

Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley:
Three New Translations from Tibetan Sources

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Introduction

Scholarship on Kathmandu Valley history in the middle period (1000-1769) will remain fragmentary until Malla era inscriptions are collected, published, and analyzed, and until other pertinent documents are identified and translated. Prominent among the latter are Tibetan sources, especially the vast *namthar* literature that records the life histories of notable lamas who visited Nepal. This article presents selections from three of these sources that offer a wealth of new information on this remarkable era in Himalayan history. We offer these translations to start filling this gap¹⁾ and to point out that Tibetan scholars have much to contribute in the study of Nepalese history.

These translations should be read in conjunction with historical research (Lewis 1988a) and an interpretative essay (Lewis 1988), where Lewis discusses the history of Newar-Tibetan relations in a chronological framework. Our remarks here are intended only to introduce the individuals who are the subjects of these accounts and to comment briefly on the texts themselves.

Readers interested in more in-depth information on these sources or on the individual figures involved should consult E. Gene Smith's erudite introductions to the volumes in which the published Tibetan texts appear. We draw heavily on his research here and dedicate this article to him in appreciation for all that he has done to further scholarship on Himalayan history.

* This article is Dedicated to E. Gene Smith

1) Our collaboration began with Jamspal rendering the Tibetan into English. Lewis assisted in identifying the Nepalese place/name details and in translating Sanskrit passages. Both corrected the final English translation and Lewis wrote the introduction. The task of synthesizing historical sources such as ours with the information in Tibetan guidebooks of Nepal (Wylie 1970; Dowman 1980; Macdonald and Rinpoche 1981) still remains.

gTsañ-smyon Heruka (1452–1507)

The “mad saint” of gTsañ,” a mendicant tantric yogin (Tib. *smyon-pa*) (Snellgrove and Richardson 1980: 103), was one of the most influential Tibetan religious figures of his era. Although he did not acknowledge assertions that he was an incarnation of the great Tilopa and Marpa, like them he was an important exemplar, teacher, and scholar, especially among the Kargyupa orders.

gTsañ-smyon was born in gTsañ province and the son of a village lama. He followed inclinations toward the religious life from his early youth, took his first ordination at seven, and began his tantric meditations and instructions at eighteen under the tutelage of notable Kargyupa teachers. However, gTsañ-smyon soon realized that the normal scholarly monastic path would only limit his spiritual growth and he began to show signs of “holy madness”. This eventually led him to depart from the monastery and adopt the life of an itinerant yogin. He quickly gained renown across Tibet as a meditation master and a powerful tantric practitioner.

gTsañ-smyon's subsequent life is marked by constant travel, solitary meditations, periods of scholarly writing. He also has dramatic encounters in the principalities he visits, especially in those along the southern Tibetan frontier (viz. Guge, Mustang,²⁾ and Tingri). One example from the text gives a sense of gTsañ-smyon's very unusual manner:

“At that time, the Lord (i.e. gTsañ-smyon) and his disciples had gone to Klo-bo Smon-than. The Mustang people had attached the heads of many slain men of Gu-ge to the beams of the city gates. The Lord took into his hands the brains, crawling with maggots and rotting, that had fallen to the ground and ate the flesh and brains. Thereupon, he said to the many people gathered about: ‘If you wish miraculous realization (*siddhi*) I shall give it to you.’ Those who ate the spoonful of brains he offered became wealthy. . . . (Smith 1969: 14).”

What makes gTsañ-smyon unique among *smyon-pa* is his blending extensive peregrinations with vast scholarly accomplishments. gTsañ-smyon's biography (Tib. *namthar*) of Milarepa became a paradigmatic work for the Kargyupa school, a text that remains to this day a source of inspiration across the Tibetan world.³⁾ His compilation of Milarepa's poems (*mGur-'bum*) likewise endures as one of the great masterpieces of Tibetan literature.⁴⁾ gTsañ-smyon also assembled similar works for Milarepa's teacher Marpa and completed a twelve-volume treatise called the *sÑan brgyud* in which he systematizes esoteric, hitherto oral teachings from

2) See David Jackson's recent study of Mustang (Lo) for a treatment of this principality's history (Jackson 1984). Both lamas in these accounts visited this region.

3) This text has been translated into English by Evans-Wentz (1951).

4) These have been edited and translated into English by Chang (1952).

the *Cakrasamvara Tantra*.

Underlying this extraordinary dual identity of yogin and scholar is the saint's unity of purpose: to inspire a fervent religious devotion that upholds meditation and individual religious experience as the true center of Buddhist tradition. In this respect, gTsañ-smyon, like other Tibetan notables of his era, represented a reform-minded reaction against the great hereditary monastic lineages that had become laden with wealth, prestige, and political interests.

gTsañ-smyon's disciples built on his accomplishments to establish monasteries that carried on his teachings. These were at first maintained by the Ras-chen Kargyupa sect; after this lineage lost its separate identity, they survived in the Brug-pa Kargyupa school.

Why did gTsañ-smyon visit Nepal? One clear motivation was pilgrimage to Svayambhu, the great hilltop stupa in Nepal. As the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1949; Wylie 1957), pilgrimage guides (Wylie 1970; Dowman 1982; Macdonald and Rinpoche 1981), and other texts show, the entire Kathmandu Valley was recognized as an important Buddhist center in the Himalayas that long figured in the Tibetan religious imagination. Second, the kings of the Valley were often patrons of great lamas who visited Nepal and gTsañ-smyon received such royal sponsorship on his second and third visits. Third, political alliance building may have been another motivation. Although the hagiographic focus of the text often obscures the secular implications of his activities,⁵⁾ gTsañ-smyon's political side often emerges. The Saint gets involved in disputes wherever he visits and he makes political alliances with certain princes. (The suspicion of poisoning comes up recurrently at such times and is suspected as a cause of his death.)

Finally, gTsañ-smyon sought to popularize and propagate his religious viewpoint wherever he traveled. One practice was “sending *tankas* based on the biography of Milarepa to the princes and convents of Tibet (Smith 1968: 11).” In his coming to Kathmandu, there may have been similar motivations: the fact that his Kargyupa successors (such as Si-tu Pan-chen, below) were among the most influential Tibetan lamas in Nepal two centuries later may owe something to gTsañ-smyon's earlier visits.

Our excerpt comes from one of three known biographies of gTsañ-smyon. Among them, it was the last written, the most detailed, and the longest. It was composed forty years after the saint's death, i.e. in 1547, by his chief disciple Ras-chun. The manuscript is divided into forty-three sections of uneven length; the fifteen chapters run to 146 folio pages. The text translated here from Chandra's edition (1969) is the short excerpt from manuscript pages 172 to 176⁶⁾

5) As Wylie has shown for Marpa's “restorations,” hagiographic literature that presents actions in a purely religious vein often obscure military-political motivations (Wylie 1964).

6) In all the translations below, we indicate folio page breaks by brackets.

that recounts gTsañ-smyon's second visit to Nepal (in 1498?).⁷⁾ We agree with Smith that the language is often difficult due to the text's highly colloquial style and numerous shorthand references to places and people.

