz. Ballāla's authorship of the *Adbhutasāgara* and the *Dānasāgara* (*vide* History of Bengal, vol. I, p. 336).

The Mymensingh Copperplate inscription of Viśvarūpasena, son of Lakṣmaṇa, only recently discovered and published by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstrī (Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. II, p. 84) has fortunately preserved an important clue to its date, unnoticed by the editor. One of the grants (of Kumāra Puruṣottama) ratified by the plate was made on "chaturdaśi-vyāpiutthāna-dvādaśyām" (l. 24 reverse) i.e. in a year where the Utthāna-dvādaśi or the Kārtika *sudi* 12 fell on a *tryahasparśa* day, joining with the 14th *tithi*, the 13th *tithi* being suppressed. This is by no means of frequent occurrence. As a matter of fact our calculations extending over a century and a half (1122-1272 A.D.) actually yield only two dates:

(1) In 1247 A.D. (Oct. 13) the *tithi* in question—Kārtika *sudi* 12 ended at 1-2 *palas* after mean sunrise and *sudi* 13 ended at 1-15 *palas* before the next sunrise.

(2) In 1271 A.D. (Oct. 17) similarly *sudi* 12 ended at 3-44 *p.* after sunrise and *sudi* 13 ended at 1-45 *p.* before the next sunrise.

There is nothing to choose between these two dates, though in 1271 A.D. the incident of a *tryahasparśa* is of greater certainty by reason of the longer margins either way. This date of Viśvarūpa, is another death-blow to Mr. Banerjee's favourite theory—unless it is held that

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1 The *Saduktikarṇāmyta* written in 1206 A.D. by the son of a protégé of King Lakṣmaṇasena points to the latter half of 12th century A.D. as the *probable* date of that king. Mr. Banerjee ignores the word *probable*. According to him (*loc. cit.*, p. 327) Lakṣmaṇa reigned for 30 years from 1119 A.D. and thus flourished in the first half of the century. If a man is found to be flourishing, say, in 1906 A.D., we should be seeking for his father's period of activity in the last half (1850-1900) of the last century, rather than its first half (1800-1850).

Viśvarūpa born, say, towards the end of his father's reign, lived for more than a century and reigned for more than three quarters of it. The earlier dates, where the 13th *tithi* (here necessarily of less than 60 *danḍas'* duration), just escaped from being suppressed by a small margin are given below for the curious readers:

1176 A.D.—*sudi* 12 for 8-43 p. and *sudi* 13 for 5-20 p. next day.

1177	„	„	6-40 p.	„	5-20 p.	„
1200	„	„	8-6 p.	„	3-8 p.	„
1209	„	„	6-7 p.	„	5-35 p.	„
1228	„	„	7-52 p.	„	2-21 p.	„
1238	„	„	6-33 p.	„	3-8 p.	„
1253	„	„	8-47 p.	„	4-48 p.	„
1262	„	„	5-56 p.	„	1-5 p.	„

Of the few epigraphic records that have fortunately preserved sufficient data for verification, those connected with the chronology of the Pāla kings are dealt with separately below. There are two more remaining, of which one the Nartēśvara Image inscription of Layahacandra, dated Āṣāḍha *baḍi* 14, Thursday and Puṣyā of the 8th year (*J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p. 88)—refers to a king of unknown age and connection and is thus incapable at present of yielding any definite date by a choice from among the many possible ones. The other is the delightful record of Nānyadeva cited by us elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.*, 1922). In the whole domain of Bengal and Magadha antiquities there is not another record with such a date of marvellous accuracy. It states that Nānyadeva “made an erection in the *simha-lagna* (i.e. early morning) of a Saturday in (solar) Śrāvaṇa, the *tithi* being śukla 7 and the Nakṣatra Svāti in the year 1019 Śaka.” On July 18, 1097 A.D. (1019 Śaka) which was a Saturday and the 23rd day of solar Śrāvaṇa, *sudi* 7 ended at 32-28 *palas* after sunrise and Nakṣatra Svāti ended at 51-54 *palas* after sunrise the same day. This accurate verification is a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the record, which may not be traced to any authoritative work.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Mr. Banerjee is quite unable to appreciate the scientific value of this record. On the contrary, he cries shame upon us for confessing our inability to trace the record to its original source. It is, nevertheless, quoted by a number of distinguished authors, including the late Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Indian Logic*, p. 521)

## III

Mr. R.D. Banerjee has recorded a warning to those scholars engaged in historical researches, who feel aggrieved to abandon their former views (op. cit., vol. I, p. 329). But he himself would not give up his old favourite theories though exploded by later researches. The whole chronology of the Pāla dynasty, as constructed by him in the new edition of his work, stands upon two favourite theories of his—the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D. on the one hand (loc. cit., p. 178), and on the other, the origin of the *Lakṣmaṇa Samvat* of 1119 A.D. as marking the beginning of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign. As he would still stick to them, palpable blunders like the following crept into his work.

(1) Dharmapāla, who came to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D., reigned for at least 32 years and according to Mr. Banerjee for about 35 years (p. 199). So the next reign of Devapāla should accordingly start somewhere between 825 and 830 A.D. In the first edition of his work, Devapāla is stated to have reigned precisely from 825 A.D., but in the 2nd edition, the date of Devapāla is made to begin, after a correction, from 820 A.D. (p. 215) !

(2) The total length of the reigns of the eight kings from Dharmapāla to Mahipāla I counts to be at least 240 years and according to Mr. Banerjee it is 250 years. Mahipāla's death should accordingly occur in 1040 A.D. (or 1030 A.D. at the earliest). But Mr. Banerjee states 1025 A.D. (p. 250).

(3) Nayapāla dies according to him in about 1045 A.D. (It cannot be earlier in view of his synchronism with Atiśa, who wrote to him from Nepal in 1041 A.D.) The length of the following reigns up to the eighth year of Madanapāla counts at the least possible calculation (allowing only 2 years to the four reigns of Mahipāla II, Śūrapāla II, Kumārapāla and Gopāla III) to be 65 years. So that the

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and Mr. J. M. Roy (History of Dacca, vol. II, p. 317). None of them could cite the original source, nor would Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit., p. 336). If it is held to be a fabrication, it must be a most remarkable fabrication in the field of Indian antiquities, with an accuracy of details impossible to work out without the help of quite modern chronological tables.

8th year of Madanapāla falls in 1110 A.D. *at the earliest*. But Mr. Banerjee still holds that Vijayasena, who died according to him not later than 1108 A.D., conquered Varendra after the 8th year of Madanapāla (pp. 312, 317). In such a state of things obtaining in Mr. Banerjee's history of Bengal, it is our duty to make independent investigation on the subject.

The history of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal may be regarded as dividing broadly into two distinct periods, viz., (a) from the election of Gopāla I to the Kāamboja usurpation, and (b) from the reign of Mahipāla I to the final dissolution. An attempt was made by us in a paper to fix the dates of the kings of the second period in greater details than was hitherto reached. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has since published in the *J.A.S.B.* (1921, p. 1ff.) a valuable paper on the Pāla chronology. It has become necessary in light of newer materials to reconsider the chronology put forth by Prof. Mazumdar along with the one I had published (*Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 189f.). Prof. Mazumdar foreshadowed his main paper by a note (*J.A.S.B.*, 1920, pp. 300 ff.) in which he threw doubts on Mr. R. D. Banerjee's identifications of Pāla kings mentioned in four Mss. colophons. As three of these colophons were utilised by me in my paper, I have to state the reasons that led me to accept Mr. Banerjee's identifications. It goes of course without saying that the Mss. themselves do not specify the kings. But the learned Prof. has been, we are afraid, so over-cautious as to forget the simple truth that the Ms. written in the 15th year of Gopāla at Vikramaśilā, (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 150f.) can neither refer to the reign of Gopāla I, which falls much too early, nor to that of Gopāla III, who was too short-lived. Facts of history will similarly decide in favour of referring the Mss. in question to the reign of Mahipāla I generally in preference to Mahipāla II. For, it is doubtful, if Mahipāla II ever reigned for a length of six years and even if he did, his sixth year falling presumably towards the end of his reign, must have been marked by the great and successful *Kaivarta* revolt, enough to preclude the possibility of peaceful subjects referring to it in such full glory as "pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājye" (Pālas of Bengal, p. 75). The short length and nature of Mahipāla II's reign of oppression, which began in bad policy ("antikārambhama") and ended in a successful *Kaivarta* revolt, were possibly among the reasons that led Vaidyadeva, as they would lead any other peaceful subject, to shun his name. It seems therefore somewhat hypercritical on the part of Prof. Mazumdar to question

the decent identifications of Mr. Banerjee as far as Mss. of the reign of Mahīpāla and Gopāla are concerned.<sup>1</sup>

I appreciate, however, his doubts on the identification of Vighrahapāla, as I can now offer better reasons for assigning a fairly long reign to Vighrahapāla III. In the Manahali grant, Vighrahapāla III, is stated to have reigned "for a long time" (*śāsaty eva ciraṃ jaganti janake*—verse 15). Moreover, a short reign of 12 years to Vighrahapāla III leaves a good margin to be added on to the known length of Nayapāla's reign (15 years). But we must not lengthen the latter's reign if we can help it for the following reason. The Bāgaḍ plate of Mahīpāla I, dated in his 9th year (Ep. Ind., XIV, 328) gives the following account of its engraver at the end :

posaliḡrāma-niryāta-vibhramāditya-sūnunā /  
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śrīmahādharaśilpinā //

The Āmgāchi plate of the 12th year of Vighrahapāla III (Ib., XIV, 293) gives again the following account of its engraver in line 49 :

posaliḡrāma-niryāta-mahādharaśilpinā-sūnunā /  
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śāśidevena śilpinā //

These would clearly establish the relation of father and son between the two engravers, who are separated, however, by the truly vast interval of 67 (i.e. 40+15+12) years. We should not therefore, further increase that interval even by a single year if we can help it. That the 15th year of Nayapāla possibly marked the end of his reign is also clear from the fact that three Gayā inscriptions of the same man Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa are dated, two in the 15th year of Nayapāla and one in the 5th year of Vighrahapāla III (Pālas of Bengal, pp. 81-2).

