18 July, 1969
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK, SIKKIM
The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field—

EDITORS

GYALMO HOPE NAMGYAL
T. SHERAB GYALTSHEN
NIRMAL C. SINHA
18 July 1989
NAMGyal INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGtok, SIKKIM
CONTENTS

ANTIGUITY OF THE WORD BLA-MA
NIRMAL C. SINHA

AN INVASION OF NORTH INDIA AFTER HAPSHA'S DEATH
MYNAK R. TULKU

SYNOPSIS OF TARAKATHA'S HISTORY
NALINAKSHA DUTT

TIBET, KASHMIR AND NORTH INDIA 647-747
BUDDHA PRAKASH

NOTES & TOPICS
NIRMAL C. SINHA
CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE:

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA Director: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology; formerly teacher of History, University of Calcutta and editor, National Archives of India.

MYNAK RIKHU TULKU Presiding Incarnate of Rikhu, the leading Sakya monastery in Mynak (Kham); resident in Sikkim since 1959 and attached to the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, first as a student of Sanskrit and English and now as a member of the staff.

HANINAKSHA DUTY Vice-President: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology; President: Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1958-60; formerly Professor of Pali, University of Calcutta; leading authority on Buddhism—Pali and Sanskrit.

BUDDHA PRAKASH Well known scholar in ancient Indian history and culture; authority on ancient geography of India and adjoining countries; has been Professor of Ancient Indian History in several Indian Universities; at present Director: Institute of India Studies, Kurukshetra University, Punjab.

Views expressed in the Bulletin of Tibetology are those of the contributors alone and not of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology. An article represents the private individual views of the author and does not reflect those of any office or institution with which the author may be associated.
Western and Japanese scholars generally hold that the usage BLA-
MA is not as ancient as the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (c. 7th
century A.C.), and that the word became current long after the
assassination of Glung-dar-ma (c. 842 A.C.) and long after the final
victory of Buddhism. The earliest chronicles which did not undergo my
revision, pendants and interpolations in later times as the contemporary
inscriptions of the Chos-rnal period do not use the word BLA-MA.
The words used are Ban-de, Slob-don, Rab-byung, Mkhan-po or
Rin po-che.

In an article in this Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 41, I wrote “No
epigraphic or contemporary evidence is available so far to vouch for
the usage Lama (bla ma) in the seventh century and even in the eighth".
Several epigraphists and linguists have queried whether I have any evi-
dence for the usage in the ninth century. I do not read the ancient
documents, literary or epigraphic and thus submit my affirmative answer
on corroborative but unimpeachable data.

The word Bla-ma occurs in several different contexts in the
Mahavyutpatti, a word admitted to have been completed in the reign
of Ral-pa-can, that is, first quarter of the ninth century. The diverse
categories make clear that like its Sanskrit prototype (Guru) the Tibetan
form (Bla-ma) was an auspicious word not unknown to scholars and
translators of the time. A careful notice of these (given below) rules
out interpolations in later time.

उत्सर्ग: धर्मोऽवता
उत्सर्ग-प्रथा: वैभवसम्बन्धम्
उत्सर्ग-सत्तमः-धर्मः
उत्सर्ग-मनुष्य-धर्मः-प्रतादः: धर्मः
उत्सर्ग-मनुष्य-धर्मः-परमाणुः
बस्तर्ग-मनुष्य-धर्मः-
युवालीकरणाभासमायामः
गुरु-मवता: धर्मः

5
If the word Bla-ma is not derived from Sanskrit Brahman/Brahmana and is of indigenous origin (1) there is more reason to believe that the Indian Pandita and the Tibetan Lo-tsa-na agreed to save a current (indigenous) form for Brahman/Brahmana in the sense of Guru with the well-known permissive 'γ for τ. For tracing the history of the word Bla-ma the etymology of Brahman/Brahmana has to be studied as much as that of Bla-ma. In Buddhism, not withstanding its opinion about Brahmana as a caste, the word Brahmana was an honorific usage. Brahmana was the holy man or the teacher and even Buddha called himself a Brahmana (2). In Saka-Khotanese languages words cognate with Brahmana were used to denote Buddha (3). This is not surprising in view of the wide circulation in Central Asia of Sanskrit dharmasūtra (Śārvasūtra) the earliest Buddhist treatise in eulogy of Brahmana the holy man (4). I am inclined to accept the usage of Bla-ma for Buddha, Brahmana or Guru sometime after the ordination of the first Lamas by Sanitarakshita and Padmasambhava towards the end of the eighth century. Indian Buddhist diction has an important example of change of spelling and change of meaning in Dipa/Dipa, Tibetan Buddhist diction is not free from mystic forms.

If Buddha and Brahmana Sangs-gyas and Bla-ma, are synonymous, the occurrence of the word Bla-ma descriptive of the ordained monk may be dated sometime after the Ordination. Once an equivalent of Guru/Uttara was found the word was handy for the different contexts as in Mahāyānapāti.

When Tibet's own ordained monk expounded the teachings of Buddha, Buddha was no longer an unknown stranger.  གཞི་གཞི་ཀྱི་སྣང་དབང་ལྡན་པ།

I am not a specialist in linguistics but as a reader of history I trace the origin of the saying "When there was no Lama the name of Buddha was not known even" to the intervening period between the Ordination (c. 780 A.C.) and the succession of Kṣi-bä-chan (c. 815 A.C.) in succession of the claims of the anti-Buddhist elder Glang-dar-ma. The historical significance of the historic text, as I have submitted here, cannot be overlooked in tracing the antiquity of the word Bla-ma.

2. *Prolegomena to Lamaist Policy* (Calcutta 1969) may be seen.


4. Standard editions (and translations) are those of P. Steinthal (London 1886), D.M. Strong (London 1902), K. Seidenstucker (Berlin 1920) and N.P. Chakravarti (Paris 1930) besides notices in journals by B.C. Mazumder, Pischel, Sylvain Levi and Le Vaillée Poussin. Tibetan translation of *Chos-ma-nag-po* is incorporated both in Kanjur (Mdo sde) and Tanjur (Mgon-pa). The Tibetan *Udumravarg* was translated into English by W.W. Hackshill (1883) and the Khotanese *Dhammapada* by A.W. Bailey (1946).
RGYAN-DRUG MIcho-GNYIS. (Six Ornaments and two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A. C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gampopa, and Sakyapa; reproductions are as per originals today after 300 years of display and worship with no attempt at restoration or retouching. The exposition in English presents the iconographical niceties and the theme of the paintings namely, the Mahayana philosophy; the treatment is designed to meet also the needs of the general reader with an interest in Trans-Himalayan art or Mahayana. A glossary in Sanskrit-Tibetan, a key to place names and a note on source material are appended, illustrated with five colour plates and thirteen monochromes.

April 1962,
The study of a Sino-Tibetan invasion of North India in the reign of Ajauna, the usurper of Harsha's throne, is recently discussed by a scholar in Chinese language and history in *Vera-Bharati Anvah* Vol. XI, 1974, 2 (Narayan Chandra Sen: *Accounts of India and Kashmir in the *Dynastic Histories of the T'ang Period*). Since our publication of *Ru-Len-dub-nor*, the earlier version of *Deh-thar-dams-po* (*The Red Annals*, Namgyal Tenzin of Tibetology, 1981) is referred therein as a principal source, I may be permitted to present in outline of Tibetology certain facts from Tibetans tradition with my reading of the relevant lines in *The Red Annals*.

The earlier version of *The Red Annals* is in archaic style and in places the expressions are rather cryptic. The relevant words about the Sino-Tibetan invasion as in the print of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (P 9) are """""""""""""""""""""

A literal translation in English may be made thus, """"The envoy sent to India by Tai Tsung was conquered in Magadha. Having heads the Indian victory Tibetans sent an army and Magadha was conquered."

Different Tibetan versions were collected by Geden Chhopel (Gega-dun-thos-phal) he well-known Amdo scholar who took interest in ancient inscriptions and old books in the manner of the modern western scholarship. He was a well-known figure in the second quarter of this (Christian) century and his Deh-thar-bar po or *The White Annals* is now available in modern print (Tibetan Freedom Press. Darjeeling 1964) I give below a free translation from PP. 75-76 of this book.

""""When Harsha (Tib. Oga-bu) was alive he sent a Brahman (Tib. Branta) to present gifts to the Chinese emperor. Harsha was the author of the drama Nagananda (Tib. Klu-yun-tu-dga'-ba'i-zo-gar) which one finds in Tanjur (Bstan-'gyur). There is a Sanskrit Avadana (Tib. Togs-pa-grod) in versions which was written by Barubshitta (Tib. Ngag kyi-cha'-boi) in India. In the 22 year of Chang Kwan and 1122 years after the passing away of the Lord Buddha, the (Chinese) emperor
T'ol Tsong) sent an envoy named Wang Huian Ta'o (Tib, Vang-han-tao) and thirty other noblemen were sent to India. At that time Harsha was already dead and they witnessed the time when the country was not in peace. Harsha, having no son, the minister Arjuna (Tib, Srid-sgrub) was on the throne and was causing great harm to Buddhism. Arjuna conquered the (Chinese) envoy and killed most of his friends and looted the baggages. Wang Huian Ta'o himself and few friends escaped in the dead of night and reached Nepal, which was under Tibet and sought the refuge with Songtsen Gampo (Srong-btsen-sgyam-po). The Tibetan king sent a crack regiment of 1,200 Tibetan soldiers and 7,000 Nepali cavalry to India. With the envoy they reached Hirahta. In round about three days battle they (Tibetans) captured the main capital. They killed about 3,000 Indians and about 1,000 were thrown into the nearby river. King Arjuna escaped but he brought new army and offered yet another battle but at last he was defeated by the Tibetans and he (Arjuna) with relations were caught alive and sent to Chinese emperor. The emperor was very pleased and when T'ol Tsong died a statue of the Tibetan king was made in front of the (gumb) as a mark of remembrance for his deeds.'

I do not intend to enter into the many disputed points about this particular Sino-Tibetan invasion after Harsha's death, and would only emphasize certain facts firmly handed down in Tibetan tradition. First, there were several Tibetan invasions into different parts of Northern India in the time of Songtsen Gampo and his successors; such invasions into Chian in the east and Li-yul, (Eastern Turkestan) in the north are admitted by modern historians. Secondly, after Harsha's death Buddhism not only lost its state patronage but was undergoing much persecution; in Eastern India Sesanka's persecution of Buddhism in Bengal itself was well known; such conditions might have invited the anger of the great Tibetan protector of Dharma (Tib, Chosrgyal/Skt Dhammaraja). Thirdly, Arjuna's treatment of Chinese envoy gave the Tibetan king an opportunity to vindicate the Dharma in Phgyul ('Phugs-yul/Skt Aranyakam) itself as well as to prove the superiority of the Tibetans over the Chinese.

