

The Role of "Treasure Discoverers" and Their Writings in the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands

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... Et il revient

Mystérieux, traçant comme en des livres ses caractères d'or
Prendre possession et pouvoir sur son véritable domaine...

Victor Segalen, *Thibet*

The second expedition undertaken by Jacques Bacot (1877-1965) through large tracts of the southern part of the province of Khams from May 1909 to March 1910 has without question had an influence on our notion of "hidden valleys" or "paradisiacal sites" in Tibet. As we learn in the foreword to Bacot's travel report, the actual destination of this expedition was the old kingdom of Poyul (sPo-yul) or Pomi (sPo-smad), whose territory Bacot approached during his first trip to East Tibet in 1907. The second trip may not have led him to the desired region either, but during the long months in the company of Tibetan nomads he was seized by the yearning for a new destination: Népémakö (gNas Padma-bkod) (plate 1), the place of refuge and hope for thousands of Tibetan families that wanted to ensure their own safety at the time, in the face of armed attacks by the Chinese.

It is, above all, the sense of unattainability that lends the territories of sPo-yul and gNas Padma-bkod their particular status in Bacot's travel report. A literary reworking and expansion of Bacot's approach to the white areas on the map—to the border of the promised paradise—are found in the output of the poet and ethnographer Victor Segalen (1878-1919). The whole of Tibet, in its unattainability, acquired for the latter a heightened inner reality, something on the order of a spiritual promise.¹

To judge by the official pronouncements of the Tibetan Government-in-exile and the Western press, it is nowadays no longer possible to speak of a completely sealed-off geographical space where the huge volumes of the Brahmaputra's waters squeeze their way through narrow gorges and finally issue out into the



Plate 1: View down gTsang-po river (Brahmaputra) into gNas Padma-bkod from above mGon-po gnas. May 1993 (photo: Ian Baker).

tropical forests of India. Indeed, territories like Kong-po, situated south-west of sPo-yul and north-west of gNas Padma-bkod, have already attracted the interest of modern-day researchers, and maps and photos are available to the interested tourist.² Nevertheless, the sacred site called Lotus Splendour continues to harbour its secrets.

I am not interested in removing the veil from this secret. In the following I should merely like to bring together some information that may shed light on the importance that gNas Padma-bkod had for the adherents of the rNying-ma-pa school from the 17th to the 20th centuries. These investigations allow one to characterize in more concrete terms and thereby to understand better important aspects of Tibetan religion and local politics. This preliminary collection of material is also intended to provide an impression of the attitude taken by the "treasure discoverers" (*gter-ston*) and their disciples towards an untamed wilderness, one which awoke anxieties and terrors but also held out the prospect of spiritual satisfaction. Could the Tibetans' fantasies about the paradisiacal sites to their south have been a sort of reverse mirror image of the yearnings certain Europeans had for the mystical north?

The Three Awareness - holders of the Hidden Land

In his history of the rNying-ma-pa school, bDud-'joms Rin-po-che (1904-1987) cites for the 14th 60-year cycle (1807-1867) the names of three persons whom he treats as contemporaries, terming them "three emanational awareness-holders, who opened the secret land of Pemakö as a place of pilgrimage." The three masters in question are Chos-gling Gar-dbang 'Chi-med rdo-rje (born 1763), sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa (born 1757) and Rig-'dzin rDo-rje thogs-med (1746-1797).³

Let me briefly describe here these three persons in reverse order. Rig-'dzin rDo-rje thogs-med is also called Brag-gsum gter-ston rDo-rje thogs-med after the site Brag-gsum mtsho in Kong-po; it was there that he found his first treasure works and opened a "hidden valley". Only after he met up with sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa, however, did he bring to light any further treasure works; particular stress is laid on the discovery of an "introduction list" (*kha-byang*) in the sPo-bo mDung-chu'i lha-khang. He founded a hermitage called Byang-gling btsan-phyug in gNas Padma-bkod, where he died at the age of 51. The most important "masters of his teaching" (*chos-bdag*) were sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa and Chos-gling Gar-dbang 'Chi-med rdo-rje. Both Brag-gsum gter-ston and sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa received support, during their activities in sPo-bo and gNas Padma-bkod, from Nyi-ma rgyal-po, the then "ruler" (*sde-pa*) of the line of kings of sPo-smad.⁴ Concerning sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa, we know, furthermore, that he met another treasure discoverer in his younger years, namely rKong-po brug-thang gter-chen, also known as Kun-bzang Bde-chen rgyal-po (born 1736). In addition to opening the site gNas Padma-bkod—in the centre of which he had a new temple and new statues erected and discovered treasure works—sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa is mentioned in the written sources above all in connection with the renovation of the sPo-bo mDung-chu'i lha-khang. His son, rGyal-sras bDe-chen gling-pa, was the incarnation of the just mentioned Kun-bzang bDe-chen rgyal-po.⁵

