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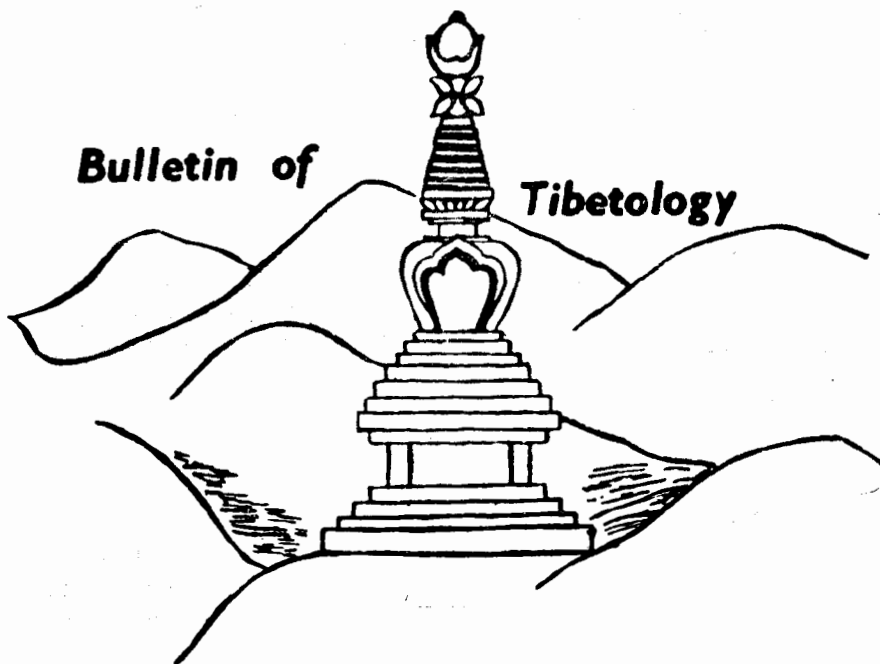
No.2

18 July, 1969
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY
GANGTOK, SIKKIM

--The Bulletin of Tibetology seeks to serve the specialist as well as the general reader with an interest in this field of study. The motif portraying the Stupa on the mountains suggests the dimensions of the field--

EDITORS

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ANTIQUITY OF THE WORD BLA-MA

NIRMAL C. SINHA

Western and Japanese scholars generally hold that the usage BLA-MA is not as ancient as the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (c. 7th century A.C.), and that the word became current long after the assassination of Glang-dar-ma (c. 842 A.C.) and long after the final victory of Buddhism. The earliest chronicles which did not undergo any revision, paddings and interpolations in later times as the contemporary inscriptions of the Chhos-rgyal period do not use the word BLA-MA. The words used are Ban-de, Slob-dpon, Rab-byung, Mkhan-po or Rin po-chhe,

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 enquired 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 *Mahavyutpatti*, a word admitted to have been completed in the reign of Ral-pa-chan, 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 omnibus word not unknown to scholars and translators of the time A careful notice of these (given below) rules out interpolations in later time.

उत्तरः	ལྷ་མ།
उत्तर-ग्रन्थः	གཞུང་ལྷ་མ།
उत्तर-तन्त्रम्	རྒྱུད་ལྷ་མ།
उत्तर-मनुष्य-धर्म-प्रलापः	མིའི་ཚེས་ལྷ་མར་སྐྱབ།
उत्तर-मनुष्य-धर्मारोचनम्	མིའི་ཚེས་ལྷ་མར་བརྗོད་པ།
उत्तर-मनुष्य-धर्म- युवततोक्तवर्तमानः	བདག་མིའི་ཚེས་ལྷ་མ་དང་ལྷན་པ་སྐྱེས་པ།
गुरु-भक्तिः	ལྷ་མ་ལ་སྦྱིང་ཉེ་བའི་ས་གུས་པ།

गुरु-कारः

ལྷ་མར་བྱེད་པ། བཙུན་པར་བྱེད་པ།

गुरु-शुश्रूषा

ལྷ་མ་ལ་སྲིད་བྱ་ཆེ་བ།

If the word Bla-ma is not derived from Sanskrit Brahma/Brahmana and is of indigenous origin (1) there is more reason to believe that the Indian Pandita and the Tibetan Lo-tsa-va agreed to have a current (indigenous) form for Brahma/Brahmana in the sense of Guru with the well-known permissive 'l' for 'r'. For tracing the history of the word Bla-ma the etymology of Brahma/Brahmana has to be studied as much as that of Bla-ma. In Buddhism, notwithstanding its opinion about Brahmans as a caste, the word Brahmans was an honorific usage. Brahmans was the holy man or the teacher and even Buddha called himself a Brahmans (2). In Saka-Khotanese languages words cognate with Brahmans were used to denote Buddha (3); this is not surprising in view of the wide circulation in Central Asia of Sanskrit *Dhammapada* (*Udanavarga*) the earliest Buddhist treatise in eulogy of Brahmans' the holy man (4). I am inclined to accept the usage of Bla-ma for Buddha, Brahmans 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/Dvipa. Tibetan Buddhist diction is not free from mystic forms,

If Buddha and Brahmans Sangs-rgyas 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 *Mahavyutpatti*.

When Tibet's own ordained monk expounded the teachings of Buddha, Buddha was no longer an unknown stranger,

ལྷ་མ་མེད་པའི་གོང་རོལ་ན།
མངས་རྒྱས་བྱ་བའི་སྲིད་ཡང་མེད།

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 Ral-pa-chañ (c. 815 A.C.) in supersession of the claims of the anti-Buddhist elder Glang-dar-ma. The historical significance of the historic saw, as I have submitted here, cannot be overlooked in tracing the antiquity of the word Bla-ma.

1. For a recent discussion see Richard Keith Sprigg in *Tibetan Review* (Darjeeling), May 1969, P. 12.
2. *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity* (Calcutta 1969) may be seen.
3. Harold Bailey : *Khotanese Texts*, Vol. IV (Cambridge 1961) P 12.
4. Standard editions (and translations) are those of P. Steinthal (London 1885), 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 *Udanavarga* is incorporated both in Kanjur (Mdo-sde) and Tanjur (Mngon-pa). The Tibetan *Udanavarga* was translated into English by W. W. Rockhill (1883) and the Khotanese *Dhammapada* by A, W, Bailey (1945).



AN
ART BOOK
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY

༄༅། །རྒྱལ་ཏུག་མཚོག་གཞི་སྤྱོད། །

RGYAN-DRUG MCHOG-GNYIS (Six Ornaments and two Excellents) reproduces ancient scrolls (1670 A. C.) depicting Buddha, Nagarjuna Aryadeva, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dinnaga, Dharmakirti, Gunaprabha and Sakyaprabha; 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. TULKU

The story of a Sino-Tibetan invasion of North India in the reign of Arjuna, the usurper of Harsha's throne, is recently discussed by a specialist in Chinese language and history in *Visva-Bharati Annals* Vol. XI. Item No. 2 (Narayan Chandra Sen: *Accouuts of India and Kashmir in the Dynastic Histories of the T'ang Period*). Since our publication of *Hu-len-deb-ther*, the earlier version of *Deb-ther-dmar-po* (*The Red Annals*, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, 1961) is referred herein as a principal source, I may be permittad to present in *Bulletin of Tibetology* certain facts from Tibetan tradition with my reading of the relevant lines in *The Red Annals*'

The earlier version of *The Red Annals* is in archaic style and in places the expressions are rather cryptic. The relevant words about the Sino-Tibetan invasion as in the print of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology (P 9) are “ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཁན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལ་བཀའ་བློན་བཅོམ་

པས་རྒྱལ་བ་བོད་ཀྱིས་ཐོས་ནས་དམག་བཏང་ནས་མ་གཞི་བཅོམ། ”. A literal translation in English may be made thus “The envoy sent to India by T'ai Tsong was conquerd in Magadha. Having heard the (Indian) victory Tibetans sent an army and Magadha was conquered”

Different Tibetan versions were collected by Gedun Chhopel (Dge-'dun-chhos-'phal) the well-kuown 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 *Deb-ther-dkar-po* or *The White Annals* is now available in modern print (Tibetan Freedom Press, Darjeeling 1964) I give below a free translation from PP. 75-76 of this book.

