

ITALIAN MISSIONARIES IN TIBET AND NEPAL

edited by Luciano Petech
"

translated by Alberto Bonadeo
with emendations by Margaret W. Fisher

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CAPUCHIN EXPEDITIONS TO THE "TIBET MISSION"

<u>Expedition Number</u>	<u>Left Italy</u>	<u>Date of Arrival at Chandernagore</u>	<u>Members of the Expedition</u>
1	1704	1706	<p>Francesco Maria da Tours (organizer) Giuseppe da Ascoli (passed through <u>Kathmandu</u> in 1707 and again in 1710) Felice da Montecchio [3 others left with them; 2 died en route and 1 returned from Cyprus.]</p>
2	1706	1708 (September 7)	<p>Domenico da Fano (passed through <u>Kathmandu</u> in February 1709, and again in 1712). [See also 4th expedition.] Michelangelo da Borgogna (lay brother) (passed through <u>Kathmandu</u> in February 1709, and again in 1710) Giovanni da Fano (passed through <u>Kathmandu</u> in late 1710 or early 1711, and again in 1712)</p>
3	1712	1713 (September 1)	<p>Francesco Orazio della Penna (Superior at <u>Kathmandu</u>, January 1715-1716; after 16 years at Lhasa, in <u>Kathmandu</u> 1732-1734; [See also 9th expedition]) Paolo Maria da Matelica (went to <u>Nepal</u> in 1715, but later activity unknown; [he left for Europe in 1726]) Giacomo da Breno (lay brother)</p>
		1714 (March)	<p>Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone (went to <u>Kathmandu</u> early in 1715; when expelled from <u>Kathmandu</u> took refuge in <u>Bhatgaon</u>, then went to Lhasa with Father Domenico da Fano in 1716; must have passed through <u>Nepal</u> again [no earlier than 1719 nor later than 1723; probably 1721--MWF])</p>

- | | | | |
|---|------|-------------------|---|
| 3 | 1712 | 1714 (March) | Giuseppe Felice da Morro (went to <u>Kathmandu</u> early in 1715, where he stayed until his death, 4 April 1722, except for an interlude (1719-1721 [Spring]) in Dvags-po, from which he returned with Desideri) |
| | | | Gioacchino da Loreto |
| 4 | 1714 | 1715 (August) | Domenico da Fano, leader. (Arrived in <u>Kathmandu</u> in March, 1716, and may have stayed several months, as he did not arrive in Lhasa until October 1, 1716; probably passed through <u>Nepal</u> again in 1722 when he went to Bengal.) |
| | | | Antonio Maria da Jesi (arrived in <u>Kathmandu</u> at the end of 1716, but afterwards remained in Bengal.) |
| | | | Bonaventura da Lapedona (was stationed in <u>Kathmandu</u> ; left in January 1722) |
| | | | Gregorio da Lapedona (went to <u>Kathmandu</u> in March 1716 with Domenico da Fano, but died there on 4 July 1716.) |
| | | | Angelico da Brescia (must have passed through <u>Nepal</u> on his way to Lhasa in 1717, and on his return (ill) in 1719.) |
| | | | Francesco Antonio da Castignano (died in Chandernagore a few months after his arrival.) |
| | | | Pietro della Serra Petrona (remained in Chandernagore until his death in 1739 or 1740.) |
| 5 | 1717 | 1718 (October 10) | Francesco Maria da Urbania (died in Chandernagore about 4 months after arrival.) |
| | | | Pietro Augustino da Lecce (appears to have remained in India until his death, 6 June 1729.) |
| 6 | 1718 | 1720 (August 10) | Francesco Antonio da Cingoli (known to have been in <u>Nepal</u> in 1724; died at Patna in 1734.) |

- 6 1718 1720 (August 10) Giocchino da S. Anatolia (passed through Nepal on the way to Lhasa, where he arrived on 1 May 1721; remained in Lhasa 12 years, then left for Kathmandu in mid-August 1733, where he remained for a year, and then governed the Patna mission until 13 March 1737, at which time he went back to Bhatgaon, where he remained until late 1740, when he went to Lhasa.
- He left Lhasa late in October, 1741, with letters and gifts to the Pope from P'o-lha-nas and the Dalai Lama; evidently did not return to Asia after that. [He was 61 by the time he reached Rome.]
- Serafino da Civitanuova (arrived in Kathmandu on 31 December 1720; in 1722 he went to Bhatgaon where he remained until 1731; [died at Patna in 1732.]
- Four others left Italy with them but returned home from Paris.
- 7 1721 1722 Francesco da Cagli (was stationed at Bhatgaon; died there 25 December 1730.)
- Andrea da Morro d'Alba [or di Jesi] (seems to have remained in Chandernagore until he died in 1729 or 1730.)
- Venanzio da Fossombrone (died on 15 September 1722, en route to Patna.)
- Michelangelo da Monte Albodo (died in Chandernagore on 31 December 1725).
- 8 1735 1736 (September 27) Odoardo da Cingoli (remained at Chandernagore as Superior until his departure for Europe in 1753; was assigned to the 14th expedition, but died before he was able to embark, 20 August 1756.)

8

1735

1736 (September 27)

Sigismondo da Jesi (accompanied the prefect as far as Bhatgaon in 1740, but later returned to Patna; returned to Europe in 1746 or 1749.)

Vito da Recanati (arrived in Bhatgaon in 1737; was stationed in Kathmandu immediately; was Superior at Kathmandu in 1740; [died at Chandernagore in 1747 (June 4)].)

9

1738

1739 (September 25)

Francesco Orazio della Penna (who had gone with the 3rd expedition, returned to Rome [arriving at the end of 1736] to organize a better mission. He was in Bhatgaon for a while in 1740, arriving in January, and leaving in time to reach Lhasa on 6 January 1741; he remained in Lhasa until 20 April 1745, when he had to leave with all the Capuchins; he arrived in Nepal on 4 June 1745; he died 6 weeks later at Patna, aged 65.)

Cassiano da Macerata (accompanied della Penna to Lhasa, but left on 3 August 1742, reaching Bhatgaon in October, where he seems to have remained until 30 November 1745 when he left for Patna. After that he remained in India except for a short visit to Nepal.)

Constantino da Loro (also accompanied della Penna to Lhasa, but left with Cassiano da Macerata in 1742. He stayed in Bhatgaon until 1744. On 23 August 1744, he opened a mission at Patan; no further data until 12 December 1751, when he embarked for Europe.)

Floriano da Jesi (also accompanied della Penna to Lhasa, but left on 30 August 1742. In October, 1742, he was Superior at Kathmandu; no further data until he died at Betti on 4 February 1753.)

9

1738

1739 (September 25)

Tranquillo d'Apecchio (also accompanied della Penna to Lhasa; he stayed there until della Penna, the Prefect, left, on 20 April 1745; he stayed on at Kathmandu as head of the mission after della Penna's death in July 1745; on 9 December 1757 he left Kathmandu, intending to return to Europe, but on plea of Procurator General returned arriving in Kathmandu again as a simple missionary in 1759; in 1763 he tried once more to leave for Europe but was persuaded to remain in Chandernagore where he died on 21 May 1768.)

Paolo da Firenze (also accompanied della Penna to Lhasa; he was a lay brother and a typographer; he left with the Prefect on 20 April 1745; no further data on him until 1761 when he left for Europe; nothing is known of his ship, which never reached its destination.)

Innocenzo da Ascoli (was stationed at Bhatgaon in June, 1740; in 1741 he was stationed at Kathmandu, but in 1742 returned to Bhatgaon; he departed for Europe either in 1749 or 1751.)

Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano (passed through Nepal early in 1742 on his way to Lhasa; left Lhasa with the Prefect on 20 April 1745; he remained in Nepal from 4 June to 30 November 1745; after that he remained in India until his death on 15 January 1761.)

Liborio da Fermo (a lay brother; he was in Nepal from 1740-1769; he died 20 September 1769 at Bettiah.)

Antonino da Monte Alboddo (stationed in India until 18 February 1755 when he departed for Europe.)

Daniele da Morciano [or Murciano] (stationed in Chandernagore; in 1749 he departed for Europe but stopped at Mauritius and returned to Bengal in 1753; in 1765 or 1766 he left for Manila, but perished when his ship foundered.)

- 10 1742 1743 (August 2) Nicola Fedele della Pergola (first stationed at Bettiah, then at Bhatgaon; no data until his death, 24 January 1759, at Bettiah.)
- Fedele da Arona (seems to have spent his time first at Chandernagore and then at Bettiah; died at Chandernagore in November, 1952.)
- 11 1748 1749 Carlo da S. Giovanni (stationed first at Chandernagore; later transferred to Serampore where he died on 1 October 1763.)
- [Two others started with him, but both returned home at Cadiz; one of these, Onofrio da Monte Cassiano, eventually reached India with the 13th expedition.]
- 12 1749 1750 Anselmo da Ragusa (stationed at Kathmandu where he remained until he was named Prefect, and went to assume the office, in Patna, in the spring of 1761; in 1764 he again went to Nepal but soon returned and established himself at Chandernagore in 1769 he resigned and left for Europe.)
- Santi da Lizzano (remained in Bengal and Bihar until January 1763 when he departed for Europe.)
- Giovanni Battista da Bergamo (drowned in the Ganges in 1752.)
- Bonaventura da Foligno (left for Europe in 1753, but stopped at Pondichery, joining the Capuchin Mission there, where he remained until his death, about 1790.)
- 13 1752 1753 Benedetto Maria da Genova (he was invited to Nepal; died on 4 July 1755 at Kathmandu.)
- Onofrio da Monte Cassiano (had planned to accompany Carlo da S. Giovanni on the 11th expedition, but had to return because of illness before leaving France; remained in Chandernagore until 1760 when he was transferred to Serampore where he died on 3 October 1762.)

- 13 1752 1753 Giovanni da Brescia (stationed at Bettiah first, later Patna where he died on 9 May 1770.)
- Lorenzo da Peretola (lay brother; was at some time stationed in Nepal; departed for Europe at an unknown date, arrived there in 1765.)
- Bernardino da Paludano (almost nothing known of his activities; he embarked for Europe in 1765).
- 14 1756 1757 Marco della Tomba (stationed at Bettiah 1758-9; later chaplain to French troops; Superior at Bettiah, 1769; later that year he was called to Manila, but was grounded in Pondichery by a tempest, and returned to Chandernagore as Superior; he left for Europe on 4 March 1773, but returned to Asia again with the 23rd expedition.)
- Odoardo da Cincoli (had been with 8th expedition; died, 30 August 1756, just before embarking.)
- 15 1759 1761 (July) Serafino da Como (stationed at Nepal where he remained until February 1769 when he left for Bettiah; in 1772 (January 29) left for Europe; he later taught Dogmati at the Seminary of Pesaro in 1784.)
- Giovanni Gualberto da Massa (stationed in Nepal; in the spring of 1769 went to Chuhri; went back to Europe, about 1780, but returned with the 24th expedition.)
- Michelangelo da Tabiago (Superior at Bettiah at first; from 1764-68 he was at Nawakot [with Prithvi Narayan], the first and only missionary ever to reside there; later he returned to Bettiah, and in February 1785, left for Europe.)

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|----|------|--------------------|--|
| 15 | 1759 | 1761 (July) | [Two others left with them, but one turned back at Livorno and the other died at Goa.] |
| 16 | 1761 | 1762 (December 15) | Giuseppe da Rovato (at first stationed at Patna; in 1764 stationed in <u>Nepal</u> , which he left on 2 February 1769 to take up the office of Prefect, at Patna; died there 13 December 1786.)

Giuseppe Alfonso da Palermo (at first stationed at Bettiah, but at the end of 1763 was made Superior at Chandernagore; was sent back to Europe in 1766.)

[One other member died at Bombay, 3 December 1762.] |
| 17 | 1763 | | [Both members of this Mission, one a lay brother, drowned at the mouth of the Ganges, 6 April 1765.] |
| 18 | 1768 | 1769 (July 3) | Giuseppe da Abeto (died at Bettiah, 22 October 1771.)

Agostino da Marsala (died at Chandernagore on 11 December 1773.)

Eustachio da Cassino (died at Patna on 26 August 1778.) |
| 19 | 1769 | ? | [Two members left Italy; no further data.] |
| 20 | 1773 | 1774 (October 16) | Romualdo da Senigallia (after 7 years as a missionary to Tunisia, was stationed at Bettiah and later Chuhri; during 1794 was in <u>Nepal</u> for several months; died 20 September 1815 at Bettiah.)

[Fortunato da Caldes left Italy with him; no further data.] |
| 21 | 1775 | ? | [Two members left Italy; no further data.] |
| 22 | 1777 | ? | [Two members left Italy; one returned at Hennebont; no data on the other.] |

23

1782

1783 (July)

Marco della Tomba (had been in India before with 14th expedition; was named vice-Prefect on 13 December 1786; directed mission until end of 1788; once again directed the mission in the final months of 1802; died at Bhagalpur in 1803.)

Giuseppe da S. Marcello (from the end of 1786 to the beginning of 1789 resided in Kathmandu, engaging in trade and enjoying women; was sent to Banaras in 1789; many complaints because of the concubine he brought from Nepal, his open engagement in trade, etc.; in 1793 he was imprisoned for his scandalous conduct; but he was forcibly set free by his English friends; in 1796 or 1797 he was reinstated by the Prefect and sent back to Nepal; at the end of 1803 he was declared excommunicated; he remained in Nepal until his death in 1810, eking out an existence, having to depend on the unfulfilled promises of the King, in Kathmandu; Knox saw him in 1802-03.)

[Three others left Italy with this expedition; one stayed at Cochin; no data on the other two, one of whom was a lay brother.]

24

1783

1784

Giovanni Gualberto da Massa (had been in Nepal for nearly eight years when he had been a member of the 15th expedition; was stationed at Chuhri, where he died on 30 October 1796.)

Carlo Maria da Alatri (remained in India until 31 December 1802 when he was definitively deposed and ordered back to Europe; he had been a storm center as Prefect for many years, and had been deposed earlier (2 April 1799) but managed to resume power for a time in 1801.)

[Pietro della Fratte left with them; no further data.]

25	1790	1791 (October 16)	<p>Giovanni Maria da Camajore (stationed at Chuhri [near Bettiah]; named Prefect 17 April 1799 after Monsignor Champenois deposed Carlo Maria da Alatri; died at Chuhri in 1801 [probably 10 June].)</p> <p>Angelo da Caraglio (stationed at Chandernagore as Procurator of the Mission; named Prefect in January, 1803, at insistence of Father Bonaventura da Salino over the opposition of all the others; transferred to Agra in 1806; abandoned by others when Mission was divided; died at Chandernagore in 1831 or 1838.)</p> <p>Giovenale da Nizza (stationed for some time at Agra; drowned in the Hugli on 11 January 1797 [suicide suspected].)</p>
25	1790	1792 (January 10)	<p>Bonaventura da Salino (stationed at Chandernagore; named Prefect at end of 1802 through pressure of other missionaries, but forced to give it up a week later to Angelo da Caraglio; departed for Europe on 11 October 1803 to report to the Propaganda; [returned again with the 30th expedition].)</p>
25	1790	1792 (August 28)	<p>Ludovico Maria da Città di Castello (died at Chandernagore on 8 January 1799).</p>
26	1802	?	<p>Giuliano da Roma left Italy; no further data.</p>
27	1803	?	<p>Rafaello da Bene left Italy in 1803; no further data.</p>
28	1805	1806 (July 2)	<p>Marcellino da Ravenna; (presumably remained in India until his departure for Europe, November 1817.</p>
29	1805	1806 (November 1)	<p>Antonio da Lodi (stationed in Bihar; returned to Europe to report on need for the Mission in 1824; return again in 1826; resided at Agra until his departure in December 1842.)</p>
30	1807	1808 (June)	<p>Bonaventura da Salino (first came to India with the 25th expedition; was named independent vice-prefect for Bengal and Bihar in November 1808; died en route to Europe on 12 December 1811.)</p>

(1738 ?) pp. 63-64.

In 1727 by order of the Great Lama on the 5th of August King Telcin bathur was killed and in 1728 the emperor of China sent an army of 40,000 soldiers who tried 17 people involved in this murder, took the Lama away and the emperor appointed as Lama the Lama of the convent of Ch'eng-tu-fu. In 1729 the emperor of China made as King of Tibet the present Mi-dban and gave him all the temporal and political power and took it away completely from the Grand Lama.

Vol. 3, CR 1, 1713, pp. 4, Brief relation from F. D. da Fano.

Tibet divided in several provinces governed by princes with absolute power within their states. They are also given the title of Kings but the sovereign King resides in Lhasa, capital of Tibet, and calls them sde-pa (governors). These princes recognize as their King the King of Lhasa, obey him and every year they send an ambassador to pay money and homage to him.⁴

Fn. by Petech:

⁴These functionaries enjoyed great autonomy, their title was hereditary and they were practically semi-independent. They were gradually substituted by the rdson-dpon in this period; two for each district, appointed by the Lhasa government. (See "China and Tibet," pp. 233-234.)

Vol. 3, CR 6, pp. 176, A memorial to the King of Spain (1738) (unpublished)

1720: Tibet governed only by the Great Lama with temporal and spiritual powers. A King was appointed by the Lama to deal with military matters; a king to deal with civilian and political matters was also appointed; he had a cabinet of state of four members and other particular departments with various ministers.

In 1717 the Tartaric army moved in and put into power a new King. This caused the intervention of the Chinese emperor who dethroned [dethroned ?] the King and put into power a new one to whom was given the temporal power that used to belong to the Great Lama. The latter didn't like the arrangements, hence killed the King and caused again in 1727 the intervention of the emperor of China . . .

Vol. 3, CR 8, A report on the journey the missionaries have to undertake to go from Rome to Lhasa (1743 ?), pp. 206.

It is mentioned the fact the missionaries used to go from Patna to Nepal only at certain times of the year to avoid the "aul," from Nepal to Lhasa it takes 53 days and high, snowy, impervious mountains have to be crossed.

Vol. 3, CR 9, Report of P. Gioachino da S. Anatolia (1746) (unpublished)

Mi-dban appears to be the former bka-blon-Po-Pha Taiji, fourth minister of the state.

Note: for the imperial policy during the Civil War (1727-1728) see China and Tibet, pp. 113-114, 130-136.

Vol. 4, Journal of P. Cassiano da Macerata, 1739.

The Kings of Patan and Katmandu are allied in waging war against the King of Batgao; almost every day there is a feat of arms in which the King of Batgao usually gets the worst of it. /28/

The King of Batgao kept on refusing to recognize as his legitimate son a child born to him from a Queen; this on the instigation of a concubine who wanted her own son to become successor to the King. The people protested and the King had to recognize as his successor the son of the Queen. But the concubine was trying to eliminate this child so that the Queen and the son were sent to Timi which was part of the substance coming to heir of the King. Meanwhile the King held a general counsel: one night the people who wanted went to the Court, dressed in such a fashion as not to be recognized and spoke to the King; some threatened him, some insulted him, some reproached him and some others gave him suggestions. I have no knowledge of what was the decision of the King.

Such counsels are held only in cases where the people are not satisfied with the King. /32-33/

Kuti is a dominion of the King of Nepal as it has been annexed with Sanku. But the King of Nepal has given the place to the King of Tibet who has made of it the frontier and the gate of the Kingdom. The cession of Kuti to Tibet was made very very advantageous conditions for both parties, i.e. the right to the Nepal population in Kuti, Gigaze, Gianze and Lhasa to have a chief of their nation from each of the ~~two~~ three kingdoms, that is a chief for the Nepalese of Katmandu, one for those of Bathgaon and one for those of Patna; that the Nepalese currency in Tibet be of silver; the right to the King of Nepal to elect the chiefs for the places which are

between Kuti and Nesti. The governors of Kuti have tried to usurp the rights of the King of Nepal but the latter hasn't been able to do much about it since the places are such that by destroying a little bridge it is possible to prevent the communications between nations. /65-75/

Note 177 by Petech;

The Chinese representative in Lhasa had the Manchu title of amban and the Chinese one of Chu-tsang ta chen. Originally there were two of them. In 1741 there was only one, but from 1751 on there were two. The position was then filled by the brigadier general Fu-tu-t'ung Chi-shan (1739-1742). He was amban again in 1749-50, but was so weak and blind with respect to the local situation that at his return to ~~Peiping~~ Peking when the revolution broke out in 1750 the emperor held him responsible, arrested him and forced him to commit suicide.

From the 12th century Simraon was the residence [seat] of a dynasty that was chased away by the Moslems, took shelter in Nepal and there founded a kingdom. Simraon was taken by the Moslems in 1325 (winter), when Ghiyas ud-din Tughlag, sultan of Delhi, crossed ~~Tirhut~~ Tirhut, ~~India~~.

Notes taken from (IL NUOVO RAMUSIO II), I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal, edited by Luciano Petech. [Translation by Alberto Bonadeo with emendations by MWF]. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1952.

I Cappuccini Marchigiani, Parte I

General Introduction

- I. Tibet and ^Nepal in western geography and cartography up to the end of the XVIIth century, pp. XV - XVII
- II. Jesuit Voyages of the XVIIth century, pp. XVIII - XXIII
- III. Tibet in the first half of the XVIIIth century, pp. XXIII - XXIX
- IV. Nepal in the XVIIIth century, pp. XXIX - XXXIII
[This is where the notes begin.]

II. JESUIT VOYAGES OF THE XVIIth CENTURY, pp. XVIII - XXIII.

The European exploration of Tibet and Nepal begins in the 17th century with the work of the Catholic missionaries and it remains exclusively in the hands of the missionaries (with the exception of an unknown Frenchman and a Dutchman by the name of van de Putte) until the last quarter of the 18th century. Then, the missionaries yield their position to the official envoys, or in any case to the dependents of the English government of India; only later did English and other travellers who were independent of that government begin to penetrate there.

By the end of the 16th century the Jesuit missionaries of Mojer had heard persistent stories from the Muslim merchants about the existence beyond the mountains of another Christian community degenerate and forgetful of its origin, but still flourishing; the news was evidently due to superficial resemblances between the Lamaist worship and the Catholic. The superiors of the mission decided to investigate the matter especially since the story of a Portuguese merchant [(?) Diago d'Almeida] who lived for some time in Ladvago (Ladakh) seemed to give to these stories a more solid foundation. The expedition of the lay brother Bento di Goes beginning in 1602 and ending the 11th of April 1607, with the death of the bold traveller in Su-chou at the gateway to China, marks the beginning of the exploration of central Asia; but it does not concern Tibet.

Twenty-two years later (30 March 1624) Father Antonio d'Andrade left Agra for the same destination, accompanied by Brother Viancoel Marques. Joining a group of Hindu pilgrims, the two reached Srinagar in Garhwal. From there travelling concealed in order to escape the guards at the frontier, on the

first of August, Andrade entered rTsa Bran (Tsaparang), then capital of the Kingdom of Guge. He was the /LJ:l/ first European to go through the Himalayas and to penetrate Tibet proper. Guge was at the time an independent kingdom, ruled by a branch of the old royal dynasty of Tibet. Once a great religious and above all artistic center, Guge by then had passed its peak and found itself in full economic and demographic decline, aggravated by the continuous century-long hostility of the neighboring kingdom of La-dvegs. The King known by the title of Jo-bo-bdag-po ("Cho dapo" of the missionaries) was then bkra-sis-grags-pa. He received Andrade with great cordiality and at the time of his departure he gave him a document promising him freedom to preach in his state. Before the snow closed the passes Andrade departed and on the first day of November 1624 he had returned to Agra. The 8th of the same month he wrote to his superior a report which was sent to Europe and published in Lisbon in 1626 under the title Novo Descobrimento de gran Cathaya ou Reinas de Tibet. . . pello Padre Antonio de Andrade da Campanhia de Jesu, Portuguez, no anno de 1626. It had an extraordinary effect and it made known throughout Europe that the new country had been rendered accessible to the messengers of Christ.

The following year Andrade returned to rtsa-bran with another priest and with Brother Marques and there permanently established the mission which for some years flourished under the cordial, even ostentatious, patronage of the King. A station was also established at Ru-t'ogs, but it was an ephemeral success. Shortly after the final departure of Andrade, called to Goa to the office of / Provincial, the general revolution against the King broke out in 1630. The rebels called to rtsa-bran the King of La-dvags already at war with Guge for some time. Then on the throne was the greatest of the Ladakh Kings, Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal (1600-45) who received the offer with great enthusiasm. Guge

was annexed to /LJ:2/ La-dvags and bKra-sis-grags-pa was brought a prisoner to sLel (Lah). To the governorship of the new province was appointed Indradrabhoti-rnam-rgyal, brother of Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal, Lama of the 'Brug-pa sect. The missionaries involved with the overthrown regime underwent every sort of restriction but were not yet expelled. They held fast and in 1631 Father Francisco Azevedo, sent by Andrade as a visitor to the mission, decided to

So Fo rTsa-bran in sLel on order to obtain from the King a greater freedom of movement. Azevedo remained two weeks in sLel, and obtained permission from the King for the mission to continue. But they were beautiful words and nothing else [his promise meant nothing.--AAB] It's true that the missionaries received some reinforcements from India but the Ladakh government made their lives so difficult that the conversion of Tibetans became impossible and a further continuance of the mission began to appear a useless expense. But before a decision could be taken in 1635 the last two missionaries who remained there (Nuno Coresma and Marques) were expelled. An attempt to re-open the mission made in 1637 led only ^{to} the return of Father Stanislao Malpigli and to the imprisonment of Brother Marques, the old comrade of Andrade. Every attempt to free him failed. In 1641, Brother Marques was still prisoner in bTsa-bran. After this date, we have no news about him; evidently he must have died there.

had
In 1625 Andrade/gathered information in rTsa-bran about the existence of a great country, dBus-gTsan (U-Tsang), east of Guge. He wrote to Goa suggesting that an attempt should be made to open a mission /LJ:3/ in those more eastward territories, initiated, however, for obvious practical considerations, from Bengal. The undertaking was given to the other Jesuit province of

India, that of Malabar (with headquarters in Cochin), of which Bengal was a dependent. The Portuguese Fathers Estevao Cacella and Joro Cabral who were sent via the Cooch-Bihar route succeeded in February 1627 in penetrating Bhutan. They remained almost the whole year in sPa-ro (Paro) [as] guests of bharmaraja. In November Father Cacella left secretly for gZis-ka-rtse (Shigatse) where he was joined in January 1628 by Father Cabral. There too they were cordially received by the King (Sde-pa c'en-po) of gTsan, Karma-bstan-skyon, great protector of the red sect and enemy of the dGe-lugs-pa. Cahal remained a few days in gZis-ka-rtse and then descended into Bengal leaving Cacella in Tibet. Meanwhile, the authorities of Cochin had sent as reinforcement, Father Manoel Dias, who together with Cahal went to Cuch-Bihar. In 1625, although seriously ill, Cacella descended there [into Cooch-Bihar] also, to meet his associate and to take him with him. In September Cacella and Dias left for gTsan, but the difficulties and privations were such that Dias died the 3rd of November 1629 in Morang (eastern Nepal) and Cacella died in gZis-ka-rtse the 6th March 1630, a week after his arrival. The King Karma-bstan-skyon sent then for Cahal who in 1631 went with a royal escort to gZis-ka-rtse, where he is known to have been in July. But his residence must have been very brief because the Provincial of Cochin did not deem it opportune, given the difficulties met, to establish a mission at gZis-ka-rtse. /LJ:4/ And in the same year or at the beginning of the following one, Cahal was recalled to Bengal.

Thus the Jesuit attempts to establish a mission in Tibet ceased for the time being. However it remains to mention an expedition of remarkable temerity with the greatest consequences for Tibetan geography: that of Fathers Gruber and D'Orville. This was not a missionary undertaking; the aim of the expedition was to open a new route of communication between China and India avoiding the dangers of the Dutch corsairs who infested the south China sea,

making the sea route to and from Macao unsafe. The Austrian Johann Gruber and the Belgian Albert D'Orville left Peking the 13th of April 1661 and following the caravan route of Hoi-ning, and of Koka-nor, arrived in Lhasa 8th October, the first Europeans whom we know certainly to have set foot there. Their stay was brief and at the end of November the two companions left following the route through Nepal and reached Agra in March 1662. However neither published a report; D'Orville died as soon as he reached Agra and Gruber, who lived until 1680, worked for years on his diary without ever having it published. But the few things included by Kircher in his CHINA MONUMENTES . . . ILLUSTRATA (Nova 1667) immediately attracted the attention of learned Europeans and profoundly influenced contemporaneous cartography. This magnificent expedition never had any practical consequences however because the route opened was not travelled again for a long time. It was not forgotten however because as we shall see one of the first tasks of the Capuchins was precisely that of reactivating communication through Lhasa between India and the missions of northern China.

The first European to penetrate Nepal was Cabral who went through it in the first month of 1628 travelling from gZis-ka-rtse to Bengal. /LJ:5/ However he has not left any description of the valley.

We have reason to assume that in the following years another European went through it but we know absolutely nothing about him. The supposition is based on the existence of an inscription in Kathmandu, dated 14 January 1654, in which King Pratapa Malla displayed his linguistic knowledge by reproducing examples of 15 alphabets known to him. Among these was the Latin alphabet (feringi, Frankish) as an example of which 3 words are recorded: AVTOMNE, WINTER, LHIVERT. Two of these are French, Winter can be English, German, Dutch or Flemish. Whoever was the unknown person who suggested them to the

King it is certain that it was a European. We may discount the possibility that it was a Portuguese; the linguistic mixture would make us think rather of a Belgian. Perhaps, it was a businessman, given the fact that we know nothing of a missionary going to Nepal about 1654. However there is no way to be precise about it.

The next Europeans to go through Nepal were Gruber and D'Orville, who followed that route to go to Agra. In going through the Valley they were involved in hostilities between the Kings of Kathmandu and Patan in coalition against [the King] of Bhatgaon. Their passage thus constitutes one of the cardinal points of Nepalese chronology in the 17th century.

Their brief residence was not forgotten either by the Jesuits or the Nepalese. The story told at Agra by the two travellers must have induced the Jesuit mission of Mogar to attempt the establishment of a mission in Nepal. Father Enrico Roth, who had accompanied Gruber from Agra to Rome and thereafter returned to India, was in charge of opening the new mission and was provided to this end with a letter from the Viceroy of Goa Court of S. Vicente to the King of Nepal dated 23 February 1667. In the catalogue of the missionaries /LJ:6/ of November 1667 he figures as "nunc destinatus ad auspicandam missionum Nepalensum." But Roth died 20 June 1668 at Agra and it is very doubtful that he ever set foot in Nepal, although Maclajan does not exclude this possibility. The project was not abandoned however and a document of 1667 includes Nepal among the Jesuit missions of Mogar. Probably it was nothing but the affirmation of a program. But very soon it became effective, 29 August 1679, an Armenian arriving from China via the Nepal route presented himself to the Italian Jesuit Marcantonio Santucci residing in Patna. This man insistently begged the missionary to visit the King of Nepal whose conversion to Christianity could be hoped for. Santucci went to Nepal where

he remained for some months. But the complete isolation in which he found himself compelled him to return to Patna in 1680 where he arrived ill.

Then a long interval follows. The Company of Jesus or better [rather ?] its Provincials in India seemed disinterested in Tibet and Nepal. When it resumed its efforts in that direction it would be only to find itself preceded by some new arrivals in that country of snow: the Capuchin missionaries sent by the Holy Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

/LJ:7/

NOTES

Petech calls Amsuvarman [#78] an usurper who gave his daughter to the Tibetan king. /XXX/

839 - Licchavis reigned until then over Nepal.

In the 11th century the Thakur dynasty of Nepal divided into 2 lines:

(1) Nayakot

(2) Patan /XXX/

In 1201, the Thakuris yielded to the Mallas as rulers of Nepal. /XXX/

Jayasthiti Malla ruled over a united country, and the union lasted until about 1475. In that year Yaksha Malla [#132], on the point of death, divided the kingdom among his 3 sons. /XXX/

1630 - annexation of Kuti--by the great minister, Bhima Malla.

1702 - Bhaskara Malla [#157] died of plague. /XXX/ /1/

Bhaskara Malla's successor was Jagat Jaya Malla (or Mahupatindra), [#159], the king who collected toll from the Capuchins who went through Nepal to Lhasa, 1707-1709; he allowed them in his kingdom in 1715, but expelled them in 1722. /XXX/ He died in 1735. /XXXI/

Jagat Jaya Malla was succeeded by his son Jaya Prakash Malla [#160], who had the upper hand over the eldest son, Rajya Prakash. The father had to nominate Jaya Prakash as hereditary prince, due to the insistence of the royal guard. A revolutionary attempt of a third son, Narendra Prakash, was quelled. /XXXI/ The revolutionary attempt of the "Thari" ("dignitaries of the court") in 1746, succeeded, and proclaimed Jyoti Prakash [#161] as king, a child of a 18 months.

Jaya Prakash [#160] fled from /2/ sanctuary to sanctuary, forsaken by all, and followed a hermit's life, during which he seems to have given heed to the exhortations of the Capuchins. He recovered the crown on 30 April 1750,

and he took revenge upon his enemies. Jaya Prakash was very active, but cruel and hated; he ruled until the conquest by Prithvi Narayan in 1768.

/XXXI/

The story of the Kingdom of Bhatgaon is less well-known than that of Kathmandu. Only two kings reigned there in the period in which we are interested:

(1) Bhupatindra Malla [#144], 1700-1721

(2) Ranajita Malla - who gave hospitality in 1722 to the Capuchins expelled from Kathmandu. He was intelligent, and open to new ideas, /XXXI/ /3/ good to missionaries; he had a long reign, until he was expelled by the Gorkhas in 1769. /XXXI/

Patan had only minor importance with respect to the other two. Patan was annexed to Kathmandu soon after it was founded, and remained incorporated with it for more than a century.

Beginning in 1603, Patan became independent again, but the sequence of its kings is very doubtful, especially at the beginning of the 18th century.

/XXXI/

[#165]
Jaya Indra/reigned in the first years of the century. /XXXI/

To him succeeded Jaya Loka Prakasha [#166], ca. 1707-1709. /XXXI/

Vira Narasimha [#167], ca. 1709-1715. /XXXI/ /4/

Hrdi Narasimha [#169], ca. 1715-1720

Jaya Yoga Prakasa [#170], 1720-1723

Vishnu Malla [#171], 1723-1742, indicated as his successor, that Rajya Prakasa [#172] who was deprived of the throne of Kathmandu by his younger brother, Jaya Prakasa. Rajya Prakasa was weak and devoted, could not hold out against the strength of the six Pradhans of the capital.

In 1754 he was blinded by them and after awhile he died.

The Pradhans elected Ranajita Malla [#145] of Bhatgaon as King of Patan (1754-55) but they soon dethroned him in favor of Jaya Prakash Malla [#160] of Kathmandu, 1755-1757. /5/

Jaya Prakash Malla in turn had to leave in 1757 for Visvajit Malla
[#173] (nephew of Vishnu Malla),^[#171] but Visvajit Malla was slaughtered by the
Pradhans in 1761. /XXXI/ They then addressed themselves to Prithvi
Narayan of Gorkha, who sent them in his place his brother Dalmardan Saha,
who ruled over Patan from 1761-1765. /XXXII/

Very soon after he came to Patan he was proclaimed King, but was then
deposed in favor of Tejo Narsimha, a descendant of the old dynasty, who was
on the throne of Patan at the time of the Gorkha conquest in 1768. /XXXII/
/6/

The Kings of Gorkha, a region west of the valley, claim descent from
the Rajputs. Gorkha belonged to the Caubisi Raj, a confederation of 24
kings, presided over by the Raja of Jumla. Gorkha never had any importance
until Prithvi Narayan ascended the throne in 1742. (His dates, 1742-1775)
Very able, energetic, a good warrior and diplomat, he was also atrociously
cruel, without faith and without honor. In the course of a series of small
local wars, he slowly enlarged his power. From 1761 on, he attempted,
tenaciously and constantly, the conquest of the valley, occupying the
surrounding mountains, and blockading the valley. /7/ Defeated, he charged
again, taking advantage of the continuous quarrels among the three Newar
kings. Where ruthless terrorism did not suffice, intrigue and great promises
made to his noble enemies, and systematically violated, were put to use.

Kirtipur--a place on the threshold of Patan--fell after long resistance,
and all its inhabitants were condemned to have their noses and lips cut off.

On 29 September 1768, Prithvi Narayan took Kathmandu without using
weapons, and Patan a few days later. /XXXII/

In the spring of 1769, Bhatgaon [farther to the east--MWF] fell. The
last of the Mallas had retired /8/ there. Jaya Prakash died of wounds.

Ranajit Malla retired to Banaras, where he lived in seclusion. Tejo Narasimha was put in prison, where he died. /XXXII/

Prithvi Narayan established his capital in Kathmandu from whence he followed up his work of conquest of the territory today known as Nepal.

When he died, at the beginning of 1775, he was succeeded by his son Simha Pratap Sah (1775-1778) and then came the minor, Rana Bahadur Sah. The regency was disputed by Queen Rajendra Laksmi and the brother of the dead King. This quarrel continued until the death of the Queen in 1785.*

/XXXII/

*Levi, Vol. II, p. 278, gives the date as 1795, but this is an error. Petech has seen a letter from Father Giuseppe da Rovato writing of the death of the Queen, dated at Patna, 30 December 1785, and received by the Holy Congregation Fide, 16 April 1787. /p. 183, note 39/ /9/

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- VI. The second phase in Nepal (1715-1734) [this is where the translation begins]

VI. THE SECOND PHASE IN NEPAL (1715-1734)

As we have seen, in January 1715 Father Francesco Orazio della Penna arrived in Kathmandu to start a mission, accompanied by Father Giuseppe Felice da Morro and Father Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone. As had happened in Tibet, the practice of medicine opened many doors. The missionaries won such favor that King Jagat Jaya Malla/^[#159] assigned a house to them, their first hospice. Della Penna, the Superior of the Mission, had his¹ first experience of command there.

When Father Domenico da Fano arrived, in March 1716, he thought the situation very favorable. He thought it possible to establish a friendly relationship not only with the King of Kathmandu, but also with King Bhupatindra Malla of Bhatgaon. /LVI/ /10/

However, the excessive familiarity of the missionaries /LVI/ with the King of Kathmandu aroused a popular uprising, which cost the missionaries the loss of a few possessions. It was put down by the King himself, who gave assurances that he was not giving financial support to the mission. (C.L. #32). The situation was so favorable that the prefect decided to leave Father Giuseppe Felice da Morro in Kathmandu as a superior, and place Father Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone in the charge of visiting nearby Bhatgaon from time to time, to maintain good relations with that king. /LVII/ /11/

After the departure of the Prefect, the mission rested in good hands. Giuseppe Felice da Morro was a devoted, and enthusiastic to the point of desiring martyrdom. He was animated by the liveliest curiosity concerning the religion of Nepal and of Tibet. Two letters which we have from him are among the best of the collection. [C.L. #38, dated 29 July 1717, and C.L. #44, dated 21 June 1721.]

Unfortunately, he did not remain very long at Kathmandu. In 1719 he was transferred to Dvags-po, and when in 1721 he returned to Kathmandu, it

was to die there soon after his arrival.

His place at Kathmandu had been taken in 1719 by Father Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone. /LVII/

The last day of 1720 he received as companion /12/ Father Serafino da Civitanova, freshly arrived. In exchange, in January 1722, Father Bonaventura da Lapedona left for India in the company of [the Jesuit Father] Desideri. /LVII/

In 1722, the King of Kathmandu (we don't know whether Jagat Jaya Malla or his successor, Jaya Prakash), for reasons and under circumstances unknown to us, expelled the missionaries from his state. They transferred to Bhatgaon.

We know almost nothing about this period, because no letter has been saved. We only know that Father Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone left for Europe in 1723 and that his place was taken by /13/ Father Francesco Antonio da Cingoli, for whom was substituted, in turn, a few years later, Father Francesco da Cagli. But the same difficulties which were present at the mission of Lhasa, made themselves feared also at Bhatgaon--lack of money and of fresh missionaries. /LVII/

Father Francesco da Cagli died in Bhatgaon on 25 December 1730. /LVII/ Father Serafino da Civitanova, not wishing /LVII/ to remain alone, went to India in 1731, only to die in Patna a few days after arrival. The mission at Bhatgaon was extinguished. /LVII - LVIII/ /14/

The abandonment of the Lhasa Mission had seemed for a moment to make that of Nepal revive. In September 1732, the prefect della Penna arrived in Kathmandu with some Nepalese Christians. It is not known why he preferred the hostile Kathmandu to the friendly Bhatgaon. He immediately got into difficulties. Imprisoned by the King, who suspected the Catholic religion to be subversive of the fidelity of his subjects, della Penna remained there 4 or 5 months. It took quite a bit of persuasion by the prefect (della Penna) to make the King see that his fears were vain and to get himself freed--not to

mention the payment of a not small amount of money. /LVIII/ /15/

In 1733 Father Joaquin arrived, but soon after came the news of the closing of the hospice at Patna, because of the deaths of the two missionaries stationed there. Of the entire Mission there remained only the two missionaries at Kathmandu and the old Father Pietro della Serra Petrona at Chandernagore. The situation was untenable. Toward the end of 1734, Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, accompanied by Father Joaquin, left Kathmandu for Patna, which they reached early in 1735. The second phase of the mission to Nepal [which began in 1715] was finished. /LVIII/ /16/

VII. THE REORGANIZATION OF 1738

At Patna, della Penna received the news of the decrees of 1732, made by the staff of the Propaganda Fide. He decided then to resort to the same radical means employed by the missionaries in 1712: i.e., going directly to Rome to ask help from the Propaganda Fide. Della Penna left Father Joaquin in charge in Patna (as Vice-prefect), and went to Chandernagore. In December 1735, della Penna embarked for Italy.

Della Penna reached Rome at the end of 1736. His activities there were long and fervid. /LVIII/

Four relations or groups of writings, [C.R. 3,4,5 and another which is lost] /LVIII/ written by him during this period, are witnesses to his zeal and enthusiasm. /LVIII - LIX/

Della Penna had the support of Cardinal Belluga. Thanks to the understanding of this Spanish prelate, the mission was /17/ reorganized on an adequate basis with sufficient and (it was hoped) secure means. Given the necessity of having 2 missionaries for each hospice (4 in Lhasa), and given their non-interchangeability (because of the language problem), the staff of the mission was again brought to the level fixed in 1714: i.e., 12 priests,

plus the lay brothers, and the assignment of a yearly sum of 1000 scudi. But because the Holy Congregation was in serious financial condition and could not undertake such an expenditure, the amount was divided up.

300 scudi as a grant from Pope Clement XII for 6 years, on a Spanish pension;

700 scudi to be taken from a large credit that the Congregation had /18/ in the Spanish treasury for a gift made to that Treasury by the heir of the late Giovanni Domenico Spinola. /LIX/

With this, the financing of the mission came to be placed on a Spanish basis. This offered considerable advantages. In fact, Cardinal Belluga, availing himself of his great influence in Spain, and of the personal debt of gratitude that the King owed him, succeeded in obtaining from Philip the Vth on January 20, 1739, the following three concessions:

- (1) Payment on the Cassa of the Crusade of Mexico, of the funds. (In charge of withdrawing the money was the /19/ Archbishop of Mexico City, but given the obstructionism of the Spanish authorities, it was never possible to cash more than 7200 pesos.)
- (2) Four Capuchins (2 Italian and 2 Spanish) were permitted to go into Mexico to collect funds (by going around and begging) for the Tibet Mission. (Even here difficulty arose as to the choice of time of departure, etc. However, in passing through Madrid, they obtained 4000 scudis, and in the years following they were able to collect funds. In Mexico City the collection was fruitful enough. The funds obtained were invested /20/ in Mexico, and their yield in 1752 amounted to more than 1200 scudis per year. /LIX/ The Spanish authorities, however, were against the exportation of this money, but in the end it was possible to transfer the funds to Rome.
- (3) The concession of 2000 pesos for 10 years, on the revenues of the

collection for the Crusades in the Philippines. (The Provincial Father of the Dominicans of Manila was in charge of cashing the money, which he was to send directly to the Mission. But nothing ever came of it, as it was plundered by the English. In 1762 the hope of getting money from /21/ that source disappeared.

In fact, it was an error to base the financing of the mission on a power in such deep economic decay as Spain. The sums of money actually available were always less than was expected. Nor was there any regularity in the schedule of payments. Further, continuous wars made the transmission of funds very uncertain.

In sum, the financial situation of the mission was almost as serious as in the preceding period. The increasing size of European communities in Bengal and Bihar brought some relief, as the Capuchins could get alms from them. /LXI/ /22/

Cardinal Belluga gave the Capuchins/^acomplete Tibetan printing press, the characters of which were carved at the expense of Cardinal Fantozzi of Rome. Two short pontifical letters were also sent to the Dalai Lama and to "King" P'o-lha-nas [C.D. 2 & 3], accompanied by a princely gift. Besides these official documents, Cardinal Belluga delivered to della Penna an official letter for the Dalai Lama in which it was promised, in the name of His Holiness, that in embracing the Christian faith, not only would he not lose his dignity, but it would even be augmented with spiritual dignity, etc. /23/

It is too bad that we do not know how the Dalai Lama received the proposition! /LX/

Finally Father Francesco Orazio was confirmed prefect for the entire Tibetan Mission. /LX/

The new expedition, the 9th of a series, was made up of 9 fathers (including the prefect), and two lay brothers. /LXI/

One of the fathers, Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano, created the mission at Bettiah, and died in the odor of sanctity. Two others, Cassiano da Macerata, and Constantino da Lora, were endowed with good powers of observation and fair facility with the pen, and to them we owe the very famous Giornale.

/LXI/

The expedition left with the determination to /24/ [of] finding the way in the Tibetan soil, taking advantage of the wealth of human and material means at its disposal. /LXI/

In October 1738, these missionaries left Italy. In March 1739 they embarked for the Orient in three different ships. At the end of September they landed at Chandernagore. /LXI/

VIII. THE THIRD PHASE IN TIBET (1741-1745) /LXI - LXV/

IX. THE THIRD PHASE AT NEPAL (1737-1769)

As mentioned, on 18 March 1737, Father Joaquin (of Esanatoglia) arrived in Bhatgaon, where he was received joyously by King Ranajita Malla, who donated a house to the missionaries and had a bell melted for them. His neighbor, Jaya Prakasa Malla of Kathmandu, /25/ promised to grant them a house with full freedom to preach provided they would promise to reside there permanently. The agreement was not executed until 1741. /LXV/

In going through Bhatgaon on his way to Lhasa, the Prefect (della Penna) left Father Vito da Recanati with another father and one lay brother at Bhatgaon. The situation seemed so favorable that Father Vito was able to get Pope Benedict XIV in Rome to write a brief letter of congratulation /LXV/ and encouragement to King Ranajita Malla, to which the King replied. (C.D. 4 and 35) /LXV - LXVI/

Ranjita Malla remained unalterably favorable to the missionaries until his tragic death in 1769. /LXVI/

Meanwhile, the King of Kathmandu insisted on having a missionary. In /26/ the fall of 1741, when going through Nepal, Father Joaquin satisfied him by getting the Prefect to send a father to reside permanently in Kathmandu, where the King granted a house for use as an hospice. /LXVI/

In October 1742, there were reinforcements, with the arrival of 3 missionaries from Lhasa, following their persecution there. It was thus possible to extend the activities of the mission. /LXVI/

In August 1744, Father Constantino da Loro opened a Mission at Patan, where King Rajya Prakasa followed the example of his brother at Kathmandu, in donating a house to the missionaries.

In this way, three hospices were founded in Nepal. However, the three capitals were so close to one another (a few kilometers) /27/ that daily

communication took place, and missionaries frequently went from one hospice to another. During this long period, not much can be said, because few letters have been saved, and the existing ones are not very important. It will be sufficient to relate the vicissitudes of the mission in broad outline.

/LXVI/

The abandonment of the Lhasa mission naturally caused the Nepal mission to flourish greatly. It was a true case of the death of one being the life of the other. Nepal received a conspicuous reinforcement of missionaries, and above all, became the residence of the prefect. But Father della Penna never had a successor worthy of him. /28/

Father Tranquillo, who succeeded him as vice-prefect, and after 1748 as prefect, was a most worthy person, and a zealous missionary, but he was rather weak with his inferiors; certainly he did not possess the animating fire of his great predecessor. His work continued modestly in Nepal, along with the annoyances among which were the social ostracism, logical consequence to his Christians of conversion and consequent exclusion from caste; annoyances that he pompously called "persecution." The hospice of Patan was closed after four or five years for lack of missionaries. It was again reopened, but it always remained a secondary hospice, visited occasionally by missionaries from /29/ the two major centers. At Kathmandu the situation was not very rosy, because Jaya Prakash Malla, especially after his restoration, was not very sympathetic to the missionaries. /LXVI/

In 1753, the prefect was even imprisoned for a short time, for having interfered imprudently in the private affairs of the royal family. However, some possibility for expansion also occurred, as for example, in 1755, when the Raja of Tanahu, one of the Chaubisi rajahs to the west of the Valley, wrote to the pope, asking him for missionaries on advice of the fathers.

