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Revisiting Tibetan culture and history

Proceedings of the Second International Seminar of Young Tibetologists, Paris, 2009

Edited by Tim Myatt, Kalsang Norbu Gurung,
Nicola Schneider, and Alice Travers

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The Editors.

SINGING THE NATION:
MODERN TIBETAN MUSIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY[1]

Lama Jabb

I'll sing you a song today
Not to flaunt my voice
But I'll sing to please you
From a traditional Tibetan song[2]

An unwelcome effect of the scholarly preoccupation and public fascination in the West with Tibetan Buddhism is that other salient aspects of contemporary Tibetan culture are often neglected. Modern Tibetan music is one such overlooked cultural phenomenon which offers many insights onto a people undergoing drastic transformations, while also illuminating the complex influence of Buddhism on the creative output of the contemporary Tibetan laity. In tandem with modern Tibetan literature, popular music indicates the tentative formation of an embryonic public space within which Tibetans are expressing their common concerns and collective identity under difficult political circumstances. Popular songs provide a channel for voicing dissent, while also reinforcing Tibetan national identity by evoking images of a shared history, culture, and territory, bemoaning the current plight of Tibetans and expressing aspirations for a collective destiny. To use a concept of Karl Deutsch, popular music is an effective and wide-reaching "communicative facility" that stores, recalls and transmits information and ideas in a predominantly oral society like Tibet. As with poetry, its power lies in its inherent ability to effect delight in the audience. Tibetan popular music, like contemporary literature, is one of the artistic means through which Tibetans imagine themselves as a nation. It is also a mode of subversive narrative that counters the master narrative of Chinese state power and its colonial conception of Tibetan history and society. This paper provides a close reading of a sample of typical lyrics, drawn from contemporary songs, to support such an assertion.

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[1] With humility and gratitude I dedicate this paper to Chapdak Lhamokyab and Dhatsenpa Gonpo Tsering.

[2] *Ngas de ring khyed tsho glu zhig len/ skad yod gi zer nas blangs ni min/ khyed dga' gi zer nas blangs ni yin*. All the translations in this paper are by the author.

Strumming Songs

Modern Tibetan music has a comparatively short history. Like all modern music, it is in a state of constant change and development. Although its roots can be found in traditional musical instruments, melodies, and folksongs, it largely departs from Tibetan folk music traditions and can safely be deemed a distinct genre.[3] In its embryonic stage, modern Tibetan music was deployed to serve Chinese state propagandist purposes during the 1960s and 1970s. Tseten Drolma's (Tshe brtan sgrol ma) songs in praise of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Revolution exemplify this early phase.[4] In the 1980s, Tibetan music, like modern Tibetan literature, found a breathing space and tentatively freed itself from serving purely propagandist purposes. With an incremental assertiveness it began to express the collective concerns and identity of a people under colonial conditions. Palgon (Dpal mgon) from Amdo and Dadron (Zla sgron) from Lhasa [along with great Tibetan exile singers like Tawo Lobsang Palden] were pioneering figures of the 1980s and 1990s who blazed a path for later Tibetan singers and musicians.

Modern Tibetan music comes in a variety of forms. It ranges from songs sung in Tibetan and Chinese accompanied by Western musical instruments such as electronic synthesisers, and fusions of traditional Tibetan music with Indian or Western melodies, to subversive Tibetan rap. This paper focuses on a type of popular Tibetan music called *Dranyen Dunglen* (*sgra snyan rdung len*) from the Amdo region of Tibet, which I would argue is one of the most potent artistic modes of communication in contemporary Tibet.[5] The name means "strumming and singing" (*rdung len*) and it is performed with the musical accompaniment of a traditional Tibetan guitar (*sgra snyen*) or mandolin. The genre is commonly referred to simply as *Dunglen*. Palgon, widely considered the father of this genre (picture 1), started playing and mentoring some exceptional protégés like Dubei (Bdud bhe) and Doray (Rdo red) during the early 1980s. *Dunglen*'s popularity spread far and wide through radio and cassette tapes in the 1980s and multimedia formats in the new millennium. Palgon's catchy melodies and nationally-conscious lyrics have served as an inspiration to thousands of aspiring *Dunglen* players across Eastern Tibet. *Dunglen* music has spread beyond Amdo all over Tibet and even among the Tibetan diaspora.

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[3] Having stated this like many things modern Tibetan music is not completely independent of the past. The link with the past is much subtler. There is a harmonious, be it at times faint, echo which links it to traditional Tibetan music in terms of both melodies and lyric composition.

[4] Yangdon Dhondup 2008: 287–289.

[5] See Yangdon Dhondup (2008: 285–304) and Stirr (2008: 305–331) for discussions of other types of popular Tibetan music.

Picture 1: Palgon's collected Dunglen *Songs 1989.*

Tibet: An Aggregate of Components

Before analysing three *Dunglen* songs, I will briefly clarify how national identity is conceptualised in this paper. Identity is what a person or thing is, or what an entity is constituted of. Identity is defined in part by what psychologists refer to as the distinctiveness theory, according to which identity is formed by distinguishing one entity from another and emphasising perceived contrasting features (i.e. Tibetans being defined in opposition to the Chinese). However, it can also be established through common objective elements shared with others such as history, language, or tradition. As the psychoanalyst Erik Erikson posits, identity "connotes both a persistent sameness (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others."[6] Applied to a collective entity, shared values and characteristics are not confined within a so-called nation but link different peoples. Tibetans tend to identify themselves with India as the sacred home of the Buddha, while acknowledging that India is a distinct civilisation.

The identity of a people is therefore defined by both what they are, and are not. This is somewhat akin to the way that identity can be conceptualised through the lens of Buddhist philosophy. If we look at identity through the Buddhist concept of dependent origination (*rten 'brel*), it arises dependent on a multiplicity of interacting causal factors and cannot exist on its own as an independent entity. Like all natural phenomena it is an aggregated entity (*'du byed kyi phung po*).[7] Among the multiple factors that shape a collective Tibetan identity it is necessary to look to both China and India as well as other contacts. To borrow a phrase from post-colonialist discourse, Tibetans "find the self within the other."[8] Therefore, Tibet's cultural, historical and political encounters with

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6 Erikson 1956: 57.

7 Charles Ramble (1990: 196–197) uses a similar analogy in his anthropological account of the social tradition in Buddhist societies.

8 A phrase cited by Professor Elleke Boehmer in a lecture on "Gandhi and Mandela" delivered at Wolfson College, University of Oxford, 3 December 2008.

other civilisations are pivotal in the formation of Tibetan national identity.

In its project to identify and fix ethnic groups as minority nationalities (*shǎoshù mínzú*) within the modern Chinese state, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) drew on what Joseph Stalin called "four commons" when he defined a nation as "a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."[9] By "psychological make-up" Stalin can be interpreted as meaning "national character" which is shown through the unique culture of a people. On top of these essential characteristics, the CCP added "customs and historical traditions" as shown by the following statement, which still informs its concept of nation: "The distinctive attributes of a nation as represented by modern scientific research are commonalty of language, culture, customs and historical tradition, a certain stage of socio-economic development, and a certain pattern of territorial distribution."[10] In his definition of nation Anthony D. Smith also stresses similar features when he categorises it as "a named human community residing in a perceived homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a distinct public culture and common laws and customs for all members."[11] Tibetan possession of these national attributes is fairly evident but understanding Tibetan national identity requires looking beyond these to collective memory and public will.

Formation of a nation entails more than a few essential features. In his celebrated essay, *What is a nation?*, French political theorist Ernest Renan did not accord much importance to such common features and instead defined nation as, "a soul or spiritual principle" that is constituted by collective memories of the past and the collective will in the present to live as a community "to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form."[12] Victories, defeats, happiness and suffering of a people form what he refers to as "a rich legacy of memories."[13] Remembrances of past victories and tragedies play a crucial role in the construction of contemporary Tibetan identity. Stressing that common suffering is more cohesive than joy, Renan states, "Where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose

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9 Cited in Dawa Norbu 1988: 338; and also see Gladney 2004: 9–10.

10 Dawa Norbu 1988. For the influence and endurance of this definition see Chinese state documents such as the one published by Rgyal khab mi rigs las don Au yon lhan khang gi srid jus shib 'jug khang gis rtsom sgrig byas pa (1979) and Bawa Phuntsok Wangyal's (2009) reflection *On Marxist Theory of Nationality, mar khe si ring lugs kyi mi rigs lta ba'i skor* at http://www.sangdhor.com/pics_c.asp? id =618, 20 June 2009.

11 Smith 2010: 13.

12 Renan 1990: 19.

13 *Ibid*.: 19.

duties, and require a common effort."[14] Plaintive songs constantly remind Tibetans of past and present tragedies and call for national unity and a concerted effort to change the political status quo. Spirited songs celebrate a common cultural identity among Tibetans and express an aspiration for a shared future.

This aspiration for a shared future often takes the form of a political community. Max Weber, while stressing the vital role of common memories in the formation of national identity, notes that a collective will to live together entails an ambition for a political community, which for him means a state. Acknowledging the ambiguity of the term nation, Weber defines it as "a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence, a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own."[15] In a similar vein, Ernest Gellner sees the realisation of a political community in the form of the centralised modern state as inextricably linked to nation formation. Nationalism, he states is "primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent."[16] As will be shown in my analysis of *Dunglen* songs, Tibetans' longing for a shared future plays a crucial part in the formation of their national identity. Nevertheless, the political manifestation of this aspiration is not as straightforward as Gellner's and Weber's state-centric approaches suggest. In terms of political institutions, this aspiration is manifested either through a desire for a sovereign state (*rang btsan*), or a devolutionary demand for a meaningful autonomy (*don dang ldan pa'i rang skyong ljong*) that guarantees a high degree of self-rule for Tibetans in a community of their own within the constitutional framework of People's Republic of China.

National movements do not always seek to realise what Gellner describes as a "marriage of the state and culture" so as to ensure that the former protects and diffuses the latter.[17] Political communication and cultural socialisation can of course be undertaken by agencies other than a Weberian state laying claim to the monopoly of legitimate violence within a specific territory. Czech-American social scientist Karl Deutsch agrees that a people with shared values and aspirations do pursue political power, but he gives greater prominence to the fact that their community is made possible by effective "communicative facilities"[18] such as beliefs, customs and language subsumed under a socially standardised system of symbols. Modern Tibetan music is one such facility that stores, recalls, interprets, reapplies and transmits information and ideas about a particular community that does not possess a centralised political authority of its own.

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[14] *Ibid*.: 19.
[15] Weber 1994: 25.
[16] Gellner 2006: 1.
[17] Gellner 1998: 50–58.
[18] Deutsch 1994: 26–29.

To sum up, national identity is constituted of a common sense of history, culture, territory, collective memory and a will to live in a community of shared values. Modern Tibetan music as a "communicative facility" encapsulates all these constitutive elements and thus reinforces Tibetan national consciousness. Tibetans, through their shared historical and cultural experiences, are the principal agents in the construction of a pan-Tibetan identity. Contemporary Tibetan music, by glorifying, mythologising, and celebrating historical achievements, evoking past and present sufferings and the real or perceived uniqueness of a Tibetan plateau culture steeped in Buddhism, is an important medium or vehicle in this process of national construction. This will be demonstrated through an analysis of extracts from three *Dunglen* music videos.

Savouring Songs

Although Tibet has boasted a literate "high culture" over centuries, it remains a predominantly oral society in which the sung word has a wider scope and more profound impact than the printed word. Few rural Tibetans, who make up the large majority of Tibetan population and are the target audience of *Dunglen* music, are capable of understanding the complex symbolism or coded intellectual idiom used by literary poets. However, the popularity of contemporary music with its novelty and catchy melodies helps to spread the message of even highly literary lyrics far and wide. This is enhanced by the use of colloquial language, clear enunciation of sentences against the backing of a single, simple yet rhythmic instrument like *dranyen*, Tibetan guitar or mandolin.

The first *Dunglen* extract I will look at is taken from a song entitled *An Ingrained Dream,* sung by one of the most influential and politically conscious of *Dunglen* singers.[19] This song is far more complex than it first appears. The folksy, slow-paced melody of the song, combined with an optimistically prophetic voice tinged with sadness, evokes intense emotions. However, as with other songs in the *Dunglen* genre, it is the lyrics that ultimately determine a song's popularity. Audiences pay particular attention to the expressiveness, poetic quality, and currency of *Dunglen* lyrics and, increasingly, their patriotic elements or public-spiritedness. In the following extract, the lyric is a *mélange* of literary topoi and vernacular speech.

[19] Due to the subversive elements of the songs explored here, the identity of this and other singers are kept anonymous throughout this paper.

An Ingrained Dream

Last night in my first dream I dreamt
At the peak of the Machen snow mountain in the east
Two turquoise-maned snow lion cubs at play
With a Golden Wheel in their clasp

Last night in my second dream I dreamt
On the Golden Throne of the Sacred Fortress
A Lama imbued with compassion
Gave me a Dharmic sermon

Last night in my third dream I dreamt
In this snowy land of Tibet
I sang a little song of celebration
Upon the reunion of Tibetans

Last night in my fourth dream I dreamt
To this region of snowy Tibet
Returned its Lord of the Realm
Emerging from the sublime Potala Palace

Like most songs of the patriotically-informed *Dunglen* genre, this song is rich in symbolism of political and historical import. The singer is very well known and was detained by the Chinese authorities several times for singing politically suggestive songs. Employing symbols that reinforce Tibetan national identity, he begins by evoking the image of the banned Tibetan national flag, which is itself a rich system of symbols.[20] The Tibetan national flag is popularly known as the Snow Lion Flag (*gangs seng dar cha*) because it displays a snow-capped mountain and two snow lions as its centrepiece (picture 2).[21] Machen, also known as Amnye Machen, is regarded as one of the most sacred mountains of Tibet.[22] Reference to it in the song under review is an obvious allusion to the snow mountain depicted on the Tibetan flag. In Amdo, where Amnye Machen is situated, many people refer to it as "the soul mountain of snowy Tibet" (*bod gangs can gyi bla ri*). As a historic and popular pilgrim site, it is a sacred hub attracting Tibetans from afar and functions as a nationally cohesive force. Amnye Machen, also known as, Magyal Bomra (Rma rgyal sbom ra), the ancient mountain deity and mythical ancestral figure who is believed to

[20] For an explanation of the symbolism visit "The Tibetan national flag": http://www.tibet.net/en/index.php?id=10&rmenuid=8, 27 July 2009.

[21] For an informative piece on the provenance of the Tibetan national flag, see Jamyang Norbu 2007.

[22] Some of the sacred and ritual texts on Amnye Machen can be found in A bu dkar lo *et al.*: 2008. For the significance of Amnye Machen as a pilgrimage site see Buffetrille: 1997 and 2004.

reside there, is worshiped daily across Tibet.[23] It must be noted that the name of the mountain and that of the deity are interchangeable. The Tibetan Bon religion regards him as one of the Nine Primordial Tibetan Deities in charge of guarding Tibet (*bod srid pa chags pa'i lha dgu*). Amnye Machen is also regarded as the soul mountain (*bla ri)* of the legendary Gesar, the supernatural hero of the Tibetan epic narrative, which is itself another Tibetan national marrow. When the Dalai Lama was awarded the US Congressional Gold Medal in 2007, many Tibetans celebrated the occasion by flocking to this holy mountain.

Picture 2: The Tibetan National Flag which is also known as the Snow Lion Flag

The two young lions with "a Golden Wheel in their clasp" evoke the image of the pair of snow lions on the Tibetan national flag, the mythical national totems of Tibet. On the Tibetan flag the snow lions are depicted hoisting up a blazing tricolored jewel with one pair of arms, whilst holding a swirling jewel of wish-fulfilment at ground level with the other pair. The former denotes Tibetan reverence for Buddhism and the latter signifies adherence to the divine and secular ethical codes grounded in Buddhism. In the song, the "Golden Wheel" grasped by the snow lions as they play has a similar significance in that it is a well-known motif for the teachings of the historical Buddha. The Dharmic wheel and youthful energy of the lions are suggestive of an emergence of a new generation of Tibetans conscious of their cultural and historical heritage.

Similar allusions are made to the Tibetan flag in other forms of popular art as demonstrated by a typical poster displayed in many

[23] In Denkhok area of Kham (in today's Degé, Sichuan province) every year a sacred dance, *'cham*, is performed featuring Magyal Bomra surrounded by lesser local deities on Tibetan New Year's Eve. He is regarded as the principal regional deity and as such the Amnye Machen mountain remains an object of daily worship and occasional pilgrimage for the local Khampas. I am grateful to Jamji, a Tibetan artist from Denkhok, for this information.

family homes in Amdo (picture 3).[24] The collage of a snow mountain, snow lions, and the Dharmic wheel echoes the images visualised at the outset of the song. The poster also features superimposed pictures of the Dalai Lama and the disappeared Eleventh Panchen Lama (images banned in Tibet),[25] who flank the snow-clad peak under the arch of a magnificent rainbow, which signifies the fulfilment of wishes. The rainbow as a Buddhist symbol denotes spiritual liberation (i.e. the attainment of the rainbow body, *'ja' lus thob pa*), but here it implies an earthly political liberation. This rainbow corresponds to the leitmotif of the song, which entertains the realisation of a "dream" for Tibetans. It is a very similar "dream" that the poster and its caption refer to:

> In the sacred realm encircled by snow mountains
> May the stringed jewels of infinite wonder and profundity,
> The twinned Dalai and Panchen Lamas
> Assume the religious and secular powers of Tibet,
> And may all sentient beings be graced with peace.

Picture 3: A Popular poster from Amdo 2007

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[24] I am indebted to Emilia Sulek for drawing my attention to this poster.

[25] This is the child, Gedun Choekyi Nyima; recognised by the Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Tenth Panchen Lama on 14 May 1995. The Chinese authorities rejected this recognition and immediately seized the boy and his parents, whose whereabouts are still unknown. Through an elaborately-staged ceremony the CCP recognised another boy, Gyaltsen Norbu, as the reincarnation of the Tenth Panchen Lama on 12 November 1995. For issues and events surrounding the Panchen Lama dispute see Tibetan Information Network and Human Rights Watch/ Asia (1996: 52–66) and an illuminating paper by Barnett (2008: 353–421) on the complex selection procedure and the use of new technologies of cultural communication and production by both parties for legitimating authority.

The significance of the song's dream motif becomes more apparent in the second, third and fourth stanzas, which allude to the Dalai Lama and his return to the Potala Palace, the seat of political and religious power in Tibet. The Dalai Lama returns home to reassume the combined political and spiritual authority (*chos srid zung 'brel kyi bdag dbang*). He gives a "Dharmic sermon" and returns to the Potala Palace as the rightful "Lord of the Realm," that is Tibet. With his return the Tibetan longing for the reunion of Tibetans who have been separated since the Tibetan uprisings in the 1950s is also materialised. As already noted, the song is entitled *An Ingrained Dream* and dream is the reoccurring motif of the lyric. This motif emphasises a deeply embedded aspiration to regain a homeland, or what Renan and Weber refer to as the strong will of a people to live in a collectively cherished community of their own. It also entails a desire to give political expression to a cultural identity.

Tibet's past, present and future converge in this "dream." The song-writer's evocation of Amnye Machen, and by extension its mythic deity, is not simply retrieval of ancient myth for public-spirited artistic use, which the Irish man of letters Standish O'Grady sees as a form of restoring myth to the people.[26] Amnye Machen has a mythic origin but, as already mentioned, is still worshipped daily and remains a unifying part of a living culture. Juxtaposition of powerful and prevalent Tibetan symbols both in the lyric and the visual images that accompany the song on the music video (i.e. soaring snow mountains, sweeping grasslands, blue skies, the Potala Palace, massive religious gatherings, and devout *khatak*-offering pilgrims) link this living present to an immemorial past and fuses both with a vision of a better future Tibet. Even Benedict Anderson, who embraces a modernist concept of nationalism, acknowledges that "[I]f nation-states are widely conceded to be "new" and "historical," the nations to which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and still more important, glide into a limitless future."[27] This song expresses a political aspiration for the stateless nation of Tibet, first and foremost by invoking the Tibetan national flag, and an ancient and living Tibetan national deity. This is immediately followed by a spiritual and political longing for its highest incarnate lama, in whom once again Tibet's past, present, and future, come together.

Such an observation makes one take notice of the ambivalent role of Buddhism with regard to the formation of Tibetan national consciousness. Buddhism remains a defining attribute of Tibetanness and is one of the central forces that inform popular *Dunglen* songs. This is despite the fact that the central tenets of Buddhism contradict the concept of an exclusive identity be it national or otherwise. Concepts such as emptiness, dependent

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[26] Eagleton 1999: 33–34.
[27] Anderson 1991: 11–12.

origination (interdependence) and universal compassion negate the existence of the unique self upon which the modern notions of individual and national sovereignty are premised. *Rang med*, or non-existence of self, can hardly be reconciled to the modern political concept of *rang btsan*, or supremacy of self, which is the Tibetan term for national sovereignty. The Buddhist cosmological concepts of karmic justice and interdependence inform Tibetan understandings of the world. From early childhood Tibetans are repeatedly told to be altruistic, adhere to the laws of causality, and uphold ideals like "loving others before oneself" (*rang las gzhan gces*) and generating prayers for all cosmic beings, all of whom have at one stage been our mothers (*ma gyur sems can thams cad*).

Nevertheless, despite this propagation of Buddhist universalism, Tibetans retain a strong sense of communitarian distinctiveness and a passion to govern a community of their own. There is therefore a tension between Buddhist ideals and the construction of a Tibetan identity centred around Buddhism. Although Buddhist teachings stress the interdependence of all sentient beings and negate unique identities of individual and collective entities, Buddhism as a shared system of beliefs and practices continues to be one of the central forces of a Tibetan national consciousness that seeks the right to form a unique self-governing community, if not national sovereignty.[28] Association of Buddhism with Tibetans' shared sense of consciousness is not a modern phenomenon. It can be traced back to the distant past. The idea of Tibet as the divine dominion of Avalokiteśvara (*spyan ras gzigs kyi gdul zhing*) has its genesis in the Dharma kings of the Tibetan empire.[29] In the contemporary age the relationship between Tibetan identity and Buddhism remains undiminished if not redoubled, as evidenced by the nationally unifying leadership of the Dalai Lama and the series of protests across the Tibetan plateau in 2008 initiated by Buddhist clergy. One finds the creation of an exclusive identity, which many modern Tibetan songs celebrate, thanks partly to a religion with a cosmic worldview of intricate interdependence.

The second song extract demonstrates how *Dunglen* can act as an effective vehicle for conveying the current socio-political issues of Tibet. It is by a young, prolific singer noted for his expressive lyrics and distinct voice. This song is once again slow-paced and sung in a deliberately quiet melodious voice. It carries a deferential tone with

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[28] Analytical literature on the role of Buddhism in the formation of Tibetan national identity and Tibetan political struggle, and Chinese reaction against it see: Schwartz 1994; Dreyfus 2003: 492–522, 2002: 37–56; TCHRD 2008; Sperling 1994: 267–84; Germano 1998: 53–94; Kapstein 1998: 95–119; and Tibetan Information Network and Human Rights Watch/ Asia 1996.

[29] For early Buddhist mythological accounts of Avalokiteśvara's spiritual conquest of Tibet see Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 1986: 105–146; Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 1–57; and Davidson 2004: 64–83. Also see Dreyfus 2003: 492–522 for the importance of treasure texts and Buddhist deities such as Avalokiteśvara in the formation of an early Tibetan collective identity.

an assertive undercurrent. The lyrics are written in a vernacular idiom and wilfully reiterative to hammer home its central message.

Tibetan Finery

I'm a singer who loves Tibet
I sing pure Tibetan songs
Not that I can't sing in a foreign tongue
But within my heart resides Tibetan pride

I'm a singer born in Tibet
I wear rosaries around my neck
Not out of a lack of gold, turquoise or coral
But within my heart lies the behest of the Lama

I'm a singer in the Land of Tibet
What I wear is woven of cotton and wool
Not that I don't possess the skins of leopards and otters
But because our Venerable Lama advised us so

Once again the song demonstrates and encourages Tibetan attachment to a nation or common cultural territory called Tibet, as the primary refrain of the song. The singer reminds the audience that he was born in Tibet, lives in Tibet, speaks Tibetan, loves Tibet and sings in Tibetan. Every single line of the first stanza features the term *Bod*, Tibet or Tibetan. Thanks to this repetition the very being of the singer and, by extension, that of Tibetan listeners, becomes infused by Tibet. This subjective consciousness of being Tibetan through language, territory and "love" for a cultural entity is instrumental in forming national sentiments. The song also contrasts "pure Tibetan songs" against those sung in "a foreign tongue" thus expressing attachment to Tibetan language as well as mocking those Tibetans who sing in foreign languages, especially Chinese. This contrast reinforces an ideal of pureness or authenticity, appealing to deeply embedded emotions, wherein lies its strength. It also shows Tibetan resistance against the assimilationist policies of the Chinese state, which exercises a hitherto unknown foreign stranglehold on Tibetan cultural production. The gentle pace of the song and silver-toned voice belies the assertiveness and resolution of the lyrics. This particular singer is widely admired for deliberately choosing not to sing in Chinese.

The central symbol of the song, expressed in its second refrain, is the word lama. It is a clear reference to the Dalai Lama. This explains the overall deferential tone of the singing voice, which a Tibetan would usually reserve for paying homage to a senior Buddhist lama. This song is a celebration of a wide-scale political and environmental movement on the Tibetan plateau, which started

in February 2006, prefiguring the protests across Tibet in spring 2008 in all its intensity, geographical scale and composition of participants. In January 2006, at a public teaching in India, the Dalai Lama denounced the Tibetan tradition of adorning *chubas* (*phyu pa*)[30] with endangered animal fur and urged all Tibetans to cease the practice. He dramatically declared to a gathering of over ten thousand devotees, "I am ashamed and don't feel like living when I see all those pictures of people decorating themselves with skins and furs."[31] One should not underestimate the gravity of this message to Tibetan devotees, who could not bring themselves to even contemplate the natural demise of their exiled leader let alone to be a cause of it. Although the Dalai Lama's teachings are banned in China, there were many pilgrims from Tibet among the worshipers who would carry the news back. The Tibetan response to the message of their exiled leader was immediate.

As a show of obedience, public burnings of endangered animal furs started the following month in Amdo Rebgong, in today's Qinghai province. This sparked off an intense Tibet-wide campaign, and put an end to an age-old tradition in a matter of a few months. As this campaign combined environmental activism with Tibetan political dissent it was widely reported in the international media.[32] Renunciation of a traditional chic fashion was correctly interpreted as an expression of unfailing allegiance to the Dalai Lama. Conscious of this fact, the Chinese authorities resorted to coercing Tibetans to wear fur in an effort to counter the Dalai Lama's influence.[33] The lyrics of this *Dunglen* song are a reiteration of this allegiance and a pledge to carry on the anti-fur campaign. Unlike the Tibetan *Dunglen* artists who, prior to the public burning of animal furs, used to dress lavishly, the music video that accompanies the song features the singer in simple modern attire without excessive jewellery. The projection of this unpretentious self-image underscores the immediate impact of the Dalai Lama's words in the very person of the singer, not to mention his fellow countrymen. As the lyrics demonstrate, the song also advocates that Tibetan identity can be kept alive by dressing humbly in traditional clothes "woven of cotton and wool" and wearing a rosary, without the need to fall back upon the traditional fur-trimmed costumes and jewellery, which had become frivolously extravagant.

This dress code of humility is also observed by our next *Dunglen* singer who sings a beseeching song, *Lady*, addressed to Tibetan women in general. Although the singer is a newcomer to the

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30 Traditional Tibetan overgarment.

31 Quoted in Ridder and Collins 2006.

32 Many international news media outlets saw this anti-fur movement in terms of Tibetan discontent with the Chinese rule in Tibet and their show of loyalty to the Dalai Lama: Hilton 2006; Spencer 2006; Phayul 2006; and Wildlifeextra.com 2009.

33 Ridder and Collins 2006; Macartney 2007.

Dunglen scene his song is worth examining for it typifies many of the politically charged songs inside Tibet. It has simple yet memorable lyrics and an upbeat melody. The music, voice, and words fuse into a rhythmic collage reminiscent of the hoof-beats of mounted horses breaking into a canter. It is tempting for a Tibetan listener to imagine that the riders are none other than the legendary Tibetan armies the song evokes.

Lady

Lady, Lady
Lady of Utsang!
Please don't go, please don't go,
Listen to me! Listen to your big brother!
For it's time to safeguard the political sovereignty
Of Ganden Phodrang, the "Blissful Palace."
Please Lady don't go,
And stay with me.
Please stay with me.

Lady, Lady
Lady of Kham!
Please don't go, please don't go,
Listen to me! Listen to your big brother!
For it's time to command the armies of Chushi Gangdrug,
The "Four Rivers and Six Ranges."
Please Lady don't go,
And stay with me.
Please stay with me.

Lady, Lady
Lady of Amdo!
Please don't go, please don't go,
Listen to me! Listen to your big brother!
It's time to behold the blessed face of the Wish-fulfilling Gem.
Please Lady don't go,
And stay with me.
Please stay with me.

This song evokes the prevalent and unifying notion of Tibet as an integrated territory, constituted of three provinces or *cholka-sum* (*Bod chol kha gsum*). The geographical division of Tibet into three principal components has its origins in the distant past. According to written records, the term *cholka-sum* appears to have been used at the latest by the mid thirteenth century during the height of the Sakya rule. It is quite apparent that this term is modelled on even earlier sources. When *Kachem Kakholma* (*Bka' chems ka khol ma*), one of the oldest and most cited Tibetan history books, identifies Tibet as

the divine dominion of Avalokiteśvara it describes Tibet as composed of three regions rich in biodiversity. This book, which is believed to have been written no later than 1049,[34] conjures up a pre-human civilisation Tibet: the upper region is a terrain of snow and rock mountains with roaming carnivores and herbivores; the middle part is a zone of rocky meadows and woods teeming with primates and ursine species; and the lower area is an expanse of lakes, forests, and grasslands abounding in species of birds and quadrupeds including elephants and semi-aquatic mammals.[35] Many Tibetan historical texts echo this earlier description of Tibet when they refer to the upper part of Tibet as Three Rings of Ngari, the middle part as Four Horns of U-Tsang, and the lower section as the Six Ranges of Dokham or Three Zones of Dokham, denoting the regions of Kham and Amdo. Metaphorically, Ngari is said to resemble a reservoir lake, U-Tsang channels and Dokham fields. This symbolic irrigation system fuses *cholka-sum* into Tibet giving it a territorial integrity as life-giving waters flow from Ngari through U-Tsang to the fertile fields of Kham and Amdo.[36]

As the song shows, the idea of a territorially-integrated Tibet is an enduring one. It was this Tibet that in 1253 Kublai Khan offered to Sakya Pakpa Lodro Gyaltsen (Sa skya 'phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan) as the latter's dominion after receiving a tantric initiation from the Tibetan Lama for the second time.[37] It was this Tibet that the Great Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas aspired to restore and rule, following in the footsteps of the Tibetan imperial kings. As will be shown in the following section, there is absolutely no doubt that Tibet, constituted of *cholka-sum*, was etched into the Tibetan imagination and part of common parlance well before the establishment of Communist Chinese rule. Such a Tibet roughly corresponds to the Tibetan plateau and is what Tibetans mean by Bod even today. The *Dunglen* song, *Lady*, utilises such a perception of Tibet to remind Tibetans of a glorious past and to call for a concerted effort for its emulation. A unique feature of each Tibetan province is evoked in order to make this appeal.

At the very outset the song jogs the collective historical memory of Tibetans by recalling the Great Fifth Dalai Lama's Ganden

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[34] This book is believed to be a treasure text which contains the testament of the Tibetan emperor, Songtsen Gampo. It is said to have been concealed in one of the pillars inside Lhasa Jokhang Temple and later discovered by Atisha in 1049. See editor Smon lam rgya mtsho's preface 1989: 1–3 and Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002; 1–2 for a brief description and dating of the text. In his analysis of Tibetan kingly cosmogonic narrative Davidson (2004: 67, 78–80) dates it to the twelfth century.

[35] Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 47.

[36] For an explanation of *cholka-sum* and the internal territorial divisions of respective provinces see Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 1430–1431; Brag dgon pa dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas 1982: 1–2 and Shwa sgab pa dbang phyug bde ldan 1976: 26–7.

[37] *Ibid*.: 281–83 and Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan 1992: 653.

Phodrang government (Dga' ldan pho brang, the Blissful Palace), which was situated in Lhasa, U-Tsang. The Fifth Dalai Lama is a nationally unifying figure. He is renowned for his distinguished service to Tibet including its reunification in the mid seventeenth century.[38] By evoking the image of this celebrated Tibetan political institution, which was established in 1642 and persisted until 1959, the song not only remembers a political community of the past, it also entertains an idea of its restoration in the future. This is what many theorists of nation recognise as the will to live in a political community of shared values. In fact, the song refuses to acknowledge the current political reality that Ganden Phodrang has been exiled and its power sapped. The lyrics imply that it is still in charge of Tibet although its sovereignty or sovereign jurisdiction, *srid mtha'*, is in dire need of protection.

The second stanza recalls a very recent event in Tibetan history—the military campaigns of Chushi Gangdrug (Chu bzhi sgang drug) against the advancing Chinese Communist forces in the 1950s and 1960s. The lyricist selects this historic movement for its evocative power as well as its association with the second Tibetan province of Kham. Its name translates as "Four Rivers and Six Ranges,"[39] indicating that its members were predominantly from Kham where most of these famous Tibetan landmarks can be located. This organisation is also known as Tensung Danglang Magar (Bstan srung dang blangs dmag sgar), the "Voluntary Force for the Defence of Dharma." This guerrilla movement was initiated as a reaction against the bloody crackdown on Tibetan resistance to CCP reforms in Kham and Amdo in the mid 1950s. It was formed in 1956 and its military campaigns finally came to an end in 1974. It was partly financed by the CIA from 1957 until 1968.[40] The military operations carried out by the agents of Four Rivers and Six Ranges, former Tibetan nomads, farmers and traders, have acquired a mythic status and continue to fire the imagination of young Tibetans. Although the soldiers of Chushi Gangdrug laid down their arms long ago, this song imagines commanding its armies once more, yet again expressing an aspiration to recapture an imagined sovereign nation, through violent means if necessary.

The song concludes by invoking the name of the exiled Fourteenth Dalai Lama, who was born in the third Tibetan province Amdo. As in the previous songs, the Dalai Lama is not mentioned

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[38] The legacy of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama is acknowledged by many scholars but to name a few: Karmay 1998: 504–522; Dawa Norbu 2001: 65–85; Shwa sgab pa 1976: 397–463; Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 677–678; and Laird 2006: 152–184.

[39] For a breakdown of this list of names see Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 824.

[40] Aspects of this violent Tibetan resistance are still shrouded in mystery but recent accounts can be found in Andrugtsang 1973; Sarin and Sonam 1998; Knaus 1999; Dunham 2004; and Tsong kha lha mo tse ring 1992, 1998, 2002, and 2003.

by name to avoid Chinese censorship and political trouble for the singer, but as the "Wish-fulfilling Gem" (Yid bzhin nor bu).[41] Although this is an epithet usually associated with the Dalai Lama, it is sufficiently ambiguous to allow for an argument that it refers to another senior lama in case of political interrogation over the lyrics. The music video of the song synchronises an image of the late Tenth Panchen Lama with the utterance of this honorific title as another deflection. He is paying homage to Jowo Shakyamuni, the most venerated statue of Buddha in Tibet, which is also known as the "Wish-fulfilling Gem" (Jo bo yid bzhin nor bu). Despite these deflections, the identity of the holy person is clear for a devout Tibetan listener in tune with the political message of this song. That the producers go to such great length to conceal the identity of their exiled leader when the song openly calls for the resurgence of "the armies of Chushi Gangdrug" may seem perplexing but it reflects the hidden nature of Tibetan subversion within contemporary China. Like James Scott's "hidden transcripts" assertive messages are conveyed, but only to their targeted audience "behind the back of the dominant."[42] They do not seek open confrontation but build tacit community solidarity. The central message of the song is a call to Tibetans to regain a Tibet constituted of three *cholkas* by restoring Ganden Phodrang, enthroning the Dalai Lama and safeguarding it by military means, Chushi Gangdrug.

That Sweet Home of Snow

There is a common intellectual consensus that the concept of native territory or homeland plays a pivotal role in the formation of national consciousness as can be seen in the already cited "objective" definition of nation given by Stalin. Distinguishing nation from a state or an ethnic community Anthony D. Smith too places emphasis on its territorial dimension when he writes that a nation "must reside in a perceived homeland of its own, at least for a long period of time, in order to constitute itself as a nation" with a shared culture and an aspiration for nationhood.[43] It is also this attachment to a sacred, ancient, and uniquely sublime land, which is a reoccurring theme in many of today's *Dunglen* songs. The Tibetan concept of homeland transcends immediate tribal and regional boundaries as well as the administrative demarcations established by the Chinese state. This "delocalisation in the imagination"[44] of Tibetans can be traced as far back as the Tibetan empire and has also been reinforced by the current collective experience of Chinese rule. The idea of Tibet as a "land of snow" or a "land encircled by snow-

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41 Yid bzhin nor bu is an honorific term signifying reverence to a sacred entity.
42 Scott 1990: xii.
43 Smith 2010: 13.
44 Bulag 1998: 173–179.

capped mountains" permeates historical and religious texts, classical and contemporary Tibetan literature, and traditional oral narratives and ordinary speech. For example, a passage from *The Old Tibetan Chronicle*, which describes the descent of the first Tibetan mythic king, Nyaktri Tsenpo (Gnya' khri btsan po), displays a self-centric spatial representation of Tibet, characteristic of pre-Buddhist Tibetan thinking, when it celebrates Tibet as:

> Centre of the sky
> Middle of the earth
> Core of the continent
> Ring of snow mountains
> Source of all rivers
> High peaks, pure earth[45]
> A great land where
> Men are born wise, brave and devout
> Where flourish horses ever so swift.[46]

The *Kachem Kakholma*, another early Tibetan historical source intersperses its text with the phrase "Tibet—the Land of Snow" so frequently that it resonates in the ear long after reading. For instance, the chapter on the origin of the Tibetan race uses the phrase no less than sixteen times with slight variations.[47] Another frequently cited verse gives what is typical in Tibetan histories: a depiction of the Snow Land of Tibet as divinely-chosen—the dominion of Avalokiteśvara, indicating the arrival of Buddhism in Tibet:

> To the north of Eastern Bodhgaya
> Lies the Purgyal[48] land of Tibet
> High mountains like celestial pillars
> Low lakes like turquoise *maṇḍala*
> Snow mountains like crystal *stūpa*
> Golden mountains of amber meadows
> Sweet fragrance of medicinal incense

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[45] This is a borrowing of Hugh Richardson's translation of the Tibetan phrase *ri mtho sa gtsang*.

[46] This extract can be found in PT1286 and its Tibetan transcription as follow: *Gnam gyI ni dbus / sa 'I ni dkyil / glIng gi ni snying (36) po / gangs kyi nI ra ba / chu bo kun kyi ni mgo bo / / rI mtho sa gtsang / yul bzang / myi 'dzangs shing (37) dpa' du skye / chos bzang du byed / rta mgyogs su 'phel ba 'I gnasu*—as found at http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/archives.cgi?p=Pt_1286. For a translation of a longer passage from PT1286 including this extract see Snellgrove and Richardson 1995: 24. For similar quotations expressing Tibetan geo-spiritual self-representations see Shwa sgab pa 1976: 17–18 and Macdonald 1971: 190–391.

[47] Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 45–57.

[48] Purgyal, *pur rgyal*, is an old epithet for Tibet. Tibetan scholars disagree over the etymology of the term but for an analysis of it see Don grub rgyal 1997, volume 3: 1–13.

In autumn bloom, flowers golden
In summer bloom, flowers turquoise
Oh! Avalokiteśvara!
The Lord of snow mountains
Your dominion lies in that land
In that dominion live your converts-to-be![49]

As already noted the idea of Tibet as a land of snow is not confined to historical or religious texts. It is also pervasive in oral expressions, the impact and reach of which, given that Tibet is still a primarily oral society, far transcends that of textual sources. A stereotypical Amdo wedding recital (*gnyen bshad*) gives prominence to the snowy features of Tibet, reiterating metaphorical idioms found in the above verse:

> Yes! Let me praise the lie of the solid land, the flow of the pristine rivers and the formation of the high snow mountains of Tibet—this Land of Snows. In its upper region, the Three Rings of Ngari resemble a crystal *stūpa*-like snow mountain; in its middle region, the Four Horns of U-Tsang[50] are like a snow lion flaunting its turquoise mane around its neck; in its lower region, the Six Ranges of Dokham blaze like a tigress and her cub. The majestic Machen snow mountain is like a crystal pillar soaring into the azure sky. The Snow Mountain of Ultimate Victories[51] is like a silver banner fluttering in the wind. The runaway expanse of the Blue Lake[52]is like the azure sky fallen upon the earth.[53]

Within these grandiose, archetypical images are allusions to Tibet's snow-peaked sacred landscape and past military prowess. U-Tsang known for its association with the four great divisions of the Tibetan imperial army and Dokham, where many imperial battles were

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[49] Quoted in Shwa sgab pa dbang phyug bde ldan 1976: 17.

[50] *Dbus gtsang ri bzhi* can alternatively be rendered into English as Four Divisions of U-Tsang reflecting its initial military connotation.

[51] This is the name of a mountain in Northeastern Tibet (Gangs dkar phyogs las rnam rgyal). It appears to be an outlier of Kulun Mountains (Khu nu la'i ri ryud) and can be located in today's Themchen county, Qinghai. Some argue that it is called Gangs dkar phyogs las rnam brgyad, the Eight-peaked Snow-mountain. For a discussion of this mountain initiated by Mda' tshan pa visit: www.khabdha.org/?p=7601, 10 May 2010. I am grateful to all the contributors.

[52] *Mtsho sngon khri shor rgyal mo* is another Tibetan term for *Mtsho sngon po*, the Blue Lake (Kokonor). A more literal translation would be "The Blue Lake that Caused Ten Thousand Losses" or "The Blue Lake that Flooded the Land of Ten Thousand Families." Legend has it that when its primordial waters first gushed out of the earth to form a lake it burst forth to deluge a massive expanse of land inhabited by ten thousand nomadic families.

[53] A written version of this nuptial recital can be found in Karma mkha' 'bum and Bkra shis rgyal mtshan 1995a: 65.

fought, garrisons stationed and later settled, are likened to the physical beauty and ferocity of feline beasts. Ngari, the home of holy Mt Kailash represents Tibet's snow enshrined sacredness. This sacredness is emphasised further as the nuptial recital continues listing one great snow mountain of Tibet after another before launching into the main section. Many Tibetan ballads contain similar passages. One of the most famous bandit ballads begins as follows:

> Beneath the celestial stars, moon and sun
> Lies Tibet where high mountains compete
> Looking up, beholding that mountain
> There in that misty mountain
> Reside I, Long-necked Yedak[54]
> Whose tale is endless to tell
> Whose deeds are never done.[55]

A traditional oral ode to the tribal land of Mayshul (Dme shul) in the Upper Rebgong region of Amdo, once again demonstrates the centrality of the Tibet image in its narrative. Before praising the beauty, natural resources and the bravery of its people, first and foremost it locates their land:

> Beneath the tent of the azure sky
> Atop the fine mat of the solid earth
> Inside Tibet, the land of snow mounts.[56]

These citations could be expanded upon endlessly and form an inexhaustible repertoire of enduring historical concepts and symbols which call into question the fashionable notion that the national concept is an invention of the moderns.[57] Versed in the discourse that views nation and nationalism as products of modern invention Gellner states: "The cultural shreds and patches used by nationalism are often arbitrary historical inventions. Any old shreds and patches would have served as well."[58] There are, of course, many cases of deliberate "inventions of tradition" involving re-appropriations of long lost symbols and rituals for nationalistic ends as demonstrated

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[54] The real name of this particular bandit was Bsam grub rgya mtsho but he was and is better known by the nickname Yi dwags ske la meaning the "long-necked" or "scrawny-necked hungry ghost."

[55] For a written version of this ballad see Karma mkha' 'bum and Bkra shis rgyal mtshan 1995b: 47. For an account of this bandit and his socio-political milieu see Lama Jabb 2009.

[56] Karma mkha' 'bum and Bkra shis rgyal mtshan 1995b: 87.

[57] See Dreyfus 2003: 492–522 for an account of Tibetan collective sense of identity predating the modern age that critiques this extreme modernist conception of national identity.

[58] Gellner 2006: 55.

by Eric Hobsbawm and others.[59] However, as shown by the concept of Tibet found in the above examples and the cited *Dunglen* lyrics, this is not always the case. The conceptualisation of Tibet as a vast snowy land constituted of three zones has been embedded in the Tibetan psyche for a long time. This continuity with the past cannot be dismissed as mere use of ancient material for novel nationalistic purposes. Whether or not such an idealised, mythologised Tibet conforms to historical facts is a moot point. Time-honoured affection for an ancestral homeland provokes emotive political loyalty and generates a sense of national solidarity. It is this and similarly-overlooked fluid continuities from the past that partially explain Tibet's enduring cohesive dynamism in the absence of a state of its own to, in the idiom of Gellner, provide a "political roof" for preserving its national culture.[60]

Closely associated with this concept of Tibet is the political reality and idea of exile, which entails if not total loss then partial loss of that idealised home. An exile's predicament, sense of alienation, and acute homesickness are commonly recognised features of a forced life in a foreign land. What is little acknowledged is the other side of the exile coin, at least in the case of Tibetans: the sense of loss, anguish, and predicament experienced by those who are left behind in a troubled homeland. This experience of exile by those who are not in exile is characterised by pain of separation, the current plight, and a longing for a banished leader and reunion with exiled fellow countrymen. Exile thus plays an influential role in the formation of modern Tibetan national consciousness as evident in its impact upon contemporary Tibetan artistic output such as songs, poetry, and fictive narratives. These artistic productions make it plain that exile is a powerful transnational force in the reconstruction of Tibetan national identity inside contemporary Tibet. Homeland, exile, and loss of identity are inextricably intermeshed as shown by the following prose poem by Jangbu, one of the most acclaimed modern Tibetan poets.

Homeland

> Our homeland is the liberating property of a term in the dictionary of the future that may only reach us from a remote place after many years. Inside that term the river is forever ebbing away while the fish, seizing the opportunity presented by the distant flow of the river, are pursuing already formed particularities in the distance. After many years, when they meet in a foreign land they

[59] Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.
[60] Gellner 1998: 53.

> will nurture a new home by an old philosophy[61] and will have forgotten the past intimidations, massacres and betrayals, and may speak to their children of a distant river of ancient times and a distant borrowed home of the future. Upon pondering this, those who lost their homeland may only then pay attention to their homeland. In essence, homeland is our own body and the fragmentary explanation upon which the body itself relies.[62]

Following the advice of Cleanth Brooks, I will not maul and distort the meanings this poem communicates through clumsy paraphrases.[63] Allowing the poem to speak for itself, it is sufficient to say that loss of political power at home results in an experience of exile akin to that felt by Tibetan refugees in foreign lands, even if one corporeally exists in Tibet. The acclaimed Tibetan writer Woeser speaks of a similar national psychology when she opines that regardless of their place of residence all Tibetans are exiles "in body and spirit."[64] The exiling of the Dalai Lama is a constant reminder of that assault on the Tibetan body in the 1950s and Woeser underscores this when she writes: "Every time His Holiness the Dalai Lama speaks to Tibetans in India or in other countries he frequently repeats the words *tsenjol* (exile) and *tsenjolpa* (an exile), and the deep impression left by these two words has become a significant identifier of the Tibetan people post-1959."[65] The Dalai Lama, the Tibetan community and government in exile indeed occupy a special place in the imagination of Tibetans still inside Tibet. Many follow the incessant global travels of His Holiness and his every deed unflaggingly. The naming of Dharamsala as "Little Lhasa" is not a mere cliché. With the flight of Tibetan refugees to India, the centre of Tibetan political identity shifted, to use a Tibetan flourish, beyond the Himalayas. Although Dharamsala possesses no economic and military hard power, it does enjoy soft power. In the eyes of many Tibetans, political legitimacy to rule Tibet resides there.

Charles Ramble has traced the shifting centres of Tibetan identity throughout the ages and noted the pivotal role India still plays.[66] Influenced by Bon cosmology, pre-Buddhist Tibetans saw Tibet occupying the centre of the world, as evident in the extract from *The Old Tibetan Chronicle* cited above. The advent of Buddhism turned Tibet into a self-styled "Region of Barbarians" (*mtha' 'khob kyi yul*) in

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61 *Byed thabs snying ba shig* can be more literally translated as "an old method." Here philosophy in its connotation as a theory or attitude that guides one's behaviour is preferred.