Si-tu Pan-chen (1700–1774)

Si-tu Pan-chen also was an extremely important figure in Tibet, though much more on the scholarly side of the Buddhist tradition. Most Tibetan scholars after 1500 relied upon the Tibetan translations of Indian texts and could not draw directly upon the Sanskrit portions of their Buddhist textual heritage. Si-tu Pan-chen led a new generation of pandits who returned to Sanskrit study and manuscripts to sharpen their insight on this Indic heritage. He was designated "lotsava," a term that had been abandoned except for referring to great translation masters from the past such as Vande Ye-śes-sde and Rin-chen bZañ-po.

Si-tu was born in Derge province in Kham and recognized as a minor incarnation in a Kargyupa lineage. After his ordination, he first trained in central Tibet, then returned to Kham. His reputation as a gifted scholar was established by this time. On a subsequent trip to Lhasa, he joined three other lamas in their travels south, including to Nepal.⁸⁾ He continued with them to western Tibet⁹⁾ before going on alone to settle in Derge at a monastery dedicated to him by the local king. For the next decade, Si-tu devoted his life to study and this culminated in two major contributions: his supervising the Derge edition of the Kanjur in woodblock and his revision of all existing Sanskrit grammatical, lexicographical and poetical *śāstras* important for Tibet (Pathak 1974). He made another trip to Nepal in 1748, perhaps on a government mission (Smith 1968: 11). After that, he spent most of his remaining years in Kham.

As a scholar, Si-tu Pan-chen was an extraordinary figure who, like gTsañ-smyon, had great influence across Tibet. As Smith points out, "Si-tu remained for almost fifty years at the centre of the scholastic life of the lamaist world. His influence on the following three or four generations was enormous. Kon-sprul, mKhyen-brtse, dPal-sprul and Mipham were all, in some way, Si-tu's heirs. . . . The renewed interest in the grammatic sciences, in history, in technology and in Chinese and Indian systems of astronomy and astrology is one

7) We hope that other hands will take up translating the remaining substantial portions of this text that refer to Nepal: folio pages 45–49 and 208–229 (Smith 1969: 10–12).

8) These three lamas are mentioned throughout the first account. Like Si-tu, all were high Kargyupa lamas. The two senior lamas were Zhwa-nag and Zhwa-dmar; the former led the delegation and was of the highest rank, the *karmaṇa tulku*. The third, like Si-tu, was of lesser rank and age; we only know his name, rGyal-tshab-pa. Zwa-dmar was born in Helambu, illustrating our point that the area surrounding Nepal was well integrated with the monastic networks of Tibet.

9) A record of this journey was also left by the Karmapa (Douglas and White 1967).

of Si-tu's most important legacies to Tibet (1968: 8)." The great scholar also was renowned for his skill in medical practice. That his subsequent incarnations were identified as "Situ tulku" testifies to his greatness.

The accounts presented here are remarkable for their depiction of Kathmandu Valley society. Passages describe the major Newar towns—Sankhu, Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur, recount historical explanations and myths Si-tu hears, and record his numerous interactions with the local people. He also witnesses festivals that are still held today such as the Kathmandu Avalokiteśvara bathing ceremony and the Cakan Dya Jātrā.

Especially significant is Si-tu's reception by the Malla kings. Whether or not Newar traders in Lhasa had an important role in inspiring his interest in Sanskrit (Smith 1968: 6), his support among Newar royalty was notable. Si-tu becomes a lifelong friend of the Kathmandu King Jagat Jaya Malla, gives religious instruction at his court, exchanges gifts and letters with him throughout his life, and performs special, court-requested rituals when this king dies (1736). Si-tu also meets the kings from Patan and Bhaktapur; conducts *pūjās*, goes on pilgrimages, collects manuscripts, and consults with the Buddhist and Hindu elite, especially those who know Sanskrit. His remarks regarding the Patan royal favorite, Gubha Dharmajaya, and on other Newar notables are especially intriguing miniature portraits.

Among the many important areas of description, we highlight three here: (1) *Hindu-Buddhist relations*: there are conversations with Brahmans, alternative myths cited, and various inter-personal remarks that stimulate the historical imagination. (2) *Epidemics*: a widespread epidemic in Nepal is the chief focus of the lamas' rituals in 1723 and a recurring concern of the Malla kings. Were such public health calamities important factors in Nepalese history? (3) *Local Initiations*: a number local disciples, including "Gubha"s, received Vajrayāna initiations and teachings from Si-tu. Only after we learn much more about this period can we evaluate the implications of these events.

Si-tu spent most of his life in the frontier zones of Tibet—Bhutan, western Tibet, the eastern provinces, and Nepal. Although the influence of his work carried across the usual monastic boundaries, his association with the Kargyu school remained life-long.

One unusual aspect of his religious outlook was his interest in the Jonañpa teachings. This doctrine, as formulated by Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan of Dolpo (1292–1361), states that *śūnyatā* is an essential quality that exists independent of phenomena (Snellgrove and Richardson 1980: 179). It was later branded as a heresy by Gelugpa hierarchs in the seventeenth century and monasteries associated with it were confiscated (Hoffman 1975: 57–8). Si-tu reversed this intellectual rejection and ended the Yellow sect's religious persecutions. He may have preached the Jonañpa doctrine in Kathmandu: Si-tu encounters Tibetan

teachers there who seemingly support it during his second visit, but we know nothing yet about its ultimate reception.

The two texts translated here come from different, though connected, documents that record Si-tu's spiritual activities. The first is from the autobiography that he kept until the end of his first trip to Nepal (1744) and later edited himself into final literary form. It reveals the critical frame of mind the scholar brought to his encounters and shows his scholarly predilections. These traits enhance the historical value of his account and focus the narrative on the scholars he encounters. The style is terse, though replete with useful details.

The second text is the work of Si-tu's disciples: after the master's death, they compiled excerpts from his diaries that spanned from 1744 to 1774. This work is much less carefully edited and focused. Spelling mistakes by the compilers make many place names obscure. Details are more sparse, too. Still, important facts emerge that show how Si-tu remained a favorite in the Malla courts and a unique visitor to the Kathmandu Valley.

Finally, it is important to underline the fact that both men who are the subjects of these accounts are major figures in the Tibetan world of their respective eras. That men of their stature visited the Valley supports our contention that Tibetan civilization, especially in terms of Buddhist relations, is an important legacy in Nepal's cultural history.¹⁰⁾ There is much here to inform further studies.

I. gTsañ-smyon (1452–1507)

[172]¹¹⁾ At the border state of Kuti [Tib. Gung-thang], the King and his sons met gTsañ-smyon and gTsañ-smyon gave them teachings and a tantric initiation. gTsañ-smyon sent his disciples ahead, while he stayed there for one and a half months.

Met the King of Kiyrong [Tib. skyid-grong]. In the king's palace was a great lady lama called Kun-dga-bzañ-mo. gTsañ-smyon and his disciples were invited to come there for ritual offerings. The lady lama held out a rosary made of corals and gTsañ-smyon asked her to give it to him. She held it out with both hands respectfully. gTsañ-smyon said it was a good omen and then quoted from the *Hevajra Tantra*:

If someone puts a rosary in one's hands
It is called "gathering";

10) Recent writings by Newar scholars on their Buddhist heritage have highlighted Tibetan elements in their history. See for example Shakya 1986 and Malla 1982.