The Pope answered with an apostolic letter, but the scarcity of staff, both in Europe and India, prevented the /30/ establishment of a mission at Tanahu. /LXVII/

Father Tranquillo, in 1758, was succeeded by Father Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano as interim vice-prefect. But he was too attached to the Bettiah mission to care very much about Nepal. The directive center of the Mission shifted definitely outside the Valley, because even the new prefect, Anselmo da Ragusa (1761-1769), preferred to live at Patna or Chandernagore and made only a brief survey of Nepal. On the other hand, he was not looked upon with sympathy because he was a Sicilian, and aroused the strong resentment of the fathers from central and northern Italy. /LXVII/ /31/

Meanwhile, a big cloud advanced on Nepal. The King of Gorkha, Prithvi Narayan, had begun his slow and persistent work of conquest of the Valley. The missionaries had already made contact with him in 1755 by going to his capital, but they had refused to establish themselves there permanently. It was, once more, the eternal request for a European doctor on the part of an Oriental prince. But now the missionaries, after their many and bitter experiences, had become more skeptical and cautious, concerning /32/ requests of this sort. But circumstances caused their relationship with the Gorkhali King to become closer. After 1761, Prithvi Narayan took Nawakot and took possession of the passage that led from the valley into the plains. His intention was to blockade the Malla Kingdoms into submission. In order to pass [the blockade], the missionaries had to have the goodwill of the Gorkha King. It was to satisfy him, that in 1764, the Prefect consented, in spite of the scarcity of missionaries, to station Father Michelangelo da Tabiago at Nawakot, where the Gorkhali Raja was then residing. /LXVII/ It was not however either permanent or fruitful. The King, authoritative, cruel and perfidious, did not show the least consideration for the missionaries. When,

in 1768, he had /33/ occupied Kathmandu and Patan, his tyrannical cruelty knew no bounds. The Capuchins were in good relations with the hereditary prince, but in spite of his protection, they did not feel safe. The fanatic Hindu orthodoxy of the Gorkhalis did not leave opportunity for conversion. The three missionaries residing in Nepal, without waiting for orders from the prefect (the roads were blocked) decided with one accord that Father Giuseppe da Rovato should lead the Nepalese Christians to safety in Bettiah. They obtained permission from Prithvi Narayan, and left the country on 4 February 1769. The two remaining missionaries /34/ deemed their further residence there useless, and after a few weeks, having with great difficulty obtained a license, they too descended to the plains. The old Newari Nepal in which the missionaries had lived and worked, ceased to exist. /LXVIII/

The Bettiah mission deserves a brief word. The Raja of Bettiah, then semi-independent, had made friends with Father Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano in 1740-41, and had repeatedly invited him to his town, begging him to stay there. The usual request for missionaries had the usual refusal, on account of lack of personnel, but the Raja wrote directly to the Pope, and in 1742 Benedict the XIV /35/ granted two additional fathers for the staff of the mission, to be stationed in Bettiah. The Pope's reply was brought to Bettiah by Father Antonino da Monte Albaddo, who wrote an interesting account of his voyage. The Mission soon became very flourishing, because of continuous royal protection, and also because it was given to the care of two capable missionaries, Fathers Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano and Marco della Tomba.

The conquest of Bettiah by Mir Jafar of Bengal, in 1762, and the consequent introduction of the English administration, in 1765, caused the protection of the Raja, now reduced to a simple zamindar, to cease. But now the mission did not need it any longer. /LXVIII/ /36/

When in 1769 the Christians of Nepal arrived there, the missionaries obtained in perpetuity from the English Government of Bengal, a piece of land in Chuhri /LXVIII/ a few kilos from Bettiah, where, in 1770, they built a church, an hospice, and a village for the Nepalese emigres. Chuhri is nowadays the property of a mission inhabited largely by Catholics, and the descendants of the Nepalese Christians have still, after almost two centuries, retained the use of their mother tongue. /LXIX/

X. THE FINAL ATTEMPTS IN NEPAL, 1769-1811

As after the retreat from Tibet, so after the departure from Nepal, the Capuchins attempted repeatedly to go back. This time, they were more fortunate. Some of them succeeded, as we shall see, in penetrating, in various /LXIX/ /37/ times and places, in Nepal, some for a long period of time. Unfortunately, none of their letters from Nepal have been preserved from this period. In the following pages I have brought together all the scanty materials existing, whose existence up to now was entirely unknown. The reason for the success, temporary as it was, of this attempt, is to be found in the political situation in Nepal.

When Prithvi Narayan died in 1775 [sic; date was 1775] he was succeeded by his son Simha Pratap Sah, the protector of the mission from whom so much was expected by the Capuchins in 1768. In fact, the new King at once invited the Capuchins to return to Kathmandu, but the scarcity of missionaries made this impossible for the new Prefect, Father Giuseppe da Rovato (1769-1786). For the same reason, he was unable to respond to appeals from the rulers of Kaski and of Palpa, two of the Caubisi Rajahs to the west of Nepal Valley. /LXIX/

Upon the death of Simha Pratap Sah, his successor was his infant son, Rana Bahadur Sah. The queen, Rajendra Lakshmi, and the child's uncle /38/

Bahadur Sah, struggled for the regency, with final victory going to Bahadur Sah. Bahadur Sah, in the course of his sojourn in Bettiah, had made friends with the missionaries, and continued to show himself favorable to them until the very last. Father Giuseppe could write that after the death of the Queen, "the government has been assumed by the brother of the late King, who, having been several times in Bettiah and in Patna, and cared for in serious illnesses by the fathers, has conceived much love and esteem for us, and already I am waiting from day to day for one of his letters to come /39/ demanding that some father be sent in, and I will not be able to please him unless I deprive some other place of the assistance of a father." /LXXIX-LXXX/

Evidently the regent, as well as his brother before him and his nephew after him, saw in the missionaries only good doctors and nothing else. But this counted very little before the concrete fact of the possibility of re-entering Nepal under royal protection. The invitation did not have to be awaited long, as one of the last acts of the Prefect, who died on 13 December 1786, was that of sending Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello to Kathmandu. The choice could not have been worse, as we shall see. Maybe the Prefect wanted to /40/ get rid of him, but anyway, Father Giuseppe was to be from now on the black sheep of the mission.

The beginnings, however, were promising enough. Father Marco della Tomba, then Vice-Prefect, when asking the Holy Congregation to name a successor to the position at Patna, wrote from Patna on 30 November 1787, as follows:

"Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello is staying in Nepal, where he is gathering together the dispersed Christians and catechising, and is so well looked upon that the Raja himself offered to support him at his own expense. But this Father cannot stay there alone, because for 8 months of the year it

is not possible to have any communication, and this year he /41/ has been dangerously ill, and to help him, I had to make an expenditure of 200 rupees, in order to send Father Carlo, who has not arrived yet. However, thanks to God, I received news that he has recovered." /LXX/

Father Carlo Maria da Alatri, sent to Kathmandu, evidently after the rainy season, in the autumn of 1787, did not stay too long in Nepal. On 16 November 1787, the Holy Congregation had named him indeed, Prefect pro tempore (confirming him definitely as Prefect on 14 September 1789).

As soon as he received news of this appointment, he came back to Patna (probably in the fall of 1788), in order to assume the administration of the mission. His departure was /42/ a very personal triumph that demonstrates clearly how much the Regent of Nepal favored the Fathers, but it also shows how far they had come from the spirit of heroic evangelic poverty of a Deomenico da Fano or of a Francesco Orazio della Penna.

The new prefect of Patna, writes, on 10 December 1788:

"It is now two years since the mission was reopened /LXX/ in Little Thibet, and the goodness of that King, because of some medical service performed for him, has favored me by giving me the support needed; he would never have let me depart from him if I had not become Prefect. But by promising him that I /43/ would come back if circumstances permit, he bade me goodbye by donating an elephant and money and the people necessary to have a good journey. In this Little Thibet I have found three houses, established by the old Fathers; but today, in case the Holy Congregation decided that these people should again be cultivated, two fathers would be enough. . . ." /LXX - LXXI/

In the beginning of 1789, because of the scarcity of personnel, Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello was recalled and he was sent to Banaras. Thus, the Nepal Mission came to be abandoned once more, only a little while after it

had been re-opened. /LXXI/ /44/

Sad days were awaiting the mission. The diminishing religious spirit, so remarkable in Europe in the second half of the 18th century,--the century of enlightenment,--was reflected in the quality of the religious persons who went out to the missions. The death of Father Giuseppe da Rovato marks a profound and apparently sudden decadence. The new Prefect, Carlo Maria da Alatri, violent, litigious, authoritarian, was given to violent and ill-chosen sympathies and antipathies. The missionaries at best, were lukewarm in their task, litigious, and argumentative. At worst, they devoted themselves to trade and to women, became involved with freemasonry, especially in Chandernagore, where it had been imported from France. /45/ All this was in contrast with the improved economic situation of the missions, no longer dependent except in part, on subsidy from the Propaganda, and living off the charity of Catholics, especially Europeans, and from some small revenue arising from the resurgence of the Indian economy with the advent of the Pax Britannica. It should be noted that the mission territory had been enlarged enormously; in 1787 the Holy Congregation had assigned to the Capuchins of Tibet, the former Jesuit mission of Hindustan (corresponding today about to all U.P. and East Punjab), which had been without missionaries /46/ after the abolition of the Company of Jesus, in 1773, and the progressive extinction of the old Jesuits. /LXXI/

The Archives of the Propaganda, after 1790, are full of complaints from the missionaries, with the elderly Father Marco della Tomba at their head, against /LXXI/ the Prefect [Carlo Maria], and his protege, Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello. The latter had brought with him from Nepal a concubine with whom he lived openly, occupying himself in financial speculation, even to the point of selling mission property. The Prefect protected him, and in

1793 sent him to Bettiah as the secular head of the mission, with Father Romualdo da Senigallia /47/ remaining as spiritual head. The scandals reached their climax when Father Giuseppe made a woman pregnant, and she died of attempted abortion. In the face of the unanimous protest of the missionaries and of the Christians, the Prefect [Carlo Maria] had to send Father Marco della Tomba as his delegate, to arraign the culprit. Father Marco could find nothing better to do than to imprison the culprit in the mission, with fetters on his legs, later sending him to Patna to the Prefect. Along the way, Father Giuseppe was freed, by force, by an English friend of his, and he resorted to English courts to gain protection. /48/

After a lengthy dispute, the court recognized the property rights of the mission, and imprisoned Father Giuseppe for debt until he made restitution for the money which he had taken. But at this point, the Prefect intervened. Not only did he quash the proceedings by Father Marco, and set Father Giuseppe free, but he also took steps against the latter's adversaries, transferring and suspending them, etc. Thus, in 1794, Father Romualdo da Senigallia was sent to Nepal, more in exile than on a mission. Of his residence there, we know almost nothing, except that Father Marco della Tomba, in a letter from Bettiah dated 20 August 1794, in writing to /49/ the Propaganda, said:

"But let the past be, and come to the present. He [the Prefect] wanted at the end to withdraw Father Romualdo from Bettiah where he had been so much respected by everyone, and wanted to send him to Nepal to give medicine to that Raja. Father Romualdo writes from Nepal that his residence there is completely useless. He is always ill, and he wants to return to Europe this year." /LXXII/

Indeed, he did not stay there very long, because his condition compelled him, after nine months' residence, to go back to India. /50/

Also, Father Lodovico Maria da Citta di Castello had received orders to go to Nepal, although he does not actually appear to have gone. /LXXII/

All this produced a deluge of protest in Rome and a virtual refusal to obey on the part of many missionaries. The Prefect, foreseeing that /LXXII/ the Propaganda would take some steps about it, thought to eliminate the main cause of the scandals by sending Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello to Nepal, the more so as that King continued to demand missionaries. This apparently happened in 1796 or 1797. /LXXII - LXXIII/ /51/

A little later, however, we come to the settling of accounts. On 23 August, 1796, the Congregation demanded that Monsignor Nicola Champenois, of the Societe des Mission Etrangeres, Bishop in partibus of Dolicha, and Superior of the former Jesuit Mission of Coromandel with residence at Pondichery, undertake an apostolic visit to the Tibet Mission, with the power to appoint a deputy to represent him. Monsignor Champenois received the letter on 9 February 1798. However, the situation was not auspicious. England had taken a stand against revolutionary France, and in 1793 had occupied Pondichery. The Bishop attempted in vain to execute his commission personally, but as he was a French subject, the English authorities /52/ would not permit him to leave Pondichery. He therefore confined himself to dealing with the matter by mail, deposing Father Carlo Maria da Alatri and naming Father Giovanni Maria da Camajore in his place. (17 April 1799). /LXXIII/

However, when on 10 December 1799 the newly designated Prefect presented the letter naming him to Father Carlo Maria, the latter refused to give up the prefectorate to anyone except the Visitor in person. The other missionaries, however, all recognized Father Giovanni Maria. /LXXIII/

The new Prefect, very different in character from his /53/ predecessor, tried to put affairs in order in the shattered mission. Travelling on foot,

he visited almost all the hospices. However, he died at Chuhri, probably on 10 June 1801. /LXXIII/

Thereupon, Monsignor Champenois named Father Marco della Tomba Prefect pro tempore. Father Carlo Maria attempted once again to exercise the function of prefect, and the mission was immersed in the old quarrels. /LXXIII/ It was then that Monsignor Champenois deputed the secular priest Rene Louis Foulon, as his representative. He began his apostolic visit at Patna, the center of the mission, on 24 December 1802. His account, dated at Chandernagore, February 25, 1803, /54/ has been preserved in various copies, in the Archives /LXXIII/ of the Propaganda Fide. The Visitor took very harsh measures, perhaps too harsh. Father Carlo Maria da Alatri was definitely deposed and shipped back to Europe. Father Marco della Tomba, considered to be a troublemaker, was suspended from every missionary function, and relegated to Bhagalpur, where he died soon after (17 June 1803).

Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello, who either did not want or was unable to appear at Patna, was declared disobedient and contumacious and was excommunicated. /LXXIV/

It is not now our task to speak of the confused, unfortunate and partisan measures taken by Foulon, /55/ in nominating a new prefect. We shall say only that the end result, after some wavering, was that the prefectorate was given to Father Angelo da Caraglio, late procurator of the Mission at Chandernagore, for whom the Visitor had shown, from the very first, a strong partiality. Almost all the missionaries rebelled against him, protesting to Pondichery and to Rome. Monsignor Champenois, having taken up the cause of Father Angelo, held out for a long time, but in 1808, higher orders from Rome compelled him to deal with the situation. Once again

the remedy was worse than the disease. The Mission was /56/ virtually divided into two, with one prefect, Father Angelo, in Agra, and an independent vice-prefect, Father Bonaventura da Salino, in Bengal. This might not have been bad at all, because the territory assigned to the Capuchins was enormous, but the missionaries, who had been given freedom of choice, all decided in favor of Father Bonaventura, so that Father Angelo was left in his very extensive mission alone and in disagreement with everybody. /LXXIV/

Father Bonaventura was succeeded later /57/ by Father Marcellino da Ravenna (1811-1817), who was in turn succeeded by Father Antonino da Lodi, under whom things dragged along until, after the Napoleonic wars, the Congregation radically reorganized the Mission in 1821, naming Monsignor Zanobi Benucci first apostolic Vicar of Tibet and Hindustan. /LXXIV/

The excommunicated Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello, remained in Nepal until his death, witnessing the vicissitudes of that very disturbed period of Nepalese history. Although theoretically in the service of the King as a doctor, the salary promised to him was never paid, and he had to support himself in Kathmandu by engaging in trade. He ended by abandoning the Capuchin garb that he had at first /LXXIV/ preserved. How the /58/ last Italian Capuchin in Nepal lived, is to be read between the lines of a letter, very favorable to him, by Father Raffaele da Bene, dated Chandernagore 12 March 1811:

"It is very true that this father could have had 12,000 piastres if the King of Nepal had paid him the salary promised when he was called, at the time when Father Carolo d'Alatri was Prefect, as his [the King's] doctor. But the habit of this Mohammedan [sic] sovereign is to promise much to those who serve him and then never pay. But Father Giuseppe died as a Capuchin. Even though he was entitled to a pension, he lived as he could on the charity of the Christians. /59/ He was accused of going around wearing native garb.

That country is not subject to the honorable English government, and he was obliged to adopt the customs of the country in order to avoid molestation." /LXXV/

During the period of residence of Father Giuseppe in Kathmandu, the sojourn there of the English mission of Captain Knox came to an end (1802-03). It does not appear that the English officer, the proud representative of a commercial organization which was engaged in the tremendous undertaking of gaining a great empire for the mother country, paid much attention to this last and little-recommended member of the old and glorious mission. His report devotes only /60/ a few words to him:

"On our arrival we found the church reduced to an Italian Padre and a native Portuguese, who had been inveigled from Patna by large promises, which were not made good, and who would have been happy to have been permitted to leave the country." (Hamilton, AN ACCOUNT OF THE KINGDOM OF NEPAL (1819), p. 38).

However, this meeting between the old believing Europe and the new mercantile and imperialist Europe in a corner of the Himalayas, does not lack a nostalgic pathos. /LXXV/

Father Giuseppe da S. Marcello died in Kathmandu, on 9 November 1810. With this unworthy final representative, the history of the Capuchin mission in Nepal was sadly concluded. /LXXV/

There were, however, some last attempts to reopen it, and the vice-prefect, Father Marcellino da Ravenna, wrote from Lucknow, on 20 September 1813: /61/

"I have not yet visited the three hospices of the Kingdom of Nepal. In order to do so, I have obtained permission to travel in the said Kingdom. I believe it is necessary for me to go since it is now four years since Father Giuseppe da /LXXV/ S. Marcello passed away. Since that time, no missionary has been in that Kingdom, and if there is an opening, in order

to make conversions among that gentile people, I will stay there for some time. Otherwise I will come back immediately to the church of Lucknow."

/LXXVI/

However, the intention was never put into effect and a little later, /62/ the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814-16 closed Nepal definitely to the missionaries.

/LXXVI/

XI. THE FURTHER VICISSITUDES OF THE MISSION AND ITS MODERN DERIVATIVES

To complete the story, a few words need [to] be said of the successors to the mission of Tibet, especially with respect to its three original hospices in India: Chandernagore, Patna and Bettiah. /LXXVI/

In 1821 the mission was established, as already mentioned, as an apostolic vicarate of Tibet and Hindustan. The first Apostolic Vicar established his residence in Agra, but the zone including all northern India was enormous and too unmanageable. In 1845, the Congregation divided it, therefore, into two parts, establishing two Apostolic Vicarates, /63/ Agra and Patna. The latter was organized ex-novo, and made to flourish by one of the finest missionary personalities that the Capuchins ever had in India, Monsignor Anastasio Hartmann da Lucerna (1803-1866). A little later, when China was officially open to the free activity of European missionaries, Tibet was detached from Patna and established as an Apostolic Vicarate, and given to the priests of the Societe des Missions Etrangeres of Paris, who had been operating in Szechwan for some time. The French missionaries tried in vain for long years to penetrate into Tibet; even the ephemeral success of the /64/ Lazarites, Gabet and Huc, was denied them. For the latter, in 1846, succeeded in reaching and staying for some months in Lhasa. Only a few stations on the extreme eastern border of Tibet were founded by the Missions Etrangeres.

In 1924, the Vatican recognized the state of affairs by changing the name of the zone into Apostolic Vicarate of Ta-chien-lu. /LXXVI/

With the establishment of the Catholic hierarchy in India in 1886, the Apostolic Vicarate of Agra was elevated to an archdiocese and that of Patna became /LXXVI/ the episcopate of Allahabad. The latter, assigned in 1890, to Capuchins from Bologna, was divided, 12 January 1940, into the diocese of Lucknow (Capuchins from Bologna) and Allahabad /65/ (native clergy). The episcopate of Lucknow and the archdiocese of Agra are therefore the most direct descendants of the ancient mission of Tibet. /LXXVII/

As to the value of the hospices which we have seen flourish in the early days of the mission, that of Chandernagore, following an agreement between the Propaganda and the French government, went in 1828 to the French Congregation of the Holy Spirit. The first parish priest was named in 1830. /LXXVII/

Bettiah was detached from Allahabad and given in 1889 to the Capuchins from the north Tyrol. In 1892 the mission was established as /66/ an independent Apostolic Prefecture, assisting Agra. Nominally it also included Nepal. In 1914 the Tyrolese Capuchins were expelled by the English authorities in India, and the Bettiah mission was directed for 5 years by Father Felice d'Anversa as apostolic administrator. Then it was reunited to Patna. /LXXVII/

Patna remained part of the diocese of Allahabad until 1919. In that year Patna was detached and reunited with Bettiah, established as the diocese of Patna, and entrusted to American Jesuits. /LXXVII/

Therefore, of the eight hospices, belonging at various times to the /67/ Capuchins between 1704 and 1768, [Lhasa, Dvags-po, Kathmandu, Bhatgaon, Patna, Bettiah, Patna and Chandernagore] not even one is still in the hands

of the order. /LXXVII/

XII. THE CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE MISSIONS

In considering from a distance, the vicissitudes of the Capuchin missions in Tibet and in Nepal, we can see work done tenaciously for 65 years by a series of devoted and zealous men, as a complete failure. As a memorial of these 65 years of labor, there remains to us a remarkable mass of writings which all put together do not appear to have the value of the single Relation by Desideri. What are the reasons for this deficiency? /LXXVIII/

The causes are both external and internal. /68/ The main external cause is the environment in which the mission lived and acted. The Capuchins never quite became aware of the axiomatic truth that all religious propaganda is impossible in a still strong theocratic state. For a Christian apostolate to succeed in Lhasa was as impossible as conversion to Buddhism would have been in papal Rome. The Capuchins succeeded in remaining in Lhasa for as long as they did only because they went in almost unobserved; because their work was done mainly among foreign residents there; /69/ and because the government was not directly in the hands of the Lamas. As soon as the reorganization of the mission put it in shape to carry on a serious apostolic work and the first conversations were registered among Tibetans (1741-42), the Lamaist church intervened with all its weight, and saw to it that this work was made impossible for the missionaries--the equivalent, as in fact happened later, of expulsion. The lay Tibetan government, in turn, became alarmed, like the Roman government of the 1st century A.D., in the face of the social and political consequences of the non-participation /70/ of these converts in the State religion. The end was inevitable anyway, unless the Capuchins could have resigned themselves to going about

unobtrusively again. /LXXVIII/

In Nepal, the situation was more favorable. The missionaries had against them the social ostracism imposed by Brahmans, but not an organized church. Perhaps they would have had success, within the same limits and to the same extent, as they had in their Indian missions. It was the historical accident of the Gorkhali invasion that put an end to their activity in a field that was not so absolutely negative /71/ as that of Tibet. /LXXVIII/

However, it must be said, that part of the failure is to be found in the character of the very institution which undertook the work. Far from me, as a layman, is any idea of entering into missiological questions, but historical truth compels me to observe that the decrees of the Propaganda in 1718 and 1732 took the Mission of Tibet away from an order very well adapted to the goal which was in mind, only to give it to another order less well adapted. In the polemics against the subtle and abstruse logic of the /LXXVIII/ Tibetan philosophers, it was certainly not too much to have^a studious and learned order like the /72/ Jesuits, whose members came to the mission after a difficult and complex course of study. If there was a type of missionary who had even some small possibility of prevailing in theological argument at the Lamaist university of Lhasa, it was Desideri, with his profound scholastic culture and his intuitive comprehension of Tibetan religion and philosophy. The Capuchins, best at preaching to the masses, had no scientific background whatsoever. They came directly to the mission with nothing more than the ordinary seminary studies, after a more or less formal examination for the approval of a diocesan superintendent. Under /73/ these conditions, their ardent fervor would have [had] a good

chance of success if they had dedicated themselves to popular preaching in some center far away from Lhasa and from governmental surveillance. Here their extreme self-sacrificing example and the religious fervor that they knew so well how to arouse (this could be seen in the persecution of 1742), could have succeeded in reaching their objective. Instead, they wanted to grab the bull by the horns and begin their apostolate in the governing circles of Lhasa, which were learned, well-versed in theological questions, and whose scholarly mentalities were keen and cool. Entangled in the necessity /74/ of arguing philosophical questions against the Lamas, the missionaries' incapacity can be seen in the advice they asked from Rome. The only pamphlet in defense of Christianity which has been preserved consists of a series of apodictic affirmations devoid of logical argumentation. The texts chosen for their best work on confutation of Lamaism, the mediocre catechism of Turlot, reveals how little they realized the existence of the need for apologetics presented to them by the peculiar conditions of the mission. The disadvantages of their lack of scientific preparation were felt, but too late, by the members of the order. Around 1790, the Propaganda thought of opening a /75/ college for the mission of Tibet at Ancona [on the east coast of Italy, facing Yugoslavia--Alberto A. Bonadeo]. But things went the wrong way, until the storm of the French revolution made the project fall through. /LXXIX/

The Capuchin mission of Tibet suffered also from the scarcity of outstanding personalities. Only della Penna, and to a minor degree, Father Domenico da Fano, showed true capacity for organization and leadership. /LXXIX/

The Capuchins of Tibet had neither a Valignano nor a Matteo Ricci. The climax of their effort, the expedition of 1738 and its successors of 1741, was due to the firm tenacity and energy of two old fighting enthusiasts:

della Penna and Cardinal Belluga. As both of them died within /76/ a two-year interval, the collapse was sudden and irremediable. Honest missionaries such as Father Tranquillo d'Apecchio and Father Giuseppe da Rovato, were certainly not the most fit persons to struggle against the current and try once more to wrest victory from the debris of the crash.

/LXXX/

XIII. THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CAPUCHINS TO KNOWLEDGE OF TIBET, pp. LXXX-LXXXVI

XIV. THE WORKS OF THE CAPUCHINS ON TIBET AND NEPAL, pp. LXXXVI - XCVIII.

The literary production of the Capuchins of Tibet and Nepal has been pursued by misfortune, although we cannot today, after so many documents have come to light, repeat the melancholy words of Levi (I - pp. 112-113).*

*Pp. 112-116, actually. Levi speaks of many "lost" Capuchin writings, and also of Capuchin ignorance and book-burning activities.--MWF. /78/

We may justly complain, however, over the loss of their old writings in apologetics and of some of their philological writings. /LXXXVI/

Not that the loss involved any remarkable amount of work. Several Capuchins learned spoken Tibetan, and some had also some knowledge of the written language, but only one of them mastered thoroughly the written language, after $4\frac{1}{2}$ years of concentrated study (1717-1721)--Francesco Orazio della Penna. He alone could take over the tremendous task of composing apologetics in the Tibetan language and of translating any Lamaist texts; and what he did in this field cannot but arouse admiration, even though nothing remains of his works. Della Penna is the only Capuchin /78/ that from this point of view /LXXXVII/ measures up to Desideri. He had no successor, and his death marked the end of Tibetan studies by the Capuchins. /LXXXVII/

As far as Newari is concerned, we are not well informed. But even here the principal impulse was given by della Penna, although he did not possess other than the first rudiments of the language. In spite of the long duration of the mission in Nepal, mention of apologetics and translations in Newari are so scarce as to permit the safe deduction that there was a very scanty amount of activity in this field.

As to the work of missionaries in the field of Hindi literature, where the names of Fathers Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano and Marco de la [della ?]

Tomba /79/ are prominent, it remains completely outside the field of this study. /LXXXVII/

In the following pages I have collected all that it is possible to find out about these works, both those in existence and those which have been lost. /LXXXVII/

A. TIBETAN

a. Apologetics in Tibetan; now all lost, but we know of the existence of the following:

(1) A short catechism, compiled by Fathers Francesco Maria da Tours and Giuseppe da Ascoli in 1707-08. Translated into Tibetan by Khwaja Dawith, an Armenian merchant in Lhasa. Neither of the two compilers knew more than a few words of Tibetan, and this first attempt must have been very imperfect.

(2) A pamphlet of apologetics, to demonstrate that Catholicism is the only true religion; compiled by Father Domenico da Fano, and translated /80/ by an Indian interpreter in collaboration with a Tibetan Lama, sometime during 1711. It was then corrected and enlarged in the last months of 1716 and presented to Lha-bzan Khan, on 6 January 1717. [C.L. 33 and 34, CR 1.] Probably a new edition of a preceding one. Father Domenico did not know written Tibetan, the first elements of which he began to study after 1720, with the help of della Penna. Desideri accused the Capuchins of having this catechism written by their Indian cook, Uday Chand, who knew a bit of Tibetan, and who misunderstood, in a ridiculous way, the thought of the missionaries. /LXXXVII/

- (3) The Dottrina Christiana by S. Roberto Bellarmino, enlarged /81/ with additions, to meet the particular needs of the mission, translated by della Penna; finished in 1724. [C.L. 46 and 56] [C. R. 3, 6]
- (4) Large work of apologetics, of about 900 pages, based on the Dottrina Cristiano by Turlot. The opus magnum of della Penna, begun before 1727. [C. L. 50] At the time of the departure of the order from Lhasa in 1732, it was finished but not yet written in a definitive copy. [C.L. 55] Della Penna did not use much of it during his second residence in Lhasa. [C. L. 57; C. R. 4, 5, 6]
- (5) Work of apologetics entitled: The Obligation that Everyone Owes to Nature in recognizing the first cause and the precepts of nature to render themselves able and capable of receiving the grace of embracing the true law. Compiled by della Penna in 1741-42. [C. L. 74] /82/ Presented to P'o-lha-nas in 1743. [C.L. 79, 80, 83] [C. R. 9]
- (6) Letters and small pamphlets by della Penna, of argumentation with the Dalai Lama. [C.L. 50] (The Italian translation of one of these remains, published here as C.O. 2)
- (7) Work of confutation of the Tibetan religion, composed by Cardinal Belluga for the mission, modified, enlarged, and translated by della Penna. The work was in print in 1743 [C.L. 79] and it appears to have been completed, a little before the departure from Lhasa. It seems that the Italian original is to be identified with The Declaration of All That the Christian Religion Contains, Rome, 1738, which belonged to the library

of the /83/ missionaries, and was left in Lhasa after their departure. Hodgson recovered it and gave it to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta to send to Pope Pius IX.

We can also mention a project which was never executed—the Tibetan translation of the Bible, started by Father Domenico da Fano, in 1717, but immediately suspended for lack of funds. Father Domenico, not knowing the literary language, was compelled to use interpreters and scribes. The enormous cost of such a work caused it to be set aside in favor of the catechism, of more immediate utility.

[C.L. 43] This did not prevent the translation, later, of parts of the New Testament. We know of the following:

/LXXXVIII/ /84/

- (8) Sanctum Evangelium Iesae Messiae secundum quod scripsit Matthaeus, in lingua tibetana, translated by Father Cassiano da Macerata. MS of 70 pages. (It is mentioned by Father Giuseppe da Fermo as existing in the communal library of Macerata, where, however, no trace of it can be found. I have a suspicion that in reality it was a Hindi translation, given the fact that P. Cassiano was ten years in India and only 1½ years in Tibet. We have below an example of work attributed to Tibet but in reality referring to India.)

- b. Translations from the Tibetan; all have been lost except no. 9. We know of the existence of the following. (Indexed in C. L. 56 and C. R. 4, 5)

- (1) Tson-k'a-pa's Lam-rim-c'en-mo, translated by della Penna. It remains doubtful if, and to what extent, this translation

was adapted from that of Desideri /85/ which preceded it in time and was earlier communicated from the author to Father Giuseppe Felice da Morro, in the last three months of Desideri's residence in Dvags-po. There remains of it only the incomplete summary here published as C. O. 3.

- (2) Life of Buddha translated by della Penna. It is hard to say which biography this is. The most widespread biography of the 18th century was perhaps that of Taranatha.
- (3) The Tri Ratna, translated by Della Penna. Here, too, it is difficult to say which work it corresponds with of those dealing with this subject.
- (4) The Pratimoksasutra, translated by della Penna—one of the most important texts of Buddhists in the bka'-gyur.
- (5) An explanation of Tibetan idols, laid to della Penna. Nothing precise /86/ can be said about this item.
- (6) An explanation of the Tibetan world, by della Penna. (Probably an abridgement of the Lokaprajnaptisastra.
- (7) An unspecified book on Lamaism, translated by Father Giuseppe Felice da Morro. (There remains a very short summary published in C. L. 44.)
- (8) Abridgements of the life of Sakya, legislator of Tibet; autographed MS by Father Cassiano da Macerata; in 1907 it was in the possession /LXXXIX/ of a magistrate and bibliophile, Carlo Lozzi (died 1918), then it was lost without trace.
- (9) List of the Kings of Tibet, summarized by della Penna from some Tibetan source, incorporated in the Alphabetum Tibetanum (Pp. 296-341) /XC/

As an appendix to this list I should have mentioned the example of /87/ the bKa'-'gyur preserved for many years in the Vatican library. It is however, to be excluded that it can be connected with the Capuchin mission, in the first place because it is not legible, but was evidently printed with worn blocks, and these could not be those carved for the edition of sNar-t-'an, printed in 1731-32; In the second place, in our documents, there is not a minimum trace of either the gift or acquisition of the bKa'-'gyur, nor of the difficulties inherent in its transportation.

c. Works on Lamaism.

Beside the paragraph on Tibetan religion in the various Relations herewith published, there must have existed another work of della Penna, which Janu cites under the title Relatio ad S. Congregationem de /88/ Propaganda Fide de Moribus et religione populorum Thibet et Nepal. Romae, 1738. (We have two fragments of this work, reprinted verbatim, in the Alphabetum Tibetanum of Giorgi, pp. 246-27 and 288. This last also gives the precise citation. (Relation Tibetica, Chapter 17, of Religiosis Viris Xacae Tubpa. This makes it certain that it was not identical with any of the 3 Relations of della Penna published herewith. Other fragments of the Alphabetum Tibetanum are, as we shall see, extracted from that Relation. It appears to be connected also with the Erklärung der Thibetischen Transmigratins-taffel herewith published as C.O. 4. But no matter how much research was undertaken it was not given to me to trace this precious

work.

There should be mentioned here, in order to avoid any possible error, the work by Father Cassiano da Macerata, /89/ listed by Father Giuseppe da Fermo under the title of Theology of the Tibetans. There exists, indeed, in the Mozzi-Borgetti library of Macerata (under the notation 5.3.c.33) a work of this name. It is an autograph MS by P. Cassiano (in octavo), of 390 pp. (of which, however, 150 are blank), with 19 drawings, (some in color). The title, however, has been added by another hand, and does not correspond at all to the content of the MS, which is as /XC/ follows: The four ages of the world, pp. 1-11; the ten incarnations of Vishnu, pp. 40-66; an extract from the Balakanda, the first book of the Ramayana, pp. 69-132; a summary of the other six books of the Ramayana, pp. 133-147; /90/ an account of Siva, pp. 155-182; an account of Krsna, pp. 185-225; various legends, pp. 250-362; the history of Padumavati, pp. 363-383; These are studies of Hinduism which have nothing to do with Tibet.

/XCI/

d. Grammatical and lexical works

- (1) Latin-Tibetan dictionary, begun by Father Giuseppe da Ascoli and Francesco Maria da Tours in 1708 (C.L. 12); completed by Father Domenico da Fano, who brought it to Italy with him in 1715 and prepared a shorter extract for a scholar in Paris who had requested it from him. The extract was delivered when Father Domenico went through Paris in December 1714 or January 1715, in order to embark from St. Malo. The

person /91/ to whom it was addressed is not mentioned in the text, but it is easily identified as the brothers Etienne and Michel Fourmont, who, with the help of this dictionary, made the first attempt (in 1722) to decipher Tibetan texts. Remusat also availed himself of it. The dictionary then dropped out of sight but is nowadays preserved at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. (Fonds-thibetain, 542 les fonds Chinois 996). It is made up of 41 sheets, 22.5 by 35.5 cm., bound in leather with the seal of Napoleon. It is divided into two parts:

- (1) (ff. 1-4) includes: The Tibetan Alphabet; to know indeed /92/ the characters imprinted in the Books of Great Tibet, or Butant.

In addition to the alphabet itself, there is also a quite detailed description of the rules for pronunciation. Interesting is the conclusion:

". . . This is what has been possible for me to learn up to this time about the understanding of the Tibetan script, because, in the mission, the shortness of residence, together with extreme poverty, did not allow us to pay scholars or interpreters of that language. Not only that, but in order to support ourselves we were compelled to go around picking nettles and similar grasses. Therefore, if in this explanation of the alphabet or in the vocabulary itself, there should at any time be found something not made /93/ sufficiently

clear, or imperfectly written, it would not be surprising, since I had to learn these things by asking as best I could, now and then, from one person and another. What is written in the vocabulary has been extracted from the Dictionary that I have made with the other missionaries before leaving for Rome, among which I have chosen those things /XCI/ which I have estimated to be more certain in meaning, because I do not aim to give pleasure to men by presenting them with a large volume, but truly with purity of intention and sincere affection, I desire above all to please God and to be useful to my fellow creatures. With such a desire in mind, I undertake anew this long and disastrous voyage." /94/

- (2) The Dictionary itself follows (ff. 5-40), entitled, Tibetan Vocabulary, written with proper characters and explained with Latin letters and the way to pronounce it, extracted from Father Domenico da Fano Capucino's Dictionary, which he had made and brought to Europe when he came in 1714 to inform the Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide of the state of that new mission, and to discuss in Rome the establishment of said mission. /XCII/

There are about 2,538 words, consisting of Latin words and the equivalent Tibetan in dbucan characters, and of the phonetic transcription of

Tibetan in Latin characters. The final page contains numbers, /95/ (both in figures and in words), from 1 - 10,000.

A post-script says:

"Hereby included, I send to Your Honor the the alphabet with its explanation, as you will see on the other sheet. I beg Your Honor to remember me sometime in his [your] prayers, and I remain, your distinguished and most illustrious lordship's very humble and affectionate servant.

Father Domenico da Fano
Capucino
Prefect of the Mission
of Great Tibet." /XCII/

Besides the original MS, there also exists at the Bibliotheque Nationale, another incomplete copy made by Etienne Fourmont (Tibetan MS 486)

The little dictionary is a very rough work, based on the spoken language, with various errors and misunderstandings. For instance, [96/ among the verbs, there is great inconsistency as to the choice of form equivalent to our infinitive. However, given the brief period of time at the disposal of the author for learning the language, this first Tibetan vocabulary in a European language represents an effort worthy of considerable respect. /XCII/

- (2) Tibetan-Italian dictionary of about 35,000 words. By Father Francesco Orazio della Penna. When the Prefect Domenico da

Fano sent della Penna to learn Tibetan at Sera in 1717, one of his principal tasks was precisely the compilation of a dictionary, made directly from a Tibetan text, and referring therefore to the literary language. It is hard to say whether della Penna /97/ also utilized the first mission's earlier dictionary. After long years of labor this monumental work was brought to a finish (prior to 1732). It remained, therefore, a valuable //XCII// working tool for the mission, and it shared some of its vicissitudes, migrating from Lhasa to Kathmandu, and from Kathmandu to Patna. In 1815 the English major, Barre Latter, who distinguished himself in the Anglo-Nepalese war, found the MS in the Capuchin mission at Patna, and entered into possession of it under circumstances unknown to us; probably it was given or sold to him by the missionaries, to whom it was not of any further use. Latter delivered it to a protestant missionary, F.C.G. Schroter, who undertook /98/ to translate it into English for publication. As Schroter died in 1820, the work was prepared for publication by a missionary named J. Marshman, and published in Serampore (then Danish territory), in 1826. The name of the true author was not known at the time nor for a long time thereafter. As Latter died in 1822, the original MS was donated by the widow, in 1824, to Bishop's College (Anglican), in Calcutta, and there its existence was promptly forgotten until it was discovered once more by Father Hosten in 1911. The MS is on Tibetan paper, and contains 191 unnumbered leaves. The Tibetan words are written in dbu-can and arranged according

to the order of the /99/ Tibetan alphabet. The MS is mutilated. The beginning (letter Ka) and the end (letters Ha and a) being missing, Father Felice d'Anversa maintained that it was by the hand of della Penna. In the absence of a photographic reproduction which would permit a comparison of handwritings, it is impossible for me to check this statement. /XCIII/

(3) Italian-Tibetan dictionary. No document expressly mentions this dictionary, but it is obvious that della Penna compiled one such at the same time as the sister-work. No other missionary was in a position to do it. Therefore this dictionary is attributed to della Penna; it consists of two incomplete manuscripts which, like the preceding item, came into the possession of Bishop's College, as a bequest from Latter. /100/

(a) MS A, written by various hands on English paper, is made up of 960 pages of which 854 are numbered, and it stops at the letter g of the Italian alphabet. It is a copy made in Bettiah for Latter.

(b) MS B, older, is written in a single hand on Nepalese or Tibetan paper, is made up of 215 unnumbered leaves, and contains only the 2nd half of this work, letters A-L being missing. It was obtained by Latter from the mission of Patna. Here again the absence of photographic reproduction /XCIII/ prevents us from checking to see whether MS B was written by della Penna, as maintained by Felice d'Anversa. /XCIV/ /101/

- (4) The Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum, Roma, 1773. Octavo, pp. XVI + 138. Work by Father Cassiano da Macerata, whose name does not appear on the frontispiece but is mentioned in the preface. It is printed in the type belonging to the Propaganda; that which was engraved in 1738 by Antonio Ventozzi for Cardinal Belluga.

The shorter part of the work is a preface, which we owe to Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi, Prefect of the Propaganda Printing House. In large part it reproduces the preface to the first edition of Giorgi's edition of Giorgi's Alphabetum (see above); it has 16 chapters, which deal with the alphabet and with the complicated Tibetan orthography. The /102/ final chapter, "Exercises in reading and translating the regular Tibetan alphabet," contains the sign of the cross, the "Our Father," the "Hail Mary," the Codo, and the ten Commandments, in Tibetan. Father Cassiano was a pupil of della Penna, and began to study Tibetan during the long sea voyage; but his residence in Lhasa was so short, one and a half years, that it did not permit him to seriously perfect himself in the literary language. This is reflected in this work, which, however, in large part, patterns itself upon Giorgi.

B. NEWARI

- a. Apologetics in Newari; all lost. We know about the existence of the following:

- (1) Translation of the Dottrina Cristiana by /103/ Turlot.

Father Francesco Orazio della Penna had it done, dictating

it in Hindustani to a Nepalese Christian, who then wrote it in Newari. [C.L. 50, 57, and 58; C. R. 4] In 1733, della Penna was still working on it, but we don't know whether the work was ever finished.

- (2) A translation of the Dottrina Cristiana by Roberto Bellarmino. Della Penna had it done in the same manner as the preceding [C.L. 50, C.R. 4 and 9; it is probably identical with the work mentioned in C.L. 94.] It seems also identical with the summary of the catechism mentioned by Amaduzzi. /XCIV/ /104/
- (3) Book of apologetics, "which confutes the main errors in these kingdoms and explains the Christian doctrine," composed by Father Vito da Recanati /XCIV/ (Giornale) and finished in 1747 [C.L. 89]; probably identical with the books for confutation and instruction mentioned in E.L. 93 and with the "Contro li Deota" book presented by Father Michelangelo da Tabiago to King Prithvi Narayan. [C.L. 104, dated Bettiah, 27 December 1768.]
- (4) A Compendium of Morality for the use of Christians. Author unknown. [C.L. 89]
- (5) An Exposition of the Seven Deadly Sins; author unknown.
- (6) An explanation of the seven sacraments; author unknown. /105/
- (7) Dialogues between teacher and pupil concerning the Christian Faith; Author unknown.

Numbers 5-7 are mentioned by Amaduzzi and as of 1855 they still existed in the Borgian Museum of the Propaganda, as is proved by an old inventory. Then they were lost; at least they are not to be found either in the Library of the Propaganda

or in the Vatican Library where, in 1897, the entire Fondo Borgiano was moved.

The preceding list is only provisional. Given the vague character of these references, the possibility cannot be excluded that several of the seven works listed above, are in reality, one and the /106/ same book. /XCV/

b. Translations from the Newari.

We have no precise information, but it is doubtful if any were ever made, inasmuch as the religious literature of Hinduism in Nepal is written in Sanskrit and not in Newari. In this category there is only one work we could possibly list: the translation of a compendium on Hinduism, done by Father Giuseppe Felice da Morro, extracts from which we still have in C.L. 38 and C.L. 40. However, it is more than likely that the original was in Sanskrit. /XCV/

c. Works on Nepalese Hinduism

One such existed, which we owe to Father Constantino da Loro: Notizie laconiche di alcuni usi, sacrifici ed idoli nel Regno del Nepal, raccolte nell' anno 1744. (Brief accounts of certain customs, sacrifices, and idols in the Kingdom of Nepal, collected in the year 1744.) This must have been a major and interesting work, beautified with illustrations, of which some were in color, judging /107/ from the descriptions given by Amaduzzi* [*In the preface to Alphabetum Bramhmanicum seu Indostanum, p. XVIII.] and Father Paolino da S. Bartolommeo, concerning it. But as early as 1878, De Gubernatis found no trace of it, and had to limit

himself to the publication of a meagre extract by an unknown hand, still preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele in Rome. /XCV/

d. Lexicographic works

We know of only one, a very late fruit of the Mission: the Newari-Italian Dictionary by Father Giovanni Gualberto da Massa, probably compiled in part in Nepal, where the author resided from 1761-1769, and in part in the small colony of Nepalese Christians /108/ at Chuhri, near Bettiah. It exists in a single MS belonging to the Capuchin Mission of Lahore. It was sent to Italy on the occasion of the Vatican Missionary Exposition of 1925, and is now preserved in the Archives (Min. Cap. A.C. 29). It is a volume 24 x 14 cm., made up of 26 initial blank pages, followed by 492 numbered pages containing the dictionary, 4 unnumbered pages with the names of the months, the signs of the zodiac, numerals, and ends with 20 blank pages. On the 2nd page is the following annotation:

"This dictionary is the first /109/ Newari writing by Father Giovenale, for which reason the letters are poorly formed. The spelling I believe is right, however, following the original by Father Gian Gualberto. At the end of the book has been added about 100 words taken from books, all the numerals of arithmetic, along with the names of the months, the days of the week, and the signs of the zodiac. 1792."

/XCVI/

This manuscript is therefore a copy made by Father Giovenale da Nizza in the year following his arrival in India. The words in the dictionary are arranged according to the order of the devanagari alphabet, with certain modifications (for example, all nasals are listed under na).

/110/ Every item includes the Newari word in Devanagari characters and a brief Italian definition. Just as it is, with all its shortcomings, this dictionary is the richest in existence, being superior, as far as number of words go, to that of Jorgensen.

c. Various works

Father Domenico da Fano, whose principal activity during his two periods of residence in Lhasa, was the practice of medicine, is the author of a manual of medicine for the use of missionaries in Tibet. The original MS, which belonged to the general secretary of the Capuchin Missions, and bears his seal, is now in the Archives (Gen. Min. Cap. A.D. 110). It is a volume measuring 33 x 9 cm., very much harmed by worms and white ants. The /111/ title is "Instructions concerning Medicine, for new missionaries to Tibet, collected and practised by Brother Domenico da Fano Capucino, a missionary to that same kingdom." The volume consists of 500 pages and is divided in the following fashion: /XCVI/

Book one: "In which the first principles of the exercise of medicine are set forth." (25 chapters, 102 numbered pages, of which 86-102 are blank);

Book two: "In which various infirmities common to the body as a whole and their remedies are treated."

(36 chapters; 102 numbered pages);

Book three: "In which certain infirmities are treated which may affect particular parts of the body."

(36 chapters in 102 numbered pages, of which pages 80-82 and 99-102 are blank, and pages 83-98 /112/ [certainly blank] are missing);

Book four: "In which the way to concoct various medicines is dealt with." (28 chapters in 102 numbered pages);

Book five: "In which various infirmities specific to women are treated." (6 chapters in 20 numbered pages).

"Table of infirmities and medicines." (32 unnumbered pages).

"Table of herbs, drugs, and ingredients of medicines contained in these five books." (40 unnumbered pages: two or four pages are missing at end).

In the preface, pp. 2-3, the author explains that he believed, when leaving Italy, that he would be able to do work dealing with preaching and making converts, but when he arrived on the spot, he realized that it was very difficult to find neophytes. /113/ His companions told him then that the best way to enter into contact with the people was by the free practice of medicine, and he, although lacking any theoretical knowledge, began to practise it, recognizing immediately its great utility. He has therefore compiled for future missionaries in Tibet this present manual of an exclusively practical character, in which prescriptions are

limited to those medicines "that can be found in the Lhasa markets or that can be brought in easily from India or Bengal."

The date of composition was evidently in 1714, since the author gives his title as missionary, and not Prefect. However, almost no /114/ document makes the least allusion to this work, prominent though it is, and a work which must have been in current use by the missionaries. Indeed, other copies existed, written, it appears, in Latin, in the archives of the mission at Bettiah.

