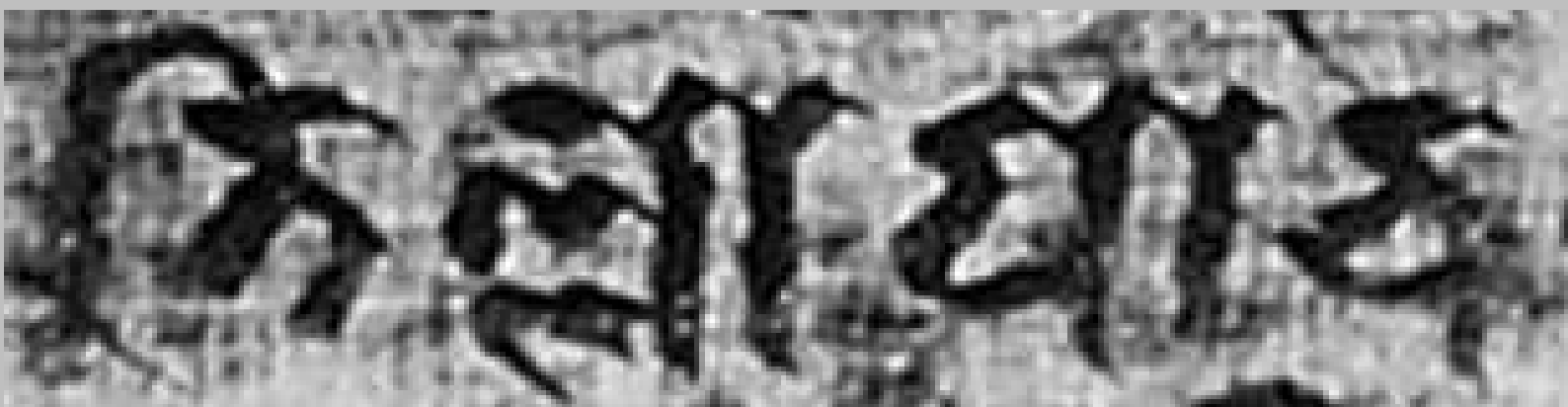


TILOPĀ

A BUDDHIST YOGIN OF THE TENTH CENTURY

FABRIZIO TORRICELLI



LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS AND ARCHIVES

TILOPĀ

TILOPĀ

A BUDDHIST YOGIN OF THE TENTH CENTURY

FABRIZIO TORRICELLI

In Memoriam

Jacques Élisée Reclus

Geographer

(1830~1905)

Sante Geronimo Caserio

Baker

(1873~1894)

Fabio Massimo Bardelli

Mathematician

(1952~2001)

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| Maps and Illustrations | x |
| Abbreviations | xi |
| Orthographic Conventions | xiii |
| Preface | xv |
| Acknowledgments | xxv |
| I — WATERS, KINGS, POLITIES, AND CITIES | 1 |
| Gaṅgā and Pāṭaliputra | 3 |
| Kṛīpura, Koṭālipāḍā, and Kaṇṇasuvārṇa | 8 |
| Bengal After Śaśāṅka | 9 |
| Samataṭa | 11 |
| Harikela | 17 |
| Arakan | 17 |
| Tāranātha's Candras: a Conjecture | 22 |
| The Pālas | 23 |
| Gopāla | 24 |
| Dharmapāla | 26 |
| Nālandā Mahāvihāra | 28 |
| Uddanḍapura Mahāvihāra | 31 |
| Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra | 33 |
| Somapura Mahāvihāra | 33 |
| Trikūṭaka Vihāra | 34 |
| Devapāla | 34 |
| After Devapāla | 38 |
| The Candras of Arakan | 40 |
| The Kingdom of Harikela | 42 |
| The Candras of Bengal | 44 |
| Pūrṇacandra | 46 |
| Suvarṇacandra | 46 |
| Trailokyacandra | 47 |
| Śrīcandra | 50 |
| Notes to the First Chapter | 53 |
| II — THE HAGIOGRAPHIC TRADITION | 65 |
| The Sources | 65 |
| Source α — Shamsher Manuscript | 65 |
| Source β — Mar pa | 66 |
| Source γ — Vajrāsana | 74 |
| Source δ — Abhayadatta | 76 |
| Source ε — sGam po pa | 78 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Source ζ — Vibhūticandra | 78 |
| Source η — rGyal thang pa | 80 |
| Source θ — rDo rje mdzes 'od | 82 |
| Source ι — U rgyan pa | 82 |
| Source κ — Mon rtse pa | 83 |
| Source λ — gTsang smyon He ru ka | 84 |
| Source μ — Kun dga' rin chen | 85 |
| Source ν — dBang phyug rgyal mtshan | 86 |
| Source ξ — lHa btsun | 87 |
| Words for Tradition and Traditions of Words | 87 |
| Yoginītantras | 88 |
| Cakraśaṃvara | 91 |
| Abhiṣekas | 92 |
| Cittaviśrāma, Manobhaṅga, and Uḍḍiyāna | 92 |
| Ḍākinīs and Siddhas | 94 |
| Śmaśānas | 95 |
| Outlines | 98 |
| Shamsher Manuscript (α) | 98 |
| Mar pa (β) | 102 |
| rGyal thang pa (η) | 103 |
| rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ) | 104 |
| U rgyan pa (ι) | 105 |
| Mon rtse pa (κ) | 106 |
| gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ) | 107 |
| Kun dga' rin chen (μ) | 108 |
| dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (ν) | 109 |
| lHa btsun (ξ) | 111 |
| The Names of the Sesame Grinder | 113 |
| The Marpan Tradition | 113 |
| Notes to the Second Chapter | 121 |
| III — WHO, WHEN, AND WHERE | 127 |
| Sahor | 128 |
| *Jagāṅ | 130 |
| The First Years | 131 |
| The Apprenticeship | 137 |
| Caryāpā | 138 |
| Kambalapā | 142 |
| Nāgārjuna | 145 |
| Where Tilopā Met His First Gurus | 151 |
| Sukhasiddhi | 158 |
| Where Tilopā Met the Ḍākinī | 161 |
| The Received Doctrines | 164 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Practice | 169 |
| Among the Ḍākinīs of Uḍḍiyāna | 171 |
| Back from Uḍḍiyāna | 178 |
| Tilopā's Manifestations | 180 |
| With the Yogin | 182 |
| With the Tīrthika | 185 |
| With the Magician | 186 |
| With the Liquor-Selling Woman | 187 |
| With the Singer | 189 |
| With the Butcher | 190 |
| With the Materialist | 191 |
| With the Sorcerer | 193 |
| Tilopā's Apotheosis | 193 |
| As a Manifestation of Śaṃvara | 194 |
| As Śaṃvara Himself | 195 |
| No Longer Monk: Tilopā and Nāropā | 196 |
| Tilopā's Ultimate Apotheosis | 202 |
| Notes to the Third Chapter | 203 |
| IV — A TILOPAN BIBLIOGRAPHY | 207 |
| Indic Material | 207 |
| Tibetan Material | 210 |
| <i>bsTan 'gyur</i> | 210 |
| <i>bDe mchog snyan brgyud</i> | 212 |
| <i>rNam thar</i> and <i>rNam mgur</i> | 216 |
| <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> | 216 |
| Tilopā and the bKa' brgyud Curriculum | 217 |
| A Tentative Index of the Tilopan Corpus | 222 |
| Notes to the Fourth Chapter | 226 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 227 |
| Graeco-Roman Sources | 227 |
| Indic Sources | 228 |
| Chinese Sources | 228 |
| Tibetan Sources | 229 |
| Other Sources | 236 |
| INDEX | 253 |

Maps and Illustrations

Maps

| | |
|---|--------|
| Satellite image of the area of Ancient Bengal (October 29, 2002)..... | xxvii |
| Current administrative divisions in the same area..... | xxviii |
| Major floodplains | 2 |
| Approximate territorial division of Ancient Bengal..... | 3 |

Figures

Front cover: The name of Tilopā (*Tillopāda*) in the Nepali manuscript of the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā*, detail of fol. 16b4.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Mar pa. <i>rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus</i> , fol. 1b..... | 66 |
| rGyal thang pa. <i>rJe btsun chen po tilli pa'i rnam par thar pa</i> , fols 1b–2b | 121 |
| Manuscript image of Tilopā (late 15 th century)..... | 196 |
| Mural image of Tilopā (15th century)..... | 203 |

Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>AGAA</i> | Tilopā's * <i>Aṣṭaguhyārthāvacavāda</i> |
| <i>AMM</i> | Tilopā's <i>Acintyamahāmudrā</i> |
| <i>AŚ₁</i> | <i>Aṣṭaśmaśāna</i> (Ö. 2342, Tö. 1212) |
| <i>AŚ₂</i> | <i>Aṣṭaśmaśāna</i> (Ö. 2343, Tö. 1213) |
| <i>AŚĀ</i> | <i>Aṣṭaśmaśānākhyāna</i> (Ö. 2345, Tö. 1216) |
| B. | Bengali |
| <i>BA</i> | Roerich 1949 |
| BCE | Before the Common Era |
| BD | People's Republic of Bangladesh |
| <i>bD</i> | <i>bDe mchog snyan brgyud</i> |
| <i>BHS</i> | Edgerton 1953 |
| C | Co ne xylograph <i>bsTan 'gyur</i> |
| <i>c.</i> | (<i>circa</i>) approximately |
| CE | Common Era |
| cent./c. | century |
| cf. | (<i>confer</i>) compare |
| cod. | (<i>codex</i>) manuscript |
| D | sDe dge xylograph <i>bsTan 'gyur</i> |
| ed. | edition, editor |
| ff. | and the following pages/lines |
| fol./fols | folio/folios |
| G | dGa' ldan manuscript <i>bsTan 'gyur</i> (<i>bsTan 'gyur gser bris ma</i>) |
| <i>gD</i> | <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> |
| <i>GS</i> | Tilopā's <i>Gurusādhana</i> |
| H. | Hindi |
| <i>HS</i> | 'History Set' = <i>Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs</i> |
| <i>HVT</i> | <i>Hevajratāntra</i> (Snellgrove 1959) |
| IASWR | Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York |
| <i>ibid.</i> | (<i>ibidem</i>) in the same place |
| ID | Republic of Indonesia |
| IN-AP | Andhra Pradesh, India |
| IN-AS | Assam, India |
| IN-BR | Bihar, India |
| IN-GJ | Gujarat, India |
| IN-HP | Himachal Pradesh, India |
| IN-JH | Jharkhand, India |
| IN-KA | Karnataka, India |
| IN-MZ | Mizoram, India |

| | |
|------------------|--|
| IN-OR | Odisha, India |
| IN-PB | Punjab, India |
| IN-TG | Telangana, India |
| IN-TR | Tripura, India |
| IN-UP | Uttar Pradesh, India |
| IN-WB | West Bengal, India |
| IsIAO | Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Roma |
| <i>KBhA</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Karuṇābhāvanādhiṣṭāna</i> |
| <i>KT</i> | <i>Karṇatantravajrayoginī</i> , or <i>°vajrapada</i> (Ö. 4632, Tō. 2338) |
| Lat. | Latin |
| <i>LGR</i> | <i>Bla ma brgyud pa’i rim pa</i> (Passavanti 2008) |
| <i>l./ll.</i> | line/lines |
| <i>loc. cit.</i> | (<i>loco citato</i>) in the place cited |
| MIA | Middle Indo-Aryan |
| MM | Republic of the Union of Myanmar (Burma) |
| <i>MMU</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Mahāmudropadeśa</i> |
| Ms. | Manuscript |
| MV | Republic of Maldives |
| <i>MVy</i> | <i>Mahāvyutpatti</i> |
| MW | Monier-Williams 1899 |
| N | sNar thang xylograph <i>bsTan ’gyur</i> |
| n. | note |
| <i>NDhG</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Nijadharmatāgīti</i> |
| NGMPP | Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Kathmandu |
| no./nos | number/numbers |
| NP | Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal |
| <i>NSV</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Nimittasūcanāvyākaraṇa</i> |
| Ö. | Ötani Catalogue |
| om. | (<i>omisit</i>) omitted |
| <i>op.cit.</i> | (<i>opere citato</i>) in the work cited |
| p./pp. | page/pages |
| Pā. | Pāli |
| Pkt | Prākṛit |
| Q | Peking Qianlong xylograph <i>bsTan ’gyur</i> |
| <i>r</i> | (<i>recto</i>) front side of a folio |
| r. | reign/reigned |
| <i>ŠDhU</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Šaḍdharmopadeśa</i> |
| <i>SGMA</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Sekagranthamocanāvavāda</i> |
| <i>SIL</i> | Templeman 1983 |
| Skt | Sanskrit |
| <i>SUMKPC</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Śrī-Saṃvaropadeśamukhakarṇaparamparācintāmaṇi</i> |
| <i>SSS</i> | Tilopā’s <i>Sahajaśaṃvarasvādhiṣṭhāna</i> |

| | |
|------------------|---|
| <i>SUT</i> | <i>Samvarodayatantra</i> (Ö. 20, Tō. 373) |
| s.v. | (<i>sub voce</i>) under the word |
| T. | Taishō |
| TBRC | Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center, Cambridge, Ma. |
| <i>TCUP</i> | Tilopā's <i>Tattvacaturupadeśaprasannadīpa</i> |
| <i>TDK</i> | <i>Tillopādasya dohākoṣa</i> |
| <i>TDKP</i> | <i>Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā</i> |
| Tel. | Telugu |
| <i>THBI</i> | Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970 |
| TH | Kingdom of Thailand |
| Tib. | Tibetan |
| Tō. | Tōhoku Catalogue |
| transl. | translation, translator |
| <i>TT</i> | <i>Tibetan Tripitaka</i> |
| <i>TVG</i> | Tilopā's * <i>Tilatailavajragīti</i> |
| <i>UYSSŚK</i> | <i>Uḍḍiyānaśrīyogayoginīsvayambhūtasambhogaśmaśānakalpa</i> (Ö. 2615, Tō. 1744) |
| v | (<i>verso</i>) back side of a folio |
| v./vv. | verse/verses |
| <i>VDBhDCTSN</i> | Tilopā's * <i>Śrī-Vajradākinībhāvanādrṣṭicaryātrayasamketanirdeśa</i> |
| <i>VABNBHK</i> | Tilopā's <i>Viśāntarabāhyanivṛttibhāvanākrama</i> |
| <i>VDNDh</i> | Tilopā's <i>Vajradākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> |
| <i>VS</i> | <i>Vajravārāhīsādhana</i> (Ö. 2292, Tō. 1581) |
| <i>Zh</i> | <i>Zhang lo'i thim yig</i> |

Orthographic Conventions

Chinese has been romanized according to the standard Pinyin system, and Tibetan in the modified Wylie.

In general, as regards the Tibetan texts, unless significant, *sandhi* and orthography have been silently standardized in order to provide the reader with witnesses as much accessible as possible. For the same reason, punctuation and euphonic junctions have been silently standardized. In particular, abbreviations, compendious writing, numeral graphemes, logograms, *anusvāras* have been solved, and the phonetic alternations of the morphemes have been regularized according to the final and postfinal of the preceding syllable. Similar standardization has been silently applied with the orthographic and some very common grammatical alternations.

Preface

Le plagiat est nécessaire. Le progrès l'implique
(Isidore-Lucien Ducasse, Comte de Lautréamont,
1870, *Poésies*, 2: 275)

The *I* every human being claims to be, just because he does claim so, is nothing but a fiction, although sometimes extremely persuasive. Echoing the Buddhist discourse, Friedrich Nietzsche warns us that there is no *being* behind the doing, acting, becoming; *the doer* is merely a fiction added to the action—the act is everything (1887: 1.13). Now, if we consider the doer, this *subjectum*, as nothing but the collection of his acts, portraying a Bengali gentleman of a thousand years ago requires exhibiting him through what he would have done in the course of his life: in short, what falls under a double register, the deeds he would have done, and the words he would have said. This book takes into account that gentleman's deeds.

*

In order to provide the reader with a perspective wider than the merely antiquarian matter of this book, it is indispensable to postulate here the handful of concepts that have been my companions in years of research.

The access to the needed information was gained through its memory, recorded in the sources I have consulted: it was crucial to start with them. On the other hand, what kind of sources were they? As to the literary genre, they belong to what we usually call hagiology, and the fact that the deeds of Buddhist masters be labelled in Tibet as stories of their 'complete liberation' (Tib. *rnam par thar pa*, or *rnam thar* : Skt *vimokṣa*), had to induce me to the utmost prudence.

Ever since the epoch of classical Orientalism, we are alerted that these *rnam thars* 'cannot be generally regarded as works of absolute historical value' (Tucci 1933: 54): 'they must be considered neither histories nor

chronicles. The events they relate with a particular satisfaction are spiritual conquests, visions and ecstasies' (Tucci 1949: 150). In fact, the Tibetan hagiographies of our Bengali adept, or *siddha* (Tib. *grub thob*), and expert of yoga, or *yogin* (*rnal 'byor pa*), convey a sort of official picture: a man bluish of appearance, with blood-shot eyes, naked or wearing cotton undergarments; a gentleman who would have done strange things and said things even more bizarre. Besides, what conveys a deeper sense of distancing effect is that he would have done and said those things a thousand years ago, in a land imbued with an extraordinary history and civilization.

While studying this kind of literature, it became increasingly clear that the datum, the historiographical or geographical information, sometimes the *fabula* itself, i.e. the story behind the plot, had been entrusted to those sources in a way sometimes inconsistent, on occasion even dissonant. The problems involved by such material in a historiographical approach were becoming more and more evident.

First, I had to keep constantly in mind that the *rnam thars* were composed and transmitted within a specific tradition, in order to be used by Buddhist practitioners and monks in a pious context—even in a ritual sense—of veneration and identification with the master, the *guru* (Tib. *bla ma*). Second, though it is to be acknowledged that 'even the historian could find in these biographies precious elements otherwise impossible to get' (Tucci 1933: 54), I could not ignore that the *historian* there evoked is typically none other than the archivist of the facts recorded by the hegemonic power and episteme of each epoch. Along with other officials expressed by the same power, the historians care and administer the datum denoted as objective by the label *of-absolute-historical-value*. Third, pronouncing the word *objective* sounds like a magic spell conjuring up reality: objective as a pledge of truth, when the collapse of any absolute certainty is before our open eyes, and the appeal to objectivity and neutrality of the Encyclopaedists turned out to be a constructed myth (Flood 2006: 15).

*

Fama malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum... (*Verg. Aen.* 4.174–77): Vergil dazzles us with a poetical meditation on that social process categorized as fame (Lat. *fama*). Let us read it in John Dryden's exquisite poetical translation (1697: 162):

Fame, the great ill, from small beginnings grows:
Swift from the first; and ev'ry moment brings
New vigor to her flights, new pinions to her wings.
Soon grows the pigmy to gigantic size;
Her feet on earth, her forehead in the skies.

In 1608, a thirty-four-year-old Tibetan Buddhist monk, Tāranātha (1575–1634), wrote a significant remark in his ‘History of Indian Buddhism’ (*rGya gar chos 'byung*):

Here in Tibet, whatever account, no matter whether correct or not, is acceptable: if there is something widespread among all people, due to its great fame (*grags*), even though something else absolutely true is said, it does not come to the ear (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 81.4–5; *THBI* 124).

Undoubtedly Tāranātha had read neither Vergil nor Dryden’s translation and circumscribes his consideration to Tibet. However, what has been said by an Italian and a Tibetan about *fama* and *grags* respectively can work as a useful underlying thinking when we consider one of its aspects, tradition.

*

Be it a practice, a custom, or a legend—in our case, a hagiographic corpus—a tradition can be observed as a process of deferred interaction between humans, where memory and transmission have their special game. In addition, being a cultural phenomenon, I could look at tradition as a process of communication in which both continuity and change, *langue* and *parole*, have their legitimate place. The game of Chinese Whispers, or Telephone in US English, as a metaphor for cumulative error appeared to me a feasible model of how that communication is crossed from its very beginning by a progressive alteration of the primary information. The first addresser A quickly whispers a message (*x*) to the addressee B; the latter turns himself into the addresser of what he believes the same message and whispers it, further slightly deforming it, to the next addressee C, and so on according to the following model—

$$A \rightarrow x \rightarrow B \rightarrow x' \rightarrow C \rightarrow x'' \rightarrow D \dots$$

Many questions arose as to the role played by this kind of alteration in the building of a hagiographic tradition: in particular, what else comes into play in the process, and who is responsible of it, so to speak. Of course, in defining the problem, I aspired to a concept of tradition without suspecting what implications it would have conveyed. A response to the Chinese Whispers problem was attempted through different disciplinary approaches: in the first place, semiotics.

Proceeding one step at a time, let us consider the first segment of the communication chain. A and B are linked by a certain relationship but, if we represented this relationship in a vectorial way, we would have missed the fact that both addresser and addressee somehow negotiate the meaning of the message x and build it together (Flood 2006: 181). The model, then, was becoming more complex—

$$A \rightarrow x \leftrightarrow B$$

Two types of characters are at stake: one is the message (x), the other is the pair addresser and addressee (A, B). Two functions are active. The former is signification: the sign raises a connection between something present to something absent (*aliquid pro aliquo*). The latter is communication: the social relationship within a given system of signification between A and B. The addressee, being in the presence of something that works as a sign, starts a process of semiosis. In the process, however, a third element comes into play, that somehow brought me beyond the Dating Game of both addresser/addressee and the Saussurean *signifiant/signifié*.

In point of fact, we usually recognize a binary dynamics in all human action within a social context, be it either an equalitarian or an active-passive one. Nevertheless, triadic models are possible as well, and the Peircean semiosis—with its sign, object, and interpretant—is one of them. We owe to Charles Peirce the enunciation in the field of semiotics of the concept of *interpretant*, namely, that additional sign resulting from the relationship between the sign in its materiality (*representamen*), and what that sign decides to stay for (immediate object), starting from the object which actually is (dynamic object). In other words, the interpretant is ‘an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign’, created in the mind of the addressee by the representamen (Peirce 1931–58, 2: 228). This new sign, the interpretant, can become in turn the object of another new sign, and so on indefinitely. We find a clear description of this process of shifting from sign to sign in the first volume of Peirce’s *Collected Papers*

(1931–58, 1: 339):

The meaning of a representation can be nothing but a representation. In fact, it is nothing but the representation itself conceived as stripped of irrelevant clothing. But this clothing never can be completely stripped off; it is only changed for something more diaphanous. So there is an infinite regression here. Finally, the interpretant is nothing but another representation to which the torch of truth is handed along; and as representation, it has its interpretant again. Lo, another infinite series.

According to Umberto Eco (1975: 101–103), when a process of unlimited semiosis is operating, the interpretant can take various forms. It can be the equivalent significant in another semiotic system, or an emotional association that takes the value of a fixed connotation. It may be identified with the whole system of the denotations and connotations of a term, or it can even be a complex speech, a behavioral response, and many other things. Given that ‘every thought is a sign’ (Peirce 1931–58, 1: 538, 2: 253, 5: 314, 470), this unlimited semiosis is not only the making of thinking activity, but also what underlies a possible model of deferred interaction, as in the case of tradition—

$$A \rightarrow x \leftrightarrow B \rightarrow x' \leftrightarrow C \rightarrow x'' \leftrightarrow D \dots$$

What is the social relevance of this unlimited semiotic process? Is there a remote possibility of one and only one truth? Is this truth at the supposed beginning of the process? Can language express it somehow? What kind of representation is that *to which the torch of truth is handed along*?

*

Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Basel, Nietzsche in the Winter Semester of 1872–73 taught a lecture course on the history of Greek eloquence. The course was attended by two students only, thus the lectures on classical rhetoric planned for the Summer Semester of 1874 were never offered.

To an irony of fate, it is in the notes prepared by our zealous professor for the to-be-suppressed course, that we read the following crucial words (Nietzsche 1873–74: 106–107; Blair 1983):

There is obviously no unrhetorical ‘naturalness’ of language to which one could appeal; the language itself is the result of audible rhetorical arts. The power to discover and to make operative that which works and impresses, with respect to each thing, a power which Aristotle calls rhetoric, is, at the same time, the essence of language; the latter is based just as little as rhetoric is upon that which is true, upon the essence of things. Language does not desire to instruct, but to convey to others a subjective impulse and its acceptance.

If we dare assess the essence of language as rhetorical, if this is the case, it would be wise to reconsider one of the Aristotelian foundation stones of the White Man’s culture, namely the maxim that man is by nature a political animal (*ánthrōpos phýsei politikón zōion*, *Aristot. Pol.* 1253a 2–3). Possibly, in the first book of his *Politics*, Aristotle was not celebrating *the* human being. There is in fact more than one reason to suppose that he was looking at a specific human, namely, at that who lived within a small community, the *pólis*, whose members administered public space by identifying and pursuing the common good. In some way, he was celebrating what was vanishing before his eyes in the sun of new, more complex—and even more perverse—conceptions of power, to start with Alexander’s dream. That fading, I dare say, matches with the last two millennia of the White Man’s history, and with the history of the interpretation of ‘political’, namely the history of its unlimited semiosis. Now, at a possible end of this history of ours, and of our long oblivion of Being—of our *Seinsvergessenheit* in Heideggerian words—it would be prudent admitting that, rather than political, man is to be seen as a rhetorical animal.

Be rhetorical the waves on the sea of communication, the deep current causing them from the bottom of that sea seems to be identification: affirmed, just because there is division. As already observed, it is identification to compensate for division (Burke 1969: 22). We know in fact that all social processes have contradictory tendencies: as humans, we are pushed by the need to maintain our psychological balance, and in consequence we seek unity in contradiction. With contradiction comes the need for mediation: ‘If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity’ (Aune 2003: 8).

Be rhetorical the human communication, in every interaction at least one non-explicit intention is placed. Such intention(s), in turn, determine(s) a constellation of meanings. Particularly relevant to identify what is in

question with tradition is that both functions are to be regarded as rhetorical, namely that of the addresser and that of the addressee. Nay, the latter seems to have a major role in the play, as for example in the above described model of the Chinese Whispers communication chain. Imagine for example that the A element of the chain is a surgeon, and the B element knows it: the word whispered by A is ‘sunset’, but B misunderstands it and retransmits ‘lancet’ because he sees A as a surgeon. In a context of text interpretation, a similar albeit not identical phenomenon has been labelled as *intentio lectoris*, namely what the reader has the text to say according to his own systems of signification, or to his own desires, instincts, and belief (Eco 1992: 64).

*

Water, earth, water with earth. Among those who supposed that only material principles underlie all things, we read in the first book of Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, that Thales of Miletus pointed at water as both an element (*stoichéion*) and principle (*arché*) of existing things. In Aristotle’s words, it is matter of an element and principle of which all things consist, from which they first come, and into which they are ultimately resolved: an element and principle which persists although modified by its affections (*Aristot. Met.* 983b 6–21). Thales was born in the last quarter of the seventh century BCE on the western coast of Anatolia, near the mouth of the Meander River. We are reported on his theories in the context of Aristotle’s lectures, given in the fourth century BCE, about first philosophy: it is not too arduous to imagine him in front of the Aegean Sea, walking to and fro while teaching under the colonnades of his Lyceum in Athens.

Fourteen centuries later, a virtual descendant of the gymnosophists (*gymnosphistai*), those naked philosophers Alexander of Macedon would have met with (*Plut. Alex.* 64.1–5), our Bengali siddha and yogin exemplifies the spiritual path to his disciple pointing out the flow of the Gaṅgā River: at the start, he says, it is similar to a stream passing through a gorge; at the halfway point, it slowly descends; at the end, when its waters join the sea, it is like the reunion of a son with his mother (*MMU*).

History is even more liquid than water itself, and the roots of later events sink deeply into unbearable remoteness. Aristotle asserts that the *barbarian-Asiatic* type of royalty resembles that of tyrannies, albeit legal and hereditary,

...because the barbarians are more servile (*doulikóteroi*) in their nature than the Greeks, and the Asiatics than the Europeans, they endure despotic rule without any resentment' (*Aristot. Pol.* 3.1285a 20).

In actual fact, such an authoritative father of the European ethnocentrism was the tutor of Alexander III of Macedon, and the latter is indirectly responsible of the first pieces of information ever achieved by Europeans about the countries to the east of the Indus.

This information is based on the eyewitness account by the Greek Hellenistic informant Megasthenes. After the death of Alexander (323 BCE), Seleucus I Nicator, formerly an Alexander's officer, had been nominated the satrap of Babylon. Megasthenes was sent to Pāṭaliputra (*Palibothra*) as Seleucus' emissary and met with Candragupta Maurya (*Sandrokottos*) around 304/303 BCE. Documenting a diplomatic meeting with the founder of the Mauryan empire to negotiate an exchange of provinces for elephants, Megasthenes' *Indica*—fragments of which have arrived to us paraphrased and inserted in the works of later authors (1st cent. BCE–2nd cent. CE)—provides us with the oldest description of the Gangetic plain, and of the nation of the Gangaridai who lived there.

*

When and where, these two questions about time and space do not merely entail purportedly neutral containers of a fact; they solicit more and point out at the contextual reason of the fact itself. We may possibly discern two possible answers, namely two types of discourse on what is manifest around us. The former answer could be categorized as an historical description of the *world*. Being human the approach and language, the described world cannot be but a human one, the only one we can move in. As such, the world appears as a multifaceted and multitemporal system of human relations, be they social, economic, political, or cultural. The latter kind of answer is traditionally conceived as a geographical description of the *earth*, namely, of the oecumene (*oikouménē*) or world that humans know and inhabit, as Strabo meant at the beginning of the current era.

As a matter of fact, a threefold abstraction is implied in what we mean with geography: the world is implicitly reduced to the earth, the earth to its surface, and the latter to a two-dimensional table (Farinelli 2003: 6). Therefore, the kind of space we imagine in a modern map is more geometrical than human, and like the Euclidean space, it is regarded as

continuous, homogeneous, and isotropic, i.e. uniform in all orientations (*op.cit.* 13).

This conception of a measurable abstract space undoubtedly can date back to the map of the Florentine Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli and the map-based travels of the Genoese Cristoforo Colombo, but not long before the fifteenth century. Thus, for example, the Venetian Marco Polo still reported spatial distances in terms of time needed to cover them, i.e. days on foot or horseback, nights, and so forth. In the same way as deserts and forests had not yet the length we are used to at present, the directions were given according to the winds, and the space was still evaluated and communicated to others on account of journey-based personal experience. As it was the case under other skies, and even since a long time before the beginning of the fourteenth century, Marco Polo's earth was not yet reducible to a table, because it was rather a diachronic system of *places* than the synchronic two-dimensional space containing them: thus each place was perceived as a portion of surface of the earth that was not equivalent to any other. If this was the case of the soldier, the merchant, the migrant, or the pilgrim, in a complementary way, it was generally that very place—to be exact, its local memory—to give a sense of identity to the inhabitants.

Being a fluid archive of human discourses on what has been and still is in some way, history is the word which is said in relation to *what* and *when*; likewise, geography is an archive of discourses on *what* and *where*. It is conspicuous that whichever historical discourse cannot be but a historical and geographical one all together. Consequently, depicting a Bengali gentleman of a thousand years ago implies to see the ground he trod on, recognise the places and the landscape which would suit to his deeds: inspire them in a sense. Below any iconographic embellishment built over by later hagiographers, there must be a landscape where—and when—his deeds regain their specific cultural sense and step out of the cabinet of curiosities of collectors of antiquarian and exotic fetishes.

It is well to keep in mind, however, that a landscape is not what we see, but what we choose to see: no objectivity is there in human memory. The 'gloomy wood' (*selva oscura*) where Dante Alighieri found himself when half way through the journey of his life is not the wood of a woodsman of his time.

*

It is my hope that the material collected and discussed in this book be of some interest to the indologist, the tibetologist, the buddhologist, the historian of religions, as well as to the student of Bauddha Dharma: different perspectives, different focuses. Consequently, readers are not supposed to read from beginning to end: it is more fruitful if they feel free to pick and choose among the chapters what is their closer interest, and use the rest of the book as a reference one. With a view to a better orientation, readers are provided with the following map of the topics.

Summing up, this book comprises four chapters. In CHAPTER I a geographical and historical background is painted, a landscape of waters, kings, polities, and cities, based on epigraphical, numismatic, and archaeological material; on written travelogues of Chinese, Arab, and Italian travellers; on Tibetan accounts and compilations. In CHAPTER II the relevant Indo-Tibetan hagiographic sources are described, discussed, and outlined in the context of their tradition. With the intention of characterising such a tradition and its Tibetan sprouts, for the most part among the bKa' brgyud lineages, the following main entries are introduced: Tantric Buddhism, Yoginītantras, Cakraśaṃvara, Manobhaṅga, Cittaviśrāma, Uḍḍiyāna, ḍākinī, siddha, guru, and śmaśāna. In CHAPTER III an attempt is made at a biographical portrait of our gentleman of a thousand years ago, assessing the who, the when, and the where. In CHAPTER IV a preliminary description of bibliographic details and context of the Indic and the Tibetan sources, which have transmitted the word of our Bengali gentleman, is given. As regards the Indic source, being the case of a *codex unicus*, it is described by means of palaeographical and codicological examination. As for the Tibetan documents, they can be found in different collections, namely canonical (*bsTan 'gyur*), sectarian (*bDe mchog snyan brgyud*), and non-sectarian (*gDams ngag mdzod*). Special attention is paid to the collection of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* with the relevant hagiographic material (*gser 'phreng*), its genesis, and arrangement.

Acknowledgments

The idea for this book matured in the years on the occasion of several separate conversations with two youngest friends of mine, Dr Diego Gullotta and Dr Marco Passavanti: whereas the former had words when I had no ears, the latter had ears when I had no words any longer. The most heartfelt thanks are due to them.

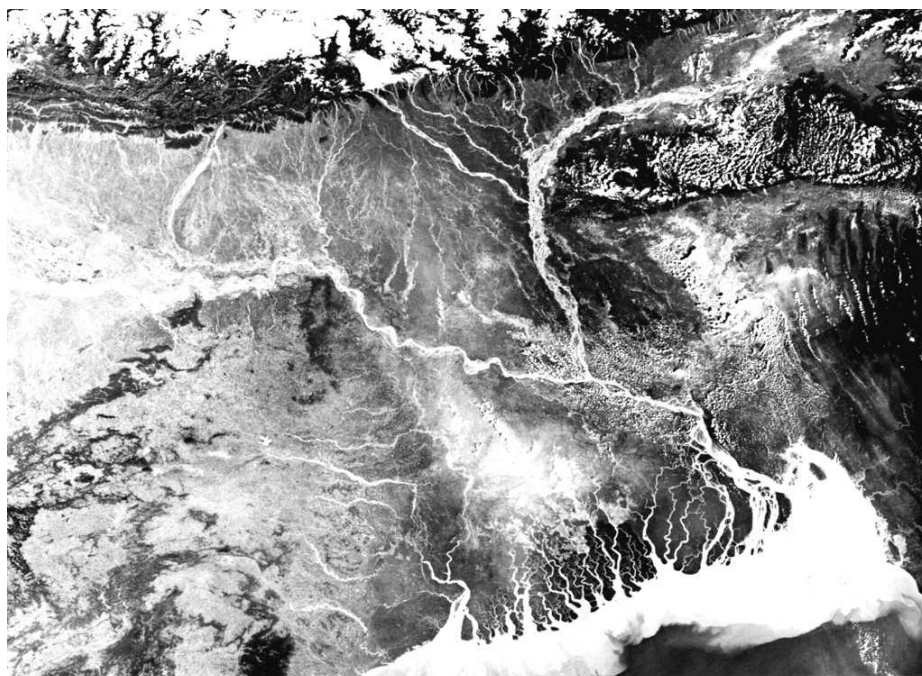
A grateful thought cannot but fly to all those who contributed to this research since the nineties of the last century, one way or the other: first and foremost to the eighth Gru gu Chos rgyal Rin po che Yon tan rGya mtsho of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud tradition, who inspired me to devote my intellectual energies to a Bengali gentleman of a thousand years ago; to the sGa rje Khams sprul Rin po che 'Jam dbyangs Don grub who encouraged me to put a great deal of effort into written Tibetan; to Lobsang Shastri, at that time Head Librarian of the Tibetan Section of the LTWA, currently Senior Librarian at the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre (TBRC), who gave me constant assistance in retrieving the needed Tibetan material; to Acharya Sangye Tandar Naga, presently Head of the Cultural Research and Tibetan Publication Department of the LTWA, who helped me so much to become familiar with the abbreviations, the graphemes, and the logograms of the Tibetan *dbu med* script; to Ani Dawa of the Tilokpur Ani Gompa, Kangra District, HP, who made me practise and love colloquial Tibetan; to my friends Kristin Blancke and Franco Pizzi who shared with me their excellent food and knowledge of the bKa' brgyud tradition while living at Dharamsala; to Professor Raffaele Torella, at present Faculty Member of the Sapienza University of Roma, who read with me Bagchi's edition of the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā* at his home and, in revising my first translation of that text, gave indeed to me the only Sanskrit lessons I ever had in my life; to Mr. Nam Raj Gurung, General Manager of the Kathmandu office of the Nepal Research Centre (NRC), who helped me to find the original manuscript of the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā*; to Dr Albrecht Hanisch, Local Representative of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) and Acting Director of the NRC in Kathmandu, who provided me with any kind of assistance while studying that manuscript; to Dr Rajan Khatiwoda, then a Research Assistant and Cataloguer at the NGMCP in Kathmandu, who

helped me to read the Nepali *bhujimol* script; to Dr Cristiana Milli, for her stoic patience in reading the draft of the book; to Dr Kostas Tzerakis of Chania, Crete, for his computer help while finalising the index.

My appreciation is also extended to my friends of Boudhanath, Kathmandu: first of all to Ram Ballav Das Tatma for his experience of life, and love to his son Benjamin; to Kabita Nepali for her food and wise smile; to Wangyal Lama, General Secretary of the Norbuling Children's Home, for his social commitment to a better Nepal; to Chirayeu and Swikriti Lohani of Pharping for their noble kindness.

In conclusion, a more ecumenical debt of gratitude is owed to the members of the scholars' community for what they have taught me with their knowledge and personal example: too many to be mentioned, they have shown me what Tibetology is, and what is not.

Fabrizio Torricelli
Boudhanath, Kathmandu



MAP 1 Satellite image of the area of Ancient Bengal (October 29, 2002).
Jacques Descloitres, MODIS Rapid Response Team, NASA/GSFC



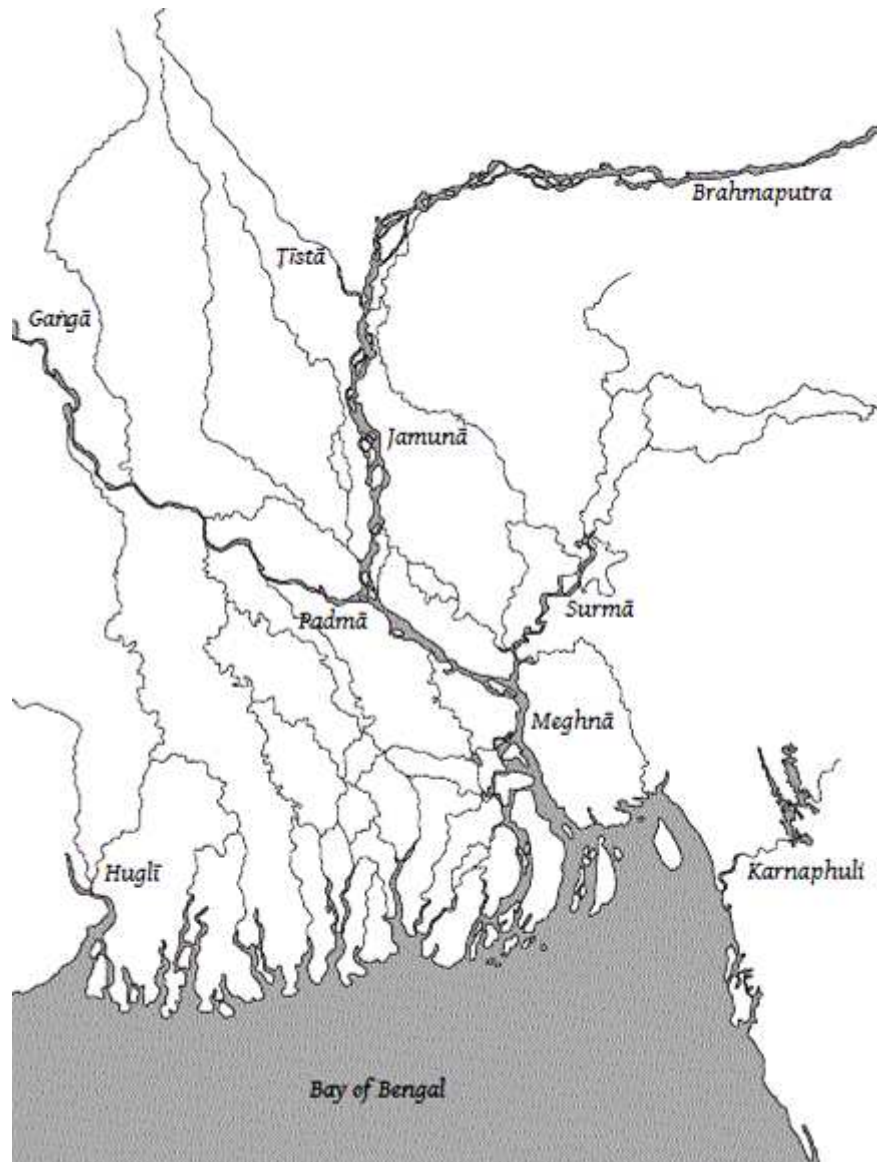
MAP 2 Current administrative divisions in the same area

I—WATERS, KINGS, POLITIES, AND CITIES

riverrun, past Eve and Adam's, from swerve of
shore to bend of bay,... (James Joyce 1939,
Finnegans Wake: 3)

L abelled by Tibetans as East of India (*rGya gar shar phyogs*), Ancient Bengal, or Bengal as we will refer to here for convenience, roughly corresponds to the northeastern region of the Indian subcontinent (MAP 1). In our time it is mainly divided between the Indian state of West Bengal and the People's Republic of Bangladesh, while some areas are part of the neighboring Indian states of Bihar, Jharkhand, Assam, Tripura, and Odisha (Orissa). Since most of the pages of this chapter deal with places of contemporary Bangladesh, it could be useful to become familiar with its seven divisions (*bibhag*), each named after their respective divisional headquarters: Dhaka, Sylhet, Chittagong, Barisal, Khulna, Rajshahi, and Rangpur (MAP 2), each division being further subdivided into districts (*zila*) and subdistricts (*upazila* or *thana*).

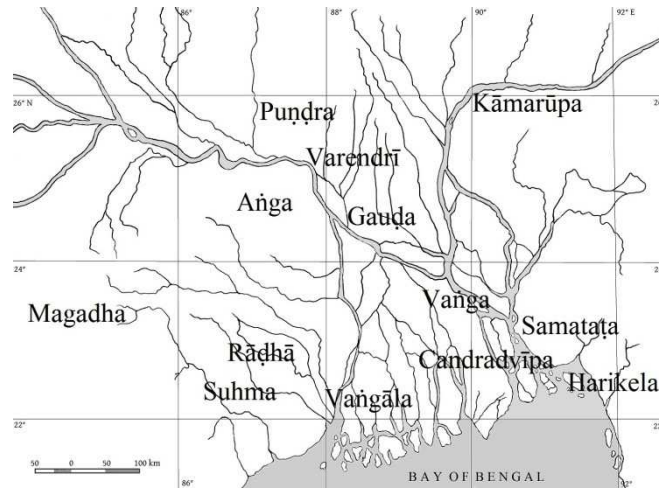
When we observe a satellite image of this region, we can see that the river system, counting on the order of seven hundred streams generally flowing southwards, forms its prominent physical feature. This profusion of water flowing towards the Bay of Bengal can be regarded as an impressive network of four major floodplains, namely, the Gaṅgā-Padmā, the Brahmaputra-Jamunā, the Padmā-Meghnā, the Surmā-Meghnā, as well as the detached basin of the Karnaphuli River (MAP 3). During the last ten centuries, since our gentleman's time until our time, great changes seem to have taken place in the hydrography of that land, constantly compelling the people to abandon their earlier settlements and rebuild new ones. Water has moulded earth and swayed human history, transforming densely populated sites into unhealthy desert areas and the other way round.¹



MAP 3 Major floodplains

In spite of the earth-moulding process of the waters of this riverine country, and the human superimposition of impermanent political boundaries, a rough geographical division between the northwestern and the southeastern portions of Bengal seems to persist throughout the ages (R.C. Majumdar

1971: 44–45). Be Gauḍa the most general geographical designation for the former, and Vaṅga for the latter. More in detail as well as alternatively, Puṇḍra, Varendra or Varendrī were also used for northern Bengal; Rāḍhā or Suhma for western Bengal; Samatata and Harikela for eastern Bengal (MAP 4).



MAP 4 Approximate territorial division of Ancient Bengal

Following the diachronic patterns of dynastic historians within this synchronic cartographical division, it is feasible to mark on the map some sites, pinpointed by archaeologists as political, administrative, economic, or religious ones, that could have been familiar to our Bengali gentleman of a thousand years ago. Graeco-Roman accounts, coins, records of land grants or kings' lists, travelogues of medieval Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, of Arab and Italian merchants, and historical or hagiographic compilations by Tibetan clerics are the tiles of the mosaic.

Gaṅgā and Pāṭaliputra

Greek and Latin sources describe the Gangaridai of Alexander's time (4th cent. BCE) as provided with a highly developed monarchical polity in which two nations, the Prasioi (Skt *Prācyāḥ*) with capital at Pāṭaliputra (Pāṭaliputta, present Patna) and the Gangaridai were included. Diodorus

Siculus still reports in the first century BCE that the army they organized against Alexander counted twenty thousand charioteers, twenty myriads of infantry, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants equipped for war: the Gandaridai were in fact so powerful from the military viewpoint that a campaign against them would have been hard to accomplish (*Diod. Bibl.* 17.93.2–4). According to Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia* of the second century CE, their land occupied the delta region of the Gaṅgā River, with their homonymous royal capital Gaṅgā (*Gāngē Basíleon*, *Ptol. Geog.* 7.1.81.5; Renou 1925: 35).²

Gone the greatness of the Gangaridai, Bengal seems to fade away as a nation in the course of the Indo-Aryan gradual expansion eastwards. This process had already found its best cultural habitat in one of the great nations (*mahājanapada*) on the Indian political maps of the sixth–third centuries BCE, namely the kingdom of Magadha in the south of current Bihar, with its capital initially at Rājagṛha (*Rājagaha*, present Rajgir), and then in Pāṭaliputra, the ancient town of the Prasioi. Subsequently, when Aryanized Magadha came under the Buddhist Maurya dynasty (c. 322–187 BCE) of Pāṭaliputra, also the eastern regions assimilated many elements of Aryan culture. However, because of the graduality of this eastward advance, and the ensuing difference of speed and intensity of this assimilation, throughout the history of the following centuries, whatever kind of pressure from Pāṭaliputra was felt less in the east of Bengal than in the west.³

It should be considered that the crisis of tribal societies in India dates back to a handful of centuries before the Mauryas. Likewise, the development of an agricultural economy based on private property instead of rotation in land use was rather recent: although the system of barter was still prevailing, a sort of proto-market had come to be from the occasional exchange of surplus products. It is now generally agreed that the earliest punch-marked coins were minted in India between the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BCE: it was the time of, or probably not long before Siddhārtha Gautama (Bechert 1991/92/97).⁴

If we cast an eye over that period, we cannot help but notice a concurrence which deserves we stop and think about: the flowering in the vast Indo-Gangetic Plain of new towns and cities on one side, and the emergence of 'heresies' like Buddhism and Jainism on the other, as Max Weber (1921: 204) had already remarked. Most of those cities were capitals of kingdoms based on urban monarchy and gentry, and most of the people inhabiting them were imbued with the metropolitan and cosmopolitan

values of resourceful merchants, surrounded by new luxuries, and absorbed in practical concerns.

In point of fact, the horizon of the earliest Buddhist discourse was that of an expanding economy combined with the formation of dynamic state structures, and Buddhism seems to have been very sensitive to the needs and expectations of that urbanized society. In short, since the sixth to the fourth century BCE, merchants and craftsmen guilds had acquired so much wealth, autonomy, and political prestige that the agricultural and pastoral horizon of the Brahmanical tradition appeared too narrow. Albeit in another context, Weber (1921: 33–39) had observed how the Brahmanical order and the caste system formed an ‘obstacle’ to the full development of an urban society where the prince’s interest grew increasingly interdependent with that of the merchant. Such being the case, new sets of certainties were needed; new forms of ethical religiosity, probably in the sense of Greek *eusébeia* and Latin *pietas* (Hacker 1965), were more attractive than the communal religion of the brahmins, with its ritual, etiquette, and hygiene (Gombrich 1988: 19, 26–29): in one word, new forms of *dhamma* (Skt *dharma*) like the Bauddha and Jaina ones.

In an urban society where the status was based more on wealth rather than on birth, merchants could hardly feel comfortable with a discourse like the Brahmanical one, which did not recognise nor approve their way of life (Sarao 1990: 175 ff.). Whereas the Brahmanical tradition despised trade, Buddhism developed a sort of Weberian elective affinity with the city merchants, and an increasing number of merchants became Bauddha followers (Carrithers 1983: 84). After all, ‘it was natural for the Buddhists to support the mercantile groups as these (1) provided them with material resources, and (2) were not obliged to regard them as competitors, as the brahmins clearly did’ (Bailey and Mabbet 2003: 25).

Likewise, it is not a coincidence that Aśoka (c. 273–236 BCE), the Maurya founder of the first and largest pan-Indian empire—from contemporary Afghanistan to Assam, from the Himālayas to Andhra Pradesh—converted to the new dharma and wanted his subjects be informed of it through edicts and inscriptions on rocks and pillars to the four corners of the Empire. Anyway, the affinity between the Buddhist Maurya dynasty and merchants was not merely ideological: not only the existing roads were made safer, but also considerable capital was expended to construct new ones. Such infrastructural development, together with greater security in the movement of people and goods, greater uniformity in the measurement systems, and a more general use of money, fostered trade,

and a higher welfare as a consequence.

We know very little about the political history of Bengal since the end of the Mauryas in the second century BCE until the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century CE. On the other hand, it is possible to have some idea of the widespread trade between Bengal and China, as well as other markets from both Mediterranean and Indian sources. In the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, by an anonymous Greek-speaking Egyptian merchant of the first century CE, the ancient capital of the Gangaridai, is pointed at as a trade port with the same name as the river, Gaṅgā (Schoff 1912: 217). We may infer that the town was still prosperous during the time of the Śuṅgas (185–73 BCE) and the Kuṣāṇas (1st–3rd cent. CE), for the reason that goods such as the aromatic leaves of malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard, the most costly ingredients of the ointments (*oleum malabathri*) and perfumes (*nardinum*) of the Roman Empire, were carried down from the Himālayas and shipped from there together with pearls and Gangetic muslin.

In the *Milindapañha* (1st cent. BCE–2nd cent. CE), Vaṅga opens a list of countries with important seaports that a wealthy shipowner could reach for his own profit: Vaṅga, Takkola in south Thailand, China, Sovīra in the lower Indus Valley, Surat in Gujarat, Alexandria, the ports of the Colas (*kolapaṭṭa*) on the Coromandel Coast, and Suvaṇṇabhūmi in south Myanmar (*Milindapañha* 6.21; Rhys Davids 1894, 2: 359). A key port on the coast of Vaṅga in that period was in all probability Tāmraliptī, the *Tamalītēs* listed by Ptolemy as one of the towns on the banks of the Gaṅgā River (*Ptol. Geog.* 7.1.73; Renou 1925: 32–33).⁵ From a more cultural viewpoint, the earliest epigraphical occurrence of Vaṅga (*Vaṃga*) we have to date can be found in an inscription from Nagarjunakonda (2nd–3rd cent. CE), where the country appears to be an important centre of conversion to Buddhism (Vogel 1929–30: 22).

The incorporation of Bengal in the Gupta Empire seems to begin by the time of Samudragupta (*c.* 335 – *c.* 375), as it is indirectly told in his panegyric (*praśasti*) engraved on the Aśokan pillar in the Allahabad fort (Fleet 1888: 203–19).⁶ With the Gupta dynasty ruling from Pāṭaliputra, Bengal was once again an imperial province as it had been under the Mauryas, but its political and cultural position was decidedly less marginal. We can surmise from fifth-century inscriptions that a large part of Bengal was ruled by feudal chiefs (*mahāsāmanta*, or *mahārāja*), whereas northern Bengal was under direct Gupta administration, and divided into units and subunits.⁷

Let us take the case of the territorial division (*bhukti*) of

Puṇḍravardhana, which was controlled by governors (*uparika*, then *uparikamahārāja*) installed by the Gupta king.⁸ Within the *bhukti*, the districts (*viṣaya*) were administered by district magistrates (*āyuktaka*, or *viṣayapati*, also titled *kumārāmātya*) appointed by the governor. Every officer had his administrative centre and staff in the main town of the *viṣaya* (*viṣayādhikaraṇa*) and was assisted by a board of four members (*adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa*): (1) the mayor (*nagaraśreṣṭhin*) who was the chairman of the merchant guild in the town, (2) the representative of the mercantile class (*prathamāsārthavāha*), (3) the representative of the artisan class (*prathamakulika*), and (4) the representative of the scribal class (*prathamakāyastha*). In addition, a *viṣaya* was subdivided into provinces (*maṇḍala*), although sometimes it was the *maṇḍala* to be parted into *viṣayas*. Further subdivisions of the *viṣaya* or *maṇḍala* were the markets (*vīthī*), and then the villages (*grāma*).

Evidence of the economic prosperity of Bengal under the Guptas is given not only by the large number of Gupta coins and imitations of them found in the area, but also by the travelogues of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, to begin with a monk of the Eastern Jin period, Faxian.⁹ In his *Fo guo ji* mention is made of the seaport of Tāmraliptī (*Daomolidi* 到摩梨帝) where the Buddhist doctrine (*fofa* 佛法) was flourishing with its twenty-four monasteries or *saṅghārāmas* (*sengqielan* 僧伽藍), and stayed there two years writing and painting (T.2085.864c7–9; Legge 1886: 100).

Albeit worshippers of Viṣṇu (*vaiṣṇava*), the Guptas adopted a policy of religious tolerance and played the role of patrons of both Jainism and Buddhism. In particular, some of them are credited to have established the great monastery (*mahāvihāra*) of Nālandā. The site is about eleven km northwest of Rājagṛha, on the way Śākyamuni himself would have passed by more than once. Since that time, Buddhist devotees have left countless artistical signs of their religious fervour, and raised shelters for pilgrims and monks. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the fifth century the monastery did not exist yet, for the reason that Faxian, who left India in 412, mentions in the *Fo guo ji* (T.2085.862c8–9; Legge 1886: 81) nothing but the ‘village’ Nāla (*Naluo juluo* 那羅聚落).¹⁰ A different picture can be found in the report of another Chinese pilgrim, a monk of the Tang period who travelled India between 629 and 644, Xuanzang.¹¹ In the ninth book of the *Da tang xi yu ji* (T.2087.923b13–16; Beal 1884, 2: 167–70) Xuanzang describes Nālandā (*Nalantuo* 那爛陀): there he had found a monastic community, or *saṃgha* (*sengtū* 僧徒), which amounted to several thousand

members. This piece of information is corroborated by a later pilgrim-monk of the Tang period, Yijing:¹² in the last quarter of the seventh century the monks of Nālandā counted up to more than three thousand in the *Nan hai ji gui nei fa zhuan* (T.2125.214a4, 227a26; Takakusu 1896: 65, 154), and three thousand five hundred in the *Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan* (T.2066.6b20; Lahiri 1986: 51).¹³

Krīpura, Koṭālipādā, and Karṇasuvarṇa

The trans-Meghnā region comprising the present-day districts of Comilla and Noakhali (Noākhālī) seems to have been *de facto* independent of the Gupta suzerainty till the end of the fifth century. Few years later, as we know from a copperplate inscription found at Gunaighar, about thirty km to the northwest of the town of Comilla, a lord with the name ending in *-gupta* held sway in that region (Bhattacharyya 1930). The inscription is a land grant issued in 507 by a ruler devout of Śiva (*śaiva*), Vainyagupta, in favour of a Buddhist congregation of the Mahāyāna school of the Vaivartikas: as such, it would be ‘the earliest epigraphic record of a Brahmanic king making a gift of land to a Buddhist monastery’ (Bhattacharyya 1930: 51). We know from this document that Vainyagupta’s capital, or ‘camp of victory’ (*jayaskandhāvāra*), was called Krīpura, literally ‘market-town’. Inasmuch as the copperplate has been found at about thirty km northwest of current Comilla, it is reasonable to locate that town, ‘full of great ships and elephants and horses’ (*mahānauhasty-aśva-jayaskandhāvārat*) in the same area.¹⁴

The imperial power of the Guptas, eroded by the Hūṇas’ military pressure since the end of the fifth century, fell into ruin few years later under the ephemeral expansionist policy of Yaśodharman. As a side effect of the political crush of northern India, an independent kingdom of Vaṅga under Śaiva local rulers arose in the second quarter of the mid-sixth century. Some inscriptions attest four kings: Dvādaśāditya, Dharmāditya, Gopacandra, and Samācāradeva.¹⁵ All assumed the title *mahārājādhirāja* which irrevocably testifies their sovereignty, whereas their recent predecessor Vainyagupta was still designated as *mahārāja*. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that they reigned over eastern and southern Bengal, as well as the southern part of western Bengal. We are in fact informed that

the western *bhukti* of Vardhamāna and the southern one of Navyāvakāśikā were two important divisions administered by governors installed by Gopacandra (Basak 1934: 192). On the other hand, eastern Bengal was probably directly ruled by the king himself, whose possible headquarters were in Koṭālipāḍā, the present Kotalipara (Pargiter 1910: 200). No other kings are mentioned in the line, but a significant amount of debased imitations of Gupta coins brought to light in the districts of Dhaka and Gopalganj would suggest their existence. It is possible that one of these unknown kings, if not the last one, had been defeated by the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman (c. 567 – c. 597) during the latter's raids into Bengal (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 43).

Beyond the northwestern border of Vaṅga, during the sixth century, one the effects of the fall of the Imperial Guptas was a three-generation struggle for the possession of Magadha and parts of northwestern Bengal between two families, the Maukharis and the Later Guptas, in earlier times feudatories to the Imperial Guptas: whereas the former controlled the central part of northern India from Kānyakubja (Kanauj, in current Uttar Pradesh), the latter reigned over Bihar and northwestern Bengal.

Another significant side effect was the ascent of the kingdom of Gauḍa connected with the expansionist adventure of Śaśāṅka (c. 590–c. 625). In the beginning he was a feudatory (*mahāsāmanta*), most probably of Mahāsenagupta, one of the Later Guptas. Then, he became the Śaiva powerful king of Gauḍa-Magadha with capital at Karṇasuvarṇa.¹⁶ Mainly articulated on his rivalry with the Buddhist king Harṣavardhana (c. 606–647) who ruled northern India from the rich town of Kanauj since 606, and with the latter's ally Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, Śaśāṅka's imperialistic exploits did not last much later his death.

Bengal After Śaśāṅka

In the tenth book of the *Da tang xi yu ji*, Xuanzang describes the parts of Bengal as separate independent countries, indirectly testifying the partition of Śaśāṅka's territories in north and west Bengal few years later, about 638. As a matter of fact, he identifies four kingdoms in Bengal proper, namely Puṇḍravardhana in the north, Karṇasuvarṇa in the west, Tāmraliptī in the southwest, and Samatāṭa in the southeast.

Xuanzang refers to the major portion of northern Bengal, the territory of the indigenous Pauṇḍras or Pauṇḍrakas, as Puṇḍravardhana (*Bennafadanna* 奔那伐彈那, T.2087.927a14; Beal 1884, 2: 194), from the name of its capital Puṇḍranagara: also named Puṇḍravardhanapura, it was situated in the metropolitan province (*maṇḍala*) of Varendra (P.C. Sen 1929).¹⁷

The original part of Śaśāṅka's kingdom of Gauḍa, roughly corresponding to the northern portion of current West Bengal, is referred to by Xuanzang under the name of its capital Karṇasuvarṇa (*Jieluonasufalana* 羯羅拏蘇伐剌那, T.2087.928a16; Beal 1884, 2: 201). Covering the lower Brahmaputra Valley, the ancient kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa mentioned in the great epic was known in medieval times as Kāmarūpa, with capital at Prāgjyotiṣapura, or Durjaya, the present Guwahati in Assam. Xuanzang had occasion to meet with its king Bhāskavarman, the ally of Harṣavardhana. Few years later, while Harṣavardhana conquered Śaśāṅka's dominions outside Bengal, Bhāskavarman occupied Puṇḍravardhana, conterminous with Kāmarūpa, as well as Gauḍa with its capital Karṇasuvarṇa (Bhattacharyya 1913–14; Barua Bahadur 1933: 56–98).

Tāmrāliptī (*Danmolidi* 耽摩栗底) was the prosperous seaport where Faxian had stayed for a couple of years at the beginning of the fifth century. The vitality of this crucial emporium of northeastern India is confirmed by Xuanzang: 'Wonderful articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance, and therefore the people of the country are in general very rich' (T.2087.928a13; Beal 1884, 2: 201). Only one century after Xuanzang, this chief emporium of Vaṅga for the trade with Sri Lanka and China was totally ruined 'on account of the silting up of the mouth of the Sarasvatī and the consequent shifting of its course' (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 3).¹⁸ The case of Tamalītēs, or Tāmalitti, Daomolidi (到摩梨帝 in Faxian), Danmolidi (耽摩栗底 in Xuanzang), Tāmrāliptī, Tamluk is eminently illustrative of the shifting processes in the earlier course of the lower Gaṅgā: once situated on the Sarasvatī or another branch of the Gaṅgā, at present Tamluk lies on the western bank of the Rupnarayan (Rūpnārāyaṇ), just above its junction with the Hugli (Hūgli) (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 6, 345).

Samataṭa

The focus of Samataṭa was in the currently proposed Comilla Division of Bangladesh. Its boundaries, roughly comprising the trans-Meghnā territories from the hills of the Sylhet border to the Bay of Bengal, would have been defined by the hills of Tripura and Arakan in the east, and the combined waters of the Padmā, Meghnā, and Brahmaputra in the west (Ghosh 2010–11). No better picture of Samataṭa (*Sanmodazha* 三摩咄吒) in the mid-seventh century can be there than the description left to us by Xuanzang himself (T.2087.927c20–23; Beal 1884, 2: 199):

This country is about 3000 *li* (1245 km) in circuit and borders on the great sea. The land lies low and rich. The capital is about 20 *li* (8.3 km) round. It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in crops, and the flowers and fruits grow everywhere. The climate is soft and the habits of the people agreeable. The men are hardy by nature, small of stature, and of black complexion; they are fond of learning, and exercise themselves diligently in the acquirement of it.¹⁹

In another place Xuanzang indirectly reports that Samataṭa was ruled at his time by a line of kings of brāhmaṇa caste (*poluomen* 婆羅門), to which also his master of *śāstras* (*lunshi* 論師) belonged, namely the Nālandā patriarch Śīlabhadra (*Shiluobatuoluo* 尸羅跋陀羅) under whom he studied over five years (T.2087.914c4–5; Beal 1884, 2: 110). The name of this mid-seventh-century dynasty is not documented so far, but speculating on the *-bhadra* ending of the monastic name Śīlabhadra, some scholars have even conjectured the existence of a ‘Bhadra dynasty’ in Samataṭa.

In the second half of the seventh century, while northwestern Bengal came under the Later Guptas, other royal families arose southeast after the death of Harṣavardhana (R.C. Majumdar 1923). The Khaḍgas, the Nāthas, the Rātas, and the Devas were the dynasties holding sway in Vaṅga and Samataṭa during that period, some at the same time and some in sequence as we will see.

We identify a line of Buddhist rulers whose names include the word *khaḍga* ‘sword’ as a possible family name: Khaḍgodyama, Jātakhadga, Devakhadga, Rājarāja(bhaṭṭa), Balabhata, Udīṇakhadga.²⁰ In view of the fact that a kṣatriya Khaḍka or Kharka clan is historically known in the Gorkhā District of Nepal (Lévi 1905: 254), it has been conjectured that the

Khaḍgas would have come to Bengal from Nepal after the death of Harṣavardhana: possibly, on the occasion of some Nepalese and Tibetan raids into the Indian midlands in those troublesome days (R.C. Majumdar 1924: 23–24; 1971: 79, 83–85). In the face of a lack of any positive evidence, whatever the Khaḍgas' origin may have been, the Deulbari (Deulbāḍī) inscription refers to Khaḍgodyama as the first king and founder (*nṛpādhirāja*) of the dynasty (Bhattachali 1923–24: 359). In the Ashrafpur copperplate B he is told to have conquered that land (*kṣiti*) in all directions (*abhita*, Laskar 1906: 90). As such, he would have paved the way for the Khaḍga power. The absence in the inscriptions of any title of paramount power would imply that the Khaḍgas were local kings. Besides, the mention in the copperplates of two places near Dhaka would suggest that they had held their first sway west of the Meghnā, in Vaṅga (Laskar 1906: 86).

The Ashrafpur copperplate grants were issued by Khaḍgodyama's grandson Devakhaḍga and the latter's son Rājarāja in Devakhaḍga's thirteenth regnal year from their 'camp of victory' (*jayaskandhāvāra*) at Karmānta (Bhattachali 1914). The place has been located by scholars in the area around the village of Baḍkāmtā (Barkamta), near the eastern bank of the river Meghnā, sixteen km west of Comilla (Dey 1899: 175; Bhattachali 1914; 1929: 6; Law 1954: 257. After visiting the area in 1913 'searching for objects of antiquarian interest', Nalinikanta Bhattachali (1914: 85) describes it thus:

Imposing ruins of ancient buildings, temples and forts, large tanks apparently several hundreds years old and innumerable stone images of Buddhist and Shaiva gods and goddesses testify most conspicuously to the antiquity and past greatness of the city of Karmmanta.

It has been reasonably speculated (Sircar 1971: 149) that Devakhaḍga extended his sway, and shifted the Khaḍga capital from 'somewhere in the Dacca region' to the east, that is to Karmānta in Samataṭa. Moreover, though there is no mention of titles of paramount power, we are informed in the Ashrafpur copperplates (A, l. 4; B, l. 15) that Devakhaḍga would have had feudal rulers (*viṣayapati*) under him.

The conjecture of a Khaḍgas' subsequent conquest of Samataṭa, or at least of a part of it, would be confirmed by Devakhaḍga's policy of religious sponsorship of four Buddhist vihāras, which might be read as a sort of search of legitimacy. Some further support in this sense can be

found in the Deulbari inscription of the chief consort of Devakhaḍga. Her devotional act of gilding an image of the consort of Śiva indirectly establishes a strong metaphoric connection between the Khaḍga royal couple and the divine couple Śiva-Śarvāṇī. Besides, Devakhaḍga is described (ll. 1–2) as a donor (*dānapati*), very influential (*pratāpī*), and as one whose sword had defeated his enemies (*vijitārikhaḍga*): in other words, he has deserved to conquer Samataṭa because he is pious and powerful.

For our purposes, it is worth mentioning a rare coin from Samataṭa, known as ‘Ratnatraya type’ for its legend. Having compared two samples of the same coin, John S. Deyell (2011: 102) described it thus:

Obverse: Within circle surrounded by dots, in the centre a male figure seated on lotus, legs in *padmāsana* (lotus position), wearing a three-pointed crown, holding in right hand a sword; single sinuous upward line emanating from the elbow of each arm. Left, fiery sword; right, fiery trident. Above, Devanagari inscription: *ratnatraya*.

Reverse: Within circle surrounded by dots, a cow seated to right, head turned left licking calf. Above, crescent moon enclosing rayed sun.

Already the legend points here at a Bauddha context: the Sanskrit word *ratnatraya*, or *triratna*, alludes to the Three Jewels of Buddhism, namely the Buddha, his doctrine, and his community. Besides, since the seated figure on the obverse ‘looks more like a Tantric Buddhist icon’ (103), Deyell identifies that icon with Mañjuśrī: whereas the flaming sword (*khaḍga*) in the right hand typifies the iconography of the bodhisattva, it might be also the dynastic symbol of the dynasty (Khaḍga) issuing the coin.

Another mid-seventh-century copperplate grant discovered in the Comilla District informs us of a line of Śaiva rulers in Samataṭa with names ending in *-nātha* (Basak 1919–20b; 1934: 194 ff.): *-nātha*, *Śrīnātha*, *Bhavanātha*, a nephew of the latter, and *Lokanātha*.²¹ As a faithful feudatory of his paramount sovereign, or ‘highest lord’ (*paramēśvara*, l. 13), *Lokanātha* would have successfully fought on the latter’s behalf against *Jayatūṅgavarṣa* and *Jīvadhāraṇa*, two refractory feudatories of the same *paramēśvara*, (ll. 14–16). Now, since we know from the Ashrafpur copperplates of the Khaḍgas that Devakhaḍga would have had feudal rulers under him, we may conjecture that these *Nāthas* were *sāmantas* under the overlordship of the Khaḍgas.

As to one of the two above mentioned disobedient feudatories of the Khaḍgas, we know from the seventh-century copperplate inscription of

Śrīdhāraṇarāta found at Kailan, southwest of Comilla (Sircar 1947), that the Vaiṣṇava issuer of the inscription was son of the Jīvadhāraṇarāta mentioned in the Comilla copperplate of the contemporary Lokanātha as Jīvadhāraṇa.²² Both kings are styled lords of Samataṭa (*Samataṭeśvara*), but exhibit no titles of paramount power.²³ Since the Rātas must have been, at least *de jure*, feudatories of the Khaḍgas, the absence of any reference to a *paramēśvara* in the inscription suggests their *de facto* independence. The Rātas would have come to power in the first half of the seventh century almost at the same time of the Khaḍgas: possibly, as already conjectured (Sircar 1947: 227), under the same political circumstances.

The Rātas ruled from Devaparvata, capital and seat of their administrative office (*adhikaraṇa*, l. 3). Depicted as a quadrangular town with entrances to the four points of the compass (*sarvatobhadra*), encircled by the river Kṣīrodā where elephants play, and its banks are littered with boats (ll. 2–3), the site was probably a hill-fort on the Mainamati Hills (Maināmatī), eight km from Comilla, but its exact location is not yet known. As pointed out by Dinesh Chandra Sircar (1947: 225–26) on the authority of Bhattasali, the Kṣīrodā River, later named Khīrā or Khīrnai, could be a still traceable dry river bed branching off from the Gomatī (Gumti) west of Comilla:

It flows by the eastern side of the Mainamati Hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Chaṇḍīmuḍā Peak where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hills. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Mainamati Hills, where the ancient fort of Devaparvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Dakatia (Ḍākātīā) River.

We know from Yijing's *Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan* (T.2066.8c1; Beal 1911: xl–xli; Lahiri 1986: 84–85) that a monk of that period, Sengzhe (僧哲), had reached eastern India (*dong Yindu* 東印度) by the southern sea-route, and when he disembarked in Samataṭa, a king named Rājarājabhaṭa (*Heluoshebatuo* 曷羅社跋毛) ruled there. Undoubtedly, this king can be identified with Rājarāja or Rājarājabhaṭṭa, the son of the Khaḍga king Devakhaḍga mentioned in the copperplate grants (R.C. Majumdar 1923: 379; Basak 1934: 207). According to Sengzhe's account, he greatly revered the Three Jewels (*sanbao* 三寶 : *triratna*). Now, since the Khaḍgas appear to have been all Buddhists, whereas the Nāthas were Śaivas and the Rātas Vaiṣṇavas, most probably the brāhmaṇa royal family of Samataṭa to which

Xuanzang's Śīlabhadra would have belonged were the Rātas.

In conclusion, according to Sircar (1971: 149), in the second half of the seventh century, when the Khaḍgas were ruling over the region roughly corresponding with the current Dhaka Division in Vaṅga, the Rātas were holding sway over Samatāṭa. Then, shortly before the visit of Sengzhe to Samatāṭa, Devakhaḍga would have extended his power from Vaṅga to Samatāṭa after forcing Śrīdhāraṇarāta out the country. As it emerges from the tentative chronological scheme of the Khaḍgas and the Rātas provided by Sircar (1947: 231), the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*) Baladhāraṇarāta mentioned in the copperplate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta would have never reigned—

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Khaḍgodyama | c. 615 – c. 635 | | |
| | | | |
| Jātakhaḍga | c. 635 – c. 655 | Jīvadhāraṇarāta | c. 635 – c. 660 |
| | | | |
| Devakhaḍga | c. 655 – c. 675 | Śrīdhāraṇarāta | c. 660 – c. 670 |
| | | | |
| Rājārāja (bhaṭa) | c. 675 – c. 700 | | |

Evidence of a late-eighth-century Deva dynasty of kings ruling from the ancient capital Devaparvata since the end of the Rātas is given by five copperplates and one stone inscription, all found on the Mainamati Hills. These inscriptions bring to light a genealogy of four Buddhist rulers with names ending in *-deva*: Śāntideva, Vīradeva, Ānandadeva, and Bhavadeva.²⁴ The dynasty would have ruled between about 685 and 765 (Morrison 1970: 24–25). The first record was issued from a new capital, Vasantapura, in Ānandadeva's thirty-ninth year of rule. Possibly, the court shifted from Devaparvata under threat of overrun by Yaśovarman of Kanauj during the first two decades of the eighth century. However, Ānandadeva's son Bhavadeva issued two years after accession his own grant in the same copperplate from the old capital Devaparvata, evidently regained shortly afterwards. These records give also evidence of a connection with the sixth-century kingdom of Samatāṭa, as the great-grandfather of the donee of these grants would have been a contemporary of Samācāradeva, a descendant of Gopacandra.

Tāranātha, in the thirty-ninth chapter of his *rGya gar chos 'byung* (242.5–243.1; *THBI* 330), informs us of his geographical notion about the

area he dubs eastern India (*rGya gar shar phyogs*): it would consist of three parts, Vaṅgāla (*Bhaṃ ga la*), Oṛiśā (*O ḍi bi sha*), and Koki (*Ko ki*).

The name Vaṅgāla had come into use at least since the beginning of the ninth century, as we read in the Nesarika grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, dated 805 (Sircar 1961), where the Pāla king Dharmapāla is referred to as king of Vaṅgāla (*Vaṅgālabhūmipa*, l. 36). The same name occurred as Bangālah to mean the Muslim sultanate of Bengal (Persian *Shah-i-Bangalah*); as such it has been known by Tāranātha (*Bhaṃ ga la*) in the sixteenth century. Then it has been adopted in the form of Bengala by the Portuguese, and Bengal by the British. The two, Vaṅgāla and Oṛiśā (*O ḍi bi sha*), i.e. the current Odisha, would belong to a region designated by Tāranātha as Nyi 'og (Skt *Aparāntaka*), of which they constitute the east side (*shar phyogs*).²⁵

To the northeast and to the east of Vaṅgāla, Tāranātha lists several regions from the present-day Assam to Cambodia which he designates with the general name (*spyi ming*) of Koki.²⁶ The following regions are mentioned, apparently from north to south—

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| Gi ri warta | this northeastern land which is 'surrounded by hills' includes — 1) Kā ma rū 2) Ti pu ra 3) Ha sa ma | Kāmarūpa (Assam); Tripura; Hasam (upper Assam); |
| Naṃ ga ṭa | the regions (<i>yul rnam</i> s) near the northern mountains (<i>byang phyogs kyi ri ngos la nye ba</i>) | Lushai Hills (or Mizo Hills) of the Patkai range in Mizoram and Tripura; |
| Pu khaṃ, Bal ku, etc. | coastal regions (<i>rgya mtsho la nye ba'i yul</i>) | Chittagong Hill Tracts; |
| Mu nyang | the region including— 1) Ra khang, 2) Haṃ sa wa ti, 3) Ma rko, etc. | Arakan in western Myanmar; Pegu (Bago) in lower Myanmar; ? |
| Tsak ma | | the regions inhabited by the Chakma (Changma) peoples, settled in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Arakan; |
| Kam bo dza | | Cambodia. |

Harikela

The first reference to the country of Harikela (*Helijiluo* 訶利雞羅) dates back to the end of the seventh century, as we read in Yijing's *Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan* of two Chinese monks who had reached that country, located in the eastern boundary of eastern India, by the southern sea-route (T.2066.9b22; Beal 1911: xli; Lahiri 1986: 95). The authors of the eighth-century Buddhist ritual manual, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (*paṭala* 22: 232–33), confirm this easternmost location, mentioning patently from the west the three, Vaṅga, Samatāṭa, and Harikela as distinct (*VaṅgaSamatāṭāśrayāt || Harikele...*). Moreover, in the ninth-century Śaurasenī Prākṛit play by Rājaśekhara, the *Karpūramañjarī* (1: 14.2; Konow and Lanman 1901, 9: 226–27), we find mention of Campā, Rāḍhā and Harikela (*Harikelī*), with a *paronomasia* for each of the three: Pkt *keli-āra* (Skt *keli-kāra*), ‘causing pastime’, referred to the women of the east, is the pun for Harikela (*Harikelī-keliāra*). As for later sources, the twelfth-century *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (957; Boehtlingk and Rieu 1847: 178) by Hemacandra holds Harikela synonymous with Vaṅga (*Vaṅgās tu Harikelīyā*), seemingly as a result of the expansion of the sway of the Harikela rulers and their successors over wider areas of southeast Bengal. Moreover, two later Sanskrit lexicons preserved in the manuscript collection of the Dhaka University Library (Ms. no. 2141B, *Rudrākṣamahātmya*, and Ms. no. 1451, *Rūpacintāmāṇikośa*), wherein Harikela (*Harikola*) is identified with Śrīhaṭṭa (current Sylhet), deserve attention as well (Paul 1939: iii–iv). The above pieces of information give us three pivotal points in the location of Harikela, namely, (1) it is in the extreme east of India; (2) it is reachable by sea, and thus endowed with a coast and at least a sea-port; (3) it includes the internal region of Śrīhaṭṭa.

Arakan

The southern natural border of Harikela was the Nāf River. On its opposite bank lay the ancient Burmese kingdom of Arakan.²⁷ What Tāranātha calls Rakhang in his *rGya gar chos 'byung* (242.6) is at present the Rakhine State of Myanmar (Burma). It is a land of mountains, deep forests, rivers and tangled creeks, the history of which is interlaced likewise with that of Bengal, as the dynastic fortunes of the Candras of Arakan and those of the

Candras of Bengal seem to suggest. Dhanyawadi (*Dhaññavatī*, Skt *Dhānyavatī*) and Vesālī (*Veśālī*, *Vesali* or *Wethali*), the two early royal capitals of Arakan, were trade ports located in the alluvial lowland of the Kaladan River, and ships from the sea could reach both of them via two tributaries of the Kaladan. Contact with Bengal was also possible by the coastal road from Chittagong to Ramu, which crossed the Nāf River near the mouth (Gutman 1976: 5).

More than the fourteenth-century Arakanese chronicles (*razawin*), another order of evidence puts us on firmer ground to reconstruct a possible sketch of the Candras of Arakan. This evidence is mainly epigraphical and numismatic, consisting of royal panegyrics (*praśasti*), copperplate land grants, bell inscriptions, as well as coeval coins. In particular, some inscriptions on a quadrangular stone pillar from Vesālī, and positioned since the sixteenth century in the Shittaung pagoda of Mrauk U (Mrohaung), deserve our attention. The oldest legible one, a *praśasti* on its west face, consists of sixty-five Sanskrit verses in honour of an early eighth-century Buddhist king Ānandacandra.²⁸

Possibly in order to emphasise the legitimacy of his reign, the *praśasti* opens enumerating the names of the kings who have ruled over the area before him followed by the duration of their reigns. Since Ānandacandra's royal catalogue has found more than one confirm and supplement in coins findings, Edward Johnston (1944: 359) has signalized its primary importance for the early history of Arakan, as it provides us with 'a reliable skeleton framework, going back 359 years from some date early in the eighth century A.D., with some information, possibly not equally sound, for the preceding 188 years'.

The list has three sections corresponding to three periods of the history of Arakan. Whereas the kings of the first section (vv. 3–18), or at least the earlier ones, sound mythical, the second section (vv. 19–32) deals with rulers whose historicity is confirmed by the coins minted by some of them (Nasir and Rhodes 2010), as well as by three other inscriptions. According to Ānandacandra's *praśasti*, sixteen Candras would have reigned for 230 years, about 370–600, initially at Dhanyawadi and then at Vesālī. Only thirteen kings are enumerated, possibly because the three missing ones may have ruled so briefly as to be ignored in the list. Besides, a coin of a king Sūryacandra, paleographically datable to about the beginning of the seventh century, may give us one of these three missing names out of the stated sixteen kings.

| CANDRAS OF ARAKAN ACCORDING TO ĀNANDACANDRA'S INSCRIPTION (SECOND PERIOD) | | | | |
|--|---------------|-------------|------------------------------------|---|
| | KING'S NAME | reign years | accession year (Sircar 1957–58) | numismatic evidence |
| 1 | Dvangcandra | 55 | 370 | |
| 2 | Rājacandra | 20 | 425 | |
| 3 | Bālacandra | 9 | 445 | * |
| 4 | Devacandra | 22 | 454 | * <i>deva</i> on the coins, assignable on palaeographic ground to the first half of the fifth century (Johnston 1944: 365); |
| 5 | Yajñacandra | 7 | 476 | * |
| 6 | Candrabandhu | 6 | 483 | * |
| 7 | Bhūmicandra | 7 | 489 | * |
| 8 | Bhūticandra | 24 | 496 | * a land grant made by Bhūticandra's queen in the eleventh year of the reign assigned to <i>c.</i> 507 (Gutman 1976: 27); |
| 9 | Nīticandra | 55 | 520 | * an inscription of Nīticandra's queen assignable to the first half of the sixth century (Sircar 1957–58; Gutman 1976: 27); |
| 10 | Vīracandra | 3 | 575 | * an inscription of Vīracandra of the last quarter of the sixth century (Sircar 1957–58; Gutman 1976: 27); |
| 11 | Prīticandra | 12 | 578 | * |
| 12 | Pr̥thvīcandra | 7 | 590 | * |
| 13 | Dhṛticandra | 3 | 597 | * |

Dvangcandra (*c.* 370 – *c.* 425), the first king of the second period, is said to have been a great conqueror and to have built a royal city adorned by surrounding walls and a moat (v. 20b; Johnston 1944: 375). As a matter of fact, ten km east of the Kaladan, about hundred km from its mouth at present Sittwe (Akyab), the ancient vestiges of Dhanyawadi can be identified as the capital Dvangcandra had built. For more than one century, the urban agglomerate which developed around the royal city must have been the junction of a vast trade network linking China in the east with India and beyond to the west (Hudson 2005: 1–2).²⁹

As to the other kings, it is noteworthy that the name of Candrabandhu

(*c.* 483 – *c.* 489) suggested to Johnston (1944: 369) some doubts about his legitimacy, and to Pamela Gutman (1976: 43) that he could have been a reunifier of the country in a confused period which eventually led to shift the capital to Vesālī. Since the coins of Nīticandra (*c.* 520 – *c.* 575) are more recurrent than those of any other king, probably he was the most powerful ruler of the dynasty (Johnston 1944: 369), possibly the first one in the new capital, Vesālī.³⁰ The end of this Candra dynasty of Arakan with Dhrticandra about 600 seems to hint at another period of confusion during which local chiefs must have carved out their independent kingdoms (Gutman 1976: 44).

The last of the three sections of the *praśasti* pertains to Ānandacandra's family itemising his eight predecessors who would have together ruled for almost 120 years.

CANDRAS OF ARAKAN
ACCORDING TO ĀNANDACANDRA'S INSCRIPTION (THIRD PERIOD)

| | KING'S NAME | reign years | accession year (Sircar 1957–58) | numismatic evidence | FURTHER EVIDENCE |
|---|---------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| 1 | Mahāvīra | 12 | 600 | | king of Purempura; |
| 2 | Vrayajap (Brayajap) | 12 | 612 | | a name of non Indian origin; |
| 3 | Seviñreñ (?) | 12 | 624 | | another name of on Indian origin; |
| 4 | Dharmaśūra | 13 | 636 | | |
| 5 | Vajraśakti | 16 | 649 | | first of Ānandacandra's family; |
| 6 | Dharmavijaya | 36 | 665 | * | |
| 7 | Narendravijaya | 2.9 | 701 | | son; |
| 8 | Vīranarendracandra or Dharmacandra | 16 | 704 | * | another son of Vajraśakti; <i>dhamma candra (sic)</i> on the coins; |
| 9 | Ānandacandra | | 720 | | son. |

Mahāvīra (*c.* 600–*c.* 612) is said to be king of Purempura (*Purempura-nareśvaraḥ*, v. 33a; Johnston 1944: 376).³¹ As conjectured by Gutman (1976: 44–45), it is possible that Mahāvīra had been an enterprising local chief whose economical power was 'based mainly on maritime trade', who would have extended his territory 'to the rich alluvional plains of Arakan

when opportunity allowed'. Vajraśakti (c. 649–c. 665), the first king of Ānandacandra's family, is described as a descendant of the Deva family (*Devānvayodbhavaḥ*, v. 37b; Johnston 1944: 376). This family name cannot but recall the Bengali Deva dynasty of Devaparvata (c. 685–c. 765). As a matter of fact, the recently discovered Buddhist complex at Ramkot on the old Arakan highway, three km east of present Ramu, gives evidence of relationships between the Mainamati Hills and the seventh–eighth-century Arakanese capital of Vesālī (Gutman 1976: 6). Vajraśakti, being described as one endowed with the *pāramitās* (*dānaśīlādisamṃyukta*), was apparently a follower of the Mahāyāna. Dharmavijaya's (c. 665–c. 701) coins have been found at current Sittwe as well as on the Mainamati Hills. He would have been a fervent Buddhist for the allusion to his reverence to the Three Jewels, and for his ascent to the Tuṣita heaven after death (v. 40b; cf. Griffiths 2015: 291–319).

