TRAVELS OF TIBETAN PILGRIMS
IN THE SWAT VALLEY

BY
GIUSEPPE TUCCI,
Member of the Royal Academy of Italy.

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THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY
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Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley

PART I

INTRODUCTION

It is now accepted by all scholars that Uḍḍiyāna¹ must be located in the Swat Valley: in fact I think that the view of my friend Benoytosh Bhattacharyya² who still identifies Uḍḍiyāna with the western part of Assam has but few supporters. But it must be admitted that our knowledge of the country in Buddhist times is very scanty; our only informants are in fact the Chinese pilgrims, but the description which they have left of the place is not very much detailed.³

It was left to Sir Aurel Stein to identify, in the course of his adventurous travels in the Swat Valley, the various places referred to by the Chinese pilgrims and to describe

³ Fa hsiien, Records, Legce's trans., p. 28; Yuan Chwang, (Hiouen-Thsang), Memoires (Julien), I, 131 ff., Chavannes, Documents sur les Ton-Kine occidentaux (p. 128), Sung Yun in Chavannes, Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra (518-522 A. C), Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême-Orient, 1903, p. 379.
in a fascinating book the remains which have escaped destruction. The systematical exploration of this region is likely to contribute greatly to our knowledge of Buddhism and Oriental history. In fact, modern researches point to the great importance of the Swāt Valley; not only was it very near to the commercial routes linking India with Central Asia but it was considered as the birthplace of many rites and practices later on absorbed into Mahāyāna. There are many Tantras which were commonly acknowledged as having been first revealed in Uḍḍīyāna. One of the most esoteric methods of Tāntric realisations relating chiefly to the cycle of the dākini was even known as the Uḍḍīyānakrama; the connection of the country with magic is alluded to in some Tāntric manuals which even to-day enjoy great popularity.

It is therefore desirable to have some better and more detailed information about a country to which our researches point as one of the most active centres of radiation of Hindu esoterism.

During my travels in western Tibet I was fortunate enough to find two texts which are a kind of itinerary of the Swāt Valley. We easily understand why this place became so famous as a kind of magic-land for many Tibetan pilgrims when we remember that it was considered to have been the birth-place of Padmasambhava. There are, in

4 On Alexander’s track to the Indus, London, 1929.
5 Tucci, Some glosses upon the Gubyasamāja in Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, III, p. 351 and Indo-Tibetica III, II, p. 79.
fact, besides India proper, other countries which greatly influenced the mystic literature of Tibet; when the intercourse with them became rare or came to an end for political reasons, those countries were transformed into a fairy-land of which the geographical and historical reality faded and decayed; one of them, is Sambhala and the other Orgyan, viz., Uḍḍiyāna.

The various mystic revelations connected with the two countries were respectively accepted by two different schools; Orgyan, the country of Padmasambhava, and the place of the fairies (dākinī) became the holy land for the rNin ma pa, and, later on for the bKa' rgyud pa (specially for the sub-sects ḤBrug pa and Kar ma pa); Sambhala was, on the other hand, changed into a paradise for the ascetics initiated into the mysteries of Kālacakra still counting many adepts chiefly among the dGe lugs pa, viz., the yellow sect. I think that Sambhala became popular in Tibet after Orgyan; that is the reason why we cannot find about it as much information as we can gather as regards Orgyan; nor do I know of any historical itinerary of that country. This seems to point to the fact that the mystic significance of Sambhala developed at a later time, when any real and direct connection with the country had come to an end and the Tibetans had only to rely upon the information to be gathered from the Vimalaprabhā or from the earlier commentators of the Kālacakra Tantra.⁶ Even the infor-

⁶ No great weight can be attached to a fragment published by Laufer, zur Buddhistischen Literatur der Uiguren, T'oung Pao, 1907.
Information about the country of Sambhala which we gather from the commentary of mK'as ḡrub rje contains nothing but mythology.

The only itinerary which has come down to us, viz., the "Šam bha lai lam yig" by the famous third Pañ c'en bLa ma bLo bzañ dpal ldan ye  ses (1740-1780), as I have shown elsewhere, gives the impression of being nothing more than a literary compilation largely based upon mythic and fantastic traditions. From all these facts we can draw the conclusion that the yellow sect composed its guides to Sambhala, viz., to the Kālacakra-paradise which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy Orgyan of the rival schools. The country itself was no longer a geographical reality to be exactly located in some part of the world; it was somewhere in the north, but as to where, that was practically a mere hypothesis.

On the other hand we know of many itineraries to Orgyan. One is that of Buddhagupta; it is not very late, p. 401, which seems to have been influenced by the mythological ethnography of Central Asian countries as preserved in the Chinese compilations such as the Shan hai king. According to the Vimalaprabhā Sambhala would have been on the shore of the Sitā river, its chief place being Kalāpa.

7 Edited and translated by Grünewädel, Der Weg nach Sambhala, Šam bha lai lam yig—Abhand. der Königl. Bayerischen Ak. der Wissenschaften, München, 1915.

8 Upon his travels see Tucci, The sea and land travels of a Buddhist sādhū in the sixteenth century. Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VII, p. 683. I avail myself of the opportunity which is here
but it shows that even as late as the XVIth century that part of Asia was still considered as a kind of holy place worth visiting by the few Buddhist adepts still surviving in India, in spite of the dangers which they were likely to meet on account of the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims. According to Buddhagupta the country in his time was known under the name of Ghazni.

But he usually mentions the country under its traditional name, showing that Tibetan Orgyan is derived from Uḍḍiyāna, “on account,” he says, “of the similarity of sound between ḍ and r.” It must be mentioned in this connection that in Tibetan we are confronted with two forms of this name, some sources giving ‘Orgyan’ and some others ‘Urgyan.’ There is no doubt that both go back to a Sanskrit original: it is in fact known that in the Indian texts this country is called both Uḍḍiyāna and Oḍḍiyāna. The first seems, anyhow, to be the right one.

But there are two older itineraries to the same country and much more detailed: the similarity between some passages of these texts containing the description of the place and the narrative of Buddhagupta leaves me little

offered to me to correct a statement contained in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, p. 235. I did not say in that paper that Potalaka is to be searched for in Madagascar, but that according to the tradition referred to by Buddhagupta, there was a time in India when Potala was located by some schools in that island and I insisted upon the fact that this localisation shifted from place to place “according to beliefs of the various communities and the spreading of the geographical knowledge.”
doubt that Tāranātha had one of them under his eyes when he wrote the account of the travels of his master.

The two itineraries here studied are respectively that of Orgyan pa and that of sTag ts’ān ras pa. Orgyan pa means in fact “the man of Orgyan” which implies that his travels were so famous that he was given the name of the miraculous country which he had been able to visit and whence he returned safe back to his fatherland.

He was the most prominent disciple of a siddha or grub t’ob who still enjoys a great renown all over Tibet, I mean rGod ts’ān pa. The study of Tibetan chronology is still at its very beginning and it is therefore very difficult to fix the date of many Tibetan events; but fortunately some chronicles contain a short biography of Orgyan pa with certain chronological data which enable us to fix his age approximately.

The historical work I am referring to is the C’os hbyun by Pad ma dkar po, one of the most famous polygraphs of Tibet and the greatest authority among the hBrug pa who call him ‘ṅag dbaṅ,’ the master of the speech.9

The inclusion of the biography of Orgyan pa in his chronicle depends on the fact that Orgyan pa belongs to the same sampradāya, viz., to the same mystic school as Pad ma dkar po, both being adepts of the hBrug pa sub-

9 The full title being C’os hbyun bstan pa padma rgyas pa ṅin byed. The biography of Orgyan pa is at p. 181.
sect, which has now its stronghold in Bhutān but is largely spread all over Tibet.

I subjoin the chief contents of the biography written by Pad ma dkar po. "Urgyan pa" was born in Go luṅ in the territory of Zur ts’o. His father was called Jo p’an. His clan was that of rGyus..............

"At the age of seven he became a catechumen under rGod ts’an pa who had gone to Bhutra. Then up to the age of sixteen he learned many tantras of the yoga class along with their liturgy such as the Kila, Hevajra and Vajrapāṇi Tantras..............

"He became famous as a scholar who had no rivals in three branches of learning, viz., the explanation, the discussion and the composition; from his elder brother mDo sde dpal he heard the small commentary on the Prajñā. As to the vinaya, having looked at this, he found that his inclination towards this branch of learning was favourable; specially by a mere glance at the treatise upon the one hundred and one varieties of karman (ekottarakarmaśataka) he learned it by heart. At the age of twenty he was given various names by his masters, viz., that of mK’an po by Rin rtse of Bo don, that of Slob dpon by bSam gliṅ pa of Zaṅ, that of gSaṅ ston by the Ācārya bSod ‘od pa, and he fully realized the meaning expressed by these names. He then received the title of Rin c’en dpal.

9 Pad ma dkar po uses this form instead of the more common Orgyan pa.
"He made the vow of studying a single system for twelve years and of avoiding meat; he then perfected himself in the study of the Kālacakra according to the method of ḤGro at the school of Rin rtse of Bo doṅ and according to the method of C'ag at the school of mDo sde dpal of Go luṅ............." Then the biography narrates how he happened to meet rGod ts'aṅ pa, who was able to give him the supreme inspiration of the Kālacakra. "But he discovered also that he had no karmic connection with Śambhala but rather with Urgyan, therefore Urgyan pa resolved to start; first of all he remained for nine months in the northern desert and then he went to Ti se, the country of Maryul, Ga´sā, Dsa lan dha ra. Then knowing that three of his five companions were not fit for the journey he dismissed them and leading with him dPal yes he went to Urgyan............

"There he saw a mountain which is the self-born place of Heruka which was formerly called Ka ma dho ka........

"He then wanted to return to Tibet in order to accompany dPal yes and on the way back traversing Kashmir he was chosen by a householder as the family guru.

"By his great merits he made his catechumen the king of mNa ris with the people round him. Then he went to Bodhgayā in India where the king gŚiṅg tan can Rāmapāla was his benefactor and gave him the title of supreme master of the mystic assembly..........

"Then he went to China. On the way he met Karma pa who entrusted to him the charge of helping him in
transmitting the doctrine; in China he was invited by the king Go pā la, but after one year he returned; in fact he did not receive even a needle. He passed away at the age of seventy.

This biography gives therefore the following points of chronological fixity; he was the disciple of rGod ts'ai pa, contemporary with a king of Bodhgayā, Rāmapāla by name, with a king of China called Go pā la and with the famous Tibetan reformer Karma-bakshi. The date of this last doctor is known; according to the chronological table published by Csoma de Körös and extracted from the Vaidūrya dkar po the date of his birth is to be fixed at 1200 d.C. (Csoma 1202). As to the Emperor of China there is little doubt that his name has been modified so that it might assume an Indian form: it is quite clear that it corresponds to Kubilai. Rāmapāla, king of Bodhgayā, was perhaps a petty chief of the place. Anyhow these chronological references are quite sufficient to establish the approximate date of our pilgrim. He must have lived in the XIIIth century. The fact that he was appointed by Karma-bakshi as his assistant while he was on the way to China seems to imply that Karma bakshi was already old. Otherwise, there would have been no need of entrusting the school and the teaching to a probable successor.

So it seems quite probable that the travel of our pilgrim to Orgyan took place after 1250. The itinerary of Orgyan pa is to be found in a biography of this Tibetan sādhu which I discovered in the library of the monastery of
Hemis when in 1930 I spent the summer there and under the guidance of the skugsogs s Tag ts’ain ras pa had the rare opportunity of investigating the large collection of block prints and manuscripts that it contains.

This biography is preserved in a bulky manuscript on paper which is very old but incomplete. The work seems to be very rare. I never found mention of it in other monasteries which I visited; the biography of Orgyan pa is not even included in that vast collection which is the dKar rgyud rnam t’ar sgron me or at least in the copy\(^\text{10}\) which I possess.

This biography deserves special attention because it shows some peculiarities of its own; it has not been elaborated with literary pretensions; there are many terms in it which are absolutely colloquial, chiefly used in Western Tibet.

I cannot help thinking that this itinerary has not been revised; it looks like a first redaction of the narrative of the travel written by some disciples of Orgyan pa himself. Not rarely he speaks in the first person. This fact augments the interest of the book. Of course there is a great deal of legend even in it. But this cannot be avoided; there is hardly any doubt that Orgyan pa really believed many of the things which he told his disciples. We must not forget the special spiritual atmosphere in which these

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\(^{10}\) dKar rgyud rnam kyi rnam t’ar gyi sgron me; dkar rgyud is here used for the more common bka’ rgyud.
yogins live; boundaries between reality and pure imagination disappear. Whatever happens in this universe is not due to natural events fixed by certain laws, but is the product of multifarious forces which react upon one another. The most natural facts appear to the grub t'ob as the symbol or the manifestation of inner forces which, though unknown to the rest of the world, are no longer a mystery to him—or upon which he cannot have his hold through his psychic powers. We may laugh when we read that every woman he meets appears to him as a dākinī; but we must not forget the psychology of this pilgrim who had gone to the fairy land of the dākinīs in order to experience there those realizations to which the Tantras contained so many allusions. Anyhow these magical and fantastic elements are few in comparison with the traditional biographies (rnam t'ar) of the Tibetan saints; even in the short biography of Orgyan pa by Pad ma dkar po the historical and geographical data almost disappear under the growth of legends and dreams and visions. The greater the distance from the saint, the lesser the truth about him. The itinerary as it is has not been subject to this process. All this shows that the importance of the travels of our Tibetan pilgrim must not be denied. It is quite possibly an almost contemporary record of a journey to a country which was already considered as a magic land, and was seen through the eyes of a man who had no sight for reality. Still, we can follow quite well his track, from Tibet to Jalandhara, then to India, to the Indus, to the Swāt Valley, to the
sacred mountain of Ilam, and then back to Kashmir through the Hazara district.

There are some ethnological and historical data to be collected in these pages which are confirmed by Persian or European travellers.

They also show that at the time of the traveller Buddhism was still surviving in the Swät Valley though Islam had already begun to eradicate its last trace.

In this way Orgyan pa renewed, as it were, the old tradition of the Lotsāvas who had gone to the sacred land of India in order to study there Sanskrit and to learn from the doctors of Nālandā or Vikramaśīlā the esoterism of the Tantras; of course, Buddhism had in the meantime lost in India its vital force and perhaps not very much work was left to the translators. But the contact with the holy land was still considered, as it is up to now among the Tibetans, to be purifying to the spirit and the cause of new inspirations. In the case of Orgyan pa it is quite possible that the travels of his master influenced him and led him to undertake the long journey to the far away country of Swät. In fact we know that rGod ts’ān pa went up to Jalandhara, which was another pīṭha according to the Buddhist tradition: It is one of the twenty-four places of Vajrakāya as located by the Tantras within the Himālayas. It also gave the name to a famous siddha, viz., Jalandhara-pa.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{11}\) Cf. Tāranātha, Edelsteinmine, p. 59.
The short biography of rGod ts’aṅ pa in the C’os ḥbyun of Pad ma dkar po contains nothing more than the scanty information that he went to Jalandhara;¹² but I thought that perhaps in the original rnam t’ar, if any ever existed, it would have been possible to find a larger account of his travels.

In my journey of 1933 I discovered in Spiti a manuscript containing a large biography of this saint¹³ and, as I expected, I found that it has preserved from page 43 to page 53 the itinerary which he followed in his pilgrimage to the holy tīrtha. Since it is rather detailed and fairly old, in as much it describes a journey which must have taken place in the first quarter of the XIIIth century, I think it to be worthy of notice. I therefore give a translation of all the passages containing some useful data. The text is also appended since manuscripts of this work are, I suppose, not easily accessible. I add that only passages of geographical and historical interest have been translated; all portions containing mere legends or those devoid of any real importance have been suppressed.

Though short, the text contains some useful information about the Himalayan countries and their ethnology.

¹² Even his biography which is contained as a separate chapter in the dKar rgyud rnam kyi rnam t’ar gyi sgron me and which bears the title rGyal brgod ts’aṅ pai rnam t’ar gnad bsdus pai sgron me is far from being exhaustive.

¹³ The full title is rGyal ba rGod ts’aṅ pa mgon po rdo rjei rnam t’ar mt’oṅ ba don ldan nor bui p’reṅ ba.
It also shows that the area where Buddhism had penetrated was more or less similar to that of the present day.

Spiti was already a centre of Lamaism: in its mountains rGod ts’aṅ pa finds many famous ascetics. Lāhul was Buddhist, but no outstanding personality was met by him: no mention is made of Trilokanāth, and the tribes of Mon pa—as he calls them—were rather unfriendly towards Buddhism.

Though he met a Buddhist Sādhu on the way back from Chambā, the people there seem to have been specially Hindu and rather orthodox. Anyhow it appears that they were not yet accustomed to seeing Tibetan pilgrims and were therefore not liberal towards them: things changed later on and at the time of sTag ts’aṅ ras pa there was a regular intercourse between Jalandhara and Tibet as there is even now. There is hardly any doubt that this was chiefly due to the travels of Tibetan pilgrims of the rDogs c’en and specially of bKa rgyud pa sects who used to visit the sacred places of Buddhist tradition. After rGod ts’aṅ pa their number must have considerably increased: to-day there is a regular intercourse along the routes and the tracks of western Tibet.

From there they descend to the holy tirthas of the Buddhist tradition, to Amritsar where the tank of the Golden Temple is believed to be the lake of Padmasambhava, to Bodhgayā, to Sārnāth. It was through these routes that there came down to the Indian plains the Lama who inspired some of the most fascinating pages in the Kim
of Rudyard Kipling. That was no fiction but a real happening; so I was told by Sir Aurel Stein in one of those interesting talks in which he pours as it were his unrivalled experience of things Asiatic.

The inspiration came to Kipling from a holy man, a Tibetan śādhu, who many years ago came as far as Lahore and enquired from the father of the poet about the holy places to be visited in India. This Lama renewed the tradition of his ancient forerunners and was certainly unaware that he was to become one of the most interesting figures of modern literature. Rudyard was then still a boy, but so great was the impression he received on seeing the Himalayan-traveller that it never faded from his memory.

"From the country of Žain-žuń he went upwards. Along this route there is the holy place of Tretapuri14 which corresponds to the physical sphere in the list of the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya).15 It is also the place where three valleys meet16; there from the root of a high mountain, the river Gaṅgā flows downwards.17 Along its banks there are three divine abodes18 of Maheśvara......He (viz.,

14 Viz., Tirthapuri of the maps on the right side of the Sutlej to the west of Kailāsa. See below.
15 As to the mystic equivalence of these places see below.
16 The three valleys are that of the Sutlej, that of Missar and that of the river which flows into the Sutlej, to the south of Tirthapuri.
17 Gaṅgā means of course the Sutlej.
18 Lha brten (Lha rten) is, in this case, rather "a divine abode" than temple: as I said elsewhere, every rock near the temple of Tirthapuri is supposed to be the abode of some god or Tāntric deity. Tucci, Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto, p. 120.
I God ts'an pa) remained there for a few days and his mind and his good inclinations greatly developed; great is the benediction one gets in that place. Then proceeding downwards he went to Maṅ naṅ of Guge in the country of Zaṅ ḥuṅ. It was the residence of Ātiśa and there is a miraculous spring. Then he went downwards to the temple mT'o ldin in Zaṅ ḥuṅ where he saw the residence of Lha btsun Byan c'ub 'od, etc. He went without hesitation through the big rivers, but his body enjoyed a very good health. Then, having crossed the whole country of Zaṅ ḥuṅ he went to Spiti, where, above Bi lcogs, he met the great Siddha K'a rag pa who was unrivalled in the

19 Maṅ naṅ is to the south-east of Toling; it was the birth-place of the lotsāva of Maṅ naṅ, one of the pupils of Rin c'en bzaṅ po. See Tucci, Rin c'en bzaṅ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet Occidentale intorno al mille—Indo-Tibetica II. I visited this place during my Tibetan expedition of 1935 and as I stated in the Illustrated London News, 28th January 1936, I found there three chapels: in one of which splendid frescoes by Indian artists of the XIth century still exist. See Tucci, Indian Paintings in Western Tibetan Temples, Artibus Asiae, VII, p. 191.

20 Although, as a rule, Zaṅ ḥuṅ is considered to be a synonym of Guge, this passage seems to show that Zaṅ ḥuṅ had a wider extension and that Guge was merely a province of the same. The same fact is pointed out by the travels of sTag ts'an ras pa and by a very accurate biography of the Saskya chiefs which I found in Shipki. Bla ma brgyud pai rnam par t'ar p i no mts'ar snīn ba, p. 8, a: pu raṅ, Zaṅ ḥuṅ, glo bo, dol po, guge.