62 Ljang bu 2001: 23.

63 Brooks 1959: 256.

64 Woeser 2009: 10.

65 *Ibid*.: 10.

66 Ramble: 2009.

dire need of a Buddhist liberation. Tibet's spiritual centre shifted to India, the "Land of Spiritually Exalted Beings" (*rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul*). I would argue that the flight of the Dalai Lama and the Ganden Phodrang government has reinforced this spiritual locus by also shifting the centre of political legitimacy. India captured and still captures the imagination of Tibetan Buddhist devotees, but it now also fuels the political imagination of Tibetan artists and activists. Under colonial conditions the narration of exile in Tibetan imaginative writing, including songs and poetry, becomes a form of remembrance, resistance, and living. "The struggle of man against power," writes Milan Kundera "is the struggle of memory against forgetting."[67] *Dunglen* songs are part of this struggle. They counter the Chinese colonial narrative of Tibetan history and society by remembering the silenced tragedies of a very recent past and a living present. Singers and song writers remember through a creative fusion of music and oral and literary arts, with far-reaching consequences.

Fusing Literary and Ordinary Speech

Dunglen songs have a popular reach even though many of the impassioned lyrics are at times conspicuously literary. This popular reception is achieved through a fusion of literary and ordinary speech in lyric writing, and in performance through enunciation of the words in the most prevalent accent accompanied by explanatory visual images. The contrived style of some *Dunglen* lyrics seems to exemplify the Formalist definition of literature as an "organised violence committed on ordinary speech."[68] Through the use of literary devices and deliberate crafting, ordinary language is transformed, intensified, condensed, inverted and made unfamiliar to a plain speaker. For instance, the lyrics of *An Ingrained Dream* are versified using a combination of formal phraseology and spoken language, with greater emphasis on the latter. However, even this song employs the complex classical synonym "Harbour Palace of the Pure Realm" (*zhing dag pa gru 'dzin pho brang*) as a substitute for the Potala Palace. This is the classical Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit term *Potala,* but it is only in circulation among literate Tibetans. According to Buddhist mythology, Mount Potala is the abode of Avalokiteśvara and situated on an island south of Sri Lanka.[69] The Potala Palace in Lhasa was named after it. This mythological allusion would fail to signify the Potala Palace to non-literate Tibetans if it was not accompanied by the term Phodrang for palace and the music video featuring the signified. Although an

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67 Kundera 1982: 3.
68 Quoted in Eagleton 1996: 2.
69 Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 562.

excessive reliance on formal phraseology and classical Tibetan poetics would no doubt undermine the popular reach of *Dunglen*, moderate use of highly literary terms is valuable in articulating politically sensitive issues and ideas.

A synthesis of literary and ordinary speech enables *Dunglen* songs to function as a communication link between Tibetan intellectuals and the ordinary people, thereby bringing them into a cohesive discourse. Something akin to Antonio Gramsci's "democratic centralism" is in operation here, with an "organic unity" between the intellectuals and ordinary people ensured through constant communication and interaction.[70] The intellectual keeps abreast of the concrete realities and basic necessities on the ground through "active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser," and as "permanent persuader."[71] Through a combination of formal phraseology and ordinary speech many *Dunglen* songs express deep emotions, anxieties and grievances that concern ordinary Tibetan people. It is this ability to organise and coherently articulate many unexpressed feelings, ideas, and issues of the ordinary people that makes *Dunglen* an effective mode of communication in contemporary Tibet. The intellectual lyricists are highly sensitive to the current situation in Tibet and conscious of Tibetan historical experience and cultural heritage. As a result, their songs not only express a variety of emotions but also convey political ideas and ideals, such as national pride and national liberation, back to the listening masses.

Conclusion

The *Dunglen* genre has been flourishing since the early 1980s. Although this paper emphasises the politically suggestive songs, these constitute only a part of the *Dunglen* genre and the variety of subject matter it tackles. Yet, for nearly three decades there has been a proliferation of nationally-expressive songs and even a cursory overview of some of the lyrics produced since the birth of the *Dunglen* reveals that its patriotic content augments as the years progress. In the songs of the early 1980s, one finds many archetypical images and tropes referring to Tibet and Tibetans as a collective identity, but less frequent and less explicit than is the case today. Songs have progressively become more audacious and expressive over the decades. The coded language and ambiguity of earlier songs have given way to more explicit expressions of nostalgia for past glories and aspirations for their emulation. These songs are informed by complex systems of beliefs and values deeply embedded in Tibetan society alongside textual knowledge and

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[70] Gramsci 1971: 188–190.
[71] *Ibid*.: 10.

traditional oral narratives. They in turn inform the Tibetan audience and have become a vital mode of cultural communication and production serving a patriotic socialisation of contemporary Tibetans. The expressiveness of modern Tibetan music and its preoccupation with common concerns make it one of what Durkheim, following Albert Schaeffle, refers to as social "tissues" or "social bonds" that facilitate national solidarity.[72]

Modern Tibetan music is one of the many communicative modes currently deployed to narrate the Tibetan nation from the margins of the contemporary Chinese state. This process of narration entails a reconstruction of Tibetan national consciousness that draws on Tibet's past, present, and future. Whilst appreciating the significance of this role we should also not forget that the communicative efficacy of *Dunglen* resides in its ability to delight its audience. Ultimately it adheres to the old Tibetan adage:

> When happy sing songs of tea, wine, and mirth
> When sad sing songs of self-consolation.[73]

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THE ALTERNATIVE TO DEVELOPMENT ON THE TIBETAN PLATEAU: PRELIMINARY RESEARCH ON THE ANTI-SLAUGHTER MOVEMENT

Gaerrang (Kabzung)

"I feel better off, even though my income has decreased."
A Tibetan herder who participated in the anti-slaughter movement, Hongyuan, 2008.

Deng Xiaoping's slogans of the early 1980s—"It doesn't matter whether the cat is white or black, as long it captures the mice" and "[economic] development is the first principle"—marked the beginning of economic reforms in China, and have now been in place for longer than the commune system. These accelerated after Deng's famous "Southern Tour" of 1992, which made the rapid growth of a market economy the Chinese state's hegemonic goal. The Chinese nation's resource and landscapes have been significantly shaped by this goal.

Like all local governments under the decentralised fiscal system put in place as part of China's economic reforms, governments in high-altitude pastoral areas of the eastern Tibetan Plateau, where the majority of the population are Tibetan herders and animal husbandry is the primary form of livelihood, are under tremendous pressure to promote development and generate income. Many governments have sought to develop the livestock industry by setting up livestock economic zones, inviting outside investors, cultivating local entrepreneurs, promoting the sale of yak meat by branding it as "green," environmentally-friendly and healthy, and encouraging herders to increase their off-take rate (rate of selling or slaughtering). These efforts have prioritised the increased circulation of commodities and the cultivation of a "vision of commodity production" among Tibetans.[1]

As a result of these integrated efforts, Tibetan herders have, over the past two decades, been selling ever-larger numbers of their livestock to Chinese and Hui (Chinese Muslim) middlemen, who transport hundreds of thousands of yaks to urban markets each year. Economic reforms thus appear to have succeeded in turning Tibetans into market subjects. However, the "opening up and reform" campaign also included political reforms that allowed the return of a measure of religious freedom, producing contradictory effects. The overwhelming majority of Tibetan herders practice Buddhism; according to Buddhist principles, killing is one of the most serious sins that can be committed, and should be avoided if at all possible. Over the past five years, increasing numbers of lamas,

[1] Makley 2006: 2.

particularly from the Nyingma school of Tibetan Buddhism, have become concerned about the phenomenon of mass slaughter. Using their tremendous social influence and moral authority, these lamas have initiated an anti-slaughter movement, persuading local people through teachings at religious gatherings to stop selling their yaks for slaughter—in direct contradiction to the state's advice regarding development. Many herders have responded to these appeals by taking oaths to stop selling their yaks for periods of time ranging from three years to the rest of their lives.

Tibetan herders' livelihoods depend on sale of animal products; aside from the sale of dairy products, the sale of yaks has been the most important source of Tibetan herders' annual income. Furthermore, because of linguistic and educational barriers, and unequal access to the labour market, few alternative sources of income are available. Nevertheless, when asked about the impacts of the movement on their livelihood, many herders claim that they have experienced no livelihood losses; but feel much better now that they are absolved of the guilt of slaughter. Yet a preliminary examination of household economy shows that some such households have in fact experienced significant declines in cash income, often by as much as 50 percent.

Why, given that their incomes have been significantly reduced, do Tibetan herders express the sentiment that their lives are better off, and that they have lost nothing by refraining from livestock slaughter? Moreover, what implications does this have for our understandings of China's current trajectory of neoliberal economic development as it has been contested and compromised in Tibetan areas? This paper presents some preliminary findings with regard to the anti-slaughter movement from research conducted in Hongyuan County (Tib. Dmar thang, Rnga ba prefecture), Sichuan province, in the summer of 2008. Based on this preliminary research, I argue that the anti-slaughter movement contests and compromises capitalist development. In particular, the feelings of enhanced well-being expressed by herders under conditions of quantifiably lower income force us to question broader understandings of development and modernisation embedded within the development practices of the post-reform Chinese state.

Theories of development

A rich body of critical scholarship on development and culture in the fields anthropology and geography frames this study. Drawing on the extensive corpus of work of philosopher Michel Foucault, James Ferguson (1990) and Arturo Escobar (1995) examined development as a discourse. Escobar's *Encountering Development* showed in rich detail that the theory and practice of development has been characterised by extraordinary errors of cultural bias,

misunderstanding, and (ultimately) failed promises. His central argument is that there is no linear or universal model of economic and social development that can be applied objectively to the diverse local cultures of the societies that have been grouped as "the Third World." He argues passionately that the construct of the "Third World" is an ethnocentric invention of the West following the Second World War and that development is an equally flawed regime of representation crafted from a confluence of ideology, group interests, and the attempt of the West to impose its interests on non-western peoples. In the end, development collapses as a unifying conceptualisation of social progress, following the possibility of different culture-based alternatives in specific local settings. In a similar way, Ferguson, in *The Anti-Politics Machine*, studies the ways in which "development" works in practice in Africa. He shows that development discourse creates an imaginary object, a "less developed country," in order to justify it, and traces the effects of the application of development discourse on a society. Development, argues Ferguson, is a type of "anti-politics machine," which pretends to be a disinterested, neutral bureaucratic function that exists outside the realm of politics. Meanwhile, its main effect is the dramatic reorientation of power through the state apparatus.

Though these studies were extremely influential and successful in countering the economism of Marxian and neoliberal approaches to development, they tended to rely on textual analysis, treating development as a universal "machine" emanating from the West. My study is grounded in the early work of Escobar and Ferguson, but is also engaged with recent works that have argued that development is better understood as a set of historically and geographically specific projects, which are further contested and reshaped by localized movements.[2] While a Foucauldian theory of governmentality can lead to a good understanding of the project of rule, the actual accomplishment of the "will to improve" embedded in development can be understood only through an analysis of "the understandings and practices worked out in the contingent and compromised space of cultural intimacy."[3] My ethnographic study of lamas' religious teachings and observations of herders' everyday lives examines how dominant projects of neoliberal economic development are contested in this space of cultural intimacy.

Origins of the movement

Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok (Mkhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs, 1933–2004), the most influential lama of the Nyingma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in contemporary Tibet, started the anti-slaughter

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[2] For example, Moore 2000; Sivaramakrishnan and Agrawal 2003.

[3] Li 1999: 295, 2005, 2007.

movement. A Tibetan Buddhist meditation master and renowned teacher of Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*), Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok founded the Serta (Gser rta) Institute, known as Larung Gar (Bla rung sgar) Buddhist Academy, in the Larung (Bla rung) Valley, near the town of Serta, Kandze (Dkar mdzes) Prefecture, Sichuan Province. The purpose of the institute was to provide ecumenical training in Tibetan Buddhism and to meet the need for renewal of meditation and scholarship all over Tibet in the wake of China's Cultural Revolution of 1966–1976. Despite its remote location, it grew from a handful of disciples who gathered in the Khenpo's home to become one of the largest and most influential centres for the study of Tibetan Buddhism in the world, numbering nearly 10,000 monks, nuns, and lay disciples by the year 2000. The student body of the Serta Institute was made up of monks, nuns, lay "vow-holders" of both Tibetan and Chinese origin, and practitioners of tantric Buddhism. Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok played an outstanding role in revitalising the teaching of Tibetan Buddhism following the liberalisation of religious practice in 1980. He travelled extensively across Tibet and China teaching Nyingma traditional Buddhism. In 1989, at the invitation of His Holiness Penor Rinpoche (Pad nor rin po che), he visited India. Khenpo was also an extraordinary *terton* (*gter ston*), revealer of Buddhist treasures, uncovering many Buddhist texts in both Tibet and India.[4]

In the 1990s, Khenpo saw an increasing slaughter rate of livestock from Tibetan households and the suffering of livestock in transportation to markets in China. He was primarily concerned about the suffering of the animals during transportation, as well as in the slaughterhouses, and the negative karma people accrued when killing the animals. Drawing from Buddhist philosophy, he taught Tibetans that all sentient beings are the same insofar as all beings desire to live, and all circulate in samsara. Because all sentient beings want to live and are afraid of being killed, human beings should not kill other beings for their own needs. Thus, as a religious teacher, he requested that Tibetan herders reduce, or completely halt, their sale of livestock to commercial markets. He made this request in many of his religious teachings where many people were gathered, as well as promoting the idea through modern media such as video and tape recordings of the religious teachings. In addition, because Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok was such a highly respected lama in the pastoral areas of Eastern Tibet, many Tibetan popular singers have sung songs praising him and circulating his message, some of which have been written by monks. For example, one singer, Namkha (Nam mkha) sang:

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[4] Germano 1998; Costello 2008; and Gayley in press.

Nyam chung srog chags kyi smre sngags
The despairing lamentation of the powerless livestock

Dbang chen mi yi kha zas su,
gnyom chung dud 'gro'i sha khrag zas,
snying rje med par za ba 'di,
drang bden med pa'i tshul la ltos.
Om mani padme hum

Powerful human beings
Mercilessly eat the powerless animals' flesh
and blood as their food—
how unfair it is!
Om mani padme hum

Nga ni nyam chung sems can yin,
'o zho mar khul bal rtsid kyis,
bdag po 'byor pa ldan byas kyang,
nga tsho'i drin lan mi bsam par,
gshed mar gtad pa'i sdug bsngal ltos.
Om mani padme hum

I am a powerless animal,
Although my master is wealthy from the milk, curd, butter and soft fur he takes from me,
He does not feel grateful to us,
He sends end to the butcher in the end,
How we suffer!
Om mani padme hum

Nga ni nyam chung sems can yin,
'jig rten 'di na rang srog las,
rtsa che ba ni gzhan med pas,
rang gi las la dpe longs la,
nged cag srog la gnod ma byed.
Om mani padme hum.
Nga ni nyam chung sems can yin.

I am a powerless animal
There is nothing more important than to have one's life in this world
Put yourself in my situation as I'm being killed
Please don't hurt our lives!
Om mani padme hum
I am a powerless animal.

Large numbers of herders responded to these efforts by taking oaths to stop selling their livestock for slaughter for a period of three

years, or forever. Because Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok was a great teacher, he had a great many students dedicated to continuing his work. After he passed away, his students and many other lamas made similar appeals to herders to refrain from selling their livestock for commercial slaughter. Today, the movement that began in Serta of herders vowing to refrain from commercial activity with their yak herds has spread across the Eastern Tibetan Plateau, including Tibetan pastoral areas of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu, and the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR).

Preliminary Findings

Located at an average elevation of 3500 meters, Hongyuan County has a population of 40,000, of whom the majority are pastoral Tibetans who make their living herding yaks. Hongyuan has a very active anti-slaughter movement with many local herders participating, while the local government has also been particularly enthusiastic promoting the production of local yak meat sales as a development strategy, including through the Aba (Rgna ba) Tibetan Plateau Yak Economic Zone. Within Hongyuan, the anti-slaughter movement began in Rakor (Ra skor), a village in Qiongxi (Tib. Khyung mchu) with a population of 950 herders in roughly 200 households. My preliminary fieldwork was conducted with ten Tibetan herding families in Qiongxi Town and Amu Township (A mos khog), and in addition I interviewed several lamas and monastic scholars.

Local lamas began to teach about the importance of not slaughtering in 2003. However, the movement gained significant momentum at the end of 2005, when Khenpo Tsultrim Lodroe (Mkhan po Tshul khrims blo gros), one of the four most important figures at the Serta Buddhist Institute since the passing of Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok visited Rakor village and held a religious meeting for all herders and monks. In two days of religious teaching, he lectured on the sinfulness of large-scale sale for slaughter, emphasising the cruelty of livestock transportation to distant markets, and of contemporary methods employed in industrial slaughterhouses. In response, in October 2006, all household heads of Rakor village took oaths not to sell yaks for slaughter for at least three years. The majority of households in the village were able to keep their oaths for the initial three-year period. Tsultrim Lodroe also travelled to villages in five other townships of Hongyuan, holding similar meetings, and securing similar pledges.

Despite the fact that all of the herders I interviewed showed great pride in their oaths, there were differences in terms of the perceived impact the action has had on their income and livelihoods, and whether they would continue with the policy after the initial oath period ended. Some indicated they would likely renew their oaths

in front of a lama, and further that not selling yaks did not negatively affect their livelihoods. However, further detailed questions regarding household income revealed that their cash income did in fact decrease. Other herders interviewed said that if the lama were to return after three years, they would continue their agreement, and that they feel there is no difference between selling and not selling the yaks for slaughter in terms of income and their livelihood. They explained that when they sold many yaks, they made lots of money but always felt guilty and fearful about the associated negative karma. However, when they did not sell yaks, they felt much relief from that guilt and assumed they were making good karma for the current and next life, which they claimed is much more important to them than accumulating money. In addition to this, they also argued that there are other income resources that can substitute for income from livestock, such as doing business, collecting herbs, selling dairy products, and so on. Further, some claimed that the money they earned from yak sales was spent very quickly, but that the lower income they earn now from activities such as selling milk and collecting herbs is a better quality income that lasts longer.

According to the interviewees, many rich herders said that they would continue their promise even after October 2009. One very rich household had released all of their male yaks as *tshe thar* (livestock that the owner promised to not slaughter for the entire life of the animal) and given them all to poor households to be used for assistance with transportation. Because that household has retained a herd composed entirely of female milking yaks (*'bri*), they do not need to sell them in the coming years, because they can make money from dairy products. One interviewee speculated that many rich households would continue to keep their promises after the initial oath term ended, as would poor household without many livestock to sell. On the other hand, he thought that middle-stratum households might start to sell their livestock again after October 2009, a prediction that turned out to be accurate.

A smaller number of herders stated in 2008 that participating in the movement had already had a significant impact on their income, and that they might therefore be reluctant to continue the oath for another three years. Most of the households that expressed their reluctance were those of medium income. For them, the material impact of refraining from selling livestock had been significant, because that income accounted for about 50 percent of their annual income. After they stopped selling yaks for the promised period, herders who own only small amounts of livestock have had to look for other ways of making a living, such as collecting herbs, operating small business, and finding temporary employment. However, those alternative income resources have been very limited for herders, because many of them do not read or write Chinese,

which is very important in China for obtaining a job, or successfully doing business.

One herder stated that for the last three years he had not sold any livestock, but that he would have to sell some after October 2009 and would not take an oath for the next three years. The primary reason he gave was his participation in the state settlement project, which the state designed to transform "backward herders" into modern, settled herders by encouraging them to stay in more comfortable houses rather than tents. He had to invest 30,000 RMB in addition to the state contribution of about 16,000 RMB for housing construction. Thus, he stated that he needed to sell his livestock to earn cash in order to build a house through the settlement project. In 2009, the state offered many such projects (chin. *mu min ding ju*) for each township and it is said that half of villagers in Rakor village participated in the project. Because the herders are given both a subsidy and an interest-free loan, and their houses can be built at their current village location, most have been willing to take part.

In addition to these economically medium households, some rich households also stated that they would not participate in the next round of oath-taking. For example, one herder, who is the richest in the village and a previous village leader, stated that he now has to sell lots of livestock that he has not been willing to sell for the past three years. He said that the three-year period of refraining from slaughter could only extend the lives of those animals for a couple of years, and that he is very sorry that he has to sell them again, but will do so because he needs money to build a house.

There are also rumours that some herders have sold yaks to people from other places who have not participated in the anti slaughter movement, and that these people have in turn sold them on the market. On one occasion, a man from another area came to Rakor village and bought many yaks, saying he was buying them for the purpose of milk production. But after a while some villagers found out that the man had sold the yaks to Chinese merchants. Concerned about the situation, the villagers contacted Khenpo Tsultrim Lodroe, who sent money and bought the livestock and released them as *tshe thar*.

In recent years, herders have become accustomed to eating more vegetables and rice, and have become less dependent on meat and the traditional staple of *rtsam pa*, or ground roasted barley flour. In conjunction with this general trend, the anti-slaughter movement has also had a significant impact on herders' nutrition. During Khenpo Tsultrim Lodroe's teaching in Rakor, half of the herders also promised to stop slaughtering livestock for their own consumption. Most of these households have been purchasing meat from livestock that died naturally, while a few others have also been purchasing meat from local meat markets, which is much more expensive.

The anti-slaughter movement has had an impact on the herders' pastures; especially those households that own more livestock than their pasture can sustain. In order to ease the pressure on their pastures and increase their income, some of these herders sold dozens of female yaks and less productive, young yaks to others who promise to keep them for at least three years; or otherwise given adult male yaks to others to look after for at least three years. However, giving (as opposed to selling) these livestock occurred only rarely. During the three years pledge, anyone wanting to sell their livestock had to come to the monastery, register the livestock and ensure that the buyer took an oath not to sell the livestock to the meat market for at least three years. They also had to rent new pasture or expanded their previously rented pasture in order to accommodate the increased grazing intensity. These pastures are generally rented from herders who own no livestock or fewer livestock than their pastures can sustain.

Contested development

The anti-slaughter movement enables us to understand how capitalist development has been compromised and contested in culturally specific ways by Tibetan pastoralists. The movement contests the idea of this-worldly economic improvement that, as Deng put it "[economic] development is the first principle" (chin. *fazhan cai shi yingdaoli*). Tibetan herders have been giving up their main income source for the sake of spiritual gain. By refraining from the sinful activity of livestock slaughter, they seek a long-term state of well-being and goodness not only for their current life, but also for many coming lives. This is to be achieved not through economic development but through the collecting of positive karma. The principle of cause and effect (*las rgyu 'bras*) in Buddhist philosophy states that anything that one has done in any of one's previous lives will determine one's current and future fortune and life. If a person collects good karma, during his or her past life, then he or she will enjoy reward for that good karma in this life. Bad karma collected in previous lives, will in turn, result in punishment. The way that he/she treats other beings in the present life will determine how other beings will treat her/him in future lives. In this regard, killing is one of the most serious sins that people try to avoid in their everyday lives. If one kills another, the other will kill him/her in a similar way, if not worse in a future life. For this reason, the social position of a butcher is ranked among the lowest echelons of Tibetan society, and slaughtering is considered an activity to be avoided, unless necessary for survival.

This is radically opposed to the assumption embedded within capitalist development that all human beings share the same form of rationality and yearn for the improvement of material living

conditions as a first priority and as a goal to be achieved at any cost. The Buddhist philosophy of cause and effect as understood by Tibetan herders also contests the neoliberal idea of the importance of the free market and individual freedom for solving social and economic problems. Neoliberalism emphasises maximum personal responsibility in a free market economy. If people have problems, if they do not have the things they want in their lives, then they must take personal responsibility, put their minds to it, and have the right attitude. The taking of personal responsibility by atomized individuals is the key to bringing about positive change, and the market and individual positive attitudes are the solutions to social problems.

The anti-slaughter movement rejects the ever-increasing competition necessitated by participation in the free market. As one Buddhist monk who has been teaching in a Tibetan school explained, "One of the driving forces of our problems is increasing competition, which has been causing all of our problems such as sins, jealousy, unhappiness, dissatisfaction, and conflicts." The competition for wealth between households and individuals has driven the increasing rate of livestock selling. Tibetan lamas I interviewed believe that refraining from participation in the free market and reducing inter-household competition would resolve the social problems that Tibetans face today. They see controlling endless desires as a way to solve problems whereas capitalism as a system only works through the proliferation of desires. For teachers and participants in the anti-slaughter movement, both social and individual problems can be solved not through participating in the competitive market, but through collecting more positive karma and controlling one's desires, which is also the only way to have better current and future lives. What many herders said during their interviews was that they already had means to make an adequate living without needing to sell their livestock in the market for slaughter.

The anti-slaughter movement also contests the expansion of capitalism into cultural Tibet in other ways. The Aba Tibetan Plateau Yak Economic Zone aims to promote the yak industry and incorporate herders and their livestock more fully into the market economy. By providing services and preferential policies for local and outside enterprises, the planned zone attempts to establish a market for "green" yak products including meat, dairy products, and tourism services and products. The ultimate goal is to induce more herders to participate in the market and instil the values of market competition, but these efforts have been severely challenged by herders refraining from selling livestock in the market as a result of the anti-slaughter movement. Tibetans believe that economically rational decision-making, accurate calculation, and hard work are only some factors of one's success. The most important factor in one's success is *tshogs gsog bsod nams*, which means "collection of

good karma." Many Tibetan herders state that they do not believe and do not see any of those who are engaging in the livestock trade for the purpose of slaughtering becoming rich, because they collect negative karma along with their business profits.

At the same time, the fact of some households' unwillingness to participate in the next three years' pledge shows that the dominant ideology of capitalist development and the various development projects have had a material impact on herders' lives and decisions. Most of these herders expressed the opinion that they could not avoid having to sell livestock in the slaughter market, mainly because the capitalist-development ideology and the various changes in the social system have given them no other option but to follow the demands of the new social order. Modern society instils in them many new needs such as the need for education, health care, new transportation, and housing. Accompanying those needs are new secular values that go along with capitalist development.

In addition to these herders, there are also some educated Tibetans of the younger generation who criticise the movement, saying that it is not realistic and hurts the herders economically. A Tibetan teacher who is teaching in a middle school has openly criticised the lamas who initiated the movement. He said that selling livestock is the only way for Tibetan herders to improve their lives, and that therefore lamas should not ask herders to stop. One could say that many young, educated individuals have become subjects of capitalist ideology.

Conclusion

In conclusion, I have demonstrated, based upon preliminary research, that by employing Tibetan Buddhist idioms and religious concepts, Tibetan herders and lamas contest capitalist development and construct an alternative vision of development that is based on their own understanding of the world and value system. Through their participation in the anti-slaughter movement, they have been trying to create a different cultural landscape where all beings are treated equally, and where killing and slaughterhouses do not exist. Tibetan herders and lamas are articulating their own understandings of development that are based on Buddhist philosophy rather than neoliberalism. Thus, development is not a universal machine that produces the same hegemonic results everywhere. Across China, market development has clearly had different impacts and been understood differently in Tibetan areas than other regions.

At the same time, the majority of Tibetans do not adhere to the alternative vision of development advanced by the anti-slaughter campaign. Many herders plan to take up livestock sales again after their initial oath period ends. Of these, many herders express that

they feel they have no option, but that if they did, they would not sell their livestock for slaughter. Even those who are not going to participate in the future feel guilty and reluctant about their decisions to resume commercial slaughter. Thus, many Tibetan herders are constantly negotiating between two different ideologies: one grounded on Buddhist belief, and the other on secularism and capitalism. This constant tension is illustrated by one herder who said that when he thinks of his family and his children's future lives and sees his neighbours adopting practices and ways of being associated with modernization, he feels he must sell his livestock to make money to catch up in terms of the rate of material improvement; but then when he hears the lamas' teachings and thinks of what will happen when he dies, and he is afraid to sell a single head of livestock.

Within the cultural politics of development in pastoral Tibet, some herders have been making one decision at the cost of another, while others have been moving their position back and forth across the line between different cultures and ideologies competing and contesting with each other in development. The result is a hybrid form of development with strong Tibetan characteristics. The results of this ethnographic study stand in contrast to those grounded in modernisation theory that see all cultures ultimately moving along the same linear path toward the same end. Development is not merely a technical or quantitative matter of income levels or material possessions, but also always a process of the creation of certain kinds of subjects and of cultural contestation and change. This study reveals the cultural politics of changing values, showing development in Tibet to be a cultural process, something that has not been captured effectively in the existing literature, implicitly grounded in modernisation theory.[5]

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THE THIRD DRAGKAR LAMA: AN IMPORTANT FIGURE FOR FEMALE MONASTICISM IN THE BEGINNING OF TWENTIETH CENTURY KHAM

Nicola Schneider

Research on Tibetan nuns and nunneries is still in its infancy, and suffers from many shortcomings. One of the reasons for this situation is the lack of historical materials, be it texts written by Tibetan nuns or on their behalf. Even among the vast corpus of Tibetan biographies (*rnam thar*) and autobiographies (*rang rnam*), very few concern women, and even fewer nuns.[1] The same is true for the history of nunneries, so that for instance we have to rely on some highly mythical foundation stories, such as Gari Nunnery (Gar ri *a ne dgon pa*) near Lhasa (Lha sa), which oral history attributes to Phadampa Sangye (Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas, eleventh or twelfth century) without any historic evidence. Some scholars have suggested that women disappeared from the official narrative with the establishment of the Buddhist schools and the canonisation of Tibetan translations of Buddhist literature. These developments gave society a markedly clerical and patriarchal character.[2] Others think the hegemony of the celibate Gelugpa (*dge lugs pa*) school, which started at the beginning of the fifteenth century and culminated in the seventeenth century with the arrival of the Fifth Dalai Lama, may have been at the origin of the disappearance of women from the religious spheres and in the same time from literature.[3]

All the more surprising is the fact that we can find at least two lamas (*bla ma*) from a small Gelugpa lineage in Kham (Khams) who were very supportive of the development of nuns and nunneries in their region from the eighteenth century on. The name of their lineage is Dragkar (Brag dkar), "White rock," after their monastery's name, Dragkar Jangchubling (Brag dkar byang chub gling), situated few kilometres away from the city centre of Kandze (Dkar mdzes), located in modern Sichuan. The objective of this article is to present findings on the history of nuns and their nunneries based on the reading of the Third Dragkar Lama's writings in this light.

Sources

This paper will mainly draw from primary data found in the collected writings (*gsung 'bum*) of the Third Dragkar Lama, Lozang

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1 According to Schaeffer (2004: 52), only three or four out of the one hundred fifty currently known autobiographies are by women.

2 Hermann-Pfandt 2003: 59.

3 See for example Chayet 1999: 65–82.

Palden (Blo bzang dpal ldan, also Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags, 1866–1929), comprising twenty volumes.[4] Alag Zenkar Thubten Nyima (A lags gzan dkar Thub bstan nyi ma) has already drawn on it to write a short biography, but unfortunately he does not mention any activities of Dragkar Lama in favour of nuns.[5] A research team composed of Tibetologists from Beijing and Sichuan has also made use of the collected writings for their survey of Tibetan monasteries in Kandze prefecture, published under the title *Khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa nang bstan gsal ba'i me long*;[6] information on Dragkar Lama can be gathered under the different entries dedicated to the nunneries he founded. This data will be supplemented by information given by Western travellers and missionaries who met the Third Dragkar Lama personally at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Dragkar Lama lineage consists of five incarnations (*sprul sku*), the present and fifth being Lozang Tenzin Nyendrag (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin snyan grags, 1953–). Born into an aristocratic family named Chapa (Cha pa), he lives as a layman in Lhasa.[7] Information on the second and the fourth lineage holder, Jangchub Gyaltsen (Byang chub rgyal mtshan, nineteenth century) and Lozang Thubten Palden Özer (Blo bzang thub bstan dpal ldan 'od zer, 1928?–1953?) respectively, is scarce. However, interestingly enough, the third incarnation Lozang Palden's collected writings include a short biography of his predecessor, the First Dragkar Lama Jampa Rabten (Byams pa rab brtan, 1735–1819).[8] It includes a long passage recounting how Jampa Rabten, after his studies in Lhasa, introduced monasticism for women in Kandze, revealing problems the lama faced to convince people to let their women enter religious life. Despite this, the lama proceeded, and founded his first nunnery.[9] Some blamed him for his actions; among them were monks who threatened to destroy the nunnery saying that the nuns'

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4 The collected writings can be consulted on the TBRC-website under the reference W23608. Two printed editions exist also in Potala and in IsMEO; some volumes can be found in Oslo, brought by the Norwegian traveller Theo Sørensen (see Kvaerne: 1973). Several authors wrote during many years the biography of Dragkar Lama studied here. It is included in the volumes 17 and 18.

5 Thub bstan nyi ma 1986.

6 Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug ste gnas kyi chos lugs lo rgyus zhib 'jug so'o, Krung go bod brgyud nang bstan mtho rim slob gling bod brgyud nang bstan zhib 'jug khang, Zi khron zhing chen dkar mdzes khul chos lugs cud and Dkar mdzes khul yig bsgyur cud 1995.

7 I am grateful to Tashi Tsering (Amnye Machen Institute) for this information. The Chapa family is a branch (*zur pa*) of the Shatra (Bshad sgra) family (private communication, Alice Travers).

8 Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags, volume 14, chapter "Smyung gnas bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar yig drug dang smyung gnas kyi phan yon bcas legs par bshad pa gser gyi phreng mdzes." The same text can also be found in the Norway collection brought by Sørensen, no. 189, 145 folios.

9 This may have been the first nunnery in Kham. For more information on the First Dragkar Lama, see my PhD dissertation, Schneider 2010: 79–81.

participation in village rituals caused them financial loss. This led to the compromise whereby nuns were forbidden to do most of these rituals. Nonetheless, the First Dragkar Lama founded altogether three nunneries: Nyinmo (Nyin mo) in Kandze township, Dragkar *jomogön* (Brag dkar jo mo dgon; also called Skar 'dzin srib mo or Brag dkar 'phel rgyas gling) in Kandzetownship, as well as Tongkor Nenang (Stong skor gnas nang) near Tehor (Tre hor) township.

Similar polemics have accompanied the Third Dragkar Lama's life, and we present the practices and discipline he introduced into his various nunneries.

The life of the Third Dragkar Lama, Lozang Palden (1866–1929)

Early years

Lozang Palden was born on the first day of the first month of 1866 at Druglang Monastery ('Brug lang *dgon*, also known under the name 'Krigs lung *ri khrod*). His father's name was Samten Tshering (Bsam gtan tshe ring) and his mother's, Tsheringma (Tshe ring ma).[10] When he reached four years of age, he was recognised as the reincarnation of Jangchub Gyaltsen of Dragkar Jangchubling in Kandze and received the full name Lozang Palden Tenzin Nyendrag Pazangpo (Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin snyan grags dpal bzang po). He started his studies at the age of five, first under the guidance of the teacher (*dge rgan*) Dorje Bum (Rdo rje 'bum), then, at the age of nine, under Baphu Yongdzin Loden Chöphel ('Ba' phug Yongs 'dzin blo ldan chos 'phel) learning grammar, poetry, as well as sciences. He received his first ordination from Drungsa Lama Lozang Palden Tenzin Tshültrim (Drung sar *bla ma* Blo bzang dpal ldan bstan 'dzin tshul khrims).

In 1882, at the age of seventeen, he went to Lhasa where he continued his studies at Drepung Loseling ('Bras spungs blo gsal gling), Tehor *khamtsen* (Tre hor *khams tshan*). There, he received teachings in philosophy (*mtshan nyid*), studied the "Five Major Treatises (on emptiness)" (*Gzhung bka' pod lnga)* and its commentaries, Tibetan medicine, the religious teachings of Künkyen Longchenpa (Kun mkyen klong chen pa) and also teachings from the Sakya school (*sa skya'i gser chos bcu gsum* and *lam 'bras*) from the ex throneholder of Zhalu, Lozang Kyenrab (Zhwa lu *khri zur* Blo bzang mkhyen rab). During his stay in Central Tibet, he received full ordination from the Ganden throneholder, Yeshe Chöphel (Dga' ldan *khri chen* Ye shes chos 'phel).

At the age of twenty-two, he returned to his homeland (1887) and stayed at his monastery Dragkar Jangchubling pursuing his studies under different teachers and starting to teach himself. At that time the Hor states, to which Kandze belonged, were under the

[10] TBRC file: P269.

administration of Central Tibet, a situation that would change some years later. Indeed, during the life of Dragkar Lama, the political situation in Kham was extremely fluid and complex, and this is reflected in political shifts during his life and activities.

In 1892, Dragkar Lama was invited by the nuns of Kandze (Nyinmo *anigönpa*) to assume his religious duties as the patron of their nunnery and to give them preliminary teachings (*sngon 'gro*). Around two thousand people joined the two week-long instructions, among them many nuns, but also monks, laymen, and laywomen. A notable participant was the princess of Degé (Sde dge), Chime Tenpe Drönme ('Chi med bstan pa'i sgron me), who had married into the Khangsar (Khang gsar) family, one of the hereditary ruling clans of the five Hor states; subsequently due to her great faith in the teachings, she decided to become a hermit nun (*bya bral*). Other women followed her example and renounced worldly life.

Dragkar Lama then went to the hermitage called Kardzin Nyinsib (Skar 'dzin nyin srib) where he stayed with his followers, teaching, and practicing for three months. According to the author of this part of the biography, the group of practitioners received plenty of donations and the atmosphere was harmonious causing many lay followers to consider not going back to work on their land, preferring instead to continue their religious practice.

However on one occasion, when the lama was absent, because he had to overlook his own monastery and residence (*bla brang*), people from Kandze came to force the residents out of the hermitage. They were criticising Dragkar Lama saying that he attracted too much attention from the population and that he was destroying their families, and that because of him farmers would not work anymore on their harvest, etc. Obliged to leave but eager to continue practice, his disciples joined the lama asking where he planned to go next, and informing him that they wanted to follow him. At this time, Dragkar Lama decided to go to the place called Malanang (Mā la nang), a retreat high in the mountains of Kandze. The Degé princess joined the group, as well as fifty lay and religious practitioners of the Khangsar house who previously supported the Kagyüpa (*bka' brgyud pa*) tradition.

In Malanang, the disciples built a new religious encampment (*chos sgar*): they constructed their residences and a throne for the lama out of slate rocks and boulders; the lama himself staying in a black nomad tent (*nag gur*). Many lay followers joined the religious group temporarily, some of them alternating between family members. They brought with them a great deal of donations. During summer time until mid-autumn, a vast number of people stayed in the religious camp, but in the winter, due to the cold, the followers of Dragkar Lama diminished in number. The lama decided to move to a lower altitude, and after having checked several possibilities, settled finally on the western side of the ruins of a Kagyü monastery called Chöying (Chos dbyings) a place that had facilities such as water, sun, and many auspicious signs.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Dragkar Lama's disciples were thriving, among whom many monks from other monasteries in the Kandze region. Consequently, the lama again became the subject of jealousy from several monasteries but also from the local nobility. Among the latter was the female chief (*dpon mo*) of Khangsar, Lady Jangcan Khandro (Dbyangs can mkha' 'gro, 1854–1935), ruler of a small state (one of the five Hor states in Kham) and mother of the then young Khangsar Kyabgön (Khang gsar Skyabs mgon), second of his lineage.[11] Being intent on keeping spiritual power together with the family's hereditary political power,[12] she decided to destroy the hermitage and to chase out Dragkar Lama, who in turn fled to the adjacent Nyarong (Nyag rong) accompanied by some of his disciples. However, later, Dragkar Lama is said to have met the Chinese *amban* (representative of China's Qing Emperor),[13] who was on the road to Lhasa, and to have asked him to act as an intermediary and to help settle the dispute. Given the fact that the noblewoman had prevented the Chinese army in 1908 from passing through her territory, the *amban* decided to arrest her. She tried to flee to Lhasa, but she was captured on the way. According to Chinese sources, accusations against the Khangsar chief were numerous, the worst being political rebellion (among others, she tried to leave Kandze with her seal) warranting death by execution.[14] If we believe the author of this part of the lamas' biography, Dragkar Lama asked the *amban* not to have her executed, but instead help him to rebuild his religious encampment. Finally the lady was only deprived of her possessions and lost her title.

In 1903, Dragkar Lama founded a new religious camp in Drango (Brag 'go): Getharlung (Dge thar lung). At the beginning it housed thirteen great scholars (from Minyag [Mi nyag], Tau [Rta'u], Drango, Kandze and one from Amdo), one hundred monks, one hundred nuns, and one hundred laymen and women. Later the number grew to more than a thousand people, comprising five hundred nuns. The sessions of practice and study were elaborate and strict discipline was observed.

During this time, Dragkar Lama also received some Western visitors. Their accounts are not very detailed, but they shed some light on the person and the political situation surrounding him.

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[11] His full name was Blo bzang rgya mtsho or Thub bstan blo bzang 'jigs med rgya mtsho (1897?–?). The Khangsar family occupied the seat of the Kandzes' main monastery (TBRC G500 and W19997). Concerning the ruling family of Hor Khangsar, see Khang gsar ye rdo 2000: 114–134.

[12] See for example Goré 1923: 343.

[13] The biography only mentions the title *amban* without giving any name. Most probably it refers to Zhao Erfeng who was on territorial request in the region at this time. See Wang 2006: 287–292.

[14] *Ibid*.: 292.

Encounters with Westerners

In 1907 the French Tibetologist Jacques Bacot met Dragkar Lama in what he calls "his" little monastery situated higher up in the mountain then the main monastery and village of Drango.[15] Bacot gives a description of the monastery and room where he was living, and tells us that the three hundred monks were all very learned, however he does not mention any nuns. Moreover Bacot stipulates that he was then in favour with the Chinese, and supportive of their politics, but that the lama may change his attitude due to the fact that his political views prevented him from going to collect donations in his homeland where the Khangsar chief had threatened to assassinate him. Bacot describes him thus: "He is a man of around fifty years [in reality fourty], slightly obese, shows affability and exquisite manners."[16]

Two years later, in 1909, Dragkar Lama befriended the Norwegian missionary Theo Sørensen who provided a description of the nuns staying with the lama in his monastery in Drango (probably Getharlung). Sørensen wrote:

> There are two hundred nuns, mostly old women, connected with this establishment; it was pitiful to see these women, many of them looking almost imbecile, sitting outside their mud huts, or walking about with their prayer wheels. They all shave their heads and use the same kind of garments as the lamas, of whom there are one hundred in the same place. The head lama received us in a most friendly way, and allowed us enter his private room, where we had a long conversation together. He was especially interested in hearing our opinion regarding 'transmigration.' He had heard we had nuns in our country, which gave me an opportunity of telling him about our nurses and the good his nuns might do if trained for a similar work.[17]

The description of the nuns Sørensen leaves us is circumspect and seems rather misleading. It is probably more representative of his own attitude to women practicing religion than of the contemporary situation.

According to the French missionary Francis Goré,[18] Dragkar Lama was in Nyarong in around 1910 when Zhao Erfeng, while chasing the representative of Lhasa, brought him back to Drango and appointed him to the superintendence of the thirteen main Gelugpa monasteries of the five Hor states.[19] According to the same

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15 Bacot 1988: 36–38.

16 *Ibid*.: 37.

17 Kvaerne 1973: 10.

18 Goré 1923: 343, 346.

19 The Gelugpa presence in the Hor states dates back to the Fifth Dalai Lama. Thirteen main monasteries were founded (some of them having been taken over forcefully) at this time by the Gelugpa master Ngag dbang phun tshogs (1668–1746). See Dbyangs can snyems pa'i lang tsho 1983.

author, this appointment was renewed later by Zhao's successor, Dun Changhen.

However, in 1916 or 1917 the success of the new religious encampment in Drango, and Dragkar Lama's official position as superintendent, again attracted jealousy. Oliver Coales, a British consular officer stationed in Dartsedo (Dar rtse mdo) records that, "For the first years, everything went well because he does not seem to have pressed his authority. Although the appointment has been disputed by the lamaseries [*sic*] he succeeded in placing his own nominees in positions of authority in some of them."[20] But Dragkar Lama then slowly tried to introduce reforms in surrounding monasteries: for example, forbidding the monks from manual labour, forbidding them to keep arms or to store grains in the temples, and restricting visits from women. Those reforms together with the financial success Dragkar Lama enjoyed at this time provoked anger and unrest among the monks from the other monasteries and they finally decided to destroy the religious encampment and to disperse the followers.[21] This caused great trouble, especially for the nuns who had nowhere else to go; indeed those from the Dragkar nunneries in Kandze area could return but many of the nuns had no nunnery to go, and were forced to settle in temporary huts and tents provided by a lady in Tau area. They were sad to leave their lama, but all he could do was to provide them some instructions for their practice.

According to Coales, the local Chinese magistrates, who were quite well established in Drango at this time, saw the ongoing disputes with a fearful eye, probably afraid of more disturbances. Therefore they decided to bring the case to the Frontier Commissioner of Dartsedo. There it was decided to remove the title of Superintendent from Dragkar Lama. However, the lama was given instead the post of Vice-president of the newly established Buddhist Society (Fo Chiao Hui) started by the Chinese Frontier authorities in Dartsedo. According to Coales, Dragkar Lama then returned to Drango, informing everybody that the new title was superior.

The British Consular Officer Eric Teichman leaves us with a different statement. According to his account the lama "got this position from the Chinese because of his influence and prestige among the Tibetan population."[22] He further says that Dragkar Lama was not willing to take this new function and that this was the reason why "The Draga Lama has to be held a prisoner at Tachienlu to keep him at his post." Indeed, a year later, in 1919, the lama flew to Golog (Mgo log). At this time, Teichman saw posters calling for his arrest.

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[20] Coales 2003: 204.

[21] Note here the different financial appreciation from Jacques Bacot.

[22] Teichman 2000: 69–70.

Exile and a return home

From 1919 to 1922, Dragkar Lama stayed in Golog, in a place called Dzirong Gyashog ('Dzi rong brgya shog), where the local ruler, having great faith in him, let him build a new residence. Several visiting nuns and carpenters helped him in this enterprise.

During his stay in Golog, he received visits from many more disciples. First, some fifty old disciples (*dge bshes*, *sprul sku*, monks and nuns) came, followed by two hundred more nuns from Kandze, Tau, Tehor, Tongkor, and Drango. At the time of their stay they decided to print Dragkar Lama's commentary on the "Unexcelled Continuity" (*Rgyud bla ma*) by Maitreya, accomplishing the work in a single day. They also helped with household chores in the new residence, collecting wood, cleaning, grinding flower, and preparing the offerings. After having spent some time with their lama, they returned home.

In 1922, when Dragkar Lama came back from Golog to Drango, people from the town and its monasteries showed repentance to the lama, confessing in front of him; among them the local ruler of Tehor, Ngödrub Tenkyong (Dngos grub bstan skyong), and a noble lady, Dekyi Chötsho (Bde skyid chos mtsho). After some discussion, they decided to offer the lama and his nuns a site to rebuild a nunnery in Machorong (Rma cog grong), at the place called Ngangang (Ngang sgang). The nuns went there and built a new temple (*gtsug lag khang*) as well as huts to stay, whereas the lama settled in Dragkar Jangchubling in Kandze. There again he met Theo Sørensen in 1922 who reports that Dragkar Lama was seriously ill and partially paralyzed. Being an old friend of the lama, he was aloud to pay a visit and Dragkar Lama wrote for him an introduction letter to the Kalön Lama (*bka' blon bla ma*), the monk cabinet minister.

Between 1923 and 1926, the new religious encampment in Ngangang flourished. The practice and tradition followed were the same as those in Getharlung and the other hermitages. Although absent, the lama had appointed nuns to give regular teachings, and he himself also came from time to time to give instructions.

Just before his death, in 1929, when staying in his home monastery, Dragkar Lama received the visit of seven or eight Chinese nuns sent by a disciple from China. According to the author of his biography, he gave them oral instruction and also offered them locks of his hair; the Chinese nuns, for their part, left donations. The biography does not mention any names, but those nuns are likely to have been disciples of Dayong (1893–1929) and/or Fazun (1902–1980), both of whom were important Chinese masters involved in the diffusion of Tibetan Buddhism in China.[23] Gray

[23] For these Chinese masters and their relation to Tibetan Buddhism, see, for example, Tuttle 2005; Bing 2008; and Wang-Toutain 2000.

