Dīpaṁkara

We owe much to Tibetan historians for the information furnished by them about the career and achievements of the great Buddhist scholar and religious teacher prince Atiśa Dīpaṁkara. But they present a medley of facts and fictions in trying to make Dīpaṁkara a superman. Hence care should be taken in handling the available materials critically.

Parentage and Early Life

Dīpaṁkara was the second son of Kalyanaśri and Padma Prabhā. He was born in c. A.D. 980 ‘in the royal family of Gaur at Vikramāṇa-pura in Bāṅgalā, a country lying to the east of Vajrāsana’. A second group of scholars maintains that he was born in Zahor in the noble Jiva family ‘in the same line in which Śāntijiva (Śāntarakṣita) belonged’. Again, some scholars locate his birthplace in Vajrayogini, a village in Vikramapura in the Dacca district. Vajrayogini was noted for its Buddhist activities. Once it must have been a part of the city of Vikramapura. It had a large area comprising about twenty-eight hamlets. It has also a number of old temple sites. In one part of the village there are three tanks by the side of which there is a mound known as ‘Naṣṭika–

* The first part of this paper was published in volume 47 (1987), pp. 373–396, of this journal.

153 JBTS, I, i, 7. This view is also accepted by Waddell, II, 35 n. – ‘Dīpaṁkara was born of the royal family of Gaur at Vikramāpurī in Bengal’; J-Ted, 603; Sumpā, Part II, xviii, 183, etc.

154 Brome-ston-pa states, ‘I offer prayer to the feet of Dīpaṁkara-śri, who was born in the noble Jiva family of the kings of Zahor of the tri-sampanna Bengal in the same line to which Śāntijiva (Śāntarakṣita) belonged’. – sloke 1, Section, 2; Nag-tsho says, ‘In the east, in the marvellous country of Zahor there was a great city called Vikramapura. In its centre (stood) a royal residence, very spacious palace it was, called ’Golden Bannered’. – BA, I, 241–42; Sumpā. Part II. XVIII. 183.

155 Jivanikosa (Bengali), Bhāratīya Aitihāsika, 21.6; Rāhula Saṅkrityāyān believes that he was born in Bhagalpur in Bihar – Rāhula in 2500 Years, 227–28.
*panditer-bhīṭa* or *Atiśer-bhīṭa* or the residence of Atiśa. From different parts of the village a large number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images have been discovered. Among these are the famous silver image of Viṣṇu preserved in the Indian Museum, an image of Tārā of the late Gupta or early Pāla period and another image of the same deity belonging to a later period, both preserved in the Dacca Museum. Vajrayogini was thus a centre of later Buddhism in Eastern India. Vajrayogini also provides an inscription belonging to Sāmalavarman of the Varman dynasty of Bengal. This king was a Vaiṣṇava. His inscription bears a *Viṣṇu-cekra* seal. But it is curious that the Buddhist influence of the locality was so great that even a Vaiṣṇava king of the region, made a gift of land in favour of a Buddhist temple of Prajñāpāramitā built by Bhimadeva. Attention may be drawn to some of the details available showing Dipaṃkara's connection with Bengal and a ruling family.

S. C. Das refers to two passages describing the capital of this ruling family. The capital appears from one of the passages, to have been 'a populous area containing twenty hundred thousand habitations and 'was prosperous, opulent, spacious, well swept and kept clean'. The king's palace standing at the middle was lofty and furnished with many golden dhvajas. According to another passage, 'His birth took place in the Central Palace called *Suvannadhvaja* in the city of Vikramapura in Bāṅgalā in Eastern India... S. C. Das's account is mainly based on Nag-tsho.

**Name**

The name of Dipaṃkara is given in various forms, viz., Dipaṃkara, Śri-Dipaṃkara, Dipaṃkara-jñāna, Dipaṃkara-jñāna-pāda, Śri-Dipaṃkara-jñāna-pāda, Dipaṃkara-śri-jñāna, etc., obviously the variations are not of a serious kind. The name given by his parents was Candragarbha. His first initiated name was Guhya-jñāna-vajra and his Buddhist ordained name was Dipaṃkara. The name Atiśa which is the most familiar one was also used by the Tibetans and the Mongolians. The name Dipaṃkara in any form, with or without the prefix and suffix, is very popular and well-known.

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156 Bhattasali, 57, 61.
157 EI, XXX, 259 ff.
158 Sastri, H. P. - Buddha Gan O Doha, 22; Prāchīna Baṅgīlar Gaurava, 33 ff.; HB, 335. In the Peking Ed. of the Bstan-gyur he is described as a Bengali born bhikṣu.
159 Sumpa, Part II, XVIII, 183.
160 BA, I, 241–42, see supra, fn. 154.
H. P. Sastri holds that probably there were two Dipamkaraś 161. Without entering into details, we may conclude that the Buddhist scholar of whom we are speaking can be very easily distinguished from any other person bearing the same name. His individuality is sufficiently well-apparent and distinctive in his own field of activities and no second man can claim to be his rival simply for having the same name. The Bstan-hgyur have collected the works of Dipamkara with different suffixes, such as Dipamkara-candra, Dipamkara-Bhadra, Dipamkara-Rakṣita. Dipamkara-Bhadra is also mentioned by Tāranātha 161a.

Early Education

Regarding his early education and pupillage there are different statements. S. C. Das's account shows that Candragarbha was sent 'while very young to the sage Jetāri, an Avadhūta adept for his education', under whom he studied the five kinds of minor sciences, with a view to preparing himself for training in philosophy and religion 162. From Tibetan sources we get the names of his teachers 163. They are the following: Rāhulagupta, Śīlarakṣita, Dharmakirti, Śānti-pā, the junior Kusali-pā, Avadhūti-pā, Rāhulaguhya-vajra, Dharmarakṣita, Ratnākaraśānti, Jñānaśri-mitra, Jetāri, Kṛṣṇapāda, Dombhi-pā, Vidyākokila, Matijñānabadhī, Pandita Mahājāna, Bhūtakoṭi-pā, Dānaśri, Prajñābhadra and Bodhibhadra. Dipamkara may have received lessons in Tantric practices from his father 164, who initiated him into its mysteries. He also mentions his debt to his mother for his knowledge of the Vedas. S. C. Das also gives an account of Dipamkara's later career. He studied the three Piṭakas of the Hinayāna school and the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, as well as the three Piṭakas of the Mahāyāna doctrine. He studied at the Kṛṣṇagiri (Kanheri) monastery under Rāhulagupta and obtained proficiency in these branches of mystic Buddhism and philosophy. He was given the secret name of Gūhyajñāna Vajra. 'Here he became versed in the mantras' 165. Avadhūti-pā, a famous Siddhācarya was greatly respected by Dipamkara. According to Gos lo-tsa-ba he spent seven years as an attendant of Avadhūti-pā, underwent 'rigorous mental training' and took part in Tantric exercises in the country of Od-ḍiyāna and acquainted himself with numerous mystic songs 166. Dipamkara