11) Folio page numbers from the Chandra editions (1968; 1969) are indicated in brackets.

If someone handled a rosary previously
It is good for the pledge and practice.

[173] After saying these words, gTsañ-smyon said, "Oh medicine woman, you must understand it [handing the rosary] in this way." Then everyone there laughed.

Approaching Nepal

Going to Nepal [Tib. Bal-po]. In the early morning, gTsañ-smyon said that he had dreamed that someone was coming to get teachings from him who would offer him gold coins. He also added: "Therefore we will get some gold." Then, at another place, he met a group of men from Nisyang who asked him to do a special rite for them. gTsañ-smyon did the ritual and they offered him gold as payment.

But gTsañ-smyon lost the gold in the following way: other disagreeable Nisyang men came along holding four Indian people: a mother and her three children. gTsañ-smyon asked them, "Where are you going?" They replied, "We are going to sell these [four people] into slavery." Seeing this, gTsañ-smyon realized the sameness of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāna* but felt controlled by compassion for them and cried. He said to these men, "Sell these people to me!" and then gave them the price in gold without hesitation or stinginess. And so, with gTsañ-smyon's help, the mother and children returned to India and did so with clothes and good provisions. [174]

In the Nepal Valley

gTsañ-smyon slept one night in Bod-than mGon-po. Many Nepalese Bares [Tib. Bharima] were there and they were going to make offerings to Mahākāla. Later, the Bharima saw Mahākāla and gTsañ-smyon holding hands and dancing together inside the temple. They become afraid, wondered what was happening, and went home. As a result, gTsañ-smyon's name became famous.

Northeast of Svayambhū, there is a very austere place blessed by Naropa called the Varāhī cemetery [Tib=Phag-mo-dur-khrod]. gTsañ-smyon stayed there one day and at that time many people saw a great fire burning at the cemetery. Some temple attendants in the vicinity were angry with gTsañ-smyon because they thought that a body was being burnt and if so they were supposed to be called. Wondering who had done such a thing, they went there to find gTsañ-smyon beating a drum, blowing a bone trumpet, and sitting in the middle of a circle of women wearing bone ornaments. Everyone felt amazed at the sight and called him "the white-bodied *guru*."

Request to Repair Svayambhū

gTsañ-smyon then spent five days in the Temple of the Sword, Khadga Joginī, and then three nights with Upāsaka Skanda. At midnight, he went to Vināyaka. At that time, the Bhairav divinities kneeled and then bowed down before gTsañ-smyon; they carried precious nectar-filled vessels annointed with butter and rice beer. Ganeś then said: "You are the embodiment of the Buddha in three times (past, present, future), a great being, and so must repair the stupa of Sugata [Svayambhū] because now the great stupa stands in need of repair. gTsañ-smyon replied that he was not the one to do this. Ganeś answered: [175] "Guru, if you do not do it, no one else can either. Please do this repair for the good of sentient beings and for sake of the Buddha's teachings. I will bring all of the necessary things." gTsañ-smyon asked, "How do you propose to do this?" Ganeś replied, "In general, I protect the Buddha's teachings and I will do whatever you say. Until the stupa is repaired, I will send my emanations as workmen and provide all the necessary things. Then, after assembling everything and completing the work, I will offer my services so that no one will die while you return home with your disciples." In this way, Ganeś insisted and so gTsañ-smyon accepted the job. After saying, "I will make a great promise [*dam-bca*] to you, too," Ganeś disappeared.

Successful Restoration and Reception by the King

After painting the stupa white, gTsañ-smyon appointed the White Mahākāla, The Fulfiller of Wishes regarding oral teachings and the Lord of Dharma, as protector. After removing the obstacles and resealing the image, gTsañ-smyon reconsecrated the temple. Then he gave the initiation and permission of Mahākāla to his disciples; among them were tantric practioners devoted to Heruka. Among the twenty-eight persons initiated, gTsañ-smyon was especially kind to bSod-nams-bsyam-grub.

After this, the Nepalese king, ministers, *Thākurs* and the Bharima, respectively, greeted and faithfully served gTsañ-smyon.

Now gTsañ-smyon was ready to return to Tibet. bLo-gros rGya-mtsho, a Tibetan disciple, also went [with him] to the Medicine Valley river via gNa-nan [Tib. sMan lun-chu, in the northern borderlands]. [176] For 13 years, gTsañ-smyon practiced in retreat, accompanied by his disciples. Returning, the Nisyang and other ethnic peoples of the region respectfully saluted him, prayed, and made noble vows.

II. Autobiography of Si-tu Pan-chen (1700–1774): Nepal, 1723

On the Trail to the Valley

[113] There is a village called Bhalpar [Tib: spag-spor] where manv Nepalese

and Magar people live. While we stayed there, the first delegates of the Kathmandu [Tib: Yambu] King arrived to greet us. Then the retinue moved to Phaldrug, another village where we remained for one day. They then went to Lakota, a high mountain where there are wild animals. On the top were houses where our party stayed for two days. Then we descended on a steep trail across a lower pass, then along a higher trail by which we finally reached Singha Bhasa.

Then we reached Sipa, where the great lama received a letter from the Nepalese King. Using this [letter], our party was able to compell Nisyang, Magar and all other people along the way to carry the baggage. [As a result], we could release the Tibetan porters to return home with gifts.

After crossing the Acara (river) by boat, we reached Ati. Finally we crossed the very high Chanden Mountain [Tib.: Spyan-'dren ("inviting one")], where there is a very wonderful view of all Nepal just like the adornment of a *maṇḍala*.

Stay in Sankhu

Once we descended to the foot of the mountain, an entourage led by Sa-Ramana greeted the group. He came with musicians playing instruments, a silk-draped palanquin, and a horse. We rode in the palanquin to Sankhu [Tib.: Sango] where we went directly to the King's palace and were served a great feast. We stayed in Jaya Samskara's house. [114]

Near Sankhu city, the Tibetan people know a place associated with the 80 *siddhas*. There are many artificial caves nearby, and we saw a self-created image of Vajrayoginī and other things. Again, in the temple there is a gilt copper Buddha image which is tied with iron chains with a great copper pot sitting upside-down in front of it. Tibetan oral traditions say that at the time that Sakyamuni Buddha's teachings disappear, this image will sink into the ground. As a sign of Maitreya Buddha's teaching arising, Maitreya's image would come up from the ground. To insure that neither would happen, local people put chains around the one image and covered the head of a Maitreya image with the great pot. The author has also seen this tradition recorded in an account by Rang-rigpa, a Drukpa lama. But this is the kind of unexamined story that foolish people believe and it cannot be so.

[There is also another account: In ancient times, a Nepalese purohit once caused a scandal by advising a prince that if he killed his father he would be happy in this and in future lives. Believing this, the prince killed his father with a sword. After that, he came to a very sacred spring near Svayambhū to wash, but the spring dried up. Seeing this, the prince became extremely fearful about having committed the sin of killing his father and felt a great urge for repentence. To expatiate this act, he performed many devotional acts. Some

say he was advised by the deities on what to do. In any case, he covered his father's head with gilt copper and had it made into a Buddha's image suitable for worship.]

