—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

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18 July 1989
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK, SIKKIM
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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.D.), and that the word became current long after the assassination of Glang-dar-ma (c. 842 A.D.) and long after the final victory of Buddhism. The earliest chronicles which did not undergo my revision, readings and interpolations in later times as the contemporary inscriptions of the Chos-rgal 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 evidence 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 Mahavavyupati, a word admitted to have been completed in the reign of Ra-la-pa-cnaa that is, first quarter of the ninth century. The diverse contexts make clear that like its Sanskrit prototype (Guru) the Tibetan form (Bla-ma) was an onomastic word not known to scholar and translators of the time. A careful notice of these (given below) rules out interpolations in later time.

उत्तर: लिपि
उत्तर-गाथा: मागुन्ते
उत्तर-लिपि: श्रेयो लिपि
उत्तर-मन्नुथ-भर्म-प्रांव: केदिकिभवृक्षारो
उत्तर-मन्नुथ-धामरोचनम्: केदिकिभवृक्षारो
बस्तर-मन्नुथ-धार-युक्तारोकतीमान: केदिकिभवृक्षारो
मुल-मन्न्या: केदिकिभवृक्षारो
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-vu agreed to have a current (indigenous) term for Brahman/Brahmana in the sense of Guru with the well-known permissive ग्रा for ग. 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 śāstraṃśa (śāstrāṃśa) the earliest Buddhist treatise in eulogy of brahman/ 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 Santarakshita 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-gyae 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 Mahāyānapari

When Tibet’s own ordained monk expounded the teachings of Buddha, Buddha was no longer an unknown stranger, "I am not a specialist in linguistics but as a reader of history I trace the origins 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 Rap-pa-chan (c. 815 A.C.) in super-session of the claims of the anti-Buddhist widar Glang-dar-ma. The historical significance of the historic say, as I have submitted here, cannot be overlooked in tracing the antiquity of the word Bla-ma.

2. *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity* (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. Mazumdar, Pischel, Sylvain Levi and La Vallee Poussin. Tibetan translation of *Udumurtsha* is incorporated both in Kanyur (Mdo-side) and Tanjur (Mgon-pa). The Tibetan *Udumurtsha* was translated into English by W.W. Hewett (1883) and the Khotanese *Dharmapada* by A.W. Bailey (1945).
RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS. (Six Ornaments and two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A.D.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna, Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga, Dharmakirti, Gampopa and Sakyasiddha; 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.
AN INVASION OF THE NORTH INDIA AFTER HARSHA'S DEATH

—MYNAK R. TULU

The story of a Sino-Tibetan invasion of North India in the reign of Ajuna, the usurper of Harsha's throne, is recently discussed by a scholar in Chinese language and history in *Vergo-Bharati Anush* Vol. XI, 1974, 2 (Narayan Chandra Sen: *Accounts of India and Kashmir in the Dynamic Periods of the Tang Period*). Since our publication of *Hsia-I-hsien* the earlier version of *Deh-thar-dam-po* (The Red Anush, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 1981) is referred herein as a principal source, I may be permitted to present in *Jaluj' of Tibetology* certain facts from Tibetan tradition with my reading of the relevant lines in *The Red Anush*.

The earlier version of *The Red Anush* 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: “Deserialize the mountains... the heaven... all the earth... all Westerners... all Gypsies... all Huns... all Persians... all Ghuris... all Kipis... all Tartars. A literal translation in English may be made thus: “The envoy sent to India by Tai Tsong was conveyed in Magadha. Having heard (the Indian) victory Tibetans sent an army and Magadha was conquered.”

Different Tibetan versions were collected by Geun Chohap (Dga'- 'dun-thos- 'phal), a 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-Ral po* or *The White Anush* is now available in modern print (Tibetan Freedom Press, Darjeeling 1946). I give below a free translation from PP. 75-76 of this book.

“When Harsha (Tib. Dga'- 'bu) was alive, he sent a Brahman (Tib. Ban-ra) to present gifts to the Chinese emperor. Harsha was the author of the drama *Nagasanda* (Tib. Klu-'jun- tu-dga'- 'ba'-i-lod-par) which one finds in Tenjur (Bstan-gyur). There is a Sanskrit Avadana (Tib. 'grogs- trug-pa) in verses which was written by Barubhats (Tib. Nam-pa yi-ba- 'boi in India, in the 22 year of Chang kwan and 1152 years after the passing away of the Lord Buddha, the (Chinese) emperor
(T'al Tsong) sent an envoy named Wang Hiuam Ta'o (Tib, Wang-han-tsa) and thirty other hostages 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 Hiuam 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 Hirantha. 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'al Tsong died a statue of the Tibetan king was made in front of the ignis 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 China (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 Sessanka's persecution of Buddhism in Bengal itself is well known; such conditions might have invited the anger of the great Tibetan protector of Dharma (Tib, Chosrgyal/Skt Dharma). Thirdly, Arjuna's treatment of Chinese envoy gave the Tibetan king an opportunity to vindicate the Dharma in Phgyul (Phug-tul/Skt Arhatam) itself as well as to prove the supremacy of the Tibetans over the Chinese.

Two very significant facts in Gedun Chupel's account are (1) the 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 Hirantha, and Gedun Chupel included Malia, Salva, Lichchavi, Vrij and Sanyakuta in Hirantha. Scholars of Sanskrit and Chinese may consider whether Hirantha can be derived from
Hiranyavati (cf. L. Pecht: *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chü*, 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).
SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltsem, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.D. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The latest 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 Nalinsinha 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 Segan Palden Gyaltsem (Mentsokhang: Lhasa and Enchey, Gangri) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.
SYNOPSIS OF Taranatha's History

This is the concluding instalment covering Chapters XXVII-XXVIII and Epilogue, of the Synopsis which Professor Natinala 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 Vishnuraja, Bhatsheti 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 Dhammakirti. The last king of the Chandra lineage was Lalitaachandra but the Chandras lost the rulership of a country, in five regions, viz., Bengal, Orissa and other places there was no king. Every Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and artisan was the lord of his own house. At this time, lived in Nalanda Tantric Siddhacharya Sahajavijaya, Acharya Vajradhara, who wrote a commentary on the Prasannaratna in seven sections. The Saumantika teacher Subhamitra and Acharya Si bądź, Sastasomadeva, who comprehended the Nyaya Vidhyāthaka thoroughly. Acharya Sambhata, author of Pratypāramitra-sastra in nine alaksa, Acharya Jnanagotika, pupil of Srigupta and other followers of the Madhyamika system, which maintained Sunyata in the east in Bengal, in the town of Joypr, the Upasaka Bhadanta Asvabhava explained in detail the Nyaya-Madhyamika. In Tukhara appeared the great Vībhajyāvādin Acharya and Vinaya master Dhammāminī; in the west in the Māru country appeared the Vinaya master Matrata, Acharya Jnanagarbha was born in Odīvīva. 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 Mahāyāna dharma. He came to Kamrup. He visualised the goddess Tara and composed an eulogy of the goddess.

