



Bonpo paintings (p. 30)

S E R I E O R I E N T A L E R O M A
X

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF NEPALESE HISTORY AND CULTURE

1

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

**PRELIMINARY REPORT
ON TWO SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS
IN NEPAL**



ROMA
Is. M. E. O.
1956

TUTTI I DIRITTI RISERVATI

Printed in Italy - Stampato in Italia

P R E F A C E

This is the first of a series of volumes dedicated to the history of Nepal and of its culture. The next volume will contain the text of the inscriptions so far discovered in Nepal and belonging to the ancient period from Mānadeva up to Vijayadeva.

In the third volume these inscriptions will be translated and commented upon. In the following issues of this series we will publish and translate the inscriptions of the Malla period: we will also edit the Tibetan texts which in some way through light on the history and culture of Nepal. Other volumes, by Prof. L. Petech, will investigate the history of the Malla period.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AO** = *Archiv Orientaln.*
BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*
B = **BUSTON**, *C'os qbyuñ*. Tibetan text.
Blue Annals = **G. ROERICH**, *The Blue Annals*. Parts I-II, Calcutta 1949-53.
Concile = **P. DEMIÉVILLE**, *Le Concile de Lhasa. Une controverse sur le quiétisme entre Bouddhistes de l'Inde et de la Chine au VIII^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne*. Paris 1952.
DM = Deb t'er dmar po.
Documents = **E. CHAVANNES**, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux recueillis et commentés suivi des notes additionnelles par . . .* Paris, s.d.
DT = Deb t'er sñon po.
EI = *Epigraphia Indica*.
GP = **G. TUCCI**, *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, Roma 1953.
GR = rGyal rabs gsal bai me loñ.
HJAS = *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.
IA = *Indian Antiquary*.
IAK = **Ch. LASSEN**, *Indische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig 1868.
IC = *Indian Culture*.
IHQ = *Indian Historical Quarterly*.
IT = **G. TUCCI**, *Indo-Tibetica*, I-IV, Roma 1932-1941.
JA = *Journal Asiatique*.
JASB = *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
Koj = Tibetan guide to the Kojarnath monastery.
KT = bKa' tañ sde lña.
Mbh. = Mahābhārata.
Ñ = Ñor Chronicles.
Obermiller = **E. OBERMILLER**, *History of Buddhism by Buston*, Heidelberg 1931.
PT = dPao gtsug ap'reñ ba: *Tibetan Chronicles*.
RSO = *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*.
SP = Sum pa mk'an po: *dPag bsam ljon tzañ*, ed. by S. C. Das, Calcutta 1908.
TH = **J. BACOT**, **F. W. THOMAS**, **Ch. TOUSSAINT**, *Documents de Touen-houang relatifs à l'histoire du Tibet*. Paris 1940.
TLT = **F. W. THOMAS**, *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents*, Parts I-III, London, RAS, 1935-1955.
TP = *T'oung Pao*.
TPS = **G. TUCCI**, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Roma 1949.
VDL = *Chronicles of the fifth Dalai Lama*.

INTRODUCTION

During my Tibetan travels I realized the importance of a better knowledge of the cultural and political history of Nepal for the investigation of the evolution of Tibetan culture. Then in five journeys in Nepal it appeared to me that the history of this country is not contained within the limits of the valley where Kathmandu, Patan or Bhatgaon are located. The conquests of Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa gave a political unity to a country in which many principalities with different traditions and different cultures had for centuries developed or crumbled down, fought one against the other or been compelled to submit to the suzerainty of changing paramount powers.

I therefore thought it necessary to visit the interior of Nepal and specially its central and western parts which are practically unknown; they were ruled over by many families, the *chauris rāj* of the Kali Gandaki¹⁾ and the *bāis rāj* of the Jumla side. Nothing is practically ascertained about the history of these families, their origin, or the causes of their decay beyond the scanty information collected by Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Wright, and Lévi, the interest of scholars having been chiefly concentrated upon the history of the Nepalese Valley²⁾.

¹⁾ The spelling of the geographical names follows that of the map of Nepal 8-mile 1928, 2nd ed. 1934.

²⁾ KIRKPATRICK, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, London 1811. FRANCIS HAMILTON, *An account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the territories annexed to this dominion by the House of Gorkha*, Edimburg 1819. DANIEL WRIGHT, *History of Nepāl, transl. from the Parbatīyā by Munshī Shew Shunker Singh and Pandit Shri Gunānand; with an introductory sketch of the Country and People of Nepāl by the Editor Daniel Wright*, Cambridge 1877, University Press. S. LÉVI, *Le Népal*, 3 vols "Annales du Musée Guimet", Volumes XVII-XIX, Paris 1905-1908.

Has any trace of the past been left in other provinces? How far did the wave of Tibetan Buddhism descend from the trans-Himalayan regions? Have Buddhism and Hinduism completely cancelled the traces of previous cults and beliefs? What can be gathered from the Nepalese side on the events referring to the history of the frontier states or to the localities on the borders of Tibet which, like Mustang, were of great importance both to the Tibetans and the Nepalese because of their location and their significance as trade centres?

To give an example, we know that some of those places carry great weight in the history of the relations between Tibet and Nepal, from the very early times and were disputed for centuries by both countries. Kuti and Kirong, for instance, are two such places. Some of the information found in certain Nepalese documents sheds occasional light on the vicissitudes through which Kirong passed. To give an example, from an inscription of Pratāpamalla in Kathmandu, which gives the genealogy of the Malla family, we find the record of the campaigns of that king against the Tibetans and the conquest of Kuti and Kirong:

y o 'k ā r ṣ ī t k ū t ī k h ā s ā k i r a m i t i s a h a s ā
b h o ṭ a b h ū p a s y a d e ś ā t

This example is not isolated; what is needed is a careful investigation of the manuscripts or epigraphic records. With the purpose of giving a reply to some questions such as those put forward above, I undertook in 1952 a journey to Gorkha, Pokhara, the valley of the Kali Gandaki up to Mustang and the Tibetan-Nepalese border; then on the way back I stopped at Muktinath and Dsarkot, and proceeded down to Baglung, Palpa¹⁾,

¹⁾ Near Palpa there are two places in which ruins of old buildings are still to be seen; one is on the top of the hill which overlooks the town: it is called Śrinagar and according to tradition it was there that the castle and the old town were

Rummindei: from Rummindei I came back to Pokhara through Nuwākot ¹⁾.

In 1954, I set out on a new journey, my aim being chiefly the valley near Jumla. In fact, if we follow the clues of some Tibetan sources, it was probably from those parts of Nepal that a rMal, sMal, viz. Malla family ²⁾ entered Western Tibet—Guge—and ruled over it for about two centuries. My itinerary ran from Pokhara to Tukuchā; then, crossing some high passes, I went to Charkābhotgaon and Tarapgaon. From these villages I came back to the Bārbung Kholā—Thuli Bheri—(rMu luñ of the Tibetans) and through Tibrikot I reached Jumla: from Jumla I proceeded to Chilkhā, then to Dullu: from Dullu through Surkhet I reached India at Nishangara. The materials which I discovered during these journeys being numerous and very important, I think it useful to write now a preliminary report on some of the documents discovered, so that

located: other important ruins are found down in the valley along the Palpa-Nuwākot route.

In Palpa itself there is nothing old; a few buildings, which at present are used either as a cantonment or as offices, are not older than the 18th century.

In this tour a poet and teacher of Sanskrit in the local school who became my friend brought me for inspection some leaves of a manuscript, unfortunately fragmentary, 12 leaves only being left. It is a kāvya which relates the conquests of Pṛthvinārāyaṇa and his successors; the title of the kāvya is Śrīvijayaatilaka; the author was Agnidhara. It is divided into three sargas, and these into adhyāyas.

The following chapters are preserved:

1st sarga - Gorakṣeśvarasenājīṅgaṭhagamana

2^o adhyāya. Śrīraṅgacokāgatavairivadhānantaram śrṅga-
yugato vairipalāyanam

2d sarga - lakṣayugagrahaṇānantaram rāgināśagamanaṃ

3d sarga - (= adhyāya?) Kaskīsthāpanam.

It contains the story of some conquests of Damodara, Amarasimha etc. and it ends with the expedition against Kaskikot and the establishment of Siddhinārāyaṇa as king of that place. I did not find trace of any manuscript of this work in Kathmandu.

¹⁾ The diary of this journey was written in Italian, its title being: *Tra Giungle e Pagode*, Roma, Libreria dello Stato, 1953.

²⁾ *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II. Rin c'en bzañ po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille, Roma, Accademia d'Italia, 1933.

scholars may have a summary account of the new sources now at our disposal and of the first conclusions which may be drawn from them.

I shall of course come back again to these documents and shall edit them fully, but considering the importance of some of them I thought it preferable not to delay this preliminary report. Now I shall chiefly insist on those records discovered, which change or complement our current ideas on the history of Western Tibet and Western Nepal. I may say that the detailed publication of some documents has already been undertaken: this is the case with the inscriptions; with the intelligent help of my friend H. E. Kaisher Bahadur, now Secretary for Education, Health, and Local Self-Government, who takes a great interest in the records of his country I was able to collect the rubbings of about three hundred inscriptions of which about ninety are written in *gupta* characters and partly unedited.

The first fascicle containing the inscriptions in *gupta* characters is in the press and will be out shortly, in this section of the "Serie Orientale Roma" dedicated to Nepal.

The other inscriptions will follow up to *Prthvinārāyaṇas'* times. The *v a ṃ ś ā v a l ī s* (I took photos of many thousand pages of them) are being studied in the hope of preparing a critical edition of the most important.

Some Buddhist manuscripts are also being edited, as for instance, the *Abhisamayālaṅkāravākhyā* of *Vimuktisena*.

I must add that these pages are mere notes of travel, which give a short account of the most important things I have seen, and they are chiefly concerned with historical or archaeological documents or details and the conclusions they authorize. They do not refer, or very rarely, to ethnological, anthropological, or linguistic facts.

PRELIMINARY REPORT

I cannot conclude these preliminary remarks without expressing my gratitude to my pupil and collaborator Doctor Gnoli, who undertook the painstaking task of transcribing from the rubbings or the photos the text of the most important inscriptions. We discussed together all the difficult readings and made the best of those documents, generally very badly preserved.

H. E. Richardson, who has been many years in Tibet and possesses a great knowledge of things Tibetan has been so kind as to read the proofs of my book and made many useful suggestions.

My gratitude is also to be expressed to Miss Francesca Bonardi who accompanied me in both expeditions and was responsible for the photographic documentation. The photos here published are all due to her.

Special thanks are also due to my friend H. E. Kaisher Bahadur, who once more was very generous of all sorts of assistance during my stay in Nepal and facilitated my researches with his learned and friendly cooperation. If my work has been successful, this is largely due to his suggestions and help. Nor can I forget the kind assistance I was given by General Toran Sham Sher, Acting Commander in chief, and by the Governors of the various districts I passed through.

The Sher Chan family in 1952 and in 1954 greatly facilitated my journeys, giving me suggestions as to the routes and affording me all sorts of help. They all, Lalitman, Shankar Man, Indra Man and the others who enjoy great authority all over the Tukuchā area and beyond it, have been very nice to me.

But even villagers and porters should be thanked for their patience and kindness, which in Nepal made me feel completely at home.

Chapter I.

THE LAMAIST AREA

§ 1. - *Kathmandu - Lete.* There is nothing important on the way from Kathmandu to Pokhara: the temples of Nawākot as they now stand are not very old.

In Nawākot there is an inscription of Pārthivendra Malla, Nepāli Saṃvat 803 = 1682 A.D.

In Gorkha itself, in the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu near the parade ground, I took rubbings of three inscriptions; two of them are of Rāma (Shāh) dated respectively śrīśāka 1558 = 1636 A.D. and śrīśāka 1536 (also Vikrama samvat 1671) = 1614 A.D.

The first inscription would show that the dates given by S. Lévi 1606-1633 (*Le Népal*, II, p. 262) should be changed; now we have a document which proves the existence of Rāma Shāh up to 1636 at least. In Gorkha there is another inscription of Prthvīpati Shāh. This name is not found in Lévi, but his inscription is dated śākasamvat 1602 = 1680 A.D.

The temple of Kālī in Gorkha, where the throne of Prthvinārāyaṇa is said to be still preserved, is almost collapsing and requires urgent repair. In the Gorakṣa-cave there is a long inscription in gupta characters but so effaced that only a few letters can be read here and there.

Even in Pokhara there is nothing deserving mention: along the track to Sarangkot and Kaskīkot many ruins of castles can be seen on top of the hills: they are built with irregular stones. Near Nodana some huge pillars with no designs or carvings are still extant; near the village, where there is great scarcity of water, there are many water-tanks which look ra-

ther old. Many of them are no longer in use. All these facts show that this part of the country was rich in castles and was much more populated than it is now. The villages never recovered after the conquest of Kaskikot.

§ 2. – *The Thāk district and Mustang.* At Lārjung ¹⁾ about two hours march before Tukuchā, capital of the Thāk district, Lamaism begins: we find there the first temple, GP, p. 68. The Tibetanization becomes more marked as one proceeds northwards. The Tibetan language is spoken side by side with Thākali and in Tukuchā it supersedes the latter almost completely. Near the Tibetan frontier, Mustang is the capital of the district of *G l o s m a n t ' a ñ* which even at the time of the author of the *ṛ D s a m b u g l i ñ r g y a s b š a d* (died according to Vassiliev 1830) was Tibetan: it passed over to Nepal after *Pr̥thvīnārāyaṇa* ²⁾.

Lamaism and Buddhism join hands here: but after an early expansion of Hinduism it would seem, at least to judge from the small *l h a k ' a ñ* newly built in this place and in Tukuchā, that Lamaism is again recovering.

GP, p. 71. “At Tukuchā there are only Lamaist temples (*l h a k ' a ñ*); one cannot, strictly speaking, refer to *g o m - p a s*, (the name given to convents) as there are no monastic communities, but only custodians (*d k o n g ñ e r*), almost all laymen, belonging to the Karmapa sect which has its chief monastery at Tshurpu, N. W. of Lhasa. The principal temple stands outside the little town and is placed under the custody of a lama, native of Tukuchā. He studied medicine at Lhasa

¹⁾ But the local pronunciation is rather Nadsung. So also Tukuchā is pronounced Tukchā.

²⁾ Sometimes it is written also *Klo sman t ' a ñ*. Perhaps the form *klo* is better; the *Klo po* are the southern tribes of Tibet also in the east, bordering with Bhutan, *ṛ D s a m b u g l i ñ r g y a s b š a d*, p. 44 of my ms. In the same work p. 12 *Klo sman t ' a ñ* is described as being to the East, downwards of *sPu rañs*, not very far from it; “though it has a Tibetan population, its majority is Indian; formerly this country was subject to Tibet, but now it has been taken by the Gorkhas”.

in the famous convent of the Chagpori, but the vicinity to Nepal and India has induced him to adopt a curious syncretism consisting in the use of herbs that he learnt in Tibet, and allopathy of European mark. He dispenses pills that have been blessed, magic formulae and charms, but he also prepares European medicines, including penicilene, and he does not hesitate to give injections if he finds a patient brave enough to submit to such treatment.

In the chapel in the old house of the Sher Chan I found nothing worthy of note except an old copy of the *bK a' a g y u r* written in letters of gold on great sheets of blue paper and the manuscript of a liturgical work with some references to the region; as I could not purchase it, I had the sheets that interested me photographed by my companions.

A third little temple, the most ancient of all, is in the heart of the city; it is called the "temple of the queen", in memory I know not of what event and of what person. My attention was attracted by some paintings on wood representing the *Arhats* who are entrusted with the task of preserving the tradition of the law, Padmasambhava, Milaraspa, the celebrated ascetic and poet of the Land of the Snows, and finally the cycle of the *Ž i k' r o*. These are very important divinities, some terrifying, others peaceful, who appear to the conscious principle of the deceased in the intermediate period between death and rebirth, and determine his future destiny. They are described in a famous book which is recited by the bedside of the dying to instruct them on the dangers they will meet as they have exhaled their last breath, and on the means for avoiding them¹⁾.

High up on the walls of this same little temple there are the painted images of the ascetics of the *bK a' r g y u d*

¹⁾ Viz. the *Bar do t'os grol*, transl. by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ, *The Tibetan book of the dead*, London 1927, and by myself. *Il libro Tibetano dei morti*, Milano 1949.

pa sect. They wear the usual cassock of coarse cotton with a scarf of the same material slung over their shoulders which they use to fix their limbs in those uncomfortable and difficult positions prescribed by some schools of the Yoga (y o g a p a ṭ ṭ a).

These paintings are important, for, so far as I know, they are the only example of local art unaffected by Nepalese influences. It is difficult to date them. But it seems to me that they cannot be earlier than the 16th century ”.

From this place upwards many caves are excavated in the abrupt cliffs: the fact that on the rocks in the proximity small gompas either in ruins or still open to worship can occasionally be seen, does not mean, as one might at a first glance suppose, that these caves were retreats (m g o n k ' a ṅ , r i k ' r o d) for hermits. The country was never inhabited to such an extent or so rich and productive as to maintain so big a community of ascetics as that which one may suppose to have taken shelter in these caves. There is hardly any doubt that the grottos were old settlements before the introduction of Buddhism and with it, of a higher culture. The aboriginal people were troglodytes, using the caves in winter and shifting to the plateaus in summer for grazing, just as was the case for a long time in Western Tibet also. But the fact that caves are excavated in cliffs of very difficult access might also suggest a certain insecurity and a standing danger of incursions. When the situation changed and civilization increased, villages grew and developed in the valleys along the rivers; the old location of Tukuchā also was not where the town is now built but on the plateau which overtowers it to the north east.

For the use of the Tibetan pilgrims a guide book has been written of the country, its title being: C ' u m i g b r g y a r t s a b r g y a d , s k u t s ' a b g t e r l ũ a , m u l e g a ṅ s , g u r u g s a ṅ p ' u g s o g s k y i d k a r c ' a g g s a l b a i m e l o ṅ ṅ o m t s ' a r c a n r n a m s . This booklet contains

the legends concerning C'u mig, and its 108 springs, viz. Muktinath (it connects it with Manasarovar, Padmasambhava and the 84 siddhas¹⁾), the mountain Mu le gañs ri, the cave of Padmasambhava, the monastery of sK u g z u g s s d e lña, in the proximity of a village called 'O d g s a l g l i ñ or g S u m p a s g a ñ .

Mu le sgañs²⁾ is the local name of the Dhaulagiri and it gives the name to the Bārbung Kholā, called by the Tibetans Mu luñ (rMu luñ), the valley of Mu, rMu. It is the abode of a s a b d a g C ' u b y a s ñ o n p o "the blue water-bird". The Dhaulagiri is conceived as a gur k'añ, a tent of five colours: on the top there is the gYu abrug, the turquoise³⁾ dragon, to the right there is a lion, to the left a aK'yun.

The gSañ p'ug "the secret cave" is the cave of Guru Rinpo c'e, Padmasambhava, on which see GP, p. 79:

"From Samar the road to Ghiling branches off in two directions. We took the shortest and most fatiguing as it led us to a famous grotto. The Tibetans call it the rañ a b y u ñ m c ' o d r t e n , "the self-born chorten" i.e. that appeared miraculously. The cave owes this name to a great

1) On Muktinath some Hindu pandits have collected much information from the Purāṇas and Tantras referring to places in this part of Nepal, cf. Bhavānīśāstra Śāstri, Śālagrāmarahasyam, śrīmuktikṣetra-gaṇḍakīprabhṛtividhatīrthavarṇanapurāṣaram, Janakpur Dham, Darbhanga.

2) For this name of the Dhaulagiri cf. mu, "snow" in Bunan language, H. A. JAESCHKE, *Note on the pronunciation of the Tibetan Language*, JRASB, vol. XXXIV, 1865, p. 91; mug "snow" in Manchad, A. H. FRANCKE, *Vokabular der Manchad-sprache*, ZDMG, Bd. LXXI, 1917, p. 137.

The fact that the valley bordering on the north the group of the Dhaulagiri is called rMu luñ excludes to my mind any connection with mu le, mo le, mo lai "girl" in the a brog pa dialects of W. Tibet. SHAW, JASB, 1878, I, p. 57, F. W. THOMAS, TLT, I, p. 102. Mu le gañs ri, is perhaps an amphigloss: the snow mountain.

3) In some lists of the s a b d a g, g Y u a b r u g is located in the South: Bya, the bird, in the North: but in this case it is red. TPS, p. 722.

natural pillar, round in shape, which stands in the middle, almost as though to support the weight of the vault. Many images are carved on the rough stone of the walls. Personages who cannot be identified alternate with one another; tradition holds that a noble and ancient figure represents *mÑa'ris jo bo*, Atiśa, the Indian teacher who was invited in the 11th century¹⁾ by the king of Western Tibet, and was the chief instrument in the revival and rebirth of Buddhism in the Land of the Snows. But the images of Padmasambhava are the most numerous. Thus the two sects that struggle one against the other for the possession of the souls, the Red sect, said to have been founded by Padmasambhava, and the Yellow sect that traces its origins back through Tsonkhapa to Atiśa, dwell together in the grotto. There is however no doubt that the grotto was a sacred spot prior to the arrival of the Buddhist missionaries. Facing the central monolith, on the further side, some steps lead to a wider space that would seem to have been an altar. In some holes excavated by man, cinders and branches of juniper have been found. Juniper is the plant held sacred by the Bonpos; the smoke of the juniper drives off evil spirits and for this reason the Buddhists make use of it in certain rites and for exorcisms, and in the popular liturgy it is known by the name of *sang (bsañs)*. Pilgrimages from all parts of the country come to this famous grotto and fictile images of deities, and more especially of Padmasambhava, are heaped in corners in memory of the pious visit" (Fig. 1).

The gompa of *sKu gzug sde lña* (GP, p. 97) is built on a ridge to the NE of Mārpha: it is ruined but contains important works of art which were spared when the temple was burnt down during the Nepalese-Tibetan wars. It

¹⁾ He came to Tibet in the year 1042 A.D. This is the local tradition: but I think is wrong; though Atiśa spent some time in Guge (*mÑa'ris*) he was an Indian: the person here alluded to is perhaps *mÑa'ris pa*, Blue Annals, p. 862 ff.

is rÑiñ ma pa: a dkon gñer takes care of it. The monastery was enlarged by a Lama from Eastern Tibet, who was responsible for the revival of Lamaism in this district. The rÑiñ ma pa penetration followed that of the Sa skya pas who left their dgon pas in the northern part of Glo bo.

This lama was Sañs rgyas bzañ po; I found a rnam t'ar containing his biography: Sañs rgyas bzañ poi rnam t'ar šes bya bai me loñ, fol. 75, mss.; he was born in K'am s in rMa zla sgañ in the year šin rta. Unfortunately since there is no number to the cycle and no fact or person referred in it is chronologically known, it is impossible to state when this lama lived. He travelled extensively in Tibet, India, Nepal (the places are recorded in the biography). After India and Western Tibet he entered Glo bo sman t'añ (Mustang) both upper and lower (sTod and sMad) and he went to Mar p'ags viz. the Mārpha of the maps¹⁾; then he proceeded to meet the sgom pa of sKu gzugs sde lña (but at p. 77, b sKu ts'ab sde lña, which is the same) near the village of Som bhi²⁾: in the monastery there is an effigy (sku ts'ab) self-created (rañ byon) of the gter ston bDud ʾdul rdo rje³⁾. Then he goes to T'ag p'yogs⁴⁾ viz. the Thāk district, the capital of which is Tukuchā, and there he paid a visit to gu ru bsgrub gnas gsañ p'uḡ, the cave of Padmasambhava already referred to. Other places of his pilgrimage are recorded towards the northern part of this district: Sa dkar dgon, Ts'e rog rdson (not located) where he met the Ts'e rog sprul sku, then

1) See GP, p. 72. It is still now bKa' bryud pa.

2) Perhaps the small village below the monastery itself on the NE of the same.

3) Most certainly the 13th (from Po to pa) Žva nag Karmapa, TPS, p. 682.

4) But in the colophon of a mss. of rDo rje gcod pa in the small lha k'añ of the Sher Chan family: sprug c'es pronounced: tugce, transcribes Tukuchā: it is said there to be between C'u mig, sKu ts'ab sde lña, and gSañ p'uḡ.

Glo b o d g e d k a r , p. 55 and 79, b (written also k ' r e d k a r ¹⁾ 75, b), T s ' u g s (Chhuk of the maps), T s ' e l e (Chele), P ' y e l e g s (probably Ghiling), s K a g s viz. Kāgbeni on the confluence of the Muktinath river with the Kali Gandaki which is considered a very important place of pilgrimage and from where the pilgrims going to Muktinath take back home some water for the piṇḍa to the ancestors. In T ' a g a merchant T i s e s m a r becomes his d ā n a p a t i . He spends most of his time near Mārpha and s K u g z u g s s d e l n a , T u k u c h ā and d G e k ' a r (the name of the temple was ' O d g s a l k u ṅ k ' y a b , p. 81). As a whole, he says, (p. 79, b) ¶ G l o s m a n t ' a ṅ is largely under the control of the S a s k y a p a s ; this fact is confirmed by my survey of the temples of the country and by some literary sources.

In these places he put an end to the slaughter of animals for sacrificial purposes as was the custom of the black Bon. This shows that at that time the Thākalis were still practising their original religion, uninfluenced or influenced only very slightly by Buddhism. (GP, p. 70). This area seems therefore to have been at the time of S a ṅ s r g y a s b z a ṅ p o inhabited by many non-Buddhists, as some survival of ancient beliefs still show. S a ṅ s r g y a s b z a ṅ p o is the author of minor works such as m T s ' o s k y e s g s a ṅ g s u m c ' o s ṅ b y u ṅ p a d m a i r g y a l t s ' a b , foll. 25 written in the year s a - s t a g in G l o b o i g n a s m c ' o g d g e d k a r printed in b D e c ' e n c ' o s g r v a . It is a brief summary of the r D s o g s c ' e n doctrines composed for the purpose of spreading the doctrine in this country.

In Kāgbeni I was able to buy two books; one is an old and correct manuscript of the P a d m a t ' a ṅ y i g : O

¹⁾ Which is perhaps better, d G e d k a r being a learned spelling: K ' r e d k a r = d G e d k a r corresponds to Tegar about three and half miles to the NW of Mustang.

rgyan pad mai rnam t'ar rgyas pa, divided into two parts, Ka and K'a (pages 134 and 149 respectively). It is composed of 117 chapters. In the dKar c'ag it is written that it was made to be copied in the country of Mu le gañs can, Dhaulagiri, and properly in sKag rdsoñ (Kāgbeni) of La dbyañ c'ags¹⁾ by druñ dam Pad ma rgyan and sGrub pa mo dbañ bzañ, two ladies (mo gñis); the first belonged to the school of mK'an po C'os skyabs rnam rgyal, abbot of the monastery or seminary C'os grva c'en po T'ub bstan rnam rgyal, and a descendent of Kun dga' bsam ap'el, probably monks of the rÑiñ ma pa sect.

The other manuscript is a rnam t'ar of a Tibetan ascetic K'yuñ po rnal a'byor (TPS, p. 586) who was originally a Bon master of Ra mañs of sÑe mo, and then was converted to the rDsogs c'en sect; he went to India and there travelled extensively. The biography was written summarizing what had been told to his pupils: Žañ rGan mo C'os señ, Bla ma sMeu ston pa, Bla ma rMog cog²⁾ and Ñe gnas Rin c'en rdo rje³⁾.

§ 3. — *Mustang*⁴⁾. In GP, p. 87 I have given a short account of the main temples of Mustang: generally belonging to the Sa skya pas they are now collapsing and I am afraid that in a few years only the ruins will remain of these imposing buildings which belong to the best period of Tibetan art. The paintings on the walls, though greatly damaged by the water leaking from the ceiling, are executed with great accuracy: they are stricly related by style and composition to the žiñ

1) This was therefore the name of the territory near Kāgbeni.

2) On rMog cog pa see Blue Annals, pp. 733-741, Kloñ rdol vol. za, p. 32 a.

3) Blue Annals, p. 749.

4) Mentang in SVEN HEDIN, *Southern Tibet*, Vol. II, p. 320.

k'ams "paradises" of the sKu ḅbum of Gyantse. This means that they were the work of the same schools of painting which flourished in the 15th and 16th centuries in the Sa skya monasteries, the richest and most influential, at least until then, not only in gTsañ but also in the adjoining provinces. The Sa skya pas dominated in Glo sman t'añ; the bKa' brgyud pas and the rÑiñ ma pas could not compete with them and generally they represent a second wave of Lamaism which penetrated at a late date into the country.

The style of the metrical inscriptions also is very similar to that of Gyantse and is equally highly elaborated and pretentious.

In the inscription of the T'ub c'en lha k'añ under the painting representing the Abhirati, the paradise of Akṣobhya, allusion is made to its authors (expert in the art of painting = pir gyi ḅdu byed)¹⁾.

From the inscription of the other temple of Byams c'en gzi 'od ḅbar ba, we know that the author of the murals was a Nepalese Bal po Dhe va Lha dga' (part of his name is given in sanskrit, dhe va = deva, and part in Tib. lha = deva, Lha dga': devapriya devanandin, devarata?) This fact confirms once more what I have stated in TPS, that the Sa skya pas had very often recourse to Nepalese artists, whom they invited to Tibet to embellish the temples they were building.

It is not surprising that Nepalese painters worked in these temples of Mustang, so near to the artistic centres of Nepal. A revival of Lamaism took place in these parts through the zeal of the Ñor sub-sect of the Sa skya pas, started by Kun dga' bz añ po²⁾ who came from its chief monastery, Ñor.

1) *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, I, p. 30: lag pai ḅdu byed. On the word *pir* see *ibid.* p. 30.

2) TPS, p. 124 and 157. The date of his birth there given is wrong; he was born in the year c'u k'yi 1382 (not 1387 as proposed by S. CH. DAS, *Reu mig*, pp. 62-66); he died in the year me glañ 1457; he founded the Ñor monastery in the year 1429.

Many of the temples and *dgon pas* of Mustang side still belong to the *Ñor pas*, of which some of the most important were beside those of Mustang, in *Chārāng* (Fig. 2) and *Ghiling*. According to a *bca' yig*, preserved in the monastery of *Ghiling* (called *dGe luñ c'os sde*) dated *me stag*, 1446, *Kun dga' bzañ po* came personally to these places from *sMar t'an*, *bKra šis lhun gyi sgrub gliñ*¹⁾, and prescribed stricter discipline for the monasteries.

These data are fully confirmed by literary evidence which, when compared to the inscriptions of Mustang, allows us to fix the date of the paintings.

In fact, in the biography of *Kun dga' bzañ po* we find the names of some princes of Mustang who were responsible for the expansion of Lamaism in this part of the world: some of these names are also recorded in the inscriptions in the temples.

From the *rnam t'ar* of the founder of the *Ñor* monastery, *Kun dga' bzañ po: rGyal ba rdo rje ač'an kun dga' bzañ poi rnam t'ar pa legs bšad c'u bo ađus pai rgya mts'o yon tan yid bžin nor bui abyuñ gnas* (p. 76), we know that Buddhism entered the country in the fifteenth century. This was due to *A me dpal*. This person belonged to the *gNam ru k'yun pa* family (*gdun rus*), the members of which were officials (*druñ skor*) of *mÑa'ris rdson*²⁾. The *c'os rgyal* of *mÑa'ris aBum lde mgon*³⁾ appointed *A me dpal as rdson dpon* of

1) Not identified.

2) It is the same as *rDsoñ k'a* of the *rGyal rabs ač'p'rul gyi lde mig* of *bSod nams grags pa* fol. 39, b; it is the chief town of the Tibetan districts north of *Kyirong*. In the map of Nepal: *Tongkha-Dzong*.

3) One would think of *Grags abum lde* king of *Ladakh*—who is supposed to have lived between ca. 1480-1470. But from the second biography of *Kun dga' bzañ po* (*rDo rje ač'an kun dga' bzañ poi rnam t'ar legs bšad*

the frontier-rdsoñ (rgyab rdsoñ)¹⁾ gTsañ rañ bya p'o i ž e va (Chārāng). A me dpal tried his very best to spread Buddhism in the country under his rule. His first attempt with B o d o ñ²⁾ was not successful. He was more successful with the Sa skya pas, but the real person who greatly contributed to the spread of Buddhism in this part of the world was Kun dga' bzañ po who was invited three times by A me dpal to the territory to which he had been appointed, in order to preach Buddhism there.

On the first occasion he brought a set of the Holy Scriptures and dedicated the paintings on the walls (log ris = logs bris) representing the 12 maṇḍalas of the Yoga class in the bKa' agyur lha k'añ; then he founded sTeñ c'en aḍul grva and dedicated its gtsug lag k'añ in which there were about one hundred monks. He led the foundations of Brag dkar c'os sde t'eg c'en dar rgyas gliñ³⁾.

The dānapati A me dpal was ordained, rab a byuñ pa, and on being initiated he was given the name

c'u bo aḍus pai rgya mts'o) contained in the De bzin gāegs pa t'ams cad kyi bkrod pa gcig pai lam c'en gsuñ ṅag gi rin po c'ei bla ma brgyud pai rnam t'ar, vol. 2, p. 32 a we gather that this aBum lde mgon was the c'os rgyal of mÑa' ris rdsoñ, now Dsongka, a descendent of the "spotless progeny of the C'os rgyal of Tibet" A me dpal after being sent to Tsañ rañ bya p'o acquired Glo bo as his private property (Glo bo k'oñ gis sger du ts'oñ).

Kun dga' bzañ po, during his first visit completed the bKa' agyur which he found there, (this means that some chapels existed before) and he laid the foundations of Brag dkar c'os sde T'eg c'en dar rgyas gliñ. During his second visit he made the žal da (other biography: žal lta) of the bKa' agyur which had been dedicated on the occasion of this first coming to Glo bo and repaired the rNam rgyal c'os sde (now rNam rgyal, two miles North of Mustang. See GP, p. 87). Perhaps during this time the building of the royal palace now in ruins was started (Fig. 3).

1) But according to the work quoted in the preceding note he was appointed dpon sa of sKya a p'ar pai sde: he is called in this same work A ma dpal.

2) P'yog las rnam rgyal, TPS, p. 704, n. 848. Blue Annals, II, p. 777 ff.

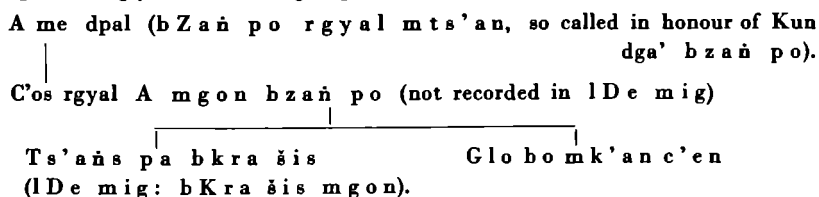
3) To the east of Mustang.

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of bZaṅ po rgyal mts'an. Before being ordained he had had a son, C'os rgyal A mgon bzaṅ po, whose sons were Ts'aṅs pa bkra ṅis and the Glo bo mk'an c'en¹⁾.

On the occasion of his second visit, Kun dga' bzaṅ po brought with him the Sa skeya pa scriptures and held a religious meeting, c'os aḱ'or, and did his very best to maintain religion on a pure and high level (record of that in the bca' yig of Ghiling). Following the advice of the King of Guge K'ri nam mk'a' dbaṅ po²⁾, he invited the Guge mk'an c'en C'os ṅid seṅ ge, the C'os rjerin po c'e from Pu hraṅs and the mk'an po Rin c'en bsod nams of Spiti. The third time in the year me yos (1447) he returned, invited by A mgon bzaṅ po and inspected (žal ta sogs mdsad) some copies of the bKa' aḱyur written in golden letters and a golden image of Byams pa and many religious objects (sKu gsun t'ugs rten) and inspected about one thousand monks in T'ub bstan dar rgyas gliṅ³⁾.

¹⁾ So we have the following genealogy, completed with data of the rGyal rabs aḱ'rul gyi lde mig, p. 39 b:



²⁾ K'ri Nam mk'a' dbaṅ po is perhaps the same as king Blo bzaṅ rab brtan, a contemporary of Ṅag dbaṅ grags pa, a pupil of Tsoṅ k'a pa (1357-1419), see TUCCI, *Tibetan Notes*, HJAS, XI, p. 484-5 (where "list of Abbots" is a misprint for "list of Kings"). Blo bzaṅ rab brtan in fact looks like a religious name taken by the king considered a very pious man and a strong supporter of the Yellow sect when he was ordained. The same is the case of A me dpal who had two names, one as a layman and the other after he had been ordained. In fact we read in the second biography already referred to that the king of Guge K'ri nam mk'a' dbaṅ po was at a certain time ordained just as A me dpal: but the name he then took is not given.

³⁾ Besides there are in these temples many stucco images now collapsing (Fig. 4).

In the inscriptions we find mentioned either directly or indirectly the names of A me dpal bzañ po, dGe bai dpal most probably the son of Ts'añs pa bkra šis; C'os ñid bzañ po is perhaps the C'os ñid señ ge bzañ referred to above: in the inscriptions n. 1 Ts'añ pa contains most probably an allusion to Ts'añs pa bkra šis.