Chos-gling Gar-dbang 'Chi-med rdo-rje likewise met Kun-bzang bDe-chen rgyal-po during his younger years, and when he was no more than 23 years old he raised treasure works in gNas Padma-bkod. Only after 12 years had elapsed—that is, in 1798—did he pass these cycles on to a "master of his teachings", namely sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro-'dul gling-pa. In 1806, together with the latter, he opened the centre of gNas Padma-bkod as well as other sites, raising further treasure works there, erected *stūpa*-s etc.; it is said of him: "he took under his wing, through the four types of activities [of the tantric master], [a whole] assemblage of inhabitants of Klo and Mon (*klo mon gyi 'gro pa rnam bsdu ba rnam pa bzhi'i 'phrin las kyis rjes su 'dzin par mdzad...*)."⁶

These few observations show that at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century the paradisiacal site gNas Padma-bkod was already exerting a strong attraction upon adherents of the rNying-ma-pa school, though it was obviously not large groups of liberation-seekers that approached the "hidden valley" but rather "treasure discoverers" (*gter-ston*) and their disciples. Some of the masters belonged to the bKa'-brgyud-pa school and enjoyed the support of the local rulers of sPo-smad.

Treasure Discoverers Active in the 17th to 18th Centuries

In order to gain a more complete picture of the treasure discoverers active at gNas Padma-bkod, we need to shift our attention now to a different and somewhat earlier group of masters linked to the site, beginning with Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (born 1682).

Like sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'gro-'dul gling-pa, Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa also received his education as an incarnation of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school: he was the reincarnation of one Zhabs-drung 'Chi-med dbang-po, the representative of Ras-chung-phug in the valley of Yar-klungs. The years in which he fulfilled these duties were from 1687 to 1706.⁷ Subsequently he moved to Tsa-ri, one of Tibet's oldest sacred sites, likewise located in the south-east, on the border with India. From there he went to Kong-po and sPo-bo, where he discovered numerous treasure works. A fact worth noting is that these finds occurred both in the Bo-chu gser-gyi lha-khang, the *mtha'-'dul* temple located in Kong-po, and in the previously mentioned sPo-bo mDung-chu'i lha-khang. According to the tradition of the rNying-ma-pa school, the latter was the *yang-'dul* temple called Tshang-pa rlung-gnon. The exact identification of this temple and the determination of its geographical location have continued to present a problem for scholars.⁸

In sPo-bo, he further met up with the treasure discoverer sTag-sham Nusldan rdo-rje (born 1655) and was recognized by the latter as the "master of his teaching" (*chos-bdag*). Following further trips to Central Tibet where, among others, he met Lha-bzang Khan (regnal period 1705-1717), he was drawn back a second time to Kong-po. Apparently under the impression that the rNying-ma-pa school was being persecuted by the Dzungars, he decided at this point to visit the site of gNas Padma-bkod; he reached the "hidden valley" by way of sPo-bo without any problem and was welcomed by the "protector of the territory" (*zhing-skyong*). On the way back, though, he suffered a serious rheumatic complaint and died shortly thereafter on the "border between Glo and sPo-bo (*glo dang spo bo'i sa mtshams*)." The following citation provides an impression of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa's trip through gNas Padma-bkod:

Having prepared clarifications of the sacred site and route descriptions etc., he put down [in writing] all of his visions. He also preached the teaching to the people of Glo, who were like animals, and thus laid the foundations for their predisposition towards it. The inhabitants of Glo themselves offered him their trust and services, according to the customs of their country.⁹

