

# Notes Apropos to the Oeuvre of Si tu paṅ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774) (4): A Tibetan Sanskritist in Nepal

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**Abstract:** *This article deals with the activities of Si tu paṅ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774) during his two sojourns in Nepal, in the years 1723-1724 and 1748. It is based mainly on Si tu's (auto)biography, and it has a particular focus on these interactions where language and linguistics play a role, but also looks at more general intercultural contact, glimpsing the personal experiences of a Tibetan Sanskritist travelling in Nepal in the mid-eighteenth century. 1*

## Introduction

The pre-eminence of Si tu paṅ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774; henceforth in this article Si tu) in the fields of art, medicine, and religious culture has been celebrated elsewhere in this volume, and quite rightly so. At this point yet one more domain of expertise should be added to the already impressive array of his skills, namely that of the language arts, in particular grammar.

Si tu was arguably the most prominent and influential grammarian in later Tibetan intellectual history. In addition to all his other talents, Si tu was a celebrated master of the grammar of both Tibetan and Sanskrit. As for the former, Tom Tillemans has quite justly divided the history of indigenous Tibetan grammatical studies into two periods: “pre-Si tu” and “post-Si tu,”<sup>2</sup> which reflects the tremendous impact of Si tu's magnum opus in the field of Tibetan grammar, that is his [\[page 317\]](#) commentary on the two basic texts of Tibetan indigenous grammar.<sup>3</sup> In the period after Si tu hardly any Tibetan author wrote on this topic without either directly acknowledging Si tu's work or clearly showing its influence.

Si tu occupies a similar place of prominence in the field of Sanskrit studies in Tibet. Among his writings we find as many as thirteen titles on the subject of Sanskrit grammar and other domains of Indian linguistics, including translations of Sanskrit works as well as works composed by Si tu himself, covering some 1445 folios in his Collected works (Gsung 'bum) in all.<sup>4</sup> His major work in this field is his commentary on the Cāndra system of Sanskrit grammar, which, in fact, offers a survey of all major Indian indigenous traditions of Sanskrit linguistics.<sup>5</sup>

He was one of the few latter-day scholars in Tibet who would not take for granted the Tibetan translations that were available for Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures in great abundance. He preferred to go back to the roots, so to speak, reading the Sanskrit originals and oftentimes revising earlier

translations or offering altogether new translations. His (auto)biography<sup>6</sup> is replete with references to his extensive searching for and consulting of important manuscripts, Sanskrit as well as Tibetan, all as part of his efforts to refine the Tibetan versions of the Indian Buddhist scriptures circulating in the Land of Snows.

Si tu never visited India, the cradle of Buddhism and the home of the culture he devoted so much of his intellectual efforts to.<sup>7</sup> He did travel to Nepal twice, however, and there he encountered many aspects of living Indian culture and literary life. Si tu undertook his first visit to Nepal in 1723-24, when he travelled in the company of the Black Hat and Red Hat hierarchs of the Karma pa branch of the Bka' brgyud pa tradition. In 1748 he visited Nepal again, this time accompanied only by his own limited retinue. During both stays he had numerous meetings with local dignitaries, including the kings of Kathmandu (Yam bu) <sup>8</sup> and [page 318] Bhaktapur,<sup>9</sup> and visited sacred sites while travelling through the Kathmandu valley. His (auto)biography presents us with fascinating accounts of the contacts between the Tibetan scholar and the exponents of Sanskrit learning whom he encountered there, showing us that the cultural shock – and language shock for that matter – involved in such confrontations has not really changed over the centuries. In this article I will offer a few glimpses of Si tu's activities in Nepal, focusing on these interactions where language and linguistics play a role, and basing my observations mainly on his (auto)biography.<sup>10</sup>

As a fine example of the acute sense of observation that Si tu displays in his (auto)biography, we first turn briefly to an episode during his first stay in Nepal. On the silver lid of a teacup, perhaps Si tu's own or one owned by the host of the group of hierarchs who were at the time staying in Kyin tol near Kathmandu, his eye fell on the inscription of a Sanskrit verse. The local pandits of great prestige present at this occasion, who themselves had evidently not noticed this inscribed verse, were full of admiration:<sup>11</sup>

As there are many insects and flies in Nepal, they [frequently] fall into the teacups and thereby seriously spoil the tea and food (?), etc. [contained in them].

On one particular silver lid, which serves to cover such [a cup] [I came across] a verse, beautifully inscribed in the na ga ra [i.e., Deva-nāgarī] script, which reads in Sanskrit:<sup>12</sup>

*lakṣmī lakṣmī ca saṃghānāṃ /*

*prāptaṃ prāptaṃ ca dharmataṃ /<sup>13</sup>*

*jñānaṃ jñānaṃ sadarthānāṃ /*

*siddhaṃ siddhaṃ ca mārajit /<sup>14</sup>*

*śubham astu //*

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That is, in translation:15

Glory and glory for the communities of monks

Attained and attained is the true state of being!

Knowledge, knowledge of the true meanings!

Accomplished and accomplished is the Conqueror of death [i.e., Buddha]!

May the good come to be!

Si tu continues:16

This translates into Tibetan as:

Perfect! Perfect, again, is the community of monks!

Attained! Attained, again, is the true state of being!

Known! Known is the ultimate truth!17

Accomplished! Accomplished, again, is the Conqueror of death!

Come to virtue! [Or: May [it] be[come] virtuous!]18

When they had a careful look at this poetry, the Indian and Nepalese pandits were delighted as it was composed by a scholar of great vision.

We cannot be absolutely sure who these “Indian and Nepalese pandits” that Si tu mentions here were. My personal impression is that they most probably formed part of the entourage of the Kathmandu king Jagajjaya Malla, whose return visit to the Karma pas is referred to in the immediately preceding passage in the (auto)biography.<sup>19</sup> In this case they indubitably belonged to the highest echelon of the scholarly elite in the Kathmandu valley. Whether or not this was the case, it is evident that Si tu’s command and appreciation of Sanskrit poetry was quite impressive to native scholars, even at the age of twenty-three.

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Among the pandits of the court who apparently accompanied the king during this particular visit to the Bka’ brgyud pa dignitaries, one is singled out in the (auto)biography, namely Bacchur Ojā:20

When the venerable [hierarchs], master and pupil, had returned from their visit of [these] sacred sites,<sup>21</sup> in reciprocation the king of yam bu [= Kathmandu, scil. Jagajjaya Malla] also came to visit [us]. When at this occasion [we] posed questions about the chronicles of Nepal to the king, he invited pandit Bacchur Ojā to speak on [this]. Although [the pandit] claimed to know also the Buddhist exposés [of the history of Nepal], he actually started his exposé with [the story of] the self-originated Śiva-liṅga [followed by] merely accounts related to the royal dynasty of Sūrya-vaṃśa.

Si tu sounds slightly disappointed at what the Brahmin offered here, possibly as the pandit apparently emphasized the Hindu background of the then current dynasty, disregarding the Buddhist affiliation of earlier Kathmandu royal dynasties. Actually, Si tu had met Bacchur Ojā earlier during his first stay in Nepal, a meeting that began somewhat awkwardly.

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## Spoken Language

After two audiences with Jagajjaya Malla, when he and the other Bka' bgyud pa hierarchs were staying in Kyin tol near Kathmandu, the celebrated pandit Bacchur Ojā came to visit Si tu.<sup>22</sup> Bacchur Ojā was a Tirhutīya Brahmin, who specialized in Sanskrit grammar so Si tu was obviously eager to discuss this topic with him. However, conversation with the pandit was initially problematic. Although Si tu already had considerable knowledge of the Sanskrit language, his competence was based on the instruction by his Tibetan tutors and on textbooks and manuscripts, and was therefore primarily theoretical and passive. It is an entirely different matter to actively engage in a conversation in a foreign language as Si tu found, somewhat to his dismay, during his first meeting with Bacchur Ojā. Presumably they conversed in Sanskrit and this seems to have been the first time that Si tu had occasion to do [\[page 321\]](#) so with a native speaker. Quite probably this meeting with Bacchur Ojā was one of the first occasions for Si tu to *hear Sanskrit spoken by an Indian* and to *speak Sanskrit*. Many a Western Indologist can sympathize with this all too well: the shock to find that there is a huge difference between *reading Sanskrit* and *conversing in it*.