Ānandacandra (c. 720–?), said to have sprung from the Devas' egg-lineage (*Devāṇḍajā*–, v. 62a), and scion of the egg-lineage of glorious pious kings (*śrīdharmarājāṇḍaja*, v. 63a), is also called a Buddhist lay disciple (*upāsaka*, v. 54b). Besides, references to the awakening beings (*bodhisattva*, v. 47a) and to the *dānapāramitā* (v. 54a) reveal him as a follower of Mahāyāna. As such Ānandacandra must have had fraternal relations with the monks of king Śīlāmegha's country (v. 61), which would refer to current Sri Lanka.

Another country is mentioned in the context of Ānandacandra's marriage (vv. 62–65; Johnston 1944: 379, 382). His wife would have been the daughter of the king of Śrītāmrappattana, with capital Śrī Pattana, which may possibly be identified with Tāmraliptī (Johnston 1944: 372). Then, we are told, the two would have entered into a good friendship, possibly a treaty. As a matter of fact, there should have been at least two possible causes for Ānandacandra's concern at that time, coming from both south and west. Whereas the former threat from the Pyu city-states was mainly his own concern, the latter was shared with his Bengali father-in-law. Both could have felt themselves vulnerable to the attacks from Yaśovarman of Kanauj since about 720 (Gutman 1976: 49–50). As a matter of fact, albeit ephemeral, Yaśovarman's adventure would have destabilized the political landscape of southeastern Bengal and Arakan. Most probably, the end of Ānandacandra's dynasty could have been one of these domino effects, because after this *praśasti* there is a gap of a couple of centuries before the other inscriptions on the north face of the same pillar—regrettably very badly decipherable—nor is there any consistent archaeological evidence.

Tāranātha's Candras: a Conjecture

The tibetologist cannot but notice that the historical Candra dynasty of Arakan with its twenty-two kings ended just when the dynasty of the twenty Candra kings described in Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung* is supposed to end. As a matter of fact, according to Tāranātha, a lineage of kings whose names bear the family name *candra* would have ruled in Vaṅgāla (*Bham ga la*), i.e. southeastern Bengal. It is possible to calculate the time of their end on the basis of the contemporaneity of the penultimate king's coronation with the last part of Dharmakīrti's life: whereas Xuanzang did not mention this seventh-century Buddhist author, we know from Yijing, who was writing in about 691, that Dharmakīrti had flourished in recent years. If that is the case, a tentative date for Dharmakīrti's death—and for the coronation of the penultimate Tāranātha's Candra king—could be 660; after the latter's career, let us say thirty years, Lalitacandra, a brother from father's side (*pha tshan gyi spun zla*) of the penultimate king, is said to have reigned for many years, conjecturally forty-fifty years: which sets the end of this Candra dynasty around 730–740.

Curiously, this almost impalpable chronological correspondence between the last king in both Arakanese Candras and Tāranātha's Candras, finds some further resemblance between the forefathers of the respective dynasties, namely the Dvangcandra (c. 370–c. 425) of the Mrauk U pillar *praśasti*, and the Haricandra mentioned by Tāranātha. The former was the founder of Dhanyawadi, 'adorned by surrounding walls (*prakāra* for *prākāra*) and a moat (*khāta*, v. 20b)'. As to the latter, we read (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 66.5; *THBI* 104) about his rule in Vaṅgāla (*sic*) and his attainment of perfection on the path of spells, as well as an intriguing mention to his royal citadel (*pho brang : pura*), that 'appeared as made of the five kinds of gems, and on its surrounding walls (*lcags ri : prākāra*) the three worlds were mirrored.

David Templeman (2010: 231), discussing 'the model of India which Tāranātha believed he was part of', sensibly advises us that 'much of what purports to be an accurate summary of India's Buddhist history is in fact a wildly inaccurate and at other times, quite unfoundedly speculative in nature'. Nevertheless, as it has been observed (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 169), Tāranātha's account may have some foundation of truth, as it has been for other pieces of information that had found evidence only in recent archaeological finds, to which evidently he had not access. Hence we

cannot totally neglect the possibility that Tāranātha had drawn from sources now lost or inaccessible to us.³²

In the twenty-seventh chapter of the *rGya gar chos 'byung* (187.4–6; *THBI* 251), before introducing the period of Gopāla, Tāranātha writes the following remark:

Thus Lalitacandra came as the last of the kings of the Candra dynasty. Since that time, though there have been many of the princely descent of the Candra line (*Tsan dra'i rigs kyi rgyal rigs*), did not appear anyone who gained royal domain (*rgyal srid*). In the eastern regions, to begin with Vaṅgāla and Oṛiśā, they became kings of their respective spheres—princely descent endowed with relations (*tshan ldan rgyal rigs*), ministers (*blon po*), brāhmaṇas (*bram ze*), and great merchants (*tshong dpon*). But there were no king as such ruling over the country.

Then Tāranātha's compilation goes on with Gopāla, whose time 'fairly agrees with the chronology of the Pāla kings which has been derived from independent data' (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 169).

The Pālas

In the first half of the eighth century, not only was Bengal without any strong and durable central authority, but also under threat of attacks from foreign invaders, as it was the case of Yaśovarman.³³ In order to describe that human landscape, historians typically refer to the term *mātsyanyāya*, occurring in the copperplate inscription from Khalimpur (Batavyal 1894; Kielhorn 1896–97), in the Maldah District of West Bengal, issued by king Dharmapāla in the first years of the ninth century (v. 4):

His son was the crest jewel of the heads of kings, the glorious Gopāla, whom the chiefs (*prakṛti*) made take the hands of Lakṣmī, to put an end to the law of fish (*mātsyanyāyam apohitum*).

Already alluded in the *Manusmṛti* (7.20) where we read that, without a coercive authority (*daṇḍa*), the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a spit (*śūle matsyānivāpakṣyan durbalān balavattarāḥ*). According to this view, the king's duty (*rājadharmā*) consists in protecting his own

subjects from what is beyond the border, as well as the weaker from the stronger's abuses.³⁴

The feeling of unbearable uncertainty conveyed by the metaphor of *mātsyanyāya* is confirmed by Tāranātha. As we read in the *rGya gar chos 'byung* (192.3–193.2; *THBI* 257–58), at that time there was no king in Bengal since many years, and the people in the country were unhappy. The chiefs (*gtso bo gtso bo rnams*) assembled (*'dus*), discussed (*gros*), and appointed (*bskos*) a king who could protect (*skyong*) the land (*sa gzhi*) according to the law (*khrims* : Skt *nyāya*). But at night, a female serpent-like spirit connected with the water element, a *nāginī* (*klu mo*), devoured the chosen king.³⁵ However, Tāranātha goes on, since there could be no prosperity (*mi shis*) to a kingdom without a king, another person was appointed to the throne every morning, killed in the night, and thrown out at dawn. After some years like that, a kṣatriya hero born in the forests of Puṇḍravardhana (*Li kha ra shing 'phel*) on the border between Madhyadeśa (*Yul dbus*) and Bengal (*Shar phyogs*), went to the east and took his chances. Once got the best of the evil *nāginī*, he was raised to the throne and given the name Gopāla (c. 750–c. 775).

Gopāla

The coronation of this ancestor of the Buddhist Pāla dynasty, celebrated by the chiefs (*prakṛti*) to put an end to the law of fish, marks a new period not only for Bengal, but also for the whole rich Gangetic plains with their metropolitan focus at Kanauj. As regards the origin of Gopāla's lineage, a hint is given to us by the eighth-century Yogācāra scholar Haribhadra, a contemporary of Gopāla's son Dharmapāla. In the votive verses (*praṇidhāna*) which close his commentary to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka*, he describes the Pāla king as a scion of the family of Rājabhāṭa (v. 7: *Rājyabhaṭādivaṃśpatita-śrīdharmapālasya*; Vaidya 1960: 558.15). Once excluded the hypothesis that it be here matter of an 'officer' (*bhaṭa*) of some king, it is more reasonable that this Rājabhāṭa might be identified with the Khaḍga king Rājarājabhāṭa (c. 673–c. 690) mentioned in Yijing's *Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan*. If this is the case, Gopāla would have been connected with the royal family of Vaṅga-Samatāṭa, the Buddhist Khaḍgas: a clan whose likely northwestern origin has been mentioned above.

Since Gopāla's time until the tenth century, three powers, faced each

other struggling to extend their respective supremacy over the midlands of northern India, namely, the southern Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the western Gurjara-Pratīhāras, and the northeastern Pālas. Precisely in the years of Gopāla's accession to the throne of Bengal, a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family under the rule of Dantidurga rose to power in Deccan.³⁶

In the same period, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras conquered the western regions of Mālava (Malwa) with its capital Avanti (Ujjain), in the wake of the victory Nāgabhaṭa I (*c.* 725–*c.* 750) had won in 738, leading a confederacy of Gurjaras against the armies of the Arabs of Sindh.³⁷ It is on that military success that he laid the foundation stone of his family's political prominence, as testified by the Gwalior stone inscription of king Bhoja about his progenitor Nāgabhaṭa I (*ll.* 3–4, *v.* 4; R.C. Majumdar 1925–26: 107, 110–111).

| Rāṣṭrakūṭas | Gurjara-Pratīhāras | Pālas |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Dantivarman I | | |
| Indra I | | |
| Govinda I | | |
| Karka I | | |
| Indra II | | |
| Dantidurga (<i>c.</i> 735) | Nāgabhaṭa I (<i>c.</i> 725) | |
| Kṛṣṇa I (<i>c.</i> 755) | Devarāja (<i>c.</i> 750) | Gopāla (<i>c.</i> 750) |
| Govinda II (<i>c.</i> 772) | | |
| Dhruva (<i>c.</i> 780) | Vatsarāja (<i>c.</i> 780) | Dharmapāla (<i>c.</i> 775) |
| Govinda III (<i>c.</i> 793) | Nāgabhaṭa II (<i>c.</i> 790) | |
| Amoghavarṣa I (<i>c.</i> 814) | | Devapāla (<i>c.</i> 812) |
| | Rāmabhadra (<i>c.</i> 833) | |
| | Mihira Bhoja (<i>c.</i> 836) | |
| | | Mahendrapāla (<i>c.</i> 850) |
| | | Śūrapāla I (<i>c.</i> 865) |
| | | Vigrahapāla I (<i>c.</i> 873) |
| | | Nārāyaṇapāla (<i>c.</i> 875) |
| Kṛṣṇa II (<i>c.</i> 878) | | |
| | Mahendrapāla (<i>c.</i> 890) | |
| Indra III (<i>c.</i> 914) | Mahīpāla (<i>c.</i> 910) | |
| | Bhoja II (?– <i>c.</i> 914) | |
| Amoghavarṣa II (<i>c.</i> 928) | | |
| Govinda IV (<i>c.</i> 930) | Vināyakapāla (<i>c.</i> 930) | Rājyapāla (<i>c.</i> 932) |
| Amoghavarṣa III (<i>c.</i> 936) | | |
| Kṛṣṇa III (<i>c.</i> 939) | | |
| | Mahendrapāla II (<i>c.</i> 945) | |
| | Vināyakapāla II (<i>c.</i> 950) | |

| | | |
|---|--|---|
| Khottiga (c. 967) Karkka II (c. 972) | Vijayapāla (c. 960) | Gopāla II (c. 967) |
| | | Vigrahapāla II (c. 987) Mahīpāla I (c. 992) |
| | Rājyapāla (c. 1018) Trilocanapāla (c. 1020) Mahendrapāla III | Nayapāla (c. 1042) Vigrahapāla III (c. 1058) |
| | | Mahīpāla II (c. 1085) |
| | | Śūrapāla II (c. 1086) |
| | | Rāmapāla (c. 1087) |
| | | Kumārapāla (c. 1141) |
| | | Gopāla III (c. 1143) |
| | | Madanapāla (c. 1158) |
| | | Govindapāla (c. 1176) |
| | | Palapāla (c. 1180) |

(Adapted from Davidson 2002b: 49–50, 52)

We have no positive evidence of the limits of Gopāla's original territory, although certainly it included Vaṅga, as we can deduce from the fact that the Gwalior inscription (*ll.* 7–8, *v.* 10) refers to the enemy of Bhoja's father Nāgabhaṭa II (790–833)—no doubt Dharmapāla—as the lord of Vaṅga (*Vaṅgapati*).

Dharmapāla

As already observed (Banerji 1915: 48), Gopāla's son and successor Dharmapāla (c. 775 – c. 812) was 'the real founder of the greatness of his line and the Empire over which his successors ruled'.

Similar to the fight of dogs over a bone, the war between the Pratīhāra king Vatsarāja (c. 780–c. 790) and Dharmapāla for the control of Kanauj began few years before 790: Vatsarāja got the better, but the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa (c. 780–c. 793) supervened from the south over the two and routed both loser and winner. Actually, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa occupation of Kanauj did not last long because Dhruva was too far away from home to consolidate his victory and had to retreat to the south. Therefore, with the Pratīhāras seriously weakened by their last reverse, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas involved in their internal problems, in the absence of the

other two, the bone was gnawed by the Pāla king.

Being able to take advantage of the demise of the former adversary and the remoteness of latter, Dharmapāla somehow gained control over Kanauj and northern India. On account of his victorious imperialistic campaigns, he assumed full imperial titles, *parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*, while Gopāla is still called *mahārājādhirāja* in the inscriptions. As a paramount sovereign, he set on the throne of Kanauj his nominee Cakrāyudha.³⁸

In the last decade of the eighth century, the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 790–c. 833), the successor of Vatsarāja, leading a confederacy of states on the border of the Pālas and Rāṣtrakūṭas' empires, attacked Dharmapāla's protégé Cakrāyudha, defeated him, and established his ephemeral rule over Kanauj. While Cakrāyudha had taken shelter with Dharmapāla, in a battle near Mudgagiri (current Munger or Monghyr in Bihar), Nāgabhaṭa II defeated also Dharmapāla (Gwalior stone, ll. 7–8, v. 10). Nevertheless, in the beginning of the ninth century Nāgabhaṭa II was severely defeated by the Rāṣtrakūṭa king Govinda III (c. 793–c. 814), the son and successor of Dhruva, while both Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha surrendered to him of their own. In spite of this, like his father, Govinda III had to go back to the south and busy himself with the Rāṣtrakūṭa internal problems, leaving both Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha in possession of their kingdoms.

The Pālas exerted their power by means of a strong central hereditary monarchy, where the eldest son was the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*), and all the king's family, sons, nephews, and grandnephews were somehow involved in the government. Still based on the Imperial Gupta polity, the provinces of the empire were divided into the traditional administrative units—*bhuktis*, *viṣayas*, *maṇḍalas*, and so forth—but now Bengal was the heart of the empire, no longer a part of it. Engraved on a stone pillar at Badal, in the Rajshahi District, there is an inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla (Kielhorn 1894), from which we know that the administration was run by a group of officials under the king's ministers (*mantrin* or *saciva*), out of whom the chief minister (*mahāmantrin*) was selected.

On the traditional Indian model, the Pāla administration relied on the hereditary principle in the appointment of ministers and magistrates, constituting as a consequence the basis for further feudalization: in fact, the Pāla polity included numerous vassal kings (*maṇḍalādhipati* or *māṇḍalika*) under the imperial suzerainty, with feudal chiefs under them.³⁹ Lacking any epigraphical evidence of the contrary, we may suppose that Dharmapāla had direct administrative control only over Bengal and Bihar. As for the

rest of the empire, it would have been administered by the local rulers who had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas. In fact, we know from a copperplate inscription of Devapāla's thirty-third regnal year, from Munger (ll. 12–14, v. 8; Wilkins 1798: 124; Barnett 1925–26: 305), that his father Dharmapāla,

...when the triumphal conquest of the various countries was completed, removed the affliction of the kings he had summoned by his excellent favour, and friendly let them return to their own respective lands.

Nālandā Mahāvihāra

From the cultural viewpoint, the Pāla rule represents more than four centuries (c. 750–c. 1170) of strenuous sponsorship of Buddhism. Sukumar Dutt (1962: 331) remarked that Buddhist monasteries, since the time of the founding of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, 'had developed as seats and centres of learning. To build monasteries and provide for their upkeep was regarded more as a service rendered to the cause of learning and culture than to the cause of Buddhism'. In actual fact, the traditional practice of royal patronage of the Buddhist *saṃgha* is also a symptom—not only a cause—of some gradual modification occurred within the daily life of the monastic communities. The concept, 'from study for faith to study for knowledge', as labelled by Dutt (1962: 319 ff.), has been widened by Ronald Davidson (2002b: 107) and pushed beyond knowledge, in view of the fulfilment of material needs: 'Buddhist monasteries relied on clerical virtue to assure the laity that their donations would reap extraordinary rewards'.

In course of time, the initial Guptas and Yaśodharman's establishment of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, this typical late Gupta architectonic compound of several vihāras enclosed within a single rampart, had been enriched with other vihāras. Among the successors of the Guptas who had patronized the institution, Harṣavardhana of Kanauj is to be mentioned in the seventh century. We know in fact from Xuanzang's *Da tang xi yu ji* that this king, referred to by the title Śīlādityarāja (*Jieriwang* 戒日王), had built a vihāra of brass (T.2087.924b4–6; Beal 1884, 2: 174):⁴⁰ albeit under construction at the time of Xuanzang's visit, its intended measurement would have been about thirty metres (*shizhang* 十丈) when finished.

Xuanzang's disciple Huili (慧立) composed in 664 the 'Biography of

the Dharma Master Tripiṭaka from the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang' (*Da tang da ci en si san zang fa shi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, Taishō vol. 50 no. 2053; Beal 1911). We read in the third book of this biography of Xuanzang, that the king of the country in that period (Harṣavardhana) respected and honoured the monks of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, and had granted more than hundred villages in order to provide their supply: two hundred families in those villages daily contributed several hundred shoulder-loads of round-grained sticky rice, ordinary rice, butter, and milk. Hence the scholars living there, concludes Huili, being so abundantly supplied, did not require to ask for the four requisites (*sishi* 四事), i.e. clothes, food, bedding, and medicines, and that was the source of the perfection of their studies, to which they had arrived (T.2053.237c3–6; Beal 1911: 112–13).

In the same book, Huili's description of the mahāvihāra as it was seen by Xuanzang is not lacking of some scenic vividness (T.2053.237b17–22; Beal 1911: 111–12). The picture represents several buildings combined into a unique vihāra (*si* 寺) by means of a brick wall (*walei* 瓦壘) from without, with a single gate (*men* 門) for the whole establishment, and a central main courtyard (*ting* 庭) opening into eight minor courtyards (*yuan* 院 : *ārāma*). Huili speaks of richly adorned towers (*tai* 臺), and beautiful multi-storeyed buildings (*lou* 樓) congregated together; of palaces (*guan* 觀) rising in the mist, and palaces' halls (*dian* 殿) above the clouds; of the play of the wind with clouds visible from upper doors and windows, and the conjunctions of the sun and moon from the pavilions' eaves (*xuanyan* 軒簷). Then, he points at the clear waters of a pond with blue lotuses intermingled with red-bright kanaka flowers on their surface, and mango groves at intervals, spreading their shade. All the minor courtyards (*yuan* 院) with the community cells (*sengshi* 僧室) were of four stages (*chongchong* 重重) each, says Huili, and the stages had dragon-projections and coloured rafters (*liang* 梁), carved and ornamented vermilion pillars (*zhu* 柱), richly adorned balustrades (*jian* 檻), and the ridges of the roofs (*meng* 甍) reflecting the light like a rainbow.

In the thirty-fourth chapter of the *Nan hai ji gui nei fa zhuan* concerning the study of Buddhism in the western countries (*xifang xue fa* 西方學法), Yijing informs us about the curriculum that a monk in the eighth century had to follow in an Indian mahāvihāra. Involved as he was in the translation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Chinese, Yijing gives a detailed syllabus of

the grammar studies (*shengming* 聲明 : *śabdavidyā*) in India. On such a linguistic basis, Yijing goes on (T.2125.229a3–13; Takakusu 1896: 176–78), the students began to learn composition in prose and verse, and devote themselves to the science of causes (*yinming* 因明 : *hetuvidyā*) and the (*Abhidharma*)-*kośa* (*Jushe* 俱舍). Learning the (*Nyāya*)-*dvāratārkaśāstra* (*Jimenlun* 理門論, for 因明正理門論, Taishō vol. 32, no. 1629 by Nāgārjuna, translated into Chinese by Yijing), they rightly drew inferences, and by studying Āryasūra's *Jātaka(māla)* (*Bensheng* 本生) their comprehension increased. Being tutored individually or in small groups, to be precise within a space of no more than 3.3 m (*zhang* 丈) between speaker and listener, they spent two or three years, generally in the Nālandāvihāra (*Nalantuosi* 那爛陀寺) in central India, or in Vallabhi (*Balapi* 跋臘毘, current Vala) in western India.

There, we are reported, eminent and accomplished men assembled in crowds discussing about what is right and what wrong. Had wise men declared their excellence, they became far famed. To try the sharpness of their wit (lit. 'the point of a spear', *feng* 鋒), they proceeded to the king's court (*wangting* 王庭) and cast their sharp intellectual weapons: there they offered their advice and exhibited their talent (*cheng cai* 呈才), hoping to take advantage (*xiwang liyong* 希望利用) of it. When they sat at a forum for debate (*tanlun zhi chu* 談論之處), they piled their seats (*chong xi* 重席), and sought to demonstrate their excellence. While refuting in a public contest, all their opponents would have become tongue-tied, recognizing themselves ashamed. The sound of their fame would have made the five mountains of India vibrate and their fame flow over the four borders. Then, they received land grants (*fengyi* 封邑) and were advanced to an eminent rank (*rong ban* 榮班).

Not only spiritual liberation, nor the liberation from material needs were at stake: in the process there must have been something else, something more basic, less noble. Possibly, the power to which clerical virtue and knowledge were conducive, not only guaranteed clothes, food, bedding, and medicines: it represented a goal in itself, according to Max Weber's (1922: 358–59) reading of *charisma* as

... a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These

are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader. In primitive circumstances this peculiar kind of deference is paid to prophets, to people with a reputation for therapeutic or legal wisdom, to leaders in the hunt, and heroes in war. It is very often thought of as resting on magical powers.

Like the social game between children mimicking the adults and saying each other, ‘I know one thing that you do not’, or ‘I have one thing that you have not’, or else ‘I am something that you are not’, the human will to power (*Wille zur Macht*) seems to articulate itself into three functions, the pursuit of separate knowledge, private property, and distinction.

Dharmapāla was celebrated by Tibetans as a great patron of Buddhism, and contemporary with Haribhadra, as we read at the end of the latter’s *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka*, and in Tāranātha’s thirtieth chapter of the *rGya gar chos ’byung* (203.3–4; *THBI* 274):

Once ascended the throne, he [Dharmapāla] invited the teachers (*’chad pa po*) of the *Prajñāpāramitā*: he had in particular great reverence for the Ācārya Haribhadra (*Seng ge bzang po*). This king established about fifty centres for the Dharma (*chos gzhū*), of which thirty-five were centres where the *Prajñāpāramitā* was taught.

There is archaeological evidence of Dharmapāla’s concern with the Nālandā Mahāvihāra in a copperplate inscription found in the north verandah of monastery no. 1 among burnt debris (P.N. Bhattacharyya 1935–36; Sastri 1942: 84). Besides, Dharmapāla must have made special arrangement for its administration after his founding the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra, for we know from Tāranātha’s *rGya gar chos ’byung* (204.1; *THBI* 275) that the person in charge (*bdag po*) of the latter was responsible (*skyong bar byed*) for Nālandā Mahāvihāra as well.

Uddāṇapura Mahāvihāra

Commonly known through the Tibetan rendering as Odantapuri, the Indian toponym Uddāṇapura is attested in a pedestal inscription found at Bihar Sharif (Bihār Sharīf, Huntington 1984: 213), the headquarters of the Nālandā District in the state of Bihar.⁴¹ Since Tāranātha confuses the order of the Pāla kings, as known from epigraphy, we cannot rely on his information about the foundation of the mahāvihāra (Sanderson 2009: 92–

93). In this case, the *Chos 'byung* (111a5; Obermiller 1932: 156) completed in 1322 by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364), although it ascribes the foundation of Nālandā to Gopāla (*des Nā len dra brtsigs*), is more reliable than Tāranātha. The latter in fact (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 193.2–3; *THBI* 258), not only ascribes the establishment of Nālandā to Gopāla after his conquest of Magadha, but also it would have been the Nālandā Mahāvihāra to have been built *near* Uddāṇḍapura (*O tan ta pu ri dang nye ba Na nā len dra*). In this confusion, at least, Bu ston's account of Gopāla is correctly followed by the one of Dharmapāla, with a fascinating legend focussed on the latter's magic birth and foundation of the Uddāṇḍapura Mahāvihāra (*Chos 'byung* 111a5–b4; Obermiller 1932: 156–157):

[Gopāla's] queen (*btsun mo*), having little power, asked a brāhmaṇa teacher (*slob dpon bram ze*) the magical skill (*rig pa : vidyā*) to bring the king under her control. The latter picked a drug on the mountains covered with snow (*ri bo gangs can : himavat*), sealed it and handed over to a female servant (*bran mo*), but she slipped on a bridge: [the drug] fell to the ground. Slowly carried by water, it entered the sea (*rgya mtsho*), and was seized by the king of the nāgas (*klu'i rgyal po*), the serpent-like water spirits, who swallowed it up. Once subjected, the nāga king Sāgarapāla (*rGya mtsho skyong*) united with the queen, and a son was born, Śrīmad Dharmapāla (*dPal ldan Chos skyong*). [...] [Once grown-up], the latter became possessed of the desire of building a vihāra (*lha khang*) superior to the other. [...] As he was distressed, at night the king of the nāgas with five snake's head appeared and said, 'Being your father, I will make this lake dry, and you shall erect the vihāra there. You must perform offering ceremonies for seven weeks'. This was accordingly done. On the twenty-first day the lake was dried up and the vihāra (*gtsug lag khang*) of Uddāṇḍapura was erected.⁴²

Such was the fame of the Uddāṇḍapura Mahāvihāra that few years later (c. 780) the Tibetan king contemporary with Dharmapāla, Khri srong lde btsan, had bSam yas, the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet, built on the very model of Uddāṇḍapura (*sBa bzhed* 34.9: *O tan pu ri bya ba yod | btsan po'i thugs dam gyi dpe de la bya'o gsungs*). Its plan, a *maṇḍala*, or diagram of the Buddhist cosmology, had the three-storeyed main temple in the centre as the Mount Sumeru, the *axis mundi*, and the other buildings all around for the eight continents (Tucci 1955–56).

Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra

The Tibetan tradition almost unanimously credits to Dharmapāla the founding of the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra.⁴³ So it is reported in the thirtieth chapter of the *rGya gar chos 'byung* (203.4–204.1; *THBI* 274–75), where Tāranātha draws a sketch of Dharmapāla's sponsorship of Buddhism:

[Dharmapāla] also built the vihāra (*gtsug lag khang*) of Śrī Vikramaśīla. It has been erected in the north of Magadha on the top of a small hill (*ri de'u*) adjacent to the Gaṅgā River. At its centre, there was the temple (*lha khang*) with a human-size statue (*sku tshad*) of the Buddha (*Byang chub chen po* : *Mahābodhi*). As there were all around fifty-three [images] in smaller temples for the inner secret spells (*gsang sngags* : *mantra*), [and] fifty-four common temples (*lha khang dkyus ma*), there were one hundred and eight temples, around which he raised the surrounding wall. He provided with food and clothing one hundred and fourteen persons, namely, one hundred and eight paṇḍitas, along with the ācāryas for the oblations (*gtor ma* : *bali*), for the consecration ceremonies (*rab gnas* : *pratiṣṭhāna*) and for the fire offerings (*sbyin sreg* : *homa*), the person in charge for mice (*byi bsrung*), the one in charge for pigeons (*phug ron srung ba*), and the supervisor (*gnyer byed pa*) of servants (*lha 'bangs*): for each of them he made provisions equal to those for four. Every month he organized a festival (*ston mo*) for all listeners of the Dharma, and also made excellent gifts to them.

A significant reference to this mahāvihāra can be found in a Nepalese manuscript, in which a commentary to a hymn in praise of Tārā (*Sragdharā-stotra-tīkā*; Mitra 1882: 229) is ascribed in the colophon to the scholar-monk (*paṇḍita-bhikṣu*) Jinarakṣita from the mahāvihāra of Vikramaśīladeva (*śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-mahāvihārīya*) and the king's preceptor (*rājaguru*). We are informed that the name Vikramaśīla would be the honorific epithet (*biruda*) of the king who founded the university (R.C. Majumdar 1943, 1: 115n; 1971: 178n; cf. Sircar 1979: 23).⁴⁴

Somapura Mahāvihāra

Dharmapāla also established the Somapura or Somapurī Mahāvihāra in Varendra, in the present-day Rajshahi Division of Bangladesh, as we learn from two short inscriptions on terracotta seals unearthed at Paharpur (Pāhārpur) in the Naogaon District of Bangladesh (Dikshit 1938; Das Gupta 1961).⁴⁵ Both seals show the wheel as symbol of the Buddha's

Dharma (*dharmacakra*) in the upper part flanked by two antelopes, and the legend, ‘issued by the monastic community belonging to the great monastery of Dharmapāla at Somapura’ (*śrī-Somapure śrī-Dharmmapāladeva-mahāvihārīya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya*).

Trikūṭaka Vihāra

We do not know where the vihāra of the ‘Three Strychnine Trees’ (*Strychnos nux-vomica*), or Trikuṭaka (Tib. *Tsha ba gsum*) is located, but since Haribhadra mentions it at the end of his *Abhisamayālaṃkāraloka* (*Trikūṭakaśrīmadvihāro, praṇidhāna* 6a; Vaidya 1960: 558.10), it must have been active at least since then. Therefore, we can infer that it was founded by Haribhadra’s patron Dharmapāla, as it is corroborated by Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung* (112a7; Obermiller 1932: 158). In the twenty-ninth chapter of Tāranātha’s *rGya gar chos ’byung* (198.2–5; cf. *THBI* 267), we read a legend on its foundation. Though ascribed to Devapāla instead of Dharmapāla for the above mentioned reverse king order in Tāranātha’s compilation, the legend would locate the vihāra in Rāḍhā:

Inspired by a yogi called Śiromaṇi, the king raised a big army to wage war on Oṛiṣā (*O ḍi bi sha*) and other places, which were previously the centres of Buddhists (*nang pa* or ‘insiders’), but by this period which came under the influence of the adherents of non-Buddhist doctrines (*mu stegs pa* or ‘heretics’ : Skt *tīrthika*). When he crossed the region near Rāḍhā (*Ra ra*) he saw a black man coming slowly from a distance. On being questioned who he was, he said, ‘I am Mahākāla. Remove the sand dune from this place and you will find a temple. To destroy the temples of the tīrthikas you will have to do nothing else than surround this temple with the army and play the musical instruments very loudly’. Then he removed the sand dune and found a wonderful temple made of stone. The name of this was Śrī Trikuṭaka Vihāra (*dpal Tsha ba gsum gyi gtsug lag khang*).

Devapāla

Dharmapāla’s second son and successor, Devapāla (c. 812–c. 850) kept the prestige of the family at its highest point for almost forty years. On a stone pillar surmounted by a figure of Garuḍa at Badal (Kielhorn 1894), we can read a significant inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla recording the setting up of the pillar, with the panegyric of a Brahmanical dynasty of

ministers of four Pālas kings. The first would have been minister under Dharmapāla and Devapāla; the third, grandson of the latter, held the same office under Devapāla and his successor Śūrapāla, and then the fourth under Nārāyaṇapāla—

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| Darbhapāṇi | minister of | Dharmapāla | <i>c.</i> 775 – <i>c.</i> 812 |
| | | Devapāla | <i>c.</i> 812 – <i>c.</i> 850 |
| Someśvara | | | |
| Kedāramiśra | ” | Devapāla | ” |
| | | Śūrapāla | <i>c.</i> 865 – <i>c.</i> 873 |
| Guravamiśra | ” | Nārāyaṇapāla | <i>c.</i> 875 – <i>c.</i> 932 |

As to Devapāla, styled lord of Gauḍa (*Gauḍeśvara*, v. 13), we are told that he long ruled over the sea-girt earth thanks to the counsel of his wise minister Kedāramiśra, after his victories on the Utkala Kingdom in northeastern Odisha, the Hūṇas settled near the Himālayas from central Asia, and the Draviḍas and Gurjaras, namely his hereditary enemies Amoghavarṣa of the Rāṣtrakūṭas, and Mihira Bhoja of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras (Kielhorn 1894: 162; Banerji 1915: 55–56). In a copperplate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla’s seventeenth regnal year from Bhagalpur (Hultzsich 1886), we read that Devapāla’s brother and general Jayapāla would have put to flight the king of Utkala from his capital, and secured the submission the king of Prāgiyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa). The Munger copperplate, recording the grant of the crown-prince (*yauvarājya*) Rājyapāla to an eminent brāhmaṇa, also refers to Devapāla’s campaign at the outskirts of his empire, to the south and the north: his war horses are described as roaming the forests of the Vindhya Range and running into their lost relatives with profusion of tears. Then, after a cursory allusion to his triumph over other kings, most probably the Hūṇas, the poet alludes to the invasion of the territories of the Kambojas.

Originally highlanders of eastern Iran, some clans of these celebrated horsemen and stud farmers had migrated to the northwest of current Punjab in the last centuries BCE. We can speculate from the metaphor in the Munger inscription that describes the young horses of the imperial cavalry as reaching the lands of the Kambojas (*ll.* 19–20, v. 13; Barnett 1925–26: 305), that the horses of Devapāla’s cavalry bred by Kamboja breeders, had invaded the Kambojas’ country. In point of fact we can suppose that, since at least the time of Devapāla, the Pālas recruited horses from those western territories. Possibly on the wave of that equine business, some

Kamboja adventurers could also have found their way to the east either as traders or mercenary soldiers, the latter presumably for the Pāla cavalry (N.G. Majumdar 1933–34: 153; R.C. Majumdar 1971: 183 n. 138).

With Devapāla, the prestige of the dynasty could not but increase, notably among the Buddhists, for his patronage of the monastic cultural institutions, Nālandā and so forth. A copperplate inscription of Devapāla's thirty-ninth regnal year from Nālandā records the grant of five villages for the monastery at Nālandā that Devapāla had to be built at the request of the Bālaputradeva, the Śailendra king of Suvarṇadvīpa, corresponding to the current Java, Sumatra and Malay Peninsula (Sastri 1924; N.G. Majumdar 1926). In addition, a stone inscription from Ghosrawa in the Gaya District of Bihar, and now in the Indian Museum (Kielhorn 1888), contains the panegyric of a Vīradeva from a Brahmanical family of Nagarahāra in the current Afghanistan: once completed his Vedic studies, he would have studied under several Buddhist savants. When his fame reached the ears of Devapāla, the latter appointed him to a high office at Nālandā (*Nālandā-paripālanāyanyiyata*).

Some evidence of the commercial relations Arabs kept with the deltaic regions of Pāla Bengal is given by the Abbasid gold dinars and silver dirhams unearthed in the present-day Lalmai Hills, as well as from a ninth-century travelogue, the *Travel of the Merchant Sulaymān to India and China*, written in 851, and completed by Abū Zayd Ḥasan in 916. Sulaymān describes three rival Indian powers (Elliot and Dowson 1867: 5, 25; R.C. Majumdar 1971: 116), namely the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king (*Jurz*), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king (*Balharā*), and the Pāla king (*Ruhmi*):

...a kingdom called *Ruhmi*, which is at war with that of *Jurz*. The king is not held in very high estimation. He is at war with the *Balharā* as he is with the king of *Jurz*. His troops are more numerous than those of the *Balharā*, the king of *Jurz*, or the king of *Tāfak*. It is said that when he goes out to battle he is followed by about fifty thousand elephants. He takes the field only in winter, because elephants cannot endure thirst, and can only go out in the cold season. It is stated that there are from ten to fifteen thousand men in his army who are employed in fulling and washing clothes.

There is a stuff made in his country which is not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring. It is made of cotton, and we have seen a piece of it. Trade is carried on by means of cowries, which are the current money of the country. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and

the stuff called *samara*, of which *madabs* are made. The striped *bushān* or *karkadān* is found in this country. It is an animal which has a single horn in the middle of its forehead...

Not only does Sulaymān give us an idea of the entity of Devapāla's troops unbiasedly reporting the huge amount of his war elephants and launderers, but also he provides us with some pieces of information useful to reconstruct the international market of Bengal as perceived by an Arab trader of the ninth century, to begin with the subsidiary currency to gold and silver he found there, the cowries.⁴⁶ The pyriform shells of the cowrie (*cypraea moneta*) mentioned by Sulaymān were imported from the Maldives in exchange of the export of rice from Bengal, and used as the smallest unit of currency. Nevertheless, since a silver coin could easily be exchanged with 1,280 cowries, and a gold coin with 20,480 cowries, we can infer that the use of such a medium of exchange is not at all a symptom of demonetization and decline of trade (Ghosh and Datta 2012: 41–42).⁴⁷

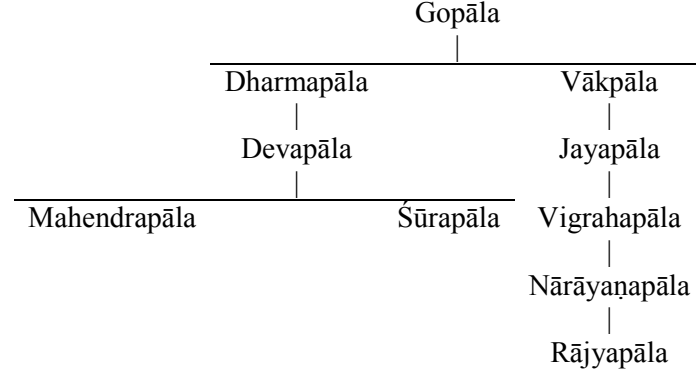
The economic process of formation of a feudal society, based on self-sufficient economy, generally goes parallel with the parcellization (or *sāmantization*) of the political power. Nevertheless, southeastern Bengal corresponds to a remarkable regional variation. As a matter of fact, while the political and cultural *sāmantization* process was running at full speed, international trade and commerce seem to have flourished as well. The main possible reason of this Bengali specificity is again water. Thanks to the riverine web of navigable trade routes, profitable goods from remote areas could easily meet the demand of domestic market towns and international seaports, from which they were shipped to southeastern Asian countries, as well as to the countries of the west. Thanks to water, those urban centres were kept commercially active, reachable each other, and well connected by a solid and capillary administration. This can be evinced by the selected register of extremely costly merchandise described by Sulaymān, that is to say, a very fine cotton fabric possibly of muslin, the aromatic and resinous heartwood of the aloeswood (*Aquilaria*), the hair of the bushy tail of the yak (Skt *camara*) from which fly-whisks were made, as well as rhino horns, the grinded powder of which is a much demanded good even today in some illegal markets of southeast Asia for its supposed therapeutic properties.⁴⁸

After Devapāla

Whereas energy can be neither created nor destroyed, but change, its human narration, that is power, cannot but end. As it is the case for *every* kind of political power, once the Pālas had reached the peak of their supremacy, only descent was possible. The slowness in that steady decline was guaranteed, besides chance, by a highly developed administrative system securing an acceptable grade of continuity to the people's daily life: such a minimum of stability can in fact be vital when the political borders, responding to the question who's the king of what, were extremely fluid.

The crown-prince Rājyapāla mentioned in the Munger copperplate might have died before his father, with ensuing dynastic trouble after the death of Devapāla. In point of fact we have three Pāla rulers over a span of twenty-five years, most probably with the assistance of the old minister Kedāramiśra. First Devapāla's other two sons Mahendrapāla (*c.* 850–*c.* 865) and Śūrapāla (*c.* 865–*c.* 873) succeeded to the throne, then their second cousin Vighrahapāla (*c.* 873–*c.* 875). The latter, being the son of Devapāla's first cousin Jayapāla, as well as the grandson of Vākpāla, the younger brother of Dharmapāla, inaugurated the sway of that collateral branch of the dynasty (Banerji 1915: 57; R.C. Majumdar 1971: 119–20; Davidson 2002b: 56).

Vighrahapāla, entering a religious life, abdicated the throne in favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla (*c.* 875–*c.* 932), who was assisted by the minister Guravamiśra, son of the prudent Kedāramiśra. No military victory is credited to Nārāyaṇapāla, but we cannot deny that he was able or lucky enough to seat on the throne for more than half a century in those restless years. In fact, the Pratīhāras' imperial capital Kanauj was temporarily occupied by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Once the victorious army left, the Pratīhāra king recovered his position, but not his prestige. On the other hand, a marriage between Nārāyaṇapāla's son Rājyapāla with a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, ensured more than thirty years of peaceful reign to Rājyapāla (*c.* 932–*c.* 967)—



In a stone-slab panegyric from Bhaturiya in the Rajshahi District of Bangladesh, Rājyapāla is credited only with conventionally bombastic assertions of paramount sway over the Indian oecumene (Sircar 1959–60b). After an invocation to Śambhu (Śiva), it records the grant of a village and the imposition of a tax for a *śivaliṅga* established by a Yaśodāsa, to whom the *praśasti* is dedicated. Since the latter was the minister (*mantrin*, *saciva*, *tantrādhikārin*) of Rājyapāla, Yaśodāsa possibly inherited the position from Guravamiśra. The panegyric says that, when he was the minister in charge of administration (*tantrādhikārin*), his king's command was obeyed by several peoples, the list of whom is worth a notice (*ll.* 10–12, *v.* 8; Sircar 1959–60b: 154)—

| | |
|----------|---|
| Mlecchas | the Arabs inhabiting the lower Indus Valley since the first quarter of the eighth century; |
| Aṅgas | in the present-day eastern Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal, as well as the Tarai Area of Nepal; |
| Kaliṅgas | in central-eastern India, comprising most of the modern coastal Odisha, as well as the bordering northern regions of Andhra Pradesh; |
| Vaṅgas | in southern West Bengal and Bangladesh; |
| Oḍras | in Odisha; |
| Pāṇḍyas | in the southernmost Indian districts; |
| Karṇātas | the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta (current Malkhed), risen to power in south India in the mid-eighth century; |
| Lāṭas | in southwest Gujarat; |
| Suhmas | in West Bengal and northwestern Bangladesh; |
| Gurjaras | the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kannauj; |
| Krītas | as for the Krītas, Sircar suggests it could be matter of the Qiliduo (訖利多) people who, according to a tradition reported by Xuanzang, were also known as the 'Bought' (<i>Maide</i> 買得 : Skt <i>Krīta</i>), because |

they had been originally poor people purchased from the countries surrounding Kashmir, and imported as servants to the Buddhist monks by the disciple of Ānanda, the arhat Madhyāntika (*Motiandijia* 末田底迦); after the latter's death, they constituted themselves rulers over the neighbouring countries; the people of surrounding countries despising these low-born men, would not associate with them, and called them Kṛītas;

Cīnas with the Cīnas, the inscription probably alludes to the Kambojas.

Whenever a variety of political power bares the slightest sign of weakness, or simply deserts the expected ritual of aggressiveness with the other forms of power, it turns vulnerable to external and internal trouble. In the first case, the threat comes from the outside to the inside. In the second case, it is matter of a separatist pressure from the inside towards the outside. Both vectors act on the outskirts of the empire, mostly on the opposite ones, as it was the case of Bengal, where each of the two circumstances was conducive to the other. Old and new enemies had in fact tried their luck at the expense of the Pāla Empire, to begin with current Assam and Odisha, which had regained their autonomy already in the last years of Devapāla's life. Then, the occasional raids from the south of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Amoghavarṣa (*c.* 814–*c.* 880), and the erosion of the Rāḍhā territories by the king of Oṛiśā, opened the way to the campaigns from the west of the Pratīhāras. Thus Mihira Bhoja (*c.* 836–*c.* 885) and his son Mahendrapāla (*c.* 890–*c.* 910), together with their allies Candellas and Kāḷachuris, annexed Magadha and northwestern Bengal to the Pratīhāra Empire.

The Candras of Arakan

After Ānandacandra's *praśasti* (720), another Candra dynasty of Arakan seems to emerge from the mists of time, out of what can be read in the second inscription on the north face of the same Mrauk U pillar. Paleographically linked to the proto-Bengali script prevalent in the Candra Bengal (Gutman 1976: 68–69), the inscription mentions a king Siṃhagaṇḍapatiśuracandra (*l.* 9), whose historicity is confirmed by two coins from the Sittwe hoard with *śrī siṃhagaṇḍacandra* inscribed; then a king Siṃghavikramaśūracandra (*l.* 12) and Siṃghaśūracandra (*l.* 16). Johnston conjectures (1944: 373) that it is matter here of a tenth-century new dynasty of Arakan, with personal names beginning with *siṃgha*- and

ending in *-śūracandra*, two of whom being called *Simghan(d)apati-śūracandra* and *Simghavikramaśūracandra*. It is reasonable to conjecture that this dynasty be connected with the Candras mentioned in the Arakanese chronicles, who would have reigned since 788, that is half a century after the end of *Ānandacandra*.

According to the Arakanese chronicles (Phayre 1844), among the fifty-five mythical kings of the first city and period of Dhanyawadi (2666–825 BCE), nine kings—from the ninth to the seventeenth—would have been named Candra. Conversely, only one Candra is attested among the twenty-eight kings of the second period of Dhanyawadi (825 BCE–146 CE), as well as one only among the forty-eight *Sūryas* who ruled over the third Dhanyawadi (146–788), which should be the town described by archaeologists. The following Arakanese Candra dynasty would have been founded by *Mahātaingcandra*. He ascended the throne in 788 and had the city of *Vesālī* built, or enlarged, as his capital. Eight kings after him would have reigned there in lineal succession, from 788 to 957. Then in 957, after the invasion of the Shan people of the current Shan Hills and other parts of modern-day Myanmar, *Vesālī* collapsed but continued as capital till 1018 (Phayre 1844: 49; Fryer 1872: 203)—

CANDRAS OF ARAKAN
ACCORDING TO THE ARAKANESE CHRONICLES

| | KING'S NAME | reign years accession year (Phayre 1844) | NOTES |
|---|------------------|--|---|
| 1 | Mahātaingcandra | 788 | son of the last king of Dhanyawadi, he could be identified with the <i>Dvangcandra</i> of <i>Ānandacandra's praśasti</i> (Johnston 1944: 369); he is said to have rebuilt <i>Vesālī</i> , on the site of the older capital, as it is confirmed by late-eighth-century sculptures found there; |
| 2 | Sūryataingcandra | 810 | son of the latter; |
| 3 | Maulataingcandra | 830 | ” |
| 4 | Paulataingcandra | 849 | ” |
| 5 | Kālataingcandra | 9 875 | son of the latter, he can be tentatively identified with <i>Kālacandra</i> , no. 3 in the list of the second period in <i>Ānandacandra's praśasti</i> , who is said to have reigned nine years as well |

| | | | |
|----|------------------|-----|---|
| | | | (Johnston 1944: 369); |
| 6 | Dulātaingcandra | 884 | son of the latter; |
| 7 | Śrītaingcandra | 903 | ” |
| 8 | Simhataingcandra | 935 | ” |
| 9 | Culataingcandra | 951 | son of the latter, he sent an expedition to current Chittagong in 953; after his death, the queen Candradevī married the following two chiefs of the Mro hill tribes, ‘indicating that the hill tribes were becoming urbanized, taking advantage of the confused state of the country’ (Gutman 1976: 73); |
| 10 | Amyasu | 957 | a chief of the Mro tribe; |
| 11 | Pe Phyu | 964 | nephew of the latter; |
| 12 | Nga Pin Nga Ton | 994 | son of Culataingcandra. |

In view of the fact that the names mentioned in the Arakanese chronicles do not correspond to those in the Mrauk U inscriptions, Johnston conjectures that the source of the chronicles’ list had been authentic but very corrupted. Another possible reason of this discrepancy can be found in the ‘variety of throne names, popular names and posthumous names given to each Burmese king’ (Gutman 1976: 72).

The Kingdom of Harikela

In all probability, the pressure exerted to the west of Bengal in the second half of the ninth century induced the feudal lords of the easternmost regions to a centrifugal policy oriented towards other spheres of influence in order to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves. In the metaregion of current Sylhet, Tripura, Chittagong and Arakan, roughly corresponding to a portion of what Tāranātha calls Koki, an independent kingdom of Harikela is known to us through a ninth-century incomplete copperplate inscription found in an old temple in the Nasirabad area of Chittagong (R.C. Majumdar 1942). The inscription gives evidence of three rulers of a Buddhist dynasty: Bhadradata, Dhanadata, and Kāntideva. Again, while the first two were still vassals, possibly in consequence of a favourable dynastic marriage of the second one with a Bindurati, the daughter of a great king (*mahābhūbhṛtsutā*), their son Kāntideva would have claimed his sovereignty (*paramasaugata paramēśvara mahārājādhirāja*) over the kingdom. As to which kingdom it was, we are tempted by Ramesh Chandra

Majumdar to speculate that the father of the Bindurati who married Dhanadatta could have been Bhavadeva, the last known king of the Deva dynasty that reigned over Samatāṭa from Devaparvata. If this is the case, Kāntideva would have inherited his maternal grandfather's kingdom coming into possession of wide areas of southeast Bengal. Since he addresses in his copperplate to future kings of Harikela Maṇḍala, we can infer that he was a king of that very maṇḍala including Chittagong and some portions of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

It has been reasonably conjectured that Harikela's first kings may have originated in Arakan (Gutman 1976: 319). Albeit Buddhist, the Harikela kings minted their own coins with a Śiva's bull surmounted by the toponym Harikela on the obverse, and a trident (*triśūla*) on the reverse, patently on the sixth-century model of the Arakan Candra coinage (Nasir 2016; Shariful 2016). Their findspots cover a discontinuous range from southern Arakan to Sylhet and Tripura: a piece of evidence that confirms the maritime relationship between southern Arakan and the Bengal delta region. Besides, since those finds have taken place for the most part in southeastern Bengal, we get some further evidence to locate Harikela (Wicks 1992: 90).

In the current Patiyā Subdistrict (*upazila*) of Chittagong District there is a village named Kelisahar, which could be a vestige of the kingdom of Harikela. According to Suniti Bhushan Qanungo (1988: 64), a voice of local people has it that the village is very old and was once the capital of a flourishing kingdom, as it is supported by a large quantity of ancient vestiges found in the area. The toponym seems to be the Persianized form of what is vulgarly known as Kelihara, which would be the reversed form of Harikela: curiously enough, this conjectured anastrophe in the toponym (*keli-hara*) cannot but be reminiscent of the above mentioned paronomasic *keli-āra* in Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*.

Bardhamānapura is the name of the capital (*vāsaka*) of the Harikela Maṇḍala from where Kāntideva issued his grant. The speculation about its geographical identification in the maps has divided scholars into two parties, the former locating Bardhamānapura in western Bengal, and the latter more realistically to the east. There is indeed a village, Bara-Uthān or Borodhān, near the sea coast in the Chandanaish Subdistrict of Chittagong District, which could have been the possible port capital of Harikela:

It is not long before that the sea going craft were used to anchor near it. Now the sea has receded much from its original coast, leaving the port in

distress. It appears that the shrinking of ocean into itself brought about the decay of this historic site, which is now reduced to a mere village. The Sanskritized name of the city has, subsequently, been turned to Barudhan in the uncultured rural tongue. In fact the area, surrounding the proposed site of Bardhamānapura is so rich in old relics that it might hold some independent or semi-independent kingdoms successively during that period of history (Qanungo 1988: 64–65).

The Candras of Bengal

Among the vassals under Kāntideva's sovereignty was a family we have already met in Arakan as a royal one, the Candras. After that regal time, according to Tāranātha's *rGya gar chos 'byung* (187.4–6; *THBI* 251), the scions of the Candra line had recycled themselves into princely descent endowed with relations (*tshan ldan rgyal rigs*), ministers, brāhmaṇas, and great merchants. Their presence in the eighth-century Bengal can be inferred from the Mrauk U pillar inscription, in which we have read of Ānandacandra, the Candra king of Arakan who married a daughter of the king of Śrītāmapattana (Tāmraliptī), possibly in the context of an alliance treaty at the time of Yaśovarman. More to the point, albeit in a legendary context, we have also read in the *rGya gar chos 'byung* (192.4; *THBI* 258) that the rise of Gopāla would have been initially impeded by the queen dowager of the last king of the Candras.

Since the mid-ninth century, this Buddhist family played a central role in Bengal for about a century and a half. As we can see from the approximate years of accession of the Pāla and Candra kings, the latter would have made their own fortune when the former, after Devapāla (*c.* 812–*c.* 850) and before Mahīpāla I (*c.* 992–*c.* 1042), were running the risk of losing definitively theirs—

| PĀLAS | Chowdhury 1967 | Majumdar 1971 | Davidson 2002b | CANDRAS OF BENGAL | Chowdhury 1967 | Sircar 1967–68 | Majumdar 1971 | Fleming 2010 |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Gopāla I | 756 | 750 | 750 | | | | | |
| Dharmapāla | 781 | 770 | 775 | | | | | |
| Devapāla | 821 | 810 | 812 | | | | | |
| Mahendrapāla | — | — | 850 | Pūrṇacandra | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|------|------|-----------------|------|-----|------|------|
| Śūrapāla I | 861 | 850 | 865 | Suvarṇacandra | | | | |
| Vigrahapāla I | 861 | 850 | 873 | | | | | |
| Nārāyaṇapāla | 866 | 854 | 875 | Trailokyacandra | 900 | 905 | 875 | |
| Rājyapāla | 920 | 908 | 932 | Śrīcandra | 930 | 925 | 905 | 925 |
| Gopāla II | 952 | 940 | 967 | | | | | |
| Vigrahapāla II | 969 | 960 | 987 | Kalyāṇacandra | 975 | 975 | 955 | 975 |
| Mahīpāla I | 995 | 988 | 992 | Laḍahacandra | 1000 | | 955 | 1000 |
| | | | | Govindacandra | 1020 | | 1010 | 1020 |
| Nayapāla | 1043 | 1038 | 1042 | | | | | |
| Vigrahapāla III | 1058 | 1054 | 1058 | | | | | |
| Mahīpāla II | 1075 | 1072 | 1085 | | | | | |
| Śūrapāla II | 1080 | 1075 | 1086 | | | | | |
| Rāmapāla | 1082 | 1077 | 1087 | | | | | |
| Kumārapāla | 1124 | 1130 | 1141 | | | | | |
| Gopāla III | 1129 | 1140 | 1143 | | | | | |
| Madanapāla | 1143 | 1144 | 1158 | | | | | |
| Govindapāla | — | 1158 | 1176 | | | | | |
| Palapāla | — | — | 1180 | | | | | |

The Candra kings are known to us through fourteen inscriptions found in east Bengal, to begin with the eight ones issued by their most important king, Śrīcandra—

| | CANDRA KING | regnal year | LOCALITY | MATERIAL |
|----|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|
| 1 | Śrīcandra | 5 | Paschimbhag | copperplate |
| 2 | ” | — | Kedārpur | ” |
| 3 | ” | — | Idilpur | ” |
| 4 | ” | — | Rampal | ” |
| 5 | ” | — | Dhulla | ” |
| 6 | ” | — | Bangladesh Museum | ” |
| 7 | ” | — | Bogra | ” |
| 8 | ” | 44/46 | Madanpur | ” |
| 9 | Kālyāṇacandra | 24 | Dhaka | ” |
| 10 | Laḍahacandra | — | Mainamati | ” |
| 11 | ” | — | Mainamati | ” |
| 12 | ” | 18 | Bharella | image |
| 13 | Govindacandra | — | Mainamati | copperplate |
| 14 | ” | 23 | Betka-Paikpada | image |

Not only did Śrīcandra make his family an imperial one (*parameśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārako mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmānŚrīcandradevaḥ*), but he also established the official history of the dynasty. We know in fact exactly what Śrīcandra wanted to be recorded of him and his forefathers in five published copperplate grant inscriptions with almost the same eulogistic introductory stanzas, namely, the Rampal (Rāmpāl), Madanpur, Dhulla (Dhullā), Bangladesh National Museum no. 77.1478, and Bogra copperplates. Let us follow these revealing introductory stanzas from Benjamin Fleming's (2010) edition and translation of the Bogra *praśasti*.

Pūrṇacandra

Now, in the lineage of the powerful and prosperous Candras, rulers (*bhuj*) of Rohitāgiri, was one like the full moon (*pūrṇacandra*) who was celebrated in the world as the blessed Pūrṇacandra. He was mentioned before his descendants in the pedestals of images (*arcā*) [as well as] on victory columns (*jayastambha*), which had freshly chisel-hewn benedictions (*praśasti*), and on copperplates (*tāmra*; Bogra copperplate ll. 3–5, v. 2).

As 'princely descent endowed with relations' in Tāranātha's words, we guess that Pūrṇacandra was a local ruler, presumably like his forefathers. In all probability he was a feudatory of the Pālas in the confused dynastic period after Devapāla. In the above verse the dynasty is said to have originated in the family ruling over Rohitāgiri (*Rohitāgiri-bhujām-vamśa*). This Rohitāgiri had been initially identified with Rohtasgarh (Rohtāsgaḍh, Rohitāśvagiri) in the Rohtas (Rohatās) District of Bihar (Law 1954: 256; Sircar 1967–68: 292; 1971: 152), but the place name, meaning 'red hill', could be a Sanskritization of Bengali *lālmāṭi*, 'red soil'. In this sense, it appears more reasonable to associate Rohitāgiri with the current Lalmai Hills, about eight km to the west of Comilla, where a number of Candra inscriptions have been found (Bhattachali 1927: 418; Chowdhury 1967: 160–61; Luce and Bo-Hmu Ba Shin 1969: 120; R.C. Majumdar 1971: 200, 214).⁴⁹

Suvarṇacandra

His son, Suvarṇacandra, a Buddhist (*bauddha*), was renowned in the world as if because he was born into the respectable family of the Moon (*candra*), that is, the Lord possessing beams that are a mine of nectar, who lovingly bears the Buddha's hare incarnation (*śaśakajātaka*) stationed in

his spot (*aṅkasmstham*).

It is said that on the new moon day his mother, on account of her pregnancy while desiring to see the orb of the moon rising, was gratified because of [the sight of] the golden moon (*suvarṇacandra*) [and] so they call [him] Suvarṇacandra (Bogra copperplate, ll. 5–8, vv. 3–4).

Since no other information is given here with the exception of Suvarṇacandra's faith, we can infer that also Pūrṇacandra's son and successor was a petty ruler under the Pālas, famed for his devotion to Buddhism and to the influential Buddhist order. The religious position of the Candras is confirmed by the invocation to the Buddha at the beginning of their copperplate grants, by the epithet *paramasaugata* before the names of kings, as well as by the emblem of the *dharmacakra* in their seal like that of the Pāla kings.

Trailokyacandra

His son Trailokyacandra, the sanctifier of both families, who was the abode feared by improper conduct (*kaulīnabhītāśayas*), was known in the three worlds (*trailokya*) through his qualities by travellers of all directions. He who resembled Dilīpa became king (*nṛpati*) on the island (*dvīpa*) that has the name *Candra* prefixed to it, and he was a receptacle of the good fortune that had blossomed under the royal umbrella insignia of the king of Harikela (*ādhāro Harikela-rāja-kakuda-cchatra-smitānām śriyām*).

As Jyotsnā to Candra, Śacī to Jīṣṇu, Gaurī to Hara, and Śrī to Hari, his beloved—having the splendour of gold (*kāñcana*)—was to him whose commands were respected [called] Śrīkāñcanā.

Possessing Indra's radiance [and] understanding prudent policy, he [Trailokyacandra] at a moment made auspicious through a lunar conjunction attained through her [Śrīkāñcanā] a son, Śrīcandra, who resembled the moon [and] in whom astrologers observed the marks of [a future] king (Bogra copperplate, ll. 8–13, vv. 5–7).

The interpretation of the above 'royal umbrella insignia of the king of Harikela' has been problematic for the scholars. There is in fact no certainty whether Trailokyacandra, here compared to the mythical emperor Dilīpa (*Raghuvamśa* 1.17), had power in Harikela *de facto* (Basak 1913–14; Sircar 1949–50; 1959–60a; Mills 1993; Fleming 2010), or *de jure* as well (N.G. Majumdar 1929; R.C. Majumdar 1943; Basak 1949–50; R.C. Majumdar 1971). We might speculate that an initial *de facto* pre-eminent

political position would have been endorsed *de jure* later: hypothetically, at the death of an old Kāntideva or his successor; hypothetically again, under the diplomatic pressure from the neighbour king Śrītaingcandra of the new Candra dynasty of Arakan, most likely a distant relative of his. If that is the case, the mention to the conquest of Candradvīpa—in this context identical with Vaṅgāla (Sircar 1959–60a: 135; 1971: 133), i.e. a part of Vaṅga—and to the king of Harikela on whose behalf it would have been made may possibly suggest that in the first quarter of the tenth century Trailokyacandra would have transferred the Candras' allegiance from the vulnerable Pālas to the sovereign of the emergent kingdom of Harikela.

One of Śrīcandra's earliest records issued in his fifth regnal year (c. 930) has been unearthed in the village of Paschimbhag (Paścimbhāg) in the Moulvibazar District of the Sylhet Division. In itself, the location of this significant finding is an evidence of the Candra sway over northern Harikela at that time. This Paschimbhag copperplate contains fifteen introductory stanzas partially different in number and composition from those in the Rampal, Madanpur, Dhulla, Bangladesh National Museum, and Bogra copperplates: whereas some stanzas are common, and other are absent, seven can be found only therein. In particular, the eulogy of Trailokyacandra (vv. 5–10) is worthy of note for the political and cultural history of Bengal, as it clearly mentions his conquest of Samataṭa:

After having conquered Samataṭa (*Samataṭan nirjjitya*), the [king's] soldiers exclaimed, 'That prosperous (*śrīmat*) Devaparvata lying on the Kṣīrodā (*Kṣīrodām anu Devaparvvata*) is this city where the visitor has the feeling of astonishment at the wonderful reports about the Kambojas (*vismaya-rasaḥ Kamboja-vārttādbhutaiḥ*)', and the Lalambi forest (*Lālabī-vanam*) in the area being searched by hundreds of boatmen (*atra nāvika-śatair anviṣṭa*), they heard, in conformity with tradition, the tales about superbly efficacious medicinal herbs (*siddh-auṣadhi-vyāhārā iti ha śrutās*, Paschimbhag copperplate, ll. 9–11, v. 7; Sircar 1967–68: 291, 301).

It was a period when Kamboja bands were carrying out raids on Pāla domains within the borders of Bengal. Probably these warriors on horseback would have belonged to the progeny of the Kamboja groups of adventurers, traders, and mercenaries who were settling since Devapāla's time in the territories around the northern and eastern borders of Bengal, slowly merging with some local tribes. Then, probably attracted by the rich

possibilities of the prosperous empire of the Pālas, these Kambojas would have aimed at wresting northwest Bengal from them (Sircar 1967–68: 291–92).

Possibly with the help and military support of the king of Harikela, Trailokyacandra was able or lucky enough to take advantage of the ensuing political chaos and capture Devaparvata, so close to his paternal domain. Capital of the earlier Rāta and Deva dynasties of Samataṭa as we read in the Kailan and Mainamati copperplates (Sircar 1947; 1951), Devaparvata was the prosperous town on the Kṣīrodā River. Most probably it had an important riverine harbor with a developed system for docking; we read in fact in the Kailan copperplate a seventh-century reference to the banks of the river made of innumerable boats (*naubhir aparimitābhir uparacita-kūlā*, ll. 2–3), and in the Paschimbhag copperplate the reference is to the hundreds of boatmen searching and collecting medicinal herbs, and probably other valuable goods in the nearby Lāmbivana, i.e. the current Lalmai Hills near Comilla (Sircar 1967–68: 292).

The military success of that venturesome feudatory lord of Rohitāgiri could have put him in a different position in front of the king of Harikela, and laid the foundation stone of the Candra power. The Paschimbhag copperplate would confirm Trailokyacandra's growing prominence, as it also hints metaphorically at a victorious tour (*digvijaya*) of his army in south India, from the west-central Vindhya Range to the southernmost Malaya Mountains.

Albeit conventional, and merely implying Trailokyacandra's claim to the status of independent king, the description indirectly provides significant information on the starting point of this *digvijaya*: the soldiers would have in fact enjoyed the curd of Vaṅga at the village Kṛṣṇaśikharin (*bhuktvā Vaṅga-dadhīni Kṛṣṇaśikhari-grāmeṣu...*, l. 11, v. 8) before leaving to the southwest. The village with its celebrated curd is known only in this document, but we can assume from this reference that all Vaṅga or its most part had come under Trailokyacandra's control. Thus, while Bengal witnessed the Kambojas' presence within the Pāla Empire, Trailokyacandra after the take of Samataṭa would have gradually spread his sway over Vaṅga, as it is confirmed in the two copperplates of Laḍahacandra found at Mainamati (Dani 1966).

According to the Dhaka copperplate of Kalyāṇacandra (Dani 1961), Trailokyacandra would have defeated also the Gauḍas. By this name, most likely the Kambojas were meant in the years of Kalyāṇacandra (c. 975–c. 1000), and *a fortiori* of Laḍahacandra (c. 1000–c. 1020). It was in fact

around 975 that the so-called Kamboja Pālas, i.e. members of a Pāla dynasty somehow related to the Kamboja aristocracy, took the control of the principality of Gauḍa at the expense of the Imperial Pālas (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 126–27, 203–204).

Albeit ‘under the royal umbrella insignia’ of the king of Harikela, Trailokyacandra, would have added *de facto* large portions of southeast Bengal to his paternal petty kingdom on the Lalmai Hills in Samatāṭa. Once achieved a renovated prominence to the Candras name, further geopolitical requirements emerged in ruling a more extensive country with the more prestigious position of viceroy, or *mahārājādhirāja* as Trailokyacandra’s son Śrīcandra refers to him in the inscriptions. It is therefore reasonable that Trailokyacandra had been induced to shift the capital (*jayaskandhāvāra*) from Rohitāgiri to Vikramapura with the aim of fulfilling these new requirements: not only the city would have been the Candras’ eventual administrative centre, as proved by the grants of Śrīcandra and the latter’s successors issued from there, but it was also destined to be the capital of the Varmans and the Senas, the two Brahmanical dynasties which succeeded the Candras. Regrettably, to date we can get a remote idea of its location from the official name of Bikrampur, which occurred as an administrative unit (*pargana*) during the Mughal period (Morrison 1970: 56–57). Nonetheless, the current inhabitants of a vast area in the Munshiganj District of the Dhaka Division still claim to be from Vikramapura.

Śrīcandra

As we read of Trailokyacandra’s son Śrīcandra in the Rampal, Madanpur, Dhulla, Bangladesh National Museum, and Bogra copperplates,

... having made the earth embellished with a single umbrella (*ekātapatra*),
he was not obedient to fools, put his enemies into prisons, and made the
four directions fragrant with his fame (Bogra copperplate II. 13–14, v. 8).

The conventional allusion to the ‘single umbrella’ of the paramount power of Śrīcandra implies that he was the first emperor *de jure* of the family. Hence, it must have been Śrīcandra to throw off the allegiance to the king of Harikela—if not Trailokyacandra himself in his late years—in the wake of further invasions of Bengal. As a matter of fact, the demise of the Pratīhāras had modified the political landscape, and northern India had

found itself exposed to the conquest of territories by the ancient allies of the Pratīhāras, namely the Candellas and the Kālachuris. Since the middle of the ninth century until almost the end of the tenth century, that is during the reigns of Rājyapāla, Gopāla II, and Vighrahapāla II, the Candellas and the Kālachuris continued carrying out aggressive raids beyond the border of the Pālas' empire. Admittedly, it is problematic to decide of which border and empire it was the case, because a central authority were not so strongly perceived at that time, as we can guess from the Kālachuri and Candella records, where Bengal is referred to according to its parts—Āṅga, Rāḍhā, Gauḍa, and Vaṅgāla (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 126).

Śrīcandra's territory covered southeast Bengal with Vikramapura as central seat of authority. More in detail, the political map of the Candra authority would have comprised Vaṅga with Vikramapura, Samatāṭa with Devaparvata, Harikela with the port town of Caṭigāḍ (Chittagong), and the region round Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet), as it is deducible from the geographical position of the copperplate found at Paschimbhag. The same inscription mentions Śrīcandra's conquest of Kāmarūpa (*Kāmarūpa vijaye*, l. 17, v. 12) by entering the forest-regions near the Lohitya, i.e. the Brahmaputra (*Lohityasya vanasthalī-parisarāḥ*, l. 18, v. 12). Albeit one of Śrīcandra's earliest documents, only this copperplate refers to the victory, which is however confirmed by his successors' grants (Sircar 1967–68: 293).

Of the three generations of Candra kings claiming to have defeated the 'Gauḍas', that is the Kambojas—Trailokyacandra, Śrīcandra, and Kalyāṇacandra—we have already seen what kind of involvement was in the case of Trailokyacandra. As to his son, we know from the Mainamati copperplate of Laḍahacandra that Śrīcandra defeated the kings of Gauḍa and Prāgijyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa). Besides, we read in the Dhaka copperplate of Kalyāṇacandra that Śrīcandra restored Gopāla II in his royal post, with the latter's queen who had been imprisoned. Most probably this epigraphic material is just erratic evidence of a long conflict between the Imperial Pālas, their allies Candra, and the Kamboja Pālas.

As observed by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (1971: 126), while there is mention of a 'usurper' of the kingdom in some Pāla inscriptions, other documents refer to a Kamboja sway over the northern and western dominions of the Pālas. One is the tenth-century brief inscription on the Bangarh pillar in Dinajpur District of northern Bangladesh, which records the erection of a Śaiva temple by a lord of Gauḍa of the Kamboja lineage (*Kāmbōjānvayajane Gauḍapati*, l. 2; Chanda 1911: 619). The other is a copperplate inscription found at Irda, in the Balasore District of current

Odisha (N.G. Majumdar 1933–34), recording the grant of lands in the western *bhukti* of Vardhamāna by a king Nayapāla from the capital (*rājadhānī*) of Priyaṅgu. The inscription mentions two other kings, the issuer's father and elder brother respectively, who reigned in succession with full imperial titles (*parameśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*): Rājyapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla, and Nayapāla.

Significantly, Rājyapāla is here described as a Buddhist (*saugata*), as an 'ornament of the Kamboja family' (*Kamboja-vamśa-tilakaḥ*, ll. 5–6, v. 6), and as married with a queen Bhāgyadevī. Now, not only all the three above kings have names already known in the Imperial Pāla dynasty, albeit in different order, but the queens of the Rājyapāla of the Imperial Pālas and this Rājyapāla of the Kambojas—both Buddhist (*saugata*) and living in the same area at the same time—are named Bhāgyadevī. On the basis of these similarities, admits Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, it is 'tempting' to identify the two Rājyapālas. Obviously, such a slippery matter has been subject of considerable debate in the academies (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 172–73). Some scholars in fact have claimed that they must have been separate persons, and there should be no hesitation about that; on the contrary, some have upheld the identity of the two Rājyapālas, and of the two Pāla families as a consequence: in both cases indeed a division of the Pāla territories in the last quarter of the tenth century is an undisputable fact.

Let us consider schematically the two alternative solutions once again. If the Kamboja Rājyapāla of the Irda copperplate was another person than the Pāla king, it would follow that Rājyapāla, 'an ambitious and powerful Kamboja chief, perhaps a dignitary or high official under the Pālas, had taken advantage of the weakness of the Pāla kingdom to set up an independent principality which ultimately comprised western and northern Bengal' (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 127). On the other hand, if the Kamboja king was the same Rājyapāla of the Pāla imperial dynasty, the claimed Kamboja descent of Rājyapāla's dynasty could be traceable only within a matrilineal descent system: which is reasonable as well, as attested in more than one case. It would be matter in this case of an 'ambitious Kamboja chief' all the same, but at least one generation older than Rājyapāla: he would have gained the confidence of the Pālas after Devapāla's time, possibly as a mercenary soldier in the beginning. Then he would have become so influential to have his daughter married with a member of the collateral branch of the Pāla dynasty inaugurated by Vākpāla: possibly one of the three, Jayapāla, Vigrahapāla, or Nārāyaṇapāla.

Śrīcandra would have thus intervened on behalf of Gopāla II against the

latter's brother (Dani 1966: 36). Described in the Dhaka copperplate of Kalyāṇacandra as *prthvīpāla*, possibly a synonym for king (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 214), this Gopāla's brother could be identified with the Kamboja Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla or his brother Nayapāla who would have taken control of the reign of Gopāla II.

However, if Śrīcandra was on one occasion able to defeat the Gauḍa king of the Kambojas and restore the Pāla king to his kingdom, a more durable division of the Pāla territories between two branches of the same family must have occurred after Rājyapāla's death. One would have been the kingdom of Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla, comprising western (Rāḍhā) and northern (Varendra) Bengal with capital at Priyaṅgu. The other kingdom would have been under the sway of Gopāla II and Vighrapāla II, with capital seemingly at Gauḍa, and probably included both Aṅga and Magadha.

Such are the waters, such the kings, the polities, and the cities considered so far. Our Bengali gentleman of a thousand years ago begins to be in view, and it is the right moment to focus on him through the sources relevant to his deeds.

Notes to the First Chapter

¹ With regard to the present course of the Gaṅgā (Lat. Ganges), important modifications must have been occurred beyond its curve around the Rajmahal Hills, near the current border of Bihar and West Bengal. We do not know its exact course in the tenth century CE, but it is possible to develop some inductive idea from its increasing sinuosity ratio and braiding index in recent times. We see from analyses of the period of 1973–2006 that this meandering river lately becomes a braided river, for high sediment transportation by Jamunā, and deposition of Gaṅgā-Padmā river bed (Yeasmin and Islam 2011). Satellite images show its present windings intersect the dry beds of some of its old channels as laid down on the early maps, demonstrating that there has been more than one shifting towards the south and the west before the Gaṅgā reached its present course.

In the nineteenth century the French geographer Elisée Reclus (1876–94: 192–93) had already described this unsteady main stream as 'constantly shifting its bed by eating away, and withdrawing from, both banks alternately'. Regarding this

shifting of the river course, we are informed by the same author (*ibid.*) that in the middle of the eighteenth century, ‘...the Ganges wound through the plains at a long distance from the Rajmahal Hills, but in 1788 it had not only approached, but had actually cut for itself a new channel through these hills, so that isolated rocks previously on the right now stood near the left bank. Ten years later on all vestige of these reefs had disappeared, while the place where the main current formerly flowed was occupied by an island eight miles long and nearly two miles broad rising above the highest water level’. Emblematic of the consequences of this process can be the case of the ancient capital city of Gauda (current Gaur, in the Maldah District, West Bengal), which has been abandoned by the main watercourse, previously flowing further north and east, and the town should have been positioned on its right bank (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 2).

² Since a large number of ship seals have been found by archaeologists at Chandraketurgarh beside the Bidyadhari River, about thirty-five km north-east of Kolkata, the site might reasonably be identified with Gaṅgā (Dasgupta 1959).

³ A fragmentary stone inscription in a Brāhmī lettering similar to that of the Aśokan records is the only epigraphical witness to the Maurya rule in Bengal. It was found in the ancient town of Puṇḍranagara, corresponding to the current village of Mahasthangarh in the district of Bogra, on the banks of the Karatoyā River. We may deduce from that small piece of hard limestone that Puṇḍranagara was an administrative town at least since the third century BCE (Bhandarkar 1931–32).

⁴ As a matter of fact, if we accept the so-called Ceylonese ‘long chronology’, the historical Buddha would have entered ultimate nirvāṇa (*parinibbāna*) in 486 BCE, that is to say, 218 years before the accession to the throne of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, in 268 BCE (Lamotte 1958: 236–37). On the other hand, if we accept the Indian ‘short chronology’, the span since the death of Siddhārtha until Aśoka’s coronation would be of a century only, and Siddhārtha would have passed away octogenarian around 384 BCE.

⁵ Tāmraliptī can be identified, following the later Buddhist Theravāda tradition, with the town of Tāmalithi, capital of a great kingdom (*Dīpavaṃsa* 3.33; Oldenberg 1879: 28, 131), or with the haven of Tāmalitti where the ambassadors of the king of Laṃkā (Sri Lanka) landed to visit king Dhammāsoka (Aśoka), and from where they embarked five months later (*Mahāvāṃsa* 11.23–24, 38; Geiger 1912: 79, 80). It is interesting to notice that those envoys’ trip would have taken seven–twelve days of navigation between the north of Sri Lanka and Tāmalitti, and seven days via land routes or along navigable watercourses between what is

the present-day Tamluk in the Midnapore District of West Bengal and Pāṭaliputta.

⁶ Among the nine kings (*rāja*) Samudragupta would have ‘exterminated’ (*prasabhoddharaṇodvṛitta*) in northern India (*āryāvarta*), the Allahabad *praśasti* (l. 21) mentions a Candravarman (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 39–40). We know a great king (*mahārāja*) with this name as the lord (*adhipati*) of Puṣkaraṇa (Pokharnā) in a rock inscription on the Susunia Hill in Bankura District of southern West Bengal (Vasu 1895; Sastri 1915–16). We may thus reasonably infer that Samudragupta’s conquest of the western region of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā opened the way into Bengal, because Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā would correspond to the current region of Raṛh (Raṛh) that covers portions of West Bengal, Jharkhand and Bihar. Besides, the Allahabad *praśasti* enumerates the lords (*nṛpati*) of lands along the borders (*pratyanta*) of the Empire (ll. 22–23), viz. Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepal, and Kartṛpura. This fact leads us to assume that, before the conquest of Samudragupta, these lands were inhabited by independent nations, since then tributaries (*karada*) of the Guptas.

⁷ See Gupta documents such as the copperplate inscriptions found at Baigram (Basak 1931–32), Damodarpur (Basak 1919–20a), and Paharpur (Dikshit 1929–30).

⁸ The Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti would have included large portions of the present Bogra and Rajshahi Districts in the Rajshahi Division, and the Dinajpur District, since 2010 in the Rangpur Division (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 13, 320).

⁹ Faxian (法顯, 336/345–418/423) left Chang’an in 399 to search for original texts of monastic discipline. Following the trade routes through central Asia, he reached India: there he travelled and studied till 412. The ‘Account of the Eminent Monk Faxian’ (*Gao seng fa xian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳) was written around 417 by an anonymous monk, on the basis of the verbal report Faxian would have given two years after his return to China in 414. Then the text occurs in the Song, Yuan, and Ming editions of the Buddhist canon as ‘Record of the Buddhist Countries’ (*Fo guo ji* 佛國記, Taishō vol. 51 no. 2085).

¹⁰ Faxian mentions the village Nāla as the birthplace of Buddha’s disciple Śāriputra, the place where he returned and entered *parinirvāṇa*: there Faxian would have revered his *stūpa* still in existence.

¹¹ Xuanzang (玄奘, c. 602–c. 664) left Chang’an in 627 on the traditional caravan routes and reached India, where he pilgrimaged for more than ten years. Once back about 646, on imperial command Xuanzang reported to his disciple and

assistant Bianji (辯機) what he had seen. The latter wrote down on the basis of his master's oral travelogue the 'Record of the Regions West of the Great Tang' (*Da tang xi yu ji* 大唐西域記, Taishō vol. 51 no. 2087).

¹² Yijing (義淨, c. 635–c. 713) set out from Guangzhou (Canton) in 671 on board a Persian merchant vessel to India in search of texts. Back to China twenty-five years later, he composed two texts, the 'Account of Eminent Monks who Sought the Doctrine West of the Great Tang' (*Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳, Taishō vol. 51 no. 2066), and the 'Account of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas' (*Nan hai ji gui nei fa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳, Taishō vol. 54 no. 2125).

¹³ The foundation of the first monastery (*vihāra*) would date back to the reign of the late Imperial Gupta king Kumāragupta I (c. 415 – c. 455), referred to as Śakrāditya (*Shuojialuoayiduo* 鑠迦羅阿逸多, T.2087.923b21; Beal 1884, 2: 168) by Xuanzang, as well as in a seal found at Nālandā (Sastri 1942: 38). The Chinese pilgrim reveals a succession of four other Guptas who would have added monasteries of their own in about one century (T.2087.923b27, b29, c1, c14; Beal 1884, 2: 168, 170), namely, Buddhagupta (*Fotuojuduo* 佛陀鞠多), Tathāgatagupta (*Datajieduojuduo* 咄他揭多鞠多), Bālāditya (*Poluoadieduo* 婆羅阿迭多), and Vajra (*Sheluo* 闍羅): Śakrāditya's son and successor, Buddhagupta would have built a monastery (*jialan* 伽藍 : *ārāma*) to the south of the first one; Tathāgatagupta to the east, Bālāditya to the north-east, and Vajra to the west of the latter respectively. After Vajra, a sixth monastery would have been built by an unnamed ruler of central India to the north of the latter; then this king, apparently not a Gupta, would have built round these edifices a high enclosing wall with one gate (T.2087.923c16; Beal 1884, 2: 170).

Apart from Kumāragupta I, we can identify only Bālāditya. This royal patron, named Bālāditya in his coins and by Xuanzang, is in fact Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, the Gupta king who would have driven, together with the Aulikara king Yaśodharman, the central Asian Hūṇas' army led by Mihirakula (r. c. 515–c. 530) from the plains of northern India in 528: thus we read in the pillar inscriptions from Mandasor erected by Yaśodharman to celebrate the victory (Fleet 1888: 147–48). As to the other kings, due to the many problems about the Gupta dynastic succession after Kumāragupta I, we have no solid certainty for an identification. In fact we ignore whether Kumāragupta I was directly succeeded by his son Skandagupta Vikramāditya, or his other son Pūrugupta Prakāśāditya. Likewise, we are basically in the dark as to the circumstances of the succession, who succeeded whom, when, and how: be it the case of Kumāragupta II Kramāditya, Buddhagupta, Vainyagupta, Kumāragupta III, and Viṣṇugupta (Heras

1928: 14–23). On the other hand, it is possible to conjecture that Xuanzang's unnamed ruler of central India (*zhong Yindu wang* 中印度王) and sixth patron of Nālandā were the above mentioned Yaśodharman of Mālava (current Malwa), contemporary with Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya. In point of fact, after the demise of the Imperial Guptas, his short-lived empire over northern India has been the only one till the time of Harṣavardhana, who was already a contemporary with Xuanzang (Dutt 1962: 330).

¹⁴ Since Vainyagupta's official status was that of a feudatory lord, as he is titled *mahārāja* in the inscription, it is problematic to identify the issuer of the grant with the Vainyagupta of a clay seal fragment from Nālandā (Fleet 1888: 117–19; Sastri 1942: 67), referred to instead as 'a king among great kings' (*mahārājādhirāja*, l. 5). As a matter of fact, such a title of paramount sovereignty is definitely more consistent with the coinage of the gold coin of Vainyagupta preserved at the British Museum (Department of Coins and Medals, no. IGp144.590). Besides, whereas the Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar copperplate depicts himself as 'meditating on the feet of Śiva' (*bhagavān-mahādeva-pādānudhyāta*, l. 2), the one of the clay seal is a Vaiṣṇava, being styled *paramabhāgavata*. Possibly, the Vainyagupta ruling from Krīpura was a distant scion of the Imperial Guptas—even if he professed himself a Śaiva, and the Guptas Vaiṣṇavas—who must have declared his independence during the troubled times of Hūṇas' overrun. It is worthy of note that the dignitary carrying Vainyagupta's orders to the local officials as a messenger (*dūtaka*) was a subordinate vassal (*mahārāja* and *mahāsāmanta*) by the name of Vijayasena, whom we will meet again. Five official titles of distinction honour Vijayasena in the Gunaighar inscription (ll. 15–16), viz. the high chamberlain (*mahāpratīhāra*), the chief of the elephant corps (*mahāpīlupati*), the governor of five administrative offices (*pañcādhikaraṇoparika*), the auditor general (*pātyuparika*), and the prefect of the watchmen of the city (*purapālparika*).

¹⁵ Six copperplates have been discovered in the area of Kotalipara in the Gopalganj District of Bangladesh (Banerji 1910; Pargiter 1911; Bhattasali 1925–26; Islam 2011; Furui 2013), one at Mallasārul in the Bardhaman (Burdwan) District of West Bengal (Pargiter 1910; N.G. Majumdar 1935–36), and one at Jairampur in the Balasore (Baleshwar) District of Odisha (Rajaguru 1963). As to numismatic evidence, gold coins of Gopacandra with a Brāhmī legend 'gopa' on the obverse have been found; two of them, preserved in the reserve collection at the Bangladesh National Museum are described (Islam and Nasrin 2014). The order of succession and time of those four Vaṅga rulers has been occasion of debate: if palaeographic reasons would place Dvādaśāditya the first, and Samācāradeva the last of the line, it is not clear whether Gopacandra preceded

(R.C. Majumdar on historical ground) or followed (Pargiter, Sircar on palaeographic ground) Dharmāditya. It is known from the Mallasārul copperplate of Gopacandra that a *mahārāja* Vijayasena was the feudal chief (*mahāsāmanta*) of the Vardhamāna Bhukti with its capital Vardhamānapura, present Bardhaman. Since this Vijayasena can be reasonably identified with the one mentioned in the Gunaighar copperplate of Vainyagupta, we may assume with Ramesh Chandra Majumdar that the interval between Vainyagupta (c. 507) and Gopacandra were not a long one. In addition, since the same two officers, Nāgadeva and Nayasena, are mentioned in two different copperplates, one of Gopacandra and one of Dharmāditya (Pargiter 1910: 200, 204), we can guess that the interval between Gopacandra and Dharmāditya were not a long one either. We may thus infer that their reigns would range approximately between 525 and 575 (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 44). Moreover, if Vijayasena was a ruler of the Vardhamāna Bhukti under Gopacandra, he may also have held the same office under Vainyagupta. If this was the case, Vainyagupta, albeit a *mahārāja*, would have already presided over the southern imperial provinces of Bengal, to both the east (Vaṅga and Samatāṭa) and west (Vardhamāna and Navyāvākāśikā).