In the Pindavilāha of Chatigao (Chatigao = Chittagong on East Pakistan) in Bengal during the reign of the Pāla there were Mahāyāna panditas wearing long pointed caps. During the time of Dhammakirti, the
teaching of Buddha shone like the sun; *Anuttara-yoga-tantra* was spreading. During the reign of the Pala king Vajrasarasa came into existence. A Chakravartin named Siddhi, Prakaschandra studied the *Yoga-tantra*. At this time both Hinayana and Mahayana spread widely in Bengal, Orissa, Aparantaka realm 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 Madhyadesa and the east lies the wilderness Pundarikadvatana 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 Chandik. By this propitiation he was advised to carry with him a wooden stick as a token of his protection. Once the goddess appeared in his dream and blessed him. Thereupon he went to the temple of Khasarpuna and prayed for rulership. 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 Lalitachandra. 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 then and there. 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 Magadh. 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 Sakya-prabha
disciple of Punyakirti worked for the salvation of beings in Kashmir; as also Canasila, Viesamitra and Prejnavaman. In the east Acharya Jnanagatahe and Santirakshita followed the Svavratika-Madhyamika school of philosophy.

When Satyamati, Silabhadra, Prince Yasomitra and Pandit Prithvibhandhu lived, Sri Harshadeva ruled in Kashmir. At that time lived Vruna and other Siddhacharyas. During the intervening period between the reign of Kings Sri Harshadeva and Devapala, in the west in Keccha (Cutch) lived Vibhavasita, when Vruna the junior was the Siddhacharya. The king was devoted to the Buddhists but his ministers were not 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 Gavissa. He founded the Somapura Vihara. At this time lived Acharya Krishnacharin, learned in the three Tantras: Sambhata, Hvalajpa and Yavanevaka and other sastras. His contemporaries were Satyasrabha, Satyamitra, Sumalasila, author of Karmasiddhika, Damraabera, Jnanachanda, Vajaryudha, Manjusrikirti, Jnanadatta and Vajradeva; in the southern region Bhadanta Avalokitesvara and in Kashmir Acharya Dhamamitra and others. Acharya Sinhabhadra was a great pandita of the reign of Devapala.

At the time of King Gopala lived Mahapandita Santirakshita, author of the Madhyantavatankarika. He was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khri-srong lde-btsan.

In Kusala Acharya Satyamitra wrote the commentary Kosalalankara on the Yoga Tantra Tailte-sanghatha. Towards the end of his life he went to Kashmir to propagate the teaching.

Vajaryudha was an author of the eulogy of Manjusri entitled Sri Jnanaphalanama-sutti.

Manjusrikirti wrote the commentary on the Namssangiti. He was a vajarchana and visualized Dharmadhara-vajjavara mandala.

Vajradeva, a house-holder, was a poet and wrote an eulogy of 100 stokes of Sudhisattava Avalokitesvaro.
King Devapala ruled for 48 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 Lilavati of Udyana. He also wrote a commentary on the Namasangiti. There was another Acharya Vasubandhu, who recited the Abhidharma-pitaka. Lilavati was born in Samsa, ordained in Udyana and belonged to the Nyaya Madhyamika system. He acquired proficiency in all branchers of practices and studied the Namasangiti-siddhi. His monastic name was Silavajra-surya-sadra Vīśvarūpa.

At that time Matanga, son of a Chandala, 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 Kannu, Tihurt, Gauda, etc. In the east his dominion reached the ocean. In the west from Delhi inwards, from Jalandhar downwards and in the south from the Vindhya mountain down the valleys upwards. He selected Simhabhadra and Jinnapatra as his spiritual advisers and wanted them to propagate the teachings of Prajñaparamita 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 Kukripa for the welfare of all beings. He invited all Prajñaparamita-panditas and held in great veneration Acharya Simhabhadra. He erected the Vikramasila Vihara on the bank of the Gangas in Magadha. In the middle of the temple of Vikramasila was kept a portrait of the Maha Bodhi 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 cloth; 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

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103 Panditās were entitled to enjoy the same as members of the Sangha. In other words, there could not be individual ownership.

Prājnāparamita 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 Dharmarāja was the king in the east, King Cha-krayudha reigned in the west. He was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khrī-srong lde-btsan.

During the reign of this king lived the great dialecticians, Kātyāna-gupta, Simhabhadra, Sabhavyuha, Sāgaramogha Prabhakara, Purṇavar-dhana, the great Vaiṣṇavacarya Buddhajñanapada with his disciple Buddhaguhya and Buddhāsanti, in Kashmir Achārya Padmakaraghoṣa, dialectician Dharmarākudda and Vinaya master Simhamukha.

Achārya Simhabhadra of the above mentioned Panditās came of a royal family and was ordained as a bhikṣu. He acquired knowledge in several works and systems, studied with Achārya Sāntirakṣita the Mahāyāmikas texts and with Vaiśṇavacārya the Prājnāparamita-sutras as summed up in the Abhidharmakosā. Then in the east in the Kharapana forest, after he had invoked Bodhisattva Ajītanatha and saw him in a dream, he was directed to go to Achārya Sāgaramoṣha at the Tikuta Vihara.

Achārya Sāgaramoṣha received instruction from the Bodhisattva Ajītanatha to write a commentary on the Bodhisattva-bhumi in 5 sections and on the Parinirvāṇayoga.

Achārya Padmakaraghoṣa was probably the Pandita of Lo-dri Vihara.

Achārya Buddhajñanapada was one of the best disciples of Simhacārya, 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 Vaiṣṇava-cārya. When this achārya began to work for the welfare of all beings, Arya Jambhala gave him 700 gold panas every evening and the goddess Vasudhāra 300 perils. He in return presented to each of the 19 Guhyasamajas gods 7 lamps of the size of a cartwheel 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-
ple 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 to 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 Mahayanaism as it was full of perversities. When the king heard this, he punished the Saindhala bhikshus but the Acharya protected them.

This Acharya taught Kriyayoga and the Buddhist Tantric texts: Guhyasamaja, Mayalaja, Buddha-samaya-yoga, Chandra-guhya-tilaka, Manjusrikrodha and laid special emphasis on the Guhyasamaja.

The disciple of the Acharya was Prasantamitra, who was well-versed in Abhidharma, Paramitas, and Kriyayoga. 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 Amitakha-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 Dravida 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 Buddhamsi were disciples of
Buddhagayana, from whom as also from others he learnt the secret mantras and became very learned in Kriya, Charya and Yoga mantras. One of them, Buddhaguhya, made a painted wooden image of Manjusri in Varnasi; he found that Manjusri 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 possession 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 Manjusri was covered with dust by the yaksha, and so on regaining his normal state he cleaned up the image.