Two very significant facts in Gedun Chubchen's account are (1) description of the Indian region which the Tibetans invaded; and (2) the identification of the statue in front of the Chinese emperor's tomb. The region is called Hirahta, and Gedun Chubchen included Malia, Sakya, Lichchavi, Vriji and Sanyubsha in Hirahta. Scholars of Sanskrit and Chinese may consider whether Hirahta can be derived from
Hiranyavati (cf L. Petch: *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, PP. 25-33; Rome 1950). The statue which was placed in the front of the Chinese emperor's tomb is that of Tibetan king and not that of Indian king held as prisoner.

Gedun Chophel does not say that both Songtsen Gampo the victor and the Indian king the prisoner were commemorated in statues as some Chinese sources, reported by the Indian Sinologist Professor Bagchi, suggest (*Sino-Indian Studies*, Vol. 1, part 2, P. 99).
PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyatson, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Drépa, in 1771 A.D. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The leastest portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborates foreword by Professor Nalinsakha Dutt.

October 1961.

The entire xylograph (927 pp; 21 inches x 4 inches) containing both lexicon and grammar parts is now presented by offset (photo-mechanic); most clear reproduction of any Tibetan xylograph ever made anywhere. A table of typographical errors etc., as found in the original (xylograph), compiled by late lamented Sengan Palden Gyatson (Wentsakhang; Lhasa and Enchey; Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.
SYNOPSIS OF TARANATHA'S HISTORY

This is the concluding instalment covering Chapters XXVII-XLIV and Epilogue, of the Synopsis which Professor Nalinaksha Dutt kindly made for this Bulletin. Diacritical marks are not used; a standard transcription is followed.

MRT

Chapter XXVII

Events of the time of King Gopichandra and others,

After the death of Vishnuraj, Bharthari of the line of Malva kings came into prominence. His sister was married to Vimalachandra whose son was Gopichandra, who became king just at the time of the death of Dhammaditi. The last king of the Chandra lineage was Luitachandra but the Chandras lost the rulership of a country, in three regions, viz. Bengal, Orissa and other places there was no king. Every Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and artisan was lord of his own house, At this time, lived in Nalanda Tantric Siddhacharya Sahajavijaya, Acharya Vaisideva, who wrote a commentary on the Pranamaravati in seven section, the Sautantika teacher Subhamitra and Acharya Siapalita, Sastasastra, who comprehended the Nyaya Vedanta thoroughly. Acharya Kamala, author of Pratya-pramarita-sara in nine alpas, Acharya Jnanaparita, pupil of Srigupta and other followers of the Madhyamika system, which maintained Sunyata in the east in Bengal, in the town of Asulpur, the Upasaka Bhadanta Asvabhava explained in detail the Nyaya-Madhyamika. In Tukhara appeared the great Vidyayuddhin Acharya and Vinaya master Dhammaratna; in the west in the Muru country appeared the Vinaya master Mahatta.

Acharya Jnanagarbha was born in Odisha. He learnt the dharma in Bengal from Acharya Srigupta, master of the Madhyamika philosophy.

The upasaka Bhadanta Asvabhava, who came of a trading family, developed a strong desire for studying Mahayana dharma. He came to Kamrup. He visualised the goddess Tara and composed an utopia of the goddess.

In the Pundivihara of Chittagong (Chattigagon in East Pakistan) in Bengal during the reign of the Palas there were Mahayana pandits wearing long pointed caps. During the time of Dhammaditi, the
teaching of Buddha shone like the sun; Anuttara-yoga-tantra was spreading. During the reign of the Pala king Vajrasana came into existence. A Chanda king attained Siddhi. Prakasarachanda studied the Yoga-tantra. At this time both Hinayana and Mahayana spread widely in Bengal, Orissa, Andhrapradesh and in Kashmir and also in Nepal. In other countries the religion did not exist.

Chapter XXVIII

Events of the time of king Gopala

In a region between Madyadesha and the east lies the wilderness Pundarvanthana where was a tree-god who was attached to a beautiful maiden, who gave birth to a son endowed with auspicious signs and was later named Gopala. The son when grown up dug at the root of the tree and found an invaluable jewel emitting light.

After the son had taken consecration from an acharya, he was instructed to propitiate the goddess Chunda. By this propitiation he was advised to carry with him a wooden stick as a token of his protection. On the goddess appeared in his dream and blessed him. Thereupon he went to the temple of Khasarpana and prayed for a ruler. He was advised to go to the east.

At that time many years had passed when in Bengal there was no ruler and all the inhabitants of the realm suffered misery and distress. The chiefs met and chose a king to guard the country. The chosen king was killed the same night by a Naga woman, an ogress, said to be the reincarnation of the queen of King Gopichandra or Lalachandra. In this way all the chosen kings were killed by the Naga woman. The tree-god's son wanted to be chosen as the king and was promised a reward by the inhabitants of the place. The inhabitants were very pleased and elected him as their king. At night when the Naga woman came to him, she was pierced by the consecrated wooden stick and died there and then. For this act of killing and holding his rule firmly, after seven days the natives of Bengal named him Gopala and celebrated his election.

Towards the end of his reign he extended his dominion by subjugating Magadha. He saw the Viharas of Odantapuri and Nalanda and established many other centres for the residence and study of the monks and donated ample gifts. He ruled for 45 years.

During the reign of this king, Acharya Santiprabha and Sakyaprabha...
disciple of Punyakirti worked for the salvation of beings in Kashmir; as also Canastilie, Vissamitra and Prêjnavaranman. In the east Acharya Jnanagarbha and Santarakshita followed the Svaraniikta-Madhyaikta school of philosophy.

When Satyamati, Silabhadra, Prince Yasomitra and Pandit Prthivi- bandhu lived, Sri Harshadeva ruled in Kashmir. At that time lived Virupa and other Siddhacharyas. During the intervening period between the reign of Kings Sri Harshadeva and Devapala, in the west in Keccha (Cutch) lived Vidyavarnita, when Virupa the junior was the Siddhacharya. The king was devoted to the Buddhists but his ministers were non-Buddhists. The temple built at the time was named Amritkumbha.

Chapter XXIX

Events of the time of King Devapala and his sons.

After King Gopala’s death, Devapala became the king. He extended his dominion to Varendra (in Bengal) as also to Grivisa. He founded the Somapuri Vihara. At this time lived Acharya Kshulascharin, learned in the three Tantras: Gauda, Kajalpatha and Yamsundara and other sastras. His contemporaries were Sahasrabhaga, Sahyamitra, Sumbula, author of karmasiddhi-tika, Damusareya, Jnanachandra, Vajrayudha, Manjusriki, Jnanadatta and Vajradeva: in the southern region Bhidanta Avalokiteshvara and in Kashmir Acharya Dhanamitra and others. Acharya Sindhuhadra was a great pandita of the reign of Devapala.

At the time of King Gopala lived Mahapandita Santarakshita, author of the madhyantvinankars. He was a contemporary of the Tibetai king Khri-srong-lde-btsan.

In Kusala Acharya Sahayamitra wrote the commentary Kosalalankara on the Yoga Tantra Tattva-sangraha. Towards the end of his life he went to Kashmir to propagate the teaching.

Vajrayudha was an author of the eulogy of Manjusri entitled Sri jnanaphalanama-sutra.

Manjusriki wrote the commentary on the Namsangiti. He was a vajachara and visualized Dharmadhatu-vajgivara mandala.

Vajradeva, a house-holder, was a poet and wrote an eulogy of 100 stokes of jodhisattava Avalokitesvara.
King Devapala ruled for 49 years. After him ruled his son Rasapala, who reigned for 12 years. As he did not render adequate service to Buddhism, he is not counted as one of the Pala rulers. In Nalanda lived Acharya Llavaja of Udyan, also. He wrote a commentary on the Namasangiti. There was another Acharya Vasavambhu, who recited the Abhidharma-ntaka. Llavaja was born in Samsa, ordained in Udyan and belonged to the Nyaya Madhyamika system. He acquired proficiency in all branches of practices and studied the Namasangiti-siddhi. His monastic name was Silavaja-surya-sadras Vrisavarupa.

At that time Matanga, son of a Chandal, got the mantra-texts of Nagarjuna.

Chapter XXX

Events of the time of King Dharmapala

King Dharmapala ruled for 64 years and brought under his control Kanpur, Tihut, Gauda, etc. In the east his dominion reached the ocean. In the west from Delhi inward, from Jalandhar downwards and in the south from the Vindhyas mountain down the valleys upwards. He selected Simhabhadra and Jinnapada as his spiritual advisors and wanted them to propagate the teachings of Prayaparamita and Guhyasamaja. He issued the order that the Panditas, who knew the Guhyasamaja and the Paramitas should get precedence among the bhikshus.

At the time of this king appeared in Bengal the Siddhacharya Kukuripa for the welfare of all beings. He invited all Prayaparamitas-panditas and held in great veneration Acharya Simhabhadra. He erected the Vikramasila Vihara on the bank of the Gangas in Magadh. In the middle of the temple of Vikramasila was kept a portrait of the Mahabodhi temple. Around the temple were located 53 small temples for secret practices and 54 ordinary temple for general practices, altogether 108 temples and these were surrounded by a wall. There were 108 Panditas, one Acharya for offering of incense, one caretaker, one person for looking after the pigeons and one for supervising temple-attendants, altogether 104 persons were provided with food and clothing. Every person getting emoluments of 4 persons. All those who listened to the preaching of dharma received a special entertainment allowance and a good salary. The head of the monastery looked after the Nalanda monastery also. Every Pandita recited a particular part of the dharma regularly. The properties of the temple or of the Sangha could not be divided. All the
169 Panditas were entitled to enjoy the same as members of the Sangha, in other words, there could not be individual ownership.

Prajnaparamita was further propagated. It spread to Madhyadesa and then to the south, again in Madhyadesa and then north and the south.

At the time when Dharmaraja was the king in the east, King Chakravudha reigned in the west. He was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khris-rong lde-brtan.

During the reign of this king lived the great dialecticians, Kalyanagupta, Simhabhadra, Subhayuha, Sagaramgha Prabhakara; Purusartha, the great Vajrayogya Buddhajnanapada with his disciple Buddhaguhya and Buddhassanti, in Kashmir Acharya Padmakaraghoasa, dialectician Dharmarakadatta and Vinaya master Simhanukha.

Acharya Simhabhadra of the above mentioned Panditas came of a royal family and was ordained as a bhikshu. He acquired knowledge in several works and systems, studied with Acharya Sastrikshita the Madhyamika texts, and with Vairocanabhadra the Prajnaparamita-sutras as summed up in the Abhisamayalankarapada. Then in the east in the Khasapana forest, after he had invoked Bodhisatva Ajitanatha and saw him in a dream, he was directed to go to Acharya Sagaramgha at the Tikuta Vihara.

Acharya Sagaramgha received instruction from the Bodhisattva Ajitanatha to write a commentary on the Bodhisattva-bhumi in 5 sections and on the Parinirvayayoga.

Acharya Padmakaraghosa was probably the Pandita of Lo-dri Vihara.