None of the route descriptions (*lam-yig*) by Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa of gNas Padma-bkod has, as far as I know, come to light. By way of compensation, though, an extensive text of a contemporary of his who likewise undertook a trip to gNas Padma-bkod has been preserved, that person being Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje (born 1697). I shall deal with this work only to the extent that it provides further insight into the treasure discoverers who were associated with the sacred site. It may first be noted, however, that there is a direct connection between Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, his junior by 15 years: from Kong-po the former had a prophecy delivered to the latter which identified him as the reincarnation of 'Ol-kha rje-drung-pa.¹⁰ The text of *gNas mchog padmo bkod du bgrod pa'i lam yig dga' byed bden gtam* comprises 53 folios and describes the adventures of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in gNas Padma-bkod in 1729; it offers a good starting point for future studies on the sacred site.

particularly by virtue of the fact that a total of two volumes of the 13-volume collection of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's works are filled with texts belonging to the genres *lam-yig* and *gnas-yig*.¹¹

The following passage may provide us with an idea of how the identification of particular spiritual qualities of the landscape came about:

Not only are the footpaths in the gorges difficult to traverse, precisely such [sites] as De'u Rin-chen spungs-pa, the centre of the Dharmacakra in the heart [of the deity], and Brag-dkar bKra-shis rdzong, the centre of the Nirmāṇacakra in the navel, cannot be reached from this point; one would even emerge from a crevice in the mountain. [For] the mountain gNam-lcags 'bar-ba exists as a principal place of its own to the west of these sites. That this [i.e. the present location] is the border between the Dharmacakra in the heart [of the deity] and the Saṃbhogacakra in his throat, did not [formerly] exist as a widespread [notion], but since it has become fully clear at this point in time, now that I have brought into mutual agreement the [pertinent] sections from [the cycle] *rTa mgrin dgongs 'dus*, which has appeared as a treasure work of Rig-'dzin Nus-ldan rdo-rje—that is, the compiled fragments containing place and route descriptions for Padma-bkod—I made this known to my travelling companion [with the words] "[It is] such and such."¹²

As the expressions *snying-ga chos-'khor*, *lte-ba sprul-'khor* and *mgrin-pa long-spyod* ('*khor*) testify, Sle-slung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in describing the landscape based himself on a system of various *cakras* that are lined up vertically along the main artery: in the throat, in the heart and in the navel. R. A. Stein has already referred to the process by which a sacred site is realized both in the body of the yogin and in that of the deity, the individual parts of which correspond to various topographical features. He has further provided an analysis of gNas Padma-bkod as a site that was consecrated above all to a particular form of the deity *Vajravārāhī*: this site bears the name *Vajravārāhī* Tamer of the Nāgas (*rdo rje 'phag mo klu 'dul ma*).¹³

What fails to come out clearly from Stein's analysis is the fact that there are a number of parallel schemata that have been used for representing the territory around the two main mountains of Kong-po and sPo-bo, and also the impassable wilderness of gNas Padma-bkod, as a spiritual reality. Two of the schemata are called "Large Hidden Site Lotus Splendour" (*sbas gnas chen po padma bkod*) and "Hidden Site with the Five Cakras" (*sbas gnas 'khor lo lnga ldan*). I present these schemata, as found in one particular text, in appendix A; perhaps they will serve as a stimulus for further study.

Two Still Earlier Forerunners

An interesting feature of the quote from Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje is that certain sacred places lay in the centre of the various *cakras* of the deity, and that the

identification of these places—that is, their exact topographical location—was not always unequivocal. Evidently this identification was made by the leaders of the groups that penetrated into the extolled territory by consulting already existing writings and text collections. In the case of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, these are the works of sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje. We have already seen that Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa met this treasure discoverer, and that it was principally in the territory of sPo-bo that his teachings are said to have spread. He is also known as dGa'-ba-lung gTer-ston, since he was the one who opened the site of sPo-bo dGa'-ba-lung and brought to light there the cycle *Yi dam dgongs 'dus rta mchog rol pa*. This cycle contains detailed information about the sacred site of gNas Padma-bkod, including the distinction between the outer 12 territories (*phyi-gling bcu-gnyis*), the inner 40 ravines (*nang-sul bzhi-bcu*) and the 16 secret territories (*gsang-gling bcu-drug*).¹⁴