Father Cassiano da Macerata is the author of a work of almost hagiographic character. The "Historical Memorial of the virtues, journeys and sufferings of Father Giuseppe Maria de' Bernini da Gargnano," etc., Verona, 1767, pp. xxxii + 278. /XCVII/ The work is sometimes erroneously cited under the name of Father Silvio da Brescia, whose part was limited to preparing it for publication, but because the activity of Father Giuseppe Maria took place mainly in /115/ Bettiah, the Memorie has only partial interest for our study. At any rate, because the work is quite rare, I am here republishing those pages which concern Tibet and Nepal. [C.R. 12]. /XCVIII/

I shall close this chapter by speaking briefly about the Tibetan printing shop established by the Capuchins in Lhasa. The opportunity of having such a means for spreading the propaganda works of the Mission, had been stressed by della Penna [C.R. 5 & 64]. The fulfillment of his desire

was due to the generosity of Cardinal Belluga, to whom is due in great part, the last important effort of /116/ the Capuchins in 1738. The Tibetan characters engraved by Antonio Fantozzi [Fantautius], according to indications by della Penna, were prepared in two series. One remained as part of the Printing establishment of the Propaganda Fide, the other, carefully packed, arrived in Lhasa on the 6th of January 1741, with the della Penna expedition. He brought with him also a technician, the lay brother Paolo da Firenze, a typographer by profession. Only half of the printing shop was assembled. The frames for the characters were indeed prepared, but they were not able to make expenditures for the manufacture of the presses before the fate of the mission was assured. /117/ The few sheets that came out of the shop were therefore laboriously printed by hand (prints of the work of apologetics by Cardinal Belluga, [C.L. 74 and 83]). When the mission left Lhasa, the Tibetan characters, heavy and cumbersome, were left behind, entrusted to acquaintances in the hope that the mission would soon return. [C.L. 93] This never happened, however, and the first printing press in Tibet with moveable characters must have gone to ruin soon after the departure of the missionaries. /XCVIII/ /118/

IV. WORKS EXCLUDED FROM THIS PRESENT EDITION

- (1) First of all, the Alphabetum Tibetanum by Father Cassiano da Macerata.
- (2) The Newari dictionary by Father Giovanni Gualberto da Massa.
- (3) The Istruzioni sopra la Medicina by Father Domenico da Fano. /XCVIII/

These are voluminous and strictly technical works which do not contribute directly any historical or geographical material concerning Tibet and Nepal; however interesting in themselves, they cannot become a part of a geographical collection.

The exclusion of two other works requires some explanation. I am omitting Father Marco della Tomba's writings and the Alphabetum Tibetanum, in the first place because they are too /119/ voluminous (especially the latter), and easily to be found in Italian libraries, and in the second place for reasons to be set forth a little later.

The work by De Gubernatis, Gli Scritti del P. Marco della Tomba, Florence, 1878, is out-of-date and suffers greatly from the haste with which it was compiled (three months from the beginning of the documentary research to the coming off the presses!). It would be a useful to do it over in a more scientifically and judiciously [judicious manner], the more so as it is out of print; the handwritten sheets are now preserved in the Vatican Library. The content of these writings has/^{very}much of interest for the history of Hinduism, and above all, for knowledge /120/ of the literature of the Kabirpanthi sect. But Father Marco was never in Nepal, much less in Tibet, and everything he wrote concerns Bettiah in particular and Bihar in general. Only in the Introduction to the Voyage to India (pp. 1-30) does he give us, besides useful indications as to the movements of the missionaries, a brief story of the events that preceded and followed the Gorkha conquest of Nepal.

But it is second hand information except for that which concerns the unfortunate English expedition of Major Kinloch, half-destroyed by the fevers of the tarai in 1767. /121/

La Piccola descrizione dell' India Orientale o Hindustan (pp. 31-67) contains a brief description of Nepal and of the itinerary from Bettiah to Kathmandu (pp. 48-55), based partly on the lost journal by Father Tranquillo d'Apecchio; it follows a brief description of Tibet (pp. 55-62), from the same source. These are rather vague accounts that recall the description of della Penna in C.R. 4.

Much more interesting for us is the Alphabetum Tibetanum by Giorgi. Perhaps it is not known by all scholars that this work exists in two /XCIX/ editions. The first, with no author's name, is entitled Alphabetum /122/ Tibetanum Missionum Apostolicarum commodo editum, Rome, 1759. Printed by Typis Sacrae Congregationis Propaganda Fide, quarto, 208 pp. It is made up of:

a preface (pp. 3-8);

23 chapters (pp. 9-90) (which give a complete description of the Tibetan alphabet and orthography);

Appendix I (pp. 91-98) (containing Catholic prayers in Tibetan);

Appendix II (pp. 99-110) (containing six Tibetan documents obtained from the archives of Propaganda Fide (C.D. 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 17 of the present work*));

[*C.D. 9 = Permission from the Dalai Lama to build a Mission

10 = Deed of the Mission and Church

11 = License to build the mission

13 = License for building materials

14 = License to employ workmen

17 = Document confirming freedom from taxation]

Appendix III (pp. 111-207) (containing a discussion of Tibetan texts

found on the R. Irtysh, and published by Bayer in Petersburg, /123/

and one page of errata.

This first edition is rather rare, but is to be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, at Rome. It also exists in a reprint (without modification) dated Rome 1796.

A little later the author prepared a definitive edition, which bears the title Alphabetum Tibetanum Missionum Apostolicarum commodo editum; praemissa est disquisitio, etc., Rome, 1762, Typis Sacrae Congregationis Propaganda Fide, pp. XCIV + 820.

It is made up of:

a preface (pp. 5-59);

an index of chapters (pp. 61-94);

Part I (154 chapters) (pp. 9-552) (religion, history, customs, etc. of Tibet);

Part II (with a preface and 23 chapters) (pp. 555-642);

Appendix I (pp. 643-650);

Appendix II (pp. 651-662);

Appendix III (pp. 663-759); /124/

Errata sheets (pp. 760-765).

Part II and the three appendices are nothing more than the old edition of 1759, bodily incorporated into that of 1762, without the slightest change, not even in the pagination.

It is a curious fact, common to both editions, that in spite of the dates of the frontispieces, a good part of the book or at least Appendix III, was printed and added later, because at p. 205 (or p. 755), mention is made of the death of the inspirer of the work, the Prefect Cardinal Giuseppe Spinelli,

which happened on 12 April 1763. It is clear, therefore, that the date of printing was not that of publication.

In order to /125/ eliminate any possibility of error, we observe that there exist three works with an almost identical title which may be easily confused: /C/

- (1) Alphabetum Tibetanum, 1759; reprinted in 1796. Anonymous, but the work of Father Giorgi;
- (2) Alphabetum Tibetanum, 1762, the work of Father Giorgi;
- (3) The Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum, 1773; the work of Father Cassiano da Macerata.

Father Antonio Giorgi, an Augustinian hermit, made the first part of his work a "bizarre machine de guerre digigee contra le Manicheisme, . . . fatras polyglotte, ou la linguistique prend un air de grimoire, ou la scholastique manie et fausee l'erudition." (Levi, [Le Nepal], I, 117-118) /126/

As to the more strictly Tibetan part, he had as collaborator Father Cassiano da Macerata, who stayed in Rome for this purpose for some time. In that confused conglomerate we find buried a series of interesting data, going back to two sources—the works (preserved and lost) by della Penna and the Giornale (including pamphlets and oral information from Father Cassiano).

It does not appear that any other Capuchin works were consulted.

It would take too long and yield too little to go deeply into the composition of the Alphabetum. I shall, therefore, pass over the details, the little bricks with which Giorgi built /127/ his ponderous edifice. I shall limit myself to a summary, listing the sources of the longest quotations; that sometimes amount to whole articles, bodily incorporated in the Alphabetum:

A. To della Penna is to be attributed the following extracts:

- (1) The section "Regna omnia et provinciae ditionis Tibetanae" (pp. 416-425). It is nothing else than the first pages of C.R. 3, I, with many interlinier observations owed to Giorgi. To the same source (C.R. 3, II) is to be attributed a section on the products and customs of Tibet (pp. 456-461).
- (2) A chronological summary of Tibetan history (pp. 296-341), from an original article by della Penna, inserted as a whole. I do not know what ^{the} Tibetan source could be, but in any case it should be noticed that in /128/ the reduction to European chronology of the period of the Tibetan monarchy (c. 600-841), della Penna made a mistake of about 6 centuries!
- (3) Of della Penna's ^{lost} work on cosmography summaries have been utilized on pp. 174-178, 184-186, 213-220, and 265-266; abridgements /CI/ from the Lokaprajnapti on pp. 470-486; and perhaps also the description of the 60-year cycle on pp. 462-470.
- (4) From the above-mentioned lost Relatio of della Penna have been taken the disciplinary and organizational details of the lamaist monasticism (pp. 204-247, and 403-405); the list of nine monastic gradations mentioned in this last item, is given again in C.R. 4, III, but /129/ with differing detail.
- (5) To the material collected by della Penna, also belongs the polemical pamphlet of the Dalai Lama reproduced on pp. 501-505. (It is C.O. 1 of this present work.) Also the explanation of the formula Om-mani-padme-hum given by the monk Nag-dban, reported in the Tibetan text, on pp. 515-522. (It is our C.O. 5.)

B. To Father Cassiano da Macerata are to be attributed the following extracts:

- (1) From the Giornale, passages on pp. 211-12 (summarizing lamaist rites); pp. 406-416 (description of the Bla-bran) and pp. 425-434, (itinerary from Chandernagore to Lhasa).
- (2) The Life of Buddha, on pp. 31-34, appears to have been taken from the /130/ vanished Ristretto della vita di Sciakia Tubpa.

As I have said, I am neglecting other minor passages, due to one or the other of the Capuchin fathers. The Alphabetum, in spite of its wealth of materials, makes us really regret that della Penna, a man of action and of science, did not have either the time or the opportunity to compose an opus magnum on Tibet as Desideri was able to do.

XVI. CRITERIA OF THIS EDITION

The documents of the Capuchin Mission are in great part preserved in the Archives of the Propaganda Fide, and constitute a considerable mass of which the level of interest is rather low. In order to avoid burdening this edition with /131/ useless material, I have kept to the following criteria.

In general, only those documents of some geographical or historical interest have been included. Therefore all the /CII/ administrative documents and those concerning purely internal religious questions which do not concern the relationship of the missionaries with their environment have been excluded.

A rigid geographical limitation has been imposed. It is to be remembered that the mission, although calling itself officially until 1845 the Mission of Tibet, included from the beginning a /132/ great part of the territory of North India, within which, after 1769, it was confined. These Indian territories, and the activity connected with them, no matter how interesting

an object of study they may be, are completely outside the design of the present work. There has therefore been included only that which concerns Tibet and Nepal, and the voyage from the Indian base of Patna to those regions. The documents concerning Indian hospices and the descriptions of Hindu religion which they compiled are also excluded, along with documents concerning the organization in Italy. /133/

In the documents published herewith there are often long passages which do not offer anything of the least interest. These passages are omitted, and substituted for them is a brief summary printed in italics, in order to distinguish it from the text. However, the criteria given above have been freely interpreted, and when I was in doubt as to the inclusion of a document, I have preferred to err on the side of inclusion. It is always preferable to expose oneself to the reproach of having included useless material rather than to be censured for the omission of an important document.

As far as Tibetan and Newari documents go, I have given up /134/ reproducing the often incorrect translation by the missionaries; all translations have been made by me directly from the texts.

As far as the documents preserved in two or more MSS are concerned, I have not reported all variations below, but only those of some importance. As is the custom in such cases, I have also explained the greater part of the abbreviations. I have taken the liberty of making some minor changes in orthography, while preserving the peculiar orthography of every document, I have, finally, maintained full freedom of changing punctuation and the use of capital letters, modernising /135/ the usage and avoiding perfectly useless archaisms in this field. /CIII/

The Tibetan terms in the missionary Relations are followed by their

scientific transcription when they come up the first time and again when they reappear after a long interval. The same is true for geographic names where I have always given the Tibetan orthography when it is known, accompanied also by the transcription of the maps of the Survey of India; which often are incredibly distorted.

I have employed the following systems of transcription:

For /136/ Tibetan, that used by Professor Tucci in Indo-Tibetica and by myself in China and Tibet, but with the letter always transcribed by means of an apostrophe ';

As far as Mongolian is concerned, the system used by Hambis (Grammaire de la langue mongoli ecrite, Paris, 1955);

For the Newari, the system of Jorgensen (A Dictionary of Classical Newari, Copenhagen, 1936);

For Sanskrit, the system approved by the Congress of Orientalists in 1894;

For Nepali, the system of Turner (A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London, 1931);

For Hindi and Urdu, a system derived from the Sanskrit /137/ with proper modification for Arabic letters;

For Chinese, the system Wade-Giles.

The distribution of the material also requires a brief word of justification. The distinction between Letters and Relations has not been made on the basis of length. There are in fact very long letters by Father Giuseppe da Ascoli and by Father Constantino da Loro, and a very short Relation by Father Giuseppe Alfonso da Palermo. The difference is rather internal in character. To my mind /138/ a Relation is an account of the whole activity of a mission prepared in Rome, or on a voyage to Rome, for the information of the Procurator-General of the Mission or for the authorities of the Propaganda. A Letter, on the other hand, no matter how long and complex, is concerned solely with the personal activity of a prefect or a missionary, and always comes from India, Nepal or Tibet. Here, too, the criteria are flexible, and two writings by Father Tranquillo d'Apecchio have been inserted, because of their /139/ character, among the Relations, rather than Letters, although written from Nepal. The Giornale of Cassiano da Macerata constitutes a section by itself. Indeed, it deserves a place apart both because it is a work of great breadth and is fairly voluminous, and because of its high scientific and especially ethnographic value. /CIV/ [and end of introduction] /140/

JOURNAL OF FATHER CASSIANO DA MACERATA

(Luciano Petech, I MISSIONARI ITALIANI NEL TIBET E NEL NEPAL,
Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1952, Vols. 3-4, pp. 3-142.)
+ Notes, pp. 245-267)

Journal of father Cassiana da Macerata
Dec. 1739 - about March 1741
(although with some general observations derived from
a somewhat later period. He left Lhasa on 31 August 1742)

December 1739

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From Europeans of all three nations we were all kindly received, and from all we received some help for our journey to Nepal. The English sent us at their expense some bales of books and other things. The French chief donated a beautiful tent for the trip and other things, and the Dutch chief lent us a vehicle with 5 oxen and 3 oxen leaders (attendants), a Duli [doli], which is a kind of portable bed carried on the shoulders of 4 men, as is used for travelling, and 24 peasants (native soldiers) to accompany us to the foot of the mountain Maquampur [Makwanpur]. The Dutch are the richest and the best acquainted with the territory on account of their great commerce in which they are engaged, and for that reason they gave us more letters of recommendation to the fudari [faujdar] of the places through which we were to pass. We spent the Christmas holidays in Patna, and the Father Prefect having found Father Sigismondo the Jesuit willing to sacrifice himself for Tibet, named Father Antoninò da Monte Alboddo Superior of the Hospice of Patna, to whom he gave as companion ⁴/₁ Father Giuseppe Maria da Gargniano. Now our hospice in Patna is situated in the middle of the city to the north of the great road which leads to the fortress and palace of Navab. Before our arrival it (the hospice) was nothing but little huts united (joined together) little by little by our first fathers. Those houses were all decayed with time, and Father Sigismondo had started to build a house of which he had made a single room where we all lived during our stay. Besides this he had started a little church which was built out of the funds contributed by all Europeans with their offerings.

The Prefect having disposed of all necessary things in the hospice of Patna, our departure was fixed for the 19th of January. On the morning of

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this day we were invited for dinner by the Dutch, and after dinner we took leave to pass on the other side of the Ganges. But these gentlemen wanted to accompany us as far as the edge of the river where we found ready a Bazzarra [bajra], a kind of covered small boat to cross the Ganges, and some gentlemen wanted to be of our company. When we reached the opposite bank of the river we found a spit of land which divides the Ganges from the river Kandok [Gandak], as it flows from the mountains of Torut [Tirhut] between north-east and it goes in the Ganges 3 good miles below the city of Patna; we crossed the strip of land and when we arrived at the Gandak we found there another bajra, furnished by the same Dutch people, which was waiting for us with all the things of our journey (baggage). There finally we parted from each other--from the gentlemen and from the fathers who remained in Patna--and after having boarded the bajra we started to descend the river Gandak which is rapid and full of very big crocodiles. During the night we slept in the bajra; by early morning we started again on our journey and we proceeded until night, and about 7 o'clock in the evening we arrived in Singhia,¹ at the plantation of the Dutch gentlemen where one-third of the colony of Patna ordinarily live to gather the trade goods which are then gathered in Patna to be sent with the fleet to Bengala.

On the 21st the agent of the Dutch furnished us, according to the order of the chief, Monsignor Dokman of Patna,² 5 oxen for the baggage, 3 Mazur,³ 4 men with the doli and 2 porters who had to lead us as far as the mountains. On that day we took all the necessary provisions (food). /5/ On arriving in Patna we found there a gentleman of Nepal related to the King of Bhatgaon, however only through the concubine of the great-grandfather of the present king.

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These concubines are permitted to these kings. This gentleman's name is Bavanidat (Bhavani Datt) and he was sent by his King to Patna to lead a small rhinoceros which he had obtained through our fathers from that King, and Monsignor Dokman was sending it as a gift for the King. Our fathers had previously lived for a long time in the house of this Bhavani Datt before the King had donated a house to us, and as he (Bhavani Datt) had given to them an apartment of his house,⁴ we could not, therefore, and for respect for the Dutch gentlemen, and for respect for the King of Bhatgaon, avoid receiving him in our company, although the Prefect foresaw that we would have impediments during the journey, considering the great thirst (animosity) the Hindustanis have against the Nepalese. They try any possible means to extort the most money they can from them whenever the Nepalese come down into Hindustan; and above all the cioki (cauki) (excisemen) who, in order to draw money from them, tie them and beat them and they do the worst treatment to them.

At 9 in the morning of the 22nd we started our journey, all by foot, the Prefect, an old man, not wanting to use the comfort of the doli, maybe to encourage us young ~~men~~ ones to the rigors of the journey which we were undertaking. We were in all 8 fathers, that is, Father Prefect, Floriano, Sigismondo, Tranquillo, Constantino, Cassiano and Innocenzo, Fratelli Paolo and Fra Liborio, and 16 natives, that is, Bhavani Datt with his servant, 5 men with oxen for the doli and 3 mazdur and 2 porters, therefore we made a small caravan marching all together. But as soon as we had walked a mile, as soon as that the Cioki [cauki] of Lalgang [Lalganj] stopped us, not wanting to wait for the Dastocchi [dastak]⁵, which we presented to him, wanting a large sum for the baggage, which we were carrying and threatening

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to use violence. We were compelled to send 2 porters of the Dutch to the fauidar or landlord of the place to obtain the passage; we were obliged to remain in the road $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours until the porters returned with an order for the cauki to let us pass. We continued our journey until 3 hours past noon, finding ourselves distant from Singhia /6/ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ kos. The Hindustani kos consists of about 2 Italian miles. There we found a place called Patara⁶, we showed the dastak which we had, upon which the cauki did not give us any trouble (said nothing); he only said to us that he had to give us another dastak for the following cauki and that since it was late in the evening he was going to postpone that to the next day. We raised our tent in the open country and here we spent the night, and the greater and lesser people all together coming to see us, gathering around the tent as I think the most curious people gather to see the gypsies. Meanwhile, on the same evening, the cauki of Patara let it be understood by Bhavani Datt that he demanded from him for his passage the sum of 2 rupees; the rupee is money of the Mogol which has the value, more or less, of 5 Roman paoli.

Early in the morning we folded our tent and we were about to depart, when the cauki sent us one of his natives to tell us that before our departure he wanted Bhavani Datt to pay 5 rupees for his passage, while in the evening he had asked only 2. Nepalese would rather be beaten than pay their money and Bhavani Datt obstinately refused to pay anything, making himself strong (important) in view of the fact that what he was carrying for his king concerned the chief of the Dutch of Patna, who had assured him that he had not to pay any cauki of Hindustan for the dastak given him. The altercation became serious, and though the cauki gave us full liberty to continue the journey, demanding only to retain Bhavani Datt, we could not resolve to leave him, not only for the obligation which we had toward him

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and toward the Dutch, but much more because it concerned the King where we were going, and who had given a house to our fathers the year before to establish ourselves in Bhatgaon. Then after having seen that the cauki did not want to wait for the dastak, we resolved to send the 2 porters of the Dutch to Singhia, waiting for their return there. At noon the porters returned with an order/^{of} the faujdar to the cauki to let us depart, but the cauki did not want to wait for it, saying that the money which he demanded was not for right of tax, but only as a gratuity. On account of that we had to start a new altercation; finally upon seeing that the cauki did not want to ~~not~~ wait either for the first or the second order of the faujdar, the Father Prefect took with him a porter and started off with him to Singhia, saying to /7/ the cauki that he was going to the faujdar to argue. The cauki, seeing that the Prefect was walking rapidly, called him back and told us to leave altogether, and he gave us besides a letter for the following cauki according to what the faujdar had ordered him. Therefore we departed about 1½ hours of the afternoon and having walked 3 kos (⁶16 miles) we arrived in Dubiai⁷ before sundown, where we presented the letter to the cauki--the letter brought from Patna. The cauki of Dubiai did not say anything to us. Therefore we spent the night peacefully in our tent. In the early morning we folded our tent, loaded the oxen, and asked of the cauki that, according to the order which he had from his faujdar, he would give us a porter who would guide us through a transversal pass in order to avoid meeting 2 other caukis. He did this promptly, but we were no sooner on the move than this one also wanted to let us know that he was a cauki, arresting Bhavani Datt, and claiming something from him; it is true that after a little

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altercation he let us go. The same evening after having walked 6 kos, at 4 p.m. we arrived in Shajn⁸ where there is a small fortress of earth with 4 bastions in the corners also of earth, sufficiently strong for these locations. As soon as we had put up our tent the faujdar of the place came to visit us in the tent, exaggerating the great honour which we had given him by stopping in his domain; he made a thousand ceremonies and he inquired what we wanted for dinner, willing to have it prepared at his expense, but we thanked him for everything. Soon afterwards he left and sent us as a present 2 lambs which we did not want to accept, our Prefect knowing that upon receiving them we could not avoid giving a present in return, a thing that we could not do with a trifle, these people claiming quadruple and quintuple what they gave, and also often reciprocal courtesies end in hot altercations, the donator of the exchange not being satisfied. Nevertheless, without having taken anything, the Father Prefect gave him a pair of little scissors as a gift, for which he showed appreciation.

On the 25th we continued our journey peacefully, but after awhile we met another cauki, and not long afterwards we met another one. We promptly disengaged ourselves from them with a small tip of $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee each, and finally after having walked 7 kos at 1 p.m. we arrived in Messi.⁹ /8/

The Emperor of Mogol keeps in each capital of the Navabati a Divan, or one of his agents, to collect the taxes and other duties which concern the Imperial court. To these Divani they gave as appanage 2 or 3 cities;¹⁰ among the appanage of the Divan who was in Patna, one is the city of Messi, which the same Divan had rented to the King of Bettiah for the sum of 10,000 Rs. per annum. Although the King of Bettiah [rents Messi] in order to have the city in his kingdom, to enjoy the city and give the answers that he likes,

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he contents himself ordinarily with 7 or 800 Rs. accompanied by some bags of musk or some hawks and no more. The Dutch chief obtained for us a letter from the Divan for the faujdar of Messi, which we delivered and we received from him a courteous welcome, making very many ceremonies for us. Here we were lodged in the house of a Fakir, or a religious Mohammedan, who had been acquainted for a long time with our Prefect, and from him we received some courtesies, and he wanted us to still remain the following day. A small gift of some handkerchiefs was given to him and he remained very satisfied. The foujdar made us an ample dastak, and with it he gave us 2 porters also, in order that we should be accompanied for all the length of the journey; for that [here line breaks off in book]

On the morning of the 26th we proceeded on our journey at 9:30. We found 2 caukis who did not say anything, the porters (guides) given to us in Messi speaking for us. We passed 2 little rivers which cross the route;¹¹ we saw a great number of goats which were grazing on those pastures, and after a trip of 7 kos we arrived at night in Kalpaghur.¹² The cauki of the place also did not say anything.

On the 27th in the very early morning we picked up our journey; we passed some little rivulets, we saw a greater quantity of goats than on the day before, we crossed several Giangalle [jangal] (jungles) or forests ~~where~~ trees, shrubs, pond reeds and swamp cane grow to the height of more than a man and so thick that it is not possible to cross them other~~y~~ than through small paths which the travellers cut through, except in the months of April and May in which the heat dehydrates such forests and the travellers who have the intention of burning the ground to discover and catch tigers who hide themselves here in the rainy season when the forest has grown back.

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In the evening after having walked 8 kos we arrived in Barihua¹³, the last border of the Mogol. /9/

At 8 o'clock on the morning of the 28th we started again, after the men who were dispersed gathered themselves together. At midnight a tiger had approached the camp and the men had scattered, but the tiger was driven away by instruments of noise. The men of our company tried to save themselves, but we remained with Bhavani Datt and our servant who shot off a gun. Upon leaving the place we thanked the guides from Messi and the Prefect gave a rupee to both of them, but they did not want to accept it from poor Fakirs and since we had more journey to make we might have need of it, and on the other hand, being quality and being fathers of the Dutch it was not proper to give them such a small recognition (for their services). We could not help laughing at the compliment, and the Prefect gave them a rupee each to leave them happy. After having walked 2 kos, we entered the great forest of the King of Maquampur¹⁴ (Makwanpur), which is 14 kos (28 miles) wide, and is more than 50 kos from east to west. In the beginning the forest is not very thick with trees, but those there are very thick and big. It is a very old forest with very thick jungle, therefore to cross it is not without danger for elephant, tiger and rhinoceros which are very abundant in this large forest. Travellers make great noise and cries to frighten such animals. Upon entering the forest we smelled a great fragrance and after awhile we saw/^{that} the whole forest was full of jasmine, and we walked for more than a mile with such flowers on both sides which pleased our senses of sight and smell. Meanwhile, either from the hot sun or from the fatigue of the journey, and much more from our fear (of the forest), we were all seized by great thirst. Our guides told us that there was no way to find

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to find water except at the edge of the forest. We had more than 4 kos to travel to cross the forest, so to bear it we threw ourselves under a great tree to recover. A while later our servant observed that the ground was damp, and found a ^{/10/}pool of stagnant water which had not evaporated in a hollow of the ground. We all ran to the pond and satiated our thirst with muddy water full of worms, ~~at~~ as though it were wine of Italy.

Later they ate biscuits and for a delicacy, strained the water. The guides advised them to remain near the water for the night, so the oxen could have water. They agreed to this, and lit fires to frighten away the tigers. Looking for firewood they found old ruins which had resisted time. From these ruins they saw about 50 other travellers fires and so they felt reassured.

In the morning they travelled 2 kos, came to a little river which they crossed by foot, quarrelled with guides because they had not told them of this little river, and the guides, to excuse themselves, said that they had not known of it. /11/

At 12 noon they arrived in Amanuh.¹⁵ The cauki refused to let them pass. They stayed over night. In the morning they asked for the head cauki to ask him to let them get through as they were in a hurry. The cauki took one ox by the throat and a father took the oxen, menaced the cauki with a stick and the cauki screamed. People gathered armed with sticks, lances, bows; there was great consternation. Father Prefect knew Hindustani; he with Bhavani Datt tried to appease the cauki. In this place begins the use of Nepali currency.

outside around the enclosures. This king also had a Prime Minister. One of

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They proceeded the next day; more animals, more tigers. Besides we saw in several places ancient ruins and some seemed to be ruins of good (important) buildings. I could not understand how in a forest so large, and which seemed very old judging by the ancient trees, there could have been buildings of such importance. In the subsequent years when I made my sojourn in Nepal I didn't fail to inform myself on such ruins in Nepal which I had pointed out on the trip to Bhavani Datt and for lack of knowledge of the language I could not understand the explanations about them. Also although such information was available to me [only] 4 years later, I judge it important to mention them here in spite of the small digression I shall make from our journey. /12/

Several Nepalis of Bhatgaon assured me that such ruins were vestiges of the remains of a very ancient and famous city ^{Simnangadh} Scimangada, from where their kings had originated. One could not reach this city except after having wandered and turned inside in it about a month since the city was situated in the center of what was almost a labyrinth formed by the walls. One could not get into that labyrinth other than through only one place, and after having entered one had to pass under 4 fortresses before reaching the city. These fortresses were distributed equally here and there inside the enclosures of the labyrinth. Such enclosures were 1 kos distant from each other, that is, 2 miles, and the walls which were extremely high were also proportionately thick. Between 1 enclosures and another there were pleasant fields and small rivulets which irrigated them. The produce of the fields inside the enclosures were sufficient to nourish the abundant population which was governed by a great/~~king~~^{king} who also had a ~~g~~ large domain outside around the enclosures. This king also had a Prime Minister. One of

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these Prime Ministers having received from the king some grief (having fallen into disgrace), swore to avenge himself by betraying his city to the Moslems. Therefore, having arranged ^{the} way with the Emperor, he took possession of the entrance of the labyrinth with a considerable army. He forced the wall in front of the city and the other one on the side, and entering into the city before anyone had become aware of the enemy, massacred the citizens. Some saved themselves through the breach made by the enemy and among them was the son of the King who took refuge in Nepal where little by little he was able to establish ~~his~~ himself and to suppress the natural king and take possession of the kingdom. That much, in brief, happened to be related to me on various occasions in Nepal about the city of Scimangada where in the palace of the king of Bhatgaon the map of the above city as I have roughly sketched it (omitted by editor) is carved on stone. The ancient kings of Bhatgaon had coins made in his own period with some hieroglyphics on one side and the map of Scimangada on the other side. This coin, which is of silver, has the value of 1 lire or about 2 Roman paoli, but today those with the map of Scimangada are very rare and those few found are sold very dearly, since one cannot have one for less than the price of 20 coins of the same value for each one of those.¹⁶ /13/ Whatever the history of Scimangada is, I tell it as it was given to me. ^[main] The/difficulty which I find among the others is that such city had been seized by Moslem troops. They say that it is already 4 centuries since Scimangada was seized. Where I find in the calendars which ~~the~~ Brahmans issue every year with the chronology of the emperors that in this year 1754 is the year 375 since Tamerlane founded the empire of Mogol,¹⁷ and neither Tamerlane nor his close successors ever passed the Ganges. Oranzeb extended the Mogol domain and subjugated the King of Patna and he

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crossed the Ganges, but Oranzeb, according to the calendar, started to rule about 1655; counting from the election of this emperor up to this year there are only 99 years, and he ruled only 48 years.¹⁸ I cannot ~~possibly~~ persuade myself that at the time of ~~the~~ Oranzeb Scimangada existed--since if Scimangada existed, the kings of Nepal who are already in the 3rd century from their usurpation of the kingdom of Nepal where they took refuge cannot have origin in Scimangada or at least they could not have been obliged to save themselves from the fury of the Moslems,¹⁹ but even if it were true that Scimangada had once existed it is not possible to retrace the truth among the gentiles who surround all their stories with big fables. /14/

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Arrived at night at Amanuh, gave dastak to cauki, who gave them no trouble. The cauki asked for medicine for his sick son, but they had no medicine and gave him a little money. The cauki let them go, though they had no dastak. Mandarmeli, a coin of Nepal of the value of 2 paoli is the currency there. /14/

On the 30th they started again, passed villages, entered thick forest /14/ --tigers, elephants, rhinos, wild buffalo. Towards evening they arrived at the foot of Mt. Makwanpur to the village called Giorgiur²⁰ after 7 kos. The Dutch porters left them here to return. The village is ruled by the King of Makwanpur²¹ whose kingdom stretches from east to west in very large forests towards Hindustan, more than 20 kos wide and extends as far as the mountains. The King gets good revenue for wild game. He sells game to the rest of Hindustan by weight, prices are given by the cubic foot. The King also sells to the highest bidder the caukinate (tax collectorship) of the kingdom. The king obtains good revenue. The cauki contracts to pay the revenue 6 months in advance and the cauki is ruined if there are not enough caravans passing through the territory. The princip^{al} cauki stays in Amanhu and keeps a deputy (subordinate) in Giorgiur. The deputy at this time was a relative of the principal cauki. Giorgiur is situated at the foot of a mountain, forest surrounds it; east of the village there is a small river from the mountain. The terrible air can be recognized by the stones /15/ because they are covered by slippery moss which shows how damp it is. There are no cultivated lands, and little population. The people don't live there all year long because of the aul; they go to the mountains. [Explanation of the aul] malaria; no communication with Nepal between April and November because of the aul. Comparable to the country near Rome. Whoever sleeps

here is stricken by aul fever, and 1 out of 10 die. Having the disease once confers immunity. The immune are called aula, and they are the only ones who carry letters during the dangerous season. In 1754 2 merchants hired some Baria [bhariya]²³ with double pay to accompany them to Nepal with merchandise. They left in April and in less than 8 days all 27 bhariya were dead. The natives also suffer from the aul and they don't sleep out in the open. /16/

On the 31st they left this place of horror. They sent the porters back to the Dutch with some tips. /16/ They looked for 12 bhariya to carry the baggage to Nepal. The baggage must be carried by men as far as Tibet because of the narrow passes and horrifying precipices between steep mountains. They rested that day [here line left out of book]

On the 1st of February at 10 in the morning they started again with their servant Domenico and the 12 bhariya. The cauki stopped Bhavani Datt again. Compromised with a Mandarmeli gift, a little money. The cauki takes some tax on the salaries of porters who leave from the village Giorgiur. They walked along a meandering river at the foot of the mountains. There were 21 fords with the water up to the knees, over slippery stones. After 3 kos we stopped at the ~~bank~~ edge of the river, where we spent the night. Our servant Domenico shot doves for dinner, green pigeons (parrots) and other birds abundant here. We encountered great quantities of peacocks and monkeys. The peacocks sat in the tops of the trees and couldn't be shot. They were insulted by monkeys and Domenico shot a female monkey. They wounded monkey hung in a tree for a quarter of an hour and poulticed her side with leaves to stop the blood, but finally died. The bhariya began to make cries in Parabattiana, the language of the mountains [of Nepal] which were not understood by the missionaries. The bhariya tried to calm the monkeys, and

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told the Prefect not to let Domenico kill the sacred monkeys for that would expose the missionaries to assassination. /17/ Killing monkeys is a crime, and there is a brutal law with no ~~z~~ mercy for the killer. Murderers of Brahmans can get off with a fine, but no mercy for murderers of cows and monkeys.²⁵

On the 2nd of February they proceeded along the river, making 3 fords. Passed Posse²⁶ where there was another cauki, who wanted 5 rupees from each of them. They tried to compromise, but in vain. The haughty cauki told by the Father Prefect to stop right there, that he would go in person to the King of Makwanpur, only 5 kos distant. The cauki, seeing the firmness of the Prefect, released his intention, and it was arranged for by 2½ Mandarmeli--a little more than 1 rupee. They left the cauki and continued their journey. Climbed a mountain and left the river on the east.

In the evening they stopped on the mountain, having travelled 5 kos that day. Made fires and shot guns to scare away tigers as usual. At 12 midnight there was an alarm--the cry of a jackal (an animal as big as a fox) which always proceeds tigers and therefore is called a "tiger pilot," but some say the jackal is frightened of the tiger and they call the jackal the "tiger runner." One can deduce the closeness of tigers by the jackal's cry, and the tiger growls are an echo to the jackal ~~xxx~~ cries. /18/ Bhavani Datt indicated to us a bearer who could get around tigers--a tiger charmer. He said we had nothing to fear as long as we had him in our company. We all laughed but I observed that this tiger charmer was carrying a live rooster, though for food. Nevertheless, I observed that all the bearers took turns carrying the rooster. They retired from the tent and ate the rooster with great happiness.

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On the 3rd of February we left early. The servant of Bhavani Datt showed us the tree where the bhariya had enchanted the tiger by sacrificing the rooster. Small irregular circles drawn on trunk of tree, 5 strings attached to tree trunk. Description of enchantment used, designs used, and the rooster's head. Father Prefect scolded the man who could get around tigers through Bhavani Datt, and talked to him of religion. Superstition didn't push tigers away but attracted them by blood. We gained no converts that day nor on the rest of the journey though we often talked of religion to them.

We proceeded to climb the mountain. After we had climbed 3 kos we met a caravan of merchants who had left Giargiur the same day that we arrived. They had 50 bhariya. Our bhariya wanted to stop in the same place but we obliged them to continue 3 more kos. We descended quite a bit, up and down through horrid precipices where one couldn't see the bottoms of them for the trees, /19/ but could only hear the fast rivers at the bottom. Passed several spots where only 2 could walk at a time, 1 side being mountain, the other side precipice. It is true that now and then there are small caves capable of containing 2 persons with loads. The bhariya cry out to alert those who are coming to stop in caves until the men who are coming have passed. At the end of the descent we passed a castle (village), the last border of the King of Makwanpur, which is called Thegam.²⁹ We passed the river Bagmati and entered the Nepalese kingdom of Patan, and spent the night on the other side of the river.

On the 4th we climbed the other mountain which was not very tall, descended on the other side at the bottom of which we found the river Kakoku,³⁰ which we forded 9 times with the water up to our knees on top

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~~is~~ of big stones of the color of malachite, as are also the mountains around, even though they are covered with jungle. Trees described— pines, chestnuts with larger than normal leaves, with fruit inside pods as in Italy, only the fruit is bitter, too bitter to eat.³¹ Met more ~~me~~ monkeys than before. Proceeded, flanking the mountains in ravines, crossed from one side to the other of the twisting river. Went 5 kos, and spent the night at the foot of the mountain. We met 2 people coming from Nepal who told us that the ruler of Bhatgaon, a relative of Bhavani Datt, having learned that we were on the road had sent to meet us 2 bhariya^a loaded with watermelon and sugar, claiming that the watermelon are/good preservative against the aul.

On the 5th, early in the morning, we started to climb a very tall and steep mountain and we were obliged to climb with our hands and feet. At the top we descended on the other side /20/ much faster than going up. Crossed plateau of about a mile wide. We climbed another, smaller mountain, but it was not less steep.³² At the middle (half way up) the second mountain Bhavani Datt and his servant took a cross road in order to be in Bhatgaon the very same night. They did not want to pass through the territory of the King of Patan, fearing to be arrested on account of the war which was actually between the regular soldiers. We climbed and ~~ascended~~ descended the second mountain and not very far from the foot of this mountain we saw in the middle of a plain the castle (village) of Kua³³ where we arrived at about 5 o'clock and we entered in the enclosure of the castle and we pitched our tent in a little courtyard near the gate. This is the first castle that I saw in India surrounded by walls with paved streets and houses in line, shops and pagodas (temples) of the idols adorned with great taste like European colonies. The city of Patna itself, ~~although~~ although it has great palaces is diffuse (dispersed; higgledy piggledy).

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The palace ends with a fortress.³⁴ Many houses are of brick and tiles and many are thatched. Often one sees on the sides of palaces little huts³⁴ of simple earth covered with tiles. Here in Kua all the houses are made of brick, and for the most part they are covered with tiles though many are thatched. These are houses of 2-4 rooms. Coming from the ~~hor~~ horrors of jungle and precipice it seemed like the promised land. The population of the castle came to greet us; they were amiable and kind. At night a good number of men and women gathered and lit a fire. The women had spindles. They lingered near the tents almost until midnight. The bhariya warned them to take care of the baggage; they said the castle was full of thieves. The missionaries spent a quite^A night in spite of the intense cold.

On the 6th of February^y the Father Prefect went in the morning to visit the pradhan or the headman of the place to beg him for permission to go straight to Bhatgaon where we have our hospice and to exempt us from passing /21/ through the city of Patan where all those who travel from Hindustan converge (a crossroad for all who travel) to which he consented. While Father Prefect was there with the pradhan, Father Vito arrived here from Bhatgaon. He had been told of our arrival by Bhavani Datt and he had left immediately to come to us. About noon we resumed our journey towards Bhatgaon and walked 3 kos through pleasant hills. We reached the border which divides the kingdom of Patan from that of Bhatgaon. Here we saw 3 fortresses with the shape of palombaje (?) at about 200 feet apart. Guards were in all of them and those of the fortress near ~~in~~ which we were passing obliged us to pay a Mandarmeli. Among the bhariya whom we took in Giorgiur the greatest part were of the kingdom of Makwanpur. This king was allied in war against the King of Bhatgaon. Therefore, after we reached

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the fortresses of Patan they unloaded in the road and returned, unwilling to enter the kingdom of Bhatgaon, fearing to be arrested. Bhavani Datt, who had guessed the intention of the bhariyas, had warned his king, who sent us at the border 8 men to carry our baggage, 2 doli for the comfort of the fatigued, and the nephew of the ruler to welcome us in his name, who presented us with a basket of pastry, and oranges as refreshments ~~for~~ ^{from} the King. We ate to show our gratitude and proceeded 2 more kos. At sundown we reached the city of Bhatgaon where since October of last year the King had donated a house to our fathers which they use as a hospice and where ^{Joquin} Gioakino da Santa Natolia, who had remained as Vice Prefect upon the departure of the Prefect for Rome, and Father Vito da Recanati. On the same evening, the gentlemen and friends of the fathers came to present us with gifts according to the local custom: sweet pastry, watermelon, concentrated milk and sweet oranges.

On the 7th after dinner we paid a visit to the King who embraced us all affectionately and treated us with the greatest friendliness (domesticity). He kept us for an hour. After having disengaged ourselves from the King, we paid other visits. We gave the King some little things from Europe with which he was very pleased. /22/

On the 9th the King returned our visit by his proxy, Kasi Nath, the first Brahman of the court. This visit was accompanied by the King's gift, provisions for dinner. People are accustomed to give necessities for gifts. Even the wood and the salt was included. The gift consisted of a little buffalo calf, a goat, a lamb from Tibet, 4 big pots each half full of legumes: lentils, peas, black beans, and lima beans, which are very healthy.³⁵ 2 pots of cornflour, 2 pots of curry called baji in Nepal.³⁶ ~~for~~ (Recipe for curry, including notes 37 and 38), rice, pastry, sugar, salt, 4 soup bowls,

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4 kinds of salted fruits preserved in soybean oil like olives, other soupbowls with ginger, pepper and other spices, figs, bananas, cabbages, salads, 2 loads of wood, 4 water jugs, etc. Four days later we went to thank the King who treated us with greater familiarity and expressed a desire to see the Prefect from time to time.

The King of Bhatgaon, who is the present ruler, is Ranajita Malla, and at all times distinguished from others for his affection toward the missionaries. He called the fathers after they were banished by the King of Kathmandu, and when the Father Prefect was obliged to abandon the hospitality /23/ of Tibet and Nepal for scarcity of missionaries, it displeased Ranajita Malla, and when he had notice of 3 European missionaries, sent Bhavani Datt to Patna with a letter to Father Gioachino asking them to return to Bhatgaon as he had done the year before when he had given the fathers the house in the courtyard of Bhairam, the principal idol of the city of Bhatgaon.³⁹ Description of the house given. The present King has written a donation to the fathers of this house on a leaf [palm leaf?]; such donations are irrevocable during the lifetime of the donator; it is true that, being of a thing concerning the royal court, the successor could annul the donation; that would not happen if the donation had been written on copper. On the same donation there is besides written the liberty of conscience for the subjects of this kingdom, nor has he ever made the least opposition to those who have taken our religion.⁴¹ The plan (map) of the donated house given by the King is here included. (Omitted by editor)

The city of Bhatgaon is situated in the middle (among) of some pleasant hills which the industry of the country people render very fertile, and if the seasons go well, they harvest as many as 3 crops per year. The above city forms an irregular sexagon, it has 12 doors in the walls which surround it which are flanked by square bastions from 2 sides and it is surrounded by

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a little river which passes almost near the walls. The interior of the city is not to be underestimated (by foreigners). Though built on uneven ground, it has long and wide paved streets and the houses, which are all of fired brick are 3 or 4, or even 5 stories. The houses are in lines, not confused (scattered about). All the houses have on the front, all along the street, a small wall elevated from the level by 1-2 feet and are 5-6 feet wide, and the public street is divided by this lateral small wall by 2 small ditches where the waters of the roofs and of the streets drain, /24/ and flow out of the city. All the houses are covered with roofs. The tiles are peculiar ones having the thickness of a finger, and they are 8 fingers wide and about 1 palm [hand] long. (Fig. shown.)

Each house has a small court in the higher side of the house on the average, where they take daily ablutions and usually next to this court they have a chapel of the idols where they make their daily (ordinary) sacrifices.

There are in the city many squares which would be spacious and of good sight (pleasant to see) if the foolish devotion of the kings and of the other subjects had not deformed them by building on them in the middle confusedly (here and there) smaller pagodas or temples to the idols and in all the streets one runs into pagodas and idols. Among them there are some which are very much elaborately carved in stone with good taste and proportion, and the exterior with colonnades, balustrades and statues in bas-relief, besides the many hyroglyphics in bas-relief which are shown on the pedestals.

The principal pagodas of Bhatgaon are those of Bhavani and of Behero. These two have roofs of layers (pagoda roofs) as the house donated to us does. But the roofs of these 2 pagodas are covered with gilded copper and all around the roofs are ornate bells hanging from the border (eaves) of the roof, distant from each other by about a foot apart. Each bell has attached to the

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point of the clapper a sheet of gilded copper in the shape of a heart about 4 fingers wide, which when agitated by the wind makes a confused carillon-- and since the bells in such fashion are on all the 4 sides of the roofs it happens that from whichever side the wind blows, both during the day and the night, the idols never remains without the concerts of such bells. On the facade of Behero which faces the square there are hanging 5 bells of various sizes by large chains, and 2 more are suspended from 2 stone columns, one at one side and one on the other side of the facade. Each one of these are of the weight of 1,000 Roman pounds. The others are of lesser weight, but all are elevated from the ground by about 5 feet for the convenience of the believers, who complete the view of the river by ringing some strokes on some or all of the bells.⁴² In the temple of Bhavani on the side of the pagoda there is a large bell and on the exterior on the royal square there is another very large bell, which is believed to weigh 24,000 ser--12 Roman ounces equal 1 ser.⁴³ ~~135~~ /25/

In Nepal they do not count people by souls but number by families, taking the king a small annual tax from each family. The city of Bhatgaon numbers 12,000 families. People are courteous and affable; the dominant religion is Brahman; there is the religion of the Bandyas which derives from the religion of Tibet but the ones who profess this in Bhatgaon are only about $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁴⁵ [one-quarter of the population]. In the city of Kathmandu the ones who profess the above 2 religions are almost in equal number; and in the city of Patan the Bandyas are in the majority and the Brahmans are one-third. The city of Kathmandu has 18,000 families, the city of Patan has 24,000 families.⁴⁶

All Nepal is divided into 3 small kingdoms. The princip^{al} city of each kingdom, where the respective kings reside, are situated almost on the borders

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and form almost a triangle, as one can see by the annexed map (omitted by editor), roughly designed as I am no geographer. Each king is independent and in ancient times all Nepal was ruled by one king. I reserve myself to talk about the borders, the religions, the customs, and the government in the year 1743 and following, in which I lived in Nepal. Now I shall only note what happened of remark during the time that we lived there. As I already said, the King of Bhatgaon had given also, with the donation of the house, the liberty of conscience. Therefore we were permitted to teach our religion to his subjects willing to embrace it, to take advantage of the favorable disposition of the King. Father Vito learned the language under the direction of a Brahman. At the same time he wrote a little book on religion⁴⁷ [a little catechism book]. /26/ Upon our arrival he was laboring on the translation of this catechism, so that before it was written out we had time to amplify it and reinforce it with new reasons--all the more so because we could not leave for Tibet until September.

Description of the house given to the fathers by the King:

5 stories;

almost square;

has only 2 rooms per story.

It was difficult to have a kitchen, but the greatest discomfort was having no facilities. The King was so kind to have made us, at his expense, the kitchen and the facilities by closing a small street contiguous to the house. Then the facilities were on the ground floor, and the kitchen was on the first floor. We asked the King to let us put a cross over the house. The King agreed and on the 25th of February, the feast of St. ~~Matthia~~ Matthia, we put up the cross. All the fathers continued working on the translation of the book

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and the Brahman Balgobinda met it with quick spirit and had interested himself in hope to obtain some grants of land from the King, who showed himself favorable to us. He never ceased to speak to the other Brahmans in favor of our religion, using the reasons of the book which we were translating. That was the reason why before the book was produced, already among the Brahmans some hint of the light of the notion of it had penetrated among them, from which it followed that Brahmans were the first to attack us, having sent to us through the same Balgobinda a sheet with some questions which pertained more to the natural physics than to religion. We answered them, but to the answers, one and then other sheets full of questions similar to the first followed. Finally, having finished the translation and made several copies, we resolved to present one to the King, who fixed an audience for us before the evening of the 7th of March.

In the kingdom of Nepal each King pays a salary with large revenues to 4 of the most virtuous Brahmans who must be graduated in some university which the gentiles have in Tirhut, in Kasi or Benares and other places, and these 4 form a council of the conscience of the King, who cannot resolve anything /27/ concerning religion without their counsel.⁴⁸ Kasi Nath was the first Brahman among the four. He asked for a copy of the book before the audience, which he got. In the evening Kasi Nath told us some sudden matter in the court had obliged the King to postpone our audience until the following day. On one and another pretext, he went on procrastinating from day to day until he had read and considered all the book. After that Kasi Nath held a session of the council where he, in the presence of the ruler and the other three Brahmans and other officials, expounded in substance the contents of the book which we wanted to present. The matter was discussed at at his conclusion they all

unanimously said that none of them wanted to change the religion of their elders. The King proposed an expedient, saying that since we had come to his kingdom from such remote countries with the sole intention of propagating our religion and since none of them wanted to take it, it seemed to him a good expedient to send us some of the common people in order to make them our disciples. The shift was approved, and the following morning we were informed of it by Bhavani Datt, who had learned of this from the ruler, his brother-in-law. We answered them that we had not come to these places to baptise people sent to us by others, but to do it only for those who, moved by the strength of truth, were seeking it spontaneously to assure their salvation.