I publish here the fragments of the inscriptions preserved in both temples.

T'ugs c'en lha k'añ:

----- [sku]
 Zur p'ud lña pai brgyud bžin yan lag drug cu sñan pai
gsuñ ||
 rin c'en abyuñ gnas c'u yi gter bžin zab ciñ rgya c'ei t'ugs
mña' ba |
 kun mk'yen rgyal bai sras kyi mt'u bo sa yi sñiñ po rgyal
gyur cig ||
 mi dbañ sa yi dbañ p'yug ađi yis legs byas dpal abyor bzañ
po la¹⁾ |

 lan cig min par rgyal bai spyod pa rlabs c'en bstan pa yis ||
 srid las ađas kyañ ađro bai lam ađir srid pai ts'ul ađsin pa |

 ha le rnam dkar las kyi ri mo ađi ni a ma mts'ar ||
 lugs gñis bya bai k'ur gyi mi dal bžin |
 rnam dpyod blo gros mc'og tu mi smin la ||
 loñs spyod gser gyi dra bas gdoñ pai -
 rdsoñ dpon a me dad pai sbyin bđag yin ||
 'od zer dra bai ri mo ađi ni ađig rten gyi. |
 ----- gžan gyi min ||
 'on kyañ sri (?) btsan pir gyi ađu byed sprul pa na |
 ts'añs pa bđag kyañ gdoñ bži sprul nas blta bar brtsoms ||

1) Allusion to the king's name [A me] dpal bzañ po.

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gžan p'an sems kyi 'od stoñ can |
 sñiñ stobs c'en poi rta ljañ gi[s] ||
 aḡro bai ma rig mun sel ba |
 sems dpa' mc'og gi dge legs gyur ||
 tsañs dañ brgya sbyin dbaň poi dgra la sogs |
 aḡig rten c'e bar grags pa t'ams cad kyi ||
 ral pai cod pan sa la aḡrems mdsad pa |
 t'ub pa dpal sbas mc'od pas mñes par byas ||
 gser gyi sa gži bai đur rya me tog gsar pas rnam par spras – |
 mdog mdzes sdoň bui ldiñ k'aň dañ ldan byi rui k'ri šiñ mgo
 sogs gyo ||

rin c'en ba gam... 'od kyi ñe bar k'yud |
 mu tig dmar pas spras pai k'ri la c'os kyi bdud rtsii...
 aḡums ||

|| om svasti
 mar rgad ñi 'od dañ aḡrogs sku yi dpal ni mñon dga' žiñ¹⁾ |
 žiñ mc'og gtso bo t'ub dbaň – – do šal na [b] zas mdses ||
 mdses sdug 'od kyis aḡro aḡii sgrib sel ñes pa kun las
 bsruñs |

..... ||
 mi dbaň mc'og tu mi zad mt'u ldan gaň |
 gaň na bsod nams p'ul byuň dar bai mc'og ||
 mc'og tu mñon sum gyi mts'on dge bai dpal |
 dpal aḡi skye ba gžan du'n ñe ba ñid ||
 lha dbaň druň na ñe dbaň ltar gnas ciũ |
 legs pai spyod la rjes su spyod byed pa ||
 ya rabs mc'og aḡis ya rabs ji bžin du |
 c'os ñid bzaň pos nor bu aḡi bsgrubs ||
 rig pa p'ul byuň mk'as pai mdun sar mk'as pa yi |
 yid kyi dga' ston ston par de la skal bzaň can ||
 ri moi rnam aḡ'rul – – – |
 – – – – – ||

¹⁾ Verse in imitation of y a m a k a , m a d h y ā n t a y a m a k a , K ā v y ā d a r ā a III, v. 47.

bsod nams rgya mts'os rab bskrun pai |
 ye šes c'en poi dpag bsam šin ||
 aġro ba re skoñ nor bu c'e |
 dge legs dpag med rtsol bar mdsad ||
 rin c'en sna bdun ra ba dañ ldan rab gsal 'od kyi aḡ'reñ bas
 aḡ'yud |
 za šin ra bai skyed ts'al do rar srid me pa la yun ma ldem ||
 bžin bzañ nu mai ge sar ñom žin yid bžin nor bui dogs pas
 brtsen |
 lha mai (?) – – bde ts'ogs aḡbyor bas mñon dġa' t'os pai gron
 de la sñin rje yun riñ aḡbri ba bžin | de'o ||
 de ni sñin rje nam yañ yoñs ma btañ ||
 las kyi dbañ gi[s] de ltar de gyur tam |
 de ñid mt'u yi de ni de ltar gyur ||

Byams c'en gzi 'od aḡbar bai gtsug lag k'añ:

k'ams gsum aḡ'or ba ñon moñs las – – |
 - - - - -
 rgyal mdsad rdo rjei sems dpai skur bstan nas ||
 mi bskyod rdo rje k'ro boi ts'ul aḡsin pa |
 gsum pai k'ams gsum rnam rgyal la p'yag aḡs'al ||
 lha c'en la sogs aḡjig rten rjes bzuñ p'yir |
 rnam par snañ mdsad t'ugs las sprul pa yis ||
 k'ro boi rgyal po me ltar aḡbar ba la |
 lha c'en brgyad kyi[s] bskor la p'yag aḡs'al lo ||
 aġro ba c'os can sgrib pai bud šin rnam |
 - - - - - ||
 - - - - - |
 aḡdi aḡjigs byed dġu yis bskor la p'yag aḡs'al lo ||
 k'ro bo rnam kyi bgegs dpuñ ži bar mdsod |
 p'yogs skyoñ rnam kyi las rnam dge bar mdsod ||
 aḡjig rten skyoñ bas aḡjig rten c'os bžin skyoñs |
 brtan bsrñ aḡ'or beas rnam la p'yag aḡs'al lo ||

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rgyal bai sku gsuñ t'ugs kyi gtsug lag ądi |
 mt'on t'os reg pa ts'am gyi grol ba dañ ||
 p'yag sogs bskor ba ts'am gyi[s] grol ba dañ |
 yid la bsam pa ts'am gyi[s] grol bar šog ||
 ądi bžeñs dge ba rab dkar dri med des |
 sbyin bdag sku mc'ed sras dañ btsun mor bcas ||
 ągro kun ągrib sbyañ ts'ogs gñis rab brdsogs nas |
 kun mk'yen rgyal bai go ąp'an myur t'ob šog ||
 gañ žig mt'on ba ñi mai mdañs ąp'rog pa |
 byams c'en ągro bai mun sel nor bu ądi ||
 druñ c'en brtson pai gru gziñs la brten nas |
 gdul bya skal ldan ts'añs pas mt'on ba mts'ar ||
 dus gsum rgyal bai bstan pa sruñ bai p'yir |
 k'ro bo can la k'ro boi skur bstan nas ||
 log ądren bdud dpuñ ąjoms par mdsad pa yi |
 k'ro c'en ąjig rten skyoñ la p'yag ąts'al lo ||
 stoñ pa ñid kyi ye šes rdo rje yis |
 dños por blta bai ri bo mt'on po rnams ||
 kun nas ąjoms mdsad rdo rje sems dpa' la |
 k'ro c'en brgyad kyi[s] bskor la p'yag ąts'al lo ||
 dus gsum rgyal bai sprin las gcig bsdus pa |
 ągro bo ądul p'yir k'ro boi skur ston pa ||
 rab ąjigs k'ro c'en me ltar ąbar ba la |
 gza' brgyad rgyu skar gyis bskor p'yag ąts'al lo ||
 ñon moñs dug ldan rnam par dag pai dños |
 ye šes lña yi ño bos gžan p'an mdsad ||
 rdo rje sems dpa' rigs rnams kun gyi bdag |
 p'yogs skyoñ bcu yi[s] bskor la p'yag ąts'al lo ||
 rgyal ba kun gyi ye šes gcig bsdus nas |
 ąk'or lo ągyur bai gzugs su legs ston pa ||
 rab dkar ągyiñ bag (?) rdo rje dril bu bsñams |
 p'yag rdor rgyal c'en bžis bskor p'yag ąts'al lo ||
 - - - - - |
 ser sna sbyoñ p'yir nam mk'ai rgyal poi sku ||

mñam ñid bya grub ye šes ño no ñid |
 don yod grub pai las rigs p'yag aṭs'al lo ||
 gdul bya gdul p'yir 'od dpag med pai gsuñ |
 kun k'yab spyān ras gzigis kyi skur ston pa ||
 so sor kun rtog ye šes ño bo ñid |
 aḡro ba aḡdul bai las rigs p'yag aṭs'al lo ||
 rdo rje sems dpa' mi aḡyur rdo rjei t'uḡs |
 gsal mdsad me loñ ye šes ño bo ñid ||
 - - - - - |
 k'ams gsum rnam rgyal las rigs p'yag aṭs'al lo ||
 rnam par snañ mdsad ye šes sgyu mai sku |
 mig aḡ'rul lta bur' gzugis kyi skur bstan nas ||
 c'os kyi dbyiñs kyi ye šes ño bo ñid |
 de bžin gšegs pai las rigs p'yag aṭs'al lo ||
 mi zad nam mk'a' mdsod kyi smon lam kyi |
 gdul bya mt'a' yas nam mk'a' k'yab pa rnam ||
 mt'a' med aḡ'or bai aḡjigs las skyob mdsad pa |
 rtsa rgyud rtsa bai nam sñin la p'yag aṭs'al ||
 gañ gi k'yod sku mt'oñ bar gyur pa'm¹⁾ |
 k'yod gsuñ lan gcig t'os pa tsam gyis kyañ ||
 srid žii rgud pa mt'a' dag skyob byed pa |
 rtsa rgyud rtsa bai aḡro aḡdul la p'yag aṭs'al ||
 dbañ poi gžu ltar bkra ba yis |
 dkyil aḡ'or t'abs šes zuñ aḡjug aḡdi ||
 bal po dhe va lha dga' yis |
 yid lag - - ñi mas aḡ'rul ||
 oḡ svasti |
 rnam dag c'os skui nam mk'a' yañ pa la |
 ts'oḡs gñis rluñ gi šuḡs kyi[s] rab bskyod žiñ ||
 mk'yen btrse c'a šas ma lus yoñs su rdsogs |
 sa gsum gsal mdsad skye dgui gtsug na rgyal ||
 gañ gi dañ por byañ c'ub t'uḡs bskyed nas |

1) Verse defective; corr.: pa aḡm bisyllabic.

bsod nams ye šes ts'ogs gñis mt'ar p'yin nas ||
 'og min stug po bkod pai žiñ mc'og tu |
 aja' lus rdo rjei sku ru mñon sañs rgyas ||
 mts'an dañ dpe byad bzañ pos yoñs su spras |
 gdul bya sa bcui dbañ p'yug aba' žig la ||
 zab dañ rgya c'ei t'eg c'en c'os ak'or bskor |
 ač'ar nub mi mña' rgyun du rtag pas bžugs ||
 ma dag žiñ gi agra ba bsgral bai p'yir |
 sprul skui mdsad pa rnam sprul. . .
 . . . mdsad pa. . . . |

§ 4. – *The survivals of pre-buddhistic religion.* The road to Charkā (ač'ar dga' according to the local lamas) branches off opposite the bridge of Jomoson, where there is, on the left of the Kali Gandaki, the custom-house and, now, on the right, a police check post. One proceeds to Dāngarjong, (Fig. 5) where only some ruins are left.

The local priest is a layman who attends to his priestly functions in a small chapel of his humble house. He is a rñiñ ma pa, though his relation with a sect is very loose. I obtained from him the information as regards the existence of Bonpo communities in Charkā and Tarāp and a Bonpo manuscript. This book is composed on the pattern of the Buddhist Tantras and contains various mantras in which the essentials of the Bon doctrine are said to be expressed. The interlocutor of Mi bo gšen rab is Ha ža gsañ ba; it contains allusion to the division of the universe into two sides, yod pa and med pa, corresponding to the good and evil creation¹⁾.

Its main point is the fundamental difference between be-

¹⁾ Cf. TPS, p. 731.

As to Ha ža, it is the name of a much discussed people. See fundamental literature in PETECH, *Alcuni nomi geografici nel "La-dvags-rgyal-rabs"*, RSO, vol. XXII, p. 83. THOMAS, TLT, P. II, p. 1 ff. and P. III, p. 1 ff.

ings and their painful existence, and the purpose of the revelation is to come to their rescue. Ha ža asks the master, sTon pa, which path should be followed in order to help the suffering creatures. The reply is that the only help to universal sorrow is the "shining gem of the Bon". Before the revelation is announced, the demons try to prevent it but the force of the Bon placates them.

Pv'ya yul¹⁾, the country of Pv'ya, is overrun by the b d u d: the help of s T o n p a is requested: they also are submitted (important list of liturgical instruments).

The same story is told of the Klu. Then, m a ṅ ḍ a l a of T s ' e b d a g and T s ' e l c a m, their iconography and invocation in order to get gyañ viz. siddhi. It consists of sixteen chapters. The title of the Ms. has become illegible.

During my journey in 1952 I noticed some survivals of non-buddhist rituals; I refer to what I wrote in the diary of that journey.

GP, p. 90-91. "On our way back to the camp we saw a lama on horseback coming towards us. He was bearing a puppet, stuffed with green plants that looked like juniper, covered with a green tunic; its face was hidden behind a white mask on which human features were drawn. A five-pointed wooden tiara was placed like a crown on its head and each of the five triangular rims was inlaid with the figure of one of the five supreme Buddhas; round its neck hung silver pendants. A young man followed, carrying a kind of tray on which were placed offerings and little branches of burnt juniper. Alongside the man on horseback walked a lama intoning psalms and beating the drum of the sorcerers (ḍ a m a r u). Another lama led the horse, holding in his hand a white scarf, the other end of which was tied to the steed's neck. As soon as they reached the river bank, they stripped the puppet of its clothes, pendants

¹⁾ Pv'ya yul is quoted in the geographical catalogue of p. 80 and p. 107.

and diadem, and threw it in the river with the juniper and the offerings. It was the first time that I had witnessed such a rite, which confirmed my opinions on the survival in these districts of aboriginal rites, the memory of which Buddhism in its advance had been unable to obliterate. Evidently here are superimposed, one on the other, the Buddhist and the Bonpo rites. The person whose straw image was thrown in the river, had died yesterday and had been cut into pieces and left on the mountain for animals to devour. That also is a pre-buddhistic rite which Buddhism has been unable to eliminate for the simple practical reason that there is no wood in Tibet to waste on the dead.

Lamaism introduced here the habits of Tibet; but it met here with other customs which enjoined, in conformity with the practices formerly observed in Tibet by some Bonpo, that the corpse should be cast in the river. And so the white scarf, still used in the funeral rites of some Bonpo tribes on the boundaries of China, is the emblem of the rope which, in the original shaman form, joined, like a bridge, the earth to the sky and on which the deceased walked up. The old beliefs have not been fully abandoned; a compromise has been reached, and instead of casting the corpse into the river his image is thrown in it”.

Another survival is to be found in the cult of the hearth still existing among the Thākali of Tukuchā.

GP, p. 72. “A thorough study of the religious beliefs of Thākali would show that any denomination we might give them would be inexact. We should see that in each Hindu the Lamaist of former times survives and that the lamaist, on his side, preserves in the depths of his soul no small place to Hinduism; we should see that in each soul the one religion does not exclude the other, but they dwell together in harmony, in a safe and joyful symbiosis; and were we to look more closely, we should perceive that in even greater secrecy

the primitive aboriginal beliefs still burn, and that they burn more brightly when man feels himself more solitary, sad and frightened and when he notes dire omens in his silent anguish; above all we should see this heritage from remote times holding its own in the domestic worship and in funeral rites. My visit to the palace of the *S u b h a* confirmed me in these opinions. The *sanctum sanctorum* of each home is still today the hearth that stands in the middle of the kitchen protected by a low earth wall that surrounds it. No one who is not a member of the family may approach it or pass beyond a line that fixes the space that must remain inviolable. For us an exception was made. On the low surrounding wall are placed jars full of barley for the manes of the deceased, a tall brass lamp burns in a corner.

It is a very serious sin to defile the hearth, to let any thing or object fall there that would contaminate its sacred purity”.

Things are quite different in Charkā and Tarāp.

In these villages Lamaism has suffered a set back in so far as the communities living there claim to be Bonpo. Bon reaches Pale and even a few other places on the way to Jumla. Certainly this Bon is very much contaminated by Buddhism, chiefly by the *r D s o g s c ' e n* and the *b K a ' b r g y u d p a* (a *B r i g u ṅ* sub-sect), but this diffusion of Lamaism seems to be of recent date and caused by the arrival of some lamas who, a few decades ago, came into this part of the world, preached, made some converts and built some shrines. The limits between the two religions are difficult to define: anyhow it is easy to explain why Buddhism penetrated here through the *r D s o g s c ' e n* and the *b K a ' b r g y u d p a*; these two sects are in fact not only very tolerant towards Bon, but they did not abstain from accepting a part at least of its lore; on the other hand, local communities accepted many a doctrine of Lamaism. But it is certainly surprising to find in such a far away corner of Nepal a Bon island.

It would certainly escape the notice of a traveller not acquainted with things Tibetan, because only those who can read Tibetan can realize that the stones piled up on the so called *ma ṅi* walls are not inscribed with the usual formulae *O m ma ṅi pa dme hū m*, but with the Bonpo mantras; (Fig. 7) *O m ma tri mu ye sa le ṅu*; *oṃ a dkar sa le 'od*; *oṃ yar oṃ 'od a*.

Evidently, this so-called Bonpo religion which is diffused in this corner of Nepal and which in former times was certainly even more powerful than now, as is proved by some literary references, as for instance by those quoted at p. 14, does not represent the original Bon. It is itself an adaptation of primitive beliefs into a scheme greatly influenced by Buddhism, and by what we may call the secondary form of Bon: which is the result of the contact of the aboriginal cults and ideas, differing widely from place to place, though moving within the same religious forms, with more advanced religions such as Buddhism, or Hinduism, and even other creeds.

There has been in these parts a wave of this secondary Bon, coming in older times straight from *Žaṅ žuṅ*, and more recently from pilgrims and missionaries from Kham coming on pilgrimages to *Kailāsa* and *K'yun luṅ dnul dkar*¹⁾, both holy places for the Bonpo.

To take an example, the small shrine *bSam gliṅ*, near *Muktinath*, of which I spoke in GP, p. 96, is certainly late and founded by a Bonpo lama from Kham. But of course these Bonpo masters found a favourable ground that enabled them to contend with the local Lamaism; which is here represented by the *Sa s kya pa* and the *rÑiṅ ma pa*, and more recently by the *bKa' b rgyud pa*.

¹⁾ On this place cf. TUCCI, *Santi e Briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, pp. 130-137, and below p. 74.

There is a religious hinterland which survives within the villages of Northern Nepal, and preserves a great deal of the former aboriginal ideas, neither Bon nor Buddhist. But it would now seem that as a whole it is nothing else than an aspect of the secondary Bon of which I was speaking. Thus, for instance, above the door of the b S a m g l i ñ shrine near Muktinath hang some paintings representing some Bonpo deities. I was able to buy from the local priest (he is a layman) a few of them (Front plate); on their backs are written some formulae, m a n t r a s and the invocation of some gods. But as one can judge from the text which I publish here, we are confronted with deities belonging to the literary and secondary stage of the Bonpos; the general trends of the invocations are very similar to those of the r Ñ i ñ m a p a s and the liturgical and dogmatical background is the same as that concerning the n a i r ā t m y a j ñ ā n a , u p ā y a and p r a j ñ ā , ś ū n y a t ā etc.

VII

a)

steñ p'yogs b o n d b y iñ[s] yas [g]žal nas |
 stoñ pai ñañ la sdzu sprul pa |
 su hañ duñ k'yuñ mt'u'o c'e ||
 žal 3 p'yag drug ajigs pai sku ||
 žabs l bstabs kyis lha rñams gñon |
 sku mdog¹⁾ mt'iñ k'a gyu 'od aḅar ||
 šugs sgrol yum dañ aḅ'ril |
 t'abs dañ šes rab sprul pa . . .²⁾ ||
 aḅrug stoñ k'yuñ gi gho can aḅyer |
 ñoñ mons¹⁾ lha bdud ajoms pai lha ||

1) Abbreviated.

2) Cancelled.

yab yum ¹⁾ sprul pai dbaṅ bskur bas |
 gtum gi las su gsal bai dbaṅ t'ob šog
 b)
 'og p'yogs bon dbyin[s] [g]žal yas nas |
 gsaṅ bai naṅ la sku sprul pa ||
 sku lha 5 p'ud mt'u c'e ¹⁾ |
 žal 3 p'yag drug ajigs pai sku ||
 žabs 1 stabs kyis sa bdag non |
 sku mdog ²⁾ ser nag 'od aḅar ||
 gso' byed yum daṅ 2 de aḅ'ril |
 t'abs daṅ šes rab sprul pa las ||
 p'ag rgod spyañ moi gho can aḅyer |
 aḅ'rul bdud . . . ³⁾ aḅoms pai lha |
 yab yum sprul pai dbaṅ skur bas |
 dbyiṅs daṅ ye šes dbyer med lhun gyis grub pai dbaṅ t'ob
 šog |

VIII

gzun pa gaṅ yaṅ de ṅid ṅo bos grub |
 aḅsin pai ts'ig la kun gžii bag c'ags bral ||
 lcags kyi snar šad gdeṅs pai aḅsin byed can |
 hūṃ yig gsal ba aḅras bui brgyan pa aḅi ||
 skal ldan skyes bu k'yod la dbaṅ bskur bas |
 aḅ'or ba rtag par byed pai bdud bcom nas ||
 bzuṅ gnas kun bcol nam mk'ai mt'a' daṅ aḅral |
 gsaṅ mc'og ye šes dbaṅ rnam t'ob aḅyur cig ||
 bsvo om pus pa li dha ba dhi la ha ra va rtse ka ya
 bag ci ta hūṃ, hūṃ, hūṃ.

1) Abbreviated.

2) Abbreviated.

3) Reading not clear.

XVI

bdag med ye šes mc'og c'en bla na med |
 k'ams gsum dbaṅ skur žiṅ gi dpal gyur pa ||
 gnam lcags k'a traṅ ¹⁾ rtse gsum dbal me aḅar |
 hūṃ yig gsal ba aḅras bui ²⁾ rgyan pa aḅi ||
 skal ldan skyes bu k'yod la dbaṅ bskur bas |
 sa rnams gyo daṅ sa rnams aḅ'ag pa daṅ ||
 sa lam ston t'ob pai bdag ṅid mc'og | ³⁾
 gsaṅ mc'og ye šes dbaṅ rnams t'ob aḅgyur cig ||
 bsvo om pus pa li dha ba dhi la kri šu la kā ya bag ci ta hūṃ,
 hūṃ hūṃ ||

XX

dbal k'a gso ba drag po las kyi sdsas |
 srid pa las kyi rdsu aḅ'rul ⁴⁾ mc'og c'en po ||
 dbal gyag dar mai ru co rtse dbal can |
 hūṃ yig gsal ba aḅras bui rgyan pa aḅi ||
 skal ldan skyes bu k'yod la dbaṅ bskur bas |
 gaṅ yaṅ mi aḅjigs rnam par bral bai sku ||
 gzuṅ bya ṅo bor aḅdas pai mc'og c'en po |
 gsaṅ mc'og ye šes dbaṅ rnams t'ob aḅgyur cig ||
 bsvo om pus pa li dha ba dhi la
 ha ra dha va ri tse ka ya
 bag ci ta hūṃ, hūṃ, hūṃ.

The priest officiating in the temple of Tarāp pretends to be a descendant of Mi bo gšen rab but there is nothing to prove

1) Khaṭvāṅga.

2) Written: aḅrui.

3) Sic but one syllable is missing; these verses are of nine syllables.

4) Abbreviated.

his claims. On the other hand there exists near Charkā a temple now abandoned, which looks very similar to the old shrines of Western Tibet belonging to the time of Rin c'en bzañ po and his activity (Fig. 8); it is a small g a n d h o l a with the p r a d a k ṣ i ṇ ā; the floor of the chapel is much higher (about two yards higher) than the surface of the corridor for the p r a d a k ṣ i ṇ ā. Now a days the temple is called "the temple of the 84 siddhas"; the images of some of these s i d d h a s are carved on slabs of stone. Along the track there are many m c ' o d r t e n which look very old and remind one of those of Western Tibet. But exploration of them being impossible, nobody can say if they are Bonpo or Buddhist.

In Charkā the temples are on the left of the river on the other side of the village; they are survivals of more imposing buildings: one must cross the swollen river and ascend to the shrines along a track which runs near the m a ṇ i - w a l l s with Bonpo mantras. The first temple is called B l a m a ñ i m a: it contains many images and the r n a m t ' a r of Mi bo gšen rab in its larger redaction, (g Z e r m i g in 12 volumes).

In another shrine (no name: B o n p o l h a k ' a ṅ only) there are many brass images: one of them represents a curious goddess standing: on the palm of her right hand she holds the images of a deity and on the left a vase. Another temple is dedicated to the G u r u r i n p o c ' e: on the walls there are many frescoes not very old which represent Buddhist (K u n t u b z a ṅ p o, Y u m c ' e n m o, T s ' e d p a g m e d) as well as pure Bonpo deities.

One can see that this Bon is greatly contaminated by Buddhism: but to judge from the images on the altars, which look very old and do not betray great analogies with Buddhist deities, the process of Buddhism in the spread of the country would not seem to be very old.

The temple of Tarāp (Fig. 10) is called T'ar rgyas p'un ts'ogs gliñ: it contains images of sTon pa mi bo gšen rab, of Yum c'en mo, rNam par rgyal ba: on a shelf there is the rnam t'ar of Mi bo gšen rab (gZer mig), large edition in twelve volumes. In the Roñ to the north-east there are two rÑiñ ma pa temples: Me c'ims (?) on a mountain spur and Gad dkar in the plane. Huge mc'od rten with the Bonpo svastikas are erected along the road.

As to the disposal of the dead I was told by the local priest that as a rule the corpse is thrown into the river: but in some cases it may also be burnt; then a circle of stones is arranged round the place where the ashes have been deposited. Along the track before reaching Charkā I noticed some stones arranged in a circle which I was told were burial places (Fig. 6). They are absolutely similar to those published by G. N. Roerich many years ago, which show the same arrangement of stones ¹⁾.

To conclude, this Bon po is a mere contamination of Lamaism with aboriginal cults and ideas, but it cannot be considered to represent the old Bon of Tibet.

Pale is the last village where Tibetan is still understood; the population is largely Bonpo; the headman, himself a Bonpo, is a painter (lha bris pa), acquainted also with Hindu iconography as can be seen from the frescoes, of which he is the author, in the *pronaos* of the temple of Tibrikot. In this temple side by side with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa we find Śākyamuni and Mi bo gšen rab, the Bonpo Master.

¹⁾ J. N. ROERICH, *The animal style among the Nomad tribes of Northern Tibet*, Seminarium Kondakovianum, Prague 1930, ff. 1, 2. Cf. J. MARINGER, *Gräber und Steindenkmäler in der Mongolei*, in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. XIV, 1949-55, p. 303 ff., fig. 5, 6. Taf. III, 6. Some stones are erected in the fields as are considered to shelter the lha protecting the field itself (Fig. 9).

PRELIMINARY REPORT

After leaving Pale one finds on the way some m c ' o d r t e n (Fig. 11); they look like gates under which the road passes.

The ceiling is covered with frescoes which a person not well acquainted with things Tibetan might take for Buddhist: but they represent Bonpo deities displayed round the five B o n s k u , the center being r T o g r g y a l y e š e s m k ' y e n (Figg. 12, 13).

Chapter II.

J U M L A

§ 5 – *From Pale to Jumla.* Pale is the meeting place of Buddhism, Lamaism, and Bon. After that village Hinduism rules unopposed, except for a *gompā* in Tārākot and a few others scattered on either side of the valley ¹⁾. A Buddhist center is in Cha, at the bottom of the Moria-lekh; the people here are Kheti, but follow Lamaism.

Bon reaches as far as Muni on the other side of the Moria-lekh, a village inhabited by Khampas breeding ponies and trading on them.

Between Pale and Tibrikot nothing of great importance is found: the first villages are chiefly inhabited by Magars, then the Bāman and Kheti infiltration begins.

In Tibrikot the temple dedicated to *Tripureśvarī* (Fig. 15) does not seem to be very old; the goddess is represented by a stone inside the shrine; the stone is said to have descended there from heaven. A *pujāri* is in charge of the shrine. The country is inhabited by Bāman, Kheti, Rājput and Magar. Before reaching the village of Sarasvatīrtha a kind of *stūpa* is seen: near by there is a *yūpa* for the sacrifice of the buffalo which takes place at the Dussera festival: in the interior the image of an ox head roughly carved on a stone can be noticed. Then after the village (inhabited by Bāman

¹⁾ Before reaching Pale one sees to the left of the Tarāpkholā the *bSam ṅdul dgon pa* (on the map: Chhandul Gompā); other small shrines are in the valley of the Bārbung kholā: *bDe c'en dpal ri* and *ṅBri guñ dgon pa*. They have been founded some years ago by a *bla ma* of *ṅBri guñ*. In Tārākot there is also a small *lha k'añ* called *bSam bde gliñ*.

and governed by a Panchayat) a stone mask of the devī is placed on a heap of stones in the middle of the paddy fields.

During all this part of the journey one comes across some wooden images erected near the houses. The most conspicuous is in Rimi (inhabited chiefly by Kheti) (Fig. 17). Though I did not stop in the village and therefore could not get that familiarity with the people which is likely to inspire confidence in them, and to help the traveller to collect reliable information, I was told that those images are the effigies of the builders of the village itself. This custom is found in many places and I had many of these sculptures, often also in stone, photographed (Fig. 36).

Along the route, heaps of stone are also noticeable which seem to be inspired in their shape by the stūpa; they have nothing in common with Buddhism, but certainly have a sacred character. Some of them are found in a corner of the paddy fields, regularly surmounted by a stone in the shape of a liṅga: inside there is a hole or a kind of window, meant for burning offerings to the bhūt before harvesting (Fig. 14).

Of special interest is the temple of Litākot on the route Jumla–Chilkhā: it is located below the village and is dedicated to a goddess called Māi. It is nothing but a hut facing east and opened in front (Fig. 33). Some stones placed inside represent the deity; wooden images roughly carved leaning against the walls or standing outside the temple are said to represent the builders of the temple and its donors (Fig. 34); similar images are found along the route wherever there is a sacred tree and a stone underneath supposed to represent respectively the shrine and the deity. The pandit who accompanied me insisted on calling all those people worshippers of bhūt; according to him they cannot be called Hindu.

As regards the temple of Litākot, it strikes one as being very primitive; still it is very near to Jumla and in an area where ruins of stone temples are not rare; more than a survival

it looks like the expression of a different culture which has not yet completed its hinduization.

Such temples as that of Litākot, as well as the wooden pillars which I mentioned before, show great analogy to similar buildings or images among the Nāgas ¹⁾. In a few cases some rough stone sculptures appear (Fig. 16) as if the primitive intuition worshipping the aniconic stone participating in a sacred presence were beginning to assume a human form. This world is not definite: it is complex, many cultural elements of different origin coexist and some of them are beginning to evolve and change.

There is no doubt that future exploration of Nepal and of the sub-Himalayan valleys will find other islands of these cultures and new links with the probable centers of their diffusion. Instead of these primitive wooden images, in the places where the hinduization was deeper and older, one finds stone pillars. The first were found immediately after Jumla (Fig. 32) and the last was met in the Tarai, just below Surkhet (Fig. 59). They are carved, and very often they bear also inscriptions; but the quality of the stone is such that it does not resist the impact of time, the consequence being that generally no inscription is now legible. The images carved on the surface represent a *stūpa*, with three flowers symbolising the three jewels, a mountain, (Fig. 47) a lotus, the sun and the moon, a warrior holding the bridle of a horse, a horse. They are quadrangular and very often terminate in a pear-shaped top (Figs. 46, 48, 56, 57, 58). On the top of a wooden pillar (Fig. 35) a kind of bird is perched which reminds me of an animal (a bird? a lion?) on a *stūpa* of Michagaon (Fig. 28).

Only in a few cases some letters of the inscriptions can be read: on a pillar to the right of the track before reaching Tatopani ²⁾ one reads: *Dhāulapāni* which is the name of the

1) See e.g. J. H. HUTTON, *The Angami-Naga*, figg. at p. 46, 51, 227.

2) Marked on the map as Hot Spring, immediately after Jumla.

village above (Fig. 37). The following are the places where these pillars are specially to be found; between Tatopani and Nāgma, before and after Chilkhā; at Kālikot, at Gumlikali and Dangargaon, before Dullu, at Dullu, on the road Dullu-Surkhet, in the Tarai (about six miles from Surkhet).

Before reaching Jumla, in a large maidan called Guḍichour one meets the first stone monument (Fig. 18), which appears as a surprise in a country where there seems to exist no trace of older and higher culture; no ancient stone building is found before reaching this place. It is a small temple near which huge stone pillars are erected (Fig. 19). It is impossible to state whether it was Buddhist or Hindu. Some images are carved on the basement of the door and they probably represent the donors. On other slabs flowers are engraved (Fig. 20).

Jumla is now a small town (Fig. 27), the seat of a governor; it is surrounded by many villages scattered in a very fertile valley. The cultivation of rice as well as the breeding of horses is the greatest resource of the country, the rice of Jumla is very much appreciated and it was formerly, so I was told, sent also to Kathmandu. The ponies are sold in India. The place is rich and potentially it can feed a population much larger than the present one. There is therefore some reason for the former importance of Jumla, fully attested by historical documents.

In the village itself no monument is left: the Gorakṣa temple (Fig. 26) is not old.

The first ruins are found to the north of Jumla on the way to Mugu: in a place called Bhadaribhaḍā there are a stūpa and a shrine (Fig. 22-24); the proximity of the stūpa to the shrine suggests that the latter also was dedicated to some Buddhist deity. On the ceiling—in the shape of the so called lantern-roof—(Fig. 25) the figure of lotus is engraved: on one of the panels traces of *graffiti* are visible.

PRELIMINARY REPORT

I was told in Jumla that in the village of Michagaon there were many temples: I visited the place and found that there was no trace of temples but in the proximity of the village I saw many stone stūpas of a peculiar shape (Fig. 29-30). To my enquiries if there were inscriptions, the headman replied that he was not aware of their existence: other villagers, on the contrary, insisted on having noticed some characters engraved on the basement of the biggest stūpa. Yielding rather unwillingly to my requests at last they removed some shrubs and underneath, on the front-side of the basement, traces of an inscription appeared: Oṃ svasti śrīśāke 1423 māse 11 tithau. ne.. jita rāula javan mātya puṇya | ku...

On the basement of another stūpa of smaller proportions I had only the time to read Oṃ svasti śrīśāke 1404, because an old witch started a great row and excited the people against us. To avoid unpleasant consequences it was necessary to desist from any further excavations.

Javan is a family name and probably the name of some members of the nobility of Jumla ¹⁾.

¹⁾ See below p. 123, ff. Rāul is frequent, as a title, in Garhwal, see HEARGREAVES, *Annual Rep. of the Superintendent Hindu & Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, 1914: Jagan Raul Jogi, Jata Raul Jogi in the temple of Jageśvar.

Chapter III.

THE KHASA RULERS OF WESTERN TIBET AND WESTERN NEPAL

§ 6. – *Inscriptions and temples of Pṛthvīmalla and the Malla dynasty.* Some of the most important discoveries made in the course of the expedition concern a king unknown so far and the monuments which were built by his immediate predecessors or by himself. This king is Pṛthvīmalla: his inscriptions were found in a village near Jumla (Shitushka) ¹⁾, on the road to Jhelli, at Ḍakachour, and two, the most important, in Dullu. Those of Jhelli and Ḍakachour give us only the names of the king; the first is carved on a big boulder along the track: Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ. Māṃgalaṃ bhavatu śrīpṛthvīmalladevaḥ | $\begin{smallmatrix} \circ & \circ \\ \circ & \circ \end{smallmatrix}$ likhitam idaṃ puṇyam jagati sidya syā ²⁾ (Fig. 60).

All over the country there are stone temples such as those of Chilkhā (Figg. 38, 39,) and Jhelli (Figg. 40-42): two are seen in Kālikot (Figg. 44, 45), another village of Rājput. The temples can be divided into two groups: one (Fig. 40) is similar to the shrines very common all over the Himalayan region: Bajnāth (Kīragrāma) in Kangra ³⁾, Dwarahat, *ASAR*, 1923-1924, Plate IV, c.; Joshināth, A. Heim und A. Gansser, *Thron der Götter*, Zürich, Morgarten, 1938 fig. 198.

¹⁾ See below § 15: in this village on the spur of a hill there is a *stūpa* (Fig. 31): on one side oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ is engraved in big rañjanā characters.

²⁾ The reading is clear: mistake for *siddham syāt*?

³⁾ Jamadagni Temple, Fig. 165 in J. FERGUSSON, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 298.