'When Harsha (Tib Dga'-ba) was alive he sent a Brahman (Tib. Bram-ze) to present gifts to the Chinese emperor. Harsha was the author of the drama Nagananda (Tib. Klu-kun-tu-dga'-ba'i-zlo-gar) which one finds in Tenjur (Bstan-'gyur). There is a Sanskrit Avadana (Tib. Rtogs-brjod) in verses which was written by Banabhatta (Tib-Nags kyi-dpa'-bo) in India. In the 22 year of Cheng Kawn and 1192 years after the passing away of the Lord Buddha, tha (Chinese) emperor

(T'ai Tsong) sent an envoy named Wang Hiuan Ts'o (Tib. Vang-hen-tse) and thirty other horsemen 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 Hiuan Ts'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-Sygam-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 Hirahita. 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 rivers. 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'ai Tsong died, a statue of the Tibetan king was made in front of the tomb as a mark of remembrance for his deeds".

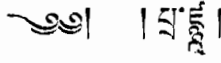
I do not intend to enter into the many disputed points about this particular Sino-Tibetan invasion after Harsha's death, and would only emphasize certain facts firmly handed down in Tibetan tradition. First, there were several Tibetan invasions into different parts of Northern India in the time of Songsten Gampo and his successors; such invasions into Chian in the east and Li-yul, (Eastern Turkistan) 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 Sasanka'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. Chhos-rgyal/Skt. Dharmaraja). Thirdly, Arjuna's treatment of Chinese envoy gave the Tibetan king an opportunity to vindicate the Dharma in Phagyul ('Phags-yul/Skt. Aryabhumi) itself as well as to prove the superiority of the Tibetans over the Chinese.

Two very significant facts in Gedun Chhophel's account are (i) 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 Hirahita, and Gedun Chhophel included Malla, Sakya, Lichchavi, Vriji and Kanyakubja in Hirahita. Scholars of Sanskrit and Chinese may consider whether Hirahita can be derived from

Hiranyavati (cf L. Petech : *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*, PP. 25-33 ; Rome 1950). The statue which was placed in the front of the Chinese emperor's tomb is that of Tibetan king and not that of Indian king held as prisoner.

Gedun Chhophel 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. 69).

SOME PUBLICATIONS
FROM
NAMGYAL INSTITUTE OF TIBETOLOGY



PRAJNA or the famous Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus-cum-Grammar was compiled by Tenzing Gyaltsen, a Khampa scholar educated in Nyingma and Sakya schools of Derge, in 1771 A.C. Though this book was preserved in xylograph few copies of the block-prints are found outside Tibet. The lexicon portions are now presented in modern format with Tibetan words in Tibetan script and Sanskrit words in Sanskrit script with an elaborate foreword by Professor Nalinaksha Dutt.

October 1961.



The entire xylograph (637 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 Gegan Palden Gyaltsen (Mentsikhang : Lhasa and Enchay; Gangtok) makes the present publication an improvement upon the original.

November 1962.

SYNOPSIS OF TARANATHA'S HISTORY

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

MRT

Chapter XXVII

Events of the time of King Gopichandra and others.

After the death of Vishnuraja, Bhartrhari 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 Dharmakirti. The last king of the Chandra lineage was Lalitachandra 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 Sidhacharya Sahajavilasa, Acharya Vinitadvea, who wrote a commentary on the *Pramanavarttika* in seven sections, the Sautrantika teacher Subhamitra and Acharya Silapalita, Santasoma, who comprehended the *Nyaya siddhanta* thoroughly, Acharya Kambala, author of *Prajnaparamitra-sastra* in nine stanzas, Acharya Jnanagarbha, pupil of Srigupta and other followers of the Madhyamika system, which maintained *Sunyata* in the east in Bengal, in the town of Hajipur, the Upasaka Bhadanta Asvabhava explained in detail the *Nyaya-Madhyamika*. In Tukhara appeared the great Vibhajyavadin Acharya and Vinaya master Dharmamitra; in the west in the Maru country appeared the Vinaya master Matrcheta.

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

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

In the Pindavihara of Chatigavo (Chatigaon = Chittagong in East Pakistan) in Bengal during the reign of the Palas there were Mahayana panditas wearing long pointed caps. During the time of Dharmakirti, the

teaching of Buddha shone like the sun; *Anuttara-yaga-tantra* was spreading. During the reign of the Palas many Vajracharyas came into existence. A Chandra king attained Siddhi. Prakasachandra 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 Pundravardhana where was a tree-god who was attached to a beautiful maiden, who gave birth to a son endowed with auspicious signs and was later named Gopala. The son when grown up dug at the root of the tree and found an invaluable jewel emitting light.

After the son had taken consecration from an acharya, he was instructed to propitiate the goddess Chunda. By this propitiation he was advised to carry with him a wooden stick as a token of his protection. Once the goddess appeared in his dream and blessed him. Thereupon he went to the temple of Khasarpana and prayed for a 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 Magadha. He saw the Viharas of Odantapuri and Nalanda and established many other centres for the residence and study of the monks and donated ample gifts. He ruled for 45 years.

During the reign of this king, Acharya Santiprabha and Sakyaprabha

disciple of Punyakirti worked for the salvation of beings in Kashmir; as also Danasila, Visesamitra and Prajnavarman. In the east Acharyas Jnanagarbha and Santirakshita followed the Svatantrika-Madhyamika school of philosophy.

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

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 Odivisa. He founded the Somapuri Vihara. At this time lived Acharya Krshnacharin, learned in the three Tantras : *Sambara*, *Hevajra* and *Yamantaka* and other *sastras*. His contemporaries were Sakyaprabha, Sakyamitra, Sumatisila, author of *Karmasiddhi-tika*, Damstrasena, Jnanachandra, Vajrayudha, Manjusrikirti, Jnanadatta and Vajradeva ; in the southern region Bhadanta Avalokitarata and in Kashmir Acharya Dhanamitra and others. Acharya Simhabhadra was a great pandita of the reign of Devapala.

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

In Kosala Acharya Sakyamitra wrote the commentary Kosalalankara on the Yoga Tantra Tattva-samgraha. Towards the end of his life he went to Kashmir to propagate the teaching.

Vajrayudha was an author of the eulogy of Manjusri entitled Sri jnanaphalarama-stuti.

Manjusrikirti wrote the commentary on the Namasangiti. He was a vajracharya and visualized Dharmadhatu-vagisvara mandala.

Vajradeva, a house-holder, was a poet and wrote an eulogy of 100 slokas of Bodhisattava Avalokitesvara.

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 Lilavajra of Udyana. He also wrote a commentary on the *Namasangiti*. There was another Acharya Vasubandhu, who recited the Abhidharma-pitaka. Lilavajra was born in Samsa, ordained in Udyana and belonged to the Nyaya Madhyamika system. He acquired proficiency in all branches of practices and studied the *Namasangiti-siddhi*. His monastic name was Silavajra-surya-sadrsa Visvarupa.

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 Kamrup, Tirhut, 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 Jnanapada as his spiritual advisers and wanted them to propagate the teachings of Prajnaparamita and Guhyasamaja. He issued the order that the Panditas, who knew the Guhyasamaja and the Paramitas should get precedence among the bhikshus.

At the time of this king appeared in Bengal the Siddhacharya Kukuripa for the welfare of all beings. He invited all Prajnaparamita-panditas and held in great veneration Acharya Simhabhadra. He erected the Vikramasila Vihara on the bank of the Ganges in Magadha. In the middle of the temple of Vikramasila was kept a portrait of the Mahabodhi temple. Around the temple were located 53 small temples for secret practices and 54 ordinary temple for general practices, altogether 108 temples and these were surrounded by a wall. There were 108 Panditas, one Acharya for offering of incense, one caretaker, one person for looking after the pigeons and one for supervising temple-attendants, altogether 104 persons were provided with food and 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

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

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

At the time when Dharmapala was the king in the east, King Chakrayudha reigned in the west. He was a contemporary of the Tibetan king Khri-srong-lde-btsan.

During the reign of this king lived the great dialecticians, Kalyanagupta, Simhabhadra, Sobhavyuha, Sagaramegha Prabhakara, Purnavardhana, the great Vajracharya Buddhajnanapada with his disciple Buddhaguhya and Buddhasanti, in Kashmir Acharya Padmakaraghosa, dialectician Dharmakaradatta and Vinaya master Simhamukha.

