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The Register of the Reliquary of Lord Rañ-Rig Ras-Pa

*For Albrecht Wezler
friend of India, Nepal and Tibet
on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*

A work quite popular among Tibetan travellers and pilgrims in Nepal was a particular “register” (*dkar chag*) describing the Svayambhūnāth Stūpa and the further sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley. It has been used as an important document for the study of the history of “Noble All [Kinds of] Trees” (*’phags pa śiñ kun*),¹ as Tibetans call this most sacred edifice in the valley, because it contains descriptions of two renovations, respectively occurring at the beginning of the 16th century and at the end of the 17th century. The hypothesis has been proposed that “A Register of the Stūpa ‘Noble All [Kinds of] Trees’ in Nepal and Other Sacred Sites There” (*bal yul mchod rten ’phags pa śiñ kun dan de’i gnas gzan rnam kyī dkar chag*) was fixed in writing on the occasion of the renovation in the year 1680. This renovation was undertaken at the initiative of Rañ-rig ras-pa or Rañ-rig ras-chen (d. 1683), a yogin of the ’Brug-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism who also held teaching transmissions of the rÑiñ-ma-pa school. In fact, the furnishing of the Svayambhūnāth Stūpa with a new central mast and further embellishments – which coincided with the beginning of the rulership of King Parthivendra Malla (regnal years 1680-1687) – was preceded by a renovation of the Bodhnāth Stūpa; this magnificent religious building in

¹ The name “Noble All [Kinds of] Trees” reminds Tibetan pilgrims of the former presence of Nāgārjuna at the *stūpa*. According to the etiological story as contained in the pilgrimage guidebook under investigation, Nāgārjuna had cut off his hair and while scattering it around made the wish that all kinds of trees should grow at this noble *stūpa*; see Wylie, op.cit. (n. 4), p. 19, n. 35. For a critical attitude towards this etymology according to a Tibetan register of the sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley from the 18th century, see A.W. Macdonald – Dvags-po Rin-po-che, Un guide peu-lu des lieux-saints du Nepal (Ile partie). In: *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*. Vol 1. [*Melanges Chinois et Bouddhiques* 20]. Bruxelles: Institute Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises 1981, p. 245-246.

the Kathmandu Valley is of special importance for the followers of Padmasambhava and his teaching traditions. The latter renovation is mentioned in the collection of “Spiritual Songs” (*mgur*) of Rañ-rig ras-pa; by contrast no notice is taken of the renewal of the central part of the Svayambhūnāth Stūpa and other additions to the structure.²

The author of the register gives his name as Ñag-dbañ rdo-rje from Nas-luñ, “who had been nourished by the instructions of the Lord Rañ-rig ras-pa” (*rje rañ rig ras pa'i man ñag gis 'tsho ba*). Besides the fact that Ñag-dbañ rdo-rje had been a close disciple of Rañ-rig ras-pa, we do not have much further biographical data on him. At least we know that after the death of his teacher he stayed at lHa-gdoñ to the east of the mountain rTsi-ri in gTsañ province – a famous sacred site of 'Brug-pa *yogins* – where he performed “memorial laudations” (*sku bstod*) on behalf of his guru for a great assemblage of religious practitioners; at that time Ñag-dbañ rdo-rje was still remembered as having acted as the “steward” (*gñer pa*) of Rañ-rig ras-pa. These pieces of information we owe to another collection of spiritual songs and instructions, in this case the one of bsTan-'dzin ras-pa (1644/46-1723), another *yogin* of the 'Brug-pa school. Born in the Muktināth valley in Southern Mustang and founder of the famous Śel dGon-pa in the Dol-po region, bsTan-'dzin ras-pa was a member of the spiritual lineage of Rañ-rig ras-pa by way of his teacher Rañ-grol rdo-rje.³

² See F.-K. Ehrhard, Further Renovations of Svayambhūnāth Stūpa (from the 13th to the 17th Centuries). *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 123-125 (April-September 1991) 11-13. For Rañ-rig ras-pa's position in the lineage of the tradition of the “Northern Treasures” (*byañ gter*), the teachings of which he received from rGyal-sras Phyag-rdor nor-bu (d. 1658), the younger brother of the Third Yol-mo-ba sPrul-sku bsTan-'dzin nor-bu (1598-1644), see *rJe btsun khyab bdag chen po rañ rig ras chen gyi gsuñ mgur dañ źal gdams 'dri med bdud rtsi'i rlabs 'phreñ*. [*Smanrtsis Shesrig Spenzod* 111]. Leh: D.W. Tashigang 1982, p. 343.4-344.5. The compiler of this collection of spiritual songs and instructions was Ñag-dbañ rdo-rje from Nas-luñ.

³ See *rNal 'byor gyi dbaň phyug bstan 'dzin ras pa'i źal gdams mgur du gsuñs pa rnams* (xylograph), NGMPP reel-no. L 257/27, fols. 33a/2ff. & 48a/7ff. Both bsTan-'dzin ras-pa and sTag-rtse skyu-skye Mi-pham phun-tshogs śes-rab (1654-1715) had been disciples of the Second lCogs-grva sPrul-sku sÑan-grags dpal bzañ-pa (1617-1680), another important 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa master of the 17th century. This Mi-pham Phun-tshogs śes-rab was active in the region of Northern Mustang, and the list of his teachers includes Rañ-rig ras-pa. He composed two devotional works in honour of him; see *Grub dbaň rañ rig ras pa'i sku bstod kyi 'grel bśad* (xylograph), 11 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 100/24, and *Grub dbaň rañ rig źabs kyi rnam thar la gsol ba 'debs pa* (xylograph), 7 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 100/22

The modern xylograph of the register of Ṇag-dbañ rdo-rje which circulated among Tibetan travellers and pilgrims was executed by a monk from the sGo-mañ college of 'Bras-spuñs monastery with the financial help of a person bearing the name Sog-sprul Gu-ru. This designation stands for the so-called "Mongolian Lama" (*sog bla*) Gurudeva [= Guru bDe-ba], a dGe-lugs-pa teacher who in the 1950s founded the monastery of dGa'-ldan Chos-'phel gliñ near Bodhnāth Stūpa; he is known best among scholars as a publisher of Tibetan books in New Delhi.⁴