21 On Lha btsun Byan c'ub 'od, see Tucci, Rin c'en bzaṅ po. etc., p. 17 ff.

22 Bilcogs is perhaps Pilche in the Lipak valley opposite Nako.
meditation of the rDogs c’en system and had been continually sitting in meditation crossed-legged for thirty years; rGos ts’an pa asked him for the explanation of the law, but since he wanted some presents, he replied that being a beggar he had nothing to offer. The other then said that he could not impart any teaching. rGos ts’an pa presented him mentally with the seven elements of worship and the siddha then said that this was the best offering. He, then, imparted to him the instruction concerning the five meditations, viz., that of the all-embracing Vairocana, that of Akṣobhya (viz., the non-perception of manifestations), that of Ratnasambhava (viz., the immanent identity of everything), that of Amitābha (viz., happiness and unsubstantiality both unconceivable by mind), and that of Amoghasiddhi (viz., the spontaneous activity). Then, going upwards he found in a small monastery a naked monk who (continually) counted (while reciting it) the syllable “hūm.” While counting the “hūms” he uttered, he had become a siddha who had realized that all imaginations are self-contradictory. Proceeding further he met a great siddha called “the man from Brag smug.” This master was continually sitting in meditation and did not speak a word to anybody.........

23 This refers to mānasapūjā which as we know is considered to be the best.

24 These meditations on the five tathāgatas correspond to the five mystic knowledges (pañcajñāna) upon which see Tucci, Indo-Tibetica III, P. I, p. 55.
Then he went to Gar ša where there is the mountain Gandhala. This mountain is one mile high and on its top there is the self-born stūpa called dharma murti. He saw it. On its four sides there are miraculous rivers and trees. It is a place blessed by all presiding deities and dākinīs: it is also the residence of yōgins and yōginīs who have attained to perfection. It is a place absolutely superior to all others.

There was a kind of small monastery above the village; since he did not want to stop there, he went to the

25 This seems to show that our pilgrim went from Spiti to Lahul (Gar ša, Ga ša or Gar za) through the Chandra valley which was formerly the usual route between the two provinces before the Shigri glacier collapsed. See Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, II, 449. Gandhala is Gandhola (Guru Ghantal). According to the tradition which was told during my visit to the place during my travels of 1931, another mountain was the abode of the famous siddha Ghanṭā pā whose cave is still shown from afar; this explains the Tibetan name of the place Dril bu ri, viz., the mountain of the Bell, viz., probably of the Siddha Ghanṭā pā, upon whom see Grünwedel, *Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer*, p. 192. This Dril bu ri is perhaps that alluded to by Taranatha, Edelsteinmine, p. 17. On Gandhola and Dril bu ri there is a māhātmya gnas c’en dril bu ri daṅ ghan dho la gnas yig don gsal ba. It is therefore evident that Dril bu ri and Gandhola are two different places. Dril bu ri is the Mountain called after the Siddha referred to above and Gandhola is called after the temple of Bodhgayā.

26 Perhaps, dharma murti; every stūpa contains the essence of dharma and is, therefore, the symbol of dharma.

27 This shows the connection of legends here located by the Tibetan tradition with the Tāntric cycle of Śāṃvara (viz., Heruka) in which the vīra (dpa’ po) and dākini play such an important rôle. Upon this cycle vide Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* III, Part II, p. 42.
Lotsāva of mLGar" and informed him about his plan of going as far as Dsva lan dha ra (Jalandhara), but the Lotsāva replied that he could not reach the place and that he would scarcely survive. 29

Then he despatched an interpreter who told everything to the minister of the king of Cambe (Chambā) who was called Su tu, and since this one asked him to lead along the two great ascetics, he replied that if the king gave the order they would come after due deliberation. Three days after, leaving Gar ša they reached the bottom of a high pass full of snow reflecting like a mirror. It was so high that it seemed to rise to heaven. 30 They were considering how it would have been possible to find a way there, when they met many Mon pa 31 who carried loads: “so—they thought—if these get through, we also can get through”. Then those Mon pa with the help of the pick-axe began digging their track and went on; we also followed them. At midday we

28 The village should be Gondla or Gundla. Is mLGar for hGar?
29 The statement contained in History of the Panjab Hill States by Hutchinson and Vogel, p. 478, that Gozzan (rGod ts’ain) lama of Lahul lived in the eleventh century must be corrected; nor was rGod ts’ain pa a man from Lahul, though his memory is still living in that country.
30 Is this the Drati pass (15,391 feet) now also dreaded on account of its stone avalanches? Vide Vogel, Antiquities of the Chambā State, I, p. 23.
31 Mon pa are called by Tibetans the tribes of the borderland towards India and in many places the aborigines of the provinces later on conquered by them. Dainelli, Spedizione De-Filippi, I, p. 135. Lauffer, kLu hbum bs dus pai sūn po, p. 94.
reached the pass. But the descent was even steeper than the ascent so that we began to be frightened, thinking how we could go through it. But one of the Mon pa being tied by a rope to the waist, dug some holes in the rock with his pick-axe so that we also went slowly after him. At dusk we reached the bottom of the pass........Then after about twelve days we came to the presence of the king of Cambhe. There all the mountains of the country of the Mon come to an end. The plain of India is even as the palm of the hand. Grains, food, antelopes, etc., are extraordinarily good; green forests of sugar-cane wave in the wind so beautifully that the mind rejoices.

The king of the place is called Bi tsi kra ma;\(^{32}\) he commands seven thousand officers; each officer is appointed over seven thousand soldiers. Inside the wall (of the royal palace) the lotsāva beat the damaru and all men of the palace and all people from the town came to see (the visitors). The king himself sat in a verandah and expressed in many ways his astonishment.\(^{33}\)...........They remained there about five or six days and were happy. Then in three days they reached Dsa lan dha ra. (When they entered the town), a man came out from a crowd, went in front of the ascetic\(^{34}\) and saying "my master, my master"

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32 Perhaps: vicitra var mā; one Vicitravarman is recorded by the Vamśāvali of Chambā as the son of Vidagdha (XIth century), but no king of this name of the XIIIth century is known to me.

33 Is this the meaning of par pir smra ba?

34 Called in the text, as usual: Rin po c‘e, viz., "the gem."
led him by his hand (to his house) and offered him good food. This country of Dsa lan dhara is but one of the twenty-four (branches as represented by the twenty-four) places (of the Vajrakāya)\(^{35}\).

As to the external twenty-four holy places in the Jambu-dvipa they are the twenty-four miraculous appearances of Heruka assumed by him in order to convert the twenty-four kinds of gross people capable of being converted. The twenty-four secret places correspond to the circles (viz., the symbols) of body, speech and spirit in the

\(^{35}\) According to various Tāntric schools and specially that of Saṃvara the soil of India is considered to be the vajra-body of Buddha and it is divided into twenty-four limbs, each corresponding to a holy place (pītha) of famous renown. The 24 places are presided over by 24 deities called dpa’ po regularly included in the mystic mandala of the 62 deities of the Saṃvaratantra. I have given the complete list and description of these deities in my Indo-Tibetica III, Part II, p. 42 ff. where the Tibetan literature on this subject has been investigated. Our pilgrim following evidently a Tibetan tradition, locates the pīthas of the diamond-body in North-Western India: so at the end of his travels to the Swāt Valley Orgyan pa can boast of having made the tour of all the 24 holy places. The Tibetan tradition accepted by rGod Ts’aṅ pa, Orgyan pa and sTag ts’aṅ ras pa is certainly more recent than the other alluded to in the rituals of the Saṃvaratantra. According to this passage of rGod ts’aṅ pa there are:

(a) A series of 24 places geographically located in the supposed Vajra-kāya: they are supposed to be the mystic abodes of various manifestations of Heruka.

(b) The 24 places as reproduced in the symbolic spheres of the mandala, they are secret in so far as their significance is explained by the guru to the disciple after a proper initiation.

(c) The 24 places in that mandala which is one’s own body; they must be meditated upon in the ādhyātmikā-pūjā.
mandala. The twenty-four internal places are in one’s own body..............

In Dsa lan dhara all protectors (vīra) and dākini assemble as clouds. As to this country it is as even as the palm of the hand and easy; bodhi-trees and palm-trees and pines of various kinds grow (in this country) and many medical plants such as the three myrobalans grow also there.

There are many fruit-trees such as apricots, pears, apples, peaches, walnuts, etc.; many flowers such as all kinds of lotuses, padma, kumuda and puṇḍarika can be found there. The country resounds with the voices of peacocks, parrots, cranes and many other birds. This place resounding with (the noise of) beautiful game such as black antelopes, deer, tigers and leopards, is physically a natural palace in whose interior gods and goddesses abide. To the left and to the right there are two big rivers which in their course meet here along the bend of a mountain-spur in the shape of a sleeping elephant in the town of Nāga ko tre 36 with five thousand inhabitants. On the spur of that mountain there is a great temple called Dsa va la mu gi 37 in which both believers and unbelievers offer their worship. Thirty villages are in charge of this temple. The very day the pilgrim arrived and went to Dsa la mu khe, in the

36 Viz., Nagarkot.
37 Viz., Jvālāmukhi. “Believers (p’yi) and unbelievers (naṅ)” are here respectively the Buddhists and the Hindus, but later on, at the times of s’Tag ts’aṅ ras pa, under the name of “believers” both Hindus and Buddhists are included, the unbelievers then being the Muslims.
night there were in the temple sixty or seventy girls, all virgins, beautiful and charming, adorned with five kinds of symbols like divine girls, dressed and adorned with various ornaments such as the jewelled crown. Some of them carried in their hands flowers and other things for the puja such as incense, etc. The girls having covered their head with a cotton veil, entered the temple. The pilgrim followed them, but a man of low class holding the door-bolt did not allow him to go farther; but he, without hesitation, pushed the door and went in. The other stood up but was unable to hit him, (the pilgrim) went inside. One of the principal ladies said "Sit down here, all these are dakinis." Then that lady began to sing some songs. The other girls sang as if they were either the sixteen mystic wisdoms (vidyā) or the twenty goddesses, made the offerings with the various ingredients of the puja such as flowers, incense, etc. They sang songs and danced accompanying the dance with gestures of the hands............

In front of that great town, downwards, there are five cemeteries. The first is called Ka ma ku ldan sar where Brahmins and others carry pure corpses. Then there is the cemetery P’a ga su. It is a hill upon an even plain. On the top there is a temple of the heretics. It is the place where Samvara resides. Then there is the great cemetery

38 In spite of the corruption of the text it is easy to perceive that the sentence is in vernacular.

39 The most famous of these cemeteries seems to have been that of Lagura or Laṅgula, referred to also by Orgyan pa and sTag ts’än.
called La gu ra of triangular shape. There are images of the Sun and of the Moon with the symbols of āli and kāli. Between these two, on a kind of pillar, there is a self-born image of Bhaṭṭarikā-yogini. Then there is another great cemetery called Mi bkra sa ra which bestows great benediction upon those who dwell in it and is possessed of various propitious signs. Then there is the cemetery Si ti sa ra which is in turn a meeting place of the protectors and dākinīs. If one resides for some days in these cemeteries one’s own merits greatly increase, and the (good) inclinations develop by abiding specially in the two great cemeteries La gu ra and P’a ga su ra...........

In that town there are many begging monks among the unbelievers as well as among the believers, either noble Yogins or Brahmins.

As to the time for collecting alms (it is as follows). The mistress of the house gets up as soon as the sun begins to warm and after having well swept the house leads (out) the oxen and cleans the verandah. Their houses are cleaner than the monasteries and on the earthen walls many designs are painted. On one side of the kitchen they boil

40 Āli is the series of the vowels and kāli the series of the consonants, the two elements of all mantras and the symbols of cosmic creation. According to the Tantras, the two series are respectively encircling the sun and the moon, viz., the mystic circles in the nābbi-pādma, viz., the lotus of the navel-wheel at the junction of the veins idā and pīngalā. Sun and moon are therefore symbols of the two aspects of the divine intelligence as it realizes itself in the reality of the phenomena. Bhaṭṭarikā-yogini is the symbol of the central vein, the suṣumṇā corresponding to the turiya state.
rice-pap and then the mistress of the house carrying a sesamum-oil-lamp burns some incense of good smell; then putting some hot rice-pap upon a plate of bell-metal she goes out, and when the family has bathed, she worships the sun and the moon, then the image of Śiva, the goddess of the outer-door and the goddess of the inner door. Then the mistress of the house goes inside and when the rice-pap is cold, she eats it along with the husband, avoiding any uncleanness. At that time the smell of the aromatic herbs spreads out and all beggars go for alms. The yogins blow three times their brass-bell and carrying in one hand the gourd and in another the damaru, they reach the door of a house, make the damaru resound in various ways and say, “Give alms and practise the law.”

The country which is very big is called Dsva lan dha-ra, but it has numberless towns; Na ga ko te means in Tibetan “The castle of the snake.” He stopped in that place for about five months, but since the nourishment was scanty and agreeable food was lacking, his body was in a very bad condition. Then he returned to Tibet. Avoiding the route he took formerly, he went by a short-cut since he wanted to visit the holy place of Ku luṭa. After two days along that route he met in a place called Ki ri raṃ a great ascetic called Anupama whom he asked for the explanation of the law. The other uttered “Homage to the

41 I do not know the name of the two gods of the door; for the protector of the door, see W. Crooke, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, 1926, pp. 98-99.
Buddha, homage to the Dharma, homage to the community”, thus bestowing upon him the protection of the three jewels, and then he added: “We both are two vajra-brethren,\textsuperscript{42} disciples of Ācārya Nāgārjuna. Go to Tibet, you will greatly benefit the creatures.”

Then he went to the holy place (\textit{tīrtha}) of Ku lu ṭa which corresponds to the knees of the body included in the circle of the (\textit{Vajra-})kāya as represented by the twenty-four holy places. The core of this place is called Siddhi where there is a forest of white lotuses in flower; there, upon a stone there are the foot-prints of Buddha.\textsuperscript{43} In that place one reaches quickly the best powers of the common degree,\textsuperscript{43a} but one meets also many hindrances; in this place there are two venerable (\textit{bhadanta}) and one \textit{yogin}.

Then he went to Gar śa; then to the retreat in Ghandha la. He spent there the summer; and his inclinations to the practice of the good greatly increased. Then in the autumn he reached the pass of rTsān śod in Spiti.

I must confess that these itineraries of the Tibetan monks are far from that exactness which we admire in the writings of the Chinese travellers. As I said before, not only a great deal of legendary and fantastic elements permeates their descriptions, but the itinerary itself can hardly be followed from one place to another. Many reasons

\textsuperscript{42} Viz., fellow-disciples in the mystic school of Nāgārjuna, the most famous master of the \textit{Vajrayāna}.

\textsuperscript{43} Perhaps the same as the \textit{stūpa} alluded to by Yuan Chwang, I. 131.

\textsuperscript{43a} Viz., of the \textit{Prajñāpāramitā} class.
account for this fact; first of all proper names are spelt in
the most arbitrary ways; there is no trace of the strict pho-
netic rule generally followed by the Chinese pilgrims.
The Tibetan travellers try to transcribe into Tibetan letters
the spelling of the various places which they happened to
visit; but this transcription is often imperfect.

We cannot also forget that their works were for a long
time copied by monks of various capacities who never
saw the places spoken of by the pilgrims. This is the
reason why so many mistakes creep into these biographies,
increasing the inaccuracies of the manuscripts which, as is
well known to scholars, are, as a rule, far from being correct.

There are also cases when the authors attempt trans-
lating foreign names according to no fixed rule or according
to some fanciful etymologies which make very difficult the
identification of the original. No criterion is also followed
as regards enumeration of the places recorded in their narra-
tive. In some cases the places are mentioned one after
another; in other cases our pilgrims seem to forget the inter-
mediate halts and record only the starting-point and the
place of arrival. The direction is rarely given and even
when noted it cannot claim to be always exact. Distances
are never registered except in days; but this does not help
us very much, because we do not exactly know the average
length of their marches. As a rule the Tibetans are good
walkers, but they halt a good deal during the day. So far
as my experience goes, I can say that they march at the
average of 10 miles per day. But in India they seem to
proceed more slowly on account of the heat and the different conditions of the soil to which they are unaccustomed; on the whole, travelling in the plains is for them more tiring than marching through the highlands and the plateaus of their fatherland.

Records of speed are often mentioned in these writings, but we are confronted with exaggerations intended to show the miraculous powers of these yogins and their proficiency in those special Hathayoga practices in which the rlun pa are said to be specially expert.\textsuperscript{44}

For all these reasons it is particularly difficult to locate the places mentioned in our itineraries; localization on the basis of mere similarity of spelling of names when no distance and no direction is given is particularly doubtful. I must also confess that my interest is rather centred upon other branches of oriental literature than history and geography; this increases the difficulty of my task. But my purpose has only been to place before scholars more qualified for this kind of research than myself certain texts which I happened to find and which are still difficult of access. I leave them to draw the conclusions, if any, from the sources here made accessible. As regards these sources I must add that the Tibetan text of Orgyan pa has been appended since it seems to be very rare. I selected those portions of his vast biography which have a real historical or geographical significance; legends, dreams, prophecies

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{David Neel, Mystiques et Magiciens du Tibet.} p. 210.
which enliven the narrative have been suppressed. But I thought it necessary to add to the travels of Orgyan pa the summary of those of sTag ts’aṅ ras pa, who is also known under the name of Orgyan pa Nag dbaṅ dGyamts’o and is the founder of the monastery of Hemis in Ladakh. His date is known, since we are told in the Chronicles of Ladakh that he was a contemporary of King Seṅ ge rnam rgyal (about 1590-1635).45

His biography is easily accessible as it is printed in the monastery of Hemis, and it seems to have been composed at the time of the same ruler mentioned above by bSod nams rGyal mts’an dpal bzāṅ po. It bears the following title: 'Au ti ya ŭa ng dbaṅ rgya mts’oi rnam t’ar legs bris vai dū rya dkar po rgyud man. This section, which comprehends the biography proper, is followed by the itinerary of Orgyan; Orgyan mk’a’ hgroi gliṅ gi lam yig t’ar lam bgrod pai t’em skas written, according to the colophon, by sTag ts’an himself and printed in Leh under the patronage of Seṅ ge rnam rggal and the queen sKāl bzāṅ sgrol ma.

The third section consists of songs of sTag ts’aṅ ras pa in the traditional style of the dohākoṣa and of the poems of Milaraspa, and bears the title: Orgyan pa ŭa ng dbaṅ rgya mts’oi mgur ḥbum zal gdams zab don ut pa lai ḥp’ reṅ ba.

As a rule, names of places in this itinerary are better spelt, but from the geographical point of view we are con-

45 Francke, Chronicles of Western Tibet, pp. 108, 109.
fronted with the same inaccuracy as has been referred to in other Tibetan itineraries; anyhow a good deal of other useful information is to be derived from the diary of sTag ts’āṅ ras pa.

This is the reason why I gave a resumé of all important passages concerned with the travels of this monk. In this case I did not add the Tibetan text, since it is not difficult now to get a copy of his complete biography from the monastery of Hemis which boasts of having this saint as its founder.

The comparison of the two itineraries, *viz.*, that of Orgyan pa and that of his later imitator proves very interesting; we realize the progress done by Islam during the three centuries which approximately intervene between the two travellers; sTag ts’āṅ ras pa set off with the *lam yig* of his predecessor as his guide; so, at least, we read in his notes of travel. But very often he failed to find the places there mentioned; is this fact due to the inaccuracy of the redaction of the diary of Orgyan pa which he employed or was it the result of historical events which in many a place had already altered the importance of old cities and villages and shifted the halting-places of caravans from one site to another?