Buddhasanti the follow-disciple of Buddhaguhya, attained the same success as Buddhaguhya without making the image of Manjusri.

Both 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, bhakti was preaching the dharma to a number of Asuras and Yakshas. She appeared to them as a girl looking after a flock of goats.

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

Chapter XXX

Events of the time of Maharaja Mahipala

Matsurarshita, son-in-law of Maharaja Dhammapala ruled for 8 years, after him Vanapala, son of King Dhammapala ruled for 10 years. During their time lived Acharyas (Dialecticians) Dhammottama, Dhammanitra, Vimaleanitra and others.

After Matsurarshita 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 Ra-lpai-chen.

During Maharaja Mahipala's reign lived Anandagarbha, author of the Samvid paramartha buddhichitta-vibhajana. Acharya Anandagarbha

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came of a Vaishya family of Magadha. At first he belonged to the Mahasanghika school and later he took up the Nyaya-Madhya School of thought. In Vrikshamala he acquired knowledge of the Tantric aspects of Buddhism. He heard that in Bengal, the disciple of the Siddhacharya Prakashananda taught the Yoga-tantras. He became also a student of Acharya Subudipala and other Acharyas and became proficient in all Yoga-tantras. He then practised Yoga in the solitude of a forest and realised Mahadharma-dhatumandala and composed a satsara for him as well as for Prajnapalite, who came to him from Madhyadesa and received consecration from him. The satsara is entitled Vajrasatvoddeya-namsadhanopaya. He recited the Tattvasastrapah.

The king developed faith in him and invited him to the south of Magadha in the neighborhood of Jalalaguna and furnished for him the Cudamani temple. There were many students. who listened to the secret teaching. On the Tattvasastrapah he wrote a commentary entitled Tatvadarshana and many other sstras.

Asvarghoja was a follower of the Madhyamika school, so also were Acharya Pathalita and Chandrasadana etc. It is evident that Jnanadatta, Jnanakirti and others lived at this time. In Kashmir lived the Viniyoga masters Jnanamitra, Sarvanadeva, Dana and others. It is well known that these three also came to Tibet. The Tantric Siddhacharya Tillipa lived at this time in Tibet.

The king of Odisha, Vrishacharya, who looked upon Mahipala as his father invited Anandagamita to a Vihaiva a place where King Munia lived formerly. He composed Sriparinamadya-viromana and commentaries on the Gihyasamajasa and other Tantric texts.

At that time lived Acharya Bhago, who mastered Vajnamita tantra and in Kashmir lived Panthia Gambhiravajasa, who cenjured up in a cemetery Vajrasurja and at last he saw the Vajratanmandala though Tantric sadhanas. He went to Udyana for further Tantric secret teachings. He obtained a number of other Siddhis.

Pala Gnealogy

As per H. C. Ray. Dynastic History of Northern India (Calcutta University. 1931), Vol I. p. 384.
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Chapter XXXII

Events of the time of Adhipala and Samupala

Mahapala, son of Mahuraja. Mahipala ruled for 42 years. He showed reverence to the Sravakas in Odantapuri Vihara. He maintained 500 Bhikshus and 50 teachers, who resided in this Vihara. To this Vihara he appended another Vihara named Lvassa and maintained in it 500 Saindhavavatavas. He wanted that Vikramashila should be the highest centre of learning. He founded in Nalanda further centres of learning and constructed the Sompur Vihara, Trisalika 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 Pushkaracakrapati, Yogachara-scholar Padmakara.

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 Vanandra a feudatory king named Sanatana, whose wife was beautiful and very intelligent. This king asked for Gnyasasamaja 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 Sstras 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 Manjari consecration.

Within about a year he absorbed himself in the Suddha-prabhaha Sanaeti and obtained Siddhi and he became proficient in all Sstras, i.e., in various scripts, meters, Abhidharmas etc. He continued to be an Upsaka. He then received from his father Guhyasamaja, Sambara, Hvaetc, and he then became a disciple of many other Gurus. He learnt all doctrines with the help of Manjari. After the death of Garbhapada during the reign of Maharaja Mahipala, 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 Khasarana and saw the statue of Acala-krodhanaja 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 Sstras. Hence at the time of king Mahipala he was given a nice place called Vrishapuri for his residence and also a diploma of a Pandita of Vikramakila, whereasupon he propagated the teaching and his fame increased to a great extent. He wrote a brief commentary on the Abhijata-cakrapati, Aksagarbhasutra, etc., in all about 100 Sstras of the Sutra and Tantra classes.

Kalasamayavaja was a follower of Acharya Buddhishmanapada and had in the country of Chagala (Rava) exhibited a portrait of Hva 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 Chanika

Sreshthapala, 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 Jnanapada and the junior Krishna-charya.

As the surviving son of King Mahapala was only seven years old, his uncle, i.e. Mahapala’s brother Chanika ruled for 28 years. He encountered a fight with the king of Turkire and he came out victorious. The inhabitants of Bengal revolted and attacked Magadha. At this time Acharya Santi was one of the six guardsians of the gate of Vikramasila Vihara. By means of rites 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 Bhevilapa 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 Ratnakarasanti, guardian of the western gate was Vagisvarakirti, guardian of the northern gate was Siddhacharya Naropa, guardian of the southern gate were Bisakhus Prapakaramati and Prapakarat Gupta. There were two central gates of which one was guarded by Acharya Rājnasvajra and the second by Acharya Janamasrihita.

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

Acharya Vagisvarakirti, guardian of the western gate of Vikramasila monastery was born in Varanasi in a Kshatriya family. He left the Mahasanghika school and was consecrated as a Pārśvaka and the religious name given to him was Siṅgkit. He acquired knowledge of grammar,
logic and other Sstras. He approached Hasavaja, disciple of Jnabhādra of Konka 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 comprehend 1,000 slokas thoroughly in a day, for which he received the name of Vagisvarakīti. He became very proficient in the Sstras, 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 Nelanda and Vikramasila monasteries. He received treasures from Ganapati and utilised the same for incense-offerings and for establishing 8 centres of teaching of Prajñāparamita, 4 centres for Guhyasamaja, one centre each for lectures on the three Tantras, viz., Sambhara, Hepriya and Chatushpithi and erected many Viharas with one centre in each for teaching Madhyamika logic and Māyavācchana-upadesa, by which life-essence could be produced and thereby one could live upto 100 years or more. He recited very often the Vidyagyanas, Paramita, Sutrāntakara, Guhyasamaja, Hepriya and Yāmari Tantras. He worked in Vikramasila for many years, and in the second half of his life he went to Nepal and devoted himself to Mantrasāra and Siddhi.

