Indian History as Envisioned in Tibet:
A Study and Translation of Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa’s *Royal Genealogy of India*

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Abstract

The following thesis examines the question of what historiography and historical methodology means in the context of Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa (Tib. dpa’bo gtsug lag phreng ba), a famed 16th century Tibetan author and historian. Specifically, it takes a chapter—The Royal Genealogy of India (Tib. rgya gar gyi rgyal rabs)—from his magnum opus, The Scholar’s Feast (Tib. chos ’byung mkhas pa’i dga’ston), dealing with the history of the Buddhist kings of Ancient India, provides the first English translation of this section and an examination of how he approaches the topic of Indian history. This thesis argues that Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa is a historian negotiating the position of both faithfully rendering his source material, while also innovating by including quotations from texts that were not typically used in the study of India, ultimately placing his material within a moralistic framework.

This thesis includes sections on this thesis’ methodology constituting textual examination and textual comparison, a literature review detailing works that have addressed studies of Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa as well as Tibetan histories of India. This is followed by a biography of Pawo, a synopsis of The Scholar’s Feast as a whole, and then The Royal Genealogy of India in particular. The section after this constitutes a more detailed examination of Pawo’s historiography, presenting his use of source material, his notion of impartiality, and his moralistic framing. These ideas are then applied to the various texts he quotes, demonstrating how these notions apply in these different primary sources. Lastly, this thesis presents its translation of The Royal Genealogy of India section of the text, together with an introduction explaining the translator’s editorial and stylistic choices.
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Introduction to the Work

Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa’s (Tib. *dpa’ bo gtsug lag phreng ba*, hereafter Pawo) (1504-1565) chapter on India from his celebrated work *The Scholar’s Feast* (Tib. *chos ’byung mkhas pa’i dga’ ston*) represents a fascinating piece of historical literature which constitutes the focus of this thesis. This study and translation not only provides a fresh understanding of the Tibetan perspective of India but is also be supplemented by a detailed analysis of Pawo’s methodology for studying India. By taking such an approach, this thesis provides a novel perspective on Tibetan historiography. Furthermore, this approach not only contributes to understanding Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa but also to interpreting other Tibetan historians of India.

The research of this thesis takes Pawo’s historiography to the forefront and focuses on his approach to studying the topic of Indian history. This approach can be explained as follows; Pawo grounds his work on a set system of scriptures which Tibetans understood as authoritative on the topic of India. He innovates upon this set system by including supplementary information from texts not typically used for studying India in Tibet. Lastly, Pawo focuses on objectively communicating the information from both these sets of texts while framing them in terms of morally exemplar figures.

Within this structure, he quotes source material by both using orthodox texts of Tibetan historical literature on India while also innovating on historians of the past by including unprecedented works in the genre of India. Furthermore, his presentation shows a strong commitment to accurately replicating his source material and noting where various textual conflicts occur. He
frames these sources within a narrative structure which generates faith in the reader and focuses on morally exemplar monarchs of India’s past.

Textual analysis and textual comparison are the primary methodological approaches used by this thesis to determine Pawo’s historiography. *The Scholar’s Feast* has been vigorously compared with both the primary sources Pawo mentions as well as other works of Tibetan history focused on India. In performing this textual analysis, this thesis bases itself on a large body of secondary literature focused on Tibetan historiography, another set of literature which has focused on the history of India, and other Tibetan historical works.

This thesis features two major parts. Part One consists of a study of Pawo’s historiography, beginning with a presentation of the methodology of the thesis moving forward, followed by an explanation of previous scholarship on *The Scholar’s Feast* as well as the Tibetan historiography of India, a brief biography of Pawo, and a synopsis of the content of *The Scholar’s Feast*. This is then followed by a presentation of the research of this thesis regarding Pawo’s historiography, examining his place among past Tibetan historians of India and how he innovates upon these past historians in his methodology. This is comprised of sections on what Pawo considers a ‘verified source’ (Tib. *nges pa’i khung*), how he interprets this material in terms of ‘impartiality’ (Tib. *gzur gnas*), and lastly his soteriological presentation of this material in terms of virtue. Part Two consists of a novel translation of *The Royal Genealogy of India* chapter of Pawo’s *Scholar’s Feast*. This features a separate introduction discussing the process for editing the manuscript of this text as well as the choices of translating the text in terms of rendering Indic names, the presence of footnotes and of vocabulary.

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1 The Tibetan terms for ‘verified source’ and ‘impartiality’ are discussed in further detail on page 20.
Part One:

Textual Analysis as a Method of Interpreting Historiography

The goal of this study is to deepen scholarly understanding of Pawo’s *Scholar’s Feast*’s historiography of India and, by extension, the Tibetan historiography of India. Though operating within a historical framework, the study’s goal is not to analyze the historicity of this account or to present it alongside the modern understanding of Indian history. Such an analysis would muddy the unique aspects of the Tibetan historical tradition by inserting modern notions of that history.

Textual analysis and textual comparison are the methods used to examine the text’s historiography. Given the great importance of source material in historical discourse, these two methods are primarily focused on the text’s use of source material. The specifics of this approach are as follows. First, this thesis examines which sources are used in the text and whether or not these sources are used by other Tibetan authors focused on India. Second, it focuses on *The Scholar’s Feast*’s presentation of these sources in Pawo’s discourse. Finally, it looks at how this presentation compares to other Tibetan works on Indian history which have addressed the same figures and stories as *The Scholar’s Feast*. Each of these phases will be explained in turn.

By determining which sources are used by Tibetan historical literature at large and comparing that with what sources are used within *The Scholar’s Feast*, this thesis determines which
sources used by *The Scholar’s Feast* are preceded and which are unprecedented. A delineation of the genre of these texts provides additional useful information. Particularly interesting are also the outliers to established rules. Knowing the genre of these sources can both help determine what was the norm when it came to historical sources, as well as the variation and richness that existed outside of that norm.

This thesis also analyses sections of the texts which are quoted as historical sources in order to determine how these authoritative sources were used. It examines whether these source texts are quoted verbatim, whether they are compared, or whether they are used as foils for other texts. By examining not only which sources are used but also how they are used, a greater understanding is brought about by determining the context around the creation of Tibetan historical narratives. By analyzing his presentation of source material in this way, this thesis can determine Pawo’s general methods as well as specific differing methods for certain eras and texts.

This thesis also illuminates *The Scholar’s Feast’s* methodology by comparing the text’s presentation with similar Tibetan works on Indian history. There are recurrent themes present in the majority of Tibetan literature regarding India. These themes include general life stories of Aśoka, reliance on the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra*, narratives of the Pala kings and the pervasive presence of virtuous monks and tantric masters. This does not mean, however, that all these texts are identical. Divergences appear including the addition of previously unmentioned kings and different details within commonly reiterated stories. By identifying common themes, a map of the general Tibetan understanding of India is created. The divergences within the narratives illuminate the diversity of the methodologies in Tibetan histories.
As stated above, the methodological approaches of this thesis are textual analysis and comparison in pursuit of understanding the Tibetan historiography of India in the context of Pawo’s *Scholar’s Feast*. This method is also informed by an array of both secondary and primary literature which has informed the understanding of the text. This previous scholarship is the focus of the following section.

**Available Literature on *The Scholar’s Feast* and Other Tibetan Histories of India**

The secondary literature relied upon for this thesis is divided into sources relating to the *Scholar’s Feast* itself, those relating to the Tibetan perspective on India, and lastly includes a list of Tibetan historical works that are referenced in this work along with the dates of their authors. The following section details these secondary sources and demonstrates that the current thesis adds to current scholarship by, in the first case, not only being the first to touch on Pawo’s *Royal Genealogy of India* but also being one of the first that examines the methodology of the author instead of simply using the text as a source for historical information. The thesis further contributes to modern scholarship by combining current theories on the Tibetan perspective towards India with a demonstration of the various historiographical techniques that existed on the basis of pre-existing tropes Tibetans engaged in understanding Indian history in Tibet.

Previously scholarly literature on *The Scholar’s Feast* has generally been oriented towards its presentation of Imperial Tibet. Lokesh Chandra published an edition of *The Scholar’s
Feast in 1962² but this edition lacks any analysis or translation of the text beyond a short preface which briefly recounts the history of the text’s discovery by modern academia as well as the importance of its chapters dealing with imperial Tibet. The Arts and Humanities Research Council of the United Kingdom published a translation of a collection of excerpts from chapter three, dealing with the law of Imperial Tibet.³ The most significant contribution to modern analysis of the text has come from Géza Uray. His two articles “The Narrative of Legislation and Organization of the mKhas-pa’i dGa’-ston”⁴ and “Traces of a Narrative of the Old Tibetan Chronicle in the mKhas-pa’i dGa’-ston”,⁵ analyze quotations in The Scholar’s Feast to reconstruct the history of Older Tibetan chronicles and track their historical evolution. In the former article, Géza Uray also discusses the presence of interlinear notes in a latter section of The Scholar’s Feast dealing with Songtsen Gampo (Tib. srong btsan sgam po).

*The Scholar’s Feast* is also mentioned in Helmut Hoffman’s article “Tibetan Historiography and the Approach of the Tibetans to History.”⁶ Hoffman presents the timeline of Tibetan historiography and briefly notes the historical importance of the work for its faithful presentation of lost Tibetan imperial records. In this work, Hoffman gradually goes through who he considers

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the most important Tibetan historical authors, listing Pawo among these. This thesis contributes
to scholarly knowledge by presenting a far more detailed study of Pawo’s historiography with
Hoffman’s description being naturally brief.

Christina Scherrer-Schaub’s article “Enacting Words: a Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial
Decrees (bKas bcad) and their application in the sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa Tradition” has
used Pawo’s faithful renditions of Imperial Tibetan source material to reconstruct Imperial Ti-
betan history and the old imperial records. Little attention, however, has been paid to how Pawo
frames his source material or what historiographic techniques he employs to lead to such faithful
renditions of the material. Pawo is also almost unknown for the broad range of his work that ex-
tends far beyond Imperial Tibet. This thesis fills these gaps in scholarly understanding by focusing
on Pawo’s historiographic techniques and by translating his untouched section on India.

Turning to secondary sources which are useful for understanding the Tibetan historical
perspective on India: previous secondary scholarship has done an excellent job at establishing
commonalities in the Tibetan perspective towards India and describing the goals of these works.
This thesis’ further analyses of historiographical techniques expands our current notions of how
Tibetan historiography towards India operated on the basis of pre-existing historiographic archet-
types. Moreover, it demonstrates how previous theories can be applied to specific historical texts.
It also brings the works of Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa into the fold of Tibetan historians who have
addressed Indian history, bringing a new voice into the current discussion.

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7 Christina Scherrer-Schaub. “Enacting Words: a Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (bKas
bcad) and their application in the sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa Tradition” in Journal of the International
Among secondary literature related to the general Tibetan understanding of Indian history, Toni Huber’s book *The Holy Land Reborn: Pilgrimage & the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* is notable. The book is generally focused on a broad historical understanding of Tibetan pilgrimage to India and the transformation of India into a holy land in the Tibetan imagination. Toni Huber also persuasively argues that the relatively select set of sources that were used by the Tibetans for their imagination of and writings on India created an idealized form of India which persists throughout Tibetan writings on India. Another important work on the Tibetan perspective on India is Peter Schweiger’s article *History as Myth: On the Appropriation of the Past in Tibetan Culture* from *The Tibetan History Reader.* He focuses on the sociological dimension of Tibetan historical works and the relationship between myth and history with Tibetan culture. Schweiger presents the theory that Tibetan historical works both served as a justification for the place of the monastic elite in Tibetan society and also should be viewed as having a soteriological purpose. The structure of Tibetan historical works, he further argues, is structured around morally exemplary figures and genealogical lists of important figures, as these were considered righteous figures and thus worth writing about.

Further important works in the genre of Tibetan historiography include Andrej Ivanovic Vostrikov’s seminal work *Tibetan Historical Literature,* Leonard van der Kuijp’s article “Tibetan Historiography,” and Peter Schweiger’s articles on the appropriateness of the past in Tibetan culture.

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betan Historiography”, 12 Dan Martin’s *Tibetan Histories: a Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*, 13 Helmut Hoffman’s article “Tibetan Historiography and the Approach of the Tibetans to History”, 14 and Zeff Bjerken’s dissertation *The Mirrorwork of Tibetan Religious Historians: a Comparison of Buddhist and Bon Historiography*. Of these works, the former three by Vostrikov, van der Kuijp and Martin are primarily written as bibliographies of important Tibetan historical works with some information being included on the details of the works they describe. This thesis adds to these sources by using their understanding of Tibetan historical texts as a groundwork and then elaborating on them by applying their ideas to the specific context of *The Royal Genealogy of India* to the specific methodology of Pawo.

Both Hoffman and Bjerken endeavor to focus on the historiography of Tibetan authors in a manner similar to this work. However, both these works operate by comparing the Tibetan Buddhist approach to historiography with other cultural or religious approaches to historiography. Hoffman’s work compares the Tibetan historiographic tradition to its precedents in China and Tibet while Bjerken compares the Tibetan Buddhist and Bön approaches to historiography. This thesis elaborates on these works by having a more select focus and by not focusing on Tibetan Buddhist historiography in comparison with other approaches.

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As the last important aspect of this literature review, below are listed the different important Tibetan historical works whose authors are referenced in this thesis. They are listed in chronological order.

Büton Rinchen Drub’s (Tib. bu ston rin chen drub) (1290–1364) History of Buddhism in India and Tibet (Tib. bu ston chos ’byung):\(^{15}\) This is one of the foundational works in Tibetan history and covers a broad stretch of Buddhist history within pre-history, India, and Tibet. This text set the groundwork for what texts were considered authoritative regarding that history and is framed around the different epochs of Buddhism.