I feel rather inclined to accept the first view; comparing the lists of the places visited by both pilgrims, we easily realize that the spelling of names in Orgyan pa’s travels was badly handled by the copyists; I subjoin a few instances. While the manuscript at my disposal reads
'Bhrarmila,' the copy used by sTag ts'ain had 'Varamila': so Orgyan pa's 'Sila' seems to correspond to 'Hila' of sTag ts'ain; of another place our manuscript gives two readings 'Brahor' and 'Bhahola', while the copy of sTag ts'ain reads 'Hora'; so also while on the one side we have 'Na 'ugri' or 'Na 'utri' as the name of a big salt-mine, on the other side the itinerary used by sTag ts'ain reads 'Bainhoti'. In this way it is clear that it is a difficult task for us to identify correctly the route followed by the pilgrims, as it was for sTag ts'ain to find out the places his predecessor went through. In fact comparing the lists here appended we must come to the conclusion that he followed a quite independent route; if we except the valley of Swât proper, where more or less the itinerary is the same, the places registered in the Lam yig of sTag ts'ain are not to be found in that of Orgyan pa—the only exception being Malot and Rukâla; it can only be stated that sTag ts'añ went out of Swât at least partially, by the same way by which his predecessor had entered; but this implies that Sandhi pa and Kavoka correspond to Kaboko, Ka'oka and Siddhabor. The route also to Kashmir is through Jhelum and the Pirpanjal and not through the Hazara district as in the case of Orgyan pa. The many adventures he met on the way, compelled sTag ts'ain to take long detours and very often to retrace his steps. Anyhow in order to have a better idea of the two routes it is interesting to give the list of the places as registered in the two itineraries.
Orgyan pa451

gDoñ dmar

½ day

North door of Tise

Map'am lake

Kulu

Maru

Garñatama mountain

Jalandhara Nagarkete

(Nagarkot)

Lañgura cemetery

20 days

Chandrabhāga river

Indranila on that river

Bhrarmila

1 day

Sila

Town of the Mongols

near river flowing from

Kashmir

Brahor (Bhahola)

1 day

Na'ugri Na'utri

1 (or 3 in the verses)

Malakoṭe (Malakoṭa)

5 days

Rukala

4 days

Rajahura

Sindhu river

Kalabur

Bhik’robhasa

1 day

sTag ts’an ras pa

Tise, Myan po ri rdson,

Pretapuri, K’yuñ luñ,

Sarang-la, rNam rgyal, Pu

Sa, Soran, K’yags,

Suget’an

Dvalamukhe

Jalandhara-Kaṅgarkot

Lañgura cemetery

1 day

Nurup’u

Srinagara

Paṭhanna

Nosara

Kaṭhuhara

Parurda

Paturar

Pathanmusur

Sakiri

Salau

Bhets’arbhura

Salakaṭhu

Soṭakoṭa

Ghortsoraka

2 days

Balanagaratila

Kashmir

Varan

1 day

Maṭe

Zaṅs dkar

451 The Arabic numbers show the distance in days from one place to another, according to the itineraries. The spelling is that of the Tibetan texts.
Orgyan pa
Kaboko, Ka'oka

1 day

Bhonele Bhenele
Siddhabhor

1 day

K'aragk'ar
Kodambar river
Ilo mountain

(all together 7 days from Ka'oka)

1 day

Rayik'ar (near Lhabapa's cave)
Maṅgalaor

1/2 day

Dhuma t'ala
Kama'ōnika mountain (to the W.)
(Kamalaglupa cave)
Maṅgala-paṇi (to the N. of Dumat'ala)

5 days

Ghari
7 days

Urśar
3 days

Tsik'rota
1 day

Ramikoṭi (Rasmisvari)
9 days

rDorjemula
Kashmir
Jalandhara

sTg ts'āṅ ras pa
ḥBargdan
Ga ša
K'āṅ gṣar-Dar rtse
Skye naṅ
Gusamaṅḍala

2 days

Re p'ag
1 day

Maru
2 days

Pata
Koṭala pass
Paṅgi
Sura
Naran-Kamaru

2 days

Tsambhe dam pa
7 days

Hindutam
Nurup'u—as before up to Gotsoraka
big river from Kashmir (Varamila)45b
15 days

Hila
(Hora)
(Bañhoti)

3 days

Muraga river
3 days

Tsoṣara
Dhodhošna
Vavula
2 days

The names between brackets are those of the places searched for by sTag ts'āṅ as being in the itinerary of Orgyan pa but not found.
sTag ts'ai n ras pa
Malotta 2 + 9 days
Salt lake 3 days
Ruka la
Akkithial
Bhahupur
Malapur
Uts'alapur
Sapunpur
Reuret
Atike—Indus
Mats' ilkanathatril
Pora
Nosara
Mataangana
Mitapani
Madha
Atsimi
Paksili
Dhamdhori
Kituhar
Bhathurvar
Pathapamge
Mutadini
Kapola
Kandhahar
Hasonogar
Paruka
Nasbhala
Sik'ir
Momolavajra
Sithar
Bhysahura
Hasonagar again
Paruba (before Paruka)
Nyapala
TRAVELS OF TIBETAN PILGRIMS

sTag ts'ani ras pa
Apuka
Killitila
Sikir
Momolavajra
Siora
Pelahar
Muthilli
Muṣambli
Muthikṣi
Mahātilli
Satāhalda
Kalabhyatsi
Saṅgiladhuba
Goṭhaiaśakam
Pass
3 days
Dsomok'ati where all the waters
of Orgyan meet
5 days
Yalom pelom
5 days
K'arakṣar
3 days
Rāyiśar
3 days
Rahorbhyara (Maṅgalaoṛ)
Rāyiśar again
1 day
Odiyāna (Dhumat'ala)
Kamalabir mountain
Maṅgalapani
Odiyāna again
Rāyiś'ar
Midora
K'aragṣar
Sandhibhor
Kavoka
sTag ts’a’n ras pa
Bhyatsabhhasabhasor 5 days
Sindhu
Radsahura (not far from Atike) 2 days
Nilā
Kamthe
Nepale
Nīla’u
Laṅka
Horaṇa
Aśakammi
Mahatsindhe
Ghelamri 6 days
Gorsala 2 days
Kalpa
Rukāla
Rahorbuṇḍa
Ravata
Satā
Hati
Tsiru
Rutā
Dselom
Sara
Bhebar
Nōsara
Ratsuga 3 days
Lithana
Pirbañtsa 2 days
Kashmir
Varan
Maṭe 10 days
Zandskar
Maryul
As to the names of places, they are in general, no more accurate in sTag ts’ān than in Orgyan pa; many of them have lost their somewhat archaic forms often purely Sanskritic and have become more or less similar to modern names; Jalandhara is also registered as Kangarkot, Malakot has become Malot, Orgyan is Kapur and so on. Whereas in Orgyan pa the Mongols are usually called Sog po or Hor, viz., the traditional Tibetan names for Mongols and Turks in sTag ts’ān they are known regularly as Mongol and as Pathan, though in his writings Pathan seems to have occasionally assumed the meaning of ‘jagpa’ viz., robber.

But as regards Kashmir, the names are so like the modern ones that doubt may arise whether they have not been by chance given this shape in quite recent times, by some learned Lama of Hemis on the occasion of the reprint of the itinerary. One might think that to the same elaboration of the text are also perhaps due the dialogues in Hindi often inserted in the book, and which seem to have a quite modern turn. But certain forms as kindly suggested to me by my friend S. K. Chatterjee are now obsolete and point to an early stage of Hindi hamī, tumī, roṭī velā khai, etc.

I subjoin two examples:

fol. 10—When sTag ts’ān escapes slavery in Momolavajra and is saved by a Brahmin in Sithar, the following dialogue
takes place between the Tibetan pilgrim and that Brahmin (fol. 10, b):—

Hindi

sT. Hami bhoṭanti dsogi huva

Br. Kaśimiri bha (corr. bho) tānti aya

sT. Hami Kaśimiri nahi; hamara mahā tisnā huva Kaśimiri thibaṇṭa pari daśa mais nighaya hayi

When he meets the old Brahmin who with his caravan leads him to Rukāla (fol. 8, a).

Hindi

Br. Tu mi abo cham bheṣa roṭi vela k’ahi kyi na hi

sT. K’ahi k’ahi

Br. Hami bramze huva; I am a Brahmin, wait a tumi t’orra bh’yat’a moment. Let us go to- saṅgi rdono ho dsa together.

The comparison of the two itineraries is also interesting from many other points of view. It shows that at the time of Orgyan pa Islamic invasion had not yet completely destroyed the last traces of Buddhism and Hinduism. We find, in the account of his travels, hints of survival of small Hindu principalities in the Salt Range and in Udḍiyāna. As I said before, the names of places are
still recorded in a Sanskritic form as can easily be realized even through the corruption that their spelling underwent in the Tibetan manuscripts. On the other hand, when sTag ts’ān undertook his travels, Islam had succeeded in establishing its supremacy more or less everywhere.

As to Orgyan, it appears, from the account of the two pilgrims, that Udagram-Manglaor was considered the very core of the country along with the sacred mountain of Ilam already famous at the time of the Chinese travellers. But the kings of Orgyan did not reside there, but rather on the outskirts towards Hindustan. In the travels of Orgyan pa there is no mention of a king of Orgyan or of his capital; only a prefect is recorded as residing in a place called Kabo ko or Ka’oka, perhaps three days’ march before the Karakār Pass. This prefect, to judge from his name, Rājadeva, was a Hindu or a Buddhist, certainly not a Muslim. At the time of sTag ts’ān ras pa the capital of Orgyan is said to be Dsamikoti which seems to have been placed along the bank of the Barandu. In fact, it was in a valley which collected the waters of the country of Orgyan, and at the same time one could reach from there the mountain Ilam in five days without crossing the Karakār Pass. This king was called Paṅtsagaya. No mention is made of the religion he followed, but there is hardly any doubt that he was a Muslim, though very liberal and well disposed towards the Tibetan pilgrim.

These kings ruled therefore over a vast territory including, besides the Swat proper, even part of Buner.
There is no record, in the accounts of our pilgrims, of monks or learned people who continued the tradition of Buddhist scholarship; if he had met any, Orgyan pa would not have failed to mention his name, as he did in the case of Kashmir.

Anyhow at the time of Orgyan pa, a popular and magic form of Buddhism still survived. Witchcraft, for which Uddiyāna had been famous even in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, was then in full swing. But the old traditions recorded by the Chinese travellers and centred round the figure of Śākyamuni or his preachings seem to have been forgotten or to have ceased to attract the attention of the people. The atmosphere which surrounds and inspires the pilgrims is purely tāntric. Śaṃvara and Guhyasamāja have become the most prominent Mahāyāna deities; the place of Śākyamuni and his disciples has been taken over by Indrabhūti and Kambalapā. These facts quite agree with the revival of Tāntric Buddhism in the Swāt valley which was chiefly due to the work of Indrabhūti and his followers, a work certainly deserving greater attention than has been given to them up to now.

At the time of sTag ts'an there is not the slightest trace of any survival of Buddhism but we have only the mention of ruins; even the sādhus, who were occasionally his companions of travel or whom he found in the country, do not seem to have been Buddhist since they belonged to the sect of the Nāṭhapanṭhiyas.
PART II

Translation of the itinerary of Orgyan pa

Setting out from gDon dmar in Pu rañs in half a day we reached the north door of Tise, the king of glaciers, and started meditating among a crowd of five hundred ascetics (ras pa). Then we drunk the water of the (Lake) Map'am.

Then we arrived at Kulu (Ku lu ta) and Maru which respectively correspond to the knees and the toes of the Vajra-body divided into twenty-four great places.

1 Pu rañs is the eastermost province of Western Tibet. At the time of Orgyan pa it was under independent chiefs of the IDe family. See G. Tucci, Rim c'em bzam po—Indo-Tibetica, II, pp. 16, 22 and Tucci-Gherisi, Secrets of Tibet, p. 251. As to gDon dmar, it is unknown to me.

2 Viz., Orgyan pa and his companion d Pal ye.

3 Viz., Kailasa; Ti se is the aboriginal name of Kailasa; perhaps this name is to be related with Te se known in Tibetan demonology as one of the nether spirits (sa bdag). According to the Bonpos, the mountain is sacred to Gi K'od or rather to the Gi k'ods because, in some Bonpo manuscripts I found that the Gi k'ods are 360. The Buddhists consider the Kailasa as the mystic palace of bDe mc'og, viz., Šaṁvara: upon Šaṁvara see G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, III, II.

4 Ras pa, viz., "a person wearing cotton clothes" is a common designation for all ascetics though it is specially applied to the grub t'ob of the bK'a' rgyud pa sect.

5 Ma p'am or Ma p'añ is the name for Manosarovar; it is also called: gyu ts'o “turquoise-lake,” from the colour of its waters, or: ma dros pa = anavatapta.

6 S. Lévi proposed to identify Maru with Chitral. From our
At that time we did in one day the road which to an ordinary man takes seven days, without relenting or being tired either in body or in spirit. In this place a female Kṣetrapāla dropping pus and blood from the nose, said (to us): “First of all do not abide in front of the master. Then do not abide in the middle of thy companions. I stay here; I will procure (your) maintenance.”

Then I thought that somehow I could go to Orgyan. Then during the hot months we resided in the great mountain called Garṇatama where many good medicinal plants grow; there are also five miraculous springs. At that place there was an Indian ascetic called “the Vulture,” who was considered to be good in discussing (religious matters). Since I also explained thoroughly the doctrines of the various vehicles, all the ascetics who lived there were pleased.

accounts it seems that the Tibetan tradition, which must have some weight since it depends upon Indian data, located that country near Kulu. It must refer here to the Upper Chandrabhāgā Valley, bordering Champā; Maru, according to the Vaṁśāvali of the Chambā kings, is the reviver of the solar race and practically the founder of the royal lineage of Chambā. See Vogel, Antiquities of the Chambā State, I, pp. 81 and 91.

7 This refers to a special yoga practised by some Tibetan ascetics which is believed to develop the capacity of running at great speed. Those who practise this meditation are called, as we saw, rluṅ p’a.

8 Orgyan pa took that girl for a dākini.

9 For dbyar ka—summer, or dbyar be—jyaistha: April-May.

10 Garnatama cannot be located by me.
Then, along with many Indian ascetics, we went to Jalandhara corresponding to the top of the head of the twenty-four places (of the Vajra-body).

At that place there is a great town called Nagarkete (viz., Nagarkot). In a river there is a triangular piece of land; digging of the soil there is forbidden: there is a cemetery called Laṅ gura, where there is a boulder which looks like a skull; a self-made (image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā appears there. To the north there is a famous image called Jvālāmukhi where on looking at the divine face everything blazes in fire. Near the royal palace there is a cemetery called Miṣapara where there is a cave of the Mahātmā Nāgārjuna called Miṣaglupa. In front of it there is one of the eight kinds of trees called Nilavrksa. If you hurt it you die immediately. So he said.

11 In the MSS. Dsva rar. As to this place see above p. 21 Cf.—HUTCHINSON & VOGEL—History of the Panjab Hill States.
12 C'os ḷbyun in this sense is not in the dictionaries but the glosses of Tson K'a pa on the Guhyasamājatikā by Candrakirti, fol. 93,6b—clearly states that it is a synonym of zur gsum—"triangle".
13 The correction dur k'rod for k'rod as in the manuscript is sure: rGod ts'aṅ pa and sTag ts'aṅ refer to the same place as a famous cemetery. So also Orgyan pa himself in this same page when he relates the story of the ganacakra which he and his companions held in this place (Lagyura yi dur k'rod).
14 Raṅ byon for the more frequent: raṅ ḷbyun: self-born.
15 bstan=miṅ lta ba.
16 According to the Tāntric tradition, each cemetery is possessed of its peculiar characteristics, viz., its own tree, its protecting deity, its nāga, etc. The lists from Sanskrit and Tibetan sources are given in Indo-Tibetica, III, II, p. 173ff.
From that mountain, travelling one month we went to the south;
In the royal palace of the country of Jalandhara
There is a great bazaar where (one finds) goods (meeting) all wishes.
I was not able to carry away any handsome good.

After twenty days' march from Jalandhara we reached a river running from Ghaṭali\textsuperscript{17} called Chandrabhāgā on whose banks there is the town of Indranila.

To the east there is the plain of rGya skyags.\textsuperscript{18} One night we met \textit{(lit. there was)} a woman who was putting, while singing, many weapons into a bag.\textsuperscript{19} Next morning we met four Tartar horsemen and I was hit by one of them with the back of an axe; since I withstood him violently, he dragged me for half a day by the scarf I used in my ascetic exercises,\textsuperscript{20} kicked me in the chest and, then, I lost the sight. But at that time I collected the vital force (\textit{prāṇa}) and the mental force in the wheel of the \textit{ bindu} and I let them go into the central vein.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{17} Ghaṭali is perhaps Gandhola referred to above in whose proximity the Chandra and Bhāga meet.

\textsuperscript{18} Unidentified, but perhaps a translation of \textit{Bhārata}.

\textsuperscript{19} According to Orgyan pa this woman must have been a ġākīni for telling the impending danger.

\textsuperscript{20} \textit{Sgom t'ag, yoypaṭṭa}, the scarf used by ascetics for fastening together their limbs in some of the most difficult yoga-postures.

\textsuperscript{21} Orgyan pa refers to a Haṭha-yoga practice of preserving the vital force; mind-stuff, \textit{sems}, (Skr. \textit{citta}) is believed to have \textit{prāṇa} with its five-fold principal aspects as its vehicle. In the moments of deep meditation this mind-stuff is made to enter in the central vein (\textit{avadhūti},
dPal ye\(^{22}\) thought that I was dead. Then, restored to my strength, I made a great noise and I overpowered him with the exorcistic magnetising look, so that he was unable to speak and began to tremble. All our companions said that I was a siddha.

From Intanila (viz., Indranila) we reached Bhrarmila\(^{23}\) in one day; from there we went to Sila. Then we arrived at a town of the Mongols whose name I have forgotten. From this place upwards Indians are mixed with Tartars. Some are Hindus (that is, people of India); some are Musurman (that is, Tartars); some being fused together and living in the plains are equally called Mo go la.

At that place there is a river flowing from Kashmir;\(^{24}\) we forded it and reached a town called Brahora\(^{25}\) of 7,000,000 inhabitants (sic). The prefect of the town is a Tartar Malik Kardarina by name. One day’s march from this town, there is a hill full of mineral salt; it is called cāṇḍāli or madhyamā which is supposed to run from the top of the head to the adhiśṭhāna-cakra, viz., to the wheel under the navel; a t‘uñ “short a’ is considered to be the symbol of the germinal consciousness as present in ourselves.

\(^{22}\) dPal ye is, as we saw the companion of Orgyan pa.

\(^{23}\) According to the copy used by sTag ts‘añ Varamila. As to Sila (sTag ts‘añ: Hila) it may correspond to Helān.

\(^{24}\) Viz., the Jhelum—the town of which this pilgrim has forgotten the name is perhaps Mong or Haria.

\(^{25}\) The only big place on the route followed by Orgyan pa seems to be Pindi Dadan Khan which formerly was one of the biggest salt-markets; of course the number of inhabitants is exaggerated. Naugiri must be searched for in the proximity of Khewra mines.
Nalcugri; the salt (used in) Kashmir, Malo’o Ghodsar, Dhokur, Jālandhara\textsuperscript{26} is taken from there. Many salt merchants come from this place even to Jālandhara. The big road to these salt-mines offers very little danger since one finds plenty of food, many companions and there are, usually, many bazaars. So he related.

From there we reached in one day Bhahola.\textsuperscript{27}

From the river (which flows in that place) we went to the west for one day’s march.

There is a mountain of mineral salt called Nacutri.\textsuperscript{28}

I did not carry away a bit of salt.

So he said.

Then, in one day, we went to Malakoṭe\textsuperscript{29} where we begged (food) from the queen (rāṇī) of that place, Bhuja-

\textsuperscript{26} Malo’o is Malot, Ghodsar is Gujrat.

\textsuperscript{27} Evidently the same as Brahara on the river.

\textsuperscript{28} The same as Naugiri.

\textsuperscript{29} Malot. Its temples are well known. For references see V. A. Smith, History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, 2nd Edition—p. 119, Coomaraswamy, History of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 74 and 143. It is difficult to state why Malot is called the “gate of the ocean”; perhaps this was due to the fact of there being some important market to which caravans used to carry goods from the sea and the Indus mouth.

As to Hulagu it can hardly be, in spite of the similarity of spelling, the famous emperor who was almost a contemporary of our pilgrim: the temple alluded to must be a Hindu temple, as is proved by the statement of sTag ts’aṅ ras pa that it was destroyed by the Moghuls; according to Archeological Report, V, p. 185 it was founded by the Kauravas and Pandavas.
devi by name, and she gave us food, provisions and clothes. That place is famous as "the gate of the ocean, mine of jewels." There is a temple founded by king Hulahu. There great plants of rtse bo grow.

Then three days' march to the west

In the town of Malakoṭa,
There is the gate of the mine of jewels (the ocean)
He did not carry away even a bundle of medical herbs.

So he said.

There we went for five days to the north-west to the town of Rukala. There a queen, Somadevi by name, gave us provisions for the travel. Then in four days we reached Rajahura which is one of the four gates to Orgyan. The other three gates are Nila, Purso, Kacoka.

In Rajahura we went for alms; but as soon as we thought of eating (what we had collected), all fruits turned into ants and into worms. I showed it to dPal ye who felt nausea and was unable to eat. Winking the eyes I

30 Or shall we understand Bhojadeva? Rāṇī can also be a mistake for Rāṇā.
31 rtse bo, viz., rtse po; rtse po is, according to Sarat Chandra Das, a plant called in Indian texts kanṭakāri.
33a But, in the prose section, they reached Malot in one day only.
32 Rupwal: Nila is about ten miles to the north-west of this town.
33 Either rāṇā Somadeva or rāṇi Somadevi.
33b Perhaps the same as Nila on the Soan River to the east of Pindi Gheb.
said “eat” and the rest of what I had been eating turned into fruits and grapes. But he did not feel the inconvenience of being without food and was not able (to partake of that).\textsuperscript{34} So he related.

To the west of this town there flows the river Sindhu. It is one of the four rivers flowing (from the Kailāsa) and it springs forth from the mouth of a lion in the Kailāsa.\textsuperscript{35} It flows through Maryul\textsuperscript{36} and then, from the country of ḫBruša\textsuperscript{37} on the North of Kashmir (which country borders on Zaisdkar and Purig),\textsuperscript{38} through Persia\textsuperscript{39} reaches Urgyan.

