'Jigs-med-gling-pa’s
“Discourse on India” of 1789

A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the

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

Michael Aris

Studia Philologica Buddhica
Occasional Paper Series
IX

Tokyo • The International Institute Buddhist Studies • 1995
'Jigs-med-gling-pa's
"Discourse on India" of 1789
STUDIA PHILOLOGICA BUDDHICA
OCCASIONAL PAPER SERIES
IX

'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

Tokyo
The International Institute for Buddhist Studies
of
The International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies
1995
'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

Tokyo
The International Institute for Buddhist Studies
of
The International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies
1995
For
Hugh Edward Richardson
scholar-diplomat
and friend
on his ninetieth birthday
22 December 1995
Contents

Acknowledgements
Introduction 1

I Invocation and Opening Verse 14–15
II Cosmology 16–17
III Bhutan and Assam — Singri — Local Products 16–17
IV The Brahmaputra and the Klo-pa 18–19
V Assam and its Botanical Products 20–21
VI The Garo Hills 22–23
VII Calcutta — British Trade to China 22–23
VIII North Bengal and its Wildlife 22–23
IX Kuch Bihar, Rangpur, Jogighopa 24–25
X The Land of Monkeys 24–25
XI Dhaka, Vijayapur, Nepal, Sikkim 26–27
XII Kashmir 26–27
XIII Dinajpur — The Rivers of Northern India 28–29
XIV Calcutta — Origins, Government, Trade etc 28–29
XV The Botanical Products of Northern India 30–31
XVI The Wildlife of Northern India 30–31
XVII Calcutta, Kalighat and the Rite of Self-Immolation 32–33
XVIII Murshidabad — Origins, Government, Bathing Pools 34–35
XIX Patna, Varanasi, Gaya, Bodhgaya — The Destruction of Buddhism 36–37
XX The British, Ottoman and Mughal Empires 38–39
XXI Islam and its Origins 40–41
XXII Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims 42–43
XXIII Maratha Horses 42–43
XXIV The sTod-hor and their Origins 44–45
XXV Sites of North-West India — More on the Hor 44–45
XXVI Maratha Opposition to the British 46–47
XXVII The Jaganatha Temple at Puri and its Traditions — Similarities of the Hindus and Buddhists — Nutmeg and Holland 48–49
XXVIII Sea Trade with the Rakhsas and Shang-shang 52–53
XXIX Gangasagara and Hindu Excesses 52–53
XXX The Tidal Bore on the Hugli River 54–55
XXXI England and its Products — A Barrel Organ and Peep-show 54–55
XXXII Islands — British Ship Construction 58–59
XXXIII Ceylon, Pearl Fishing etc. 60–61
XXXIV Colophon 62–63
XXXV Concluding Verse 62–63

Notes to the Translation 64
Abbreviations and Sigla 81
Bibliography 83
Index of Names 87
Acknowledgements

My work on this edition and translation of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's lHo-phyogs rgya-gar-gyi gtam owes much to friends and colleagues who have helped me unravel most, but not all, of the many obscure allusions embedded in the text. In particular I was able to plunder the prodigious memory and great wisdom of Simon Digby, whose knowledge of all things Indian is surely without equal. The few direct acknowledgements I have given him in the notes to the translation do little to reflect his labours on my behalf. It is very much to be hoped that his own studies that have focussed on North Indian and Indo-Persian accounts of the Tibetan world will see the light of day before another kalpa elapses.

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, Hélène 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 unifying 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 modern 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" (rtsea-mo'i tshul), 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.
Introduction

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. 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 Dhirendra 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.
Introduction

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-lidan Ye-shes (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 Bodh gaya in 1771-2 and 1773-4. These were followed by direct contact with the independent ruler of Benares, Chait Singh. 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

Introduction

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

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.  

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 [Gaya], 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.
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. 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 rNyin-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”). 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


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: YLHC, fo. 137a.
10. BRTU, p. 38.
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. 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 (lHo-'brug) and Küch Bihār (Gha-la-ga)" but also in the following very different testimony by Turner:

The Boora Soobah, now Tongsa Pilo [Krông-sa dpöṅ-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 Krông-sa dpöṅ-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 manḍala of kilas is still to be found in the Bum-thang monastery of the Pad-tshal-gling sPhul-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.


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-drum], vulgo Buxa Subah".
Talookdar” (talukdār) was a Kachari tax-collector responsible for conveying the revenue of the Banska 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. 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.

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 d’fon-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 Pūraṇ Giri back to Calcutta from Bhutan in 1775. 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).


19. YLHG, fo. 174b. The gDung-bsam rGya-drung sent or delivered a large supply of medecine for a sman-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, Kuch 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 Tassissudon to Buxa-Dūar. 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-
Introduction

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 gton-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 bzhus-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.

Introduction

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 reprints.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-

33. Arducci 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. adhyātma-viśéṣa) 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 Thug-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 stupa 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, manḍalas, 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. YLG.
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 (samprajanya) (517-63);
§58. Reflections on the Šatasāhasrikā praṇāparamitā (563-66);
§59. The teachings of the major philosophical systems (siddhānta) (566-75);
§60. Factors conducive to abstaining from the ten non-virtues (daśākusāla) (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. Primitive 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 i. Section divisions are my own, not the author's. Rejected spellings have been placed in footnotes and their sources identified as:


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 mgon-brjod-la'ang //
'jug-cing khyad-par ri-bong chal //
l'a 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 Scrutiny

[I: Invocation and Opening Verse]
Obeisance to the Goddess Mārici ("Od zer-can ma").