Sonam Gyaltsen’s (Tib. bsod nam rgyal mtshan) (1312-1357) Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies (Tib. rgyal rabs gsal ba’i me long):\(^{16}\) This text presents the history of imperial Tibet from the mythic descriptions of Tibet’s first king, framing many of these kings in terms of their dharmic lineage connections.

Go Lotsawa’s (Tib. ’gos lo tsa ba) (1392-1481) Blue Annals (Tib. deb gter sngon po):\(^{17}\) A very important text for establishing chronology, the Blue Annals is focused on the different lineages of Buddhism in India and Tibet as well the upholders of these lineages.

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\(^{15}\) Obermiller and Stcherbatsky. History of Buddhism by Bu-ston: the Jewelry of Scripture. (Heidelberg: Komission bei O. Harowitz, 1931).

This thesis has referenced Obermiller’s seemingly outdated translation as opposed to the modern translation published by Ngawang Zangpo and Lisa Stein due to the former being intended for using Büton’s work as a historical work as opposed to a religious text. While the latter translation is certainly updated in its translation, Obermiller’s translation also includes more comprehensive footnotes for noting Büton’s sources and his historical references.


Tāranātha’s (1575–1634) *History of Buddhism in India* (Tib. *rgya gar gyi chos 'byung*):¹⁸

This text describes the full history of Buddhism in India as received by Tāranātha and is primarily based on later Indian works of history.

The author of *The Scholar’s Feast*, Pawo (1504-1565), lived just after GoLotsawa and died before the birth of Tāranātha. A short biography of this figure is the focus of the following section.

**Pawo’s Biography**

The following biography of Pawo bases itself first on the occasional biographical references made to the figure in modern secondary literature and then on the far more rich primary Tibetan sources regarding his life. Of these sources, both primary and secondary, Minyak Gonpo’s (Tib. *mi nyag mgon po*) biography contributes the only full life story of Pawo. As such, his text constitutes the main basis of the following discussion of Pawo. The other sources provide important details but not a full narrative of Pawo’s life. As such these other sources are used to augment Minyak Gonpo’s *Summarized Biographical Account of Authoritative Figures in Tibet [Provided in Chronological] Order* (Tib. *gangs can mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus*).¹⁹

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Minor biographical details regarding Pawo have been included by Hugh Edward Richardson in the preface he wrote to Lokesh Chandra’s edition of The Scholar’s Feast and by Geza Uray in his articles “The Narrative of Legislation and Organization of the mKhas-pa’i dGa’-ston” and “Traces of a Narrative of the Old Tibetan Chronicle in the mKhas-pa’i dGa’-ston”. The only more extensive biography of Pawo available in English comes from Samten Chhospel’s entry on Pawo freely available on the Treasury of Lives website. This itself is a synopsis of a brief biography of Pawo made by Minyak Gonpo.

Along with Minyak Gonpo’s short biography, two other primary Tibetan sources on the life of Pawo are available: an extensive autobiography by Pawo and his text A Compendium of my own Approach containing some biographical information also by Pawo. Pawo’s biography is as follows.

Pawo was born in 1504 into the Nyak clan within the region of Nyetang. He was discovered as the reincarnation of the Pawo Chowang Lhundrub (Tib. dpa’ bo chos dbang lhun grub) at the age of five in 1508. During the next seven years, he took ordination as an Upāsaka and began his extensive studies. Throughout his youth and up unto his travel to Lekshedling (Tib. legs bshad gling) monastery at the age of 28 to further his studies, he received a wide variety of

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23 dPa’ bo gtsug lag phrenga ba, dPal gtsug lag phreng ba’i rang tshul mdor bsdus pa don tshan dgu pa. (gnas nang bsam gtan chos gling).
teachings from a plethora of teachers, including teachings on the Nyingma (Tib. rnying ma), Sarma (Tib. gsar ma), and Mahāmudrā.24

Later on in his life, he would establish his own monastic seat at Lhalung (Tib. lha lung) monastery, which would remain the principal seat of the future reincarnations of the Pawo line as well as the main site of transmission for The Scholar’s Feast.25 The latter part of the life of Pawo would be dominated by the writing of this magnum opus. He began his work on this text in 1545 and completed the work in 1565, shortly before his death in 1565.26 Guiseppe Tucci proposed that this work was sponsored by Sonam Rabten (Tib. sa skyong chen po bsod nams rab gtan), a prince of Lhagyari (Tib. lha rgya ri).27 As Pawo’s magnum opus and an integral part of his life’s work, the next section provides a brief synopsis of the The Scholar’s Feast and thereafter of The Royal Genealogy of India chapter of that work, the focus of this thesis.

A Synopsis of The Scholar’s Feast

The Scholar’s Feast covers a considerable breadth both temporally and geographically as it includes sections detailing, in order; the history of the world in general, a chapter on India, an


exhaustive history of Tibet with a detailed discussion of the imperial period as well as histories of the buddhist monarchies of both Khotan and China.

Pawo was not however the sole author of *The Scholar’s Feast* as authorship in Tibet was not a solitary act and often involved the participation of multiple assistants, scribes, and editors. This is also true in the case of *The Scholar’s Feast*. As all extant versions of *The Scholar’s Feast* stem from the same xylograph from the monastery of Lhalung, the editors who worked on this xylograph have an important place in the transmission of the text down to its current form. Our knowledge of these scholars comes from the five colophons spread throughout the text. While their unseen hands likely have a role in the entirety of the text, their most important place here comes from the presence of interlinear notes spread throughout the text.

According to Géza Uray’s study of this later section, the verses written in large letters develop the train of thought of *The Scholar’s Feast* as a whole while the passages in small letter supplemented the text with minor details. According to Helmut Hoffman, Pawo himself is the author of these interlinear notes which according to Hoffman are “an additional prose version which does not always agree with that in verse but sometimes even contradicts it.”

A case can be made for these either being the work of Pawo or these later editors. On the one hand, these notes often provide reference to the source of stories, scriptural passages where the information can be found and the relation of the presentation of the work in normal letters to

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other works of Tibetan history. These details are often necessary to interpret cryptic information included in normal letters, which provides a case for their inclusion being planned by the author of the text.

On the other hand, there is also evidence for the notes being additions by later editors. The shift between the verse of the larger letters and the prose of the notes is jarring from a metrical perspective if these notes were meant to be included in the text. These notes occasionally include information which at face value, should be included in the main verses of the text. The best example of this is on verse 139 which lists out five alternative names for the monastery of Vikramaśīla. The note which comes after then adds a sixth alternative name for Vikramaśīla. The only case this would make sense as an inclusion by Pawo is if he went back to the text and attempted to correct this omission.

Moreover, these notes tend to disrupt the continuity of the narrative of the text, shifting the focus away narratives of kings to supplementary information generally related to other Tibetan historical works. Given the fact that the colophons to the xylograph mention later editors (Tib. *zhu dag*) and that typically interlinear notes are added by such later editors in Tibetan literature, it may also make the most sense to attribute the notes to such editors.

While minuscule information about these notes is currently available and while their authorship status is disputed, the historiographic commentary of these notes cannot be divorced from the historiography of the main text. For ease of discussion going ahead in this thesis, these notes are included under the writings of Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa but it should be known that these other authors may well have written these additions.
A Summary of The Royal Genealogy of India Section

Within the greater scope of the Scholar’s Feast, this thesis focuses specifically on the Royal Genealogy of India chapter of the section On India which occurs immediately after the sections detailing the life of Buddha Śākyamuni and the various Buddhist councils. This section is framed around the various Buddhist kings of Ancient India. Beginning with a brief presentation of Ajātaśatru and his heir U, the texts continues by providing the differing dates of Aśoka according to various scriptural citations and a lengthy biography of Aśoka pulled from myriad sources. After a synopsis of the prophesies of kings from the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra, the text finally ends by discussing the Pala and Sena dynasties with a brief mention of an Ikṣvāku king (Tib. rgyal po ram shing).

An important question regarding Pawo relevant to this chapter in particular is whether his intellectual inheritance regarding India is derived via Tibetan sources or directly from Indic material. In his Compendium of My Own Approach, Pawo states that he travelled to India and wished to remain there after being “saddened by the behavior of the people of Tibet.”30 In this same work, he also describes a pilgrimage process where he travelled to various holy places to practice, including Jalendara, Vajrāśāna, and a riverbank of the Nairaṅja (known in the modern day as the Nairañjana). Such mentions of travel to India in The Compendium of my Own Approach makes it exceedingly likely that Pawo went on a pilgrimage route through India. He even goes on to further state that he originally planned on not returning to Tibet but to instead travel to

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30 In Tibetan: bdag bod yul skye bo’i spyod pas skyo/
dPa’ bo gtsug lag phrenga ba, dPal gtsug lag phrengen ba’i rang tshul mdor bsdus pa don tshan dgu pa. (gnas nang bsam gtan chos gling), 5B.
the mountain with five peaks (Mt. Wutai) and Mt. Elephant’s Poise (Tib. \textit{glang chen gyi gying ri}), likely both in China, before ultimately changing his mind at the behest of his root teacher.\textsuperscript{31}

While Pawo likely travelled to India, it does not appear that he based his chapter regarding India on first-hand experience or indigenous Indic sources. Nowhere in the section describing his travels to India does Pawo mention studying Sanskrit. Furthermore, it appears that he referenced the Tibetan translations of the scriptures he was citing. This can be seen in, for example, his mention of “the land of the bark wearers”\textsuperscript{32} (v. 90) and “land of the three attributes” (v. 99).\textsuperscript{33}

The Tibetan of the \textit{Mañjuśrīmālakalpa\textit{tantra}} renders the first as a list of three places and the latter as an adjective, not its own location. However when translated into Tibetan, these were both left ambiguous as either adjectives or place names. As Pawo treated the former as “the land of the bark wearers” instead of as three separate locations and the latter as an independent location, it seems that he was referencing the Tibetan instead of the Sanskrit of this text. Moreover, all the material he was referencing was already known in Tibet. Thus, while Pawo likely travelled to India on pilgrimage, his writings are thoroughly informed by information on India from Tibet and not on the Indic materials he might be expected to encounter.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{31} dPa’ bo gtsug lag phrenga ba, \textit{dPal gtsug lag phreng ba ’i rang tshul mdor bsdus pa don tshan dgu pa}. (gnas nang bsam gtan chos gling), 6A.

\textsuperscript{32} The translator of the \textit{Mañjuśrīmālakalpa\textit{tantra}} has noted that the Tibetan translation ‘seems to misread the phrase \textit{başkalodyaṁ sakāpiśam} (Başkala, Udyāna, and Kāviśa) as *\textit{valkalavāśī} (Tib. shing shun gyon yul). Dharmachakra Translation Committee for 84000. \textit{The Root Manual of the Rites of Mañjuśrī}. (84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha, 2020) https://read.84000.co/translation/toh543.html, n.3012.

\end{flushright}
The next section of this thesis continues the theme of exploring the sources which act as the basis for Pawo’s understanding of India. Specifically, with Pawo’s biography and the synopsis of the work in view, we are in a position to examine the text itself.

**Pawo’s Historiography**

As a historian with a strong notion of faithfulness towards his source material, Pawo is in a complex position. He is both a presenter of his source material, a role which requires carefully sticking with that source material, while also being a new voice in the Tibetan discussion of history, a position which calls for innovation and novel information to set his work apart from past Tibetan historians. On the one hand, Pawo negotiates this position by basing his work on past historians, principally Büton, who have established a set narrative of what scriptures on India were authoritative. However, what makes Pawo an innovator is his great meticulousness when it comes to analyzing these sources, his introduction of authoritative material which had not previously been used on the subject of Indian history, and lastly his framing of the material on Indian history in terms of the notion of the virtue and non-virtue in relation to monarchy.

Powo himself explains what sets his work apart in the opening lines of the text:

> How fortunate that scholars of the past compiled so much [of Buddhist history], Clear explanation [of these compilations] is current scholars’ universal treasure. The specific qualities of [such] a clear explanation are as follows: It is of vast meaning but little words and cuts through any elaboration. It is fully impartial and uses verified sources.
It leads to the dharmatā and does not [further] advance duality.\textsuperscript{34}

This verse lays out the aspects Pawo considers constitutive of a clear explanation (Tib. legs bshad): namely a vast meaning of little words, the ability to cut through any elaboration, the use of verified sources, a soteriological purpose in leading to the dharmatā, and writing which does not advance the reader’s duality. It is also these aspects which Pawo considers to be the “treasure of current scholars” and hence, the stated ideal of his own work. The following section of this thesis will explore Pawo’s historiography as informed by Pawo’s own words in this verse. This section will first provide a general presentation of the three important points of Pawo’s historiography: his notion of a verified source (Tib. nges pa’i khungs),\textsuperscript{35} his notion of impartiality (Tib. gzur gnas),\textsuperscript{36} and lastly the framing of his material in terms of a soteriological goal, thus leading to the dharmatā and not advancing duality. Thereafter, this section will examine the various primary scriptures Pawo quotes in the order they occur in The Royal Genealogy of India in light of the aforementioned three points. For each of these primary sources, a brief overview of the content of the source will be presented alongside arguments for supposing that Pawo referenced that source. This will be followed by an examination of how his presentation of the primary source exemplifies one or more of the three points of Pawo’s historiography.

\textsuperscript{34} In Tibetan: ‘di tshul sngon rabs mkhas pas mang sbyar mod/ da dung legs bshad mkhas pa’i spyi nor yin/ ’on yang don rgyas tshig nyung mtha’ rgya chod/ kun la gzur gnas nges pa’i khungs dang ’brel/ chos nyid la ‘jug mtshan mar mi smra ba/ de ni legs bshad ’di yi khyad chos ste/ dPa’ bo gtsug lag phreng ba. Chos 'byung mkhas pa’i dga' ston. (Lho brag: Lho brag gzhis kha’i par khang). TBRC: W3C-N22702, 1B.