As to the copper pot, it is in fact used every twelve years when all the Buddhists from Kathmandu City [Yambu Nagar] come to Sankhu. At these times, a powerful *ācārya* causes a young lady [Tib. *Ku-ma-ri*] to be possessed by Vajravarahī. At that time, there is a great festival related to this *Kumārī* and they use the copper pot for it. I heard this from very reliable Nepalese people and so believe this story, and not the others.

Now, in the temple at Chamkum there is a gilt copper image of Viṣṇu riding on a Garuda. The *pūjārī* was doing a *pūjā* when we arrived and was removing all of the ornaments from the image. Then he put perfume, clay, etc. on the image to wash it. Among the head ornaments were 7 *padmaraga* (red rubies) and the *pūjārī* said it was a very wonderful image and showed it to us. [115] To see this image normally, one had to give many silver coins as a gift. Tibetan people have claimed that this image is of Nāgapāni who was subjugated by Nāgārjuna; others have recognized it only as a self-created Garuda, and did not know it as Viṣṇu. Whatever the case, the Nepalese believe that seeing this image can cure one of the diseases caused by *nāgas*.

Again, near Sankhu there is a temple that some say is to Nilasarasvati, but others say it is Ekajati. Actually it is Ugratārā, the one full of blessings. Therefore, I made many prayers to it. While there [i.e. in Sankhu], I had to stay close by the great lama, so I did not have the chance to go out much. At night, I had a chance to visit Prajñānanda and some *Jośīs*, and I asked them about my doubts regarding astrology. Here the host Jayaśankar offered fruits and served us.

To Kathmandu: The First Audience with Jagat Jaya Malla

We then went from Sankhu to Bauddha, and we all made many circumambulations, felt great faith, and offered many prayers. Afterwards, we went via Busang toward the southeast to a village called Ta-o-pu-khu-la and stayed near a great pond where the banks were lined with baked bricks and had many steps. In the middle of the pond were wonderfully adorned mansions.

Inside the palace, in the well-known Nasala Cok [Tib.: Nāsaratsug] there stayed there until after dark. Finally, Jagat Jaya Malla came riding in a golden throne on an elephant, accompanied by a vast retinue. The king came to greet us while hosts of people held silk banners, staffs, etc. and musicians played. Then we—the guests with the royal host—went to the city.

Inside the palace, in the well-known Nasala Cok [Tib.: Nāsaratsug] there was a great stage for performances. At the four directions, butterlamps were burning; a canopy was hung overhead with curtains on the sides; and all sorts

of adornments were present. While we remained there for awhile with our royal hosts, they spread out two paintings [Tib.: *tankas*], one commissioned by King Pratāp Malla, the other by another king. Nepalese and Magars, etc. came to join the festival. Everyone was wearing stainless white clothing so that the streets of the city looked like a web of white.

Then they served us a pudding made of rice, wheat, and crystalized sugar that was put in earthen pots, covered with paper, and sealed; over 500 of these were made. There were also many kinds of grains, especially roasted rice mixed with nuts and fruits. Many pots of yogurt and milk were also served. At the end, the King himself got up, gave *pān* (tree leaves, powder, crystalized sugar that gave the teeth color) to the great lama, the other lamas, and me. Since the great lama ate [it], we did too.

At the end, the king himself offered a great tray of flowers made of gold and silver slivers that looked like bees' wings. Scooping up a handful, the King flung numerous handfuls of these at each of the four of us. Then the King's retinue gave us ear ornaments made of new flowers, flower garlands, and put perfumed *tilakas* on our foreheads. At the end, the king gave us money and clothes, which the lama accepted with his own hands.

[In general, the tradition of India is that the donor gives by his own hands and the recipient receives with his own hands, a custom that shows no partiality between higher class and lower class. It is a good custom for even the great to give to beggars in this way.] [117]

Stay at Chin-tol, Hillock North of Kathmandu

Near Svayambhū two *yojanas* north of Kathmandu city [Tib.: Yambu] there is a small temple and a house on a little hill (that Tibetans call "Vulture Peak"). In the temple there is an image of the Buddha. In the Nepali language it is called "Chin tol". That evening, we all went there and stayed the night. The next day was a Monday and a new moon. Because the nineteenth constellation [Tib. *snrubs*] was auspicious, we went to Svayambhū.

First Visit to Svayambhū

There is a thick forest on the hillock stretching north and south though on the top of the south side it is thinner. On the eastern side of this hill are long and steep steps. Having climbed up these, we arrived at Svayambhū, circumambulated the great stupa, and did *pūjās* there for a long time. We then worshipped at Śāntipurī, at Buddha Kāśyapa's stupa, and at Ācārya Vasubandhu's stupa. I myself also was very happy to see such a wonderful holy place arising here and so I made great supplications. Most of the Nepalese who stay there were Buddhists and so paid very great respect to us.

In general, there are many foolish explanations regarding this great stupa

[in currency] among the Tibetans, although they are thought to be [based on] the Buddha's own words and translated by bShes-gñen-rNam-rgyal [Skt: Mitra Vijaya] in what is now a very rare copy. It received a Sanskrit [version of this] text, but there are many mistakes in it. Hoping to get another more correct manuscript, I am keeping it without translating it fully. Perusing it, we see that the name of this mountain changes according to the four ages. During the Sat Yuga, it is called Gośṅga Parvat [Tib.: Ri-glang-ru]. In the Treta Yuga, it is called Vajra Padmagiri [Tib.: Dorje Padma-ri]. In Dvapara Yuga, it is called Vajra Kataka [Tib.: Dorje Zom]. In the Kāli Yuga, it is called Gopucha Parvat [Tib.: Ri-glang-mjug]. At the top of this mountain, there is a stupa made of crystal glass and it has arisen due to the power of the *pranidhāna* ("previous aspiration of the Tathāgatas") so that therefore it is called "Svayambhū Caitya." Bhagavān Śakyamuni went here miraculously and so taught the *Svayambhū Purāna* to Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, Chundadevī, their many disciples, and the Dharma teaching of gaining merit by making offerings to it. . . .¹²⁾

Therefore, the real Svayambhū Chaitya now exists inside of this great stupa. Who the [original] patrons of these great stupas are is [118] not clear. The Nepalese people say that the Kāśyapa Buddha stupa is the place where Mañjughosa taught the Dharma. About the stupa of Vasubandhu, there is no discrepancy between Tibetan and Nepalese belief: when the *Ācārya* Vasubandhu came to this country, he saw a householder monk [Tib.: Khyim-btsun] wearing religious attire, *chiwara* [Tib.: chos-gos], while plowing a field. Vasubandhu was disgusted by this and said a mantra of Uṣṇīṣavijayā in reverse order, and so died there. We can understand by this history.

On the right and left sides of the great stupa are shrines in two different art styles. In previous times, this Nepal was only Buddhist; the dynasty of the King was Indra vaṃśa, not Soma vaṃśa. In later times, it became Sūrya vaṃśa [and the dynasty] did not believe in Buddhism, coming from Āryadeśa Tirahuti. The first of this line robbed the kingdom of Khokham and became king. After that, step by step, he robbed all the palaces and then ruled over all Nepal. The present kings of Nepal are of the dynasty descending from this king.