The king of Santipur erected a Chakrasambhara temple, where after its inauguration he wanted to arrange for a large Ganachakram 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 huts of Ganapati there was a lustful woman and a very dark-mêlêd person 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 Ganachakrapati to appear as a Ganachakrapati of the king, the Acharya with the two women reached a cross road not far from Santapura 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 Ganachakram, 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 Ratnakarasanî made an Acharya and disciple offering, a disciple
saw that some one, a terrible Yogi, was seated on the gitar. He threw
down the sacrificial requisites and being frightened came away. His
Acharya told him that the Yogi was Nāropa whom he had invited with
great veneration and received from him several instructions and inspira-
tion. Later when Rānakarassatī had attained perfection, Nāropa took
a skull and collected alms from everybody. A robber threw in it a small
knife, which, however, melted like butter and he parted with the same
and departed,

Nāropa's successor was Śākavāra Bovihīdhra, who came of a Vaiṣya
family of Odvīsa. He had a perfect way of living a Bovihīṣṭha. He
was proficient in logic, in Vidyā and Charyagamaks, specially in the
Bovihīṣṭhāvyabhumi. He visualised Bovihīṣṭha Āvavīļīstevās and heard
the doctrines directly from him.

The guardian of the first central gate was Rātvavairā, who came of
a Brahmīn family of Kashmir. His father Haribhīda being defeated by
a Buddhist Bhikhu in a disputation became a Buddhist Upasaka. His
son was Rātvavairā also an Upasaka and remained so up to his 50th year.
He was educated in Kashmir and acquired knowledge in all Sūtras and
Mantas etc. He came to Magadha and continued his study further.
While in Vajassana he saw the face of Chakrasambala and Vajrasattvik and
of many other gods. He then got the Vidyāmukti diploma. He taught
mostly sections of Mantrasar, seven sections of Pramanā, the Maitre-
yathārmas etc. For many years he worked for the welfare of beings
and then he returned to Kashmir. He entered into disputations with the
heretic teachers and after defeating them converted them to Buddhism.
He established a few centres of learning for teaching Vidyāganar Sutra-
ānākara, Guhyasāraṇa, etc. In the second half of his life, he went to
Udyana. At that time there was in Kashmir a Brahmīn, learned in the
Brahmīnic Sastra, who had visualized the word Mākasara. He was ad-
vised to go to Udyana. There the Brahmīn met Rātvavairā and entered
into disputations with him, pledging that he would change his faith, should
be defeated in the disputation Rātvavairā came out victorious and
converted the Brahmīn to Buddhism and gave him the religious name of
Guhyaprajña. After mastering the Mantrayana he obtained Siddhi he
was known as the Red Mahāyana in Tibet.

Rātvavairā's son was Mahājāne, whose son was Saṇḍaja, who propa-
gated the religion widely in Tibet.

The guardian of the second central gate was Acharya Jnanānanda,

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who was the author of Vajrayana-dvaa-samuccaya-rikatana. To this Acharya was indebted to Sri Atisa.

Sri Atisa was born in Giccha. At the beginning he was a Pandita of the Saivavara-savakas and was well-versed in the Pithavas of the Saiva-kas. At a later time he became a Solicitor of Mahayana and acquired knowledge of the works of Nagarjuna and Asanga, and studied the Tantra sections of the secret texts. He was, in short, well-versed in the Sutras and Tantras and turned his mind to the contemplation of Bodhi. He visualized Skayamuni, Maitreya and Asanga-kasya. When he was in Vikramashila, he asked Sramaneras 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 that they may see that the fire was extinguished. When they reached Vajrasana, they saw that a fire had broken out in the Ghatthole temple at Vajrasana. They prayed to the gods and the fire was extinguished and did not damage the temple much. The Acharya then repaired the burned paintings and renewed the burnt parts of wood. Likewise he restored many centers of teaching in Bengal and Magadha.

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

At this time, in Kashmir logic became very popular and there lived the dialectician Ravigupta.

Chapter XXXIV

Events of the time of kings Bhejasala and Nalapala

King Bhejasala ruled for about 32 years. Although he did not change the former system, he did not render any distinguished service to the religion. In Vikramashila, not more than 70 Pandita-Sripramis were distributed by him to the inmates. He is therefore not counted among the seven Pala rulers. At the time of this king, after the demise of the six married guardians of the gates Ju-ba-de-ripel-ldan Atisa, was known as Diponkara Srijuna, was invited to the Vikramashila Vihara as the chief Pandita. He looked after the Sanskrit Vihara as well. Not long after this, activity of Mahimottama became prominent. When Mahimottama returned from Srijunavata to Magadha, then all the six learned guardians of the gates had passed away.

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

At this time lived in the east, distinguished disciples of Naropa, viz., Amoghavija, clear sighted Virebhadra, Devakarchandra, Prajnaparakshita, the most excellent Dombi and Kanta.

Kascvopa 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 Riri and advised him to practice Chakrasambhara system, whereby he obtained Siddhi Prajnaparakshita, s learned Pandita stayed with Naropa for 12 years. He often listened to the Piritantra and Matr-tantra teachings and became well versed in the Matr-tantra as also in Chakrasambhara. He committed to memory a number of commentaries and a large number of instructions. Not far from Odashaputa, 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 Turushka army four times when it attacked Vikramshila Vihara. 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 Khasarpanda 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 realise that everything was a phantom and his mind was immersed in contemplation. At midnight Adhiseva 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, 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. Yama'i 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 Vajrasana.

At the same time lived in Kashmir Bashmin Sankarananda, who was well versed in all Sastras and, specially, in a new logical method. He thought of opposing Dharma-kirti in a disputation but Arya Manjusi told him in a dream to abstain from the same as Dharma-kirti was an Arya and he could not be defeated and what he regarded as a mistake of Dharma-kirti was actually a mistake of his own mind. 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 Amratapa, Hastipala and Khaastipala. Amratapa 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 Amratapa'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 Ratnakarapala 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 disciple of Mahi and Drona, Suryana and five others of their line of thinking, viz. the great Pyla, Dhriraksamati, Bhasku, Madhyamakalimsa, Mitagulya. Besides these, 37 Panditas delivered discourses on the teachings of Janavaya and others. It is well known that at this time Manakari worked for the welfare of all beings, in Kashmir Boddhisattva, in Nasir Phakshing with his brother Janavaya and Indian Pand and others worked for the welfare of all beings.
About this time lived also Rahulanitr, author of the Guhyasamajamandala-vidhi, in Nepal Naropa's disciple Darika, author of the consecration ceremony of Lui-ya's system. It is evident that in Vikramasila the great Pandit Shitrapramatikaka explained the Prajnaparamita.

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

Chapter XXXVI
Events of the time of Ranapala

King Ranapala, son of Hastipala was very intelligent and possessed great power. After he ascended the throne, Acharya Abhayakaragupta 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 continuously 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 Sraivaka-bhikshus. At times there gathered about 10,000 Sraivaka-bhikshus. In Odantapuri lived also continuously 1,000 Bhikshus, who belonged to either Hinayana or Mahayana scholoi. 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 Sraivakas alig, 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 Tananatha, who was of opinion that the contributions of Acharya Abhayakara and Ramakritavarni were no less important than the works of Vardabandhu and his contemporaries.