161 HB, 335.
161a Tār., Chapter XXXVIII.
162 JBTG, I, i, 7; Rāhula, 227-28.
163 BA, I, 224-44.
164 Cf., D-Ted, 763; BA, I, 226; JBTG, I, i.7 n.
165 Sumpā, Part II, xviii, 183; cf., JBTG, I, i.8.
166 BA, I, 224; cf., Rāhula, 229; H. P. Sastri, Advayavajra-saṅgraha, vi.
169 Sumpā, Part, II, xviii, 189.
in his twenty-ninth year was converted to Buddhism by Śilarakṣita, the High Priest of Odantapuri and thence forward came to be known by the name of Dipaṁkara Śrijñāna. 'Till the age of thirty-one prosecuted his religious and metaphysical studies under Dharmarākṣita and other eminent teachers'. He was taught metaphysics by some reputed philosophers of Magadha and himself specialised in the theory of the evolution of all matters from voidity. Although the 'Gos-tsa-ba and the Sumpā state that Dipaṁkara was initiated by Śilarakṣita as mentioned above, Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyān holds that the initiation was performed by Bodhibhadra of Nālandā and subsequently became a pupil of Śilarakṣita. Before ordination he completed his study of the Piṭakas of the four schools and specialised in the Tantras under the guidance of Dharmarākṣita. Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyān says Dipaṁkara studied the Vinaya Piṭaka under the guidance of Mahāvīnyadhara Śilarakṣita in the Mahāvihāra of Vajrāsana. He completed this course in two years.

Dipaṁkara probably heard about the scholarship of Candrakīrti, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvipa, and he resolved to go and study under him after completing his training in India. He left for Suvarṇadvipa in a large boat. The voyage was long and tedious... At this time Suvarṇadvipa was a leading centre of Buddhism in the East and its High Priest was regarded with great esteem throughout the Buddhist world as an authority on Mahāyāna philosophy. Here Dipaṁkara stayed for about twelve years studying the doctrines in detail, after which he returned to his country. 'Here he practised Praṇidhi, concentration of the mind in prayer.'

After his return from Suvarṇadvipa Dipaṁkara stayed for sometime in Bengal and Bihar; while residing at Mahābodhi he defeated the Tirthika heretics in religious controversies, and tried to show the superiority of Buddhism over other religious practices in Magadha. Dipaṁkara was honoured by successive Pāla kings. At first Mahipāla I appointed him the Chief High Priest but later Nayapāla, his successor, made him the High Priest of the Vikramaśila monastery. Magadha was invaded by the Kalachuri king Karna. Nayapāla's army suffered a defeat at the hands of his enemy who had advanced as far as the capital. But ultimately the Magadha king was victorious and Karna sued for peace. A treaty of friendship was signed between the two rulers. Dipaṁkara took an active part in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rulers.

168 BA, I, 243; Rāhula, 229.
169 Sumpā, Part II, xviii, 183.
170 JBTS, I, i, 9.
171 Ibid., 9–10.
172 Atiśa was first made 'The Chief High Priest of Vikramaśila' by Mahipāla I.
Dipaṁkara and Vikramaśila

The Vikramaśila vihāra was founded by Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty in the 8th century A.D. But according to some scholars Devapāla was its founder. It became a famous centre of Tantrism. King Mahipāla of the Pāla dynasty appointed Dipaṁkara to the post of ‘the Chief High Priest’ of Vikramaśila after his return from Suvarṇādvipa in A.D. 1025. Probably he held this office till the end of Mahipāla’s reign or he may have left the post earlier. Mahipāla I was succeeded by king Nayapāla. S. C. Das tells us that ‘at the request of king Nayapāla he accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśila’. Two years after this appointment Atiśa left India for good. This date has been fixed by different scholars at 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041 or 1042. Before he left India, he held some responsible posts. In addition to his assignment at the Vikramaśila monastery he also acted as the High Priest of Odantapurī monastery. He was also connected with the Somapura-vihāra where he translated Madhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa of Bhāvaviveka. In recognition of his greatness, Naropā honoured him by appointing him as the Head of the Buddhist religion. In the meantime, he may also have acted as the Governor of the Vikramaśila monastery. We do not know when he was appointed to this post. But we are told that as the Governor of the Vikramaśila monastery he expelled Devākara tsandra, a Buddhist pupil of Brāhmaṇa pandita to maintain

Later he was made the ‘High Priest’ by Nayapāla. Probably Atiśa was entrusted with complete control of the Vikramaśila monastery by Mahipāla I and enjoyed that position till the end of his reign. After the death of Mahipāla I, Dipaṁkara may have been deprived of his powers and subsequently he may have resigned from that post. However, his biographers are silent about it. When king Nayapāla ascended the throne, Dipaṁkara helped Nayapāla to restore peace in his kingdom by concluding a treaty with his rival the Kalachuri king, Karna. We are told ‘at the request of king Nayapāla he accepted the post of the High Priest of Vikramaśila’ (JBTS, I, i. 9). It is probable that he was not feeling quite happy in Vikramaśila monastery and secretly planned to go to Tibet (BA, I, 247). While giving an account of the convocation at Vikramaśila, held before his departure, the Tibetan envoy Nag-tsho pays an eloquent tribute to his impressive appearance and personality. He says: ‘When all the rows of seats are filled up, there came lord Atiśa, the Venerable of Venerables, in all his glory at whose sight the eyes felt no satiety. His graceful appearance and smiling face struck every one of the assembly. From his waist hung down a bundle of keys. The Indians, Nepalese and Tibetans all looked at him for a countryman of their own. There was brightness mixed with simplicity of expression in his face which acted as a magic spell upon those who beheld him’. – JBTS, I, 18–19.