One of the previous kings of this dynasty made these stupas and when he was alive it was completed but later it fell down again. There were some miraculous activities and rumors spread about them. Even now, they need repairs again and again. [119]

The Tibetans say that if you open the door of the Śāntipur temple, there is a tunnel through which Nāgārjuna went to Nāga country. But this is very untrue. Inside of the doors, Ācārya Nāg-dbañ-drag-pa [Vāgindra Rudra] made

12) In the next 2 lines, the text is unclear, apparently referring to dispute regarding the term, "Gośṅga Gandhara."

an emanation of the Cakrasamvara maṇḍala but did not conclude the dissolution. This is certainly that place.

Now, that night outside Svayambhū we did a circumambulation of the entire mountain. Afterwards, while staying at Kyin-tol [New: Kindol], the great lama made circumambulations of the hillock (every day) and I accompanied him. On the second day of the lunar month, from Kyin-tol we went to what the Nepalese call Vajrayoginī (but what Tibetans call Varāhī Śmaśāna). Inside the temple, there is an image of the *yoginī* made of gilt copper and we went to see it. I, myself, was sceptical because I do not have faith so easily in such things; but seeing this, I felt immeasurable faith and belief and so made great supplications.

Second Audience with Jagat Jaya Malla: Discussion of the Epidemic

After that, we went to Nasala cok and had another audience with the king. The four of us offered prayers for the good health of the king. We had a general conversation, but we had to work through a translator who was not so skillful. Therefore, we talked little about Dharma.

At this time in all Nepal, there was an epidemic which was occurring in the summertime but not in the winter [and so was not raging]. Once stricken by this disease, most people died within thirty hours. The king reported that on a single night during the rainy season over one hundred dead bodies had to be removed [from town]. He also said to us: "Such a thing has gone on for three years and two-thirds of the population has perished. In regard to this, when the Zha-dmar-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug came here once and circumambulated Svayambhū he left his fingerprints on a boulder. Therefore even now would you please do the same and leave your footprint on stone and show some miracle for the people to see. I have requested that some Indian yogis and Tibetan lamas come to stop this epidemic, but they were not very successful. Now you must certainly do something to stop the disease." The great lama then answered: "We are not such people that can show a miracle that can stop an epidemic. But we will make our best efforts to stop this disease." Then, that night, we returned to Kyin-tol. [120]

Attendance at the Lokeśvara Bathing Ceremony with Jagat Malla

On the sixth day of the month, the Kathmandu King came to Kyin-tol for an audience.

On the seventh day, the King and the lamas returned to Kathmandu and went to a Lokeśvara temple with an image made of bronze which was one of the five self-created religious images. The Nepalese Buddhist *ācārya*, well-known as "Gubha", wore stainless white clothes, a crown, ornaments, necklace, etc. In order to wash the image, he took the image to a well-decorated washing place,

removed all of the image's garmets, ornaments, etc., said auspicious verses, and washed the image. After this, he put on many ornaments, lit incense, and washed the image carefully with water brushed [on the image] with *druwa* grass. When the old residues were well-removed, the *ācārya* held the *damaru* and bell, danced holding a *kalāṣa* vessel, and performed additional ritual ablutions. Such is what we saw. After that, having worshiped with cloths, incense, flowers, garlands, he then put the image inside again. On this occasion, the perfumed things were mixed with silver coins and scattered over the image, all accompanied by prayers.

After this annual worship, that Gubha made many offerings to all of us. We also made respectful offerings of silver, gold, etc. to the Gubha for a fund to make a new *gañjira* finial. The King also gave a contribution. Then we returned to Kyin-tol and stayed there. We also did rituals of gTer-gsar-Ye-shes-gSañ-ba, etc. there.

Meeting with a Tirhut Brahman Pandit

At this time, the well-known Brahman *paṇḍita* from Tirahut named Bachurao Jha Viṣṇupati came to meet me and we had a long conversation in Sanskrit. I was thinking that I really knew some Sanskrit, but when I was actually speaking with him I realized that my pronunciation and accents were not correct. The Brahman immediately found fault with my speech. Afterwards, we wrote on the floor in order to communicate. After familiarizing myself in this manner, I felt more comfortable with the words and my reading improved. We talked about Sanskrit grammar and logic and I learned a great deal about Indian knowledge, especially Sanskrit grammar [Skt. *Vyākaraṇa*]. [These were: Pāṇini *Vyākaraṇa* commentary made by Nāga, also the *Amarkośa* commentary by Bhattojī Dikṣita, both of which are about 12 thousand verses; also the *Amarkośa* commentary by Subhuti; also another lexicon made by Medinikarāna. I made some studies of all these texts. [121]

Third Audience: Preaching the Dharma to Jagat Malla

Again we were invited to the Kathmandu Palace and we had an audience with the King in Nula Cok. This time, the King asked the head lama to teach the Dharma and the head lama told me to teach. A monk of the cave called Rachung named Malagyahaku [Lama], one who understood the Nepali language but had little understanding of the Dharma, was asked to translate. And so I lectured about the causes and effects of karma.

Local Pilgrimage and Initiations

We stayed in Kathmandu for four days, and prayed every day to a brass image of Jambhala [Kubera]. To the south of the city at a field well-known

as "the Tibetan field," there is a stone image of Mahākāla about one storey high in a temple. We went there to offer prayers and recite *mantras*. While staying there, some Nepali Buddhists who did not come before came and spontaneously offered us flowers, fruits, and even rice beer (*chai*). We then offered these to Mahākāla.

One among them was called Ratnamuni and known as a "Gurabhaa". At that time in Nepal, he was the most learned in grammar and logic. His friend Siddheśvara also asked me to give teachings. Therefore I gave them the Taking Refuges, the Generation of the Bodhi Mind (*bodhicittotpāda*), and the Oral Transmission of the Hundred Syllables of Vajrasattva. There is a well-known cave called the Nāgārjuna Kunda on the Vindhya Cala mountain. I made them recite the Hundred Syllables there for several days and there were many signs and symbols of purifying sins and obscurations.

Visits to Other Shrines

On this occasion, we went to Tham Vihāra in the northeast sector from Kathmandu and to the middle of the city, to what the Tibetan people call "the small Shing-kun". Here there is a wonderful temple and many stupas.

Outside of the city in the northwest direction is Ratnaśila Vihāra where there is also a temple housing an image of Cakrasamvara about two hands high. Our head lamas went to see this and so I went as their attendant.

In the middle of Kathmandu is a large *chorten* (mchod-rten); the Tibetans consider it "The Wonderful Stupa of Śārīpūtra but this view cannot be correct. The shape of this stupa is square, but having many rectangular divisions. The inner image is in the shape of a *linga* and there are other non-Buddhist objects. Therefore, one must not think of this as a Buddhist stupa but as a Mahādeva Shrine.

In the Nepalese language, Kathmandu can be divided by two names: the eastern side up to the King's Palace is called "Gayan"; the western is called "Gayanga." Since the latter has more houses than the former, therefore it is bigger. [122]

Excursion to Patan, Bungamati, Pharping

Then, in the waning lunar month of *rGyal* [Tib.], we made a pilgrimage to other places in Nepal. For this, riding on the King's two elephants—one called Mukundarāja, the other Bhāhārthī—we four lamas went via Kindol on the waning nineteenth day of the month (?) and so arrived at the great city of *Yerang* [Patan] and met the young King Viṣṇu Prakāśa Malla. That night we stayed in a resthouse at the edge of the city.