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 dharma.
I shall explain the Mirror of the Eight Subjects of Scrutiny
Relying particularly on the babble of hares
For the sake of abandoning home and
To extract the thorns of meditation.
[II]

[III]

¹ A: so-ba-kha’am
² A: kyee
³ B: shing-ghir-ri
[II: Cosmology]
Now this southern continent of Jambudvipa (‘Dzam-bu’i-gling) is in the shape of a sog-kha (Skt śakaṭa) 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 (Kūțāgārasūtra) as follows:7

“Ānanda, do you see Jambudvipa?”
“Oh reverend one, I see it”.
“The continent of Jambudvipa is seven thousand yojanas in width and also seven thousand yojanas in length (chur), 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) 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 (IHo-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 [Śakyamuni].15 Although formerly the image was actually visible, in later times it sank into the lake so that if one searches for it

[IV]


---

⁴ B: ri-lde  
⁵ A: tsa-ri  
⁶ AB: bhṛī-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
(Phyllantus 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.
ghatā), round-bottomed pots (bha-ṭa, Skt. bhāṇḍā, H. bhāṇḍā, bhāṃḍā),
drinking pots (lo-ṭa, H. lotā); 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 (rTa-
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 Khatpra (Kha-khra)
and Gidu (Ghrê-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-ryned 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 sley / A-ru-ras mtshan-pa'i 'bras-bu gsum-ka'i nags-tshal / A-

7 B: bhri-dho
8 B: rin-po-che
9 AB: shing-ghri-ri
Discourse on India

Even during the kalpa that has not been abandoned by the Sage [Śākyamuni]
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 (Ghrê-dho) declare:

We were originally of the race of demons (srin-po, Skt. râkṣasa) and so we enjoyed human flesh and blood. However, the Teacher Guru [Padmasambhava] 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).

[V: Assam and its Botanical Products]
Due [south-]west of Singri (Shing-ghi-ri) are the presently renowned Kuśinagara (rTswa-mchog-grong) [Hajo] and Grdhrakûتا (Bya-rgod-phung-po). 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 / kā-mo-rū-pa
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-si / na-le-sham / pi-pi-ling / ka-ko-la / ’khri-shing / sles-tres
/ so-mi / spru-ma sogs skye /

[VI]
A-shong brgag-pa’i lhoo-phyogs ri-brag btsan-po zhig-na / gha-rog 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-kas tar slebs-mtshams-nas phe-ren-ba-rnams-kyis gru-gzend
sbor-mo ltags-gzer-kyi tshab-tu tshar zer-ba’i sba ’dom nyi-shu-tsam
yod-pas bsams-pa-la zhugs-nas rgya-nag-tu tshon-las ’gro / rgya-nag-
pas pi-ching-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
rta-si-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: kān-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]. The river-valley of the Lohitya (Lo-hi-ta) runs by the place called bDe-ba-thang [in] gDung-bsam even up to the major trade-marts of Assam (A-shong) existing there called Banska (Basha-ka) or Kamrūp (Kā-mo-rū-pa). 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-shagsum (?), 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-shami), long pepper (Piper longum: pi-pi-ling), cubeb (Amomum subulatum: ka-ko-la), creepers (?’khri-shing), moonseed (Tinospora cordifolia Miers: sele-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. 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) take to round ships which are not fixed with iron nails but instead bound with so-called tshar (strips) 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] 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 and to sPa-gro in Mon lies dPag-bsam-kha 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-

[IX]

[X]
which is now possessed by Bhutan (lHo-'brug). Villages of the Kachari (Ka-tsa-ra) 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: Küch 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 [Küch] Bihār (Be-har) or Gha-ṭa-ka, [and his kingdom] is now possessed by the British (Phe-reng). From the trade-mart due south from there at Rangpur (Rong-phu) there come forth coral, amber, pearls, serge, sandal wood, the “six good [spices]”, and the fine cotton cloth of broad width called kha-sha. If one goes eastwards from Rangpur [one comes to] the district called Jogighopa (Dzo-gi-.cbo-ba) 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. 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] 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 / da-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 goršas
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 goršas 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 / na-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-rtom-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 (Pāka) close to the ocean, and this too the British (Phe-reng-pa) possess. West of Rangpur is a petty kingdom called Mong-gor [Vijayapur] 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). West of Mong-gor there are about twenty petty kingdoms such as those of the Newar (Bal-po), Kathmandu (Yambu), Patan (Ye-rang) and Bhaktapur (Kho-khom). 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. 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). 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. 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]

[XIV]

---

13 A: bhangal-a’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. From there southwards one proceeds by boat on a great river called the gTsang-chu, 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 Mahanadi (Ma-hä-no-dï). Having passed thereafter through many markets and districts, the river Ganges (Gangä) [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 (Bhangå-la) in the region of Santipur (Shânta-pur), it mixes with the Ganges (Gangå).