¹⁶ The ruins of Kārṇasuvarṇa have been found at Rājabāḍīdāṅga (Rajbaridanga), twelve km southwest of Berhampore in the Murshidabad District of West Bengal.

¹⁷ The Puṇḍras are said in the *Mahābhārata* to dwell to the east of Mudgagiri (current Munger in Bihar), and to have as their ancestor a prince Puṇḍra who ruled on the banks of the Kauśikī. Constantly shifting its channel westward, the Kauśikī (Kosi) today is a tributary of the Gaṅgā, but originally it ran eastward converging with the Mahānandā, and flowed into the Karatoyā (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 5). On the basis of Xuanzang's estimations of the circuit of Puṇḍravardhana (4000 *li* = 1660 km), it has been inferred that the kingdom would have laid over an extent from the Tīstā and the Brahmaputra on the east to the Mahānandā on the west, and the Gaṅgā on the south, a territory corresponding roughly to the present Rajshahi Division of Bangladesh (Cunningham 1871: 480).

¹⁸ An analogous fate to Tāmraliptī would have Saptagrāma or Sātgāon suffered in the sixteenth century.

¹⁹ Due to its position and distance from Kāmarūpa (about 1250 *li* = 518.75 km) and Tāmraliptī (900 *li* = 373.5 km), the capital of Samatāṭa in the seventh century had been located by Alexander Cunningham (1871: 501–502) in Jessore, and even identified as the *Gāngē Basileion* of Ptolemy. This location was based on the fact that, especially in a riverine land like lower Bengal, road distances should be calculated about one fourth greater than the point-to-point aerial ones. But, since

the distance between Tamluk (Tāmraliptī) and Jessore is 164.47 km on the map, even if we add one fourth to it (41.1175 km), the result (205.5875 km) still lacks almost one hundred and fifty km to the distance given by Xuanzang. A more realistic calculation would locate the capital in the area of Comilla which lies within the compass of 360 km from Tamluk.

²⁰ What we know about the Khaḍgas comes from (1) two copperplate inscriptions of Devakhaḍga discovered at Ashrafpur, fifty km northeast of Dhaka (Mitra 1885; Laskar 1906); (2) one short pedestal inscription of Devakhaḍga's queen Prabhāvatī on a brass image of Śiva's consort Sarvāṇī found at Deulbari, twenty-three km south of Comilla, and stolen shortly after its discovery (Bhattacharya 1923–24b; Huntington 1984: 28–29, 205); (3) one copperplate of Balabhaṭa on the Mainamati Hills, eight km west of Comilla (Gupta 1979); (4) eleven coins sold by a local collector of Comilla to the Bangladesh National Museum (no. E-93.317–E-93.326), (5) one coin with the inscription *ratnatraya* on the obverse, from a single auction specimen in Baldwin's Auction no. 21, October 1999, lot 802 (Mitchiner 2000: 62, no. 82), (6) one coin of the *ratnatraya* type from the collection of John S. Deyell, acquired by Joe Cribb for the British Museum in 1999 (Deyell 2011), (7) a few more coins of this *ratnatraya* type seen on the market in subsequent years (Deyell 2011: 101), like the one from CoinArchives' Auction no. 26, January 2017, lot 192 (Figure 9), and (7) a piece of information witnessed by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing.

²¹ A seal with the goddess Lakṣmī standing on a lotus is attached to the plate. Two legends, one in relief below the lotus and one impressed on the right of Lakṣmī, read *kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* and *lokanāṭasya* respectively: in all probability, the grant would have been issued from the office (*adhikaraṇa*) of the district magistrate (*kumārāmātya*) of an unmentioned overlord, and countersigned by a Lokanātha whose ancestors are eulogised in nine verses (ll. 2–16). Owing to corrosion of the copperplate, we cannot read the first name of the founder of the dynasty, but we can infer that he was the first Nātha endowed with legal access to the royal charter of *kumārāmātya* (l. 1). In the inscription this Mr. Nātha is referred to as *adhimahārāja* (l. 5). The title, like *adhirāja*, is typically a royal one, but sometimes it has been applied also to feudatories; so it seems to be the case here, because his warlike son Śrīnātha is described as a *sāmanta* (l. 6). Then, the latter's pious son Bhavanātha would have abdicated in favour of a nephew whose name is not mentioned. His successor, we do not know whether son or nephew of the latter, was Lokanātha. The inscription describes him as a mixed-caste (*karaṇa*, l. 16) because his mother was a *pāraśava* (l. 9), i.e. born from a *brāhmaṇa* father and a *śūdra* mother, a form of marriage permissible and common in the seventh century (Basak 1934: 197).

²² Like the copperplate of Lokanātha, also the Kailan one shows a heavy brazen seal attached to its left side, with the goddess Lakṣmī standing on a lotus. A legend in raised letters read *śrīmat Samataṭeśvarapādānudhyātasya*, and *kumārāmatyādhikaraṇasya*. There is another legend, afterwards embossed on the seal to the right of the deity, where we read *śrīśrīdharaṇaratasya*, suggesting that Śrīdhāraṇarāta would have countersigned the document.

²³ Śrīdhāraṇarāta is represented with the subordinate title *prāptapañcamahāśabda*, an epithet to be understood in the twelfth-century *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as indicating the enjoyment of a combination of five official designations beginning with the word *mahat*, namely high chamberlain (*mahāpratīhāra*), minister for foreign affairs (*mahāsāndhivigrahika*), superintendent of the stables (*mahāśvaśālādhikṛta*), treasurer (*mahābhāṇḍāgārika*), and chief military officer (*mahāsādhanika*).

²⁴ Only two inscriptions have been published, the Mainamati plate of Ānandadeva with his son Bhavadeva's endorsement on the reverse (Sircar 1951), and the Calcutta Asiatic Society plate of Bhavadeva from the Ānanda Vihāra on the Mainamati Hills. Śāntideva would have come first. Then, while his son Vīradeva is titled *mahārāja*, Ānandadeva, son by Vīradeva's wife, is titled *mahārājādhirāja*. The latter's son and successor Bhavadeva, titled 'the highest lord, the noble lord, a king among great kings' (*paramēśvara paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja*), is the last known king of the dynasty.

²⁵ It sounds difficult that the name Nyi 'og could refer to the eastern side of the western border. This would be the case if we interpret it as Skt *aparāntaka* on the basis of its unique occurrence in the eighth–ninth century Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary of the *Mahāvyūtpatti* (MVy 9179), *nyi 'og gi gos*, meaning 'western style cloth'. In point of fact, whereas Aparānta or Aparāntaka is usually understood as the ancient western coastal region of India familiar to the early Buddhist tradition (Lamotte 1958: 328), what is denoted here in a broad sense could be understood as either the world 'under heaven' (*nyi 'og*) like the Chinese *tianxia* (天下, Kapstein 2009: 66 n. 59), or northern India from coast to coast, 'the limits of which have nothing beyond' (*apara-anta*).

²⁶ Seemingly, the name originates from the Kuki peoples speaking different Tibeto-Burman dialects and living since a remote time dispersed in the present-day contiguous states of Manipur, Nagaland, Assam and Mizoram, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh, and in northwestern Myanmar.

²⁷ The traditional etymon of Arakan is from Pāli *rakkhasa* (Skt *rākṣasa*), as it

would be confirmed by Burmese *bilu*, ‘ogre’ or ‘demon’, and by the old Tamil word *arrakaṇ* for Sanskrit *rākṣasa*. Another feasible etymon could be found through Tamil *arrakam*, *arakku*, Malayalam *arakku*, Kannaḍa *aragu*, Tulu *arakū*, *aragū*, ‘lac’, ‘shellac’, for Sanskrit *rākṣā* (Burrow and Emeneau 1961: no. 199). It is reasonable to conjecture that the resin secreted by an insect (*Kerria lacca*) on certain trees, mainly in India and Thailand, and used for dyeing and other applications, could have been a valuable merchandise produced by the ancient hill tribes of that land.

²⁸ As the script almost matches with that of Yaśovarmadeva’s inscription at Nālandā, it has been assigned by Johnston (1944) to the first half of the eighth century to a date ‘not much later than’ 700, and by Sircar (1957–58) to about 729 on the basis of the reign-span of Yaśovarman (*c.* 725–*c.* 754). This datation is confirmed not only by a comparison with the above mentioned copperplate of Bhavadeva (Sircar 1951), but also by the internal evidence of a contemporary king Śīlamegha mentioned therein, as Śīlamegha would be the throne name of king Aggabodhi IV of Ceylon who reigned 727–766 (Gutman 1976: 36–38).

²⁹ The ancient Dhanyawadi reveals an inner city and an outer one. The former, a quadrangular walled area with another square series of walls inside it, should be the site of the king’s palace, his court, and the administrative power. Close to its northern side, the important Buddhist pilgrimage destination of Mahāmuni temple was the centre of the outer city. The latter, almost oval in shape, walled an area of 5.6 km². Considering the scarcity of brick foundations in the interval between the outer and inner city walls, its inhabitants must have been common people living in wooden structures, whose paddy fields were enclosed within the outer walls as well, in order to prevent the recurrent raids by hill tribes. Since archaeology gives evidence that Dhanyawadi was inhabited until the early sixth century, seemingly the capital would have been shifted to Vesālī in that period (Gutman 1976: 43).

³⁰ Vesālī was founded in the sixth century about ten km south of Dhanyawadi. Larger (6.2 km²) and safer than Dhanyawadi, to embrace the most of drained land on the foothills, the new capital has a somewhat oval shape. We can distinguish an inner rectangular royal city (457 × 305 m) with walls protected by a moat, and the cultivated fields within the outer walls.

³¹ Purempura has been identified with a place mentioned in the Pāli *Mahāniddesa*, Naranapūra in Sinhalese manuscripts, Purapura or Parapūra in Burmese manuscripts, and Parammukha or Parapura in Thai manuscripts (Johnston 1944: 369). It may reasonably be equated with the coastal trade port of Barakura described by Ptolemy (*Barakoura empōrion*, *Ptol. Geog.* 7.2.2.10; Renou 1925:

43), at present the village of Parapāra, on the west bank of the Nāf.

³² As to the sources available in Tibet at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Tāranātha listed the ones he had used for his compilation (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 130b1–5; *THBI* 350–51): (1) a variety of fragmentary narrations and compilations chronologically incomplete, and probably barely reliable; (2) an unnamed work in two thousand *śloka*s by a paṇḍita of Magadha, *Kṣemendrabhadra or *Dharaṇīndrabhadra (*Sa dbang bzang po*), covering the history up to the time of the Pāla king Rāmapāla; (3) the oral accounts of some Indian paṇḍitas; (4) a *Buddhapurāṇa*, in one thousand and two hundred *śloka*s, by a kṣatriya paṇḍita Indradatta (*dbang pos sbyin*) covering the period up to the four Sena kings; (5) an untitled account of the succession of the teachers (*slob dpon : ācārya*) of Vikramaśīla, of similar length, by a brāhmaṇa paṇḍita Bhaṭṭaḥgaṭī.

³³ Yaśovarman seized Kanauj around 720 but was defeated in 733 by Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa (c. 725–c. 756), the emperor of the Kashmiri dynasty of the Kārkoṭas.

³⁴ As to the word *prakṛti*, we will see Tāranātha's *gtso bo gtso bo rnams* (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 192.3) to confirm the interpretation of *prakṛti* in the above context as 'chiefs' rather than 'subjects', as a more democratic reading would have suggested (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 95–96). But, in the light of this not so much egalitarian perspective, it is this primal 'law of fish', according to which the small fish is devoured by those who are stronger than it, that a king has to face.

³⁵ Interestingly, according to Tāranātha's sources, the nāginī would have been the queen dowager of either king Gopicandra (*rgyal po Go pi tsan dra'i btsun mo*) or Lalitacandra (*La li ta tsan dra'i btsun mo*), the last two Candras mentioned above. Tāranātha explains that she would have been a powerful and ferocious nāginī made the queen of a former king (or *the* former of the two brothers, i.e. Gopicandra) who was gifted with magic powers (*sngon rgyal po rdzu 'phrul can*).

³⁶ Dantidurga (c. 735–c. 755) rose to power at the expense of the Chālukya king Solankī 'Vallabha' Kīrtivarman, and assumed the title *Vallabharāja*, which was attached to the names of the subsequent Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings (Reu 1933: 42).

³⁷ The coastal markets of western India had suffered Arab retaliations since the last quarter of the seventh century for the attacks of pirates—seemingly protected by the king of Sindh, Rājā Dāhir (661–712)—on Arab shipping. Thus, about eighty years since the death of Muhammad (c. 632), while the Umayyad general Tariq ibn Ziyad conquered the Visigothic kingdom of Hispania, another Umayyad general, Muhammad Bin Qasim, had entered the Indian subcontinent at the orders

of the governor of Iraq, Al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf. With the defeat and death of Rājā Dāhir in 712, the dominion of the Umayyad Caliphate (Al-Ḥilāfa al-'umawīyya) had been established also in the Indus Valley. Few years later, in 738, the forward intrusion of the Arabs of Sindh was stopped by Nāgabhaṭa I.

³⁸ The episode can be read in the Khalimpur inscription (*ll.* 21–23, v. 12; Kielhorn 1896–97: 248, 252), which describes how an unnamed king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) was installed by the *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Dharmapāladeva with the ready approval of the convened kings. The name of the king of Kanauj, Cakrāyudha, is known to us from the Gwalior inscription (*l.* 7, v. 9b; R.C. Majumdar 1925–26: 108), where he is described as one whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others.

³⁹ Thus we infer from the eleventh-century Rāmganj copperplate inscription of Īśvaraghoṣa (N.G. Majumdar 1929: 149), where the donor is an alleged *mahāmāṇḍalika* (= *maṇḍalādhipati*) with *rājans*, *rājanyakas*, *rājanakas*, *rānakas*, *sāmantas*, and *mahāsāmantas* at his command. Since the inscription refers to the *viṣaya* as a subunit of a *maṇḍala*, the latter may be regarded as akin to the *bhukti*: possibly, as suggested by Ramesh Chandra Majumdar (1971: 307–308), the *bhukti* was an administrative unit ruled by the Pālas through their *uparikas*, while the *maṇḍala* was under an *adhipati* enjoying internal autonomy.

⁴⁰ Most probably, the walls were covered by thin malleable sheets of brass, as the Chinese term *yushi* (俞石) would be for the calamine stone (Medhurst 1842–43: s.v. *shih*), i.e. Lat. *cadmea* (*Plin. Nat.* 34.2), used in the formation of brass.

⁴¹ The site has been located thirteen km far from the ruins of Nālandā.

⁴² To prove Tāranātha's confusion in compiling from his sources on this point, he relates almost the same legend as told by Bu ston, but so as to ascribe the foundation of Somapura Mahāvihāra to Devapāla (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 196.5–197.6; *THBI* 265–66).

⁴³ The site of Vikramaśīla has been identified with the remains brought to light at Antichak, a village on the right bank of the Gaṅgā in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar. The village is located at about fifty km east of Bhagalpur, and about thirteen km northeast of Kahalgaon.

⁴⁴ Nine field seasons of digging since 1960 by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the Patna University, and a large excavation in the years 1971 to 1982 by the Vikramashila Excavation Project of the Archaeological

Survey of India have revealed a huge square monastery with a cruciform *stūpa* in its centre, a library building, and a number of votive *stūpas*; in particular, a copper seal with the legend *vikramasya* found there is noteworthy (*Indian Archaeology – A Review 1973–74*: 9).

⁴⁵ The ruins of Somapura have been found in the current Paharpur less than fifty km northwest of Mahasthangarh, the ancient Puṇḍranagara on the banks of the Karatoyā River (Ghoshal 1934).

⁴⁶ B. *kaḍi*, H. *kaḍī* : Skt *kapardah*, *kapardikā*, Pkt *kavaḍḍa-*, *kavaḍḍiā*. A later account of the Venetian merchant Marco Polo (1254–1324) confirms this use of cowries in the southeast of Asia. Curiously, the word he uses is *porcellana*: from Italian *porcello*, in turn from Latin *porcus*, meaning a ‘female little pig’ or ‘gilt’, but also alluding to the genitals of a virgin, as attested by M. Terentius Varro (*Var. Rust.* 2.4.10). It is probably in this latter sense that Marco Polo adopted it on account of the resemblance of the fissure of the shell to a vulva.

⁴⁷ As to the diffusion of the cowries as small currency, Marco Polo reports about their use in Yunnan, Bengal (Bangala), Jiaozhi (Cauçugu, Caugigu), and Annam (Amu), today in northern Vietnam. Following the Latin version (*De mirabilibus mundi*) in the redaction Z of a fifteenth-century manuscript kept at Toledo, Spain (Barbieri 1998), the portions of Yunnan mentioned by Marco Polo are, (1) Carajan (Ms. Z Caraçan, Carayan), *i.e.* Dali in northwestern Yunnan (...*expe⟨n⟩dunt pro monetas porcellanas*, 56.16; ...*in ista quoque provincia expe⟨n⟩dunt similiter porcelanas de quibus superius declaratum*, 57.7); (2) Zardandan (Çardandan), in Persian ‘gold teeth’, the land of the people of Jinchi, ‘gold teeth’ in Chinese, identified with the Dai people of current Baoshan in western Yunnan (...*moneta eorum est aurum, sed expendunt etiam porcelanas*, 58.12); (3) Toloman in northeastern Yunnan (...*invenitur etiam in provincia illa aurum in habundancia. Moneta quam minutim expendunt sunt porcellane, de quibus superius declaratur. Et similiter supradicte provincie Bangala, Cauzugu et Amu expendunt porcellanas et aurum. Aliqui sunt mercatores; et illi divites sunt valde, et multis et magnis utuntur mercimon⟨i⟩is*, 63.8–10).

⁴⁸ Sulaymān’s mention of an animal with a single horn lets us identify this kind of *Rhinocerotidae* with the Indian (*Rhinoceros unicornis*) and the Javan (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) species who have one horn only.

⁴⁹ Another possibility has been suggested by H. Rashid (1968: 251 ff. in Gutman 1976: 320) who cannot exclude that *Rohitāgiri-bhujām-vamśa* could be a metaphor for the Arakanese Candras because the hills near Vesālī are red in the dry season.

II — THE HAGIOGRAPHIC TRADITION

Ómēron ex Omērou saphēnízein (Porph. Quaest. Hom. 2.297.16)

At Aristarchus' suggestion that we should 'elucidate Homer out of Homer', a contextual approach to the most significant sources on the hero of these pages can be conducive to a better comprehension of several peculiar expressions, as well as historically and geographically puzzling passages therein.

The Sources

It may be convenient to describe at the outset the relevant hagiographic material, arranging in chronological order the sources sifted through, each of them marked by a progressive letter of the Greek alphabet.

Source α — Shamsheer Manuscript

This Nepalese palm-leaf fragmentary manuscript (IASWR, MB II 144) has been discovered in the late Twenties of the last century from the collection of Kaiser Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana in Kathmandu (Tucci 1930; Lévi 1930–32; Pandey 1990). It is the most important Buddhist hagiographic record of siddhas we know in Sanskrit. Being free of any later Tibetan intervention, we will see later that the anonymous texts therein bunched together represent an unavoidable reference point in discussing any historical question concerning the siddhas' movement on the prevalent

basis of Tibetan tradition. Since it contains an account of the ‘siddha-philosopher’ Maitrīgupta, contemporary with Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna Atiśa (c. 982–c. 1054), and the account ends in his mid-career, it has reasonably inferred that the texts are nearly contemporary and should go back to the eleventh century (Tatz 1987: 696).

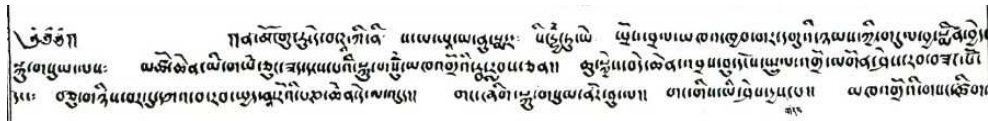


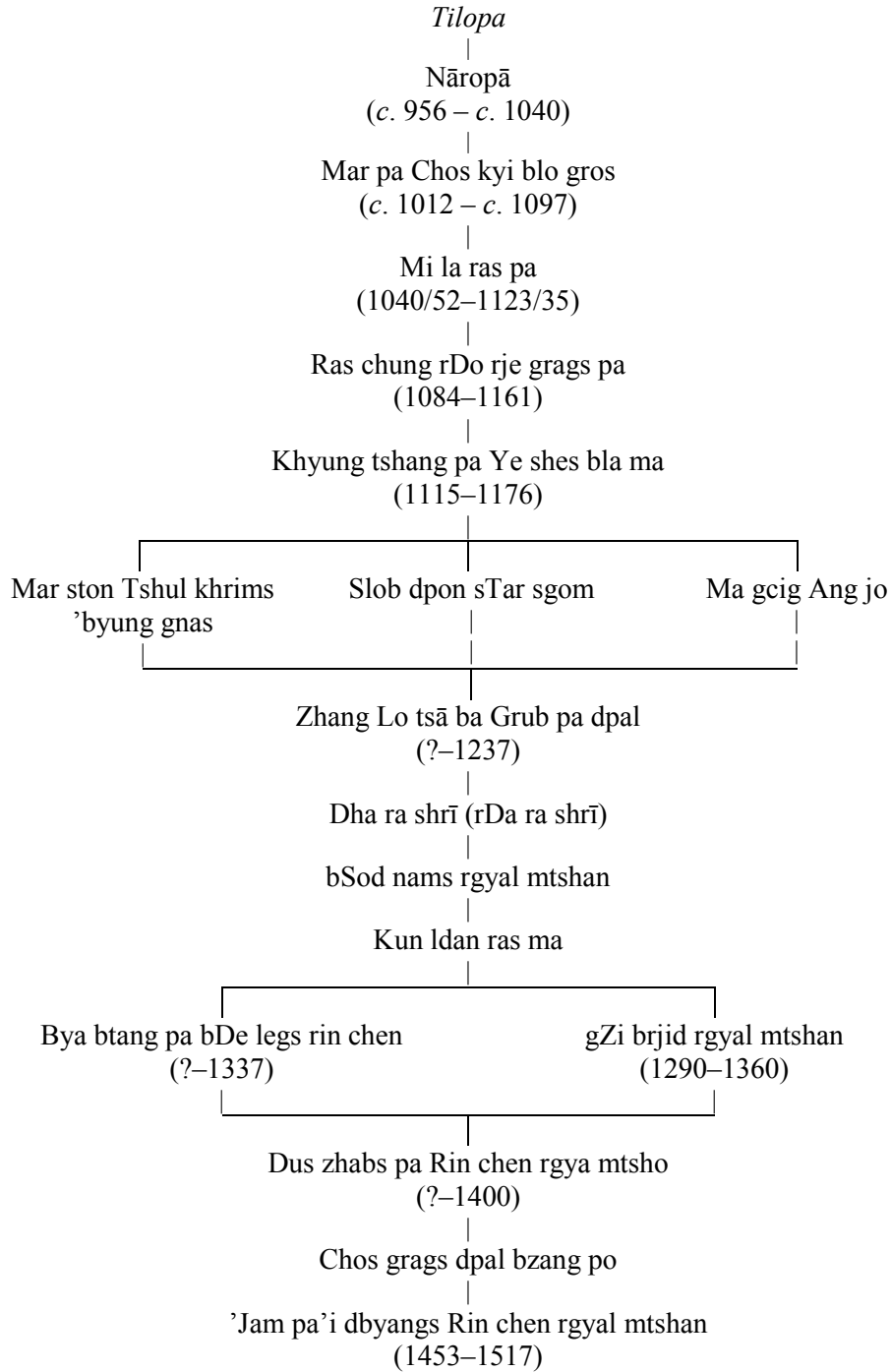
FIGURE 1: Mar pa. *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus*, fol. 1b

Source β — Mar pa

- (1) *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus* (Torricelli and Naga 1995),
- (2) *dPal na ro paṇ chen gyi lo rgyus*. In *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*, KHA: *brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rnam par thar pa*.

These two texts are known to us through a *codex unicus* which can be found in a manuscript from the library of A pho rin po che Ye shes rang grol (1925–74), the grandson of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud master Shā kya shrī rTogs ldan (1853–1919). Handwritten in an elegant cursive script (*dbu med*), the manuscript contains a bKa' brgyud scholastic manual (*yig cha*) titled 'The Aural Transmission from the Dākinīs of Śambara' (*bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*). It has been described in an anonymous preface by Ellis Gene Smith in 1973 when its photostat reproduction was published, and then by Peter Alan Roberts (2007).

As we will see more in detail later, this kind of textual collections generally has two main sections, viz. the accounts of the successive masters in the transmission lineage (*brgyud*), and the instructions relevant to that esoteric tradition (*snyan brgyud*). In addition, these compilations can be introduced by a survey of the teachings therein included. In our case, the collection is preceded by the valuable 'Introductory Notes by the Translator of Zhang' (*Zhang lo'i thim yig*), namely Zhang Lo tsā ba Grub pa dpal Byang chub 'od zer, one of the earliest protagonists of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* (Torricelli 2001). As to the transmission lineage, the collection has the accounts of the following masters, some tentative dates of whom have been proposed by Gene Smith and rectified by Roberts (2007: 16, 50) on the basis of the internal evidence of the biographies—



|
gNas rnying pa rGyal mtshan rin chen
|
Byams pa gser mchog 'Od zer dpal
|
Shar kha ras chen
|
Kun dga' dar po (Ā nan da da ya)

We read in Gene Smith's preface to the two-volume photostat, that 'the *yig cha* itself is, to a large extent, the work of Shar kha ras chen, Kun dga' dar po, and Byang chub bzang po'. The first master, who could be identified with Ras chen Chos rje Shar ka (Roberts 2007: 47, 50), is the author of two teachings, and the second of thirteen. Out of the latter's texts, in the colophon of the '*Khor lo sdom pa snyan brgyud lugs kyi dkyil 'khor sdom tshig mun sel sgron me*' (p. 802 of the photostat of the first volume), we read that Kun dga' dar po (Ā nan da da ya) composed it (*sbyar*) at Se brag sgrub gling 'at the behest of Kun dga' dpal 'byor' (*Kun dga' dpal 'byor zhes bya ring bskul ngor*) in a Fire Rabbit year (*rab byung zhes bya me pho yos kyi lo*). The year could be either 1447 if in the eighth Tibetan sixty-year cycle (*rab byung*), or 1507 if in the ninth. On the other hand, since the colophon shows Kun dga' dar po's personal connection with the Second 'Brug chen Kun dga' dpal 'byor (1428–76), the year 1447 would seem more realistic.

As to the third master, Byang chub bzang po (*Bo dhi bha dra*) authored two instructional texts as well as two hagiographies. In fact, having been a pupil of the last two 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud masters whose accounts appear in the collection—Shar kha Ras chen and the latter's disciple Kun dga' dar po—he is the author of their accounts.¹ We may thus reasonably infer that this *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud* was compiled and edited by Byang chub bzang po in the first half of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, his role as a compiler of the whole *yig cha* is less apparent. First of all, we do not know whether he completed a work already begun by his gurus, or the responsibility of both project and its fulfilment are to be ascribed only to him; what's more, we do not know his *modus operandi* in the compilation of the texts.² Let us see if 'elucidating Homer out of Homer' can be of some help.

The *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* is a ninety-volume collection of Tibetan historical and biographical texts. This 'History Set' (*HS*) has been compiled and facsimiled in recent times (2010–12) by the

editorial house of dPal brtsegs in Lhasa. Among the works reproduced from ancient manuscripts and woodblock prints preserved for the most part in the Drepung Monastery libraries, we can find another text authored by Byang chub bzang po, the ‘Garland of Wish-fulfilling Gems of the Aural Transmission Lineage’ (*sNyan brgyud kyi brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu’i phreng ba* 22: 249–455). This work includes the accounts of the *sNyan brgyud* masters from *Tilopa* to Kun dga’ dar po, and its structure tallies with that of our source β , with the exception of the *rnām thar* of Slob dpon sTar sgom, which is missing in *HS*. A first comparison between the two collections shows that, out of twenty-one hagiographies, thirteen texts covering more than half of the whole work, are identical (=), and eight are different (\neq)—

| | β pp. | | <i>HS</i> pp. |
|---|-------------|--------|---------------|
| <i>Tilopa</i> | 8–28 | \neq | 250–261 |
| Nāropā | 29–62 | \neq | 261–276 |
| Mar pa | 63–96 | \neq | 276–283 |
| Mi la ras pa | 97–125 | \neq | 283–292 |
| Ras chung | 125–150 | \neq | 292–310 |
| Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma | 151–164 | \neq | 310–320 |
| Mar ston Tshul khriṃs ’byung gnas | 165–169 | = | 320–325 |
| Slob dpon sTar sgom | 170–174 | — | — |
| Ma gcig Ang jo | 175–176 | = | 325–327 |
| Zhang Lo tsā ba | 176–186 | = | 327–337 |
| Dha ra shrī | 187–196 | = | 337–347 |
| bSod nams rgyal mtshan | 197–206 | = | 347–357 |
| Kun ldan ras ma | 207–214 | = | 357–364 |
| Bya btang pa bDe legs rin chen | 215–226 | = | 364–376 |
| gZi brjid rgyal mtshan | 226–236 | = | 376–386 |
| Dus zhabs pa Rin chen rgya mtsho | 237–246 | = | 386–396 |
| Chos grags dpal bzang po | 247–248 | \neq | 396–398 |
| ’Jam pa’i dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan | 249–257 | = | 398–407 |
| gNas rnying pa rGyal mtshan rin chen | 259–272 | = | 407–421 |
| Byams pa gser mchog ’Od zer dpal | 273–280 | \neq | 422–425 |
| Shar kha ras chen | 281–291 | = | 425–434 |
| Kun dga’ dar po | 293–312 | = | 434–455 |

We can assume that Byang chub bzang po arranged two versions of the same hagiographic collection. It stands to reason that also the *HS* text had been prepared with the aim of fulfilling the same function within the same scholastic context. Most probably, our editor organized the accounts of the

successive masters of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* in parallel with the instructions to be included in the *yig cha*. Now, given that he did it twice, and the final version is obviously consistent with the one preserved along with the instructional section in the manuscript β , we can infer that the *HS* version represents its previous form.

For what reason did Byang chub bzang po compose the same collection on two occasions? What happened since the time of the former version until that of the latter? Apart from the texts matching in β and *HS*,³ out of the eight ones that differ, *HS* has no final note at all for five, viz. the *rnam thars* of *Tilopa*, Nāropā, Mi la ras pa, Ras chung, and Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma: thus, most likely they are the work of Byang chub bzang po himself. As to the other three different texts, whereas the first two could reasonably be ascribed to Byang chub bzang po as well, only the last one has a genuine colophon.⁴

With regard to β , it appears in the colophon of the first text that it has been composed at Gro bo lung in lHo brag by the great bKa' brgyud master and translator (*lo tsā ba*) Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (c. 1012–c. 1097).⁵

de nas grub pa thob pas kyang sprul
pa'i skur grags pa | rnal 'byor gyi dbang
phyug te lo pa'i lo rgyus | sku che ba'i
yon tan de nyid kyis mdzad pa'i gzhung
rang mtshan du byas nas mtha' dag pa
zhig bstan zin | dpal gro bo lung gi
dgon par | sras mdo sde'i don du yi ger
bkod pa rdzogs so (β 28).

Now, the account of the lord of yoga
Tilopa who attained perfection and was
also celebrated as a *nirmāṇakāya*,
composed in an autonomous way and
expounded in a complete form, the text
of the deeds performed by means of
those great good qualities has been
written down for my son mDo sde in
the seclusion of Gro bo lung.

The colophon of the second text confirms the author, but it does not mention any place of composition, albeit seemingly the same:

dpal na ro paṇ chen gyi lo rgyus bstan
zin to || sras mdo sde'i don du mar pas
yi ger bkod pa rdzogs so (β 62).

The account of the great scholar, the
glorious Nāropā, has been revealed.
Mar pa has terminated to set it down in
writing for his son mDo sde.

Whereas the accounts of *Tilopa* and Nāropā are authored by Mar pa in more formal colophons mentioning both place (only the former) and recipient of the dedication, the next hagiography of Mar pa is allegedly attributed to Mi la ras pa.⁶ The account of Mi la ras pa would have been

arranged in written form by Ras chung.⁷ That of Ras chung pa by Ra Sher snang pa alias Rin chen Grags, his attendant (Roberts 2007: 50).⁸ That of Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma would have been composed by Zhang Lo tsā ba.⁹ That of Chos grags dpal bzang po by Mi bskyod rdo rje.¹⁰ Eventually, the account of Byams pa gser mchog 'Od zer dpal is an anonymous devotional hymn (*gsol 'debs*) to him.

If something happened to justify Byang chub bzang po's new version (β), it must be somehow relevant with all or part of these eight texts. In actual fact, the largest part of what occurs in *HS* and has been replaced in β is most probably the editorial work of Byang chub bzang po. Then, in the new version every substituted text has its own colophon in which the attributed authorship sounds barely credible. In point of fact, the authors of those *rnam thars* would be so eminent and earlier that it is tempting to agree with Roberts (2007: 50):

Unfortunately, although the colophons of Tibetan texts can usually be taken on trust, these biographies are not from an early date, and their attributed authorship is spurious; it is probably a late devotional attribution.

Was Byang chub bzang po a counterfeiter, a sort of liar, albeit a 'devotional' one? For sure this Tibetan monk and meditator of the first half of the sixteenth century was fully conversant with the history of his Buddhist tradition, the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa. Consequently, he could not be unaware of the cultural weight of the attributed authorship for some of the new texts in β. Could he have been so naive to underestimate the consequences of such cumbersome attributions on the history of his own tradition? Probably not: thus, still on the supposition that it could be matter of forgery, we have at least to acknowledge that Byang chub bzang po must have acted *bona fide*.

In a possible scenario which could justify the new entries of β, we can imagine that our honest editor, after compiling the *HS* collection, had had in his hands a number of old papers, no matter whether found in a library or given by someone else. Besides, we must take into account that the old papers he would have collected also included Zhang Lo tsā ba's 'Introductory Notes', another weighty foundation stone of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* tradition: is the *Zhang lo'i thim yig* spurious as well? Since the alleged Donation of Constantine (*Constitutum domini Constantini imperatoris*), Western scholars are so much used to ecclesiastical forgery

and mendacity, that they are naturally skeptical about clerical documents. Nevertheless, a handful of facts seems to corroborate the authenticity of those old Tibetan papers.

First, whereas the former account appears on the whole more accurate, the latter gives the impression to be a rough draft. As a matter of fact, in the account of Nāropā fifteen shorthand glosses can be found. If we observe some cases, we see that these glosses can play either a narrative or a poetical function. In the first case the author shortens the narrative context:

de nas bla ma'i sprul par ngo ma shes te
'gyod pa dang | bla ma yid la byed cing
phyin tshul sogs gong dang 'dra bar kun
la shes par bya'o (β 36.6–7).

After that, how he felt sad for having not recognized it as a magical apparition of the guru, he proceeded keeping in mind the guru, and all the rest should be known to every one as similar to the above.

Likewise, in the second case,

zhes pa'i bar rnams dgos pa'i dbang gis
| 'don pa bsgyur ba ma gtogs gong dang
'dra bar kun la sbyar bar bya'o || yang
te lo pa gar gshegs cha med cing | lo
gcig gi bar du chos dang tha mal gyi
gtam gcig kyang ma byung yang | nā
ros phyi bzhin du 'brengs te dka' ba
chen pos btsal tshul sogs kyang gong
dang 'dra shes par bya'o (β 46.1–3).

The text up to the above, apart from the modified chant, should be combined according to the need with all in the same way as above. Again, how *Telopa* vanished with no trace, and for one year there was not even one single doctrinary or conventional communication, and also how Nāropā went after seeking for him through great hardship, and so forth should be known as above.

On the contrary, the third gloss clips the poetical context:

dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad dang ||
zhes dang dngos kyi tshig rkang gsum
po gong dang 'dra ba la | thun mongs
yid bzhin nor bu ltos (β 46.6).

'All Buddhas of the three times, and...'
Including this, the three original lines of the verse are as above; [add] to them: 'Look at the common wish-fulfilling gem'.

Again, whereas the fourth clip is in the narration,

nā ro pas ma go tshul sogs gong dang
'dra'o (β 46.6–7).

How Nāropā did not understand, and so forth is as above.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| dus gsum zhes sogs dang dam tshig | ‘[All Buddhas of] the three times, [and] |
| yid bzhin nor bu ltos (β 47.3). | ...’ Including this, and so forth, [add:] |
| | ‘Look at the wish-fulfilling gem of |
| | commitments’ |

zhes pa'i dka' chen re res bzhin la It must be said combining it with what
sbyor zhes par bya'o (β 52.7). corresponds to one by one of the above
told hardships.

Moreover, as we will see more in detail in the next chapter, out of the major points of discussion in Nāropā's hagiographies, his birthplace—whether in Kashmir or in Bengal—plays a prominent part (Davidson 2005: 45). Now, whereas Byang chub bzang po's account in *HS* correctly places Nāropā's birthplace in Bengal, the corresponding new entry in β locates it in Kashmir.¹² We may thus take for granted that our editor was not responsible of the peculiarities of the account in β .

We know from the opening dedicatory verses of the former text (β 9) as well as from both colophons that these accounts (*lo rgyus*) were ‘arranged in written form’ (*yi ger bkod pa*) by Mar pa for the sake of his son Dar ma mDo sde (*sras mDo sde’i don du*). If the fifteenth-century ‘Blue Annals’, the *Deb ther sngon po* by ’Gos Lo tsā ba, are still reliable on that point, Mar pa would have taken bDag med ma as his main wife after his second journey to India in 1054, at the age of forty-two (*Deb ther sngon po* 354.4; *BA* 402). It is reasonable that Mar pa and bDag med ma’s eldest son, Dar ma mDo sde, had been born approximately one year later, around 1055. We are also informed that Mi la ras pa resided six years and about eight months with Mar pa, since the age of thirty-eight to forty-four (*Deb ther sngon po* 378.1–3; *BA* 432–33), i.e. in the years 1078–1084. Given that mDo sde would have died when Mi la ras pa was still with Mar pa, the years 1055–1084 could be the tentative dates of Dar ma mDo sde’s lifespan.

Consequently, Mar pa should have composed both accounts at some time of the same period.

Notwithstanding the widely acknowledged bKa' brgyud 'proclivity to fictionalize almost every aspects of its lineage' (Davidson 2005: 142), it is human psychology more than philology to leave us hardly any doubt about the authenticity of these two texts. Mar pa was a father, and his eldest son's temper would have been even too much akin to his own. As Mar pa's father had been anxious about him during the latter's first years, so was Mar pa as a father in turn when facing with Dar ma mdo sde's intemperances. From this viewpoint, the three occurrences of mDo sde's name in a dedicatory context (*mDo sde'i don*) would imply that Mar pa not only composed the two accounts for the sake of his son, but also that the 'one to be disciplined' (*gdul bya*) alluded to in the first verse of the *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus* is not a generic disciple, but first and foremost mDo sde himself.

A hypercritical approach could even suggest that dedicatory verses and colophons be another case of fictional contrivance to ascribe the texts to Mar pa. As it was the case with mDo sde's tragic—and so stupid—fall from a horse, a hypothetical posthumous concoctor of the first two bKa' brgyud masters' accounts mentioning Mar pa's alleged heir would be far too cynical a counterfeiter, even for a *clericus*.

If this has been the case, we can reasonably assume that it is matter here of a pedagogical strategy—a paternal one—which would have brought Mar pa to inaugurate with these two accounts the fortunate genre of the bKa' brgyud collections of hagiographies known as 'golden rosaries' (*gser 'phreng*). Albeit not exclusively confined to the bKa' brgyud pas, assuming that the hagiographic genre of *gser 'phreng* was especially popular with the early bKa' brgyud masters, Gene Smith (2001: 39) conjectures that 'the *gser 'phreng* originated among the 'Brug pa and sTag lung traditions within which *bla mchod* (*gurupūjā*) and *rnam thar* reached their highest degree of elaboration as liturgical and contemplative practices'.

Having been composed in the second half of the eleventh century, a second ancillary conjecture is that, they are the earliest hagiographies of the two Bengali siddhas we have.

Source γ — Vajrāsana

**Caturaśītisiddhābhyarthanā* (*Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs*). In *bsTan 'gyur, rGyud* (Ö. 4578, Tō. 3758; Schmid 1958; Egyed

1984; Linrothe 2006: 427–32).

The colophon of this ‘authentically Indian list’ (Davidson 2002b: 306) of eighty-five siddhas ascribes it to the guru rDo rje gdan pa (*bla ma rdo rje gdan pa*), that is Vajrāsana, and the translation-cum-revision (*bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab ba*) to the paṇḍita Vairocana (*paṇ ḍi ta Bai ro ca na*), with the translator Chos kyi grags pa (*lo tsā ba shrī Chos kyi grags pa*).¹³

As we read in the thirty-fourth chapter of Tāranātha’s *rGya gar chos ’byung* (226.2–3; *THBI* 305), the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1042–c. 1058) revered a Vajrāsana the Great (Mahāvajrāsana : rDo rje gdan pa chen po), called Puṇyaśrī when a layman (*dge bsnyen : upāsaka*), and Puṇyākaragupta once taken the monastic vows (*rab tu byung ba : pravrajita*). Moreover, in his ‘Account of Succession of Abbots at Vikramaśīla’, Tāranātha records that, when Atiśa left his chair of abbot (*mkhan po : upādhyāya*), no doubt when he departed for Tibet around 1042, there was a vacancy of seven years; then the position was held by Vajrāsana the Great (Mahāvajrāsana) for a while (*rGya gar chos ’byung* 242.3; *THBI* 329). Further details do we have from Tāranātha’s earlier *bKa’ babs bdun ldan* (1600), the fifth chapter of which concerns the masters’ lineage of the generation stage (*utpattikrama*). Here Vajrāsana appears as identifiable with either Vajrāsana the Great (Mahāvajrāsana : rDo rje gdan pa chen po) contemporary with Atiśa, or the latter’s pupil, Vajrāsana the Middle (rDo rje gdan pa bar pa), alias Ratnākaragupta (Ratna ā ka ra gupta):¹⁴

As for the master Vajrāsana the Great (Mahāvajrāsana), he was born in the district of Malabar. He was of brāhmaṇa caste and mastered all fields of knowledge. Later he took monastic vows at Nālandā. He mastered entirely all non-Buddhist (*phyi*) and Buddhist (*nang*) mantras, but in particular he became really great as to the esoteric teachings (*gdams ngag : upadeśa*). [...] At about the same time as Atiśa, he was enthroned abbot of Vajrāsana. Later on he was also abbot of Vikramaśīla.

As for the latter’s pupil, Vajrāsana the Middle or Ratnākaragupta (*de’i slob ma rDo rje gdan pa bar pa Ratna ā ka ra gupta*), he was born in the eastern district of Gauḍa (*Shar phyogs Gau ra’i yul*). As to the caste, he was a brāhmaṇa. From the earliest youth he mastered all the sūtras and tantras. Since he had also perfected all the propitiatory services (*bsnyen pa : sevā*), he practiced as a tantric master (*rdo rje slob dpon : vajrācārya*), but he was only a layman (*dge bsnyen : upāsaka*). [...] Then the Ācārya become a fully ordained monk at Vikramaśīla. There he met with a lot of

paṇḍitas, yogins and esoteric teachings. He got all the Ācārya Vajrāsana's consecrations (*dbang*), tantras, and also esoteric teachings. Later he was abbot of Vajrāsana for a long time (*rDo rje gdan gyi mkhan po rgyun ring du mdzad*). Then he wanted to go to the south. Finally the Ācārya and thirty disciples arrived at Sauri. [...] He stayed there in Sauri and even was famous as Sauripāda (*Sau ri pa*). The Ācārya had perfected the *utpattikrama* and had the vision of many chosen tutelary divinities (*yi dam*). In particular, he enhanced the esoteric teachings in the land of India... (*bKa' babs bdun ldan* 448.1–449.4; cf. *SIL* 64–65).

Given that Vajrāsana the Great was a contemporary fellow of Atiśa, and Vajrāsana the Middle one generation younger, we may surmise that both flourished in the second half of the eleventh century. In addition, since the text includes Atiśa himself (*Mar me mdzad*, no. 22) among the eighty-five siddhas, it is more realistic to ascribe the **Caturaśītisiddhābhyarthanā* to Vajrāsana the Middle alias Ratnākaragupta. This conjecture is corroborated by the fact that, while the former was from the south of India, the latter was from Gauḍa, therefore a Bengali like most of the eulogized siddhas. Moreover, he would have been well versed in propitiatory services (*sevā*) and consistent devotional texts, as it is the case of this prayer (*gsol 'debs*) to the eighty-five siddhas.

Of our hero (*Telopa*, no. 23), we have just two pieces of information, namely, he attained the supreme accomplishment grinding sesame (*til brdung*) and saw (*mjal*) the Buddha in Bengal (*Bham ga la*).

Source δ — Abhayadatta

**Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* (*Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rnam thar*). In *bsTan 'gyur* (Ö. 5091; Grünwedel 1916: 170; Sempa Dorje 1979; Robinson 1979: 98–99; Dowman 1985: 151).

A brief account of *Tilopa* is included in this celebrated collection of hagiographies of eighty-four siddhas (*Tillo pa'i lo rgyus*, no. 22). We know from the colophon of the whole collection, written in the first person, that the *bhikṣu* sMon grub shes rab translated this 'Account of the Eighty-Four Siddhas' as it had been orally expounded (*zhal nas gsungs pa ltar*) by Abhayadattaśrī, the great Indian guru of Campārṇa (*Tsam par ṇa*).¹⁵ This Abhayadatta (*Mi 'jigs pa sbyin pa*), alias Abhayadattaśrī (*Mi 'jigs sbyin pa'i dpal*) or Abhayaśrī (*Mi 'jigs pa dpal*) would have been a pupil of the above mentioned Vajrāsana the Middle (source γ).

In point of fact, we read in Tāranātha's *bKa' babs bdun ldan* (449.3; *SIL* 65) that Vajrāsana the Middle alias Ratnākaragupta, taught an Abhayākara (*des slob dpon 'Jigs med 'byung gnas la gdams pa yin*). Being the latter name a shortened form of Abhayākaragupta, it is reasonably possible that the oral author of the **Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* might be the famous ācārya Abhayākaragupta (*'Jigs med 'byung gnas sbas pa*), to whom twenty-two works are ascribed in the *bsTan 'gyur*. This possibility seems to be corroborated by Tāranātha (*bKa' babs bdun ldan* 457.4; *SIL* 71), who informs us that he was disciple of Sauripāda, that is of the above mentioned Vajrāsana the Middle. Besides, we read in the 'Record of Teachings Received', or *gSan yig* (2: 199) by the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho's (1617–1682), that Vajrāsana was listened to (*gsan*) by Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags pa sMon grub shes rab, and Abhayākara(gupta). The former seems to be the complete name of sMon grub shes rab, alias the Tāngut (*Mi nyag*) Tsa mi Lo tsā ba sMon grub shes rab, who translated together with Abhayadattaśrī/Abhayākaragupta himself at least two other texts of the latter, viz. Tō. 1198 and 2484 (*Tibskrit* s.v. Abhayadatta, Abhayadattaśrī, and Abhayaśrī).

The nineteenth-century Tibetan scholar 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, in his *gDams ngag mdzod* (*gD*), contextualizes the composition of the **Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* reporting the legend of a pious King Kuṇḍī (*gD* 11: 9–11). In order to fulfill his mother's dying wish, the king would have invited the eighty-four siddhas for a tantric gathering, or gaṇacakra (*tshogs kyi 'khor lo*). Although no longer alive, thanks to the intervention of two ḍākinīs, the siddhas would have miraculously arrived and spent a long time there with the king. Eventually, each siddha would have sung a *dohā* and vanished. In the legend, we are told that Vīraprabha, a travelling scholar, would have heard about that gaṇacakra, but missed it for a week. Nevertheless, the same two ḍākinīs would have transmitted to him all the *dohās* sung by the siddhas. Then Vīraprabha would have transcribed the whole collection of songs into a book titled *Ratnamāla* (*Rin chen phreng ba*). Then the lineage of transmission of the text is given (Kapstein 2000: 52–71; 2006: 49–61)—

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Vīraprabha | |
| | |
| Kamala | a brāhmaṇa paṇḍita; |
| (<i>Ka ma la</i>) | |
| | |

| | |
|--|---|
| Jamāri (<i>Dza ma ri</i>) | a hermit siddha; |
| | |
| Abhayadattaśrī (<i>Mi 'jigs sbyin pa 'i dpal</i>) | the Magadhan paṇḍita who wrote a commentary of the <i>dohās</i> with the relevant <i>rnam thars</i> (<i>do ha 'i</i> <i>'grel pa rnam thar dang bcas pa mdzad</i>); |
| | |
| sMon grub shes rab | the Tangut translator who translated into Tibetan and edited all the above together with his master (<i>yab sras kyis Bod 'dir bsgyur zhing 'chad nyan</i> <i>gyis gtan la phab te dar rgyas su mdzad pa yin</i>). |

Source ε — sGam po pa

Tai lo dang nā ro 'i rnam thar. In *gSung 'bum yid bzhin nor bu*, KA, fols 1a–12a (pp. 1–24).

According to 'Gos Lo tsā ba's *Deb ther sngon po* (377.7; BA 457), sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen—aliases Dwags po lHa rje, and Zla 'od gzhon nu—(1079–1153), would have spent thirteen months in the presence of Mar pa's disciple, Mi la ras pa (1040–1123). Now, since he would have met his guru at the age of thirty-one (1079 + 31), while the latter was seventy years old (1040 + 70), their first meeting would have occurred in the year Iron Male Tiger (*lcags pho stag*), that is 1110, and the year of his leaving would have been in the year Iron Female Hare (*lcags mo yos*), or 1111 (*Deb ther sngon po* 398.6; BA 458).

In spite of the title, sGam po pa's *Tai lo dang nā ro 'i rnam thar* does not contain any real account of *Tailopa*'s life, but it mostly concerns with his disciple Nāropā.

Source ζ — Vibhūticandra

**Bāhyasādhanaśaṃyoga* (*Phyi sgrub kyis rten 'brel*). In *bsTan 'gyur*, Ō. 5015.

On the textual basis of Ō. 5015, and 5014 (...*bla ma phyi ltar sgrub pa 'i man ngag*...), a better tentative re-Sanskritization of Tib. *Phyi sgrub kyis rten 'brel* ought to be **Bāhyasādhanaśaṃyoga* instead of **Bāhyasiddhipratītyasamutpāda* (Cordier 1909–15, 84: 3; Ō. 5015; TT 87: 14): thus the title should be understood as 'Circumstances of the Outer Practice'. Although the catalogue of the Peking Qianlong *bsTan 'gyur*

assigns the text to *Tillopa* (*Tailikapāda*), the colophon of the same edition (Q YU 30a3), with the related sNar thang (N YU 30a6) and dGa' ldan *bsTan 'gyur* (G YU 37a1), describes it as composed by Vibhūticandra (*paṇ chen Bhi bu ti tsan dras mdzad pa*).¹⁶

Following the trail of Cyrus Stearns' study on that paṇḍita (1996), we know that Vibhūticandra was born in the second half of the twelfth century in the Varendra Maṇḍala, within the Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti of northern Bengal, and he would have studied as an ordained monk at Vikramaśīla. With regard to his guru, the Kashmiri paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadrā (c. 1127–c. 1225), he could have met him either at Vikramaśīla or at Jagaddala, the mahāvihāra in Varendra, where he went to escape eastwards from Turuṣka invaders of Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khaljī pressing from the west.¹⁷ After three years spent studying there under Śākyaśrībhadrā, in 1204 the two fled to Tibet together with other fellow fugitives.

During the eleven years of his first stay in Tibet (1204–1214), Vibhūticandra had contacts with more than one representative of the later spread (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet, in particular, with the founder of the 'Bri gung tradition of the bKa' brgyud pas, 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217), and with the patriarch of Sa skya, rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), as well as with the latter's nephew, the future Sa skya Paṇḍita, Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251). In 1213 he was in mNga' ris with Śākyaśrībhadrā: there, in a royal palace in Pu rang, he translated many texts in collaboration with Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen. In 1214, when the old Śākyaśrībhadrā left Tibet to Kashmir, Vibhūticandra went to Kathmandu: probably with Glo bo Lo tsā ba, as their collaboration continued there. In Kathmandu, he studied under important masters, such as the Indian ācārya of Vikramaśīla Ratnarakṣita (Lo Bue 1997: 634), and the Newari Buddhaśrī (*bal po Buddha shrī*).¹⁸ Moreover, Vibhūticandra would have become abbot of the Tham Bahil of Kathmandu.¹⁹

In Tibet for a second time, we are informed of his translation work at the temple of 'Bring mtshams in gTsang—where he composed and auto-translated his important *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā*—and that he would have 'spent time at the monastery of 'Bri khung gling, where his activities were very influential' (Stearns 1996: 139). Once back in Nepal, he occupied again his position at the Tham Bahil until old age: it is in that period that the crucial meeting between Vibhūticandra and 'a much later Śavaripa acting as the esoteric preceptor for Vibhūticandra' (Davidson 2002b: 228) did occur.²⁰ The teachings on the *śaḍaṅgayoga* (*rnal 'byor yan lag drug*

pa) of the Kālacakra system, which he received from that ‘young yogin with bone loops fixed in his ear lobes’ (Stearns 1996: 139), were since then labelled as the direct transmission of Vibhūticandra (*Bi bhū ti'i nye brgyud*).

In order to spread this transmission, he composed his *Yogaśaḍaṅga*, and went to Tibet for the third time. There he gave the Kālacakra consecration and Śavaripa's teachings to many Tibetan people convened to Ding ri, near the Tibet-Nepal border, where he was guest of the renowned yogin Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1181/2–1261). While living in the charnel ground of mKhan pa, west of Ding ri glang 'khor, Vibhūticandra would have translated several texts in association with the Tibetan translator Mi mnyam bzang po. Among them, not only did he translate important texts on Kālacakra, such as Anupamarakṣita's *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, and the *Yogaśaḍaṅga* transmitted to him by Śavaripa at Tham Bahil before leaving, but he also translated Tillopa's *Gurusādhana* (GS, Ō. 5014), Nāropā's *Gurusiddhi* (Ō. 5016), and Nāgārjuna's *Guruguhyasiddhi* (Ō. 5017). Although the **Bāhyasādhanaśaṁyoga* has no colophon, due to both the position it occupies in the three *bsTan 'gyur* editions (Ō. 5015), and the texts Vibhūticandra dealt with during his stay at Ding ri, it is reasonable to agree with Stearns (1996: 162) and assign it to that period.

Reporting what Tillopa would have said to Nāropā, alias Abhayakīrti ('*Jigs med grags pa*) at the moment of their first encounter, and later at the presence of a lay disciple Indrabodhi of that period, Vibhūticandra puts the same Tillopa's *Gurusādhana* he had translated (Ō. 5014) within a hagiographic anecdotal context, namely the ‘circumstances’ (*rten 'brel*). As to the source of this account, a reasonable conjecture could identify it with Vibhūticandra's connections in the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud milieu, notably during his first stay in Tibet, in 1204–14, with 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po.

Source η — rGyal thang pa

rJe btsun chen po tilli pa'i rnam par thar pa.

When mentioned, the name of the author of this old collection of hagiographies occurs as rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje at the end of the lives of *Tillipa*, Mar pa, and Mi la ras pa; as rGyal ldang pa bDe chen rdo rje after the life of gLing ras pa Padma rdo rje; as rGya ldang pa bDe chen rdo rje at the end of the lives of sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen, Phag mo

The manuscript can be dated to the latter half of the fifteenth century or the first half of the sixteenth century, and it is preserved at Hemis in Ladakh.

| LINEAGE | TRADITION |
|---|------------------------|
| <i>Tillipa</i> | Siddha tradition |
| | |
| Nāropā (c. 956 – c. 1040) | |
| | |
| Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros (c. 1012 – c. 1097) | Mar pa bKa' brgyud |
| | |
| Mi la ras pa (1040/52–1123/35) | |
| | |
| sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153) | Dwags po bKa' brgyud |
| | |
| Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170) | Phag gru bKa' brgyud |
| | |
| gLing ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1188) | gLing ras bKa' brgyud |
| | |
| gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211) | 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud |
| | |
| rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258) | sTod 'Brug bKa' brgyud |

bKa' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byung gnas (Gyaltzen 1990).

We are informed by Khenpo Könchog Gyaltsen (1990: xvi) that this late-thirteenth-century author from Western Tibet was a disciple of Ri khrod dbang phyug (1181–1255), himself a disciple of 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po.²¹

[illegible]

bKa' brgyud yid bzhin nor bu yi 'phreng ba.

U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal, alias Seng ge dpal (1230–1309), the siddha compiler of the entire collection, was since 1247 a disciple of the above mentioned rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258): the latter, ‘tired

of the jealousy of his older disciples towards U rgyan pa, decided to disperse them all to several meditation places' (Vitali 2012: 34). About 1252, while the young man was thinking to go to Śambhala on account of his previous studies in the Kālacakra tradition, rGod tshang pa convinced him that he had connection with neither Śambhala nor the Kālacakra, but rather with Uḍḍiyāna (Tucci 1940: 372–75). So did he go there, as we read in the *Deb ther sngon po* (612.2–4; BA 701):

He reached Dhūmasthala (*Dhu ma tha la*) in Uḍḍiyāna. There a vajrayoginī (*rdo rje rnal 'byor ma*) in the form of a prostitute's daughter (*smad 'tshong ma'i bu mo*) offered him a bowl full of vegetables and blessed (*byin gyis brlabs pa : adhiṣṭhāna*) him: by this all the remaining defiling elements of his former karmic deeds were first brought out and consumed; the meaning of the *trivajra* (*rdo rje gsum*) arose in his mind. Then the vajrayoginī manifested her true form (*nyid kyi skur bstan*) and bestowed on him the oral instructions (*zhal gyi gdams pa*). After that he returned.

Nevertheless, it is possible that he never reached Uḍḍiyāna, but would have stopped at Jālandhara (Vitali 2012: 35). The dākinī would have transmitted to U rgyan pa the teachings relevant with the propitiatory services and accomplishment procedures (*bsnyen sgrub : sevāsādhana*) of the three adamant states (*rdo rje gsum gyi bsnyen sgrub*) of body, speech and mind (*kāyavākcitta*), then famed as the propitiatory services and accomplishment procedures from Uḍḍiyāna (*U rgyan bsnyen sgrub*, Gene Smith 2001: 46; Stearns 2001: 5).

As we read in the preface to the photostat, this *gser 'phreng* compiled between 1295 and 1304 belongs to the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud pa tradition, because the last hagiography is that of 'Gar Dam pa Chos sdings pa (1180–1240), another disciple of 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po, namely the same milieu of sources ζ and θ. The manuscript is preserved in the library of the Kangyur Rimpoche of Darjeeling.

Source κ — Mon rtse pa

dKar brgyud gser 'phreng.

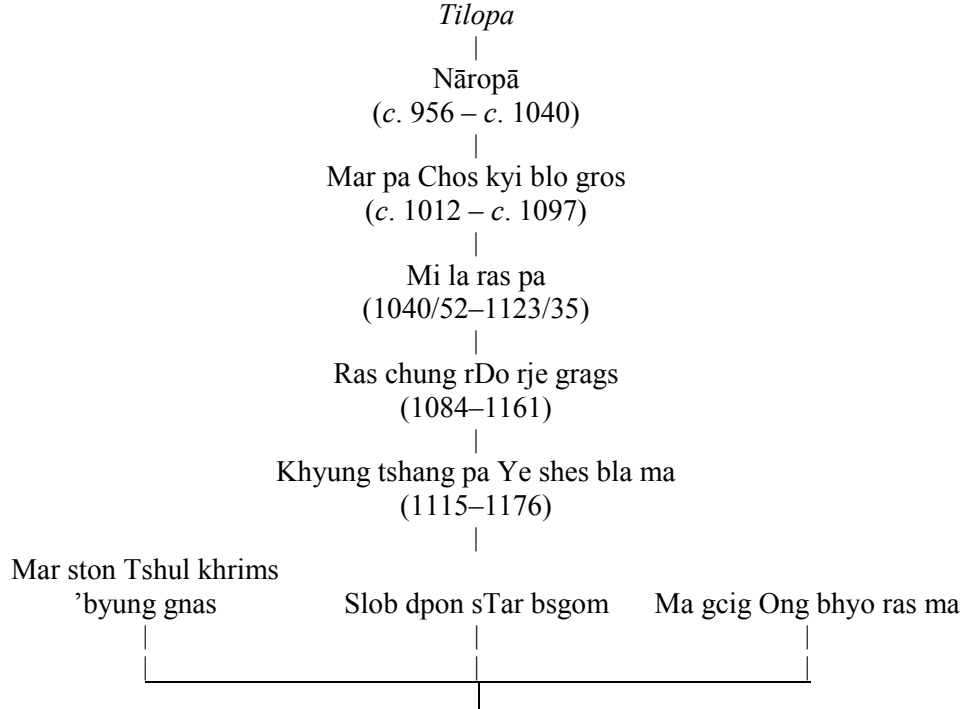
This *gser 'phreng*, compiled in the second half of the fifteenth century by Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal ldan (1408–1475), follows the 'Ba' ra lineage of the Yang dgon school, in turn an offshoot of the sTod 'Brug school of the

'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa tradition (Gene Smith 2001: 46–48). The manuscript, compiled and calligraphed in the second half of the fifteenth century, is conserved at Takna in Ladakh.

Source λ — gTsang smyon He ru ka

bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud kyi gzhung 'brel sa bcad dang sbrags pa (bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi gdams pa yid bzhin nor bu skor gsum).

gTsang smyon He ru ka Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (1452–1507) and his guru Sha ra rab 'byams pa Sangs rgyas seng ge belonged to the Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa, a subsect of the Bka' brgyud pa that has now completely disappeared as a separate entity. Since the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pas, especially the sTod subsect, focus their practice on the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* of the *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*, gTsang smyon is now considered to belong to the 'Brug pa branch of the Dwags po bKa' brgyud pa. As for his lineage, we are informed by gTsang smyon himself in his *gZhung 'brel*—



Zhang Lo tsā ba Byang chub 'od zer
 (?–1237)
 |
 Sras Byang sems bSod nams rgyal mtshan
 |
 Ma gcig 'Khrul zhig Kun ldan ras ma
 |
 mKhas btsun gZi brjid rgyal mtshan
 |
 mKhan po dBang phyug shes rab
 |
 Ri khrod ras pa gZhon nu rgyal mtshan
 |
 Ras chen pa gDan cig pa gZhon nu dpal ldan
 |
 La phyi pa mDong ston Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan
 |
 'Dul 'dzin pa Ngag gi dbang po
 |
 Sha ra Rab byams pa Sangs rgyas seng nge

We read in the English 'Contents' of the photostat reproduction of the text (1: 1–2), that this hagiography is included in a *Ras chung snyan brgyud* collection which was compiled in 1494. The manuscript A, titled *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi gzhung 'brel sa gcad dang sbrags pa*, is known as the Bya btang 'Phrin las dpal 'bar Manuscript. The manuscript B, with the title *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi gdams pa yid bzhin nor bu skor gsum*, is known as the Gra dkar Rab 'jam pa Manuscript. Even if the dating of the two manuscripts is quite difficult, Ms. A would be of the second half of the sixteenth century, and Ms. B would be of the beginning of the seventeenth century and more corrupted than the former.

Source μ — Kun dga' rin chen

bKa' rgyud bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar rin chen gser 'phreng.

These concise texts were composed in 1508 by 'Bri gung Chos rje Kun dga' rin chen (1475–1527), the last abbot of 'Bri gung monastery to follow the pure 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud pa tradition, before the rNying ma pa tradition gradually took over.

Source v — dBang phyug rgyal mtshan

rJe btsun chen po ti lo'i rnam par thar pa. In *rJe btsun ti lo pa dang nā ro pa'i rnam thar rin po che*.

We read in the colophon that the author, a disciple of gTsang smyon He ru ka, composed the *rJe btsun chen po ti lo'i rnam par thar pa* in 1523 (*chu mo lug gi lo*) in the hermitage of rDza ri bSam gtan gling. As to the sources, dBang phyug rgyal mtshan informs us a first time (v KA 3b2) that he had examined about eight previous hagiographies to compose his own (*rnam thar phyi mo brgyad tsam la bltas*). More details are given at the end (v KA 76b4–77a2), where he declares that his work is a compilation from about ten earlier ones (*rje btsun Ti lo pa'i rnam thar phyi mo snga rabs gong mas mdzad pa bcu phrag cig gi zab tshad bsdus*). Six of them are mentioned, undoubtedly in order of importance, that is for the use he had made of; providentially, the first two are still extant—

| AUTHOR AND TEXT | TIME | TRADITION | SOURCE |
|--|---------|------------------------|--------|
| 1 gTsang smyon He ru ka's concise <i>rnam thar</i> as dBang phyug rgyal mtshan's starting point (<i>gTsang chen He ru ka'i mdzad pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa la rtsa ba'i gzhung shing byas</i>); | 15th c. | Ras chung snyan brgyud | λ |
| 2 rGyal thang pa's <i>rnam thar</i> (<i>grub chen rGyal thang pa bde chen rdo rje'i mdzad pa'i rnam thar</i>); | 13th c. | sTod 'Brug | η |
| 3 sPyan snga Rin chen ldan's brief <i>rnam thar</i> (<i>'Jig rten mgon po'i rgyal tshab dam pa spyen mnga' rin po che grags 'byung gis mdzad pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa</i>); | 13th c. | Yang dgon stod 'Brug | |
| 4 Mar ston Tshul khrims 'byung gnas' <i>rnam thar</i> (<i>rje btsun dam pa Mar ston tshul khrims kyis mdzad pa'i rnam thar</i>), a disciple of Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma, alias g.Ye chung pa dGe bshes khyung po (1115–1176); | 12th c. | Ras chung snyan brgyud | |

| | | |
|--|---------|------------------------|
| 5 mKha' spyod dbang po's <i>rnam thar</i> (<i>mkhas shing grub pa bsnyes pa'i skyes mchog sprul sku mKha' spyod dbang pos mdzad pa'i rnam thar</i>), the second Zhwa dmar (1350–1405); | 14th c. | Karma kam tshang |
| 6 Ras chen Chos rje Shar ka's <i>rnam thar</i> (<i>mnyam med Ras chen chos rjes mdzad pa'i rnam thar</i>). | 16th c. | Ras chung snyan brgyud |

Source ξ — lHa btsun

Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa'i rnam mgur.

A descendant of the old royal dynasty of Tibet, as testified by the respectful monastic title *lha btsun* (Gene Smith 2001: 288 n. 181), lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) can be regarded as ‘the most significant student of gTsang smyon’ (Gene Smith 2001: 75). We read at the end of his *Ti lo pa'i rnam mgur* that he printed it first on the tenth day of the middle of the three Summer months of the Iron-Male-Dog year (*lcags pho khyi'i lo*), that is in 1550. The printery was in the hermitage (*nyang dben*) of Brag dkar rta so, in sKyid grong rdzong, a site where Mi la ras pa would have meditated for years. lHa btsun faithfully follows the teachings and contents of the purest oral bKa' brgyud pa tradition going back to Ras chung. This text is the only *Ti lo pa'i rnam mgur* we have, that is a *rnam thar* interspersed with songs (*mgur*). These songs are by *Tilopa* himself and belong to four texts, the nine root verses of the *Vajradākinīṣkāyadharmā* (*VDNDh*), the *Acintyamahāmudrā* (*AMM*, Torricelli 2007), the *Mahāmudropadeśa* (*MMU*, Tiso and Torricelli 1991), and the **Nijadharmatāgīti* (*NDhG*).

Words for Tradition and Traditions of Words

Being words' usage to decide their meaning, an analysis of the traditional context wherein terms or data occur paves the way for appreciating their implications. In order to do that, some cultural terms and few geographical

names will be introduced on the occasion of their first occurrence in the hagiographic sources.

Some Sanskrit terms consistent with the complex notion of tradition occur in the texts of the Shamsheer Manuscript (α), namely *āmnāya*, *guruparamparā*, *sampradāya*, and *tantra*. We could take them as lexical markers for a possible history of the cultural process of identification: affirmed, in so far as separation is painfully felt. The primeval inclination to identify oneself as a member of a family, clan, tribe, people, caste, class, religious group, party, club, university, and so forth—this fancy of a social identity in order to become aware of oneself, inevitably moves us to the pursuit of continuity, before and after the span of our life.

Being primarily transmitted or received authoritative words, *āmnāya* can signify both the contents of an instructional tradition and the group of adepts sharing it, according to the context. As an uninterrupted series (*paramparā*), the compound *guruparamparā* points at the unbroken lineage of gurus within an *āmnāya*. Likewise, *sampradāya* alludes to a tradition as a granted or received instruction, belief, or usage, but it can also mean the cultural system relevant to that tradition.

While *āmnāya* evokes the word (*ā\mnā*), either uttered or committed to memory, the semantic focus of *sampradāya* is the gift (*sam-pra\vdā*): be it granted, received or shared. Both *āmnāya* and *sampradāya*, like *paramparā*, call to mind the human urge of permanence, of durability, of a legacy: the same urge that is revealed by the Latin word *traditio*, from *tradere* (*trans-dare*), literally ‘hand over’, actually a juridical notion in the context of transfers of property and legacies.

Yoginītantras

Vajrayāna, Mantrayāna, Mantranaya, Tantric or Esoteric Buddhism are different names for an endogenous cultural outgrowth in the Buddhist tradition that its followers call Mahāyāna, Great Vehicle. It developed typically in the post-Gupta centuries as an increasing amount of worship ceremonies, visualization techniques, evocation rituals, esoteric diagrams, formulae, and magic spells centred upon one or another deity. Within an analogical perspective, the chosen tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) was meditatively and ritually deemed as the divine expression of the cosmic energy, that was—and still is—represented in an esoteric circular diagram called maṇḍala. Under such circumstances, a symbol was taken as *the* symbol: in the same way as every single phenomenon (*dharma*) can stay

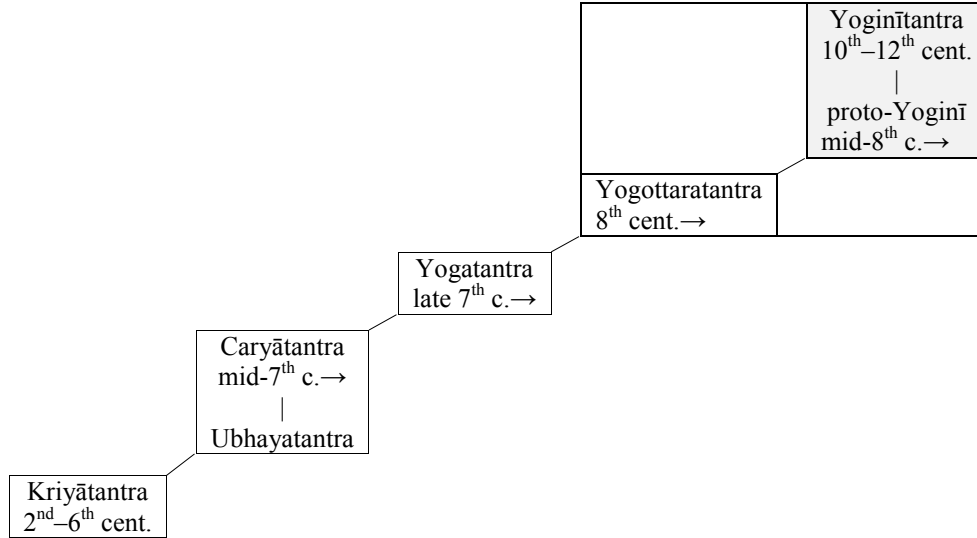
for the full expanse of all phenomena (*dharmadhātu*). In view of the spiritual accomplishment (*siddhi*), specific procedures (*sādhana*) were secretly transmitted from guru to disciple, and the effectiveness of the legacy (*āmnāya*) was guaranteed by the authority of the lineage (*paramparā*), as well as by the secret elite sharing the transmission (*sampradāya*).

The textual bodies of those esoteric instructions were known by the name of *tantras*: from the root $\sqrt{\text{tan}}$, denoting acts as extending, spreading, protracting, continuing, propagating, displaying, but also bending, and weaving, as it is the case with this noun for a loom and a warp as well. Once again, the word suggests an akin notion of chronological continuity, but with a further sign—or *interpretant*—which presages the action of interlacing threads: as in the case of the Latin word *textum* for ‘text’, from *texere* ‘to weave’.

On account of the occurrences in the early-ninth-century Tibetan catalogue *dKar chag ldan dkar ma* (Lalou 1953: 326–28), the tantric texts translated in the Tang period (Chou 1945), and the commentarial references in Buddhaguhya’s *Vairocanābhisambodhitāntrapiṇḍārtha* (Ö. 3486, Tō. 2662, fol. 3a4–b6 of D), Davidson has pointed at an esoteric *canon in use* in the eighth century: ‘a body of texts that were identified by acknowledged bearers of the culture at discrete points in the hermeneutic process’ (2002b: 152, 376 n. 125).

For our purposes it is sufficient some familiarity with the most common classification of the extant Tibetan tantric corpus, to locate with Davidson most of the above texts within the first three of the four classes of *tantras*, as they have been ranked by the later, or ‘new’ (*gsar ma*) exegetical tradition, namely, (1) the ritual *tantras*, or Kriyātantras (*bya ba’i rgyud*), (2) the practical *tantras*, or Caryātantras (*spyod pa’i rgyud*), (3) the *tantras* of integration, or union, or yoga, called Yogatantras (*rnal ’byor gyi rgyud*), and (4) the *tantras* of highest yoga, Yoganiruttara- or Yogottaratantras (*rnal ’byor bla na med kyi rgyud*). As these last *tantras* involved the ritual presence of female yoga practitioners, the *yoginīs* (*rnal ’byor ma*), they were also termed Yoginītantras (*rnal ’byor ma’i rgyud*). Later, the *gsar ma* Tibetan tradition divided the Yogottaratantras into the two, Mother (*ma rgyud*) and Father Tantras (*pha rgyud*), the former including *tantras* such as the *Cakrasaṃvara*, and the latter the *Guhyasamāja*. Graded according to different human types for their intellectual and emotional levels, every system was conceived to lead to the realization in a more radical, and quicker a way than the lower one.

We can draw it as a process clear of any detail, since its earliest Kriyātantra issues around the second century CE until its most mature and radical articulation with the Yoginītantras, thriving during the rule of the Candras and the last Pālas, between the tenth and the twelfth century—



Source: Adapted from English 2002, pp. 2–7.

Although the above scheme shows just a sprouting process of a tantric system from an older matrix, taking from botany, also pollination and dissemination play their part: the former as the whole of individual esoteric transmissions from guru to disciple, the latter as the cultural propagation of Vajrayāna. It is under the latter perspective that the process has been summarized in the fifteenth century by 'Gos Lo tsā ba in his *Deb ther sngon po*. Opening the chapter on the Kālacakra, the subject is introduced by a schematic general account of the propagation of the Mahāyāna Guhyamantra (*theg pa chen po gsang sngags*) in India:

At first, the Yogatantras, to begin with the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (*De kho na nyid bsdus pa*, i.e. the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*) and others, appeared (*byung*) in the east to king Pradyotacandra (*Rab gsal zla ba*) and others, and were explained (*bshad*). Then, the Yogatantras (*rnal 'byor gyi rgyud*), including the *Guhyasamāja* (*gSang ba 'dus pa*) and others [i.e. *Yoganiruttara*-, *Yogottara*-, or *Anuttarayogatantras*], appeared to Ācārya Nāgārjuna with his disciples (*slob dpon Klu sgrub slob ma dang bcas pa*), and were explained, then spread from the south. After that, from the west,

Śrī Kambalapā (*dpal La ba pa*) and others removed (*phyung*) from the country of Uḍḍiyāna the Yoginītantras (*rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud rnams*), that spread also in Madhyadeśa (*Deb ther sngon po* 662.1–3; cf. *BA* 753).

Cakrasaṃvara

In the central position of the maṇḍalas of the Yogottara- and Yoginītantras we do not find the Buddha Vairocana as in the case of the Caryā- and Yogatantras, but Akṣobhya, or one of his multiple wrathful manifestations, all members of the Adamantine Family (*vajrakula* : *rdo rje'i rigs*) of Buddhas.²²

One of these manifestations, crucial in the life of our Bengali gentleman, is Cakrasaṃvara, a hypostasis of Heruka or Hevajra, and essentially identical with Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāyā, Saṃvara, and Vajradāka (Snellgrove 1959, 1: 30–33; Mallmann 1975: 182–90). As such, he is the central deity in the maṇḍalas of the Yoginītantras. In particular, Heruka takes the name of Cakrasaṃvara or Saṃvara when imagined copulating with his consort Vajravārāhī (*rDo rje phag mo*), alias Jñānaḍākinī (*Ye shes mkha' 'gro ma*), Bhagavatīyoginī (*bCom ldan rnal 'byor ma*), or Vajrayoginī (*rDo rje rnal 'byor ma*; Bhattacharyya 1924: 160–162; Tucci 1935: 16–74; Meisezahl 1967; Mallmann 1969; 1975: 50–52, 187–89; Kossak and Casey Singer 1998 nos 2, 20, 21, 32, 43; English 2002). The theonym occurs as Śaṃvara/Śambara (*bDe mchog*), or ‘sublime’ (*vara*) ‘bliss’ (*śam*); as Saṃvara/Sambara, ‘union’ (*sDom pa*) from Skt *saṃ*√*vr*, it is a synonym of *samāja* (*'dus pa*), *saṃyoga*, and *samayoga*; as Cakrasaṃvara or Cakrasambara ‘sublime bliss in the cakras’ (*bDe mchog 'khor lo*), and Cakrasaṃvara, or ‘union of the cakras’ (*'Khor lo sdom pa*), it alludes to the yoga experience which comes into existence when the energy wheels or cakras (*'khor lo*) of the subtle body are reintegrated into a dynamic synthesis (Tucci 1935: 17–19; Guenther 1963b: 4; Gray 2007: 4, 35–38).

The maṇḍala to enter—first liturgically in the maturation path (*vipākamārga* : *smin lam*), then yogically in the liberation path (*muktimārga* : *grol lam*)—has been described or implied in the huge literature belonging to the cycle of tantras relevant with this deity, to begin with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, composed during the early-eighth to mid-ninth century (Gray 2007: 11–14).²³

While the text is entitled in the Sanskrit colophons the ‘Great King of Yoginī Tantras called the Śrī Cakrasaṃvara’, (*Śrīcakrasaṃvara-nāma-*

mahāyoginī-tantra-rāja), at the end of each of its fifty-one chapters, it refers to itself as the ‘Discourse of Śrī Heruka’ (*Śrīherukābhīdhāna*); since this same text was considered a condensed version of a much larger tantra, the Tibetan tradition knows it as the ‘King of Tantras or the Saṃvara Light’ (*Tantrarāja-śrī-laghusaṃvara* : *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal bde mchog nyung ngu*, Ō. 16, Tō. 368; Gray 2007: 4–5). According to Bu ston Rin chen grub’s authoritative classification in his *rGyud sde spyi’i rnam par bzhas rgyud sde rin po che’i mdzes rgyan*, as it has been outlined by Giuseppe Tucci (1949: 263), the tantras of Śaṃvara (*bDe mchog*) are part of those connected with Heruka in the *prajñā* class (*shes rab*) of the anuttaratantras (*bla na med*).²⁴

Abhiṣekas

The name of the ritual acts authorizing each step along the path is another word that occurs in the Shamsheer Manuscript, as well as in all the material under study. It is a word that demands to be added to our conceptual grid: *seka* ‘sprinkling’, in the sense of *abhiṣeka* ‘consecration’ or ‘empowerment’ (*dbang bskur*). By means of a subtle purification (*abhiṣic* ‘purify with aspersion of water’), the disciple is authorized, that is to say, the power (*dbang*) to proceed deeper into the spiritual path is bestowed (*bskur*) upon him. Such a path is ritually pointed out by the entering the maṇḍala (*maṇḍalapraveśa*).

In the highest tantras, the starting point of the path is marked by the first of four consecrations, called the Consecration of the Jar (*kalaśābhiṣeka* : *bum dbang*), which comprises some consecrations—generally six—performed in the lower tantras as well. The more essential aspect of the practice, consisting in the progressive dissolution of any residual dualistic attitude, is actuated by the three higher consecrations, viz. the Secret Consecration (*guhyābhiṣeka* : *gsang dbang*), the Consecration of the Knowledge of the ritual partner under the name of Prajñā (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka* : *shes rab ye shes kyi dbang*), and finally the Fourth Consecration (*caturthābhiṣeka* : *dbang bzhi pa*), also known as the Consecration of the Word (*śabdābhiṣeka* : *tshig dbang*).

Cittaviśrāma, Manobhaṅga, and Uḍḍiyāna

These three places of the siddhas’ oecumene are mentioned in the Shamsheer Manuscript. Since they are all crucial to the history of Buddhism in general, and to our Bengali siddha in particular, it could be wise to

anticipate here a concise geographical annotation.

We know from this document that the two mountains ‘Mind-Quietness’ (Cittaviśrāma) and ‘Intellect-Destruction’ (Manobhaṅga) are in the south of India: thus not far from Dhānyakaṭaka, the Sātavāhana capital in the current Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. As we will see in the next chapter, albeit their hyperesoteric names, the two mountains are more concrete than we can expect from hagiology.

Uḍḍiyāna, or Uḍḍiyāṇa, Oḍḍiyāna, Udyāna, Oḍyāna, Wuchang (烏長) in the account by Faxian, Wuchangna (烏仗那) in Xuanzang’s, is a region in the upper valley of the Swat (Śubhavastu). Called Supofasudu (蘇婆伐率堵) by Xuanzang, the river flows near the current Pakistan-Afghanistan border, which had made the most of the proximity to the old trade routes between India and Central Asia (Tucci 1940; Kuwayama 1991). While Faxian still reports that monastic Buddhism was flourishing in Uḍḍiyāna in his time (T.2085.858a20; Legge 1886: 28), two centuries later the religious landscape appears totally different in the eyes of Xuanzang: most of the about 1400 old monasteries on both sides of the Swat River were now waste and overgrown with weeds (T.2087.882b17; Beal 1884, 1: 120).

As a matter of fact, not many years after Faxian until the first quarter of the sixth century, the northwest frontier of the Gupta empire had to suffer the military pressure of the central Asian Hūṇas. Eventually the Gupta king Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya and the Aulikara king Yaśodharman drove the Hūṇas’ army commanded by Mihirakula (r. c. 515–c. 530) from the plains of northern India in 528: thus we read in the pillar inscriptions from Mandasor erected by Yaśodharman to celebrate the victory (Fleet 1888: 147–48), but the events before that success had ended up destabilising the Buddhist monastic communities in the northwestern region of the Indian subcontinent. After the crisis of the Buddhist monastic communities in Uḍḍiyāna, consequent upon the Hūṇas’ invasions in the sixth century, it is quite possible that some groups of ascetics developed an independent form of tantric Buddhism, out of the control of the monastic orthodoxy, and strongly permeated of Śaiva elements. As we will see, the erotic alchemy of the *coincidentia oppositorum* was essential in those communities. Yogins and yoginīs were involved in ritual copulations (*maithuna*) in order to pass, philosophically as well as physically, the most archetypal human threshold to the experience of cosmic energy. It is in the yoginī cultural context of Uḍḍiyāna that the Shamsheer Manuscript records the name of the tantric

deity Saṃvara, i.e. Cakrasaṃvara, in connection with the siddha Lūyīpāda.

Ḍākinīs and Siddhas

Uḍḍiyāna is traditionally celebrated as the land of ḍākinīs: another word which will be overwhelmingly present in every folio of our material. The ḍākinīs, before being fairy-like spirits floating in the space, from √ḍi or √ḍai ‘to fly’, as suggested in Kāṇha’s *Yogaratanmālā*,²⁵ by its Sanskrit synonym *khecari*, and the Tibetan *mkha*’ ‘gro ma; before being yelling she-demons, as several Indic words would seem to evoke;²⁶ before being subsumed in both Śaiva and Bauddha esoteric pantheons as ferocious goddesses, these demonic females must have had a human birth: in all probability just a model in the beginning, an ideal, working as an existential imperative.

The rhetorical representation of the perfect female yoga practitioner, or yoginī, must have developed into an idealized manifestation of the female energy in human form. The almost intolerable intensity of life as a whole, its ferocity and sensuality to the highest degree find their tolerable synthesis in the ḍākinīs’ aspects, when they are imagined in sādhanas, or represented in maṇḍalas, or when the tantric consort in the ritual copulation played the role of the female goddess. However, the apotheosis is complete when the yoginī or ḍākinī becomes a meditational deity whose inspirational function along the path of practice cannot but remind under many aspects the functions of the divine messenger Iris in Greek and Latin literature, or the angels in the Zoroastrian, Judaic, Christian, and Muslim one.

To illustrate the phenomenon that laid the basis for the siddha movement, David Gray (2007: 7) speaks of the ‘unusual social context’ in which the tradition of the yoginīs or ḍākinīs arose:

It appears almost certain that the Yoginītantras, with their focus on sexual practices, the transgressive consumption of ‘polluting’ substances such as bodily effluvia, female deities such as yoginīs and ḍākinīs, and fierce male deities, such as the Heruka deities—who are closely modeled on Śaiva deities such as Mahākāla and Bhairava, and bear the accoutrements of charnel ground dwelling yogins—did not solely derive from a mainstream monastic Buddhist context. Instead, they seem to have developed among and/or been influenced by liminal groups of renunciant yogins and yoginīs, who collectively constituted what might be called the ‘siddha movement’.