In the meantime the King of Bhatgaon was in active war with the two kings of Patan and Kathmandu, both allied against him. Almost every day there was a skirmish and for the most part Bhatgaon lost. For that reason we could no longer speak of the presentation of the book, the court being preoccupied with more serious things, since they were losing daily fortresses and land. On the 26th the King was informed of the loss of 5 fortresses facing the Hindustan road, taken 2 years before by the King of Bhatgaon from the King of Patan. In the conflict an Umbrao⁴⁹ or a feudatory of Bhatgaon, died on the field among others. On the same day, the wife of this young man (30 years old) wanted to be burned alive with the birth letter of her husband, as he died 50 Kos from Bhatgaon, and she was the first woman who burned herself alive since my arrival. /28/

In that time, in order not to be idle, we learned the Hindustan language which is a language understood more or less everywhere. The Prefect induced Father Gioachino to come with us to Tibet in order to send

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him back later to Europe with the answer of the king and the great lama to the Pope. He determined that the fathers remaining in the Bhatgaon hospice should apply themselves to learning the language of the country. These fathers were Fathers Vito da Recanati, Sigismondo da Jesi, Innocenzo d'Ascoli, and Brother Liborio da Fermo. The Prefect intended to take temporarily a house in Kathmandu and to conduct there all those who were assigned to Tibet--either because in Kathmandu there were 3 adult Christians or because the road to Tibet was in the hand of that King, and because of the war which had started 109 years before at Bhatgaon, from which the territories of Sanku and Changu [Changu Narayan] with their fortresses, had been usurped by the King of Kathmandu. From father to son the war had continued up to these days without interruption except for some small annual truces.

On the 1st of April a remarkable event happened. A pradhan of Bhatgaon who had been the administrator of one of the territories, was disgraced by the King. On the very same day the pradhan went to court to excuse himself to the King, but there he was forbidden to enter. Besides, he was warned that the King was very angry with him, and that he should therefore mind his own business. The pradhan went to the temple of his tutorial god, and then he went to his own house, where taking his wife by the hand in the presence of several people, he told her that he had just come from a visit to the temple of this god, who had invited him to go and rejoice in his heaven on that very day, and that he had given him his consent, therefore he invited her to keep him company. The wife answered, as if for a joke, that if he was going that day to his god she also would follow him. That very moment the husband fell dead at the feet of the wife, and she, without

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emotion, prepared herself to keep her given word, as she did 2 hours later by burning herself alive with the body of her husband. /29/ The Brahmans tried to give all the weight of this case to make it appear miraculous, but the wisest ones said that /29/ being is disgrace with the King and fearing punishment, he had poisoned himself and in order not to leave his wife in misery, he had invented this fictitious vision to make her promise to follow him. The king became possessed of all his property in Bhatgaon, the pradhan not having left any heirs.

On the evening of the 5th of April the feast of Behero [Bhairo], a tutelar god of the city of Bhatgaon, began.

Description of feast.

Accident under car of the idol.

Songs.

On the 8th more cars of the idols in procession. /30/ The concubine of the King with her sons came to our house in order to see the procession, which we could not deny her. /30-31/ Description of baths in river from morning to noon. On the 9th the King, Brahmans and people sacrificed to the idol. They all went to the fathers' house on the principal square to watch. Each night there were chants and songs. From the 9th to the 16th the women cannot spin or weave; the men cannot farm. On the evening of the 16th, the King made another procession. People threw red-lead at each other. /31/

In that time during the feast, the enemies of Bhatgaon, taking advantage of the festival, took 4 fortresses from Bhatgaon and did some damage to the country, ruining more grain and legume fields. A few days later, since the time of the aul was starting, the enemies set all the fortresses afire and

On the evening of the 5th of April, the feast of Behero [Bhairo], tutelar god of the city of Bhatgaon, started. At about 10 in the evening, the King with his most important Brahmans and gentlemen went to the pagoda of the idol, where they took the head of Bhairo tied (covered ?) in a silver head and, with great ceremony and sounds of trumpets and drums, they placed it in a large cart upon which there was a wooden pagoda, all covered from top to bottom with gilded copper. The principal Brahmans also entered there; and now the pagoda was carried by means of great heavy ropes and with great celebration by the people. On it the head of Bhairo was exposed with some relics of his wife which were carried there in a smaller cart with a great number of lanterns accompanying it. A man of the lowest class was caught under the wheels of the cart of Bhairo. We could not discover if that had happened by accident or by voluntary determination, since it happens many times that some sacrifice their lives to their idols spontaneously in such fashion. The poor man died of suffering an hour later, his body being crushed. We spent all that night at the house of the gentiles, [occupying ourselves] with singing and music, inside and around the pagoda, and the same was done on the two following days and nights.

On the evening of the 8th, having lent as usual about 30 feet of the wall next to the door to the east of the city, at dusk the relics of the idols were dragged as far as the opening of the wall on the same carts [and] with the same pomp and [with] great crowds accompanying [them]. There they stopped until they placed a large long antenna in the form of a cross which remained planted at the side of an octagonal pagoda which is open on each side and the roof is supported by 8 columns. After the antenna was installed

the carts proceeded on the way as far as the octagonal pagoda in which the relics were placed, and all night long there was nothing but processions/ [of people] with drums and trumpets who went there to make offerings. The concubine of the king with his sons came to see the ceremonies from our house, which we could not deny her. /30-31/ The pagoda where the idols were exposed, is situated on a bank of the river, along which there is a man-made bank of stone steps by which one descends to get water. At the first song of the rooster the mass of the people started to gather to make their ablutions. That day was as a jubilee among them, since those waters acquired an extraordinary virtue to cancel sins by the presence of the idol. The gathering to the river lasted until after noon. Finally, on the same evening of the 9th, all the people gathered upon the arrival of the King with his Brahmans. The King made sacrifices to the god and then came to our house to see the rest of the ceremony, which consisted of replacing the relics on their respective carts and tearing to the ground the tall antenna in the shape of a cross, of which the horizontal part and the vertical part of the cross are formed with large branches of trees. As it falls, their leaves are torn by the fury [eagerness] of the people, each one trying to get some leaves, which they place on their heads with great devotion. After that is done, the carts resume their journey as on the preceding day, and the idols are replaced in the pagoda where they were exposed before being led to the river, and there they remain exposed until the evening of the 16th, while the songs and merriment continues each night.

From the 9th to the 16th the women can neither weave nor work the cloth nor spin cotton, nor spin wool, nor weave strips of cloth, nor mend clothes;

the men cannot till the soil. On the evening of the 16th, by the usual intervention of the King, the relics are again placed on the carts and are led in the square in front of the pagoda of Bhairo and there they had the carts run several times, competing with each other, until the cart of the idol's wife fled into another road, and then the idols were replaced in their niches. The King started throwing red-lead on the first Brahman and all the people, regardless of their condition, started throwing it at each other, colouring each other from head to foot and in such way the celebration was closed. I failed to say that since the 11th all the idols of the city were exposed in the public streets under some Pati [patti] or small loggias, and there in the daytime the devout made offerings, and at night made merriment. And also, that since the first day when Bhairo is exposed until evening and after he had been replaced in his niche, /31/ no Nepalese can go out in the city with his feet shod, but even the King and all the others go barefoot, and [that] on such days we abstained from going out of the house as much as possible in order not to expose ourselves to the insults of the plebeians [who might see us in the city with shod feet].* [*The words [inside brackets] are written in a different hand.]

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abandoned them. Ours [the people of Bhatgaon] took them back and in such fashion ended the battles of this year.

Another less serious trouble happened to the King of Bhatgaon. He had made many efforts not to recognize his legitimate son, and heir of the kingdom, a child born by a queen. The King was instigated to do that by his concubine, who was thinking to make her own son the successor against the laws of the kingdom. The people rose against the King and he had to satisfy them by solemnly recognizing his son as his successor. At the time of our arrival the little king was 2 years old, and the concubine did everything to disinherit the little king. The ruler, who had been named to his office to satisfy the people, a wise man, and the King, both united with 2 others, and helped the rescue of the queen and her son who took refuge in Timi, this land, with some others [territories] being the appanage of the heir during the life of the father. The people of Timi, Nades, Nala⁵² claimed the son King. That put the King in great consternation.⁵³ On account of this new incident, the King called a general council to discuss this happening, and he ordered it for the evening of the 26th of April. This council I considered bizarre, but I don't want to omit anything. /32/ Everyone was disguised at the conference. People were free to go to the council; they insulted and scolded the King; some menaced the King. Others proposed various expedients. They altered their voices when they spoke so that they would not be recognized despite the disguises. The King and his attendants remained exposed to this pillory until 1 o'clock at night. When the people stopped coming, they closed the doors, and they would not confer until the next day on the people's words and what decisions to take. Such night councils are not taken except on rare occasions when the

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people are dissatisfied with the King and the King is almost **always** safe of his life because these people are not bloodthirsty people, in particular towards the kings, but when they are reduced to extremities they depose the King and they all confine him to an apartment of the court or they exile him from the kingdom. What the decision was which the King took after that council I never knew. Many members of both factions came to us and broke our ears with their stories [pestered us by telling us their tales]. Some wanted the Prefect to speak to the King, but the Prefect always refused, saying that we had not come here to support any party or take part in politics, but only to teach religion.

The Prefect and the fathers going to Tibet wished to go to Kathmandu to reside there until their departure for Tibet, but this also was a delicate step, not only because the King of Kathmandu was at war with Bhatgaon, but also because he had supported the uprising. It is true that we were not suspected by either of the 2 kings, having both given us at any time freedom to travel, but we did not have the same security on account of the common people and caution was necessary.

On the 25th of May we received all the things left in Patna with the English, which were sent to us at their expense. /33/ The Prefect gave these as gifts to the King and told him of our intention to go to Kathmandu. The King agreed to let us go. The father who acted as physician fell ill, and of all of us ~~now~~ who were appointed to Tibet, Father Prefect chose me as the youngest and most suited to Tibet. In a short time I prepared myself as a physician, specialist of everything, curing wounds and dispensing pills. I lost my aversion for medicine when I treated a village baby near death. I baptised it with the name of Joseph Mary, telling the mother that this

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prolonged the baby's life for a few hours and left the baptismal water as medicine. The baby died in 4 days but the remedy gained in esteem and made me able to baptise more children about to die.

Since we had the consent of the King to go live in Kathmandu, and we had there an apartment in the house of the treasurer of the King called /34/ Dardan Singh. He had known the fathers in Tibet and had caused in part a persecution of them and the Christians of Kathmandu, as a result of which the Father Prefect was imprisoned,⁵⁴ but now he had become a friend of the fathers and he was speaking favorably of them to the King. Father Gioachino and I went on the 3rd of June to prepare the house, wanting the Father Prefect and the others to enter it before Pentecost, which in that year fell on the 5th of June.

On the same day of Pentecost the Father Prefect wanted to make another attempt on the King of Bhatgaon to present him the book, which had been offered to him many times. Therefore he sent Bhavani Datt to him to inquire if he would receive the book before they left for Kathmandu. The King set an evening audience and told him to bring the book in the early evening. They all went to the audience. Balgobinda went too as he desired for us ~~and~~ and for his own sake. Balgobinda wanted to go to court to show the King he was also as good as the first Brahman and he hoped for a lucrative position in the court. It is a custom in Nepal to paint a cover for books, some figure allusive of the content of the book. Balgobinda wanted the Father Prefect to put Our Lord and his disciples on the cover, and the seal and Euntes in mundum universum predicate Evangelium omni creaturae: qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit, qui vero non crediderit condemnabis, motto of the Propaganda. I was in charge of the design and coloring of the figures.

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I am not a good artist, but in Nepal it passed for a work of Titian. /35/
They were received in court and after ceremonies and little speeches, the Father Prefect presented the book. When the King saw the cover, the Father Prefect began to explain its meaning in Hindustani and Balgobinda translated into Nepalese the substance of the book vigorously and with such zeal a missionary couldn't do better. The King listened with pleasure. The King praised the vivacity and spirit of Balgobinda, then asked Kasi Nath why he had up to them deceived him by telling him that our religion was the same as that of Moslems and of Kashmiris—people very much detested by the gentiles; that the doctrines of our religion as expounded by Balgobinda from the book did not seem in great disagreement with the good as Kasi Nath had led him to believe. The King praised our religion and said that he wanted to consider it at a better [more tranquil] time. Kasi Nath added that it was necessary to have the book examined at the university of Benares, famous universities of Hindustan and other centers of the gentiles. The ruler told Balgobinda to go every day to his house because he liked to discuss it with him and wanted to become acquainted with our religion, praising the spirit and ability of Balgobinda to whom the King said he had not paid attention in the past, not believing him of remarkable ~~ability~~ capacity. All these events filled Kasi Nath with confusion. Kasi Nath sent Brahmans to the house of Balgobinda to give him a good scolding, but Balgobinda, being of quick wit, did not lack excuses to justify his conduct, the more so that he had the esteem of the King and the ruler. /36/ Kasi Nath sent Brahmans to argue religion with Balgobinda and Kasi Nath went to the house of the fathers and finally agreed both religions had good points, the main difference being only one god. The Father Prefect, Father Vito, Balgobinda and

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Kasi Nath discussed the question in Hindustani and Kasi Nath left seemingly satisfied.

On the 8th we left for Kathmandu--Father Prefect, Floriano, Tranquillo, Costantino and myself--all assigned to Tibet. On the 9th we visited King Jaya Prakasa. We presented to him binoculars and a compass. He was very pleased. He received our visit with more haughtiness than the King of Bhatgaon. He didn't let us sit, only asked a few questions regarding our countries, and after half an hour gave us leave to depart. We set to study the language of Hindustan and Tibet, where we hoped to go after the rain at the end of September. Meanwhile I was gaining with my medicine some creatures for heaven and I had better opportunity to inform myself about the holidays which from ~~time~~ time to time were celebrated among them of which I shall give a little description, principally of those we saw celebrated. /37/

Festivals happen by the moon (calendar);

describes castes;⁵¹

sacrifices; /38/

sacrifices;

offerings;

foods eaten;

red-lead;

sandalwood thrown;

how red-lead prepared; /39/

recipes of perfumes;

rituals and prayers;

festivals; /40/

For the understanding of that, we must say in advance that the celebrations of the gentiles are all regulated by the moon, with the exception of the celebration of Bhairo in Bhatgaon, which is celebrated at the conjunction of two stars; such conjunction follows at about the spring equinox. Therefore, this feast seems to fall a little before or a little after our Easter, without any regard for the age [period] of the moon, as it is observed in all the other celebrations.⁵⁶ /37/ The gentiles do not have the same solar year as we do, but in everything they go by the lunar year, and in order their their lunar months with their revolution are not lengthened essentially by the equinox, they also, every 4 years, have a leap-year to which they add the 13th month, and they always place it before the autumn equinox. Therefore, in the 4th year they give 2 moons to the month Badho [Bhadra] which coincides with our month of August. As I have observed, the progress of time is only different from us in the prior and post [of the western leap-year] to make a leap-year; while we were having it in this same year 1740, they had had it the preceding year 1739, therefore by indicating their holidays, I shall number them according to our moons corresponding to the solar months, thus supposing that the moon of March is the Easter moon. For instance, in this year 1740, on the 21st of September, we had the new moon on the same September [month], but for the gentiles, on account of the leap-year made the preceding year, it was the new moon of autumn or October.⁵⁷ All the gentiles who profess the religion of the Brahmans are divided into four principal castes or tribes, which they call Giat [Nepalese jat], that is, Brahmans [skr. brahmana, hind. brahman], the first and most important of all. The second is the Ciati [skr. ksatriya, hind. chatri] or Regi. The third is the Baek [skr. Vaisya, hind. bais], or

or citizens. The fourth is the Sutr [skr. sudra, hind. sudr], or the plebeians. Each of these castes or tribes are subdivided into many other castes. The Brahmans alone count as far as 84 of them, which are then subdivided again and the subdivisions of all [are] recognized or divided again into families and the families [are divided into] houses, and each of them have ceremonies, rituals, and particular customs, even the mechanical professions and the ~~god~~ god itself of the kinship.⁵⁸ All the time that elapsed between the feast of Bhairo until the last moon of April each family must make sacrifice to the god of their kinship, at least once on the days of Thursday or Sunday, or in the new moon or full moon, no matter what day it happens to be. Each family is divided in several houses, and not of a different blood relationship, while they can marry among themselves as long as they keep the impediment as far as the 5th grade of relationship. These houses make successively the sacrifice of the kinship, one in one year, the other in another year, and one at least of the other houses of the family goes to assist and participate in the sacrifice in the house whose turn is that year. /38/ He, whose turn has come to make the sacrifice, having consulted some Brahman to know the propitious day on which he can make the sacrifice with more merit, he [then] warns all the houses of his family; one at least of these must go to the house of the one who makes the sacrifice. After they have all fasted and washed in the river and garbed [themselves] in new clothes, or at least newly washed clothes, and when they are all gathered in the room where they have formed the figure of the idol in the way it is represented in the following pages, and in front of which, in two large basins the following necessary things are already prepared: a small square of silver, another of very thin gold, another

chunk of rock crystal, another fragment of stone, such as agate, and another of turquoise stone, with some strips of cloth, sandalwood finely ground, red-lead, 8 yellow jasmine [flowers], and some branchlets of aromatic herbs [such] as marjoram. In the other basis are 5 jars of concentrated milk, a little butter, fluid milk, apples and sugar, all placed in separate jars, and in addition, a little rice, popped on the fire, a little [quantity of] black beans, a goose egg, some fish, and a little piece of dry meat. Those who are not Brahmans or of the kinship of the Cistri or King, they add a jar of beer and one of arrack (a kind of aqua vitae made from rice). Besides there are some small round and flat loaves of bread made with rice flour, black bean flour and fried in oil or butter, a basket of Bagi (nep. baji) or ground rice, as seeds of melons [ground to the size of seeds ?] and even a male lamb, with a black coat without any spot, even a little wool of another color makes it unsuitable for the sacrifice. It [the duty] is upon the one who makes the sacrifice to add flowers, fruits and confectionery. When all that is prepared, the Aggiat (New. acata)⁵⁹ (caste of sacrificing Brahmans) lights an oil lantern and he gathers a little smoke with an iron spoon [held] over the flame of the lantern, with ~~it~~ which he makes points in the middle of three silver squares, which form the eyes of the idol. When that is done, he puts a little of the soot, a little of the concentrated milk which he takes from each of the prepared 5 jars in a small cup and mixes all with a little Bagi and in the meantime he reads the prayers prescribed by their ritual and he presents it to the figure of the idol. After that the acata himself places on all men present /39/ a small portion on their left temple, and on the women on their right temple. After that each one takes

something and goes to one of the pagodas which are out of the boundary of the city. The lamb proceeds and the others follow in line two by two. Among them one is loaded with a large bundle of hay and one or more pitchforks.

After they arrive at the pagoda which is always located either near the river or at some flowing water nearby, they all purify themselves by washing their hands, feet and mouth and sprinkling a little water towards the sky. And after they are purified they place themselves around in front of the idol of the pagoda, which is of shapeless stone not having any shape, but here placed just as it was cut from the quarry of the mountain, even though the temple is decorated. This shapeless stone is ordinarily inserted in the stone wall and is surrounded by ornaments. The acata begins the sacrifice [by] surrounding that stone with several strips of cloth, placing at the left side a little Savon⁶⁰ or the composition of the concentrated milk, rice and soot already made at the house. He makes several marks on the same stones with the sandalwood and with red-lead, and all the participants mark their forehead in turn. The acata sprinkles some grains of rice and beans over the stone. He places the 8 yellow jasmine and other flowers; then he makes the libation with water (if they are not Brahman or Ciatri). Besides water they sprinkle a little beer and arrack, and he lights an oil lantern in which there are five lighted wicks. After that has been done he places the sandalwood and the red-lead on the forehead of the lamb, a garland of flowers around the neck, a string around the horns and again sprinkles water on the face of the lamb, starting with the head of the house where the sacrifice has been made. If the lamb trembles at the touch

of the water it indicates that the god is propitious and the victim is accepted, therefore he proceeds with the sacrifice. But if the lamb does not happen to tremble, all the functions already made in the pagoda are started all over again as far as the aspersion of the water. If it doesn't tremble the second time, the functions are repeated for the third time and if necessary, if it doesn't tremble, they must defer the sacrifice to another day and change the lamb for another one. After the victim has given a sign by trembling to be acceptable to the god, one by one all the participants of the family place their /40/ right hand over the head of the lamb. In the meantime, the acata reads the prescribed prayers as he has done in all the other ceremonies, and having bound the forelegs of the lamb and making him lie on his belly, he cuts his throat in front of the shapeless stone, and promptly, grabbing the two arteries, he makes its blood spurt as high as he can, sprinkling it all over the shapeless stone. When the blood has ceased, he cuts off the head and the forefeet, which are placed in front of the above stone and the acata takes the front legs of the lamb, and the head of the celebration takes the hind legs. They make three turns with the lamb around the pagoda from left to right, and then they burn all the wool of the lamb with straw near the stone pagoda, where in the meantime they leave the feet and head, upon which they have lit two wicks dipped in oil. After the lamb has been broiled [singed] and washed, they open it up. They take the entrails out, the rectum is placed in the inside of the shapeless stone, the other tubes [intestines] and the spleen, and part of the liver are cleaned in water and they are pierced on iron forks and roasted with a straw fire, and while they [the participants] all sit around, each takes a small piece and they

eat it with bread made of rice flour and beans, and they regard the small repast as a sacred refection. When this is ended, they take the head and the feet of the lamb and they return to the house where they departed, in the same order. When they have arrived, they all ~~gamb gumb~~ go about their business. In the evening they gather again to eat the victim, and it must be cooked in the following fashion. They skin the lamb and then they separate exactly all the meat from the bones and cut it into small pieces. They place it in a large vessel where they sprinkle it with lemon juice or orange juice, salt, assafoetida, cumin, and ginger and they mix it well with such ingredients and leave it like that for some time. Then they squeeze the water out and they fry it in oil in which they had fried before a little quantity of seeds of fenugreek, and ~~ix~~ when the meat is cooked a little, they add the necessary water and concentrated milk. This is the prescribed way to cook the meat of the victim. The entrails and the skin, which they also eat, have no prescribed way of being cooked and therefore they prepare it at their pleasure, as they do also of all the other meat which is not sacrificed. Each one, when it is his anniversary to make such a feast, tries to prepare an ample banquet to eat, besides the victim. /41/

On the same evening they all gather and eat the victim in front of the idol in the house, with some small ceremony, and later when the victim has been consumed, they proceed with the dinner. Women of the same family are also allowed to eat the victim and the dinner. While they are eating, they all sit on mats on the ground. The men are all on one side and the women are on the ~~x~~ other side, placed one in front of the other, each having

a large brass plate nearby on the bare ground. When the supper is finished, before they get up, the head of the victim is brought and a little piece of it is given to each, but for the four elders of the kinship and the acata and for the one who foots the expenses, the parts of the head are assigned [by tradition]. The right eye of the victim belongs to the deacon of the kinship, the left eye belongs to the post-deacon, to the next one that comes belongs the right ear and to the fourth the left ear. The tongue belongs to the acata and the one who foots the expenses gets the tail. The head also is eaten with some ceremony. When that is finished the sacrifice and its consummation ends.⁶¹

The last day of the moon of April determines the end of the time to make ~~such~~ the above mentioned sacrifices and this day is a holiday. Fasts are kept, men and women make the puja (a kind of bloodless sacrifice). In the afternoon they clean all the public and private wells, drawing out all the water and the filth. After that they make a kind of sacrifice. They plant at the mouth of it 3 sticks with a little bundle of straw in the shape of a broom on the top of each, and the sticks are arranged in a triangle, and another triangle is made on top of the well by a cord made of straw, by which the above sticks are tied, as it is shown in the drawing (omitted). In such a way, the well remains unused for 3 days since no water can be drawn. On the 3rd day those who go and draw water make the puja before getting it by throwing in the well a little rice and some flowers, and they make at the opening some lines with sandalwood dust and some points with vermilion. After that they all can use the water.⁶²

On the same evening of the last moon of April, after having cleaned the wells, the celebration ends with stone-throwing. At about sunset,

men and boys gather in a field outside the city where they divide themselves into two teams, according to the Toal [tol] or sections in which cities are divided, /42/ and here they make a battle of stones with their slings until one of the teams is put to flight. The competition does not end without some deaths and some wounds, not only among those who fight, but also among the witnessing bystanders. In this year in Bhatgaon, one remained dead in the field and seven died days later of wounds. In Kathmandu three died on the field and many were wounded, and later some of these died. The king cannot forbid such battles, nor can he prosecute for the deaths that follow it. It is true that the present kings have made a small reform in forbidding the cutting of the head, as it was done before, of any of the opposing team who are caught right on the field, but to cut the head they can not use ~~any other instrument~~ any other instrument than a buffalo rib well ~~sharp~~ sharpened and ground.⁶³

On all the Thursdays and Sundays of the moon of May, the girls who are not married adorn themselves properly and they go, 7 or 8 together, to visit the goddess Sarasotti [~~Saraswati~~] [Sarasvati], goddess of science or the Pallas Athena of the Hindustanis.⁶⁴

On the 27th of the moon of July in the evening the boys of each section of the city make a large straw dummy and they expose it in the middle of the street. They also make many more smaller ones, and they put a mask on all. They dress them in a grotesque fashion with branches of hemp and green rattan, and they ask a gift of money or of fruit of the passersby in order to offer them to the devil, as they call those dummies. On this day all the women fast, and at sunset they sweep their houses from the interior as far as the

doorsill, holding in one hand the broom and in the other a brass basin in which there is rice, ground sandalwood, vermillion, a lighted lantern, three plants of thorny thistles, a string of cotton and some other things. When the woman has swept her way to the door, she comes out and placing the lantern in the middle, she re-enters to take a vessel of water and a bundle of dry rattan. After that she makes a kind of sacrifice at the door, sprinkling it with rice, making several marks with the sandalwood and vermillion and also on the doorsill, and on top of the door where she attaches a branch of thorny thistle with a little piece of cord. Then, sprinkling it with water, she lights 3 wicks well oiled on the doorsill. After that, lighting the bundle of rattan, she makes several turns around at the exterior of the door and taking the broom and the basin she goes to throw all except the basin in the middle of the nearest crossroad. /43/ The boys runs to extinguish the burning bundle of rattan in order to keep it. They say that with such a ceremony and prayers recited during the function, that the But [hind. bhut] or devils which are in the houses go out and cannot enter there again, and that therefore they enter the straw dummies made by the boys. At dusk all the boys light the bundles of rattan which they have gathered, and others are lighted in a similar way, and taking the straw dummies, they carry them at full speed to the fields at the border of the rice paddies. Here with great shouts and abusive words they burn all the devils, and the boys make a recreation [party] with the money and the fruits.

This same day is used as the limit to plant rice, so that if someone by any chance had missed or could not plant the necessary quantity, after this day he abandons it, believing that in no way it would grow well. Such is the power of superstition.⁶⁵

Three days before the celebration took place, the Queen of Bhatgaon who was in Timi where the people had proclaimed her son king, on the pretext of bathing herself and her son in the river Bagmati to satisfy a vow she had made went there, but when she arrived at the river, instead of washing herself she ordered to those who were carrying her to speedily reach the borders of Kathmandu, and took refuge at the court where an apartment with guards was assigned to her by the king Jaya Prakasa. The action of the queen was much talked about in all the three kingdoms, even though she did that only in order to safeguard the life of the little king.⁶⁶

The 13th of the moon of July is a day of great fasting since they don't eat anything until evening. On this day all cook a portion of rice which they give to the crows and to other birds to eat. On the same day the men who till the soil make the puja to the toads, and they leave with them a little cooked rice.⁶⁷

On the following day, a great number of idols are exhibited in the public streets. In the afternoon the ceremony begins. Each street of the city makes some spires or ~~pyra~~ pyramids all covered with straw, which have on the top a mask with two straw horns. They carry ^{these pyramids} /around through the city, /44/ and those who make the ceremony are covered from head to foot, or at least from the head to the elbow with straw, having two horns formed of the same straw on the head.

In the evening, after having made this procession, they come out of the city and go throw the spires and the straw with which they were covered in the river.

On the four following days, in the afternoons, they masquerade as we do for carnivale, and in the evening, in several squares of the city.

comedies or some other story of their false religion are represented.

After the 5th day the celebration ends, but it is within the power of the king to prolong it. It took place in a very melancholy way in Bhatgaon for the evasion of the queen and young king. In Kathmandu, on the contrary, it was prolonged as much as 12 days with great dances, comedies and feasts of all the people.⁶⁸

On the 27th of this moon the pious rituals were carried out by which almost all the houses possessing lands are not a little burdened, since they have to cook a certain number of measures of rice which they have to dispense as alms. On the following day the Baddie [Bandyas] go in groups to gather the cooked rice from x house to house, carrying in their hands great brass basins where they receive it, and then they place it in baskets that some Baria [bhariya] (porters)/who are charged to carry it to the houses of the Bandyas, and these make beer with this rice. In each group of Bandyas there is a chief, who, during such begging, is led under an umbrella which is twirled continuously.

On the same evening of the 27th the Bandyas made a procession in which they carry around five statues of five law reformers. All the city keeps the holiday, even though the Brahmans are rather against the Buddhists.

The women and their children spend the greater part of the day during which it is not permitted to labor, cracking the bones [stones] of the peaches, which they save for that occasion, and in cracking them they sing in cadence a song against the Bandyas who they would like to eradicate from Nepal, even though these are more ancient in their religion and their religion is the ancient religion of the kingdom of Nepal.⁶⁹

On the 24th of August, a serious dispute arose among the astronomers of Bhatgaon and Kathmandu, as they did not agree upon whether the new x moon would

have been visible over the horizon the following evening, and consequently, whether or not the ceremony had to take place on the following day, as this new moon prescribes [lit., carries with it]. /45/ The decision was in favor of the Bhatgaon astronomers, and on the evening of the 25th the following ceremony was made..

Before sunset all the people who were laboring in the field returned to the city and after sunset they all shut themselves in their houses and the whole family of each house retires into the most remote part of the house where after having shut tight doors and windows and the smallest openings through which the sky could be seen, they entertain each other here in conversation, remaining shut in in that way until the new moon has gone down and then they all come out and go about their business. In this retreat, they invite one another and during the time they are shut in, they make each other presents of sweets, confections, beer and aqua vitae of the country, and above all, of peach almond brittle.

In the progress of time I have found in their books the reason for such a retreat and I became acquainted with a Brahman who informed me on that very night and who had said the truth according to their books, that is, anyone, man or woman, who happens to see this moon on the first evening that it appears on the horizon becomes, by necessity, a thief.⁷⁰

For our misfortune, Father Prefect, Father Paolo and I were returning from Bhatgaon to Kathmandu. When we arrived, all the people were already in retreat. We crossed some part of the city without meeting a soul, and after we had arrived at the house where we lived we called and shouted in vain to have the door opened. It didn't do us any good; even though we were thirsty and wet with perspiration, we had to wait until the moon had set.

On the 8th of the same moon of Bhado [Bhadom] which coincides with the 6th moon of our astronomical year or the moon of August, falls the birth of their god Krishna, which, according to their books, is the god Vishnu, which became incarnated in Krishna for the 8th time, and who was born from a father and mother of royal lineage and was raised among shepherds, being hunted to death by his maternal uncle, who ordered put to death all the children of his kingdom⁷¹ in order not to let him escape.

At the same time is celebrated in Nepal the feast of Indra, who is the king of heaven. Indra is the most important patron of Kathmandu, therefore it is celebrated in this city with more pomp. They make a kind of small barracks in the square of the royal palace, where a great number of copper gilt, silver, and idols of other metals are exhibited, /46/ and in the evening they make a beautiful illumination. Each night there are several comedies which last until past midnight. For the rest of the city and in the other cities and in the lands they exhibit all the other idols in the public streets at the same time and among these there is the figure of Indr [Indra] crucified.⁷² In such a feast there are seen planted in all the streets a great number of crosses which are all covered with abrotanum⁷³ and a little higher on the horizontal piece they attach a mask or a piece of paper with a human face drawn on it. Towards the foot of the vertical pole they place the shape of the pierced feet and about the end of the arms of the cross they attach the shape of the pierced hands. Some boys make the puja in front of the crosses and they light them every night. Besides, they exhibit some huge masks which they^{say} are to represent the face of Mhadeo [Mahadeva] which is located over a shelf of about four feet in height. Behind this big

mask they place a container with tubes which come out of the mouth of the mask. These tubes pour beer, of which the container is full, and the people who roam the streets in the evening drink such beer for devotion. The greater part of these large masks are exposed from some houses which are obliged by wills made by their ancestors to provide more or less measures of beer, enjoying some land tied to them for such purpose. And if they would fail in the annual execution according to the wills, the king would enter into possession of their property in accordance with the law which attaches to such legacies. On account of the number of the great masks, the majority of the people become drunk during this celebration. The people of some quality, either men or women who roam the streets, do not, however, drink from the masks. It is true, though, ^{that} they place in some room a small container of beer with a small mask in front and here they make offerings and puja. They light the lights and drink beer. I have seen some, who in the absence of the mask, had painted the face on the belly of the container itself in order to become devotedly drunk. The celebration lasts 3 days and more if the king wants it.⁷⁴

On the first day of the celebration, the Brahmans dispense some strings of silk and cotton and they receive for it some alms in money.⁷⁵ The Brahmans and the others tie those strings on the left arm or at the neck and they wear them during the holiday on every day which they celebrate, /47/ and in the evening the comedies and the representations which are always in great number . . . [part of the sentence omitted in the book]

The comedies, as I have mentioned, consist in representing some story of their sacred books or some satirical comedy by which they ridicule some one's customs. They are all presented in the public squares. In some of these squares there is a platform of about 20 feet square and 3 feet high where the actors in their appropriate costumes present the play. The

spectators are seated on mats which they spread over the bare ground of the square or the streets. They have neither theatre nor scenery, but if the opera must be represented near a river they stretch over the floor where the actors stand a cloth on which the river is painted. If a wood is required they hold in their hands four or six branches of some tree. If a temple is required they place in the middle an idol, and so forth to change the scenery. The actors of such comedies have very little recitation and a great deal of action, so that the principal actor does not recite in a comedy of 2 or 3 hours, 8 or 10 parts in various scenes but it all is sung by a chorus as in Greek plays, and the Nepalese have at least two choruses in each play. A third one is formed by the full chorus, that is, both together. The actor recites in 2 or 3 verses, expressing, for instance, an extreme sorrow in which he finds himself. The choruses sing alternately, faintly, of the bitterness of grief, of the various passions which are aroused by such grief in the heart of the character, such as hope, relinquishment, fear, courage, and so on of all the other passions. And during the time that the chorus sings, the actor matches his expression to the meaning of the words which are being sung with his face, feet and hands, almost always dancing. The orchestra of such comedies is composed of some small drums, trumpets and cymbals which are 2 metal vessels beaten one against the other according to their notes. There are at least 8 pairs of cymbals pitched at various tones of voice in each comedy. This, when well played, makes a harmonious ~~musical~~ carillon. Four trumpets and three drums complete the orchestra. The drum conducts the symphony and is played by hand. In each part of Nepal [during] some months of the year there is open school for the youth for dancing, for music and for singing as they are later used /48/ during the

celebrations in the representations. But the proper costume of the personage they represent is made at their expense.⁷⁶

In this year in Nepal the rainy season was very scant of water. For that reason, the rice paddies on which famine or abundance depends, had suffered a great deal. They did not fail in all the three kingdoms to make more sacrifices and expositions of various idols but all in vain. Therefore, the kings ordered that the ceremony of the squirts be made in their respective cities.

The day of such a ceremony is established by the Brahman astrologers, as I observed in this and the following years. They always assign a day next to the new moon or full moon or quarter of the moon. On the established day in the morning the King sacrifices a kid and a duckling, both male. In the afternoon, large vessels full of water are prepared in the principal streets. At a certain hour several groups of men and naked boys come out in public. They wear only a cloth around their loins by which they cover their parts. They carry attached to their sides a copper jar or some other container full of water, and in their hands they carry a copper pipe or syringe two feet long, and in such a way they roam the city as fanatics, wetting from a distance with their squirts anyone they meet or anyone who looks out from the windows. Not even the king is spared. The women also participate in the ceremony. Having made a good provision of water, they pour it in great buckets over those who pass under their windows. The principal discharge of squirts is made over the pagodas, which they bathe from top to bottom, accompanying the discharge of the water with a shower of abuse, so that in the evening there isn't any pagoda in the city which has not been flooded by water and more insults, reproaching the gods for the avarice that they have shown in not giving them water, of which they have

[enough] to waste in spite of them. If the ceremony is established for several consecutive days, sections [of the city] are nominated for each day, and these sections must provide the actors for such a ceremony. Several times I have seen even the king and his court go out to make such a ceremony. In contradistinction to the squirters, he [the King] was throwing water colored yellow with curcuma,⁷⁷ [a plant of the ~~ginger~~ ginger family] /49/

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processions;

river bathing described;

kill lambs—good or bad omen according to how high the lambs'

blood spurts; then lambs are eaten with rice and beans.

Skins of the lambs are saved. /41/

People march around idol eating the food (sacrifices);

Men sit on one side, women sit on the other side.

Puja equals a sacrifice on the last day in ~~XX~~ April.

The people clean the public and private wells. /42/

Stone throwing festival continues until one side retreats;

many die. /42/ The King has passed laws against this

but to no avail. /43/

Festivals;

Housecleaning to expel devils. /43/

The queen of Bhatgaon who was in Timi where the people had claimed her son king, on the pretext of bathing in the river in Kathmandu to satisfy a vow she had made, ordered those who had accompanied her to quickly reach the borders of Kathmandu. She took refuge in the court, where an apartment with guards was assigned to her by the King Jaya Prakasa. This action of the queen caused a lot of talk in all the 3 kingdoms, even though this action was only to save the life of the little king.⁶⁶ /44/

More festivals; how to cook rice. /44/

The festivals of Bhatgaon were shorter--the people were saddened by the leaving of the queen. /45/

The people cooked rice for charity. Bandyas go to houses for rice.

Festivals and ceremonies. /45/

Festivals;

fasting on certain days;

Krishna's birthday, an Indian festival. Kathmandu's patron saint is Indra. /46/

Mahadeva.

Drunken people for festival. /47/

Plays--stories of sacred books performed in the public square with actors in costumes. /48/

Music--how instruments are made and how played. /48/

Schools for dancing and singing. /48/ These students perform at festivals. /48/

Rain was scarce that year and the rice crop was bad. In all 3 kingdoms sacrifices were made to idols but always in vain. Description of "ceremony of the squirts." People on the houses squirted water from syringes on the street passengers (passersby)--even the King would be squirted if he passed by. Women pour big buckets of water on people. The temples are bathed from top to bottom and the gods are cursed for the scarcity of water, and to show the gods that they have water despite their cruelty. /49/

In the meantime, as the rainy season approached, we prepared for our journey to Tibet, /49/ and spoke to Bansiri [bhansari] to inspect and seal the baggage we were to take to Tibet, but we couldn't obtain this seal. We appealed to the King without success.

On the 17th of September all the 4 bhansari, on the order of the King, came and sealed the baggage without charge, which on this occasion saved us 158 Mandarmeli [mahendramalli]. Such was the price we had to pay for the

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things as gifts to the Pope and Cardinal Belluga which we were taking to Tibet. The bhansari are 4 toll officials in each principal city. They inspect goods such as iron, brass copper, etc., going to and from Hindustan, Nepal and Tibet. Moslems and other non-nationals pay 15 mahendramalli for each load; national merchants [Nepalis] pay 9 mahendramalli per load. When sending merchandise to Tibet, one must warn the bhansari who inspect the merchandise and seal the bales. After that they cover the bales with skins of buffalo and goats, taking care to expose the seal to view. They will unpack the bales if they suspect fraud and then they seal the bales a second time. Two kings previous to the present king states in the letters that the fathers could enjoy the privileges of the natives in paying the bhansari duties on the baggage. Every year they had to send something to the fathers in Tibet from Chandernagore. /50/

We went to thank the King who received us in a friendly manner, but not with the intimacy of the King of Bhatgaon. However, in time he had given us more proofs of esteem and one of them was an irrevocable gift of a house with a well and a small garden in order that we could establish a hospice in Kathmandu. The donation was incised in copper and we have it with us. Such donation was made at the end of 1741, however I do not include the dimensions or the plants (vegetation) in order to proceed with the plan of the hospice. (omitted by editor)

After having seen the King and taking our leave, we looked for the necessary men to carry our things as far as Kuti, the border of Tibet, but until the close of the great celebration which falls on the 28th and 29th of this month, we were unable to find them. We were obliged to wait until the holidays had passed. /51/

Description of celebrations and sacrifices to goddess. Many rituals.

/51-52/

In 1744 when I was in Bhatgaon I saw peculiar buffalo ceremonies. /52/

Rituals /53/

Ceremonies and rituals /54/

Special buffalo for ceremonies /52-53-54-55/

Dry buffalo meat in strips for food for the rest of year. /55/

Sacrifice to Bhavani. /56/

~~Spice~~ Spirit of statue of goddess (Bhavani) goes away. /56/

Desmi is a festival like Easter for the Jews. /56/

In Hindustan the holidays have some differences which I will tell later.

/56/

Need skull taken from living man. /56/

Sacrifice child to animate goddess. /56/

The celebration begins on the first day of the moon of October. On the morning of this day the people all wash themselves and in particular the women, and after that they go to the country and take some earth with which they fill a new vessel. In this they plant some barley with some ceremony, watering it every day with great attention in order that on the day of the solemnity it has not only sprouted but it is at least 6 fingers tall. On this same day in the temple of each court which is dedicated to Bhavani in all the lands, castles and villages not only of Nepal but of all the places where is the religion of the Brahmans, a kid is sacrificed; on the 2nd day 2 are sacrificed; on the 3rd, 3; and so on progressively until the 7th on which 7 are sacrificed. On this day before the sacrifice, the goddess Bavani [Bhavani] and two other goddesses, Sarasuoti [Sarasvati] and Laccini [Laksmi], that is the goddess of wealth and science, are taken out of their temples, and they are placed in the courtyard in front of their temple which is inside the enclosure of the courts. Here they sacrifice to Bhavani a kid, with particular rites, and they claim that on the strength of this sacrifice the spirit of the goddess Bhavani descends to inform the statue. After the statue has been animated, they sacrifice the other 7 kids. On this day, in the morning and at noon and in the evening at 8 o'clock they prepare a sumptuous dinner and supper for the goddess, placing all the prepared food in her presence. Then they close the doors of the courtyard without leaving anyone in it, /51/ and they leave the goddess to eat for an hour and a half. ~~just~~ just After that they ~~withdraw~~ withdraw the food/as they placed it, even though they say that the goddess had sucked in the most substantial part of it. The remaining food is distributed among the Brahmans and the devout, who receive it with great devotion.

On the 8th day they sacrifice 8 kids and on the point that the 9th day of the moon starts, the king begins the solemm sacrifice of buffalo and kids, and after that all the people sacrifice. The day preceding this holiday all the women are occupied in cleaning well each corner of their houses. They go either to the river or to the wells, or to some pond of water of which the cities are full, to wash all the instruments of their looms, such as the reels, and any other instrument of the respective professions of their husbands, the anvils, the hammers if they are smiths, goldsmiths or brass-smiths, scales and weights if they are merchants. The soldiers clean their guns, polish their sabers and shields, and so forth in all the houses, having attention to polish all the floors with a kind of red clay mixed with cow or buffalo dung. Each land or ~~village~~ castle in Nepal is obliged to raise from one year to the next, one or more male buffalo, one of which they have to lead for such celebrations in the capital of their respective kingdoms to be sacrificed in this celebration. Each capital nourishes 12 of them to which a stable near each door of the city is assigned. In the city of Bhatgaon, the king, in donating to us the house, kept the ground floor room of the same house marked in the map at p. 70 [24] to raise the buffalo which belongs to our Toal [tol] or section.

Three days before being sacrificed all these buffalo are diligently inspected to see whether they are healthy and such an inspection is made by two Brahmans. In 1744, while I was in Bhatgaon, it was found in visiting the buffalo which was in the stable of our house that he had the last vertebra of the tail broken and for this defect it was judged unsuitable for the imminent sacrifice and therefore on the same night it was butchered and another one was substituted to be sacrificed in due time. Such a fact

sharpened my curiosity to find out why the buffalo had been excluded from the sacrifice for such a small defect. But since it was to be sacrificed by the public for debts [sins], for such a defect it was not a pure victim. That seemed to have great relation /52/ to what Moses prescribes in Exodus ~~at~~ 22;23. The ordinary people try to sacrifice some buffalo on such a day, not only the well-to-do, but also the artisans and peasants. These, ordinarily, join in groups of 18 or 20 and, dividing the expense among themselves, which ordinarily amounts to 14 Mahendramalli, which comes to 8 or 9 Roman scudi, they buy a ~~best~~ buffalo. Besides the number of buffalo that are sacrificed, the quantity of kids, geese, ducks, roosters and ~~fox~~ pigeons sacrificed on that day in Nepal is incredible. It suffices to say that there isn't a ~~family~~ family which in such a ceremony doesn't sacrifice in their own house at least three animals besides those which, for devotion or for ostentation, each family tries to sacrifice in public in front of some pagoda, since the courtyard of the Bhavani, even though very large, is not large enough that in 24 hours it can make room for so many sacrifices successively.

The courtyard where Bhavani is exposed on such days is all covered with sand. And from one side to the other of the statue of Bhavani there are two naked men, having only their shameful parts covered. These must remain standing from the beginning of the sacrifice to the end and receive on their faces the blood of the victims. They make the sacrificer squirt it on purpose in their faces, nor can they move until the function is completed. In case of need, it is permitted to them to drink by the hands of others a little milk and nothing more. At the hour of the entering of the moon in the 9th day sacrifices are started in the court. The forelegs are tied under

the belly of the buffalo, trying to make him lie on the belly.. After that, with a cord attached to the horns, they draw the head backwards, trying to draw it ~~it~~ as far back over the shoulder as possible. When the victim is prepared in such a way, they sprinkle it with flowers and then the King and all his family place their hands on the head of the victim. When that is done the king makes a little incision in the throat of the buffalo, gathering a little blood in the palm of the hand which he throws in the face of the statue of Bhavani, and then he draws to one side. The butchers accomplish the sacrifice, uncovering the 2 jugular veins and grabbing them with their hands, they cut them towards the head letting the blood rise up to the air as tall fountains, ^{to that} and/the position in which the animal is tied, contributes very much, and also the dexterity of the butchers, /53/ among which during such a function, there is a small emulation to make it spurt the highest in order to asperse even the golden roof of the temple of the goddess and for better guiding several squirts in the faces of the 2 naked men here assisting. Finally, when all the blood has come out of the victim, they cut off the head which they place at the feet of the statue, and they carry the body of the victim in another room. Thus, all the buffalo belonging to the king and to the people are sacrificed in succession. When the public sacrifices are finished, the ordinary people begin making their own, which are carried out in the same way.

The 10th of the moon is the solemn holiday, therefore such a ~~is~~ holiday is called Desmi [Dasami] or 10th. On this day the inter-written [following] ceremony is made in all the houses. The men who preside in the sacrifice must have taken a bath besides having fasted until the end of the ceremony. The women make with a dough of rice flour a miniature copy of the instrument

of ~~the~~ their husbands' profession which they place around the prepared place for making the sacrifice. There they place a new broom, 5 Eheer (fruit [hind. bahera]⁸⁰ of India), two pumpkins, rice, flowers, strings of cotton, vermillion, a lantern with several wicks and a little milk, arrack, one or more citrons, and other things according to their fancy, principally the vessel in which the ~~barley~~ barley shoots were planted on the first day of the moon. After that is prepared the men who must perform the sacrifice make the puja or offering to the ~~gt~~ figure of Bhavani, marking the forehead with vermillion. After that the head woman of the house marks the forehead of the witnesses with the same vermillion and after them she passes on, marking with the same vermillion all the instruments of the profession of the husband, not only the real instruments but also the others made of dough. When that is done the men slaughter the victim upon which all of the family have placed their hands and with the blood of it he sprinkles the figure of the goddess and all the instruments and weapons. After that they divide with a sword a figure of a miniature ram made of rice ~~dough~~ dough prepared in advance, and with the same sword they divide the two prepared ~~pumpkins~~ pumpkins, and letting the sword fall, the sacrificer and all the witnesses make their prayers with clasped hands to Bhavani, praying her to receive the sacrifice propitiously, and claiming to offer it to her with the same heart and devotion which in past eras in the world other more saintly men had offered it to her.

When such implorings are terminated /54/ the man takes the hammer or the sword, the woman takes the pestle with which she grinds the rice and with them either they grind in the mortar or they beat the anvil or with the sword they make several blows in the air, praying the goddess to be favorable to them

in this year in order that with such instruments they may provide for their livelihood, and that those blows which they make with their instruments in her presence/^{she} will deign to discharge over the heads of their enemies, and that she be so kind as to keep away from them any misfortunes. The men go in the street with their guns and they fire several shots with the same intention of injuring their enemies. After this first sacrifice, which is the most solemn, is made, they make another with a rooster at the foot of the loom where the woman has set together all the instruments of such work. She sprinkles them with the blood of the rooster and marks them with vermillion and mortar [lime] and in the same way another makes the third sacrifice ~~and~~ to a thing, and another man to another thing. And after that they mark all the exterior doors of the houses and their rooms with vermillion and lime, attaching at the architrave of the door a little rice wrapped in a cloth with 3 small points of iron, a peacock feather with some leaves of artemisia, making over it some lines ~~z~~ with the vermillion. On the sides of the doors they make other marks, and they make yet another mark in the middle of the door which takes both sides [on both sides of the door?], and finally on the ~~door~~ doorsills. They plant five points of nails and they make a few dots with the vermillion and they sprinkle it with water. In such a way they guarantee their houses against any sinister event. When the ceremonies are terminated, they all eat the sacrificed victims in ~~the~~ their houses and during the following days they invite each other. And since the great quantity of the victims cannot be consumed in a short time, the greatest part of the buffalo and kids is cut into thin and long strips, and these are dried in the sun, where it becomes almost infested with maggots. From that originates a stench

for several days in the cities, which become impassable to anyone but the Nepalese. This meat, dried in such fashion, is kept to be used during the winter, especially in times of famine.