[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 nawab of] the province of Bengal (Bhangå-la). His corpse is [preserved] in Calcutta at the house of a wealthy person called Kashi Babu (Ka-shi Bha-bhu). 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), and there are said to be four great executive officials who have power over his counsels. This land of Calcutta is great, so most of the emissaries of Jambudvipa 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 slob / rkang-gcig-pa de kho-rang gcig-pos-kyang gyol-ler15 ’gro-
shes-te / gnyis-gnyis sbrel-ba shin-tu mgyogs / sha-dkar dang dungul-
chu-la dngul / ’jon-la gser-bzo shes-pa’i tshong-pas-kyang slob / rdo’i 
snod-spyad dang / snang-brnyan / li-khri / rgya-tshwa’i rigs-kyang 
bzo /

[XV]
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 mgon-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 
khuyu-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\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 sdom-pa-las khyus 'tsho-ba ma-yin
/ krīṣṇa-sa'am khri-gnyan-ni dkon-la byams-pa'i smsa dang-ladan-pas
kho gzhan-gyis srog-'phrog-pa'i ched-du ded-kyang 'gros-lam-gyi
srog-chags chung-ngu rmig-pas gzhari-gyis dogs-nas nas bsal-ba-yin
zer / de-la brten-nas byang-chub-kyi smsa '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 smsa skyes-bas 'bud-dung zhig-la 'di
bzang-ngo /

dam-pa'i legs-smon sgon 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 sgon dbang-phyug-gi chung-ma tsaṇḍi 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 smsa-can mang-po
srog-bcad-nas dmar-mchod byed / de-nas nub-phyogs nyin-lam lnga-
nas sgon rgyal-po ra-ma-phal-vas srin-por dmag-drangs-pa'i tshe phru-
ma btan-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-
gzhani-la de'i sa-bon btan-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 krṣṇasāra (krīṣṇa-sa[rā]) 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 (Tsaṇḍi). 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. 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-phā-la) waged war against the demons. 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.
[XVIII]

lcags-bsregs sa-gzhi su-yis byas //
me-tshogs ’di-dag gang-las byung //
de-’dra de-dag thams-cad-ni //
sdg-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-ngola 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 //
’breng-‘di bsod-nams zad-pa’i skyon //


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 (Shânta-pur), the king of that country in former times, Bhágiratha (Bha-gi-ra-tha), had previously been defeated by the Pańḍavas (sKya-b-seng-bu) by bribing their enemies. He was reborn in the fires of hell, and in order to extinguish the fires of hell the god Brahmâ (Tshangs-pa) was propitiated [with gifts], and so it is said that the course of the river Ganges (Gangâ) 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 (Shânta-pur) mentioned above is surrounded on the north by four great markets in this kingdom of Bengal (Bhanga-la). The sacred relics including the golden banner of victory and other objects mentioned in the biography of the Lord (Jo-bo, i.e. Atiśa Dipamkaraśrijñâna) 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 Pâdshâh 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 Nawâb of Bengal].

[XIX]

^{22} B: nub-phyogs-pa
^{23} B: pa-ta-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 Hirājhīl (Hi-ra-rdzil, "Diamond Lake"), were eight pleasure pavilions together with bathing ghāṭs (’bab-stegs) and stone stairways. At the time when the flowers blossomed a goddess came down from the sky to bathe in the Hirājhīl 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"). 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 (Phat-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)?

North-west lies Vārānasi (Wā-ra-ṇa-si, Benares), which is in the form of a monastery, and Kāśi (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 southwards [from Vārānasi one reaches] the powerful shrine of Gayā (Gha-yā) in a land of brāhmans, 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

[XX]

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-bhraṁ, vairāgi (bhṛ-ram-gi), and yogī (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].

According to the sayings of some people, the real Vajrāsana (rDo-rje-gdan, i.e. Bodhgaya) is at a spot three months' journey north of Gayā (Gha-ya). The walls and so on have perished and are no more. Afterwards the teacher [Mahā]vīra (dPa'-bo) came forth, and still later when King Dharmapāla (Dharma-pa-la) was exercising royal power, the army of the Turks (Tu-ruska) defeated the Magadha people (Ma-gha-dhā-pa). Great harm was also done to [the monastery of] Nālandā (Na-landra). After that, King Buddhapakṣa (Sangs-rgyas-phogs) conquered the king of Persia (Ta-zig) [and] the Turks (Tu-ruska). 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. Similarly the heretics including the brāhmin Pusyamitra (rGyal-bzhes) purified by fire many temples situated in Madhyadeśa (Yul-dbus) as far as Jālandhara (Dza-landha-ra). 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 south 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.

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

[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 //
spurul-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 //


nges-par brtse-med dpal-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:  

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), 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.  

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.

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 Prāṣaṅgika (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-ta) 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 sangha 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-ruska), 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.
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 khris-skor bcu-gsum-gyi dmag khrid-nas dpal-mo-dpal-thang-
du stod-hor-la jus-nyes32 btang / rna-ba ya gcig gzur-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 bston-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'33 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 /

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: dpon-po-ri'i
34 A: ku-lu-ha
35 B: mà-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), 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 Early and Later Treasure Troves and the superior lord O-rgyan-pa, in former times Hülegü (Hu-la-hu), who was the grandson of King Sechen Qan (Se-chen Gan, i.e. Qubilai), 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[sky-a-pa] and the ’Bri[-gung-pa] had assumed the guise of ravens and owls [and were contending as enemies], dBon-po of ’Bri-gung led an army of the Hor upon Sa-skya. Thereupon the general of China (Tsi-na) Temür Buqa (Thi-mur Bo-kha) and the great chief (dpon-chen) Ang-len led forth the soldies of the thirteen myriarchies of Tibet, and at dPal-mo-dpal-thang 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 Hülegü (Hu-la-hu), and dBon-po of ’Bri-gung were imprisoned and then led off to Sa-skya. Later the son of Hülegü was released according to the command of the Chinese emperor (Tsi-na pa-ca). At a place behind dPon-po-ri [at Sa-skya] the heart of the civil administrator (sgom-pa) dBon-po was extracted through his back and a “blood ritual” (khrag-sbyor) 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.