The next day, we went to *Bhugma deva* and to *Akham*. We then went via the village Bhuga to the slope of Yangle, a place [associated with] the well-known

Indian [tantric *siddha*] Pamthing¹³⁾. We stayed there for two days. We did a *sādhanā* of the peaceful and wrathful *guhya jñāna* which emerged from the hidden treasure of *Acara Vajra*. Then, we made a *homa* of *Dorje Grodod* and *Singhamukhā*. On this night while we were doing this *pūjā* and beating the cymbals, hosts of monkeys were dancing just then in the trees in a relaxing way. It was an amazing and wonderful event. At this place, Padmasambhava made a *sādhanā* with *Vajrakila*. The Tibetan people say there are self-arising images here and there, but I do not know whether these are authentic [reports] or not.

White and black water is found [in this cave] and hopefully it is the water magically produced by Padmasambhava, but this fact is not known by the Nepalese people. The non-Buddhists know this place as a *tīrtha* to Viṣṇu where there is a small Viṣṇu temple. In the temple there is also a very blessing-ful Vārāhi-type image and it may be the actual Indian *Pamthing*.

We also saw an *asura* cave and made prayers. The Tibetan people call the pond that of *Khadga Mañjuśrī* and [think that it is] where Swami *Akham* had come. We also made offerings and prayers there.

Stay in Patan

Then we stayed in Patan [Tib.: Yerang] for two days. We saw the temples of Lord Bhugma Akham, Hemavarna [Vārāhī], and Cakrasamvara. There is a stone copy on the top of one temple in imitation of the *gandola* of Vajrāsana [Bodhgaya]. We saw these wonderful things and then offered incense and made offerings of silver *akota*. The King asked us to perform some rituals and we did *cha-gsum* and a *bali pūjā*.

Here Gubha Dharmajaya, who was more than sixty years old, was in favor with the King. I heard that among Nepalese Buddhists he was well-known as a scholar. So I went to his house in search of him and conversed with him about the Dharma. But he did not know Sanskrit and we did not communicate well. He did give me a text called the *Cakrasamvarodaya* and I gave him some silver coins. He had many books and I wanted to see them, but he could not show them to me because he had to go to the King. But afterwards I talked to his son and was able to look at some other books. I saw many, especially the *Raktayamarājātantraṭīkā*. I saw ther *tantras* but could not examine many of them.

Stay in Bhaktapur

Then we went to Bhaktapur [Tib.: Khokham] and we remained outside of the city. Then on the twenty-fifth of the month, in the middle of the city above a well-adorned dancing platform, we met the King Ratnajita Malla and

13) A figure mentioned in the *Blue Annals*: see Roerich 1949: 383, 400-1.

exchanged gifts with him. The next day, we rode on the Bhaktapur King's elephant to the southeast of the city and reached the Bhoṭya [i.e. Banepa] King's palace. Then, going via Sankho (?) and Carko, we went to *sTag-mo-lus-sbiyn* [Skt. *vyāghriśarīradāna*], a place the Nepalese call "Namo Buddhaya." We remained there two days and while there we painted white color on the stupa at the place where the Bodhisattva gave his body to the tigress. We also chanted and made offerings. On the way coming back, we stayed one night in the village of Nala. Having seen the *sādhanā* cave of Milarepa called *SÑe-shan kurti* and his footprints, etc., we then returned to Bhaktapur.
[unclear half line: lama's managers arrive with news from Tibet?] [124]

Pūjās in Bhaktapur

By this time, there were many sNe-shang-pa peoples coming to see us and so the great lamas gave audiences and gave the "Om mani padme hum" and other teachings. On the new moon day, we were invited into the King's palace and had an audience with the King. It was the new year of the Wood-Dragon year. On the first day of the lunar month, we had a new year's festival. At that time, the King asked the lama to perform a ritual purification for himself and to quell the epidemic affecting the city. "Please do something," he said and so we did a ritual for the king and made offerings to the Goddess Vidāraṇī. The King was very pleased and gave *dakṣiṇā*.

Both lamas then rode on separate elephants, while rGyal tshab-pa and I rode on large Indian horses known as "turkir". Then we circled the city and spread the *kalaśa* water of *Vidāraṇī* around. We eventually made it to Thimi village and finally returned to Kintol about midnight. [125]

Further Audiences with Jagat Mallas, Disciples, a Brahman

On the fourth day of the lunar month, the two great lamas went to the top of Vindhya Acala and to the Nāgārjuna cave. The mountain was both high and steep and because of that I could not go.

At that time, a pandit of Tirahuti called Saramananda came to see me. We talked about the Vedas, Vyākaraṇa, and Chanda [poetic metre].

The Nepalese Ratnamuni and Siddheśvara also came many times. I taught them the initiation of Vārāhī and meditative recitations.

When the lamas returned, the Yambu King also came to see them. At that time, the lamas asked about the history of Nepal and then the King asked the pandit Bacchuraoja to explain this history. Then he said that he knew the way of explaining the Buddhist story also, but he started with the history of the Śiva *linga*, then told the story of the Solar Dynasty [Sūryavamśa].

In Nepal, there were many insects and flies and they came on the cups humming [in search of] food and tea. In order to cover the cups, there were

a silver lids and on them in *nagarī* script was written:

Auspicious Auspicious the Sangha
Reached, Reached, the Ultimate Reality.
Known, Known, the perfect meaning
Accomplished, Accomplished, the Conquerer of Mara.
Let it be auspicious.¹⁴⁾

Having seen this poetry, the Indian and Nepalese pandits were very pleased. Then they recognized that a great scholar had written this.

To the north of Svayambhū, there is a place the Tibetans know as "Where the Nāga is lying facing upward." This is also called the place where Viṣṇu is bathing. But the Buddhist people say that it is a copy of the image of Jñāna Mañjuśrī which exists in "southern Kankuna" and was made by a saint. We saw this place.

On the fifth day of the lunar month, we went to see Mahiṣa Buddha, the cave of Mañjuśrī, two stupas, etc. The history of places in Nepal are collected in the *Svayambhū Stupa Purāṇa*. Some day I want to make further study of this. [126]

On the sixth day the King came to have another audience.

Rituals at Svayambhū and Bauddha

On the eighth day, we did a purification ceremony of Svayambhū and painted it with white color.

On the tenth day, our host Lobsang invited the lamas to recite some prayers and to make white color for the stupa.

On the fifteenth day, we did a purification ceremony and applied white color to the Bauddha [Byaruñ-Khashor] stupa.

A Lama's Illness

On the seventeenth day, we went again to the Kathmandu King's palace. The rGyal-ba'i dbang-po [Lama] was a little sick and so we performed a purification ritual of Vidāraṇī to help him.

On the twenty-ninth, we did the healing ceremony called *sme-brtegs*. On the first of the next month, we made some supplications to the deities. On the ninth and tenth, we did a *gro-lod* to remove obstacles. And finally the great

14) The text:

Lakṣmi, Lakṣmi ca, Sanghānām
Prāptam Prāptam ca Dharmātam
Jñānam Jñānam Sadarthānām
Siddhim Siddhim ca Marajit
Śubham astu

lama recovered and he came to the garden.