Acharya Buddhajnanapada was one of the best disciples of Simhabhadra, after whose demise, he began to preach the dharma. In course of time he became the royal priest, and then he was consecrated as a Vajrayanya. When this acharya began to work for the welfare of all beings, Arya Jambhala gave him 700 gold panas every evening and the goddess Vasudhara 300 perlas. He in return presented to each of the 19 Ghyansamaja gods 7 lamps of the size of a carriage-wheel to each of the Bodhisattvas and to each of the gods of wrath, 3 lamps to each of the 15 guardians of the region 15 strewed offerings, which had to be lifted by two persons on a litter. He offered all the requisites of the disci-
bles and satisfied them for listening to the preaching of the dharma and taking holy orders. He offered such gifts to spread the doctrine.

He said to King Dharmapala that the ruling power of his dynasty will end from the time of his grandson, and in order to counteract the misfortune, he should continue giving his offerings for the spread of the dharma for a long time. When the king supplied for the offering 82,000 tolas of silver the Vajradhara performed with help of many Acharyas incense offerings for many years. He prophesied that there will be 12 kings in five generations and they will bring under control many countries and the dharma will also spread.

At this time several Saindhavas of Simhala, who were Sravakas saw the silver statue of Heruka placed in the Vajrasana temple, and there were also many Mantra treatises, which they regarded as works of Mara. They therefore made fire out of the Mantra treatises to melt the silver statue of Heruka and sold the same for their profit. Further, they persuaded the pilgrims of Bengal going to the Vikramasila monastery to give up Mahayanism as it was full of perversities. When the king heard this, he punished the Simhala bhikshus but the Acharya protected them.

This Acharya taught Kriiyayog and the Buddhist Tantric texts: Guhyasamaja, Mayajala, Buddha-samaya-yoga, Chandra-guhyi-lilaka, Manjusrikrodha and laid special emphasis on the Guhyasamaja,

The disciple of the Acharya was Prasantamitra, who was well-versed in Abhidharma, Paramitas, and Kriiyayoga. He preferred a quiet (scholarly) life. He received consecration from Acharya Jnanapada. He visualised the face of Yamantaka, obtained control over the yaksas and their wealth, with which he built in the south the Amritkara-vihara like Nalanda.

Kshatriya, Rahulabhade, though well-versed and recognised as a Pandita, was of dull intellect. He was ordained by an acharya as a bhikshu. In the west, on the bank of the river Sindhu he practised Guhyasamaja-siddhi for a long time. He conjured up Guhyapati and worked for the beings of Jambudvipa. He went to Divadivata and recited the Tantric texts, for which he obtained wealth from the Nagas and gave the same to the inmates of the vihara, one golden dinara as remuneration for a day’s work of constructing the Guhyasamaja vihara. He became a vidyadhara and was able to convert the Nagas of the ocean.

Acharya Buddhaguhya and Acharya Buddhacari were disciples of
Buddhaghusha, from whom as also from others he learnt the secret mantras and became very learned in Vajrayana, Charyya and Yoga tetrads. One of them, Buddhaghusha, made a painted wooden image of Manjushri in Vajrasana; he found that Manjushri was smiling and so he procured the milk of a brown-coloured cow for making clarified butter, which was necessary for attaining Siddhi. He observed that withered flowers were becoming fresh: so he felt that he had achieved the Siddhi. He was, for the time being possessed by a yaksha but he soon recovered from it and regained his former state; his intelligence became more penetrating and his judgement clearer, and his body stronger. The image of Manjushri was covered with dust by the yaksha, and so on regaining his normal state he cleaned up the image.

Buddhasanté the follow-disciple of Buddhaghusha, attained the same success as Buddhaghusha without making the image of Manjushri.

Beth of them then went to Potala mountain, at the foot of which the goddess Tara was reciting the dharma before the Nagas. She appeared to them as an old woman looking after a herd of cattle.

In the middle of the mountain, Bhrikuti was preaching the dharma to a number of Asuras and Yakshas. She appeared to them as a girl looking after a floci of goats.

On the top of the mountain both of them saw a stone-image of Avalokiteshvara. Buddhhasanté was of opinion that they had not yet developed ability to visualize Avalokiteshvara in his godly form.

Chapter XXX

Events of the time of Maharaaja Mahipala

Maturakshita, son-in-law of Maharaaja Dharmapala ruled for 8 years, after him Vanapala, son of King Dharmapala ruled for 10 years. During their time lived Acharyas (Dialecticians) Dharmottama, Dharmamitra, Vimalanirika and others.

After Maturakshita ruled king Vanapala's son Mahipala for 62 years, the time of his death coincided with the date of the death of the Tibetan king Ral pa-chen.

During Maharaaja Mahipala's reign lived Arandagebbha, author of the Samvrti paramartha bodhicitta-ovaratrayam. Acharya Arandagebbha
came of a Vaishya family of Magadha. At first he belonged to the Mahasanghika school and later he took up the Nyaya-Madhyaamika school of thought in Vikramasila. He acquired knowledge of the Tantric aspects of Buddhism. He heard that in Bengal, the disciple of the Siddhacharya Prakasaraha had taught the Yoga-tantras. He became a student of Acharya Subbulipa and other Acharyas and became proficient in all Yoga-tantras. He then practised yoga in the solitude of a forest and realized Mahadharma-dhatumandala and composed a satsra for him as well as for Prajnapalite, who came to him from Madhyadesa and received consecration from him. The satsra is entitled Vajrasatvodeya-nama-sadhanapaya. He recited the Tatvasangraha.

The king developed faith in him and invited him to the south of Magadha in the neighborhood of Julaguh and furnished for him the Cudamani temple. There were many students, who listened to the secret teaching. On the Tatvasangraha he wrote a commentary entitled Tatva-vidarana and many other sstras.

Asvaghosa was a follower of the Madhyamika school, so also were Acharya Pasulita and Chandrapadma etc. It is evident that Jnanadatta, Jnanakirti and others lived at this time. In Kashmir, the Viney masters Jnanamitra, Sarvajnadeva, Dulasala and others. It is well known that these three also came to Tibet. The Tantric Siddhacharya Tillipja lived at this time in Tibet.

The king of Odavia, Visvashcharya, who looked upon Mahipala as his father invited Anandagantha to a Vihara at a place where King Munja lived formerly. He composed Sripinaradhyas-vishwana and commentaries on the Gulyasamaja and other Tantric texts.

At that time lived Acharya Bhago, who mastered Vajramata tantra and in Kashmir lived Panjita Gambhiravaga, who cenured up in a cemetery Vajrasurya and at last he saw the Vajrayamandala though Tantric sadhanas. He went to Udyana for further Tantric secret teachings. He obtained a number of other Siddhis.

Pala Genealogy


20
Chapter XXXII

Events of the time of Mahapala and Samapala

Mahapala, son of Mahanaga, Mahipala ruled for 42 years. He showed the same devotion to the Vedas as his father. He supported 500 Bhikshus and 50 teachers, who resided in this Vihara. To this Vihara he added another Vihara named Urvasi and maintained it with 500 Sailadhavas. He wanted that Vikramala should be the highest centre of learning. He founded in Nalanda further centres of learning and constructed the Somapura Vihara, Trisalaka Vihara, and other Viharas.
At that time Acharya Pito brought Kalacakra-tantra from Kashmir and propagated it in the above-mentioned Viharas. Other notable scholars, who lived at that time were Prajnakacagupta, Yogachara-scholar Padmukta.

After the death of this king, his son-in-law Samupala ruled for 12 years.

Biography of Acharya Jetari

When king Vanapala was ruling, there was in the east Varendra a feudatory king named Sanatana, whose wife was beautiful and very intelligent. This king asked for Guayasamaja consecration from the Acharya Brahmin Garbhapada and gave him in return his wife, horse, gold, elephant etc. Some time later Garbhapada had a son by her and when the child became 7 years old he asked him to teach the Brahmanic script and Sastras but he was beaten by other sons of Brahmins as he was of a low caste being the son of a man of Sudra caste, who became a Buddhist priest. He returned home and told his father about his troubles in the school. His father gave him the Manjusi consecration. Within about a year he absorbed himself in the Suddha-pairedhaha Sana-dhi and obtained Siddhi and he became proficient in all Sastras, i.e., in various scripts, meters, Abhidharma etc. He continued to be an Upasaka. He then received from his father Guhyasamaja, Sambara, Harvaja etc, and he then became a disciple of many other Gurus. He learnt all doctrines with the help of Manjusi. After the death of Garbhapada during the reign of Maharaja Mahapala he could not obtain the royal diploma. He therefore went to different countries in order to worship the deities in different temples. At last he came to Kharapana and saw the statue of Acila-krodhara and so he became repentant for his lack of reverence for Buddha. At that time the goddess Tara appeared before him and said to him that in order to atone for his sin, he must write many Mahayana Sastras. Hence at the time of king Mahapala he was given a nice place called Yashapuri for his residence and also a diploma of a Pandita of Vikramaditya, whereupon he propagated the teaching and his fame increased to a great extent. He wrote a brief commentary on the Sutra of Bodhicaryavatara, Akasagrabhasutra, etc., in all about 100 Sastras of the Sutra and Tantra classes.

Kalasamayavatya was a follower of Acharya Buddhishmanapada and had in the country of Chagala (Raya) exhibited a portrait of Harvaja in a lonely place and carried on painstaking striving. After many years he had passed, he was immersed in contemplation of the Mandala, and
ultimately visualized the Hevajra-mandala and obtained extraordinary supernatural power.

Chapter XXXIII

Events of the time of King Chanakya

Srishthapala, the eldest son of King Mahapala, was consecrated as a ruler but he died after three years. As there are no traces of his activity, he is not counted among the seven Pala Kings.

Towards the end of the reign of King Mahapala Buddhism was spreading in Tibet. At the time lived Janapadita and the junior Krishna-charya.

As the surviving son of King Mahapala was only seven years old, his uncle, i.e., Mahapala’s brother Chanakya ruled for 28 years. He encountered a fight with the king of Tukhira and he came out victorious. The inhabitants of Bengal revolted and attacked Magadh. At this time Acharya Santl was one of the six guardians of the gate of Vikramasila Vihara. By means of nisps and rituals, many boats of the Turushkas (of Bengal) were drowned in the Ganges. After the king subjugated the rebels, peace prevailed in the country.

King Mahapala’s younger son Bhushapala settled in a region at the mouth of the Ganges but he died after six years.

The guardian of the eastern gate of Vikramasila Vihara was Acharya Rânakarasanti, guardian of the western gate was Vâgîśvara-kirti, guardian of the northern gate was Sûdarácarya Naropa, guardian of the southern gate were Bakshasa Prajakaramati and Prajakara-rupa. There were two central gates of which one was guarded by Acharya Rânavajra and the second by Acharya ânanaśreniūtra.

Acharya Rânakarasanti was very learned in all the Sastras, and particularly in the Brahmanic and Buddhistic dialectics. He defeated the non-Buddhist opponents in disputation.