Beginning of the decline of Buddhism

Since the demise of King Dhammapala, many followers of the Miech-chha doctrine appeared in Bengal, Ayodhya, west and east of the Yamuna from Vaanasi to Malaya Priyad. Mathura, Panchala, Agra, Sagari, Delhi, Kanpur, Tirth, Odissa 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 Lavaesena usurped the royal power. During their reign lived Acharyâ Subhakaragupta in Vrikramaśila and Buddhakirti as the chief priest of the Vajrasana temple.

Chapter XXXVII

Events of the time of four Sena kings and others

Lavaesena'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, Ravisrijana, Nayakapadi, Daśabalaśri, a little later were Dharmakarshana, Śiviruṭadēva, Niyakālakadeva, Dharmakaragupta and other followers of Abhayakara, who were all Siddhas as well as masters of Buddhist Sastras.

During the reign of Rathikasena, appeared 24 Mahāñāṇas: Sakyasrihādra the great Pandita of Kashmir, Buddhahesi of Nepal, the great Achārya Ratnakrīshna, the great teachers Jnanakaragupta, Buddhaśri, Vāsakṣapa, Kṛṣṇaśrihātra, Śrīvīśyābha, Chandrakaragupta and many others, who were all Vajrādhikara and devoted to the Sandhīvara and masters of Sastras.

The Nepalese Buddhahesi was for some time a follower of the Mahāśāṅghika school in Vrikramaśila. In Nepal however, he taught the Prajñāparamita and secret Mantras. He observed the Tantric form of conduct.

Achārya Ratnakrīshna is said to have been equal to Sakyasrihātra in the knowledge of the Prajñāparamita and other Sastras. Sakyasri is said to have been more learned in logic but Ratnakrīta 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 Mahāśāṅghika school but he was a Mantoucharya in Vrikramaśila. He visualized Chakrasambhara, Ketāchakra and Yameri etc. Once he heard in Poams 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 Sambodridya.

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 Vaiśārasana where resided some Yogins and the followers of Mahayana. For the rainy season retreat (varshavas) 10,000 Saṅdhava Siṃhakas gathered here. Many centres of teaching were destroyed but in Vikramasila lived many Bhikshus in Abhayakara's time.

When King Lavaśaṇa took up the government in his own hands, peace prevailed for some time. In the Gangetic delta (antarvī) 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 Śākyāri went to Jagaddala in Odiva, and after staying there for 3 years, he came to Tibet.

Ratnarakṣita (senior) went to Nepal, Acharya Janaśaṅkaragupta and other Panditas with about 100 senior priests went to the south-west of India. Acharya Buddhāsmitra and Vaiṣāraṇi, disciple of Dasaśila went to the south. Achāraya Saddharmajīvanī, Raviśāhada, Chandrakara-gupta and 16 other Mahātamas and 200 junior Panditas went further east to Rakhān (Arakan), Munān (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 Gorakṣhanath held that they would not resist the Turushkas.

King Lavaśaṇa and his successors Buddhāsena, Hariśena, Pratītisena were kings of very limited power and owed allegiance to the Turushkas. At Buddhāsena's time Acharya Ratnāśrīdharma lived in Nalanda.
and had 70 students. After him lived Bhumisribhadra followed by Upayastribhadra, Kurunasribhadra and Munindrasribhadra, who maintained the religion. With Pratitasa's death ended the succession of teachers.

About 160 years after Pratitasa's death the energetic Changa-
laraja lived in Bengal. He ruled over all Sindus and Turushkas up to Delhi. Though he was a Brahmin, his wife had faith in Buddhism. He made sacrificial offerings at Vaishnava temples and repaired all the destroyed temples and restored four of the nine stores 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 any Buddhist saint or Pitaka-holders.)

In Odissa and over a great position of Mathyrdesa ruled King
Mukundadeva, but he did not do anything for the religion. However e-
rected 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 XIX

The order of succession of Vijayamahida teachers

From the time of King Dharmapala to that of King Chandaka, i.e.,
during five generations, one Manisikasya was in charge of the Ve
chamahida monastery. At the time of Dharmapala Acharya Buddhajinarapada
was the head of the monastery; after him Acharya Dipankarapada,

At the time of Munsakshita seated here at the Bhikshupandita
Joyabhadra of Lasaka (Singhala), who was proficient in all the Sree-
upatas, he came to Magadha and became well-versed in Mahayana,
speciality in secret Mantras and in Vijayamahida he attained perfection in
Chakrasambasiddhi. He once went to Koskun to see the Chitya
called Mahabimbasa. He wrote a commentary on the Chakravibhanga
in Vijayamahida he became a Mahacharya.

Then came Brahmin Acharya Sridhara. He was a disciple of
Acharya Buddhajinarapada. He composed Raka and Krishna Yamuna
trisatra. He met the great yogi Kshntakeshin, from whom he got instruc-
tions and not long afterwards obtained Siddhi.

The teachers who came in succession to become the head of the

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Vikramasila monastery each holding office for twelve years are as follows:

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

2. Bhavavakoti  
   He crossed the ocean of Mantras and texts. He was given the appellation of knowledge free from hindrances (upavistha-aharjna).

3. Lilavajra  
   He obtained Yamari-siddhi. Very likely he wrote the Shayakare-vetâshatka-baddha in Tibetan, he drove out the Tutushka army by drawing a Yamari-mandala.

4. Durjyachandra  
   His biography has been given elsewhere.

5. Kāshinamasayavajra  
   As above.

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

7. Boddhibhadra  
   He was an Upâsaka. He visualized Manjusri. He carried on Nanakirtan, which induced Samashi.

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

After Kamalarakshita, 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 Mahavrajasesha, Kanarakotisa, Narendra Srijuna, Dharmashesha, Abhayakara, Subhakarasupa and Sunayasiri. Then the Vikramasila Vihara declined.

Chapter XXXIX

Propagation of the Teaching in Eastern Coki land.

Eastern India consists of Bengal and Odissa (Purvaparantaka).
To the north are Kamarupa, Tripura, and Assam (Assam) surrounded by mountains (ghiranta). Further east of the northern mountain are Nagatadesa (Eastern Hill Tracts of Bengal), Pekha (perhaps Hill Tracts of Chittagong), bordering on the ocean, Saku, Rakhin (perhaps Arakan), H.Coursewell (a portion of Burma), Makrak, father of Champa and Kamboja. All these are known as Koki land. (Koki of the Lushai Hill Tracts between Chittagong and Tippera may be derived from the word Koki or vice versa, cf. dzup-bwam-ilho-ktang)

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

At the time of King Dramasplata there were many disciples of Vasubandhu in Madhyadesa. About half of the Sangha withdrew in Magadha and moved to Koki land. Hieroforth, Mahayana was propagated widely in Madhyadesa and Tibet. At the time of the four Sama rules the number of Mahayana increased in number. Since the time of Atisasataka Manpayana spread more and more. When Magadha was attacked by the Tunshakai, a large section of the monks of Madhyadesa went to Tibet.