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may be very approximately determined by the working of the following data:

1 His inglorious reign is in our opinion hinted at covertly in the Manahali grant: "Śrīmān Mahīpāla iti dvitīyo, dvijēśamauliḥ śivavad babhūva" This apparently means "Mahīpāla the second was like śiva a *dvijēśamauli* i.e. devoted to the Brahmins." (The meaning "was like a second śiva" given in Gaudalekhamālā, p. 156, is wrong rhetorically). The covert meaning would be something like this, though it is far-fetched: Mahīpāla who was *dvitīya* "having a match" (not matchless), had his *mauli* i.e. lands, owned by birds and snakes (*dvijēśa*).

- (1) The date of Vaidyadeva's grant; *viṣuvāt saṃkrānti* combined to a *Hari-vāsara*.
- (2) The date of Rāmapāla's demise as given in the *Sekasubhodayā*.
- (3) The date of Mahīpāla I : in his 6th year, Kārtika *badi* 13 was a Tuesday.

Between 1100 and 1150 A.D. there are altogether seven dates roughly combining *viṣuvāt* with *Hari-vāsara* 1104, 15, 19, 23, 34, 38 and 42. In 1115 on the saṃkrānti day (March 24) there was *dvādaśī* throughout and *trayodaśī* for 3-15 *palas* only, the *Hari-vāsara*, therefore, falling on the previous day. This is also the case in 1134 (*trayodaśī* for 37-13 *p.* on the saṃkrānti day). In 1123 again on the saṃkrānti day, there was *daśamī* for full 30-54 *p.* and *ekādaśī* later, a combination stigmatised in a separate section in the *Kālavivēka* (daśamiyuktānām niṣedhavadanāni, pp. 441-51). So also in 1104 (daśamī for 41-6 *p.* on the Saṃkrānti day) and 1142 A. D. (daśamī for only 0-38 *p.* ekādaśī ending at 4-17 *p.* the next day).

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Considerable improvement is possible in the interpretation of the verse in *Sekaśubhodayā* recording Rāmapāla's death, which we sought to verify in our previous paper. In "śāke yugmaveṇu-randhragate (?) " the word *yugma* undoubtedly means 2, it can never mean "double" and never qualify a following noun in that sense. Moreover *yamatiithi* better means *badī* 14 for on kṛṣṇa caturdaśi it was customary to invoke the 14 *yamas* (vide Kālaviveka, p. 471; also Viṣṇu-dharmottara, III, 187—yamavratavarṇana—p. 389). The date thus recorded is Āśvina māsa, *badī* 14, Thursday. There are three possible dates between 1100 and 1135 A.D., when the combination took place viz. Sep. 7, 1116; Sep. 23, 1120; and Sep. 20, 1123 A.D. Of these the year 1120 A.D. (*badī* 1 ended at 34-20 *palas* on Thursday, Sep. 23 = Āśvina 27) corresponds to the Śaka year 1042 ending with the number 2 (yugma). Rāmapāla's death thus occurred in the forenoon ("sapta-ghaṭikopari" according to the *Sekaśubhodayā*) of Sep. 23, 1120 A.D. Accordingly the unfortunate *lacuna* in the reading of the year in the verse, where two short syllables are wanting to complete the metre, can be filled up with the least possible change in the following manner:

For Śāke yugmaveṇu-randhragate

read Śāke yugmaka-veda-randhra-ku-gate (1042) .

Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit. pp. XIII and 336) again mistakes a "suggested emendation" in my previous paper for an "arbitrary change of reading" (yatheccha parivartana) and dismisses the whole paper with a broad grin as being "based" upon it (pratiṣṭhita). We have to repeat what we had stated before that the verse in question was regarded to be a genuine record by the late Mr. Batavyāla who brought it to light; it received remarkable corroboration from the Rāmacarita and, last of all, it has the honour of being quoted, though in a foot-note, in the ultra-scientific history of Mr. Banerjee himself in both the editions. Kumārapāla thus gets a reign of 12 years in our scheme. Mr. Banerjee assigns a very short length to his reign, which is somewhat incompatible with the fairly lengthy reference to him in the Kamauli plate.

In the 6th year of Mahīpāla I, Kārtika *badi* 13 coincided with Tuesday (Buddhist Mss., p. 2). The probable dates between 972 and 997 A.D. are the following:<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 2, 986 A.D.	<i>badi</i> 13 ended at 59-15 <i>palas</i> after mean sunrise
Nov. 18, 990	" " 3-20 <i>p.</i> " "
Nov. 14, 993	" " 39-30 <i>p.</i> " "

We are now in favour of the latest date, 993 A.D., for the Tibetan authorities are unanimous in their statement that Nayapāla came to the throne *just at* the time when Atiśa left for Tibet in 1039 A.D. Tāranātha (Schiefner p. 244) states this on the authority of all previous biographical works. The reference is probably to the coronation. At any rate 1039 A.D. fell very early in the reign of Naya-pāla.

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may thus be fixed in the following manner:

		Length of reign	
Mahīpāla I	988-1036 A.D.	...	48 years
Nayapāla	1036-1050	...	15
Vigrahapāla III	1050-1076	...	26
Mahīpāla II } and Śūrapāla II }	1076-1078	...	3
Rāmapāla	1078-1120	...	42
Kumārapāla	1120-1132	...	12
Gopāla III	1132-33	...	1 or 2
Madanapāla	1134- <i>circ.</i> 1153	...	20
Govindapāla	<i>circ.</i> 1153-1161	...	8

It should be noted that we have stated 1161 A.D. as the date of the final destruction of the Pāla kingdom on the strength of the Gayā inscription of 1175 A.D. as interpreted by us (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 155-6). For reasons stated above Mahīpāla I, Nayapāla, Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II are not likely to get longer reigns by future discoveries. Even if they do there is sufficient margin left before 988 A.D. to accom-

1 For the curious reader I give below the results if the reference be to the reign of Mahīpāla II. Between 1058 and 1082 A.D., there are only two dates in the Amānta scheme—Nov. 9, 1064 A.D. and Nov. 22, 1071 A.D.: his date of accession to the throne would then be either 1059 or 1066 A.D., none of which are suitable.

Viśvarūpa born, say, towards the end of his father's reign, lived for more than a century and reigned for more than three quarters of it. The earlier dates, where the 13th *tithi* (here necessarily of less than 60 *daṇḍas*' duration), just escaped from being suppressed by a small margin are given below for the curious readers:

1176 A.D.—*sudi* 12 for 8-43 p. and *sudi* 13 for 5-20 p. next day.

1177	„	„	6-40 p.	„	5-20 p.	„
1200	„	„	8-6 p.	„	3-8 p.	„
1209	„	„	6-7 p.	„	6-35 p.	„
1228	„	„	7-52 p.	„	2-21 p.	„
1238	„	„	6-33 p.	„	3-8 p.	„
1253	„	„	8-47 p.	„	4-48 p.	„
1262	„	„	5-56 p.	„	1-5 p.	„

Of the few epigraphic records that have fortunately preserved sufficient data for verification, those connected with the chronology of the Pāla kings are dealt with separately below. There are two more remaining, of which one the Narteśvara Image inscription of Layahacandra, dated Āṣāḍha *badi* 14, Thursday and Puṣyā of the 8th year (*J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p. 88)—refers to a king of unknown age and connection and is thus incapable at present of yielding any definite date by a choice from among the many possible ones. The other is the delightful record of Nānyadeva cited by us elsewhere (*Ind. Ant.*, 1922). In the whole domain of Bengal and Magadha antiquities there is not another record with such a date of marvellous accuracy. It states that Nānyadeva "made an erection in the *siṃha-lagna* (i.e. early morning) of a Saturday in (solar) Śrāvaṇa, the *tithi* being śukla 7 and the Nakṣatra Svātī in the year 1019 Śaka." On July 18, 1097 A.D. (1019 Śaka) which was a Saturday and the 23rd day of solar Śrāvaṇa, *sudi* 7 ended at 32-28 *palas* after sunrise and Nakṣatra Svātī ended at 51-54 *palas* after sunrise the same day. This accurate verification is a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the record, which may not be traced to any authoritative work.<sup>1</sup>

1 Mr. Banerjee is quite unable to appreciate the scientific value of this record. On the contrary, he cries shame upon us for confessing our inability to trace the record to its original source. It is, nevertheless, quoted by a number of distinguished authors, including the late Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*Indian Logic*, p. 521)

## III

Mr. R.D. Banerjee has recorded a warning to those scholars engaged in historical researches, who feel aggrieved to abandon their former views (op. cit., vol. I, p. 329). But he himself would not give up his old favourite theories though exploded by later researches. The whole chronology of the Pāla dynasty, as constructed by him in the new edition of his work, stands upon two favourite theories of his—the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D. on the one hand (loc. cit., p. 178), and on the other, the origin of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat* of 1119 A.D. as marking the beginning of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign. As he would still stick to them, palpable blunders like the following crept into his work.

(1) Dharmapāla, who came to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D., reigned for at least 32 years and according to Mr. Banerjee for about 35 years (p. 199). So the next reign of Devapāla should accordingly start somewhere between 825 and 830 A.D. In the first edition of his work, Devapāla is stated to have reigned precisely from 825 A.D., but in the 2nd edition, the date of Devapāla is made to begin, after a correction, from 820 A.D. (p. 215)!

(2) The total length of the reigns of the eight kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla I counts to be at least 240 years, and according to Mr. Banerjee it is 250 years. Mahīpāla's death should accordingly occur in 1040 A.D. (or 1030 A.D. at the earliest). But Mr. Banerjee states 1025 A.D. (p. 250).

(3) Nayapāla dies according to him in about 1045 A.D. (It cannot be earlier in view of his synchronism with Atiśa, who wrote to him from Nepal in 1041 A.D.) The length of the following reigns up to the eighth year of Madanapāla counts at the least possible calculation (allowing only 2 years to the four reigns of Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, Kumārapāla and Gopāla III) to be 65 years. So that the

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and Mr. J. M. Roy (History of Dacca, vol. II, p. 317). None of them could cite the original source, nor would Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit., p. 336). If it is held to be a fabrication, it must be a most remarkable fabrication in the field of Indian antiquities, with an accuracy of details impossible to work out without the help of quite modern chronological tables.

