

**'Jigs-med-gling-pa's
"Discourse on India" of 1789**

A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the

*lHo-phyogs rgya-gar-gyi gtam
brtag-pa brgyad-kyi me-long*

Michael Aris

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Director of The International Institute for Buddhist Studies in Tokyo.*

For
Hugh Edward Richardson
scholar-diplomat
and friend
on his ninetieth birthday
22 December 1995

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Several colleagues kindly reacted to my preliminary discussion of this text in 1992 at a meeting in Fagernes, Norway, of the International Association for Tibetan Studies: Christoph Cüppers, Siglinde Dietz, Janet Gyatso, David Jackson, Toni Huber, Luciano Petech, Peter Skilling and David Templeman. Special thanks are owed to Tseyang Changngoba who on that occasion kindly gave me a copy of the 1991 Lhasa edition of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's *gTam-tshogs* containing this text (B in the present edition). I must also record with warm gratitude the assistance of Sanjukta Gombrich, H el ene La Rue, Peter Marshall, Christopher Minkovsky, Tapan Raychauduri and Peter Roberts.

The master who composed "The Discourse on India" must bear the responsibility not only for its undoubted virtues but also for the unavoidable mistakes, misunderstandings, occasional nonsense and prejudice it reveals. For my part I readily accept the blame for any further multiplying of such failings in this presentation of his work.

Oxford
November 1995

Introduction

The short account of India written in 1789 by the Buddhist sage 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1730-98), presented here in parallel Tibetan transliteration and English translation, had its origins in a peculiar set of circumstances. Selfish motives of territorial expansion and commercial gain seem to have played in counterpoint with mutual expressions of human sympathy and disinterested curiosity in such a way as to produce in this text a brief but lasting testimony to man's ability to reach across cultural frontiers. The unedifying story of the origins of this quest tends to recede into the light of its outcome. Although that light takes on, with historical hindsight, a somewhat pallid and uncertain quality, it still shines as an example of the perennial human search for knowledge and understanding.

The information on India yielded in this text, readily available in more accurate and detailed form in a multitude of other contemporary sources, is of far less importance than what we learn about Tibetan attitudes and how they can change. In particular the work reveals a fascinating attempt to harmonize the classical Tibetan view of India, frozen in Indic sources for up to a thousand years in Tibetan translations, with some of the complex realities of north India's cultural, political and commercial life in the later eighteenth century as witnessed at first hand over a period of three years by the author's chief informant, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan, a Bhutanese monk and government official. The weight of Buddhist tradition and naive credulity thus contend at every step with scepticism and a growing sense of wonder. The struggle for rational truth is sometimes won, sometimes lost, but it is infused throughout not only with the primary Buddhist injunction to test and verify our sources of knowledge but also with the moral imperative to distinguish right from wrong, to separate what is likely to promote enlightenment from what is known to obstruct it.

This seriousness of purpose is balanced by a refreshing whimsicality as 'Jigs-med-gling-pa moves from region to region and jumps from topic to topic by a process of what looks like free association. He describes the whole exercise as having been done "as an amusement" (*rtsed-mo'i tshul*),¹ reminding one of how young children learn by playing. One senses also an inherited Buddhist reticence about taking the external world too seriously. After all, is the world not a mere illusion? Yet it is the author's evident willingness to engage in the "real" world that is unreal and in its difficult ways which makes his work, laden with resulting irony, so significant. It would not be difficult to

1. See n. 153 below to the translation.

point to several parallel movements in the cultural history of Tibet which sought to give new meaning to scriptural tradition by gaining insight and inspiration from the observation of life as it is actually lived.

The work was the product not only of the Indian experience of the lama's informant but more generally of a cultural and political milieu that allowed and even encouraged those in official service to engage in intellectual pursuits. What little is known of the Bhutanese official who provided the author with most of his information shows that he naturally combined the roles given to him in secular government with those of student, teacher and patron of Buddhism. The British officials who travelled to Bhutan and Tibet in this period exemplified the cosmopolitanism and learning of the European Enlightenment, typical of a small but influential minority in India in this period. The chief Indian intermediary employed in this exchange by the British, Bhutanese and Tibetan authorities belonged to a sect that traditionally combined trade with mendicancy. The head lamas of Tibet and Bhutan with whom the British had their dealings were monk-statesmen who saw little conflict between their sacred and secular offices. Thus the emissaries from both sides easily assumed the combined role of scholar-diplomats, concerned equally with the transaction of official business as with the recording and explaining of natural phenomena and human institutions and culture. In their world-views they shared a tolerance and inclusivity reflected in the broad range of topics briefly covered in this little account of India. The gentle prejudice and natural imperfections we can discern in it now, more than two hundred years later, can surely be forgiven.

*

The historical context can be briefly summarized.² In 1765 the English East India Company took over control of Bengal and its lucrative markets at a time when Bhutan was asserting the right to determine the succession to the throne of Kūch Bihār, its southern neighbour in the plains of northern Bengal. Opposing factions at the court of Kūch Bihār, each backing rival claimants to the throne, looked to the British and Bhutanese for external support. In 1771 the Bhutanese captured Rāja Dharendra Nārāyan and removed him to Bhutan. In 1773 the East India Company agreed to drive out the Bhutanese from Kūch Bihār in exchange for perpetual control of that state, half its annual

2. For fuller accounts, see Turner 1800; Markham 1876; Petech 1949; Camman 1951; Aris 1982; Singh 1988, pp. 291-6. For an exhaustive bibliography of works in European languages, see Marshall 1977, pp. 30-8. See also my earlier discussion of the background and contents of the "Discourse on India" where, however, I made the mistake of dating it to 1788 instead of 1789: Aris 1994a, p. 7.

revenue, and a large sum of money to defray the military expense incurred. In the ensuing conflict the Bhutanese lost their forts in the plains and foothills and were driven back into the hills. Their ruler, bZhi-dar (alias bSod-nams lHun-grub, regn. 1768-73), an unpopular figure who had pursued a forward policy against the will of most of his officers and subjects, was deposed and fled to Tibet.

Meanwhile Nepal, alarmed by the growing power of the British on their borders, appealed to the 3rd Panchen Lama, Blo-bzang dPal-ldan Yeshe (1738-80), to intervene on behalf of the defeated Bhutanese. In response to the lama's intercession Warren Hastings, Governor General of India, gave the Bhutanese easy terms in a treaty concluded in April 1774. At the same time he seized the opportunity to open direct communications both with the new ruler of Bhutan, Kun-dga' Rin-chen (regn. 1773-6), and with the Panchen Lama himself. Hastings's immediate motive in this was to promote Indo-British trade with the countries of the north at a time when the Company was pressed for funds and the regular trade route through Nepal had become blocked. A secondary motive derived from a keen intellectual curiosity aroused in him by reading the scant literature on Tibet then available. The missions to Bhutan and Tibet led by George Bogle in 1774, to Bhutan by Alexander Hamilton in 1776 and 1777, and to Bhutan and Tibet by Samuel Turner in 1783 resulted in a temporary increase in trade with those countries and, with more lasting effect, to the first full descriptions in English of their life and culture. Although the missions had to contend at first with some suspicion and reluctance on the part of their hosts, it is clear they were in the end welcomed with genuine warmth and sympathy.

British curiosity for all things Tibetan and Bhutanese was fully reciprocated by their hosts, who clearly had a strong desire to learn about matters European and Indian. Even before the arrival in Tibet of the British missions the Panchen Lama had begun to receive reports about India through two missions he had sent to Bodhgayā in 1771-2 and 1773-4. These were followed by direct contact with the independent ruler of Benares, Chait Singh.³ All these exchanges, including those with the British, were greatly assisted by the role played by a remarkable Indian pilgrim-trader (*gosain*) called Pūraṇ Giri (1743-95), known to the British as "Poorungheer". In the course of his wandering life this trusted and crucial intermediary visited Ceylon, Malaya, Afghanistan, Kashmir, Nepal, Russia, Tibet and China. Among his many achievements he was instrumental in putting into effect a favourite scheme of the Panchen Lama to found a Buddhist temple for his

3. Petech 1949, pp. 335-8.

countrymen in Calcutta, the Bhoṭbāgān Maṭh at Ghusuḍi in the Howra district of the city.⁴

Tibetan thirst for direct knowledge of the world beyond its borders and especially for India is evoked in a passage from Samuel Turner's account of his mission to Tibet in 1783. India was the home of Tibet's Buddhist faith, but only thin and sporadic contact had been maintained since the Muslim invasions began in the closing years of the twelfth century. Turner's words clearly illustrate the emotional and intellectual impulse for 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's account of India written six years later in 1789:⁵

I was not a little surprised to discover, by their conversation, how accurate an idea they had acquired of the position of different countries, though maps and charts are unknown among them. Of China (or Geana [rGya-nag]) their own travels had taught them the situation; and they pointed out to me, not only the relative bearings of the countries surrounding them, as China on the east; Siberia on the north; Turkestan, Cashmeer, Almora, on the west; Nipal, Bootan, Asam, to the south, and Bengal beyond these; but also of England, and of Russia, with almost equal truth. Yet, desirous to extend their knowledge, a great variety of questions were proposed to me, relating to the peculiar produce, temperature of climate, and different distances, of remote countries.

Bengal, of which they had from various authorities collected a tolerably distinct idea, they expressed a most eager curiosity to visit. Nor can, perhaps, the inhabitants of a rocky, arid, bleak, and naked region, fancy a scene more enchanting, than is exhibited in a country of wide extent, presenting throughout a smooth and equal surface, clothed with eternal verdure, intersected by numberless deep and copious rivers, abounding with groves of large and shady trees, and yielding an immense variety of fruits and flowers, through every season of the year. But Bengal is rendered peculiarly dear to them, by the powerful influence of religious prejudice. The regeneration of their Lama [the Buddha Śākyamuni] is said to have taken place, in times of remote antiquity, near the site of the ancient and ruined city of Gowr [Gaur]; and all those places held in veneration by the Hindoos, as Gya [Gayā], Benares, Mahow [?], and Allahabad, are equally objects of superstitious zeal, with a votary of the Tibet faith, who thinks himself blessed above his fellow disciples, if he can but perform a pilgrimage to these hallowed spots.

*

4. Sadly it was there that he was killed in 1795 by robbers who were after the gold stored in the temple by Tibetan traders: Das 1984, pp. viii-xi. See also *ibid.*, pp. iii-v for details of another, less well-known Indian intermediary, Krishna Kant Bose ("Baboo Kishen Kant Bose"), whose valuable report on Bhutan in 1815 appears in an English translation in *Political Missions*, pp. 187-206.

5. Turner 1800, pp. 267-8.

Information on the life of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's informant can be gleaned from a few sources. Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan (also known as 'Jigs-med Kun-grol and Puṇḍarika) was born in c. 1717 at Dar-lung in the Wang district of western Bhutan.⁶ He was conscripted into government service as a lay servitor and rose through the menial ranks to occupy the post of "keeper of the meat store" (*sha-gnyer*) at the capital fortress of Chos-'khor-rab-rtse at Krong-sa ("Tongsa"). Revulsion for his work there turned him to religion and so he fled to Tibet to join the famous rNying-ma-pa community at sMin-grol-gling. After studies there he met 'Jigs-med-gling-pa at mChims-phu and received from him the key precepts of the *sNying-thig* ("Heart Drop"), an important trend within the teachings of the rDzogs-chen ("Great Perfection").⁷ In Bhutan today Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan's secular role, outlined below, is quite forgotten and he is remembered only for the key part he played in disseminating the "Lower *sNying-thig*" teachings of his master, founded on what came to be known as the "Higher *sNying-thig*" of the man whose incarnation he claimed to be, the great Klong-chen-pa (1308-63). On returning to Bhutan, apparently without incurring the wrath of the authorities for having run away from government service, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan

6. We know he was seventy-three by Tibetan reckoning in 1789: see the passage from YLHG quoted below in n. 153 to the translation. Most of the information on Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan comes in LCBII, fos. 73b-74a: *snying-thig 'og-ma'i chos-bdag mkhas-grub 'jigs-med kun-grol lam byang-chub rgyal-mtshan-du grags-pa 'di-nyid / wang dar-lung-du 'khrungs-te nar-son-pa-las chos-rje 'brug-pa'i sgar-gral-du tshud-de rim-gyis chos-rtser sha-gnyer-gyi las-'dzin byed-skabs / sems-can-la snying-rje 'khrungs-te rigs-sad / sngon-smon dbang-gis chos-la bros-te bod-du brtol / smin-grol-gling-du thos-bsam mdzad-pa'i mthar / mchims-phur rig-'dzin 'jigs-med-gling-pa'i zhabs-la gtugs-te grub-pa brnyes / bla-mas lung bstan-te slar rang-re'i ljongs-'dir bum-thang tha-ba-brag dang / lhag-par gdung-bsam yongs-legs dgon-par gdan-sa btab / rgyud-phur-gyi sgo-nas rgya'i dmag-dpung bzlog-pas gzhung-las-kyang bdag-rkyen legs-so mdzad-de phrin-las mtha'-rgyas-su gyur-pas mtshanyang gdung-bsam-par grags / de'i thug-sras grub-brnyes sangs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan-nas sharlung bde-chen-chos-gling-du gdan-sa btab-ste chos-rgyud spel-bas snying-thig 'og-ma'i lugs byung /*

7. Karmay (1988, p. 213) has explained how the *sNying-thig* teachings "lay a strong emphasis on the Primeval Purity (*ka dag*). It is taken to be the goal so to speak for the adepts, but at the same time it does not admit having any set goal at all, because one is already at the state of Buddha if only one realises it". "The adept of *sNying thig* in general endeavours through the *khregs chod* ["Cutting off the rigidity"] and *thod rgal* ["Passing beyond the crest"] precepts to attain the state of what one calls the "Total extinction of the conceptual mind and the exhaustion of the soteriological precepts" (*blo zad chos zad*), thus returning to the Primeval Purity where he was himself at one time at the very beginning" (*ibid.* p. 214).

proceeded to found a new community dedicated to the reformulated rDzogs-chen teachings of his master at the old foundation of Tha-ba-brag ("Thowdrak") in the sTang valley of Bum-thang in the centre of the country and a new establishment at Yong-legs dGon-pa in the south-east.

There is an independent glimpse of Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan at his community of Tha-ba-brag in c. 1765-71.⁸ There he gave teachings to rNam-rgyal (1748-1808, alias lHa-dbang mChod-sbyin bZang-po), who was the thirty-seventh in the line of incumbents to the ancient seat of Sum-phrang ("Sombrang"), a rNying-ma-pa family temple in the adjoining U-ra valley of Bum-thang. He encouraged this disciple to receive further teachings in Tibet from his own master, 'Jigs-med-gling-pa. As a result of this connection the author of the "Discourse on India" came south to Bhutan to perform the funeral of rNam-rgyal's grandfather in 1775.⁹ The contact was renewed later in rNam-rgyal's life when, after a pilgrimage to Bodhgayā, he joined the master again in Tibet. Indeed the rather muddled passage (§XIX) devoted to Bodhgayā and other places in Bihār given in the "Discourse" may perhaps derive from his testimony rather than from the main informant, for whom there is no direct evidence of a visit to this greatest of shrines. It can be noted in passing that one of rNam-rgyal's sons died while on a pilgrimage to India.¹⁰

Much earlier, and certainly prior to 1773, 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's reformulation of the rDzogs-chen teachings as introduced into Bhutan by his local disciples had actually been proscribed and outlawed there during the reign of the unpopular bZhi-dar. Although those "inherited teachings" (*pha-chos*) which fell outside the aegis of the ruling 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school had officially been allowed to continue, the effect of the ban on introducing any new teachings had caused even the old family traditions and rNying-ma-pa affiliations of Sum-phrang to wither as that community was compelled to adopt the official rites of the ruling theocracy.¹¹ As a result of the suppression rNam-rgyal had to build the remote hermitage of lHun-grub Chos-sde to practise in secret the new teachings he had received in Tibet.

The secular rise of rNam-rgyal's first teacher and co-disciple Byang-

8. BRTU, pp. 198-204, esp. 200. On the significance of this work, see Aris 1988.

9. 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's visit to Bum-thang is briefly confirmed in his own autobiography: YLHG, fo. 137a.

10. BRTU, p. 38.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2: *de-tsam-na 'brug-gi gzhi-dar-nas / sngar-gyi pha-chos yin-na ma-gtogs de-min 'brug-pa bka'-brgyud kho-na-las / chos-gzhan gsar-'dzugs mi-chog-pa'i bka'-rgya phebs-pa-las tshun / sum-phrang rang-gi chos-rgyun dang rnying-ma'i chos-la-sogs-pa'ang / rim-par nyams-te 'brug-pa bka'-brgyud-du 'gyur-bar grags /*

chub rGyal-mtshan, our author's informant, must have owed something to the defeat and ousting in 1773 of bZhi-dar, the opponent of the rDzogs-chen. But the principal source for his life has a different explanation: he rose to high government office as the result of the successful use he is claimed to have made of the *Vajrakila Tantra* in repulsing, or rather containing, the British invasion from India.¹² It can be assumed perhaps that his role as emissary to Calcutta soon followed that of magical opponent of the British forces. His presence in Calcutta is testified not only in 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's autobiography, where we read that he spent three years there "in connection with the treaty concerning Bhutan (*IHo-'brug*) and Kūch Bihār (*Gha-ṭa-ga*)",¹³ but also in the following very different testimony by Turner:¹⁴

The Boora Soobah, now Tongsa Pilo [*Krong-sa dPon-slob*], who some years ago, soon after the conclusion of the war with Bootan, was deputed by the Daeb [*sDe-pa*] Raja to the Governor General [Warren Hastings], the first of his nation who had ever been in Calcutta, had been present at one of Mrs. Hastings's concerts, and, on his return, had given a very lively account of it, accompanied of course with such observations, as resulted from the strong impression, which a scene so novel, must naturally leave on a Booteea's mind.

We can be sure that it is Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan referred to here since his name appears sixth in the list of successive incumbents to the important post of *Krong-sa dPon-slob*.¹⁵ His evident enthusiasm for music as revealed in Turner's words is attested in two passages of the "Discourse" describing what may have been a "nautch" (§XIV) and what was certainly an English or European barrel organ (§XXXI).

His earlier post of "Boora Soobah" is more problematic as it fails to turn up elsewhere in the literature. The British records use the term "soubah" (Hindi and Persian *sūba/sūbadār*)¹⁶ to refer to the minor provincial administrators of Bhutan stationed on the Indian border. In 1837-8 the "Boora

12. See n. 6 above. It may be relevant that an impressive *maṇḍala* of *kilas* is still to be found in the Bum-thang monastery of the Pad-tshal-gling sPrul-sku, whose earlier incarnations were in the direct spiritual lineage of Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan, as evidenced in the biographies of the first and second in their line: see Aris 1979, p. 156.

13. See n. 153 below to the translation.

14. Turner 1800, p. 81.

15. BRDK, p. 150. Unfortunately no dates are provided.

16. Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. *soubadar*, *subadar*, b: "a local commandant or chief officer". See Markham 1876, p. 16 and n.6, for Bogle's use of the term "Pasang Katam [dPag-bsam rGya-drung], vulgo Buxa Subah".

Talookdar" (*talukdār*)¹⁷ was a Kachari tax-collector responsible for conveying the revenue of the Baska Duar in Assam (see §V) to the Bhutanese authorities at bDe-ba-thang (Dewangiri), seat of the *rGya-drung* who was known to the British later as the Dewangiri Rāja.¹⁸ It can be assumed that in the later eighteenth century the office of "Boora Soubah" was held directly by the Bhutanese, only later being farmed out to their Kachari dependants who were given the lesser status of *talukdār*.

An alternative title for that minor official's superior, the *rGya-drung*, was *gDung-bsam-pa*, "The Incumbent of *gDung-bsam*", named after the border district and its adjoining *duar* over which he had control. It is precisely by this title that 'Jigs-med-gling-pa refers to his informant in the colophon to his work on India (§XXXIV), though in his autobiography there is passing mention of a *gDung-bsam rGya-drung* who is surely also to be identified with Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan.¹⁹

It is clear from the above that Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan held the progressively more senior posts of "Boora Soubah", *rGya-drung* and *Krong-sa dPon-slob*, although his occupancy of the last of these seems to have preceded his holding the second (more on this shortly). He acted as emissary to the East India Company for three years while holding the first of these positions. Indeed I believe he may be identified with the "Deb Rajah's vakīl" who accompanied George Bogle and Pūraṅ Giri back to Calcutta from Bhutan in 1775.²⁰ That person had been specifically commissioned by the Bhutanese

17. *Ibid.*, s.v. *talookdār*: "either a Government officer collecting the revenue of a *ta'alluk* ... or the holder of an estate so designated". The use of these and other Indian administrative terms in the records on Bhutan reflects the growing contact with Mughal and British India, also the employment by the Bhutanese court of Indian *secretaries* (*munshi*) fluent in Bengali and Persian. Unfortunately the official correspondence in Persian with Bhutan in this period surviving in Calcutta has no mention of our Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan. For English summaries of the surviving letters, see *Persian Correspondence*, iv, 1772-5, nos. 953 (8 Apr. 1774), 1010 (7 May 1774), 1199 (5 Aug. 1774), 1434 (24 Nov. 1774), 1449 (28 Nov. 1774), 1722 (25 Apr. 1775), 1760 (10 May 1775), 1782 (21 May 1775), 1998-2000 (20 Oct. 1775), 2045 (17 Nov. 1775), 2083-5 (23 Dec. 1775).

18. *Political Missions*, p.21.

19. YLHG, fo. 174b. The *gDung-bsam rGya-drung* sent or delivered a large supply of medicine for a *smān-sgrub* ceremony. This happened in a monkey year, which I take to be 1788.

20. Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. *vakeel*: "an attorney; an authorised representative. Arab. *wakīl*". George Bogle to Warren Hastings, Kūch Bihār 9 June 1775, quoted in Markham 1876, pp. 189-90: "A few days before I left Tassisudon [bKra-shis-chos-rdzong], the Deb Rajah pressed me very much about some indulgence he wants to

ruler to raise the issue of Kūch Bihār again directly with Warren Hastings, the Governor General, and this exactly matches the statement by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa that his informant had resided in Calcutta for three years "in connection with the treaty concerning Bhutan and Kūch Bihār". If this interpretation is correct, then the following picture emerges: unable to bring the matter of Bhutan's restored relations with Kūch Bihār to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion, he whiled away his time visiting famous sites in the region and absorbing the many impressions gained from a close and enthusiastic observation of Indian life and customs.²¹ It is upon these that 'Jigs-med-gling-pa would have based his "Discourse on India".

Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan's apparent demotion later after his return to Bhutan from the governorship of Krong-sa (which Turner reported him holding in 1783, probably as a reward for his long Indian mission) to administrator of the border in the south-east of the country in the late 1780s can be easily explained. There was a fluid and later much disputed convention whereby that lucrative governorship was held for an agreed and stipulated period before relinquishing it to rivals.²² In any case he would have had ample cause to return from Krong-sa to gDung-bsam, where the flourishing Buddhist community he had founded at Yong-legs dGon-pa was located. It must have been there that he prepared the blockprint editions of some of his master's writings.²³ It is in the records preserved there and elsewhere in Bhutan that further details of his interesting but shadowy life may one day come to light.²⁴

solicit for the Raja of Bahar; but as I understood nothing of the matter, and he did not seem to understand it well himself, I would make him no promises, but advised him to represent it to you by his vakīl ... The Deb Rajah's vakīl accompanied me from Tassisudon to Buxa-Dúar. I have pushed on to Bahar, in order to prepare things for the reception of him and the [Panchen] Lama's Gosains [Pūraṇ Giri and one other], and I expect their arrival here to-morrow or next day".

21. I am tempted to think that Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan may be represented in a fanciful oil painting preserved in Buckingham Palace, London, done by the British artist Tilly Kettle in Calcutta and datable to c. 1775. It is thought to be an imaginary reconstruction of the reception of George Bogle, wearing Bhutanese dress, at the court of the Panchen Lama, with another figure in Bhutanese dress standing behind the lama. Could this be our man? See Aris 1982, pp. 18-20.

22. See Aris 1994b, p. 47.

23. See n. 153 below to the translation.

24. A footnote to his life can be added from another source. If Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan was not the chief negotiator from the Bhutanese side for the treaty concluded earlier on 25 April 1774, as I had earlier assumed, then who took that position? The printed version of the treaty preserved in *Aitchison's Treaties*, xiv, pt. iv, no. 1, pp. 89-

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It remains to place the "Discourse on India" in the context of the larger work in which it is found, namely 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's "Miscellaneous Discourses: The Ocean of Vehicles" (*gTam-gyi tshogs theg-pa'i rgya-mtsho*). Giuseppe Tucci was the first western scholar to make use of this collection, translating part of chapter 37 on the tomb of Srong-btsan sGam-po for his pioneering study on the early royal tombs of Tibet.²⁵ He wrongly identified the author as "a lama of Tshurbu ... of the Karmapa sect", doubtless confusing the author's name Rang-'byung rDo-rje for that of the third "black hat" incarnation (1284-1339), but placing him correctly in the eighteenth century.²⁶ Later scholars who made use of Tucci's translation, but who had no access to the original text of the *gTam-tshogs*, have included Eric Haarh and Rolf Stein.²⁷ Tucci's copy of the *gTam-tshogs* in Rome was used by Luciano Petech and Turrell Wylie in their work on two well-known geographical texts.²⁸

90, carries the names of the English signatories, among them Warren Hastings, but not those of the Bhutanese who must also have signed. The answer is found in the biography of Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' rGya-mtsho (1722-76) where we read that his "chief spiritual son, Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho, with the armour of an aspiration to be able to give even his own life for the sake of the teachings and of human beings, went to India in the great and poisonous heat of summer, even like a winged bird scattered from the sky, and having resided there for a long time he successfully completed a treaty of reconciliation between India and Bhutan and then returned" (*sras-kyi thu-bo rje-btsun sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho bstan-'gro'i don-la sku-srog-kyang gtong-bar nus-pa'i thugs-bskyed-kyi go-cha chen-pos / 'dab-chags bya-yang nam-mkha'-nas brul-ba'i dbyar-gyi tshad-dug chen-por rgya-gar-du byon-nas yun-ring bzhugs-te rgya-'brug-gi chings-'dums legs-par grub-nas byon-pas*): JGLM, fo. 46b, quoted in BGGR, p. 376, where we also learn that Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho was later elevated to the high post of *Dar-dkar dPon-slob*, much as Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan was rewarded after his return from India with that of *Krong-sa dPon-slob*.