In this edition the text is called a "register-cum-history" (*lo rgyus dkar chag*), and it was obviously produced for the needs of Tibetan refugees pouring into Nepal after the exodus of 1959. In addition to the main body of the work it contains, after the short authorial colophon of Ṇag-dbañ rdo-rje and the printing colophon of the monk from sGo-mañ, a section which could be called a spiritual exhortation for pilgrims. This section was written for people who actually performed the journey to Svayambhūnāth Stūpa and the other sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley. In it these pilgrimage places are set in a typological relationship to other places conducive to spiritual practice which the translator lHobrag Mar-pa (1012-1097) had prophesied to his disciple, the great yogin Mi-la-ras-pa (1028-1111). This is achieved by a literal quotation from the famous Mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur of g'Tsañ-smyon Heruka (1452-1507) concerning the location and time when Mi-la-ras-pa and his future disciples would frequent these sites; the list in this quotation includes

(including further works). All three mentioned block prints were carved in the Mustang region and can be assigned to a particular style of printing of 'Brug-pa materials. To this tradition belongs also the xylograph of the biography of the Second lCogs-grva sPrul-sku, completed by Mi-pham phun-tshogs śes-rab in the year 1688 in Tsā-ri Dag-pa śel-ri and later carved on wooden blocks in Mustang; see *rJe btsun rdo rje 'chañ dños mi pham ñag dbañ sñan grags dpal bzañ po'i rnam par thar pa ño mtshar rgya mtsho'i zlos gar*, 126 fols., in: *The Biography of the Second sDiñ-po-che Cog-gra Mi-pham-Ñag-dbañ-sñan-grags-dpal-bzañ and Other Biographical Material Connected with the 'Brug-pa Dkar-brgyud-pa Tradition*. Darjeeling: Chopal Lama 1984, p. 273-523.

⁴ It was this edition of the register which was edited in transliterated form by Turrell Wylie. For the printing colophon of the work see his *A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal*. [Serie Orientale Roma 42]. Rome: Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente 1970, p. 48.9-25. Further information concerning the monastery of dGa'-ldan Chos-'phel gliñ, particularly its providing refuge for the monks and sacred items of sKyid-groñ bSam-gtan gliñ, and its present role in the annual reconsecration of Bodhnāth Stūpa, is given by Y. Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*. [Brill's Indological Library 11]. Leiden – New York – Köln: E.J. Brill 1996, p. 71-75.

La-stod rGyal-gyi śrī-ri, Gañs Ti-se, La-phyi gañs-ra, Mañ-yul Ri-bodpal-'bar, Bal-yul Yol-mo gañs-ra, Brin-gyi chu-dbar, gNas-chen Devikoṭi and Tsā-ri, but does not mention any site in the Kathmandu Valley.

Nevertheless, once the later sites have attained the same spiritual status as the former ones, the ordinary pilgrim is admonished to pay respect to the Svayambhūnāth Stūpa and the other places in the Kathmandu Valley, since they are most conducive to spiritual salvation. The section ends thus with the following words:

If one is already liberated from *saṃsāra* by just hearing the names of these excellent places, what is there to say about visiting them in person and engaging [there] in meditation and practices like prostrations, offerings and circumambulations?⁵

This section seems to have been added to the register of Ṇag-dbañ rdo-rje at a certain point of time during the circulation of the text, and we only know that it was already part of it when the xylograph was recarved in the 1960s. As chance would have it, an older version of the work has survived which may contain a clue about the person responsible for bringing about this transformation from register to pilgrimage guidebook. The title of this version differs from the modern edition first in identifying itself as a “concise register” (*dkar chag mdor bsdus*), a term also used by the author Ṇag-dbañ rdo-rje in his short colophon. This older version is also a block print, and contains a printing colophon. Its author is a monk named Blo-bzañ Chos-'phel. The printing colophon, introduced by two four-line stanzas, follows immediately after the spiritual exhortation to the pilgrims, and I take Blo-bzañ chos-'phel to be the one who added this latter to the original register at the time he carved this version. His own words – after a quite elaborate

⁵ The section called “A Spiritual Exhortation for Pilgrims” is to be found in Wylie, op.cit. (n. 4), p. 47.25-48.9; for the final statement of this section see *ibid.*, p. 48.7-9 (... *gnas mchog de rnam sgrub kyī mtshan thos pa tsam gyis 'khor ba las grol na | mñon sum du mjal te phyag mchod bskor ba sogs bsgom sgrub la brtson na lta ci smos*). The preceding passage concerning the “prophesied sacred sites” (*luñ bstan pa'i gnas*) for Mi-la-ras-pa and his followers is contained in *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phyag ba mgur 'bum*. Hsining: mTsho-sñon mi-rigs dpe-skrun khañ 1989, p. 122.5-20. It is also quoted in the pilgrimage guidebook to the region of La-phyi gañs-ra; see T. Huber, *A Guide to the La-phyi Maṇḍala: History, Landscape and Ritual in South-Western Tibet*. In: *Maṇḍala and Landscape. [Emerging Perceptions in Buddhist Studies 6]*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld 1997, p. 252.

description of his birthplace – make it clear that he was especially attracted to the sacred sites of the Kathmandu Valley:

Adjacent of Pulahari in the north, [located] in the middle of a great plain, five and a half miles wide, where saffron grows, and where one can find a cemetery, [a place for] embracing the secret way, [with the name] “Breaking Forth of Great Bliss”, and a self-manifested Kaṇika-Stūpa. The monk Blo-bzañ Chos-’phel, who was born in this place, having more and more generated believing faith in these excellent sites [of the Kathmandu Valley], and thinking of the great benefit for himself and others at the time of performing the pilgrimage, printed [this work] in order that the stream of inexhaustible Dharma gifts might increase. [The blocks] remain at the great Stūpa of Bya-ruñ kha-śor.⁶

We do not have any further information concerning Blo-bzañ Chos-’phel or the date his version of the text was carved on wooden blocks, nor at first sight does the description of his birthplace reveal any geographical details useful for its location. But a still earlier version of Nag-dbañ rdo-rje’s register which seems to be the original copy has surfaced just recently. It describes not only the *stūpa* of Svayambhūnāth and other sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley, but also the reliquary of Rañ-rig ras-pa. This monument had been erected in the immediate vicinity of the Bodhnāth Stūpa soon after the death of the ’Brug-pa *yogin*. It was on the basis of this original that Blo-bzañ Chos-’phel had produced his version.