As already observed by Mohammed Shahidullah (1928: 18), the cultural approach of the siddhas as a whole represented a movement of reaction to the formal aspects—merely exterior ones—of tantrism. Indeed they would not go against the liturgy at all, yet some of them were aware of its limits, if not steeped in the sap of their individual inner exertion: a limitation lasting until the egoic barriers are not overcome. The siddhas seem to embody the dialectical antithesis to a certain institutionalized kind of form—were it a ritualistic, a magical, or an intellectual one—in the direction of a further synthesis. However, as it is the case of every kind of critique when observed within a dialectical perspective, what is denounced is somehow recreated at the same time: so can we see that, if the object of the siddhas' critique was institutional formalism, the result was indeed another form, and again another institutional formalism, another church: thus another kind of human power.

The attitude witnessed by the siddhas' literature could be appreciated as a sort of reformatory bias within Buddhist esotericism: the following step, in the context of the highest tantras, of progress towards the innermost and the crucial of the rite. Even though an external rituality was described, and really performed, a noetic process was always alluded to. The fact that such a crucial process might have taken place by operating on any of the three inseparable fields of experience—breath, imaginative thinking, or male/female ejaculate—hints at a different perceptive spontaneity of man at that time. However, the traditional experiential grasps of the contingent will concern us—poor post-human humanity—typically more cerebral and less natural than then, in that they are *grasps*, rather than for what they actually clutch at.

Śmaśānas

To begin with *β*, a word occurs in the Tibetan sources again and again, *dur khrod* (*śmaśāna*), or 'charnel ground'. The 'Gothic' culture of bones and skulls was gaining strong prominence in the texts of the Yoginītantras, in line with the emergent Kāpālīka esoteric aesthetics. As a matter of fact, although nearly all of our knowledge about the Kāpālīka sect and the Kāpālīka-like movement relies on fictional and hostile sources, these Hindu worshippers of the god Bhairava-Śiva and his consort appear well represented all over most of southern India since the eighth century (Lorenzen 1972: 52–53).

We can imagine that, whereas the macrocosmic Śaiva model was based

on the myth of the extreme penance of Śiva after beheading the god Brahmā, its microcosmic shadows were the single Kāpālīka ascetics who practised the ‘great vow’ (*mahāvratā*), smeared with ashes, dwelling in charnel grounds, eating in a skull cup (*kapāla*), with a staff (*khaṭvāṅga*) or a trident (*triśula*) in their hand, undertaking severe yoga practices, and showing an extremely antinomic, even criminal conduct (Lorenzen 1972: 73–82). Likewise, if the myth of Padmapāṇi or Heruka’s subjugation, and the subsequent conversion of Maheśvara or Bhairava-cum-consort, was the Bauddha atemporal model of a productive cultural dialogue and ensuing contamination between Śaiva and Bauddha esoteric discourses, its historical expression is the same kind of ascetics, with equally reprehensible fashion and behavior.

One of the earliest occurrences of the eight charnel grounds as they appear at the margins of the maṇḍalas in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition is the following list in the *Samvarodayatantra* (*SUT* 17.36–37, *dPal bde mchog* ‘byung ba zhes bya ba’i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po, Ō. 20, Tō. 373; Tsuda 1974)—

| | | |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| Fierce | Caṇḍogra | gTum drag |
| Impenetrable | Gahvara | Tshang tshing |
| Adamantine Flame | Vajrajvāla | rDo rje ’bar ba |
| Bones Place | Karaṅkin | Keng rus can |
| Terrible Laughter | Aṭṭahāsa | Mi bzad bzhad |
| Auspicious Forest | Lakṣmīvana | bKra shis mchog |
| Terrible Darkness | Ghorāṇḍhakāra | Mun pa drag po |
| Kili-kila Noise | Kilikilārava | Ki li ki la’i sgra |

If we follow Tsuda (1974: 292) in supplementing the unspecified directions as per Bu ston’s *dPal bde mchog* ‘khor lo sdom pa ’byung ba’i sgrub thabs (474), the arrangement in the compass would be counterclockwise: E, N, W, S, NE, SE, SW, NW.

The Tibetan *bsTan* ‘gyur preserves the translation of four texts on the subject of the eight charnel grounds, to begin with two anonymous works having the same title, *Aṣṭaśmaśāna* (*Dur khrod brgyad*). The former (*AŚ*₁, Ō. 2342, Tō. 1212) is organized according to a clockwise compass order, viz. E, S, W, N, NE, SE, SW, NW.

Composed as a memorandum (*bdag nyid dran phyir bri bar bya*), the latter *Aṣṭaśmaśāna* (*AŚ*₂, Ō. 2343, Tō. 1213) is visibly reminiscent of the *Samvarodayatantra*: while it refers to the four cardinal points of the

compass counterclockwise (*g.yon gyi shar sogs phyogs rnams*), the four intermediate points are referred to clockwise (*g.yas kyi dbang ldan phyogs rnams*), viz. E, N, W, S, NE, SE, SW, NW.

The third text is the *Aṣṭaśmaśānākhyāna* (*AŚĀ*, *Dur khrod brgyad kyi bshad pa*, Ō. 2345, Tō. 1216), by an Ācāryayogin (*Slob dpon rnal 'byor pa*): the order is counterclockwise for the four cardinal points, and clockwise for the four intermediate points: E, N, W, S, SE, SW, NW, NE.

The fourth text would be a compilation (*btus pa*) from the mahāsiddha Virūpā's (*Bir ba pa*) *Uḍḍiyānaśrīyogayoginīsvayambhūtasambhogaśmaśānakalpa* (UYSSSK, *dPal U rgyan gyi rnal 'byor pa dang rnal 'byor ma'i rang byung gi longs spyod dur khrod kyi rtog pa*, Ō. 2615, Tō. 1744). Clockwise sequence: E, S, W, N, SE, SW, NW, NE.

Another text useful for a comparison can be the twelfth-century *Vajravārāhīsādhana* (*VS*, *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs*, Ō. 2292, Tō. 1581, vv. 70–76; English 2002: 310–13) by Umāpatideva or Umapatidattapāda (*U ma pa ti datta'i zhabs*). The order is again counterclockwise for the cardinal points, and clockwise for the intermediate ones: E, N, W, S, NE, SE, SW, NW.

Rearranging the order as described in *AŚ₁*, we can draw this scheme—

| | <i>SUT</i> Ō. 20, Tō. 373 | <i>AŚ₁</i> Ō. 2342, Tō. 1212 | <i>AŚ₂</i> Ō. 2343, Tō. 1213 | <i>AŚĀ</i> Ō. 2345, Tō. 1216 | <i>UYSSSK</i> Ō. 2615, Tō. 1744 | <i>VS</i> Ō. 2292, Tō. 1581 |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| E | Caṇḍogra <i>gTum drag</i> | Aṭṭahāsa <i>Aṭṭa ha sa</i> | Caṇḍogra <i>gTum mchog</i> | Caṇḍogra <i>gTum drag</i> | Caṇḍogra <i>gTum drag</i> | Caṇḍogra |
| S | Karaṅkin <i>Keng rus can</i> | Cāritra <i>Tsa ri tra</i> | Subhīṣaṇa <i>rNam 'jigs</i> | Bhīmasena <i>'Jigs sde</i> | Jvālavana <i>'Bar ba'i nags tshal</i> | Subhīṣaṇa |
| W | Vajrajvāla <i>rDo rje 'bar ba</i> | Kolagiri <i>Ko la gi ri</i> | *Jvālapari- veśakāpāla <i>'Bar ba 'khyim pa thod pa can</i> | Karaṅkaka <i>Keng rus</i> | Kāpāla <i>Thod pa can</i> | Karaṅkaka |
| N | Gahvara <i>Tshang tshing</i> | Jayantī <i>Dza yaṇṭi</i> | Gahvara <i>Ga ha ra</i> | Gahvara <i>Tshang tshing can</i> | Bhairava <i>'Jigs byed</i> | Gahvara |
| NE | Aṭṭahāsa <i>Mi bzad bzhad</i> | Ujjayinī <i>Udzda ya ni</i> | Aṭṭahāsa <i>Aṭṭa ha sa</i> | Aṭṭahāsa <i>Ha har dgod pa</i> | Kilikilāra- va <i>Ca co sgrogs</i> | Aṭṭaṭṭahāsa |

| | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| SE | Lakṣmīva- na <i>bKra shis mchog</i> | Prayāga <i>Pra yā ga</i> | *Lakṣmīvat <i>La kṣm̐i can</i> | *Śrīvāna <i>dPal gyi nags</i> | *Śrīnāyaka <i>dPal 'dren</i> | Lākṣmīva- na |
| SW | Ghorāndha -kāra <i>Mun pa drag po</i> | *Vakra- kaṇṣasama <i>rNa 'chus sa ma</i> | Ghorāndha -kāra <i>'Jig pa'i mun pa</i> | Ghorāndha -kāra <i>'Jigs pa'i mun pa</i> | Aṭṭahāsa <i>Ha ha sgrogs</i> | Ghorāndha- kāra |
| NW | Kilikilāra- va <i>Ki li ki la'i sgra</i> | Devīkoṭa <i>lHa mo'i mkhar</i> | Kilikilāra- va <i>Kī li kī la'i sgra</i> | Kilikilāra- va <i>Kī li kī lar sgrogs pa</i> | Ghorāndha -kāra <i>Mun chen</i> | Kilikilāra- va |

Noticeably the charnel grounds mentioned in the above texts are maṇḍala-based, and their names appear as much fictitious as the multiple Tibetan translations demonstrate. It cannot be excluded that portions of them be just qualifications of the proper nouns (English 2002: 347), conceived in the course of some exalted ascetic's accomplishments; hence in the present day it is very difficult to know whether all the sacred toponyms ever corresponded to any definite and stable places on the map, or were applied to a variety of sites in certain circumstances; whether to one or more than one simultaneously, and whether time had ever shifted those designations from one to another (Roṣu 1969: 37–39). No doubt, it is discouraging to count at least two places in Tibet claimed as Cāritra, and at least four as Devīkoṭa (Huber 1990: 144–45). In addition, if this clerical Buddhist relocation of traditional Indian sites on Tibetan soil dates from about the eleventh century, it is even more disheartening that analogous processes must have already occurred more than once in India as well, and certainly since longer a time. From this point of view, the fact that a current toponym could be evocative of some ancient sacred place is not at all contributing to any conclusive identification.

Outlines

Shamsher Manuscript (α)

Going along with Tucci's (1930) partition into nine fragments, our first source could be schematized according to the following outline.

- 1 The *Buddhabodhisattvasiddhānām āmnāyaḥ*, or ‘Tradition of the Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas and the Siddhas’, is a hagiographic account of the *āmnāya* of nonmentation (*amanasikāra*).
 - 1—Buddha (*bhagavān*) leaves the hearers (*śravaka*) of Mahāyāna and goes to the south: there, he institutes the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu.
 - 2—Nāgārjuna is predicted (*vyākṛta*).
 - 3—Regarded as *later* than the Nāgārjuna predicted, there is a hagiographic sketch of a Dāmodara, also called Śākyamitra as a monk (*bhikṣu*) devoted to the bodhisattva Ratnamati, and then Advayavajra when blessed (*adhiṣṭhita*) by the tantric deity Vajrayoginī. The text mentions Saraha as a spiritual ancestor of Advayavajra.
 - 4—In order to introduce the main guru of Dāmodara, alias Śākyamitra, Advayavajra, the text jumps back to Nāgārjuna, and describes him as the guru of a Triśaraṇa, subsequently known as the siddha Śabara, who took the two mountains Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma as his abode for practice (*Manobhaṅga-Cittaviśrāmau*), and lived there under the aspect of a Śabara, that is like the tribal people of the forest.
- 2 In the second of the two *guruparamparās* of the *āmnāya* of *amanasikāra*, the name of our Bengali siddha occurs for the first time as *Tilopā*.²⁷ he appears as disciple of a Vajrayoginī of Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍinī Vajrayoginī.²⁸ In the same *guruparamparā* he is the guru of Nāropā, in turn guru of Advayavajra; in the second *guruparamparā* Advayavajra’s guru is Śabara.
- 3 After a speculation about the name of Vajravārāhī, the triangular (*trikoṇa*) phenomenogonic symbol of the womb of the existent (*dharmodaya*) is introduced.
- 4 A short meditative and ritual practice focused upon Vajrayoginī is described.
- 5 The *Vajrayoginīguruparamparā*, ‘Masters’ Lineage of Vajrayoginī’, like the second fragment, is a name list with a lineage of gurus in the practices of Vajrayoginī: Śabara appears as guru of Sāgaradatta.
- 6 The *Amanasikāra yathāśrutakramah*, or ‘Reported Lineage of Nonmentation’, this important fragment studied by Mark Tatz (1987) is a more detailed account of the Dāmodara/Śākyamitra/Advayavajra introduced in the first fragment; his further names are Martabodha, when he was a young ascetic brāhmaṇa (*ekadaṇḍin*; Lorenzen 1972: 104–105), and Maitrīgupta, when a *bhikṣu* of the ancient Buddhist school of the Sammatīyas, or Pudgalavādins.
 - 1—He studied Mahāyāna under Nāropā for twenty years (*pramāṇa-*

mādhyamika-pāramitānaya-di-śāstram śrutam), and esoteric Buddhism (*mantranayaśāstra*) with Rāgavajra for five years. Then, following the philosophical debate current at Nālandā and Vikramaśīla about the ontological status of mental images (*ākāra*)—whether they have some objective content (*sākāra*) as claimed by Jñānaśrīmitra, or not (*nirākāra*) as sustained by Ratnākaraśānti (Kajiya 1965)—he studied the Nirākāra approach with Ratnākaraśānti at Nālandā for one year, and the Sākāra approach with Jñānaśrīmitra at Vikramaśīla for two years. After that he was in Vikramapura as the *bhikṣu* Maitrīgupta for four years.

2—Ordered in a dream, he went to Khasarpaṇa, probably in the forests of Puṇḍravardhana (Tatz 1987: 701), where he stayed for one year.

3—At the order of another dream, he went with Sāgara, a prince (*rājaputra*) of Rāḍhā, to Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma, the two mountains in the south of India where the lord of Śabarasa had his abode (*Dakṣiṇāpathe Manobhaṅga-Cittaviśrāmau parvatau*).

4—The two, after one year at Dhānyakaṭaka, reached the two sacred mountains.

5—Eventually the Śabara appeared and caused his (or their) direct vision (*sākṣād darśanam*) and gave him/them consecration (*sekaṁ dadāti*) with the initiatic name Advayavajra. The two, Advayavajra and Sāgara, received instruction by the lord of Śabarasa (*Śabareśvara*) and the latter's consorts Padmāvalī and Jñānavālī.

7 The *Sampradāyavidhiḥ*, or 'Propitiation Rite of the Lineage', is a text conducive to the integration (*yoga*) with the 'Blessed Lady' (*bhagavatī*, i.e. Vajrayoginī); at the end the spells, or mantras as spelt within the masters' lineage (*guruparamparākathana*) are prescribed.

8 At the instructions of Lūyīpāda, the unidentified hero of this curious fragment went to Uḍḍiyāna in search of the tantra of 'Saṁvara's Foaming Sea' (*Lūyīpādādeśāt Saṁvarārṇavatantram ānetum Oḍiyānam gataḥ*). The anonymous hero of the fragment remained in Uḍḍiyāna for four days with a yoginī; then he took fraudulently that tantra on the other bank of the river. But the yoginī saw all the process, so the tantra was brought by the breeze back at the presence of the adamantine woman (*vajrāṅganā*).²⁹ The fragment ends with a list of siddhas in the tradition of this tantra: Kukurīpāda, Indrabhūtipāda, Lakṣmīkarā, Virupāpāda, Painḍapātika I, Ḍiṅgara, and Painḍapātika II.

9 A practice of Vajrayoginī is transmitted (*bhagavatīm saṁhāryety āmnāyaḥ*).

As to the different siddhas' lines of transmission reported in the Shamsher Manuscript, they can be organized in the following scheme—

| 1 <i>amanasikāra</i> | 2a <i>amanasikāra</i> | 2b <i>amanasikāra</i> | 5 Vajrayoginī | 8 <i>Samvarārṇava</i> (Lūyīpāda) |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|--|
| (Saraha) | Indrabhūtipā | | | Kukurīpāda |
| Nāgārjuna | UḍḍinīVajrayoginī | | | Indrabhūtipāda |
| Śabara | <i>Tilopā</i> | Śabaranātha | Śabaranātha | Lakṣmīkarā |
| | Nāropā | | | Virupāpāda |
| | Advayavajra | Advayavajra I | Sāgaradatta | Paiṇḍapātika I |
| | Dhyāyīpā | Vajrapāṇi | Vijayaghoṣa | Ḍiṅgara |
| | Amoghaśrī | Paiṇḍapātika | Anaṅgavajra | Paiṇḍapātika II |
| | | Abhayākaragupta | Biso | |
| | | Advayavajra II | Paiṇḍapātika | |
| | | | Vinayagupta | |
| | | | Vāgīśvara | |
| | | | Sudhanaśrī | |
| | | | Līlāvajra | |
| | | | Lalitavajra | |
| | | | Kovihāra | |
| | | | Paṇḍita | |

Mar pa (β)

rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus
fols 1b–11b (photostat pp. 8–28)

| | EXPLICIT | IMPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|-------|----------|---|------|
| 1 | | <i>Mi rang rgyud par grags pa</i> —[<i>Telopa</i> 's] fame as an individual human being; | 11.2 |
| 1.1.1 | | <i>mkha' 'gros lung bstan</i> —he had a revelation by the <i>ḍākinīs</i> ; | 11.3 |
| | | his native land, family, birth, and first name; | 11.4 |
| | | the soothsayer's response; | 11.5 |
| | | many ugly women's pronouncement; | 12.1 |
| | | the same women's prediction; | 12.4 |
| 1.1.2 | | <i>bla ma btsal</i> —he sought for a guru: | 13.4 |
| | | Caryāpā (<i>Tsa rya pa</i>), | 13.4 |
| | | Kambalapā (<i>La wa pa</i>), | 13.5 |
| | | Mātaṅgīpā (<i>Ma tang gi</i>), | 13.5 |
| | | a woman; | 13.7 |
| 1.1.3 | | <i>sgrub pa mdzad pa</i> —he practised; | 14.3 |
| | | * <i>Tilatailavajragīti</i> (<i>TVG</i>), or the 'Adamantine Song of Sesame Oil'; | 15.1 |
| 1.2.1 | | <i>mkha' 'gro zil gyis mnan</i> —he overpowered the <i>ḍākinīs</i> ; | 15.6 |
| 1.2.2 | | <i>chos zhus pa</i> —he received the Dharma; | 18.1 |
| | | the teachings received in Uḍḍiyāna; | 19.3 |
| | | the <i>Vajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> (<i>VDNDh</i>), or the 'Ninefold Dharma of Incorporeal <i>Ḍākinīs</i> ' (<i>Lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos dgu</i>); | 19.7 |
| 1.3 | | <i>mi'i bla ma med pa</i> —as one without human gurus; | 20.3 |
| 1.4 | | <i>sprul pa sna tshogs bstan pa</i> —he showed himself under several manifestations: | 20.4 |
| 1.4.1 | | <i>rnal 'byor pa zil gyis mnan pa</i> —he overpowered the yogin; | 20.5 |
| 1.4.2 | | <i>mu stegs pa btul ba</i> —he converted the <i>tīrthika</i> ; | 21.6 |
| 1.4.3 | | <i>sgyu ma mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the magician; | 22.4 |
| 1.4.4 | | <i>chang 'tshong ma btul ba</i> —he converted the liquor-selling woman; | 23.3 |
| 1.4.5 | | <i>glu mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the singer; | 23.6 |
| 1.4.6 | | <i>shan pa btul ba</i> —he converted the butcher; | 24.3 |
| 1.4.7 | | <i>las 'bras med par 'dod pa btul ba</i> —he converted the denier of the effect of actions; | 24.6 |
| 1.4.8 | | <i>mthu mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the sorcerer; | 25.6 |
| 2 | | <i>bDe mchog gi sprul par grags pa</i> —his fame as a manifestation of Śaṃvara; | 26.3 |

| | | |
|---|---|------|
| 3 | <i>bDe mchog dngos su grags pa</i> —his fame as Śaṃvara himself; | 27.1 |
| 4 | <i>Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku 'dus par grags pa</i> —his fame as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas. | 27.6 |

rGyal thang pa (η)

rJe btsun chen po tilli pa'i rnam par thar pa

fols 1a–22a (photostat pp. 16–57)

| (β) | η | EXPLICIT | IMPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|---------|------|----------|--|------|
| | 1 | | <i>rTsa ba'i tshig gis bstod par brjod pa</i> —the root eulogy; | 16.2 |
| | 2 | | <i>rtsa ba'i tshig gi 'grel pa bshad pa</i> —the commentary on it; | 18.2 |
| | 2.1 | | explanation of verse 1 (... <i>ces pa'i don</i>); | 18.3 |
| | 2.2 | | explanation of verse 2; | 19.4 |
| | 2.3 | | explanation of verse 3; | 20.6 |
| (1.1.1) | 2.4 | | explanation of verse 4: | 21.3 |
| | | | <i>Tillipa's</i> native land, family, birth, and first name; | 22.5 |
| | | | soothsayers and astrologers' response; | 23.4 |
| | 2.5 | | explanation of verse 5: | 23.7 |
| | | | the 'ugly woman's' pronouncement; | 24.1 |
| | | | the 'same woman's' prediction; | 24.6 |
| (1.2.1) | 2.6 | | explanation of verse 6: | 25.5 |
| | | | departure to Uḍḍiyāna; | 25.6 |
| | | | the victory over the ḍākinīs; | 26.5 |
| (1.2.2) | 2.7 | | explanation of verse 7: | 28.7 |
| | | | the obtention of teachings; | 29.1 |
| | | | the <i>Vajradākinīṣkāyadharmā</i> (VDNDh); | 31.2 |
| | 2.8 | | explanation of verse 8: | 31.5 |
| | | | vision and union with Vajradhara; | 31.5 |
| (1.3) | 2.9 | | explanation of verse 9: | 32.7 |
| | | | as one without human gurus; | 33.1 |
| | | | as one with human gurus; | 33.2 |
| | | | first transmission; | 33.5 |
| | | | second transmission; | 37.7 |
| | | | third transmission; | 38.2 |
| | | | fourth transmission; | 40.1 |
| (1.4) | 2.10 | | explanation of verse 10: | 40.4 |
| (1.4.1) | | | the victory over the yogin; | 40.6 |
| (1.4.2) | | | the conversion of the tūṛhika; | 42.6 |
| (1.4.3) | | | the conversion of the magician; | 43.7 |

| | | | |
|---------|------|---|------|
| (1.4.4) | | the conversion of the liquor-selling woman; | 45.5 |
| | 2.11 | explanation of verse 11: | 46.7 |
| (1.4.7) | | the conversion of the <i>lokāyata</i> ; | 47.3 |
| (1.4.6) | | the conversion of the butcher; | 49.4 |
| (1.4.5) | | the conversion of the singer; | 50.3 |
| (1.4.8) | | the conversion of the sorcerer; | 51.1 |
| | 2.12 | explanation of verse 12: | 52.2 |
| (2) | | as a manifestation of Cakrasaṃvara; | 52.3 |
| (3) | | as Cakrasaṃvara himself; | 53.5 |
| (4) | | as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas; | 54.4 |
| | 2.13 | explanation of verse 13. | 55.2 |

rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ)

Te lo pa'i rnam thar

fols 27a–43b (photostat pp. 53–86)

| (β) | θ | EXPLICIT | IMPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|---------|-----|---|---|------|
| (1) | 1 | <i>Mi rang rgyud pa ltar bstan pa</i> —[<i>Telopa</i> 's] | manifestation as an individual human being; | 54.1 |
| | 1.1 | <i>mkha' 'gro ma zil gyis mnan zhing chos gsan pa</i> —he | overpowered the dākinīs and listened to the Dharma; | 54.1 |
| | | | his native land, family, birth, and first name; | 54.1 |
| | | | soothsayers and astrologers' response; | 54.4 |
| | | | 'ugly woman's' pronouncement; | 54.6 |
| | | | 'the same woman's' prediction; | 55.2 |
| | | | departure to Uḍḍiyāna; | 56.3 |
| (1.2.1) | | | the victory over the dākinīs; | 57.1 |
| (1.2.2) | | | the obtention of teachings; | 59.3 |
| | | | received teachings in Uḍḍiyāna; | 63.5 |
| | | | the <i>Vajradākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> (<i>VḌNDh</i>); | 65.2 |
| (1.3) | 1.2 | <i>mi'i bla ma med par bstan pa</i> —he manifested himself as | one without human gurus; | 66.1 |
| | 1.3 | <i>mi'i bla ma yod par bstan pa</i> —he manifested himself as | one with human gurus; | 66.5 |
| | 1.4 | <i>mkha' spyod kyī dngos grub thob par mdzad pa</i> —he | attained to the perfection of the celestial form; the | |
| | | | * <i>Tilatailavajragīti</i> (<i>TVG</i>); | 69.5 |
| (1.4.1) | 1.5 | <i>rnal 'byor pa zil gyis mnan pa</i> —he overpowered the | yogin; | 71.1 |
| (1.4.2) | 1.6 | <i>mu stegs pa btul ba</i> —he converted the tīrthika; | | 73.2 |

| | | | |
|---------|------|--|------|
| (1.4.4) | 1.7 | <i>chang 'tshong ma</i> —the liquor-selling woman; | 74.3 |
| (1.4.3) | 1.8 | <i>sgyu ma mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the magician; | 75.4 |
| | 1.9 | <i>lus kyi bkod pa du ma bstan pa</i> —he showed himself under many physical forms; | 76.4 |
| (1.4.7) | 1.10 | <i>las rgyu 'bras dngos su bstan pa</i> —he showed directly the causality of actions; | 76.6 |
| (1.4.6) | 1.11 | <i>shan pa btul ba</i> —he converted the butcher; | 79.2 |
| (1.4.5) | 1.12 | <i>glu mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the singer; | 80.1 |
| (1.4.8) | 1.13 | <i>nus pa mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the sorcerer; | 80.6 |
| (2) | 2 | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo'i sprul par bstan pa</i> —[Telopa's] revelation as a manifestation of Cakraṣaṃvara; | 82.1 |
| (3) | 3 | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo dngos su bstan pa</i> —his revelation as Cakraṣaṃvara himself; | 83.6 |
| (4) | 4 | <i>dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku bsodus par bstan pa</i> —his revelation as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas. | 84.4 |

U rgyan pa (ι)

Te lo pa 'i rnam thar

fols 7a–26b (photostat pp. 14–52)

It is to be noticed U rgyan pa's inaccuracy in sections numbering because of the interpolation of the section here given in curly brackets as {3}.

| (β) | ι | EXPLICIT | IMPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|---------|-----|----------|--|------|
| (1) | 1.1 | | <i>Telopa's</i> native land, family, birth, and first name; | 14.1 |
| | | | soothsayers and astrologers' response; | 14.3 |
| | | | 'ugly woman's' pronouncement; | 14.5 |
| | | | 'the same woman's' prediction; | 15.2 |
| | | | departure to Uḍḍiyāna; | 17.2 |
| | | | Buddha visions and four transmissions; | 17.2 |
| (1.2.1) | | | the victory over the ḍākinīs; | 18.1 |
| (1.2.2) | | | the obtention of teachings; | 19.5 |
| | | | the name of <i>Telopa</i> ; | 21.5 |
| | | | received teachings in Uḍḍiyāna; | 22.1 |
| | | | the <i>Vajradākinīṣkāyadharmā</i> (VḌNDh); | 22.4 |
| (1.3) | 1.2 | | <i>mi'i bla ma med par bstan pa</i> —he showed himself as one without human gurus; | 23.1 |
| | 1.3 | | <i>mi'i bla ma yod par bstan pa</i> —he showed himself as one with human gurus; | 23.2 |

| | | | |
|---------|-------|---|------|
| (1.4.1) | 1.4 | <i>rnal 'byor pa zil gyis mnan pa</i> —he overpowered the yogin; | 23.3 |
| (1.4.2) | 1.5 | <i>mu stegs pa btul ba</i> —he converted the tīrthika; | 25.2 |
| (1.4.3) | 1.6 | <i>sgyu ma mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the magician; | 26.4 |
| (1.4.4) | 1.7 | <i>chang 'tshong ma btul ba</i> —he converted the woman selling liquor; | 28.4 |
| | 1.8 | <i>lus kyi bkod pa du ma mdzad pa</i> —he assumed many forms; | 30.1 |
| (1.4.7) | 1.9 | <i>las rgyu 'bras mngon sum du bstan pa</i> —he showed vividly the causality of actions; | 31.3 |
| (1.4.6) | 1.10 | <i>shan pa btul ba</i> —he converted the butcher; | 33.2 |
| (1.4.5) | 1.11 | <i>glu mkhan btul ba</i> —he converted the singer; | 34.3 |
| (1.4.8) | 1.12 | <i>nus pa can gzhan btul ba</i> —he converted another sorcerer; | 35.3 |
| (2) | 2 | <i>bde mchog 'khor lor bstan pa</i> —[Telopa's] revelation as Cakraśaṃvara; | 36.5 |
| | {3} | <i>phyogs bcur grags pa mtha' yas su grags pa</i> —his endless fame in the ten directions; | 38.3 |
| | {3.1} | <i>rgya gar shar phyogs su khams gsum rab 'joms ngo mtshar du grags pa</i> —his fame in the east of India; | 38.5 |
| | {3.2} | <i>rgya gar lho phyogs su sprul pa'i skus mngon shes phyogs bcur khyab par grags pa</i> —his fame in the south of India; | 41.1 |
| | {3.3} | <i>rgya gar nub phyogs su log par lta ba tshar bcad nas sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa rgyas par mdzad pa</i> —his fame in the west of India; | 42.4 |
| | {3.4} | <i>rgya gar byang phyogs su skal bzang thabs kyis btul bas ngo mtshar snyan par grags pa</i> —his fame in the north of India; | 45.3 |
| (3) | 3 | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo dngos su bstan pa</i> —his manifestation as Cakraśaṃvara himself; | 50.2 |
| (4) | 4 | <i>dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi skur 'dus pa'i rang bzhin du bstan pa</i> —his manifestation as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas. | 51.3 |

Mon rtse pa (κ)

Ti lo shes rab bzang po'i rnam par thar
fols 12a–24a (photostat pp. 23–47)

| (β) | κ | IMPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|-----|-----|---------------------------------|------|
| (1) | 1.1 | <i>Tilopa</i> as a human being; | 23.5 |

| | | | |
|---------|-------|---|------|
| (1.1.1) | | birth; | 23.7 |
| | | soothsayers' response; | 24.2 |
| | | 'ugly woman's' pronouncement; | 24.4 |
| | | the same woman's prediction; | 25.3 |
| (1.2.1) | 1.2.1 | the victory over the <i>ḍākinīs</i> ; | 26.3 |
| (1.2.2) | 1.2.2 | the obtention of teachings; | 29.4 |
| | 1.2.3 | the <i>Vajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> (<i>VḍNDh</i>); | 31.7 |
| (1.3) | 1.3 | as one without human gurus; | 32.3 |
| (1.4) | 1.4 | several manifestations; | 32.7 |
| (1.4.1) | 1.4.1 | the victory over the yogin; | 33.1 |
| (1.4.2) | 1.4.2 | the conversion of the <i>tīrthika</i> ; | 34.7 |
| (1.4.3) | 1.4.3 | the conversion of the magician; | 35.7 |
| (1.4.4) | 1.4.4 | the conversion of the woman selling liquor; | 37.5 |
| | 1.4.5 | several manifestations as a yogin; | 38.5 |
| (1.4.7) | 1.4.6 | the conversion of the <i>lokāyata</i> ; | 39.1 |
| (1.4.6) | 1.4.7 | the conversion of the butcher; | 40.6 |
| (1.4.5) | 1.4.8 | the conversion of the singer; | 41.4 |
| (1.4.8) | 1.4.9 | the conversion of the sorcerer; | 42.1 |
| (2) | 2 | as a manifestation of Cakrasaṃvara; | 43.1 |
| (3) | 3 | as Cakrasaṃvara himself; | 44.5 |
| (4) | 4 | as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas. | 45.7 |

gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ)

Ti lo pa'i rnam thar

Ms. A—fols 9b–20a (photostat pp. 22–43)

Ms. B—fols 9a–19b (photostat pp. 97–118)

| (β) | EXPLICIT | IMPLICIT TITLES | Ms. A PAGE | Ms. B PAGE |
|-------|----------|---|---------------|---------------|
| (1.1) | | <i>rJe btsun ma'i slob ma'i slob ma'i tshul stan pa rdo rje 'chang gi mchog gi sprul sku ti lo shes rab bzang po ni</i> — <i>Tilopa Prajñābhadrā</i> , the sublime manifestation body of Vajradhara, is shown as the disciple of a disciple of Bhagavatī; | 22.2 | 97.6 |
| | | his native land, family, and birth; | 22.3 | 97.7 |
| | | the astrologers' response and his first name; | 22.4 | 98.1 |
| | | the old ugly woman's first pronouncement; | 22.7 | 98.4 |
| | | Buddhas' visions; | 23.4 | 99.2 |
| | | the same woman's second pronouncement; | 23.6 | 99.3 |

| | | | |
|---------|---|------|-------|
| | the beautiful woman's prediction; | 23.7 | 99.4 |
| (1.2) | the victory over the ḍākinīs and the obtention of teachings; | 25.1 | 100.5 |
| | the <i>Vajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> (VDNDh); | 29.7 | 105.2 |
| (1.3) | as one without human gurus; | 30.2 | 105.6 |
| (1.4) | <i>gdul bya gzhan don rgya chen nus pa rnams smin grol la bkod tshul</i> —how he brought onto the path of ripening and liberation those to be disciplined; | 30.6 | 106.2 |
| (1.4.1) | <i>rnal 'byor pa nus ldan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the powerful yogin as a disciple; | 31.2 | 106.4 |
| (1.4.2) | <i>mu stegs pa rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the tīrthika as a disciple; | 32.6 | 108.1 |
| (1.4.3) | <i>sgyu ma mkhan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the magician as a disciple; | 33.7 | 109.1 |
| (1.4.4) | <i>chang 'tshong ma rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the liquor-selling woman as a disciple; | 34.7 | 110.3 |
| (1.4.5) | <i>mu stegs rgyang 'phan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the <i>lokāyata</i> as a disciple; | 35.6 | 111.2 |
| (1.4.6) | <i>shan pa rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the butcher as a disciple; | 37.2 | 112.5 |
| (1.4.7) | <i>glu mkhan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the singer as a disciple; | 37.7 | 113.2 |
| (1.4.8) | <i>mtshu bo che rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the sorcerer as a disciple; | 38.4 | 113.6 |
| (2) | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo'i sprul pa ru 'dug ces grags</i> —his fame as a manifestation of Cakraśaṃvara; | 39.3 | 114.5 |
| (3) | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo dngos su 'dug ces grags</i> —his fame as Cakraśaṃvara himself; | 40.7 | 116.1 |
| (4) | his fame as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas. | 42.1 | 117.1 |

Kun dga' rin chen (μ)

rJe btsun ti lo pa'i rnam thar dbang bzhi'i chu rgyun
fols 21a–25b (photostat pp. 41–50)

| (β) | IMPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|---------|---|------|
| (1.1.1) | <i>Tillipa</i> 's native land, family, birth, soothsayers' response, and first name; | 41.1 |
| | the ugly woman's pronouncement; | 42.4 |
| (1.1.2) | <i>Tillipa</i> 's first career; | 43.2 |
| | the same woman's prediction; | 43.2 |

| | | |
|---------|---|------|
| | Mātaṅgīpā and his prediction; | 43.4 |
| (1.1.3) | as servant of the prostitute Dharima and grinder of sesame; | 44.1 |
| (1.4.1) | the victory over a yogin; | 46.3 |
| (1.2.1) | the victory over the ḍākinīs in Uḍḍiyāna; | 49.1 |
| (1.2.2) | the obtention of teachings. | 49.4 |

dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v)

rJe btsun ti lo'i rnam par thar pa

fols 0b–78a (photostat pp. 1–157)

| (β) | v | EXPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|---------|-----|--|------|
| (1) | 1 | <i>Bram ze rang dga' ba'i tshul bzung ba phyi'i rnam thar</i> —outer biography, [Tilopa] in the form of an ordinary brāhmaṇa; | 10.1 |
| (1.1) | 1.1 | <i>ngo mtshar mchog tu gyur pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i sgo nas sku bltams pa'i tshul</i> —how he took an inconceivable miraculous birth; | 10.5 |
| (1.2) | 1.2 | <i>chos bdag ye shes mkha' 'gro'i phyag nas rang gi dam chos snyan rgyud nor bu'i bskor gsum u rgyan nas gdan 'dren pa la bskul ba'i tshul</i> —how he was exhorted to bring from Uḍḍiyāna the three gems of the aural transmission, the sublime doctrine, from the hands of the doctrine-holder the jñānaḍākinī; | 21.5 |
| (1.2.1) | 1.3 | <i>lta stangs gsum gyis longs sku dam tshig gi mkha' 'gro dang sprul sku las kyi mkha' 'gro zil gyis gnan pa'i tshul</i> —how he overpowered the karmaḍākinīs of the nirmāṇakāya, and the samayaḍākinīs of the sambhogakāya by means of three gazes; | 30.5 |
| | 1.4 | <i>chos sku ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro dang spangs rtogs dbyer med pas tshugs thub tu bzhugs pa la 'khor yid ma rangs pa la yab tu mnga' gsol ba'i tshul</i> —how he was invested as the consort while sitting regardless among a reluctant retinue, as his abandonment and realization was inseparably united with the jñānaḍākinī of the dharmakāya; | 34.1 |
| (1.2.2) | 1.5 | <i>lus med mkha' 'gros snyan rgyud kyi cha lag chos bskor dgu dam chos bdag po la phul ba'i tshul</i> —how the incorporeal ḍākinīs offered to the lord the ninefold sublime doctrine as an extra practice of the aural transmission; | 41.2 |
| | | the <i>Vajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> (VDNDh); | 43.5 |

| | | | |
|---------|-------|--|--------------|
| (2) | 2 | <i>bde mchog gi sprul par zhal gyis bzhes pa nang gi rnam thar</i> —inner biography, [Tilopa] as a manifestation of Śaṃvara; | 44.3 |
| | 2.1 | <i>u rgyan nas phebs te ki ri me dpung 'bar ba'i dur khrod du sangs rgyas rdo rje 'chang gis smin byed kyi dbang bzhi bskur rgyud sde mtha' dag gnang ba'i tshul</i> —how he left from Uḍḍiyāna, and the Buddha Vajradhāra gave him the four ripening consecrations and all the tantras in the charnel ground of <i>Ki ri me dpung 'bar ba</i> ; | 45.2 |
| | 2.2 | <i>ma dag pa'i snang ba zlog phyir bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma brten pa'i tshul</i> —how he relied upon the gurus of four transmissions to avoid impure perceptions; | 47.5 |
| | 2.3 | <i>sa ma bhai ra wa 'jigs byed bzhad pa zhes bya ba'i dur khrod du rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po ma tang gis lung bstan nas dha ri ma'i khol po mdzad de sprul bsgyur gyi bkod pa mchog gi rdzu 'phrul bstan nas grub pa'i skyes mchog za hor rgyal po 'khor bcas mkha' spyod du drangs pa'i tshul</i> —how he had a revelation in the charnel ground of <i>Sa ma bhai ra wa 'Jigs byed bzhad pa</i> by the great lord of yoga Mātāṅgīpā, he magically exhibited sublime arrays of transformations working as servant of <i>Dharima</i> , then the accomplished supreme being brought the king of Zahor and his entourage to the celestial realm; * <i>Tilatailavajragīti (TVG)</i> ; | 50.3 63.3 |
| (1.4) | 2.4 | <i>tshad med kyi thugs rjes thugs sras rnal 'byor mtshan brgyad smin grol la bkod pa'i tshul</i> —how his immeasurable compassion brought onto the path of ripening and liberation eight spiritual sons with the marks of yoga; | 65.3 |
| (1.4.1) | 2.4.1 | <i>rnal 'byor pa nus pa thogs med rjes su bzung ba</i> —he accepted as a disciple the yogin <i>Nus pa thogs med</i> ; | 65.3 |
| (1.4.2) | 2.4.2 | <i>mu stegs nag po rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted as a disciple the tīrthika <i>Nag po</i> ; | 70.5 |
| (1.4.3) | 2.4.3 | <i>sgyu ma mkhan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted as a disciple the magician; | 74.4 |
| (1.4.4) | 2.4.4 | <i>chang 'tshong ma rjes su bzung ba'i tshul</i> —how he accepted as a disciple the liquor-selling woman; | 78.5 |
| (1.4.7) | 2.4.5 | <i>las rgyu 'bras dngos su bstan te mu stegs rgyang phan pa rjes su bzung ba'i tshul</i> —how he showed directly the causality of actions and accepted as a disciple the materialist tīrthika; | 84.4 |
| (1.4.6) | 2.4.6 | <i>shan pa rjes su bzung ba'i tshul</i> —how he accepted as a | |

| | | | |
|---------|-------|---|-------|
| | | disciple the butcher; | 91.1 |
| (1.4.5) | 2.4.7 | <i>glu mkhan rjes su bzung ba'i tshul</i> —how he accepted as a disciple the singer; | 93.4 |
| (1.4.8) | 2.4.8 | <i>mthu bo che rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the sorcerer as a disciple; | 101.3 |
| | 2.5 | <i>rje btsun chen po ti lo pa de nyid dge slong gi cha byad kyis rgyal po sogs sems can mang po'i don mdzad pas 'khor lo bde mchog gis sprul par zhal gyis bzhes pa</i> —the great venerable <i>Tilopa</i> , acting in monastic garb for the sake of many sentient beings to begin with the king, was taken as a manifestation of Cakraśaṃvara; | 112.3 |
| (3) | 3 | <i>bde mchog dngos su zhal gyis bzhes pa gsang ba'i rnam thar</i> —secret biography, he was taken as Śaṃvara himself; | 119.4 |
| | 3.1 | <i>rnam par mthar pa'i yon tan ma lus pa rnams bskyed pa'i rgyu dad pa'i gling bzhi lus kyi tshul gyis mdor bstan pa</i> —the four continents of faith, generating cause for all the qualities of a perfect liberation, were briefly presented by means of the body; | 120.1 |
| | 3.2 | <i>mthun mong ma yid pa'i rnam par thar pa'i yon tan yan lag gi tshul gyis zur tsam bshad pa</i> —the quality of an uncommon perfect liberation is partially shown by means of the limbs; | 128.4 |
| | 3.3 | <i>'jug tu gzhi gcig gi steng su 'khor 'das kyi gnad ma lus pa gcig tu dril nas gtan la phab pa</i> —all the essentials of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are merged together and put in order on a single basis for involvement; | 142.4 |
| (4) | 4 | <i>dus gsum sangs rgyas kun gyi ngo bor zhal gyis bzhes pa de kho na nyid kyi rnam thar</i> —ultimate biography, [<i>Tilopa</i>] as the essence of all Buddhas of the three times. | 143.2 |

lHa btsun (ξ)

Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa'i rnam mgur
fols 1a–38a (photostat pp. 1–75)

| (β) | ξ | EXPLICIT TITLES | PAGE |
|-----|---|---|------|
| (1) | 1 | <i>sKu bltams te u rgyan du ye shes mkha' 'gro la snyan brgyud yid bzhin nor bu skor gsum len du byon pa'i mdzad pa</i> —[<i>Tilopa</i> 's] birth and arrival at the presence of the jñānaḍākinī in Uḍḍiyāna to take the three wish-fulfilling gems of the aural transmission; | 7.4 |

| | | | |
|---------|------|--|------|
| (1.4) | 2 | the <i>Vajraḍākinīṣkāyadharmā</i> (<i>VDNDh</i>); <i>nor bu skor gsum cha lag dang bcas pa blangs nas rgya gar du byon te bka' babs bzhi'i bla ma rten tshul gyi sgo nas rnal 'byor mtshan brgyad la sogs pa thun mong dang thun mong ma yin pa'i gdul bya mtha' yas pa smin grol la 'god pa'i mdzad pa</i> —once taken the three wish-fulfilling gems and auxiliary teachings, his arrival to India, where he relied upon the gurus of four transmissions and brought onto the path of ripening and liberation countless ordinary and extraordinary disciples, to begin with the eight qualified yogins; | 21.3 |
| (1.4.1) | 2.1 | <i>rnal 'byor pa nus ldan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the powerful yogin as a disciple (<i>AMM I</i>); | 22.1 |
| (1.4.2) | 2.2 | <i>mu stegs pa rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the tīrthika as a disciple (<i>AMM II</i>); | 23.2 |
| (1.4.3) | 2.3 | <i>sgyu ma mkhan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the magician as a disciple (<i>AMM VIII</i>); | 29.2 |
| (1.4.4) | 2.4 | <i>chang 'tshong ma rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the woman selling liquor as a disciple (<i>AMM III</i>); | 33.5 |
| (1.4.7) | 2.5 | <i>las rgyu 'bras bden pa dngos su bstan nas mu stegs rgyang 'phan pa rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he showed directly the truth of the causality of actions and accepted the <i>lokāyata</i> as a disciple (<i>AMM V</i>); | 39.4 |
| (1.4.6) | 2.6 | <i>shan pa rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the butcher as a disciple (<i>AMM VI</i>); | 43.5 |
| (1.4.5) | 2.7 | <i>glu mkhan rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the singer as a disciple (<i>AMM IV</i>); | 48.6 |
| (1.4.8) | 2.8 | <i>mtshu bo che rjes su bzung tshul</i> —how he accepted the sorcerer as a disciple (<i>AMM VII</i>); | 52.6 |
| (2) | 2.9 | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo'i sprul pa ru 'dug ces grags</i> —his fame as a manifestation of Cakraśaṃvara; | 57.1 |
| (3) | 2.10 | <i>bde mchog 'khor lo dngos su 'dug ces grags</i> —his fame as Cakraśaṃvara himself; | 61.5 |
| (4) | 2.11 | <i>dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku 'dus par bstan pa</i> —he revealed himself as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas of the three times. | 63.5 |
| | 2.12 | <i>rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pas chu bo gang gā'i 'gram du nā ro pa la gsungs pa rang byung bsam gyis mi khyab pa zhes bya ba i thi</i> —the inconceivable self-born, that the lord of yoga <i>Tilopa</i> said to <i>Nāropā</i> by the bank of the <i>Gaṅgā</i> River (<i>MMU</i>); | 65.2 |
| | 2.13 | <i>dur khrod chen po dag pa'i dbyings su slob dpon chen po</i> | 66.3 |

| | | |
|---|--|------|
| | <i>ti lo pas paṇ chen nā ro pa la chos nyid gnyug ma'i mgur du gdams pa</i> —the great Ācārya <i>Tilopa</i> 's instruction on the innate being of phenomena put into verse for the great scholar <i>Nāropa</i> in the great charnel ground of Dag pa'i dbyings (NDhG); | 72.3 |
| 3 | <i>za hor gyi yul khams stongs par mdzad nas dag pa'i zhing du gshegs pa'i mdzad pa</i> —having emptied the kingdom of <i>Zahor</i> , he went to the pure realms. | 73.3 |

The Names of the Sesame Grinder

So far Nāropā's guru has been called in various ways according to the sources. The name occurs once in Apabhraṃśa as *Tilopāa* (Skt *Tilopāda*) in the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā* (TDKP), four times in Sanskrit as *Tillopāda* in the same text, and on one occasion as *Tilopā* in the Shamsheer Manuscript (source α). It is variously attested in the above described Tibetan sources as *Tilopa* (β, κ, λ, ν, ξ), *Telopa* (β, γ, θ, ι, κ), *Tillopa* (δ, ζ), *Tillipa* (η, μ), and *Tailopa* (ε). On the basis of source α, the Indic designation *Tilopā* will be adopted hereafter for our convenience.

All these forms come from the Sanskrit word *tila* (Tib. *til*) 'sesame' because of his drawing off oil from its seeds. On account of this activity, Mar pa (β 14.4) informs us that he was known in Tibetan as the Sesame Grinder (*Til brdungs zhabs : Tailikapāda*) as well.

Another of his names, *gSal 'od* (β, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ξ) or *gSal ba'i 'od* (ν, ξ) is the first one he received, while *Shes rab bzang po* (β, ε, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ) or *Pradznyā bha ṭa/Pradznya bha dra* (η, ν) i.e. Prajñābhadrā, would be the initiatic name he received from the jñānaḍākinī in Uḍḍiyāna. Other initiatic names (*gsang mtshan*) of Tilopā have been registered by rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ 43b1–2), viz. *Mahāsukhavajra (*bDe chen rdo rje*), *Nirvikalpavajra (*rTog med rdo rje*), *Sukhacakra (*bDe ba'i 'khor lo*), and *Kālapā (*Ka la pa*).

The Marpan Tradition

Being the first human guru of the Mar pa bKa' brgyud pa traditions, the narrative of Tilopā's life usually opens the collections of hagiographies (*gser 'phreng*) of the masters prominent in those lineages in view of

gurupūjā practices. Most likely, Mar pa's account depends mainly on the reports of his guru Nāropā, or someone of the siddhas' entourage. If this is the case, the words he listened to, and allegedly passed to his son mDo sde, would have come from direct spectator. Since Nāropā and his entourage witnessed the events of our siddha's life only in part, many pieces of information would necessarily depend on Tilopā himself. It is realistic to conclude that, in about one century—since Tilopā to Dar ma mDo sde—the *fabula* of the deeds has been somehow arranged at least three times, according to both the pedagogic intent of the addresser (the master) and the reverential approach of the addressee (the disciple). In line with the model discussed in the Preface, we can represent the stream of this transmission of data as a deferred interaction between informant and informed within the bKa' brgyud hagiographic tradition—

Tilopā → x ↔ Nāropā → x' ↔ Nāropā's entourage → x'' ↔ Mar pa.

We do not know whether the narrative scheme of Mar pa's account should be ascribed to Tilopā, Nāropā, Nāropā's entourage, or to Mar pa. For sure, being β the earliest documental material on Tilopā, it deserves special attention. Moreover, since Mar pa is assumed to have composed them, there is sufficient reason to ascribe to that author the narrative scheme as well.

In order to unearth some historical data out of their hagiographic context, it could be a good strategy to look more in detail into Mar pa's narrative scheme. In particular, since Mar pa seems to lay here the foundation stone of what later bKa' brgyud tradition would codify up to the level of an ideology, we will start from his *trikāya* (*sku gsum*) perspective as it is exposed in the opening verses to his *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus*. Possibly, to speak of three bodies of a *buddha*, that is to say of an 'awakened being', exposes us to the many risks of reification, so as to transform an intuitional or mystical view into a metaphysical or religious one.³⁰ Whereas the dharmakāya (*chos kyi sku*) or 'body of absolute reality' is formless, the other two bodies have a perceptible form (*rūpakāya* : *gzugs sku*), namely the sambhogakāya (*longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku*) or 'body of enjoyment', and the nirmāṇakāya (*sprul pa'i sku*) or 'manifestation body'. The three are here pointed out only metaphorically: the dharmakāya is alluded to as simplicity beyond any mental elaboration (*spros bral*), the sambhogakāya as pervading throughout space (*mkha' khyab*), and the nirmāṇakāya as the 'nine moods of dance' (*gar dgu'i*

nyams). As we will see, particularly interesting is here the last of the three, the nine moods of dance, meaning the nine aesthetic emotions, or flavours (*rasa* : *ro*) inspired in an audience by a performer, as well as the nine expression modes of a tantric deity.

In Mar pa's vision, the maturation of the one *to be disciplined* passes through these three Buddha bodies. Now, they turn out to be the secret source of a vast lake, barely rippled by 'space-floating' *dākinīs*, where he can see the 'lotus of the great bliss' rising out of water with its special fruits, the two siddhas Tilopā (Prajñābhadrā) and Nāropā.

Following Mar pa's verses, a threefold scheme comes out: first, to reveal the *nirmāṇakāya* through the transmission lineage; second, to make the 'space-pervading' *sambhogakāya* enter the organismic body (*lus*) through dreams; third, to introduce the *dharmakāya*, which is 'simplicity beyond any mental elaboration', through its characterization. Now, Mar pa goes on, as to the aural transmission (*snyan brgyud* : *karṇatantra*) of the *dākinīs*, out of the three—master, disciple, and Dharma—the last one is threefold in turn, viz. outer, inner, and secret.

Again, the outer level of the Dharma relevant with the *nirmāṇakāya* consists of instructions (*gdams pa* : *avavāda*) on the transmission lineage (*paramparā*). Similarly, the inner level, relevant with the *sambhogakāya*, consists of instructions on the maturation path (*vipākamārga*), and the secret one, related to the *dharmakāya*, instructs on the liberation path (*muktimārga*).

| LEVEL | BUDDHA BODY | RELEVANT INSTRUCTIONS |
|--------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| outer | <i>nirmāṇakāya</i> | <i>paramparā</i> |
| inner | <i>sambhogakāya</i> | <i>vipākamārga</i> |
| secret | <i>dharmakāya</i> | <i>muktimārga</i> |

The pedagogic scheme is now more explicit: *for the sake of his son*, Mar pa is presenting *in written form* the wish-fulfilling gem of the transmission lineage (*brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu* : *paramparācintāmaṇi*), or instruction of the *nirmāṇakāya*. In other words, he is summoning the artistic and tantric implications of the specific mental states that have been before poetically labelled as *the nine moods of dance*.

This multifaceted phenomenology is based on the Indian aesthetic canon of *rasa*—in the sense of both tasting and what is tasted—as expounded in the *Rasasūtra*, sixth of the thirty-six chapters of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (6.15).³¹ Bharata accepts eight kinds of *rasa*: the erotic

(*śṛṅgāra* : *sgeg pa*), the comic (*hāsyā* : *rgod pa*), the compassionate (*karuṇa* : *snying rje*), the furious (*raudra* : *drag shul*), the heroic (*vīra* : *dpa' ba*), the fearsome (*bhayānaka* : *'jigs su rung ba*), the unpleasant (*bībhatsa* : *mi sdug pa*), and the wonderful (*adbhuta* : *ngo mtshar*). Then, later speculation admits a ninth *rasa*, the calm (*śānta* : *zhi ba*, Gnoli 1956: 29).

As to their tantric interpretation, Gray (2007: 44–45) has pointed out Abhayākara Gupta's description of the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala in the latter's *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (Bhattacharyya 1949: 23). The central deity of the Yoginītantras is depicted therein as bringing together in one the nine moods of dance (*navarasa*). We have seen that Mar pa, apparently following the same ideological scheme, identifies Tilopā as the *nirmāṇakāya* of Cakrasaṃvara and alludes to it as the 'nine moods of dance' (*gar dgu'i nyams*). Alex Wayman (1977: 328) has drawn attention to a passage from a text of the Yoginītantras, the *Prakāśa-nāma-śrīhevajrasādhana* (*dPal rdo rje'i sgrub thabs rab tu gsal ba*, Ō. 2367, Tō. 1238 108a5) by a teacher of Atiśa according to Khetsun Sangpo (1973–90, 1: 593), the late-tenth-century Rāhulagupta:

'Enjoying the same taste' (*ro gcig pa nyid* : *ekarasa*) with Nairātmyā (*bDag med ma*) is the *erotic* (*sgeg pa*); staying in the charnel grounds is the *heroic* (*dpa' ba*); the frown and grin is the *unpleasant* (*mi sdug pa*); the blazing light is the *furious* (*drag shul*); the exaggeration of face is the *comic* (*rgod pa*); the garland of dripping heads is the *fearsome* (*'jigs su rung ba*); the consciousness of assisting sentient beings is the *compassionate* (*snying rje*); the illusory form is the *wonderful* (*ngo mtshar ba*); the abandonment of the defilement of lust, and so on is the *calm* (*zhi ba*).

Now, given that Mar pa seems to conceive his pedagogic effort to illustrate the *nirmāṇakāya* within the scope of such an aesthetic view, the sketches in the narrative of Tilopā would have been purposely depicted according to one of the above moods of dance. Reasonably, the author's rhetorical plan would have been that of inducing *the one to be disciplined* to experiment the related principal feelings of human nature, rubricated by Bharata as the permanent mental states (*sthāyibhāva*)—

| <i>sthāyibhāva</i> | <i>rasa</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| delight (<i>rati</i>) | erotic (<i>śṛṅgāra</i>) |
| laughter (<i>hāsa</i>) | the comic (<i>hāsyā</i>) |

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| sorrow (<i>śoka</i>) | the compassionate (<i>karuṇa</i>) |
| anger (<i>krodha</i>) | the furious (<i>raudra</i>) |
| heroism (<i>utsāha</i>) | the heroic (<i>vīra</i>) |
| fear (<i>bhaya</i>) | the fearsome (<i>bhayānaka</i>) |
| disgust (<i>jugupsā</i>) | the unpleasant (<i>bībhatsa</i>) |
| astonishment (<i>vismaya</i>) | the wonderful (<i>adbhuta</i>) |
| serenity (<i>śama</i>) | the calm (<i>śānta</i>) |

Mar pa divides the narrative of Tilopā into four parts: (1) his fame as an individual human being (*mi rang rgyud pa*), (2) as a manifestation of Śaṃvara (*bde mchog gi sprul pa*), (3) as Śaṃvara himself (*bde mchog dngos*), and (4) as the aggregation of the bodies of all Buddhas (*sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku 'dus pa*). The sequence of the last three parts of this fourfold scheme does not follow any strict chronological criteria but, again, a pedagogic one. Directing the attention of the addressee *to be disciplined* to an intriguing *rasa*-variety of tasteful sketches, Mar pa leads him within concentric circles, corresponding in the narrative to a gradual process of transfiguration of Tilopā into the tantric deity Cakrasaṃvara. As we will see, this process would culminate two generations later in one of the most interesting cultural issues within the Marpan tradition, the corpus focussing upon the practice of that deity, the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud*.

During the centuries, more than one method of interpretation of the cycle of Cakrasaṃvara and its relevant accomplishment liturgies (*sādhana* : *sgrub thabs*) have been elaborated. A disciple of gTsang smyon He ru ka, rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs rang grol (1494–1570), in a work on the cycle according to the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* tradition, the *bDe mchog spyi bshad* (2a6–b4; Tucci 1935: 29 n. 1), mentions nine *sādhana* treatises (*sgrub thabs kyi bstan bcos* : *sādhana-śāstra*) in the *vipāka*- and *muktimārga* (*smin grol*). They would correspond to the methods (*lugs*) of (1) the Dharmarāja Pradyotacandra (*chos rgyal Rab gsal zla ba*), (2) the Mahāsiddha Lūyīpāda (*grub chen Lo hi pa*), (3) the Ācārya Kṛṣṇa, i.e. Kṛṣṇācārya (*slob dpon Nag po pa*), (4) the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭāpāda (*grub chen rDo rje dril bu pa*), (5) the Mahāsiddha Kambalapā (*sgrub chen Lwa wa pa*), (6) the Ācārya Nāgārjuna (*slob dpon Klu grub*), (7) King Indrabhūti (*rgyal po In dra bo dhi*), (8) the Lord Maitrīpāda (*mnga' bdag Mai tri pa*), and (9) the brāhmaṇa ācārya Trilocana (*slob dpon bram ze sPyan gsum pa*). In the *Deb ther sngon po* we read the following transmission lineage connected with the cycle of Cakrasaṃvara (336.1–4; BA 380; see also 764, 803)—

the primordial buddha (*ādibuddha*) Vajradhara
(*rDo rje 'chang*)

|

the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi
(*Phyag na rdo rje*)

|

Saraha
(*Sa ra ha*)

|

Śabareśvara
(*Sha ba ra dbang phyug*)

|

Lūyīpāda
(*Lū yi pa/Lu i pa/Lu hi pa*)

|

the king Dārikāpā
(*rgyal po Ḍā ri kā pa*)

|

the minister Deṅgipā
(*blon po Ḍang gi pa*)

|

Vajraghaṇṭāpā
(*rDo rje dril bu pa*)

|

Kūrmapāda
(*Ru sbal zhabs can*)

|

Jālandharapā
(*Dza lan dha ra pa*)

|

Kṛṣṇācārya
(*Nag po spyod pa ba*)

|

Vijayapāda
(*rNam rgyal zhabs*)

|

Tilopā
(*Tilli pa*)

|

Nāropā
(*Nā ro pa*)

A narrative scheme similar to the Marpan one (β) can be found in later accounts as those by rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ) and U rgyan pa (ι) in the thirteenth century, Mon rtse pa (κ) and gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ) in the fifteenth century, dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (ν) and lHa btsun (ξ) in the sixteenth century.

rGyal thang pa's thirteenth-century account (η) has a scheme only apparently different. While divided in two sections—a hymn of thirteen root verses (*rtsa ba'i tshig*), and a commentary upon them (*rtsa ba'i tshig 'grel pa*)—the central verses, 4 to 12, run roughly parallel with Mar pa's scheme. From the literary point of view, the hymn is one of the most charming of these accounts. Be the following an occasion to catch a bird's-eye view of the traditional hagiographic material on Tilopā (Torricelli 1998a).

Homage to the glorious guru Prajñābhada!

- [1] Buddha, Protector of beings, o Tilopā,
 All Buddhas of the three times,
 Being one with Thee in body speech and mind,
 O Guru, I devoutly praise Thee!

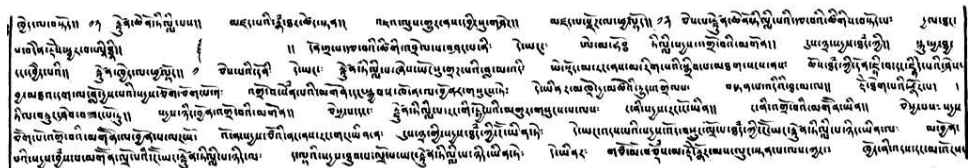
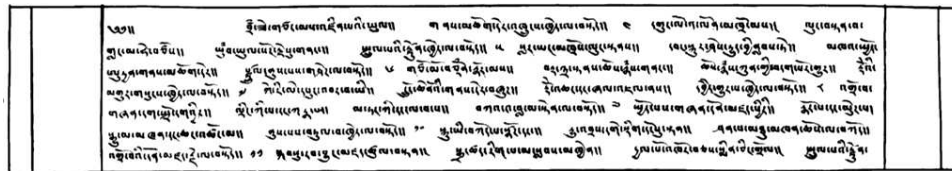
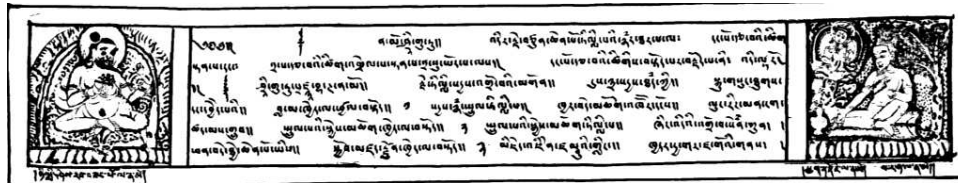
- [2] Tilopā, as a manifestation of the Buddhas,
 Thou art in particular Cakrasaṃvara himself:
 Perfect for scriptures and reasoning, instructions and logic.
 O emanated sublime being, praise unto Thee!

- [3] O Tilopā, as an emanated sublime being,
 All sentient beings of this universe,
 By Thy great compassion yielding benefit and bliss,
 Are assisted. O Lord, praise unto Thee!

- [4] This world, this continent,
 India in particular; *Jago* is the place,
 A region occupied by the Brahmaputra:
 Being born in that sublime place, praise unto Thee!

- [5] When you were but one year old, a *ḍākinī*
 Commanded Herd cows and buffalo!
 She revealed spiritual parents, land, and the rest.
 O emanated Lord, praise unto Thee!

- [6] The dākinī commanded again:
Thy consciousness was blessed with her consecration.
To celestial Uḍḍiyāna, sublime place, there
Thou went by magic power. Praise be!
- [7] The noblest of ladies, Bhagavatī Yoginī,
Showed three symbols and gave teachings.
Thou became master of all teachings.
Thou sang an adamantine song. Praise unto Thee!
- [8] Blazing Mass of Fire Hill:
Dwelling in that great charnel ground,
Once in the presence of Vajradhara,
Thou became one with him. Praise unto Thee!
- [9] For the joy and inspiration of other beings,
Deṅgipā, Kaṇṇaripā,
Mātaṅgī and Lavapa:
Thou relied on the gurus of the fourfold lore. Praise be!
- [10] For others' benefit,
The yogin and the fīrthika,
The magician and the woman selling liquor:
Thy power brought them to discipline. Praise unto Thee!
- [11] Under many guises
Thou revealed the law of cause and effect, virtue, and sin.
Converting the butcher and the sorcerer,
Thou worked for the benefit of beings. Lord praise be!
- [12] Sometimes Thou appeared as a monk.
Knowing grammar and logic without any study,
Thou converted and liberated the king and his retinue.
O emanated Lord, praise unto Thee!
- [13] O great Lord Tilopā,
Having exhibited the limitless liberation of Thy deeds,
As a rainbow body Thou departed into space.
For Thy perfect deeds, I devoutly give praise unto Thee!

FIGURE 2: rGyal thang pa. *rJe btsun chen po tilli pa'i rnam par thar pa*, fols 1b–2b

Notes to the Second Chapter

¹ β 291: *Bo dhi bha dras Byang ri se brag gi sgrub gling du sbyar ba rdzogs sho*. β 312: *Bo dhi bha dras sbyar ba rdzogs so*.

² As to the pagination of the manuscript, it must be observed that the account of *Tilopa* ends (β 28) at *folio* 11b (*bcu gcig*), and the first *folio* of the following account of *Nāropā* (β 29), although seemingly of the same copyst's hand, is

numbered 11bis (*bcu gcig 'og*).

³ We read in the colophons of the matching texts that the *nam thar* of Mar ston Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas was composed (*sbyar*) by Zhang Lo tsā ba (*grub pa dpal bzang po*). In all probability, albeit not mentioned, the latter exposed (*bstan*) also the account of Ma gcig Ang jo (*Ma gcig ong jo*). The *nam thar* of Zhang Lo tsā ba was composed (*sbyar*) by Dha ra shrī; that of Dha ra shrī was arranged in written form (*yi ger bkod*) by bSod nams rgyal mtshan; that of bSod nams rgyal mtshan was arranged in written form (*yi ger bkod*) by Rin chen rgyal mtshan; that of Kun ldan ras ma (*drin chen ma*) was written (*bris*) by gZi brjid rgyal mtshan; that of Bya btang pa bDe legs rin chen was composed (*sbyar*) by gZi brjid rgyal mtshan; that of gZi brjid rgyal mtshan was written (*bris*) by Dus zhabs pa Rin chen rgya mtsho; that of Dus zhabs pa Rin chen rgya mtsho was arranged in written form (*yi ger bkod*) by bZang po chos grub at the behest (*gsung*) of Bla ma Rin chen chos grags; that of 'Jam pa'i dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan was written (*bris*) by 'Od bZang dpal; that of gNas rnying pa rGyal mtshan rin chen was arranged (*bkod*) by Grags pa rgyal mtshan (*bdag Grags pa rgyal mtshan*) at the behest (*bskul*) of lHo dGon gsar kha'i Bla ma bDe legs pa; the accounts of Shar kha ras chen and Kun dga' dar po (*Ā nan da da ya*) were composed (*sbyar*) by their disciple and assistant (*slob 'bangs su gyur pa*) Byang chub bzang po (*Bo dhi bha dra*).

⁴ The anonymous compiler of the *nam thar* of Mar pa concludes that his account was sufficient due to the existence of another extensive one (*HS 283, nam par thar pa rgyas pa zur du yod pa las rtogs shing 'di ni de tsam gyis chog go*). Similarly, we read that the account of Chos grags dpal bzang po is a condensed one (*HS 398, mdor bsdus rdzogs so*). Finally, we are informed that the account of Byams pa gser mchog 'Od zer dpal was written (*bris*) by A wa dhu ti pa Ko brag pa (*HS 425*).

⁵ For alternative dates see Davidson 2005: 141–48.

⁶ β 96: *rje btsun Mi la ras pas sbyar ba bstan zin to*.

⁷ β 125: *Ras chung pas yi ger bkod pa*.

⁸ β 150: *Ra Sher snang pas yi ger bkod pa*.

⁹ β 164: *Chos rje Zhang Lo tstsha bas sbyar rdzogs so*.

¹⁰ β 248: *nam thar mdor bsdus zur tsam 'di | Mi skyod rdo rje gus pa'i blos | dkar*

po chos lung dben par bsgrigs.

¹¹ β 47.6: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | gtum mo sems kyi me long ltos*, 48.4: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | sgyu lus sems kyi me long ltos*, 49.2: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | rmi lam sems kyi me long ltos*, 49.6: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | 'od gsal sems kyi me long ltos*, 50.5: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | 'pho ba sems kyi me long ltos*, 51.1: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | bde chen sems kyi me long ltos*, 51.4: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | bar do sems kyi me long ltos*, 52.1: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | gsang sngags lam gyi gdams pa ltos*, 52.6: *dus gsum zhes sogs dang | rang sems phyag rgya chen po ltos*.

¹² HS 22: 261: *shar phyogs bha ga la'i shrī na ga ra'i grong khyer jam bu zhes bya ba na...*; β 29: *yul rgya gar nub phyogs kha che shri na ga ra bya ba na grong khyer 'dzam bu bya ba yod*.

¹³ Apart from this text, three other works are ascribed to Vajrāsana in the tantric section of the *bsTan 'gyur*. Vairocana is to be identified with the Vairocanavajra (*rNam par snang mdzad rdo rje*), or Vairocanarakṣita (*rNam par snang mdzad srung ba*) from Odisha, whom we will meet again as a celebrated translator of *dohās* (Schaeffer 2000). Chos kyi grags pa (Dharmakīrti) would be Ba ri Lo tsā ba Chos kyi grags pa, as it is confirmed by the colophon of the *Mahīṣānanasādhana* (Ö. 2838; Tō. 1975), which has been translated by rNam par snang mdzad srung ba (Vairocanarakṣita) and Ba ri Lo tsā ba Chos kyi grags pa, i.e. Dharmakīrti, the translator from Ba ri, in gTsang.

¹⁴ The *bsTan 'gyur* has four works by Ratnākaragupta (*Rin chen 'byung gnas sbas pa*).

¹⁵ Campārṇa or Campāraṇa, i.e. current Champa (Campā) in Bihar–West Bengal border.

¹⁶ Of the nine works ascribed to him as an author in the Peking Qianlong *bsTan 'gyur* (Ötani catalogue), together with the sNar thang and dGa' ldan *bsTan 'gyur*, only seven occur in the sDe dge (Tōhoku catalogue), and in the related Co ne *bsTan 'gyur*: *Yogaśaḍaṅga* (Ö. 2091, Tō. 1375), *Antarmañjari* (Ö. 2093, Tō. 1377), *Svapnohana* (Ö. 2621, Tō. 1749), *Piṇḍikṛtasāadhanapañjikā* (Ö. 2701, Tō. 1832), *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā* (Ö. 4549, Tō. 3727), *Āryāmoghapāśasādhana* (Ö. 4841), our text (Ö. 5015), *Bodhicaryāvatāratātparyapañjikāviśeṣadyotanī* (Ö. 5282, Tō. 2880), and *Amarakoṣaṭīkākāmadhenu* (Ö. 5788, Tō. 4300).

¹⁷ The Jagaddala Mahāvihāra, probably founded by Rāmapāla (c. 1087–c. 1141),

would have been destroyed by the Turuṣkas around 1207 (Dutt 1962: 376–80).

¹⁸ Ratnarakṣita would have also taught Sanskrit to the above mentioned Zhang Lo tsā ba Phur pa skyabs (–1273), whom we will meet again (Lewis 1996: 156).

¹⁹ Also called Stham Bihar, or Bikramaśīla Bihar, this small monastery in the Thamel area of present Kathmandu would have been founded around 1042 by Atiśa on his way to Tibet (Roerich 1959: 55–56; Petech 1984: 42–43; Locke 1985: 404–413).

²⁰ As pointed out by Davidson, before this thirteenth century Śavaripa, we are informed of more than one Śavaripa, whose earliest textual occurrence is in the Shamsheer Manuscript (source α).

²¹ For different identification and date see Roberts 2007: 9–11.

²² Five Buddha families (*pañcakula*) are mentioned in the *Hevajratāntra* thus (I.v.5): *vajra padma tathā karma tathāgata ratnaiva ca | kulāni pañcavidhāny āhur uttamāni mahākṛpa*. The *vajra*-family is associated with the Buddha Akṣobhya, the *tathāgata*-family with Vairocana, the *padma*-family with Amitābha, the *ratna*-family with Ratnasambhava, and the *karma*-family with Amoghasiddhi (*HVT* II.xi.5–7).

²³ Tō. 368–414 for the Tibetan *bKa' 'gyur*, and 1401–1606 for the *bsTan 'gyur* (Wayman 1962: 234).

²⁴ They are divided in fundamental (*rtsa*) and explanatory (*bshad*) tantras. As to the former, there is the *Mahāsambarodaya* (Ö. 20, Tō. 373); as to the latter, there are four subdivisions: (1) extraordinary (*thun mong ma yin*), (2) ordinary (*thun mong*), (3) tantras about which there is discussion whether they are pure or not, and (4) a fourth one. In the first subdivision there are the *Vajradāka* (Ö. 18, Tō. 370), the *Herukābhyudaya* (Ö. 21, Tō. 374), the *Yoginīsañcaya* (Ö. 23, Tō. 375), the *Mahāsambarodaya* (Ö. 20, Tō. 373), and the *Caturyoginīsampuṭatantra* (Ö. 24, Tō. 376). In the second subdivision there is the *rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal yang dag par sbyor ba'i thig le* (Ö. 27, Tō. 382). As to the third subdivision including the tantras ‘about which there is discussion whether they are pure or not’, there are four further subdivisions: (1) the tantras related to *citta* (*thugs rgyud*), (2) to *vāk* (*gsung rgyud*), (3) to *kāya* (*sku rgyud*), and (4) the emanated tantras (*'phros rgyud*). In the first *citta* sub-subdivision, there are the *Guhyavajra* (Ö. 28, Tō. 383), the *Guhyasarvacchinda* (Ö. 29, Tō. 384), the *Cakrasaṃvaraguhyācintya* (Ö. 30, Tō. 385), the *Khasama* (Ö. 31, Tō. 386), the

Mahākha (Ö. 32, Tō. 387), the *Kāyavākcitta* (Ö. 33, Tō. 388), the *Ratnamālā* (Ö. 34, Tō. 389), and the *Mahāsamaya* (Ö. 35, Tō. 390). In the second *vāk* sub-subdivision, there are the *Mahābala* (Ö. 36, Tō. 391), the *Jñānaguhyā* (Ö. 37, Tō. 392), the *Jñānamālā* (Ö. 38, Tō. 393), the *Jñānajvala* (Ö. 39, Tō. 394), the *Candramālā* (Ö. 40, Tō. 395), the *Ratnajvala* (Ö. 41, Tō. 396), the *Sūryacakra* (Ö. 42, Tō. 397), and the *Jñānarāja* (Ö. 43, Tō. 398). In the third *kāya* sub-subdivision, there are the *Vajradākaguhya* (Ö. 44, Tō. 399), the *Jvalāgniguhyā* (Ö. 45, Tō. 400), the *Amṛtaguhya* (Ö. 46, Tō. 401), the *Śmaśānālaṃkāra* (Ö. 47, Tō. 402), the *Vajrarāja* (Ö. 48, Tō. 403), the *Jñānāśaya* (Ö. 49, Tō. 404), the *Rāgarāja* (Ö. 50, Tō. 405), and the *Ḍākinīsaṃvara* (Ö. 51, Tō. 406). In the fourth ‘emanated’ sub-subdivision, there are the *Agnimālā* (Ö. 54, Tō. 407), the *Ḍākinīguhyajvala* (Ö. 52, Tō. 408), the *Vajrabhairavavidāraṇa* (Ö. 53, Tō. 409), the *Mahābalajñānarāja* (Ö. 56, Tō. 410), the *Vajrasiddhajālasaṃvara* (Ö. 55, Tō. 411), the *Sarvatathāgatacitta-garbhārtha* (Tō. 412), the *Cakrasaṃvaratantrarāja-adbhuta-śmaśānālaṃkāra* (Ö. 57, Tō. 413), the *Anāvila* (Ö. 58, Tō. 414), and the *Sambarakhasama* (Ö. 59, Tō. 415). As to the fourth subdivision, there is the *Vajramahākālakrodhanātharahasyasiddhi-bhava* (Ö. 62, Tō. 416).

²⁵ *Yogaratnamālā* 49b: *ḍai vihāyasagamane dhātur atra vikalpitaḥ. sarvākāśacarī siddhir ḍākinīti* (Snellgrove 1959, 2: 142).

²⁶ It is the case of words such as Nepali *ḍāknu* and Bengali *ḍākā* ‘to call’, Bengali *ḍāk* and Hindi *ḍāknā*, *ḍāknā* ‘shout, to shout’.

²⁷ Erroneously *Milāpā* in Pandey 1990.

²⁸ The text has been read in the manuscript as *oḍḍini* | *vajrayoginī* by Tucci, *udinī vajrayoginī* by Lévi, and *uḍḍinī* | *vajrayoginī* by Pandey. Tucci (1930: 220 n. 8) proposes the identification of this tantric yoginī of Uḍḍiyāna (*Oḍḍini vajrayoginī*) with Lakṣmīkarā (Lakṣmīṅkarā) the disciple of the King of Uḍḍiyāna Indrabhūti; Lévi (1930–32: 418, 427) conjectures of a Vajrayoginī from Uḍḍiyāna, and suggests a better reading *Uḍḍiyānī* for *Udinī*.

²⁹ The *Samvarārṇavatantra* could be identified with either the *Ḍākārṇavamahāyoginītantrarāja* (*mKha*’ *’gro rgya mtsho chen po rnal ’byor ma*, Ö. 19, Tō. 372), or the *Samvarodaya* (*bDe mchog ’byung ba*, Ö. 20, Tō. 373). As per Alexis Sanderson (1995 in English 2002: 52–53), the *Samvarārṇavatantra* was the Buddhist scriptural source accrediting a Śaiva method for preserving the correct form of the mantra, the letter-by-letter ‘extraction’ (*uddhāra*).

³⁰ As a matter of fact, Herbert Guenther (1968b: 215–16) has already pointed out

that the Sanskrit word *kāya* is a name for a dynamic process, for a *structure of experience*, rather than a *thing*. In view of this, it is also worth remembering that Tibetan language distinguishes between *lus* as a mere ‘organismic being’ (Guenther 1963a: 135), and *sku*, expressing ‘the idea of existence in an almost Parmenidian sense’ (Guenther 1966: 143–44).

³¹ As explained by Raniero Gnoli (1956: 29), ‘in ordinary life each of these mental states is manifested and accompanied by three elements, causes (*kāraṇa*), effects (*kārya*), and concomitant elements (*sahacara*). The causes are the facts, images, etc., by which it is manifested, the effects the physical reactions caused by it, and the concomitant elements the accessory mental states accompanying it. The same causes, etc., when represented on the stage or described in poetry, do not arouse the corresponding sentiment, but make manifest (*vyāñji*) a form of consciousness different from it, aesthetic pleasure or *rasa*’.

III — WHO, WHEN, AND WHERE

And if the lineage of oral instruction became the *sine qua non* of siddha esoterism, then for Tibetans—and probably Indians as well—the shorter the lineage was between Vajradhara and the Tibetan translator, the less corrupted the system must be (Davidson 2005: 142).

We have no information of Tilopā's time until the sixteenth century, when dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v 15.2)—followed by lHa btsun (§ 9.2)—gave it. Unfortunately we do not know from which sources or by which calculation dBang phyug rgyal mtshan was able to date Tilopā's birth to the Earth-Male-Mouse year (*sa pho byi ba'i lo*), at dawn on the second day of the month of December (*rgyal gyi zla ba*). On the other hand, from a historical viewpoint, we are obliged to admit that it is matter of a realistic date, at least for a conjecture.

According to the Tibetan computation of time and general historical considerations, this year can be either 928 or 988. Whichever may be the case, since the dating of Tilopā hinges mainly on that of his disciple Nāropā, the problem is to ascertain whether the latter's lifespan was 956–1040 (Singh 1967; Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 90 n. 16; Wylie 1982), or 1016–1100 (Guenther 1963b). If we accept the former hypothesis, the years 988–1069 proposed by Herbert Guenther for Tilopā's time should be anticipated of a sixty-year cycle to 928–1009, in the order of two generations before his fellow citizen the royal prince Atiśa—

Tilopā
c. 928 – c. 1009

Nāropā
c. 956 – c. 1040

Atiśa
c. 982 – c. 1054

Consequently, Tilopā would have been about one generation younger than the Candra king Śrīcandra—

| IMPERIAL PĀLAS (Gauḍa) | KAMBOJA PĀLAS (Priyaṅgu) | BENGAL CANDRAS (Vikramapura) | ARAKAN CANDRAS (Vesālī) |
|--|-------------------------------|--|--|
| Rājyapāla (r. c. 932 – c. 967) | | Śrīcandra (r. c. 925 – c. 975) | Siṃhataingcandra (r. c. 935 – c. 951) |
| | | | Culataingcandra (r. c. 951 – c. 957) |
| Gopāla II (r. c. 967 – c. 987) | Nārāyaṇapāla (r. c. 967–?) | | Amyasu (r. c. 957 – c. 964) |
| Vigrahapāla II (r. c. 987 – c. 992) | Nayapāla | Kalyāṇacandra (r. c. 975 – c. 1000) | Pe Phyu (r. c. 964 – c. 994) |
| Mahīpāla I (r. c. 992 – c. 1042) | | Laḍahacandra (r. c. 1000 – 1020) | |

Nevertheless, due to Śrīcandra's political relevance in northeastern India since the first quarter of the tenth century, in a broad sense we can subsume Tilopā's time under the latter's time.

According to the Tibetan hagiographies, Tilopā's native land is in eastern India (*rGya gar shar phyogs*), in Bengal (*Bhaṃ ga la*, v, ξ). When mentioned, the region (*yul*) is *Zahor* (β, ε, θ, μ), where the Brahmaputra River (*Bram ze gtsang ma*, η) flows. He would have been born in the town (*grong khyer*) of *Dzako* (β, θ), *Dzago* (η, λ, v, ξ), *Dzāgo* (μ), *'Dzago* (κ), or *'Jhago* (ι).

Sahor

It is difficult to get to any certainty in the controversial identification of the Bengali region (*yul*) of *Zahor*, where Atiśa too was from. We read in fact in the *Deb ther sngon po* (216.1; BA 241) that Atiśa (*Jo bo rje*) was born in the great district (*yul 'khor : rāṣṭra*, MVy 5509) that Indians call *Sahor* (*rgya gar ba rnams Sa hor zhes zer*), and Tibetans *Zahor* (*bod rnams Za hor zhes 'don*). We can reasonably take *Zahor* as the Tibetan perception and subsequent written rendering of *|sahor|* or *|ṣaḥer|*, an Indic name of Persian origin for 'city' (Chattopadhyaya 1967: 61–63). Albeit a common

noun in the beginning, we are familiar with a great variety of toponyms coming from dedicated common nouns, so that a city can develop in the usage into *the City*.

Nag tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba (1011–1064), who led an official mission to invite Atiśa in Tibet, opens his ‘Hymn to Atiśa in Eighty Verses’ (*Jo bo rje’i bstod pa pa brgyad cu pa*; Eimer 1989: 25) with an interesting sketch of Sahor:

| | |
|---|--|
| shar phyogs Za hor yul mchog na de na grong khyer chen po yod Bi kra ma ni pu ra yin de yi dbus na rgyal po’i khab pho brang shin tu yangs pa yod gSer gyi rgyal mtshan can zhes bya ... | In the marvellous country of Sahor in the east is a great city, Vikramapura: the royal palace is in its centre, a very spacious mansion, called Golden Bannered (* <i>Suvarṇa-dhvajavat</i>)... |
|---|--|

This region occupied by the Brahmaputra River (ṅ 17.1: *Bram ze gtsang mas ’dzin pa’i yul*) finds a confused identification with Harikela in Kun dga’ rin chen, and a clearer one in dBang phyug rgyal mtshan:

| | |
|---|--|
| Kun dga’ rin chen Za hor gyi grong khyer Ha ri ka zhes bya bar... (ṁ 44.1). | dBang phyug rgyal mtshan shar phyogs kyi rgyud Bha ga la’i yul Ha ri ki la Za hor... (v 52.4). |
|---|--|

The above pieces of information adds two pivotal points in the location of Harikela to the above list of three, namely, (1) it was in the easternmost India; (2) it was reachable by sea, and thus endowed with a coast and at least a sea-port; (3) it included the internal region of Śrīhaṭṭa; (4) its main floodplain was the Brahmaputra-Jamunā; (5) in the mid-eleventh century (Nag tsho Lo tsā ba’s time) its capital was Vikramapura, which is to be located in the current Munshiganj District of the Dhaka Division.

Now, if we take into account that ecology, archaeology and ethnology deem current Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur, Cachar, Mizoram, Sylhet, Tripura, Chittagong and Arakan as parts of a single territorial unit (Qanungo 1988: 31), Harikela could have embraced the coastal area towards Arakan, from Chittagong to Noakhali and Comilla Districts, as well as a portion of Tripura. More in detail, the geographical focus of Harikela would agree in every aspect with the position of Chittagong and some portions of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

In actual fact, whereas the geographical focus of Sahor/Harikela is Chittagong and some portions of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, its political

centre seems to have shifted westwards by the time of Trailokyacandra's 'good fortune under the royal umbrella insignia of the king of Harikela' (Bogra copperplate, v. 5). In all probability, it is because of the expansion of the Harikela rulers and their Candra *de facto* successors over wider and inner areas of Bengal that, while Vaṅga, Samatāṭa, and Harikela were still perceived as distinct regions in the eighth century (*Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 22: 232–33), Harikela is one with Vaṅga in Hemacandra's twelfth-century eyes (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 957).