Acharya Simhabhadra of the above mentioned Panditas came of a royal family and was ordained as a bhikshu. He acquired knowledge in several works and systems, studied with Acharya Santirakshita the Madhyamika texts, and with Vairochanabhadra the Prajnaparamita-sutras as summed up in the Abhisamayalankaropadesa. Then in the east in the Khasarpana forest, after he had invoked Bodhisattva Ajitanatha and saw him in a dream, he was directed to go to Acharya Sagaramegha at the Trikuta Vihara.

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

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

Acharya Buddhajnanapada was one of the best disciples of Simhabhadra, after whose demise, he began to preach the *dharma*. In course of time he became the royal priest, and then he was consecrated as a Vajracharya. When this acharya began to work for the welfare of all beings, Arya Jambhala gave him 700 gold panas every evening and the goddess Vasudhara 300 strings of pearls. He in return presented to each of the 19 Guhyasamaja gods 7 lamps of the size of a carriage-wheel to each of the Bodhisattvas and to each of the gods of wrath, 3 lamps to each of the 15 guardians of the region 15 strewn offerings, which had to be lifted by two persons on a litter. He offered all the requisites of the disci-

ples 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 92,000 tolas of silver the Vajradhara performed with help of many Acharyas incense offerings for many years. He prophesied that there will be 12 kings in five generations and they will bring under control many countries and the *dharma* will also spread.

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

This Acharya taught Kriyayogo and the Buddhist Tantric texts: Guhyasamaja, Mayajala, 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 yakshas and their wealth, with which he built in the south the Amitakara-vihara like Nalanda.

Kshatriya, Rahulabhadra 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 Buddhsanti were disciples of

Buddhajana, from whom as also from others he learnt the secret mantras and became very learned in Kriya, Charya and Yoga tantras. One of them, Buddhaguhya, made a painted wooden image of Manjusri in Varanasi; 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 possessed by a yaksha but he soon recovered from it and regained his former state; his intelligence became more penetrating and his judgement clearer, and his body stronger. The image of 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, Bhurkuti 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. Buddhasanti was of opinion that they had not yet developed ability to visualize Avalokitesvara in his godly form.

Chapter XXXI

Events of the time of Maharaja Mahipala.

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

After Masurakshita ruled king Vanapala's son Mahipala for 52 years. The time of his death coincided with the date of the death of the Tibetan king Ra-pa-chen.

During Maharaja Mahipala's reign lived Anandagarbha, author of the *Samvrti paramartha bodhichitta-bhavanakrama*. Acharya Anandagarbha

came of a Vaisya family of Magadha. At first he belonged to the Mahasanghika school and later he took up the Nyaya-Madhyamika school of thought. In Vikramasila he acquired knowledge of the Tantric aspects of Buddhism. He heard that in Bengal, the disciple of the Siddhacharya Prakasachandra taught the Yoga-tantras. He became also a student of Acharya Subhutipala and other Acharyas and became proficient in all Yoga-tantras. He then practised *yoga* in the solitude of a forest and realised Mahadharmadhatumandala and composed a sastra for him as well as for Prajnapalita, who came to him from Madhyadesa and received consecration from him. The sastra is entitled Vajrasattvodaya-nama-sadhanopaya. He recited the Tattvasangraha.

The king developed faith in him and invited him to the south of Magadha in the neighbourhood of Jvalaguha and furnished for him the Cudamani temple. There were many students, who listened to the secret teaching. On the Tattvasangraha he wrote a commentary entitled Tattvadarsana and many other sastras.

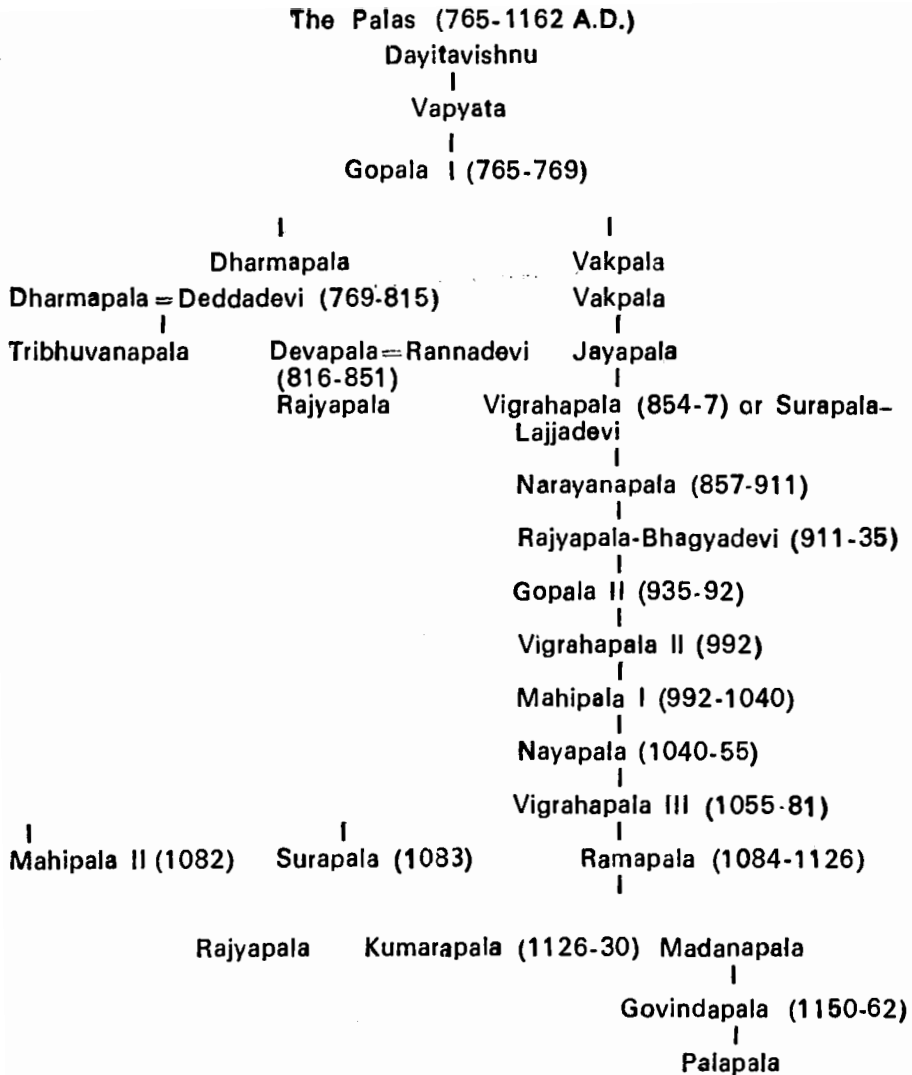
Asvaghosa was a follower of the Madhyamika school, so also were Acharya Parahita and Chandrapadma etc. It is evident that Jnanadatta, Jnanakirti and others lived at this time. In Kashmir lived the Vinaya masters Jnanamitra, Sarvajnadeva, Danasila and others. It is well-known that these three also came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

The king of Odisha, Viratacharya, who looked upon Mahipala as his father invited Anandagarbha to a Vihara at a place where King Munja lived formerly. He composed *Sriparamadya-vivarana* and commentaries on the Guhyasamaja and other Tantric texts.

At that time lived Acharya Bhago, who mastered Vajramrita tantra and in Kashmir lived Pandita Gambhiravajra, who conjured up in a cemetery Vajrasurya and at last he saw the Vajramritamandala through Tantric sadhanas. He went to Udyana for further Tantric secret teachings. He obtained a number of other Siddhis.

PALA GENEALOGY

as per H. C. Ray : *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Calcutte University, 1931), Vol. I., p. 384.



Chapter XXXII

Events of the time of Mahapala and Samupala

Mahapala, son of Maharaja Mahipala ruled for 42 years. He showed veneration to the Sravakas in Odantapuri Vihara. He maintained 500 Bhikshus and 50 teachers, who resided in this Vihars. To this Vihara he appended another Vihara named Urvasa and maintained in it 500 Saindhava-sravakas. He wanted that Vikramasila should be the highest centre of learning. He founded in Nalanda further centres of learning and constructed the Somapuri Vihara, Traikutaka 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 Prajnakaragupta, Yogachara-scholar Padmakusa.