The other type is that of Chilkhā: large square basement pyramidal roof surmounted by a wheel. On the side pillar of the door of the shrine in Kālikot an image in the shape of Atlas is carved. The carvings on some stone stele near by represent lotus flowers (Fig. 43). Proceeding on the way to Dullu one looks down to the village of Mānma where another ancient stone temple is visible; another, I am told, is preserved in Auri on the road to the Karnāli; a Buddhist stūpa is also at the bottom of the Auri pass near the small village of Ḍakachour: near to it there is a stone stele. It was my Pandit who discovered it while halting in the place: he told me that there is a short inscription of which he could read only: oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ: a n e n a p u ṇ y e n a s a r v e s a t t v ā ś r ī b h a v a n t u ś r ī p ṛ t h v ī m a l l a ḥ j a g a t i . . .

I will now pass to the inscriptions at Dullu which suggest many problems.

Dullu (at present under a petty rāja who was deposed when the revolution was at its start, but was then reinstated) is a place of great archaeological interest. There are two stone temples (Fig. 49) similar to those which I discovered near Jumla, Jhelli and elsewhere; they are no longer officiated and it is difficult to say to what deity they were consecrated. In front of the royal palace there is a stone lion (Fig. 51) of rather crude workmanship; not very far under an image of Hanumān, there is a fragment of a small but very fine statue of some god or Bodhisattva (Fig. 50) of which the head is missing.

In Dullu there are three inscriptions: one is engraved on a pillar emerging from the paddy fields before one reaches the village, to the left of the Auri-Dullu road. The letters are completely effaced and only the mantra: Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ can now be read. The mantra is written in Tibetan characters (Fig. 52).

A second inscription is engraved on a reservoir about one mile from Dullu on the way to Surkhet. This reservoir of water (v ā p i) is an imposing building made of large and massive stone blocks; on the lintel on the top of the door there is a well preserved inscription (Fig. 55). The reservoir of water is covered; above the roof, at the four corners, the foundation can still be seen of four s t ū p a s; a bigger s t ū p a is in the middle; therefore five s t ū p a s in all were then disposed according to the mandalic arrangement (Fig. 54). The inscription is the following.

o ṃ ma ṇi pa d me h ū ṃ (in ra ṅ ja n ā characters)

1. oṃ svasti śrīśāke 1276 paṣe vadi 2 śukravāśare ¹⁾ mahārājādhīrājaparamēśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaparama ²⁾dhārmi[ka]
2. paramakalpadrumāvātāśrīmatpṛthvīmalladevavijayarājye | mahāmatyaśrīyaśovarmadevānām samaye ||
3. naṣṭā śrīr bhi(sic) ³⁾marājasya dhanarājasya dhīmataḥ | cchattyālavamaśatilakaḥ sūnur gramthadvavarmaṇaḥ || nāvalladevyā samjāto ||
4. devavarmā mahāmatih | tenāpūrvatarā vāpī nirmītā amara-vallabhā || caityapaṃcakasamyuktā vasati[r] buddhasaṃtateḥ | vi
5. śrāmabhūmi śrāntānām jīvitam sarvadehinām ⁴⁾ mahāmatya śrīmaddevavarmadevaiḥ sarvasattvopakārārtham sva-kīyokta
6. budhyā (sic) nūtanarītyā | devānām api vallabhā | vāpī viracitā || likhita dharmadāsenā | iti subham astu

Meanwhile in the S a ṃ s k ṛ t a s a ṃ d e ś a published in Kathmandu (nn. X-XII, p. 54) the same inscription has

1) Corr.: vāsare.

2) ma written above.

3) Corr.: bhī.

4) Metre: naṣṭā-dehinām, śloka; in l. 4, read: nirmītāmarā.

been edited by Bāburām Ācarya and Nayarāj Panta, on a rubbing sent to Kathmandu by an official on tour in that part of Nepal.

This edition differs in some points from mine and has not been commented upon.

The inscription was written during the victorious reign of Pṛthvīmalla in the ś ā k a year 1276 = A.D. 1354/5 while the prime minister was Yaśovarman.

The fortune (Śrī) of Bhīmarāja, evidently a local chief, came to an end, viz. probably his family had no issue or he was eliminated by Pṛthvīmalla; then Devavarman of a new family, the Chatyāla, took his place; he was the son of Gramthadva and Nāvalladevī; he had a reservoir of water made along with the five c a i t y a alluded to before as a seat of the progenies of the Buddha, a refuge for those who are tired and a source of life to all living beings. This work was undertaken by Devavarman for the spiritual benefit of all living beings. The man who wrote it was Dharmadāsa. The inscription (apart from the formula o ṃ m a ṇ i p a d m e h ū ṃ written on top) is of evident Buddhist inspiration.

Another inscription, was found at the extreme end of the village on the road Dullu-Surkhet (Figg. 53, 61 A, B). It is engraved on both sides of a huge pillar: it is badly preserved. I took rubbings and photos of it and I am now in a condition to reproduce the readable portions of the same. On both sides there is engraved the image of a st ū p a and the mantra: O ṃ m a ṇ i p a d m e h ū ṃ in rañjanā characters.

I – FRONT ¹⁾

1 svasti || seve padmollasadvaktraṃ

2 dānaśauṇḍaṃ vināyakam || yo dośa ²⁾

¹⁾ Italics are used for doubtful readings.

²⁾ Read: 'dośaś.

- 3 ś caturō dhatte prajā naḥ śivabhāvitah |
 4 1 || ādityavaṃśe bhavad ādipālo nṛpas su
 5 to syāmarapālabhūpaḥ | sutas tadyo jaya
 6 pālabhūpas tatsūnur āsīd vijayādipālah ||
 7 2 || śrīvirapāla nṛpatis tato bhūt tasmā
 8 d abhūt vikrama¹⁾pālabhūpaḥ | śrīpālabhūpas ta
 9 nayas tadyah śrīdhīrapālam tanayam sa le
 10 bhe || 3 || somapālo nṛpas tasmāt sūryapāla
 11 s tato bhavat | tajjah samudrapālo bhūt sukha
 12 pālas tadātmajah || 4 || tataḥ khyāto dhi
 13 śo jani vigaha²⁾pālakṣitipatis tato
 14 jātaḥ śrīmān varagajamahīpālanṛpa
 15 tiḥ | sa jivā saṃkhye rīn vihitavasati
 16 r gohaviṣaye su = = = dhīkhyātakṛtavi
 17 pulān cīnanṛpatīn || 5 || sugīta -
 18 - - - - -
 19 - - - - - ṣṭakrame
 20 - - - - - || 6 || viṣaye - - kārākhye
 21 - - - - - stambhakatvāt sapatnā
 22 - - - - . avāpa saḥ || 7 || . inarendra
 23 kule jāto jīvapālāhvayo nṛpa [h] | śrī
 24 - - - - - gelāhvayam . i
 25 - || 8 || - - - - - cala - - - - -
 26 - bhūpaḥ | śrījayākhyo nṛpas tasmād aja
 27 niṣṭa mahāyaśāḥ || 9 || puṇyamallāhva
 28 yah śrīmān bhūpas tasmād ajāyata | sādhi
 29 śakunamālākhyā saddharmyā tanmaḥiṣya a
 30 bhūt || 10 || śrīmāllanāmadheyo sti prathama
 31 s tanayas tayoḥ | jayanta iva lakṣmīvā
 32 n śacīnamucividviṣoḥ || 11 || atha
 33 khyāti - - - - yo jāv īśvaratām agāt | tena
 34 śrīnāgarājena semjāpuryām sthiti[h] kṛtā || 12 ||

1) The syllable ma written below the line.

2) Metri causa for vighraha?

II – BACK

- 1 oṃ svasti | tasmāc cāpas tasmāc cāpilla
- 2 krāśicalla iti tasmāt | tasmāt krādhi
- 3 calla krācallas tata iti kramād bhūpāḥ | 13 |
- 4 krācallajo bhūbhṛd aśokacallo digbhitti
- 5 ṣu kṣāntilatāṃ tatāna | jitārimalla
- 6 s tanayo tha tasya tasyātmaḥ thākṣaya
- 7 mallanāmā | 14 || aśokasuta ānaṃda
- 8 mallas tadanu tadbhavaḥ | ripumallo tha saṃgrāma
- 9 mallas tasya tanūbhavaḥ || 15 || āditya
- 10 mallo tha jitārisūnuḥ kalyāṇa
- 11 mallasya nṛpasya mātā | kālyāṇa
- 12 malliḥ prathate sma bhūmau pratāpamallā
- 13 hvayabhṛt kṣitiśaḥ || 16 || sa svayaṃ nā
- 14 garājasya naivāśeṣayad anvayaṃ | atha
- 15 gelānvayaḥ puṇyamallas tatrābhyaṣi
- 16 cyata | 17 || tataḥ śakunamālāyā
- 17 ś caṃdramālābhīdhā¹⁾ sutā | sutaś ca pṛ
- 18 thvīmālakhyo jātau tatra kramādi
- 19 mau || 18 || samrājyasakulārṇava
- 20 samāyātamaḥbhṛtām | vīraśrīpṛthi
- 21 vīmallaḥ khyātakīrtir virājate || 19 ||
- 22 dhanāni dadatārthibhyo dharmakarmāṇi
- 23 kurvatā | pṛthvī mallena bhūbhartrātithya
- 24 kṛtayugīkṛtā || 20 || tasyaikā dha
- 25 rmamālākhyā dīpamālāhvayāparā
- 26 ubhe devyau virājete viṣṇor bhūmīśri²⁾
- 27 yāv iva || 21 || bhikṣūṇāṃ dvijadha

1) Sic for abhidhā.

2) bhūmi metri causa for bhūmi: bhūdevī is the second wife of Viṣṇu:
J. GONDA, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*. Utrecht 1954, p. 230 and literature there.

28 rmabhāṇakāṇām sūtradhārakā
 29 ṇām ca | nijarājye sarvakarās te
 30 nācaṃdrārkatārakam tyaktāḥ || 22 ||
 31 bālasarasvatisumatiprasāstim aka
 32 rod imām kalānipuṇaḥ | abhivija
 33 yasimhaḥ sudhīś caturaḥ śivarājasū
 34 tradhāras ca || 23 || graharṣisūryagaṇābde
 35 śāke jyeṣṭhaḥ – – cakre | sudyāhe bhānu
 36 vāre sau kīrti – – – rāśinaḥ ¹⁾ || 24 ²⁾ ||

Then on the left side, at the bottom: ś r i ś ā k e 1279.

§ 7. – *Pālas and Mallas*. The great importance of this inscription is evident. It gives us the genealogy of two families, who at a certain moment coalesce. The Mallas here mentioned have nothing in common with the Mallas against whom Mānadeva fought; theirs is a title which they took, as we shall see, after a certain time of their rule. I give here the series of the kings of the two families as far as the names are still legible.

A) (ādityavaṃśa)

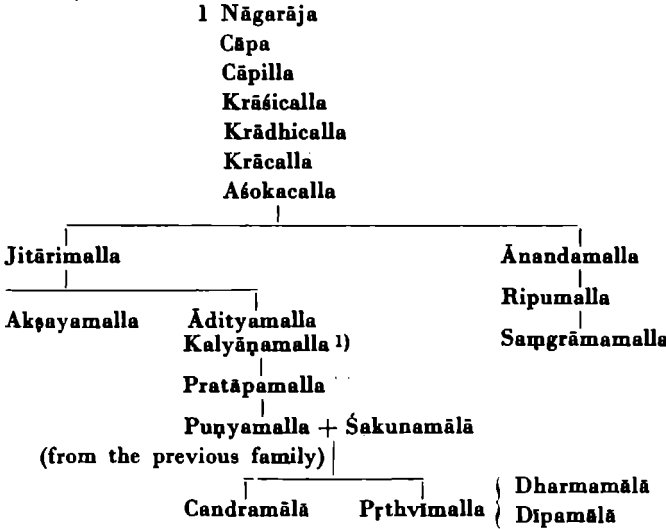
Ādipāla
 Amarapāla
 Jāyapāla
 Vijayādipāla
 Śrivirapāla
 Vikramapāla
 Śrīpāla
 Śrīdhīrapāla
 Somapāla
 Sūryapāla
 Samudrapāla
 Sukhapāla
 Vīgrahapāla

1) The reading of this stanza except the date is uncertain. After jyeṣṭhaḥ one could read ṣ ṭ a m e; in this case ā would be missing. But the date can be either Sunday 2 or 9 jyeṣṭha, śukla, 21 or 22 May 1357.

2) Metres: 1 śloka, 2 upajāti, 3 indravajrā, 4 śloka, 5-8 uncertain metres 9-13 śloka, 14 upajāti, 15 śloka, 16 upajāti, 17-21 śloka, 22-23 gīti.

Mahipāla
 dhi
 Śrījayākhya
 Puṇyamalla + who marries Śakunamālā
 |
 Śrīmalla

B)



It appears that Pratāpamalla had no scions and that after him Puṇyamalla of the other family of the Sela²⁾ was enthroned, thus continuing the progeny of Nāgadeva. This Puṇyamalla married Śakunamālā and was the father of Pṛthvīmalla; the sister of the latter was Candramālā; Pṛthvīmalla married Dharmamālā and Dīpāmālā who shone as two śrī of Viṣṇu descended on earth.

Pṛthvīmalla is praised for having exempted for ever from taxation, the bhikṣu, the brahmins (dvija), the preachers (dharmabhāṇaka) and the artisans sūtradhāraka. The inscription distinguishes the poet Abhivijaya-siṃha and the sūtradhāraka Śivarāja; the former is the author of the praśasti and the latter engraved

¹⁾ From the inscription it is uncertain whether this is the son of Ādityamalla or of Samgrāmamalla. I follow DT, GR, DM.

²⁾ Or Gela.

it on the jayastambha. The sūtradhāra, sūtradhāraka is the artisan, as is well known in epigraphic records.

§ 8. – *The inscription agrees with the Tibetan Chronicles.* This inscription has a great bearing on the history of Western Tibet and it confirms that the genealogies of the kings of Guge, as preserved in the Tibetan chronicles, apart from orthographical errors, are fairly exact: their accuracy goes as far as to mention the change which took place after Pr at ā p a m a l l a .

We know in fact from the rGyal rabs gsal bai me lon, the Deb t'er snon po, dPao gtsug lag ap'reñ ba, Sum pa mk'an po and other historical books or authors that a dynasty, called in Tibet rMal or sMal, ruled over Guge in Western Tibet. They succeeded, at a certain time, to the lDe family, which claimed to descend from the kings of Lhasa, conquered Guge and settled in the later country when, after the murder of gLan dar ma (842 A. D.), Tibet fell into great disorder. I have given in *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. II, *Rin c'en bzan po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al mille*, p. 17 ff. ¹⁾ the list of these kings of Guge, but it will now be useful to republish it here according to the various Tibetan historical sources.

G r a g s p a r g y a l m t s ' a n (1147-1256) Vol. Ta, p. 199

K'ri sKyid ldiñ

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| dPal gyi mgon rules over: Mar yul | | bKra šis mgon: Žan žuñ p'yi and nañ Pu roñ (sic) Ya rtse | | sDe gtsug mgon: K'u bu la sogs Mon yul rnam |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|--|---|

¹⁾ Roma, Accademia d'Italia, 1933.

ṗ P' a g s p a, Vol. Ba, p. 361, b

sKyid lde

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| dPal mgon: Mar luñs kyi btsad mo rnam: all the rulers of Mar luñs are descended from him | bKra šis mgon: Žaň žuñ p'yi naň, P'u rañs pa, Ya ts'e pa | lDe gtsug mgon: K'u ṗbu pa Mon yul na 'ñ ci rigs pa yod (all sorts of tribes in the country of the Mon) |
|---|---|--|

B u s t o n, Y a, p. 131, b
(OBERMILLER, p. 200 and 215)

Ñi ma mgon banished to mÑa' ris builds Ñi šuñ in Pu rañ (in the Lhasa ed.: Ñi g z u ñ s)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dPal gyi lde rig pa lde mgon: Mar yul (Lhasa ed.: Mañ yul) | bKra šis lde mgon: Pu rañ | lDe gtsug mgon: Žaň žuñ |
| | ṗK'or lde (Lhasa ed.: ṗK'or re) (Ye šes 'od) he founds mT'o liñ (ldiñ) | Sroñ lde (Lhasa ed.: Sroñ ñe) Lha lde |
| | | 'Od lde, mÑa' bdag, ruler rTse lde dBañ lde |
| | | Ži ba 'od (cal-led p'o brañ) ¹⁾ |
| | | Byañ c'ub 'od (btsun pa) |

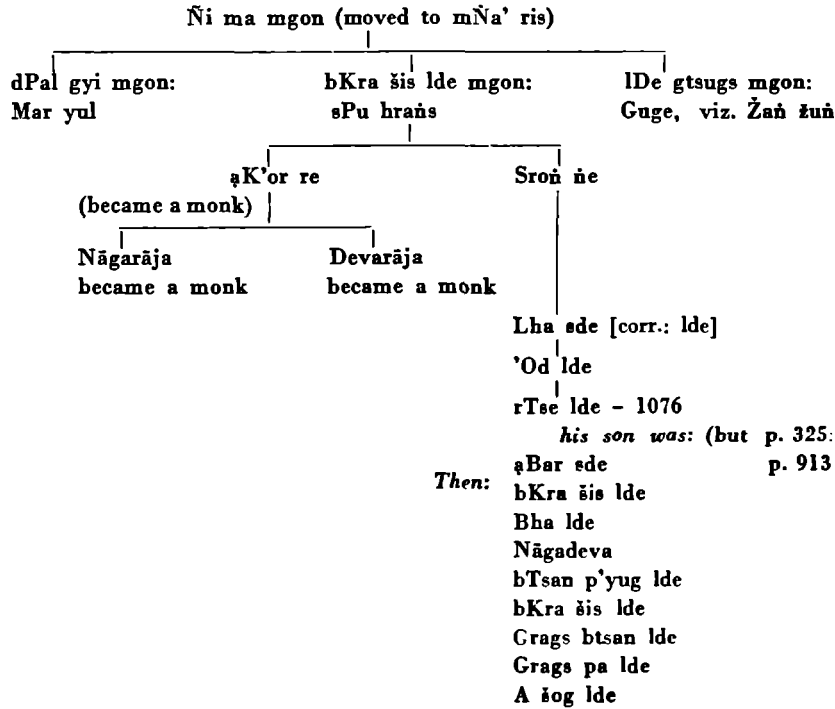
1) ṗ P' o b r a ñ is the title of the second son in a ruling family.

This fact helps us to understand a document found in Tun-huang and edited some years ago by Marcelle Lalou (*IHQ*, XVI, 1940, p. 292). This document belongs to the time of K'ri gtsug lde brtsan viz. Ral pa can and it tells of some meritorious actions such as writings of holy texts and building of a mc'od rten. Then the document adds Jo mo btsan mo ṗp'an gyi sras gyi p'o brañ 'od sruñ gi sku yon du, which Mlle Lalou, *ibid.*, p. 297 translates: "the queen as a gift from the 'Od sruñ Palace of the ṗp'an yum sras".

I think that the text should be understood in a different way: "as a gift of prince 'Od sruñ the son of the mother ṗp'an btsan mo". As a matter of fact we gather from PT that 'Od sruñ was the son of bTsan mo ṗp'an of the Ts'e spoñ clan (Ts'e spoñ bza').

This interpretation confers a special importance to the text in question because it confirms the validity of the Tibetan genealogies which tells us that 'Od sruñ was one of the two sons of gLañ dar ma and exactly of bTsan mo ṗp'an: the fact that he is called p'o brañ shows that he was the younger of the two: on the other hand, the reference to his mother implicately indicates that the wives of gLañ dar ma were more than one.

Deb t'er (Blue Annals, p. 37)



his sons:

ʃJi dar rmal A nan rmal
 A jid rmal Reu rmal; then:
 Ka lañ rmal Sangha rmal
 Bar btab rmal

with him the royal lineage of Ya rtse came to an end.

d P a o g t s u g ʃ p ' r e ñ b a
 Ja, p. 141, b.

Ñi mgon
 (mÑa' ris)

Two ministers:

Žaň Pa ts'ab Rin c'en sde and Cog ro Legs sgra(?) lha legs accompanied him up to Bye ma gyuñ druñ¹⁾: he was asked to be king of the people of mÑa' ris b s k o r g s u m . He founded the castle of Ñ i b z u ñ s in s P u r a ñ s and, as agreed, the two ministers sent him their daughters as wives.

from Cog ro bza':

the three sTod mgon are descended:

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| dPal gyi lde rig pa mgon: Mar yul | bKra šis lde mgon: sPu rañs | lDe gtsug mgon: Žaň žuñ |
| Sroñ ñe Nāgarādsa and Devarādsa (then called Lha Bla ma ye šes 'od) founded mT'o liñ dpal gyi lha k'añ | | ʃK'or re founded K'a c'ar (Kojarnāth) |
| Lha lde | | |
| 'Od lde rTse lde ʃBar lde; then in succession: bKra šis lde Lha lde Nāgadeva (then his son:) bTsan p'yug lde became mña' bdag of Ya tse (Follows on page 55) | P'o brañ Ži ba 'od | btsun pa Byañ c'ub 'od (invites Atiša) |
| } became rulers (btsan po) of mÑa' ris | | |

¹⁾ This is the river Chemayungdrun, Chema yundung, (discussion in SVEN HEDIN, *Southern Tibet*, s. v. Chema-yund(o)ung(gi)-chu, General Index. Vol. IX. Bye ma sa t'añ is near Kojarnāth; see below p. 61.

PRELIMINARY REPORT

bKra śis lde

GragS btsan lde

GragS pa lde

A śo ga lde

(he bought from the Sog po forty-two groñ, villages, which had been offered by A śo ka to rDo rje gdan, Bodhgayā)

¶Ji t'ar smal

A jid smal (4)

(Iha btsun in Sa skya; afterwards he takes over again the kingdom.

(the family of Ya tse is extinguished. Therefore from Pu rañs bSod nams lde is invited)

Puñya sMal (bSod nams lde) (5)

Priti smal (6) who with his minister dPal ldan grags acted as dānapati of Sa skya²).

A nan smal (1)¹

(he repaired rDo rje gdan) and acted as dānapati of ¶Bri k'uñ

Reu smal (2)

(he became master of many kingdoms in India: he sends gifts to Lhasa

Sangha smal (3)

Nor Chronicles

p. 130, b

Ñi ma mgon

dPal gyi mgon:

Mañ yul

bKra śis mgon:

he took possession of the castle (sku mk'ar) of the father: Ñi zuñ: Pu hrañs, Glo bo, Dol po, Gu ge Ya ts'e etc.

lDe (xyl. sde) gtsug mgon:

Zañ zuñ

'Od kyi rgyal mts'an

Sroñ ñe

he founds T'o liā and hands over the kingdom to the son of his brother (he is ordained as Ye śes 'od)

¶K'or re

Lha lde

['Od lde, missing]

rTse lde

dBañ sde

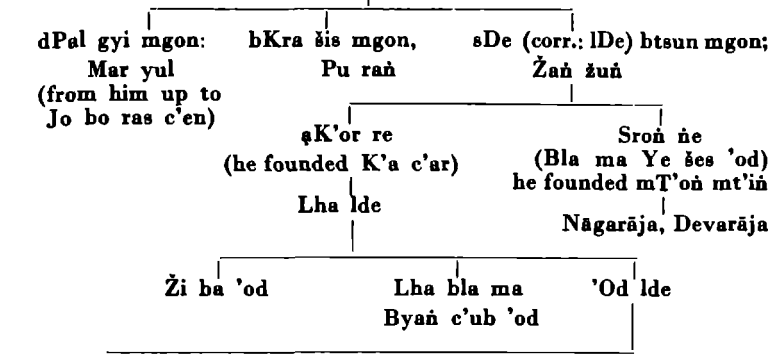
¹) The numbers within brackets refer to the order of succession.

²) Sources: Bu ston and Yar luñs Jo bo rje. The kings between A jid smal and bSod nams lde are missing. Perhaps the copyists left out a few lines.

rGyal rabs, p. 101 a.

sKyid sde ŋi ma mgon

king in mŋa' ris but: sPu rañ la'ñ dbañ bağyur ("ruled also over sPu rañ")



(de nas rim pa bžin du ądi rnams kyis gu ge spu rañs mar yul la sog s dbaň byas pa yin no, then there were in succession the following kings (names) who became rulers of Guge, sPu rañs, Mar yul etc.)

ya rtser byon te rgyal po mdsad ("he went to Ya rtse and became king")

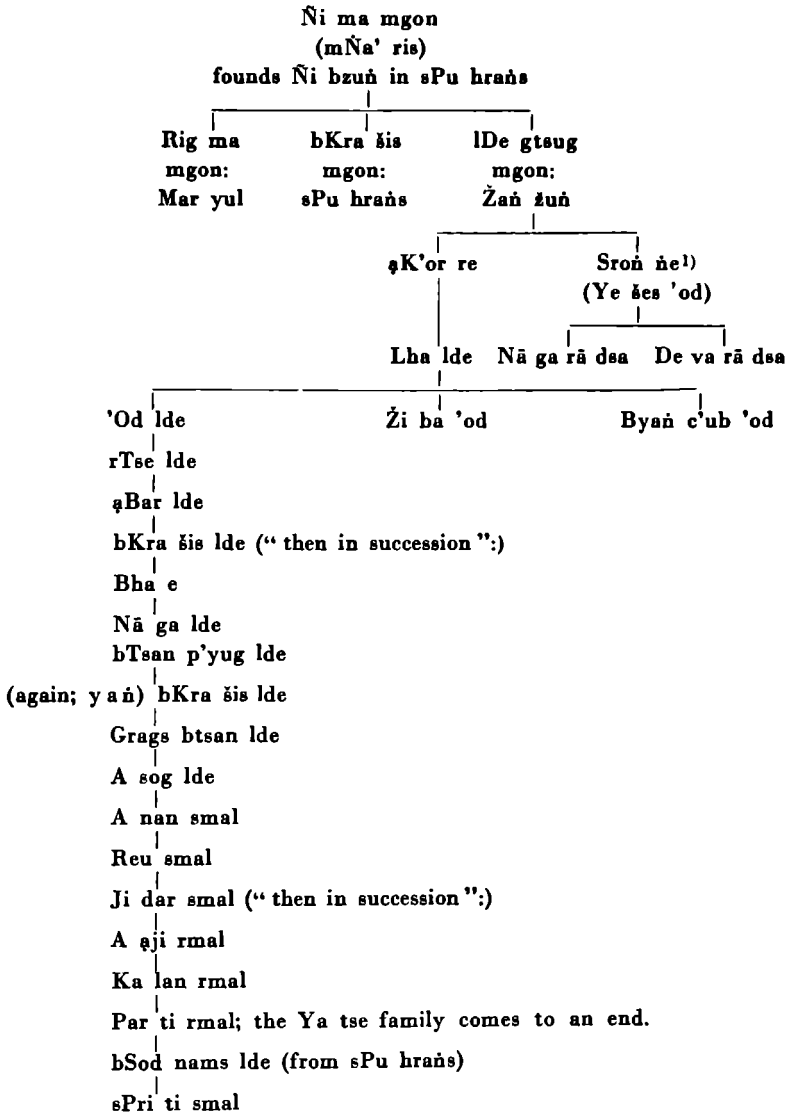
he presented the gser t'og to the dBu t'og of the jo bo of Lhasa

the royal lineage (rgyal rgyud) of Ya rtse comes to an end with Par rti smal. The mŋa' bdag bSod nams sde is invited from Pu rañs

with his minister dPal ldan grags he presents the gser t'og of sPyan ras gzigs with eleven heads of Lhasa.

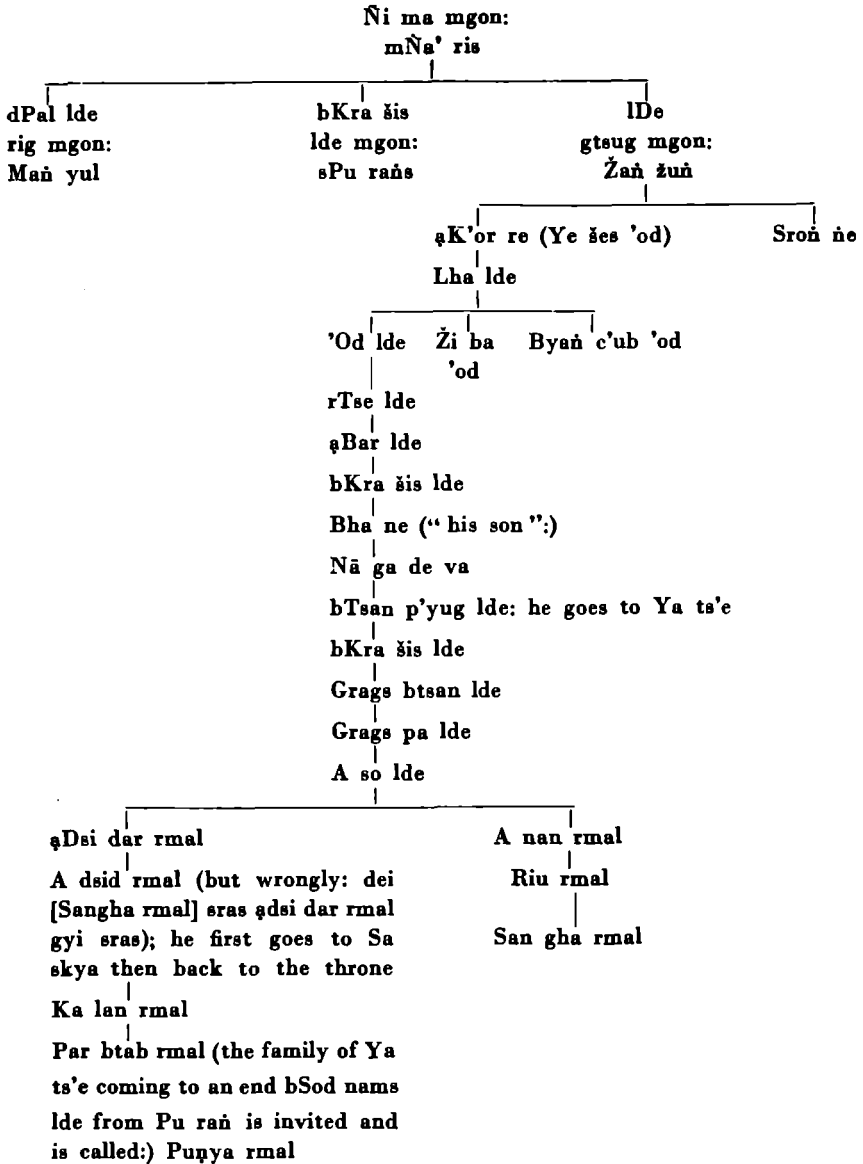
PRELIMINARY REPORT

Deb t'er dmar po, p. 38



1) The contrary statement concerning these two princes contained in *Buston* is attributed to the Yig tsaň of K'ri t'aň Dsña na i.e., Jñāna, a man of Western Tibet (cf. *Blue Annals*, I, 68; II, 1085); he was the author of a biography of Rin c'en bzaň po.

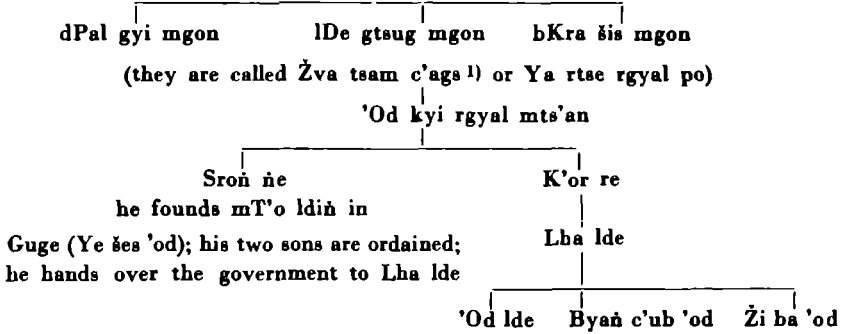
Fifth Dalai Lama's Chronicles, 46 b.



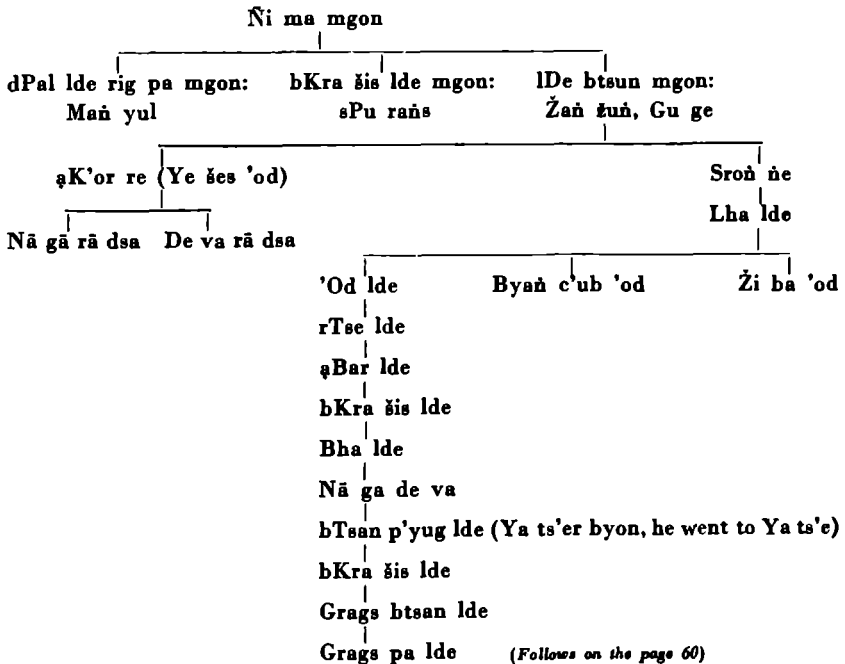
PRELIMINARY REPORT

Pad ma dkar po
p. 107 a.

Ñi ma mgon:
banished in mÑa' ris stod:



Sum pa mk'an po, p. 152



¹⁾ Viz.: the "hat" the other descendents of bKra šis brtsegs are called: Lham tsam c'ags, "the boots".

A so lde

A dsin dar rmal and An na rmal
 Reu rmal

(des rgya gar pai mi sde mañ po blañ pa:
 "he took possession of many territories in India")

Sañ gha rmal

¶Dsin dar rmal

A ¶dsin rmal

(he is ordained in Sa skya; he then comes back
 to his seat)

Ka lan rmal

Par tab rmal

(Ya ts'ei rgyud c'ad: "the family of Ya rtse
 comes to end")

bSod nams lde comes to Ya ts'e
 (he is then called Pu ŋya rmal)

Pra ti rmal

(his minister is dPal ldan grags pa)

Chronicles of Ladakh

p. 92

'Od sruñ protected mÑa' ris according to religion

lDe dpal ak'or btsan; 8 monasteries are founded by him in
 Upper mÑa' ris

sKyid lde Ni ma mgon K'ri bKra šis rtsegs dpal

he proceeds to the west:

he is invited to Pu hrañs and founds Ni zuñs
 he conquers: mÑa' ris skor gsum

Lha c'en dPal gyi mgon:
 Mar yul of mÑa' ris

bKra šis mgon:
 Guge, Pu-hrañs
 rtse (= Ya rtse)

lDe gtsug mgon:
 Zañs dkar, Spiti,
 Spi lcogs

As we can see, the Tibetan sources generally agree as regards the genealogies of the kings of Guge, the only difference being that some of them, depending on the early Sa skya pa chronicles, ignore the sMal, rMal, Malla family; on

the other hand, later chronicles like DT, PT, GR, fifth Dalai Lama, contain the list of the kings of Malla descent and record the fusion of the two branches of Purang and Guge.

We also know from GR and PT that the source responsible for this supplement was the *yig ts'añ* of gSer t'og pa Rin c'en rdo rje (GR) which must be the same as the *c'o s a b y uñ* of the Yar luñs jo bo rje (PT, ja, 142, b) ¹⁾.

The concordance between the Tibetan chronicles (viz. their source) and the inscription proves that Rin c'en rdo rje had access to the family archives of the Mallas or even, which is more probably, that he had a copy of a *praśasti* similar to that of Dullu: it is quite probable that Pṛthvīmalla had many *ja y a s t a m b h a s* such as that of Dullu erected in the most important centres of his kingdom. It is likely that some of them, written in Tibetan, were made for his Tibetan territories. We can thus explain how the Tibetan author so faithfully relates the genealogy, giving the same particulars as those found in our inscription. The minister of Pṛthvīmalla is also rightly mentioned in the Tibetan chronicles: he is the Yaśovarman recorded in the inscription on the reservoir near Dullu.

We can add to the sources quoted the partial genealogy contained in the guide (*dkar c'ag*) of Kojarnāth, a famous Sa skya temple on the border between Tibet and Nepal, to the E. of Taklakot (G. Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 38 ff. ²⁾). The title of this guide is *Lhar bcas a gro bai mc'od sdon jo bo dnul sku mc'ed gsum sñon byuñ gi gtam rañ brjod pai rin c'en... vai dū rya sñon poi pi wañ*. The booklet is a eulogium of a K'or a c'ags (Kojarnath in *Bye ma sa t'añ* founded by a K'or re) and of the three silver

¹⁾ See TPS, p. 635.