Armed only with his all too theoretical knowledge of the language, Si tu – as he somewhat wryly observes in his (auto)biography – made all kinds of mistakes in the pronunciation of parts of words<sup>23</sup> and the length of vowels, which the learned pandit – to Si tu's great embarrassment – did not fail to point out to him. So, in order to communicate, they initially resorted to writing with chalk on a clay surface and as their mutual understanding gradually improved, a proper conversation became possible. And, indeed, a conversation ensued, which – as Si tu himself observes – was most informative on matters of Indian history and, in particular, on linguistics. In fact, Bacchur Ojā became an important informant for Si tu's studies of various areas of Indian linguistics. Si tu mentions Bacchur Ojā's assistance in his work on the *Sārasvata* Sanskrit grammar and the *Amarakośa* Sanskrit lexicon.<sup>24</sup> It is almost certainly at this occasion that the learned Brahmin showed Si tu a number of

Sanskrit manuscripts, which – Si tu notes with some disappointment – he only got to see and investigate briefly.<sup>25</sup> Among these were a commentary (probably Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya) on the Sanskrit grammar by Pāṇini<sup>26</sup> and three works on Sanskrit lexicography.<sup>27</sup>

In later years Si tu became much more at home in the finer points of Sanskrit pronunciation. We find evidence of this in his (probably 1740s) manual for the pronunciation of Sanskrit mantras,<sup>28</sup> in which he describes particular features of Sanskrit pronunciation in various regions of India. There he distinguishes speakers from Central India and South India, subsuming speakers from “eastern regions, Bengal etc.” and “western regions, ma ru bar [= Malabār?]” under the former category and “inhabitants of Karṇāṭaka and the Dravidians” under the latter.<sup>29</sup>

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The Karma pa hierarchs often had to communicate via interpreters in their encounters in Nepal. At several points Si tu airs his frustration about the barrier this created in contact with their Nepalese hosts and associates. Notable is the second audience with king Jagajjaya Malla in late 1723, when Si tu complains that due to the incompetence of the interpreter(s) on duty it was impossible to speak about Buddhist doctrine with the king and that only general, more or less casual conversation could be held.<sup>30</sup> By the time of the next visit to the king's palace later that month, that particular situation appears to have improved somewhat:<sup>31</sup>

That day the king requested [us] to preach some Buddhist doctrine, at which point the highest ranking [Karma pa] hierarch(s) [present] immediately told me to take that task. After inviting a monk from Ras chung phug pa, called Ha ku bla ma from Temal,<sup>32</sup> to act as interpreter, who, although he had great proficiency in language, had little understanding of Buddhism, [I] presented an appropriate exposé of the Buddhist doctrine, dealing with karma, cause, and effect.

However, for communication with learned Brahmins the lingua franca of Sanskrit was at Si tu's disposal, and it seems that his spoken competence of this language improved significantly in a short time. Some two weeks after this first halting conversation with Bacchur Ojā, Si tu voices his regret at not being able to converse properly with another famous pandit, Gubhā (i.e., short for Guru-bhaṭṭāraka) Dharmajaya, then already in his sixties, who was a protégé of the king of Patan, as the Vajrācārya did not know Sanskrit.<sup>33</sup>

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## Written Sources

Given Si tu's fervent passion for the exploration of Sanskrit manuscripts, as evinced by his quest for these precious materials during his many visits to monasteries in Tibet that house such collections, it stands to reason that when travelling in Nepal a major aim of Si tu's would be to find rare or important

Indian manuscripts. Indeed, this turns out to have been the case. Frequently we find him viewing, reading, and [\[page 323\]](#) occasionally obtaining – either by purchase or as a gift – Sanskrit manuscripts during his stays in Nepal.

Several of the Indian and Nepalese pandits whom Si tu met showed him manuscripts for him to admire and often discussed their contents with him. Earlier we have seen the case of Bacchur Ojā, who brought along manuscripts of grammatical and lexicographical texts when he first visited Si tu. Another prominent pandit to whom Si tu paid a visit during his first period in Nepal was Gubhā Dharmajaya, also mentioned above. This celebrated scholar not only offered a manuscript belonging to the Cakrasaṃvarodaya cycle of Tantras to Si tu<sup>34</sup> but also owned an impressive collection of manuscripts, the majority of which appear to have been Tantric materials:<sup>35</sup>

As there was a very great number of manuscripts<sup>36</sup> [in his possession] I was very eager to see them, but he could not show [them to me]. Later, as he was required to have an audience with the king, I became [better] acquainted with his son and [thanks to him] I have seen some manuscripts [of the collection]. I saw a great many [manuscripts] belonging to the cycles of the Tantras, commentaries, and instructions of the “three [forms of] Yamāntaka: red, black and terrifying.”<sup>37</sup> Although I realized that there were numerous manuscripts of Tantras, commentaries, and instructions more [in the collection], I did not have an opportunity to get to see them.

One gets the impression that Si tu had a far better rapport with the son than with the aged pandit, with whom, as we have seen above, he had great trouble communicating due to the language barrier.

In the course of his second stay Si tu met a Jośī, an astrologer, in Śaṅkhu, who brought several manuscripts proper to his profession.<sup>38</sup> During the same period Si tu had several meetings with the renowned Tirhutīya scholar Pradhumna (or Pradyumna?), an expert in grammar and logic.<sup>39</sup> On one of these encounters the (auto)biography remarks:<sup>40</sup>

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I had a conversation with Pradhumna. When he told me he had a manuscript of the \*Vāmanābhīdhāna, I asked [him] to bring it [to me]. To this he replied: “That [manuscript] is [written in] an Indian script [called] Gāhu.<sup>41</sup> Not even I can read it.” Nonetheless, I asked him to bring it [to me], which he did. When I [was able to] read the manuscript and explained to him “This [sign] is this [letter],” he was amazed. Later [I found], as Kun bzang [= Samantabhadra] told me, that the Nepalese [i.e., Pradhumna; or: the Nepalese [pandits] (in general)] had said: “He [i.e., Si tu] is surely blessed by the exalted Viṣṇu.” In the letter, which [Pradhumna] sent to me, it merely said: “[Your] belly is replete with the immortality-nectar of the recitation of the Haṃ [seed] syllable of the highest Viṣṇu.”

Again it is evident that Si tu had acquired a degree of proficiency in Indian scripts and language, which commanded respect even from the Nepalese scholarly elite.

Shortly after his initial meeting with Pradhumna / Pradyumna,<sup>42</sup> and perhaps in some connection with that meeting, Si tu had the opportunity to consult a collection of Sanskrit Tantric manuscripts in Gurbhal.<sup>43</sup> He also received a manuscript of the *Padacandrikā* commentary<sup>44</sup> on the Sanskrit lexicon *Amarakośa*, which an associate (?) of the king of Bhaktapur sent to him.<sup>45</sup>

In the course of both visits to Nepal, he also acquired manuscripts of the *Svayambhū-purāṇa*, a collection of mythical lore on the venerated Svayambhūnāth Caitya in Kathmandu, a sacred site that was of particular interest to Si tu. I have discussed Si tu's work on this text elsewhere,<sup>46</sup> so I will not dwell on it here. Suffice it to say that his translation of this later Sanskrit purāṇa can, in all probability, be [page 325] connected to Si tu's involvement in the renovation of this monument, which was headed by his close associate Kaḥ thog tshe dbang nor bu.

