



**HAL**  
open science

## The Demoness's right (or left) knee (or ankle). A pilgrim's account of Pra dun tse temple from 1898.

Charles Ramble

► **To cite this version:**

Charles Ramble. The Demoness's right (or left) knee (or ankle). A pilgrim's account of Pra dun tse temple from 1898.. Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod. The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday, Reichert Verlag, pp.375-388, 2015, 9783954901371. hal-01630244

**HAL Id: hal-01630244**

**<https://hal.science/hal-01630244>**

Submitted on 2 Feb 2021

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

Czaja/Hazod  
The Illuminating Mirror



# Contributions to Tibetan Studies

Edited by David P. Jackson and Franz-Karl Ehrhard

---

Volume 12

WIESBADEN 2015  
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

# The Illuminating Mirror

Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen  
on the Occasion of his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday

Edited by  
Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod

WIESBADEN 2015  
DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

Printed with financial support of  
The Royal Library, National Library of Denmark and Copenhagen University Library  
and the  
Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna

**Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek**

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication  
in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data  
are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

© 2015 Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden

[www.reichert-verlag.de](http://www.reichert-verlag.de)

ISBN: 978-3-95490-137-1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated,  
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic,  
photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Printed in Germany





## CONTENTS

Preface	XI
GUNTRAM HAZOD Interview with Per K. Sørensen	XV
ANNE BURCHARDI Danish Contributions to Tibetology: Per Sørensen in Denmark and Bhutan	XXV
YONTEN DARGYE Honoring Prof. Per K. Sørensen Publications of Per K. Sørensen	XXXI XXXV
ORNA ALMOGI Th Spa sgar and Gdong dkar la <i>Rnying ma rgyud 'bum</i> Editions: Two Newly Discovered Sets from Bhutan	I
JOHN VINCENT BELLEZZA The Voice of the Gods in Upper Tibet. The Trance-induced Invocations and Songs of Praise of the Spirit-medium Phowo Srigyal	15
ANNE BURCHARDI The Logic of Liberation: Epistemology as a Path to the Realisation of Mahāmudrā	41
BRYAN J. CUEVAS Rva <i>lo tsā ba</i> and His Biographers	57
CHRISTOPH CÜPPERS A List of Necessary Items for Officials who Accompanied the Fifth Dalai Lama on His Tour to China	81
OLAF CZAJA Some Remarks on Artistic Representations of the Bodhnāth <i>Stūpa</i> in Tibet, Mongolia and Buryatia	87
JACOB P. DALTON Power and Compassion: Negotiating Buddhist Kingship in Tenth-Century Tibet	101



BRANDON DOTSON

Popular Wisdom in the Margins of the *Perfection of Wisdom*: On the Structure and Date of Tibet's Oldest Extant Collection of Proverbs 119

FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD

Glimpses of the Sixth Dalai Bla ma:  
Contemporary Accounts from the Years 1702 to 1706 131

FRANZ XAVER ERHARD

Tibetan Mass Media: A Preliminary Survey of  
Tibetan Language Newspapers 155

ELI FRANCO

*Bhautopākhyāna* or Dumb and Dumber:  
A Note on a Little-known Literary Genre of South Asia 173

GUGE TSEHING GYALPO

གསར་དུ་རྟོག་པའི་བོད་བཙུན་པའི་སྐབས་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐར་ལམས་རྫོང་རྣམ་པར་སྐར་མཛོད་ཀྱི་  
བྲག་བཞོན་སྐར་བརྟན་སྐོར་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་བཙོན་པ།  
(A Brief Report on a Rock-carve Image of Vairocana, recently traced  
Smar khams County and erected during the Imperial Period) 181

GUNTRAM HAZOD

The Lions of 'Chad kha: A Note on New Findings of Stone  
Monuments in Central Tibet from the Tibetan Imperial Period 189

HOU HAORAN

Some Remarks on the Transmission of the Ascetic Discipline of the  
"Single Mat" within the 'Bri gung Bka' brgyud pa Tradition 205

TONI HUBER

Naked, Mute and Well Hung:  
A Brief Ethnographic Comparison of *Kengpa* and Related  
Ritual Performers in the Eastern Himalayas and Beyond 219

DAVID JACKSON

Branch Monasteries of Gongkar Dorjeden and Phenpo Nalendra,  
Two Sakya Convents in Central Tibet 243

LEONARD W.J. VAN DER KUIJP

May the "Original" *Lam rim chen mo* Please Stand up!  
A Note on Its Indigenous Textual Criticism 253

DIANA LANGE

"The Boatman is more Beautiful than a God"  
Poetising and Singing on the Rivers in Central and Southern Tibet 269

ERBERTO F. LO BUE Considerations on the Gtsug lag khang in the Dpal 'khor chos sde of Rgyal rtse	283
KLAUS-DIETER MATHES The Pith Instructions on the <i>Mahāyāna Uttarantra</i> ( <i>Theg chen rgyud bla'i gdams pa</i> ) – A Missing Link in the Meditation Tradition of the Maitreya Works	303
PETRA MAURER The Importance of Water in Tibet and its Influence on <i>Sa dpyad</i>	321
ROBERT MAYER 'We swear our randparents were there! (Or, what can the Sex Pistols tell us about Padmasambhava?). The Making of Myth in 10th-century Tibet and 20th-century England	341
SAUL MULLARD An Introduction to the 'Testimony' of the Barfung ( <i>'Bar spungs</i> ) Family: An Important Source for the Study of Sikkim's Social and Political History	357
CHARLES RAMBLE The Demoness's Right (or Left) Knee (or Ankle): A Pilgrim's Account of Traduntse Temple from 1898	375
ULRIKE ROESLER '16 Human Norms' ( <i>mi chos bcu drug</i> ) – Indian, Chinese, and Tibetan	389
MARTA SERNESI Bibliography and Cultural History: Remarks on the <i>Bka' gdams glegs bam</i>	411
SHEN WEIRONG Rescuing History from Tantric Sex: Tibetan Tantric Buddhism at the Mongol Court of the Great Khans	445
JAN-ULRICH SOBISCH Tibetan Interpretations of Authenticity: The Four Means of Authentication ( <i>tshad ma bzhi</i> ) Belonging to the <i>mantra</i> Vehicle in the Sa skya and 'Bri gung Traditions	461
LOBSANG TENPA Peripheral Elites of the Eastern Himalayas: The 'Maternal Uncle Lord of Ber mkhar' of Tawang	485

ROBERTO VITALI	
Bka' gdams pa Religious Politics in Dbus: The One Hundred Years after A ti sha's Death	511
DORJI WANGCHUK	
Biblioclasm/Libricide in the History of Tibetan Buddhism	527
CARL S. YAMAMOTO	
A Preliminary Survey of the Songs of Zhang Tshal pa	541
	579

## Preface

On December 18, 2015 Per K. Sørensen is celebrating his 65th birthday. It is our great pleasure and honour to present a felicitation volume on the occasion of this event, bringing together contributions from numerous colleagues who in the past and the present were in close scholarly exchange with the honouree. The *Tabula Gratulatoria* supplements the number of colleagues who feel connected to this illuminating scholar and teacher. However, this list – we are certain – will continue to rise in the years to come, for the jubilarian’s productivity and scientific outreach are unbroken. That’s saying something about someone who is just as notorious for his energy, commitment and working speed, as at the same time for the high mastery of the Tibetology discipline in a rather unusual breadth.