At that time lived king Saptapati who erected many temples and established about 200 centers of learning. His successor Simha hand made the religion very popular. Along with the Buddhists the number of the Upasakas also increased. Pandita Venakanta and others of the place went to Tibet.

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

Kalaschakra and other sects became popular. About 200 Panditas were sent to Kusinara in the south to Mahasiddha Sampagita for learning the secret Mantras.

Chandraavahana ruled in Rakhin (perhaps Arakan) Ajitavahana in Champa (perhaps Chakna, a suburb of Chittagong) Salawalana in Minmar (Burma), Sundalavali in Nagata, 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 Dvāpas, viz., Simhadvīpa, Yavatdvīpa, Tamrādvīpa, Suvamadvīpa, Dhananjadvīpa, Pavaghadvīpa the teaching was propagated from the earliest times, and it is very much popular in these days. In Simhadvīpa there are a few followers of Mahāyana and mostly they are Sāvakas. Even now at the time Śrīpadu-ceremonies, that is, the festival of the footprint, about 12,000 Bhūshas, mostly Sāvakas, join it. In Dhananjadvīpa Pavaghadvīpa there are some followers of Mahāyana but there are also Sāvakas. In the Dauladesa island Aṣṭaṇga Padmapura and Dīpan-karandhāda went there and propagated the religion. In the course of a hundred years many Vajrādhāras came from Magadha, Guhyan, Kashmir and other countries and propagated the Māṇḍarayana. There were also many Tantra texts, which had disappeared from India. Along with the Mantra texts there were also Viśaya, Abhidharma and Paramita works. In the southern part of India, in Vidyāpur, Konkan, Malaya, Kalinga and other places the exposition of texts and Sādhana went on without interruption. On account of the advent of the Turusikās, new centres of learning were not erected and the number of religions became also reduced. Pandita Naradītava lived in a part of Tīlinga, called Kālikas. When Magadha was conquered by the Turusikās, the teaching was introduced in the south-western kingdom of Kīrti Kīrma. At this time the religion was propagated by Jñanakaragapras and others in Mani, Mewar, Chitrā, Pīrū, Abu, Saurashtra, Gujarāt, etc., where many seats of learning were established and there resided also many Bhūshas. In later time through the blessings of Mahaśiddhāraja Śantiputta, the teaching spread averse in Kāhīndra and in the regions of the Vindhyas mountain.

At the time of King Ramachandra the Sangha was very much respected. His son Balabhīrāda built many temples; Sīrighāt, Ojana, Uvāci etc. He established also many centres of learning for all subjects of study. It is said that in this land 12000 new Bhūshas resided and propagated the teaching and developed the system of exposition of the Sutras, Mantras, Sādhana 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 Purusamala written by Bṛhmane Mānarmati]
In the 50th in Kanchi, two kings Sukrana and Chandakeshava Subjugated the small islands of Garuda birds, which brought valuable medicine and the excellent products of the ocean. With the products converted into money they built the Vihara called Pakshi-tha, 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, Kshemanka and Maranatha. There were three other kings in succession, viz., Bhoga-subala, Chandraseca Kshemana Karem-sinha. These kings gave a gold diuna to every monk and 500 panius to every Upasaka.

Kshemanka-ratna had three sons. The eldest son was Vyanagrantha, 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 Tulusa and maintained 500 Bhikshus. The youngest Buddhastuha, being deprived of land, became a tank. The king of Dravadi and invited from 10,000 Bhrmns and 10,000 Buddhas.

In the valleys of the Vishaya mountain lived the youngest king Sammukha, who after acquiring Vasantha vidya obtained inexhaustible cow and clothes. The king paid three times the debt 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 Mysra, during the reign of kings Sagara, Vikrama, Ujjasvan and Sushtha 500 centres of learning with as many temples were erected.

In Karnata and Vidyagarga, there were kings Mahendra and his successor Devaegra and Visava. These three kings directed all Bhrmns and Kshatriyas to venerate the three Ratnas, each of them ruled for 30 years. The last king had three sons of whom the eldest Karc 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 Nagasaja left his country with a following of 10,000 men. He erected a Chalita near Pekham. Here he came across a hostile band of men. He however obtained the rulership and then had a talk with king Sallivana, 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 Madhyadesa. At the apex is Ramesvaram, in the east lies the Mahodadhi and in the west Ratnapur.

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

Brahmamana Verdhamaana 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 Bhaktus and Upasakas who read, examined and gave exposition of the same.

The Mahayana Acarya Gaggari, master of the Dharanis gave instruction to 1,000 disciples and lastly attained perfection in Kshanti-paramita.

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

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

Bhakru Bhadrananda 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.
Acharya Ldpi was the author of the Yogini-samhara.
Acharyas Lambala and Paramavijaya were authors of the Hevajra-tantra.
Krishnacharana was the author of the Sampara-lilika.
Lalitavajra was the author of the 3 sections of the Krishna-yamari-tantra.
Gambhirapaksha was the author of the Vajranata.
Kukura-raja (Kukurapa) was the author of the Mahamaya.
Pito was the author of the Kalachakratesh.

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

The interpreter Gos gshon-nu-dpal (Kumarar) 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.

Bhanakatâra (in the Andhra Pradesh) was an important centre for Tantric teaching. It is said that about 8,000 adepts obtained Siddhi by the Tan Mantra.

Chapter XLIV
Artists and Architects

Many excellent artists constructed the beautiful Chaityas in Magadhâ, viz., Mahâbodhi, Manjusri-Devarâmbara. At the time of Emperor Asoka many artists erected the Chaityas at eight important sites. At a later period Dharmapala had an artist called Bimbasara make of excellent statues and sculptures. He had also many students.

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

At the time of Kings Devapala and Dharmapala lived Dhiman, an artist of Varendra, who produced many chiselled and painted casts. His son Vilpala learned the art from his father and produced similar work of art.

In Kashmir Harivâra established a school of painters and sculptors. In the south appeared the artists Jaya, Amrajeâya and Visvya.

Epilogue

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

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

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

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

(d) Brahmīn Pandit Bhatṛghatī composed a history of the Acheṇyās.

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 Aparavasa kingdom.

The Pushṭamañña has been utilized. See above Ch. XL.

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

May the jewel of the sacred teaching spread in Aryadāta. This book was written at the initiative of some who wanted that such a book should be written. Thus concluded Yaranaṅha of the gālēṣa Khṛṃ in the 34th years of his life at Brag-stōd.