8th year of Madanapāla falls in 1110 A.D. *at the earliest*. But Mr. Banerjee still holds that Vijayasena, who died according to him not later than 1108 A.D., conquered Varendra after the 8th year of Madanapāla (pp. 312, 317). In such a state of things obtaining in Mr. Banerjee's history of Bengal, it is our duty to make independent investigation on the subject.

The history of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal may be regarded as dividing broadly into two distinct periods, viz., (a) from the election of Gopāla I to the Kāmboja usurpation, and (b) from the reign of Mahipāla I to the final dissolution. An attempt was made by us in a paper to fix the dates of the kings of the second period in greater details than was hitherto reached. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has since published in the *J.A.S.B.* (1921, p. 1ff.) a valuable paper on the Pāla chronology. It has become necessary in light of newer materials to reconsider the chronology put forth by Prof. Mazumdar along with the one I had published (*Ind. Ant.*, 1920, pp. 189f.). Prof. Mazumdar foreshadowed his main paper by a note (*J.A.S.B.*, 1920, pp. 300 ff.) in which he threw doubts on Mr. R. D. Banerjee's identifications of Pāla kings mentioned in four Mss. colophons. As three of these colophons were utilised by me in my paper, I have to state the reasons that led me to accept Mr. Banerjee's identifications. It goes of course without saying that the Mss. themselves do not specify the kings. But the learned Prof. has been, we are afraid, so over-cautious as to forget the simple truth that the Ms. written in the 15th year of Gopāla at Vikramaśilā, (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 150f.) can neither refer to the reign of Gopāla I, which falls much too early, nor to that of Gopāla III, who was too short-lived. Facts of history will similarly decide in favour of referring the Mss. in question to the reign of Mahipāla I generally in preference to Mahipāla II. For, it is doubtful, if Mahipāla II ever reigned for a length of six years and even if he did, his sixth year falling presumably towards the end of his reign, must have been marked by the great and successful *Kaivarta* revolt, enough to preclude the possibility of peaceful subjects referring to it in such full glory as "pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājye" (Pālas of Bengal, p. 75). The short length and nature of Mahipāla II's reign of oppression, which began in bad policy ("antikārambhamaya") and ended in a successful *Kaivarta* revolt, were possibly among the reasons that led Vaidyadeva, as they would lead any other peaceful subject, to shun his name. It seems therefore somewhat hypercritical on the part of Prof. Mazumdar to question

the decent identifications of Mr. Banerjee as far as Mss. of the reign of Mahīpāla and Gopāla are concerned.<sup>1</sup>

I appreciate, however, his doubts on the identification of Vighrahapāla, as I can now offer better reasons for assigning a fairly long reign to Vighrahapāla III. In the Manahali grant, Vighrahapāla III, is stated to have reigned "for a long time" (*śāsaty eva ciraṃ jaganti janake*—verse 15). Moreover, a short reign of 12 years to Vighrahapāla III leaves a good margin to be added on to the known length of Nayapāla's reign (15 years). But we must not lengthen the latter's reign if we can help it for the following reason. The Bāṅgaḍ plate of Mahīpāla I, dated in his 9th year (Ep. Ind., XIV, 328) gives the following account of its engraver at the end :

posaligrāma-niryāta-vibhramāditya-sūnūnā /  
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śrīmahidharaśilpinā //

The Āmgāchi plate of the 12th year of Vighrahapāla III (Ib., XIV, 293) gives again the following account of its engraver in line 49 :

posaligrāma-niryāta-mahidharadeva-sūnūnā /  
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śaśidevena śilpinā //

These would clearly establish the relation of father and son between the two engravers, who are separated, however, by the truly vast interval of 67 (i.e. 40+15+12) years. We should not therefore, further increase that interval even by a single year if we can help it. That the 15th year of Nayapāla possibly marked the end of his reign is also clear from the fact that three Gayā inscriptions of the same man Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa are dated, two in the 15th year of Nayapāla and one in the 5th year of Vighrahapāla III (Pālas of Bengal, pp. 81-2).

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may be very approximately determined by the working of the following data:

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1 His inglorious reign is in our opinion hinted at covertly in the Manahali grant: "Śrīmān Mahīpāla iti dvitīyo, dvijeśamauliḥ śivavad babhūva" This apparently means "Mahīpāla the second was like śiva a *dvijeśamauli* i.e. devoted to the Brahmins." (The meaning "was like a second śiva" given in Gaudalekhamālā, p. 156, is wrong rhetorically). The covert meaning would be something like this, though it is far-fetched: Mahīpāla who was *dvitīya* "having a match" (not matchless), had his *mauli* i.e. lands, owned by birds and snakes (*dvijeśa*).

(1) The date of Vaidyadeva's grant; *viṣuvat saṃkrānti* combined to a *Hari-vāsara*.

(2) The date of Rāmapāla's demise as given in the *Sekasubhodayā*.

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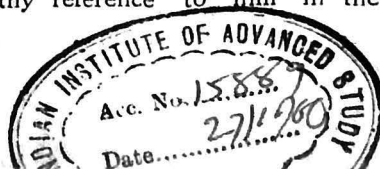
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For Śāke yugmaveṇu-randhragate

read Śāke yugmaka-veda-randhra-ku-gate (1042)

Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit. pp. XIII and 336) again mistakes a "suggested emendation" in my previous paper for an "arbitrary change of reading" (yatheccha parivartana) and dismisses the whole paper with a broad grin as being "based" upon it (pratiṣṭhita). We have to repeat what we had stated before that the verse in question was regarded to be a genuine record by the late Mr. Batavyāla who brought it to light; it received remarkable corroboration from the Rāmacarita and, last of all, it has the honour of being quoted, though in a foot-note, in the ultra-scientific history of Mr. Banerjee himself in both the editions. Kumārapāla thus gets a reign of 12 years in our scheme. Mr. Banerjee assigns a very short length to his reign, which is somewhat incompatible with the fairly lengthy reference to him in the Kamauli plate.



In the 6th year of Mahīpāla I, Kārtika *badi* 13 coincided with Tuesday (Buddhist Mss., p. 2). The probable dates between 972 and 997 A.D. are the following:<sup>1</sup>

Nov. 2, 986 A.D.	<i>badi</i> 13 ended at 59-15 <i>palas</i> after mean sunrise
Nov. 18, 990	" " 3-20 <i>p.</i> " "
Nov. 14, 993	" " 39-30 <i>p.</i> " "

We are now in favour of the latest date, 993 A.D., for the Tibetan authorities are unanimous in their statement that Nayapāla came to the throne *just at* the time when Atīśa left for Tibet in 1039 A.D. Tāranātha (Schiefner p. 244) states this on the authority of all previous biographical works. The reference is probably to the coronation: At any rate 1039 A.D. fell very early in the reign of Nayapāla.

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may thus be fixed in the following manner:

			Length of reign
Mahīpāla I	988-1036 A.D.	...	48 years
Nayapāla	1036-1050	...	15
Vigrahapāla III	1050-1076	...	26
Mahīpāla II } and Śūrapāla II }	1076-1078	...	3
Rāmapāla	1078-1120	...	42
Kumārapāla	1120-1132	...	12
Gopāla III	1132-33	...	1 or 2
Madanapāla	1134-circ. 1153	...	20
Govindapāla	circ. 1153-1161	...	8

It should be noted that we have stated 1161 A.D. as the date of the final destruction of the Pāla kingdom on the strength of the Gayā inscription of 1175 A.D. as interpreted by us (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 155-6). For reasons stated above Mahīpāla I, Nayapāla, Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II are not likely to get longer reigns by future discoveries. Even if they do there is sufficient margin left before 988 A.D. to accom-

<sup>1</sup> For the curious reader I give below the results if the reference be to the reign of Mahīpāla II. Between 1058 and 1082 A.D., there are only two dates in the Amānta scheme—Nov. 9, 1064 A.D. and Nov. 22, 1071 A.D.: his date of accession to the throne would then be either 1059 or 1066 A.D., none of which are suitable.

moderate them accordingly. In the event of Vighrahapāla III and Rāmapāla getting longer reigns, which is equally unlikely, we shall have to reject the verification of the Sekhaśubhodayā verse. In the present state of our knowledge, however, the scheme we have drawn above does not militate against any known facts of history. In the Belabo grant of Bhojavarmā, king Jātavarmā is stated to have defeated among others, Divya, the Kaivarta rebel.<sup>1</sup> We had elsewhere accepted as genuine the traditional date of Śyāmalavarmā's accession to the throne (1072 A.D.). This can be well adjusted on the assumption that the beginnings of Kaivarta unrest occurred in the reign of Vighrahapāla III, who was helped by his immediate kin Jātavarmā (both being sons-in-law of Karṇa Cedi).

The death of Mahīpāla I according to a tradition as recorded by Tāranāth (Schiefner, p. 225) synchronises with that of the Tibetan king Khri-ral. Recently a writer in the Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (1333 B. S. p. 52-3) fixed 1038 A.D. as the date in question, assuming that Khri-ral is identical with king Lha Lhama Yeše-hod, whose former name was Khor-re. Though the date marvellously fits in our chronology, we have to reject the identification of Khri-ral, on which it rests. For Khri-ral is known to be the same as the famous king Ralpacan (vide Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 223: Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Indian Logic, p. 517, referring to Csoma de Koros's Tibetan Grammar, p. 185).

We are able now to work out the chronology of the earlier Pāla kings in fuller details in light of new materials. We had mentioned in our previous paper that Gopāla II is stated in the epigraphic records to have reigned for a long time (*cirātaram*). This is now amply corroborated by a Ms. colophon. A Buddhist work—Maitreya Vyākaraṇa—was copied in the 57th year of Gopāla II, whose reign thus becomes the *longest* of the whole dynasty. It is a pity that this most important colophon remained so long entirely unnoticed and escaped even the eyes of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, who passes it without any remark in his Descriptive Catalogue of Buddhist Mss. (p.13). The newly discovered Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla is dated in his 39th year. The Bargaon stone pillar inscription of Rājyapāla is dated in his

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1 The verse in question (v. 8 of the Belabo grant), it should be noticed, contains without much exaggeration a statement of the earthly achievements of Jātavarmā, whose sudden connection with "celestial" (*divya*) arm becomes therefore out of place in the phrase, "nindan divyabhujāśriyam."