Acharya Vâgîśvara-kirti, guardian of the western gate of Vikramasila monastery was born in Vânâshî in a Kshatriya family. He left the Mahâvîhâra school and was consecrated as a Pandita and the religious name given to him was Siûkîrti. He acquired knowledge of grammar.
logic and other Sestras. He approached Hasavajra, disciple of Jinabhadra of Konkas for Chakrasambhara and when he tried the charm in a place in Magatha, he saw Chakrasambhara in a dream and was convinced that it would succeed. He gave further trials and was confirmed about its efficacy. His intelligence became so keen that he could conceive 1,000 slokas thoroughly in a day, for which he received the name of Vagisvarakirti. He became very proficient in the Sutras, Tantras and other texts and developed ability in giving expositions of texts and also in disputations and composition of treatises. He was able to defeat the non-Buddhist disputants in disputations, and so the king chose him for the guardianship of the western gate in both Melanda and Vikramasthila monasteries. He received treasures from Ganapati and utilised the same for innumerable offerings and for establishing 8 centres of teaching of Prajnaparamita, 4 centres for Guhyasamaja, one centre each for lectures on the three Tantras, viz., Sambara, Hevajra and Chatushpitha and erected many Viharas with one centre in each for teaching Madhyamika logic and Metyavancha-upadesa, by which life-essence could be produced and thereby one could live upto 100 years or more. He recited very often the Vidyaganas, Paramita, Sutra-aneka, Guhyasamaja, Hevajra and Yamari Tantras, Lankavatara. He worked in Vikramasthila for many years, and in the second half of his life he went to Nepal and devoted himself to Mantrayana and Siddhi.

The king of Santipuri erected a Chakrasambhara temple, where after its inauguration he wanted to arrange for a large Ganachakra and collected in the outer half of the temple many Mantins and sent a message to invite the Acharya as a Ganapati. Just outside the hut of Ganapati there was a lustful woman and a very dark maiden who asked the messenger "where was the Acharya?" to which he answered that he was inside. As soon as the messenger entered and asked the Ganachakrpati to appear as a Ganachakrapati of the king, the Acharya with the two women reached a cross road not far from Santapuri and said to the king "As You did not come while I have been waiting for a long time". After the Acharya had finished the inauguration of the Ganachakra, he remained with his father and mother inside the temple. He took a supply of Gasa for 50 persons. The king asked why so much for three persons inside? The king saw through a chink in the door and found that there were 62 Chakrasambhara gods, sitting there and eating the Gana and saw the Acharya sitting in a rainbow body.

The guardian of the northern gate was Siddhacharya Naropa. When Ratnakarakanti made an Acharya and disciple offering, a disciple
saw that some one, a terrible Yogi, was seated on the altar. He threw
the sacrificial requisites and being frightened came away. His
Acharya told him that the Yogi was Nārapāi whom he had invited with
great veneration and received from him several instructions and inspira-
tion. Later when Rāmakarasaṇaiti had attained perfection, Nārapāi took
a skull and collected alms from everybody. A robber threw in it a small
knife, which, however, melted like butter and he perished of the same
and departed.

Nārapāi’s successor was Svāmī Boddhītāsra, who came of a Vaiṣya
family of Odisha. He had a perfect way of living a Boddhitāta. He
was proficient in logic, in Vidyā and Chanayaganas, specially in the
Bodhisattvyabhumi. He visualised Boddhitāta Avolokitesvaras and heard
the doctrines directly from him.

The guardian of the first central gate was Ratnāvajja, who came of
a Brahmin family of Kashmir. His father Rāhilādha being defeated by
a Buddhist Bhikhu in a disputation he became a Buddhist Upāsaka. His
son was Ratnāvajja also an Upāsaka and remained so till his 50th year.
He was educated in Kashmir and acquired knowledge in all Sūtras and
Mantras etc. He came to Magadha and continued his study further.
While in Vajjīśana he saw the face of Chakrasambhara and Vajrapānī and
of many other gods. He then got the Vāsiasaṇās diploma. He taught
mostly sections of Mantrasāra, seven sections of Prāmanī, the Maitre-
īyāthānasa etc. For many years he worked for the welfare of beings
and then he returned to Kashmir. He entered into disputes with the
heretic teachers and after defeating them converted them to Buddhism.
He established a few monasteries for teaching Vidyāganaṇa Sutra-
Sānka, Ghyasānasa, etc. In the second half of his life, he went to
Udyanā. At that time there was in Kashmir a Brahmin, learned in the
Brahmanic Sāstra, who had visualised Iśvara at a Māhāvīra. He was ad-
vised to go to Udyanā. There the Brahmin met Ratnāvajja and entered
into disputation with him, pledging that he would change his faith if
he were defeated in the disputation. Ratnāvajja came out victorious
and converted the Brahmin to Buddhism and gave him the religious name
of Ghyaspānī. After mastering the Mantrayana he obtained Siddhi; he
was known as the Red Angha in Tibet.

Ratnāvajja’s son was Mahājana, whose son was Sajjana, who propa-
gated the religion widely in Tibet.

The guardian of the second central gate was Acharya Jnanasimha,
who was the author of Vajrayana-dvaa-asatva-ratana. To this Acharya was indebted to Sri Atita.

Sri Atita was born in Gonda. At the beginning he was a Pandita of the Saivite sects and was well-versed in the Pithas of the Brahmans. At a later time he became a siddha of Mahayana acquired knowledge of the works of Nagijuna and Asanga, and studied the Tantra sections of the secret texts. He was, in short, well-versed in the Sutra and Tantras and turned his mind to the contemplation of Bodhi, he visualized Sakyamuni, Maitreya and Avalokitesvara. When he was in Vrksnala, he asked Sravangas to go to Gaya and told them that a Brahmin will set fire to the Vajrasana as well as to the monks residing there and thus they are that the fire was extinguished. When they reached Vajrasana, they saw that a fire had broken out in the Girdhar temple at Vajrasana. They prayed to the gods and the fire was extinguished and did not damage the temple much. The Acharya then returned the burnt paintings and renewed the burnt parts of wood. Likewise he restored many centres of teaching in Bengal and Magadha.

Though this king Chandaka rendered service to the religion, he was not counted among the seven Pala.

At this time, in Kusinara logic became very popular and there lived the dialectician Ravijupta.

Chapter XXXIV

Events of the time of kings Bhejaipala and Nirmala

King Bhejaipala ruled for about 32 years. Although he did not change the former system, he did not render any distinguished service to the religion. In Vrksnala, more than 70 Pandita-epigraphs were distributed by him to the inamites. He is therefore not counted among the seven Pala rulers. At the time of this king, after the death of the six learned guardians of the gates Jobo-de-quel-Idan Atita, was known as Dipankura Srijuna, was invited to the Vrksnala Vihara as the chief Pandita. He looked after Caturapalli Vihara as well. Not long after this, activity of Mrinnatha became prominent. When Mrinnatha returned from Srijuna to Magadha, then all the six learned guardians of the gates had passed away.

When Nirmala became the ruler, Arya Dipankura Srijuna came to
Tibet. The king ruled for 35 years. Nine years after his ascension to the throne, Matrinatha died. This king showed respect to a person named Mahavajrasana; when he became an Upasaka he was known as Ponyaeri and when he was ordained as a Bhikshu he was given the religious name of Punyakarasupa.

At this time lived in the east, distinguished disciples of Naropa, viz., Amoghavijra, clear sighted Viryabhadra, Devakarachandra, Prajna- raksita, the most excellent Dombi and Kanta.

Kasonipa conjured up Vajrayogini and saw her face. On her enquiry what he wanted, he said that he wished to reach her stage, whereupon she lowered herself into his soul and he at once obtained the Siddhi.

Naropa gave instruction to Riti and advised him to practice Chakra- sambara system, whereby he obtained Siddhi Prajnaraksita, s learned Pandita stayed with Naropa for 12 years. He often listened to the pith- tantra and Matra-tantra treatises and became more well versed in the Matra- tantra as also in Chakrasambhara. He committed to memory a number of commentaries and a large number of instructions. Not far from Odentapuri, at a small place, he practised meditation for 5 years for attaining Siddhi. He visualized Chakrasambharamandala, Marjuesi, Kalachakra and many other tutelary gods. He mastered as many as 70 instructions of the Chakrasambhara collection. He acquired many supernatural powers, by which he struck down the Turushika army four times when it attacked Vikramshila Vihar. Many soldiers perished while others fled away. After working for the welfare of beings and maintaining Chakrasambhara in the forefront of his mind, he conjured up Aryavalokita or Khasarpaka for 12 years with the utmost mental concentration but could not obtain success. In a dream he was asked to go to Vikramapura town. He went there with his disciple Sadhuputra and there in a festival he witnessed a great dance, which made him realize that everything was a phantom and his mind was immersed in contemplation. At midnight Adhideva appeared before him and told him “O son, such is the reality.” On hearing this he obtained Mahamudrasiddhi. He then composed a few sastras for the benefit of his disciple, many of whom thereby obtained the Sadanga-yoga-sadhana.

At that time lived Yama'i, who was well versed in dialectics, grammar and logic. He was however unable to maintain his wife and three children who suffered from hunger. At that time a Yogi came to him on
his way to the Vajrasana and asked him for shelter. He told him about his poverty. In reply the Yogi said: "You Pandita, despite the Yogins, you do not listen to their teachings. That is the reason for your poverty but I have got the power to counteract it. The Pandita enquired about it. The Yogi in reply asked him to prepare a fruit from a pinda tree. "When I shall return from Vajrasana I shall prepare the medicine." On his way back he arranged for a Vasudhara blessing. Yamali exercised his supernatural power, and as a result the Pandita in a year got a great power from the king and received from him the diploma of Vrikrama.

At the same time lived in Kashir Bhashmini Sankarananda, who was well versed in all Eastras and, specially, in a new logical method. He thought of offsetting Dharmanikirti in a disputation but Anya Manjusri told him in a dream to abstain from the same as Dharmanikirti was an Anya and he could not be defeated and what he regarded as a mistake of Dharmanikirti was actually a mistake of his own mind. He thereupon wrote a commentary on the seven sections (probably of the Pramana-samuchchaya) and he obtained great wealth and happiness. It is said that he made many mistakes in his exposition of the Dharma.

Chapter XXXV

Events of the time of Amrapsala, Hastipala and Khaastipala

Amrapsala was the son of King Nejapala. He ruled for 13 years. During his reign Acharya Ratnakaragupta held the office of the Pandita of the Vajrasana temple

At the time of Amrapsala’s death, his son Hastipala came into power but as he was a minor, his four ministers ruled the kingdom as his guardians for 8 years. Thereafter, Hastipala himself ruled over the kingdom for 15 years, then his maternal brother Khastipala ruled for 14 years. During their reign Acharya Ratnakaragupta lived in Sauri.

During the reign of these two kings lived the Acharya of Nejapala’s time and the discipates of Maitri and Domanikara Srijana and five others of their line of thinking, viz. the great Pito, Dharmanikamarati, Bhuvak, Madhyamikapitha, Mitagohya. Besides these, 57 Pandites delivered discourse on the teachings of Jnanavajra and others. It is well-known that at this time Manakashellie worked for the welfare of all beings, in Kashir Boddhibheda, in Nand Phanakini with his brother Jnanavajra and Indian Pani and others worked for the welfare of all beings.
About this time lived also Tañulayittra, author of the Gyunyasa昌a-mandala-vidhi, in Nepal Narapa’s disciple Darika, author of the consecration ceremony of Luy-a’s stystem. It is evident that in Vikramasila the great Pandita Shiñapararika sank explained the Prajnапaramita.