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

Biography of Acharya Jetari

When king Vanapala was ruling, there was in the east Varendra a feudatory king named Sanatana, whose wife was beautiful and very intelligent. This king asked for Guhyasamaja consecration from the Acharya Brahmin Garbhapada and gave him in return his wife, horse, gold, elephant etc. Some time later Garbhapada had a son by her and when the child became 7 years old he asked him to teach the Brahmanic script and Sastras but he was beaten by other sons of Brahmins as he was of a low caste being the son of a man of Sudra caste, who became a Buddhist priest. He returned home and told his father about his troubles in the school. His father gave him the Manjusri consecration. Within about a year he absorbed himself in the Suddha-pratibhasa Samadhi and obtained Siddhi and he became proficient in all Sastras, i.e., in various scripts, meters, Abhidharma etc. He continued to be an Upasaka. He then received from his father Guhyasamaja, Sambara, Hevajra etc, and he then became a disciple of many other Gurus. He learnt all doctrines with the help of Manjusri. 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 Khasarpana and saw the statue of Acala-krodharaja and so he became repentant for his lack of reverence for Buddha. At that time the goddess Tara appeared before him and said to him that in order to atone for his sin, he must write many Mahayana Sastras. Hence at the time of king Mahapala he was given a nice place called Vrksapuri for his residence and also a diploma of a Pandita of Vikramasila, whereupon he propagated the teaching and his fame increased to a great extent. He wrote a brief commentary on the *Sikshasamuchchaya Bodhicharyavatara*, *Akasagarbhasutra*, etc., in all about 100 Sastras of the Sutra and Tantra classes.

Kalasangayavajra was a follower of Acharya Buddhajnana and had in the country of Chagala (Ra-ra) exhibited a portrait of Hevajra in a lonely place and carried on painstaking strivings. After many years 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 Chanaka

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 Krishnacharya.

As the surviving son of King Mahapala was only seven years old, his uncle, i. e. Manapala's brother Chanaka ruled for 29 years. He encountered a fight with the king of Tukhara and he came out victorious. The inhabitants of Bengal revolted and attacked Magadha. At this time Acharya Santi was one of the six guardians 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 Bhejapala 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 Bhikshus Prajnakaramati and Prajnakaragupta. There were two central gates of which one was guarded by Acharya Ratnavajra and the second by Acharya Jnanasrimitra.

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

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 Pandita and the religious name given to him was Silakirti. He acquired knowledge of grammar,

logic and other Sastras. He approached Hasavajra, disciple of Jinabhadra of Konkan for Chakrasambaratantra and when he tried the charm in a place in Magadha, he saw Chakrasambara 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 Vagisvarakirti. He became very proficient in the Sutras, Tantras and other texts and developed ability in giving expositions of texts and also in disputations and composition of treatises. He was able to defeat the non-Buddhist disputants in disputations, and so the king chose him for the guardianship of the western gate in both Nalanda and Vikramasila monasteries. He received treasures from Ganapati and utilised the same for incense-offerings and for establishing 8 centres of teaching of Prajna-paramita. 4 centres for Guhyasamaja, one centre each for lectures on the three Tantra, viz., Sambara, Hevajra and Chatushpithi and erected many Viharas with one centre in each for teaching Madhyamika logic and Mrtyuvanchana-upadesa, by which life-essence could be produced and thereby one could live upto 100 years or more. He recited very often the Vidyaganas, Paramita, Sutralankara, Guhyasamaja, Hevajra and Yamari Tantras, Lankavatara. He worked in Vikramasila for many years, and in the second half of his life he went to Nepal and devoted himself to Mantrayana and Siddhi.

The king of Santapuri erected a Chakrasambara temple, where after its inauguration he wanted to arrange for a large Ganachakra and collected in the outer half of the temple many Mantrins and sent a message to invite the Acharya as a Ganapati. Just outside the hut of Ganapati there was a lustful woman and a very dark maiden, who asked the messenger "where was the Acharya?" to which he answered that he was inside. As soon as the messenger entered and asked the Ganachakrapati to appear as a Ganachakrapati of the king, the Acharya with the two women reached a cross road not far from Santapuri and said to the king "As You did not come while I have been waiting for a long time". After the Acharya had finished the inauguration of the Ganachakra, he remained with his father and mother inside the temple. He took a supply of Gana for 60 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 Chakrasambara 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 Ratnakarasanti made an Acharya and disciple offering, a disciple

saw that some one, a terrible Yogi, was seated on the altar. He threw down the sacrificial requisites and being frightened came away. His Acharya told him that the Yogin was Naropa, whom he had invited with great veneration and received from him several instructions and inspiration. Later when Ratnakarassanti had attained perfection, Naropa took a skull and collected alms from everybody. A robber threw in it a small knife, which, however, melted like butter and he partook of the same and departed.

Naropa's successor was Sthavira Bodhibhadra, who came of a Vaisya family of Odivisa. He had a perfect way of living a Bodhisattva. He was proficient in logic, in Vidya and Charyaganas, specially in the Bodhisattvabhumi. He visualised Bohdhisattva Avalokitesvars and heard the doctrines directly from him.

The guardian of the first central gate was Ratnavajra, who came of a Brahmin family of Kashmir. His father Haribhadra being defeated by a Buddhist Bhikshu in a disputation he became a Buddhist Upasaka. His son was Ratnavajra also an Upasaka and remained so up to his 30th year. He was educated in Kashmir and acquired knowledge in all Sutras and Mantras etc. He came to Magadha and continued his study further. While in Vajrasana he saw the face of Chakrasambara and Vajravarahi and of many other gods. He then got the Vikramasila diploma. He taught mostly sections of Mantrayana, seven sections of Pramana, five Maitreyadharmas 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 Vidyaganas Sutralankara, Guhyasamaja, etc. In the second half of his life, he went to Udyana. At that time there was in Kashmir a Brahmin, learned in the Brahmanic Sastra, who had visualized Isvara Mahesvara. He was advised to go to Udyana. There the Brahmin met Ratnavajra and entered into disputation with him, pledging that he would change his faith should he be defeated in the disputation. Ratnavajra came out victorious and converted the Brahmin to Buddhism and gave him the religious name of Guhyaprajna. After mastering the Mantrayana he obtained Siddhi. He was known as the Red Acharya in Tibet.

Ratnavajra's son was Mahajana, whose son was Sajjana, who propagated the religion widely in Tibet.

The guardian of the second central gate was Acharya Jnansrimitra,

who was the author of Vajrayana-dvau-antau-vikasana. To this Acharya was indebted to Sri Atisa.

Sri Atisa was born in Gauda. At the beginning he was a Pandita of the Saindhava-sravakas and was well-versed in the Pitakas of the Sravakas. At a later time he became a follower of Mahayana 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 Sakyamuni, Maitreya and Avalokitesvara. When he was in Vikramasila, 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 see that the fire was extinguished. When they reached Vajrasana, they saw that a fire had broken out in the Gandhola 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 blurred paintings and renewed the burnt parts of wood. Likewise he restored many centres of teaching in Bengal and Magadha.

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

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

Chapter XXXIV

Events of the time of Kings Bhejapala and Nejjapala

King Bhejapala ruled for about 32 years. Although he did not change the former system, he did not render any distinguished service to the religion. In Vikramasila, not more than 70 Pandita-diplomas 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 learned guardians of the gates Jo-bo-rje-dpal-ldan Atisa, well known as Dipankara Srijnana, was invited to the Vikramasila Vihara as the chief Pandita. He looked after Odantapuri Vihara as well. Not long after this, activity of Maitrinatha became prominent. When Maitrinatha returned from Sriparvata to Magadha, then all the six learned guardians of the gates had passed away.

When Nejjapala became the ruler, Arya Dipankara Srijnana came to

Tibet. The king ruled for 35 years. Nine years after his ascension to the throne, Maitrinatha died. This king showed respect to a person named Mahavajrasana ; when he became an Upasaka he was known as Punyasri 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. Amoghavajra, clear sighted Viryabhadra, Devakarachandra, Prajnarakshita, the most excellent Dombi and Kanta.

Kasoripa 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 practise Chakrasambara system, whereby he obtained Siddhi Prajnarakshita, a learned Pandita stayed with Naropa for 12 years. He often listened to the pitra-tantra and Matr-tantra treatises and became more well versed in the Matr-tantra as also in Chakrasambara. He committed to memory a number of commentaries and a large number of instructions. Not far from Odantapuri, at a small place, he practised meditation for 5 years for attaining Siddhi. He visualized Chakrasambaramandala, Manjusri, Kalachakra and many other tutelary gods. He mastered as many as 70 instructions of the Chakrasambara collection. He acquired many supernatural powers, by which he struck down the Turushka army four times when it attacked Vikramashila Vihara. Many soldiers perished while others fled away. After working for the welfare of beings and maintaining Chakrasambara in the forefront of his mind, he conjured up Aryavalokita or Khasarpana 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 every-thing was a phantom and his mind was immersed in contemplation. At midnight Adhideva appeared before him and told him "O son, such is the reality." On hearing this he obtained Mahamudrasiddhi. He then composed a few sastras for the benefit of his disciple, many of whom thereby obtained the Sadanga-yoga-sadhana.

