

## Political and Ritual Aspects of the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands

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### Introduction

The 17th century was the particular period in which sacred sites like gNas Padma-bkod, in the south-eastern border region of Tibet, were systematically visited by treasure discoverers of the rNying-ma-pa school. The temples dating to the early royal period had a special significance for the treasure discoverers active at this time here in the extreme south of Tibet and also for their search for the hidden paradises.<sup>1</sup> Parallel to this phenomenon were the efforts to revive, by way of new foundations or renovations of old structures, the "places of realization" (*sgrub-gnas*) in areas that were once the southern border of the old Tibetan kingdom. In this context, a number of sites were chosen that possessed special qualities because of the spiritual presence of Padmasambhava or the early yogins of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school.

An important scheme for classifying the sacred sites associated with Padmasambhava—sites prophesied by the master as spots for the spiritual exercises of his future disciples—consists of five so-called "solitary places" (*dben-gnas*). One of these sites, in lHo-brag mKhar-chu, in the border region between Tibet and Bhutan, is termed the "solitary place of (Padmasambhava's) heart" (*thugs-kyi dben-gnas*). It is of significant interest that a monastery with the name of dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling was also founded in lHo-brag mKhar-chu under the predominantly dGe-lugs-pa regime established by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) and the sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705).<sup>2</sup>

By giving some details concerning the political and ritual aspects that accompanied the travels of Tibetan priests and yogins into border areas like lHo-brag mKhar-chu the following observations should make first of all clear that these journeys must be seen as an immediate response towards the religious

and political situation that characterized Tibet at the beginning of the 18th century. This was a time when Tibet was involved in the power-struggle between the Dzungars and the Qing Dynasty, and when the border areas in the south had not only to be controlled by military and ritual means but offered protection and were places for spiritual revitalization. By implication I hope thus to show why the importance of these places was not restricted to the 17th century but continued up into the 18th century.

## The Life of Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog

As a kind of introduction I would like to present some material concerning different sites in lHo-brag and the person of Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog (1672-1747) from lHo-brag Gro-bo lung, based on his autobiography. There are two reasons for focusing on him: first, his name is directly connected with the monastery of dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling in mKhar-chu, and second, his religious activities included the opening and identifying of hidden valleys in the region of lHo-brag. This point is highlighted by Ka-thog Si-tu Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925), who paid a visit to the sacred sites of lHo-brag mKhar-chu in the year 1919 and reported:

The bhikṣu lHa-mchog, a disciple of Rig-'dzin Pad-phrin [= rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las (1640-1718)] (and) prophesied by 'Ol-kha rJe-drung [= Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje (born 1697)], (he) was an opener of the doors to a few minor solitary places and to sacred sites like Seng-ge ri and the hidden valley Long-mo lha-steng.<sup>3</sup>

Blo-bzang lHa-mchog began his religious career in the year 1679, when he received his name on the basis of a written document from the hand of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma. The place where this occurred was also linked to the person of the spiritual and worldly ruler of Tibet at that time; it was the monastery dGa'-ldan Don-gnyis gling, located in lHo-brag as well, and founded by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma—in person—30 years earlier in 1649.<sup>4</sup>

The main teacher of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog for the next years was a certain Ngag-dbang nor-bu, who also supervised his first retreat. In a detailed passage of the autobiography we find that Ngag-dbang nor-bu had been nominated by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma and sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho to perform certain rituals in dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling. The reason for this lay in his ability to bring under control a certain demon called an "Indian demon who brings ruin to the land of Tibet" (*bod yul 'phung byed kyi rgya 'dre*), "an Indian demon of the border" (*mtha'i rgya 'dre zhig*), or simply "a demon of the border" (*mtha' 'dre*). Different journeys followed, and one brought the young novice also to lHa-sa, where he received his final ordination as a monk in the year 1696. This ceremony was supervised by a dGe-slong 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa in the Potala palace.<sup>5</sup>

In 1703 Blo-bzang lHa-mchog visited lHa-sa a second time. At that time a change had taken place at the top of the Tibetan government which the monk from lHo-brag described with the following words:

Then rGyal-dbang Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho (1683-1706) put on the costume clothing of the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan (sgam-po); the eldest son of Mi-dbang Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho was installed and lifted to the throne, (which he occupied) together with King lHa-bzang (1658-1717)...<sup>6</sup>

The unstable political situation which was created by this constellation, and which finally resulted in the end of the Qośot rule over Tibet and the invasion of the Dzungars in 1717, are generally known.<sup>7</sup> In the life of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, this period was dominated by his meetings with rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las and the spiritual practices he received from this master. Although rDo-rje brag suffered from attacks by King lHa-bzang, Blo-bzang lHa-mchog nevertheless visited there twice during this period. Between these visits he spent over five years in retreat in lHo-brag.

It was in lHo-brag that the news reached him of the death of rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin, who had been killed by Dzungar soldiers in the year 1718. Knowledge of the decline of the teachings of the rNying-ma-pa school and the great sadness at the death of his teacher prompted Blo-bzang lHa-mchog soon afterwards to move to "a hidden sacred site" (*sbas-gnas*). In the night following his decision he conceived the idea to direct his steps to a sacred site named Seng-ge ri ("Lion Mountain"). Two factors motivated him: first, certain written documents had extolled this spot, including a "certificate of prophecies" (*lung-byang*), and second, rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa (1187-1250), an early master of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school, had already stayed for an extended period at the "Lion Mountain" and thus sanctified it.<sup>8</sup>

I shall not go into the details of the journey that brought Blo-bzang lHa-mchog to the paradisaical site. In the end he reached the "realization cave" (*sgrub-phug*) and the "residence" (*gdan-sa*) of rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa and erected nearby a first provisional shelter. The autobiography of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog provides long descriptions of the natural beauty of the spot, including the varieties of bird songs and the manifold flowers and herbs. Accordingly Blo-bzang lHa-mchog called the place "Flower Island" (*me-tog gling*).