173 JASB, 1881, 37; 1891, 51; JBTS, I, i, 50; Levi, Nepal, II, 189; Sumpā, liv; BA, I, 247; 1HQ, VI, 159, etc.; Cordier Catalogue, III, 299.
174 Sumpā, xlvi, 118; cf., HB, 335; Tār, Ges, 243; Cordier., III, 299.
175 JBTS, I, i, 1; cf., BA, I, 25.
discipline in the institution. Dipamkara wrote many books and was already a reputed scholar and writer before he left Vikramaśila. The Tibetan king had sent invitation to the great scholar, to visit Tibet which he finally accepted. Lha Lama Ye-ses-hod, who was king of Tibet in about the middle of the 11th century A.D. was a pious Buddhist. He was most anxious to receive an Indian Buddhist scholar in his country. For this purpose he sent out an invitation but this was not responded to. He despatched a similar mission for the second time and that also failed. He finally sent an officer, Tshul Khrims-rgyal-ba (Jayaśila) on the same mission which proved a success. Although Atiśa did not probably have any personal objection to visit Tibet, the authorities of the Vikramaśila monastery were unwilling to lose the services of the great teacher and scholar. One of the monks of the monastery, when he came to know about the plan of Nag-tsho to take away Dipamkara, said: ‘The master (Atiśa) is like an eye unto us – the Indians. In his absence we should indeed be blind...’ 177. In the opinion of Ratnākara there was no other ‘Pandita’ who could in the absence of Atiśa ‘preserve the moral discipline of the monks here.’ 178. He once remarked that the withdrawal of his presence from the country, would mean an irreparable loss to the cause of Buddhism as he held the ‘key’ to many a Buddhist monasteries in Magadha.

However, Dipamkara was permitted to go to Tibet on leave for three years. At the age of fifty-nine, he left the Vikramaśila monastery in charge of Ratnākara and proceeded to Tibet with ‘the two Lo-tsa-was who had been commissioned to take him there.’ 179. The journey was not a very happy and peaceful one. Some of his enemies planned to kill him with hired men. When Dipamkara reached the border of India, these men came to kill him but the majestic and saintly appearance of Dipamkara paralysed them and they were unable to raise their hands against him. On another occasion, while he was staying in Nepal some robbers came to steal the beautiful sandal-wood table which was with the saint. But they failed to take it away. Although Dipamkara was able to save his own life, he felt distressed at the death of his Tibetan interpreter and one of his close friends which took place before he reached Tibet. The news of this tragic event was communicated by him in a written form to king Naya-pāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. This letter is known as the Vimalaratna-lekha 180.

176 Sumpā, xlvi, 119; liv, 118.
177 JBTS, I, i, 21-23.
178 HB, 676; cf., Sumpā, Part II, xlvi, 119; liv, 118.
179 Sumpā, Part II, xix, 183; cf., HB, 676.
180 A. Chattopadhyaya, Atiśa and Tibet, 520 ff.
Some scholars are of the opinion that on his way to Tibet Dipaṅkara visited Nepal where he met Ananta-kīrti, king of Nepal. He also ordained Padmaprabha, the prince, and persuaded the king of Nepal to build the Samatha vihāra. After the foundation of the vihāra was laid Dipaṅkara left Nepal for Tibet. Some scholars do not accept the story as true. The king of Nepal in the 11th century A.D. was not Anantakīrti. The story of the alleged visit of Atiśa lacks corroborative evidence from Nepalese sources. Thus it has been suggested that Dipaṅkara went to Tibet from Vajrāśana or Buddhagaya to Tibet, via Nepal, Māṇāsa-saravara and Tao-ling.

Dipaṅkara in Tibet

Atiśa came to Tibet in about A.D. 1042, where he was given a hearty welcome by the people and was received by the king himself. The royal monks and others studied under him. On the termination of his leave Atiśa made up his mind to return to India. But there were some important reasons which prevented his return, one of which was political unrest prevailing in the countries which lay on the route between India and Tibet. Secondly, there was a personal factor also; this was his contact with ‘Brom-ston-pa’, whose inspiration it was difficult for him to resist. Dipaṅkara lived in Tibet for thirteen years and died there in c. 1055 A.D. During his stay in Tibet his first task was to spread Buddhism in that country. This he did most successfully by preaching Buddhism, and converting the non-Buddhists to this religion. For this purpose he travelled extensively. He also imparted Buddhism through his writings. His first work on Tibet was Bodhipatha-pradipa. He also wrote many other books during his stay in Tibet. Many manuscripts were also translated by him. In fact, he worked more zealously than anybody else in ushering in a new age in the field of Tibetan religion and social life through his preaching and writings. An event of great importance was the meeting of Dipaṅkara with ‘Brom-ston-pa which led Dipaṅkara to give up the idea of returning to India forever. This association helped to reform the old religions of Tibet. A monastery was built at the request of Atiśa, where he appointed Brom his successor. Shortly after this, Dipaṅkara died at the age of seventy-three in c. 1054 (1055) A.D.

181 JBTs, I, i, 27; Sumpā, Part II, xix, 185.
182 BA, I, 247; Regmi, Nepal, 561.
183 Rāhula, 36–37; Regmi, Nepal, 122; BA, II, 1058.
184 BA, I, 47; JBTs, I, i, 27–30.
185 Sumpā, Part II, xix, 185.
186 BA, I, 262–63; Sumpā, Part II, Chapter III.
The passing away of Dipaṅkara was a great shock for 'Brom-ston-pa. He was overwhelmed with grief but remembering the task entrusted to him by his revered master, he kept himself occupied with it with great vigour and devotion. In Rwa-agram he built a small monastery and began whole-heartedly to preach the doctrine of Dipaṅkara after renouncing the world. Here he found a new sect known as bka-gdams-pa which gradually became the leading religious force in Tibet. His guru was Dipaṅkara whose examples he followed with utmost sincerity of purpose in spreading Buddhism among the people of Tibet.

Works of Dipaṅkara

Atiśa’s whole life was dedicated to the sacred duty of preaching and propagating Buddhism. The authorship of no less than two hundred books is ascribed to him. The Bstan-ḥgyur refers to about 168 works. Most of his works are Vajrayānist, known as Sādhanas. There are some works which deal with the doctrine of Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism. He also translated many Indian works into Tibetan.

The Bstan-ḥgyur gives a list of works composed or translated by Dipaṅkara during his stay at the Vikramaśila vihāra. Names of some of them are given below.