25. Tucci 1950, pp. 1-5. See also Tucci 1949, ii, p. 734. The historical value of the main source used by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa in his two essays on the tombs has still to be established. This is "the *dkar-chag* composed by the great religious minister mGar" (*chos-blon chen-po mgar-gyis mdzad-pa'i dkar-chag*): see *gTam-tshogs*, Lhasa edn., p. 288. 'Jigs-med-gling-pa also claims to have had access to "ancient records" (*yig-tshang rnying-pa*, p. 287) and "edicts" (*gtan-tshigs*, pp. 292-3), encouraging one to hope that a historical core can be established.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 75 n. 4.

27. Haarh 1969, ch. 16 *passim*; Stein 1987, p.137.

28. Wylie 1962, p. 134 n. 170; Ferrari 1958, p. xvii and nn. 114, 117, 124, 145, 147, 156, 159, 280, 308, 309. mKhyen-brtse himself refers in his guide to the eulogies of specific holy places contained in the *gTam-tshogs*: *ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

It was only with the publication in 1969 of E. Gene Smith's preface to the autobiography of Ngag-dbang dPal-bzang that the full details of the authorship of the *gTam-tshogs* came to light in the context of a discussion of the rNying-ma-pa background to the emergence of the *Ris-med* ("Universalist" or "Eclectic") school.²⁹ This was soon followed by the timely reprinting of all of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's writings in a nine-volume edition whose deficiencies, the result of tracing and hand copying the original blockprints, can gradually be put right.³⁰ There has since appeared a most useful matching of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's visionary experiences, as recounted by the saint himself in a complex of texts, with his extant teachings arising from those experiences as they survive in the Indian reprints.³¹ The contents of a work by the saint which seeks to account for the origins of the "old" and "new" Tantras and provide a summary of their purport has been paraphrased.³² Occasional use has been made of the chapter on India in various researches.³³ To these studies we can add the translation of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che's life of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa contained in his major history of the rNying-ma school, now available in English translation.³⁴ The origins and early development of the teachings of rDzogs-chen ("Great Perfection"), so central to the saint's life, have been the subject of a masterly study that provides the philosophical setting for any future consideration of his important place in the history of those teachings.³⁵ It must be said, however, that any real appreciation of 'Jigs-

29. Smith 1969, esp. pp. 9-13.

30. *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med-gling-pa*, 9 vols. (Ngagyur Nyingmay Sungrab, vols. 29-37, Gangtok, 1971). Another edition, also based on the sDe-dge dGon-chen blockprints, was published by rDo-grub-chen Rin-po-che in Delhi and Gangtok, 1985. For a bibliography of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's works that have appeared in Indian reprints, but omitting the 1985 edition, see Goodman 1992, pp. 133-46, 184-207, esp. pp. 185-90 n. 5; on the *gTam-tshogs*, see esp. *ibid.*, pp. 190-1 n. 7, p. 197 n. 30, pp. 204-5 n. 69. For the detailed contents of the first six volumes of the nine-volume sDe-dge edn. of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's collected works, see *Mi-rigs dpe-mdzod-khang-gi dpe-tho-las gsung-'bum skor-gyi dkar-chag*, i (Beijing, 1984), pp. 220-8.

31. Goodman 1992.

32. Kawamura 1992.

33. Ardussi 1977, pp. 43-4; Aris 1979, pp. 279, 316 n. 25; Aris 1980, pp. 9, 16 n. 3.

34. *Nyingma School*, i, pp. 835-40, and ii, pp. 81-2 nn. 1138-54.

35. Karmay 1988. Two of the Karmay's passing comments are worth recording here: "The *Kun tu bzang po ye shes klong gi rgyud* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa ... is perhaps the best example of a work on rDzogs chen philosophy in which the fusion of the Vijñānavāda and rDzogs chen reaches its most characteristic elaboration" (pp. 180-1). "With the *Klong chen snying thig* of 'Jigs-med gling-pa ... the sNying thig doctrine was, however, no longer like the philosophy of the serene contemplator of the Sems sde or

med-gling-pa as a human being must await the long labours of Janet Gyatso on his autobiographical reminiscences, a work of great depth and candour.³⁶

A summary review of subjects treated in the seventy-three chapters of the *gTam-tshogs* helps to place "The Discourse on India" in the context of the author's multifarious interests. The chapters are devoted in turn to:³⁷

- §1. Concerning Buddhist knowledge (*nang rig-pa*, Skt. *adhyātmavidhya*) and an explanation of the *Tripitaka* (1-8);
- §2. The basic principles of astrology, in eleven sections (8-70);
- §3. The discourse on India (70-93);
- §4. The scrutiny of precious substances of both sacred and natural origin (93-128);
- §5. The principles of poetry (128-40);
- §6-28. Exhortatory epistles in verse to the king, queen, prince and public of sDe-dge, the ruler and public of Tibet, disciples, meditators, monks, lamas named and unnamed, tantric practitioners, various classes of demons, bandits and pilgrims (140-236);
- §29-41. Eulogies of the holy sites of rNying-ma-pa tradition at bSam-yas and the subsidiary temples of Arya-pa-lo'i-gling and mChims-phu, an account of offerings made there, the origins of the mTsho-skyes rDo-rje image and footprint of Padmasambhava; further eulogies of the temples at gZhu-stod gTer-sgrom, dBu-ru Zhwa lHa-khang, lHo-mon dKar-po-zangs, the tomb of Srong-btsan sGam-po, dPal-ri Theg-pa-chen-po'i-gling, Pad-ma 'Od-gsal Theg-mchog-gling and gTsang-ru rGyal-byed-tshal (236-384);
- §42-3. The circumstances under which editions of the *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum* were prepared at mTsho-sna and sDe-dge (384-94);
- §44. Eulogy of the *stūpa* at dPal Glo-don-stengs (394-8);
- §45. The iconometric proportions of the Eight *Stūpas* of the Sugatas, and an account of the *stūpas* appropriate to each of the Buddhist vehicles (398-410);
- §46-8. The fundamentals of offerings, *maṇḍalas*, and ritual dedications of merit (410-33);
- §49. The spiritual qualities engendered by proximity to forests (433-9);
- §50-2, 54. Edifying fables from the natural world about birds, deer, the steadfast hare, the wise bee (439-70, 473-92);
- §53. The sadness engendered by din and bustle (470-3);

the profound meditation of the calm ascetic of the Klong sde, but rather came to be pervaded with a type of *sādhana*, hence very ritualistic" (p. 213).

36. YLHG.

37. Page numbers in brackets refer to the 1991 Lhasa edition of the *gTam-tshogs* (see Note on p. 14 below).

- §55. The ten religious activities (*daśadhā dharmacaritam*) (492-517);
 §56-7. Mindfulness (*smṛti*) and mental alertness (*saṃprajanya*) (517-63);
 §58. Reflections on the *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (563-66);
 §59. The teachings of the major philosophical systems (*siddhānta*) (566-75);
 §60. Factors conducive to abstaining from the ten non-virtues (*daśakuśala*) (575-7);
 §61. The essence of the Mahāmudra and rDzogs-chen teachings (577-86);
 §62. The unchanging nature of the *dharmatā* (586-97);
 §63. Unworthy controversies (597-600);
 §64. The analysis of the nominal ultimate (*paryāyaparamārtha*) (600-16);
 §65. The dependence of yoga on the four philosophical systems (616-20);
 §66. The rDzogs-chen concept of “primordial enlightenment and primeval purity” (*ye-grol ka-dag*) (620-7);
 §67. The perfection of pristine cognition (*jñānapāramita*) (627-33);
 §68. A refutation of those who uphold [only] the [“Indian”] *tantras* (633-6);
 §69. The four correct reliances (*catvāri pratisāraṇa*) (636-41);
 §70-2. Pristine cognition (*jñāna*) (641-4);
 §73. How the experience of illness can be used as an aid on the path to enlightenment (*na-tsha lam-'khyer*) (644-5).

Even as cursory a summary as this of the contents of the *gTam-tshogs* is sufficient to show how the polymath 'Jigs-med-gling-pa combined wide-ranging exoteric and esoteric interests in a way that earned him the title of “Omniscient” (*Kun-mkhyen*). But none of the exoteric subjects and genres he turned to — astrology, precious substances, poetics, epistles, descriptive guides and eulogies, iconometry, fables — can be construed as “secular” for they all formed part of an indivisible spiritual whole. That same sense of completeness is evident in the “Discourse on India” as it moves back and forth between the natural and human worlds, between geography, politics and trade on the one hand and myth, ritual and belief on the other. For all its brevity and notwithstanding its understandable deficiencies, the work serves as a reminder to us in our world of total specialization that it is the whole of life that matters, made up of all its parts.

Text

Tibetan transliteration follows the Wylie System, with the single addition of the reversed *gi-gu* vowel marked as *î*. Section divisions are my own, not the author's. Rejected spellings have been placed in footnotes and their sources identified as:

A *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med-gling-pa*, vol. 4: *dGongs-'dus cho-ga'i rnam-bshad* and *gTam-tshogs* (reproduced from the sDe-dge blockprint by Sonam T. Kazi, Ngagyur Nyingmay Sungrab, vol. 32, Gangtok, 1972), pp. 62-82 = fos. 31b-41b. (NB The foliation of this edition is entered below in round brackets.)

B *'Jigs-med-gling-pa'i gtam-tshogs* (Gangs-can rig-mdzod, vol. 18, a collation of the sDe-dge and Potala blockprints, introduction by bSod-nams Tshe-brtan, published by Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrun-khang, Lhasa, 1991), pp. 70-93. (NB The pagination of this edition is entered below in swung brackets.)

(31b) {70} [Title] // lho-phyogs rgya-gar-gyi gtam brtag-pa brgyad-kyi
me-long zhes- bya-ba //

[I]

lha-mo 'od-zer-can-ma-la phyag-'tshal-lo //

gang-zhig dam-pa ma-yin-kyang //
chos zhes-bya-ba'i nges-tshig-ni //
'jig-rten nyid-kyi mngon-brjod-la'ang //
'jug-cing khyad-par ri-bong chal //
la brten bsti-gnas spong-ba dang //
bsam-gtan tsher-ma 'byin-pa'i slad //
brtag-pa brgyad-kyi me-long bshad //

Translation

[Title]

**The Discourse on India to the South,
The So-Called Mirror of the Eight Subjects of Scrutiny¹**

[I: Invocation and Opening Verse]

Obeisance to the Goddess Mārici ('*Od-zer-can-ma*).²

Though someone may not be a holy person
He can engage even in the true explanation of the world itself
Through the real signification of the word *dharmā*.³
I shall explain the Mirror of the Eight Subjects of Scrutiny
Relying particularly on the babble of hares⁴
For the sake of abandoning home and
To extract the thorns of meditation.⁵

[II]

de-la lho 'dzam-bu'i-gling 'di so-kha'am¹ shing-rta'i dbyibs-su yod-pa'i
 kha-gdangs che-ba ri-rab dang / chung-ba rgya-mtsho'i mu-khyud-la
 bstan-{71}-pa'i tshul mdo-sde khang-bu brtsegs-pa-las / kun-dga'-bo
 khyod-kyis 'dzam-bu'i-(32a)-gling mthong-ngam / kye² btsun-pa
 mthong-lags-so // 'dzam-bu'i-gling-gi gling-ni zheng-du dpag-tshad
 bdun-stong / chur-yang dpag-tshad bdun-stong / de-la byang-gi
 zheng-ni che / lho-ni shing-rta'i dbyibs-so / zhes-pa-las / rgya-gar /
 kha-che / ta-zig gsum-ni sog-pa'i yu-ba / bod-rnams sog-pa'i ter-ter-po
 / rgya-nag / 'jang / hor-rnams sog-pa'i kha-gdangs / sog-pa'i kha-
 sgor-la mtha'-'khob sum-cu-rtsa-drug yod-pa-las /

[III]

rgya-bod-kyi mtshams-na lho-mon-kha-bzhir grags-pa'i las-sgo-ni /
 'di-lta-ste / spungs-thang dbus-su byas-pa'i shar gdung-bsam-kha /
 lho dpag-bsam-kha / nub rda-gling-kha / byang stag-rtse-kha bzhi-las
 dang-po gsum-nas rgya-gar-du bgrod-pa mang-bas / shar-gyi shar A-
 ma-tā-la-nas lho drang-por phyin-pa A-shong-gi sa-mtshams-na shing-
 ghi-ri³ zer-ba'i gnas phyi mchod-rten-la nang mtshor snang-ba'i dbus-
 na ston-pa'i rdo-sku dang-po sku-dngos-su mthong-yang / dus-phyis
 mtshor nub-pa lag-pas btsal-na dbu'i gtsug-tor-la reg-pa-dang / nye-

1 A: so-ba-kha'am

2 A: kyee

3 B: shing-ghir-ri

[II: Cosmology]

Now this southern continent of Jambudvīpa (*'Dzam-bu'i-gling*) is in the shape of a *sog-kha* (Skt *śakaṭa*)⁶ or chariot, [close to] whose larger edge (*kha-mdangs*) [on the north is situated] Mount Sumeru (*Ri-rab*) and [around] whose smaller edge [to the south] is the encircling rim of the ocean, and the manner of this has been explained in the *mDo-sde khang-bu brtsegs-pa* (*Kūṭāgārasūtra*) as follows:⁷

“Ānanda, do you see Jambudvīpa?”

“Oh reverend one, I see it”.

“The continent of Jambudvīpa is seven thousand *yojanas*⁸ in width and also seven thousand *yojanas* in length (*chur*),⁹ the width to the north being greater [than the width to the south]. The shape of the southern [continent] is a chariot”.

So it is said, and moreover India (*rGya-gar*), Kashmir (*Kha-che*) and Persia (*Ta-zig*), these three, are the “handle” (*yu-ba*) of the scapula (or shoulder blade, *sog-pa*); the Tibetan regions (*Bod-rnams*) are the concave centre (*ter-ter-po*) of the scapula; China (*rGya-nag*), Nanchao (*'Jang*) and the *Hor* regions (*Hor-rnams*) are the upper edge (*kha-mdangs*) of the scapula; and on its perimeter (*kha-sgor*)¹⁰ are situated the thirty-six barbarian frontier regions.¹¹

[III: Bhutan and Assam — Singri — Local Products]

Among these [barbarian frontier regions] is the so-called Southern *Mon* [Country of] Four Approaches (*lHo-mon-kha-bzhi*, Bhutan)¹² on the borders of India and Tibet, and its frontier trade marts (*las-sgo*) are as follows, reckoning *sPungs-thang* [i.e. Punakha]¹³ as the centre: *gDung-bsam-kha* in the east, *dPag-bsam-kha* in the south, *rDa-gling-kha* in the west, and *sTag-rtse-kha* in the north. From the first three of these four there are many points of access to India, and so on.

Proceeding directly south from Amratalla (*A-ma-tā-la*)¹⁴ [one arrives] at the borders of Assam (*A-shong*) where there is a sacred site called Singri (*Shing-ghi-ri*) whose outer form is a stūpa, and within the stūpa there appears a lake in the centre of which there is a stone image of the Teacher [Śākyamuni].¹⁵ Although formerly the image was actually visible, in later times it sank into the lake so that if one searches for it

skor rdo-leb chen-po'i dbus kyu-ru-ra'i sdong-po yod-pa ston-pa'i dbu-
 skra nyag-gcig lus-pa-las 'khrungs-ba-yin zer / de'i shar-phyogs-la A-
 shong-gi yul-khams-la ri-thang gnyis-ka yod-pas / glang-po-che dang
 / ma-he / sbrul sogs yod-la / kho-rang-gi khyad-nor rgya-dar-'khor-lo
 dang / glang-chen dang / me-tog la-sogs-pa'i ri-mo yod-pa-dang / li'i
 dpyad-pa / tha-li / gha-ṭa / bha-ṭa / lo-ṭa / gzed-zhal-sked-nyag / ba-
 so-las grub-pa'i re-lde⁴ {72} dang / bsil-yab g.ya'-phrug / sgam-chung-
 gling-mang / glang-mche sogs rus-dpyad dang / rma-bya'i gdugs
 dang / bsil-yab sogs thon / rang-gi (32b) yul-nas gser thon zer-yang /
 bod-kyi gser thams-cad lo'i las-sgo la 'gro-ba mang / mnga'-ris-kyi
 mtha'-tshor mi 'jug-ma-can dang / rna-ba chen-po-yang yod /

[IV]

rta-mchog-kha-'bab-kyi lo-hi-ta 'di-yang kong-po rgya-la-nas klo-yul
 dang / padma-bkod che-chung-la bdar-te tsa-ri⁵ bskor / rgya-dkar-nag-
 gi mtshams klo kha-khra'i yul-brgyud A-shong-gi gzhung-la 'bab-pas /
 rong-skor lam-phyogs gcig-gi dus-chu chen-gyi pha-rir A-tsa-ra 'gro-
 ldog byed-pa mthong zer / A-shong-gi shar-mtha' zad-pa'i ri-brag-gi
 dbar-na bu-la mdun-ma byed-pa'i tshe chung-ma'i 'bogs-su ma-mgo
 gsher-ba'i kha-khra dang / ghrī-dho⁶ zer-ba'i klo longs-spyod-kyi gtso-
 bo ba-men-la byed-pa-yod /

4 B: ri-lde

5 A: tsā-ri

6 AB: bhrī-dho

with one's hand its head-ornament is touched. In the centre of the nearby [courtyard] of paving stones there is an embellic myrobalan tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*: *skyu-ru-ra*) which is said to have been born from a single hair left there by the Buddha.

East of that place are the districts of Assam (*A-shong*) which consist of both hills and plains wherein are found elephants, wild buffaloes, snakes and so forth. And the special products of the inhabitants include Indian silk bearing the designs of wheels, elephants and flowers; copper products including dishes (*tha-li*, H. thāli), water pitchers (*gha-ṭa*, Skt. ghaṭā), round-bottomed pots (*bha-ṭa*, Skt. bhāṇḍa, H. bhāṇḍā, bhāṇḍā), drinking pots (*lo-ṭa*, H. loṭā); also narrow-waisted spittoons (*gzed-zhal sked-nyag*);¹⁶ and objects of bone including shields made of ivory, fans, back-scratchers, little boxes with many compartments, elephant tusks and the like; and parasols and fans made of peacock [feathers] — [these and] other things are produced. Although gold is said to be produced in their country, there is much movement of all the Tibetan gold to the annual border trade marts.¹⁷ There are even people with tails and large ears on the borders of Ngari (*mNga'-ris*, Western Tibet).

[IV: The Brahmaputra and the Klo-pa]

The Lāuhitya (*Lo-hi-ta*, Luhit) [tributary] of the Brahmaputra (*rTā-mchog kha-'bab*) flows from *rGya-la* in *Kong-po* to the *Klo* country and to Greater and Lesser Padma-bkod (*Padma-bkod-che-chung*), and then it circles round *Tsa-ri*.¹⁸ On the border of India and China (*rGya-dkar-nag*) it flows down to the central region of Assam (*A-shong*) through the country of the *Klo Kha-khra*.¹⁹ On a certain path in the lower country Indians (*A-tsa-ra*)²⁰ are to be seen from across a great seasonal river going to and fro on a hillside opposite.

In the rocky mountains where the eastern borders of Assam come to an end [there live] the [tribes] of the *Klo[-pa]* called *Khaptra* (*Kha-khra*) and *Gidu* (*Ghrî-dho*)²¹ whose sons cut off the heads of their mothers as wedding gifts for their brides when they get married.²² They use the mithan (*ba-men*)²³ as their principal object of wealth and sustenance.

thub-pas spangs-pa min-pa'i bskal-par-yang //
 ma-sha bza' dang dud-'gro'i rnam-shes-can //
 sangs-rgyas 'byung-la mnyes-par mi-byed-pa'i //
 las-'bras yin-na bsam-shes-can-dag smyo //

de-la ghrî-dho⁷ na-re / nged-cag dang-por srin-po'i rigs yin-pas / mi'i
 sha-khrag-la longs-spyod-de slob-dpon gu-rus bkag-pa-nas / nged-kyi
 dpon dang gu-ru rdzu-'phrul 'gran-par byas-pas / brag-la mda'-'phen-
 pa sogs khyad-par ma-byung / slob-dpon gu-rus nam-mkhar gshegs-
 pas 'gran ma-nus-te / nged-cag dam-'og-tu bcug-pa'i rtags yin zer /
 da-lta rkang-lag-gi ngar-pa-tshor rtsid-skud-kyis dkris / mi-sha mi-za-
 bar bkar-btags-tshe / bdag-cag-gi lto mi-rnyed byas-{73}-pas / slob-
 dpon gu-rus nam-mkha'-nas ba-men pho-mo'i sa-bon bkug-nas 'di'i 'o-
 ma-la longs-spyod ces lto-skal-du byin-pas-las / 'phel-ba-yin zer / de-
 la rin chen-po⁸ byin-nas shar las-sgo-tshor 'phel-ba-la rgya-tsha zer /

[V]

shing-ghi-ri⁹-nas nub drang-po-na da-lta grags-tshod-kyi rtswa-mchog-
 grong dang / bya-rgod-phung-po yod / rtswa-mchog-grong-nas byang
 drang-por nyin-lam (33a) gsum phyin-na gdung-bsam bde-ba-thang
 zer-bar sleb / A-ru-ras mtshon-pa'i 'bras-bu gsum-ka'i nags-tshal / A-

7 B: bhrî-dho

8 B: rin-po-che

9 AB: shing-ghri-ri

Even during the *kalpa* that has not been abandoned by the Sage
 [Śakyamuni]
 There are those who devour their mothers' flesh and who have the
 mentality of animals,
 Taking no pleasure in the coming of the Buddha,
 And the karmic result of this maddens those who have full
 mental faculties.

In connection with this the Gidu (*Ghrî-dho*) declare:

We were originally of the race of demons (*srin-po*, Skt. *rākṣasa*) and so we enjoyed human flesh and blood. However, the Teacher Guru [Padmasambhava]²⁴ prohibited it, and so our chief and the Guru had a contest of magic. When they fired arrows at rocks there was no difference [between them. However,] when the Teacher Guru departed [flying] into the sky, [our chief] could not compete, and it is said that the binding of our leg-calves and forearms with thread made of the long hairs of the yak is a symbol of our having been forced to taken an oath [of allegiance to the Guru and the Buddhist teachings]. When we were being bound to the command not to eat human flesh we said we would not find any food. So the Teacher Guru fetched the seed of the male and female mithan from the sky and saying "Enjoy its milk!" he gave it to us for our allotted food. From then on [the mithan] proliferated.

A high price is paid for it [the mithan], and on spreading through the trade-marts of the eastern border [the cow-mithan hybrids] are called "jatsa" (*rgya-tsha*).²⁵

[V: Assam and its Botanical Products]

Due [south-]west of Singri (*Shing-ghi-ri*) are the presently renowned Kuśinagara (*rTswa-mchog-grong*) [Hajo] and Gr̥dhra-kūṭa (*Bya-rgod-phung-po*).²⁶ If one goes three days' journey due north of Kuśinagara one arrives at the place called *bDe-ba-thang* [in] *gDung-bsam*. A forest having all of the three fruits including the chelubic myrobalan

ka-ru dang / du-ru-ka / bilba sogs yod / gdung-bsam bde-ba-thang
 zer-ba-nas / A-shong-gi las-sgo che-ba ba-sha-ka'am / k̄a-mo-rū-pa¹⁰
 zer-ba yod-pa'i bar-la'ang lo-hi-ta'i chu-klung 'gro / rgya-mtshams der
 / bilba / dong-ka / ko-byi-la / zho-sha gsum / se-'bru / ba-sha-ka /
 nga-lag-si¹¹ / na-le-sham / pi-pi-ling / ka-ko-la / 'khri-shing / sle-tres
 / so-mi / spru-ma¹² sogs skye /

[VI]

A-shong brgal-ba'i lho-phyogs ri-brag btsan-po zhig-na / gha-rrog zer-
 ba'i rgyal-phran zhig yod / li'i sder-dpyad chen-po tho-ris gsal-ba de-
 nas 'ong / kho'i yul-mtha'-la chu-klung chen -po zhig shar-nas nub-
 brgyud 'gro-ba

[VII]

ka-li-ka-tar slebs-mtshams-nas phe-reng-ba-rnams-kyis gru-gzings
 sgor-mo lcags-gzer-kyi tshab-tu tshar zer-ba'i sba 'dom nyi-shu-tsam
 yod-pas bsdams-pa-la zhugs-nas rgya-nag-tu tshong-la 'gro / rgya-nag-
 pas pi-cing-nang-la mi-gtong-yang / tshong-rgyag-pa'i sa-yul-cig kho-
 la byin-par rgya-dkar-nag gnyis-ka 'dzom / de'i stabs-kyis rgya-gar-la
 tsi-na'i dpyad-dngos thams-cad yod zer /

[VIII]

yang phag-ri dang {74} mon spa-gro nye-shing / spa-gro-nas lho drang-
 po nyin-lam lnga-drug-gi sa-na dpag-bsam-kha yod / de-nas lho-
 drang-por nyin-lam-gcig-na / rtse-bzang-kha-stod zer-ba da-lta lho-

10 B: k̄an-rū-pa

11 B: kha-lag-si

12 A: sgru-ma

(*Terminalia chebula*: *A-ru-ra*), also eaglewood (*Aquilaria agallocha*: *A-ka-ru*), fir (*Abies*: *du-ru-ka*), Bengal quince (*Aegle marmelos*: *bilba*) and the like [is to be found there].²⁷ The river-valley of the Lohitya (*Lo-hi-ta*) runs by the place called *bDe-ba-thang* [in] *gDung-bsam*²⁸ even up to the major trade-marts of Assam (*A-shong*) existing there called Baska (*Ba-sha-ka*)²⁹ or Kāmṛūp (*Kā-mo-rū-pa*).³⁰ In those Indian frontier districts grow the Bengal quince (*Aegle marmelos*: *bilba*), Indian laburnum (*Cassia fistula*: *dong-ka*), marsh nuts (*Semecarpus anacardium*: *ko-byi-la*), *zho-sha-gsum* (?), pomegranates (*Punica granatum*: *se-'bru*), malabar nuts (*Adhatoda vasica* Nees ex. Wall: *ba-sha-ka*), bananas (*Musa*: *nga-lag-si*), black pepper (*Piper nigrum*: *na-le-sham*), long pepper (*Piper longum*: *pi-pi-ling*), cubeb (*Amomum subulatum*: *ka-ko-la*), creepers (? *khri-shing*), moonseed (*Tinospora cordifolia* Miers.: *sle-tres*), hemp (? *Hibiscus cannabinus*: *so-mi* = ? *so-ma[rā-dza]*), hellebore (*Helleborus*: *spru-ma*) and so forth.