It seems that Si tu did not specify in his (auto)biography all the manuscripts he consulted or acquired in Nepal. No wonder, taking into account his voracious appetite for Sanskrit manuscripts. In the terse format of his (auto)biography we should not expect a full enumeration of the many manuscripts that he must have viewed or obtained. We know, for instance, that he used several Sanskrit manuscripts for his translation of a popular hymn to the Tantric deity Mahākāla, the *Vajra-mahākālāṣṭaka-stotra* (cf. infra), which he probably acquired in Nepal, yet no mention of this is made in his report of his Nepalese sojourns. And, Si tu was well aware of the levels of quality of manuscripts available in Nepal at the time. He notes that the manuscript of *Svayambhū-purāṇa*, which he acquired in 1723, was quite corrupt<sup>47</sup> and therefore inferior to the one he obtained in 1748, thanks to one of his assistants at the time, Samantabhadra (Kun bzang).<sup>48</sup>

Si tu also reported on acquiring manuscripts in Nepal in his major work on Sanskrit linguistics, a commentary on the Cāndra system of grammar entitled "Boat Carrying Jewels in the Form of Excellent Explanations, Crossing the Ocean of the Grammatical Traditions,"<sup>49</sup> an impressive work filling almost three volumes of his Collected Works. In the introductory sections of this treatise he offers a kind of curriculum vitae of his career as a grammarian, listing the tuition he received and the primary (i.e., Sanskrit) and secondary (i.e., Tibetan) sources he studied, and he specifies that many of the Sanskrit manuscripts he consulted belonged to older collections in monasteries in Tibet, others were manuscripts he himself had obtained in Nepal.<sup>50</sup>

Si tu's translation of the Mahākāla-hymn, mentioned above, is an extremely fascinating document in this and many other respects. It shows, for instance, how Si tu approached the editing and translating of Indian Buddhist scriptures with a degree of rigour and critical acumen that is remarkable even by today's academic standards. Si tu's version of this text, the *Vajra-Mahākālāṣṭaka-stotra*, i.e., "Eight-stanza hymn to Vajra-Mahākāla," as it is contained in his Collected Works, offers an extensively

annotated bilingual version of this brief devotional work, consisting of a Tibetan-script transliteration of the Sanskrit text along with Si tu's translation.<sup>51</sup> In his annotation we see Si tu weighing various types of arguments [page 326] to come to a final decision on a certain reading. By way of example, the following three passages from Si tu's glosses give an impression of the variety of perspectives that were involved in his considerations.<sup>52</sup> In some cases semantics may be the determining factor:<sup>53</sup>

Although in some Indian manuscripts [the reading] śravānyaiḥ (by other streams?) [occurs instead of śravo 'rgham], in accord with the common<sup>54</sup> [reading], I have established [the reading śravo 'rgham] as it is [gives] the best meaning.

At some points in establishing the text, he not only takes the Sanskrit manuscripts into consideration but also translations made by his predecessors:<sup>55</sup>

Here in some Indian manuscripts [the form] lokānām (of [the people in] the world[s]) occurs [instead of pāpānām (of the sins)], yet as [the reading pāpānām] as a common [reading] accords with many other Indian manuscripts and also occurs in the old[er Tibetan] translation[s], I have translated it accordingly.

Or, he may look at the orthography of the source text:<sup>56</sup>

In some Tibetan manuscripts [i.e., Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Tibet] [the form] kuru-kuru occurs here [instead of ruru-ru(ru); this could be translated as ma lus mdzod cig mdzod ("do and do [this] completely"); it appears that the source of confusion lay in the [ortho-]graphical form [of graphemes k and r].

The array of sources of which Si tu availed himself in preparing this edition-cum-translation is quite impressive. First of all, he was using Sanskrit manuscripts of the hymn. We know of his continual searches for Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist scripture during his travels in Central Tibet. The specialized monastic libraries did indeed contain a wealth of Sanskrit manuscripts, some dating [page 327] to the thirteenth century.<sup>57</sup> Parts of these collections are still extant.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps some day one or more of the actual manuscripts that Si tu worked with may come to light. Si tu refers to these Sanskrit manuscripts housed in Tibetan collections as bod dpe, "Tibet[an] manuscript(s)." (Note: he does not use this term for a Tibetan translation!) He designated another set of Sanskrit sources as nyis bid can. I tentatively take this to mean "bilingual." They belong, in any case, to the group of "Tibetan" Sanskrit manuscripts and are – as the colophon states – "copies" (zhal bshus). They may have been copies of the Sanskrit text (perhaps in Tibetan transliteration) made by Tibetan scribes, combined with a (perhaps intralinear) Tibetan translation.

And when in Nepal (or perhaps from Nepal) Si tu also acquired a considerable number of Sanskrit manuscripts for this text, which he terms bal dpe or bal po'i dpe ("Nepal[ese] manuscripts"). His annotation shows that he was well aware of the fact that the manuscripts kept in Tibet were generally

older than the ones he found in Nepal. This was indeed likely the case as the Tibetan climate is more favorable to the preservation of palm-leaf manuscripts than Nepalese (or Indian) climatic conditions. As a result, in some Tibetan monasteries Indian manuscripts were preserved of a far older date than one would find south of the Himalayas.

Secondly, in addition to consulting the Sanskrit sources in the process of establishing the text and determining his own interpretation of it, Si tu also took into consideration Tibetan versions of the same text that were made by earlier translators. He specifies only one previous translation (by Zha lu lo tsā ba chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528), 1441-1528), but clearly several were available to him, at the very least the four versions of this hymn in the Bstan 'gyur canon.

As for his Sanskrit sources Si tu notes in the colophon that the manuscripts he obtained in (or from) Nepal, specifically Kathmandu and Patan, were quite “corrupt” (dag min) as compared to the older manuscripts kept in the monastic libraries in Tibet.<sup>59</sup> Note, however, that at a number of occasions we, nonetheless, find Si tu preferred the readings in the Nepalese manuscripts over other sources, as for instance in the following gloss:<sup>60</sup>

Although [the form] tuṅḍa, [i.e.] “black lips” [or: “black-lipped”?] occurs [here in certain manuscripts], [I] deemed [the form] as above [i.e., in my edition / translation], which occurs in all Nepalese manuscripts, as in order and consequently [I] have established [the text thus].

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Returning to the (auto)biography, some puzzling questions remain. For instance, how great was Si tu’s proficiency in *writing* Sanskrit? Was it he himself who wrote the letter in Sanskrit in reply to a gift consisting of precious cloth and food, which the Karma pa hierarchs received from the Bhaktapur king Raṇajita Malla?<sup>61</sup>

And speaking of written sources, we should also keep in mind that the written Word of the Buddha, in manuscript or printed form, served its purposes of ritual and magic in Nepal as much as it did (and does) in Tibetan culture. Note, for instance, the processional display of the volumes of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, which Si tu witnessed in Kathmandu in 1748.<sup>62</sup>

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## Encounters of Cultures

Numerous facets of the more general interaction of Si tu with Indo-Nepalese culture can be gleaned from his (auto)biography entries as well. Quite often Si tu compares views and stories current among Tibetans with those he encounters in Nepalese circles, at some times preferring the former, at other times the latter. He appears to have had an open mind to both and did not seem to have any prejudice

either way. For instance, he speaks of certain “foolish” stories regarding the history of the Svayambhūnāth Caitya circulating among Tibetans,<sup>63</sup> and he gives more credence to the local Nepalese traditions concerning the “upturned copper pot” in a temple in Śaṅkhu than to the Tibetans’ explanations,<sup>64</sup> yet, on the other hand he condemns Nepalese popular beliefs with regard to a cave near Patan that link it to the Hindu deity Viṣṇu whereas he himself regards it as a site sanctified by the Buddhist master Padmasambhava.<sup>65</sup>

We find some fascinating traces of the encounter between Tibetan – and Si tu’s personal – religiosity and Buddhist praxis at the time in Nepal. For instance, in the early 1720s a devastating epidemic (of what would appear to be cholera) decimated the population in the Kathmandu valley over a number of years, raging in particular during the rainy season. When King Jagajjaya Malla received the Karma pa bla mas in audience in 1723, he appealed to them to perform some kind of miracle in order to bring an end to this tragedy, for instance by leaving a handprint in a rock [page 329] as had been done by the seventh Red Hat Karma pa Chos kyi dbang phyug (1584-1630) when he had visited Nepal in the past. The Karma pa hierarchs responded that they did not have the ability to perform such miracles that would put an end to the epidemic, but that they would make a serious effort to combat the plague by the means available to them.<sup>66</sup>

Another telling episode in this respect is when Si tu visited a temple between Kyin tol and Kathmandu, which Tibetans referred to as [Vajra-] Vārahī Cemetery (Phag mo dur khrod), “[Vajra-]Vārahī Cemetery,” and which the Nepalese called Vajrayoginī. A highly venerated gilt bronze statue of that ḍakinī was kept there, and Si tu’s personal somewhat skeptical attitude speaks here at first: “although I am a person who does not easily feel faith or respect for such an object [of veneration] (...).” This, however, is immediately followed by his admission that when actually confronted with the statue he was impressed with its extraordinary numinous quality and that it did inspire him with great faith.<sup>67</sup>

Indeed, Si tu’s keen eye – not surprising for the artist he was – shows in his descriptions of grandiose occasions, but also in his observations of minuscule details. As for the former, consider Si tu’s sketch of the pomp and circumstance of the first reception of the Karma pa delegation by king Jagajjaya Malla of Kathmandu in 1723.<sup>68</sup> After having been entertained at the royal palace during the [page 330] day in anticipation of the audience, finally, after dark, the king, seated on a golden throne on an elephant and surrounded by musicians and attendants carrying silk banners on poles, came out to greet the Karma pa guests. The hierarchs were escorted to a canopied platform, surrounded by lamps, with ornate seats for each of them, where a great number of the local citizens came to attend the festivities. Two ancient scroll-paintings, commissioned by earlier Kathmandu kings, were shown to the company – perhaps in particular to Si tu who of course had a special interest in art. All kinds of foods, such as rice-pudding, grains and yoghurt were served to all present. The king personally served delicacy (pān) to his guests – “he offered it to the two highest Lamas and to Rgyal tshab pa [and] me; as His Holiness partook of it, so did we”<sup>69</sup> – he offered a tray full of gold and silver slivers in the form of flowers and

bees' wings scattering these over them, and applied a perfumed ceremonial mark on the forehead (tilaka) mark on the forehead of each of his Tibetan guests, lavishing gifts on them.