The sacred site of Seng-ge ri, which was first identified as such by one of the early yogins of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school in the 13th century, in the early 18th century also attracted the attention and visits of other masters. For instance, the autobiography of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje from 'Ol-kha states that he, too, visited sBas-yul Seng-ge ri in the year 1722 and met in the "inner part of the sacred site" (*gnas-nang*) Blo-bzang lHa-mchog. Together they celebrated a *gaṇacakra*, and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje was also impressed by the natural qualities of the place. A dream Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje had at the time had long-ranging effects for the spiritual bond between the two yogins. In the dream, he received a prophecy that a further hidden valley should be opened to the north-east of Seng-ge ri. According to the corresponding information in the biography of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, this area was called sBas-gnas 'Or-mo lha-sa, and both sources agree that in this area was located the palace of Yam-shud dmar-po, king of the *bTsan* demons.<sup>9</sup>

The prophecy that the “hidden sacred site” (*sbas-gnas*) ‘Or-mo lha-sa should be opened was obviously linked with the person of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, but a few years had to pass before it came true. In the meantime the civil war of 1727/28 had been brought to an end by Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas (1689-1747), and the 7th Dalai Bla-ma sKal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708-1757) was installed, even if without any legal backing and while still in exile. A piece of good news for Blo-bzang lHa-mchog was that the rebirth of his teacher, bsKal-bzang Padma dbang-phyug (born 1720), had been officially enthroned in rDo-rje brag. This message was received by him with great joy, “like a peacock hearing the (rolling) sound of thunder (*rma bya ‘brug sgra thos pa bzhin*).”

Soon afterwards, in the year 1733, the time was ripe to follow the instructions of Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje and to open the hidden site of ‘Or-mo lha-sa. The autobiography gives a detailed description of the journey and of how Blo-bzang lHa-mchog identified different parts of the sacred landscape. As mentioned in the prophecy, he came upon the palace of Yam-shud dmar-po.

The next year Blo-bzang Bla-mchog was again in the company of Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje, and the subject of the opening of sacred sites came up for discussion. During this time Blo-bzang lHa-mchog received a written document that recounted the events of the years 1722 up to 1733. At the farewell ceremony Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje spoke the following words to his guest: “What is of use to others, (i.e.) turns them towards the dharma, mainly the seizing, protecting and spreading of hidden sacred sites, you should do as much as you can!” Nearly identical words were spoken at a third and final meeting between the two masters; this happened a few years later at the time when the renovation of the temple of Thig-phyi in lHo-brag was brought to a successful end.<sup>10</sup>

The years 1734 and 1735 saw Blo-bzang lHa-mchog again in rDo-rje brag, where he met the young rDo-rje brag Rig-’dzin and offered him the teachings of the rDzogs-chen cycle *Thugs rje chen po ‘khor ba dbyings sgröl*. His last years were spent in the region of Seng-ge ri and ‘Or-mo lha-sa, and he also erected a temple at the latter spot. Shortly before his death he wrote down the monastic rules for his successors at the two sacred sites in lHo-brag.<sup>11</sup>

## Political and Ritual Aspects

The presence of Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje in the southern border areas of rKong-po and lHo-brag and his persistent interest in the search for hidden valleys and their popularization should be interpreted against the background of his relationship with the “ruler” (*mi-dbang*) bSod-nams stobs-rgyas from Pho-lha. An investigation of their relationship will help us understand better the religious and political practices that accompanied the search for paradisaical sites in the south of Tibet.<sup>12</sup>

The first meeting between the 28-year-old priest and the 37-year-old, war-tested politician occurred, according to the available sources, in the year 1726. The place was rNam-grol gling, the residence of Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje in ‘Ol-kha. At that time bSod-nams stobs-rgyas was on his way to the hot springs of ‘Ol-kha stag-rtse and visited also the statue of Maitreya at rDzing-phyi, which

had been erected by Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa. Although this journey of the ruler has been described by previous studies, the contact between Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas has been altogether neglected; attention was focused exclusively on rJe-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma (1699-1769), the daughter of Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714), and on the fact that the ruler received teachings of the rNying-ma-pa school from her.<sup>13</sup>

To put these contacts in a wider context, it must be pointed out that the rNying-ma-pa school suffered two phases of suppression at the beginning of the 18th century: in the years 1717 to 1720, during the invasion of the Dzungars, and in 1726 under the Manchu ruler Yung-chen. The later attack against the "teachings of the Old Translations" (*snga 'gyur gyi chos lugs*) were openly proclaimed by the emperor in the form of an edict which had been issued at the instigation of the Tibetan minister Khang-chen-nas (died 1727). Directly after the proclamation of the edict, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas reacted strongly against the accusation of heresy against the rNying-ma-pas.<sup>14</sup> This occurred shortly before bSod-nams stobs-rgyas left for 'Ol-kha stag-rtse. Concerning his meeting with rJe-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma, the biography of the ruler reports only that the local people did not provide any offering or service to the daughter of Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa, being afraid of the recently proclaimed edict that "no respect should be shown towards the followers of the old mantras (*gsangs sngags rnying ma'i srol 'dzin pa dag la bsnyen bskur mi bya'o*)."