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

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

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 tshe\textsuperscript{40} ti-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-

\textsuperscript{37} A: bzheng-zhing
\textsuperscript{38} A: ma-la-ke-ti
\textsuperscript{39} B: ru-ma
\textsuperscript{40} A: tsho
(Gānda-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 (Hīntu), 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. Traversing the region from there day by day one arrives at the Salt Range (sMan-tshwa'i ri), Bhahola (Bha-to-la), Malakote (Ma-la-ko-tre), and the gate to the ocean whence pearls come forth. There lies a temple built by King Hūlegū (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] Malakote (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] district taxes, but the auxiliary troops who were led forth were also defeated. However, this is not the [pādshāh of the] Ottoman (Rum) or Delhi (Ti-ling) [empires], and the Borgi (Bho-rong) 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 Pādshāh of Delhi (Ti-ling Pa-ca) was unable to subdue them. So when Bengal (Bhangā-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]

[XXVII]

⁴¹ A: tshad
⁴² B: dzi-ta-ra
⁴³ A: btsan-brjod
⁴⁴ A: dgra
⁴⁵ A: rgyal-khal
promised not to commit acts of brigandage. Later, after the British (Phe-reng-pa) had taken control of the Bengalis (Bhang-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), 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 Jaganātha 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 stupa 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-pat-i).  

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. *saṃkrānti), severance (gcod, Skt. ?) and the like; so it is said [they observe] the same

nya dang rus-sbal phag-rgod dang //
ra-ma-na gnyis nag-pa dang //
mi-yi seng-ge mi-thung dang //
sangs-rgyas ngang-pa-can\textsuperscript{47} de bcu //

zhes-so // mchod-rten de-la zla-ba dang-po'i tshes bco-nga'i mtshan-mo srin-po-rnams mchod-pa-la 'ong-bas / de'i tshe mi-rnams rgyang-ring-por 'bros / mchod-rdzas-la dzā-ti\textsuperscript{48} 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-du\textsuperscript{49} bzung-ba-las rim-par tshong-'dus\textsuperscript{50} 'grimp-pa-yin / ghzan 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 chun-nang-du yun-ring lon-yang chud mi-'dza'-ba mthong-chos-can yin / ljìd yang-ba'i phyir shun-pa dor-bar snang / yul de'i gtam-rgyud-la

\textsuperscript{46} B: da
\textsuperscript{47} A: dad-pa-can
\textsuperscript{48} B: dza-ti
\textsuperscript{49} B: khung-du
\textsuperscript{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-ży.\textsuperscript{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 brāhmans. 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Lo-ma-can-żyi gsang-tshig}\textsuperscript{120} it is said:

\begin{verbatim}
The Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar and
The Two Rámâ, Krśña and
The Man-lion, the Dwarf and
The Buddha [and] Kalkin make ten [avatars of Viṣṇu].\textsuperscript{121}
\end{verbatim}

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.\textsuperscript{122} After many nutmegs (dzā-ti) and cloves (li-shī) have been presented as offerings, they are all cast into the ocean. Experienced traders take to boats and seize them with cotton cloths.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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 mchod-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] 

[XXIX] 
ka-li-ka-ta-nas ganga rgya-mtshor 'bab-pa-de-la ganga-shak-ghor zer / lha-mo dbyangs-can-ma-yang der 'khrungs-pa'i lo-rgyus smra / ganga dang rgya-mtsho rang-bzhin 'dres-nas mi-sdod-par ganga'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 Jambudvipa engage in trade they [first] communicate with their eyes and in accordance with this they [the merchants of Jambudvipa] 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-na) 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-stegspa 'ga'-shig lcb-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 //


[XXX]

[XXXI]
ka-li-ka-ta zad-rtshams-nas rgya-rtshor gzings-la zhugs / nub-la gtang-nas phun-pas zla-ba drug-la phe-reng-pa'i yul ngo-thog bhi-latir sles zer / der 'go-sn'am dang gos-chen gnyis-ka 'thag / rgya-mtsho'i gling-dbar yin-pas nor-sna mang-po 'thon / lo-rgyus gzhan-du rin-poche'i ris rgya-mtsho'i kha-dog 'gyur-ba yod-par grags-kyang / khong-

³¹ B: tsanṭi-ka-lar
course of the Ganges appears white and touches the depths of the ocean. Some heretics commit suicide in its passage. Concerning this it is said in the rGyal-byed: In the season of winter they live in water.
In the season of heat they rely on the Five Afflictions.
In the season of summer they live without a roof.
Those brāhmans 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 (Tsanti-ka), 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.

[XXX: The Tidal Bore on the Huglī 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. 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.