Tuttle states that they personally visited Dragkar Lama's monastery in 1928.[24]

Dragkar Lama died at the age of 63, in 1929.[25]

Religious activities and discipline in Dragkar Lama's nunneries

Those Westerners who visited Dragkar Lama's nunneries in Drango noticed the poor condition of buildings, residences, and religious edifices, in contrast to those of other monasteries in the surrounding area.[26] None of them however seems to have made further enquiries concerning their religious activities and teachings. Only Reverend Edgar, who visited one of the nunneries (he does not mention any name, but refers probably to Ngangang nunnery) after the lama passed away, reports what his Tibetan guide said concerning the nuns' practice: "This is true religion. I once had doubts about the wisdom of allowing such institutions, but I have none now."[27] This remark coincides with what we learn from the descriptions of practice and studies given in his collective writings.

Practice and studies

Right from the beginning Dragkar Lama's teachings held prominence not only among nuns, but also among lay followers and monks, some of them having come from famous monasteries with their own established teachings lineages. At first, when living in different religious camps near Kandze, the teachings were not organised in a systematically manner but seem to have consisted of different, mostly Gelugpa, teachings, such as instructions to *The Lamp of the Path of Enlightenment* (*Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*), practical guidance to the *Stages of the Path of Enlightenment* (*Byang chub lam gyi rim pa*), the "Benefit of the mantra of Avalokiteśvara" (*Thugs rje chen po yi ge drug*). Fasting *(smyung gnas)* was also common practice for the nuns as well as for the lay people.

When in Getharlung, the teaching started to be more organised consisting of two periods and four sessions. The first fifteen days of each month were dedicated to religious assemblies, whereas the last fifteen days were spent in meditative studies (*chos mtshams*). For the nuns, the main subject was mental training in the stages of the path to enlightenment. Moreover, they studied the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*

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[24] Tuttle 2005: 111.

[25] There has been some discussion on the date of his birth being 1928 or 1929; according to the calculation of Tashi Tsering (Amnye Machen), it should be beginning of 1929.

[26] See for example Kvaerne (1973) and the German explorer Albert Tafel (1914) who both visited most probably Getharlung.

[27] Edgar 1932: 65. However, James Huston Edgar himself does not seem to be enthusiastic about the nunnery and the nun's lives.

(*Spyod 'jug*), the "Twenty Verses on the Commitments of *bodhicitta*" (*sdom pa nyi shu*), and the "Fifty Verses of Guru Devotion" (*bla ma lnga bcu pa*). Having received teachings in orthography, grammar, reading, and writing, nuns were also well versed in the Tibetan language. According to the author of this section of the biography, the nuns studied and practiced sincerely and without distraction. Thus, they followed approximately the same teachings and studies as monks. But in contrast to monks, the nuns had to carry out extra chores, such as serving tea during the religious assemblies, cleaning, and serving food at the lama's residence as well as overseeing the upkeep of the temple, the courtyard, the printing house, and the *stūpa*. These household chores did not seem to affect the nun's practices: according to the biography, several highly accomplished female practitioners emerged at this time. This harmony has also been related by Geshe Ngawang Dargye (*dge shes* Ngag dbang dar rgyas) to Hanna Havnevik. He stated moreover that two of the nuns from the big Khampa trading family Sadutshang (Sa 'du tshang) were particularly accomplished in debate (*mtshan nyid*).[28]

When in Ngangang, the nuns continued to follow a similar teaching schedule to that of Getharlung, although in the absence of the lama teachings were mostly given by elder nuns appointed by Dragkar Lama himself.[29] Two new practices were introduced at that time. The first was the famous "Cutting practice" (*gcod)* which goes back to Machig Labdrön (Ma gcig lab sgron, 1055?–1149/1154?)[30] The teacher was the nun Lozang Dekyi (Blo bzang Dge skyid) and she taught the other nuns the melody of *gcod* as well as the gestures used and the rhythm for the instruments. Each nun had her own instruments consisting of a hand drum, a bell, and a trumpet made of human bones (*mi rkang gling bu*). For the actual *gcod* practice, the nuns travelled, begging on their way and sometimes practicing in cemeteries.

At the end of his life, in 1926, Dragkar Lama asked the nuns of Ngangang nunnery to produce a copy of the *Kangyur* (*Bka' 'gyur*) written with gold ink. The Narthang edition served as a model. A nun was responsible for the purchasing of black paper and some of the instruments, whereas a monk took the responsibility to purchase the gold. All the calligraphers were nuns—the author gives a long list of the names of nuns involved in the manufacturing process. A second edition was started just two and a half months later. After

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28 Havnevik 1995: 69.

29 In the collected writings, several names of nuns teaching at this time are cited; they are referred to by the term teacher (*dge rgan ma*).

30 *Gcod* means literally "to cut, to slice;" it is a technique of meditation which aims at eliminating the dichotomy between the thinking subject and the object of thought by means of processes which contain, in meditation, the cutting of its own body to offer it to beings. Dragkar Lama received *gcod* teachings from Chökyi Senge (Chos kyi seng ge, dates not known) when he stayed in the latter's hermitage in Yarlung (Yar klungs), Central Tibet, for at least half a year, cf. Kollmar-Paulenz 1993: 32.

some time the lama decreed that the purchased paper was not appropriate, and decided to build a workshop so that the nuns could manufacture paper themselves. Two nuns supervised the workshop, and many others helped to make the paper. Three years later, a new batch of nuns trained as calligraphers.

From this short overview, it becomes evident that Dragkar Lama's nun disciples were not only engaged in ritual activities but also had access to training and even higher studies. Through the printing enterprise, they moreover participated in the diffusion of Buddhism. We will now examine the discipline he developed for the nunneries under his tutelage.

Discipline

Dragkar Lama wrote, in 1918, a discipline guide for his nun followers called "*Rab byung ma rnams la bslab khrims su bcas pa thar pa'i them skas*," literally "discipline for women who renounce together with the steps leading to liberation."[31] Nuns from Dragkar Lama's nunneries continue to follow this guide today. To my knowledge it is one of the few regulations for nuns predating 1959 still in existence.[32] It surely deserves a thorough study accompanied by a complete translation. However, at present, I will briefly summarise the principal themes.

The discipline guide starts with a long introduction where the lama explains why it is important to have rules, and why his disciples have to live according to them. He then proceeds in five points:

1. The first point gives an enumeration of the factors that hinder a woman from joining the retreat nunnery. In an abridged form it follows the *Vinaya ('dul ba*, monastic discipline) saying that a woman who wants to join the nunnery should not have any physical defects such as being too big, too small, have a handicap, etc.; she also should not be a liar, have debts, have broken the law, or be a disrobed nun, etc.; all these factors being causes of trouble for the lama as well as for the community.
2. The second point considers the manner in which the novice should address to the lama and her teachers and the way of

[31] Included in the collected writings, vol. 14, chapter "Smyung gnas bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar yig drug dang smyung gnas kyi phan yon bcas legs par bshad pa gser gyi phreng mdzes;" see also Kvaerne (1973: 100) for the Sørensen collection.

[32] I have only seen two other regulations for nuns predating 1959: a *bca' yig* (lit. "code of law") written by the Fifteenth Karmapa Rgyal dbang mkha' khyab rdo rje (1871/2–1921/2) for the nuns from Galo (Sga lo) nunnery (see Mkha' khyab rdo rje 1979–1981, vol. 8), and a *bca' sgrig* (lit. "arrangements") written for the Rinchengang (Rin chen sgang) nunnery included in Bod rang skyong ljongs yig tshags khang 2001: 209–215.

paying respect and honouring them and all the elders. This point is also developed in the biography of the lama.

3. The third point explains how the nuns have to study and gives a list of the main subjects of study. The same is also developed in the biography of the lama.
4. The forth point is an instruction as to how to keep the vows according to the discipline and the necessity to rely on the teacher and on good friends.
5. The fifth and last point on daily activities is the longest, and also the most interesting for the study of Tibetan female monasticism. It develops different subjects such as sickness and death, for example; both, it is said, have to be dealt exclusively by the religious community and according to monastic rituals. It also gives a point of view from inside on the attributes and duties of a religious practitioner. We learn for example that the retreat boundary is a limit, which should not be passed without previous authorisation. It is also explained that the religious community should consider itself like a family (*nye rigs*), the members being according to their age, brothers (*ming po*) and maternal uncles (*zhang po*). This is not particular to Dragkar Lama's discipline, a contemporary regulation code for nuns written by the lama of a nunnery in Minyag insists in a similar way on the family relationship as a model for the religious community.[33] More generally the family serves in various religions and monasticisms as a metaphor for the construction of religious companionship even though it is the actual family who has been renounced when entering into religious life.[34]

Moreover the discipline guide contains practical advice concerning, for example, how to protect oneself when travelling to one's hometown, or when going on a begging tour. The lama advises nuns to join businessmen or other "serious" travellers when going through dangerous places, whereas he stipulates that nuns should never go together with fully ordained monks (*dge slong*) or even talk to them; the mingling of both sexes being a great harm to the teaching, the lama, and the whole community. This particular rule, if it was observed, is perhaps very strict, at least compared to the situation that can be observed today.

It is also interesting to notice that at the end of the rules, the lama advises the nuns not to go to any other place, be it for pilgrimage, to meet other teachers and nuns or simply on a visit. He explains this restriction by stating that women are not stable, being easily agitated, careless, and distracted.

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[33] See Thub bstan chos dar 2003: 38–44. For an analysis of this regulation, see Schneider 2010: 267–269.

[34] On the relationship of monasticism and family in different religions and places, see Herrou and Krauskopff 2010.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to draw a portrait and describe the activities of a lama from a Gelugpa lineage who successfully engaged in promoting female monasticism in the Kandze area of Kham. He may not have been the only lama in the region to have done so, and further research is necessary, but Dragkar Lama's biography reveals several important points for the study of Tibetan nuns which are in contrast to accepted ideas on female monasticism and its history. First, it indicates that women would equally engage in religious study and practice when it was rendered possible for them to do so. It also clearly shows that the common assumption that Tibetan nuns in the past were mostly engaged in ritual activity is misleading.[35] Moreover, we learn from the biography that some circles of Tibetan society at the beginning of the twentieth century held strong opinions against women engaging in religious life. This might be one of the reasons why Dragkar Lama advised nuns not to go outside of the retreat and forbade them any contact with fully ordained monks; besides the fact that a distance between monks and nuns is generally recommended to avoid temptation, his intention here might have been to protect the nuns from outside rumours. More generally speaking, the lack of support towards religious women seems to be the main reason why there were so few nuns and nunneries in this area of Kham at the time.

Some of these nunneries are still functioning institutions today. While I have only been able to visit one of the nunneries, research done by a team of Tibetologists from Beijing and Sichuan in the beginning of the 1990s indicates that four nunneries were reconstructed after the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). The authors of the different entries state that they follow at least partly the practices and rules introduced by Dragkar Lama Lozang Palden.

I conclude with a statement from a contemporary lama from Kham, the late Khenpo Jigme Phüntshog (*mkhan po* 'Jigs med phun tshogs, 1933–2004), who was also of great assistance to nuns. He is said to have declared, "About one hundred years ago, Lama Brag dkar of Drango once accepted up to one hundred nuns, which is still considered a historical miracle."[36]

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[35] The Dalai Lama himself stated this assumption: "In our society, we have as a legacy from the past the notion that nuns engage in ritual only and do not study Buddhist texts. This should be changed." (Quotation from Lobsang Dechen 1999).

[36] Khenpo Sodarjey and Versluys (translator) 2001: 110.

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POWERFUL WOMEN IN THE HISTORY OF DEGÉ: REASSESSING THE EVENTFUL REIGN OF THE DOWAGER QUEEN TSEWANG LHAMO (D. 1812)*

Jann Ronis

From the earliest recorded times, individual Tibetan women have occasionally wielded great political and social power, and have even bore feminised versions of the highest royal titles in the land. For instance, during the Imperial Period more than one woman in the royal family was called a sitting empress, *tsenmo* (*btsan mo*), and several others are immortalised in documents from Dunhuang for their important roles in government, maintenance of the royal family, and patronage of religion.[1] Tantalizing, albeit disappointingly brief, snippets of narratives and official documents are all that remain in the historical record for most of the powerful women in Tibetan history, unfortunately. Not a single free-standing biographical work of a Tibetan ruling lady authored during the pre-modern period has ever come to light and, generally speaking, the best scholars can hope for are passing remarks about a given woman in two or three contemporaneous works. This paper explores the life and contested representations of one of the few relatively well-documented Tibetan female political leaders of the pre- and early-modern periods. Tsewang Lhamo (Tshe dbang lha mo, d. 1812) ruled the powerful Tibetan kingdom of Degé (Sde dge) for nearly two decades at the turn of the nineteenth century. However, before the full range of Tibetan sources now available had been published, biased profiles of Tsewang Lhamo in influential Western-language writings made this queen one of the most notorious women in the European and American narrative of Tibetan history. With the recent availability of more contemporaneous materials on her life and times, there is an opportunity to reconsider the received

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1 Uebach 2005.

wisdom regarding this remarkable woman, as well as craft a fuller and more balanced portrayal of her deeds and demise.

The first of the unflattering—and incorrect—representations of Tsewang Lhamo in Western scholarship is the oft-cited 1947 article by Li An-Che, "Dege: A Study of Tibetan Population."[2] In the passage about Tsewang Lhamo and her relationship with her son, Professor Li confidently proclaimed, "[I]t is apparent that *she deprived him of his prerogative* for a long time before he was given full power to rule the order and the laymen. It required *an insurrection* on the part of her subordinates *to force her to give up the reins of government*. This foreshadows a series of internal conflicts in the family in future generations which caused it to diminish in strength [Emphasis added]."[3] Although this article claimed to base itself on Tibetan language sources its pronounced value judgments may actually reflect Confucian-inflected imperial Chinese records as much, if not more than, the writings of Tibetans. The genealogy of this discourse about Tsewang Lhamo leading up to Li's work, however, is beyond the purview of the present work. Pertinent here is the influence on later scholars of this portrayal of Tsewang Lhamo as someone who illegally clung to power and thereby provoked a rebellion against her rule.

Twenty years later, in 1968, the Czech scholar Josef Kolmaš echoed Li's judgments, yet with one important addition. Kolmaš too described Tsewang Lhamo as a usurper, though he identified sectarian conflict as the impetus behind her claimed ouster and not a restoration campaign to install the rightful heir to the throne. Kolmaš wrote, "[As the crown prince was only four years old when his father died,] spiritual and secular power in Derge *was seized by his mother*, the young widow, Tshe-dbang-lha-mo … It is apparent that certain strata of the lay and monk populations of Derge disliked her openly. The increasing favour which after her husband's death she bestowed upon the monks of the Rñiṅ-ma [Nyingma] sect … led to *open hostility* to her amongst the ministers of the late [king] … Finally, Tshe-dbang-lha-mo *was forced, in 1798*, to give up the powers she had usurped and *was confined* in Dbon-stod [Wöntö] where *she soon died* … [Emphasis added]."[4] Kolmaš published another historical document pertaining to Degé in 1988 and in its introduction recapitulated his understanding of Tsewang Lhamo's reign. In this later article Kolmaš wrote, "Tshe-dbang-lha-mo, the 10th abbess of Lhun-grub-steng [Lhundrupténg, the royal temple], preferred the Rñing-ma-pa sect which led to open hostility to her (in 1798 she was forced to resign)."[5]

In 1969, a year after the appearance of Kolmaš's first piece, the late, great E. Gene Smith wrote an influential piece about the

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2 Li 1947.
3 *Ibid*.: 282.
4 Kolmaš 1968: 42.
5 Kolmaš 1988: 131.

Nyingma sect in Degé in which he augmented Kolmaš's narrative with new details: "The sudden honours bestowed on the Rnying ma pa could not help but arouse the jealousy of the [Sakya] Ngor pa lamas and their patrons among the aristocracy … [d]uring her *brief eight-year regency*. In 1798 this favouritism led to an *open civil rebellion* in which the *Rnying ma pa faction was defeated*. The queen and Rdo ba Grub chen [Do Drupchen], who was reputed to be her lover, were first imprisoned and later exiled. A number of the *Rnying ma pa partisans were executed* or forced to flee [Emphasis added]."[6] Li, Kolmaš, and Smith's portrayals have been adopted uncritically by successive scholars, especially with regards to the reputed violent backlash that ensued from Tsewang Lhamo's patronage of her favoured lamas and sect. In 1984 the late Leslie Kawamura published an essay on esoteric Buddhism in which he included a paragraph that, by its own admission, simply summarised Smith's passage quoted above, including the claims about "her brief eight-year regency" and the sectarian "open civil warfare in 1798."[7] Ten years later Anne Chayet included a short profile of Tsewang Lhamo in her *La femme au temps des Dalaï-lamas*. While Chayet did not portray Tsewang Lhamo in the same harsh tones of Li and Kolmaš, she amplified the intensity of the supposed persecution against the Nyingma sect.[8]

In his 2006 dissertation Alexander Gardner expressed scepticism about the supposed sectarian unrest and pointed out that his survey of contemporaneous and later Tibetan-authored histories uncovered no mention of an uprising or persecution associated with Tsewang Lhamo. Gardner astutely declared, "This incident awaits a detailed analysis"[9] and this essay represents the first attempt at such. It begins with several introductory notes on sources, Degé history, the social status of elite women in the kingdom, and sectarian relations at the royal court. This paper then proceeds to cover the life of Tsewang Lhamo, utilizing biographical writings, official histories, and memorials of her various religious projects. Over the course of the essay, Tsewang Lhamo's life will emerge with more humanity and quotidian detail than presented before, and the above quoted caricatures of her reign and its aftermath will be refuted on nearly every point.

Sources

Both Li and Kolmaš explicitly based their analyses on the *Royal Genealogies of Degé*. This is a court history of Degé completed in 1828

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6 Smith 2001: 24–25. This essay appeared as the Preface to *The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang-dpal-bzang, Late Abbot of Kaḥ-thog Monastery*. Sonam T. Kazi: Gangtok, 1969, 1–20; reprinted in Smith 2001: 13–32.

7 Kawamura 1984: 364.

8 Chayet 1993: 238–239.

9 Gardner 2006: 131.

by Tsewang Lhamo's only son—Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin (Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, b. 1786)—and printed the same year at the Degé Printing House (Sde dge par khang).[10] Kolmaš made the entire text of the *Royal Genealogies* available to the international community through his 1968 edition of the text in Roman transcription accompanied by his detailed introduction to the political content of the work.[11] Smith mentioned the *Royal Genealogies* in his 1969 piece that covered Tsewang Lhamo and had already been familiar with the work for several years as Kolmaš thanked Smith in his work for lending him a photocopy of the *Royal Genealogies* in 1964.[12] Most pertinent to this essay are the sections of the *Royal Genealogies* that narrated the lives and Tsewang Lhamo's husband, Tsewang Lhamo herself, and her son, the author of the text. At the time when Li, Kolmaš, and Smith composed their works this was likely the only contemporaneous Tibetan work about her which they had access to. Since the release of their seminal essays several more relevant primary sources have been published in China and the Tibetan diaspora. The first of these is the magisterial tome *Guru Trashi's History* (*Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*), composed in 1808 by a lama from Degé. It was completed four years before Tsewang Lhamo's death and the author belonged to the sect that she patronised most liberally, the Nyingma. *Guru Trashi's History* was distributed widely for the first time in 1979 with the publication of a retracing of a rare manuscript copy of the work from a library in Bhutan.[13]

Arguably the most important sources for Tsewang Lhamo's life are found in the writings of her long-serving personal chaplain Getsé Mahāpaṇḍita Gyurmé Tsewang Chokdrup (Dge rtse Mahāpaṇḍita 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub, 1761–1829; hereafter Getsé). In 1797 Getsé composed a catalogue to a major publication sponsored by Tsewang Lhamo that included a hagiographical profile of her and was commercially published in India between 1973–1975.[14] Getsé's ten-volume *Collected Works*, including his detailed *Autobiography* and several other memorial catalogues of her religious projects, became widely available only in the year 2000.[15]

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[10] The title page title of this work is *Dpal sa skyong sde dge chos kyi rgyal po rim byon gyi rnam thar dge legs nor bu'i phreng ba 'dod dgu rab 'phel*. The edition cited herein is the recent paperback edition in moveable Tibetan type, edited and published in Sichuan; Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990. The work is written in verse with interlinear notes in prose.

[11] Kolmaš 1968.

[12] *Ibid*.: 8.

[13] Ngag dbang blo gros 1979. Since 1979, at least two more editions have been published, including a moveable type version and it is the latter version that is cited herein: Ngag dbang blo gros 1990. For more on the provenances of the various editions see Martin 1991.

[14] *Rñiṅ ma'i rgyud 'bum* 1973–1975. Getsé's two-volume catalogue comprises all of the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth volumes.

[15] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001a.

The remainder of the paper will utilize these materials, as well as revisit the *Royal Genealogies*.

Women in Degé Politics

The family that came to establish and rule Degé emigrated from the south of Tibet to Kham (*Khams;* Eastern Tibet) in the thirteenth century though for hundreds of years they were merely a locally important family with claims to an illustrious distant past.[16] In the late 1630s a band of six Degé princes conquered many of their neighbours and became the dominant power in the region. In 1639, their territorial acquisitions were augmented by a large land grant from the Guśri Khan Tenzin Chögyel (Bstan 'dzin chos rgyal, 1582–1655), the Fifth Dalai Lama's (1617–1682) Mongolian patron and military backer.[17] The Degé royal family not only retained its power for almost three centuries—eventually doubling in size—but also achieved world renown for its publishing house, numerous large monasteries, and many local lamas who made towering contributions to all fields of Tibetan culture.

The titular founder of the kingdom was Jampa Püntsok (Byams pa phun tshogs, d. ca. 1660), who was a victorious army commander and monk. Initially in Degé politics and religion (*chos srid*) were united in the office of monk-kings who were simultaneously kings and abbots of the state temple. Early in the monarchy the leaders of Degé adopted the designation *sakyong* (*sa skyong*), meaning protector (*skyong*) of the land (*sa*). The fifth *sakyong* Tenpa Tsering (Bstan pa tshe ring, 1678–1738) was the most culturally and politically significant king in Degé's history, and the first lay king. Two of his chief accomplishments were earning a high status for the royal family in the expanding hegemony of the Qing Empire (1644–1912)[18] and patronising the publication of a new edition of the *Kangyur* (*Bka' 'gyur*) in 103 volumes, the first half of the Tibetan Buddhist canon.[19] The two sons who succeeded Tenpa Tsering on the throne were monks, thereby reviving the old tradition of monk-kings. Tsewang Lhamo married Tenpa Tsering's grandson Sawang Zangpo (*Sa dbang bzang po*).

Although the majority of the monarchs, or *sakyong*, of Degé prior to Tsewang Lhamo's reign were monks, royal women in Degé

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[16] In this paper all basic historical information about Degé and the royal family is drawn from the *Royal Genealogies of Degé*. For an excellent discussion of the identity and early history of the family that came to rule Degé see van der Kuijp 1988.

[17] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 24–25.

[18] The two titles bestowed by the Qing on Tenpa Tsering were "Pacification Commissioner of Degé" (*anfusi*; in 1728) and "Tranquilization Commissioner of Degé" (*xuanweisi;* in 1733). The best recent account of the award of these titles is Scheier-Dolberg 2005.

[19] On the creation of the Degé edition of the canon see Schaeffer 2009: chapter five.

occasionally attained high political positions in the kingdom, even if only for short tenures. For instance, prior to the reign of Tsewang Lhamo at least one princess had served as regent during a long interregnum. Tsewang Lhamo's father-in-law—king Lodrö Gyatso (Blo gros rgya mtsho, 1724–1772),[20]—died when her future husband Sawang Zangpo was seven years old. As the orphaned crown prince was too young to rule, his aunt, nun Yangchen Drölma (Dbyangs can sgrol ma), served as his regent for approximately ten years. The *Royal Genealogies* contains a detailed portrayal of her religious patronage while on the throne:

> The regent of the king (i.e., Yangchen Drölma) assumed responsibility for the seat of political power (*gdan sa*) and safeguarded and cared for the subjects without deviating from precedent. She supported the doctrine and the communities of monks—the essential concern of the ancestors—with conducive conditions[…]. For the purpose of (his) immediate and everlasting happiness she kindly nurtured prince Sawang Zangpo with customary and heartfelt varieties of consolation. Having (conducted her regency) in this way, she passed away during the Saka Dawa month of the fire horse year (1786). All of the funerary rites were performed perfectly by my kind father (Sawang Zangpo).[21]

The range of meanings signified by the phrase "without deviating from precedent" can be understood to include that her religious allegiances were firmly with the dominant Sakya sect, and this will be used later in the essay as a point of contrast with Tsewang Lhamo's patterns of patronage. As a side note, it is probable other princesses—ordained or otherwise—served as regents during prior interregna but their histories were not recorded. Most likely, Yangchen Drölma's story is known simply because of her temporal proximity to the authors whose works are still extant and under consideration herein.[22]

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[20] Lodrö Gyatso was ordained as a child and began his reign as a monk. Several years into his time on the throne he was compelled to take a wife in order to produce an heir in a drastic attempt to insure the very survival of the family line. The marriage was also an occasion to strengthen Degé's political connections with the Dalai Lama's Ganden Palace government as Lodrö Gyatso married a niece of the Seventh Dalai Lama named Trashi Wangmo (Bkra shis dbang mo); Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 87.

[21] *Ibid*.: 89–90; *Mi rje […] gyi rgyal tshab kyi [correct to kyis]/ gdan sa'i khur bzhes mnga' ris skyong bran la/ snga rgyun 'phyugs med yab mes bzhed pa'i snying/ bstan pa dge 'dun sde bcas mthun rkyen gyis/ zhabs 'degs […] rgyal sras sa dbang bzang po'i drung gang la'ang/ 'phral phugs 'di phyir dge ba'i dbu 'don rigs/ tshul ldan nyams ldan skyong sogs bka' drin che/ de mus me rta sa ga zla ba la/ zhi bar gshegs shing dgongs rdzogs bya ba kun/ yab rje bka' drin can des yang dag mdzad.*

[22] This discussion of women and political power in Degé leads one to ask, was it possible for women to also attain positions of authority within the *religious* institutions in Degé during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? This paper proposes women in Degé had more opportunities for achieving positions

Considering that Kolmaš and Smith claimed Tsewang Lhamo triggered a sectarian revolt against her, before commencing with the main portion of the essay a few words about sectarian relations in Degé are in order. Two of Tibet's four main sectarian traditions hold strong relevance to this paper: the Sakya (*Sa skya*) and the Nyingma (*Rnying ma*). Kapstein observed of the Sakya subsects, "The most successful of them was the Ngorpa (founded by Ngorchen Künga Zangpo, 1382–1456), which enjoyed an extensive following, above all in far Eastern Tibet, where it became effectively the state religion of the important principalities of Dergé and Nangchen."[23] Nevertheless, from early on the Degé family also patronised Nyingma lamas and incorporated Nyingma traditions into the royal cult. For example, Nyingma treasure texts (*gter ma*) were cited to confirm the religious sanctity of some of the early kings and a Nyingma court chaplain discovered the actual royal seal among a cache of revealed icons and texts.[24] The received wisdom about Tsewang Lhamo asserts that because she primarily supported the Nyingma sect, and not the "state religion" of the Sakya sect, a Sakya persecution of her and her Nyingma associates resulted. The veracity of this claim will be explored below.

Tsewang Lhamo the Dharma-queen

The orphaned and brotherless teenage crown prince Sawang Zangpo was chronically ill in the 1780s. The hierarch of the Sakya sect understood the prince would not live long and ordered him to quickly marry a woman who hailed from Degé[25] and in 1783 the sixteen year-old Sawang Zangpo wed Tsewang Lhamo.[26] She belonged to a prominent family in the Nyingma stronghold of Garje (*Sga rje*) in the far south of Degé and was likely to be about the same age as her husband.[27] In 1786 the young royals gave birth to a son and the following year they gave birth to a daughter, both of whom survived. They also lost two infants, one boy and one girl.[28]

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of power in politics than in religion. Thus, in the entire *Royal Genealogies* not a single female lama is mentioned. The royal court lavished support on its chaplains, but none of them were female. Furthermore, the text does not report the kings or other royals ever supported the founding of a nunnery.

23 Kapstein 2007: 263. For comments on the Ngor founder's efforts to purge Nyingma "accretions" from the Sakya see Davidson 1981: 91–92.

24 Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 44.

25 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001b, vol. 8: 260.7.

26 The only source for the date of their wedding is 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 190.6.

27 For more on Garjé see Garje Khamtrul Rinpoche 2009; which is a translation of Sga rje Khams dbus dgon gyi sprul ming 'dzin pa 'Jam dbyangs don grub ces pa'i mi tshe'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus su bkod pa bzhugs so. Unfortunately, neither of these works has been consulted for this article.

28 Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 94.

In 1788, just one year after the birth of their second child, the Degé royal couple travelled to Central Tibet on a pilgrimage-cum-diplomatic mission to present themselves to the leaders of the Dalai Lama's government and the Sakya headquarters.[29] One of the lamas they visited on their journey was Jikmé Lingpa ('Jigs med gling pa, 1729–1798), the most influential Nyingma master of the second half of the eighteenth century.[30] Janet Gyatso noted, "This royal couple had been in correspondence with [Jikmé Lingpa] for several years, influenced by reports of his virtues from fellow countrymen."[31] Tsewang Lhamo maintained relations with this lama and his disciples throughout her life.

Sawang Zangpo became seriously ill and passed away in 1790.[32] As the prince Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin was only four years old at this time the throne passed to the dowager queen, Tsewang Lhamo. This transfer of power was strikingly reminiscent of the aforementioned regency of Yangchen Drölma. Needless to say, the fact that Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin was only four years old when his father passed discredits the claim by some twentieth century scholars that Tsewang Lhamo "usurped" power. Tsewang Lhamo simply was the only person in the royal family qualified to lead the government.

The statements by Kolmaš and Smith about Tsewang Lhamo's ardent support of the Nyingma were true, nevertheless, in so far as she did patronise a number of Nyingma lamas, printing projects, and icon constructions. One of her first major donations to the Nyingma tradition in Degé occurred in 1791, the year after the death of her husband. At this time, the two most powerful Nyingma lamas in Degé were Getsé, of Katok Monastery (KaHthog) and the head of Dzokchen Monastery (Rdzogs chen), Ati Tenpé Gyentsen (A ti bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1759–1792); both of whom were elite reincarnated lamas in their early thirties. At a spring gathering with the queen, the two lamas conferred and decided to collaborate on the introduction to their respective monasteries of an entire corpus of Nyingma rituals and exegetical traditions from Mindrölling Monastery (Smin grol gling) in Southern Tibet called the *Kama* (*Bka' ma*).[33] Introducing the *Kama* to Katok and Dzokchen Monasteries required inviting a troupe of teachers from a great distance, the acquisition of costly materials for the *Kama* rituals, and sponsorship

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29 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

30 Jikmé Lingpa's main treasure cycle the *Longchen Nyingtik* (*Klong chen snying thig*) is still the most widespread contemplative tradition in the Nyingma and his scholastic writings are central to the curricula of many Nyingma seminaries to this day.

31 Gyatso 1997: 371.

32 Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 99; and 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 215.4.

33 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 216. On this version of the *Kama* see Dalton 2006. For many centuries Katok was best known for its own sophisticated scholastic and liturgical elaborations on the *Kama* though they were in decline by the mid-seventeenth century.

for the students receiving the training. The royal court donated the needed resources and the Mindröling lamas arrived that same year.[34] Ati Tenpé Gyentsen died several months later in 1792, making Getsé the leading Nyingma lama in Degé.[35]

The year 1794 saw the advent of another significant Nyingma project sponsored by the court when the queen commissioned the publication of a new edition of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* (*Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*).[36] When the Degé edition of the *Kangyur* was compiled and printed earlier in the century the editor, Situ Penchen (Si tu paṇ chen, 1700–1774), omitted many tantras considered canonical by the Nyingma due to concerns that they might be counterfeit scriptures.[37] The *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* is composed in large measure by these spurned tantras and Getsé was the chief editor of the Degé edition of this collection. The project took five years to complete and the finished product was twenty-six volumes long and to this day remains the only xylographic edition of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma*. Rémi Chaix has carefully compared the expense of this publication to the previous two canons published in Degé and concludes that page-by-page, volume-by-volume, the production costs of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* were equal to those of the *Kangyur* and *Tengyur* (*Bstan 'gyur*).[38] Thus, Tsewang Lhamo was able to give this Nyingma collection the same treatment previously given only to the universally accepted canonical collections.

According to Getsé's *Autobiography*, it appears the first few years of Tsewang Lhamo's reign, which began in 1790, were relatively peaceful, within and without. In contrast, 1796 was a challenging year for Tsewang Lhamo and followers of the Nyingma in Degé. Early in the year a high-ranking lama from the Degé-sponsored Pelpung Monastery (Dpal spungs) was sent to Ling (Gling), Degé's neighbour to the north and constant adversary, to negotiate a peace deal between the two powers.[39] The lama was unable to bring peace between Degé and Ling and the ensuing military activity was so disruptive to the region that Qing forces became irritated with Degé

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[34] The introduction of the *Kama* to Degé made a lasting mark on regional Nyingma monasteries and marked the migration of the intellectual vitality of the Nyingma sect from Central Tibet to Degé; see Ronis 2009.

[35] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 215.4–215.5. Getsé does not report the cause of death though earlier in his *Autobiography* observed that Dzokchen Rinpoché had been sick.

[36] Cf. Achard 2003.

[37] Imaeda 1981; See also Mayer 1997.

[38] Chaix's data was presented in a talk titled "Réflexions préliminaires concernant l'histoire économique de sDe dge au 18e siècle" at the Milieux, Sociétés et Cultures en Himalaya laboratory of the CNRS on May 29, 2009; cf. Chaix 2011. Naturally, the overall cost of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* was less than the other two canons because of its smaller size.

[39] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 229.2. The lama was the Pelpung Wöntrül (Dpal spung dbon sprul; d.u.), the reincarnation of the brother of the Situ Penchen (d. 1774), the founder of the monastery.

and intervened to put an end to the conflict. Getsé reported, "Degé and Ling battled. This was likely one of the first major military affairs of Tsewang Lhamo's reign, and it became a debacle. Tenzin Bum [king of Ling?] escaped. After he arrived in Chinese territory many Chinese travellers also came (with further intelligence of the troubles). Several high Chinese officials went to Hor (Kardzé [Dkar mdzes], close to Degé,) and there was a risk that they would come to Degé… Because (the Qing authorities in the region) were very irritated with Degé my disciples and I convened (an assembly at which we performed) an enemy-suppressing liturgy based on the deity Gompo."[40] At the conclusion of the rituals Getsé gave Tsewang Lhamo many initiations and blessings.

The second troublesome event of 1796 concerned social relations in the capital. The relevant passage in Getsé's *Autobiography* reads, "The dark side (always) looks for an opportunity (to obstruct those who) serve the Nyingma teachings. A court clerk was struck with an illness, none of the medical treatments or healing rituals helped, and he got worse. I gave him numerous initiations yet he abandoned the thrust of his lifespan."[41] This passage may be read in at least two ways. On the one hand, this unnamed court clerk may simply have been a devotee of the Nyingma who caught a serious illness and died. However, a cynical reading is that the court clerk was poisoned or "cursed" for his support of the Nyingma, and this latter opinion is the most convincing. The temporal placement of the passage gives credence to this suggestion because sectarian bigotry in Tibet frequently becomes acute when broader difficulties flare up, such as the contemporaneous war with Ling.

Nevertheless, in line with this essay's general reconsideration of Tsewang Lhamo's reign, it is unwise to read too much into Getsé's documentation by seeing this one incident as indicating that an "insurrection" or "open civil war" was underway at the time. It is highly possible a number of lamas and aristocrats were strongly displeased with Tsewang Lhamo and may have used violence at times to challenge her supporters. Tibetan history is rife with many instances of assassinations and foul play that have a sectarian valence, yet not all such instances develop into large-scale conflicts. Admittedly, the historical record here is limited to just one mention by Getsé, but it does not appear anyone important was killed or that more than one person was targeted. Thus, this murder—if indeed that is what it was—does not rise to the level of a persecution. Furthermore it can be noted that not a single recent Tibetan-authored history of Degé or the Nyingma consulted for this paper

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[40] *Ibid*., p. 229.6; *Sde gling 'khrugs shing bstan 'dzin 'bum bros song/ rgya yul sleb nas rgya 'grul mang 'byor zhing/ rgya dpon che khag hor du phebs pa dang/ sde dger 'ong nyes […] bdag nyid dpon slob kyis/ mgon po'i dgra chos tshugs […].*

[41] *Ibid*., p. 229.4; *Rnying bstan zhabs tog sgrub la nag phyogs kyis/ skabs btsal drung yig de nyid snyun gyis thabs/ sman bcos rim gro ci byas phan med du/ rim lcir gyur pa bdag gis dbang grangs mang/ phul yang sku tshe'i 'phen pa btang bar gyur.*

stated there was a persecution of Degé-based Nyingma lamas and institutions during this period of history.[42] Until positive evidence of a sectarian uprising like that claimed by Kolmaš, Smith, and others is presented this claim must remain discredited.

In 1797, Getsé completed the editing of the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* and composed its *Catalogue* (*dkar chag*).[43] The latter work advanced an explicit and pointed polemical agenda in which Getsé devoted over fifty folia sides to a spirited defence of the Nyingma tradition that responded to a wide range of criticisms that have been made against them, particularly by Sakya scholars. Thus, in the heart of the Degé Printing House—the preeminent arbiter of orthodoxy in Degé—Tsewang Lhamo opened up a prominent forum in which Getsé not only printed but also justified Nyingma scriptures.[44] In addition to defending the Nyingma, another major aim of the *Catalogue to the Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* was to eulogise the queen. All catalogues of this variety contain chapters on the family history and personal virtues of their patrons; as is the case with the catalogs of the Degé editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur. In the *Catalogue* Getsé exalted the queen as a great monarch and bodhisattva.[45] It recounts that the thirteenth Karmapa, Dündül Dorjé (Karma pa Bdud 'dul rdo rje, 1733–1797), had a visionary experience in which he learned from an apparitional Brahmin that Tsewang Lhamo was an emanation of the female Buddha Tārā, particularly the form of Tārā called Trashi Döndrup (Sgrol ma bkra shis don grub). Additionally, the *Catalogue* reported that Jikmé Lingpa identified her as an emanation of Ngangtsul Changchub Gyelmo (Ngang tshul byang chub rgyal mo), a Tibetan queen and disciple of Padmasambhava. The colophon to the *Catalogue* recognised Tsewang Lhamo by equally exalted political titles, calling her "the *sakyong*, Queen of Men" (*mi'i dbang mo sa skyong pa*).[46]

Thus within a few years of her ascension to the throne as a regent for her son, Tsewang Lhamo wrote herself into the official histories as a veritable *dharmarāja*, or queen of state and religion. She patronized a publication of Buddhist scriptures and allowed herself to be represented as a leader of the highest rank. The nun who preceded her as a regent during the childhood of her late husband remained as just a regent; a patient and restrained steward of the government while her charge came of age. Tsewang Lhamo asserted

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[42] These include, in chronological order: Karma rgyal mtshan 1994; Blo gros phun tshogs *et al.* 1995; Skal ldan tshe ring 2000; Thub bstan chos dar 2000; Dudjom Rinpoche *et al.* 2002; Bstan 'dzin lung rtogs nyi ma 2004; Thub bstan phun tshogs 2007; and Lha lung 'chi med rdo rje and Zla g.yang 2009.

[43] See note 15.

[44] Prior to this only one small collection of Nyingma texts had been published at the Degé Printing House, namely, the *Collected Works of Longchenpa* (*Klong chen bka' 'bum*); see Sde dge par khang and Dkar mdzes khul rtsom sgyur cus 1994.

[45] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001b, vol. 8: 260–261.

[46] *Ibid.:* 393.1.

herself much more and utilized the institutions and resources of the state to become a genuine *sakyong* of Degé.

Resilient at the turn of the nineteenth century

Kolmaš, Smith, and those who followed them claimed that 1798 was the terminus of Tsewang Lhamo's quote-unquote brief reign, but a reevaluation of the evidence—including a text that was available to them in the mid-twentieth century—will strongly contest this thesis. It is argued here that the reason for the fixation on this date must be due to a misreading of a passage in the *Royal Genealogies* about a ceremony for the crown prince, Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin, which was performed in 1798. At the time he was 13 years old and the ceremony was an investiture or installation (*mnga' gsol*). The first person account in the *Royal Genealogies* reads: "In the earth male-tiger year I arrived at Lhundrupténg (Lhun grub steng) and was placed on the throne of the succession of the *dharmarājas*. The kind lord of Thartsé (Thar rtse)[47] transformed into the (Buddha) Immortal Protector and kindly ministered (to me by officiating) over the investiture and benedictions."[48] In isolation one could reasonably interpret these lines as signifying that this event was a true coronation and represents the prince's transition to full kingship. By Tibetan counting the prince was thirteen years old this year and therefore this passage is redolent of the well-known myths of the first Tibetan kings in which princes succeeded their fathers on the throne at age thirteen, the age at which ancient Tibetans learned to ride horses.[49] However, this custom was not practiced in Degé and the next sentences in this passage give the date of Tsewang Dorje Rindzin's enthronement as the ninth monarch of Degé.

Following the passage excerpted above, the *Royal Genealogies* immediately continued, "In the wood-mouse year (1804) the Chinese emperor (*dbang phyogs rgyal po*) bestowed on me the authorization and insignia to rule. The present mode of upholding the duties of the twin systems (politics and religion) of statecraft began in the fire tiger (*me stag*, 1806) and earth dragon (*sa 'brug*, 1808) years."[50] Thus, by his own admission, and in a text that

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[47] The Thartsé lama (1765–1820) belonged to the Sakya sect and was the prince's root lama and chaplain. His full name was Jampa Namkha Chimé (Byams pa nam mkha' 'chi med) and he was the forty-fourth abbot of Ngor (Ngor) Monastery in Central Tibet.

[48] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 103; *Sa pho rta la lhun grub steng du slebs / chos rgyal gong ma rim byon bzhugs khrir 'khod / drin can thar rtse rje de 'chi med mgon / skur bzhengs mnga' gsol shis brjod bka' drin skyong.*

[49] Stein 1972: 48.

[50] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 103; *Shing byir dbang phyogs rgyal po'i [read pas] lung rtags bstal / me stag sa 'brug nas bzung rgyal khab kyi/ lugs zung khur len 'dzin tshul 'di 'dzin.* This quote might be corrupt as the dates it gives, 1806 and 1808, are not continuous. Or perhaps Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin meant his assumption

Kolmaš so skillfully edited and summarized, Tsewang Lhamo's son clearly states that he did not take over the government until 1806 or 1808, at least eight years after the supposedly fateful 1798 ouster of the queen. This clarification of the chronology of the transfer of power from mother to son raises questions about the nature of the investiture ritual and Tsewang Lhamo's status and activities subsequent to the ceremony. The remainder of this section will explore the events between 1798 and Tsewang Lhamo's death in 1812 by putting the *Royal Genealogies* in conversation with the newly published materials that concern Tsewang Lhamo.

Getsé's *Autobiography* is completely silent regarding Tsewang Dorje Rindzin's reputed enthronement. Perhaps Getsé's silence is meant to express disapproval or rejection of the ritual. In fact, Getsé does not only omit any mention of the event from his life story, he was physically absent from Degé when it occurred. Soon after Getsé finished editing the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* in 1797, he petitioned the royal court for permission to leave Degé and go on a long pilgrimage and fundraising trip in southern Kham. It was granted and he stayed away for over a year, from late 1797 into early 1799.[51] Getsé's lengthy trip abroad might be taken at face value as a much-needed escape from the capital after several years managing a complicated printing project. However, a cynical reading would suggest Getsé was unwelcome at the event, or did not wish to participate, and made himself scarce for a relatively long time. Alternatively, Getsé's silence may be simply a consequence of the inconsequen-tiality of the ritual, whether by design or effect. According to the *Autobiography*, when Getsé finally returned from his long pilgrimage he went directly to the royal palace for a joint audience with Tsewang Lhamo and Tsewang Dorje Rindzin, which suggests the two were on good terms.[52]

The misinterpretation—or over-interpretation—of the passage in the *Royal Genealogies* about Tsewang Dorje Rindzin's investiture might have been avoided if the *Royal Genealogies* recorded more dates than it does, especially those concerning the chief events of Tsewang Lhamo's life. For instance the *Royal Genealogies* failed to mention even Tsewang Lhamo's death date. Fortunately Getsé's *Collected Works* supply the dates crucial to an accurate under-standing of her reign, and Getsé's chronicles of the post-1798 era overturned what has until now had been the consensus view. For example, Getsé's *Autobiography* was clear that in 1801 Tsewang Lhamo still wielded power over the state and religion. That year she built a large Guru Rinpoché statue to be placed in the Yudruk (G.yu 'brug) chapel of the Lhundrupténg temple. It was a high-profile act

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of power occurred over a three-year period of time beginning in 1806 and concluding in 1808. Regardless, it goes without saying this quote renders ridiculous the thesis that Tsewang Lhamo lost power in 1798.

51 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 234.3–243.5.

52 *Ibid.*: 243.6.

and in the *Royal Genealogies* it is one of the few specific deeds by which she is remembered, though without the attribution of a date.[53] Getsé composed a long account of the construction of the statue that contained a customary passage about the patrons of the icon which stated that the statue had four patrons: king Jikdrel Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin, the princess and nun Tamdrin Trinlé Wangmo, queen (i.e., wife of the king) Namsé Pendzom Drönma, and the powerful female *sakyong* Tsewang Lhamo.[54] In this passage Getsé honored his patron Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin by calling him king (*rgyal po*). Nevertheless, Tsewang Lhamo bore the most impressive title among those listed and was repeatedly called the "powerful female *sakyong*" (*sa skyong dbang mo*) on several occasions in the text. Furthermore, if the family was rigidly divided at this time along sectarian lines then the "king" and his new wife would not have contributed to this project, nor have permitted Getsé to represent them as patrons of a Nyingma statue.

1801 also saw the arrival in the capital of Do Drupchen Jikmé Trinlé Özer (Rdo grub chen 'jigs med phrin las 'od zer, 1745–1821), who would remain a presence in Degé for the next several years.[55] Do Drupchen was one of the chief students of Jikmé Lingpa, the guru of both Sawang Zangpo and Tsewang Lhamo, who died two years earlier in 1799. Smith claimed that Tsewang Lhamo was rumoured to have been romantically linked to Do Drupchen with the suggestion that this was emblematic of what so infuriated the Sakya partisans at court about her.[56] Getsé recounted that Do Drupchen made a spectacular arrival in Degé, blessing all the temples in the capital and giving initiations to many aristocrats. At Do Drupchen's urging, Tsewang Lhamo ordered the Degé Printing House to publish the *Collected Works of Jikmé Lingpa* in nine volumes and a very esoteric set of Nyingma revealed treasures called the *Nyingtik Yapshi* (*Snying thig ya bzhi*) in two volumes.[57] In 1806 Getsé and Do Drupchen even went on a long diplomatic mission on behalf of the kingdom.[58]

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[53] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 100. This chapel was built to house king Sawang Zangpo's reliquary *stūpa*.

[54] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001d: 72.1; *Rgyal po 'jigs bral tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, lcam dge tshul rta mgrin phrin las dbang mo btsun mo rnam sras dpal 'dzom sgron ma sa skyong dbang mo tshe dbang lha mo*. Cf. 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 249.3; *Ston ka sa skyong dbang mos slob dpon rje gtso 'khor sku brnyen gser zangs las bzhengs pa'i/ gzungs 'bul rab gnas bgyid par bka' bzhin bteg*.

[55] *Ibid.*: 249.4.

[56] It is not impossible that their relationship became sexual—either out of mutual attraction or in order to engage in the sexual yogas of the higher tantras—yet, this cannot be established for certain.

[57] Detailed indices of both collections are found in Sde dge par khang and Dkar mdzes khul rtsom sgyur cus 1994.