In spite of this, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas received her in the traditional way (*gna' bo'i srol ji lta ba bzhin tu*) and offered her his battle horse (*g.yul du 'jug pa'i bzhon pa*). From rJe-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma he obtained various initiations in return, including the cycle *Zab chos rig 'dzin thugs thig*, a treasure work of Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa.<sup>15</sup>

A far longer passage in the biography of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas—immediately following the one just described—describes a meeting with a second person in the same year, 1726: none other than Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje. The ruler also received from this teacher various initiations and teachings, among which I shall mention only the spiritual authorization (*rjes su gnanng ba*) for the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar. After the transmission of these teachings, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje uttered a list of advice for the politician's serious consideration. They started with the characterization of Khang-chen-nas as an emanation of the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar and an assertion of his merits because of that status. But the power of these merits would soon be exhausted, as the minister was at the time "wounding the doctrine of the Great Secret's essence (*da ni gsang chen snying po'i bstan pa la rma byin par byed*)."

For bSod-nams stobs-rgyas himself, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje came forward with some advice that obviously must be seen as relating to his strong reaction against the edict of the Manchu ruler Yung-chen. The tradition of the dGe-lugs-pa was thereby characterized as something the ruler could place confidence in (*zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba'i rings lugs 'di ni yid brton rung ba'o*), the reason for this being the purity and continuity of the teachings of Padmasambhava, Atiśa and Tsong-kha-pa. What we witness here, is in my

opinion, the effort on the part of the priest from rNam-grol gling to add some critical perspective to the standpoint of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas with the aim of dissolving the polarization between the dGe-lugs-pa and the rNying-ma-pa schools.<sup>16</sup>

Two years later, in 1728, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje acted as mediator between the 7th Dalai Bla-ma bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, who had just successfully ended the civil war. As Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje stated:

The earth-monkey year [=1728], a truly bad time for dBus and gTsang: I arrived in lHa-sa when the troops of gTsang had (just) reached Central Tibet. As the opening provided by (this) lucky coincidence suited (the purpose of) the ruler bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, I managed to pacify the disturbances between dBus and gTsang. Having performed a great wave of service for the excellent system of patron and priest and for the Highest Sovereign (i.e. the Dalai Bla-ma), I returned back.<sup>17</sup>

Here we have reached a point where we can look back on the journey of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje to gNas Padma-bkod. This undertaking had occurred in the year 1729, shortly after bSod-nams stobs-rgyas came to power. In the relevant "description of the route" (*lam-yig*) to the paradisaical site are contained some clues as to Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's motives for moving at this particular time to the wilderness of south-eastern Tibet:

The earth-male-monkey year [=1728]: as a means to turn aside the border armies in the iron-male-dog year [=1730] I had to pass on towards the supreme sacred site gNas Padma-bkod. And as subsidiary conditions for these (undertakings) there was the necessity to execute countless sequences of auspicious ceremonies, such as feasts and fire offerings at the places of realization of the Guru (i.e. Padmasambhava) in the paradise grove of Kong-yul, offerings for Ge-sar at the solitary places touched by Ge-sar's feet, (and) atonement rituals for the great demon-protector in the places of (the deity) sKrag-med nyi-shar such as Brag-gsum mTsho-mo-che.<sup>18</sup>

This statement can be interpreted to mean that Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje began his journey with the goal of producing some stability in the southern border regions for the newly established government of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas. This was an urgent necessity because Central Tibet was still endangered by the attacks of the Dzungars and the problems with Bhutan were also acute. As it turned out, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas mastered all these difficulties successfully.<sup>19</sup>

## Buddhist Myths

Concerning the religious and political practices connected with the search for hidden valleys, it should be mentioned again that in the case of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje the destinations were sites that only a few years earlier had been

identified by persons like sTag-sham Nus-ldan rdo-rje (born 1655) and Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (1682-1725). While these treasure discoverers first opened the sacred sites, i.e. tamed the wilderness through their rituals and became masters of the territory, their successors were able to share their footing by following the same routes and repeating the rituals of their masters at the previously established locations.

That this control over a certain territory was indeed transferred from a treasure finder to his disciple can be shown nicely in the case of gNas Padma-bkod. Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje (17/18th cent.), a disciple of gNam-lcags rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa (17th cent.) and also of a certain Chos-gling bDe-ba'i rdo-rje (17th cent.), received from this latter teacher the order to open a particular site and write down a "clarification of the sacred site" (*gnas kyi gsal cha*). The words uttered on that occasion were: "Because you are the master (of this site) (*bdag po khyod yin pas ...*)."<sup>20</sup> We shall see now that during his journey in the year 1729 Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje obtained also rights over certain territories.

As mentioned in several passages of his works, this authorization came directly from the *ḍākiṇī*-s in the form of so-called "introductory certificates" (*them[s]-byang*) for the sacred sites to be opened. These places bear the name lHo-gling, Nub-gling and Byang-gling, and their topography is defined in relation to a "sacred mountain" (*gnas-ri*) with the name "Heap of Jewels", i.e. Rin-chen spungs-pa.<sup>21</sup> The exact location of this mountain and surrounding places is material to the next meeting between Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, which took place in the year 1730, again in the residence of rNam-grol gling.

At that time one of the sacred sites which had been prophesied on the way back from rKong-po had already been opened; it was the so-called lHo-gling, now known under the name gNas-mchog gSal-dwangs ri-bo-che. As Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje was quickly back in rNam-grol gling, we must conclude that the mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa and surrounding places are located in the vicinity of his residence, i.e. in 'Ol-kha. Confirmation of this can be found, in fact, in a text dedicated to the meeting in rNam-grol gling in the year 1730. It is further documented in this work that on that occasion Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje climbed together with the ruler to the peak of the sacred mountain and made known to him the different sites he was authorized: "We climbed the peak of the sacred mountain; from my side, I offered (Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas) a rough identification of the layout of the sacred sites to the south and north of the mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa."<sup>22</sup>

Having just considered the transfer of control over a certain territory from one person to another, we can now see how a journey to a sacred site in the southern border areas can also result in the authority to idealize and spiritualize the landscape to which the traveller returned. The authorization was not restricted to Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje: in the same way the ruler Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas acquired a new status as an emanation of Yam-shud dmar-po, king of the *bTsan* demons. Although Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje makes the remark that this status was already known to him at their first meeting in the

year 1726, it was only now, after his becoming the head of a new government and the first successes in his foreign policy, that bSod-nams stobs-rgyas himself learned of it.