[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 Bilayati (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

\textsuperscript{52} A: gseb
\textsuperscript{53} B: rgud-pa-las
\textsuperscript{54} A: ‘dri
crevices in the mountain in that ocean to which they travel, it is said not to be the genuine Jewel Mountain.\textsuperscript{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 box\textsuperscript{138} 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{shi-bar}.\textsuperscript{141} In a state of mind [achieved by cultivating] the Three Discriminative Perceptions\textsuperscript{142} 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-krun ’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]

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* (*dzoha).*\(^{144}\) 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 ma-
gnes-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 phe-
reng-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. kumbhirā) 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 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 Jambudvipa 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 Jambudvipa. 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. 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". The people [of Ceylon] are wealthy and handsome in appearance. It has not been settled whether or not [Ceylon is the island of] Candradvipa (Tsandra-dwi-pa) where the teacher Candragomi (Tsandra-go-mi) resided. Nor can it be affirmed whether or not there exists in that place the mountain whence the self-smelting bronze ore comes forth. 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. When the people of Jambudvipa 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 / sdam-mkhan-yang yod zer /

[XXXIV]

[XXXV]
'di-ni btags-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


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-depracatory 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 śākata, "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 dbyi bs 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 (Kosa-Lokaprajñaptika-samksepa, Stog Palace edn., vol. 195, fo. 195). The muddle produced by sog(s)-ka/kha/pa > sog-pa has resulted in the form of Jambuvipa being depicted in two 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 Jambudvipa in the *Dīgha Nikāya* as "this mighty realm of earth, so broad in the north and so [narrow] like the front of a cart (śākatamukha) in the south": Walsh 1987, pp. 305-7 and p. 582 n. 551.


8. A yojana is traditionally reckoned at four thousand arm-spans, approximately eight thousand yards. Cf the statement that "Jambudvipa has two spans of two thousand yojanas in length, one side of three thousand and one 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 GSOC 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 Jambudvipa 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 *Mathnawiyât-i Fânî Kashmîri*, 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.

![Diagram of the Southern Continent of Jambudvipa](image)

The Southern Continent of Jambudvipa
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” (*kha-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-byaa (alternative
spelling 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 spre'l-glag-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 MOnpa 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.


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 acarya, "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-is-ar.) 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. GhrI-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-saṅg 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-sdbang (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”: Führer-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 Kāmākhyā at Hajo, nine miles north-west of Gauhati in Assam. Its proper location is at Kasī, thirty-five miles east of Gorakhpur in the Deoria District of Uttar Pradesh. See Aris 1979, pp. 112-13. The Vulture Peak (Grdhakaṭa), 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 Raigir), 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 Mabberley 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, Phyllantus emblica).

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 rGya-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. Kamarūpa is the ancient name for Assam as a whole. Here the reference must be to the district of Kāmrūp 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 Bo̱do 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, Phyig-glung-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 Karvaṭa/“ka” (bar dang bar-gyi Ri-brag-pa'i rgyal-phran-rnams): gTam-tshogs, Lhasa edn., p. 283. Thus we have: Phe-reng > Phyigling/Phi-ling.

33. The word ighton 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 lh’o-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 gTsug-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-ta-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 (mikhel-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 Hanuman. 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 Candapâla (perhaps Candrapâla) 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 stupas, see ibid., pp. 19-22 and nn. 35-48. For an exhaustive study of the Tibetan traditions concerning the origins of Bodhnath, see Blondeau 1994, pp. 31-48.

53. Nāropa (1016-1100) spent three years in Kashmir from 1040, proceeding from there to the monastery of Phûlahari/Puspahari. See Guenther 1963, p. xii. Jigsmed-gling-pa seems to have assumed from this that the monastery is located in Kashmir, but Chag Lo-tsâ-ba places it firmly "in a forest north of Nalanda, a tumbled down straw hut with three crooked doors, surrounded by numerous huts, without an encircling wall ".: Dharmavâmin, 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 Jâlandhara 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/Jâlandhâr.

54. I can find no tradition of a temple associated with Nâropa 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 Mahânâdi river, which rises in the eastern Ghâts 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 "Cossinaut", one of the great Calcutta "banians" or financial brokers of the later eighteenth century. He served for a time as devan 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, gauda, "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 Thrang [Demons]"); (3) sKye-lba rme-sha-can ("The Goitred Moley Ones" (?); (4) Sog-po spre'u-lag-can ("The Monkey-Headed 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
Notes to Translation

Goats”); and (8) Tsu-ta rhang-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 sylāl, “jackal”, derived from Skt. śṛgālaḥ.

65. TSDZ, s.v. rgyal-ṣrid sna-bdun, and Nyingma History, ii, p. 156 (rin-po-che sna bdun): wheel, gem, queen, minister, elephant, general and horse. The Buddha Šakyamuni 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. satti, “the good woman”) but more properly termed saha-gamana (“keeping company” or saha-marana (“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 Ṛajputs”: 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 Pândavas, the five sons of Pāṇḍu by his two wives Kuntī and Mādri, are the main protagonists of the Mahābhārata: Yudhīṣṭhīra, Arjuna, Bhima, 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 Pândavas’ 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 tāh) 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 Atiša (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 Bhāgirathī river changed course the Hirajhil lake
was swept away in 1788 together with the palace of Siraj-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. Sukhavati 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 Patna.

78. Gaya lies south-east of Benares. The "powerful shrine" is of course Bodhgaya, site of the Buddha's enlightenment. The fullest description in Tibetan of the site is probably that of Chag Lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal, who was there in 1234-5: *Dharmavämin*, 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 sannyäsi, and *bhram* to brähman.