24th year (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 111). All these data produce an almost impossible situation, rendering untenable the date of the Kamboja usurpation of 966 A.D., as referring to the reign of Vigrahapāla II. For the total length of years from Devapāla to Gopāla II comes up to 177 (39+3+54+24+57) at least. This either places Dharmapāla's death before (966-177) 789 A.D., which is before the time of Govinda, or places the accession of Vigrahapāla II to the throne in 970 A.D. at the earliest. The date of Kamboja usurpation (966 A.D.) will then have to be referred to the reign of Gopāla II, who is credited, however, in all the epigraphic records with a decidedly peaceful reign. The only reasonable solution we think possible is to reject as doubtful the stone pillar inscription of Rājyapāla as deciphered by Mr. Banerjee. It is not very likely that Rājyapāla coming between two enormously long reigns of Nārāyaṇapāla (54 years) and Gopāla II (57 years) reigned for a good length of 24 years.<sup>1</sup> In the Bargaon inscription the figure 24 was perhaps carelessly placed after *Samvat* and is to go with *mārga-dine*, where the figure is wanting. Or like the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla, the record probably refers to the Gurjara Pratihāra king Rājyapāla.<sup>2</sup>

Another happy date has been worked out from the two identical inscriptions of Śūrapāla I. The editor of the inscriptions, Prof. Chakravarti, referred them to the reign of Śūrapāla II (*JASB.*, 1908, p. 107). Against this Mr. Banerjee, on palaeographical grounds, referred them to Śūrapāla I (Palas of Bengal, p. 57), which is much more likely. Śūrapāla II is not mentioned in the Rāmacarita to have ever sat on the throne. His mention in the Manahali Grant may have been occasioned by a few months' so-called reign in those troubled times when he found himself helpless and deserted as the significant words "ekah sāhasasārathiḥ" sufficiently bear out. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the inscriptions refer to Śūrapāla I. The dating of the inscriptions has not yet been carefully scrutinised. "Samvat 2 dvirāśāḍha badi 11" was the reading of Prof. Chakravarti.

1 King Rāsapāla, the nearest approach to the name Rājyapāla, is stated in Tibetan books to have reigned for 12 years only: Schiefner's Tāranātha, p. 214: also p. 205 fn. referring to Lassen, III, 730 f.

2 Curiously the language of the Bargaon inscription e.g. "Rājapāla-devarāje" is like that of one of the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla (vide Plate XXXI in the Palas of Bengal) corrupt.

But in the plate accompanying his paper, the figure after *Samvat* is most clearly 3 and not 2. Prof. Chakravarti evidently took the unusual word "dviḥ" to be a repetition in word of the figure after *Samvat*. But the real interpretation has been hitherto entirely missed by all scholars. The word "dvirāṣāḍha" is a well-known technical term in Indian astronomical and *Smṛti* literature. There is a separate section named "Dvirāṣāḍha-viveka" in *Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka* (pp. 169-174). The word primarily means an *adhika māsa* falling in *Saurā Ṃṣāḍha* and secondarily in a wider sense any *adhika māsa* falling within the first six months of the year (*Vaiśākha* to *Āśvina*). It has been used here in the first narrow sense to indicate the exact month. Now, there were *adhika Ṃṣāḍha* months in the years 822, 833, 841, and 852 A.D. Of these possible dates, 822 and 833 are too early, placing *Dharmapāla's* death in 792 A.D. at the latest. 852, on the other hand, is too late, placing *Vigrahapāla II's* accession to the throne in 987 A.D. at the earliest. The date of the inscriptions is therefore 841 A.D. *Devapāla's* death is thus fixed within a year before June, 839 A.D. and *Dharmapāla's* accession to the throne cannot be dated later than 770 A.D., thus remarkably supporting our previous conjecture (*Ind. Ant.*, 1920, p. 193).

The *Bodh-Gaya* inscription of the 26th year of *Dharmapāla* contains a verifiable datum: *Bhādra-bahula-paṇcamī* combined with Saturday. *Cunningham (ASB., XV, p. 150-1)* tried to work it out and selected "856 A.D. as the 26th year of *Dharmapāla*". After him no scholar seems to have attempted to fix the date in the light of recent materials. Before giving my results in details, an attempt is made to arrive at the earliest possible date of *Gopāla I*. A mass of ill-digested historical and legendary matter is found in the Tibetan histories, bearing on the reigns of *Gopāla I* and his immediate successors. A careful examination of some of this matter would throw some new light on the early *Pāla* chronology. *Tāranātha*, it is true, gave a wrong genealogy of the first three *Pāla* kings, but the correct genealogy was not altogether unknown among Tibetan historians, one of whom at least—*Buston*—gave it and was held to be more reliable by *Sum-po* (*Pag Sam*, preface, p. iii). *Tāranātha* records in a true historical spirit the views of two ancient historians on the exact date of *Gopāla's* election to the throne. According to *Indradatta*, *Gopāla* was elected one year after what must have been a famous event in those times viz. the death of one "Ācārya *Mīmāṃsaka*," while according to *Kṣemendrabhadra* it was seven years after that event (*Schiefner* : p. 204).

It is not known who is exactly meant by Ācārya Mīmāṃsaka, but whoever it is—either Kumārila or Prabhākara—the event evidently dates back to the early decades of the 8th century A.D.

Gopāla is credited with the establishment of the Odantapurī vihāra near Nālandā (Tāranātha, p. 206). It is stated in the Pag Sam that the famous Samye monastery of Tibet was erected after the model of the Odantapurī vihāra and the date of its erection is said to be 749 A.D. (p. 171; also Indian Logic, p. 517). Śāntarakṣita, who worked in that monastery, “was born in the reign of Gopāla and died in that of Dharmapāla” (Pag Sam, p. 112). Gopāla, during whose reign Śāntarakṣita was born, say 40 years before 749 A.D., must then have come to the throne somewhere between 690 and 710 A.D. Both Tāranātha (p. 205) and Sumpo (p. 110) state that Gopāla was a contemporary of king Śrīharṣa of Kasmir. In our opinion the Tibetan historians had confused three kings of the same name Śrīharṣa :—Śrīharṣa of Kasmir, the famous Harṣavardhana and Śrī-Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa (whose son-in-law was reigning in 759 A.D. (Ind. Ant., IX. p. 178) The last of these probably was meant to be the king who was contemporaneous with Gopāla I. These three Tibetan references point roughly to the first half of the 8th century A.D. as the probable date of Gopāla. A mass of legendary matter in a worse state of confusion is found also in the Jaina biographies of Bappa-bhaṭṭi, where the persistent mention of king Dharmapāla as a contemporary of Yaśovarman or his son Āma, may just be taken in conformity with the Tibetan evidence, as a piece of history pointing to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the date of Dharmapāla. Accordingly we extend our calculations (to about 755 A.D.) with the following results, referring to the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla.

*Amānta scheme.*

In 796 A.D. (Aug. 27, Saturday) Bhādra badi 5 for 57-32 *palas* (mean). Under true system the tithi ended at 0-47 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 2-6 *p.* (Ārya S.) the next day, which was Sunday.

In 793 (Aug. 31) the mean tithi ended at 19-33 *p.* but the true tithi ended at 44-35 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 44-20 *p.* (Ārya S.) the previous day, which was a Friday.

In 789 (Aug. 15, Saturday) the mean tithi ended at 47-52 *p.* and the true tithi at 59-46 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 58-35 *p.* (Ārya S.)

In 786 (Aug. 19) the mean tithi for 10-0 *p.* and according to the Arya

S. true tithi for only 0-25 *p.* the same day, but according to the Sūrya S. true tithi ended at 59-42 *p.* the previous day, which was a Friday.

In 776 (Sep. 7, Saturday) the mean tithi ended at 54-15 *p.* and the true tithi at 21-58 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 22-40 *p.* (Ārya S.)

In 773 (Sep. 11) the mean tithi ended at 16-22 *p.* and the true tithi at 10-23 *p.* (Sūrya) or 8-25 *p.* (Ārya).

In 769 (Aug. 26) the mean tithi for 44-11 *p.* and the true tithi for 42-11 *p.* (Sūrya).

In 762 (Aug. 14) the mean tithi for 35 *p.* and the true tithi for 49-30 *p.* (Sūrya), but the lunar month in which the tithi is included was an *adhika māsa*.

*Purṇimānta scheme.*

In 792 A.D. (Aug. 12 Sunday) the true tithi ended at 51-40 *p.*

In 785 (July 30, Saturday) the true tithi ended at 58-12 *p.*, but the mean tithi ended the next day.

In 782 (Aug. 3, Saturday) the true tithi ended at 15-36 *p.*

In 779 (Aug. 7, Saturday) " " 15-0 *p.*

In 765 (Aug. 10, Saturday) " " 48-0 *p.*, but the mean tithi ended the next day.

Though we have given, for the curious readers, both *mean* and *true* calculations (in both the Amānta and Purṇimānta schemes), we would confine ourselves to the Amānta and the true dates alone; for true calculations of tithis already came into operation since the times of Varāhamihira (6th cent. A.D.) and were certainly in vogue in the 8th century A.D. The tithi of the Eran Pillar Inscription of the Gupta period dated 484 A.D. has already been worked out similarly under the *true* system (Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 157). The following five dates are therefore available as marking the beginning of Dharmapāla's reign:—737, 744, 748, 751, and 764 A.D. In 737, the month is inauspicious being an *adhika māsa*: the date besides seems too early. 764 on the other hand seems a bit too late, allowing about 36 years' reign to Dharmapāla. There is nothing whatever to choose between the three remaining dates—744, 748, and 751 A.D.