Taking hold of one another’s hand we went to the ford of the Sindhu. I entered a boat and asked the boat-

\textsuperscript{34} The translation of this passage is doubtful.

\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Indo-Tibetica I, p. 80. That is why the Indus is called by the Tibetans: \textit{Sen ge k’a ḥbab}.

\textsuperscript{36} Maryul is Ladakh; I have shown elsewhere (Indo-Tibetica II, p. 15) that though in recent times Manyul has been also used for Maryul, originally Manyul was a district to the east of Purang on the borderland between Tibet and Nepal. It has been stated but I think on very poor grounds that the so-called Mo lo so (Watters—On Yuan Chwan’s travels I, p. 299) corresponds to Ladakh; but the form Mar po suggested by Cunningham does not exist, at least to my knowledge.

\textsuperscript{37} ḫBruša is Gilgit. Lauffer—\textit{Die Bruno Sprache}.

\textsuperscript{38} Purig is the district of Kargil.

\textsuperscript{39} Stag gzig corresponds, as known to Tajig and is the usual name for Persia or Persian: of course Persia in our text refers to Chilas and must be understood in a broad sense as the countries depending upon Persia. This passage and the following statement point to the fact that the name of Orgyan was not confined to the Swāt valley, but included part of Buner and, roughly speaking, the territory between the Swāt and the Indus.
man to pull the boat, but this man said: "No objection, (but) on the other side of the river they say there are Turks; there is fear of being killed." I replied that I was not afraid of dying and he pulled the boat. From this place upwards there is the country of Urgyan; there are 90,000 towns, but no other place there except Dhumat'ala\textsuperscript{40} is called Urgyan. At that time Urgyan had been just conquered by the Turks. So he related.

Having forded that river, there is (a town) called Kalabur. We reached there at sunset; all inhabitants, men as well as women, thinking that we were Turks, began to hit us with stones; then we took shelter among some trees and they, saying that that night we could not go anywhere else, departed. But that very night a great storm broke out and we ran away unnoticed from the village.

He said that in the interior of Urgyan there were Persians. Then we met (lit. there were) a husband and wife who, running away from the Turks and returning home, drove cows and sheep, carrying with them a small child. We said to them: "We are two Tibetan monks going on pilgrimage to Urgyan. Let us join you and accompany you as far as Dhumat'ala."\textsuperscript{40a} Then I carried the child and

\textsuperscript{40} This implies the equivalence of Dhumat'ala, often spoken of in the Padmasambhava literature, with Orgyan; the name of Orgyan, Uḍḍīyāna still survives in the village Udégram, the Ora of the Greek authors I, upon which see SIR AUREL STEIN—\textit{On Alexander's track to the Indus}. Cf. also down below sTag ts'aiṅ's itinerary.

\textsuperscript{40a} \textit{Tu the nes}, Humatà la.
drove the cattle...............Having forded the Sindhu we went to Bhik’robhasa; then in one day’s march we reached Kaboko.\textsuperscript{41} In this town all people have a virtuous mind and a great wisdom. There are provisions in great quantities and mines of carminium. Its prefect is called Rajadeva; he is the master of the greatest part of Urgyan. One month to the west of that town\textsuperscript{41a}.

To the west of the ford on the river Sindhu There is the town of Ka’oka Where there are mines of carminium But he was unable to carry away even a bit of it. So he said.

Then that liberal master gave in the country an entertainment and sent us a man to accompany us up to Bhonele, distant one day’s march and, (as to the towns) beyond that place, (he gave us) a letter to lead us safely up to the holy place of Dhumat’ala (in which he had written): “Let them be accompanied by such and such to such and such places.” From Bhonele we reached Siddhabhor and then, having forded a small river, we went in one day to K’aragk’ar.\textsuperscript{42} From this place upwards they say there is

\textsuperscript{41} That the river Sindhu had been crossed has already been said: Bhik’robhasa was not named; but in its place mention was made of Kalabur: This implies that Bhik’sobha sa was considered the first important place after having crossed the Indus Kaboko seems as Ka co ka—mentioned at p. 45.

\textsuperscript{41a} Viz., Malot.

\textsuperscript{42} This small river seems to be the Barandu while K’aragk’ar must be a village in the proximity of the Karākar pass.
There are good rice and wheat, and various kinds of good fruits get ripe; there are always trees like the neck of the peacock.

(The country) is covered by soft herbs and by flowers of every kind of colour and smell; there is a river running through Urgyan called Kodambhar. To the east there is the mountain Ilo which is the foremost of all mountains of the Jambudvipa. There is no medical herb growing on the earth, which does not grow there. It is charming on account of its herbs, stalks, leaves and flowers. Sarabhas and other antelopes wander there quite freely. There are many gardens of grape, beautiful birds of every kind and of gracious colours make a deep chattering.

From that country we went to the west for seven days, 
Up to the mountain Ilo, the peak of K‘aragk‘ar
In the mountain, Sarabhas play
And there are gardens of grape in abundance.
I did not covet any thing
Then, on one day we reached Rayik‘ar which is

43 I am not quite sure that this is the rendering of : so t‘añ.
44 This mountain has already been referred to by the Chinese pilgrims by whom it was called Hi lo. Foucher (Befeo, 1901, p. 368, n. 3) was the first to identify Hilo with the Ilam. Cf. also A. Stein On Alexander’s track, p. 27 ff.
45 This place seems to be Saidu; on this locality and its archaeological importance see A. Stein—op. cit., pp. 36-39. It is called Ray‘śar by sTag ts‘añ. While here there is no mention of any intermediary stage between Rayik‘ar and Manoglaor vaguely stated to be in the north and no notice therefore of Udegram=Dhumat’ala on the other hand down below it is rightly said that leaving Rayik‘ar they reached in half a day
said to have been the capital of King Indrabhote. Now it is divided into two towns: in one there are about sixty houses, in the other about forty. To the north there is a temple founded by king Indraboti and called Mangalaor, where there are various images in stone of Buddha (munindra), Tārā and Lokesvara.

When I saw from afar the country of Urgyan my (good) inclinations became very strong. In these places as soon as any common realization is experienced various P'ra men ma⁴⁷ flesh-eating dākinīs, come privately in front of (the experiencer) as a spouse. Near Rayik'ar there is a small river; it can be forded by a man and it runs to the south. Having forded it (one finds) in a protuberance of a rock the place where the great Siddha Lāvapā used to stay. A Dākini let a shower of stones fall upon that (place), but Lāvapā showed the tarjanimudrā and the stones remained in the sky just as a tent.⁴⁸ The Ācārya turned with his powers the dākinīs into sheep so that in that country all women disappeared;⁴⁸a the men assembled, went to their search but could not get (them). Then the Ācārya

Dhumat'ala. This last statement is of course quite correct. Manglaor should have been mentioned after Dhumat'ala.

46 Viz., Indrabhūti the famous tantric teacher and the spiritual father, according to the Tibetan tradition, of Padmasambhava.

47 On these P'ra men ma, who were a special class of yogini see TUCCI—Indo-Tibetica III, I, pp. 126.

48 Upon the local industry of rags kambala see STEIN—Op. cit., p. 89.

48a Because, in this country, women were all considered to be dākinīs,
shaved all the sheep and wore upon his body a woollen mantle (lva; kambala); from this he was called Lāvapa, viz., "the man of the woollen mantle." 49

Then they went to make homage to him and asked him to let them free. He asked: "Do you make an engagement?" They agreed. Then he said: "Wear the shoes upon the head; insert a ring in the nose; use (lit. make) a girdle (in the shape of) a snake." This has become the custom of the country up to now.

A woman there said to me: "You are Indrabhoti." My disciple Ses rin asked: "Indrabhoti and Lāvapa did not live at a different time?" I said: "Lāvapa was not contemporary with the great (Indrabodhi). There were two Indrabodhis; I am like the Younger." So he related. 50

Near Rayik'a there is the country of the P'ra men 'ma); all women know how to turn themselves by magical art into any form they want; they like flesh and blood and have the power to deprive every creature of its vitality and its strength. Then, in half a day we arrived at Dhumat'ala. 51 This is the core of the miraculous country or Urgyan. By the mere view of this country our cries

49 This story is also related in the biography of the 84 Siddhas—Grünwedel—Die Geschichten der 84 Zauberer, p. 176 f. and Edelstein mine, p. 56 ff. See also the account of sTag t'saṅ ras pa. But our text is rather obscure.

50 All this passage seems to be a gloss or a later addition by some pupil of Orgyan pa. That there was more than one Indrabhūti is also accepted by Tāranātha, Edelstein mine, p. 109.

51 Viz., as we saw Orgyan, Udđiyana, Udegrama.
(of joy) could not be counted. In front of it there is a self-appeared (image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā in sandal wood; it is called Maṅgaladevi.

I slept before it and I perceived that some trouble (lit. hindrance) was to come. I asked dPal ye to prepare a stick but he would not hear. Next morning he went to three hamlets to the north and I went to the south to collect alms. I met some women who threw flowers upon me and put a dot of vermilion (on my forehead) making various symbols taught by the Tantras; so that my powers increased and my vitality greatly developed. But he was surrounded by an armed crowd which was on the point of killing him; I ran to his rescue and when I said that he was my companion, they let him free. In this place there are about five hundred houses. All women know the art of magic and if you ask them: “Who are you?” they reply: “We are yoginis.” While I was lying down in front of Maṅgaladevi, one woman said (to me): “Enjoy a woman”, but I hit her with a stick and she ran away. The day after a woman met us both with incense and scattered flowers upon us and honoured us. It was the gift for having kept that gem which are the moral rules. In this place there is a woman who has three eyes; another has a mark manifest on her forehead, viz., the coil of a svastika red as if designed with vermilion. She said: “I am a self-made yogini. I can make everything appear in view.”

52 Viz., dPal Ye.
Then a Tartar said; ‘If you are a self-made yogini, bring something from my country’, and she immediately produced a bow and a Turkish hat, so that the Tartar was amazed. He said that this woman was the wife of the king of Dhumatala.  

Among the women of this town there is one who is said to be a yogini. Since it was difficult to recognise her, I took food from the hands of all women of the town and by eating it I surely got spiritual perfections from them. In the town of Kaboka I took food from a woman called Saluṇṭapuca and as soon as I drank a cup of soup (given by her), the place began to tremble........

The great yoginis famous in this place are four: Soni, Gasuri, Matangi, Tasasi.

Soni is (the ḍākini known in Tibet as) hGro bzaṅ.  

To the west of this place there is a snow (mountain) called Kamaconka where they say that there is the palace of the yoginis: in its interior there is a cave for ascetics called Kamalagupta; where there is the image of a Krodha of blue colour, with ornaments made of human bones; it has three eyes and is shining with splendour like

53 rGyu ma tala is a mis-spelling for Dhumat’ala.
54 It must be the same as the place already mentioned at p. 47. Though that town does not belong to the very centre of Orgyan which the pilgrim now describes, it is referred to again as being also a centre of those ḍākinis whose powers Orgyan pa here praises.
55 The ḍākini hGro bzaṅ is famous all over Tibet. Her rnam t’ar or biography belongs to the most popular Tibetan literature.
56 But down below in the verse-section Kamadhoka.
the rays of the sun: he has (in his hands) a sword and a skull.

dPalye thought that it represented Śāṃvara.

To the east of this place there is a cemetery called Bhirsmasa,\(^57\) crowded by terrific assemblages as (thick as) clouds of dangerous dākinīs (in the shape of) boars, poisonous snakes, kites, crows and jackals.

A little to the north there is one of the eight kinds of trees called okaśavṛkṣa. A little to the south of that cemetery there is a self-made (image) in stone of a Kṣetrapāla, called Dhumunkhu. In proximity of that tree, on a stone called Kapalabhojon; there are self-made images in stone of Brahmā, Rudra and other deities. There, there is a palm-tree which is called Maṅgalavṛkṣa, that is “the auspicious tree.” In its proximity a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi; (that is, the auspicious water) runs to the south.\(^58\)

To the east of this there is a small mountain called Śriparvata where many trees of senldan\(^59\) grow. To the west of this, in the rivulet Maṅgalapāṇi there is a piece of land of triangular shape called Mulasaiṅkoṭa; (?) there, there is (an image) of Āryabhaṭṭārikā spontaneously appeared. But now fearing the Tartar soldiers she stays in Dhumat’ala.

\(^57\) Viz., Bhirasmaśāna.

\(^58\) Perhaps the same as the tree and the source alluded to by Sun yung, p. 410, as being near the footprints of the Buddha. If this is the case, the places here mentioned must be near Tirāt.

\(^59\) Perhaps Khadira, Acacia Catechu.
In front of it many women assemble and worship it ejaculating "kili-tsi-li." Those who are deprived of strength or humiliated are (thereby) favoured (by becoming) fortunate.

This is the principal of the twelve Śriparvatas of India. On its border there is a valley known as the valley of Śrī. While I was sleeping for some days in a temple built by Indrabodhi at the gate of Urgyan, many ġākiniṣis assembled and preached the law. This is the very miraculous country of Urgyan.

From that country he went to the west for four days;
To the west of the "stone without touch"
To the north of the river Kodambhari
To the east of the glacier Kamadhoka
There is the miraculous country of Urgyan
The ġākiniṣis of the three places assuming human shape
Give enjoyments of inexhaustible pleasure.
But I did not seek for great enjoyments.
So he said.

In the miraculous country of Dhumat'ala there is the benediction of the Blessed one.

He said: "The individuals who are proficient (lit. good) in the Tantras, masculine as well as feminine," obtain the instructions of the Đākini of the three places.

60 Kili-tsi-li is a Mantra used in many a tantric ritual.
61 This refers to a twofold division of the Buddhist Tantras into
Wherefrom the spiritual connection with the deep road can be arrived at?"

Then dPalye said: "I believe (in all this), (but) let us go back to Tibet." I replied: "From a country far away I reached this place without considering (the risk of) my life and I obtained a great benefit; the best could be to lay the head down here; if this is impossible, at least I want to abide here, at any rate, for three years." Then he said, "Even if you do not want to depart, (at least) accompany me up to Rajahura." So we went. Our companions who seemed to be merchants said to me, "This friend of yours does not understand the language and will not get any alms. Without you this man is lost." Then I thought that it was a shame to leave in the way, among difficulties, a friend who had come to a holy place from a country far away and a fellow disciple of the same guru, going downwards, we reached in five days (a place called) Ghari. Then in seven days we reached Ursar. Then, having as companions some merchants we arrived to the gate of a terrific cemetery. When they saw it they were greatly afraid and said, "Ghosts will come and men will die." I said, "Do not fear. I can protect you from the ghosts"; and then by the blessing of Daṇḍa nothing happened.

feminine and masculine (literally 'mother' and 'father'), according as the medium of their experiences is the prajñā or the upāya.

62 Viz., rGod ts'ān pa. 63 Uraṣā, viz., Hazara.
63a Perhaps Niladānṭa.
From that place we went to the east for seven days;
A terrific cemetery is to the south.
In the fortunate kingdom of Uršar
There is corn and no (land)lord, (so that) anybody can carry it away.
But I did not carry away a single grain.
Then, after three days, we arrived at Tsi k’ro ta; there is a great river (coming out) from a rock in the mountain. There a merchant, being inflamed by a disease, began to fight, killed two (of his) companions and wounded another. Then I evoked the meditation of Guhyapati and overpowered him by the magic look; so that he immediately died; otherwise by fighting at close quarters they would have killed each other. So he related.
Then in one day we reached Ramikoti. On the other side of the river (which runs there) there is Rasmiśvari

64 Perhaps in the proximity of Mozufferabad (is there any connection between Tsi K’rota and Charrota near this place?). The river along which the pilgrims reach Kashmir referred to lower down is obviously the Vitasta.

65 Rāmeśvara, as known, was and still is a famous pitha in South India, but in this Tantric cosmography, as accepted by the Tibetan writers, it has been located in the Western Himalayas which are supposed to comprehend the whole of the Vajrakāya—See Indo-Tibetica III, II, p. 43 sqq. I cannot identify this Rāmeśvara referred to even by sTag ts’n ras pa; it is anyhow clear that it has no relation with the Rāmāśrama which was a pitha in Kashmir and the Sanskritised name of Rāmuch (Ramuṣa) referred to in Nilamatapurāṇa and in the Rājataraṅgini. See A. Stein, Kalhaṇa’s Chronicle of Kashmir. This place is on the road from Supiyan to Srinagar near Shozkroo,
(one of) the twenty-four places (of the Vajrakāya) which corresponds to the space between the eyebrows of the Vajrakāya. There the space between the river coming from Kashmir and the water of a pond is similar in shape to the eyebrows.

Thence four days’ march to the east;
there is a place (called) Rasmiśvari
in the house of the village they nursed (him) and boiled wine
but he did not carry away a single barley-paste ball.

(Marching) to the right of the river (flowing) from Kashmir after nine days we arrived at a narrow valley called rDorjemula⁶⁶ and then reached Kashmir.

The surface (of this country) is flat like the palm of the hand and charming, stretching from east to west; in the north there is a lake pure as the sky, called Kamapara;⁶⁷ (the place) is lovely on account of the beautiful flowers; it is thickly covered with excellent trees bent (under the weight of) their ripe fruits; it is adorned by all sorts of ripe crops, and furnished with every kind of riches. It is a mine of knowledge sprung forth from that gem which is the teaching of Śākyamuni; every creature practises the

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⁶⁶ rDorje mūla (lower down ‘Varamula’) is a curious name half Tibetan and half Sanskritic: it evidently derives from a vernacular form of Varāhamula (now Baramula) where the first part of the word was taken by Orgyan pa as a corruption of Vajra.

⁶⁷ Kamapara is perhaps a corruption of Kamalasara=Wular lake
white dharmas. It is the place to which refer the prophecy of the Prajñāpāramitā when it says:

“it is the abode of many Buddhist pāṇḍītas.”

From there (we went) to Śrīnagara a town of three million and six hundred thousand inhabitants; having been ravaged by the Mongols now (they have been reduced) to no more than three millions. 68 Then we went to Vatipur 69 where the saffron grows. Then we arrived at Bhejibhara, 70 which counts nine hundred thousand inhabitants. There he asked many sacred Mantras of Śaṃvara and other Tantras of ḤBum mi Śri la 71 and of other Pāṇḍītas. As they entered the town for alms many children began to hit them with bricks; but two girls saved them, led them into a house but gave them no food.

Then, came an old man who was the householder and (said to us) “If you do not stay (in my house) one day, it will be a shame to me.” Then, having paid homage to us, he asked: “Who are you?” We replied “We are religious men from Tibet and have gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan.” They felt some doubts and called for student who asked: “If you are men of the law, what kind of law do you know?”

68 The number is, as usual, exaggerated.
69 Vatipur down below: Varipur is a corruption for Avantipur; this statement anyhow is not exact, because saffron-fields are to be found only near Pampur.
70 Vijayajeśvara now Bij-behāra, Bijbiara.
71 Bhūmiśila?
Since I replied that I knew the Abhidharma (*mṇon pa*), we commented together upon logic and he agreed that it was true (that I knew the law).

Then he asked: "Besides this system, what else do you know?" When I said: "The Kālacakra" he replied: "It is false," and was amazed.\(^{72}\) I insisted that it was true; then they called a student in order to see whether I had said the truth or not and after discussing the point he recognised that I was a learned man. Then they sent for an old man who could recite by heart the Vimalaprabhā;\(^{73}\) the husband was famous as a learned man all over Kashmir. I discussed with the wife and got myself out fairly well.

The lady said: "O learned man, what (else) do you know or have heard."

I replied: "I have thrown away all objects of knowledge as grass and having gone to Urgyan and to other holy places I have forgotten (everything)." Then they agreed that I really was a Tibetan paṇḍit and were pleased. Since I was made known by the name of "Mongol" which I had formerly been given by that boy, the king as soon as he was aware (of this fact) sent some policemen to catch me and from midnight to the day-light (my host) said to the king that I belonged to another reli-

\(^{72}\) The Kālacakra is still considered in Tibet as one of the most difficult Tantric systems.

\(^{73}\) This is the commentary upon the Kālacakra; it is being edited by my pupil Doctor M. Carelli and myself in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
region and was not a Mongol. But he did not listen to him. Then the others having relinquished my protector, my protector said: “It is better to escape.” Then, wearing Kashmiri dress we went to a ford of a big river, (but we found there) a group of about thirty Indian guards who said: “The men whom we want are here,” caught hold of us, and took off our dress. We asked: “What will be done to us?” “You will be led to the presence of the king and killed; until that, there is nothing to do.”—“If we are to be killed before the king, we should be happy to die here.”

Then turning downwards we laid the head on the crossed arms and slept; (then they said: “While they stay here, let us go to eat”) and they went away.