1. Adhyayana-pustaka-paṭhana-purasikriyā-vidhi
2. Amitābha-hṛdaya-rāga-yamārī-sādhana-nāma
3. Ārya-gaṇapati-cintā-ratna-(sādhana)
4. Ārya-śādakṣari-sādhana
5. Ārya-hayagriva-sādhana-nāma
6. Ekavīra-sādhana-nāma
8. Karma-vajra-gaurī-sādhana-nāma
9. Kula-pranidhāna-nāma
10. Gaṇapati-gūhya-sādhana-nāma
11. Guru-kriya-krama
12. Gaṇḍa-khaḍga-yamārī-sādhana-nāma
14. Cāryā-giti
15. Daṇḍa-dhārka-vidāra-yamārī-nāma-sādhana
17. Prajnā-sukha-padma-yamārī-sādhana-nāma

187 BA, I, 262–263; Sumpā, Part, II, Chapter III.
188 Ibid.
189 P. N. Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, 73–79.
190 HB, 334 ff.
192 Cordier’s Catalogue.
18. Pāramita-yāna-sāṅca(ka)-nirvapaṇa-vidhi
20. Bodhisattva-caryāvatara-bhāṣya
22. Bodhisattva-manyāvali
23. Mahā-sūtra-samuccaya-nāma
24. Mudgara-krodha-yamāri-sādhana-nāma
25. Ratna-sambhava-yamāri-sādhana-nāma
26. Ratnālāṅkāra-siddhi
27. Vajra-giti-sukhārddha-sādhana-nāma
28. Vajra-carṣikā-sādhana-nāma
29. Vajra-tikṣṇa-yamāri-sādhana-nāma
30. Vajra-dāka-yogini-sādhana-nāma
31. Vajra-vārāhi-sādhana
32. Vairocana-yamāri-upāyikā-nāma
33. Śaraṇa-gamana-deśanā
34. Śrī-gaṇapati-saṇṭi-sādhana
35. Śrī-sahaja-samvara...(Title incomplete)
36. Śrī-hayagriva-sādhana
37. Sunipuṇa-mahādeva-vighṅa-rāja-sādhana-nāma
38. Homa-vidhi
39. Abhisamaya-vibhmaṅga-nāma
40. Amṛtodaya-nāma-bali-vidhi
41. Akṣobhya-sādhana-nāma
42. Aṣṭa-bhaya-trāṇa
43. Āpatti-deśana-vidhi
44. Ārya-acaḷa-krodha-rāja-stotra
45. Ārya-avalokita-lokeśvara-sādhana
46. Ārya-gaṇapati-rāga-vajra-samaya-stotra-nām
47. Ārya-tārā-stotra
48. Āyuḥ-sādhana
49. Eka-smṛti-upadeśa
50. Karma-vibhaṅga-nāme
51. Karma-avaraṇa-viśodhana-vidhi-bhāṣya-nāma
52. Kāya-vāk-citta-svapatiṣṭha-nāma
53. Khasarpaṇa-avalokita-sādhana
54. Garbha-saṅgraha-nāma
55. Cārya-giti-vṛtti
56. Cārya-saṅgraha-pradipa
57. Citā-vidhi
58. Cittotpāda-saṅvāra-vidhi-krama
59. Jala-bali-Vimala-grantha
60. Tārā-bhaṭṭārikā-sādhana
61. Daśa-akusala-karma-patha (-deśanā)
62. Dipanikara-śrī-jhāna-dharma-gitiṅka
63. Deva-pūjā-karma
64. Dharma-dhātu-darśana-giti
65. Nāga-bali-vidhi
66. Paṇca-caitya-nirvapaṇa-vidhi
67. Peyotkṣepa-vidhi
68. Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārātha-pradīpa
69. Prajñā-hṛdaya-vyākhya
70. Bodhi-citta-mahāsukha-āmnāya
71. Bodhi-patha-pradīpa
72. Bodhi-mārga-pradīpa-pañjika-nāma
73. Bhagavad-akṣobhya-sādhana
74. Madhyamaka-upadeśa-nāma
75. Mantra-artha-avatāra
76. Mahā-yakṣa-senāpati-nilāmbara-dhara-vajrapāṇi-sādhana-nāma
77. Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-varṇa-saṁgraha
78. Mahāyāna-patha-sādhana-saṁgraha
79. Mumūṣu-sāstra
80. Mūlāpatṭi-tīkā
81. Mṛtyu-vañcana
82. Ratna-karaṇḍodghāta-nāma-madhyamaka-upadeśa
83. Lokātitā-saptāṅga-vidhi
84. Vajrayogini-sādhana
85. Vajra-yogini-stotra
86. Vajrāsana-vajragīti
87. Vajrāsana-vajragīti-vṛtti
88. Vasupati-upādhi-paṇcaka-stotra-vasumeghāvesa-nāma
89. Vimala-ratna-lekha-nāma
90. Vimalosniṣa-dhārani-vidhi
91. Śma-homa
92. Śri-guhyā-samāja-lokeśvara-Sādhana-nāma
93. Śri-guhyā-samāja-stotra
94. Śri-cakra-saṁvara-sādhana
95. Śri-bhagavat-abhisamaya-nāma
96. Śri-vajrapāṇi-stotra
97. Śri-vajra-yogini-sādhana-nāma
98. Satyadvaya-svatāra
99. Sata-parva-vidhi
100. Samaya-gupti
101. Samādhi-sāṁśibhāra-parivarta
102. Sarva-karmāvarana-viśuddhi-kara-vidhi
103. Sarva-karma-āvaraṇa-viśodhana-nāma-maṇḍala-vidhi
104. Sarva-tathāgata-samaya-rakṣā-sādhana
105. Sarva-samaya-saṁgraha-nāme
106. Siddha-eka-vira-maḥjughoṣa-sādhana
107. Sūtra-samuccaya-saṁcayarthā
108. Sūtra-artha-samuccaya-upadeśa
109. Sekopadeśa
110. Saudha-dāna
111. Saṁcodaya-saṁhitā-svākṛtya-krama-varṇa-saṁgraha
112. Saṁsaara-manoirinyāṇi-kāra-nāma-saṁgiti
113. Homa-vidhi
114. Hṛdaya-nikṣepa-nāma.
**Jñānaśrimitra**

Jñānaśrimitra was born in Gauḍa. He was one of the six Door-keeper scholars and was in charge of the Second Central Pillar of Vikramaśila during the period of king Canaka. In his earlier life he was a paṇḍita of the Sravaka School of Buddhism and studied Tripiṭaka but later became a devoted scholar of Mahāyāna and subsequently studied Guhya-tantras and meditated on the Bodhicitta. He was devoted to 'bhagavan Śākyarāja, Maitreyanātha and Avalokiteśvara' and thus attained 'unlimited abhijñāna'.