\textsuperscript{35} Nges pa’i khung refers to a source or text which can be authenticated or which is certain and valid.

\textsuperscript{36} GZur gnas refers to standing between the edges and commonly as a term together means not falling into the extremes of partiality.
Identifying a ‘Verified Source’

In *The Royal Genealogy of India*, Pawo bases his work on past histories of India, uses their source material, but also innovates upon these texts by including new source material that had become current in Tibet. He also shows careful source critique by examining the canonical sources available to Tibetan authors.

Regarding his reliance on past histories, the content of *The Royal Genealogy of India* is dominated by quotations from canonical literature which had precedent for quotations in past Tibetan historical texts. By quoting the literature he did, Pawo is showing homage to the past Tibetan historical tradition and is continuing the Tibetan historical approach which considered the canon authoritative for the purpose of understanding Indian history.

However, while Pawo uses source material quoted by precursor historians, he also adds to the discussion and further establishes the authenticity of the sources of these authors by examining their primary sources. While Pawo quotes the same passages that other Tibetan historians did, he also includes additional information available in the canonical text not supplied by these other historians. This clearly shows that Pawo took inspiration from past Tibetan historical authors but also carefully examined the canonical literature himself.

Along with his critical examination of source material, Pawo further innovates in the field of Indian history by using material generally considered authoritative but not traditionally considered part of the repertoire for studying the history of India. The range of the literature he quotes is broad and often has minor references to the history of the Indian subcontinent in partic-
ular. By quoting from this branch of literature, Pawo shows that he was willing to bring new texts into the fold of the history of India and to innovate and add new data to the field.

In the full breadth of Pawo's myriad quotations, there is both a commitment to the past historiographical traditions which he integrates and adjusts in the context of his work as well as innovation, albeit innovation based on scriptures which already had a precedent for being considered legitimate.

**Being Impartial when Interpreting those Sources**

The second key aspect to Pawo’s historiography is the notion of ‘impartiality’. In this context, impartiality refers to a strong commitment to accurately replicating source material and noting where various textual conflicts occur. In Pawo’s first case of impartiality, accurate replication of source material, he accurately presents his source material and also attempts to replicate the literary style of the texts he quotes.

In this second sense of impartiality, Pawo presents the sources close to their original and does not harmonize his sources when there is a conflict between them. While his work does not always carry critical examination sense of impartiality, his notion of impartiality instead lies in impartial presentation of his sources.

**Framing the Sources with a Soteriological Goal**
While Pawo is committed to the notion of using verified sources and an impartial communication of these sources, the hand of the author is still present in the framing and presentation of these sources. The entirety of the narrative serves a normative and soteriological purpose in presenting worthy meritorious figures who may serve as exemplars and in the rare case, unworthy figures whose behavior should be actively avoided. One of the most important verses of the work for understanding the soteriological and general societal goals of the composition of *The Scholar’s Feast* comes from the fourth verse on the first page of the xylograph. This verse reads:

For that reason, with one pointed reverence towards the sacred,
I have cited those of great of intellect.
In order to bring benefit to both myself and others,
I have written on the righteous way dharma kings have performed their deeds.\(^{37}\)

The last two lines of this verse clearly present the basis and structure of the following section regarding Pawo’s soteriological goals in this work. As such, this section discuss the notion of this work being beneficial for those who read it and how the text focuses specifically on the concept of ‘the dharma king’.

*The Scholar’s Feast* bases itself on a long tradition of referencing and quoting material of religious and soteriological significance, specifically canonical treatises, or in other words texts that would bring soteriological benefit to those who read the compilation of these texts. Looking back to the previous section on sources and with closer examination, it can be determined that of the fourteen sources quoted by *The Scholar’s Feast*, all but two are part of the canon. The historiography of *The Scholar’s Feast* thus falls into the category of historical text which held an ide-

\(^{37}\) In Tibetan: de phyir dam pa rnams kyi yon tan la/ gcig du dad pas yid rabs drangs ba dang/ bdag dang skal mnyam gzhan la’ng phan bya’i phyir/ chos rgyal rnams kyi mdzad pa’i tshul bzang bri/ dPa’ bo gtsug lag phreng ba. Chos ’byung mkhas pa’i dga’ ston. (Lho brag: Lho brag gzhis kha’i par khang). TBRC: W3CN22702, 1A.
alyzed view of India through its interpretation of India via canonical sources. This idea has been
developed by Peter Schweiger in his article “On the Appropriation of the Past in Tibetan
Culture.” There, Schweiger focused on the sociological impetus for writing works on history
within Tibet. He has argued that that with the downfall of the monarchy in Tibet, the Tibetan
clergy considered themselves the guarantors of the Indic heritage, and that this led to their di-
rect involvement in writing historiographic works as a means of painting the picture of an ideal-
ized society. By writing on the Buddhism of the past in the way that they did, they created a
model for contemporary Tibetan society to follow.

Pawo is in line with the primary approach of Tibetan historians by focusing on exemplary
figures and structuring his narrative around these figures. On this point, Schweiger argues that “A
life not classified as holy was generally deemed not worthy of narration” within Tibetan histori-
cal literature. If we make a closer examination of the model historians of Pawo, this focus on
exemplary figures becomes obvious. Tāranātha’s work is generally structured around the periods
of different dharma kings but even more importantly, his narrative is primarily oriented around
whoever held the Buddhist lineage during the age of a given dharma king. As Templeman has
stated in his article Tāranātha the Historian, “Tāranātha's interests were with the perfect land of
India and his encyclopedic knowledge of that country precluded him from writing extensively on
any other aspects of the History of the Doctrine, save for its rise and the lineages of ācāryas who


propagated it.” Much the same can be said of Büton, whose work is likewise structured around and focused on the different teachers who have propagated the dharma as well as the stories of these teachers.

What sets Pawo apart from these other historians is that his narrative centers around the kings of India with only minor attention being paid to the lineage holders and buddhist teachers. It is the stories of the patrons and monarchs, not the monks, which dominate the discourse of The Royal Genealogy of India. Pawo may be inheriting this approach from a lineage of Tibetan historians who have specifically focused on Tibetan history like Go Lotsawa’s Blue Annals and The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogy. Both works are specifically oriented around the lineage of kings with a full focus on the history of these kings.

To summarize, in Pawo’s work there is a specific focus on the kings of India who propagated the dharma, an approach which was inherited from the historical tradition from two sides. One side is the focus on exemplary figures when describing the history of India and another which focused on kings when writing on Tibetan history. Lastly taking all the above mentioned aspects of Pawo’s presentation and soteriological goals together, the following can be concluded. Pawo took as his basis the patron kings of India who propagated the dharma and focused specifically on their dharmic or non-dharmic deeds, frequently framing these actions in terms of their karma. He based his information regarding these kings on a set of primarily canonical literature which created an idealized view of Buddhist India which could serve as a societal model for Tibet.

Keeping these above descriptions of Pawo’s approach to source material, impartiality, and presentation in mind, the thesis now explores how these ideas apply to the specific texts that he quotes. For greater clarity, a general introduction to the text as well as reasons for thinking Pawo quoted this text are also included.

**Büton’s History and the Sources of Tibet’s Historical Tradition**

Büton’s work is one of the foundational pieces of Tibetan historical literature both regarding Tibet and India. As one of the first writers on the history of India, Büton would set the precedent for coming generations of Tibetan authors. One of the most important precedents Bü-

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ton set was relying on the *Mahāpundarikasūtra*, and *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra* as the primary Tibetan historical sources on India.\(^{42}\)

While Büton is not explicitly mentioned in *The Royal Genealogy of India*, an interlinear note mentioning Ngok Lotsawa (Tib. *rngog lo tsa’ ba*) (1059-1109) and an alternative story of king Gopāla within *The Royal Genealogy of India* are clearly quotations of Büton. This first interlinear note occurs after a prophecy of king Pañcasimha on verse 101 and reads, “Some ascribe this prophecy to the translator Ngok but this is a false [attribution].” This note strongly parallels a verse on page 118 of the Obermiller translation of Büton’s work which states:

> On the border of the woodland that is near to the eastern ocean, a Sage, one of the Lohitas, and another in the north, in the country of snow, - etc. Some consider that this is an indication of the Great translator who was born Ya-brog. But as (this prophecy) is contained in that section which refers to kings, - this must be accurately investigated.\(^{43}\)

If we examine these two passages from Pawo and Büton, it becomes clear that they are conveying the same information. The figure Ngok Loden Sherab (Tib. *rngog blo ldan shes rab*), mentioned by Pawo, was a great translator born in Ya-brog. As such, he is clearly the same figure to whom both texts refer. It would be an unlikely coincidence for both these authors to make this note independently. Instead, the author of *The Scholar’s Feast* would have noticed this addition regarding Ngok in Büton and included it in an interlinear note within *The Royal Genealogy of India*.

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\(^{43}\) Eugene Obermiller. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. (Institut für Buddhismus-Kunde: Heidelberg, 1932), 118

Here, I have copied the Obermiller’s work verbatim which was translated in 1932, hence the inclusion of grammar forms and annotations which would be considered unorthodox in the modern day.
The second instance of Pawo quoting Büton, the alternative story of king Gopāla, occurs on verse 111 of the text and reads:

Some say that it was a forest spirit who played the part of the cow herder woman, that the protector of the cows took dominion over the land through a gift of jewels, and that he built the temple of Nālenda.

Büton has a very similar account on page 156 of the Obermiller translation which reads:

Now it happened that a shepherd of that country had died, and his beautiful wife was tending to the sheep (in his stead). The tree-sprite mentioned has sexual intercourse with her, and (from their union) a remarkable son was born who was named Gopāla. His father put him in possession of precious jewels, and, by the force of his virtues, he obtained the royal power over the whole of the country. It is by this king that the monastery of Nālanda was built. 44

As with the interlinear note, the similarities between these two passages are too great to be a coincidence, particularly since Pawo frames this story as a deviating version of Gopāla’s origin without mentioning a source. Because of the great parallels and as the only source of this deviating origin story, this story proves that Pawo was referencing Büton in his work.

The fact that Büton was Pawo’s likely source has large implications for Pawo’s approach to quoting material. Assuming that Pawo is quoting Büton, it can be inferred that he was inspired by Büton in quoting the Manjuśrīmūlakalpatantra, Mahāmeghasutra and Mahāpundarikasutra, all three of which figure prominently in Büton’s work. Pawo also adds to the discussion and further establishes the authenticity of the sources of these authors by also looking at Büton’s primary sources. For instance, while likely inspired by Büton in his use of the Mahāmeghasutra and Mahāpundarikasutra, it is also quite clear that he is referencing these texts directly instead of

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simply quoting them via Büton. This is because in the case of both quotations, he adds additional information coming from the text which is not in the work of Büton.

The same can be said when Pawo presents the stories of kings coming from the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra. Büton’s discussion of the kings of India understandably quotes from chapter 53 of the work, the “prophecy of kings”. However, Pawo goes further than Büton by rendering the quotations from the Mūlakalpatantra in verse in a manner nearly identical to their rendering in available recensions of the text. Furthermore, Pawo appears to be quoting the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, at least in its currently extant form. In the section dating king Aśoka, Büton states that according to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra, Aśoka lived 150 years after the paranirvāṇa of the Buddha while Pawo states that according to that text, he lived 100 years after the death of the Buddha. Both the available Sanskrit version of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra used to translate the text by the 84000 project as well as the Dege version of the text state that he lived 100 years after the death of the Buddha, agreeing with Pawo’s version.

While Büton may have been looking at an alternative version of the text accounting for the shift, this does show, at the very least, that Pawo was going back to the text itself instead of simply trusting other historians. In his quotations of Büton’s material, it can be seen that Pawo is both basing his work on the past historical tradition by quoting these specific scriptures while also not simply taking Büton’s work at its face value by actively examining these scripture.

Pawo’s approach to Büton and the set of works quoted by Büton also demonstrates Pawo’s commitment to the idea of impartiality, both in the sense of not inserting his own opinion

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"'phags pa'jam dpal gyi rtsa ba'i rgyud. Lha sa bka'gyur, Vol. 88 (rgyud, tha), ff. 53b3-448b3," 400A.
and also in his willingness to leave textual conflicts apparent, instead of attempting to resolve them. Pawo lists the various dates prescribed to Aśoka, something Büton also provides in his own work. In this section, Pawo both lists the texts which say that Aśoka lived 100 years after the Buddha’s paranirvāṇa; the Mūlakalpatantra, Mahāpunḍarika and The Pillar Testament while also mentioning the texts that say his birth was 120 years after the paranirvāṇa; the Mahāmeghasūtra and “other scriptures”. He adds no personal note of his own or choice for which of the scriptures has a better interpretation, leaving this choice to the reader’s discretion. Considering that Büton has a nearly identical discussion in his own work, Pawo was likely inspired by Büton in taking this approach with Aśoka. As such he is part of a more select group of Tibetan historians who are explicit with conflicts in canonical material.

Pawo’s quotations of Büton further show his commitment to presenting his material within a soteriological framework. All of Pawo’s quotations of Büton’s material, particularly his quotations of the Mūlakalpatantra, are framed in terms of positive and negative merit, demonstrating his commitment to using these historical figures to create either an ideal to be followed or an example to be shunned. The only non-virtuous or even non-Buddhist figures to receive the focus of the text are the kings from the Mūlakalpatantra who are framed in terms of what one should not do, engage in non-virtue. These figures—Cānaka (verse 78), and the bull of the Gomi (verse 85)—are both described as having horrible rebirths due to their negativity. However, even in the case of these normally considered reprehensible characters there is an aspect to be emulated. Each is also described as ultimately achieving awakening after learning from their mistakes and repenting. This shows how these figures fit into the text’s narrative of virtue with the idea that
even if one has accumulated negativity, it is still possible to achieve awakening by properly engaging in virtue.