[VI: The Garo Hills]

In a rocky fastness to the south [reached] by traversing Assam (*A-shong*) there is a petty kingdom called Garo (*Gha-rog*). The large dishes made of bronze which show [a design of] the heavens come from there.³¹ On the borders of their country a great river valley runs westwards from the east.

[VII: Calcutta — British Trade to China]

At the point where [that river] arrives at Calcutta (*Ka-li-ka-ta*), the British (*Phe-reng-ba*, Ferengi)³² take to round ships which are not fixed with iron nails but instead bound with so-called *tshar* (strips)³³ of bamboo twenty spans in length, and they depart for trade to China (*rGya-nag*). Although the Chinese (*rGya-nag-pa*) do not let them proceed to Beijing (*Pi-cing*), they have given them a place [at Canton]³⁴ for the transaction of their trade, and so at that place there is a meeting of both India and China. On account of that it is said that in India there are all the products of China (*Tsi-na*).

[VIII: North Bengal and its Wildlife]

Then close to *Pha-ri*³⁵ and to *sPa-gro*³⁶ in *Mon*³⁷ lies *dPag-bsam-kha*³⁸ at a place five or six days' journey due south of *sPa-gro*. One day's journey due south from there lies the place called Chichacotta (*rTse-bzang-kha*

'brug-gis bdag / ka-tsa-ra'i grong-rdal yod / 'di-dag rgya-gar-kha-stod
 ri-thang gnyis-ga yod-pas stag gzic dang / gung / phag-rgod / ma-he
 / sha-ba sogs-kyang yod / stag dang phag-rgod gnyis mthong-bar
 snga-shos de rgyal-ba / gung rtsal che-bas ljon-shing steng-nas stag-la
 mchongs-te gsod-pas / bod-na gung-gdan che-bar byed-pa 'di-la rtog-
 (33b)-pas brtags /

[IX]

de-nas lho drang-por nyin-lam gcig-na bhe-har-ram / gha-ṭa-ka zer-ba
 dbang-phyug-gi brgyud-pa yin-no-ba'i rā-dza che-ba zhig yod-pa da-lta
 phe-reng-gis bdag / de-nas lho drang-por rong-phu'i las-sgo-nas byu-
 ru / spos-shel / mu-tig / 'go-snam / tsan-dan / bzang-drug / ras-srab-
 la kha-zheng che-ba'i kha-sha zer-ba-rnams thon / rong-phu-nas shar-
 phyogs-su song-na dzo-ki-gho-ba zer-ba'i yul ri-thang gnyis-ka yod-
 pa'ang A-shong-gi sa-mtshams yin /

[X]

de-dang thag-nye-ba-na spre'u'i yul-khams-su grags-pa / spre'u'i
 dpon-blon 'khor man-po dang-bcas-pa'i zhal-ta-ba bram-ze zhig-gis
 byed-pa-yod / spre'u'i mnga'-zhabs-su sdod-pa'i mi-rnams-kyi 'bras-
 shing bgo-bsha' byas-pa'i cha-nas 'bras-g.yos sbyar-ba spre'u-la bstab-
 dgos / gal-te ma-bstabs-na spre'u thams-cad-kyis 'bras-shing rnyog-nas
 ston-thog bsdu-rgyu mi-yong / mnga'-zhabs-pas g.yos-sbyar-ba
 byung-ba'i tshe / bram-ze zhal-ta-bas spre'u'i rgyal-po btsun-mo blon-
 po-nas rim-par skal-ba bcad-tshar-ba-dang / rgyal-(75)-po-nas rim-par
 'ongs-te longs-spyod / g.yos-stab-mkhan-la mi-dge-ba 'ong-rgyu yin-
 na spre'us zas mi-za / mi de-rnams bu-lon chags-pa sogs snga-phyi
 dgos-pa byung-yang / bram-ze-la brda-sbyar-bas / spre'u'i rgyal-pos
 ṭam-kha-tsam dgos snga-phyi ster zer /

stod) which is now possessed by Bhutan (*lHo-'brug*).³⁹ Villages of the Kachari (*Ka-tsa-ra*)⁴⁰ are there. These districts of upper India have both hills and plains, and therein are found tigers, leopards, jackals, boars, buffaloes, deer and so forth. The first one to catch sight [of the other in a fight between] a tiger and a boar is the one which wins. The jackal has great dexterity and it kills a tiger by jumping on it from the top of a tree. The great value put on those jackal mats in Tibet ought to be critically examined.

[IX: Kūch Bihār, Rangpur, Jogighopa]

A day's journey due south [from Chichacotta] there is a great rāja who claims to be of the lineage of Śiva (*dBang-phyug*) at [Kūch] Bihār (*Be-har*) or *Gha-ṭa-ka*, [and his kingdom] is now possessed by the British (*Phe-reng*).⁴¹ From the trade-mart due south from there at Rangpur (*Rong-phu*)⁴² there come forth coral, amber, pearls, serge, sandal wood, the "six good [spices]",⁴³ and the fine cotton cloth of broad width called *kha-sha*.⁴⁴ If one goes eastwards from Rangpur [one comes to] the district called Jogighopa (*Dzo-gi-gho-ba*)⁴⁵ where there are both hills and plains and which is also the frontier of Assam (*A-shong*).

[X: The Land of Monkeys]

Close by [lies the place] famed as the land of monkeys.⁴⁶ A brāhman acts as the counsellor of the monkey chief, his ministers and many followers. Cooked rice has to be delivered to the monkeys from an apportionment of the paddy fields of those who live there under the authority of the monkeys. If it is not delivered all the monkeys disturb the paddy fields and the harvest cannot be collected. When the [rice] cooked by the subjects is brought and once the brāhman counsellor has divided up the portions for the monkey king, his queen, ministers and so on in an ordered sequence, the king and the others in turn approach and enjoy [the food]. If something evil is due to befall the cooks, the monkeys will not eat the food. If those people have a need to defer payment of loans and so on, they inform the brāhman and the monkey king then says there is a need for only one *ṭam-kha* [coin]⁴⁷ and he gives permission to pay the rest later.

srid-pa las-kyis bskos-pa 'dir //
 btsan-po'i mthus-kyang mi-brdzi-na //
 gya-gyu'i spyod-pa 'ba'-zhig-la //
 re-ltos 'cha'-ba smyon-pa-yin //

[XI]

yang rong-phu'i las-sgo-nas lho-phyogs-kyi yul-gru mang-po brgal-ba-
 na / ḍa-ka zer-ba'i rgyal-khag che-ba rgya-mtsho dang thag-nye-bar
 yod-par-yang phe-reng-pas bdag / rong-phu'i nub-phyogs-la mong-gor
 zer-ba'i rgyal-phran zhig yod-pa sngar lho-'brug-gis bdag-kyang gorṣas
 blangs / yul-de'i lho-phyogs-na (34a) kha-ghar zer-ba'i yul-phran-na
 tshong-dpon tsanda-pha-la'i khyim yin zer-ba'i khang-shul yod /
 mong-gor-gyi nub-phyogs bal-po / yam-bu / ye-rang / kho-khom-gyis
 mtshon-pa'i rgyal-phran nyis-shu-skor yod-pa rgyal-bstan-la gus-pa-
 can yin-yang / 'phyis A-su-ra'i brtul-zhugs 'dzin-pa gorṣas mnan / da-
 lta yul-de-na bzhugs-pa'i mchod-rten bya-rung-kha-shor dang /
 'phags-pa-shing-kun gnyis-kyang gzhan snang-tsam-du bsti-stang
 chung-bar bzhugs / mong-gor-gyi byang-phyogs 'bras-mo-ljongs /

[XII]

kha-che-ni bal-po'i byang-phyogs yin / de-na dza-landha-ra dang /
 phu-la-ha-ri yod / nā-ro-pa'i tshogs-khang grong-gi dbus-na yod-
 kyang / mu-stegs-kyis gnod-pas rdo-bcal spub-pa-la lha-mo'i sku-
 snang zer / dgon-pa dngos de'i phu-na yod-pa'ang 'ug-pa'i tshang
 bcas-pa'i nyams-gog-la thug-bzhin / bod-{76}'-dir dzo-ki'i rdzun-gtam-
 la yid-rton-pa'ang snang /

In this existence conditioned by karma
 It is madness to put one's hopes
 Solely in fraudulent actions
 Even when not oppressed by a sovereign's power.

[XI: Dhaka, Vijayapur, Nepal, Sikkim]

Then if one traverses many districts south from the trade-mart of Rangpur (*Rong-phu*) [one arrives] at the great kingdom of Dhaka (*Da-ka*)⁴⁸ close to the ocean, and this too the British (*Phe-reng-pa*) possess. West of Rangpur is a petty kingdom called *Mong-gor* [Vijayapur]⁴⁹ which was formerly possessed by Bhutan (*IHo-'brug*) but later taken by Gorkha (*Gorṣa*). South of that region in a little district called *Kha-ghar* there are the ruins of what is said to be the house of the merchant Candapāla (*Tsanda-pha-la*).⁵⁰ West of *Mong-gor* there are about twenty petty kingdoms such as those of the Newar (*Bal-po*), Kathmandu (*Yam-bu*), Patan (*Ye-rang*) and Bhaktapur (*Kho-khom*).⁵¹ Although they are devotees of the teachings of the Jina [the Lord Buddha], they were later oppressed by the Gorkha, who have the [warlike] nature of demi-gods. The stūpas of both Bodhnāth (*Bya-rung-kha-shor*) and Swayambhunāth (*'Phags-pa-shing-kun*) which are now situated there appear to be venerated only in small measure.⁵² Sikkim (*'Bras-mo-ljongs*) [lies] to the north[-east] of *Mong-gor*.

[XII: Kashmir]

Kashmir (*Kha-che*) is to the north[-west] of Nepal (*Bal-po*). Therein are [found] Jālandhara (*Dza-landha-ra*) and Phūlahari (*Phu-la-ha-ri*).⁵³ Although the temple of Nāropa (*Nā-ro-pa*) is situated in the centre of the city, it has been so damaged by heretics that its paving stones are overturned and [only] an image of a goddess is to be seen. The original temple is said to be located at a spot above that place, but it has fallen to decay [as evidenced by the presence of] an owl's nest and so forth.⁵⁴ Accordingly it seems that the false stories [told by Indian] yogis here in Tibet [concerning the flourishing condition of Buddhist temples in Kashmir] should also be disbelieved.

[XIII]

yang rong-phu-nas lho-nub mtshams-su phyin-pa-na dhe-na-phur zer-
 bai'i rgyal-khag-cig yod-par rong-phui'i ji-lta-ba'i tshong-'dus yod /
 de-nas lho-phyogs-su gtsang-chu zer-ba'i chu-chen-la gru-gzings byas-
 nas 'gro-ba-dang / brang zer-ba'i phyugs-la khal byas-nas skam-la 'gro-
 ba'i tshong-pa mang / de-dag 'gro-ba'i tshong-'dus mang-po brgal-nas
 phyin-pa-na / mahā-no-di zer-ba'i cong-chung dang / gtsang-chu
 gnyis 'dzom-sar sleb / de-nas-kyang tshong-'dus dang yul-khams
 mang-po bcad-nas phyin-pa'i nub-phyogs-nas chu-bo gangā tshan-pa
 gnyis-su gyes-pa'i che-shos dang phrad / de-yang nyin-lam dgu-bcu'i
 sa-nas tshan-pa gnyis-su gyes-pa'i gcig shar-lho ḍa-ki'i rgyal-khab dang
 / gcig lho drang-por 'gro-ba shānta-pur grags-pa'i yul-khams-su
 bhanga-la'i rgyal-po'i pho-brang-gi rtsa-ba-brgyud 'ongs-pa'i ganga
 dang 'dres /

[XIV]

de lho-phyogs ka-li-ka-ta brgyud-nas rgya-mtshor 'bab / ganga gnyis
 'dres-sa-nas zhag bcu-(34b)-skor-gyis ma-sleb-tsam-nas ka-li-ka-ta zer-
 ba'i yul-gyi sne zin / sngon de-na phyi-rol-pa'i drang-srong zhig yod-
 pa shi-ba'i tshe nga'i phung-po 'di bzung-nas 'dir yul-sde chen-po
 chags zer-ba-bzhin byas-pas yul-gru chen-po chags-pa sngar bhanga-
 la'i¹³ sde yin / kho'i ro ka-li-ka-tar ka-shi-bha-bhur zer-ba'i phyug-po-
 zhig-gi khyim-na yod / 'phyis yul 'di phe-reng-pas bzung-nas dpon-
 zhig bzhag-pa-la gho-ro sa-heb¹⁴ dang / gros-la dbang-ba'i las-don
 byed-mi che-ba-bzhi yod skad / ka-li-ka-ta 'di yul-ljongs che-bas
 'dzam-bu'i-gling-gi mi-sna phal-cher 'dzom / rgya-gar-pa-{77}-la gyad
 dang rtsal-ba'i rigs gnyis-las gyad stobs-che / rtsal-ba bde-blag 'dzom-

13 A: bhangā-la'i

14 B: gho-ros-heb

[XIII: Dinajpur — The Rivers of Northern India]

Then if one goes south-west from Rangpur (*Rong-phu*) there is a kingdom called Dinajpur (*Dhe-na-pur*), and there is a market there just as in Rangpur.⁵⁵ From there southwards one proceeds by boat on a great river called the *gTsang-chu*,⁵⁶ and there are many merchants who go into the desert with their loads packed onto animals called "camels" (*brang*). After traversing the many markets which they visit one arrives at the confluence with the *gTsang-chu* of a [river which flows through] a small ravine called the Mahānadi (*Ma-hā-no-dī*).⁵⁷ Having passed thereafter through many markets and districts, the river Ganges (*Gangā*) [descending] from the west divides into two branches, and one meets with the larger of these. Then at a place nine or ten days' journey from there it again divides into two branches. One of these flows south-east to the kingdom of Dhakha (? *Da-ki*) while the other flows due south and, passing by the foot of the palace of the king of Bengal (*Bhanga-la*) in the region of Santipur (*Shānta-pur*),⁵⁸ it mixes with the Ganges (*Gangā*).

[XIV: Calcutta — Origins, Government, Trade etc]

[The river] then flows southwards into the ocean by way of Calcutta (*Ka-li-ka-ta*). Just before reaching a spot about ten days from the confluence of the two Ganges one arrives at the edge of the country called Calcutta. There was formerly in that place a rishi belonging to the foreign [religion] who on the point of death declared: "If you keep this body of mine, a great community will be established here". When it was done in accordance with his words, a great settlement was founded that was previously [under the authority of the *nawāb* of] the province of Bengal (*Bhangā-la*). His corpse is [preserved] in Calcutta at the house of a wealthy person called Kashi Babu (*Ka-shi Bha-bhu*).⁵⁹ Later this region [of Calcutta] was seized by the British (*Phe-reng-pa*), and they installed there a chief [called] the Governor Sahib (*Gho-ro Sa-heb*),⁶⁰ and there are said to be four great executive officials⁶¹ who have power over his counsels. This land of Calcutta is great, so most of the emissaries of Jambudvīpa gather there.

There are two types of Indians, the mighty and the dexterous, and of these the mighty are of greater strength while the dexterous are so very agile they cannot be defeated by physical strength alone. They are a

pas shed-stobs gcig-pos mi-'gro / mi-rigs shin-tu mtshar-sdug dang-
ldan-pa'ang yod-cing / mdzes-ma glu-gar-la mkhas-pa rdza-rnga dang
/ gling-bu dang-lhan-cig brtse / tsu-ta'i yul-gyi mi rkang gcig-pas-
kyang sleb / rkang-gcig-pa de kho-rang gcig-pos-kyang gyol-ler¹⁵ 'gro-
shes-te / gnyis-gnyis sbrel-ba shin-tu mgyogs / sha-dkar dang dngul-
chu-la dngul / 'jon-la gser-bzo shes-pa'i tshong-pas-kyang sleb / rdo'i
snod-spyad dang / snang-brnyan / li-khri / rgya-tshwa'i rigs-kyang
bzo /

[XV]

Amra / go-yu / tā-la / be-ta-sa / 'khri-shing / kha-ru-mus rigs-gnyis /
ga-gon che-chung / ka-ka-ru dkar-sngon / 'bras-bu mi-khur longs-pa'i
sbram-bi¹⁶ la-sogs shing-'bras mang / ngang-lag zer-ba chu-shing-gi
'bras-bu-dang / bur-shing-las bu-ram / bu-ram-las bye-dkar / de-las
shel-dkar bzo / me-tog-las byung-ba'i chang dang / shing-las byung-
ba'i chang-ni dzā-ti srung-ba-dag 'thungs-bas myos-byed-kyi rigs min /
me-tog padma dang / Utpal dang / ka-ra-wi-ra sogs dri zhim-pa dang
/ mdangs mtshar-ba gang-yang skye / sa-'og-tu smin-pa'i kha-zas
skye-ba (35a) dkar-dmar zer-ba yod /

[XVI]

rma-bya dang / glang-chen / bse-ru / ne'u-le che-chung gnyis / she'u-
le¹⁷-ste rkun-po ce-spyang la-sogs-pa yul-ljongs phal-cher-la yod-kyang
/ nor-snar rtsi-pa'i glang-chen mche-ba drug-pa-ni mngon-gyur-du
med / mche'u chung dang-bcas-pa'i mche-ba bzhi yod-pa srid-pa-tsam
yin / glang-chen thal-kar dkar-po'i rigs byung-na / des {78} glang-po'i
khyu-mchog byed-pas / byings-rnams de'i 'gro-sdod-kyi rjes-snyeg /
bal-gyi glang-po-che sogs dag-pa'i zhing-khams-kyi bgros yin-pa-'dra /

15 B: gyel-ler

16 A: sbram-si

17 B: shi'u-le

people also possessed of extreme beauty, and their lovely ladies who are skilled in song and dance perform music with drums and flutes.

The one-legged people of the *Tsu-ta*⁶² country also arrive [in Calcutta]. Those one-legged people are able to proceed even when alone, hobbling along, but if they join up in pairs they move very quickly.

Merchants also arrive [in Calcutta] who know how to make silver from tin and mercury, and gold from copper. They also make stone vessels and images, and also various [dyes including] minium orange (*li-khri*) and vermilion (*rgya-tshwa*).

[XV: The Botanical Products of Northern India]

There are many fruits including mangoes (*Mangifera indica: A-mra*), betel-nuts (*Areca catechu: go-yu*), palms (*Palmae: tā-la*), coconuts (*Cocos nucifera: be-ta-sa*), creepers (*'khri-shing*), two types of *kha-ru-mus* (?), large and small melons (*Cucumis melo: ga-gon*), white and green cucumbers (*Cucumis sativus: ka-ka-ru*), and *sbram-bi* (?) [the single] fruit of which makes up a man's load, and so-called bananas (*Musa: ngang-lag*), the fruit of the plantain tree (*chu-shing*). Molases (*bu-ram*) are made from sugar-cane (*bur-shing*), sugar (*bye-dkar*) from molases, and sugar crystal (*shel-dkar*) from sugar. As for alcohol made from flowers and from wood,⁶³ those who observe caste rules drink this and so it is not classed as an intoxicant. All kinds of fragrant and beautiful flowers grow, including lotuses (*Ziziphus lotus: padma*), poppies (*Meconopsis discigera: Utpal*) and oleanders (*Nerium oleander: ka-ra-wi-ra*). There are edible plants which grow and mature beneath the ground called "white-red" (? sweet potato, *Ipomoea batatas: dkar-dmar*).

[XVI: The Wildlife of Northern India]

In most areas there are found peacocks, elephants, rhinos, two [kinds of] mongoose, large and small, and the *she'u-le*⁶⁴ or thieving jackals, but the six-tusked elephant which is considered to be [one of the Seven] Precious Possessions [of a Universal Monarch] is not actually to be seen.⁶⁵ Just possibly there exists the four-tusked one with its little tusks. If one of the [six-tusked] white elephants appears, it acts as the leader of the elephants in such a way that the common members of the herd follow its movements. It seems that the elephants of Nepal (*Bal*) and other places have a heavenly gait.

glang-po-bas bse-ru chung-yang / shed-stobs kho che-bas / 'thab-mo
 chen-po byed / kho'i mchan-'og-gi grod dang rlan-la 'bu-sbrang 'khor-
 ba yan-chad lces-ldag zer / gcig-pur sdod-pa-las khyus 'tsho-ba ma-yin
 / krīṣṇa-sa'am khri-gnyan-ni dkon-la byams-pa'i sems dang-ldan-pas
 kho gzhan-gyis srog-'phrog-pa'i ched-du ded-kyang 'gros-lam-gyi
 srog-chags chung-ngu rmig-pas gzhar-gyis dogs-nas snas bsal-ba-yin
 zer / de-la brten-nas byang-chub-kyi sems 'phel-ba'i rten-'brel-du grub-
 chen-rnams-kyis stan mdzad-cing rin-thang che / gcus-ra de'i sgra
 thos-pa'ang byang-chub-kyi sems skye-bas 'bud-dung zhig-la 'di
 bzang-ngo /

dam-pa'i legs-smon sngon song-nas //
 dud-'gro-la-yang byang-chub-kyi //
 rigs yod-phyir-na rnam-rig kun //
 sdig-tor song-ba'i skyes-bus ci //

[XVII]

ka-li-ka-ta der sngon dbang-phyug-gi chung-ma tsaṅdi shi-ba'i ro
 bskyur ma-phod-nas phang-bar¹⁸ bzung-ste 'dzam-gling bskor-ba'i
 yan-lag-rnams yul-gling so-sor bzhag-pa'i mgo-bo yin zer / da-lta rdo'i
 mi-mgo lce nar-ba'i lha-khang-zhig yod / de-la sems-can mang-po
 srog-bcad-nas dmar-mchod byed / de-nas nub-phyogs nyin-lam lnga-
 nas sngon rgyal-po ra-ma-pha-las srin-por dmag-drangs-pa'i tshe phru-
 ma btab-pa-yin zer-(35b)-ba'i lha-khang-zhig-na / mtshon-cha-mang-
 po dang / nye-'dabs-su tsandan dkar-po'i shing yod-pas phyogs-
 gzhan-la de'i sa-bon btab-kyang mi-skye / khyo-bo shi-{79}-na chung-
 ma la-la ro-dang mnyam-bsregs-su 'gro-ba'i srol-yang yul 'di-dag phal-
 cher-la yod zer /

18 B: pang-bar

Although the rhinoceros is smaller than the elephant, it is greater in strength and so it puts up a great fight. It is said to lick with its tongue [all those parts of its body] upwards from its belly and the wet parts under its crotch that are circled by insects and bees. Apart from staying in solitude, it does not live in herds.

As for the *kṛṣṇasāra* (*kṛṣṇa-sa[ra]*) or [black] antelope, it is rare and possesses a loving spirit, and so it takes pains to chase away other animals which take life, and moreover being fearful of scraping little animals with its hooves it clears them away with its nose. On account of this the *mahāsiddhas* make mats [of antelope hide] as portents to diffuse enlightenment, and their cost is great. Also because hearing the sound of its twisted horn generates the mind of enlightenment, it is [made into] a trumpet for blowing and it is good.

Because of the Holy One's good aspirations made in former times
Animals too have among them

Those belonging to the family of enlightenment.

What need to speak of someone with full mental faculties who has
abandoned evil?

[XVII: Calcutta, Kalighat and the Rite of Self-Immolation]

In former ages Śiva (*dBang-phyug*) could not bear to abandon the corpse of his dead wife Sati (*Tsandī*). He therefore cherished the corpse and as he went round the world he left its limbs in various places, and so Calcutta is said to be the head. Now there is a temple [Kalighat] there containing a human head of stone with a long tongue.⁶⁶ Many animals are killed there and their blood is offered in sacrifice.

Five days' journey from there lies a temple which is said to be [located on the site of] the camp pitched when King Rāmapāla (*Ra-ma-pha-la*) waged war against the demons.⁶⁷ Inside are many weapons, and close by there is a white sandal tree whose seeds will not grow if they are planted in any other place.