There is still another pair of treasure discoverers—and their connection with the “hidden land” must now be profiled in order to have a fuller understanding of the activities of the representatives of the rNying-ma-pa in the 17th century in south-eastern Tibet, namely bDud-'dul rdo-rje and 'Ja'-tshon snying-po. sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje was a “disciple of the treasure teachings” (*gter-slob*) of the first master, Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1615-1672). Even though born in the vicinity of the royal court of sDe-dge, Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul rdo-rje felt drawn to the provinces of Central Tibet and to Kong-po. His first treasure discovery, however, was made only after he met another such discoverer, namely Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon snying-po (1585-1656); the latter gave him the following instructions: “You should go to sPo-bo and devote yourself to the previously established practice; and at that point a prophecy will come to you, and you will have the opportune fortune [to find] a profound treasure work.” And Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul rdo-rje did indeed, from that time on, uncover numerous treasure works and opened hidden lands. The following quotation provides one such example:

Right after that, when a route description for the sacred site Padma-bkod from the sPo-bo mDung-chu'i lha-khang came to life in his hands, he took Rigs-ldan gNas-mtsho as his companion and proceeded with a large retinue of disciples to Padma-bkod. [There] he prepared a clarification of a temporary gate to the sacred site.¹⁵

But also Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon snying-po, who was born in Kong-po and uncovered treasure works in, among other places, the *mtha'-'dul* temple Bu-chu gser-gyi lha-khang, brought to light texts associated with the “hidden land” gNas Padma-bkod. In the “realization cave” (*sgrub-phug*) in Kong-'phrang, 'Ja'-tshon snying-po uncovered the cycle *rDo rje khro lod rtsal gyi sgrub skor*, together with a route description and prophecies for gNas Padma-bkod. We can judge the later spread of the cycle from the fact that a commentary of it by rTse-le sNa-tshogs rang-grol (born 1608), another disciple of Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon snying-po, has been preserved.¹⁶

Concluding Remarks

The 17th century was thus the particular period in which the sacred site of gNas Padma-bkod was systematically visited by treasure discoverers of the rNying-ma-pa school. It was during this same period that those writings which served as aids for later liberation-seekers in identifying the places visited by Padmasambhava were produced. As for the representation of gNas Padma-bkod as the body of *Vajravārāhī Klu-'dul-ma*, other traditions may also have exercised their influence. One need only consider, for example, the presence of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school in Tsa-ri from the 12th century on and the realization of the divine state by yogins there. A broad field lies open here for future studies.

One additional thing I should like to point out here is the significance that the temples dating to the early royal period had for the treasure discoverers in the extreme south of Tibet, and for their search for the hidden paradises. As we have seen in the case of mDung-chu'i lha-khang in sPo-bo, both Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul rdo-rje and Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa, as well as Rig-'dzin rDo-rje thogs-med, uncovered treasure works in the *yang-'dul* temple in south-eastern Tibet before they set off for gNas Padma-bkod. I would see this circumstance as implying that contact with the site that was erected by Srong-btsan sGam-po and consecrated by Padmasambhava endowed the treasure discoverers with a power that enabled them to tame the wilderness lying beyond the border and to find the symbols of the Buddhist teaching in these inaccessible regions. We can observe this process in the 17th century not only in sPo-bo but also in south-western Tibet, in Mang-yul; here there existed another *yang-'dul* temple, Byams-sprin lha-khang, which contained a hoard of old treasure teachings and was the starting point for trips to the "hidden valleys" in the south.¹⁷ The status of the treasure discoverers, legitimized by their contact with the old temples and relics, confirmed their role as "rulers" over the newly opened territories.