Jñānaśrimitra had the proud privilege of being a contemporary of king Canaka, a colleague of the five Door-keepers of the Vikramaśila monastery and a teacher of Dipaṅkara. He was the reputed author of Kārya-kāraṇa bhāva-siddhi 'signifying establishment of the relation of cause and effect'. It was quoted by Mādhavacarya in the 14th century in his Sarvadarsana-samgraha. The Tanjur contains a list of work of Jñānaśri, Jñānaśrimitra (of Kashmir), Jñānaśribhadra and Jñānaśrimitra. The Tanjur clearly points out the fact that these are not names of one and the same person. In fact, they are different. S. Vidyabhusana distinguishes Jñānaśrimitra (c. 1040 A.D.) and Jñānaśribhadra (c. 1050 A.D.) S. K. De however, distinguished Jñānaśrimitra from Jñānaśri 'of whom ten Vajrayāna works exists in Tibet. The Sumpā mentions Jñānaśri as one of the four eminent disciples of the guru of Suvarṇadvipa. In another place there are references to one Jñānaśri of Kashmir who visited Tibet without an invitation.

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193 Tār., 302-303; HIL, 341; Sumpā, xcvi, 118, 110.
194 Tār., 302.
195 BA, I, 243 – According to Vidyabhusana 'Dipaṅkara is said to have been much indebted to him'... Jñānaśrimitra was attached to the University of Vikramaśila even in 1040 A.D. when Dipaṅkara left for Tibet – HIL, 341; 'Naropa while visiting Vikramaśila got down from his conveyance leaning on the right arm of Atśa and left arm on Jñānaśrimitra' – HIL, 341.
196 A Tibetan translation of this work is available.
197 HIL, 341.
199 HIL, 341 ff.
200 Cf. HB, 335.
201 BA, I, 70, 85, 347, 355.
ABHAYĀKARA GUPTA

We know very little about the early life of the great Buddhist scholar, Abhayākara Gupta who is known in Tibet as Ḥjigs-med Ḥbyun-gnas sbas-pahi shab 202. Tāranātha states that his father was a ksatriya and mother a Brāhmaṇa 203. Vasīl’ev’s note gives a different account about him. According to Thob-yin, ‘Abhayākaragupta was born in Eastern India as a son of the chief of all Brahmins.’ 204. S. C. Das holds that he was born in middle of the 9th century A.D. in Eastern India in the city of Gauḍa and then went to Magadha 205. In the Sumpā 206 he is described as a Buddhist monk of Baṅgala, born in a ksatriya family at Jhārikhaṇḍa in Orissa 207. In the Bstan-ḥgyur 208 he is described as an inhabitant of Magadha 209. In one of his own works, Abhayākara describes himself as an acārya of Magadha 210.

Owing to these conflicting opinions it is difficult to state definitely about his native land. But it would not be wrong to presume that he belonged to Eastern India, being born in Bengal, and was educated and worked in Bihar 211.

Early Education and His Gurus

He left his home at an early age and came to Magadha. During his stay here he acquired knowledge in the five sciences. He was well versed in Hindu Śāstras of the Tantras. He studied Kālacakratantra from

202 S. P. Malalasekara, Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, 29.
203 Tāranātha, Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tāranātha, Trans. by Bhupendra Nath Datta, Calcutta 1957, 64 (TMT).
204 S. C. Sarkar describes him as a ksatriya saint of Bengal, JBRS, XVIII, March 1941, 338.
205 Tār., 433.
206 JASB, 1882, 16–18; Sumpā xccviii, 63, 112, 120, 121; TMT, 64.
207 Rāhula Saṅkṛtyayāna locates Jhārikhaṇḍa in Bihar, JBRS, XXVII, March 1941, 388.
208 Cordier, II, 71, 225.
209 H. P. Sastri holds a similar view, JBORS, V, Part II, 179; LIV, Parts 1–4, 181; IC, 369–72.
210 Vajrayānāpatimāṇjari-nāma preserved in the library of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
211 ‘He came to Bhāmagala and became a sramanera. Thereafter in Vigamala (?) vihāra, he studied logic, Tripiṭaka, Madhyama, Pāramitās and became the gānapatī of the sanghas and taught logic’ – Tār., 434.
Naropā 212 and Kisoripā 213. According to Tucci, his guru was Ratnākarāsānti who also initiated him into Buddhist order 214. Subsequently he became one of the best teachers of the Kālacakrayāna, which was introduced into Bengal in the Pāla period 215.

**His Students**

Many Tibetan and Indian monks had the proud privilege of being his students. Among them mention may be made of the Tibetan monk named Tse Btsun. He learnt the rules of discipline and some doctrines from him 216. Another student was known by the name Ma-lo-tsa-ba (born in A.D. 1044) 217. Subhākara-Gupta 218 was one of his favourite Indian students, (later he became the High Priest 219 of Vikramaśīla), besides Dharmākaragupta, Vairocanarākṣita 220 and many others.

**Abhayākaragupta as Author**

Mahāpāndita Abhayākaragupta was a prolific Buddhist writer and translated many books into Tibetan language 221. Some of his books are also written in Sanskrit. Besides, he is supposed to be the author of more than twenty Vajrayānist works 222. The Tanjur furnishes us with a detailed list of his contributions 223.

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212 BA, II, 760.
213 A disciple of Naropā, BA, II, 760, 1046.
214 G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, I, 416; Sādhanamālā, 1928, Intro., cxi-cxii; BA, I, 206; according to S. C. Das, Abhayākara was succeeded by Ratnakaraśānti at Vikramashīla University (JASB, 1882, 16–17). But from Tibetan sources we learn that Ratnakaraśānti preceded him to that post (Sādhanamālā, Intro., exi-exii; BA, I, 206.
215 BA, II, 760–71: ‘For studying the siddhāntas, he went to the teacher Ratnakara-gupta in a cave of a city of Be’u when his fame spread far and wide, the Magadhā-rāja Rathika made him the chief of all the Paṇḍits and gave him as gift the Indrauli Garden’. – Tār., 434.
216 Tucci, II, 657.
217 BA, I, 219-222.
218 HIL, 346.
219 JBRs, XXVIII, 388.
220 BA, II, 845
221 His works are based on the ‘commentaries on 800 Pāramitās, Vinaya, logic and Madhyama. On Tantras, his works which are particularly famous are: (1) a commentary on Samputa known under the name Upadeśamaṇjarī, (2) the sea of Siddhāntas, where all the precepts for propitiating various deities are collected at one place, (3) Vajramālā, where all the maṇḍalas of Sādhana are described’ – Tār., 434.
222 HB, 335.
223 Buddha Gan O Doha, 9; cf., Sādhanamālā, II, xc. This Abhayākara is distinguished from Abhayāpanḍita who is the author of 108 Tantric works – HB, 336 n.
1. Kālacakravatāra
2. Śrī Cakrasāṃvaramahābhīṣamaya
3. Abhiśekapraṇakarma
4. Svādhīṣṭha-makranopadeśa
5. Cakrasāṃvārābhīṣamayopadeśa
6. Āmnyamaṇjarī, a commentary on śrī, Sampaṭantantrarāja
7. Jñānaḍākinisādhana
8. Jñānanāda Kīñcīmantra
9. Abhayāpaddhati: a commentary on Śrī-Buddha Kapālamantraprāṇtrājāṭikā
10. Śrī Mahākāla Śādhana
11. Śrī Mahākālantara sādhana
12. Candraprabha, a commentary of Pañcakramamata
13. Raktayamānātakanipānayoga
14. Vajrāvalī-nāma maṇḍalapāyika
15. Vajrayanapetitmaṇjarī
c. 16. Canācakravīḍhi
17. Niśpannayogāvalī
18. Jyotirmāṇjarī-nāma-Homopāyikā