His well-known enormous erudition in different genres of Tibetan literature (from medieval historiographical and religious texts to the many variants of oral literature, but also in philosophical literature and its Sanskrit basic texts) provides testimony of Sørensen’s wide-ranging interests, something that is combined with his endeavour of following a rather holistic approach in his work. The inspirations emanating from Sørensen’s workshop relate on the one hand to his teaching career as a professor of Central Asian Studies at the University of Leipzig (since 1995), on the other hand to the rich academic contacts that he maintains – the latter combined with a principal curiosity and openness for methodological additions to his own works, as it is expressed not least by his collaborations with representatives of anthropological, archaeological, art historical and other not merely text-oriented fields of Tibetan Studies.

But mostly it is he himself, who is contacted, either by colleagues who ask for assistance in the field of textual studies, where Sørensen, as we know, always proves a generous supporter, or from the part of academic institutions. Within the subject of Tibetan Studies there is probably hardly anyone who authored more expert assessments or *Gutachten* for research projects than Per Sørensen, by which means he not insignificantly also helped to shape the academic world of this discipline. His over 50 reviews (including book reviews) and numerous prefaces and introductory notes to book publications are impressive evidence of his demand awareness in this area.

“I am Danish”, is an often heard saying by Per, with which he also likes to accentuate with a wink his for many people astonishing if not irritating manners that rather prefer bluntness and directness instead of diplomatic caution. But actually there are only few colleagues, who know more details about the person Per Sørensen, or about his origins and the career as a Tibetologist. How did one from the working class environment of Copenhagen come to this (at that time still) exotic subject of Tibetology? We thought, we will let him tell himself about that and about his other biographical stations, the specifics of his research interests as well as his general assessment of the discipline in regard to its possible future developments.

The respective interview was conducted at the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin (Institute for Advanced Study, Berlin, short Wiko) on the 6th of June in 2015, where Sørensen on several occasions stayed as a guest researcher in the framework of a Tibet Focus Group conducted by the

2014/15 Wiko Fellows Tsering Gyalpo, Guntram Hazod and Shen Weirong. In the case given, Per was in Berlin to attend a scientific presentation by Tsering Gyalpo at Wiko – the long-time Tibetan colleague, who tragically died a few weeks later. Tsering Gyalpo is also one of the contributors in this volume, whose paper in Tibetan we supplemented by some adjustments after his passing, such as an English abstract, some corrections and the captions for the photographs related to this contribution.

The Interview is followed by two appreciating essays (Anne Buchardi and Yonten Dargye) related to Per Sørensen's longstanding (Denmark supported) research project in Bhutan, and by the listing of the honouree's major publications. The main part of the book with 33 essays on a whole covers fairly wide-ranging historical and topical niches, simply in due line with Per's broad fields of interests. Yet, we refrained from a thematic division of this collective volume, and the essays simply follow the alphabetical order. We wish to thank the authors for their contributions and also for the good cooperation in connection with the editing procedure. Jan Seifert (Leipzig) thankfully took care of the image editing and the textual design. Likewise, our sincere thanks go to Erland Kolding Nielsen, director of the Royal Library of Denmark, and the Austrian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Social Anthropology, Vienna, for the financial support in printing the present volume.

Finally, we hope that this volume will find its joyous acceptance by Per Sørensen in the form as it was intended, namely as the Festschrift for an exceptional leading representative of the Tibetan Studies community, and for a most inspiring and also generous colleague, and for a friend.

*Guntram Hazod*

Vienna, Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

*Olaf Czaja*

Leipzig, Institute of Indology and Central Asian Studies

## Tabula gratulatoria

ORNA ALMOGI  
 JOHN ARDUSSI  
 ELLEN BANGSBO  
 JOHN VINCENT BELLEZZA  
 ANNE BURCHARDI  
 CHRISTOPH CÜPPERS  
 BRYAN CUEVAS  
 OLAF CZAJA  
 JACOB P. DALTON  
 YONTEN DARGYE  
 HILDEGARD DIEMBERGER  
 BRANDON DOTSON  
 FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD  
 FRANZ XAVER ERHARD  
 ELI FRANCO  
 MARTIN GAENZLE  
 DAVID GERMANO  
 TSERING GYALPO †  
 JANET GYATSO  
 GUNTRAM HAZOD  
 JÖRG HEIMBEL  
 AMY HELLER  
 HOU HAORAN  
 TONI HUBER  
 DAVID JACKSON  
 MATTHEW KAPSTEIN  
 SAMTEN KARMAY  
 CATHARINA KIEHNLE  
 KLAUS KOPPE  
 LEONARD VAN DER KUIJP  
 DIANA LANGE  
 STEFAN LARSSON  
 ERBERTO LO BUE  
 CHRISTIAN LUCZANITS  
 DAN MARTIN  
 KLAUS-DIETER MATHES  
 PETRA MAURER  
 ROBERT MAYER  
 MARTIN MILLS  
 SAUL MULLARD  
 ERLAND KOLDING NIELSEN  
 PASANG WANGDU

FRANÇOISE POMMARET  
 OLLE QVARNSTRÖM  
 CHARLES RAMBLE  
 STIG T. RASMUSSEN  
 ULRIKE ROESLER  
 ALEXANDER VON ROSPATT  
 MONA SCHREMPF  
 MARTA SERNESI  
 SHEN WEIRONG  
 ELLIOT SPERLING  
 ERNST STEINKELLNER  
 LOBSANG TENPA  
 MICHAEL VINDING  
 ROBERTO VITALI  
 DORJI WANGCHUK  
 CAMERON WARNER  
 CARL YAMAMOTO



## The Demoness's Right (or Left) Knee (or Ankle): A Pilgrim's Account of Traduntse Temple from 1898<sup>1</sup>

Charles Ramble

Michael Aris's *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom* presented readers with what was, for a quarter of a century, the most detailed survey of the Tibetan sources for the story of Srong btsan sgam po's construction of a dozen temples to pin down the restless demoness that was Tibet (Aris 1979: 24–31). While the *srin mo* myth has inspired important publications in other thematic domains of Tibetan Studies,<sup>2</sup> the quest for the historical substance embedded in these narratives has been taken furthest by Per Sørensen and Guntram Hazod, whose collaboration with the late Tsering Gyalbo culminated in the publication of *Thundering Falcon* (Sørensen and Hazod 2005). As the title indicates, the focus of the work is the temple of Khra 'brug in Southern Tibet. However, the work is also an indispensable reference for our understanding of the place of other temples, rightly or piously attributed to the seventh-century emperor, in the literature of the Late Diffusion.