The importance of this new spiritual identity of the ruler is seen in the fact that the quotations from literary sources which Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje brought forward in this respect were included in the biography of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, written three years afterwards, i.e. in 1733. These were, first, a passage from the cycle *Gzigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma* of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma, and second, a quotation from the writings of Chos-rje gling-pa.<sup>23</sup>

## Concluding Remarks

With these details I conclude my observations concerning the relationship between the ruler and the priest. It should have become clear that Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje played a hitherto unnoticed role in the development of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas from minister and warlord to the ruler of Tibet who provided his country with a certain degree of political stability up to his death in the year 1747. Further proof of the importance of this teacher for the undertakings of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas is the fact that the catalogue of the so-called *sNar thang ka' gyur* (sponsored by bSod-nams stobs-rgyas in the years 1730/31) came from the pen of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje.<sup>24</sup>

Concerning the ongoing research on hidden valleys in Tibetan cultural areas, I might point out that, aside from questions of political history and religious geography, the different aspects of "Buddhist myths", i.e. the forms of symbolic representation, the ritual activities and spiritual practices that were part of the journeys into the untamed wilderness, are a field worthy of study.

As we saw in the case of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, the *dharmapāla* Yam-shud dmar-po had his residence in the innermost recesses of the newly opened site in lHo-brag, and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje went to gNas Padma-bkod to bring offerings to the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar. These protectors of the Buddhist teaching, their myths and connected rituals came alive in the persons of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and Khang-chen-nas, two politicians during a particular difficult time for Tibet. And it is not a great surprise that this time of military attacks from outside and inner political conflicts should have coincided with a period when the paradisaical sites in the south were promising not only refuge but also spiritual transformation. It is this very quality that makes up sacred sites according to Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje:

Nowadays when one travels to these sacred mountains one naturally (experiences) resplendent terror, and (at the same time) is at ease, and in one's stream of consciousness a new spiritual experience of the conception-free (unity of) bliss and emptiness flames up. (There are) the peculiar noises of the assemblages of the Mothers, *ḍākiṇī*-s, and Titans, deep sighs are uttered, the sounds of songs, dances and instruments come forth, and the spontaneous sound of the secret



*mantras* rolls on; a sweet-smelling fragrance spreads round about, and so forth. The occurrence of these things in the shared experiences of different people is by itself enough to make (these places) an object to trust in!<sup>25</sup>

## Appendix

### *The Missing Summaries of the Cycle Gzigs snang gsang ba rgya can*

A unique source for research into the political and religious life of 17th-century Tibet and the field of Buddhist myth and ritual is the collection of manuscripts edited by S.G. Karmay under the title *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama*. In the discussion of the works relating to the tradition of the *Gzigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma* the following statement is made: "There are no texts which contain summaries of the last five sections of the *rGya-can*. These sections are devoted to the record of the visions that occurred from 1674 to 1680 and the first few months of 1681"; Karmay (1988:18).

As already mentioned in an earlier article (Ehrhard 1993:78-79), a further manuscript of the cycle was filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in 1987: *Gzigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma*, 578 fols., reel no. E 2134/2 - E 2135/1. A close inspection revealed the missing summaries in this collection. They are to be found in a text called *Rgya can gyi 'khrul snang rnga chen ma shar bar gyi bkod pa zhing khams rgya mtsho'i yid 'phrog*, 64 fols. Here an overview of the five sections and the respective years of the summarized visions:

|  |                   |           |
|--|-------------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>Pad dkar rgya can</i>                | fols. 2a/1-11b/2  | 1674-1675 |
| 2. <i>Gdugs dkar rgya can</i>              | fols. 11b/2-19b/6 | 1676      |
| 3. <i>Chos gdung g.yas 'khyil rgya can</i> | fols. 19b/6-33a/6 | 1676-1677 |
| 4. <i>Gser nya'i rgya can</i>              | fols. 33a/6-49b/2 | 1678-1679 |
| 5. <i>Rgyal mtshan rgya can</i>            | fols. 49a/2-63a/5 | 1680-1681 |

According to the colophon the text was written in 1685 by 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa, a monk who took an active part in editing texts, especially in 5th Dalai Bla-ma's later works. It was this time that thangkas depicting the visions of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma were painted on the orders of sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. The colophon reads (fol. 64a/6-b/6):

The sequence of the visions of the sealed volume which manifested (in the period) from the wood-tiger (year) [= 1674] up to the (time when) the water-dog (year) [= 1682] had not yet appeared: when the artist 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen drew the preliminary sketches (for the thangkas) to be set up by the ruler Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho—who came (to this world) as a master over the width of heaven and earth pursuant to the intent of the prince Mu-ne btsan-po—the full understanding (of the composition of the text) came forth mainly. (This work) was completed on the dMar-po ri, the palace of Ārya Lokeśvara, by the editor, the one who compiled it, the respectable Vidyaḍhara 'Jam-dbyangs

grags-pa, on the tenth day of the monkey month of the year *khro-bo*, also called *khrodha* [= 1685], (i.e. the day) when one cries out for him who is called rDo-rje thogs-med rtsal, the old Mantrika from Za-hor, or Gang-shar rang-grol (i.e. the 5th Dalai Bla-ma), at the special time when *vira-s dākiṇī-s* come together like clouds; and it was put to paper by Blo-bzang dbang-po, one whose technical skills attain (all) limits. May it be auspicious for all!