On the fourteenth, we performed the ceremony for accomplishment through the wrathful *guru*.

Further Activities in Kathmandu

Then, on the eighteenth we watched a drama of Maheśvara in which horses and elephants made of decorated paper raced. Then we watched a procession of images and scriptures of Tham Vihāra as they circumambulated the city. We also watched the drama of Phālgun.

For the King and for the city people we did a '*bar-ma pūjā*'. On the nineteenth, we did the Vidāraṇī ritual for Śrī Jagat Jaya Malla. Then, while riding on the King's elephants Bhabaniprasara and Mandorāja and the horses, we scattered mantra water and grain at the edge of the town.

On the next day we went to Gulang Paśupati to visit the caves of Tilopa and Naropa and saw the sacred water of Vārāhī. Along the Vangmati [Bagmati] we bathed and then went to Svayambhū, prayed for Saint Dam-chos, and returned to Kyin-tol. For two days we watched the festival drama of Hanumān. Then we saw Rinchen tshul and visited the cemetery where two rivers meet. In a tree nearby, there is a Bhairava.

On the twenty-fourth, the King came to visit again.

On the twenty-eighth, we did a ritual departure ceremony for going to Tibet according to the astrological calculations and so departed to Tham Vihara. On the twenty-ninth, we went from Kathmandu to Dharmathali and Kakani. On the first day of the third month, we arrived at Nepali Dzong (Nuvakot). Mukhya etc. and Praman went from there to the Triśul Gangā and Lord Bar-go hosted them. On the tenth, in the shop they did some *gro-lod* and other rituals. . .

III. Diary of Si-tu Pan-chen: Nepal, 1748

[265, line e]

On the Trail from Kuti to Nepal

After bathing in the hot water, we crossed the mountain pass called Spyang-ku-spu-med ("Hairless wolf"). Having reached the village called hdum-khang, we stayed in the Nyamgal house. The next day, we stayed on top of the Lithi plain. Tenzin (bstan-dzin) then offered me 25 *tanka* coins. I then had an audience with a Parman [Brahman ?].

Then two persons arrived who were sent by the Kathmandu King. The next day we went via the dry plain and then stayed in the forest. Then the Thankham lama, the chief of the Nyishang lamas, came for an audience. We then reached Mangar. After that, we crossed the place of the white and black water and stayed in the rice field called Chu-grang-mo ("Cool Water"). On the

next day, we reached the Singha Rabha pass and remained in Jati. After crossing the Sipa pass we arrived at the Acara port via a Magar village. At the bottom of the mountain, at a place called Lama Chanden (bLa-ma-spyan-dren), we then did a ritual ceremony for the tenth day of the lunar month.

In Sankhu

The next day we crossed the mountain pass and reached Sankhu (Sangor). We stayed in the house of Purnasi, the son of the rich man Jaya Sankura. This man [Purnasi], along with Sukhadevi and Herana Singh, offered us fruit, food, vegetables etc. and made us comfortable. Then where the Tibetan people talk of the 80 Siddhas, we saw the Ugra Tārā temple. In front of this is a stupa made of gilded gold and copper and below it is the head of the King Śrikarajit. I sent a man with gold coins and scarfs to Cotatitoty Bāju. He sent back his secretary with two earthen pots full of food. I then met a Jośi who had [copies of] *Khandaka*, *Sarodaya*, and some other astrological books.

On the next day, the Tirahut pandit Pradhuman and I conversed about Sanskrit grammar and logic, subjects he was an expert in. I offered this great learned man [Tib. Rig-dzin-chen-po; Skt. Mahavidhyadhara] some lunch. Afterwards we conversed with Cotar. Then in Gurbhal, I looked at the *Cakrasamvara Abhidhana Tantra*, the *Anuttara Acala*, and the *Ugra Tārā Dhāraṇī*. Then at the bathing pond, a fee collector ("Bansal") who was mentioned by Cotar came for an audience.

At Bauddha

In the evening, we arrived at the Bauddha stupa (Khashor). The fee collector came again and mentioned the necessity of repairing the stupa. Then some Tibetan chiefs (*sde-pa*) arrived from Patan [Tib.: Yerang]. They offered rice, tea, butter, etc. and we sent them 46 coins. We had an audience with the Nepalese of Patan and they offered fruits, esp. *Nashing* etc.

Mahāmudrā Teachings

A [Nyingmapa?] lama, Kah-thog-Tshe-dban-nor-bu, then started the teaching of the Mahāmudrā [and so I began taking it]. After he finished the preliminary stage, he gave me a relic together with some blessing pills, a mirror, etc. and said, "This is a good omen."

Then the Bhaktapur King sent a Brahman with roll of Kashi cloth, a variety of foods, and the message to us: "These are the blessing gifts of Tārā." Receiving this, the lama said, "It is a very good omen." We wrote a letter to him in Sanskrit. Again, we received a letter back from the Bhaktapur King and had some conversations with the messengers.

Then the Lama finished the Seven Mental Purifications of the Mahāmudrā

and we made a thousand offerings to the stupa. I made a request offering to this lama of one gold coin and Kashi cloth. Then, the lama made great prayers and said that I must make special studies of the [Mādhyamika] philosophy of gZhan-stong (*Paraśūnyatā*). He said that I needed [to adopt] the profound view of *paraśūnyatā* and said, "By this way, you will enjoy good omens, long life, and extensive activities." He talked a great deal about this philosophy. I myself thought that the philosophy of gZhan-stong had many different theories, among them the theory of Dol-po that accepts both the theories of Parasanghika and Svatantrika as faultless views of the scriptures written by Nāgārjuna. It is surely a significant theory and is very close to that of the Seventh Master of the Zilung-pa. I also prayed and received spring water called Bodhi Amṛta. [267]

Audiences and Pilgrimage Visits

On the sixteenth day of the lunar month, I went to Gorakṣana. Invited by the King, we also went to Kathmandu in order to see the procession of the *Prajñāpāramitā* text. Outside of the city, the King sent an elephant and so we rode it into the city. The King also came out of the city and met us with many musicians. In the Palace, we had fruit, etc. with the King. We settled down there and saw the procession of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and Dīpaṅkara. At that time, the great [Kargyu?] lama saw Mañjuśrī transformed into scripture.

We made offerings for the happiness of the Tibetan and Nepalese peoples. On the eighteenth day of the lunar month, we met with the King who served us a banquet with a variety of foods and we made an agreement to help restore the Bauddha stupa. Potang Gonpo came for an audience. On the next day, we offered flowers and *khātas* to the King and then left the Palace.

We went to see Gulang-Paśupati, Mṛgathali, and Gorakhthali where the sacred water of Nairarma [Nairatmya?] is found. We then arrived at the place the Nepalese call Khasacaitya and we Tibetans call Jarung Kashor [i.e. Bauddha]. This first name is a corrupted "khata" and so the meaning should be "dug-out stupa". When Yornoba bZaṅbo Shākya made a mound, the stupa came out. And so the name came into being.