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 647-747

—BUDDHA PRAKASH

Tibet made her 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 Chuan and Greng and quickly became the master of the whole of Tibet. Not content with extending his empire from Chyi to Chinsun, Turkest, he vanquished King Annapurna of Nepal, forcing him to marry his daughter, named Bhrikuti (Bhrikut) to him (2), and challenged the empire of China, compelling him also to offer him the hand of his daughter Wen-Cheng along with some territories. This consolidation of power 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! It is the very antithesis of truth in political history. However, during the lifetime of Harsha in India for a variety of reasons—the prestige of his power, his intimate relations with China, manifest in the frequent exchange of envoys, his interest in Buddhism, which had become the dominant ideology of Tibet, and the preoccupations of the Tibetan emperors with their own affairs—the monsters of North India did not witness any serious disturbance. But the death of Harsha 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 Harsha tried to cultivate friendly relations with the T’ang court of China. The opening of a route through the Europe-Kuti passes about 650 had shortened the journey from India to China via Nepal and Tibet. Just after his meeting with Yuen-Chihweng, Harsha sent an envoy to Chyang-an, bringing among other gifts a brood-tamer; a gift of a king unknown in China (3). The T’ang reciprocated this gesture by sending a return mission to India in 642 under Li-I-Plao with Wang Hsuen-tye as envoy officer. This mission returned to China in 645, but soon afterwards, another mission was dispatched to India, this time under Wang Hsuen-tye with Tsiang Chiu-ien as the second officer and an escort of thirty horsemen. When the mission was on its way, Kui-ha the died and his minister O-lo-na-sheen, Atsara or Arunsava, assumed his throne. He is called Des-ro-ti, which Syriam Levi takes to mean a Brahman (4). He broke off with China, the reason for which may have been his anti-Buddhist feeling, born of his Brahmanic heritage and went to the extent
of maltreating the Chinese embassy, The Ancient History of the T'ang Dynasty Ch. 198 states that "he used in the campaign the troops of the barbarian to attack Wang Huen-tse. 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-tse alone escaped under the cover of night." (5) The New History of the T'ang Dynasty Ch. 221 gives the following account of this incident: "He (O-lo-ra shown) placed the army in the field to drive away Wang Huen-
tse. 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-tse's escape." (6) Thus harassed, the Chinese envoy reached Nepal and Tibet to seek the help of their kings. To quote the Ancient History of the T'ang Dynasty he "fled to Tou-fan (Tibet) which gave him 1,200 soldiers. Ti-po-la (Nepal) gave him 7,000 cavalry. Wang Huen-tse, with the help of his assistant, Tsang Cheu-Jen 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-ra shown fled from his capital. Cheu-Jen pursued him and made him captive along with 1,200 persons, men and women, and more than 30,000 animals, oxen and horses. India was thus conquered. Wang Huen-tse brought to the capital (of China) his prisoner in the 22nd year (Tchang Koa) 648. He was promoted to the rank of ts'ao-po-sen-
tse-fou." (7) The New History of the T'ang 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 but Nepi gave him 7,000 troops. He divided his army into several corps, advanced as far as the village of Ts'ao-po-o to-lo and, after beregiong it for three days, captured the town. 3,000 men were killed and 10,000 drowned in the river. O-lo-ra shown, leaving the kingdom, fled and reassembled his troops and returned to offer another battle. Cheu-Jen made him prisoner, killing about 1,000 persons this time; the others, who were guarding the women of the royal household barred the crossing of the river Kian-
tse-wel. Cheu-Jen attacked them; there was a great confusion. He im-
pisoned 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, Chi-
bou-mo (Sri Kurna) presented some 30,000 animals, oxen and horses, for the army, and also weapons, sabres and jingoes. The kingdom of Kiz-
mou-loi (Kumrupa) offered to the emperor cutias, a map of the country and wanted an image of Lao-tse as gift. Wang Huen-tse offered humbly
to his emperor O-lo-na-shon as prisoner. The victory was proclaimed officially in the ancient imperial temple. (6)

It is clear from these accounts that the Chinese envoy Wang Huen-te's was not only greeted by the Aithui Waley as becommgng spirit of early Tang diplomatism (5) but also made the best of the worst situation that faced him. Obviously, he could not have initiated the aggression unaccompanied as he was with an escort of 30 men only. He must have used all the force of capracy and persuasion at his command to win an easy passage to the capital. But the Indian king was averse to everything Chinese and so used to discourage him thoroughly. However, he succeeded to escape and succeeded in getting 1,200 or 1,000 spades from Tibet and 7,000 from Nepal and fought his way into the capital, probably Kanauj. Whether he appealed to the religious sentiments of the Tibetan monarch or counted upon the friendship between China, Tibet and Nepal or envied upon the prospect of an easy conquest of an empire in India or drew upon the instance of the northward expansion of the Brahmana rulers of Kanauj, 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 in a sense a joint Tibetan-Nepalese enterprise to conquer an empire to the sole of the Himalayas. Though Chinese annalists described it as a triumph of their country, it cannot be doubted that it was a success of Tibetan and Nepalese arms against North India. For some time Wang-tshan-tshan-po might be hailed for some row with the kingdoms 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 nomber for Tibetan and Nepalese aggression against North India for which the ground had been prepared with the consolidation of the military strength of Wang-tshan-tshan-po. That the Tibetans and their protégé, the Nepalese, succeeded in occupying large parts of North India is manifest from the remark of the Chinese chronicles that 580 fortified towns were submitted to their armies led by Wang Huen-te's and an enormous booty fell into their hands and O-lo-na-shon and his family, with a large number of followers including the abbeys! Nalakirtamana who claimed the knowledge of the spirit of his, became their prisoners (10). Besides this, the powerful ruler of Eastern India, Kumantha Bhaskaravarma, was made friends with them, offering them 30,000 oxen & horses for the army and 100,000 elephants & horses 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, their retreatment with a big booty and a large train of prisoners of war, the imperatives of political unity became strong and the imperial tradition of Harsha revived for a revival. For a time there was a fee-for-all in which Bhogavarman occupied Kanyakubja and the adjacent territories, the later Guptas of Malwa fought their way into Magadha, the Maukhariis revived their ancestral seats and one of them Bhogavarman established matrimonial relations with the rulers of Nepal, the Turki chieftains, assuming the title of Tusiia, pressed into the Punjab and the Kashmiri 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 Bhogavarman by marrying his daughter to him, the successor of Adityasena continued to use the imperial title indicative of paramount sovereignty, but the invasions 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, Valgavigna, 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, Laladitya Muktapida, despite of his rivalry with him over the states of the Panjab, like Jelaradha reported by the Korean pilgrim Hui-chen. This is clear from the memorial presented by Laladitya's envoy Bhadanta Wu-li to the T'ang 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 Pa-ta-hsin (Bhadradeva?) to the court of emperor Hsuan-tsung with the presents of local products obviously with a view to seeking succour against the Tibetans with whom Laladitya 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 Vakhan states in his Gakhbranch, 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 picketing 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 Mara Wardwan (Kashmir Wardwan), adjacent to it, separates Kashmir from the Tibetan country called Bhishnupur, Baltistan (Skardo) and Ledakh, to the east of it, are called “Little and Great Tibet”, “Little and Great Po-lu”, in Chinese Annals, Sachkhandri, chakhandri in the Rajatarangini of Silavas (ii, 446) and Ledh Buun and Bud Buun in modern Kashmiri. To the east of them is a belt of high mountains and glaciers and then the region of Guru and Zanskari (15). Thus Kashmir was very close to Tibet and exposed to her aggression. This filled up the void rise of the the Karkota or Nege dynasty there.