²⁾ Cf. CH. A. SHERRING, *Western Tibet*, London 1906, p. 206-7. Pramodakumar Caṭṭopādhyāya, *Himālay pāre Kailās o Mānas-sarovar*, Pravāsi Press, Calcutta, p. 152. Swami Pranavānanda, *Exploration in Tibet*, University of Calcutta, Calcutta 1950, p. 96 ff.

images still worshipped there (G. Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 40). They were the work of two artists, a Nepalese Aśvadharmā and a Kashmirian Vañkuḷa, p. 6, a) and represent: Śesrabgyi lha ṅjam dpal ye śes sems dpa', carved according to the rgya lugs, Indian system, with P'yagna padma to his right and P'yagna rdo rje to his left¹⁾. After king sBa le (= Bha le of GR), Koj. adds: "after him there arose, in succession, Bla c'en sTag tsa k'ri ṅbar, then his sons K'ri bkra śis dños grub mgon and gNam mgon sde. At that time bKra śis sde of the family of the c'os rgyal of Guge came to ṅK'or c'ags in Pu rañ (p. 12, a)". "Afterwards the C'os rgyal A mgon bzañ po²⁾ had in mind the fortune of the holy teaching and of the living beings and repaired the three sorts of religious objects (rten gsum³⁾ p. 12, b)". Then the Hor invaded Guge and robbed the temple⁴⁾.

On the genealogy of the kings this book is rather vague; it once says that Nāgarāja and Devarāja were sons of Sroñ ñe (= Ye śes 'od) and then states that K'oc'ar was founded by ṅK'or re before he was ordained and attributes Lha deva to him as his son, this view being accepted also by other writers: but this name seems a reduplication of Devarāja, lha and deva being identical, (one is Tib. and the other is Sanskrit) or deva is a mistake for sde as in DT etc. Anyhow, the genealogy of these kings is according to the book as follows:

1) There is a tradition that an image of T'ugs rje c'en po was brought there from Chitor by two princes who fled when the town was captured by the Mohammedans and went to the Manasorovar to take shelter (ṅDsam gliñ rgyas bñad). The connection of Kojarnath with Jumla is referred by the same source which states that some images of Kojarnath were made in Jumla.

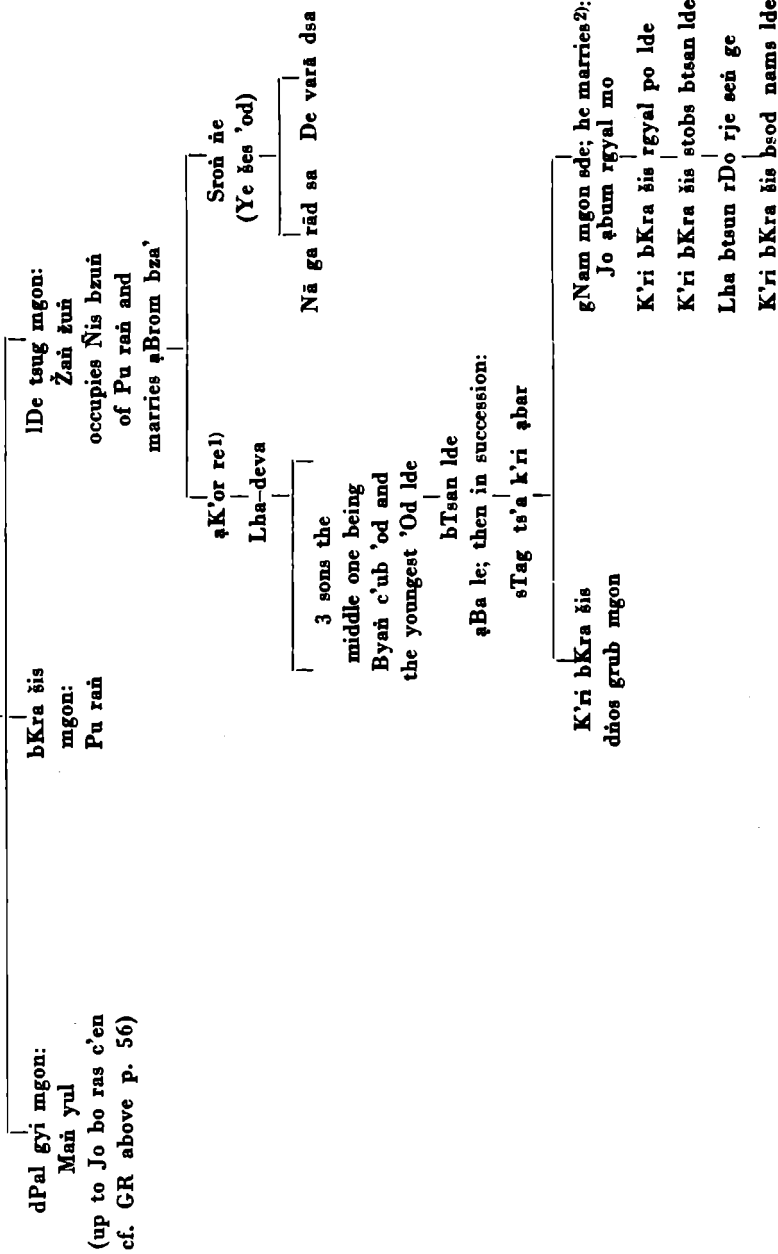
2) This is the c'os rgyal of Glo bo: A mgon bzañ po, see above p. 19, f.

3) s ku, gsuñ, t'ugs.

4) Most probably the invasion here alluded to is that of Zain ul-Abidin (1420-1470) who went as far as Guge, L. PETECH, *A study on the chronicles of Ladakh*, Calcutta 1939, p. 115.

Guide of Kojarnath

Ñi ma ngon: Mañ yul and Pu rañ



1) He also was ordained choosing as his bla ma a Daam glin C'os rje of dKar duñ (on this place see TUCCI, *Seniti e Briganti*, p. 52 ff.); he founded the castle of dKar duñ and that of ʃK'or c'ags.

2) Under his rule K'ri bkra šis sde of Guge came to ʃK'or c'ags in Pu rañ and protected the temple from the danger of the river.

This list starts with the usual genealogy of the descendents of lD e g t s u g m g o n, ruler of Ž a ñ ž u ñ, and with many omissions follows it up to a B a l e. Its probable source has been the GR; in fact it gives the same information about M a ñ y u l and J o b o r a s c ' e n and it agrees with GR on the general spelling of the names: (b T s a n l d e as the successor of ' O d l d e instead of the usual r T s e l d e etc.). But there the agreement with other lists ceases. The family name or title K ' r i is added to many names.

Moreover, it is said, as we saw, that at the time of K ' r i b K r a š i s d ñ o s g r u b and g N a m m g o n the king of G u g e b K r a š i s s d e came to P u r a ñ (where Kojarnath is located) which seems to imply that here the genealogy of the kings of Purang or at least a fragment thereof is contained. Most probably these names prefixed by the family name K ' r i are those of the local rulers who had become vassals of the founders of the Malla dynasty of which we are now speaking.

As can easily be realized there is a general agreement among these lists: the major difference concerning the identity of Ye š e s ' o d who according to one group of texts was a K ' o r r e B, DT, VDL, SP, while according to others he was S r o ñ ñ e, PT, Ń, GR, DM, PK, Koj; this implies that Nāgarāja and Devarāja are said by B, SP to be the sons of a K ' o r r e who begot them before being ordained, and by PT, GR, DM, PK, the sons of S r o ñ ñ e; in any case they are the sons of the king who when ordained took the name of Ye š e s ' o d.

As regards Lha l d e (in Koj, Lha deva mistake for Lha l d e? see p. 62) "who continues the family" he is the son of S r o ñ ñ e according to B, DT, SP, but according to PT, Ń, GR, DM, VDL, PK of a K ' o r r e, though for the VDL a K ' o r r e is Ye š e s ' o d; this means that there has been a confusion between Devarāja the son of a K ' o r r e before being ordained and Lha

lde: the confusion was perhaps caused by the similarity of the name Lha = deva.

Then we cannot fail to notice that there are two names which are differently spelt in our sources and which follow rTse lde: these two names being ṅBar lde, ṅBar sde and Bha le, ṅBha le, Lha lde (PT) (Bha ne in VDL, who calls him the father of Nāgadeva) predecessor of Nāga lde, Nāgadeva. For the first name a Tibetan origin may be possible (ṅbar, ṅbar ba) but DT which praises his devotion calls him dBaṅ p'yug lde— and speaks also of one brother: so the tradition as regards this prince is not certain. The case of Bha le, ṅBha le, Lha lde, Bha ne is more complicated; the uncertainty of the spelling points to some change in the lineage That there was a kind of split, that the record was preserved of some new occurrence in Western Tibetan history is proved not only by the new dynastic title rMal, sMal, Malla and by the Sanskrit turn of the royal names but also by the statements contained in some of these lists:

After ṅBar lde PT says: “ then in succession bKra šis lde, Lha lde, Nāgadeva became generally (p' a l c' e r) masters of mÑa' ris ”; after ṅBha le GR states: “ then in succession bKra šis lde, Bha re, Nā ga lde became masters of Guge, sPu raṅs, Mar yul etc.” as to show that there was a change. We shall see how far the data of the inscription throw some light on this problem; for the time being we can only state, as we saw, that these Western Tibetan genealogies seem to go back to two main sources one being represented by DT, VDL, SP and the other by PT, ṅ, GR, DM, PK, Koj.

Now comparing the data of the Tibetan chroniclers and the list on our inscription, it would appear that there is almost complete agreement between the two series of documents, as is shown by the following scheme:

| Inscr. | Tib. Chr. |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Nāgarāja | Nāgadeva |
| Cāpa | |
| Cāpilla | bTsan p'yug lde |
| Krāśicalla | bKra šis lde |
| Krādhicalla | Gragś btsan lde |
| Krācalla | Gragś pa lde |
| Aśokacalla | A so ga, A so lde |
| Jitārimalla | ṛDsin dar smal, ṛJi dar smal |
| Ānandamalla | A nan, A nan ta smal |
| Ripumalla | Reu, Riu smal |
| Samgrāmamalla | Sam gha smal |
| Ādityamalla son of Ānandam. | A jid smal |
| Kalyāṇamalla | Ka lan smal |
| Pratāpamalla | Par t'ab smal |
| Puṇyamalla of another family | Puṇya rMal (bSod nams) of the family the Purang. |
| Prthvīmalla | Pra ti rmal. |

The succession is clear except for Kalyāṇam. and Pratāpam., but from DT, GR (see p. 50) DM we gather that Kalyāṇa was the son of Ādityamalla. GR duplicates the name of ṛDsi dar smal, see p. 56.

§ 9. – *Chronology.* Now as to chronology, we have some points which seem well ascertained. The religious council of rTse lde was held in the year 1076. An inscription at Balesvar (Sui Bisung) dated 1223 (cf. G. Goetz, *Chronology of the Chand dynasty*, p. 51 from Führer and Atkinson¹⁾) mentions king

¹⁾ FÜHRER, *North-Western provinces and Oudh*, Vol. II. *Monumental antiquities and inscriptions*, 1891, p. 50. ATKINSON, *North-Western Provinces Gazetteer*, vol. XI, pp. 516-528.

Krācalla Deva Jina of K ā n t i p u r a who most probably is the Krācalla of our list.

The translation of this inscription has been published, so far as we can guess (because the text is not reproduced), in a very imperfect way by Atkinson vol. II, p. 516 f.; from it we learn that Krācalla was a devout Buddhist and that he had destroyed Kārtipura. The inscription was issued in Dullu and it is dated 1145 Śāka = A.D. 1223. Aśokacalla is also not unknown; (see Kielhorn, *Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI*, V, p. 79; Kielhorn reads wrongly Aśokamalla; so also in Bhandarkar's list of *Inscriptions of Northern India*, *EI*, IX ff., nn. 1454, 1467, 1468). Mention of him is made in three inscriptions found in Bodhgayā; one of them (*Journ. Bo. As. Society*, XVI, p. 357, Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 78, plate XXVIII), is dated in Lakṣmaṇa era 51 (reedited *EI*, XII, p. 29).

The second inscription records a Sahaṇapāla a treasurer of Daśaratha younger brother of Aśokacalla king of the Khasa in Sapādalakṣa mountains and is dated Lakṣmaṇa era 74 (*IA*, X, p. 346. *EI*, XII, p. 29).

Mention of the same king is made in an inscription ¹⁾ of Puruṣottamasimha of the Kamā (Kumaon) country, dated nirvāṇa era 1813, *IA*, X, p. 341 ff. and XLVIII, 43 ff., *JBORS*, IV, 273.

The nirvāṇa era begins in 543 B.C.: as regards the Lakṣmaṇa era much has been written: according to Kielhorn it should start in 1118 A.D. ²⁾ according to Majumdar in 1200 ca. A.D.

According as we accept the one or the other theory we have two different datations:

1) And according to Bhagwān Lal Indrajī, *IA*, X, p. 345 on the Trident of Gopeśvara where Prinsep *JRASB*, V, p. 486 read Aṇekamalla, ATKINSON, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 513.

2) KIELHORN, *IA*, XIX, p. 2; R. D. BANERJE, *JASB*, 1913, p. 271; H. C. RAY-CHAUDHURI, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*. Part II, p. 1; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *The History of Bengal*, published by the University of Dacca, vol. I, p. 233 and 259; PR. LAL PAUL, *IC*, vol. II, p. 579.

| | | Kielhorn | Majumdar |
|--------------|----|----------|----------|
| Lakṣmaṇa era | 51 | 1170 | 1251 |
| ” | 74 | 1193 | 1274 |

The calculation of Kielhorn must be excluded on account of the date of Krācalla: that of Majumdar is highly probable; there are, it is true, only 83 years to cover the reign of 9 kings from Jitārimalla successor of Aśokacalla and the first inscription of Pṛthvīmalla dated 1357: but some of these kings ruled, if they ruled at all, for a short time; Ādityamalla took the vows; the reign of Pratāpamalla seems also to have been short ¹⁾.

As regards ṛDsi, Dit, in other sources wrongly written ṛD sin smal = Āditya malla, we know from the DT, Blue Annals, p. 605 that in the year 1219 he was initiated by Śes ṛbyuñ: he is called in DT mñ a' b d a g g Y a' t s' e p a, lord of g Y a t' s e. But there is no doubt that this date is wrong; Ādityamalla cannot be younger than Krācalla and a longer interval than required is thus given between him and Puṇyamalla: the date of DT cannot therefore be accepted. As regards Pṛthvīmalla the stele of Dullu is dated Śāka 1279 = 1357; the k a n a k a p a t r a of Jumla (see below) is dated Śāka 1289 = 1376 A.D.

But let us now return to the front of the inscription. Why is it that in this we find another genealogical list? The reply is clear when we remember what we read in the inscription itself and in the Tibetan chronicles as well, that when Pratāpamalla died without leaving any issue (he had been a monk in Sa skya), the throne of Guge (capital Ya rtse) fell into the hands of the rulers of sPu rañ, sPu hrañs. This explains why the inscription contains two v a m ṣ ā v a l i s, that of Puṇyamalla from sPu rañ and that of the kings of Guge whose throne he occupied, when the lineage of the c'os

¹⁾ It is worthy of notice that the Tibetan tradition have preserved the record of the pious activities of Aśokacalla in Gayā, see p. 55.

rgyal of the latter country came to an end. It is also clear why, if this is the case, Prthvimalla begins the genealogical table engraved on the inscription with his own family and places on the second face of the stele the genealogy of the Mallas (from Nāgarāja) whom he succeeded and of whom he took the dynastic name. But if the reading of A. l. 16 is exact the Pālas had also entered Guge. (Goha = Goggadesa of Jonarāja?).

Now this inscription raises many a problem: are these two families, of which the v a ṃ ś ā v a l ī s are here preserved, directly descended from the Lhasa kings as the chronicles would have us to believe?

One might have been tempted to see a change in the royal genealogy of Guge just when the name s M a l, r M a l, i.e. the Indian name M a l l a, takes the place of the older dynastic title l d e. But our inscription points out that this change took place before, at the time of the king called N ā g a r ā j a evidently the same as N ā g a d e v a of the Tibetan sources.

More than that, we may recall what we said before that there are traces of some new events in the history of Western Tibet also in the Tibetan lists: they show, though indirectly, that some change happened with a Bha le, (see above p. 65) though the real, definitive split happens to be during the times of Nāgadeva: with him the series of the Tibetan names gives place to a purely Indian name; after Aśoka that becomes the rule. On the other hand, the name of the ancestor, Nāgadeva is followed by strange names C ā p i l l a, K r ā ś i c a l l a, K r ā d h i c a l l a, K r ā c a l l a, A ś o k a c a l l a: we have seen that they correspond to the Tibetan names:

Cāpilla = bsTan p'yug lde

Krāśicalla = bKra śis lde

Krādhicalla = Grags btsan lde

Krācalla = Grags pa lde

Aśokacalla = A śo ga lde

Krāśi, corresponds phonetically to Tib. bKra šis¹⁾, A śo ga is evidently Aśoka. In Krādhi-calla, Krā-calla, the syllable Krā, in spite of the analogy with Tib. Grags has nothing to do with it. Even now in Western Tibet grags is pronounced: rag (cf. Jäschke s. v.) nor is there any possibility to explain Krādhi with Grags btsan. The second part of their names c a l l a has as its regular counterpart tib. l d e, but it cannot be a transcription of l d e; names like Cāpilla occur in other places, in Kashmir, e.g. Cavillākara the predecessor of Kalhaṇa; in Chambā, Sāhilla (on the suffix: illa cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 402 ff.). On the other hand, we may rightly surmise that bKra šis, Grags pa, Grags btsan etc., are adaptations into Tibetan of personal names of foreign or non Tibetan character; c a l l a may be an epithet rendered when their names were given a Tibetan form, into l d e on the pattern of the title of the previous Tibetan kings; in other words it may be that these rulers, coming from some other part of the Himalayas, and who called themselves Khasa as Aśokalla did in his Gayā inscription (see p. 67), took in Tibet or were given the dynastic names of their predecessors; that there was in the Tibetan part of their kingdom a Tibetanization appears also, as I stated, from the fact that after the sanskrit name N ā g a r ā j a, the genealogical lists followed for a while the Tibetan onomastic patterns.

From our inscription we also gather another very important item of information. We know from the Tibetan sources that the son of Nāgadeva bTsan lde p'yug took possession of Ya ts'e, Ya rtse, Ya tse (PT, GR, VDL, SP) and that when the lineage of the Malla came to an end with Pratāpamalla, Puṇyamalla from Purang came to the capital of the

1) Though most probably, at that time, final s was pronounced.

kings of Guge; this capital being *Y a t s ' e*. The first conclusion to be drawn from these statements is that the ancestors of Puṇyamalla were the rulers of Purang and those of Nāgadeva of Guge. We shall come back to this point.

In conclusion the lists preserved by the Tibetan sources cannot be taken as representing the linear succession of rulers of one and the same family. An invasion from the south-west followed the arrival in Guge of some families from Central Tibet, who were responsible for the first efficient introduction of the Tibetan culture after the colonization started with K'ri sroñ lde btsan and its conquests. Though the inscription of Dullu is very difficult to read, from what is legible we gather that there was a kingdom in Cīna¹⁾ and that in a battle "aj a u" Nāgārāja defeated it and therefore he established his capital in Semjā. There followed a period of unrest during which these families tried to enlarge their dominions at the expense of their neighbours, and with varying fortunes. But which were the territories they occupied? How far did their dominions go? it is difficult to say which were the boundaries and limits of these two countries Purang and Guge: the problem is related to that of the extension of *m Ñ a ' r i s s k o r g s u m*, more complicated than it appears at first hand because the limits and the divisions of this large province varied at different dates. A few words should therefore be added concerning the Tibetan country over which these kings ruled, now generally called Guge, as being a part of *m Ñ a ' r i s s k o r s u m*.

§ 10. — *Žaṅ žuṅ and its extension*. I refer to what I have written in TPS; it appears from the sources there collected (Vol. I, p. 252, n. 36 and vol. II, p. 681, n. 52) that *m Ñ a ' r i s* was included in the division of the country into *c ' o l k ' a* and *k ' r i s k o r* made by the Yüan emperors. The

¹⁾ Perhaps another reference to being a king of Cīna and therefore of Guge (Goha) is, as we saw in A. II. 16-17; but the reading is doubtful (see above, p. 47).

Yüan shih, chap. 87, p. 14 records a Yüan shuai in Na li su ku erh sun which is evidently mÑa' ris skor sum. This shows that mÑa' ris was already divided at the time of the Yüan into three skor or districts. Which were at that time the three districts? It seems to me that Mar yul, viz, Ladakh and surrounding centres, Guge and Purang had at different times different extensions.

We infer from the *Chronicles of the V Dalai Lama* that the mÑa' ris, over which the Mongols extended their nominal suzerainty, stretched as far as Lartse in Purig, the rulers of Ladakh, Guge and Purang maintaining their principalities under the distant supervision or control of the Mongols and their vicars the Sa skya pa hierarchs. This is implicitly stated by the Dam pai c'os abyun ts'ul which tells us that mÑa' ris skor gsum was represented by Mal yul mts'o Guge and Purang. Guge and Purang are well defined, the name Mal yul of the same text can be corrected either into Mar yul or into Mañ yul¹⁾.

Mañ yul is a district of Southern and South Western Tsang, bordering on Nepal, its foremost place being sKyid groñ, Kirong. Mañ yul at the time of the Mongols had become an integral part of Tibet. That region had been to a large extent the theatre of the activity of Milaraspa. It should therefore not be considered as being identical with Mar yul which corresponds roughly to Ladakh. Indeed mÑa' ris means literally: "part, share of power" as distinct from the provinces of Tibet proper which formed the original confederation of the Tibetan clans united under the king's sway. mÑa' ris represented an area which was the private territory of the king, conquered in the course of wars. Indeed from an old source we know that under the name of Bod yul stod,

¹⁾ Or it has preserved the original form: Mal from Mälava name of an himalayan tribe (Ladakh and bordering countries); cf. below, p. 94, n. 1.

Upper Tibet, mÑ a' ris, many border provinces were included, TPS, vol. I, p. 252, n. 36 ¹⁾:

1. s k o r : Pu rañs, Mar yul, Zañs dkar.

2. s k o r : Li (Khotan), Gru ža (Bru ža, Gilgit; sBal te (Baltistan).

3. s k o r : Žaň žuň, K'ri te s t o d and s m a d .

This division is recorded also by the ąDsam bu gliñ rgyas bšad though here (at least in my copy) some names are misspelt:

1. s k o r : sPu raň, Maň yul (= Mar yul), Zañs dkar;

2. s k o r : C'i ba (= Li), Bru ža, sPal ti;

3. s k o r : Žaň žuň, K'rig pa (for K'ri ta) s t o d g s u m (corr.: s t o d s m a d g s u m).

This division is much wider than the usual one: it covers first the westernmost countries of Purang, and Mar yul, which is here evidently Ladakh (and must not be confused with Maň yul much farther to the east) and Zañs dkar.

Then it includes the northern and north western countries Khotan, Gilgit, and Baltistan. Then it passes to the land between Tibet and the above said provinces, viz. Žaň žuň, K'ri te upper and lower; in K'ri te (Hsüan tsang: Ki li to) we must recognize the Kirāta, who lie to the east of the Kali-Ganga ²⁾.

This division though attributed to the Mongols is clearly taken from old sources and reflects a situation going back to the times of the Tibetan kingdom when Tibet controlled a great part of Central Asia. Later, as we gather from the other catalogue contained in the *V Dalai Lama's Chronicles* and in another passage of the ąDsam bu gliñ rgyas bšad which reproduce the situation at the time of the

¹⁾ From the biography of bSod nams mc'og ldan bstan pai rgyal mts'an written by the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 28 a.

²⁾ K. RÖNNOW, *Kirāta*, Le Monde Oriental, vol. XXIX, 1935, p. 133.

Mongols, mÑa' ris or stod mÑa' ris¹⁾ included the following 3 skor:

1. sTag mo, La dvags,
2. Mañ yul, Žaň žuň
3. Guge, Pu hrañs.

It is difficult to locate sTag mo; it may be the same as Lartse in Purig alluded by the *V Dalai Lama's Chronicles* or sTag poi la in the S. W. of Baltistan. Anyhow it is clear that this skor is the westernmost, and included Ladakh. Mañ yul, Žaň žuň corresponds approximately to the country to the right and left of the Indus from Tirthapuri up to Demchog, and Chumurti.

This again shows that this Mañ yul cannot be confused with Mañ yul of Kirong²⁾. Such a division is no doubt that adopted also at the times of the author of the *ąDsambu gliñ rgyas bšad*; anyhow it is clear that all catalogues proceed from West to East and not viceversa: therefore this Mañ yul = Mar yul, is different from Mañ yul of Kirong; still this confusion is frequently found in Tibetan sources (cf. f.i. *Vai đu rya ser po* in Tucci, *Tibetan Notes*, *HJAS*, Vol. XII, 1949, p. 491).

It also appears that Guge and Žaň žuň were, at least for a certain time, two different things: Guge is ignored in the oldest list referred to above, and it appears only once in TH and to be exact in the latest fragments when Žaň žuň had already been annexed: Žaň žuň is the only name of the country recorded in the older sections of TH. It was only at a later period that Žaň žuň appears as divided into three parts, one retaining the name of Žaň žuň and corresponding to the country to the west of the Kailāsa up to Toling: K'yuň luň dñul dk ar was its center; Guge was the

1) Because Mañ yul of rDsoň ka also was sometimes considered as mÑa' ris it was mÑa' ris smad (see above p. 17).

2) It shows also that Ladakh and Mar yul (Mañ yul) are not coextensive.

portion to the south of the Sotlej, and Purang the south-eastern part. In the Bon po books only Žaň žuň is mentioned.

In fact in the ą D s a m g l i ń r g y a s b š a d, p. 10, we read that Guge was to the east of the s d e called ą D a r b a, which is certainly the present Dabadzong to the East of La dvags, Ladakh.

On the other hand, Purang is said to be to the east of Guge straight in front (viz. to the south) of G a ń s r i viz. K a i l ā s a, its capital being Y a t s ' e. We shall return to Ya rtse, but there seems to be little doubt that at the time of the author of the ą D s a m g l i ń r g y a s b š a d the capital of Purang was, as it is now, Taklakot.

Therefor Žaň žuň and Guge are not synonyms. Žaň žuň was the old name of all western Tibet of which Guge was a part, as is evidenced by some of the sources quoted above.

Žaň žuň itself was divided into two parts: s t o d and s m a d; the name Žaň žuň slowly disappeared, superseded by that of Guge given to all the country though originally this was only a part of Žaň žuň. It is the same division recorded by G r a g s p a r g y a l m t s ' a n, the oldest source at our disposal (1147-1216), who makes b K r a š i s m g o n rule over Žaň žuň exterior and interior, P u r a ń and Y a r t s e. The third share allotted to s D e (= l D e) g t s u g m g o n was " K ' u b o l a s o g s m o n y u l, K ' u b o ¹⁾ together with the other territories of the Mon".

The division of Žaň žuň in s t o d and s m a d, upper and lower, goes back at least to the times of K ' r i s r o ń l d e b t s a n.

§ 11. – *The organization of the Tibetan state during the old dynasty.* A very interesting section is contained in PT which gives an idea of the organization of the State said to be in use

¹⁾ Perhaps Kunu.

at the time of Sroñ btsan sgam po: but references to Buddhism and the names of some officials (rGyal gzig k'ri, sKyes bzañ etc.), prove beyond doubt that the document refers, at least in the form known to PT, to the times of K'ri sroñ lde btsan¹⁾. As a matter of fact the document may be composed of two parts which belong to two different periods: while in the first catalogue the territory is divided into five ru, banners, the non-Tibetan banner being that of the Sum pa, in the military catalogue we have seven banners, Upper Žaň žuň and Lower Žaň žuň being included; but we know that Žaň žuň was definitely annexed under K'ri sroñ lde btsan though from the times of Sroñ btsan sgam po it had been reduced to a state of vassalage. The Sumpas on the other hand had already been annexed by Sroñ btsan sgam po (TH, p. 130). The most ancient catalogue is perhaps that of the army. It is also certain that PT, as usual, copied from the archives to which he had access: this is proved by the similarity with analogous passages contained in bKa' t'añ studied by Prof. F. W. Thomas and myself²⁾. Though I am here interested in Žaň žuň, and

1) But this does not mean that the organization of the state was not made by Sroñ btsan sgam po—; he was certainly the real founder of the Tibetan power in so far as he succeeded in establishing his unchallenged authority upon the feudal chiefs (the movement had already started with his grand father see TH, p. 133).

PT makes him say that the peace in the kingdom is not caused by the ministers; the ministers are appointed by him: formerly there was no law and the kinglets or feudal lords (rgyal p'ran) were divided and independent. He appointed four ministers for the settlement of the state: (k'os dpon):

mGar sTon btsan yul bzuň (TH, p. 139) as k'os dpon for Tibet, K'yuň po pun zuň tse (TH, p. 139) for Žaň žuň, Hor bya žu riň po for Sum pa.

Superintendent of cavalry (c'ibs kyi k'od dpon): dBas bZaň dpal legs.

Superintendent to information, of spies, mt'oň k'yab kyi k'od dpon (THOMAS, TLT, II, pp. 121, 424 "watchtower" TH, mt'oň k'yab k'ri "division territoriale"): Cog ro rgyal mts'an ŷyaň mgon. They resided respectively in Skyi šod šo ma ra (cf. TH, p. 48, 49, 52), K'yuň luň riň mk'ar (the then capital of Žaň žuň), Nam gža don gram pa ts'al; the last two in Ri bo ŷYa'dmar.

2) TLT, p. 276 ff., TPS, p. 737. But the present catalogue reflects the period of the largest expansion of the Tibetan kingdom: it contains 61 stoň sde instead of

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the passage in question is fully examined in my translation of the work of PT, which is ready for the press, I think it useful to summarize its contents, because it gives the best survey of the Tibetan organisation at the time of the successors of Sroñ btsan sgam po and allows us to have a better idea of Žaň žuň.

PT. Ja - 19 a

BOUNDARIES OF THE FIVE BANNERS (Ru)

(Ru mts'ams)

A) d B u s

I. - d B u - r u

- E. 'Ol k'ai šug pa dpun bdun
- S. rMal la la brgyud (the passes of rMa la)
- W. gŽu sñe mo
- N. Prags kyi glaň ma gur p'ub;
center ¹⁾: Lha sa Ra mo c'e

II. - γ Y o - r u

- E. Koň yul bres sna ²⁾
- S. Sa 'ug stag sgo ³⁾.

34 of KT, though the number of districts of Tibet proper is still eighteen. Žaň žuň and Sum pa are considered from the military point of view as an integral part of the country. It appears from this catalogue that the South Eastern parts of present day Tibet are not included and were not under the control of Lhasa.

¹⁾ d b u s t s ' a ŋ ; once only d b u s . 'Ol k'a is well known: see f. i. G. Tucci, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 130 ff.: Glaň ma gur p'ub may be near Glaň t'aň. sñe mo is to the SW of Tshurpu and E of Uyug IT, I, p. 19-20. As to rMal la one may think of rMal agro SE of Lhasa: a rMal agro rin c'en gliň was near 'Olk'a; see life of bSod nams grags pa by the *V Dalai Lama*, p. 46, b. But H. R. Richardson would rather think to a part of the range south of Lhasa which contains the Gokar and Tekar La.

²⁾ Viz Koň po between the gTsaň po and the Ňaň c'u and to the E of rGyal me tog t'aň.

³⁾ Not located.

C. TUCCI

- W. K'a rag gañs rtse ¹⁾
N. rMal la
center: Yar luñs K'ra abrug ²⁾

B) gTsañ

III. - γ Ya s - r u

- E. Prags kyī glañ ma gur p'ub
S. gÑa' nam γyag poi sna ³⁾
W. Bye ma la dgu ⁴⁾
N. sMri ti c'u nag ⁵⁾
center: Zoñ pa ts'al in Šañs ⁶⁾

IV. - R u l a g

- E. aJam ne bkra ⁷⁾
S. Bal po glañ sna ⁸⁾
W. La kem γyag mig ⁹⁾
N. Bye ma la sñon ¹⁰⁾
center: Brañ kyī dur pa snal ¹¹⁾

V. - S u m p a i r u
(supplementary banner)

- E. gÑe yul bum nag
S. sMri ti c'u nag

1) Group of mountains to the South of the gTsañ po and to the east of Gam pa la. Cf. G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956, p. 67.

2) On K'ra abrug see G. TUCCI, *To Lhasa and beyond*, p. 136.

3) Not identified.

4) Not identified. NW of Gyantse there was Bye mda' IT, IV, I, p. 56.

5) I cannot locate this river: perhaps it is to be found the SW of Amdo (Nagk-schu? c'u nag means: black river; ti might be related to ti = water, river, in which case we would have here a Ž a ñ ž u ñ word or of some related dialect). We must remember that gTsañ was much bigger than at present and that the direction of the banners was from NE to SW, TPS.

6) Zoñ in Šañs to the north of gTsañ po and NW of Shigatze.

7) Not identified.

8) Perhaps some place near the border with Nepal.

9) Perhaps Yamik-tso in which case the place should be located near Tok-jalung.

10) Not identified.

11) Not identified. H. E. Richardson would refer to rDur pa of TH.

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- W. Yel žabs sdiñs po c'e
 N. Nags šod gzi aṗ'rañ
 center: rGya šod stag pa ts'al¹⁾

Total:

| | | | |
|-------|---|------------|---|
| gTsañ | { | γYas ru | 1 |
| | | Ru lag | 1 |
| dBus | { | dBu ru | 1 |
| | | γYo ru | 1 |
| | | Sum pai ru | 1 |

Total 5 Banners

(but in the text: yan lag gsum pai ru; gsum for sum)

The 18 shares of power (dbañ ris)
 as assigned to different clans

| COUNTRY | CLANS |
|---|--|
| 1 dBu ru šod c'en, the great lower tracts | { btsan po mña' bdag, the btsan po, the master |
| 2 p'o brañ sne c'e, the palace and its border-lands | |
| 3 Yar luñs etc. | { K'u gÑags ²⁾ |
| 1 Ya aḃrog Gañs k'yim ku riñs | 5 sde |
| 2 aC'iñ da [ña?] aC'iñ yul | { mGos (see <i>Indo-Tibetica</i> , IV, I, p. 50 in KT [TPS, p. 737] included in lower gTsañ) sNubs |
| 3 Bya 'ug sa ts'igs ³⁾ | |

1) gÑe yul bum nag corresponds probably to rGyal roñ. H. E. Richardson would suggest a possible relation with Yul Yel of TH; Nag šod often recorded in TLT (II, p. 30; 125 b-130, 156, 240, 275, 299, 318, 348-50) cannot be in the Lop region (see below p. 91): Nags šod "the forest low land" is a topographical term applicable to several areas.

2) So also in the Cat. of KT, TLT, I, p. 280.

3) Perhaps either U yug, or Ug pa; we know of a Ba'ug in gTsañ. IT, IV, I, p. 56.

4) Drañ rje = lord of Drañ (border country of γYas ru KT in TLT, I, p. 280) as regards p'a lña cf. p'a drug, Pherugh, near Mount Everest DAS, *Journey*, pp. 34, 38, TLT, III, p. 16. There is a Bya in sÑemo (east of Uyug).

- 4 Brad and }
 Žoñ pa } sNa nam (located in – KT, TLT, I, p. 280 – gYo ru)
- 5 Brag rum upper } Ts'e spoñ (located in KT, TLT, I, p. 280 in gYo
 and lower } ru, properly in P'yi luñ Near P'yoñ rgyas,
 see TTK, p. 31. P'yiñ na, P'yiñ stag rtse).
- 6 gTsañ, upper and lower } Bro
 } ąK'yuñ po ¹⁾
- 7 Nam po ądru in Kluñs šod }
 P'yugs mts'ams ²⁾ } missing.
- 8 ąP'an yul } sGro
 stoñ sde (See above p. 52, n. 1) } rMa
- 9 Ńañ ro and } ąBre
 ągrom pa ³⁾ } lCe
- 10 Šañs and }
 Gle P'yi ri } Gle ⁴⁾
- 11 Yuñ pa great } Bran ka (in the catalogue of KT, TLT, I, p. 279
 and small } Yel žabs belongs to the Bran k'a).
- 12 three sde of } sBas blon po (in TLT, I, p. 279) upper and lower
 Ža gañ } sKyid
- 13 Nam ra (Nam } ąBriñ
 ru to the W. } and (cf. in KT, TPS, p. 738 ąBriñ and P'yag)
 of Amdo) }
 C'ag goñ } C'ag
- 14 ąDam šod (perhaps } P'ya
 Dam north of Lhasa) }
 dKar mo } Rva
- 15 mDo k'ams }
 mDo c'en } 8 rgod stoñ sde

 18 districts

¹⁾ According to KT (see TPS, p. 736) ąBro in Upper and K'yuñ po in lower gTsañ (r u l a g).

²⁾ In Amdo. Cf. THOMAS, *Nam*, p. 32 ff.

³⁾ On Ńañ ro (Myañ ro) viz. Ńañ ro stod and smad, see TUCCI, *IT*, V. I, p. 49, ąGrom pa is also in gTsañ, cf. KT catalogue in TLT, I, p. 277.