[58] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 258.2

The Kharnang Incident and the end of Tsewang Lhamo's Reign

Beginning in 1806, Degé's trans-regional relations deteriorated significantly, with the most acute problem occurring in the upper reaches of the kingdom. For decades Degé had been expanding northward and, following precedent, Tsewang Lhamo attempted to bolster Degé's influence in present day Yushü (Yus hru'u or Yul shul) Prefecture, Qinghai province.[59] These efforts in the north can be registered in terms of temple construction and the *Royal Genealogies* reported the only new religious edifice built by Tsewang Lhamo was a monastery in the northern territory: Dzatö Lung Monastery (Rdza stod lung).[60]

Getsé's *Autobiography* noted that in the spring of 1806 tribes from the independent nomadic area of Golok (Mgo log) attacked areas in northern Degé and the upper Dza river valley, the location of Dzatö Lung Monastery.[61] The Yushü-based nomadic tribe named the Kharnang Tsowa (Mkhar nang *tsho ba*) made a significant contribution to repelling the invading Golok forces, thereby benefitting Degé.[62] For its defence of the region the head representative of the Qing in Qinghai and the kings of Degé and Nangchen (Nang chen) bestowed titles and favours on the leaders of the Kharnang Tsowa. Nevertheless, sometime in late 1807 or early 1808—Getsé did not register the beginning of 1808 in the *Autobiography* and it is unclear when precisely the following occurred—Degé's relations with the Kharnang Tsowa broke down and eventually the Chinese intervened. Getsé wrote, "(The Chinese commander) Ma Talo captured the Kharnang and (during the battle) various miserable conditions came to pass in the royal encampment. I heard that the prime-minister Guru Trashi suffered injuries and died subsequently."[63] Writing in the first person, the author of the *Royal Genealogies* Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin confirmed the royal camp suffered during this event. He recalled, "(The relationship between) the excellent mother and the ministers and chiefs of Kharnang was

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[59] The primary sources do not indicate whether she was merely trying to retain her grasp on areas into which Degé had already expanded, or whether she was pushing the boundaries into previously unconquered territory.

[60] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 99. More research is required to determine the location and current state of this monastery.

[61] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 258.2.

[62] The Kharnang were based in what is present day Trindu (Khri 'du) county of Yuhrü (Yus hru'u) Prefecture, Qinghai. The source for this and the following sentences is a recent gazetteer of the county: Pad+ma kun dga: 374; see the section on the Kharnang Tsowa, p. 373–377.

[63] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 272.4. *Rma ta lo yis mkhar nang bzung 'ching sogs/ sgar thog tu yang mi bde sna tshogs byung/ gnyer chen gur bkra rmas zer zhag shas nas/ 'das pa'i skad cha thos […].* This minister is not the same person as the author of Guru Trashi's History. Befitting the work of a lama, Getsé devotes more lines to the funeral of Guru Trashi and the omens regarding his rebirth than on the military incident itself.

(initially) good but in the end turned bad. Due to various disturbances many beings, myself included, suffered greatly."[64]

The coincidence of both authors depicting the Kharnang incident in grave terms suggests that if indeed Tsewang Lhamo suffered a pivotal downfall at the end of her reign this was it. At least one recent Tibetan scholar also saw this event as representing Tsewang Lhamo's undoing. Deshung Rinpoché (Sde gzhungs rin po che, 1906–1987) stated in his 1964 *Continuation of the Royal Genealogies of Degé* (*Chos ldan sa skyong rgyal po sde dge'i gdung rabs kyi mtshan phreng rin chen phreng ba*), "Falling under the power of interferences, discord broke out between the excellent mother and the chiefs and ministers of Kharnang. During the resulting disturbances she died."[65] In fact, Tsewang Lhamo died several years later but the general idea of the passage is still compelling. Note this account does not reduce her downfall to a sectarian dispute.

For most of 1808 Getsé was on a diplomatic mission related to the regional unrest. When he returned at the end of the year he first went to the capital, where he stuffed and consecrated a sandalwood *stūpa* commissioned by the queen.[66] He then travelled to the Dzamtok palace (Dzam thog *pho brang*) and stayed there with Tsewang Lhamo for several months, into the following year of 1809. Getsé did not mention in his account of this episode that Tsewang Lhamo was sick and in need of his religio-medical interventions, thus the primary reason he spent such an unusually long period of time with the queen was likely to offer his moral support in the wake of the personal problems created by the Kharnang incident. Tsewang Lhamo eventually moved to Wöntö (Dbon stod), a palace somewhat to the north of the capital.[67] The *Royal Genealogies* devoted several lines to Tsewang Lhamo's final years in which its author, the king, emphasized his close relations to his mother and even proclaimed where she was reborn. Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin wrote, "I invited the sublime mother many times and received her audiences. I did whatever I could to make her happy such as fulfilling her wishes, furthering the good, and confessing my faults. After going to Wöntö she met with her chaplains and others and passed her time

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[64] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 100; *Yum mchog gang dang mkhar nang dpon blon zung/ bzang mthar ngan 'gyur bde gzar sna tshogs kyis/ bdag sogs skye 'gro du ma shin tu mnar.* Although Getsé credits Ma Talo alone with quelling the conflict, Tsewang Lhamo's son claimed that on his mother's orders he played a major role in the defeat of the Kharnang. He wrote, "Seeing that there were many exigencies, chief among them satisfying the wishes of the excellent mother, and in order to cut the stream of sin, I utilized furious compassion and engaged in ferocious actions thereby smashing the Kharnang (chiefs) and their armies" (*Ibid*.: 101; *Yum mchog gi/ bzhed skong gis gtsos dgos pa mang mthong nas/ sdig rgyun bcad phyir snying rje khros pa yis/ drag shul bya bas mkhar nang dpung bcas gtor*.)

[65] Kolmaš 1988: 141; *On kyang bar chad rkyen dbang lta bus yum mchog dang/ mkhar nang dpon blon nang ma mthun pas sde gzar sna tshogs mur/ sku gshegs.*

[66] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 279.3.

[67] Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin 1990: 101.

pursuing virtuous activities. Ultimately she passed on (to become) the chief of the assembly of *ḍākinīs* in Cāmaradvīpa (Padmasambhava's paradise)."[68]

In 1812 Tsewang Lhamo became ill and at the insistence of the royal court Getsé travelled to Wöntö to minister to her.[69] He stayed one month to perform healing rituals and bestow initiations on the queen after which he returned to Katok and entered into a strict retreat. Getsé wrote, "About a month after binding myself into a recitation retreat (the queen herself or the royal court) declared that I must come to take care of chieftainess Tsewang Lhamo. However, as I had already meticulously performed initiations and so forth (in order to heal her), at this time it was beyond my power to interrupt the recitation retreat and I sent my regrets. While at the retreat I endeavoured to perform the funerary rituals."[70] Readers may be surprised Getsé did not break his retreat and return to his generous patron's bedside. Furthermore, there is no mention in the *Autobiography* of a service for her in the capital or the construction of a reliquary *stūpa* in her memory. Perhaps the literary conventions of monastic autobiographies dictate against dwelling on the passing of one's patron, especially female patrons. Alternatively, perhaps Tsewang Lhamo's standing in Degé society at this time was so low Getsé felt compelled to distance himself from her even before her death. The position of this paper is the former option for if Getsé had indeed wished to disentangle his reputation from hers then she would appear far less frequently than she does in his *Autobiography*.

Conclusion

This essay has utilized recently published materials to reappraise the life of a queen whose reputation had been badly—though not intentionally—misrepresented by scholars working in Europe and the United States. Among the inaccuracies and questionable interpretations of the articles by Li, Kolmaš, and Smith, and others are that 1) Tsewang Lhamo was a usurper, 2) she lost power in 1798, 3) her downfall was due to sectarian conflict, and 4) religious persecution and violence accompanied her loss of power. It has been conclusively shown herein that she became a regent for her four year-old son following a recent precedent and thus was not a usurper. The very acts that Kolmaš and Smith cited as the excesses that led to her supposed demise in 1798—such as relations with Do

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[68] *Ibid.*; *Yum mchog spyan drangs yang yang zhu mjal dang/ bzhed skong legs spel nongs bshags gang dgyes zhus/ dbon stod byon nas dbu bla rnams sogs dang/ mjal 'dzom dge ba'i bya bas dus 'da' mur / rnga yab gling du DAk+ki'i tshogs dpon gshegs /.*

[69] 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 290.7.

[70] *Ibid.*: 291.1; *Bsnyen mtshams bsdoms nas zla gcig tsam song rjes/ dpon mo tshe dbang lha mo sku ma 'tsho/ 'ong dgos gsungs kyang snga sor dbang bka' sogs/ zhib cha grub pas 'di skabs bsnyen mtshams la/ bar chad ma nus dgongs pa zhu bar btang/.*

Drupchen—occurred long after that year. If indeed her reign ended somewhat ignominiously the cause must have been the Kharnang incident, which was not a religious conflict. Lastly, there is no evidence of a persecution of the Nyingma perpetrated by Sakya-aligned enemies of Tsewang Lhamo. The point of this essay has not been to whitewash her bold and enterprising reign, as clearly there were several missteps and problems, but it was nothing like the one-sided caricatures that some have portrayed.

This work has demonstrated that in Degé at the turn of the nineteenth century a well-connected and ambitious woman could attain the same political titles as a man and spearhead cultural projects as grand as those of her male counterparts. In fact, Tsewang Lhamo went against the entrenched patterns of court patronage to give unprecedented support to a minority tradition and did so for almost two decades, contributing greatly to the religious culture of Degé and the Nyingma sect. Although the fragmentary historical record does not provide many insights into Tsewang Lhamo's personality or points of view, it is now full enough to secure her place within the Tibetological pantheon of remarkable women.

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THEORISING THE KING: IMPLICIT AND EXPLICIT SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF TIBETAN SACRED KINGSHIP

Brandon Dotson

In this paper I would like to point out what I see as the virtue of openness to theoretical and comparative models in the study of Tibetan traditions, and in particular that of kingship.[1] To promote such an orientation as a virtue in this particular time and place may well be an exercise in preaching to the converted. "Tibetan studies" or "Tibetology" is largely a cover-term, within which exist many well-developed fields of study with their own methodologies. And for quite a long time now scholars have been engaged in transferring knowledge from other fields in a process that has lead to greater methodological sophistication. Therefore while I shall describe below some attitudes that are suspicious of theoretical and comparative approaches, and while I shall invoke the "myth of the merely descriptive," I feel there is a real possibility that I am erecting here nothing but a straw man, and one which, happily, seems to be trampled under the feet of the prevailing Tibetan studies tutelary divinity. Even so, vanquishing such an imaginary opponent has a long and illustrious history in Tibetan rhetoric and elsewhere, and I offer this present rendition more as a confirmation and celebration of what I perceive to be the current trend towards methodological and theoretical curiosity than as a doctrinaire statement of how things ought to be done.

As a point of departure, I shall briefly revisit Giuseppe Tucci's description of Tibetan kingship, to date the most influential and almost the only work dedicated solely to this topic. Without going into forensic detail, I will suggest that although his description of the kingship was grounded in original Tibetan sources, his organisation and interpretation of this material was indebted, albeit silently, to the prevailing theoretical models of his day, and in particular those put forward by Sir James Frazer. I choose this means of entry not necessarily to promote Frazer, nor to criticise

[1] I take this opportunity to acknowledge the British Academy, which sponsored this research as part of a postdoctoral fellowship on "Narrative, Orality, and Sacred Kingship in Tibet's First Epic History." Some of the methods outlined here relate to the research project "Kingship and Religion in Tibet" based at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München and sponsored by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation and the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. I wish to thank Elijah Ary, Amy Heller, and Samten Karmay for their helpful comments following my presentation, and to acknowledge both Henk Blezer and Martin Mills for stimulating correspondences and discussions in which they shared freely their own works. I would especially like to thank Alice Travers for her excellent editorial work.

Tucci—for Tucci is in many ways an exemplar of the orientation I here champion—but to start from a convenient point of departure for making explicit what I assume to be implicit in Tucci's work, namely, an engagement with comparative and theoretical scholarship on kingship. I shall demonstrate this approach by presenting sketches of an analysis of a central myth of Tibetan kingship, that of Dri gum btsan po. Here, a consideration of some comparative models will lead to questions and problems that would not have arisen were my analysis to imagine itself as being purely descriptive. I shall conclude by stating the obvious: at the present stage in the history of Tibetan studies, we must be open to almost any comparative material, and should strive as far as possible to make explicit our own theoretical and methodological biases.

Giuseppe Tucci and the shadow of Sir James Frazer

Scholars have approached Tibetan kingship from a variety of angles, but rarely have they treated it as a topic unto itself such that it can be brought into dialogue with the study of kingship cross-culturally. As a result, most of the work is descriptive and tends to lack any *explicit* theoretical orientation. This is slightly surprising given that Tibetology developed partly as an outgrowth of Indology, which enjoys a long tradition of engagement with the topic of kingship both in India and Southeast Asia. The origins of Tibetology in the nineteenth century and its blossoming in the middle of the twentieth century were also roughly contemporaneous with a strong current of comparative anthropological studies of sacred kingship by such theorists as Sir James Frazer, Arthur Maurice Hocart, and Ernst Kantorowicz.[2] Amid such comparative areal and theoretical models, however, the institution of Tibetan kingship remained largely ignored up until the middle of the twentieth century. The watershed moment came with a 1955 paper by Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984), "La regalità sacra nell'antico Tibet," presented at the eighth International Congress for the History of Religions, held in Rome with the theme "The Sacral Kingship/La Regalità Sacra."[3] The congress played host to scholars approaching the institution of sacred kingship from different methodological angles, ranging from anthropological to psychoanalytical, and included influential papers by David Snellgrove on the concept of divine kingship in tantric Buddhism, and by Jean-Paul Roux on the celestial origin of Central Asian kings based on the Orkhon inscriptions.[4]

Although qualifying his work as provisional and preliminary, Tucci wrote with authority, outlining what he saw to be the

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2 Frazer 1915; Hocart 1927; and Kantorowicz 1957.

3 Tucci's paper was published in Italian in the proceedings (Tucci 1959), and in English in the journal *East and West* (Tucci 1955).

4 Snellgrove 1959; Roux 1959.

principles of the Tibetan kingship, in particular the magical, divine, and life-giving qualities of the king himself. Tucci argued that the Tibetan king was ancestralised, such that each incumbent was the avatar of the ancestral spirit, and therefore reigned simultaneously on both the celestial and terrestrial planes. Further, he claimed that the ancestral spirit's presence in the son occurred at the age of thirteen, signifying maturity, fertility, and eternal youth, and that this coincided with the removal of the father, in whom the spirit ceased to be present. Tucci held that this removal was achieved through ritualised regicide, a practice that he perceived behind the many assassinations that occurred during the imperial period.[5] On this point Tucci cites the *Royal Genealogy*.[6] After the *Royal Genealogy* lists the first seven rulers, it states: "Concerning these, when the son was able to rein a horse, the father went to heaven."[7] Tucci interprets this passage as follows: "[w]e must not fail to notice an important fact that accompanies the fitness acquired by the heir to the throne. As soon as he attains it, his father—so we read in several places—ascends to heaven, which is the common expression used to indicate death. In other words, the father dies, that is, is presumably eliminated."[8] Tucci elaborates on the theme of "fitness" by also pointing to the necessity that the king be of sound body and mind in order to rule and ensure the well-being of the kingdom.

Tucci also pointed out passages in a variety of Tibetan sources in which the king is likened to rain and is a symbol of fertility. He summarised the king's role as "that of keeping off epidemics, causing the rain to fall, assuring fertility, in other words that of maintaining the cosmic and social order intact and in due working order."[9] Anticipating some of the preoccupations of those who would take up and refine his researches, Tucci also noted the titles and epithets of the kings, such as *sprul*, which he took to mean "magic power," *btsan po*, which he related to "power mainly of a chtonian [*sic*] character," and *lha sras* and *lde sras*, both defined as "divine son" or "son of gods."

Tucci described the king as guaranteeing and transmitting four powers: the religious law (*chos*); "majesty" (*mnga' thang*); government or temporal power (*chab srid*); and his "helmet" (*dbu rmog*), the latter qualified as "the visible emblem of the magic power of the king."[10] Of these four, the religious law was entrusted to the sacerdotal class, and temporal power to the ministerial class, creating what Tucci described as the triumvirate of king, the "head shaman," and the chief minister. Although at the apex of this triumvirate, the

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5 Tucci 1955: 199–200.

6 PT 1286.

7 'dI yan chad 'dra' ste / sras chIbs ka thub na / yab dgung du gshegs so //; Bacot *et al.* 1940–1946: 87; PT 1286, l. 46.

8 Tucci 1955: 199.

9 *Ibid.*: 200.

10 *Ibid.*: 199–200.

king was viewed, according to Tucci,[11] only as a *primus inter pares* by his ministerial aristocracy, and was essentially a "sacred but inert symbol."

In crafting this description of the Tibetan kingship, Tucci drew on a variety of Tibetan sources, many of which were Buddhist religious histories from long after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire. As a result, some of the information he presents, such as the practice of succession at the age of thirteen, is contradicted by contemporary administrative records such as the *Old Tibetan Annals*.[12] More interesting for our present purposes, however, is Tucci's interpretation of the material, particularly his contention that the king was a sort of avatar, incarnating in himself the ancestral spirit for the duration of his reign, and then passing it on to his heir upon his ritualised death. I do not wish to here dispute Tucci's reading; this point, along with his statement that the king maintains the cosmic and social order, can certainly be taken away from a reading of Tucci's Tibetan sources. Rather, I wish to point out that these are also salient themes in Frazer's work.

It might be useful here to summarise very briefly the core of Frazer's theories on kingship so that it will become clear exactly what I mean by implying that these somehow informed Tucci's seminal article. In *The Golden Bough*, a massive comparative study of mythology and religion, Frazer focused in particular on sacred kingship and put forward two hypotheses as to its nature.[13] The first, more enduring hypothesis is that the body of the king is associated with the body politic such that the king's health and well-being mirror that of his kingdom and ensure its fertility and prosperity. The logical consequence of this is that the king must be removed before his old age precipitates the degeneration of the kingdom, and this removal is often achieved through ritualised killing.[14] According to Frazer's second hypothesis, the king absorbs the collective evil or negativity of his kingdom and serves as a vessel for carrying this away. This explains the constant rituals for the purification of the king, and the ultimate purification—his ritualised killing and replacement with a successor.

Tucci was a great man of his era, and remains one of the most celebrated, if also one of the more polarising figures in Tibetan and Buddhist studies. As a public intellectual, he had personal and professional connections with such luminaries as Mircea Eliade and Carl Jung.[15] In his academic work he was broad-minded, often

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[11] *Ibid.*: 197.

[12] Dotson 2009: 26–27.

[13] Frazer 1915.

[14] A useful summary of Frazer's main theories of kingship can be found in Quigley 2005: 9–10.

[15] Tucci appears as a character—a seventy-year-old professor—in Eliade's novel *Youth Without Youth*, adapted for the screen in Francis Ford Coppola's 2007 film of the same name, where Tucci is played by the actor Marcel Iures. Jung wrote a preface to Tucci's book, *The Theory and Practice of the Mandala*.

drawing cross-cultural parallels.[16] If not aware of Frazer's work directly—e.g., through reading parts of *The Golden Bough*—Tucci, as an active participant in the intellectual epistèmes of his era, almost certainly had at least some exposure to Frazer's ideas. This is not something that I wish to establish by any sort of detailed analysis of Tucci's work or biography, but I will note that one reviewer of the Rome proceedings quipped that "Frazer's shadow, more than any other, hung over the congress in Rome."[17]

Ngar la skyes and his role in the myth of Dri gum btsan po

In a brief presentation of Tucci's article on Tibetan kingship we have observed the following: there is evidence in primary sources for all that Tucci describes, and his focus on the Tibetan king's life-giving qualities and emphasis on ritualised regicide also fits very well with a Frazerian analysis, with which he was likely familiar. Does this problematise Tucci's work? Maybe. The presence of such themes in Tucci's presentation of Tibetan depictions of sacred kingship could equally be read as a vindication of Frazer. My minimal position—that Tucci had at least some indirect exposure to Frazer's theories—serves to explain, I think, why Tucci emphasised the categories he did. Already this is a step forward.

As an exercise, let me now use an example to make explicit what I suspect was implicit in Tucci's analysis, namely, Frazer's theories on kingship. I shall also draw on more recent theoretical elaborations, mostly by anthropologists of Africa and South Asia. In doing so, I shall try to navigate between the Scylla of theory-driven research on the one side and the Charybdis of the myth of the merely descriptive account on the other. Here I will demonstrate how theory opens a series of doors. The workaday philological methods link the term *ngar* and the name Ngar la skyes, reveal motifs of his royal birth, and disclose his key role in a narrative that is framed as a *glud* or "ransom" ritual. Here to describe is to explain, but theory asks us "so what?". To this elementary question Frazer

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[16] In a short article on the symbolism of Bsam yas Monastery, for example, Tucci (1956: 28) relates it to Borobudur and to Phnom Bakeng in Angkor.

[17] "On pourrait dire que l'ombre de Frazer, plus que toute autre, a plané sur le Congrès de Rome" (Caquot 1960: 81). One cannot fail to appreciate here Caquot's comical equation of Frazer with a dead Caesar and the conference participants with Roman senators. Were one to take a more "forensic" approach, which I do not think is necessary, one could list the features in Tucci's sources that he foregrounded, along with those that he passed over silently. One instance of foregrounding that suggests to me Tucci's awareness of Frazer and perhaps also of Hocart is his pointing to the royal lustral bath in the *Glegs gzhi bstan pa'i byung khung*; the lustral bath is a key element in both Frazer's and Hocart's analyses of sacred kingship, and while it is present in Tucci's source (and also features, for example, in the *Dba' bzhed*; Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 56–57), its role is not so central as to be remarkable to anyone but those who, presumably aware of its role cross-culturally, have developed an eye for it.

points to *X* and other theorists point to *Y*, and their indications open up new questions about, among other things, royal doubles, coronation, and royal funerals. I will argue that we are enriched by these questions, and will leave it to the reader to assess whether or not theory has contaminated my findings (that is, contaminated them beyond the usual "contamination;" see "Conclusions").

The myth of Dri gum btsan po/ Gri gum btsan po is one of the most well known and most often studied of Tibet's myths.[18] The earliest version of this myth is included as the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and the myth is alluded to in the Kong po Inscription. It was elaborated in later histories from the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* onwards, with fascinating thematic variations. Apart from its textual history, the people and places of the myth of Dri gum btsan po—his two or three sons, his killer Lo ngam rta rdzi, the kingmaker Ngar la skyes/ Ru las skyes, and Dri gum himself—are the subject of local oral traditions from southeastern Tibet to Gtsang.[19] The myth and its history is one of the richest and most interesting topics in the field of Tibetan studies, and here I shall only offer a sketch of an analysis of the oldest extant version by way of demonstrating the utility of drawing on comparative and theoretical materials.

Before highlighting a few specific points, I present here a brief outline of the myth as it appears in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*:

1. The prince is wrongly given an ill-starred name, Dri gum btsan po
2. Dri gum is disturbed by his name
3. Dri gum challenges Lo ngam rta rdzi to fight him
4. Lo ngam's strategy (requests Dri gum's royal weapons, chooses battle site)
5. Lo ngam kills Dri gum in battle in Myang ro Sham po after Dri gum's god deserts him
6. Dri gum's corpse is cast into the river, and seized by a river spirit / serpent spirit (*klu mo*)
7. Dri gum's sons, Nya khyi and Sha khyi, are exiled, and flee to Kong po
8. Rhya mo and Sna nam kill Lo ngam with poisoned dogs
9. Rhya and Bkrags clans fight
10. Only one woman of Bkrags survives, bears son Ngar la skyes
11. Ngar la skyes searches for the king's sons and for the corpse of the king

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[18] For translations and studies of this crucial myth, see Bacot *et al*. 1940–1946: 123–128; Haarh 1969: esp. 401–406; Macdonald 1971: 221–227; Cutler 1991; Karmay 1998b; Hill 2006; Kapstein 2006: 38–42; and Zeisler 2011. For a translation of the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* version, see Sørensen 1994: 141–145, and 141, n. 372, which gives references to versions in several later sources.

[19] Hazod 2007a, forthcoming.

12. *Klu mo* requests ransom of a child with bird eyes in exchange for Dri gum's corpse
13. Ngar la skyes goes home to ask his mother to mend his boots and give him more food
14. Ngar la skyes finds such an ornithomorphic child; the mother of the child demands, in exchange for her child, that certain protocols be followed at royal funerals. Ngar la skyes agrees
15. Ngar la skyes gives the child to the *klu mo* as a ransom, the corpse is recovered, Nya khyi performs funeral, and Sha khyi goes to avenge his father's death
16. Dri gum's tomb is built on Mt. Gyang to
17. Sha khyi and army go through Pyi, portents are bad
18. Sack of Myang ro Sham po; 100 male and 100 female Lo ngam die
19. Sha khyi returns to Pyi triumphant, portents are good
20. Sha khyi is given the name Spu de gung rgyal (and enthroned as king).

The myth of Dri gum btsan po in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* contains within it echoes of Tibetan ritual narratives and Indian epic literature, but its core can be identified as the ransom (*glud*) narrative, in which the body of the deceased king is recovered through a ransom involving an ornithomorphic child that is then exchanged for the royal corpse. The agent who drives the narrative forward, and, one might say, the protagonist of the story, is Ngar la skyes, a precocious child who is the sole survivor of a war that wiped out the rest of his entire clan. His search for his deceased lord leads him to the serpent spirit or river spirit (*klu mo*) 'O de ring mo, in whose bowels lies the corpse of Dri gum btsan po. The *klu mo* 'O de ring mo tells Ngar la skyes that she will give up the body of the king in exchange for a particular ransom: a child with eyes that open from below like those of a bird. Ngar la skyes' quest for such a ransom for the corpse then takes him back to his mother where the narrative, perhaps reminding us that he is a mere child, has Ngar la skyes ask her to fix his boots and give him food for his journey. After this, Ngar la skyes finds a child who fits the description of the ransom that the *klu mo* had demanded as an exchange for Dri gum's corpse. Again, nothing is given without an exchange, and the child's mother demands that Ngar la skyes assent to a series of fascinating requests for how one should celebrate royal funerals—one basis for the claim that this is an aetiological myth of the royal funeral, or a narrative back-story to a funeral rite. Ngar la skyes agrees to follow the mother's requests, and leads the child away. He then casts the child into the river in exchange for the corpse of the king. The king is buried, and one of the king's sons conquers Myang ro Sham po and takes his rightful place on the throne in Pyi.

I would like to make a few comments on this, the narrative core of the myth, and on the figure of Ngar la skyes (also spelled Ngar le skyes). First, his birth to the sole survivor of a disastrous war marks him off as a kingly figure within the tradition of Indian epic represented both by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.[20] The motif of Ngar la skyes' birth is similar to that of Malyapanta in the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*: the god Vaiśravaṇa kills Yagśakore and all of the demons, sparing only Yagśakore's son, Malyapanta, who survives because he is sewn into a sack.[21] When he grows up, he asks, "All neighbours in the land have parents and relatives. Where are my parents and relatives?"[22] He then vows to take revenge on the gods. Nearly the same words come from Ngar la skyes' mouth in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*: "If every man in any every case has a lord, where is my lord? If every man in every case has a father, where is my father?"[23]

The royal nature of the motif of Ngar la skyes' birth is also apparent in the Tibetan Buddhist appropriation of the *Mahābhārata* to fashion an origin myth of the first Tibetan king that links him with Buddhist India. According to the "proclaimed Buddhist tradition," a Kaurava son escapes to Tibet and becomes the first Tibetan king, Gnya' khri btsan po. In this version, Dhṛtarāṣṭra has ninety-nine sons and Pāṇḍu has five superhuman sons. They fight, Tha dkar kills all but one of the ninety-nine sons, and captures the sole survivor, Ru pa skyes, who is placed in a box and thrown into the Ganges. Found by King Bimbisāra, he is recognised as a prophesied emanation of Mahākaruṇa. Invited back by the Pāṇḍavas, Ru pa skyes still fears them, and escapes to Tibet, where he meets twelve men who make him king.[24] Apart from a royal birth motif identical to that of Ngar la skyes, the tale also includes the widespread image of someone being placed in a casket and cast into the waters, a motif not only relevant to Dri gum Btsan po, but also to Sītā (Rol nyed ma) in the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, and to the tale of Pe har's arrival at Gnas chung, among several others.[25]

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[20] On this point, see Haarh 1969: 156, 163. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was known in Tibet and manuscript fragments were found in Dunhuang, on which see de Jong 1989 and 1994.

[21] de Jong 1989: 5–6.

[22] yul myi khyim tse thams cad la // pha ma dang gnyen bzhes yod na // bdag gyi pha ma dang / gnyen bshes ga re snyam na; ITJ 737 (2), l. 21–22; de Jong 1989: 6, 90.

[23] myI gang bya gang la rjo bo yod na nga 'i rjo bo gar re / myi gang bya gang la / pha yod na nga 'i pha ga re; PT 1287, l. 28–29.

[24] Karmay 1998c: 303–305. Later Tibetan histories that place the first Tibetan king in India and refer to Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas all explicitly draw on the commentary on the *Devatāvimarśastuti* by Prajñāvarman, a Bengali pandit who helped with Tibetan translation in the second half of the eighth century. This work was translated in the eleventh century and seems to be the main source for the Ru pa ti / Ru pa skyes narrative (Roesler 2002: 163, 167).

[25] This point was also noted in Kapstein 2003: 784, n. 106. On accounts of Pe har's removal from Tshal Gung thang to Gnas chung, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998

Apart from the motif of his royal birth, another key for understanding Ngar la skyes' role in the narrative is the meaning of his name. Unfortunately, this problem has been sidestepped or ignored by Tibetan tradition, and overlooked by most scholarship. In the earliest version of the myth, Ngar la skyes is the son of Ru la skyes, who was killed by the Bkrags clan. In most later versions, however, the role of kingmaker and protagonist is played by Ru la skyes, though with his name usually amended to Ru las skyes. As is often the case with poorly understood or archaic names, these are given folk etymologies by later commentators. In later versions of this myth, the motif of the sole survivor of clan warfare is generally absent, and in place of Ngar la skyes we find Ru las skyes (literally, "Born from a Horn"), who is the magical offspring of Gri gum btsan po's wife by the mountain god Yar lha sham po—*mutatis mutandis*, a royal pedigree.[26] In this later tradition, this magical boy is also known as "Self-Nourished" (Ngar sos po), partially preserving the name Ngar la skyes, albeit with a folk etymology.[27] Bacot and Toussaint offered a fairly similar reading of Ngar la skyes as "né de lui-même."[28] Haarh, offering a characteristically inspired reading, sees Ngar la skyes as a "*yi dwags* or manifestation of the killed, but unburied king."[29] Zeisler rejects all of these readings on solid lexical and grammatical grounds, and leaves the name untranslated. In a note, however, she reviews the lexical meanings of *ngar*, and suggests translating Ngar la skyes/ Ngar le skyes with "born from the strength/ thickness/ front side/ stalk/ corner."[30] Those readings

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[1956]: 104–107; Sørensen and Hazod 2007: 216–219; and Hazod 2007b: 627–630. The appearance of this motif in the life story of Vairocana—as told in the *Vairo 'dra 'bag* and, briefly, in the *Zangs gling ma* of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1196?)—may also contain traces of the royal double motif I shall briefly examine below. Here, to avoid having to kill Vairocana, King Khri Srong lde brtsan has a look-alike beggar placed in a cask and thrown in the river (Karmay 1988: 26–27; Kunsang 1993: 95–96).

26 For the narrative in the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* and references to the same narrative in other sources, including the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, see Sørensen 1994: 142. Ngar la skyes' transformation over time in Tibetan narrative is also briefly related in Macdonald 1971: 224–225. The transformation of Dri gum's name to become Gri gum is part of the same process of folk-etymologising, "amending," and writing over names and terms whose meanings have been forgotten.

27 While the tradition of folk etymologies often reveals a poor understanding of obscure or archaic elements found in early Tibetan personal and place names—and sometimes gives rise to spurious episodes that form part of collective memory, often misread by others as history (e.g., King Mes ag tshoms, the "Bearded Grandfather" is remembered as marrying a young Chinese princess, when contemporary administrative records do not tell us of this nickname and reveal that he was pre-pubescent at the time of his marriage; Petech 1967: 257–258; Dotson 2009: 25)—it also demonstrates the importance of the lexical meaning of Tibetan names. This is true above all in the myth of Dri gum btsan po, where it is Dri gum's mis-naming that begins the myth and precipitates the crisis that must then find resolution.

28 Bacot *et al.* 1940–1946: 125, n. 6.

29 Haarh 1969: 156.

30 Zeisler 2011: 106, 147–148.

that shift the focus onto Ru las skyes in order to gloss over the name Ngar la skyes basically forfeit the problem. The others, excepting Zeisler, either alter the name Ngar la skyes (e.g., to Ngar sos po), or focus on something other than the possible meaning of this name.

I submit that one clue for understanding his name is his role in the narrative: he is the bearer of the ransom for the king. This calls to mind what we find in later rites of state involving the ransom ritual, such as the famous *glud 'gong rgyal po* ceremony instituted in the seventeenth century under *sde srid* Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1658–1705) and practised up until the middle of the twentieth century.[31] In this festival, two men are appointed to, among other things, bear away an effigy of the Dalai Lama, which is deposited in a special temple in Bsam yas monastery. But apart from acting as the bearers of the ransom effigy, which will soak up all of the evil and ill will that would otherwise target the person of the Dalai Lama, the men themselves also act as repositories for the very same. There is, in other words, a blurring of lines between the ransom and its bearers. At once the valiant agents of the removal of Tibetan society's collective evil, they also embody it, and are themselves driven out as much as they are sent to bear away an effigy. This blurring of lines, or near identification of the bearer with the effigy, is also pertinent to Ngar la skyes, whose complete disappearance from the narrative after committing the child to the waters and to the *klu mo* has not hitherto been satisfactorily understood. He is the protagonist of the narrative, but after performing his role and making the exchange with the *klu mo*, there is no further mention of him whatsoever, and the action passes to Dri gum's sons, their burial of their father, and reclaiming of the throne. This disappearance is not, however, a failing of the narrator or a clumsy transmission error. In fact, it confirms what I think is the correct reading of Ngar la skyes' name. In ritual literature concerning the ransom rite, a *ngar mi* or *ngar glud* is an effigy or figurine of the person for whom the ransom is performed.[32] Great care is taken in fashioning these figurines, which are often adorned with the hair and clothes of the beneficiary or "patient." Hence the significance of the royal motif of Ngar la skyes' birth: to ransom a king, one must give a royal effigy in exchange. These facts, along with the larger ransom context of the Dri gum btsan po myth in which he appears, and his particular role within it, allow us to understand the peculiar name Ngar la skyes / Ngar le skyes as "Born for the Ransom [of Dri gum btsan po]." This explains also the curious fact that Ngar la skyes disappears as soon as the ransom is given to the serpent spirit, which, while fairly jarring from

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[31] On the *glud 'gong rgyal po* ceremony see Karmay 1998a: 348–359; Richardson 1993: 60–73; and Guidoni 1998. The latter includes extensive references to scholarship on this topic. In his article, Karmay studied this ritual in great detail, and also noted the importance of the ransom rite to Tibetan kingship and purification.

[32] Karmay 1998a: 340–341.

a narrative standpoint, is in perfect accord with the logic of the ransom rite.

Making theory explicit: Ngar la skyes as scapegoat

In his brilliant article on ransom rites, Samten Karmay argues against the use of the term scapegoat, employed by Alexandra David-Neel and others, to describe the ransom rite or the ransom itself. Citing Frazer's work on the scapegoat, he makes the point that the ransom rite is about exchange, and not the "transfer of evil onto another," which he sees as characterising the annual ritual of Yom Kippur.[33] In this way Karmay asserts that the *glud 'gong rgyal po* ceremony has a different conception that bears no relation to the concept of the scapegoat.[34] This objection dovetails with a familiar argument about cultural specificity and terminological precision with regard to the culture under study. I take this larger point, and agree with it in much the same way that I generally agree with Christopher Beckwith's point that when translating the Tibetan term *btsan po*, one should use "emperor" and not "king," since the term designates a ruler superior to all others, who lays claim to the entire world.[35] Here, however, as I am explicitly engaging with scholarship on *kingship* (and since "emperorship" seems to be too much of a mouthful), I have used such titular anomalies as "King Khri Srong lde brtsan" in order to advertise the fact that I am examining the applicability of theories of kingship to Tibetan beliefs surrounding the *btsan po*. Similarly, going back to Frazer, there is a large body of comparative and theoretical literature on scapegoats in relation to kingship, and I use the term scapegoat here in considering the role of Ngar la skyes in the ransom of Dri gum btsan po not to undermine the specificity of the Tibetan *glud* rite by applying a universalising typology, but to ask what scholarship on the scapegoat has to offer our reading of the myth of Dri gum btsan po in all its complexity.

In the brief summary of Frazer's hypotheses concerning sacred

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[33] Karmay 1998a: 340.

[34] Karmay places the focus on "exchange" and "cheating," both etymologies of *glud* and the related term *bslu*. The ransom is thus a matter of trading with/cheating the supernatural by giving something that is or appears to be equivalent. This is certainly the core logic of the ransom rite, but one need only focus on the ransom or effigy (*glud* or *ngar* or *ngar mi*) itself, and ask after its fate, to see that the patient/client—either a person or a community—achieves its own well being by diverting harm from itself to the ransom or effigy. This is in fact the basis of the scapegoat. I do not think that the concept of the scapegoat and the principles of exchange and deception informing the ransom rite are in any way mutually exclusive, and believe that the concept of the scapegoat can be deployed to illuminate the Tibetan *glud* rite. For a more detailed affirmation of the relevance of the concept of scapegoat to the *glud 'gong rgyal po* ceremony, drawing on René Girard and other theorists, see Guidoni 1998: 97–100.

[35] Beckwith 1987: 14–15, n. 10.

kingship, it will be recalled that according to the second hypothesis the king absorbs the collective evil or negativity of his kingdom and serves as a vessel for carrying this away. This is also referred to as his "scapegoat" function, and Lucien Scubla, drawing on the work of René Girard, has recently insisted on the primacy of this role by arguing that the king is first and foremost a scapegoat, and that the king's function as source of social good emerges from this role as absorber of all social evil.[36] Another scholar who has recently reassessed Frazer and upheld the importance of some of his observations, particularly as they concern scapegoat kings in Africa, is Luc de Heusch. Like many other commentators, de Heusch takes issue with Frazer's evolutionary bias. He insists, however, on the centrality of the institution of ritualised regicide, and echoes Frazer by emphasising both of Frazer's hypotheses concerning the life-giving role of the king and the scapegoat king.[37] To begin with the concept of the scapegoat king, de Heusch marshals two types of examples. First, there are those where the king himself is a scapegoat for his kingdom's ills, such as drought or disease. It follows then that the king is ritually killed and replaced with a new king. Second, there is the example where the king's life-giving aspect is divided from his scapegoat aspect, the latter being constellated in a surrogate or a double. De Heusch also distinguishes between two types of ritualised regicides: those that conform to Frazer's first theory—that a life-giving king cannot become decrepit and must therefore be killed and replaced before the onset of old age and infirmity; and those that conform to the second theory—that the king is a scapegoat who absorbs the inauspiciousness of his subjects and serves as a vessel for carrying this away.[38] Closer to the Tibetan cultural area, Marie Lecomte-Tilouine has written about an instance of a royal double as a scapegoat in a Nepalese rite of state. Here a Brahmin, by eating part of the dead king, becomes a "monstrous royal double" and is expelled on an elephant, thereby purifying the king and the kingship.[39]

Even from these scant examples, and without giving a full genealogy of scholarship on scapegoat kings (which is immense), we can see that the ransom narrative in the myth of Dri gum btsan po lends itself to an analysis along the lines of Frazer's theory of the scapegoat king and its later elaborations, not least of which the observation that the king's life-giving aspect and his scapegoat aspect can be divided, with the latter role embodied by a royal double or scapegoat.[40] Marked off from the motif of his birth as a suitable stand-in for the king, Ngar la skyes is a royal double

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[36] Scubla 2005: 42, 47.
[37] de Heusch 2005: 34.
[38] *Ibid.*: 29–32.
[39] Lecomte-Tilouine 2005: 112.
[40] On the constellation of the functions of sacred kingship in more than one being, see also Scubla 2005: 46–47.

suitable for a ransom. Beyond that, he is also the bearer of a sort of "monstrous royal double"—the ornithomorphic child who is the explicit ransom for the body of the king. Here it is not a question of the ritual killing of a scapegoat king, but of the victimisation of a royal double, who is cast away in order to recover the body of the deceased king and to clear the way for the coronation of a successor. The clear implication is that this was a charter myth for a ransom rite performed in the course of a royal funeral, but this could easily form a part of other royal rites of renewal, such as the coronation, or even an annual rite like the *glud 'gong rgyal po* ceremony.[41]

Here I have privileged an analysis that employs the concept of the scapegoat because Ngar la skyes' role in the myth of Dri gum btsan po invites such a reading. This is by no means to insist on the exclusivity of this reading; one could equally consider the role of directionality in the ransom narrative, where the corpse of Dri gum btsan po travels in an "expelling" movement downstream to Kong po, the symbolic end of the river Gtsang po, and then his heir travels in a "recovering" movement upstream to win back the throne.[42] Or, one could point out how Ngar la skyes' role in the various versions of the myth relates to what Beckwith refers to as the "First Story" common to many Central Eurasian peoples, where we often find the motif of a miraculous child overthrowing an evil king.[43] There are

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[41] Deriving ritual practice from charter myth is ill advised, and there are many examples of a given rite seeming to have little or no connection to the charter myth that supposedly informs it. Were one to assume, foolishly, a one-to-one relationship between myth and ritual in this case, the ritual would probably involve placing the victim, a double of the king, in a vessel and then casting this into the river. These qualifications notwithstanding, it is no surprise that this part of the narrative is whitewashed or excluded in later Buddhist versions of the myth of Dri gum btsan po.

Haarh, it should be noted, also took the myth of Dri gum btsan po to be an aetiological myth, and understood Ngar la skyes to be a sort of royal double. In Haarh's thesis, the myth is the precursor to royal burials: it tells us why a king must die (he is unsound of either body or mind) and how he must be buried (Haarh 1969: 116, 329, 340, 342). While he may have erred in some of the details, Haarh was perceptive to argue that Ngar la skyes acts as a monstrous royal double, and I must acknowledge my debt to him on this point.

Further to the issue of the monstrous royal double, and returning to the *glud 'gong rgyal po* ceremony—in many ways the successor to the type of ceremony that the myth of Dri gum btsan po would seem to empower—Karmay demonstrates that Pe har, Tibet's wrathful deity *par excellence*, and the destination of the Dalai Lama's effigy according to some accounts, is explicitly constructed as a monstrous royal double of King Khri Srong lde brtsan (742–c. 800), and, by extension, of the Tibetan ruler in general (Karmay 1998a: 364; see also Walter 2009: 197, n. 1).

[42] On the intentionality of upstream and downstream movements in the context of the *glud* rite, drawing also on models of directionality in ritual from ethnographies of the contemporary Tibetan cultural area, see Dotson 2008. The vertical axis is also relevant here, and can be brought to bear on the movement of Dri gum's corpse from the river to the mountain.

[43] Beckwith 2009: 1–2, 12. Beckwith's analysis of this origin tale acknowledges that it belongs to a body of beliefs going back to the Proto-Indo-Europeans. Indeed his schematisation of the "First Story" bears a resemblance to the expositions of

many other possible readings. In mentioning this comparative example from Central Eurasia, though, I would also like to point out that our areal presuppositions come to bear on what sort of comparative data is deemed relevant to the study of Tibetan kingship. It is by now a commonplace to remark that the Sinologist sees everywhere in Tibet uncanny resemblances to China while to the Indologist a shared cultural substratum between India and Tibet seems self-evident. To this we might also add the Central Eurasianist finding in Tibet persuasive traces of the Central Eurasian Culture Complex. In many ways, Tibet is neither fish nor fowl, and this means that several different areal memberships can be argued for persuasively, including also Central Asia or upland Southeast Asia. This is a blessing, as it opens up a wealth of comparative material that is of relevance to Tibetan kingship, be it the role of Avalokiteśvara in the royal cult in Sri Lanka or the *Scripture for Humane Kings* in fifth-century China.[44] The real danger of this approach lies not so much in admitting comparative examples from too far afield, but rather in narrowing one's comparative field too severely and thereby excluding relevant material.

Conclusions

By engaging with comparative scholarship on sacred kingship, we have illuminated one possible reading of the myth of Dri gum btsan po. But this reading is not definitive, and, far from closing the enquiry, it prompts us to pose a number of further questions. Among these: Is the Tibetan king presented as the embodiment of his kingdom? Does the Tibetan king guarantee fertility and well-being? Has the kingship transmuted good conduct into transcendent law? Is the model of the king as a sort of sponge for his kingdom's collective evil relevant to the Tibetan kingship? Is there evidence for ritualised regicide? How was the king ritually separated from the rest of the populace? Were there central rituals for purifying the king? Questions such as these reward our engagement with comparative and theoretical scholarship on kingship.

Employing a comparative perspective is not an end in itself. We must always ask ourselves what is gained by adopting a given model or method. If we can say, for example, that the assassination of the Tibetan emperor Glang dar ma around 842 fits Frazer's ideas concerning scapegoat kings, or that Tibetan descriptions of the first mythical emperor Gnya' khri btsan po largely conform to Frazer's model of a life-giving king, do we gain anything by doing so? Or are these episodes then merely overlaid with a new set of assumptions that magnify some of their features while diminishing others?

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the story of the hero in comparative mythology, as found, for example, in the works of Otto Rank (1909) and Lord Raglan (1936).

[44] See Holt 1993 and 2004; and Orzech 1998.

Furthermore, has exposure to comparative studies biased our reading of the ransom narrative in the myth of Dri gum btsan po? This recalls the same question asked above about whether or not his apparent exposure to Frazer's ideas problematised Tucci's description of Tibetan sacred kingship. Without accusing Tucci of engaging in this practice, one can see that there is a danger of theory driving research and filtering results. "Theory-driven research" is akin to "ideologically motivated research" in that it is generally regarded with a wary eye, prescribed to be used only with great care, and even then at the risk of infection. Sometimes it is shunned entirely. This is why some can—in this case unfortunately—dismiss out of hand works like Bogoslovskij's by simply applying the label "Marxist."[45] It also pertains to how one reads scholarship published in the People's Republic of China, and informs suspicion of "nativist" or overly emic scholarship.[46] There is also in some quarters an apparent aloofness with respect to theory and methodology according to which it is largely an indulgent distraction from the everyday work of documenting, translating, editing, and so forth. Such a position does have a point: often theoretical and ideological claims are superficial or naive, and amount to little more than name-dropping or demonstrating proficiency with a proprietary jargon. And theoretical discussions often puff themselves up like a meringue, giving the immediate impression of substance but ultimately leaving one unsatisfied. From this perspective, theoretical and methodological concerns are viewed almost as a contagion or a virus.

Be that as it may, if we do not deign to concern ourselves with theory, we risk falling into a default position of presenting our own scholarship as merely descriptive, when it is necessarily situated not only in its own epistème (or, in Paul Veyne's terms, within its own "program of truth"), but also within a number of assumptions, some more conscious and some more articulated than others.[47] As we know from theorists of narrative such as Hayden White and Paul Ricœur, narrative is not a neutral form, but one with its own set of time-and-place-specific frames, tropes, and microforms. The arguments for and against narrative description in the humanities, particularly history, have been well documented by Ricœur, White, and Veyne in their comments, among other things, on the essentially anti-narrative *Annales* school of French historiography.[48] Ricœur and Frank Kermode[49] have also gone further and considered whether or not the narrativising impulse—to, in Ricœur's terms, prefigure our experience before it happens and refigure it after the fact, or, in

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45 Bogoslovskij 1972.

46 For an informative discussion of academic methods and nativist scholarship in the context of Bon studies, see Blezer 2010, esp. p. 34ff.

47 See Veyne 1988.

48 White 1987: chapter 2; Ricœur 1989: 95–174; Veyne 1970: esp. 111–121.

49 Kermode 2000.

Kermode's terms, to dramatise the in-between by way of knowing that the beginning (like the tick of a clock) will be followed by the end (the tock)—is fundamental to human existence. Ricœur asserts that even ostensibly anti-narrative historiography with a focus on, for example, *la longue durée*, cannot escape the logic of plot, that is, the organisation of narrative.[50] Roland Barthes, in *S/Z*, demonstrates in meticulous detail the plurality of codes at work in narrative, using Balzac's *Sarrasine* as his example text.[51] All description encodes a plurality of readings. It is all, to put it negatively, contaminated. To approach the matter differently, our scholarship is informed by a number of codes, the persuasive nature of which will depend, among other things, on the epistèmes or "programs of truth" of one's time and place. While we are too much imbricated within our epistème to discern its structures or its scaffolding, we are not so innocent as to be ignorant of codes we deploy, for example, in narrating history or in describing a festival. To engage these codes explicitly is not only to become more self-aware in our craft, but also to open up our presuppositions for scrutiny, and to negotiate identity within and across disciplines.