80. The *vairagi* (lit. "one devoid of passion") are a class of mendicants devoted to the worship of Viśnu, especially in the form of Râma.

81. The Tibetans, and the Panchen Lama in particular, had been very impressed by the extraordinary feat of the Hindu mendicant "Prâmooree" 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 Bodhgaya with the famous site near the town of Gaya 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 Gaya. However, the unnamed alternative candidate for Bodhgaya 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. Mahâvîra (c. 540-468 B.C.), founder of the Jain religion.

84. The reign of King Dharmapâla (c. 770-810) marked the apogee of the Pala dynasty of eastern India. It is difficult to identify the "Turks" among those rulers of northern India with whom he came into conflict. See *Târanâtha*, pp. 274-83.

85. On Buddhapakṣa, who does not stand in the main lineage of the Pala kings, see *Târanâtha*, pp. 138-9, 144, and on the destruction caused by the two heretics, pp. 141-2.

86. The brâhman Puṣyamitra (187-151 B.C.), founder of the Śûṅga dynasty, is remembered in several sources as an arch-enemy of the Buddhist faith. For a sceptical review of these sources, including *Târanâtha*, 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 Kalacakra 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 Rhee 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-
tha (Mahmā/Muhammad) and composing a scripture that preached violence.
This he concealed at "the place of Bi-šī-mi-līl [presumably the invocation
Bismillāh, "In the name of God!"], the great demon among the asuras", located
in the Sulika 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 Khorāśān/ 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 bhrāmanas and
ksatriyas there came into being the royal dynasties of the Sā'i-da (Sayyids) and
Tu-ru-skā (Turukkhas/Turks)": ibid., p. 118.
Simon Digby tentatively links the legend to "the descent of the Mongol ruling
houses from the ancestress Alanqūā/Alang-goa, 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
ancestors. 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'il-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 Mahāvīra is generally regarded
sympathetically by Buddhists.

94. The early kings of Tibet: Strong-btsan sGam-po (regn. c.622-649), Khri Strong-Ide-
bsan (regn. 754-97) and Khri Ral-pa-can (regn. 815-c.836).

95. The source is the Prātimokṣa-sūtra, Tohoku no. 2, sDe-sgrвен., 'Dul-ba, vol. Ca,
fos. 1b-2ob: bzo-d pa dka'-thub dam-pa bzo-d pa-ni // mya-ngan-das-pa-mchog ces sangs-
rgyas gzung // rab-tu byung-ba gzhon-la gnod-pa-dang // gzhon-la 'tshe-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-ruska-pa > Tu-rub-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-gnas-tse gnis gsum-du sgyur-ba'i rtsis-gzhis).

98. One of the meanings of "turki" (also spelt toorkay, toorke, 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 Marathi [Marathas]”: Platts 1884, s.v. Borgi. “In practice these mercenaries were often permitted to realize arrears of pay by looting the country, and the word bargir became in popular speech the designation of a Marathà 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 that of a horse ...” (rgya-mtsho-la gnas-pa’i ngya-rigs-shig de’i gding 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 Hülégü 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-rag and ’ug-pa.

106. For the full background to the war of 1288-90 between the Sa-skya 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. khra-gs-bsho: “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 (Kojarñå)? 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 Uddiyāna, 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


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, Ibrāhīm Khan. He is apparently referred to here as “the king of the pādshāh”, a phrase Ḵigs-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 d’Bang-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, nawab 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 Rūpāti 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 (*sṛiṅ-mo*) with an ape, and the first king from the gods of heaven. For
an exhaustive study, see Haahr 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 Olández, 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 sikhara / rekha 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 (Necuvoran), 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 Albiruní's account of India written in c. 1030 the Nicobar Islands appear to be referred to as *Langa*, from the Arabic form *Langabalius*. 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 *jivanjivaka* 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 Camaradvipa. 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 Inga*) 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-āge-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 begrims-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 (K̬alpav̥r̥kṣa), the Wish-Fulfilling Gem (Cint̬amaṇi), 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 Ajaneyabalha 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 shiبار/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. sāmījñā), but not three: TSDZ, s.v. 'du-shes gnyis, *-Inga, *-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 Supârâga in the Jātakamālā of Āryasūra, translated in Khoroch 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 Bhaṛa, 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" (bchos-bu), the former being found inside mountains blessed by the Buddha in Ceylon and Khotan (Lhulul, "Land of Bronze"), the latter produced by human agency in Tibet and other regions: gTams-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 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. Punḍārīkā, "White Lotus"], alternative name for Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan, [who belonged to] the class of officials (dpön-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 (IHo-'brug) and Kūch Bihār (Gha-ta-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]. (IHo gdung-bsam-kha'i dpun-rigs pundits-pa snga-sor-nas dad-mos dang-idan-pa-la dpe-don 'bre-la'i glang-gyis rjes-su gdamz-bzhin lo-grangs don-gsum-pa'i steng chos-don gnyer-ba'i bsam-pas

154. The [dag-pa'i lung-ki] 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 Sántaraksita, Tattvasaṅgraha, vv. 3340-4.

155. See n. 1 above.
Abbreviations and Sigla


GYBY sTag-tshang-pa dpal-byor bZang-po, rGya-bod yig-tshang mkhas-pa dga’-byed (c. 1343, photocopy of ms. in 357 fos.)