(*ces shing stag nas chu khyi ma shar bar byung ba'i rgya can gyi 'khrul snang rnams kyi bkod pa gnam sa'i khyon la mnga' bsgyur bar lha sras mu ne btsan po nyid bsam pas bzhin byon pa mi bdag sangs rgyas rgya mtshos bzheng ba'i sngon 'gro shog khrar lha ris pa 'jams dbyangs rin chen gyis 'dri (= 'bri) dus mngon rtogs gtso bor gton (= bton) te / za hor gyi sngags rgan rdo rje thogs med rtsal lam gang shar rang grol du 'bod pas (= pa'i) khro rdha zhes pa khro bo'i lo sprel zla'i tshes bcur dpa' bo mkha' 'gro sprin bzhin du 'du ba'i dus khyad par can la 'phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi gzhal med khang dmar po rir sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni rigs 'dzin gyi btsun pa 'jam dbyangs grags pas bgyis shing shog thog tu mthar rgyas rig byed pa blo bzang dbang pos phab pa sarva mangale (sic!) bhavantu).*

## Notes

1. For the different "treasure discoverers" (*gter-ston*) active in gNas Padma-bkod from the 17th to the 18th centuries, see Ehrhard (chapter 10 in this volume). In a further article I have tried to show that the "hidden valley" (*sbas-yul*) as a concept of religious space can be found in the same period in Glo-bo smad, i.e. southern Mustang, on the local and regional level; see Ehrhard (in press a). It is interesting to note that the influence of treasure discoverers like Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1615-1672) is traceable in both the south-eastern and the south-western border regions.
2. For the five "solitary places" see, for example, gTer-chen O-rgyan gling-pa: *Padma bka'i thang yig*, chapter 95 (*ma 'ongs sgrub gnas bstan pa'i le'u*), p. 589.3-7: *sku yi dben gnas bsgrags kyi yang rdzong yin : gsung gi dben gnas bsam yas mchims phu ste : thugs kyi dben gnas lho brag mkhar chu yin : yon tan dben gnas yar klungs shel gyi brag : 'phrin las dben gnas mon kha seng ge rdzong* : Cf. Dowman (1988:288-290) and Ricard (1994:272-273) for a description of this scheme, which is sometimes enlarged by a group of three further sacred sites. In Ferrari (1958:56-57) one finds a list of the different sacred sites in lHo-brag mKhar-chu as described by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse dbang-po (1820-1892). It should be noted that near lHo-brag mKhar-chu is the location of the lHo-brag Khom-mthing lha-khang, one of the *niTha'*-*'dul* temples of Srong-btsan sgam-po. The foundation of the monastery dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling is mentioned in Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho: *Du kū la'i gos bzang*, vol. 3, pp. 417.15 ff., and in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho: *Bai dū rya ser po'i me long*, p. 400.13-19 (year of foundation: 1682!). The ritual texts of this monastery were published recently under the title *Mkhar chu bdud'joms gling gi 'don cha'i skor*, 1015 pp., Delhi: Konchog Lhadrepa, 1994. Several works of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma are also contained in this collection.
3. Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho: *Nor bu zla shel gyi me long*, p. 309.4-5 (... *dge slong lha mchog ces rig 'dzin pad 'phrin slob ma / 'ol ka (= kha) rje drung pas lung bstan / ban (= dben) pa'i gnas*

*phra na* (= *phran*) *re zung* (= *gzung*) *dang / seng ge ri / sbas yul long mo lha steng zer ba sogs gnas sgo 'phye mkhan zhiig go*). Further remarks by Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho justify the conclusion that there existed a "line of incarnations" (*sku-phreng*) of Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog; they were known under the name bDud-'joms gling-pa'i sPrul-sku.

4. Concerning the foundation of dGa'-ldan Don-gnyis gling in lHo-brag rDo-bo rdzong, see Ngag-dbag Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho: *Du kũ la'i gos bzang*, vol. 1, pp. 300.19-301.3, and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho: *Bai dũ rya ser po'i me long*, pp. 397.24-398.4. Compare also Ishihama (1993:49). According to RNAM-THAR, p. 16.1, this monastery was one of the "13 islands, (that are) the convents of patron and priest" (*mchod yon gyi grwa tshang gling bcu gsum*) of the government of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma and sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho. This holds also true for the monastery dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling; see the list of the "13 colleges of the teaching" (*chos grwa bcu gsum*) in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho: *Bai dũ rya ser po'i me long*, pp. 396.14-400.19. The patron refers in this case to Gu-šri bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal (1582-1655) and his successors. See the remark by Sum-pa mkhan-po (1704-1787) translated in Ho-chin Yang (1969:39).
5. The motives for nominating Ngag-dbang nor-bu for duties in dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling are described in RNAM-THAR, pp. 25.3-26.5. He is mentioned under the name Byang-gling Bla-zur Ngag-dbang nor-bu in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho: *Bai dũ rya ser po'i me long*, p. 400.14-15. This name links him to the rNying-ma-pa monastery gSang-sngags Byang-chub gling, founded by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma in 1651 (just before his journey to the Manchu court); see Karmay (1991:344). gSang-sngags Byangs-chub gling in Chu-shur is also counted as one of the thirteen *mchod yon gyi grwa tshang gling*; see the list (as in note 4), p. 399.20-400.2.
 