In order to round out, finally, the picture of the treasure discoverers associated with sPo-bo and gNas Padma-bkod, here is a summary list transmitted by the tradition:

In Padma-bkod: gTer-ston Chos-rje gling-pa, rDo-rje thogs-med, rGyal-sras bde-chen gling-pa; these three are known as the three awareness holders of the "hidden land". In the upper [part of] sPo-bo, bDud-'dul rdo-rje; below, gNam-lcags rdo-rje; in the middle, sTag-sham rdo-rje—the three who have attained [the state] of the vajra. So they are called.¹⁸

Appendix A: Two Representations of the 'Hidden Site'

(Source: *Spo bo chos 'byung in Lo-rgyus*, pp. 200-201)

<p>sBas gnas chen po Padma bkod dbu rGya-la dpal-ri</p>	
<p>phyag g.yas (rdo-rje 'dzin-pa) Kong-po yul</p>	<p>phyag g.yon (sbal-pa 'dzin-pa) sPo-bo yul</p>
<p>nu-ma g.yas Ri-bo gNam-lcags 'bar-ba</p>	<p>nu-ma g.yon 'Dzum-chen Gangs-ri gnas</p>
<p>zhabs g.yas Ho-ga rta-ngam ma-nu'i gnas</p>	<p>zhabs g.yon gTum-skul shel dang 'ba'-ro gnas</p>

Figure 1: Representation of the 'hidden site' sBas-gnas Chen-po Padma-bkod.

<p>sBas gnas 'khor lo lnga ldan</p>	
<p>spyi-bo</p>	<p>bde-chen 'khor-lo rGya-la dpal-ri</p>
<p>mgrin-pa</p>	<p>long-spyod kyi 'khor-lo mGon-po gnas Drag-po sgrub-phug</p>
<p>snying-ga</p>	<p>chos kyi 'khor-lo Bod lung-pa</p>
<p>lte-ba</p>	<p>sprul-pa'i 'khor-lo Rin-spungs</p>
<p>gsangs-gnas</p>	<p>bde-skyong 'khor-lo Kṣīpa g.yu-rdzong</p>

Figure 2: Representation of the 'hidden site' sBas-gnas 'khor-lo lnga-ldan.

Notes

1. See J. Bacot (1912) pp. 1-12 for a summary of the second expedition, as well as the new foreword by A. M. Blondeau (1988) p. vi (A description of Népémakö in exemplification of Tibetan beliefs related to *sbas-yul* has been provided also by A. M. Large-Blondeau 1960: 238-239). Concerning Segalen and his last major poem "Thibet," see, among others, D. G. Bevan (1987) pp. 123-124 and K. White (1987:208-221). A first involvement with the discourse that the West European engaged in on the "sacred landscape" and religion of Tibet may be found in P. Bishop (1987) and (1993).
2. Concerning the massive deforestation in south-eastern Tibet, see Department of Information and International Relations, Central Tibetan Administration (1992:49): "In the Kongpo and Rawo Tamo areas of U-Tsang neighbouring the great bend in the Tsangpo as it turns into India, a concentration of over 20,000 Chinese army personnel and Tibetan prisoners are reported to be involved in felling dense old-growth forests of spruce, fir, cedar and broad-leaved species." Referring to this source of information, *Der Spiegel*, "Das geschundene Dach der Welt", no. 21 (1993:126), speaks of a regional ecological drama. For a research trip to Kong-po, see the publication by S. G. Karmay (1992), which contains references to the trips made by M. Brauen and C. Ramble. On the geographical location of gNas Padma-bkod, see Dudjom Rinpoche (1991) vol. II, map 8; for photos of the mountains rGya-la dPal-ri (7,151 m) and gNam-lcags 'bar-ba (7,651 m), *ibid.*, vol. I, nos. 83 and 84. See also the notice in the Kathmandu weekly *The Independent*, no. 36 (1993:4): "A team of Americans, apparently the first Westerners to explore and document Tibet's Namche Barwa canyon, proclaim the canyon the world's largest and deepest."
3. Dudjom Rinpoche (1991, vol. I, p. 957; vol. II, p. 97: "Rik-dzin Dorje Thome is probably to be identified with Bacot's 'grand lama nommé Song-gye Tho-me'." A possible source of this identification is *rNam-thar i*, p.348.5-6: "these three arrived at the same time [in gNas Padma-bkod]. As their aim was pure, they are known as the three awareness-holders who had power over the 'hidden land' (... 'di gsum dus nnyam byon zhing / thugs nang (= snang) gtsang bas sbas yul dbang ba'i rig 'dzin rnam (= rnam) gsum zhes su grags so)." bDud-'joms Rin-po-che was born in gNas Padma-bkod and descended from the family line of the ruler Kaḥ-gnam sde-pa from sPo-smad; *ibid.* vol. I, p.972. His predecessor, bDud-'joms gling-pa (1835-1903) was in the process of opening the gate of the site of gNas Padma-bkod, in the company of numerous disciples and donors, when death overtook him; see *rNam-thar ii*, pp.13.5-14.2.
4. For the history of the Kaḥ-gnam sde-pa, see *Lo-rgyus*, pp. 9-27 and *passim*. The person of Nyi-ma rgyal-po is dealt with on pp. 19-21, where it is said that the strength and power of the line increased during this period ('di'i dus su stobs dang mnga' thang ches cher 'phel). Further, it is noted that the connection of priest and donor with Chos-rje sGam-po arose under his reign (*chos rje sgam po dang mchod yon sbyin bdag gi 'brel ba chags pa*). The person in question is sGam-po-pa O-rgyan 'Gro'dul gling-pa, who was raised as the incarnation of sGam-po-pa (1079-1153) and who fulfilled the duties incumbent upon the representative of Dwags-la sgam-po. For a rather superficial assemblage of information on the history of the Kaḥ-gnam sde-pa cf. Rgya-mtsho Don-grub (1989).
5. For brief biographies of Brag-gsum gter-ston and O-rgyan 'Gro'dul gling-pa, see *rNam-thar i*, pp.339.5-349.1 and *Chos-'byung*, pp.589-590 and 738-742. It should be stressed that in the latter work sPo-bo mDung-chu'i lha-khang is characterized as