The above list is supplemented by another exhaustive catalogue of his works by P. N. Bose in his book. It may be noted that he translated many books into Tibetan independently or with the co-operation of the Tibetans. It is said that he for the first time produced a manual of Tantric liturgy called Vajrāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalopāyika.

**Association with the Monastic Universities**

Abhayākaragupta was associated with all the famous monasteries of ancient Bihar, viz. Vajrāsaṇa, Nālandā, Vikramaśila, Odantapurī, etc. It is said that king Rāmapāla appointed him the royal priest. In course of time he became upādhyāya of Vajrāsaṇa and Nālandā. In his later life he became the High Priest of the Vikramaśila vihāra, which was in a flourishing condition at that time. It is said that when he was staying in the Vikramaśila vihāra a Turuṣka war took place. He was also associated with the Odantapurī monastery probably as the Head of the Mahāyāna sect. It may be presumed that Abhayākaragupta may have realised the importance of studying and working in the great monastic Universities which were store-house of knowledge. So early in life he left Bengal in search of knowledge and went to Bihar, and became associated with the different monastic Universities. He rightly called himself the ācārya of Magadha in his book entitled: Vajrayāṇapatti maṇjarī nāma.

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224 P. N. Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, 88 ff.
225 Malalasekera, 29; IC, III, 371–72; Bu-ston, II, 239.
226 Tār., 313 ff.; JASB, 1882, 16–18; Sumpā, XCCXVIII, 63, 120, 121.
227 HB, 682; HAB, 592.
His Relation with Tibet

We do not know whether Abhayākaragupta ever visited Tibet. But we are proud to know that the Tibetans had a great respect for him and regarded him to be an ‘Avatar of the Tashi Lame Panchen Rinpo-cha’ 228, i.e. Lamas possessing royal dignities 229. They called him by respectful names such as Paññita, Mahāpaññita, Ācārya, Siddha and Sthavira 230. It must be admitted that this respect was due to his immense writings and translations. According to H. P. Sastri ‘Buddhism gained much popularity in Tibet in the 11th century because of the writings of Abhayākara 231. It is stated even if Abhayākara is not well known in the land of his birth, he is no less a celebrity in Tibet where all his works are preserved in Tibetan translation 232. Tibetan monks had the privilege to study under his guidance and many also claimed to have worked with him.

Philosophy: Life

Abhayākara was a man of discipline and strictly followed a self-imposed routine in his daily life. He divided his time equally for all his duties (i.e. he wrote śāstras during the first two watches of the day, then he gave discourse on dharma; this was followed by visit to the Himavana cemetery where he carried on worship till midnight after which he retired to bed) 233.

He had also a great sympathy for suffering humanity. It is said that once there was a calamity in the city of Sukhavatī when Abhayākaragupta gave help to the distressed people. A devoted Buddhist, he was against the practice of sacrifice. A legend says that when a Cāṇḍala king of the city of Charasimha intended to sacrifice hundred men, Abhayākaragupta intervened and stopped it. He is said to have succeeded in driving out the Turuṣkas from India through Tantric and other rites. Like many other priestly writers Abhayākaragupta also preached dana or gift to the Buddhist Church. He also preached karma and benevolence to all beings 234.

228 Sumpā, CXXXVIII, 63, 112, 120, 121.
229 HB, 683.
230 Sādhanamālā, II, xci.
231 JBRS, V, part II, 171.
232 NSP, 12.
233 HB, 682.
234 JBORS, V, part II, 179.
Date

The period of Rāmapāla’s reign extends roughly from the later part of the 11th century to the first part of the 12th century A.D. 235. Abhayākaragupta was a contemporary of Rāmapāla and was the royal Priest during his reign. So without entering into conflicting opinions we may conclude that Mahāpandita Abhayākaragupta belonged to the same period. 236. It may be noted that he wrote Munimatālaṅkāra in the 13th year of the reign of the king Rāmapāla and completed it in the 25th year. On the colophon of this book he wrote Šrī Buddhakālamahātantrarājaṅika. Although Abhayākara was a contemporary of Rāmapāla, as stated above, he did not live to see the abdication of his faithful master. Abhayākara died before Rāmapāla abdicated his throne.

A treatise on Abhayākara 237 is discovered and preserved in the Bihar Research Society, Patna, written by the Tibetan author named Blo Bajan Chhos Kyi Rgyal Mtshan of Tashi–lhuṅ–po monastery of Tibet. This book was completed in 1641. 238. It furnished details about the life, activities and attainments and also describes Abhayākaragupta as a great liturgist, scholar and master of Tantras. This, with the other books, helps us to come to the following conclusion that this mahācārya Abhayākara was practically the last among the most famous great ācāryas who fully nourished the law with their scholarship, compassion, power and wealth ... he is to be viewed as having transmitted the thoughts of the jina and his spiritual sons ... Therefore his works should be respected. 239.

The Pāla kings always had respect for learned men. Rāmapāla was also enamoured by his learnings and appointed him as the Royal Priest, and his wife built a temple for him at Edapura. 240. He was thus beloved of both the Indians and the Tibetans.

235 c. 1077–1130 A.D.
236 According to P. Paul his reign period is between c. A.D. 1080 and 1123.
238 JBR, LIV, Parts I – IV, 179 ff.
239 Tār., 314.
DIVĀKARACANDRA OR DEVĀKARACANDRA OR DEVĀKARA

The Bstan-'-byur mentions one Divākaracandra described as the author of one Heruka-sādhana and two works of translations and as belonging to Bengal. The Sumpā refers to one Devākaracandra as a disciple of Maitri-pa: 'He belonged to king Nayapāla’s reign'. A strange incident is reported in this work. It is said that for some reason or other he displeased Dipamkara who expelled him from Vikramaśila monastery. H. P. Sastri mentions one Pāṇḍita-śrī-Divākaracandra, author of a Pāka-vidhi (dated A.D. 1101) who may be identified with Devākaracandra or Devākara, both mentioned as Upādhyāya but may be distinguished from Diva-kara-vaṇa a Mahābrāhma who was the author of four works.