Pawo’s commitment to the ideal of representing figures in terms of virtue becomes clearer when attention is brought to his quotation on verse 83 which reads:

Thus [the lesson of this story] is that one should not perform ceremonies of evil When practicing mantra. Kings and princes [should] prohibit ceremonies of evil. The buddhas and their heirs expressly taught the power that [can occur] through practicing mantra….

In this section of the text, occurring just after the story of Cānaka, is a fully normative verse lacking in any of the monarchical narrative of the rest of the text. In this verse, we see that Pawo was not merely presenting narratives of kings but also a soteriological framework and greater moral lesson for his readers in mind.

The Pillar Testament of Songtsen Gampo

*The Pillar Testament* is a history of the Tibetan Buddhist emperor Songtsen Gampo (Tib. *srong btsan sgam po*) and an important source for the history of early imperial Tibet. Pawo quotes *The Pillar Testament* in *The Royal Genealogy of India* on verse five where he states, “According to certain wills of the lords of Tibet, 100 years after the parinirvāṇa of the teacher, the sovereign of the world Aśoka was born and he was [a member] of the Mountain-Śākya lineage.” In the context of this passage, ‘a certain will of the lords of Tibet’ refers to the *The Pillar Testament*, the testament of the Tibetan lord Songtsen Gampo. The evidence for this being a quotation from *The Pillar Testament*, is its explicit statement that Aśoka

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was a member of the Mountain-Śākya lineage. We also know that Pawo was referencing this source since it is considered his main source on the history of Imperial Tibet in that section of *The Scholar’s Feast*.

Pawo’s use of this text as a source for the history of India indicates his willingness to use material not traditionally applied in the context of India. *The Pillar Testament* had been quoted before by the historian Sonam Gyaltsen (Tib. *bsod nam rgyal msthan*) in his text *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies* (Tib. *rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*) in the context of describing the different types of Śākyas. However, while Sonam Gyaltsen also mentions Aśoka in his work and clearly knows of *The Pillar Testament*, he does not quote *The Pillar Testament’s* information regarding Aśoka. Using *The Pillar Testament* as a source not just for Tibetan history but also Indian history is therefore an innovation of Pawo. His willingness to apply this source shows how Pawo innovates on a preset notion of what constituted a valid source regarding India.

**The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā: the Poetic Collection**

The *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā,* a compendium of legends compiled by the famed Indian poet Kṣemendra (990-1070) and translated into Tibetan between 1267-1270, exhibited a strong influence on the literature and poetry of Tibet, leading to many literary recreations. The

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47 *Bka’ chems ka khol ma.* (Lan kru’u: kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 75.


49 dGe ba’i dbang po. *Byang chub sems dpa’i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi ’khri shing.* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2004).

Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā also features as a prominent historical source in the work of Tāranātha, who was born nine years after Pawo’s death.

The evidence for Pawo quoting the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā comes from an interlinear note just after verse 62, where Pawo states that “regarding the former legend of Aśoka, there are the texts of the Aśokamukhāgavinayapariccheda as well as three chapters from the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.” When we examine the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā as a source for The Scholar’s Feast, we find that the stories of Aśoka’s subjugation of the Nāgas as well as his final gifts of gold can be attributed to stories 73 and 74 of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.51

While the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā was well known in Tibet, it was unprecedented as a historical source during Pawo’s time. Būton knew of the text, mentioning that the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā was translated by Paṇḍit Lakṣmīśrī in his work.52 However, he makes no reference to it in his section on Aśoka and does not quote the text for historical purposes. Go Lotsawa, author of the Blue Annals also seems to have not known of the Aśoka sections of the text as he writes in the Blue Annals that while king Aśoka was a famous supporter of the doctrine in India, he had not heard of anyone possessing an Indian royal chronicle related to him.53 This latter case is curious given the presence of a full legend of Aśoka within the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā. As mentioned before, the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā was certainly quoted after Pawo’s time with Tāranātha using the text as one of his three sources on India. However, given

52 Eugene Obermiller. The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet. (Institut für Buddhismus-Kunde: Heidelberg, 1932), 223
Tāranātha’s later date, the use of this poetic composition as a source for the history of India appears to be an innovation of Pawo, once again indicating his willingness to innovate and add new information to the discussion regarding Indian history.

The manner in which Pawo quotes the content of this text also demonstrates his method in cross-examining the works he is quoting. At the end of the story of Aśoka’s subjugation of the Nāgas, there is a statement that the story is from the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* as well as the *Aśokamukhanāgavinayapariccheda*. This latter fact is not furnished within the *Kalpalatā* itself meaning that Pawo also examined what sources were being used by the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

As far as the notion of impartiality when conveying this work, Pawo’s quotations are curiously quite different from the text of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. The Tibetan text of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* is cryptic and Pawo paraphrases the content of the text, quoting nothing verbatim, in contrast to his usual manner. Pawo’s apparent unwillingness to directly quote the cryptic text indicates that he was willing to paraphrase and restate canonical literature for the purpose of the reader’s understanding. In other words, Pawo’s quotations of the the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* show that he was not simply directly pasting from other pieces of literature.

Pawo’s quotation of *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* also demonstrates how greater soteriological goals configure in his work. As a compilation of legends (Skt. *avadāna*), the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* is thematically focused on merit and the corresponding results of negative and positive deeds.54 Taking the example of the Aśoka section quoted in *The Royal Genealogy of

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India, Ashoka’s entire narrative is framed around the positive merit he accrues by his offering of
dirt to the Buddha in a past life. Moreover, the entirety of his life after his conversion and repen-
tance is focused on his pursuit of accumulating merit, from his quest to distribute the relics of the
Buddha across India to atone for his past negativity to his hosting of pujas when the statues ex-
plicitly show that the king of the nāgas had more merit than him. The dominance of this narra-
tive in the full chapter of The Royal Genealogy of India, Ashoka’s legend constituting about half
of the whole chapter, demonstrates how Pawo’s narrative is themed around the notion of virtuous
figures and thus serves the soteriological aim of using history as a means of teaching.

The Nṛpavāli: A Lost History of India

Kṣemendra composed another text, now lost, which would have addressed the legend of
Ashoka. We know this text existed because Tāranātha mentions a history compiled by Kṣemendra
as his source for the biography of Ashoka and makes a distinction between this history and the
Bodhisattvāvadānākalpatalā. This text quoted by Tāranātha could be the same history of kings
by Kṣemendra called the Nṛpavāli which the Kashmiri historian Kalhana disparagingly mentions
in his work, the Rājatarāṅgini. For ease of discussing the text, which may have a lost name,
Kṣemendra’s text is called the Nṛpavāli from here on.

Pawo’s stories of Ashoka’s offering of the gift of dirt, the king’s childhood, and period of
cruelty cannot be found in the Avadānākalpalata. However, he must have received these stories

55 Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya. Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India. (Simla: Indian

56 Aurel Stein, Kalhana’s Rājatarāṅgini, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr: Translated with an Intro-
duction, Commentary, and Appendices. (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 1900), 3.
from some source. The reasons to support the source for these stories being the \textit{Nrpavāli} are the parallels between Pawo and Tāranātha’s stories of Aśoka. These are as follows. All of the stories of Aśoka provided by Pawo, apart from an excerpt from the \textit{Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa} and the story of Aśoka’s past life as a boy making an offering of dirt to the Buddha, are also included in Tāranātha’s story of Aśoka in the same order. Since Pawo lived before Tāranātha, he could not have been quoting Tāranātha. Tāranātha is unlikely to be quoting Pawo given his strong stance on only quoting Indic literature. The remaining possibility is that they were quoting the same source. Tāranātha explicitly states regarding these legends of Aśoka that “in the history compiled by Kṣemendra is given this biography [of Aśoka] in orderly form…”\footnote{Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya. \textit{Tāranātha’s History of Buddhism in India}. (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970), 67.} This provides an answer to the above quandary: because Tāranātha and Pawo have the same order but are not referencing each other, and because Tāranātha was referencing Kṣemendra for his order, the most likely source of Pawo’s work is Kṣemendra’s lost \textit{Nrpavāli}.

If the \textit{Nrpavāli} is indeed Pawo’s other source on Aśoka, this leads to multiple ramifications for his approach to source material. As a much later Indian historical text, written far after the canonical witnesses, Pawo quoting from the \textit{Nrpavāli} would indicate a willingness to actively use new information coming to Tibet regarding the history of India. Considering that the author of the text was the authoritative figure of Kṣemendra, however, such a use would not be straying too far from using sources considered reliable in Tibet. It would, however, indicate a willingness to discuss the topic of Indian history from the perspective of multiple historical traditions, both Tibetan and Indian.
Unfortunately, because the *Nṛpavāli* is no longer accessible, it is impossible to say how Pawo’s notion of impartiality fits into his quotations of this text, as there is no extant version of the text to compare Pawo’s quotations with. The soteriological framing of this material is also similar to the framing of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpatāla*, given both texts probable reliance of *avadānas* and their associated focus on karma and merit.

**The Garland of the Genealogy of Kings: A Tibetan Chronology of India**

Orgyen Rinchen Pel’s (Tib. o rgyan rin chen dpal) (1230-1309) *Garland of the Genealogy of Kings* (Tib. rgyal po rabs kyi phreng ba), like the *Nṛpavāli*, is no longer extant. According to a hagiography of Rinchen Pel, the text was a history of the kings of India and Tibet written in effort to dissuade Qubilai Khan from invading Nepal. The text also survives in partial fragments within Mangthö Ludrub Gyatso’s (Tib. mang thos klu sgrubs rgya mtsho) *Bringing the Light of Clarity to the [Historical] Chronology* (Tib. bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed).

We know that Pawo must have been quoting one of Rinchen Pel’s works since he explicitly mentions him as his source on verses 134 for the date of Dharmapāla and on verse 147 for the history of an Ikṣvāku king (Tib. rgyal po ram shing). Among Rinchen Pel’s corpus of writings, predominately composed of tantric teachings, the two obvious candidates for these pieces of information are either his lost *Garland of the Genealogy of Kings* or his account of his pil-

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grimage to India. The latter makes no mention of either Dharmapāla or an Ikṣvāku king which rules it out as a possibility. This leaves the *Garland of the Genealogy of Kings* which has already been theorized as a source for *The Scholar's Feast* as a whole by Leonard van der Kuijp in his article “Tibetan Historiography.” This would be further supported by the above-mentioned quotation which calls the text a history of the kings of India and Tibet.

Further evidence to support this text being quoted by Pawo is the text being termed a “Royal Genealogy” (*rgyal rabs*). By the time of Pawo, the term started to connote narratives of kings but in the 13th century when Orgyen Rinchen Pel lived, the term almost exclusively referred to dynastic lists which established the chronology and time of kings. All the surviving quotations from the work in the *Bringing the Light of Clarity to the [Historical] Chronology* are of this type of chronological information as is all the information quoted from Rinchen Pel in *The Royal Genealogy of India*, providing further support to this text being the source.

As with the *Nṛpavāli*, the *Garland of the Genealogy of Kings* not being extant makes it difficult to assess the degree of Pawo’s impartiality when quoting the text. The only point that can be said is that Pawo quotes the text in verse whereas Mangthö quotes the text in prose. However, it is impossible to say which text is closer to the original of the *Garland of the Genealogy of Kings*. Within the greater soteriological framework, as its title indicates, the *Garland of the Genealogy of Kings* would have likely had a highly monarchical framing in the content of the

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60 Guiseppe Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*. (The Greater India Society: Calcutta 1940)


text. Pawo’s use of this source may have served as an inspiration for him to focus specifically on the narratives of kings and acted as one of the two lines of tradition influencing the framing of Pawo’s work, namely the non-virtue focused class of historical works which were written on monarchical chronology.

**Research Conclusions**

This study of Pawo’s historiography has focused on interpreting his methodology in terms of his source material, his interpretation of this source material in the context of his concept of objectivity, and lastly his presentation of the material in terms of its soteriological goals. From this research, we can conclude that Pawo based his work on India on a preset Tibetan notion of proper sources regarding India as he bases much of his historiography on past Tibetan historians and canonical treatises regarding India. He does however further innovate by including material which, while generally considered authoritative, was not necessarily traditionally applied in the study of Indian history. In his interpretation of this source material, he shows a strong commitment to thoroughly investigating his source material and making source conflicts clear while yet still paying homage to the past Tibetan historical tradition, and also a willingness to adjust quotations when they would be overly cryptic for a reader. In terms of his presentation, Pawo focuses on the idea of virtue and righteous deeds in the context of dharma kings of India’s past, a framing very likely informed by the greater sociological goals of Tibetan society at the time of the composition of this text.
The current thesis’ research into Pawo’s historiography has provided a greater perspective on the *Scholar’s Feast* and a window into the type of historiography which Tibetan historians engaged in. By appreciating Tibetan historical works as pieces of literature in their own methodological context, modern studies can come to a broader and more nuanced understanding of these works. Future work can hopefully perform a much wider examination of Tibetan historiography at large, a more detailed analysis of the Tibetan historicization of India and the various factors which created the Tibetan narrative of India. A more detailed analysis of sources used by Tibetan historians such as Pawo would also be helpful in the field and future studies of texts like the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra*, the Central Asian recensions of the cycles of legends regarding Aśoka, as well as the historiography of Kṣemendra. This thesis has specifically applied some of the ideas and approaches to understanding Tibetan historiography in the context of Pawo’s *Scholar’s Feast*. However, given the vast breadth of Tibetan historical literature, including literature related to India, there is still much to be done in the field.
Part Two:

The following section presents information necessary to understanding the current translation of Pawo’s *Royal Genealogy of India*. The first part of this section is devoted to the translator’s approach to editing the manuscript of the text and editorial choices that have been made in that process. The second part is devoted to choices made when rendering the text into English and the transference of the edited material into English.