⁴⁾ Cf. KT (TPS, p. 738) Riñ sle bya of Šañs. gTsañ Gle luñ is in the valley of the Mus c'u.

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MILITARY DIVISION ¹⁾

As regards the r g o d s t o ñ s d e

each banner has:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 8 r g o d s t o ñ s d e | great military chiliarchies |
| 1 s t o ñ b u c ' u ñ | small chiliarchy |
| 1 s k u s r u ñ g i s t o ñ s d e | chiliarchy of guards, personal guards. |

10

I. - d B u r u

- 1) Dor sde (TLT, I, p. 279; it is in rMa but the rMa clan being in aP'an yul Dor sde could be just in aP'an yul (suggestion of H. E. Richardson)
- 2) sDe mts'ams (TLT, I, p. 279 from KT sTe aJam)
- 3) P'yugs mts'ams (*Ibid.*)
- 4) aBrañ mts'ams (*Ibid.*)
- 5) Com pa (TLT, I, p. 279 bCom pa)
- 6) aBri mts'ams (TLT, I, p. 279 aBrin mts'am; a aBri mts'ams is in gTsañ, perhaps on the boundary with d B u s IT, IV, I, p. 83; we can also think of aBri k'uñ)
- 7) sKyid stod (*Ibid.*)
- 8) sKyid smad (*Ibid.*)

1 S t o ñ b u c ' u ñ = Yel rab (in TLT, I, p. 279 better: Yel žabs, because Yel rab is in γYas ru)

1 s k u s r u ñ = the eastern side

10

¹⁾ The division into chiliarchies, thousand-districts, is a territorial division, as can be gathered from their names which correspond to places: chiliarchies were so called because each territory was obliged to contribute in case of war a regiment of one thousand men. This military partition of the country is later than that reflected in the catalogue of the five banners (see p. 76); in fact we can easily perceive that the boundaries of dBu ru of that catalogue are more restricted than those shown in the military classification. P'yug mts'ams, Com pa, Dor sde (if the identification proposed by Thomas is exact, and if we are not confronted with duplication of place names) are far beyond the actual limits of dBus as specified at p. 77.

It should also be remembered that this list roughly corresponds to that of KT, (= TLT, p. 276 ff. and TPS, p. 737). Moreover the s k u s r u ñ regiments are so disposed as to form a kind of protection on the four sides of dBus, which was the residence of the bTsan po, mña' bdag and therefore the center of the state; the s k u

II. - γ Y o r u

- 1) Yar luñs
- 2) \check{a} P'yiñ luñ (Cf. above p. 80)
- 3) Yar mts'ams perhaps Byar east of Yar lha šam po and north of Lho k'a
- 4) γ Yu \check{a} bañs (cf. Yu sna of TH, p. 137)
- 5) Dags po (South of the gTsañ po East of Yar luñ)
- 6) \check{N} ag ñi ¹⁾
- 7) dMyal (in TLT, I, p. 280 gÑal to the SE of Gri gu mt'so between Lo ro c'u and gÑal c'u Nycchu of the maps)
- 8) Lho brag (to the SE of P'u ma ts'o and the northern boundary of Bhutan)

l s t o ñ b u c ' u ñ Lo ro (to the south of Lho k'a)
 l s k u s r u ñ the northern side

10

III. - γ Y a s r u

- 1) sToñ c'en (perhaps a mistake for sTod yoñs of KT, TLT, p. 279; TPS, p. 738)
- 2) Šañs c'en (see above pp. 79, 80)
- 3) Lañ mi
- 4) P'od dkar
- 5) Ñen gar. The place is frequently quoted in TH; it was the residence of the kings and a fertile country (TH, p. 158) probably between lower γ Yo ru and gTsañ
- 6) \check{a} Brañ mts'ams
- 7) sPo rab
- 8) gŽoñ (= Žoñ žoñ in the walley of the Šañs c'u cf. Blue Annals, I, p. 733) ²⁾

l s t o ñ b u c ' u ñ : Šañs
 l s k u s r u ñ those of the western side

s r u ñ of dBu ru were on the east, those of γ Yo ru provided to the defence of the North, those of γ Yas ru of the West, those of the supplementary banner of the South.

1) \check{N} ag ñi is connected with Dags po in TH, p. 82, III: the list of KT instead of γ Yu \check{a} bañs, Yar mts'ams, \check{N} ag ñi has: lJañ kyañ, Luñ pa, Ñañ: our list is chiefly concerned with the countries to the south of the gTsañ po: therefore \check{N} ag ñi might also be found there: as lJañ kyañ, for that same reason, cannot be the well known lJañ, otherwise we must surmise that the two lists belong to two different periods.

2) The localities quoted in this catalogue belong to γ Yas ru viz. to gTsañ; therefore P'od dkar must be located there and not in NE Tibet as suggested by Prof. THOMAS, TLT, II, p. 294; as to sKyañ ro named in connection with the same place it is

IV. - R u l a g

- 1) Mañ gar (To the south of the gTsañ po and the NW of Sa skya)
- 2) K'ri som
- 3) Grom pa (the district of Lha rtse)
- 4) Lha rtse (to the north of Sa skya)
- 5) Myañ ro (See IT, IV, I, p. 49: see above p. 80, n. 3)
- 6) K'ri aṭ'añ (TLT, I, p. 272 K'ri t'a)
- 7) K'añ sar
- 8) Gad pram (TLT, I, p. 277 Gad bkram; Gad in IT, IV, p. 173)

l s t o ñ b u c ' u ñ : mTs'o ños

l s k u s r u ñ those of the southern side

10

V. - Upper Ž a ñ ž u ñ

- 1) 'O co ¹⁾ } On the boundary of Bod and Gru gu
- 2) Mañ ma }
- 3) gÑe ma ²⁾ }
- 4) Tsa mo }

l s t o ñ b u c ' u ñ : Ba ga

VI. - Lower Ž a ñ ž u ñ

- 1) Gug ge ³⁾ } between Bod and Sum pa
- 2) Cog la }
- 3) sByi gTsañ }

also in gTsañ and properly near Iwang cf. IT, IV, I, p. 135, rKyañ ro; rKyañ p'u = Samada *Ibid.*, p. 93 ff.; aBrañ luñ is also recorded in some rGyal rtse's inscriptions, IT, p. 153, 263; as regards sPo rab cf. sPo k'añ in gTsañ, *Ibid.*, p. 69.

1) 'O tso ('Otso bag) of TLT, II, p. 293, 460-1, etc. Has it anything to do with 'Oñ, Oñ ñu in Gru gu according to a passage of Pad ma t'añ yig? TLI, I, p. 279; II, p. 288.

2) Perhaps Ñi mo (Ñi mo bag) of TLT, II, p. 293. The 'og dpon there named belongs to a clan called Rhye lig: cf. Lig, dynastic name of the kings of Žañ žuñ, and the name of one of these kings: Lig Myi rhya, see below, p. 106.

3) But later: Gug. Cf. GURAN, TH, p. 34, year 675: the place is in Žañ žuñ but near the Dru gu.

4) Yar gTsañ

l stoñ bu c'uñ: Ci di (Perhaps the same as Ce ti TLT, II, p. 272)

10

VII. - Sum pai ru

1) rTse mt'on

2) Po mt'on

3-4) rGod ts'an upper and lower

5-6) aJoñ upper and lower

7-8) Dra upper and lower

9) K'a ro

10) K'a zañs

l stoñ bu c'uñ: Nags šod¹⁾.

11

total 6l r god²⁾ stoñ sde
under 6l stoñ dpon, chiliarchs.

ARMY.

I. - dBu ru { Upper 2 Ru dpon { sNa nam rgyal rgan
Lower sBas skyes bzañ stag sna
2 dpa'zla (KT sgab, { gNon ap'an gsum
TLT, I, p. 285), sub- { Šod bu k'on btsan
commanders.
banner horse: tawney-horse with white spotted mane.
mts'al bu³⁾: gzig riñ (= gzig ris? leopard coloured, spotted).

¹⁾ Many of these places are known from TLT, On Nags šod see above p. 79, n. 1: K'a ro is probably K'a dro, Cađ'ota, Niya, THOMAS) so aJoñ, upper and lower, is = aDeom upper and lower, rGod ts'an upper and lower = rGod upper and lower, rTse mt'on = rTse mton TLT, II, p. 161 and 318 also Se t'on, rTse t'on see THOMAS, AO, 1934, p. 47, probably Ch'i t'un in Shan Shan.

²⁾ r god = warrior: r god ni a bañs rab ts'an d mag gi las byed pai miñ ste.

³⁾ In the corresponding place of KT (TLT, I, p. 277) regular mention is made of yig ts'añs pa: therefore the meaning should be "certificate, diploma" cf. below,

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banner ensign, (ru dar) red; lce k'ra¹⁾ probably a kind of a hawk, k'ra, (cf. lce spyañ, ce spyañ, jackal); silk of the flag (dpal dar): red.

II. - γYo ru 2 Ru dpon { Myañ stag gzig γyu btsan
mC'ims rgyal gzigš šud
2 dpa' zla { gYas mañ bžer
So gad gñan bžer
banner horse: yellowish brown horse.
mts'al bu: blue (rtiñ dkar²⁾)
banner-ensign: red lion.
silk: white with black dots (dar dkar sñiñ nag).

III. - Ru lag 2 ru dpon { aBro rgyal mts'an señ ge
K'yuñ po γyui zuñ
2 dpa' zla { gNam sde gur ts'ab
mC'ims?... gzigš
banner horse: horse isabell coloured with red
and brownish tufts of hair: black mane.
banner-ensign: white lion flying in the air.
silk: black.

IV. - γYas ru 2 ru dpon { K'yuñ po stag bzañ stoñ
mGos k'ri gñen γyañ aḡ'yoš
2 dpa' zla { Pa ts'ab mts'o žer tsañ lod
Lañ pa mgon ne
banner horse: blue horse.
mts'al bu: me stag, sparkling.

p. 88; mts'al bu may be connected with mts'al vermilion, cf. gorkhali: läl mōhor: royal rescript or with mts'al bu, small piece of wood, slath. As a matter of fact many of these slaths found in Central Asia bear only names of soldiers cf. В. С. Воробьев-Десятовский, Коллекция тибетских документов на дереве, собранная С. Е. Маловым, Ученые записки Института Востоковедения, А. Н. СССР, Том, VI, 1953, pp. 167-175 and the review of С. URAY in *Acta Orient. Hung.*, Tom., IV, fasc. 1-3, 1955, p. 304 1). Perhaps each mts'al bu had a different colour according to the army and also a symbol of the regiment.

¹⁾ Ru dar dmar polce k'ra dañ dpal dar dmar po: text corrupt; the text usually gives both the emblem which is an animal and the colour of the flag; KTK, V, p. 9, me lce, flame (THOMAS, TLT, p. 279, n. 10).

²⁾ rtiñ dkar = mt'iñ k'a or mt'iñ dkar, whitish blue.

ensign: k' y u ñ
silk: black with spots

civilians, labourers

γ y u ñ m i s d e ¹⁾ (γ y u ñ opposite to r g o d)
also called k' e ñ (it has nothing to do with Ch. 耕 kêng to cultivate, to till.) d b a ñ s l a s b y e d k y i m i ñ
also called: y a ñ k' e ñ (= b r a n) or ñ i ñ = γ y o g
over them S r i s p a s N u b s r j e (TH, p. 83) etc. 9 r j e, masters,
in all.

7 r d s i; l o ñ a m r t a r d s i ²⁾ etc. equerries, grooms

7 g a r o ñ s g a m k' a n saddle makers ³⁾ etc.

5 r g y a j a t s' o ñ p a merchants of Chinese tea, etc.; 3 holders of
woven ⁴⁾ tents etc. (?) g d a g s s b r a a d s i n etc.

4 kings who should procure all necessary things:

Nam pa l d e r g y a l ⁵⁾

Bal po l i r g y a l (king furnisher of bell metal)

Sum pa l c a g s r g y a l (iron)

Mon r t s e r g y a l (amusements: it should be remembered that
even now in Ladakh the musicians etc. are said to be
Mon ⁶⁾).

They collected taxes (d p y a), offered tribute and were included
among subjects.

¹⁾ Therefore some passages of TH should be translated accordingly: f.i., p. 26, year 94 s k y i r n a m s s u r g o d γ y u ñ g i p' a l o s c' e n p o b k u k: a great p' a l o s of military men and civilians were summoned; p a l o s has the meaning of census; the same at p. 51.

²⁾ L o ñ a m is the name of the equerry who killed the king Gri gum: he also was a r t a r d s i: therefore it is not a personal name but a name of an officer: chief groom. Cf. TLT, III, p. 60.

³⁾ But the meaning of g a r o ñ is uncertain.

⁴⁾ s B r a is tent: g d a g s perhaps from a t' a g? On the tents (black) and the Tibetan army, see TLT, I, p. 273.

⁵⁾ It is difficult to ascertain the meaning of l d e here: it may be: p e a s; or ornament, ointment, medicine, or generally treasure; since each kingdom supplies some useful goods I think the meaning of ornament is here preferable.

⁶⁾ On the Mon in Ladakh cf. R. BIASUTTI e G. DAINELLI, *Spedizione italiana de' Filippi*, Serie II, Vol. IX; I, *Tipi umani*, p. 137 ff., 159 ff.; TLT, II, p. 288.

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OFFICIALS ¹⁾.

stod ąBro
 smad mC'ims } 3 sku žaň
 bar sNa nam }

sBas blon blon c'en

3 dpa' bai sde, regiment of the brave men

1) Upper countries (s t o d)

(ąBro, K'yuň, mGar, sNubs, gÑon; these were dpon of the 5 sde of Gug and C'og) from Ri braň stag pa goň up to Mon dbral k'a bži subduers of the Gru gu.

intermediate countries (bar): sBas, dpon of Nags šod from Ri pen ma luň up to C'a skod daň pa subduer of lJaň.

lower country (s m a d): 9 sde of mT'on k'yab srid and 6 stoň sde of the A ža, from rMa bom ra (?reading doubtful) up to Ka t'aň klu ts'e ²⁾; the son of lTon lton, officer of P'yugs mts'am, subduer of China.

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 7 dpon ³⁾ | 1 yul dpon | - judicial power in small places (yul |
| | civil officer | c' uň k' rims) |
| | 2 d m a g dpon | - subduers of the enemies |
| | military officer | |
| | 3 c' i b s dpon | - guides (gšegs pai bšul mts'on) |
| | road department | |
| | 4 rň a n dpon | - (ąb}ru daň gser daň dňul gyi |
| | finance officer | gñer byed pa) |
| | 5 p'ru dpon | - (ąbri mdso p'ru mai gñer) |
| | suprintendent of | |
| | cattle | |
| | 6 draň dpon | police, |
| | magistrates | - (žal ce gcod pa) |

¹⁾ For other lists of officials see H. E. RICHARDSON, *Ancient Hist. Edicts at Lhasa*, pp. 73-82, TLT, II, p. 318 ff., III, pp. 91-92.

²⁾ For a reference to victorious wars of the Tibetans against Dru gu, lJaň and China see TLT, II, p. 107, p. 267 ff., III, p. 43.

³⁾ The 7th is missing.

G. TUCCI

- 6 great precepts bka' ḡros,
 6 patents yig ts'añs
 6 seals, marks bkai p'yag rgya
 6 peculiarities rkyen
 6 military distinctions dpa' mts'an
 on top: 6 k'rims yig, the Laws: = total 36, institutions
 (Bod kyik'os)

I. - 6 great precepts:

- 1 not to curb the neck of the soldier, to support the old among the labourers
 2 not to appoint a military man in place of a labourer
 3 not to issue a command to, give orders to (bka' lamigdags) a woman or a priest (mo btsun)
 4 to defend the boundaries,
 to provide rations for (ḡts'al for ḡts'al ma?) the subjects and not to weary the horse by fast riding
 5 to subdue enemies and to protect subjects
 6 to practice the 10 virtues and to avoid the ten sins.

- II. - yig tsañ, highest: gold,
 patents, diplomas: turquoise
 middle: silver,
 silver inlaid } each may be higher
 (p'ramen) } and lower
 lowest: copper
 iron
 6 = 12; that is:

blon c'en big turquoise letter

blon c'en of middle rank and nañ blon } turquoise letter,
 c'en po } small

lower blon and middle nañ blon and }
 great judge bka' yogal ḡc'os pa } gold letter, big
 c'en po }

lower nañ blon and middle bka' blon gold, small

lower bka' blon silver inlaid (p'ramen)

PRELIMINARY REPORT

| | | |
|--|---|---------------|
| master of seminary (c'os grai slob dpon), exorcist (skui sñags mk'an) | } | silver, big |
| dbañ blon higher stod and lower smad (stod smad dbañ blon) ¹⁾ | | |
| sku ts'o bai bon po viz. the bon po who makes one recover from a disease, | } | silver, small |
| gzims mal pa, officer of the bed-chamber; c'ibs k'ab equerry | | |
| byañ t'añ gi sa mk'an, guide of Byañ t'añ; mt'ar so k'a sruñ frontier guard | | |
| sku mk'ar rtse sruñ officer in charge of the castle | | |
| yab añañs rus drug etc. descendents of the six ancestral tribes? (TPS, p. 716) | } | bronze |
| chiliarchs and banner officers, stoñ dpon, and ru dpon | } | copper |
| heroes in battle, γyul du dpa' ba | | iron |

- 6 p'yag rgya²⁾: 1) bka' btags - government seal of a pro-
claim, an order
2) box, sign of market³⁾,
(sgrom bu, k'rom rtags)
3) banner-ensign, sign of the country
(ru mts'on, yul rtags)
4) temple, sign of the Law
(lha k'añ c'os rtags)
5) castle, sign of the heroes
(sku mk'ar dpa' rtags)⁴⁾
6) tiger-skin coat, sign of the nobles
(stag slag mdsañs rtags),

1) The expression is very difficult: the fact that here priests and exorcists are mentioned makes it probable that the dbañ blon were also priests conferring a kind of initiation in religion: dbañ = dbañ bskur, as usual.

2) The usual meaning of seal does not seem appropriate here: it certainly means mark, sign.

3) Perhaps here box is taken in the sense of measure.

4) In the text sku mk'ar and lha k'añ are inverted.

6 rkyen, things pertaining to, peculiarities of:

dpa'ba heroes: leopard, guñ, and tiger stag;

miśnar witty people: važur, muzzle of a fox:

ya rabs, high rank people: lha c'os, doctrine of the gods
(Buddhism);

gyuñ po, folk: t'ags dañ bon, weaving and Bon religion;

m dsañs pa, nobles: diplomas, yig ts'añs;

ñan pa, wicked: theft rkun ma:

6 dpa' mts'an: stag stod tiger (skin), upper part
symbols of a

| | | |
|------|-----------|--|
| dpa' | stag smad | lower part, |
| | zar c'en | gold brocade, big |
| | zar c'uñ | gold brocade, small |
| | rgod ras | cotton cloth for the rgod, the military men |
| | stag slag | tiger-skin coat. |

9 great Blon po:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| 1) higher dguñ blon | } like a husband they looked after external affairs |
| 2) middle dguñ blon | |
| 3) lower dguñ blon | |

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 4-6) nañ blon (higher, middle, lower) | } like a wife they looked after home affairs |
| | |

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 7-9) bka'yo gal aç'os pa judges | } they rewarded even the son of an enemy if he had behaved properly, but punished even their own son if he had behaved wrongly. |
| | |
| | |

Ja p. 18 a

| | |
|--|--|
| 6 Bod k'os, institutions, administration ¹⁾ | } three žañ along with the blon took hold of the assembly, (ađun sa) of dBus; three dpa' sde protected the boundaries ²⁾ . |
| | |
| | |

It is not my purpose to discuss here all the complicated problems which these passages suggest: as I said, I have dealt

¹⁾ The meaning of k'os, mk'os, is to administrate a country, to appoint officers, to make a census, to register the population and its resources.

²⁾ See above p. 87.

with them in the notes to my translation of PT: suffice it to say that from this document also we gather that *Žaň žuň* was divided into two parts, *stod* and *smad*, *stod* being the remotest, westernmost portion; the fact that in *Žaň žuň smad*, Lower *Ž. ž.* we find a country called *Gug ge* or *Gug* should not make us believe that this name is the equivalent of *Guge* and therefore identify Lower *Žaň žuň* with *Guge*, viz. with the south-western part of Western Tibet¹⁾. This is excluded by the mention of the *Sumpas*, between which and *Bod*, *Žaň žuň smad* is said to be: it was therefore bordering on the *Sum pas* the *Supiya* of the *kharoṣṭhī* documents²⁾ who, according to this catalogue, were considered to dwell between East Tibet and China, approximately in the *rGyal roñ* region. *Žaň žuň stod*, on the other hand, or at least a part of it was bordering, as we saw, on the *Gru gu*³⁾ country viz. approximately the *Lob-Niya* region.

It is clear that during the times of the Tibetan kings *Žaň žuň* designated a country much bigger than was supposed: it covered not only all Western Tibet, but also *Byaň t'aň* up to *Turkestan*, as far as *Khotan* and the territory to the South of *Shan Shan* bordering to the East on the *Sumpa*, viz. reaching the *Niachu*. This is suggested not only by the very important catalogue preserved by PT, but also by other texts, which though their final redaction is late, certainly contain very old elements: I refer e.g. to a ritual influenced by *Bon po* ideas, in which *Žaň žuň* is recorded along with the *Garlog* (*Qarluq*) and the *Grugu* as a border land (TPS, p. 257, n. 151: *Gru gu Žaň žuň Gar log sogs mt'a' ak'ob yul gži bdag*).

1) Names in *Ku*, *Gu*, *Hu* are very common in Central Asia: *Khotan-Xuten*, *Kucha*, *Guchen*, *Guran*.

2) P. PELLISOT, *TP*, XX, p. 330. L. PETECH, *RSO*, XXII, p. 87-88; *TLI*, I, p. 78, 156 ff., *Concile*, p. 38, n. 3.

3) L. PETECH, *RSO*, XXII, pp. 87-88; T. YAMAMOTO, *Tōyō gahukō*, XXV, 1938, pp. 1-43.

It is also worthy of notice that to the North-East of the Tengri-nor there is a Shang shung pass (Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, Map. XV, C. 9). There is therefore evidence, which further research will certainly confirm, that before the Tibetan State reached its acme there was on the mountain plateau surrounding dBus and gTsañ, which were to be the core of the new kingdom, another State or Confederation of States ruling over the marches of the Tibetan Highland from Ladakh to the Drichu touching on the north the southern trade routes of Central Asia.

This does not necessarily imply that Žaň žuň originally was as extensive as this, because the catalogue of PT reflects the situation at the time of the highest development of Tibetan power: it is quite possible that some of the new territories conquered in the north and north-east by the Tibetan generals were annexed, in the new military organization of the state, to Žaň žuň proper: which was then called Žaň žuň smad so as to distinguish it from the new districts forming Žaň žuň stod.

§ 12. — *Žaň žuň, Suvarṇabhūmi, Strīrājya, Cīnadeśa.* The great civilization of Asia knew very little of those countries; because Žaň žuň, a country of nomads and robbers, never rose to such a degree of cohesion as to form a real empire: but they did not completely ignore them. Some news of the vast, inaccessible land filtered through the barrier of mountains which surrounded Žaň žuň, and in spite of the legendary elements which always conceal peoples or things of which it is difficult to have direct knowledge, they show, as was to be expected, that those regions were not considered as a blank. It would be, indeed, surprising if the Indians had not been aware of the country near the Manasorovar and the Kailāsa, which still occupy so great a place in their religious ideas. I am inclined to think that Žaň žuň corresponds to *S u v a r ṇ a b h ū m i*, *S v a r*

ṇ a b h ū m i , S u v a ṇ a g o t r a of the Sanskrit sources: Hsüan-tsang locates Suvarṇagotra to the north of Brahmā-pura which is situated near Baijnath in Kumaon, or, according to Goetz, in Chamba (*The early wooden temples of Chamba. Memoirs of the Kern Institute n. 1, p. 74 ff. Leyden 1955*). “The country is bounded on the north by the great Snowy Mountains in the midst of which is the land called Su-fa-la-na-k’iu-ta-lo (Suvarṇagotra). From this country comes a superior sort of gold, and hence the name. It extends from East to West, and contracts from north to south. It is the same as the country of the “Eastern women”. For ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the *kingdom of the women*. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing about the affairs of the State. The man manages the wars and sows the land, and that is all. The land produces winter wheat and much cattle, sheep, and horses. The climate is extremely cold (icy). The people are hasty and impetuous.

On the eastern side, this country is bordered by the Fan kingdom (Tibet), on the west by San-po-ho (Sampaha or Malasa?) on the north by Khotan”. (Beal, *Siyuki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*. London, s.d., popular edition pp. 198-9; Watters, I, p. 330).

Therefore the boundaries of this country, as the Chinese pilgrim was able to gather from his informants, were, N. Khotan, E. Tibet, W. San po ho.

As regards Tibet, there is no difficulty; but when the Chinese pilgrim was in India (639-644) Žaṅ žuṅ had not yet been definitely conquered by the Tibetans, though it was certainly a kind of vassal state, which had to provide soldiers etc.¹⁾; nor is there any difficulty about Khotan.

1) TH, p. 29, 31-34.

San po ho is considered to be Sāmbi. But it is also called Mo lo so ¹⁾.

The special features, of that kingdom are therefore that it lies between mountains, it is located to the north of Brahmāpura, it produces winter wheat, and is rich in sheep and cattle, it has plenty of gold, and women enjoy greater authority than men: there is a king but in fact women reign: the country is therefore considered to be the same as the Strirājya. I refer now more especially to the Inquiry of Vimalaprabhā translated by prof. F. W. Thomas in TLT, I, p. 137 ff.

Prof. Thomas is of opinion that the Gold-kingdom is in Nagar and he finds in the name of Nagar itself a confirmation of this view.

He refers to a passage of the "Inquiry" in which one of the previous incarnations of Vimalaprabhā is remembered: she was then a Rākṣasī called Huṣa who after alluring the merchants coming to the Gold mountain for their trade in gold, and enjoyed their company, killed them as soon as new merchants arrived. One of these merchants having once fled because he was made aware of the danger by his daughter (a bodhisattva) she ran after him in the form of an earless creature, as on account of some previous sin, the Devas had cut off her ears. But when she caught the fleeing merchants, their leader asked her "who could cut off your ears, since you are so strong?" In fulfilment of the decision of the gods she was liberated of that curse and resumed her original form. She then said "Because of ears the name of this country shall be Gold Race". This suggests that the name of the Gold country or race could be also understood as having some analogy with the

¹⁾ Mo lo so 秣羅婆 (CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India* ed. S. N. Majumdar, p. 164: Mar po yul. FRANCKE, *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 188-9: Mar sa) should be corrected in 娑 Mo lo p'o, its original being Mālava and the bordering countries; the Mālava are recorded as Himalayan tribes by Abhidharmavibhāṣā (BEFEO, 1905, p. 207) and Rāmāyaṇa (S. LÉVI, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*. *JA*, 1918. Tome XI, p. 125). Cf. above p. 72, n. 1.

word “ ear ” or better “ ear-cut ”. Prof. Thomas finds this element in the name Nagar, in which he distinguishes an element variously spelled *gar*, *sgar*, *dkar*, very common in the toponymy of Western Tibet and surrounding countries, and another element *na*: this may be nothing else but Tib. *r na*, ear = skr. *ka r ṇ a*. But this etymology would seem more probable, Prof. Thomas adds, if the word *na gar* is connected not only with “ ear ” but also with “ earless cat ” as the *Rākṣasī* was. This earless cat cannot but be the marmot, which brings to mind the story of the gold-digging ants, located in that part of the world since the times of Herodotus (III, 102): but when we remember that in 717 A.D. the Chinese received from the king of Khotan “ an animal of the species of *na(k)* ” (Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 127) described in later dictionaries, in a rather puzzling way, as a cat-catcher (TLT, p. 168), one may surmise that this *na(k)* is nothing else but the marmot, mistaken for a mongoose, called in Sanskrit *na ku la* and in Tibetan *ne hule*. There may have been a Himalayan word for the marmot, *na* or *nak*, from which the Sanskrit *na hula* is derived: just as the word *pipīlika* for ant as well as for the gold collected by the ants may be derived from the Tibetan name for marmot, viz. *p’yi* or *p’yi bi*. Therefore Nagar may well be the “ marmot place ”, which explains the story of the gold digging marmots (in India taken for big ants) and the etymology of the Inquiry concerning the ears.

Prof. Thomas, who supposes that the ogress *Hu ṣa* was sometimes imagined in the form of a marmot (p. 169), finds support for his view in the story that the cause of her being punished by the Devas was that “ she had become a cat ” *p’yi la p’yin pas*; but I venture to disagree from my revered friend and I think that the sentence only means “ she had gone outside ”, she had left the celestial world, as is often narrated of Gods in India or in Tibet. So no support remains for assimilating the ogress to the marmot.

The learned arguments of Prof. Thomas, which testify to his unrivalled mastery in the most complicated fields of oriental philology, seem so cogent that one hesitates before attempting to propose a different theory. But, as I have said. the translation of the above passage by eliminating any relation between the Rākṣasī and the marmot, renders the arguments now expounded less cogent; moreover it appears to me that there is an etymological play between the name of the country and the earless being and that it can be cleared only if we establish the precise correlation of the two terms in the reply of the Rākṣasī: because that etymological play is comprehensible only if both terms can be taken by the reader as analogous or similar. The fundamental terms are “Gold-(race)” and “ear” or “ear-cut”: if I am not wrong Prof. Thomas worked only on one element of the riddle, “ear”, but I venture to say that the other element, its counterpart, “gold”, remains unexplained.

The sentence of the Inquiry in question has a meaning only if we suppose in the original a word which can be connected at the same time with ear and with gold. In other words we require a name which could be taken as meaning at the same time gold and ear or ear-cut. Nothing unfortunately can be said as regards the original language in which the Inquiry was written: though most probably it was Sanskrit (this is also the opinion of Thomas, TLT, I, p. 125) or Prakrit.

We must look therefore for some sanskrit or prakrit word which could explain that etymology. Prakrit *savaṇa* for ear and *soṇṇa*, for gold, give ground enough for the etymological speculations of the pandits who are, we know, much inclined to such fanciful comparisons: I refer, as an example to the etymology of *puḍgala* or *āyatana* in Buddhism, *Āyam*, *vijñānam*, *tanvantītyāyatanaṇi*; *puḍgala* “because it clings to a new form of existence” and so on. One may also think of a pun based

on *k ā ñ c a n a* , gold (Khotanese *kāmjana*) taken in its proper meaning and assumed also to signify ear-cut *k a ṇ ṇ a* , *k ā n* , ear and *c c h i n n a* cut.

Thus, many of the arguments in favour of *Survaṇabhūmi* = *Nagar* lose their force. Now, let us pass to the other essential characteristic of *Suvarṇabhūmi*: it was the land of gold. That Western Tibet—and when we say Western Tibet, we cannot specify its extension during the times of which we are speaking, because we do not know, for instance, its relation to *Ladakh* and *Zanskar*, which were probably under its control—was rich in gold is a well ascertained fact. It was there, or in its immediate proximity, or in some of its provinces, that the legend of the gold-ants was localized.

A king of *Ladakh* assigns to one of his sons the gold mines of *ṅGog* near *Rudok*. (Francke, *Chronicles of Ladakh*, p. 44). The gold mines of *Thokjalung* are famous; the gold fields of *Manasarovar* and *Kailāsa* are equally known (G. Tucci, *Santi e Briganti*, p. 61); the territory near *Byi'u gompā*, near the *Manasarovar*, is called *gSer ka*, Ch. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, pp. 140, 156, 157, *Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.*, XIV, 210, XXXVIII, 174. Cf. Fr. Schiern, *The Tradition of the gold-digging ants*, Ind. Antiquary, vol. IV, 1875, p. 224; B. Laufer, *Die Sage der Goldgrabenden Amaisēn*, *TP*, vol. IX, 1908, p. 429 locates the legend in the *Altai*, *Shiraigol*.

When we read in the *Inquiry* that under the threat of the Tibetan invasion the kings of *Li* (*Khotan*) take shelter in the *Gold-race* country and try to get from it the gold needed for their ransom, we cannot fail to remember the story of the invasion of *Žaṅ žuṅ* by the *Qarluqs* and the gold they requested for the ransom of the King *Ye šes 'od*. It is true that once we read in the *Inquiry* that *Vijayavarman* boasted that he belonged to the *Gold-race*: but the text of the *Inquiry* has been transmitted in such a bad condition that this one reference creates no serious difficulty: it may also be an allu-

sion to one of his many incarnations, or to his marrying a queen of the Women-kingdom. Moreover, as has been well established by Thomas, there is no doubt that Khotan and Skardo, on the one hand, and the Gold-country on the other, where this prince takes shelter when the Tibetan invasion approaches, are distinct countries, though on friendly terms.

For all these reasons I think that we must go back to the old views, such as those expounded by Lassen (IAK, p. 1023), and locate in Western Tibet the gold country, *Suvarṇabhūmi* and its ruling family, *Suvarṇagotra*. It is there indeed that the *Mahābhārata*, II, 28, 1040-42 near the *Mānasa*, places *Hāṭaka*, the country of gold. According to the *Smṛtyupasthāna* that is the country of the *Kirāta* or *Krita* (S. Lévi, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, JA, 1918, p. 19¹⁾) mentioned also in our catalogues, but, according to *Mbh.*, its guardians are the *Gūhyaḥa*, the attendants of *Kubera*, the god of wealth.

On the other hand, I do not know that *Hunza-Nagar* was ever known as a country as rich in gold as Western Tibet. Before concluding with the *Inquiry* I want to add as regards the *Rākṣasī Huṣā*²⁾, that this *Rākṣasī*, who returns to her former condition of a goddess, is imagined as dressed in a short shirt (*ṣabma*) made of the hair of wild animals (*yidvags*) with her hair tied up on her head. This last description reminds us of the goddess *Ekajāṭā*, later assimilated with *Tārā*. She also takes her name from the hair tied up on her head and is covered with a tiger skin. Indian tradition tells us that this goddess was accepted into the Buddhist pantheon from *Cīna*. The *siddha* responsible for that

1) Though the *Kirāta* are also placed in the East, there is no doubt that the Western Himalayas are their home: many authorities in RÖNNÖV, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96, 98-9, 100, 113 ff.

2) It is interesting to note that in the *Jayadrathayāmala* one of the *Lāmās* is called *Hisā*: but the reading seems doubtful, P. C. BACCHI, *Studies in the Tantras*, part. I, p. 52.

introduction was the Siddhanāgārjuna who got the sādhana of the goddess among the Bhoṭa (Sādhanamālā, N. 127, p. 287), just as Vasiṣṭha is advised by the Buddha to go to Mahācīna, Cīnabhūmi in order to get from there the siddhi (Rudrayāmala, ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1892, p. 149).

It was there, according to the Sammohatantra on a lake called Chola (m t s ' o ?) on the Western side of the Meru, that Nilogratārā was born (Bagchi, *Tantric Studies*, University of Calcutta, 1939, p. 46, and *IHQ*, VII, 1931, p. 1).

It is also most probable that from those transhimalayan countries the Lāmākrama (where Lāmā is a trascription into Sanskrit of the Tibetan word: Lha mo) originated: because their people, chiefly women, were considered by Tantric teachers as greatly experienced in magic, so that it was commonly accepted that it was there the Mahācīnakrama had its origin (G. Tucci, *Animadversiones Indicae*, *JASB*, 1903, p. 155, P. Ch. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 41 f. and p. 45 ff. *TPS*, p. 215).

Moreover, there is another Chinese source which confirms my opinion that Suvarṇagotra is in Western Tibet and that it cannot be located in Hunza-Nagar. I refer to the diary of another Chinese pilgrim, viz. Huei Ch'ao (W. Fuchs, *Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien*, *Sitzb. phil.-hist. Klasse, Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1938, p. 418). Huei Ch'ao also speaks of Suvarṇagotra as a small kingdom under the Tibetans: it is reached from Jālandhara in one month's journey; viz. the same distance as from Ṭakka to Sindh Gurjjarā. That Suvarṇagotra cannot be Nagar is to my mind proved by the fact that access to Nagar can hardly be had through Jālandhara: the easy approach, and therefore the trade-route to Nagar, is through Kashmir. On the other hand, Jālandhara is relatively near to Western Tibet.

From there one reaches the Bias river, crosses the Rotang La, and through Spiti enters W. Tibet: another route is through the Sutlej and proceeds up to the Shipki pass. There is no reason why such a distant country as Nagar should be heard of in Jālandhara, or be in trade relations with it.

On the other hand, when Huei Ch'ao reaches Kashmir he tells us about great and small Bolor, two countries very near to Nagar; but on that occasion there is no mention of of *S u v a r ṇ a g o t r a*. This could hardly be explained if *S u v a r ṇ a g o t r a* was in Hunza-Nagar.

We are led to this same conclusion by the passage of T'ang shu, translated by Chavannes, *Doc.*, p. 121, for Chu-chü-po is there said to be one thousand miles to the West of Khotan and three thousand miles to the north of the kingdom of Women. This means that between that place and *Strīrājya - S u v a r ṇ a g o t r a* there was a distance three times greater than from it to Khotan. This passage excludes Sarikol or Hunza which would be much nearer, and points again to Western Tibet.