We ran away very quickly without touching as it were the earth; but, since a great wind-storm arose, even our traces were not visible. Then, restraining our breath, we went to a river which was running very slowly and with great facility without sinking as it were in the water, we reached the other shore. That day we stayed with some young shepherds who happened to be there and in the night we slept in a heap of grass; in the morning we went for alms and somebody gave us some worn clothes.

From that place after one month to the east
We went to Varipur steadfast throne of Kashmir;
in its fields the saffron grows
but I did not carry away even a pistil of that flower.
When we reached a pass on the way from Kashmir among a crowd of women wearing furred coats, there walked about five hundred women who had the hair loose on the back. They asked, "Wherefrom do you come? Whereto are you going?" I replied: "We come from Urgyan and go to sBud bkra.'" "O great man, your enterprise is fulfilled." So they said, and suddenly disappeared. Afterwards the mK'an po bsGrub rin' asked me if those women were ākāni of that time, and I agreed that they looked so.

Then we reached Jālandhara and after a few days some Kashmiri merchants happened to be there, and asked us: "Where do you come from?" "We are Tibetan monks gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan. On the way back we came to Kashmir and your king (wanted to) kill us both." They looked astonished and said: "Perhaps you are a siddha. When the king sent some men to catch you, a kind of rainbow in the sky gradually vanished."

Greatly astonished they made me great honour and many offerings and I began to be famous even in Jālandhara as a monk from Tibet who had gone on pilgrimage to Urgyan and had got there miraculous powers.

Then we went to Maryul.  

74 The residence of rGod ts'ai pa.  
75 The short-way for going to Maryul (Ladakh) would have been to cross the Zoji la; I cannot understand why they took the long way to Kangra and Lūhul.
PART III

TRAVELS OF STAG TS’AÑ RAS PA

(2, a) Even Stag ts’an ras pa starts from Tise and through Myan po ri rdsoṅ¹ and Pretapuri, a day’s journey only from that place,² entres the province of Žaṅ Žuṅ in Guge³—(Žaṅ Žuṅ gi yul Gu ge⁴). He then reaches K’yuṅ luṅ⁵ and after five days he halts at the bottom of the Sarang la.⁵ᵃ Having crossed this pass, he enters the

¹ Myan po ri rdsoṅ is in the proximity of Dulchu gompa.
² Pretapuri is the same as Tirthapuri (see above p. 15). In the dkar c’ag or māhātmya of the monastery the name is mis-spelt as gNas tre bsta puri, an evident corruption of Tirthapuri through the colloquial Pretapuri—This māhātmya is preserved in the monastery and its title is: gNas tre bsta puri gyi gnas yigs (=yig) dkar c’ag (ms. c’ags) gsal bai me loṅ (ms. loṅs). Pretapuri seems to be the original name since Pretapuri is included in the list of 24 places presided by the 24 Viras. See Tucci: Indro Tibetica III, part II, p. 42 Padma Taṅ yig, CHAP. V. The place was named Pretapuri perhaps on account of the hot springs of sulphur which are to be found there and were considered as being connected with chthonian deities. On Pretapuri—, Tirthapuri see Tucci: Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto, p. 120.
³ That points to Palkye where vast ruins are still to be seen. See Tucci: Santi e Briganti, p. 132.
⁴ On the relation between Žaṅ Žuṅ and Guge see above, p. 16.
⁵ K’yuṅ luṅ (the valley of Garuda) as I stated in the above work was a very big town, still considered by the Bonpos as one of their holiest places: mNul mk’ar “the silver castle” of K’yuṅ is still invoked in the prayers of the Bonpos.
⁵ᵃ I hardly think that the distance between K’yuṅ luṅ and the Sarang la can be covered in five days.
narrow valley (roṅ) of Ku nu and through rNam rgyal,⁶ Pu, Sa, he arrives after two days at So raṅ and then sets out to K’yags;⁷ in five days he reaches Su ge t’an⁸ and after three days more Dsva la mu khe. In the proximity, there is a warm rock which is said to have been the meditation-hut of Nāgārjuna (2, b). Then in one day, the pilgrim reaches Dsalandhara—one of the twenty-four limbs of the vajrakāya; it is also called by the Indians Kaṅkarkoṭ and by the Tibetans Nagarkoṭ. (2, b).

To the east of this place there is a temple in the shape of a stūpa in whose interior one can see a stone image to a helmet: it is called Mahādūrkha⁹ and it is said to be the abode of the goddess rDo rje p’ag mo. On the four sides there are four holes for the four magic karma: to the north there is a place for bloody sacrifices (dlmar mc’od).

Even sTag ts’ān ras pa refers to a practice of the Hindu pilgrims mentioned by early Persian and European travellers: that on the eastern side people used to cut their tongues believing that it would grow again within three days.¹⁰

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⁶ rNam rgyal is Namgyal of the maps at the bottom of the Shipki pass on the Indian side.
⁷ Pu is of course Poo of the maps and Sa is Sasu between Poo and Kanam. So raṅ is Sarahan, the summer residence of the rājas of Bashahr; perhaps K’yags is the same as rGya sKyags of Orgyan pa. See above, p. 44.
⁸ Suge t’an is, I think, Suket.
⁹ Mahādurgā.
¹⁰ For European and Indian references on this subject, see History of the Panjāb Hill States by J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, Vol. I, p. 110.
Then, to the south of this place, sTag ts’ain ras pa went to Langura11 one of the eight cemeteries with its peculiar tree; people used to offer bloody sacrifices to a Nāgavrksa (gesar) which grows there. Not very far, there is a cave where the Tibetan ascetic rGovd ts’añ pa spent some time in meditation. Tibetan pilgrims use to reside there: in the first month of the year, on the occasion of the holiday which commemorates the miraculous exhibitions of the Buddha all believers (nañ pa)12 of India assemble in the place and make offering.

During the festival-ceremony after the new moon yogins (dso ki), sannyāsins, (se nā si) and Tibetan pilgrims perform their worship without distinction in the royal palace. In a piece of land between two rivers, flowing in that cemetery, there is a boulder, looking like a skull, where one can see quite clearly the image of rNal Ḣbyor ma.13 sTag ts’ain ras pa could not accept the local tradition which saw in the stone the miraculous image of Gaṇapatī with the elephant’s trunk (3, a). To the north of this place there is a hillock called Kha’ nu ma otre.

The king of Kaṅkarkoṭ, which is a very pleasant and fertile country and inhabited by a good-looking people, is a believer; in his family there has been an incarnation of a

11 On this cemetery, see above, p. 23.
12 For sTag ts’ain the word “believers” seems to include not only the Buddhists but also the Hindus as opposed to the Mohamedans.
13 Viz. Yogini, in this case Vajravārahi.
K'or lo sdom pa,\textsuperscript{14} therefore, in the country there are many \textit{sannyāsins} and \textit{yogins}.

One day to the west of Kaṅ gar kot, there is Nurup'u; then the itinerary of the pilgrim runs through Srinagara, Paṭhanna, Nosara, Kathunara, Pa ru rda, Paṭhanmusur, Sakiri, Salau, Bhets'arbhura,\textsuperscript{15} Salakau ṭhu, So ṭa ko ṭa, Gho tso ra ka; within two days from this place he reached Ba la na ga ra ti la, the residence of many \textit{yogins}. On the southern side of a hill in its proximity one can see upon the rock the very clear miraculous image of Orgyan. That is also the place where two famous \textit{yogins} Dsin ṭa pīr\textsuperscript{16} and Dsāpīr disappeared into the earth.

Then he went to Kashmir of which he gives a general description very similar to that found in the Lam yig of Orgyan pa; to the west, in a piece of land between two rivers, there is Rva me śva ra\textsuperscript{17} which corresponds to the eye-brows of the \textit{vajrakāya}. To the east there is the stūpa of Paṅ pure\textsuperscript{18} in the middle of a lake. That stūpa was erected in order to commemorate the miracle of the

\textsuperscript{14} Viz. of Cakra-Samvara. On this Tantric cycle see Tucci: \textit{Indo-Tibetica} III, part II, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{15} Some places can be identified: Nurup'u is Nurpur, Paṭhanna perhaps corresponds to Pathankot, Kaṭhuhara is Kathua, Salau may correspond to Salathian; anyhow it is clear that sTag ts'ān went from Nurpur to Jammu and from there proceeded to Kashmir.

\textsuperscript{16} These two names seem to be mis-spelt, at least it is difficult to recognize the original form of them: the name "pīr" though specially used for Mohammedan saints is also occasionally applied to Indian Ṣādhus.

\textsuperscript{17} See above, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{18} Viz. Pampur.
arhat Ni ma guñ pa who, sitting in meditation, overpowered the nāgas who wanted to disturb him; the fierce winds which they roused were unable to move even the border of his clothes, and the weapons they threw upon him turned into flowers; being unsuccessful in their attempts, they requested him to ask for whatever he wanted and he replied that he desired as much ground as was necessary for him to sit in vajraparyaṅka (3, b). So all the lake dried up and in the surface which thus emerged there is a town with three million and six hundred inhabitants. There is also a grove, the Kashmirian residence of Nāropā.

The capital of Kashmir is a big town called Na ga-ra: there is a temple of the unbelievers called Bha ro ma tsi which is adorned by four hundred pillars. In Palhar-sgan there is an image of sGrol ma inside a well. To the east there is a hill called sTagsilima said to be Gru dsin.

Then in one day the pilgrim reached Puspahari where he stopped for seven days (4, b). Then, leaving in Kashmir his three companions suffering from fever and

19 On this legend and its source see Vogel, Indian Serpent-lore, pp. 233-235.
20 Abreviation for Srinagara.
21 This is the Boromasjid.
22 I cannot identify Pa Ilhar sgan; I suppose that it is to be identified with the Pārvatī hill.
23 Takht-i-Suleiman.
24 Potala, the abode of Avalokiteśvara.
25 Also called in the Tibetan biographies of Nāropā, Marpa and Milaraspā: Phulahari: “mountain of flowers.” In these older books this place seems to be located not in Kashmir but near Nālandā.
anxious to go back, he went to see the rock Šenta from where water runs from the fifteenth day of the fourteenth lunar mansion up to the fifteenth day of the eighteenth lunar mansion. This place corresponds to the fingers of the vajrakāya and was still in the hands of the believers.

Returning to his friends who were run down by disease he went along with them to Varan but on the way to Maṭe one of his companions died and another, Grags pa rgya mt’so by name, passed away in Maṭe. So only Draṅ po bzaṅ po was left. They spent there three days and went up to a high pass. sTag ts’aṅ halted in the evening on the top, but since his companion did not arrive, on the following day, he returned back thinking that either he had died or was unable to proceed; he met him near half-way below the pass, but on that day it was impossible to go any farther on account of the snow which fell heavily; next day, they started and crossed the pass with great difficulty and having recourse to some yoga practices after fifteen days reached the Tibetan Zans dkar where they met the great Siddha bDe ba rgya

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26 This spring is sacred to the Goddess Šamādhyā and is called now Sundbrar. STEIN, Kalhan’s Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir II, p. 469. “The spring of Šamādhyā derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times in the night.”

27 Unidentified.

28 I suppose Mutti on the river Brinvar.

29 Perhaps the Shilsar Pass.
mts’o who invited them to spend some time in retreat in the place where he used to meditate. Behind it, there is the magic shield\(^3\) of Nāropā; they spent two months in that place. Then, when their companions arrived from Nagarkot, intending to go to Ga ša,\(^3\) the place of the dakinis, they went to ḡBar gdan\(^3\) and from there, having taken leave from bDe ba rgya mts’o and his disciples, they reached Ga ša. The king of this place Ts’e rin dpal lde\(^3\) rendered service to them for three months. Then in K’aṅ gsar\(^3\) they were attended upon by the younger sister of the king with her son; she was called bSod nams. They explained various doctrines, such as the mahamudrā, the six laws of Nāropā,\(^3\) the Prāṇayoga, the law of the karmic connection, the esoteric methods, the teachings of Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, and Dvags po\(^3\) rje, the story of the

\(^3\) The text has: p’ub, but I think there is a mistake, exact reading being; p’ung “cave”.

\(^3\) Ga ša=Garśa, the usual Tibetan name for Lāhūl.

\(^3\) This is perhaps, Padam, the chief village of Zaṅsdkar, though in the Chronicles edited by Francke the name of this place is spelt: p. 164 Dpal ldem (p. 166 dPa gtum).

\(^3\) This king is to be identified with Ts’e rin rgyal po brother (Chronicles of Tinan, Francke, ibid, p. 212) or son (Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Tinan, ibid, p. 216) of bSod nams rgya mts’o=perhaps the same as Ts’e rin sgrub the document referred to ibid at page 218 (about 1569 A.D.).

\(^3\) On the left bank of the Bhaga river.

\(^3\) Viz. the “Nāropā c’os drug”, the fundamental book of the bKa’rgyud pa and the guide of their hathayoga practices.

\(^3\) This is the sampradāya of the first masters of the bKa’brgyud pa sect.
law, the Maṇi bka’ ḥbum etc. They also visited the places near Lāhul, such as Gandhola, Gusa maṇḍala, Re p’ag, and Maru corresponding to the toes of the vajrakāya. In winter they sat in retreat for six months in gYur rdson. Then, for two months they went to Dar rtse, where was the king. Altogether, they spent an entire year in Gaśa. After that, while his companions remained there, he went with a single monk from Dar rtse to K’āñ gsar, sKye nañ, Gusamandaṇḍala where begins the country of Kuluṭa corresponding to the knees of the vairakṛya; then, in two days, he reached Re p’ag where there is the image of sPyān ras gzis in the form of ḪGro drug sgrol ye śes. The image is made in stone from Kamaru. Then, in one day, to Maru, in two days to Pata; then to the bottom of the Koṭa la pass; having crossed the pass full of snow he reached Paṅgi and then Sura and after two days Na rañ. This country is called Ka ma ru and corresponds to the armpits of the vajrakāya. Having crossed another high pass, he reached in two days the narrow valley of Tsam bhe dam pa, which he traversed in seven days. Then he found himself in Hindutam. The itinerary

37 C’os hbyun. This is the general name for any history of the holy doctrines.
38 The famous work attributed to Sron btsan sgam po.
39 Gus on the Chandra River.
40 See above p. 18.
41 The first village to be met when entering Lahul after crossing the Borolacha Pass.
42 Viz. Ti nañ.
43 See SCHUBERT, in Artibus Asiatic vol. III.
44 Viz. Chandâbâ.
45 Hindutam, mis-spelling for Hindustan.
then runs through: Nurup’u, Śrinagara, Paṭhanṇa, Nosara, Kaṭhuhar, Pāturar, Pathanmosur, Sakiri Salau, Bhetsarbhura Salakauṭhu, Sauṭa, Kauṭa, Ghotsoraka in whose proximity a big river, coming from Kashmir runs to the south. Since in the itinerary of Orgyan pa it was stated that on the other side of this river there is a place called Vara mila he (7, a) marched for four days towards the south, but could not find that place. His companion Zi bar nam rgyal lost any faith in the itineraries and advised him to return. But he did not listen to him and went to the north-west; after fifteen days through a desert country he reached a place called Hila. He asked there for the town called in the itinerary of Orgyan pa Hora and said to have 700,000 inhabitants; nobody could tell him anything about it. Nor had he better results when he enquired about the mountain of mineral salt called Bāṅhoṭi. They said anyhow that there were many places where one could find mines of mineral salt the nearest being those of Tsośara; having traversed for three days a desert country they reached Muraga. There they forded a big river and after three days more they reached Tsośara. It is a valley stretching from north-west—where it is very high—to the south-east; where it is low. On its northern side there are many ravines facing south where there is mineral salt in the shape of rocks. To the south of this place there

46 See above.
47 The river is of course the Jhelum; Muraga is perhaps Mulakwal. Tsosara is to be located in the proximity of the Chuil hill.
is the big country of Dhagan and that of Dsamola\textsuperscript{48} where there are many believers and many sects of monks. They come to take salt there from Nagarkot up to Lahor and Abher, on the other side, up to Gorsala\textsuperscript{49} and Ghothaia-sakam. In the old itineraries it is written that the salt of this place goes as far as Orgyan; but at the time of the author this commerce had stopped; anyhow even in Orgyan there is mineral salt of blu colour like crystal. From Tsośara (6, b) he went to Dhodhośna, and Vavula, then, after two days to Maloțta,\textsuperscript{50} where there is a temple founded by king Hula ruined by the soldiers of the Mugal. In the itinerary of Orgyan pa it is stated that to the north-west of this place there is Rukāla, but nobody could give any information about this town. Anyhow marching towards north-west, they met some Turks who were salt traders; he enquired from them about Rukāla, but they replied that the place beyond was desert and full of brigands who were likely to kill them. They could give no information about the road. Proceeding farther, they had a narrow escape from five or six salt diggers who wanted to kill them; the next day (8, a), they turned back but lost the way, went to the east and after some time they met some salt-traders; among them there was an old Brahmin who became a friend of the Tibetan pilgrims. These went along with the caravan until, after

\textsuperscript{48} Dhagan is Dekhan, and Dsamola is the Tamil Country. (Dramila. Dramila).

\textsuperscript{49} Perhaps Gujarath.

\textsuperscript{50} Maloțta is Malot: See above
nine days, they met a salt-lake\(^5\) on whose shore there was a large pasture-land. The pilgrim confesses to have forgotten the name of this lake. The merchants there carried their trade of salt and butter and then went away with the younger brother of the Brahmin, sTag ts’ani resumed the march and after three days arrived at Rukāla;\(^5\) then they went to Akkithial, Bhahupur, Mālapur, Uts’alapur, Sapunpur, Reureţ, Aţike\(^5\) in front of which runs the Seṅ ge k’a ḫab. Crossing this river there is a place called Ma ts’il ka natha tril; then there is Pora, Noşara,\(^5\) Mataṅgana, Miṭhapāṇi. It is a spring which has a salt taste and it is said to be derived from the urine of Padmasambhava. They went farther on along with that old Brahmin, three yogins and a householder, Atumi by name (8, b). After having been detained by a man called Tsadul-hayi\(^\) who expressed the desire to accompany them but delayed the departure on account of some clothes that he

\(5\) This is the salt lake near Kallar Kahār. It took our pilgrim so many days before reaching this place because, we are told, he went astray.

\(5\) As I stated before (p. 47) I supposed that Rukāla is the same as Rupwal. As to the names which follow, if the identification Rukāla-Rupwal is exact, Bhahūpur might be Bakhuwala to the north of Khaur, Malapur, is perhaps a mis-spelling for Kamalpur and Utsalpur seems to correspond to Uchar (to the south of Campbellpur).

\(5\) Atike must be Attok: this identification is sure on account of the Seṅ ge k’a ḫab said in our text to be flowing near that place. The Seṅ ge k’a ḫab is the Tibetan name for the Indus.

\(5\) Of all these places Nosara can certainly be identified with Nowshera. Pora is perhaps a corruption of Piran.

\(5\) Perhaps a Mohammedan name: Shahidullah.
had to wash or of the bad weather, they started again on the journey; but the old Brahmin left them and returned (9, a). The itinerary of s'Tag ts'ai runs then through Mādha, Atsimi, Pakšili,56 Dhamdhori, Kiṭuha, Bhaṭhurvar Paṭhapaṃge, Mutadni, Kapola, Kandhahar, Hasonagar.

Then, they forded a river and resumed the journey through Paruka, Nasbhala, Sik'ir. Proceeding farther for half a day they met about sixteen brigands who boasted to be from Kapur, viz., from Orgyan. They hit the pilgrim on the head, cut his hair, took off his clothes and then sold him as a slave, for some silver taṅk'as and some payesa to two brothers. After having met another group of six brigands and still another brigand and paid the ransom, in the evening he reached with his proprietors Momolavajra (9, b). He was given some work to do, but at the fourth part of the day (t’un) he began reciting the prayers loudly. The old father of the house in a fit of rage, hit him twice on the head so that he lost consciousness, but he recovered after having recourse to some yoga practices and to the meditation on his guru. He escaped and arrived at a place called Sithar where he was caught again by the people. He told a Brahmin who happened to be there that he was a Tibetan not from Kashmir but from Mahācina; with his help he was released and at the suggestion of that same Brahmin he went to Bhayasahura where he met many yogins. The chief of them was called Buddha-

56 Pakšili perhaps is Bakshali in which case Madha could be identified with Mardān.
nātha. He was received by them with great joy and was given the name of Šamonātha (11, b). Those ascetics had holes in the ears and were called Munḍa. Living near Guru Jñānanātha sTag ts‘an learnt many doctrines of the yogins, such as Gurganātha. During his stay in that place he could assist in some wrestling performances in great fashion in that town. There was there a famous wrestler who was challenged one day by a Turkish officer who boasted to be very clever in that very art. This Turk began fighting, but was easily overcome by the other who though often requested by his badly injured rival to stop fighting, did not cease until that officer was killed. In the proximity, there is one of the eight cemeteries, viz., that called Ts‘an ‘ur ‘ur sgrogs pa where there is a thick wood. Both believers and unbelievers carry there their corpses, the believers to burn them and the unbelievers to bury them. They go there for secret practices and in the night one can see corpses rising from the soil; there are also many dākinīs black, naked, carrying in their hands human hearts or intestines and emanating fire from their secret parts. In this place there are also performances. They fight one with a shield and another with a sword. If one breaks the shield that is all right; otherwise even if he is wounded or dies it is considered to be a shame (12, a). In that place in the first month of the year on the occasion of the big holiday which commemorates the great

56b I cannot find the origin of Samonātha: is it Šambhunātha? Gurganātha is Gorakṣanātha.
miracle of Buddha there is a great melā where many yogins and sannyasins meet. They told him that he would have seen a great yogin hailing from Orgyan (13, a). In fact, he met him and he was astonished to see that he knew everything about his having been captured by the bandits, etc.