- [one] of the temples erected by Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sGam-po that tame the borders (*chos kyi rgyal po srong btsan sgam pos bzens pa'i mtha' 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang spo bo mdung chu'i lha khang*).” It is, however, not a *mtha'-'dul* but a *yang-'dul* temple; see n. 8. For a list of the monasteries founded by the two above-mentioned persons, see Waddell (1991[1899]:278).
6. For a short biography of Chos-gling Gar-dbang 'chi-med rdo-rje, see *Chos-'byung*, pp.590-592; his name derives, in my opinion, from his treasure work *Zab chos 'chi med thugs thig*. An additional name is Kun-bzang 'od-zer O-rgyan Gar-dbang bstan-pa'i nyi-ma. He is the one, from among the various incarnations of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (born 1682), to have been born in gNas Padma-bkod; see *rNam-thar i*, p.326.5-6. Rig-'dzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1729-1798) is likewise regarded as an incarnation of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (on the links of 'Jigs-med gling-pa with the students of Chos-rje gling-pa see the chart in Goodman (1993:137).
 7. A short biography of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa is found in *rNam-thar i*, pp.321.3-327.6 and in *Chos-'byung*, pp.412-415. The incarnation lineage of the representative of Ras-chung-phug begins with rGod-tshang ras-pa, a disciple of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507). Following him came Zhabs-drung Grub-mchog dbang-po (1563-1618), and following the latter, Zhabs-drung 'Chi-med dbang-po. For further biographical data on Chos-rje gling-pa see also Goodman (1993:198-199).
 8. See M. Aris (1979:23-24): “Unfortunately the temple of Rlung-gnon is too near the centre to fit convincingly into this group... Until further evidence comes to light we shall have to accept Klong-rdol's location, the only one which seriously upsets the symmetry and logic of the scheme as a whole.” See also the map, *ibid.* p.16. In the summer of 1993 a manuscript of a *gter-ma* cycle of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa came into my hands; it bears the title *sPu (= sPo) bo 'dung (= mdung) chu tshangs pa rlung gnon mi tra'i (= maitri'i) lha khang nas spyan drangs pa'i gnod sbyin dzam bha la dmar po'i chos skor* and comprises 100 folios. One of the texts, titled *Kha byang lo rgyus*, provides a further name of the temple: *kham gyi spo bo gdung (= mdung) chu yis (= yi) / rnam snang byams pa'i lha khang*. See also n. 15.
 9. *Chos-'byung*, p.415: *gnas kyi gsal cha dang lam yig sogs mdzad nas gzigs snang thams cañ gtan la phab / glo mi dud 'gro 'gra ba de rnams la'ang bka' chos bstsal nas chos kyi bag chags 'jog par mdzad / glo rnams kyis kyang dad gus dang zhabs tog yul lugs dang bstun pa'i bsnyen bkur btabs*. The spelling *Glo* is unusual; normally the border regions in south-eastern Tibet are called *Klo-yul*, and the inhabitants *Klo-pa*. Concerning the subdivision of the tribes of the Abor Mountains into *Klo-dkar-po*, *Klo-nag-po* and *Klo-bkra-pa*, see Wylie (1962:178).
 10. Biographical data on Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje are also contained in *rNam-thar i*, pp.314.1-319.1 and *Chos-'byung*, pp.632-635. The source for the prophecy is *rTogs-brjod i*, p.12.1-4. Further, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje was a “master of the teaching” of the treasure teachings *gSang ba ye shes chos skor* of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa; a similar relationship associates him with the teachings of the cycle *mKha' 'gro na gsang ba ye shes*, which derive from gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714). The names of the two incarnations preceding Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje are rJe-drung Rin-po-che bsTan-pa rgya-mtsho and dGe-'dun Chos-rgyal dbang-phyug; Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje is also considered to be the rebirth of lHo-brag grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326-1401).
 11. Along with “route descriptions” and “place descriptions”, there are also various “histories” (*lo-rgyus*), which deal with such things as an encounter with Pho-lhanas bSod-nams stobs-rgyas in 1730 (*Mi dbang bsod namis stobs rgyas rnam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus*, 41 fols.) or a visit to the reconstructed monastery complex of sMin-grol-gling in 1732 (*sMin grol gling du bskyod pa'i lo rgyus*, 15 fols.). Jackson (1989:78).