Nor can we object that in some Buddhist texts, most probably elaborated in Central Asia, *S u v a r ṇ a g o t r a* is mentioned along with *Uḍḍiyāna* (S. Lévi, *Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde*, *BEFEO*, V, pp. 11, 22, 31, 37) *Sūlika* etc. (but at p. 32 from *T a t h ā g a t a g u h y a k a* after Banaras there is a country called Gold-root). In fact we have seen that *Žaṅ žuṅ* was in older times a rather big country covering Changthang, reaching Turkestan, and perhaps controlling Ladakh and the adjoining States.

The equation *S u v a r ṇ a b h ū m i*, 124,5, 169,1, *S u v a r ṇ a g o t r a* = *Strīrājya* seems to lead us to the same conclusions. It is true that there are two kingdoms of women in Central Asia (though many more are recorded in Chinese Literature (P. Pelliot in *TP*, 1912, p. 357, n. 4, Lévi, *Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature*, *IHQ*, XII, 1956, p. 132, W. Eberhard, *Lokal Kulturen im Alten China*, I,

p. 278) but the one with which we are here concerned is not unknown to Indian literature and is located in the trans-Himalayan countries: Strīrājya is known to Mbh., III, 51, 1991, XII, 4, 114, it lies between Hūna and Taṅgana.

Elswhere it is mentioned along with Cina, Tukhāra, Kulūta (Mbh., III, 51, 1991, XII, 4, 114).

Strīrājya is known also to Varāhamihira, Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Chapt. XVI v. 6, as noted by Kern (in his translation of the same work *Verpreide Geschriften*, I, p. 240) and suggested by Bhaṭṭopala in his comm. (Vizianagam Sanskrit Series, vol. I, p. 308) following Kāśyapa who writes:

Parvatā Jaladurgaś ca Kosalās Taṅganā
 Hālā |
 Strīrājyaṃ Bharukacchaś ca Tuṣārā Vana-
 vāsinaḥ |

No specific location is given, but from some of the names of the other people mentioned, and from the other references, it would appear that Kāśyapa placed the Strīrājya in the North-West of India. No geographical indication can be drawn from Rājatarāṅginī, IV-173-74 and 185 when the conquests of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa are recorded. (Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī, A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, vol. I, p. 138).

The fact that many kingdoms of women were known, caused a certain confusion, all the more so as some of them were purely fantastic. It is not my purpose to discuss on this occasion the very complex problem; I just want to say that the mention of Nūkuo of the East of the P'ei shih (Pe na pen, edition, 97, f. 27 a, b) reproduced in Sui shu, 83, f. 10 a, b (cf. also Chiu T'ang shu 197, ff. 5 a, 6 b, T'ai p'ing yü lan 796, 5 a, Tung Tien 1043 c) already presupposes this confusion between the Su pi of the East and the Nū Kuo of

the West. As a matter of fact that text was concerned with the Western Nü kuo (resumé in Bushell, p. 531, note 42); this is proved by the fact that a Nü kuo is located to the South of the Ts'ung ling mountains (omitted in Bushell) which would be impossible if the Eastern country of Women were concerned, and by the allusion to the trade of salt with India: mineral salt is even nowadays one of the largest products of Eastern Ladakh and Western Tibet, traded with Kashmir, Nepal and the Simla and Almora hills. The text mentions as products of the very cold country: horses, musks and yaks, gold-dust, cinnabar and copper; polyandry is referred to. The palace of the queen is nine stories high (nine, as known, is a sacred number whith the Bon po, whose religion, according to tradition, was codified in these parts). The husband of the queen is called Kin ch'ü 金聚 "gold-accumulation".

These characteristics point again to Western Tibet and its neighbouring countries, where P. Pelliot also was inclined to locate Suvarṇagotra Strīrājya, identifying with this Nü kuo the Si li 悉立 recorded by the Fa yü an chu lin as being near Kiu lu ta (Kuluta) (*TP*, 1912, p. 357, n. 4); he explains that name-old pronunciation Sit (Sir)-lip (lap)-as = Tib. gser rabs gold-race: but the original of Sili is not necessarily Tibetan.

These names Suvarṇabhūmi, Suvarṇagotra, Strīrājya are derived from some peculiarity of the country to which they refer, and are left in that vagueness which is the common characteristic of the information given by Indian geographical literature concerning the border lands; the name Strīrājya may be suggested by the authority the women in that country were supposed to exercise, as they still do in most parts of Tibet; Suvarṇabhūmi refers to the gold mines of which the country is very rich. But most probably the geographical name was Cina, (quite different, of course from Cīna = China) a fact already acknowledged

by many scholars ¹⁾ and now made certain by our inscription referring to the Western Tibetan country as Cīna, the country that Varahanihira quotes alongside with the Kirāta, Kauṇinda, Khasa (B ṛ h a t s a ṃ h i t ā , XIV, 29) the country which the T a n t r a t a t t v a includes in B h ā r a t a v a r ṣ a , immediately before Nepal ²⁾ and Kashmir (Cīna, Mahācīna, Nepāla, Kāśmira; Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. 129), the country which Arjuna, according to Bhāṇa (H a r ṣ a c a r i t a , ed. P. V. Kane, vol. 2, p. 59) had to cross before reaching that Hemakūṭa, the golden mountain, which he wants to subdue, that country also, which from the times of Mbh., II, 26, 987, 584, XII, 65, 2429 and *Milindapañha*, p. 327, 331 is quoted along with the Chilāta, Kirāta (in the text Vilāta, false reading for Chilāta, S. Lévi, *Ptolomé, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā, Etudes Asiatiques*, Paris 1925, p. 24, cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, pp. 7-35), an Himalayan people divided into various groups (Rönnow, *op. cit.* and S. K. Chatterjee, *Kirāta-janakīrti, The Indo-Mongoloids, RASB*, 1951 ³⁾), or along with the Hūnas Mbh., XII, 326, 12229, or Hārahūna, Mbh., III, 51, 1990.

1) S. LÉVI, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa, JA*, 1918, Tome XI, p. 118; country of the Pamirs with the Khāsa; *ibid.* p. 126 Cīna and Aparacīna countries to the north of the Himālaya, Serindia and China. Cf. Id., *Maitreya le Consolateur*, in: *Études d'orientalisme à la Mémoire de R. Linossier*, Paris 1932, p. 356.

2) The "Jaina" of B h ā v a p r a k ā ś a n a by Ś a r a d ā t a n a y a , *GOS*, XLV, p. 310: N e p ā l a j a i n a b ā h l i k ā must be corrected into C ī n a , C a i n a .

3) The Catalogue of the mss. in the Indian Office by Eggeling p. IV, n. 2563 pp. 873-876, analysing the M a h ā c ī n a k r a m a c ā r a , states that the rituals implied the use of some twigs of Mahācīnadrūma, the tree of Mahācīna: it would be interesting to collect some information on this tree because one cannot but recollect the great importance that the ś u g p a , the juniper tree enjoyed in the Bon po ritual. S. Lévi referring to this passage, *IHQ*, XII, p. 208, thinks that Chinese (Mahācīna) and Central Asia (Cīna) cultures had strongly influenced the birth of Tantric literature. But one should remember that the Mahācīnakrama is chiefly connected with worship of deities in female form, and indulges in sexual symbolism which is so repulsive to the Chinese that when they translated Tantric works they often omitted or changed the passages which seemed objectionable to their moral sense. The Mahācīnakrama, Cīnakrama would rather point, as its center of origin, to places where

(B ṛ h a t s a ṃ h i t ā , XI, 61: Ś v e t a h ū n a , XVI, 28-39 cf. Bailey, *Hārahūṇa*, in *Asiatica*, Festschrift Fr. Weller, p. 12 ff.).

I must add here that it is highly probable that *Ž a ṅ ž u ṅ* included also the country of Yang t'ung 羊 [同] or that this was its part: Yang t'ung was located to the east as well as to the West of Tibet viz. little Yang t'ung and great Yang t'ung. The great Yang t'ung were to the south of Khotan and their country extended from West to East for about 1000 *li*, and was ruled by four ministers. They were subjugated by the Tibetans about 679. Other sources of the IX century place them clearly in the East. All these facts have been summarized by Demiéville (Concile, p. 28 ff.); they show that there was to the south of Khotan an extensive country long more than large, just as *Suvarṇagotra* is said to have been: it split, perhaps on account of the Tibetan wars and a division imposed by them into two parts one in the East and one in the west just as we find a *Ž a ṅ ž u ṅ* *stod* and a *Ž a ṅ ž u ṅ* *smad*. We also know that the famous clan *Mu lu* (*ibid.*, p. 26) = *Bro* originated from the Yang t'ung and we infer from the catalogue of PT that the *Bro* clan was in *gTsañ* viz. a country bordering Western Tibet and *Byañ t'añ*: its members were *dpoñ* of the 5 sde of *Gug* and *C'oḡ* in *Ž a ṅ ž u ṅ*.

All these facts adds weight to the view of Prof. Thomas who proposed to identify Yang t'ung with *Byañ t'añ* (though phonetically the equation is impossible).

an extreme sexual symbolism is normal: these elements are to be found among the Himalayan tribes and also in Tibet.

To give an example, some of the rituals recommended by the *Mahācīnakrama* (chapter 21 of *Śaktisamgamatantra*, vol. II, *GOS*, XLI, p. 104; it is quoted, along with *Svacchandabhairava*, *Siddhāntasamgraha* etc. as a fundamental book on the *Mahācīnakrama* by the *Puraścaryārṇava* of *Pratapasiṅha Shah*, Banaras 1904, p. 843) are sexual practices, such as no need of bathing, the use of wine, long hair besmeared with oil, the position for greating is to remain kneeling, placing the forehead on the ground, the use of rosaries made of the bones of cows, men, elephants etc. Some of these customs are followed by the Tibetans. *Mahācīna* does not seem to be here necessarily connected with the country of *Mahācīna*: it is a method "the big method of Cina"; the text distinguishes five methods *brahmācīna*, *divyācīna*, *vīrācīna*, *mahācīna*, *niskalācīna*.

The conclusion of this long, though preliminary discussion to which the inscription of Dullu has given rise and to which the passage of PT has contributed with new arguments, is that *Žaṅ žuṅ* was a big State (or rather confederation of tribes?) before the foundation of the Tibetan Empire, but destined to succumb when that empire started its expansion. *Žaṅ žuṅ* bordered on the Indian Himalayas, controlled most probably Ladakh, stretched as far as Baltistan and Khotan, and extended its control over the highlands of Changthang in a word covered West, North and north-eastern Tibet. Its southern provinces were vaguely known to India as *Suvarṇabhūmi*, *Strirājya* and chiefly as *Cīna*, when it passed under the control of the rising power of the Tibetans.

Unlike the *Sum pa*'s district, *Žaṅ žuṅ* was not a *ru*, a banner; it became an integral part of the Tibetan state during the times of *K'ri sroṅ lde btsan*, when it was annexed.

§ 13. – *Survey of the history of western Tibet.* Formerly *Žaṅ žuṅ* was ruled by a *Lig* dynasty; its events are partly recorded in TH chronicles. At the time of *Sroṅ btsan sgam po*, 644 A.D., *Lig sṅa šur* revolted.

Sroṅ btsan sgam po submitted all *Žaṅ žuṅ* and became master of it.¹⁾ (cf. the story of *Zu tse TLT*, II, p. 54 ff.²⁾.)

year 653 *Spug gyim rtsan rma c'uṅ* is appointed to govern it

662 *sToṅ rtsan* makes the settlement of (*m k' o s*)

Žaṅ žuṅ

675 *bTsan sṅa* makes the settlement of (*m k' o s*)

Žaṅ žuṅ

1) This conquest became necessary when the Tibetan expansion towards Central Asia started: *Sroṅ btsan sgam po* wanted to control Changthang and Western Tibet before starting his campaigns.

2) For the reasons here stated *To yo chas la*, said to be in northern *Žaṅ žuṅ*, cannot be identified with *Do yo* in Purang as proposed by THOMAS, TLT, II, p. 55.

677 *Žaň žuň* rebels

719 the census (p' a l o s) of *Žaň žuň* was ordered

724 the minister sTa gu ri tsab makes the settlement (m k' o s) of *Žaň žuň*; in TH, p. 83 the king of *Žaň žuň* and his two ministers are recorded:

Lig sŇa šur, king:

K'yuň po ra saňs rje } ministers.
sToň lom ma ce.

In TH, p. 155 ff. the story is told of the marriage of Sad mar kar, daughter of K'ri sroň lde btsan, to the king of *Žaň žuň*, Lig Myi rhya as a result of the alliance between *Žaň žuň* and Tibet, and of the unhappiness of this queen in *Žaň žuň*, the campaign of K'ri sroň lde btsan against *Žaň žuň*, the elimination of Lig Myi rhya and the definite submission of *Žaň žuň* are recorded. This implies that up to that time *Žaň žuň* was in a state of vassallage but had not completely lost at least nominally its independence.

When that happened *Žaň žuň* was divided for military purposes into ten chiliarchies, s toň s de (four s toň s de and one s toň bu c' uň in upper *Žaň žuň* and four s toň s de and one s toň bu c' uň in Lower *Žaň žuň* see above p. 83). Another name for the two parts was inner and outer *Žaň žuň*. It never recovered.

When a Tibetan dynasty took control of the country, it had lost most of its northern and north-western provinces: the Qarluq greatly contributed to weakening and dissolving the state¹⁾: independent chiefs took control of *Byaň t'aň*. Then the Pāla family first and afterwards Nāgarāja and his successors conquered the country and controlled it along with

1) H. HOFFMANN, *Die Qarluq in der Tibetischen Literatur*, Oriens, vol. III, 1950, n. 2, p. 190 ff.

western Nepal up to the 14th century, when some local family rose again to power: to succumb later to *Señ ge rnam rgyal*, king of Ladak, (in 1630) and then to be included in the Tibetan state after the Tibetan-Ladakhi war (1683).

Žañ žuñ had its own language of which documents have been found in Central Asia; only at a later time after the Tibetan conquest Žañ žuñ language gave way to Tibetan which slowly but definitely superseded and cancelled it. This is a fact acknowledged also by some Tibetan sources (*B o n r g y a l r a b s*, p. 24, b).

Let us now discuss the other problem, that of the capital; we read in our inscription that Nāgarāja established his capital in Semjā: according to the Tib. sources (PT, GR, SP) it was bTsan p'yug lde the successor of Nāgadeva who went to Ya tse: the fact was so important that it is recorded in the Tib. chronicles: at that time there was a change of the capital of Žañ žuñ, Guge. Semjā appears also in the *t ā m r a p a t r a* of Shituska as the capital of Pṛthvīmalla. Where should this town be located? In TPS, I proposed to identify Ya tse with Taklakot, capital of Purang. But it appears unquestionably from these texts that Ya tse, Semjā are one and the same place, the capital of the Malla dynasty, but Semjā is certainly not Taklakot.

It is a well established fact that for sometime the capital of Guge was Tsaparang which to day also is the seat of a *r d s o ñ d p o n*: it was so at the times of D'Andrade¹⁾. But we cannot be certain that this had always been the case; at the times of the Lig dynasty, when Žañ žuñ was independent, its capital was K'yuñ luñ dñul dkar. (cf. TH, p. 116, l. 8 where we should read K'yuñ luñ dñul dkar for: K'yuñ luñ rdul dkar). We have no reason to distrust the historical tradition of Tibet according to which

1) G. M. TOSCANO, *La prima missione cattolica nel Tibet*, Istituto Missioni Estere, Parma, s. d., p. 63.

Toling was built under advice of Rin c'en bzañ po, by the early kings of Guge; being the chief temple of the kingdom, it could not presumably have been very far from the capital; as a matter of fact Tsaparang and Toling are near. But we cannot argue that Tsaparang was also the capital of Western Tibet under the new dynasty, started by Nā-gadeva. With him the IDe family was ousted or made a vassal family: the capital was shifted from Tsaparang to a place nearer to the country whence the conquerors had come. The establishment of the new capital was so important that it is recorded in the inscription as well as in the Tib. chronicles; it was a great change. Then, at a later time, when the Malla dynasty came to an end, most probably after Pṛth-vīmalla, the old family of Guge or some other local family profitted by the situation to return again to power and was reinstated in the old capital Tsaparang. In fact, the kings who came after the Mallas belonged certainly to the local aristocracy and prefixed their names by the word K'ri as the old Tibetan kings had done ¹⁾. It is also possible that Tsaparang remained the capital of Western Tibet under the local rulers, reduced to the condition of vassals, and that Semjā was the capital of the Malla Empire, including both the provinces to the North and to the South of the Himalaya. All these facts seem to force us to the conclusion that, at a certain period, about the 11th century, two aryan-speaking tribes broke into Western Tibet. The one took control of Purang and the other of Guge: that of Guge came to an end with Pratāpamalla and was succeeded by the Purang family which then took the name of Malla unifying the dominions of the two families. I am inclined to believe that the appearance of Utpala, king of Ladakh, should be viewed in the same light: he also, as a bearer of a Sanskrit name, comes suddenly into the history of that country

¹⁾ Also the Purang rulers were called K'ri: see above p. 64.

and according to the tradition, which we have now no means to control, he was the author of the emancipation of Ladakh from Guge of which the former had been a vassal state. We do not know whether his family adapted itself to the new surroundings so as to be completely Tibetanized (as the invaders of Guge seem to have done) or if after Utpala the old rulers of Ladakh ousted the new comers. One fact seems certain to me, that about the 11th century there was unrest among the Himalayan tribes, and that some groups crossed into Western Tibet and there founded new principalities, going so far as to Tibetanize their habits and names.

As to what these invaders from the South Himalaya countries were, we can safely state that they were, as we saw and they themselves state, Khasa, who as a war-like aristocracy controlled a fluctuating mass of other tribes, those K'ri ta (Kirāta) or Mon to which the old Tibetan chronicles make allusions.

Let it be as it may, it appears that the Mallas reached the height of their power under Pṛthivīmalla who ruled over a great kingdom which included Guge, Purang and the Nepalese territories as far as Dullu to the SW, Kaskikot to the East (as we gather from the *k a n a k a p a t r a* of Shituska, p. 113; but there the reading is Kaskot).

§ 14. — *Pṛthivīmalla*. Was Pṛthivīmalla a buddhist or a hindu? There is no doubt that his family must have been Buddhist: there is no record of any apostasy or heresy of the Mallas, as rulers of Guge in the Tibetan chronicles. His inscriptions bear always the Buddhist symbol of the *s t ū p a* and start with the Buddhist *m a n t r a*. But after the extension of the kingdom to the south and the increased contacts with India which according to the Tibetan sources were undertaken by his ancestor Ripumalla, and the slow but constant penetration of Hinduism, the hinduization of his court, and consequently of the upper classes, was in progress.

A great difference is noticeable between the *praśasti* of Dullu and the *kanakapatra* of Shituska (p. 113): while in the *praśasti* Buddhism predominates with its symbols, *mantras* and perhaps invocations, the *kanakapatra* is fundamentally hindu. In Pṛthvīmalla's seal on the *kanakapatra* of Jumla there are the symbols of a *padma* and a *śaṅkha*; his two wives are compared to *Bhūmi* and *Śrī* of *Viṣṇu*; he is praised as an *avatāra* of *Viṣṇu*; in the Dullu stele the *bhikṣus* come first in the list of those exempted from taxes, but in the *kanakapatra* the court poet invokes *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*, the Buddha, *Dharma*, and *Samgha*. This can be explained more than by a change in the faith of the rulers by the different public to which the documents were addressed and the different entourage: the *kanapatra* was not a mere genealogy and glorification of the royal family but a donation interesting a part of the country which had already become prevalently hindu.

Most probably, though he could not forget that his was the throne of the *c'os rgyal* of Guge and that the most vital part of his kingdom was Western Tibet, his religious policy was a wise adaptation to the beliefs dominant in the various provinces of his dominions.

In all those parts where his name is found there are many stone temples and *stūpas* which have no continuation. They are the evident signs of a period of great prosperity and certainly of a liberal patronage: but they are too many, and so widely scattered over the country that it is difficult to believe that they were all built at the same time. It appears to me that Pṛthvīmalla, after *Nāgadeva*, the ancestor, and *Ripumalla* whose conquests in India are recorded by Tibetan sources, is the most conspicuous scion of a family which ruled both over what is now Western Nepal and Western Tibet. We do not know anything of the organization of the state

but it seems almost certain that it was based on a feudal system, the members of the local aristocracy being turned into officials of his kingdom.

Political unity resulted in economic unity, because the two countries, that to the north of the Himalayas and that to the south, were economically strictly connected. The kingdom of Guge, as we learn from D'Andrade, drew large resources from its trade with India: even now-a-days, Taklakot and Gyanima are very important trade centers. Western Tibet produces and exchanges salt, skins, borax, probably in older times gold, woollen cloth: on the other hand it imports all sorts of commodities from India: utensils, clothes etc. But the Tibetans did not descend down the valleys: they do not like the hot climate. The trade was chiefly in the hands of the hill tribes, acting as intermediaries and as porters on tracks rarely practicable to horses.

The political unity under the Mallas certainly benefitted both Western Tibet and Western Nepal, and made the exchanges with the bordering countries easier and more profitable. It is a fact that unlike what one finds in other parts of Nepal, the road beyond Jumla up to Dullu (and I am told also to Tanakpur) is generally something better than a dangerous track: in some parts it is very wide and easy; there are also bridges which are regularly repaired by the villagers; this road was called by some of my informants *r ā j - m ā r g* a royal road: it is along it that I found the inscription in praise of *P ṛ t h v ī m a l l a* (see above p. 43); it is along it that there rise the stone pillars. It is to be surmised that at the time of the Mallas the roads were much better looked after than at present; horses bred in Jumla, and which made this place renowned, must have been more common than now; we see their figure engraved on many pillars along the road. The trade did not suffer those limitations and difficulties which certainly arose when the kingdom collapsed and from

its ruins many small states emerged, jealous of one another and not always on good terms.

Pṛthvīmalla had a great dream and did his best to realize it; but it seems that somewhere he met with a disaster. The Tibetan chronicles stop with him: no inscription of any of his successors has yet been found. But without anticipating what new researches and new documents may one day bring to light, I venture to suggest that with **Pṛthvīmalla** the kingdom which his forefathers had started and he had greatly extended, crumbled to pieces, and so the feudal chiefs whom he had subdued but left in charge of their possessions reconquered their freedom: the country was split again into small states too poor to claim with some fortune his succession and, as often happened in India, fighting one against the other. There is no doubt that his conquests extended very far, coming near to the Valley of Nepal. From the *kanakapatra* which I discovered in Jumla, but in the possession of a brahmin of *Sijā* now in *Shituska*, it appears that his domains reached *Kaskikot*, a place now in ruins on a ridge overlooking, to the northwest, on the *Pokhara* valley. The fact remains, as I have said, that for reasons which we are not now in a condition to ascertain, perhaps on account of some unfortunate expedition and the consequent rebellion of the feudatory chiefs in Tibet and in Nepal, for the impact of new invasions from the west and the south, the *Malla* kingdom, came, with **Pṛthvīmalla**, to an end.

§ 15. – *Seṃjā, Ya ts'e*. We have not yet solved the location of a *Ya ts'e*, *Ya tse*, *Seṃjā*. That this was the capital of the *Mallas* is proved not only by the inscription of *Dullu*, and the Tibetan Chronicles referred to above, but also by the *kanakapatra* from *Sijā* a village, a few miles to the North-West of *Jumla* (Fig. 21). This gilded *kanakapatra* was said to be in possession of a Brahmin; with the kind assistance of

the acting Boro Hakim of Jumla I sent a man to get the document. It was in my hands for a little while and so I had the opportunity to photograph it. It is dated Śrīśāka 1298 (= A.D. 1376); it was written in Semjānagara. The beginning and the end of the *kana kapatra* are in sanskrit, the central portion in *parvatiyā*.

The Sanskrit portion is written in the most artificial Sanskrit by a poet, probably a court poet, in the style of the *campukāvya*. It opens with a very flowery and redundant description of the town of Semjā, śrīmati Semjānagare, and it praises with very emphatic eulogy King Pṛthvīmalla.

Then in *parvatiyā* the donation of some lands and privileges is proclaimed; (mention of Āditya Malla rāi, Puṇyamalla rāi, Tārā dei gosāini is made). The donation was made in the king's birthday; the order is notified to the *adhikārins* and other officials of Jumlā, Dullu, Kudvanā, Palātārā, Kaskot. The order was issued in two copies one of which was given to Gohnu Joisi who was appointed to enjoin its contents.

It ends with the usual reference to the duty of the king, to dharma and the code of moral law recommended by Hinduism. The pandit who composed the Sanskrit text was Śivadeva.

The inscription is of evident Hindu inspiration.

To witness that the order of the king is not transgressed, the sun, the moon, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, Buddha the Dharma and the Saṅgha are called on. This shows that the king, though giving precedence to the Hindu gods, did not forget Buddhism: but anyhow, as I said, the accent is strongly Hindu.

The similarity of the names of Semjā and Sijā makes me certain that the latter place should be identified with the old capital of the Mallas: and therefore with Ya ts'e, Ya tse, Ya rtse of the Tibetans. It is true that the *ḍsambugliṅrgyas bśad* identifies Ya ts'e with

Taklakot but this may be due to a misunderstanding or to the fact that when that book was written, at the end of the 18th century, when mÑa' ris had become the remotest corner of Tibet and Taklakot was nothing more than a frontier market, Ya tse of the old sources had been identified with that city in Purang. But that originally Ya tse could not be Taklakot seems proved by the fact that Taklakot is in Purang while it is ascertained from the inscription and the old sources that Semjā-Ya tse was the city where Nāgarāja or his successor had transferred the capital of their kingdom, and where consequently Puṇyamalla came leaving his ancestral home in Purang, when the family of Nāgarāja become extinct. To conclude I like to quote another document which indirectly proves that the identification Ya tse-Semjā is right. It is a letter sent by Kun dga' bzañ po to a king of Ya tse. This letter is preserved in vol. A of the complete works p. 349 a of that lama and it is directed to the king of Ya tse (Ya ts'e) Ha sti rā ja (ya tse pa rgyal po ha sti rā ja), to his eldest son A hru rā ja and to the chief queen (btsun mo dam pa) Dsa gad smal. Kung dga' bzañ po sends his thanks for the presents he had received (things to eat ž al zas, a chair gdan, a prabhāmaṇḍala rgyab yol for the images and some robes c'os sgos). He gives the king some instructions, and recommends him to avoid in every way, as if they were poison, the doctrines of the worshippers of Hindu gods such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra, of the heretics as well as those of the Mohamedans.

ts'añs dañ k'yab ajug dbañ p'yug sogs dañ |
 mu stegs byed dañ kla kloī c'os lugs rnam s |
 rnam pa kun du dug bžin spoñ bar mdsod |

Moreover he adds that all sorts of pūjā which prescribed the killing of animals be they birds or goats should be equally avoid-

ed because they are cause of a great sin, which causes rebirth in the hells (ñ a n s o ñ).

Then he advises the king to follow the example of the former great c ' o s r g y a l of Ya ts'ei (instead of Ya tse used before) – who used to contribute to the embellishment of the Sa skya monastery: would it not be good to repair all these previous gifts to Sa skya which are now collapsing? Then he goes on recommending charity towards the monks, d g e s l o ñ, the Brahmins (b r a m z e), the poor, the sick etc. A much shorter letter with brief advice is also sent to the Ya ts'e blon po, the minister of Ya ts'e A ya dbañ p'yug, who had sent him a bronze vase and some medicines.

It is clear that the ruler of Ya ts'e, Ya tse was a petty chief who could not compete with the c ' o s r g y a l of former times; those had sent to Sa skya precious gifts, gold and silver for enlarging the temples but the new rulers are presenting Kun dga' bzañ po with modest gifts; moreover this ruler is no longer a Malla: perhaps a Malla(devī)¹⁾ was his wife. What is far more important, there is no trace of his being a buddhist; in his small kingdom hinduism had many followers, sacrifices of chicken (still in use in Nepal) and goats were practised; brahmins were so important in Ya tse that, in spite of the instructions concerning the hindu sacrifices, Kun dga' bzañ po, thinks it necessary not to forget them as recipients of the royal charity. All these facts point to a country greatly hinduized: such as Semjā, or Jumla might be, but could not be understood if referred to Taklakot which is and, to our knowledge, always was Lamaistic.

Therefore the Hastirāja must be one of the kings who after the collapse of the Mallas ruled over their ancient capital Semjā and the neighboring countries (Jumla): one may also suppose that he is the same as Nāgarāja (n ā g a = h a s t i of Doc. C.

¹⁾ Or: Jaganmālā? Cf. the names of the wives of Pṛthvīmalla, p. 50.

For all these reasons it seems to me that Ya tse cannot be identified with Taklakot and that the analogy Semjā = Sijjā, Sijā, cannot be dismissed. All the more so when we take into consideration that Sijā, Sijjā after the Mallas, enjoyed, at least for a certain period, a paramount importance in the Jumla district and was the seat of a dynasty which came immediately after the Mallas. The establishment of the capital in Ya ts'e, Semjā, was considered a very important event in the history of the kingdom since it was recorded, as we saw, not only in the inscription of Dullu but also in the Tibetan chronicles. This locality Semjā, Sijjā, is not marked on the map of Nepal one inch = 8 miles of 1928, but to the north-west of Jumla there is marked a river Sinjakholā which unmistakably points to Sijjā, Simjā, Semjā: on the same map, second edition, and on the map XIII of Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, Simjā is marked to the north-west of Jumla. It was a well placed town between the Sinja river, the Karnali and the Mugu, at the junction of many roads leading to the passes through the Himalayas into Tibet and therefore well connected with the Tibetan territories conquered by Nāgarāja and his successors.

§ 16. – *Minor chronicles or documents concerning the Jumla district and other parts of W. Nepal.* What happened to the Mallas after the collapse of their kingdom and its division into many petty states? From some inscriptions of Doti it seems that a branch of the Malla remained in the district of Doti.

I refer to two *tāmrāpatra*; one dated Śāka 1480, A.D. 1558 is issued by Nṛpatimalla and contains particulars about some donations of land; it quotes also other names of the predecessor of the king viz. Gaja Malla and Arjuna Malla.

The other is dated Śāka 1550, A.D. 1628 and issued by Rāika Aruddha Śāhi. Though the title Śāhi takes here the place of that of Malla there is no doubt that the king belongs to the

Malla family; in fact, the inscription ends with the formula in broken sanskrit: p ā ṣ ā n ā ṃ k ṣ ī y a t e r e ṣ ā s a m u - d r a ṃ k ṣ ī y a t e j a l a | p ṛ t h i v ī k ṣ ī y a t e r e ṇ u m a l l a b h ā ṣ ā n a k ṣ ī y a t e : “ the word of the Malla is never destroyed ”.

I think that these Malla are related to the family of Pṛthvīmalla because Doti is very near Garhwal which perhaps was the original home of the Malla, at least so far as we can now guess; the Mallas to which Doc. A refers (see below), viz. the rulers of Baglung, took this title in rather later times and have no relation with them.

We know very little about the events which followed the collapse of their kingdom except the fragmentary information that can be gathered from some documents which I collected in Jumla and elsewhere. These documents may be divided into two groups a) t ā m r a p a t r a s containing donations and b) family chronicles. One of them (Doc. A) is called M a l l a r ā j a k o v a ṃ ś ā v a l i and was procured for me by Dirgha Bahadur, the Boro Hakim of Baglung. Though it cannot claim to be a historical document of great interest, still it contains some useful information for more recent times and it shows that there existed the tradition of certain relations among the various feudal families ruling over this part of the world.

These Mallas are distinct from the family of Pṛthvīmalla: they belong to a second and later irruption which tradition would have come from Rājasthān after the fall of Chitor. This v a ṃ ś ā v a l i is composed of various parts and as regards the mythic ancestors follows closely the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas:

I) Candravamśa – of Atreya gotra: Brahmā is born from the navel of Viṣṇu. Atri was born from the eye of Brahmā; Atri performs penance and after one thousand years Candra-

mas is born; so Dattātreyā from Viṣṇu and Durvāsa from Śiva. Candramas conquered heaven, earth and the nether world. He took away Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati, and he was the cause of a battle between the Gods and the Asuras; Indra and Śiva were on the side of Bṛhaspati, the Asuras and Śukra on that of Candramas.

The son of the latter was Budha.

Vaivasvat Manu of Sūryavaṃśa had no sons: therefore he performed *putreṣṭi-yajña*, but he begot a daughter called Ilā: Vasiṣṭha intervenes and according to Manu's wish turns the girl into a boy, who is called Sudyumna.

Sudyumna came one day to a place sacred to Pārvatī and which no man could enter without being changed into a woman: so he and his attendants were turned into women: his horse also became a mare.

Wandering in the forest Sudyumna met Budha and fell in love with him; Purūravas was then born who became a Cakravartin; then Āyu, then Nahuṣa, who on account of a curse became a snake; but in the Dvāpara age on being touched by Yudhiṣṭhira, he became again a man: his son was Yayāti who by his two wives begot five children, the eldest being Yadu and the youngest Puru. Puru became a Cakravartin: the other four were given four kingdoms in the four corners: 25 kings up to Bharata Cakravartin. Many of these names have nothing to do with those of the Pauranic lists: Pārce Vahān, Parbir, Sudu, Vahuga, . . . Rityaya, Rantati etc.

They performed 55 Aśvamedhas on the bank of the Ganges and 78 on the bank of the Yamunā. They reconquered the things which had been taken into the nether world by the Asuras. They ruled for 27,000 years.

II) nn. 26-49 from Bhāradvāja up to Yudhiṣṭhira (*sic*¹⁾).

1) The spelling of the names is here maintained as found in the documents even if is irregular or mistaken.

III) Descendence of Abhimanyu.

nn. 50-79, up to Lakṣmīcandra.

IV) Lakṣmīcandra defeats Tāratak Rumdin: in battle his family acquires the name of Raiṭhor (but below Raiṭhor) and settles in Kanauj.

nn. 80-89:

Mitrasena Raiṭhor, Surasena R., Dhira Śāh R., Matimal R., Amala Śāh R., Śaru Śāh R., Surajan R., Siddhipāl R., Jayadrath Śāh R., Karṇadhetu R. (*sic*), Mathimal Raiṭhor.

IV) When the Sultan Bādshāh asked for the surrender of Chitor, Mathi Mal refused and fought a fierce battle: he and his son Jayamalla died and the women committed *sati*. The Bādshāh ordered that the name Raiṭhor should no longer be added to that of the followers.

After the Raiṭhor the progeny of Deva Sharma starts.

They married Brahmin girls and became Brahmans.

V) nn. 90-95:

Deva Sharmā pādhyā (*sic*)

Kasyap pādhyā

Atrīva pādhyā

Hariśankar pādhyā

Śivaśankar pādhyā

Kāśidās pādhyā

VI) nn. 96-105:

Narasimha Muḍulā and others asked Kāśidās to be allowed to go and went near Kanauj; Kāśidās desired to go to Mānasarovar, reached the Darbar of Jumla, was not allowed to proceed further and was given the daughter of the king. Names of these rulers of Jumla: Viṣṇudās, Deud. Dharmad., Devākhar, Sevākhar, Śrīkhar, Udayan, Bhāskara, Yom, Nimu.

VII) nn. 106-112.

Nimu had four sons: Gosalale, Kāpṛya, Sagunī, Kedarū; the son of the first was Gotami Brahman, of the second Samāl, of the third Bagāle Thāpā, of the last Mājhhale (who) become

Bādsbāh of Tibet; from Kāpṛya the progeny (p a d a v i) of the Ś ā h i starts:

Kāpṛya Śāhī
 Dhandurāj Ś.
 Medinīrāj Ś.
 Jairāj Ś.
 Manirāj Ś
 Kemadār Ś.
 Jagaratha (*sic*) Ś.

VIII) nn. 113-119

The brother of Jagaratha Śāhī was Mairāj Śāhī; his lāmā was Pokharel Bāhun. The son of Jagaratha (Jagadratha) Śāhī was Garje Bhīm who was given the throne of Jumla: after him the Bam progeny started:

Gajai Bhīm Bam
 Bhāra Bam
 Jagatra Bam
 Goṭhāli Bam
 Deu Bam
 Srīvasu Bam
 Malayī Bam

The youngest wife of Malayī had a son called Kṣānti Bam who was king of . . . Lālāsultān.

Descendence of Malayī:

elder son: Śarācakra (Kharācakra) ruler of Jājarkot;

younger son: Jagatra Bam:

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Daraijaithum | Ananta Bam | Jagadratha | Candra Bam |
| ruler of | ruler of | ruler of | ruler of |
| Rukum | Jāhāri | Sāmākot | Sallyāna |

The second son of Daraijaithum (also written Darejai) was taken away by Bhujel to be his king, and was called under three

different names: Gothānāthi, Pithāmava and Ānamava¹⁾; nine castes, called the Tharthok, went with him: Muḍulā, Kārki, Pauḍel, Brahman, Rucāl, Bahik, Mahaṭho, Munavasti, Kām; first he became ruler of Anārkot; his son was Cakra Bam: his son was Diṃ Bam, the son of the last were Nāga Bam and Narsiṅga Bam: Nāga Bam practised athletics and defeated an Indian wrestler; he was therefore called Malla. His son Nārāyaṇa Malla married the daughter of Mani Mukunda of Tānsen (Palpa); he set up an image of Devī²⁾ in Baglung Chaur and extended the kingdom to the river Seti. He had three sons: Jitāri Malla, Rāja Malla, Kallyāṇa Malla. Jitāri Malla became ruler of Jalkot, Kallyāṇa Malla of Kaskikot; Rājamalla ruled over 80000 people including Parvat, Beni and Tholthān. A list of names follows some of whom have already been recorded.