*Jagāṇ

At first glance, the toponym *Jago* seems even more obscure than Sahor. We know from Tāranātha that Tilopā was from Caṭīghawo (*bKa' babs bdun ldan* 422.1: *Ca ṭi gha bo zhes bya ba'i grong khyer*; *SIL* 45), where the celebrated Piṇḍa Vihāra was situated (*rGya gar Chos 'byung* 190.2: *Tsa ṭi gha bo'i grong khyer gyi gtsug lag khang Piṇ ḍa bi ha ra*; *THBI* 254–55). Inasmuch the site has been identified with the current Chittagong at least since Schiefner's time (1869), Tāranātha's Caṭīghawo corresponds to the region to the south of Tripura and north of Arakan. Also known as Ramma (Skt *ramya*), the Beautiful Land, it was the place of the Paṇḍita Vihāra, as we read in Das (1898: 24) on the basis of the eighteenth-century Sum pa mkhan po's *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang (tsa ṭi gā ba'i grong khyer gyi paṇ ḍi ta bi ha ra zhes pa'i gtsug lag khang)*.

Regarding the controversial origin of the toponym, the European *Chittagong*, like the current Bengali forms *Caṭṭagrām*, *Cāṭigāṇ/Caṭgāṇ*, as well as the Chinese name *Jidagang* (吉大港) appear to have come, through a later Brahmanical Sanskritization *Cāṭigrāma*, from Middle Indo-Aryan *Caṭigāṇ*.¹ If we compare the Tibetan rendering in the Marpan tradition with Tāranātha's *Caṭīghawo*, we observe that, while Tāranātha relies on a more regular rendering of the toponym, Mar pa seems to provide indirect evidence of its alteration in the eleventh-century common parlance. Speculatively, the first element of *Jago* could be in fact the result of apocope of the last vowel of *caṭi*, followed by lenition and fall of /t/, with sounding of /c/ for anticipatory assimilation to the following /g/ of *gāṇ*—

MIA *caṭigāṇ* > *caṭ_(i)gāṇ* > *caṭgāṇ* > *ca_(d)gāṇ* > *cagāṇ* > *jagāṇ* : Tib. *jago*.

Were we not taking in due account how deeply was the influence of Arakan

rooted in Harikela, certainly it would be difficult for us to accept this Middle Indo-Aryan toponym as a deformed version, or a parallel of the Arakanese *Tsit-ta-gaung* (*cit-taut-gaum*), meaning ‘War should never be fought’. This euphemistic place name would have been inscribed by a king of Arakan at the place of current Chittagong around 952–953 (Qanungo 1988: 113–19; Harder 2011: 10–12). As we read in the Arakanese chronicles (Phayre 1844: 36),

...the ninth sovereign of this race is named Tsu-la-taing Tsan-daya [Culataingcandra], who succeeded to the throne in the year 313 [of the Arakan era = 951 CE]. In the year 315 [953] he went on an expedition to Bengal (called Thu-ra-Tan) and set up a stone pillar as a trophy at the place since called Tset-ta-goung, or as commonly written Chittagong, alluding, this history states, to a remark of the king’s, (who abandoned his conquest at the request of his nobles) that to make war was improper.

Thus, when the Candra dynasty of Vikramapura was under Śrīcandra, and Tilopā would have been about twenty-four years old, the conquest of current Chittagong by the Arakanese Candra king of Vesālī could have had greater consequences on Tilopā’s native land. In spite of this, apart from the present-day toponym, this Arakanese annexation was short-lived because Culataingcandra died drowned in the sixth year of his reign (957).

The First Years

As a sort of birth certificate, Mar pa describes the Brahmanical family of Tilopā thus:

In a city called *Jagāṇ, in the country of Sahor in eastern India, there lived the three, the brāhmaṇa *gSal ba*, his father, the brāhmaṇī *gSal ldan ma*, his mother, and the brāhmaṇī *gSal ba’i sgron ma*, his sister (β 11.4).

The three names are regularly attested, with minor variants for the elder sister of Tilopā—*gSal ba’i sgron ma* (β), *gSal sgron* (η, θ), *gSal sgron ma* (ι)—as long as the beginning of the fourteenth century. Then, whereas Tilopā’s sister is referred to as ‘one daughter’ (*bu mo gcig*) by Mon rtse pa (κ), and she is not even mentioned by gTsang smyon and his contemporary

Kun dga' rin chen (λ, μ), the names of both sister and mother are mentioned, albeit exchanged, by dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v) and his fellow student lHa btsun (ξ).

Since the aryanization of Bengal in the fifth and sixth centuries, a series of rites (*saṃskāra*) according to the Vedic tradition sanctified almost every stage of a man's life, from conception in the mother's womb (*garbhādhāna*) onwards (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 440–54). To be noted, there is indirect reference in the Marpan tradition to the *pūṃsavana*, the ceremony to ensure the birth of a male progeny, and the *nāmadheya*, the ceremony of naming the child on the tenth or twelfth day after birth (*Manusmṛti* 2.29–30):

As no son had come yet, they worshipped with offerings and prayers all the sacred receptacles, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist ones. Eventually a son was born and, at that very moment, a light ('*od*') pervaded Bengal: because of that, he was given the name gSal 'od (β 11.4–5).

The element *gsal ba* that the four names have in common seems to play the distinctive function of a family name (*gotra*): also Tilopā's mother must have changed to her husband's *gotra* and name at the time of their marriage (*gotrāntara*)—

| FATHER | MOTHER | ELDER SISTER | SON | |
|---------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------|
| gSal ba | gSal ldan ma | gSal ba'i sgron ma | gSal 'od | β |
| ” | ” | gSal sgron (ma) | ” | η, θ, ι |
| ” | ” | <i>bu mo gcig</i> | ” | κ |
| ” | ” | — | ” | λ, μ |
| ” | gSal ba'i sgron ma | gSal ldan ma | gSal (ba'i) 'od | v, ξ |

The Tibetan *gsal ba*, in the wide sense of 'being clear, clarify, clarity, luminosity', according to the *Mahāvvyutpatti* can be for the Sanskrit photic terms *dyutiḥ* (3040), *prakāṣaḥ* (9393), *prabhāśvarā* (451), *prasannaḥ* (7295), and *vyaktaḥ* (2898). With the intention of speculating as to the family of Tilopā, it seems reasonable to conjecture that one of the above words could be consistent with it. A route we can try to reduce the range of possibilities passes through the sister's name that occurs, albeit in different context, in two titles of the *bsTan 'gyur*, the *Śrī-cakraśambara-maṇḍalopāyikāratna-pradīpoddyota* (*dPal 'khor lo bde mchog gi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga rin po che rab tu gsal ba'i sgron ma*, Ō. 2161, Tō. 1444)

by Kambalapā, and the *Tattvacaturupadeśaprasannadīpa* (TCUP, *De kho na nyid bzhi pa'i man ngag gsal ba'i sgron ma*, Ö. 2371, Tō. 1242) by Tilopā himself. Now, if the name of Tilopā's family can be found out of the two, *dyutiḥ* and *prasannaḥ*, we see on the basis of MVy 3040, that Skt *dyutiḥ* would be translated not only by Tib. *gsal ba*, but also by *gsal ba'i 'od*. Consequently, if the Tibetan name of Tilopā's father could reasonably translate *Dyuti, the name of the mother could have been *Dyutimatī on account of the occurrence of the word in the *Bhadrakalpikāsūtra* (Ö. 762, Tō. 94), as indicated by Lokesh Chandra (1959 s.v. *gsal ldan*), rather than *Kāśī (Das 1902 s.v. *gsal ldan ma*). Finally, while the name of the sister could have been *Pradīpodyotā on the basis of the above mentioned *bsTan 'gyur* occurrence in Kambalapā's text, for the name received by Tilopā at the time of his birth, a conjectural *Dyotitaprabha (cf. MW s.v. *dyoti*) appears feasible.

Following the steps of Mar pa's narrative, after the birth, a brahmin soothsayer (*mtshan mkhan : vaipaṇcika*) was invited and consulted according to the use. His answer emphasizing the spiritual dignity of the infant occurs with minor variants in all the Marpan tradition (β 12.1):

As for him, whether a god, a nāga, a tree spirit (*gnod sbyin : yakṣa*), or
Whether a buddha, I do not understand what he is.
Anyhow, protect this great being with care!

With strong analogy with the Lives of Buddha, the parents would have resolved to seclude him from the outer world (β 12.1–13.4):

After some time they were taking care of him as ordered, the father went out and only the two, mother and son, were in. A veil of shade covered them, and the mother looked at it. Many women had come into view, bearing the signs of ugliness, blowing from their mouths, lame and walking with the support of sticks. As the mother was wondering if they were demons, and whether her child would die, the women spoke:

Even if you nourish him with care, deathless
Places do not exist anywhere!

So they said. The mother asked, 'In that case, what is to be done for his benefit?' At that they spoke again, 'O child!'

Herd buffalo and learn scriptures.

The prediction of the *ḍākinī* will come.

Having so spoken, it is said that they vanished with no traces.

After that, when he was grown up, he was allowed to act in that way. Once more, while he was herding buffalo, the same women as before appeared to him and asked about his country, his parents, and so forth. The boy said in reply:

My country is *Jagāḍ in the east.
My father is Brāhmaṇa *Dyuti (*gSal ba*).
My mother is Brāhmaṇī *Dyutimatī (*gSal ldan ma*).
My sister is Brāhmaṇī *Pradīpoddyotā (*gSal sgron*).

I am Brāhmaṇa *Dyotitaprabha (*gSal 'od*).
This tree is an *Aquilaria* (*sha pa*).²
I have learnt reading and practise the true Dharma.
For a living, I herd buffalo.

So he said, and those women replied pretending to be angry, ‘O boy, you do not know it!’

Your country is Uḍḍiyāna, in the west,
Your father is Cakraśaṃvara,
Your mother is Vajravarāhī,
Your sister is the *ḍākinī* *bDe ster ma*.

You are *Pantsapana*,
The buffalo to herd are not animals:
In the forest of the tree of awakening
Herd continuously the buffalo of experience!

So they spoke. In response, the boy said, ‘I do not know how to herd that!’
‘Go to the charnel ground of *Salabheraha*! The guru will teach you’.

Such would have been the *ḍākinīs*’ revelation (*mkha’ ’gros lung bstan*), as the chapter is titled in β. The first challenge posed by this narrative is the very word *ḍākinīs*. In point of fact, they are described by Mar pa as ‘many women’ (*bud med ... mang po*) when they approached Tilopā’s mother, and ‘the same women as before’ (*sngar gyi bud med de*) when they revealed to Tilopā his spiritual pedigree. Admittedly, these women appeared so repellent that the mother had suspected they were demons (*'dre*), but

nothing else: just the two, *Enter Ghost* and *Exit Ghost*, seem to instill a moderate sense of shadowy mystery. Albeit without any positive evidence, we might speculate that they looked so repugnant in the eyes of the mother as she was a lady of Brahmanical caste. Conversely, the women who intruded into the courtyard of her house, and later appeared in front of the boy, might have belonged to the aboriginal tribes, even today settled in the current Chittagong Hill Tracts. Even more than now, in the tenth century they were unaffected by aryanization, and their demon-like habits and physical appearance find a genuine illustration in the terracotta plaques at Paharpur:

The sense of humour of the Paharpur artist finds expression in the delineation of the picturesque and less developed races of men inhabiting the outlying regions of Bengal. The Śabaras, who are aboriginals of the vast jungle tracts in the central part of the country, must have been familiar to the dwellers of the plain in Bengal, and with their arboreal habits and hunting propensities they formed a favourite subject for the terracotta artist. Their quaint apparel consists of a cuirass for the breast, a leaf apron hardly sufficient to cover their shame: while they had quivers at their back (from which they are sometimes shown as drawing arrows) and bows in hand. In several plaques the Śabara male is shown as a bearded figure wearing boots. [...] The Śabara female is depicted as clad in a simple garland of leaves across her shoulder and a string of leaves round her waist. [...] She is often depicted as wielding a bow or as holding a child and a dagger in her hands or as carrying in her hand a deer [...] or other wild animal, no doubt hunted by the Śabara and providing these denizens of the forest with their customary meal. The coiffure of the Śabarī is neatly delineated and the ear-ornaments, apparently of jungle leaves and flowers are well-drawn. The necklace of beads and *guñjā* seeds [*Abrus precatorius*] with which the aboriginal woman loves to decorate her body are not forgotten, and in one instance even a scarf (possibly a bark garment) is shown across the breast and arm, although at the waist appears only the usual apron of leaves. The Śabarī is also known as wielding the bow in one plaque and holding a dagger in one hand and suckling her infant in other plaques... (Dikshit 1938: 64–65).

Unquestionably a *dākinī* is predicted to the young Tilopā: her name occurs in the Tibetan hagiographies as *bDe ster ma* (β, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, ν, ξ), the ‘Bliss-Bestowing-One’, which may possibly be for Indic **Sukhapradā*. A peculiarity of our source β, a sort of narrative *lectio difficilior*, is worth noticing here: what in Mar pa’s account of the prediction has it that the

many women declared ‘Your sister is the *ḍākinī* *Sukhapradā (*sring mo mkha*’ *’gro bDe ster ma*)’, in the later sources with the same account only one woman came into view and said ‘Your sister am I, etc.’ (*sring mo nga ni...*, η 25.4, ι 16.2, κ 26.2, λ A 24.6 B 100.3, ν 29.1, ξ 14.2; *nga ni sring mo...*, θ 55.6).

As to the name *Paṇ tsa pa na*, *Paṇ tsha pa na* (β), *Pan tsa ka* (η), *Pan tsa pa na* (θ, ι, κ), *Panytsa pa na* (λ, ν, ξ), we can infer from the contextual occurrences that it is for both a place and a personal name. So is Tilopā called in the first prediction by *the same women as before*, i.e. *the many women* in Chittagong, or by the *ḍākinī* *Sukhapradā himself (*khyod rang Pan tsa pa na yin*, ‘You are the One from...’). Then Tilopā will introduce himself with that very designation when at the presence of the *ḍākinīs* in Uḍḍiyāna (*bdag ni Pan tsa pa na yin*, ‘I am the One from...’). Besides, the same designation (*Panytsa pa na*) is confirmed by Tilopā as the author of the *Śrī-Saṃvaropadeśamukhakarṇaparāmparācintāmaṇi* (SUMKPC) when he alludes to himself.

As a place, *Pantsapana* was undoubtedly an important trade centre in eastern Bengal (*shar phyogs Bha ga la’i brgyud Paṇ tsha pa na’i tshong ’dus*, β 14.3). Further evidence is provided by rDo rje mdzes ’od (θ 70.5), who seems to explain *Pantsapana* as the ‘market of the group of five leaders’ (*Pan tsa pa na ded dpon lnga tshogs pa’i tshong dus*), undoubtedly referring to a district magistrate (*viśayapati*) with the above described board of four local notables to assist him (*adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa*): an administrative centre regularly in the main town of the district (*viśayādhikaraṇa*). If this is the case, *Pañcāpaṇa as a toponym meaning ‘The Five’s Market’ (*pañca-āpaṇa*), and *Pāñcāpaṇa as a personal name for ‘The One from Pañcāpaṇa’, could be a practicable conjecture for the Indic original of Tib. *Pan tsa pa na*.

Since the most important trade centre of inner eastern Bengal at Tilopā’s time was Śrīhaṭṭa, a toponym with the word *haṭṭa*, corresponding to Tib. *tshong ’dus* (MVy 5532) ‘market’, we might dare an identification of *Pañcāpaṇa with Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet), the prosperous district market town of northern Harikela that had come under the Candara sway about 930, as we infer from the location in current Sylhet Division of the Paschimbhag copperplate of Śrīcandra (Chaudhury 1966; Sircar 1967–68).

The Apprenticeship

In the *bsTan 'gyur* there is a work by Tilopā himself which contains information about his gurus, the *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* (*SDhU*, *Chos drug gi man ngag* Ō. 4630, Tō. 2330; Torricelli 1996). This brief text concerns six yogic doctrines (*chos drug : ṣaḍdharma*), traditionally rubricated as (1) the yogas of the inner heat (*gtum mo : caṇḍālī*), (2) illusory body (*sgyu lus : māyākāya*), (3) dream (*rmi lam : svapna*), (4) luminosity (*'od gsal : prabhāsvara*), along with (5) the yoga of the intermediate existence between death and new birth (*bar do : antarābhava*), and (6) the ejection of the conscious principle (*'pho ba : samkrānti*). Tilopā would have passed them on to Nāropā, and Mar pa translated into Tibetan.

The *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* assigns the oral instructions on the six doctrines (*dharma*) to four gurus, viz. Caryāpā (*Tsā rya pa*), Kambalapā (*La ba pa*), Nāgārjuna (*Nā gār dzu na*), and Sukhasiddhi (*Su kha sid dhi*). These forms of instruction can be traced back to what Tibetans label 'the four transmissions' (*bka' babs bzhi*), that is to say four lineages of masters along which they finally came down to Tilopā. The term *bka' babs* refer to the condition of descent (*babs*) of an authoritative word, whether of command or permission (*bka'*). It may signify the descent itself, as well as the content of the authoritative word, the person uttering it, or the addressed person: in all cases, it retains a decidedly dynamic connotation (Torricelli 1993). Scholars are inevitably faced with the problem of these four distinct transmissions, because 'unfortunately Tibetan sources differ considerably as to the lineage and content of each of these currents' (Gene Smith 2001: 41).

In point of fact the problem is twofold, the identity of Tilopā's direct or indirect masters, and the teachings he was indebted to each of them. A preliminary overall inspection of our hagiographic sources is sufficient to assess the latter problem as far from any satisfactory solution: the material appears too incoherent, too riddled with discrepancies to construe with real precision. However, when we come to the *bka' babs bzhi* masters, we have a relatively good chance of bringing the terms of the problem at least into focus.

In a cultural context where the transmitted doctrine typically passes through an unbroken lineage of gurus (*guruparamparā*), and the lineage almost coincides with the person, an acceptable understanding of Tilopā cannot but come through that of the masters of these four *bka' babs*. On the

other hand, identifying the single persons implies to extract them from their hagiographic time, and make an effort to regain a convincing place within a more chronological one: to do that, only the context can substantiate consistent details. Elizabeth English (2002: 9) has more than one reason to warn that trying to ‘date authors according to the testimony of transmission lineages, [is] a risky enterprise that Per Kvaerne describes as “methodological error” (1977: 6)’; an enterprise, we must admit, that is further ‘problematized by instances of individuals receiving multiple lineages’ (Davidson 2002a: 46), as the case of Tilopā is.

In spite of this, something can still be done: even if not all the masters are really recognizable, there are some who can be acceptably identified, as for example Tilopā or Nāropā are. In light of the complex onomastics, if the first difficulty is that most of the masters have multiple esoteric names, the second is that we cannot say how many persons bear the same name in the lineages. The main method we have at our disposal is based on the so-called *points d’appui* (Snellgrove 1959, 1: 14), namely, to approach the very person putting together a contextual grid made of datable kings celebrated in inscriptions, in manuscript colophons, and so forth. In my experience, the most common trap one risks falling into is imagining a *guruparamparā* as a genealogical tree, where the presence of a member’s name logically puts the ancestors in a past computable in terms of biological generations.

Caryāpā

The name occurs as *Tsāryapa* in the *bsTan ’gyur* xylograph editions (N, Q, D, C) of the *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa*, and as *Tsarya(pa)* in β, θ, ι, λ, ν, ξ; besides, λ, ν, and ξ attest also the form *Nag po spyod pa*. While *Tsāryapa* could be an abbreviated transliteration of the title *ācārya-pāda*, ‘venerable ācārya’, *Tsaryapa* is possibly the transliteration of *carya-* or *caryā-pāda*, ‘venerable ascetic’, referring to one doing ascetic practice (*caryā* : *spyod pa*), as it is translated in Tibetan (*spyod pa pa*). The problem of which title is connected with the name Kṛṣṇa (*Nag po*) has been competently illustrated by Tāranātha himself in his ‘Story of Kāṇha’s Complete Liberation’ (*Kahna pa’i rnam thar*), composed when he was fifty-eight years old (1632):

Although Kṛṣṇācārya (*Kṛṣṇa ā tsā rya*) is another name for this ācārya, there are many others bearing the name Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa pa*). Being this

ācārya Kāṇhācārya (*Kahnā tsā rya*), that is the Black Ācārya (*slob dpon nag po*), also Kṛṣṇācārya (*Kṛṣṇā tsā rya pa*) is for Black Ācārya. If *caryā-pā(da)* (*tsa rya pa*) is affixed to the brief Kāṇha and Kṛṣṇa, they will become Kāṇha-caryā-pā(da) (*Kahna tsa rya pa*), and Kṛṣṇa-caryā-pā(da) (*Kṛṣṇa tsa rya pa*), or the Black Ascetic (*nag po spyod pa pa*). He is also known as Caryācārya-pā(da) (*Tsa ryā tsā rya pa*) or the Ascetic Ācārya (*slob dpon spyod pa pa*), as well as Caryāvajra (*Tsa rya ba dzra*) or the Vajra of Ascetic Practice (*spyod pa'i rdo rje*), and Ācārya Caryādharipā(da) (*Ā tsā rya Tsa rya dha ri pa*), or the Ācārya Lord of the Ascetic Practice (*slob dpon spyod 'chang dbang po*). These are all names by which he is known (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 266.3–5; cf. *TLKK* 5–6).

However, the two epithets Black Ācārya (*Slob dpon nag po*) and Black Ascetic (*Nag po spyod pa pa*) would refer to a Kṛṣṇa (*Nag po*), or Kṛṣṇapā(da) (*Nag po pa*), otherwise known as Kāṇhupā in Prākṛit, and Kāṇha in Apabhraṃśa (Shahidullah 1928: 25; Tagare 1948: 20). Again Tāranātha:

Now, Kṛṣṇa (*Nag po*) is a name with many meanings, but it is really Kāṇha (*Kahna*) that is the most extraordinary name of this ācārya. He is also known as Kāṇhācārya (*Kahnā tsā rya*). In common parlance (*'phal skad du*) he is known as Kāṇhipa (*Kahni pa*) (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 265.3–4; *TLKK* 4).

According to Tāranātha, this Kṛṣṇācārya would have been born as a brahmin in the east of India in the current Odisha (*O ru bi sha*), a part of the kingdom of Gauḍa (*Gau ra*), quite close to Bengal (*Bhang ga la dang cungs zad nye ba'i phyogs*), and would have taken full monastic vows at Nālandā (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 266.5–267.5; *TLKK* 6–7). The same source (291.4; *TLKK* 31) informs us that he would have performed at the behest of the King of Rāḍhā the consecration rite (*rab gnas mdzad : supratistha*) at a temple of Somapurī (*yul Ra dha'i rgyal pos gsol ba btab nas So ma pu ri'i lha khang zhig la rab gnas mdzad*). Notably, Tāranātha specifies (291.4–5) that it was matter of the *old* Somapurī (*'di So ma pu ri rnying pa yin*), and not the *new* one, i.e. the Trikuṭaka Vihāra (*phyis byung ba Tsha ba gsum gyi gtsug lag khang ni So ma pu ri gsar pa ste*): due to the above considerations about the founding of Somapurī and Trikuṭaka in light of the reverse kings' order in Tāranātha's compilation, we are encouraged to see Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya as roughly contemporary with Dharmapāla (r. c. 775–c. 812).

Reasonably, this second quarter of the eighth to early-ninth-century disciple of the siddha Haḍipā, alias Jālandharapā, about whom Tāranātha gives a detailed account in both the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* and the *Kahna pa'i rnam thar*, cannot be the Cāryapā or Caryāpā mentioned in the *Śaḍdharmopadeśa*. Tilopā's guru must in fact have been active approximately one century after the time of the renowned mahāsiddha, even though he bore the same title—*ācārya* or *caryāpāda*—in the very same tradition (*āmnāya*) of ascetic observances (*caryā*), as well as in the practice (*caryā*) of Cakrasaṃvara (Templeman 1989: xi–xiii): a practice including to sing songs on the practice itself, the *caryāpadas* or *caryāgītis* (Templeman 1983: 117 n. 169), the former name as literary texts, the latter as songs.

For the purposes of this study, it is interesting to notice that a Kṛṣṇa (*Kāhna*) who claims himself a Jālandharapā's disciple—we do not know whether direct or not—sings in a *caryāgīti* that he was a Kāpālīka yogin who had entered the 'city of the body' spending his time there as in a sameness of shapes.³ At the end of the same song poetically alluding to the Kāpālīka practice by means of strong metaphors, he concludes that, doing that very way, he had become a Kāpālīka (11.5: *Kāhna bhaia kapālī = Kṛṣṇaḥ bhūtaḥ kapālī*). As a Kāpālīka is he portrayed also by Tāranātha who quotes a prediction from the Kālacakra tradition (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 265.1; *TLKK* 4): with a staff (*kha ṭwām ga = khri shing : kaṭvāṅga*), sometimes topped with a skull, wearing ornaments of human bone (*rus rgyan : asthyābharaṇa*), holding a small double-headed drum (*cang te'u : ḍamaruka*), in general made from skulls, as well as a liquor vessel (*chang snod : madyakumbha*), presumably also for food, that was a skull cup (Templeman 1989: 109–110).

Out of Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya's six main disciples, the eminent position of the Mahāsiddha Bhadrāpāda (*bZang po'i zhabs* in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* 420.5) is undisputable in the eyes of Tāranātha. This Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya's 'best of all disciples' (*slob ma kun gyi mchog*), as we read in the *Kahna pa'i rnam thar* (313.5; *TLKK* 55), would have been a prince by the name of Bhadra of the southeastern coastal kingdom of Kālīṅga (*Ka ling ka*). His other name, already attested in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* (*SIL* 44), would have been Guhyapā(da), namely the Secret Man (*gSang ba pha*) or the Hidden Yogin (*sBas pa'i rnal 'byor pa*), due to his reluctance to exhibit any distinctive mark of spiritual attainment (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 314.5–6; *TLKK* 56). He would have been remembered as the author of various treatises (*bstan bcos : śāstra*) on Cakrasaṃvara, as well as of a few

commentaries (*dgongs 'grel*) on Hevajra (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 318.1; *TLKK* 59), as for example the *Hevajravākyāvivaraṇa* (Ö. 2312, Tō. 1182).

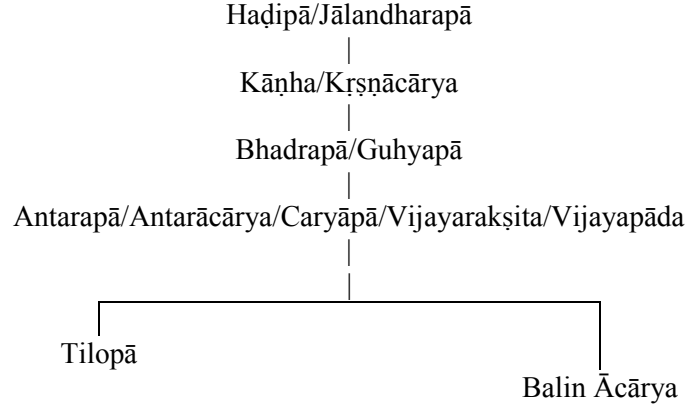
The closest disciple of Bhadrapā/Guhyapā would have been Antarapā (*An ta ra pa*), also known as Antarācārya (*An ta rā tsā rya*) or the Middle Ācārya (*Bar ma slob dpon*), but his real name would have been Vijayarakṣita (*rNam rgyal srung ba*), also known honorifically as Vijayapāda (*rNam rgyal zhabs*; *Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 332.1; *TLKK* 74). When Tāranātha testifies that ‘this ācārya worked for the welfare of beings mainly on the basis of Cakrasaṃvara, and was the root guru (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*) of the siddha Tilopā’ (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 334.5; cf. *TLKK* 77), he is endorsing what had been already asserted by 'Gos Lo tsā ba:

... Tilopā, a disciple of Vijayapāda (*rNam rgyal zhabs kyi slob ma Tilli pa*), the last of many lineages of teachers (*bla ma brgyud pa mang po'i mthar gnas pa*) of Cakrasaṃvara ... (*Deb ther sngon po* 672.3; *BA* 764).

It must be said that this Middle Ācārya cannot be identified—as I erroneously did (1993: 185; 1995: 66 n. 16)—with Kṛṣṇācārya the Younger (*Nag po spyod pa chung ba*; *THBI* 268; *SIL* 44; Templeman 1989: 83, 87), because Tāranātha clearly affirms in his *bKa' babs bdun ldan* (421.2; cf. *SIL* 44) that ‘the ācārya Bhadrapā (*Bha dra pa*) taught Antarapā (*An tar pa*), and he taught the one also known as Kṛṣṇācārya the Younger (*Nag po spyod pa chung ba*)’. In addition, this Kṛṣṇācārya the Younger may well be identified with the ācārya known as Balin, or Balyācārya, active in the late tenth–early eleventh century, as we read in the *Deb ther sngon po* (329.6; *BA* 372):

... Balin Ācārya (*Ba liṃ ā tsa rya*), a contemporary (*dus mtshungs pa*) of Śrī Nāropā, who was also known as Kṛṣṇapāda the Younger (*Nag po zhabs chung ba zhes kyang bya ba*) ...

We can thus sketch the following line of gurus, that matches with the above represented transmission lineage of Cakrasaṃvara in the *Deb ther sngon po* (336.1–4; *BA* 380)—



The occasion of the first contact between Tilopā as a young brahmin student (*bram ze'i khye'u : māṇavaka*, *MVy* 3846) and the holder of the lineage inaugurated by Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya is reported only by Mar pa (β 13.4–5):

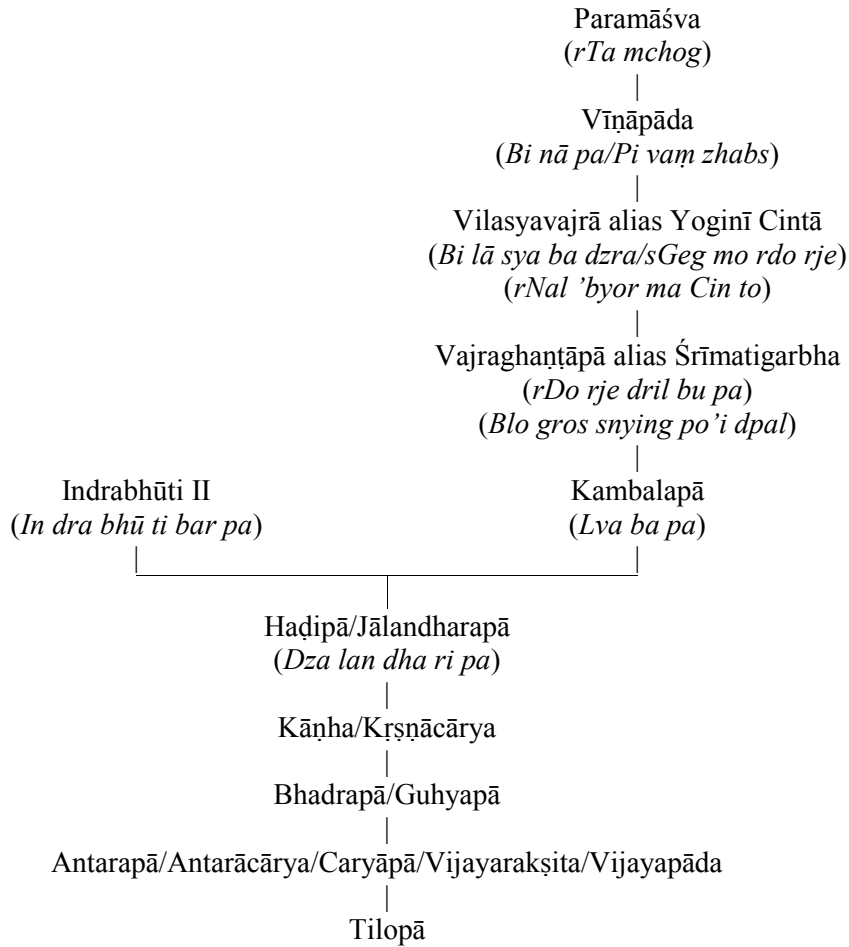
There is in fact a southern charnel ground called *Salabheraha*, that had been blessed by Maheśvara (dBang phyug chen po). The brāhmaṇa student arrived there just when a gaṇacakra of Buddhist and non-Buddhist ḍākinīs was being celebrated, and he received instructions (*gdams pa : avavāda*) from Caryāpā.

Kambalapā

Occurring in Tibetan sources as *La ba pa* (ṢḌhU, β, γ, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, ν, ξ), *La va pa* (β), and *Lva ba pa* (μ), the name of that siddha derives from Tib. *lva ba* or *la ba* for Skt *kambala* (*MVy* 5859), the woollen blanket he was famous for wearing as his only clothes and property. On the authority of the tantric Āryadeva's *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (*sPyod bsdus sgron me = Spyod pa bsdus pa'i sgron ma*, Ō. 2668, Tō. 1803), Tāranātha mentions Kambalapā (*Kam pa la pa*) with Padmavajra as initiators (*khungs su mdzad pa*), seemingly of the Yogottaratantras (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 103.2; *THBI* 152).

We are informed in the same book (178.6–179.1; *THBI* 240–41) that, roughly speaking (*'ol spyi tsam du*), the great ācārya Kambalapā (*Lva va pā*), Indrabhūti the Middle (*In dra bhū ti bar pa*), Kukurāja (*Ku ku rā dza*), the ācārya Saroruhavajra (*mTsho skyes rdo rje*), and Lalitavajra (*La li ta ba*

dzra) were contemporaries (*dus mnyam*). Moreover, we read in Tāranātha's fourth chapter of the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* (408.4–5; *SIL* 36) on the instruction lineage of luminosity that the siddha Haḍipā/Jālandharapā would have requested to the two, Kambalapā and his disciple Indrabhūti the Middle, instructions on luminosity and great bliss. We can piece together from the same chapter the following *guruparamparā* that, to begin with Haḍipā/Jālandharapā, matches with the above one of Caryāpā—



Although, as per 'Gos Lo tsā ba, Kambalapā cannot but be the king Indrabhūti himself (*Deb ther sngon po* 320.7–321.2; *BA* 362–63), i.e. Indrabhūti II (Snellgrove 1959, 1: 12–13), whatever it may have been, the encounter with Haḍipā/Jālandharapā, the guru of the late-eighth-century

Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya, and the instruction Kambalapā granted to him would assign Lavapa/Kambalapā to the second half of the same century. If this is not the case of a homonym, as it seems, there would be a span of about two centuries to cover since Kambalapā's time until that of Tilopā, and a personal contact between the two appears hardly realistic. Nonetheless, after reporting Tilopā's encounter-cum-instruction with Caryāpā, Mar pa goes on without any interruption (β 13.5):

The great ācārya Kambalapā sang:

At the street corner of a great town,
I had been sleeping for twelve years when
I attained the perfection of *mahāmudrā*!

After these words, he [Tilopā] received the instruction of luminosity.

What kind of encounter are we supposed to imagine? Among the proposed solutions to this question, the first one in chronological order seems to emerge from rGyal thang pa (η 40.3), who states that Tilopā's *paramparā* (*brgyud*) would have been 'blessed' (*byin gyis rlabs*) by the great ācārya Kambalapā (*La ba pa*), thus implying: no matter whether personally or not.

Another solution is proposed by rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ 68.5–6), according to whom Tilopā would have met Lalitavajra (*Rol pa rdo rje*), who granted him those *Hevajratāntra*-based instructions of luminosity and intermediate existence, 'belonging to the lineage that comes from' the great ācārya Kambalapā (*slob dpon La ba pa chen po nas brgyud pa'i rgyud*). Certainly, the time gap cannot be covered by Lalitavajra neither, considering that Tāranātha takes also this siddha as 'roughly contemporary' with Kambalapā; but the interesting hint is here that it would be matter of someone contemporary with Tilopā, someone who was the holder of the *paramparā* of Kambalapā at Tilopā's time.

According to dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v 49.2–3), it was in order to avoid incorrect perceptions of himself that Tilopā would have acted as if he had heard the authoritative words (*bka' gsan pa'i tshul bstan pa*) on luminosity and the nondual tantras from Indrabhūti, that is to say the disciple of Kambalapā, in turn, of the woman selling liquor Bhinasavajra, of Dombīheruka, of Virūpā. Again, for the same reason as above we have to leave out the possibility of a personal connection. Nevertheless, the verbal expression *bka' gsan pa* confirms what was already implied by rDo

rje mdzes 'od: in point of fact, listening to (*gsan pa*) authoritative words (*bka'*) does not necessarily imply any bodily presence of their author. If this is the case, a more consistent reading of Mar pa's passage would be that the young brāhmaṇa student was introduced to the siddha Lavapa/Kambalapā *from the lips* of Caryāpā. Being the latter, as we have seen, in a *paramparā* that includes both Kambalapā and Kṛṣṇācārya, he could well have sung or quoted the above *caryāgīti*, and grant to Tilopā the relevant instructions.

Nāgārjuna

From a merely historical viewpoint, the Nāgārjuna associated with Tilopā cannot be the Mādhyamika philosopher of the second century CE.⁴ Nor can he be the early-seventh-century master already pointed out by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (1928: xlv–xlvi, cvi–cviii), and probably corresponding with the 'metallurgist' Nāgārjuna mixed with the original Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna in the master that Xuanzang is reporting of (White 1997: 165).

We read in the Shamsheer Manuscript of a Nāgārjuna predicted (*vyākṛta*) by the Buddha (*Śākyasiṃha*), after the institution of the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu in the south of India (α vv. 11b–14):

| | | |
|------------------------|---------------|--|
| dakṣiṇāpathadeśe'smin | pattane | In this southern region, in the town of |
| Karahāṭake (11b) | | Karahāṭaka; |
| brāhmaṇasya kule | janma | born in a brāhmaṇa family; Trivikrama the |
| cāsyā Trivikramaḥ | mātā | father; the mother, Sāvitrī by name: |
| nāmāsyā vyākṛtād | aparaṃ | <i>considered as later than the one</i> [here] |
| matam (12) | | <i>predicted,</i> |
| Dāmodareti | vikhyāto | generally known as Dāmodara; as Śākyamitra |
| Śākyamitrakam | nāmāparaṃ | when a monk; with another name when |
| Ratnamater | anugraha | devoted to the rite for gaining the grace of |
| vidhau sthitaḥ (13) | | Ratnamati; |
| āhvā Advayavajreti | Vajrayoginy- | with the name Advayavajra when blessed by |
| adhiṣṭhitaḥ | Sarahaḥ | Vajrayoginī; Saraha should have been |
| bhakteṇa | tadanugrāhako | gracious with him for his devotion to the |
| bhavet (14) | | accomplishment. |

A Tibetan text on the lineage stemming from Saraha (*bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa*, LGR; Passavanti 2008), preserved in the Tucci Tibetan Fund of the IsIAO Library (no. 1095), opens a late twelfth-century anonymous collection of six commentaries on Saraha's *dohās*, the *Ū phyogs gzigs par*

zhu' | *dpal sa ra ha'i mdo ha'i grel pa lags*.⁵ Curiously, both rGyal thang pa (η) and the author of the IsIAO Manuscript, albeit strongly dependent on a source close or common to the Shamsheer Manuscript (α), seem to neglect the above *vyākṛtād aparaṃ matam* introducing a siddha supposedly later (*aparaṃ matam*) than the Nāgārjuna predicted (*vyākṛtād*).⁶ As a consequence, both sources erroneously identify this Nāgārjuna with Dāmodara, Śākyamitra, Advayavajra, whereas the three last names must be referred to the Martabodha/Maitrīgupta/Maitrīpā(da) contemporary with Atiśa:

| (α) | rGyal thang pa | IsIAO Ms. |
|-------|---|---|
| (11b) | lho phyogs Bhe ta'i yul du Ka ra ha te zhes bya ba'i grong khyer du | lho phyogs Bhe ta'i tshong dus kyi nang du |
| (12) | yab rgyal rigs Krig kra ma zhes bya ba dang yum 'Gri he ste zhes pa gnyis la sras gcig byung ba dang nam mkha' la Klu sgrub ces sgra byung bar gyur to | bram ze'i rigs su 'khrungs ste yab bram ze Krig gra ya zhes bya ba dang yum Gha ti zhes bya ba gnyis kyi sras su ltam pa'i dus su nam mkha' la Na ga 'dzu na zhes bya ba'i sgra grags par gyurd do |
| (13) | khyim na gnas pa'i ming Dha mo dha ra dge slong gi ming Shā kya bshes gnyen zhes bya ba de slob dpon chen po Blo gros rin chen gyis rims kyi pa'i snod du dbang skur nas | pha mas Dha mo dha ra zhes bya bar btags rab tu byung ba'i mying ni Shag kya'i bshes gnyen byang se Rin cen blo gros kyi rjes su bzung ba'i dus kyi |
| (14) | gsang mtshan gNyi med rdo rje zhes bya bar btags shes kyang gsung ngo (η 12b3–5). | ming gNyi med rdo rje'o (LGR 5a8–b2). |

As we have seen, this tantric master Nāgārjuna occurs in the lineage of Saraha ever since the earliest of our sources, the Shamsheer Manuscript (α), in the first *guruparamparā* of the *āmnāya* of *amanasikāra*—

Saraha
|
Nāgārjuna
|
Śabara

We read in the *Deb ther sngon po* (745.5; BA 841), on the authority of the

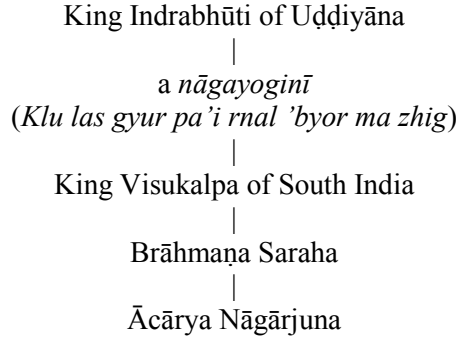
master of rGyal thang pa (ཀྲ), namely rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje, that Saraha was the promoter of *mahāmudrā* as the eminent path in the teaching of Śākyamuni. Its context is that of the completion stage (*utpannakrama* or *niṣpannakrama* : *rdzogs rim*), that is, the sets of meditative practices and experiences relevant with the three highest tantric *abhiṣekas* (*mchog dbang gsum*). In particular, while the six doctrines (*ṣaḍdharma* : *chos drug*) are associated with the *guhyābhiṣeka* (*gsang dbang*), and the great bliss (*mahāsukha* : *bde ba chen po*) with the *prajñājñānābhiṣeka* (*shes rab ye shes kyi dbang*), *mahāmudrā* is related with the *caturthābhiṣeka* (*dbang bzhi pa*).

Born in Odisha (*O ḍi bi sha*) as Brāhmaṇa Rāhula (*sGra gcan 'dzin*), says Tāranātha in the *bKa' babs bdun ldan* (362.5–365.2; *SIL* 2–3), he would have been instructed on nonduality by a lower caste arrowsmith's daughter by means of the symbol of the arrow she was making. After that, he would have roamed with her as his tantric consort, performing yogottara practices in charnel grounds, celebrating gaṇacakras, and singing spiritual songs. Since he would earn his living by doing the work of an arrowsmith, he was famed as Saraha.⁷ His nonconformist behaviour would have exposed him to censure, but he proved his innocence by expounding his experience in the form of *dohās*, firstly to the people, secondly to the queen, and thirdly to the king himself.⁸

Regarding his time, whereas Bhattacharyya's chronology (1928: xliii–xlv, cxvi–cxvii) assigns to Saraha the years around 633, and Shahidullah (1928: 31) 'vers 1000', Rahula Sankrityayan (1934: 226) places him 'au milieu du VIII^e siècle', and Dowman (1985: 71–72) agrees with the latter's conclusion, placing Saraha 'in the second half of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth'. We can see that almost all the tentative datings of Saraha depend on the time of the Pāla king mentioned by the Tibetan sources, be it the case of Ratnapāla (Shahidullah 1928), or Dharmapāla (Sankrityayan 1934, and Dowman 1985). In the source studied by Guenther the name of a King Mahāpāla occurs, but Guenther is right in assuming that such reference is not so consistent, not only for the variety of Pāla names occurring in other texts, but also for the reason that 'these names are as common in the Indian setting as are Jones and Smith in English'. Moreover, since 'king is an administrative title [...] this Mahāpāla may well have been a city magistrate' (Guenther 1968a: 7–8; 1993: 7).

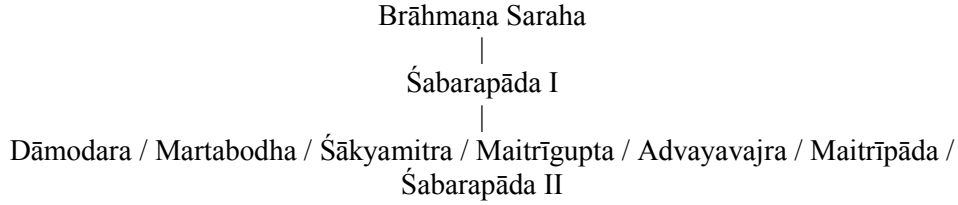
We are on a better ground in dating this master when we compare his position in lineages of traditions parallel to that of *mahāmudrā*. In fact, if the Sarahas mentioned in the lineages of Guhyasamāja and *mahāmudrā* are

the same person, we might consider the *guruparamparā* of the Guhyasamāja as reported in the *Deb ther sngon po* (318.2–5; BA 359–60)—

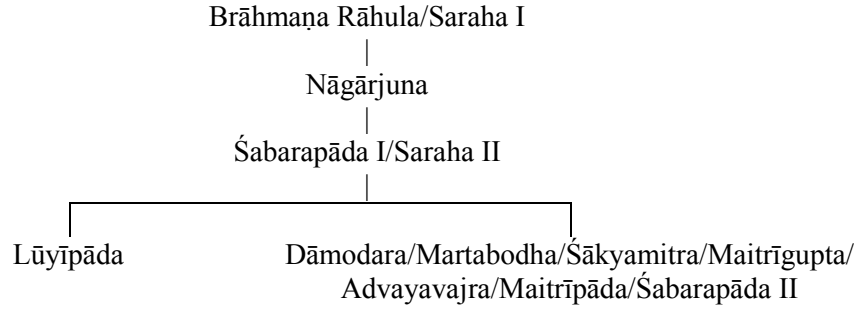


We do not know whether this Indrabhūti was the master of Padmasambhava (Tucci 1949: 232), or of Dhanarakṣita, in turn master of Padmasambhava (Dowman 1985: 233). In both cases the time of this ‘great king of Uḍḍiyāna’ (*O ḍi ya ṇa'i rgyal po chen po Indra bhū ti*) would have been not much earlier than that of Padmasambhava himself, who was a contemporary of the Tibetan ruler Khri srong lde btsan, in turn contemporary with Dharmapāla (c. 775–c. 812), and somehow involved in the affair of the bSam yas monastery around 780. If this Indrabhūti’s time was the second half of the eighth century, the time of Saraha and this Nāgārjuna could have been between the mid-eighth and the mid-ninth century.

Now, if we consider again the *guruparamparā* of *mahāmudrā*, we see that the holders of Saraha’s tradition in India were Śabarapāda (*Ri khrod zhabs*), ‘father and son’ (*de'i lugs 'dzin pa rGya gar na rje Ri khrod zhabs yab sras*; *Deb ther sngon po* 745.5–6; BA 841). Then, our author goes on (746.1; BA 842), it is the *son* Maitrīpāda the one who got the tradition of Śabarapāda the Father, or Śrī Śabareśvara (*Sha ba ri dbang phyug*), establishing his disciples on the path of *mahāmudrā*, and spreading them all over the world. As it seems, two transmissions or generations after Saraha, there would have been the time of Maitrīpāda or Śabarapāda the Son, to be identified with Dāmodara, Martabodha, Śākyamitra, Maitrīgupta, Advayavajra, and a contemporary of Atiśa, thus covering the eleventh century—



According to Tāranātha (*bKa' babs bdun ldan* 365.2; *SIL* 8), between the two, Rāhula/Saraha and Śabarapāda I (the father), or Śabareśvara, or Saraha II (the younger), the name of Nāgārjuna (*Klu sgrub*) should be inserted (*de'i* [Saraha's] *slob ma ni slob dpon Klu sgrub yin*)—



It must be pointed out that, in Tāranātha's account, the disciple of Rāhula/Saraha and teacher of Śabarapāda I / Saraha II is portrayed as both the Mādhyamika master who would have received the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* from the nāgas and a tantric master, which is hardly consistent historically speaking. Bhattacharyya (1928: xlv-xlvi) had already observed that 'Tibetan sources have hopelessly mixed up together the accounts' of the two Nāgārjunas. Again for historical reasons, it is difficult that the early mid-ninth-century tantric Nāgārjuna disciple of Saraha could be Tilopā's guru. Rather, it would be matter of another Nāgārjuna, who must have flourished in the first half of the tenth century.

It is more probable that this fourth Nāgārjuna could be identified with the Gujarati 'alchemist' mentioned by the Persian polymath Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (973–1048) who visited India around 1030 (Tucci 1930: 213; Naudou 1968: 85–86); we read in his *Kitāb ul-Hind*:

A famous representative of this art [*rasasāstra*] was Nāgārjuna, a native of the fort Daihak, near Somanāth. He excelled in it, and composed a book

which contains the substance of the whole literature on this subject, and is very rare. He lived a hundred years before our time (Sachau 1910, 1: 189).

Mar pa, describing Tilopā's quasi-missed encounter with this possibly fourth Nāgārjuna, since the latter was among the disembodied spirits called 'scent eaters' (*dri za : gandharva*)—that is, he had just died—introduces us to Nāgārjuna's disciple Mātaṅgīpā (β 13.5–7):

As he was in search of Nāgārjuna, in *that* charnel ground there was the yogin practicing ascetic observance (*brtul zhugs spyod pa : vratin*) Mātaṅgīpā, who was meditating in a shelter of straw. He spoke, 'Nāgārjuna went away to teach the doctrine to the king of gandharvas. O great being, I have been sent to welcome you'. Offering maṇḍalas to Mātaṅgīpā, he consulted him. In response, the latter manifested the actual maṇḍala of Śrīguhyasamāja (*dPal gsang ba 'dus pa*) and gave him the consecration. Due to Mātaṅgīpā's explanation (*bshad pa*) of its tantra, he perceived the being in itself of thinking activity (*sems kyi ngo bo : cittasvabhāva*).

rGyal thang pa (η 39.4–6) confirms that Mātaṅgīpā was a disciple of Nāgārjuna; then he adds that he was born in the land of Tike (*'khrungs pa'i yul Ti ke*), and describes him as a cowboy (*ba glang 'tsho*) when Nāgārjuna took him as his disciple. Subsequently, he would have become a great yogin who had attained the supreme perfection of *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub rnyes pa'i rnal 'byor pa chen po gcig byung*).

Kun dga' rin chen, in his 'Stories of the Masters of the Lineages of the Four Transmissions' (*bKa' babs bzhi'i brgyud pa'i bla ma rnam kyi rnam thar*, μ 1–41), says that Mātaṅgīpā had been provided with the instructions of Nāgārjuna (*Klu sgrub kyi gdams pa*), and all the transmitted instructions (*rjes su gdams pa mtha' dag*). He would have practiced (*sgrub pa mdzad*) in a shelter of straw (*spyil po : tṛṇakuṭī(ra)*, MVy 5545) for elephants or outcast people (*ma tam gyi*):⁹ whence his name (*...las mtshan du gsol ba yin*). In the same passage we are also informed that he would have taken Tilopā as his disciple (μ 26.5–27.2). In the 'Story of the Venerable Tilopā, Being the Flow of Four Consecrations' (*rJe btsun ti lo pa'i rnam thar dbang bzhi'i chu rgyun*), Kun dga' rin chen narrates the meeting between Mātaṅgīpā and Tilopā in terms very similar to those in Mar pa's account (μ 43.4–44.1), but he adds a location, the southern charnel ground of the 'Terrifying Laughter' (*lho phyogs 'Jigs byed bzhad pa'i dur khrod*).

dBang phyug rgyal mtshan describes only the encounter of Mātaṅgīpā

with Tilopā (v 50.4–52.3); however, albeit in a different context—after his stay in Uḍḍiyāna—both place and occasion are mentioned: the former would have been the charnel ground to the south of India called *Samabirava* ‘Terrifying Laughter’ (*Sa ma bi ra va ’Jigs byed bzhad pa*), that had been blessed by Maheśvara (*bCom ldan ’das dBang phyug chen pos byin gyis brlabs pa’i gnas*); as to the latter, it would have been during a gaṇacakra of ḍākinīs on an holy day (*dus bzang la ḍā ki ma rnams tshogs kyi ’khor lo*). Soaked with a second-hand Kāpālika taste leaning towards the macabre, dBang phyug rgyal mtshan’s narrative is worth enjoying:

A multitude of corpses there: some scattered all over, some heaped together, and some impaled on top of stakes like raised banners; a mess of all kinds of arms, legs, heads, and fingers, toes, ears, noses, and so forth, complete and incomplete. From one side, where headless zombies (*ro langs : vetāla*) were longing for flesh wavering with raised hands, seven blazing jackals raising their jaws to the maws, the limbs, and the backbones, produced weeping pain and fear. While ogres (*sha za : piśāca*) and demons (*srin po : rākṣasa*) flickered here and there talking impudent nonsense, and terrible birds frolicked fluttering back and forth, widows and intimates out of control beat their breasts, pulled out the hair, and rolled on the ground. Every spot all around was filled by the smoke and flames of revered funeral pyres (*bsreg khang*) and burnt offerings (*gsur*). Sorrow on the lower path of the three human births, non-attachment on the middle, and great bliss on the highest one: the three have been properly fixed. In the middle of that great crematory ground, in the finest hut of leaves, like a heap of gems and emeralds, the lord of yoga Mātaṅgīpā practicing ascetic observance (*brtul zhugs spyod pa : vratin*)...

Where Tilopā Met His First Gurus

While Caryāpā would have connected Tilopā with the first and the second *bka’ babs*, that is the instructions-cum-lineage of both Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya and Lavapa/Kambalapā, Mātaṅgīpā would have done the same with the third *bka’ babs* from Nāgārjuna.

The sources describing the encounter of the young Tilopā with these two gurus clearly points at the same place. In the case of Mar pa, the spot is described first for Caryāpā, then we are told that Mātaṅgīpā was practicing *in that* charnel ground (*dur khrod de na*); in the case of Kun dga’ rin chen and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan, it is on the occasion of the meeting with

Mātāṅgīpā:

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Mar pa lho phyogs kyi rgyud nas Sa la bhe^{cha} ra zhes bya ba dBang phyug chen pos byin gyis rlabs pa'i dur khrod yod de der phyi nang gi mkha' 'gro ma nams kyi tshogs kyi 'khor lo bskor ba'i tshe (β 13.4).</p> | <p>Kun dga' rin chen lho phyogs 'Jigs byed bzhad pa'i dur khrod du slob dpon spyod pa'i rdo rje Ma tam gi'i spyil po na bzhugs pa dang mjal (μ 43.4).</p> | <p>dBang phyug rgyal mtshan rGya gar lho phyogs kyi rgyud bCom ldan 'das dBang phyug chen pos byin gyis rlabs pa'i gnas 'dod pa'i yon tan mtha' dag phun sum tshogs pa Sa ma bi ra wa 'Jigs byed bzhad pa zhes bya ba'i dur khrod chen por dus bzang la dā ki ma nams kyi tshogs kyi 'khor lo yang dag par bskor zhing ... (v 50.4–51.1).</p> |
|--|---|---|

The earliest and most concrete piece of information to start with is that he went to the south (β, μ, v), most likely the south of India (v). Being allegedly blessed by Maheśvara (β, v), i.e. Śiva, we can assume that the charnel ground was associated with Śaiva ascetics, but probably with Buddhist siddhas too, as we can infer from the fact that the dākinīs, namely the yoginīs participating in the gaṇacakra, were of both Śaiva and Bauddha traditions (β, v).

Remarkably, in the above examined compilation from Virūpā, the *Uddiyānaśrīyogayoginīsvayambhūtasambhogaśmaśānakalpa* (UYSSŠK), a specific siddha-cum-lineage is attributed to each of the eight charnel grounds as they are conceived in the maṇḍalas of the Yoginītantras (Davidson 2002b: 104–105). In spite of any appeal to scientific prudence, it sounds at least fascinating to be ‘informed’ by Virūpā that

...the southwestern (*lho nub*) charnel ground, called Terrible Laughter (*Ha ha sgrogs*), [related to the northeastern (!) quarter by the form of Śiva named] Īśāna (*dBang ldan*), a place with a perimeter of six yojanas, and four yojanas wide, appearing like ten million white lotuses, was blessed (*byin gyis rlabs* : *adhiṣṭhita*) by Śrī Parama Kṛṣṇapāda (*dPal mchog Nag po zhabs*). [...] As for the yogins (*rnal 'byor pa*), there are the yogin Suvarṇavarṇa (*gSer mdog*), the son of a powerful brāhmaṇa, [and so forth]; as for the yoginīs (*rnal 'byor ma*), there are *Vaktrakrodhā (*bZhin khro ma*), and so forth. They follow the two *Tantrahṛdayas* (*rgyud snying po gnyis*), with the tantra of Hayagrīva (*rTa mchog gi rgyud*), and

commemorate (*rjes su dran par byed*) Śrī Kṛṣṇapāda (UYSSŠK D SHA 112b6–113a2).

Back down to earth, we observe that the name of the charnel ground where Tilopā met his first gurus occurs twice in Mar pa as *Salabheraha* (β 13.3) and *Salabhera* (β 13.4), with a *ha* added in *dbu can* script below the line, and a mark above the line after *bhe*, to emend the word to *Salabhehara*. On the basis of this Tibetan editorial amendment in the manuscript, I had interpreted *bheraha/bhe_{cha}ra* as erratic renderings for Skt *vihāra*, and *sala* for Skt *śāla/sāla* ‘enclosure, fence, tree’ (1995: 62 n. 5, 66 n. 15). But the above occurrences in Kun dga’ rin chen (μ) and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v), has years later induced me to be more suspicious of that Tibetan emendation, and to reconsider my ensuing conjectural interpretation.

In point of fact, also dBang phyug rgyal mtshan refers to a gaṇacakra of dākinīs which was celebrated in a charnel ground ‘blessed by Maheśvara’ in the south of India. As we have seen, the second description sounds *di maniera*, but dBang phyug rgyal mtshan affixes to the obscure Indic toponym *Samabirava* the Tibetan ‘*Jigs byed bzhad pa*, ‘terrifying’ (*jigs byed*) ‘laughter’ (*bzhad pa*), which confirms Kun dga’ rin chen’s location. Looking for an Indic equivalence, *bhairava* (MVy 7177 s.v. *jigs*), or *bhīma* (MVy 3584 s.v. *jigs byed*), but also *virava* ‘roaring’, could be for *jigs byed*, i.e. Śiva, whereas *hāsa* (MVy 4286 s.v. *bzhad ldan ma*), or *hāsyā* (MVy 5040 s.v. *bzhad gad*) could be for *bzhad pa*. Now, if we take into account two other Tibetan expressions for laughter, *ha ha rgod pa* (AŠĀ) and *ha ha sgrogs* (UYSSŠK) are also attested as the name of one of the eight charnel grounds in the maṇḍalas, we might conclude that dBang phyug rgyal mtshan identifies the charnel ground that he calls *Samabirawa* with Aṭṭahāsa.

| | | | |
|--------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| AŠĀ | | | <i>Ha ha rgod pa</i> |
| UYSSŠK | | | <i>Ha ha sgrogs</i> |
| β | <i>Sa la</i> | <i>bhe ra ha</i> | |
| β | <i>Sa la</i> | <i>bhe_{ha}ra</i> | |
| μ | | | <i>‘Jigs byed bzhad pa</i> |
| v | <i>Sa ma</i> | <i>bi ra wa</i> | <i>‘Jigs byed bzhad pa</i> |
| | | <i>bhairava</i> | Aṭṭahāsa |

Following this footpath, we have found at least some basis to conjecture that the second part of the toponym *Sala-bheraha* might be more

compatible with *bhairava* than with *vihāra*. As for the first element, both *sala* and *sama* could be acceptable, because of the not rare confusion between the Tibetan *dbu med* syllables *la* and *ma*—

la ལ

ma མ

We have seen that the majority of the above maṇḍala-based texts on the charnel grounds position Aṭṭahāsa in northeastern India. In actual fact, a place with this name would have been convincingly identified as the current village of Attahas in Labhpur (Labpur), in the Birbhum District of the Bardhaman (Burdwan) Division of West Bengal (Sircar 1973: 57 n., 82). On the other hand, as per Virūpā, Mar pa, Kun dga' rin chen, and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan, Aṭṭahāsa is to be found in the southwest (UYYSŠŠK) or in the south (β, μ, ν). Also Tāranātha in his 'Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha' locates Aṭṭahāsa in the south: more exactly, in Trilinga, the southern Telugu country which takes its name from the three *śivaliṅgas* it contains, viz. (1) at Kalesvara (*kalakalesvaratīrtha*), the present-day Kaleshwaram in the state of Telangana, (2) at Śrīśaila (Srisailam) in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh, and (3) at Drākśarāma (Draksharama) in the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh (R.C. Majumdar ed. 1966: 373; TLKK 122). We are told by Tāranātha that the king of the land of Trilinga (*yul Tri ling ga'i rgyal po*) once made an offering to Kṛṣṇācārya and his attendants:

| | |
|--|--|
| ... phyogs de dang nye ba'i dur khrod | ... they went to Terrible Laughter (<i>Ha</i> |
| Aṭṭa{tṭa} ha sa ste Ha ha sgrog par | <i>ha sgrog pa</i>), which is the nearby |
| byon der tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i spyod | charnel ground of Aṭṭahāsa: a |
| pa yun ring du mdzad (<i>Kahna pa'i</i> | gaṇacakra was celebrated there for a |
| <i>rnam thar</i> 288.3–4) | long time (cf. TLKK 28). |

It must be said that Śrīśaila is a site particularly *blessed* by Maheśvara, in the words of Mar pa and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan: 'arguably the greatest holy site (*pīṭha*) for every type of siddha, both Buddhist and Hindu, in all of southern India' (Linrothe 2006: 125). Lying on a flat 450 metre-high top of the Nallamalai, or Nallamala Range, this 'sacred' (*śrī*) 'mountain' (*śaila*) is on the right side of the Kṛṣṇa River, that enters the Nallamala Hills at current Somasila in the Mahbubnagar District, and flows through a deep

gorge along the hill range till it reaches Nagarjunasagar in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh. The place has been variously called as Śrīśaila, Śrīparvata, Śrīgiri, or Śrīnāga (Parabrahma Sastry 1990: 4), but the occurrence of inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa—about ninety-six km distant as the crow flies—pointing at it as Śrīparvata (*Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge*... ‘On Śrīparvata, to the east of Vijayapurī...’ Inscription F l. 2; Vogel 1929–30: 22–23), suggests that the sacred mountain is not a mountain, but rather a *range*, to be identified with the whole Nallamalas.

As a matter of fact, the toponym Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, that is to say the ‘hill’ (Tel. *koṇḍa*) of Nāgārjuna, is a medieval one, as in the third to fourth-century inscriptions the town-cum-valley was called Vijayapurī: possibly from Vijaya Sātakarṇi, the Sātavāhana founder of the town which was discovered in 1926. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, before being transformed in the Sixties of the last century into a colossal water reservoir (Nagarjunasagar), was a valley of about twenty-three km², closed on one side by the Kṛṣṇa River, and by the last hilly offshoots of the Nallamalas, or ‘black’ (Tel. *nalla* : Skt *kṛṣṇa*) ‘hills’ (Tel. *mala* : Skt *parvata*), on the other three sides.

In the Prākṛit inscriptions of the Ikṣvāku kings, the town of Vijayapurī is always mentioned together with Śrīparvata (*Siriparvate Vijayapure*), which emerges without a doubt the ancient name of the range. In this sense, skipping any discussion of its location as reported in detail by Arion Roṣu (1969: 39–49), to decide whether Śrīparvata *is* Śrīśaila (Sircar 1973; Dowman 1985; Linrothe 2006) or Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Dutt 1931) could be questionable, because the reverse is not true, as for instance when affirming that the U.S.A. *are* America: in actual fact it would be more accurate to say that the two places, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Śrīśaila, are *on* Śrīparvata.

In the Shamsheer Manuscript we read (α 1.4 v. 22) that the siddha-to-be Śābara or Śābareśvara had taken the two mountains Manobhaṅga and Cittaviśrāma as his abode for practice (*Manobhaṅga-Cittaviśrāmaucaryāsthānaṃ vivecitam*), living there as a Śābara, i.e. like the tribal people of the forest (*ākṛtiṃ Śābarasyāsau dadhan nivasati sma saḥ*). Noticeably the IsIAO text reminds us of the Shamsheer Manuscript, in that both open with the Buddha going to the south, and instituting the maṇḍala of Dharmadhātu, albeit slightly different as to the orientation. More to the point, just as in the Shamsheer Manuscript (α 6.3), Maitrī(gupta / Maitrīpāda / Maitrīpā) / Advayavajra is sent in a dream to the two southern mountains, where the lord of Śābaras or Śābareśvara had his abode (Tatz 1987: 701–707), thus is it repeated a couple of centuries later in this Tibetan text, but with a noteworthy detail here, that the two, Cittaviśrāma (*Sems ngal gso*

bar byed pa) and Manobhaṅga (*Yid pham pa*), are clearly located *on* the Śrīparvata (*dPal gyi ri*), that is to say on the current Nallamala Range:

Shamsher Ms.

... punar api svapne gaditaṃ gaccha
tvam kulaputra dakṣiṇāpathe
Manobhaṅga-Cittaviśrāmau parvatau
tatra Śabareśvaras tiṣṭhati... (Tucci
1930: 222; Lévi 1930–32: 424;
Pandey 1990: 11).

IsIAO Ms.

kye paṅ bi ṭa Me tri ba khyod 'di nas lho
phyogs dPal gyi ri zhes bya ba la | Sem
ngal so bar byed pa dang | yid pham bar
gyurd pa zhes bya ba'i ri yod kyis der
song gcig dang | de na dPal sha ba ri pa ri
khrod dbang phyug zhabs zhes bya ba
bzhugs pa ... (*LGR* 8a5–6).

The two hills are linked in the IsIAO Manuscript with two bodhisattvas, their two emanations, and with two different lineages respectively. We read in fact (*LGR* 2b1–9) that the Buddha appointed the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara as holders of two lineages: the former would have held spiritual sway over the lineage of the gradual (*rim gyis pa*) path to liberation, and the latter over the lineage of the instantaneous one (*cig car ba*). Then, whereas Mañjuśrī would have appeared on the Cittaviśrāma as Ratnamati (*Blo gros rin chen*), Avalokiteśvara would have arrived on the scene of the Manobhaṅga Hill as Mahāsukhanātha Śrī Hayagrīva (*Bde chen mgon po dPal rTa mgrin*). Besides, whereas the bodhisattva of Cittaviśrāma would have transmitted his gradualist teaching to the ācārya Nāgārjuna, his fellow of Manobhaṅga would have instructed the great brāhmaṇa Saraha in the instantaneous path.

In the light of the foregoing, it is not at all unreasonable to relate Cittaviśrāma with current Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, clearly referable to the activity of the second-century Nāgārjuna, the Mahāyāna friend of a Sātavāhana king (Dutt 1931). Likewise, we could identify the Manobhaṅga Hill with Śrīśaila: as if the Vajrayāna discourse (Śrīśaila) were distant a few days on foot from the Mahāyāna one (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). That being so, it may be worth mentioning that the earliest epigraph we know from Śrīśaila is an early-seventh-century small label inscription on the rocky floor towards the Śāraṅgadhara Maṭha, where a person of eminent yogic powers, a *Paramātmā Sarasa* (*Sa ra sa pa ra ma tma*) is mentioned, whose prefixing word *sarasa* could suggest his commitment with alchemy, in Sanskrit *rasāyana* or *rasaśāstra* (Parabrahma Sastry 1990: 30–31, 51).

Already a famous centre of tantric worship since at least the first half of the seventh century, Śrīśaila is a crucial Śaiva seat to this day. Not only it

has been celebrated as one of the eight secret places sacred to Śiva, but also the divine phallus (*śiva-līṅga*) there enshrined, the *Mallikāṛjuna-līṅgam*, is believed to be a self-emanated one (*svayaṃbhū-līṅga*), and one of the twelve radiance signs (*jyotir-līṅga*) of the god. In the same way, Śrīśaila is one of the eighteen Śakta sacred sites (*pīṭha*), seeing that the form of Mahākālī consort (*śakti*) of Mallikāṛjuna, Bhramarāmbā as we read in the *Aṣṭādaśaśaktipīṭhastotra* (2a), is claimed as one of the eighteen Śaktis.

We know that Śrīśaila was a crucial Kāpālīka base since at least the eighth century. Later, towards the end of the tenth century, the supremacy passed to the Kālāmukhas, an offshoot of the Pāśupatas, and then to the Vīraśaivas by about the fourteenth century (Lorenzen 1972: 51–52). A visual evidence of those ash-smeared ascetics' at Śrīśaila can be found on the surrounding walls (*prākāra*) enclosing the two temples of Mallikāṛjuna and Bhramarāmbā, built in the fifteenth century on an earlier foundation (Shaw 1997; Linrothe 2006). This added *prākāra* has been decorated in the early sixteenth century with crowds of siddhas' images:

Solitary or in groups, within extended narratives or in lineage *paramparās* [...], it is not an exaggeration to suggest that siddhas dominate the *prākāra* wall [...]. The sheer variety of siddha images on the *prākāra* wall tempts one to believe the artists knew them firsthand (Linrothe 2006: 127).

This firsthand familiarity, due to the time of the images, would explain why a great part of the carved siddhas' sectarian affiliation recognized so far are Pāśupatas with gourd-shaped bags, possibly for ashes, and the *līṅga*-bearers Vīraśaivas, who were dominant in the fourteenth century. But another prominent presence among the identified siddha images is that of the split-eared (*kānpaṭhā*) Nāth (*nātha*) siddhas, whose traditional lineage includes Jālandhara (Linrothe 2006: 128 ff.), that is to say Haḍipā/Jālandharapā, the guru of the Kāpālīka Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya. As to the Kāpālīkas, Richard Shaw (1997: 163) reports of a personal communication of Dr Venkataramayya (13 July 1995):

In an excavation at Srisailam in 1989 to 1990 Telugu University discovered an underground passage below a *math* at Vibudhimatha Sikharesvaram, which led to a small chamber as big as a table, five feet by four feet, with a low ceiling. This was thought to have been used for Kapālīka ritual purposes. It is now destroyed.

The pilgrimages to great sacred places (*tīrthayātrā*) like Śrīśaila had, and still have, a regular calendar based on the traditionally celebrated propitious periods. Above all, the thirteenth night of the Phālguna month (February–March) of every year was celebrated as the great Night of Śiva (*mahā-Śivarātri*): the holiest occasion for an exceedingly congested religious festival (Roṣu 1969: 32), but also for authentic, semi-authentic, and false ascetics to convene there from all directions of the Indian oecumene, and exchange their first-hand inner experience, yoga techniques, as well as practical tips. At night, all fires at the border of the forest, every dark corner in the permanent or temporary resorts (*śālā*) girdling the sacred area, could be the shelter of dubious pilgrims, beggars, sleeping devout families, barking dogs, as well as of long-haired yogins and yoginīs in more isolated spots, improvising their songs about the practice on unanimously known melodies.

As it seems, we are here coming across a possible exception to the above denounced impenetrability of the toponymy of the maṇḍala-oriented charnel grounds. It may well be here the case of the southeastern śmaśāna, variously known in the relevant literature as Lakṣmīvāna (*bKra shis mchog*, *SUT*, *VS*), Lakṣmīvāt (*La kṣm̐i can*, *AŚ₂*), Śrīvāna (*dPal gyi nags*, *AŚĀ*), and Śrīnāyaka (*dPal 'dren*, *UYYSŚK*). As a matter of fact, the first element *śrī/lakṣmī* of the toponym, as well as the above three occurrences of *vāna* ‘forest’, could lead one to find a workable correspondence on the current maps with Śrīśaila, as this remote place is still covered with dense forests where tigers, crocodiles, and other wild animals live, and the few humans inhabiting there belong to the hunter-gatherer aboriginal tribes.

Sukhasiddhi

The name occurs as Sukhasiddhi (*Su kha siddhi*) in the *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa*: as such, provided that the verse in the *bsTan 'gyur* be not a later interpolation, Tilopā himself would have referred to the female guru of his fourth *bka' babs* by this very name. Subsequently, in the hagiographic sources, the individuality of that woman is shrouded in a sort of nominal mist, through which we can hardly distinguish the tradition (*āmnāya*) she was a representative of. We find in fact *Subhaginī or *Subhagā (*sKal ba bzang mo*, β, θ, ι, κ, μ; cf. *BA* 844), *Samantabhadrī Yoginī (*Kun tu bzang mo'i rnal 'byor ma*, λ, ξ), Sumatī *Samantabhadrī (*Su ma ti Kun tu bzang mo*, η, λ, ν, ξ), Sumatī (*Su ma ti Blo gros bzang mo*, μ; *Su ma ti*, ν), Śrīmatī

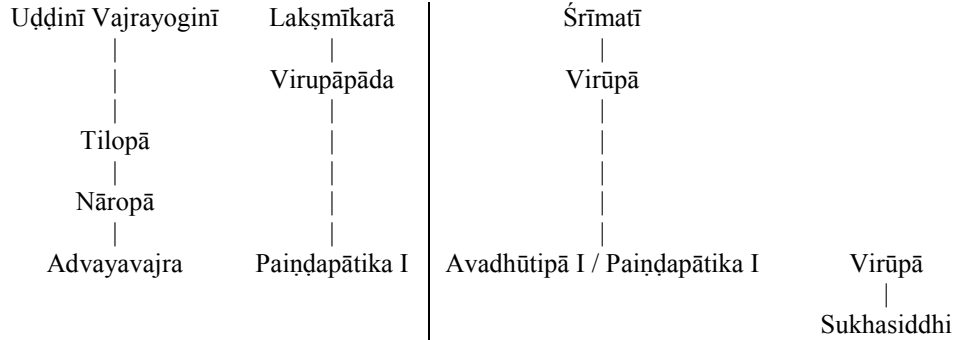
(*dPal gyi blo gros ma*, སྒྲོ་མ་), as well as Sister Lakṣmīṅkarā (*lCam Legs <s>min kā ra*, མཚོ་མ་); sometimes she is generically referred to by the epithet ‘*ḍākinī*’ (β 15.5, θ 69.2, ι 17.6, μ 12.1).¹⁰

With regard to the tradition, we read in the *Deb ther sngon po* (343.7–344.1; BA 390) that the so-called Six Texts of Vārāhī (*Phag mo gzhung drug*), based in particular on the *Samvarārṇavatantra* (*sDom pa rgya mtsho'i rgyud*), with their blessings (*byin rlabs*), textual commentaries (*gzhung gi bshad pa*), and meditative procedures (*nyams len gyi rim pa*) arrived to most of the yogins of Tibet. Whereas the *Samvarārṇavatantra* can be identified with the above mentioned *Ḍākārṇava-mahāyoginī-tantrarāja* (Ö. 19, Tō. 372), or the *Samvarodaya* (Ö. 20, Tō. 373), the *Phag mo gzhung drug* includes six sādhanas texts (Ö. 2259–64, Tō. 1551–56). One of them, the *Chinnamuṇḍavajravārāhī-sādhana* (*rDo rje phag mo dbu bcad ma'i sgrub thabs*, Ö. 2262, Tō. 1554), is authored by Devī Śrīmatī (*lha mo dPal gyi blo gros ma*).¹¹

In the same point, 'Gos Lo tsā ba indirectly does credit to the *guruparamparā* of the *Samvarārṇava* as attested in the Shamshe Manuscript, informing us that the sister of Indrabhūti (*In dra bud dhi'i lcam*), Devī Śrīmatī (*lHa mo dPal mo*), bestowed the method (*lugs*) based on the *Samvarārṇavatantra* to the Venerable Virūpā (*rje btsun Bi ru pa*), and the latter in turn bestowed it to the one famed as the Great Avadhūtipā (*A ba dhu tī pa chen po*), or Great Painḍapātika (*bSod snyoms pa chen po*), that is Dāmodara/Maitrīgupta/Advayavajra I (Tucci 1930: 214, 222 n. 3).

Besides, according to the same source (*Deb ther sngon po* 640.5; BA 731; cf. THBI 214n), also the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud pa master Khyung po rnal 'byor, in his somewhat implausibly long life (978/990–1127, corrected by Kapstein 2005 to c. 1050–1127), would have met a *ḍākinī* Sukhasiddhi disciple of a Virūpā (*Bi rū pa'i slob ma mkha' 'gro ma Su kha sid dhi mjal*): clearly a Virūpā and a Sukhasiddhi active in the eleventh century (Dowman 1985: 52)—

| Shamshe Ms. | | <i>Deb ther sngon po</i> | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>amanasikāra</i> lineage | <i>Samvarārṇava</i> lineage | <i>Phag mo gzhung drug</i> lineage | Khyung po rnal 'byor's account |
| | (Lūyīpāda) | | |
| | | | |
| | Kukurīpāda | | |
| | | | |
| Indrabhūtipā | Indrabhūtipāda | | |
| | | | |



As observed above, this plethora of synonyms and quasi-synonyms allows us to distinguish the forest but not the single tree; so we cannot identify the woman who was the guru who connected Tilopā to the fourth *bka' babs*, nor resolve if he was instructed by the same Sukhasiddhi disciple of a later Virūpā.

In point of fact, the few data dig up from the above discussed material could be recapitulated into the following eight points: (1) there was only one King Indrabhūti brother of Lakṣmīnkarā and one Lakṣmīnkarā sister of King Indrabhūti, possibly much younger; (2) this Indrabhūti was labelled by Tāranātha as Indrabhūti II; (3) Indrabhūti II was contemporary with Kambalapā, if not the same person; (4) Kambalapā and/or Indrabhūti II instructed Haḍipā/Jālandharapā; (5) Haḍipā/Jālandharapā was the guru of Kāṇha; (6) Kāṇha was a contemporay of Dharmapāla (*c.* 775–*c.* 812); (7) Kambalapā, Indrabhūti II, Haḍipā/Jālandharapā, and Lakṣmīnkarā were contemporaries; (8) Lakṣmīnkarā would have instructed a Virūpā. Now, if Kāṇha's time was possibly between the mid-eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century, we can deduce that, while the time of Kambalapā, Indrabhūti II, Haḍipā/Jālandharapā, and Lakṣmīnkarā would have been between the second quarter and the end of the eighth century, the time of this Virūpā must have been between the mid-eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century.

Even though the historical person is unidentified, the *woman* who approached Tilopā in the monastery where he was studying has even another name in addition to Sukhasiddhi, and so forth, *Sukhapradā (*bDe ster ma*), who is qualified as a ḍākiṇī in the prediction to Tilopā, and as his sister when he was among the ḍākinīs in Uḍḍiyāna. She is sketched by Mar pa's pen in an acceptably realistic way, and the narrative is supported by some historical evidence (β 13.7–14.3):

Thereafter, in a temple (*lha khang*), while he was reading from a copy of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*brGyad stong pa*) of his maternal uncle, a woman came and asked him, ‘Do you understand its meaning?’ ‘I do not’, he answered. She said, ‘Well, I will explain it!’ and explained him the meaning of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Then, she gave him the consecration of Hevajra and Cakrasaṃvara, and explained their tantras. ‘This is the thought (*dgongs pa : abhiprāya*) of Lūyīpāda. Meditate like this!’ she ordered. ‘But my uncle does not let me meditate this way’, he replied. She said, ‘Fasten the volumes of the *Śatasāhasrikā* (*brGya stong pa*) with a rope, throw them from the door of the monastery into the water, act like a madman: meditate in this way! My blessings will prevent the volumes of the *Śatasāhasrikā* (*brGya stong pa*) from being damaged’. He did as he was told, and the volumes of the *Śatasāhasrikā* remained undamaged, but he was scolded as a madman (*smyo*) and was beaten. Then, he familiarized himself with the two meditative stages (*rim pa gnyis : dvikrama*), core of all paths that shed light on the nondual thinking activity (*thugs gnyis su med pa : advayacitta*) of those who have well gone (*bde bar gshegs pa : sugata*).

Where Tilopā Met the Ḍākinī

In the above passage both *brGyad stong pa* and *brGya stong pa* occur: the former being a short form for *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, Ō. 734, Tō. 12), and the latter for *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa* (*Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, Ō. 730, Tō. 8). Possibly, the first *brgyad* occurrence is a mistake for the subsequent three *brgya*-s, but we might also imagine Tilopā as actually reading the *Prajñāpāramitā* in ‘Eight Thousand Lines’ (*brGyad stong pa*) when the woman approached him; subsequently, the latter would have pointed at the *Prajñāpāramitā* in ‘Hundred Thousand Lines’ (*brGya stong pa*), indirectly retorting at the more conservative will of Tilopā’s uncle.

In point of fact, if we consider that the Tibetan translation (*bKa’ ’gyur*) of the *Śatasāhasrikā* consists of fourteen big volumes in the xylographic Peking Qianlong edition, and twelve in the sDe dge edition, we can fathom the bulk and the weight of the original Sanskrit manuscripts with their wooden covers. As it is still current in Newar and Tibetan Buddhist traditions, sizeable works like the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* were

generally kept either in a dedicated library or in a shrine of the monastery. Like a sketch by Hokusai or a cartoon of the *Punch*, we cannot but see the skit of a young man tugging his load with a rope through the yard, hardly trailing under the eyes of astonished monks out of the doors of the monastery, and then pushing it into the omnipresent water: no doubt a radical action, but an incisive *coup de théâtre* as well.

We know from Tāranātha that Dharmapāla had established about fifty endowments for the support of religious institutions (*chos gzhi*), of which thirty-five were for the study of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 203.3–4; *THBI* 274). Seemingly, the monastery where we find Tilopā after his Kāpālika tour to the south, must have been one of the thirty-five that still enjoyed Dharmapāla's endowment, and his maternal uncle (*zhang po : mātula*)—an abbot (*mkhan po : upādhyāya*) in all the sources—would have been the head of one of them. Not supported by other evidence, rDo rje mdzes 'od points at Tilopā's uncle as the elder monk (*gnas brtan : sthavira*), the Prince (*gzhon nu : kumāra*) Candraprabha, or Candraprabha-kumāra (*zhang po gnas brtan Zla 'od gzhon nu*, 0 82.5–6).

As regards the monastery Tilopā's uncle was the abbot of, we have some pieces of information in the second section of the *rnam thars* in the Marpan tradition, concerning Tilopā's fame as Cakrasaṃvara's emanation. To begin with, as we know from Mar pa, the place would be in Bengal (*rGya gar shar phyogs*), but we can see how disorientating the sources are on its exact position, even if they provide the reader with the names of the nearby river (*chu bo*), the connected charnel ground (*dur khrod*), and the locality (*gnas gzhi* ཀ, ཁ, ལ, བ, ཅ, or *gnas འ*) that gives the name to the 'seclusion' (*dgon pa*):¹²

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| β 26.3–4 | rGya gar shar phyogs Na du ka ta'i 'gram chu bo Kha su'i rtsa dur khrod rMa sha'i tshal dgon pa Mya ngan med pa bya yod... |
| η 52.3–4 | dur khrod rMa sha'i tshal na gnas gzhi Mya ngan med pa'i dgon pa zhes pa na... |
| θ 82.1–2 | chu bo Sa la na di dang Du la kṣe tra'i dur khrod 'Bar ba 'dzin rtsa ba'i gtsug lag khang na Mya ngan med pa'i tshal du... |
| ι 36.5–6 | Du la ke du'i 'gram dur khrod sMag sha'i rtsar gnas Mya ngan med pa'i tshal na... |
| κ 43.1 | Du lang khye tra'i gram dur khrod sMan sha'i rtsa na gnas gzhi Mya ngan med pa'i tshal zhes bya ba na... |
| λ A 39.4 B 114.5–6 | Du la khye tra'i 'gram dur khrod rMa sha'i rtsa gnas gzhi |

- Mya ngan med pa'i 'gram na...
- v 112.4–5 chu bo Du la khye ta'i 'gram dur khrod rMa sha'i rtsa na
gnas gzhi Mya ngan med pa'i tshal na...
- ξ 61.5–6 chu bo du la khye tra'i 'gram | dur khrod rma sha'i rtsa |
gnas gzhi mya ngan med pa'i tshal na...

Mentioning two rivers, *Nadukata* and *Khasu*, Mar pa appears the most meticulous informant. As per mere assonance, the former river he alludes to might be identified with the current Dakatia River in the Noakhali District of Bangladesh; in addition, being the *Nadukata* either 'near to', or a 'channel of' the *Khasu* River (*chu bo Kha su'i rtsa*), in both cases, the latter river might possibly be the Meghnā. Another hopeless conjecture starting from a possible assonance with *Khasu* might identify it with the current river Kosī (Kauśikī), in northern Bengal. To crown it all, rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ) introduces the river *Salanadi*, that cannot but remind the Salandi (Salanadi) River of Odisha, a tributary of the Baitrani (Baitarani). The same author introduces also *Dulaksetra*, albeit ambiguously, as it is not quite clear if it is matter of a river or a charnel ground, but the later sources have unanimously *Dulaksetra* as a river.