On the other extreme of the spectrum, we find Si tu noting small, personal details that make his (auto)biography such a joy to read. During a night-time ritual for Rdo rje gro lod (one of the eight manifestations of Padmasambhava) and the Ḍākinī Siṃhavaktrā ("the Lion-headed," Seng ge gdong ma) at a sanctuary in Yang le shod, en route from Kathmandu to Patan:<sup>70</sup>

When, during this night, we were bringing the fire-offerings and the cymbals were sounding, a group of monkeys were dancing in the top of the [nearby] trees, remaining there without any fear: it was a wonderful sight!

Or, remembering the first time when he overlooked the valley from the lofty Spyan 'dren mountain on his way to Kathmandu, he observes that it seemed to him "as if entire Nepal was laid out as a maṇḍala."<sup>71</sup>

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Finally, the charming episode of Si tu's meeting with Jayamaṅgala, a pandit from Benares, which had already been signaled by Gene Smith<sup>72</sup> in the 1960s, offers a rare and personal view of the Indo-Tibetan intercultural confrontation taking place here as well as Si tu's own sentiments in this matter. The Indian scholar was so impressed with Si tu's skills that he complimented him saying that in India a scholar such as Si tu would rate "seven white parasols":<sup>73</sup>

[I] met with two pandits, one being pandit Jayamaṅgala [from] Kāśī [= Benares]. [He] recited the commentary [on Kātantra grammar by] Durgasiṃha<sup>74</sup> and the elaborate [treatise] on nominal declension known as "Ocean of Language"<sup>75</sup> by heart. [Saying] "I know it is said that in your [country] Tibet there is no distinction between the wise and the ignorant, such as there is between those of great and little power, or those who are rich and poor in material affairs, [but] in India you would deserve seven white parasols to be pitched up," and such, [he] was praising me [too] much!

Especially the last, personal remark that Si tu squeezes in at the very end here – as a kind of afterthought – is striking:<sup>76</sup> it speaks of the admiration for his scholarly capacities that Si tu received from experts in Nepal, but also of his personal sense of modesty and decorum befitting a Buddhist monk, almost embarrassed to acknowledge the praise that was lavished on him, as well deserved as it was.

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## Concluding Observations

In this article I have merely looked at one specific aspect of Si tu's activities and that only within a very limited time span of his rich life, namely during his two visits to the Kathmandu Valley. It thus forms only one exquisitely colored piece in the stunning mosaic of Si tu's fields of interest and intellectual and spiritual endeavor and the degrees of excellence he reached in so many of them as highlighted in the present volume.

As Kurtis Schaeffer phrases it so eloquently elsewhere in this volume, in Si tu's view "philology trumps philosophy." Si tu regarded philology not as a dry, more or less futile and irrelevant exercise by dusty scholars, but he saw it as the creation of the solid foundation which allows – in fact, is a sine qua non for – oneself as well as present and future generations to gain access to reliable readings of the ancient scriptures of Buddhism and hence to the insights they contain. Si tu's [\[page 332\]](#) passionate commitment to his high ideals of accuracy and transparency in any form of textual transmission – which Kurtis Schaeffer discusses at some length<sup>77</sup>– be it in his own writings or in his editorial enterprises, also has come to light in this miniature study on Si tu's vicissitudes as a Sanskritist in Nepal.

His eagerness to find access to Sanskrit manuscripts which we have found attested throughout his reports speaks volumes – no pun intended – in this respect. We noticed also his efforts to contact important local experts on technical disciplines such as linguistics, and the sometimes extensive discussions he carried on with them about their areas of expertise. Especially telling is his insistence to avoid – if at all possible – the intervention of interpreters, in particular in these scholarly encounters. It shows his determination to enter into the most direct way of communication, namely conversation person to person without intermediary, eager as he was to absorb as much learning as possible from these pandits who represented keepers of precious knowledge to Si tu. We encountered possibly the most eloquent witness to the rigorous accuracy which Si tu applied in the performance of his philological tasks in his version of the "Eight-Stanza Hymn" to Mahākāla. In the copious annotation appended to his edition, which contains both the Sanskrit original text as well as Si tu's Tibetan rendition, he allows us to look over his shoulder and follow every step in the complex process of establishing the Sanskrit text on the basis of a variety of manuscripts and – of course inextricably bound up with this – the interpretation of the text ultimately leading to his translation.

Si tu's (auto)biography has again proven to be a veritable treasure-trove for information on his life and times. It truly does its title, *Stainless Crystal Mirror*, justice. It is, so to speak, indeed a clear and transparent looking glass that allows us readers to glimpse the world of one of the most versatile geniuses of eighteenth-century Tibet.

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## Glossary

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**Note:** The glossary is organized into sections according to the main language of each entry. The first section contains Tibetan words organized in Tibetan alphabetical order. To jump to the entries that begin with a particular Tibetan root letter, click on that letter below. Columns of information for all entries are listed in this order: THL Extended Wylie transliteration of the term, THL Phonetic rendering of the term, the English translation, the Sanskrit equivalent, other equivalents such as Mongolian or Latin, and the type of term. To view the glossary sorted by any one of these rubrics, click on the corresponding label (such as “Phonetics”) at the top of its column.

[Ka](#) | [Ga](#) | [Cha](#) | [Nya](#) | [Ta](#) | [Da](#) | [Pa](#) | [Pha](#) | [Ba](#) | [Zha](#) | [Ya](#) | [Ra](#) | [La](#) | [Sha](#) | [Sa](#) | [Ha](#) | [Sanskrit](#) | [Nepali](#) | [Hindi](#)

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>kaḥ thog tshe dbang nor bu</i>	Katok Tsewang Norbu				Person
<i>karma pa</i>	Karmapa				Person
<i>karma pa bla ma</i>	Karmapa lama				Person
<i>kyin tol</i>	Kyintöl				Place
<i>klu sgrub phug</i>	Ludrup Puk		<i>nāgārjuna</i>		Person
<i>dkyus</i>	kyü	common [reading]			Term
<i>bka' brgyud pa</i>	Kagyüpa				Organization

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>gā hu</i>	gahu	Gauḍian style?	<i>*gauḍīya</i>		Term
<i>rgyal tshab pa</i>	Gyeltsappa				Person

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>chos kyi dbang phyug</i>	Chökyi Wangchuk				Person

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>nyis bid can</i>	nyibichen	bilingual			Term

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>rtags kyi 'jug pa</i>	Takkyi Jukpa	<i>Occurrence of Markers</i>			Text
<i>bstan 'gyur</i>	Tengyur	Tenjur canon			Title collection

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>dag min</i>	dakmin	corrupt			Term
<i>dam pa'i don</i>	dampé dön		<i>sad-arthaṃ</i>		Term
<i>dri bral shel gyi me long</i>	Dridrel Shelgyi Melong	<i>Stainless Crystal Mirror</i>			Text
<i>rdo rje gro lod</i>	Dorjé Drolö	one of the eight manifestations of Padmasambhava			Buddhist deity

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<i>rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod</i>	Dorjé Nakpo Chenpö				Text
<i>pa brgyad pa</i>	Töpa Gyepa				

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>spyān 'dren</i>	Chendren				Mountain

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>phag mo dur khrod</i>	Pakmo Durtrö	[Vajra-] Vārahī Cemetery			Building

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>ba'i lo tshe dbang kun khyab</i>	Belo Tsewang				Person