In Jumla, I photographed or copied also a set of *vamśāvalis* or other documents which all come from Sijā (Sinjā). Of the Document "B" posterior to Pṛthvinārāyaṇa, the Gurkha conqueror, and which seems to be a summary of previous chronicles, I could have only a copy in hindi; in it the story is narrated of Balrāj. This king, the scion of a glorious family, was blessed by the vision of Candranāth who appeared to him assuming the appearance of a Brahmin and acted as his *guru*.

They went together to the Mānasarovar where they spent some time and then came back to Jumla: here Candranāth invested Balrāj with the Rāja-tilak of Jumla, i. e. he was made king of this place: he left his imprints on a stone, and enjoined on the king the worship of them and having so done he disappeared. King Balrāj then defeated the powerful Jālandharī Sijāpati of Jumla who ruled over Jumla; this town therefore was dependent on that state. He enlarged his fief

1) Explanation: because a) he was brought up in a cowshed, b) he was carried on the back, and c) because he had come.

2) Mahākālī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahāasarasvatī; GP, p. 101.

both to East and West. His glory was known as far as China; the Government of China promised to give him seven dhārnīs (= 17 seers) of gold, good horses, brocades etc. A religious treaty was also signed between China and him and many kinglets both to the East and to the West of Jumla became his vassals and paid tribute to Jumleśvara.

This dynasty lasted for 16 generations until the Vikrama Saṃvat 1845, A.D. 1788 when the kingdom of Jumla was taken over by Pṛthvinārayaṇa.

The succession of the rulers follows:

Balīrāj; his brother was Avīrāj

Vakṣarāj

Bijairāj

Viśeṣarāj; he had five brothers who went to Humla

Vibhoṣaṇa (*sic*)

Maṇirāj

Śrīmān Śāh who went to the village of Bhudān Jang

Sijam Śāh whose brother went to Tipṛkot¹⁾ Juphāl

Vikram Śāh whose brother went to Byams Gañ (?)

Bahādur Śāh whose brother went to Rārā Chāprū

Vīra Bhadra Śāh whose brother went to Tipṛkot Dunahī

Pṛthvīpati whose brother went to Tipṛkot Raccī

Suratha Śāh, whose brother went to Tipṛkot Tārā²⁾

Sudarśana, his brother was Subhān Śāh

Śrisūrya Bhān

Pṛthvinārāyaṇa

Naranārāyaṇa

Prabhūnārāyaṇa

Vikrama Bahādur

Narendra Bahādur

Virendra Bahādur

1) Evidently in the district of Tibrikot.

2) Probably Tārākot; all this shows that Tibrikot was the chief-place of a big district.

The statements which follow are taken from another document (C) which claims to be an old copy from an original dated Śāka 1315, Śaṃvat 1516 (*sic!* the two dates do not correspond) Kārtik 7 Sunday (Sunday 12, October 1393 accepting Śāka era).

It starts with the names of five kings: Mahārāj Jālandhari Parameśvara, 7 generations

Śrī Mahārāj Sijāpati Gaṇeśvari, 11 generations

Nāgarāj Jakti Siṃg of Haradvār, 5 generations

Mahārāj Parameśvara Gaganirāj, 13 generations

Mahārāj Balirāj Badrināth Parameśvara, 22 generations

The document first records the boundaries of the territory of Gaganirāj which are given as follows:

North: Badri and Cyāvni Gumba of Lhāsā

South: Lamjung

East: Tārikkot

West: up to Parakhya¹⁾ and the pass of Mahājkhed (?).

We gather also that Gaganirāj was of the Aṅgustigotra (Agastyagotra?) and that he had given his territory to Balirāj, the same as that of Doc. B. There is no mention of the rebellion of the latter, but the fact remains that the territory of Gaganirāj or part of his territory (Jumla) passed over to Balirāj.

On the other hand Doc. C, which is a kind of ballad, places Mukti Sāh and Javani Bhān in a wrong chronological order as compared to other texts: in fact Javani Bhān is said in Doc. D to be a contemporary of Gaganirāj.

Then, in the same Doc. C, a genealogy follows which in many places differs from the previous ones:

Balirāj

Vivagrāj

¹⁾ As usual ꣳ for kha.

Syaṃrāj
 Bhogrāj
 Pyāj?
 Caṃnarāj
 Musarāj
 Jasarāj
 Abhikrāj
 Bakrarāj
 Prabhūrāj
 Bhānā Śāhi
 Vikrama Śāhi
 Vṛvadra (Virabhadra?)
 Mukti Śāhi and his brother Javani Bhān

Then Mukti Śāhi became jealous of his brother Javani Bhān, the trials of the latter and his fight against a snake are told in an epic mood; in his feats he was aided by Bālajit Rāu of Botā (*sic*), Akarbinyā Rāul of Lamtu and others. Rewards were given by him to these followers and other champions who received many *k ṣ e k ā*, fiefs, from him.

In document D dated Śrīśāke 1516, śrisaṃvat 1617 we find Jalandhari, Sijāpati Gaṇesvār, Jakti Siṃg Harudar (Haridvār), Gaganirāj, Balirāj, Badrināth.

Then it goes on to say that the son of Sijāpati was the Dharmaputra Gaganirāj: the son of the latter was Karnarāj (for Karṇa?).

This document then tells the story of Dham Mahatra, Jas Mahatra and Bum Mahatra who had come from Kanauji Gaḍ and had served Karna, son of Gaganirāj; then they misbehaved with a girl whom the king loved; the king was angry with them and tore their sacred thread to pieces. Then they went for 12 years to Tibet in the Cyāṃni (above: Cyāvni) Gumba of Lhāsā in Bhoṭ; later they proceeded to the sacred river Kharpu (written Sharpu) Gāngā where they purified themselves for

three years. But the king was not satisfied: then they went to Bhaṭṭyā (Bhātākātya?) Cauḍ Karnāli and remained there for seven years. So they went to the Cināmsiya-Darbār. In the month of Kārtik, Karnarāj died. They performed the Masān-jap (s m a ś ā n a - j ā p a) and Karnarāj came to life again. They got back the sacred thread: as a reward they received some kṣekā, fiefs, which are listed: donations of other kṣekā to others personages follow among whom Jāwani Bhān is mentioned.

Then we are told that Karnarāj went to Lhāsā being accompanied by Jyāmyā Parānyā Bogṭi (*sic*) Kārki who was with him for 12 years. Jāmyā Bogṭi Kārki was allowed to have a market in Mugu, Cavākhōlā, Ṭākyā, and Tāklakhār. The devotion shown by Jāmyā Bogṭi Kārki on other occasions and other donations he received are then mentioned.

The donation of these kṣekā given by Gaganirāj is now respected by Bakrarāj (=Vakṣarāj), and Takra Jāwani Bhān.

Doc. E. Śrīgaganirāj had come from Citaūḍi gaḍ (Chitor): he was attended for three years by Kālyā Caṃn rāṇā rāhul. The king was levying the tax called sik in Acchām: Caṃn rāṇā Kālyā rāul (so written now) and Kāli Bum were with him. They started attending the king. Donations and privileges granted to them or to others.

It is difficult at present to ascertain the correctness of these documents; sometimes they agree sometimes they contain contradictory statements. They cannot be said to be chronicles; they are rather records of donations made or better claimed to have been made by ancient kings to some leading families. They are not original documents but family copies; there is no agreement between the eras noted: Doc. C Śāka Saṃ. 1315 Śrisam. 1516; Doc. D Śāka Saṃ. 1516 Śrisam. 1617.

Moreover, Śāka 1315 would represent a date very near to the documents issued by Pṛthvīmalla; but in those documents

there is no mention of him. The memory of his kingdom had vanished.

The only thing upon which these documents agree is that at Sijā, Sijjā (Semjā) there was a ruling family which claimed descent from Jālandhari Sijāpati (Doc. B) Ganeśvori (Gaṇeśvara?) Sijāpati (Doc. C); Gaganirāj who plays a prominent part in these documents was a d h a r m a p u t r a of Sijāpati. But he had given his territory to Balirāj, who appears in Doc. A and B as the king of Jumla. According to other sources (Doc. D) Gaganirāj had a son Karna (Karṇa) who went (or fled?) to Tibet. Another story, not dated, claims that Balirāj defeated Sijāpati and was the founder of the Jumla kingdom (Doc. B).

Jālandhari Sijāpati appears in almost all the documents as the chief ancestor. He is also found in the v a ṃ ś ā v a l i of the rājas of Dullu which starts with Rāṭhor rāja Ratan Jot. The seventh in this list is Nārāyaṇa who is said to have come to Chitaur Gaḍ from Jotpur: he had two sons, the elder being Sūryavaṃśi, and the younger Jālandhari: both went to Mānasarovar where Sūryavaṃśi remained: Jālandhari married Kālikādevi and came to Candannāth of Jumla (cf. Doc. A) and received food (b h o j a n) from the Brahmins.

In that same v a ṃ ś ā v a l i most of the kings have the name of Baṃm added to their personal name. One of them, Malai Baṃm, is said to have subdued 48 kinglets of the four quarters; his eldest son became the ruler of Dullu, and the youngest the ruler of Dailekh. This Malai Baṃm is certainly the same as Malayī Bam of Doc. A, whose fourth ancestor is Gothāli Bam in the same Doc. A, just as Gothāḍi Bam is the fourth ancestor in the Dullu Vaṃśāvali.

On the other hand, Candranāth of Doc. A is evidently the same as Candannāth of the Dullu v a ṃ ś ā v a l i. Garje bhīm of Doc. A, is probably the same as Gaganirāj of Doc. B and C. All these facts seem to show that the various v a ṃ ś ā v a l i s have, at least in part, some common source and

secondly that some of the families who settled as rulers in those parts of Nepal are descended from a common ancestry.

The existence of some rulers recorded in the genealogical lists is confirmed by *tāmrapatras*, or copies of *tāmrapatras*, which I could find; three rulers are testified by them; one is *Vakṣarāja* recorded in the copy of a *tāmrapatra* in *Litākot*.

The copy, to judge from its present condition, is old but the man who made it was unacquainted with the alphabet in which the *tāmrapatra* was written: there are therefore in this copy not only many dots marking the points in which he was unable to read anything, but also the remaining portions are almost meaningless. Anyhow, the name of the king and the date can be read and we can gather that the style of the document is very similar to that of the *kanakapatra* of *Shituska*; it shows that the formulae of the chancellery used at the time of *Pṛthvīmalla* were copied by the following rulers; the same can be said of the concluding formula containing the curse against the transgressors of the royal order. So far as one can judge from the miserable mess that the copyist made, the *tāmrapatra* contains a list of privileges granted to *Rāul Goṭh* and it was addressed to the *adhikārins* and other officials of upper and lower *Jumla*; *Buddha*, *Dharma Saṃgha*, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Maheśvara* are invoked and the names of witnesses follow, among whom many *ācārya* and *Rāula* can be discerned. Some *Rāula* are called *rāja*.

Another *tāmrapatra* of which I was given a copy in *Jumla* records *Surath Sāh* and establishes some boundaries; it is dated *Śāka*, 1646. Witnesses: *Suhit rāj*, *Kālubiṣṭaca Dyāmā Bhaṇḍāri*, *Khavās Joṣi*; in the seal there is the name of the king and the design of a *śaṅkha*: it starts with the invocation of *Badrināth* and *Muktināth*. A third *tāmrapatra* from *Jumla* is dated *Śāka* 1704, A.D. 1782, and is issued by *Mahārajādhīrāja Śrīkrṣṇa Sāh* who donates some

fields to Śrī Viṣṇūpadhyāya. An invocation to Badrināth and Muktināth preceeds. This Kṛṣṇa Śāh cannot be found in the previous lists. On the other hand, in the biography of the Vth Dalai Lama we read that in 1679 a mission to Lhasa was sent by Narasiṃha of aDsum lan, viz. Jumla.

But we are not interested in establishing the lists of these local chiefs: they ruled over a few villages and had little historical importance. We are more concerned with the events in general that happened in this part of the world after the political unity created by the Mallas came to an end.

The records mention that the new chieftains came from Rājasthān, a few courageous leaders with a few followers who conquered new possessions for them in the sub-Himalayan countries; the name of Chitor recurs very often in the documents: that these chiefs claimed such a descent was known also to the Tibetans, and mention of this claim is contained in the aDsambugliñrgyas bśad (p. 10 of my copy ¹⁾). There is no reason to disbelieve this tradition.

Around these rulers many families are recorded and their fiefs delimited; these families represent the new aristocracy or the minor vassals. Some of them appear to be prominent and have left traces of their names on certain monuments, as for instance Rāul Javan in Michagaon. Though the political unity which the Mallas had established in Guge, Purang and Western Nepal, had come to an end, there are traces that a connection between the two countries continued for many centuries; and with it Buddhism resisted the impact of Hinduism. The stūpas of Michagaon, the latest to my knowledge, are as I said before, of far more modest proportions than those of Jumla or Shituska (a place a few miles to the w. Jumla); even their form does not follow the traditional scheme of the

¹⁾ When Chitor was captured two princes escaped and brought the images of T'ugs rje c'en po with them up to Kojarnāth; same story in the Dullu Vamśāvalī.

s t ū p a . They evidently show that Buddhism was in great decline. But commercial relations between Tibet and this part of the country went on for a long time: we find that some members of this aristocracy were allowed to trade in Tākla-khar, i.e. Brag la mk'ar, Taklakot; we see that many of these people took shelter in some Lamaistic monasteries (here Gumba, = dgon pa) such as, Cyāṃni, Cyāvni Gumba: others went to the Mānasarovar and to Lhasa: some of them offered images to the temples of Tibet. In the Tibetan texts there are traces of the importance of Jumla; some agents sent from this place to Lhasa are recorded in the biography of the 5th Dalai Lama. But a part of this aristocracy, chiefly in the north, was of local extraction, an old nobility which survived either as landlords or traders. Such for instance, is Jāmyā Bogṭi Kārki, who has probably a Tibetan name, Jāmyā (ṛJam dbyaṅs). The traces of old cultural connections with Tibet still survive in some names: kṣ e k ā is the general name of the fiefs donated by the kings: and this word is nothing else than Tib. g ṣ i g a , g ṣ i k ' a , fief, appanage: l ā m ā is Tib. b l a m a , g u r u .

But now there is no mention of Guge: the Tibetan territory is simply called Lhāsā: which implies that Guge had lost all its importance and that the documents were compiled after Guge had been annexed to Lhasa, which conquered the territory already subjected by Seṅ ge rnam rgyal of Ladakh, in the year 1683, when the Guge kingdom lost for ever its independence.

Let us now summarize the final results we may draw from a first examination of the documents discovered.

In the end of the 12th century some tribes, certainly Khasa, invaded respectively the kingdom of Purang and that of Guge (and probably also Ladakh). The conquerors of Guge established their capitals in Semjā, Sijā to the north of Jumla. In the 13th century Purang and Guge and western Nepal were united and this marked the climax of the power of

the Mallas. Conquests on a large scale were undertaken; as far as Dullu and Kaskīkot. It was a large state, based on a feudal system which united the local chiefs under the paramount power of the Mallas; a new aristocracy was also created at the service of the rulers. Hinduism began to supersede Buddhism in the Nepalese part of the kingdom. Later there was a new influx of invaders, most probably Rajput. Under the impact of the newcomers, the cohesion maintained by Pṛthvīmalla was weakened, his kingdom collapsed, the feudal chiefs became independent. Guge also regained its independence and Purang seems to have been nothing more than one of its provinces. Semjā, Sijā, after the fall of the Mallas and the independence reconquered by Western Tibet, fell into the hands of some new rulers, and retained for a while a certain prestige; the Sijāpati seems to have been recognized, at least nominally, as a kind of overlord possessed of a certain prestige in West Nepal. Its dominions included Jumla. Then Jumla became independent under Balirāj and as had happened before, a new aristocracy came into being by the donation of fiefs, etc. Hinduization progresses and Buddhism completely disappears; it only remains on the very border, where it could maintain a spiritual and rejuvenating contact with the monastic centers of Tibet. A more detailed investigation of the material which has now come to light and the discovery of new documents will complete this scheme which, for the time being, seems to me to correspond fairly well to the real facts.

It is to be noted that some of the documents which are mere records of donations, introduce some rudimentary epic elements (as in the case of those concerning Javani Bhān), and that the tradition is already well established that some of these newcomers claimed to have hailed from Kanauj and Chitor.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- P. 1, n. 2 read: Edinburgh
- P. 18, n. 2 read: P'yogs las rnam rgyal
- P. 39, l. 28 instead of remands, read: reminds
- P. 45, l. 17 with reference to: *gramthadvavarmaṇaḥ*, add, as a note: may be alternately read: *gramthahva*^o
- P. 46, l. 1st read: Ācārya
- P. 49, l. 21 read: Jayapāla
- P. 49, ll. 34-35 add: 5 śikhariṇī, 6 uncertain metre, 7-13 śloka
- P. 50 read: Gela for Sela
- P. 50, ll. 25-26 read: Dīpamālā for Dipāmālā
- P. 52, n. 1 instead of ꞢP'o brañ, read: P'o brañ
- P. 68, l. 29 read: vāṃśāvalis
- P. 69, l. 28 read: Krāsīcalla
- P. 70, l. 21 read: Aśokacalla
- P. 71, l. 26 read: mÑa' ris skor gsum
- P. 71 Dele n. 1
- P. 92, l. 17 instead of Žaṅ zuṅ smad, read: Žaṅ zuṅ stod
- " ll. 18-19 instead of Žaṅ zuṅ stod, read: Žaṅ zuṅ smad
- P. 94, n. 1, l. 1st: 婆 read: 娑
- P. 94, n. 1, l. 3 娑 read: 婆
- P. 95, l. 19 read: nakula
- P. 98, l. 16 read: Guhyaka
- P. 102, l. 15 read: Chīn ch'ü instead of Kin ch'ü
- P. 103, l. 2, l. 1 read: "now made probable by our inscription if the reading of l. 17 is cīnanpatīn, as it appears"
- P. 103, l. 3 read: Varāhamihira
- " l. 7 read: Kāśmīra
- " n. 3 read: Mahācīnakramācāra
- P. 104, l. 22 instead of adds, read: add
- P. 104, end of note read: niṣkalacīna
- P. 104, end of note add: All that has previously been said does not refer, of course, to the Cīna of the *Arthaśāstra*
- P. 110, l. 15 read: kanakapatra
- P. 117, l. 3 read: kṣīyate
- P. 123, note read: In the text, kh is usually found for ꞥ
- P. 124, l. 20 read: Śrīsāke 1516, Śrīsaṃvat
- P. 125, l. 32 read: Śrīsam
- P. 127, l. 31 read: śaṅkha
- " l. 34 read: Mahārājādhirāja

The Report had been printed and was ready to be delivered to the public when I received through Doctor Gnoli, whom the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East had sent to Nepal for further researches on the Nepalese inscriptions, a copy of the Magazin written in Gurkhali, *Iihāsa Prakāśa* n. 2, V. S. s. 2013 = 1956, part first, containing the report of a journey undertaken in Western Nepal by yogī Naraharinātha.

The ascet visited the same parts of Western Nepal as myself, went as far as Semjā, Sijā and copied inscriptions, *praśastis*, *vaṃśāvalis* some of which were accessible to me and others which escaped my notice. Moreover Naraharinātha being a well known ascet of the Gorakṣa school (Kānphāṭa) enjoys among the people a prestige which opens to him all the doors without the suspicion that often surrounds foreigners.

I am glad that his visit to Semjā, Sijā confirmed fully what I had anticipated; he describes the place and gives a detailed notice of the extensive ruins which still exist there and of the frequent finds of coins, ornaments, old utensils and antiquities of various kind. He also came to the conclusion that Semjā of our inscriptions was the capital of Pṛthvīmalla as is evidenced by the *kanakapātra* and other documents. He discovered in Semjā, Sijā three fragments of inscriptions in which only the name of Ripumalla is mentioned (pp. 79-81). Various inscriptions or *tāmrapātras* of Pṛthvīmalla were discovered in different places.

I join here the list of the most important:

1) one inscription of Pṛthvīmalladeva of Śrīśāka 1260 near Kālikot (p. 45).

2) one in Kuñcigaon in Accham of year 1273; in it mention is made of Śrīdevaman certainly the some of that of inscription published above p. 45. The writer of the inscription was Iṣṭidāsa (45).

Another inscription near Dullu records the erection of a *caitya* on a well by Pṛthvīmalla giving order to that purpose to Devavarman. The inscription is dated Śrīśāka 1280 and was written by *lekha-kānāma nekānāṃ cārucūḍāmaṇir guṇī iṣṭidāsa* (p. 68).

A *tāmrapātra* dated Śrīśāka 1280 was issued in Durlan-ghanagara (which is a learned rendering into Sanskrit of the name of Dullu); the introduction in Sanskrit extolls the merits of the king called *inter alias*: *gargyāyaṇagautamādipraṇītarājanītiśāstrapraṇiṇa* (p. 69).

PRELIMINARY REPORT

As regards the inscription on the vāpi of Dullu I. 3 yogi Naraharinātha reads naptā śrīr. I still think (as Bāburām ācārya) that the exact reading is: naṣṭā śrīr.

As regards the kīrtistambha of Dullu Naraharinātha was able to read the two last lines (p. 49, ll. 8-9):

graharṣisūryagaṇābde śāke jyeṣṭhasya mecake |
rudrāhe bhānuvāre sau kīrtistambho dhiropitaḥ ||

The date of Ripumalla can be better established on account of colophon of a mss. of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra published by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, *JBOAS*, Vol. XXIV, p. 163 dated Vikrama S. 1370 = 1313 A. D. My attention on this mss. has been drawn by Prof. Petech.

Two orders of Balirāja are respectively dated Śrīśāka 1320 and 1328 = 1398 and 1406; of Suratharāja we have two documents dated Śrīśāka 1641, 42 = A. D. 1719, 1720; Sudarśanashāh is dated Śrīśāka, 1679 = A. D. 1757.

As regards the chronology of these Malla rulers we have therefore the following well ascertained dates:

Krācalla 1223

Aśokamalla 1251-1274

Ripumalla 1313

Pr̥thvīmalla 1338, 1351, 1357, 1358, 1376.

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PRINTED IN ROME
BY
DR. GIOVANNI BARDI
TIPOGRAFIA DEL SENATO
SALITA DE' CRESCENZI 16 - ROME
1956

ILLUSTRATIONS

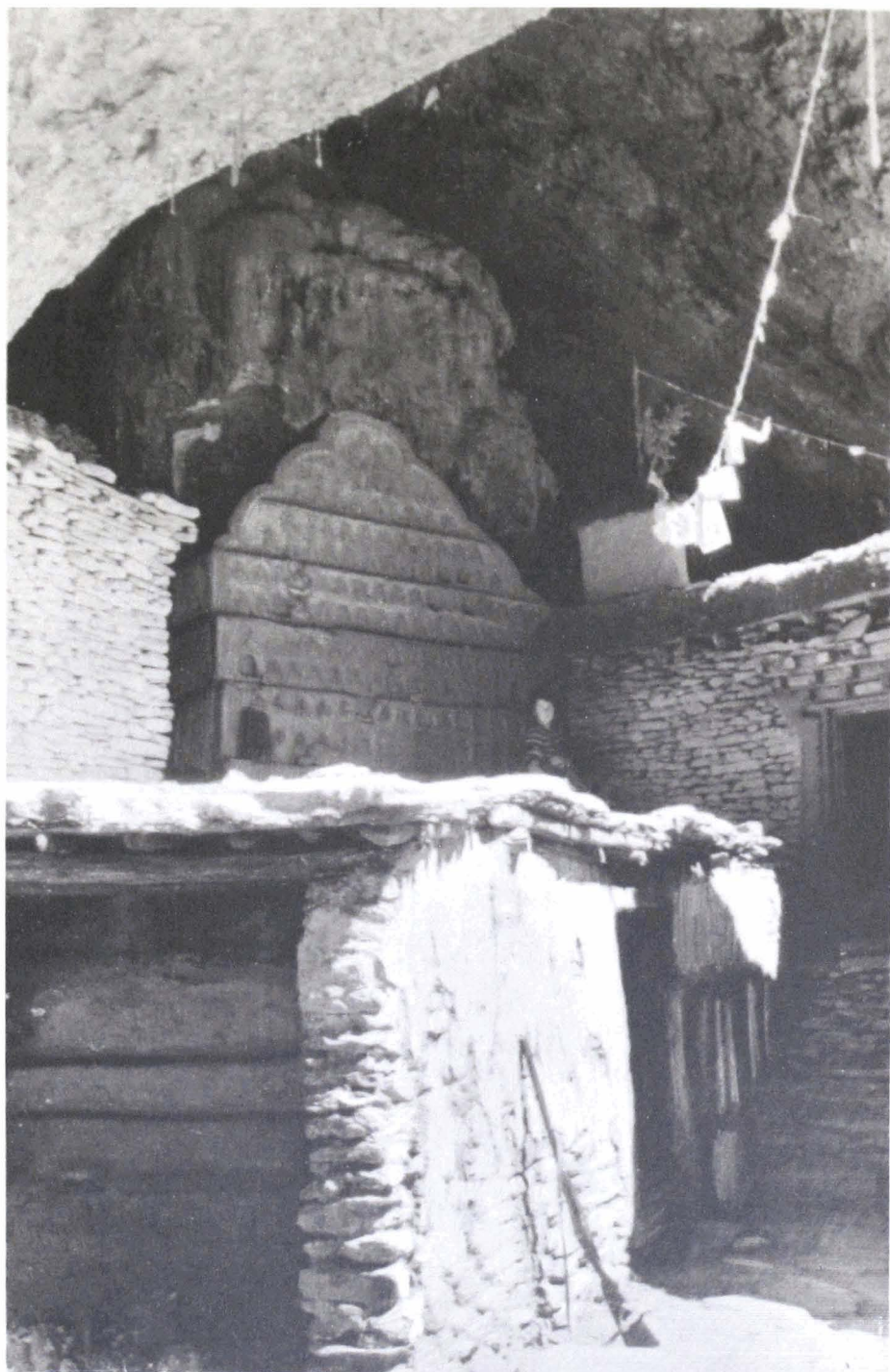


Fig. 1. The interior of Padmasambhava's cave (p. 12)



Fig. 2. mC'od rtens near Chārāng (p. 17)

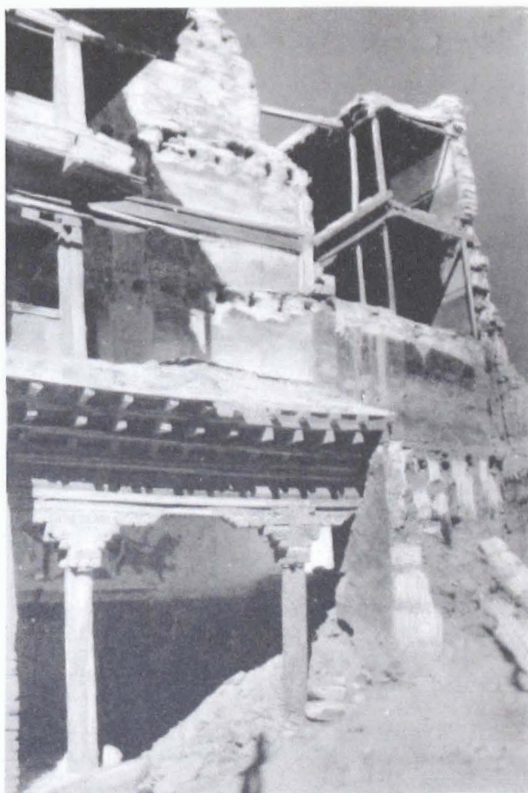


Fig. 3. Ruins of the castle
of Mustang (p. 18, n.)



Fig. 4. Lokapālas in Mustang (p. 19, n. 3)



Fig. 5. mC'od rtens in Dāngarjong (p. 25)



Fig. 6. Bonpo burial place (p. 34)

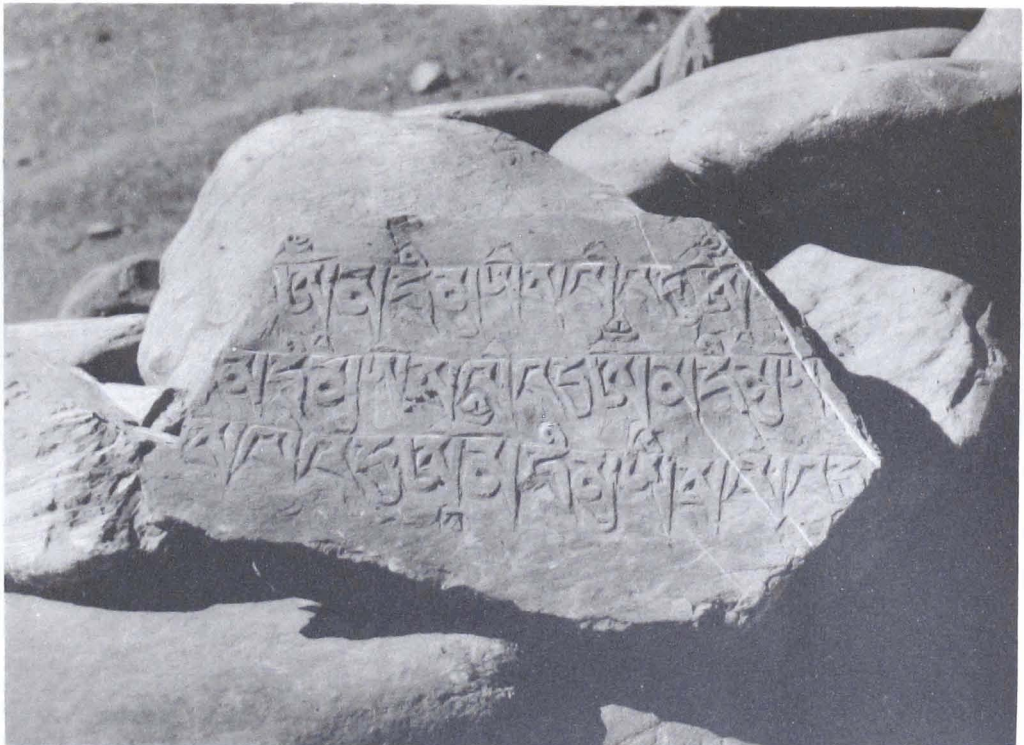


Fig. 7. Stone with inscribed Bonpo mantras (p. 29)



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Fig. 13. Bonpo frescoes in a mc'od rten near Pale (p. 35)



Fig. 14. Small shrine in a field (p. 38)

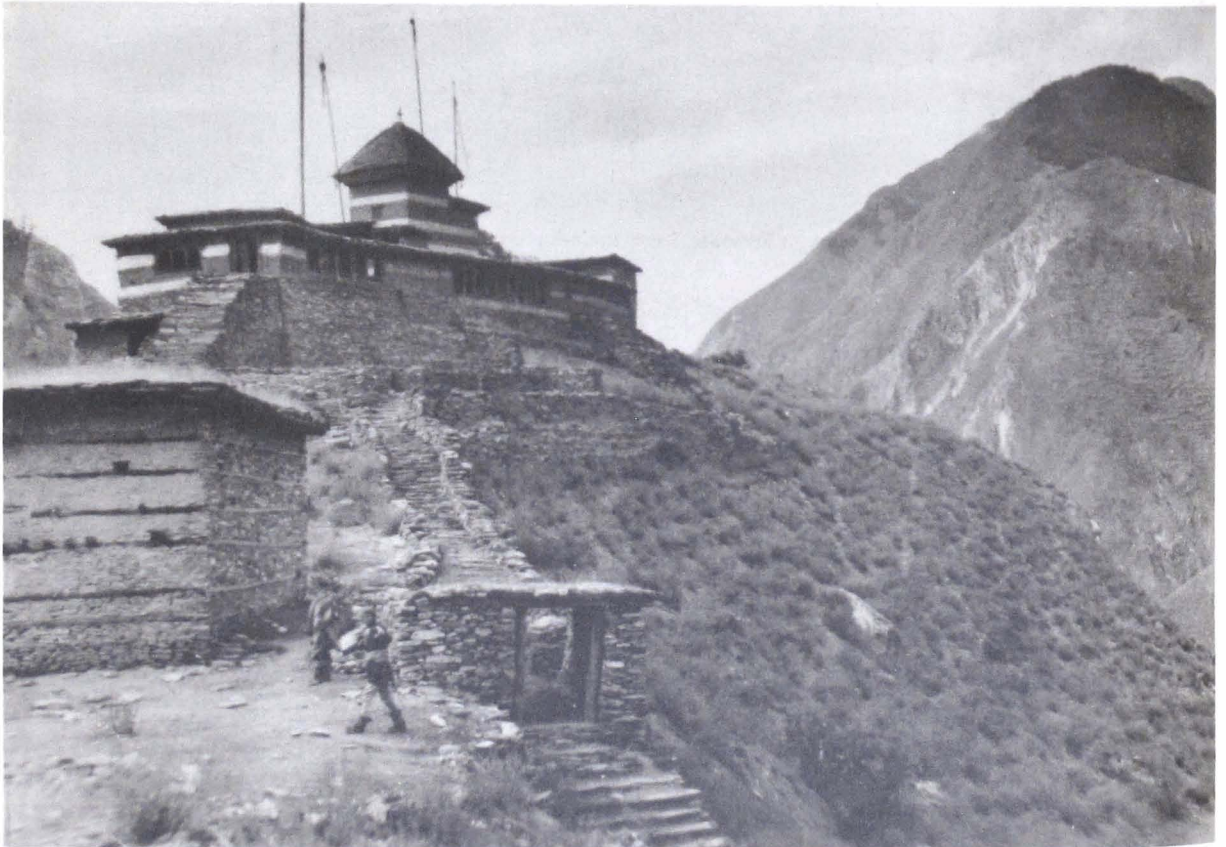


Fig. 15. Tripureśvari's temple, Tibrikot (p. 37)



Fig. 16. Stone image near a village (p. 39)

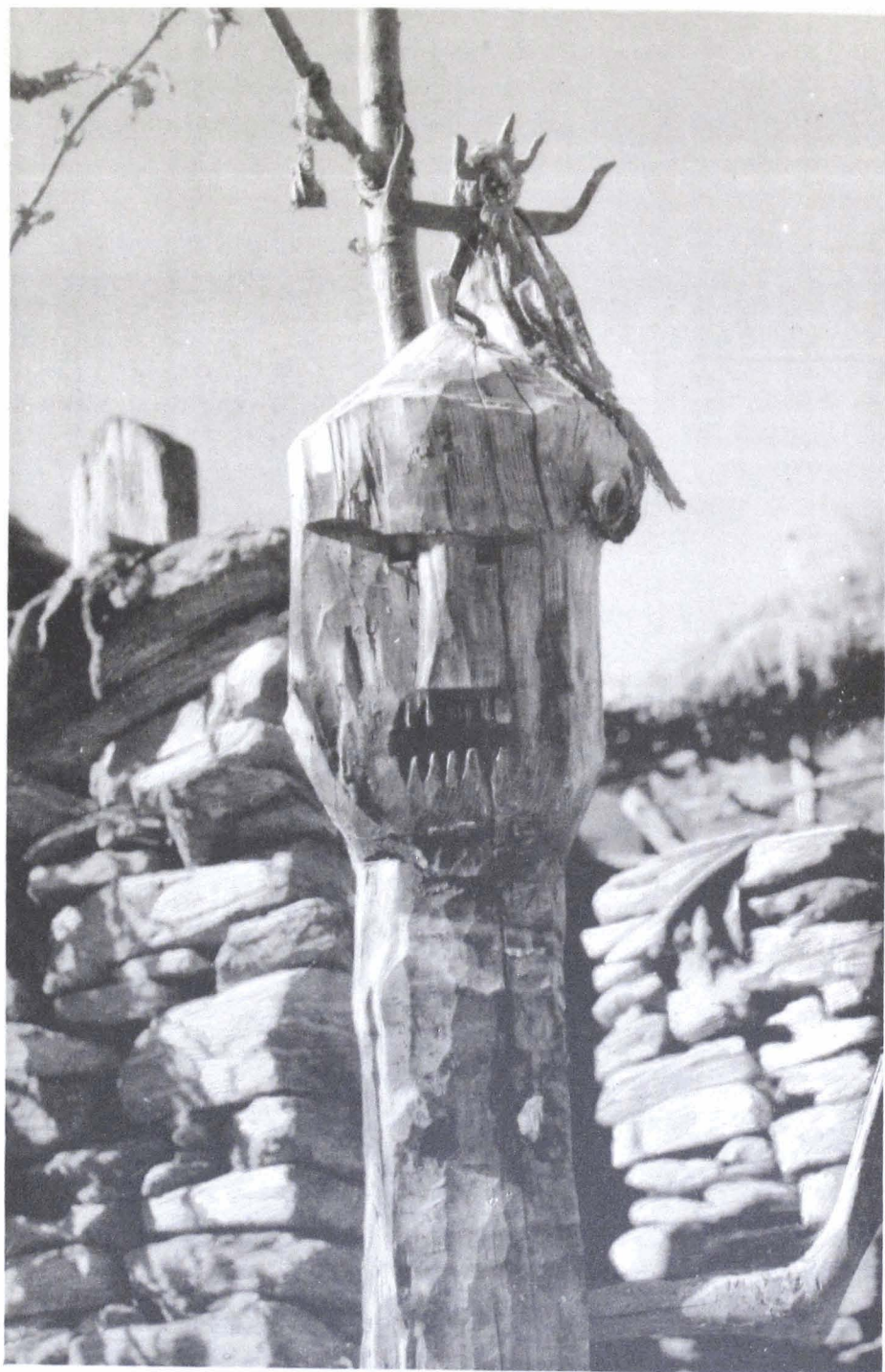


Fig. 17. Wooden image, Rimi (p. 38)