Editorial Choices

There are six extant witnesses to *The Scholar’s Feast*; two are prints of a single xylograph from the monastery of Lhalung in Lhodrak, three are modern editions printed in the last 15 years and finally one is an edition published by Lokesh Chandra in 1959. An analysis of these witnesses has led to the conclusion that Lokesh Chandra’s edition as well as the three modern editions are in fact all based on the early xylograph as all of these editions include the interlinear notes provided by the xylograph and show no deviations which cannot be explained by their interpreting or editing of the xylograph. Because of this fact, this translation is based solely on the two available editions of this xylograph (A and B in the list of editions). This approach is justified by the multiple corruptions that have occurred in the modern editions with a near universally better reading appearing in the xylograph. The exception to this approach is the minute number of spelling mistakes, seven in total, which occur in the xylograph. In the case of such spelling mistakes, emendations are informed by the Mirukpetrunkhang’s second edition (D), as representative of the modern editions, Lokesh Chandra’s edition (C), as well as extant versions of primary
sources in the case of quotations. These emendations are geared towards emendations most expla-

in terms of the transmission of the text and not in terms of what would best harmonize

available versions of the primary sources. That is to say, if one emendation would make

sense in terms of *The Scholar’s Feast* while another would make sense in terms of the primary

source, the translation opt for the former.

Due to their age, the two versions of the xylograph, while in general good condition, have

some cases of ink smudging, rubbed off words, and one case of the page order being jumbled.

No deviations occur between these two editions outside of these issues with their condition.

Therefore, as all such flaws in these two editions occur at different parts of the respective texts,

the two versions of the xylograph have been used for readings when one of them may have omis-

sions due to these physical flaws.

Regarding my use of the primary sources cited in *The Scholar’s Feast*, these sources pro-

vide context to elucidate obscure passages but are not be used to edit the text. Historical texts

like *The Scholar’s Feast* often preserve even older versions of texts in their quotations than cur-

cently extant witnesses and it would be counter to the interests of historical scholarship and

canonical studies to distort the quotations in *The Scholar’s Feast* in order to harmonize available

sources.

When comparing these primary sources, the translation references, whenever possible, cr

critical editions of these works, though they tend to be quite rare. Because the translation stick to

Pawo’s quotations and do not change those, I only reference one version of a text if it is found to
be in agreement with *The Scholar's Feast*. In footnotes to the translation can be found the corresponding passage in the primary sources.

The last important body of external literature to address is other Tibetan historical works on India. As with primary sources, these texts can help in the interpretation of some of the information provided by Pawo. In comparison to those primary sources this material can be helpful but also needs to be used cautiously. On the beneficial side, these texts can help illuminate the Tibetan reading of these texts and some of the additional layers of interpretive apparatus Pawo may have had. However, it cannot be assumed that Pawo necessarily interpreted these texts in the same ways as other authors. This being the case, I only use these other texts when the text is otherwise incomprehensible and the primary sources cannot provide adequate context. The most notable example of this is on verses 103-110 where I have used similar stories of king Gopāla occurring in Tāranātha’s *History of Buddhism in India* and Büton’s *History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* to interpret Pawo’s cryptic passages regarding this king.

In this translation, the corresponding page number of the xylograph has been placed in brackets within the content of the translation with A marking the first and B the second side of a given folio. These can be easily distinguished from the verse numbering which has also used brackets as the verse numbers do not include these additional letters. The following are a list of the sigla used to represent the different versions of the text when an emendation is made to the xylograph:

A: dPa’ bo gtsug lag phreng ba. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga’ ston*. Publisher unknown. TBRC: W1KG15897

B: dPa’ bo gtsug lag phreng ba. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Lho brag: Lho brag gzhis kha’i par khang. TBRC: W3CN22702
Translation Choices

Another key aspect to interpreting the following translation is the approach to rendering the interpreted and edited text into English. There three main goals when it comes to this translation. The first goal is for the text to be easily legible so that this text could be easily understood by anyone interested in the topic of Indian history. The second is that the translation of the text may be accurate and well documented to the point that this translation can be used as a source reference for academics studying the topic. The last goal is to convey at least some of the poetry of the original text and convey the literacy that can be present in Tibetan historical works. Juggling these three aspects is not an easy task.

With this in mind, the translation itself only involves the words of the text itself and any and all academic disputes, location of information in other texts as well as supplementary information have been relegated to the footnotes of the translation. This excludes information needed to clarify the text, which are added in brackets. Such cases include providing the name of a given king when the text simply states ‘the king’

While it is likely that the interlinear notes present in the text are not the direct work of Pawo, they are nonetheless indispensable for understanding both the text itself and the historiog-
raphy of the text. The supplemental information provided by these notes includes section headings, notes on source material, and additional names for place locations. Because they are so integral to the text, these notes have not been relegated to the footnotes of the translation as would be the normal practice. Instead, they are included in the main text in italics. As normally italics are used for the names of texts, these have also been changed into italics. However, when in the text, a whole line is in italics, then this is an interlinear note.

As is fitting a historical text documenting the past, the text is rendered in the past tense. A unique issue, however, presents itself in the form of the quotations of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra. As a text presenting itself as a prophecy of figures to come in the future, the text is in the future tense in its Sanskrit, Tibetan, and when quoted by The Scholar's Feast. However, while the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra presents itself as being composed before the figures it describes, The Scholar's Feast is written with the notion of being after these figures of India's past. Because it is written after them and because of the cognitive dissonance that would occur by changing tense in the middle of the narrative, that section is rendered in the past tense as well.

As a native Tibetan text on the history of India where almost every figure mentioned is of Indic origin, the question of how to name these figures is complicated. Fortunately, in the vast majority of cases Pawo also furnishes us with the Indic name of the figures he is describing, with these names generally being placed alongside their Tibetan translations. This presents the obvious solution of using the Indic name Pawo provides. In all these cases, the Indic name is used but in the first case of the name being used, their Tibetan name is provided in a footnote.
There are also some cases within the text where Pawo does not provide the Indic name himself but the text he is quoting survives in Sanskrit. This is true in the case of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra* and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. In both these cases, I use the Indic name from the original text with the idea that these texts are quite clearly describing the same figure which Pawo. As with the first case, I also provide the Tibetan name in a footnote.

Another point worth discussing is how to deal with variant spellings in the text which differ from the normal spelling of a given place name. Because *The Royal Genealogy of India* may be preserving different historical traditions in its alternative spellings, I have not seen these variants as mistakes when editing the manuscript of the text. However, I do want these places and figures to be recognizable when this text is compared with other pieces of literature. I have therefore opted to keep the original spelling in the main text but in the footnotes are provided the spellings of these names as they would usually occur.

The final case is names provided in Tibetan without an Indic equivalent which do not come from a text extant in Sanskrit. So as not to present a jarring contrast with some names being in Indic and other names being in Tibetan when both names describe Indian figures, I have opted for back translation in these cases, albeit back-translation heavily informed by translators who have come across the same names in other Tibetan historical works. All of these names are marked with an asterisk (*) and to make it even more clear that these names are unattested, the corresponding Tibetan name is provided in parenthesis in the translation instead of in a footnote.
The Translation

The Haryankas

[43 A] I once again pay reverence to the supreme teacher, [the Buddha]. There were many rulers in the noble land [of India], who performed deeds [in service] of his teachings. I will describe everything I have heard about them. [1]

King Ajātaśatru⁶⁴ was a patron of the teacher whose faith lacked [fully developed] roots. He ruled over Magadha, Aṅga, Vaiśali,⁶⁵ the great kingdom of Kosala, Varanasi,⁶⁶ etc.⁶⁷ Like spreading a singular white parasol⁶⁸ over them, he brought them to singularly revere the teachings of the buddha. [2]

His successor is known as “U,”⁶⁹ who put the words of the victorious one into writing, Compiled them into texts, and spread them far and wide. Upon his death, he proceeded to the realm of the gods.⁷⁰ It was prophesied that he certainly achieved awakening.⁷¹ [3]

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⁶⁴ Tib. ma skyes dgra

⁶⁵ Tib. yangs pa can

⁶⁶ Traditionally spelled Vārānasī

⁶⁷ These first four lines paraphrase verses 53.298-53.299 of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatraṇa, though him being “of unrooted” faith does not occur in that text.


⁶⁸ A common analogy for extending dominion generally used in the sense of dharma kings extending their rule or in the sense of spreading the teachings.

⁶⁹ Tib. u zhes pa. More literally, “his successor known as ‘Upa’”. However, as with the earlier verse on Ajātaśatru, the information supplied in this verse also appears to be a paraphrase of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa which describes Ajātaśatru’s son’s name as starting with “u.”


The Royal Genealogy of the Li Country\textsuperscript{72} (Khotan) states that the teacher passed away five years into the reign of Ajātaśatru, who ruled for 32 years overall. [The Royal Genealogy further states] that there were ten [generations of] kings between [Ajātaśatru] and Aśoka\textsuperscript{73} the dharma king. [4]

The Date of Aśoka

According to certain wills of the lords of Tibet, 100 years after the parinirvāṇa of the teacher, the sovereign of the world Aśoka was born and he was [a member] of the Mountain-Śākya lineage.\textsuperscript{74} [5]

In the Ārya-mahāmegha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra, [the Buddha prophesies]:

In the past, a minister named *Saddharmamaṇḍalakośa (Tib. dam chos dkyil ‘khor gyi mdzod) made an aspiration in the presence of a buddha [named] *Nāgakuladī-pa (Tib. klu rigs sgron ma) to become a king who would assist the teachings of the Śākya. He is currently the brahmin Kauṇḍinya. One hundred and twenty years after my death he will be born into the Mauryan dynasty and become a king named Aśoka who will turn the wheel [of the dharma] halfway.\textsuperscript{75} [6]

\textsuperscript{72} Li yul gyi rGyal rabs. These same dates are provided in the Li Yul Lung Bstan Pa (The Prophecy of the Li Country), translated by R.E Emmerick in Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan on page 23. According to the Li Yul Lung Bstan Pa, these dates were arrived at by abbots such as Morgudeśi of Gautośan by comparing the prophecies of the Āryas and the record of the royal genealogy of the Li kings, Li rje'i rgyal rabs. It is highly likely that the Li rje'i rgyal rabs and gTsug lag Phreng ba’s Li yul gyi rGyal rabs are in fact the same text given their provision of the exact same dates as well as the affinity of their titles. However, this does not necessitate gTsug lag Phreng ba directly referencing this text since he could also have been examining the Li Yul Lung Bstan Pa and simply wrote in that text’s source.


\textsuperscript{73} Tib. mya ngan med or mya ngan med pa.

\textsuperscript{74} Tib. sha’ kya ri brags pa. This information is most likely based on the bKa’ chems ka khol ma’s division of three lineages of the Śākya; the great Śākya, Śākya Licchavi, and Mountain-Śākya. This theory is based on the bKa’ chems bka’ khol ma being a repeated source in other sections of the mkhas pa’i dga’ ston and most likely being one of the ‘wills of the lords of Tibet’ (bod rje’i bka’ chems) being referred to. Bka’ chems ka khol ma. (Lan kru’u: kan su’u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 75.

\textsuperscript{75} Turning half of the wheel may be a reference to Aśoka being a cakravartin and disseminator of the doctrine but not to the level of a Buddha.

‘Phags pa sprin chen po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo. Lha sa bka’ ‘gyur, vol. 64 (mdo sde, tsha), 285A.
[This proves that some] scriptures prophesy [Aśoka] 120 years [after the Buddha’s passing]. The [Buddha] also says in the Ārya-mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra:

“100 years after I pass into nirvāṇa, a king named Aśoka will be born in the city of Pātaliputra as a progeny of the Mauryan dynasty. He will be a just dharma-king (dharmika-dharmarāja). [...] At one time and one day, he will commission 84000 stupas for my bodily relics.”

There are many other sūtras which say that [Aśoka] was born 100 years [after the Buddha’s death]. [For instance, from] the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra:

When 100 years [43B] have gone
after my passing into nirvāṇa upon the earth,
there will be no light and [great] evil.
At that time, defiled by the darkness of ignorance,
the earth will be empty
being forsaken by the victorious ones. At that time of great ill fortune,
in the city of Kusumapura, there will be a king known as Aśoka
who will rule the earth.”

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76 Tib. skya snar gyi bu
77 ’phags pa snying rje chen po’i pad ma dkar po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo. Lha sa bka’ ’gyur, vol. 52 (mdo sde, cha), 159A-159B.
79 ’phags pa ’jam dpal gyi rtsa ba’i rgyud. Lha sa bka’ ’gyur, Vol. 88 (rgyud, tha), 400A
81 ’phags pa ’jam dpal gyi rtsa ba’i rgyud. Lha sa bka’ ’gyur, Vol. 88 (rgyud, tha), 400A

Tib. me tog can

I translate the city name in this way based both on the Sanskrit of this passage as well as the Dharmachakra Translation Committee’s translation of this city name.
[For him] there will arise a wheel of might,\textsuperscript{81} which itself is a great miracle.\textsuperscript{82} [10]

[The \textit{Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa\textit{tantra}}] also says:

“[He will] decorate with stūpas
the entirety of this world.”