	Künkhyap				
<i>bal po'i dpe</i>	Belpö pé	Nepalese manuscript			Term
<i>bal dpe</i>	Belpé	Nepalese manuscript			Term
<i>bod dpe</i>	Bö pé	Tibetan manuscript			Term

#### Zha

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>zha lu lo tsā ba chos skyong</i>	Zhalu Lotsawa				Person
<i>bzang po</i>	Chökyong Zangpo				
<i>zhal bshus</i>	zhelshü	copy			Term

#### Ya

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>yang le shod</i>	Yanglé Shö				Place
<i>yig cha</i>	yikcha	books(?)			Term
<i>yul gangs can pa'i brda yang</i>					Text
<i>dag par sbyor ba'i bstan bcos</i>					
<i>kyi bye brag sum cu pa dang</i>					
<i>rtags kyi 'jug pa'i gzhung gi</i>					
<i>mnam par bshad pa mkhas</i>					
<i>pa'i mgul rgyan mu tig phreng</i>					
<i>mdzes</i>					

#### Ra

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>ras chung phug pa</i>	Rechung Pukpa				Place
<i>ri bo 'bigs byed</i>	Riwo Bikjé	cave of Nāgārjuna			Place

#### La

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyi</i>	Lekpar Jarwé Kekyi				Text
<i>klog thabs nyung ngu mnam</i>	Loktap Nyungngu				
<i>par gsal ba</i>	Nampar Selwa				

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#### Sha

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>gshin rje gshed dmar</i>	Shinjé Shé Marnakjik	Raktayamāri,			Buddhist deity
<i>nag 'jigs gsum</i>	Sum	Kṛṣṇayamāri and Vajrabhairava, three forms of the Tantric deity Yamāntaka			

#### Sa

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>si tu</i>	Situ				Person
<i>si tu paṅ chen chos</i>	Situ Penchen Chökyi				Person
<i>kyi 'byung gnas</i>	Jungné				
<i>sum cu pa</i>	Sumchupa	Thirty			Text
<i>gsung 'bum</i>	Sungbum	Collected works			Title collection

#### Ha

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
<i>ha ku bla ma</i>	Haku Lama				Person

#### Sanskrit

Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
		<i>Treasure of the Immortals</i>	<i>Amara-kośa</i>		Text
			<i>Bhānuji Dīkṣita</i>		Person
			<i>Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita</i>		Person
<i>sangs rgyas</i>	Sanggyé	Awakened one	<i>Buddha</i>		Person
			<i>caitya</i>		Monument
		<i>Origin of Cakrasaṃvara Cakrasaṃvarodya</i>			Text

		<i>Candragomin's grammar</i>	<i>Cāndra</i>	Textual Group
<i>na ga ra</i>	nagara		<i>Deva-nāgarī</i>	Name generic
<i>chos</i>	Chö	Buddhist doctrine	<i>dharma</i>	Term
<i>seng ge gdong ma</i>	Senggé Dongma	the Lion-headed deity's root syllable <i>ham</i>	<i>Ḍākinī Siṃhavaktrā gāhu</i> <i>gauḍīya</i> <i>Gubhā Dharmajaya</i> <i>ham</i>	Buddhist deity Term Term Person Term
			<i>Jaggajjaya Malla</i> <i>Jayaprakāśa Malla</i>	Person Person
		Benares	<i>Kāśī</i> <i>Kātantra</i>	Place Text
<a href="#">[page 336]</a>				
<i>ma lus mdzod cig mdzod</i>	malü dzöchik dzö	do and do [this] completely	<i>Kṛṣṇayamāri</i> <i>kuru-kuru</i>	Buddhist deity Term
		of [the people in] the world(s)	<i>lokānām</i>	Term
<i>nag po chen po</i>	Nakpo Chenpo	<i>Great Commentary</i>	<i>Mahābhāṣya</i> <i>Mahākāla</i> <i>Medinikara</i>	Text Buddhist deity Person
		<i>Polysemic Word-treasure</i> <i>Padacandrikā</i>	<i>Nānārthaśabdakoṣa</i>	Text Text
		of the sins	<i>Padmasambhava</i> <i>Pāṇini</i> <i>pāpānām</i> <i>Patañjali</i> <i>Pradhumna</i> <i>Pradyumna</i>	Buddhist deity Person Term Person Person Person
		ancient lore	<i>purāṇa</i> <i>Raktayamāri</i> <i>Raṇajita Malla</i>	Term Buddhist deity Person
		ruru-ru(ru) [= onomatopoeia]	<i>ruru-ru(ru)</i>	Term
			<i>sad-arthaḥ</i> <i>sad-arthaṃ</i> <i>sadarthānām</i>	Term Term Term
<i>kun bzang</i>	Künzang	<i>Sarasvatī's Grammar</i>	<i>Samantabhadra</i> <i>Sārasvata</i> <i>śatasāhasrikā</i> <i>prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i>	Person Text Text Text
		Śiva's phallus by other streams?	<i>śiva-liṅga</i> <i>śravānyaiḥ</i>	Term Term
		offering of a stream	<i>śravo' rgham</i> <i>Sūrya-vaṃśa</i>	Term Dynasty
		Svayambhūnāth Caitya		Monastery
		<i>Ancient Lore of Svayambhū</i>	<i>Svayambhū-purāṇa</i>	Text
<i>rgyud</i>	Gyü	<i>Tantra</i>	<i>tantra</i>	Text
		ceremonial mark on the forehead	<i>tilaka</i>	Term
		black lips	<i>tuṅḍa</i> <i>Vajrabhairava</i>	Term Buddhist deity

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		Vajra-preceptor	<i>vajrācārya</i>	Term
		<i>Eight-stanza Hymn to Vajra-Mahākāla</i>	<i>Vajra-mahākālāṣṭaka-stotra</i>	Text
<i>bā ma na'i mngon brjod</i>	Bamané Ngönjō	<i>Tale of Vāmana</i>	* <i>Vāmanābhidhāna Viṣṇu</i>	Text Non-buddhist deity
			<i>Viṣṇupati</i>	Person
			<i>Yamāntaka</i>	Buddhist deity

Nepali					
Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
				Bacchur Ojā (nep.)	Person
				Bhaktapur (nep.)	Place
			<i>Dharmajaya</i>		Person
		noble guru		Gubhā (nep.)	Person
		Gurbhal			Place
		Noble guru	<i>Guru-bhaṭṭāraka</i>		Person
		Patan			Place
				Pradhumna (nep.)	Person
				Pradyumna (nep.)	Person
				Śaṅkhu (nep.)	Place
			<i>Svayambhūnāth</i>		Monument
<i>te mal</i>	Temel			Temal (nep.)	Place
				Tirhutīya (nep.)	Ethnicity

Hindi					
Extended Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Other	Type
				Jayamaṅgala (hin.)	Person
		astrologer		jośī (hin.)	Term
<i>ma ru bar</i>	maruwar			Karṇāṭaka (hin.)	Place
		delicacy		Malabār (hin.)	Place
				pān (hin.)	Term

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## Notes

[1] I gratefully acknowledge that this research has in part been made possible by a grant from the “Stichting Jan Gonda Fonds” foundation (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, KNAW), The Netherlands. Cordial thanks also to Jeanet Snijders and Reinier Langelaar for their perceptive observations on draft versions of this article.

[2] For example, Tom Tillemans and Derek Herforth, *Agents and Actions in Classical Tibetan: The Indigenous Grammarians on Bdag and Gzhan and Bya byed las gsum* (Wien: Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 21, 1989), 2.

[3] The commentary on Sum cu pa [Thirty] and Rtags kyi ’jug pa [Occurrence of Markers], entitled *Yul gangs can pa’i brda yang dag par sbyor ba’i bstan bcos kyi bye brag sum cu pa dang rtags kyi ’jug pa’i gzhung gi nam par bshad pa mkhas pa’i mgul rgyan mu tig phreng mdzes*, S.6, p. 447- 618, f. 1-86r6; editio princeps: Sarat Chandra Das, *An Introduction to the Grammar of the Tibetan Language with the texts of Situ Sum-tag, Dag-je Sal-wai Melong and Situi Shal lung*, book 2 (Darjeeling, 1915), 1-88.

[4] Peter Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume 2: Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship* (Leiden - Boston - Köln: E.J. Brill, 2001), 106-136, 161-180.

[5] Cf. infra, note 49.