Also the name of the charnel ground gives us no help. We can only observe that it is mentioned by Mar pa and rGyal thang pa as *Maṣavana or *Maṣodyāna (*rMa sha'i tshal*, β, η), the Grove or Garden of Red Beans (*ma sha* : *māṣa*; cf. *māṣaka*, MVy 9265). Then, with the exception of rDo rje mdzes 'od, the name occurs as *rMa sha'i rtsa*, with minor variants in *rma* (*smag* ι, *sman* κ), and the word *tshal* regularly metamorphoses into *rtsa* (ι, κ, λ, ν, ξ). Fortunately, regarding the location of the seclusion (*dgon pa*), we are on a less slippery ground. In all sources the name is Aśoka (*Mya ngan med pa*). Probably it was in a grove of aśoka trees (*mya ngan med pa'i tshal na*).¹³ It is worth noticing that among the many names of this important tree, we find also *piṇḍa* (MW s.v. *piṇḍī-puṣpa*), that cannot but suggest a different reading of the celebrated Piṇḍa Vihāra (*Piṇ ḍa bi ha ra*) connected with Tilopā in *Jagāṇ/Chittagong (*rGya gar chos 'byung* 190.2; *THBI* 254–55).

Seemingly there is not a sign of this important monastery in the area of current Chittagong. Qanungo (1988: 105) quotes what a 'renowned Buddhist scholar and a native of Chittagong', Rai S.C. Das Bahadur, wrote after a thorough but unsuccessful search for the location of the ruins of the monastery:

I tried to trace the site of Paṇḍit Vihāra in that town [Chittagong] but without success [...] In the modern town of Chittagong [...] there is an old mosque situated on an eminence. I always suspected that this old mosque [? Jame Mosque] must have been built by the early Mahamedan conquerors on the site and ruins of the Paṇḍit Vihāra of old, because it was the invariable practice of the Moslem conquerors to at once convert a vihāra into a mosque to mark their triumph over the Buddhists [...] In the year 1904 on the hill adjoining the older mosque, a stone Buddha was unearthed by the P.W. Department while levelling a piece of ground for building an outhouse [...] It seems to me that this image [now preserved at the Buddhist temple in the city] must have once belonged to the Paṇḍit Vihāra.

The Received Doctrines

In a verse that occurs with minor variants in much of the relevant hagiographic literature, when Tilopā was asked who his guru was, he would have referred to the siddhas Nāgārjuna, Caryāpā, Kambalapā, and the ḍakinī *Subhaginī (*sKal ba bzang mo*) as his ‘human’ gurus (β 15.5):¹⁴

| | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| nga la mi yi bla ma yod | As to the human gurus I have, |
| Klu sgrub Tsa rya La ba pa | Nāgārjuna, Caryāpā, Kambalapā, |
| sKal ba bzang mo bdag gi ni | *Subhaginī are my |
| bka’ babs bzhi yi bla ma yin | Gurus of the four transmissions. |

Mar pa (*loc. cit.*) attributes paternity only to four of the six instructions dealt with in the *Śaḍdharmopadeśa*—

| Mar pa (β) | | |
|------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| GURU | TANTRA | YOGA |
| Caryāpā | | <i>svapna</i> |
| Kambalapā | | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| Nāgārjuna | Guhyasamāja | <i>māyākāya</i> |
| *Subhaginī | Hevajra and Cakrasaṃvara | <i>caṇḍālī</i> |

rGyal thang pa (η 17.4–5) gives a different version in the ninth verse of the hymn in praise of Tilopā, and mentions Deṅgipā (*lDing gi pa*), Karṇaripā (*Kar rna pa*), Mātaṅgipā (*Ma tang gi*), and Kambalapā (*La ba pa*) as the gurus of the four transmissions (*bka’ bzhi bla ma*). The chapter containing an explanation of this verse has the following lineages (η 32.7–40.4)—

| rGyal thang pa (η) | | | |
|--------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Vajrapāṇi | Sumatī | | |
| | Samantabhadrī | | |
| Saraha | Yoginī | | |
| | | | |
| Lūyīpāda | Thang lo pa | | |
| (Lo i pa) | (Thang lo) | | |
| | | | |
| Dārikāpā | *Pārṇa | Ratnamati | Vajrapāṇi |
| (Dha ri ka pa) | (Shing lo) | Nāgārjuna | Ḍombīheruka |
| | | (Klu sgrub) | (Ḍom bi he ru ka) |
| Deṅgipā | Karṇaripā | Mātaṅgīpā | Kambalapā |

The instructions relevant to each lineage are connected with the generation stage (*bskyed rim* : *utpattikrama*), and the completion stage (*rdzogs rim* : *utpannakrama* or *niṣpannakrama*) of the practice—

| rGyal thang pa (η) | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| GURU | TANTRA (<i>utpattikrama</i>) | YOGA (<i>utpannakrama</i>) |
| Deṅgipā | Catuḥpiṭha | <i>saṃkrānti</i> and <i>parakāyapraveśa</i> |
| Karṇaripā | Mahāmāya | <i>svapna</i> and <i>māyākāya</i> |
| Mātaṅgīpā | Cakrasaṃvara | <i>mahāmudrā</i> and <i>yuganaddha</i> |
| Kambalapā | Hevajra | <i>prabhāsvara</i> and <i>caṇḍālī</i> |

rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ 66.1–69.5) indicates six lines of transmission, two non-human or buddhas' (*sangs rgyas kyi rgyud pa*), and four human or siddhas' (*grub thob kyi rgyud pa*). The first two are aural transmissions beyond words (*snyan rgyud yi ge med pa*) received directly from the ḍākinī Vajrayoginī in Uḍḍiyāna, and the various tantric cycles received from the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the charnel ground of *Ki ri me dpung 'bar ba* in the eastern India. For the human gurus of Tilopā, the author indicates four different lineages with relevant teachings. Inexplicably, Tilopā would have met Nāgārjuna in Varendra 'to the south' (*lho phyogs Bha len tar*), Lalitavajra (*Rol pa'i rdo rje*) of the lineage of Kambalapā (*La ba ba chen po nas brgyud pa*), Caryāpā/Vijayapāda (*rNam par rgyal ba*) of the lineage of Lūyīpāda (*Lu hi pa nas brgyud pa*), Śābareśvara (*Ri khrod dbang phyug*) of the lineage of Saraha (*Sa ra ha nas brgyud pa*), and the ḍākinī *Subhaginī (*sKal ba bzang mo*). These would be the four siddhas'

transmissions, but rDo rje mzes 'od does not identify Vijayapāda as Caryāpā, because he notes that ‘according to some, there should be also a transmission from Ācārya Caryāpā’ (*yang la la dag gis slob dpon Tsa rya pa las [...] bka' babs ces kyang bzhed do*)—

| rDo rje mzes 'od (θ) | | |
|----------------------|--------------|---|
| GURU | TANTRA | YOGA |
| Nāgārjuna | Guhyasamāja | <i>māyākāya</i> and <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| Lalitavajra | Hevajra | <i>antarābhava</i> and <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| Vijayapāda | Cakrasaṃvara | |
| Śabareśvara | | <i>mahāmudrā</i> |
| Ḍākinī *Subhaginī | Ḍākārṇava | <i>karmamudrā</i> , <i>saṃkranti</i> and <i>antarābhava</i> |
| Caryāpā | Cakrasaṃvara | <i>hetu-mārga-phala</i> and <i>caṇḍālī</i> |

While U rgyan pa (ι 23.2–3) goes no further than mentioning Caryāpā, Nāgārjuna, Kambalapā, and *Subhaginī without associating them with any teaching, the order emerging from Mon rtse pa's account of the four *bka' babs* (κ₁) conforms in terms of lineages to the tradition previously attested in η, the only variant being the addition of Indrabhūti after Kambalapā—

| Mon rtse pa (κ ₁) | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|
| Vajrapāṇi | | Sumatī Samantabhadrī | |
| | | | |
| Saraha | | Thang lo pa | Vajrapāṇi |
| | | | |
| Lūyīpāda | Ratnamati | *Parṇa | Ḍombīheruka |
| | | | |
| Dārikāpā | Nāgārjuna | (Shing lo pa) | Kambalapā |
| | | | |
| Ḍeṅgipā | Mātaṅgīpā | Karṇaripā | Indrabhūti |

On the contrary, the arrangement of the teachings is completely different—

| Mon rtse pa (κ ₁) | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| GURU | TANTRA | YOGA |
| Ḍeṅgipā | | <i>mahāmudrā</i> |
| Mātaṅgīpā | <i>pitṛ-tantra</i> | |
| Karṇaripā | <i>māṭṛ-tantra</i> | <i>svapna</i> |
| Indrabhūti | | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |

The same author, in the *Ti lo shes rab bzang po'i rnam par thar* (κ₂ 32.3—

7), sets out the information contained in Mar pa once again—

| Mon rtse pa (κ ₂) | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| GURU | YOGA |
| Caryāpā | <i>svapna</i> |
| Nāgārjuna | <i>māyākāya</i> |
| Kambalapā | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| *Subhaginī | <i>caṇḍālī</i> |

The apparent intention of gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ A 30.3–6 B 105.6–106.2), and of lHa btsun (ξ 22.1–4) who closely complies with his guru, was to complete and integrate the *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* and β—

| gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ) and lHa btsun (ξ) | |
|---|---|
| GURU | YOGA |
| Caryāpā | <i>caṇḍālī</i> and <i>svapna</i> |
| Nāgārjuna | <i>māyākāya</i> |
| Kambalapā | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| Sumati Samantabhadrī | <i>saṃkrānti</i> and <i>antarābhava</i> |

In the text on Tilopā's predecessors, Kun dga' rin chen (μ 11.1–12.3) links Tilopā with Nāgārjuna, Caryāpā, Kambalapā, and *Subhaginī; then he goes on to reconstruct the lineages—

| Kun dga' rin chen (μ) | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Vajradhara | Vajradhara | Vajradhara | Vajradhara |
| | | | |
| Indrabhūti | Jñānaḍākinī | Vajrapāṇi | Vajrapāṇi |
| | | | |
| Nāgāyoginī | Caryāpā | Ḍombīheruka | Anaṅgavajra |
| | | | |
| Visukalpa | | Bhinasavajra | Padmavajra |
| | | | |
| Saraha | | Kambalapā | Ḍākinī *Subhaginī |
| | | | |
| Nāgārjuna | | | |
| | | | |
| Mātaṅgīpā | | | |

Kun dga' rin chen (μ)

| GURU | TANTRA | YOGA |
|-------------------|---|--------------------|
| Mātaṅgīpā | Guhyasamāja, Pañcakrama, and Catuḥpiṭha | <i>saṃkrānti</i> |
| Caryāpā | Mahāmāyā | <i>māyākāya</i> |
| Kambalapā | several tantras | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| Ḍākinī *Subhaginī | Hevajra | <i>caṇḍālī</i> |

dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v 47.5–50.3), seems to reconcile some of the discrepancies, at least in terms of lineages, between the information contained in *SDhU*, β, θ, ι, κ₂, λ, μ, ξ on the one hand, and that in η and κ₁ on the other. In fact he distinguishes between two lines of transmission, an ordinary transmission (*thun mongs kyi bka' babs*), consistent with rGyal thang pa's account, and an extraordinary one (*thun mongs ma yin pa'i bka' babs*) consistent with Mar pa, and so forth. Such distinction would imply the ordinary transmissions to have been the *historical* ones, while the latter were received by Tilopā *spiritually*: whether by deeper insight, or indirectly, via an acquired esoteric connection. This is the case of Nāgārjuna with Mātaṅgīpā, as we have already known from Mar pa's account. Conversely, Caryāpā with the king or minister Deṅgipā in the first *bka' babs*, Sumatī Samantabhadṛī with Karṇaripā in the third, and Kambalapā with the king Indrabhūti in the fourth—these other three bonds appear much less clear, and anything but *historically* tenable—

dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v)

| <i>thun mongs kyi bka' babs</i> | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| Vajrapāṇi | Ratnamatī | Sumatī Samantabhadṛī | Virūpā |
| | | | |
| Saraha | Nāgārjuna | <i>Thang lo pa</i> | Ḍombīheruka |
| | | | |
| Lūyīpāda | Mātaṅgīpā | *Parṇa (<i>Shing lo pa</i>) | Bhinasavajra |
| | | | |
| Dārikāpā | | Karṇaripā | Kambalapā |
| | | | |
| Deṅgipā | | | Indrabhūti |

dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v)

| GURU | TANTRA | YOGA |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Deṅgipā | | <i>mahāmudrā</i> |
| Mātaṅgīpā | <i>pitṛ-tantra</i> | |
| Karṇaripā | <i>māṭṛ-tantra</i> | |
| Indrabhūti | <i>advaita-tantra</i> | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |

| dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v) | | |
|---|-----------------------|---|
| <i>thun mongs ma yin pa'i bka' babs</i> | | |
| GURU | TANTRA | YOGA |
| Caryāpā | | <i>caṇḍālī</i> and <i>svapna</i> |
| Nāgārjuna | <i>pitṛ-tantra</i> | <i>māyākāya</i> |
| Kambalapā | <i>advaita-tantra</i> | <i>prabhāsvara</i> |
| Sumati Samantabhadri | <i>mātr-tantra</i> | <i>saṃkrānti</i> and <i>antarābhava</i> |

In conclusion, the association between the gurus of the four *bka' babs* with the six dharmas, when it occurs, would suggest the following order of concordance—

| | <i>ṢDhU</i> | β , κ_2 | θ | λ , ν , ξ , | μ |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| <i>caṇḍālī</i> | Caryāpā | ḍākinī | Caryāpā | Caryāpā | ḍākinī |
| <i>māyākāya</i> | Nāgārjuna | Nāgārjuna | Nāgārjuna | Nāgārjuna | Caryāpā |
| <i>svapna</i> | Kambalapā | Caryāpā | | Caryāpā | |
| <i>prabhāsvara</i> | Nāgārjuna | Kambalapā | Nāgārjuna | Kambalapā | Kambalapā |
| <i>antarābhava</i> | ḍākinī | | ḍākinī | ḍākinī | |
| <i>saṃkrānti</i> | ḍākinī | | ḍākinī | ḍākinī | Nāgārjuna |

The order immediately prompts a number of reflections. If we may assume that water is purer at the spring, there should be some proportion as well between the reliability of information and its closeness to the origin: as a result, the earliest and thus most authoritative sources should be *ṢDhU* and β . The trouble is that contradictions are already present there; indeed, the discrepancies among more recent sources seem to derive from the inconsistencies in these two. This is all the more disconcerting when we consider that both would be connected with the figure of Mar pa, in one case as translator (*ṢDhU*), in the other as author (β).

The Practice

A new radical turn is nearly upon Tilopā's life, and a new revelation (*lung bstan pa* : *vyākaraṇa*) marks it. In Mar pa it was the *woman*, namely his spiritual *sister* the yoginī called Ḍākinī *Sukhapradā (*bDe ster ma*), who imparted it to Tilopā after the sketch with the *Prajñāpāramitā* (β 14.3–4):

Crossing Bengal (*Bha ga la*) to the east,
 In the market place of *Pañcāpaṇa,
 There is the prostitute Bharima (*Bha ri*) with her retinue:
 If you follow it as her servant, you will be purified;
 You will complete your practice and attain perfection!

Conversely, rGyal thang pa, Kun dga' rin chen, and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan have it that the same prediction came from Mātaṅgīpā. We read for example in rGyal thang pa (¶ 39.6–7) that, once blessed Tilopā, Mātaṅgīpā would have predicted, to be exact commanded, to perform religious practices 'as if he were a local sesame grinder' (*yul 'di'i til brdung pa'i tshul gyis*): whence his name, glosses rGyal thang pa.

With regard to the prostitute (*smad 'tshong ma*), whose name occurs in the sources as *Bharima/Bhari* (β), or *Dharima/Dharimo/Dhari* (μ, ν), we know almost nothing. We have scant pieces of information on the town where the courtesan lived, and where Tilopā spent a part of his life: the market town that Mar pa and rDo rje mdzes 'od have referred to as Pañcāpaṇa (β 14.3, θ 70.5) is described by Kun dga' rin chen and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan as blessed by a king *Ud ma skyes pa / dBu ma ke sa ra* (*Umākesara?), and easy to reach:

Kun dga' rin chen
 sprul pa'i rgyal po Ud ma skyes pas
 byin gyis brlabs shing rang bzhin gyis
 sgrub thag nye ba de'i tshong dus su
 smad 'tshong ma Dha ri zhes bya ba
 yod... (μ 44.1–2).

dBang phyug rgyal mtshan
 sngon ra dza dBu ma ke sa ra zhes bya
 ba'i sprul pa'i rgyal pos byin gyis
 brlabs pa'i gnas rang bzhin gyis sgrub
 thag nye zhing lam sgrod par nye ste |
 grong khyer de'i dbus na 'dod pa'i yon
 tan lhun gyis grub pa'i tshong 'dus
 chen po zhig yod la | de na smad
 tshong ma Dha ri ma 'khor mang po
 dang ldan pa yod... (ν 52.4–53.1).

After the prediction, Mar pa informs us that Tilopā went to *Pañcāpaṇa, and did two jobs (β 14.4):

In the night-time he would do the work of inviting and accompanying men into Bharima's. During the day, he worked as sesame miller (*til 'bru ba*), and that is why he is known as Tilopā (*Ti lo pa*) in the language of India, and as the Sesame oil keeper (*Til bsrungs zhabs : Tailikapāda*) in Tibetan.

After that, he and Bharima went to the charnel ground called *Kereli*. There they took delight in the practice of the secret mantras (*gsang ba sngags* : *guhyamantra*) and performed it to its completion.

Following that, while scattering (*'phro*) sesame seeds (*til 'bru*) in the above-mentioned market place, he attained the perfection close to the sublime *mahāmudrā*.

At that moment, the people of the town had different visions of him: some saw flames blazing (*me dpung 'bar ba*) from him, while others saw his bone ornaments blazing (*rus rgyan la me 'bar ba*). The people asked for instruction. At this, 'O followers, may the innate reality that arose in my intellect enter your hearts!' so he uttered, and they were immediately liberated.

After that, as the king of that country surrounded by his retinue came riding an elephant to pay his respect, both that brāhmaṇa student and Bharima raised an adamantine song (*rdo rje 'i mgur : vajragīti*) with a loud Brahmā voice:...

The Tibetan version of this 'Adamantine Song of Sesame Oil' or **Tilatailavajragīti* (*TVG*) can be found not only in Mar pa's account (β 15.1–4) but also in those by rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ 69.6–70.5) and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v 63.3–64.2).

Among the Ḍākinīs of Uḍḍiyāna

A third prediction—the last one—inaugurates a new period in the life of Tilopā. This kind of caesura marks in the sources the beginning of the chapter narrating how he overpowered (*zil gyis mnan*) the ḍākinīs and received the doctrine in Uḍḍiyāna. Once again, Mar pa narrates that the same women (*bud med rnams*) approached him and said (β 15.6–16.1):

As for the aural transmission beyond words,
The stainless ḍākinī has it:
You have to obtain the threefold wish-fulfilling gem!

'I am not able to do that' Tilopā protested, but the women replied:

In the Fragrant Shelter (*gandhola* < *gandhakuṭī*?) of Uḍḍiyāna,
Having prediction and commitments,

If one has obtained them, one so blessed will be able!

‘How should I do?’ he asked. ‘Take a crystal ladder, a jewelled bridge, and a stem of burdock, then go to Uḍḍiyāna!’ So they predicted. Since his father had no difficulty in obtaining those things, he took them and left.

As we will see later, these three wish-fulfilling gems (*yid bzhin nor bu rnam gsum*) were regarded as gems related to body, speech, and mind (*sku gsung thugs*); namely, the general wish-fulfilling gem (*thun mong yid bzhin nor bu*) of the body, the commitments’ gem (*dam tshig yid bzhin nor bu*) of the speech, and the one of the natural state (*gnas lugs yid bzhin nor bu*) of the mind.

Along with Vladimir Propp’s study of the narrative structure in folktales (1928), we can see the father of Tilopā as embodying the character of the *donor*, the one providing the *hero* with the magical object for the quest, in this case a crystal ladder (*shel gyi skas ka*), a jewelled bridge (*rin po che’i zam pa*), and a stem of burdock (*rtsa byi bzung*). In all sources, this is the last time we find Tilopā’s father mentioned. Narratively, the brāhmaṇa *Dyuti (*gSal ba*) disappears when his function ceases, i.e. as soon as the *hero* receives the needed magical agent. From a biographical viewpoint, we may assume that he did not survive much longer, because we will find Tilopā’s brāhmaṇī mother in other episodes as a Buddhist nun.

In Mar pa’s pedagogic design, the reader is supposed to visualise a sort of maṇḍala. What follows mirrors indeed the scheme of a threefold maṇḍala, consistent with the three Buddha bodies in the above discussed *trikāya* perspective (β 16.1–4):

Meanwhile, the one known as the Jñānaḍākinī of the dharmakāya was residing as a queen (*rgyal mo*) in the pavilion (*gtsug lag khang*) of the Fragrant Shelter in the western country of Uḍḍiyāna. She was in a sphere beyond duality, in a state of uninterrupted contemplation, not resting on anything.

Near to her there were those called Pañcakulaḍākinīs of the sambhogakāya. They were keeping the three precious wish-fulfilling gems hidden in a bejewelled palace (*pho brang*): they had locked it with an inviolable lock (*lcags*), had sealed it with seven seals (*rgya*) and surrounded it with a redoubt (*mkhar*), a trench (*’obs*), and strong walls (*lcags ri*). So they dwelt there as ministers (*blon po*).

Near to them there were the devouring (*za byed*) Karmaḍākinīs of the nirmāṇakāya, who grant supernatural powers to those who have faith and

motivation, but destroy and devour those who have no faith and whose commitments are imperfect. So they stayed there as gatekeepers (*sgo ma*).

| Buddha bodies | acting dākinīs | role in the maṇḍala |
|--------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
| dharmakāya (<i>chos sku</i>) | jñānaḍākinī (<i>ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro ma</i>) | queen (<i>rgyal mo</i>) |
| sambhogakāya (<i>longs sku</i>) | pañcakulaḍākinīs (<i>rigs lnga'i mkha' 'gro ma</i>) | ministers (<i>blon po</i>) |
| nirmāṇakāya (<i>sprul sku</i>) | karmaḍākinīs (<i>las kyi mkha' 'gro ma</i>) | gatekeepers (<i>sgo ma</i>) |

Mar pa's text could be enjoyed as a *dramatic* maṇḍala, and the reader's entering it (*maṇḍalapraveśa*) would correspond to his following the narrative trace of the hero's entrance into the maṇḍala of Vajravārāhī (β), or Jñānaḍākinī (β), or Bhagavatī Yoginī (η), or else Vajrayoginī (η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ). Being the consort of Cakrasaṃvara, she is imagined in union with him, but the maṇḍala to enter liturgically and yogically is here a *mise-en-scène*. As observed by English (2002: 27), the cult of Vajrayoginī 'has no scriptural corpus of its own, but borrows from the scriptural tradition of Cakrasaṃvara'. That is why the relevant maṇḍala and sādhanas are adapted from the Cakrasaṃvara corpus. With a sādhana in the form of a play, it is matter here of the maṇḍala of Vajrayoginī that becomes the correspondent maṇḍala of Cakrasaṃvara as soon as Tilopā comes in (β 16.4–19.6):

Then that brāhmaṇa student arrived in front of the pavilion of the Fragrant Shelter in the western country of Uḍḍiyāna. The nirmāṇakāya-karmaḍākinīs, with demonic voices or rough thundering sounds, spoke thus:

We, the nirmāṇakāya-karmaḍākinīs,
Enjoy human flesh and are blood thirsty!

Then they set in motion, and the brāhmaṇa student:

Despite many more frightening dākinīs,
My hairs would not tremble!

After these words, thanks to his practice in the ascetic discipline of intrinsic vision (*rig pa*), he overpowered them. Being motionless in his body, indomitable in speech, and unhesitating in the mind, he cast a fixed

gaze (*Ita stangs*) upon the *ḍākinīs* until they fell down senseless. Recovered from their faint, they spoke:

Alas! Like as moths which are lost at the lamp,
We wished to eat you, but we have been destroyed.
Sublime one, do whatever you like with us!

At that, the *brāhmaṇa* student said, ‘Let me go inside!’ but the *ḍākinīs* replied:

We are like servants, with little power.
If we do not ask the ministers,
Our flesh will be eaten and our blood will be drunk.
Noble one, consider it!

Then, they entrusted to the *sambhogakāya-ḍākinīs*. The latter said, ‘We will rescue you who have been inferior to him in the ascetic practice. So let him come in!’ Then, the *brāhmaṇa* student put the jewel bridge over the trench, raised the crystal ladder on the wall, and opened the door with the stem of burdock. Once he was inside, the ministers said:

With frightening body and frightening word,
Wielding weapons of fear as well,
The *sambhogakāya-pañcagotraḍākinīs*
Enjoy flesh and are blood thirsty!

After these words, the *brāhmaṇa* student replied:

Despite many more frightening *ḍākinīs*,
My hair pores would not waver!

Having so declared, he cast a fixed gaze upon them till they fell down senseless. ‘Let me go inside!’ he said, but the *ḍākinīs* replied:

We are like ministers, with little power.
If we do not ask to the queen herself,
We will be punished.
Noble one, consider it!

So, after they had supplicated the *dharmakāya-ḍākinī*, the boy went in. The *dharmakāya-jñānaḍākinī* was there surrounded, on her right and left,

by myriad heroes (*dpa' bo*) and heroines (*dpa' mo*). As the brāhmaṇa student did not pay homage to her, the assembly said:

This one, to the all buddhas'
Mother, to the Bhagavatī,
Does not shows respect. Why not to smash him?

They were about to smash him when the dharmakāya-ḍākinī spoke to her retinue:

This is the all buddhas'
Father Cakraṣaṃvara.
Even if a rain of thunderbolts fell from the sky,
How could it be for the victory?

Thus she spoke.

Then, pretending not to know that in spite of his form the boy (*khye'u*) was Cakraṣaṃvara, the assembly asked him, 'Who sent you? Who are you? What do you want?' The brāhmaṇa student replied:

I am *Pāñcāpaṇa,
My sister *Sukhapradā sent me.
View (*lta*), practice (*spyod*), fruit (*'bras bu*), commitments, and
The gems of the three bodies: I came here to have them.

Those in the assembly, uttering a scornful laughter and mimicking him, spoke with one voice:

The blind looks but cannot see the forms;
The deaf listens but cannot hear the sounds;
The dumb speaks but the meaning is not understood.
No truth is there in those deceived by Māra (*bDud*)!

So they said and the Ācārya replied:

When fault has come to its end, false words
Are not spoken: there would be no cause.
No matter of Māra: in a ḍākinī is the truth!

After that, the jñānaḍākinī caused three precious jewelled symbols (*brda'*) to appear: a small icon (*tsa ka li*) for the body, seed syllables (*yig*

'*bru*) for the speech, and symbolic implements (*phyag mtshan*) for the mind. The brāhmaṇa student spoke:

From the secret treasure of the body, as appearance and emptiness,
I request the wish-fulfilling gem, the common one.

From the secret treasure of the speech, as ineffable,
I request the wish-fulfilling gem, the commitments one.

From the secret treasure of the mind, as nonconceptual,
I request the wish-fulfilling gem of the natural state (*gnas lugs*).

At that, the jñānaḍākinī spoke:

As for the general wish-fulfilling gem,
One needs the key of predictions and experience:
Who did not get such predictions cannot open.

As for the commitments' wish-fulfilling gem,
One needs the key of the profound aural transmission:
Who has not the antidotes (*gnyen po*) cannot open.

As for the reality wish-fulfilling gem,
One needs the key of the profound insight:
Who has no comprehension (*rtogs pa*) cannot open.

After these words, the brāhmaṇa student replied:

The secret word of the ḍākinī is a mind vow (*sdom*),
Torch of gnosis dispelling the darkness of ignorance.
Self referential awareness, self born, self radiant:
I possess the key of predictions and experience.

When nothing is conceived any longer,
Thinking as such (*sems nyid*) is the self-liberated dharmakāya.
Self-liberation (*rang grol*) arises in the *mahāmudrā*:
I possess the key of self liberation in commitments.

Contemplating (*dmigs pa*) without any mentation (*vid la mi byed*), and
Where not the slightest trace of recollection (*dran pa*) will arise,
Is the being of thinking; the dharmakāya is the being of phenomena:

I possess the key to go through (*nyams*) vision (*mtshong ba*).

After these words, the *ḍākinīs* of both the sambhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya of the *jñānaḍākinī* in one voice joined to raise this song:

Our only father, o Bhagavat!
 Tilopā Buddha, o Protector of beings!
 Cakrasaṃvara, o Great Bliss!
 We offer you the three wish-fulfilling gems!

After they had uttered that, they explained the root tantra of Cakrasaṃvara in fifty-one chapters and, together with the tantra, they gave him its aural transmission.

Then, the *jñānaḍākinī* spoke, ‘If you want to attain my body, be assiduous in the generation stage. As to my speech, be assiduous in the heart mantra (*snying po*). As to my mind, be assiduous in the *mahāmudrā* of the completion stage. Go to the seclusion of Cūḍāmaṇi (*gTsug gi nor bu’i dgon pa*) and take care of the three, Nāropā (*Na ro*), Riripā (*Ri ri*) and Kasoripā (*Ka so ri*)!’ Having so spoken, the noblest of ladies (*gtso mo*) disappeared.

He was named Tilopā Prajñābhada (*Te lo Shes rab bzang po*). He spoke:

I am like a bird in the sky,
 A bird of illuminative thinking which flew up:
 Without difficulty, Prajñābhada is migrating!

As he said that, the *ḍākinīs* of both the sambhogakāya and the nirmāṇakāya spoke:

You, sublime one, why so?
 We supplicate you to remain for our benefit.

Having so supplicated, Tilopā replied:

As the noblest of ladies herself predicted,
 For the benefit of worthy vessels (*snod ldan*), as a yogin, I
 Am going to the seclusion of Cūḍāmaṇi.

The name of the seclusion occurs in the sources as *gTsug gi nor bu’i dgon pa* (β, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ), *gTsug gi dgon pa* (η, ι), and *gTsug phud spra*

bha (ཅ): *gtsug*, like *gtsug phud* (Skt *cūḍā*), means ‘crown, crest, head, summit’; *spra bha*, probably for *spra ba*, would be for ‘ornament’. In Mar pa there is also mention of an Aroga Vihāra of the seclusion of Cūḍāmaṇi (β 20.2–3: *gTsug gi nor bu'i dgon pa A ro ga'i gtsug lag khang*), where *a ro ga'i* is conjectural (*a ro na'i* cod.), from Skt *aroga* ‘painless’. Moreover, we know from rGyal thang pa that it was in Sahor to the east (η 21a4: *shar Za hor gTsug gi dgon pa*).¹⁵

A clue to locate that seclusion can be found in the sixth-century Gunaighar copperplate grant of Vainyagupta issued from Kṛīpura, probably in current Comilla District. In it, besides the royal residence, we read of a town of Cūḍāmaṇi (l. 28; Bhattacharyya 1930; R.C. Majumdar 1971: 340). The inscription in fact, demarcating the low lands (*talabhūmi*) granted to a vihāra, refers to the channel (*jolā* for *joḍa*) between the seaport and the town of Cūḍāmaṇi as their eastern limit (*Cūḍāmaṇi-nagaraśrī-nauyogayor maddhye jolā*, l. 28). According to Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya (1930: 52–53), not only Kṛīpura, but also the granted lands were situated near the find place of the plate, namely in the current Comilla District.

While Tilopā Prajñābhada was on his way back from Uḍḍiyāna to the Healy (*a ro ga*) Pavilion (*gtsug lag khang : vihāra*) of the seclusion of Cūḍāmaṇi, we are told that a ninefold doctrine of incorporeal ḍākinīs was bestowed upon him from the space element. As it is known to the student of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, the nine root verses of these ‘Doctrines of the Incorporeal Adamantine Ḍākinīs’ (*rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma lus med pa'i chos : Vajradākinīṣkāya-dharma, VḌNDh*) represent one of the greatest legacies in the bKa' brgyud tradition.

Back from Uḍḍiyāna

Consistent with his pedagogic strategy, Mar pa distinguishes two different narrative focuses in Tilopā's training, namely how he received his human transmissions, and how he showed himself as one without human gurus; the latter being posited in a sort of spiritual *crescendo* after, and in consequence of his journey to Uḍḍiyāna (β 20.3–4):

nga la mi yi bla ma med ||
bla ma thams cad mkhyen pa yin.

I have no human guru.
My guru is the Omniscient one (*Sarvajña*)!

We have here another peculiarity of our source β, an additional case of *lectio difficilior in fabula*: in fact, the later hagiographic tradition re-inverted the order and had it that, when asked the name of his masters, Tilopā would have given the above quoted answer (η 33.3, θ 66.3, ι 23.2, κ 32.4–5, λ A 30.4 B 105.6–7, ν 48.1, ξ 22.2), but that gave rise to general incomprehension and incredulity: realizing the risks involved in this sceptical response, he would have thought better to link himself to the previously discussed four lines of human transmission.

After reading in the seventh verse of rGyal thang pa's hymn that Tilopā received the teachings from the dākinī, he is celebrated in the following verse to dwell in the great charnel ground of *Kyi ri* 'Blazing Mass of Fire' (*Kyi ri me dpung 'bar ba yi dur khrod chen po'i gnas der bzhugs*), where he saw Vajradhara and became one with him (*rDo rje 'chang dang zhal mjal nas dbyer med gyur pa*). As we read in rGyal thang pa's explanation of this root verse (η 31.6–32.7), followed almost word by word by dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (ν 45.3–47.5), Prajñābhadrā (*Shes rab bzang po*) went to the holy site (*gnas mchog*) of the great charnel ground called *Ki ri* (or *Ke ri*) 'Blazing Mass of Fire' (*me dpung 'bar ba*). As he remained there attending to experience and realization (*nyams dang rtogs pa skyong*), he saw in reality and in visions the sambhogakāya of the sixth Buddha, Vajradhara (*Sangs rgyas longs sku drug pa rDo rje 'chang dngos dang zhal mjal*). Now, it happened that light radiated (*'od 'phros*) from the body, speech, and mind of Vajradhara, and it was absorbed (*thim pa*) in the body, speech, and mind of Tilopā. In an instant, as Vajradhara's sambhogakāya was radiating from Tilopā's mind (*Tilli pa'i thugs kha nas rDo rje 'chang 'phros*), out of that radiance, the Buddha (Vajradhara) himself radiated on Tilopā (*'phros nas Sangs rgyas nyid kyis Tilli pa la*), expounding all the secret mantras of the Vajrayāna (*rdo rje theg pa'i gsang sngags kun gsungs*), bestowing all consecrations (*dbang kun bskur*), and then blessing him (*byin gyis brlabs pa*). After that, rGyal thang pa and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan allude to the plethora of qualities (*yon tan*), knowledge (*mkhyen pa*), magical power (*mthu stobs*), and abilities (*nus pa*) that Tilopā found himself endowed with.

Tilopā's Manifestations

To begin with Mar pa, the hagiographies report that Tilopā showed himself in various ways. In particular, there are eight episodes in which we are told how he overpowered a yogin, how he converted a tīrthika, a magician, a woman selling liquor, a singer, a butcher, a materialist denying the law of cause and effect, and a sorcerer. In addition to Mar pa (β), the same episodes occur in rGyal thang pa (η), rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ), U rgyan pa (ι), Mon rtse pa (κ), gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ), dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (ν), and lHa btsun (ξ). From a narratological viewpoint, the core of each episode is a dramatic opposition: it culminates in the protagonist's triumph, the conversion of the antagonist, and the instruction to the new disciple. As to these eight instructions, we can read them in two Tilopan texts preserved in Tibetan translation, the *Acintyamahāmudrā* (AMM), and the **Aṣṭaguhyārthāhvavāda* (AGAA).

Tilopā would have met and instructed these individuals in eight different places. The final picture we have is that of the 'slow homecoming' of a fully accomplished tantric adept who, at the time of his departure from Uddiyāna, had declared in obedience to the order of the dākinī where he was heading: Cūḍāmaṇi, for the benefit of worthy disciples, Nāropā, and the latter's disciples Riripā, and Kasoripā.

Regarding the sequence of the episodes in the hagiographies, lHa btsun (ξ) follows rGyal thang pa (η), U rgyan pa (ι), Mon rtse pa (κ), gTsang smyon He ru ka (λ), and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (ν), but also rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ), with the exception of an inversion between episodes 3 and 4. Strangely enough, apart from the first four episodes and the last one, Mar pa's arrangement (β) does not go with those in the later hagiographies, the order of episodes 5, 6, 7 having been inverted: also here our source β shows another *lectio difficilior in fabula*, which is worth noticing—

| | β | η | θ | ι | κ | λ | ν | ξ |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| the yogin | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| the tīrthika | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| the magician | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| the liquor-selling woman | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| the singer | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| the butcher | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| the materialist | 7 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| the sorcerer | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 8 |

Since Tilopā is the first historical guru of the tradition passing via Mar pa, one would have expected that the arrangement of the eight conversion episodes in the later Marpan tradition followed the same sequence as that of β. Logically, some new facts appear to have intervened in the period between the second half of the eleventh century (the time of β) and the thirteenth-century innovation (the time of η, θ, and ι): new facts whereby a different arrangement of the episodes was established, and it was still accepted in the second half of the fifteenth century (the time of κ), in 1494 (the time of λ), in 1523 (the time of ν), and in 1550 (the time of ξ).

Possibly, a fact representing the cause for this innovation could be found in that set of supplementary instructions—and information—*Ras chung* would have collected in India and Nepal by order of Mi la ras pa at the beginning of the twelfth century: as we will see in more detail further, a fact which was the basis of both textual traditions, the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* and the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* (*Deb ther sngon po* 382.3–6, *BA* 437–38).

In all hagiographies the episode of the contest with the yogin is the first of eight to occur. As we know from the outlines in the second chapter, Mar pa and other sources containing this episode narrate it immediately after Tilopā's stay in Uḍḍiyāna (β, ι, κ, λ). Moreover, we are told that Tilopā was found in the north-western charnel ground of Jālandhara ('*Bar ba 'dzin*, θ, λ, ν, ξ), a sacred site which was a traditional stopover for the siddhas and the yogins going to—or coming from—Uḍḍiyāna.

According to Tāranātha, between the region of Jālandhara and Uḍḍiyāna (*yul Dza lan dha ra nas O rgyan gyi bar la*) it was said to be one hundred and twenty yojanas (*dpag tshad brgya dang nyi shu yod skad*), and the siddha Kṛṣṇa (*Kahna*) would have covered that distance in one or two days (*Kahna pa'i rnam thar* 274.4; *TLKK* 13). We find here mentioned another possible site in our maps of the eight charnel grounds at the margins of the maṇḍalas in the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, the charnel ground of Vajrajvāla/*Jvālapariveṣakāpāla/Jvālavana: in fact, this *śmaśāna* can be identified with the Śakta *pīṭha* of Jālandhara, or Jālandharagiri, Jālandhra, Jālaśaila, and it can be located at Jvālāmukhī in the Kangra District of Himachal Pradesh (Law 1954: 86; Sircar 1973: 86; Shastri 2009).

Many aspects of these episodes sound fictional, to begin with the surplus of miracles performed therein. On the whole, the narratives reveal a *human, all too human* rhetorical propensity for flaunting powers, better if circled by mystery. However, in this particular case, it is also matter of the

Indian medieval background where magic and power were the two sides of the same coin. As it has been very sensibly observed by Davidson, the cultural expressions of the Indian feudal system typify the double process of apotheosis of kingship and feudalization of divinity; that is to say, ‘a king could just as easily reformulate his image in favor of the model of Śiva, who was, after all, represented as a killer divinity with a permanent erection’ (Davidson 2002b: 90).

In addition, we can infer from the siddha hagiographic tradition and folklore that magic contests and wizards’ duels were decidedly popular in Tilopā’s cultural milieu. A fascinating case is the Song of Mānikacandra (*Mānikcandra rājār Gān*) that belongs to a widespread oral tradition of Bengal dating back at least to the twelfth century (Sen 1920: 14–15). Western scholars have access to the story of king Mānikacandra, his queen Maynā (Maynāmati), and the latter’s son Gopīcandra through the studies on three relevant ballads published by George Grierson (1878, 1885).

We read therein of the queen Maynāmati, a disciple of the powerful siddha Haḍipā/Jālandharapā, chasing the messenger of the king of death who had taken away the life of Mānikacandra (vv. 95–144, Grierson 1878: 72–74). With a rhythm and humour that reminds the magic duel between Merlin and Madam Mim in the Disneyan movie adaptation of *The Sword in the Stone*, the fugitive transforms himself into various animals in order to escape from Maynāmati, but the terrible queen takes each time a new shape to capture him.

It is possible to shed some light on the circumstances of Tilopā’s instruction to the yogin and the others through a synoptic reading of the relevant passages in the above material. Moreover, we can tentatively elicit from the hagiographic sources and the colophons of *AMM* some fragments of information about these eight unknown disciples, viz. their status in society, where they faced Tilopā, the names they took once converted, their names after enlightenment, and the places of their subsequent spiritual practice.

With the Yogin

The preamble to the episode of the instruction to the yogin (*rnal ’byor pa la gdams pa*, *AMM* 1) has some similarity with the legend on the origins of the **Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* (Kapstein 2000). We read in fact that there was a king in southern India (β) whose Tibetan name was *Me tog gling pa* (θ), or *Zla ba seng ge* (v); only the colophons of *AMM* 1 and lHa btsun (ξ) refer to

him as the king of Gaurīśvarī (*Go ri shva ri'i rgyal po*).

Whichever may be his name and identity, he loved his mother dearly: always obedient, he would do anything to please her. The king asked his mother what root of virtue she liked best and which virtuous act he would then perform for her spiritual sake. The queen mother requested him that jewelled maṇḍalas be erected, and a great gaṇacakra celebrated. With the intention of fulfilling his mother's wish, the king invited from four corners of the country all the savants and the meditators (*ku su lu*). In Mar pa (β) the latter term occurs as *ku sa li*, from Skt *kuśalin* in the sense of virtuous ascetic (*BHS*), while the later hagiographic tradition has *ku su lu* (η, ι, κ, λ, ν, ξ) in the same episode: it refers to an unconventional ascetic life-style in which yoga practice was so preeminent that the only other actions to fulfil were associated with the mere physical necessities (Nālandā Translation Committee 1982: xxix). At the fixed date they arrived; the paṇḍitas performed the site purification ritual (β), and maṇḍalas were raised according to each tradition (η, ι, κ, λ, ν, ξ). In order that a yogin of supreme power would preside over the gathering, the most powerful yogin was asked to be the leader of that gaṇacakra (*tshogs dpon : gaṇanāyaka*), no other else being able to match him. That yogin, called 'Gran zla med pa (β), or 'Gran zla med pa Nus thogs med (η), or Nus pa thogs med (η), sat on the throne.

An old woman bearing all the signs of ugliness came before the assembly and asked who would preside over the gaṇacakra. The yogin replied: 'I will'. 'You shall not! My brother will' said the woman angrily. She was asked where he was. 'He lives in a charnel ground called 'Bar ba 'dzin (θ, λ, ν, ξ, Jālandhara)' she answered. The yogin wanted to engage in a contest with him and ordered to return with him. A colorful picture of our siddha occurs here (θ, λ, ν, ξ): when Tilopā was fetched from Jālandhara for the great gaṇacakra, he was found

...swinging from the hair of a horse's tail which was suspended from the little toes of corpses piled on the branch of a tree. He was blue of appearance, with blood-shot eyes, wearing cotton undergarments (Gyaltzen 1990: 46).

Once arrived, Tilopā sat on a throne in front of the yogin, and the two began the competition. According to the sources, albeit discrepancies of little relevance, the two contenders were initially well matched, but in the course of the contest Tilopā gradually overpowered the challenger. First,

they debated about the topics of valid cognition (*tshad ma* : *pramāṇa*) and the scriptural tradition (*lung* : *āgama*). After that, each of them drew a maṇḍala in the sky and tried to destroy the other's by means of wind and rain. Next, they summoned up the corpses from the charnel ground, each of them carrying a corpse on his back. The corpses were then transformed into offering substances for the gaṇacakra (*mchod rdzas*), and taken back to the charnel ground. Then, they rode lions and ran a race over the surface of the sun and the moon. Tilopā made sun and moon fall down to the ground, and rode over them on a lion's back. At last, he turned himself inside out and conjured up a maṇḍala with a charnel ground for every single hair of his. He conjured up a tree in each of them and, on every tree, he played in a cross-legged posture. As the yogin was not able to match this, 'That is wonderful!' he exclaimed, 'Where does such a miracle come from? Where does this wonder-working man come from?' Tilopā is said to have answered with a song, a part of which is common to all sources:

Having understood the meaning (*don rtogs*, *don dam rtogs pa*), the yogin Tilopā is beyond any efforts (*'bad rtsol kun dang bral*) in whatever he does!

Once conquered his faith, Tilopā would have sung to him about the inconceivable intrinsic being (*rang bzhin bsam gyis mi khyab pa*, *AMM* 1).

The powerful yogin, thenceforth named *Nus ldan Blo gros* or simply *Blo gros*, i.e. Mati, as stated in all sources would still live in Uḍḍiyāna in a deathless state.

| | Noun Phrases for the Yogin |
|---------------|--|
| β | 'Gran zla med pa → Nus ldan blo gros; |
| η | 'Gran zla med pa Nus pa thogs med → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> Blo gros; |
| θ | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus ldan → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus ldan blo gros; |
| ι | Nus chen rab ldan → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> Blo gros; |
| κ | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus pa dang ldan pa → <i>de bzhin gshegs pa</i> Blo gros; |
| λ | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus ldan blo gros; |
| ν | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus pa thogs med → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus ldan blo gros → <i>byang chub</i> Blo gros; |
| ξ | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus ldan blo gros; |
| <i>AMM</i> 1 | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> ; |
| <i>AGAA</i> 1 | <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> Nus ldan blo gros. |

With the Tīrthika

Only Mar pa and dBang phyug rgyal mtshan locate the episode of the conversion and instruction to the tīrthika (*mu stegs pa la gdams pa*, *AMM* v) at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra (β, v); no reference in the other sources, apart from the colophon of *AMM* v and lHa btsun (ξ) who mention a town called *Mallamaṇi (*Gyad kyi nor bu grong khyer*). However, Mar pa and the later authors have it that this non-Buddhist teacher (*mu stegs pa'i ston pa*) expected that all Buddhists (*nang*) and non-Buddhists (*phyi*) would rise in his presence; if they did not, they had to face him in a contest in both debate (*brtsad pa*) and in powers (*nus pa*).

As Tilopā did not pay homage to him, a contest between the two had to take place at the presence of the king, with all Buddhists and non-Buddhists savants gathered there. The prize at stake was that the doctrine of the winner would be accepted by the other. Once more Tilopā was unmatched in both knowledge and magic. After a first angry and amazed reaction of the loser, Tilopā sang about the inconceivable being of phenomena, or *dharmatā* (*chos nyid bsam gyis mi khyab pa*, *AMM* v), and all those present at the contest were liberated.

The tīrthika, named *Nag po dge ba*, was thenceforth called *Yogin Nag po* (*pa*), then *Bodhisattva dGe ba*, or simply *Nag po*, Kṛṣṇa.

| | Noun Phrases for the Tīrthika |
|----------------|---|
| β | <i>mu stegs pa'i ston pa grub thob cig</i> → Nag po dge ba; |
| η | <i>mu stegs kyi ston pa paṇ ḍi ta mkhas shing nus pa che ba zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Nag po</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa' dGe ba</i> ; |
| θ | <i>mu stegs kyi ston pa gcig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Nag po dge ba</i> ; |
| ι | <i>mu stegs kyi paṇ ḍi ta mkhas shing nus pa che ba</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Nus ldan Nag po pa</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa' dGe ba</i> ; |
| κ | <i>mu stegs pa'i paṇ ḍi ta mkhas pa nus pa dang ldan pa</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Nag po</i> ; |
| λ | <i>mu stegs kyi kyi paṇ ḍi ta mkhas shing nus pa che ba</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Nag po dge ba</i> ; |
| ν | <i>mu stegs kyi paṇ ḍi ta Nag po</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Nag po dge ba</i> → <i>byang chub dGe ba</i> ; |
| ξ | <i>mu stegs kyi paṇ ḍi ta mkhas shing nus pa che ba</i> → <i>mu stegs mthu can Nag po dge ba</i> ; |
| <i>AMM</i> v | <i>mu stegs pa</i> ; |
| <i>AGAA</i> II | <i>rnal 'byor pa Nag po dge ba</i> . |

According to all sources, he would continue to live in the charnel ground of Śītavana (*dur khrod bSil ba'i tshal*), or 'Cool Sandalwood', near Nālandā. The site has been described by a Tibetan monk pilgrim who visited it in 1234, Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (*Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyi rnam thar* 7, 120.4–9; Roerich 1959: 85):

The great cemetery Śītavana is situated in a treeless clearing inside a large forest to the north-west of Nālandā. In this forest there were numerous venomous snakes with spotted bodies and black heads, of the size of a man's thigh. The top of thickets (in the forest) used to shake and emit a cracking noise when these snakes moved about. The Dharmasvāmin said that he was frightened on seeing a black bear.

With the Magician

The circumstance of the instruction to the magician (*sgyu ma mkhan la gdams pa*, *AMM* VIII) is a war, an illusory one. Some further detail is provided by rDo rje mdzes 'od (θ), according to whom it would have been matter of a conflict between the king of *So sa gling* (*Śoṣadvīpa ?) and the magician Rakṣadeva (*rgyal po So sa gling pa dang sgyu ma mkhan Rakṣa de wa*). Conversely, dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v) refers to the mahārāja of a country to the east of Vajrāsana, i.e. Bodhgayā (*rGya gar rDo rje gdan gyi shar gyi yul phyogs gcig na rgyal po chen po zhig*), and in *AMM* VIII mention is made of a famous town (*grong khyer grags pa*). As the king would have found himself in conflict with the magician, the former's kingdom was attacked by an illusory army emanated by the latter. Since the king did not know it was just magic, he was alarmed.

A woman bearing the signs of ugliness came to his assembled ministers and asked 'Who will command your army?' When she was informed that such a one would do it, 'That one will not be able to do it: my brother will!' she replied. As they asked where her brother was, she said (β 22.5–6):

In a charnel ground, one league far from here, there is an *Aquilaria* tree (*shing sha pa*), my brother has fixed the tail of a horse on it; then, he has tied the legs and the hands of a corpse to that tail. He is there, hanging on that corpse, and swinging.

When the woman repeated to the king what she had said to the ministers, the king sent someone to check: things were just as she had described. Tīlopā took the field and magically destroyed that illusory army. Once

taken captive, the magician was converted and instructed on the inconceivable given thing (*dngos po bsam gyis mi khyab pa*, AMM VIII).

Thenceforth named *Slu byed bden smra*, *Slu byed smras pa*, or Yogin *Slu byed*, then Bodhisattva *bDen par smra ba*, or else simply *Slu byed*, in all sources he would continue to live in the charnel ground of Aṭṭahāsa.

| | Noun Phrases for the Magician |
|----------|--|
| β | <i>sgyu ma mkhan zhig</i> → <i>Slu byed bden smra</i> ; |
| η | <i>sgyu ma mkhan zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Slu byed</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa' bDen par smra ba</i> ; |
| θ | <i>sgyu ma mkhan</i> Rakṣa de wa → <i>rnal 'byor pa Slu byed bden smra</i> ; |
| ι | <i>sgyu ma mkhan zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Slu byed</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa' bDen par smra ba</i> ; |
| κ | <i>sgyu ma mkhan</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Slu byed</i> ; |
| λ | <i>sgyu ma mkhan zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Slu byed smras pa</i> ; |
| ν | <i>sgyu ma mkhan zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Slu byed smra ba</i> → <i>byang chub bDen par smra ba</i> ; |
| ξ | <i>sgyu ma mkhan zhig</i> → <i>Slu byed smras pa</i> ; |
| AMM VIII | <i>sgyu ma mkhan</i> ; |
| AGAA III | <i>sgyu ma mkhan</i> → <i>bDen par smra ba</i> . |

With the Liquor-Selling Woman

The fourth episode in Mar pa's arrangement tells us about a liquor-selling woman (*chang 'tshong ma* : *śauṇḍikī*, MVy 3778). As such, she must have had at least two defects in one to brāhmaṇas' eyes: not only the sole status recognized to her gender was as a member of the family of her father, and then of her husband (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 455), but also she belonged to a low-caste family of distillers and sellers of liquor (*śauṇḍika*). Furthermore, as observed by Weber (1921: 46), some castes were considered 'déclassés' in the social rank order of the brāhmaṇa system when women participated in selling in the stores and, more in general, the cooperation of women in economic pursuits was considered 'specifically plebeian'.

Consistent with the Kāpālīka-like aesthetics of the scandalous conduct, in the siddhas' propensity to get into disreputable company, the plebeian liquor-selling woman already comes into view in tantric songs on the practice. As a matter of fact, in a *caryāgīti* by the siddha Virūpā (*Caryāgītikōśa* 3.1; Kvaerne 1977: 81–86; Davidson 2002b: 258–59), a liquor-selling woman (*śuṇḍinī* : *chang ma*), figuratively alluding to the central energy channel (*avadhūtī*), is described as producing spirituous

liquor (*vāruṇī* : *chu bdag*), i.e. the seminal essence, or spirit of awakening (*bodhicitta*), by means of neither yeast (*cikkaṇa* : *phabs*) nor shredded bark (Late MIA *vakka* : Skt *valka*, but Tib. *rtsi*, ‘juice’).¹⁶

In the role of one of the eight *dramatis personae* that Tilopā would have met and converted, the status of this kind of woman was perceived as so low that the liquor-selling woman (*chang 'tshong ma*) turns in later sources into a prostitute (*smad 'tshong ma*, ξ, *AMM* III).

The occasion and the scenario are reminiscent of the well-known miraculous drinking episode of Virūpā, as it can be found in the relevant hagiographic material, to begin with Abhayadatta's *Caturaśītisiddha-pravṛtti*, and in the iconography of that siddha (Davidson 2002b: 259, 403). In fact, whereas Virūpā stops the sun in its path lest he should settle the bill to the liquor-selling woman for what he was gulping down, Tilopā drank all the liquor under different forms, viz. a monkey and a cat (β), a cat only (η), a cat and several yogins (θ), a beggar (λ), a monkey and a rat (v), and a rat only (ξ). Deprived of her own merchandise, the woman burst into tears. ‘What is wrong with you?’ people asked, and she told the story (*lo rgyus*). ‘Supplicate that yogin for your sake!’ people suggested. Weeping, the woman approached Tilopā supplicating him to be accepted as a disciple, and in a moment all the pots were again filled with liquor. Then, as Tilopā sang about the inconceivable great bliss (*bsam gyis mi khyab pa bde ba chen po*, *AMM* III), all were liberated.

Thenceforth named *Nyi 'od sgron ma*, or *Yoginī Nyi ma 'od*, then Bodhisattva *sGron ma 'dzin pa*, all sources agree that the liquor-selling woman would still live in the charnel ground of *So sa gling*.

| | Noun Phrases for the Liquor-Selling Woman |
|---|---|
| β | <i>chang 'tshong ma zhig</i> → <i>Nyi 'od sgron ma</i> ; |
| η | <i>chang 'tshong ma dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor ma Nyi ma 'od</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa' sGron ma 'dzin pa</i> ; |
| θ | <i>chang 'tshong ma</i> → <i>Nyi 'od sgron ma</i> → <i>rnal 'byor ma Nyi ma'i 'od</i> ; |
| ι | <i>chang 'tshong ma dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor ma Nyi ma'i 'od</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa' sGron ma 'dzin pa</i> ; |
| κ | <i>chang 'tshong ma shin tu dregs pa che ba zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor ma Nyi ma 'od</i> → <i>sems dpa' sGron ma 'dzin pa</i> ; |
| λ | <i>chang 'tshong ma dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor ma Nyi 'od sgron ma</i> ; |
| v | <i>chang 'tshong ma dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor ma Nyi 'od sgron ma</i> → <i>byang chub sGron 'dzin</i> ; |

| | |
|---------|--|
| ξ | <i>chang 'tshong ma dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor ma</i> Nyi 'od sgron ma; |
| AMM III | <i>smad 'tshong ma</i> ; |
| AGAA IV | <i>chang 'tshong ma</i> → Nyi 'od sgron ma. |

With the Singer

No magic is there in the episode of Tilopā's instruction to the singer (*glu mkhan la gdams pa*, AMM IV). The opposition between the two, followed by the conversion of the latter, is based in this case on art, namely on musical ability. We are told that Tilopā once found a skillful singer sitting in the marketplace of another country and sang a song before him. The singer took it as a challenge, and the two started a musical competition, needless to say, with the victory of Tilopā and the conversion of the singer, who was then instructed on the inconceivable music (*rol mo bsam gyis mi khyab pa*, AMM IV).

Since that time the singer was named *dByangs ldan lkugs pa*, Yogin *Nus pa can*, then Bodhisattva *Nyi zla 'dzin pa*, Yogin *lKugs pa* (Skt *mūka*, or *mūrkhā*), then Bodhisattva *dByangs dang ldan pa*, or simply *dByangs ldan*, or else *Nyi zla 'dzin*. He would continue to live in *Nagara* (*Na ga ra*, β, θ, ι, λ, ν, ξ, AMM IV), or in the town of *I mi tsi li* (η), or else *I mi ci ka li* (κ).

As to the toponym *Nagara*, we find mention in the Nālandā copperplate inscription of Dharmapāla of a *Nagara Bhukti* in current Bihar, 'identified with modern Patna, which as a division includes the district of Gayā even now' (P.N. Bhattacharyya 1935–36: 291; cf. Law 1954: 240).

| | Noun Phrases for the Singer |
|---|---|
| β | <i>glu mkhan mkhas pa zhig</i> → <i>dByangs ldan lkugs pa</i> ; |
| η | <i>glu mkhan dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> <i>Nus pa can</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> <i>Nyi zla 'dzin pa</i> ; |
| θ | <i>glu mkhan mkhas pa zhig</i> → <i>dByangs ldan lkugs pa</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa dByangs ldan</i> ; |
| ι | <i>glu mkhas par grags pa thob pa zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa lKugs pa</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> <i>dByangs dang ldan pa</i> ; |
| κ | <i>glu mkhan dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> <i>Nus pa can</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> <i>Nyi zla 'dzin</i> ; |
| λ | <i>glu mkhan mkhas pa dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor pa dByangs ldan lkug pa</i> ; |
| ν | <i>glu mkhan dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>thugs sras grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor pa dByangs ldan lkugs pa</i> → <i>byang chub</i> <i>Nyi zla</i> ; |

| | |
|---------|---|
| ξ | <i>glu mkhan mkhas pa dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> dByangs ldan lkugs pa; |
| AMM IV | <i>glu mkhan</i> ; |
| AGAA IV | <i>glu mkhan</i> dByangs skyong → dByangs ldan lkug pa. |

With the Butcher

The instruction to the butcher (*shan pa la gdams pa*, AMM VI) comes after Tilopā had induced remorse at slaughter in a man who used to kill and cook a lot of young animals for his son. One day he would have magically transformed the meat that the man was cooking into the child's legs, arms, and head. When the traumatized parent promised not to kill any longer, Tilopā revived the son, and instructed the father on the inconceivable act of killing (*gsod pa 'i sbyor ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa*, AMM VI).

The butcher was since then named *bDe byed dga' ba*, or Yogin *bDe byed*, then Bodhisattva *dGa' ba*, or simply *bDe byed*, or else *Dzi na*, i.e. Jina. He would continue to live in the 'land of *rākṣasas*' (*Srin po 'i gling*, β, κ *Srin mo 'i gling*, η, θ, ι, λ, ν), which we could reasonably identify with Arakan on the basis of its accepted etymon from *rākṣasa*, reinterpreted in later sources as a 'barbarous and ruthless town' (*rigs ngan gtum po 'i grong khyer*, ξ, AMM VI).

| | Noun Phrases for the Butcher |
|---------|---|
| β | <i>shan pa zhig</i> → <i>bDe byed dga' ba</i> ; |
| η | <i>srog chags mang po bsad cing bu smad gso ba zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed → <i>byang chub sems dpa' dGa' ba</i> ; |
| θ | <i>shan pa zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed dga' ba; |
| ι | <i>shan pa zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed → <i>byang chub sems dpa' dGa' ba</i> ; |
| κ | <i>mi gcig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed → <i>de bzhin gshegs pa</i> bDe byed; |
| λ | <i>sgrog chags mang po bsad nas kho rang gi bu smad gso ba zhig</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa 'i rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed dga' ba; |
| ν | <i>shan pa zhig</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa 'i rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed dga' ba → <i>byang chub dga' ba</i> ; |
| ξ | <i>srog chags mang po bsad nas kho rang gi bu smad gso ba zhig</i> → <i>smin zhing grol ba 'i rnal 'byor pa</i> bDe byed dga' ba; |
| AMM VI | <i>shan pa</i> ; |
| AGAA VI | <i>shan pa</i> Dzi na. |

With the Materialist

According to Indian epistemology, knowledge (*pramā*) can be gained via some different sources (*pramāṇa*), to begin with immediate perception (*pratyakṣa*): whereas the sense-based cognition is unanimously accepted, other *pramāṇas*—inference (*anumāna*), verbal authority (*śabda*), analogy (*upamāna*), postulation from circumstances (*arthāpatti*), and negative proof (*anupalabdhi*)—are acknowledged only by certain schools. Far from being mere hedonists, the Cārvakas or Lokāyatas were materialist philosophers who admitted only perception as a source of valid cognition, and thus they rejected any other *pramāṇa*. Together with the Bauddhas and the Jainas, the Lokāyatas are labelled *nāstikas* because they deny (*na-asti* ‘there is not’) any authority to the *Vedas* as a source of valid knowledge. But, in contrast with Bauddhas, Jainas, as well as with all ‘orthodox’ systems (*āstika*), they also refute any demonstrability of the law of karma, *in se* void of any merely empirical basis (Tucci 1923–29).

In the episode of the conversion and instruction to the denier of the fruits of actions (*las ’bras med par ’dod pa*), we are told that a Lokāyata (*rgyang phan pa*, β, θ, λ, v, ξ) denying the law of cause and fruit (*rgyu ’bras : hetuphala*) had declared that there are neither virtuous nor evil actions. A Buddhist savant rebutted it with arguments like ‘If you eat you are full, if not, you are hungry’ (*bza’ rgyu zos na ’grangs ma zos na ltog*, η 17a4), and so forth. According to Mar pa (β), Tilopā would have been entrusted as judge of the debate between the two, and his verdict would have been for the law of causality. As maintained by later hagiographies (η, θ, ι, κ, λ, v, ξ), the verdict itself in aid of the Buddhist view would have induced the Materialist to debate also with Tilopā. In both cases, since the only source of valid cognition accepted by a Lokāyata was first-hand perception (*pratyakṣa*), the Materialist would have coherently insisted that he could not see in person (*dnegos su mthong ba med*, β, *dnegos su ma mthong*, η, θ, κ, λ) any causality.¹⁷

According to the sources, Tilopā would have manifested to the Materialist both the gods and the hells. In a heavenly abode (*lha gnas*) there was a goddess who was alone (*zla med*), and the Materialist asked her why. ‘There is a certain tīrthika practising virtue: I am his consort’ she answered. Tilopā would have taken him again, and the two went to the hells: many copper pots were there, and something to be boiled in each of them, but in one there was nothing. When the Materialist asked what was therein, Tilopā would have answered, ‘All the tīrthikas denying virtuous and evil actions

(*mu stegs pa las dge sdig med zer ba*) are boiled there'. The shocked Materialist, reifying what he had perceived, would have said (β 25.3–4):

For the evil produced by actions,
The hells surround one's own mind.
For the virtue produced by actions,
The higher realms surround one's own mind.

Tilopā replied with a response song (*lan mgur*) revealing his view:

If there is attachment (*chags*), go to charnel grounds.
If in trouble (*rgud*), rise the victory banner (*rgyal mtshan*).
Notions (*rnam par rtog pa*) are concrete patterns (*sprul sku*):
As for me, I showed nothing (*ngas ni bstan pa ci yang med*).

After these words, Tilopā sang about the inconceivable variety (*sna tshogs bsam gyis mi khyab pa*, *AMM* VII).

The Materialist, named Jinabodhi (*Dzi na byang chub*) in most sources, or *Nag po me drangs ye shes* (or *ma drang*) would continue to live in the south of India on Śrīparvata (*lho phyogs dPal gyi ri*).

| | Noun Phrases for the Materialist |
|-----------------|--|
| β | <i>rgyu 'bras la bkur ba 'debs pa'i rgyang phan pa</i> → <i>Dzi na byang chub</i> ; |
| η | <i>rgyu 'bras med par 'dod pa phyi pa'i paṇ ḍi ta chen po zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Dzi na</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> Byang chub chen po; |
| θ | <i>mu stegs rgyang phan gyi lta ba 'dzin pa zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Dzi na</i> → <i>Dzi na byang chub</i> ; |
| ι | <i>las 'bras [...] med par 'dod pa</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Dzi na</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa'</i> Byang chub; |
| κ | <i>las rgyu 'bras [...] med par 'dod pa phyi pa mu stegs pa'i paṇ ḍi ta zhig</i> → <i>rnal 'byor pa Dzi na</i> → Byang chub chen po; |
| λ | <i>mu stegs rgyang 'phen pa'i lta ba 'dzin pa zhig</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor pa Ji na byang chub</i> ; |
| ν | <i>las rgyu 'bras khas mi len pa'i mu stegs rgyang phan pa'i lta ba 'dzin pa'i mu stegs kyi paṇ ḍi ta zhig</i> → <i>thugs sras grub pa thob pa'i rnal 'byor ba Dzi na byang chub</i> → Byang chub chen po; |
| ξ | <i>mu stegs rgyang 'phan gyi lta ba 'dzin pa zhig</i> → <i>smin zhing grol ba'i rnal 'byor pa Dzi na byang chub</i> ; |
| <i>AMM</i> VII | <i>rig byed mkhan po</i> ; |
| <i>AGAA</i> VII | <i>Nag po me drangs ye shes</i> → <i>mu stegs ston pa Ma drang</i> . |

With the Sorcerer

Tilopā would have encountered and converted the sorcerer (*mthu mkhan*, β, η, *mthu bo che*, θ, ι, κ, λ, ν, ξ, *AMM* II) in the ‘town of Nagara’ (*grong khyer Na ga ra*, η, κ), the city (*nagara*) above identified as Pāṭaliputra (Patna). We are told that a powerful sorcerer used to bewitch and kill everybody. When Tilopā saw that the time for subduing him had come, the two entered into a contest of killing (*bcad ’gran pa*). Tilopā overcame the other and gained his promise to cease bewitching. Then, as he sang about the inconceivable exalted activities (*phrin las bsam gyis mi khyab pa*), all were liberated.

The sorcerer, named *Nyi i mi*, or *Nyi ma*, then Yogin *Nyi zla*, or Yogin *Nyi ma ’dzin pa*, would continue to live in *Ki mi tsi ki li* (β), or *I mi tsun dha’i gling* (θ, λ, ν, ξ, *AMM* II), or else *Yi mi li tsi ki li* (ι). Curiously, *A mi tsi ka li* occurs as the name of the converted one in *AGAA* VIII.

| | Noun Phrases for the Sorcerer |
|------------------|--|
| β | <i>mthu mkhan zhig</i> → <i>Nyi i mi</i> ; |
| η | <i>mthu mkhan dregs pa can zhig</i> → <i>rnal ’byor pa bKugs pa</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa’ dByangs dang ldan pa</i> ; |
| θ | <i>mthu bo che Nyi ma</i> → <i>rnal ’byor pa Nyi zla</i> ; |
| ι | <i>mthu bo che zhig</i> → <i>rnal ’byor pa Nyi ma ’dzin pa</i> → <i>byang chub sems dpa’ Zla ba’i ’od</i> ; |
| κ | <i>mthu che ba’i nus pa can</i> → <i>rnal ’byor pa lKug pa</i> → <i>de bzhin gshegs pa dByangs dang ldan pa</i> ; |
| λ | <i>mthu bo che Nyi ma</i> → <i>grub pa thob pa’i rnal ’byor pa Nyi zla</i> ; |
| ν | <i>mthu bo che Nyi ma</i> → <i>rnal ’byor pa Nyi zla</i> → <i>byang chub dByangs dang ldan pa</i> ; |
| ξ | <i>mthu bo che Nyi ma</i> → <i>smin zhing grol ba’i rnal ’byor pa Nyi zla</i> ; |
| <i>AMM</i> II | <i>mthu can</i> ; |
| <i>AGAA</i> VIII | <i>nus pa mkhan</i> → <i>A mi tsi ka li</i> . |

Tilopā’s Apotheosis

In the narration subsequent to Tilopā’s ‘slow homecoming’, the hagiographies describe his threefold apotheosis, first as a manifestation of Śaṃvara (section 2), then as Śaṃvara himself (section 3), and eventually as the aggregation of the bodies of all the buddhas of the three times (section 4). Notably, in the first two stages he wears the monastic garb while in the

last one he is again a siddha in his underwear.

As a Manifestation of Śaṃvara

We are informed that Tilopā took monastic vows (*rab tu byung* : *pravrajita*) in the Aśoka Vihāra (β 26.3: *dgon pa Mya ngan med pa*). Given that *aśoka* ‘painless’ is synonymous with *aroga*, we can reasonably identify this vihāra with the above mentioned Aroga Vihāra of the seclusion of Cūḍāmaṇi (β 20.2–3: *gTsug gi nor bu'i dgon pa A ro ga'i gtsug lag khang*).

In the vihāra there were both his maternal uncle and mother. The latter, the Brāhmaṇī *Dyutimatī (*gSal ldan ma*) when married with Tilopā's father the Brāhmaṇa *Dyuti (*gSal ba*), had become a nun (*btsun ma*) presumably after her husband's death. Both had a pre-eminent position in the vihāra, abbot (*mkhan* : *upādhyāya*) and ācārya respectively. The name given to the fully ordained *bhikṣu* (*dge slong*) would have been *Kālapā (*Ka la pa*, β, η, θ, ι, κ₂, ν), the ‘Black One’, or *Kāpāla (*Ka pa la*, λ, ξ), possibly by reason of his previous Kāpālika background. In Mar pa's words (β 26.3–27.1):

While the others were engaged in the three wheels of religious duties (*'khor gsum*), instead of undergoing his spiritual practices (*chos spyod*), he would kill lots of locusts (*cha ga*), piling up their heads on one side and their bodies on the other. All became involved in blaming him. Meanwhile, there were those in charge of the proctor master of discipline (*dge skos*), ‘Let us have a conference!’ they proposed, and the proctor said, ‘Gather in general the religious persons (*chos pa*), in particular the monks (*btsun pa*), and most particularly those of the seclusion of Aśoka’.

The controversy (*brgal ba*) was arranged, and the king of the country spoke to him: ‘How is that you, apparently a monk (*btsun*), kill insects? Where is your land, who are your abbot (*mkhan*) and teacher (*slob*)?’ Having so asked, the latter answered in song:

In the Aśoka Vihāra
My uncle and mother are abbot and teacher.
I am the monk Tilopā.
Millions of aeons ago, I
Went to a hundred buddha-fields.
Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, and
The Buddha: with them did I speak.
I saw the thousand buddhas as well.
I have not killed any sentient being!

After these words, it is told that the locusts began to buzz and flew away.
At that all believed, and he was famed as a manifestation of Śaṃvara.

As Śaṃvara Himself

In the third section, where he is asserted to be Cakraśaṃvara himself, we are told, still following Mar pa's account (β 27.1–6), that

...in east India, those who came for alms (*bsod snyoms*), while approaching, used to step in a decent way, their eyes looking at a distance of a yoke (*gnya' shing*), intoning melodious mantric verses (*sngags kyi tshig bcad*) and, while leaving, they used to chant auspicious verses (*shis pa*) for having taken what had been given (*sbyin len*). As they were venerated by people for that, the king of the country invited all them. They were welcomed within, then the king said, 'For having taken what has been given, everyone of you has to recite verses not in contradiction with the words of grammarians (*sgra mkhan*), nor with valid cognition (*tshad ma : pramāṇa*), scriptural tradition (*lung*), esoteric instructions (*man ngag : upadeśa*), experiences (*nyams myong : anubhava*) and the comprehension (*rtogs pa*) of those having a clear understanding (*rtog pa can rnams*)'. So he said, and all exhibited themselves, one by one, without contradiction with the other. When it was the turn of Ācārya Tilopā, he recited without contradiction with all the others. At the end, the king interrogated him about those verses and their meaning:

I have neither father nor mother:
I am Cakraśaṃvara, Śaṃbara.
I have neither abbot nor master:
I am the self-born Buddha.
I have neither grammar nor valid cognition:
Logic came up by itself.
As to the body, speech, and mind of Śaṃvara,
They are one with my body, speech and mind.
I go into the great bliss!

Having so sung, he was celebrated as Śaṃvara himself.

No Longer Monk: Tilopā and Nāropā

Before the third step of Tilopā's apotheosis, another tile is to be inserted in this diachronic mosaic, so as to see again Tilopā as a half-naked yogin.



FIGURE 3 Manuscript image of Tilopā (late 15th century).
Detail of rGyal thang pa's *rJe btsun chen po tilli pa'i rnam par thar pa*, fol. 1b

It is matter of the episode narrated most probably at the very beginning of the twelfth century in the **Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* (δ). We are told therein that the great scholar (*mkhas pa*) Tilopā was the officiating court priest (*mchod gnas*) of the king of Viṣṇunagara,¹⁸ with a subsidy of five hundred measures (*zho : karṣa*) of gold every day.

When he became disturbed by teaching the doctrine (*chos 'chad : dharmadeśanā*) to a numberless circle of students and by other offices, he thought, 'A life such as mine is meaningless: what shall I do? (*bdag gi skye ba 'di 'dra ba'i don med pas ci zhig bya*)'. Again and again his followers had prevented him from running away, but one day he cast aside his monastic garb (*chos gos : cīvara*) and dressed just a piece of sewing. He wrote a farewell message, 'I will not return again (*nga da mi log pa*). Do not come after me (*klog tu ma 'ong*)', and left it at home. He secretly

quitted at night and settled down in the charnel ground out of the town of Kāñcīpura (? *Kan tsi ra*).¹⁹ While begging food for alms (*zas bsod snyoms blangs*)—we are not told how long later—he met Nāropā, and the latter lived ten years begging food for alms and offering it to his guru.

More than the above problematic toponyms, it is noteworthy here that Tilopā would have quit his position as court priest before meeting Nāropā. As to the latter, while we read in *δ* that he was son of low-caste liquor seller, and that he would have earned his living by gathering and selling wood before meeting Tilopā, the sources within the Marpan tradition have it that also Nāropā would have resigned his position.

As observed by Davidson (2005: 44), Nāropā was ‘a figure around whom so much hagiography has been wrapped that it scarcely seems possible to find room for a real person’. It would be matter of a process of depersonalization characteristic of the Buddhist hagiographic genre (Davidson 2002b: 93), in this case ascribable to the bKa’ brgyud hagiographers. Such a process brings about several questions, decidedly more questions than answers. The details of the problem have been summarized by Davidson (2005: 45) as follows:

Because of their inattention to evidence, Tibetan hagiographers disagree on his location, family, early career, and the majority of other details. Many Tibetans incorrectly locate him in Kashmir, while others accurately place him in Bengal; some say he was a Brahman, others that he was a prince, and one Indian source—the version found in the compendium attributed to Abhayadatta—indicates that he was from a low-caste family of liquor sellers (*śaunḍika*).

In the hagiography of Nāropā compiled by lHa btsun (ξ₁) and translated by Guenther (1963b), we find some ‘information’ about the chronology of Nāropā’s curriculum: as it has already been the case of Tilopā, this piece of information comes from dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (v). In this case as well, we have no idea how reliable the referred data are, but we can build up a feasible chronological scenario with them. To do that, by sketching a concordance of Mar pa’s account of Nāropā (β) with dBang phyug rgyal mtshan’s (v) and lHa btsun’s (ξ₁) hagiographies, we can depict the following curriculum:

β

Once born, he received the name Samantabhadra (*Kun tu bzang po*).

He went to Uddiyāna to study as the lay disciple (*dge bsnyen : upāsaka*) Gaganagarbha (*Nam mkha'i snying po*).

Back home with nineteen among scholars and students (*slob ma paṇ ḍi ta bcu dgu khrid nas yul du byon*) for further study.

He was forced to marry Vimalā (*Dri med ma*), then divorced.

He went to Nandanavana (*dGa' ba'i tshal*, *MVy* 4194), and was ordained novice (*dge tshul : śramaṇera*) with the name Jñānasiddhi (*Ye shes dngos grub*) by the abbot Buddhaśaraṇa (*Sangs rgyas skyabs*) and the ācārya Jñānaprabha (*Ye shes 'od*).

In the region (*gnas gzhi*) of Pūrṇa (*Pur sna*), he was ordained monk (*dge slong : bhikṣu*) with the name Dharmadhvaja (*Chos kyi rgyal mtshan*) by the abbot Dharmaguru (*Chos kyi bla ma*), the ceremony master (*las kyi slob dpon : *karmācārya*) Dharmabodhi (*Chos kyi byang chub*), and the interviewer mentor (*gsang ste ston pa : raho 'nuśāsaka*)²⁰ Dharmajñāna (*Chos kyi ye shes*).

He receives as a legacy from the above abbot and ācāryas (in Pūrṇa) the seclusion of Phullahari (*Phu lā par ba ta*).

He left for Nālandā to preside over the department at the northern gate as a

v, ξ₁ (cf. Guenther 1963b)

Born in 956 (*me pho 'brug gi lo*, v 175.3; ξ₁ 63.2), he received the name Samantabhadra.

At eleven he went to Kashmir to study. Ordained lay disciple with the name Gaganagarbha by the abbot Gaganakīrti (*Nam mkha'i grags pa*), he spent three years in Kashmir (966–969).

Back home with thirteen scholars for further study, he spent three years in this way (969–972).

At seventeen he was forced to marry Vimalā, then divorced after eight years of marriage (972–980).

At twenty-five, he went to Nandanavana (*dGa' ba'i tshal*, v 194.5; *Ānandārama* in Guenther). Ordained novice with the name Buddhajñāna (*Sangs rgyas ye shes*) by the abbot Buddhaśaraṇa and the ācārya Jñānaprabha, he spent three years there (980–983).

At twenty-eight he went to Pūrṇa in Kashmir (*Kha che'i Pur ṇa* v 195.2; ξ₁ 74.9). Ordained monk with the name Dharmadhvaja by the abbot Dharmaguru, the ācārya Dharmajñāna, and the interviewer mentor Dharmabodhi, he spent three years there (983–986).

Then he went to Phullahari (*Phu la ha ri*), where he was famous as the Elder Śāsanadhara (*bsTan pa 'dzin pa*); he spent six years there (986–992).

He left for Nālandā to preside over the department at the northern gate as a

gatekeeper (*sgo srung : dvārapāla*) after the death of *Ākaravajra* ('Byung gnas rdo rje). Then, he was conferred the name Scholar Abhayakīrti (*Paṇ ḍi ta 'Jigs med grags pa*).

Once resigned his post, he looked for Tilopā.

gatekeeper after the death of *Jetari* (*Dze ta ri*). He became abbot of Nālandā and was conferred the name Abhayakīrti: he spent eight years there (992–1000).

Once resigned his post, he looked for Tilopā.

At eighty-five, in 1040 (*lcags pho 'brug gi lo | dgung lo brgyad cu rtsa lnga bzhes pa 'i tshe*, v 311.4–5; §1 142), he died at Phullahari.

On the basis of the referred—and inferred—dates, here rectified from Guenther's translation (1963b) of the hagiography of Nāropā compiled by lHa btsun, we can conjecture that Nāropā would have met Tilopā around 1000: approximately, when the former was forty-five, and the latter about seventy.

With regard to the sources, if we try to elicit Nāropā's curriculum previous to meeting his guru—birthplace, family, study, wife, monastic and academic career—the birthplace is certainly the most problematic point. We see that Mar pa and Kun dga' rin chen locate Nāropā's birthplace in Kashmir (*yul rGya gar nub phyogs Kha che Shri na ga ra*, β 29.2; '*khrungs pa 'i yul Kha che*, μ 50.4); Abhayadatta in eastern India (*rGya gar shar phyogs*, δ N LU 24b2, G LU 34b4); rGyal thang pa in Bengal, albeit 'in the south of India' (*rGya gar lho phyogs*, η 60.4–5); whereas rDo rje mdzes 'od mentions only the region and the town (*Shrī na ga ra 'i grong khyer 'Dzam bu*, θ 86.6), U rgyan pa, Mon rtse pa, gTsang smyon He ru ka, dBang phyug rgyal mtshan, and lHa btsun place it in Bengal (*rGya gar shar phyogs Bha gha la*, ι 53.1–2; κ 47.1; λ A 44.2 B 119.2; v 169.5; §1 59–60). Was Nāropā born in the west (β, μ) or in the east (δ, η, ι, κ, λ, v, §1)? A reasonable solution might be the one indirectly suggested by sGam po pa, who asserts that Nāropā was born 'in a kṣatriya family of the west' (*nub phyogs kyi rgyal rigs*, ε 5.1), that is to say, his parents could have been from Kashmir, but they did not necessarily lived there.

While the town, albeit unidentified, unanimously occurs in the sources as Jambu ('*Dzam bu*, β, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, v, §1), the question is whether the region was Śrīnagara (β, θ, ι, κ, λ, v, §1), Nagara (η), or Śalaputra (*Sā la pu tra*, δ). It has been suggested above that *Nagara* could point to a territorial division (*bhukti*), the capital of which would be Pāṭaliputra, or current Patna in Bihar (P.N. Bhattacharyya 1935–36; Law 1954: 240). More in

detail, as observed by Sircar (1971: 248),

...from the inscriptions of the Pālas, we come to know of the existence of two *bhuktis* or provinces in Bihar, viz. Śrīnagara-bhukti and Tīra-bhukti. The word *tīra* refers to the banks of the Ganges. Tīra-bhukti is the same as the modern Tirhut Division and apparently indicated parts of Bihar lying to the north of that river. The expression *Śrī-nagara* meaning ‘the illustrious city,’ i.e., the city *par excellence*, referred to the celebrated ancient city of Pāṭaliputra (of which the modern representative is Pāṭnā derived from Sanskrit *pattana* or township) and the Śrīnagara-bhukti no doubt included the districts of South Bihar having their administrative headquarters at the above city.

Even today, out of the nine divisions of Bihar, the division of Purnia or Purnea (Pūrṇiā) includes the districts of Purnia (founded by the East India Company in 1770), Katihar, Araria, and Kishanganj, which cover the north-eastern part of the state. It is also the name of the headquarters of the district and the division itself. It must be noted that one of the blocks of the Purnia District is called Śrinagar.

Commonly known through Tibetan tradition as Phullahari, the toponym has been elucidated by Mar pa (β 31.3–4) as *Phullāparvata*, *Me tog gi ri*, and *Phullā-ri*, namely the Indic, the Tibetan, and the Indic-Tibetan patois version respectively of the same place. According to Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Phullahari is to be found in eastern Magadha, that is in current Bihar, ‘probably somewhere near Monghyr’ (1971: 525). As a matter of fact, already Mar pa indirectly locates Phullahari in Pūrṇa (β 31.2–4):

...de nas sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la ’jug
la bsnyen par ma rdzogs pa ’dis mi
yong snyam nas gnas gzhi Pur snar |
mkhan po Chos kyi bla ma | las kyi slob
dpon Chos kyi byang chub | gsang ste
ston pa Chos kyi ye shes la bsnyen
rdzogs byas to ||
dge slong Chos kyi rgyal mtshan du
btags | der chos kyang mang zhig bshad
do ||
mkhan po la sogs pa rnam kyi zhal nas
bdag cag ma shi bar la ’dir sdod la chos
shod | shi nas shul bya dgos gsungs pa
la |

...Then as he deemed an incomplete
monastic ordination not good for the
Buddha’s teachings, he took the full
monastic vows in the region of Pūrṇa
with the abbot Dharmaguru, the master
of the ceremony Dharmabodhi, and the
interviewer mentor Dharmajñāna.
He was named Dharmadhvaja [as] an
ordained monk. On that occasion, many
doctrines were also explained.
The abbot and the others spoke, ‘Stay
here until our death and teach the
doctrine. When we die you should take
[this seat as] a legacy’. He replied:

rGya gar skad du Phu lā par ba ta | Bod 'Phullāparvata in Indic, in Tibetan the
 skad du | Me tog gi ri | Phu la ri | zhes Mountain of Blooms, [or] Mount
 pa brda' 'dres pa ste de la sgom par Phullā: so are the words confused. I
 zhus pas request to meditate there.'
 ci bde bar mdzod gsungs nas Phu la rir 'Do as you like!' they responded. Then
 bzhugs so || he dwelt at Mount Phullā.

Thanks to Davidson (2002b: 317, 412–13; 2005: 144–45) a confirmation of this Bihari location has been found in Nag tsho Lo tsā ba's report included in the *rNal 'byor byang chub seng ge'i dris lan* by Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216): we read therein that the seclusion of Phullahari was located to the southeast from Magadha (*Ma ga dha nas ... shar lhor*), that is from the current districts of Gaya and Patna in Bihar.

Again, an eye witness' description of Phullahari can be found in the reported autobiographical account of the pilgrimage in India that Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (*Dharmasvāmin*, 1197–1264) did in 1234–36. This account is included in the *Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyi rnam thar* by his disciple Chos dpal dar byang:

[The Dharmasvāmin] said that 'Nāropa's hermitage (*sgrub gnas* : *siddhasthāna*) Phulahari was situated in a forest north of Nālandā (*Phu la ha ri ni Na landra'i byang phyogs kyi nags khrod cig na*), a tumbled down straw hut with three crooked doors, surrounded by numerous huts, without an encircling wall, and that even now some people used to stay there' (*Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyi rnam thar* 7, 120.1–4; Roerich 1959: 85).

With regard to the academic position Nāropā would have held before meeting Tilopā, we have an indirect proof in the Shamsheer Manuscript (α) where we read that Advayavajra, alias Maitrīpāda or Śābarapāda II studied for twenty years in the presence of Nāropā the treatises of valid cognition, Mādhyamika, and Pāramitānaya (*viṃśatīvarṣaparyantaṃ Nāropādasamīpe pramāṇa-mādhyamika-pāramitānaya-śāstram*²¹ *śrutam*).