The chronology of the earlier Pāla kings may thus be tentatively fixed in the following manner:—

		Length of reign
Gopāla I	circ. 700-744 A.D.	45 years (vide Tāranātha)
Dharmapāla	744-800	56
Devapāla	800-839	40



Śūrapāla I	839-845	- 7 years (vide Tāranātha)
Nārāyaṇapāla	845-899 <sup>1</sup>	54
Rājyapāla	899-923	24
Gopāla II	923-980	57
Vigrahapāla II	980-988	9

For the satisfaction of scholars who would place the Kāmboja usurpation of 966 A.D. to the reign of Vigrahapāla II and reject the Bargaon Pillar inscription of the 24th year of Rājyapāla, an alternative list of the last three kings will have to be adjusted thus:—

Rājyapāla 899-903 (5 years); Gopāla II 903-960 (57 years) and Vigrahapāla II 960-988 (28 years).

The only thing that stands against the above chronology is yet another surmise of Prof. Mazumdar. He makes out from a study of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions that Dharmapāla probably met Govinda III in about 808 A.D. His reason is this: the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III dated Śrāvaṇa 730 Śaka mentions the expedition against the Gurjaras, which is omitted in the Waṇi grant dated in Vaiśākha, 730 Śaka. So the Gurjara expedition may have taken place in three months intervening between the two grants. This inference is unsound. The Gurjara invasion is not mentioned last of all in the Radhanpur plate. The Waṇi grant is irregular in its date (Ind. Ant., XXIV, p. 11, no. 172) and the omission of the Gurjara expedition therein is only a careless one like its omission of the Pallava conquest in Dhruva's reign. It is much more reasonable to assume that a chronological order is indicated in the conquest of Govinda III in the Radhanpur plate and the expedition against the Gurjaras took place very early in his reign followed by four other expeditions all before

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1 A Tibetan tradition has been mentioned above which synchronises the death of king Khri-ral with that of Mahīpāla I, who had a reign of 52 years under the same tradition. King Mahīpāla, son of a Vanapāla (and grandson of Dharmapāla) and father of a Mahāpāla is a myth, but the statement may be interpreted as indicating the death of an early Pāla king, with a very long reign, who can be conveniently identified with Nārāyaṇapāla. The reign of Khri-ral, however, is not definitely dated. According to Chinese authorities Khri-ral or Ral-pa-can died in 838 A.D. According to Csoma he died in 899 A.D. and according to Setsen in 902 A.D. (Rockhill p. 225). We have taken Csoma's date.

808 A.D. We see no reasons therefore to bring down Dharmapāla further than 800 A.D. For Govinda III ascended the throne in 753-4 A.D. and met Dharmapāla sometime before 800 A.D. This does not also militate against Dharmapāla's synchronism with Nāgabhaṭṭa, who may have ascended the throne any time after 783 A.D., when Vatsarāja was still alive (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 250).

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

## Indian Literature Abroad

### VIII

Dānapāla was a śramaṇa of Udyāna of Northern India. He arrived in China in A. D. 980 along with Dharmadeva and Tien-si-tsai. Two years after his arrival he received from the Chinese emperor the title of Hsien-chiao-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai received Ming-chiao-ta-shih, and Dharmadeva received Chuang-chiao-ta-shih. The number of books translated by Dānapāla was one hundred and eleven—mostly Dhāraṇīs. These

Dānapāla and  
Tantra Literature,  
980 A. D.

Mantras became very popular with certain section of the Buddhists, the Chinese, and they swelled the bulk of the Buddhist Chinese literature. Since the days of Amogha-vajra, Tāntrikism made a little progress, and this literature was greatly cultivated and propagated by the Indian Tāntrik Buddhists. Dānapāla rendered into Chinese a few booklets ascribed to the great Nāgārjuna, e. g., *Bodhiḥdaya-rūpavimukta-śāstra* (No. 1304), *Mahāyāna Bhava-bheda-śāstra*.

Three years after the death of Dānapāla, Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu), a śramaṇa of Magadha, arrived in China. As I have already told Fa-hu brought some Sanskrit manuscripts with him and he applied himself to translating them till A.D. 1058, when he died in his ninety-sixth year. In 1054 he received from the Emperor Jen-Tsung (1023-1063 A.D.) the special title of P'u-ming-tzu-chiao-chwang-fan-ta-shih for his meritorious work. In 1009 a Translation Board was formed by the Imperial command with Fa-hu, Wei-ting and others. The *Ratnamegha-Sūtra* (Nanjio 964), one of the most popular Mahāyāna Sūtras, a shorter form of

Dharmarakṣa  
and the Transla-  
tion Board.

which had been twice translated before, was translated by Dharmarakṣa. Fa-hu and the Chinese monk mentioned above rendered into Chinese in 20 fasciculi *Tathāgata-acintya-guhyā-nirdeśa*, a Mahāyāna Sūtra, which had been translated by another Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) in the W. T'sin Dynasty (265-316) in 7 fasciculi. This formed a part of Ratnakūṭa Group of Mahāyāna literature. Another distinctly Tāntrik book *He-Vajra-tantra* (Nanjio, 1060) which agrees with the Tibetan version in the Kanjur was made accessible in a Chinese form. Bodhisattva Dharmayaśa's *Mahāyāna Saṅgīta-bodhisattva-vidyāśāstra* (1298) was for the first time translated by Fa-hu and Sūrya-yaśas in 20 fasciculi. In the Ming collection this book is placed for the first time among the Abhidharma works and was admitted into the Canon during the Sung-Yuen period. At this late period a Hīnayāna work was translated by Fa-hu and his colleagues. It was Mahā-Maudgalyāyana's *Prajñaptipāda-Śāstra* (Nanjio 1317); this is the last of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharmas.

Wei-Tsing, a Chinese śramaṇa, who seems to have worked together with the Indian monks mentioned before, and had joined the Imperial Translation Board in 1009, must have acquired sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to translate a few books from the original. His most important contribution was his translation of Bodhisattva Sthiramati's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra*. Jñānaśrī (Chu chi-siang) and Sūryayaśas were contemporaries of Fa-hu and Sūryayaśas actually worked with Fa-hu. Sūryayaśas himself translated two books of the great Aśvaghōṣa—one being a book of fifty verses on the rules for serving a teacher (N. 1080), another known as *Daśa-duṣṭa-karmamārga Sūtra* (N. 1379). That the Buddhist monks were still held in great honour is shown by the fact that Maitreya-bhadra, a śramaṇa of Magadha, became Kuo-Shih or the State-teacher of the Chinese Court. He is responsible for five translations.

Probably the last book that was translated in the Sung Dynasty by Shao-tih, Hwui-Sung and others was *Bodhisattva-Jātakamālā* (1312).

It was originally composed or collected by the Bodhisattva Āryaśūra and commented upon by Muni Jinadeva in 12 fasciculi. The translation did not find favour with the Chinese for its defective style. The Sanskrit original is preserved in Hodgson manuscripts and has been published by Kern in the Harvard Oriental Series and translated by Speyer.

The Northern Sung Dynasty ended with Hui Tsang (1101-1127),

who was carried in captivity by the Kitan Tartars. The Sung retired to the south of the Yang-tse, and Hang-chow became their capital. During their rule (1128-1280) we do not meet with any translator either Indian or Chinese.

Barrenness of  
the N. Sung  
period.

Buddhism of Chan (Dhyāna) school enjoyed respect and contributed many landscape painters to the roll. The greatest figure of this age was Chu-hsi, the famous commentator of Kung-fu-tze (Confucius), and he was greatly influenced by Buddhist thought and in spite of his denial, it is clear that he was imbued by the mystic spirit of Bodhidharma.

The Mongols now became supreme in China. They were a rude, uncultured people of nomadic and marauding habits. Khubilai Khan, the first Mongol emperor of China, was a man of completely different temperament, and he was anxious to encourage any faith that might humanize his rude followers. Buddhism suited them best.

Khubilai Khan  
and the Mongol  
Rule.

One Tibetan Lama, Pagspa (Ārya), invented a script on a Tibetan model for the Mongols. It was issued by Khubilai, but failed to be popular because the writing was more complicated and ornate than the simple Syriac writing which had also been introduced. Pagspa in recognition of his service received the exalted title of "Prince of the Great and Precious Law of Buddha" from Khubilai. He knew Sanskrit and Chinese and edited a book on Hinayāna Vinaya which gave brief rules for the learning and practice of bhikṣus. The restored title would be *Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya-pravarjyopasampadā-karmavācā*. (Nanjio 1137).

Pagspa, the  
Tibetan.

Another book translated by Pagspa's disciple Sha-lo-pa known in Chinese *Chang-su-shih-lun* or the Śāstra on explaining known objects (Nanjio 1320). It is sometimes mentioned as a Śāstra of the Hinayāna, but it is distinctly a book on Mahāyāna.

Chang-su-lun of  
Pagspa.

This is a very useful and interesting manual of the Buddhistic terminology, consisting of extracts from several śāstras, such as Sūrya-garbhā-śāstra, Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, Abhidharma-kośa-Śāstra of Vasubandhu and few other minor books. It consists of five chapters as Bhojana-loka, Sattva-loka, Mārga-dharma, Phala-dharma, Asaṃskṛtadharma. It was compiled by Pagspa for the sake of Chan-Chin, the Crown Prince of the Emperor Khubilai. The original, which was probably compiled from Sanskrit sources in Tibetan, was translated into Chinese by Sha-lo-pa, a disciple of Pagspa. He

received from the Emperor great honours and the title of Tripiṭaka-bhadanta (Hung-Chiao-fo-chih).