[6] Entitled Ta’i si tur ’bod pa karma bstan pa’i nyin byed kyi rang tshul drangs por brjod pa dri bral shel gyi me long [Stainless Crystal Mirror], S.14, f. 1-371r5; edition: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diaries of Si Tu Pañ-chen: with a Foreward by E. Gene Smith* (New Delhi: Śata-Piṭaka Series 77, 1968). I use the designation “(auto)biography” because the first part of the text (up to the year 1724) was redacted by Si tu himself as a proper autobiography, whereas the remainder of the text has been edited posthumously by his pupil Ba’i lo tshe dbang kun khyab on the basis of Si tu’s diary notes.

[7] Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 88.

[8] In 1723 he met king Jagajaya Malla—who became a close friend—and in 1748 he met his successor Jayaprakāśa Malla; cf. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 92-3 and Todd Lewis and Lozang Jamspal, “Newars and Tibetans in the Kathmandu Valley: Three New Translations from Tibetan Sources,” *Journal of Asian & African Studies* (ILCAA, Tokyo), 36 (1988): 196, 199, 200, 203, 205, 207, 209.

[9] In the year 1748 he met king Rañajita Malla; cf. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 93 and Lewis & Jamspal, “Newars and Tibetans,” 208.

[10] The passages from Si tu’s (auto)biography reporting on his visits to Nepal are also accessible in a rather tentative translation by Todd Lewis and Lozang Jamspal (published in 1988), which is marred by quite a number of inaccuracies.

[11] S.14: f. 63r4-63r5: *bal yul der ’bu sbrang ma mang po yod pas phor pa’i khar ’bab nas ja dang lo tshod sogs la cher gnod pas de ’geb pa’i phyir/ dngul gyi kha leb zhiq la nyams mtshar gyis na ga ra yi yi ger legs sbyar du/*

*/ lakṣhmī lakṣhmī tsa saṃ ghā nām/*

*praptam praptam tsa dharma tam/*

*dznyā nam dznyā nam sa darthā nam/*

*siddham siddham tsa mā ra dzit/*

*shu bha ma stu //*

Cf. Lewis & Jamspal, “Newars and Tibetans,” 203-204.

[12] Please note that I have emended the Sanskrit text as transmitted in Si tu’s (auto)biography at several points; see also the annotation infra.

[13] Correct classical Sanskrit would be: *prāptā prāptā ca dharmatā*, or alternatively although less probably: *prāptam prāptam ca dharmatvam*; or should we emend to: *prāptam prāptam ca dharmānām*?

[14] Correct classical Sanskrit would be: *siddhaḥ siddhaś ca mārajit*.

[15] This translation is based on the above Sanskrit text with my emendations.

[16] S.14: f. 63r5-63r6: / *de bod skad du bsgyur na/*

*phun tshogs phun tshogs yang dge ’dun/*

*/ thob po thob pa yang chos nyid/*

*/ shes so shes pa dam pa’i don/*

*/ grub po grub pa yang bdud rgyal/*

*/ dge bar shog(/)*

*/ ces pa’i snyan ngag de mthong ba’i mod nas rgya bal gyi paṅḍi ta mams shin tu mgu ste mkhas pa’i mthong chen po byed kyin ’dug go;*  
cf. Lewis & Jamspal, “Newars and Tibetans,” 204.

[17] Si tu’s rendering *dam pa’i don* in line 3 seems to suggest he read the Sanskrit as *sad-arthaṃ* (*dam pa’i don*), or possibly *sad-arthaḥ*, as there is no reflection of the genitive case of *sadārthānām*. Note that the reading *sad-arthaṃ* or *sad-arthaḥ* would make the line one syllable short for the eight-syllable meter.

[18] This translation is based on Si tu’s Tibetan rendering of the verse. It seems that Si tu reads the first words of lines 2, 3, and 4 (if we apply the likely emendations of *thob po* in line 2 to *thob bo*, and of *grub po* in line 4 to *grub bo*) as one-word sentences. In my translation I have maintained this pattern in the first line, although no sentence-final particle occurs there.

[19] Discussed in the next paragraph.

[20] S.14, f. 63r2-63r4: *sku zhabs dpon slob mams gnas gzigs nas tshur phebs bstun yam bu rgyal po’ang byon nas mjal/ ’di skabs rgyal por bal yul gyi lo rgyus bka’ ’dri gnang song bar paṅḍi ta batstshur o jaḥ bos nas ’chad bcug song / khos nang pa’i ’chad tshul yang shes zer mod/ ’chad rgyu rang ni dbang phyug gi lingga rang byung yod tshul nas brtsams te sūrya bam sha’i rgyal rabs dang ’brel ba’i byung ba tsam yin ’dug;* cf. Lewis & Jamspal, “Newars and Tibetans,” 203. Gene Smith already noted Bacchur Ojā as a particularly interesting figure; cf. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 95.

[21] The sites intended here, which were visited by the Black Hat and Red Hat hierarchs, were mentioned in a preceding pericope: the summit of Ri bo ’bigs byed, the “cave of Nāgārjuna” (Klu sgrub phug, etc.); cf. S.14, f. 63r1.

[22] S.14, f. 60v7-61r3: *skabs ’di shed du ti ra hu ti’i bram ze’i paṅḍi ta rgan po ches mkhas par grags pa dngos ming batstshu ra o ja/ rig byed kyi ming biṣṅṅu pa ti zer ba de yang yang kho bo can du byung / ’bel mchid mang du byas/ ’on kyang sngon nas sgra rigs [sic]phyogs mgo dod [dong?]tsam shes khul yin yang dag nas dngos su lab brda sprad par song nas ring thung dang sgra zur sogs dpyis phyin par ma ’khyor bas/ khos kyang ’phral du skyon gdags par byed cing rang yang ngo gnang bar ’dug pas thod le dkor gyis zhal la yi ge ’bri zhing mol mchid bgyid/ phyis ’gris par gyur nas ngag gis mol bde bar byung / klog kyang lces gyur po ’dug ces zer/ sgra tshad kyi skor gleng slong mang du byung bas rgya gar gyi rgyus spyi dang khyad par sgra rig la blo skyed che bar byung.*

[23] *sgra zur?*

[24] Cf. Peter Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet. Volume 1: Transmission of the Canonical Literature* (Leiden - New York - Köln: E.J. Brill., 1994): 199; Verhagen, *History Volume 2*, 121, note 488; 179, note 763.

[25] S.14, f. 61r2-61r3: *’di skor du pā ṇi pa’i ’grel pa klus brtsams pa de dang ’chi med mdzod kyi ’grel pa bram ze’i paṅḍi ta bha ṭo dzī dī kṣhi tas brtsams pa gnyis ka shlo ka stong phrag bcu gnyis pa’i tshad can dang / ’chi med mdzod kyi ’grel pa su bhū tis mdzod pa/ don mang gi mngon brjod me di nī ka ra sogs kyi dpe mthong zhing rtogs dpyod cung zad bgyis;* cf. Lewis & Jamspal, “Newars and Tibetans,” 200.

[26] Cf. Verhagen, *History Volume 1*, 171, 182.

[27] The “Commentary on the Amarakośa by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita” [i.e., Bhānuji Dīkṣita], the “Commentary on the Amarakośa by Subhūti”, and the “*Nānārtha[śabdakośa]* [by] *Medinīkara*”, cf. Verhagen, *History Volume 2*, 175.

[28] Legs par sbyar ba’i skad kyi klog thabs nyung ngu nmam par gsal ba, S.10, p. 130-136, f. 3v7-6v3; cf. Verhagen, *History Volume 2*, 165-169.

[29] Cf. Verhagen, *History Volume 2*, 167.