This [passage] does not state the number of stūpas. [11]

Regarding the length of his life,
[The text states] that [Aśoka] lived until 150.
It further states: “On earth, he will worship
the stūpas for eighty-seven years.” [12]

While [Aśoka] was a patron of collating the doctrine, it is said that this was not the case until he turned 110. Until the respectable age of 63, he engaged in non-virtue [with this period being called] the time of Aśoka the cruel. After 63, he went under the care of a spiritual guide and was known as Aśoka the dharma king. [13]

\textbf{The Gift of Dirt}

The teacher prophesied the Maurya dynasty [as follows].\textsuperscript{83}

Long ago, at a time when the buddha was leaving a city,
Two boys were pretending to be a king and [his] minister.
They made a palace treasury from a mound of dirt,
saw the teacher walking by, and were [filled with] faith. [14]

\textsuperscript{81} In Buddhist literature regarding \textit{cakravartins} a special wheel appearing before and guiding their usually non-violent conquests is mentioned. There are various levels of these wheels which corresponds with the different levels of the \textit{cakravartin}. Among these the \textit{balacakra} or in the case of this text, the \textit{balacakrī}, would represent the lowest level of these wheels since it involves force. This idea corresponds well with Aśoka also being commonly represented as a \textit{balacakravartin}.


\textsuperscript{83} The following verses from verse 14 until verse 35 are paralleled in the Legend of Aśoka, translated from the Sanskrit by John Strong. However, the details slightly differ and the Legend of Aśoka was not recorded as being translated into Tibetan. For the parallel, please check pages 204-214 of this translation.

John S. Strong, \textit{The Legend of King \textit{Aśoka: a Study and Translation of the \textit{Aśokāvadāna} (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008), 204-214.}
The boy [who played the] king—cupping what he could in his hands of the dirt
Piled high in their [pretend] treasury—tried to offer it into the sage’s begging bowl.
As he could not reach [the bowl], he made the offering by
climbing on top of the other boy who bent over. [15]

The teacher recognized the faith in [the boy’s] mind.
[The buddha] received [the dirt] by lowering the bowl in his hands.
[The boy’s] mother [cried out],
“You make that kind of offering to the victorious one?!” [16]

The teacher rebuked her scolding and
said to Ānanda84 with good intention,
“So as to not make this offering trivial,
this gift of dirt that has been made
should be [mixed] with scents and smeared onto a shrine of the teacher.” [17]

[He said,] “100 years after I have passed away
This boy on top [44A] will become
A king of the world
Known as Aśoka.” [18]

“He will cover the entirety of the world
With stūpas bearing my relics
Which equal in number the specks of dirt [he now] offers.
The other boy will become his minister
And bring peace to the world.” [19]

In the past, [the spot where this scene occurred] was called ‘the place of the offering of
dirt’. There is a stūpa [commemorating it] in Nālandā.85 [20]

**The Legend of Aśoka’s Accession**

Thirty seven years after the teacher passed into nirvāṇa,
One king had seventeen legitimate sons
And one born to a servant girl,
[Making] 18. [21]

84 Tib. kun dga’ bo. This is a common translation of Ānanda, contextually makes sense based on him being the attendant of the buddha and it is Ānanda who escorts the buddha in the Aśokāvadāna.

85 Typically spelled Nālandā. For more on this naming controversy please look to verses 111-113.
At one point, the [king] gathered all of his princes,
So that the astrologer could determine which of them would possess the name ‘king’.
The seventeen [legitimate sons], with their fine food, clothes, and jewelry,
Were proud as they sat upon their personal thrones. [22]

As he thought that he could never rule the kingdom,
The servant’s son never came [to the ceremony].
A minister, while uncertain, [still] told [the boy] to come.
Wearing an old cotton [cloth] and eating a bowl full of rice,
[The servant's son] sat upon the earth itself [as his seat]. [23]

The brahmin predicted that of [the king’s sons],
[The prince] who ate the best food,
Wore the best clothes, and sat on the best seat
Would become king. [24]

Each left, saying [to themselves], “I have the best of these things!” When a minister
Asked [the astrologer], “what does ‘the best’ mean [here]?” He responded, “the best food
is a bowl of rice, the best clothing is a cotton cloth, and the best seat is the earth!”
Thus it was prophesied that the youngest, the son of the servant [would be king]. [25]

When the king was sick and close to death
And all the other princes had gone to war,
The minister urged on the youngest [prince],
Saying, [26]

“Take the crown now and shortly after
[One of your] elder brothers will be crowned.”
After his seventeen elder brothers died in the frontline of battle,
Aśoka [the son of the servant] thus became king in perpetuity. [27]

He made the people experience turn by turn all [of the following]:
The chopping and cleaving of hell, hunger and thirst of the pretas, [44B]
Exploitation animals86 [endure], poverty of humans, quarreling of the asuras, and
Pleasure of the gods. Even in name he was known as Aśoka the cruel. [28]

At that time, in the east, in Kukkuṭārāma,87

86 dud ’gro] B, unclear A

87 Tib. Bya gag kun ra. This place name is a common translation for Kukkuṭārāma and has been chosen since no other place names made sense in this context.
there was a student of noble Ānanda,
known as bhikṣu *Indrasena (Tib. dbang po’i sde).
He was an arhat who held the eight emancipations. [29]

When king [Aśoka] saw a young novice student [of Indrasena]
Begging for alms, the king seized him.
Never [having had the opportunity] to kill one of such an attire,
He told the executioners, “Boil him in a copper cauldron!” [30]

[The novice] cried, “I have not accomplished the goal for my renunciation! Permit me
Seven days to meditate!” [Aśoka] assented. After five days without realization one of the
Queens was punished. She was executed, chopped up before the eyes of the novice. Her
Beautiful body, which brought delight to men, was now gore—intestines and utter filth.
[31]

Facing the same fate, [the novice] came to recognize repulsiveness. In his moment of sor-
row, he became an arhat. When seven days had passed, he was silent.
Placed inside a copper cauldron and poured in mustard oil, they boiled him for a day.
They opened [the cauldron], and found none [of the oil] but twinkling mist.
[32]

Embarrassed, [Aśoka] asked how this could be so.
[The novice] explained that after meditating for seven days, he had achieved arhatship.
Thinking of how he had accumulated so much negativity for so long,
The king repented and requested [the monk] to cleanse his negativity. [33]

“I am [but] a novice who knows nothing,” [the novice] responded.
“Make such a request to a reverend paṇḍita!”
After displaying a variety of miracles, [the novice] passed into nirvāṇa.
On that very ground was erected a stūpa for his remains.[34]

The actual city of king [Aśoka]
Is [a little] over ten leagues
East of Bodhgaya.
It is close to the waters of the Gangā river. [35]

The Legend of Aśoka the Dharma King

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88 ljan] sugg. em., ‘jan A, B, C, D

89 rnyed] sugg. em., nyes A, B, C, D
[King Aśoka] sent a messenger to a famous arhat with the following question,
“Shall I come to you or shall you, the noble one, come to me,
so I may seek out means of cleansing my negativity?” Worried that he may cause harm
To others [if he did not go], [36]\(^{90}\)

The noble [arhat] swiftly went to the king. [45A]
[The arhat] said, “In order to cleanse your negativity,
You must make one million stūpas containing relics.”
King [Aśoka] said, “that alone might not be enough.” [37]

[The arhat responded,] “The victorious one prophesied you
As a gateway to the scriptures for all humans and non-humans.
[I am] certain that with in time you can [cleanse your negativity] without obstruction!”
[He continued.] “King Ajātaśatru’s portion of the relics— [38]

[Including the] single measure of a small liter\(^{91}\) [you should take]—
is said to be buried as a treasure in the Bamboo Grove.”
Having heard this, [Aśoka and his men] excavated that ground.
They found a rotating weapon-wheel. [39]

A woman said that it was being spun
By a branch of the Gangā river. Hearing this, [Aśoka] commanded [the water] be cut off.
Finding it, they cut off the water
And the spinning of the wheel stopped. [40]

After the dig for relics was resumed, they found in bejeweled letters:
“In the future, a poor king will find this treasure.”
[Aśoka] objected, “Someone like me is called poor!? It’s unacceptable!”
He halted the search for the relics. [41]

[The arhat] urged [the king], “For the sake of the victor’s relics, don’t be arrogant!”
After this, they searched again and [found] a precious casket standing there.
In each of its four corners was set a precious gem.
These [gems] acted like undying butter lamps [with the light they emitted]. [42]


\(^{91}\) Tib. bre
As king Aśoka’s territory
Was not worth a single one of these gems,
The king’s arrogance was broken
And he became humble. [43]

Thereafter, he took four great liters of relics
And [extracted] out one measure of a small liter.
The remainder were sealed and buried just as they were before.
On top was built a marvelous stūpa. [44]

Dzambhala and his yaksas made a chariot [for carrying these relics].
A yakṣa who possessed great magical power
Was put in charge of accomplishing the work, so it would face no interruptions.
With his assistance, the world was made tranquil. [45]

As he urged on the humans and non-humans, they raised a stone beam atop the ground.
[Aśoka] made stūpas for the victorious one throughout the world.
Because the number of stupas [45B] is close to 10 million,
These days, [people say there were] 10 million stupas. [46]

It is said that [Aśoka] made salutations to 3 million, 8 million or 10 million
Of the Tathāgata’s stupas.
Moreover, honorable Nāgārjuna said much the same.
[Aśoka] put relics of the victorious one everywhere. [47]

According to the Sūtras, he made 84000 stupas,
But this [information] appears only in the prophecy [section].
Doing extensive services for the teachings of the buddha,
[Now] even in name he was known as Aśoka the dharma king. [48]

Moreover, [Aśoka] built many temples
And made limitless donations to the saṃgha
In places like the eight sacred sights.
He acted as a sponsor of the collection of the doctrine. [49]

Though Aśoka’s wife Tiṣyarakṣitā⁹² was tempted by lust for the king’s heir Kunala,⁹³

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⁹² Tib. skar rgyal srung ba. This translation is based on this figures name occurring as such within The Legend of Aśoka, extant in Sanskrit.


⁹³ Typically spelled Kuṇāla.
She was unable to seduce him. So she stole his eyes by deceit. Afterwards Kunala lived by begging.\textsuperscript{94} Through the truth of being free of anger, his supreme eyes [of wisdom] were renewed. [Kunala] was ordained in the teachings and [became] a sacred arhat.\textsuperscript{95} [50]

*Regarding [verse 50] there is [a text] called the Legend of Kunala’s Eyes.*

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**The Legend of Aśoka’s Taming of the Nāgas**

Traveling from land to sea on a large ship,  
A group of five hundred\textsuperscript{96} merchants  
Searched for riches by swimming through the water.  
[After returning], they gathered in front of king [Aśoka]. [51]\textsuperscript{97}

They spoke with one voice while sobbing,  
“Though your commands are a vessel for everyone, the nāgas of the ocean  
Do not listen to your commands. They took the riches from we five hundred.  
We beseech you to summon back the riches.” [52]

The king’s face was red with embarrassment.  
He doubted what he should do. When he asked a famous arhat,  
[The arhat] said, “Inscribe the king’s decree on a copper-plate  
And cast it into the great ocean.” [53]

He followed that advice, but the nāgas did not accept [the decree].  
Waves sent [the copper-plate] to a distant shore. At that time, the famous arhat said,  
“Make two statues, one of a king and one of a nāga, equal in size, [46A]  
Out of Jambu-river gold. Throw them into a clean pond at the same time.” [54]

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\textsuperscript{94} While normally this would be interpreted as the queen living by begging, the parallel story from the *Aśokāvadāna* makes it clear that it was Kunala who begged on the streets.

\textsuperscript{95} This verse, number 50, is a paraphrase of the *Ku na la’i rtog pa brjod pa*. For English, cf. John S. Strong, The Legend of King Aśoka a Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008), 275-279

\textsuperscript{96} *Lan Inга* is a bit of a strange term that would normally be rendered something like “five answers.” However, lan is also a translation of śata, 100 in Sanskrit, according to some Tibetan to Sanskrit to Tibetan dictionaries. Because Inga brgya is used in the *Aśokamukhānāgavinayapariccheda*, I have taken *lan* as meaning one hundred.

\textsuperscript{97} The following verses from verse 51-62 appear to be a paraphrase of the *Aśokamukhānāgavinayapariccheda* which has not been translated into English. For the parallel, please reference the text titled in Tibetan as *Mya nγan med pa’i sgo nas klu btul ba’i le’u*. Mya nγan med pa’i sgo nas klu btul ba’i le’u. sDe ge dka’ ’gyur. (spring yig), ff. 146a2-149b3.
When he did this, the statue of the nāga glowed with resplendent light. It was clear and elevated above the water without sinking in. The statue of the king was dull and sunk into the water. It was face down towards the [other statue] as if it were prostrating to it. [55]

The arhat said, "[This is] now [so] since The nāga king has more merit than king [Aśoka]. [You], great king, Must develop merit." [56]

[Aśoka] invited many hundreds of thousands of arhats. Through his vast honor and respects [towards them], he made a great offering. He [sponsored] vast amounts of the victorious one’s iconography, texts, and stupas, and the performance of a perfect ceremony of worship. [Aśoka] never entered the building [where they performed the ceremony] So he wouldn’t interrupt them. [57]

After one week had passed, the statue of the king Rose to being halfway above the water without ever waning. After two weeks had passed, the two statues were equally above the water Being different in neither elevation nor quality. [58]

After 21 days had passed, the statue of the king Was clear, radiant with light, and elevated above the water. The nāga statue radiated no light like iron. It was face down towards the [other statue] As though prostrating to it. The noble [arhat] said, "Send a letter!" [59]

The decree inscribed on a copper-plate, When cast into the ocean, was lifted up by foam. A great sound resounded And it plunged into the middle of the ocean. [60]

Nagas, yakṣas, putanas, kataputanas, and many non humans carried The entirety of the merchant’s wares, as well as the limitless jewels of the nāga To the feet of the king for all to see. They performed extensive offerings and praises in reverence and respect. [61]

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98 Literally: supports for the body, speech, and mind

99 zhab grangs] A, unclear B
The nāga king, whose un-produced accomplishment of patience had been prophesied by the awakened one, had his merit outshone [46B] by the human king Aśoka. He had faith in [Aśoka’s] great merit, which surpassed [his own]. He offered one hundred million gold coins to the saṃgha, and accepted a steady tutelary deity. [62]

*Regarding this passage there is the legend called the Aśokamukhanāgavinayapariccheda as well as the third chapter of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.*

**Aśoka’s Last Days**

King [Aśoka’s] habit was to invite, everyday, The innumerable saṃgha of monks to the palace And present them with vast offerings. After providing them with lunch, he would listen to the sacred dharma [from them]. [63]

He would make constant offerings to the teachings of the victorious one like that. When he had offered 960 million gold coins But was still 40 million short [of 1 billion], King [Aśoka] was seized by a severe and fatal illness. [64]

The king’s grandson acted as regent. Even though he knew that [people’s] access to the dharma, [in the form of Aśoka,] Was dying,[the grandson] was miserly with the treasury and offered no gold [To the saṃgha]. Nonetheless, the saṃgha, out of kindness towards king [Aśoka], Came every day [to him] even when uninvited. [65]

The regent would not prepare the noon-meal for them after they teach the sacred dharma, [The saṃgha] would go outside the palace begging for alms with empty bowls. King [Aśoka] gave whatever he could, by subtracting [these offerings]

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100 This story from verse 51 until verse 62 paraphrases Kṣemendra’s 73rd chapter of the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā.