Received a letter from Jaya Prakāśa [Malla]. Samantabhadra brought the *Svayambhū Pūrana Samgraha* and so I started translating it into Tibetan. Then the great lama gave some teachings, especially of Zhi-sbas-hbyor-drug and things became peaceful.

Further Initiations

On the twenty-second, there were further teachings and initiations, especially of Sbyor-drug and Snying-thig-spros-bcas. For these we made a *maṅḍala* of powdered sand. My flower fell on the west side of the *maṅḍala* so that my

name was given as follows: Chos-dbyings-rang-byung ye-shes-'gro-'dul-rtal-chen-grub-pa'i-gter [Skt: Dharmadhātusvayambhūjñāna]. Two fee collectors [*bansals*] together with the Gorakṣa peoples were appointed as the chiefs [of the repair]. Then we began the work on the stupa according to the auspicious date.

On the next day, the lama gave the initiation of *Spros-med* and all made the *Tshogs-'khor* offerings and completed the teaching and oral transmission of the *sbyor-drug*.

Reception in Bhaktapur

On the next day, we received the measurement (?) of Nepalese coins from Yambu and then went to Bhaktapur. On the way, we stopped at Brahmasiri in Thimi where Punir rGyal-sras was born of a Nepalese woman. The King's elephant came to receive us and we stayed at the newly re-constructed Kuti Vihāra. Then the pandita Kāśinātha, the King's Chief Brahman, came to see me and we had various conversations. Phareng-gi also arrived. Many provisions were brought. The next day, we finished the ritual of rGyas-gdab.

We received the [Bhaktapur] King's invitation and then went together with the messenger where we met the King in the Taraji [Taleju] temple. The next day, we scattered Vidāraṅdhāraṅī water while circling the city. When we came back, we saw that the stupa repair was completed and so we made the longevity ceremony and dedicated it. Then the younger brother of *bla-ma-'Gro-mgon* and the son of Haku lama etc. and many local people came.

On the twenty-ninth, the Nepalese came and gave Nepalese "musk liquor" ('bag-chang). Outside of the city, they put out a pot of liquor in which they placed the musk. They asked the Tibetan people to drink it. Then the Tibetans got a fever. This indicates that the Tibetans should return to their own country. Then the horses and elephants started running. (?)

On the first day of the next month, Kṛṣṇadevaju, etc. arrived and sent a letter to the King of Bhaktapur. He sent us a text of the *Amarakośa* Commentary. Then we bathed in the Bagmati.

Visit to Patan

We sent a letter to Gorkha. We stayed next with a Tibetan family in Patan. The Tibetan chief (*Dzlabā*) received us. The King of Patan sent a Brahman pandit with the message that we should meet him. Then I met the Tirahuti Brahman named Kalamāyana and we had a conversation. We went to Patan and saw there the model of Bodhgaya temple, Acara Bhukam, Guru Vihāra. There were images of *Trilokavijaya* and *Hevajra*. We also saw *Helavarnavihāra*. We met the King and gave one gold coin and one roll of multi-colored [Tibetan] cloth. The King also made a great offering of one hundred loads of rice, etc.

Further Visits around the Valley

The next day went to Le-shod. I and the great lama separately made some large *bali* offerings. The high lama said that there were good omens for removing obstacles and having a long life. In his dream, there was a scorpion-headed local cave spirit to see.

On the next day, the high lama made *bali* offerings and I made *tShogs-'khor* offerings. We finally completed the teachings, especially the study of *Dngos-gzhi-ka-dag*. Via lake Adhara we went late to the Bihara and arrived at Yalmo. The Dbon-po of the late Zha-'dmar, Lama 'Gro-mgon etc. of the Yolmo people arrived.

On the eighth lunar day, on the top of Mañjuśrī mountain, the lama gave an initiation of *Shin-tu-spros-med* and *Rab-tu-spros-med*. He gave other teachings, including the Mahāmudrā. I finished the translation of the account of the stupa [*Svayambhū Purāṇa*].

Return to Kathmandu

On the next day, we went to Kathmandu. On the way, we saw the temple of mKha-spyod-rigs-gsum. We also bought some medicine in Kantipur.

I also gave some food to the Upādhyay (Brahman) and conversed with Pradhumna. He said that he had the text *Vamana Adhidhāna*. I asked him to bring it and then he said "it was written in Indian Gahu script and even I don't know it." I answered that he should bring it anyway. After he brought it, then I could read it and said, "this is this one, that is that one" and so he felt amazed with me. Later I learned through Kun-bzang that the Nepali was saying that this was by the blessing of Viṣṇu. In his [i.e. Pradhumna's] letter to me, he said that you are full of nectar melting which is made of the "Hang" syllable which is the [seed] syllable of Viṣṇu which is on the crown of your head. [269]

Religious Activities at Svayambhū and in the Kathmandu Court

On the tenth, the lama gave the teaching of Thod-rgal-dngos-gzhi and a long life initiation, the *sTag-sham Pad-gsang*. Then Jaya Prakāśa sent Ratna Singhi and he bid us farewell. In the place where the Kumārī festival [is held], there were Zhing-skyes-ma [*Dākinīs*?] assembled and that night the high lama remained there and made [the tantric ritual] *tshogs-'ksor* with them. He gave 103 long-life initiations. Then he gave this long-life initiation to the [Tibetan] monks. We also did a *pratisthāna* for the Buddha Śakyamuni, the Medicine Buddha, and the Bodhisattvas.

In the King's palace on the next day, the lama handed down the Mahāmudrā teaching and the *mKha-'gro-snying-thig*. He also gave the transmission reading of these four texts: *gTor-chen-ljags-bgrigs*, *bKa-nan-rab-brjid*, *rdo-rje-rgy-mdud*,

yi-dam-yid-bzhin-nor-bu. He also gave instruction and we offered scarves [to him].

Then we made great prayers at the steps of the Svayambhū stupa. According to the instruction of the high lāma, I promised to hold the view of Gzhan-stong [Paraśūnyatā]. Having done so, I departed. I went by the place of the lying down *nāga* and stayed in Dharmasthala. Manendra and Samanta gave me two images: the eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara and White Tārā.

Departure to Gorkha

Then I left via the Kakani pass and stayed in Thang-shing. The next day, we saw the garden of Ratnasinghi and stayed near the Palbo Dzong [Nuvakot]. Then the Gorkha King sent Kaji and Nugukhya with food and I sent back some gold and some Chinese silks.

We went to the King's palace. I met the King and two "Kashipanditas," Jaya Mangala etc. The pandit recited by heart Sanskrit texts he had memorized: the *Durgasingha-ñikā* [Tib. 'grelda-dur-seng] and the *Sabdasāgara subanta*. The pandit said, "I heard that in Tibet that you do not make any discrimination between high and low persons or rich and poor ones. If you were in India, you should be offered seven white umbrellas, etc. He praised me very lavishly. Through the pandit's translation, I conversed at length with the king. I also met some *ḥyotiṣ* and *vaidyas* and conversed with them.

The next day, two younger brothers of the King came to see me. I sent mantra water and a red cloth with a protective knot to the King and the Kaji Mukhiya. Going up to the white and black lake, we remained in Chang-tho rGyas-po. . . .

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