

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

Franz-Karl Ehrhard  
*University of Münster*

## Introduction

The seventeenth century was the period in particular 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 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

---

\* The research presented here was conducted under the auspices of the programme “Staatenbildung und Siedlungsprozesse im tibetischen Himmla” of the German Research Council (DFG). Special thanks go to Dr. T. Y. Tashigang, Institute of Tibetan Medicine, Delhi, for making the writings of Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje available, and for all the inspiring discussions. In the final preparation of the paper D. P. Jackson and Burkhard Quessel (both University of Hamburg) have been very helpful.

<sup>1</sup> For the different “treasure discoverers” (*gter ston*) active in gNas Padma-bkod from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, see Ehrhard (1994). 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 (1615–72) is traceable in both the south-eastern and the south-western border regions.

mKhar-chu under the predominantly dGe-lugs-pa regime established by the 5th Dalai Bla-ma Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617–82) 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 first of all make it clear that these journeys must be seen as an immediate response to the religious and political situation that characterized Tibet at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was a time when Tibet was involved in the power struggle between the Dzungars and the Qing Dynasty. The border-areas in the south had not only to be controlled by military and ritual means but also 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 seventeenth century but continued up into the eighteenth century.

### 1. 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 Kan-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 (b. 1697)], 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>

---

<sup>2</sup> For the five “solitary places” see, for example, gTer-chen O-rgyan gling-pa, *Padma bka'i yig*, chapter 95 (*ma 'ongs sgrub gnas bstan pa'i le'u*), p. 589.3–7. Cf. K. Dowman (1988:

288–90), and Ricard (1994: 272–3) for a description of this scheme, which is sometimes enlarged by a group of further three sacred sites. In Ferrari (1958: 56–7) one finds a list of the different sacred sites in lHo-brag mKhar-chu as described by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse dbang-po (182–92). It should be noted that near lHo-brag mKhar-chu is the location of the lHo-brag Khom-mthing lha-khang, one of the mTha'-'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 ku la'i gos bzang*, vol. 3, 417.15ff., and in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai dū rya ser po'i me long*, p. 400.13–19 (founded in 1682!). The ritual texts of this monastery were published recently under the title *mKhar chu bdud 'joms gling gi 'don cha'i skor*, 1015 pages. Delhi: Konchog Lhadrepa, 1994. Several works of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma are also contained in this collection.

<sup>3</sup> Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, *Nor bu zla shel gyi me long*, p. 309.4–5. 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

Blo-bzang lHa-mchog began his religious career in the year AD 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 thirty years earlier in AD 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 also brought the young novice to lHa-sa, where he received his final ordination as a monk in the year AD 1696. This ceremony was supervised by a certain dGe-slong 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa in the Potala palace.<sup>5</sup>

In AD 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

---

gling-pa'i sPrul-sku.

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the foundation of dGa'-ldan Don-gnyis gling in lHo-brag rDo-bo rdzong, see Ngag-dbag Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, *Du kū la 'I gos bzang*, Vol. 1, 300.19–301.3, and Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai dū rya ser po 'i me long*, 397.24–398.4. Compare also Ishihama (1993:49). According to Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog, *lHo brag gro bo lung grub thob bio bzang lha mchog rin po che 'i mam thar*, 98 fols., n.p., n.d. (hereafter *rNam-thar*), p. 16.1, this monastery was one of the “thirteen islands, [that are] the convents of patron and priest” (*mchod yon gyi grva 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. Cf. the list of the “thirteen colleges of the teaching” (*chos grva bcu gsum*) in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai dū rya ser po 'i me long*, 396.14–400.19. The patron refers in this case to Gu-śri bsTan-'dzin chos-rgyal (1582–1655) and his successors. See the remark by Sum-pa mkhan-po (1704–87) translated in Ho-chin Yang (1969:39).