This yogin told him that he was bound for Hasonagar but that he would return within ten days to take him to Orgyan. Therefore, sTag ts'안 ras pa waited in Bhyasahura for ten days; then, since the yogin did not come back, he decided to start alone. The yogins assembled in Bhyasahura and the great Pir Buddhanātha advised him to go wherever he liked either to Dhagan or to Hindutam or to Lahor save Orgyan; there were there too many Pathans who would have killed him (13, b). So he requested them to show him the way to Hindutam, but in fact he went to Hasonagar where he enquired about the yogin from Orgyan who was called Pālanātha and succeeded in finding him. That Pālanātha was a Pathan by birth who after having been an unbeliever became converted and spent many years in Orgyan. Then they joined a party of traders and went along with them upwards. They crossed a small river and then, through Paruba, Nyapala, Apuka, Killitila, Sikir,\(^{56c}\) Momolavajra, Sinora, Pelahar, Muṭhilli, Muṣamli, Muṭhikṣi, Mahātilli, Satāhulda, Kalabhyaṭsi, Saṅgiladhuba, Goṭhaiaśakaṃ they arrived at a high pass; having crossed it, they arrived in the country.

\(^{56c}\) But before Sik'ir.
of Orgyan. After three days they reached Dsomok’āti where there is the palace of the king. This king was called Parts’agaya. He holds his sway over the 700,000 old towns of Orgyan. This king was an intimate friend of Pālanātha and therefore he gave them a guide who knew well the country. After five days they arrived at the mountain Yalom pelom said to be one of the eight Śriparvatas to the Jambudvipa. At its bottom there grows a medical herb called jāti and on its middle there are thick woods of white sandal. On the top there are fields of saffron. In their middle there is a tank, where the king Indrabhūti used to bathe and on the border of this tank there are many chapels beautifully carved and adorned with beams of red sandal. The top of this mountain is higher than the Himalayas. He resided there for seven days (14, a). In a desert valley near that mountain there are many wild animals and every sort of poisonous snakes. Then they went to the other side of the mountain (*15, a), where there is a valley in the shape of a full-blown lotus with eight petals, stretching towards the south-west. After three days they arrived at K’arakśar; then after five days at Rāyīśar. Up to that point the custom of the people of Orgyan is like that of

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57 Dsomok’āti is said, down below, to be the place where all rivers of Orgyan meet: and on his way back to Kashmir sTag t’saṅ went straight from that town to the Indus: from there he also starts for the mountain Ilam. I therefore think that Dsomok’āti is to be located in the Baranda valley.

58 Ilam mountain, on which see above p. 51.

59 Which seems to be the Karakār Pass.

60 Saidū.
the Indians. But after that place it changes. Both men and women have a girth of jewels; this girth sometimes is in the shape of a snake of black colour, sometimes of a snake streaked. They wear a black hat of felt in the shape of a toupet which is adorned with many jewels; the women wear a cap like that of Padmasambhava but without the hem. Both men and women wear earrings, bracelets and rings for the ankle made either of silver or of earth properly prepared. To the south-west side of this place there is the palace of Indrabhūti with nine stories (15, b). But at this time there were only the ruins.\(^6\)

Not very far, to the north-west, there is the place where Padmasambhava was burnt; the soil turned into clay. But there is no trace of the lake spoken of in the biography of the saint. After three days’ march to the north-west there is a big place called a Rahorbhyara. This place is so situated that it takes seven days from whatever part one wants to reach it either from the west or the east or the north or the south. In its middle there is the vihāra founded by king Indrabhūti the great and called Mangalahor.\(^6\) It possesses one hundred pillars and still has many chapels. Specially worthy of notice is the chapel of Guhyasamāja with its maṇḍala. To the north-west of this locality there are many places, but there are no temples nor things worth seeing. Therefore, both sTag ts’aṅ ras

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61 Rāja Girā’s Castle?
62 Manglawar: Rahorbhyara and Mangalahor seem therefore to be identified, Mangalahor being the centre of the place.
pa and Pālanāha went back to Rāyiśar. Behind that place there is a small river; they forded it and after one day they arrived at Odiyāna\(^63\) (16, a); it was a big holiday corresponding to the tenth of the third month of the Buddhist calendar. All people were assembled and singing and dancing they drank all kinds of liquors without restriction. This place is the very core of Orgyan (16, b). To the west of it there is a small temple where one can see the miraculous image of yogini of red sandal. To the back of that temple there lives a yogini Hudsunātha by name more than a thousand years old though she looks about twenty-six or twenty-seven. From that place one can see the mountain called Kamalabir\(^64\) (17, a); its top is always covered by the splendour of the rainbow, but when the rainbow vanishes it looks like a helmet of silver. According to the Tantric literature this mountain is known as the dharmagāñja (the treasury of the law) or the miraculous palace of Heruka. In front of it there is a cave which is the sacred cave of the Vajra; or according to the itinerary of Orgyan pa the magic cave of Labapa. All the Indians call it Hadsikalpa and it is the abode of K'otas.\(^65\) Behind that mountain there is a lake known as the ‘Sindhu-ocean’ of Dhanakośa; in colloquial language the Indians call it Samudrasintu. It was distant only one

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63 Udegram.
64 The same as the mountain: Kama-'onka, Kamadhoka of Orgyan pa.
65 The meaning or the Sanskrit equivalent of this word is quite unknown to me.
day's journey; but Pālanātha told him that there was no need of going any farther, because behind the pass there was no place to be seen except the lake. To the south there is a small mountain where there is a spring called Maṅgalapāṇi or in colloquial: āyurpāṇi because it bestows immortality. (18, a). Then, they went back and in two days they arrived at Oḍiyāna also called Dhumat'ala; then through Rāyiśar, Midora K'aragšar, where there was a woman emitting fire from the mouth dancing and singing like a mad person whom nobody dared approach, Saṃdibhor, Kavoka, Bhyathabhasabhasor, Dsomok'ati was reached. The king at that time was in the park where he kept all sorts of animals, such as Persian lions, boars, etc. under the supervision of special stewards. While Pālanātha remained with the king, sTag ts'ań went on his way for five days guided by a man appointed for this purpose by the king. He then forded the Sintupani. The itinerary then runs through Radsahura, after two days, Nila, Kamthe, Nepale (19, a) Nila’u, Laṅka, Horaña, Asakamni, Mahātsindhe, Ghelaṃri after six days, Gorsala, then again after two days Kalpa, Rukāla, Rahorbuṇḍa, Ravata, Satā, Hati, Tśiru, Rutā, Dselom, Sara, Bhebar, Nośara, Ratsuga. After three days he reached Lithanna, then crossed two passes and reached a narrow valley.

66 From Ruta to Kashmir the route can easily be followed: it is the old route through the Pir Pañjal Pass, practically abandoned after the extension of the railway to Rawalpindi.

Rutā is Rohtas: Dselom is Jhelum: Bhebar is Bhimber; Nośara—Nowshera, Ratsuga—Rajaori.
Having then crossed another high pass called Pirbañtsa, after two days he arrived in Kashmir where he went to pay a visit to the famous place Puśpahari in the lower part of which there are fields of saffron. In the proximity of these there is a bazar called Spbāñpor. After having bathed in the spring of the rock called Sandha he returned to Kashmir proper. At last, having crossed a pass, he arrived after two days at Varan; then he went to Mate and after ten days through a desert country he was in the Tibetan Zañsdkar. Finally, he reached Maryul where he was properly received by the king and his ministers.

67 Lithanna is perhaps Thannamang. Pirbañtsa is evidently Pir Pañjal.
68 Probably Pampur.
69 Cf. above note 26.
IV

APPENDIX
TIBETAN TEXTS

From the biography of rGod t'saṅ pa

(42a) Zaṅ šuṅ gi yul nas yar byon pas, lam de na gnas c'en Tre ta pu ri bya ba yul ŋi šu rtsa bžiṅ naṅ nas skui ḥk'or lo ste. de yaṅ luṅ pa gsum (42.6) ḥdus pai mdo na, ri c'en yo gcig yod pai rtsa ba na mar la c'u bo Gaṅ gā ḥbab pa. dei gram na dbaṅ p'yuṅ c'en poi ḥla brten gsum yod pa...der ṣag ṣas bžugs pas, ŋams daṅ dge sbyor śin tu ṣp'el bas, gnas de byin brlabs śin tu c'e ba gcig ṣdug. De nas mar gi yul Gu ge Maṅ naṅ bya ņuṣubaṅasno, Žiṅ ba na, Jo bo A ti šai bžugs gnas dnōs grub (43a) kyi c'u 'mig gton pa yaṅ ṣdug ciṅ, de nas mar byon pas, Zaṅ Žuṅ mT'o ldin gi gtsug lag k'aṅ na Lha btsuṅ Byaṅ c'ub 'od kyi bžugs gnas la sogs yaṅ mt'oṅ. C'u c'en po t'ams cad la ts'am ts'om med par rgal bas kyaṅ mt'ar ŋiṅ, sku lus kyaṅ śin tu gzo mdog bde bar byuṅ. De nas Žaṅ Žuṅ gi yul de rgal nas, Pi ti Bi lcogs gi (2) stod na, grub t'ob c'en po K'a rag pa bya ba lo sum cu skyil kruṅs ma žig par ṛdsogs pa c'en po ḥdoṅs pa la mṅam rjes med pa daṅ mjāl nas, c'os ḥus pas' ṣbul ba ḥdos gṣuṅ "ṇed spraṅ po yin ṣbul ba med" byas pas, "aṅbał ba med na, gdam ŋag mi gter" gṣuṅ; der yid kyis yan lag bdun p'ul bas, "da byas pas, mc'og pa ṣdug" gṣuṅ nas, k'yab (3) gdal c'en po rNam par ṛnaṅ par snaṅ mdsad kyi (4) ṛdoṅs pa, gsal la ṣdsin med Mi skyod pai ṛdoṅs pa, mṅam ŋid lhun grub Rin ṣbyuṅ gi ṛdoṅs pa, bde ston blo ḥdas. (43b) sNan ba mt'a' yas kyi ṛdoṅs pa, p'rin las lhun grub don grub kyi ṛdoṅs pa žes ṛdoṅs pa lhai gdam ŋag gṣuṅs. De nas yar ts'ad du byon pas, ṛdong c'uṅ gcig na, dge sloṅ sgres po hūṅ gcig po ṣdreṅ pa gcig ṣdug; k'oṅ gis hūṅ bgraṅs pai dus su, rnam rtog

(1) In this Tibetan text I have adopted my usual transcription: ‘‘a’’ for ‘‘h’’ employed in the English text.
(2) Ms.: gis Bstod
(3) Ms. K'yaṅ
(4) Ms. K'yiṅ
t'ams cad rañ ḡagags la ḡgro bai ḡrug ḡt’ob ḡcīg ḡdug; de
nas yar byon pa na, ḡrug ḡt’ob c’en po Brag ṣmug pa bya
ba ḡcīg dañ mjal bas, bla ma de tiṅ ṣe ḡdsin la dus
ṛgyun du bḍugs pas, mi la ḡsuṅs ḡkaḍ cīg tsam yañ mi
smra.......  

(44a) de nas Gar ṣar byon pas, de na ṛi bo Gandha la
bya ba na, ṛi ḡdpag ts’ad cīg ṣod pa; ṛi ḡdei ṛtse mo ṛi
Dharma ṛmutri bya ba ṛc’oḍ ṛtṛn rañ ḡbyuṅ ḡcīg bḍugs pa
gzigs. ṛp’yogs bżi nas ḡduṅs ḡrug kyi c’u dañ ṣiṅ ṣod pa
 ḡdaṅ mK’a’ ḡgro ṛnams kyi byin ḡgis ṛrlḥs paṛi
gni, ḡrug ḡt’ob paṛi ṛnal ḡbyuṅ ṛp’o ṛmo maṇu ṛdu bḍugs pa
gṣau ṛlas k’yad ṛpar ṛdu ṛ ap’ags paṛi ṛgnas cīg ṛdug; ṛgroṅ ṛltag
gcīg na ṛdgon pa ṛḍra ṛdug ṛste; der bḍugs ṛsīṅ ṛmā ṛḥdod nas,
mgar lo ṛtsa ba ṛcan ṛdu ṛbyon ṛnas Dṣva ṛlan ṛdha ṛrar ṛbyuṅ ṛpaṛi
lo ṛṛgyuṅ ṛgsuṅs paṛi, ṛk’yed ṛp’yin paṛi mi yoṅ, ṛats’o ṛba yaṅ
 ṛdkon.......  

(44b) der k’oṇ ṛgis ṛṛgyaṅs ṛkyaṅ ṛbṣkur ṛlo ṛts’ā ṛcīg ṛkyaṅ
bṭaṅ nas, Cambe ṛrgyaḷ ṛpoi ṛblon ṛpo ṛSu ṛtu ṛbya ṛba ṛla ṛsṛṅs
 ṛgaṅ ṛla ṛt’on ṛpo ṛgcīg ṛgi ṛtsaṛ ṛp’eḥbs
 ṛpaṛi, ṛla ṛṛtsaṛ ṛpo ṛme ṛloṅ ṛḍra ṛba ṛmt’o ṛbo ṛnam ṛmK’a’ ṛla ṛsīṅ
 ṛeg ṛpa ṛḍra ṛba ṛdug ṛpaṛi, ṛṭi ṛla ṛci ṛtsuṅ (1) ṛbyaṅ ṛagro ṛsīṅ ṛpa ṛbyuṅ ṛbaṛi,
 ṛMon ṛpa ṛk’uṛ ṛpa ṛmaṇ ṛpo ṛḍug ṛste; ṛṭi ṛts’oṛ ṛt’ar
 ṛna, ṛṇeṛ ṛts’oṛ ṛyau ṛt’ar ṛyoi ṛsīṅ ṛsāṅ ṛdgṛṅs ṛnas, ṛder ṛk’o ṛcāṛ ṛstā
 ṛgrīs ṛlaṁ ṛstegs ṛbrus ṛnas, ṛagro ṛyiṅ ṛdug ṛpas, ṛṇeṛ ṛkysi ṛkyaṅ
k’o. (45a) cāṛ ṛcāṛ ṛṣiṅ ṛla ṛp’yin ṛpas, ṛni ṛma ṛp’yed ṛtsaṁ ṛla ṛk’ar
 ṛbrtöl (2) ṛbas, ṛt’ur ṛde ṛbas ṛkyaṅ ṛṛtsaṛ ṛpar ṛdug. ṛṭi ṛla ṛyaṅ
 ṛji ṛltar ṛagro ṛsīṅ ṛḍra ṛk’um ṛpa ṛcīg ṛbyuṅ ṛbas yaṅ ṛMon ṛpa ṛcīg ṛston ṛpar ṛbyaṛi, ṛrḳeṛ(3) ṛla ṛt’ag ṛpa ṛbtṛṅs ṛte; ṛstā ṛgrīs(4)
 ṛtōṛ ṛk’un ṛbrus(5) ṛnas, ṛagro ṛyiṅ ṛdug ṛṇeṛ ṛkysi ṛpos ṛkyaṅ go
le ṛp’yin ṛpas, ṛnam ṛsṛoṛ ṛpa ṛdaṅ ṛlaṛ ṛṛtsaṛ ṛbar ṛp’eḥbs.... ṛDe ṛnas,
 ṛni ṛma ṛbeṛ ṛkysi ṛtsaṁ ṛnas, ṛCambhe ṛṛgyaḷ ṛsar ṛp’eḥbs ṛpas, ṛder
ᰁMon ṛyul ṛgyi, (45b) ṛtiṁs ṛcad ṛzad ṛnas, ṛṛgya ṛgar ṛgyi ṛt’an

(1) Ms. aji ṛtsuṛ (2) Ms. ṛbrtöl (3) Ms. ṛskyed
(4) Ms. ṛsṭa ṛris (5) Ms. ṛgruṣ
lag mt'il ltar sñoss par ãdug; mi âbru dañ k'a zas ãgo (1) ba la sogs pa šin tu bzañ po, bur šin gyi ts'âl sño lii ne ba šin tu mdses pa ŋams ãga' bar ãdug. De na rgyal po Bi tsi kra ma bya ba la blon po bdun sto'n yod pa; blon po re re la yañ dmag bdun sto'n bdun sto'n yod pa ãdug gsuñ. Dei lcags rii nañ du lo tsts'a bas ãda mu bka rol ba dañ po brañ deî mi dañ groñ k'yer mi t'âms cad nas blta žin ãdug, rgyal po k'oñ rañ yañ bsil k'añ gcig gi steñ na bžugs nas, par pir mañ po smra yin ãdug.

(46a) Der žag lña drug tsam gcig bžugs pas żin tu skyid par byuñ gsuñ. de nas Ňi ma gsum byon pas, Dsâ lan dha rar âp'ebs pas, mi mañ po gcig gi(2) gseb nas skyes pa gcig Rin po c'ei sñon du 'oâns nas, "gu ru gu ru" zer p'yag nas k'rid nas, gsol ba bzañ po gcig žus pa yin gsuñ. De yañ Dsâ lan dha ra žes bya ba de yul Ňi su rtsa bži yal ãdab yin žiñ p'yi rol gyi yul Ňi su rtsa bži ni âDsam bu glïñ na âdul bya rags pa Ňi su rtsa bži la âdul bya kyi sprul pa He ru ka Ňi su rtsa bži yod; gsañ bai yul Ňi su rtsa bži ni ìk'yl âk'or gyi sku gsuñ t'ûgs kyi âk'or lo la yod; nañ gi yul Ňi su rtsa bži ni rañ gi lus la yod de.

(46b) Dsâ lan dha ra na dpa' bo mka' âgro spriu t'ibs pa bžin du gnas so, de yañ gnas dei bkod pa ni, t'añ lag mt'il ltar mñañ žiñ bde ba la byañ c'ub kyi Ňiñ dañ ta la dañ t'añ žiñ la sogs pas Ňiñ sna ts'ogs skyes pa, ar bar skyur gsum la sogs pai sman sna ts'ogs skyes pa, co li dañ ño li3 k'am bu dañ star k'a la sogs pai Ňiñ t'og4 sna ts'ogs pa, pad mo dañ ku mu ta puñda ri ka la sogs pai me tog sna ts'ogs skyes pa; rma bya dañ ne tso dañ k'ruñ la sogs pai ãdab c'ags mañ poi sgra brñan sgrog pa, k'ri brñän dañ ru ru stag dañ guñ la sogs pai mdses pai ri dags mañ po âk'rol bai gnas de p'yi rañ bžin gyi gzal yas k'añ du yod pa, nañ bcud lha mor gnas pa; de yañ gyas gyon gñis na c'u bo c'ên po gñis rgyug ciñ

(1) Ms. go (2) Ms.: gis. (3) Same as Ňa ti. (4) Ms. t'ogs
(47a) ri deu c'en po glaṅ po ŏal ba ʿadora ba gcig gi mk'al k'uṅ na, Na ga ko tre ŋes bya bai groṅ k'yer stuṅ ts'o lña yod ciṅ; ri bo dei sna la, Dsa la mugi ōes bya bai gtsug lag k'auṅ c'en po ŋiṅ yod do. de la pyi naṅ gnis kai mc'od pa ʿabul ziṅ; de na groṅ k'yer sum cu rtsa tsam dkon giṅer ʿadug Rin po c'e pas p'eba paī ŋin mo Dsva la mu k'er¹ byon pas, dei nub mo groṅ paī c'os gyis ma gos paī bu mo drug beu bdun beu tsam mdses ŋiṅ yid du 'oṅ ba lhai bu mo daṅ ʿadora ba mtš'on sna lña las byas pas, na bza' gsol ba, rin po c'ei dbu rgyan la sogs pa rgyan du mai rgyan ʿadug ciṅ; de t'ams cad kyi p'yaṅ na, la la me tog, la la bdug spos la sogs paī mc'od rūdse rnam pa sna ts'ogs t'ogs pas, bu mo rnam s lha k'aṅ gi naṅ du ras kyis mgo bo gtums nas ṣagro yiṅ ʿadug pas; der Rin po c'e bas kyaṅ byon pas, rīgs ŋan gyis sgo bsruṅs kyi dbyug pa t'ogs nas byon du ma beug pas, der ts'am ts'om med par sgo p'uṅ nas, naṅ du p'yin pas, k'ro raṅ ġren nas brdeg ma nus par naṅ du byon pa daṅ gtso mo gcig pa (47b) na re; iddhi bheu ša idha da ki ai, zer 'ādīr sdoṅ ādi ts'o mk'a' ʿagro yiṅ'' bya bar ʿadug der gtso mo des glu skad bsgyur ba daṅ sūr gyi bu mo ts'o rig ma beu drug gam lha mo ŋi šu ltar du me tog daṅ bdug spos la sogs pas mc'od rūdse sna ts'ogs kyis mc'od ciṅ ŋag ṣis glu len p'yag gis gar sgyur ŋabs kyi bro brduṅ.