As is well known, the temples in the constellation are presented as having been built on the joints of the demoness's limbs in order to prevent her from shaking down the main temple, the Jo khang, that Srong btsan sgam po had been planning to raise on the site of her heart. While each of the temples is therefore associated with a particular joint, the sources are not always in agreement about which temple represents which joint. Our knowledge of Khra 'brug has been greatly enhanced thanks to *Thundering Falcon*, but the other temples do not share the good fortune of having received scholarly attention of such quality.

In a remote part of the Tibetan Plateau, far from the centre of the demoness' heart, lies the temple of Traduntse (Pra dun rtse, among other spellings). According to most of the available sources, the temple was built on the right knee of the demoness, thereby classifying it as one of the four *mtha' 'dul* constructions. In certain works, the location is identified as being the left knee, while at least one authority maintains that the site of the temple is the *srin mo*'s left ankle – which would place it among the *yang 'dul* group. A summary of the different literary traditions concerning the association between the twelve temples and the various joints of the demoness is given in the form of an extended table by Sørensen and Hazod (*ibid.* 184–201).

Traduntse temple is located in what is now Drongba (or Dongba) County of the Tibet Autonomous Region, some 80 km north of the Nepalese border as the crow flies, and a short distance from the county seat of Drongba ('Brong pa) (see Fig. 1). Locally, and across the Nepa-

---

1 Part of the research on which this contribution is based was carried out in the framework of the Franco-German project "The Social History of Tibetan Societies, 17th–20th Centuries", funded by the French National Research Agency (ANR) and the German Research Council (DFG). The project started on 1 March 2012, and will continue until 29 February 2016. For more information on this project, see <http://www.tibetanhistory.net>. I would like to express my gratitude to the editors of the present volume, Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod, for their invaluable comments on an earlier draft of this article.

2 Most notably, perhaps, Janet Gyatso's "Down with the Demoness" (1989).



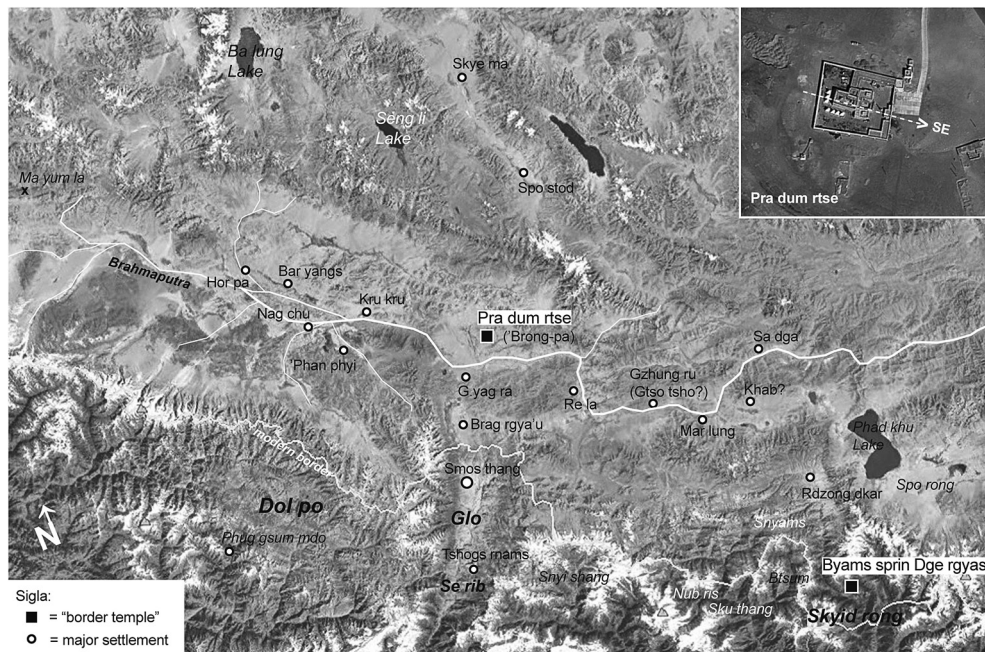


Fig. 1. The temple of Traduntse and surrounding areas (map by Hazod, based on DigitalGlobe 2013).

lese border in the district of Mustang, the temple is known as Trarum, a pronunciation that is reflected in one of the many orthographic forms of the name (see below). For the people of Mustang, at least, the name “Trarum” is also applied to the town of Drongba,<sup>3</sup> while the area as a whole is known as Byang.<sup>4</sup>

Of the various foreigners who visited Trarum and left a record of what they found, the earliest may be the Japanese monk Ekai Kawaguchi, for whom the settlement was the first port of call after his departure from Nepalese territory in the autumn of 1900. For Kawaguchi, “Tadun”

is the most famous temple in northern Tibet. Tadun means the “seven hairs,” and the tradition is that the hair of seven Buddhas are interred here. The temple stands on the summit of a hill, and in the enclosure is a revenue office. It is in fact not a temple but a town (Tazam), one of the most populous and wealthy in northern Tibet. (Kawaguchi 1903: 217)

The author resumes his account at the beginning of the next chapter with the information that “I spent the whole of November 2nd, 1900, at the temple seeing its treasures and images. The place was just sixty miles north of Tsaring in the province of Lo in the Himālayas, and was

3 For an outline of the political history of ’Brong pa and adjacent areas, see especially Vitali 1997. This same work also attests to the historical importance of Traduntse temple as a site for the discovery of Buddhist “treasures” (*gter ma*) and an object of reverence on the part of the local nomadic community (*ibid.* 1026, fn. 11, 12).

4 “Byang” here is not a cardinal direction (lit. north) but a territorial designation. For a discussion of the dimensions of this territory in Tibetan historical sources, see Vitali *ibid.* 1025, fn. 2.

frequented by merchants from the latter" (*ibid.* 218). Sadly, he tells us nothing of the "treasures and images" that occupied him for an entire day.