H. Hindi


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.


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.

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).
Tohoku A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Canons (Bka-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur), ed. Kakujč Īu et al., 2 vols. Sendai, Tohoku Imperial University, 1934.
Bibliography


Fletcher 1975. Harold R. Fletcher, A Quest of Flowers: The Plant Explorations of Frank Ludlow and George Sherriff Told from their Diaries and Other Occasional Writings. Edinburgh.


Khoroche 1989. Peter Khoroche, Once the Buddha Was a Monkey. Chicago.


Rhee and Thurman 1991. Marylin Rhee and Robert Thurman, Wisdom and Compassion: The
Sacred Art of Tibet. New York.
INDEX OF NAMES

Note: Folio numbers refer to Text A (Gangtok edn., 1972). Tibetan renderings appear in italics, all others in roman.

Amratalla (A-ma-ta-la) 32a
Ang-len 37b
Aryabhūmi ('Phags-pa'i yul, i.e. India) 37a
Assam (A-shong) 32a, 33a-b
Atiṣa Dipamkarāśrijñāna (Jo-bo) 35b
Avalokitesāvara (Spyan-ras-gzigs) 36a
Banska (Ba-sha-ka) 33a
Beijing (Pi-cing) 33a
Benares (Wa-na-na-si) 36a
Bengal (Bhang-la) 34a-b, 35b, 36a, 38a
Bengalis (Bhang-la-pa) 38a
Bhāgāratha (Bha-gi-ra-tha) 35b
Bhahola (Bha-to-la) 38a
Bhatapur (Khō-khom) 34a
Bhutan (IHo-mon-kha-bzhi) 32a, (IHo-brug) 33a-b
Bilāyati (Bhi-la-ti, i.e. England) 40a
Bodhgaya, see Vajrakāna
Bodhināth (Bya-rung-kha-shor) 34a
dBon-po of 'Bri-gung 37b
Borgi (Bho-rgong-gi, i.e. Mahrāthas) 37b, (Bho-rgong) 38a, (Bho-rgong-gi) 38a
Brahmā (Tshangs-pa) 35b
Brahmaputra (rTa-mchog kha-'bab) 32b
'Bri[-gung-pa] 37b
British, see Ferengi
Buddhāpankṣa (Sangs-rgyas-phyogs) 36b
Byang-chub Rgyal-mtshan, gDung-bsam-pa 41b
Calcutta (Ka-li-ka-ta) 33a, 34b, 35a, 36a, 39b, 40a, (Ka-li-ka-ta) 38b,
Candapala (Tsanda-phu-la) 34a
Cāṇḍikā (Tsanti-ka) 39b
Candrabhāgā (Tsan-dha-bha-ga) 38a
Candradvipa (Tsanda-dvi-pa) 41a
Candragnomi (Tsanda-gom-i) 41a
Ceylon (Singa-la) 41a
Chichacotta (rTse-bzang-kha-stod) 33a
China (rGya-nag) 32a-b, 33a, (Tsi-na) 33a, 37b
Chinese (rGya-nag-pa) 33a
Chinese emperor (Tsi-na pa-ca) 37b
Chitor (Dei-lar) 37b
Dacca (Da-ka) 33b, (? Da-ki) 34a
rDa-gling-kha 32a
Dalai Lama V (Inga-pa rin-po-che) 38a
bDe-ba-thang 33a
Delhi (Ti-ling) 35b, 36b, 37b, 38a
Dharmapała (Dharma-pa-la) 36b
Dinajpur (Dhe-na-pur) 34a
gDung-bsam 33a
gDung-bsam-kha 32a