(47 bis, a) groṅ k'yer c'en po dei mdun na mar la dur k'rod c'en po lña ʿadug. dur k'rod daṅ po de ka ma ku ldan sar bya ba na bram ze la sogs pa ro gtsaṅ ma skyel ba cīg ʿadug. Dei 'og na P'a ga su bya bai dur k'rod geic. (47 bis, b) de yaṅ t'aṅ bde ḹiṅ sīnoms pa la ri deu ʿabur ba gcig ʿadug. Dei k'a na mu stegs kyi lha k'aṅ cīg ʿadug, bcom ldan ʿadas bDe mc'oṅ gi bźugs gnas yiṅ, dei 'og na dur k'rod c'en po La gu ra bya ba ʿadug ste De yaṅ c'os ʿabyuṅ gi dbyibs su ʿadug. a li ka li mtš'on paī brdar ŋi ma daṅ zla bai gzugs brṅan yod pa, de gnis kyi bar na ka ba ʿadora ba gcig la rje btsun rnal ʿbyor

(1) Ms. Dsuaḥa mu ser
APPENDIX

mai rten ran byuṅ du byon pa gcig bzung. dei 'og na dur k'rod c'en po mi bkra, (48) sa ra bya ba byin brlabs śin tu c'e bai gnas bkra śis pai mts'an ma du ma dañ ldan pa gcig yod. dei 'og na dur k'rod Si ti sa ra bya ba dpa' bo dañ mk'a agro rim kyis ḥdu ba. Dur k'rod c'en po de rnams su zāg āga' bzung pai dge sbyor ap'el bar ḥbyuṅ žiṅ k'yal par du La gu ra dañ P'a ga su ra gāṅs su mañ du bzung pas bogs śin tu c'e bar byuṅ...groṅ k'yer de na mu stegs pa dañ nañ pai rnol sbyor pa btsun pa dañ bram ze la sogs pai bsod sñoms pa mañ po ḥdug. bsloṅ bai dus ts'od ni k'yiṃ gyi bdag mo de ni ma dro¹ tsam la laṅs nas, k'yiṃ la p'yag gdar legs par byas ba, (48b) glaṅ ḥajud pas sa ts'un c'od la p'yag gdar byed. lar k'ōṅ gis k'yiṃ t'ams cad dge ḥadun gyi kun dga' bas kyaṅ gtsaṅ ba, gyeṅ la sogs la ri mo sna ts'ogs bris pa, gyos k'aṅ re logs na byas nas, der ābras c'an btsos pa dañ k'yiṃ bdag mo dei til gyis mar me bzaṅ po re k'yer, dri bzaṅs kyi spos me re btaṅ mk'ar sder gcig tu ābras c'an (²) ts'um pa re k'yer, p'yi rol tu 'ōṅs nas bza' ts'o k'rus byas nas ni ma dañ zla ba la mc' od pa p'ul; de nas dbaṅ p'yug c'en poi rten dañ p'yi sgoi lha mo dañ naṅ sgoi lha mo la mc'od pa p'ul; de nas nañ du 'ōṅs nas k'yiṃ bdag mo des ābras c'an graṅs nas, bza' mi gcig la gcig ābags rtṣog med par byas nas gza.' dei dus sman dri p'yiṅ byuṅ ba dañ bsod sñoms pa ts'o slon du agro ba yin te; de yaṅ dso gi ts'oi zaṅs mai dañ lan gsum bus nas, p'yag ya gcig tu ku ba k'yer, ya gcig tu da ma ru k'yer nas, sgo rtṣa gcig bcaṅs 'ōṅs nas, ḥa ma ru de skad rnam pa sna ts'ogs pa gcig bṣgyur bas, bhi kṣa dhe dha rma kra kar sai ēs brjod pa.

(50a) Ḫsva lan dha ra bya de yul k'ams c'en po gcig gi miṅ du ḥdug pas groṅ k'yer gyi graṅs ni ḥdug. Na ga ko te bya ba de Bod skad du klui mk'ar bya ba yin. gnas der zla ba līṇa tsam bzung pas zas bcud c'uṅ(³) ba dañ

(1) Mss. bro (2) Ms. ts'an (3) Ms. c'uṅs
yañ na nom (1) par gsol rgyu med par sku lus šin tu ŋan ḡgyur źiṅ, de nas Bod du byon te; k’a ŋi gna la ŋam de ma yin pas, ņe lam gcig nas byon pas, gnas c’en Ku lu ta žes bya ba gzigs par gzed nas; ņe lam de la ņi ma gṅis byon pai sa na, Ki ri ram bya bai gnas na, grub t’ob c’en po Anu pa ma dañ mjal nas, c’oš abrel źus pas, “na mo buddhāya namo dharmāya namo saṅghāya” ces pas, dkon mc’og gsum gi (2) skabs sgro gnañ (50) “k’yod dañ ŋa gṅis slob dpon Klu grub gyi slob ma, rdo rje spun yin; Bod du soṅ cig, sems can gi don dpag tu med pa agrab pa yin.”

Der gnas c’en Ku lu ŏar p’eps pas, gnas c’en de yul ŋi šu rtsa bži skui ōk’or loi nañ lus la bkok na pus mo yin źiṅ; de yañ gnas kyi ņo bo si ddhi bya ba mo toq ku nu tai ts’al c’en po yod ciṅ, rdo la saṅs rgyas kyi žabs rjes bzung pa; gnas der mc’og t’un moṅs kyi dṅos grub myur pa yin pas, bar c’ad kyañ c’e. gnas de na btsun pa gṅis dañ rnal ābyor pa cig bzung ādug. de nas Gar šar p’eps pa; de nas Gaṅdha lai ri k’rod byon nas dbyar de ru bzung pai dge sbyor la bogs šin tu c’e ba byun; de nas ston la Pi ti rTsañ sōl la t’on yoṅs.

2.

Travels of Orgyan pa

[P. 9. a] Pu rañs gDoṅ dmar nas p’yin pas. Tise byaṅ sgor ſi ma p’yed la slob byuṅ. gans dkar gyi rgyal po ’Tiser ras pa lña brgyai nañ du bsgoms. De nas Ma p’am gyi mts’o la c’u ṣt’uṅ mzad.

De nas, yul c’en po ŋi ŋu rtsa bžu bye brag rdo rjei lus la pus mo dañ rkañ pai mt’e bon(3) Kuluṅa žes pa’n Ma rui gnas la byon. dei dus su, p’al pai ņin lam bdun bdun ŋed kyiś ŋi ma re la bcad ādug ste, lus sems la dal ba dañ dub pa raṅ med. guas dei źin skyoṅ bud med sna nas rnag k’rag mar k’ur šdsag pa gcig na re

(1) Ms. non (2) Mss. gyis (3) Ms. t’e bon
"k'yod dañ po bla mai druñ du ma sdod. 
de nas mc'ed grogs kyi nañ du'ñ mi sdod. 
ña ñadir sdod nas ñats'o ba sbyar gyi lo."
der, ña U rgyan la cis kyan ñgro mnos so. de nas, byar po
de, ri bo c'en po Garna tä mar bsdad; de na, sman bzañ po
du ma skyes, dños grub kyi c'u mig ña yod. de na, Bya
rgod ces pa rgya ras pai sgom c'en shma ba bzañ po byas pa
geig ñdug. ñas kyan t'eg pa sna ts'ogs kyi ñgreñ(1)
dam t'ogs med du byas pa, der bžugs pai sgom c'en
t'ams cad dgyes ñdug...rGya ras pai sgom c'en mañs
po dañ sdoñs nas, yul ñi sù rtsa bžii spyi gtsug Dsva rar
p'yin; de na šri nagara ke te ñes bya bai groñ k'yer
c'en po yod. c'u kluñ gcig na sa c'os ñbyun lta bu
yod. de la rko log(2) bya mi ruñ zer. dei dur(3)
k'rod lañ gur ñes pa na p'a boñ t'od pa ñdra ba la
rJe btsun ma rañ byon bžugs. dei byañ na, Dsâlañukhe ñes
pai lha gdoñ bstân na, t'ams cad me ru ñbar grags pai rten
yod. rgyal poi p'o brañ dañ ñe bo na, mi t'a pa ra ñes pai
dur k'rod na mi t'a glu pa ñes pai bdag ñid c'en po klu
grub(4) kyi p'ug yod. dei mdun na ni la brig kṣa ces pa
šin rgyad kyi ya cig(5) yod. de la gnod pa byas na, ap'ral
la ac'i žiñ ñdug gsuñ ño......

ri de nas, zla gcig lho ru p'yin
gnas Dsva lan dha rai p'o brañ na
zoñ ñdod dgu byuñ bai ts'ôn ñdus yod
nor sniñ ñdug gcig kyañ k'yer dbañ med......

Jâ lan dha ra nas žag ñi sù p'yin pa na, Tsa nda bha ga žes
pa Gha ta li c'u ajug gi ågram na I ndra nila ces pai groñ
k'yer yod. dei šar du rgya skyangs kyi t'añ du ñdug. Yañ
nub gcig bud med gcig gis mts'ôn mañ po sgyi'tu gcig tu
glu bas ajog gin ñdug. Nañ par sog poi rta pa bži dañ
p'rad. cig gis ste ltag gcig gis brduñs pas, ñas brtlul šugs
btsoñs pas k'os ña rañ gi sgm t'ag gis skye ñi ma p'yd

(1) Ms. abrel.    (2) Mss. blog    (3) Ms. k'rod only
(4) Mss. klu gru    (5) Mss. gya kyi gya cig
G. TUCCI

tsam bskyigs. braṅ la rdog t’os bter der mig gis ci yaṅ mi mt’oṅ bar soṅ; dei dus rluṅ sems a t’un(1) la bs dus pas dbu(2) mar ts’ud ādug. dPal yes bsam pa la ści ādug bsam pa byuṅ ādug. de nas, yaṅ ṇar bskyed nas, ‘ud maṅ po btaṅ smod(3) pai lta staṅs kyis gzir bas, k’o k’a žol soṅ nas, ḏar żiṅ ādug. grogs ts’o na re: ṣdi grub t’ob gcig ādug.

In ta nila žes pa de nas ṇi ma gcig gis Bhlar mi lar sleb. de nas, si lar sleb. De nas Sog poi groṅ du sleb ste; miṅ rjad ādug. Sa de yan c’ad rgya sog ādres par ādug. La la na Hīn dhu žes pa rgya gar pa yod; la la na Mu sur man žes pa Sog po yod. k’a cīg na ādres pa ‘n t’an la yod pa kun Mo gol la do blta ba ādug. De nas K’a c’eī c’u bžugs gtsaṅ po gcig yod. De rgal nas Bha ho ra žes pa groṅ k’yer ābum p’rag bdun beu yod zer par sleb. De na groṅ dpon sog po Ma lig kar dha rina žes ādug. De nas ṇin gcig gis Nahu gri žes pa sman ts’ai ri c’en po ādug. De nas K’a c’e, Ma lo ’o, Ghodsar, Dho kur, Ďsāla dhar rnams kyi ts’a āgro zer. Ďsā la dha rar yaṅ de nas ts’a ts’on maṅ po ‘oṅ ziṅ ādug. Ts’a ‘oṅs sa de gžun lam ājigs pa ŋuṅ ba āts’o ba mod pa grogs maṅ ba p’al c’e ba na ts’on ādus kyaṅ yod par ādug gsuṅ.

de nas, ṇin gcig gis Bha ho lar sleb c’ce de nas zāg gcig nub tu p’yin Na’u tri sman ts’ai ri bo yod ts’a ts’od groś gcig kyaṅ k’yer ba med gsuṅ de nas, ṇin gcig gis Ma la ko ṇer sleb. der, ra nī Bhu dse te bhir žes pa la blāṅs pas, zas rgyags gon rgya la sogs ster gin ādug. de mu tig ābyuṅ bai rgya mts’oi sgor grags. de nas, rgyal po Hu la hui lha k’aṅ bžeṅs ādug. der rtse bo c’e yaṅ skye.

De nas zāg gsum nub tu lam, Ma la ko ṇai groṅ k’yer na rin c’en mu tig ābyuṅ bai sgo śin kun sa laś skye ba yod sman t’un gcig kyaṅ kyer med

(1) Ms. at’un. (2) Ms. dbus. (3) Ms. smods
gsuñ de nas, byañ nub tu žag lña p’yin pa dañ Ru ka la žes pai groñ yod. de na, Ra ni so ma dhe ba bya bai lam rgyags ster ba yod. de nas, žag bžis Ra dsa hu ra du slesb. de U rgyan gyi sgo bžii gcig yin zer. gžan Ni la dañ Pur so dañ Ka’o ka žes pa yod zer.

Ra dsa hur du bsod sñosms byas nas, bza’ bsam tsa na, ãbras t’ams cad grog mor soñ, yañ t’eb gcig ābu ru soñ ādug. dPal ye la bston pas, skyug bro nas, bza’ ba ma byuñ. mig btsums la “zo” byas pas, ñas zos pai lhag ma ãbras dañ rgun ābrum du soñ ādug. K’oñ gis ma gsol bai bar c’ad ma ts’or žiñ mi t’ub pa byuñ gsuñ. groñ dei nub p’yogs na Sindhur ābab. de Tisei sên ge k’a nas ąbab pai c’u bži ya(1) cig yin zer. De nas, mar yul nas žugs te, Zañs dkar dañ Pu rig dañ stabs su K’a c’ei byañ áBru šai yul nas byañ ste, sTag gzig nas rgyud U rgyan du ‘oñ zer. gcig la gcig ājus nas, c’u bo Sin dhui gru k’ar(2) byon pas gru näñ du ‘oñ, ñas beug ŋan pa la “gru t’oñ” byas pas des “c’og ste, c’u t’on nas Hor du ādug zer; gsad dogs yod’’ zer ñed æ’i pas mi ąjigs byas pas btañ ŋo. De yan(3) c’ad U rgyan gyi sa c’ar byed; de la groñ k’yer k’ri p’rag dgu yod lo. De rañ na Dhu ma t’a la las gžan la U rgyan mi zer la ādug. de dus U rgyan de Hor gyis bcom ma t’ag gcig tu ādug gsuñ. c’u de t’on nas ka la bur bya bar ādug. der srod la p’yin pas Hor du ādug zer nas p’o mo kun gyis rdo c’ar byas;der ŋiñ sdoñ gcig gi gseb(4) tu yib pas do nub gnai du’ñ mi āgro zer t’ams cad bkyes soñ. de nub c’ar c’en po byuñ ste ni k’yim gañ gis kyan ma ts’or bar srañ k’a nas p’ar bros p’yin. U rgyan näñ gi sTag gzig yin gsuñ. De nas Hor las(5) bros nas yul du ldog pas bza’ mi gñis bu c’uñ gcig k’ur, ba glañ dañ ra lug ts’an cig ded āgro yin ādug: “ñed Bod kyi c’os pa U rgyan skor du āgro ba yin. k’yed la babs byas nas Hu ma t’a la ts’un c’ad ñas skyel t’ub kyis’’ zer.

(1) Ms. qaña (2) Ms. gnau k’ar (3) Ms. yän
(4) Ms. bseb (5) Ms. la
Sindhu at'on nas Bhi kro bha sar sleb. de nas ŋin gcig gis Ka bo kor sleb. groṅ dei mi t'ams cad dge sems ȶes c'ẽ āts'o ba mod; sindhu ra raṅ ʿbyuṅ ba ʿadug. dei dpon la Ra dsā de va bya ba ʿadug. De U ṛgyan p'al c'e ba la dbaṅ byed pa ʿadug.

Groṅ de nas zla gcig nub tu lam
C'u Sin dhu brgal bai nub p'yogs na
Ka 'o ka yi groṅ k'yer na
Sindhu ra yi ʿbyaṅ gnas yod
krik gcig kyaṅ k'yer dbaṅ med.(

des nas yon bdag de pas yul du ston mo bzaṅ po byas Bho ne le ȶes ŋi ma gcig gi bar du skyel mi btaṅ. de yan(?) c'ad la k'oi yi ge mi ʿdi daṅ ṣadis sa c'a ṭdi daṅ ṣadir skyol ȶes pa Dhu ma t'a lai gnas mc'og tu legs par skyal lo.

Bhe ne le nas Siddha bhor sleb. de nas la c'uṅ gcig brgal bas, ŋi ma gcig gis K'a rag k'ar sleb. De yan c'ad la so t'aṅ ȩses zer. ābras sa lu bzaṅ po daṅ śin t'og bzaṅ po du ma skye; ābru sna sna ts'ogs smin, ṛgyun du rma byai mgrün pa ʾtar sνo ʾzir ʾajam pai ṛtsa daṅ dri daṅ k'a dog p'un sum ts'ogs pai me tog gis k'ebs pa yod. de nas K'o dam bhar U ṛgyan gyi c'u ājug yod. De ʾsar p'yogs na I lo par pa ta ces pa ʾdams bu gliṅ gi ri rnam kyi mc'og sman sa las skye la la ṭdi na mi skye ba gaṅ yaṅ yaṅ med. ṛtsa ba daṅ sdoṅ po daṅ lo ma me tog gis mdses pa Sa ra bha la soṅs ri dags(?) yaṅs su ṛgyu ba. rgun ābruṅ gyi gnas ts'āl p'un sum ts'ogs pa. Yid du 'oṅ bai bya sna ts'ogs ʾuṅan pai mdaṅs kyis zab mo sgrogs na grub pa Sa de nas nub tu ṣaṅ bdun lam
K'a rag k'a snai Ilo la
Sa ra bha ri la ʾk'rol ba daṅ
ṛgun ʾābruṅ gyi nags ts'āl ʾk'riṅs pa yod
ṅas ṛdsas la ʾzen pa byas pa med.

de nas ṣaṅ gņis kyis Ra yī k'ar sleb lo. de ṛgyal po In dra bhotei k'ab ʾsal yin zer. da ṛtā groṅ gņis su c'ad ʿadug.

(1) So M., but the verse is defective; perhaps: k'yer bar
(2) Ms. yaṅ
(3) Ms. daṅg
geg ni mi k'yi m drug cu tsam ʔudug; geg na bži bcu tsam ʔudug. dei byaṅ na Mañ ga la ‘or bya ba rgyalpo In dra botis bzeńs pai gtsug lag k’aṅ t’ub dbaṅ daṅ sgrol ma daṅ ajig rten dbaṅ p’yug gi sku rdo las bsgrub pa du ma gzung pa yod. ūs rgyaṅ nas mt’oṅ U rgyan gyi sa c’a bags c’ags a’t’ug par(’) ʔudug. Sa de rnam s su t’a mal gyi rtoṅs pa re re tsam byuṅ ma k’ad la p’ra men ša zai mk’a’ agro ma du ma mdun du reṅs la sleg bsai zer ba ʔudug. Ra yi k’ai rtsa na, c’u bran mis t’ar ba tsam c’ig lhor ʔabab ciṅ ʔudug. de bregal pas brag sna geg la grub c’en Lā ba pai bzung gnas yod. dei steṅ na mk’a’ agro mas rdoi c’ar p’ab pa la sdigs mdsub(?) bstan pas rdo ba nam mk’a’ la c’ags pa spra tsam du ʔudug. de nas slob dpon kyis mk’a’ agro ma lug tu byin kyis brlabs pas yul k’ams der bud med ma byuṅ nas skyes pa kun ʔudus btsal bas ma rned. slob dpon lug ʔo bals bregs nas Lā ba sku la gsol bas Lā ba pa ʔes grags pa ʔudug. der p’yag p’ul nas, gtor bar ṭus pas, “c’ad ma k’as len nam” gsuṅ, “len” byas pas, “mgo lham gon, sna la sna lec c’ug sprul gyi ga ša gyis’ gsuṅs pas, yul c’os su stdarg, da lta de bžin ʔudug. ūa la der bud med geg na re: “k’yod I ndra bhote yin” zer byuṅ gsuṅ. ūe gnas Ses rin na re: “In dra bhoti daṅ Lā ba pa gnis dus mi mts’uṅs sam” ỹus pas “c’en po daṅ mi mts’uns te, Indrabhodhi gnis byuṅ ʔudug. ūa c’un ba yin pa ʔdra” gsuṅ.