It is said that in most of these regions the custom also exists that when husbands die, some wives go to be burnt along with their husbands' corpses.⁶⁸

[XVIII]

lar 'di-dag lta-ba ngan-pa-la zhugs-pa-yin-pas shānta-pur-du'ang sngon
yul-de'i rgyal-po bha-gi-ra-thas / sngon skyabs-seng-bus dgra rngan
dpung bcom-pa dmyal-ba'i me-dpung-nang skyes-ba dmyal-ba'i me
gsod-pa'i ched-du lha tshangs-pa mnyes-par byas-nas gangā'i rgyun
byung-ba-yin zer / mchod-pa'i gtso-bo mug-shu-dha'i pho-brang rtsa-
ba-brgyud yong-ba'i gangā de-rang-la byed /

lcags-bsregs sa-gzhi su-yis byas //
me-tshogs 'di-dag gang-las byung //
de-'dra de-dag thams-cad-ni //
sdig-sems lags-par¹⁹ thub-pas gsungs //

zhes rang-rang-gi sdig-sems gos-pa'i 'bras-bu rmi-lam-gyi snang-ba lta-
bur so-so'i ngo-kha-la snang-ba'i dmyal-me spyi-mthun-gyi snang-ngo-
la shar-ba 'byung-ba'i chus ga-la gsod thub /

ma-rtogs-pa-rnams shin-tu-yang //
snying-rje chen-po'i gnas yin-te //
log-par rtogs dang de'i rjes-su //
'brenng-'di bsod-nams zad-pa'i skyon //

gong-du smos-pa'i shānta-pur-gyi byang-phyogs-na bhanga-la'i rgyal-
khab-de tshong-'dus chen-po bzhis bskor-nas yod / pho-brang gser-gyi
rgyal-mtshan la-sogs jo-bo'i rnam-thar-na yod-pa de-tsho'i rten dang
brten-pa thams-cad dengs-nas ring-zhig lon-pa-'dra / deng-sang-ni
rgyal-sa de'i ming-la / mug-shu-dhar-no-bab zer / sngar rgyal-sa de /
ṭi-ling pa-cas²⁰ bdag-pa²¹ phyis phe-reng-pas 'phrogs-nas sngar-gyi
rgyal-sa-pa-la ti-rub 'bum-bcu-drug-re'i phogs ster skad / sngon rgyal-

19 A: legs-par

20 B: ṭi-ling-pa ces-pas

21 B: bdag-pa-la

[XVIII: Murshidabad — Origins, Government, Bathing Pools]

Moreover, these people have embraced evil views [as follows]. In Santipur (*Shānta-pur*),⁶⁹ the king of that country in former times, Bhāgiratha (*Bha-gi-ra-tha*), had previously been defeated by the Pāṇḍavas (*sKyabs-seng-bu*)⁷⁰ by bribing their enemies. He was reborn in the fires of hell, and in order to extinguish the fires of hell the god Brahmā (*Tshangs-pa*) was propitiated [with gifts], and so it is said that the course of the river Ganges (*Gangā*) came forth. The most important offerings are made to that very part of the Ganges which flows by the foot of the palace of Murshidabad (*Mug-shu-dha*).

Who made the floor of burning iron?
From where does this mass of fire come?
That and all these things
Is said by the Sage to be the evil mind.⁷¹

How can the element of water possibly extinguish the fires of hell which appear to common sight after manifesting in every person's experience like the impressions of a dream as the result of each one thinking evil?

Those who do not understand are
Objects of extreme pity.
Those who have false understanding and those who
Follow after them have the fault of exhausted merit.

The [city of] Santipur (*Shānta-pur*) mentioned above is surrounded on the north by four great markets in this kingdom of Bengal (*Bhanga-la*).⁷² The sacred relics including the golden banner of victory and other objects mentioned in the biography of the Lord (*Jo-bo*, i.e. Atiśa Dipaṅkaraśrijñāna) have disappeared, and so it seems a long time has passed since then.⁷³ Nowadays the name of the capital is Murshidabad (*Mug-shu-dhar-no-bab*). Formerly this royal site was owned by the Pādshāh of Delhi (*Ti-ling Pa-ca*, i.e. the Mughal Emperor), but later it was stolen by the British (*Phe-reng-pa*) and [as compensation] it is said that they [continue to] give a salary of 1,600,000 rupees to the former incumbent of the throne [the Nawāb of Bengal].

khab-de dar che-ba'i skabs so-phag-gi {80} lcags-ris bskor-ba'i skyed-mos-tshal-na khrus-kyi rdzing-bu gnyis-(36a)-gnyis yod-pa mu-tig-rdzil dang / hi-ra-rdzil gnyis-kyi steng-na spro-khang brgyad 'bab-stegs rdo-skas dang-bcas-pa'i hi-ra-rdzil-du me-tog rgyas-pa'i dus nam-mkha'-nas lha-mo khrus-la 'ong-ba bzung-bar sems-pa-na / nam-mkha'-la 'phur-ba'i shul-du mchil-lham-cig lus-pa sha'u-dhe cig-gis ti-rub-'bum-ri zer / rdzing-bu de-las gcig-la lhas dmod-bor-bas khrag-mdog-tu snang-zhing da-lta khrus dang btung-ba mi-byed skad /

[XIX]

bhanga-la'i nub-phyogs²² phat-na²³ zer-ba'i rgyal-khab che-ba zhig yod-pa'i mi-rigs-la mo-gol zer / ka-li-ka-ta-nas rgya-mtshor 'gro-ba'i lam-bar-na ba-tshwa dan-bcas-pa'i bye-ma btsos-nas lan-tshwa bzo-ba-yod / lar yul 'di-dag lha-yul-ltar rgya-nom-zhing / nyams-bde / grong-khyer mang / lam thams-cad-kyang rdza-phag-las byas-pas dngos-gtsang-zhing / 'gro-bde-yang thar-pa'i lam med-pas blun-po rtag-'dzin-can-tsho'i spyod-yul-la bde-ba-can²⁴ zhig-go // de'i nub-byang mtshams-na wā-rā-ṅa-si dgon-pa'i tshul dang / ka-shi grong-rdal-gyi tshul-du yod / ka-shi-ka'i ras-dngos 'di-nas thon-zhing ras-yug²⁵ shin-tu ring / srab-pa'i tshad phyi-nang bsgrub-med-du gsal-bas ne'u-gsing-gi khar bzhag-kyang rtswa-ljang-gi mdog mi-sgrub / de-nas lho-phyogs-su phyin-pa-na gha-ya zer-ba'i gnas stobs-chen bram-ze'i gling-du yod-pa-la gson-gshin gnyis-ka'i sbyin-pa gtong-sa byed / khor-yug lcags-ris bskor-ba'i nang-na rdo'i mchod-rten gcig / spyang-ras-gzigs-kyi rdo-sku / ston-pa'i zhabs-rjes yin zer-ba-la mchod-cing / rang-

22 B: nub-phyogs-pa

23 B: pa-ṅa-na

24 B: bde-ba-tsam

25 A: ras-lug

In former times when this kingdom was flourishing greatly [at Murshidabad] there were a pair of bathing pools inside gardens circled by walls of bricks. On top of both of these, the Motijhil (*Mu-tig-rdzil*, "Pearl Lake") and the Hirājhil (*Hi-ra-rdzil*, "Diamond Lake"), were eight pleasure pavilions together with bathing *ghāṭs* ('*bab-steps*) and stone stairways.⁷⁴ At the time when the flowers blossomed a goddess came down from the sky to bathe in the Hirājhil and when she thought she was going to be seized she flew into the sky leaving a shoe behind. A certain *sādhu* (*shau-dhe*) named [the place where it was left] Tirubumri (*Ti-rub-'bum-ri*, "The Hill of a Hundred Thousand Coins").⁷⁵ Because a god took an oath on one of those pools it turned the colour of blood, and so it is said that today no bathing or drinking is done there.

[XIX: Patnā, Vārānasi, Gayā, Bodhgayā — The Destruction of Buddhism]

To the west of Bengal (*Bhanga-la*) there is a great kingdom called Patnā (*Phaṭ-na*) whose race are called Mughals (*Mo-gol*). On the road which goes from Calcutta (*Ka-li-ka-ta*) to the ocean there is sand [mixed] with soda-salt (*ba-tshwa*) which after boiling produces table salt (*lan-tshwa*).

Now these regions are broad like heaven, happy, and possess many cities. All the roads are very clean and easy to travel upon since they are made of tiles. However, since they are not the road to liberation, how in the perception of stupid eternalists can they be understood to be the heaven of Sukhāvati (*bDe-ba-can*)?⁷⁶

North-west⁷⁷ lies Vārānasi (*Wā-rā-ṇa-si*, Benares), which is in the form of a monastery, and Kāśī (*Ka-shi*) in the form of a town. The original *ka-shi-ka* cotton ["Benares muslin"] is produced there, and a standard length of it is very long. The measure of its fineness is clearly apparent on both sides, so that even if it is put on a patch of grass, the green colour of the grass is not obscured [by the cloth].

Then if one goes southwards⁷⁸ [from Vārānasi one reaches] the powerful shrine of Gayā (*Gha-ya*) in a land of brāhmins, and it is used as a place for making both live and dead offerings. Within an area surrounded by a continuous wall [there lies] a stone stūpa, a stone image of Avalokiteśvara (*sPyan-ras-gzigs*), and a footprint said to be that of the Teacher [the Buddha Śākyamuni]. If one calls upon the names of

rang-[81]-gi pha-mes-kyi ming-nas bos-na ngan-song-nas thar zer / 'di ma-gha-dha²⁶ yin-nam zer-ba'i pho-tshod tsam-las yongs-grags-su stangs-chod-pa med / mu-stegs-kyi dka' thub-pa sho-na-bhram / bhe-ram-gi / dzo-ki²⁷ sogs-(36b)-su 'bod-cing / lag-pa gnyis spyi-bor bkan-pa-dang / thal-mo sbyar-ba-dang / cig-shos gdengs-bzhin-du rengs-pa la-la'i zer-lugs / gha-ya-nas nub-phyogs zla-lam gsum-gyi sa-na rdo-rje-gdan-gyi ngo-bo-tsam yod / lcags-ri sogs nyams-nas med zer / lar slob-dpon dpa'-bo byon-pa'i yang phyi-nas rgyal-po dharma-pā-las rgyal-srid byed-tshe / tu-ruška'i dmag-gis ma-gha-dha-pa bcom / nalandrar²⁸-yang gnod-pa chen-po byung / de'i phyi-nas rgyal-po sangs-rgyas-phyogs-kyis ta-zig-gi rgyal-po tu-ruška pham-par byas / chos-gzhi mang-po sor-chud-par byas-kyang mu-stegs-can gnyis-kyis nyi-ma'i rigs-sngags bsgrubs-pas sangs-rgyas-pa'i chos-gzhi brten-pa'i lha-khang brgyad-cu-skor me-la bsregs / de-bzhin-du bram-ze rgyal-bzhes²⁹ la-sogs-pa'i mu-stegs-can-rnams-kyis-kyang yul-dbus dza-landha-ra'i bar-gyi gtsug-lag-khang mang-po zhugs-la sbyangs-pas rdo-rje-gdan-gyi bkod-pa mthong-dka'-ba'i gnas-la skyo-ba skyes-nas / mes-dbon-gyi gtsug-lag-khang-rnams-la bsti-stang bskyed-par rigs /

[XX]

gha-ya de yul-dbus-su byas-pa'i nub-phyogs zla-lam gsum-gyi sa-na ṭi-ling pa-ca kho-la phe-reng-bas 'bul-sna-re byed zer / gha-ya-nas lho-phyogs-su lo bzhi-lnga-skor bgrod-pa-na-snga-ma-las stobs-che-ba rum pa-ca / 'dis 'dzam-bu'i-gling-gi mtha' dpal-ldan 'bras-spungs-la bdag-byed / khong gnyis 'dzam-[82]-bu'i-gling-gi rgyal-khab che-shos yin-

26 A: ma-gha-dhā

27 A: dzo-gi

28 B: nā-lendrar

29 B: rgyal-ba-shes

one's ancestors while worshipping [the footprint] one is said to be delivered from [rebirth in] the lower forms of existence. Apart from the mere assumption that this place may be Magadha (*Ma-gha-dha*), [the claim] has not, in the opinion of all, been properly substantiated.

[Some of] the heretics who practise austerities [there], including those called *sho-na-bhram*,⁷⁹ *vairāgi* (*bhe-raṃ-gi*),⁸⁰ and *yogi* (*dzo-gi*), [keep their arms raised high by] placing their hands on the crown of their heads, or joining their palms together [above their heads] or lifting just one hand up, so that [these limbs in time become] stiff [with paralysis].⁸¹

According to the sayings of some people, the real Vajrāsana (*rDo-rje-gdan*, i.e. Bodhgyā) is at a spot three months' journey north of Gayā (*Gha-ya*). The walls and so on have perished and are no more.⁸² Afterwards the teacher [Mahā]vira (*dPa'-bo*)⁸³ came forth, and still later when King Dharmapāla (*Dharma-pa-la*) was exercising royal power, the army of the Turks (*Tu-ruška*) defeated the Magadha people (*Ma-gha-dhā-pa*).⁸⁴ Great harm was also done to [the monastery of] Nālandā (*Nalandra*). After that, King Buddhapakṣa (*Sangs-rgyas-phyogs*) conquered the king of Persia (*Ta-zig*) [and] the Turks (*Tu-ruška*). Although many religious estates were restored, because two heretics practised solar rituals of the tantric tradition some eighty temples supported by the religious estates of the Buddhists were burnt down.⁸⁵ Similarly the heretics including the brāhmin Puṣyamitra (*rGyal-bzhes*) purified by fire many temples situated in Madhyadeśa (*Yul-dbus*) as far as Jālandhara (*Dza-landha-ra*).⁸⁶ And so it is fitting to generate reverence for the ancestral temples, feeling grief for the [few surviving] buildings of Vajrāsana, a holy place which is so difficult to visit.

[XX: The British, Ottoman and Mughal Empires]

It is said the British (*Phe-reng-ba*) offer tribute to the Delhi Pādshāh (*Ti-ling pa-ca*), who [resides] at a place three months' journey west of Gayā (*Gha-ya*) in Madhyadeśa (*Yul-dbus*). If one travels for four or five years south⁸⁷ from Gayā [one comes to the lands of] the Ottoman Emperor (*Rum Pa-ca*, the Pādshāh of Rum, i.e. "Eastern Rome", Constantinople), who was formerly very powerful. He owns Śrī Dhānyakaṭaka (*dPal-ldan 'Bras-spungs*) at the extremity of Jambudvīpa.⁸⁸

Although these two [the Ottoman and Mughal empires] are the largest kingdoms in the world, there is a variation in the degree to

yang / ti-ling pa-ca'i mnga'-ris-rnams rgyal-po'i lung-'og-tu sdod mi-
sdod sna-tshogs-pas snyigs-ma rtsod-ldan-la rang-srid-kyang rnal-du
mi-phebs-na grib-ma sha-zar dogs-pa'i re-dogs spangs-la rang-gi dal-
rten-la dga'-ba bsgom-nas chos-la brtson-pa bskyed-cig /

[XXI]

pa-ca 'di-gnyis-ka kla-klo'i chos-lugs 'dzin-zhing gzhan-dag-kyang de-
la 'dzud gang-thub byed-pas rgya-gar-pa phal-cher-kyang kla-klo'i
chos-(37a)-lugs mang / de-skad-du rang-dbyer /

snyigs-ma'i dus-su 'phags-pa'i-yul //
kla-klo'i chos-kyis gang-bar 'gyur //
de-nas kla-klo'i rdzu-phrul-gyis //
sham-bha-la-ru dmag-'dren 'gyur //
de-tshe phyag-na-rdo-rje-yi //
sprul-pa drag-po zhes-bya-ba'i //
rgyal-pos kla-klo kun bcom-nas //
'phags-pa'i-yul-gyi bar-du-yang //
sangs-rgyas bstan-pa spel-bar gsungs //

zhes-so // kla-klo'i khungs-ni / slob-dpon klu-sgrub lho-phyogs-kyi
rgyud-na bzhugs-pa'i tshe / sde-snod-'dzin-pa gzhon-nu-sde zhes-bya-
ba bdud sdig-can-gyis bkab-nas / 'tsho-ba chos-su smra-ba kla-klo'i
grub-mtha' brtsams-pa-yin / de'i tshul-ni gsang-tshig-las /

nges-par brtse-med dpa'-bo-yis //
g.yul-ngor 'bros-pa med-par-ni //
g.yul-la mngon-par phyogs-gyur-na //
shi-nas mtho-ris 'gro-bar-'gyur //

ces-pa-dang mthun-par gleng-ngo //

which the dominions of the Mughal emperor abide to his command. Therefore, lest one's own state should fail to abide in tranquility in this age of degeneration and dispute one should abstain from worries, which are like the fear [caused by mistaking] one's own shadow for a flesh-eating demon. But rather one should meditate on the happiness of having one's own body [as a vehicle for enlightenment] and generate effort in the pursuit of religion.

[XXI: Islam and its Origins]

Both these emperors (*pa-ca*) uphold the religious system of the barbarians (*kla-klo*, i.e. Muslims), and because others submit to them as much as possible, most Indians are also of the barbarian religion. It is said in the *Rab-dbye*.⁸⁹

In the Age of Degeneration, Āryabhūmi ('*Phags-pa'i yul*, India)
 Will be filled with the religion of the barbarians.
 Then Shambhala (*Sham-bha-la*) will be invaded by
 The magic of the barbarians.
 The king called Rudra (*Drag-po*),⁹⁰ an emanation of
 Vajrapāṇi (*Phyag-na rdo-rje*), will at that time
 Defeat all the barbarians and then
 It is said that even as far as Āryabhūmi
 The teachings of the Buddha will be diffused.

So it was said. As for the origin of the [religion of the] barbarians, at a time when the teacher Nāgārjuna (*Klu-sgrub*) was residing in the southern region, one called Kumārasena (*gZhon-nu-sde*), an upholder of the *piṭaka*, fell under the influence of an evil demon and so he composed a treatise which claimed acts of injury to be the *dharma*.⁹¹ As for the manner of this, it is said in the *gSang-tshig*.⁹²

If a champion utterly without mercy
 Does not flee in the face of battle
 But joins battle with resolve
 Then after dying he will go to paradise.

What I have said [about the Muslims] accords with these words.

[XXII]

mu-stegs-kyi sde-tshan gcig las-'bras-la gus-pa-dang / lta-ba nang-pa-dang nye-ba'ang yod-pa de-'dra'i rigs thal-'gyur nam-dag-gis tshar-gcod nus-pa byung-na / slob-dpon dpa'-bo la-sogs-pa-ltar gdul-du rung-ba skyes-bu'i mtshan-nyid-la gnas-pa-yin / {83} bho-ṭa'i yul 'dir dge-sbyong yin-no-bar bsnyems-nas las-'bras-la ci-yang mi-sems-par gzhan-gnod gzhi-bcas lhur-len-pa'i khyim-pa sun-'byin-gyis-ni bstan-pa-la mos-pa ldog-cing / mes-dbon rnam-gsum-gyis dbang dge-'dun-la bskur-ba'i phrin-las chud-son-par byed-na / don-gyi kla-klo'i chos-lugs-la nye-bas bstan-pa nub-pa'i sngon-'gror 'ong-ba'i tshul // bzod-pa dka'-thub bzod-pa dam-pa-ni / sogs-pa'i shlo-kas³⁰ bstan / rum pa-ca'i rus-la ta-zig tu-ruṣka zer-zhing / de-yang rus-las tu-rub dang / chos-lugs-las kla-klor btags-kyang / kho'i sdun-du (37b) ming de brjod-na mi-dga'-bas / mu-sur-man zer skad / kho'i rta de rta gzhan-las nyis-'gyur-ram 'bun-gyis che-bas ming-la ta-zig durki³¹ zer /

[XXIII]

ṭi-ling pa-ca'i lho-phyogs-na bho-rong-ghi zer ba'i rgyal-khab cig yod-pa de'i mi dang rta gnyis-ka rtsal-che / kho-la mtsho-rta'i brgyud yin zer sha-gzugs grims-shing chu'i gting-la'ang zhon-nas 'gro-thub-pas / rta gzhan-gyis nyin-lam gsum-des nyin gcig-la chod zer-yang / rta thams-cad de-'dra yin-pa dka' /

30 B: sho-lo-kas

31 B: durgi

[XXII: Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims]

There is one class of heretics which has devotion for [the doctrine of] karmic retribution, and they are even quite close to the views of the insiders [Buddhists]. If such types can be defeated by means of the pure [logical reasoning] of the Prāsaṅgika (*Thal-'gyur*), then they hold the attributes of beings who are worthy of being tamed [and converted to the Buddhist teachings], just as in the manner of the teacher [Mahā]vira (*dPa'-bo*).⁹³

Here in the land of Tibet (*Bho-ṭa*) those who have renounced the life of householders while taking delight in harming others without any thought whatsoever for karmic retribution, being arrogant in their claim to belong to [various] monastic orders — such persons cause faith in the teachings to be upset, and they misuse the authority [deriving from] the conferment of power on the saṅgha by the Three Ancestors.⁹⁴ If such is the case, then in reality they come close to the religious system of the barbarians [the Muslims], and so their actions will serve as a formal preparation for the teachings' decline. The manner of this has been illustrated in the verse [which speaks of] "the forbearance [which suffers] austerities, the holy forbearance".⁹⁵

The lineage (lit. "bone") of the Ottoman Emperor (*Rum pa-ca*) is known as [that of] the Persian Turks (*Ta-zig Tu-ruška*), and so from their lineage they are called *Tu-rub*;⁹⁶ and although from their religion they are known as "barbarians" (*kla-klo*), they do not like it if that name is spoken in their presence. Accordingly it is said they are referred to as "Musulmen" (*Mu-sur-man*). Their horses are double the size or half again as big⁹⁷ as other horses, and these are known as "Persian Turki" (*Ta-zig Durki*).⁹⁸

[XXIII: Marātha Horses]

South of the Delhi Pādshāh (*Ti-ling pa-ca*) there is a kingdom known as Borgi (*Bho-rong-gi*)⁹⁹ whose people and horses are both dexterous. [The horses] are said to be the progeny of "lake horses":¹⁰⁰ they are tight-muscled and can be mounted and ridden even down to the depths of water. It is said they cover in a single day the distance traversed by other horses in three days. However, it is difficult [to believe] that all those horses can be like that.

[XXIV]

bod 'dir stod-hor dang / de'i rta sogs ri-bong-gi chal brag-ca lta-bur
 sgrog-cing / lung-bstan-mkhan-po-rnams-kyis-kyang de-dang-mthun-
 par sgrog-pa 'di-dag ma-phyed-pa'i sgra-'grogs-pa-'dra / gter-kha
 gong-'og dang / yar-rje O-rgyan-pa sogs rtsod-med-kyi lung-bstan-
 rnams-ni sngar rgyal-po se-chen-gan-gyi bu-bo / hu-la-hus rgyal-sa
 ma-thob-nas skal-bar dmag 'bum-tsho-gcig byin-pa khrid-nas stod-du
 gzhi-chags-pa-la stod-hor dang / tsi-na-la smad-hor-du {84} grags /
 gzhi-chags-nas ring-por ma-lon-par sa 'bri gnyis bya-'ug-gi rtul-zhugs
 'dzin-pa'i tshe 'bri-gung dbon-pos sa-skya'i steng-du hor-dmag drangs-
 pas / tsi-na'i dmag-dpon thi-mur-bho-kha dang / dpon-chen Ang-len-
 gyis bod khri-skor bcu-gsum-gyi dmag khrid-nas dpal-mo-dpal-thang-
 du stod-hor-la jus-nyes³² btang / rna-ba ya gcig gzhur-ba drel-rgyab
 gnyis dang / gtso-bo kha-shas-kyi mgo-lag drangs / hu-la-hu'i rgyal-
 bu rin-chen dang / 'bri-gung dbon-po btson-du bzung-nas sa-skyar
 khrid / slar tsi-na pa-ca'i lung dang bstun-nas hu-la-hu'i bu glod /
 sgom-pa dbon-po dpon-po-ri'i³³ rgyab-tu snying rgyab-nas bton-te
 khrag-sbyor byas-pas mi-khyad dang rta-khyad shor-ba'i bgros-med /
 de'i brgyud-pa rgya-gar-na stangs mi-chod-kyang sgar-thog dang-nye-
 ba'i kha-chul-de yin-ni zer /

[XXV]

O-rgyan-pa rang-byung-dpal-gyi lam-(38a)-yig-na / ti-se-nas ring-tsam
 thal-ba-na / yul nyer-bzhi'i cha-lag ku-lu-ta³⁴ dang // ma-ru-ta³⁵ / de-
 nas ri-bo³⁶ chen-po gaṇḍa-la / de-nas dza-landha-ra / de-nas zhag nyi-

32 A: dus-nyes

33 B: dbon-po-ri'i

34 A: ku-lu-ha

35 B: mā-ru-ta

36 A: ri-ro

[XXIV: The sTod-hor and their Origins]

Here in Tibet [the stories told about] the Upper *Hor* (*sTod-hor*),¹⁰¹ their horses and so forth reverberate like rock-echoes or the babbling of hares. Those familiar with scriptural authority also [assert that] such pronouncements as these appear to be [no more than] uninvestigated rumours. According to irrefutable authorities, including the *Earlier and Later Treasure Troves*¹⁰² and the superior lord O-gyan-pa,¹⁰³ in former times Hügü (*Hu-la-hu*), who was the grandson of King Sechen Qan (*Se-chen Gan*, i.e. Qubilai),¹⁰⁴ was given a hundred thousand soldiers as his share (or "appanage") because he did not gain the throne. He led them to the Upper Region (*sTod*) and founded a settlement [which came to be known as] the Upper *Hor* (*sTod-hor*). [Those *Hor* who settled] in China (*Tsi-na*) are known as the Lower *Hor* (*sMad-hor*). Not long after these settlements were established, at a time when the two [schools] of the *Sa[-skya-pa]* and the '*Bri[-gung-pa]* had assumed the guise of ravens and owls [and were contending as enemies],¹⁰⁵ *dBon-po* of '*Bri-gung* led an army of the *Hor* upon *Sa-skyä*.¹⁰⁶ Thereupon the general of China (*Tsi-na*) Temür Buqa (*Thi-mur Bo-kha*) and the great chief (*dpon-chen*) *Ang-len* led forth the soldiers of the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet, and at *dPal-mo-dpal-thang*¹⁰⁷ they brought a disaster upon the *sTod-hor*. They bore off with them two mule-loads of ears, having sliced off one [from each of the defeated enemies], also the head and hands of some of the leaders. *Rin-chen*, the royal son of Hügü (*Hu-la-hu*), and *dBon-po* of '*Bri-gung* were imprisoned and then led off to *Sa-skyä*. Later the son of Hügü was released according to the command of the Chinese emperor (*Tsi-na pa-ca*). At a place behind *dPon-po-ri* [at *Sa-skyä*] the heart of the civil administrator (*sgom-pa*) *dBon-po* was extracted through his back and a "blood ritual" (*khrag-sbyor*)¹⁰⁸ was performed. It is not said there was a difference in the number of men and horses lost [in the battle]. Although it has not been proven that the descendants [of the *sTod-hor* are settled] in India, [the people of] *Kha-chul* near *sGar-thog* make this claim.¹⁰⁹