Happily, the trend as I see it is away from Tibetan exceptionalism, exclusivity, and the merely descriptive account. I must also make the point that in conversations with colleagues, I see a depth of comparative and theoretical engagement that is not always acknowledged in assessments of the field.[52] To the extent that Tibetan studies configures itself as a discipline (if Tibetan studies is a discipline and not a cover term for several disciplines), it tends to display insecurity and what amounts to an inferiority complex with respect to other fields of study. Where this leads to engagement (e.g., with textual criticism, palaeography,

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50 Ricœur 1989: 214.

51 See especially Barthes 1974: 15–30.

52 This seems an opportune place to point out that the superb works of Macdonald (1971) and Stein (1981, 1984, 1985), though they did not explicitly cite their influences, were also informed by a high degree of theoretical sophistication. Amy Heller, who studied with both Macdonald and Stein, informed me of how Stein directed her to Roland Barthes' *S/Z* for inspiration in deconstructing and reconstructing Tibetan rituals and narratives, and how Macdonald pointed her towards Paul Veyne's *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes?* and its Foucaldian formulation of different "programs of truth" defining each epoch or culture. (This is certainly not to assert that familiarity with the work of Roland Barthes is the *koine* of methodological and theoretical sophistication.) Naturally, other ostensibly descriptive accounts of Tibetan kingship, like those of Haarh (1969), and Ramble (2005) also belie an engagement with theory and an awareness of comparative models. Waida 1973 (drawing largely on a Central Asian and Siberian "shamanic" model), Hazod 2000: 212–213 (drawing on an explicitly Frazerian "'sympathetic relationship' …between the soul of the land and the divine body of the king" as the basis for the *sku bla* cult), and Walter 2009: 93–95 (drawing on Central Eurasian models and also relating the Tibetan emperor's body, or *sku*, to Kantorowicz's theory of the "king's two bodies" in medieval European political theology) explicitly discuss comparative theoretical models and their bearing on Tibetan kingship.

hagiography, oral-formulaic theory, or material cultural studies), this initial perception of something lacking leads to a powerful transfer of knowledge and methods. Observing these trends, I do not have the impression that Tibetologists are a group of euhemerists or positivists or true believers in the myth of the merely descriptive in need of proselytising. If anything, I am here cheerleading the current trends of knowledge transfer from other disciplines and the opening of Tibetan studies to comparative work with other fields of study.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF MGAR: WHEN HISTORY BECOMES LEGEND

Thomas Kerihuel

The Mgar was undoubtedly the most powerful family of the Tibetan empire during the second half of the seventh century. The family has already been the subject of a fine overview in Hugh Richardson's article "The Mgar Family in Seventh Century Tibet."[1] His approach combines data from both Chinese and old Tibetan sources, but also briefly deals with legends about the travel of the famous minister Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung to China. However, later accounts are only partially evoked, and much remains to be said.

The present study will start with the history of the Mgar family in the seventh century, before examining its later reshaping. It is a striking feature of the subject that lives of the early Mgar are relatively well documented by historically reliable sources, such as Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts and Chinese sources, and the subject for legendary developments in both written and oral literatures.[2]

A history of the Mgar family in the seventh century

The Mgar family up to Mgar Stong btsan Yul zung (first half of the seventh century)

History of the Mgar family begins in the years preceding Srong btsan Sgam po's reign (618?–649) and the unification of the Tibetan plateau around the beginning of the seventh century. In PT 1286's catalogue of principalities[3] they are mentioned together with Mnyan as ministers (*blon po*) of Dgu gri Zing po rje [Khri pangs sum], lord of Ngas po. They do not however appear as such in any other Dunhuang document at my disposal, but as both Mkhas pa Lde'u and Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba[4] agree with PT 1286's

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1 Richardson 1998: 114–123.

2 A list of all historical and legendary Mgar is given in charts at the end of the paper.

3 For a French translation see Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 83. Transliterations of the quoted manuscripts (ms.) are those of the internet website "Old Tibetan Documents Online."

4 Respectively in Mkhas pa Lde'u 1987: 255; and Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba 2003: 155–156. Both present catalogues of principalities obviously related to those of PT 1060, PT 1286 and PT 1290, but differing from them as they place

statement, this tradition might have been widespread before the closing of the Dunhuang "library cave" in the eleventh century. On the other hand, the *Dunhuang Chronicle's* relation of the conquest of Ngas po,[5] first by [Dgu gri] Zing po rje Khri pangs sum then by Gnam ri Slon mtshan, includes a Mnyan 'Dzi zung Nag po amongst the ministers of this land but ignores the Mgar.[6]

The *Chronicle* places the first great minister (*blon chen*) of Mgar extraction, named Khri sgra 'Dzi rmun, in the time of Gnam ri Slon mtshan.[7] He is praised for his wisdom and succeeded by Myang Mang po rje Zhang snang, said to be Srong btsan Sgam po's first great minister. After him, another Mgar, called Mang zham Sum snang, is said to have become great minister. Although the text is difficult in some parts, it appears that a character named Khu Khri snya Dgru zung played a part in his downfall, and that Mgar Mang zham Sum snang eventually committed suicide. Khyung po Spung

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Zhang zhung in second place while it is usually found in first position in Dunhuang manuscripts. Furthermore, Mkhas pa Lde'u and Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba's catalogues disagree on one occasion. The territory called "'Brog mo Rnam gsum" is included by Mkhas pa Lde'u but not by Nyang ral, while "Kong yul Bre sna" is included by Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba but not by Mkhas pa Lde'u (these principalities are found in PT 1286 and PT 1060). It can thus be inferred that Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba did not copy Mkhas pa Lde'u's list, but had access to similar sources.

5 Ms. PT 1287, l. 118–198, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 132–139.

6 According to Richardson 1998: 121, the Mgar survived both invasions unscathed. There is hardly any evidence however that they were already in Ngas po before Khri pangs sum's invasion. For Zing po rje Stag skya bo is the name of the earliest lord of the land we are aware of, while Dgu gri Zing po rje and Zing po rje Khri pangs sum are interchangeable names in both early (ms. PT 1290, l. recto 5, verso 6) and later documentation (Mkhas pa Lde'u 1987: 225). There is thus no reason to believe that Mgar's service predated Zing po rje Khri pangs sum's invasion.

7 Ms. PT 1287 l. 79–83, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 130. There is much confusion around this character. Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba states that he was a minister of Khri Sgra spung btsan, but as few lines later he also mentions Mgar Gnya' btsan Ldem bu—obviously for Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu who died in 685–686—amongst the ministers of Khri Thog rje Thog btsan, that tradition thus seems to be of late fabrication (Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba 2003: 166) The *Bsgrags pa gling grags* (quoted in Bellezza 2009: 224) has Ghar Khri khra 'Dzin mu and Mang po rje Zhang nam—respectively recalling of Mgar Khri sgra 'Dzi rmun and his successor [Myang] Mang po rje Zhang snang—but during the reign of Khri Mang slon (649–677). Although the ministers are there placed in a chronological order similar to the *Chronicle*, their attribution to that reign must be erroneous as they do not appear in the *Annals*. The *Annals* makes a curious statement concerning the year of the Dragon (764–765): "Zhang [Mchims rgyal] Rgyal zigs [Shu theng] was bestowed the great turquoise insignia and praised for saying he was content with the jurisdiction of Mgar 'dzi rmun." Translation from Dotson 2009: 133–135, see also ms. Or. 8212 l. 60, and Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 66. Brandon Dotson, following an edict of Khri Srong lde btsan mentioning *blon gra 'dzi zhang* Ram shags (Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba 2007: 372), suggests that *gra dzi/mgar 'dzi rmun* might be a title. The perspective is interesting but still requires verification.

sad Zu tse then took over the office. The latter, in his old age, would have planned to murder Srong btsan Sgam po, but yet another Mgar named Stong rtsan Yul zung, after discovering the scheme, informed the sovereign. Khyung po Spung sad Zu tse committed suicide and the *Chronicle* placed an oath of loyalty between Srong btsan Sgam po and his newly appointed great minister: Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung. The exact family links between him, Khri sgra 'Dzi rmun, and Mang zham Sum snang are unknown.

Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's career (circa 646–668)

There is no known mention of Srong brtsan Sgam po's wedding with the Nepalese princess Bhrikuti Devi neither in Tibetan nor Nepalese contemporary sources.[8] Whether it actually occurred or not, the story as told by later accounts and involving Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung clearly belongs to the realm of legend. It is only with cross references between the *Old Tibetan Annals* and Chinese documentation that we leave the romanticised narration of the *Dunhuang Chronicle* to enter history proper. In December 640, Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung went to the Chinese court to negotiate a matrimonial alliance. He returned in February 641 to escort the bride, Wencheng Kong jo, to Tibet, and again in 646 to congratulate Tang Taizong (626–649) for his military success in Korea.[9]

After the death of the Tibetan *btsan po* Khri Srong btsan Sgam po in 649, Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung became the most powerful character at the Tibetan court. In the *Annals*, he is shown as taking care of administrative and legal tasks of importance, such as the separation between *rgod* and *g.yung* (654–655), and the redaction of a code of law (655–656).[10] He is also seen leading hunts (in 653–654 and 656–657) and remaining in 'A zha country from 659 to 666 in order to subdue it, briefly travelling to Zhang zhung in 662–663 for administrative purposes.

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[8] Doubts concerning the historicity of the wedding with the Nepalese princess have first been expressed by Giuseppe Tucci whom earliest reference was Grags pa Rgyal mtshan (1146–1216). Other scholars have expressed similar ideas although in a more nuanced way as the relations between early Tibet and Nepal were undoubtedly tight (Richardson 1998: 209; Slusser 1982: 33–35). More Tibetan works of importance mentioning the Nepalese princess have surfaced since Tucci's article (Nyang ral, Lde'u Jo sras, Mkhas pa lde'u, *Dba' bzhed*).

[9] On Mgar Stong rtsan's embassies in Chinese sources see: Pelliot 1961: 4–7, 83–84; and Demiéville 1987: 203. Mgar obviously made a strong impression at the Tang court. According to Chinese documentation the emperor honoured him and gave him a wife despite his protestations. In later Tibetan accounts, Mgar shows no interest in her, pretending to be sick in order to fulfil his scheme. For a Tibetan traditional account of the embassy see Sørensen (translator) 1994: 213–249.

[10] Respectively civilians and soldiery, on which see Uray 1971: 553–556.

He died in Ris pu, the year following his return to Tibet (667–668).[11] There is a slight contradiction in Dunhuang material as the *Chronicle* reports that Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung, being old, retired from his office of great minister to the benefit of 'O ma Lde Khri bzang Lod btsan.[12] But the latter was soon to be accused of betrayal and killed. Mgar would then have taken back the post and died of old age six years later. There is nothing to confirm this story in the *Annals*.[13]

Hegemony of the Mgar family (668–695)

Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's succession was disputed as there were seemingly two candidates to replace him in office.[14] Dba's Sum snang had the favour of the lesser officers (*zhang lon pra mo*) and of the vassals (*'bangs*). He was possibly related to Dba's Phangs to re Dbyi tshab; a minister who had sworn in his old days an oath with Srong btsan Sgam po assuring that, unless their loyalty should fail, "for a son of Dbyi tshab, there shall be no less than gold insignia."[15] Btsan snya Ldom bu, one of Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's son, had the support of both the *btsan po* Khri Mang slon (649–677) and the ministers (*rje blon*). In a secret council, they settled that Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu would be great minister with Dba's Sum snang as a subaltern (*'og pon*) so that he could learn the duties of office. Eventually, the conflict was solved by Dba's Sum snang's death at an unknown date.

Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod, another son of Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung, is known to have successfully fought the Chinese in the

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[11] See ms. PT 1288 l. 48, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 32; and Dotson 2009: 88.

[12] See ms. PT 1287 l. 101–104, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 131.

[13] It is suggested in Lde'u Jo sras 1987: 109, that Mgar Stong rtsan actually slandered "'O ma Lde Khri bzang Long btsan" and that he was great minister for twenty-one years (see also Dotson 2006: 55, 64). 'O ma Lde Khri bzang Lod btsan was probably at some point a close relation to Srong btsan Sgam po. The *Chronicle* remembers him amongst the witnesses of Srong btsan and Dba's Dbyi tshab's reciprocal oath (ms. PT 1287 l. 247–299, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 143–147). His name also appears in the story of Khyung po Spung sad Zu tse's betrayal as someone the traitorous minister has not met before the treachery (ms. PT 1287 l. 93–101, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 130–131). The mention of twenty-one years for the length of Mgar Stong rtsan's tenure in office is interesting. He died in 667–668, and would thus have become great minister around 646–647. This would imply that he was chosen for this office a year or two after the subjugation of Zhang zhung (around 644, as far as it can be deducted from the *Annals*, see ms. PT 1288 l. 11–17; Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 29; Macdonald 1971: 309–310; and Dotson 2009: 82), which somehow confirms the *Chronicle*'s testimony (ms. PT 1287 l. 433–446; Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 158–160), and that he was not yet great minister at the time of his embassies to China.

[14] Ms. PT 1287 l. 104–106, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, 1946: 131.

[15] Ms. PT 1287 l. 284: "/ *dbyi tshab kyi bu gchig la* / *gser gyi yI ge las smad re'* /"

Kokonor area as of 670.[16] In the year of the Rat (676–677) Btsan snya Ldom bu himself led an army in Turkestan. It was probably around that time that the "four garrisons" (Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar, Karashahr) were conquered and that Mgar Btsan nyen Gung rton, yet another Mgar, was made governor of Khotan.[17] In the meantime the *btsan po*, Khri Mang slon, died and an heir was born, and the Mgar family therefore became more powerful as a result. Two years later, the *Annals* states for the first time that Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu was great minister, and that two personalities were disgraced: one of them was Khu Khri snya Dgru zung, previously mentioned in relation with Mgar Mang zham Sum snang's downfall more than thirty years earlier.[18] The *Old Tibetan Annals* clearly show that from then on the Mgar were overrepresented in the administration of the country. Mgar Mang nyen Stag tsab held a council in 681 together with Gnubs Mang gnyen Bzhi brtsan,[19] as did Mgar Sta gu Ri zung in 687 with Gnubs Mang gnyen Bzhi brtsan again and *'bon* Da rgyal Khri zung.[20] Mgar 'Bring btsan Rtsang rton took care of collecting taxes with Pa tsab Rgyal tsan Thom po in 690.[21] Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu died in the year of the Bird (685/686), following a mysterious incident involving Mang nyen Stag tsab.[22]

Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod immediately took over his brother's office and bestowed upon the ten-year old heir the regal name Khri

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16 Pelliot 1961: 7–8, Beckwith 1987: 35–36.

17 The *Li yul gyi lo rgyus* remembers him as such and states that a Buddhist monastery was built in Khotan in his time (Thomas 1935: 125).

18 See ms. ITJ 0750 l. 75–77, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 35; Dotson 2009: 93.

19 See ms. ITJ 0750 l. 78–80, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 35; Dotson 2009: 93. Gnubs Mang gnyen Bzhi brtsan appears to be an important character in the Tibetan administration of the late seventh century as his name is mentioned six times in the *Annals* between 681 and 697 (ms. ITJ 0750 l. 79, 82, 98, 116, 118, 124). Although not a very famous character in later histories, he seems to be remembered by some *bon po* scholars. The *Srid rgyud* mentions a scholar and/or ascetic Gnub Mang nyer Gzhu btsan, and the early twentieth century historian Shar rdza Bkra shis Rgyal mtshan places a Gnub Mar gshen Gzhi btsan, among a list of "twenty scholars" (Karmay 2001: 42, 80).

20 See ms. ITJ 0750 l. 97–99, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint, 1946: 36; Dotson, 2009: 96.

21 See ms. ITJ 0750 l. 104–107, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 37; Dotson 2009: 97.

22 My translation from ms. ITJ 0750 l. 90–93: "The *btsan po* dwelling at Nyen kar, *dme'* happened [between] both the great minister Btsan snya and Mang nyen Stag tshab. At Sum chu bo of Shangs, great minister Btsan snya died." ("*btsan po nyen kar na bzhugs shIng / blon chen po btsan snya dang / mang nyen stag tsab gnyIs / dme' byung / shangs gyI sum chu bor / blon chen pho btsan snya gum /*," see also Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 36; and Dotson 2009: 95). *Dme'* probably stands here for fratricide (and is indeed interpreted as *nang dme* by Dung dkar Blo zang 'Phrin las 2002: 624; see also Dotson 2009: 95). The verb used to describe Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu's death is *gum* and not *bkum* (which would stand for "murdered" or "executed.") The text thus does not show that Btsan snya Ldom bu was killed, but might suggest that he died of a cause such as: old age, illness, suicide, or even the pollution of *dme'*.

'Dus srong (677–704). The new great minister then left for Turkestan where he remained until the year of the Ox (689–690). Only after the great minister's return did Khri 'Dus srong leave Nyen kar, the domain where he had remained for the major part of his life, but the young *btsan po* returned in the following year. In the year of the Snake (693–694) Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod left again, this time for the 'A zha land. On his side, the Tibetan monarch is seen travelling in various parts of his country starting from the year of the Horse (694). Two disastrous events struck the Mgar family on that year: Mgar Sta gu was captured by "Sog dag" (probably Sogdians) and Khotan was lost. Its governor, Mgar Btsan nyen Gung rton, was disgraced, judged, and executed by order of Khri 'Dus srong in the year of the Sheep (695).[23] By that time, the Chinese seem to have recaptured the Four Garrisons.[24]

During the same year Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod crushed a Chinese army near Kokonor Lake. That great victory, celebrated in both the *Annals* and the *Chronicle*,[25] allowed the Tibetan general to open negotiations with an emissary of Wu Zetian (690–705) in a propitious position.[26] The core of the debate revolved around western Turks; Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod, maintaining that they were a Tibetan problem, required that Chinese renounced not only their claim over the Turks, but also that they left the Four Garrisons and the Tarim states. The Chinese made in turn another proposition: they were ready to abandon the Nushibi—the Turkish tribes that actually worried Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod—but wanted to keep the Four Garrisons, moreover Tibetans should gave back the 'A zha people and the Kokonor area. Chinese, while proposing peace to an unacceptable price, had the intention of destabilising Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod who they probably knew was in a delicate position at the Tibetan court. The failure in the negotiations would indeed have tragic consequences for the Mgar family.

Repression and flight of the Mgar family (698–early eighth century)

In 698, the *btsan po* Khri 'Dus srong invited the Mgar family and their allies for a great hunt, and had them put to death.[27] He summoned Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod and one of his brothers, known by the *Tangshu* under the name Zanpo,[28] who were still

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[23] See ms. ITJ 0750 l. 119–122, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 38; Dotson 2009: 98–99.

[24] Beckwith 1987: 54.

[25] Ms. PT 1287 l. 495–523, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 167–170. See also the Chinese version in Pelliot 1961: 11.

[26] Beckwith 1987: 58–60; and Bogoslovskij 1972: 46.

[27] See Pelliot 1961: 11, 94. See also Beckwith 1987: 60; and Bogoslovskij 1972: 47.

[28] It is sometime suggested that the Chinese misinterpreted Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod's name, making two characters out of one with Qinling for Khri

victoriously fighting Chinese troops in Tsong ka, but they didn't answer the call. Khri 'Dus srong then led an army against Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod but the confrontation never took place; abandoned by his men, the general and his loyal followers committed suicide. The *Chronicle* shows Khri 'Dus srong celebrating his triumph in a famous song of victory.[29]

The surviving members of the Mgar family and their allies decided to flee to China and became vassals of Wu Zetian. Chinese documentation[30] names three Mgar among the refugees: Gongren son of Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod, Zanpo, and Mangbuzhi. The latter is probably to be identified with Mgar Mang po rje ("Mangbuzhi") Stag rtsan mentioned in a short, but damaged, passage of the *Chronicle* referring precisely to the flight of the Mgar.[31] Zanpo protected the border against Tibetans and died soon after[32] while Gongren (658–723) led a brilliant career in China.[33]

During the seventh century, a dozen of members of the Mgar family are known from ancient sources. Among them, five were great minister, sometime also general (*dmag dpon*), and one was the governor of Khotan. The others were officials with unknown functions but able to perform administrative tasks or military actions.

'bring, and Zanpo for Btsan brod. However, while that could be true in some cases, the fact that Chinese sources ascribe two different fates to them makes it unlikely. A hint might be found in Tshal pa Kun dga' Rdo rje's (1309–1364) *Drung chen smon lam rdo rje'i rnam thar* as this work (quoted by Dung dkar Blo bzang 'Phrin las 2002: 1516–1517, who still transcribes Zanpo by Btsan brod on p. 622–623) would mention a son of Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung named Btsan po Yon tan Rgyal bzung, said to have been a minister of the "Tang queen" Wu Zetian. The name also occurs in Rgyal dbang Lnga pa Chen mo 1991: 106–107, but as the extract is about Tshal pa's line, it might have been borrowed to the *Drung chen smon lam rdo rje'i rnam thar*.

29 See ms. PT 1287 l. 456–494, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 161–167. According to this difficult text, the Mgar seemed to have had their fief in a place called the Bya pu Valley (Bya pu lung). The name recalls the one of the Bya country (Bya yul) which is very close to Gnyal, in Lho ka, where a local tradition places Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's birthplace ([Shar yul] Phun tshogs Tshe ring 2000: 60). Another possibility is that Bya pu lung is related to the Bya tsal of Sgregs mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (ms. ITJ 075 l. 131, translated in Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 39; and Dotson 2009: 100), where the wealth of the disgraced ones (most probably the Mgar) are said to be "calculated". Sgregs—and Bya tsal—would lie roughly half way between Lha sa and Phying ba, north of the Gtsang po (see G. Hazod's map in Dotson 2009: 202–203).

30 Cf. Beckwith 1987: 61; Bogoslovskij 1972: 47; and Demiéville 1987: 380.

31 See Richardson 1998: 28–36.

32 Pelliot 1961: 12.

33 Demiéville 1987: 380 citing a Chinese source: the *Zhang yan-gong ji*.

Later developments on the Mgar family

Early history of the Mgar family is the starting point of a wide array of later developments in both written histories and oral traditions.[34] Regardless of any connection with historical facts, those tales, amongst which motives possibly predating even the early Mgar somehow sometime found their place, are a true object of study. This kind of account questions the relations between oral and written literatures. There is even a testimony suggesting that *blon po* Mgar's story has been narrated in the fashion of the Ge sar epic in the twentieth century.[35]

Origins of the Mgar family

The origins of the Mgar family are described in a large variety of fashions. The so-called "catalogues of principalities" usually link the Mgar family to the proto-historical kingdom of Ngas po, renamed 'Phan yul after its conquest by Gnam ri Slon btsan.[36] The *Blon po bka' thang*[37] gives another hint on the origins of Mgar as it states: "Five ministers arose in Ba gor: Mgar Srong btsan Yul gzung, Khri 'bring Btsan srol, Btsan snya Ldom bu, Khri thog rje A nu, five with Khri sgra Zin lung."[38] Some oral traditions places Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zungs's birthplace near Lding kha, in Stod lung, where ruins are thought to be those of the Mgar family's castle.[39] If 'Phan yul is to be equated to modern 'Phan po, then all the above mentioned places belong to an area of central Tibet, north of the Gtsang po River.

Some later accounts give to the Mgar family a divine ancestor. For the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), he was named Mgar Tshe gnam tsha 'brug, and is said to have descended to earth from the sky.[40] The nineteenth century works of Gu ru Bkra shis and Tshe dbang Rdo rje Rig 'dzin describes mount Mi nyag Bzhag [b]ra, east

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[34] A chart at the end of the paper is compiling the main later developments.

[35] Buffetrille 1999: 121 (oral communication from Y. Gyatso).

[36] Ms. PT 1287, l. 185; Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1946: 138.

[37] "*ba gor la blon po lnga byung ste / mgar srong btsan yul gzung dang / khri 'bring btsan srol dang / btsan snya ldom bu dang / khri thog rje a nu dang / khri sgra zin lung dang lnga /*" (U rgyan Gling pa 1986: 436–437).

[38] The Mgar are distinguished in this list in a curious manner: they are the only ones whose family name ('Gar) differs from their place of origin (Ba gor). Khri sgra Zin lung might stand for the quite problematic Khri sgra 'Dzi rmun, first great minister of the Mgar family according to the *Dunhuang Chronicle*.

[39] Dung dkar Blo zang 'Phrin las 2002: 622–623, and [Shar yul] Phun tshogs Tshe ring 2000: 60.

[40] Rgyal dbang Lnga pa Chen mo 1991: 106–107. The Great Fifth might have taken this information from Tshal pa Kun dga' Rdo rje's *Drung chen smon lam rdo rje'i rnam thar*.

of Lha sgang (ch. Tagong) in modern Sichuan, on the border between Tibet and China, as the place of his descent.[41]

Yet another potential candidate as Mgar legendary progenitor might be found in the person of 'Gar Bu chung: according to the *bon po* historian Shar rdza Bkra shis Rgyal mtshan (1859–1935),[42] he was the youngest son of G.yung drung Dbang ldan, himself son of Ston pa Gshen rab. Nothing is said about him or his descendants but 'Gar is a common spelling for Mgar in later works. By comparing with his brothers' lines, he might be thought to have lived four generations before the mythical king Mu khri Btsan po, son of Gnya' khri Btsan po.[43]

The Mgar are also mentioned amongst the offspring of the primordial tribes but there is no unanimity concerning which. In the eighteenth century works of Si tu Pan chen Chos kyi 'Byung gnas and Zhu chen Tshul khrims Rin chen, 'Gar is a "sub-*rigs*" born from Sgo Lha sde Dkar po.[44] According to Shar yul Phun tshogs Tshe ring, the 'Gar came down from Rmu tribe,[45] while for Tarthang Tulku they are either the offspring of the Bse or of the Ldong tribes.[46] Unfortunately, the sources used in both of these works are unclear.

Around the legends of the Rgya bza' bal bza' type

Tales of Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's embassies in Nepal and China are amongst the most famous cycles of Tibetan literature. The theme even became the main part of a traditional drama: *Rgya bza' bal bza'*.

The *Dba' bzhed* probably bears the oldest legendary version of the story. The wedding with the Nepali princess Khri btsun is barely more than a chronological mark, while the episode of the embassy to China is relatively short. When the Tibetan envoys reach the Chinese court, the emperor writes an answer, and asks them to carry it to Tibet. The envoys, answering that there is no need to go back to Tibet, hand him an answer written by Srong btsan Sgam po before their departure. The same scene is repeated twice before the Chinese emperor eventually agrees to give his

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41 Van der Kuijp 1988: 7. See also Epstein and Peng Wenbin 1999: 340.

42 Translated in Karmay 2001: 5.

43 A tradition considers that in the time of Stong rtsan Yul zung and his sons, the Mgar were ardent followers of the *Bon* religion. The fifteenth century *Bon po* historian Bstan rgyal Bzang po, in his *Bstan pa'i rnam bshad dar rgyas gsal ba'i sgron me*, states: "As the Mgar, father and sons, spread *Bon*, the disciples were thus numerous" ("*mgar yab sras gyis bon spel ba'i slob ma yang mang*," as quoted by Shar yul Phun tshogs Tshe ring 2003: 97–98).

44 Cf. Van der Kuijp 1988: 2. See also Stein 1961: 20–22, 70–84.

45 Shar yul Phun tshogs Tshe ring 2003: 11–12.

46 Tarthang Tulku 1986: 127, 130.

daughter in marriage, and bestows upon Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung the title of great minister.[47]

Per Sørensen has already pointed out the variations between the story as told by the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, the *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi bcud*, the *Ma ni bka' 'bum*, and the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. One should refer to this remarkable study for in depth comparison of this material.[48] These texts present a very similar version and obviously derive from the same prototype. The story seems to be quite old as it already appears in a fully developed form in the twelfth century *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi bcud*. By convention, I will call this version by the name of legend of the "*Rgya bza' bal bza'* type." As far as the Mgar are concerned, the story always displays the following pattern:[49] After a dream of the sixteen years old Srong btsan Sgam po, the Tibetan ministers decide to acquire both Khri btsun, daughter of the king of Nepal, and Kong jo, daughter of the Chinese emperor, as brides for their lord. Mgar informs the young Tibetan monarch of their decision to seek Khri btsun. Srong btsan Sgam po in turn entrusts him with letters which are to be given to each of the Nepalese king's objections. Mgar leaves in company of a hundred horsemen and is granted an audience. As foreseen by Srong btsan Sgam po, the Nepalese king is first reluctant to send his daughter to the barbarous land of snow, but terrified by Srong btsan Sgam po's letters he finally agrees—to Khri btsun's great despair—and the delegation returns to Tibet with the princess. Later, Srong btsan Sgam po allows Mgar to go to China to fetch Kong jo. The minister is again entrusted with letters for the Chinese emperor, but the Tibetan emissaries find themselves in competition with envoys sent by the pious Indian *dharmarāja*, the handsome Gesar king of war, the rich Persian king and the strong king of Bata hor. As a consequence, Srong btsan Sgam po's letters, though greatly terrifying the Chinese emperor, are not enough to win the hand of the princess. A contest was therefore held to determine between the pretenders. Despite Mgar's victory the Chinese emperor breaks his promise and decides to organise other trials. Although the Tibetans win each and every one of them thanks to Mgar's intelligence and skills, the princess is still not given until a final trial is held. The emissaries, who never saw the princess, have to recognise her hidden amongst hundreds of other girls. Mgar manages to get a description of Kong jo from the hostess of the Tibetan delegation, whom he was having an affair with. At the time of the final contest, all the emissaries fail but Mgar, who after reviewing several maiden, stopped in front of Kong jo, hooked her by the collar with the notch of an arrow he had in hand, and

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47 Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 29–32.

48 Sørensen 1994: 213–249.

49 For a translation from the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, see Sørensen 1994: 213–249. See also Nyang Nyi ma 'Od zer 1988: 197–227; Sa skya Bsod nams Rgyal mtshan 2005: 78–131.

lead the crying princess out of the row. Having won the hand of Kong jo, the Tibetans prepare for departure. But 'Bri Se ru Gung ston, jealous of Mgar, suggests the Chinese emperor to keep the clever minister in China as a compensation for the loss of his daughter. Aware of the treachery, but realising the opportunity to destabilise the country, Mgar willingly decides to stay, and arranges a future meeting with his trustworthy companions, Thon mi and Nyang. Having indeed caused great disturbances and made a fool of the Chinese emperor, his astrologers, and his troops, the Tibetan minister eventually manages to escape. He joins Kong jo and her escort in the Tibetan marches, however angry Chinese protective deities are blocking the road to Tibet and have to be propitiated along with their Tibetan counterparts in order to clear the way. The escort proceeds and the princess can finally be handed to Srong btsan Sgam po.

It is possible that the story of the embassy to China in legends of the "*Rgya bza' bal bza'* type" was developed from the story as it appears in the *Dba' bzhed* by adding trials in order to win the hand of the princess.[50] However, it is also possible that the structure of the *Dba' bzhed* version was reused for the story of the Nepalese wedding in the "*Rgya bza' bal bza'* type."

According to some accounts, Wencheng Kong jo and Mgar had a child on their way to Tibet. It might be a relatively old development as the story already appears in both Nyang ral's *chos 'byung* and at least one edition of the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*.[51] As an oral tradition it is still alive. Although few sites in A mdo and Khams claim to be the child's death-spot, there also seems to be a local tradition which ascribes him a different fate: the baby, born somewhere in the Tibetan area of modern Yunnan, was sent adrift on the river and found down-stream by local people who placed him on the throne of 'Jang (Nanzhao).[52]

Oral tradition goes on, saying that Mgar, despite his many tricks, was eventually blinded and banished in modern A mdo to punish him for his affair with Kong jo.[53] Katia Buffetrille relates several legends which all have roughly the same plot: the minister is exiled in a place which is then only a large plain, he asks his son to get

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[50] S. G. Karmay already drew a parallel between the arrow used by Mgar in the final trial, and those used in wedding ceremonies as a male symbol (Karmay 1998: 147–153). Furthermore, some of the trials imposed by the Chinese emperor to the foreign delegations (the drinking contest and the final trial) recall similar tests occurring in wedding ceremonies—at least in Ladakh and Zanskar—imposed to the horsemen sent by the groom's party in order to fetch the bride. Mgar, however, doesn't seem to be explicitly mentioned in such occasions (Kaplanian 1981: 247–257; see also Stein 1996: 132–134).

[51] Cf. Sørensen 1994: 242; Richardson 1998: 114; Nyang Nyi ma'Od zer 1988: 227.

[52] The story was told to me by a young Tibetan *bon po* from the area, in Dharamsala in October 2008. He had heard the story from his grand-father.

[53] Buffetrille 1999: 107–111. See also one of the stories where Mgar takes in his exile the plans of the Jo khang.

water from a source hidden under a rock and to put that rock back in place afterward. The son forgets his father's advice and rising waters invade the plain, thus forming the Kokonor Lake. A *grub thob*, Padmasambhava in some versions, eventually shows up and miraculously obstructs the source.

Early Mgar as warlords in later legends

The surprisingly few written narratives concerning the family's military expeditions are usually rather short and distorted. Accounts of the aggressive careers of Mgar's sons are to be found in Lde'u Jo sras's chronicle[54]: "'Gar Btsan snya Ldom bu and 'Gar Khri 'bring Btsan rgod acted ten years as ministers. Gar log and Hor were subjugated. In the north, the territory having been extended, one would enter through the Da shab hab pass."[55] The downfall of the family Mgar, despite being one of the major political events of the time, is a theme that appears to be largely ignored by later historians.

The legend of the Chinese invasion of Lhasa after the death of Srong btsan Sgam po (leading to the hiding of the Jo bo) has been extensively studied by Richardson.[56] It probably comes from a misinterpretation of Chinese documentation referring to the events of 670, when an army sent to invade Lha sa was crushed by Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod near the Kokonor Lake. According to Richardson's work, the earliest version is the one found in Tshal Kun dga' rdo rje's *Red Annals* (fourteenth century).[57] The *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (sixteenth century) is representative of such a tradition and contains an account on Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's late career and death[58]: "In the time of this king [Gung srong Gung btsan], Chinese armies came to Tibet and burnt the Dmar po ri. [...] Again minister Mgar [Stong rtsan Yul zung], leading a hundred thousand of Tibetan warriors, plundered the Chinese realm. It is said that Mgar himself died in that battle."[59] The story also contradicts both the *Annals* and the *Chronicle* regarding Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's death.

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[54] Lde'u Jo sras 1987: 119.

[55] Unsurprisingly, a similar account is given in Mkhas pa Lde'u 1987: 299–300: "'Gar Btsan gnya' Ldem bu and 'Gar Khri 'bring acted ten years as *blon po*. In Lag ris, Hor and Ga gon were subjugated. In the north, the territory was extended." ("*'gar btsan gnya' ldem bu dang 'gar khri 'bring gis blon po lo bcu byas / lag ris su hor dang ga gon btul / byang phyogs su yul rgya bskyed /*"). The mention of ten years which appears in both Lde'u Jo sras and Mkhas pa Lde'u is not supported by the *Old Tibetan Annals*.

[56] Richardson 1998: 39–47.

[57] *Ibid.*: 39.

[58] Pan chen Bsod nams Grags pa 1982: 22–23.

[59] An oral tradition states that Mgar became the *gzhi bdag* Blon po Gser chen after his death (Buffetrille 1999: 121).

Conclusion

Unsurprisingly, earlier materials including the Dunhuang documents and Chinese sources focus on Mgar military and political influence, and offer an account of brilliant statesmen. The period following the disintegration of the Tibetan empire saw the development of legends concerning the Mgar family, and especially Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung. This was probably the time when legends of the "*Rgya bza' bal bza'* type" were elaborated before being widely accepted in learned historiographical works from the twelfth century onwards. The influence of oral accounts on written material is by its very nature difficult, if not impossible, to trace. However, although it is ultimately unprovable, the story of Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung and Wencheng Kong jo's child could very well have its origins in oral legends.

Finding several legends around the Mgar in eastern Tibet is not much of a surprise as it is well known that the kings of Sde dge claimed to descend from them. However those accounts can't be reduced to propaganda as *blon po* Mgar, as a true folk hero, is found in local tales in a large geographical area spanning from modern Yunnan to the Kokonor lake. Less known is *blon po* Mgar's place in *bon po* literature, and much remains to be studied.

From a strictly historical point of view, the Mgar family's achievements are of great importance. By their conquests, the Mgar not only pushed forward an imperial power's borders, but also took part in the extension of the Tibetan cultural territory itself, mainly in direction of modern A mdo. As legendary figures, their presence pervades Tibetan imaginary, thus forming a remarkable part of Tibetan identity and heritage.

Charts

Rulers of the Seventh Century

Tibet	**China**
Gnam ri Slon btsan (early 7th c.?) Khri Srong btsan Sgam po (618?–649) [Gung srong Gung brtsan (641–646)?] Khri Mang slon (649–677) Khri 'Dus srong (677–704)	Sui Wendi (581–604) Sui Yangdi (604–618) Tang Gaozu (618–626) Tang Taizong (626–649) Tang Gaozong (649–683) Tang Zhongzong (684) Tang Ruizong (684–690) Wu Zetian (690–705)

The Mgar family according to old Tibetan and Chinese sources

Name	Data
Mgar	Minister in the Ngas po principality (early 7th c.)
Mgar Khri sgra 'Dzi rmun	Great minister under Gnam ri Slon btsan
Mgar Mang sham Sum snang	Great minister under Srong btsan Sgam po (618? –649)
Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung	Great minister from 646-647 to his death in 667–668
Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu	Mgar Stong rtsan Yul sung's son Great minister from 668–669 (or before) to his death in 685–686
Mgar Mang nyen Stag tsab	Death in 685–686 involving Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu
Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod	Mgar Stong rtsan Yul sung's son Great minister from 686 up to his suicide in 699
Mgar Btsan nyen Gung rton	Governor of Khotan Executed in 695
Mgar Sta gu Ri zung	Captured by Sog dag (Sogdians?) in 694
Mgar 'Bring btsan Rtsang rton	Tibetan official mentioned in 690
Zanpo (Chinese name)	Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod's brother military career in China under Wu Zetian (690–705)
Gongren (Chinese name)	(658–723) Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod's son
Mgar Mang po rje Stag rtsan = Mangbuzhi?	Refugee in China *circa* 700

Later developments

Century	Data concerning the Mgar family
9th–11th c.?	First catalogues of principalities (Dunhuang documents) Early Tibetan legends on *blon po* Mgar's embassy to China (*Dba' bzhed*)
11th–12th c.	Stories of the "*Rgya bza' bal bza'* type" are formed Legends on *blon po* Mgar and Wencheng Kong jo's child?
13th c.	*Blon po* Mgar sons as warlords (both of Lde'u chronicles)
14th c.	Mgar origins in Ba gor (*Blon po bka' thang*) List of Mgar ministers (*Blon po bka' thang*) The Chinese invasion of Lhasa (*Red Annals*)
15th c.	*Blon po* Mgar and his sons promoting *bon* religion (Bstan rgyal Bzang po)
17th c.	Divine origins of the 'Gar family (Great Fifth's chronicle, compiled from 14th c. material?)
18th c.	Mgar linked with primordial tribes (Si tu Pan chen Chos kyi 'Byung gnas, Zhu chen Tshul khrims Rin chen)
19th c.	Mythical ancestor linked with mount Mi nyag bzhag ra (Gu ru Bkra shis, Tshe dbang Rdo rje Rig 'dzin)
20th c.	Oral accounts in central and eastern (i.e. Khams and A mdo) Tibet.

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TRINKETS, TEMPLES, AND TREASURES: TIBETAN MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE 1904 BRITISH MISSION TO TIBET

Tim Myatt

This paper presents new research examining looting during the 1904 Younghusband Mission to Tibet.[1] It will firstly discuss the "mind of the Mission" by outlining the social and cultural milieu that prevailed, and note the role models for, and influences on, those who took part in the Mission. It will explore the position of L. Austine Waddell (1854–1938), the "archeologist" to the Mission, and the controversial methods he used to acquire both personal and official collections. The aftermath of the Mission is examined, focusing on contemporary newspaper reports from London and Delhi concerning the looting. I note how selected items looted from Tibet are now presented in British museums and collections, before studying the mentality behind the collectors and their desire to construct archives of achievement and "Temples of Empire" that rationalise a perspective of "the other," and thereby, themselves.

The Younghusband Mission to Tibet was the "end game" of the "Great Game." The Great Game for political supremacy and influence was played out across the plains of Central Asia between British India and Imperial Russia for almost the entire duration of the nineteenth century. For reasons too complex to explore here (although excellently analysed by Alastair Lamb[2] and others), Lord Curzon (1895–1925), the British Viceroy in Delhi, initially dispatched an escorted delegation of diplomats to Khamba Dzong in southern Tibet to attempt to quash rumours of Russian intrigue in Lhasa. The delegation failed to conduct a satisfactory dialogue, and hawkish elements within the diplomatic and military communities persuaded the Viceroy to sanction a small expeditionary-style force

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1 Officially termed the "Sikkim Tibet Field Force," the British presence in Tibet in 1904 has been variously known as the "Younghusband Mission," the "British Mission to Tibet," and the "Second British Invasion of Tibet." Younghusband himself refers to events as the "British Mission," rather than the "mission." For simplicity I adopt his convention, but attach no ulterior significance to this choice. The "Mission" strictly refers to the diplomatic corps surrounding Younghusband, however Lord Kitchener issued orders for them to be supported by a Royal Artillery Mountain Battery with two ten-pounder screw guns, a half company of the 2nd Sappers and Miners, eight companies of the 23rd Sikh Pioneers, six companies of the 8th Gurkhas, and two Maxim guns from 1st Battalion, the Norfolk Regiment. The vast resources of the Coolie Corps were drawn upon, over 10,000 in all, along with 3,000 ponies, 5,000 yaks and buffaloes, 5,000 bullocks, 7,000 mules and six camels to carry the officers' cigars.

2 Lamb 1960.

to push into Tibet in order to force negotiation and assurances. The Mission, commanded by the enigmatic Francis Younghusband (1863–1942), was controversial from its outset, especially after a series of bloody and one-sided encounters with the nascent Tibetan military.

Younghusband was a household name by the time Curzon selected him as his Tibet Commissioner. He was every boy's hero; a world record holder for the 100 yard dash, an explorer who found new passes to China, Gold Medal Holder and later President of the Royal Geographic Society, an Everest mountaineer, and later in life the founder of the World Congress of Faiths. Patrick French describes him "the last great imperial adventurer."[3]

Nearly all those who crossed his trailblazing path lauded Younghusband as a hero; however like his political mentor, he too could be arrogant, obsessive, and argumentative, especially with those that he believed undermined his authority. Among his dissenters was Brigadier-General Macdonald, the man tasked with directing the military and logistical arms of the 1904 Mission. However the view shared by nearly all the British officers that took part in the Tibet Mission is best presented by Captain Frederick O'Connor, his aide and interpreter. For him Younghusband was,

> […] one of the few specimens of the typical "strong silent man" whom I have ever met. Very quiet, very laconic […] at once a philosopher and a man of action […]. I never once saw him for a moment even ruffled, far less discomposed or perturbed, by any circumstance or crisis which we had to encounter. An imperturbable exterior covered a strong and steadfast character and a most equable temperament.[4]

After the fortress at Gyantse was taken following a protracted siege, the Mission marched on Lhasa where the Tibetan authorities, in the absence of the exiled Thirteenth Dalai Lama, were required to sign a treaty with the British. The treaty itself was largely renegotiated at the Simla Conference in 1914, however the dramatic clash of cultures and the lasting legacy of the Mission have long provided a fertile field for historians, Tibetologists, and anthropologists, who continuously reappraise this important chapter in Tibet's relationship with the West. Perhaps the most divisive issue in this dialogue concerns looting.

This paper will attempt to answer pertinent questions that remain as to why items were taken, who removed the items, what were their reasons, what was taken, and what they can teach us about the role of contemporary museum and library collections.

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3 French 1995.

4 O'Connor 1931: 33.

Sources

Accounts of the Mission fall into three general categories: historical British accounts that are generally self-congratulatory and seek to justify or celebrate the actions of the author,[5] modern Western interpretations of the Mission that reappraise its political and historical consequences,[6] and modern Chinese and Tibetan accounts that are often heavily biased by political dogma and propaganda.[7]

Much has been written in all three categories of accounts concerning the issue of looting, but few sources examine the rationale behind events in an attempt to understand the British officers and their men who served in Tibet. Diaries and letters from officers to wives and families at home make many references to both curios and loot, and provide insight into their opinions regarding the "legitimate" collection of objects, despite both direct and General Orders specifically forbidding looting.

It is beyond doubt that extensive looting did occur in Tibet during the Younghusband Mission; however, its full extent, and a comprehensive catalogue of items taken, is almost impossible to discern. Modern Chinese and Tibetan histories of the Mission provide poignant and heated accounts of destruction and pillage, however I am unable to concur with Michael Carrington's suggestion that "a desire for books, manuscripts and curios, became an important element, even a central plank, of the philosophy of the Tibet Mission."[8] Equally erroneous are comments found in various Western history texts that ignore or attempt to refute claims of looting, painting a harmonious picture of Anglo-Tibetan relations: comments such as, "Colonel Younghusband, the leader, had been careful to avoid unnecessary bloodshed, and of course had not permitted atrocities, looting, or wanton destruction,"[9] do not provide a full or accurate account of the Mission.

The "mind" of the Mission

To understand why looting was such an issue, it is important to note the seismic changes that were taking place in Edwardian society and which influenced those dispatched north from India. An understanding of the morals and codes that permitted officers and men to take items for profit or curiosity must be rooted in an understanding of who they were, and the prevailing social milieu.

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5 Younghusband 1910; O'Connor 1931; Candler 1905; and Landon 1905.

6 Fleming 1961; French 1995.

7 Jaiwai and Gyaincain 1997; Shan 2001. Tibetan and Chinese accounts of the Mission are extensively analysed in Myatt Forthcoming.

8 Carrington 2003: 107.

9 Hicks 1988: 55.

Curzon and his Viceregal entourage believed strongly in the philosophy of Empire; that it was Britain's destiny to civilize and harmonise diverse peoples under the rule of law and banner of Empire. While missionaries and preachers brought the souls of "barbarians" and "heathens" into the folds of the "true cloth," Imperial armies pushed the boundaries of Empire, leaving behind them lawful, compliant, and taxpaying servants and subjects of the Emperor King. The British role as natural leaders, displaying military prowess and moral authority, would spread an enlightening and benign influence across a world shaded with cartographer's pink.[10] However, the Younghusband Mission departed at a time when these self-imposed high morals and notions of Victorian benevolence, civilization and culture, were slowly giving way to a world forced to embrace industrialisation and militarisation, and had begun to question the validity of the Curzonian view of the world.[11] As the historian John Boynton Priestly reminds us, "many fairly typical Victorians, some of them very influential, were still to be found in Edwardian England, […] however, the Edwardian Age was not simply a prolongation of the Victorian. The Victorian Age, which we readily associate with the period 1840–1880, was already losing much of its former character, especially its complacency, during the 1880s and 1890s."[12]

Edwardian Britain (1901–1910) still held a martial spirit; the nation maintained great pride and belief in her armies and Empire. At the time of the Mission the Boer War[13] in South Africa would have been fresh in the minds of the Edwardian thinking classes. Some newspapers went so far as to claim that this war had a redemptive quality for both factions. In an article entitled "The Blessings of War," *The Daily Mail* suggested that the war had a double blessing, "if it makes us re-examine the bases of our national life, ruthlessly dig away all that is decayed or doubtful, and place things on a sound footing […] out of the present strife and conflict shall emerge an Empire stronger, more fully prepared, amply equipped against the worst our foes can do against us."[14]

The Edwardians were also comfortably elaborating theories and philosophies to suit their purposes and perception of themselves and their Empire. The notion of social Darwinism was gaining favour, justifying the use of force to ensure the progress of societies through competition, just as biological organisms in nature adapted

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10 Gilmour 2003.

11 It is a sad afterthought to realise that many of the men who served with the Tibet Mission in 1904 would go on to lose their lives on the fields of Flanders, not defending Victorian values of Empire and imperial munificence, but facing precisely the advanced, indiscriminate weapons they carted over the Himalayas to level against the Tibetans.