Basic biographical information on the person of 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa is provided by Karmay (1988:16): "... a very learned monk and in his capacity as private secretary would often act as scribe...the Dalai Lama stated that this monk was an adept of the *rDzogs-chen* philosophy. He took an active part, with the Regent, in building the Red Palace of the Potala, the tomb of the Dalai Lama, and in establishing the commemoration day of the latter's death." See also appendix.
6. RNAM-THAR, p. 29.5-6: *de nas rgyal dbang tshangs dbyangs rgya mtsho chos rgyal srong btsan gyi chas bzhes / mi dbang sangs rgyas rgya mtsho'i sras bgres pa khri bkod dang / rgyal po lha bzang bcas kyi khri 'degs su ....* For these events see Petech (1988:209-210). See (*ibid.*:204) for references to the 6th Dalai Bla-ma's renouncing his monastic vows and adopting the way of life of a temporal ruler. A description of the outer appearance and character of Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho can be found in the autobiography of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdc-rje: RTOGS-BRJOD, pp. 65.5-66.6, and 79.3-80.6; he met the 6th Dalai Bla-ma and his companions in the years 1702/03. The activities of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma as a reincarnation of Srong-btsan sgam-po are described in Ishihama (1993:53-54).
7. See for example Petech (1972:32-50) and Dabringhaus (1994:37-38 and 48-50). Compare the corresponding chapter in the biography of the ruler Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, who was the centre of the Tibetan resistance against the Dzungars: Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal: *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, pp. 258.4-299.10 (*sog po jun gar gi dmag dpung bod du yong ba'i skor dang / rgyal po lha bzang pham nyes byung ba'i skor*).
8. The arrival of Lo ras-pa dBang-phyug brtson-'grus in lHo-brag and his stay in Sengge ri is described, for example, in Padma dkar-po: *bsTan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyen byed*, pp. 439.17-440.5, and in the biography written by rGod-tshang ras-pa: *bDud rts'i'i phreng ba*, pp. 108.11 ff. His activities in lHo-brag included the renovation of

the mKhar-chu'i lha-khang, i.e. the lHo-brag Khom-mthing lha-khang (see note 2 above). rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa is the founder of the lower 'Brug-pa school (sMad-'brug).

9. Concerning Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, his preceding incarnations, and his status as the rebirth of lHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan (1326-1401), see the data given in Ehrhard chapter 10, note 10 in this volume. His visit to Seng-ge ri is described in RTOGS-BRJOD, pp. 648.3-650.2. At the time he was on his way to Thig-phyi in lHo-brag, the former residence of lHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan [for the meeting of Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang grags-pa (1357-1419) with lHo-brag Grub-chen in Thig-phyi in the year 1395 see Ehrhard (1992:50-52)]. Shortly before Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's arrival, another person came up with the information that in the year 1723 several entrances to the sacred site mKhan-pa ljongs should be opened; *ibid.*, p. 651.1. This name refers to a mountain valley in Bhutan just south of the Tibetan border.
10. The written document of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje for Blo-bzang lHa-mchog can be found in RNAM-THAR, pp. 110.5-113.6 (*gsang lung them byang*). The second meeting took place in sPyan-g.yas, the home of the wife of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje; for the valley of sPyan-g.yas, in the south of Phyang-rgyas, see Ferrari (1958:53). For the quotation see RTOGS-BRJOD, p. 123.3-4: *sbas gnas kyi 'dzin skyong spel gsum gtso bor gyur pa'i gzhan phan chos la bsgyur gang thub byed dgos*. Cf. the words at the third meeting: *lhag tu sbas gnas kyi 'dzin skyong dang gzhan phan chos la bsgyur gang thub sogs snagar ltar byas phyin de rang gi yong 'dug*; *ibid.*, p. 168.1.
11. The emergence of the rDzogs-chen cycle *Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dbyings sgrol* is mentioned also by bsKal-bzang Padma dbang-phyug: *gZhon nu bun ba'i yid 'phrog*, pp. 159.3 and 187.2-188.1. The "monastic rules" (*bca'-yig*) were written down in the year 1746 and are contained in RNAM-THAR, pp. 179.3-191.3. A ritual work dedicated to the protectors of 'Or-mo lha-sa (written by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje) is contained in *Mkhar chu bdud'joms gling gi 'don cha'i skor* (as in note 2), pp. 611-615: *Sbas gnas 'or mo lha sa'i gnas bsrung gi gsol mchod*.
12. In chapter 10 in this volume by Ehrhard there is a short résumé of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's journey to gNas Padma-bkod in the year 1729 and his connection with Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (1682-1725). The following observations should also contribute some material towards an understanding of the religious situation in Tibet at a time when the Manchu dynasty asserted hegemony over Tibet. For the ambivalence on the part of early Qing emperors towards Tibetan Buddhism see Hevia (1993).
13. For the valley of Sle-lung, the residence rNam-grol gling, and rDzing-phyi to the east thereof, see Wylie (1962:91) [the unidentified 'Ol-kha Rje-drung-pa refers to the incarnation line of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje]. The journey of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas to 'Ol-kha stag-rtse and the meeting with rJe-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma was previously dealt with by Petech (1972:109-110) and, based on that study, by Dhondup (1984:88).
14. An account of the persecutions of the rNying-ma-pa school at the beginning of the 18th century—also based on Petech (1972)—can be found in Martin (1990:5-6); compare Mayer (1992:183). The questions raised by Martin and Mayer concerning the "specific measures Khang-chen-nas brought against the rNying-ma-pa sect" and "the reason for these foreign attacks on the rNying-ma-pas" could be answered by referring to the wording of the edict of 1726. We find there the explicit prohibition of ritual acts like "magic rites for subjugating the foe" (*drag las mnan pa*), "burning rites" (*bsreg pa*), or "hurling of ritual offerings" (*gtor zor 'phang pa*); see the text in Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal: *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, p. 482.15-17. These ritual acts