On the evening of the 11th of the same moon, the king comes out on foot, preceded by all those who have in the city some drug shop or other goods [merchants] and everyone is obliged to carry in his hands a long stick, four or five arms long, /55/ from the top of which some strips of vari-colored paper cut in French points [lace] are hanging. The merchants march two by two at a distance. In the middle of them one of the heads of the buffalo sacrificed by the King is carried ~~by two porters~~ hanging from a pole by two porters. The sacrificed buffalo have remained day and night in front of the statue of Bhavani until that evening. All these heads, half-rotten, are carried in procession in such a manner through the city, while the King accompanies them on foot with his court, causing himself to be followed by palanquins and several well-caparisoned horses. On the following day the spirit of the goddess abandons the statue, the preparation of the ordinary food ceases, and on the same day the statues are replaced in their temples. The statue of Bhavani of Bhatgaon is the most esteemed, above all the others in all Nepal, not only because it is made of gold but because they say it has descended from heaven. Curiosity, not only in this year but also in the following ones when I remained in Bhatgaon, was pricking me to see a statue worked in the heaven of the gentiles, but even though I had a great desire [to see it], I gave it up in order not to expose myself to some inconvenience.

On the very same day all the ordinary people throw in the streets all that was used to make the sacrifice to Bhavani, such as rice, strings, Bheer (fruits), citrons, the cut pumpkins, and the seedling barley.

After the 10th day of the offering to the goddess, all the men and women were carrying some bundles of seedling barley on their heads for devotion, carrying it the whole day as if it were flowers and the Brahmans themselves, in order to gain something, have the cleverness to distribute such seedling barley in the houses.

The feast of the celebration of Dasami in Nepal, which is considered among all the gentiles as the Easter among the Jews, ends in such fashion. In Hindustan the same celebration is celebrated with some small differences of ritual, but I shall mention these at the proper time. They say always that for the solemn sacrifice made in such holidays at courts, a human skull is by necessity required. It is magically drawn from the head of a living man. I shall talk about that when I shall narrate the way the same holiday is celebrated in Hindustan, where they maintain that in order to animate the statue of the goddess, a child is sacrificed.⁸¹ /56/

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After the holidays were over we looked for porters. /56/

In Kathmandu there was a native merchant who had become Christian a few years before, named John. Seeing that we were going to Tibet, he wanted to come with us to see how his business in Tibet was going. He had an agent there. Another merchant, brother of a deceased Christian, wanted to give us his nephew as a companion, whom he was sending to do business in Tibet. Therefore Father Prefect charged these 2 men to procure the necessary porters. Porters are Tartars. Description of how porters work. Great details. The porters were found after great difficulty and the departure was scheduled for the 4th of October. Father Sigismondo da Jesi returned to Hindustan. /57/

Having prepared everything necessary for the trip as far as Kuti, border of Tibet, on the birthday of Father S. Francesco we celebrated mass in the house of the gentiles where we had lived. We were ready to leave, but we couldn't find the porters. We were advised to start our journey by Banzidar (the merchant's nephew) and wait in Sanku for the porters, and that John and Banzidar would accompany them. Father Prefect, Gioachino, Floriano, Tranquillo, Costantino, Cassiano, Brother Paolo and our servant Domenico started for Sankhu. Started journey north-east. Several hills; passed Bagmati river 3 times, and the river Mono⁸³ once, and at sunset arrived in Sankhu. Stayed at the house of John's sister-in-law.

Sankhu is a good land surrounded by walls and sufficiently large in population. It has good houses, roads paved with brick and water runs in two channels down the streets. This city is the apple of discord for which more than a century before war sprang up between the King of Bhatgaon to whom it belonged and the King of Kathmandu, who even today possesses it. All the merchants going and coming from Tibet have to pass through

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Sankhu. It brings considerable revenue to the King and gives the inhabitants the ~~the~~ opportunity to become rich.⁸⁴ Here we spent the two following days to wait for the goods and the 6 porters. Father Prefect had a stomach ailment, so we carried him /58/ in a blanket, as we wanted to go on.

On the morning of the 7th we found in Sankhu 2 more men and started in the afternoon for Langur. At the beginning of the trip a fine rain started which went on to the end of the journey, of 4 Kos. Made 3 fords over the river Mono, climbed mountain as far as Langur. Langur is on the slope of a mountain. Banzidar wanted to accompany them. Langur consists of some mud houses covered with the branches of trees, sprinkled on the slopes of mountains.⁸⁵ We lodged in the house of the Carvala [Karbare].

It is the custom in this place as far as the capital of Tibet that merchants and other travellers, when they pass the places where they must spend the night, that the house which gives them hospitality acquires almost a right over the guests. When they return, the travellers have to lodge in the same house. The custom is enforced by the natives, and if it is broken, the offender is put before a judge to decide the case.⁸⁶

The Karbare gave us plates of raw rice, lentils and chicken. Brother Paolo and our servant Domenico cooked dinner. It became night, but the porters still hadn't arrived. About 2 o'clock one arrived and said the others were coming. /59/

These ~~the~~ mountains are covered with pine trees, and pine torches are used for light.

On the morning of the 8th the porters cooked rice and beans. They eat warm food before they start, and eat rice at noon. We couldn't depart

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until 8 o'clock. Quarrels with porters. Fifteen porters didn't want to go, as their leader had not returned. They finally agreed to go at 10 o'clock. They left 15 loads and 14 porters there. Descended the mountain. Two kos later they reached the edge of a very deep ravine, where there was only 1 house with 1 family. The duty of this family is to give water to all the travellers. After that they reached the river Koska,⁸⁹ which is large, deep and very fast. They needed a boat for the passage across the river. They climbed another mountain for 1 kos. /60/ There were houses on top of the mountain, and after 9 kos of journey⁹⁰ they spent the night in Langur.

In the morning 2 porters refused to go on. They couldn't find any others so they loaded the men who were carrying the Father Prefect. They passed a small river,^{90 bis} climbed 2 huge mountains, and after 9 kos arrived in Ciopra⁹¹ which has houses similar to those in Sipa.

On the 10th they were obliged to remain there, as the 2 men substituting refused to go on, saying that they were engaged to carry the Father Prefect. They couldn't persuade them, and either had to stop or leave the loads, so they stopped. Had more trouble with the porters. /61/

Finally left. 1 kos across from the mountain there is an iron mine.

On the morning of the 11th they started again. The journey ~~was~~ was the same as on the preceding days. They went north-east; a long, troublesome journey; descended the mountain; met very fast river;⁹² bridge made of a single tree, 2 feet by 25 feet long, set over 2 boulders. The bridge was of the height of 2 men and under a water fall. /61/ On the other side of the river there were swamps and rice paddies for more than 1 kos. They arrived at the river Cithik⁹³, which is small but deep and fast, where there was a second bridge of 2 logs. The bridge was not very stable, but was shaky.

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The bridge was 60 feet long. We climbed a tall mountain, flanking it through small terraced paths. After 10 kos we arrived in Nogliakot⁹⁴ where we found Turibazu with the porters who had preceded us.

On the morning of the 12th we bent our way north-eastward. The paths were still dangerous and we climbed the same mountain by the steps. There were many precipices and 4 log bridges crossing chasms. After 3 kos we descended the mountain and found a small plateau where the Tibetan Lamaess⁹⁵ has her residence. There is a small Tibetan temple before coming to this lamasery, which is carved with Tibetan characters which the Father Prefect himself could not understand. The greater part of the stones were carved with 4 inscriptions and 2 verses:

[Tibetan given in text] Om pa zza tra ru

[Tibetan given in text] Pema Lha rru gniha [sic!]⁹⁶

which we never understood.

In the middle of the plateau by which we passed there was a small temple of Sakya-t'ub-pa, legislator of Tibet. I peered in the door and saw only a statue of Sakya-t'ub-pa, and a great roll six feet tall, propped by columns, in the middle. /62/ and the Lamaess makes it turn from left to right with a cord. There is a small stone enclosure outside the temple, inside of which from side to side there were other rolls about a cubit long and a foot wide on their poles. These wooden rolls are hollow inside and all the hollow is filled with paper minutely written with orisons and other Tibetan prayers. The Tibetans maintain that they acquire as much merit by turning these wheels as by reciting the prayers orally. Only the Lamaess turns the great prayer wheel and she turns it 108 times every morning. There are other prayer wheels which are for laymen and travellers.⁹⁷

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We came out of this aldea [word not given in Italian dictionary]. We found in the space of half a mile more stones, all carved with words and characters as before. After 1 kos we arrived at Paldu,⁹⁸ having gone 7 kos during the whole day.

When we arrived in Paldu we were embarrassed. As I have already told, it is customary in Kathmandu to give half the pay due to the porters directly to their chief. The other half was to be given to the porters themselves at their arrival in Kansa. Our porters claimed the rest of their pay here in Paldu and in order to have it, 14 of them asked it of Banzidar, who denied it to them in order to give it to them at the prescribed place. There was a heated dispute; one porter bolted, and others took Banzidar by the neck. Banzidar resorted to his sword. We tried to intervene to settle the matter, but there was no way to be heard, such was the commotion and cries. They menaced and insulted each other without coming to blows. John said to let be as ^{there was} no danger of accidents. We retired into the house of the Karbare, who with others were mediators. After awhile Banzidar obtained the money from Father Prefect to satisfy the porters and gave it to them, screaming like a possessed one. /63/ More porter arguments. The porters picked up stones of equal weight of their loads to show their strength and were paid according to how much weight they could lift. Little stones were used as receipts of pay. The Karbare was a witness. The stones were wrapped in cloth and sealed as pay due to them, on the agreement to carry the loads to Kuti. If the porters didn't continue to carry the loads, they would have to return the pay and the weight of the stone (8 ounces) in gold. All differences were settled peacefully. On the same evening the Pradhan in Paldu, or rather Governor of Nesti, put the porters in great consternation and the porters came to ask us forgiveness for having been drunk at the aldea (?)

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of the Lamaess. The Pradhan visited us, and nothing was said of what happened, fearing the worst.

On the following morning, early, we started our journey, always inclining more to north. The journey was much more arduous than on the preceding days. We first descended a great precipice in the bottom of which we passed a precipitous little river over a log. Then we climbed a steep mountain, while surrounded on all sides by mountains, horrible for the quantity of trees by which they are covered. From the steep summit of the mountain which we had on our left, a large torrent of water gushed, which, since the point of the mountain was cut almost as a cylinder, it was gushing out with great force as the mouth of a large river. This water, falling on the slope of the mountain from left to right, forms several irregular cascades /64/ which are clear, down to the bottom. This was pleasant and picturesque to see. The whole mountain is covered with other waterfalls.

After 3 kos, always ascending, we reached Nesti.⁹⁹ This place, with the others before and the others as far as Kuti, are the domain of the King of Kathmandu, and there annexed to the possession of Sanku which is the key to all the country. Here in Nesti there is a fortress in the same fashion as those of Nepal, but for them it is very strong, since the stones alone are sufficient enough to keep the enemy at a distance, in view of the difficulty of reaching the place from all directions. In this fortress the seals which the bhansari (customs men) put on the skins covering the bales in Kathmandu were recognized and broken to inspect the goods. The goods which arrive from Tibet are inspected here in Nesti and again sealed and the seals are recognized in Kathmandu by the bhansari. Here one pays no customs duty but

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the travellers have to pay $2\frac{1}{2}$ Mahendramalli per person. We did not pay because the King of Kathmandu had sent an order before our arrival to the pradhan of this place to exempt us from such duties.

After ~~having~~ had our baggage inspected we proceeded on our journey, climbing almost half a mile, after which we descended a steep "climb" [slope] at the foot of which we found a group of houses inhabited by Tibetans. Then we turned east, walking on a slope of another mountain through a little path, having on our left a horrid precipice, at the bottom of which ~~one~~ could hear running precipitous water. After 1 kos walk on the little path, we started to climb towards the peak of the mountain through a narrow ladder of stones, which was twisting on the very slope, having on our side the same precipice which was becoming more horrid as we were climbing higher. We reached with great effort the summit of the ladder and on the opposite slope of the mountain we descended another ladder longer than the one before and equally steep—or maybe more, since in the bottom there was a small valley with some rice paddies and from the top one could hardly discern the men and the animals which were in the bottom, almost straight down. ~~165~~ /65/ After having descended the mountain, we proceeded for a while through the little valley and finally we arrived in Dunna¹⁰⁰ after having walked 8 kos.

On the morning of the 14th we started off again, going more towards the north. At the beginning of the journey we descended the slope of a steep mountain by a small path, with a precipice on our side, and during the whole day we skirted several mountains on the slopes through similar paths flanked by precipices. In different places where the little path ended by some huge boulder, in order to pass on the other side we had to go over some small paths formed by some big pieces of wood fastened in the boulders. On ~~top~~ of them

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there were other planks and branches, forming a platform in the air, rather long but ordinarily no longer than 2 cubits. They were springing and bouncing, and the terror caused by the precipice which one sees under foot is increased. That day we passed 12 such platforms. The dangerous path which frightened us more than any other was a boulder which protruded out of the mountain at a horrible angle, terminating in a very steep precipice at the bottom where a rapid river flowed, and on the same boulder several cascades were falling on the side of the mountain. For that reason the porters had excavated a few holes in order to pass it with the caution of putting one foot firmly in one before taking the other [step]. The most dangerous of these passes consist of 15 to 16 feet in length. We passed it with great terror.¹⁰¹ At about one mile we reached the river Nahota¹⁰² which descends precipitiously from the middle of 2 mountains. The bed of the river is 100 feet wide. We passed it over a bridge made of chains from one side of the river to the other. Two big chains are stretched with 156 big rings of oblong shape, each one foot long. The ends of the chains are fastened to huge boulders and from the lateral chains hang other small chains, distant from one another more than 2 cubits. At the end of them there is an iron rod which forms the plane on which are placed the wood which forms the bridge. This is not dangerous because one can hold oneself comfortably by the hands on the lateral chains, at the end of which, besides being fastened to the boulders of the mountains, there are placed big stones¹⁰³ as I have shown in the sketch (omitted by editor). /66/

After we had passed this suspension bridge which was more than 4 men high over the water, we climbed the mountain from where the river was gushing at our feet, and having with that the joy of seeing beautiful little cascades,

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pools and playful water, descending in rivulets and feeding the river. At about half a mile of walk from the place where we were supposed to arrive, we saw in the side of the road a ~~hole~~ hole in the boulder which was pointed out to us by Banzidar as a curiosity. Such a hole of irregular shape, having at the widest point only a cubit in diameter, is the mouth of a large cavern, so deep that in its bottom runs a large torrent of water. I threw several stones to test the depth of it and they all took more than a paternoster to reach the water. Finally, after a trip of 8 kos we arrived in Kansa,¹⁰⁴ a place a little more populated than the others, situated among mountains with a small valley on the south-west. Here the houses are much better than the others encountered on the mountains, some even having three stories, and all of them roofed with planks. We had here a cool reception by the son of the Karbare, as the Karbare had gone to Kuti. After he had received us in the house, the Karbare's son tried to persuade us to send back all the porters, offering to find us others who would lead us to Kuti and would carry all the cargo. We didn't want to agree to that, and anyway we had resolved to proceed on the journey the following day. The son of the Karbare, seeing that he could not succeed with us, resorted to other courses. He spoke to our porters, assuring them that if they went to Kuti they would expose themselves to great risk in view of the recent skirmishes between the Kuti and Nesti peoples. The porters were frightened and the following morning all of the 15 porters took leave, returning the money which they had taken for the trip to Kuti, claiming that they were not paid as far as that place. It was not possible to retain them. They all wanted to withdraw. We were greatly offended by the trick perpetrated against us by the son of the Karbare. Therefore we left his house and looked for another one, but in vain because no one wanted to receive us

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according to the convention that there is among them never to receive the travellers who do not stop at their place customarily. /67/ We wanted to raise our tent but the son of the Karbare, through a third man, led us to another house which, as we later found out, was also his. In the meantime the Karbare returned home from Kuti, and having been informed by the son of the trick played on us, he came to visit us, excusing himself and throwing the blame on the son. He presented us with a lamb quarter, 10 eggs, a plate of satu (oatmeal) and a little tea, telling us that if the porters had not yet departed, he would make them proceed. Luckily for us the porters had not left for Nepal, therefore the following morning we could depart, missing only six men whose cargo we left in the house of the Karbare with the money to send it to Kuti, and he did not fail to send them all the next day.

Early on the 16th we departed with the remaining porters and we took our journey straight north. The journey was even rougher than the past ones. The mountains were more rugged and less covered with trees. The cold, which as far as Kanga had been like early November in Italy, on this day seemed like the heart of winter. Almost the whole trip we climbed through little paths with precipitous crags on the sides. In some of them we had to pass on the opposite side by log bridges, not very stable. Other times we had to cross over the tops of some hills over suspended platforms formed with logs and branches, which, in spite of the great cold, made us drip with perspiration. On this day we passed 9 such bridges and 20 platforms, and after a walk of 6 kos at night we arrived in Sciuschia, having walked with hands, feet and back, especially over some stones of great steepness. Sciuschia¹⁰⁵ is a group of 20 small houses surrounded by high mountains, the peaks of which are covered with snow. The mountains are all stone and

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have very few trees. Near the houses runs a little river whose banks were frozen. A little distance from the west bank of this river there is a spring of hot water which is of great comfort to the inhabitants, who have excavated in the soil 8 or 10 little wells, not deeper than 4 or 5 feet and of the capacity of 10-12 people, where these people immerse themselves to warm up, remaining there 2-3 hours. We remained during the night in one house where we experienced great cold. /68/

Early the following morning we proceeded north, climbing almost continuously up a long bank of the river Nohotha, which we passed 5 times over high bridges, one to two logs long. The river is not very large. We passed several stones on the incline and 6 platforms, as on the day before, and after 4 kos we arrived in Kuti, the frontier of Tibet.

Kuti, even though it is situated among bare mountains and does not count more than 100 houses, is nevertheless the residence of the governor, and it is one of the most lucrative towns of Tibet on account of the duties that the ~~g~~ governor takes on all the loads of goods that come from Tibet or which are from Nepal to Kuti to be transported into the kingdom. One has to pay for the cargo of each animal 9 Mahendramalli and a Mahendramalli of duty per person. Furthermore all the porters who carry some cargo from Nepal to Kuti are here obliged to buy 1 Mahendramalli worth of salt to take back into Nepal, and in case that they would find in Kuti other cargo to carry back, and therefore wouldn't want to load all the Mahendramalli of salt, they must pay 1 Mahendramalli to the governor of Kuti. Kuti is the domain of the King of Nepal, being annexed and connected with the possession of Sanku, but the Kings of Nepal have ceded it to the King of Tibet, who has made of it

the frontier and the door of the kingdom, through which of necessity all the merchants, not only Nepalese but also Hindustani, must enter into Tibet. The Hindustanis had originally, in ancient times, other roads to enter into Tibet without even touching the kingdom of Nepal, passing through a place called 'Bras-mo-ljons [Sikkim] through which one could go with animals from Hindustan to Tibet, but this road is very dangerous on account of the fact that the travellers were exposed during the whole journey to the danger of contracting the aul. Therefore the road of Nepal was opened, through which one can travel for at least 4 months of the year without any fear of the aul. In order to close ~~up~~ the road of 'Bras-mo-ljons a duty of 10 times the other road was imposed. It was such that if ^a the merchant ~~was~~ passed through 'Bras-mo-ljons with 10 loads of merchandise they would take as duty 1 load in 10. They took any load, however without opening them [to see what was inside]. Such big duty and in addition the danger of life by the aul has established the road of Tibet through Nepal. /69/ On the occasion of such change of the road, the Nepalese ceded Kuti to the King of Tibet, under several advantageous conditions for both sides. As for instance [1] to load all the porters who go there with a Mahendramalli of salt which does not exist in Nepal; [2] to have the Nepalese in Kuti, in ~~Shigatse~~ ^{Shigatse} Gigaze, in ^{Yankze} Gianze and in Lhasa to have a leader of their nation for each of the 3 respective kingdoms of Nepal, who judge the several causes [law cases] of the Nepalese of their respective kingdoms. That is, a leader for the Nepalese of the Kingdom of Kathmandu, one of Bhatgaon, and one of Patan; [3] that the money of Nepal which is cuneated [coined in wedge shapes] in silver should be the currency of Tibet; and other similar conditions, especially the one to let the King of Nepal elect the leaders of the places

which are between Nepal and Kuti. Although the governors of Kuti have tried to usurp such rights among themselves, especially for the places which are on the side of Kuti after Nesti. The King of Nepal contents himself to confirm the nomination of the Governor of Kuti, naming it again as leader and draws from it as much as he can. On account of the situation of the places, force cannot be used, it being sufficient to withdraw a bridge or demolish a platform to prevent any communication between the two nations.¹⁰⁶

Kuti, as I said, is situated among bald stony mountains. One can see only a few trees and some thorny bushes and shrubs. For that reason firewood here is very expensive and ordinarily the dry dung of animals is burned. On the east the river Nahotha runs between large boulders. In spite of the great rapidity of it one still has to break the ice with a piece of iron to get water. The houses are placed confusedly without order. These are made of stone irregularly cut and with earth as mortar. Therefore the walls are very thick ~~th~~ and the houses end in a terrace.¹⁰⁷ The house of the governor is a true thieves' den and by this one can judge the others which all have over the terrace some small cords stretched from which hang some rags of Nepalese cloth about a hand in size. On them are written some magic prayers¹⁰⁸. These cords are fastened to some branches of a tree planted at the corners of the terrace. There are also ~~several~~ several pagodas built on the architecture of that drawn on p. 110 (omitted by ed.) of different sizes. Several stone walls /70/ full of rolls (prayer wheels) for the convenience of the faithful are in various places. Besides that, in front of the governor's house and in front of some pagodas there is a tall antenna (pole) made of several pieces of wood joined together with wooden pegs and tied with strips of wild buffalo,

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Yak

of which Tibet is abundant and [the animal] is called Yak. At the end of this pole there are placed several superstitious knots [tied according to ritual] and a banner which hangs to the bottom, 7 or 8 feet from the ground, not being larger than a cubit ($1\frac{1}{2}$ feet) and from top to bottom all full of characters and magic prayers. Such banners as those on top of the houses are renewed each year on the first day of the moon of February, for them the first of the year.¹⁰⁹

The wealthy in Kuti have the profession of Karbare. Ours is the most important one of the town, who received us as friendly as the proportion of our baggage. Here the Karbares are obliged to provide all the necessities to the travellers, not only the food but also the animals for the ~~YAK~~ transportation of the goods and for riding. The price is fixed for each animal: Kuti to Lhasa is 36 Mahendramalli each which equals $37\frac{1}{2}$ Roman scudi. Eighteen goes for the price of the animal, the other 18 are divided between the governor, who takes 9 as duty for each loaded animal and 9 are taken by the Karbare for the trouble of providing animals and food, and the vendors of which must always return a small part of the price [to the Karbare] which is duty of the Karbare to take so much per Mahendramalli. But this also has to come from the purse of the traveller, as if he were making the bargain himself. The traveller could make a better bargain, but such is the custom.

Since we left Nepal, the Father Prefect had, with a letter, given notice to the King of Tibet of our arrival in Nepal and he had asked for a bka-'sog with which we could freely pass through his kingdom without being molested. The King answered obligingly and sent the bha-'sog in the ~~ga~~ hand of the governor of Kuti. Before our arrival, the governor had left to meet the first son of the King, who was going from the province of mNa'-ris which he governed to Lhasa to see his father.¹¹⁰ /71/ The Governor of Kuti had gone to meet him.

It is three days journey to Kuti and he had carried with him the keys under which he had put the bka-'sog sent us by the King. For that the Father Prefect sent a message to the Governor, begging him to give orders to his gner-ba or master of the house to hand us the bka-'sog of the King. For the same^f reason Father Prefect wrote a congratulatory letter to the Gun sku-gzogs, first son of the King.¹¹¹ After 7 days the messenger sent returned and we had the bka-'sog of the King, who ordered to everyone not to molest us and to provide us, in all the places where we would go, with fodder for the animals and dried dung fuel according to our needs and boats to pass the river Tsangpo. With the same messenger we received another bka-'sog ~~written~~ by the son of the King, handed to us at the same time, which ordered his agent in Kuti to procure us free 20 Ola, (Porteys) who would carry our cargo as far as Lhasa. By this we saved the expense of 10 pack-animals, that is, 360 Mahendramalli, worth in our money 672 paoli. For the time being it is sufficient to mention that the Ola are nothing but the poor people, who by order of their leader under whom they are assigned, have to carry the cargo of the merchants or others from one place to another 3-4 kos distant,¹¹² and because on the road to Lhasa one does not find many inhabited places, therefore it is customary to give to the Ola 2 people to accompany them. One proceeds them by an hour on the journey in order that on the arrival of the Ola sent from Kuti they find other Ola in the next place to whom they deliver the cargo to carry it as far as the next place. Thus in succession, as far as the end [of the journey to Lhasa]. The other is required to accompany the Ola in order to keep them in duty so that they do not run away. Since the beginning of our arrival in Kuti we warmly begged the Karbare to provide us with the necessary beasts to carry our things and

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to ride. He promised to do that but after a few days we found out that he had no other intention than to let us leave all the things in his hands with the money for the necessary ~~beasts~~ beasts and for us to go ahead. If he had succeeded in that he would have kept the greater part of the money for himself, and he would have sent the cargo on the shoulders of the Ola without spending anything. /72/ The Karbare tried to lull our fears with promises of beasts who always disappeared the next day. We had begged him to procure for us 7 saddles with stirrups and as many bridles for the animals to ride. According to him everything was ready, but 10 days later when he showed them to us we found that he had gathered all the junk of Kuti for nothing, or very little, and for which he made us pay very dearly. We were beginning to lose our patience, seeing ourselves almost confined in a place where the cold was becoming day by day more severe. The river was often covered with ice more than 4 fingers thick. There was no way to have a fire for lack of fuel and the provisions which we had brought were already consumed. With great effort we could get what sustains the villagers. The principal nourishment of the Tibetans consists of tea, satu and meat. The tea is of a different ~~kind~~ kind than the one which is brought from China to Europe, although even this in Tibet is brought from China. It is pressed into loaves wrapped with yellow paper, and the loaves are packed in bales of skin, oblong in shape. Four of these bales are ordinarily the cargo of an animal. Description of how tea is made. The Tibetans drink it 4 times a day. /73/ Meat is abundant^{lll} in Tibet, as they have a great quantity of curved Ram mutton. They also butcher the ^{yak} jak, a kind of wild ox. Only the wealthy make much use of meat for lack of firewood to cook it. Such scarcity of fuel I believe to be the reason of the custom which Tibetans

have of eating raw meat. In Kuti one finds also some rice which is brought from Nepal, but it is very dear. At our time one could have 4 kuruwa¹¹⁵ for 1 Mahendramalli, which is about 6 Roman pounds. The difficulty of obtaining satu was making our stay more tedious, since we did not see any way to get out of it. The gner-ba or agent of the son of the King had produced the 20 Ola to transport 10 loads, whom we did not accept, nor refuse, leaving it in suspense in order to see where the monopoly of the Karbare over the animals would have ended, he having assured us that he had at his order 12 pack mules. In the meantime a merchant of the King happened to come to Kuti and he came and visited us, telling us that he was returning to Lhasa, and he offered to transport our goods with 25 donkeys. We accepted but when we were about to close the bargain we only received 15 donkeys and one horse. We delivered the 34 bales of our things which were not fragile, as books, to the merchant and we paid him in the presence of the Karbare 306 Mahendramalli at the price of $8\frac{1}{2}$ loads, being the load of a donkey or $\frac{1}{2}$ of the load of a mule, and the following day the merchant left with the things for Lhasa as he had told us.

On the 28th we delivered the things to the merchant of the King and on the same night the Karbare assured us that on the 30th we also could leave, having ready 12 mules, 10 of which we would load and 2 would be used for riding by Father Prefect and Father Gioachino, who were both up in years, and we young ones would try to make the journey by foot. We were very anxious to depart, when on the 29th the muleteer who was giving his mules came to us to tell us that the following day /74/ we could not leave on account that the only son of the owner of the mules was sick of aul since 2 months and he had become greatly worse. We were very disappointed about that. The Father

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Prefect, who could not bear to stay longer in Kuti as we did, tried to get 4 other mules, 1 to ride alternatively as to need and the other 3 to carry the indispensable things for the journey. To complete our misfortune the owner of the 4 mules insisted that he did not want to send them alone and that if the other did not come he also did not want to give them. Therefore on the very same day we had planned to depart we found ourselves without beasts and in greater troubles than before.

On the 1st of November the merchant of the King left. We quarreled with the Karbare. Father Prefect went to the gner-ba, agent of the son of the King, asking for 20 men and animals and the gner-ba promised to help us, but he also disappeared. The same day the son of the owner of the mules died. Since he was related on the mother's side to the King there were religious ceremonies in all Kuti on the day after his death. The town was filled with the pious doing the sku-rim in public streets, houses and around pagodas. The sku-rim are prayers for the soul of the dead. So the gner-ba couldn't give us animals. /75/

Father Prefect decided that he and John would find 2-3 porters to carry blankets and provisions and would start out himself with anyone who wanted to follow him to Lhasa. Then he would send for orders of the king to procure what was necessary for those remaining in Kuti, who would then join him in Lhasa, but to our relief Father Prefect could not put his design into effect as he could not find one man to accompany him.

On the evening of the 3rd the dead body was burned. We again asked the 86 year old father of the dead 25 year old son for mules, but the father was so grieved that he made no answer. Finally the Karbare confessed and told us that on the 5th he would give us 3 mules as far as Tingri. We could use

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them for riding and having found 3 mounts in 7, we asked the gner-ba for the 20 men which the King's son had promised us. We left 5 cargos behind. We told the Karbare to take care, for it was the gift the Pope was sending to the King. On our arrival in Lhasa we would write him to send it there. If we were going to Lhasa to the King, the Karbare said we would receive the 5 loads by Ola and he would lose 45 Mahendramalli profit, therefore without telling us anything he talked to the old muleteer so he would agree to give us 8 mules. He succeeded in that and then he came and encouraged us to wait until the 10th because then he would have the 8 mules. He could not give them to us before on account that the 8 days since the death of the son were not finished and the sku-rim had continued all this time. We resolved to wait until the 10th. /76/

Description of the sku-rim. /76-77/

Sku-rim. /77/

On the 7th the muleteers of the dead [one] gave us more trouble on the price. The Father Prefect was angry to be in this den of thieves where they cheat the travellers. Father Prefect determined to tell all to the King when he arrived in Lhasa. The gner-ba of the Prince intervened finally and he obtained only that they could be accompanied as far as Tingri valley. The fathers consented and the gner-ba made a price of 4 Mahendramalli per animal, and our departure was set for the 9th, but was postponed until the 10th. [78/

On the 10th we started early but had other differences and quarrels, since of those 8 mules promised only 7 mules were given. More troubles and gift to Karbare for 24 days' lodging. The fathers gave him 22 Mahendramalli. The Karbare was not satisfied, even though he had not given us anything but a little satu, rice and a quarter of a lamb since our arrival, and all the

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time we were lodged very badly in the open. After the mules were loaded and the agent of the Governor had exempted us from paying the personal duty of 1 Mahendramalli each, the Karbare was finally satisfied. When we said goodbye to the Karbare he took Father Prefect aside and excused himself of any difficulty we had had in Kuti and gave him 10 Mahendramalli, telling him to use them for the journey. In spite of the distaste/^{of}the Father Prefect, he kept it.

At 1 o'clock we left Kuti, walking directly north, climbing a small mountain. Father Prefect and Father Gioachino were on horseback, all of us, John and Turi Bazu went by foot, having only a little money for the goods in Lhasa in our baskets. We had not walked $1\frac{1}{2}$ kos when the mule carrying the money, either of the mission or of the Nepalese, and some bottles of aqua vitae, rolled out of the road in a small bank. The baskets opened, some of the money scattered and the bottles rolled here and there but thank God the money was all gathered without any loss and all the damage that remained was the 4 broken bottles of aqua vitae. We were delayed 1 hour. We proceeded until evening and after 4 kos we arrived at a castle called Mescinghzungh,¹¹⁸ where we spent the night. On the strength of the passport of the King which was shown to the chief of the castle,^{we}were furnished with dry dung /79/ to cook the evening meal, which, despite the peculiar flavor acquired by the smoke of the dung, the great hunger, united with the great cold we were suffering, made it seem to us an exquisite refection, even though it was revolting.

On the morning of the 11th we continued to the north and after 4 kos we arrived at the castle of Tankialingh,¹¹⁹ This was out of the road. Here we stopped to make tea with the dried dung which we had gathered on the road, and after we had refreshed ourselves, we proceeded 4 kos and by evening we

arrived in Jalap,¹²⁰ another castle. In this castle one pays another duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ Mahendramalli per person. Even though the journey of this day was not very difficult for climbs [ascents], we were greatly discomforted by the cold, and more so from the exhalation of the mountain Lhangur which we were approaching, and also by the rarity of the air. For that reason, at night we were tired and very fatigued and had headaches. Here it is customary that all the merchants and the travellers procure mounts for themselves to pass Mt. Lhangur, it being almost impossible to pass by foot, for the strange effects the mountain causes, not only in man but in animals, either by the rarity of the air, or by noxious exhalations. We looked for horses, but could find only one.

On the 12th we left with only 3 horses, which we used for those who were in the greatest discomfort, and we changed [the direction of] our journey a little to go to the castle of Tulon,¹²¹ where we arrived after 1 kos. Here we found the remainder of the mounts [needed], and afterwards we resumed our journey to the north. We climbed slightly the mountain Lhangur among precipitous crags. The closer we approached the summit of the mountain, the headache and stomach aches, with difficulty of respiration, increased in all of us, and at the end, after having walked 7 kos, we arrived on the peak of the mountain slope at a house made expressly for the comfort of travellers, which is called Pambu.¹²²

This house, which can be called a large room, one side of which is made by the mountain, the other 3 by stone walls, /80/ has the top covered with slabs of stone and it receives all its light from a single door. The floor of the room is made of the mountain itself, therefore it is very uneven. Here we spent the night, not only all of us with the muleteers and mules

taken in Tulong with the men who accompanied them, but also some others, who were going and coming from Lhasa, having all their mounts, and these, as our animals, also were afflicted by headaches. The night seemed an image not only of Purgatory but of the Inferno. There wasn't one who wasn't complaining and moaning, and not one who had the strength to conceal his sufferings. Some were screaming violently, others were vomiting, others were in delirium; the animals were whinnying and struggling violently, and in order to give you a better image of the Inferno, others, in order to heat cloths to apply to their stomachs, burned all the dung they had. That filled all the room with nauseating smoke and brought tears to the eyes of those who didn't have as much headache. We spent all night in such pain for not being able to sleep. It was a painful vigil, as we had not been able to eat in the evening for the strength of the pain. Finally dawn came, and we found the horse of Father Tranquillo, which by neglect of the leader, had been left out of the hut, stretched on the ground and it seemed barely alive. The leader (muleteer) made a fumigation to him and he revived. On the past days we met several goats and hare running near us.

After a few hours of dawn we proceeded to climb the mountain, even though the cold air became warmer, and the ice was beginning to melt. We had walked about 2 kos, that is, a good mile, towards the summit of the mountain. We had to climb by foot as the slope was very steep. Finally we reached the peak of the mountain, in much more discomfort than when we had left the hut. We found on top a gentle flat plateau which was slightly inclined on one side. We descended the mountain between east and north, and as we descended, the pain in the head and stomach decreased. After descending 3 miles we arrived at another house /81/ or public hut for the travellers.

called Gnince [snin-rje], all compassionate. Here we found the Governor of Kuti with about 20 servants and companions. The Governor was returning to his residence from the visit made to the son of the King, who was already on his way to Lhasa. The Father Prefect and Father Gioachino had been acquainted with him for a long time.^{122 bis} Therefore, before proceeding, we judged it well to visit him, the more so that our symptoms caused by the mountain had almost completely ceased. But since we had not on hand the Cadak [k'a-btags] (a kind of white silk veil) which one must necessarily present on each visit made, the Father Prefect and Gioachino presented him a Mahendramalli each, excusing themselves for not having the Cadak. He made us welcome; he wanted us to drink tea with him; he asked Father Gioachino for a small lancet to draw blood which was given to him; and, on dismissing us, he gave us a dry lamb, dried in the air for a year, and besides, he gave us, according to custom, a Cadak--one each to Father Prefect and Gioachino. We proceeded, still by descending considerably, and we arrived late in the valley of Tingri, having made a trip of 8 kos and being completely free of any headache or stomachache caused by the mountain Lhangur.¹²³

The effects caused to the travellers and to the animals by the mountain are very singular. None could give an explanation of it. Some claim that the great elevation of the mountain, by which the travellers are obliged to breathe very rarefied air, is the cause of the difficulty of breathing and of the ache of the head and stomach. To prove that, some adduce the opposite course which the rivers take, which one meets before ascending and after descending on the other side of the mountain, those flowing on this side from east towards west, and on the other side from west to east. In spite of the diversity of the courses of the waters I could not agree that Mt. Lhangur

is the tallest mountain, I don't say of Tibet, but of the mountains we had to pass. From Mt. Lhangur as far as Lhasa, one always ascends more than one descends, and before reaching Lhasa, one must pass Mt. Kambala, in my estimation and in that of others, not a little more elevated than Mt. Lhangur,¹²⁴ but however on the Kambala /82/ one does not experience/^{any} other discomfort than what one feels climbing a steep slope. Others ascribe the above effects to the exhalations either of the minerals or of the poisonous plants of which they¹¹ claim the mountain abounds. I could not assert or deny that the mountain contains minerals. The mountain is almost completely bare of trees; one can see only some trunks or branches scattered on the slope of the mountain, which is, for the greatest part, stony. Nevertheless, in respect to others, one can say that it has bushes and other vegetation—especially of many simples (herbs). Banzidar and other Nepalese have many times assured me that the spikenard, the zeduaris¹²⁵ [not in Italian dictionary] and other simples, of which he has made a business, sending them to Hindustan, grow in the interior of Mt. Lhangur, especially 18 varieties, two of which are used by the gentile daughters for various infirmities. The majority of them are very powerful poisons. That is why before using them they prepare them with great attention (caution). That is why it seems more apparent that the symptoms which the travellers suffer are rather caused by the exhalations than by the rarity of the air. I was more firmly convinced of that when on the 28th and 29th of September of the year 1742, on our return from Tibet after the persecution which had taken place there, Fathers Floriano, Costantino and I, with some others who were in our company, passed it without feeling the least discomfort, but that was caused, I believe, by the snow ^{with} ~~in~~ which the whole mountain was covered, half a leg deep, which must

have certainly prevented the exhalations, but did not change the rarity of the air. But leaving such discussions to the naturalist, I proceed with my narration of the journey.

On the night of the 13th we arrived in the valley of Tingri [Din-ri].¹²⁷ This is one of the most beautiful places that I have seen in Tibet. It is 3 miles wide by 15 miles long, all level, and surrounded by mountains. There passes through here a river, from west to east,¹²⁸ which branches in several rivulets for the convenience of the castles or rather groups of houses, of which the valley is full. We found the valley as bare as the mountains around it; there wasn't even a blade of grass. We stopped at a group of houses called Tingri-Cula.¹²⁹ We applied to our Karbare, who was the chief of the place, on the same night, asking him to provide us with 17 animals, 8 for cargo and 9 for mounts, including the horses for John and Turi Bazu. On /83/ the 14th he sent several people in all directions in the valley in search of animals. After 2 days they returned without any. This was a prelude to the patience we had to exercise and on the 16th all the animals of Kuti disappeared.

^a(^aThe following text is only briefly summarized in M.) On the 19th there happened to arrive in the valley a merchant who had 15 free animals. He came to us and after having considered the load and after a lengthy discussion, he departed, saying he would give us an answer the next day. The Karbare said the merchant did not want to close the contract before consulting some Lama in one of the surrounding monasteries to know whether that journey would be of gain or loss to him and whether the animals would arrive in Lhasa alive. One may deduce that the oracle did not answer according to what he desired, for we did not see him again, but only three

days later he wrote us a note in which he told us that he could not come.

On the 21st, a merchant who was coming from Lhasa, happened to arrive in the same valley. He was leading a caravan of 60 pack-animals which all belonged to Lama Kiokion [Bla-ma C'os-skyon], who had sent all these animals loaded with tea to sell it in various places, and since the merchant had sold the greater part of it, he had come to Tingri to sell the rest of it. Then we heard the news that this merchant had stopped in another house 2 kos distant from ours. On the following day Father Gioachino went to speak to him, asking if he wanted to lead us to Lhasa. He showed great friendliness and promised to come on the following day to deal with us. We waited 2 more days and since we did not see him, John returned to him to discover his intentions. He promised again to come to our house 2 days later and then we would have arranged for the departure.

On the 26th the merchant came to us, saw the cargo and after long preambles (vague waste of words) he made clear that he wanted 48 Mahendramalli per animal to Lhasa. Why, from Kuti to Lhasa, cost included, one does not pay more than 36. After long debates which were punctuated by large cups of tea and beer made from oats, he came down to 40 /84/ Mahendramalli, and continuing to drink, by night he agreed on a price of 38 per animal, and he would have 10 men for the load. But since he couldn't stand for drunkenness, the signing of the contract had to be deferred to the next day.

On the 27th, having digested the beer, the merchant resumed the negotiations, but he did not want to come down a penny from the price of 38 Mahendramalli, and about the attendants, from 10 they were reduced to 7. Therefore, seeing that there was no other way, we resolved to drown ourselves (close the deal). Then it was established that we would have for us 12 animals, including those to bear cargos and provisions, which we had to carry for several

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days, and 7 more for riding, or 19 in all (not including the 2 horses of the Nepalese). We counted 722 Mahendramalli, we wrote the papers on which the merchant declared he had received the price of 722 Mahendramalli to guide us, with 19 animals, as far as Lhasa, and that we were obliged to feed 7 men, giving them to drink every day tea for 9 times and at night cooked meat and satu cooked with broth. The 2 papers were signed and sealed by the Karbare and 2 other witnesses and us. This finished the contract and the merchant promised that as soon as he sold 12 bales of tea, we would depart.^a [^aThe text in M. resumes here.]

After our arrival in Tingri it had snowed several times on the tops of the mountains around us and in the valley besides, the snow was sometimes falling every night. There was ice, it was freezing, and all the rivers froze, which made the cold very intense. However, we marveled at how the young shepherds and the children, most of them bare, would amuse themselves playing over the ice all day. It is true that the sun is bright every day, since in this season it is good weather, and therefore the sun is fairly warm, especially around noon. However the children, who peeled off all their clothes, for getting the sun's rays or for feeling some relief from the fleas which devour all the Tibetans alive, never took off their boots, which the men and women indistinguishably all wore. While the children were an object of admiration and amusement, the herds were one of pity. /85/ The valley of Tingri is one of the most abundant in small herds. Almost every house has some and our Karbare and other people had some in other places. In the house where we lived he had 500 of them in sheep and lambs. At night he kept them in an enclosure contiguous to the house; during the day he sent them on the field where one could not see a blade of grass, either green or dry.

therefore the poor animals were making pitiful and lamentable bleats. One had pity to see them digging the earth with their hooves to uncover some roots, weeds or other herbs to eat. There wasn't a day that some sheep of our Karbare would not miscarry, but the immature foetus was dried in the air to be eaten by the owner of the herd as a delicacy.

During the time we lived in this valley most of us were seized by a dog's hunger [ferocious appetite] not being able to be satisfied, and I believe that the reason for that was the rarity of the air, because we could have digested stones. I was one of the hungriest even though it did but last 3 days, during which I could not satiate myself and my appetite increased more and more. On the 3rd day, besides the food taken with the others, I ate about 4 Anali¹³⁰ of satu and a quarter of the dried lamb given to us by the Governor of Kuti during the trip of Mt. Lhangur. However, after such a great meal, my voracity ceased completely, being satisfied by the common rations. I attribute this almost instantaneous cessation of hunger to the meat of the dried lamb and to the fat which was also dry which they all included, even though repulsive to the stomach, but since I ate it with a little salt since the meat is dried without salt but is left to be dried by the air which dries the humidity of the meat and it thus remains as mummy.

We were waiting in the meantime for the beastly discretion of the muleteers to leave, when on the 1st of December a servant of the Karbare told us that he had learned that he [the merchant] still had 20 bales of tea to sell. We were greatly afflicted by this news, but 2 hours later, our grief was dissipated, seeing that the muleteers with their pack-animals and our things were arriving. As soon as they arrived they claimed their tea which was given

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~~November~~ 17th

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to them promptly. While they were drinking their tea we bundled our beds /86/ hoping to leave on the same night and hoping to go to the house where the merchant was waiting for us, but such consolation was brief because when they were about to load, they told us they did not want the agreed price of 38 Mahendramalli per animal any more; that that price they were passing over to the pack-animals and for the 7 horses they wanted 42 Mahendramalli each. I cannot express the annoyance that such unexpected news caused us, all the more that they did not want to listen to reason in spite of the papers written and signed with all the formalities. Therefore, seeing that they were trying to make a killing, we resolved to leave early that year for Lhasa, because in such season it was impossible to return to Nepal, since the roads were closed by snow in those mountains. We resolved to get a house in this valley to rent and to remain there until God was pleased to give us a better opportunity to reach Lhasa. We spent all the 2nd in these troubles.

At dawn on the 3rd the muleteers appeared more human. They asked for tea which we gave them and after having been satisfied they found a pretext to extort more money. They said that since it had been distinctly specified in writing that the price of 38 Mahendramalli per pack beast and horse was fixed, they would keep the price of the bargain according to the writing but that they couldn't keep the agreed promise to load only 12 animals for us and they wanted to use at least 15. We, who had taken the resolution to remain in Tingri, told them that if they did not want to keep the agreement they should return the 722 Mahendramalli received, since we didn't want to leave any more. When they saw that we were determined upon our resolution and that we didn't want to hear any other proposals but the written one, they finally

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let us know through the Karbare that if we wanted to leave they would load the animals and give the horses according to the agreement, on the condition, however, that first we would give them a little money (tip). They were satisfied with 4 Mahendramalli; therefore we prepared ourselves to leave. Before loading we had to give them tea again and finally at about 2:30 in the afternoon we left for the house where the merchant and the rest of the animals were. We arrived there after a trip of 2 kos.

This place is called Tingri /87/ Sanra.¹³¹ We spent the night in a courtyard near an open hut, open on the one side, where we experienced great cold all night, having frozen greatly. In the courtyard there was a quantity of sheep and lambs, all enclosed by a net all around to keep them close together as protection against the cold.

We left Tingri Sanra at noon. We walked north-east and after only 2 kos we stopped at the bank of a small river where we spent the night in the tent and the muleteers in the open. The method that we kept during the journey as far as Lhasa was the following:

In the morning at sunrise we cooked the tea which required $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours to be ready. In the meantime 2 other muleteers were preparing the food for the animals which consisted of 1 to 2 large bowls of satu mixed with water [mash] in which dried peas were sometimes mixed. After having taken the tea, the animals were loaded and we walked until noon. During the trip the muleteers were attempting to gather all the dung which we found along the road in order to make tea at noon. In the meantime the animals tried to fetch some rootlets, scratching the soil with their feet. Sometimes for lack of dung to burn or to save time, we bought, in exchange for tea and butter, the local beer, with which to prepare the satu which was more sour than the yeast for bread. After

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which we proceeded until night, or as far as the place where we were to spend the night, which was most often the open air. At about an hour before we reached our stopping place, we dismounted to gather the dung along the path, as much as we could, not letting even the smallest dung of ox or donkey escape our sight, it being all excellent, as long as it was dry, to cook tea and food. On our arrival in the designated place, we pitched the tent on the side least exposed to the wind. The muleteers who had the job of making the tea for us used to dig 2 holes in the ground to make the hearths large enough to contain the pots for tea, and soon they lit the fire with dung and with bellows as those that are used by potters. [88/

In the meantime other muleteers unloaded the animals, making a barricade with our cases and bales between the wind and the tent, leaving room for us to sleep and the animals were free to graze in pastures. After taking the tea we used to prepare the dinner which consisted of a piece of boiled meat, the broth of which was used for Topa [t'ug-pa], which resembles a liquid porridge made with broth.¹³² During the preparation of the meal we were saying the common daily prayers and the prayers for the next day. After having said them we took the meal, serving ourselves satu 3 times with discretion. We measured each evening, besides the tea, 18 cups of satu to last the whole day for the 7 men for which we were responsible, giving them 7 large portions of meat of more than one pound each. After dinner the muleteers gathered the animals and planted 2 long cords with 2 large pegs of iron between the barricade of baggage and the tent. They attached the animals to these cords by means of loops so that they couldn't stray. At the 2 ends of the barricade we used to chain 2 dogs taken for that purpose. Thus, as soon as they were tied to the barricade there was no way to reach

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our things. The dogs would leap on anyone who approached except the muleteers.