12 Priestly 1970.

13 The Boer War, 1899–1902.

14 *The Daily Mail* 1 January 1900.

and evolved through competition for resources and with each other.[15] Likewise Karl von Clausewitz's theory that war was the legitimate means by which states conducted their policies[16] was modified to the Edwardian needs: "his famous dictum that war was merely the continuation of politics by other means, was seen by at least some late Victorians and Edwardians to make war acceptable as a method of settling their differences."[17]

The Mission to Tibet took place at the very edge of this tumultuous mindscape and Imperial landscape; Tibet not only occupied one of the last blank spaces on the map, it also held Edwardian society in thrall to its mysticism, occult spirituality, legendry treasures, and very "otherness."[18] Regardless of the mind-set at home, on the frontiers of the Empire Curzon's outlook remained the dominant guide for interaction and self-definition. Just as myth often needs liminal spaces outside the normal constraints of time and space in order to develop, Tibet provided "the setting of a powerful mythology of Empire."[19]

It was with this in the back of their minds that the officers and men of the Mission wrestled with the very real circumstances of both armed resistance and Tibet's formidable landscape. The world may have been changing around them, but high in the Himalayas, soldiers were given ample room to be soldiers, regardless of their schooling, training, and the impossibly high ideals of the period. As frontiersmen they occupied the higher echelons of the Imperial pantheon; "portrayed as strong, self-reliant, courageous and up-right, he was a pioneer of European civilization. By gaining the trust of the "unruly" indigenous peoples and imposing the British concept of good order and civilization he acted for the benefit of all."[20] However at the same time, the thinking—and voting[21]—classes in London were becoming less confident of their dominance, legitimacy, and ability to press ever forward this Imperial agenda; those going over the Himalayas were probably out of step with public conscience and opinion at home, still harbouring Victorian values and ideas. These old colonial attitudes can be best surmised from the name of the little Pekingese dog presented to Queen Victoria from the sack of the Peking Summer Palace in 1861; "Looty."[22]

The rules of engagement changed with this shift in public conscience. The Hague Convention of 1899 became the forerunner of

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15 Wilkinson 1998: 99.
16 Clausewitz 1976.
17 Wilkinson 1998: 104.
18 Bishop 2000.
19 McKay 1997: 190.
20 *Ibid*.: 191.
21 The 1884 Third Reform Act gave men in rural areas the same franchise as those in the urban boroughs, and the electorate now totaled over 5.5 million.
22 Greenfield 2007: 412.

the Geneva Convention: Article 46 decreed that "private property cannot be confiscated," and Article 48, "pillage is formally prohibited."[23] Historically, however, British readiness to plunder and loot following military victories is well documented. In "Officers, Gentlemen and Thieves,"[24] Carrington gives examples ranging from the Napoleonic wars to the relief of the residency at Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny. He also notes how even in the 1880s, after the sacking and destruction of property in the border areas of the Nagalands, there developed a lively debate as to the merits of village burning and displays of Imperial might to dissuade such extremities of the Empire from aggressive or subordinate behaviour in the future.[25]

The gentleman collector

The notion of "gentleman collectors" had already been established in the Himalayan region by such eminent figures as Sven Hedin (1865–1952) and Aurel Stein (1862–1943). Hedin was, by 1904, a renowned scholar, explorer, and cartographer; he served his native Sweden in Persia as Vice-Consul, travelled between 1893 and 1897 in the Pamir Mountains visiting the abandoned cities of Dandan Oilik and Kara Dung in Khotan, and Central Asia between 1899 and 1902. On this expedition he travelled through the Tarim Basin, Yarkand, Tibet, and Kashmir. By the time of his death in 1952 he had donated over eight thousand individual items from his numerous expeditions to the Ethnographic Museum and National Archives in Stockholm.[26]

Aurel Stein was a Hungarian explorer and scholar who later became a British citizen, receiving generous funding from the British Museum for his expeditions, and later from Curzon himself after the Viceroy visited the Lahore Museum where he worked. Although he was not to discover the caves at Dunhuang till his 1906–1908 expedition, he had by the time of the Younghusband Mission already carved his name as a Central Asia explorer in his first expedition across the Taklamakan Desert. The British Library's holdings in early Tibetan, Chinese and Tangut manuscripts were the result of his many expeditions, the finest perhaps being the oldest known dated and printed text; a copy of the Diamond Sutra. Stein famously purchased the majority of the priceless texts from the caves' guardian for a mere £220.[27] A letter from Stein in Rawalpindi to Waddell dated 1902 gives some indication of his approach to collecting items for museums and libraries. The letter congratulates

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[23] Hudson 1931: 114–117.
[24] Carrington 2003: 108.
[25] See also, Robb 1997.
[26] Kish 1984.
[27] Hopkirk 1984; Baumer 2000.

Waddell on his explorations and work, but laments that he did not have "opportunity to ransack the Chinese Buddhist monasteries before they were looted."[28] Although it is not known exactly when the sites were looted, it seems that, at least with regard to the monasteries of Central Asia, Stein regretted not that the monasteries were looted, but that they were looted by others first.

In 1904 the collections of Europe were weak in the field of Tibetan art and literature. Even at the heart of the Empire, the London museums had "little more than a few leaves torn from some of the larger texts, and the libraries of Oxford, Cambridge and the Royal Asiatic Society had still less."[29] The Government of India was well aware that the Mission to Tibet would provide an excellent opportunity to collect the texts and items that scholars and curators craved. It was therefore decided to appoint an official collector for the Government of India, grant him funds to purchase relevant material, and divide the results between major collections held in India and Britain. Austine Waddell was chosen to fill this role. There was an immediate demand to become one of the fortunate museums to receive items from Tibet; many major collectors including the Cambridge University Ethnological Institute, and the Victoria Institute wrote directly to the India Office requesting that any items from Tibet should be passed on to their collections. The India Office replied to most that they had not received instructions as to the distribution of artifacts.[30] Waddell's papers in the University of Glasgow Library show similar requests directly to him. One dated 29th of July 1904 from Professor Cecil Bendall, Professor of Sanskrit at University College London until 1903, asks that the Mission be sure to collect Tibetan literature for Cambridge University Library, and adds a specific request for anything of a Sanskrit origin.[31] Given this level of expectation and demand from the most august institutions in the land, it is unsurprising that items were removed to satisfy the clamour of the collectors, and Waddell was an obvious choice to orchestrate this collecting.

"Archaeologist" to the Mission

Austine Waddell was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Indian Medical Service, but was also the most renowned Tibetologist in the Empire. In the early part of his career he had been posted to Darjeeling, where he developed a strong interest in all things Tibetan: wildlife,

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[28] GB 0247 MS Gen 1691/3/150. Stein to Waddell, 1902. University of Glasgow Library, Waddell Collection.

[29] Waddell 1912: 80–113.

[30] Foreign (External) B, August 1904, proceedings nos. 241–244. National Archives of India.

[31] Item GB 0247 Waddell Q 203. Glasgow University Library, Waddell Collection Catalogue.

plants, and especially its religion. He befriended many of the "Pundits" of the Great Game, including Sarat Chandra Das (1849–1917), the model for Hurree Chunder Mookerjee of Kipling's *Kim*.[32] In 1892, Kinthup, the Pundit who successfully trekked along the length of the Tsangpo River in order to discover the river's source, joined him and together they set out to trek to Lhasa in disguise.[33] Waddell's blue eyes soon meant that they were discovered; however his stock rose in both academic circles and local monasteries when rumour went about the bazaar of Darjeeling that he was an emanation of Amitabha, the Buddha of Infinite Light, an association he used to gather information for his major work, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*.[34] The book established him at the forefront of Tibetology. However his contention that Tibetan Buddhism was a corrupt form of the teachings of the Lord Buddha, and the associations and comparisons he made with Western Catholicism, now appear misplaced.

In 1895 he was attached to the Chitral Relief Force, in the company of Francis Younghusband and his brother, George.[35] This allowed him to indulge his penchant for collecting, amassing a large collection of "several hundreds of beautiful Greco-Buddhist sculptures,"[36] that he presented to the Calcutta and Peshawar Museums on his return. By 1900 he was attached to the twenty thousand strong International Peking Relief Force sent to relieve the besieged delegations during the Boxer Rebellion.[37] It was while serving in Malakand that Waddell first got wind of the proposed Mission to Tibet; he immediately sent a telegram to the Government of India, emphasising "the unique opportunity offered by the Mission for procuring from that closed land those manuscripts and books so greatly required by Western scholars."[38] He secured the support of Younghusband, insisting that David Macdonald, his young Anglo-Sikkimese interpreter, and Kinthup join him in his dual roles of Medical Officer and collector/Tibetologist. He was granted Rs 10,000 from the Government of India to secure such artefacts, texts, and items as he considered to be of best use to scholars.[39] This government funding gave rise to claims in Indian and British newspapers that looting from monasteries and estates

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32 Kipling 1901; Hopkirk 1996.
33 Waller 1990.
34 Waddell 1895.
35 Younghusband, G 1910.
36 Waddell 1912: 84.
37 Fleming 1959.
38 Allen 2004: 40.
39 When the Home Department refused to supply the Rs 10,000, it was suggested that twenty-six "Scientific and Minor Departments" be debited the amount. It was also indicated that there would perhaps be an additional grant of Rs 10,000. However Carrington (*Ibid.*) could find no evidence that this additional money was ever allocated. See also, *Home (Books and Publications) A,* July 1904, proceedings number 90–96. National Archive of India.

was in some way sanctioned by the Government of India, a charge Waddell emphatically denied on his return. Lord Kitchener, the Commander in Chief, being an avid collector of such items, even asked him to secure items of Chinese porcelain from Tibet. However the majority of the fragile pieces Waddell did manage to accumulate for his collections were destroyed in transit.

Waddell was a man not averse to taking risks in gathering his collections. Indeed on his arrival in Chumi Shonko (Chu mig gshongs ko) and learning of sacred texts in the home of the recently slaughtered chief, he recorded that "I found some books, which I brought out hastily as the adjoining house was afire, and I had to run the gauntlet of explosions, which were occurring all around, and the house in which I had been blew up a short time afterwards."[40] On his return from Lhasa his collection of over two thousand items was divided between the Calcutta Museum, British Museum, the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge universities, and the India Office Library. He noted with some pride in 1912 that the collection "forms by far the largest and richest collection of Tibetan literature which has ever reached Europe."[41] His *magnum opus*, published in 1905, *Lhasa and its Mysteries, with a Record of the British Expedition of 1903–1904*,[42] (on the basis of which he was appointed Professor of Tibetan at London University in 1907) is perhaps the fullest and most readable account of the Mission. It is remarkable not only for his extensive background and insight into Tibetan culture, but also for the exclusion of any mention of his Government funds, items collected by various means, and their eventual resting places.

Waddell's article in *The Asiatic Quarterly* describing the contents of the trove he brought back is interesting in that it was written a clear eight years after the return of the Mission and the deposit of the items in their respective museums and libraries. Why an earlier catalogue or description had not been published is unknown, and it is a sad fact that some of the items he amassed await, even to this day, translation and accurate description. Waddell describes the collection as "one of not the least solid results of the Mission of Sir Francis Younghusband,"[43] but appears to get even the dates of the Mission confused, claiming that it was being formed in 1908, four years after its return. The article remains the only account of the distribution of the books and manuscripts between the libraries; there being no modern full catalogue or index. Although Waddell lamented having to divide his collection between various institutions, there appears to be little rhyme or reason behind his

40 Waddell 1912: 85.
41 *Ibid.*: 80.
42 Waddell 1905.
43 Waddell 1912: 83.

methods in the division.[44] Different volumes in the same book were given to diverse libraries, and the allocation appears more random than an attempt to play to the strengths of the institutions; having divided the collection into categories (A: Buddhist texts, B: Bon items, C: Histories, D: Science and Medicine and, E: Lexicons and Grammars,) he then further divided these categories between the libraries. He therefore not only separated his collection along irregular lines, but also failed to augment the existing specialisations and strengths of the libraries involved.

On his return to India, and in the face of strong criticism from the Indian press, Waddell claimed that the greater part of his collection had been assembled before the attack on Changlo Manor in May 1904, and that the majority was purchased with the funds provided by the Government of India. However simple arithmetic shows that the Government of India gave Waddell Rs 10,000 to spend on books, manuscripts and items, and he amassed over two thousand items,[45] something that would only leave an average of Rs 5 per item,[46] a pitifully small amount given the quality of his collection. He later claimed of his personal collection that "all except half a dozen volumes, was lost on the journey back from Tibet."[47] However, Allen records that in 1905 the Berlin Museum purchased his collection of "Indian antiquities" for a considerable sum.[48]

British attitudes and accounts

While the opportunistic acquisition of loot never seems to have strayed far from the mind of some officers as recorded in their letters and diaries, some British accounts of looting hint at plain greed. At Nakartse, Kalön (*bka' blon*; "Minister") Yutok[49] approached

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[44] The items that Waddell originally allocated to the India Office have since been moved several times; after the independence of India, Pakistan and Burma in 1947 and 1948 the Indian Records Section (later the India Office Records) and the India Office Library were administered by the Commonwealth Relations Office, later the Commonwealth Office, and (from 1968) by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. In 1982 the India Office Library and Records were placed on deposit with the British Library Board, and the India Office Records have since been administered, as Public Records, in the British Library Asia Pacific & Africa Collections.

[45] This figure is Waddell's own: "I am pleased to be able to report that I have secured for the national libraries nearly two thousand volumes of books and manuscripts, comprising several thousand distinct treatises." Waddell 1912: 86.

[46] Carrington 2003: 206.

[47] Waddell 1912: 88.

[48] Waddell was by no means the only officer to sell items directly to museums; Major Iggulden, Chief Staff Officer to the Mission, sold 169 separate pieces to the British Museum in May 1905.

[49] Kalön Phuntsok Palden Yutok (Phun tshogs dpal ldan G.yu thog), born 1860: a descendant of the Tenth Dalai Lama. Kashag (*bka' shag*) member (Minister) appointed in September 1903, and overall commander at Gyantse and the route

Younghusband's tent under a white flag of truce for discussions relating to their imminent arrival in Lhasa. Younghusband recorded in a letter to his father that he had spent over seven hours listening to the Kalön's requests that the British not advance to the capital when their discussions were cut short by the sound of fighting coming from outside the tent. It transpired that the 2nd Mounted Infantry had approached the baggage train of the Kalön while he was in discussion with the Tibet Commissioner; one of the Tibetan train guards had panicked and fired at the cavalry, who returned fire even though the Kalön was under a flag of truce. Lieutenant Carey noted in his diary "they were at once pursued, and after an exciting chase they were captured along with the baggage, twelve of them were killed. They had some first class mules and ponies—and some very good rifles were taken, among them was one Russian, one American, a Winchester repeater and a Mauser."[50] The Kalön only realised what was going on when he emerged from Younghusband's tent to see the Mounted Infantry making off with the entirety of his baggage. His rigorous protests to General Macdonald resulted in a court of enquiry being established. However, it found in favour of the Mounted Infantry; the Tibetan guards having fired the first shot.

Many of the British officers' personal journals and diaries are openly honest about the level of looting that took place. For example, Arthur Hadow of the Maxim Gun Detachment wrote in his diary how he found himself in the monastic complex at Pelkor Chöde (Dpal 'khor chos sde) just prior to the arrival of the main body of British troops. Hadow and a few of his fellow officers had been surveying the fortress or *dzong* (*rdzong*) and on completion of their task the senior officers returned to Changlo. However Hadow and another junior officer walked towards Gyantse and found themselves in the deserted monastery. Unbeknown to Hadow, General Macdonald was advancing towards the monastery, expecting stiff resistance from behind its thick stone walls. Hadow and his fellow officer found the complex all but deserted, and so "broke into three large buildings or temples on the hillside, loading ourselves with loot. Then thinking it desirable to try and capture a Tibetan, to help carry our things, I came outside. I then discovered that the army had moved up in battle array to capture the monastery, but instead of finding the enemy there was only a small party of British officers looting. We were quickly hauled before an angry staff officer, and I had to leave without my loot. Pte Smith

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to Lhasa. He escaped with the Dalai Lama to India in exile, but died soon after arriving.

[50] Carey, Lieutenant Thomas, Expedition to Tibet: Letters being extracts from Diary. Carey, 1st Battalion Royal Fusiliers, 1904, Royal Fusiliers Museum, Tower of London. Cited in, Allen 2004: 242.

was even searched, but he managed to slip three brass images down inside his vest, and this was all we managed to bring away."[51]

The letters of Major Beynon give the most aggressive and alarming description of the behaviour of British officers by one of their own number. His letters reveal not only open plundering of the monastery, but also the harsh methods used to gain access to hidden items:

> Ross, 2nd Gurkhas, was in the big monastery here and was looking for grain with his coolie corps when one of his men was stoned by a Lama. They caught the beggar and tied him up and gave him twenty lashes on the spot and then told him if he didn't show where the grain was hid he would be shot. He showed them two places very cleverly hidden—but when Ross began to get the things out he found that instead of grain the man had shown him where the monastery's plate & robes were kept. Ross reported to the General who told him he might keep what he liked and to send the rest to the man who collects for the British Museum [Waddell]. Ross & Wigram who were working together took something and asked me to help myself, so I selected a very nice hanging silver censer and a gilt one—neither of them very valuable but very quaint design—and I also took two lamas' robes & some silk embroidery, which I am sending home to you.[52]

Beynon's letter is interesting as it mentions that the General "told him he might keep what he liked." These may have been soothing words to calm the conscience of his wife at home, but it also provides an insight into the mind of a middle ranking British officer of the period, as well as that of his superiors.

At Gyantse Dzong, Waddell's own account recalls how at the main building numerous discoveries were made in the labyrinth of rooms; one was a "horrible chamber […] full of decapitated human heads of men, women, and children. One of the men's heads appeared almost European in countenance. The gory necks of several showed that the heads had been struck off during life."[53] In other rooms he found "a huge stock of grain, about 100 tons, barley, flour, and peas […] strings of mules and coolies were soon removing it to our camp." The coolies helped themselves in the bonanza, "large stores of dried sheep and yak meat were found which our Nepalese and Tibetan coolies carried off with avidity, being gluttonous flesh eaters."[54] Waddell does not, however, mention the statues nor texts that he collected from the rooms of the *dzong*. It is Beynon's letters again that offer insight into how the officers allocated the loot; in one room a small production facility

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51 Allen 2004: 224.
52 *Ibid.*: 226.
53 Waddell 1905: 223.
54 *Ibid.*: 222.

was discovered for making statues, these were declared legitimate loot and distributed among the officers. "A selection for the British, and other museums was first made, and then a dozen each for General Macdonald and Colonel Younghusband. After that the remainders were divided amongst the officers of the force, each getting two or three pieces." He writes to his brother that elsewhere in the monastery chests were found containing painted scrolls, and Waddell also collected "a finely inscribed stone reciting the virtues of a chief who restored the fort."[55]

British accounts also record looting from Tsechen (Rtse chen) Monastery, which had offered resistance and therefore deemed fair game once it fell. Lance-Corporal Dunning of the Royal Fusiliers noted in his diary, "we also break open the monastery and kill two Tibetans found therein and secure some loot."[56] Arthur Hadow of the Maxim Gun Detachment wrote home to his mother, "I at once made for the cellars, where we found some things hidden away. We only had time to visit a few of the buildings, so did not get very much, and we then had to divide the things between three of us. I got rather a nice gong which no doubt you will find useful when I am able to get it home."[57] Captain Mainprise wrote to his wife that he had secured, "a few trifles, including a number of very curious painted scrolls." These he later sold at Christie's auction house in London.

Mainprise also recorded how news that curios were selling for high prices in the auction houses of London had filtered through to the officers and men. He told his wife that he had "collected £10 worth of Lhasa curios, including, rings, necklaces, earrings, chatelaines and cup holders," also noting that the news had driven up prices in the bazaar, and that "some of the officers are spending hundreds of rupees on really worthless things, but as they come from Lhasa they are all considered to be of value." He also told his wife that officers were purchasing trinkets from the sepoys, "often at an absurd price, much more than they are worth."[58] His comments add weight to the claim that many of the items were purchased in bazaars and from legitimate sources; however, one wonders where the sepoys purchased or "collected" the items from in the first place. Waddell prefers to claim that he "rescued" a number of books and manuscripts from the burning buildings at Nenying (Gnas snying), after they had been "set on fire by the retreating Tibetans."[59]

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55 Allen 2004: 145.

56 Diary of Lance Sergeant Alfred Dunning. No. 7245. 1st Battalion Royal Fusiliers. Archive: City of London H.Q., H.M. Tower of London.

57 The letters of Captain Cecil Mainprise are available online at http://intotibet1903–04.blogspot.com/ Accessed 4th August 2008.

58 http://intotibet1903–04.blogspot.com/ Accessed 4th August 2008.

59 Waddell 1905: 85.

In some accounts the British officers blame their Indian and Tibetan coolies for the looting that occurred.[60] In one such example Captain Mainprise wrote of his disgust in a letter home to his brother that after the battle at Chumi Shonko, "I found that my Tibetan Doolie bearers had run off and were looting the tents, houses and corpses. It took me about an hour before I could collect my Hospital and proceed along the blood stained road."[61] Official British records for the battle at Chumi Shonko record no fatalities from amongst the British troops, however three Gurkhas were killed in an explosion not mentioned in the official records. Their absence in the General's report to London also hints at his attitude to looting;[62] letters home from Lieutenant Bailey show that rather than being killed in combat these sepoys had found a large metal Tibetan box that they were forcing open in the search for loot, they were, "hitting it with a stone when it struck a spark and it turned out to be powder."[63]

It was not always the British officers who took part in this general looting; the press correspondents were also hot on the heels of the troops, eager to secure items for their own collections. Perceval Landon (1868–1927), *The Times* correspondent, recalls that, after the engagement at the Karo La, they found "the tents still standing, the fires still alight, the water in the cooking vessels still boiling. Furs, blankets, horse furniture, spears, powder-flasks, quick-match, bags of tsampa, skins of butter, tightly stuffed cushions, everything was there as the Tibetans had left it in their haste."[64] At the same camp, Henry Newman, the Reuters Correspondent, spotted his "servant poking about inside a tent from which he suddenly emerged with a heavy scarlet gown in his arms. This garment must certainly have belonged to a very high Tibetan official."[65] Newman appropriated the gown and, despite his castigation of looting, wore it as a dressing gown for the duration of the Mission.

Carrington quotes letters from the Nepalese representative in Lhasa to Younghusband, confirming incidents of Tibetans looting and mistreating their own people. Although such accounts were second or third hand, it is unlikely that there is not a kernel of truth in them. The first records how the Tibetan militia had "killed three or four women who had mixed up with the British troops" at Gyantse.[66] In the second the Nepalese representative writes to the

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60 Indeed the very word "loot" derives from the Hindi, *lūta,* of the same meaning.

61 Allen 2004: 121.

62 See Telegram No. 1060-A. Dated Camp Thuna, the 1st April 1904. From Brigadier General Macdonald to Adjunct General of India. Cited in: Sood 2005.

63 Allen 2004: 122.

64 Landon 1905: 140.

65 Newman 1937: 133.

66 Letters from the Nepalese Representative at Lhasa Regarding Tibetan Affairs. Foreign (Secret) E, October 1904. Proceedings nos. 646–666. National Archive of India.

Maharaja in Kathmandu that "the Tibetans are plundering villages on their way back to Lhasa," and how the villagers were "hiding their respective wealth and property wherever they could."[67]

Not every British officer approved: George Preston grumbled to his wife that he wished he could send her some loot, "but there are strict orders about it and it is only people who haven't any conscience at all who get it… It is awfully annoying to see fellows sending away loot, whilst you can't send any away at all."[68] In a similar letter home, Major Wimberly, an assistant in the field hospital to Waddell, told his wife how he had been left to collect the names and numbers of all the casualties after the storming of Gyantse Dzong, while Waddell "went off on the loot."[69] In the same letter, however, he did tell his wife how he had collected "two china vases, a china teapot, a pen-case, and a brass cup-stand and cover," which he intended to pack up and send down when he had the opportunity.

Trinkets and treasures

Allen concurs on the whole with this position, stating that "the general view among officers seems to have been that, whatever General Orders and the Hague Convention of 1899 had to say on the matter, pillage was acceptable where an army had been opposed or where, in the case of monasteries, there had been incitement to oppose it. As far as Indian troops were concerned, loot was traditionally a soldier's perk."[70] This is a claim supported by David Macdonald (1870–1962)[71] who writes, "in January 1905 I was sent to Calcutta to categorise books and treasures, which others and I gathered in Tibet and were brought back using more than 400 mules. They included Buddhist classics, statues of Buddha, religious works, helmets, weapons, books, and ceramics. The bulk of ceramics were sent to specialists for examination. All these treasures were formerly preserved in the India Museum, where I worked, and later in the British Museum, the Indian Museum, the Bodleian Library and the Indian Administrative Library."[72] He does, however, claim that "so far as I was personally able to observe, there was very little in the way of looting."[73] From this comment it is clear that

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67 Letter from the Honourable the Four Kasis of Tibet to His Highness the Maharaja of Nepal. *Ibid.* Enclosure no. 3: 59.

68 Allen 2004: 225.

69 Narbeth 1996: 16–18.

70 Allen 2004: 225.

71 Macdonald was born of a Scottish father and Sikkimese mother and fluent in many Himalayan languages, and Waddell took him to Tibet as his assistant collector. He was later the British Trade Agent in Gyantse between 1905 and 1925.

72 Macdonald 1932: 42.

73 *Ibid.*: 26.

Macdonald did not consider his own and Waddell's collecting as looting. Their appointment by the Government of India as official collectors allowed him to justify removing items and manuscripts under the label of scholarship and cultural education. Carrington chooses not to describe the looting as "sanctioned," but as "institutionalized,"[74] suggesting that it was considered customary behaviour for the troops, but perhaps not condoned by their superiors.

The high value general items mentioned in the commentary would have been stored in the monasteries of Tibet, whereas by contrast the British found the *dzongs* they encountered to be rather damp and dingy affairs. Waddell's description of Phari (Phag ri) emphasises the point: "an attempt was made to remove some of the accumulated garbage of ages, but it took many days before a army of several hundred villagers, carrying basketfuls of stuff all day long, made any impression on its dirt."[75] However, Waddell fails to mention that it was here that he made his first "cultural acquisition:" a near-complete hundred-volume edition of the Kanjur. Many of the *dzongs* did however contain military equipment of a historical and cultural value.

Looting did occur on the march towards Lhasa, as British records confirm. While the monastery at Samding (Bsam lding) was found deserted, two sepoys of the Mounted Infantry were caught by Waddell red-handed with their pockets bulging with looted statues. Waddell reported the two to General Macdonald, and ordered that the statues be returned, the monastery having offered no resistance. As their activities had gone against the strict General Orders for the Mission, Macdonald ordered that the men be tried by court martial. Thomas Carey of the Royal Fusiliers records in his diary that one man received two years imprisonment, and the other one year, reduced on account of his bravery at the battle at the Karo La. However he also adds, "they were caught by Dr Waddell, who by the way is also noted for his looting propensities. Everybody rather sympathises although it was rather a flagrant case, as all the staff have taken any amount of loot in their time. Before the sepoys generally got flogged, but General Macdonald wanted to make an example, especially as he had promised the envoys that nothing would be touched."[76] Carey also pens how he bitterly resents the Mounted Infantry who "get the pick of the loot. Some of the MI officers have very valuable loot, we only get the dregs and the same of curios. Of course there are stringent orders against looting monasteries, unless they fire or make resistance."[77]

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[74] "The sheer scale of the looting of religious objects and the fact that it was institutionalised was unacceptable given the assurances that the monasteries were not to be pillaged." Carrington 2003: 105.

[75] Waddell 1905: 100.

[76] Allen 2004: 241.

[77] *Ibid.*: 241.

Aftermath

English and Indian Newspapers carried stories of sanctioned looting on a massive scale that were difficult for the authorities in Delhi to ignore. *The Statesman* of Calcutta claimed that "piles of loot, which it is not possible to transport, had accumulated at Gyantse, and the drawing rooms of Darjeeling begin to tell a tale, which it should be far from pleasant for English eyes to read."[78] Even before the Mission had arrived in Lhasa, *The Englishman* conceded that "there was little glory to be had out of the campaign in Tibet," adding that there was "no reason why the overwhelming weight of loot should not be thrown into the scale."[79]

The Reuters correspondent, Henry Newman, believed that the Mission's arrival in Lhasa was the last time that British troops were "allowed" to loot.[80] Although he wrote this comment some twenty-five years after his return from Tibet, it does show his opinion of looting. Indeed, his own record of gentlemanly conduct is not unimpeachable; on the Mission's arrival in Lhasa he wired his account of the battle at Chumi Shonko before Younghusband had sent his own official record to the government, ignoring the established protocol of giving two hours grace after official reports were filed before wiring newspaper dispatches.[81]

Landon in his dispatches to *The Times* was more in line with the General's orders forbidding any looting. However he does pour fuel on the fire of claims the looting was sanctioned when he wired that "valuables or curios, found in the fort at Gyantse as were not immediately connected with religious worship, will be handed over to the Government of India for distribution among British and Indian museums." However he also told his readers "nearly all the portable valuables have been removed from the monastery [Pelkor Chöde] by the lamas, in spite of the repeated proclamation by Brigadier General Macdonald that there would be no looting."[82] In spite of his claims, records at the British Museum show that he personally donated six items, some of considerable value. It is not recorded where he obtained them.

Younghusband wrote to the Government of India that, after the capture of the *dzong* at Gyantse, he had asked Waddell, William F. O'Connor, and Landon to select "from among the mass of manuscripts and articles lying about such as were likely to be of value specifically." He also claimed that "no articles were removed

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78 *The Statesman*, Calcutta. 21 July 1904.
79 *The Englishman*, Calcutta. 28 July 1904.
80 Newman 1937.
81 Mitchel and Olson 1997.
82 *The Times*. London. 21 April 1904.

Figure 1. Gyantse Dzong and Memorial Pillar. Photographed by the author in 2008.

from the chapel in the Jong [*dzong*]."[83] The newspaper claims, bazaar scandal, and Younghusband's own admission that he had asked officers and correspondents to "select" items soon came to the attention of Ampthill, who had taken over as Viceroy while Curzon returned to Britain on sabbatical leave. Although he remained skeptical of the claims of excessive looting, Kitchener was asked to telegram his Tibet Commissioner and emphasise the strict orders against any such occurrence.

At the same time there was some debate in the London newspapers regarding the appropriate degree of "punishment" to be handed out to the Tibetan people for their willingness to challenge British authority. While this debate does not positively condone looting, it does hint at the public's attitude for revenge against the Tibetans, their acceptance of both the Imperial role of the army, and the methods it used. *The Times* believed that the British expedition to Tibet acted with "determination and firmness"[84] in its dealings with the Tibetans, and the *Glasgow Herald* reminded its readers that the aim of the operation was to inflict punishment and to inculcate a "wholesome dread of the power of the invader,"[85] and

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[83] Younghusband to Russell, ICS, Under Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Gyantse, 12 July 1904. In Foreign (External) B, August 1904, proceedings nos. 254–254A. National Archive of India.

[84] *The Times*. London. 2 April 1904: 3.

[85] *Glasgow Herald*. 8 August 1904: 6.

thus initiate a change in Tibetan behaviour.[86] *The Daily Mail* justified the British expedition by comparing the Tibetans to burglars who had been entering Indian territory without permission. The paper explained that "we do not pardon the burglar or criminal because he is of puny stature or weak in health."[87] Their use of the term "burglar" is extraordinary, given that the Younghusband Mission had not come to Tibet by invitation and had taken the opportunity to fill its baggage train with loot during its short stay. The paper however "justified the invasion of Tibet and explained away the one-sided nature of the war there by showing that the natives were criminals with whom the British forces had to deal."[88]

We can be sure that at least some of the items in British collections were gifts from monks, aristocrats and officials to the higher-ranking British officers. Such items were often given to win favour—for example, the Mission's translator was often discovering that small bags of gold dust had appeared on his desk.[89] The Ganden Tripa[90] presented both Younghusband and Macdonald with bronze statues of the Buddha as they were leaving Lhasa. Younghusband was especially attached to his, keeping it with him at all times; it even rested atop of his coffin after he died in 1942.[91]

Museums, the Other, and the Self

The return of looted objects is a highly contentious issue. Indeed, Moira Simpson declares, "one of the mot difficult issues seeking resolution by museums in the post colonial era is that of repatriation."[92] Interestingly there are few calls from Chinese and Tibetan authors (see footnote 5) for looted items to be returned, nor any obvious indication of what the authorities in Tibet would do with such items were they offered. They would certainly make a valuable addition to the Chinese propaganda themed "Memorial Hall of the Anti British" in Gyantse Dzong.[93] Neither do any of the

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86 Wilkinson 1998: 105.

87 *Daily Mail*. 7 April 1904: 4.

88 Wilkinson 1998: 106.

89 O'Connor 1931: 165.

90 Lobsang Gyaltsen Lamoshar (Blo bzang gyal tsen lamo shar) Ganden Tri (pa) Rimpoche. Appointed Regent by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama on his exile.

91 After his death the statue was donated first to the Liverpool Museum, and then into the hands of a private collector, R.A. Wheeler. Wheeler refused to part with the icon, and only with the threat of legal action did he restore it to Younghusband's daughter. She then gave it to the Royal Geographical Society in London, where it remains in the basement, "nestled in a Peak Frean's biscuit tin." French 1995: 401.

92 Simpson 1996: 171.

93 For more on this propaganda museum in Gyantse see Myatt and D'Sena 2008: 107–116. This paper also examines new media sources relating to the Mission, and the Chinese presentation of a propaganda narrative for Tibetan audiences.

British museums[94] I have visited, nor the websites for those that I was unable to get to, give any indication of willingness to consider the return of objects, even on loan or temporary basis.[95]

Figure 2. A British officer opens fire at Chumi Shonko. Detail from an oil painting in the Memorial Hall of Anti-British, Gyantse. Photographed by the author in 2008.

In the debate over ownership, much hinges on where the objects in question came from and how they were obtained. Of the vast catalogues of museum collections none states that an object was "looted," preferring instead to record that items were "acquired," "collected," or "purchased." As is recalled in letters and accounts of serving officers and men, bazaars spontaneously emerged selling curios and trinkets along the advance to Lhasa, and the Barkor area of Lhasa was then, as it is now, a source of many items of Tibetan memorabilia and touristic collectibles. It would be difficult to argue that items that were purchased, often for overly inflated prices, should be considered for return, however items of cultural importance, high monetary value, and historical significance, could have their ownership by Western museums and collections questioned.

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[94] Here I include libraries as a form of a museum. While some libraries are places of great scholarship housing reference books that cannot fall under a definition of "collection," others hold items of such value that they can be considered "collections" of books in a museum sense. "Books are, it is true, sometimes regarded as objects, collected for their beautiful bindings or illustrations… just as it is when a library acts as an archive or contains books intended solely for entertainment." Pomian 1994.

[95] For more on Tibetan items looted during the Mission now on display in British museums and collections, see Chapter six, Myatt Forthcoming.

Museums facing such difficult questions have a robust and vigorous defence, especially when the object has political and historical significance, as has been shown, for example, in the ongoing debate over the ownership of the Elgin marbles[96] or the Kohinoor diamond. Museums often claim the "universality" of such important objects; that they belong to no individual, organisation or state. This pan-national heritage sounds very grand, and museums point to the fact that their collections are open for all to see, often free of charge. However this claim can be refuted when one considers how many Tibetans have the opportunity to examine objects in a museum in, for example, London or Edinburgh, as opposed to a collection in Gyantse or Lhasa.

Likewise the current argument from museums for the retention of major objects on the grounds of scholarship is no longer tenable. In many instances the tasks of scholars have been satisfied, as for example with the Rosetta Stone whose hieroglyphics have already been deciphered. Modern technology offers solutions to scholars still working on items of importance, be that international co-operation, digital imaging or duplication, or sharing analysis from original samples.[97] Jeanette Greenfield rightly notes that "scholasticism can be a high-sounding motive for a selfish and unrelated purpose."[98]

Such claims of a custodial role of museums can be interpreted both ways; either calling for the return of objects once they no longer are in need of custody, or their retention on grounds of the richness and source of identity they offer the museum going public:

> How fortunate we are that the British Museum and the National Gallery are full of objects which are neither British nor national. It has been argued that these institutions are profoundly imperialist, and some people probably do vaguely perceive the objects they contain as trophies or tribute. On the whole, however, these institutions are far better designed than truly national collections could be to perform the vital civilizing job of reminding us of what is not our "heritage," encouraging us to love things without having to pretend that they were

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96 Fitz Gibbon 2005.

97 Stein, frequently described as an "imperialist looter" in Chinese accounts, is an unlikely source of support for the "custodian role" argument; Whitfield, the Director of the International Dunhuang Project at the British Library, records, "at some sites the finds were too delicate or too large to be transported, and he reburied them in the sands for a time when, as he commented in his diary, the region would have its own museum. Unfortunately, treasure seekers reached many of them first, and Stein's photographs are often the only record left of these treasures." Indeed the IDP is a role model for international co-operational projects working with the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology in China to retrace Stein's footsteps, and digitising and freely distributing high-resolution images of the manuscripts collected from the caves at Dunhuang. Whitfield 2009: 224–43.

98 Greenfield 2007: 412.

> made for us, to take an interest in other peoples' ancestors, to be curious about the past because our "identity" (which generally means self-esteem) is challenged rather than reinforced by contact with it. Even if we are not clear as to whether or not art objects should be returned to their country of origin, we should be clear as to the purpose of museums.[99]

Western museums may however have a stronger argument from a custodial perspective with regard to Tibetan items in light of Tibet's tumultuous recent past. Quite how many of the items currently in foreign museums would have been lost in the destruction of the Cultural Revolution is of course conjecture, but it is safe to say that the majority would almost certainly have been lost to both scholarship and their original owners. Of the monasteries looted by the British only Pelkor Chöde was to escape the full fury of the Red Guards, and little of historical importance remains in Tsechen and Nenying for example.

Figure 3. The Ruins of Nenying Monastery. Photographed by the author in 2009.

It is important to note too that museums are becoming more aware and active with respect to dialogue and interaction with cultures from which their collections originated, and Cristina Kreps describes a new paradigm for cultural heritage preservation and a rethinking of cultural interaction and exchange.[100] The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford is one such museum to attempt such "cultural

[99] Penny 1983.
[100] Kreps 2003.

hybridisation" when it invited the prominent Tibetan artist Gonkar Gyatso to hold the position of "Artist in Residence" in 2005. His work explores the shifting role of identity in a migratory population, and the traditional identities of Tibetans in a changing global society. In this way, his art pieces and installations augmented perfectly the museum's impressive collection of Tibetan art and objects, many of which were acquired as a result of the Younghusband Mission.

The Pitt River Museum's attempts at cultural hybridisation projects highlights the changing role of the museum; from a purely scholarly and presentational storehouse, to an educational and community tool. It has been argued that the modern museum shares many of the classic characteristics of the mass media, and that they operate through the process of mass communication.[101] The educational role of the museum shifts emphasis from the specialist and scholastic to a more general educational approach suitable for all audiences and backgrounds. Gyatso's work helps to bring a certain interactivity to the old-fashioned linear narrative exhibition format, helping to attain the "active audience" that museum curators seek.[102] His work is particularly important in a museum where the objects in the Tibetan collections are of historic and material value, and therefore visitor interaction and participation is a limited possibility.

Figure 4. Armour from Phagri Dzong in the Pitt Rivers Collection, Oxford, UK, donated by Major Beynon.

[101] Hodge and D'Souza 1979: 251–256.
[102] Hooper-Greenhill 1994: 4.

Greenfield draws attention to the fact that most major Western collections have such an abundance of objects in their catalogues that it is impossible for them all to be permanently and properly displayed for the public to view. In most cases the surpluses are simply stored, awaiting special exhibitions or the eyes of curious scholars and historians. She gives the example of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, which holds the largest collection of Indian art treasures outside of the subcontinent, consisting of over 40,000 items, the vast majority not on display. In this instance however there is some prospect that the items will be seen and studied,[103] and the V&A is one of a growing number of museums that has many of its treasures catalogued and photographed online. Their searchable databases, exhibitions and galleries can be viewed online and images of particular items can be requested over the Internet making the collection accessible to a growing number of Internet users.[104]

So why do we collect objects, even to the point of such excess? Answers to this hotly debated topic often resort to primitive psychology; however, this route often provides tautology, "conjuring up any postulation it needs."[105] Items in collections sometimes give a certain aesthetic pleasure, others relate to and shed light on historical or scientific knowledge. Finally, Krysztof Pomian shows how with some objects, "possession confers a certain prestige on their owners, since they serve as proof of their good taste, of their considerable intellectual curiosity, or even of their wealth and generosity, if not all these qualities at the same time."[106]

Any attempt to reason why there was such clarion call for Tibetan items must explore the process by which we construct identities, both of others, and of ourselves. "By the later half of the nineteenth century, collection of plunder had also become the collection of curios, and artifacts for both personal and institutional reasons. This material had become increasingly important in the process of 'Othering' Oriental and African societies, and was exemplified in the professionalism of exploration and the growth of ethnographic departments in museums, the new 'Temples of Empire'."[107] The notion of an "Imperial Archive" had developed in the mind of colonial administrators, their collecting agents in the field, and the museum staff of the London collections who sought to address the declining popular confidence in the very concept and need for Empire, a notion that had taken an exceptionally public mauling in the wake of the Boer War and Britain's disgraceful burning, looting and introduction of the concentration camp. Thomas Richards presents the "Imperial Archive" as neither "a

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[103] See, for example, Ames 1985: 25–31.
[104] www.collections.vam.ac.uk
[105] Pomian 1994: 162.
[106] *Ibid*.: 163.
[107] Carrington 2003: 81.

library nor a museum, but as a fantasy of knowledge collected and united in the service of state and Empire."[108] These temples became the touch-stones of Edwardian society, and continue to this day to assist us with our understanding of unfamiliar cultures and our own societies. Clare Harris, Curator of the Asian Collections at the Pitt Rivers, describes the wonder of the Lama in Kipling's *Kim* when he visits the Museum, and how at the same time "the Tibetan is initiated into the miraculous powers of Western science and the technologies of Empire, whose purview is demonstrated to extend far beyond the confines of British India and into Tibet. The Imperial techniques for knowing and controlling subject nations—including accurate mapping and census taking, have been augmented by other scholarly pursuits that allow the curator to regale the monk with accounts of the successes of Orientalism."[109]

In terms of this "Oriental Other," Edward Said has noted that "from the end of the eighteenth century there emerged a complex Orient suitable for study in the academy, for display in the museum, for reconstruction in the colonial office, for theoretical illustration in anthropological, biological, linguistic, racial, and historical theses about mankind and the universe for instances of economic and sociological theories of development, revolution, cultural personality, national or religious character."[110] By collecting objects from Tibet the Edwardian officers and men consciously and subconsciously sought to emphasise the differences between the ordered, civilized, rational self, exemplified by themselves and the state they represented, and Tibet's backward, religious, oppressed and flawed, "Other." This could be achieved best by collecting and presenting items to museums that stereotypically encompassed Tibet; items made from human bone, monastic paraphernalia, medieval military equipment and peasants' possessions.

Their magpie tendencies were enhanced when they collected Tibetan items as part trophy and part referent; in Tibet, as in Europe until the protestant revolutions, art and its productions and forms were inseparable from religious belief and ritual. Owing to this fact British officers could collect items from monasteries and temples for their "artistic" merit, as opposed for their exclusively religious otherness. This dual reasoning was especially helpful when appropriating statues and depictions of tantric union. No Imperial officer could be seen to be accused of peddling pornography, but erotically themed *art* pieces (themselves surely the most powerful and seductive depiction of the "Other,") that held religious importance, were a quite different matter, and British museums are consequently crammed with such examples.

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[108] Richards 1993.
[109] Harris and Shakya 2003: 2.
[110] Said 1978: 8.

Figure 5. Gilt statue of Avalokiteśvara in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, acquired by Brigadier-General Rawlings.

The British officers and collectors likewise assured their place in a common historical conscience; collections seek to anchor us in space and time. Collecting items from a far-off location not only points towards the collector's presence there, but also demonstrates their influence over its history. The object becomes a continual reminder of that history, and the larger or more important the object, the more historical significance we can assume the actions of the collector had. As Susan Crane explains, "being collected means being valued and remembered institutionally; being displayed means being incorporated into the extra-institutional memory of the museum visitors."[111] This concept would most certainly be true in the case of Waddell, who held a strong belief in the importance and derivable benefit of the collection he was amassing in Tibet. Susan Pearce concurs that "the guiding principle which animated many collectors over the last five centuries or so has been primarily to create a relationship with the past which is seen as real, reasonable, and helpful."[112] By presenting objects from different civilisations we seek to construct a mind-frame that enables us to compare and contrast historical development between other societies and our own. "Otherness becomes the place of the alien, the primitive and the

[111] Crane 2000: 2.
[112] Pearce 1995: 310.

unconscious, sharing common properties in their unpredictability, irrationality or uncontrollable nature in contrast to stable self identity."[113]

These collections not only assist the unconscious boundaries we make as individuals, but also the broader academic explanations of cultural difference and division: "It has become obvious that the so called "scientific" collections of Pitt Rivers in his generation, or Boas or Younghusband in theirs, have served to create a superstructure of Western intellectual ideas as a cultural explanation of perceived differences."[114] By enabling those at home to consider the Tibetans as inferior, backward or primitive, those who formed the Mission may have consciously or subconsciously sought to justify their presence and actions in Tibet. Furthermore, the multitude of religious and military items may have influenced popular opinion by instilling the belief that the Tibetans were not to be reasoned with, owing to their devotion to a "backward" religion, and that their military strength was in such a deplorable state that any martial engagement would inevitably result in high numbers of Tibetan casualties.

Museums and collections therefore help us create an identity on both an individual and academic basis, but they also play a role in the construction of a "national identity."[115] By looking at objects in museums we can find ourselves looking into an imaginary evolutionary mirror presenting a universal human heritage and development. In this way museums can unconsciously freeze the cultures displayed in their display cases, shaping the perspectives of the visitor to one that keeps the place of origin in question in the past. This is certainly true of Tibet, where the items displayed being of some antiquity reinforce the commonly held view of Tibet as a theocratic, mystical land transfixed by its Buddhist religious heritage. It is worth noting that none of the museums I have visited, with the exception of the Pitt Rivers described above, holds any displayed collections of contemporary Tibetan art, sculpture, or handicraft. Tibet remains sealed in history, just as the items in museums remain preserved in their display cases.

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[114] *Ibid.*: 330.
[115] Crane 2000: 3.

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THE CAREERS OF THE NOBLE OFFICIALS OF THE GANDEN PHODRANG (1895–1959): ORGANISATION AND HEREDITARY DIVISIONS WITHIN THE SERVICE OF STATE

Alice Travers

This paper presents a socio-historical investigation into the Ganden Phodrang (Dga' ldan pho brang), the central governnment of Tibet and its administration, through a prosopographical study, which could be defined as a kind of collective biography. It presents data concerning the period from 1895, when the Thirteenth Dalai Lama assumed power, to the end of the Ganden Phodrang's existence in 1959.

The officials (*gzhung zhabs*) of the Tibetan government were divided into a monastic branch, whose members were called *rtse drung*, and a lay branch, whose members were known as *drung 'khor*. The members of the monastic branch were recruited from all levels of society—from monasteries—whereas those of the lay branch were recruited almost exclusively from the aristocracy (*sku drag*).[1] The members of this aristocracy held hereditary estates in exchange for compulsory government service by at least one member of the family at each generation. Moreover, a few aristocratic families specialised in producing monk officials as well, who were called *rje drung*. Theoretically, the number of lay and monk officials was 175 each, but in reality each group was larger. During the period under investigation the number of officials increased greatly indeed. According to one of Melvyn Goldstein's informants there were two hundred lay officials and 230 monk officials, and these figures were probably even higher at the end of the period.[2] There are countless interesting aspects to be discussed regarding the functioning of the Ganden Phodrang administration. I have chosen to examine only a few points here; among them are the

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1 There were other groups of aristocrats in Tibet, linked to the semi-autonomous administrations of the Tashi Lhunpo and Sakya monasteries. Since this study concerns only the aristocracy linked to the Ganden Phodrang administration, when speaking of the "Tibetan aristocracy" or "the aristocracy," I will be referring only to this group.

2 Goldstein 1968: 145. Given the rise in the number of offices and departments in the government at the end of the period under investigation, the increase in the number of officials seems absolutely logical. According to estimations based on my data and descriptions of the Ganden Phodrang administration (see the sources and references at the end of the paper) there were, during the period of maximal extension of the Tibetan administration, in the 1940s and 1950s at least 422 positions held permanently by monk or lay officials in the different branches of the administration (government, army, territorial administration, and house of the Dalai Lama).

crucial questions regarding if and how hereditary divisions among the officials were manifested in their careers.