As we have seen in the second chapter, Vibhūticandra translated Tilopā's *Gurusādhana* (GS, Ö. 5014) while living at Ding ri. Then, possibly on the basis of anecdotal information he got in the 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud milieu during his first stay in Tibet (1204–14), he composed in the Ding ri period this 'Circumstances of the Outer Sādhana' (ζ, *Phyi sgrub kyis rten 'brel* : **Bāhyasādhanasamyoḡa*). In order to put Tilopā's *Gurusādhana* within a hagiographic and anecdotal context, Vibhūticandra

introduces the reader to what Tilopā would have said to Nāropā—here Abhayakīrti (*'Jigs med grags pa*)—at the moment of their first encounter:

The prince (*rgyal sras*) Nāropā, due to the seven syllables (*yi ge bdun pa*) *sādhana*,²² received a incorporeal *ḍākinī*'s prediction. He went eastwards [from Nālandā] in search of the guru. 'Have you heard about a siddha, the guru called Tilopā?' he asked. 'Of a *guru* called Tilopā we have never heard, but everywhere there is a beggar (*sprang po*) called Tilopā', he was answered.

At the gate of the vihāra called Cūḍāmaṇi (*gTsug phud spra bha = gTsug gi nor bu*), there was a ragged cotton clad yogin (*ras gha 'ja' ra gyon pa'i dzo ki*), bloodshot eyed, acting loose and easy. He had taken five alive fish, and was frying them in the kitchen of the monastic community. The members of that community rebuked him: 'You! We don't like. Don't do that!' they said. As soon as he snapped the fingers, the fish entered in a large copper water container (*chu zangs*), alive and moving quickly.

Thereafter, having thought 'No doubt he is Tilopā', he offered a maṇḍala to him, and asked for the profound oral instructions. At first, staring him with fixed eyes, spoke thus, 'If you want to actualize in this life [the condition of] a perfect buddha (*rdzogs pa'i sang rgyas : sambuddha*), ...

Tilopā's Ultimate Apotheosis

In the Marpan tradition the end of Tilopā's story depicts our siddha as the aggregation of the bodies of all the buddhas of the three times. We are told that a King Siṃhacandra (*Seng ge zla ba*) had invited many siddhas and asked them to perform consecration ceremonies. Tilopā would have caused a maṇḍala of coloured powder to appear in the space. As the king and the people had perceived him in different ways during the ceremony, Tilopā would have raised a song:

I am Hevajra (*Kye'i rdo rje*) in the body,
 Mahāmāyā (*Ma hā mā ya*) in the speech,
 Cakraśaṃvara (*bDe mchog 'khor lo*) in the mind,
 Guhyasamāja (*gSang ba 'dus pa*) in the aggregates and elements,
 Kṛṣṇayāmāri (*dGra rgyud nag po*) in the limbs,
 Vajrabhairava (*rDo rje 'jigs byed*) in the subtler parts of the body,
 The buddhas of the three times in the hairs.

Having so sung, Tilopā was celebrated as the aggregation of the bodies of all the buddhas.



FIGURE 4 Mural image of Tilopā (15th century).
sKu 'bum, 4th floor, Gyantse, Central Tibet

Notes to the Third Chapter

¹ Cf. Bengali *caṭi* 'tavern, inn' (Biswas and Sengupta 1968, s.v.), and Skt *grāma*- 'village' : Pāli and Pkt *gāma*-, Assamese and Nepali *gāũ*, Bengali and Oṛiyā *gā̃*, Bihārī dialects and Hindi *gāw* (Turner 1931, s.v. *gāũ*).

² The Tib. term *sha pa* is for the *a ga ru* or *a ka ru* tree (*Bod rgya*), that is the *Aquilaria* (MW s.v. *agaru*), a tropical tree of the Thymelaeaceae producing a dark resinous heartwood known as agarwood or aloeswood.

³ *Caryāgītikośa* 11.2: *Kāṇha kāpālī yogī pañṭha acārē | deha naarī biharae ekākārē* = *kṛṣṇa-kapālī praviṣṭaḥ pracāreṇa | deha-nagare viharati ekākāreṇa*; Dasgupta 1946: 66; Kvaerne 1977: 113; Bhayani 1997: 95–96.

⁴ The Kuchean monk Kumārajīva (*Jiumoluoshi* 鳩摩羅什, c. 334–c. 413) composed a biography of this Nāgārjuna, the *Longshu pusa zhuan* (龍樹菩薩傳, T.2047; Walleiser 1923; Dowman 1985: 117–18).

⁵ We read in the colophon that its unnamed author claims to be a disciple of a disciple of Par phu pa Blo gros seng ge, thus active in the first half of the thirteenth century (Schaeffer 2005: 64–65, 72–73).

⁶ ‘Ce qui suit n’est pas de la prophétie’ (Lévi 1930–32: 426).

⁷ The name is rendered in Tibetan as *mDa’ bsnun*, that is the ‘One who has shot (Skt *ha[n]* : Tib. *bsnun* < *snun pa*) the arrow (BHS *sara* : Skt *śara* : Tib. *mda*)’.

⁸ These three are famous as Saraha’s three cycles of *dohās* (*do hā skor gsum*), namely, the *Dohākoṣagīti* (Ö. 3068, Tō. 2224) or People *Dohās* in one hundred and sixty verses, the *Dohākoṣopadeśagīti* (Ö. 3111, Tō. 2264) or Queen *Dohās* in eighty verses, and the *Dohākoṣa-nāma-caryāgīti* (Ö. 3110, Tō. 2263) or King *Dohās* in forty verses.

⁹ Skt *mātāṅgaḥ*, *MVy* 5326 for Tib. *gdol pa* translating both *mātāṅgaḥ* and *caṇḍālāḥ*, *MVy* 3868, 3869.

¹⁰ From a short account by Kun dga’ rin chen (μ 39.4–40.4) we elicit that a *sKal ba bzang mo* would have been disciple of Anaṅgavajra (*Yan lag med pa’i rdo rje*), the disciple of Padmavajra. Out of her extant synonyms—*Su ma ti Blo gros bzang mo*, *dPal gyi Blo gros ma*, and *lCam Legs min kā ra*—the last name points at her as the sister (*lcam*) of King Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna. We read in the same source (μ) that Lakṣmīkarā, after paying homage to the mahāsiddha Saroruhavajra, and adoring him (*grub chen mTsho skyes rdo rje la btud cing mos gus byas*), would have had visions (*zhal mthong*) of buddhas and bodhisattvas, got the relevant instructions (*rjes su bstan pa*) and attained siddhi. Her elder brother, who was the king of *Ramyaksetra (*Nyams dga’ zhing*, μ 12.3 *passim*) in Uḍḍiyāna, gave her in marriage to the king of Lankāpuri, in Uḍḍiyāna as well, whose name was presumably Jalendra (Robinson 1979: 150–51; Dowman 1985: 229), and she went there practicing the ascetic conduct of mad women (*smyon ma*).

¹¹ Of the other five *sādhana*s, two are by Ākaracandra (*sTong nyid ting nge 'dzin*, alias *Aka sTong nyid ting 'dzin*), a disciple of Avadhūtipā, one by Avadhūtipā himself, one by Virūpā, and one by *Buddhadatta (*Sangs rgyas byin*) respectively.

¹² The Tibetan term *dgon pa* translates Skt *aranya* (MVy 2991, cf. 1134) and *kāntāra* (MVy 5267, cf. 2992, 4646, 6626) in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, while Lokesh Chandra (1959, s.v.) records in addition *aṭavī* and *vana*. The common meaning of these words is forest, wilderness: in the broad sense of a secluded place where to perform spiritual practice far from wordly distractions, but later the word ended by taking the more institutional meaning of monastery.

¹³ The *Saraca indica* L.= *Saraca asoca* (Roxb.) W. J. de Wilde = *Jonesia asoca* Roxb. is an evergreen plant belonging to the *Caesalpinioideae* subfamily of the legume family.

¹⁴ While β, κ and μ put Nāgārjuna first, followed by Caryāpā, the others invert the order.

¹⁵ This eastern location would already exclude the possibility of identifying this seclusion with the Buddhist monastery of Cūḍāmaṇi in Nāgapaṭṭaṇam, current Tamil Nadu, that was demolished by Jesuit missionaries in 1867. Moreover, since the southern Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra was built at the time of the Coḷa king Rājaraḷa (r. 985–1014), it cannot have been the theatre of Tilopā's activity for chronological reasons as well.

¹⁶ Incidentally, we may infer from this mention to yeast and bark that liquor, generally made by distillation of rice, molasses, flour, and honey, was also obtained by a process of fermentation of sugar in a solution, which was caused by the fine powder of the root of a tree (R.C. Majumdar 1971: 458–59).

¹⁷ In point of fact, what appears a stubborn resistance in the hagiographies is the expression of a philosophical question. The problem is also known to the European culture since the time of Aristotle's 'Sophistical Refutations' (*De sophisticis elenchis*, 5, 167b 21–36; 6, 168b 22–26), and amply discussed in the thirteenth century by the Scholastic Peter of Spain in his 'Logical matters' (*Summulae logicales magistri Petri Hispani*, 7, 56–57), as well as in Dante Alighieri's 'Monarchy' (*De Monarchia*, 3, 5). As in the case of the karmic causality, it is matter of the logical fallacy of taking as a cause what is not a cause (τὸ μὴ αἴτιον ὡς αἴτιον, *De soph. elenchis*, 167b 21), or *non causam ut causa* in Dante's words, but only occasion, extrinsic condition, or mere temporal sequence, as it is the case expressed by in the formula 'after this, therefore because of this'

(*post hoc ergo propter hoc*).

¹⁸ While we read *Bhigunagara* (*Bhi gu nā ga ra*) in the *bsTan 'gyur* editions of this account of Tilopā, the account of Nāropā in the same **Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* has Viṣṇunagara (*Biṣ ṇu na ga ra*) for the town where Nāropā would have sought his guru. Viṣṇunagara, ‘a name on the map of the siddhas’ India in contemporary southern West Bengal’ (Dowman 1985: 155), might be for current Bishnupur (Viṣṇupura), in the Bankura District of West Bengal, not far from Kolkata. It was in the kingdom of Mallabhūmi ruled by the local dynasty of the Mallas and, since the time of Jagatamalla (994–1007), its capital as well (Law 1954: 271–72, s.v. *Viṣṇupura*).

¹⁹ Kāñcīpura (Kanchipuram) is the capital of Drāviḍa or Coḷa on the river Palār, south-west of current Chennai (Madras) in Tamil Nadu.

²⁰ The *gsang ste ston pa* (*raho 'nuśāsakaḥ*, *MVy* 8730) is the interviewer during an ordination ceremony who inquires whether the candidate has the requisites for taking the monastic vows. According to the *Vinaya* there are five *ācāryas* (*slob dpon*): 1) *dge tshul gyi slob dpon*, 2) *gsang ste ston pa'i slob dpon*, 3) *las kyi slob dpon*, 4) *gnas sbyin pa'i slob dpon*, and 4) *klog gi slob dpon*.

²¹ *pramāṇamādhyamika*°] Tucci 1930, Pandey 1990 : *pramāṇam ādhyātmika*° Lévi 1930–32.

²² The recitation of the seven syllabled *mantra*—*oṃ hrīḥ hā hā hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*—is the practice of approaching (*bsnyen pa*) the tutelary deity (*iṣṭadevatā* : *yi dam*) of Cakraśaṃvara.

IV — A TILOPAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hermès Trismégiste n’existait pas, Hippocrate non plus—au sens où l’on pourrait dire que Balzac existe... (Michel Foucault, 1969, Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?).

Colophons, previous catalogues, and other paratextual approaches are the main material for a catalogue of titles. The words ascribed to Tilopā can be found in Indic and Tibetan documents. It is matter of seventeen texts, which require a preliminary description of their bibliographic details and cultural background.

Indic Material

Tilopā’s *Dohākoṣa* is the only Tilopan work survived to this day in its original language. As a matter of fact, what we know of the Apabhramśa text of Tilopā’s *Dohākoṣa* (TDK) has been incompletely quoted in an anonymous Sanskrit commentary (*pañjikā*) on it, with the title *Tilopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā* (TDKP). It was discovered in 1929 by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi in a Nepali manuscript belonging to the private collection of Hemarāja Śarmā in Kathmandu and is currently preserved in the National Archives of Nepal. The *Dohākoṣas* of Tilopā and Saraha contained in the manuscript were published in 1935 with their Sanskrit *chāyā*, notes, and translation in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* of the Calcutta University (Bagchi 1935a), and as an independent book with the same pagination in the same year (Bagchi 1935b). Then, in 1938, they

found their place at no. 25 of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, but without notes and translations; under the title of *Dohākoṣa: Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Sahajayāna School*, the book included other fragments of Saraha's songs, and a *Dohākoṣa* by Kāṇha (Bagchi 1938).¹

Since that time, no other first-hand studies have been done on that *codex unicus*, and Tilopā's stanzas were quoted from Bagchi's *editio princeps*.² In all probability, this lack of attention to the original from the late thirties of the last century is partly due to the fact that the National Archive's *Brhatsūcīpatra*, at no. 5–104, gives as short title '*Dohākoṣa* with *Pañjikā*', and the colophon reads '*Śrī Mahāyogiśvara Bhillo Dohākoṣa Pañjikā... nāma samāptaḥ*', because of the ambiguity between *bha* and *ta* in Newari script. Nevertheless, thanks to the providential help of Mr. Nam Raj Gurung, the general manager of the Kathmandu office of the Nepal Research Centre, the manuscript edited by Bagchi was identified as the one catalogued as 5–104, and microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project under the reel-number A 932/4.

The characters of the Kathmandu Manuscript are written in the *bhujimol* variety of the Newari script, interspersed with some *akṣaras* in the Kuṭila or Post-Licchavi script (Śākya 1974: 4–5, 16–17). The occurrence of these graphic archaisms leads to think that the manuscript is a sample of the early phase of *bhujimol*, a script which was in use since the eleventh century (Pal 1985: 233). The second half of that century must have coincided with the flowering of the Buddhist siddhas' tradition among the Newars in the Kathmandu Valley, and the Kathmandu Manuscript seems to provide evidence of that season. It was in a sense the time of Vajrapāṇi, a disciple of the siddha Advayavajra (alias Maitrīpā, Śabarapāda II, etc.).

As reported in the eleventh book of the *Deb ther sngon po*, the early phase (*snga*) of diffusion of the *mahāmudrā* tradition in Tibet depended somehow on Advayavajra, while his disciple the Indian Vajrapāṇi (*rGya gar Phyag na*) gave the main impulse during the intermediate phase (*bar*). We read therein that Vajrapāṇi went for ascetic practice (*spyod pa la gshegs*), asking for alms in Nepal (*Bal por ldom bu mdzad*). Then, at the age of fifty, he would have come to Lalitpur (*Ye rang*) and settled there (Lo Bue 1997: 648). When in Lalitpur, in 1066, Vajrapāṇi instructed some Tibetan scholars, among whom 'Brogs Jo sras rdo rje 'bar is to be remembered (*Deb ther sngon po* 758.3–4, BA 856). On that occasion, he would have bestowed on them, *inter alia*, Saraha's *Dohās* Trilogy (*rgyal po dang btsun mo dang dmangs do ha ste gsum mo*). At the invitation of the above mentioned 'Brogs Jo sras, Vajrapāṇi and his Kashmiri disciple

Dharmaśrī sPyan gcig pa went to Tibet too (*Deb ther sngon po* 761.3, BA 859). Once in gTsang, he would have granted teachings on *mahāmudrā* to several Tibetan savants (*Deb ther sngon po* 759.2–7, BA 857). Then he would have gone back to Nepal.

The text of the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā* is contained on folios 2–17 of the manuscript, and it is followed (17v₄) by the commentary to Saraha's *Dohākoṣa*, namely the *Dohākoṣapañjikā* (*Do ha mdzod kyi dka' 'grel*, Ō. 3101, Tō. 2256) by the above mentioned Advayavajra/Maitrīpā. Folios 1, 6, and 13 are missing. The remnant of this portion of the manuscript has suffered the most serious mechanical damage on folios 4 and 11, where an average of 9 and 6/11 *akṣaras* per line are lost.

In respect of its *editio princeps*, the manuscript should have been less damaged when Bagchi studied it in the early thirties of the last century. We can notice indeed that his edition sometimes reads one or more *akṣaras*, especially at the right end of the line. On the other hand, in a number of cases, Bagchi's readings, integrations, and emendations are questionable. His restorations of the *lacunae* at folio 4 are particularly suspect because the leaf is broken almost vertically on its right-hand side. As we can infer from the stanzas at 4r_{2–3} and 4v_{3–4}, the number of the lost *akṣaras* should be between 7 and 11 each line, but Bagchi does not take into account the extent of the missing portions of text.

Even more problematic is the fact that Bagchi's edition of the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā* has two stanzas with commentary (Bagchi 1938: 63–64, vv. 12, 13). Although inverted, the same two can be found also in his edition of Advayavajra's *Pañjikā* to the *Sarahapādasya Dohākoṣa* (Bagchi 1938: 146–47, vv. 106–107; see Shahidullah 1928: 164, vv. 108–109). The second passage should have begun on the *recto* of folio 99 but, as we read in a footnote (*loc. cit.*), folios 99–101 resulted lost. Hence Bagchi's restoration of the missing portion of the *Sarahapādasya Dohākoṣapañjikā* is based upon two other *testimonia*, namely the edition published by Hara Prasād Śāstrī in 1916 (his source A), and a fragmentary manuscript of the *Dohākoṣa* in the Darbar Library (source C). Since the two passages appear almost the same, we would have been on sufficiently assured ground for speculating on the authorship of the text and ascribing to Advayavajra also the *Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā sārārthapañjikā*. But a scrutiny of the whole manuscript has left little doubt that what Bagchi edited as folio 6 is actually folio 99, with *recto* and *verso* inverted. The folio is indeed broken off on its left-hand side, and the foliation (number 6) in the blank around the binding hole is probably by

Bagchi himself. Further evidence of that can be found in the Tibetan translation of Advayavajra's *Dohākoṣapañjikā*, which has the two stanzas, whereas the Tibetan translation of Tilopā's *Dohākoṣā* has not.

Tibetan Material

The sources of Tilopā's works in Tibetan translation can be classified as canonical, sectarian, and non-sectarian, namely from the collections of the *bsTan 'gyur*, the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* with the relevant hagiographic material, and the *gDams ngag mdzod* respectively.

bsTan 'gyur

In the tantric section of the *bsTan 'gyur*, we find the translations of ten texts ascribed to our siddha in the catalogues, i.e. Cordier 1909–15, Lalou 1933: 186–87, Ōtani (1961), Chattopadhyaya 1972, and Robinson 1979: 299 for the Peking Qianlong xylograph Tanjur, and Tōhoku (1934) for that of sDe dge. Eight ascribed texts are common to both textual traditions of the *bsTan 'gyur*, the sNar thang (N) and Peking Qianlong (Q), as well as the sDe dge (D) and Co ne (C); here, for our convenience, they are listed in the order of the former textual tradition:

SSŚ *Śrī-Sahajaśaṃvarasvādhiṣṭhāna* (*dPal lhan cig skyes pa'i bde ba'i mchog bdag byin gyis rlab pa*), Cordier *rgyud*.13.24, Ō. 2193, (ascribed to *Tellopa*), Tō. 1471 (ascr. to *Tillipa*); translator: Mi nyag pa chen po, *alias* Sangs rgyas grags pa (*Buddhakīrti, Cordier, Ō.), Me nyag chen po (Tō.).

TCUP *Tattvacaturupadeśaprasannadīpa* (*De kho na nyid bzhi pa'i man ngag gsal ba'i sgron ma*), Cordier *rgyud*.21.24; Ō. 2371 (*Tellipa*); Tō. 1242 (*Tillipa*); translator: Ratnaśrī.

TDK *Dohākoṣa* (*Do ha mdzod*), Cordier *rgyud*.47.22; Ō. 3128 (*Tailopa*); Tō. 2281 (*Telopa*); translator: dPal nram par snang mdzad rdo rje (Vairocana-vajra of Kosala, Cordier).

MMU *Mahāmudropadeśa* (*Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag*),
Cordier *rgyud*.47.26, Ō. 3132 (*Tailopa*), Tō. 2303 (*Tillipa*); translator:
unknown.

KBhA *Karuṇābhāvanādhiṣṭāna* (*sNying rje bsgom pa'i byin rlabs*),
Cordier *rgyud*.48.59, Ō. 3227 (*Telopa*), Tō. 2385 (*Telopa*); translator:
unknown.

VABNBhK *Viśāntarabāhyanivṛttibhāvanākrama* (*Phyi nang gi dug sel gyi rim pa*), Cordier *rgyud*.48.88, Ō. 3256 (*Tailo*), Tō. 2414 (*Tillipa*); translator: unknown. The Sanskrit title in N/Q and D/C is *Viśāntarabāhyanivṛttibhāvanākrama* (Ō., *TT*, Tō.), but Cordier, followed by Chattopadhyaya (1972: 8), has *Antarabāhyaviṣanivṛttibhāvanākrama* on the basis of the Tibetan title; moreover, Cordier, followed by Ō., emends the Tibetan title to *Phyi nang gi dug sel gyi <bsgom pa'i> rim pa*.

SDhU *Śaddharmopadeśa* (*Chos drug gi man ngag*), Cordier *rgyud*.73.27, Ō. 4630 (*Tillipa*), Tō. 2330 (*Tillipa*); translator: Nāropā, Mar pa lHo brag pa Chos kyi blo gros.

AMM *Acintyamahāmudrā* (*Phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa*), Cordier *rgyud*.73.32, Ō. 4635 (*Tilopa*), Tō. 2305 (*Tillipa*), Tō. 2306 (*mThu can la gdams pa*), Tō. 2307 (*Glu mkhan la gdams pa*), Tō. 2308 (*Mu stegs la gdams pa*), Tō. 2309 (*Shan pa la gdams pa*), Tō. 2310 (*Rig byed mkhan la gdams pa*), Tō. 2311 (*sGyu ma mkhan la gdams pa*), Tō. 2312 (*sMad 'tshong la gdams pa*); translator: unknown.

Two texts ascribed to Tilopā are present only in the sNar thang/Peking Qianlong tradition:

NSV **Nimittasūcanāvyākaraṇa* (*Pra khrid lung bstan*). Cordier *rgyud*.73.26, Ō. 4629 (*Te lo dus gsum mkhyen pa*); translator: unknown.

GS *Gurusādhana* (*Bla ma'i sgrub thabs*), Cordier *rgyud*.84.2, Ō. 5014 (*Tilopa*); translator: Vibhūticandra, at dPal mkhan pa'i dur khrod in Ding ri. Cordier, followed by Ō. and Chattopadhyaya (1972: 100), on the basis of Tibetan, emends the Sanskrit title to *Gurusādhana*, instead

of *Gurunamoloka*: ‘Titre mutilé, dont la seconde partie représente sans doute le débout d’une invocation (*namo Lokanāthāya*)’.

One text ascribed to Tilopā occurs only in the sDe dge/Co ne tradition:

VDNDh *Śrī-Vajradākinīniṣkāyadharmā (dPal rDo rje mkha’ ’gro ma lus med pa’i chos)*, Tō. 1527 (*Telopa*); translator: unknown.

A text in both *bsTan* ’gyur traditions, even though no author is given, is ascribed to Tilopā in the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* and the *gDams ngag mdzod*:

SUMKPC *Śrī-Saṃvaropadeśamukhakarṇaparamparācintāmaṇi (dPal sDom pa’i man ngag zhal nas snyan du brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu)*, Cordier *rgyud*.14.8, Ō. 2238, Tō. 1529; translator: Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros.

Because of its position in the sDe dge/Co ne *bsTan* ’gyur, between the above *VDNDh* (Tō. 1527) and *SUMKPC* (Tō. 1529), another text could be ascribed to our siddha:

VDhDCTSN **Śrī-Vajradākinībhāvanādr̥ṣṭicaryātrayasamketanirdeśa* (on the basis of the Skt title of Tō. 2345, *dPal rdo rje mkha’ ’gro ma lta sgom spyod gsum gyi brda bstan pa*), Tō. 1528.

bDe mchog snyan brgyud

In a recent reproduction of a sixteenth-century Bhutanese manuscript, containing a complete edition of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* (*bD*) arranged and edited by Kun mkhyen Pad ma dkar po (1527–1592), we find eight works clearly ascribed to Tilopā:

MMU *Mahāmudropadeśa (Phyag rgya chen po’i man ngag)*, *bD* 1.1.

AMM *Acintyamahāmudrā (Phyag rgya chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa)*, *bD* 1.2.1–8.

AGAA **Aṣṭaguhyārthāvivāda* (*Zab mo'i don brgyad kyi gdams pa*), bD 2.1–8.

SUMKPC *Śrī-Saṃvaropadeśamukhaṅgaṅgaparamparācintāmaṇi* (*dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i man ngag snyan du brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu*), bD 4, 4 (NGA): 106–135, corresponding to the anonymous *bsTan 'gyur* text titled *Śrīsaṃvaropadeśa* (*dPal sdom pa'i man ngag zhal nas snyan du brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu*, Ö. 2238, Tō. 1529).

SGMA **Sekagranthamocanāvavāda* (*dBang mdud 'grol gyi gdams pa*), bD 5.1.

NDhG **Nijadharmatāgīti* (*Chos nyid gnyug ma'i mgur*), bD 5.2.

SSS *Śrī-Sahajaśaṃvarasvādhiṣṭhāna* (*dPal lhan cig skyes pa'i bde ba'i mchog bdag byin brlab pa*), bD 14; translated by Nāropā and Mar pa (*Nā ro paṅ ḍita'i spyang sngar Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o*).

NSV **Nimittasūcanāvyākaraṇa* (*Pra khrid lung bstan*), bD 54.

Another text, ascribed to Tilopā in the sDe dge/Co ne *bsTan 'gyur* tradition, is the incorporeal Vajradākinī's instructions to Tilopā:

VDNDh *Śrī-Vajradākinīniṣkāyadharmā* (*dPal rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma lus med pa'i chos*, bD 45).

Given the *paramparā* of which Tilopā is the first historical guru in the Marpan tradition, the position of these texts in the collection, albeit not many, is so pre-eminent that it calls for some closer details.

We are informed by 'Gos Lo tsā ba (*Deb ther sngon po* 382.3–6, BA 437–38) that Mi la ras pa had ordered his disciple Ras chung (1084–1161) to find further spiritual instructions. In fact, out of the nine doctrines transmitted by the incorporeal dākinīs to Tilopā (*lus med mkha' 'gro chos skor dgu*), four were missing in Tibet, but according to Mi la ras pa's guru Mar pa, the relevant practices were still taught in India. Ras chung went there and was instructed by some masters, to begin with Ti phu pa 'The One of the Pigeon' (Skt *Pārāvatapāda). This siddha would have been a direct disciple of both Nāropā and Maitrīpā (*Nā ro dang Mai tri gnyis ka'i*

dngos slob Ti pu ba), and—what is noteworthy—he is traditionally regarded among Tibetans as the embodiment of Mar pa’s son Dar ma mDo sde: thus we read for example in the fourth chapter of gTsang smyon He ru ka’s *sGra bsgyur mar pa lo tsā’i rnam thar mthong ba don yod* (Nālandā Translation Committee 1982: 156 ff.; Bacot 1937: 56–57, 106).

We read in the *Deb ther sngon po* that Ras chung brought all the nine instructions to Mi la ras pa (*chos skor dgu po rnam bla ma la phul*), who in turn entrusted another disciple with them, Ngam rdzong ston pa (*bla mas Ngam rdzong ston pa la gnang*), or Ngan rdzong ras pa Byang chub rgyal po (Gene Smith 2001: 41). As the latter arranged also a variety of texts on the instructions (*Ngam rdzong pas de la yig sna yang brtsams shing*), this tradition was called among those who developed from him the ‘Aural Transmission of Śaṃvara’ (*de nas mched pa la bDe mchog snyan brgyud zer*). As for the other tradition from Ras chung himself, it was famed as the ‘Aural Transmission of Ras chung’ among those who developed from him (*Ras chung pa nyid nas gzhan la mched pa la Ras chung snyan brgyud du grags*).

All students of the bKa’ brgyud tradition of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism are conscious of the role of the collection of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud*. In fact it includes spiritual teachings attributed to the primordial buddha Vajradhara, to the dākinī Vajrayoginī or other dākinīs, as well as esoteric instructions ascribed to famous tantric masters. We find therein Tilopā and his disciple Nāropā, two disciples of the latter, the Indian Prajñārakṣita (*BA* 375, 384, *THBI* 306–7, *SIL* 49, Naudou 1968: 11, 157, 172) and the Tibetan Mar pa, the latter’s disciple Mi la ras pa, and his disciples Ngam rdzong ston pa and Ras chung, with the latter’s disciple Khyung tshang pa; then, jumping one generation, Zhang Lo tsā ba Byang chub ’od zer, alias Phur ba skyabs or Grub pa dpal bzang po.

According to the *Deb ther sngon po* (388.3–390.4; *BA* 445–48; cf. *gZhung ’brel* 1.49b3–50a4, 2.49a5–50a7), Zhang Lo tsā ba was an ordained monk who ‘proceeded to the Paradise of Heruka’, i.e. he died, in 1237 (*me mo bya’i lo la He ru ka bkod pa’i zhing khams su gshegs*). He would have had seventy teachers who bestowed several kinds of instructions on him. In particular, as for the aural transmission (*snyan brgyud*), he received the one from Ras chung—that is the *Ras chung snyan brgyud*—from three spiritual sons (*thugs sras*) of Khyung tshang pa (1115–1176), viz. Shangs pa Mar ston Tshul khriṃs ’byung gnas, dGe sdings pa, and the ācārya rTa sgom. Then, he received the Aural Transmission according to the system of Ngam rdzong (*Ngan rdzong lugs kyi snyan rgyud*)—that is the *bDe mchog snyan*

brgyud—from a disciple of gNyal pa gsung gcad Nyi ma seng ge. Not yet satisfied, he went twice to Ma gcig Ang jo, another disciple of Khyung tshang pa, asking for instructions on that esoteric tradition, but she did not bestow them on him. Eventually, the third time, she would have imparted the thorough Aural Transmission of Śaṃvara to him.

Not only Zhang Lo tsā ba is one of the masters directly responsible for the composition, the arrangement, and the transmission of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud*, but also we owe to him the first introduction to the collection itself. He wrote in fact for his disciple rBa Dha ra shrī ('Gro mgon lha rje Dha ra shri) a survey of its contents under the title 'Introductory Notes by the Translator of Zhang' (*Zhang lo'i thim yig*, Torricelli 2001). As already noticed, this important short text is to be found at the beginning of the same manuscript of the bKa' brgyud scholastic manual containing our hagiographic source β.

The *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* was then elaborated in the fifteenth century by gTsang smyon He ru ka. His disciple rGod tshang ras pa prepared the xylographic blocks for printing his guru's arrangement of the collection at Ras chung phug (Gene Smith 2001: 62). On that occasion, he wrote a catalogue (*dkar chag*) titled *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro'i snyan brgyud kyi dkar chag rin po che'i gter* (*sNyan brgyud kyi dkar chag*). Since no complete set of the Ras chung phug prints has yet appeared apart from 'occasional sections printed from the blocks' (*op.cit.*, Preface), rGod tshang ras pa's catalogue does not help so much in itself. In actual fact, as for the teachings included in the fifteenth–sixteenth century Ras chung phug edition, it is not always easy to detect from the mere *dkar chag* which text is which. It is only thanks to the above mentioned reproduction of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* that we can cast more light on its composition. The whole collection is indeed preceded (pp. 1–6) by Pad ma dkar po's *mKha' 'gro snyan brgyud kyi dpe tho* (Torricelli 2000).

While Zhang Lo tsā ba's 'introductory notes' (*thim yig*) have been written in a more curricular perspective, Pad ma dkar po's 'text inventory' (*dpe tho*) is decidedly more bibliographical. These two authoritative documents combined with the scrutiny of the texts actually included, form the basis for a catalogue of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* (*bD*, Torricelli 2000). More specifically, we can place Tilopā's works in the context of an ascetic curriculum associated with the cycle of Cakraśaṃvara, as it was arranged in the Marpan lineage.

rNam thar and rNam mgur

Formally, the bKa' brgyud hagiographic sources above discussed are to be considered an integral part of the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud*, as it is stated by Zhang Lo tsā ba apropos of the first of the three wish-fulfilling gems, the one of the transmission lineage, or *paramparācintāmaṇi* (Zh 3.1.1). We read in fact that, regarding the instructions coming from the uninterrupted pronouncements of the transmission lineage (*brgyud pa'i bka' ma chad pa las byung pa*), there is the succession of the stories of complete liberation (*rnam thar*), from Jñānaḍākinī to the root masters (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*). Yet, Pad ma dkar po affirms in his *dPe tho* (pp. 2–3) that the *rnam thars* have not been arranged by the majority of editors (*brgyud pa'i rnam thar ni mang bas ma bkod*): a fact, we may infer, conducive to the development of the bKa' brgyud hagiographic collections known as 'golden rosaries' (*gser 'phreng*).

We find in that hagiographic material some texts that can be ascribed to Tilopā himself. Indeed, it is particularly noteworthy that the texts are here given within the narrative sequence of the *rnam thar*, roughly speaking, in a chronological order:

| | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>TVG</i> | <i>*Tilatailavajragīti</i> (β, θ, v). |
| <i>VDNDh</i> | <i>Vajraḍākinīniṣkāyadharmā</i> (β, η, θ, ι, κ, λ, v, ξ), reporting the nine root verses of the same text. |
| <i>AMM</i> | <i>Acintyamahāmudrā</i> (ξ). |
| <i>MMU</i> | <i>Mahāmudropadeśa</i> (ξ). |
| <i>NDhG</i> | <i>Nijadharmatāgīti</i> (ξ). |
| <i>GS</i> | <i>Gurusādhana</i> (ξ). |

gDams ngag mdzod

This text collection compiled by 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas in the nineteenth century (*gD*) includes four already known titles:

- MMU *Mahāmudropadeśa (Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag).*
- SDhU *Śaddharmopadeśa (Chos drug gi man ngag).*
- SUMKPC *Śrī-Saṃvaropadeśamukhakarṇaparamparācintāmaṇi (dPal sdom pa'i man ngag zhal nas snyan du brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu).*
- GS *Gurusādhana (Bla ma'i sgrub thabs).*

Tilopā and the bKa' brgyud Curriculum

As it appears in the above mentioned *Zhang lo'i thim yig*, the basic structure of an ascetic curriculum associated with Cakraśaṃvara is threefold.

First, the disciple is supposed to become familiar with the extensive teaching which is the root of the aural transmission (*snyan brgyud kyi rtsa ba rgyas par bstan pa*), viz. the *Śaṃvarakhasama* (Ö. 59, Tō. 415) and all the tantras of Cakraśaṃvara (Tō. 368–414; Tucci 1949: 263, Wayman 1962: 234).

Second, he has to know the explanation (*don bstan pa*) of the above tantras, which is the Adamantine Verses pronounced by Vajradhara to Jñānaḍākinī (*rDo rje 'chang gis Ye shes mkha' 'gro ma la gsung pa'i rdo rje'i tshig rkang*), i.e. the *Karṇatantravajrayoginī* or *Karṇatantravajrapada* (KT, bD 3), Tilopā's 'Small Text' (*gzhung chung*), i.e. the *Saṃvaropadeśamukhakarṇaparamparācintāmaṇi* (SUMKPC, bD 4), and epitomes (*mchan*) and commentaries (*'grel pa*) on the above curricular material. According to Pad ma dkar po's *dpe tho* (p. 3), three texts by Tilopā are styled commentaries (*'grel pa*) on the above mentioned Vajradhara's aural transmission (bD 3), namely the 'Small Text' (SUMKPC, bD 4), the 'Disentanglement from the Knots in Consecration' (SGMA, bD 5.1), and the 'Song of the Innate *Dharmatā*' (NDhG, bD 5.2).

Third, there are 'three cycles of gems' following the study of the above material (*de'i rjes su 'breng ba nor bu skor gsum*). As concerns the teachings included in these three cycles of gems—outer, inner, and secret—parallel to the above first two points, they fulfill the need for a

complete textual basis to the practices.

Since the Marpan tradition regards the *Karṇatantravajrapada* as the paramount explanation of the whole cycle of Cakrasaṃvara, it can be useful to compare Zhang Lo tsā ba's outline (*Zh*) with the *Karṇatantravajrapada* (*KT*), as well as with the sixteenth-century outline of the latter by Byang chub bzang po, the *rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi bsdu don gab pa mngon byung*, or *rDo rje'i rkang gi sa bcad gab pa mngon byung*, which can be found in the same scholastic manual (*yig cha*) containing our hagiographic source β (375–89; Torricelli 1998b: 414–22).

The wish-fulfilling gem of the transmission lineage, or *paramparā-cintāmaṇi* (*brgyud pa yid bzhin nor bu*, *Zh* 3.1), is the outer (*phyi*) or first level, connected with the *nirmāṇakāya*, in which doubts are removed (*sgro 'dogs gcod pa*). It deals with the spiritual characteristics of both the master who teaches and the disciple who is taught (*KT* 7–9). Thus Zhang Lo tsā ba:

[3.1.2] As for the instructions coming from the blessing (*byin brlabs* : *adhiṣṭhāna*) of the transmission lineage, there is the sealing text (*rgya gzhung*) of the incorporeal *dākinīs* (*VDNDh*). For the *utpattikrama* associated with the means, the *utpannakrama* associated with the insight, and the *mahāmudrā* associated with the nondual, there is the ninefold promulgation of the doctrine (*bD* 46, 47), to begin with 'Intrinsic vision: look with the torch of gnosis!' [3.1.3] As for those instructions coming from the exalted activities (*'phrin las* : *samudācāra*) of the transmission lineage, there are the eight yogins possessed with the right characteristics (*rnal 'byor mtshan ldan brgyad*), or the sealing text on the eightfold *mahāmudrā* (*AMM*), and its condensed meaning (*AGAA*)...

According to Pad ma dkar po, Tilopā is the only author in the section connected with the *paramparā-cintāmaṇi*. To him are ascribed the three, the Gangetic Instruction on the Great Seal (*MMU*), said to be the essential instruction (*gnad kyi man ngag zer*), the eight Inconceivable *dohā* compositions (*AMM*), and the Eight Profound meditation processes (*AGAA*).

The wish-fulfilling gem of the maturation path, or *vipākamārga-cintāmaṇi* (*smin lam yid bzhin nor bu*, *Zh* 3.2), is the inner (*nang*) or second level, connected with the *sambhogakāya*, dealing with the cultivation of the experience (*nyams len*). The *Karṇatantravajrapada* distinguishes two stages in it, viz. outer (*phyi*), when the four consecrations into the sixty-two-deity Cakrasaṃvara-maṇḍala of powdered colours are actually

bestowed, that is liturgically celebrated (*KT* 10–11); inner (*nang*), when the consecrations are granted by means of four symbolic consecrations into the maṇḍala of minium red-like Vajravārāhī, in particular into the one of fifteen goddesses (*KT* 12). We find the same twofold division in the *Zhang lo'i thim yig*. The former stage (*Zh* 3.2.1) is the one connected with the Father (*yab*), i.e. Śaṃvara, and the latter (*Zh* 3.2.2) is the one connected with the Mother (*yum*) Vajravārāhī. Being the focus of the Father stage on the ascetic strategies, or means, and the one of the Mother on the insight, the *Karṇatantravajrapada* maintains that the maturation path is complete when *upāya* and *prajñā* begin to coalesce (*KT* 13): which marks the opening of the liberation path, that is the secret (*gsang*) or third level after the two of the maturation path.

The wish-fulfilling gem of the liberation path, or *muktimārgacintāmaṇi* (*grol lam yid bzhin nor bu*, *Zh* 3.3), connected with the dharmakāya, deals with the introduction (*ngo sprod*) to higher and higher degrees of coalescence of *prajñā* and *upāya*. At this point of the path, the four consecrations are to be performed according to a transcendent or secret liturgy. A subtle process of sublimation is in progress. The rite, in fact, is to be interiorized and integrated in the internal, i.e. corporeal maṇḍala (*lus dkyil*), by means of meditation and yoga techniques. Once again, the *Karṇatantravajrapada* and Byang chub bzang po help us to identify two stages within the liberation path, the *utpattikrama* and the *utpannakrama*.

As for the *utpattikrama*, essentially dealing with the Consecration of the Jar (*bum dbang* : *kalaśābhiṣeka*), there is a further twofold division, the common wish-fulfilling gem (*thun mongs yid bzhin nor bu* : *sādhāraṇacintāmaṇi*), and the wish-fulfilling gem of commitments (*dam tshig yid bzhin nor bu* : *samayacintāmaṇi*).

The *sādhāraṇacintāmaṇi* (*Zh* 3.3.1) deals with the meditative practices to perform (*sgom bya*) in connection with the Consecration of the Jar, and the mixing of them as equalization of taste (*ro snyoms* : *samarasa*, *KT* 14–15a). Apart from preliminaries like taking refuge (*skyabs 'gro* : *śaraṇagamana*), generating the enlightened essence of awakening (*sems bskyed* : *bodhicittotpāda*), and so forth in the function of a general background, the main practice is subdivided into three parts—King, Ministers, and Common People—as they are characterized in the *Karṇatantravajrapada*, explained by Byang chub bzang po, and glossed by Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas in his edition of the same text (*gD* 5.45b).

The King (*rgyal po*) of the practices is the meditation on the union of Cakraśaṃvara with Vajravārāhī as the immutable *dharmatā*, in the

abridged, intermediate, and detailed aspect. The Ministers (*blon po*) are the guruyoga (*bla ma'i rnal 'byor*), the ecstatic concentration (*ting nge 'dzin : samādhi*) associated with the Consecration of the Jar, and the meditation and recitation of Vajrasattva (*rdor sems bsgom bzlas*). The Common People (*dmangs*) are the seven yogas (*rnal 'byor bdun : saptayoga*), that is the recollection of the above practices, and their integration with the seven, eating, dressing, sleeping, circumambulating, muttering, washing, and offering activities.

The *amayacintāmaṇi* (Zh 3.3.2) deals with the protections to be activated (*srung bya*) in connection with the whole set of four consecrations. As such, it preludes to the bestowal of the three superior ones. In fact, we are informed by Kong sprul (*loc. cit.*), the three commitments—profound, vast, and nondual—are related to the Consecration of the Jar for the body, the Secret Consecration (*gsang dbang : guhyābhiṣeka*) for the speech, and both the Consecration of the Knowledge of the ritual partner under the name of Prajñā (*sher dbang : prajñājñānabhiṣeka*) and the Fourth Consecration (*bzhi pa'i dbang : caturthābhiṣeka*) for the mind (KT 15b).

The *utpannakrama*, or *niṣpannakrama* (Zh 3.3.3) deals with the *dharmatā*, and it is related to the three superior consecrations into the corporeal maṇḍala. Labelled as the wish-fulfilling gem of the natural state (*gnas lugs yid bzhin nor bu*), it corresponds to the third or secret (*gsang*) level, after the above two of the *utpattikrama*. We can distinguish three main sets of meditative practices in it, namely the six yogic doctrines (*chos drug : ṣaḍdharma*), the great bliss (*bde ba chen po : mahāsukha*), and the great seal (*phyag rgya chen po : mahāmudrā*).

As for the first set of practices, *ṣaḍdharma* (Zh 3.3.3.1), it is matter of the six-limbed practice aimed at thorough liberation by means of the upper door in connection with the *guhyābhiṣeka* (*gsang dbang dang 'brel ba ... steng sgo rnam grol ba'i chos*). These six, not specified in the *Zhang lo'i thim yig*, are the above listed (1) *caṇḍālī*, or self-igniting warmth and bliss (KT 16–25); (2) *māyākāya*, or self-liberation from the eight conditions of this world (KT 26–35), viz. gain, loss, happiness, suffering, fame, dishonour, blame and praise;³ (3) *svapna*, or self-cleansing from delusion (KT 36–41); (4) *prabhāsva*, or going beyond darkness (KT 42–49); (5) *saṃkrānti*, or the elixir which turns things into gold (KT 50–55); (6) *parakāyapraveśa*, or rejecting an external aspect (KT 56–60). The operational focus of these practices is on the energy channels, the cakras, and vital air; thus the yogin was supposed to be familiar with the essentials

of the relevant subtle physiology.

Pad ma dkar po (*Chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris*, 5b5–6a), dealing with *caṇḍālī*, explains how to visualise the three main energy channels (*rtsa : nāḍī*) in connection with the four cakras. *Avadhūtī* (*rtsa dbu ma*) is visualized in the middle of the yogin's hollow body as void, red, radiant, and straight. *Avadhūtī* goes from the *brahmarandhra* (*tshangs bu ga*) to four inches below the navel.

To the right and left of the central *nāḍī*, *rasanā* (*ro ma*) and *lalanā* (*rkyang ma*) are visualized. They go from the two nostrils up to the top of the head and then, down to the lower end of *avadhūtī*, they turn up entering into it. Both the right and left *nāḍīs* coil around the central one as to form the image of a parasol, or of a wheel (*cakra*), namely the *mahāsukhacakra* (*bde chen gyi 'khor lo*) at the level of the crown of the head, the *sambhogacakra* (*longs spyod kyi 'khor lo*) at the throat, the *dharmacakra* (*chos kyi 'khor lo*) at the heart, and the *nirmāṇacakra* (*sprul pa'i 'khor lo*) at the navel.

Thirty-two subsidiary *nāḍīs* radiate downwards from the *mahāsukhacakra*, sixteen upwards from the *sambhogacakra*, eight downwards from the *dharmacakra*, and sixty-four upwards from the *nirmāṇacakra*. In addition to these 120 coarse *nāḍīs* (*rags pa*), lHa btsun (ξ1, Guenther 1963b: 55, 254) describes those of the heart cakra as branching out into three ($8 \times 3 = 24$), again into three ($24 \times 3 = 72$), then into a thousand so that the multitude of the subtle *nāḍīs* (*phra ba*) reaches the total of 72,000.

In the *rnam thar* of Nāropā compiled by lHa btsun (ξ1, Guenther 1963b: 56, 254–55), the vital airs, or winds (*rlung : vāyu*) are distinguished into five root (*rtsa ba : mūla*), and five branch ones (*yan lag : aṅga*). Each *mūlavāyu* is associated with a buddha family, a colour, an element, a seat, and it regulates a particular bodily function—

| | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|--------|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>apāna</i> (<i>thur sel</i>) | Amoghasiddhi (<i>Don grub</i>) | green | <i>vāyu</i> (<i>rlung</i>) | anus and sex, defecation and reproduction; |
| <i>samāna</i> (<i>me mnyam</i>) | Ratnasambhava (<i>Rin 'byung</i>) | yellow | <i>prthivī</i> (<i>sa</i>) | navel, digestion; |
| <i>prāṇa</i> (<i>srog 'dzin</i>) | Akṣobhya (<i>Mi skyod pa</i>) | blue | <i>ap</i> (<i>chu</i>) | heart, breathing; |
| <i>udāna</i> (<i>gyen rgyu</i>) | Amithābha (<i>'Od dpag med</i>) | red | <i>tejas</i> (<i>me</i>) | throat, salivating, etc.; |

| | | | | |
|---|------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>vyāpaka</i> (<i>khyab byed</i>) | Vairocana (<i>rNam snang</i>) | white | <i>ākāśa</i> (<i>nam mkha'</i>) | head and limbs, movement |
|---|------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|

As for the five *aṅgavāyus*, (1) *caraṇa* (*rgyu ba*) in the eyes is responsible for sight, (2) in the ears *samudācāra* (*yang dag par rgyu ba*) for hearing, (3) in the nose *avicārata* (*mngon par rgyu ba*) for smelling, (4) in the tongue *upacāra* (*rab tu rgyu ba*) for tasting, (5) in the skin and the sex organs *vicaraṇa* (*shin tu rgyu ba*) for sensitivity.

Mahāsukha (Zh 3.3.3.2) deals with the practices related to the lower door in connection with the *prajñājñānābhiṣeka* (*shes rab ye shes dang 'brel ba mkha' 'gro'i gsang sgrog pa 'og sgo bde ba chen po*). The focus is on the *dākinīs*' secret pronouncement (KT 61–79).

Regarding *mahāmudrā* (Zh 3.3.3.3), it deals with the practices related to the illumining gnosis in connection with the *caturthābhiṣeka*, or *śabdābhiṣeka* (*tshig dbang dang 'brel ba ye shes gsal 'debs par byed pa phyag rgya chen po*). The focus is on *citta* as the gnosis of the three *buddhakāyas* (KT 80–103). The text alluded to by Zhang Lo tsā ba is Tilopā's instructions to Nāropā, the *Mahāmudropadeśa* (bD 1.1).

While the *Karṇatantravajrapada* goes on teaching the *antarābhava* (KT 104–123), the *Zhang lo'i thim yig* lacks any mention of it, and continues enumerating further instructions on those auxiliary techniques to be employed on the path (Zh 3.3.3.6). It is matter of semiautonomous practices, such as seminal control, *yantras*, *prāṇāyāma*, *homa*, and so forth, aimed in particular at transmuting all activities and performances into *sambhāras*, and preventing the practitioner from obstacles (KT 124–127).

Following the overall instructions which make up the tantric path (*lam*), both *vipāka-* and *muktimārga*, the *Karṇatantravajrapada* concludes by summarizing (KT 128–139) how the fruit is attained (*'bras bu ji ltar thob tshul*), as it is styled by Kong sprul (gD 5.47b).

A Tentative Index of the Tilopan Corpus

It is a fact that 'neither Hermes not Hippocrates existed in the sense that we can say Balzac existed' (Foucault 1969: 123). Another fact is that many texts associated with a single name could be subsumed under 'relationships of homogeneity, filiation, reciprocal explanation, authentication, or of

common utilization' (*ibid.*). In addition, since in our case it is a matter of an esoteric, aural transmission, the perspective is the one of a corpus of words handed down orally. As such, it is eminently dialogic, like most of the literatures of ancient wisdom.

Typically, a master did not write but spoke. If a word of that master exists in written form, it is because someone—the disciple(s)—listened to his voice, transcribed his words, or reported them to someone else. Those words were indeed passed on, generation after generation, from a master to a new adept. Like a snowball growing bigger and bigger as it rolls downwards, the new adept elaborated and reorganized the instructions according to his own specific vision, and at the level of the disciple he was in turn instructing. Therefore, since the context is an oral and esoteric one with such snowball-like effect, the problems concerning the authorship of many texts included therein are more delicate than in other genres of written literature.

Let us consider the case of two texts present in the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud*, the former with a superhuman-human authorship, and the latter with just a human one, namely, the *Kaṇatantravajrapada* and the *Phyi rdul tshon la brten pa bum pa'i dbang bskur rin chen gsal ba'i sgron me*. As to the former (Ö. 4632, Tō. 2338; *bD* 3; Torricelli 1998b), if the ādibuddha Vajradhara is said to have granted instructions to the dākinī Vajrayoginī, who in turn would have transmitted it to Tilopā; if the latter memorized these teachings and handed down to his disciple Nāropā, who in turn passed on to his disciple Mar pa; if the latter translated and arranged the teachings in the presence of his guru, a legitimate question would be, who is the author of the work we have? As for the second text (*bD* 7), if the words that Mar pa would have received from Nāropā were set down by Zhang Lo tsā ba after an interval of four generations, who composed it? In such cases, it seems more reasonable to say that a text comes *from* a certain master, than to assume that it is *by* him.

In this view, it is noteworthy that, while Cordier (*rgyud*.73.29) and the Ötani catalogue (Ö. 4632) give Nāropā and Mar pa as translators of the *Kaṇatantravajrapada*, Nāropā is styled also its author in the Tōhoku catalogue (Tō. 2338). In point of fact, we read in the colophon of this text that the Tibetan translator Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros translated, edited, and established it in the presence of Nāropā at Phullahari.

Now, if Tilopā's *gZhung chung* is considered a commentary on the *Kaṇatantravajrapada*, the time of composition of the latter cannot be subsequent to its commentary. Moreover, if we take into account that

Tilopā would have been instructed by the Jñānaḍākinī in Uḍḍiyāna in all relevant hagiographic literature, in the chain of the transmission lineage, we may reasonably conjecture that Vajradhara's legacy arrived to Nāropā through the ḍākinī and Tilopā (Torricelli 1998b: 386)—

Vajradhara $\rightarrow x \leftrightarrow \dot{\text{d}}\text{ākinī} \rightarrow x' \leftrightarrow \text{Tilopā} \rightarrow x'' \leftrightarrow \text{Nāropā} \rightarrow x''' \leftrightarrow \text{Mar pa}$

Further problem, bibliographies rely on time: an enumerative bibliography lists in fact the titles of the books according to their time of composition, that is to say on the biography of the author. That time can be established on the basis of external or internal evidence: as to the former, it can be matter of whatever document which could link a text to a date, a period, or a phase in the life of the author; in the latter, the text itself can include some autobiographical detail fulfilling the same function.

As for our 'author', we have indeed pinpointed in the third chapter seven phases of his life: (1) the tour to south India, and the apprenticeship under Caryāpā and Mātaṅgīpā, two yogins who transmitted him the tradition of Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇācārya, Lavapa/Kambalapā, and Nāgārjuna; (2) the apprenticeship in *Jagāḍ (Chittagong) under the ḍākinī *Sukhapradā who transmitted to him the view of Lūyīpāda; (3) the practice in *Pañcāpaṇa/Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) at the service of a prostitute, and his work as sesame grinder; (4) the trip to Uḍḍiyāna, and the stay with the ḍākinīs who granted him with the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, and the relevant aural transmission; (5) the homecoming from Uḍḍiyāna, and the conversion of seven men and one woman; (6) the full monastic ordination in Harikela at the Aśoka/Aroga Vihāra managed by his maternal uncle and mother; (7) the abandonment of the monastic life, and his friendship with Nāropā.

Actually some texts in the *rnam thars* point to specific phases, places, and individuals in Tilopā's life: *TVG* to Śrīhaṭṭa (phase 3); *VDNDh* to Uḍḍiyāna (phase 4); *AMM* to the period after Uḍḍiyāna (phase 5); *MMU*, *NDhG*, and *GS* to Nāropā (phase 7). Other texts might be included on the basis of the bKa' brgyud ascetic curriculum, as it is the case of *VDhDCTSN*, *VDNDh*, *SUMKPC*, and *SGMA* that describe and explain teachings received in Uḍḍiyāna (phase 4). In the same way *AGAA* is linked to *AMM*, and to the eight disciples (phase 5). Regrettably, even this kind of approach does not cover all Tilopā's titles. What is worse, we have no idea whether these texts were really composed at the time they refer to: after all, although the action of Dante's *Divine Comedy* be in 1300, we know from other documents that the poem was composed years later.

We could recapitulate the above records into one table, in every column of which Tilopā's texts are arranged in the order of the specific collection—

| Indic Material | N, Q (Ö.) | D, C (Tö) | <i>bD</i> | <i>rNam thar</i> | <i>gD</i> |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>TDKP</i> | <i>SŚS</i> (2193) | <i>TCUP</i> (1242) | <i>MMU</i> (1.1) | <i>TVG</i> | <i>MMU</i> |
| | <i>SUMKPC</i> (2238) | <i>SŚS</i> (1471) | <i>AMM</i> (1.2) | <i>VḌNDh</i> | <i>ṢDhU</i> |
| | <i>TCUP</i> (2371) | <i>VḌNDh</i> (1527) | <i>AGAA</i> (2) | <i>AMM</i> | <i>SUMKPC</i> |
| | <i>TDK</i> (3128) | <i>VḌBhDCTSN</i> (1528) | <i>SUMKPC</i> (4) | <i>MMU</i> | <i>GS</i> |
| | <i>MMU</i> (3132) | <i>SUMKPC</i> (1529) | <i>SGMA</i> (5.1) | <i>NDhG</i> | |
| | <i>KBhA</i> (3227) | <i>TDK</i> (2281) | <i>NDhG</i> (5.2) | <i>GS</i> | |
| | <i>VABNBhK</i> (3256) | <i>MMU</i> (2303) | <i>SŚS</i> (14) | | |
| | <i>NSV</i> (4629) | <i>AMM</i> (2305–2312) | <i>VḌNDh</i> (45) | | |
| | <i>ṢDhU</i> (4630) | <i>ṢDhU</i> (2330) | <i>NSV</i> (54) | | |
| | <i>AMM</i> (4635) | <i>KBhA</i> (2385) | | | |
| | <i>GS</i> (5014) | <i>VABNBhK</i> (2414) | | | |

As we can infer from the above table, with the exception of the hagiographies, the authoritative editors of the sectarian and non-sectarian collections used thematic and curricular criteria, but not all texts are included. Likewise, the order of the texts in the canonical collections, albeit within the range of a generally thematic approach, appear put together on shuffle. For this reason, whichever way we look for a coherent order of the texts, be it within a thematic, a curricular, or a biographical perspective, it would not cover all Tilopan production.

Notes to the Fourth Chapter

¹ As to these two texts, Bagchi (1938: i) wrote that ‘The former is entirely new whereas the second is a very correct and more complete copy of the *Dohākoṣa* of Saraha already known’.

² After Bagchi (1935), some verses have been translated by Dasgupta (1946, 1950), while a complete English translation can be found in N.N. Bhattacharyya 1982 (289–91), and more recently in Jackson 2004 (129–42).

³ *Dharmasaṃgraha* lxi: *aṣṭau lokadharmāḥ || lābho ’lābhaḥ sukhaṃ duḥkhaṃ yaśo ’yaśo nindā praśaṃsā ceti*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Graeco-Roman Sources

- De soph. elenchis* = Ἀριστοτέλους Σοφιστικοὶ Ἑλεγχοί (*Aristotle's Sophistical Refutations*). Bekker, A. Immanuel, ed. 1831. *Aristoteles Graece ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri edidit Academia Regia Borussica*. Berlin: G. Reimer, 164a–184b.
- Aristot. Met.* = Ἀριστοτέλους Τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά (*Aristotle's Metaphysics*). Bekker ed. 1831, 980a–1052a.
- Aristot. Pol.* = Ἀριστοτέλους Πολιτικά (*Aristotle's Politics*). Bekker ed. 1831, 1252a–1342b.
- Diod. Bibl.* = Διοδώρου Βιβλιοθήκη ἱστορική (*Diodorus Siculus' Historical Library*). Oldfather, Charles Henry, ed. transl. 1935. *Diodorus of Sicily in Twelve Volumes with an English Translation*. Vols 4–8. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann.
- Plin. Nat.* = *Plinii Naturalis historia* (*Pliny the Elder's Natural History*). Mayhoff, Karl Friedrich Theodor, ed. 1906. *C. Plinii Secundi naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*. Lipsia: Teubner.
- Plut. Alex.* = Πλουτάρχου Ἀλέξανδρος (*Plutarch's Alexander*). Perrin, Bernadotte, ed. transl. 1919. *Plutarch's Lives with an English Translation*. Vol. 7. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press. London: William Heinemann, 224–439.
- Porph. Quaest. Hom.* = *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum* (*Porphyry's Homeric Questions*). Schrader, Hermann-Albert, ed. 1880. *Porphyrii Quaestionum Homericarum ad Iliadem pertinentium reliquias*. Lipsia: Teubner.
- Ptol. Geog.* = Πτολεμαίου Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις (*Claudius Ptolemy's Geographia*). Renou ed. transl. 1925.
- Var. Rust.* = *M. Terenti Varronis De re rustica libri tres*

- (*Marcus Terentius Varro's Three Books on Agriculture*). Hooper, W.D. and H.B. Ash, eds. 1934. *M. Porcius Cato and M. Terentius Varro on Agriculture. With an English Translation*. Loeb Classical Library. London: Heinemann; Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press.
- Verg. Aen.* = *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos libri duodecim*. Greenough, J.B. ed. 1900. *Bucolics, Aeneid, and Georgics of Vergil*. Boston: Ginn and Co.

Indic Sources

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Abhidhānacintāmaṇi</i> | — Boehtlingk and Rieu 1847. |
| <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka</i> | — Vaidya 1960. |
| <i>Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā</i> | — Vaidya 1960. |
| <i>Karpūramañjarī</i> | — Konow and Lanman 1901. |
| <i>Caryāgītikośa</i> | — Bhayani 1997. |
| <i>Dīpavaṃsa</i> | — Oldenberg 1879. |
| <i>Dharmasaṃgraha</i> | — Müller et. all. 1885. |
| <i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i> | — Ghosh and Kumar 2006. |
| <i>Niṣpannayogāvalī</i> | — Bhattacharyya 1949. |
| <i>Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa</i> | — Sāstrī 1920–25. |
| <i>Manusmṛti</i> | — Olivelle 2005. |
| <i>Mahāvamsa</i> | — Geiger 1912. |
| <i>Milindapañha</i> | — Trenckner 1880. |
| <i>Yogaratanmālā</i> | — Snellgrove 1959. |
| <i>Raghuvamśa</i> | — Kāle 1922. |
| <i>Samvarodayatantra</i> | — Tsuda 1974. |
| <i>Hevajratantra</i> | — Snellgrove 1959. |

Chinese Sources

- Da tang da ci en si san zang fa shi zhuan* — Huili 慧立. *Da tang da ci en si san zang fa shi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (‘Biography of the Dharma master Tripiṭaka from the great Cien monastery of the Great Tang’). Taishō vol. 50 no. 2053.

- Da tang xi yu ji* — Xuanzang 玄奘 and Bianji 辯機. *Da tang xi yu ji* 大唐西域記 ('Record of the Regions West of the Great Tang'). Taishō vol. 51 no. 2087.
- Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan* — Yijing 義淨. *Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 ('Account of Eminent Monks who Sought the Doctrine West of the Great Tang'). Taishō vol. 51 no. 2066.
- Fo guo ji* — Faxian 法顯. *Fo guo ji* 佛國記 ('Record of the Buddhist Countries'), or *Gao seng fa xian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 ('Account of the Eminent Monk Faxian'). Taishō vol. 51 no. 2085.
- Nan hai ji gui nei fa zhuan* — Yijing 義淨. *Nan hai ji gui nei fa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 ('Account of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas'). Taishō vol. 54 no. 2125.

Tibetan Sources

- Kahna pa'i rnam thar* — Jo nang rJe btsun Tā ra nā tha, Jo nang Tā ra nā tha Kun dga' snying po. *Slob dpon chen po spyod 'chang dbang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs*.
- Photostat: *Five Historical Works of Taranatha* (Rgya gar chos 'byuñ, *Kahna pa'i rnam thar*, *Bka' babs bdun gyi rnam thar*, *O rgyan rnam thar* Rgya gar ma, and *Sgrol ma'i rnam thar*). Reproduced from impressions of 19th century Sde-dge blocks from the library of Ri-bo-che Rje-druñ of Padma-bkod by Tseten Dorji. Tezu: Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery 1974.
 - TBRC W1KG10418.
- Kun dga' rin chen* (source μ) — 'Bri gung Chos rje Kun dga' rin chen. *bKa' rgyud bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar rin chen gser 'phreng*.
- Photostat: gSung 'bum. Delhi: Drigung Kargyu Publications 2003, vol. 1, *bKa' babs bzhi'i brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar*, 1–41; *rJe btsun ti lo pa'i rnam thar dbang bzhi'i chu rgyun*, 41–50.
 - TBRC W23892.
- bKa' babs bdun ldan* — Jo nang rJe btsun Tā ra nā tha. *bKa' babs bdun ldan gyi brgyud pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba rin po che'i khungs lta bu'i gtam*.
- Photostat: *Five Historical Works of Taranatha* (Rgya gar chos 'byuñ, *Kahna pa'i rnam thar*, *Bka' babs bdun gyi rnam thar*, *O rgyan rnam*

thar Rgya gar ma, and Sgrol ma'i rnam thar). Reproduced from impressions of 19th century Sde-dge blocks from the library of Ri-bo-che Rje-druñ of Padma-bkod by Tseten Dorji. Tezu: Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery 1974.

- TBRC W1KG10418.

sGam po pa (source ε) — sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen, Dwags po lHa rje, Zla 'od gzhon nu. *Tai lo dang nā ro'i rnam thar*. In *gSung 'bum*.

- Photostat: *Khams-gsum chos-kyi rgyal-po dpal-mñam-med sgam-po-pa 'gro-mgon bsod-nams rin-chen mchog-gi gsuñ-'bum*. Published by Ven. Khenpo Shedup Tenzin and Lama Thinley Namgyal. Vol. 1. Kathmandu: Shri Gautam Buddha Vihara 2000, vol. 1, 23–46.
- TBRC W23439.

rGya gar chos 'byung — Jo nang rJe btsun Tā ra nā tha. *Dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung rgya gar chos 'byung*.

- Photostat: *Five Historical Works of Taranatha (Rgya gar chos 'byuñ, Kahna pa'i rnam thar, Bka' babs bdun gyi rnam thar, O rgyan rnam thar Rgya gar ma, and Sgrol ma'i rnam thar)*. Reproduced from impressions of 19th century Sde-dge blocks from the library of Ri-bo-che Rje-druñ of Padma-bkod by Tseten Dorji. Tezu: Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery 1974.
- TBRC W1KG10418.

rGyal thang pa (source η) — rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje. *rJe btsun chen po tilli pa'i rnam par thar pa*. In *bKa' brgyud yid bzhin nor bu yi 'phreng ba*.

- Photostat: *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreñ. A thirteenth century collection of verse hagiographies of the succession of eminent masters of the 'Brug-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa tradition by Rgyal-thaṅ-pa Bde-chen-rdo-rje. Reproduced from a rare manuscript from the library of the Hemis Monastery by the 8th Khams-sprul Don-brgyud-ñi-ma*. Tashijong, Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang 1973, pp. 16–57, 59–135.
- TBRC W23436.

Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyi rnam thar — Chos dpal dar byang. *Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyi rnam thar*.

- Photostat: Śākya'i dge bsnyen Chos dpal dar dpyang. *The Biography of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos rje dpal (Dharmasvāmin)*. Critically edited by Champa Thupten Zongtse, with a preface by Gustav Roth. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture 1981.
- TBRC W29250.

Deb ther sngon po — 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal.

Bod kyi yul du chos dang chos smra ba ji ltar byung ba'i rim pa deb ther sngon po.

- Photostat: *The Blue Annals completed in A.D. 1478 by Hgos-Lotsawa Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481). Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the collection of Prof. Raghu Vira.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture 1974.
- TBRC W7494.

gDams ngag mdzod

— 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo

gros mtha' yas. *gDams ngag mdzod.*

- Photostat: *Gdams ngag mdzod. A treasury of instructions and techniques for spiritual realization. Compiled by 'Jam-mgon Koñ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas. Reproduced from a xylographic print from the Dpal-spuñs blocks.* 12 vols. Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsen 1971.
- TBRC W21811.

bDe mchog snyan brgyud

— *bDe mchog snyan brgyud nor*

bu skor gsum.

- Photostat: *Bde mchog snyan brgyud nor bu skor gsum. Collected ancient instructions for the practice of the orally transmitted teachings focussing upon Cakrasamvara by various masters of the tradition. Arranged and edited by the Fourth 'Brug-chen Padma-dkar-po (1527–1592). Reproduced from a manuscript collection from Bhutan.* 2 vols. Tashijong (Palampur, H.P.): Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community 1985.
- TBRC W23155.

bDe mchog spyi bshad

— rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs

rang grol. *bCom ldan 'das dPal 'Khor lo sdom pa'i spyi bshad theg mchog bdud rtsi'i dga' ston ye shes chen po'i sman mchog.*

- Photostat: *bCom ldan 'das dPal 'Khor lo sdom pa'i spyi bshad theg mchog bdud rtsi'i dga' ston ye shes chen po'i sman mchog. A detailed explanation of the Cakrasamvara and its history according to the snyan brgyud transmission by Rgod-tshan-ras-pa Sna-tshogs-ran-grol. Reproduced from prints from the Ras-chuñ Phug blocks from the library of Rtogs-ldan Rin-po-che.* Bir: D. Tsondru Sengge 1982.
- TBRC W21140.

rDo rje mdzes 'od

(source 0)

— *rDo rje mdzes 'od. bKa'*

brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byung gnas.

- Photostat: *bKa' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byung gnas. A collection of lives of the successive masters in the transmission lineage of the 'Bri-guñ Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition in the Nepal-Tibet borderlands by Rdo-rje-mdzes-'od. Reproduced from a rare manuscript from Limi Dzing Pegyeling.* Bir,

- Kangra: D. Tsondu Senghe 1985.
- TBRC W27600.
- Nag tsho Lo tsā ba — Nag tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul
khrims rgyal ba. *Jo bo rje'i bstod pa pa brgyad cu pa.*
- Eimer 1989.
- Nag tsho Lo tsā ba — Nag tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul
khrims rgyal ba *rNal 'byor byang chub seng ge'i dris lan.* In *Sa skya bKa' 'bum*, vol. 3, 277–78.
- *Sa-skya bKa'-'bum* (Bsod Nams Rgya Mtsho 1969)
- Chos 'byung — Bu ston Rin chen grub. *bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod.* In *gSung 'bum*, vol. 24 (YA).
- Photostat: *The Collected Works of Bu-ston. Edited by Lokesh Chandra.* Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo Asian Literatures. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture 1965–1971.
 - TBRC W22106.
- Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang — Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes
dpal 'byor. *'Phags yul rgya nag chen po bod dang sog yul du dam pa'i chos 'byung tshul dpag bsam ljon bzang.* In *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1 (KA).
- Photostat: *The Collected Works of Sum-pa-mkhan-po.* Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo Asian Literatures. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture 1975.
 - TBRC W29227.
- sNyan brgyud kyi dkar chag — rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs
rang grol. *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro'i snyan brgyud kyi dkar chag rin po che'i gter.*
- Photostat: *Rare Dkar-brgyud-pa Texts from the Library of Ri-bo-che Rje-druñ of Padma-bkod. Comprising a selection of 'Bde mchog sñan rgyud' texts and the rnam thar of Mitrāyogin written by Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan ('Od-zer-'bar). Reproduced from the original manuscripts by Tseten Dorji.* Tezu, AP: Tibetan Nyingmapa Monastery 1974, 13–24.
 - TBRC W30534.
- Pad ma dkar po — Chos drug bsdus pa'i zin bris.
In *gSung 'bum*, vol. 22 (ZA).
- Photostat: *Collected Works (gSung-'bum) of Kun mkhyen Padma dkar po. Reproduced photographically from prints from the 1920–1928 Gnam 'Brug Se-ba Byañ-chub-gliñ blocks.* Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang. Vol. 22, 1974, 265–301.
 - TBRC W10736.
- Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs (HS)* — dPal brtsegs Bod yig dPe

- rnying Zhib 'jug Khang, ed. 2010–12. *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*. 90 vols, Xining: mTsho sngon Mi rigs dPe skrun khang.
- TBRC W1KG10687-I1KG10692.
- Bu ston — Bu ston Rin chen grub. *dPal bde mchog 'khor lo sdom pa 'byung ba'i sgrub thabs*. In *gSung 'bum*, vol. 7 (*ja*), 465–90.
- Photostat: *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*. edited by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture 1965–1971.
 - TBRC W22106.
- Bod rgya* — *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, Beijing 1986.
- dBang phyug rgyal mtshan (source v) — dBang phyug rgyal mtshan. *rJe btsun chen po ti lo'i rnam par thar pa*. In *rJe btsun ti lo pa dang nā ro pa'i rnam thar rin po che*.
- Photostat: *The Biographies of Tilopā and Naropa by Dbañ-phyug-rgyal-mtshan. Rje btsun Ti lo pa'i rnam par thar pa zab gsal rin chen gter mdzod bskal bzañ yid 'phrog. Mkhas mchog Nā ro Pañ chen gyi rnam par thar pa dri med legs bsad bde chen 'brug sgra. Reproduced from a manuscript from Dzongkhul Monastery in Zangskar. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang 1976, 1–157, 159–311.*
 - TBRC W1KG8722.
- Byang chub bzang po — *rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi bsdus don gab pa mngon byung*. In Byang chub bzang po, ed. *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*, CHA.
- Photostat: *Bde mchog mkha' 'gro sñan rgyud (Ras chuñ sñan rgyud). A manuscript collection of orally transmitted precepts focussing upon the tutelaries Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī, representing the yigcha compiled by Byañ-chub-bzañ-po. Reproduced from a rare manuscript in the library of Apho Rimpoche. Vol. I. New Delhi 1973, 375–89.*
 - TBRC W24891.
- sBa bzhed* — Stein, Rolf A., ed. 1961. *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bžed*. Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises.
- Mar pa (source β) — Mar pa Lo tsā ba, Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros. *rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa'i lo rgyus; dPal na ro pañ chen gyi lo rgyus*. In Byang chub bzang po, ed. *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*, KHA: *brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rnam par thar pa*.
- Photostat: *Bde mchog mkha' 'gro sñan rgyud (Ras chuñ sñan rgyud). A manuscript collection of orally transmitted precepts focussing upon the tutelaries Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī, representing the yigcha compiled by Byañ-chub-bzañ-po. Reproduced from a rare*

manuscript in the library of Apho Rimpoche. Vol. I. New Delhi 1973, 8–28, 29–62.

- TBRC W24891.

Mahāvvyutpatti

— *Bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa*

chen po. Ogiwara Unrai. 荻原雲來, ed. 1915. *Bon-Wa daijiten* 梵和大辭典. Tokyo. Rep. 1959. Tokyo: Sankibō. Revised ed. 1934–1974. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan.

Mon rtse pa

(source κ)

— Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal

ldan. *dKar brgyud gser 'phreng*.

- Photostat: *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng*. A golden rosary of lives of eminent gurus. Compiled by Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga'-dpal-ldan and edited by Kun-dga'-brug-dpal. Reproduced photographically from the original Bhotia manuscript with an English introduction. Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, vol. 3. Leh: Sonam W. Tashigang 1970, 2–23 (κ₁), 23–47 (κ₂).
- TBRC W30123.

gTsang smyon He ru ka

(source λ)

— *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan*

brgyud kyi gzhung 'brel sa bcad dang sbrags pa (bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi gdams pa yid bzhin nor bu skor gsum).

- Photostat: *Bde mchog mkha' 'gro sñan rgyud (Ras chuñ sñan rgyud)*. Two manuscript collections of texts from the yig cha of Gtsang-smyon He-ru-ka. Reproduced from 16th and 17th century manuscripts belonging to the Venerable Dookpa Thoosay Rimpoche. Vol. I: *The Biography of Gtsang-smyon by Lha-btsun Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal. The Bya-btang 'Phrin-las-dpal-'bar Manuscript*. Vol. II: *The Gra-dkar Rab-'jam-pa Manuscript*. Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, vols 11–12. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa 1971. Ms. A: vol. 1, 22–43. Ms. B: vol. 2, 97–118.
- TBRC W30124.

gTsang smyon He ru ka

— *sGra bsgyur mar pa lo tsā'i*

rnam thar mthong ba don yod. Varanasi: E. Kalsang 1970.

- TBRC W21718.

Zhang lo'i thim yig

— Zhang Lo tsā ba Grub

pa dpal Byang chub 'od zer. *Zhang lo'i thim yig*. In Byang chub bzang po, ed. *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud*, KA: *Zhang lo'i thim yig*.

- Photostat: *Bde mchog mkha' 'gro sñan rgyud (Ras chuñ sñan rgyud)*. A manuscript collection of orally transmitted precepts focussing upon the tutelaries Cakrasamvara and Vajravārāhī, representing the yig-cha compiled by Byañ-chub-bzañ-po. Reproduced from a rare manuscript in the library of Apho Rimpoche. Vol. I. New Delhi 1973, 1–5.
- TBRC W24891.

- gZhung 'brel* — gTsang smyon He ru ka. *bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi gzhung 'brel sa gcad dang sbrags pa* (Bya btang 'Phrin las dpal 'bar Manuscript).
- Ras chung snyan brgyud ma* — *Ras chung snyan rgyud gsar ma*
- Photostat: *Ras chuñ sñan rgyud gsar ma. The corpus of the Ras chuñ sñan rgyud teachings, both extended and immediate transmissions, arranged into a coherent system of practice by the Third 'Brug-chen 'Jam-dbyaṅs-chos-kyi-grags-pa (1478–1523)*. Reproduced on the basis of a manuscript collection recently received from Gru-gu Chos-rgyal Monastery in Khams. 2 vols., Tashijong (Palampur, H.P.): Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, Tibetan 1985.
 - TBRC W1KG1812.
- gSan yig* — Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho. *Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gang ga'i chu rgyun (gsan yig)*. In *gSung 'bum*, vols 1–4; then in *Record of Teachings Received. The Gsan yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama*. 4 vols. Delhi: Nechung and Lhakhar 1970–71.
- TBRC W1KG825.
 - TBRC W30183.
- lHa btsun (source ξ) — lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal. *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa'i rnam mgur*.
- Photostat: *bKa' brgyud pa Hagiographies. A collection of rnam thar of eminent masters of Tibetan Buddhism. Compiled and edited by Khams sprul Don brgyud Nyi ma*. Tashijong (Palampur, H.P.): Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, 1972, vol. I, 1–75.
 - TBRC W20499.
- (source ξ₁) — lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal. *mKhas grub mnyam med dpal nā ro pa'i rnam par thar pa dri med legs bshad bde chen 'brug sgra*.
- Computer typesetting: *rJe btsun Ti lo pa'i rnam mgur dang dpal Nā ro pa'i rnam thar bsdus pa*. Zi lin: mTsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1992, 55fll.
 - TBRC W28882.
- Vajrāsana (source γ) — rDo rje gdan pa. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs (*Caturaśīti-siddhābhyarthanā)*. In *bsTan 'gyur, rGyud*, Ö. 4578, Tō. 3758.
- Vibhūticandra (source ζ) — Bhi bu ti tsan dra. *Phyi sgrub kyis rten 'brel*. In *bsTan 'gyur, rGyud*, Ö. 5015.
- Abhayadatta (source δ) — Mi 'jigs pa sbyin pa, Mi 'jigs sbyin pa'i dpal, Mi 'jigs pa dpal. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rnam thar*. In *bsTan 'gyur, rGyud*, Ö. 5091.

- U rgyan pa (source 1) — U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal / Seng ge dpal. *bKa' brgyud yid bzhin nor bu yi 'phreng ba*.
- Photostat: *Bka' brgyud yid bzhin nor bu yi 'phreng ba. A precious rosary of lives of eminent masters of the 'Bri-guñ-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa tradition by Grub-thob O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal. Reproduced from a rare manuscript containing three supplemental biographies of teachers of the Smar-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa tradition from the library of the Ven. Kangyur Rimpoche. Smarntsis Shesrig Spendzod, vol. 38. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa 1972, 14–52.*
 - TBRC W23181.

Other Sources

- Aune, James Arnt. 2003. An Historical Materialistic Theory of Rhetoric. *American Communication Journal* 6(4) Summer.
- Bacot, Jacques. 1937. *La Vie de Marpa le "Traducteur." Suivie d'un chapitre de l'Avadāna de l'oiseau Nīlakaṇṭha*. Buddhica. Première série, Mémoires 7. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- ed. transl. 1935a. Dohakoṣa (with Notes and Translation). *Journal of the Department of Letters* 28, Calcutta University, 1–180.
- ed. transl. 1935b. *Dohakoṣa with Notes and Translation*. Calcutta: Calcutta University.
- ed. 1938. *Dohākoṣa (Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Sahajayāna Schools). Part I (Texts and Commentaries)*. Calcutta: Metropolitan Printing and Publishing House.
- Bailey, Greg and Ian Mabbet. 2003. *The Sociology of Early Buddhism*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Banerji, Rakhal Das. 1910. The Koṭwalipārā Spurious Grant of Samācāra Deva. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s. 6, 429–36.
- 1915. The Pālas of Bengal. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 5, 43–113.
- Barbieri, Alvaro, ed. 1998. *Marco Polo. Milione. Redazione latina del manoscritto Z*. Parma: Fondazione Pietro Bembo–Ugo Guanda Editore.
- Barnett, Lionel L. 1925–26. The Mungir Plate of Devapaladeva: Samvat 33. *Epigraphia Indica* 18, 304–307.
- Barua Bahadur, K.L. 1933. *Early History of Kāmarupa. From the Earliest Times to the End of the Sixteenth Century*. Shillong: Author's Publication.
- Basak, Radhagovinda. 1913–14. Rampal Copper-Plate Grant of Srichandradeva. *Epigraphia Indica* 12, 136–42.

- 1919–20a. The Five Damodarpur Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period. *Epigraphia Indica* 15, 113–45.
- 1919–20b. The Tipperah Copper-Plate Grant of Lokanatha: the 44th Year. *Epigraphia Indica* 15, 301–309.
- 1931–32. Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription of the [Gupta]-Year 128. *Epigraphia Indica* 21, 78–83.
- 1934. *The History of North-Eastern India. Extending from the foundation of the Gupta empire to the rise of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, (c. 320–760 A.D.)*. Calcutta: The Book Company.
- 1949–50. Madanpur Plate of Srichandra; Year 44. *Epigraphia Indica* 28, 51–58.
- Batavyal, Umes Chandra. 1894. On a new Copper-plate Grant of Dharmapāla. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 63, 39–62.
- Beal, Samuel, transl. 1884. *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World. Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
- transl. 1911. *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li, With an introduction containing an account of the works of I-tsing*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.
- Bechert, H. 1991/92/97. *The Dating of the Historical Buddha. Die Datierung des Historischen Buddha*. Symposium zur Buddhismusforschung, IV (1988), 1–3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bhandarkar, Devadatta Ramakrishna. 1931–32. Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahasthan. *Epigraphia Indica* 21, 83–91.
- Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh. 1924 (rep. 1985). *The Indian Buddhist Iconography: Mainly based on the Sādhnamālā and Cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.
- 1928. Introduction to *Sādhnamālā*. Vol. 2. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- 1949. *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta*. Gaekwad's Oriental Series 109. Baroda: Oriental Institute.
- Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra. 1930. A Newly Discovered Copperplate from Tippera [The Gunaighar Grant of Vainyagupta: The Year 188 Current (Gupta Era)]. *Indian Historical Quarterly* 6, 45–60.
- Bhattacharyya, Narendra Nath. 1982. *History of the Tantric Religion. A Historical and Philosophical Study*. New Delhi.
- Bhattacharyya, Padma Nath. 1913–14. Nidhanpur Copper Plates of Bhaskaravarman. *Epigraphia Indica* 12, 65–79.
- 1920. To the East of Samatata (On the Six Countries Mentioned but Not Visited by Yuan Chwang). *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1, 1–19.
- 1935–36. Nalanda Plate of Dharmapaladeva. *Epigraphia Indica* 23: 290–92.

- Bhattacharya, Nalinikanta. 1914. A Forgotten Kingdom of East Bengal. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s. 10, 85–91.
- 1923–24. Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal. The Deulbāḍī Śarvāṇī Image Inscription of Mahādēvī Prabhāvatī, Queen of Dēva-Khaḍga. *Epigraphia Indica* 17, 357–63.
- 1925–26. The Ghugrahati Copper-Plate Inscription of Samachara-Deva. *Epigraphia Indica* 18, 74–86.
- 1927. Rohitagiri in the Plate of Sri-Chandra. *Indian Historical Quarterly* 3, 418.
- 1929. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*. Dacca: Dacca Museum Committee.
- Bhayani, Harivallabh Chuni Lal, ed. transl. 1997. *Dohā-gīti-kośa of Saraha-pāda (A Treasury of Songs in the Dohā Mātre) and Caryā-gīti-kośa (A Treasury of the Caryā Songs of various Siddhas)*. Restored text, Sanskrit chāyā and translation. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society.
- Biswas, Sailendra and S.C. Sengupta. 1968. *Samsad Bengali-English Dictionary*. Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad.
- Blair, Carole, transl. 1983. Nietzsche's Lecture Notes on Rhetoric. *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 16, 94–129.
- Boehtlingk, Otto and Charles Rieu, eds. 1847. *Hemak'andra's Abhidhāna-k'intāmaṇi, ein systematisch angeordnetes synonymisches Lexicon*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bṛhatsūcīpatra* — Parājuli, Buddhisaṅgāra, ed. 1960–74. *Bṛhatsūcīpatram. Nepālarājakīya Vīrapustakālayastha hastalikhita-pustakānām Bṛhatsūcīpatram*. Kathmandu: National Archives.
- Burke, Kenneth. 1969. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Burrow, T. and M.B. Emeneau 1961. *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press – Oxford University Press.
- Chanda, Ramā Prasād. 1911. Dinājpur Pillar Inscription. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s. 7, 615–20.
- Chandra, Lokesh. 1959. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary. Based on a close comparative study of Sanskrit originals and Tibetan translations of several texts*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Carrithers, Michael. 1983. *The Buddha: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: University Press.
- Chattopadhyaya, Alaka. 1967. *Atīśa and Tibet. Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet. With Tibetan Sources translated under Professor Lama Chimpa*. Calcutta: Motilal Banarsidass.
- 1972. *Catalogue of Indian (Buddhist) Texts in Tibetan Translation, Kanjur and Tanjur (Alphabetically Rearranged): Vol. I Texts (Indian Titles) in Tanjur*. Calcutta: Indo-Tibetan Studies.