We slept in the tent. There, besides John and Turi Bazu, three more Nepalese were admitted who had accompanied us. Even though we were close to one another, still during the night we suffered great cold and most mornings we found our beards frozen, since the humidity of our breath had frozen on them. This was the usual method which we practiced as far as Lhasa.

After we spent the night on the bank of the river, we thought to leave early but left at noon because during the night some of the mules had untied themselves and run away. We continued the trip to the east. We passed the castle Tzogor¹³³ and a little later we stopped on the banks of the same river, having walked only 4 kos.

The following morning we set out early on ^{our} journey, almost east, as the day before, passed the castle of Ngamba, where we refreshed ourselves at noon [89/], then Mermbu and Zahor¹³⁴ and after 7 kos on the same path we reached the bank of the same river of the day before, where we pitched our tent and we slept in the same cold.

On the following day we continued our journey, along the same river, in the same cold, etc., and after 4 kos the muleteers wanted to stop on the bank of the same river.

On the morning of the 8th, 2 hours before noon, we proceeded in the same locality. After ^{one} /kos we passed a fortress situated on the other side of the river, called Segargium.¹³⁵ We saw the narrow and long valley through which we walked, from one side to the other of the river, ^{which} /was becoming longer, several houses and more monasteries of religious men and women, located on

the slopes of the mountains. After 4 kos we passed the river by a bridge. We passed more villages, in one of which we refreshed ourselves. In the evening after 9 kos we stopped in the village of Tzuensera¹³⁶ where we spent the night. Here the river is rather large and is called Bontzutzambo [P'un-ts'ogs-gtsan-po]. Upon leaving Tingri Sanra, the merchant, with two other caravan leaders, told us that they had to take another road to be paid for the tea they had sold in other valleys, and assured us that we would meet again in Tzuengo. Neither at our arrival should we wait for the next day . . . [sentence not finished in book]

On the 9th we rested. The merchants arrived and after having refreshed themselves, they left to collect other monies, having given us attendants to the point where we were to meet. We prayed that at least one [merchant] would stay with us but did not succeed. As soon as the merchants left, a quarrel started among the muleteers, but we easily understood that it was intended to extort some money from us. This time they did not succeed. There are 3 roads to go to Lhasa. One north which is smaller than the others and which is the least used, and another which leads to Gigaze *Shigatse* [gZis-k'a-rtse] where resides the second Lama of Tibet, and the third more towards east leading to Kianze [rGyal-rtse, Gyantse], another important city of Tibet.¹³⁷ The quarrels started about which of the roads we were /90/ to take. Since they were of contrary opinions, we excluded the one straight north, and we left it that they agree among themselves on one of the other two, being the same to us. Finally they agreed to take that of Kianze. They promised to take us there in 9 days. They advised us to gather sufficient provisions of meat and satu because we would not find any way of supplying ourselves as far as Kianze, especially with regard to meat.

We procured satu and bought 11 lambs for the provision of meat. One must know that the lambs of Tibet are not very big and the ones we bought were already butchered.

About noon on the 10th we started off again. We had to get a guide for the journey since the muleteers had excused themselves as not knowing the road. Such a guide was found for 10 Mahendramalli and food. We made the journey of 3 kos north-east and stopped in open country. At night, either by accident or artifice, all the mules got unfastened. Not one was left. All went again to Tzuengo from where we had departed the day before. On the same night they were chased and the next morning they were led back.

On the 10th, at the early hour of 11, we resumed our journey, a strenuous trip of 5 kos, having on the left a small river¹³⁸ which is a tributary of the Bontzutzambo already mentioned. Here we pitched our tent before entering the desert.

The desert is a large valley all covered with sand, where the continuous strong winds are the same as the Arabian desert, forming from one day to the next, mountains of sand where before it was flat and vice versa.¹³⁹ In crossing it we also found a strong wind, even though the muleteers assured us there was nothing to fear, we suffered a great deal even though the wind was blowing at our back, since it made us feel a shower of small stones ever so often, and many times frightened us and the pack animals. [91/ The squirts [spurts] of sand obliged us to keep our eyes almost covered with bandages. In this desert there are wild horses which are rather beautiful for the variety of their skins and for their swiftness.¹⁴⁰ We had the pleasure of seeing two herds, one of 19 and the other of 12, which we made run with cries in order to see their speed, and they disappeared as quickly as deer.

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The preceding year I had seen one in Lhasa that was given to the Great Lama. I was told that they are hard to obtain and when captured they do not live more than two or three months, dying of starvation. I do not know what pasture they have in the desert, where I saw nothing but some very thorny branches. The wild horse I saw in Lhasa was beautifully spotted with various colors; the background of its hide was light chestnut. They are not much different from domestic horses in shape and it was not larger than an ordinary horse, 7-8 months old. It died one month later. We spent a very bad night on account of the wind, even though we had placed our tent near the river, which seemed to us the least exposed place and more stable. However, many times it was [the tent] torn, ^{on} and/account of the wind we spent the evening with tea only since it was not possible to cook. In the morning we noticed that the muleteers had not passed the night as badly as we did because they had eaten raw meat.

On the morning of the 12th, after having taken our tea, we passed on the other side of the river and after having flanked it for 2 kos the muleteers wanted to stop, even though it was only noon. We argued some since ^{we} were in no position and in no condition to venture without exposing ourselves to worse treatment and since we were unable to proceed any further we pitched our tent at the bank of the river.

On the 13th, at 9:30, we resumed our journey. Shortly afterward we passed the river again and entered the valley of Cibulun¹⁴¹ which we found inhabited, with houses and monasteries. The most important villages we passed were Tetzin and Thedin¹⁴² and after having walked 9 kos we arrived at the village of Kenga,¹⁴³ where we spent the night in the tent. Here we showed to the chief of the town the bka-'sog of the King, on the strength

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of which we had to be supplied with firewood and fodder. But he showed us another one on the strength of which he had the privilege of exempting him from providing us. Our bka-'sog contained the clause that all, /92/ exempted or not, privileged or not, should provide us. The bka-'sog of the chief contained other clauses that on the strength of this, the King exempted him from providing wood and fodder to anyone, even the privileged. It was already at least the fifth time that we had encountered such bka-'sog. He let us know that the bka-'sog of the King wasn't worth very much and if we wanted dung to burn we had either to gather it on the road or buy it in the villages, and in effect from Kuti as far as Lhasa on the strength of the bka-'sog we were not provided but 6 or 7 times.

On the 14th we left at 10 o'clock, according to the stars. We proceeded in the same valley which we found equally sprinkled with hamlets and monasteries. We passed the town of Jungangh, which is the domain of the Lama of Gigaze,¹⁴⁴ where the Governor of the valley resides, and as we had reached the slope of a small mountain and had walked 4 kos we stopped here to spend the night. In the town of Jungangh we found the banners of Tarbuce [dar-po-e'e]¹⁴⁵ and of the house of the Governor and we learned that the day before in all the valley and other places of the domain of the Lama of Gigaze, there had been a great celebration because the Lama, a child of 3 years and 2 months of age, on such day entered in Gigaze, and for the first time after having been reborn, took possession of his lamasery.¹⁴⁶

At about 9:30 on the 15th we climbed the mountain and after a small ascent we entered into another spacious valley in which we walked as on the days before, north-east, and after 4 kos we stopped in a ruined village of only one family. We lodged outside of the village in the tent.

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On the morning of the 16th we proceeded through the same valley which was almost without inhabitants. We made a trip of 9 kos and spent the night as usual in the tent, suffering from great cold, even though we had our woolen underclothes brought from Europe and we had on our felt boots lined with wool.

At noon on the 17th we proceeded, bending a little north. We climbed some snow covered mountains. From one of them was springing a vein of hot water /93/ as we discovered at a distance before we arrived there by the great vapour which was escaping. When we arrived here a quarrel started among the muleteers as usual. The chief wanted to spend the night here and the others wanted to proceed. We favored the second, all the more that the provisions began to lack. Therefore we proceeded a little further and after 4 kos we stopped.

On the 18th we could not leave until later than usual, on account of the fact that during the night all the animals had become unfastened and dispersed. We made a short walk of 3 kos, very uncomfortable for the strong and cold wind which accompanied us continuously. We arrived in the village and here we stopped, placing our tent under cover of the wind as much as possible. Nevertheless we had a very uncomfortable night for the continuous showers of stones thrown at us by the wind and now the tent was flapping at one side and then the other. Finally it was turned over. Even this night the animals fled. That made us suspicious of some mischief on the part of the muleteers who were making it clear how unwilling they were to arrive soon and we were worried about the provisions which were about to end. At noon we left and we walked almost straight north and ascended more mountain and after 3 kos we arrived at a hamlet near which we stopped. Yesterday

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and today we ran into a quantity of horses on the road, which even though we passed very close to them, did not run away. We were left without *satu* and we found very little of it, of poor quality, in the villages, and at very high prices, and in order not to die of starvation we were obliged to buy it from the muleteers, who were merely returning what we had given them on preceding days. Then we were also short because the muleteers, during the journey, were constantly slicing large portions off the legs of lamb and were eating it raw. Therefore at night when we were to cook we would find always the lambs with bare bones, and we couldn't find who had eaten it.

We left before noon; after awhile we entered between mountains on the north; we climbed about one hour; on the top we found a small plateau; then we descended a steep slope north-east, at the bottom of which we found a small village. We passed it for about /94/ one kos, found another mountain and after 8 kos we stopped in one to spend the night.

Before entering the pass we ran into an official who had 8 more men on horse as his retinue, who was sent by the King to block the roads on account of the rumor spread in Lhasa that in that area there was an epidemic of smallpox, for which in Tibet the same precautions, if not more than among us at the time of plague, are observed. The official stopped us and after having inspected the *bka-'sog* of the King, he let us proceed. After having left the official the muleteers wanted to stop at the beginning of the pass, even though there wasn't any water, more willing to go and get it on the mountains than to go on. Seeing that we did not want to agree to listen to them, while they were arguing with the Father Prefect and the Nepalese, we whipped the pack animals on, and so we obliged them to proceed and made a good journey.

On the 21st we continued the journey north-east in the bottom among two

rows of mountains where a small river flowed. We walked on the stony banks and after a few hours' walk we entered a wide valley full of hamlets and groups of houses,¹⁴⁷ and here we got some provisions and the muleteers tried to buy fodder for their animals but since they did not agree on the price they proceeded until late in the evening and then we stopped after 8 kos.

In the morning we proceeded to cross the same valley which we found more and more populated. We walked until evening and after 8 kos we stopped under the tent.

On the 23rd we proceeded through the same valley, equally populated as before, and about noon we passed the castle of Kalon Pronse [bka'-blon 'Bron-rtse], who was the third Minister of State and who lived in Lhasa.¹⁴⁸ The castle is made in the shape of a fortress and it is located at the extremity of the inherited fief in which there is a gold mine. Here we refreshed ourselves and proceeded until evening, having walked 9 kos, arriving in Kianse.

Kianse is a strong fortress for Tibet, being situated on the top of a small stony hill, /95/ which rises in the middle of the vast valley. The boulder on which the fortress is built is surrounded by water. A little distant from the fortress in the plateau there is the city which is adequately populated and there is a large monastery where many monks live ^{by} /the thousands. We pitched our tent outside of the city, with the intention of stopping there the two following days and to celebrate the Christmas holidays there, to which the muleteers agreed heartily.

On the 24th Father Gioachino paid a visit to the Governor, who received him kindly, and without being asked, he sent us abundant bedstraw to sleep on.

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On this day we got the necessary satu and meat for the rest of the journey, and in the evening we erected with the boxes of His Excellency Belluga a small altar in the middle of the tent to officiate there the next day. Since we had left Nepal we had put aside in a small basket all that is necessary to build a chapel in case of need, and for good measure also a bottle of the wine Ceres for the mass. Besides we had put in a bottle of distilled water of Roman mint [an herb]. We found both bottles broken, but both the water of the mint and the wine were frozen so hard that not a drop was missing, as they had retained the shape of the bottles which contained them. We were surprised that the fermented wine and the double distilled water were frozen so hard, and we were more surprised that in spite of the sun to which the basket was exposed all day on the journey, neither had melted. I saw come true, here in Tibet, what Virgil said in the third Georgics, vol. 164,

Vestesque rigescunt

indutae, ceduntque securibus humida vina.

On this day, being the 4th or 5th quarter of the new moon, the monks of the monastery made a solemn procession, in which they were burning the Turma [gtor-ma], with pomp and solemnity. In this monastery of Kianse resides the great reborn Lama who presides over thousands of monks and has under him 70 other Lamas and 2 convents of nuns.¹⁴⁹ /96/

Description of procession. /96-97/

Wearing apparel.

Order of precedence.

Musical instruments--are the same as in Nepal: drums, trumpets, cymbals.

/97/

Since the Tibetans have no beards or mustaches, the witchdoctors (Ngaramba) make, with a black paint, 2 long moustaches, 1 on the chin and under the nose. (All for the procession.) /98/

Sacrifice in temple.

Description of sacrifice.

Many ceremonies before, ~~and~~ during and after sacrifice. /99/

More processions.¹⁵² /100/

I have described the procession and all their costumes as best I could. /100/

On Christmas day we had the consolation of saying a mass each, and on the 4th of October Father Prefect wanted to give us a potion as the monks of Tibet used to do during the cold weather. The potion was called Conde [skol-lde]; it consisted of concentrated tea, beer, sugar, milk and butter boiled all together.¹⁵³ We drank to please the good old man more than us, but neither he nor most of us found it useful [efficacious] to unload our stomachs of the flames loaded during our journey. On the afternoon we lamented an accident. The muleteers left all their animals in the open and the animals entered a reserved pasture and grazed there. For that they were all confiscated. Father Gioachino went immediately to the Governor, but since he did not find him, the animals remained in custody over night. /100/

On the morning of the 26th, the leader of the muleteers endeavored to rescue the animals, which he did, but then, having possession of them again, he did not want to depart according to the agreement made on the night of the 23rd. Then we deprived him of the food. They took counsel among themselves, and then all together they came back to have the expenses (monies), promising to leave early the following day. To that Father Prefect surrendered.

Here we parted from the guide who had come from Tzenga, who had done nothing but eat our food and spend our 10 Mahendramalli, being all on the side of the muleteers.

In spite of the promise to leave early, we did not resume our journey before noon on the 27th. We walked northeast until evening, and because the animals were fresh, we made 6 kos and we stopped on the bank of the river which goes to Kianze.¹⁵⁴ Here the animals grazed in reserve pastures on the strength of the bka-'sog of the King, although we had to give a small gift to the person in charge.

On the morning of the 28th we proceeded north-east through rather difficult roads. We arrived in the evening in a village called Lhomar.¹⁵⁵ Here we showed the bka-'sog of the King to the chief of the place, who ordered his attendants to procure straw and dung, which we got abundantly.

On the 29th we proceeded in the same region at the foot of some mountains, through very scabrous roads, and after having walked 3 kos we stopped at a house which we found at the feet of the other mountains whose tops were covered with snow. There were also other scattered houses and here again, on the strength of the bka-'sog we had straw, dung, and a room in which to sleep. The place where we stayed was called Lamentutungh.¹⁵⁶

On the 30th we climbed the mountain, even though we did not reach the top covered with snow. In climbing this mountain we saw a long chain of big mountains completely covered with heavy snow in the north, to which the muleteers bowed deeply, considering them as the home of the gods. It was explained to us that on these mountains the snow never melts, the mountains remaining covered with deep snow all year and for that reason they are not inhabited and are inaccessible.¹⁵⁷ After having climbed such mountains we

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descended a little and entered a valley surrounded by high mountains /101/ covered on the top with snow. After we had walked 6 kos we pitched our tent almost in the middle of this valley where we spent the night very uncomfortably for the great cold.

On the morning of the 31st we had to argue a lot with the muleteers who wouldn't resolve to depart. At 10 o'clock we started our journey again, skirting more mountains, and after having walked 5 kos, we passed the fortress of Nagarse [sNan-dkar-rtse], which is located on top of the lake Palte. Skirting the lake for about 1 kos, having the lake on our right and on the left we had the bare mountains. After having walked 6 kos all day, we stopped on a bank of the lake.¹⁵⁸

On the 1st of the year 1741, we proceeded by circling the lake which is very large. It is said ordinarily that a man can circle it in less than 18 days, counting 10 kos per day of journey. Therefore this lake would be about 360 miles in circumference. In the middle of the lake rises several small hills which are inhabited. We saw on them some small trees and a little shrubbery even though these little hills were also stony.¹⁵⁹ On these hills there are several convents governed by a reborn Lamaess called Turcepamo [rDo-rje-p'ag-mo]. She has her convent southeast on the same hills, almost at the beginning of where we reached the border of the lake. She is garbed with religious robes. She has only 3 or 4 nuns to serve her. All the rest of the numerous entourage which she keeps is composed of Traba [grva-pa] or monks. Among them there is a very elderly one who serves as spiritual director. Two days before our arrival at the lake, the Lamaess had departed for Lhasa. The Tibetans have for her the same veneration they have for the Great Lama, believing her informed

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by the spirit Ciangciub [Byan-c'ub-sems-dpa']. Therefore she also shares the participation of her merits in exchange for the large offerings the seculars give her. When she goes out, always completely covered under a canopy, she is preceded by 2 incense burners tied to mules, on which the monks constantly burn perfumes. She lives in celibacy, having made vows of chastity. Nevertheless, 5 years before our arrival, /102/ a little Lamaess came out of her. Even though many precautions were taken, still they could not prevent the event from becoming public, which chilled the veneration of some, even though today she has regained the same footing as before, not only with regard to the Tibetans but also with the Nepalis, who remain in great numbers in Lhasa for business. These Nepalese consider the Lamaess their Bavani. Therefore each year they go in a body to give her good offerings.¹⁶⁰

Since I am talking about this Lamaess, whom I met in Lhasa, from where she left after a stay of about 3 months, I shall tell about her now because I will not have an occasion to speak of her later. A few days after our arrival in Lhasa we visited the King, for the Kaloni [bka'-blon] or minister of state, some principal Lamas and other gentlemen of importance, and either because the Father Prefect and Father Gioachino knew the Lamaess or more because the Kalon Tomba [bka'-blon T'on-pa], prime minister of state and friend of the Fathers, and at the same time the [blood] brother of the Lamaess was pestering us, we resolved to visit the Lamaess. I have already said that in Tibet one cannot pay a visit without taking a present of a Kadak [k'a-btags], ~~or~~ a banner or white Chinese silk cloth, of indefinite size according to the quality of the persons who visit, and to whom on leaving

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the audience another one, more or less the same, is returned to them. In this, not only the King, but all the others to whom we had paid visits, had participated.

The Lamaess was informed that we wished to pay her a visit and therefore she should let us know when it was convenient to her to receive us. She assigned to us the following morning at a quarter of the day [mid-morning]. We did not fail to go at the prescribed hour, nevertheless we had to wait, one hour in the antechamber. In the meantime we were entertained by the monks who formed her entourage. This consisted of 30 monks, some of whom did not pass 30 years of age, and they told us that we should wait until she finished her prayers. Finally we were introduced by the monks into another room, at the bottom of which there was a throne about 4 feet high. They made us stand in line on the right of the throne at some distance from it, and shortly after the Lamaess entered, escorted by all the monks and with her spiritual director on her right, a religious Lama /103/ about 60 years old. The Lamaess greeted us with a smile. We bowed, each presenting the veil, which she made the master of the chamber collect, and after having set herself on the throne, she took off the monastic beret and her spiritual director bowed in front of the throne and they both touched their heads with their foreheads and after another bow, he set himself on the right of the throne on a large cushion $\frac{1}{2}$ foot high. Other monks came in succession after the director, who after having received a deep bow, distributed his own merits, showing them a large seal to kiss. After the monks came a few secular men and women who prostrated themselves on the ground with their hands joined. Three times they gave the adoration, touching the ground with their foreheads and after having kissed the seal they departed. While this

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was going on, this did not prevent her from talking with Father Prefect and Father Gioachino at the same time and questioning them about the trip and other incidents, but with very little consideration, since she kept us all standing almost three quarters of an hour, even though Father Prefect at many times asked permission to leave. Finally she dismissed us, presenting us a small Kadak each, one hand wide and a cubit long, while we had given her one a cubit wide and 2 arms long. This, with the fact that she kept us standing (while other Lamas of quality used politeness) greatly nauseated us, and we left with the resolution never to return again, even though she had begged us to do so, although later we couldn't get out of it and later she changed her actions.

By hearing of the great haughtiness with which we were received by this Lamaess and the great veneration that the Tibetans and Nepalese who live in Lhasa have for her, one would assume, perhaps, that this Lamaess is one of the most beautiful women of Tibet. That could be possible if the Lamaess were elected, but since she is reborn, according to what the Tibetans believe, therefore they are obliged to receive her just as nature and the sagacity of the parents of the girl make her. In regard to the present Turcepamo nature itself seemed to have tried to form a body as bizarre as the spirit of Ciangciub by which she was to be embodied. This Lamaess, who at our arrival was 35 years old, is a woman 4 feet in stature, /104/ with a very large head, large face, and eyes and mouth disproportionately large. She has the neck buried in the shoulders and her spine raises in a large hump, and the hands are very shortened, completing a monstrous heap of limbs. Her robe is like the other nuns--a sort of skirt of red cloth, felt, which touches the ground, a tight bodice also of red felt, with some

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strips of yellow Chinese embroidered brocade on it, dangling over the chest, which are tied in the middle of a large and long belt in several turns around the hips. Such a vest is without sleeves, since the monks, as the nuns, always have bare arms. Over such a dress they wear a long mantle which usually is 9 cubits long from the shoulders to the ground, wrapping themselves in the mantle in the fashion of the Asians. Besides, she wears one-piece boots to the knees. The head is completely shaven and is covered with a big, high, pointed cap of yellow wool, with the outside nap rather long. This Lamaess, after having remained in Lhasa more than 3 months, took leave from the Great Lama and the King and returned to her convent, where on her arrival she wrote to the King, to the brother and to others that her spirit was greatly dissipated on account of the trip made and the long stay in Lhasa and that therefore she was letting them know that in a short time she would enter spiritual exercises in which she was counting to stay 3 years. Such a retreat could not help being taken as a sinister omen by several Tibetans, some of whom were saying that such a prolonged retreat would have easily multiplied the Lamaess.

But to continue the thread of our journey. On the 1st of January we proceeded to skirt the lake, walking until evening and after passing the fortress and the village Palte [dPal-sde] which gives the name to the lake, we walked 7 kos and we stopped on a shore of the lake where we spent the night under the tent.

On the morning of the 2nd we proceeded along the lake, bending more and more to the north, and after 2 kos of journey we found ourselves at the foot of the mountain Kambala [Kam-pa-la]. We left the lake on the south and we climbed the mountain north. The climb was rather difficult. After

having climbed about 1 kos we reached the top of the mountain where a very steep slope confronted us. /105/ The top of this mountain is unfertile and as bare of vegetation as the past ones, even though there are among the boulders some good stretches of sandy soil. I observed, in passing over with a mount, from the above stretches of earth a sombre echo was issuing at the trample of the animals' feet, as if they were trotting over a large barrel. I wanted to satisfy my curiosity, dismounting from my horse to see if it gave the same effect walking by foot, and I discovered that the roar was more or less strong according to how strong the pressure of hoof or foot was. I did not fail to observe the same more closely 2 years later when I passed it in returning from Tibet, but neither the 1st nor the 2nd time could I find a reason to explain it, because the mountain is solid on the surface. Unless the caverns were very superficial they could not give such sounds, nor could it have been caused by the deepness of the valley towards which we were descending, because if it had originated from it the roar would not have followed immediately, but delayed a little while. Besides, in the valley the voice would resound as much as the stroke, which did not follow, since I shouted several times on one side and the other.¹⁶¹

We made the descent of the mountain with much more difficulty than when we ascended. The Tibetans estimate it is $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos and in my opinion they do not error by much. They call it the "skinning of beasts" when they have to climb it. In fact, in descending it, we saw all along the slope quantities of animal bones, 3 donkeys, and 1 horse, dead a few days before. The slope descended, we entered the valley, or rather the small plateau on the slope of the mountain, and after having walked a good 6 kos, we pitched our tent.

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At night the merchants, owners of the animals, arrived from Gigaze.

On the morning of the 3rd we still descended some, entering the valley, and crossing the river Tzanciu [gTsan-c'u, Tsangpo] which we had seen from the top of the mountain Kambala. We walked on the bank of this river for the space of 3 kos, now ascending, now descending, on big long boulders and finally we arrived on the spot where we passed the river by boat. On the strength of the bka-'sog of the King, we, the animals and cargo passed promptly and a few steps /106/ from the river we were invited by the Deba [sde-pa] who was the treasurer of the Great Lama, to lodge in his house that night which we accepted and he treated us with great politeness according to the custom of the country.¹⁶²

The river Tzanciu descends rapidly from the top between a large crevice in an encircling chain of mountains at northeast of the same city, and after having descended to the bottom of the mountain it forms immediately a large and fast river which runs south along the foot of the mountain,¹⁶³ but since the city of Lhasa is a bit lower than the bed of the river, in order to avoid inundation of the city, to which it has been many times subjected, they have great care to keep the large stone dikes built over the river banks as far as a good long stretch of road below the city. These dikes, which are in some places 30 feet wide, have ever so often small flood gates, by which the water for all the city is conducted through various canals and ditches excavated in the soil. The bed of the river is 20 feet higher than the level of the city and from this to the boat on which we were descending the river by which we can easily understand the impetuous flow of the river. The boat with which we crossed this river is flat and of the capacity of 15-16 people. The boat is fastened with a large cord to a good pulley wheel

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which rolls on a rope which stretches from one side of the river to the other. By such means the boat is held against the strength of the current. Also this river has a chain bridge in the middle, which is very long, having on each lateral chain 500 oblong rings 1 foot long each. The danger of this bridge is that it has the lateral chains and the iron bar underneath as that of Nepal, but in place of the chains there are here only some cords which are none too thick and made of straw, to which a net also made of straw is attached. Upon it there is a small platform of boards and logs very uneven and the cords here and there are much used and broken. That is why today this bridge is almost useless and when it is in good condition it cannot be passed with comfort on account of the great curvature which it make in the middle for which one passed from any part always making a suspended descent and climb and staggering ~~x~~ for the movement of the chains. /107/ For that reason even when it is in good condition this bridge is not used except by the poor and miserable ones.¹⁶⁴

We spent the night in the house of the treasurer of the father of the Great Lama. We left the following morning, having on the right the river and on the left the stony mountains, at the foot of which, now we had to climb, and now we had to descend. A little after noon we arrived in Tzelen,¹⁶⁵ a small hamlet where we spent the night.

In the early morning of the 5th, Father Prefect took with him Father Floriano and with their horses and muleteers they went ahead to reach Lhasa that very night in order to have the hospice cleaned, where we were to arrive on the following day. We left at about noon and after a difficult journey of 3 kos at the foot of stony mountains we arrived in Tulon¹⁶⁶ where

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we spent the night in the house of a Tibetan.

At sunup on the 6th, while we were preparing the animals to resume our journey, we saw a Tibetan on a horse riding toward us at full speed. We later learned he was the eldest brother of John.^a [^aThe following text has been omitted in the edition of Magnaghi.] He had settled in Lhasa where he had married and had a family. One of his sons had become a monk, having embraced the religion of Nepal of Buddhism and that of Tibet of his caprice. He was at present in Tibet as Onze [dbu-mdsad] or superintendent of all the gold mines.¹⁶⁷ He had had good fortune because he had accumulated about 18,000 Mahendramalli, but for his great inclination towards Venus and more towards Bacchus, he was reduced to misery. He came to meet his brother and us, especially Father Gioachino. He presented us with some pastry made Nepalese style and a little arrack. Then after a little drink we set off on the road for Lhasa.

^b[^bHere resumes the text of the edition of Magnaghi.] We had walked about a kos when we entered a less steep road and we saw on the slope of the mountain, not far from the road on our left, the great monastery of Brebo [^cEras-spuns], where it is said that 14,000 monks live. We took it for a city, it being surrounded by walls and the houses arranged in zones with 4 great /108/ temples where the monks officiate daily. All the monks are governed by 4 Lamas and each has under him 10 vicars, who oversee the monks. This monastery has an apartment for the Great Lama.¹⁶⁸ In the vicinity of this monastery, which is 3 miles from Lhasa, we began to meet groups of Nepalese, who were coming, either as relatives or as friends, to meet John^a [^aHere are some changed; omissions from the edition of Magnaghi.] and Turi Bazu, bringing for them and for us a little refreshment. Therefore ever so

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often we were obliged to sit in the road to taste at least something of what had been presented to us. A mile and a half before the city we ran into Bazuduna, another nephew of Banzidar and brother-cousin of Turi Bazu, who brought us a good dinner. Then we came out on the side of the road and ate what Providence had given us with good appetitè. We continued our journey, passing under the walls which surround the Putala [Potala] and shortly afterwards we arrived in Lhasa. Three miles before the city we received a good welcome from a Tibetan whom the Kalon Tomba, Prime Minister of state, had sent ahead to greet us.^b [^bThe following text is omitted in the edition of Magnaghi.] About evening we arrived at our hospice, which is situated between east and north of the border of the city. Here we found Father Prefect and Father Floriano very much saddened by the condition in which they found the hospice. Father Prefect in leaving Tibet in 1732 left there Father Gioachino, who for lack of missionaries was obliged to abandon the hospice in the following year. On leaving, he recommended it to the King, to whom he handed the keys, having first sold the greatest part of the furniture, leaving part of it in the hands of various kind Nepalese. The King promised not only to take care of the hospice until the return of the fathers but besides he placed two guards to protect it. Some time after the abandonment of the hospice, a certain Daniele Wanderput,^{Van der Putte} a Dutch nobleman, who had already been in Lhasa sometime before, happened in Lhasa on returning from China. He was received in the hospice by Father Prefect and Father Gioachino who then were leaving there and who took consideration of the obligation that we have towards the Dutch nation in India and to his personal merits, /109/ since we suspected he had no religion, but he was an honest man. He was at odds with the Republic,

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considering himself offended by the preference that was given to another for an embassy. On account of this offense, in order to avenge himself, he designed to render himself necessary to the Republic and therefore he made himself a traveller. He took a degree in medicine in Padua, travelled all over Italy outside of Rome, which he was keeping for his last trip, as he also believed in the common saying that once in Rome one cannot appreciate the rarity of the other places. He travelled over Europe, then he passed to Asia to see the court of the Great Mogol, then he penetrated into Tibet, then into China, from where he was returning to Lhasa, being very exact to write all that he saw of note. Returning to Lhasa, he introduced himself to the King, who received him kindly and who gave him as a home our hospice, in which he remained more than a year.¹⁶⁹ After that he proceeded on his journies and our hospice fell into the hands of several others. Finally a monk, evicted from the monastery of Serra, had obtained it from the King. This monk thought of taking advantage of the favor of the King by keeping for himself only a small audience room where he slept and a room for the kitchen; he had rented all the rest of the hospice at very low prices to very humble people, and that is why, on his arrival, the Father Prefect found all the cells and upstairs dormitories full of people of all sexes, each cell used by small families either to cook or to sleep. The storehouses (workshops) underneath also were inhabited, and the halls were used to keep the animals in place of stables. Therefore in these we found more than a foot of manure. The Prand [Bla-bran] or the public palace¹⁷⁰ were installed in the church and still room (pharmacy, storehouse) of which they had made 2 storehouses to keep wild oxen and lambs to dry.

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On his arrival in the city, Father Prefect stopped at a house of Nepalese merchants. From them he learned the state of the hospice and he went immediately to the King, but it was answered to him that the King was making spiritual exercises which would not have ended but for a few days. Before then it was not possible to have an audience. Father Prefect returned to spend the night in the house of the Nepalese. On the same night the King was informed by the courtiers of the arrival of the Father Prefect and of our impending arrival /110/ and therefore he ordered that on the very same night the monk who was living there and everybody else should leave the place promptly, and that they look in court for the keys given him by Father Gioachino and that on the next day all the Ola ['u-lag] (common people, servants) necessary to clean the hospice be sent. One can well imagine how Father Prefect felt on viewing the hospice in such a miserable state, with some doors missing and also most of the windows, the beds of the cells perforated, some of the walls on the side of the courtyard were about to fall in ruins and a chapel of the church was partly in ruins. He was astonished all the more that during the journey, I and others, reflecting on the bad faith of the Tibetans, had doubted many times whether we would find the hospice in Lhasa. Upon our arrival we started to clean and in only 3 days 25 Ola swept and cleaned it from the manure and other refuse. That is why on the first night, we slept in the little audience room with the monk who did not leave and was stubborn about retaining possession of the place and we had trouble to evict him after 11 days. Nevertheless, being at the end of our journey after so many troubles, we all applied ourselves to putting the hospice in order, and in particular the church, where we were able to officiate on the following Sunday.

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Father Prefect had written in Nepal by means of Banzidar to his nephew Bazuduno to procure for us all the necessary things to dress us in felt cloth of dark blue wool, because no other color suitable to our condition was to be found in Tibet and the nephew did not fail to carry out the order. We not only found the cloth for the prescribed garb, but also the Den [gdan] for sleeping, which are thick wool felts $\frac{1}{2}$ finger thick, covered with colored wool cloth, 7 feet long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. In the meantime the Nepalese, with whom Father Gioachino had left part of the furniture of the hospice in storage at his departure from Tibet, returned everything faithfully, even 2 vases of wine containing 3 pitchers each, which they had carefully preserved, even though it was wine of Tappo [Dvags-po], a province east of Tibet and 15 days walk from the capital. In brief, we found ourselves provided with the necessary things. With the furniture which we had recovered and what we had brought with us and the most necessary articles which we had bought, /lll/ we were in condition to apply ourselves earnestly to the study of the language. Our hospice, even though small, was made in the manner of a monastery but the ceilings were very low, not have the offices on the first floor, but 7 feet in height, and the cells and dormitories a little more than 6 feet. The church, however, was 16 feet in elevation. Plan of hospice and church, but omitted by editor.¹⁷¹

^a[^aHere resumes the text of the edition of Magnaghi.] A few days after our arrival, the King ended his spiritual exercises. He gave public audience in the garden contiguous to his palace Kande Kanzer [dGa'-ldan K'an-gsar], where he resides.¹⁷² This garden is surrounded by walls in which there are 100 unfruitful [shade ?] trees, which form a small confused grove, where the King admitted us to audience and received us with the greatest affability,

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showing pleasure at our arrival. We all presented him with a beautiful Kadak each, which he received in his own hands. After the Father Prefect had answered to all the questions concerning our trip made to him by the King, he let him know that he had brought from Rome a letter of the Pontiff and one from Cardinal Belluga, which we would not fail to give him as soon as we had made the translations, and that when a thing left behind would arrive from Hindustan, to be annexed to the letter. The King showed pleasure at such news and said to the Father Prefect to take our time to make the translation. We paid our visit to the King in our European clothes. The Prefect asked the King if he agreed for us to dress in blue since we couldn't find the color of our European clothes in Tibet. To that he promptly consented. With the King there were two of his sons, the major [first-born] Koncoscioa [Gun sku-gzogs], who had sent us in Kuti the bka-'sog of 20 Ola. He had been nominated as successor to the kingdom in the absence of the father by the Emperor of China, but the King leaned more [inclined more] toward the younger son who was also with the father at court, as the first-born was dedicated to devotion, and who, in spite of his two wives and children, was also dressed in the habit of a Lama and he loved the monks very much, at least in appearance,¹⁷³ while the youngest son, who was already a general of the army and chief of several thousands of Tartars, was a warrior, fierce, proud and resolute.¹⁷⁴ /112/ Together with us were admitted to the audience some Chinese, ministers of the Chinese chief, who resides in Lhasa. They spoke with the King through an interpreter.

At the end of the audience, the King made us do the Themo¹⁷⁵ with the Chinese. Two long lines of Ola preceded by 2 Drogneri [mgron-gner]¹⁷⁶ came. The ~~Dm~~ Drogneri are masters of the chambers. One of these gave the

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present in front of the Chinese gentlemen and the other in front of us. They put in front of Father Prefect and Father Gioachino 6 little dishes of wood with candies of Hindustan, one of candied sugar, others with dried berries, dates, almonds and others of raisins, and besides these little dishes of dried fruit, 6 wooden dishes of cakes of flour fried in oil and butter and a lamb apiece. The Chinese were treated with more distinction than we. We had this audience in the afternoon of the 11th of January.

On the morning of the 12th we paid visits to the Kaloni [bka'-blon] or Minister of State, who received us kindly. Disengaging ourselves from the Kaloni we went to visit the Chinese chief. We had a hard time to have a passage in the exterior door of the palace, which is the best one in Lhasa. We got in only after having been questioned at length by one of the interpreters of our state and condition. After having been admitted we had to wait a long time in the antechamber of the superior's apartment. Finally he admitted us to audience. The Chinese chief was a handsome man 30 years old. He was seated on a chair, having in front of him a table and about 20 Chinese were standing in line on both sides.¹⁷⁷ We entered his presence and we gave him a Kadak each, which were received by his chamberlain who made us sit on the ground over some straps of silk prepared for us in front of the chief at some distance from his little table. After having sat down he addressed us without a word by means of his interpreter who was listening to him with his knee on the ground and clasped hands. Then, raising up to his feet he repeated to us in the Tibetan language what the chief had told him in Chinese. He asked us of what nation we were. We told him we were Kiami [rgya-mi] or Europeans.¹⁷⁸ /113/ He made us many demonstrations of affection, making the interpreter tell us that he held

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the Europeans whom he had met in China in great esteem and he knew that our custom was not to sit on the ground as did the Tibetans, but on chairs as the Chinese people. Therefore, if we wanted to we could sit on the chairs which were around the room, for which we thanked him. He declared that he greatly appreciated our visit and that he would be pleased if we would return from time to time. After having talked a lot he told us to go in another room where we were led by the interpreter and other Chinese, and here we found 4 little tables on which were confections and dried fruits. There was 1 table for Father Prefect to sit at, and the rest of us were 2 for each table. The interpreter told us that the chief wanted us to take refreshment. It started with a small glass of hot aqua vitae, a custom of the Chinese, a bowl of cooked rice after that, a plate of meat each and vegetables, all warm. We each had a Chinese serving us. We ate a little and seeing that we didn't want any more, he repeated the aqua vitae and to this a cup of tea succeeded. After having drunk that, we returned to the chamber of the chief, whom we thanked for the honor given us. He renewed the ceremonies, reminding us to come and visit him some other time. He made us put around the neck of each of us a large and long Kadak, which hung almost to our feet as a stole, which is a particular honor, and he dismissed us. We left the palace and we crossed almost all the square with that veil around our necks. For that reason the Chinese, who at first considered us as beggars later bowed whenever they met us.

Among the old friends of the fathers there was in Lhasa the reborn Lama Sembacembo [Sems-dpa'-c'en-po], a man very friendly toward us and universally loved and respected in Tibet, although he was a Tartar. This was not only because he was a reborn Lama, and Cianciub [Byan-c'ub-sems-dpa'],

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but also for the great affability with which he treated all indiscriminately, even the poorest, and because he was of great charity, although in fact of religion he was a perfect atheist.¹⁷⁹ This Lama, of whom I shall speak later on, not only received us courteously but he treated us as if we were of the same rank, /114/ and later he formed the habit of coming to visit us at the hospice almost every night, stopping there every night to take tea and converse with us with familiarity, entering into all the cells, and investigating our needs which he promptly filled. The Father Prefect addressed himself to this Lama to provide us with a language teacher, that which he promised, and he procured one from the reborn Lama Settru-rimboce [rTse-drun Rin-po-c'e], who had come to Lhasa from his fief which is about 3 miles walk from this capital. He also was a friend of the fathers and affectionate to us.¹⁸⁰

When we had the teacher we started to learn the language from the first rules, and the pronunciation of the letters. As I also had the occupation of medicine, I was very busy from morning to night, either attending the sick who came every day to the pharmacy, or writing compositions under the direction of Father Gioachino. About the end of January some Nepalese merchants arrived from Kuti, most of them gravely ill for the great cold suffered during the journey. Among them there was a man 18 years old whose hands and feet had been frozen. It was not possible to save his life and on the 7th of February he died. The Nepalese threw him in the river. The Nepalese learned some Tibetans who found this out, tried to recapture the body on the bank of the river. Having done so, they cut the head from the body to make with the skull a cup for drinking and eating. That is the

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custom among the Retro ba [Ri-k'rod-pa], monks joined with the sect of Urchien [U-rgyan], masters of magic.¹⁸³

Since Father Gioachino had come into Tibet not to remain there but only to instruct me in medicine and then to return to Europe with the answer of the King and the Great Lama to His Sanctity, he tried in the few months in which we remained together to give me not only knowledge of the medicines themselves, for that climate, but also the familiarity of his friends. For that reason, on the 11th of February, we both went to pay a visit to Talebador [Dalai Batur] or Se Koscioa [Sras sku-gzogs], the second son of the King.¹⁸² In his house we found also his sister. They both received us with familiarity, more as intimates than foreigners. They held us in conversation for more than 2 hours. /115/ They gave us tea, and the sister, in order to use a special courtesy to us, put the satu in our cups with her own hands. We were obliged to return on the following day to please them and he treated us with the same familiarity.

On the 13th we were both to visit Conkoscioa [Gun sku-gzogs], the first son of the King, who showed us equal cordiality, but with more reserve, maybe to be in keeping with the character of an elected Lama of which he was wearing the garb and receiving also prayers and adoration from the other Lamas and distributing his merits as the others. Nevertheless he wanted us to stay for dinner. He made the Themo:¹⁸³ fruits, confections, cakes, lamb dinner, all served on stools one foot high and two feet wide. He took the lamb and divided it with his own hands without any instruments and he sent us each a piece by his servants. After such a long trip, necessity had made my stomach as a Tibetan's, that is, as a good Pig's, therefore it wasn't difficult to overcome the repulsion that I felt to eat the meat served us, so impolitely

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divided, or the satu kneaded with water, of which he gave us some balls made with his own hands after he had divided the meat. He produced for us dry raw meat which we refused and after having eaten some cooked meat we wrapped the rest of meat and fruits, etc., in a napkin and took it to the hospice. Thus we had the honor of dining with the first son of the King and successor to the throne. On the evening of the 13th a Lama of the convent of Moru [Mo-ru] not far from our hospice,¹⁸⁵ let us know that on the following day he would appreciate it if we all went to him.

After dinner on the 14th, which was the 28th of the year for the Tibetans, we all went to the above Lama who greeted us courteously. /116/ We drank tea with him, after which he told us that he had invited us to show us the representation which was held on that day in his monastery. We young ones who always looked for occasions to instruct ourselves, accepted with pleasure. Therefore, he led us to a big window which faced the enclosure of the great square in front of the temple, which we saw was full of men and women of many conditions.

Shortly afterwards the representation began. Some Korciapa [skor-leag-pa] or public servants, who have the office of police, armed with double knives, whips and long poles, cleared the courtyard. Drums and chants by monks. Drums and cymbals. Monk dressed as a god, with a robe down to his feet, tied at the waist and with wide long sleeves and streamers from his shoulders. It was a Chinese brocade robe. His boots were of white skin, embroidered with brocade. He wore a monstrous large mask on his head and shoulders, representing the head of a ram with horns and a garland of small human skulls. He entered in the middle of the dance with jumps and

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contortions, as one possessed, having in one hand a sort of ax, and in the other a small golden cup. After he had danced a lot with the sound of instruments, another, dressed as the first but with a more horrifying mask, came out, took the first by the hand and they danced together. Then came a third who took the second by the hand/they danced together. "Etc." Twenty-four monks in all finally danced together, all wearing the masks of different animals, with garlands of bones. /117/

It was an hour long dance of intricate steps with music. Then they all returned to the temple. The drums and cymbals changed the tune from a gay one to a pathetic one accompanied by a weak chant in low guttural sounds. Meanwhile, a monk dressed as a skeleton came out of the temple and started a pathetic dance. Finally there were 4 skeletons in all, dancing and throwing fistfuls of flour in the faces of the spectators. For the 4 skeletons they had chosen 4 thin and scrawny monks, dressed in tight white cloth and painted with red bones, cavities of eyes, hands and feet, etc. They re-entered the temple after the dance, and then promptly came out again, each carrying the corner of a little sheet in which there was a little artificial infant the size of 2-3 months, made of dough well shaped and colored naturally, which they placed in the middle of the square, and then they danced around the child more gayly. Then they re-entered the temple, then the 24 came out again and danced around the child, and after dancing, the one with the ram's mask kneeled to the child /118/ and gave it several ax blows on different parts of the body and after each leap kneeled to the child. With the ax he opened the chest, took out the heart and ate it. The Ram Mask danced more, then jumped in the circle of the 24 and after a few leaps he broke the rest of the body of the child with the ax and all 24

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took a piece of that body and threw the rest among the crowd. Pretending to eat, the 24 danced and then re-entered the temple. Soon after the performance there came out of the temple 3 men in white with 20 banners, each held by one, and 4 more Ola miserably garbed with 4 cords. A turma [gtor-ma] or cone of sacrificial dough was brought out and placed on a tripod. This was ~~preceded~~ preceded by 2 young monks in ordinary clothes, followed by 4 more dressed in brocade and 6 with silver incense burners, etc. /119/ The King, his two sons and the principal Lamas were present.¹⁸⁶
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On the 16th of February, for us the 12th moon of the year and for the Tibetans the first day of the first moon of their year of the Bird of Iron,¹⁸⁷ the celebration started at midnight. This celebration is very peculiar for the Tibetans since this is the only day in all the year in which there is no business in Lhasa and which can be really called a holiday. The Tibetans go to wish each other happy new year at midnight and during these visits give each other tea, beer and arrack. It would be an effrontery not to drink together, from which it happens they are all drunk before dawn.¹⁸⁸
the day before,

At dawn the King, having given to his subjects/a vest, either of brocade or semplice ormesino [?; not in Italian dict.] ~~the day before~~ according to rank, he, with his sons, ministers and courtiers went to the Chinese chief. They climbed to the chamber where was placed a piece of white cloth on which was written in gold Chinese characters the name of the Emperor of China. The King and then his sons and all the others knelt in front of the throne to wish a happy new year to the Emperor.¹⁸⁹ After the ceremony ended, he with the Chinese chief and their respective retinues,

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all on horse, went to the Putala to congratulate themselves and to greet the Great Lama, where they remained after dinner. On his return to the palace, the King received the visits of the nobles.

On the 17th, in the early morning, we all went to the palace of the King to wish him a happy new year but since he was about to go to the Lama he left us, not to return until after dinner, when he would receive us. Since the youngest son of the King, who was living in the house of the eldest brother, saw us, he had us called. We presented him each our Kadak and in taking it he put it back on our necks, and after a little speech, having to go with his father to the Lama, he dismissed us. During the day we returned to the King, where ^{we} had to wait at the entrance due to the great crowd, since on this day and the following one the King /120/ received the annual tribute of the provinces. We entered behind 124 Ola, all loaded with wool cloth, and other cloth, butter, dried fruits, iron and other things. In presenting the veil the King made a gesture to the Drogniere [mgon-gner] (chamberlain) to put it back on our necks and he ordered another to lead us to another room full of idols. Here he sent us some plates full of cooked rice, meat, pastry, dried fruits and tea to drink. We drank the tea and we excused ourselves from eating the meat, it being Lent. Nevertheless he wanted us to take home some pieces of raw meat besides the pastry and dried fruit, and being dismissed we went home.

On the 18th we went to the house ^{of the father of} of the Great Lama. He couldn't give us an audience, even though he was a friend, being uncomfortable for having exceeded in drinking beer on the preceding day. We visited 2 other reborn Lamas who received us courteously. They received from us the Kadak but on leaving they didn't return it to us in any way. After this we paid a visit

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to the Lamaess Turcepamo [rDo-rje-p'ag-mo] whose reception I have mentioned on p. 159 [~~102~~ 102-103]. We put an end to our visits for that day and on the 19th since it was Sunday we paid no visits.

On the 20th we returned to the domicile/of the Great Lama who received us with great cordiality. He was a man of 70 years, of unusual stature among the Tibetans, being about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet tall, of robust body and well-proportioned. In his youth he had been a monk in the monastery of Brhebo ['Bras-spuns], from where he was banished for his misbehaviour. He, angry at the treatment he had received, when he came out of the monastery, since he was a man of great cunning, he married 3 young Tartars. All 3 were sisters and since at that time the preceding Lama was dead he succeeded in making it [the Lama] reborn by one of his 3 wives, who he abandoned a few years later to marry a Tibetan. Shortly afterwards she had to give up her bed to 2 other Tartars. This was before the revolution that took place in 1727 of which he was the principal promoter. [The 2 Tartars] had to give it [the bed] up to 2 daughters of the Prime Minister of that time, called Kalon Pissi [bKa'-blon beise].¹⁹¹ /121/ He was accused of the murder of the King. Even though all the accomplices were exemplarily punished by the Chinese, he appealed to the Emperor of China, where he was led chained, with only the 2 new wives to the Emperor's presence, and he endeavoured in such fashion that not only was he absolved but also he obtained permission to return to Lhasa and because the King did not want to grant him permanence in the capital, by order of the emperor he had to let him choose a place at his will. He chose a good valley towards the east, the best there is around Lhasa, and distant from it by only 3 days walk, with the permission to go into Lhasa once a year and remain there for a month. He returned a Kadak better than ours and gave us pastry and dried

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fruit. Then we went to the four ministers of state of whom we were fully satisfied.