- [30] S.14, f. 60r4-60r5: *gang ci'i gsung 'phros smra bar byung song yang lo tsā ba mi mkhas pa dag bar du bcug dgos pa'i stabs kyis chos phyogs kyi gsung 'phros 'dra ni cher byung ma song*, cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 199 and Hubert Decler, "Si tu paṇ chen's Translation of the Svayambhū Purāṇa and His Role in the Development of the Kathmandu Valley Pilgrimage Guide (gnas yig) Literature," *Lungta* 13: Situ Paṇ chen – His Contribution and Legacy (2000): 40.
- [31] S.14, f. 61r4-61r5: *'di nyin rgyal pos chos shig gsungs dgos zer bar sku zhabs lhan rgyas nas nged la gyis shes phebs pa Ras chung phug pa'i grwa rigs te mal gyi Ha ku bla ma zer ba de skad bde zhing chos la go ba cung zad chags pa zhid 'dug pas lo tsā byed du bcug nas las rgyu 'bras dang 'brel ba'i chos bshad ci rigs byas*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 200.
- [32] Note that Si tu met (a) pupil(s) (or son(s)?) of this Ha ku bla ma among a group of visitors from Temal during his second stay in Nepal some twenty-five years later: S.14, f. 134v4: *Ha ku bla ma'i bu sogs te mal ba sleb*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 208 and Decler, "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 54 note 9.
- [33] S.14, p. 123, f. 62r6-62r7: *'dir bal po'i gu bhā dharma dza ya zhes pa lo drug cu lhag lon zhing rgyal po'i sryan sngar yang 'grim po yod pa zhid 'dug pa bal yul du nang par gtogs so cog gi nang nas mkhas par grags pa yin skad thos pas rtsad bcad nas kho'i nang du phyin/ chos kyi skad cha 'dra byas kyang legs sbyar mi shes par 'dug pas ji bzhin brda 'phrod pa ma byung*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 202.
- [34] S.14, f. 62r7: *'on kyang bde mchog sdom 'byung gi dpe zhid nged la byin byung bas phar yang dngul gyi ti ka 'ga' zhid byin*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 202.
- [35] S.14, f. 62r7-62v1: *yig cha shin tu mang bar 'dug pas mjal snying 'dod pa byung yang ston du ma btub/ slar kho rang rgyal po'i drung du 'gro dgos par 'dug pas de tshe de'i bu dang 'gris par byas nas dpe 'ga' zhid bltas par gshin rje gshed dmar nag 'jigs gsum gyi rgyud 'grel man ngag gi skor shin tu mang ba zhid 'dug pa mthong / gzhan yang rgyud 'grel man ngag gi dpe du ma zhid yod par rtogs kyang blta ba'i skabs ma myed*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 202.
- [36] yig cha; or, more generally, "books"?
- [37] Gshin rje gshed dmar nag 'jigs gsum, i.e., Raktayamāri, Kṛṣṇayamāri and Vajrabhairava, three forms of the Tantric deity Yamāntaka. The reconstruction "Raktayamarājātantraṭīkā" in Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 202 is erroneous.
- [38] S.14, f. 133v3: *dzos shi dang 'phrad khaṇḍa kha rgya dang sa ro da ya sogs/ rtsis dpe 'ga' yod zer*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 206.
- [39] On this paṇḍit, cf. Verhagen, *History* Volume 2, 121, 179.
- [40] S.14, f. 135r3-135r5: *pra dhu mna dang 'phros byas/ bā ma na'i mngon brjod kyi dpe yod zer ba/ de khyer shog byas pas/ de ni rgya gar gā hu'i yi ge yin/ bdag gis kyang mi shes zer bar/ skyon mi lto khyer shog byas pas khyer byung / dpe bklags te 'di ni 'di'o zhes so sor bshad pas kho rang ngo mtshar bar 'gyur/ physis bal po kun bzang gi ngag las/ de ni dpal khyab 'jug gis byin gyis brlabs par nges so zhes zer kyin 'dug zer/ kho bor yi ge bskur pa mams su spyi bo'i khyab 'jug ham yig zhu ba'i bdud rtsis lto ba yongs su khengs pa zhes pa kho nar 'dug*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 209.
- [41] This script can perhaps be identified as Gauḍīya. A tip of the hat to David Templeman, who kindly suggested this identification in a personal communication, September 2006.
- [42] S.14, f. 133v3: *phyi nyin ti ra hu ti'i paṇḍi ta pra dhumna dang 'phrad sgra tshad kyi 'phros mang po byung sgra tshad la mkhas par 'dug/ rig 'dzin chen por gsol tshigs zhus*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 206.
- [43] Or: "from Gurbhal," or: "thanks to [a person called] Gurbhal"? S.14, f. 133v4: *gur bhal nas/ bde mchog mngon brjod kyi rgyud dang / mi g'yo ba bla med/ u grā tā rā'i gzungs sogs mjal*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 206.
- [44] Cf. Verhagen, *History* Volume 2, 175, note 737.
- [45] S.14, f. 134v5: *kho kham dzu dzus 'chi med mdzod kyi 'grel pa tshig zla'i pusti bskur byung*; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 208.
- [46] Peter Verhagen, "Notes apropos to the Oeuvre of Si tu paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774) (1): Belles-Lettres in his Opera Minora," in: Orna Almogi (ed.). Contributions to Tibetan Buddhist Literature. PIATS 2006: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006 (Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 527-537. Unfortunately, during the writing of "Belles-Lettres" I did not have access to the Summer 2000 issue of *Lungta* devoted to "Situ Paṇchen: His contribution and legacy," which contains inter alia an important article by Hubert Decler on Si tu's translation of *Svayambhū-purāṇa*. For example, the possible connection between this translation and the renovation project of Svayambhū Caitya under the supervision of Kaḥ thog tshe dbang nor bu (1698-1755) (Verhagen, "Belles-Lettres," 534-536) is corroborated there, Decler, "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 39, 43.
- [47] Cf. Verhagen, "Belles-Lettres," 528.
- [48] Cf. Verhagen, "Belles-Lettres," 529-530, Decler "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 33.
- [49] *legs par sbyar ba'i sgra'i bstan bcos tsandra pa'i mam bshad brda sprod gzhung lugs rgya mtshor 'jug cing legs bshad rin chen 'dren pa'i gru rdzings*, S.1 (p. 325-753, f. 1-215), S.2 (p. 2-745, f. 1-373), S.3 (p. 2-681, f. 1-341); cf. Verhagen, *History* Volume 2, 169-180.
- [50] Cf. Verhagen, *History* Volume 2, 174-175.
- [51] Rdo rje nag po chen po'i bstod pa bryad pa, S.7, p. 431-438, f. 1-4v4; cf. Peter Verhagen, "Studies in Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Hermeneutics (1): Issues of Interpretation and Translation in the Minor Works of Si tu paṇ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774)," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 24, no. 1 (2001): 77-82; Ernst Steinkellner, A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future [2003 Gonda Lecture] (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences,

2004), 13-14; Peter Verhagen, "Personificatie van 'het kwaad' in het boeddhisme: vijand of vriend?," in: Rob Wiche (red.), *Des Duivels. Het kwaad in religieuze en spirituele tradities* (Leuven-Voorburg: Acco, 2005), 25-28; Peter Verhagen, "Notes apropos to the Oeuvre of Si tu pañ chen chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774) (3): The 'Editor' Si tu pañ chen," forthcoming in the Proceedings of the Colloque "Édition, Éditions: l'Écrit au Tibet, Évolution et Devenir" (Paris, May 29-31, 2008); and Kurtis Schaeffer in the present volume. I am currently preparing a study of this text as the fifth title in my series "Notes apropos to the Oeuvre of Si tu pañ chen."

[52] For these three passages, cf. also Verhagen, "Editor Si tu."

[53] S.7, p. 433, f. 2r3: *rgya dpe kha cig na shra bā nyaiḥ zhes yod kyang dkyus bzhin don bzang bas bkod.*

[54] Note that in Verhagen, "Editor Si tu," I interpreted dkyus in this and the following quoted passage as "inferior [reading]." I have now opted to translate it as "common [reading]," i.e., the "usual, customary reading."

[55] S.7, p. 433-434, f. 2r6-2v3: *'dir rgya dpe kha cig na lo kā nām zhes snang yang dkyus ltar rgya dpe gzhan mang po mthun zhing 'gyur rnying la yang snang bas 'di ltar bsgyur.*

[56] S.7, p. 434, f. 2v6: *bod dpe 'gar 'dir ku ru ku ru zhes 'dug pas/ ma lus mdzod cig mdzod ces bsgyur 'dug pa yi ge la 'khrul gzhi byung ba yin.*

[57] Cf. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 21, no. 1 (1935): 21-43; Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet [with plates]," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23, no. 1 (1937): 1-57; Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, "Search for Sanskrit Mss. in Tibet," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 24, no. 4 (1938): 137-163.

[58] Cf. e.g., Steinkellner, *Tale of Leaves*.

[59] Cf. Verhagen, "Issues of Interpretation," 78, 82.