- mentions a separate catalogue of the total of 35 texts; up to now this has not become available to me.
12. *Lam-yig i*, pp.467.6-468.3: *rong gi lam 'phrang bgrod dka' bas ma gtogs / snying kha (= ga) chos 'khor gyi lte ba de'u rin chen spungs pa dang lte ba sprul 'khor gyi lte ba brag dkar bkra shis rdzong sogs kyang 'di nas ri sgo tsam las yong thebs ni 'dug / ri bo gnam lcags 'bar ba gnas de dag gi nub mthil po rang du 'dug / sngar yongs su grags par snying ga chos 'khor dang mgrin pa longs spyod kyi sa mtshams 'di yin mi 'dug kyang rig 'dzin nus ldan rdo rje' i gter byon rta mgrin dgongs 'dus kyi nang tshan padmo bkod kyi gnas yig dang lam yig dum bu khrigs bsdebs gung bsgrigs dus shin tu gsal bar snang bas zla grogs rnamis la 'di dang 'di'o zhes ngo sprad. As is apparent from the context of the cited passage, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje entered the inner part of the "hidden valley" by way of gNam-lcags 'bar-ba and Padma shel-ri. Before he did so, he received a written message from the court of the Kaḥ-gnam sde-pa, in which it was stated: "This Padmo-bkod belongs solely to the people of Kaḥ-gnam; it is not a place that the inhabitants of dBus and gTsang may enter (*padmo bkod 'di Kaḥ gnam pa kho na dbang pa las dbus gtsang gi mi yong sa min...*)"; *ibid.*, p.467.1.*
 13. See Stein (1988:40-41), for a sequential review of the parts of the deity's body, from one *cakra* to the next along the main artery (this review is carried out in the context of a description of Tsa-ri). For an analysis of gNas Padma-bkod and the projection of the body of the deity *Vajravārāhi* onto this geographical reality, see *ibid.*:43-48. Stein chiefly drew on the text *O rgyan chen po padma 'byung gnas kyi ma 'ong lung bstan snyig ma' i sems can la sbas yul padma bkod kyi gnas yig*, 36 folios (*texte mal établi*). This is the same manuscript that found its way to France in the hands of J. Bacot, and the one used by A. M. Large-Blondeau for her description of the pilgrimage route to gNas Padma-bkod; see *ibid.* (1960:238-240) (plus accompanying map). Stein supplemented this source with data from the cycle *rTsa gsum yi dam dgongs 'dus of sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje* (19 vols., Dehradun 1970-1972).
 14. See *Lo-rgyus*, p.144; this information is taken from the text *gNas mchog dga' ba tshal gyi lo rgyus snying po mdor bsdus* (dGa'-ba-tshal is another name for dGa'-ba-lung). For a brief description of the monastery founded by sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje in dGa'-ba-lung and an account of the incarnations that succeeded him, see the text *rDo dung dgon pa'am dga' ba lung dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*; *ibid.*, pp.110-114. An unusual feature of the history of this incarnation lineage, which was supported by the rulers of Kaḥ-gnam, is the distinction made between one sTag-sham O-rgyan bsam-gtan gling-pa and his incarnation sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje. Up to now the assumption has been that there was only one person with the name Nus-ldan rdo-rje bSam-gtan gling-pa; see the short biographies in *rNam-thar i*, pp.301.6-302.6 and *Chos-'byung*, pp.574-575.
 15. *Chos-'byung*, p.569: *de nas spo bo mdong (= mdung) chu' i lha khang nas padma bkod kyi gnas kyi lam yig phyag tu son pa bzhin rigs ldan gnas mtsho zhes pa gzung (= gzungs) mar bzhes nas groa 'khor mang po dang bcas padma bkod du phebs nas / gnas sgo rags rim zhig gsal cha mdzad*. For the above quotation see *ibid.*, p.567: *khyod rang spo bor song la rtse gcig tu sgrub pa la 'bungs shig dang / de' i dus su khyod la lung bstan 'ong zhing zab gter gyi skal ba zhig yod do* and the version in *rNam-thar i*, p.299.5-6. A text concerning the *yang-'dul* temple has been preserved in the collection *Lo-rgyus*, pp.118-124: *sPo bo' i mdung chu mkhar lha khang tshangs pa rlung gnong gtsug lag khang gi dkar chag*.
 16. For the treasure discoveries of 'Ja'-tshon snying-po, see, among other works, *Chos-'byung*, p.444, and for the *Padma bkod kyi lam yig*, the passage in *rNam-thar i*, p.237.1. In *Lam-yig ii*, pp.243.6-244.6, rTse-le sNa-tshogs rang-grol provides the information that the treasures of Kong-'phrang were concealed with the purpose of removing

