

Dating of Abhayākaragupta’s Three Works on the Basis of the Established Date of the *Pañcarakṣā* Manuscript Copied in the Regnal Year 39 of Rāmapāla*

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In my previous paper (Hori 2019), I have established the exact date of the *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript copied in the regnal year 39 of Rāmapāla in the Catherine Glynn Benkaim Collection as Thursday, August 2, 1117 CE (= 6th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada).¹ If the date is the first day of the regnal year 39, the accession of Rāmapāla should fall on August 2, 1079 CE (= 6th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada). If the date is the last day of the 39th regnal year, his accession should fall on August 3, 1078 CE (= 7th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada). Therefore, it is possible to narrow down the possible period of Rāmapāla’s accession to August 3, 1078 CE to August 2, 1079 CE. Based on the possible period of the accession, we can also narrow down the possible period of each regnal year.

Abhayākaragupta is known as a Buddhist scholar-monk active during the reign of Rāmapāla, and his three works record the year of authorship of each work in the regnal year of Rāmapāla. Gudrun Bühnemann (1991 & 1992) attempts to date the three works on the basis of various historical works referring to the Pāla chronology. It is now possible to narrow down the years of authorship of the three works on the basis of the established date of the *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript.

Munimatālamkāra

First, I deal with the *Munimatālamkāra*, because Kanō Kazuo and Li Xuezhong (2021: 112n1) correct the date of the work to “1108 or 1109” CE, citing my article (Hori 2019).

The final colophon records the date of the *Munimatālamkāra* as follows:

sūrir vvikramaśīlasyābhayo marmmasprśaṃ girāṃ |

rājye śrīrāmapālasya triṅśadabde ’karod imām || (Kano & Li 2020: 47)

According to this colophon, Abhayākaragupta composed this work in the 30th year

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¹ All datings in this paper are based on the computer program *pañcāṅga*, version 3.14, developed by Michio Yano and Makoto Fushimi and based on the *Sūryasiddhānta*. I have used the setting of the latitude 25.3 N and the longitude 87.3 E corresponding to the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra, because Abhayākaragupta is referred to as a scholar of the monastery (*sūrir vikramaśīlasya*) in the three passages dealt with in this paper. For this computer program and the traditional Indian calendar, see Yano (2007). The solar dates output by *pañcāṅga* are one day earlier than the solar dates according to the solar calendar used in Bengal (cf. Yano 2007: 68–69, Table 4; Sewell & Dikshit 1896: 12; Hori 2019: 50n10). Therefore, the *n*th solar day by *pañcāṅga* is considered the (*n*–1)th solar day according to the Bengali solar calendar, on which all dates cited in this paper are based.

(*triṅśadabde*²) of Rāmapāla's reign. The 30th regnal year means that 29 years have already passed, although 30 years have not yet elapsed from the accession to the date in question. If Rāmapāla's accession was on August 3, 1078 CE, the first day of the 30th regnal year (to which exactly 29 years had elapsed) should fall on August 4, 1107 CE. If Rāmapāla's accession was on August 2, 1079 CE, the last day of the 30th regnal year should fall on August 1, 1109 CE. Therefore, the 30th regnal year ranges **from August 4, 1107 CE to August 1, 1109 CE**. During this period, Abhayākaragupta should have completed the composition of the *Munimatālaṃkāra*. It can be formulated that **the possible period of the nth regnal year of Rāmapāla ranges from the 7th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada, (n+1077) CE, to the 5th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada, (n+1079) CE**.

Abhayapaddhati

The following stanza records the date of the *Abhayapaddhati*.

sūrir vikramaśīlasyābhayo marmasprśaṃ girām |
rājyābde rāmapālasya pañcaviṃśe 'karod imām ||
 (Luo 2010: 51; cf. Shāstri 1917: 163)

This stanza shows that Abhayākaragupta composed this work in the 25th year of Rāmapāla's reign. According to the above formula, the 25th regnal year of Rāmapāla ranges from the 7th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada, (25+1077) CE, to the 5th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada, (25+1079) CE, i.e. **August 3, 1102 CE to August 1, 1104 CE**. Abhayākaragupta should have completed the composition of the *Abhayapaddhati* during this period.