Ra yi k’a ts’un c’ad, p’ra men gyi glnu du ʔudug; bud med t’ams cad kyis gaṅ ṭadod sprul ṭgyur ʔes par ʔudug, ša k’rag la dga’ ziṅ, skye dgu srog daṅ mdaṅs ap’rog nus par ʔudug.

De nas, ūi ma p’yed kyis, Dhu ma t’a lar sleg, de U rgyan sprul pai gnas kyi ʔo bo. gnas de mt’oṅ ba tsam gyis, ‘ur nas rtsis med la stdarg. Dei mdun na, Mañ ga la dhevī bya ba tsan tan las raṅ byon pai rje btsun ma gzung. de druṅ du ṭal pas bar c’ad c’ig ‘oṅ bar ʔes nas, dPal ye la “dbyug c’os c’ig bya yis ṭog” byas te ũan ma

(1) Ms. apar
(2) Ms. sdig adsub

13
Nañ par, srán k’a gsum du gnas nas byañ la k’oň soň. Lho la ñas p’yin pa, bsod sňoms byas pas, ña la bud med du mas sňon bsu me tog dor sin dhu rai krik ädebs rgyud sde nas gsuňs pai brda byed ciň nus pa bton la āts’o ba śin tu mod par ābyuň. k’oň la mts’on t’ogs ña mañ po’s skor nas de gsad byas ādug. ñas rgyug nas p’yin, ñai grogs yin byas nas btañ. gNas de la mi k’yim lña brgya tsam ādug. Bud med t’ams cad kyis sprul bsgyur ñes. “k’yed su yin” byas “rnal abyor ma” ĭes zer ādug. Mañ ga la dhevi druň du Ĥal bedad nas, bud med gcig nare “mo la ādod pa sten lo” ĭas dbyug pa gcig brgyab pas bros soň.

Nañ par mos, ñed gënís ka la spos kyis bsu me tog gtor mc’ôd pa byed ciň ādug; de ts’ul k’rims rin po c’e bsrûn bai p’an yon du ādug. gnas der, na c’uň gcig la mig gsum yod pa gcig ādug. yañ gcig la āa mts’an dprâl ba na gyuň (’) druň ak yil ba mts’al gyis bris pa lta bu dmar seň de yod pa gcig ādug. de nare “rañ ābyuň rnal abyor ma, ña rañ las t’ams cad byuň ba yin” zer bas sog po gcig na re. “K’yod rañ byuň yin na, ñai yul nas ka c’a gcig loň” dañ zer bas de ma t’ag mda’ gcig dañ Hor ĭva gcig blaňs byuň bas, sog po ha las ādug. bud med de rGyu ma ta lai rgyal poi btsun mor ādug gsuň. Groñ dei bud med rnam kyï nañ nas gcig rnal abyor ma yin zer ba ādug. de ño ñes dka’ nañ groñ k’yer gyi bud med ma lus pai lag nas zas re slâns zas pas dûos grub re ābyuň ĭes par ādug. ñas Ka bo kai groñ du, bud med Sa luň ta pu tsa ĭes pa gcig la blaňs pas, t’ug pa p’or gañ byuň ba at’uňs pas, de ma t’ag la, sai dkyil ak’or gyos,..... gnas de na, rnal abyor ma c’en mor grags pa So ni dañ Ga su ri. Mâtañgi, Ta sa, si ĭes pa bзи ādug. So ni ĭGro bzaňs sus ādug. gnas dei nub, Ka ma ’oon ka ĭes pai gañs rnal abyor ma t’ams cad kyï p’o brañ yin zer ba ādug. dei nañ na grub pai p’ug Ka ma la glu pa bya ba ādug. dei nañ na k’ro bo sku mdog mt’iň k’a ĭus pai rgyan can

(1) Ms. gyu
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spyan gsun ni mai zer ltar gzi brjid abar ba gri t’od
adsin pa arug, de dPal ye bDe mc’og yin pa adra. gnas
dei šar la Bhir sma ša žes pa dur k’rod bryad kyi ya
ba, (‘) ; p’ag rgod dān dug sprul dān dur bya dān ka ka
daň lce spyan la sogs pa gdug pai mk’a’ agro sprin ltar
ďdu pa ajigs su ruň ba skyi buň byed pa yod. de nas byan
cuň (‘) zad na o ka ša brikša ces pa šiň brgyad kyi ya
gcig yod. dur k’rod de las cuň zad lho na Dhu mun k’u ces
pa žiň’ skyon rdo las raň byuň ba yod. Šiň dei rtsa na
Ka pa la bho jon žes pai rdo gcig la Ts’aňs pa daň Drag
sogs rdo la raň byuň du byon pa yod. de nas Maň ga la
brikša ces pa bkra šis kyi šiň yin zer ta lai sdon po gcig
yod. dei rtsa ba na Maň gha la pa ni ces pa bkra šis pai
c’u mig lhor ăbab pa gcig yod. dei šar na šri par ba ta ces
pa sen ldan gi nags skye pai ri c’en po ts’am min pa cig
ادية. dei nub na, Maň gha la pa ni c’u ajug la, Mu la sai
ko ta ces pa sa gru gsun cig yod. de na rje btsun ma raň
abyuň de bžugs par ădug ste. Hor gyi dmag gi ajigs da
lta Dhu ma ta la na bžugs ădug. dei druň du, bud med maň
po ădus nas mc’od pa byed ciň ki li tsili sgra sgrogs, nus
pa daň mi ldan pa rnamgs dpa’ skor žiň skal pa cau rjes su
 adipiscing par ădug. Aďsam bui gliň na dPal gyi ri bcu gnis
yod pai rtsa ba de yin zer, dei gram gyi luň pa la ‘n šri
luň zer ba sňan gsun. U rgyan gyi sgo na, rgyal po Indra
bodhis bžeňs pa gtsug lag k’aň gcig tu žag aga’ ŏal bas,
mk’a’ agro ma ădus, c’os ston pa. de U rgyan sprul pai žiň
raň du yod. de ru bsdad nas

Sa de nas žag bži nub tu p’yin
rado reg pa med pai nub p’yogs na
c’u Ko dam ba ri byaň gi p’yogs
gans Ka ma dho kai šar p’yogs na
gnas U rgyan sprul pai žiň k’ams yod
gnas gsun mk’a’ agro mi gzugs can
zag med bde bai loňs spyod ster
nas ădod yon c’e du ţníer ba med

(1) Ms. gya la=ya cig
(2) Ms. byuň
gsuñ Sprul yul Dhu ma ta la (') ru bcom ldan ạdas byin gyis brlabs.
ngañ zag brgyud pa ma lags pas (2)
gnas gsum mk’a’ agroi gdams pa t’ob,
zab lam rten ạbre ci la ạc’ug.

ces’gson. de nas, dPal ye na re. “Yid c’es so. rañ re Bod
du ạden” zer bas, ńas “Sa t’ag riñ nas, lus srog la ma
bltas par, gnas ạdir ʊnags te, ʊnags riñ mc’og (3) par byuñ,
na ni t’od pa ạdi ru əbogs; min kyañ, lo gsum cis kyañ,
bsdod’ byas pas “ńid mi ạgro na, da Ra dsa hu ra t’ug
cis kyañ skyol” zer nas ‘oňs pas grogs ts’oñ pa ạdra yod
na re “k’yed kyi grogs ạdis skad mi ẹs, bsd ʊnoms kyañ
mi k’ugs ạdug. k’yod med na, ạdis go mi cod’” zer nas bla
ma gcig gis bs dus pai grogs gnas c’en po la ‘oňs nas; da
bar c’ad la lam du ơor na, ńo ts’a ʊnams nas, mar ‘oňs ʊzg
lña nas Gha rir sleb. de nas ʊzg(4) bdun gyis Ur ʊgar sleb.
de nas ts’oñ pa ạdra dañ agrogs nas, dur k’rod gtum(5)
drag gi sgor sleb pas. k’oñ rnams ltas, “abyuñ poi gnod
pa ‘oñ, mi rnams ạc’i” zer skrag c’es ạdug. ńas “ma
ajig ʊg; gnod pa nas bsruñs pas c’og’’ byas, dbyug pai
byin rlabs byas pas ci yañ ma byuñ.

gnas de nas, ʊzg bdun ʊgar du lam
dur k’rod gtum drag lho yi c’ar
Ur ʊa dPal gyi rgyal k’ams na
ạbru bdag po med su dga’ k’yer
ạbru rdog po gcig kyañ k’yer ba med gsuñ.

de nas ʊzg gsum gyis Tsi k’ro ta ızes par sleb nas, ri
brag gi c’u c’en po cig yod. der ts’oñ pas nad na rigs ts’an
cig ạt’ab nas, ʊnicas gsad gcig rmas ạdug. der ńas gsañ bai
bdag poi tiñ ạdgsin gsal btab nas, lña steñs kyis gzir nas,
p’ral gum soñ. de min na, p’an ts’un k’a bzuñ nas, t’ams
cad gsod par ạdug gsuñ de nas ʊnins gcig gis Ra mi ko

(1) Ms. tu ma. (2) Ms. pai (3) Ms. c’og
(4) Not in the Ms.
(5) Ms. rgyun: but in the following verses: gtum drag
tir slob. dei c'u p'ar ga na,(1) yul 'ner bzhis. Ra smi svari rdo rje lus la. Smin mai dbus te, de ru slob. dei k'a c'ei c'u bzhugs. dañ sa mdai c'u 6dsom pai bar smin brag 6dra ba cig yod.

de nas(2) zag bzi 6ar du lam
Ras smi svari smin mai gnas
spran k'yiin du gsos nas c'an du 6ts'od
Zan spags gcig k'yer med ces
gsuni de nas, K'a c'ei gtsan po gyas su bcug nas rDo rje mu la 'zes bya ba luñ pa dog po gcig la, 'zag dgu 'oons pas K'a c'er slob te. sa gzi lag mt'ilt a mñam pa mdses pa, 6ar nub tu riñ ba; byañ p'ycogs la Ka ma pa ra zes pai nam mk'a' ltar dañ bai mts'o gnas pa, me tog yid du 'oñ ba du mas mdses pa smin pai abras bus dud pai(3) ljou 'sin p'un sum ts'ogs pas ak'rigs pa, lo tog sna ts'ogs smin pas bkod pa, loñs spyod du mas abyor pa, rig pai abyün gnas t'ub pai stan pa rin po c'es c'ags pa skye dgu kun kyan dkar poi c'o skyi spyod pa, sañs rgyas pandita mañ po bzugs pa ston pa ñid kyi luñ bstan pai gnas ste(4). de nas Sri na ga ra 'zes pai groñ k'yer sñon abum p'rag sum cu rtsa drug tu grags. da Hor gyis bcom nas, sum cu las med lo. de nas, Va ti pur 'zes pa gur kum skye bar slob. de nas Bhe ji bha rar slerb. de la abum p'rag dgur grags,(5) der p'andita abum mi Sri la sogs pa la bde mc'og la sogs gsuni sñags mañ du 'zus.
groñ k'yer du bsod sñoms la p'yiin pas, byis pa mañ pas so p'ag gis bted. Na c'uñ gnis kyis skyabs nas k'añ par k'rid za ma sbyin(6) pas, de k'yiin bdag rgañ po cig 'oons nas, 'zag gcig ma bsdad na ñed no ts'a lo'' bsñen bskur byas nas, 'k'yed ji ådra yin lo'' 'ñed Bod kyi c'o sk pa, U rgyan bskor du p'yiin pa yin'' byas pas k'o c'a te ts'om

(1) The proper form would be: p'ar k'a na
(2) Ms. gnas
(3) Ms. dud pas
(4) Ms. dbe
(5) Here the Ms. inserts: der p'andita abum p'rag dgur grags which looks as a repetition of the former sentence=or shall we translate: and as many p'andits?
(6) Ms. byin
cig skies nas, ban c'uṅ cig bkug byuṅ. 'c'os pa yin na, c'os gaṅ sès lo' 'mṅon pa sès' ts'ad ma mṅam byas nas, ḏrel gtam byas pas, bden par ḏug bzaṅ. 'de min ci sès' zer 'dPal dus kyi ḏk'or lo sès' byas pas brdsun zer te pa las ḏug, bden byas pas bden brdsun blta ba ban c'uṅ geig bkug byuṅ gleṅs pas ņa ņos mk'as par byuṅ. Yaṅ rgaṅ po geig bkug byuṅ. dei blo la Dri med 'od k'a ton(\') byed pa cig ḏug. dei k'yo k'a c'e tsam na mk'as ces grags. Mo daṅ ḏrel gtam byas pas, ņa ḏkar ḏpraṅ min pa byaṅ po ma byuṅ. Mo na re 'mk'as pa ci sès sam ņan ḏug' zer. ņas 'sès bya t'ams cad rtsa b'zin dor nas, U rgyan la sogs gnas c'en sṅegs pa yin brjed ḏug pa' byas pas, bden Bod kyi paṇḍitar ḏug bzaṅ re gda' lo...... sṅar gyi byis pa de pas, ḏor gyi rtogs miṅ bsgrags pas, rgyal pos gsan nas ādāin mi btaṅ ḏug pas(2) nam p'yed pa nas nam ma laṅs bar la, rgyal po la "gţan c'os, ḏor ma yin ḏus" te ma ņan. der yon bdag la gţan rnamgs kyi bya yaṅ yaṅ btaṅ pas, yon bdag na re. "bros pa grag" zer te K'a c'e pai c'as su b'zugs nas, c'u c'en po cig gi gru k'ar sleb pas, a tsa ra sṅo hriṅs se ba(3) sum cu tsam ḏug pa na re. "u cag ḏod pa ādi ru byuṅ" zer te gniṅ ka bzuṅ gos b'zugs "ṇed la ci byed pa' byas pas "rgyal poi sku druṅ du gsod, der ma sleb par ci yaṅ mi byed lo" der, rgyal poi druṅ du gsod pa pas, ādir ši ba skyid byas te. gniṅ ka k'a bub tu k'u ts'ur brtsegs pa la mgo b'zag nas, ņal pas, k'o pa raṅ "ādi ltar byas ḏug, raṅ re zan za ḏoṅ'" zer nas soṅ bas. bros pas, 'ur nas sa la mi ḏab pa lta bui mgyogs pa byuṅ, rluṅ ņats'ub geig byuṅ bas, rjes kyaṅ ma mṅon; c'u dal ba geig la rluṅ bzuṅ nas p'yan pas, c'u la ni byiṅ ba lta bui sla pas, ņar k'ar sleb. Der ba glaṅ rdši byis pa maṅ poi gsēb tu de ŋiṅ bsad. mts'ān mo rtsa gsēb tu ņal nas, naṅ par bsod sṅomgs la p'yan pas, gos dug ḏra ster mk'ān byuṅ.

(1) Ms. k'a don
(2) Ms. pai
(3) perhaps for gsēb—signum pluralis.
gnas de nas zla ba gcig șar du lam
K'a c'e k'ri brtan Varipur
gur kum žiň du skye ba yo
gesar gcig k'yaň k'yer ba med

K'a c'e nas, la gcig ‘oňs pai ts'e, jo mo sle t'ul gyon pai
gseb na bud med skra lo can t'o re ba lňa brgya tsam ăgro
yin ădug. “K'yet gaň nas gaň du ăgro” byas pas:
“U rgyan nas sBud bkrur ăgro” “Skyes c'en, k'yet kyi
p'rin las bsGrub pa yin lo”, de ma t'ag mi snaň bar soň.
dus p'yis mk'an po bsgrub rin na re: “Jo mo ădi rnams
dei dus kyi mk'a ăgro ma kun legs se” žus pas, “yin pa
ădra” gsuň.

de nas, Dsa lan dha rar sleb; žag ăga' nas, K'a c'eî ts'oň
pa byuň. “K'yet gaň nas ‘oňs lo” “ňed Bod kyi c'os pa
U rgyan skor du p'yn”; ma lam K'a c'le la ‘oňs te, k'yet
kyi rgyal po des ńed gsad” byas pas, no rnams no mts'ar
skyes. “ ‘o na k'yet grub t'ob tu yod par ădug; rgyal pos
ădsin tu btaň bas, nam mk'a ădsa' bžin yal bžin yal soň.”
zer. no mts'ar c'e žes bsňen bkur daň ăbul ba bzaň po
byas pas, Dsa la dharar kyaň “Bod kyi c'os pa U rgyan
ak'tor ba rdsu ap'ruľ t'ob pa ădug ces grags pa byuň.
De nas mar yul du p'ëbs.
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P. 4 l. 19 for: “it is not very late” read: “it is rather late.”
P. 8 l. 24 for: “gsiṅ tan can” read: “giṅ tan can.”
P. 9 l. 13 for: “1200 d.C.” read: “1204 A.D.”
P. 14 l. 18 for: “bKa’ rgyud” read: “bKa’ rgyud.”
P. 16 n. 2 l. 6 for: “t’ar p. ino mts’ar snni ba” read: “t’ar ina mts’ar gsaṅ ba.”
P. 18 n. 25 The māhāmya of Gandhola has been translated and edited after this book of mine had been sent to the press by Dr. Schubert: “Der tibetische Māhāmya des Walfahrtsplatzes Trilok-nāth,” in Artibus Asiae, vols. IV and V.
P. 18 n. 27 l. 3 and p. 21 n. 35 l. 5 for: “dpa’ po” read: “dpa’ bod’
P. 19 l. 5 for: “and interpreter who told…….” read: “an interpreter carrying also the provisions who…….”
P. 20 l. 3 for: “One of the Mon pa being tied” read: “One of the Mon pa leading the way and being tied.”
P. 22 l. for: “meet here” read: “meet; here.”
P. 29 l. 14 for: “Nag dbaṅ dGYamtso” read: “Nag dbaṅ rgya mts’o.”
P. 29 l. 18 According to the researches of my pupil Doctor L. Petech (A Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh, Calcutta 1939, p. 147) Senge rnam rgyal lived up to 1640 or 1641.
P. 31 l. 20 for: “to Kaboko, Ka’ oka and Siddhabor” read: “Siddhabor, Kaboka, Ka’oka.”
P. 32 l. 2 for: “ri rdson” read: “ri rdson.”
P. 32 l. 6 for: “Suget’an” read: “Suget’an.”
P. 35 l. 9 for: “Muṣambi’’ read: “Muṣamli.’’
P. 41 n. 1 l. 3 for: “Rim c’em” read: “Rin c’en.’’
P. 42 n. 9 for: “dbyar b’e’” read: “dbyar ba.”
P. 42, n. 10 for: “Garnatama” read: “Garṇatama.’’
P. 43 n. 12 for: “Guhasamājatikā” read: “Guhyasamājātikā.”
P. 46 l. 1 for: “Nalcugri” read: “Na’ugri.”
P. 46 n. 29 for: "Paññavas" read: "Pāññavas."

P. 47 l. 27 for: "Kacoka" read: "Ka'oka."

P. 47 l. 1 for: "devi" read: "devi."

P. 47 l. 8 transpose "herbs" after: "medical."

P. 47 n. instead of "33a" read: "31a."

P. 49 n. 40a for: "Tu the nas Hu matà la" read: "in the manuscript Humat’ala."

P. 51 l. 1 for: "always trees" read: "meadows green."

P. 51 n. 45 l. 4 for: "Manoglaor" read: "Manglaor."

P. 52; note 48 should be added at the end of note 49 of the following page.

P. 55 l. 17 for: "Kama’conka" read: "Kama’onka."

P. 55 l. 19 for: "Kamalagupta" read: "Kamalaglupa."

P. 56 n. 58 l. 12 for: "Sun Yung" read: "Sung Yun."

P. 58 l. 23 for: "63" read: "63a."

P. 59 n. 65 l. 5 for: "stag ts’n" read: "Stag ts’an."

P. 59 n. 65 for: "Rājatarāṅgini" read: "Rājatarāṅgini."

P. 60 l. 8 for: "In the house of the village they nursed (him) and boiled wine" read: "in the house of a beggar........."

P. 61 l. 20 for: "for student" read: "for a student."

P. 61 l. 1 for: "refer" read: "refers."

P. 61 n. 69 for: "Vatipur" read: "Varipur."

P. 62 l. 21 for: "by that boy" read: "By the boy (who had thrown bricks upon him)."

P. 62 l. 9 for: "pint" read: "point."

P. 65 l. 5 for: "entres" read: "enters."

P. 65 l. 16 for: "presided" read: "presided over."

P. 67 l. 27 for: "Vajravārahi" read: "Vajravārahi."

P. 68 l. 5 and p. 69 n. 20 for: "Srinagara" read: "Śrīnagara."

P. 70 l. 22 for: "Kalhan's read: "Kalhana’s."

P. 71 l. 12 for: "mahamudra" read: "mahāmudra."

P. 72 n. 43a for: "Chandrabhaga" read: "Chandrabhāga."

P. 74 l. 8 for: "blu" read: "blue."

P. 78 l. 2 for: "sannyasins" read: "sannyāsins."

P. 81 l. 9 for: "yogini" read: "yogini."

P. 82 n. 66 for: "Ruta" read: "Rūtā."
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