<sup>5</sup> The motives for nominating Ngag-dbang nor-bu for duties in dGa'-ldan bDud-'joms gling are described in *rNam-thar*, 25.3–26.5. He is mentioned under the name Byang-gling Bla-zur Ngag-dbang nor-bu in Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Bai dū 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), cf. Karmay (1991: 344). gSang-sngags Byangs-chub gling in Chu-shur is also counted as one of the thirteen *mchod yon gyi grva tshang gling*. See the list (as in note 4), pp. 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 the appendix, below.

robes of the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan (sgam-po); the eldest son of Mi-dbang Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho was installed on 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, which finally resulted in the end of the Qośot rule over Tibet and the invasion of the Dzungars in AD 1717, is common knowledge.<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 lHa-sa 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 AD 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 of directing 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 had 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 a first, provisional shelter nearby. The autobiography of Blo-bzang lHa-mchog provides long descriptions of the natural beauty of this spot, including the varieties of bird songs and the manifold flowers and herbs found on the site. Accordingly Blo-bzang lHa-mchog called the place “Flower

---

<sup>6</sup> *rNam-thar*, p. 29.5–6. For these events see Petech (1988: 209–10). For references to the 6th Dalai Bla-ma's renouncing his monastic vows and adopting the way of life of a temporal ruler, see *ibid.*: 204. A description of the outer appearance and character of Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho can be found in the autobiography of Sle-lung hZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, *rTogs-brjod*, 65.5–66.6, and 79.3–80.6; he met the 6th Dalai Bla-ma and his companions in the years AD 1702–3. The activities of the 5th Dalai Bla-ma as a reincarnation of Srong-btsan sgam-po are described in Ishihama (1993: 53–4).

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Petech (1972: 32–50), and Dabringhaus (1994: 37–8, 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 'igtam*, 258.4–299.10.

<sup>8</sup> The arrival of Lo ras-pa dBang-phyug brtson-'grus in lHo-brag and his stay in Seng-ge ri is described, for example, in Padma dkar-po, *bsTati pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*, 439.17–440.5, and in the biography written by rGod-tshang ras-pa, *bDud rtsi'i phreng ba*, p. 108.11ff. 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). rGyal-dbang Lo ras-pa is the founder of the lower 'Brug-pa school (*smad 'brug*).

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 thirteenth century, also attracted the attention and visits of other masters in the early eighteenth century. 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 AD 1722 and met Blo-bzang lHa-mchog in the “inner part of the sacred site” (*gnas nang*). Together they celebrated a *gaṇacakra*, and Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje, too, was 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 the palace of Yam-shud dmar-po, king of the bTsan demons, was located.<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 AD 1727–8 had been brought to an end by Mi-dbang bSod-nams stobs-rgyas (1689–1747), and the seventh Dalai Bla-ma sKal-bzang rgya-mtsho (1708–57) 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 (b. 1720), had been officially en-throned 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 AD 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 lHa-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 docu-

---

<sup>9</sup> 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 in Ehrhard (1994:14, note 10). His visit to Seng-ge ri is described in Sle-lung bZhad-pa’i rdo-rje, *Rig pa ’dzin pa bio bzang ’phrin las kyi rtogs pa brjod pa skal bzang dga’ ston*, 375 fols., in “Collected Works,” vol. 1, 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, cf. 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 AD 1723 several entrances to the sacred site mKhan-pa ljongs should be opened, cf. *ibid.*, p. 651.1. This name refers to a mountain valley in Bhutan just south of the Tibetan border.

ment that repeated the events that happened in the years AD 1722–33. At the farewell ceremony Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje spoke the following words to his guest: <sup>10</sup>“What is of use to others, [i.e.] turns them towards the *dharmā*, 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 iHo-brag was brought to a successful conclusion.<sup>10</sup>

The years AD 1734–5 again saw Blo-bzang lHa-mchog 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*. His 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>

## 2. 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 better to understand the religious and political practices that accompanied the search for paradisiac sites in the south of Tibet.<sup>12</sup>

The first meeting between the twenty-eight-year-old priest and the thirty-seven-year-old, war-tested politician occurred, according to the available sources, in the year AD 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 at 'Ol-kha stag-rtse and also visited the statue of Maitreya at rDzing-phyi, which had been erected by Tsong-kha-pa

---

<sup>10</sup> The written document of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje for Blo-bzang lHa-mchog can be found in *rNam-thar*, 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, to the south of Phyong-rgyas, cf. Ferrari (1958: 53). For the quotation see *rTogs-brjod*, p. 123.3–4.

<sup>11</sup> The transmission 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 AD 1746 and are contained in the R<sup>N</sup>AM-THAR, 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. 611–15; *sBas gnas 'or mo lha sa'i gnas bsrung gi gsol mchod*.

<sup>12</sup> In Ehrhard (1994: 6–8) there is a short resume of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's journey to gNas Padma-bkod in the year AD 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 the early Qing emperors towards Tibetan Buddhism, cf. Hevia (1993).

Blo-bzang grags-pa. Although this journey of the ruler has been described in previous studies, the contact between Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas has been altogether neglected. Attention has 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 eighteenth century, i.e. in the years AD 1717 to 1720, during the invasion of the Dzungars, and in AD 1726 under the Manchu ruler, the Yongzheng 雍正 Emperor (r. 1723–35). 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 (d. 1727). Directly after the proclamation of the edict, bSod-nams stobs-rgyas reacted strongly against the accusation of heresy to which the rNying-ma-pas was subjected.<sup>14</sup> This event 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 Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa's daughter 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

---

<sup>13</sup> For the valley of Sle-lung, the residence rNam-grol gling, and rDzing-phyi to the east thereof, cf. Wylie (1962: 91), where it is stated that “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 has been previously dealt with by Petech (1972:109–110), whose account in turn was based on that by Dhondup (1984: 88).

<sup>14</sup> A résumé 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 with 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 rMying-ma-pas” could be answered by referring to the wording of the edict of AD 1726. We find therein the explicit prohibition of ritual acts such as “magic rites for subjugating foes” (*drag las mnan pa*), “burning rites” (*bsreg pa*), or “hurling of ritual offerings” (*gtor zo 'phang pa*); see the text in Tshering dbang-rgyal, *Jig rten kuti 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 these three activities, cf. Boord (1993:197–206).

gTer-bdag gling-pa.<sup>15</sup>

A far longer passage in the biography of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas immediately following the one just mentioned describes a meeting with a second person in the same year, i.e. AD 1726, who turns out to be 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 only mention the spiritual authorization (*rjes su gnang ba*) for the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar. After the transmission of these teachings, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje uttered a series of items 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 the merits he derived from that status. But the power of these merits would soon be exhausted, as the minister was at the time said to be "offending against 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 Yongzheng. The tradition of the dGe-lugs-pa was thereby characterized as something the ruler could place confidence in (*zhva ser cod pan 'chang ba 'i rings lugs 'di ni yid brton rung ba 'o*), the reason for this being the supposed purity and continuity of the teachings of Padmasambhava, Atiśa and Tsong-kha-pa. What we see here is, in my opinion, an 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>

---

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba 'i gtam*, 494.20–495.14. This was obviously not the first contact between the lady from sMin-grol gling and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas. Cf. Khyung-po ras-pa, *Dad pa 'i gdung sel*, p. 102.4ff. This meeting took place in the year AD 1719 and was followed in AD 1720 by the proposal of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas that the *rJe-btsun-ma* should move to rKong-po and by further contacts. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.5 ff. It should be mentioned that rje-btsun Mi-'gyur dpal-gyi sgron-ma in the year AD 1718 had escaped the Dzungar armies and had found refuge in the hidden land 'Bras-mo ljongs, identical with present-day Sikkim. There she had been welcomed by the king, 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal (r. 1701–33), and by dPa'-bo 'Jigs-med rdo-rje (b. 1682), the second incarnation of IHa-btsun Nam-mkha' 'jigs-med (1597–1653). See the résumé of these events in bsTan-pa'i sgron-me, *Rang bzhin bden brjod ngo mtshar shel gyi adarśa*, 6.20–7.13.

<sup>16</sup> 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*, 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 has been misrepresented). Cf. 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 IHo-brag Grub-chen Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan and keeper of the visionary teachings of this master, cf. *rTogs-brjod*, p. 618.5ff. In Ehrhard (1992: 56), the integrative capacity of the teachings of IHo-brag Grub-chen in eighteenth-century Tibet has also been mentioned.

Two years later, in AD 1728, Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje acted as mediator between the seventh 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 has stated:

The earth-monkey year (i.e. AD 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.<sup>17</sup>

We have now 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 AD 1729, shortly after bSod-nams stobs-rgyas came to power. The relevant “description of the route” (*lam yig*) to the paradisiac site contains some clues as to Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje's motives for moving to the wilderness of south-eastern Tibet at this particular time:

The earth-male-monkey year [i.e. AD 1728]: As a means of avoiding the border armies in the iron-male-dog year [i.e. AD 1730], I had to pass on towards the supreme sacred site gNas Padma-bkod. And as subsidiary conditions for these [undertakings] it was necessary 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 Gesar at the solitary places touched by Gesar'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 establishing a degree of stability in the

---

<sup>17</sup> See Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, *lTad mo'i khrong khyer*, p. 336.4–5. Compare also the statement in Kun-bzang Nges-don klong-yangs, *Norbu 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 disagreeable conditions for them.” See also Schwieger (1985: LXIV–LXV). For the relationship between the *yon bdag-ruler and the mchod gnas-bla ma* as the ideal foundation of Tibetan political theory, see Seyfort Ruegg (1991: 448–51).

<sup>18</sup> For the journey of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje to gNas Padma-bkod in the year AD 1729 and the text *dGa' byed bden gtam*, see Ehrhard (1994: 7–8). The quotation can be found in the text, pp. 392.6–393.2. 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, cf. *rTogs-brjod*, p. 622.5.

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>

### 3. 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 (b. 1655) and Rig-'dzin Chos-rje güng-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 aptly shown in the case of gNas Pad- ma-bkod. Rva-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje (fl. 17–18th cent.), a disciple of gNam-lcags rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa (fl. 17th cent.) and also of a certain Chos-gling bDe-ba'i rdo-rje (fl. 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 AD 1729 Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje also obtained rights over certain territories.

As mentioned in several passages of his works, this authorization came directly from the *dākinīs* 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

---

<sup>19</sup> See Petech (1972: 161), “The foreign policy of P'o-lha-nas scored a great success in this period”; and Dhondup (1984: 97–8), “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.”

<sup>20</sup> For information on gNam-lcags rdo-rje rTsa-gsum gling-pa and Rva-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje, see Ehrhard (1994: 16, note 18); compare Ricard (1994: XXVIII, note 41) and the chart in *ibid.*, p. 570. This information is based on Gu-ru bKra-shis, *Ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*, pp. 581.21–582.19. For the journey to gNas Padma-bkod, cf. *ibid.*, p. 582.3–8. During the later part of his life Rva-ston sTobs-ldan rdo-rje served the role as “priest” (*mchod gnas*) for the ruler bSod-nams stobs-rgyas.

<sup>21</sup> For this authorization, see the text *lTal (= lTad) chung nikha' 'gro'i dga' chal (= tshal) gyi gnas sgo gсар du phyе ba'i lam yig bden pa'i zungs ldan* in: “Collected Works”, vol. 9, p. 205.3–5; compare also the text, *Yid bzhin gyi nor bu ratna tā re'i lo rgyus mthong na kun*

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 AD 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-dvangs 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 AD 1730. It is further documented in this work that on that occasion Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje climbed with the ruler to the peak of the sacred mountain and made known to him the different sites for which he was authorized, "We climbed the peak of the sacred mountain; for my part, 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 AD 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 hZhad-pa'i rdo-rje brought forward in this respect were included in the biography of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas, written three years later, i.e. in AD 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>

---

*dga'* in: "Collected Works", vol. 9, p. 275.2–4.

<sup>22</sup> See the text, *Mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas mam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang*, 41 fols., in: "Collected Works", vol. 9, p. 327.1–2. In this text we also find the location of the sacred mountain Rin-chen spungs-pa; cf. *ibid.*, p. 282.1–2. For the opening of the site gNas-mchog gSal-dvangs 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). This text was composed by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje at the request of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas.

<sup>23</sup> 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, cf. *Mi dbang bsod nams stobs rgyas mam grol gling du byon pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar 'bum snang* (as in note 21), p. 282.4ff. Compare also Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, *'Jig rten kun tu dga' ba'i gnam*, 79.4–80.10. In both cases the quotation is interpreted as indicating the opposition between Khang-chen-nas (an emanation of the deity sKrag-med nyi-shar) and bSod-nams stobs-rgyas. The quotation

## 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 AD 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 bka' 'gyur* (sponsored by bSod-nams stobs-rgyas in the years AD 1730–1) came from the pen of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje.<sup>24</sup>

Concerning the current research on hidden valleys in Tibetan cultural areas, I might point out that, aside from questions of political history and religious geography, the various 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 related rituals came alive in the persons of bSod-nams stobs-rgyas and Khang-chen-nas, two politicians during a particularly difficult time for Tibet. And it is not a great surprise that this period of military attacks from outside and inner political conflicts should have coincided with a period when the paradisiac sites in the south promised not only refuge but also spiritual transformation. It is this very quality that constitutes 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 concep-

---

from the writings of Chos-rje gling-pa can also be found in both sources and is ascribed to the text *Ātsarya sa le'i zhus len*. Cf. p. 287.1 ff. and p. 80.10–82.18. But in a further work of Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje, the *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, p. 475.2ff, 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: 168–70). The myth of Yam-shud dmar-po (a younger brother of the Buddha Śākyamuni, who after creating initial disturbances, was obliged to act as a protector of the teaching) is narrated by Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje in *sNgon med legs bshad*, Vol. II, 67.19–25.

<sup>24</sup> 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 kütü tu dga' ba'i gnam*, 82.19–20, and 746.1–2. For further information on this blockprint, see Jackson (1989: 93). This text is gradually attracting the interest of concerned scholars, cf. e.g. 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*. For this, see Ehrhard (in press b).

tion-free [unity of] bliss and emptiness flames up. [There are] the peculiar noises of the assemblies of the Mothers, *ḍākinīs* 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 around, and so forth. The occurrence of these things in the common experiences of different people is by itself enough to make [these places] objects to trust in!<sup>25</sup>

## Appendix

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

A unique source for research into the political and religious life of seventeenth-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 AD 1674 to 1680, and the first few months of 1681’ (Karmay 1988:18).

As indicated in an earlier article (Ehrhard 1993: 78–9), a further manuscript in the cycle was photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in 1987, the *gZigs snang gsang ba rgya can ma*, 578 fols., reel no. E 2134/2 – E 2135/1. A close inspection revealed that the missing summaries are contained 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 follows a survey of the five sections and the respective years of the summarized visions:

1. <i>Pad dkar rgya can</i>	fols. 2a/1–11b/2	1674–5
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	1676–7
4. <i>gSer nya 'i rgya can</i>	fols. 33a/6–9b/2	1678–9
5. <i>rGyal mtshan rgya can</i>	fols. 49a/2–63a/5	1680–1

According to the colophon the text was written in AD 1685 by 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa, a monk who took an active part in editing texts, especially in the 5<sup>th</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See *gNas chen zangs mdog dpal ri 'i cha shas las 'phros pa 'i gnas ri lo rgyus da ki dgyes pa 'i glu dbyangs*, in: ‘Collected Works’, Vol. 8, 155.5–156.1. The context of this passage provides further material for the origin of sacred sites and the myth of the Heruka (Maheśvara/Rudra). Cf. Davidson (1991: 229, note 6), with special reference to the discussion of this myth by Sle-lung bZhad-pa 'i rdo-rje in *sNgon med legs bshad*, Vol. I, 1–103. For the inclusion of the ritual text *rGyal po rtse mdos* (otherwise unavailable) in the same collection, cf. Karmay (1991: 343). The myth of Ganesa (*tshogs bdag*) as narrated in this collection is referred to in Krishan (1992: 65 ff).

Dalai Bla-ma's later works. It was at 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, i.e. AD 1674] up to the [time when] the water-dog [year, i.e. AD 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 [into this world] as a master over the breadth of heaven and earth, pursuant to the intent of the prince Mu-ne btsan-po the full understanding [of the composition of the text] mainly arose. [This work] was completed on the dMar-po ri, the palace of Ārya Lokeśvara, by the editor, the one who compiled it, the respectable Vidyadhara 'Jam-dbyangs grags-pa, on the tenth day of the monkey month of the year *khro-bo*, also called *krodha* [i.e. AD 1685], [that is on 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 *vīras* and *dākinīs* 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!