Āmnāyamañjarī

The Tibetan version of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* contains the following passage.³

rnam gnon tshul mkhas 'jig med kyis || gnad la reg pa 'i tshig 'di ni ||
dga' ba skyoñ gi rgyal srid lo || sum cu rtsa bdun pa la byas ||
 (Peking 2328, dza 356b4)

This passage demonstrates that Abhayākaragupta composed this work in the 37th year of Rāmapāla's reign. According to the above formula, the 37th regnal year of Rāmapāla ranges from the 7th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada, (37+1077) CE to the 5th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada, (37+1079) CE, i.e. **August 4, 1114 CE to August 1, 1116 CE**. During this period, Abhayākaragupta should have completed the composition of the

² For the spelling *ṅś* for *ṃś*, see Wackernagel (1896: 185, §163b). *triṅśad-abda-* (a cardinal plus a noun) can be interpreted as a possessive compound “having 30 years” modifying *rājya-* “reign.” Cf. Wackernagel (1905: 305–307, §117b–d); Debrunner & Wackernagel (1930: 362, §186f).

³ Unfortunately, the recently reproduced Sanskrit-Tibetan bilingual manuscript of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* (Institute of the Collection and Preservation of Ancient Tibetan Texts of Sichuan Province 2015) does not include the corresponding passage, as the manuscript includes only the first half of the entire text (Tomabechi 2017: 103; Tanaka 2017: 44).

Āmnāyamañjarī.

In this paper, I have discussed the problem of dating based on the assumption that the beginning of each regnal year corresponds to the day of Rāmapāla's accession. However, there may be another possibility regarding the beginning of the regnal year. If the beginning of the regnal year is fixed independently of the day of the accession, e.g. on the first day of the solar Vaiśākha (i.e. the day following the day of the Meṣa *saṃkrānti*) as in the Bengali era,⁴ it must be taken into account that the first and the last regnal year may only last at least one day, i.e. the minimum period up to the *n*th year is equal to (*n*–2) years plus 2 days.⁵ This possibility has never been considered in the previous Pāla chronologies.⁶

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⁴ Cf. Sircar 1965: 312; Sewell & Dikshit 1896: 43. However, it is unknown whether the beginning of the year was fixed in the regnal year of the Pālas like the Bengali era.

⁵ For instance, the Shōwa era of Japan lasted 62 years and 2 weeks, although the last year was the 64th, because the beginning of the year is fixed for January 1 by the Gregorian calendar which has been adopted in Japan since 1872 CE, and Emperor Shōwa ascended to the throne on December 25, 1926 CE, and died on January 7, 1989 CE.

⁶ Recently, Kim (2013: 222–225) and Dimitrov (2016: 747–756) deal with the Pāla chronology.

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Table 1. Possible Period of Each Regnal Year of Rāmapāla⁷

Arrangement

1. Regnal year of Rāmapāla.
2. 7th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada (= the first possible day of the regnal year).
3. 1st solar day of the solar Vaiśākha (= the beginning of the year in the Bengali era).
4. 6th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada.
5. 5th solar day of the solar Bhādrapada (= the last possible day of the regnal year).

1	2	3	4	5
1	August 3, 1078 ⁸	March 25, 1079	August 2, 1079 ⁹	August 1, 1080
2	August 3, 1079	March 24, 1080	August 2, 1080	August 1, 1081
3	August 3, 1080	March 24, 1081	August 2, 1081	August 1, 1082
4	August 3, 1081	March 25, 1082	August 2, 1082	August 1, 1083
5	August 3, 1082	March 25, 1083	August 2, 1083	August 1, 1084
6	August 3, 1083	March 24, 1084	August 2, 1084	August 1, 1085
7	August 3, 1084	March 24, 1085	August 2, 1085	August 1, 1086
8	August 3, 1085	March 25, 1086	August 2, 1086	August 2, 1087
9	August 3, 1086	March 25, 1087	August 3, 1087	August 1, 1088
10	August 4, 1087	March 24, 1088	August 2, 1088	August 1, 1089
11	August 3, 1088	March 25, 1089	August 2, 1089	August 1, 1090
12	August 3, 1089	March 25, 1090	August 2, 1090	August 2, 1091
13	August 3, 1090	March 25, 1091	August 3, 1091	August 1, 1092
14	August 4, 1091	March 24, 1092	August 2, 1092	August 1, 1093
15	August 3, 1092	March 25, 1093	August 2, 1093	August 1, 1094
16	August 3, 1093	March 25, 1094	August 2, 1094	August 2, 1095
17	August 3, 1094	March 25, 1095	August 3, 1095	August 1, 1096
18	August 4, 1095	March 24, 1096	August 2, 1096	August 1, 1097
19	August 3, 1096	March 25, 1097	August 2, 1097	August 1, 1098
20	August 3, 1097	March 25, 1098	August 2, 1098	August 2, 1099
21	August 3, 1098	March 25, 1099	August 3, 1099	August 1, 1100