On the 21st we went to the Chinese chief, who received us with distinction. On presenting him with a veil, he ordered the master of chambers to put it back on our necks and wanted to give us refreshments. We begged to be excused, however he wanted us to take a small drink of aqua vitae with some dried fruit and confections. On taking leave he made us put around our necks another large veil descending to our feet.

Since today was the 6th day of the new moon, the solemn Molam [smon-lam] or public prayer was started, to which from the most remote parts of the kingdom came monks and seculars to participate.¹⁹³ On this day those Lamas and monks who were to officiate in the Prand [Ela-bran] or temple and palace of the public were to be nominated. The places were assigned to them and a cup of tea and satu was given, at the public expense, to all the monks who were outside the Prand. I was told that this Molam was established many years before on the occasion that a Tziri [sde-srid], a Prime Minister of the Lama, since there waan't yet the dignity of the King, kept obscure for 12 years the death of the Great Lama. Finally he made it public and they say that such solemnity was established in memory of a conversion that caused a great stir. That their legislator Scichiatuba [Sakya-t'ub-pa], in his last transmigration when he restored the deceased law made very many Brahmans.¹⁹⁴ As I said, in such a function, which lasts 15 days, many thousands of monks from all the kingdom participate at the public expense, /122/ when there isn't some devout person who asks to pay for a day to such a great multitude. The expense consists of giving to all the monks 3 cups of tea, and about a cup of satu in the morning at

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8 o'clock, and an offering of money or of goods; at noon 2 cups of tea and a good piece of boiled meat and satu; in the evening 2 cups of Topa [t'ug-pa] that is, satu cooked in broth of meat as breadcrumbs and some other offerings of money or goods, all at the expense of the devout one. The Lama and other elected monks officiate and make the ceremonies inside Laprand. The monks are mixed. Among them some are seculars and some are even married, but they must shave their heads and wear the garb of Trhaba [grva-pa]. These monks read, or pretend to read, all sitting in a row on the ground in the square in front of Laprand, where on other steps there is a small arcade (loggia) from which the Great Lama must preach. In the absence of the Great Lama the Lama Kanden [dGa'-ldan], the spiritual director of the first, substitutes,¹⁹⁵ but this one sits only a step lower of that on which sits the Lama. On the last step, which serves as base to the loggia, there are seated young religious students, who in such a function sustain the conclusion of disputes between the time of the preaching and the reading of the books. While they read the books some other Trhaba circulate among the lines of monks. These distribute tea and the dispensers have their mouths covered for cleanliness with a piece of cloth, quite dirty, in order that their breath or some drops of saliva do not fall into the cups of the recipients. After they finish passing the tea for the third time, and the prayers being finished, 3 Deba [sde-pa] or ministers of the treasury, come out from Laprand, each accompanied by one or more Kiku [dge-bskos] or religious vicars. The Kiku holds a small chain hanging from his arm and a square rod of iron, and he has with him 10 seculars equipped with long poles. Among them there are 1 or 2 Ola who carry the offering to be distributed. All these 3 start, each at one end of the street, from where they make the monks defile

in succession, given them the offering and a good beating to any insolence they make. If the offering is of a Mahendramalli they give it in the hand of each. If it is goods, as tea, cloth, pearls, useless vases of the temple, the packages of goods are numbered; they count as many monks as the number and give the offering to the last one, /123/ and then they all go together to sell it to the Nepalese and Kashmiris. These Nepalese and Kashmiris make a good profit, because if a string of little pearls is taxed for 12 monks for offering of a Mahendramalli each, the 12 monks, who sometimes are not of the same monastery, in order to disengage themselves, will leave it for 6 Mahendramalli. That is why on such occasions the merchants make good profit. The offerings distributed to the simple monks must be multiplied in proportion to the monks graduated in this way. If the simple monks have a Mahendramalli each, the vicars have 10 each, the temple attendants 9, the masters of the chapel 12, the Onze [dbu-ndsad] or superintendent of the feast 12, the Gnerba [gner-ba] or the procurers of the monasteries 14, and the Lamas 20 each. The vicars, as the most necessary ones to keep in order such a numerous undisciplined rabble, are 40 in number and each is equipped with a square rod of iron about an ounce large [thick, probably—GL] and 3 feet long with which he breaks the head and arms of those who do not behave.¹⁹⁶

On the morning of the 22nd, the 7th of the moon, the Lama of Kanden,¹⁹⁷ started to pray and make all the other ceremonies. At the expense of the public, the tea, meat and Topa and offering of a Mahendramalli were distributed to the monks.

On the 23rd, the number of monks increased. The Lama of Kanden continued to officiate, monks had food and offerings at the public expense, but the offering was of only a Mancia [masa], i.e., the 6th part of a

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Mahendramalli each. 198

On the 24th, the function of the morning was earlier and the monks received a Miskal [misqal] or ~~1/2~~ two-thirds of a Mahendramalli each.

At 2 o'clock there was a solemn cavalcade in which the Supreme Lama entered the city to stay in his own apartment in Laprand until the end of the ceremony. /124/ All the Tibetan ladies put on their finery, loading themselves with pearls, corals, amber and other stones and ornaments, and with other men and women they placed themselves at one side and the other all along the way between the Putala and Laprand, which distance is about 2 miles. All the men and women held something in their hands, especially the monks, who were the most numerous. Some were holding branches of various trees, and some flowers and some peacock feathers, some brooms made of swamp canes, some silk banners, some small umbrellas, some one thing or another. The balconies were planted with poles and branches from which banners and veils were hanging and strips of Chinese damask were stretched from one to another. The whole city was en fete for the coming of their god.

The father of the Great Lama made us comfortable in his house, which faced the square of Laprands, from where there was the preaching and from where I could observe at ease what seemed to me worthy of notice. The order of the cavalcade was this:

Ahead came 60 Nepalese, with their costumes, all on horse; behind 40 Azarra [acarya] or rather Hindustani monks were coming. They are rich merchants also on horse, and garbed with yellow Chinese brocades; 56 Kashmiri Moslems, who have several businesses in Lhasa followed them, also on horse.

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but with ordinary clothes. Four couples of banners of different kinds held by 8 seculars on horse garbed with Chinese brocade followed. After that came other horsemen who were carrying several hieroglyphics of gilded wood. To these succeeded 8 other couples of drummers and cymbalists who were followed by all the governors of the provinces, Deba mi pon [sde-pa mi-dpon] with their ceremonial uniforms; the Kiokioni [c'os-skyon] were coming behind them with ordinary religious garb, with only a big red beret with a border of martenskin as a distinction. Behind the Kiokioni came the monks of Putala in yellow brocades. Behind them 4 ministers of the treasury. The Ministers of State are dressed in brocade, those of the Treasury in scarlet, red, green and yellow of Europe. Two horses follow, richly caparisoned, carrying on their backs two /125/ great silver censers, in which perfumes are burning, each horse guided by two monks, holding it by the bridle. Then follow 2 more horses richly caparisoned, who had on their backs a box or gold urn. In one of them, I was informed, there was a horse's skin, in which Sciakiatoba had transmigrated another time. I couldn't understand what was in the other. Two horses richly caparisoned succeeded them. These were bringing the belongings of the Great Lama. Each horse's load was covered with a long band of red brocade which descended on both sides to the ground, and which covered them from the shoulders to the tip of the tail. Each horse was led by the bridle by two monks. The Supreme Lama, dressed in cloth of gold, followed the convoy and with the Tscenber [ts'em-ber] or mitre also of gold²⁰⁰ and from the lower edge of the mitre a black lace descended over the forehead, reaching the point of the nose and descending down to his temples. The Lama's horse was led by two monks in

yellow brocade. A horse length behind the Great Lama was the King, dressed in brocade of pearl colour, with a large beret trimmed with fur, Tartar-fashion. On the left there was the father of the Great Lama, dressed in purple brocade. Behind them, the two sons of the King, the eldest in the middle, and on the right the youngest, General of the militia, and on the left the brother of the Supreme Lama by the father, not the mother.²⁰¹

These were followed by all their entourage, marching military fashion at five horse in front, and thus terminated the procession.²⁰²

It is not possible to express the invocations, prostrations, adorations, sighs and beatings of the breast that the people were making at the sight of the Lama and I don't believe an angel could expect more if he had descended from heaven among us to dispense happiness. So much are the poor people ^{adorned} warned of the great power of their Great Lama that he can give them his merits to make them happy.

On the same morning, he himself started the ceremonies,²⁰³ and the monks on the same morning had a second offering of a Mahendramalli each. /126/ In the evening another offering in pearls; each package was taxes 20 Mahendramalli, a package for 10 monks. On this day the monks had reached the number of 30,000. Therefore very many were obliged to sleep in the streets in spite of the intense cold.

On the 25th, Koncoscioa [Gun sku-gzogs], first son of the King, paid Mahendramalli for the provisions for all the monks; he gave in offering a ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Manze [man-tsi] per monk, and at night a ~~XXXXX~~, a kind of flame [colored ?] Kadak, which has the price of about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mahendramalli.²⁰⁴

On the 26th the monks were paid by the treasury which gave them the offering in dry tea worth a Miskal, $\frac{2}{3}$ Mahendramalli, each. At night there

were many offerings.

On the 27th the second son of the King gave in offering in the morning a Mahendramalli and at night a Manze each.

On the 28th a Chinese gave Panckarma [skar-ma-lina, v. n. 116] of 1/3 Mahendramalli each and at night a Manze.

On the 1st of March the father of the Great Lama paid the expenses. He gave in offering to the simple monks, who were officiating in Laprand, 1/3 Mahendramalli, and to the others outside Laprand he gave a Manze, therefore for this he was very cheap (a skinflint--GL). He made a solemn offering to the Great Lama which was carried by 200 Ola, each having something, most of them carrying bales of tea, butter and dried fruit. Forty-five Ola were each carrying various religious garbs to offer. An Ola was carrying in his hand a garment of gold cloth for the Lama. He was followed by 4 others who were carrying a small gold statue $\frac{1}{2}$ foot tall, another a gold basin, 4 others were carrying a silver vase each, 3 others were carrying a Nacciuma [lna-bcu-ma] of silver, each of the value of 50 Tanghe. The Tanga is an ideal coin as the Roman coin, and has more or less the value of a piastre. The Nacciuma is a mass of pure silver in this shape [fig. shown on p. 127] and it has its value according to weight.²⁰⁵ Behind the Nacciuma other Olas were following, carrying thick and large brocade cushions to sit on and other similar things which were all given to the Lama. /127/

About an hour after such offerings, we all asked whether the Great Lama would be pleased by our visit. We were admitted to a room and we were received beyond any expectation in a very friendly audience, in such a way that later some did not believe it. He received us while sitting on a small

throne. We gave a Kadak each which was received by his chamberlain and he let us sit in his presence. The Great Lama does not speak with anyone immediately except with the King, his sons and the reborn Lamas of superior order, but he speaks to one of the graduate Traba who assists him and repeats to the auditor the phrase of the Lama, to whom he repeats the answer. The Lama spoke directly with us and conversed with Father Prefect and Father Gioachino. In the meantime he ordered tea for us which he made us drink in his presence. After that he dismissed us graciously, and told us to go into another room with the Chamberlain. In the other room he gave us Themo, which consisted of 2 basins of pastry, 7 plates of confections, and dried fruits, a plate of dates each, 1 of raisins, fruits, pears, candies, etc. After we had taken the Themo we left.²⁰⁶

In the evening the monks had an offering of tea and panc Karma each. This very same day in the morning before going to the Great Lama, we had dissatisfaction to hear the debates between two young monks in the square where the preaching takes place. One of the debaters was set over a little Den [gdan]; at some distance from him on the left there was the defender of the office. Some Lamas and monks were seated on the steps of the loggia, where they preach and other monks on the floor of the square. A young monk came out of the files [of monks], bowed to the Lama and came close to the debater, asking him his thought over a point. He answered in a few words. Then the opponent, throwing the sides of the religious mantle over his shoulders, made several gestures of Cola or Cuoioello [Punch and Judy puppets-- GL], beating the hands and twisting himself and reciting some sayings as Dr. Gratiano and these sayings all ended in long penetrating flights [high notes] and clapping of hands which he made under the nose of the debater.

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He was answering them with great stiffness and imperturbability. The opponent garbled the sayings and the gestures, throwing on the ground sometimes the mantle, sometimes the Tscenber [ts'em-ber], beating the air with a crown on the head of the opponent /128/ and sometimes jumping on his shoulders horse-fashion. The defender, however, was no more upset than if he had undertaken to prove himself as sensitive as a stone, and continued with his concise replies of only 2-3 words. After this had gone on for about an hour, the opponent argued, accidentally representing all together Dr. Gratiano, the Cola, Harlequin, and Pulcinella, the defendant of the case said some words which were approved by the assisting Lama to which all the others made response with cheers. I don't know whether in praise of the opponent or the defender, because I didn't understand a word of it.²⁰⁷

On the 2nd of March, the 15th of the moon, a day of great merit and solemnity, the King paid the expenses. He gave as offering to the monks one Mahendramalli each, and since the number of the monks had risen to 35,786, without counting the gradation of the offering due to the Lamas, vicars, attendants, etc, and valuing the Mahendramalli at 2 Roman paoli, the offering alone reached about 7,157 Roman scudi and 2 paoli, and at night he gave a veil each.

That very morning the King gave the solemn offering to the Great Lama, which was carried by 250 Ola, most of them loaded with tea, butter, fruit and cloth. There were more than 100 who were carrying precious things, in many vessels of silver, vases, goblets, etc., brocade hangings for the apartment of the Lama, other hangings for his great throne and more dresses of cloth of gold and 60 Naciuma of silver. The rumor went about that the offerings made by the King reached the price of 12,000 Tangh, valuing the

Tangh at $9\frac{1}{2}$ paoli, it reached 11,400 scudi.²⁰⁸

This is the day on which, according to the Tibetans, Sciakiatuba made the famous conversion of the Brahmans, therefore they celebrate it with distinction.²⁰⁹ Since the day before, all the palace, temple of Laprand and the adjacent houses were surrounded by tall wooden staircases of 5 steps each, leaving the last step about 3 feet high from the ground. This circumference of steps was distributed in sections, having each the length of about 20 feet. Behind each portion of the steps there were three tall tables which did not surpass the steps. That night all the tables were ornamented with all the ^{large} Turma of oat flour, charmingly ornamented with arabesques, and flowers of colored butter, /129/ and at the foot of the stairs there were small brass goblets in which butter was burning, since in front of each staircase there was a kind of altar. Each section was divided among the gentlemen and the principal Lamas, who were in charge of feeding the lamps and of the other ornaments on their steps. The King and his sons each had their section. Even the Supreme Lama had his. The whole circumference of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile was divided.²¹⁰

It is not easy to understand the competition that there is among them to decorate as finely and with greater charm the place assigned to them.. It is sufficient to say that at night about 2 o'clock, all around the palace, the temple and the temple of the treasury being illuminated and all the lights of the staircases lit, the Supreme Lama goes out on foot and makes the turns from left to right of the place where the staircases are. The Lama walks over cloth stretched where he is passing. The King on the left of the Lama gives his arm, covered with a long silk veil to him to support him, but the King walks outside the cloth. The King's sons with other Lamas follow the

Lama, but between them and the Great Lama there are two monks who gather up the cloth behind him. The Lama and the King stop in front of the Turma to admire the ornaments, which he praises according to their beauty and such is the purpose of all the emulation. All along the road and in front of the staircases are strings of men armed with whips and long poles who prevent anyone from coming near the road where the Lama must pass, until he returns inside Laprand. Then they let the place free to the numerous multitude of monks and seculars, who do the same tour. The crowd is so great that often someone dies under the feet of the multitude. In this year a poor old Tibetan, a foreigner, and a child 7-8 years old had the misfortune to be the victims. All night until sunrise is used by the Tibetans to make this tour repeatedly, according to the measure of their devotion. At the end of the night when the multitude is tired of perambulating, many men and women make the Koram [skor-lam], that is, the same tour, dragging the body on the ground. Whoever makes such Koram /130/ begins the tour on his knees, clasping the hands, then touching the ground three times with the forehead, then he stretches himself at full length and thus stretched on his face on the ground he clasps his hands again over the ground as far as he can, and making a mark with a small branch held in the hands, there where they have reached, they get up, and proceeding, they place their feet over the mark and kneeling again, makes the same adorations, prayers and stretching of the body, marks again where he reached with his hands and places himself there to make another prostration,, and so forth, continuing all the turns until they have reached the place where they started.²¹¹ /131/

The Chinese, even though they are not obligated to decorate the staircases, since the King and the Lama were to pass by not far from the

palace of their chief, they made in the square a very beautiful garden in the manner of the Chinese, decorated with paper flowers, naturally imitated, and potted plants in large vases. The garden was illuminated by very large lanterns made of very fine paper, some forming colored fish which, for the circulation of candle smoke, moved wings and tails (fins) and seemed to float in the air, dragon shapes and bird shapes, and they all moved with the smoke.

On the 3rd, 4th and 5th of March, the 16th, 17th and 18th of the moon, the treasury paid the expenses for the monks. It gave in the morning $\frac{1}{2}$ Mahendramalli and nothing in the evening but the offerings of these three days were in cloth and other things.

On the 19th of the moon, or the 6th of March, the Lama of the province of Kam ba [Kam-pa-rdson] gave to the monks $\frac{1}{3}$ Mahendramalli. On this very day a Nepalese, who had resided in Lhasa for several years and who had made a good fortune, in spite of the fact that he had relatives in Nepal and all his compatriots exhorted him to the contrary, still he wanted to give offerings to the Great Lama, donating to him the simple clothes for the Lama, 2 silver Nacciuma of 50 Tangh each. He gave to the monks 2 cups of tea and 100 Tangh in money to be divided among the monks in Laprand. Such foolishness reduced him to mendicancy.

On the 7th of March, 20th of the moon, the Treasury gave the offering in pearls, assigning a Miskal to each, or $\frac{2}{3}$ Mahendramalli. On this morning he began to see in the squares and the streets pieces of stone, /131/ cut more or less thick, some weighing more than 50 pounds and the smallest about 10 pounds, offered for sale. After visiting the temple, the King went

to the square where he bought one of the stones and all the courtiers accompanying him did the same. Each one carried his stone by foot near the bank of the river. All this day and the following one there was not a monk or a nun (these having come out of seclusion for that feast), or secular men and women who didn't carry one or more stones near the bank of the river, claiming that by so doing they gained great merit. These stones which are gathered near the river at their expense or with their hands by the devout, were used by the King when the Molam ended, for repairs of the banks in some parts in need of it. He made them be gathered in orderly fashion near the same bank in order to have them ready in case of need. I could not but praise such a custom if it had not been related to their religion.²¹²

On the 8th of March, the 21st of the moon, stones continued to be brought to the river and the monks had 1 Mahendramalli each in the morning from the Treasury. In the evening they received a small box of Chinese tobacco for two of them to smoke and a Manze each. In such ways the prayers of the monks out of Laprand terminated. On the 16th the monks had notably diminished in number since they had made the Koram on the 15th, which is the principal cause of their coming to Lhasa, and after having seen the Lama many monks and seculars had returned to their own districts.

On the morning of the 9th, 22nd of the moon, at sunrise there was the procession of Ciamba [Byams-pa, Maitreya] (i.e., Love) who must incarnate himself to restore law, corrupted by the vices of men. The Kiokon, with his court, led the procession, jumping and trembling like one possessed and throwing in the crowd iron pipes [for smoking; in Italian all other pipes are tubes—GL (?)] the King not permitting in this procession to use either

swords or knives. The Kiokion is followed by 60 monks dressed with yellow brocade with drums and cymbals. Behind them the statues of Sciachia Tuba and Urchien/follow. [U-rgyan-pa, Padmasambhava] These are the principal legislators of Tibet, made in giant form 20 feet tall, and they walk by themselves on account of the men who are inside the statues. Behind the statues a yak or wild ox /132/ of papier mache was coming, a tiger, an elephant and other quadrupeds such as nature has never produced. These beasts were all walking and moving their heads, dancing by means of the Ola who had half of their bodies inside the bellies of the animals; the legs of the Olas appeared underneath. Each beast was bridled with a long veil which was held by a Deba [sde-pa] of Laprand guiding each animal. The elephant was bridled by the trunk, showing that they do not know the nature of such animals, unless this was done for some hieroglyphic [symbol]. Behind the animals a gilded coach on which there was a statue of Ciamba [Byams-pa] dressed as a Lama followed. Four monks were at the sides of the coach, each holding a bouquet of lighted incense, and another one behind the coach was holding a silk umbrella, which he twirled constantly. The Great Lama, the King and his sons stand on a great balcony of Laprand to watch the procession. When the coach is in front of the balcony it stops, the Lama and the King bow and send to the Ciamba a veil each, which their respective chamberlains put around the neck of the statue. Then the procession continues and makes a tour of Laprand and reenters the temple. ²¹³

In the meantime the Chinese chief went where the Lama was and after bows and compliments to him, he set himself on the right of the Lama and the King on the left with his sons.

When the procession ended a large mortar was fired. That was the signal

to start a horserace which starts under the monastery of Brhebo [¹Bras-spuns] as far as Laprand and past it as far as a gunshot. In the place where the race terminates there is the Deba of the Veranda [Ela-bran] who as the Barbary [horses] arrive, mounted by boys 10-15 years of age, gives each a wooden placque on which numbers are marked. I counted in this place 200 horses although only 140 had the prize. The first one had a brocade vest, the others a cloth, some a bale of tea, and the last ones had a piece of veil. Many boys fell and two died. After the horse race, /133/ that of men starts, who had their start under the Putala, a good mile out of the city. Originally the men ran completely naked but today the King makes them wear trousers. I counted 112 runners, all passing in front of the stand of the Great Lama and the King. Each one ended where the Deba received the wooden placque with the numbers as for the Barbars [horses].²¹⁴

After the race of men, a Cimba [p'yin-pa] or a large felt 20 feet square was extended on the ground of the square in front of the balcony where the Lama and the King were. The people made a great circle around the Cimba; after that from both sides of the square two Deba arrived, each leading a man with his head covered by a cloth to his feet. They led them in the middle of the Cimba and after having put them one against the other they took away the cloth that covered them and the Deba retired. The two men who had only their trousers, wrestled, having first made adoration to the Lama. The terms of the match were that one should throw the other on the ground and after having thrown him on the ground, make him touch the ground with his head and after having done so the victor was awarded a beautiful Kadak that the King had put around his neck by one of his Deba and

the defeated one ran away ashamed. There were 15 pairs of wrestlers beating each other in such a way.²¹⁵

When the fight was over the Barbary horses who had raced with the boys who rode them with the numbered wooden placques finally returned. The horse which was made to arrive first belonged to the King. The rider received a prize and then he stood in front of the balcony and knelt in front of the Lama. The King gave him a Kadak, and a Barbary horse and soon the monks of the court of the Lama took possession of it. The other 140 received their prizes according to the numbers on the placques returned, and after the horses, the runners came to receive their prizes. The first had a piece of Chinese cloth, a bale of tea and a Kadak around the neck. The others received successively less until the last one received only a simple veil and thus the celebration ended before noon.

After dinner there was a military cavalcade and at night the procession to take the Turma to burn, a solemn sacrifice made inside Laprand at the ^{before} /134/ time of Molam. One must know that even/the present King Mivangh [Mi-dban], it was the custom to arm a number of militia to accompany the Turma to the place where it was usually burned outside the city, but today the King, in order to render the ceremony more solemn, had obliged all those to whom are given the ~~gun~~ wooden staircase around Laprand to equip and mount a number of men for this function, a number of men all dressed in iron chain mail and caps of iron, as fictitious militia for the function and he had a standing obligation also to all the Deba, governors of provinces, and to others particularly. The military^l cavalry, before defiling to the place where the Turma is burned, marching 6 by 6 in military order, must make

three times the great Koram [skor-lam] or reverential tour from left to right. This great tour includes the whole circuit of the city and of the Putala besides, about 3 miles in circumference. The infantry marching also in military order by 8 in front makes 3 times the small Koram around Laprand and the 3rd time defiles at the place of the consummation of the sacrifice. The order of the march of the infantry is this:

Three Kotubal [new. Kwotuwal, hind. Kotwal] precede; they are judges of the city dressed in scarlet,²¹⁶ and they are accompanied by 12 Korciapa [skor-lcag-pa] or sbirri [an uncomplimentary term for policemen, like "cop"—GL]; behind them a row of 8 trumpeters defiles, followed by 36 files of men with chain mail and iron caps, armed with lances and sabers; behind them there are 6 files of horses, harnessed in iron from head to foot, each mounted by a man dressed from head to foot with iron and a helmet on the head. These 36 cavaliers were armed with guns, lance, saber, bows and arrows. Behind them 25 rows of fusiliers, followed by 8 in a row, dressed in the same armor and armed with guns and sabers. Twenty more files of men dressed in jak leather and armed with arrows and quivers, closed the march of the infantry.

The cavalry was preceded by Talebador [Dalai Batur], the second son of the King and Generalissimo of the Army, who had with him 50 gentlemen, all equally dressed in chain mail and helmets, armed with sabers, bows and quivers. Behind them, 323 files of cavalry were following, 6 by 6, and all dressed in chain mail, armed with sabers by their sides, guns on their shoulders, and bows and quivers /135/ and on the left hand the straight lance with the extremity of the staff in a holster hanging from the saddle bow. When the militia ended their respective tours of the Koram, the

infantry defiled and then the cavalry went to the assigned place.²¹⁷

When all the militia had defiled, the procession came out from Laprand. The Kiokion [c'os-skyon] with his retinue preceded, dancing and throwing iron pipes ^(smoking) in the middle of the crowd, then the trumpets, the cymbals, and the drums came in the order designated on p. 155 [98], the Ngaramba [sNags-rams-pa], Thurifers [one who carries a thurifer (a censor)], the Lama with his assistants, etc. I counted 22 banners, 80 trumpets, 5 pairs of cymbals, 170 pairs of drums, 24 Ngaramba, 12 thuribles. The canonical dresses were all red and yellow brocade. Two Turma were brought to the assigned place, both having a Lama with two assistants. Behind the procession there was following the Lama of Kanden [dGa'-ldan], vicar and director of the Great Lama, who was dressed with the simple but proper garb of the Lama. He had on his sides 2 monks, who were burning 2 small bunches of perfume, and another who preceded him with a small brass thurible.²¹⁸

When the Turma arrived in the prescribed place, and the Lama had made the usual ceremonies, ~~it~~ they were burned and the militia fired their guns at the Turma who were lined in the field. From this function we passed to another one which was of firing cannons against the black tent drapery. In the chain of the near mountains which are on the other side of the bed of the river they had pitched a black tent in the corner of one of them. The six cannon, or I will call them more properly mortars, because they are not other than masses of round iron about one foot in diameter and no more than three feet long, and perforated with a drill and of about 8 ounces (?) of calibre or diameter of the ball, fire to the corner of one of them. The King, in the subsequent year, multiplied them to the number of 19, not

having been able to perforate [bore ?] more than 13 in a year. At such work the Olas are assigned who have to labor without pay and sometimes without food. They shot six times and they all fell very far from the tent. Some balls had even gone across the mountains. I couldn't help laughing, seeing such disparate shots to the target. But I was told that if the tent had been shot it would have been a sinister omen. I couldn't help telling them that having such a lucky omen was in their power, since they could turn the mortar /136/ with infallible sureness in such a way that even the smoke would not touch the tent since the wind could take that away too. After firing at the tent, the Molam is finished.²¹⁹

On the morning of the 10th of March, the 23rd of the moon, the Great Lama returned to his residence in the Putala with his cavalry with which he had entered into the city. Before leaving the city he went to Kande Kansar, [dGa'-ldan-k'an-gsar], the palace of the King, where the King had prayed him to take a little drink. It is not easy to understand how the monks quivered with rage on seeing their Supreme Lama obliged to do things that in other times he would not have done for all the gold in the world, but both he and his followers had to dissimulate; thus the circumstances of the time imposed it.

Having taken back the Lama in the Putala, the King with his sons and all his retinue went to a place outside the city where they stayed until late. Here all the city assembled and after having made drunk a man monstrously dressed, the King asked him if in this new year the seasons would be good, the crops abundant, the air salubrious, and which infirmities would predominate in the city. The drunkard, whose name I don't remember, answered to everything favorably. About the infirmities, the tertian fever, the colds or rheumatism would predominate this year. Then the King had him

asked whether he wanted to take all those sicknesses for himself and carry them on the other side of the river and that he would be taken care of. The drunkard made some fanatic gestures and the King ordered for him a small bale of tea, another one of butter, a small sack of satu, a Nacciuma of silver and some Kadaks. The drunkard loaded himself with these things, and he took the road to cross the river. The people ran away from the drunkard when he passed by as from the devil, and if someone didn't run for fear of the drunkard, he was made to run by the long sticks of the Korciapa or policemen who accompanied him at a great distance, paying great attention that the drunkard didn't touch either them or others. Otherwise the diseases he had saddled himself with, would have communicated to those who had touched him and returned with them into the city. After the drunkard departed, they all returned into the city with great merriment. The man who has shouldered all the diseases, cannot, for the rest of the year, enter the city, or the inhabited places, and if he returned and was discovered, he would have been killed by the fury of the people. I was told /137/ that originally it was the custom to inebriate a man chosen at hazard, but this year's man for several years has made it a duty for himself. He built a house on the other side of the river at a distance of 2 kos from the city, where he lives with his family and he never comes into Lhasa, except to be a prophet and to load himself with ideal (imaginary) diseases and real silver.²²⁰

It would seem, perhaps, suspicious to have given such a minute description of the ceremonies practiced in the Molam, all the more that I had arrived in Lhasa such a short time before, but to dissipate any

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suspicion, I shall tell first that in Tibet particularly this is the great advantage of the missionary who practices medicine there, to whom it is permitted to enter into everything, to observe and question, and there is no one who doesn't respect him, even more than the Prefect himself, and that is why I had all the opportunity to observe and inform myself about what I had observed, all the more easily for that I and others had always a place at our disposal in the house of the father of the Great Lama, much more convenient for observing the ceremonies which were held out of Laprand, since it was directly in front of the balcony where the Great Lama, the King, etc., stood. I not only had this convenience on the first year of our arrival in Lhasa, but also the following year in which, since I knew a little more of the language, I could better instruct myself. Neither on the first nor on the second Molam which took place at the time of my sojourn in Lhasa did I bother to inform myself and to observe the ceremonies made inside Laprand, hoping to be able to do that better when I would become in better command of the language, but the persecution that took place in May 1742 made all my plans vain. Therefore I cannot refer with any certainty to what the Lamas do during such time inside Laprand, not having had time to observe them.

Since the killing of any animal among Tibetans is equivalent to homicide, the butchers who butcher animals for the public are regarded as men already condemned. In order not to lose the efficacy which they expect by the prayers of the Molam, it is forbidden under rigorous punishment to anyone, even the butchers, to kill any lamb or other animal. Therefore they begin /138/ a great butchering 2 months beforehand, keeping them afterwards exposed to the air in large rooms to use them during the time of the Molam.

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When this is passed, the butchers receive back the permission of butchering.²²¹

On the 22nd of the 2nd moon of the Tibetan year, there falls another Molam, and this is really that which was instituted after the publication made of the death of the Supreme Lama after having been kept secret for about 12 years. Such Molam today has become an inviolable custom. It doesn't last more than 8 days, nor is there gatherings of foreign monks and much less of seculars.²²²

On the 15th of the 3rd moon the King has the quarries where the building stones are cut closed and sealed with a rigorous ban not to built until the oat crop is harvested at the end of September or the first of October. In the meantime there is a rigorous prohibition not to fish in the river.²²³

On the 1st of the 4th moon, which is the most important month of the year, since on the 15th their/legislator/Sciakiatuba died, from the crow of the cock the devout people start the great Koram [skor-lam] of about 3 miles. There are no men or women who do not make such Koram or have others make it for them, crawling or dragging themselves as I have described on p. 181 [130-131]. The present King has established a group of people, which I have many times counted as over 200, who ~~are~~ all together make such tours uninterruptedly from the first crow of the cock to sundown, each singing a strophe and the crowds repeating at each strophe in a choir [chorus] Ho Mani Pema Hom [Om mani padme hum]. On the 15th of the moon, all the principal citizens make at least a Koram or a tour. Those who make the tour from morning to night are paid by the King. This troop of Koramists has been established by the King with the prohibition to throw stones and filth at one and the other as I was told they did to obtain that rain be neither too scarce

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nor too abundant to damage the crops.²²⁴

The last of the 5th moon is the one of the prophecies of the Kiokion [c'os-skyon] of the city of Lhasa in the monastery of Serra, located two good miles from the city between west and north. The monastery of Serra forms a great castle a little inferior to that of Brhebo ['Bras-spuns]. /139/ It is of 8,000 monks governed by 4 Lamas. This monastery has no particular Kiokion but that of the city officiates during the functions and makes all the functions in Laprand except those of the great Molam, reserved to the Kiokion of Brhebo, who is properly the Kiokion of the Great Lama.

On the 29th of the 5th moon, the square in front of the most important of the 4 temples of the monastery of Serra was properly ornamented with brocades, and materials of China [silk?]. The King had gathered there with all the people of the city, and the Kiokion came out into the middle of the square, dressed with the proper clothes and preceded by his retinue. After 2 fanatic dances and throwing of more iron pipes in the middle of the crowd and having shot arrows in the air, he took successively 5 sabers which he twisted in his hands, bending them like half moons and bent in such fashion, he put them at the feet of the King, and after that, pretending to be full of the spirit with the strength of whom he had bent those sabers as lead, with tremors and contortions he prophesied in a loud voice that all the rest of the year had to be good until the end, that they shouldn't fear famine because the crops would be abundant, that the rain would fall in the right amount according to need (it was then the rainy season), that no disease would reach Tibet and the hearts of the monks were greatly rejoicing for the continuous prayers.²²⁵

general

Of all the things he said, the most true was to say that the hearts of the monks were happy for the prayers. Even though we were in the 3rd month in most of ~~the~~ the houses of the principals of Lhasa a great number of monks were daily employed to make the Kurim [sku-rim] and the reading of the Kagniur [bka'-'gyur], which are the 108 books of their law, and other functions. The fixed price for the monks who go to make such readings and other ceremonies, as I have already mentioned, is to give them tea, satu, meat and Topa and to give to each one in money or in good, Panckarma [skar-ma-lna] per day, which amounts to 7 Roman baiochi. The monks are sent out of the monastery to make the ceremonies by their respective vicars and at their return to the monastery they are obliged to give the offerings received in the hand of the Gnerba [gner-ba] or procurer of the monastery. /140/ He cannot demand from the monks more than a Panckarma per day. Before this, it happens that the monks, when they receive the offering in goods, when it usually takes a little less of the value, go to spread the received goods in the square to get out of them the most they can. What they make in excess they keep for themselves and in such a way, little by little, they gather a small fund with which they begin to do business and they become rich. According to the Terbadon [T'ar-pa'i-lmdo]²²⁶ or the rules that they profess, it is forbidden to the monks to be merchants, nevertheless they let it go, because in the end they enter into possession of all, therefore the Kiokion was right in saying that the hearts of the monks were happy for the prayers.

The Kiokion, even though he is married, always wears the religious garb and during the functions he has the prescribed clothes as I show in the enclosed figure, (omitted by ed.) wearing over his clothes the chain mail and above that a ~~cuirass~~ cuirass made of scales (plates), and an iron cap with long

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cock feathers as a plume. Behind the shoulders he carried 10 streamers (bands) of various colors with at each end a different arm (weapon) and a mantle of red wool hangs from his shoulders, forming a long train. In his hands he holds now the shield, now the saber, now the lance or bow, according to the humour of his spirit, which they claim resides in the gold medallion hanging from his neck on his breast, attached also by a gold chain which he moves in different directions.²²⁷

Although in the figure on p. 155 [99] there are drawings of Ngaramba in procession with ceremonial clothes, I do not have any with the figure of Kiokion in order to show better the shape of their clothes and also because at the death of each Kiokion the Ngaramba obtains the place of the dead one by competition. He who obtains the grade makes magic more and more extraordinary and marvelous in the presence of judges.

After the prophecies of the Kiokion, he started a fanatic dance and re-entering the temple, ended the celebration. The sabers that he had bent as lead, as proof of being possessed by the spirit, were brought to the city and hung in various places in the city of Laprand where there were others from the previous years.²³⁰ /141/

But because I have let my pen run away with me in mentioning the principal celebrations of the Tibetans, I have omitted to give some information about their customs, inclinations and nature, and other things that might be desirable for the understanding of what I am to say, therefore it will be better that I terminate here this first book and in the second one I shall resume it from our arrival in Lhasa, making notes of what we have done in that capital for the good of our religion, the persecution instigated against us by the Lama and Trhaba, or monks, and all that followed until my departure with Fathers Floriano and Constantino on the 31st of August, 1742.

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Here I shall add only what escaped my pen, that is, that on the 16th of the 1st moon of the great Koram all the Turma or cones of pastry which are on the steps along the circular tour around the exterior of Laprand are made of more than 1,000 pounds of flour and they are distributed to the poor; /142/

NOTES

NOTES

¹Singhia, a mile north of Lalganj, is no longer marked on the maps. Two hundred years ago, however, it was one of the most important centers of commerce in potassium nitrate in Bihar, and the seat of a faujdar Moghul and of a European factory (colony). This last, founded by the English after 1660, passed into the hands of the Dutch when they first abandoned it around 1690. The journal shows it to us during the period of its greatest flourishing. With ^[the end of] English rule the colony of Singhia declined and lost any importance until the Dutch sold it by auction on the 29th of October 1791. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, The saltpetre industry of India in the seventeenth century with special reference to Bihar, in Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, XXIII (1937), p. 337; Id., Patna and its environs in the seventeenth century, ibid., XXXIV (1948), pp. 132-133. Then at the beginning of the 19th century, W. Hamilton, Description of Hindostan, London, 1820, I, p. 273, speaks of Singhia as one of the four most important cities in the then district of Tirhut. Then there is complete decadence and silence.

²That is, director of the colony.

³Urdu mazdur, pers. muzdur; porters.

⁴Cf. Part II, CL. 59.

⁵See dastak in Hobson Jobson, s.v. dustuck.

⁶Not identifiable.

⁷Not identifiable.

⁸Not identifiable.

⁹This is Mehsi, on the railroad, between Muzaffarpur and Motihari.

¹⁰In Moghul administration, the provincial divan, nominated directly by the emperor, was superintendent of finance of the province, independent of the governor (subadar); Sarkar, Mughal Administration, Calcutta, 1935, pp. 62-63. But through the general decline of the empire in the first half of the 18th century the provincial divan had come to depend upon the governor, and the imperial treasury had lost any control over the provincial finances.

¹¹One of these two rivers must be Buri Gandak.

¹²Kalpur of CL. 62; not identifiable.

¹³Bariuka of CL. 62. That could be Purnahia, on the railroad, a little south of the Nepalese border near the west bank of the Lal Bakya.

¹⁴The forest of Makwanpur, with a thick growth of dhak or palas (*Butea frondosa*) is described also by Kirkpatrick, An account of the kingdom of Nepaul, London, 1811, p. 12.

¹⁵Amaaceh of CL. 62; not identifiable.

¹⁶Scimangada is Simraon, a city in ruins in the district of ~~Bautahat~~ Bautahat in the Nepalese Terai near the Indian border. It does not appear on the map of Nepal at 506,880 (scale) but is marked on map no. 72 at millions (scale) and also (Simaraban, forest of Simara) on the map of Landon. For a description, see Hodgson, Account of a visit to the ruins of Simroun in JASB, IV (1835), pp. 121-124. Since the 12th century Simraon was the seat of a dynasty which was expelled by the Moslems in 1325, and took refuge in Nepal, founding a Kingdom. Levi, II, pp. 180, 199-222. Even the Moslem sources speak of the seven ditches encircling Simraon; Briggs, History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India, London, 1829, I, p. 407. Nothing is

known to me of the Nepalese coins which, according to the author, had engraved on them the map of Simraon; probably it consisted of some ornamental design. [More likely it was a magical figure.]

¹⁷In 1379 Tamerlane conquered Urgenj, capital of Khwarezm, completing thus the formation of his kingdom of Transoxiana; Grousset, L'empire des steppes, Paris, 1948, p. 499.

¹⁸More precisely Aurangzeb ascended the throne in 1658 and died in 1707, after 49 years of rule.

¹⁹The limited historical cognizance of the author did not permit him to know that Simraon had been taken by the Moslems at the end of the winter of 1324, when Ghiyas ud-din Tughlaq, sultan of Delhi, crossed Tirhut. Levi, II, pp. 222-224; H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, I, Calcutta 1931, pp. 216-217; Ishwari Prasad, L'Inde du VII^e au XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1930, p. 267.

²⁰The identification of the itinerary is here complicated by the fact that some modern maps show this locality in two completely different positions. The map of Nepal has Jhurjhure on the right bank of the Bagmati, on the other side of the first chain of hills which one meets coming from the plain, at about 58° 25' east, 27° 19' north. The map n. 72 has Jurjuri at west of Bake Kholā, at 85° 8' east, 27° 12' north, in agreement with the map of Hamilton. Our Giorgiur corresponds evidently to this second position, in the first place because it is on the direct route between Simraon and the valley which the travellers will follow later, while Jhurjhure is by far too much east; in the second place because Jurjuri is in fact at the foot of Mt. Makwanpur, while Jhurjhure is yet on the hills and too far away from Mt. Makwanpur.

²¹About the kingdom of Makwanpur see Part II, CL. 92, n. 1.

²²The river is the Bake Khola, which flows into Burhi Gandak, south-east of Motihari.

²³The bhariya are Nepalese porters. Cf. also n. 82.

²⁴The aul is the pernicious malaria of the Terai.

²⁵The monkeys are sacred animals in India, on account of the great part taken by the god-monkey Hanuman in the exploits of Rama. Crooke, Religion and folklore of Northern India, Oxford, 1926, pp. ■ 174-177.

²⁶Same spelling as in CL. 62; Paos of DR, Book IV, Ch. III; almost certainly Paubas.

²⁷"Even today our elders tell us that they used to sacrifice a cock before camping for the night in the jungles of the Terai (which is called peke bane in Newari), for the purpose of keeping the tigers away from the encampment. Today this is not done anymore, at least on the direct route from Kathmandu-Raxaul through Amlekganj;" letter of Mr. Thakur Lal of Kathmandu, dated 17 March 1953.

²⁸The description refers to the pass not on the map which leads from the sources of Simad Khola to the valley of Bagmati.

²⁹On the map of Nepal, an important communication center situated where the Bagmati (flowing here from north to south) bends towards south-east; at east
85° 17' ~~east~~, 27° 27' north.

³⁰This is Khani Khola, a small tributary of the east bank of the Bagmati. The name is Newari, as is revealed by the suffix -ku (khwo), river.

³¹It is difficult to identify these trees.

³²According to Monsignor Kaisher Bahadur of Kathmandu, who kindly wanted to discuss the itinerary with me, the first pass, the most elevated

one, is that of Tinpani. At the foot of it, it seems that our missionary went obliquely east, in the false plateau here described, as far as Lele. The second pass, of lower elevation, would be the pass ~~the~~^{of} the hills which separate Lele from the valley of Godavari.

³³ Kuie of CL. 62. Geographically, it could correspond to Badagaon on the map where the valley of Godavari opens onto the plain.

³⁴ The Portuguese argamassa (Spanish argamassa) signifies mortar. Nevertheless, the argamazo of the author signifies terrace.

³⁵ The munj or manja, Saccharum munja, is a kind of herb, from the fibres of which the janeu (the Brahman's cord) are made. It is not edible and therefore there must be a misunderstanding. Mung ki dal, Phaseolus mungo, is a legume, much used as a food in India.

³⁶ About Newari cooking, see Levi, I, p. 251.

³⁷ This is a very strong mustard of Indian fruit which is called in Hindi catni; (Anglo-Indian chutney).

³⁸ The tejpat is the fruit of the Laurus cassia, or Chinese cinnamon.

³⁹ About the feast of Bhairam or Bhairava, see n. 51.

⁴⁰ The gaz (Nepalese gaj) varies according to the locality; it corresponds, however, to about three feet and is a little shorter than a meter. In Nepal the gaj is divided into 2 hat, and the hat is 2 bitta, and the bitta is 12 angul (fingers). The subdivision in 24 tassu is typical instead of southern India which is also employed by ~~many~~^{is} masons. However, the tassu/normally divided in 2 angul, and the angul in 8 jav. I believe that the author confused it with the subdivision of the European foot in 12 thumbs and the thumbs in 12 lines.

⁴¹ The donation is here published in CD. 30.

⁴²No author has later given such a particularized description of Bhatgaon. One can, however, consult Levi, Landon, Northey, etc. On the bells, see Levi, II, p. 15.

⁴³The Indian ser and the Nepalese one correspond to about a kilogram.

⁴⁴This bell is still in place; see photograph in Landon, I, p. 216. The diameter at the base is five English feet.

⁴⁵The proportion has been noticed also by Levi. Nepalese Buddhism is in full decline, inside and out, being gradually replaced by Hinduism. This latter has completely permeated the spirit of the few remnants ■ (married and uncultivated) of the ancient monastic Buddhist community.

⁴⁶On these fictitious numbers see Part II, CL. 101, n. 26.

⁴⁷On this book see Introduction, Part I, XIV.

⁴⁸The organization of the spiritual council of four members was not kept by the Gurkhas. In the last decades all the religious-social power was in the hands of one Brahman, the rajaguru.

⁴⁹This is the Persian-Urdu umara, Arabic plural of amir, or noble. See Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Omrah.

⁵⁰The conquest of Sanku and Changu Narayan seems to have to be attributed to Laksmi Narasimha (1595-1657) of Kathmandu, since it was he who conquered Kuti from the Tibetans; the possession of Sanku was a condition sine qua non to gain access to Kuti.

⁵¹The Bhairava or Bhairom are a great number of minor divinities, hypostasis of Siva and for what concerned their father Bhairavi, of Durga; cf. Part I, CL. 38, n. 25 and Levi, I, pp. 382-383. Adi-Bhairava is the protector of Bhatgaon. In his honor, in the 16th century, the King Jagaj Jyotir Malla instituted the above procession described in great detail.

However, today it is celebrated for 2 days instead of 11 as at the time of Beligatti; Levi, II, pp. 47-48. For the dates see n. 56. The custom of the collision of the coach of Bhairava and that of Bhairavi was introduced by King Bhupatindra Malla some decades before the arrival of the missionaries; Levi, I, p. 383.

⁵²On Thimi and Nakadesa, see Part III, CR. 10, n. 1. Nala is on the other side of the watershed with Sun Kosi at about 8 kilometers in a direct line east-south-east of Bhatgaon.

⁵³It is not known to me that the Nepalese Vamsavali (genealogical history) mentions these happenings. But the parallelism is obvious with the events a little preceding those of Kathmandu, where the functionaries of the court (Thari) rebelled against Jaya Prakasa and proclaimed King his younger brother, Narendra Prakasa, who ruled the five cities of Sanku, Changu Narayan, Gokarn, Nandigram and Deo Patan; but four months later Jaya Prakasa repressed the revolt; see Levi, II, p. 264. The Bhatgaon attempt seems to have been carried out on the example of this.

⁵⁴On this misfortune see Della Penna, Part III, CR. 9, ¶14.

⁵⁵The ghari is the equivalent of about 24 minutes.

⁵⁶The celebrations of Bhairava were established by Jagaj Jyotir Malla on the day of Mesasankranti (entering of the sun into Capricorn); at such a flexible (movable) date it was celebrated at the period of the author. Today it is fixed on the first and second of Vaisakha badi (April). The change of the date was due to the Gurkhas.

⁵⁷The Hindu month is a lunar month, therefore the year would have only 354 days. That makes necessary the intercalation of a whole month every three years, called in Hindi malmas or adhimas; it can be inserted among

the first seven months but not among the last five. Practically the month of intercalation takes the name from the preceding one (second Cait, second Baisakh, etc.) The months are divided into fortnights, one is clear (sudi or sukla), and one dark (badi or krsna). The beginning of the month varies according to the locality. In the valley it starts now on the dark fortnight. The month of Bhadom (Sanskrit Bhadrpada) is the 6th of the Hindu calendar.

58

On Nepalese castes, see Levi, I, pp. 238-246.

59 The Newari acata is the plural of aca (or acaju), the Sanskrit acarya.

On the Nepalese ceremonies to which these following notes are devoted, I use the information kindly furnished to me by Mr. Thakurlal, a cultivated Newar of Kathmandu (in his letters of 17 March and 16 April 1953), and I must express here my gratitude to him. These are extracted from the two letters above-mentioned. "The aca who cuts the throat of the goat in the ceremony sraddha, belongs to the caste of Brahmans but after the Gurkha conquest the aca, all Newars of high caste, have been considered by the Gurkhas on the same level as the Vaisya." (Thakurlal) In fact, the list of Nepalese castes compiled by Oldfield is accepted by Levi (which should be revised); it numbers the Acar and the Gaoku Acar among the Vaisya. The first are priests of Taleju at Kathmandu and Bhatgaon. The second are priests of small temples where they perform the rites of the expiatory homa for those who die on inauspicious days, but they themselves take no part in the funerals; Levi, I, pp. 239-240. "When they immigrated from India accompanying the goddess Taleju Bhavani, they received the grade of officiating priests in the temples and in any other religious ceremony which takes place in a Newari house. The Acar and Gaoku Acar of Oldfield and Levi are two subdivisions of the aca;

one superior with the full grade of priest in the temples of Taleju; the other, which is inferior, has not received the privilege of ministering as a priest in the temples, even though it has been called to officiate in the ceremonies held at home." (Thakurlal)

⁶⁰It could be Nepalese sau, dark, black.