The list of translators at this age is very limited. We find three more names of whom only one, was an Indian Śramaṇa, the second was from Tibet, and the third was a Chinese official; the exact date and other details of these translators are unknown. Although the Yuen Period did not produce as many great translators as the former periods did, this period of 88 years of Mongol rule attracted the attention of persons with a religious and literary bent. I have already noted somewhere that the Dhyāna School of Bodhidharma began to gain ground at a later date and became very popular in China and Japan. In 1291 a priest of the Chan or Dhyāna School named Siang-Mai compiled a work known as *Pien-wei-lun* (Nanjio 1607). It was a polemic work against the Taoist. Chu-pa collected in 1314-1320 A.D. some gāthās known as Guhya-pāda-malla-mahā-rddhirāja-sūtra-gāthā of 175 verses (Nanjio 1384). I have already referred to Chu-pa's Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka (Nanjio 1611). Wan-Tsai, a Chinese priest, compiled two works—one being a new commentary on a Treatise by San-Chao, a disciple of the great Kumārajīva, and a commentary on the same (Nanjio 1627, 1628). P'u-tu, a priest compiled a work in 1314 A.D. entitled 'A precious mirror of the Lotus school,' being a work of a priest of Lu-Shang in 10 fasciculi. A very important book, viz., the history of the Patriarchs and other eminent priests of the Dhyāna school, which had been originally collected by a monk of the Southern Sung Dynasty in 1033 A.D., was continued by T'sing-men. A big tome of 30 fasciculi, consisting of the sayings of Upādhyāya Chung-fang, was compiled by his disciple of the Dhyāna School in 1321-23. In 1322 Yuen-Chia wrote a commentary on Tsung-Mi's well-known treatise 'on the origin of Man'. Tsung-Mi was the fifth patriarch of Hwa-Yen or Avatamsaka School, who wrote his book about 841 A.D.

Nien-Chang of the Yuen Dynasty compiled a complete history of Buddhism in Chinese in 36 fasciculi (Nanjio 1637). The narration of this work begins with the first Emperor down to 1333-1344 A.D., when the compilation was finished. It relates several events concerning not only Buddhism, but also Confucianism and Taoism. One Pai-chang had written a few 'Pure Rules', something like Sanskrit Nīti-books, in the T'ang Dynasty. Te-hwui and Ta-su edited and published them. 'Most of these rules

Compilation  
work by Chi-  
nese monks.

Tsung-mi.

Miscellaneous  
writers.

referred to worldly matters, so that they are not only far from the Vinaya, but also from the original rules of Pai-Chang.' The rest of the Chinese writers were either of the Dhyāna School or the T'ien-Tai school. Wei-tso of Tien-Tai school wrote a big commentary in 20 fasciculi, on the *Sūrangama Sūtra* and *Sukhāvati-Vyūha*, the latter known as "an important gate or doctrine of meditation on the state of the Pure-land." P'u-zui, a priest of the Hwa-yen School wrote a big commentary in 40 fasciculi on the commentary of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322). Phu-chao, Chi no, Chi-cho, Chu-ting all wrote on the Dhyāna School. This long and rather dry list is given here to show that the Chinese were not inactive as regards Indian books. As most of the Buddhist books had already been translated, people now gave more matured thought on its contents and wrote and studied either commentaries or expository notes on them. Another important work, which has nothing to do with translation, is *Su-chwan-tang-lu*, in 36 fasciculi which contains the lives of 3118 eminent priests of the Dhyāna School. A similar work was compiled in the later Sung Dynasty. That was also a history of the Indian and Chinese Patriarchs of the Dhyāna School. From historian's point of view these books are very valuable.

The Mongol Emperors were extremely superstitious and showed their sincere devotion to Buddhist religious literature. Khubilai saw to the fact that the monasteries in Peking were all supplied with books and ordered the priests to recite them on stated days. A new collection of Tripiṭaka was published in 1285-87, under the Imperial order of Khubilai. This Catalogue was compiled by Ching-Chi-Siang in collaboration with Indian, Tibetan and Chinese assistants and is known as Chi-Yuen-lu. The number of translated books in the Tripiṭaka mentioned in it is 1440 in 5586 fasciculi. These are the works made by 194 persons under twenty-two dynasties during the period of 1219 years<sup>1</sup>

1 "Preparatory to the translation of the Tripiṭaka into Mongolian the Emperor Khubilai convened his priestly and lay subordinates and constituted there a committee to examine the Buddhist works (1,400 in number) then extant in China and Tibet. This Committee consisted of some 28 men of several countries, China, Tibet, India, Turfan, Uigur and Mongolia." Takakusu, J.P.T.S., 1904-05, p. 80.

(67-1285 A.D.). Besides this there are 95 Indian and 118 Chinese works which are not purely Buddhist books but books dealing with Indian subjects. All the translations of Tripiṭaka and other Indian works are compared with the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur translation and to each of them is added the Sanskrit transliteration and a note after the Chinese title, stating whether both the translations were in agreement or not and whether the book was wanting in the Tibetan version. This composition, however, seems to have been made only through a catalogue of Tibetan books, and not actually with the translations themselves. From the Tibetan sources we get some information as regards this translation; ".....during the reign of the Tartar Emperor, Sa- Chhen, the Chinese scriptures were compared with the Tibetan collections of Kanjur and Tanjur. Such treatises and volumes as were wanting in the Chinese were translated from the Tibetan scriptures. All these formed one complete collection, the first part of which consisted of Buddha's teaching (Kanjur). To the second part 21 volumes of translations from Tibetan, with Chinese Śāstras, and works of eminent Ho-Shang (monks), comprising 153 volumes, were added. The whole collection consisted of 740 volumes. An analytic catalogue of all these books are furnished. In this collection many śāstras were found which did not exist in the Tibetan collections" (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 92).

Another catalogue compiled originally by Wang-Ku of the Sung Dynasty was continued by Kuang-Chu-pa in A.D. 1305 under the Yuen (Mongol) dynasty. This Catalogue entirely depends upon the previous one and adds a short account of the contents of each book. The Catalogue was first sent by M. P. Habace of Russia to S. Julien of Paris in 1848. After a careful study, Julien published a "Concordance-Sinico-Sanskrita" in the *Journal Asiatique* (1849 pp. 351-446). Bunyio Nanjio, while compiling his great Catalogue made use of this valuable Catalogue in which many Sanskrit words have been restored (*JPTS.*, 1905, p. 81).

The activities of Khubilai to enhance the cause of Buddhism was manifold. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a census was taken, by the imperial command, of the Buddhist temples and monks in China. Of the former, the reported number was 42,318 and of the latter 213, 148. About this time, Lamaism or the form of Buddhism developed in Tibet spread to Northern China and Lamas were not regarded as men of different sect as it is now done. I have already

The Catalogue  
Chin-Yuen-Lu.

Mongolian  
Translation of  
Tibetan and  
Sanskrit Tripi-  
ṭaka.



said that Khubilai was much influenced by Tibetan culture, and he ordered a Mongol to study Tibetan language. A complete translation of the Buddhist Sūtras and Śāstras from the Tibetan and Sanskrit into Mongolian, was presented to Khubilai in 1294 A.D. These were cut out in blocks of wood and distributed among the chiefs of the Mongols. Tibetan language was held in great honour in the capital. In 1312 the Mongol Emperor Jen-Tsung ordered Pu-lan-na-shih-li, who had learned Chinese and Sanskrit in his youth, to translate Buddhist books into Mongol Language. From Chinese he translated the Leng-Yen-Ching, (*Laṅkāvatāra*), a Sūtra highly honoured by the Chinese people, and four Sūtras from the original Sanskrit and an other from Tibetan, in all a thousand fasciculi or chapters. As the history of Mongolian Buddhist literature is directly connected with Tibetan Buddhist literature, we shall deal with it elsewhere. Eliot says (III, p. 274) "It is possible that the Buddhism of the Yuen Dynasty was tainted with Śāktism from which the Lama monasteries of Peking are not wholly free" He suggests that some of the indecent scandal of the last Mongol emperors contributed to the speedy downfall of them. The Mongols were driven by the native Chinese dynasty known as Ming, who reigned from 1368 to 1644.

Few Ming Emperors showed much personal interest in religion and their favour was always guided by some political motive. Still the first Ming emperor ordered that all monks should study *Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra*, *Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya* and *Vajra-cchedika*. He called together the priests of the Dhyāna School to write commentaries, and Tsung-lo and Yü-chi wrote three commentaries on these books in 1378 A.D. The third emperor Cheng-tsu, when a boy was educated by a Buddhist Priest and the Emperor imbibed Buddhistic religious and literary tendencies. He wrote ten laudatory compositions in prose and verse between 1410 and 1415 which are incorporated in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. On the whole Buddhism flourished under the Mings and got the imperial support. It was only from time to time that it suffered persecution. The reign of Wu-tsung (1506-21) was extremely favourable to Buddhism. The Emperor himself learnt Buddhist literature and knew Sanskrit as well as Mongol and Arabic. The study of Sanskrit had been throughout encouraged in China and books on Grammar, Lexicon were written in Chinese, for the benefit of scholars. During the Ming Dynasty Sanskrit study decayed in China, still Yun-lo founded in 1407 a school of language for training interpreters at which Sanskrit was taught among other tongues (Eliot, III, p. 278).

The Ming Dynasty.



During the Ming Dynasty the thirteenth Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published in 1368-1398 A.D. in 3 fasciculi. It was re-issued by the Third Emperor with more books added to it and finally published by Mi-tsang at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Afterwards it was republished in Japan by a Japanese in 1678-1681 A.D. There were two distinct collections in China—Northern and Southern. The Emperor T'ai-tsu-kao (1368-1398) caused the whole Tripiṭaka to be engraved in Nanking; and the Emperor T'ai-tsung-wan (1403-1924) again caused a good edition to be published in Peking.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka was preserved in Mss. from 67 A.D. to 972 A.D. for about 900 years, when they were first printed. Beal in his *Catena to Buddhist Literature in China* says that the tripiṭaka had been printed at various times in China from wooden blocks, which were often destroyed by fire or civil war. It is said that during the Sung and Yuen Dynasties (960-1368) as many as twenty different editions had been produced, but during the troubles occurring towards the end of the Yuen Period, all of them perished.