This original edition, again a xylograph, bears the title “Register of [Sacred Sites] like ‘All [Kinds of] Trees’ in Nepal and the Reliquary of the Lord Rañ-rig [ras-pa]” (*bal yul shiñ kun sogs dañ rje rañ rig ras gduñ rten gyi dkar chag*).⁷ A comparison between the original xylograph

⁶ See *Bal yul mchod rten ’phags pa śiñ kun dañ de ’i gnas gzan rnams kyis (= kyī) dkar chag mdor bsdus* (xylograph), NGMPP reel-no. E 816/12, fol. 4b/1-3 (*byañ phyogs phu la ha ri ’i mdun sa | gur gum skye pa ’i thañ chen po dpag tshad phyed dañ drug gi dbus na | gsañ lam bsnol ba ’i dur khrod bde chen brdal (= brdol) dañ | rañ byuñ mchod rten ka ñi ka yod pa | de ’i sa char skye pa dge sloñ blo bzañ chos ’phel gyis gnas mchog de rnams la yid ches kyī dad pa ches cher skyes (= bskyes) te | gnas bskor la ’gro skabs rañ gzan mañ por phan par bsams te | chos sbyin ’dzad med kyī rgyun spel phyir par du bsgrubs te | mchod rten chen po bya ruñ kha śor du bžugs*). For the location of the birthplace see n. 12. Compare also G.N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 1979, p. 400 (“... modern Tibetan pilgrims believe that Pullahari was situated in Kāśmīra in the neighbourhood of Śrī-nagar.”).

⁷ This xylograph contains six folios and was made available with the kind help – once more – of Hubert Decler, Kathmandu. It is the second of a compila-

and Blo-bzañ Chos-'phel's makes it clear that the later version – conceivably produced in the 18th century – while endowing the text with the literary quality of a pilgrimage guidebook, left out a substantial portion of Ṅag-dbañ rdo-rje's register (contained between the section on the renovation of Svayambhūnāth Stūpa and the author's colophon). This portion deals with the history of the reliquary of Rañ-rig ras-pa and adds a whole new dimension to the text, which up to now has mainly been used for the study of the renovations of Svayambhūnāth Stūpa.

It is interesting to see how Blo-bzañ Chos-'phel brought about this transformation from register to pilgrimage guidebook by two changes of the original text: first, by abandoning the portion concerning the reliquary of Rañ-rig ras-pa, and, second, by adding the spiritual exhortations to the pilgrims. However, he did spare one part of the deleted passage, namely the quite elaborate description of his birthplace; thus it turns out that he was a monk from Kashmir, and so born in the same region where Rañ-rig ras-pa passed away.

In the following I offer a transliterated edition of that part of the original xylograph of Ṅag-dbañ rdo-rje which has until now been lost. In the notes to the translation I merely try to pass on some information which may help to place this important work in its historical and cultural context. Under this new perspective, the register describing Svayambhūnāth Stūpa and other sacred sites in the Kathmandu Valley can now be identified as a literary work composed in the year 1686, immediately after the consecration of the reliquary of the Lord Rañ-rig ras-pa on the eastern side of Bodhnāth Stūpa.

TRANSLATION

Praise to the Guru!

With devotion I prostrate myself towards the feet of Rañ-rig ras-pa,
[no one else but]

Padmasambhava, [the teacher who is] the embodiment of the com-
passion of all the Jinas,

tion of several works, as can be seen from the letter *Ga* on its margin. Like the work of Blo-bzañ chos-'phel, it is a large-sized xylograph (55x9 cm), but its style of printing is different from that of the 'Brug-pa materials of the 17th/18th centuries from the Mustang region. As a possible production site of this block print, one could point to such dwelling places of 'Brug-pa *yogins* as lHa-gdoñ to the east of the mountain rTsis-ri.

possessing [the ability of] establishing manifold magical appearances of diligent behaviour,
 the protector of gods and men, intimidating the strong and powerful *dregs-pa* [demons].

[1]

Now, if one asks in which way it is taught that this Lord [Rañ-rig ras-pa] has been prophesied as the heart-incarnation of [the One from] Oḍḍiyāna, [it is said] in the treasure-scriptures of the Vidyādhara Gar-dbañ rdo-rje (1640-1685):

At the border of Mar[-yul] and Nu in Western Tibet,
 at a place called “Rañ-rig”,
 a person aware of his own [mind] by himself,
 bearing the name “Rañ-rig”, will appear!

He is the incarnation of my heart:
 as spiritual support, he wears the dress of a Cotton-Clad One;
 being a *yogin*, whose diligent behaviour has reached completion,
 he will bring happiness to India, Tibet [and] Nepal, [these] three!

In particular, he will renovate the [Bya-ruñ] Kha-shor [*stūpa*],
 [and] by this [act] foreign armies will be kept back for some years!⁸

And [it is said] in the ninth chapter of the [*rDo rje*] *phag mo gzuñ drug*, [a text] which he had heard from mNa'-bdag Myañ-ral bsTan-'dzin chos-dbañ:

In the Upper Region, there will appear Rañ-rig ras-pa!
 He is the incarnation of my heart;

⁸ There are several texts concerning prophecies in the treasure-cycles of Rig-'dzin Gar-dbañ rdo-rje. See, for example, *Luñ bstan srid gsum gsal byed*, 14 fols., in *rDor sems thugs kyi me loñ*. Darjeeling: Chopal Lama 1984 p. 169-196, and *Luñ bstan dus gsum kun gsal*, 26 fols. & *Luñ bstan gsañ ba'i man ñag zab mo*, 4 fols., in *Thugs rje chen po rtsa gsum sñiñ thig*. Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo 1985, p. 259-309 & 311-318. I was not able to identify any prophecy concerning Rañ-rig ras-pa in these texts. For the mention of *yul rañ rig*, located in Spiti, as the place where Rañ-rig ras-pa first gave forth spiritual songs, see the collection of his spiritual songs and instructions (as in n. 2), p. 11.2 ff. Soon afterwards he visited Jalandhara and other famous Tantric sites in the Western Himalayas; see *ibid.*, p. 19.2ff.

he will bring happiness to the beings of the six spheres of existence!⁹

In accordance with those scriptures [it is said] on page sixty of the second volume of [the xylograph of] the [auto]biography of the Great All-knowing Powerful Jina, [the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma] Ņag-gi dbaṅ-phyug Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho (1617-1682):

I met with the one who is known as the Great Siddha Raṅ-rig from the Upper Region, a person with great experience and understanding of [the doctrines of] the Great Seal and the Great Perfection, [these] two. While [we sat] in a row for tea, a continuing discussion developed [between us]. Some wonder whether he might be the one of whom it is said in the prophecies of mŅa'-bdag [Myaṅ-ral Ņi-ma'i 'od-zer]: “From the Upper Region there will appear Raṅ-rig ras-pa!” In any case, it is obvious that he is a person who has identified [the true nature of] the [outer] appearances and his own mind.¹⁰