101 The following verses from verse 63 until verse 70 are paralleled in the Legend of Aśoka, translated from the Sanskrit by John Strong. However, the details slightly differ and the Legend of Aśoka was not recorded as being translated into Tibetan. For the parallel, please check pages 286-292 of this translation.

John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka a Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008), 286-292
From his own medicine, meals, clothing, and jewelry. [66]

The regent, meaning to preserve [his grandfather’s wealth], Did not allow for such offerings on the final night. [Aśoka nonetheless] gave all he had [left] at hand, One myrobalan fruit. [67]

At that time, one of the king’s just ministers, disheartened, [said to Aśoka,] “Great king, your reverence, do not give others what is necessary [for you] to live. Instead, as you possess the earth, you should make an offering of [the earth]. Put it at ransom for forty million gold coins and your heart’s desire will be fulfilled.” [68]

The king, delighted with the request, Offered the earth in its entirety to the saṃgha. The regent ransomed it [from the saṃgha] For forty million [gold]. [69]

King [Aśoka] then passed away [47A] And travelled on to be born as a god in Tuṣita. According to the prophesies, He came to full awakening in the end. [70]

The Kings Prophesied in The Root Manual of Mañjuśrī

I will now provide an alternative condensed version of the prophecy of kings, Which comes from the great Mañjuśrīmūlakaḷpatantra. [103]

Aśoka was succeeded by Viśoka [104] Who practiced Pāṇḍaravāsīnī [105] And had a just nature.

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102 literally possessed the dharma of time.

103 The following chapter paraphrases sections of chapter 53 of the Mañjuśrīmūlakaḷpatantra which has been translated by the dharmachakra translation committee. In the final translation I will provide the exact parallel for each verse. All the names in this chapter not marked with * are based off of reading the Sanskrit of the text as well as the translation.

104 Tib. mya ngan bral

105 Tib. gos dkar mo
He worshipped the stūpas for 76 years.\(^{106}\) [71]

[Viśoka] was succeeded by Śūrasena,\(^ {107}\) who practicing Mahāśrī,\(^ {108}\) built a great temple. He decorated [the world] with many stūpas as far as the ocean’s shore. In his seventieth year he conferred power [to his son] through the dharma. both [Viśoka and Śūrasena] were born as gods and achieved great awakening.\(^ {109}\) [72]

[Śūrasena] was succeeded by Nanda\(^ {110}\)
Who practiced the mantra of Piśācapīlu\(^ {111}\) and prospered.\(^ {112}\)
He was friends with a brahmin known as Pāṇi(ni),
Who practiced the mantra of Lokīśa\(^ {113}\) and created a grammar.\(^ {114}\)[73]

Around that time, there was another brahmin named Vararuci.\(^ {115}\)
King [Nanda’s] life was 56 years long.
He had friends
and achieved awakening as a Śrāvaka. [74]

Then there was a king known as Candragupta\(^ {116}\)
Who practiced Dzambhala and brought prosperity to his domain.
After his passing, he went to the world of the pretas.


\(^{107}\) Tib. dpa’ bo’i sde

\(^{108}\) Tib. dpal chen mo


\(^{110}\) Tib. dga’ bo

\(^{111}\) Tib. sha za pi lu


\(^{113}\) Tib. spyan ras gzigs


\(^{115}\) Tib. mehog sred


\(^{116}\) Tib. zla ba sbas pa
Thereafter, he was born among the gods and achieved awakening as a Śrāvaka.\textsuperscript{117} [75]

His son was called Bindusāra.\textsuperscript{118}
In a previous time, he was a child who, when playing a game,
Made a stūpa of the victorious one out of dirt. Through the power of [that merit],
He experienced the bliss of the gods for 500 lives.\textsuperscript{119} [76]

Then, after his death, he [was reborn] as a human king.
[Bindusāra] was crowned as king when he was a child
And practiced the formulas of Mañjuśrī\textsuperscript{120} and Keśinī,\textsuperscript{121}
He ruled the kingdom justly for seventy years.\textsuperscript{122} [77]

His minister, Cānaka,\textsuperscript{123}
Practiced hostile Yama\textsuperscript{124} and was overcome with anger.
Over the course of the reign of three kings,
He committed unspeakable evil with his violent deeds.\textsuperscript{125} [78]

[Using] the power of mantra, [Cānaka] summoned an Asura [47B]
And by making use of the Asura’s body, he lived for a long time.
Upon his death, he was reborn in Avīci hell
And experienced endless and unbearable pain.\textsuperscript{126} [79]

Then, after his passing [from that hell], he was born as a king of the nāgas,
Who possessed a terrifying countenance and bore a vicious poison. He followed a path of horribly negative actions.\textsuperscript{127} [80]

Then, after his passing [from that life], a great miracle occurred; He went on to become Yama, king of the pretas. In such a manner, he repeatedly experienced thousands of [different forms of] pain. In the end, he was born as a human and become a great benefactor.\textsuperscript{128} [81]

After offering alms to [a group of] pratyekabuddhas, and making aspirations, he went to heaven upon his death. In the end, he attained lesser awakening.\textsuperscript{129} [82]

Thus [the lesson of this story] is that one should not perform ceremonies of evil when practicing mantra. Kings and princes [should] prohibit ceremonies of evil. The buddhas and their heirs expressly taught the power that [can occur] through practicing mantra. It is not a secret. They therefore made prophecies that one should not perform acts of evil.\textsuperscript{130} [83]

At that time there was a bhikṣu called Mātrceta\textsuperscript{131} who succeed the bhikṣu Nanda\textsuperscript{132} as protector of the earth. He become a protector of the bodhi tree and lived until 300. He easily attained awakening without hindrance.\textsuperscript{133} [84]

Then, the ally of evil, the bull of the gomi-clan, the scourge [of the buddha], The great fraud, the sinful king known as ‘the Monk’ appeared. He led his evil companions from the east to Kaśmīra.


\textsuperscript{131} Tib. ma khol

\textsuperscript{132} Tib. dga’ bo

destroying temples and stūpas [along the way].\textsuperscript{134}[85]

The righteous gods were angered after he killed the monks [of those temples]. When the king rushed northwards, he was crushed by a mountain and died. He plummeted through the lower realms, finally roasting in Avīci hell. Ultimately, he was initiated in the Buddha’s teachings.\textsuperscript{135} [86]

He was succeeded by a king named Buddhapakṣa,\textsuperscript{136} Who exceedingly famous and generous, venerated the teachings. Then the king known as *Sarvabhīrama\textsuperscript{137} (Tib. mgon dga’) Accomplished Abjaketu\textsuperscript{138} [48A] and made foremost the teachings of the buddha.\textsuperscript{139} [87]

He made many likenesses of the teacher in stūpa gardens, And at places such as ponds, lakes, and pools. By the strength of mantra, he lived into his 300th year. Shortly after his rebirth among the gods, he achieved awakening.\textsuperscript{140} [88]

In the city of Pañcāla,\textsuperscript{141} his son Gambhīrapakṣa\textsuperscript{142} became king. He practiced the six syllables of Mañjuśrī and constructed a plethora of stūpas, temples, And lodgings. He attained longevity through the power of mantra. Performing a variety Of great deeds for the teachings of the victorious one, he promptly achieved awakening.


\textsuperscript{136} Tib. sangs rgyas phyogs

\textsuperscript{137} Tib. mgon dga’. It appears that in the text of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra, this is in fact as an adjective for king Buddhapakṣa meaning fully delighted. However, it appears that Pawo Tsuklak Threngwa glossed this as a different king hence the back translation.

\textsuperscript{138} Tib. pad ma ’chang


\textsuperscript{141} Tib. Inga len

\textsuperscript{142} Tib. zab mo’i phyogs
While in the context [of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra] the prophesies of the kings of India and Tibet are together [in the same chapter], [these groups of] kings are detailed in their own sections [within this work].

In the north, there was a king called Turuṣka who practiced Keśinī and [commanded] A grand army of passionate [soldiers]. He ruled over two hundred thousand In [an area] of seven hundred leagues which extended from Kaśmīra and Kāśi Up to the land of where they dress in bark. He made offerings to the teachings.

He built 81000 of the victorious one's stūpas and spread the Mahāyāna and Prajñāpāramitā throughout his lands. [Using] the power of mantra, he lived to be 300. Once his corporeal form was destroyed, he went to heaven and became a buddha.

He was succeeded by Mahāturuṣka, who practiced Tārā’s mantra. Having many vassals, a great army, and great fame, he was venerated by all his relatives And by [other] kings. He built 1008 temples and in the end completely realized the selflessness of phenomena.

In the land [of the Turuṣka kings] there were many scriptures. This was prophesied by the victorious ones of the past. During king [Mahāturuṣka’s] time, there were many arhats, nāgas,

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144 This refers to the fact that many prophesies in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra are ascribed to kings of Tibet but that since the kings of Tibet have their own section in The Scholar’s Feast, those prophecies are not included in this section.

145 Tib. skra can

146 Tib. kha che


149 Tib. mang bskur tu ruṣka


In the west, in the land of Lada\footnote{152}{Commonly spelled Lāḍa} which is across the shore from Ujjain,\footnote{153}{Tib. ‘phags rgyal} There was a Puṭi kṣatriya named Śīla.\footnote{154}{Tib. ngang tshul} After being a monk in his past life, [48b] he was reborn into his next life as a king. He made offerings to stūpas and statues. He also built temples.\footnote{155}{Dharmachakra Translation Committee for 84000. The Root Manual of the Rites of Mañjuśrī. (84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha, 2020) https://read.84000.co/translation/toh543.html, 53.533-53.535.}

He listened to the dharma, practiced mantra as a dharma king,
And ruled for thirty years
Until going before Maitreya

Then there was a king known as Capala,\footnote{157}{Tib. g.yo ba} who lived for 55 years and five months. His younger brother named Dhruva\footnote{158}{brtan] sugg. Em., bstan x} protected all beings.\footnote{159}{skye dgu] sugg. em., skye gu x} Śīla was [further] succeeded by the powerful Sucandra,\footnote{160}{Tib. zla mdzes} Dhanu,\footnote{161}{Tib. gzhu} Ketu,\footnote{162}{Tib. tog} Puṣpa, Prabha, and lastly Viṣṇu.\footnote{163}{Dharmachakra Translation Committee for 84000. The Root Manual of the Rites of Mañjuśrī. (84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha, 2020) https://read.84000.co/translation/toh543.html, 53.547, 53.548, 53.551, 53.552.}
A multitude of such kings were born in Vallabhī and Vāravatī. Then, after being cursed by a ṛṣi, they were conquered. And all the lands of the Lada were submerged in water.

It is said that there were many kings who practiced mantra in various places in the north, both atop the mountains and at their feet. [These kings have been numbered in various Ways,] including as 21 or 30. It is taught that thousands of kings were born to the south; near the lakes, in the lands of Kañcipura, among Sala trees, in white pure lands.

It is said that there were innumerable kings with faith in the teachings. To the direction of the mt. Śrīparvata; at the foot of the Vindhyas, in Kaliṅga and Triguṇa, in Mleccha, in the depths of the sea and at the shore, in Kāmarū and the Land of Oda. [E]spically, in the eastern direction, were prophesied Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra and so forth. Many kings were prophesied with faith in the teachings.

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164 Tib. ba la’i grong
165 Tib. res ldan grong
167 Tib. dpal gyi ri bo
168 Tib. ’bigs byed
169 yon tan gsum pa. This literally means with three attributes. In the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra, this comes together with the land of Mleccha to refer to the three types of Mleccha territories. When reading the text, it appears the author of this text may have misinterpreted Mleccha and three attributes as referring to two different places. Given the author’s interpretation, I have opted to name the place of the three attributes with the back translated Triguṇa in order to stick with the spirit of the text even though it is exceedingly unlikely this is an actual place.
171 Tib. rgya mtsho
172 Tib. rnam gnon
173 Tib. dbang chen
Various superior and inferior kings were born in Gauda, such as the one known as Kumāra. In particular, it is said that there was a ruler named Pañcasimha [Whose lands] bordered the lake-dependent nomads in the east, the river Lohita And the snow lands in the north, as well as the city of Kāśī in the west. [101]

Some ascribe this story [of king Pañcasimha] to the translator Ngok but this is false.