These three kings are not counted among the seven Pala rulers, as they did nothing worth the name.

Chapter XXXVI
Events of the time of Ramapala

King Ramapala, son of Hastipala was very intelligent and possessed great power. After he ascended the throne, Acharya Abhayakara was invited to be a Vikramasila Pandita. After some time he was also invited as a Pandita to Nalanda and Vikramasila.

At that time there, some changes took place in the rules of the Vikramasila monastery, where resided continously 150 Panditas and about 1,000 Bhikshus. At the time of some functions or celebrations, generally about 5,000 priests assembled, in Vajrasana temple the king maintained about 14 Mahayana teachers and 200 Sarvaka-bhikshus. At times there gathered about 10,000 Sarvaka-bhikshus, in Odantapuri lived also continuously 1,000 Bhikshus, who belonged to either Hinayana or Mahayana school. At times, about 12,000 priests assembled there. The chief jewel of Mahayana teachers was Acharya Abhayakara, to whom great veneration was showed by the Sarvaka aja, among whom there were also many Vinaya masters.

Acharya Abhayakara made valuable contributions to the teaching and the texts composed by him were highly valuable. The texts were admired even at the time of Taranatha, who was of opinion that the contributions of Acharya Abhayakara and Ramakaravanti were no less important than the works of Varunandhu and his contemporaries.

Beginning of the decline of Buddhism

Since the demise of King Dharmapala, many followers of the Mahayana doctrine appeared in Bengal, Ayodhya, west and east of the Yamuna from Vañasi to Malava Priyad. Mathura, Panchala, Agra, Sagari, Delhi, Kanauj, Tirhut, Odivisa but still the Buddhist doctrine existed in Magadh and there the number of priests and Yogins increased.

Acharya Abhayakara was the last great teacher, perfect in knowledge.
charitable and possessed of supernatural power. It should be mentioned that the philosophy of the great scholars and perfect Yogins, their excellent Sastras were still revered by the people.

King Ramapala ruled for 46 years i.e., for some time after the demise of Abhayakara.

After King Ramapala, his son Yakshapala ruled for one year. His minister Lavesena usurped the royal power. During their reign lived Acharya Subhakaragupta in Vikramasila and Buddhakirti as the chief priest of the Vajrasana temple.

Chapter XXXVII

Events of the time of four Sena kings and others

Lavesena's son was Kusasena, whose son was Manitasena, whose son was Rathikasena. These four Sena kings ruled about 60 years. During their reign the heads of the Buddhist Sangha were Subhakaragupta, Revinsrijana, Niyakapasi, Dasabalalari, a little later were Dharmakarshancha, Bhuvanatadvama, Nekalankadeva, Dharmakaragupta and other followers of Abhayakara, who were all Siddhas as well as masters of Buddha-sastras.

During the reign of Rathikasena, appeared 24 Mahantas: Sakyasribhadra the great Pandita of Kashmir, Buddhahari of Nepal, the great Acharya Ratnakarachaktra, the great teachers Janakaragupta, Buddhagiri, Milira, Sarjana, Revinsribhadra, Chandrakaragupta and many others, who were all Vajradharas and devoted to the Sanadara and masters of Sastras.

The Nepalese Buddhahari was for some time a follower of the Mahasanghika school in Vikramasila. In Nepal however, he taught the Prajnaparamita and secret Mantras. He observed the Tantric form of conduct.

Acharya Ratnakarachaktra is said to have been equal to Sakyasri in the knowledge of the Paramitas and other Sastras. Sakyasri is said to have been more learned in logic but Ratnakirati was more learned in the secret Mantras, in conferring blessings but they were equals in the exercise of supernatural powers. He also belonged to the Mahasanghika school but he was a Mantacharya in Vikramasila. He visualized Chakrasambara, Kalachakra and Yamaraj etc. Once he heard in Pusula the
exposition of the 16 kinds of Sunyata from Arya Avalokita. A large number of his followers went to Kashmir and Nepal. For a short time he went to Tibet and wrote the Sambodraya.

During the reign of the four Sena rulers the Tirthikas increased in number in Magadha, and there were many followers of the Turushka system of the Tajiks. In Odantapuri and Vikramasila the king erected a kind of fortress and engaged some soldiers for its protection.

A Mahayana school was established in Vajrasana where resided some Yosas and the followers of Mahayana. For the rainy season retreat (varshavasa) 10,000 Sandhava Sravakas gathered here. Many centres of teaching were destroyed but in Vikramasila lived many Bhikshus in Abhayakara's time.

When King Lavanasa took up the government in his own hands, peace prevailed for some time. In the Gangatic delta (antarvedi) between Ganga and Yamuna, King Chandra with the help of some Bhikshus formed a coalition with the Turushka king, living in Bengal and other parts of the country in Magadha. A Turushka king killed many priests in Odantapuri and in Vikramashila. In Odantapuri a fortress of the Tajiks was erected.

Pandita Sakyasi went to Jagaddala in Odissa, and after staying there for 3 years, he came to Tibet.

Ratnarakshita (senior) went to Nepal, Acharya Jnanarakagupta and other Panditas with about 100 junior priests went to the south-west of India. Acharya Buddharsimtra and Vajrasi, disciple of Desabala went to the south, Acharyas Sangamarajjana, Ravisrihari, Chandarakara-gupta and 16 other Mahantas and 200 junior Panditas went further east to Rakhan (in Arakan), Munan (in Burma) Kamboja and other countries.

In Magadha the religion almost disappeared, though there were many monks learned and perfect in Siddhis but they could not do anything for the welfare of beings.

At this time the followers of Gorakshanath said that they would not resist the Turushkas.

King Lavanasa and his successors Buddhasa, Hariasa, Pratitasena were kings of very limited power and owed allegiance to the Turushkas. At Buddhasa's time Acharya Ratnasrihada lived in Nalanda.
and had 70 students. After him lived Bhumisribhadra followed by Upyasrihbadra, Kurunasrihbadra and Munindrasrihbadra, who maintained the religion. With Pratissena’s death ended the succession of teachers.

About 100 years after Pratissena’s death the energetic Changa-
laraja lived in Bengal. He ruled over all Pandus and Turushkas up to Calchi, though he was a Brahmin, his wife had faith in Buddhism. He made sacrificial offerings at Vajrasene temple and repaired all the destroyed temples and restored four of the nine storeys of the Mahagandhola. In Nalanda he showed reverence to the temples. (Taranatha writes that he did not have any information about Buddhism after Changa laraja or of any Buddhist saint or Pitaka-holders.)

In Odissa and over a great position of Madhyadesa ruled King Mukundadeva, but he did not do anything for the religion. He however erected Buddhist temples in Odissa as well as a few centres of learning. Since the death of the king, 31 years have passed up to the time of Taranatha.

Chapter XXVIII

The order of succession of Vrikshamashita teachers

From the time of King Dhurmapala to that of King Chandaka, i.e., during five generations, one Manuscharya was in charge of the Vriksha-
mita monastery. At the time of Dhurmapala Acharya Buddhajinaapala was the head of the monastery; after him Acharya Dipankaragadha.

At the time of Manuscharya residing here at the Bhikshupandita
Jayabhada of Laskha (Simhala), who was proficient in all the Svetak-
plakas, he came to Magadha and became well-versed in Mahayana, specially in secret Mantras and in Vriksmasila he attained perfection in Chakrasambasiddhi. He once went to Koskan to see the Charya called Mahabimbha. He wrote a commentary on the Chakrasambatarastra, in Vriksmasila he became a Mastracharya.

Then came Brahmin Acharya Snidhara, He was a disciple of Acharya Buddhajinapanada. He composed Rakta and Krishna Yamari treatises. He met the great yogi Kashinacherin, from whom he got instructions and not long afterwards obtained Siddhi.

The teachers who came in succession to become the head of the
Vikramasila monastery each holding office for twelve years are as follows:

1. Bhavabhadrā He was well-versed in all Sstras, and specially in Vijnana-siddhi. He visualized Tara, practised Bhintu-siddhi and became perfect.

2. Bhavyaktiti He crossed the ocean of Mantras and texts. He was given the appellation of knowledge free from hindrances (opasikata-abhijna).

3. Lilavājī He obtained Yamari-siddhi. Very likely he wrote the Shayakara-vedehshtha-bhairava in Tibet, He drove out the Tutushka army by drawing a Yamari-mandala.

4. Durjyachandra His biography has been given elsewhere.

5. Kṣhnaśamayavajra As above.

6. Tathagata-rakahita He was proficient in Yamari and Sambara tantras.

7. Bodhībhadra He was an Upasaka. He visualized Manjusri. He carried on Nanakīrtan, which induced Samashī.

8. Kamala-rakahita He was a Bhikhu, well-versed in the Sutras and Mantras, and specially in Prajñaparamita, Guhyasamaja and Yamari-tantra. He drove out the Tutushka army by Mantras.

After Kamalarakahita, there were the six-learned guardians of the gate of Nalanda.

After the six guardians, for some time there were no Panditas in Nalanda. Then came Dipankara Srijana followed by Mahavrajrana, Kamaśakūti, Narendeśa Srijana, Dharmātisha, Abhayakara, Subhakara-gupta and Sunayakarī. Then the Vikramasila Viha declined.

Chapter XXXIX

Propagators of the Teaching in Eastern Kōkī land.

Eastern India consists of Bengal and Odīvīsa (Purvaparaṁgata).
in its north are Kamarupa, Triburu and Daism (Assam) surrounded by mountain ranges (shyams). Further east of the northern mountain are Nagadaksha (Eastern Hill Tracts of Bengal), Pekha (perhaps Hill Tracts of Chittagong), bordering on the ocean, Salau, Rakhier (perhaps Arakan), Naromaili (a portion of Birma), Maulakdi, father of Champa and Kanogha. All these are known at Koki land. (Koki is the Lushai Hill Tracts between Chittagong and Tippera. It may be derived from the word Koki, or vice versa, cf. d'Quap, baim-Illo, ranyu.)

In the Koki lands, Buddhism was introduced at the time of Emperor Asoka, when a small section of the Sangha resided there; then it increased in size. At the time of Yuvabandhu there were only three disciples. Later on some disciples of Yuvabandhu propagated the Mahayana teaching. It continued to exist without any hindrances.

At the time of King Drangapa, there were many disciples of Yuvabandhu in Madhyadaksha. About half of the Sangha residing in Magadha came from Koki land. Henceforth, Mahayana was propagated widely in Madhyadaksha and Tibet. At the time of the four Sans rules also the Mahayanaists increased in number. Since the time of Athapakshika, Manpayana spread more and more. When Magadha was attacked by the Yuvabandhu, a large section of the monks of Madhyadaksha went to the east.

At that time lived King Sphatika who received many temples and established about 200 centres of learning. His successor Simhavasti made the religion very popular. Along with the Bhikshus, the number of the Upasikas also increased. Pandita Venanand and others of this place went to Tibet.

The next king was Basanandara. During his reign Vinaya, Abhidharma and Mahayana texts were widely studied.