KUMĀRACANDRA

Cordier in his Catalogue describes Kumāracandra as ‘an Avadhūta of the Vikramapuri vihāra of Bengal in Eastern Magadha’. He wrote three Tantric Pāṇḍikas (Commentaries) which are in Tibetan.

KUMĀRAVAJRA

Cordier describes Kumāravajra as belonging to Bengal. He is the author of a work on Heruka-sādhana. He also translated some books.

DĀNAŚILA

Dānaśila or Dānaśrila belonged to Bhagala (i.e. Baṅgala) in Eastern India. Tāranātha says that he was a Kashmirian and a contemporary.

241 Cordier, II, 92, 176, 277.
242 Sumpā, xlvii, 119
243 Sastri-Cat, II, 43-44.
244 Cf. P. C. Bagchi, Dohākośa, 8.
245 Cordier, II; cf., HB., 336.
246 Ibid., II, 47, 48, 328, 329.
247 Ibid., II, 160.
248 Ibid., II, 78, 169.
249 Ibid., II, 233.
250 Cordier, II, 188.
of Mahipāla of Bengal. S. C. Vidyabhusama believe that he lived during the same time as that of Tilopā and others. He was attached to the famous Jagaddala vihāra of Bengal where he carried on his literary and other activities. He also did some translation works and was also the author of some books on logic. His most important contribution is the book entitled Pustaka-pāṭhopāya. It deals with the method of reading books. It was translated by the author himself. The original book was in Sanskrit. According to some he visited Tibet and helped the Tibetans in the work of Translation of Buddhist Sanskrit works. He wrote some books but translated many. A list of some of his works are given below:

1. Agratara-ekajata-upadesa-sādhana.
2. Ucchusma-sādhana.
5. Yamāri-hasta-puja.
10. Acalā-sādhara.
11. Pratimokṣa-pāda-abhisamarana

Prajñāvarman

Prajñāvarman belonged to kava (Kapāṭya) in Vaṅgala (i.e. in Bengal). He was a contemporary of Dānaśīla. He wrote two commentaries, one of which is entitled Udana-vajra. He also translated some books on Tantric Buddhism.

Bodhibhadra

Bodhibhadra, author of some Buddhist Tantric works, lived and worked in the Somapuri-vihāra. Tāranātha associated him with the Vikramaśīla monastery. His works include the following:

251 Tār., Ed. Schiefner, 204, 225–226.
252 HIL, 390.
253 Sumpā, xlvi, 115.
254 Ibid.
255 Cordier, III, 399; Rockhill, Udanavarga, Intro. xii.
256 Ibid., 3, 4, 298.
257 Ibid., II, 98, 250.
258 Tār., 18, 311, 327.
1. Rahasya-ānanda-tilaka.
2. Yoga-satya-lakṣaṇa.
7. Samadhi-sambhara-parivarta.

Mokṣākara Gupta

Mokṣākaragupta was connected with the Jagaddala vihāra as its High Priest. He is the reputed author of 'Tarka-bhāṣā' i.e. Technicalities of Logic. The Tibetan translation of this book exists but its Sanskrit version is lost. The work consists of three chapters, namely, (a) Preception: (b) Inference for one's own self, and (c) Inference for the sake of others. It may be noted that one Mokṣākaragupta is known as the commentator on the Dohā-kośa in the Apabhraṃśa. The two may be identical.

Vibhūticandra

Vibhūticandra was a renowned alumnus of the Jagaddala vihāra in Varendra in North Bengal. He wrote a number of books on Tantricism and translated some. They are the following:

1. Antar-mañjuri.
2. Amogha-pasa-sādhana.
3. Amogha-pasa-sādhana (II).
5. Guru-sādhana.

According to Roerich, Vibhūticandra visited Tibet in the 13th century A.D. Prof. Tucci refers to two temples in Lhasa in Tibet and one of these temple is traditionally attributed to Vibhūticandra.

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259 HIL., 346.
Vanaratna was born in the town of Sadnagara (Sannagara) in Eastern India in a royal family. The Sumpā informs us that he was a Buddhist sage from the monasteries of Koki land, i.e. Chittagong Hill Tracts. We are told that at the age of eight he was initiated by Buddhaghoṣa, and at the age of twenty, he received the final monastic ordination under the same teacher and Sujaratna. He visited many places in India, such as Ceylon, Kaliṅga, Śri Dhānyakataka Mahācaitya and stayed for some time in the hermitage of Nāgabodhi. He also visited Nepal and Tibet. Gos lo–tsa–ba, the author of the Blue Annals admits that he was a student of Vanaratna. He had the highest respect for him and writes about him as the ‘Precious Great Paṇḍita’. If he was a teacher of Gos lo–tsa–ba then he cannot be placed to a period earlier than the 14th century A.D. About forty works written or translated by him are known. A list of some of them is furnished below:

1. Acālā-abhisamaya Surataḥbidhana.
2. Ugra-tārā devī-sādhana.
4. Pranidhana-ṛatna-ṛājā.
5. Pratipatti-sara-sataka.
7. Lokeśvara-stotra Ratnamālā.
8. Vajra-amṛtatraya-abhisamaya.

Taṅkadāsa or Daṅgadāsa

The Sumpā makes him a native of Bengal. He was a contemporary of Dharmapāla. His main contribution was a work entitled Suviśadasaṃpuṭa, a commentary on the Hevajra-Tantra. He worked at the Paṇḍubhumi vihāra and is described as a vṛddda-kāyastha.

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262 Cordier – Cat., I, 78, 79, 121, 226, 303; II, 105, 116, 126.
263 Sumpā, lxix, 123; viii, 74, 123; Tār., 331.
264 BA, II, 797 ff.
265 Ibid., II, 801 ff.
266 Sumpā, v, 144.
267 HB, 337.
PRAJÑĀKRAGUPTA

Prajñākaragupta was a lay Buddhist and was a native of Bengal. He is known for his original contributions and as a commentator of Dharmakīrti. He is the reputed author of many books on logic, the most celebrated being the book entitled Pramāṇavārtikālaṅkāra. The Sanskrit original of it is lost. A Tibetan translation of the work still exists. It is divided into two parts, consisting of four chapters, dealing with validity of knowledge, inference, sense-perception and syllogism respectively. He had written a commentary on the first chapter of his great work himself, leaving the rest of the text to provide scope for future comments. Different schools of commentators arose to explain the depth of his philosophical learning. One such school was founded by him. He also wrote comments on the last three chapters. It was a big work and was given the title Alāṅkara. He had many followers. They were Jina, Rāvigupta and Yāmāri, each of whom was regarded as the founder of a sub-school. Stecherbatsky 268 in his Buddhist Logic shows the interconnection of the different schools of interpretation of the Paraṇa-vartiṅka.