There is another set of kings whose place and date is uncertain. While much can be said of them, my explanation [here] is brief. [Therefore], for more details [on them], look to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra itself. [49A] [102]

The Story of King Gopāla

According to the stories of the past, long after the death of Aśoka the dharma king, A dynasty known as ‘the seven Candra kings’ arose. Haricandra, Devacandra, Śrīcandra, Akhecandra, Dharmacandra, Vikramacandra And the seventh was called Gomicandra, who was a student of Jālandharapa and attained the common siddhis. [103]

After his death, a beautiful woman—possessed by a poison nāga—became queen. Whenever a king was appointed, she consumed them. [She consumed] the first one year [After his coronation]; the second, a month [after his]. Thereafter, she ate them daily. All the people of the city were selected in turn and thus they all suffered. [104]

At that time, a yogin of the lineage of kings who practice Marici arrived at that [city] And stayed at the home of a cow herder. [The family] were crying [saying,] “Tonight [our] turn to become king will arrive. May tomorrow never come!” [The yogin] replied, “Oh dear! I shall act as [your] replacement!” [105]

He was selected as king and sat upon the jeweled throne. At dusk she transformed

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174 Tib. gzhon nu

175 Tib. seng ge lnga pa

176 Tib. rngog

177 This is likely a reference to the long list of kings in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra who are given much vaguer prophesies generally involving only the first letter of their names.

178 Tib. 'od zer can ma

This back translation has been based on this occurring as the back translation for Marici in Negi’s dictionary but there are other possibilities.
Into a poisonous snake; at midnight a tiger; at dawn, a lion.
[In these forms she respectively] harmed inferior, middling, and superior beings.
[The yogin] subdued [all these forms] with the pride of the gods. [106]

[Then.] there appeared someone overwhelmingly beautiful179 and terrifying.
[She] was healthy and had a near divine body.
[She said.] “You have immeasurable kindness towards everyone.
I offer my body to you in perpetuity.” [107]

Touching [the yogin’s] feet, she said, “Rule the kingdom with compassion.”
The city dwellers came inside bringing the likes of palanquins
to take the king’s body to a burial ground, [thinking he would be dead].
When they arrived, they saw that the king was untouched. [108]

“I have subdued the poisonous nāga demoness.
Now whoever may be king need not fear.
May whosoever desires to be appointed [as king be appointed]!”
[He said] and got up from the throne. [109]

Everyone requested [the yogin] to be their king permanently.
He compassionately assented and ruled the kingdom justly.
Because he was the substitute for a cow-herder,
He was known as ‘Cowherder-Protector’ or [in Sanskrit] ‘Gopāla’. [110]

[There is an alternative version of the story of king Gopāla which reads as follows:]
Some [49B] say that a forest spirit pretended to be a cow-herder woman,
that Gopāla took dominion over the territory through a gift of jewels,
and that he built the temple of Nālenda. [111]

In the past, in the land of noble Śāriputra, there was a village known as Nālanda.
It was called Nālanda180 as it had reeds.
Some know it as a temple of the lord of men
and thus call it Nārendra. [112]

Some call it Nalendra

179 mdze ma] C D, ’dze mo A B
180 All these versions of the name roughly correspond in Sanskrit to the gloss provided, with Nālenda possibly meaning having reads and Nārendra possibly meaning the lord of men. The same applies to Nalendra.
Because it is a land covered with precious jewels.\textsuperscript{181}
It was a place where the six ornaments and the two supreme ones appeared.
It was also a great source of the Buddha’s teachings. [113]

The great king Gopāla gathered [under his rule]
The inhabitants within the borders of Bhangala in the east.
Each of his five hundred wives
Was the support for five hundred nuns. [114]

[Gopāla’s] youngest queen had never been intimate with the king.
A nun brewed a potion which would give her control [over the imbibers].
Instead of it being given to the king it was cast into a lake, out of fear the royal lineage
would be weakened. In this way, [the queen] took control of the nāga king of that lake.
He took the appearance of king [Gopāla] and moved into the queen’s residence. [115]

The king, hearing of this, tried to capture that nāga.
[The nāga said,] “I have no power, it is the power of that potion!
I will return the queen [and our] son to [you], the king.
Once I cast off this potion, I shall not return.” [116]

Realizing that the son [of the nāga] possessed merit,
king [Gopāla] named him lord Dharmapāla,
[And made Dharmapāla his heir], bestowing rulership upon him after his death. [117]

[Once he became king], the great and glorious ruler Dharmapāla, [with the wish] to
Erect\textsuperscript{182} a temple, asked of his seers, “Ascetics! In a vessel taken from the celestial abode,
After making the cloth of a brahmin into a wick, light a fire in butter from a merchant.
[These three together make a butter lamp]. Offer [the butter lamp] in front of a stūpa.
A temple will be built where an emanation of a dharma protector takes this vessel.”[118]

Seeing this teaching in a dream, [Dharmapāla] worshipped the refuges,
And made vast offerings [50A]. When the butter lamp was offered,
A raven carried off the vessel and dropped it into a great lake.
As the king despaired and suffered, a nāga king with five snake heads approached. [119]

[The nāga said,] “I am your father.
[I will] place a wall to dry the lake,
And every week [you]

\textsuperscript{181} Each of the lines in this verse explain a different Sanskrit name for what we know as Nālanda as well as what each of those names would mean. Hence Nālanda means possessed of reeds and according to this gloss Nārendra would mean the ruler of men and finally Nalendra would mean covered in jewels.

\textsuperscript{182} bzhengs] D, gzheng A B C

69
Must make great offerings to the refuges!” [120]

After three weeks had passed, the lake had gone dry
And the temple was built.
Since [the temple was built] in the remains of a lake,
It was known as the temple 'Protected by a Lake'. [121]

[Later on,] the monks who lived there permanently were afflicted by sickness of the cold.
In order to cure them, a chariot carried over a medicine of three heats,
And poured it into the well [of the temple].
It was thus known as Trīkastuka, meaning “temple of the three heats.” [123]

Haribhadra’s great commentary of 8000 verses
was also sponsored
By the glorious Dharmapāla.
It is said that it was compiled in Trīkastuka. [124]

Some say that this [temple] is [actually] Oryantapuri.\textsuperscript{183} However, Oryantapuri was made by using gold [procured] from a corpse by a tīrthika vidyādhara.\textsuperscript{184}

At that time, to the east, in the land of Varendra,
There were many heretical temples.
Every day [the acolytes of the temples]
Would kill many beings and sacrifice them. [125]

One yogin of Tārā who went there
Compassionately thought to destroy all the heretical temples.
He implored the king
To fulfill [a past] prophesy of [his] tutelary deity and take control of that land. [126]

The king, sanctioning [the request], divided his army into four parts.
When he had done so, he saw in front of him
A large frightening tall black man. [127]

When [the king] questioned [the man], [he said,] “I am the protector Mahākāla. [50B]
You [alone] should not destroy the heretical temples. To invoke [my] assistance,

\textsuperscript{183} Commonly spelled Odantapuri.

\textsuperscript{184} For the entirety of this alternative story involving gold procured from a corpse, please look towards Tāranātha’s account of the founding of Odantapuri.

[Dig] through this mound of dirt [next to me]. Underneath is a temple of the previous Buddha Kāśyapa. Worship it!” [128]

“I am the protective deity of this temple. When destroying the [heretical] temples, play a great noise with instruments. I will then provide aid.” [129]

[When the king and his men] removed the dirt, [They found] the temple of Kāśyapa unblemished and they worshipped it. [Inside] was an arhat from a previous time who had been unchanged [by time]. He had been sitting in [meditation on] cessation and got up. He asked where the buddha Kāśyapa was. [130]

[The king replied,] “He has passed and this is not [the time of] his teachings.” After [further] asking if the king of the Śākyas had also passed, [The arhat] displayed white noble miracles and passed into nirvāṇa. [131]

The king extensively ornamented that temple, And it was known as the temple Somapuri. It become a great source of the teachings. It is said that four paṇḍitas who had attained the supreme siddhis Permanently lived [at the temple] as door guards. [132]

Then, [the king] surrounded with his army The [heretical] temples of Maheśvara and at the very moment [His army made a] great noise with various instruments, [the temples] were naturally Destroyed. The entirety of Varendra became a vassal of the king. [133]

According to Orgyen pa, it is written on a stone inscription in the Yarlung tomb that The Tibetan king Jinyon Sednaleg lived At the same time as the Indian king Dharmapāla. [134]

At that time, at the temple of Nālenda, there was a great ācarya known as Kampala Who was supremely accomplished. When sitting atop a rocky hill On the banks of the Ganges river, he had the intuition to build a temple and teach. He knew that [such a temple] could be built by using the king as his intermediary. [135]

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185 This likely refers to Orgyen Rinchen Pel and is quoted from who is referenced for information on the ram shing king in verses 146 and 147.

186 Tib. mjing yon sad na legs. A son of Trisong Detsen.
Dharmapāla wished for the birth of his heir. His queen had a sacred dream:
“A monk carrying robes, a bowl, and a staff arrived, saying “lend the land to me.”
After six nights, she pleaded to the king,
“Should I have [the dream] tonight, offer this [land] as a gift to Kampala.” [136]

When she gave birth to the [child] who had [previously] been in her womb,
They named him Devapāla. He established dominion over a large kingdom. [51A]187
He built a large, marvelous temple at a spot on a rocky hill near the banks of the Ganges
He made grants for 27 novices from each school of the four main schools. [137]

He made dozens of grants for each of the following: music, logic, and making tormas.
He also made some [grants] for those who would be living at the temple permanently,
As well as for those who would live there temporarily.
He also added [an addendum] to provide life’s necessities [to these novices]. [138]

It is said that [the temple] was called by a different name in each of the four directions.
Northerners called it Vikramaśīla, “Discipline of Heroism”
Some called it ‘the Temple of Yakṣa Subjugation’. A few called it ‘the Rock of Heroism’.
[Some] wanted to name the temple after the aforementioned rocky hill [it was built on].
[139]

A few call it ‘The Temple of the Bestowal of the Continuum’.

It was filled exclusively with great and wise paṇḍitas, and it became a great source
For the buddha’s teachings. King [Devapāla’s] heir was Tamapāla.
At that time, the district officer, a lord who acted as a translator,
Completed a translation of Placing the Mind Towards the Sutras.188 [140]

After [Tamapāla], Himapāla was born.
His heir, king Mahāpāla
Invited lord Atiśa from Bodhgaya to Vikramanipuri.
He performed a great service to the teachings. [141]

When [Mahāpāla’s] heir Nīryapāla ruled,
Lord Atiśa left to tame
The beings of the Tibetan land.

187 Folios 51A and 51B are mixed up in the B xylograph.

188 Tib. mdo sde dran nye.
The Identity of this text is unclear.
Lord [Atiśa] composed one letter of advice\textsuperscript{189} [for king Nīryapāla]. [142]

Throughout the length [of the reign] of the seven Candras 
And seven Pālas, an abundance of wise Indians arose. 
All those kings accomplished 
The sadhana of Tsunda. [143]

It is said that the lineage known as “the Four Senas” 
After a minister became king. [144]

[These four Senas are] Bālasena, Kasarasena, Manisena, and Mahendrasena.

Elsewhere, in the land of Kampoja, 
1800 years after the protectors lineage lived, 
There was a king known as Manideva 
Who is said to have been born in the city of Tirahuti. [145]

The *Ikṣvāku (Tib. Ram shing)\textsuperscript{190} king ruled six generations after [Manideva]. 
Kṛṣṇācarya\textsuperscript{191} [51B] who practiced the sadhana of the sword, 
Was born in Kambhoja, eight generations after [Manideva] 
and contemporary to Ghakharkhati. [146]

They exercised dominion over the world and spread the vajrayāna, 
With as few siddhas arising as stars in the sky, 
[The lineage] made [royal] proclamations to the noble land of India. 
This was said by the Udiyana Siddha Rinchen Pel. 

*Though kings prophesied of the lineage of the protector arose before, about now the need for them is clear.*

It seems that [Rinchen Pel] may have had audience with the Ikṣvāku king. [147]

**The Conclusion**

\textsuperscript{189} Likely a reference to Atiśa’s *Vimalaratnalekha*, a letter of advice to king Nīryapāla who has been called Neyapāla in modern discourse.

\textsuperscript{190} Normally, Ikṣvāku would be rendered as *bu ram shing* in Tibetan. However, no other possibilities have stood out to the translator of this work. The identity of this figure as well as his dynasty is very unclear in contrast to the other figures of this work. Verses 146-147 thus needs to be treated with care since the translation of these two verses has been a rough estimate to the stories and figures being addressed.

\textsuperscript{191} Tib. nag po spyod pa pa. Kṛṣṇācarya is a famous Indian siddha.
Many sovereigns with merit have arisen throughout India. In the center at Bodhgaya, In the east and likewise in the south at Haripuñja, Hasavati, Punkka and so on. In the west and in the north in Kaśmīr, Kāmarūpa and so on. They were the light bringers Who brought the buddha’s teachings to shine forth. They diffused [the teachings] across Great [stretches of land] to the shores of the ocean. [148]

In this previous chapter, [I have] jumped from one genealogy of kings to another which does not have a pleasant appearance for those who have not heard about [these dynasties before].

The fourth chapter, the Royal Genealogy of India, of the second section, Regarding India, [is here finished].

The sponsor of this print, from Southern Jayul, named Nordzin Wangmo, who is accomplished in the two accumulations, Dedicates the merit accumulated [here] to supreme awakening.

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192 Tib. bya yul

193 Tib. nor ‘dzin dbang mo
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