Kaschaksha and some other sects became popular. About 200 Pandita were sent Kaghmagha in the south to Mahasiddha Saptapatha for learning the secret Mantras.

Chandradevadama ruled in Raksh (perhaps Arakan). Ajevalaksha in Champa (perhaps Chakna, a suburb of Chittagong) Saliwaksha in Minmar (Birma), Sundaradhi in Nangka, and the religion spread much more than in the previous period.

Chapter XL

The form of propagation of the teaching in small islands and pre-
pagation of the teaching in the southern countries.

In the small city of Simhaldvipa, Yavatdvi, Tamradvipa, Sauravandvipa, Dhanoridvipa, Payagrajdvipa the teaching was propagated from the earliest time and it is very much popular in these days. In Simhaldvipa there are a few followers of Mahayana and mostly they are Sravakas. Even now at the time of Srivada-nights, that is, the festival of the footprint, about 12,000 Bhikshus, mostly Sravakas, join in. In Dhanor and Payagraj there are some followers of Mahayana but there are also Sravakas. In the island of Ananda Padmapura and Dapan-
kundha they lived there and propagated the religion. In the course of a hundred years many Vajrayanas came from Magadha, Uruya, Kasi and other places and propagated the Mantrayana. There were also many Tantra texts which had disappeared from India. Along with the Mantra texts there were also Vistaya, Abhidharma and Paramita works. In the southern part of India, in Vidyanagar, Konkan, Malaya, Kalinga and other places the exposition of texts and Sadhana went on without interruption. On account of the advent of the Turushkas, new centres of learning were not erected and the number of religions became also reduced. Pandita Naraditya lived in a part of Yilinga, called Kaliak.

When Magadha was conquered by the Turushkas, the teaching was introduced in the south-western kingdom of King Karna. At this time the religion was propagated by Jnanakaragupas and others in Manu, Mewar, Chaitanya, Purna, Abu, Saurashtra, Gujar a etc., where many seats of learning were established and there resided also many Bhikshus. In later time through the blessings of Mahasiddhara Saṅtigupta, the teaching was spread atraf in Khagendra and in the regions of the Vindhyas mountain.

At the time of King Ramachandra the Sangha was very much respec-
ted. His son Balabheda built many temples: Srīgirī, Cijana, Uvakṣi etc. He established also many centres of learning for all subjects of study. It is said that in this land 7000 new Bhikshus resided and propagated the teaching and developed the system of exposition of the Sutras, Mantras, Sahana and Nirvana.

CHAPTER XLII

Spread of Buddhism in the South

[Taranatha states that he had no direct information about the state of Buddhism in the south. The information, which he presents here, was derived from a treatise named Puspaśrama written by Bṛhma Manamaṇi]
In the 50th in Kanchi, two kings Sukranja and Chandrasobha subdued the small islands of Gudara birds, which brought valuable medicine and the excellent products of the ocean. With the products converted into money they built the Vihara called Pakshi-stha, of which the resident Bhikshus were maintained by the kings. Many Chityas were also erected.

There were three kings of Konkan. They were in succession as follows: Mahasa, Khemankara and Maranatha. There were three other kings in succession, viz., Bhoga-subala, Chomissena, Suheman-karan-sinha. These kings gave a gold dinara to every monk and 50 panas to every Upasaka.

Khemankaranatha had three sons. The eldest son was Vyanthrajaya, who had a spotted body and eyes like those of a tiger. He ruled over the lower part of Konkan and built 2,000 temples. The second son Buddha ruled over the upper part of Konkan and Tulunadi and maintained 500 Bhikshus. The youngest Buddhahusaha, being deprived of land, became a basket weaver and invited from 10,000 Brahmans and 10,000 Buddhists.

In the valleys of the Vindhyas mountain lived the youngest king Sammukha, who after acquiring Vasudhara vidya obtained inexhaustible cows and clothes. The king paid three times the debts of all persons, who were oppressed by their creditors. In the southern region he gave food and clothing to every needy person numbering about 80,000 for about 20 years in the kingdom of Maurya, during the reign of kings Sagara, Viraama, Ujjasaya and Sushthi 500 centres of learning with as many temples were erected.

In Karnata and Vidyasagara, there were kings Mahendra and his successor Devanaja and Vava. These three kings directed all Brahmans and Kshatriyas to venerate the three Ratnas. Each of them ruled for 30 years. The last king had three sons of whom the eldest Sirc ruled for 3 years, the second son Pratapa ruled for only one month. Each of them erected 50 temples. Pratapa swore that if he were to venerate anything else than the Yatra, he should be killed. Once when he showed veneration to a Siva-linga, he threw himself into a trench of shearing knives. The youngest son Nagappa left his country with a following of 10,000 men. He erected a Chaitiya near Pekham. Here he came across a hostile band of men. He however obtained the rulership and then had a talk with king Salivasaka, who hailed from a Brah-
min family of Kalinga. He filled the land with Chaitiya reaching both the oceans. The land of the south had the shape of a triangle with its apex in the south, its sides were the feet of the mountain ranges, and its base in the Madhavadena. At the apex is Ramesvaram, in the east lies the Mahodadhi and in the west Ratnagiri.

Further Nagaketu set up 10,000 images of Buddha and offered sacrificial offering to each of them.

Brahmana Verdhamana had 10,000 words of Buddha written down and then had 10,000 copies made of them and gave them to each of the inmates of the Vihara. He maintained also the Bhikshus and Upasakas who read, examined and gave exposition of the same.

The Mahayana Acharyya Gaggari, master of the Dharamas gave instruction to 1,000 discipues and at last attained perfection in Kshanti-paramita.

Gomin-upasaka Kumaananta taught the Prajnaparamita to 5,000 Upasakas, all of whom comprehended it.

Ghii-upasaka Matikumara taught Mahayana doctrines to 1,000 boys and girls and initiated them into Mahayanic Dhyanas.

Bhikhu Bhasananda by the power of truth-utterance, cured people of their diseases and relieved them of their worries. He lived with

Sri Sarha was the author of the Buddha kapala-tantra.
Acharyya Lului was the author of the Yogini-samcharya.
Acharyyas Lambala and Padmaavjaryave were authors of the Hevajra tantra.
Khrisnacharan was the author of the Samputa-tilaka.
Lalitavara was the author of the 3 sections of the Khrisna-yamari-tantra.
Gambhirapaksha was the author of the Vajranata.
Kukura-noja (Kukurapa) was the author of the Mahamaya.
Pito was the author of the Kalachakrarastra.

The celebrated scholar Bu-ston wrote a history of the Sahajasiddhi, but he did not deal with the origin of Tantras.

The interpreter Gos pho-nu-dpal (Kumararhi) took this matter into consideration and revived the story of Sahaja-siddhi. Very likely
Dombi Heruka wrote the Sahaja-siddhi: its seven parts formed the subject for some of the students of the secret mantra.

Bhaniskatra (in the Andhra Pradesh) was an important centre for Tantric teaching. It is said that about 6,000 adepts obtained Siddhi by the Tantric mantra.

Chapter XLIV
Adists and Archite

Many excellent artists constructed the beautiful Chaityas in Magadhā, viz., Mahabodhi, Mahendra-dundubhirā. At the time of Emperor Asoka many artists erected the Chaityas at eight important sites. At a later period Boddhakṣetā had an artist called Bimbarana maker of excellent statues and sculptures. He had also many students.

At the time of King Sila (i.e. Harshavardhana) Sronghrada made excellent portraits.

At the time of kings Devapala and Dhamapala lived Dhiman, an artist of Varendra, who produced many chiselled and painted cases. His son Vitapala learned the art from his father and produced similar work of art.

In Kashmir Haricṛja established a school of painters and sculptors. In the south appeared the artists Jaya, Amrāja and Viprasya.

Epilogue

There may be mistakes in this history. In order to find them out, one should take help of such a Tsents scholar who had a good reputa-
tion, who would be able to establish as to who were (a) Nāgarjuna's successors in seven generations; (b) that after Asoka's demise came the Chandra kings and that all the Tantric Achāryas from Sāne ś to Abhayāka appeared during the reign of 7 Chandra and 7 Pala kings.

If it is questioned, what were the sources of this book it may be mentioned that the sources were as follows:--

(a) Many segmentary tales about the origin of Buddhism written in Tibet, these were not reliable so only those which were considered authentic, were picked up.
(b) Pandit Kshemendrabhadra of Mahaśa compiled a work in 2,000 slokas, in which the history was given up to the time of king Ramesaśa.

(c) Pandit Indradatta of a Khatriya family wrote the Buddhāpūraṇa in 1200 slokas and carried the history up to the four Sena rulers.

(d) Brahmin Pandit Bhatṛghati composed a history of the Acher-yas.

These four works agree with one another with minor differences and that also in regard to the manner of development of the teaching in the Aparavāśa kingdom.

The Pushpaśama has been utilized. See above Ch. XL

In this way, the present garland of happy events have been stung into a wonderful string of jewels. This string of jewels will be a source of happiness to those who have faith in the teaching. By this happiness may all living beings, who have stepped on the path of good behaviour be adorned with virtues.

May the jewel of the sacred teaching spread in Aryadatta. This book was written at the initiative of some who wanted that such a book should be written. Thus concluded Taranākhya of the glerique Khams in the 34th years of his life at Brop-rod.

May the jewel of the teaching spread to all parts of the world and remain there for all times.

Blessing, Purified.

NALINAKSHA DUTT
TIBET, KASHMIR AND NORTH INDIA 547-747

—BUDDHA PRAKASH

Tibet made its debut into history with the unification and consolidation, brought about by Songtsen-gampo 630-650 A.D. (1) With the help of a strong army, he subdued the provinces of Guan and Guan and quickly became the master of the whole of Tibet. Not content with extending his empire from Gung to Chitran Tumshik, he vanquished King Anuvrahman of Nepal, forcing him to marry his daughter, named Phrokun (Bhrikot) to him (2), and challenged the empire of China, compelling him also to offer him the hand of his daughter Wei Cheng along with some territories. This consolidation of home and expansion abroad was accompanied by socio-religious organisation and cultural upliftment. Thus Tibet emerged as a great power on the Asian scene.

The consolidation of a big power across the frontier is usually a menace for a country, for two is company, three is none, and this very sentiment of truth in political history. However, during the lifetime of Harsa in India for a variety of reasons—the prestige of his power, his intimate relations with China, manifest in the frequent exchange of embassies, his interest in Buddhism, which had become the dominant ideology of Tibet, and the preoccupations of the Tibetan emperor with his own affairs—the relations of North India did not witness any serious disturbance. But the death of Harsa in 647 and the disappearance of his name and glory gave the green signal to the frontier troubles and led to a rupture between India and Tibet.