- are also known as *mnan sreg 'phang gsum*; for the textual basis of the three activities see Boord (1993:197-206).
15. Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal: *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, pp. 494.20-495.14. This was obviously not the first contact between the lady from sMin-grol gling and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas; see Khyung-po ras-pa: *Dad pa'i gdung sel*, pp. 102.4 ff. (*de skabs pho lha tha'i ji 'gyur med bsod nams stobs rgyas bka' blon gyi las stabs kyi dbang che zhing mi phyed pa'i dad gdung drag pos rje nyid la legs gsol gyi 'bul ba ...*). This meeting took place in the year 1719 and was followed in 1720 by the proposal of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas that the rJe-btsun-ma should move to rKong-po and by further contacts; see *ibid.*, p. 104.5 ff. It should be mentioned that rJe-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma in the year 1718 had escaped the Dzungar armies and had found refuge in the hidden land 'Bras-mo ljongs, present-day Sikkim; she had been welcomed there by the king, 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal (regnal years 1701-1733), and by dPa'-bo 'Jigs-med rdo-rje (born 1682), the second incarnation of lHa-btsun Nam-mkha' 'jigs-med (1597-1653). See the account of these event in bsTan-pa'i sgron-me: *Rang bzhin bden brjod ngo mtshar shel gyi adarśa*, pp.6.20-7.13.
  16. For the meeting between the bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje see Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal: *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, pp. 495.15-499.5. This passage has been dealt with in some detail, as the advice has up to now been ascribed to the daughter of gTer-bdag gling-pa (and thus the position of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas misrepresented); see Petech (1972:110): "She prophesied the ruin of Khang-chen-nas because of his persecution of the rNying-ma-pa, and tried to induce P'o-lha-nas to join her sect; of course he refused and reasserted his dGe-lugs-pa faith." See also Dhondup (1984:88). The role of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje as mediator should be seen against the background of his role as reincarnation of lHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan and keeper of the visionary teachings of this master; cf. RTOGS-BRJOD, p. 618.5 ff. In Ehrhard (1992:56) I already mentioned the integrative capacity of the teachings of lHo-brag Grub-chen in 18th-century Tibet.
  17. See Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje: *Ltad mo'i khrong khyer*, p. 336.4-5 (*sa sprel lo dbus gtsang gi dus log chen mo'i gtsang dpung dbus su 'byor dus lha sar phyin / ni dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas dang rten 'brel gyi sgo 'grig ste dbus gtsang gi 'khrug pa zhi bar byas / gong sa mchog dang yon mchod lugs legs kyi zhabs 'debs (= 'degs) rlabs che ba bsgrubs nas phyir log ...*). Compare also the statement in Kun-bzang Nges-don klong-yangs: *Nor bu do shal*, p. 315.1-2: "By furthering in a proper way the agreeable resolution between the Seventh Sovereign bsKal-bzang rgya-mtsho and the ruler, the dharmarāja, he averted the disagreeable conditions for them." (*gong sa bdun pa bskaI bzang rgya mtsho dang mi dbang chos rgyal thugs mthun mtshams sbyor legs spel gyis sku'i 'gal rkyen bzlog*); see also Schwieger (1985: LXIV-LXV). For the relationship between the *yon-bdag* ruler and the *mchod-gnas* lama (*bla-ma*) as the ideal foundation of Tibetan political theory, see Seyfort Ruegg (1991:448-451).
  18. For the journey of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje to gNas Padma-bkod in the year 1729 and the text *Dga' byed bden gtam*, see Ehrhard (in this volume); the quote is in the text, pp. 392.6-393.2 (*sa pho spre'u lo lcags pho khyi'i mtha' dngas bzlog pa'i thabs su gnas mchog padmo bkod du ngas kyis bskyod dgos pa dang / de dag gi cha rkyen du kong yul ljon pa'i tshal gyi gu ru'i sgrub gnas rnam su tshogs dang me mchod / ge sar gyi zhabs kyis bcags pa'i dben gnas rnam su ge sar gyi mchod pa / brag gsum mtsho mo che sogs skrag med nyi shar gyi gnas rnam su bdud mgon chen po'i gsol mchod sogs rim gro rten 'brel gyi rim pa mtha' yas pa byed dgos pa dang*). According to Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal: *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, p. 496.9, the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar is a "protector" (*srung-ma*)

of the cycle *Gsang bdag snyan brgyud*. This is the name for the teachings of lHo-brag Grub-chen; see RTOGS-BRJOD, p. 622.5 (*gzhan yang gsang bdag snyan brgyud kyi nang du / gshin rje tshé bdag dang sngags srung ma'i chos skor sogs yi dam lhas dngos su gsungs 'dug pa*).

19. See Petech (1972:161): "The foreign policy of P'o-lha-nas scored a great success in this period"; and Dhondup (1984:97-98): "In his foreign policy Miwang Pholanay was able to secure suzerainty over Bhutan by following a similar policy of supporting all the Bhutanese factions as the Manchu did in Tibet... Through the contacts in Ladakh, he succeeded in keeping a close watch on the movement of the Dzungars."
20. For information on gNam-lcag rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa and Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje see chapter 10, note 18, in this volume by Ehrhard. Compare now Ricard (1994:XXVIII, note 41) and the chart (*ibid.*:570). This information is based on Gu-ru bKra-shis: *Mngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*, pp. 581.21-582.19; for the journey to gNas Padma-bkod see *ibid.*, p. 582.3-8. In the later part of his life Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje served the role as "priest" (*mchod gnas*) for the ruler bSod-nams stobs-rgyas.
21. For this authorization, see the text *Ltal (= Ltad) chung mkha' 'gro'i dga' chal (= tshal) gyi gnas sgo gsar du phye ba'i lam yig bden pa'i zungs ldan* in "Collected Works," vol. 9, p. 205.3-5 (*sa mo bya'i lo [= 1729] padmo bkod nas phyir 'khor dus kong yul ljon pa'i tshal las 'or shod kyi cha gnas lung du zhag phab pa'i tshé na ye shes kyi mkha' 'gros lung bstan pa'i gnas kyi themis byang du ma zhig thob par / lhun po rdza'i lho gling gsal dwangs ri bo che / nub gling zangs ri phu'i gnas / byang gling g.yu sgron ma'i bla mtsho rnams kyi themis byang...*); compare also the text *Yid bzhin gyi nor bu ratna tā re'i lo rgyus mtshong na kun dga'* in "Collected Works," vol. 9, p. 275.2-4 (*zhi ba zhes pa sa mo bya'i lo [= 1729] gnas mchog chen po padmo bkod du bdag gis bskyod nas lha gcig nyi ma gzhon nu gdan drangs / 'or shod kyi cha las chims yul gnas lung zhes pa'i mdar slebs pa'i tshé na / ye shes kyi a ki 'dzom pa skyid dang mijal te ri bo rin chen phung ba'i lho nub byang gsum gyi gling gi themis byang rgyas par stsal*).
22. See the text *Mi dbang bsod namis stobs rgyas rniam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang*, 41 fols., in "Collected Works," vol. 9, pp. 327.1-2 (*gnas ri'i rtser phebs / bdag nas ri bo rin chen spungs pa lho byang gi gnas bkod rnams rags rim ngo sprod du phul*). In this text we find also the localization of the sacred mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa; *ibid.*, p. 282.1-2 (... *'ol dga'i yul gru srid pa'i lha gnyan ger mtsho'i pho brang lhun po rdza'am ri bo rin chen spungs pa zhes yongs su grags pa ...*). For the opening of the site gNas-mchog gSal-dwangs ri-bo-che, i.e. lHo-gling, see *Yid bzhin gyi nor bu ratna tā ra'i lo rgyus mthong na kun dga'* (as in note 21 above); this text was composed by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje at the request of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas.
23. For the quotation from the cycle *Gzigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma* that qualifies bSod-nams stobs-rgyas as an emanation of Yam-shud dmar-po, see *Mi dbang bsod namis stobs rgyas rniam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang* (as in note 21 above), pp. 282.4 ff. Compare also Tshé-ring dbang-rgyal: *'jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam*, pp. 79.4-80.10. In both cases the quotation is interpreted in the opposition between Khang-chen-nas (an emanation of the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar) and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas. The quotation from the writings of Chos-rje gling-pa can also be found in both sources and is ascribed to the text *Atsarya sa le'i zhus len* (pp. 287.1 ff. and p. 80.10-82.18). But in a further work of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, *Lha gcig rdo rje skyabs byed kyi 'khrungs khang du dam can rgya mtsho'i bsti gnas gsar du bskrun pa'i deb ther rin po che'i 'phreng ba* in "Collected Works," vol. 9, pp. 475.2 ff., the quotation is ascribed to the text *Rtsa gsum dril sgrub kyi lung bstan*. For Tibetan beliefs concerning the *dharmapāla* Yam-shud dmar-po, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956:168-170). The myth of Yam-shud dmar-po [a younger brother of Buddha Śākyamuni who after

- creating initial disturbances was obliged as a protector of the teaching] is narrated by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in *Sngon med legs bshad*, Vol. II, pp. 67.19-25.
24. This is the text *Rgyal ba'i bka' gyur ro cog gi gsung pa rin po che srid gsum rgyan gcig rdzu 'phrul shing rta'i dkar chag ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho'i lde mig*, 127 fols. (missing from the "Collected Works"). It is mentioned in Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal: 'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gtam, pp. 82.19-20, and 746.1-2. For further information on this blockprint, see Jackson (1989:93). Slowly the text is attracting the interest of concerned researchers; see Eimer (1994:310). bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and his sister Padma Chos-'dzoms were also active in propagating the tradition of the *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*; see Ehrhard (in press b).
25. See *Gnas chen zangs mdog dpal ri'i cha shas las 'phros pa'i gnas ri lo rgyus a ki dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs* in "Collected Works," vol. 8, pp. 155.5-156.1 (*deng sang gi dus su gnas ri de dag tu bgrod pa na rang bzhin gyis 'jigs zil che ba dang / bag phebs pa dang / shes rgyud la sngar med pa'i bde stong rnam par mi rtogs pa'i nyams 'bar ba dang / ma mo mkha' 'gro dang / mi ma yin pa'i tshogs rnamis kyi thug choms (= chom) dang / 'khun bu 'debs pa / glu gar dang rol mo'i sgra sgrog pa / gsang sngags kyi rang sgra ldir ba dang / dri zhim pa'i ngad 'thul ba sogs kyang kun gyi mthun snang du 'byung bar 'dug pa 'di kho nas kyang yid ches pa'i gnas su rigs mod*). The context of this passage provides further material for the origin of sacred sites and the myth of Heruka (Maheśvara/Rudra); cf. Davidson (1991:229, n. 6) with reference to the discussion of this myth by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in *Sngon med legs bshad*, Vol. I, pp. 1-103. For the inclusion of the ritual text *Rgyal po rtse mdos* [otherwise unavailable] in the same collection, see Karmay (1991:343). The myth of Gaṇeśa (*tshogs-bdag*) as narrated in this collection is referred to in Krishan (1992:65 ff.).

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