- obstacles during trips to such sites as sBas-pa'i gnas padma-bkod. Concerning rTse-le sNa-tshogs rang-grol, who was born on the border between Dwags-po and Kong-po, see Blondeau (1987:126-127).
17. See Ehrhard (1993:81) for Byams-sprin lha-khang and the treasure discoverers Rig-'dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje (1640-1685) and Rig-'dzin Nyi-ma grags-pa (1647-1710). Concerning other masters of the rNying-ma-pa school who were active in the 16th and 17th centuries in Mang-yul and at the court of the kings of Gung-thang, and the openings of "hidden valleys", such as present-day Langthang, see Ehrhard (1997).
18. *Lo-rgyus*, p.210: *pad ma bkod du / gter ston chos rje gling pa / rdo rje thogs med / rgyal sras bde chen gling gsum la / sbas yul rig 'dzin rnam gsum du grags / spo bo stod la bdud 'dul rdo rje / smad la gnam lcags rdo rje / bar la stag sham rdo rje ste / rdo rje thob pa'i ni gsum zhes*. For a short biography of gNam-lcags rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa, see *rNam-thar i*, pp.335.2-336.5. Two of his disciples are sKyid-grong Thugs-mchog rdo-rje (the main teacher of 'Jigs-med gling-pa) and Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje; for biographical data on these two persons, see Goodman (1993:199-201). The reincarnation of the latter is the previously mentioned Kun-bzang bDe-chen rgyal-po (born 1736), the Kong-po brug-thang gter-chen; the latter's incarnation, in turn, is rGyal-sras bDe-chen gling-pa. For the activities of rGyal-sras bDe-chen gling-pa in gNas Padma-bkod, from the perspective of Kun-bzang Nges-don klong-yangs (born 1814), see *rTogs-brjod ii*, pp.363.6-384.4 (the years 1842 to 1845).

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