We know that Harsa tried to cultivate friendly relations with the Tang court of China. The opening of a route through the Bactrian lands about 630 had shortened the journey from India to China via Nepal and Tibet. Just after his meeting with Yuwen Chuwang, Harsa sent an envoy to Chiang an, bringing among other gifts a bandaged leg of a king unknown in China (3). The Tang reciprocated this courtesy by sending a return mission to India in 642 under Li-I-Piao with Wang Huien as the second officer. This mission returned to China in 646, but, soon afterwards, another mission was despatched to India, this time under Wang Huen-ye with Tsang Chou-len as the second officer and an escort of thirty horsemen. When the mission was on its way, King Hsu the died and his minister O-jo-na-shen, Aituna or Anunavya, assumed the throne. He is called A-nu-ti which Syrarah Levi takes to mean a Brahmana (4). He broke off with China, the reason for which may have been his anti-Buddhist feeling, born of his Brahmana heritage, and went to the extent

40
of maltreating the Chinese embassy. The Ancient History of the Tang Dynasty Ch. 198 states that "he used in the campaign the troop of the barbarian to attack Wang Huen-ts‘e. They (the escort of the mission) gave a fight to the barbarian but the party was not equal to the enemy; when the arrows got exhausted, all were taken prisoners and the tributes given by the different kings were all plundered. Wang Huen-ts‘e alone escaped under the cover of night." (5) The New History of the Tang Dynasty Ch. 221 gives the following account of this incident: "He (O-lo-na shown) placed the army in the field to drive away Wang Huen-ts‘e. The mission did not have an escort of more than a few dozens of cavalry; they could do nothing and all perished. The goods offered as tributes by the kings were all plundered. Wang Huen-ts‘e escaped. (6) Thus harassed, the Chinese envoy reached Nepal and Tibet to seek the help of their kings. To quote the Ancient History of the Tang Dynasty he "visited Tou-fan (Tibet) which gave him 1200 soldiers. Ni-po-lo (Nepal) gave him 7,000 cavalry. Wang Huen-ts‘e, with the help of his assistant, Tsang Cheu-Jin led the army of the two kingdoms and advanced as far as the capital of central India. The battle continued for three days, the loss was terrible. Three thousand persons were killed straightaway and about 10,000 fell into water and were carried away. O-lo-na shown fled from his capital. Cheu-Jin pursued him and made him captive along with 12,000 persons, men and women, and more than 30,000 animals, oxen and horses. India was thus conquered. Wang Huen-ts‘e brought to the capital (of China) his prisoner in the 22nd year (Tchang Kao 648). He was promoted to the rank of ta‘-po-sen-ts‘ou-fu. 7. The New History of the Tang Dynasty Ch. 221 gives some different details of this episode. It says that Tibet supplied the Chinese envoy with an army of 1,000 soldiers rather than 7,200 true but Nepali gave him 7,000 troops. He divided his army into several corps, advanced as far as the village of Taka-pou lo-lo and, after besieging it for three days, captured the town. 3,000 men were killed and 10,000 drowned in the river. O-lo-na shown, leaving the kingdom, fled and reassembled his troops and returned to offer another battle. Cheu-Jin made him prisoner. Killing about 1,000 persons this time, the others, who were guarding the women of the royal household burned the crossing of the river Kian-wei. Cheu-Jin attacked them; there was a great confusion. He imprisoned the wives and daughters of the king, and 12,000 persons and all the domesticated animals numbering some 30,000. He received the submission of 589 fortified towns. The king of Eastern India, Chikeou-ma (Sri Kumara) presented some 30,000 animals, oxen and horses, for the army and also gave cows, sabres, and rings. The kingdom of Kio-mou-lou (Kamrupa) offered to the emperor cutias, a map of the country and wares an image of Lao-tzu as gift. Wang Huen-ts‘e offered humble
to his emperor Chao-nan-shun as prisoner. The victory was proclaimed officially in the ancient imperial temple." (8)

It is clear from these accounts that the Chinese envoy Wang Huen-te's was not only greeted by the Author Wailey calls 'bewitching spirit of early Tang diplomats' (9) but also made the best of the worst situation that faced him. Obviously, he could not have initiated the aggression, accompanied as he was with an escort of 30 men only. He must have used all the force of caprice and persuasion at his command to win an easy passage to the capital. But the Indian king was averse to everything Chinese and was used to receive him thoroughly. However, he managed to escape and succeeded in getting 1,200 or 1,000 ponies from Tibet and 7,000 from Nepal and fought his way into the Indian capital, probably Khana. Whether he appealed to the religious sentiments of the Tibetan monarch or counted upon the friendship between China, Tibet and Nepal or exulted upon the prospect of an easy conquest of an empire in India or trusted upon the distance of the northward expansion of the Brahmanic ruler of Khana, we do not know, but it seems certain that he could convince his Tibetan and Nepalese friends that an expedition into India would be a profitable undertaking for them. Thus his death in North India was really a joint Tibetan-Nepalese enterprise to conquer an empire to the south of the Himalayas. Though Chinese annalists described it as a triumph of their country, it can not be doubted that it was a success to Tibet and Nepal and against North India. For some time Shang-bitan-nag-mo might be likened to some row with the kingdom of India and the provocation of Wang Huen-te's gave him the occasion to lash out against it. So Wang's adventure proved the former let Tibetan and Nepalese aggression against North India for which the ground had been prepared with the consolidation of the military strength of Shang-bitan-nag-mo. That the Tibetans and their protectors, the Nepalese, succeeded in occupying large parts of North India's mainland from the remark of the Chinese chronicles that 500 levied troops were submitted to their armies led by Wang Huen-te's and an enormous booty fell into their hands and O-lo-na-shun and his family, with a large number of followers including the abbehi of Nagsasam-thang who claimed the knowledge of the spirit of Jie, became their prisoners (10). Besides this, the powerful ruler of Eastern India, Kumara Bhaskaravarman, also made friends with them, offering them 30,000 oxen & horses for the army and bow, swords and fringes as well as a map of the country which had a great military value. The impact of these events on the history of North India must have been tremendous.

Arnold J. Toynbee has shown that the challenge of blows and
pressures stimulates a people to creative activity and often intensifies the process of political and military consolidation among them. In India also, after the subjugation of vast territory by the Tibetans and Nepalese and their retrenchment with a big booty and a large train of prisoners of war, the irresolution of political unity became strong and the imperial tradition of Hanse drove for a revival. For a time there was a free-for-all in which Bhiksharvanar occupied Kanauj and the adjacent territories, the later Guptas of Malwa fought their way into Magadha, the Maukharis revived in their ancestral seats and one of them Bhogavaran established matrimonial relations with the rulers of Nepal, the Türk chief, assuming the title of Tiuana, pressed into the Punjab and the Korkoraz or Nagas began to rise in Kashmir. But out of these conflicts and struggles, the later Gupta ruler Adityasena emerged supreme and cemented his alliance with the Maukharis. Chief Bhogavaran by marrying his daughter to him, The successors of Adityasena continued to use the imperial title indicative of paramount sovereignty, but the invaders of the Tibetans also battered the states of North India from time to time intensifying the urge of a more effective unification (11). Ultimately the man of the hour appeared in Yasovarman in the last part of the seventh century and beginning of the eighth. Most probably he was connected with the rulers of Kanauj and inherited their imperial tradition. At the head of a large army, he campaigned in all directions and became the paramount sovereign of North India from the eastern sea to the north-western marches with an appreciable influence in South India also. After consolidating his position in India, he, according to the chronicler of his campaign, Valq-piris, conquered the Himalayan region (12). This shows that, after setting his house in order, he grappled with the challenge of the Tibetans, Nepalese and other mountainous people. In order to strengthen his offensive against these people, he sought the collaboration of the Karkota King of Kashmir, Lalladiya Mukrapadha, inspite of his rivalry with him over the states of the Panjab, like Jalaluddin reported by the Korean pilgrim Hui en-ch’ao. This is clear from the memorial presented by Lalladiya’s envoy Bhadanta Wu-li-tuo to the Tang court in May 733 in which he stated that his master, along with the King of Central India, controlled the five principal routes of communication of Tibet and fought against the Tibetans with constant victories (13). Earlier, in November-December 721, Yasovarman (Yi-sha fu-mo) himself sent an embassy under Bhadanta Po-ta-hsin (Bhussena?) to the court of emperor Hsuan-tsang with the presents of local products obviously with a view to seeking succour against the Tibetans with whom Lalladiya was also engaged (14). All this undoubtedly proves that Yasovarman was keenly conscious of the Tibetan menace and, after entrenching his paramount
in India, moved in the Himalayas, as Vakpat states in his Gokhome, to quell it, and, in collaboration with Lalitaditya, controlled the five principal routes of communication with Tibet and also inflicted some reverses on the Tibetans, and, in that process, composed his affairs with his Kashmiri colleague, devote regular pinching and provocation over the states of the Punjab, and also tried to form an entente with the Tang of China in order to secure what assistance he could get from them.

The impact of Tibetan expansion was ever greater on Kashmir. The mountain range running from the Zoji-la due south to Kashmir and the narrow valley of Marsa Wardwan (Kashmir Yatindwara), adjacent to it, separates Kashmir from the Tibetan country called Bhishnuparwa, Baltistan (Skardo) and Ladakh, to the east of it, are called "Little and Great Tibet", "Little and Great Po-lu", in Chinese Annals, Saksomtris-hathkustadara in the Rajatanangini of Sivanes (ii, 448) and Lelh Bulu and Bul Bulu in modern Kashmiri. To the east of them is a belt of high mountains and glaciers and then the region of Guru and Zanskar (15). Thus Kashmir was very close to Tibet and exposed to her aggression. This filled up the rapid rise of the the Karkota or Naga dynasty there.

The routes passing through Baltistan and Ladakh and connecting Tibet, Sinking and Kashmir were vital arteries of commerce and communication and hence the bone of contention among these powers. But Tibet was the strongest among these contestants. Srong-bsten, sgam-po's son Mng-srong-bstan (659-712) defeated the Chinese when they tried to recover some of the territories ceded by them during the preceding reign. His son and successor, Dung-srong (712-730), won the hand of the Chinese princess Vun-sing-kong. He was followed on the throne by his infant son Xride-sdzung-bstan (730-802). During his infancy China made another bid to regain the lost territories, particularly, the strategic region of Gilgit. In 736 Tibet made a show of submitting to China, but, in the same year, her forces attacked Baltistan, taught the Chinese army, stationed there, and, in 738, totally defeated it (16). Again, in 744, the Tibetans conquered this region and up to 747 retained their control over Ladakh (17). Baffled in his moves, the Chinese emperor had to marry his daughter Chin Cheng to the Tibetan crown prince Hjang-tsha-btsa-dgon, and, on his death due to an accident, to the Tibetan emperor himself, as dowry, she brought with her two Chinese provinces, Chin-chu and Ku-ei on the Yellow River. This train of events indicates how powerful Tibet was at that time and how serious her menace was for Kashmir.

In the above circumstances the Karkota ruler sent a diplomatic mission
to China in 113 for seeking her aid. (18). Then, in 720, another embassy from Kashmir visited China. In referred to the King of Kashmir as "Chen-tu-lo-pi-li" (Chandrapida). In return, an envoy came to Kashmir from China conveying the recognition of Chandrapida as the king of that realm. Following this diplomatic activity, an army of 4,000 Chinese soldiers entered Baltistan and repulsed the Tibetans who had entrenched themselves there. (19). But it does not appear that the Tibetan occupation was permanently vacated for we find the struggle in full swing in the next decade.