⁶¹The ceremonies of the ancestors (sraddha), constitute perhaps the most important part of the ritual of the average Hindu family. They are repeated annually with formalities varying according to the various regions. It is, however, a common characteristic that the preparation of the sacred food (prasada) be divided among the members of the family. For the general aspects of this sacrifice, see Crooke, Religion and folklore of Northern India, pp. 146-152. No modern books have a description of these rites in Nepal. Here are some details. "The killing of the goat on the occasion of the sraddha is still in use. The men who function as priests at this rite are still Brahmans. It is a section of the Newari society that has maintained the title of Brahman even under Gurkha domination. It is said that they immigrated in later times (about 60 families) from Kanauj upon the request of the Newari king. They are called Deva Bhaju and they officiate in domestic ceremonies. However, the killing of the goat takes place in a different location/^{than} that of the house in which the sraddha is held; usually the sacrifice is performed in front of the image of the god Ganesa and the man who performs it is an aca. Another caste, the Joshi (which means astrologer), belongs also to the Brahmans. These three people—a Brahman, an Aca and a Joshi, cooperate at the Newar sivaiti ceremonies. The job of the Joshi is to warn when the auspicious moment has come to initiate the ceremony; that of the ^Aaca is to make the preliminary preparations and aid the Brahman; that of the Deva Bhaju is executing the ~~sacred~~ actual ceremony." (Thakurlal)

⁶²The ceremony has not been noticed by other European travellers.

"This ceremony is still used when the wells must be cleaned; this happens rarely since Kathmandu has a drinking water aqueduct. The ceremony is called in Newari tun-iyē (tun = well, iyē = to clean). It is celebrated, as a rule, only during the period between three days before and three or four days after the feast of Sithi (see the following note)." (Thakurlal).
For a similar rite connected with the cleaning of the wells in the district of Palampur, see Crooke, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

⁶³The Sityatra, or ceremony of the sling, instituted by the King Gunakamadeva in honor of Skanda, the god of war, son of Siva, was celebrated in the month of Jeth (Sanskrit Jyaistha, May-June) on the bank of the Bishnumat between Kathmandu and Svayambhunath. After the first reform here quoted, which abolished what was practically a human sacrifice, that which remained of the ceremony was abolished about a century ago by the first minister, Jang Bahadur, on account of an accident that happened to the English Resident. Levi, II, pp. 49-50. However, "the Sithi is still today a great day for all the Newars. It falls on the 6th day of the month of Jeth." (Thakurlal).

⁶⁴"This custom, strictly speaking, is not observed. Thursday is the day dedicated to the goddess Sarasvati, and from the day of Sri Pancami in the month of Magh (generally February) to the full moon of Phalgun (February-March), people go in groups to the hill near Svayambhunath, where Manjusri, the Bodhisattva of wisdom resides. Maybe the author, seeing girls around at that time of the year, didn't inform himself well. I believe it was about girls who dedicated themselves to ascetic practices for a ~~special~~ special

homage to the goddess during that period and they were making the circuit of the hill of Svayambhunath, as it is the custom to do today during the month of Gunla, as we Newars do it (it corresponds to Sravana), which is the special month of homage to Svayambhunath and which begins sometimes with the last week of Asadh and sometimes with the following month." (Thakurlal)

The western abutment of the hill of Svayambhunath is called in fact Manju Parbat and it is dedicated to Manjusri, but the Hindus make offerings to Sarasvati. Landon, I, p. 198 and II, pp. 223-224.

⁶⁵The most important puppet of this masquerade of Newari boys represents ~~THE~~ Ghantakarna, a Raksasa (demon) who was expelled from Nepal.

~~THE~~ The custom is observed on the 14th badi of the month of Sravana (July-August); Levi, II, p. 50.

⁶⁶The Nepalese chronicles do not mention these events.

⁶⁷In Nepal the frogs and the toads are worshipped as divine beings just under Naga, and associated with them, in the production and control of the water and the rain. They participate, therefore, in the cult given to Naga. See the following note. But there is besides a natural feast of the frogs, held on the 7th badi of the month of Kartika (October), in which, with the help of a Newari Brahman, an offering of rice, milk, butter, flour and incense is made to the frogs, invoked with the name of Pararamesvara Bhuminatha, so that she makes the rain fall and protects the crops.

Waddell, Frog-worship amongst the Newars, in Ind. Ant., XXII (1893), pp. 292-296.

⁶⁸The celebration here described is the Naga-pancami; the Naga are the serpent beings, protectors of the rain and the water. The celebration takes place on the 5th badi of the month of Sravana (July-August), in memory of the great fight between Garuda (the divine vulture) and Naga; in ~~reality~~ reality,

it marks the beginning of the rainy season; Levi, II, p. 50.

⁶⁹The statues carried in procession are those of Buddha of the Pentade (the Panca-Tathagata, falsely called Dhyani-Buddha): Vairocana, Amitabha, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi. The celebration is the Barayatra, a pious custom repeated at least twice a year on the 8th of Sravana badi (that here described), and the 13th of Bhadrpada badi. It consists essentially in the distribution of money and food to the Bara, the degenerate modern representatives of the ancient monastic Buddhist communities. There is a lively description in Levi, II, pp. 51-53.

⁷⁰It deals with the Ganesa-caturthi, celebrated on the 4th of Bhadrpada badi in honor of the popular god Ganesa with the head of an elephant, donor of any success. The prohibition to see the moon is strict, under penalty of undergoing a false accusation of theft the following year. Who sees it by accident, prays his neighbors to insult him and mistreat him in order to remove the bad omen. Crooke, Religion and folklore of Northern India, p. 36; Stevenson, The rites of the twice-born, Oxford, 1920, pp. 292-293.

⁷¹The celebration is Krsna-janmastami, which falls on the 8th badi of Bhadam (Sanskrit, Bhadrpada), Levi, II, p. 51. In his youth Krsna had been persecuted by his cousin Kamsa, to whom it had been predicted that he would be ~~be~~ killed by the 8th son of Devaki (that is Krsna); in order to avoid this, Kamsa had killed one after another the first six sons of Devaki (not all the males of this kingdom; it is a change of the author of the story of Herod and the massacre of the innocents). But the servant (Balarama) and the eighth son (Krsna) escaped his threats, and at the end the prophecy came true.

⁷²The figure of Indra crucified, of whom Giorgi, Alphabetum Tibetanum, p. 203, wants to make a travesty of the Christ on the cross, is only a representation of Indra with extended arms and with forehead, hands and feet marked with religious signs (tilaka); Levi, II, p. 53.

⁷³Artemisia abrotanum, an ornamental plant of beautiful silver-grey foliage and yellow flowers, whose leaves have the scent of lemon if rubbed.

⁷⁴The celebration of Indra (Indrayatra) is celebrated at Kathmandu, of which he is the protector, from the 11th sudi of Bhadrapada, to the 4th badi of Asvina. Absolutely similar descriptions in Levi, II, p. 53.

⁷⁵The custom is called Raksabandhana and it is celebrated on the day of Sravani (full moon of Sravana). The little cord (Hindi rakhi, Sanskrit raksi) is given not only by the Brahmans to their faithful, but by the sisters to the brothers.

⁷⁶The W "comedies" (we will call them mysteries) represented during the Nepalese yatra are today reduced to very little. Therefore it is of great importance, rightly remarked by Levi, of this description of Father Cassiano, not only for Nepal and for its religious celebrations, but also for the history of the Indian theatre. About this problem, see Levi, II, pp. 40-43.

⁷⁷The Bacchanal of the water squirts is characteristic of the Holi, the feast of the equinox of spring, celebrated on the full moon of Phalguna; Levi, II, p. 59.

⁷⁸The bhansari (bhamsali in the Newari dictionary of Father Giovanni Gualberto da Massa) are functionaries of the bhansar (Hindi bhandsar), tax officers.

⁷⁹The man (Anglo-Indian maund) is equivalent to ~~n~~ about 40 kilograms.

⁸⁰The bahera, Terminalia belerica, is one of those fruits rich in tannin known under the name of mirobaloni [not in dict.].

⁸¹It is a magnificent description of the Dasai or Dasahara, in Bengala called Durga Puja. It falls on the first ten days of Asvina sudi (September-October) and it is an agricultural celebration, even though it is theoretically in commemoration of the victory of Durga or Bhavani over the demon Mahisa. Levi, II, pp. 54-56; Northey, The Land of the Gurkhas, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 166-167; Bishop, Unknown Nepal, London, 1952, pp. 73-74.

⁸²All the European travellers are in agreement in praising the ability and endurance of the Nepalese porters; see Levi, II, pp. 306-315.

⁸³The Manaura (Manohara, Manimati), tributary of the left bank of the Bagmati; originates from Mt. Manichur (Manicuda) at north-east of the valley.

⁸⁴On Sankhu see Part I, CD. 6, n. 56.

⁸⁵Langur is a missing word in the dictionary of Turner. According to Hodgson, Route of two Nepalese embassies to Peking, in JASB, XXV (1856), pp. 478-479, it means pass, and at the same time, mountain or chain of mountains. This is confirmed by Montgomerie, Journey to Shigatse in Tibet and return by Dingri Maidan into Nepaul in 1871, by the native explorer no. 9, ~~to~~ in JRGS, XLV (1875), p. 336; "The people south of the Himalayas in Nepal call all snowy mountains Langur, by which they mean the highest point." ~~THE EXPEDITION~~ The missionaries used the name for various passes of the Himalayas. The village in which the author stopped is not marked on the map. It corresponds to Lagal of van de Putte; Veth, p. 10.

⁸⁶On the Karbare see Part II, CL. 59, n. 2.

⁸⁷ It is the Chautaria pass in Landon, II, p. 33, called also Nagarkot hill (information kindly furnished to me by Mr. P. Aufschneider). The locality should correspond to Deopoul of van de Putte, Devapura of Hodgson.

⁸⁸ The small river is marked on the map, but without a name. It is the Dhankola of Montgomerie; more correctly Dhanr Khola (information of Aufschneider).

⁸⁹ Koka of CL. 71; Koska or Koski, from the Sanskrit Kausiki, is the Malanchi or Indravati, tributary of the Sun Kosi.

⁹⁰ After having passed the Indravati at Sipa Ghat, the missionaries climbed to spend the night at Bhote Sipa on the map, Sipa of van de Putte, Seepa of ~~KEM~~ Kirkpatrick, p. 315.

^{90bis} As I am kindly informed by Mr. Aufschneider, this stream of water is called Jhyanri Khola.

⁹¹ Centra of CL. 71, Tsjououtra of van de Putte; is Chautara, an important village, capital of the homonymous district.

⁹² The torrent under Chautara, without name on the maps, as also in Kirkpatrick, who mentions it on p. 315.

⁹³ Same orthography in CL. 71. The name Cithik, may be Newari, and does not appear in any other source. It is therefore certainly the Balephi Khola (Nepalese name) of the map, tributary of the Bhote Kosi. The bridge and the pass are described by van de Putte with the name of Foulpy or rather Balephi.

⁹⁴ Nogliocotto of CL. 71, Yenglakot alias Yelangwat of van de Putte. Difficult to locate. Monsignor Kaisher Bahadur suggests Cilakha/^{near}Ghumthang.

⁹⁵The locality of Ghumthang has several Tibetan monasteries; among them it is difficult to identify the one here cited.

⁹⁶This mantra has been poorly copied and worse translated by the author, and that is true also of Giorgi, p. 436. The correct form is Om vajraguru Padma siddhi hum; the dharani proper of Padmasambhava, the great mystic of the 8th century from ~~whom~~ whom rNin-ma-pa descends. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, I, p. 103. The temple, therefore, was of the rNinma-pa sect, very diffused in the zone of the border of Tibet and Nepal.

⁹⁷For descriptions of the Tibetan prayer mills (mani-'k'or-lo or mani c'os-'k'or), see Rockhill, Ethnology, pp. 738-739; Filchner, pp. 54-56; W. Simpson, The Buddhist praying wheel, London, 1896.

⁹⁸Paldu of CL. 71, Phadou of van de Putte, Phaldoo of Kirkpatrick; is Phalto on map no. 72.

⁹⁹Nesti, which the missionaries heard erroneously with the nasal sound, is Sisty (printing error for Listy) of van de Putte, Laisti of Kirkpatrick, p. 316. On the map of Montgomerie it is Listi, at west of Newar from where a road passes today. On the map of Landon it is erroneously written Licti. It is not marked on contemporary maps of Nepal.

¹⁰⁰Dunna is Douгна of van de Putte, Dhoogna of Kirkpatrick, Tuguna of Hodgson, p. 491 (but the latter puts it at only $2\frac{1}{2}$ kos from Listi); it is not yet marked on the maps. As Mr. Aufschnaiter informed me, its official name today is Duguna Garhigaon.

¹⁰¹It is interesting to compare this description with that very similar one of the only modern explorer who travelled this way, Pandit No. 9 of the Survey of India; Montgomerie, in JRGS, XLV (1875), p. 335.

102 The river is the Bhote Kosi. As for the name Nohota, Noata in CL. 71, it is due, according to van de Putte, to a curious error of the Capuchins. The missionaries asked the carriers the name of the river, and they thought that they wanted information on the bridge. Therefore the Capuchins had as an answer and transmitted to us as the name of the river the Newari term nata, which means simply bridge (ta) of iron (na).

103 This bridge of the classic type of suspended Tibetan bridge (lcags-zam) is not marked on the maps.

104 Kansa, Kanza of CL. 71. Khasa of van de Putte, Khangsa of Pandit No. 9, Khassa of Landon, I, p. 145, in Tibetan is called Tram (information of Mr. Aufschneider); is the Dram of Howard-Bury, A la conquete du Mont Everest, Paris, 1923, p. 84, and of the map of Landon. Since 1792 the Tibetan-Nepalese border crosses there.

105 Sciuschia, Sciuscia of CL. 71, Tsjosiang of van de Putte, is evidently the Tibetan word c'u-ts'an, warm spring. It can not be the Tatopani (same meaning) of the maps, because this latter is too near to Dram and the distances do not correspond. It refers to the Chaksam on the maps (lcags-zam, iron ~~bridge~~ bridge).

106 Kuti or Nilam (gNa'-lam), capital of gNa'-nan, is an important Tibetan frontier town, conquered by the kings of Kathmandu in the first half of the 17th century. It must have been returned to Tibet after 1711, because its cession is contemporary to the closing of the Sikkim road, which Father Domenico da Fano also travelled in 1710. For a description of Kuti see Howard-Bury, pp. 341-342, 387, which he says is ~~extremely~~ extremely dirty.

107 On the Tibetan houses see Macdonald, pp. 118-122; for those of the nobility see Bell, pp. 69-81.

108 These are the dar-lcog, small cloth banners inscribed on the top with the mantra. See Macdonald, p. 182.

109 The pagodas are the mc'od-rten, on which see Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, I. The stone walls which support the prayer mills or on which is incised infinite times the formula of the Six Syllables are called mani-gdon (pronounced mendong); ~~Waddell~~ Waddell, Lamaism, p. 264. The large standards are called dar-po-c'e; Macdonald, pp. 182-183.

110 On the first born of the Kings, Ye-ses-ts'e-brtan, see Part II, CL. 71, n. 1.

111 The title means gentleman (sku-gzogs or sku-zabs), duke (gun, Chinese kung).

112 On 'u-lag see Part II, CL. 72, n. 1.

113 This is the Tibetan name of soda, of which the lakes of the plateau are very rich.

114 On the Tibetan tea see Part III, CR. 3, n. 61.

115 The kuruwa is a measure for dry commodities, equivalent to the ser; that is, about a kilogram.

116 sKu-rim means rites in general. For the Tibetan funeral rites see Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 488-498; Bell, pp. 286-300; Macdonald, pp. 141-145; Ribbach, Drogpa Namgyal, ~~Monaco~~ Monaco, 1940, pp. 211-235; cf. Part III, CR. 1, n. 57.

117 Panckarma is a hybrid form, composed of the Nepalese pac, five, and the Tibetan skarma; a kind of money. It translates, therefore, the Tibetan skar-ma-lna. On this money see Appendix I.

118. Mesciagzungn of CL. 71, ~~Mesjinsjon~~ Mesjinsjon of van de Putte; simply Dzong (rdson, fortress) on the maps, at north-east of Kuti. It is the Tsung-cheng of the Chinese itinerary of Wei-tsang-t'u-chih, in Rockhill, Tibet, p. 88.

119. Dar-rgyas-glin of the Dsam-glin-rgyas-bsad, Targyeling on the map 71-L of Howard-Bury, p. 387.

120. Jalap of CL. 71; Yalep on the map 71-L.

121. Tu-lung of the Wei-tsang-t'u-chih, in Rockhill, Tibet, p. 88; Tolung on the map; Tulung of Howard-Bury, p. 387.

122. Pa-tu-erh of the Hsi-chao-t'u-lueh, in Rockhill, Tibet, p. 83, n; Pangdur of Pandit No. 9. It is not marked on modern maps, but it appears at north of Yalep on the map of Montgomerie.

122 bis. Therefore it refers to Ts'a-ron, who had sent a letter to the missionaries in 1734; cf. CD. 24, n. 4.

123. On the usage of the word Langur see n. 85. Also Kirkpatrick, p. 316, uses for these passes the name Lungoor-phede. It is the Thung-la (5,899 meters), which divides the river basin ~~XXXXXXXX~~ of Bhote Kosi from that of P'un-c'u. For a modern description see Howard-Bury, pp. 340-341, 387.

124. That is erroneous; the Kampa-la is only 5,052 meters high.

125. The ~~spikenard~~ spikenard in Europe is the Lavandula dentata L. This Asian plant is on the contrary the Nardostachys Jatamansii, a species of valerian of the Himalayas, the root of which is used in perfumeries. The Curcuma zedoaria, a plant of the family of Zingiberaceae, was very much as a medicine in India.

126. The mountain sickness here described by the author is not due to exhalations, but to the insufficient percentage of atmospheric oxygen at high altitudes.

127 The valley of Din-ri (Tingri on the map) in the basin of P'un-c'u, is one of the most fertile and populated regions of the western gTsan.

128 This is the P'un-ts'ogs-gtsan-po, abbreviated as P'un-c'u, the Phungchu of the maps, to which it unites the rGya-c'u (Gyachu of the maps), originating from the Thung-la. After having travelled through the valley of Din-ri from west to east, it turns toward south, it crosses the Himalayas with the name of Arun, it joins in Nepal with the Sun Kosi, and runs across southern Bihar with the name of Kosi and then flows into the Ganges in the valley of Bhagalpur.

129 Kura of the maps, is south-west of Din-re; the first locality of the valley that one meets coming from Thung-la. Probably it is the Tingrilangkot of Hodgson, Route of two Nepalese embassies to Lhasa, in JASB, XXV (1856), p. 491.

130 I have not been able to identify this measure.

131 Din-ri bZan-ra (?); probably the chief town of the valley, Din-ri-rdson.

132 The t'ug-pa is a soup of pasta and of egg yoke boiled in meat broth; Macdonald, p. 162; Bell, p. 222.

133 Ghoror of CL. 71. This is Ts'o-gor of the 'Dsam-glin-rgyas-baad. Not marked on the maps.

134 Ngamba, An-pa of the Wei-tsang-t'u-chih, is Ngen-bar of map 71-L. Mer-mbu of CL. 71, should be Mi-ma of the Hsi-chao-t'u-lueh, Memo of the map. Zahor, ~~XXXXXX~~ Etzakor of CL. 71, is Tsakor of the map.

135 Segargiurme (Sel-dkar-'gyur-med) of CL. 71; is the town of Sel-dkar-rdson, capital of the district, with an important monastery, situated north of P'un-c'u. Description in Howard-Bury, p. 86; Rutledge, Everest 1933, London, 1934, pp. 80-82.

136 Ts'un-a of the Wei-tsang-t'u-chih; Tso-nga of the map, Tsona of Roerich, Sur les pistes d'Asie Centrale, Paris, 1933, p. ~~295~~ 259.

137 The first road must have led to Lha-rtse-rdson on the gTsan-po; but it represented a sharp, turning road. The second road, through gZis-ka-rtse crossing Sa-skya, was travelled (with a deviation to the east) by the author on his return in 1742 (CL. 76). He compiled an itinerary either with his own experience, or by the information of others which is inserted in Giorgi, pp. 449-450. The third road was followed on this occasion.

138 This is the gYas-ru-gtsan-po (Yero-tsangpo of the maps), tributary of the P'un-c'u.

139 With the name of desert the missionaries indicated the sandy plateau covered with dunes at the confluence of the gYas-ru-gtsan-po with P'un-c'u. Cf. Howard-Bury, p. 84, Roerich, Loc. cit.

140 These are the rkyan, Equus Kiang Moorcroft, donkey or wild horse of Tibet.

141 Cibulungn of CL. 71, lCib-lun of the dPag-bsam-ljon-bran, p. 327; Chiblung of the maps. The homophonous river is a tributary of the gYas-ru-gtsan-po.

142 Tetzin, Tezin of CL. 71, should be Dochen of the map 71-P. Thedin is not identifiable.

143 Khenga of the map 71-P. See Ruttledge, Everest 1933, p. 78.

144 It should be Dongang of the map. It must be observed that the map 71-P places the location of Chiblung Shiga or fief (gzis-ka) of lCib-lun in the immediate vicinity. This seems to be put in relation with the seat of the ~~gong~~ governor, here situated by the author. From this point on it is

difficult to follow the itinerary, because on the one hand the author ~~gives~~ ~~it~~ gives almost no names, and on the other hand the region has been drawn cartographically only in a very imperfect way.

¹⁴⁵On the dar-po-c'e see n. 109.

¹⁴⁶The third Tashi Lama Blo-bzan-dpal-ldan-ye-ses, born on 21 December 1738, was solemnly proclaimed such on 26 October 1740. But on account of an epidemic of smallpox, only on 13 July 1741, could the young incarnated ~~it~~ [Lama] make his entry into bKra-sis-lhun-po, where he was solemnly seated in charge on the following day; China and Tibet, p. 164.

The assertion of the author is therefore due to some misunderstanding.

¹⁴⁷The ample valley in which the travellers entered is that of Nan-c'u (Nyangchu), which the author seemed to have reached at ~~Mhoo-rang~~ Mt. spa-nam-rdson.

¹⁴⁸The castle of 'Bron-rtse (Dongtse of the map), at north-west of rGyal-rtse. On the minister see part III, CR. 9, n. 29.

¹⁴⁹For a description of dPal-'k'or-c'os-sde, the large monastery of rGyal-rtse, see ~~INDO-TIBETICA~~ Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, IV, I, pp. 146-300. Three sects co-exist now in the monastery; the ~~the~~ dGe-lugs-pa under an abbot (mk'an-po), sent from Lhasa; the Sa-skyapa under a reincarnated [lama]; and the Za-lu-pa (followers of Bu-ston) under a reincarnated [lama]. It is not excluded that two centuries ago the monastery still belonged in toto to the sect Sa-skyapa, to which the foundation was due.

¹⁵⁰On the sNags-rams-pa see CR. 4, n. 19. In this procession they represent Zva-nag-pa, or the monk dPal-gyi-rdo-rje, who in 841 killed with a stratagem the king Glan-dar-ma, persecutor of Buddhism.

151 On gtor-ma (Sanskrit bali) see the discussion in Filchner, pp. 291-295.

152 It is not easy to identify this ceremony which consists above all of a gtor-rgyag (to throw away the gtor-ma); perhaps it deals with a rite of Sa-skyapa, since it doesn't seem that in the ritual dGe-lugs-pa there is an analogous monthly ceremony.

153 I do not have information on this beverage, nor did I happen to run into the word skol-lde in the text, the reconstruction of which seems however certain.

154 The Nyeru-chu of the maps; but in reality it is the Nan-c'u. Therefore the road goes towards south-east in this section and not towards north-east as the author would have it.

155 This is the Lun-dmar of the Myan-c'un (Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, IV, I, p. 58); Lungma of the maps.

156 Lamenuntugn of CL. 71. A not identified location. It may be the Thung-toi of Hodgson, p. 492.

157 The pass is the Ka-ro-la. On the problem of the mountains seen in the distance by Father Cassiano, see Hedin, Southern Tibet, III, pp. 20-21.

158 The Yar-'brog yu-mts'o (Yamdruk-tso of the maps), the largest lake of southern Tibet, called by the Europeans lake Palti, by the name of a place on its banks.

159 Already Father Costantino (CL. 71) and after him the geographers of the first three quarters of the ~~19th~~ 19th century attributed to the lake a ringlike shape around a large central island. Father Cassiano is rather ambiguous in his expressions, but it doesn't seem that he fell into the same error. In reality the great central mass, the rDo-nan (Donang of the maps), is joined to the western bank by two isthmi which contain among them a minor

lake, hence the scorpion shape that the lake assumes on the maps.

¹⁶⁰The reincarnation of Vajravarahi (Tibetan rDo-rje-p'ag-mo), who lives in the monastery of bSam-ldins (Samding) in the western part of rDo-nan has attracted the attention of almost all the travellers in Tibet, beginning with Bogle and up to S.[arat] Ch.[andra] Das (Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, London, 1904, pp. 176-187), whom she cured during a disease; even Bell (pp. 166-168) and Tucci (A Lhasa ed oltre, Rome, 1950, p. 57) visited her.

¹⁶¹The Kam-pa-la divides the closed basin of the Yar-'brog-mts'o from the valley of the gTan-po. The empty sound that the terrain makes has been noticed also by others. Waddell denies, however, that it is made by large volcanic caverns: "A hollow sound was indeed noticeable, but it obviously was caused by the tread over the semi-separated flags of shale and stratified limestone which here underlie the gravelly soil, and whose strata run parallel to the slope of the hillside"; Waddell, Lhasa, p. 305.

¹⁶²sDe-pa was a title either of governor of the district/^{or} of a feudatory. The location where the author spent the night must have been Takkorshika (gzis-ka = fief), northern station of the river ford.

¹⁶³The author makes here a rather curious error, mixing the sKyid-c'u (the river of Lhasa) for the high course of the gTsan-po, which originates instead from the mountains at east of the Manasarovar.

¹⁶⁴The great iron bridge in front of the monastery of dPal-c'en C'u-bo-ri, built by T'an-ston rGyal-po (1385-1464) is described by almost all the travellers. Today it is cut off from the major branch of the current of the river and it is in ruins. In 1871 the Pandit of the Survey of India found it still functioning, but in 1904 it was already in disuse.

165 Tzulen, written Tzelen in Giorgi, p. 453, seems to be a ~~gca~~ transcription of Ts'al-dben, hermitage of Ts'al. It should be, then, near Ts'al-pa-nan (Tsepanang of the maps), some kilometers east of C'u-sul (Chushul).

166 Tulon, Tolone of CL. 71, is sTod-lun, the Tolung Trisam (sTod-lun K'ri-zam) of the maps, at the way out of sTod-lun-c'u in the sKyid-c'u, a little west of Lhasa.

167 dBu-ndsad has here the meaning of corporation chief, not that of technical-religious of singer, on which see Part III, CR. 4, n. 20.

168 Bras-spuns (Drepung of the maps), the largest monastery of Tibet and perhaps of the world, would contain in theory 7,700 monks, but in fact the number today is much higher. Founded by Tson-k'a-pa in 1416, formally its abbot is the Dalai Lama himself, where he has a palace, the dGa'-ldan P'o-bran; those who govern in practice [fact] the great monastic university city, are the abbots of his four (originally seven) colleges (grva-ts'an): sNags, Blo-gsal, sGo-mans, bDe-yans; their term of office is 12 years. Description of the monastery in Chapman, pp. 194-200; Tucci, A Lhasa ed oltre, Rome, 1950, pp. 88-91; de Riencourt, Lost World: Tibet, Key to Asia, London, 1950, pp. 144-146.

169 For a comment on this important pass see Appendix II.

170 The Bla-bran or the edifices around the Ra-sa 'P'rul-snan, is the seat of the Tibetan minister of finance.

171 No trace has remained of the hospice at Lhasa, demolished immediately after the departure of the Capuchins in 1745, and vain were the searches (as they should have been) made by Waddell in 1904; Waddell, Lhasa, p. 425. We know, however, that it was located not far from the monastery of Mo-ru and therefore in the north-east corner of the city.

172 This palace is the Kangda Kangsar of Waddell, Lhasa, p. 425 and n. 21 of his map. It lies near the Ra-mo-c'e, at the southern outskirts of the city where one enters the route for Se-ra.

173 On Ye-ses-ts'e-brtan, Duke of mNa'-ris, see Part II, CL. 71, n. 1.

174 On 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, last layman king of Tibet, see Introd. Gen.

III.

175 It is difficult to interpret this word. Perhaps ltad-mo, which, however, means musical spectacle?

176 On mgron-gner see China and Tibet, p. 225.

177 The Chinese representative ~~at~~ at Lhasa held the Manchu title of amban, and the Chinese one of chu-tsang ta-ch'en. Originally there were two and there were again two starting from 1751. But in 1741 there was only one. The rule was then taken by the Manchu Brigadier-General (fu-tu-t'ung) Chi-shan (1739-1742). He was again amban in 1749-1750, but he revealed such weakness and blindness for the local situation that when the rebellion of 1750 flared up, after his arrival at Peking the emperor held him responsible and had him put to death, permitting him only to commit suicide instead of undergoing ignominious execution, (23 April 1751). China and Tibet, Index s.v.

178 In Tibetan rgya-mi really means man, (mi) of India (rGya-gar) or of China (rGya-nag). The usual name of Europeans is p'e-ren or p'yi-glin, Urdu feringi, Franco. See Part I, Introd., n. 63 and Part IV, CD. 6, n. 2.

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179 On Sems-dpa'-c'en-po see Part II, CL. 59, n. 7.

180 On rTse-drun Rin-po-c'e see Part III, CR. 9, n. 21.

181 On Ri-k'rod-pa, the ascetic recluse, see CR. 5, n. 11. Here the author uses Ri-k'rod-pa as a synonym of rNin-ma-pa, which is naturally absurd, although a considerable part of Ri-k'rod-pa belongs in fact to this red sect of the relaxed discipline.

182 Of these two titles of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal, the first is Mongol ("oceanic hero"), the second is Tibetan ("Mr. Son").

183 See n. 175 above.

184 It is probably a-ru-ra, Terminalia chebula, belonging to the group of the mirobalani [not in Italian dictionary]; Laufer, Loan-words in Tibetan, in T'oung Pao, XVII (1916), p. 464, n. 62.

185 On Mo-ru see Waddell, Lhasa, p. 402 and n. 34 of the map where the Tantric school rGyud-smad is situated.

186 The feast of the day before the last of the year is dedicated to repel all the evil sins and demons accumulated in the city during the year. As it is told here, the feast of Mo-ru (mentioned also in Chinese sources in JRAS, 1891, p. 214) is only secondary, while the principal one takes place in Potala. The hanno (?) [not in dict.] have assisted to the feast in Potala, giving descriptions of them.

The principal part of the feast is the dance ('c'am, gar-'c'am), symbolic representation of mystic moments and historical ones of Tibetan Buddhism. The first figure to come out, after the skor-lcag-pa or policeman, is Yama, god of death and of evil forces. He has the head of a bull and not that of a ram as here stated. He is followed by 23 other terrifying divinities, the ancient divinity Bon-po compelled by the great masters of Lamaism to convert themselves and become protectors of Buddhism. The dancers masked as skeletons represent the Dur-k'rod-bdag-po, or the

Ksetrapala, protectors of the eight mystic cemeteries (dur-k'rod, smašana), on which see Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, III, 2, pp. 51-54 and 173-181.

In this dance only four appear. Evidently those of the cemeteries in the four cardinal points: Candogra, Karankabhisana, Jvalakula and ~~XXXXXXXX~~ respectively Gahvara; the protectors are/Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kubera.

At this point the dance of the sGam-po-dkar-po, the old white man, is inserted today; but it is a recent innovation, introduced by the 13th Dalai Lama, after a vision experienced by him in Mongolia in 1904. The dance (at least in the feast of the Potala, not in this of Mo-ru) of the Zva-nag-pa, of the black beret follows. It is symbolic of the killing of the persecuting king Glan-dar-ma in 841.

The terrifying divinities then return, carrying the lin-ga, which, in spite of the name, has no longer anything to do with the Indian linga (phallus); it is the image of a naked man, made of dough and destined to represent all the evil accumulated during the last year. On these preparations see Filchner, p. 317. The new Yama or Mahakala, then intervenes. He performs the magic killing of the lin-ga. It is at last completely destroyed and dispersed by Sva-ba, the deer god. In the modern feast of the Potala, the spectacle is opened and closed by a war dance.

The following ceremony is called gtor-rgyag. It consists in carrying in procession a large gtor-ma from the courtyard of the monastery to an external location where it is burned. The author has attended only to the beginning of the rite.

Much has been written on 'c'am'; the best account is perhaps in Bleichsteiner, Die gelbe Kirche, Vienna, 1937, pp. 210-211. Naturally the dance takes place also in monasteries outside of Lhasa. A good description

of the 'c'am of sKu-'bum is in Filchner, pp. 317-325. Good color photographs were published by Rock, Life among the lamas of Choni, in National Geographic Magazine, LIV (1928), pp. 584-603, and With the devil dancers of China and Tibet, in National Geographic Magazine, LX (1931), pp. 18-59.

187 The Tibetan calendar is based on the sezagenarian cycle formed with the combination of the names of the five elements (earth, water, wood, fire, iron) with the most ancient cycle of the 12 animals common to all Oriental Asia. Each ~~binomial~~ binomial element-animal recurs all over again at intervals of 60 years. The first cycle was initiated in 1027; the cycle now in effect is the XVI. The year is lunar and according to the Tibetans consists of 360 days. Every three years ~~an~~ an intercalary month is added, usually very brief. The tables of Pelliot in J. As., 1913, and of Stael-Holstein in Monumenta Serica, I (1935) serve for the resolving of the dates.

188 On the beginning of the first of the Tibetan year see Chapman, p. 309 and ~~Schafer~~ Schafer, pp. 122-125. The first of the year is called Bla-ma Lo-gsar, or first of the year of the Lama.

189 The first of the year is the most solemn one of the Chinese year. It must be noted, however, that it doesn't always coincide with the Tibetan first of the year. The discarding of a day is frequent. Rockhill, Tibet, p. 209.

190 The second day of the year is called rGyal-po'i-lo-gsar, first of the year of the King. Now, since the lay monarchy has ceased to be for two centuries, on this day the great official ceremony in honor of the Dalai Lama, spiritual and temporal leader of the country, takes place.

191 Or Na-p'od-pa. For the title bka'-blon beise, see Part I, CL. 50, n. 4.

192 On the father of the Dalai Lama, see CL. 46, n. 4.

193 The smon-lam-c'en-po, or great prayer, was instituted by Tson-k'a-pa Deb-t'er-snon-po, Ba, f. 7b. in 1409 as the greatest solemnity of the church dGe-lugs-pa; from then on the privilege of celebrating it remained in the hands of the Abbot (or the Dalai Lama) and of the monks of 'Bras-spuns, and by extension, of Se-ra dGa'-ldan. The only exception, for political reasons, happened between 1498 and 1517 when the monks Karma-pa of the monastery of gSan-p'u were in charge of it. The primitive smon-lam consisted of a series of acts of cult and reading of the sacred texts. It was reorganized and expanded by the 5th Dalai Lama, who gave to it the present aspect of the central feast of Lamaism.

The principal scope of the smon-lam is to secure the well-being of the six classes of people ^{and} of the flourishing of the church, and to speed the arrival of Maitreya (Tibetan Byams-pa), the Buddha of the future cosmic era, who would have to bring light to all the creatures. For all the duration of the celebration, the administration of the Dalai Lama ceases to function with regard to what concerns Lhasa and each office loses its authority. The city is invaded by thousands of monks of the great monasteries and the government is taken by two lamas of 'Bras-spuns with the title of * zal-no or ts'ogs-c'en zal-no, helped by a good number of guards or ecclesiastic policemen. Their authority is absolute and they make the most of it without regard for anyone. See Kawaguchi, pp. 533-534; Montgomerie, Report of a route survey made by Pandit . . . from Nepal to Lhasa, in JRGS, XXXVIII (1868), p. 170. The duration of the smon-lam was fixed by the fifth Dalai Lama for 21 days (from the 3rd to the 24th of the first moon). It is difficult to explain why

the author makes it last only 16 days from the 6th to the 22nd.

Various European travellers have been present at the ceremony of the smon-lam in Lhasa; Fathers Gabet and Huc (Huc, Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie, la Chine et le Thibet, Tours, 1850, pp. 353-355), Kawaguchi (pp. 531-548), McGovern (To Lhasa in disguise, London, 1924), ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ David-Neel (My journey to Lhasa, London, 1927), Harrer (pp. 181-182). For brief accounts see also Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 505-507, and Macdonald, pp. 192-198. But the unique recent and complete description is found in Schafer's book, Fest der weissen Schleier, Braunschweig, 1950, which will be largely used in the following notes as a comparison.

¹⁹⁴The author confuses it with the ts'ogs-mc'od, which he himself will mention at the end of the work. See n. 222.

¹⁹⁵Or the Kri Rin-po-c'e. The 54th Kri Rin-po-c'e Nag-dban-mc'og-ldan (1739-1764) had been in 1726 esoteric master (gsan-ste) at the consecration ceremony of the 7th Dalai Lama; China and Tibet, p. 91. Cf. Part I, CL. 50, n. 3.

¹⁹⁶On the monastic police of Lhasa during the days of the smon-lam see Schafer, pp. 143-144.

¹⁹⁷On the second day of the smon-lam in the courtyard of the Ra-sa ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 'P'rul-snan, the scholastic ~~the~~ disputes, presided over by the K'ri Rin-po-c'e, for the conferring of higher academic degrees of Lamaism begins; Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 184-185; Kawaguchi, pp. 542-544; ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Schafer, p. 166. Cf. also Part III, CR. 4, n. 18.

¹⁹⁸The Indian masa is a measure of weight (of 1,166 grams), equivalent to 1/12 of a tola; (tola was the weight of the silver pre-war rupee). Since the mahendramalli is $\frac{1}{2}$ rupee, the masa becomes 1/6 of a mahendramalli. The author, however, uses this Indian term to indicate the Tibetan equivalent, the k'a-gan.

¹⁹⁹The misqal (Arabic mitqal) is a jeweller's weight, not very common in India. Theoretically ~~misqal~~ equivalent to 4 masa and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ratti (8 ratti = 1 masa) but here the author makes it equivalent to 4 masa only. He then means the Tibetan weight zo-gan (= 1 skar-ma); that the misqal was in reality another name for zo-gan, comes out in Montgomerie, Report of a route survey made by Pandit . . . from Nepal to Lhasa, in JRGS, XXXVIII (1868), p. 173.

²⁰⁰According to S. Ch. Das, Dictionary, s.v. ber, this word means instead a robe made of various strips of material. The name does not appear in the list of the headdresses in Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 196-199. Probably it is a misunderstanding.

²⁰¹The step-brother of the Dalai Lama was called Kun-dga'-bstan-'dsin. In 1744 he received from the emperor the title of Duke (fu-kuo-kung) and in 1763 he succeeded to ~~XXXX~~ Ts'e-rin-dban-rgyal as member of the council of the bka'-blon. He died in 1773; China and Tibet, p. 172.

²⁰²Apart from CL. 71, the Chinese sources in Rockhill, Tibet, pp. 209-210, and a brief account in Harrer, p. 167, no other author has left us a description of the procession which accompanies the Dalai Lama from Potala to Bla-bran. VSDL, f. 270b, limits itself to announce the fact in a few words.

²⁰³In the morning the Dalai Lama used to explain before the gathered clergy the Jataka and in the afternoon the series of religious acts (c'os-spyod), and he used to ~~conclude~~ conclude by granting his own benedictions and wishes. VSDL, f. 271a.

²⁰⁴On the man-tsi, see Part III, CR. 1, n. 47.

²⁰⁵The lna-bcu-ma, ~~literally~~ literally (piece) of 50, is a silver block in the shape of a horseshoe (from which the much more common name of ~~literally~~

rtā-mig-ma) of the value of 50 ounces (sran) of silver. It is very common also in north-western China; see David-Neel, My journey to Lhasa, p. 267 n. This text confirms that the "tanga" of the Capuchins is not the modern tam-ka, but the dnul-sran; see Appendix I.

²⁰⁶This audience is not recorded by ~~MS~~ VSDL, f. 271a, which mentions briefly audiences granted to far more important personages, and it concludes by saying that the Dalai Lama granted audience every day to various thousands of laymen and ecclesiastics gathered from each direction.

²⁰⁷On these disputes see n. 197.

²⁰⁸The calculation is interesting. The tangha at $9\frac{1}{2}$ paoli and the mahendramalli at 2 paoli indicates a relationship between dnul-sran and ~~tam~~ tam-ka of 5 and $\frac{3}{4}$ instead of 6 and $\frac{2}{3}$ which was normal in 1711 and which will be normal from at least 1774 until today. It is difficult to say whether we are faced with an error of Father Cassiano's or whether the relationship was really changed at that time. See Appendix I.

²⁰⁹It is the famous legend of the miracles of the Buddha in the first 15 days of the Fire Dragon year. At that time six great heterodox teachers (that is, Hindu; one of them was the founder of Jainism). They preached against the Buddha and they instigated the masses against him. In order to avoid this danger the Buddha went to Sravasti and in 15 days performed several miracles. On the 15th day at last he filled hundreds of receptacles, then he touched the earth with his right hand. It opened up, revealing the inferno and its torments, and all the bystanders took fright at that sight. Then he preached the law and it concluded with the conversion of all his hearers. See Oldenberg, Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde, Stuttgart, 1923, pp. 83-94, 197-198.

²¹⁰It is the so-called feast of the butter in the European authors; the Tibetan name is bco-lna-mc'od-pa, offerings of the 15 (days). The author's description could be valid even today, especially for what concerns the large offerings (gtor-ma), artistically worked in colored butter (byug-dmar) and oat flour (rtsam-pa), and the emulation among the high authorities of Lhasa to make theirs the largest and most ornate possible. Good description in Schafer, pp. 169-175^{ff}. Others on the same ceremony in the monastery of sKu-bum in Filchner, pp. 274-303 and Forman, Butter gods of the Kumbum Buddhist festivals, in Canadian Geographical Journal, XXXVI (1948), pp. 41-48. For the same feast at Chone, see Rock in National Geographic Magazine, LIV (1928), pp. ~~606-614~~ 606-614.

²¹¹There are in Lhasa three concentric circles for the circumambulation. The inner one is the nan-'k'or, inside the enclosure of the Ra-sa 'P'rul-snan around the temple proper. Then there is the bar-'k'or, around the complex of edifices of the Bla-bran. At last the glin-'k'or, which makes the round of Lhasa, including also the Potala and the lCags-po-ri. Bell, p. 135. The road along which the ~~great~~ gtor-ma are erected is the bar-'k'or, and it is on that that the Dalai Lama, that year as every year, performs the first skor-ba; VSDL, f. 271b. But the great circumambulation takes place rather on the glin-'k'or, on which see descriptions in Landon, Lhasa, London, 1905, II, pp. 216-231; Chapman, pp. 146-170; Schafer, pp. 91-107.

²¹²This custom is still observed; Kawaguchi, p. 548; Schafer, p. 175.

²¹³Maitreya is the Buddha of the future cosmic era, and to him the last days of the smon-lam are particularly dedicated, in order to invoke his imminent advent. His procession (Byams-pa c'os-skor), however, today does not

any longer take place on the 22nd day of the first moon as at the time of the author, but in the afternoon of the 25th; Macdonald, p. 197; Schafer, pp. 195-196.

²¹⁴The various competitions or tournaments (rtsed-sna 'gran-pa as expressed in VSDL), are sport events which happen after the closing of the smon-lam proper. They take place today in the same fashion but on the 25th day instead of the 22nd; Macdonald, p. 196; Schafer, pp. 196-198. Their organization is committed in turn to members of the high nobility, with the title of ya-gsol; Bell, p. 273.

²¹⁵The race is followed by wrestling matches, a kind of free wrestling without rules; Bell, pp. 279-280; Schafer, p. 198.

²¹⁶With the Indian name of kotwal the author designates the three mi-dpon, the magistrates who judge all civil and penal cases of Lhasa; Macdonald, p. 110.

²¹⁷The military parade at Lhasa takes place on the 24th of the first moon, still in the ancient custom and in the ancient armor here described. See Kawaguchi, pp. 545-548; Bell, pp. 281-283; Harrer, p. 181; and the picturesque description in Schafer, pp. 186-188.

²¹⁸The procession that takes place on the 24th day in the fashion here described is preceded by the interrogation of the C'os-skyon of the gNas-c'un by the Kri Rin-po-c'e. The interrogation happens in Ra-sa 'P'rul-snan, and the answer of the oracle predicts the future for the coming year; Schafer, pp. 188-192.

²¹⁹The blast of the cannons (8 today) placed in the plateau south of the Potala takes place in the evening of the 24th day and marks officially the closing of the celebration of the smon-lam; Schafer, p. 192.

²²⁰The person (since circa 1930 there are two) chosen to load himself with all the sins and misfortunes existing in the city is called glud-'gon. He personifies the 7 demons of origin Bon-po, enemies of the Tibetan state. The chase is preceded by ceremonies in the chapel of dPal-ldan Lha-mo in the Ra-sa 'P'rul-snan and by a religious dispute with the representative of the Dalai Lama; the decision is made in a game of dice in which the glud-'gon always loses because his dice have only 1 on all sides, while those of the adversary have 6 on each side. The chase happens as a solemn procession, organized by the monks of Byan-c'ub-glin, a monastery founded by the 5th Dalai Lama. The glud-'gon goes to bSam-yas (the second glud-'gon of the new institution goes in the 'P'an-yul), where he enters in the chapel of the terrifying local divinity Tsi-dmar, closed all during the year and opened on this ~~more~~ unique occasion. He remains a few minutes in this place full of terrifying images; before he had to remain there 7 days and 7 nights, but now he is permitted to spend this period in the lCog-dbug-k'an of the temple. Then he goes to rTse-t'an and after two-three weeks he can return to Lhasa, while in older times he could not reenter there for a year. See David-Neel, My journey to Lhasa, pp. 292-295; Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 512-513; and above all Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Ein Beitrag zur tibetischen Ikonographie, in Archiv fur Volkerkunde, V (1951), pp. 155-158.

²²¹On the Tibetan butchers see I CL. 70, n. 7.

²²²On the 21st day of the second moon the feast of the ts'ogs-mc'od (offering of the assembly) takes place in Lhasa to which the Lamas of the three principal monasteries convene; Macdonald, p. 199; Wei-tsang-t'u-chih in JRAS, 1891, pp. 212-213. It was instituted by the regent

Sans-rgyas-rgya-mts'o in 1694, to commemorate the anniversary of the accession of the 5th Dalai Lama. Re'u-mig, in S. Ch. Das, The life of Sumpa-mkhanpo, in JASB, 1889, p. 81.

²²³I have no details on the closing of the stone quarries for building. On the prohibition of the fish, see CR. 1, n. 40. The date of the institution of this ~~prohibition~~ prohibition is the feast of the ~~revelation of Kalacakra~~ dus-'k'or-gsuns-pa (revelation of Kalacakra), mentioned in Waddell, Lamaism, p. 504.

²²⁴On the month of Vaisakha, fourth of the Tibetan calendar, on which the Buddha died, the religious fervor (circumambulations, offerings, etc.) increases all the more when the 15th is neared, date of the parinirvana. From the 10th to the 15th the laymen also abstain from meat. The ceremony of the 15th is contemporaneous also in honor of the Naga, regulators of the waters and distributors of rain. Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 507-509; Macdonald, p. 201, Rockhill, Tibet, p. 213.

²²⁵The ceremony here described must be a continuation of that of the 15th day of the fifth moon on which all the oracles publish their previsions; Macdonald, p. 201. The oracle of Lhasa is that of sKar-ma-sar, which is protected in particular by Se-ra; it is found in the Oriental quarters of the city; Waddell, Lamaism, pp. 481-482; Lhasa, pp. 385-386 and n. 58 of the map. The oracle of 'Bras-spuns is the gNas-c'un c'os-skyon, official oracle of the Tibetan government; or that of dGa'-gdon, on which see Riencourt, Lost World: Tibet, Key to Asia, pp. 243-247.

²²⁶The Pratimoksasutra (Tohoku, n. 2) was edited and translated by S. C. Vidyabhusana, So-sor-thar-pa, or a code of Buddhist monastic laws, in JASB, 1915, pp. 29-139. It consists of 258 rules.

²²⁷The most important part of the costume of the C'os-skyon of gNas-c'un is the enormous and heavy gold helmet; Schafer, p. 162; Harrer, p. 165. See also the beautiful color photographs in Rock, Sungmas, the living oracles of the Tibetan church, in National Geographic Magazine, LXVII (1935), pp. 475-486; the costume of the C'os-skyon of Yung-ning (north-west Yun-nan) here reproduced is equal to that here described.

²²⁸For the swords twisted by the C'os-skyon during his trance, see Rock, Op. cit., p. 477, with an impressive photograph; cf. also Harrer, p. 157.