[60] S.7, p. 437.3, f. 4r3: *tunḍa nag po'i mchu zhes snang yang bal po'i dpe thams cad la 'di bzhin snang ba legs snyam nas bkod.*

[61] S.14, f. 133v6-133v7: *nged la kho kham rgyal pos bram ze gcig btang ka shi ka'i ras yug ring dang zas sna tshogs sgrol ma'i dngos grub yin zer nas bskur byung bas ltas legs gsungs/ yig lan legs sbyar du bskur slar kho kham rgyal po'i yi ge dang bang mi 'byor pa lan sbrings; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 206.*

[62] S.14, f. 134r4: *'bum dang dī paṃ ka ra spyān 'dren pa mjal grub; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 207.*

[63] S.14, f. 59r6: *spyir 'phags pa shing kun gyi mchod rten chen po 'di ni bod blun po mams kyi ngag sgros sna tshogs la brten nas 'dod tshul mang zhig 'dug; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 197-198, and Decler, "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 33, 36.*

[64] S.14, f. 57v2-57v4; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 195, and Decler, "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 44-45.

[65] S.14, f. 62r2-62r3: *de bzhin du chu dkar nag zer ba de 'ang slob dpon gyi sgrub chu yin shas ni che/ bal po tshor ni de ltar ma grags/ phyi rol pa mams kyis ni khyab 'jug gi gnas su 'dod cing lha khang chung ngu zhig 'dug pa de'ang khyab 'jug gi lha khang yin; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 202.*

[66] S.14, f. 60r5-60v2: *'dī skabs bal yul thams cad du dgun dus mi ldang zhing dbyar ka'i ring nad yams drag po ldang ba/ de'ang nad kyis theb nas phal cher chu tshod sum cu tsam gyi yun las mi 'gor bar 'chi ba/ khyad par char chen 'bab pa'i dus su grong khyer re re nas mtshan mo gcig tu ro brgya re tsam 'don dgos pa de lta bu byung nas lo gsum song zhing bal yul gyi skye bo sum gnyis tsam stongs pa yin zer ba'i skabs su 'dug pas/ de la dgongs nas rgyal pos kyang sngar zhwa dmar pa chos kyi dbang phyug 'dir phebs pa'i tshe 'phags pa shing kun gyi skor lam du brag gong zhig la phyag mdzob kyi rjes bzahg 'dug pas/ da lan yang khyed mams tshos [?]rdo la zhabs rjes 'jog pa sogs rdzu 'phrul mthun snang du grub pa zhig ston dgos shing / yang na bal yul gyi nad yams chen po 'di rgya gar gyi mal 'byor pa 'ga' re dang bod kyi bla ma 'ga' zhig la thabs 'dra zhus kyang phan thogs pa shig ma byung bas 'di nges par chad pa zhig byed dgos zhes gsung gi 'dug par/ sku zhabs rgyal ba'i dbang po nas/ nged mams rdzu 'phrul sogs ston nus pa'i rigs min nad yams gcod pa'i gto thabs sogs kyang mi shes mod/ 'on kyang nad la gang phan gyi 'dun pa byed ces bka' gñang song; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 199, and Decler, "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 40, 42.*

[67] S.14, f. 60r2-60r4: *slar tshes pa gnyis kyi nyin kyin tol dang yam bu'i bar du phag mo dur khrod ces bod pa mams zer zhing bal po mams badzra yo gi nī zhes zer ba'i lha khang du mal 'byor ma'i sku gser zangs las grub pa zhig bzhugs 'dug pa mjal bar phebs/ rang nyid chos [=tshes?]kyis rgyud dred par gyur pas yul khyad par can la'ang mos gus skye dka' ba zhig yin na'ang byin rlabs kyi mos gus tshad med skyes pas gsol ba phur tshugs su btab; cf. Lewis & Jampal, "Newars and Tibetans," 199.*

[68] S.14, f. 58v1-59r1: *de mtshams rgyal po dza gadzda ya malpa[=malla?]'nyid glang po che'i steng du gser khri la gnas shing 'khor mang po bskor ba dang ru dar dang dbyig pa 'dzin pa'i tshogs dang rol mo mkhan mang po bcas phebs nas bsu ba'i tshul gyis slar mchod yon lhan cig par grong khyer du bzhugs nas/ rgyal po'i pho brang nā sa ra tsug tu grags pa'i phrin las kyi gar stegs chen po der phyogs bzhir mar me chen po bzhi bus shing / yol ba dang bla re dang sa gdan sogs bkod pa'i khyad par ches phul du byung ba bstar/ sbug tu rgyal po pra tā pa malla dang rgyal po gzhan zhig bcas kyi thang ka gnyis bsham 'dug pa der mchod yon lhan du rgyang tsam bzhugs/ 'di skabs bal po dang mang gar sogs ltad mo pa kho na'ang ches mang zhing de thams cad ras gos dkar po dri ma med pa 'ba' zhig gyon pas grong khyer gyi srang thams cad dkar khrig khrig bye dpar[=byed par?] 'dug/ rgyal pos shang len gyi tshul du/ 'bras dang gro dang sha khar sogs kyis bcas pa'i bzhes spro'i tshogs du ma rdza gsar pa'i snod du blugs shing shog bus bkab rtags kyis rgyas btab pa de 'dra lṅga brgya tsam dang / 'bru rigs sna tshogs dang / 'bras grus ma phon che ba dang / rtsa ba dang 'bras bu'i tshogs mang po dang / zho dang 'o mas gang ba'i snod mang po sogs kyis bkod pa de yongs su bltams par byas shing mthar rgyal po nyid bzhangs nas pā na zhes grags pa'i rgya gar gyi shing lo 'ga' zhig gi nang du go yu'i dum bu dang bu tsūṇa ste rdo thal dang shel ka ra dang pi pi ling bcas bstus nas li shi'i gzer gyis bsdams[=bsngams?] pa'i so rtsi de 'dra re re sku zhabs gnyis dang rgyal tshab pa nged gnyis bcas la ster bar snang zhing / sku zhabs nas mchod song bas nged kyis kyang zos/ de mtshams rgyal po nyid kyi sgser las grub pa re zung dang phal cher dngul las grub pa'i me tog sbrang bu'i gshog pa 'dra ba kho nas gtor chen po zhig bkang ba nas snyim pas bcus te nged*

*dpon slob bzhi'i steng du lan du mang gtor zhing me tog sar pa'i rna rgyan dang mgul rgyan sogs bkon pa dang dri bzang gi lde gus dpral bar thig le byed pa dang / mthar ras 'ga' zhiḡ dang dngul bcas phyag nas 'bul zhing sku zhabs nas kyang phyag gis bzhas dgos par 'dug; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 196-197.*

[69] S.14, f. 58v6: *sku zhabs gnyis dang rgyal tshab pa nged gnyis bcas la ster bar snang zhing / sku zhabs nas mchod song bas nged kyis kyang zos.*

[70] S.14, f. 62r1: *'di'i mtshan mo me ho ma gnang skabs rol mo spir ba dang lhan cig ljon shing mams kyī rtse mo la spra'i tshogs kyis gar byed cing gzhan du pag [= bag?]pheb par sdod pa sogs ngo mtshar ba byung; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 202), and Decler, "Svayambhū Purāṇa," 55 note 13.*

[71] S.14, f. 57r6-57r7: *de nas spyān 'dren du grags pa'i ri shin tu mtho bar 'dzegs ri rtse nas bal yul thams cad maṇḡala bkod pa bzhin du mthong nas ches ngo mtshar ba 'dug; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 195.*

[72] Smith introd. Chandra (1968: 13) = Smith (2001: 93-94).

[73] S.14, f. 135v2-135v3: *kā shi'i paṇḡi ta dza ya mangga la sogs paṇḡi ta gnyis dang 'phrad/ 'grel pa dur seng dang / sgra'i rgya mtsho zer ba'i su p- mtha' rgyas pa de blo nas thon 'dug/ khyod bod la dbang che chung dang rgyu phyug dbul las mkhas rmong gi dbye ba med skad tshor/ 'phags yul du yin na khyod la gdugs dkar bdun phub dgos par 'dug/ zhes sogs/ nga la bstod pa du ma byed kyī 'dug; cf. Lewis & Jamspal, "Newars and Tibetans," 210.*

[74] Cf. Verhagen, Volume 1, 66-67 (CG 11), 69 (CG 13).

[75] Si tu mentions this text in the colophon to his translation of Subanta-ratnākara, cf. Verhagen, *History* Volume 2, 135, note 543.

[76] Cf. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 94: "After quoting the compliments (...), he wryly adds that he shouldn't be singing his own praises so much."

[77] In the present volume and in Kurtis Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 91-96, 101-103.

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