[XXV: Sites of North-West India — More on the Hor]

According to the itinerary of O-gyan-pa *Rang-byung-dpal*,¹¹⁰ if one goes quite a distance beyond Kailash (*Ti-se*) [one reaches] Kulū (*Ku-lu-ta*) and Maru (*Ma-ru-ta*), which belong to the twenty-four holy sites [associated with Samvara];¹¹¹ then the great mountain of Gaṇḍāla

shu-na tsan-dha-bha-ga / de yan-chod-la hintu zhes rgya-gar dang mu-
sur-man zhes sog-po gnyis 'dres-mar yod / de-nas kha-che'i chu-mjug
gtsang-por thal-ba-nas hor zhes-pa'i grong-khyer 'bum-phrag-bdun
yod / de-nas nyin-zhag re-re 'das-pa-na sman-tshwa'i ri dang / bha-ṭo-
la dang / ma-la-ko-tre / mu-tig 'byung-ba'i rgya-mtsho'i skor sleb /
der rgyal-po hu-la-hu'i lha-khang bzhengs-shing³⁷ 'dug / de-nas zhag
Inga-na ru-ka-la zhes-pa'i grong-khyer dang / de-nas zhag bzhi-pa-la
ra-dza-hur sleb / der O-rgyan-gyi sgo bzhi-las ya-{85}-gyal gcig yin
skad zer-ba-la dpags-na lam-phyogs lho-nub so-so'i khyad-las ma-la-
ko-ṭi³⁸-de stod-hor-gyi gnas-su mngon / Inga-pa rin-po-che'i dus sog-
po dga'-ldan-gyis la-dwags bcom / la-dwags-pas yul-na babs-kyi cha-
las brgyud-de pa-ca'i rgyal-po brngan-te dmag-rogs khrid-pa de-yang
bcom zer-ba-'dug-kyang / rum³⁹ dang ṭi-ling-ni min / bho-rong-ni
thag-ring / kla-klo-rnams rgyal-khab che-ba-la pa-ca zer-te rgyal-po'i
ming yin-na stod-hor dang pa-ca-yang ma-phyed-pas de'i hor-la rgyu-
mtshan med /

kun-las nges-par 'byung-ba 'chi-ba yin //
'chi-ba sbas-yul-gyis-kyang ga-la-thub //
bstan-pa nub-na thar-pa'i lam 'gags-pas //
'khrug-rtsod rang-sar spangs-la chos-la 'bungs //

[XXVI]

de-ltar bho-rong-ghi-de 'phrul-che-bas sngon-gyi tshe⁴⁰ ṭi-ling pa-cas-
kyang kho gnon ma-thub-pas bhanga-la rang-'og-tu yod-pa'i tshe dpya-
khral-gyi dod ti-rub-re-nas brgyad-cha-re bho-rong-la sbyin-nas dgra-

37 A: bzheng-zhing

38 A: ma-la-ke-ṭi

39 B: ru-ma

40 A: tsho

(*Gaṇḍa-la*); then Jālandhara (*Dza-lan-dha-ra*); then after twenty days Candrabhāgā (*Tsan-dha-bha-ga*). Up to that point [the land] is called Hindu (*Hintu*), wherein there is a mixture of Indians (*rGya-gar*) and Mongols (*Sog-po*) called Musulmen (*Mu-sur-man*). Then after crossing over the lower reaches of the Kashmir (*Kha-che*) river there are seven hundred thousand towns of the so-called *Hor*.¹¹² Traversing the region from there day by day one arrives at the Salt Range (*sMan-tshwa'i ri*), Bhahola (*Bha-ṭo-la*), Malakoṭe (*Ma-la-ko-tre*), and the gate to the ocean whence pearls come forth. There lies a temple built by King Hülegü (*Hu-la-hu*). Then after five days [one reaches] the town called Rupwal (*Ru-ka-la*), and after four days Rajahura (*Ra-dza-hur*). It is said that one of the four gates to Oḍḍiyāna (*O-rgyan*) is situated there. However, if one examines this claim it is clear that, owing to the difference made by the south-western direction of the road, the [town of] Malakoṭe (*Ma-la-ko-ti*) [referred to above] would lie in the region of the *sTod-hor*.

During the time of the Precious Fifth [Dalai Lama], the Mongolian (*Sog-po*) *dGa'-ldan* conquered Ladakh (*La-dwags*). It is said that the people of Ladakh then enticed the king of [Kashmir subordinate to] the pādshāh (*pa-ca*) by [the offer of] of district taxes, but the auxiliary troops who were led forth were also defeated.¹¹³ However, this is not the [pādshāh of the] Ottoman (*Rum*) or Delhi (*Ti-ling*) [empires], and the Borgi (*Bho-rong*)¹¹⁴ are far away. The barbarians refer to large kingdoms as pādshāh (*pa-ca*), but if [instead] this is the word for "king", the *sTod-hor* and pādshāh cannot be signified either, and so there is no evidence [that the term pādshāh applies] to those *Hor*.

What comes to all with certainty is death.

What good is even a hidden paradise when it comes to death?

If the teachings decline, the path to liberation is blocked.

So leave contention to itself and strive for religion.

[XXVI: Marātha Opposition to the British]

Thus it is that those Borgi (*Bho-rong-ghi*) have great magical powers, and so in former times even the Pādshah of Delhi (*Ti-ling Pa-ca*) was unable to subdue them. So when Bengal (*Bhanga-la*) was under them [the Mughals], they gave to the Borgi (*Bho-rong*) one-eighth of every rupee paid to them as tax [by the Bengalis], and then [the Borgi]

jag mi-byed-pa'i chad⁴¹ byas / 'phyis bhangala-pa phe-reng-pas blangs-rjes bho-rong-la gang-yang ma-byin-pas lo-mang-zhig long-pa-dang (38b) dgos zer rtsod / der phe-reng-pas kho'i steng-du dpung chen-po btang-bas thang chen-po'i dkyil-na brag-ri yod-pa'i steng / dzi-tar⁴² zhes-pa'i btsan-rdzong⁴³-la 'phras-nas dgra-ya⁴⁴ mi-byed-pas phe-reng-rnams thang-dkyil-du bag phab-nas nyal-ba'i nub-mo gang-nas 'ongs cha-med-pa'i chu-klung chen-pos dmag-rnams chu-la sbyangs skad / ka-li-ka-tar-yang dmag gtang-rgyu-yin zer-bas phe-reng-pa 'khums-te gser glang-po-che'i rgyab-khal⁴⁵ mang-po byin-te 'dums-nas da-lta sa-bya phan-la lo-skor gcig-tsam-las ma-song /

[XXVII]

ka-li-(86)-ka-ta-nas lho-nub phyogs-la nyin-lam bco-lnga skor phyin-pa-na / dzo-ka-na zer-ba'i mchod-rten chen-po nyin-lam gsum-nas mthong-ba zhig yod / de-la mchod-pa'i gtso-bo tshogs-'khor-la byed-kyang / phe-reng dang tu-rub-la-sogs-pa rus-ngan mi-gcig zer-nas mchod-du-mi-'jug / bho-ṭa dang nged-cag rus gcig zer-nas mi-bkag-pa-la dpags-na / rgyal-po ru-pa-ti'i gtam-rgyud dang mthun-nas snyam / tshogs-g.yos byed-dus khog-ma bdun-brtsegs byas-pa'i steng-ma sngashos dang / de-nas rim-par tshos zer / tshogs-la rol-dus bzang-ngan med-par bsres-nas ma-zos-na zhing-skyong-gi chad-pas de-ma-thag sna-khrag zags-nas shi zer-ba sngags-kyi brtul-zhugs 'dra-ba dang / gzhan-yang hintu zer-ba'i rigs gcig mchod-pa / sbyin-sreg / 'pho-ba / gcod sogs nang-pa dang cha-'dra-bas / chos-lugs gcig zer-ba-dang /

41 A: tshad

42 B: dzi-ta-ra

43 A: btsan-brjod

44 B: dgra

45 A: rgyal-khal

promised not to commit acts of brigandage.¹¹⁵ Later, after the British (*Phe-reng-pa*) had taken control of the Bengalis (*Bhanga-la-pa*), they would give nothing at all to the Borgi (*Bho-rong*), and so after many years had elapsed the latter said they wanted [the payment as before] and a dispute took place. Thereupon the British (*Phe-reng-pa*) despatched a great force upon them, so they [the Borgi] rested up at a strong fortress called Chitor (*Dzi-tar*),¹¹⁶ on top of a rocky hill in the centre of a great plain. The British (*Phe-reng-rnams*), without preparing for battle, took their ease in the centre of the plain, and it is said that while they were sleeping there at night a great river [flowed down] without warning and washed the [British] soldiers away. When [the Borgi] declared they would send an army even to Calcutta (*Ka-[li-ka]-ta*), the British (*Phe-reng-pa*) shrank back and gave them many elephant-loads of gold, and so they were reconciled. Up to this year of the Earth Bird [1789], not more than just a twelve-year cycle has elapsed [since those events took place].

[XXVII: The Jagannātha Temple at Puri and its Traditions — Similarities of the Hindus and Buddhists — Nutmeg and Holland]

If one goes for about fifteen days in a direction south-west of Calcutta there is a great stūpa called Jagannātha (*Dzo-ka-na*, at Puri), which can be seen from a distance of three days' journey. The chief offering made there is the *ganacakra* (*tshogs-'khor*) but the British (*Phe-reng-pa*), the Muslims (*Tu-rub*) and others are not permitted to make the offering because it is said: "[Those] of evil lineage [are] different [from us], but the Tibetans [*Bho-ta*] and us are of one lineage". So they do not obstruct [the Tibetans from making offerings]. If one considers this, then I think it is in accordance with the legend of King Rūpati (*Ru-pa-ti*).¹¹⁷

At the time when the offerings are being cooked, it is said that the topmost of seven vessels piled upon each other is the first to be ready, the others in descending order. When the offerings are being enjoyed, if one does not eat the good and the bad all mixed up together then the guardians of the heavenly fields mete out a punishment so that immediately blood drips from the nose and one dies — so it is said, as if [they, the officiants] are champions of mantra.

Moreover a class called Hindus (*Hintu*) are similar to the Buddhists in their [rites of] offerings (*mchod-pa*, Skt. *pūjā*), burnt oblations (*sbyin-sreg*, Skt. *homa*), transference of consciousness (*'pho-ba*, Skt. **saṅkrānti*), severance (*gcod*, Skt. ?) and the like; so it is said [they observe] the same

dzā-ti srung-ba zer chang mi-'thung / phag dang khyim-bya'i sha mi-za / nor-gyi 'o-ma btungs-bas A-ma dang 'dra zer de'i sha mi-za / A-ma-la A-yi zer / de gtso-bor byas-nas pha-ma bkur / log-g.yem lta-ci dgag-bya med-pa'ang rin ma-byin-pa srung / nang-pa dang chos-lugs gcig zer-yang / spyod-lam 'dra-ba bram-ze'i khrod-na'ang yod-cing / de-bzhin-du phyi-rol-pa'i 'jug-pa bcu'i sde-tshan-na ston-pa dang byang-sems-kyi sku-(39a)-'dra-ba'ang yod-pas gang-yin dpyad-dka' / rgya-gar-gyi dzo-ki-rnams yan-lag-la dpung-pa-nas rim-par gser dngul zangs-ma dang / tha-na sba'i lcug-ma yan-chad-kyis tshigs-rgyan mang-po byed-pa'i rin-po-che'i rigs-tsho-la gzugs-brnyan de-'dra yod-pas-so // de⁴⁶-{87}-skad-du lo-ma-can-gyi gsang-tshig-tu /

nya dang rus-sbal phag-rgod dang //
 ra-ma-ṅa gnyis nag-pa dang //
 mi-yi seng-ge mi-thung dang //
 sangs-rgyas ngang-pa-can⁴⁷ de bcu //

zhes-so // mchod-rten de-la zla-ba dang-po'i tshes bco-linga'i mtshan-mo srin-po-rnams mchod-pa-la 'ong-bas / de'i tshe mi-rnams rgyang-ring-por 'bros / mchod-rdzas-la dzā-ti⁴⁸ li-shi mang-po phul-rjes de thams-cad rgya-mtsho-la gtor-bas tshong-pa rgyus-can-gyis gru-gzings btang-bas ras-kyi khud-du⁴⁹ bzung-ba-las rim-par tshong-'dus⁵⁰ 'grim-pa-yin / gzhan li-shi-ni sdong-po'i khungs-kyang mi chod / dzā-ti'i sdong-po O-lon-dhe zer-ba'i rgya-mtsho'i gling-dbar zhig-na yod zer / dzā-ti-la star-skogs lta-bu'i shun-lpags 'jam-po srab zhig 'ong-bas chunang-du yun-ring lon-yang chud mi-'dza'-ba mthong-chos-can yin / ljid yang-ba'i phyir shun-pa dor-bar snang / yul de'i gtam-rgyud-la

46 B: da

47 A: dad-pa-can

48 B: dza-ti

49 B: khung-du

50 AB: tshong-dus

religious system. Those who observe caste [rules] do not drink alcohol, nor do they eat the flesh of pigs or chickens. As they drink the milk of cows they say the cow is like their mother and do not eat its flesh. They call their mother *A-yi*.¹¹⁸ They honour their parents, giving precedence to their mothers. There is no question of adultery [being permitted], and although there is no prohibition [against stealing] they guard against [taking anything] without giving its value. Although they are said to be of the same religion as Buddhists, in regard to their behaviour and so forth they belong to the assembly of brāhmins. In like manner, among the classes of the ten avatars [of Viṣṇu] of the non-Buddhists there are even to be found images of the buddha and the bodhisattvas, but it is difficult to fathom this.¹¹⁹

The yogins of India make lots of ornaments for the joints of their limbs, from the shoulder down, using for this gold, silver and copper, down to a bamboo rod [carried in their hands], so that they have an appearance formed in this way by various kinds of precious substances. In the *Lo-ma-can-gyi gsang-tshig*¹²⁰ it is said:

The Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and
 The Two Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and
 The Man-lion, the Dwarf and
 The Buddha [and] Kalkin make ten [avatars of Viṣṇu].¹²¹

During the night of the fifteenth day of the first month the *rākṣasa* come to make offerings to that stūpa [of Jagannātha at Puri]. At that time the people flee a great distance.¹²² After many nutmegs (*dzā-ti*) and cloves (*li-shi*) have been presented as offerings, they are all cast into the ocean. Experienced traders take to boats and seize them with cotton cloths.¹²³ Thereafter they rove around the markets in stages [selling these spices]:

Furthermore while cloves cannot be authenticated as [coming from a] tree, the tree of the nutmeg is said to exist in an island of the ocean called Holland (*O-lon-dhe*).¹²⁴ The nutmeg has a smooth, thin shell like the walnut, so even if left in water for a long time it does not perish, and

mchod-rten mchod-pa'i sngon rgya-mtshor khrus-la zhugs-pa-dang /
 rgya-mtsho'i nang-gi gdon-zhig-gis cho-'phrul byas-pa'i skud-pa shin-
 tu phra-ba zhig mi'i lte-ba-la zug / skud-pa de gang-gis-kyang mi-
 chod-pas mtshan-mo mi-'then-nas srog gcod zer / sngon de-'dra
 byung-ba'i mi zhig-gis mchod-rten de-la lan mang bskor-ba byas-pas /
 skud-pa de mchod-rten-la 'khril-stabs chu-'dres skud-pa 'then-bas
 mchod-rten 'gul-bskyod-kyi rkyen-las mchod-rten-gyi rtse-mo-na yod-
 pa'i lcags-kyi 'khor-lo lhungs-nas skud-pa chad-de thar-ba-yin / da-lta
 de'i shul-na chu-mig gcig yod skad /

[XXVIII]

srin-po dang 'dzam-bu'i-gling-pa tshong-byed-na'ang mig-gis brda-
 'phrod-pa'i tshod-gyis gru-{88}-gzings-la (39b) zhugs / tshong-zong-gi
 rin-thang srin-po'i yi-ge-la bris-nas bzhag / mes-mdas brda-sbyar-nas
 phyir-log-tsa-na srin-po'i rgyal-pos srin-po-rnams-kyi thad-nas mi-'gro-
 ba sogs mi-la mi-gnod-pa'i dam-la bzhag-nas tshong-la 'ong / chad
 btsan-pas dgos-tshod-kyi dngos-po khyer-nas ring 'jog-pa-yin zer /
 shang-shang dang tshod byed-lugs-kyang 'di-dra-ba zhig snang / lar
 mtha'-khob-pa-rnams-ni sangs-rgyas mi-shes / chos mi-shes-pa yin-pas
 / sngon rgyal-po ra-ma-nas srin-po'i rgyal-po bsad / khong-gi nu-bo
 rgyal-po-la bskos-nas 'dzam-bu'i-gling-du srin-po bsrung-bcug-pa-
 tsam-las raksha-thod-phreng-rtsal-gyi mtshan-nyid mi-shes /

[XXIX]

ka-li-ka-ta-nas gangā rgya-mtshor 'bab-pa-de-la gangā-shak-ghor zer /
 lha-mo dbyangs-can-ma-yang der 'khrungs-pa'i lo-rgyus smra / gangā
 dang rgya-mtsho rang-bzhin 'dres-nas mi-sdod-par gangā'i klung dkar-

this is a visible phenomenon. Being light in weight, it feels as if its shell has been removed.

According to the stories of that land, people used to go into the sea for ablutions before making offerings to this stūpa. A very thin thread made by the magic of an ocean demon would penetrate the navels of those people. Nothing whatsoever could sever the thread, and at night when it was pulled by others the people would die, so it is said. In former times a man to whom this had befallen circumambulated the stūpa many times. Since the thread was twisted around the stūpa, when the water demon pulled it the stūpa shook so that an iron hoop on the topmost part of the stūpa fell down, cutting the thread — and so the man was freed.¹²⁵ It is said that a spring of water now exists in its place.

[XXVIII: Sea Trade with the Rākṣasa and Shang-shang]

Furthermore, when the *rākṣasa* and the people of Jambudvīpa engage in trade they [first] communicate with their eyes and in accordance with this they [the merchants of Jambudvīpa] set sail. The value of the merchandise is recorded in the writing of the *rākṣasa* and left [on the shore of the island of the *rākṣasa*]. A signal is given with guns and while [the merchants] are returning [to their ships?], the king of the *rākṣasa* compels the *rākṣasa* to take an oath not to harm the humans by going forth [too suddenly?] and so on, and then they come to trade. Because of the strict promise it is said they bring whatever objects are desired, leaving these as payment.¹²⁶ It appears that trade is conducted with the *shang-shang*¹²⁷ in the same way.

Again [let it be said] the border barbarians know nothing of the Buddha, nothing of the Dharma. So when in ancient times King Rāma (*Ra-ma-ṇa*) killed the king of the *rākṣasa* [Rāvana] and installed his younger brother [Bharatha] as king, besides just making him protect [humans from] the *rākṣasa* in the world it was not realized that [he, Rāvana, possessed] the characteristics of the *rākṣasa Thod-phreng-rtsal*.¹²⁸

[XXIX: Gangāsāgara and Hindu Excesses]

That part of the Ganges (*Gangā*) which flows down from Calcutta to the ocean is called the Gangāsāgara (*Gangā-shak-ghor*).¹²⁹ Stories are told of how even the goddess Sarasvati (*dByangs-can-ma*) was born there. After the Ganges and the ocean naturally intermix and move on, the

por snang-ba de rgya-mtsho'i gting-la thug-par 'gro-ba de-la mu-stegs-
pa 'ga'-shig lceb-par byed-pa-ni / rgyal-byed-las /

dgun-gyi dus-su chu-yi nang-du gnas //
tsha-ba'i dus-su gdung-ba lnga-bsten bya //
dbyar-gyi dus-su bla-gab med-par gnas //
bram-ze de-dag dka'-thub drag-por spyod //

zhes-pa'i sde-tshan yin-la / gzhan-yang mgo-bregs-te tsanti-ka-la⁵¹
'bul-ba-dang / tri-shu-la'i rtse-la mchong-ba-dang / rkang-pa ya-gcig
sgreng-zhing nyi-ma-la bltas-pas 'phyis sdug-bsngal myang-'gyur-
rnams skye-ba 'dir zad-nas yang-srid mi-len-par 'dod / 'di-dag-la mi-
dge-bcu spong-gi sdom-pa yod-do /

[XXX]

rgya-mtsho'i dus-rlabs nyin-zhag-re-la tshar-re ldang-bas chu-bo gangā
gyen-du ldog-pa-(89)-nas sa-gzhi thams-cad 'ur-sgras 'ber-zhing /
'brug stong bsgrags-pa lta-bu'i zil dang-bcas / rgya-mtsho'i rlabs-gis
gangā ded-nas gyen-du rlog-pa'i dba'-rlabs thog-so lnga-drug-tsam-du
ldang-ba-la ltad-mo dang 'jigs-zil gnyis-ka yod / ka-li-ka-ta brgal-nas
zhag bdun-brgyad-(40a)-sar slebs-pa-nas mar-log-dus 'jam-nyal-gyis
'gro / kho-rang-tshos dus-rlabs nyin-mtshan-gyi cha gang-la yong
shes-pas de'i gong-nas gru la-sogs-pa bsdu-zhing 'grim-'grul gcod / lar
dung la-sogs-pa'i rgya-mtsho'i nor-sna 'ga'-zhig-kyang rgya-mtsho'i
'gram-du dong brus-te bzhag-pa-na / dus-rlabs 'ong-skabs de'i nang-
du tshud-pa-las 'ong /

[XXXI]

ka-li-ka-ta zad-mtshams-nas rgya-mtshor gzings-la zhugs / nub-la
gtang-nas phyin-pas zla-ba drug-la phe-reng-pa'i yul ngo-thog bhi-la-
tir sleb zer / der 'go-snam dang gos-chen gnyis-ka 'thag / rgya-mtsho'i
gling-dbar yin-pas nor-sna mang-po 'thon / lo-rgyus gzhan-du rin-po-
che'i ris rgya-mtsho'i kha-dog 'gyur-ba yod-par grags-kyang / khong-

51 B: tsandi-ka-lar

course of the Ganges appears white and touches the depths of the ocean. Some heretics commit suicide in its passage.¹³⁰ Concerning this it is said in the *rGyal-byed*:¹³¹

In the season of winter they live in water.
 In the season of heat they rely on the Five Afflictions.¹³²
 In the season of summer they live without a roof.
 Those brāhmins practise fierce austerities.