gDung-bsam-pa 41b
England, see Bilāyati
Ferengi (Phe-ryong-ba, *-pa, *rnam) 33a-b, 34b, 35b, 36b, 38a-b, 40a, 41a
dGa'-idan, Sog-po 38a
Gandala (Gar-di-la) 38a
Gangāsāgarā (Gangā-shak-ghor) 39b
Ganges (Gangā) 34a-b, 39b
Garo (Ga-ro-g) 33a
sGar-thog 37b
Gayā (Gha-ya) 36a-b
Gidu (Ghrē-dho) 32b
Gorkha (Gorsa) 32b, 34a
Governor Sāhib (Gho-ro Sā-heb) 34b
Grdrkūta (Bya-rgog-phung-po) 32b
rGya-la 32b
Hajo, see Kuśīnagara
Hindu (Hintu) 38a-b
Hirājil (Hi-ra-rdzil) 36a
Holland (O-lon-dhe) 39a
IHo-mon-kha-bzhi, see Bhutan
Hor 37b, 38a
Hor, Lower (sMad-hor) 37b
Hor regions (Hor-rnas) 32a
Hor, Upper (sTod-hor) 37b
Hułęgū (Hu-la-hu) 37b, 38a
India (rGya/rGya-gar/rGya-dkar) 32a-b, 33a, 37b, 41b, see also Āryabhūmi
Indians (A-tsa-ra) 32b, (rGya-gar) 38a
Jagannātha (Dzo-ka-na) 38b
Jālandhara (Dza-landha-ra) 34a, (Dza-landha-ra) 36b, 38a
Jambudvīpa ('Dza-mbu'i-gling) 31b, 32a, 34b, 36b, 39a, 41a
Jo-bo, see Atiṣa
Joghigopa (Dzo-ji-gho-ba) 33b
Kachari (Ka-tsa-ra) 33a
Kailash (Tsi-se) 38a
Kalkin (?Ngang-pa-can) 39a
Kamrup (Ka-mo-ru-pa) 33a
Kāsi (Ka-shi) 36a
Kashi Babu (Ka-shi Bha-bhu) 34b
Kashmir (Kha-che) 32a, 34a, 38a
Kathmandu (Yam-bu) 34a
Kha-chul 37b
Kha-ghar 34a
Klo 32b
Klo Kha-khra 32b
Kong-po 32b
Kriṣṇa (Nag-pa) 39a
Kuch Bihār (Be-har / Gha-ta-ka) 33b
Kulū (Ku-lu-ta) 38a
Kumārasena (gZhon-nu-sde) 37a
Kuśinagara (rTsawo-mchio-grong) 32b
Ladakh (La-dwags) 38a
Lauhitya, Luhit (Lo-hi-ta) 32b
Madhyadesa (Yul-dbus) 36b
Magadha (Ma-gha-dha) 36a
Magadha people (Ma-gha-dha-pa) 36b
Mahānadi (Ma-hā-no-di) 34a
Mahāvīra (dPa'-bo) 36b, 37a
Marathas, see Borgi
Malakote (Ma-la-ko-tre) 38a, (Ma-la-ko-ti) 38a
sMan-tshwa'i ri (Salt Range) 38a
Māric (Od-zer-can-ma) 31b
Maru (Ma-ru-ta) 38a
Mon 35a
Mong-gor, see Vijayapur
Mongols, Mongolians (Sog-po) 38a
Motihil (Mu-tig-rdzil) 36a
Mughals (Mo-gol) 36a
Murshidabad (Mug-shu-dha) 35b, (Mug-shu-dhar-no-bab) 35b
Muslims (kla-klo) 36b, 37a, 38a, (Tu-rub), 37a, 38b
Musulmen (Mu-sur-man) 37b, 38a
Nagarjuna (Klu-sgrub) 37a
Nālandā (Na-lan-da) 36b
Nanchao (Jang) 32a
Nāropa (Na-ro-po) 34a
Nepal (Bal-po) 34a, (Bal) 35a
Newar (Bal-po) 34a
Ngi (mNga'-ris) 32b
Odīḍyāna (O-rgyam) 38a
O-rgyan-pa 37b
Ottoman Emperor, see Pādshāh of Rum
Padma-bkod-che-chung 32b
Padmasambhava 32b
Pādshāh of Delhi (Ti-ling Pa-ca, i.e. the Mughal Emperor) 35b, 36b, 37b, 38a
Pādshāh of Rum (Rum Pa-ca, i.e. "Eastern Rome", Constantinople) 36b, 37a, 38a
dPal-mo-dpal-thang 37b
Pānḍava sons (sKyabs-seng-bu) 35b
dPag-bsam-kha 32a, 33a
sPa-gro 33a
Patan (Ye-rang) 34a
Patnā (Phat-na) 36a
Persia (Ta-zig) 32a, 36b, 37b
Persian Turks (Ta-zig Tu-ruška) 37a
Pha-ri 33a
dPon-po-ri 37b
Prasāngika (Thal-'gyur) 37a
Pulahari (Phu-la-ha-ri) 34a
Punakha, see sPungs-thang
sPungs-thang 32a
Pusyamitra (rgyal-bzhes) 36b
Qubilai, see Sechen Qan
Rajahura (Ra-dza-hur) 38a
Rama (Ra-ma-na) 39a-b
Ramapāla (Ra-ma-pha-la) 35a
Rangpur (Rong-phu) 33b
Raudpur (Drag-po) 37a
Rin-chen 37b
Rum (Rum, i.e. "[Eastern] Rome") 36b, 37a, 38a
Rūpati (Ru-pa-ti) 38b
Rupwal (Ru-ka-la) 38a
Santipur (Shānta-pur) 34a, 35b
Sarasvati (dByangs-can-ma) 39b
Sa-skya 37b
Sa-skya-pa 37b
Sa-ti (Tsa-ti) 35a
Sechen Khan (Se-chen Gan, i.e. Qubilai) 37b
Shambhala (Sham-bha-la) 37a
Sikkim (Bras-mo-ljong) 34a
Singri (Shing-ghi-ri) 32a
Siva (dBang-phug) 33b, 35a
Śrī Dhānyakaṭa (dPal-lidan 'Bras-spungs) 36b
Sukhāvati (bdDe-bu-can) 36a
Swayambhunāth (Phags-pa-shing-kun) 34a
sTag-rse-kha 32a
Temür Buqa (Thi-mur Bo-kha) 37b
Thod-phreng-rtsal 39b
Tibet (Bod) 32a, 34a, (Bho-ta) 37a-b
Tibetan regions (Bod-rams) 32a
Tibetans (Bho-ta) 38b
Tirubumri (Ti-rub-'bum-ri) 36a
gTsang-chu 34a
Tsa-ri 32b
Ts-ua-τa 34b
Turks (Tu-ruška) 36b
Tu-rub, see Muslims
Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-na rdo-rje) 37a
Vajrāsana (rDo-rje-gdan) 36a-b
Vijayapur (Mong-gor) 33b, 34a