## Bibliography

### Tibetan Sources

- Kun-bzang Nges-don klong-yangs (b. 1814): *Bod du byung ba'i gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim by on gyi mam thar [nor bu'i do shal]*, 186 fols. Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo, 1976.
- bsKal-bzang Padma dbang-phyug, 3rd rDo-rje brag Rig-'dzin (b. 1720): *lHa rigs kyi btsun pa bskal bzang padma'i ming can rang nyid kyi rtogs par brjod pa 'jam gnyen ut pa la gzhad pa'i dga' tshal [gzhon nu bun dbhu'i yid 'phrog]*, 185 fols. Leh: Pema Choden, 1973, 1–370.
- Khyung-po ras-pa (b. 1715): *rJe btsun mi 'gyur dpal gyi sgron ma'i mam thar [dad pa'i gdung sel]*, 119 fols. Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1984.
- Gu-ru bKra-shis, sTag-sgang mkhas-mchog (18th/19th cent.): *bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed. [ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho]*, 1058 pages. Xinhua: mTsho-sngon mi-rigs par-khang, 1990.
- Grub-thob Blo-bzang lHa-mchog (1672–1747): *lHo brag gro bo lung grub thob bio bzang lha mchog rin po che'i mam thar*, 98 fols., n.p., n.d. (=rNam-thar).
- rGod-tshang ras-pa (1189–1258): *Chos rje lo ras pa'i mam par thar pa [bdud rtsi'i phreng ba]*, 113 pages. Xinhua: mTsho-sngon mi-rigs dpe-skrung khang, 1993.

- Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, 5th Dalai Bla-ma (1617–82): *Za hor gyi ban de ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 'i 'di snang 'khrul ba 'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa [du kū la 'i gos bzang]*, 3 vols. Xinhua: Mi-dmangs dpe-skrunkhang, 1989–1991.
- Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, Kaḥ-thog Si-tu (1880–1925): *Si tu chos kyi rgya mtsho gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas bskor lam yig [nor bu zla shel gyi me long]*, 270 fols. Tashijong: The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, 1972.
- bsTan-pa'i sgron-me (b. 1933): *gSang chert rnying ma 'i 'dus sde 'og min o rgyan smin grol gling nges pa don gyi dga' ba 'i tshal chen po 'i dkar chag rang bzhin bden brjod [ngo mtshar shel gyi adarśa]*, 387 pages. Siling: Zi-ling mi-rigs par-khang, 1992.
- Padma dkar-po, 4th 'Brug-chen (1527–92): *Chos 'byung [bstan pa 'i padma rgyas pa 'i nyin byed]*, 464 pages. (= *Gangs can rig mdzod*, vol. 19). Xinhua: Bod-ljongs bod-yig dpe-rnying dpe-skrunkhang, 1992.
- Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal, mDo-mkhar Zhabs-drung (1697–1763): *dPal mi 'i dbang po 'i rtogs pa brjod pa [ 'jig rten kun tu dga' ba 'i gtam]*, 861 pages. Xinhua: Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrunkhang, 1981.
- Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, sDe-srid (1653–1705): *dPal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa 'i bstan pa zhva ser cod pan 'chang ba 'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa [bai dūrya ser po 'i me long]*, 523 pages. Siling: Khrung-go'i bod-kyi shes-rig dpe-skrunkhang, 1989.
- Sle-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje (b. 1697): *Dam can bstan srung rgya mtsho 'i mam par thar pa chashas tsam brjod pa [sngon med legs bshad]*, 2 vols. Leh: T. Sonam and D.L. Tashigang, 1985.
- : *gNas mchog padmo bkod du bgrod pa 'i lam yig [dga' byed bden gtam]*, 53 fols., in “Collected Works,” vol. 8, pp. 389–493. Leh: T. Sonam and D. L. Tashigang, 1985.
- : *gNas thor bu mams gyi lo rgyus [ltad mo 'i grong khyer]*, 23 fols., *ibid.*, 327–371.
- : *Rig pa 'dzin pa bio bzang 'phrin las kyi rtogs pa brjod pa skal bzang dga' stort*, 375 fols., in “Collected Works”, vol. 1, 1–748 (= *rTogs-brjod*):
- O-rgyan glin-pa, gTer-chen (1329–71367): *O rgyan gu ru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa [padma bka' i thang yig]*, 792 pages. Xinhua: Si-khron mi-rigs dpe-skrunkhang, 1988.

## Secondary Literature

- Boord, M.J. (1993), *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla: According to the Texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition of Tibet (byang-gter phur-ba)*. Tring: *Buddhica Britannica Series Continua IV*.
- Dabringhaus, S. (1994), *Das Qing-Imperium als Vision und Wirklichkeit. Tibet in Laufbahn und Schriften des Song Yun (1752–1835)*. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 69. Stuttgart.
- Davidson, R. M. (1991), “Reflections on the Maheśvara Subjugation Myth: Indie Materials, Sakyapa Apologetics, and the Birth of Heruka”. *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 14 (2), pp.

- Dhondup, K. (1984), *The Water-Horse and Other Years: A History of 17th and 18th Century Tibet*. Dharamsala.
- Dowman, K. (1988), *The Power-Places of Central Tibet: The Pilgrim's Guide*. London and New York.
- Ehrhard, F. K. (1992), "The 'Vision' of rDzogs-chen: A Text and its Histories", in *Tibetan Studies*. Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, vol. 1, pp. 47–58, Narita.
- (1993), "Two Documents on Tibetan Ritual Literature and Spiritual Genealogy". *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, Vol. 9, pp. 77–100.
- (1994), "The Role of Treasure Discoverers" and Their Writings in the Search for Himalayan Sacred Lands". *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. 19 (3), pp. 1–20.
- (in press a), "Concepts of Religious Space in Southern Mustang: The Foundation of the Monastery sKu-tshab gter-Inga."
- (in press b), "Recently Discovered Manuscripts of the rNying-ma rgyud-'bum from Nepal."
- Eimer, H. (1994), "Zur Problematik der Stellung des Narthang Druckes in der Überlieferung des tibetischen Kanjur". *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart: Supplement 10, pp. 307–12.
- Ferrari, A. (1958), *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*. Serie Orientale Roma 16. Rome.
- Hevia, J. (1993), "Lamas, Emperors, and Rituals: Political Implications in Qing Imperial Ceremonies". *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* Vol. 16 (2), pp. 243–278
- Ho-Chin Yang (1969), *The Annals of Kokonor*. Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series 106. The Hague.
- Ishihama, Y. (1993), "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara". *Acta Asiatica: Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture* Vol. 64, pp. 38–56
- Jackson, D. P. (1989), *The 'Miscellaneous Series' of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna. Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 2*. Stuttgart.
- Karmay, S. G. (1988), *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript of the Fournier Collection*. London.
- (1991), "L'Homme et le Boeuf: le rituel des Glud ('Rançon')". *Journal Asiatique* 279 (3–4), pp. 27–381.
- Krishan, Y. (1992), "Gaṇeśa in Tibet". *The Tibet Journal* 17:2, pp. 65–71
- Martin, D. (1990), "Bonpo Canons and Jesuit Canons: On Sectarian Factors Involved in the Ch'ien-lung Emperor's Second Goldstream Expedition of 1771–1776. Based Primarily on Some Tibetan Sources". *The Tibet Journal* 15:2, pp. 3–28
- Mayer, R. (1990), "Tibetan Phur-pas and Indian Kīlaś". *The Tibet Journal* 15:1, 3–41; corrected version in *The Buddhist Forum* Vol. 2 (Seminar Papers 1988–90), New Delhi, 1992, pp. 163–192
- de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, R. (1956), *Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Cult and*

- Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities*. s'Gravenhage (reprint; Graz, 1975).
- Petech, L. (1972), *China and Tibet in the Early XVIIIth Century. History of the Establishment of Chinese Protectorate in Tibet. Monographies du T'oung Pao* 1. Leiden.
- (1988), *Selected Papers on Asian History. Serie Orientale Roma* 60. Rome.
- Ricard, M. (1994), *The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogi*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Schwieger, P. (1985), *Die Werksammlungen Kun-tu bzañ-po'i dgoñs-pa zañ-thal, Ka-dag rañ-byuñ rañ-sar und mKha'-'gro gsañ-ba ye-ses-kyi rgyud*. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland XI,9. Stuttgart.
- Seyfort Ruegg, D. (1991), "mchod yon, yon mchod and mchod gnas/yon gnas: On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-Social and Religio-Political Concept". In: *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray GÇza on His Seventieth Birthday*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 26, Vienna, pp. 329–51.
- Wylie, T.V. (1962), *The Geography of Tibet According to the Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad. Serie Orientale Roma* 25. Roma.