[The people I speak of] belong to the class so described. Moreover, the severing of one's own head and offering it to Caṇḍikā (*Tsanṭi-ka*),¹³³ impaling oneself on a trident, raising one leg and staring at the sun — by these means they hope to avoid taking a rebirth later, having exhausted in this very life the sufferings that have to be experienced. Such persons [also] observe the vow of abstaining from the Ten Non-Virtues.¹³⁴

[XXX: The Tidal Bore on the Hugli River]

The Ganges [*Gangā*] is turned back upstream by the ocean tide rising once a day. Thereupon the whole land trembles with a splendour as if a thousand dragons are roaring. The ocean tide chases the Ganges, and the wave which moves upstream rises to about five or six storeys in height, causing both a wonderful spectacle and a terrifying splendour. After it reaches a spot seven or eight days distant from Calcutta (*Ka-li-ka-ta*), it flows gently back as it returns.¹³⁵ Since they know the details of where the tide is due to come day or night, they secure the boats in advance and bring all travelling to a halt. And they dig pits on the riverbank and leave them there so that when the tide comes up various precious objects of the ocean including conch shells fall into them, and that is where they come from.¹³⁶

[XXXI: England and its Products — A Barrel Organ and Peep-show]

At the point where Calcutta ends, ships are embarked. Despatching these ships and proceeding westwards, it is said that within six months one arrives at Bilāyati (*Bhi-la-ti*, "Blighty", i.e., England), which is the real home of the British (*Phe-reng-pa*). Both serge and silk are woven there. Since it is an island in the ocean between [the continents], all kinds of precious objects are produced there. According to other stories it is reputed that the Jewel Mountain is there and that the ocean takes on its colour. However, since many precious things are extracted from

tshos phyin-pa'i rgya-mtshor-ni ri'i gseng-nas⁵² rin-po-che mang-po
 thon-pa-las / rin-po-che'i ri dngos-s nang med zer skad / bzo-gnas-la
 shel-mig che-chung dang / dkar-yol / shel-bum la-sogs-pa'i shel-
 spyad-kyang spus shin-tu dag / chu-tshod che-chung dang / spra-ba
 dang sbi-thi mi-dgos-pa'i me-mda' khyad-mtshar / gri che-chung sogs
 mtshon-cha rno-ngar-can / khyad-par bzo-rtсед-la mkhas-pas sgam-
 nang-du sha-dkar-gyi dong-bu che-chung mang-po-las skad sbom-phra
 / 'gyur dang khugs dgos-sar bzo-dbyibs sna-tshogs-pa'i {90} sbug-
 kyong rnam-grangs mang-po / tshig-gi sgra dgos-sar gzer-bu'i 'khrul-
 'khor mang-po byas-pa mu-sbrel-gyi nang rlung khor-yug-tu 'gro-sa
 yod-par byas-pa-las / sgam-gyi phyi-nas gcus-phur bsgrims-pas nang-
 du pags-pa mnyen-po'i rbud-pa-las⁵³ rlung byung-nas skyes-bu'i ngag-
 nas bton-pa lta-bu'i glu-dbyangs shin-tu snyan-par sgrog-pa-la ti-rub
 stong-phrag ri-ba-nas rim-par gong-thang che-chung-gis bcaд-pa-dang
 / yang sgam-gi steng-du shel-sgo (40b) bslangs-pa-la phyi'i yul-ljongs
 gsal-ba gang-zhig-gi gzugs-brnyan me-long nang-ma bsnyal-pa-la gsal-
 ba'i 'phrul-gyis yul-ljongs chen-po'i bkod-pa bde-blag-tu 'bri⁵⁴ thub-pa-
 dang / 'dzam-bu'i-gling-gi yul-bkod byang-bu chung-chung sna-
 tshogs-la bris-pa shel-sgo'i nang-du shin-tu che-bar 'char-ba sogs bzo-
 gnas ngo-mtshar-ba mang-po thon-yang / bstan-pa sems-can-gyi bde-
 skyid-la sman-pa ma-yin-pas bzo-gnas sprul-pa'i skur mi-rung-zhing /
 nor-sred che-bas gla sprad-na dmag-mi-yang gang-dgos 'byor-pa'i
 ming-la shi-bar zer-ba-yin / 'du-shes gsum dang snyoms-'jug-gi ngang-
 du khyab-pa 'du-byed-kyi sdug-bsngal bsgrub-pa'i log-shes tsam-mo
 // de-la 'di-skad ces /

52 A: gseb

53 B: rgud-pa-las

54 A: 'dri

crevices in the mountain in that ocean to which they travel, it is said not to be the genuine Jewel Mountain.¹³⁷

As for objects of manufacture, [the following are made in England:] glass articles of very fine quality including large and small telescopes, porcelain and vases, also large and small time-pieces, extraordinary guns which do not require tinder or fuse, and sharp weapons including large and small swords; and in particular, since they are expert in the play of crafts, [they are able to make] a box¹³⁸ within which there are lots of large and small pipes made of tin [for producing] sounds that are both loud and soft, and many kinds of hollow tubes of various shapes needed for various resonances. It is made with many devices consisting of pins, all joined together as required for [producing] the sound of a refrain, and inside there is a place where the wind circulates. By winding a screw on the outside a wind is produced from a bellows inside made of soft leather, emitting a very sweet-sounding tune like a human voice issuing forth. Worth thousands of rupees, the price [of a barrel organ] is fixed variously according to its size. Furthermore, on top of this box within a raised glass door the foreign countries are revealed, the images of these countries being laid down and made clear upon a mirror inside, and so by magical means the details of the great countries are beautifully drawn; and the design of the countries of the world which are executed upon various little panels appear enormous inside the glass door.¹³⁹

Though many wondrous objects of manufacture such as this are produced, since they do not cause benefit to the welfare of the Buddhist teachings or sentient beings it is unfitting [to class them] among the products emanated by the Buddha.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the lust for wealth being very great one can obtain anything desired, even [mercenary] soldiers, on payment of a fee, [and all this applies to the the barrel-organ-cum-peep-show described above] which is called a *shi-bar*.¹⁴¹ In a state of mind [achieved by cultivating] the Three Discriminative Perceptions¹⁴² and meditative absorption [it can be understood that this object] merely [contributes to] the false knowledge that causes the all-pervading suffering associated with compounded entities. I will say this about it:

bza' dang nyal dang 'chag-pa gsum //
 dud-'gro-rnams dang thun-mong-ste //
 smad-'tshong bkur dang pha-rol-gyi //
 srog dang nor dang 'gyed-la dga' //
 dmag dang chom-rkun 'du-'dzis g.yengs //
 srog-la 'bem-bcas rgya-mtshor bgrod //
 de-tsam de-yis mtho-ris-kyi //
 khyad-par yin-pa mkhyen-par mdzod //

[XXXII]

lar shang-shang dang / khrung-khrung dang / ku-sha'i gling la-sogs-
 pa dus-kyi 'khor-lo la-{91}-sogs-te bka' bstan-bcos-dag-las bshad-pa-
 dang / der ma-ltos-pa'ang gzings-kyis zla-ba tsam-pa dang / zla-ba
 phyed-tsam la-sogs-pas bgrod-pa'i gling-phran mang / rgya-mtsho
 chen-po-la bgrod-pa'i gzings che-shos-la dzo-ha⁵⁵ zer / che-chung
 khang-pa ka-brgyad-ma-tsam-la thog-rim bzhi-pa gnam-sgo-can / chus
 mi-'jig-pa'i rtsis bsngams-shing / 'gro-sa gnam-sgo dang / gzhan glo-
 skar mang / gzings-kyi steng-du ras-kyi gur dang / rlung-gis 'gro-lugs
 dang-mthun-par phan-'dogs-pa'i dar-po-che bzo-dbyibs thang-ka lta-
 bu ter-ter-por sdod-pa-dang / zur gnyis sprad-pa'i rlung-tshang⁵⁶ sbu-
 gu'i tshul-du⁵⁷ dod-pa sogs (41a) bzo-dbyibs sna-tshogs brgyad-tsam
 yod-pas rlung 'gro-phyogs-las go-ldog-na'ang / gzings rlung-phyogs-
 su mi-khyer-zhing / tshug-ge'ang sdod mi-dgos-pa'i thabs-la mkhas-pa
 yod / de-yang dbus-su shing ring-po 'dom-pa brgyad-tsam gsum-bzhi-
 skor btsugs-pa'i rtser / rlung dang sprin-gyi 'gro-phyogs-kyis mtshon
 dge-skyon brtag-pa'i ded-dpon 'dug-tu rung-ba-dang / de-la yan-man-
 du bgrod-pa'i thag-skas byas / dar-po-che de stobs che-bas gzings mi-
 ldog-pa'i thabs-su / gzings-kyi 'og-khang-du tshwa la-sogs-pa 'jog /
 gzings sdod-pa'i thabs-la lcags-kyi langga-ste⁵⁸ gting-rdo chen-po snga-
 phyi gnyis byas-pa / 'jug-ldog gcus-phur⁵⁹ lta-bu'i 'khor-los byed /

55 B: dza-ha

56 A: chung-tshad

57 A: rdul-du

58 A: langka-te

59 B: gcus-pur

Eating, sleeping and moving about
 Are common to all animals,
 But the honouring of whores,
 Delight in the life, wealth and feasts of others,
 The distractions caused by the clamour of war and plunder,
 And risking one's life by ocean travel —
 These are merely what distinguish
 The higher forms of existence. Please know this!

[XXXII: Islands — British Ship Construction]

There are also the islands of the *shang-shang*,¹⁴³ of cranes and of *kuśa* grass which are explained in the scriptures and shastra, including the *Kālacakra*. There are also other little islands not accounted for in those texts which require a ship's journey of a full month, half a month, and so forth.

The biggest ship which travels the ocean is known as a *jahāj* (*dzo-ha*).¹⁴⁴ Its size is about as big as an eight-pillared, four-storyed house with a sky-light. It is made fast with a coating to prevent it from being destroyed by water. There are in it many passage ways, sky-lights and also side-windows. On top of the ship there is a cotton tent, also a large sail having about eight different designs which helps [the ship to move] in conformity with the way the wind goes, including the design of a scroll-painting standing up in a concave, and [another] which projects outwards in the manner of a hollow cavity filled with wind when its two sides join together, and so forth. So even if [the ship] runs counter to the direction of a wind it is not carried by that wind, and there are those skilled in the means of [making the ship] motionless or mobile. Also in the center of the ship a tall mast is fixed, about eight spans in length, or else about three or four spans. At its top is a place where a guide can stay to study the quality [of the weather] as shown by the direction in which the wind and the clouds are moving. Rope ladders are made to enable one to go up and down the mast. Since the great sail is very powerful, salt and other things are placed in the hold of the ship to prevent it from overturning. An iron anchor and two large weight-stones fore and aft are used as the means of stopping the ship. Moving and turning the ship is done by means of a screw-like wheel. About

yang gru-bo-che 'drad-pa'i gru-chung na-ho zer-ba mi bdun-brgyad-tsam shong-ba mang-pos sngon-la 'drad / song-na thar-sa med-pa'i rgya-mtsho'i klong dang / chu-srin / chu-srin-gyi dbyibs 'dra-ba'i bzings-{92}-la gnod-pa-can ku-mir / nyin-lam-tsam khyab-pa'i nya-bo-che / chu'i sdig-srin sogs gnod-pa mang-bas gzings-kyi phyogs bzhir gnam-lcags bsgrags / rgyang-la shel-mig-gis blta / chu-phran-la bgrod-pa'i gru-shan-gyi⁶⁰ ming-la bho-sor zer-te dar-chen gnyis dang gcig manges-pas chog / de la-sogs-te rgya-mtsho brtag-pa'i rab-byed skyes-pa rabs-kyi rgyud dang / ded-dpon-tsho'i gtam-rgyud-kyis mtshon-pas / 'di-ni mthong-chos gtan-la phab-pa'i gtam-mo //

[XXXIII]

lar ka-li-ka-ta-de 'dzam-bu'i-gling-nas rgya-mtshor 'gro-ba'i 'gro-lam nye-ba zhag gsum-nas sleb-pa zhig yin-la / gzings-la zhugs-nas phereng-pa'i yul-la nub bcad 'gro-ba'i 'gyangs-kha yod-pa zhig-na // 'dzam-bu'i-gling-la nye-ba'i rgya-mtsho'i gling-dbar singa-lar grags-pa'i yul-gling chen-po zhig yod / rin-po-(41b)-che'i rigs dang khyad-par mu-tig mang-po thon / mu-tig len-pa'i tshe mgo-la shel-gyi yol-go gyon / sked-pa-la lcags-thag btags-nas rgya-mtsho-la 'dzul-ba'i gla ti-rub stong-phrag-re sprod / lar ser-ba babs-ma-thag-la rdzas-sbyor byas-pa'i mu-tig-kyang yod skad / khra-ni sha-bda'-ba'i don-du yin zer-ba don-la gnas / mi-rnams-kyang 'byor-pa-che / gzugs-byad mtshar / slob-dpon tsandra-go-mis bzhugs-pa'i tsandra-dwi-pa⁶¹-ni yin-min cha mi-phyed / li-rdo rang-bzhus byung-ba'i ri yod-min-yang ma-'tshal / yul der shing-tshwa gzhan-tsho-las ro bzang-zhing li-shi dang dbyibs mtshungs-pa'i 'bras-bu chags-pa zhig yod-pa-la rin che / der 'dzam-bu'i-gling-pa'i mi slebs-na dga'-tshor chen-po byed-cing nor mang-po ster / khyad-par pho-{93}-bas mo mang / bud-med de-tshos

60 AB: gru-shar-gyi

61 B: tsandra-di-pa

seven or eight men can fit into a little boat called a *nāv* (*na-ho*), which pulls the big ship, and many of these pull it from in front.

After leaving [port] there are all kinds of dangers, including the expanse of the ocean itself from which there is no escape; also the *makara* (*chu-srin*), and the crocodile (*ku-mir*, Skt. *kumbhira*) which is shaped like a *makara* and which causes damage to ships, also a great fish as big as a day's journey, and the water crab (*chu'i sdig-srin*). On account of these dangers, cannons (*gnam-lcags*, lit. "meteorites") are sounded off in all four directions and telescopes are used to observe the distant reaches. The vessels which travel into small waters are called "boats" (? *bho-sor*); they can have either one or two sails, this not being fixed.

Since these accounts have been illustrated by means of the texts of those *Jātaka*¹⁴⁵ which explore the ocean, also with the stories told by ship captains, it is a discourse which puts visible phenomena into order.

[XXXIII: Ceylon, Pearl Fishing etc.]

Again, that [city of] Calcutta is close to the path which leads from Jambudvīpa to the ocean, a point which is reached after three days' journey. At a stage on the journey westwards by ship towards the country of the British (*Phe-reng-pa*) there lies a great island called Ceylon (*Singa-la*), an ocean-island close to Jambudvīpa.¹⁴⁶ It produces various jewels, in particular many pearls. At the time when pearls are being fetched, a glass vessel is worn [on the head]. Fixing an iron rope to the waist, the ocean is entered, and for this each person is given a fee of a thousand rupees.¹⁴⁷ Now it is even said there exist pearls made by using as tantric substances hailstones which have just fallen. This has the sense of the saying: "A hawk exists in order to hunt".¹⁴⁸ The people [of Ceylon] are wealthy and handsome in appearance. It has not been settled whether or not [Ceylon is the island of] Candradvīpa (*Tsandra-dwi-pa*) where the teacher Candragomī (*Tsandra-go-mi*) resided.¹⁴⁹ Nor can it be affirmed whether or not there exists in that place the mountain whence the self-smelting bronze ore comes forth.¹⁵⁰ There is in this country a herb bearing a fruit shaped like a clove which smells better than any other, and it is worth a great deal.¹⁵¹ When the people of Jambudvīpa arrive there the inhabitants rejoice greatly and they give them much wealth. In particular there are more women than men. The

nged-tsho'i nor longs-spyod-kyi bdag-po-gyis-la sdod zer / sdad-
mkhan-yang yod zer /

[XXXIV]

de-tsam-ni ka-li-ka-tar lo gsum bsdad-nas / rgya-mtsho-la thug-gi bar
phyin-pa'i kho-bo-cag-gi slob-ma bdung-bsam-pa byang-chub rgyal-
mtshan-gyis rang-lo bdun-cu-don-gsum-pa'i khar bsnyad-pa-la /
dpyad-pa gsum-gyis brtags-shing bgros gzhan dang-yang bstun-nas
bshad-pa-ste / gzhan-du rgya-gar-gyi yul shin-tu rgya-che-ba'i gtam /
sangs-rgyas 'phags-pa'i spyang-gyis gzigs-nas-sam / rdzu-'phrul thob-
pas bskor-ba'i rgyud 'chad-pa-las rngo-thogs-pa ma-yin-no //

[XXXV]

'di-ni brtag-pa brgyad-ka dang //
mthun-pa'i dper-brjod-la brten-nas //
pha-rol-gyi-ni gnas-shes slad //
brjod-pas dgos-pa'i gnas-mkhyen mdzod //

gtam-tshogs le'u gsum-pa'o // //

girls declare: "Act as the masters of our bounty and stay!", and it is said there are even those who do stay on.¹⁵²

[XXXIV: Colophon]

This has been recounted on the basis of what was told to me in his seventy-third year by my disciple *Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan*, "The Incumbent of *gDung-bsam*", who stayed for up to three years in Calcutta and who travelled so far as to reach the ocean.¹⁵³ I have examined the account by means of the Three Types of Scrutiny [of Pure Scriptural Authority]¹⁵⁴ and have brought it into line with other stories. Besides that, I have been unable to do more than expound those treatises containing tales about the exceedingly vast land of India, treatises which derive from the sublime sight of the Buddha or from his attainment of magical powers.

[XXXV: Concluding Verse]

Relying upon the similes which conform to
 All the Eight Subjects of Scrutiny,¹⁵⁵ this discourse
 Has been related [to promote] the knowledge of foreign sites.
 So please cultivate the necessary knowledge of those sites.

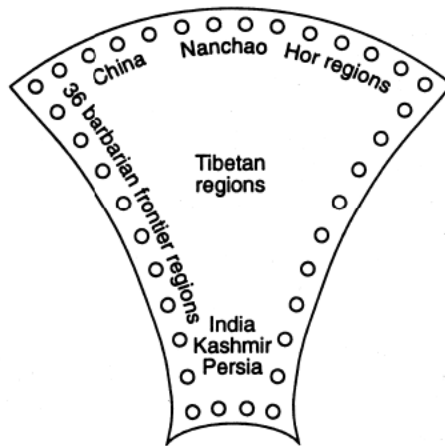
[This completes] The Third Chapter of the *Collection of Discourses*.

Notes to the Translation

1. The Eight Subjects of Scrutiny are enumerated in *Nyingma School*, ii, p. 161: gems, land, garments, trees, horses, elephants, men and women.
2. On the important female bodhisattva Marici, "The Lady Possessed of Light Rays", see Mallmann 1975, pp. 259-65. She was chosen for the opening invocation for the light that the author hoped to shed on the obscure subject of India.
3. This is *dharma* in the sense of "the knowable" or "object of mind", rather than "doctrine", "teaching" or any of the other possible meanings: see *Nyingma School*, i, pp. 51-3; ii, p. 166.
4. The "babble of hares" alludes to the well-known legend of a hare that took fright at the sound of a fruit falling into a river, spreading panic in the animal world: TSDZ, s.v. *ri-bong cal-'drogs*. The phrase always carries the sense of "unfounded rumours". Its use here conforms to the self-deprecatory style favoured by most Tibetan authors.
5. In other words, the author intends his work to encourage people to renounce their ties to home and take to a life of wandering in pursuit of the true religion. It will also serve to remove certain obstacles ("thorns") on the meditative path, presumably doubts and worries about the view of India conveyed in classical Buddhist literature. Some of the verses which intersperse this text may turn out to be quotations from other sources. A few have been identified.
6. It appears that Tibetan *so-kha* is a clumsy attempt to render Sanskrit *śakaṭa*, "chariot", whose trapezoid base reminded Tibetans instantly of the shape of the close Tibetan homophone *sog-pa*, "scapula" (see next paragraph). *Sog-kha* has therefore acquired the meaning of "a word for a triangle [in fact a trapezoid] having a shape like a scapula" (*sog-pa lta-bu'i dbyibs gru-gsum-gyi ming*): TSDZ, s.v. *sog-kha*. In early Tibetan sources the word appears as *sogs-ka* (Pelliot tibétain No. 967 fo. 1b3) and *sogs-pa* (*Koṣa-Lokaprajñaptika-samkṣepa*, Stog Palace edn., vol. 195, fo. 195). The muddle produced by *sog(s)-ka/kha/pa* > *sog-pa* has resulted in the form of Jambuvipā being depicted in paintings in two ways: either a plain trapezoid or the scapula shape shown in the reconstruction proposed in n. 10 below. Note also the description of Jambudvīpa in the *Dīgha Nikāya* as "this mighty realm of earth, so broad in the north and so [narrow] like the front of a cart (*śakaṭamukha*) in the south": Walsh 1987, pp. 305-7 and p. 582 n. 551.
7. Tohoku no. 332, sDe-dge edn., mDo-sde vol. *Sa* fos. 260a-263b, quotation at fo. 261b lines 6-7 (discrepancies underlined): *kun-dga'-bo khyod-kyis 'dzam-bu'i-gling-gi gling mthong-ngam / kye btsun-pa mthong-lags-so // kun-dga'-bo 'dzam-bu'i-gling-gi gling-ni zheng-du dpag-tshad bdun-stong / chur-yang dpag-tshad bdun-stong-ste / byang-gi zhing-ni che / lho'i ni shing-rta'i dbyibs-so /*
8. A *yojana* is traditionally reckoned at four thousand arm-spans, approximately eight thousand yards. Cf the statement that "Jambudvīpa has three sides of two thousand *yojanas* in length, one side of three [thousand?] *yojanas* and a half: it thus has the shape of a carriage": *Vasubandhu*, ii, p. 455.
9. That *chur* is an obsolete word for "length" is confirmed in TSDZ s.v.; also GSHC s.v., where *chur ring-ba* is defined as *dkyus-su ring-ba*, literally "long in length".

10. PSJZ (of 1747), p. 5, has a very similar passage, from which this one was perhaps adapted, substituting *the* for *ter-ter-po* (= TSDZ, s.v. *ther-ther*), *krung-krung* for *kha-mdangs*, and *kha-'khor* for *kha-sgor*. My tentative translations of these obscure terms, which produced the reconstruction of 'Jigs-med-glingpa's Jambudvīpa given below, are based on what my Tibetan friends tell me they mean in their own dialects, since the dictionaries are not very helpful, and on pondering the remains of shoulders of lamb after Sunday lunches. The geographical schema implicit in this passage of our text may perhaps owe something to the Tibetan (and Mongol) practice of scapulimancy, that is divination by means of the cracks formed on the surface of a shoulder-blade when put into a fire, known as *sog-mo* or *sog-dpyad* (TSDZ, s.v.). In China this pseudo-science provided the origin of Chinese writing. With the rule of the Mongols in Iran it came to be well known in the Muslim world as *'ilm-i shâna*. For a fascinating Kashmiri poem in Persian describing the Tibetan practice of scapulimancy, see Simon Digby, "The Tibetans, Their Religion and Their Medicine: Two Seventeenth-Century Persian Accounts from North-Western India" (unpublished paper, 1992), p. 9, citing *Mathnawīyyât-i Fânî Kashmîrî*, ed. S.A.H. Abidi (Srinagar, 1964), p. 433.

The reconstruction attempted here indicates that the broad orientation of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's scheme is from east (at the top) to west (at the bottom). The horizontal axis is therefore in conflict with the vertical alignment of the scheme, but it accords with the traditional Tibetan conception of their land as lying "up" or "high" (*stod*) in the west and "down" or "low" (*smad*) in the east.



The Southern Continent of Jambudvīpa
in the form of a scapula
A proposed reconstruction

11. PSJZ, p. 5, provides an incomplete list of the "the thirty-six countries of border barbarians where the holy doctrine does not flourish" (*kla-klo mtha'-khob dam-chos ma-dar-ba'i yul so-drug*): Glo, Dho (rDo), Kha-khra, Kha-sog, gZha', Kha-sur, dMar, rTsa-phung, Dho-bo-ro (rDo-bo-ro), Khram-tsha (Bram-tsha), Hu-thug, Kha-gling, sPrel-slag, Khyi-khyo, Dar-slog and Zhang-tsha-bya (alternative

spellings in brackets are from the blockprint edition published in SPS, vol. 214, fo. 4b). For a schema of ninety-one border barbarians, among whom only the sPrel-slag and the Khyi-khyo from the above list appear with the names of the eleven tribes of the Sog-po sprel-(g)lag-can ("The Monkey-Handed Mongolians") and the thirteen tribes of the rGya-mo khyi-khyo-ma ("The Chinese Dog-Brides"?), see SHDZ, fos. 93b-94a. These two appear as the Sog-po spre'u-lag-can and the rGya-mo khyi-khyi-ma alongside the The-rang mig-gcig-pa ("The One-Eyed *The-rang* [Demon]") who inhabit the eight non-human realms listed in the GYBY (see n. 62 below). On the Glo(-pa) and Kha-khra, see n. 21 below.

12. *lHo-mon-kha-bzhi* is the oldest administrative term for the area of Bhutan, first appearing in a Tibetan source of 1431, two centuries before its political unification: Aris 1979, pp. xxiv-xxv and 289 nn. 6-7. I am now inclined to believe it may originally have been coined by the Mongol/Sa-skya government of Tibet in an attempt to extend its influence in this area. Three of the four *kha* are easily identifiable with known villages, the exception being sTag-rtse-kha on the northern border. On the term Mon applied to other peoples now within Indian administration, see esp. Singh 1994, pp. 769-70 (Memba), 816-18 (Mon), 818-28 (Monpa). On the Mon-pa who live under Chinese control, see for instance TSDZ, q.v.
13. Punakha (*sPungs-thang*) is the former winter capital of Bhutan, the permanent capital now being located in the former summer capital at Thimphu.
14. Amratalla is a village in the foothills of the Mon-yul Corridor bordering eastern Bhutan in modern Arunachal Pradesh. It marked the southernmost extension of Tibetan authority in this area. See Aris 1980, p. 19 n. 12.
15. Singri is a small but famous Hindu temple situated about twenty miles west of Tezpur in Assam. I visited the place in 1979 and found ample evidence of its continuing attraction for the MÖnpa as a place of Buddhist pilgrimage. The pool of water inside the main temple and the miraculous tree described here still survive. For references to Singri in Tibetan historical literature, see Aris 1979, pp. 113, 188.
16. I take *gzed-zhal* to be *zhal-bzed*: TSDZ, q.v. = *lud-phor*, "spittoon". Some of these objects were probably received by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa as gifts from his Bhutanese informant: see n. 153 below.
17. See Boulnois n.d., pp. 126-9.
18. On these famous pilgrim sites sacred to Padmasambhava in south-east Tibet, see Fletcher, 1975, chs. 3, 5, 6 *passim*, and maps 7-10, 12-14, 18; Wylie 1962, pp. 94-8; Huber 1994.
19. It has been argued that this passage reveals a clear understanding in Tibet of how the Tsangpo river in Tibet is the source of the Brahmaputra through its tributary of the Luhit/Lohit, a subject of long mystery to British explorers: Ardussi 1977, pp. 43-4.
20. Derived from Sanskrit *ācārya*, "teacher", the term is applied in Tibet specifically to "tantric teachers from India" and to the clowns depicting the same who appear in the festivals of sacred dance. (TSDZ, s.v. *A-tsa-ra*.) However, my Tibetan informants suggest that here the term applies to Indians in general.
21. Klo(-pa) is the generic term in Tibetan for all the pre-literate tribal peoples inhabiting what is now Arunachal Pradesh. They are traditionally divided into the "White Mouths" (Kha-dkar), "Black Mouths" (Kha-nag), and the "Striped Mouths" (Kha-khra) who are referred to here, though it is never clear to which specific groups, if any, these names properly apply. *Ghrî-dho* must be the "Gidu" with whom the Mönpa, a Buddhist people of the Kameng district, are in

- contact. In 1979 I heard the name applied specifically to the Aka and Miji. The story of matricide which follows conforms to the traditional Tibetan view of all these peoples as being "devoid of [the capacity to distinguish between] virtue and evil" (*dge-sdig med-pa*). See Aris 1980, pp. 9, 16 n. 3. The phrase "eastern borders" (*shar-mtha*) in this sentence should of course be corrected to "northern borders".
22. Another version of this story is found in the origin myth of the Lag-lding-pa family of Sikkim. Their ancestor, an unnamed son of the famous Guru Chos-dbang (1220-70), learnt on a visit to the Khaptra that "... it was their custom during a marriage ceremony if they secured a fine big game by hunting, well and good; if not, then one member of the bride's family, be it the father or mother, or one of the brothers or sisters, would be slaughtered and distributed by way of a feast to the tribe, and likewise with the bridegroom's family". The Lag-lding-pa (lit. "Hand-Soarer") ancestor is said to have escaped death by holding onto the severed hand of a bridegroom's mother which he had received as his portion during a wedding feast. Its magical powers enabled him to fly into the sky, away from his would-be murderers. See *Sikkim History*, Addendum, pp. 12-15. Yet another version of this story was still current in the later nineteenth century: "The Lo Tawas [Glo Khra-ba] are said to kill the mother of the bride in performing their marriage ceremony, when they do not find any wild men, and eat her flesh": Das 1904, pp. 165-6 n. 2, citing the report of the "pandit" explorer Lama Sherab Gyatsho (I am indebted to Toni Huber for this reference).
 23. The mithan (or mithun, mytton etc., *Bos frontalis*, in Tibetan *ba-men*, lit. "non-cow") is the hybrid of the wild Indian ox known as the gaur (*Bos gaurus*) and the domestic cow. It has great prestige value in the eastern Himalayas, extending from eastern Bhutan through the whole of Arunachal Pradesh. "Being neither milked nor used as draught or pack animals, these domestic bison are only kept for the sake of their meat, as sacrificial animals, as symbols of wealth and as currency for all ceremonial payments and land transactions": Furer-Haimendorf 1955, p. 43 (with particular reference to the Apa Tanis and Daflas). For a drawing of the mithan, see Parfionovitch *et al.* 1992, plate 31: i, p. 78, and ii, p. 234 (no. 71).
 24. Padmasambhava is the major tantric cult figure developed around the legends associated with a tantric sage from the Swat valley, in present-day Pakistan, who performed the consecration of Tibet's first monastery at bSam-yas in c. 779. Here we see the great guru in one of his best-known roles conquering and converting non-Buddhist deities and peoples.
 25. We can assume the Guru was referring to the milk and other dairy products of the *rgya-tsha* double-hybrid rather than that of the mithan, which is not milked. The word *rgya-tsha* is still today in common use in Bhutan and perhaps elsewhere too.
 26. The site of the Buddha's death at Kuśinagara is even today mistakenly identified by many Tibetans, Bhutanese and Mönpa to be the temple of Kāmākhya at Hajo, nine miles north-west of Gauhati in Assam. Its proper location is at Kasiā, thirty-five miles east of Gorakhpur in the Deoria District of Uttar Pradesh. See Aris 1979, pp. 112-13. The Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa), from where the Buddha ascended to the Trayatrimśa heaven to preach a sermon to his dead mother, is similarly mistaken for a site close to Hajo. Its true location is the famous hill not far from Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir), the capital of the ancient Magadha kingdom in what is now southern Bihār.