At that time lived Yamari, 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 Panditas, despise 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 Yogin in reply asked him to prepare a fruit from a *picula* tree. "When I shall return from Vajrasana I shall prepare the medicine." On his way back he arranged for a Vasudhara blessing. Yamari 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 Vikramasila.

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

Chapter XXXV

Events of the time of Amrapala, Hastipala and Kshantipala

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

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

During the reign of these two kings lived the Acharya of Nejpala's time and the disciples of Maitri and Dipankara Srijnana and five others of their line of thinking, viz. the great Pito, Dharmakaramati, Bhusuku, Madhyamikasimha, Mitraguhya. Besides these, 37 Panditas delivered discourses on the teachings of Jnanavajra and others. It is well-known that at this time Manakasri worked for the welfare of all beings, in Kashmir Bodhibhadra, in Nepal Phamthing with his brother Jnanavajra and Indian Pani and others worked for the welfare of all beings.

About this time lived also Rahulamitra, author of the Guhyasamaja-mandala-vidhi, in Nepal Naropa's disciple Darika, author of the consecration ceremony of Lui-pa's system. It is evident that in Vikramasila the great Pandit Sthirapalatrilaaksha explained the Prajnaparamita.

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

Chapter XXXVI Events of the time of Ramapala

King Ramapala, son of Hastipala was very intelligent and possessed great power. After he ascended the throne, Acharya 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 continually 160 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 Sravaka-bhikshus. At times there gathered about 10,000 Sravaka-bhikshus. In Odantapuri lived also continually 1,000 Bhikshus, who belonged to either Hinayana or Mahayana school. At times, about 12,000 priests assembled there. The chief jewel of Mahayana teachers was Acharya Abhayakara, to whom great veneration was showed by the Sravakas also, among whom there were also many Vinaya masters.

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

Beginning of the decline of Buddhism

Since the demise of King Dharmapala, many followers of the Mlechchha doctrine appeared in Bengal, Ayodhya, west and east of the Yamuna from Varanasi to Malava Prayag, Mathura, Panchala, Agra, Sagari, Delhi, Kamarup, Tirhut, Odivisa, but still the Buddhist doctrine existed in Magadha 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 Lavasena usurped the royal power. During their reign lived Acharya Subhakaragupta in Vikramasila and Buddhakirti as the chief priest of the Vajrasana temple.

Chapter XXXVII

Events of the time of four Sena kings and others

Lavasena's son was Kusasena, whose son was Manitasena, whose son was Rathikasena. These four Sena kings ruled about 80 years. During their reign the heads of the Buddhist Sangha were Subhakaragupta, Ravisrijnana, Nayakapasri, Dasabalsri, a little later were Dharmakarashanti, Srivisrutadeva, Nishkalankadeva, Dharmakargupta and other followers of Abhayakara, who were all Siddhas as well as masters of Buddha-sastras.

During the reign of Rathikasena, appeared 24 Mahantas: Sakyasribhadra the great Pandita of Kashmir, Buddhasri of Nepal, the great Acharya Ratnarakshita, the great teachers Jnanakaragupta, Buddhasri-mitra, Sangamajnana, Ravisribhadra, Chandrakaragupta and many others, who were all Vajradharas and devoted to the Samdbara and masters of Sastras.

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

Acharya Ratnarakshita is said to have been equal to Sakyasri in the knowledge of the Paramitas and other Sastras. Sakyasri is said to have been more learned in logic but Ratnakirti was more learned in the secret Mantras, in conferring blessings but they were equals in the exercise of supernatural powers. He also belonged to the Mahasanghika school but he was a Mantracharya in Vikramasila. He visualized Chakrasambara, Kalachakra and Yamari etc. Once he heard in Potala 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 Sambarodaya.

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

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

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

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

Ratnarakshita (senior) went to Nepal. Acharya Jnanakaragupta and other Panditas with about 100 junior priests went to the south-west of India. Acharya Buddhasrimitra and Vajrasri, disciple of Dasabala went to the south. Acharyas Samgamasrijnana, Ravisribhadra, Chandrakaragupta and 16 other Mahantas and 200 junior Panditas went further east to Rakhan (? Arakan), Munan (? Burma) Kamboja and other countries.

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

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

King Lavasena and his successors Buddhasena, Harisena, Pratitasesena were kings of very limited power and owed allegiance to the Turushkas. At Buddhasena's time Acharya Ratnasribhadra lived in Nalanda

and had 70 students. After him lived Bhumisribhadra followed by Upayasribhadra, Karunasribhadra and Munindrasribhadra, who maintained the religion. With Pratitasena's death ended the succession of teachers.

About 100 years after Pratitasena's death the energetic Changalaraja lived in Bengal. He ruled over all Hindus and Turushkas up to Delhi. Though he was a Brahmin, his wife had faith in Buddhism. He made sacrificial offerings at Vajrasena temple and repaired all the destroyed temples and restored four of the nine storeys of the Mahagandhola. In Nalanda he showed veneration to the temples. (Taranatha writes that he did not have any information about Buddhism after Changalaraja or of any Buddhist saint or Pitaka-holders.)

In Odivisa and over a great position of Madhyadesa ruled King Mukundadeva, but he did not do anything for the religion. He however erected Buddhist temples in Odivisa 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 XXXVIII

The order of succession of Vikramashila teachers

From the time of King Dharmapala to that of King Chanaka, i.e., during five generations, one Mantracharya was in charge of the Vikramashila monastery. At the time of Dharmapala Acharya Buddhajnanapada was the head of the monastery; after him Acharya Dipankarabhadra.

At the time of Masurakshita resided here at the Bhikshupandita Jayabhadra of Lanka (Simhala), who was proficient in all the Sravakapitakas. He came to Magadha and became well-versed in Mahayana, specially in secret Mantras and in Vikramasila he attained perfection in Chakrasambarasiddhi. He once went to Konkan to see the Chaitya called Mahabimba. He wrote a commentary on the Chakrasambaratantra. In Vikramasila he became a Mantracharya.

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

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

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

1. Bhavabhadra He was well-versed in all Sastras, and specially in Vijnanasiddhi, He visualized Tara, practised Bindu-siddhi and became perfect.
2. Bhavakirti He crossed the ocean of Mantras and texts. He was given the appellation of knowledge free from hindrances (*apohata-abhijna*).
3. Lilavajra He obtained Yamari-siddhi. Very likely he wrote the Bhayakara-vetalashtaka-sadhana in Tibetan, He drove out the Turushka army by drawing a Yamari-mandala.
4. Durjayachandra His biography has been given elsewhere.
5. Kshnasamayavajra As above.
6. Tathagata-rakshita He was proficient in Yamari and Sambara tantras.
7. Bodhibhadra He was an Upasaka. He visualized Manjusri. He carried on Namakirtan, which induced Samadhi.
8. Kamala-rakshita He was a Bhikshu, well-versed in the Sutras and Mantras, and specially in Prajnaparamita, Guhyasamaja and Yamari-tantra. He drove out the Turushka 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 Srijnana followed by Mahavajrasena, Kamalakulisa, Narendra Srijnana, Dharmarakshita, Abhayakara, Subhakaragupta and Sunayakasri. Then the Vikramasila Vihara declined.

Chapter XXXIX

Propagation of the Teaching in Eastern Koki land.