- Chaudhury, K.G. 1966. Paśchimbhāg Copper-Plate of Mahārāja Śrīchandradeva (10th century A.D.). In *The Nalinī Kānta Bhaṭṭaśālī Commemoration Volume*. Dhaka: Dhaka Museum, 166–98.
- Chimpa, Lama and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, transl. 1970. *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*. Calcutta: K.J. Bagchi & Co.
- Chou Yi-Liang. 1945. Tantrism in China. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8, 241–332.
- Chowdhury, A.M. 1967. *Dynastic History of Bengal*. Dacca: Asiatic Society.
- Cordier — Cordier, Palmyr. 1909–15. *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, II^{ème} et III^{ème} parties: Index du bsTan-hgyur (Tibétain 108–179; 180–332)*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Cunningham, Alexander . 1871. *The Ancient Geography of India. I. The Buddhist period, including the campaigns of Alexander, and the travels of Hwen-Thsang*. London: Trübner.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan. 1961. Chandras of East Bengal in Light of the Newly-Discovered Inscriptions. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* 23(1), 36–44.
- 1966. Mainamatī Plates of the Candras. *Pakistan Archaeology* 3, 22–55.
- Das, Sarat Chandra. 1898. A Note on the Antiquity of Chittagong, compiled from the Tibetan works Pagsam Jon-Zaṅ of Sumpa Khan-po and Kāhbab Dun-dan of Lama Tārā Nātha. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 67, 20–29.
- 1902. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*. Revised and ed. by Graham Sandberg and A. William Heyde. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt.
- Das Gupta, Charu Chandra. 1961. *Paharpur and Its Monuments*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- Dasgupta, Paresh Chandra. 1959. Early Terracottas from Chandraketugarh. *Lalit Kalā* 6, 45–52.
- Dasgupta, Shashibhusan. 1946. *Obscure Religious Cults As Background of Bengali Literature*. Calcutta: Calcutta University Press.
- 1974 (1950). *An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism*. Berkely: Shambala.
- Davidson, Ronald M. 2002a. Reframing *Sahaja*: Genre, Representation, Ritual and Lineage. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30, 45–83.
- 2002b. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism. Social history of the Tantric movement*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 2005. *Tibetan Renaissance. Tantric Buddhism in the rebirth of Tibetan culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dey, Nundolal. 1899. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India. With an appendix on modern names of ancient Indian geography*. Calcutta: Newman & Co.
- Deyell, John S. 2011. Reinterpretation of a Samatata Coin. The First Numismatic Depiction of Bodhisattva Manjushri. In Bhandare, Shailendra and Sanjay Garg

- eds. *Felicitas: Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb*. Mumbai: Reesha Books International, 101–107.
- Dikshit, Kashinath Narayan. 1929–30. Paharpur Copper-Plate Grant of the [Gupta] Year 159. *Epigraphia Indica* 20, 59–64.
- 1938. *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 55.
- Dowman, Keith. 1985. *Masters of Mahāmudrā. Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Dryden, John, transl. 1697. *Virgil's Aeneid*. New York: P.F. Collier and Son 1909.
- Ducasse, Isidore-Lucien, Comte de Lautréamont. 1870. *Poésies*. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie Gabrie, Balitout, Questroy et Cie. In Jean-Pierre Goldenstein, Jean-Pierre, ed. 1992. *Lautréamont, les Chants de Maldoror et Isidore Ducasse, Poésies*, Paris: Presses Pocket.
- Dutt, Nalinaksha. 1931. Notes on the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions. *The Indian Historical Quarterly* 7(3), 633–53.
- Dutt, Sukumar. 1962. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. Their History and their Contribution to Indian Culture*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Eco, Umberto. 1975. *Trattato di semiotica generale*. Milano: Bompiani.
- 1992. *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Edgerton, Franklin. 1953. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Vol. 2: *Dictionary*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Egyed, Alice. 1984. *The Eighty-Four Siddhas. A Tibetan Blockprint from Mongolia*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Eimer, Helmut. 1989. Nag tsho Tshul khirms rgyal ba's Bstod pa brgyad cu pa in Its Extant Version. *Bulletin of Tibetology* n.s. 1, 21–38.
- Elliot, Henry Miers and John Dowson. 1867. *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians. The Muhammadan Period. Edited from the Posthumous Papers of the Late Sir H. M. Elliot*. Vol. I. London: Trübner and Co.
- English, Elizabeth. 2002. *Vajrayoginī. Her Visualization, Rituals, and Forms. A Study of the Cult of Vajrayoginī in India*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Farinelli, Franco. 2003. *Geografia. Un'introduzione ai modelli del mondo*. Torino: Einaudi.
- Fleet, John Faithful. 1888. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* 3. Bhandarkar, D.R., rev., Chhabra B. and G.S. Gai, eds 1981. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Fleming, Benjamin J. 2010. New Copperplate Grant of Śrīcandra (no. 8) from Bangladesh. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 73, 223–44.
- Flood, Gavin. 2006. *The Tantric Body. The Secret Tradition of Hindu Religion*. London–New York: I.B. Tauris.

- Foucault, Michel. 1969. Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur? (lecture at the Collège de France on 22 February 1969). *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, 63(3), 73–104; Engl. transl. 'What Is an Author?' In Bouchard, Donald F. ed. and Sherry Simon, transl. *Language, Counter-memory, Practice*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press 1977, 113–38.
- Fryer, G.E. 1872. Note on an Arakan Coin. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 41, 201–203.
- Furui, Ryosuke. 2013. The Kotalipada Copperplate Inscription of the Time of Dvādaśāditya, Year 14. *Pratna Samiksha*, New Series 4, 89–98.
- Geiger, Wilhelm, ed. 1912. *The Mahāvamsa*. London: Pali Text Society.
- transl. 1912. *The Mahāvamsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Gene Smith, Ellis. 2001. *Among Tibetan Texts. History and literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Ghosh, Gaur Chandra and Abhijit Datta. 2012. A Critical Approach to the Trade and Commerce in Vanga-Samatata-Harikela during the Early Medieval Period. *Barnolipi* 1(6), 37–43.
- Ghosh, M.M. transl. and Pushpendra Kumar, ed. 2006. *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni. Text with Commentary of Abhinavbhārati and English Translation*. Delhi: New Bharatiya Book Corporation, 2006, 3 Vols.
- Ghosh, Suchandra. 2010–11. The Trans Meghna Region: Making of a Sub-Regional Identity. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* 27, 220–31.
- Ghoshal, U.N. 1934. Somapura. An ancient Buddhist monastery in Varendri. *Varendra Research Society's Monographs* 5, 27–29.
- Gnoli, Raniero. 1956. *The Aesthetic Experience according to Abhinavagupta*. Rome: ISMEO.
- Gombrich, Richard Francis. 1988. *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gray, David Barton. 2007. *The Cakrasamvara Tantra: The Discourse of Śrī Heruka (Śrīherukābhīdhāna). A Study and Annotated Translation*. New York: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University in New York, Columbia University's Center for Buddhist Studies, and Tibet House US.
- Grierson, George Abraham. 1878. The Song of Mānik Chandra. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 47(1), 135–238.
- 1885. Two Versions of the Song of Gopī Chand. Edited and Translated. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 54(1), 35–55.
- Griffiths, Arlo. 2015. Three More Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan: New Perspectives on Its Name, Dynastic History, and Buddhist Culture in the First Millennium. *The Journal of Burma Studies* 19(2), 281–340.
- Grünwedel, Albert. 1916. *Die Geschichten der vier und achtzig Zauberers aus dem Tibetischen übersetz*. Leipzig: Baessler Archiv.

- Guenther, Herbert V. 1963a. Indian Buddhist Thought in Tibetan Perspective—Infinite Transcendence versus Finiteness. In Eliade, Mircea et al., eds. *History of Religions* 3(1). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 83 ff.; then in Guenther 1977.
- 1963b. *The Life and Teachings of Nāropa. Translated from the original Tibetan with a Philosophical Commentary based on the Oral Transmission.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1966. Some Aspects of Tibetan Religious Thought. In Eliade, Mircea et al., eds. *History of Religions* 6(1), 70 ff.; then in Guenther 1977.
- 1968a. *The Royal Song of Saraha. A Study in the History of Buddhist Thought.* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- 1968b. Tantra and Revelation. In Eliade, Mircea et al., eds. *History of Religions* 7(4), 279–301; then in Guenther 1977.
- 1977. *Tibetan Buddhism in Western Perspective. Collected articles of Herbert V. Guenther.* Emeryville: Dharma Publishing.
- 1993. *Ecstatic Spontaneity. Saraha's Three Cycles of Dohā.* Nanzan Studies in Asian Religion 4. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press
- Gupta, Kamala Kanta. 1979. Two Mainamati Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Khadga and Early Deva Times. *Bangladesh Archaeology* 1, 141–143.
- Gutman, Pamela. 1976. *Ancient Arakan, with special reference to its cultural history between the 5th and the 11th centuries.* PhD thesis. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Gyaltsen, Khenpo Könchog, transl. and Victoria Huckenpahler, ed. 1990. *The Great Kagyu Masters. The Golden Lineage Treasury.* Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion Publications.
- Hacker, Paul. 1965. Dharma im Hinduismus. *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionwissenschaft* 49, 93–106; Engl. transl. Donald R. Davis. 2006. Dharma in Hinduism. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 34(5), 479–96.
- Harder, Hans. 2011. *Sufism and Saint Veneration in Contemporary Bangladesh. The Majbhandaris of Chittagong.* London and New York: Routledge.
- Heras, H. 1928. The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 14, 1–23.
- Huber, Toni. 1990. Where exactly are Cāritra, Devikōṭa and Himavat? A sacred geography controversy and the development of Tantric Buddhist pilgrimage sites in Tibet. *Kailash* 16(3–4), 121–64.
- Hudson, Bob. 2005. Ancient Geography and Recent Archaeology: Dhanyawadi, Vesali and Mrauk-u. In *The Forgotten Kingdom of Arakan. History Workshop (November 2005).* Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University.
- Hultsch, E. 1886. The Bhagalpur Plate of Narayanapala. *Indian Antiquary* 15, 304–10.
- Huntington, Susan L. 1984. *The Pāla-Sena Schools of Sculpture.* Leiden: Brill.
- Islam, Shariful. 2011. Koṭālipāḍā Copper Plate of Dvādaśāditya. *Journal of the*

- Asiatic Society* 53(4), 71–82.
- Islam, Shariful and Sayeeda Nasrin. 2014. A Fresh Assessment of Gopacandra in the Light of Numismatic Evidence. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (Hum.)* 59(1), 31–37.
- Islam, Shariful. 2016. A Fresh Assessment of Kantideva in the Light of Newly Discovered Coins. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh (Hum.)* 61(1), 39–47.
- Jackson, Roger R. 2004. *Tantric Treasures: Three Collections of Mystical Verse from Buddhist India*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al., eds 1985. *Da tang xi yu ji jiaozhu* 大唐西域記校注. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Johnston, Edward H. 1944. Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, 357–85.
- Joyce, James A. 1939. *Finnegans Wake*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Kajiyama, Yūichi. 1965. Controversy between the Sākāra- and Nirākāra-vādins of the Yogācāra School. Some Materials. *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 14: 418–29; then in Kajiyama, Yūichi. 2005. *Studies in Buddhist Philosophy: Selected Papers*. Kyoto: Rinsen, 389–400.
- Kāle, Moreshwar Rāmacandra, ed. transl. 1922. *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa. With the Commentary (the Sanjīvinī) of Mallinātha. Cantos I–X. Edited with a literal translation into English, copious notes in Sanskrit and English and various readings, etc.* Bombay: Gopal Narayen.
- Kapstein, Matthew T. 2000. King Kuñji's Banquet. In White, David Gordon, ed. 2000. *Tantra in Practice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 2005. Chronological Conundrums in the Life of Khyung po rnal 'byor: Hagiography and Historical Time. *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 1, 1–14.
- 2006. An Inexhaustible Treasury of Verse: The Literary Legacy of the Mahāsiddhas. In Linrothe, R. ed. 2006. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.
- 2009. *Buddhism between Tibet and China*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Khetsun Sangpo (mKhas btsun bzang po). 1973–90. *rGya bod mkhas grub rim byon gyi rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs* (Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism). 12 vols. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Kielhorn, Lorenz Franz. 1888. A Buddhist Stone-Inscription from Ghosrawa. *Indian Antiquary* 17, 307.
- 1894. Badal Pillar Inscription of the Time of Narayanapala. *Epigraphia Indica* 2, 160–67.
- 1896–97. Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva. *Epigraphia Indica* 4, 243–54.
- Konow, Sten, ed. and Ch. R. Lanman, transl. 1901. *Rāja-çekhara's Karpūra-*

- mañjarī. A Drama by the Indian Poet Rājaṣekhara (about 900 A.D.).* The Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 4. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Kossak, Steven M. and Jane Casey Singer, J. 1998. *Sacred Visions: Early paintings from Central Tibet.* New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Kuwayama, Shoshin. 1991. L'inscription du Gaṇeśa de Gardez et la chronologie des Turki-Śāhi. *Journal Asiatique* 279, 267–87.
- Kvaerne, Per. 1977. *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs: A Study of the Caryāgīti.* Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi II Hist.-Filos. Klasse Skrifter Ny Serie, no. 14. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget; n.ed. Bangkok: White Orchid Press 1986.
- Lahiri, Latika, transl. 1986. *Chinese Monks in India. Biography of Eminent Monks who went to the Western World in Search of the Law during the Great T'ang Dynasty by I-ching.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Lalou, Marcelle 1933. *Répertoire du Tanjur d'après le Catalogue de P. Cordier.* Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- 1953. Les Textes bouddhiques au temps du Roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan. *Journal Asiatique* 241(3), 313–53.
- Lamotte, Étienne. 1958. *Histoire du bouddhisme indien. Des origines à l'ère Śaka.* Louvain: Institut Orientaliste de l'Université Catholique de Louvain.
- Laskar, Ganga Mohan. 1906. Ashrafpur Copper-Plate Grants of Devakhaḍga. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1, 85–91.
- Law, Bimala Churn. 1954. *Historical Geography of Ancient India.* Paris: Société Asiatique; n.ed. 1976. Delhi: Ess Ess Publications.
- Legge, James, transl. 1886. *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms. Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fā-hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline.* Translated and annotated with a Korean recension of the Chinese text. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Lévi, Sylvain. 1905. *Le Népal. Étude historique d'un royaume hindou.* Vol. 1. Paris: Ernest Leroux Éditeur.
- 1930–32. Un nouveau document sur le bouddhisme de basse époque dans l'Inde. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6, 417–29.
- Lewis, Todd T. 1996. A Chronology of Newar-Tibetan Relations in the Kathmandu Valley. In Lienhard, Siegfried, ed. *Change and Continuity. Studies in the Nepalese Culture of the Kathmandu Valley.* Torino: Edizioni dell'Orso 1996, 149–66.
- Linrothe, Rob, ed. 2006. *Holy Madness: Portraits of Tantric Siddhas.* New York: Rubin Museum of Art.
- 2006. Siddhas and Śrīśailam, Where All Wise People Go. In Linrothe, ed. 2006.
- Lo Bue, Erberto F. 1997. The Role of Newar Scholars in Transmitting the Indian Buddhist Heritage to Tibet (c. 750 – c. 1200). In Samten Karmay and Philippe Sagant, eds 1997. *Les Habitants du toit du monde.* Nanterre: Société

- d'ethnologie, 629–58.
- Locke, John K. 1985. *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press.
- Lorenzen, David N. 1972. *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas: Two Lost Śaivite Sects*. University of California Press; second revised edition: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1991.
- Luce, Gordon H. and Bo-Hmu Ba Shin. 1969. *Old Burma—Early Pagán*. Vol. I: *Text*. New York: J. J. Augustin.
- Majumdar, Nani Gopal. 1926. Nālandā Copper-Plate of Devapāladeva. *Varendra Research Society's Monographs* 1, 1–31.
- 1929. *Inscriptions of Bengal*. Vol. III. Rajshahi: The Varendra Research Society.
- 1933–34. Irda Copper-Plate of the Kamboja King Nayanapaladeva. *Epigraphia Indica* 22, 150–59.
- 1935–36. Mallasarul Copper-Plate of Vijayasena. *Epigraphia Indica* 23, 155–61.
- Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. 1923. The Date of the Khadga Dynasty of Bengal. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s. 19, 375–79.
- 1924. *The Early History of Bengal*. Dacca: University of Dacca.
- 1925–26. The Gwalior Prasasti of the Gurjara-Pratihara King Bhoja. *Epigraphia Indica* 18, 99–114.
- 1942. Chittagong Copper-Plate of Kantideva. *Epigraphia Indica* 26, 313–18.
- 1943. *History of Bengal*. Vol. I. Dacca.
- ed. 1966. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*. Vol. 5: *The Struggle for Empire*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.
- 1971. *History of Ancient Bengal*. Calcutta: G. Bharadwaj.
- Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse de. 1969. Notes d'iconographie tântrique. IV. A propos de Vajravārāhī. *Arts Asiatiques* 20, 21–40.
- 1975. *Introduction à l'iconographie du Tāntrisme bouddhique*. Bibliothèque du centre de recherches sur l'Asie Centrale et la Haute Asie, vol. 1. Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Medhurst, Walter Henry. 1842–43. *Chinese and English Dictionary. Containing all the words in the Chinese imperial dictionary, arranged according to the radicals*. Batavia: Parapattan.
- Meisezahl, Richard O. 1967. *Die Göttin Vajravārāhī. Eine ikonographische Studie nach einem Sādhana-text von Advayavajra*. Sonderabdruck aus Oriens 18–19. Leiden: E.J Brill.
- Mills, E.M. 1993. A Copper Plate from the Reign of Śrīcandra (Bangladesh National Museum Accession Number 77.1478). *South Asian Studies* 9, 77–86.
- Mitchiner, Michael. 2000. *The Land of Water. Coinage and History of Bangladesh and later Arakan circa 300 BC to the present day*. Sanderstead, London:

- Hawkins.
- Mitra, Rajendralal. 1882. *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 1885. On a Copper Plate Inscription from Dacca. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 49–52.
- Monier-Williams, Monier. 1899. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Morrison, Barrie M. 1970. *Political Centres and Cultural Regions in Early Bengal*. The Association for Asian Studies: Monographs and Papers, no. 25. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Max Müller, Friedrich, H. Wenzel and Kenjiu Kasawara, eds. 1885. *The Dharma-samgraha: An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; repr. Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, 2005.
- Nālandā Translation Committee, transl. 1982. *The Life of Marpa the Translator*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Nasir, Noman. 2016. Coins of King Kāntideva of Harikela Kingdom. *Journal of Northeast Researches* 7, 20–26.
- Nasir, Noman and Nicholas Rhodes. 2010. A Hoard of Coins of the Candra Dynasty of Arakan. *Pratna Samiksha* n.s. I, 155–61.
- Naudou, Jean. 1968. *Les Bouddhistes Kaśmīriens au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm. 1873–74. Rhetorik. In Nietzsche, F.W. 1922. *Gesammelte Werke*. Vol. 5. München: Musarion Verlag, 287–319.
- 1887. *Zur Genealogie der Moral, Eine Streitschrift*. Leipzig: Verlag von C. G. Neumann.
- Obermiller, Eugene E., transl. 1932. *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet by Bu-ston. Part 2*. Heidelberg: Harrassowitz.
- Oldenberg, Hermann, ed. transl. 1879. *The Dīpavaṃsa. An Ancient Buddhist Historical Record*. London-Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.
- Olivelle, Patrick, ed. transl. 2005. *Manu's Code of Law. A critical edition and translation of the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ōtani — Suzuki, Taisetz Teitaro, ed. 1961. *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking edition. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto. Catalogue and Index*. Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- Pal, Pratapaditya. 1985. *Art of Nepal: A Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection*.
- Pandey, Janardan, ed. 1990. Amanasikārakramaḥ. *Dhīh* 10, 8–12.
- Parabrahma Sastry, P.V. 1990. *Srisailam, Its History and Cult*. Srisaila: Srisaila Devasthanam Publications.
- Pargiter, F.E. 1910. Three Copper-Plate Grants from East Bengal. *Indian Antiquary* 39, 193–216.

- 1911. The Ghāgrāhāṭi (Koṭwālīpārā) Grant and Three Other Copper-Plate Grants. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* n.s. 7, 474–502.
- Passavanti, Marco. 2008. The Bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa: A Thirteenth-Century Work on the Dohā Lineage of Saraha. In Almogi, O. ed. *Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature*. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies 2008, 435–89.
- Paul, Pramode Lal. 1939. *The early History of Bengal (From the Earliest Times to the Muslim Conquest)*. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute.
- Peirce, Charles S. 1931–58. *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. 8 volumes (vols 1–6, Hartshorne, C. and P. Weiss, eds, vols 7–8, Burks, A.W., ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Petech, Luciano. 1984. *Mediaeval History of Nepal*. Rome: IsMEO.
- Phayre, Arthur P. 1844. On the History of Arakan. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 145, 23–52.
- Propp, Vladimir Jakovlevič. 1928. *Morfologija skazki*. Leningrad. Engl. transl. *Morphology of the Folktale*. Bloomington: Indiana University Research Center, 1958.
- Qanungo, Suniti Bhushan. 1988. *A History of Chittagong*. Vol. I. *From Ancient Times Down to 1761*. Chittagong: Dipankar Qanungo.
- Rajaguru, Satyanarayan. 1963. Jayarampur Copper Plate Inscription of the Time of Gopacandra. *Orissa Historical Research Journal* 11(4), 206–33.
- Reclus, Elisée. 1876–1894. *Nouvelle géographie universelle: la Terre et les hommes*. Paris: Librairie Hachette. Engl. transl. A.H. Keane. *The Earth and its Inhabitants: The Universal Geography*. Vol. 8. *India and Indo-China*. London: J.S. Virtue & Co.
- Renou, Louis, ed. transl. 1925, *La Géographie de Ptolémée. L'Inde (VII, 1–4). Texte établi*. Paris: Champion.
- Reu, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath. 1933. *History of the Rāshtrakūṭas (Rāthōḍas). From the beginning to the migration of Rao Siha towards Marwar*. Jodhpur: The Archaeological Department.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. transl. 1894. *The Questions of King Milinda. Part II*. Sacred Books of the East 36. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, Peter A. 2007. *The Biographies of Rechungpa: The evolution of a Tibetan hagiography*. London–New York: Routledge.
- Robinson, James B. 1979. *Buddha's Lions. The Lives of the Eighty-Four Siddhas*. “*Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti*” by Abhayadatta. Translated into Tibetan as “*Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus*” by sMon-grub Shes-rab. Berkeley: Dharma Publishing.
- Roerich, George N., transl. 1949. *The Blue Annals* by 'Gos Lotsawa. Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Reprint 1979, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- transl. 1959. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal)*

- a Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*. Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute.
- Roşu, Arion. 1969. A la recherche d'un tīrtha énigmatique du Dekkan médiéval. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 55, 23–57.
- Śākya, Hemarāj. 1974. *Nepāla lipi-prakāśa*. Kathmandu: Royal Academy.
- Sachau, Edward C. 1910. *Alberuni's India. An Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Geography, Chronology, Astronomy, Customs, Laws and Astrology of India about A.D. 1030. An English Edition, with Notes and Indices*. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1910.
- Sanderson, Alexis. 2009. The Śaiva Age. The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period. In Einoo, Shingo, ed. 2009. *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture.
- Sankrityayan, Rahula (Bhikṣu Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana). 1934. Recherches bouddhiques. *Journal Asiatique*, Oct.-Déc., 195–230.
- Sarao, Karam Tej. 1990. *Urban Centres and Urbanization as Reflected in the Pāli Vinaya and Sutta Piṭakas*. Delhi: Vidyanidhi.
- Sāstrī, T. Gaṇapati, ed. 1920–25. *The Ārya-mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Part I (1920), Part II (1922), Part III (1925). Trivandrum: The Superintendent Government Press.
- Sastri, Haraprasadh. 1915–16. The Susunia Rock Inscription of Chandravarman. *Epigraphia Indica* 13, 133.
- Sastri, Hirananda. 1924. The Nalanda Copper-Plate of Devapaladeva. *Epigraphia Indica* 17, 310–27.
- 1942. Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 66. Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.
- Schaeffer, Kurtis R. 2000. The Religious Career of Vairocana-vajra. A Twelfth century Indian Buddhist master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala. *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28(4), 361–84.
- 2005. *Dreaming the Great Brahmin. Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schiefner, Franz Anton. 1869. *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Schmid, Toni. 1958. *The Eighty-Five Siddhas. Reports from the scientific expedition to the North-Western provinces of China under the leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin*. Sino-Swedish Expedition, no. 42. Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum.
- Schoff, Wilfred H., transl. 1912. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*. Translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Sempa Dorje (Sems dpa' rDo rje), Acharya, ed. Hindi transl. 1979. *Abhayadattaśrī (Slob dpon Mi 'jigs sbyin). Caurāsī Siddhoh kā Vṛttānta (Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i lo rgyus)*. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

- Sen, Prabhas Chandra. 1929. Mahasthan and its Environs (With a map and illustrations). *Varendra Research Society's Monographs* 2.
- Sen, Dinesh Chandra. 1920. *The Folk-Literature of Bengal*. Being Lectures delivered to the Calcutta University in 1917, as Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellow in the History of Bengali Language and Literature. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Shahidullah, Mohammed. 1928. *Les chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha. Les Dohā-koṣa (en apabhraṃśa, avec les versions tibétaines) et les Caryā (en vieux-bengali)*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Shastri, Lobsang. 2009. Jalandhara in the Eyes of Tibetan and Trans-Himalayan Pilgrims. *Tibet Journal* 34(2), 3–33.
- Śāstrī, Hara Prasād, ed. 1916. *Hājār bacharēr purāṇa Bāṅgālā bhāṣāy Baudha gān ō dōhā* ('Buddhist Songs and Couplets in the Bengali Language a Thousand Years Old'). Calcutta: Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Series no. 55.
- Shaw, Richard. 1997. Srisailam: Centre of the Siddhas. *South Asian Studies* 13, 161–78.
- Singh, Bireswar Prasād. 1967. Nāropa, his Life and Activities. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 53, 117–129.
- Sircar, Dinesh Chandra. 1947. The Kailan Copper-plate of king Śrīdhāraṇa Rāta of Samatāṭa. *Indian Historical Quarterly* 23, 221–41.
- 1949–50. Epigraphic notes: 3. Madanpur Plate of Śrīcandra, Year 46. *Epigraphia Indica* 28, 337–39.
- 1951. Copper-Plate Inscription of King Bhavadeva of Devaparvata. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal – Letters* 17, 83–94.
- 1957–58. Inscriptions of the Chandras of Arakan. *Epigraphia Indica* 32, 103–109.
- 1959–60a. Dhulla Plate of Srichandra. *Epigraphia Indica* 33, 134–40.
- 1959–60b. Bhaturya Inscription of Rajyapala. *Epigraphia Indica* 33, 150–54.
- 1961. Note on Nesarika Grant of Govinda III: Saka 727. *Epigraphia Indica* 34, 123–40.
- 1967–68. Pashimbhag Plate of Srichandra, Year 5. *Epigraphia Indica* 37, 289–304.
- 1971. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, second edition.
- 1973. *The Śākta Pīṭhas*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, second revised edition.
- 1979. *Some Epigraphical Records of the Medieval Period from Eastern India*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Snellgrove, David L. 1959. *The Hevajra Tantra. A Critical Study*. Part 1: *Introduction and Translation*. Part 2: *Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*. London: Oxford University Press.

- Snellgrove, David L. and Tadeusz Skorupski. 1980. *The Cultural Heritage of Ladakh. 2: Zangskar and the Cave Temples of Ladakh*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.
- Stearns, Cyrus. 1996. The Life and Tibetan Legacy of the Indian Mahāpaṇḍita Vibhūticandra. *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 19, 127–171.
- 2001. *Luminous Lives. The Story of the Early Masters of the Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Tagare, Ganesh Vasudev. 1948. *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*. Poona (Delhi 1987).
- Taishō — Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭 *et al.* eds 1924–32. *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 100 vols (revised version of the Chinese Buddhist canon compiled during the Taishō era, 1912–26, with its Japanese commentaries). Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai.
- Takakusu, Junjirō, transl. 1896. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 651–695) by I-tsing*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tatz, Mark. 1987. The Life of the Siddha-Philosopher Maitrīgupta. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107, 695–711.
- Templeman, David, transl. 1983. *Tāranātha's bKa' babs bdun ldan. The Seven Instruction Lineages by Jo nang Tāranātha*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- 1989. *Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- 2010. 'South of the Border': Tāranātha's Perceptions of India. *Tibet Journal Special Issue*, 231–42.
- Tibetan Tripitaka* — Suzuki, Daisetz Teitaro, ed. 1955–61. *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking edition. Reprinted under the supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Vols 1–45 *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*. Vols 46–150 *Bstan-ḥgyur*. Vol. 151 *Dkar-chag*. Vols 152–164 Extra (*Btson Kha Pa / Lcañ Skya*). Vol. 165–168 Catalogue. Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute.
- Tibskrit* — Martin, Dan. 2011. *Tibskrit Philology*. ed. Alexander Cherniak. On-line edition.
- Tiso, Francis and Fabrizio Torricelli, ed. transl. 1991. The Tibetan Text of Tilopa's Mahāmudropadeśa. *East and West* 41(1–4), 205–229.
- Tōhoku — Ui, Hakuju and Munetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura and Tōkan Tada, eds 1934. *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University.
- Torricelli, Fabrizio. 1993. *Chos drug and bKa'-babs bzhi*: Material for a Biography of the Siddha Tilopa. *East and West* 43, 185–98.

- 1996. The Tibetan Text of Tilopa's *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa*. *East and West* 46(1–2), 145–166.
- 1998a. A Thirteenth Century Tibetan Hymn to the Siddha Tilopa. *Tibet Journal* 23(1), 3–17.
- 1998b. The Tibetan Text of the *Karṇatantravajrapada*. *East and West* 48(3–4), 385–423.
- 2000. Padma dkar-po's Arrangement of the *bDe-mchog snyan-brgyud*. *East and West* 50(1–4), 359–386.
- 2001. Zhang Lo-tsā-ba's Introduction to the Aural Transmission of Śaṃvara. In Torella, Raffaele, ed. *Le parole e i marmi. Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70° compleanno*. Serie Orientale Roma 92. Roma: Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente.
- 2007. The Tibetan Text of Tilopa's *Acintyamahāmudrā*. 1 – The Instruction to the Yogin. *Tibet Journal* 32(4), 3–32.
- Torricelli, Fabrizio and Sangye T. Naga, ed. transl. 1995. *The Life of the Mahāsiddha Tilopa by Mar pa Chos kyi Blo gros*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Trenckner, Vilhelm, ed. 1880. *The Milindapañho. Being Dialogues between King Milinda and the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena*. Pali Text Society. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Tsuda, Shinichi, ed. and transl. 1974. *The Saṃvarodaya-Tantra. Selected Chapters*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press.
- Tucci, Giuseppe. 1923–29. *Linee di una storia del materialismo indiano*. Roma. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Mem. Morali Storiche e Filologiche, V, 17(7), 242–310, VI, 2(10), 667–713; then in Tucci 1971, 49–155.
- 1930. Animadversiones Indicae 6. A Sanskrit biography of the Siddhas and some questions connected with Nāgārjuna. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 26, 125–60; then in Tucci 1971, 209–24.
- 1933. *Indo-tibetica II. Rin c'en bzañ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille*. Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia.
- 1935. *Indo-tibetica III. I templi del Tibet centrale ed il loro simbolismo artistico. Parte II: Tsaparang*. Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia.
- 1940. *The Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*. Calcutta. Then in Tucci 1971: 369–418.
- 1949. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Roma: Libreria dello Stato.
- 1955–56. The Symbolism of the Temple of bSam-yas. *East and West* 6, 279–81.
- 1971. *Opera minora*. Università di Roma. Studi orientali pubblicati a cura della Scuola Orientale, Vol. VI. Roma: Giovanni Bardi Editore.
- Turner, Ralph Lilley. 1931. *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Vaidya, P.L., ed. 1960. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā with Harībhadrā's*

- Commentary called 'Āloka'.* Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning.
- Vasu, Nagendranatha. 1895. Susunia Rock Inscription of Candravarman. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 177–80.
- Vitali, Roberto. 2012. Grub chen U rgyan pa and the Mongols of China. In Vitali, Roberto, ed. 2012. *Studies on the History and Literature of Tibet and the Himalaya*. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications.
- Vogel, Jean Philippe. 1929–30. Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist Site at Nagarjunikonda. *Epigraphia Indica* 20, 1–37.
- Walleiser, Max. 1923. The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources. Transl. of the unpublished German original (1922). *Asia Major* (Hirth Anniversary volume), 421–55.
- Wayman, Alex. 1962. Received Teachings of Tibet and Analysis of the Tantric Canon. *Indo-Asian Studies*, Part 1; then in Wayman, Alex. *The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism*. London: Kegan Paul International 1973, 225–239.
- 1977. *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra. The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses: A Buddhist Tantra Commentary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Weber, Maximilian Karl Emil. 1921. *Die Wirtschaftsethik der Weltreligionen. Hinduismus und Buddhismus*. Tübingen; Engl. transl. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale, eds. 1958. *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*. New York: The Free Press (n.ed. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal 2007).
- 1922. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Engl. transl. Henderson, Alexander Morell and Talcott Parsons 1947. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- White, David Gordon. 1997. *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wicks, Robert S. 1992. *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia. The development of indigenous monetary systems to AD 1400*. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications.
- Wilkins, Charles. 1798. A Royal Grant of Land Engraved on a Copper Plate, bearing date Twenty-Three Years before Christ, and discovered among the Ruins at Mongueer. *Asiatick Researches, or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia*. 1(3), 123–130.
- Wylie, Turrel V. 1982. Dating the Death of Nāropa. In *Indological and Buddhist Studies. Volume in Honour of Prof. J.W. de Jong on His Sixtieth Birthday*. Canberra, 687–92.
- Yeasmin, Alea and M. Nazrul Islam. 2011. Changing Trends of Channel Pattern of the Ganges-Padma River. *International Journal of Geomatics and Geosciences* 2(2), 669–75.

INDEX

- **Aṣṭaguhyārthāṅgavāda*; 223; 261
 **Bāhyasādhanaśāmyoga*; 100; 248
 **Bāhyasiddhipratītyasamutpāda*; 100
 *Buddhadatta; 251
 **Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti* (*Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rnam thar*); 97; 98; 226; 240; 252
 *Dyotitaprabha; 164; 165
 *Dyuti; 164; 165; 214; 238
 *Dyutimatī; 164; 165; 238
 *Jagāo
 current Chittagong City, BD; 163; 165; 202; 275
 *Jvālapariveśakāpāla; 224
 *Kālapā; 141; 238
 *Kāpāla; 238
 *Kṣemendrabhadra; 78
 *Mahāsukhavajra; 141
 *Maṣavana; 202
 *Maṣodyāna; 202
 **Nijadharmatāgīti*; 111; 262
 **Nimittasūcanāvyākaraṇa*; 260; 262
 *Nirvikalpavajra; 141
 *Pañcāpaṇa; 168; 211; 212; 275
 *Pāñcāpaṇa; 168
 *Pārāvatapāda; 262
 *Parṇa; 204; 206; 209
 *Pradīpoddyotā; 164; 165
 *Ramyakṣetra; 251
 *Samantabhadrī Yoginī; 196
 **Sekagranthamocanāṅgavāda*; 261
 *Subhagā; 196
 *Subhaginī; 196; 203; 205; 207; 208
 *Sukhacakra; 141
 *Sukhapradā; 167; 199; 211; 217; 275
 **Tilatailavajragīti*; 128; 131; 137; 213; 266
 *Umākesara; 212
 *Vaktrakrodhā; 188
 'Bri gung bKa' brgyud pa tradition; 102; 105; 106; 108; 248
 'Bri gung skyob pa 'Jig rten mgon po; 100; 102; 104; 106
 'Bri khung gling; 101
 'Bring mtshams; 101
 'Brog Jo sras rdo rje 'bar; 257
 'Brug chen Kun dga' dpal 'byor; 87
 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa tradition; 90; 106
 'Gar Dam pa Chos sdings pa; 106
 'Gos Lo tsā ba
 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal; 93; 99; 114; 174; 177; 196; 262
 'Jam pa'i dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan; 86; 88; 150
 'Khor lo sdom pa snyan brgyud lugs kyi dkyil 'khor sdom tshig mun sel sgron me; 86
 'Od bZang dpal; 150
 A pho rin po che Ye shes rang grol; 84
 A wa dhu ti pa Ko brag pa; 151
 Abbasid dynasty; 45
 Abhayadatta, *or* Abhayadattaśrī, *or* Abhayaśrī
 alias Abhayākaragupta; 97; 98; 127; 143; 231; 241; 244
 Abhayakīrti; 102; 244; 248
Abhidhānacintāmaṇi; 22; 160

- Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka*; 31; 39; 42
 Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī; 185
 Abū Zayd Ḥasan; 45
 Ācārya Caryādharpāda; 171
 Ācāryayogin; 121
Acintyamahāmudrā; 110; 223; 260; 261; 266
 Advayavajra; 123; 124; 126; 127; 180; 183; 184; 192; 196; 198; 247; 256; 257; 258
 Afghanistan; 7; 45; 116
 Ākaracandra; 251
 Ākaravajra; 244
 Alexander III of Macedon; xx; xxi; xxii; 4; 5
 Al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf; 79
 Allahabad inscription; 8; 69
Amanasikāra yathāśrutakrama; 124
Amarakoṣaṭīkākāmadhenu; 152
 Amoghaśrī; 127
 Amoghavarṣa; 44; 50
 Ānanda; 50
 Ānandacandra; 23; 24; 25; 26; 27; 51; 55
 Ānandadeva; 19; 20; 75; 76
 Anaṅgavajra; 127; 207; 251
 Andhra Pradesh, IN-AP; 7; 49; 116; 190; 191
 Aṅga; 64; 67
 Annam; 81
 Antarācārya; 174; 175; 177
 Antarapā; 174; 175; 177
Antarmañjari; 152
 Antichak, IN-BR; 80
 Anupamarakṣita; 102
 Arakan
 current Rakhine, MM; 14; 22; 23; 25; 26; 27; 28; 51; 53; 54; 55; 59; 76; 160; 161; 162; 234
 Aroga Vihāra; 220; 238; 275
 Āryadeva; 176
Āryāmoghapāśasādhana; 152
 Āryasūra; 37
 Ashrafpur inscriptions; 15; 16; 17; 74
 Aśoka Maurya; 7; 68; 238
 Aśoka Vihāra; 237; 238; 275
 Assam, IN-AS; 1; 7; 12; 21; 50; 76
Aṣṭādaśaśaktipīṭhastotra; 194
Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā; 31; 199
Aṣṭaśmaśāna; 120
Aṣṭaśmaśānākhyāna; 121
 Atiśa; 84; 95; 96; 144; 153; 157; 158; 159; 180; 183
 Aṭṭahāsa; 120; 121; 122; 189; 190; 191; 230
 Aulikaras; 71; 117
 Avadhūtipā; 196; 198; 251
 Avanti; 32
 Badal inscription; 35; 43
 Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra; 255; 257; 276
 Baigram inscription; 69
 Baitarani River; 201
 Balabhāṭa; 15; 74
 Bālaputradeva; 45
 Balasore (Baleshwar) District, IN-OR; 65; 72
 Balin; 174
 Balin Ācārya; 175
 Balyācārya; 174
 Bangālah. *See* Vaṅgāla
 Bangarh inscription; 65
 Bangladesh; 1; 14; 42; 49; 50; 65; 72; 74; 76; 201
 Bangladesh National Museum coins; 72; 74
 Bangladesh National Museum
 inscription; 57; 60; 63
 Bankura District, IN-WB; 69; 252
 Bara-Uthan. *See* Barudhan
 Bardhaman (Burdwan) District, IN-WB; 72
 Bardhaman (Burdwan) Division, IN-WB; 190
 Bardhamānapura; 54
 Barisal Division, BD; 1
 Barudhan, BD; 54; 55
 Bay of Bengal; 1; 14
 bDag med ma; 93
bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud;
 84; 87; 107
bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi gdams pa yid bzhin nor bu skor gsum

- Gra dkar Rab 'jam pa Ms.; 106; 108
bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan rgyud kyi
gzhung 'brel sa gcad dang sbrags pa
 Bya btang 'Phrin las dpal 'bar Ms.;
 108
bDe mchog mkha' 'gro'i snyan brgyud
kyi dkar chag rin po che'i gter; 265
bDe mchog snyan brgyud; xxv; 85; 88;
 91; 145; 224; 258; 260; 261; 263;
 264; 265; 273
bDe mchog spyi bshad; 145
 bDe ster ma; 166; 167; 199; 211
 Bengala. *See* Vaṅgāla
 Berhampore, IN-WB; 73
 Bhadra; 14; 173
 Bhadradatta; 53
Bhadrakalpikāsūtra; 164
 Bhadrāpā; 174; 175; 177
 Bhadrāpāda; 173
 Bhagalpur City, IN-BR; 80
 Bhagalpur District, IN-BR; 80
 Bhagalpur inscription; 44
 Bhāgyadevī; 65
 Bhaṃ ga la. *See* Vaṅgāla
 Bharata; 143; 144
 Bharima; 211; 212; 213
 Bhāskaravarman; 11
 Bhāskavarman; 12
 Bhaṭṭāghaṭī; 78
 Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh; 179; 182;
 184
 Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra; 220
 Bhattacharyya, Narendra Nath; 277
 Bhaturiya inscription; 49
 Bhavadeva; 19; 20; 53; 75; 76; 77
 Bhavanātha; 17
 Bhigunagara; 252
 Bhinasavajra; 178; 207; 209
 Bhoja; 32; 33
 Bianji; 70
 Bidyadhari River; 68
 Bihar Sharif inscription; 39
 Bihar, IN-BR; 1; 5; 11; 34; 35; 40; 45;
 49; 58; 67; 69; 73; 80; 152; 233; 245;
 246; 247
 Bikrampur; 63
 Bindurati; 53
 Birbhum District, IN-WB; 190
 Biso; 127
bKa' babs bdun ldan
bKa' babs bdun ldan gyi brgyud pa'i
rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad du
byung ba rin po che'i khungs lta bu'i
gtam; 95; 96; 97; 98; 161; 172; 173;
 174; 176; 181; 184
bKa' babs bzhi'i brgyud pa'i bla ma
rnams kyi rnam thar; 186
bKa' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin
po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod
'byung gnas; 104
bKa' brgyud yid bzhin nor bu yi 'phreng
ba; 105
 Bla ma Rin chen chos grags; 150
Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs
bsgrigs; 87
Bodhicaryāvatāratātparyapañjikāviśeṣa
dyotanī; 152
 Bogra District, BD; 68; 69
 Bogra inscription; 57; 58; 59; 60; 63;
 160
 Brag dkar rta so; 110
 Brahmaputra River; 2; 12; 14; 64; 73;
 158; 159
 British Museum coins; 72; 74
 bSam yas; 41; 183
 bSod nams rgyal mtshan; 150
 Bu ston
 Bu ston Rin chen grub; 40; 42; 80;
 115; 120
Buddhabodhisattvasiddhānām āmnāya;
 123
 Buddhaguhya; 112
 Buddhagupta; 70
 Buddhajñāna; 243
Buddhapurāṇa; 78
 Buddhaśaraṇa; 243
 Buddhaśrī; 101
 Budhagupta; 71
 Bya btang pa bDe legs rin chen; 150
 Byams pa gser mchog 'Od zer dpal; 90;
 151
 Byang chub bzang po

- Bo dhi bha dra; 86; 87; 88; 89; 90;
 91; 93; 150; 268; 269; 270
 bZang po chos grub; 150
 Cachar
 current Cachar District, IN-AS; 160
 Cakrāyudha; 34; 79
 Campā; 22
 Campārṇa, *or* Campārāṇa
 current Champa (Campā), IN-BR;
 97; 152
 Candella dynasty; 51; 63
 Candra dynasty of Arakan; 23; 24; 25;
 27; 28; 51; 54; 55; 59; 81; 162
 Candra dynasty of Bengal; 23; 51; 56;
 57; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 113;
 158; 160; 162; 168
 Candradvīpa; 60
 Candragupta Maurya; xxii
 Candraprabha; 200
 Cāritra; 123
 Cārvaka school; 234
 Caryācāryapāda; 171
 Caryāgītikośa; 231; 250
 Caryāmelāpakapradīpa; 176
 Caryāpā; 128; 169; 170; 172; 175; 176;
 177; 178; 179; 187; 203; 205; 207;
 208; 209; 210; 251; 274
 Cāryapā; 172
 Caryāvājra; 171
 Caṭigāḍ
 current Chittagong City, BD; 64; 161
 Caṭighawo; 161
 Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal; 229; 247
Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyi rnam
thar; 229; 247
 Chālukya dynasty; 11; 78
 Chaṇḍīmuḍā Peak; 18
 Chandra, Lokesh; 164; 251
 Chandraketurgh, IN-WB; 68
 Chang'an; 69; 70
 China; 7; 13; 25; 45; 70
Chinnamuṇḍavajravārāhīsādhana; 196
 Chittagong City, BD; 23; 54; 64; 160;
 161; 162; 167; 202; 275
 Chittagong District, BD; 54; 55; 160
 Chittagong Division, BD; 1; 53; 54; 76;
 160; 166
 Chittagong inscription; 53
Chos 'byung; 40; 42
Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang; 161
 Chos dpal dar byang; 247
Chos drug bsdu pa'i zin bris; 271
 Chos grags dpal bzang po; 90; 151
 Chos kyi grags pa
 Ba ri Lo tsā ba Chos kyi grags pa;
 95; 152
 Cittaviśrāma; 116; 123; 124; 192; 193
 Coḷa dynasty; 252
 Comilla City, BD; 10; 15; 17; 18; 58;
 61; 74
 Comilla District, BD; 10; 17; 160; 220
 Comilla Division, BD; 14
 Coromandel Coast; 7
 Cūḍāmaṇi town; 220
 Cūḍāmaṇi Vihāra; 219; 220; 223; 238;
 248; 251; 252
 Culataingcandra; 52; 53; 158; 162
Da tang da ci en si san zang fa shi
zhuan; 36
Da tang xi yu ji; 9; 12; 36; 70
Da tang xi yu qiu fa gao seng zhuan; 9;
 18; 21; 31; 70
Ḍākārṇavamahāyoginītantrarāja; 154
Ḍākārṇava-mahāyoginī-tantrarāja; 196
 Dakatia River; 18; 201
 Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā; 69
 Dāmodara; 123; 124; 179; 180; 183;
 184; 196
 Damodarpur inscription; 69
 Danmolidi. *See* Tāmraliptī
 Dantidurga; 32; 78
 Daomolidi. *See* Tāmraliptī
 Dārikāpā; 146; 204; 206; 209
 Das, Sarat Chandra; 161
 Dasgupta, Shashibhusan; 277
 Ḍavāka; 69
 Davidson, Ronald M.; 36; 112; 153;
 225; 241; 247
 dBang phyug rgyal mtshan; 109; 136;
 147; 157; 159; 163; 178; 186; 187;
 189; 190; 191; 208; 209; 210; 211;
 212; 213; 221; 222; 223; 228; 230;

- 241; 245
Deb ther sngon po; 93; 99; 105; 114;
 145; 158; 174; 175; 177; 181; 182;
 183; 196; 197; 224; 256; 262; 263;
 264
 Deṅgipā; 146; 148; 203; 204; 206; 209
 Deulbari inscription; 15; 16; 74
 Deva dynasty; 15; 19; 26; 27; 61
 Devakhaḍga; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 74
 Devapāla; 35; 43; 44; 45; 46; 48; 50; 56;
 58; 61; 66; 80
 Devapārvata; 18; 19; 20; 26; 54; 60; 61;
 64
 Devī Śrīmatī; 196
 Devīkoṭa; 123
 Deyell, John S.; 16; 17; 74
 Dha ra shrī
 rDa ra shrī; 150; 264
 Dhaka City, BD; 15; 22; 74
 Dhaka District, BD; 11
 Dhaka Division, BD; 1; 19; 63; 160
 Dhaka inscription; 62; 64; 66
 Dhammāsoka; 68
 Dhanadatta; 53
 Dhanarakṣita; 183
 Dhaññavati. *See* Dhanyawadi
 Dhānyakaṭaka; 116; 124
 Dhānyavati. *See* Dhanyawadi
 Dhanyawadi; 23; 24; 25; 28; 51; 77
 Dharanīndrabhadra; 78
 Dharima; 136; 137; 212
 Dharmabodhi; 243; 246
 Dharmadhvaḥ; 243; 246
 Dharmāditya; 10; 73
 Dharmaguru; 243; 246
 Dharmajñāna; 243; 246
 Dharmakīrti; 28
 Dharmakīrti; 28
 Dharmapāla; 20; 30; 31; 33; 34; 35; 39;
 40; 41; 42; 43; 48; 79; 172; 182; 183;
 198; 200; 233
Dharmasaṃgraha; 277
 Dharmasrī sPyan gcig pa; 257
 Dharmavijaya; 27
 Dhṛticandra; 25
 Dhruva Dhāravarṣa; 34
 Dhulla inscription; 57; 60; 63
 Dhūmasthala; 105
 Dhyāyīpā; 127
 Dilīpa; 59
 Dinajpur District, BD; 65; 69
 Ding ri; 101; 248; 260
 Ding ri glang 'khor; 102
 Dīngara; 125; 127
Dīpavaṃsa; 68
dKar brgyud gser 'phreng; 106
dKar chag ldan dkar ma; 112
Dohākoṣa; 250; 255; 257; 258; 259; 277
Dohākoṣagīti; 250
Dohākoṣa-nāma-caryāgīti; 250
Dohākoṣapañjikā; 257
Dohākoṣopadeśagīti; 250
 Dombīheruka; 178; 204; 206; 207; 209
 Dowman, Keith; 182
dPal bde mchog 'khor lo sdom pa
 'byung ba'i sgrub thabs; 120
 dPal mkhan pa'i dur khrod; 260
dPal na ro paṇ chen gyi lo rgyus; 84
 Drākṣarāma
 current Draksharama, IN-AP; 190
 Durjaya. *See* Prāgjyotiṣapura
 Dus zhabs pa Rin chen rgya mtsho; 150
 Dutt, Sukumar; 35
 Dvādaśāditya; 10; 72
 Dvāncandra; 25; 28
 Dwags po bKa' brgyud pa tradition; 107
 East Godavari District, IN-AP; 190
 Eastern Jin dynasty; 9
 English, Elizabeth; 169; 215
 Faxian; 9; 13; 69; 70; 116; 117
 Fleming, Benjamin; 57
Fo guo ji; 9; 70
 Fort Daihak; 185
 Gaganagarbha; 243
 Gaṅgā City; 5; 7; 68
 Gaṅgā River; xxi; 1; 5; 8; 13; 41; 67; 73;
 80; 140; 245
 Gangarīdai; xxii; 4; 5; 7
 Gāngē Basileion; 5; 74
Gao seng fa xian zhuan; 70
 Gauḍa
 current Gaur, IN-WB; 4; 11; 12; 44;

- 62; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 96; 97; 171
 Gauḍas; 62; 64
 Gaya District, IN-BR; 45
gDams ngag mdzod; xxv; 98; 258; 260; 266
 Gene Smith, Ellis; 84; 85; 94
 Ghosrawa inscription; 45
 gLing ras pa Padma rdo rje; 103
 Glo bo Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen; 101
 gNas rnying pa rGyal mtshan rin chen; 150
 Gnoli, Raniero; 155
 Gomatī River
 current Gumti River; 18
 Gopacandra; 10; 11; 20; 72
 Gopāla; 29; 30; 31; 33; 34; 40; 56
 Gopāla II; 63; 64; 66; 67
 Gopalganj District, BD; 11; 72
 Gopicandra; 78
 Gopīcandra; 225
 Gorkhā District, NP; 15
 Govinda III; 20; 34
 Grags pa rgyal mtshan; 150
 Gray, David Barton; 118; 143
 Grierson, George Abraham; 225
 Gro bo lung; 89
Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol
 'debs; 94
gSan yig
 Zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i
 chos kyi thob yig gang ga'i chu
 rgyun (gsan yig); 98
 gTsang; 101; 152; 257
 gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje; 103
 gTsang smyon He ru ka
 gTsang smyon He ru ka Sangs rgyas
 rgyal mtshan; 106; 109; 110; 134;
 145; 147; 207; 222; 223; 245; 263;
 264
 Guangzhou; 70
 Guenther, Herbert V.; 154; 157; 182
 Guhyapā; 173; 174; 175; 177
 Gujarat, IN-GJ; 7; 50
 Gunaighar inscription; 10; 72; 73; 220
 Guntur District, IN-AP; 116; 191
 Guravamiśra; 48; 49
 Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty; 31; 32; 44;
 50
Guruguhyasiddhi; 102
Gurusādhana; 102; 248; 260; 266; 267
Gurusiddhi; 102
 Gutman, Pamela; 25
 Gwalior inscription; 32; 33; 34; 79
 Gyaltsen, Khenpo Könchog; 104
gZhung 'brel
 bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud
 kyi gzhung 'brel sa bcad dang sbrags
 pa, bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan
 rgyud kyi gdams pa yid bzhi nor bu
 skor gsum; 107; 264
 gZi brjid rgyal mtshan; 150
 Haḍipā; 172; 175; 176; 177; 194; 198;
 225
 Haribhadra; 31; 39; 42
 Haricandra; 28
 Harikela; 4; 21; 22; 53; 54; 59; 60; 61;
 62; 63; 64; 159; 160; 162; 168; 275
 Harṣavardhana; 11; 12; 14; 15; 36; 71
 Hemacandra; 160
Hevajratantra; 153; 178
Hevajravākyāvivaraṇa; 174
 Hugli River; 13
 Huili; 36; 37
 Hūṇas; 10; 44; 71; 72; 117
 Ikṣvāku dynasty; 192
 Imperial Gupta dynasty; 7; 8; 9; 10; 11;
 35; 36; 69; 70; 71; 72; 112; 117
 Imperial Pāla dynasty; 20; 29; 31; 34;
 35; 40; 44; 45; 48; 50; 56; 58; 59;
 60; 61; 62; 64; 65; 66; 95
 Indrabhūti; 145; 154; 176; 177; 178;
 182; 183; 196; 198; 206; 207; 209;
 210; 251
 Indrabhūtipā; 126; 197
 Indrabhūtipāda; 125; 126; 197
 Indrabodhi; 102
 Indradatta; 78
 Indus River; xxii; 7; 49; 79
 Irda inscription; 65
 Jackson, Roger R.; 277
 Jagaddala Mahāvihāra; 100; 152
 Jagatamalla; 252

- Jago; 148; 160; 161
 Jairampur inscription; 72
 Jālandhara
 current Jvālāmukhī, IN-HP; 105;
 224; 227
 Jālandharagiri; 225
 Jālandharapā; 146; 172; 175; 176; 177;
 194; 198; 225
 Jālandhra; 225
 Jālaśaila; 225
 Jalendra; 251
 Jambu; 245
 Jamunā River; 2; 67; 159
 Jātakhaḍga; 15; 19
 Jayapāla; 44; 48; 66
 Jayatuṅgavarṣa; 17
 Jessore, BD; 74
 Jetari; 244
 Jharkhand, IN-JH; 1; 49; 69
 Jiaozhi; 81
 Jinarakṣita; 42
 Jñānaprabha; 243
 Jñānasiddhi; 243
 Jñānaśrīmitra; 124
 Jñānavālī; 124
Jo bo rje'i bstod pa pa brgyad cu pa;
 159
 Johnston, Edward H.; 23; 25; 51; 53; 76
 Jvālavana; 121; 224
 Kahalgaon City, IN-BR; 80
Kahna pa'i rnam thar
 Slob dpon chen po spyod 'chang
 dbang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar
 snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs; 170; 171;
 172; 173; 174; 191; 224
 Kailan inscription; 17; 61; 75
 Kaiser Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana; 83
 Kālachuri dynasty; 51; 63
 Kaladan River; 23; 25
 Kālāmukha tradition; 194
 Kaleśvara
 current Kaleshwaram, IN-TG; 190
 Kaliṅga; 173
 Kalyāṇacandra; 62; 64; 66
 Kāmarūpa; 11; 12; 44; 64; 69; 74
 Kambalapā; 114; 128; 145; 164; 169;
 176; 177; 178; 187; 198; 203; 204;
 205; 206; 207; 208; 209; 210; 275
 Kamboja Pāla dynasty; 62; 64; 65; 66
 Kambojas; 44; 50; 60; 61; 62; 64; 65; 66
 Kanauj City, IN-UP; 11; 20; 27; 31; 33;
 34; 36; 48; 78; 79
 Kāñcīpura; 241; 252
 Kangra District, IN-HP; 225
 Kangyur Rimpoche; 106
 Kāṇha; 117; 170; 171; 172; 173; 175;
 177; 187; 190; 194; 198; 250; 256;
 274
 Kāṇhācārya; 171
 Kāṇhipa; 171
 Kāṇhupā; 171
 Kāntideva; 53; 54; 55; 59
 Kānyakubja. *See* Kanauj City, IN-UP
 Kāpālīka tradition; 119; 172; 173; 186;
 194; 200; 231; 238
 Karahātaka; 179
 Karatoyā River; 68; 73; 80
 Kārkoṭa dynasty; 78
 Karmānta
 current Baḍkāmtā (Barkamta), BD;
 15; 16
 Karnaphuli River; 2
 Karṇaripā; 148; 203; 204; 206; 209; 210
 Karṇasuvarṇa; 11; 12; 73
Karṇatantravajrapada; 267; 269; 270;
 272; 273; 274
Karṇatantravajrayoginī; 267
Karpūramañjarī; 22; 54
 Kartṛpura; 69
Karuṇābhāvanādhiṣṭāna; 259
 Kashmir; 50; 92; 101; 241; 243; 244
 Kasoripā; 219; 223
 Kathmandu; 83; 101; 153; 255; 256
 Kathmandu Manuscript; 256
 Kauśikī River
 Kosi; 73; 201
 Kedāramiśra; 44; 48
 Kelisahar, BD; 54
 Khaḍga dynasty; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19;
 31; 74
 Khaḍgodyama; 15; 19
 Khalimpur inscription; 30; 79

- Khasarpaṇa; 124
 Khetsun Sangpo; 144
 Khīrā River. *See* Kṣīrodā River
 Khīrnai River. *See* Kṣīrodā River
 Khri srong lde btsan; 41; 183
 Khulna Division, BD; 1
 Khyung po rnal 'byor; 197
 Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma; 85;
 88; 89; 90; 107; 109; 263; 264
Kitāb ul-Hind; 185
 Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan;
 101
 Koki; 20; 21; 53
 Kolkata, IN-WB; 68; 252
 Kong sprul
 Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas; 98;
 266; 270; 273
 Koṭālipāḍā
 current Kotalipara; 11
 Kotalipara inscriptions; 72
 Koviḥāra Paṇḍita; 128
 Kṛīpura; 10; 72; 220
 Kṛṣṇa; 32; 145; 170; 171; 172; 224
 Kṛṣṇa River; 191; 192
 Kṛṣṇācārya; 145; 146; 170; 171; 173;
 174; 175; 177; 179; 187; 194; 275
 Kṛṣṇapāḍa; 171; 175; 188
 Kṛṣṇaśikharin; 62
 Kṣīrodā River; 18; 60; 61
 Kukurāja; 176
 Kukurīpāḍa; 125; 126; 197
 Kumāragupta I
 Śakrāditya; 70; 71
 Kumāragupta II Kramāditya; 71
 Kumāragupta III; 71
 Kumārajīva; 250
 Kun dga' dar po
 Ā nan da da ya; 86; 87; 150
 Kun dga' dpal 'byor; 86
 Kun dga' rgyal mtshan; 101
 Kun dga' rin chen
 'Brī gung Chos rje Kun dga' rin
 chen; 108; 135; 159; 163; 186; 187;
 189; 190; 207; 208; 211; 212; 244;
 251
 Kun ldan ras ma; 150
 Kuñji; 98
 Kūrmapāḍa; 146
 Kurnool District, IN-AP; 190
 Kuṣāṇa dynasty; 7
 Kvaerne, Per; 170
 Laḍahacandra; 62
 Lakṣmīkarā; 125; 126; 154; 197
 Lakṣmīṅkarā; 154; 196; 198; 251
 Lakṣmīvāna; 120; 122; 195
 Lakṣmīvat; 122; 195
 Lalambi Forest; 60
 Lalitacandra; 28; 29; 78
 Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa; 78
 Lalitavajra; 128; 176; 178; 205
 Lalitpur; 257
 Lalmai Hills, BD; 45; 58; 61; 62
 Lamkā; 68
 Laṅkāpuri; 251
 Later Gupta dynasty; 11; 14
 Lavapa; 148; 177; 179; 187; 275
 lHa btsun
 lHa btsun Rin chen nam rgyal; 110;
 138; 147; 157; 163; 207; 222; 223;
 226; 228; 241; 242; 244; 245; 271
 lHo brag; 89
 lHo dGon gsar kha'i Bla ma bDe legs
 pa; 150
 Līlāvajra; 128
 Lohitya River. *See* Brahmaputra River
 Lokanātha; 17; 75
 Lokāyata school; 234; 235
Longshu pusa zhuan; 250
 Lūyīpāḍa; 117; 125; 126; 145; 146; 184;
 197; 199; 204; 205; 206; 209; 275
 Ma gcig Ang jo; 85; 88; 107; 150; 264
 Madanpur inscription; 57; 60; 63
 Madhyāntika; 50
 Magadha; 5; 11; 40; 41; 51; 67; 78; 246;
 247
Mahābhārata; 73
Mahāmudropadeśa; 111; 259; 261; 266;
 272
 Mahānandā River; 73
 Mahāpāla; 182
 Mahāsenagupta; 11
 Mahasthan; 68

- Mahātaingcandra; 52
Mahāvamsa; 68
 Mahāvīra; 26
Mahāvvyutpatti
 Bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa chen po; 76; 164; 251
 Mahbubnagar District, IN-TG; 191
 Mahendrapāla; 48; 51
 Mahīpāla I; 56
Mahīśānanasādhana; 152
 Mainamati Hills; 18; 26; 27; 76
 Mainamati inscriptions; 19; 61; 62; 64; 74; 75
 Maitrīgupta; 84; 124; 180; 183; 184; 192; 196
 Maitrīpā; 180; 192; 256; 257; 262
 Maitrīpāda; 145; 180; 183; 184; 192; 247
 Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra; 53; 64; 65; 72; 73; 79; 246
 Malabar; 96
 Mālava; 32; 71
 Malaya Mountains; 61
 Maldah District, IN-WB; 30; 68
 Maldives, MV; 46
 Mallasārul inscription; 72; 73
 Malwa; 32; 71
 Mandasor inscriptions; 71; 117
 Mānikacandra; 225
Mānikacandra rājār Gān; 225
 Manipur; 76; 160
Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa; 22; 160
 Manobhaṅga; 116; 123; 124; 192; 193
Manusmṛti; 30; 163
 Mānyakheta
 current Malkhed, IN-KA; 50
 Mar pa
 Mar pa Lo tsā ba, Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros; 85; 88; 89; 90; 93; 94; 99; 102; 103; 104; 107; 128; 140; 141; 142; 143; 144; 145; 147; 151; 161; 162; 164; 166; 167; 169; 175; 178; 179; 185; 186; 187; 189; 190; 191; 199; 200; 201; 202; 203; 206; 209; 211; 212; 213; 214; 215; 220; 221; 222; 223; 224; 226; 228; 231; 235; 238; 239; 241; 244; 246; 262; 263; 273; 274
 Mar ston Tshul khriṃs 'byung gnas; 150; 264
 Martabodha; 124; 180; 183; 184
 Mātāṅgīpā; 128; 136; 137; 148; 185; 186; 187; 203; 204; 206; 207; 208; 209; 211; 274
 Maukhari dynasty; 11
 Maurya dynasty; xxii; 5; 7; 8; 68
 Maynā; 225
 Maynāmati; 225
 mDo sde
 Dar ma mDo sde; 89; 93; 94; 141; 263
 Meghalaya; 160
 Meghnā River; 2; 10; 14; 15; 201
 Mi bskyod rdo rje; 90
 Mi la ras pa; 85; 88; 89; 90; 93; 99; 103; 104; 107; 110; 224; 262; 263
 Mi mnyam bzang po; 102
 Midnapore District; 69
 Mihira Bhoja; 44; 51
 Mihirakula; 71; 117
Milindapañha; 7
 Mizoram, IN-MZ; 76; 160
mKha' 'gro snyan brgyud kyi dpe tho; 265
 mNga' ris; 101
 Mon rtse pa
 Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal ldan; 106; 133; 147; 163; 206; 207; 222; 223; 245
 Moulvibazar District, BD; 60
 Mrauk U (Mrohaung) inscriptions; 23; 28; 51; 53; 55
 Mudgagiri
 current Munger (Monghyr), IN-BR; 34; 73
 Muhammad Bin Qasim; 79
 Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khaljī; 100
 Munger inscription; 35; 44; 48
 Munshiganj District, BD; 63; 160
 Murshidabad District, IN-WB; 73
 Myanmar, MM; 7; 22; 52; 76
 Nāf River; 22; 23; 77

- Nag tsho Lo tsā ba
 Nag tsho Lo tsā ba Tshul khriṃs
 rgyal ba; 159; 160; 247
 Nāgabhaṭa I; 32; 79
 Nāgabhaṭa II; 33; 34
 Nāgadeva; 73
 Nagaland; 76; 160
 Nagara; 233; 236; 245
 Nagara Bhukti; 233
 Nagarahāra; 45
 Nāgārjuna; 37; 102; 114; 123; 126; 145;
 169; 179; 180; 181; 183; 184; 185;
 186; 187; 191; 193; 203; 204; 205;
 206; 207; 209; 210; 238; 250; 251;
 275
 Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; 191; 192; 193
 Nagarjunakonda inscription; 8
 Nagarjunasagar; 191
 Nāla village; 9
 Nālandā District; 39
 Nalanda inscription; 39; 45; 76; 233
 Nālandā Mahāvihāra; 9; 14; 35; 36; 38;
 39; 40; 45; 71; 79; 96; 124; 171; 228;
 229; 244; 247; 248
 Nalanda seal; 70; 72
 Nallamala Range; 191; 192
Nan hai ji gui nei fa zhuan; 9; 37; 70
 Nandanavana; 243
 Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya; 70; 71; 117
 Nārāyaṇapāla; 35; 43; 44; 48; 65; 66
 Nāropā; 85; 88; 89; 90; 91; 92; 100; 102;
 103; 104; 107; 124; 126; 140; 141;
 142; 146; 150; 157; 169; 170; 175;
 198; 219; 223; 241; 244; 247; 248;
 252; 262; 263; 271; 272; 273; 274;
 275
 Nātha dynasty; 15; 17; 18
 Nātha tradition; 194
Nāṭyaśāstra; 143
 Navyāvakaśikā Bhukti; 10; 73
 Nayapāla; 65; 66; 95
 Nayasena; 73
 Nepal, NP; 15; 49; 69; 101; 224; 256
 Nesarika inscription; 20
 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho; 98
 Ngam rdzong ston pa
 Ngan rdzong ras pa Byang chub
 rgyal po; 263
 Nirākāra school; 124
Niṣpannayogāvalī; 143
 Nīticandra; 24; 25
 Noakhali District, BD; 10; 160; 201
 Nyi 'og; 20; 76
 O ḍi bi sha. *See* Odisha
 Odantapuri. *See* Uddandapura
 Mahāvihāra
 Odisha, IN-OR; 1; 20; 44; 49; 50; 65;
 72; 152; 171; 181; 201
 Oṛiṣā. *See* Odisha
 Pad ma dkar po; 261; 265; 266; 267;
 268; 271
 Padmā River; 1; 2; 14; 67
 Padmasambhava; 183
 Padmavajra; 176; 207; 251
 Padmāvalī; 124
 Paharpur inscriptions; 42; 69
 Paharpur, BD; 80; 166
 Paiṇḍapātika; 125; 126; 127; 196; 198
 Pakistan; 116
 Pāla dynasty; 78; 182
 Palār River; 252
 Palībothra; xxii
 Pantsapana; 166; 168
 Par phu pa Blo gros seng ge; 250
 Paschimbhag inscription; 60; 61; 64;
 168
 Pāśupata tradition; 194
 Pāṭaliputra
 current Patna; xxii; 5; 8; 236; 245
 Pāṭaliputta; 5; 69
 Patna; 5; 233; 236; 245; 247
 Pauṇḍras
 Pauṇḍrakas; 12; 73
Periplus Maris Erythraei; 7
 Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po; 103
Phag mo gzhung drug; 196; 197
 Phulahari; 247
 Phullā; 247
 Phullahari; 244; 246; 247; 274
 Phullāparvata; 246; 247
 Phullāri; 246
Phyi rdul tshon la brten pa bum pa'i

- dbang bskur rin chen gsal ba'i sgron me*; 273
 Piṇḍa Vihāra; 161; 202
Piṇḍīkṛtasādhanaṣaṅgikā; 152
 Polo, Marco; xxiii; 80; 81
 Pradyotacandra; 145
 Prāgyotiṣa. *See* Kāmarūpa
 Prāgyotiṣapura
 current Guwahati, IN-AS; 12
 Prajñābhaddra; 134; 141; 142; 147; 219; 220; 221
 Prajñārakṣita; 263
Prakāśa-nāma-śrīhevajrasādhana; 144
 Prāsioi; 5
 Pratīhāra dynasty; 33; 34; 45; 48; 51; 63
 Priyaṅgu; 65; 66
 Propp, Vladimir Jakovlevič; 214
 Ptolemy; 5; 77
 Pu rang; 101
 Pudgalavādin school; 124
 Puṇḍra; 4; 73
 Puṇḍranagara
 current Mahasthangarh, BD; 12; 68; 80
 Puṇḍravardhana; 8; 12; 31; 69; 73; 100; 124
 Puṇḍravardhanapura. *See* Puṇḍranagara
 Punjab, IN-PB; 44
 Purempura; 26; 77
 Pūrṇa; 243; 244; 246
 Pūrṇacandra; 57; 58
 Purnea; 246
 Purnia; 246
 Pūrugupta Prakāśāditya; 71
 Pyu city-states, MM; 27
 Qanungo, Suniti Bhushan; 54; 202
 Ra Sher snang pa
 Rin chen Grags; 90
 Rāḍhā; 4; 22; 43; 50; 64; 66; 124; 172
 Rāgavajra; 124
Raghuvamśa; 59
 Rāhula; 181; 184
 Rāhulagupta; 144
 Rājā Dāhir; 79
 Rājabādīdānga; 73
 Rājagaha; 5
 Rājagrha; 5; 9
 Rājarājabhaṭṭa; 15; 18; 19; 31
 Rājasekhara; 22; 54
Rājatarāṅgiṇī; 75
 Rajgir; 5
 Rajmahal Hills; 67
 Rajshahi District, BD; 35; 49; 69
 Rajshahi Division, BD; 1; 42; 69; 74
 Rājyapāla; 44; 48; 49; 63; 65
 Rāmapāla; 78; 152
 Ramkot; 26
 Rampal inscription; 57; 60; 63
 Ramu, BD; 23; 26
 Rangpur Division, BD; 1; 69
 Rarh; 69
 Ras chung
 Ras chung rDo rje grags pa; 89; 90; 110; 224; 262; 263; 264
 Ras chung bKa' brgyud pa tradition; 106
 Ras chung phug; 265
Ras chung snyan brgyud; 107; 108; 145; 224; 264
 Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty; 20; 31; 32; 34; 44; 45; 48; 49; 50; 79
 Rāta dynasty; 15; 17; 18; 19; 61
 Ratnākaraśānti; 124
 Ratnapāla; 182
 Ratnarakṣita; 101; 152
 rDo rje mdzes 'od; 131; 141; 147; 168; 178; 179; 200; 201; 202; 204; 205; 212; 213; 222; 223; 230; 245
rDo rje'i rkang gi sa bcad gab pa mngon byung; 268
rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi bsdus don gab pa mngon byung; 268
 rDza ri bSam gtan gling; 109
 Reclus, Jacques Élisée; 67
 rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje; 103; 105; 181
 rGod tshang ras pa
 rGod tshang ras pa sNa tshogs rang grol; 145; 264; 265
rGya gar chos 'byung
 Dam pa'i chos rin po che 'phags pa'i yul du ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar ston pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung

- rgya gar chos 'byung*; xvii; 20; 22; 28; 29; 30; 39; 40; 41; 43; 55; 77; 78; 80; 95; 176; 200; 202
 rGyal thang pa
 rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje; 102; 103; 129; 147; 178; 180; 181; 185; 202; 203; 204; 208; 211; 212; 220; 221; 222; 223; 245
 Ri khrod dbang phyug; 104
 Riripā; 219; 223
rJe btsun chen po ti lo 'i rnam par thar pa; 109
rJe btsun chen po tilli pa 'i rnam par thar pa; 102; 129
 rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan; 101
rJe btsun ti lo pa 'i rnam thar dbang bzhi 'i chu rgyun; 135; 186
rJe btsun ti lo 'i rnam par thar pa; 136
rNal 'byor byang chub seng ge 'i dris lan; 247
rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ti lo pa 'i lo rgyus; 84; 94; 128; 142
 rNying ma pa tradition; 108
 Roberts, Peter Alan; 84; 85; 90
 Rohitāgiri; 57; 58; 61; 62; 81
 current Lalmai Hills, BD; 58
 Rohtas (Rohatās) District, IN-BR; 58
 Roman Empire; 7
 Roṣu, Arion; 192
Rudrākṣamahātmya; 22
Rūpacintāmāṇikośa; 22
 Rupnarayan River; 13
 Śabara; 123; 124; 126; 181; 192
 Śabaranātha; 126
 Śabarapāda; 183; 184; 247; 256
 Śabaras; 123; 124; 166; 167; 192
 Śabareśvara; 124; 146; 183; 184; 192; 205
Ṣaḍaṅgayoga; 102
Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa; 168; 169; 170; 172; 195; 203; 207; 260; 266
 Sāgara; 124
 Sāgaradatta; 124; 126
Sahajaśamvarasvādhiṣṭhāna; 259; 262
 Sahor (Za hor)
 Harikela; 137; 140; 158; 159; 160; 161; 163; 220
 Sākāra school; 124
 Śākyamitra; 123; 124; 179; 180; 183; 184
 Śākyaśrībhadrā; 100; 101
 Salabheraha; 166; 175; 189
 Salanadi River; 201
 Śalaputra; 245
 Samācāradeva; 10; 20; 72
 Samantabhadra; 243
 Samataṭa; 4; 12; 14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20; 22; 31; 54; 60; 61; 62; 64; 69; 73; 74; 160
 Sammatīya school; 124
Sampradāyavidhi; 125
 Samudragupta; 8
Samvarārṇavatantra; 154; 196
Samvarodaya; 154; 196
Samvarodayatantra; 120
Samvaropadeśamukhakarṇaparamparāc intāmaṇi; 168; 260; 261; 267
 Sanderson, Alexis; 154
 Sandrōkottos; xxii
Sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam 'phrul rje btsun ti lo pa 'i rnam mgur; 110; 138
 Sankrityayan, Rahula; 182
 Śāntideva; 19; 76
 Saptagrāma, IN-WB
 Sātgāon; 74
 Saraha; 123; 126; 146; 180; 181; 182; 183; 184; 193; 204; 205; 206; 207; 209; 250; 255; 256; 257; 277
Sarahapādasya Dohākośa; 257
Sarahapādasya Dohākośapañjikā; 258
 Śāraṅgadhara Maṭha; 193
 Sarasvatī River; 13
 Saroruhavajra; 176; 251
Sarvatathāgatattattvasaṃgraha; 114
 Śāsanadhara; 244
 Śaśāṅka; 11; 12
Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā; 184; 199; 200
 Sātavāhana dynasty; 116; 191; 193
 Śavaripa; 101; 153
 Sāvitrī; 179

- sBa bzhed*; 41
 Schiefner, Franz Anton; 161
 Se brag sgrub gling; 86
 Seleucus I Nicator; xxii
 Sena dynasty; 62; 78
 Sengzhe; 18; 19
 sGam po pa
 sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen,
 Dwags po lHa rje, Zla 'od gzhon nu;
 99; 103; 245
sGra bsgyur mar pa lo tsā'i rnam thar
 mtshong ba don yod; 263
 Shā kya shrī rTogs ldan; 84
 Sha ra rab 'byams pa Sangs rgyas seng
 ge; 106
 Shah-i-Bangalah. *See* Vaṅgāla
 Shahidullah, Mohammed; 118; 182
 Shamsher Manuscript; 111; 115; 116;
 117; 126; 140; 153; 179; 180; 181;
 192; 196; 247
 Shan Hills, MM; 52
 Shar kha ras chen; 150
 Ras chen Chos rje Shar ka; 86
 Shar kha Ras chen
 Ras chen Chos rje Shar ka; 87
 Shaw, Richard; 194
 Siddhārtha Gautama; 6
 Śīlabhadra; 14; 18
 Śīlāmegha; 27
 Siṃghagaṇḍapatiśūracandra; 51
 Siṃghaśūracandra; 51
 Siṃghavikramaśūracandra; 51
 Siṃhacandra; 248
 Sindh; 32; 79
 Śītavana; 229
 Sittwe; 25; 27; 51
 Skandagupta Vikramāditya; 71
 sKyid grong rdzong; 110
 Slob dpon sTar sgom; 87
 sMon grub shes rab; 97; 98; 99
sNyan brgyud kyi brgyud pa yid bzhin
 nor bu'i phreng ba; 87
sNyan brgyud kyi dkar chag; 265
 Solankī 'Vallabha' Kīrtivarman; 78
 Somapura Mahāvihāra; 42; 80
 Somapurī; 42; 172
 Sovīra; 7
Sragdharā-stotra-ṭīkā; 42
 Sri Lanka; 13; 27; 68
 Śrī Pattana; 27
Śrī-cakraśambara-maṇḍalopāyikāratna-
 pradīpoddyota; 164
 Śrīcandra; 56; 57; 59; 60; 62; 63; 64; 66;
 158; 162; 168
 Śrīdhāraṇārāta; 17
 Śrīgiri; 191
 Śrīhaṭṭa
 current Sylhet, BD; 22; 64; 159; 168;
 275
 Śrīkāñcana; 59
 Śrīmatī; 196; 197
 Śrīmatigarbha; 177
 Śrīnāga; 191
 Śrīnagara; 245
 Śrīnagara-bhukti; 245
 Śrīnātha; 17
 Śrīnāyaka; 122; 195
 Śrīparvata; 191; 192; 236
 Śrīśaila; 191; 192; 193; 194; 195
 current Srisailam, IN-AP; 190
 Śrītaingcandra; 59
 Śrītāmrāpattana; 27; 55
 Śrīvāna; 122; 195
 Stearns, Cyrus; 100; 102
 Strabo; xxiii
 Sudhanaśrī; 127
 Suhma; 4
 Sukhasiddhi; 169; 195; 197; 198; 199
 Sulaymān; 45; 46; 47; 81
 Sum pa mkhan po
 Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal
 'byor; 161
 Sumatī; 196
 Sumatī *Samantabhadrī; 196
 Sumatī Samantabhadrī Yoginī; 204
 Śuṅga dynasty; 7
 Śūrapāla; 43; 48
 Surat; 7
 Surmā River; 2
 Susunia Hill inscription; 69
 Suvaṇṇabhūmi; 7
 Suvarṇacandra; 58

- Suvarṇadvīpa; 45
 Suvarṇavarṇa; 188
Svapnohana; 152
 Swat River; 116; 117
 Sylhet City, BD; 64; 168; 275
 Sylhet Division, BD; 1; 14; 22; 53; 54;
 60; 160; 168
Tai lo dang nā ro 'i rnam thar; 99
 Takkola; 7
 Tāmālītēs. *See* Tāmraliptī
 Tāmālithi. *See* Tāmraliptī
 Tāmālitti. *See* Tāmraliptī
 Tamluk, IN-WB; 13; 69; 74
 Tāmraliptī
 current Tamluk, IN-WB; 8; 9; 12;
 13; 27; 55; 68; 74
 Tang dynasty; 9; 36; 70; 112
 Tāranātha
 Jo nang rJe btsun Tā ra nā tha, Jo
 nang Tā rā nā tha Kun dga' snying
 po; xvii; 20; 21; 22; 28; 29; 30; 39;
 40; 41; 42; 43; 53; 55; 58; 77; 78;
 80; 95; 97; 98; 161; 170; 171; 172;
 173; 174; 176; 178; 181; 184; 190;
 198; 200; 224
 Tāranātha's Candras; 28; 29; 55; 56; 78
 Tathāgatagupta; 70
Tattvacaturupadeśaprasannadīpa; 164;
 259
 Tatz, Mark; 124
Te lo pa 'i rnam thar; 131; 132
 Templeman, David; 29
 Tham Bahil
 Stham Bihar, Bikramaśīla Bihar;
 101; 102; 152
 Thang lo pa; 204; 206; 209
Ti lo pa 'i rnam thar; 109; 134; 186
Ti lo shes rab bzang po 'i rnam par thar;
 133; 206
Tillopādasya dohākoṣapañjikā
sārārthapañjikā; 140; 255; 257; 258
 Tīra-bhukti
 current Tirhut Division, IN-BR; 245
 Tīstā River; 73
 Trailokyacandra; 59; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64;
 160
 Trikuṭaka Vihāra; 42; 43; 172
 Trilinga; 190
 Trilocana; 145
 Tripura, IN-TR; 1; 14; 53; 54; 160; 161
Trisamvaraprabhāmālā; 101; 152
 Triśaraṇa; 123
 Trivikrama; 179
 Tsuda, Shinichi; 120
 Tucci, Giuseppe; 115; 123; 154
 Turuṣkas; 100; 152
Ū phyogs gzigs par zhu ' dpal sa ra ha 'i
mdo ha 'i grel pa lags; 180
 U rgyan pa
 U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal, *alias* Seng
 ge dpal; 105; 132; 147; 205; 222;
 223; 245
 Uddanḍapura Mahāvihāra; 39; 40; 41
 Uḍḍiyāna; 105; 114; 116; 117; 124; 125;
 129; 130; 131; 132; 136; 137; 139;
 141; 148; 154; 166; 167; 182; 183;
 186; 199; 205; 213; 214; 215; 220;
 221; 223; 224; 228; 243; 251; 274;
 275
Uḍḍiyānaśrīyogayoginīsvayambhūtasam
bhogaśmaśānakalpa; 121; 188
 Udīrnakhadga; 15
 Umāpatideva
 Umapatidattapāda; 121
 Umayyad Caliphate; 79
 Utkala Kingdom; 44
 Uttar Pradesh, IN-UP; 11
 Vāgīśvara; 127
 Vainyagupta; 71
 Vainyagupta of Krīpura; 10; 71; 72; 220
 Vairocana
 Vairocanavajra, Vairocanarakṣita;
 95; 151
Vairocanābhisambodhitāntrapañḍārtha;
 112
 Vaivartikas; 10
 Vajra; 71
Vajradākinībhāvanādr̥ṣṭicaryātrayasam
ketanirdeśa; 261
Vajradākinīniṣkāyadharmā; 110; 129;
 130; 131; 132; 134; 135; 137; 139;
 221; 260; 262; 266

- Vajraghaṇṭāpā; 145; 146; 177
 Vajrajvāla; 120; 122; 224
 Vajrapāṇi; 127; 256
 Vajraśakti; 26
 Vajrāsana
 Bodhgaṇṭhā; 96; 230
 Vajrāsana the Great
 alias Puṇyākara Gupta; 95; 96
 Vajrāsana the Middle
 alias Ratnākara Gupta, Sauripāda; 95;
 96; 97; 98
Vajravārāhīsādhana; 121
Vajrayoginīguruparaṃparā; 124
 Vākṣāla; 48; 66
 Vallabhi
 current Vala, IN-GJ; 38
 Vaṅga; 4; 7; 8; 10; 11; 13; 15; 19; 22;
 31; 33; 60; 62; 64; 72; 73; 160
 Vaṅgāla; 20; 21; 28; 29; 60; 64
 Vardhamāna Bhukti; 10; 65; 73
 Vardhamānapura
 current Bardhaman City, IN-WB; 73
 Varendra; 4; 12; 42; 66; 100; 205
 Varman dynasty; 62
 Vasantapura; 20
 Vatsarāja; 33; 34
 Vesālī; 23; 24; 25; 26; 52; 77; 81; 162
 Vibhūticandra; 100; 101; 102; 248; 260
 Vighrahapāla; 48; 66
 Vighrahapāla II; 63; 67
 Vijaya Sātakarṇi; 191
 Vijayaghoṣa; 127
 Vijayapāda; 146; 174; 175; 177; 205
 Vijayapurī; 191; 192
 Vijayarakṣita; 174; 175; 177
 Vijayasena; 72; 73
 Vikramapura; 62; 64; 124; 159; 160; 162
 Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra; 39; 41; 78; 80;
 95; 96; 100; 101; 124
 Vilasyavajrā; 177
 Vimalā; 243
 Vīṇāpāda; 176
 Vinayagupta; 127
 Vindhya Range; 44; 61
 Vīradeva; 19; 45; 76
 Vīraprabha; 98
 Vīraśaiva tradition; 194
 Virūpā; 121; 179; 188; 190; 196; 197;
 198; 209; 231; 232; 251
 Virupāpāda; 125; 126; 197
Viśāntarabāhyanivṛttibhāvanākrama;
 259
 Viṣṇugupta; 71
 Viṣṇunagara; 240; 252
 Viṣṇupura
 current Bishnupur, IN-WB; 252
 Visukalpa; 182; 207
 Wayman, Alex; 144
 Weber, Maximilian Karl Emil; 6; 38;
 231
 West Bengal, IN-WB; 1; 12; 30; 49; 50;
 67; 68; 69; 72; 73; 152; 190; 252
 Xuanzang; 9; 12; 13; 14; 18; 28; 36; 37;
 50; 70; 71; 73; 74; 116; 179
 Yaśodāsa; 49
 Yaśodharman; 10; 36; 71; 117
 Yaśovarman; 20; 27; 30; 55; 77; 78
 Yijing; 9; 18; 21; 28; 31; 37; 70; 75
Yogaratanmālā; 117; 154
Yogaśaḍaṅga; 101; 102; 152
 Yoginī Cintā; 177
 Yunnan; 81
 Zhang Lo tsā ba
 Zhang Lo tsā ba Grub pa dpal Byang
 chub 'od zer; 85; 88; 90; 91; 107;
 150; 152; 263; 264; 265; 268; 272;
 274
Zhang lo 'i thim yig; 85; 91; 264; 267;
 269; 270; 272