27. The identification of common terms and Latin synonyms for the trees, plants and fruit listed here and in [XV] below are based on those provided in the index to Parfionovitch *et al.* 1992. Where the index fails, I have relied on Meyer 1983 and Das 1902. I have also consulted Maberley 1987. Some items fail to turn up anywhere and have been left unidentified. The "three fruits" mentioned here at the beginning of the list are found in TSDZ, s.v. '*bras-bu gsum: Ar-ru-ra* (chelubic myrobalan, *Terminalia chebula*), *ba-ru-ra* (belleric myrobalan, *Terminalia bellerica*), and *skyu-ru-ra* (embelic myrobalan, *Phyllanthus embelica*).
28. bDe-ba-thang is referred to as Dewangiri in the British Indian records. It is a settlement on the south-east border of Bhutan, in the gDung-bsam district (now renamed Padma dGa'-tshal) where the author's informant, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan, made his home.
29. Banska, sometimes spelt Baska, Baskah or Baksa, is one of the seven Assam Duars under the control of Bhutan in this period. See Eden 1865, p. 8 *et seq.*, and map in end pocket; Aris 1979, p. 111.
30. Kāmarūpa is the ancient name for Assam as a whole. Here the reference must be to the district of Kāmṛūp in northern Assam lying between the districts of Goalpara and Darrang.
31. The Garo tribe, who live mainly in the Garo Hills of the Indian state of Meghalaya, are a branch of the Bodo people of Assam and speak their own Tibeto-Burman language: Singh 1994, pp. 282-8. Nearly all their metal utensils are imported, in particular their most prized object, a gong known as *khora* or *rang* made in Goalpara and Mymensingh that has elaborate designs on its surface. Perhaps the author has confused dishes for gongs. See Allen 1906, pt. 2, pp. 39, 42.
32. This is the *firinghee*, *frangi*, *firangi* etc of Anglo-Indian usage, derived from the Indian form for "Frank", referring originally to all Europeans but in this text specifically to the British: Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. *Firinghee*. In Thailand *farang* continues to be applied to all foreigners indiscriminately. Cf. the Tibetan term for Europeans, *Phyi-gling-pa* ("people of the outer islands"). 'Jigs-med-gling-pa elsewhere uses the variant *Phi-ling* in a list of the following countries: *rGya-gar* (India) / *Kha-che* (Kashmir) / *Nee-pa-la* (Nepal) / *Yer-khin* (Yarkand) / *Kha-chur* (?) / *Phi-ling* ("Europe") / These countries are classed as "minor kingdoms in between and among the Karvata/*ka" (*bar dang bar-gyi Ri-brag-pa'i rgyal-phran-rnams*): *gTam-tshogs*, Lhasa edn., p. 283. Thus we have: Phe-reng > Phyi-gling/Phi-ling.
33. The word *tshar* is used for long strips of bamboo in both Bhutan and Sikkim, where they are employed as a binding material. The word is not found in any Tibetan dictionary. On the many traditional uses of bamboo products in Bhutan, see Stapleton 1994, esp. pp. 2-3.
34. All foreign merchants were confined to a small area outside the city wall of Canton (Guangzhou) called the Thirteen Hongs. After 1760 the main British Indian export to China through Canton was Bengal opium.
35. This is the administrative centre of the Chumbi valley in the Gro-mo district of southern Tibet, a corridor between Sikkim and Bhutan.
36. sPa-gro (now officially spelt sPa-ro) is the broadest valley of western Bhutan.
37. Mon is the general term for most of the non-Indian, non-Tibetan peoples and areas dispersed through the Himalayas with whom the Tibetan were in close cultural contact. Here the term applies specifically to Bhutan. See n. 12 above.
38. See [III] above, the southern "opening" or "mouth" of Bhutan. dPag-bsam-kha is also known by its Indianized form of Buxa.

39. In 1789, when this text was written, the Bhutanese fort at Chichcotta marked the frontier with British India. It was stormed and taken by British troops in the Anglo-Bhutan war of 1773, later returned to the Bhutan government in the treaty which followed, and permanently ceded to India in 1865. For a detailed and interesting account of the place, see Turner 1800, pp. 18-20. The term lHo-'brug ("The Southern 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa") alludes to the unification of Bhutan in the first half of the seventeenth century by a branch of this school under the leadership of its hereditary prince abbot, *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (1594-?1651).
40. The Kachari are a large composite group speaking related Tibeto-Burman languages and regarded as the original inhabitants of the Brahmaputra valley and adjoining areas. They are represented by the Mech in western Assam, the Bodo in central Assam, the Dimasa and Hojai in the North Cachar Hills, and the Sonowal and Thengal in the eastern part of the Brahmaputra valley. See Singh 1994, pp. 430-50. The Kachari appear with the same spelling of Ka-tsa-ra in a passage of the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston* of dPa'-bo gTsong-lag dealing with events of the later fifteenth century: see Aris 1979, pp. 102, 107, where I had identified them tentatively with the Aka or Miji, a view I would now revise.
41. A useful summary of early Bhutanese relations with Kūch Bihār is found in BRDK, pp. 96-9. On the background to British intervention in the state in 1772, see Singh 1988, pp. 291-4; BGGR, pp. 376-7. For a local chronicle, see Ghosal 1942. I take *Gha-ṭa-kha*, a name found in some Bhutanese sources to refer to the whole kingdom of Kūch Bihār, to be the site of the king's palace, though this still needs confirmation.
42. A seasonal fair was established at Rangpur by Warren Hastings to encourage trade with Tibet and the Himalayan regions. See the many entries under Rangpur in Markham 1876, Index. The town and administrative district of Rangpur now lie in Bangladesh.
43. TSDZ, s.v. *bzang-po drug*: nutmeg (*dzā-ti*), bamboo pith (*cu-gang*), saffron (*gur-gum*), clove (*li-shi*), cardoman (*sug-smel*) and cubeb (*ka-ko-la*), which bring benefit respectively to the heart (*snying*), lungs (*glo-ba*), liver (*mchin-pa*), "channel of life" (*srog-rtsa*), kidneys (*mkhal-ma*), and spleen (*mtsher-pa*).
44. The word *kha-sha* is still used in Bhutan for Indian cotton in general.
45. Jogighopa is a small town on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra river opposite Goalpara in Assam.
46. This is presumably a temple, rather than a "kingdom", dedicated to the cult of the Hindu monkey god Hanumān. It has yet to be identified.
47. Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. *tanga*: "A denomination of coin which has been in use over a vast extent of territory, and has varied greatly in application".
48. The modern capital of Bangladesh.
49. For a careful account of Bhutan's brief hold in 1770 on the kingdom of Vijayapur, situated in the Morang region of Nepal's south-east Terai, see Pradhan 1991, esp. pp. 110-11. The adventure formed a side-show to the Bhutanese embroilment in this period with Kuch Bihār and Sikkim, also with the rising powers of the British in Bengal and the Gorkha dynasty in Nepal. Evidently the Panchen Lama of Tibet was persuaded to believe that the Bhutanese were the rightful owners of Vijayapur (Bijapur): Markham 1876, p. 165. Mong-gor appears to be the Bhutanese name for the kingdom, rendered as "Mangar" in *Sikkim History*, pp. 79-80. Christopher Cüppers has suggested the name may correspond to modern Munger (personal communication).
50. Could *Kha-gar* perhaps be Khagaria, a town and modern subdivision in the

- Monghyr district of Bihar? I have not found the merchant Candapāla (perhaps Candrapāla) in any other sources.
51. The Tibetan names of these famous towns of the Kathmandu valley follow the Newari forms: see Wylie 1970, pp. 12-13 and nn. 10-11.
 52. For a Tibetan account of these stūpas, see *ibid.*, pp. 19-22 and nn. 35-48. For an exhaustive study of the Tibetan traditions concerning the origins of Bodhnāth, see Blondeau 1994, pp. 31-48.
 53. Nāropa (1016-1100) spent three years in Kashmir from 1040, proceeding from there to the monastery of Phūlahari/Puṣpahari. See Guenther 1963, p. xii. Jig-med-gling-pa seems to have assumed from this that the monastery is located in Kashmir, but Chag Lo-tṣā-ba places it firmly "in a forest north of Nālandā, a tumbled down straw hut with three crooked doors, surrounded by numerous huts, without an encircling wall ...": *Dharmasvāmin*, ed. and trans. Roerich, p. 85; ed. Zongtse, pp. 120/1. This is accepted by dGe-'dun Chos-'phel in his GYGG, p. 14. Our author's location of Jālandhara in Kashmir is also wrong: it has been equated with the medieval kingdom of Chamba in modern Himachal Pradesh, extending into the Panjab plains and including the city of Jullundur/Jālandhar.
 54. I can find no tradition of a temple associated with Nāropa in or near Srinagar.
 55. The town and administrative district of Dinajpur lie west of Rangpur in northern Bangladesh.
 56. *gTsang-chu* appears to mean little more than "great river".
 57. The Mahānadi river, which rises in the eastern Ghāts and reaches the sea far south in Orissa, has no connection with the river systems of north India. The information on rivers in the text seems generally confused.
 58. See n. 69 below.
 59. Kashi Babu can almost certainly be identified with Kashinath, often anglicized as "Cossinath", one of the great Calcutta "barians" or financial brokers of the later eighteenth century. He served for a time as *dewan* to Robert Clive, victor at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Although a Hindu, Kashinath acted as the patron of a Muslim saint (*pir*) called Jumma Sha who seems to be the rishi referred to here. "[Kashinath] offered a *pucka* house to Jumma Sha to live in when he first came from the Sundarbans. The very house is still existing at Barabazaar, and resorted to by both Hindus and Masalmans, who consider it as a holy spot since the demise of Jumma Sha (up to this day known as Jumma Sha Pir) who was extremely pious and well known for his virtues": Ghose 1879-81, i, p. 39. See also Carey 1906-7, ii, pp. 450-2.
 60. *Gho-ro* may perhaps be *goro*, *gora*, *gauḍa*, "white" rather than an attempt to render "governor".
 61. This seems to be the Supreme Council established in Calcutta under the authority of the 1773 Regulatory Act.
 62. Das 1902, s.v. *Tsu-ta*, citing the GYBY: "the name of a fabulous kingdom of the class of *Asura* who have only one leg". My photocopy of a manuscript of the GYBY lists on fo. 8b "the eight realms controlled by non-humans" (*mi-ma-yin-pas 'dzin-pa'i rgyal-khams brgyad*) as follows: (1) lKog-pa brang-'gyar ("Those With Throats Stuck to Their Chests"); (2) The-rang mig-gcig-pa ("The One-Eyed *The-rang* [Demons]"); (3) sKye-lba rme-sha-can "The Goitred Moley Ones" (?); (4) Sog-po spre'u-lag-can ("The Monkey-Handed Mongolians"); (5) rGya-mo khyi-khyi-can ("The Chinese Women who Possesses Dogs"); (6) rNa-bo-che bong-bu ("The Large-Eared Donkeys"); (7) Tshe-tshe ra-mgo-can ("The Goat-Headed

- Goats"); and (8) *Tsu-ta rkang-gcig-pa* ("The One-Legged *Tsu-ta*"). The only other reference to these elusive monopods I have been able to trace is Bosson 1969, no. 78, and see p. 317 n. 78: "Those who do things by a defective method despise those who do them by a perfect method. When he comes to the land of *Tsu-ta*, the two-legged one is not considered a human being". Cf. the English proverb: "In the valley of the blind the one-eyed man is king".
63. See Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. *mohwa* [*mahwā*] etc., "the large oak-like tree *Bassia latifolia* [or *longifolia*] ... also the flower of this tree from which a spirit is distilled and the spirit itself". "... by no means of despicable quality, resembling in some degree Irish whisky".
 64. The word *she'u-le* appears to be a Tibetan attempt to render a north Indian variant of Nepali *syāl*, "jackal", derived from Skt. *śṛgālah*.
 65. TSDZ, s.v. *rgyal-srid sna-bdun*, and *Nyingma History*, ii, p. 156 (*rin-po-che sna bdun*): wheel, gem, queen, minister, elephant, general and horse. The Buddha Śākyamuni entered the womb of his mother, Māyā, in the form of the legendary six-tusked elephant.
 66. The famous Kalighat temple in south Calcutta is associated in legend with Sati's little toe, not her head. Viṣṇu used his solar disc to dismember into fifty-one pieces the charred corpse of Sati which her husband Śiva had refused to dispose of. Temples were built at the spots where each piece fell. The human head referred to is presumably an image of Durgā.
 67. Rāmapāla (1080-1123) was the last great Pāla king. The temple has not been identified.
 68. This is the famous, or infamous, practice known to the Europeans as "suttee" (Skt. *sati*, "the good woman") but more properly termed *saha-gamana* ("keeping company" or *saha-marāṇa* ("dying together")), "the burning of the the living widow along with the corpse of her husband, as practised by people of certain castes among the Hindus, and eminently by the Rājput̥s": Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. *suttee*. See also Carey 1906-7, ii, pp. 126-34. In 1817, 706 cases of self-immolation were reported in Bengal. The rite was outlawed by the British in 1829 following a campaign led by the Bengali intellectual and reformer Rammohun Roy.
 69. The name Santipur ("Soondipour" or "Santipore" in the English spelling of the period) was preserved for a major cloth factory and market (*aurung*) located a few miles south-east of Murshidabad.
 70. The Pāṇḍavas, the five sons of Pāṇḍu by his two wives Kuntī and Mādri, are the main protagonists of the *Mahābhārata*: Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna, Bhīma, Nakula and Sahadeva. It is unclear whose enemies are referred to here, nor how their bribing occasioned defeat. Compare this story and the myth of the descent of the Ganges as told in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyana*, where Bhāgiratha is the Pāṇḍavas' illustrious ancestor.
 71. *Bodhicaryavatara*, 7.3-8.2. The "mass of fire" (*me-tshogs*) has been substituted for "crowd of women" (*mo-tshogs*, Sk. *jātās ca tāḥ*) in the original, presumably a reference to the women who persecute, or tempt into traps, the inhabitants of hell.
 72. The four markets cannot be identified but must have included the great grain market of Bhagwangola (or Bogwangola) to the north of Murshidabad.
 73. I cannot find the relevant passage, if it exists, in the standard biography of Atiśa (982-1054): Eimer 1979.
 74. On these famous sites associated with the nawābs of Bengal, see O'Malley 1914, pp. 215-18, 221-3. After the Bhāgirathi river changed course the Hirājhil lake

- was swept away in 1788 together with the palace of Sirāj-ud-daula (r. 1756-7).
75. The word *ti-rub* means "rupee", "coin", or "money" both in Bhutanese and Sikkimese. Cf. Das 1902, s.v. *ti-rug*: "the Indian rupee (in Sikkim)". The derivation of the name *Ti-rub-'bum-ri* is not made clear.
 76. Sukhāvati is the western paradise of the Buddha Amitabha. The implication is that the fine condition of Indian roads are mistaken by some for the ageless beauty and permanence of paradise.
 77. Benares is due west and slightly south of Patnā.
 78. Gayā lies south-east of Benares. The "powerful shrine" is of course Bodhgayā, site of the Buddha's enlightenment. The fullest description in Tibetan of the site is probably that of Chag Lo-tśā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, who was there in 1234-5: *Dharmasvāmin*, ed. and trans. Roerich, pp. 61-76; ed. Zongtse, pp. 46/7-90/1.
 79. The text appears to be corrupt here. Perhaps *sho-na* approximates to the Bengali pronunciation of the first two syllables of *sannyāsi*, and *bhrami* to *brāhman*.
 80. The *vairāgi* (lit. "one devoid of passion") are a class of mendicants devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu, especially in the form of Rāma.
 81. The Tibetans, and the Panchen Lama in particular, had been very impressed by the extraordinary feat of the Hindu mendicant "Prānporee" who had walked enormous distances with his hands held up and locked together above his head. He travelled as far as Moscow and even Siberia, returning to India by way of China and Tibet. See Turner 1800, pp. 269-72.
 82. That all Tibetans had not, in this period, finally accepted the identification of Bodhgayā with the famous site near the town of Gayā is confirmed in the passage quoted from Turner 1800 (see p. 4 above), where it is clear that the ancient city of Gaur was regarded as the main candidate. The ruins of this medieval capital of Bengal, later the seat of several Muslim dynasties, lies close to the modern town of Malda, north-west of Murshidabad and south-east of Gayā. However, the unnamed alternative candidate for Bodhgayā referred to here by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa would, if we follow his directions, lie somewhere in Tibet or even further to the north!
 83. Mahāvira (c. 540-468 B.C.), founder of the Jain religion.
 84. The reign of King Dharmapāla (c. 770-810) marked the apogee of the Pāla dynasty of eastern India. It is difficult to identify the "Turks" among those rulers of northern India with whom he came into conflict. See *Tāranātha*, pp. 274-83.
 85. On Buddhapakṣa, who does not stand in the main lineage of the Pāla kings, see *Tāranātha*, pp. 138-9, 144, and on the destruction caused by the two heretics, pp. 141-2.
 86. The brāhman Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.), founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, is remembered in several sources as an arch-enemy of the Buddhist faith. For a sceptical review of these sources, including *Tāranātha*, p. 121, who provided the basis for 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's account, see Lamotte 1988, pp. 386-92.
 87. West of course, unless one took the sea route that started from Calcutta, sailing south along the coast of India.
 88. This site, where the Buddha is said to have revealed the Kālacakra Tantra, is normally located, according to Vajrayana tradition, in south India on the banks of the Kṛṣṇa river in Andhara Pradesh. But the name and the tradition appears to have travelled in several directions. Could the reference here be a garbled allusion to Ottoman control of Mecca?
 89. The source has not been identified.
 90. Rudra (or Rudracakrin) is the last of the thirty-two kings of Shambhala. He is destined to appear as a victorious monarch who will defeat the barbarians in the

- west and cause the teachings of the Buddha to spread throughout the world. For a painted depiction of this king and his battle, see Rhie and Thurman 1991, pp. 158, 378.
91. The source for this story is found in *Tāranātha*, pp. 117-19. In summary: Kumārasena was expelled from the *saṃgha* after breaking his vows. He resolved to found an alternative religion, for this purpose changing his name to *Mā-ma-thar* (Mahmad/Muhammad) and composing a scripture that preached violence. This he concealed at "the place of *Bi-śli-mi-lil* [presumably the invocation Bismi'llāh, "In the name of God!"], the great demon among the *asuras*", located in the Śulika country beyond *Tho-gar* (Tokharistan?). The scripture hidden there was later revealed by a certain *Ba'i-kham-pa* ("The Man [Born to] the Begim/Begam"?). He was the son of a virgin of Khorāsāna/ Khurāsān/ Chorasmia whose body had been invaded by a cat that sprang from flowers she had been collecting. He, *Bai'-kham-pa* (who later came to be known as *Ar-dho*, a name that has yet to be reconstructed) obtained teachings on the text directly from *Mā-ma-thar* and later promulgated it in the vicinity of *Ma-kha* (Mecca). "As a consequence of his preaching there the false religion of the *bhrāmaṇas* and *ṣatriyas* there came into being the royal dynasties of the *Sa'i-da* (Sayyids) and *Tu-ru-ṣka* (Turukhas/Turks)": *ibid.*, p. 118.
- Simon Digby tentatively links the legend to "the descent of the Mongol ruling houses from the ancestress Alanqûâ/Alang-goā, made pregnant by the Sun. But it is the story as filtered through the consciousness of the descendants of Timur and the Indian Mughals who were contemporaries of Tāranātha. It has been suggested that a major preoccupation of Akbar in his enquiries from the Jesuits about Christianity was the parallel between the Virgin Mary and his own ancestress. The legend plays an important role in the court ideologue Abu'l-Fazl's formulation of Akbar's own [quasi-]divinity" (personal communication, citing Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar-nāma*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (1897-1921), i, pp. 37, 39; text, ed. Blochmann *et al.*, i, p. 12).
92. This is presumably the *Lo-ma-can-gyi gsang-tshig* cited in [XXVII] below. The text has not been identified.
93. Although classed as a "heresy", the Jainism of Mahāvira is generally regarded sympathetically by Buddhists.
94. The early kings of Tibet: Srong-btsan sGam-po (regn. c.622-649), Khri Srong-lde-btsan (regn. 754-97) and Khri Ral-pa-can (regn. 815-c.836).
95. The source is the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, Tohoku no. 2, sDe-sge edn., 'Dul-ba, vol. Ca, fos. 1b-20b: *bzod-pa dka'-thub dam-pa bzod-pa-ni // mya-ngan-'das-pa-mchog ces sangs-rgyas gsung // rab-tu byung-ba gzhan-la gnod-pa-dang // gzhan-la 'tshes-ba dge-sbyong ma-yin-no //* "The forbearance [which suffers] austerities, the holy forbearance / Is said by the Buddha to be the [quality necessary for attaining] perfect nirvana. / To injure other monks / And to persecute others is not [the way of] a mendicant".
96. *Tu-rub* looks like a typical Bhutanese contraction, thus: *Tu-ruṣka-pa* > *Tu-ru-pa* > *Tu-rub*. In [XXVII] below the term seems to be applied to Muslims in general.
97. The phrase "half again as big" is a tentative attempt to render 'bun, and based on the definition for 'bun-rtsis in TSDZ, s.v.: "In previous times [it meant] one and a half, which is to say a method of calculating which turns two into three" (*snga-dus phyed-dang-gnyis-te gnyis gsum-du sgyur-ba'i rtsis-gzhi*).
98. One of the meanings of "turki" (also spelt *toorkay*, *toorkee*, *toorky* etc) in English is "a Turkish horse": *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. *Turki*. In 1783 Samuel Turner saw in Bhutan "three or four fat handsome Toorkey horses" which the

- Bhutanese had captured from the British: Turner 1800, p. 95.
99. *Bho-rong-gi* represents the author's attempt to render *Borgi*, the Bengali form of Indo-Persian *Bargir*, literally "burden taker", which was "an epithet applied to the *Marhattas* [Marāthas]": Platts 1884, s.v. *Bargi*. "In practice these mercenaries were often permitted to realize arrears of pay by looting the country, and the word *bārgir* became in popular speech the designation of a Marāthā trooper. In Bengal the word appears as *borgi* in a nursery rhyme intended to frighten a restless child": Grant Duff 1921, i, p. 61 n. 5. I am indebted to Simon Digby for drawing my attention to these sources.
 100. TSDZ, s.v. *mtsho-rta*: "a kind of fish which lives in the ocean, whose head is like that of a horse ..." (*rgya-mtsho-la gnas-pa'i nya-rigs-shig de'i gdong rta dang 'dra-bas* ...). However, I have heard of popular legends in Tibet which tell of lake-dwelling horses which come out to mate with the domestic variety. It is these which the author appears to have in mind.
 101. "In the beginning the name sTod Hor was applied to the dominions of Hülegü in Iran. But in the 14th century it came to indicate the Chagatai kingdom": Petech 1990, p. 30 n. 113.
 102. These are the "rediscovered" texts attributed respectively to Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer (1136-1204) and Guru Chos-dbang (1212-70). It is not known which texts in particular the author has used.
 103. O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1230-1309). The author had direct access to the itinerary of O-rgyan-pa's travels in north-west India and Swat in writing the next section [XXV].
 104. Qubilai (1215-94), first Mongol emperor of the Yüan dynasty (regn. 1260-94 as Shih-tsu). This passage, minus the last two sentences, is translated in Wylie 1962, p. 134 n. 170.
 105. The raven and the owl are traditional enemies. See the entries in TSDZ, s.v. *bya-rog* and *'ug-pa*.
 106. For the full background to the war of 1288-90 between the Sa-skyā school, backed by the imperial power of the Yuan dynasty, and the 'Bri-gung school, which obtained the support of the Chagatai kingdom of Central Asia, see Petech 1990, pp. 29-31. The account here closely follows that given in Petech. For another reference to an invasion by the sTod-hor in 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's writings, an event which Petech says was "largely mythical", see *ibid.*, pp. 21-2; Tsering 1978, pp. 520-1 and n. 30.
 107. This name appears as dPal-mo-thang in other sources.
 108. TSDZ, s.v. *khrag-sbyor*: "a violent ritual action by which, at the most, life and, at the least, limbs are severed" (*che-ba srog dang / chung-ba yan-lag sogs gcod-pa'i drag-las shig*).
 109. sGar-thog was the major administrative headquarters in western Tibet. Could Kha-chur be a mistake for Khur-chags (Kojarnāth)? Or is it a variant of *Kha-chul* (see n. 32 above)? The phrase *yin-ni zer* is a colloquialism meaning "The claim is made that ...", and not to be confused with ... *yin-no zer*, "It is said that that ...".
 110. Rang-byung-dpal is incorrect for Rin-chen-dpal. For the itinerary of O-rgyan-pa's journey to Swat, identified as Uḍḍiyāna, in the second half of the thirteenth century, see Tucci 1940, pp. 41-64 (translation), 92-103 (text). 'Jigs-med-gling-pa has depended heavily on the itinerary in writing this passage, condensing it and making one critical mistake (see n. 112 below). I have used Tucci's renderings of place-names, and his commentary should be consulted for their identifications and present locations.
 111. On the twenty-four holy sites of Samvara, see Tucci 1940, p. 21 n. 35; Giuseppe

- Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, 7 vols (Rome, 1932-41), iii pt. 2, p. 42 *et seq.* They are listed (as *gyul* [i.e. *yul*] *nyer-bzhi*) in *Nyingma School*, ii, p. 180 (following Snellgrove): Jālandhara, Oḍḍiyāna, Paurṇagiri, Kāmarūpa, Mālava, Sindhu, Nagara, Munmuni, Kārūnyapāṭaka, Devikota, Karmārapāṭaka, Kulatā, Arbuda, Godāvāri, Himādri, Harikela, Lampāka, Kāñci, Saurāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, Kokaṇa, Caritra, Kośala and Vindhya-kāumārāpurikā.
112. This statement is based on 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's misreading, or his use of a corrupted copy, of O-rgyan-pa's itinerary, which in turn led him off on this wild goose chase for the Hor. The relevant passage in Tucci's copy makes it clear that *hor zhes-pa'i grong-khyer* should read *bra-hor-ra zhes-pa grong-khyer*. The whole passage in Tucci's edition reads: *sa-de yan-chad rgya-sog 'dres-par 'dug / la-la-na hin-dhu zhes-pa rgya-gar-pa yod / la-la-na mu-sur-man zhes-pa sog-po yod / kha-gcig-na 'dres-pa'ang thang-la yod-pa kun mo-gol-la do-blta-ba [?] 'dug / de-nas kha-che'i chubzhugs gtsang-po gcig yod / de rgal-nas bra-ho-ra zhes-pa grong-khyer 'bum-phrag-bdun-bcu yod zer-par[bar] sleb / de-na grong-dpon sog-po ma-lig kha-dha-rina zhes 'dug / de-nas nyin gcig-gis nahu-gri zhes-pa sman-tsa'i ri chen-po 'dug / (Tucci 1940, p. 94, with the transliteration adapted to the system used here).*
113. This passage alludes to the war waged on behalf of the Fifth Dalai Lama against Ladakh in 1679-83 by dGa'-ldan Tshe-dbang, prince of Dzungaria and lama of bKra-shis-lhun-po. The Ladakhi king appealed for help, with temporary military success but eventual loss of economic power, to the Mughal governor of Kashmir, Ibrahim Khan. He is apparently referred to here as "the king of the pādshāh", a phrase 'Jigs-med-gling-pa seems to have borrowed from his source but which he has trouble understanding. A diplomatic mission organised in 1683-4 by the Tibetan government in the wake of the war and led by the Sixth 'Brug-chen, Mi-pham dBang-po, imposed strong Tibetan political influence on the kingdom. The full background to these complex events is explained in Petech 1977, pp. 70-80.
114. The author seems to have invented the name of the country of the Borgi (Marāthas) by dropping the final syllable of their epithet. He evidently took it wrongly to be the eponymous *-i* ending standard for the names of Indian peoples. Similarly he has, in the preceding and following sentences, taken pādshāh as "empire" rather than "emperor".
115. In the 1740s Alivardi Khan, nawāb of Bengal, bought off the Marāthas.
116. This is the famous rock fortress in the Rajput state of Mewar. I can trace no such incident in the history of the period. The defeat of the British described here may be a garbled memory of an event that took place in the vicinity of another famous fortress, namely Gwalior, during the first Marātha war, 1774-81. See Thompson and Garrett 1966, p. 146. The British reversal at Gwalior may have become conflated in this account with the defeat by the Marāthas of the Bombay Army commanded by Colonel Egerton in 1779, well within the twelve-year cycle preceding the composition of this work in 1789 (see the author's comment at the end of this paragraph). The Marāthas finally lost their independence to the British in a war of 1816-18. For another Tibetan reference to Chitor (spelt this time *Tsi-tor*), see Wylie 1962, p. 62 and p. 127 n. 110.
117. The allusion is to the Buddhist tradition which looks to an Indian king or prince named Rūpati who, fleeing from the wars of the Pāṇḍavas, is said to have turned up in Tibet either as the progenitor of the Tibetan people or as the first king of Tibet, gNya'-khri-btsan-po. The story stands at variance with indigenous traditions claiming Tibetan descent from the union of a rock demoness (*srin-mo*) with an ape, and the first king from the gods of heaven. For

- an exhaustive study, see Haarh 1969, chs. 10-11, pp. 168-270.
118. *A-yi* here is the respectful word for "mother", formerly used in several north Indian languages and deriving from *Ārya*, in the sense of "The Noble [Lady]". By pure coincidence *A-yi* (now spelt *A'i*) also means "mother" in Dzongkha, the vernacular language of western Bhutan, now promoted as the national language of Bhutan. It was probably for this reason that the author's Bhutanese informant was struck by the word.
 119. The derivation of so many of the rituals, doctrines, moral teachings and iconographical features of Buddhism from Hinduism is even today a source of mystery for many Tibetans, who find it difficult to believe that these are anything but the product of the Lord Buddha and those who follow his tradition. But in Bhutan some attempt has been made to underline the shared nature of certain Buddhist and Hindu deities, probably as part of an attempt towards the cultural assimilation of the ethnic Nepali population in southern Bhutan: see for instance SGYP, pp. 59-64. On the ten avatars of Viṣṇu, see the quotation at the end of the next paragraph.
 120. This work, whose title translates as "The Secret Words of the Tree", has not been traced.
 121. It is not clear why Kalkin, the last of these ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, is referred to here as *Ngang-pa-can*, a synonym for *rkang-gdub*, "anklet", according to TSDZ, q.v.
 122. Unfortunately none of the customs and legends recounted here and below are to be found in the most exhaustive study of this famous site that has appeared to date: Starza 1993. It is not clear why Tibetans and Bhutanese venerated the temple in this period as it has no obvious Buddhist associations. But see Samuel Turner's comment, quoted on p. 4 above, that "all those places held in veneration by Hindoos ... are equally objects of superstitious zeal [for the Tibetans]", and his further testimony quoted in n. 129 below that the Jaganātha Temple in particular was the object of Tibetan pilgrimage.
 123. There appears to be a confusion between, on the one hand, nutmegs and cloves and, on the other hand: (1) coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*), often cast into water in Hindu festivals, (2) coco-de-mer (*Lodoicea maldivica*), whose great nuts float onto the shores of India, used for begging bowls.
 124. The North Indian/Indo-Persian renderings of many European names in this period reflect the Portuguese forms, in this case *Olandez*, obviously the source for *O-lon-dhe*. The author or his informant has clearly misunderstood the stories told in India about Holland as a major importer of eastern spices and taken it instead to be a major producer.
 125. Simon Digby writes: "I suspect there is an understandable confusion between the temple of Jagannath at Puri (The White Pagoda of European accounts) and the temple of the Sun at Konarak (the Black Pagoda), and the Tibetan's story embodies a folk-tradition of the destruction in a storm of the *śikhara / rekhā deul* spire of the Konarak temple, which we have argued occurred in the middle of the 17th century ... The "iron hoop" corresponds to the belief recorded by a Muslim observer when the spire was standing that the the huge *āmalaka* at the top was a single lodestone which kept in place the great iron beams" (personal communication). See Digby and Harle 1985, pp. 1-7.
 126. The passage is reminiscent of accounts of trade with shy peoples recorded from ancient times. Henri Cordier, commenting on Marco Polo's account of the Nicobar Islands (Necuveran), noted that these islands "are generally known by the Chinese under the name of *Rākchas* or Demons who devour men, from the

- belief that their inhabitants were anthropophagi ... Sometimes they traded with *Lin-yih* [Champa], but then at night; in day-time they covered their faces": Yule and Cordier 1903, ii, p.308. In Albirūni's account of India written in c. 1030 the Nicobar Islands appear to be referred to as *Langa*, from the Arabic form *Langabālus*. We read there that after merchants have arrived on the islands: "The wares are deposited on the shore on leather sheets, each of which is marked with the name of its owner. Thereupon the merchants retire to their ships. On the following day they find the sheets covered with cloves [coconuts?] by way of payment, little or much, as the natives happen to own. The people with whom this trade is carried on are demons according to some, savage men according to others": Sachau 1910, i, p. 309.
127. The *shang-shang* are mythological beings, birds from the waist down and humans from the waist up. Skt. *jivajiva* (or *jivamjivaka* etc) is also applied to a kind of pheasant. See also [XXXII] below.
128. The author is attempting to harmonize the Hindu legend of Rāma's conquest of Rāvana with the Buddhist legend of Padmasambhava's conquest of the demon Thod-phreng[rtsal] ("Skull-garlanded") in the continent of Cāmaradvīpa. On this episode in the legendary life of Padmasambhava, see *Nyingma School*, i, pp. 520-1.
129. "Gunga Sagor, an uninhabited island, situated at the confluence of the Ganges with the sea, and the pagoda of Jagarnaut, upon the coast of Orissa, are also deemed [by the Tibetans] places of equal sanctity, and occasionally visited, from the same motives of jealous but mistaken piety": Turner 1800, p. 268.
130. The place may be Sangor. The British knew it as a site where children were exposed.
131. This text has not been identified.
132. The Five Afflictions (*gdung-ba lnga*) are caused by sitting at the centre of four fires with the mid-day sun above.
133. Caṇḍikā is a Hindu Tantric deity known also to Buddhist Tantric tradition: see Mallmann 1975, p. 138.
134. The Ten Non-Virtues (*mi-dge-ba bcu*) are murder, theft, sexual misconduct, falsehood, slander, irresponsible chatter, verbal abuse, covetousness, vindictiveness, and holding wrong views: *Nyingma History*, ii, p. 166.
135. This account of the famous tidal bore on the Hugli river must have been one of the highlights of the whole account given to 'Jigs-med-gling-pa by his informant Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan: see n. 153 below. For a British account of the bore, see Carey 1906-7, ii, p. 359.
136. The account of collecting conch shells in this way must be pure fancy.
137. The view, discounted here by the author, that England might in fact be an island forming the axial mountain of the universe, Sumeru, presumably developed in order to account for what was seen as the immense wealth of the British. In traditional cosmology Sumeru (Tib. *Ri-rab* or *Ri-rab lhun-po*) has its eastern slopes covered with silver, its southern with lapis, western with red crystal, and northern with gold. The sky reflects these colours, and the ocean in turn takes on the colours of the sky. (TSDZ, s.v. *Ri-rab lhun-po*.) Could the author's comment on how precious substances are extracted from crevices in a mountain, instead of from its slopes, reflect a distant rumour of British mining?
138. I first took this "box" to be a church organ, thinking perhaps it was the one in the famous St John's Church, Calcutta, completed in 1787 two years before this work was written, replacing an earlier one reported destroyed in 1751: Carey 1906-7, ii, pp. 163-9. Hélène La Rue has now given me invaluable help in

- identifying the instrument as a barrel organ ("orgue de Barberie"). This is confirmed by my revised reading of the sentence *sgam-gyi phyi-nas gcus-phur bsgrims-pas nang-du pags-pa gnyen-po'i rbud-pa-las rlung byung-nas* ("By winding a screw on the outside a wind is produced from a bellows inside made of soft leather ..."), taking *rbud-pa* to be a variant or mistake for *sbud-pa*: TSDZ and Das 1902, s.v., "bellows"; cf. Aris 1994a, Appendix pp. 8-9. On the history and development of the barrel organ, see Zeraschi 1980.
139. Superimposed on the barrel organ is a kind of peep-show known in the period as an "optic glass". One such peep-show was shown in Calcuta by an Italian in 1794. Known as the "Great Optic of Zaler", it revealed "the rising of the sun and the capital cities of Europe in their natural state and size". For the contemporary advertisement announcing a fee of one gold mohur to enjoy the spectacle, see Carey 1906-7, i, p. 178. In Europe it was common in this period for itinerant players of the barrel organ to also carry around and give demonstrations of magic lanterns, presumably since these provided a more controllable source of income than busking. For illustrations of barrel organ players carrying or demonstrating magic lanterns, see Zeraschi, *L'orge de barberie*, p. 45 (1737), p. 47 (1756-63), plate 19 (1776), plates 22-3 (1763). It is not clear to me yet if the peep-show described here is built into or separate from the barrel organ in question.
 140. Dudjom includes "all things basic to the greater well-being of sentient beings" among the "diversified emanations" of the Buddha. He lists the following examples: "... emanations in the form of mansions, verdant meadows, *ghandola* spires, and cities on the plains of suffering; as well as material objects such as the Wishing Tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa*), the Wish-Fulfilling Gem (*Cintāmaṇi*), bridges, wagons, food, clothing and medicine. It also includes other diverse emanations of artistry and birth such as a great fish which appeared during a time of famine, a noble creature which appeared [to cure] an epidemic, the horse *Ājāneyabālha* in the island of ogresses, and a golden bee in a swampy marsh": *Nyingma School*, i, p. 133, and ii, p. 12 nn. 137-40. For a similar warning against the distractions of British mechanical objects, this one in a letter from a Bhutanese abbot to his disciple in c. 1784, see Aris 1982, Appendix, pp. 118-21, esp. p. 120.
 141. The only meaning I can find for *shibar/shibbar* is "a kind of coasting vessel": Yule and Burnell 1903, s.v. This meaning clearly does not fit at all. Perhaps the word attempts to render the name of the manufacturer of this barrel organ.
 142. There are standard lists of two, five or six types of "discriminative perception" ('*du-shes*, Skt. *saṃjñā*), but not three: TSDZ, s.v. '*du-shes gnyis*, *-lṅga, *-drug.
 143. On the *shang-shang*, see n. 127 above.
 144. The vessel in question must be a British or European trading vessel of the largest kind found in the Calcutta port in this period. For a fine picture showing the impressive spectacle of British shipping in that port in 1786, a scene which the author's Bhutanese informant would certainly have witnessed, see "View of Calcutta from the Garden Reach", aquatint by Thomas and William Daniell, 1810, after a drawing by Thomas Daniell, c. 1786, illustrated in Mahajan 1988, pp. 44-5.
 145. See, for instance, the seafaring story of Supārāga in the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra, translated in Khoroché 1989, pp. 96-102; and for other stories and vignettes about ocean travel, see *Jātaka*, Index vol., s.v. "ship-building".
 146. For a useful list of various Tibetan accounts of Ceylon, see Skilling 1993, pp. 179-81.

147. On the extensive pearl industry of Ceylon in this period, see Percival 1803, ch. 3, "The Pearl Fishery", pp. 86-105. I can find no account of the use of diving helmets.
148. The author seems to accept the account of hailstones being converted into pearls as a statement of the obvious, in the same way that the proverb he cites is a mere truism.
149. On Candragomi's sojourn in Ceylon and on the (folk?) etymology of his name, see *Tāranātha*, p. 202. We read there how the saint had renounced his wife Tārā, daughter of king Bharṣa, because he felt unworthy of being married to someone who bore the name of the goddess. The king her father promptly had him put in a box and thrown into the Ganges, but the saint survived by landing on an island of his own magical creation called Candradvipa, located where the river flowed into the sea. "It is said the island still exists and is large enough to have seven thousand villages": *ibid.*, pp. 201-2.
150. 'Jigs-med-gling-pa elsewhere distinguishes between bronze that is "natural" (*rang-byung*) and "manufactured" (*bcos-bu*), the former being found inside mountains blessed by the Buddha in Ceylon and Khotan (Li-yul, "Land of Bronze"), the latter produced by human agency in Tibet and other regions: *gTam-tshogs*, Lhasa edn., p. 101. The passage comes in an interesting section devoted to metals and their properties (note, for example, the description of a Chinese geomantic compass, *tsi-na'i'i phyogs-brtags 'khor-lo*, "the Chinese wheel for determining direction": *ibid.*, p. 99). The indigenous Tibetan recipes for various types of bronze are provided in ZNKR, p. 433.
151. Presumably this is cinnamon. See Percival 1803, ch. 16 "Cinnamon, the Staple Commodity of Ceylon", pp. 340-53.
152. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 195: "Even women of the highest rank do not think themselves degraded by having connexion with Europeans ...".
153. The author's more detailed account of how he came to write this work is contained in his major autobiography (YLHG, fo. 177a-b): "Punda-ri-ka [Skt. Puṇḍarika, "White Lotus", alternative name for Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan], [who belonged to] the class of officials (*dpon-rigs*) [and lived at] gDung-bsam-kha in the south, had possessed faith [in me] from previous times and I had bound him [to myself] with discourses which combined examples and meanings. At the age of seventy-three he arrived with a mind to cultivate the purport of religion, and so I took him on. In the previous year I had dedicated in their colophons the merit of his having carved the blocks for the *Precious Treasury of Enlightened Attributes* (*Yon-tan mdzod*: see *Nyingma School*, ii, p. 258) the *rNam-thar do-ha'i rgyan* [short verse autobiography composed prior to 1787: see Goodman 1992, p. 186 n. 5, Text #1] and other works [composed by me which he published] on the Indian border [at Yong-legs dGon-pa ?]. He presented me with wondrous articles of the Indians (*A-tsa-ra*). He had stayed three years in Calcutta (*Ka-li-ka-ta*) in connection with the treaty concerning Bhutan (*lHo-'brug*) and Kūch Bihār (*Gha-ṭa-ga*, see n. 41 above). While wandering in Bengal and other regions he had been to observe how the tide of the southern ocean turns back [up the course of the Hugli river]. I wrote the *Discourse on India to the South* as an amusement, basing it on his explanation of the country which I examined by using other stories too. As for the need for such an account ... it was to [dispell ignorance and] help Tibetans (*Gangs-can-pa-rnams*) to engage in renouncing their homes [and take to a life of pilgrimage]". (*lho gdung-bsam-kha'i dpon-rigs punda-ri-ka snga-sor-nas dad-mos dang-ldan-pa-la dpe-don 'brel-ba'i gtam-gyis rjes-su gdams-bzhin lo-grangs don-gsum-pa'i steng chos-don gnyer-ba'i bsam-pas*

sleb-pa rjes-su bzung / snga-lo rgya-mtshams-su yon-tan-mzod dang rnam-thar do-ha'i rgyam sogs par-du brkos-pa'i dge-ba rdzogs-byang-du bsngos / nged-la A-tsa-ra'i dpyad-pa ngo-mtshar-ba-day byin / khong-gis lho-'brug dang gha-ṭa-ga'i chings-la ka-li-ka-tar lo gsum bsdad / bhanga-la sogs-par 'kyams-nas lho-phyogs rgya-mtsho'i rlabs log-pa mthong-mthong phyin-'dug-pas/ yul-gyi lo-rgyus bshad-pa-la da-dung gtam-rgyus gzhan-gyis dpyad-pa-dang-bcas rgya-gar lho-phyogs-kyi gtam-de rtsed-mo'i tshul-du bris / de'i dgos-pa'ang ... gang-can-pa-rnams yul-spong-ba-la zhugs-pa-la phan-phyir yin/)

154. The [dag-pa'i lung-gi] dpyad gsum consist of burning, cutting and polishing. The study of the Buddha's words (but here those of the author's informant) by means of inference, scriptural authority and example is compared to the purification of gold by burning, cutting and polishing. See *Nyingma School*, ii, p. 122, citing Śāntarakṣita, *Tattvasaṃgraha*, vv. 3340-4.
155. See n. 1 above.

Abbreviations and Sigla

- Aitchison's Treaties* Charles Umpherston Aitchison (ed.), *A collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*. 14 vols, Calcutta, 1929 edn.
- BGGR Slob-dpon Padma Tshe-dbang, 'Brug-gi rgyal-rabs slob-dpon padma tshe-dbang-gis sbyar-ba / 'brug gsal-ba'i sgron-me [alternative title: 'Brug-gi rgyal rabs me-khyer snang-ba]. Thimphu, 1994.
- BRDK Slob-dpon Nag-mdog, 'Brug dkar-po / 'brug rgyal-khab-kyi chos-srid gnas-stangs. Tharpaling, 1982.
- BRTU Bla-ma gSang-sngags, 'Brug-tu 'od-gsal lha'i gdung-rabs 'byung-tshul brjod-pa smyos-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long. Thimphu, 1983.
- Dharmasvāmin* [Chos-dpal Dar-dpyang], *Life of Dharmasvāmin: A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*, ed. and trans. G.N. Roerich (Patna, 1959); *The Biography of Chag Lo-tsa-ba Chos rje dpal (Dharma-svāmin)*, ed. Champa Thupten Zongtse. New Delhi, SPS, vol. 266, 1981.
- GSHC dGe-bshes Chos-grags, *dGe-bshes chos-kyi grags-pas brtsams-pa'i brda-dag ming-tshig gsal-ba*. Beijing, 1981 edn.
- GYBY sTag-tshang-pa dPal-'byor bZang-po, *rGya-bod yig-tshang mkhas-pa dga'-byed* (c. 1434, photocopy of ms. in 357 fos.)
- GYGG dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, *rGya-gar-gyi gnas-chen-khag-la bgrod-pa'i lam-yig*. Dharamsala, 1968 edn.
- H. Hindi
- Jātaka* *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, ed. E.B. Cowell, 6 vols. and Index vol. Cambridge, 1895-1913.
- JGLM Ngag-dbang Chos-kyi rGya-mtsho, 'Jam-mgon bla-ma ngag-dbang kun-dga' rgya-mtsho'i zhabs-kyi rtogs-brjod rgyal-sras rgya-mtsho'i 'jug-ngogs, repr. in *The Works of Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (an incomplete manuscript from the National Library)*, Thimphu, 1985, pp. 221-355.
- LCBII dGe-'dun Rin-chen, *dPal-ldan 'brug-pa'i gdul-zhing lho-phyogs nags-mo'i ljongs-kyi chos-'byung blo-gsar rna-ba'i rgyan*, 1972, rTa-mgo blockprint.
- Nyingma School*, i Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdreel Yeshe Dorje, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, vol. i, trans. and ed. Gyurme Dorje with Mathew Kapstein. Boston, 1991.
- Nyingma School*, ii Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, vol ii: *Reference Materials*. Boston, 1991.
- Persian Correspondence* *A Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Being Letters which Passed between Some of the Company's Servants and Indian Rulers and Notables*, vol. 4, 1772-5. Calcutta, Imperial Record Department, 1925.
- Political Missions* *Political Missions to Bootan*. Calcutta, 1865.
- PSJZ Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-shes dPal-'byor, *Pag sam jon zang [dPag-bsam ljon-bzang, 1747]*, pt. 1: *History of the Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, ed. Sarat Chandra Das. Calcutta, 1908; also repr. New Delhi, SPS, vol. 214, 1975.
- SGYP Rig-'dzin rDo-rje, "Sangs-rgyas-pa'i lha dang hin-du'i chos-lugs-kyi lha-rnams ngo-bo gcig yin-tshul", in his 'Brug-gi chos dang chos-pa'i ngang-tshul ston-pa. Thimphu, 1984.
- SHDZ Don-dam sMra-ba'i Seng-ge, *bShad-mdzod yid-bzhin nor-bu*, repr. in *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge*. New Delhi, SPS, vol. 78, s1969.

- Sikkim History* mThu-stobs rNam-rgyal and Ye-shes sGrol-ma, "History of Sikkim" (1908), trans. Zla-ba bSam-grub (English type-script in Oriental and India Office Collections, British Library, London, MSS Eur.E.78)
- Skt. Sanskrit
- SOR Serie Orientale Roma
- SPS Śata-Piṭaka series
- gTam-tshogs* The "Miscellaneous Discourses" of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (for editions see the Note on p. XXX below).
- Tāranātha* *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, trans. Lama Chimpa and A. Chattopadhyaya, ed. D. Chattopadhyaya. repr. Delhi, 1970.
- Tibetan Studies* 1979 Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (eds.), *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford 1979*. Warminster and New Delhi, 1980.
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- Tibetan Studies* 1992 Per Kvaerne (ed.), *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992*, 2 vols. Oslo, 1994.
- Tohoku *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*, ed. Kakuju Ui et al., 2 vols. Sendai, Tohoku Imperial University, 1934.
- TSDZ *Bod-rgya tshig-mdzod chen-mo*, 3 vols. Beijing, Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khang, 1984.
- Vasubandhu Abhidharma-kośabhāṣyam*, trans. Leo M. Pruden from the French of Louis de La Vallée Poussin, 4 vols. Berkeley, 1988-90.
- YLHG 'Jigs-med-gling-pa, *Yul lho-rgyud-du byung-ba'i rdzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje mkhyen-brtse'i'od-zer-gyi rnam-par thar-pa*, in *The Collected Works of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa*, Ngagyur Nyimingmay Sungrab, vol. 37, New Delhi, 1985; also published by Dodrup Chen Rinpoche, Gangtok and Delhi, 1985).
- ZNKR dKon-mchog bsTan-'dzin, *bZo-gnas skra-rtse'i chu-thigs*. Lhasa, 1994.

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