Eastern India consists of Bengal and Odisha (Purvaparantaka),

In its north are Kamarup, Tripura and Hasama (Assam) surrounded by mountains (girivarta). Farther east of the northern mountain are Nangatadesa (Eastern Hill Tracts of Bengal), Pukha (perhaps Hill Tracts of Chittagong), bordering on the ocean, Balku, Rakhan (perhaps Arakan), Hamsavati (a portion of Burma), Markoladi, farther off Champa and Kamboja. All these are known as Koki land. (Kuki of the Lushai Hill Tracts between Chittagong and Tippera may be derived from the word Koki or *vice versa*. cf. dPag-bsam-lion-bzang)

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

At the time of King Dharmapala there were many disciples of Vasubandhu in Madhyadesa. About half of the Sangha residing in Magadha came from Koki land. Henceforth, Mahayana was propagated widely in Madhyadesa and Tibet. At the time of the four Sena rulers also the Mahayanists increased in number. Since the time of Abhayakara Mantrayana spread more and more. When Magadha was attacked by the Turushkas, a large section of the monks of Madhyadesa went to the east,

At that time lived king Sobhajata who erected many temples and established about 200 centres of learning. His successor Simhajati made the religion very popular. Along with the Bhikshus the number of the Upasakas also increased. Pandita Vanaratna and others of this place went to Tibet.

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

Kalachakra and some other sects became popular. About 200 Panditas were sent Khagendra in the south to Mahasiddha Santigupta for learning the secret Mantras.

Chandravahana ruled in Rakhan (perhaps Arakan) Ajitavahana in Chagma (perhaps Chakma, a suburb of Chittagong) Balavahana in Munan (Burma), Sundrahaci in Nangata, and the religion spread much more than in the previous period.

Chapter XL

The form of propagation of the teaching in small islands and re-pro-

pagation of the teaching in the southern countries.

In the small Dvipas, viz., Simhaladvipa, Yavadvipa, Tamradvipa, Suvarnadvipa, Dhanasridvipa, Payigudvipa the teaching was propagated from the earliest time, and it is very much popular in these days. In Simhaladvipa there are a few followers of Mahayana and mostly they are Sravakas. Even now at the time Sripaduka-celebration, that is, the festival of the footprint, about 12 000 Bhikshus, mostly Sravakas, join it. In Dhanasri and Payigu there are some followers of Mahayana but there are also Sravakas. In the Dramila island Acharya Padmakara and Dipankarabhadra went there and propagated the religion. In the course of a hundred years many Vajradharas came from Magadh, Urgyan, Kashmir and other countries and propagated the Mantrayana. There were also many Tantra texts, which had disappeared from India. Along with the Mantra texts there also Vinaya, Abhidharma and Paramita works. In the southern part of India, in Vidyanagar, Konkana, Malyra, Kalinga and other places the exposition of texts and Sadhana went on without interruption. On account of the advent of the Turushkas, new centres of learning were not erected and the number of religions became also reduced. Pandita Naraditya lived in a part of Trilinga, called Kalikar. When Magadha was conquered by the Turushkas, the teaching was introduced in the south-western kingdom of king Karna. At this time the religion was propagated by Jnanakaragupta and others in Maru, Mewar, Chitavara, Pihuva, Abu, Saurashtra, Gurjara etc., where many seats of learning were established and there resided also many Bhikshus. In later time through the blessings of Mahasiddharaja Shantigupta, the teaching was spread afresh in Khagendra and in the regions of the Vindhya mountain.

At the time of King Ramachandra the Sangha was very much respected. His son Balabhadra built many temples: Srigagiri, Ojana, Urvasi etc. He established also many centres of learning for all subjects of study. It is said that in this land 2000 new Bhikshus resided and propagated the teaching and developed the system of exposition of the Sutras, Mantras, Sadhana and Nirvana.

CHAPTER XLI

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 Pushpamala written by Brahmana Monamati.]

In the south in Kanchi, two kings Suklaraja and Chandrasobha 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-tirtha, of which the resident Bhikshus were maintained by the kings. Many Chiityas were also erected.

There were three kings of Konkana. They were in succession as follows : Mahesa, Kshemankara and Manoratha. There were three other kings in succession, viz., Bhoga-subala, Chandrasena, Ksheman-karasimha. These kings gave a gold *dinara* to every monk and 500 *panas* to every Upasaka.

Kshemankarasimha had three sons, The eldest son was Vyaghra-
raja, who had a spotted body and eyes like those of a tiger. He ruled over the lower part of Konkana and built 2,000 temples. The second son Buddha ruled over the upper part of Konkana and Tukurati and maintained 500 Bhikshus. The youngest Buddhushuja, being deprived of land, became at last the king of Dravali and invited forthwith 10,000 Brahmins and 10,000 Buddhists.

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

In Karnata and Vidyanagara, there were kings Mahendra and his successors Devaraja and Visva. These three kings directed all Brahmins and Kshatriyas to venerate the three Ratnas. Each of them ruled for 30 years. The last king had three sons of whom the eldest Sisu 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 Triratna, 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 Nagaraja left his country with a following of 10,000 men. He erected a Chaitya near Pukham. Here he came across a hostile band of men. He however obtained the rulership and then had a talk with king Salivahana, who hailed from a Brah-

min family of Kalinga. He filled the land with Chaityas 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 Ratnagiri.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sri Saraha was the author of the Buddha kapala-tantra,
Acharya Lui-pa was the author of the Yogini-samcharya.
Acharyas Kambala and Padmavajra were authors of the Hevajratantra.
Krshnacharin was the author of the Samputa-tilaka.
Lalitavajra was the author of the 3 sections of the Krishna-yamari-tantra.
Gambhirapaksha was the author of the Vajramrta,
Kukura-raja (Kukuripa) was the author of the Mahamaya.
Pito was the author of the Kalachakratantra.

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 (Kumarasri) 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 Mantras.

Dhanakataka (in the Andhra Pradesh) was an important centre for Tantric teaching. It is said that about 5,000 adepts obtained Siddhi by the Tara Mantra.

Chapter XLIV

Artists and Archite

Many excellent artists constructed the beautiful Chaityas in Magadha, viz., Mahabodhi, Manjusri-dundubhisvara. At the time of Emperor Asoka many artists erected the Chaityas at eight important sites. At a later period Buddapaksha had an artist called Bimbasara maker of excellent statues and sculptures. He had also many students.

At the time of King Sila (i.e. Harshavardhana) Srngadhara 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 Vitpala learned the art from his father and produced similar work of art.

In Kashmir Hasuraja established a school of painters and sculptors. In the south appeared the artists Jaya, Aparajaya and Vijaya.

Epilogue

There may be mistakes in this history. In order to find them out, one should take help of such a Tibetan scholar who had a good reputation, who would be able to establish as to who were (a) Nagarjuna's successors in seven generations; (b) that after Asoka's demise came the Chandra kings and that all the Tantric Acharyas from Saraha to Abhayakara 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 so only those which were considered authentic, were picked up.

(b) Pandit Kshemendrabhadra of Magadha compiled a work in 2,000 slokas, in which the history was given upto the time of king Ramapala.

(c) Pandit Indradatta of a kshatriya family wrote the Buddha-purana in 1200 slokas and carried the history up to the four Sena rulers.

(d) Brahmin Pandit Bhataghati composed a history of the Acharyas.

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 Aparantaka kingdom.

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

In this way, the present garland of happy events have been strung 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 stepped on the path of good behaviour be adorned with virtues.

May the jewel of the sacred teaching spread in Aryadesa. This book was written at the initiative of some who wanted that such a book should be written. Thus concluded Taranatha of the glorious Khams in the 34th years of his life at Brag-stod.

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 Srong btsan-sgam-po 630-698 A.D. (1) With the help of a strong army, he subjugated the provinces of Dbus and Gtsang and quickly became the master of the whole of Tibet. Not content with extending his empire from Gilgit to Chinese Turkestan, he vanquished King Amsuvarman of Nepal, forcing him to marry his daughter, named Khricun (Bhrkuti) to him (2), and challenged the emperor of China, compelling him also to offer him the hand of his daughter Wen-Cheng along with some territories. This consolidation at home and expansion abroad was accompanied by socio-religious organisation and cultural upliftment. Thus Tibet emerged as a great power on the Asian scene.

The consolidation of a big power across the frontier is usually a menace for a country, for 'two is company, three is none' 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 embassies, his interest in Buddhism, which had become the dominant ideology of Tibet, and the preoccupations of the Tibetan emperor with his own affairs—the frontier of North India did not witness any serious disturbance. But the death of Harsha in 647 and the disappearance of his awe 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 Banepa-kuti pass about 639 had shortened the journey from India to China *via* Nepal and Tibet. Just after his meeting with Yuan-Chwang, Harsha sent an envoy to Ch'ang an, bringing among other gifts a broad-leafed illex, of a kind unknown in China (3). The T'ang reciprocated this gesture by sending a return mission to India in 643 under Li-I-Piao with Wang Hiuen ts'e as second officer. This mission returned to China in 645. But, soon afterwards, another mission was despatched to India, this time under Wang Hiuen-ts'e with Tsiang Cheu-Jen as the second officer and an escort of thirty horsemen. When the mission was on its way, King Harsha died and his minister O-lo-na-shoen, Arjuna or Arunasva, usurped his throne. He is called Na-fu-ti which Sylvain Levi takes to mean a Brahmana (4). He broke off with China, the reason for which may have been his anti-Buddhist feeling, born of his Brahmana heritage, and went to the extent

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-ts'e. They (the escort of the mission) gave a fight to the barbarian but the party was not equal (to the enemy); when the arrows got exhausted, all were taken prisoners and the tributes given by the different kings were all plundered. Wang Hiuen-ts'e 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-na shoen) placed the army in the field to drive away Wang Hiuent-s'e. The mission did not have an escort of more than a few dozens of cavalry; they could do nothing and all perished. The goods offered as tributes by the kings were all plundered. Wang Hiuen-ts'e escaped" (6)

Thus harassed, the Chinese envoy reached Nepal and Tibet to seek the help of their kings. To quote the *Ancient History of the T'ang Dynasty* he "fled to T'ou-fan (Tibet) which gave him 1200 soldiers. Ni-po-lo (Nepal) gave him 7,000 cavalry. Wang Hiuen-ts'e, with the help of his assistant, Tsiang 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-na shoen fled from his capital. Cheu-jen pursued him and made him captive along with 12000 persons, men and women, and more than 30,000 animals, oxen and horses, India was thus conquered. Wang Hiuen-ts'e brought to the capital (of China) his prisoner in the 22nd year (Tcheng Koan-648). He was promoted to the rank of *tch'ao-san-ta-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 1,200 men but Nepal gave him 7,000 troops. "He divided his army into several corps, advanced as far as the village of *Tch'a-pouo ho-lo* and, after beseiging it for three days, captured the town. 3,000 men were killed and 10,000 drowned in the river. O-lo-na shoen, leaving the kingdom, fled and reassembled his troops and returned to offer another battle. Cheu-jen made him prisoner, killing about 1 000 person this time; the others, who were guarding the women of the royal household barred the crossing of the river K'ien-t'o-wei. Cheu-jen attacked them; there was a great confusion. He imprisoned the wives and daughters of the king, and 12 000 persons and all the domesticated animals numbering some, 30,000. He received the submission of 580 fortified towns. The king of Eastern India, Chikieou-mo (Sri Kumara), presented some 30,000 animals, oxen and horses, for the army, and also bows, sabres and fringes. The kingdom of Kiamou-lou (Kamarupa) offered to the emperor curios, a map of the country and wanted an image of Lao-tzu as gift. Wang Hiuen-ts'e offered humbly

to his emperor O-lo-na-shoen as prisoner. The victory was proclaimed officially in the ancient imperial temple."(8)

It is clear from these accounts that the Chinese envoy Wang Hiuen-ts'e was not only seized by what Arthur Waley calls 'buccaneering spirit of early T'ang diplomatists' (9) but also made the best of the worst situation that faced him. Obviously, he could not have initiated the aggression, accompanied as he was with an escort of 30 horsemen only. He must have used all the force of cajolry and persuasion at his command to win an easy passage to the capital. But the Indian King was averse to everything Chinese and so tried to decimate him thoroughly. However, he managed to escape and succeeded in getting 1,200 or 1,000 troops from Tibet and 7,000 from Nepal and fought his way into the Indian 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 expatiated upon the prospect of an easy conquest of an empire in India or dwelt upon the menace of the northward expansion of the Brahmana ruler 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 dash in North India was veritably a joint Tibeto-Nepalese enterprise to conquer an empire to the south of the Himalayas. Though Chinese annalists described it as a triumph of their country, it can not be doubted that it was a success of Tibetan and Nepalese arms against North India. For some time Srong-btsan-sgam-po might be itching for some row with the kingdom of India and the provocation of Wang Hiuen-ts'e gave him the occasion to lash out against it. So Wang's adventure proved the veneer for Tibetan and Nepalese aggression against North India for which the ground had been prepared with the consolidation of the military strength of Srong btsam-sgam-po. That the Tibetan and their proteges, the Nepalese, succeeded in occupying large parts of North India is manifest from the remark of the Chinese chronicles that 580 fortified towns submitted to their armies led by Wang Hiuen-ts'e and an enormous booty fell into their hands and O-lo-na-shoen and his family, with a large number of followers, including the alchemist Narayanasvamin who claimed the knowledge of the elixir of life, became their prisoners (10). Besides this, the powerful ruler of Eastern India, Kumara Bhaskaravarman, also made friends with them offering them 30,000 oxen & horses for the army and bows, sabres and fringes as well as a map of the country which had a great military value. The impact of these events on the history of North India must have been tremendous.

Arnold J. Toynbee has shown that the challenge of blows and

pressures stimulates a people to creative activity and often intensifies the process of political and military consolidation among them. In India also, after the subjugation of vast territory by the Tibetans and Nepalese and their retirement 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 strove for a revival. For a time there was a free-for-all in which Bhaskaravarman occupied Karnasuvarna and the adjacent territories, the later Guptas of Malwa fought their way into Magadha, the Maukharis revived in their ancestral seats and one of them Bhogavarman established matrimonial relations with the rulers of Nepal, the Turki chiefs, assuming the title of Tikina, pressed into the Punjab and the Karkotas 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 Maukhari Chief Bhogavarman by marrying his daughter to him. The successors of Adityasena continued to use the imperial title indicative of paramount sovereignty, but the inroads 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, Vakpatiraja, 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, Lalitaditya Muktapida, in spite of his rivalry with him over the states of the Panjab, like Jalandhara reported by the Korean pilgrim Hui-ch'ao. This is clear from the memorial presented by Lalitaditya's envoy Bhadanta Wu-li-to 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 731, Yasovarman (Yi-sha-fu-mo) himself sent an embassy under Bhadanta Po-ta-hsin (Bhattasena?) 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 Lalitaditya was also engaged (14). All this undoubtedly proves that Yasovarman was keenly conscious of the Tibetan menace and, after entrenching his paramountcy

in India, moved in the Himalayas, as Vakpati states in his *Gaudavaho*, 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, despite regular pinpricking and provocation over the states of the Punjab, and also tried to form an entente with the T'ang 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 Kashtvar and the narrow valley of Maru Wardwan (Kashmiri *Madivadvan*), adjacent to it, separates Kashmir from the Tibetan country called Bhauttadesa. Baltistan (Skardo) and Ladakh, to the east of it, are called "Little and Great Tibet", "Little and Great Po-lu", in Chinese Annals. *Sukshma-bri-hatbhuttadesa* in the *Rajatarangini* of Srivara (iii, 445) and *Lukh Butun* and *Bud Butun* in modern Kashmiri. To the east of them is a belt of high mountains and glaciers and then the region of Suru and Zanskar (15). Thus Kashmir was very close to Tibet and exposed to her aggression. This filled up the rapid rise of the the Karkota or Naga dynasty there.

The routes passing through Baltistan and Ladakh and connecting Tibet, 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-btsan-sgam-po's son Mang-srong-btsan (699-712) 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 Yun-sing-kong. He was followed on the throne by his infant son Khri-Ide-gtsung-brtan (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 Ladakh (17). Baffled in his moves, the Chinese emperor had to marry his daughter Chin Cheng to the Tibetan crown-prince Hjang-tsha-lha-dbon, and, on his death due to an accident, to the Tibetan emperor himself, as dowry, she brought with her two Chinese provinces, Chin-chu-and Ku-e-i 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 713 for seeking her aid. (18). Then, in 720, another embassy from Kashmir visited China. In referred to the King of Kashmir as Chen-t'o-lo-pi-li (Chandrapida). In return, an envoy came to Kashmir from China conveying the recognition of Chandrapida as the king of that region. 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 Tarapida Upayaditya who is described by Kalhana as a cruel and unjust ruler opposed by the Brahmanas. 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 Muktapida Lalitaditya was an energetic and enterprising ruler. He took up the frontier issue, collaborated with Yasovarman in containing the Tibetans, barred the five main routes of their country and inflicted significant defeats on them. Having thus won the breathing space, he proceeded to mobilise the resources of China against the Tibetans and, with this end in view, sent an embassy, headed by Bhadanta Wu-li-to, to the T'ang emperor 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, cavalry and Infantry, I, a humble servant of Your Majesty, along with the king of Central India, control the five principal routes of communication of Tibet, fought against the Tibetans with constant victories. If your Majesty, the Heavenly Khan, will despatch 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 (*Mahapadma*) I wish to build a memorial building for Your Majesty, the Heavenly Khan, I, therefore, pray for an Imperial Appointment by proclamation" (20).

This document shows that the Karkotas had ever been solicitors of the alliance and assistance of China in their struggle with the Tibetans and that Muktapida was particularly keen on seeking her succour and offered to bear the huge expenses of maintaining an enormous Chinese army of 2,00,000 men at Volur Lake and also to raise a memorial for the

T'ang Emperor Hsung Tsung (713-755) 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 736. But, side by side, they intensified their campaign in Baltistan and, in 738, completely annihilated the Chinese army in that sector, as said above.

In the meantime, Muktapida fell out with Yasovarman over the suzerainty over the Panjab states. It appears that the Turki Shahi rulers, cornered by Yasovarman and patronized by Lalitaditya, 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. Lalitaditya marched in the Gangetic Valley, defeated Yasovarman but reinstated him as a vassal at Kanauj, 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 Baltistan, Muktapida decided to deal with the frontier problem himself and pounced upon the Tibetans singlehanded. *Rajatarangini* states that he undertook a campaign of conquest in the pathless tracks of the far-spreading northern regions (22). Entering probably by the route, connecting Badakhshan with Little Tibet, he plunged into Turkharistan and reduced the Tukharas and their neighbours, the Kambojas, who were a widespread people having their concentration in Badakhshan near Darwaz, (23). According to Yuan Chwang Turkharistan was bounded in the north by Derbend near Badakhshan, in the south by the Hindukush, in the West by Persia and in the east by the Pamirs. In the Mahammadan period it signified the region between Badakhshan and Balkh. The river Oxus flowed through it (24). In 718 the Turkish ruler of Tukharistan extended his suzerainty from the Iron Gates up to Zabulistan and from the Murghab to the Indus. In 719 the ruler of that region, named Ti-sho, sent to China a Manichaeen learned in astronomy. 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). Lalitaditya must have marched against him or his successor.

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

Nasr-ibn-Sayyar regained the regions overrun by Qutaiba. His successors raided into Turkistan upto the borders of China. Lalitaditya came into

conflict with one of them and worsted him in three engagements (26).

But the most significant success of Lalitaditya must have been against the Tibetans. (27) called Bhauttas, Bhodas, Bhattas, and also against the Daradas and the rulers of Sinkiang, called Uttarakuru (28)

What was the impact of the victory of Lalitaditya 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-lha-dbon put Lalitaditya 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 frontier-conscious in their undertakings, alignments and conflicts.

NOTES

1. Rahula Sankrityayana, 'Buddhism in Tibet under Imperial Patronage' *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I, pp. 300-301; H. E. Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (London, 1962) p 29.
2. D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, pp. 155-157 holds that Amsuvarman was never a vassal of Tibet and that the episode of the marriage of his daughter Bhrikuti to Srong-btsan-sgam-po is a myth invented by Tibetan chroniclers. He bases his argument on the fact that the *T'ang Annals* and Yuan Chwang do not refer to the Tibetan conquest of Nepal. However; he holds that under Narendradeva Tibetan influence over Nepal was supreme. It is not necessary to go into this controversy here. What is relevant is that just before the death of Harsha Tibet had the upperhand in Nepal.
3. Arthur Waley. *The Real Tripitaka*, p. 78
4. Sylvain Levi, *The Mission of Wang Hiuén ts'e in India*, translated by S.P. Chatterjee (Calcutta 1967) p. 3 f, 4.
5. *Ibid.*, p 10
6. *Ibid.*, p. 8
7. *Ibid.*, p, 10

8. *Ibid* p. 9
9. Arthur Waley, *The Real Tripitaka*, p. 95
10. P. C. Bagchi. *Sino-India Studies* Vol. I. p. 69 ; J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China*, Vol. I. p. 212
11. L. Petech, *A Study of the Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 63
12. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*, p. 103.
13. For a translation of this memorial, as given in the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty*, see Jan Yun-hua, Some Fresh Reflections on Yasovarman of Kanauj and Muktapida of Kashmira, *Journal of Indian History*. Vol. XLV, Part I April 1967, p. 172.
14. P. C. Bagchi. Sino-Indian Relations', '*Sino-Indian Studies*' (Calcutta) Vol. I, p. 71 contends 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.
15. M. A. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II. p. 435
16. S. W. Bushell, 'The Early History of Tibet : From Chinese Sources' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (New series) Vol. XII, pp. 469-71.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 530
18. J. H. Klaproth, *Memoires relatifs a L' Asie*, Vol. II. pp 275 seq.
19. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue Oc. identaux*, pp. 150-51.
20. Jan Yun-hua. *op.cit.*, p. 172. This author holds that since, in that year, the Chinese emperor approved of 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 ascended the throne earlier. In fact, the proclamation of appointment by the Chinese court is merely an imperial rodomontade not indicative of the actual coronation of Muktapida.
21. For details see Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History & Civilization* pp. 111-12.
22. *Rajatarangini*. IV, 163, Critical Edition of Vishva Bandhu (V. V. R. Institute Hoshiarpur) part I. p. 133.
स प्राविशत् सु वेस्तीर्णमपथेनोत्तरापथम् ।
23. *Ibid.*, IV, 165-166, p. 133.
काभ्रोजानां वाजिशाला जायन्ते स्म हयोज्झिताः ।
ध्वान्तच्छलात्तद्विरुद्धं निरुद्धा महिषैरिव ॥

- तुखाराः शिखरश्रेणीयन्तिः संत्यज्य वाजिनः ।
कुण्ठभावं तदुत्कण्ठां निन्द्युर्द्ध्वा हयाननान् ॥
24. P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, p. 19.
25. Buddha Prakash, 'A study of the History of the North-Western Frontiers of the Panjab', in *Glimpses of Ancient Panjab* (Sitaram Kohli Memorial Lectures, 1966) Panjabi University, Patiala, p. 71.
26. *Rajatarangini*. IV. 167, p. 133.
त्रीन् वारान् समरे जित्वा जितं मेने स मुम्भुनिम् ।
सकृज्जयमरेर्वीरा मन्यन्ते हि घुणाक्षरम् ॥
27. *Ibid.*, IV. 168.
चिन्ता न दृष्टा मौद्धानां वक्त्रे प्रकृतिपाण्डुरे ।
वनोकसामिव क्रोधः स्वभावकपिले मुखे ॥
28. Buddha Prakash, 'Uttarakuru', *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. II, no. 1 (1965) pp. 27-34.
29. K. K. Dutta Shastri, 'A Note on an Obscure Reference in the *Rajatarangini*', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journals* Vol. III, part II, (Sept. 1965) pp. 242-247
30. *Rajatarangini* VII, 14, 31 *on. cit.* p. 433.
तं शल्यो नाम सामग्रवैरल्यविवशं नृपः ।
बद्धं प्रतिज्ञामकरोद् वाजिलक्ष्युर्तोडष्टमिः ॥

Notes & Topics

OBITUARY : ATHING LIBING

Athing Sonam Tabden of Libing 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 Libing (near Gangtok) to an ancient family who had migrated from Tsang to Denzong nearly two and a half centuries ago. The family held an esteemed place in the history of Sikkim. The famous Tokhang Donyer Namgyal, known as Pagla Dewan, was the younger brother of Sonam Tobden's grand-father 'Englishmen who met him (Pagla 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 Pagla Dewan's family who however continued in Denjong. Sonam Tobden chose modern English schooling and worked as an officer in Sikkim Government between 1923 and 1925. 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 1959 as an honoured member of the Indian Foreign Service; in 1947 he opted into the service of India. It is said that in serving the several governments he never transgressed from the path of loyalty to either. His death was mourned by friends both in Sikkim and India.

The Namgyal Institute of Tibetology was closed for the day. His services to this Institute both in organizational and academic spheres are known in connected circles. Considerably before the establishment of this Institute (1958), 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 Government 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 (ij) 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 1965). 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. Teng: "On the Ching Tributary System" in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1941) may be seen. The references to "tribute bearers" and "barbarian ambassador" in Chinese annals are not admitted in modern terms by the Sinologists today.

Nirmal C. Sinha.

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