He was also the author of Sahavalambha-niscaya. The original Sanskrit of this work is also lost, only a Tibetan translation is available. There are differences of opinion regarding the time of Prajñākaragupta. Some make him a contemporary of Nayapāla and assign him to the 11th century A.D. But as his work is quoted by Udayanācārya living in the 10th century A.D., 'he may possibly have been a contemporary of the latter' 269.

VIDYĀKARA

Vidyākara, an eminent Buddhist scholar (monk?) was attached to the monastery of Jagaddala 270. He probably lived in the latter half of the 11th century A.D. Nothing much of biographical interest is known about him. He is remembered for his work entitled, 'Subhāṣitaratnakosa', an anthology of Sanskrit verse 271. Two versions of this work have been discovered, one of which is preserved at the Ngor Monastery in Tibet 272.

268 Buddhist Logic, I, 47.
269 Ibid., I, 43.
270 HOS, 44, Intro.
271 Ibid., 42.
272 JBORS, XXI, 1935, 422.
It contains about one thousand stanzas 273, the other is in the Rājguru library in Kathmandu, Nepal 274. His favourite deities are Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

The Subhāṣitaratnakośa was composed in the famous Jagaddala vihāra. Vidyākara’s field of study was quite extensive. He begins his work with a selection of ‘religious verses’ composed by ‘scholars of his own and neighbouring monasteries’ 275. In it are included verses dedicated to Hindu Gods; also verses sang in praise of kings as well as love songs, etc. He concludes his anthology with a section on ‘Praise of Poets’.

It is interesting to note that he refers to a few identifiable historical personages. They are the Pāla and Candra kings such as Dharmapāla, Rajyapāla, besides Ratipāla whose name, however, is unknown in the Pāla genealogies; Ladahacandra etc. The main basis of his work is ‘the Sanskrit plays, verse sequences and anthologies of the period from A.D. 700 to 1050.

His favourite authors belong to his time and are ‘close to him in place’ 276; he mentions Jitārī, Jñānaśrimitra, Puruṣottamadeva, Śridhara-deva, etc., but his most favourite authors to whom he is indebted are Bhavabhuti, Murari, Rājaśekhara and Kālidasa. Vidyākara appreciated Dharmakirti as the greatest critic. He may have been a contemporary of Rāmapāla, the well-known Pāla king of the 11th–12th century A.D., but he makes no reference of him.

ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABIA</td>
<td>Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.</td>
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<td>ADV</td>
<td>Adhyayavajrasangraha, Ed. by H. P. Sastri, GOS, KL.</td>
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<tr>
<td>AI</td>
<td>Ancient India.</td>
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<td>AIK</td>
<td>Age of Imperial Kanauj, Ed. by R. C. Majumdar, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.</td>
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<td>AS</td>
<td>Artibus Asiae.</td>
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<td>ASB</td>
<td>Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
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<td>ASI</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India.</td>
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<td>ASI-AR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey of India – Annual Report.</td>
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<td>ASR</td>
<td>Archaeological Survey Report.</td>
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<td>BA</td>
<td>The Blue Annals, Transl. by G. N. Roerich, 2 Volumes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAB</td>
<td>Buddhism in ancient Bengal by Puspa Niyogi.</td>
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273 HOS, xvi–xviii.
274 Ibid., xviii–xix.
275 Ibid., 43, 44.
276 HOS, 32.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Beal: Beal−Life: Life</td>
<td>The Life of Hiuen−tsang by Shaman Hwui Li. Trans. by S. Beal.</td>
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<td>Belvalkar</td>
<td>System of Sanskrit Grammar by S.K. Belvalkar.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bu–ston</td>
<td>History of Buddhism by Bu–ston, trans. by E. Obermiller.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHI</td>
<td>Cambridge History of India.</td>
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<td>Cordier Catalogue: Cordier</td>
<td>Catalogue du fond Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale by P. Cordier.</td>
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<td>CTBC</td>
<td>A Complete Catalogue of Tibetan Buddhist Canons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DG</td>
<td>District Gazetteer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DHNI</td>
<td>Dynastic History of Northern India by H.C. Ray, 2 volumes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIV</td>
<td>Divyavadana.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EHB</td>
<td>Early History of Bengal by R.C. Majumdar.</td>
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Keith-HSL = History of Sanskrit Literature by A. B. Keithl.
Legge = A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms by Fa–Hien, Trans. by J. Legge.
Levi-Nepal = Le Népal by Sylvain Lévi.
Liebach, Panini = Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft.
Life: Beal-Life = The Life of Hiuen-tsang by Shaman Hwei Li. Transl. by S. Beal.
MASB = Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
NBAB = Buddhism in Ancient Bengal by P. Niyogi.
NBS = Brahmanic Settlements in the different Subdivisions of ancient Bengal by P. Niyogi.
NSP = NispanayogavalI of Mahāpandita Abhayākaragupta. Ed. by B. Bhattacharyya.
RC: Rāmācharita = Rāmācharita of Sandhyākara Nandī.
Schiefner = Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India in German by A. Schiefner.
Sastri–Cat = Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the ASB – H. P. Sastri.
SHAIB = Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal by B. C. Sen.
SI = Select Inscriptions, Ed. by D. C. Sircar.
Si-yu-ki = Buddhist Records of the Western World. Trans. from the Chinese of Hiuen-tsang by S. Beal.
SUMPĀ = Pag Sam Jon Zang of Sumpā Mkhan–Po Yese Pal Jor Ed. by S. C. Das
TĀR = Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India. Ed. by D. P. Chattopadhyaya.
Tār–Ger = see Schiefner.
TLS = Tibet: Land of Snows by G. Tucci.
TMT = Mystic Tales of Lama Taranatha. Trans. by B. N. Dutta.
Tucci = Minor Buddhist Texts. Ed. by G. Tucci.
Tṛkāṇḍāsaesa = Tṛkāṇḍāsaesa of Puruṣottamadeva.
VRS = Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
Waddell = Lamaism.
Watters = On Yuan Chwang’s Travels in India by T. Watters.
Winternitz = History of Indian Literature by M. Winternitz.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna.