

Sa-'dul dgon-pa: A Temple at the Crossroads of Jumla, Dolpo and Mustang*

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The last three of his fourteen Himalayan expeditions brought Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984) to Nepal and its north-western districts. The expedition in the year 1954 expedition retraced the route from Pokhara to the northern part of Mustang—which Tucci had already covered in 1952—and took him afterwards to the region of Jumla. There he discovered the genealogical records of the Malla kings, once the rulers over a territory covering both the western parts of Nepal and the Tibetan regions of Purang and Guge.

On his way to Jumla, Tucci passed through the southern fringes of Dolpo and came across several religious edifices, about which he noted the following:

Before reaching Pale one sees to the left of the Tarāpkhola the *bSam 'dul dgon pa*

(on the map Chhandul Gompa): other small shrines are in the valley of the Bārbung kholā: *bDe c'en dpal ri* and '*Bri gung dgon pa*.¹

Concerning the first site this information can be supplemented by the description of a fellow traveller, David Snellgrove, who paid a visit to the area two years later, i.e. in 1956:

Sandul Monastery (SI: Chhandul Gömpa) is about five miles beyond Tārakot and stands at the junction of the Beri and the stream that descends from Tarap. Thus one has to cross the Bheri to reach the temple; the tracks lead down by crazy steps through the rocks to a tree-trunk bridge which spans a deep and narrow

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gorge. All the rocks are incised with the spell OM MAṆI PADME HŪM and one feels as though one were to enter some hidden idyllic valley, of which Tibetans love to tell, where men and animals live in peace and harmony.²

The general state of decay and abandonment of temples and sanctuaries in the region of Tichurong around the upper course of the Bheri River, which bears the name Barbung near to its source north of the Dhaulagiri, was some years later reconfirmed by the observations of Corneille Jest. But in the case of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* (and the *'Bri-gung dgon-pa*, lying further south-west, high above the Bheri), there were also signs that Buddhist traditions were being revitalized and religious shrines were being kept intact. These activities resulted from the enthusiasm of one bla-ma in particular: the so-called Shangs Rin-po-che (died 1958).³ Later the temple fell again into disrepair, and today only the inner sanctum at the rear side of the building reminds the visitor of earlier times when this site attracted pilgrims and religious dignitaries who were on their way to Jumla, Dolpo, Mustang and the regions beyond (see picture I).

As the history of the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in Tichurong / Barbung is still little documented and as this area lies halfway between the political and cultural centres of Jumla and Mustang, being traversed by one of the old Himalayan trade routes, I think it worthwhile to present here some recently discovered materials on *Sa-'dul dgon-pa*. The main historical guidelines are provided by the collection of spiritual songs of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin (1657-1737), which are structured around the principle events of his life. It was this teacher of the rNying-ma-pa school who brought

Sa-'dul dgon-pa to new glory at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, and his name is still remembered among the people of Dolpo as one of their spiritual forefathers.

1. Education and travels of o-rgyan bstan-'dzin

The main teacher of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin and the one who ordained him and gave him his religious name was O-rgyan dpal-bzang (1617-1677), a native of southern Mustang and founder of the monastery *sKu-tshab gter-linga* near present-day Thini. His ordination took place in the year 1668, and the location where the teacher and his disciple came together was called *Kun-bzang brag*. This name refers to a spot near **sKag[-rdzong]**, the settlement next to *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* in the eastern direction.⁴

Following the advice of his teacher, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin proceeded at the age of seventeen to Central Tibet and took up his studies at the Sa-skyapa monastery *rTa-nag Thub-bstan rnam-rgyal*. After visits to **IHa-sa** and **bSam-yas**, his return trip led him via **Ding-ri** and **sNya-lam** to the Kathmandu Valley and also to **sKyid-grong** and its holy mountain **Ri-bo dpal-'bar**. From the masters he met in the region of **sKyid-grong**, I would like to mention at least a certain rGyal-dbang seng-ge (born 1628); from him O-rgyan bstan-'dzin received the teachings of the treasure cycles of Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon snying-po (1585-1656).⁵

Returning to his homeland—during his travels O-rgyan bstan-'dzin was once called the "man from the region of Dolpo"—he continued his studies under two further teachers. The first one was Bla-ma Thub-bstan dbang-po and the second, Bla-ma dPal-ldan rdo-rje. It is known from their respective biographies that Thub-bstan dbang-po was a

follower of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school who had received teachings from the 5th 'Brug-chen dPag-bsam dbang-po (1593-1641), and that dPal-ldan rdo-rje was a Sa-skyapa master affiliated with the monastery of **Hrab** in northern Dolpo.⁶

Having completed this training in his twenty-fourth year (1681), O-rgyan bstan-'dzin pondered the question whether he should continue the studies of "the tantras of the system of the new [translations]" (*gsar ma lugs kyi rgyud*) and proceed a second time to Central Tibet, or stick to "the teaching of the old [translations]" (*rnying ma lugs kyi chos*) in the way he was instructed before. At that time a vision of Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal occurred to him and the divine lady uttered the following words: "You, son, are you not a priest of U-rgyan Padma[sambhava]? If you want the siddhis, [why] don't you go to request the teaching from Rig-'dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje?" After more visionary experiences, and in the end asking his teacher dPal-ldan rdo-rje for leave, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin set out again for the region of **sKyid-grong**. After barely escaping death on a high pass because of heavy snowfall for three days, he finally reached the place called **mNyam** in the region of **sKu-thang**; and there, at "the Site of the Guru's [= Padmasambhava's] Spiritual Practices" (*gu ru'i sgrub gnas*), in a cave bearing the name **Shel-phug**, he met Rig-'dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje (1640-1685) in person. The main teachings he received from the "treasure-discoverer" (*gter ston*) concerned the treasure-work *Zab tig chos dbyings rang gsal*, and there has survived a commentary which O-rgyan bstan-'dzin composed at a later time to a part of this cycle.⁷

Following the admonitions of the so-called mNga'-ris gTer-ston to live in "solitary places (which are) hermitages" (*ri khrod dben gnas*) for progress in his spiritual discipline, O-rgyan bstan-

'dzin afterwards devoted his time fully to the teachings of the newly discovered treasure-cycle. The next major event in his life was the death of Thub-bstan dbang-po in his twenty-ninth year, i.e. in 1686. With the aim of getting manufactured a proper "receptacle for the relics" (*gdung rten*) of his deceased teacher, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin directed his steps towards the valley of Kathmandu and brought back a magnificent statue of Padma-sambhava. He was able to erect a temple for housing the image on the spot where Thub-bstan dbang-po had had his living-quarters; this temple he called *bDe-chen rDzong-gi lha-khang*, and it served him as residence for the years to come. This temple is known still today under the name *bDe-chen dpal-ri* and is located to the south-east of *Sa-'dul gdon-pa* in the village Tangchen/Tachen, on the opposite side of the Bheri River.⁸

Finally, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin received teachings from Kun-bzang klong-yangs, the successor of O-rgyan dpal-bzang at *sKu-tshab gter-linga* and his senior by thirteen years. Besides the reading of the biography of their common teacher, special mention is made of the treasure-cycles of Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714). Just shortly before this encounter, in 1688, Kun-bzang klong-yangs had stayed in the presence of this treasure-discoverer at *sMin-grol gling* in Central Tibet. He had been well received there and had spent a period of altogether eight months at *sMin-grol gling*.⁹

2. Restorations of sa-'dul gdon-pa and their sponsors

With the year 1690 we come finally to the temple that is the subject of the present investigation. Obviously the building and the sacred items

housed there were already at that time not well-kept:

Now, at the time of my thirty-fourth year, the *Bhūpala*, the ruler, the king of Jumla, *Bhi-ri-sras* (by name), as he had issued the strong request to renovate the vihāra of *Sa-'dul*, I restored the three inner sanctums and erected representations (i.e. statues) of Mahāmuni, O-rgyan Rin-poche (i.e. Buddha Śākyamuni and Padma-sambhava), and others. What amounted to a *zho* (of silver) from the king (of Jumla) himself, what amounted to a *zho* (of silver) from the ruler of Mustang, bSam-'grub dpal-'bar (by name), and furthermore, what all the monastic community and commoners had brought together—great things (like) horses and yaks, and small things (like) white-wash (?)—when it (all) had been brought together and offered, the receptacles were set up (by me).¹⁰

A closer look should now be taken at the sponsors who are highlighted in this quotation. The identification of the king of Jumla poses some problems, as the name *Bhi-ri-sras* is a transliteration of a vernacular and can be interpreted in different ways (and thus made to apply to different historical persons). Given the fact that Tib. *sras* is the phonetical rendering of Nep. *śāhi*—as attested in a Tibetan document dated before the conquest of Jumla by Gorkha in the year 1789—we could hypothetically identify *Bhi-ri-sras* as one of the fourteen Śāhi or two Śāha kings of the Kallala dynasty of Jumla, who ruled the kingdom during the period from the 15th to 18th centuries.¹¹

The names Vikramaśāhi and Virabahadurśāhi might have served as possible candidates for the person of the Tibetan rendering *Bhi-ri-sras*, but their regnal years were 1602-1621 and 1635-1665 respectively, and thus they lived too early. A third candidate would be Virabhadraśāhi, but his reign (1665-1676) does not match the year of the renovation of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* either. Nevertheless, an interesting detail of his kingship is that he ruled the country from Kakakot and Tibrikot. The first toponym I take to be identical with Tib. **sKag-rdzong**, the place in the vicinity of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* which had provided residence for the teachers of the rNying-ma-pa and bKa'-brgyud-pa schools.¹²

If we turn now to the oral traditions of local kings in Tichurong, it is the person of Virabhadraśāhi—and especially his son—that are still remembered up to the present day. The name of this son is Vikram[a]śāh[i/a], and I take him to be the person who called for the renovation of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* in the year 1690. This Vikramśāh (*Bhi-ri-sras*) can easily be confused with his predecessor of the same name (and this fact might have contributed to his local fame), but it is not only the name of Vikramśāh that still lives on in the region; a statue of the king also keeps his memory alive. This statue is kept in the inner sanctum of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* and is a visible proof of the royal patronage of the site (see picture II).¹³

The mention of a ruler of Mustang by the name of bSam-grub dpal-'bar comes as no surprise in the present context. We know from different sources that this ruler was very active in providing financial assistance to the Buddhist religion, and there exists a separate work describing his renovation of the *Byams-pa lha-khang* in **Glo-bo sMon-thang**, the capital of Mustang, in the year 1663. That the temple at the crossroads of Jumla,

Dolpo and Mustang was sponsored both by Vikramśāh and bSam-'grub dpal-'bar can by implication be interpreted as a visible sign of the political (and cultural) dependence that tied Mustang to Jumla in the 17th and 18th centuries. This dependence must be taken into account when we deal with the history of religious structures in an area that is something of a border region between these two kingdoms.¹⁴

Concerning the actual renovation work, the fact is perhaps worth mentioning that felled trees were brought down from **rTa-rong**, i.e. the gorge of the Tarap Khola, by raft, but were in the end carried away by turbulent waters. About a thousand loads of wood had therefore to be transported to the 'Plain of **Sa-'dul'** (*sa 'dul gyi thang*) by human labour. This should be sufficiently revealing of the first stage of restoring *Sa-'dul gdon-pa*, which obviously was initiated by royal orders.

The next years in the life of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin saw him mainly active at his residence in **bTang-byon**, the *bDe-chen rDzong-gi lha-khang*, and it was again the procuring of a further statue for this temple that made a second trip to the Kathmandu Valley necessary. There he paid a visit to the Svayambhūnāth-stūpa, ordered a statue of the future Buddha Maitreya from the artist Abhadeva in Patan, paid his respects to the Bodhnāth-stūpa, and held a Gaṇacakra-feast at the top of the mountain **Ri-bo 'big-byed**, i.e. Jāmācok.¹⁵

At the age of 43, in the year 1700, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin assumed the task of a further renovation of *Sa-'dul gdon-pa*, this time not under official orders, it seems, but on his own. The three inner sanctums are mentioned again, along with the statues of Buddha Śākyamuni and Padmasambhava, and the difficulties of working at the spot because of an avalanche. In a spiritual song following the

description of the different repair works, the "benefits of the sacred site" (*gnas kyi phan yon*) are praised by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin; he labelled this song an "inventory" (*dkar chag*) of the place. We can observe in it the process by which *Sa-'dul gdon-pa* and its wider surroundings are transformed into an idealized landscape and accorded at the same time the status of a "hidden land" (*sbas yul*). In the context of different schemes and names for classifying the area at the confluence of the Tarap Khola and the Bheri Khola, the fact emerges that the temple was originally founded by a certain Chos-rje Dar-pa, a siddha of the bKa' brgyud-pa school.¹⁶ The list of patrons opens with the names of the ruler of Mustang and the king of Jumla—followed by the local benefactors and their villages—and we can thus interpret also this second restoration of the temple as a visible sign of a specific political constellation in which Mustang was one of the petty states dominated by Jumla.

3. Later years and the visit of Kaḥ-thog rig-'dzin

It was again at his residence, the *bDe-chen rDzong-gi lha-khang*, that O-rgyan bstan-'dzin instructed his growing circle of disciples in the first years of the 18th century, using treasure-cycles like *Zab tig chos dbyings rang gsal* as the basic texts. On one occasion he made the noteworthy remark that the teachings of the "Great Perfection" (*rdzogs chen*) had in earlier times not reached the region of Dolpo. But this gets us ahead of the course of actual events. First we have to take note of the pilgrimage to the area of Mount Kailāśa and Lake Manasarovar in 1704 which was performed in the company of a group of his disciples. This intended

"circumambulation of the snow mountain" (*gangs skor*) led O-rgyan bstan-'dzin first to the royal court of Jumla, where he received financial support from the kings of Jumla, including Mahārāja Vikramśāh (*Bhi-ri-sras*); such wording suggests that the power at the court was shared among different rulers at the time. Crossing the region of 'Om-lo lung—present-day Humla—he reached the sacred mountain and stayed at different places in the area, among them the famous cave known as rDzu-'phrul phug. His return took him via another route to the region of sLe-mi—present-day Limi—to the north-west of Dolpo, and there he paid a visit to a sacred mountain of some local renown, the so-called Shel-mo gangs.¹⁷

Passing Ting-kyu in upper Dolpo, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin then visited, for the first time, the valley of rTa-rab in the southern part of Dolpo—this at the invitation of the teachers and patrons from *Me-skyems dgon-pa*. The name of this monastery shows up several times more in his autobiographical works covering the years to come, and it was especially from it that the local tradition of the teachings of Padmasambhava spread further in that area.¹⁸

Nevertheless O-rgyan bstan-'dzin also continued his religious activities in Tichurong after having returned there. Eventually he gave way to urgent requests to become the overseer (*zhal bdag*) of 'Bri-gung dgon-pa, the temple on the lower course of the Bheri Khola above Yalakot. The fact that Vikramśāh, the local king in the line of Jumla rulers, had a special connection with 'Bri-gung dgon-pa is obvious from the two designations of the temple: it bears the name "the Jumla king's most excellent island of liberation" (*'dzum lang rgyal po'i thar pa gling mchog*) and—more prosaic—"monastery of king Bir" (*bir rgyal dgon pa*).

It should also be remembered that according to the local tradition Vikramśāh was born in the village of Yalakot. O-rgyan bstan-'dzin thus attended to that religious edifice as well and finished his work with a proper act of consecration.

During the account of this period, the name bsTan-'dzin ras-pa (1644/46-1723) is mentioned, and we come to know that an exchange of letters took place between O-rgyan bstan-'dzin and this yogin of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa school, who was a native of the Muktināth valley and the founder of *Shel dgon-pa* in upper Dolpo. This latter region was the destination of the next journey of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin. He met bsTan-'dzin ras-pa personally in *Shel dgon-pa* and performed afterwards the pilgrimage around the sacred mountain of Shel-gyi ri-bo [*'brug-sgra*], from which the monastery derived its name. Before the leg of the journey through the western part of upper Dolpo, the eastern part was traversed, and its inhabitants received public initiations from the priest. Two places are especially noted by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin, who devoted some spiritual songs to them: gNas-mchog Gra-lung and dMar-sgom. These are sites where teachers of the Ngor-pa subsect of the Sa-skyapa school had been active from the 16th century onwards.¹⁹

Without going into more details of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin's further travels to *Me-skyems dgon-pa* in the valley of rTa-rab and to the villages in upper Dolpo—including a further meeting with bsTan-'dzin ras-pa—I want finally to direct attention again to the temple of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* and its wider surroundings. According to the available written sources, it seems that from his sixtieth year onwards O-rgyan bstan-'dzin frequented sites to the north of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa*, near the village of Glang, as places conducive to the pursuit of his spiritual

endeavours. One of these sites was called "Horse Ferry" (*rta gru*), and it is in connection with this toponym that the person of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin remained alive in the memory of generations of priests following his tradition. Another one was known to the local people by the name "Sun-Cave, the hermitage of the land of **Glang**" (*glang yul gyi ri khrod nyi ma phug*); this location served at the same time as residence for A-ni Chos-skyid, a female disciple of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin, remembered as well in southern Dolpo down to the present day.²⁰

A final example of the importance *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* achieved in the 18th century as a temple where religious discourses were given and as an entry point to hidden sites lying beyond can be found in the biography of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755). As his stay in *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* in the year 1730 was followed by a personal encounter with O-rgyan bstan-'dzin in **rTa-gru**, I shall present this episode from the perspective of both persons in an appendix.²¹ With this teacher from the region of Kaḥ-thog in Eastern Tibet, we have reached also the last formative element in the spiritual life of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin: although by four decades his junior, he counted Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu as one of his three main teachers (the other two being O-rgyan dpal-bzang and Rig-'dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje).

After bringing a further renovation project to a successful end—this time at **sKag-rdzong**, in the vicinity of his old residence—and a last journey to his disciples in northern Dolpo, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin died seven years later in **rTa-gru**, the inner part of the hidden land he had created around the 'Plain of **Sa-'dul**.'

Notes

1. See Tucci (1956:37, note 1) and the attached map (reproduced at the end of this paper). This publication contains the results of Tucci's expeditions of 1952 and 1954. A popular version of the discovery of the historical records of the Malla kingdom is Tucci (1962). For an overview of the genealogy of the royal house—its last and most powerful ruler being Pṛthvīmalla (regnal years 1338-1358)—and remarks on Tucci's reconstruction of the origins of the Mallas, compare Sharma (1972:17-20 and 40-41). See also Klimburg-Salter (1991) for the different research expeditions of Tucci in the Himalayan regions.

2. Snellgrove (1961:39). A description of the temple itself can be found *ibid.*(40): "There are traces of older building in some carved wooden beams, which display more expert craftsmanship, and one can see the stone foundations of other buildings behind the present temple, indicating that this site must once have been of far greater importance It is apparent that this temple receives little or no support nowadays."

3. See Jest (1971:75): "Ce qu'il faut souligner toute fois avec Snellgrove, c'est l'aspect d'abandon que l'on remarque dans les temples et les sanctuaires, aspect qui s'est encore accentué ces dernières années; le lama de Shang a bien essayé de redonner vie à la religion bouddhique en 1954-55...". Cf. Jest (1975:308): "Shang Rinpoche a séjourné cinq mois à Tichurong en 1951, les onzième et douzième mois à *sa-'dul dgon-pa*, les premier, deuxième et troisième à '*bri-guñ*. Il a fait remettre en état les deux temples, redresser les chörten en ruines, recréer et décorer les constructions élevées par le roi de Jumla. La lama de Shang avait prédit qu'il construirait ou reconstruirait quatorze temples. Les deux derniers sont ceux de *sa-'dul* et de '*bri-guñ*." On the rebuilding of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* and '*Bri-gung dgon-pa* by Shangs Rin-po-che and his travels in Mustang, Nyi-shang and sNar, cf. also Snellgrove

(1961:37, 39-40 and passim). The mummified corpse of the bla-ma is still kept in northern Dolpo, as narrated by Jest (1985:140-147).

4. For general information concerning O-rgyan dpal-bzang and the founding of the monastery of *sKu-tshab gter-lnga*, see Snellgrove (1979:79-81). The ordination of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin occurred on O-rgyan dpal-bzang's journey to the area of Barbung preceding the actual foundation of *sKu-tshab gter-lnga* in 1668; compare the data in Ehrhard (in press a). A second disciple of O-rgyan dpal-bzang who had received his religious name in *Kun-bzang brag* was Kun-bzang klong-yangs (1644-1699). A scion of the ruling family of **sKag[-rdzong]** in Barbung—not to be confused with Kagbeni, at the confluence of the Kalī Gandhakī and Muktināth rivers—he eventually became the successor of O-rgyan dpal-bzang at *sKu-tshab gter-lnga*. For a description of this teacher's visit to **sKag[-rdzong]** and the spot *Kun-bzang brag*, see his autobiography: *rTogs brjod mu tig gi mchun bu* (= *chun po zhes pa'i gtam*, fols. 16b/6-17b/3. A manuscript from **sKag[-rdzong]** was purchased by Tucci; see id. (1956:15).

5. For presenting the main events in the life of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin, I follow NYAMS-DBYANGS; for the period up to the stay in the area of **sKyid-grong**, see *ibid.*, pp. 7.3-13.5. The text RNAM-THAR was written by the author in his seventieth year upon the request of his disciples to produce a condensed version of the first work; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 5.3-19.4 for the journey just mentioned.

The teacher rGyal-dbang seng-ge was one of the main disciples of Karma Blo-bzang, "resident" (*gnas 'dzin pa*) of the religious site **Brag-dkar rta-so** to the north-east of **sKyid-grong**. He was also in contact with O-rgyan dpal-bzang and Kun-bzang klong-yangs; see *Rigs brgya dbang po 'dren mchog slob dpon dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa*, fol. 314a/2-3, and the text mentioned in note 4, fol. 39b/2-4. In the year 1665 rGyal-dbang seng-ge wrote the biography of his father 'Od-zer rgya-

mtsho (1574-1661): *Bya btang 'od zer rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*.

6. For Thub-bstan dbang-po see his biography: *Bla ma rin po che sbas pa'i rnal 'byor pa chen po thub bstan dbang po'i rnam (= rnam) thar*. Concerning the founding of a monastic settlement in **Hrab** by dPal-ldan blo-gros (1527-1596), see Snellgrove (1967:11). A further teacher associated with this site by the name of dPal-ldan bzang-po is known as well; see *ibid.* (241). For the writings of dPal-ldan rdo-rje, see the texts mentioned in Ehrhard (in press b, note 5). This period in the life of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin can be found in NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 13.5-20.1.

7. See NYAMS-DBYANGS, p. 20.4, for the quote (*bu khyod u rgyan padma'i btsun pa ma yin nam / dngos grub 'dod na rig 'dzin gar dbang rdo rje la chos zhu ru mi 'gro'am*), and *ibid.*, pp. 23.4-26.4, for the detailed account of his stay with the treasure-discoverer. It should be mentioned that O-rgyan dpal-bzang had visited Rig-'dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje as well in the cave **Shel-phug** north of the Manāslu region with the aim of inspecting some of the findings of the treasure-discoverer; see Ehrhard (in press a).

Another teacher from Dolpo who had studied directly under Rig-'dzin Gar-dbang rdo-rje—in the year 1679—was Ngag-dbang nam-rgyal (born 1628) from **gNam-gung**; on him and the teachings received see Ehrhard (in press b). The commentary written by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin bears the title *bKa' rdzogs pa chen po zab tig chos dbyings rang gsal las phyag rgya chen po gnyug ma gcer mthong gi khrid*.

8. See NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 34.3-35.2, for the death of Thub-bstan dbang-po and the construction of the temple. In RNAM-THAR, p. 21.5-6, these events are condensed to three lines: *gdung brten (= rten) bzhengs ru (= bzheng du) bal du phyin / o rgyan sku nang gdung rnam bzhugs / da lta de (= bde) chen dpal rir bzhugs*. The biography of Thub-

bstan dbang-po provides the information that this teacher was born in **gTang-byon**, on the borderline between Tibet and the gorges (*bod rong gnyis kyi so* (= *sa mtshams*)).

The epithet "temple of the fortress" (*rdzong gi lha khang*) suggests that the religious services held there were connected with the ruling family of **sKag[-rdzong]**. I suppose that the toponyms **sTeng-shog** / **bTang-shog** are alternative spellings for **gTang-byon** and thus refer to the same locality. The first spelling can be found in the biography of O-rgyan dpal-bzang and refers there to the spot from where the people came who attended the teachings during his stay in **rKag[-rdzong]**; see the text (as in note 5), fols. 315b/6-316a/1 (... *steng shog lung gang gi gra* (= *grva*) *rigs thams cad 'dus nas*). According to the biography of Kun-bzang klong-yangs it was from **bTang-shog** that Karma Blo-bzang, the "resident" of **Brag-dkar rta-so**, was invited to **sKag[-rdzong]**; see the text (as in note 4), fols. 10a/6-b/1 (*rim*s (= *rim*) *can btang shog lung bar spyen 'dren zhus khyad par bdag gis* (= *gi*) *pha dang a khu tshos skag rdzong du spyen 'dren zhu dus*). Karma Blo-bzang was the founder of **gNam-gung** in northern Dolpo; see Ehrhard (in press a, note 10).

9. For the studies with Kun-bzang klong-yangs, see NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 38.1-42.3; cf. RNAM-THAR, pp. 22.1-3. In the biography of Kun-bzang klong-yangs (as in note 4), fols. 66a/4-67a/5, the study period is described in still greater detail; it was resumed in *Kun-bzang brag* near **sKag[-rdzong]** during conditions of extreme winter cold. For the visit of Kun-bzang klong-yangs to the monastery of *sMin-grol gling* and his studies with Rig-'dzin gTer-bdag gling-pa, see *ibid.*, fols. 57b/3-65b/1. These data for the year 1688 are confirmed by the biography of the treasure-discoverer; see *gTer chen chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar dad pa'i shing rta*, pp. 314.6; 315.6; and 316.6. He is referred to there under the name Glo-bo bla-ma Kun-bzang klong-yangs or Glo-bo-pa Kun-bzang klong-yangs.