Under the Manchu Rule which began in 1644 and ended in 1910, the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published by the Emperors Shih-tsung and Kao-tsung who ruled from 1723-1795. But the most important and widely known collection is the Ming collection of the Tripiṭaka, the Catalogue of which has been edited by B. Nanjio in 1883. It enumerates 1662 works, classified into four divisions: (1) Sūtra, (2) Vinaya, (3) Abhidharma, and (4) Miscellaneous. The first three contain translations and the fourth original Chinese works. The first division called Ching or Sūtras amounts to nearly two-thirds of the whole, for it comprises no less than 1081 works and is divided as follows: (a) Mahāyāna Sūtras 541 books (b) Hināyāna Sūtras 240, (c) Mahāyāna and Hināyāna Sūtras, 300 in number, admitted into the canon under the Sung and Yuen Dynasty.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a literary and bibliographical collection rather than an ecclesiastical canon. It consists of translations of Indian works belonging to a particular class which possess a certain age and authority. Among these the Mahāyāna Sūtras contain the works most esteemed by Chinese Buddhists. It is divided into seven classes:—(1) Prajñāpāramitā, (2) Ratnakūṭa, (3) Mahāsannipāta, (4) Avataṃsaka, (5) Parinirvāṇa, (6) Sūtras in more than one translation but not falling into any of the above five classes, (7) other Sūtras existing in only one translation.

The Ming Collection.

Classification of the Ming Tripiṭaka.

The Vinaya Piṭaka is divided into Mahāyāna and Hinayāna texts. The latter comprising five well-defined recensions of the code, besides extracts, compendiums etc. (1) Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, (2) Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvastivādins of I-tsing (3) Vinaya of the Dharmagupta School, (4) Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, said to be similar to the Pāli Canon. (5) Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.

The Abhidharma Piṭaka is also divided into Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. They are philosophical works of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others. They represent two principal schools of thought, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. The Hinayāna Abhidharma show no correspondence to the Pāli Abhidharma Piṭaka.

The Miscellaneous portion contains books from Sanskrit as well as Chinese. The latter consist of about 200 works; historical, critical, controversial, homiletic written by 102 writers.

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

## Cosmographical Theories of the Hindu Astronomers

From the earliest stage of the development of human knowledge attempt has been made to fathom the mysteries of creation and to link by a common principle of metaphysical and scientific investigation the different members of the solar system. Now in proceeding with this enterprise they encountered two distinct problems. One was concerned with the nature of the primeval World-stuff; the other with the operation to which it had been subjected. Modern theorists have made it their primary object to expound the mechanism of cosmic growth, the play of forces involved in it, the transformations and progressive re-distributions of energy attending it. But early thinkers till the time of Descartes tried to solve this question by assuming an appropriate material for the exercise of their constructive ingenuity.

Thales asserted all things to have been derived from water. Anaximenes substituted air. A crude attempt to determine the cosmic origin is also found in the R̥g-veda, where it is stated that at first darkness prevailed everywhere, it was only chaos and water abounded in the whole creation.<sup>1</sup> The Manu Saṃhitā also asserts that

<sup>1</sup> R̥g-veda, X, 129.

the creator at first created water and then fire and life.<sup>1</sup> The Vortex Theory of Descartes or the Modern Nebulæ Theory of Kant and Laplace ultimately reduces itself to the theory that the universe originated from vapour as nebulae are no better than vapour.

Hindu astronomers have begun the discussion on cosmographical theories with a series of questions regarding the earth, its magnitude and divisions, the situation of the seven Patala Bhumis or imaginary lower regions of the earth, the sun's revolutions the causes of day and night of the Gods, the Demons and the Pitrs, the order of the stars and planets, the position of their orbits with respect to each other in the Universe.<sup>2</sup> Next they speak of imperceptible agencies of creation, almost the same metaphysical theories as may be found in the Vedas, the Purāṇas and other mythological works.

It is said, "At first only darkness prevailed; in that darkness Vāsudeva (in whom the whole Universe lay latent), the Supreme Being whose manifestation is everything that exists, who is transcendental, without attributes, and tranquil, who is beyond the twenty-five primordial matters and inexhaustible, who pervades all places within and without,<sup>3</sup> who is the contracting power (lit., he who contracts) first created water at the beginning and threw his own power (of contraction) in it. That water with the power of contraction in it produced a golden egg. The sides of the egg were even then enveloped in darkness. Out of that egg evolved Aniruddha (whose motion cannot be stopped) Sanātana (who is everlasting). Hence he is called Hiraṇyagarbha in the Vedas; as he was the first to evolve out he was called Āditya and for the creation of the Universe he is called Sūrya (the Sun). Sūrya (the Sun), whose another name is Savitā, who dispels darkness and who is the cause of the creation, existence and destruction of all beings, is always moving and brings to light the different worlds..... From this originated the moon, the five planets, stars, the earth and other worlds. Brahman, the creator, exists within that egg and hence that egg is called Brahmāṇḍa (the Universe). In the hollow of that egg is situated this world consisting of Bhū, Bhuvas etc. and not outside that

1 Manu Saṃhitā, chap. I.

2 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. XII, verses 1-9.

3 Cf. Ṛg-veda (Puruṣa Hymn), x, 90, 1.

egg. It is round ( गोलकाकृतिः ), as if two cauldrons are joined together with faces in contact."<sup>1</sup>

Though the above theories seem to be more or less metaphysical, yet they can be given a scientific interpretation. It is seen that अप् was first created or was at first in existence. अप् is generally translated as water but it also means watery vapour or simply vapour. The word अप् also indicates ether and hence it means ethereal vapour. Hence it can easily be understood to be the same as nebulae. Thus at first it was only darkness and ethereal vapour or nebulae all around. Into that was thrust the force of contraction and the result was the outcome of a golden ( सुवर्ण ) egg. Utpalabhaṭṭa meant by this word "luminous".<sup>2</sup> In the *Manu Saṃhitā* in connection with the theory of creation of the Universe, Kullukabhaṭṭa, the commentator, has clearly said that it was not golden but brilliant like gold ( अद्भिगुणयोगवशात् ). The visible universe is shaped like an egg, it is not exactly round. By the force of contraction, stars, planets, the sun and other orbs are formed. The force acts within the egg in a state of constant rotation. That is to say, the ethereal vapour which existed at first produced this universe by the forces of contraction and rotation.

The explanation given above is not far-fetched or imaginary. It is the most natural explanation. Then what is the difference between the above theory stated in the *Sūrya Siddhānta* and the Nebular Hypothesis of Kant and Laplace?

The *Brahmaṇḍa* or the golden egg of *Brahmā* is the vast hollow sphere of the Universe at the centre of which is the earth; within it all the stars are supposed to revolve daily, and beneath them are the orbits of the planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Sun and the Moon, in the order of their distances from the centre.<sup>3</sup> The earth stands firm at the centre by its own power without other support in space.<sup>4</sup>

In this connection the Hindu Astronomers dwelt on some peculiar geographical theories which have now probably lost their earlier

1 *Sūrya Siddhānta* chap. XII, 12 to 29 verses.

2 *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*—The chapter on Upanayana ( उपनयन ), comment on verse 6.

3 *Sūrya Siddhānta*, Chap. XII, verses 30, 31.

4 *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, *Golādhyāya*, Chap. I, verse 2.

mythological significance and seem to be pure figments of the imagination.

The circumference of the sphere of the Brahmanāṇḍa, to which the solar rays extend, is declared to be equal to the product of the moon's revolutions (57,753,336,000) in a Kalpa by the circumference of the moon's orbit. Bhāskara says, "Some astronomers assert that the length of the circumference of the sphere of the universe is 18712069200000000 yojanas. But those by whom the astronomical science was thoroughly understood say that it is the length of the circumference of the sphere up to the limit the darkness-dispelling rays of the sun extend. In my opinion every planet covers so much distance in yojanas in one kalpa. Hence it is called Vyomakakṣhā (व्योमकक्षा)".

Varāhamihira has given further details of the constitution of the Universe in his Pañca Siddhāntikā :

"The round ball of the earth, composed of the five elements, abides in space in the midst of the starry sphere, like a piece of iron suspended between magnets ; covered on all sides with trees, mountains, towns, groves, rivers, oceans and other things, in its middle there is Sumeru, the abode of the gods and below there is the place of the Asuras. Straight above Meru in space one pole is seen ; the other pole is seen below, placed in space. Fastened to the pole the sphere of the stars is driven round by the pravaha wind."

Beneath the equinoctial circle is Laṅkā ; there the sphere is right. Day and night there are always of the same length, viz. 30 nāḍikās.

Of the moon which is constantly placed below the Sun, one half is illuminated by the sun's rays, while the other half is obscured by the moon's own shadow, as is the case with a jar standing in the sunlight. The rays of the sun, being reflected from the moon which consists of water, destroy the darkness of the night, just as the rays of the sun falling on the surface of a mirror destroy the darkness inside a house.

Above the moon there are Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (in succession), and then the stars. All planets move towards the east with the same velocity, each in its own orbit. The planets arranged in the ascending order upwards from the moon are the Lords of the months (in succession) ; in their descending order downwards from Saturn, they are the Lords of the hours ; if we take each fifth member of the ascending series we have the Lords of the days. The Lords of the year have been explained before."<sup>1</sup>

We have thus given a complete account of the cosmographical theories and the constitution of the universe as stated by the Hindu astronomers. However crude might these theories have been, they were surely the forerunners of the Vortex Theory of Descartes and the Nebular Theory of Kant and Laplace.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

### Kumārila and Dinnāga

Any one who is acquainted with the Indian philosophical texts will admit that the controversy between the Buddhists and the Hindu philosophers appears most prominent in the history of Indian culture. But it is a matter for regret that nothing has yet been done to disentangle the various threads in the web of this controversy. The neglect of this field is not, however, without reason. The authors of the texts either make a passing reference to the views of others or quote them without informing us either of their source or of their author. The commentaries, too, sadly lack the information we seek for. They mention only occasionally names of philosophers who hold the opposite views without, however, referring to the work or works from which they have drawn their quotations. Owing to ravages of time many valuable books that were current at the time among literary circles have been lost, and the meaning of many passages of the texts we read today have therefore become obscure. We do not know the proper setting of the views that are found controverted in these books. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the full significance of the controversies has still remained a mystery to us. Fortunately for us, some of the texts that have been lost in Sanskrit have been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The only thing that we could do under the circumstances is to make a comparative study of the Hindu and Buddhist texts that exist in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese.