Thereafter the Kashmiri King Chandrapida was assassinated through the machinations of his brother Tarapida Upasadiya who is described by Kalhana as a cruel and unjust ruler opposed by the Brahmanas. So much engaged he must have been in his home affairs that he could hardly attend to the problems before the frontiers and the diplomatic moves they involved. However, the next King Muktapida Lalitadiya was an energetic and enterprising ruler. He took up the frontier issue, collaborated with Yosovarman in containing the Tibetans, barred the five main routes of their country and inflicted significant defeats on them. Having thus won the breathing space, he proceeded to mobilise the resources of China against the Tibetans and, with this end in view, sent an embassy, headed by Bhadanta Wu-li-to, to the Tang emperors in 733. The memorial presented by this envoy was as follows:

"Since the establishment of my country (all kings) sent tributes to Your Majesty Emperor, the Heavenly Khan, obeyed and acted upon your order. In this country there are three armies, namely, elephant corps, cavalry and infantry, I, a humble servant of Your Majesty, along with the king of Central India, control the five principal routes of communication of Tibet, fought against the Tibetans with constant victories. If your Majesty, the Heavenly Khan, will dispatch the Imperial armies to Po lu, I will be able to supply food to two hundred thousand soldiers. Moreover, there is a dragon pool in this country named Mo-lo-po-nu-mo (Mahayama). I wish to build a memorial building for Your Majesty the Heavenly Khan, I, therefore, pray for an Imperial Appointment by proclimation." (20).

This document shows that the Karkota had ever been solicitous of the alliance and assistance of China in their struggle with the Tibetans and that Muktapida was particularly keen on seeking her succour and offered to bear the huge expenses of maintaining an enormous Chinese army of 2,00,000 men at Valur Lake and also to raise a memorial for the
T'ang Emperor Hsung Tsung (713-766) in his kingdom. The outcome of Muktapida's diplomatic endeavour must have been positive for we find the Tibetans making a show of peace by paying tribute to the T'ang Emperor in 725. But, side by side, they intensified their campaign in Bactriana and, in 738, completely annihilated the Chinese army in that sector, as said above.

In the meantime, Muktapida fell out with Yosovarmarn over the auratnetera over the Panjau states. It appears that the Yusi Shahi rulers, converted by Yosovarmarn and patronized by Lalitadiya, added fuel to the fire. Thus, the erstwhile colleagues in the protection of the frontier and the struggle with the Tibetera for that purpose were locked in a deep conflict. Lalitadiya marched in the Ganges Valley, defeated Yosovarmarn but reinstated him as a vassal at Kanauj, undertook a triumphant march in eastern and probably even southern India and emerged as the paramount sovereign of the whole of India (21).

After thus assuming the role of the undisputed emperor of North India and watching the failure of Chinese arms in Bactriana, Muktapida decided to deal with the frontier problem himself and pounced upon the Tibetans singlehanded. Rajatarangiri states that he undertook a campaign of conquest in the pathless tracts of the far-spreading northern regions (22). Entering probably by the route connecting Badakhshan with Little Tibet, he plunged into Turkistan and reduced the Tokharas and their neighbours, the Kanbojas, who were a widespread people having their concentration inBadakhshan near Daukta (23). According to Yuan Chwang, Tokharistan was bounded in the north by Zarbtrar near Bishiskohon, in the south by the Hindukush, in the west by Persia and in the east by the Pamirs. In the Muharram period it signified the region between Badakhshan and Balkh. The river Oxus flowed through it (24). In 718 the Turkish ruler of Tokharistan extended his suzerainty from the Indus Ghat to as far as the Oxus, and from the Murgab to the Indus. In 719 the ruler of that region, named Ti-ro, sent to China a Manichean learned in astronomy, but, in an Arab raid he fell into the hands of the Muslims who plundered the country. In 721 his son wrote to the Chinese emperor about the incident obviously to seek his help (25). Lalitadiya must have marched against him or his successor.

At that time the Arabs were hovering over the horizons of Central Asia. Outeiba ibn-Muslim had conquered up to the Jaxartes.

Nasir-jun Sayyeh regained the regions overrun by Outeiba. His successors raided into Turkistan up to the borders of China. Lalitadiya came into
conflict with one of them and worsted him in three engagements (26).

But the most significant success of Laitiedtiiye must have been against the Tibetans. (27) called Duttas, Bhodas, Bhattas, and also against the Danadas and the rulers of Sinkiang, called Utrakuru (28).

What was the impact of the victory of Laitiedtiiye over the Tibetans we do not exactly know, but it is clear that it evoked a sharp reaction from the Tibetans who reconquered Baltistan in 744 necessitating the Chinese offensive under Kao Hsen-shih in 747.

It is also suggested (29) that the Tibetan crown-prince Hjang-tsha-ha-dhon put Laitiedtiiye in a precarious condition compelling him to commit suicide.

Thus, we observe that in the century 647-747, Tibet was a potent factor in the history of North India, determining the policies of her rulers, giving particular turns to their attempts at imperial consolidation at home and diplomatic overtures abroad, and specially making them familiar conscious in their undertakings, alignments and conflicts.

NOTES
2. D. R. Regmi, Ancient Nepal, pp. 155-157 holds that Anumabram was never a vassal of Tibet and that the episode of the marriage of his daughter Bhrikuti to Song-btsan-sgam-po is a myth invented by Tibetan chroniclers. He bases his argument on the fact that the Tang Annals and Yuen Chwang do not refer to the Tibetan conquest of Nepal. However, he holds that under Narendradeva Tibetan influence over Nepal was supreme. It is not necessary to go into this controversy here. What is relevant is that just before the death of Harsha Tibet had the upperhand in Nepal.
5. ibid., p 10
6. ibid., p 8
7. ibid., p 10
8. Ibid p. 9

9. Arthur Waley, The Real Tripitaka, p. 95


11. L. Petech, A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh, p. 63

12. Buddha Prakash, Aspects of Indian History and Civilization, p. 103.


14. P. C. Bagchi. Sin-O-Indian Relations. “Sin-O-Indian Studies” (Calcutta) Vol. I, p. 71 contends that Yosovarman wanted Chinese help against Lalitaditya, but it is unlikely, for two years later, Lalitaditya’s envoy reported to the Chinese court that his relations with the King of Central India were of collaboration against the Tibetans, which shows that by that time they had not fallen out with each other.


17. Ibid., p. 530


20. Jan Yün-hua, op.cit., p. 172. This author holds that since, in that year, the Chinese emperor approved the appointment of Mukta-prada, therefore, he must have come to the throne that very year. But the text of the memorial shows that Mukta-prada had been fighting, with and winning victories over the Tibetans for some time past. Thus he must have ascended the throne earlier, in fact, the proclamation of appointment by the Chinese court is merely an imperial rodowintade not indicative of the actual coronation of Mukta-prada.

21. For details see Buddha Prakash, Aspects of Indian History & Civilization pp. 111-12.


23. Ibid. IV. 165-166. p. 133.

कान्यकुलियाई विद्वानों का ज्ञान हस्ताक्षरित स्थल; उन्होंने इस प्रकाशन में निम्नलिखित साहित्यिक निर्देशन किया था:

48


27. "Bid., IV, 168.


30. Rajatarangini VI, 14, 31 on cit, p. 433.

49
Ailing Sonam Tshultrim of Lishing passed away on 12 May 1969 in Gangtok, he was a Founder Member of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology; he was a member of the General Council since November 1962.

Sonam Tshultrim was born 73 years ago at Lishing (near Gangtok) to an ancient family who had migrated from Tsang to Denzong nearly two and a half centuries ago. The family held an esteemed place in the history of Sikkim. The famous Tshang Tshainang Namgyal, known as Paga Dewan was the younger brother of Sonam Tshultrim’s grand-father. ‘Eng. Iahm’ who met him (Paga Dewan) on the whole did not take to him, though they acknowledged his unflawed qualities. He was certainly the most able and forceful figure in Sikkim Politics, and until his death in 1888 even though he was permanently exiled to Tibet in 1861, his influence in Sikkim remained strong’. (Alastair Lamb) Hookers Himalayan Journals record the research for British antipathy to Paga Dewan’s family, who however continued in Denying. Sonam Tshultrim chose modern English schooling and worked as an officer in Sikkim Government between 1923 and 1928. Meanwhile Sir Charles Bell had noticed his abilities in speaking English as well as different dialects of Sikkim. Bhutan and Tibet, and had urged upon the highest authorities in British Government for Sonam Tshultrim’s appointment as Translator-Interpreter notwithstanding the ban on the family. It is said that Sonam Tshultrim entered the British service on his own condition “that he would not provide any intelligence on Sikkim to them”. Sonam Tshultrim joined as a junior non-patented head in 1925 and retired in 1950 as an honoured member of the Indian Foreign Service, in 1947 he opted into the service of India. It is said that in serving the several governments he never transgressed from the path of loyalty to either. His death was mourned by friends both in Sikkim and India.

The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology was closed for the day. His service to this Institute both in organisational and academic spheres are known in connected circles. Considerably before the establishment of this Institute (1965), Sonam Tshultrim was known for his mastery of diverse Tibetan dialects, his on-the-spot knowledge of Tibet (Central, Western, South-Eastern), Bhutan and Nepal besides his own Sikkim, and his encyclopaedic information about the monasteries and ancient families of Central Tibet. Sir Basil Gould and Mr. Hugh Richardson found him indispensable.
in compiling the famous Tibetan-English Wordbook. The Tibetan Govern-
ment found him a good guide about modern knowledge and modern
world and honoured him with the title of Despo (1942).

I add my personal tribute. I had known him intimately for more
than thirteen years and had enjoyed his affection and esteem. All through
these years the Athing was patient and kind in sharing with me his
knowledge, learning and wisdom in my efforts to read the history of
Tibet and Tibetan-speaking countries.

Nirmal C. Sinha,

SINO-TIBETAN INROADS INTO NORTH INDIA

This number of the Bulletin carries two articles covering the subject
of inroads into north India from the Trans-Himalayas. The two articles
reached us in a chronological sequence and were booked for printing
accordingly. If the two articles contradict or corroborate each other on
any point, this is entirely a matter concerning the contributors and the
editors of the Bulletin have no opinion on this.

For a non-specialist of the Bulletin, I add my individual opinion
about the veracity and authenticity of Chinese annals. The Han notions
of (i) China as the centre of the world and (ii) non-Han peoples as
barbarians will be found in a precise form in C. P. Fitzgerald: The Chinese
view of their Place in the World (Chatham House Essay 1915). Regarding
the Chinese usage "tribute" for any presents or communications
from any non-Han visitors like the merchants of Tabarkent, the Lamas of
Tibet or the ambassador of United Kingdom, J. K. Fairbank and S. Y
Teng: "On the Ching Tributary System" in Harvard Journal of Asiatic
Studies (1941) may be seen. The references to "tribute bearers" and
"barbarian ambassador" in Chinese annals are not admitted in modern
terms by the Sinologists today.

Nirmal C. Sinha,
Price per copy Rs. 10/- (Rupees Ten).