10. NYAMS-DBYANGS, p. 42.3-5: *yang rang lo so bzhi pa'i dus su / sa skyong mi'i dbang po 'dzum lang rgyal po bhi ri sras kyis / sa 'dul gyi gtsug lag khang gi zhig bsos* (= *gsos*) *byed dgos pa'i bka' nan ches pa'i btab* (= *btav*) *kyis / gtsang khang gsum gyi zhig bsos* (= *gsos*) *dang / thub chen dang / o rgyan rin po che'i sku tshab sogs bzhengs pas / rgyal po rang gi zho gang / blo bo* (= *glo bo*) *sde pa bsam 'grub dpal 'bar gyi zho gang / gzhan yang skya ser kun gyi 'brel par / che ba rta dang g.yag / chung ba dkar cig* (= *rtsi* ?) *gnyis kun gyi 'brel par phul nas rten bzhengs pas*. The funds for gilding the statues came from a man called gTang-byon-pa Yon-bdag bKra-shis phun-tshogs; see *ibid.*, p. 43.3-6. He had also been the sponsor for the construction of the *bDe-chen rDzong-gi lha-khang* (see note 8).

11. For the history of the Kallala dynasty which followed the royal house of the Mallas, see Pandey (1970) and (1971); the numbering of eleven kings whose names end with the suffix *rāj*, followed by the names of the fourteen Śāhi and the two Śāha kings can be found in Pandey (1970:45). The Tibetan document—a treatise between Jumla and Mustang—was edited and translated by Schuh (1994:69-78). We find there the names *Big-ram-sras* (= Vikramaśāhi) and *Bir-bā-dhur-sras* (= Virabhadurśāhi). The treatise opens by referring to the person of Balirāja, the founder of the Kallala dynasty (regnal years 1404-1445); see Schuh (1994:73).

It might be useful to point out that this name was used by Tibetan scholars generically to designate the ruler of this dynasty up to the 18th century. See Chos-kyi dbang-phyug, *Rig pa 'dzin pa chen po rdo rje tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyis rnam par thar pa*, pp. 155.2-3: "... (this region,) which is part of India, (was ruled) in former times (by) the king of Ya-tshe (i.e. the Malla dynasty), and in his place, now, (by the ruler) called Balirāja. He puts faith in the philosophical teachings of the Tirthikas and has brought twenty petty kingdoms under his rule. (This region) is known as Jumla..." (*rgya gar yul gyi cha / sngon tshe ya tshe rgyal po'i shul / da lta*

bā (= ba) li rā tsa zhes / phyi rol grub mtha' la mos shing / rgyal phran nyi shur dbang bsgyur ba / 'dzum lang grags pa).

12. Information concerning the rulers Vikramśāhi, Virabahadurśāhi and Virabhadraśāhi is given by Pandey (1971:42-44 and 45-46). Compare also the following statement on the "castles" from which they wielded their rule: "... between A.D. 1599 and 1719, we find about ten kings of the dynasty who had ruled the Jumla valley from its various castles (*kots*). Either due to revolution or division of the property (state) each prince of the family had received a town along with the hills and the villages of its neighbourhood." (note: "The towns of late-medieval period in Western Nepal would not have been bigger than a modern village of the region."); *ibid.*: (42 and 58).

13. For the local traditions of Tichurong concerning king Vikram[a]śāh[i/a], see Fisher (1987:30): "... Bhadri Sah, who was in turn the father (by his Magar wife) of Vikram Sah, ... who is the only named historical figure generally remembered in Tichuring today. According to local legend, Vikram Sah ... was born in Yelakot ... below the Tichurong village of Gompa." On Yelakot/Yalakot as the old customs house before it was shifted downstream to Dunaih, see Fürer-Haimendorf (1975:208). Compare also Jest (1971:75): "Le seul personnage historique connu des Tichurong-pa est Bikram Saha ṭhakurī, roi de Jumla, qui a été le bienfaiteur des temples des 'briguñ et de sa-'dul dgon-pa où on conserve sa statue".

14. In Jackson (1984:150) we find the following characteristic of bSam-'grub dpal-'bar: "Everywhere, both within [Lo] and without, he sponsored the making of inconceivably many sacred images, books, and stūpas. Because he worshipped the [Three] Jewels with offerings, reverently served the monastic assembly, and was energetic in his meditations, he truly lived up to the name "religious king." The text on the renovation of the

Byams-pa lha-khang bears the title *rGyal ba'i rgyal tshab byams mgon gtso 'khor gsum gyi sku bsnyen la gzungs bzhugs kyi dkar chags dngos grub kun 'byung*, 22 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 143/2; for a first study of this text, cf. Gurung (1986).

The political dependency of Mustang upon Jumla in the 17th and 18th centuries has been dealt with by Schuh (1994:68-85). According to the material presented there, the sovereignty of Jumla over Mustang was firmly established by at least the reign of Virabahadurśāhi (i.e. the 1630s) and lasted around 150 years.

15. For the mentioned detail of the renovation of 1690, see NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 43.5-44.1: *yang shing chad pas rta rong nas chu log rgyugs pas / rta rong lung pa'i shing thams cad chu rud kyi (= kyis) khyer yongs pas / sa 'dul gyi thang la shing khur stong len rgyu byung ngo*. The visit to the Kathmandu Valley can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 102.2-107.5. On the way back O-rgyan bstan-'dzin spent some time in "'*Od-gsal sgang*, the residence of my own teacher" (*rang gi bla ma'i gdan sa 'od gsal sgang*); this refers to the site of *sKu-tshab gter-nga* in southern Mustang. There he came upon the two statues of Padmasambhava which were kept in "both the upper and lower monasteries" (*dgon pa yas mas gnyis*) and had been "the sacred objects" (*nang rten*) of Kun-bzang klong-yangs. Mention is also made of the hermitage bearing the name *Zom-bu ri* in **Sum-'bag**; this toponym refers to present day Thini. For the stay of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin in *sKu-tshab gter-nga* in the year 1699, see *ibid.*, pp. 107.5-113.3.

16. The renovation work in the year 1700 is described in NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 125.5-134.4; for the difficulties to reach the spot, see *ibid.*, p. 125.5 (*chu thags zhig thang la brtsugs pas dka' las shin tu che ba byung*). The text of the inventory can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 126.4-129.4. The area in question is classified into an outer, inner and secret sacred site bearing the respective names *Sa-'dul dgon-pa*, *O-rgyan byang-chub phan* and *Thar-pa rtse*. This scheme is extended into a fivefold

classification (*sku gnas / gsung gnas / thugs gnas / yon tan gnas / phrin las gnas*) by adding the names — and places — *sTag-gyi rgyal-mtshan* and *rTa-gru dben-gnas*.

Chos-rje Dar-pa is identified as a siddha who came from the Kailāśa area to the valley of Tichurong; he sacralized the site of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* by depositing soil and stones from holy places in India, Nepal and Tibet. According to Jest (1971:75) and (1975:309), a certain Bla-ma Zla-ba seng-ge for the first time erected a temple on that spot; this statement is not confirmed by the present sources. For the "hidden valley" as a concept of religious space in southern Mustang, see Ehrhard (in press a); cf. also Orofino (1991).

17. For the remark on Dolpo see NYAMS-DBYANGS, p. 166.2 (*sprang po'i bsam pa la chos rdzogs pa chen po 'di lngar (= sngar) dol phyogs su ma dar ba yin te*). The description of the pilgrimage to the Kailāśa area can be found in *ibid.*, pp. 178.3-198.1, containing the short data on the royal court of Jumla, *ibid.*, p. 181.1-2 (*rgyal chen bhi ri sras sogs 'dzum lang rgyal po thams cad kyis mthun rkyen mdzad*).

Concerning the mountain **Shel-mo gangs** there exists a guidebook by a certain Padma dngos-grub: *gNas chen shel mo gangs gi dkar chags mthong ba rang grol*. For the contact of Zhabs-dkar Tshogs-drug rang-grol (1781-1851) with the people from this area of Limi and the sacred mountain, cf. Ricard (1994:308, 321-328).

18. The local historical tradition concerning rituals and religious beliefs of the rNying-ma-pa school in **rTa-rab** is described by Jest (1975:305): "Le rituel actuel et la forme donnée aux pratiques religieuses à Tarap sont l'oeuvre de lama *u-rgyan bstan-'jin*: originaire de la vallée de la Barbung, il a été surnommé *sta-bru u-rgyan bstan-'jin* parce qu'il a longtemps séjourné en méditation l'ermitage de *sta-bru* au Sud de Lang. Il appartenait à l'ordre des *rjogs-chen-pa*." For the relocation of *Me-skyems dgon-pa* to the valley of **rTa-rab** under Pha-rgod rTogs-ldan rgyal-po, see *ibid.*: 308. This must have

happened in the 17th century as O-rgyan bstan-'dzin mentions rTogs-ldan rgyal-po as one of his early teachers; NYAMS-DBYANGS, p. 36.4. The biography and spiritual songs of Pha-rgod rTogs-ldan rgyal-po were microfilmed by Klaus-Dieter Mathes and the NGMPP team during an expedition to Dolpo in the summer of 1995.

19. The activities in '*Bri-gung dgon-pa* are related in NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 239.2-260.3. The term "overseer" (*zhal bdag*) is also used for O-rgyan bstan-'dzin on the occasion of the second renovation of *Sa-'dul dgon-pa*; *ibid.*, p. 126.3. For information on bsTan-'dzin ras-pa, his birthplace in the Muktināth valley, and his (re-)opening of the hidden valley **sKyid-mo lung** in the area of **sKu-thang**, see Ehrhard (1993a:25-26) and (in press a: note 14); cf. now Schuh (1995:42-44) for a translation of the genealogy of bsTan-'dzin ras-pa's family.

Concerning the lineage of the masters of **dMar-sgom**, which was founded by bSod-nams blo-gros (1516-1581), and the site of **Gra-lung**, the residence of rNam-grol bzang-po (born 1504), the teacher of bSod-nams blo-gros, see Ehrhard (in press b). The biographies translated by Snellgrove (1967) deal with four representatives of this tradition. For a modern-day description of the pilgrimage around **Shel-gyi ri-bo**, see Jest (1985). A guide-book is also available: *gNas mchog shel gyi ri bo 'brug sgra'i dkar chags mthong ba don ldan dad pa'i skya rengs*, 18 fols., NGMPP reel-no. E 2756/15.

20. For an ethnographic account of the village of **Glang**, see Jest (1975:70). A short résumé of the life of A-ni Chos-skyid can be found *ibid.*: 306-307 (note: "A Tarap, il n'existe pas de copie de la biographie de la religieuse. Les religieux de Tarap dansent sur le thème de la vie de méditation de *a-ni chos-skyid* (danse appelée chos-bro), lors des cérémonies du onzième mois à Nimaphug (à Doro) et à Mekyem." In the meantime a copy of this biography has been located in Tarap: *mKha' 'gro ma o rgyan chos skyid gyi rnam thar bsdus pa*, 51

fols., NGMPP reel no. L 401/3.

The following statement is made by O-rgyan bstan-'dzin in praise of the spiritual qualities of **rTa-gru**: "This sacred site—it is my hidden land The door to the sacred site (is) **Sa-'dul**, a place for giving (offerings). The inner part of the sacred site (is) **rTa-gru**, a place of pristine awareness." See NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 364.3-5: *gnas 'di ni nga yi sbas yul yin / ... / gnas sgo ni sa 'dul sbyin pa'i gnas / gnas nang ni rta gru ye shes gnas*, and RNAM-THAR, pp. 44.6-45.4 (with a different reading of the last line: *gnas nang ni lta (= rta) gru ting 'dzin gnas*).

21. On the itinerary of Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu before he reached *Sa-'dul dgon-pa* and his visits to the court of the king of Mustang and to Muktināth, see Ehrhard (1993a). For his stay in *Sa-'dul dgon-pa*, the following data are provided by Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (as in note 11), p. 147.2-3: "What is called *Sa-'dul*, the naturally arisen cemetery, this most excellent great sacred site which was blessed by the Tathāgati Vajravarahī—for several days he stayed there and made extensive offerings (in the form) of sacrificial cakes for the Gaṇacakra ... All the commoners and the monastic community of that region bowed down to him in reverence ..." (*sa 'dul zhes rang byung gi dur khrod bcom ldan 'das ma rdo rje phag mo'i (= mos) byin gyis rlabs pa'i gnas mchog cher zhag shas bzhugs shing tshogs gtor gyi mchod pa rgya cher mdzad / yul de'i ser skya kun gyi (= gyis) gus par btud*).

At that time Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu also settled a military clash between "two petty states of the southern region" (*mon gyi rgyal khag gnyis*); see *ibid.*, p. 147.5. This can only refer to Jumla and Parbat. For the next year, 1731, the autobiographical text of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin notes a war in which the states of Jumla, Parbat and Mustang were involved, costing many soldiers their lives; see NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 445.5-446.5.

Appendix:

The following two excerpts are taken (a.) from NYAMS-DBYANGS, pp. 423.4-425.1 (the identical passage in RNAM-THAR, pp. 53.6-56.3 is based on that) [=I], and (b.) from Chos-kyi dbang-phyug: *Rig pa 'dzin pa chen po rdo rje tshe dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyis rnam par thar pa*, pp. 148.1-6 [=II]. Concerning the second work it should be noted that the author used as one of his sources for the life-story of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu the autobiographical account *sNyims pa'i chu skyes*. This work is written in verses and covers the main events up to the year 1730; it was set down upon the special request of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin at the time of the meeting between the two masters. See the colophon: "Earlier, in the presence of Guru (Padmasambhava), (there was one) who was called g.Yu-sgra snying[-po], (now) his incarnation, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin by name, this Vajrācarya himself, he made continued strong exhortations, and in response to them, on the tenth day of the black moon in the iron-horse year [= the third Tibetan month of 1730], (I) Tshe-dbang nor-bu, the Vidyādhara who is known as Kaḥ-thog-pa, spoke." *Ibid.*, p. 611.5-6 (*sngon tshe gu ru'i spyang snga ru // g.yu sgra snying zhes rnam sprul ni // o rgyan bstan 'dzin zhes bya ba // rdo rje slob dpon de nyid kyis // yang yang nan gyis bskul ngor // lcags kyi nag zla'i tshes bcu la // kaḥ thog par grags pa rig pa 'dzin // tshe dbang nor bu de yi smras*).

- [I] "When (I) the old beggar was seventy-four, he who was the final rebirth of Nam-mkha' snying-po, from the region of Khams in the east, the one with the name

Great Vidyādhara from Kaḥ-thog, wandered about in India and Tibet in search of the holy Dharma. In the presence of many teachers with the three good qualities, he had abandoned the partiality of philosophical tenets, (and now) for his part he would ask for many instructions for (spiritual) ripening and liberation (i.e. initiations and teachings) from the nine yānas, the four classes of tantras and so on; on the other hand, upon many teachers and many (members of the) Saṃgha he would confer initiations and teachings (in return). In every kingdom's realm he granted initiations for the multitude (i.e. the general public).

Having arrived then in the regions of Mustang and Dolpo, and having taken up residence at the great sacred site of Sa-'dul, he conferred (spiritual) ripening and liberation upon all Tibetans and inhabitants of the gorges. To the old man from the great sacred site of rTa-gru he presented letters again and again, saying that he was in need of treasure-teachings, like *Zab tig [chos dbyings rang gsal]* and so on. Then the old beggar, O-rgyan-pa, said: "To you, the great teacher who has conferred initiations upon all the Indians and Tibetans, I am not about to give (further) initiations and teachings." Nevertheless, he sent requests again and again.

After that, in a spurt of energy, he went straightway to the great sacred site rTa-gru; (and) in (our) mutual encounters, many compliments and sermons were pronounced (by him). To him, I gave the

five volumes of the profound treasures of the treasure-discoverer Gar-dbang [rdo-rje], and further, (treasure-cycles) like the *sPrul sku snying thig*: (all) the initiations, teachings and guidances of the Great Perfection etc. Upon me, he conferred the complete initiations and readings of the (treasure cycle) [*Klong gsal*] *mkha' 'gro snying thig*.¹

Similes of the most excellent and pure harmony (between us): (we were) no different (from each other) than the sun from the sun, and (we) mixed (together) like milk in milk. In this way the prayer was made (by us) to meet again in a pure realm for all the lives of (future) rebirths."

*sprang rgan bdun don bzhi'i dus / shar
phyogs khams kyi sa phyogs nas / nam
mkha'i snying po'i skyes mtha' zhig / ka
(=kaḥ) thog rigs (= rig) 'dzin chen po
zhes / sdam (= dam) chos 'tshol phyir
rgya bod nyul / bla ma bzang gsum mang
po la / sgrub (= grub) mtha'i phyogs ris
spangs nas ni / tshur la theg pa rim dgu
dang / rgyud sde bzhi la sogs pa yis (=yi)
/ smin grol gdam pa (= gdams pa) mang
po zhus / phar la bla ma mang po dang /*

¹ The *sPrul sku snying thig* is a cycle of treasure-teachings unearthed by Rig-'dzin bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1615-1672) of Khams. On the contacts between O-rgyan dpal-bzang—the first teacher of O-rgyan bstan-'dzin—and this treasure-discoverer, and the spread of his teachings in southern Mustang, see Snellgrove (1979:79-81) and Ehrhard (in press a). On the *Klong gsal mkha' 'gro snying thig* cf. the following note.

dge 'dun mang la dbang lung snang (= gnang) / rgyal khams kun la khrom dbang bskur / de nas glo dol phyogs su phebs / gnas chen sa 'dul sdan (= gdan) bzhugs nas / bod rong kun la smin grol snang (= gnang) / gnas chen lta (= rta) gru'i rgad po la / zab tig la sogs ster (= gter) chos rnams / dgos zhes bka' shog yang yang gnang / de nas sprang rgan o rgyan pas / rgya bod kun la dbang bkur (= bskur) ba'i bla ma chen po khyed nyid la / dbang lung 'bul ma mi yong byas / de bzhin zhu yig yang yang phul / de nas shugs 'byung spyad pa yis / gnas chen lta (= rta) grur thal 'byung phebs / mjal 'khrad (= 'phrad) 'brel (= 'bel) gtam mang po mdzad / phar la gter ston gar dbang gi / zab gter po ti lnga po dang / gzhan yang sprul sku snying thig sogs / rdzogs chen dbang lung 'khrid sogs 'phul / tshur la mkha' 'gro snying thig gi / dbang lung yongs su rdzogs pa gnang / thugs snang dag pa mchog gis (= gi) dpe / nyi ma nyi ma dbyer med dang / 'o ma 'o ma 'dres pa ltar / skye ba tshe rabs thams cad du / dag pa'i zhing du mjal smon btab.

- [II] "At the age thirty-three years, in the iron-dog (year) called *Sādhāraṇa* [=1730], (Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin) arrived in **rTa-gru**, a part of the country of the south. There the one who was prophesied by the Mahācārya (Padmasambhava) as an incarnation of g.Yu-sgra snying-po, and who was a direct disciple of the treasure-discoverer Gar-dbang rdo-rje snying-po, (i.e.) his Dharma son, the most excellent

among the siddhas, O-rgyan bstan-'dzin (by name), because of his wish for a meeting, was issued an invitation, and thus (Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin) arrived in **rTa-glang**.

(There) he listened to the initiations, guidances and teachings—(these) three in their entirety—of what had come forth as a treasure of Gar-dbang [rdo-rje] snying-po: *Zab tig chos dbyings rang gsal, Thugs rje chen po rtsa gsum snying thig, rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod*, (and to the cycle called) *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* or *Nyon mongs rang grol* (of the tradition) of the "Northern Treasures"; and further, to the expounding of guidance for (the spiritual practice of) the rainbow body of (the system of) the honorable [sTag-sham] Nus-Idan [rdo-rje] (born 1655). On the other hand, he gave the initiations, guidance and readings of what had come forth as a treasure of Padma bDe-chen gling-pa (1663-1713), (the cycle) *Klong gsal mkha' 'gro snying thig*. And he appointed (O-rgyan bstan-'dzin) with his own breath as master (of this teaching) of the sNying-thig (tradition).²

Again from **Sa-'dul** (Kaḥ-thog rig-'dzin) arrived by way of the **rTa** gorge at (the place called) *'Bum-pa*, the great sacred site of the teacher from O-rgyan [=

² For information on the treasure-discoverer Padma bDe-chen gling-pa, who was one of the teachers of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'dzin, and the unearthing of the cycle *Klong gsal mkha' 'gro snying*, see Ehrhard (1993b:87, note 17).

Padmasambhava] in lower rTa-rab, and stayed there for a while. From the dimension of the unmovable yoga of profound meaning, he made fall upon all striving disciples whatever stream (was necessary) for the way to complete liberation."³

*dgung lo so gsum par thun mong te lcags
kyi lor mon yul gyi cha rta grur byon /
der slob dpon chen po'i (= pos) g.yu sgra
snying po'i sprul par lung gis zin cing /
gter ston gar dbang rdo rje'i snying po'i
dngos slob chos sras dam pa grub mchog
o rgyan bstan 'dzin nas mjal bzhed pas
gdan 'dren byung ba bzhin rta glar (=
glang) phebs / gar dbang snying po'i gter
byon zab tig chos dbyings rang gsal dang
/ thugs rje chen po rtsa gsum snying thig
/ rdo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod /
byang gter thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun
grol lam / nyon mongs rang grol gyi
dbang khrid lung gsum tshang ba / nus
ldan zhabs kyi 'ja' sku'i khrid bka' yang
gsan / phar la padma bde chen gling pa'i
gter byon klong gsal mkha' 'gro snying
thig gi dbang khrid lung bcas stsal zhing
snying thig gi bdag por dbugs byung
mnga' gsol bar mdzad / slar yang sa 'dul
nas rta rong rgyud (= brgyud) de rta rab
smad o rgyan gu ru'i gnas chen 'bum par*

³ The place where Kaḥ-thog rig-'dzin stayed in lower Tarap is known today under the name *Ri-bo 'bum-pa*. On the legends which associate the site with Padmasambhava see Jest (1975: 43 and 298). There is also a guidebook available: no title, 10 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 415/3. It can be dated to the 18th/19th centuries.

*byon te re zhig bzhugs / zab don gyi rnal
'byor g.yo ba med pa'i ngang nas gdul
bya don gnyer can dag la rnam grol lam
gyi chu bo'i rgyun ci yang 'beb par mdzad
do.*

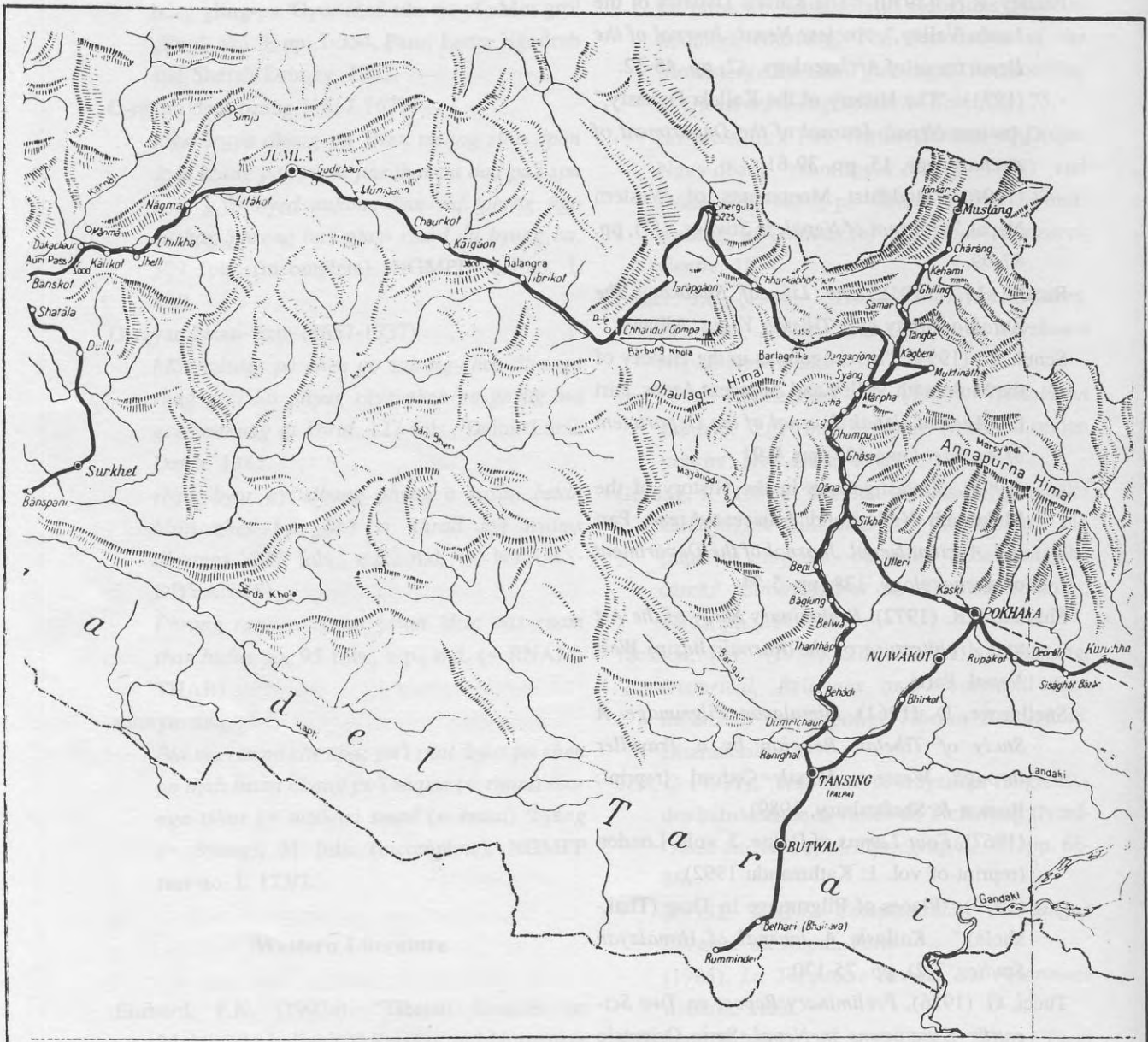
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Sketch map of my itineraries in Nepal.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2