As an illustration we may now refer to the *Ślokavārtika* of Kumārila and its *Ṭikā*, the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathimīśra, and compare some of their passages with those of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Dinnāga now available only in Tibetan translations. The name of Dinnāga is well-known to the readers of the *Nyāyavārtika* of Uddyotakara with its *Ṭikā* by Vācaspatimīśra. The pages of the *Nyāyaratnākara* (Chaukhamba Skt. Series) abound in quotations

from the works of a Bhikṣu.<sup>1</sup> There are also direct references to Diñnāga.<sup>2</sup> Kumārila himself once refers to him as *Nyāyavid.*<sup>3</sup> A comparative study of these passages with those of *Pramāṇasamuccaya* would convince the reader that Kumārila hurls his vehement attacks here against the views of Diñnāga; and the terms *Bhikṣu*, *Bhavadvāddha*, and *Bhavadīya*<sup>4</sup> occurring in the *Nyāyaratnākara* are but impersonal references to the Buddhist philosopher, Diñnāga. This is made still more explicit in the chapter on *Apoha*; for there it seems as if Kumārila had by his side the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diñnāga when writing that chapter of his *Vārtika*.

The parallel passages are given below without noting occasional differences;—

*Nyāyaratnākara.*

*Pramāṇasamuccaya.*<sup>5</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) सदित्यसद्व्युदासायं न नियोगात् स गंयते ।<br>संप्रयोगो हि नियमात् सत एवोपपद्यते ॥<br>4. 36 ; P. 144.    | gal te yod pas med bsal na ।<br>sbyor las de ni rtogs par hgyur ।<br>yañ dag sbyor ba ñes par ni ।<br>yod ñid la ni bstan pa yin ॥<br>1 ; 37 <sup>c-d</sup> — 38 <sup>a-b</sup> . |
| (2) सान्तरयद्दणं न स्यात् प्राप्ती स्थानाधिकस्य वा ।<br>4. 41 ; P. 146.                                    | bar dañ bcas pa ḥdzin pa dañ ।<br>ñes pa lhag paññ thob mi hgyur ॥<br>1 ; 20 <sup>c-d</sup> .   |
| (3) बुद्धिजननि पुंसस्य विकृतिर्यथानित्यता ।<br>अथैविकृतिरात्माऽयं प्रमातेति न युज्यते ॥<br>4. 52 ; P. 150. | skyes bu rnam par hgyur nas blo ।<br>gal te bskyed na mi rtag hgyur ॥<br>ci ste bdag la hgyur med na ।<br>de la tshad ma ḥthad ma yin ॥<br>1 ; 48.                                |
| (4) कल्पनाऽपि स्वसंविताविष्टा नार्थं विकल्पनात् ॥<br>4. 134 ; P. 175.                                      | rtog paññ rañ rig ñid du ḥdod ।<br>don la ma yin der rtog phyir ॥<br>1 ; 7 <sup>a-b</sup> .   |

1 (a) तत्र भिक्षुणा, P. 144.

(c) यत्र भिक्षुणा पक्षधर्मेत्यादि, P. 377.

2 (a) दिङ्नागवचनमपि न्यायसूत्रत्वात्, P. 250.

(c) दिङ्नागवचनमपि, P. 259.

3 वद्वानामप्यसदीयानामिदमेवाभिमतमित्याह—न्यायविकिरिति, P. 258.

4 (a) भवद्बुद्धौ रेव दिङ्नागाचार्यैः, P. 250.

(b) भवदीयेनापि, 250.

(b) भिक्षुणा विषयैकत्वदृष्ट्या, P. 361.

(b) अत एव दिङ्नागाचार्यैरप्युभयं, P. 253.

(d) दिङ्नागस्त्विदं प्रत्यक्षविराधोदाहरणं,

P. 365.

(c) तदा भवदीयान्, P. 488.

5 The Xylograph used by me belongs to the Visvabharati Library.

- (5) नैवं रूपाद्यभेदो वा दृष्टः चेन्न इन्द्रियेण तत् ।  
अत्राऽनेकत्ववैयर्थ्यं स्वार्थं भिन्नेऽपि शक्तिमत् ॥  
4. 156 ; p. 183.  
gcig min gzugs sogs gcig tu gyur l  
mthoñ na dbañ po las di min l  
dbañ gz'an don med hgyur phyir  
ro l  
rañ yul tha dad kyañ ḥdzin nus ॥  
I ; 25<sup>b</sup>-26<sup>a</sup>.
- (6) दृष्टान्तोऽभिहितो ह्येष वैधर्म्येणाऽसुशिक्षितः ।  
5. 154 ; p. 254.  
mi mthun phyogs la legs bsalabs  
pas l  
dpe de ñid du brjod pa yin l  
II ; 103<sup>c-d</sup>.
- (7) परार्थानुमानं तु स्वदृष्टार्थप्रकाशकम् ।  
5. 146 ; p. 252-53.  
gz'an gyi don gyi rjes dpag ni l  
rañ gis mthoñ don gsal byed yin l  
-  
III ; 98<sup>a-b</sup>.
- (8) ज्ञानान्तरेणाऽनुभवे ह्येष्टा तत्रापि च स्मृतिः ।  
विषयान्तरसंचारस्तथा न स्वात् स चिष्यते ॥  
5. 27, 187 ; pp. 277, 321.  
śes pa gz'an gyis ñams myoñ na l  
thug med la ḥaṇ dran pa ste l  
yul gz'an dag la ḥpho ba na l  
med hgyur de yañ ḥdod phyir ro ॥  
II ; 13.
- (9) पूर्ववत् फलमस्य ।  
5. 52 ; p. 361.  
ḥbras bu sñar.bz'in ḥdi gñis kyī l  
II ; 49<sup>c</sup>.
- (10) विरुपाल्लिङ्गतोऽर्थदृक् ।  
5. 49 ; p. 488.  
tshul gsum rtags las don mthoñ  
paḥo l  
II ; 49<sup>b</sup>.
- (11) न जातिशब्दो भेदाना-  
मानन्त्यव्यभिचारतः ।  
वाचको योगजात्योर्वा  
भेदाद्यैरपृथक्स्मृतः ॥  
51, 114 ; p. 596.  
rigs sgra khyad par rnams la min l  
mthaḥ.yas.phyir dañ ḥkhrul paḥi  
pyir l  
brjod byed ldan nam rigs tha dad l  
don dañ tha dad med thos phyir ॥  
V ; 171.
- (12) तद्वतो नाऽस्वतन्त्रत्वात् ।  
5. 120 ; p. 598.  
rañ dbañ med phyir de ldan min l  
V ; 173<sup>a</sup>.
- (13) तद्वास्तु भेद एवेष्टः  
स तु पूर्वः निराकृतः ।  
तदन्मात्रेऽपि सम्बन्धः  
स ता वेति विचारितम् ॥  
5. 128, 131 ; pp. 600-601.  
de ldan kyad par ñid la brjod l  
de yañ sñar ni spañs pa yin l  
de ldan tsam ni ḥbrel ba ḥam l  
yod pa yin z'es rnam par dbyed ॥  
V ; 178.



- (14) तद्धानर्थो घटादिभ्य-  
न्न घटादिषु वर्तते ।  
सामान्यमर्थः स कथ-  
मिति तद्वदवाच्यता ॥  
5. 131 ; p. 601.  
de ltar de ni bum sogs bz'in ।  
bum pa la sogs rnam la spyi ।  
mi hjug de don ji ltar yin ।  
de yañ rgyu mtshan med mi ḥdod ॥  
V ; 179.
- (15) सा भूदर्थान्तरे वृत्ति-  
र्यथैकत्वाऽसित्वादिवत्  
5. 131 ; p. 601.  
gcig la dkar po min sogs bz'in ।  
V ; 180<sup>a</sup>.
- (16) नैवं जातेरजातितः  
5. 131 ; p. 602.  
de min rigs la rigs med phyir ।  
V ; 180<sup>c</sup>.
- (17) अर्थाच्चिपेऽप्यनैकान्तः  
5. 133 ; p. 602.  
don gyis ḥbañs kyañ ma ñes so ।  
V ; 180<sup>d</sup>.
- (18) भेदो भेदान्तरार्थं तु  
विरोधित्वादपीह्यते ।  
5. 147 ; p. 605.  
khyad par dongz'an khyad par ni ।  
hgal bañ phyir na sel bar byed ॥  
V ; 197<sup>a-b</sup>.
- (19) अन्यत्वेऽपि न सामान्य-  
भेदपर्यायवाचिनाम् ।  
5. 149 , p. 606.  
spyi dañ khyad par rnam  
grañs sgra ।  
gz'an ñid yin yañ sel mi byed ॥  
V ; 194<sup>c-d</sup>,
- (20) अदृष्टत्वाद् व्युदासो वा  
भेदानामितरेतरम् ।  
5. 155 ; p. 608.  
yañ na ma mthoñ phyir sel to ।  
khyad par gyi ni spyi bsal ḥgyur ॥  
V ; 200<sup>a-b</sup>.
- (21) नाऽन्यथुक्तस्य दृष्टत्वात्  
5. 155 ; p. 608.  
ma yin gz'an ldan mthoñ bañ phyir ।  
V ; 200<sup>c</sup>.
- (22) तन्मात्राऽऽकाङ्क्षायाद् भेदः  
तत्सामान्यं न नोक्तिरिति ।  
5. 155 ; p. 608.  
de tsom ḥdod phyir khyad par ni-  
rañ'gi spyi yis spon mi byed ।  
V ; 195<sup>a-b</sup>.
- (23) वृत्तत्वपार्थिवद्रव्य-  
संज्ञेयाः प्रातिलोम्यतः ।  
चतुस्त्रिंशद्विंशत्येव  
निमित्तं निश्चयेऽन्यथा ॥  
5. 158 p. 609.  
śin ñid sa las gyur rdzas yod ।  
śes bya go rim bzlog pa las ।  
bz'i gsum gñis dañ gcig the tshom ।  
gz'an du des la rgyu mtshan yin ॥  
V ; 204.
- (24) जातिधर्मव्यवस्थितः ।  
5. 163 ; p. 611.  
rigs kyi chos ni rnam gnas phyir ।  
V ; 206<sup>a</sup>.

H. R. RANGASVAMI IYENGER