Fig. 18. Small shrine of Guḍichour (p. 40)



Fig. 19. Pillars near the shrine of Guḍichour (p. 40)

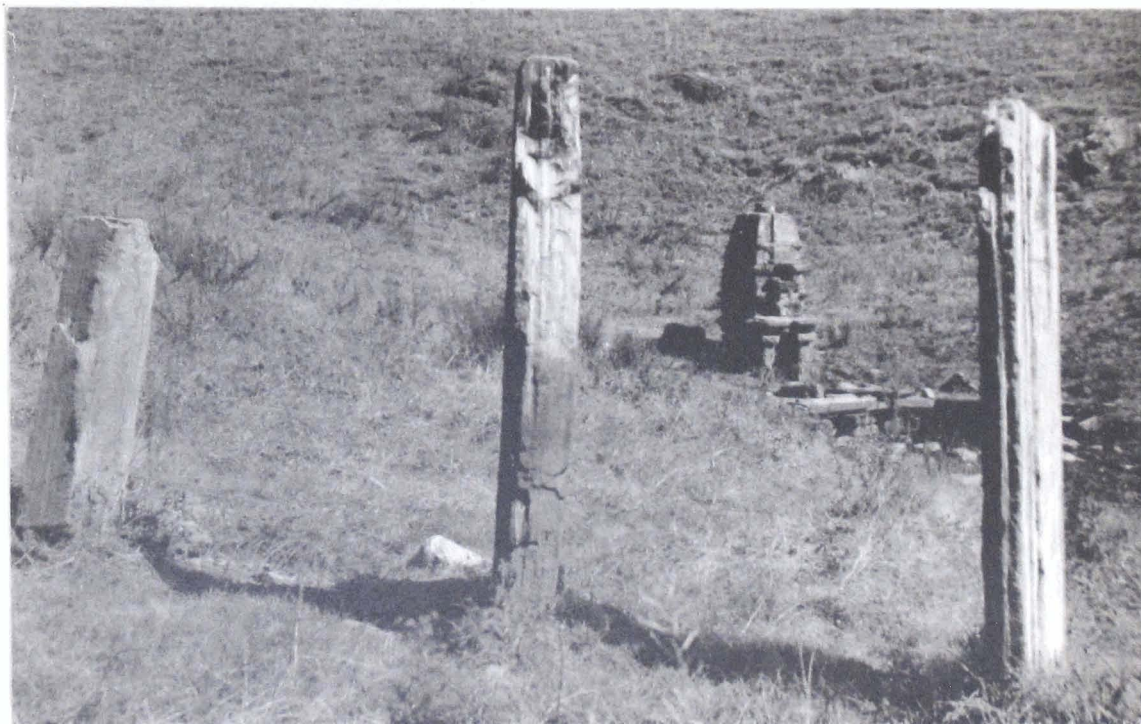




Fig. 20. A detail of the shrine of Guḍichour (p. 40)

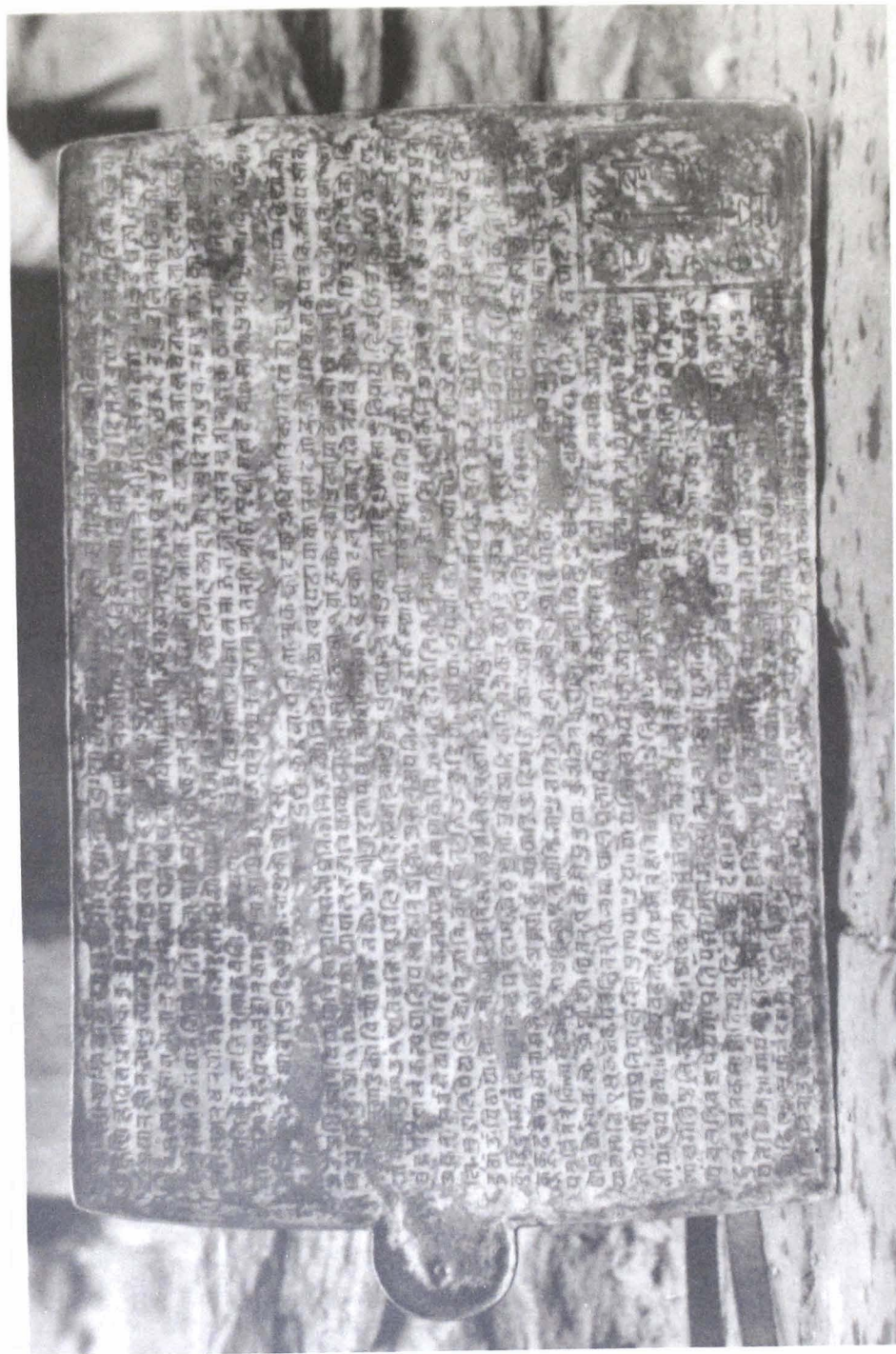


Fig. 21. Kamakapatra of Shitushka (§ 15)



Fig. 22. mC'od rten of Bhadaribhaḍā (p. 40)



Fig. 23. Shrine of Bhadaribhaḍā (p. 40)



Fig. 24. Entrance of the shrine of Bhadaribhadā (p. 40)

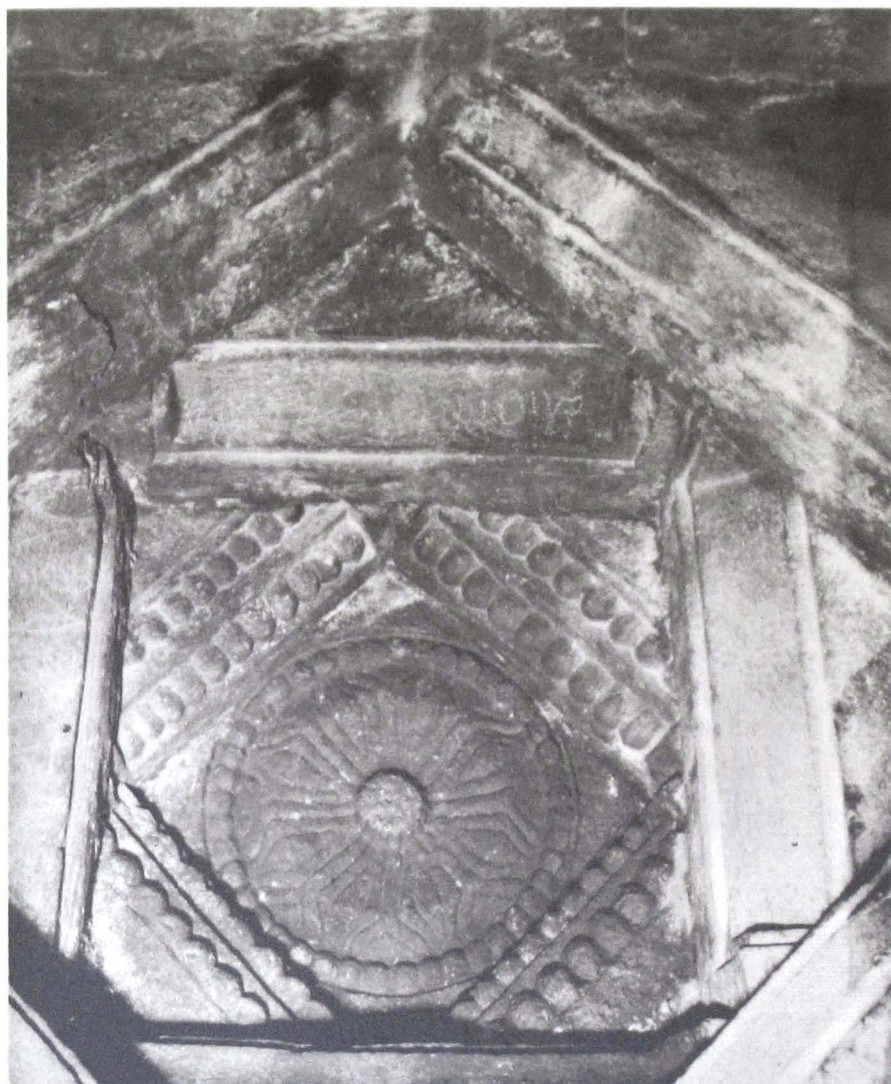


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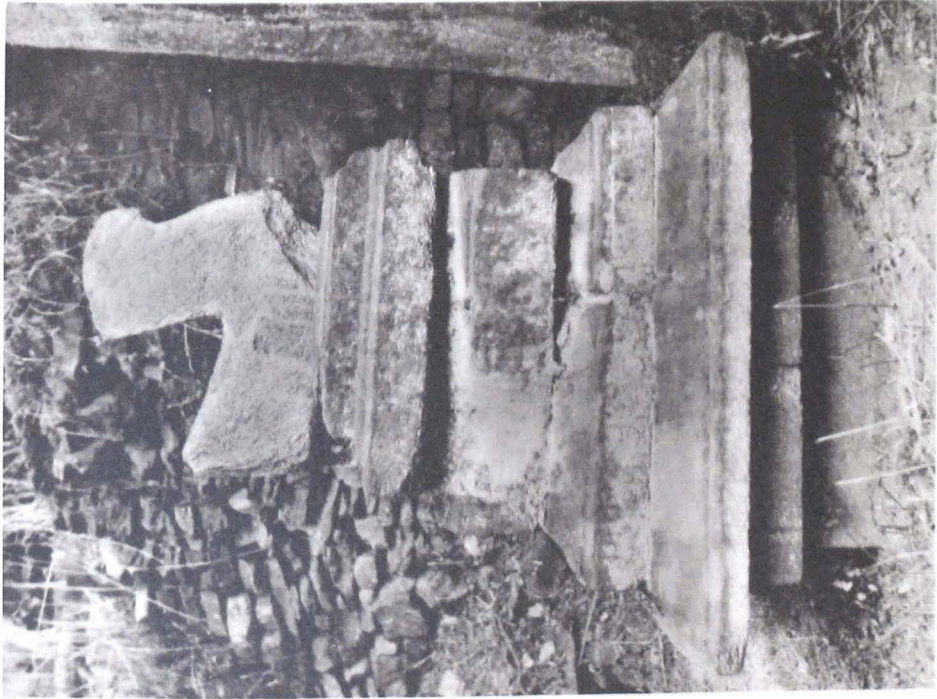


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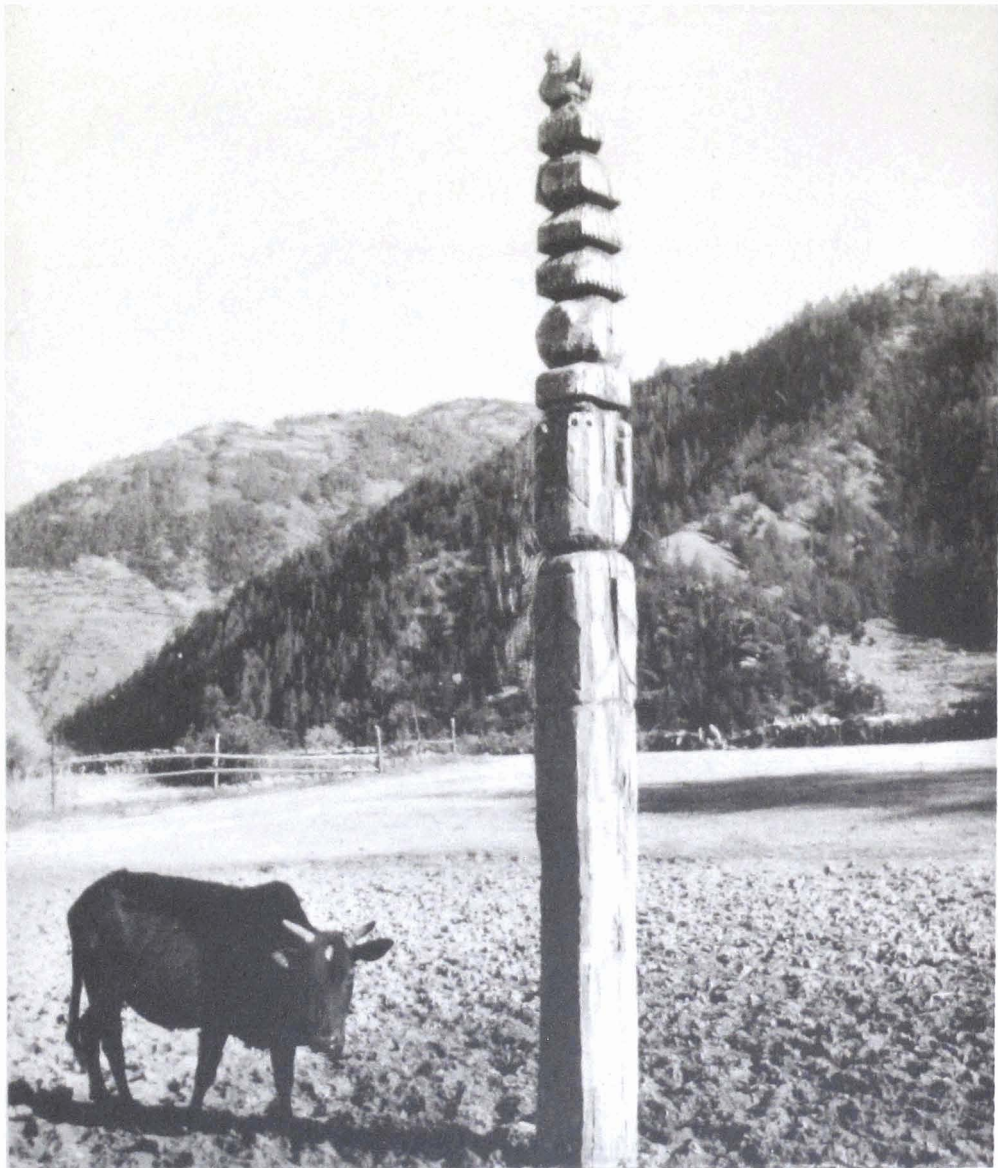


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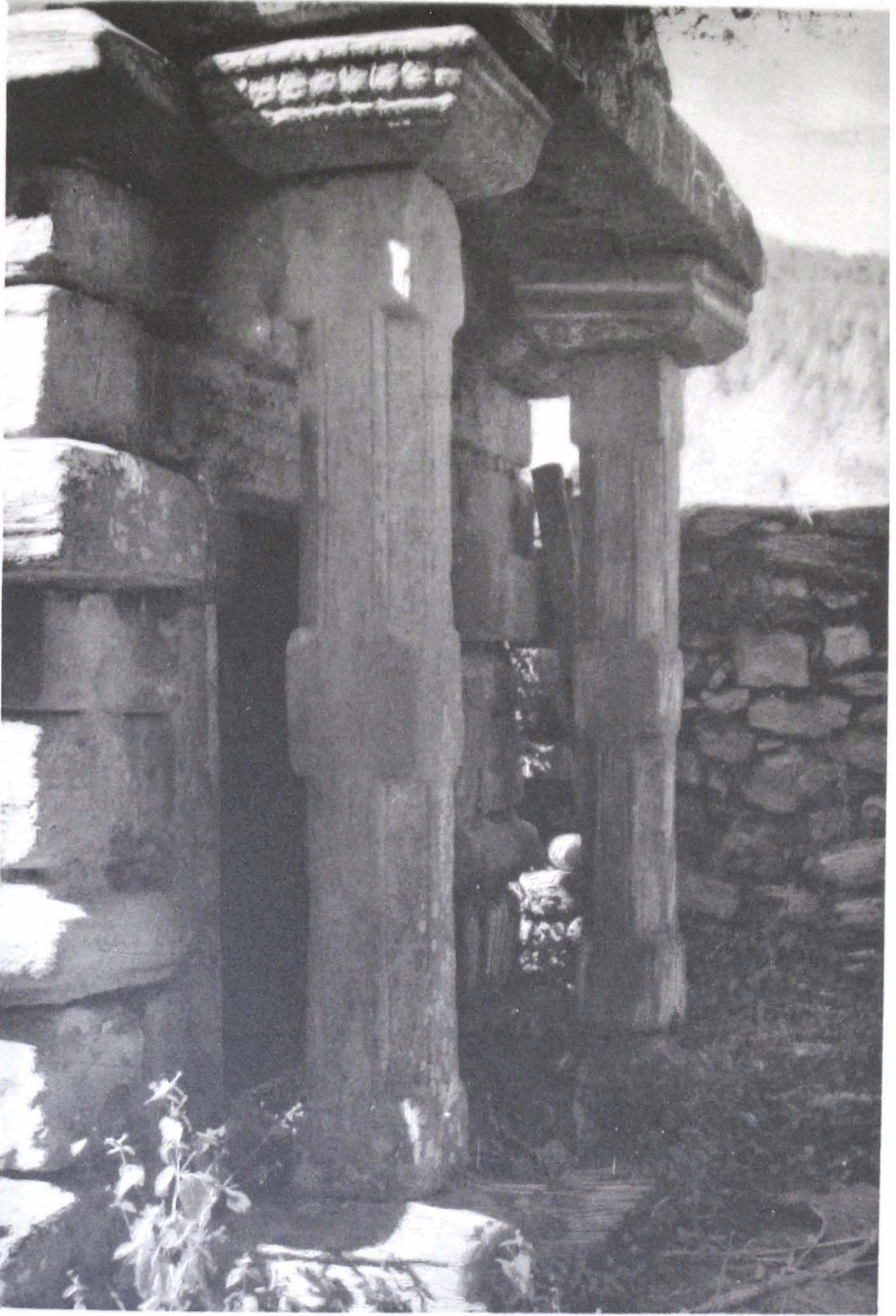


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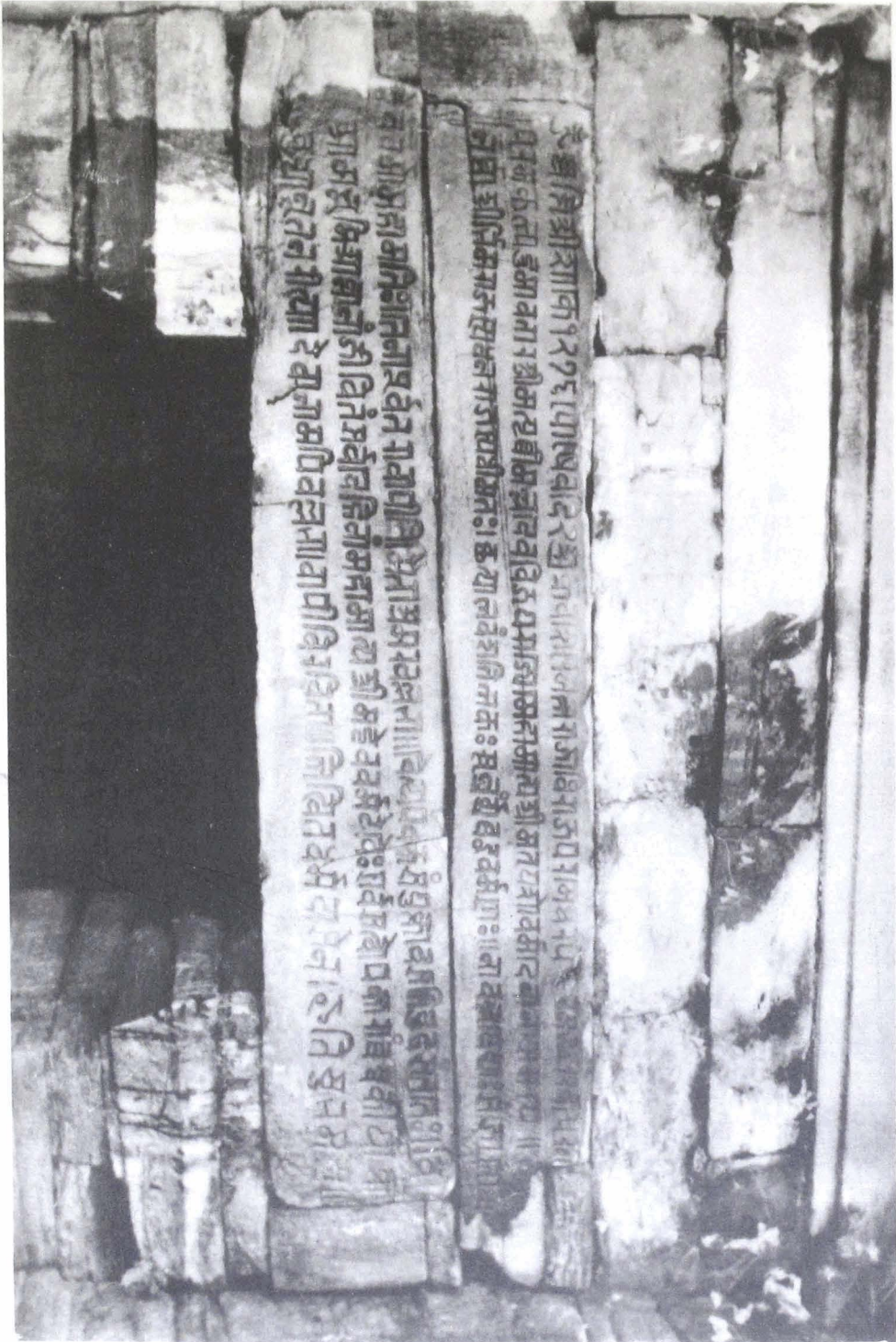


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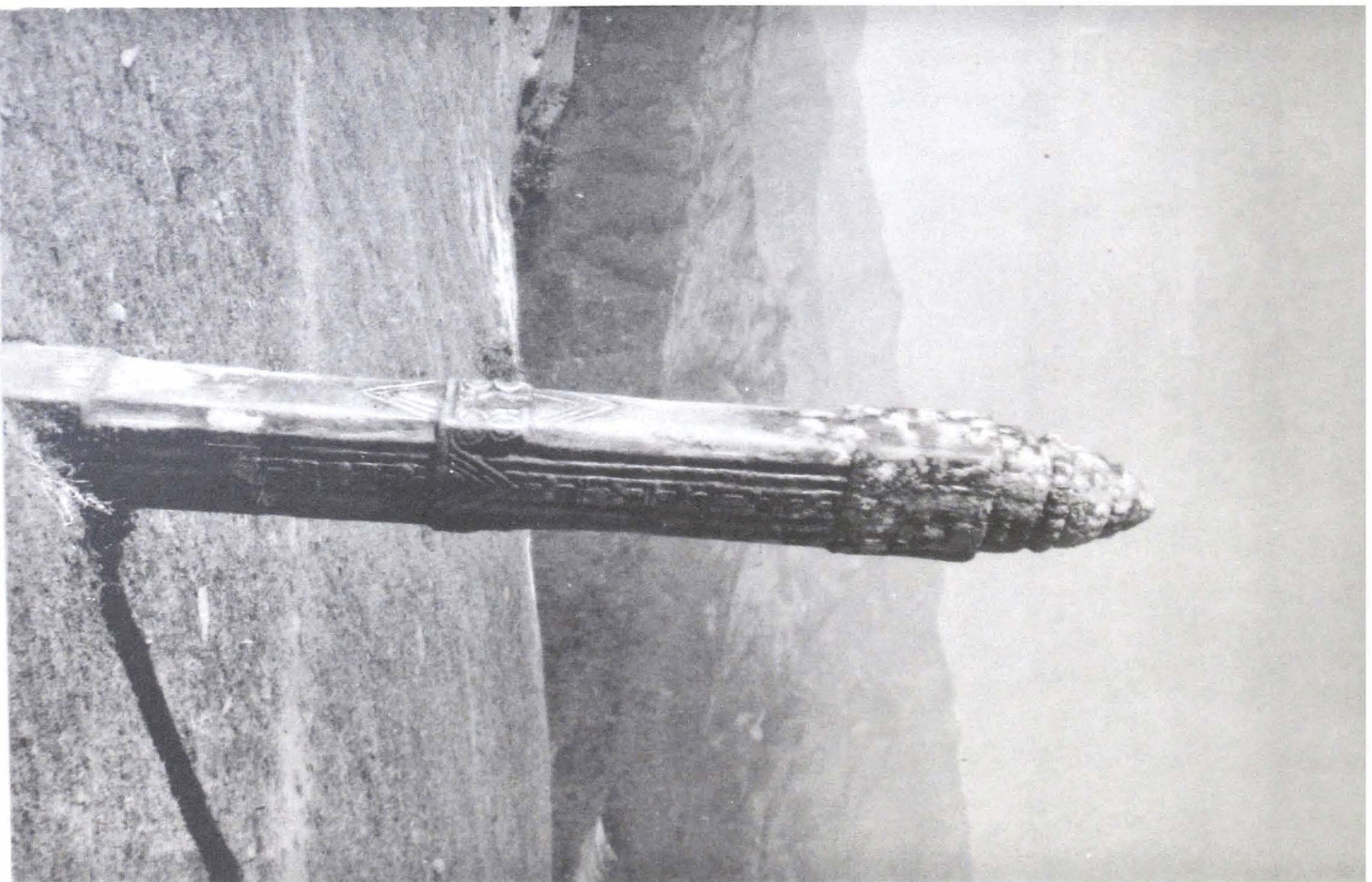


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Fig. 57. Stone pillars near Pusakot (p. 39)

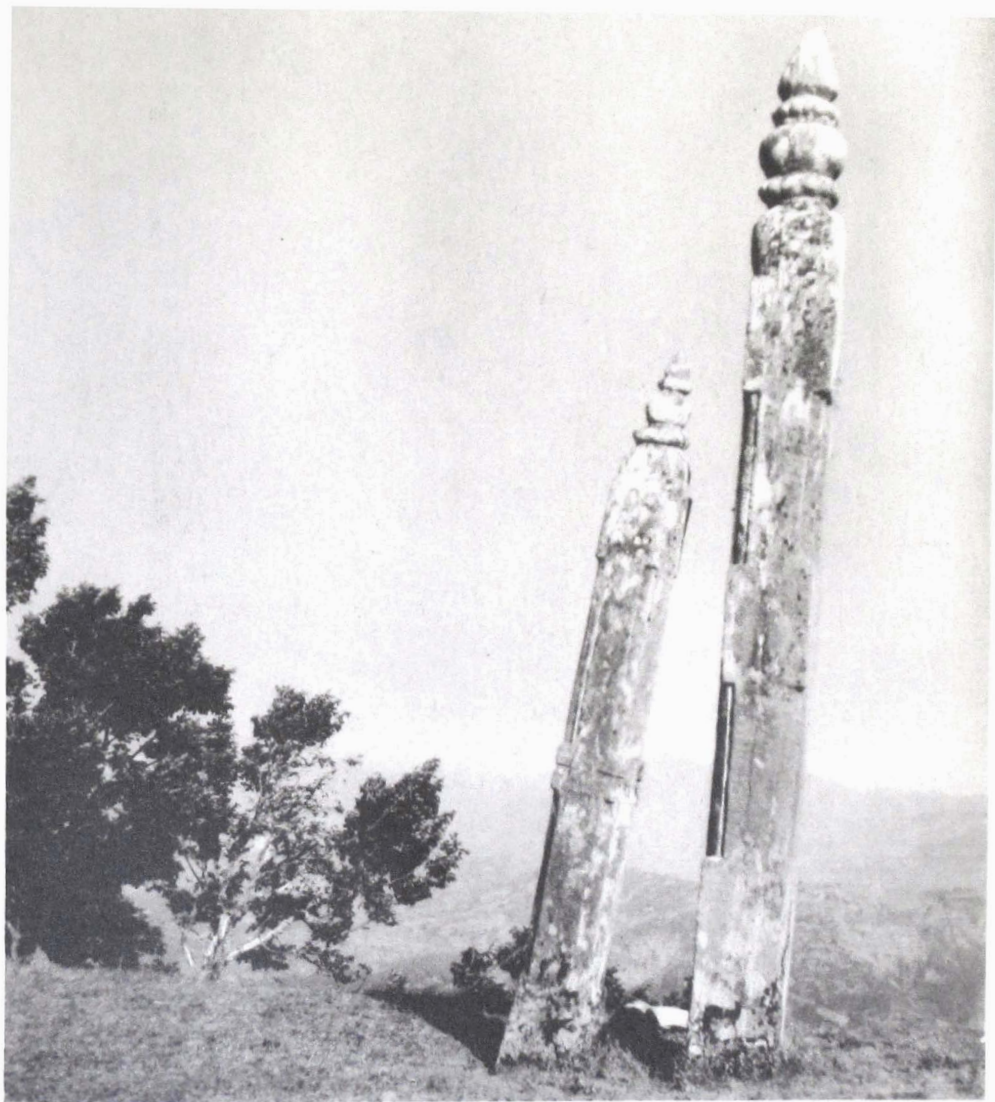


Fig. 58. Stone pillars near Pusakot (p. 39)



Fig. 59. Stone pillars in the Tarai below Surkhet (p. 39)

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणे श्रीकृष्णार्जविराजिते दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ १० ॥

Fig. 60. Inscription on a rock along the road Jhelli-Auri (p. 43)

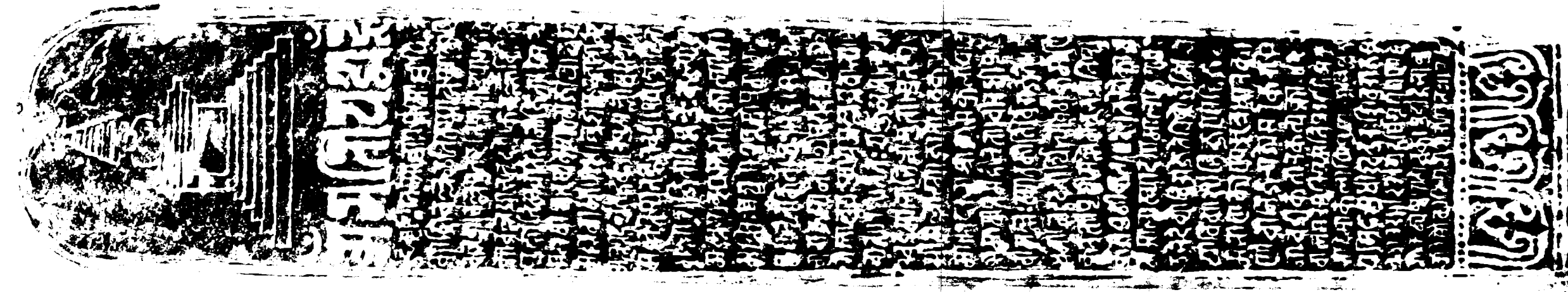
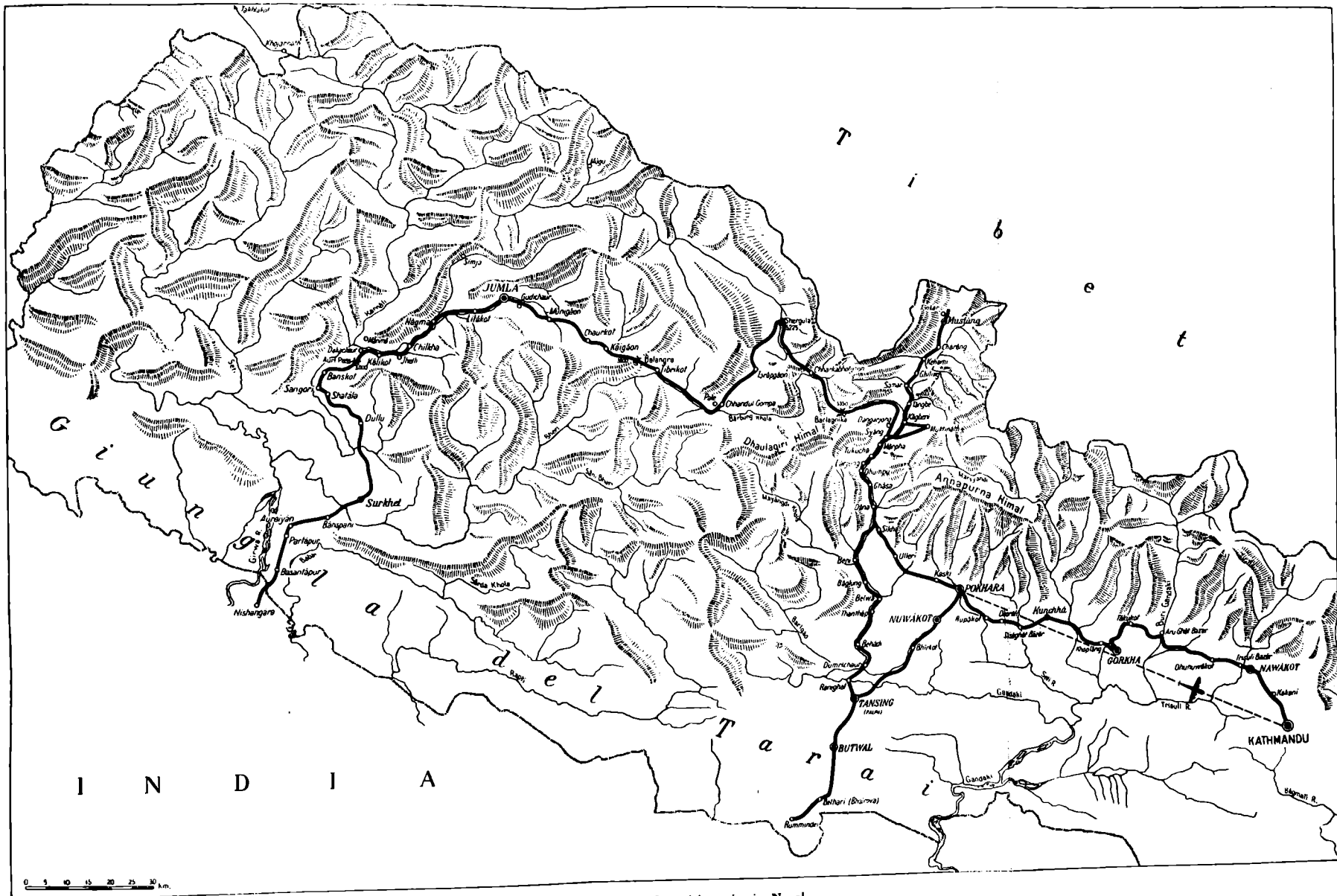


Fig. 61. A. B. Genealogy of the Mallics. (p. 46)

समन्वितम्



Sketch map of my itineraries in Nepal.