⁹ A short biographical sketch of the life of Raṅ-rig ras-pa is to be found in Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism* 8. [*The bKa'-brgyud-pa Tradition* 2]. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives 1981, p. 413.15-419.14. This sketch is taken from the biography of the 6th 'Brug-chen Mi-pham dbaṅ-po (1641-1717), who is counted among the students of Raṅ-rig ras-pa. We find there the episode in which it is narrated that the 'Brug-pa *yogin* received a prophecy of Vajravarāhī at the time of his pilgrimage to Tsā-ri in south-eastern Tibet, and thereupon encountered mŅa'-bdag Myaṅ-ral bsTan-'dzin chos-dbaṅ, a descendant of the treasure-discoverer mŅa'-bdag Myaṅ-ral Ņi-ma'i 'od-zer (1124-1196), from whom he received the “teaching cycle of the Black Wrathful One” (*khros ma nag mo'i chos skor*); see *ibid.*, p. 417.14-19. This happened in the surroundings of sMra-bo cog in lHo-brag, the family seat of the successors of Myaṅ-ral Ņi-ma'i 'od-zer. For different ritual texts centering on Vajravarāhī according to this tradition of the rŅiṅ-ma-pa school, see P. Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*. Teil 12. [*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* 11/12]. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 1999, p. 3-20.

¹⁰ The reference to the block print edition of the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma is correct. See *Za hor gyi ban de nag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mtsho'i 'di snaṅ 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyī tshul du bkod pa du kū la'i gos bzaṅ las glegs bam gñis pa*. Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology 1992, p. 122.3-4 (= fol. 60b/3-4); compare the type set edition, Lhasa: Bod-ljoṅs mi-dmaṅs dpe-skrun khaṅ 1991, p. 115.13-17. The meeting between Raṅ-rig ras-pa and Ņag-dbaṅ Blo-bzaṅ rgya-mtsho took place in the year 1668. It should be noted that the xylograph of this autobiography circulated among 'Brug-pa *yogins* in the period when the death of the Great Fifth had been concealed by sDe-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705).

[2]

This Rañ-rig ras-pa, at the time when he was renovating Bya-ruñ kha-śor [*stūpa*], went to the eastern side of [Bya-ruñ] kha-śor [*stūpa*] and performed [there] just a scattering [of offerings] and then made the prophecy: “In the future, if a reliquary of mine is erected [on this spot], great happiness will arise for beings – and in particular, foreign armies will be kept back – and [thus] joy for Nepal and Tibet!” Then were made ready from [an alloy of] gold and copper the parasol [and] the *gañjira* top of the great [Bya-ruñ] Kha-śor [*stūpa*], together with the pillars [holding it] and the supporting pillars.¹¹

Again, by way of Western Tibet, after he had spent a winter in Pularhari in the north, [at the time] when he was proceeding to Oḍḍiyāna in the western direction, he made [another] prophecy: “I myself, a minor meditator, will proceed to O-rgyan gliñ, [the land of] the beings from Du-va-ri-ka! Then I will make the north of India the place of my death! Erect a relic shrine of mine, at the eastern side of Bya-ruñ kha-śor [*stūpa*]! In general, [by this act] joy will arise in all [the regions of] Nepal and Tibet, and in particular foreign armies will be kept back for some years!”

[3]

Then, although this great Reverend One had reached the completion of the qualities of renouncing and realization without any remainder, in order to produce the seed of the Rūpakāya he abstained from human food. Then, with diligent behaviour, having taken the outer appearance of a *yogin* – [by smearing] ashes of the dead on his body and so forth – he got with his magic feet to all the sacred sites of Oḍḍiyāna, the island of the Dākiṇīs, the land of the Glorious Du-va-ri-ka. And afterwards, in the Mahāvihāra of Nalendra in Kashmir, [located] in the

¹¹ The act of selecting the eastern side of the Bodhnāth Stūpa as the place for the reliquary can be seen as establishing this particular spot as a sacred site. This might have contributed to the situation that the eastern side of Bya-ruñ kha-śor played a role, to some extent, in visions of treasure-discoverers of the rÑiñ-ma-pa school. Remarkable in this respect is the description of the events which brought about the revelation of the Kloñ chen sñiñ thig cycle by 'Jigs-med gliñ-pa (1729/30-1798) in the year 1757; see J. Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self. The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1998, p. 56-57. 'Jigs-med gliñ-pa was identified by the *dākiṇī* on that occasion as the person Señ-ge ras-pa.

middle of a great plain six and a half miles wide, where saffron grows, adjacent to Pulahari in the north, and where one can find a cemetery, [a place for] embracing the secret way, [with the name] “Breaking Forth of Great Bliss”, and a self-manifested Kaṇika-*stūpa*, there in the middle of [an area of] 3,700,000 cities, he condensed the visible form of the Rūpakāya into the [sphere of] the Dharmadhātu.¹²

For [the purpose of] a receptacle, in the presence of which the believers are able to collect merit, the tongue, the relics [and] the marvelous residues, which had manifested as godly figures, were taken, according to his prophecy, to the great [Bya-ruñ] kha-śor [*stūpa*].

[4]

A great discussion between the spritual preceptor and the donor [arose] about requesting the king of Kathmandu for the “earth ritual”. ’Bramon sgroñ-pa spoke: “As there are many ministers and great envy [in] this land of Nepal, I will act as a helper for the request in the presence of the king! Tomorrow the king will go to Co-pa in order to meet the deity in the nine-storied [temple]; you and I, [we] two, should thus proceed [there] taking this horse along [with us]! The voice of the ministers should be silenced [by this present] without anyone noticing it!”

In accordance with these words, the host Chos-dbañ and I, [we] two, brought that good horse along with us and arrived at the nine-storied [temple]. Having offered the horse to the king, who was staying near the god Mahādeva, we then made the [following] request: “Whatever there exists of moulds of bones and relics of the teacher Rañ-rig [ras-

¹² The residence of the Indian Siddha Nāḍapāda or Nāropa (956-1040) is known as Pulahari to Tibetan pilgrims, who have paid visits to this site up to the present; for its location in the vicinity of Nālandā in Bihar, see T. Huber, *The Guide to India. A Tibetan Account by Amdo Gendun Chöphel*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives 2000, p. 53. A second Pulahari was located in Kashmir – in the north – and this place served as the starting and returning points for Rañ-rig ras-pa’s journey to Oḍḍiyāna in the final years of his life. It was also near this place that he passed away and that Blo-bzañ chos-’phel, the redactor and carver of the register-cum-pilgrimage guidebook, had been born. For one mention of the northern Pulahari in the travelogue of sTag-tshañ ras-pa (1574-1651), another ’Brug-pa *yogin*, who reached Kashmir and its sacred sites in the period between the years 1613 and 1616, see G. Tucci, *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*. Calcutta: The Greater India Society 1940, p. 69. The relocation of Pulahari to the north was accompanied by a similar relocation to Kashmir of the prestigious Buddhist monastery of Nālandā (= Nalendra).

pa], who has passed away [recently], we plan to erect [for them] a reliquary at [Bya-ruñ] kha-śor [*stūpa*], and therefore it is necessary that you grant your favour for the “earth ritual”! We having extensively offered this request [to him], the king replied: “As the teacher [Rañ-rig ras-pa] showed great benevolence to me, perform whatever ‘earth ritual’ is necessary!” Not long after his reply, there were inserted four turquoise ornaments under his feet, [which is a sign of] a great oath according to Nepalese customs.¹³

Afterwards, when King Pārthivendra Malla had returned to his palace, the ministers and great elders came together and spread malicious rumours to the king [with the words]: “There is no historical record that Tibetan *stūpas* have been erected in Nepal before. As Tibet is great in agitating means, [there is] every reason not to be happy with permission for the construction of the *stūpa*.” The king replied: “In general, the teacher [Rañ-rig ras-pa] has been greatly benevolent to me, and the object to which his heart is directed is [Bya-ruñ] kha-śor [*stūpa*]. Moreover, turquoise ornaments having been inserted under my feet in the presence of Mahādeva, it was said [already] that they can perform whatever “earth ritual” is necessary. As therefore [permission] has already been given, [the matter] is settled.” Although the ministers entertained greed, they found no opportunity [to satisfy it] and were freed from their malicious rumours [by this].¹⁴

¹³ The toponym Co-pa stands for Chobar or Chobāra, a hill to the south-west of the Kathmandu Valley. On the top of this hill is a temple housing a statue of Padmapāñi Lokeśvara, which goes also by the name Ādinātha. The Sixth Žva-dmar-pa Chos-kyi dbañ-phyug (1584-1630) saw this statue during his visit to the Valley and identified it as one of the famous self-arisen effigies of the “Brothers Ārya [Avalokiteśvara]” (*‘phags pa sku mched*). See *Bal yul du bgrod pa’i lam yig nor bu spel ma’i ‘phreñ ba*, NGMPP reel-no. L 387/3, fol. 24a/2-3; for a description of this interesting travelogue compare: F.-K. Ehrhard, “The Lands are like a Wiped Golden Basin”. The Sixth Žva-dmar-pa’s Journey to Nepal and his Travelogue (1629/30). In: *Les habitants du toit du monde. Études recueillies en hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald. [Recherches sur la Haute Asie 12]*. Nanterre: Société d’ethnologie 1997, p. 126-128. The fact that during the rulership of King Pārthivendra Malla – one of the sons of Pratāpa Malla (regnal years 1641-1674) – the statue was regarded as Mahādeva, i.e. Śiva, points to the change in the political and religious climate in Nepal caused by the Shah dynasty. The year 1685 actually marks the embarkation of the Gorkhalis on the long course dedicated to winning the Malla realms; see M.S. Slusser, *Nepal Mandala. A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1982, vol. 1, p. 65.

¹⁴ This episode of the king’s consent to the construction of the reliquary, its being questioned by his advisers and ministers, and the final reconfirmation, calls

[5]

Then, on the seventeenth day of the eleventh Hor month of the wood-ox [year] [=1685], when the propitious constellation for the construction [in general] and for [the manufacturing of] the bricks was performed, there was a surprise, for there were brick marks and human footprints clearly visible on each of the bricks. Although rain falls in Nepal without [a distinction between] summer and winter, in this year it was falling everywhere else in Nepal, but it did not rain at [Bya-ruṅ] kha-śor [*stūpa*]: thus [the manufacturing of] the bricks could be completed without any disturbance.

[6]

Afterwards, when the earth had been dug out at the eastern side of [Bya-ruṅ] kha-śor [*stūpa*], at the time of laying the foundation, Padma rdo-rje, the “lord of the site”, the master [and] his disciples, uttered manifold harmful words, such as: “I am the ‘lord of the site’! [Just] having asked the king [for permission] is not sufficient!” On top of that, even the people from my own quarters showed unsuitable behaviour, and after a Nepalese had carried away what was in the way of tools, they [too] escaped by running away.

When I was sitting the whole night [outside] in the field, thinking: “Someone without water here in Nepal, it seems, has to buy it! Now it is [definitely] decided that the reliquary [of Raṅ-rig ras-pa] cannot be completed. The teacher, the personal deity and the *dākiṅī* will have to give their blessings that the aim of my thoughts can be accomplished! Lacking that, I would rejoice even in dying!”

In a dream at the break of the day, having arrived at the top of a round-shaped mountain to the west of the lake Manosarowar, I saw in the space in front [of that site,] inside a house [which was] a tent of

to mind the myth of the construction of the Bodhnāth Stūpa and the etymology of its alternative name “Permission To Do What Is Proper” (*bya ruṅ kha śor*). Concerning the literary sources of these events, see F.-K. Ehrhard, The Stūpa of Bodhnāth: A Preliminary Analysis of the Written Sources. *Ancient Nepal: Journal of the Department of Archaeology* 120 (October-November 1990) 2, n. 2, and A.M. Blondeau, Bya-ruṅ kha-shor, légende fondatrice du bouddhisme tibétain. In: *Tibetan Studies* 1. [*The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Occasional Papers* 1,1]. Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture 1994, p. 31-48.

rainbows, the great Reverend One Rañ-rig ras-pa himself: his body of greater majesty than even before, having the external appearance of a Heruka, emitting light and being of great dignity. Thinking: “It seems that my teacher has not died [yet]!”, in a state of both joy and sorrow, [these] two, [I felt] tears coming forth in great number and was not able to address him from my side. [Thus] the Lord [Rañ-rig ras-pa] spoke:

You, showing pride, by saying “I have done [so much already]”
 abandon your thoughts completely and listen in a clear way:
 the soil of the self-arisen Ālaya[vijñāna] I have identified
 with a benevolence which is incomparable;
 the full-grown sprout of spiritual experience has developed, [and]
 the fruit has ripened [now] – the three Kāyas, [nothing else but]
 one’s own mind!

I, the *yogin* without fixed abode, who has abandoned ordinary
 deeds

to accomplish the benefit of beings in an impartial way:
 although [I] have shown the vanishing of the body [constituted by]
 causes, outside,

the self-arisen awareness, inside, exists as something unchangeable;
 don’t you act in a timid fashion –
 let your mind be at ease [in the state of] Reality-as-it-is!

You, [who are] someone saying “I”, if you are able to listen [to me]:
 don’t strive for [the world of] conditioned factors –
 worry about the mind which is unconditioned!

Thinking: “What is changing has no truth!”,
 dismiss the ordinary deeds of this life
 [and] rely on remote mountain hermitages in an unattached way!

Keep up the original [mind of] recollection [and] knowing as a spiri-
 tual practice!

If you have severed the doubts arising from grasping [mind and
 object] as two,
 why should you not be victorious over the demon of obstacles?

At the very moment this was said I awoke from sleep and the night had departed. Although I set it down immediately in writing, some words I obviously forgot – a dream it is indeed something distorted!

[7]

Then, after the mind of Padma rdo-rje, the “lord of the site”, had also been freed [from doubts], in accordance with the shape of [Bya-ruñ] kha-śor [*stūpa*], there was constructed underground the “mountain”, the ten virtues [platform], the stairs [and] the “lion throne” up to the first level. When that was reached, [the *stūpa*] was built above the ground: in the four directions of the central part [of the edifice] were statues manufactured from black stone, [one] of Śākyamuni [Buddha] and three of [Padmasambhava as] Dharmakāya, Saṃbhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya [i.e. Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara and Padmasambhava], [and] a circle of Yakṣa [deities] in relief from [an alloy of] gold and copper. Above that was the treasury of the central part [of the *stūpa*], nineteen cubits [high], equivalent to the size of the central beam (*yaṣṭi*) [made of] sal wood; from its base up to its summit [were] containers of *dhāraṇīs* with all the proper signs.

In the interior of the bulging [body] of the central part [of the *stūpa*] was a chamber made from copper for the heart, tongue [and] eyes, [all] three, of the Lord [Rañ-rig ras-pa]. [Further] contained [in the interior] was a cup full of relics, 5,300 *tsha*[-*tsha* images] from his [fragmented] bones, countless kinds of blessed sacred objects, including fifteen statues and *thañ*[-*kas*], the main ones being statues and *thañ*[-*kas*] of the five classes of [the deity] Khros[-ma] nag[-mo], which were resistant to fire.

[The *stūpa*] was [then] completed in brick, without [any difference between] inside and outside. As for the size, [it was] twenty cubits in each of the [four] directions; from the base to the top [it was] thirty-one cubits [high]. The umbrella [and] the *gañjira*, together with the top fastened to it, were manufactured from [an alloy of] gold and copper.

[8]

In accordance with the prophecy of the teacher [Rañ-rig ras-pa] the shape resembled [Bya-ruñ] kha-śor [*stūpa*] in the same way as a son bears [a resemblance to] his mother. On the thirteenth day of the fourth Hor month of the fire-tiger [year] [=1686], an assemblage of a crowd of 6,700 persons from Nepal, Tibet and the gorges, and seventy male and female practitioners – headed by Padma rdo-rje, the *upādhyāya* for the consecration [ceremony], and by Chos-grags rgya-mtsho – arranged for a feast in a proper way; and there was a scattering of flowers

accompanied by wondrous signs. The consecration [ceremony] was performed one more time by Zil-gnon dBañ-rgyal rdo-rje (1647-1716), the holder of the family-lineage of lHa-luñ dPal-gyi rdo-rje.¹⁵

[9]

In such a way, after body, speech and mind of myself and others have been purified and cleaned in the presence of this receptacle, together with the multitude of impurities and sins of the two kinds of obscurations – assembled from beginningless lives up to the present by countless beings, who by [the acts of] seeing and listening have established a connection with material things – may the two kinds of accumulations be completed; and having [finally] reached in this life the state of a Buddha, by benefiting others without [treating them as] particular objects, may the benefit of the teachings and of the beings, [which is] similar to the sky [in its extent], be accomplished without any effort!

EDITION

Bal yul shiñ kun sogs dañ rje rañ rig gduñ rten gyi dkar chag
fols. 4a/3-6a/4

namo guru /

rgyal kun thugs rje'i spyi gzugs padma 'byuñ /
brtul žugs rdzu 'phrul sna tshogs bkod pa can /
mthu stobs dregs pa zil gnon lha mi'i mgon /
rañ rig ras pa'i žabs la gus pas 'dud /

¹⁵ Up to now I have no further information on the persons of Padma rdo-rje and Chos-grags rgya-mtsho. For biographical data concerning Zil-gnon dBañ-rgyal rdo-rje – who had received this name from the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma Ņag-dbañ Blo-bzañ rgya-mtsho – see F.-K. Ehrhard, *A Forgotten Incarnation Lineage: The Yol-mo-ba sPrul-skus (16th to 18th centuries)*. In: *The Pandita And The Siddha*. Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith. Boston: Wisdom Publications (forthcoming). The father of Zil-gnon dBañ-rgyal rdo-rje, a disciple of the Third Yol-mo-ba sPrul-sku bsTan-'dzin nor-bu, was regarded as an incarnation of lHa-luñ dPal-gyi rdo-rje; this incarnation status led family members to appropriate the name. This family acted as caretakers of the Bodhnāth Stūpa, and it is recorded that Zil-gnon dBañ-rgyal rdo-rje carried out renovation work at Bya-ruñ kha-šor in the years 1706/1707.

[1]

de yañ rje de ñid ni o rgyan thugs kyi sprul par luñ bstan pa yin te / ji
ltar bstan ce na / rig¹⁶ 'dzin gar dbań rdo rje'i gter luñ las /

mña' ris mar nu'i so mtshams su :
yul ni rañ rig ces bya ru :
skyes bu rañ gis rañ rig pa'i :
rañ rig ces bya'i miñ can 'byuñ :
de ñid ña ñid thugs sprul ste :
rten ni ras pa'i cha byad can :
brtul žugs mthar phyin rnal 'byor pa :
rgya bod bal gsum bde la 'god :
lhag par kha shor ñams gsos byed :
des ni mtha' dmag lo 'ga'¹⁷ bzlog :

ces dañ /

mña' bdag ñañ ral bstan 'dzin chos dbań nas gsan pa'i phag mo gžuñ
drug le'u dgu pa las /

stod kyi phyogs su rañ rig ras pa 'byuñ :
de ni kho bo'i thugs kyi sprul pa'o :
des ni 'gro drug sems can bde la 'god :

ces pa'i luñ dañ mthun par rgyal dbań thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen
po ñag gi dbań phyug blo bzań rgya mtsho'i rnam par thar pa kha pa'i
grańs yig drug cu par /

la stod phyogs nas rañ rig grub chen du grags pa phyag rdzogs gñis
ka la ñams rtogs che ba žig 'ońs par dañ phrad de / ja gral la 'phros
gleńs mañ du byuñ / la las mña' bdag gi luñ bstan du / stod kyi
phyogs nas rañ rig ras pa 'byuñ : žes pa de yin nam zer / gañ ltar
[4b] snań sems rañ ño 'phrod pa žig tu mñon /

[2]

žes gsuńs pa'i rje rañ rig rig ras pa de ñid kyi bya ruñ kha śor gyi ñams
gsos mdzad dus / kha śor śar 'dabs su phebs nas 'thor tsam žig mdzad
nas ma 'ońs pa ña'i gduñ rten žig bžeńs na sems can la bde rgya che
dañ lhag par mtha' dmag bzlog pa dañ / bal bod la bde skyid 'byuñ žes
luñ bstan / de nas kha śor chen po'i gdugs gandzira tog dañ / ka ba ka

¹⁶ rigs.

¹⁷ bga'.

sten dañ beas pa gser zañs las grub pa mdzad / slar mña' ris brgyud nas
 byañ pu la ha rir dgun thog geig bźugs nas nub phyogs o rgyan la phebs
 dus / ña sgom chuñ du va ri ka pa / 'gro ba o rgyan gliñ du 'gro / śi sa
 rgya gar byañ du byed / bya ruñ kha śor śar 'dabs su / mi kho bo'i gduñ
 rten de ru bžeñs / spyir bal bod kun la bde skyid 'byuñ / sgos mtha'
 dmag lo 'ga' bzlog par 'gyur / ces luñ bstan /

[3]

de nas rje btsun chen po de ñid spañs rtogs kyi yon tan ma lus pa mthar
 son kyañ / gzugs sku'i sa bon bskrun phyir mi zas rnams spañs / sku la
 thal chen sogs dzo ki'i chas bzuñ / brtul bźugs kyi spyod pas o rgyan
 mkha' 'gro gliñ dpal du va ri ka'i yul gnas thams cañ rdzu 'phrul žabs
 kyis brtol¹⁸ nas slar byañ phyogs¹⁹ phu la ha ri'i mdun sa / gur gum skye
 pa'i thañ chen po dpag tshad phyed dañ drug gi dbus na / gsañ lam
 bsnol ba'i dur khrod bde chen brdol²⁰ dañ / rañ byuñ mehod rten ka ñi
 ka yod pa / groñ khyer 'bum phrag so bdun yod pa'i dbus su / kañmi
 na lendra'i gtsug lag khañ chen por gzugs sku'i bkod pa chos dbyiñs su
 bsdus śiñ / dad ldan bsod nams bsog rten du ljags riñ bsrel²¹ / ño mtshar
 sku tshigs lha skur byon pa rnams luñ bstan bžin kha śor chen po'i druñ
 du spyan drañs te /

[4]

yam bu rgyal po la sa dpyad źu ba'i mehod yon bka' bgros che / 'bra
 mon sgroñ pa na re / bal yul 'di blon po mañ žiñ phrag dog che bas /
 rgyal por ñas źu rogs bya'o // sañ ñin rgyal po co par dgu thog tu lha
 mjal du phebs 'oñ bas / khyed rañ gñis rta 'di khrid las śog / blon po
 rnams kyi ma tshor bar ñag chod pa bya'o // zer ba bžin rañ gnas po
 chos dbañ gñis kyis²² rta bzañ po de khrid dgu thog tu phyin pas /
 rgyal [5a] po lha ma hā de va'i druñ na bźugs pa la rta phul nas źus pa
 / bla ma rañ rig žiñ la phebs pa'i gduñ rus spar gañ yod pa / kha śor du
 gduñ rten bžeñ rtsis lags pas sa dpyad bka' drin skyoñ dgos tshul²³ gyi²⁴

¹⁸ btol.

¹⁹ phyags.

²⁰ brdal.

²¹ srel.

²² kyi.

²³ chul.

²⁴ gya.

zu ba rgyas par phul bas / rgyal po na re / bla ma khoñ ned la bka' drin
 che bas sa dpyad gañ du dgos kyañ gyis²⁵ śig gsuñs byuñ bas / gsuñs
 ma thag žabs 'og tu pra men bži bcug pa bal lugs kyi mna' chen po yin
 / de nas rgyal po pa ti phendra ma la pho brañ du byon pa la / blon
 po dañ rgan chen rnams 'dus nas rgyal por / bal yul du sñar nas bod
 kyi mchod rten bžeñs pa'i lo rgyus med / bod g.yo thabs che bas mchod
 rten bžeñ du bcug pa mi dga' ba'i rgyu mtshan gyi phra ma žus tshe /
 rgyal po'i žal nas / spyir bla ma koñ ña rañ la bka' 'drin che ba dañ /
 thugs kyi gtad sa kha śor yin / lhag par ma hā de va'i druñ du / rkañ
 'og tu pra men bcug ste²⁶ sa dpyad gañ dgos gyis śig ces sbyin tshar bas
 kha bsdus gsuñs / blon po rnams za 'dod byed ruñ / glags ma rñed ciñ
 phra ma las grol /

[5]

de nas śiñ glañ hor zla bcu gcig pa'i tshes bcu bdun gyi ñin / bzo rigs
 dañ / rtsa phag gi skar 'dzin byas pas / rdza phag re re la phag rjes mi'i
 rkañ rjes cam lam mer bsal bas ño mtshar bar byuñ / bal yul du dbyar
 dgun med par char 'bab kyañ / de'i lo la bal yul gžan du babs kyañ /
 kha śor du ma babs pas rdza phag gi mgo thon /

[6]

de nas kha śor śar 'dabs su sa brus nas rmañ gtiñ tshe / gnas bdag dpon
 slob padma rdo rjes / gnas bdag ned yin / rgyal po la žus pas go mi chod
 sogs bka' skyon sna tshogs gnañ ba'i steñs su / rañ phyogs rnams kyi
 kyañ mi 'tshams pa'i spyod 'gros dañ / chas yod pa rnams bal po žig
 gis²⁷ khyer nas bros la śor / bal yul 'dir chu min pa ño dgos 'dug / da ni
 gduñ rten mi 'grub thag chod / bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gros bdag gi bsam
 don 'grub par²⁸ byin gyis rlobs śig / de min śi ba rañ dga' sñam mtshan
 gañ du žiñ sdad pa las / tho rañs²⁹ rmi lam du / ma pham yin zer ba'i
 mtsho žig gi nub ri ldum po žig gi rtser sleb pa'i mdun gyi mkhar 'ja'
 'od kyi gur khyim gyi nañ na / rje btsun chen po rañ rig ras pa de yid
 sñar ba kyañ sku [5b] gzi byin che ba he ru ka'i cha byad 'od zer 'phro
 žiñ zil che ba žig mthoñ bas / ña'i bla ma ma groñs pa 'dug sñam dga'

²⁵ gyas.

²⁶ sta.

²⁷ gi.

²⁸ 'grab par.

²⁹ tho rañ.

ba dañ skyo ba gñis ka'i ñañ nas mchi ma mañ du śor źin phar źu ma
nus / rje'i źal nas /

khyod ña byas zer ba'i khoñ yus can /
sems lhug par źog la lhan ner ñon /
ñed kun gźi rañ byuñ³⁰ gi źiñ sa la /
bka' drin mñam med kyis³¹ rañ ño sprad /
ñams myoñ tshad ldan gyi³² myu gu rgyas /
rañ sems sku gsum gyi 'bras bu smin /
'gro don phyogs med du 'grub pa yi /
bya btañ ñes med kyi rnal 'byor ña /
phyi rgyu lus kyi rnam 'gyur bstan mod kyañ /
ñañ rañ byuñ gi rig pa 'pho 'gyur med /
mi khyod rañ blo³³ chuñ ma byed par /
blo sems chos ñid du bde bar gyis /
mi ña zer khyod rañ ñan srid na /
'dus byas gñer srid³⁴ ma byed par /
byar med kyi sems la ña ra gyis /
rnam 'gyur la ñes pa mi 'dug go /
bsam bźin du tshe 'di'i bya ba thoñ /
ñes med kyi ri khrod dben pa brten³⁵ /
ñams³⁶ len du dran śes rnal ma skyoñs /
gñis 'dzin gyi the tshoms rbad chod na /
bar chad kyi bdud las cis mi rgyal /

ces gsuñs pa'i mod la gñid sad pas nam lañs 'dug / de ma thag yi ger
bkod kyañ tshig 'ga' brjed 'dug / rmi lam 'khrul pa yin mod /

[7]

de³⁷ nas gnas bdag gi dgoñs pa yañ grol nas / kha śor gi bzo dbyibs ji lta
ba bźin / sa 'dzin dge beu ba dan them skas señ khri bañ rim³⁸ dañ po³⁹

³⁰ byañ.

³¹ kyi.

³² gya.

³³ bla.

³⁴ srad.

³⁵ brtan.

³⁶ ñam.

³⁷ da.

³⁸ bam ram.

³⁹ dañ pa.

man chad sa 'og tu mtshon par byas / de phyin sa steñs su brtsigs pa /
 bum pa'i phyogs b'zir šākya thub pa dañ / chos loñs sprul gsum gyi sku
 rdo nag las grub pa / gnod sbyin 'khor lo gser zañs 'bur dod / de steñ
 bum gter spos dkar šiñ gi srog šiñ cha tshad dañ mtshuñs pa khru⁴⁰ beu
 dgu / 'zabs mthil nas dbu'i gtsug tor gyi bar gzuñs b'zugs mtshan ñid
 kun ldan / bum ldir nañ du rje'i⁴¹ thugs ljags spyān gsum b'zugs khañ
 zi⁴² khyim las grub pa / riñ srel tiñ gañ / gduñ tsha lña stoñ gsum brgya
 / khros nag sde lña'i sku thañ me thub mas gtsos pa'i sku thañ beo lña
 sogs byin rlabs rten gyi rigs dpag tu med pa⁴³ b'zugs / phyi nañ med pa
 rdza phag la grub pa / rgyar phyogs re la khru ñi šu / rtsa rtse'i bar la
 khru sum cu so gcig / gdugs gañdzira⁴⁴ 'phreñ tog dañ beas pa gser zañs
 pa bsgrubs /

[8]

bla ma'i luñ bstan b'zin⁴⁵ bzo dbyibs [6a] kha šor ji lta ba ma gañ du
 bu blañs pa lta bu / me stag hor zla b'zi pa'i tshes beu gsum kyi ñin rab
 tu gnas pa'i mkhan po padma rdo rje / chos grags rgya mtshos gtsos /
 sgrub pa pho mo beu phrag bdun dañ / bal bod roñ gsum gyi khrom
 drug stoñ bdun brgya tshogs / dga' ston legs par b'sams šiñ / ño mtshar
 lta dañ beas te me tog 'thor / slar yañ lha luñ dpal gyi rdo rje'i gduñ
 srol 'dzin pa zil gnon dbañ rgyal rdo rjes rab tu gnas par mdzad /

[9]

de ltar rten⁴⁶ 'di ñid la bdag g'zan lus ñag yid gsum dañ / zañ ziñ gi 'brel
 thogs mthoñ thos kyi 'gro ba ma lus pa'i tshe thog ma med nas da bar
 du bsags pa'i sdig sgrib gñis⁴⁷ ltuñ dri ma'i tshogs kun byañ žiñ dag nas
 / tshogs gñis rdzogs te sañs rgyas kyi go 'phañ tshe 'di ñid la thob nas
 / dmigs pa med pa'i g'zan don gyis bstan pa dañ sems can gyi don nam
 mkha' dañ mñam par 'bad med du 'grub par gyur cig gu /

⁴⁰ 'khru.

⁴¹ rjes.

⁴² gzi.

⁴³ mad pa.

⁴⁴ gañdzara.

⁴⁵ b'zan.

⁴⁶ rtan.

⁴⁷ ñas.

Note on the illustration on p. 146:

The book *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha* by Francis Hamilton (Edinburgh: A. Constable, 1819) contained two copperplate engravings taken from drawings by Charles Crawford. One showed the Bodhnāth Stūpa together with the reliquary of Rañ-rig ras-pa: it is the first Western representation of Tibetan monuments in the Kathmandu Valley. Crawford, who later became head of the Cartographic Survey of India, also left several manuscript maps of the Valley and of the route from India to Nepal. For the remarkable precision and aesthetic quality of these maps, see L. Boulnois, *Bibliographie du Nepal*. Vol. 3 (Sciences Naturelles), Tome 1 (Cartes du Nepal dans les bibliothèques de Paris et de Londres). Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique 1973, p. 31. Compare also J. Keay, *The Great Arc. The Dramatic Tale of How India Was Mapped and Everest Was Named*. London: Harper Collins 2000, p. 35-38, for Crawford's attempts to measure the Himalayas.

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