A brief but informative entry about Tradum is given in the online *Tibet Encyclopaedia* by Dieter Schuh, who visited the town and the temple in 2007.<sup>5</sup> In addition to photographs of the interior of the restored temple, the entry provides a number of references to works by early European travellers who visited the site after Kawaguchi. The first of these was Cecil Rawling, a British officer who led a team of explorers to Western and Central Tibet in 1903 and 1904–1905. But between the author's main interests – surveying and shooting – "Tra-dom" is only mentioned in passing (Rawling 1905: 228, 230), and it was for the next traveller, Sven Hedin, who visited the area in 1907, to provide a more extensive account of the temple itself:

The monastery Tradum-gompa is subject to Tashi-lunpo, and its five monks live on the produce of their sheep and yaks, and carry on trade with Nepal. Round the temple are eight *chhortens*, and in the *lhakang*, the hall of the gods, the immortal son of Sakya is enthroned between the eleven-headed, six-armed Avalokitesvara and other deities. On a small hill of schist above the convent is a hermit's dwelling, where there is a splendid view over the Brahmaputra valley and the Tsa-chu-tsangpo as it emerges from the mountains. (Hedin 1909: 73)

Hedin's twelve-volume *Southern Tibet* contains numerous references to Tradum, but since the entries are without exception concerned with topographical features and route descriptions they are of little relevance to the present article (Hedin 1915–1922). The second volume of the work does, however, contain what is surely the first published photograph of the temple, clearly visible on a distant hilltop and captioned "Tradum-gompa on the hill" (*ibid.* vol. 2: 4).

Heinrich Harrer, Peter Aufschnaiter and Hans Kopp were detained there in 1944 by the Tibetan authorities for four months (Kopp for a shorter period before his departure for Nepal). Harrer provides a brief description of the small settlement and mentions "the filigree towers of [Tradün's] monastery", and the "red monastery with its golden roof [that] looked like a fairy palace on the hillside" (Harrer 2005 [1953]: 75), while Kopp, similarly inspired, writes of "the monastery in the distance, looking like a magic castle with gilded pinnacles and turrets" (Kopp 1957: 141). Aufschnaiter's account is worth quoting at length:

Tradün could scarcely be called a village. Very few resident families settled here. Most of the inhabitants were traders and officials who controlled the through trade: tea from China, dried apricots and raw sugar from Ladakh, and so on. This important trading centre consisted of about a dozen houses and a few black tents, which lay on the gentle slope of a mountain spur, rising out of the plain like a low hill. On top of the spur stood a monastery. Its golden roof showed that it was a specially sacred – and rich – establishment.

The monastery was visited by pilgrims from all parts of Tibet, principally because of its location on the route to Mount Kailash. Pious visitors also came from Nepal in the summer. Tradün Tse Gönpa, as it is called according to Tibetan tradition, was founded by Songtsen Gampo, the first historical king of Tibet. It is one of twelve monasteries built in the seventh century in order to vanquish a she-demon, who lay stretched out over the length and breadth of the land. The Tradün monastery apparently pinned down the demon's left knee. The monastery was later visited by Padmasambhava, who

<sup>5</sup> *Tibet Encyclopaedia*, "Tradun (Westtibet)". For a series of contemporary photographs of the nearby town of Drongba, see Schuh 2007: 145–153.

concealed an “inner treasure”. In ancient documents the monastery is called Jang Tradün Lhakhang. On one wall of the main temple I discovered an inscription dealing with the extensive restoration of the entire complex. The inscription stated that Tradün stood in the centre of an area framed by glistening white snow-covered mountains, and that the “field of religion”, Tradün Tse, had been founded in Tibet. Songtsen Gampo was mentioned in this inscription, but not Padmasambhava. Beside the monastery stood the *labrang* where the monastery’s incarnate lama lived with the monks.

The lama also engaged in business in order to obtain part of the goods and money needed to support the monks. The monastery received taxes from the local population, such as radishes from Dargyling, a large monastery further to the east in the desert region near Saga. (Brauen 2002: 26–27)

As both Kawaguchi and Aufschnaiter note, Trarum was a common destination for people of Mustang for purposes of both trade and pilgrimage, and until very recently represented the northernmost point in Tibet where traders from Nepal were allowed to travel without special permission. For the people of Mustang, the main purpose of travelling to Trarum may have been trade; but the generation of wealth and merit are by no means mutually exclusive activities for Tibetan Buddhists, and travellers whose ostensible purpose is mercantile will often take time to visit holy sites, just as pilgrims may buy, sell and exchange goods in the course of their journeys.<sup>6</sup>

Traduntse temple was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution and rebuilt in the late 1990s. In the course of a visit I made in 1999 in the company of my colleague Hildegard Diemberger, while restoration work was under way, we were told that the structure had survived thanks to the efforts of the head of the township (*shang drang* < Ch. *xiangzhang*), since the building had been used variously as a school and as an army base (Figs. 2–4). The murals, however, did not survive, and during our visit the walls were in the process of being redecorated by a painter from Tsedong, near Shigatse. Work had begun in 1993 thanks to a government allocation of 40,000 RMB. The money was used to repaint the temple and to purchase a copy of the Canon, since the original set had been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution together with the entire library. (The library appears to have been substantial: the task of burning the books is said to have required a full week.)

In 1898 or shortly before that time a tantric lama from Southern Mustang travelled to Trarum and visited the temple in the company of a knowledgeable guide – possibly a local chief but more probably a senior cleric. He took notes from his host’s commentary and later wrote them up in the form of a short pilgrimage guide of twenty-three lines on a single sheet of paper. The document found its way into the archives of another family of tantric lamas in the little settlement – not much more than a house and a temple – of Lower Tshognam (Tshogs rnam ’og) on the territory of Tshug (Nep. Chusang), a large village in Southern Mustang (Fig. 5). In 1993 my colleague Nyima Drandul (himself a member of a local priestly family) and I were able to photograph the collection.<sup>7</sup>

The author of the document (Fig. 6) does not give his name. However, the handwriting is unmistakably the same as that in another document contained in the archive,<sup>8</sup> where the scribe

6 The narratives of such “hybrid” voyages make for particularly informative reading. A good example of such a work is Khatag Zamyag 1997. For a brief description and selected extracts, see Ramble 2015.

7 The collection was photographed in the course of the Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology, funded by the German Research Council (DFG) and directed by Dieter Schuh. This particular archive, together with that of the adjacent settlement of Upper Tshognam, is due soon to be published as *Tibetan Sources 2*. The document with which we are concerned here is catalogued as HMA/LTshognam/Tib/15.

8 *Tibetan Sources 2*: HMA/LTshognam/Tib/11.

identifies himself as the Tantric Adept (*sgrub pa*) Tshe ring rdo rje. That document is a contract for a loan made to a nobleman by a Lama of Tshognam named 'Od gsal rdo rje.<sup>9</sup>

'Od gsal rdo rje and Tshe ring rdo rje were probably close acquaintances, and the document may well have been a gift from the latter to his friend in Tshognam following a pilgrimage he had made to Trarum. The identity of the writer's guide, Padma bkra shis, is not known. The title he is given in line 1 appears to be *dpon sa*, and in line 23 simply *dpon*. The former, if the reading is correct, would suggest that he was a religious hierarch rather than a knowledgeable member of the local gentry.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no written description of the temple prior to this time, and the present document, cursory though it is, may be a valuable record of what was destroyed. Equally, some of the uncertainties in the text – not least the precise locations of the murals described – might be resolved by an *in situ* comparison of the text with whatever artwork may have survived. For example, it is not at all clear what the writer means by “the female form of Maitreya” (*'jam ma < byams ma*): Byams ma usually denotes a Bonpo divinity whose name is “the feminine form of Champa (Byams pa), the Buddhist bodhisattva Maitreya, with whom she otherwise does not seem to share any attributes” (Kværne 1995: 28).<sup>10</sup> We should not overlook the possibility that Padma bkra shis, the author's guide, may himself have been a Bonpo with an idiosyncratic understanding of the temple's iconography.

Although, as noted above, the temple of Traduntse is usually represented as pinning down one of the knees or ankles of the supine demoness, there are at least two other local narratives, recorded in the course of our visit to the temple, that still have some currency. One is that the temple pins down the front (*mdun*) of the forehead (*dpral*) of the demoness (hence Tradun < *dpral mdun*);<sup>11</sup> the other (Tradun < *skra bdun*) is that the building sits on seven (*bdun*) of her hairs (*skra*). Line 11 of the document is apparently a reference to a variant of the latter version, insofar as the etymology of the toponym is provided by a belief that the temple treasury houses the combined hair of the Seven Successive Buddhas – a story that, as we have seen, is also mentioned by Kawaguchi.

The opening line of the work identifies itself as “a pilgrimage guide (*gnas shad [bshad]*) to the supports of the body, speech and mind that are located at the great holy place of Kra rum dkar po”. As stated above, the rendering *kra rum* corresponds to the local pronunciation of the name. The orthography *khra rum* also appears in a sixteenth-century biographical work cited by Roberto Vitali, who suggests that it may be “a Zhang-zhung-pa variant or a West Tibetan phonetical transcription” (Vitali 1997: 1026, fn. 10). Elsewhere, the same author expresses his preference for the orthography *khra rum* over more familiar forms such as Pra dum, Khra bdun and so forth, on the grounds that it “reflects the pronunciation of the dialect of mNga' ris”, and also that “it could be the original” spelling (Vitali 2012: 20, fn. 22; 39).

Although the text is generally legible, a few syllables are unclear and the meaning of certain passages remains doubtful. In these cases I have indicated the uncertainty of the translation with a question mark.

9 The story of this interesting figure, as far as it has been possible to reconstruct it from the archives, is told in *Tibetan Sources 2* and, more briefly, in Ramble 2008: 149–161.

10 As one of the definitions for *'jam ma*, Das gives “goddess of fortune” (1998 [1902]), but I have not been able to find any textual sources that corroborate the existence of a divinity with this name. As suggested above, the name may simply be a misspelling of *byams ma*.

11 Sørensen and Hazod cite a version of the story of the demoness in which Traduntse (here Pra-dan[dun]-[r]tse) is located “in front of the head of [a mythic] tortoise” (2005: 197).

## Translation

A site-description of the supports for the body, speech and mind at the great holy place White Tradum. A guide to the place written according to what His Eminence (*dpon sa*) Padma bkra shis said. On entering, there is Hayagrīva the Solitary Hero.<sup>12</sup> Then after climbing up, to the right, in front of a great pillar (*bka' < ka*), there are scroll paintings of Maitreya and the consorts of the five Family Buddhas; above are the four male Bodhisattvas, and below the four female Bodhisattvas, and in front Ekadaśamukha [Avalokiteśvara]. In front of this are the eight Offering Goddesses. On one pillar is Guru Padma, standing in earth-subduing form. Furthermore, to the right of a certain door are the King of the East, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and the King of the South, Virūdhaka, the personal arrow of King Gesar, the beribboned arrow of Śrīdevi; a house of clouds [of offerings] that surpasses understanding. Above the door is an image of Śākyamuni. Then inside the door, on the sides of the walls (?) to the right, are a variety of wrathful divinities, and a Hayagrīva that speaks. On the ceiling (?) are the thirty-five Confessional Buddhas, and below them the eight great Bodhisattvas. In front of them is the Kyirong Jo bo wa ti bzang po. In the very interior, on top, are a White Vairocana and a [Sarvavid] Vairocana with four faces; to the right is an Amitābha and a Vajrasattva; also to the right are a Vajradhāra, a Guru Padmakāra (\*Guru Padmavajra). In the *gling* [area of the temple] is/are the Offering Goddess(es), and on the opposite side is a *da rta bsku ru* tree.<sup>13</sup> In the skylight is a Medicine Buddha and facing it is a Padmasambhava. In the middle is a speaking Śākyamuni. This temple of Tradun in Byang contains the combined hair of the Seven Successive Buddhas, foremost of whom is Dipaṅkara. To the right is Maitreya and to the left a female [form of] Maitreya (*'jam ma < byams ma?*),<sup>14</sup> a skull-cup, and eleven images of the Buddha with one face that were sponsored by the Chinese Queen Konjo; an [Avalokiteśvara] Kharsapāṇi, a Mañjuśrī, a White Tārā that speaks, an Indian Phadam pa Sangs rgyas, the god of wealth Vaiśravaṇa, the thirty-five Confessional Buddhas, and a speaking Virūpākṣa. Then after going down and exiting through the inner door, there are the King of the West Virūpākṣa, the King of the North Vaiśravaṇa; from inside the ground (?) there is the *yakṣa* Gang bzang, the God of Wealth Jambhala, and the Merchant Nor bu bzang po. On a pillar there is a scroll painting of Tārā, and a [site for?] the repayment of the kindness of one's parents;<sup>15</sup> the Eight Medicine Buddhas; Cakrasaṃvara and his consort [Vajravārāhī] in union,

12 This form of Hayagrīva is common to the Buddhist and Bon religions. References to the divinity are found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*; however, one of the oldest Buddhist sources may be a *gter ma* discovered in 1477 by Padma gling pa at Senge Namdzongdrak, in Bhutan (Aris 1988: 216). The text in question is presumably *Rta mgrin dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs rtsa ba*, contained in Padma gling pa's collected textual discoveries (see Bibliography, *Rta mgrin dpa' bo gcig pa*). That the divinity is also revered by Bonpos (des Jardins 2010: 194) is particularly interesting in the light of the fact that the Bonpo treasure-discoverer Dbyil ston Khyung rgod rtsal is said to have extracted several *gter ma* from a Hayagrīva statue in Trarum in 1308 (Vitali 2007: 41).

13 The reading *ljon pa* for *sbyon pa* is speculative, since I know of no tree with a name resembling *da rta bsku ru*. However, *da rta* may refer to the *da dha pha la*, defined in *Nitartha* as “the kapettha tree”, though I have not been able to find the term in other dictionaries or in any Tibetan *materia medica*; *bsku ru* may stand for *skyu ru*, the emblic myrobalan (*Phyllanthus emblica*). The possibility that this may refer to a healing tree of some variety is supported by its proximity to the Eight Medicine Buddhas.

14 See fn. 10.

15 Insofar as Trarum was a much-frequented pilgrimage site, it is likely to have featured sites where devout visitors were expected to perform a range of prescribed devotional activities. A location for the repayment of one's parents kindness (*pha ma'i drin lan 'jal sa*) at a pilgrimage site in Amdo, Drakar Dredzong, is described in a recent account by Nag za sgrol ma (Zhuoma 2008: 66f.).

and the five Fathers of the Buddha Families; on the side of a pillar there is an Avalokiteśvara. Then, after passing through the door, there is an Amṛtakuṇḍali, and the female protector deity [Śrīdevī] Rab brtan ma. Again, to the right of (or inside and to the right of?) the protectors' chapel is Kākamukha, a set of the Five Classes of *dakinī*, a reliquary of Lama Tsha ba rong, a Vajrasattva, a Dipaṃkara, a Buddha Śākyamuni, and a painted scroll of Maitreya. To the right of the Śākyamuni is a Śāriputra, and to his left a Maudgalyāyana; a Rdo rje drag po rtsal, a four-armed Jñānanātha Mahākāla, a Guru [Padmasambhava] in the form of the Subjugator of the Phenomenal World, and Śrīdevī Dmag zor ma. There are three *stūpa*: a Vajrapāṇi repository on the northern side, and a Hayagrīva *stūpa* repository and a *stūpa* for the Atonement of Sins on the southern (?) side. Outside there is a temple with a prayer wheel (*man khang < maṇi khang*) and a set of the Canon. This was written without error as recounted by the Lord (*dpon*) [Padma bkra shis] on a Sunday, the sixth day of the eleventh month in an Earth Dog year (18 December 1898), at the Temple of the White Vairocana in Trarum.

A diplomatic transliteration of the text is followed by suggested emendations for an improved reading:

#### *Conventions for transliteration*

- Single underlining: text written above the main line
- Double underlining: text written below the main line
- *Italicised text*: reading doubtful
- {Text in braces with strikethrough}: intentional deletion
- {t}: specified number of letters intentionally deleted
- {zS}: specified number of syllables intentionally deleted
- Contracted forms (*bskungs yig*) are romanised in such a way as to represent the contraction, followed in brackets by the expanded form.
- Some contractions feature the short stroke that usually (but not always) stands for an affricate, and is therefore known as *tsha rtags* or *dza rtags* depending on the missing letter in question. This sign is represented by a circumflex ^.

#### *Conventions for emendation*

Line-by-line emendations are provided after the transliteration; to facilitate identification, the edited lemmata include at least one syllable that has not been altered.

- Underlined text: local term with no obvious equivalent in Standard Tibetan
- < : corresponding to (Standard Tibetan term)
- {abcd}: material that were better omitted for a more intelligible reading

## Transliteration

1. gnas chen kra ruṃ dkar po'i bsku gsung thugs stan gi gnas shad | dpon *sa* pad ma bkra shis  
gsung nas 'dri pa'i
2. gnas yig bzhugs s+ho | *m* lha mgo 'dzul *snang* rtam 'gring dpa' po gcigs pa | de nas yar  
'dzags nas | g.yasu (g.yas su)
3. bka' chen gyi dung/drung du | 'jam spa khyil thang 1 | rgyal pa rigs kyi yuṃ lnga | steng  
seṃs dpa' 4 | 'og seṃs ma bzhi | {2S}
4. dun du joo (jo bo) bcuigs (bcu gcigs) bzhal {tS} | de yi mdong du mchod pa'i lha mo rgyad |  
de yi bka' dong bcigs la gu ru padma sa 'dul dgleng
5. tshul du bzhugs pa | yang sgo 1 g.yasu (g.yas su) shar phyogs rgyol (rgyal po) yul 'khor  
srung | lho phyogs rgyol (rgyal po) phags dkyes po | gling bsing chen phyags da
6. dpal lha mo'i mda' dar | bsaṃ g.yas sprin 'khang | yang sgo'i bsteng du thub dbang bdang/  
gang brten 1 | de nas sgo nang g.yasu (g.yas su)
7. sa ldags la {tS} khro sku sno^gs (sna tshogs) rtam 'dring gsung sbyon 1 | steng kheb *kha*  
sbyang chub tung shags gi lha gsuṃ bcu so lnga 'og la nyes ba'i sras
8. chen brgyad | de'i dong du skye rong jo 'o 'di bzang po | bug bstod du rnam nang dkar po  
snaṃs par snang mdzad bzhal bzhi pa |
9. g.yas su 'od dpag med 1 | rdor seṃs 1 | yang g.yasu (g.yas su) rdoeng (rdo rje 'chang) 1 | gu  
ru tsho skyes rdo rje 1 | gling la mchod pa'i lha mo dang8 (dang 8?) logs ri la yod
10. pa la | da rta bsku ru sbyon pa 1 | skur thong du | srgyas (sangs rgyas) sman lha 1 | *yang*  
dang dong du guru pad ma bsaṃ spa 1 | de'i dbus su | thub ba gsung sbyon |
11. sbyang dkra dun sang rgyas 'od srung tso byas srgyas (sangs rgyas) rab mdun rab dun gyis  
dbu skra mdun zung 'jug yod pa bzhugs yod |
12. g.yasu (g.yas su) 'jam pa dang | g.yon du 'jam ma 1 | bka' spa la 1 | gya sa dkoon (dkong  
jo) gyi bzhang ba'i jo bcu gcig bzhal 1 | khar sa dpa'
13. ni 1 | 'jam dbyang 1 | sgrol ma dkar gsung sbyon 1 | rgya dkar pha dam pa srgyas (sangs  
rgyas) | nor lha rnaṃs thos sras | byang chub rtung shags lha gsuṃ cu
14. so lnga | phyags dor gsung sbyon 1 | yang sgo nang sgo nas | mar thon nas | nub phyogs  
rgyol (rgyal po) spyang migs bzang | sbyang phyogs rgyol (rgyal po) rnaṃs

15. thos bsras | sa nang nas gnod byin sgang pa bzang po 1 | nor lha dzam lha | tshong dpon nor bu bzang po 1 | bka'bl (bka' la?)
16. sgrol ma khyil thang 1 | pha mi sgrin len 'jal pa 1 | sman lha der bshegs brgyad | sdem phyogs yumb (yab yum) | rgyal ba rigs gyi
17. yab lnga | bka' dung la 'phags pa spyen ras bzigs 1 | § yang sgo thon nas khro bo bdui^d (bdud rtsi) khyil pa 1 | srung ma rab rtan ma 1 |
18. § yang mgon gang gi g.yasu (g.yas su) mgoon (mgon po) bya rog mdong can 1 | mkhro' (mkha' 'gro) sde lnga 1 | blaṃ (bla ma) tsha ba {tsha ba} rong gi mdung rten 1 | rdor sems 1 |
19. mar man mdzad | {†§} srgyas (sangs rgyas) shākya dthub pa | 'jam spa khyel thang bzhugs | shākya thub spa la | g.yas su sha ri bu | g.yon du
20. mi'u rgal gyis 'bu | rdoe (rdo rje) 'drags po btsal 1 | yees (ye shes) mgoon (mgon po) phyag bzhi spa | gu ru snang srid zil snon bzhugs | dmag zor ma bzhugs | sbyang ngos mchod
21. rten phyags rdor buṃ khang 1 | lho nas (deleted?) *phyogs* rtam gring mchod rten buṃ khang | sdigs shegs mchod rten gsuṃ bzhugs yod | phyi phyogs
22. bsu man khang | bka' gyur bcas bzhugs yod pas | de la 'khrul spa med pa | sa khyi zla ba bcuig (bcu gcig) tshe drug re za
23. nyi ma la | dkra ruṃ rnaṃs snang dkar po ru | dpon gi gsung bzhin 'dris pa | bkris (bkra shis) shogs |

## Emendations

1. thugs rten; gnas bshad; gsungs nas dris pa'i 2. rta mgrin dpa' bo gcig pa; 'dzegs nas 3. ka chen; byams pa dkyil thang 4. mdun du; bcu gcig zhal; gdong du; mo brgyad; ka gdung gcig; 'dul langs (?); 'phags skyes po; gling seng chen phyag mda' 6. bsam yas; steng du 7. sa ldabs (?); khro sku; byang chub ltung bshags kyi; nye ba'i sras 8. gdong du; skyid grong jo bo wa ti bzang po; sbug stod du; rnam snang; rnam par snang; zhal bzhi 9. lha mo {dang} 8; logs ris 10. ljon pa; gur mthongs; gdong du; padma sam bha ba; gsung byon 11. byang dkra dun sangs; 'od srungs gtso; sangs rgyas rabs bdun {rab dun} gyi 12. byams pa; byams ma; ka pa la; rgya bza'; bzhengs pa'i; zhal 13. 'jam dbyangs; gsung byon; rnam thos; ltung bshags; gsum bcu 14. phyag rdor gsung byon; spyan mi bzang; byang phyogs rgyal po rnam 15. thos sras; gnod sbyin; ka la (?) 16. dkyil thang; pha ma'i drin lan 'jal ba; bder gshegs brgyad; bde mchog yab 17. ka gdung; spyan ras zgigs; 'khyil ba; rab brtan 18. mgon khang; gdong can; gdung rten 19. mar me mdzad; thub pa; byams pa dkyil thang; thub pa 20. mod gal gyi bu; rdo rje drag po rtsal; bzhi pa; byang ngos 21. phyag rdor; rta mgrin mchod; sdig bshags 22. su man (< ma ṇi); bka' gyur; re gza' 23. rnam snang; dpon gyis; dris pa; shis shog



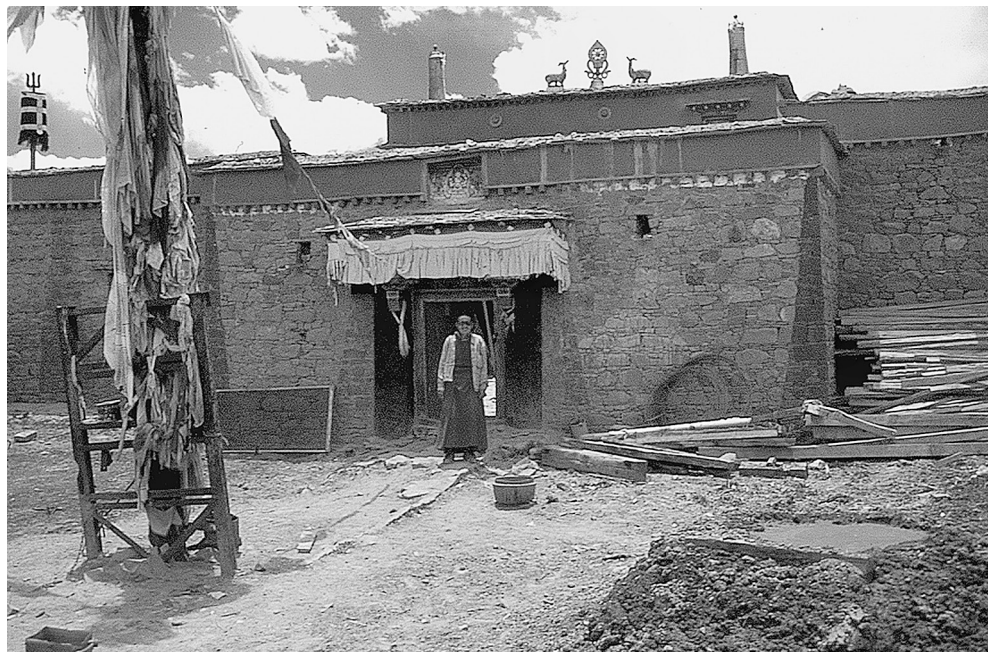


Fig. 2. Traduntse monastery during its restoration (Photo: Ramble 1999).



Fig. 3. Traduntse monastery (Photo: Ramble 1999).



Fig. 4. Looking over Traduntse monastery to the town of Drongba (Photo: Ramble 1999).



Fig. 5. The priestly settlement of Lower Tshognam in Southern Mustang, Nepal (Photo: Worrall 2014).

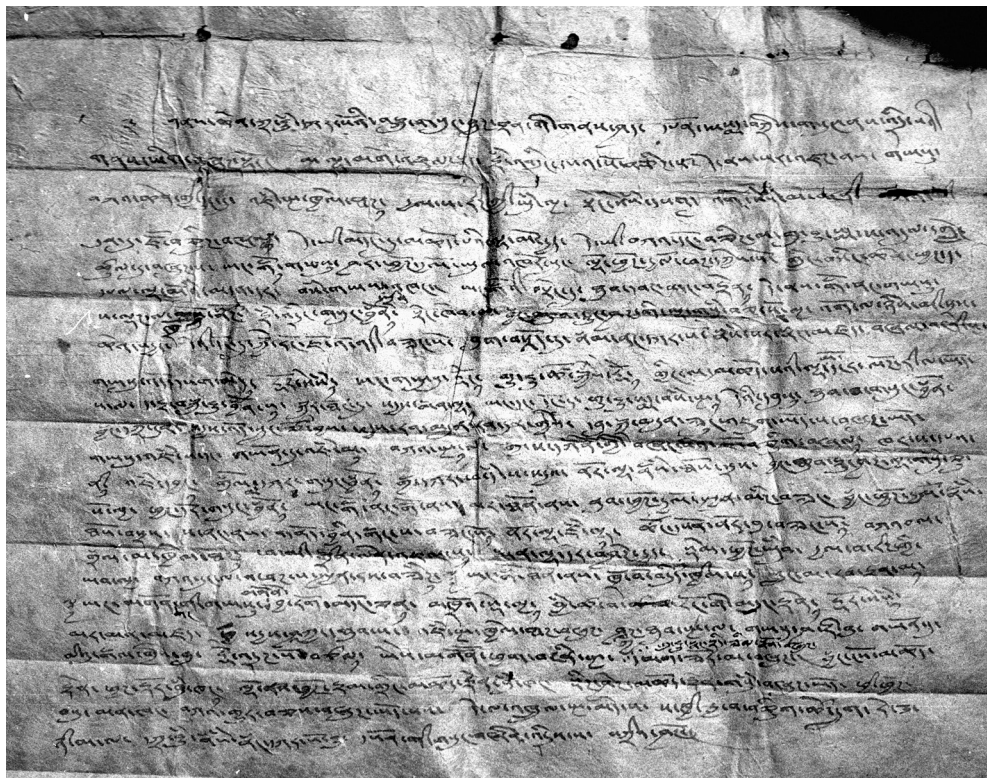


Fig. 6. A pilgrim's guide to Traduntse monastery, written in 1898 by *sgrub pa* Tshe ring rdo rje (Photo: Ramble 1993).

## Bibliography

**Primary sources**

*Rta mgrin dpa' bo gcig pa*

Padma gling pa. *Rta mgrin dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs rtsa ba*, in: Padma gling pa. *Rig 'dzin padma gling pa'i zab gter chos mdzod rin po che*. Thimpu: Kunsang Tobgay, 1975–1976. 21 vols., vol. 12: 173–241.

**Secondary sources**

Aris, Michael V. 1979. *Bhutan: The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

– 1988. *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450–1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683–1706)*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Brauen, Martin (compiled and edited). 2002. *Peter Aufschmaiter's Eight Years in Tibet*. Bangkok: Orchid Press.

Des Jardins, Marc. 2010. Rites of the Deity Tamdrin (Rta mgrin) in Contemporary Bön: Transforming Poison and Eliminating Noxious Spirits with Burning Stones, in: Cabezón, José Ignacio (ed.). *Tibetan Ritual*. New York: Oxford University Press: 187–206.

Das, Sarat Chandra. 1998 [1902]. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

Gyatso, Janet. 1989. Down with the Demoness: Reflections on a Feminine Ground in Tibet, in: Willis, Janice B. (ed.). *Feminine Ground: Essays on Women and Tibet*. New York: Snow Lion: 33–51.

Harrer, Heinrich. 2005 [1953]. *Seven Years in Tibet*. London: Harper Perennial. Originally published: London: Hart-Davis, 1953. Translation of: *Sieben Jahre in Tibet*.

Hedin, Sven 1909. *Trans-Himalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan and Co.

– 1915–1922. *Southern Tibet: Discoveries in Former Times Compared with my Own Researches in 1906–1908*. 12 vols. Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army.

Kawaguchi, Ekai. 1909. *Three Years in Tibet*. Benares and London: Theosophical Publishing Society.

Khatag Zamyag, Tshongpon, 1997. *Phyi lo 1944 nas 1956 bar bod dang bal po rgya gar bcas la gnas bskor bskyod pa'i nyin deb (A Pilgrim's Diary: Tibet, Nepal and India 1944–1956)*. New Delhi: Acharya Jamyang Wangyal/Indraprastha Press.

Kopp, Hans. 1957. *Himalaya Shuttlecock*. London: Hutchinson.

Kværne, Per. 1995. *The Bon Religion of Tibet: The Iconography of a Living Tradition*. London: Serindia Publications.

Ramble, Charles. 2008. *The Navel of the Demoness: Tibetan Buddhism and Civil Religion in Highland Nepal*. New York: Oxford University Press.

– 2014. The Complexity of Tibetan Pilgrimage, in: Deeg, Max (ed.). *Buddhist Pilgrimage in History and Present Times*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute: 179–196.

Rawling, Captain Cecil G. 1905. *The Great Plateau. Being an Account of the Exploration in Central Tibet, 1903, and of the Gartok Expedition, 1904–1905*. London: Edward Arnold.

Schuh, Dieter. 2007. *Tibet – Traum und Wirklichkeit*. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Sørensen, Per K. and Guntram Hazod (in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo) 2005. *Thundering Falcon: An Inquiry into the History and Cult of Khra-'brug, Tibet's First Buddhist Temple*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.

*Tibet Encyclopaedia*

Schuh, Dieter (ed.) with the cooperation of Christoph Cüppers, Wolfgang Bertsch, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, Karl-Heinz Everding, Petra H. Maurer and Peter Schwieger, *Tibet-Encyclopaedia*. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies. <http://www.tibet-encyclopaedia.de/tradun-westtibet.html> (12.07.2015)

*Tibetan Sources 2*

Ramble, Charles, in collaboration with Nyima Drandul. Forthcoming 2015. *Tibetan Sources for a Social History of Mustang, Nepal*. Volume 2: *The Archives of the Tantric Lamas of Tshognam*. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.

Vitali, Roberto. 1997. Nomads of Byang and mNga'-ris-smad: A Historical Overview of their Interaction in Gro-shod, 'Brong-pa, Glo-bo and Gung-thang from the 11th to the 15th Century, in: Krasser, Helmut et al. (eds.). *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the IATS, Graz 1995*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: 1023–1036.

– 2012. *A Short History of Mustang (10th to 15th Century)*. Dharamsala. Amnye Machen Institute.

Zhuoma (Nag za Sgrol ma). 2008. *Pilgrimage to Drakar Dredzong: The Written Tradition and Contemporary Practices among Amdo Tibetans*. M. Phil. thesis, University of Oslo. <https://www.duo.uio.no/handle/10852/24283> (12.07.2015)