The routes passing through Baltistan and Ledakh and connecting Tibet, Sinkiang 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-btshan, smam-po’s son Ming-srong-btshan (689-712) 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 Van-sing-kong. He was followed on the throne by his infant son Khri-bde-gtson-btshan (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, fought 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 Ledakh (17). Baffled in his moves, the Chinese emperor had to marry his daughter Chin Cheng to the Tibetan crown prince Hjyang-tsha-lha-dbon, and, on his death due to an accident, to the Tibetan emperor himself, as dowy, she brought with her two Chinese provinces, Chün-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 Chan-t'ou-lo-pi-l'i (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 4000 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 Taraspda Upasadiya who is described by Kanhna as a cruel and unjust ruler opposed by the Brahmas. So much engrossed he must have been in his home affairs that he could hardly attend to the problems beyond the frontiers and the diplomatic moves they involved. However, the next King Mukta-psda Lalitadiya was an energetic and enterprising ruler. He took up the frontier issue, collaborated with Yasovarmi 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 in view, sent an embassy, headed by Bhadanta Wu-li-to, to the Tang emporor 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 under your order. In this country there are three armies, namely, elephant corps, cavalty 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-ho-po to-mo (Mahagama). I wish to build a memorial building for Your Majesty the Heavenly Khan, I, therefore, pray for an Imperial Appointment by proclamation" (20).
T'ang Emperor Hwang 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 755. But, side by side, they intensified their campaign in Bactaristan and, in 736, completely annihilated the Chinese army in that sector, as said above.

In the meantime, Muktapida fell out with Yasovarman over the azurin over the Panjāb states. It appears that the Turki Shahi rulers, converted by Yasovarman and patronised by Lalitādīya, added fuel to the fire. Thus, the erstwhile colleagues in the protection of the frontier and the struggle with the Tibetans for that purpose were locked in a deadly conflict. Lalitādīya marched in the Ganges Valley, defeated Yasovarman but reinstated him as a vassal at Kānauj, undertook a triumphal 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 Bactaristan, Muktapida decided to deal with the frontier problem himself and pounced upon the Tibetans single-handed. Rajasthānipati states that he undertook a campaign of conquest in the pathless tracks of the far-extending northern regions (22). Entering probably by the route connecting Badakhshan with Little Tibet, he plunged into Turkhistan and reduced the Turkhanas and their neighbours, the Kānbojas, who were a widespread people having their concentration in Badakhshan near Dārwar (23). According to Yuan Ch'ang, Turkharistan was bounded in the north by Ecbird near Belishkahan, in the south by the Hindukush, in the West by Persia and in the east by the Pamir. In the Mahāmaddan period it signifies the region between Badakhshan and Balkh. The river Oxus flowed through it (24). In 718 the Turki ruler of Turkharistan extended his suzerainty from the Inn Ghatra up to Zbulistan and from the Murghab to the Indus. In 719 the ruler of that region, named Ti-sha, sent to China a Manichaeus learned in astrology. But, in an Arab raid he fell into the hands of the Muslims who plundered the country. In 727 his son wrote to the Chinese emperor about this incident obviously to seek his help (25). Lalitādīya must have marched against him as his successor.

At that time the Arabs were hovering over the horizons of Central Asia. Oussain-e-Moum et had conquered up to the Jaxartes.

Nasir-ud-Din Sayyid regained the regions overrun by Qutb, his successors raided into Turkhistan up to the borders of China. Lalitādīya came into
conflict with one of them and worsted him in three engagements (26).

But the most significant success of Laitaditbye must have been against the Tibetans. (27) called Bhotugas, Bhodas, Bhattes, and also against the Daradas and the rulers of Sinkiang, called Uttarakuru (28). What was the impact of the victory of Laitaditbye 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 Hsien-shih in 747.

It is also suggested (29) that the Tibetan crown-prince Hjang-tsha-ha-dbon put Laitaditbye 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 conscious in their undertakings, alignments and conflicts.

NOTES
2. D. R. Regmi, Ancient Nepal, pp. 155-157 holds that Ansumarman 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 T'ang Annals and Yan Chwang do not refer to the Tibetan conquest of Nepal. However, he holds that under Narendradravita 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 upper hand in Nepal.
3. Arthur Waley, The Real Tripitaka, p. 78
5. Ibid., p 10
6. Ibid., p 8
7. Ibid., p 10

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8. Ibid. p. 9
14. P. C. Bagchi, *Sino-Indian Relations*, *Sino-Indian Studies* (Calcutta) Vol. I, p. 71 contents that Yasovarman 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 Muktapida, therefore, he must have come to the throne that very year. But the text of the memorial shows that Muktapida had been fighting, with and winning victories over the Tibetans for some time past. Thus he must have assumed the throne earlier, in fact, the proclamation of appointment by the Chinese court is merely an imperial grandmaitrade not indicative of the actual coronation of Muktapida.

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म भाष्य तथा वाक्यांशजीविकां गुप्तः

थ, पौराणिकवाक्यां तत्काल्यसंस्करणः
Notes & Topics

OBITUARY: ATHING LERING

Athing Sonam Tobden of Liring 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 Tobden was born 73 years ago at Ubing (near Gangtok) to an ancient family who had migrated fromTsang to Denzong nearly two and a half centuries ago. The family had an esteemed place in the history of Sikkim. The famous Tamang Donkey Namgyal, known as Paga Dewan, was the younger brother of Sonam Tobden's grand-father "Eng. Jahmen" who met him (Paga Dewan) on the whole did not take to him, though they acknowledged his undoubted 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) Hooker's Himalayan Journals record the reasons for British antipathy to Paga Dewan's family who however continued in Denying. Sonam Tobden 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 Tobden's appointment as Translator-Interpreter notwithstanding the ban on the family. It is said that Sonam Tobden entered the British service on his own condition "that he would not provide any intelligence on Sikkim to them". Sonam Tobden joined as a junior non gazetted hand in 1925 and retired in 1950 as an honorary 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 services to this Institute both in organizational and academic spheres are known in connected circles. Considerably before the establishment of this Institute (1959), Sonam Tobden 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 Depon (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 1955). Regarding
the Chinese usage “tribute” for any presents or communications
from any non-Han visitors like the merchants of Tashkent, the Lamas of
Tibet or the ambassador of United Kingdom, J K Fairbank and S. Y
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).