⁷ This table can be applied to colophons (Weissenborn 2012: 289–291, 304–305, 310) and inscriptions (Huntington 1984: 231–234) recording the regnal year of Rāmapāla. If the other calendrical elements, e.g. a month and so on, are recorded, it is possible to narrow down the dates. The last regnal year of Rāmapāla known so far is year 53 recorded in the colophon of a *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript in the possession of the National Museum, New Delhi (Banerjee 1969: 61–62, pl. 1b). The colophon records the date as follows: *samvat* 53 vaiśākṣyadine* (read *vaiśākhadine*) 16. The regnal year 53 should fall between August 4, 1130 CE and August 1, 1132 CE. If the 16th day of the month Vaiśākha is a solar day based on the Bengali solar calendar, the date should correspond to April 9, 1131 CE or April 10, 1132 CE (see Hori 2019: 51).

⁸ The first possible day of Rāmapāla's accession.

⁹ The last possible day of Rāmapāla's accession.

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22	August 4, 1099	March 24, 1100	August 2, 1100	August 1, 1101
23	August 3, 1100	March 25, 1101	August 2, 1101	August 1, 1102
24	August 3, 1101	March 25, 1102	August 2, 1102	August 2, 1103
25	August 3, 1102	March 25, 1103	August 3, 1103	August 1, 1104
26	August 4, 1103	March 24, 1104	August 2, 1104	August 1, 1105
27	August 3, 1104	March 25, 1105	August 2, 1105	August 1, 1106
28	August 3, 1105	March 25, 1106	August 2, 1106	August 2, 1107
29	August 3, 1106	March 25, 1107	August 3, 1107	August 1, 1108
30	August 4, 1107	March 24, 1108	August 2, 1108	August 1, 1109
31	August 3, 1108	March 25, 1109	August 2, 1109	August 1, 1110
32	August 3, 1109	March 25, 1110	August 2, 1110	August 2, 1111
33	August 3, 1110	March 25, 1111	August 3, 1111	August 1, 1112
34	August 4, 1111	March 24, 1112	August 2, 1112	August 1, 1113
35	August 3, 1112	March 25, 1113	August 2, 1113	August 2, 1114
36	August 3, 1113	March 25, 1114	August 3, 1114	August 2, 1115
37	August 4, 1114	March 25, 1115	August 3, 1115	August 1, 1116
38	August 4, 1115	March 25, 1116	August 2, 1116	August 1, 1117
39	August 3, 1116	March 25, 1117	August 2, 1117 ¹⁰	August 2, 1118
40	August 3, 1117	March 25, 1118	August 3, 1118	August 2, 1119
41	August 4, 1118	March 25, 1119	August 3, 1119	August 1, 1120
42	August 4, 1119	March 25, 1120	August 2, 1120	August 1, 1121
43	August 3, 1120	March 25, 1121	August 2, 1121	August 2, 1122
44	August 3, 1121	March 25, 1122	August 3, 1122	August 2, 1123
45	August 4, 1122	March 25, 1123	August 3, 1123	August 1, 1124
46	August 4, 1123	March 25, 1124	August 2, 1124	August 1, 1125
47	August 3, 1124	March 25, 1125	August 2, 1125	August 2, 1126
48	August 3, 1125	March 25, 1126	August 3, 1126	August 2, 1127
49	August 4, 1126	March 25, 1127	August 3, 1127	August 1, 1128
50	August 4, 1127	March 25, 1128	August 2, 1128	August 1, 1129
51	August 3, 1128	March 25, 1129	August 2, 1129	August 2, 1130
52	August 3, 1129	March 25, 1130	August 3, 1130	August 2, 1131
53	August 4, 1130	March 25, 1131	August 3, 1131	August 1, 1132

¹⁰ The established date of the *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript.