

Himalayan Nature Representations and Reality

EDITED BY ERIKA SANDMAN AND RIIKA J. VIRTANEN

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Representations and Reality**

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Nakza Drolma: “mTho ris la, a mountain pass at the top of Brag dkar sprel rdzong, and a Buddhist pilgrimage site in Xinhai County, Qinghai Province, People’s Republic of China.”

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THE NATURE-DEITIES OF TIBET: A DISCUSSION ON THE TALE “THE SUBDUING AND PUTTING UNDER OATH OF TIBET’S MALIGNANT LHA 'DRE” IN *PADMA BKA' THANG*

Thupten K. Rikey

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a discussion on the nature-deities depicted in the tale “The subduing and putting under oath of Tibet’s malignant *lha 'dre*” in the 14th-century work *Padma bka' thang*. The tale depicts the eighth-century Indian tantric Buddhist master Padmasambhava on his way to Tibet on the then Tibetan king’s invitation on one side and a host of nature-deities all set to fend him off from entering Tibet on the other; and therewith both the parties entering into battles of fierce supernatural feats against each other. By studying those main characters and the confrontation, the paper attempts to interpret what the whole scenario reflects.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a discussion on the Tibetan nature-deities depicted in the tale “The subduing and putting under oath of Tibet’s malignant *lha 'dre*”.¹ The purpose of the discussion is not to prove anything diachronically, but to look at the types of nature-deities the tale depicts and their reaction to Padmasambhava, and thereby to interpret what the whole scenario reflects. The tale comprises the 60th chapter of the 14th-century rediscovered text *Padma bka' thang* (hereafter *PK*), which is a narrative of the life of the eighth-century Indian tantric Buddhist master Padmasambhava and his visit to Tibet. Traditionally, the *PK* is believed to have been written by Padmasambhava’s Tibetan consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal and was hidden inside a statue to be revealed by the 14th-century Tibetan master O rgyan gling pa (1329–1367).²

¹ “Bod kyi lha srin gdug pa can rnam btul zhing dam la btags pa'i le'u”.

² For more on this work and the value of its historicity, see Vostrikov (1970 [1962]: 32).

The term “nature-deity” in the present context is to be understood to mean the supernatural agents, the gods and spirits, that are connected to nature, such as mountains and lakes and the like, who are regarded as the protector of an entire region (*yul lha*) or a small plot of land, a house or a farm and so on (*gzhis bdag*). The focus is on such supernatural agents as are depicted in the tale under discussion.

The tale depicts Padmasambhava entering Tibet from Mang yul ston la mkhar, probably modern Kyirong in the northwest of Kathmandu, on his way to central Tibet on an invitation from the then Tibetan King Khri srong lde'u btsan (742–797). On his way, he encounters a number of nature-deities one after the other. They attempt to stop him from entering their territories, resulting in fierce conflicts only to be settled by battles of supernatural feat. The Tibetan word the tale uses to designate the nature-deities in question is *lha 'dre*. The term *lha 'dre* is a compound word of binary opposites: *lha*, meaning ‘god’, and *'dre*, ‘ghost’ or ‘demon’. The *lha* are normally viewed as benevolent whereas the *'dre* malevolent; there will be more discussion on this at the end of this paper.

The tale under discussion may seem to imply that the Tibetans believed the nature-deities to be malignant, hostile and something totally out of control and thus subject to subjugation. This perhaps is not quite what the tale reflects. There are relevant works that speak of the existence of a well organized native Tibetan deity cult, rich in deity invocation, with spiritually powerful priests capable of steering the nature-deities for the well-being of the land and people. Also, there are relevant works that depict the nature-deities under discussion as anti-Buddhist elements. Before going into a detailed discussion of the tale and its content, a brief survey must be made of these two issues.

1.1 The native Tibetan deity cult

The 14th-century Bonpo work *gZi brjid*, of which the part dealing with the nine *gshen*³ schools was translated into English by David N. Snellgrove (1967), speaks of a native Tibetan deity cult. Traditionally, it is believed that the contents of this work was taught by sTon pa gshen rab, the founder of the Bon religion, who, according to the same source, had taught the Tibetans long before the advent of Buddhism in Tibet.⁴ As for its transmission, it is said that the Bonpo sage Blo ldan snying po (b. 1360) wrote it down as he heard it in his trance from another Bonpo sage sTang chen dmu tsha gyer med, who was believed to have lived in the eighth century.

³ The term *gshen* is a designation of Bonpo priests.

⁴ For more on sTon pa gshen rab and *gZi brjid*, see Karmay (1975: 175, 177).

Of the nine schools it speaks of, the first four are called Phywa gshen, sNang gshen, Phrul gshen, and Srid gshen. Of them, the second, i.e. sNang gshen, is said to be a cult specialized in dealing with supernatural agents. The *gshen* of this cult, therefore, are experts in four major practices connected to the supernatural agents, and they are 1) *sel*,⁵ 2) the subduing of '*dre* and *sri*⁶ spirits, 3) *glud*,⁷ and 4) *gto*.⁸

The *sel* deals with 1) the rituals to remove undesirable influences, such as poverty, disease, famine, disturbance, unhappiness and sufferings of all kinds, caused by the defilements that one is believed to have accidentally caused to “touch the eyes of gods and their pure abode”; 2) the invocation rites of the divinities called *thugs dkar* gods, numbering up to 700; 3) the invocation rites of several warrior-deities; and 4) the legends of cosmogony, evolution of gods and humans, etc. The subduing of '*dre* and *sri* spirits deals with the methods of suppressing and sending these spirits away in order to avoid their harm to human beings. The *glud* deals with three types of rites, known as the rites of giving ransom to gods and spirits; the three are the *glud* rites for the benefit of male, female and children. Finally, the *gto* deals with the invocation rituals of gods of the celestial sphere, the *dbal mo* goddesses of the sky, the *dam can* deities of space, and the gods of earth and water.

Among the nature-deities the tale under discussion depicts as confronting Padmasambhava, two (see below) are among the nine deities known as *bod kyi srid pa chags pa'i lha*, meaning the original deities of Tibet, whose function is to protect the land and people of Tibet. They are also among the 13 deities known as *rje'i mgur lha*, meaning (tentatively) the ancestral deities of the kings. The relationship between the king and those deities is maintained by the king's personal *gshen* (*sku gshen*), who were said to be of tremendous power in the king's court. A Bonpo historical work recalls the role of those *sku gshen*, saying that there was a time when in the court, “kings were not to speak before the *sku gshen* had spoken three words of blessing”.⁹ The same is maintained by other Bonpo historians as well.

5 Literally it means to ‘purify’ or to ‘get rid of’. Snellgrove (1967: 43) translates it as ‘exorcism’.

6 This is a kind of evil spirit whose characteristics in terms of the nature of harmfulness are similar to that of '*dre*. Snellgrove (1967: 43) has translated it as ‘vampire’.

7 The *glud* rituals are performed to appease the evil spirits by giving ransom to rescue their victim. Snellgrove (1967: 43) has translated it as ‘ransom’.

8 Traditionally, *gto* is one of four means of Tibetan healers to cure their patients – it concerns the rituals through which the ills that are believed to have been caused by spirits are cured – the other three being divination (*mo*), medicine (*sman*) and treatment by manual and instrumental means (*dpyad*). Snellgrove (1967: 43) has translated it as ‘ritual’.

9 *gSung la gtsigs byin gshen ngag gsung tshigs gsum/ ma smras gong du rgyal pos bka' mi stsol/* (dPal ldan

1.2 The nature-deities as anti-Buddhist elements

Most of the works that deal with the history of Buddhism in Tibet, the *chos 'byung*, especially that of the rNying ma pa school, have a large part devoted to Padmasambhava and his mission in Tibet. But here, only the works that are connected to the tale under discussion in one way or another will be consulted, focusing on the purpose of Padmasambhava's visit to Tibet as described therein.

In addition to the *PK*, there are two more such works that deal with Padmasambhava's visit to Tibet and his encounter with the nature-deities. They are the eighth-century work *sBa bzhad* (hereafter *BZh*), and the 14th-century rediscovered text *Lha 'dre bka' thang* (hereafter *LhDK*).¹⁰ The *BZh* gives a brief account of why and how Padmasambhava was invited to Tibet, and it also narrates a few incidents where he encounters the nature-deities. The *LhDK* narrates his victory over the supernatural agents of various types and therefore incorporates the tale in question more or less in its full length (*LhDK*: 56–106).

According to *BZh*, Padmasambhava was invited to Tibet on the advice of Śāntirakṣita, the Indian Buddhist master of King Khri srong lde'u btsan. It is said that his mission of spreading Buddhism in Tibet was faced with unpredictable obstacles, which he and the king believed were caused by the nature-deities of Tibet, and the purpose of Padmasambhava's visit was to subjugate them with his supernatural power of Vajrayāna practice.

According to *BZh*, Śāntirakṣita gave teachings, such as the ten moral principles, 18 constituents, and the 12 dependent arisings, in the king's court in Palace Rlung tshugs for four months and at the end of which the nature-deities became displeased and reacted fiercely, causing

The floods that washed away the 'Phang thang Palace,
the lightning that hit the dMar po hill of Lhasa
and pandemics and failure of crops that befell the entire land (*BZh*: 21–22)¹¹

The *BZh* calls those anti-Buddhist elements '*dre* and *srin*.

According to *PK*, Padmasambhava was invited to Tibet to overcome the obstacles that the nature-deities had caused in the construction of Samye monastery. It describes the event as follow:

tshul khrims 1972: 301).

¹⁰ For more on *BZh* and *LhDK* and the value of their historicity, see Vostrikov (1970 [1962]: 24, 49).

¹¹ *Pho brag 'phang thang chus khyer/ lha sa mar po ri la thog rgyab/ mi nad dang lo nad byung nas.../*

The master [Śāntirakṣita] performed the ritual of land purification.
 The king clad in white silk,
 held in his hands the golden pickaxe annotated with medicinal ingredients
 and dug the soil an arm's length deep.
 There emerged the cream[-like soils] of white, yellow and red colour.
 The king put them in his mouth and spread them on his head.
 The master [Śāntirakṣita] prayed:
 "May the wishes of the king be fulfilled and may the Buddha's doctrine be
 spread!"
 Thus they laid the foundation of [Samye] monastery, the construction carried
 on (PK: 244).

This event provoked the nature-deities and they not only destroyed at night
 whatever was built during the preceding day, but also took the building materials,
 such as soil and stones, back to their original place:

The *lha 'dre* of Tibet were the leading force.
 They razed down in the night all that was built in the daytime
 and the soil and stones were taken back to their original sites (PK: 244).¹²

Interestingly, similar incidences of obstacles to temple constructions are narrated
 in another work, the 12th-century¹³ rediscovered text *Mañi bka' 'bum* (hereafter
MK). Although this narration is about an event that was believed to have taken
 place four generations before Khri srong lde'u btsan, i.e. in the lifetime of king
 Srong btsan sgam po (609–649), it has some similarities to the ones mentioned
 above.

According to *MK*, the event took place when Lha gcig khri btsun, the king's
 Nepalese wife, laid the foundation of 108 Buddhist temples. Here is the summary
 of the incident narrated therein: When Lha gcig khri btsun eventually realizes that
 she is never going to see any success in her mission to build Buddhist temples in
 Tibet, she turns to her counterpart, the king's Chinese wife for help. The latter's
 Chinese astrology-based guidelines failed to help her, due to misinterpretation
 by the maidservant who acted as the messenger between them. Disappointed, she
 turns to the king himself and asks for help: "O king! I have laid the foundations
 of one hundred and eight temples, but what was built during the day time was
 razed down in the night" (*MK*: 455). The king prays to a Buddha statue. From it,
 the rays of light shoot forth and spread over the lake, forming into the shape of
 a net. He instructs the Nepalese craftsmen to build following the structure the

12 *Lha 'dre gtso byas thams cad kyi/ nyin brtsigs mtshan bshig sa rdo rang gnas bskyal/*

13 This date is according to Khetsun Sangpo (1973: 310). Vostrikov (1970 [1962]: 55) places this
 work to the 15th century.

light has formed. Thus he lays the temple's foundation on the lake. He emanates himself into hundreds of craftsmen to carry out the constructions (*MK*: 571–572). Seeing this, the nature-deities threaten the king with dire consequences if he and his people do not stop paying respect to Buddha, dharma and saṅgha. The king immediately offers prayers to the Buddha image. In response, the Buddha image shoots forth light, which after having transformed into a wrathful tantric deity drives the nature-deities off to the “other side of the ocean” (*MK*: 576–578).

There is yet another interesting event in the *MK*: the king emanates himself into a host of convicts who were found guilty of not paying respect to Buddhism and were therefore liable to harsh punishments, such as decapitation, amputation and enucleation (*MK*: 581). This episode of the king emanating himself into the convicts is of special interest, for here the anti-Buddhist elements are depicted as human beings.

One major difference between *MK* and the other works mentioned above is that the *MK* depicts the Tibetan king as fully capable of dealing with the situation himself both in terms of supernatural power and otherwise.

The *MK* uses two different names, referring to two different groups of nature-deities, *lha'dre* and *'dre'i bdud*. As for the first, it is the same name as used by *PK*. The term *'dre'i bdud* is known only in this work and not in *BZh* and *PK*. The *MK* depicts a large force of them camped at a place called Gla ba tshal with their leader known by the name bDud mi zan. One thing that is common to all the above sources is that they all depict the nature-deities as anti-Buddhist elements.

From among the above-mentioned works, the *gZi brjid* speaks of the existence of a well organized native deity cult rich in deity invocation rites and of the powerful priests who steer the supernatural agents for the well-being of the land and people, whereas the other works, especially *PK*, speak of the nature-deities of Tibet as malignant and a threat to the spread of Buddhism in Tibet. Interestingly, both *gZi brjid* and *PK* belonged to the same century, as both were revealed in the 14th century. Having said this, we will now take a close look at the content of the tale under discussion.

2. THE CONTENT OF THE TALE

As was said above, the tale depicts Padmasambhava travelling to Central Tibet, entering the territory from Mang yul in the northwest. On his way, he passes through a number of sites where he encounters nature-deities who attempt to stop him from going further. Padmasambhava, instead of submitting to their power, reacts fiercely displaying his supernatural feats of Vajrayāna practice. He proves to be the victor and as a result he converts them, by appointing them the

protectors of his doctrine, especially the scriptures of his teachings that he was believed to have hidden at different sites in Tibet, the “hidden treasures” for future revelation.

Now the content of the tale will be discussed in a more detailed manner, by setting up a framework consisting of three sections: 1) the nature-deities and Padmasambhava, 2) the nature-deities and Vajrayāna, and 3) the term *lha 'dre* as a pair of binary opposites.

2.1 The nature-deities and Padmasambhava

The tale mentions as many as 25 sites where Padmasambhava encounters over 30 different nature-deities and spirits.¹⁴ But it does not depict all those deities confronting Padmasambhava. In several cases, it simply names the deities or spirits and says that he subdued them. Only seven of them are depicted as resisting Padmasambhava in fierce confrontation by performing elaborate supernatural feats. They are 1) Yar lha sham po, 2) gNyen chen thang lha, 3) Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo, 4) Byang gi ting ting ting lo sman dong, 5) *brtan ma bcu gnyis*, 6) Zhang zhung dgra bla dza mun, and 7) Ma sangs g.ya' spang skyes. The first two are the well-known mountain deities of Yar lung in central Tibet and 'Dam in the north. The third one is the female deity of the mountain Lha bu gangs dkar in Shangs, and the fourth one, the goddess of Lake sMan sdong in the west of Ru thog in northern Tibet. The fifth one is a group of 12 goddesses called *brtan ma*. According to a list, those 12 are classified into three different classes of female spirits called *bdud mo*, *gnod sbyin*¹⁵ and *sman mo* (Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 477, 1626). According to another list, they are connected to 12 different mountains and lakes located in different parts of Tibet (Rin chen don grub 2001: 1058). The sixth one, i.e. Zhang zhung dgra bla dza mun, is a female deity known from her Buddhist name rDo rje g.yu bun ma as the goddess of glacier. The term *dgra bla*¹⁶ seems to have same meaning as *dgra lha*, meaning ‘the deity of warriors’.¹⁷ The *gZi brjid* speaks of a group of four original (*srid pa chags pa'i*) deities called *sgra bla* or *sgra bla wer ma*.¹⁸ The seventh one as well is a warrior-type deity, whose generalized clan name is *ma sangs*. It is said that they

14 An English translation and the transcription of the Tibetan text and a list of the places and the deities are appended at the end of this paper.

15 The term *gnod sbyin* is often treated as the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit term *yakṣa*.

16 Also variably spelled *sgra*.

17 For more on *dgra bla*, see Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (2002: 620).

18 They are *sgra bla gnyan*, *wer ma rje*, *cang seng gnyan*, and *shug mgon rdzi* (Snellgrove 1967: 58).

are born from the union of 'dre and human.¹⁹ According to a history work, *Lo rgyus chen mo*,²⁰ cited in the 16th-century chronicle *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (hereafter *KhG*) and the 12th-century chronicle *Chos 'byung chen mo bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan* of mKhas pa Jo sras, also known as *lDe'u chos 'byung* (hereafter *DCh*), ten different classes of spirits, including *ma sangs* ruled the Tibetan plateau long before the first Tibetan king gNya' khri btsan po. They are *gnod sbyin*, *bdud*, *srin*, *lha*, *rmu*, 'dre, *klu*, *rgyal po* and *gong po*. They are all generalized names of certain classes of gods and spirits. The list runs thus:

- First, Nag po, the *gnod sbyin*, ruled the land [that] then became known as bZang yul rgyan med and used the bow and arrow for weapons.
 Second, Re te mgo g.yag, the *bdud*, ruled the land [that] then became known as bDud yul gling drug and used the axe for a weapon.
 Third, gNya' reng phrag mig, the *srin*, ruled the land [that] then became known as Nag pa dgu phul and used *srin mo rkang* and *rgyags*²¹ for weapons.
 Fourth, dMar 'jam, the *lha*, ruled the land [that] then became known as Lha yul gung thang and used knives for weapons.
 Fifth, Kho rje, the king of *rmu*, ruled the land [that] then became known as Ma 'brang lcam 'brang and used a lasso for weapon.
 Sixth, Krog krog, the 'dre, ruled the land [that] then became known as Yang tang Ming tang and used a sling for weapon.
 Seventh, the nine groups of *ma sangs*²² ruled the land [that] then became known as Bod kha nya drug.
 Eighth, the *klu* spirits ruled the land [that] then became known as Bod khams gling drug.
 Ninth, the *rgyal po* spirits ruled the land [that] then became known as Ngam po che.
 Tenth, the nine *gong po* spirits ruled the land [that] then became known as sTong sde bco brgyad (*KhG*: 151–152).²³

Except for *gnod sbyin*, *rmu*, 'dre, and *rgyal po*, the rest of the above names are included in the tale under discussion, along with a long list of generalized names of spirits, such as, *the'u rang*, *ma mo*, *bsen mo*, *smam mo*, *lha smam*, *ma yams*, *pho*

19 For more on this, see Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (2002: 1592).

20 The *Lo rgyus chen mo* according to the *DChJ* is one of the seven works on the genealogical accounts of Tibetan kings (*DChJ*: 99). For more on this, see Karmay (1994: 423).

21 The *DChJ* spells it *sgyogs*, which means a weapon with propelling device. The meaning of *srin mo rkang* is unclear (*DChJ*: 98).

22 The nine groups are 1) *gnya' g.yag spang skyes*, 2) *gar ting nam tsha*, 3) *gle ngan lam tsang skyes*, 4) *ru tho gar skyes*, 5) *sher do ker ting nas*, 6) *me pad skyes*, 7) *gsad ge 'phrul po che*, 8) *drang pa drang ma mgur*, and 9) *bkod ster nam tsha* (*KhG*: 152).

23 In *DChJ*, the eighth and the ninth rulers are missing and the name of the seventh ruler is spelled as *ma yas ru dgu* (*DChJ*: 98).

rgyud, *dri za*, *dam sri*, *jo rong*, and *so sha*. Among them, *ma mo*, *bsen mo*, *sman mo*, *lha sman*, and *ma yams* are female spirits of whom several often appear as subordinates to the principal deities in the Bon pantheon. *The'u rang*, *pho rgyud*, *dam sri*, and *so sha* are generalized names of certain low profile wandering spirits. They are often looked upon as fierce and harmful. The term *dri za* is often treated as the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit word *gandharva*.

Another group of nature-deities whose generalized names appear in the tale are those of the stars and planets. The tale makes mention of the 28 constellations known from Tibetan astrology and the eight great *gza'*, i.e. the seven classical planets in astrology plus Rāhula, the deity of eclipse. The tale says that Padmasambhava subdued the deities of the 28 constellations at Mount Kailash and those of the seven classical planets and Rāhula at Mount Targo.

Yet another list of deities in the tale is *ldan ma spun dgu*, Pho ma gangs jo, dGe bsnyen rdo rje legs bskyed, Gang ba bzang po, and mKha' ri can. Except for *ldan ma spun dgu*, the rest are among the 21 mountain deities of Tibet known as *dge bsnyen* (Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 604). The tale also makes mention of a group of eight deities called *sde brgyad*. It does not give any detail about these eight deities, nor does it depict them as confronting Padmasambhava. It simply says that they were subdued at a site called Bye ma rab ga. As for the *sde brgyad* deities, there are as many as eight or more different lists according to different systems of Buddhist practices, such as outer, inner, secret, hidden, wrathful and so forth (Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 2180; Rin chen don grub 2001: 1226–1227). And most of these lists are full of gods and spirits of Indic origin.

As stated above, from those deities and spirits, the tale depicts only seven of them directly confronting Padmasambhava. In their fight with him, they mostly employ the forces of nature such as storm, lightning and tornado, whereas Padmasambhava applies his supernatural feats of Vajrayāna practice, such as using *mudrā* and hurling *vajra* etc.

The supernatural feats that nature-deities display may be divided into two categories: one, directly confronting Padmasambhava using means of violence to harm him, thereby discouraging him from entering Tibet; two, stopping him by showing demarcations that symbolize a border between two lands, using the means of supernatural feats.

Among the first category are Zhang chung dgra bla dza mun, Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo, the 12 *brtan ma*, Sham po and Byang gi ting ting ting lo sman gdong. Zhang chung dgra bla dza mun attempts to trap Padmasambhava between two rock hills, but he escapes by flying into the sky. Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo sends lightning in an attempt to burn him up, but he receives it on his finger and sends it into the lake. Terrified, Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo jumps into

the lake, but Padmasambhava causes the lake to boil and her flesh separates from her bones. By hurling *vajra* at her, he smashes her right eye. The 12 *brtan ma* jointly cause to occur 12 times the thunderous lightning, and attempt to crush him between hills. Instead of being burnt or crushed, Padmasambhava causes the 12 *brtan ma* themselves to become charred and weakened. Sham po appears in the form of a white yak as big as a mountain and breathes out from his nose and mouth snowstorms and tornadoes. But Padmasambhava seizes him by his nose by assuming the *mudrā* of iron-hook, and binds his body with a lasso and shackles his limbs. By assuming the *mudrā* of vajra and bell, Padmasambhava tones the former's mind and body down. Byang gi ting ting ting lo sman gdong attacks Padmasambhava by sending a cold wind of the extreme North. With the technique of "holding air", Padmasambhava subdues her.

The nature-deities involved in the supernatural feats of the second category, i.e. showing demarcations that symbolize a border between two lands, include sKu gnyen thang lha and Ma sangs g.ya spang skyes. Sku gnyen thang lha appears in the form of a white snake, whose body length reaches from Gru gu (Gilgit) in the northern end of Tibet to the land of Sog chu g.yer thang²⁴ in Khams in the eastern end and stops Padmasambhava from travelling any further. In turn, Padmasambhava jabs at its back with his staff, causing Thang lha to flee onto the snow mountain to hide under the snow. But the former causes the snow to melt, revealing the summit barren. Helpless, Thang lha appears in the form of a child with turquoise hair and accepts defeat. Ma sangs g.ya' spang skyes appears in the form of an old man with a "cap of monkey". He places his head in Padmasambhava's lap and stretches his leg down to gYar mo thang²⁵ in Khams in the eastern end of Tibet, and his hands reaching to Mount Ti se (Kailash) and Lake Ma pham in the far north. By mobilizing a countless number of his armies of supernatural agents, he sends storms of weapons at Padmasambhava. In return, Padmasambhava transforms himself into five ferocious tantric deities and subdues Ma sangs and his armies.

Throughout the process of the confrontation, a certain role of Vajrayāna, the esoteric Buddhist tantric school, can be sensed, and more discussion about this will be found in the immediately following part.

24 According to *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Krang dbyi sun (ed.) 1996: 2627), the name g.Yer mo thang is synonymous with mDo smad: *sngar gyi mdo smad ces pa'i ming gi nam grangs*. One wonders whether g.Yer mo thang has anything to do with Sog chu g.yer thang. In any case, this snake demarcates a line across Tibet, starting from Gru gu in the North down to Khams in the East.

25 Compare n. 24 above, g.Yer mo thang.

2.3 The nature-deities and Vajrayāna

In all these confrontations of supernatural feat, Padmasambhava proves the winner. The nature-deities submit to their defeat by offering their “hearts and life forces”, which means a total submission of loyalty. As a winner Padmasambhava “puts them under oath” to remain forever loyal to him and his doctrine and to guard his teachings, especially the “hidden treasures”. He also gives new names to three of them: rDo rje g.yu bun ma, Sha med rdo rje g.yu sgron ma, and rDo rje mchog rab rtsal, respectively for Zhang zhung dgra bla dza mun, Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo, and sKu gnyan thang lha. These names are called *gsang mtshan* (literally ‘secret name’), which marks their conversion into Padmasambhava’s religious order.

In all these new names, the term *rdo rje* (meaning ‘vajra’) is added. Their characteristics that their original names reflect are no longer there. For example, the original name Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo means the white *gnam sman* goddess of the mount Gangs dkar, whereas Sha med rdo rje g.yu sgron ma may tentatively be translated as ‘Turquoise lamp, the fleshless vajra goddess’. Compared to her original name, this name not only depicts her as being of a very different character, but also a different identity. The nature-deity who exercised full authority in its abode of Lha bu Gangs dkar has now been turned into an oath-bound subordinate protective goddess initiated into Vajrayāna teachings and bound to be absolutely loyal to her master. Such is the case with all the rest, including Sham po and sKu gnyen thang lha.

As stated above at the beginning of this paper, among the deities the tale depicts as confronting Padmasambhava face to face, Sham po, popularly known as Yar lha sham po, and gNyen chen thang lha are among the group of nine deities known as the “mighty nine original deities” of Tibet. They are O de gung rgyal, Yar lha sham po, gNyan chen thang lha, rMa rgyal spom ra, sGyogs chen gdong ra, sGam po lha rje, gZhon lha smug po, Jo bo g.yul rgyal, and She’u mkha ri. It is said that O de gung rgyal is the father and the remaining eight are his sons. The mountain that is regarded as the abode of O de gung rgyal is located in the region of Nyang po.²⁶ It is said that these nine deities ruled all of Tibet, which included the three regions in mNga’ ris in the north and northwest, four regional groups in dBus gtsang in the central, and six mountain ranges in mDo khams in the east and southeast (Rin chen don grub 2001: 1278).²⁷

²⁶ For more on this, see Bellezza (1997: 44).

²⁷ The list of the “nine original gods” seems to vary slightly from source to source. For more on this, see Karmay (1994: 425, n. 60).

Interestingly, there are tales that connect O de gung rgyal to the same genealogical lineage of the ancestors of the first Tibetan king gNya' khri btsan po. It must, however, be said here that the origin of gNya' khri btsan po is a very complex issue and that there seem to have existed different traditions that relate different stories about his origin. The written sources of three such tales are known from *DChJ*: 1) the gSang ba chos lugs traces his lineage to that of the kings from India, 2) the bsGrags pa bon lugs to that of the gods from heaven, and 3) the Yang gsang traces his lineage to that of the *the'u rang* spirits.²⁸ The *DChJ* does speak of the contents of bsGrags pa bon lugs, the tradition that connects the origin of gNya' khri btsan po to the gods from heaven, but very briefly. A more detailed account of the same tradition is known from another work called *mKhas pa lde'us mdzad pa'i rgya bod chos 'byung rgyas pa*, also known as *lDe'u chos 'byung*,²⁹ which Samten G. Karmay has thoroughly studied in his “Origin myths of the first king of Tibet as revealed in the Can-Ingā” and has included an English translation of the passage concerned. According to this passage (Karmay 1994: 416–419), the birth of O de gung rgyal takes place in the 15th stage of heaven called sTeng mel in a magnificent palace as the youngest of the four sons of gNam la rong rong, who sits on a throne made of various priceless objects, garbs himself in a golden robe, and holds in his hand a golden sceptre. The four brothers are Ya lha bdal drug, Phywa lha bram chen, rGya lha brong nam, and O de gung rgyal. After staying for a while in the heaven and begetting as many as 101 sons, O de gung rgyal moves to the intermediate space, where together with *thang nga* goddesses he produces many children. Then he moves to the Earth, where he becomes the god of humans and fathers nine gods, including Yar lha sham po and gNyen chen thang lha; the latter is called Thang lha yar zhur in this list.³⁰ O de gung rgyal's eldest brother Yab bla bdal drug begets seven sons, of which the fourth, known by the name Khri bar gyi bdun tshigs, and his wife from the *dmu* heaven beget a son, and this son becomes the first king of Tibet gNya' khri btsan po. The passage describes gNya' khri btsan po's journey from heaven to the Earth thus:

when he is about to depart, the conch shell is blown, the Bonpo mTshe-mi plants the *mtshe* herb on his head and Bonpo gCo'i-phyag-mkhar hands over to him the sceptre. Holding on to the dMu cord with his hands and stepping down the nine rungs of the dMu ladder, the Lord descends through the heaven (Karmay 1994: 419).

²⁸ For more on these works, see Karmay (1994).

²⁹ This work and the *DChJ* share the same name, *lDe'u chos 'byung*, but they are two different works.

³⁰ For more on this name, see Bellezza (1997: 60).

This is how the genealogical lineages of the Yar lha sham po and gNyen chen thang lha are connected to that of the first king of Tibet.

The list of the nine original deities is further extended by adding four *jo bo* deities,³¹ thus making a total of 13, and they are called the 13 ancestral deities of Tibetan kings. As already stated at the beginning of this paper, the relationship between these deities and the kings was maintained by *sku gshen*. The two Bonpos mentioned above in connection with gNya' khri btsan po's journey, i.e. Bonpo gCo'i phyag mkhar and Bonpo mTshe mi, were said to be the *sku gshen* of gNya' khri btsan po. It is said that the lineage of *sku gshen* continued along with the function of their office until Bon was banned and *sku gshens* expelled or converted into Buddhists in the eighth century.

Like *gZi brjid*, the above description from *mKhas pa lde'us mdzad pa'i rgya bod chos 'byung rgyas pa* also seems to speak of the existence of a well-organized native Tibetan deity cult. In fact, the assertion that such a deity cult did exist is to a great extent supported by several modern researchers.³² The tale under discussion also seems to share the same assertion but deconstructively, by depicting the deities as malignant and hostile. Moreover, the confrontation between Padmasambhava and the nature-deities as depicted in the tale manifestly reflects Vajrayāna's encounter with the deity cult, causing the latter to integrate doctrinally. In this regard, one may say that Vajrayāna seemed to have adopted a position of traditional inclusivism by accepting the local nature-deities into its pantheon after having imposed upon them a high degree of modification in their role and relegation of their position.

Also, the supernatural feats that the tale depicts as performed by the nature-deities, in a way, seem to reflect the function of the office of *gshen* priests. For example, the tale depicts sKu gnyan thang lha in the form of a long snake that stretches its body from one corner of Tibet to the other, clearly symbolizing a border demarcation. So does the feat of Ma sangs g.ya' spang skyes. A Bonpo historical work describes one of the roles of *sku gshen* as follows:

The *gshen* of Bonpos rescued the ancestral deities of the king
and pacified the threats of enemies in the borders in the four corners,
by guarding [each corner] by a *gshen*.
Thus the prosperity of Tibet and its king reached the height of the sky
(dPal ldan tshul khrims 1972: 320)³³

³¹ According a list, they are Jo bo'i mchims lha, Jo bo nges gsum, Jo bo g.ya' spangs, and Jo bo lha btsas (Bla brang skal bzang 1996: 157).

³² For more on this, see Samuel (2000: 663).

³³ *Bon gshen rnamis kyi rje yi mgur lha skyabs/ phyogs bzhi'i dgra sri bcag ste kha gnon gshen/ re bzhus bod rje mnga' thang gung dang mnyam/*

In fact, the same is maintained by many other Bonpo historians.

In the light of what has been said above, it seems that the tale principally deals with *lha*, rather than *'dre*, although it uses the word *lha 'dre* at random.

2.3 The term *lha 'dre* as a pair of binary opposites

As stated above at the beginning of this paper, the term *lha* and *'dre* is a pair of binary opposites. The *lha* are benevolent, whereas the *'dre* are malevolent. It is said that every individual has a set of five personal *lha* called *'gos ba' i lha*. They are the land-*lha*, male-*lha*, enemy-*lha*, female-*lha* and the life-force-*lha*. They are said to be located in different parts of one's body from where they operate. The land-*lha* operates from the head crown; the enemy-*lha* from the right side shoulder; the male-*lha* from the right side armpit; the female-*lha* from the left side armpit; and the life-force-*lha* from the heart region. Regarding their function, or, in other words, the protections that they provide, it is said:

The land-*lha* is the *lha* of sustenance,
the male-*lha* is the *lha* of protection,
the enemy-*lha* is the *lha* of security,
the female-*lha* is the *lha* of relation,
and the life-force-*lha* is the *lha* of safety.³⁴

There is no doubt that functions of these *lha* are positive and benevolent to their host. Furthermore, as has been said above, *gZi brjid* also speaks of the hosts of two types of primeval *lha*, the *thug kar* and *sgra bla wer ma*. Their functions too are positive and benevolent. It is said that by virtue of having invoked *thug kar* deities, one becomes able 1) to accomplish what one has never done before, 2) to turn emptiness into fullness, 3) to turn destructive into productive, 4) to promote oneself from low to high profile, 5) to turn poverty into richness, 6) to strengthen feebleness, 7) to turn cowardice into bravery, 8) to cure epidemics, 9) to spread prosperity and good omens, and 10) to bring goodness to the whole world (Snellgrove 1967: 54, 56). As for that of *sgra la wer ma*, it is said that these deities are invoked to protect people from the sufferings caused by ignorance, the harm caused by jealousy and other impediments, the downfall of their doctrines, the rise of enemies around them, the degeneration of their luck, and the danger of losing a battle with their enemies (Snellgrove 1967: 56).

³⁴ *Yul lha ste 'tsho byed kyis lha/ pho lha ste mgon byed kyis lha/ dgra lha ste skyob byed kyis lha/ mo lha ste grogs byed kyis lha/ srog lha ste srung byed kyis lha/* (Rin chen don grub 2001: 1240).

Contrary to *lha*, the '*dre* are believed to be harmful and are the wandering spirits of dead (*shi 'dre*) as well as alive (*gson 'dre*) and the wild spirits (*gdon 'dre*) of various origin. The *gZi brjid* speaks of nine kinds of primeval '*dre* and their origin. They are the '*dre* who do not allow one 1) to rise from the downfall, 2) to choose right over wrong, 3) to become rich from poverty, 4) to strengthen feebleness, 5) to turn emptiness into fullness, 6) to turn destructive into productive, 7) to choose good over bad, 8) to choose happiness over suffering, and 9) to choose prosperity over decline. They are called the '*dre* of depression, wrong, poverty, feebleness, emptiness, destruction, evil, suffering, and the '*dre* of diminution.³⁵

As for their origin, the *gZi brjid* relates a story of which this is a summary: In the beginning, *ltang* and *dbyal*³⁶ met and gave birth to an egg in the middle of the night. The purpose of their union was to create the *lha*, which represents the light, and the *bdud*, the darkness. The egg burst open. Its outer shell became the kingdom of *gdon* and *dri za* spirits. Its inner skin became the source of 81 kinds of bad omens, and 360 kinds of misfortunes. The albumen of the egg became the source of 404 kinds of sicknesses. The vapours that rose into the air from the egg became the source of 21,000 causes of accidents. The residue of the egg that fell down on the earth became the source of 60,000 obstructions. And, finally, the small particles that split from the egg spread in different directions and became the source of nine '*dre* and ten *sri*. These '*dre* are said to live on the surface of the earth, travel in all directions and send misfortunes (Snellgrove 1967: 70, 72).

3. CONCLUSION

As previously stated, the tale depicts seven nature-deities confronting Padmasambhava face to face and performing a number of supernatural feats. The tale also depicts each of their supernatural feats being countered by Padmasambhava applying his power of Vajrayāna practice, and eventually causing them to accept their defeat and to agree to follow and protect the former's doctrine. In all, Padmasambhava emerges as the dominant figure with his mighty Vajrayānic power, leaving the nature-deities no choice but to submit and to pledge to be loyal to him and his doctrine.

Now, as for what the tale reflects all in all, one may say that, firstly, it not only manifestly reflects the Vajrayāna's encounter with the native deity cult, but also

35 1) *mTho ru mi ster dma' ba'i 'dre*, 2) *yod du mi ster med pa'i 'dre*, 3) *phyug tu mi ster dbul ba'i 'dre*, 4) *'phan du mi ster rmang ba'i 'dre*, 5) *gang du mi ster stong pa'i 'dre*, 6) *chags su mi ster 'jig pa'i 'dre*, 7) *yag tu mi ster sdug pa'i 'dre*, 8) *skyid du mi ster sdug pa'i 'dre*, 9) *'phel du mi ster 'grib pa'i 'dre* (Snellgrove 1967: 71–73).

36 Snellgrove translates *gtang* and *dbyal* as 'original parents'.

the integration of the latter. Secondly, it latently reflects a social situation – a social situation in which the co-existence of two social groups is possible only if there is a sense of deference that the dominant group could feel with a certain amount of pride. Such a situation does indeed prevail in several societies where there is a need for the minority group to struggle for their existence against the majority and Tibet, where the minority Bonpos and the dominant Buddhists co-existed down the centuries, is no exception. That such a situation did, in fact, prevail in Tibet, shaping the very doctrinal position of the Bonpos, in the course of the period preceding the revelation of the *gZi brjid* and *PK* cannot altogether be denied.

APPENDIX

A tentative translation of the Tibetan text

(f. 252) Then [Padmasambhava] arrived at the sTon Pass in Mang yul.
 One called Zhang zhung dgra bla dza mun
 Trapped him between two hills.
 He escaped by flying into the sky above, causing her to accept defeat and
 surrender.
 He gave her rDo rje g.yu bun as her secret name,
 And appointed her the guardian of a major treasure site.
 Then [he] arrived at the Nam thang mkhar nag Pass.
 Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo sent lightning.
 He diverted it into the lake with his finger.
 Scared, she plunged into Lake dPal mo dpal thang.
 [He] caused the lake to boil and her flesh separated from her bones.
 [He then] hurled a vajra and smashed her right eye
 And lifted her up on the surface, whereupon [she] prayed:
 “O rDo rje thod 'phreng rtsal, the embodiment of Buddha,
 [I will] cause no more obstacles, please pardon me.
 [I will] follow your words the way you want me to and become your adept.”
 Thus prayed, [she] surrendered; thereupon [she was] put under oath.
 [He] gave her the secret name Sha med rdo rje g.yu'i sgron me
 And appointed her the guardian of a major treasure site.
 Then [he] arrived at Bre mo Pass in 'O yug.
 The 12 *brtan ma* sent 12 powerful bolts of lightning (f. 253)
 And attempted to trap [him] between hills.
 But they themselves became charred and weak, only to receive his blessings.

12 *brtan ma* and 12 *skyong ma*,
 And 12 *ya ma* offered [him] their lives.
 Putting them under oath, [he] gave each of them a treasure site to guard with.
 Then [he] arrived at Bye'u tshang rdzong kar in 'O yug.
 Mighty dGe bsnyen chen po rdo rje legs pa appeared with his 360 brothers
 And hosted a decent reception.
 Putting him under oath, [he] gave him a treasure site to guard.
 Then [he] arrived at Sham po lung.
 Deity Sham po appeared in the form of a white yak as big as a mountain,
 And attacked [Padmasambhava] by sending storms from his mouth and nose.
 With the iron-hook-*mudrā*, Padmasambhava caught him by the nose.
 [He] bound his body with a lasso and hobbled his limbs.
 With bell-*mudrā*, [he] toned him down physically and mentally.
 As a result, he surrendered and became the oath-bound guardian of a treasure site.
 Then, in order to challenge Padmasambhava,
 sKu gnyan thang lha appeared in the form of a white snake.
 Stretching his head to the land of Gru gu,
 And his tail down to the plains of Sog chu in Khams,
 He blocked Padmasambhava's way.
 Padmasambhava jabbed his staff on his waist and said,
 "O Nila thod dkar, the king of *nāgas*,
 Zur phud lnga pa, the king of *gandharva*,
 Go and prepare the feast of *tshogs* offering!"
 Thang lha fled onto the snow mountain, but the snows melted away.
 And the black and blue slabs on the mountain began to slide down (f. 254).
 Failing to resist, he arranged the *tshogs* offering of rich food varieties.
 He turned himself into a boy with turquoise [hair] style.
 Garbed in a white cotton garment, he circumambulated [Padmasambhava].
 Having surrendered, he became the oath-bound guardian of 100 treasure sites,
 And received the secret name rDo rje mchog rab rtsal.
 Then Padmasambhava arrived at 'Phan yul in the northern plateau.
 Ting ting ting lo sman gdong of the North
 Unleashed at Padmasambhava and his retinues
 The ice-cold wind of the north [she] had stored.
 His retinues froze,
 But he performed the practice of "holding air"
 And unfroze them like butter in the sun.
 Ting lo sman was defeated and put under oath.

Thus surrendered, she became the guardian of treasure sites and the maps.
 Then [he] arrived at gNam gyi shug sdong glang sgrom.
 [He] opened the mansion of *Bla med don rdzogs* [*sādhanā*].
 At the end of two weeks in *sādhanā*,
 [He] was distracted and awakened.
 A host of devil forces with their banners hoisted high
 Apologized for the disturbance.
 They surrendered and became oath-bound guardians of treasure sites.
 Then he arrived at Gla ba rkang gcig in Khams.
 He caused all *the'u rangs* to surrender.
 Then he stopped at Seng ge brag in Khams.
 One called Ma sangs g.ya' spang skyes
 Appeared in the form of an old man with a hat of monkey.
 He placed his head in Padmasambhava's lap
 And stretched his leg as far as gYar mo thang in Khams
 And his hands (f. 255) to Mount Ti se and Lake Manasarowar.
 Thousands of millions of supernatural agents thronged in
 And stormed [at Padmasambhava] with different weapons.
 Padmasambhava appeared in the form of the five *heruka*
 And defeated them, including the leader gYa' spang.
 Then he arrived at Chu bo ri and Kha rag.
 [He] forced all *ma mo* and *bsen mo* goddesses to become oath-bound.
 Then [he] arrived at the peak of gSil ma Pass in Tsang
 And forced all *smān mo* and *lha smān* goddesses to become oath-bound.
 At Chu mig gem pa, [he] subdued all *dge bsnyen* deities.
 At Bye ma rab gar, [he] subdued the eight classes of *lha srin* deities.
 At Ro ha lung pa khra mo, [he] subdued *ma yams* spirits.
 At Rong dong lung pa nag po, [he] subdued *srin po* spirits.
 In Mal gro, [he] forced classes of *klu* spirits to become oath-bound.
 At gYu 'dzin phug mo, [he] forced *pho rgyud* deities to become oath-bound.
 At Dung mdog brag dmar, [he] forced *dri za* to become oath-bound.
 At Gangs dkar ti se, [he] subdued the 28 deities of constellation.
 At Glang chen sbas phug, [he] deposited a treasure.
 At sTar sgo mountain, [he] subdued the eight deities of planets and others.
 And deposited 21 major treasures.
 At Bu le gangs, gods and demons displayed the offerings of *tshogs* feast
 And offered [him] all kinds of foods and wealth.
 [He] deposited [them] in Bu le gangs and in the snow and lake of sTar sgo.
 At Glo bo, [he] put under oath the nine brothers of *ldan ma* spirits.

Pho ma gangs jo hosted him a decent reception and became oath-bound.
 Gang ba bzang po hosted him a reception (f. 256) and became oath-bound.
 At rTse lha gangs, [the deity?] hosted him a reception and became oath-bound.
 mKha' ris can hosted him a reception and became oath-bound.
 Every one of them received a treasure site to guard.
 Then he received the king's message.
 sTod lung gra bu tshal was chosen for the meeting place.
 But the king was arrogant and did not come.
 Instead he deputed his messengers.
 At Kha la brag ri, [he] stopped for the winter,
 And forced the *btsan* spirits to become oath-bound treasure-guardians.
 Then he stopped at Zul phug rkyang bu tshal.
 He subdued *bdud*, *bza'* and *dam zi* spirits,
 And appointed them treasure guardians.
 Then he stopped for the spring at gYa' ri gung.
 [He] subdued *ja rong*, 'gong po, *so sha* and *dam zi* spirits.
 Thus ends the 60th chapter of the detailed life story of Padmasambhava, the guru
 of U rgyan: the subduing and putting under oath of Tibet's malignant deities and
 spirits.

The transliteration of the Tibetan text

(f. 252) *de nas mang yul ston la mkhar du byon/ zhang zhung dgra bla dza mun zhes
 bya bas/ slob dpon ri brag gnyis kyi bar du bcar/ bar snang byon pas mo skyengs srog
 snying phul/ gsang mtshan rdo rje g.yu bun ma ru btags/ gter ka chen po zhig gi gnyer ka
 gtad/ de nas gnam thang mkhar nag la kar byon/ gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mos thog
 phab ste/ slob dpon phyag mdzub la dkris mtshor dor bas/ mo bred dpal mo dpal thang
 mtsho nang bros/ mtsho bskol sha rus bye ste bral ba las/ slob dpon rdo rje brgyab pas
 mig g.yas bcar/ mtsho khar yer byung zhu ba gsol ba ni/ ston pa' i zhal skyin rdo rje thod
 'phreng rtsal/ bar chad mi bgyid thugs dam dgongs pa glod/ ci bgyi' i bka' nyan slob don
 'bangs su mchis/ zhes zer srog snying phul nas dam la btags/ gsang mtshan sha med rdo
 rje g.yu' i sgron me/ gter ka chen po zhig gi gnyer byang gtad/ de nas' o yug bre mo la kar
 byon/ brtan ma bcu gnyis thog smad bcu (f. 253) gnyis phab/ ri yi bar du bcir bar byas pa
 la/ sol dum rer gyur stobs zad byin gyis brlabs/ brtan ma bcu gnyis skyong ma bcu gnyis
 dang/ ya ma bcu gnyis srog gi snying po phul/ dam la btags nas gter re' i gnyer ka gtad/
 de nas' o yug bye' u tshang rdzong kar sleb/ dge bsnyen chen po rdo rje legs pa skyod/
 mched ni sum brgya drug cus bsu ba byung/ dam la btags nas gter gyi gnyer ka gtad/
 de nas sham po lung du byon tsa na/ sham pos g.yag dkar ri logs tsam zhig sprul/ kha
 rlang sna rlang kha ba bu yug' tshubs/ slob dpon lcags kyu' i phyag rgyas sna nas bzung/*

zhags pas bcings nas lcags sgrog dam pa bcug/ dril bu'i phyag rgyas lus sems btsogs pa
 yis/ srog snying phul nas dam btags gnyer ka gtad/ de nas sku gnyan thang lhas nyams
 sad phyir/ mgo bo gru gu'i yul du sleb pa la/ gzhug ma khams kyi sog chu g.yer thang
 brkyangs/ sbrul dkar zhig gis lam 'phrang bcad pa la/ slob dpon sbrul gyi rked par phyag
 'khar btsugs/ klu yi rgyal po ni le thod dkar khyod/ dri za'i rgyal po zur phud lnga pa
 zhes/ khyod rang phar song tshogs 'khor shoms dang gsungs/ thang lhas gangs la bros pas
 gangs zhu nas/ rtse mo nag zang g.ya' sngon nyil (f. 254) gyis byung/ ma bzod zhal zas
 sna tshogs tshogs 'khor drangs/ byis pa g.yu yi zur phud can du gyur/ dar dkar ral gu zhig
 gyon phyag bskor byas/ srog snying phul nas dam btags bter brgya gtad/ gsang mtshan
 rdo rje mchog rab rtsal du gsol/ de nas byang thang 'phan yul lung bar byon/ byang gi
 ting ting ting lo sman gdong gis/ byang phugs rnam kyi lhags pa dus gcig bsdu/ slob
 dpon 'khor dang bcas la brgyab pa yis/ 'khor rnam sbrebs shing slob dpon bser la khad/
 ma rlung mnan pas mar la nyi song bzhing/ ting lo sman gcig bzhu nas dam la btags/
 srog snying phul nas gter gyi gnyer byang gtad/ de nas gnam gyi shug sdong glang sgrom
 du/ bla med don rdzogs pho brang zhal phye nas/ sgrub pa zhag bdun phyi ma'i nam
 dgun ya/ thugs sdangs yid kyis byung nas gzigs tsa na/ bdud kyi dmag dpon ru dar re re
 phyar/ slob dpon thugs sdangs gyur pa bzod par gsol/ srog snying phul nas dam btags gter
 ka gtad/ de nas khams kyi gla ba rkang gcig byon/ the'u rang ma lus thams cad dam la
 btags/ de nas khams kyi seng ge brag tu bzhugs/ ma sangs g.ya' spang skyes gcig bya ba
 ni/ rgad po mgo la spre'u'i zhwa gyon pa/ mgo bo slob dpon pang du bzhag byas nas/
 rkang pa khams kyi g.yar mo thang la brkyangs/ (f. 255) lag gnyis ti se ma pham mtsho
 la bskyal/ mi ma yin ni bye ba khrag khrig stong/ bsam gyis mi khyab gang dag lhags par
 gyur/ mtshon gyi rigs byed char pa phab pa yis/ gurus drag po rigs lngar khros nas su/
 g.ya' spang gso bas lha 'dre thams cad gtul/ de nas chu bo ri dang kha rag byon/ ma mo
 bsen mo thams cad dam la btags/ de nas gtsang gi gsil ma la khar byon/ sman mo lha
 sman thams cad dam la btags/ gem pa chu mig dge bsnyen thams cad btul/ bye ma rab
 gar lha srin sde brgyad btul/ ro ha lung pa khra mor ma yams gtul/ rong dong lung pa
 nag por srin po btul/ mal gro'i nang du klu rigs dam la btags/ g.yu 'dzin phug mong pho
 rgyud dam la btags/ dung mdog brag dmar dri za dam la btags/ gangs dkar ti ser rgyu
 dkar nyer brgyad btul/ glang chen sbas phug gter ka zhig kyang sbas/ star sgo'i gangs su
 gza' chen brgyad sogs btul/ gter kha chen po nyi shu rtsa gcig sbas/ bu le gangs su lha 'dres
 tshogs 'khor bshams/ 'jig rten khams kyi zas nor thams cad phul/ phu legs gangs dang
 star sgo'i gangs mtshor sbas/ glo bor ldan ma spun dgu dam la btags/ pho ma gangs jos
 gdan drangs dam la btags/ gang ba bzang pos gdan drangs dam la btags/ (f. 256) rtse
 lha gangs su gdan drangs dam la btags/ mkha' ri can gyis gdan drangs dam la btags/ de
 dag kun la gter ka re re gtad/ de nas mnga' bdag rgyal po'i skyar shog byung/ stod klung
 gram bu tshal du mjal dus btab/ rgyal po nga che nga btsan nga rgyal zhing/ pho nya
 mang btang rgyal po nyid ma byon/ kha la brag rir dgun zhig ngang yol bzhugs/ btsan
 rnam dam la btags shing gter ka btad/ de nas zul phug rkyang bu tshal du bzhugs/ bdud

gza' dam sri btul nas gter ka gtad/ de nas g.ya' ri gung du dpyid cig bzhugs/ ja rong' gong po so sha dam sri btul/ u rgyan guru padma 'byung gnas kyi skyes rab rnam par thar pa rgyas par bkod pa las/ bod kyi lha' dre gdug can rnams btul zhing dam la btags pa'i le'u ste drug cu pa'o//

A list of the sites and the deities

	<i>Place</i>	<i>Nature-deities</i>
1.	Mang yul ston mkhar	Zhang zhung dgra bla dza mun
2.	gNam thang mkhar na la	Gangs dkar gnam sman dkar mo
3.	'O yug bre mo la	12 <i>brtan ma</i>
4.	'O yug bye'u tshang rdzong	dGe bsnyen chen po rdo rje legs pa
5.	Sham po lung	Sham po, sKu g.nyan thang lha
7.	Byang thang 'phan yul yud pa	Byang gi ting ting ting lo sman sdong
8.	gNam gyi shug sdong glang sgrom	<i>bdud dpung</i>
9.	Khams kyi gla ba skang gcig	<i>the'u rang</i>
10.	Khams kyi seng ge brag	Ma sangs g.ya' spang skyes
11.	Chu bo ri and Kharak	<i>ma mo, bsen mo</i>
12.	gTsang gi gsil ma la	sMan mo lha sman
13.	Gem pa chu mig	<i>dge bsnyen</i>
14.	Bye ma rab ga	<i>lha srin sde brgyad</i>
15.	Ro ha lung pa khra mo	<i>ma yams</i>
16.	Rong po lung pa nag po	<i>srin po</i>
17.	Mal gro	<i>klu rigs</i>
18.	g.Yu 'dzin phug mong	<i>pho rgyud</i>
19.	Dung mdog brag dkar	<i>dri za</i>
20.	Gangs dkar ti se	<i>rgyu skar nyer brgyad</i>
21.	sTar sgo'i gangs	<i>gza' chen brgyad</i>
22.	Glo bo	<i>ldan ma spun dgu, Pho ma gangs jo, Gang ba bzang po</i>
23.	Tse lha gangs	mKha' ri can
24.	Zul phug rkyang bu tshal	<i>bdud, gza', dam sri</i>
25.	g.Ya' ri gong	<i>ja rong, 'gong po, so sha, dam sri</i>

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