If we sum up what information on the Tibetan officials' careers is available in the literature on the subject, the ground-breaking works of two authors, Luciano Petech and Melvyn Goldstein, have to be mentioned. Petech's book furnishes precious and detailed information on the careers of forty-seven families, but his study comprises only the higher-status families. Moreover, he does not derive from the descriptions of the careers an overall study of their organisation. In the introduction to his book, the only place he describes the course of the officials' careers reads as follows:

> There were at first no fixed rules for appointment and advancement in officialdom. Between 1751 and 1788 membership of the *bka' shag* [council of ministers] was practically by direct inheritance from father to son. This custom was abolished by the Chinese, and in later times a young nobleman had to follow a sort of administrative career, starting with his first official appointment (*zhabs gsar ba*) usually on New Year's day and following either the financial branch up to the *rtsis dpon* [finance secretary] or the treasury service up to *bla phyag* [treasurer], or the military career up to *mda' dpon* [general]. These three offices were the usual stepping stones from which the judgement and trust of the Dalai Lama (or of the regent) raised him to a seat in the *bka' shag*.[3]

Petech makes two important points with which I will take issue here. The first point concerns heredity. Although this aspect will not be discussed here, if we look in detail at the careers of different members of a single noble family during the first half of the twentieth century, we can deduce that there was indeed, though not in the positions of ministers, a certain amount of hereditary transmission of positions in the administration.[4]

As for the second point, I will show that it is not accurate to say that officials would follow a certain branch in the administration, be it the financial branch, the treasury service, or the military.

Regarding the recruitment of officials of certain status to certain positions, Petech and Goldstein have clearly shown that there was a difference between the families of the higher aristocracy and the *sger pa* group.[5] According to my estimations, the Tibetan aristocracy comprised around 213 families. It was divided internally into a hierarchy of sub-groups. The most prestigious groups were the *sde dpon*, four families who claim to date back to the ancient ministers and kings of the Tibetan Empire (seventh to ninth centuries), the *yab gzhis*, six ennobled families of the Dalai Lamas,

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3 Petech 1973: 14.

4 For a longer discussion on the hereditary transmission of the positions, see Travers forthcoming.

5 The term *sger pa* in certain contexts also denotes the whole group of aristocrats, in their capacity of "private" (*sger*) landowners.

and the *mi drag*, eighteen rich and politically influential families. These first three subgroups formed the upper-strata families, twenty-seven altogether.[6] The rest of the aristocracy, often simply termed *sger pa*, comprised around 186 families.[7] The upper-strata families tended to monopolise the higher positions.[8] One of the reasons for this inequality of opportunity is the fact that the sons of the *sde dpon, yab gzhis*, and *mi drag* families had the privilege of starting their career with the title of *sras rnam pa*, a title just under the fourth rank, whereas most *sger pa* sons would start as ordinary officials, at the seventh rank. The other reason, according to Goldstein, was the necessity of being rich in order to gain access to the higher positions, the consequence of which was that the most prestigious noble families, who were also usually the richest, would obtain these positions more easily.[9]

The crucial question of the balance between a replication of the social hereditary hierarchy and social mobility in the Tibetan administration needs to be examined. In order to do this, the observations presented here will be based on the study of a large sample of officials and positions or offices, which will also enable us to inform other undocumented points regarding the course of the careers. Hence, the aim of this study is double: first, to document some new aspects of the officials' careers; and second, to reassess the importance of the higher aristocracy's domination.

This examination here is particularly pertinent because my research made it possible to gather data based on a much bigger sample than what Petech and Goldstein were able to work on, especially concerning the *sger pa* group, as most of the studies on the aristocracy have focused on the higher-status aristocracy.

Once the database has been presented, key aspects of the careers will be described and then the question of how hereditary divisions among noble officials are reflected in their careers will be broached.

The database

My database includes oral and written sources, namely interviews with approximately seventy Tibetan men and women of the aristocracy, biographies and autobiographies written by male and female aristocrats since the 1980s in Tibet and in exile, and British archives.[10] The data concerning the social identity and careers of 441

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6 NB: $4 + 6 + 18 = 28 \neq 27$ because one of the *sde dpon* families, Bsam pho, was also a *yab gzhis*.

7 A list of all Tibetan aristocratic families and a discussion concerning their status can be found in my PhD dissertation, Travers 2009.

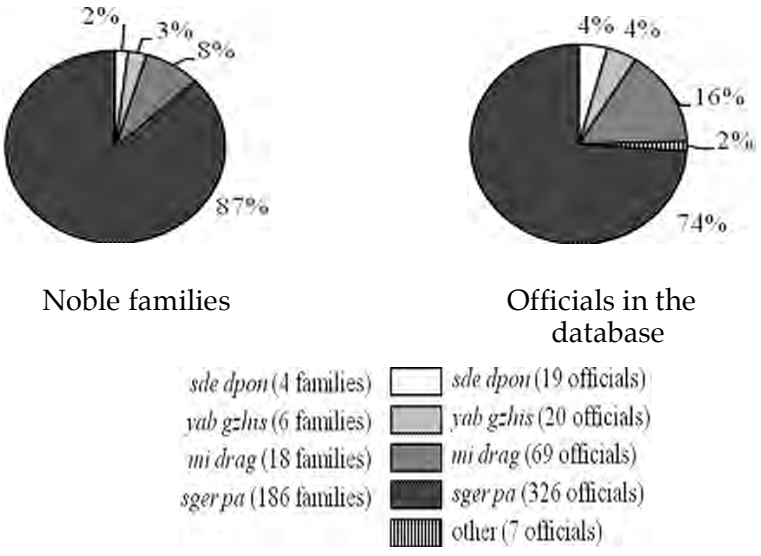
8 Petech 1973: 19 and Goldstein 1968: 186.

9 *Ibid*.: 184.

10 Not all the sources used to construct the database can be presented here in detail. Only those specifically mentioned in the text and the most important ones are included in the sources and references at the end of the paper.

noble officials of the government have been collected and put into a computerised prosopographical database. My main objective in the construction and study of this database is to allow a different approach to the functioning of Tibetan political institutions and administration that would not be based on normative presentations or the way it is written or believed that they should function, but would view the whole question from the individuals' point of view, looking at the way the officials conducted their careers and used the institutions, sometimes testing their flexibility and their limits.

The advantage of this database is that it is representative of the composition of the aristocracy and its internal divisions. The proportion, for example, of the *sger pa* group (74 per cent of the officials) in the database is very close to the proportion they represent in the whole aristocracy (87 per cent of the families), as Graphs 1 and 2 show. Here we can see the two proportions: that of *sger pa* among the families in the aristocracy, according to hereditary social status, and that of *sger pa* among the officials in the database. We can thus, by extension, get quite an accurate picture of certain aspects of the careers of the whole group of noble officials that are key to this study. It should be noted that the officials whose careers are under examination here, being all aristocrats, are divided into a massive majority of lay officials (90 per cent) and a tiny minority of monk officials.[11]



Graphs set 1 and 2. Distribution of the 441 noble officials of the Ganden Phodrang in the database according to social status compared to the distribution of social status in the aristocratic group

[11] Five men were originally monk officials and became lay officials. The status of ten officials is unknown.

The whole database population was divided into five generations, born between 1860 and 1941. The majority of the officials in the database and whose careers have been studied were born between 1881 and 1920.

The first step of the analysis was to achieve a clear notion of all existing positions in the Tibetan administration, their rank, the domain of activity, and their evolution during the period. This was accomplished using a compilation of work done by Luciano Petech and Melvyn Goldstein, British descriptions, and information on the Ganden Phodrang in archives, and Tibetan written and oral sources, mainly interviews, and published descriptions of the government.[12]

The ranking system was as follows: an official would receive a position or a title which were linked to a rank, on a ladder of seven ranks, inspired by the Manchu system. The Dalai Lama's rank was the first, the prime minister's second, the ministers' third, the *rtsis dpon* and *drung yig chen mo* fourth, etc. The lowest positions were occupied by the members of the seventh rank.

It was then necessary to find, with the help of all the different available sources mentioned above, information on as many officials as possible and establish the different positions they held in their career. Regarding the information collected in these archives, it was important to find the Tibetan name of a position matching the description of it used by the British in their records, in order to determine the rank the officials held at this time and the field they were working in.[13] Fortunately, the identification of the positions was made easier by the fact that the British instituted a system of translating the names of Tibetan administrative positions that became quite efficient after 1906 and varied little, apart from a few exceptions.

The database comprises information concerning the careers of these 441 officials, with a total of 1,210 positions. Out of the 1,210 positions, 320 could not be identified in terms of rank, either because the British description was not clear enough or because only the office was named. For instance, we know that one official worked in the *so nam las khungs*, the agricultural office, but we do not know his exact position, which could be "in charge of the office" (*do dam pa*), or only assistant or worker, *las byas pa*, positions which did not bestow the same rank. In some cases, officials would work in a position usually described as a sixth-rank position, but would benefit from a higher rank because they had received a higher title.

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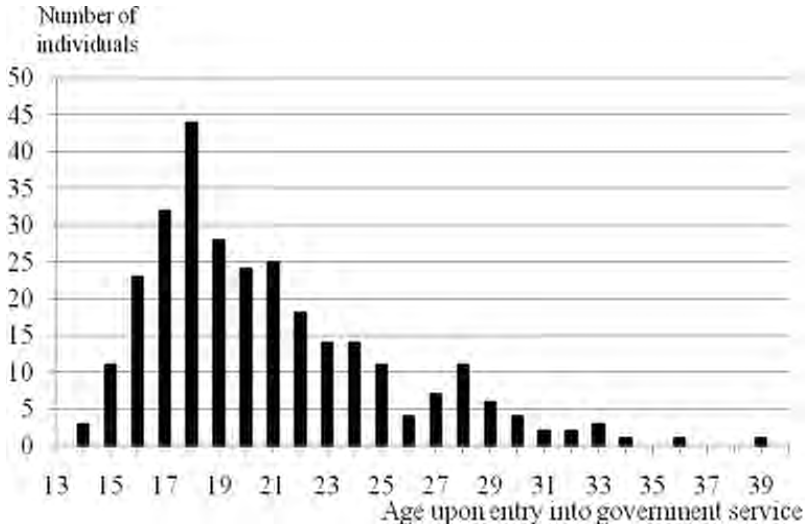
[12] For the British descriptions, see the archives files' descriptions at the end of the paper and also Bell 1906; O'Connor 1903; Richardson 1945; and Williamson 1934. For the Tibetan written descriptions, see Bshad sgra, Chab tshom, Sreg shing, and Blo bzang don grub 1991; Dge rgyas pa 1988a, b, and c; Tsarong 1998a and b; and Zhe bo 2002.

[13] Mainly in *Who's Who* and various lists of noblemen and officials, but also in all the diaries and correspondence of the British officers present in Tibet during the period. See the references of these documents at the end of the paper.

The highest rank known has always been the one taken into account in the database. Let us now come to the interpretation of the data.

Organisation of the careers

The careers started with entry into government service, and my first point for consideration is age upon entry. The database permitted me to ascertain the age upon entry of 289 officials. The aristocratic officials of the Ganden Phodrang entered government service from the age of fourteen and apparently without any upper age limit. Over the whole period, and for all generations, the most frequently occurring age is eighteen, as is shown in Graph 3.[14] A huge majority (92 per cent) of the aristocrats became officials between the ages of fifteen and twenty-eight years.

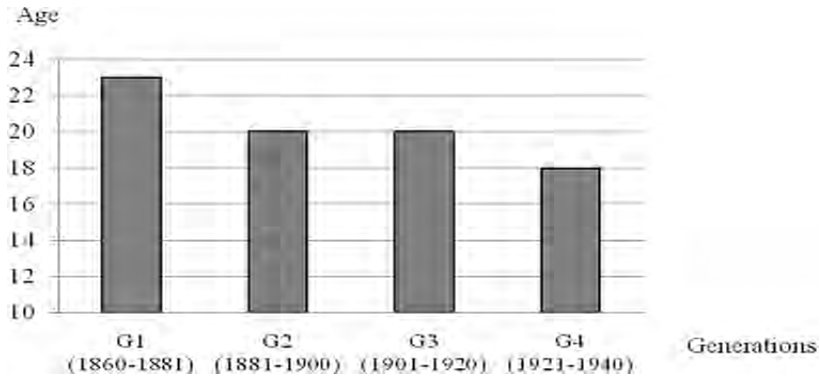


Graph 3. Age upon entry of Ganden Phodrang officials

A general decrease in the age of entry into government service over the whole period is also obvious. This is partly due to the fact that fewer officials would enter at a later age. If we look at Graph 4, the median age decreases from twenty-three years for the first generation to eighteen years for the last.[15]

[14] This corresponds to the statistical term "mode;" i.e., the age for which there is the biggest population. The median age is twenty years and the mean age 20.8 years.

[15] For any distribution the median value is that which divides the relevant population into two equal parts, half falling below the value, and half exceeding it. Thus, the median age is the age at which half the population is older and half is younger.



Graph 4. Median age upon entry into government service among the four generations

Another interesting feature highlighted by the database is linked to the question of the influence of hereditary subdivisions on the careers: the mean or average age of entry into government service decreases as the social status increases. If we look at Graph 5, it is 17½ years for the *sde dpon* of the second generation and 18 years for the third generation; for the *yab gzhis*, these ages are 19½ and 18 years; for the *mi drag* they rise to 20½ and 19 years; lastly, for the *sger pa*, they are more than 21 and 20½ years.[16] This could indicate that higher-status aristocrat families hold the prestige and the influence needed for their sons to enter the government at an earlier age. This raises an important question: was government service an obligation or a privilege for aristocrats? Melvyn Goldstein has shown that, before considering themselves in a position of obligation, aristocrats thought they had a monopolistic right to the lay side of the administration.[17]

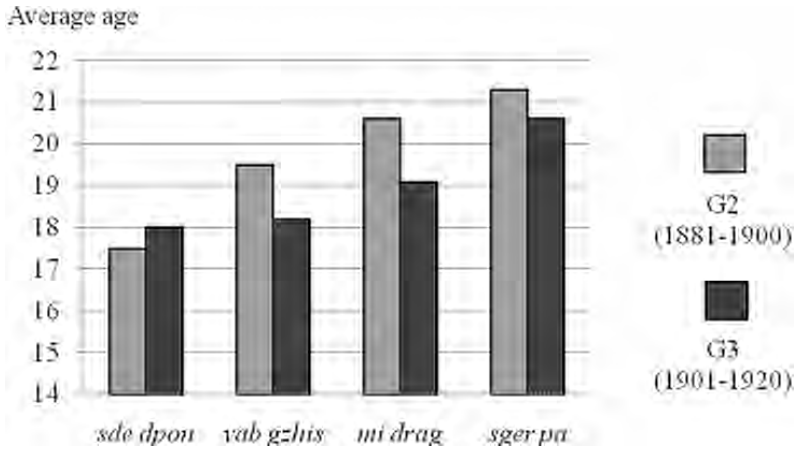
Government service had, indeed, a complex significance for aristocrats. It was compulsory and considered a duty. A noble family that could not ensure that a member would serve the government as an official could definitely be deprived of its hereditary estate(s) and loose its noble status. But, at the same time, government service was perceived by all as a privilege. The compulsory nature of government service appears very clearly in the case of some families where it looks very much like a relay: as soon as one official could no longer serve, because of illness or death, he would be replaced by another member of his family. To give some examples: in the Gnang byung house, a groom (*mag pa*) named Stobs rgyal was called in from the Klu khang house; he entered the administration just after the untimely death of the Gnang byung's son in order to ensure continuity in government

[16] Only generations G2 and G3 were taken into account here, because their respective numbers (110 and 122 officials) were large enough to make significant calculations on sub-populations (the numbers of officials in G1 and G4 are 24 and 33 respectively).

[17] Goldstein 1968: 149.

service.[18] In the Pad tshal house, Mgon po phun tshogs retired quite early, when his elder son Mgon po dbang phyug entered the government in 1938.[19] When the latter fell ill, his younger brother replaced him in government service in 1939.[20] In other families, every male—father and sons—would serve at the same time and this occurs in all hierarchical subgroups of the aristocracy.

One of my informants believes that it was a new phenomenon, during the last period of the Ganden Phodrang's existence, that although one member of each family being in government service was sufficient, families would send more.[21] In the Glang mthong zur pa house, two brothers—Yon ten rgya mtsho and Rig bsam—became monk and lay officials respectively on the same day in 1958.[22] But it appears that the reason why Rig bsam entered government service, although it had been previously decided that he would become the family estate manager (*gzhis bzhugs*), is that his elder brother and lay official Lhun sgrub rdo rje had accidently passed away.[23] It seems that for aristocratic families sending a son to serve the government as a monk official was not a way to fulfill the obligation to the state. They had to provide a lay official and, if they could and wanted, they could also have a son enter as a monk.



Graph 5. Average age of entry into government service for G2 and G3 according to social status

My second point for consideration concerns the rank held by officials upon entry into the government. As already mentioned, sons of *sde dpon*, *yab gzhis*, and *mi drag* families had the privilege of entering the government with the rank of *sras rnam pa*, which was

18 *Who's Who in Tibet 1948*: 79.
19 *Ibid*.: 89.
20 *Ibid*.
21 Anonymous interview.
22 Anonymous interview.
23 Anonymous interview.

near the fourth rank. However, it seems that some officials of higher-status families did not use this privilege. To take one example, although they were sons of a prestigious *mi drag* family, the two brothers Zur khang Dbang chen dge legs and Lha dbang stobs rgyas started their career as ordinary officials with the seventh rank.[24] On the other hand, a few sons of *sger pa* ministers during the period under investigation—for instance, the sons of the ministers Ka shod and Bon shod—started their careers as *sras rnam pa*.[25]

This actually raises the question of the *mi drag* subgroup identity, which seems to have been under negotiation during the first half of the twentieth century. Some informants described the *mi drag* as comprising all families that counted a minister among their ancestors, which means that sons of new *sger pa* ministers would have to be automatically and legitimately elevated to the *mi drag* group. Other informants, however, refused this view as erroneous: technically, the *mi drag* group comprised only a fixed number of families and no new family of *sger pa* could enter it, even by producing a minister. The study of the careers shows that these two definitions of the *mi drag* group coexisted concurrently and that the system of hierarchical divisions and ranks provided a kind of flexibility. Some *sger pa* ministers' sons preferred not to enter the government service with the *sras rnam pa* rank, apparently out of respect for a fixed hierarchical order or out of humility: for instance, when 'Phrin las rnam rgyal Klu khang, son of the prime minister (*srid blon*) Klu khang, entered the government in 1947, he could have entered with the *sras rnam pa* rank due to his father's rank, but, probably because his father asked him not to, he started with an ordinary rank (*drung 'khor dkyus ma*).[26] It was apparently considered good manners not to try to elevate oneself above one's birth rank.[27] Moreover, in a few cases the government could forbid an official from bearing the *sras rnam pa* title: according to Petech, in the *sger pa* house Glang zur, the sons of the minister were not allowed to bear it because their father had been appointed minister by the Manchu while the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was in exile in India in 1910.[28]

We come now to another interesting point in the course of the careers. To enter officially into the government did not always mean having an actual position. Out of the 441 officials in the database, lay or monk, we have information on the careers (titles and positions) of 410. For twenty of them, only the date of entry into the government

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[24] *List of Chiefs and Leading Families in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet* 1933: 22.

[25] Anonymous interview. For the son of Ka shod pa, cf. *Lhasa letter for the week ending the 30th May 1943 from Major Sheriff, Additional Assistant, Political Officer, Sikkim, Officer in charge, British Mission Lhasa* (IOR/L/P&S/12/4201).

[26] *Who's Who in Tibet 1948*: 73 and anonymous interview.

[27] Because it was not always certain, except for a few officials, that the first position mentioned in an official's curriculum vitae, as described in the sources, was the first one held, it was not possible to study precisely over the whole database the rank of the first position according to social origin.

[28] Petech 1973: 98.

is known. Hence, information on the positions held by only 390 officials is available. The database includes 1,210 positions held by these 390 individuals. Each official held between one and fourteen positions, with a median number of three different positions held per official.[29]

In the British archives, numerous officials are described as being without any official duty at the time of writing the *Who's Who* or the letter, report, or diary. Most of the time, this period seems to last a few months, but sometimes a few years, without any explanation being given.[30] The analysis of the careers brought to light a significant amount of inactivity, which existed apart from the holidays and sabbaticals sometimes taken. The total number of officials who were officially registered in the government and who took part in the many functions did not equal the number of officials who were really in charge in the administration. To take one example, a member of the Tsha rong family, Bdud 'dul rnam rgyal, was registered in the government as an official at a very young age because his family had just received a new estate for which they were supposed to enter another official into the government service. Because he was so young, he was allowed to take leave and continue his studies first, before actually working for the government. Very often, this inactivity was not intended. When he was finally available for service a few years later, he did not get appointed. His family had to decide which course of action to take and they thought that he should receive further training in calligraphy. Therefore, they requested the council of ministers (*bka' shag*) to enrol him as an assistant scribe (*bka' shag yig 'bri*) in its office, a position he held from 1940 to 1942.[31]

It appears that the government could not always ensure continuity in government service. Although it did happen that an official was appointed suddenly, and without his prior request, to another post, most of the time it was the officials' responsibility to get recruited by asking for a position and trying to secure it by various means.

All of this clearly shows that to become an official meant first gaining a status before getting a position. The British Trade Agent

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[29] Again, except for the officials interviewed or for those who wrote their autobiography, the whole career of each official is not necessarily known. Moreover, those of the last generation saw their careers interrupted in 1959 by the abolition of the Ganden Phodrang. Thus, this median number of three offices is given only to show what is in the database. It does not adequately reflect the average number of offices held by the officials.

[30] For instance Sgo mo gzhon tshang Don grub dbang rgyal, Sgog mkhar Rta mgrin dbang phyug, Rgyal grong nang bzo Ngag dbang blo bzang, Sman ri Rdo rje rgyal po, Snye mo mdo mkhar 'Jam dpal tshe dbang, Rong brag 'Jigs med, Bsam grub gling Phun tshogs rdo rje, Skyid zur Phun tshogs stobs rgyas, Snyan grong Bsod nams dbang 'dus, Skyid sbug Dbang 'dus nor bu, 'Jun zur Dga' ba rig 'dzin and Lcang ra (first name unknown).

[31] Anonymous interview.

Captain O'Connor observed at the beginning of the period: "The rank of Dung-kor is often bestowed by Government on private gentlemen, merely as an honorific title (like 'Esquire') without any public duty whatever being involved."[32] It was partly true then that service was an obligation, but it was also necessary to use one's influence and family connections to get a position. As well, a number of officials who had received their nomination remained without any activity for a short period of time while waiting to start the post.[33] We could then talk of partial inactivity that was chronic, probably because there were more officials than available jobs in the administration.[34]

Regarding now the duration of the appointment, a few informants quoted three years as being their official length, with the possibility of being reappointed and doubling the length to six years. Actually, as Melvyn Goldstein has pointed out:

> Although a few offices such as the district commissioners [*rdzong dpon*] and governors [*spyi khyab*] had a limited term of office, the majority of the offices, particularly the higher ones, had no fixed tenure and the incumbents remained in their positions until they were either promoted or demoted. Thus, for the highest offices, appointment was tantamount to granting the position for life.[35]

Other offices not mentioned by Goldstein had a limited term of three years. Two examples are the positions of *aide-de-camp* (*gzim 'gag pa*) and barley flour receiver (*rtsam bzhes pa*).[36] Even when a position had a limited length, it was possible to renew it, as previously noted: for instance, when Rdo dgon pa Bsod nams stobs rgyal was appointed district commissioner (*rdzong dpon*) of 'Phyongs rgyas, the inhabitants of the district wrote a petition to the central government after three years to have him renewed in the position (the opposite could also happen of course).[37]

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[32] O'Connor 1903: 41.

[33] When an official was appointed to an office but not yet functioning in the position, he was called by the name of the position with the addition "*tog 'dzin*." For instance, a district commissioner recently appointed but still not in charge was styled *rdzong tog 'dzin*, cf. Petech 1973: 236.

[34] A number of officials held several positions at the same time, a phenomenon discussed in Travers forthcoming.

[35] Goldstein 1968: 171.

[36] Anonymous interview.

[37] *Ibid*. For instance, it happened that inhabitants sent a request to the government to get rid of a district commissioner who did not suit them, cf. Carnaham and Lama Kunga Rinpoche 1995. See also a British report on the Western province: "The province of Nari Khorsum is governed by two high officials (Tungkor), of equal rank, sent from Lhasa. These officials are called Garpon in Tibetan, and Urku in Hindustani. If a Garpon is popular, he may retain the post for many years. If unpopular, the people over whom he rules send a petition to Lhasa, and he is changed. Some Garpons have remained nine years, while some have been changed after three years. The two Garpons now in office are very

Regarding the other positions, their length depended mostly on promotions, as the data confirm. If we consider all the positions for which the dates of beginning and end are known with accuracy, and if we take out the higher ones, which were always given for life, the number is reduced to 277 positions. They last between one and twenty years. As is shown in Table 1, even though the average duration is around three years, more officials stayed in a position for more or less than three years, than for three years exactly, which indicates that the length was first linked to promotion and not to any fixed length.

3 years	61	22%
More than 3 years	119	43%
Total	277	100%

Table 1. Time spent in office (except life-long positions)

The last aspect of the organisation of careers to be discussed here concerns specialisation. As mentioned earlier, the positions have been classified by field of activity in order to show possible specialisations in the individual careers, to test Petech's assertion, and also to reveal possible specialisations within a single family or within a hereditary sub-group of the officials (*sde dpon*, *yab gzhis*, *mi drag*, or *sger pa*).[38] From the data, it first has to be noticed that the careers of the whole group of noble officials were made in the central administration (for 49 per cent of the positions), the territorial administration (33 per cent), the army (14 per cent) and the household of the Dalai Lama (2 per cent).

Regarding the central administration, a more detailed classification of the area of activity was made by grouping the positions into the following domains: first, the three main offices (council of ministers or *bka' shag*, finance bureau or *rtsis khang*, and office of ecclesiastical affairs or *yig tshang*), then the offices of diplomacy, industry, justice, religious affairs, communications, the treasury, and other miscellaneous domains.

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popular," cf. *Report on the Trade and Trade routes between India and Nari [ngari] Khorsum, the Province of Tibet in which Gartok is situated by Lieutenant F.M. Bailey, 32nd Sikh Pioneers, Simla.* Printed by Government Central Printing Office, 1905 (IOR/L/P&S/7/178/P1082).

[38] This classification of all positions into four branches is mine, to facilitate analysis. No such classification is to be found in the Tibetan descriptions of the government, which simply give a list of all offices. This classification was difficult to establish since some offices had multiple areas of responsibility, for instance police and justice for the *mi dpon*. The *gnyer tshang las khungs* was an office that could be described either as a treasury or a municipal office.

This being said, let us examine Petech's assertion regarding the different branches followed by officials—the military branch up to the post of general (*mda' dpon*), or the treasury service up to the post of treasurer (*bla phyag*), or the financial branch up to the post of finance secretary (*rtsis dpon*). He adds that from one of these three fourth-rank positions, the officials could be chosen to become ministers. According to the data, this last part of the description is absolutely accurate, since three-quarters of the ministers during the period did actually hold the office of *mda' dpon*, *bla phyag*, or *rtsis dpon* before they were appointed as ministers.[39]

The first hypothesis, however, is invalidated by the data. Indeed, out of the twenty-five *rtsis dpon* in the database, only three had been accountants before; out of the ninety-three generals (*mda' dpon*), only seven had held a military position before being appointed to this high command post. So the vast majority of the generals were holding their first and last military appointment in this position. I first looked for an explanation for this situation in the fact that the sons of higher aristocrats starting with the *sras rnam pa* rank were appointed at fourth-rank positions (by virtue of their social status) in a field where they could not have any experience since it was the beginning of their career. However, this did not provide the explanation because the *sger pa* who were appointed *mda' dpon* or *rtsis dpon* were in the same situation of having generally no previous experience in the branch.

Thus, while the idea of administrative officers following a path of progression up through a branch of government would seem to be an ideal scheme, there were no lines of progression in the different fields of activity. Officials had more or less the same background, acquired in private schools and private tutoring, and then in the government schools, either the Potala school for future monk officials (*rtse slob grwa*), or the finance bureau school for future lay officials (*rtsis slob grwa*). They were considered non-specialised and able to fill all kinds of positions in the administration.

More generally, when we look at the whole list of positions held, it is clear that the majority of the careers were made up of positions belonging to at least two of the four domains of activity described earlier (central administration, territorial administration, army, and the household of the Dalai Lama).[40] But if individuals' careers were not specialised, there was some hierarchical sub-group specialisation (according to individuals' belonging to the *sde dpon*, *yab gzhis*, *mi drag*, and *sger pa* sub-groups).

We come now to the last point of this study: did the careers reflect a replication of the social hereditary hierarchy within the

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[39] Twenty-six out of thirty-five ministers: eight former *rtsis dpon*, eight former *bla phyag*, ten former *mda' dpon*.

[40] As there were actually very few positions for lay officials in the house of the Dalai Lama, they would work mostly in two of the other three domains.

Ganden Phodrang administration and to what extent did they offer opportunities for upward social mobility within the aristocracy?

The careers: replication or social mobility?

Theoretically, in the discourse of the aristocrats themselves, there was a high degree of homogeneity or equality in the Tibetan nobility which ensured that any aristocrat from any hereditary hierarchical subgroup should be allowed to hold any office in the Ganden Phodrang administration. Indeed, no written law forbade an official of a small noble family from being appointed to a high position, and it did happen. But the holding of the office of minister is obviously linked to the social origin of the officials, as Luciano Petech and Melvyn Goldstein have underlined. Petech observed that between 1844 and 1959, the position of minister was given to thirty-four different families. Among these families, a dozen had counted several ministers, two families three times and eight families two times. He concludes that social differentiation among the nobility was much more prevalent than one could have thought at first.[41] He adds at the same time that this phenomenon was even stronger before this period, between 1728 and 1844, a period of the same length, as the office of minister was distributed among only eleven families.[42]

Moreover, Goldstein, who also studied the origin of ministers, stressed that 72 per cent of the lay ministers came from *mi drag* or higher families and 14 per cent came from *sger pa* but very rich families. According to his calculation 86 per cent of the lay ministers came from families of high rank or rich families, or 80 per cent if the monk ministers are taken into account. He does the same calculation for the monk official position of grand abbot (*spyi khyab mkhan po*), in ten cases only, and reaches the proportion of 90 per cent of the *spyi khyab mkhan po* coming from the same privileged minority.[43] According to Goldstein, this differentiation between high and low nobility in careers came from the fact that small and poor *sger pa* noble families were interested only in lucrative positions (he mostly refers to the offices of *rdzong dpon* or district commissioner) while higher-status rich families tried to gain positions conferring prestige and authority. Thus, officials from lower families mainly worked in provincial areas whereas the higher-status families mostly worked in Lhasa. It is necessary to explore this question in more detail.

My database confirms to a certain extent the domination of the higher-status families in the highest positions, but also puts things into perspective. Again, it is important to keep in mind that the high aristocratic families represented only 13 per cent of the noble

41 Petech 1973: 18–19.
42 *Ibid*.: 19.
43 Goldstein 1968: 187.

families in general, and the *sger pa* 87 per cent of them. In order to assess in what measure career opportunities were conditioned by family origin, I calculated the proportion of each hierarchical sub-group, and especially the high aristocracy, on one hand, and the *sger pa* on the other, in all positions and titles, and finally at all ranks of the hierarchical administrative ladder.[44] The idea was to identify the positions and ranks (given by an official's position or title) where there was an overrepresentation of one group or another.

There was indeed a certain amount of professional specialisation in specific fields according to hereditary social status. Let us start with the study of the positions by domain of activity. A kind of class specialisation between high and low nobility, regarding three types of positions, is noticeable.

First, provincial careers were the special field of the *sger pa*. The position of district commissioner or *rdzong dpon* is one of the most frequently held offices in the careers of the whole group of officials, not just *sger pa* (261 such positions for 180 noble officials). The officials tried to become *rdzong dpon* near their family estate, which made the supervision of the estate easier. For instance, Lcang lo can Dbang phyug rgyal po was *rdzong dpon* of 'Ol dga' *rdzong*, which was located very near the family estate of Yar stod gzhis ka.[45] At the end of his career, Rgyal mkhar nang pa Tshe dbang rta mgrin was appointed *rdzong dpon* of Rdzong ka as a reward for his good services, because the district was again very close to the family estate.[46] Goldstein was accurate when he stated that the low nobility held the majority of the provincial or territorial positions since they represent 90 per cent of the offices of *rdzong dpon*, *gzhis sdod* and *gzhis gnyer* in the database. Their majority position holds true even for the high rank provincial offices, namely provincial governor (*spyi khyab*), which held the fourth rank and more rarely the fifth, for the Po bo region for example.[47] Moreover, if we look at the profile of the 10 per cent of officials from the high aristocracy, we notice their extreme youth (for the position) with a mean age of twenty-five years, whereas the mean age of the *sger pa rdzong dpon* at their entry into office was thirty-two years.

Second, the military appears to have been the higher-status domain. Although real military function was no longer an important part of the aristocratic identity during the period under scrutiny, a few individuals and even certain families specialised in this field. There is an overrepresentation of the high aristocracy in the position

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[44] In the database, the table or list "Positions" comprises 1,210 entries, but the precise rank is known for only 890 of them. The table "Honorific titles" comprises 109 entries.

[45] Anonymous interview.

[46] Anonymous interview.

[47] The *rdzong dpon* were district commissioners, whereas the *gzhis sdod* and *gzhis gnyer* were administrators of districts under the direct management of the central government.

of general (*mda' dpon*) (39 per cent) and even more in that of general-in-chief of the armies (*dmag spyi*) (55 per cent).

Lastly, another area of activity—diplomacy—was partly the preserve of the higher-status families. We observe indeed an overrepresentation of high nobles in the diplomatic missions abroad (52 per cent) and also in the temporary position of guide for foreigners in Lhasa or elsewhere in Tibet (*sne shan*) (45 per cent). Of all the diplomatic positions, at the foreign bureau for instance, and in diplomatic missions, 45 per cent were held by the high nobility. The officials who had received an education in India and could speak English were of course well disposed for this kind of position, and quite often came from high families.

Although hereditary status did determine to a certain extent the domain of activity and the level of positions of the officials, there was also a certain amount of internal social mobility. The study of the data shows, unsurprisingly, that the proportion of the small nobility (*sger pa*) goes up when we go down the ladder of ranks and, logically, the proportion of the high nobility (*sde dpon*, *yab gzhis*, and *mi drag*) decreases. Thus, if we take the total of all offices and titles, the two thirds of those which conferred the first, second, and third ranks were occupied by officials from the high nobility and only one third of the seventh-rank positions were held by them. These figures confirm the idea of Petech and Goldstein of a real domination of high-ranking positions by the higher-status aristocracy.

Nevertheless, it seems that in previous scholarly literature the place of *sger pa* in high positions has been minimised along with the structural opportunity for upward social mobility within the noble group—inside and outside the administration. There is a need to temper the known discrimination against the *sger pa*. Regarding the first point, a reality can always be presented in different ways. If we take into account the politically influential positions of fourth rank, including finance secretaries (*rtsis dpon*) and ecclesiastical secretaries (*drung yig chen mo*), instead of only the ministers and the grand abbot, as Goldstein did, the domination of the high aristocracy significantly decreases, from 80 per cent to 62 per cent of these positions, over the whole period.[48] Which means that *sger pa* held 38 per cent of these positions. These high positions represented a real career opportunity for some *sger pa*.

The officials of the fourth rank and above, according to Petech, were considered to form the upper part of the bureaucracy.[49] If we take into account all the positions and titles of fourth rank and above (ranks 1, 2, 3 and 4), almost half of them (49 per cent) were held by *sger pa*. Half of the *rtsis dpon* in the database (twelve out of twenty-four) were *sger pa* and one third (ten out of twenty-nine) of the lay ministers from 1885 to 1959 were *sger pa*.

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[48] This figure takes into account the prime ministers, ministers, finance secretaries and the ecclesiastical secretaries.

[49] Petech 1973: 8.

This evaluation differs from Goldstein's not only because more high positions are taken into account, but also because rich *sger pa* families have not been assimilated into the group of the high aristocracy, as is the case in Goldstein's estimation. In my opinion, this artificially conceals a type of social mobility within the group. There was indeed a movement under way during the period under study: a certain number of *sger pa* families did become richer, mainly through trade, and these new rich families could win high positions, send their children to India for schooling, etc., and intermarry with families of the higher aristocracy. At the same time some eastern trader families, again mainly because of their wealth, were being ennobled and incorporated into the noble group. All these trajectories embody social mobility and the fact that enrichment is at the heart of social upward mobility is nothing new.

Actually, some of the *sger pa* who became ministers have something in common that is worth mentioning: during their career they worked in the territorial administration, which was so common for *sger pa* as we have seen, but in this case in higher territorial positions such as governor general.[50] This type of high-responsibility office was considered a sure means of enrichment and also a way of gaining experience in large-scale administration.

Social ascent of *sger pa* always had a visible "translation" in physical terms. Most of the *sger pa* families did not own a house in Lhasa. When a member of one of these families was appointed to an administrative post in Lhasa, he lived with relatives or rented a flat in a house, as was the case for most of the *sger pa* officials interviewed. Whereas officials from higher-status families owned, in most cases, their own house. Hence, having a house constructed in Lhasa was a sure sign of success or of social ascent. Those who started their ascent rented a flat in Lhasa, and then, when they got rich enough, they would buy a house or have one built. Thus, when Bon shod Tshe brtan rdo rje (1889–1945) became minister, he bought a two-storey house in Lhasa.[51] The *sger pa* Gnang byung Spen ba don grub (1884–1951), who also became a minister, did not own a house in Lhasa at the beginning of his career either, and rented the third floor of the Rin sgang house. Then, he bought a house in Lhasa and his son became a *sras rnam pa* and was appointed as a secretary in the council of ministers (*bka' drung*). Some of the officials interviewed went as far as to assert that the possession of a house in Lhasa was a criterion for belonging to the *mi drag* group.[52]

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[50] Two were, for instance, governor of the Western province (*sgar dpon*)—Sman khab stod pa Rdo rje don grub, born 1874, and Gnang byung Spen ba don grub mentioned above.

[51] Anonymous interview.

[52] Anonymous interview.

Conclusion

Through this study of officials' careers, especially given the large sample, it has been possible first to provide insights into aspects of the Tibetan government service not previously described—for example: the age upon entry and its variation over time and according to the noble hierarchical subgroup the official belonged to; the rank at first position not always being linked to the official's hierarchical subgroup. Second, the database has made it possible to confirm and refine some aspects that were already known, like the variable length of tenure of official positions, the fact of periods of inactivity, and the definition of government service as an obligation and privilege for aristocrats. Third, it has provided an opportunity to refute Luciano Petech's idea regarding the existence of specialised branches of progression within careers, and, more generally, to underline the general non-specialisation of officials, while refining the understanding of a limited amount of specialisation, according to one's hereditary status. Finally, Melvyn Goldstein's point on the overrepresentation of higher status families in the higher ranking positions was confirmed but also balanced.

It would be interesting to know what the general tendency was regarding recruitment of high and low aristocrats into high and low positions during the nineteenth century. As underlined earlier, according to Petech, the first half of the twentieth century saw a broadening of the social recruitment of the *bka' shag*.[53] As well, a very widespread opinion among aristocrats is that the reign of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was one of increased meritocracy, and there are indeed a number of spectacular cases of ennoblement. Before his reign, according to one informant, sons of the higher aristocracy would monopolise the offices of fourth and higher rank and the *sger pa* would stay between the seventh and the fourth.[54]

Because all of the generations studied here became officials after the beginning of the reign of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, it is impossible to verify this assertion here. Moreover, because of the state of the sources, it seems that it would be almost impossible to reconstruct as many officials' careers for the nineteenth century. As for now, we can simply observe, according to the data, that this possible opening up of the higher ranks, the fourth and above, to *sger pa* officials, is not a tendency that became radically stronger after the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's reign, since the proportion of *sger pa* in these positions is no higher for the generation born between 1901 and 1920 than it is for the generation born between 1881 and 1900, but probably an earlier tendency of the Tibetan administration.[55]

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[53] Petech 1973: 19.

[54] Anonymous interview.

[55] Only these two generations present sufficient numbers to make a significant comparison.

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བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་ངོ་བོ་དང་དཔྱད་ནས་སྤྱངས་ལ་དཔྱད་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་འཇགས་ལ་ཕན་ངེས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་འགའ་ལ་རབགས་ཙམ་བྱེད་བ།

“མེས་པོའི་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་འདི་དང་རྟུང་གསོན་འདུག”

བསོད་ནམས་ཆོ་རིང་།

བྱེད་གཞི།

དབུ་ཤ་རྒྱང་རྒྱང་བྱངས་ན་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ལས་མེད་ལ། འོན་དེ་དང་བདེན་བསྒྲུབ་ན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་ཡུན་རིང་བའི་བདེ་འཇགས་ངོ་མ་ཞེག་དངོས་སུ་སྤྲུང་ཐུབ་དེས་ཡིན་ཞེས་མ་ཁས་པ་ཞེག་གིས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན།[1] དབུ་ཤ་ལེན་རིས་བྱས་ན་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ལས་མེད་ལ། དེ་བས་ཕན་ཚུན་དང་བདེན་བསྒྲུབ་རིས་བྱས་ན། བྱོད་ཡ་གཉིས་པོ་མ་ཟད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་ཡུན་རིང་པོའི་བདེ་འཇགས་ངོ་མ་ཞེག་དངོས་སུ་བསྒྲུན་ཐུབ་དེས་ཡིན། བོད་པའི་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དང་བདེན་བསྒྲུང་རྒྱུ་གལ་ཆེ་ཚུལ་ཤེས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་གནའ་ནས་བརྒྱང་སྟེ། ཞྭེམས་ནི་དང་བདེན་སྐྱོང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་གཅོ་བོ་ཞེག་ཡིན་པ་ངོས་ཟིན་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་ཞྭེམས་རྒྱུད་གནའ་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་སུ་དབུ་བརྙེས་པ་ནས་དཔང་དུ་བོད་ལ་གོམས་པའི་ཞྭེམས་ལུགས་འདི་བསྒྲུང་བའི་ཡུལ་ཁ་ཤོག་པ་མ་གཏེག་ན། ལ་ལར་ཡིག་ཐོག་གམ་ལ་ལར་ཡིག་ཐོག་མིན་པའམ། ཡང་ན་ལ་ལས་སྤྱིའམ་བྱེ་བྲག་གི་ཚ་གང་རུང་ཞེག་བསྒྲུང་སྟེ། གང་ལྟར་ཡང་ཞྭེམས་ལུགས་འདི་བོད་མི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་བརྩི་སྐྱང་བྱེད་པའི་གཞི་རྩ་ཞེག་ཀུ་གྱུར་ནས་ནང་ཟློག་འགྱུར་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཏིང་དང་ཕྱི་རུས་པ་ཤ་ཁྲག་གོ་ནས་ཀྱི་ལུས་གསིང། ཞལ་བརྗོད་པ་ངག་གི་སྤྱོར་བའི་འགྱུར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཁུག་འཐིམ་འདུག་པས། དཔལ་ཀྱང་གོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདིའི་ནང་ལ་

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[1] མཁས་པ་འདི་ནི་ཕྱི་ལོ་2009 རྒྱ་འཕའི་སྟོན་ལ་CCTV རྒྱ་ཞྭེམས་ལུགས་སྐོར་ཀྱི་གྲྭིང་སྟེགས་སུ་ཞྭེམས་མཁས་ཞེག་གིས་དེ་ལྟར་གསུངས་བྱུང། གཞུག་ནས་ངས་དྲྭ་ཚིགས་སུ་ཡང་ཡང་བཙལ་ཡང་ཁོང་གི་མཚན་དེ་བཙལ་མ་ཤེས། མཆན་འདིའི་མ་ཡིག་གི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ནི་复仇只能带来一时的快感，而维护正义却能给整个社会带来永久和真正的和平（安定？）ཞེས་གསུངས་བྱུང།

མཆོོན་ནའང་། བོད་འབངས་སུ་གོམས་པའི་ཁྱིམས་འདི་སྟོང་དབུ་གཙང་དང་སྨད་མདོ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཀུན་དུ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གང་རུང་གི་རྣམ་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་མ་ཉམས་པར་གནས་ཞིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས་རིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱུན་ཡུན་རིང་ཞུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་འབྱར་དུ་ཐོན་ཡོད་ཆུལ་དཔོས་འདི་བོད་རང་གི་དེབ་ཐེར་ཁྱེར་བ་བཙུན་པ་དག་ཏུ་འཛོད་པ་བཞིན་ཀུན་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་ལམ་དུ་སློོན་མེད་གསལ་ན། རང་ཅག་གང་རས་རིའི་རང་བས་བསྒོོར་བའི་ཡུལ་འདིར། གནའ་བཙན་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་དང་མི་ཆོོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དུག། ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་དུག་སོགས་གཞིར་ཐྱོར་ནས་ཁོད་སོ་དུག་གཏན་ཕབ་བྱུང་བ་ནས་བཟུང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་རབས་རིམ་བྱུང་གིས་རང་གི་དུས་རབས་དང་དོན་དངོས་ལ་མཐུན་པའི་ཁྱིམས་ལུགས་ལེགས་པར་ཕབ་ཡོད། ཆོོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་བྱོོན་པོ་མཁར་སོགས་ལ་བཀའ་ཕབ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༦༥༧ཙམ་ལ་བཟོས་པའི་ཁོད་སོ་དུག་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༧༣༥ལ་ས་སྐྱ་པས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་དབང་བསྒྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་དབང་ཐོར་ནས་སྤྲེ་སྲིད་ཕགས་གྲུབས་བོད་ལ་དབང་བསྒྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་དབང་དངོས་སུ་འཛུགས་པ་དང་། ཏྲ་སི་ཀུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་གཏན་འབེབས་གནད་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྱིམས་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྒོོག་པའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ཞེས་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༦༧ཨ་གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྲིད་དབང་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་སུ་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་བཀྲ་གཤིས་འབེབས་གནད་ཡོད་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༦ཨཀྵ་ལའི་བློ་མ་སྐུ་ཕྲེང་ལྔ་པ་བློོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོོས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་ཆོས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དབང་མཛད་ནས། དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་འགོ་བཟུང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གཤིབ་འབེབས་གནད་ཡོད་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༦༨ ༡ལ་གནས་དུས་ཀྱི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་སྲིད་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོོས་བློོ་དོར་གསལ་བར་སྟོོན་པའི་དྲང་ཞེལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་པའི་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་དོན་ཚན་ཉིར་གཅིག་པ་ཅན་ཞིག་མཛད་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་སོ། དེ་མིན་བོད་ལ་ཁྱིམས་ལུགས་བྱང་ཞིན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིང་མོའི་ཁྲད་འདིར་སྤྱི་ཚོོགས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སོ་སོའི་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས་ལུགས་དགོས་མཁའི་ཆོས་ཉིད་ལྟར། མཐའ་སྐོོར་གྱི་ཁྱིམ་མཆོོམ་མི་རིགས་དང་སྐྱ་མི་འབྲུ་བའི་འབྲེལ་བ་མང་པོ་འཚུགས་ཏེ།

རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག་དང་སོག་ཡུལ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་དང་ཆོས་ལུགས། རིག་གནས་སྣ་ཚོགས་བཅས་ཕྱོགས་ཡོངས་ནས་བསྡུ་ལེན་བྱས། ལྷག་པར་དུ་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱིས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་ཆོས་ལུགས་དང་རིག་གནས་ཐད་ནས་རྩ་བའི་གོ་གནས་བཟུང་ཚུན་ཆད་ནང་ཆོས་འདི་བོད་རང་གི་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་གོམས་འདྲིས་ཤིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། དུས་ཡུལ་སོ་སོའི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་ཤུགས་ཀྱེན་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང་གཏིང་ཟབ་པའི་སྐོར་ནས་ཐེབས་པས། ཞིམས་ལུགས་ཉིད་དེ་སྐབས་སོ་སོའི་ཁྲུད་ཆོས་ལྡན་པའི་མ་ལག་ཆགས་ནས། ས་གནས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ཐུན་མོང་མིན་པ་རེའང་གྲུབ་ཡོད་རྒྱང་། ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་གྱི་རིགས་པའི་ཐུན་མོང་གི་གཞི་འཛིན་སའམ་སྲོག་ལྟ་བུ་ཞེག་ཏུ་གྱུར། ཞིམས་ལུགས་འདི་དག་ནི་དབང་བསྐུར་གླལ་རིམ་གྱི་དབང་སྐུར་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་དུའང་གྱུར་ཡོད་རྒྱང་། འདིས་སྐྱིང་སྟོབས་དང་བྱོ་སྟོབས་ཟུང་དུ་ལྡན་པའི་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ལེ་ཤྲའུ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ཡུན་རིང་ཞེང་། ཐུན་མིན་གྱི་ཞིམས་ལུགས་རིག་གནས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་རྣད་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཞིམས་དགའ་ལུགས་དགའི་མིའི་རིགས་ཞེག་ཡིན་པའང་མཚོན་ལ། སྐབས་སོ་སོའི་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ལ་ཆ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་ན། བོད་ཞིམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ནང་ཁུལ་དུ་བའི་འཇགས་ཡོང་སྤུད་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཡོད་པ་ཞེས་པ་ཟད། བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་དང་མིའི་བར་དང་། ཡང་ན་བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་དང་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན། རྟ་རྩེ་ཤིང་ཆུ་བརླན་གཤེར་ཀུན་གྱི་བར་ལ་ཕན་ཚུན་རྩུང་བའི་འཇམ་པ་དང་མཛའ་བརྩེ་ཡོང་ཡོད་སྤུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ལའང་གོ་བ་གསར་པ་ཞེག་བརྟེད་སྤུད་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་ལུགས་འདིའི་ངོ་བོ་དང་ཕན་ཡོན་ཤེས་ནས་བེད་སྤྱོད་གང་ལེགས་ཤིག་ཐུབ་ན། རང་རེའི་མེས་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འདི་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྡུར་ནས་གཏན་སྡུང་ཐུབ་ཞེང་བཙན་དུ་སྒྲོག་པ་དང་། ཐ་ན་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་འདིའི་ཞེ་བའི་ལ་འང་ཕན་པ་ངེས་ཅན་ཞེག་ཐོགས་པར་གདོན་ཟ་མི་དགོས་པའི་ཐབས་ཤིག་རེད་སྨོས། དེ་བས་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཞིམས་རིག་གནས་གསོན་པོ་དེ་བོད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གཤེན་སར་འཐིམ་ནས་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཚད་གཞིར་བླུབ་ནས་བོད་པ་འདི་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གི་

མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ད་བར་དུ་དངོས་སུ་གསོན་ཉམས་རྎོ་རྗེ་ལྟ་བུར་ཆགས་འདུག་ཐུབ་སྟུང་ཀྱི་ནང་གི་རྒྱུ་དང་ཕྱིའི་རྐྱེན་གཅོ་བོ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གསལ་པོར་ཤེས་ཐུབ་པ་རེད།

དང་པོ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་འདི་ཧབ་བྱང་ཐུབ་པའི་རྩ་བའི་རྣངང་གཞི། གཅིག། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་སུ་འབངས་ལ་ཞལས་ཀུ་བསྒྲབ་རྒྱུ་གཅོ་བོར་བརྩིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོས་དམངས་ལ་བྱམས་པས་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་ངང་བཞིན་དུ་འབངས་ལ་ཞལས་ཀུ་བསྒྲབ་རྒྱུ་གཅོ་བོར་བརྩིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་གཞའ་ནས་དར་ཞིང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱུན་རིང་དུ་གནས་ཡོད། སྔོན་བྱི་ལོ་རྒྱལ་དག་ལས།[2] དང་ཐོག་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་འདིར་མ་སང་སྤྱན་དགྲས་དབང་བསྒྲུར་བ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་ལྔ། སིལ་མ་བཞི་བཅུ། ཡང་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དབང་བསྒྲུར་བ་སོགས་བགོད་ཡོད་པ་ལས། གང་ཟན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་འདིར་གནའ་གཤའ་ཁྱི་བཙན་པོའི་སྔོན་ནས་དབང་བསྒྲུར་མ་ཁན་མ་སང་སྤྱན་དགྲ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཡང་དུ་མ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པས་སྔར་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་དབང་སྒྲུར་མ་ཁན་ལ་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་པོར་བགོད་མེད་རུང་དངོས་པ་རྣེས་སུ་དཔག་ནུས། གལ་ཏེ་དབང་སྒྲུར་མ་ཁན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་རུང་ལ་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་གི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་གང་འོས་ཤིག་མེད་ན་དེ་དག་གི་མིང་ཙམ་ཡང་ཡོད་གཏ་ལ་སྲིད། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གང་འདྲ་ཞིག་རུང་རང་རང་གི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་བསྟུན་པའི་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལས་ཀའི་སྒྲིག་གཞི

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[2] མཁས་པ་ཕྲེའུས་བརྩམས་པའི་ཕྲེའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྒྱས་པ། ཤ།རཀ།ནས།རཅ། ནང་གསལ། འབོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་ཀྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་སྤོན་པོ། ཤ།ཁ།ནང་གསལ། ཚལ་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྡོ་རྗེས་བརྩམས་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ། ཤ།རཅནང་གསལ། དམུ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན་ཀྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀུན་དགའི་མེ་ལོང། ཤ།ཀ০ནང་གསལ། ཆབ་སྲིལ་ཆོ་བཏུན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་དང་ནོར་བྱང་ཙུ་རྒྱན་ཀྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རགས་རིམ་གཡུ་ཡི་ཕྲེང་བ། ཤ།རཅནང་གསལ། ནམ་མཁའ་ནོར་བུས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ནོར་བུའི་དོ་ཤལ། ཤ།རཅནང་གསལ།

་རེ་ཡོད་པ་གོར་མ་ཆག ཡིན་ནའང་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་དང་ལས་ཀའི་སྒྲིག་གཞི་གསལ་པོར་འགོད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྙེད་དཀའ་བས། སྐབས་དེའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་གསལ་པོར་བཤད་མ་ཐུབ་ནའང་། ལྷའུ་ཐོ་སྲས་ཀྱིས་མཐོད་པའི་ལྷའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ལས།[3] དེ་ནས་ཡུམ་བུ་བླ་སྐང་དུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ། ཡེ་ནས་[4]མཐོ་བ་ལ། ཕྱག་ཚང་ལྷོ་དང་སྐྱགས། དེ་ནས་ཕྱིང་བ་སྟག་རྩེར་བྱོན་ཏེ་དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་དབུ་རིམ་[5]བཏྱེས་ནས། བླའི་སྐུ་ཡ་རབས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོར་ནས། གཙོ་གལ་གྱི་ཐང་ཁྱིམས་ནི་ལྷའི་ལུགས། སྐུང་[6]དང་ལྷེའུ་[7]ཙམ་ནི་བྱུང་། དགོངས་པ་འཕྲལ་[8]གྱི་རས་[9]ཆགས་པས། གསང་བྱོས་རྣམ་གསུམ་[10]གྱིས་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་དམིགས་[11]པྱེ། མི་ལ་ཆད་རྣམ་གཉིས་དང་བཞེད་རྣམ་ལྔས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་བཅས། ཡིག་ཚང་སྟེ་དབུ་དང་དཔའ་མཚན་རྣམ་བརྒྱད་བཀའ་རིམ་པར་གནང་སྟེ། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ན་མཐའ་བཞི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞི་ཡང་དཔུ་འབུལ་ལོ།། ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་ལས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་བ་ལ་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལས་ཀའི་སྒྲིག་གཞི་བཅོས་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་ཏེ། དར་དཀར་ཀྱི་ཡོལ་བ་དབུ་རིམ་བཀྱིས་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་ལ་དཔྱད་ན། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཙོས་པའི་སྐུ་འཁོར་མཐོ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིང་བ་སྟག་རྩེར་བཅོས་ཏེ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དང་སྒྲིག་གཞི་བཟོ་བ་ལ། བློན་པོ་རྣམས་

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[3] ལྷའུ་ཐོ་སྲས་ཀྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ལྷའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་། ཤ།༢༠རནང་གསལ།

[4] དང་པོའམ་ཐོག་མ་ལ་གོ

[5] ཁང་སྒྲིའི་ཡོལ་བ་དབུ་རིམ།

[6] སྟོན་ཀྱི་ཉེ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་སྐྱོང་།

[7] གྲོང་ཆོག་མ་ཡིན་པར་གང་རྒྱན་ཀྱི་ཆོག་གིས་སྒྲོས་པ།

[8] བླ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཕྲལ་ཀྱིས།

[9] སོ་སོར་རེས་སུ་ཕྱེ་བ།

[10] གསང་ནི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་གསང་ཡིག་དང་། གསང་བྱོས་རྣམ་གསུམ་ནི་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་གསུམ་ཀྱི་གསང་བྱོས་ལ་གོ།

[11] དམིགས་ཡུལ།

ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་ནས་རིམ་པར་བསྡུངས་ཏེ་གཞན་གྱི་འགྲུལ་ལམ་འགོག་གིན་ཡོད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ངེས་ཏེ། དགུ་རིམ་མམ་རིམ་པ་དགུ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་རང་རེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྐད་ཀྱི་གོམས་སྤྱོལ་དུ་ཤེན་ཏུ་ནན་པོའི་སྐོ་ནས་དམ་རྒྱུས་པའི་དོན་སྟེ། དཔེར་ན་རྒྱུ་རིམ་པ་དགུ་བཏབ། ཡོད་དགུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟ་བུའོ། འདིར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་པརྒྱ་ཁ་ཤེ་ཕྱི་མིག་ཏུ་གཙུག་ལག་གི་ཐང་ཁྲིམས་ནི་ལྷའི་ལུགས་ཞེས་པ་སྔར་གསུངས་དྲུང་བོན་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱས་པའི་ལུགས་རྣམས་དེ་གར་རང་གཏན་འཇགས་བྱས། མི་ལ་ཆད་རྣམ་གཉིས་དང་བཞེད་རྣམ་ལྔས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་བཅས་ཞེས་པའི་ཆད་ནི་བཅད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་པས་ན་བཀའ་ཡིས་བཅད་པ་གནང་བའི་དོན་དུ་གོ་དགོས་ལ། དེ་ཡང་བཟང་ལ་ནོར་གྱི་དཔའ་དང་དང་བསྟོད་པའི་སྔགས་བརྗོད་བགྱིད་པའི་བཀའི་བཅད་པ་དང་། ཉེས་ཅན་དང་ངན་པར་ལུས་ལ་གཅོད་བརྡུང་དང་ནོར་ལ་འཕྲོག་ལེན་སོགས་བྱེད་རྒྱུའི་བཀའི་བཅད་པ་སྟེ། རྒྱ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་གཉིས་པོའི་སྟེང་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྲིད་ལ་ཕན་པའི་བཞེད་ལྡུའམ་ལུགས་སྲོལ་ལྟའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཅེས།[12] འབྲེལ་བ་མདོ་ཙམ་དང་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཙམ་འཁོད་པ་ལས་ཡིག་ཆ་གསལ་པོ་མ་མཐོང་རུང་འབངས་ལ་བྱམས་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་དཀར་ནག་བདེན་རྫུན་བཟང་ངན་བྱེད་པ་འབྱེད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡཁ་བྱུང་།

བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ནི་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་རིགা་གནས་བྱུང་འཕེལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་གལ་ཆེན་གྱི་དུས་རིམ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དང་ཐོག་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་ཏུན་ཏོང་ཡིག་རྩིང་འགའ་ལ་དཔྱད་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་རིགা་གནས་ཀྱི་འགོ་ཁྲིད་རྩེ་བོད་ཀྱི་རང་སའི་ལོ་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་དུ་མ་ལ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་མི་དང་མིའི་བར་གྱི་སྐྱིག་གཞིའི་སྲོལ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཤེན་ས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། སྲོལ་ལུགས་འདིའི་གཞི་རྩ་ནི་ཕན་ཚུན་བརྩེ་ཞེན་ཆགས་ས་ཞིག་ཡིན་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟད། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱིག་གཞིའི་རང་གི་གོང་རིམ་གྱི་འགན་འཁྱར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དབང་ཐུབ་པའི་གཞི་འདི་དམངས་ལ་

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12 ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་པརྒྱ་ཁ་ཤེ་ཕྱི་མིག ཨ༩༧༠ ནས་ ༢༠༡ནང་གསལ།

བྱམས་རྒྱུར་ཐུབ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འདི་མ་ཐོར་བར་དུ་བར་དུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་ལས་གོ་ཐུབ། སྤྱ་རྒྱལ་བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་འདོད་ནས་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་འབངས་ལ་ཞབས་ཞུ་བསྟུབ་རྒྱུ་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་ཡོད་པ་མངོན་པ་དེ་ཀུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་ལས།[13]

རྣམ་གསུམ་དུ་ནི་གནམ་རིམ་པ་བཅུ་གསུམ་བྱོ་སྟེང་ན། ཁྲི་བར་ལ་བདུན་ཚིག། ཤེས་བཟོ།། གནམ་གི་ལྷལས། ས་ག་དོག་བྱུག་དུ། །འགྲེང་འགོ་ནག་གི་རྡེ་སྐེད་གི་རྡེ། །དུད་རྩོག་ཆག་བྱ་སྐེད་ཀྱི་བྱར།། བྱོན་པོ་ལྷོ་རིགས། ཆེམ་པོ་མཆེ་གཅོ། ཕྱག་ཚང་ཤ་སྟུག། ། སྐྱི་རྡེ་ལྷ་དང་བདུད། །དུ་བརྒྱོས་ནས། ཡུལ་བོད་ཀ་གཡག་བྱུག་དུ་བྱོན་ཞེས་མཆི། །གང་ལགས་ཀྱང་སྐྱི་མངོན་སྟེ།། གདུང་སྤུ་བོད་དང་སྤུ་རྒྱལ་དུ་གསོལ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་ཀུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་ (P.T. 1286 III) ཀ། བོད་ཀ་གཡག་བྱུག་གི་རྡེར་གཤེགས་སོ། ཐོག་མ་ས་ལ་གཤེགས་པ་ཡང་། གནམ་མཐའ་འོག་གི་རྡེར་གཤེགས་པས། གནམ་ཀྱི་ནི་དབུས། ས་འི་ནི་དཀྱིལ། ཀླུང་གི་ནི་རྩ་བ། ཆུ་ཐོག་ཀྱི་ནི་མགོ་བོ།། རི་མཐོ་ས་གཅང་། ཡུལ་བཟང་། སྐྱི་འཛངས་ཤིང་དཔའ་རྩ་སྐྱེ། ཆོས་བཟང་དུ་བྱེད། རྟ་མཆོག་སུ་འཕེལ་བའི་གནས། ཆུལ་ཀྱིས་བདམས་སྟེ་གཤེགས་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉན་དང་ཚྭ་མཚུངས་པའི་ཆོས། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་ཀུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་ (P.T. 1287 III)ཀ། ཉང་ནས་ཟིང་པོ་རྩེ་སྐྱ་གསྲུ་བོ་ལྟ་ཞེག། ཧོ་ལ་ཡང་ལོག་པ་གཤེགས་པྱོགས་ཤེ་དག་བྱེད་དེ།། ཉེས་པ་ནི་ལེགས་པར་བཅུག། ལེགས་པ་ནི་ཉེས་པར་བཅུག་གོ། འཛངས་པ་སྐྱིང་ཉེ་བ།། ལེགས་པ་འི་སྲིད་བྱས་བློ་བསྟན་པ་ནི་སྲི་ཉན།། སྲི་གཅམ་བྱ་གསགས་ཀི་ངོ་ཟ་རི་བྱེད་པ་འི་ཚིགས་ནི།། ཆེད་དུ་ཡང་ཉན་ཏོ།། སྲི་འདི་ལྟེ་བུའི་ཡུས་བྱུང་ངོ།། སྲི་འཛངས་པ་དྲང་མཁང་བྱེད་པ་དང་། དཔའ་བོ་ཆུ་གང་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སྟང་སྟེ།

13 གཉའ་གོང་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་སྙིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྡིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚིགས་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་། ཤ།ཉད་གསལ།

རོ་མོ་བསྒྲུབས།། མ་འོས་བའི་ཚད་པ་ནི་ནན་ཆེ་འོ།། སྐྱེ་མཁོའ་བ་འི་ལས་ཀྱི་སྣ་གྲངས་ནི་མངས་སོ།། འཁོར་ལྡན་ཐོང་ཡོ་རྡེ་སྐྱ་སྐྱུ་བོ།། ཆོས་ལོག་ཆིང་སྲིད་གྱུར་པས།། རྡོ་བོ་ཉེས་དགུག་བྱེད་པའ།། སྐྱེ་ཆེག་གིས།། མཐོང་ཡང་།། ཉེ་པ་འི་བློ་གདབ་དུ་མ་འོས་པ་འི་ཚད་པ་ནན་ཆེས། ཆོག་དྲག་གིས།། ཇི་ག་སུས་ཀྱང་བློ་གདབ་མ་ཐོང་ངོ་། རྡོ་བོ་ནི་བློ་ན་གཐུམ་མོ།། ཁོལ་པོ་ནི་འོག་ན་སྐྲག་གོ།། རྡོ་བོ་ནི་ བློ་ན་སྐྱོ།། ཁོལ་པོ་ནི་འོག་ན་གྲུམ་མོ།། གཆིག་ལ་གཆིག་སྐིང་སྐྱེ་བརྟན་ཏེ།། ཐ་དད་དུ་སེམས་སོ།། ཇོ་བོ་ཟིང་པོ་རྡེ་དན་ཞན་ཏེ།། ཕྱེ་ལ་ཡང་ལོག་པ་གཤེགས་ཕྱོགས་ཉེས་དགུ་བྱེ་པས།། ཡུལ་གྱི་སྲིད་ཀྱང་དམའས་སོ། སྐྱེ་ཡོངས་ཀྱང་རྡོ་བོ་ལ་འཁང་ངོ།། འུང་ནས་ཟིང་པོ་རྡེ་སྐྱ་སྐྱུ་པོ་འི་བློན་པོ།། མཉན་འཕྲོ་རྒྱང་ནག་པོས།། རྡོ་བོ་ལ་གསོལ་པ།། རྡོ་བོ་ཇི་ལ་ཡང་ལོག་པ་གཤེགས་ཕྱོགས་མཐོད་པས།། སྐོལ་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ནི་སྲིད་དུ་མ་རྙང་། ཆོས་ནི་ཆོས་སུ་མ་རྙང་སྟེ། ཡུལ་གྱི་སྐྱེ་དབུལ། ཉམས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དམའ་སྟེ། ན་མོ་བརླག་ཟེན་ན་ཇི་ནོངས་ཤེས་གསོལ་ནས། འུང་ནས། ཟིང་པོ་རྡེ་སྐྱ་སྐྱུ་བོ་ཉན་དུ་མ་རྙང་སྟེ།། འདི་སྐད་ཅེར་བ་ཉེས་སོ་ཞེས།། འཇིང་བློན་པོ་ལས་སྤྱང་ངོ་། འུང་ནས་འཇིང་མ་རངས་སྟེ།། ཟིང་པོ་རྡེ་ཁྲིས་སུམ་ལ་ཤྱས་ནས།། ནག་པོ་འཁྱས་ཀེ། སྐྱུ་བོ་བས་དེ། དེ་ཁུ་ཏལ་ཀེ་བསེའ་སྐ་བཆག་གོ།།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཡང་ཀུན་ཅོང་ཡིག་རྣིང་(P.T.1287 III)ན། ཅོང་སྐུ་གཆིག་པུ་ཀྱི་ན་ཚུར་སྐྱ་སྟེ། ཚབ་ཚབ་ནི་ཁ་རོལ་ན།། ཡར་ཚབ་ནི་ཁ་རོལ་ན།། སྐྱེ་འི་ནི་སྐྱེ་བུ་སྟེ།། ལྷ་འི་ནི་སྲས་པོ་བཞུགས།། རྡེ་བདེན་ནི་བགོལ་དུ་དགའ།། སྐྱ་བདེན་གྱིས་ནི་བསྟད་ན་དགའ།། ཞེས་སྐྱིང་ལ་སེམས་པ་ཁར་ཏོར་ཆེས་བྱུང་ནས།། དབྱི་ཚབ་སྤྱན་ན་འགྲོ་བ་འི་རྣ་བར་ལྷངས་ཤེས་ཐོས་སྟེ།། དབྱི་ཚབ་ཀྱིས་ཆིག་དེ་ཏོག་ཅེས་བླངས་ནས།། ཅོང་སྐུ་ཀོད་ཟེར་བ་ལསའདེན་པ་སྐྱེད་དོ།། ཁོ་ཐོ་ཡང་འདི་ལས་མ་རངས་པ་སྐྱེད་ཀྱིས།། ཁྲོད་སེམས་པ་དང་སྐྱེ་འབྲའ་རེ་ཞེས་མནའ་ཐོར་རོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་ཐོད་ལ་ནང་བསྟན་མ་བྱང་བའི་གོང་ལའང་ཐོད་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྱིམས་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་འབྱང་ཁྲངས་རྡེ་ཡིས་འབངས་ལ་བྱམས་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་ཐད་ནས་གོ་སྐྱ་བ་དང་། འདིའང་ཐོད་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་ལ་ཞེབ་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་

རྣང་གཞི་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་ཐུབ། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པས་ཀྱང་།[14] ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེས་དབོན་བྱི་རིང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཡི་རྒྱལ་ཞིམས་ཆོས་བཞིན་སྐྱང་པ་དང་མཐོ་བའི་གཉའ་ནས་གཅོན་ཅིང་དམའ་བ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱོང་བའི་བཀའ་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་བཟང་པོའི་འོད་སྣང་སྲིད་རྩེའི་བར་དུ་ཁྱབ་པའི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཀྱི་ཡུན་རིང་ཀ་ཆེས་ཆེར་རྒྱས་པ་བར་སྐབས་སུ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སོགས་ལེགས་ཉཱཡ་མང་པོའི་ནང་དུའང་རྩེའི་ལས་ཀ་འབངས་ལ་བྱམས་དགོས་རྒྱལ་སོགས་ནན་ཏུ་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་ནོ།

གཉིས། བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོའི་སྲིད་ཞིམས་སུ་ཞུགས་ལྟེ་བུང་ཁོངས་གཅོད་རྒྱུ་གཙོ་བོར་བརྟུང་།

བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོས་དམངས་ལ་གཅེས་པས་ན་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་ཞུགས་ལྟེ་བུང་ཁོངས་གཅོད་རྒྱུ་གཙོ་བོར་བརྟུང་། སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་སྲོང་ནི་འཁྲོག་གུག་ཡོ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ལས་དྲང་པོར་བྱེད་པའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པ་དང་། དྲང་པོར་གཅོད་པ་ནི་སྲིད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་ཡིན་པས་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ཀྱིས་གནད་དེ་ཟིན་འདུག ཏུན་ཧོང་ཡིག་རྩིང་(P.T. 1287 VII)ལས། ཀེ།། རྒྱལ་འདི་ལེ་རིང་ལ།།[15] ཞང་ཞུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་དྲངས་སྟེ། ཆབ་སྲིད་མཛད་ནས།། ཞང་ཞུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིག་སྐྱེ་རྟ་ས་སྲིད་བརྟག་སྟེ།། ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་ཡིག་རྩིང་དེ་ལས། བླ་ན་རྗེ་སྐམ་ན། ཁྲི་སྲོང་བརྩན། འོག་ན་བློན་འཛངས་ན་སྟོང་རྩན་ཡུལ་རྩུང་། རྗེ་ནི་གནམ་རི་ཐྲ་འི་ལུགས།། བློན་པོ་ནི་ས་འི་ངམ་ལེན་གྱི་ཚུལ།། མངའ་ཐང་ཆེན་པོ་འི་རྒྱུན་དུ། ཇི་དང་ཇིར་ལྷན་ཏེ། ཕྱི་འི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ནི་ཡོག་བཞིར་བསྐྱེད།། ནང་གི་ཁ་བསོ་ནི་སྐྱི་ཤམས་པར་ལྷུན་སྒྲུབ།། འབངས་མགོ་ནག་པོ་ཡང་མཐོ་དམན་ནི་བསྐམས། དལ་དུ་ནི་མཆིས། སྟོན་དཔྱིད་

[14] རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས། ཤཤ།ནས་ཤཤཁནང་གསལ།

[15] སྲོང་བརྩན་སྒམ་པོ།

ནི་བསྐྱལ།། འཁོར་བར་ནི་སྤྱད། འདོད་པ་ནི་བྱིན། གནོད་པ་ནི་ཕྱི། བཙན་པ་ནི་བཙུགས། སྡོ་བ་ནི་སྨད། འཇིགས་པ་ནི་མནན། བདེན་བ་ནི་བསྐྱེན། འཛངས་པ་ནི་བསྟོད། དཔའ་བོ་ནི་བཀུར། སྨོན་པར་ནི་བཀོལ། ཆོས་བཟང་སྲིད་མཐོ་སྟེ།། མྱི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་སྐྱིད་དོ།། བོད་ལ་སྤུན་ཡི་གེ་མྱེད་པ་ཡང་།། བཙན་པོ་འདི་འི་ཆེ་བྱུང་ནས།། བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་བཀའ་གྲིམས་ཆེད་པོ་དང་། བློན་པོ་འི་རིམ་པ་དང་། ཆེ་ཆུང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཐང་དང་། ལེགས་པ་ཟིན་པ་འི་བྱ་དགའ་དང་། ཉེ་ཡོ་བའི་ཆད་པ་དང་། ཞིང་འབྲོག་གི་ཐུལ་ཀ་དང་དོར་ཀ་དང་། སླུངས་ཀྱི་གོ་བར་བསླམས་པ་དང་། ཁྲི་ཕུལ་དང་། ཕྲང་ལ་སྐོགས་པ། བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་བཟང་པོ་ཀུན།། བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལས་བྱུང་ངོ་། མྱི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་དྲིན་དྲན་ཞིང་ཆོར་བས།། སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་ཞེས་མཆན་གསོལ་ཏོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཆོས་འབྱུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྙིང་པོ་སྦྲང་རྩིའི་བཅུད་ལས།[16] སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་མཛད་པའི་ཐམས་ཅད་མགུ་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཐུགས་དྲང་ལ་སྒམ་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་གོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ནས་མཚན་ཡང་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ་བྱ་བར་གྲགས་སོ། ཞེས་གསུངས། ཞོལ་རྡོ་རིང་ཤར་ངོས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཕྲེང་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཏུ།[17] (ཤྲ༡) ༄༅།། བློན་སྟག་སྒྲ་ཀླུ(ཤྲ༢)ཁོང་། ནང་བློན་ཆེན་(ཤྲ༣)པོ་དང་ཡོ་གལ་འཚོས་(ཤྲ༤)པ་ཆེན་པོར། བཀའ་(ཤྲ༥)སྐལད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། (ཤྲ༦)བཀའ་ལུང་དང་འདྲ་(ཤྲ༧)བར་ཛེ་བླས་དཀའ་(ཤྲ༨)དགུ་ཉམསུ་བླངས་(ཤྲ༩)ཏེ་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་(ཤྲ༡༠)ཆབ་སྲིད་ཁབ་སོX(ལ) (ཤྲ༡༡)དཔེན་པ་དང་ཆེ་(ཤྲ༡༢)ཆུང་གཉིས་ལ་དྲང་(ཤྲ༡༣)ཞིང་སློམས་ཏེ། བོད་(ཤྲ༡༤)མགོ་ནག་པོའི་སྲིད་(ཤྲ༡༥)ལ་ཕན་པ་ལེགས་(ཤྲ༡༦)དགུ་བྱས་སོ།། ཏུན་ཧོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་(P.T. 1287 X) ནི། བཙན་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་རིང་ལ།། ཆོས་བཟང་སྲིད་ཆེ་སྟེ། རྒྱལཔོ་ནི་གནམ་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ཡུལ་དུ་བརྣམ་ཞིང་།། འབྲིང་

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[16] ཉང་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྙིང་པོ་སྦྲང་རྩིའི་བཅུད། ཤ༡༧༥ནང་གསལ།

[17] གཉའ་གོང་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་རྙིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚིག་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ནང་གསལ།

དུད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་དང་བདག་མཛད་པ་འི་གཙུག་ལག་ཆེན་པོ། སྤྱི་འི་དཔེར་རུང་བར་མཛད་དོ། ལེགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་དགའ་ནི་རངས་པར་བྱེན། ཉེས་ཀྱི་ཚད་པ་ནི་དམྱིགས་སུ་ཕོག་པར་མཛད་དོ།། འཛངས་པ་དང་དབའ་བོ་འི་མོ་བསྟེད་དོ།། ངན་པ་མ་རབས་ནི་ཆེས་ཀྱིས་གསོས་སོའ།། དེ་འི་ཚེ་བློན་པོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པ་འི་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བློ་མཐུན་གྱོས་གཅིག་སྟེ།། ཕྱི་འི་དབུལ་བྱུང་བ་ལ། ཐབས་དང་ཡེ་སྐྱིག་ཆེར་བྱེད། ནང་གི་ཆོས་བྱ་བ་ལ་དང་ཞིང་འབྲུས་སུ་བྱེད།། འཕྲག་སྐྱོ་དོག།ཉེས་སྐྱོ་བྱེད།། དཔའ་འཛངས་གཉིས་ཀི་རྒྱབ་པ་བཞིན་བཙལ་ཏེ། འཛངས་པ་དཔུང་པོ་ནི་ཆེ་ས་ཆུང་སར་བསྟོད་ནས། ས་ས་ཡུལ་ཡུལ་དུ་བཀོད་དོ།། འབངས་འོག་མ་དལ་ཞིང་ཡུལ་ན་འཁོད་པ་ནི།། འཛངས་དང་གཉིས་སྐོབ་བྱོ།། དམག་སྐྱེ་སོ་ལ་འཁོད་པ་ནི་དཔའ་བའི་ཐབས་དང་། རྩལ་སྐོབ་བོ།། བློ་སྐྱུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱབས་ཆེད་པོས་ཐུབ་པས།། སྔང་དབྱའ་སྤོ་བ་ཡང་སྐྱེད་དོ།། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བྱ་ན་སྐྱེད་པ་བརྟེསྟེ་མཛད་ནས།། དབུས་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྩེགས་ཏེ། ཚོས་བཅུགས་ནས། ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་སྐྱིང་རྡེ་ལ་ཞུགས་ཤིང་བདག་སྐྱེ་ཤི་ལས་བསྐལ་ཏོ།། གཡུང་དྲུང་དུ་བཏོན་ཏོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས།

བྱ་བ་གང་དང་གང་ཞེག་བསྒྲུབ་ཀྱང་རང་སེམས་དྲང་ཞིང་རང་བྱོ་གཟུ་བོའི་ངང་ནས་འཇུག་དགོས་པ་ནི་དེང་གི་འཛམ་གླིང་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཞྭིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྤོག་རྩ་བྱུར་ཞིང་། དྲང་བདེན་གྱི་རྣམ་གཞག་འདི་ནི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུན་མོང་དུ་བསྟན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཞྭིམས་སྤོལ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མིའི་ཕྱེའི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ཁོ་ན་ལ་གཟུན་འདོམས་ཙམ་མི་བྱ་བར་མིའི་ནང་གི་སེམས་རྩ་བར་བཟུང་བ་དང་། སྲིད་ཞྭིམས་ཀྱི་བྱོ་ཁ་དང་ཕྱོགས་ལ་འཇུག་རྒྱུར་ཤུགས་ཆེན་པོ་ཕུད་དེ་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་ཚད་ལྡན་ཞེག་ཡོང་དགོས་ན། ཐོག་མར་ཞྭིམས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དཔོན་པོས་རང་སེམས་དཔང་གཞུག་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སེམས་དཔའ་ཚུལ་གྱི་ཐུགས་ཁམས་ཤིན་རང་གི་རྒྱར་ངོས་ནས་བལྟས་ཏེ། གནད་དོན་ཅི་ལ་ཡང་ཐོག་མར་རང་གི་འགན་ལ་དཔེ་བཅོལ་ཤིང་རང་གི་རྒྱར་ངོས་ནས་བལྟས་ཏེ། ལོག་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་མི་བྱ་བར་རང་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀར་དགེ་བའི་ལས་བྱས་ན་དགེའོད་ཡང་དག་པའི་མི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་དང་ཚད་ལྡན་གྱི་སྤྱི་འབངས་ཞེག་གི་ངང་ཚུལ་གྱི་བྱུང་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་

འཇགས་ཤིག་བསྐྱེན་ཐུབ་ངེས་པའི་རིགས་ལམ་དང་ལག་ལེན་གྱི་ཐབས་ཤེས་འདི་གསལ་པོར་ལག་ཏུ་སོན།།

གསུམ། བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོས་སྲིད་ཞིམས་སུ་ནང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དགེ་རྩ་དམིགས་སུ་བཟུང་།

དང་པོ། བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་བཀའ་གཏེགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་གནང་བ།

བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོས་དམངས་ལ་དྲང་བས་ན་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་ངང་བཞིན་དུ་ནང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དགེ་རྩ་དམིགས་སུ་བཟུང་། བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བར་དགེ་ཆོས་བཟུང་ཞིང་ཆོས་མི་བསྟུབས་པའི་ཕྱིར་བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བཀའ་གཏེགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་གནང་བ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙན་རིང་བཞིངས་པའི་བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་རིང་ཡི་གེར།[18] (ཕྲ།)~ཅ།། ར་སྣ་དང་། བྲག་མར་ཀྱི(ཕྲ།)གཐུག་ལག་ཁང་ལས་སྟོགས་(ཕྲ།)པར། དཀོན་མཆོག: །གསུམ་(ཕྲ་)གྱི་རྟེན་བཞུགས་པ: དང་། སངས: (ཕྲ་)རྒྱས: ཀྱི་ཆོས: । མཛད: པ: འདི། (ཕྲ་)ནམ: དུ: ཡང་སྐྱི: གཏང: མཁའ་ཞིག (ཕྲ་)པར: བཀྱི: འོ: །ཡོ: བྱད: སྣུར་ད། (ཕྲ་)པའ: ཡང་། དེ་ལས: སྐྱི: དབྱི: སྐྱི: (ཕྲ་)བསྐྱང་བར: བཀྱི་འོ: །རྟེ: ཕྱིན: (ཕྲ་)ཅད་། གདུང: རབས: རེ: རེ: ཞིང: ཡང: (ཕྲ་)བཙན་པོ: ཡབ་སྲས: གྱིས: འདི: । (ཕྲ་)བཞིན་ཡི: དམ: བཅའོ: । དེ་ལས: (ཕྲ་)མནའ: ཁ: དབྱད: པ: དག: ཀྱང: । (ཕྲ་)སྐྱི་བཀྱི: སྐྱི: བསྐྱེར: བར: । འཛིག (ཕྲ་)རྟེན་ལས: । འདའམས: པའ: དང་། (ཕྲ་)འཛིག: རྟེན: གྱི: ལྷ་དང་། སྐྱི་མ: ཡིན: (ཕྲ་)པའ: । ཐམས: ཅད་ཀྱང: དཔང་དུ། (ཕྲ་)གསོལ: ཏེ། བཙན་པོ: ཡབ: སྲས་རྣ: ।(ཕྲ་)ཇེ་བློན་ཀུན་གྱིས་དབུ་སྐྱེད: དང་ཐོ: । (ཕྲ་)བོར་རོ: । གཉིགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཞིན: (ཕྲ་)མོ་གཉིག་ནི་གུང་ན་མཆིས་སོ: ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙན་རིང་ཆོས་མི་བསྟུབ་

18 གོང་མཆུངས། ཤ།།རཀ ནས་ །།ཅ་ནང་གསལ། དཔའ་བོ་གཞུག་ལག་ཁྱེད་བས་བརྩམས་པའི་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། ཤ།ཅ་ཅནང་ཡང་གསལ།

པའི་ཕྱིར་རྟེ་བྱོན་མནས་བསྐྲགས་པའི་བཀའ་གཏོགས་དང་པོ་རྣ།[19] ཅ ཅ།།བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། ཤོག་བུ་མཐིང་གა་ལ་གསེར་གྱིས་བྲིས་ནས། གསེར་ཀྱི་སྒྲོམ་བུར་བསྡུལ་བའི་བཀའ་གཏོགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བསམ་ཡས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་དཀོར་མཛོད་དུ་བཞག་པ་ལས་དཔེ་བཏྱིས་ཏེ་བྲིས་པ། ཅ།། དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་བཏང་མ་ཞིག་པར་དབྱི་བའི་གཏོགས་སྒྲོམ་བུ་ནང་ན་མཆིམ་པའི་དཔེ། ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་བཀའ་གཏོགས་དེར། ལུགས་གི་ལོ་དཔྱིད་རྒྱ་ར་བའི་ཆོས་བཟུ་བདུན་ལ་བཅེན་བཙུགས་པའི་ཚེ། ད་ནས་ཕན་ཚད། བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཅས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ་མི་གཞིག་པར་བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་དང་སྲས་ཀྱི་ཡུམ་གྱིས་དབུ་སྐྱང་བཟུང་ཞིང་ཡི་དམ་བཅས་པ་དང་། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་བློན་པོ་ཆེ་ཕྱ་མཐའ་དག་བྱོ་སྣུལ་བའི་གཏོགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་པའོ། ཅ།། ར་སའི་འཕྲུལ་སྣང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། རྒྱ་བཀྲགས་ར་མོ་ཆེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། བྲག་དམར་གྱི་བསམ་ཡས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། ཁམས་གསུམ་མི་ལྷོག་སྒྲོལ་གྱིགཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སྣུམ་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་སུ་བྷ་ནས། དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེ་བཙུགས་ཏེ། བོད་ལས་ཀྱང་ཐར་བར་གཟྱད་ཅིང་། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ་འདི་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་། མི་བཏང་མ་ཞིག་པར་བགྱིའོ། བོད་ལས་ཀྱང་ཐར་པར་གཟྱད་དོ ཅ།། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དེ་རྣམས་སུ་དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་སྣུལ་བའི་ཏྲིན་ཀྱང་རན་པར་འོང་བར་དཔག་ཏུ་བྷ་ནས་ཕུལ་པ་ལས། ནམ་ཞར་ཀྱང་མི་དཔྱད་བྱེམི་བསྒྲུང་བར་བགྱིས་སོ། དཔྱིན་ཆད་གདུང་རབས་རེ་རེ་ཡང་། བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་ཡི་དམ་བཅའ་ཞིང་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་པར་བགྱིའོ། བྱོན་པོ་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཀྱང་བྱོ་སྣུལ་བར་བགྱིས་སོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དུ་རུང་ཁྱོད་ལྷོ་བཙན་རིང་ཆོས་མི་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྟེ་བྱོན་མནས་བསྐྲགས་པའི་བཀའ་གཏོགས་གཉིས་པའི་ཡི་གེའི་མཇུག་ཏུ། གཅིག་ཏུ་ན་ཡོང་གིས་བཅང་ལ་གཅེས། གཉིས་ན་སྟོན་ཆཱིག་པའི་དཔེའ་བྱང་བས་ཐུགས་ཡིད་དོགས་ཏེ་བརྟན་དུ་མི་གཞིག་པར་

19 དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁྱིང་བས་བརྙམས་པའི་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། ཤཟཡ০ནས།ཟཡཟནང་ཡང་གསལ།

དབུ་སྐྱང་བྱོ་མནའ་བོར་བ་ཡང་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་སོ།། ཕྱིནད་ཆད་ཀྱང་གདུང་རབས་གཅིག་ཅིང་། ཡི་དམ་མཛད་པ་དང་བློན་པོ་མན་ཅད་ཀྱང་བྱོ་སྐྱེལ་བར་བགྱིས་སོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ལྷན་མའི་བཀའ་གཅོཾགས་བབ་བཅོས་མའི་ཡིག་ཕྲིང་།།།ནས།།།བབར།[20] (ཕྲ།།)བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ལས་ཀྱང་ཆོས་ལ་ངན་རྐུ[དེའམ་དགུ]བྱས་ན་ཡང་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེན[སྐྱེན་]ཚུན་ཅད་ནས་བཅའིད་གྱུན་ཞེད[བཅས་པ་དེ་ཀུན་ཞེང་]པ་བྱེད། (ཕྲ།།)དེ་བས་ན་སུ་ཡང་ཕྱར་ཀ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཀ་མ་བྱེད་ཅིག།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྤྲེ་སྐར་ཆུང་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་རྩ་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེ་ལས།[21] (ཕྲ།།)མཆོག་གསུམ་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་།། ལྷ་བཅན་པོ་ཁྲི(ཕྲ།།)ལྷེ་སྲོང་བརྩན་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་ཡང་།། སྐར་ཆུང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་(ཕྲ།།)ལས་སྟོགས་པ་བརྩེགས་སྟེ།། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ཀྱི་རྟེན(ཕྲ།།)བཙུགས་པ་ལས་སྟོགས་པ།། གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས(ཕྲ།།)འདོ་ལྷར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ་འདི།། ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མ(ཕྲ།།)ཞེག།། མ་བཏང་ན།། ལེགས་པ་དཔག་དུ་སྐྱེད་པར་འགྱུར།། (ཕྲ།།)བཏང་སྟེ། ཞེག་གམ། སྐྱེད་པར་གྱུར་ན།། སྲིག་པ་གྲངས་སྐྱེད(ཕྲ།།)པར་འོང་བས།། དཔྱིད་ཆད་ནམ་ནམ་ཞ་ཞར། འཕྲལ་ཀྱི་ལྷ(ཕྲ།།)བཙན་པོ།། ཡབ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བརྩན་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ།། དཀོན་མཆོག(ཕྲ།།)གསུམ་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་།། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པ(ཕྲ།།)སྐྱོ་གཏང་མ་ཞེག་པར།། གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཡི་དམ་བཅའོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཁྲི་ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཙན་རིང་ཆོས་མི་འཇིག་པྱིར་རྩེ་བློན་མནས་བསླབ་པའི་བཀའ་གཅོཾགས་ཡི་གེར།[22] སྡས་ཁྲི་ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། ཤོག་བུ་མཐིང་གི་ལ་གསེར་གྱིས་བྱིས་ཏེ་འཕྲལ་སྐྱེན་གྱི་སྲོོས་བྱང་བསྐྱལ་ནས། བསམ་ཡས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལ་

20 གཟའ་ཚོང་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཆོ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ཚད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་རྟིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་ལ་མི་ལོང་། ཤ།།ཨ ০ནང་གསལ།

21 ཚོང་མཚུངས། ཤ།།ཨ་རནས།།ཨ་རནང་གསལ།

22 དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁྲིད་བས་བརྩམས་པའི་མ་ཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། ཤ།ཨ ০ཉནས།ཨ།རནང་ཡང་གསལ།

བཞག་པ་ལས་དཔེ་བཀྲིས་ཏེ་བྱིས་པ། ཅ།། དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་གཞིག་པར། དབུ་སྐྱང་བོར་ནས། གཙོགས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེར་བྱིས་པ། ཡབ་ཁྱི་སྲོང་ལྷ་བཙན་སྐྱ་ཚྭང་བའི་ཚོ་བཞིག་སྟེ། ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཆོས་བྱེད་དུ་སྨྲི་གནང་བར། བཀའ་ཁྱིམས་སུ་ཡང་བྱིས་པ་ལས། ཡབ་ཁྱི་སྲོང་ལྷ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལ་དངོའ་བར་བྱུར་ནས། སྐུར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་པས་སྐྱན་པར་བྱུར་དེ། ཆོས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཆེར་མཛད་དེ། ནམ་དུ་ཡང་ཆོས་མི་གཞིག་པར། གཙོགས་ཀྱང་དམ་དུ་བྱིས་པ་ལས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དབོན་ཞང་མོལ་བའི་རྗེ་རིང་ཤར་ངོས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཕྱེང་༡༨ནས།[23] (པ།) ཅ།། འཕྲལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་འོ་ལྔ་སྦྱངས།། ཡུལ་བྱང་ས་དོད་ཚུན་ཅད་(པ།)གདུང་མ་འབྱུང་བར།། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛད་པ་ཡང་།། གང་ས་རི་(པ།)མཐོན་པོའི་ནི་དབུས།། ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོའི་ནི་མགོ།། ཡུལ་མཐོ་གཅོང་(པ།)བ་ལ་གནམ་གྱི་ལྷ་ལས།། ལྷོའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་གཤེགས་ཏེ། གཙུག་ལག་(པ།)ཆེན་པོས་ནི་ཡུན་དུ་སྲིད་བཙུགས།། ཆོས་ཞིམས་བཟང་པོས་ནི་(པ།)ཚུལ་གནང་།། བྱམས་མའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱིས་ནི་ནང་གི་ཆོས་སྨྲ་དང་(པ།)དབྱ་ཐབས་མཁས་ནས། ཕྱོའི་དབྱ་བཏུལ་ཏེ།། ཆབ་སྲིད་ནི་ཕྱི་ཞེང་ཆེ་(པ།)དབུ་རྩེ་གི་སྐར་ཞེང་བཙན་པ་[དེ་ཡང]ནམ་ཞར་[ཀྱང]སྐྱི་འགྱུར། བྱིན་རྒྱ་(པ།)ཉམས་པའི་གཡུང་དྲུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ནི་ཆེ།། དེའི་ཕྱིར། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་(པ།)ཀྱི་མོན་དང་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཀ་ཅིག་དང་། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དྲུ་གུ་ནི་(པ།)སྐྱིལ་ལ་སྟོགས་པ།། གཡུ[གཱ]རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟོམ་ན[ས་ཀོ]ར་བྱ་ཀུན་ཀྱི[ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་] (པ།)འཕྲལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཙན་པོའི་དབུ་རྩོག་བརྒྱན་པོ་དང་[ཆོས་བཟ]ང་བོར་ནི་(པ།)ཕྱོགས་སྐྱི་གུས་པ་སྐྱེད་དེ།། ཐན་ཚུན་དགྱེས་ཤིང་།། བཀའ་སྟུལད་དོ་ཆོག(པ།)ཉན་པ་ཡིན།། ཤར་ཕྱོགས་ནི་རྒྱ་འདུག་པ།། མཚོ་ཆེན་པོའི་[ཚུན་ཅད]ཀི་མ་(པ།)ཤར་པ་ལོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟེ།། ལྷོ་བལ་[སྟོབས]གཞན་དང་སྐྱི་འབྲུ་བར་[ཡུལ་གྱི] (པ།)ཆོས་བཟང།།

23 གཉའ་གོང་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་རྙིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མི་ལོང་། ཤ།ཨ།ཁ།ནས།ཨ།ཅ།ཤ།ནད་གསལ།

གཐུག་ལག་ཆེ་བས།། བོད་དང་ཡང་།། འཐབ་ཀྱི་རླུ(ཕུར་)ཀྱི་དོ་སྟེ།། དང་པོ་རྒྱ་རྡེ་ལི་རྒྱལ་སར་ཞུགས་ནས།། དེའི་ཏང་གི་སྲིད་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ བྱས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། མཚུར་ཕུའི་རྡོ་རིང་[24]གི་ཡིག་ཐྲེང་ཨ་ནས་ཉ་ཤའི་བར་དུ། (ཕུཾ)ཁ།།བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྲས་ཡབ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ་(ཕུཅ)དམ་པའི་ཆོས་བརྟེས་ནས།། གདུང་རབས། (ཕུཤ)སུ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལྷོ་གཏང་ཞིང་མཛད་པར། (ཕུཉ)ཆོས་གཅིག་དང་། བཀའ་ལུང་སྩལ་ལ་(ཕུཉ)ལས་འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན། ཞང་ཆོས་པོང་ཁ་སྟོས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པས་ནང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དགེ་རྩ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་འདི་བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཁྱེན་ནས་བཀའ་བསྩོ་གནང་ནས་ཁུ་སྤུང་དགོས་པར་དམིགས་ནས་དེང་སང་བར་དུ་ཤུགས་ཆུན་ཞེབས་ཡོད་པ་དེའོ།

གཉིས་པ། བཙན་པོས་དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་སྟོམ་པ་རྩ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞིར་བཟུང་བའི་དེབ་ཞིབ་གྱི་འགོ་ཁྲིད།

བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གཏན་ཕབ་བྱུང་བའི་བདེན་དཔང་ནི་ཏུན་ཧོང་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ལས་གསལ་ལ་ཏེ། ཏུན་ཧོང་ཡིག་རྟིང་(P.T. 1288)དུ། ཡོས་བུའི་ལོ[སྦྱི་ལོ་ཁཾཁ]ལ་བབས་སྟེའང་། བཙན་པོ་མེར་ཁེ་ན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། བློན་ཆེ་སྟོང་རྩན་བྱིས། འགོར་ཏྲིར། བཀའ།བྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྱིས་ཕར་ལོ་གཅིག་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན། ཏུན་ཧོང་ཡིག་རྟིང་(P.T. 04)དུ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ་རྒྱས་པར་བཅད་པའི་མདོའི་ཡིག་ཆ་འགའ་ད་ལྟའང་དཔོས་སུ་མཐལ་རྒྱུ་སྣང་། (P.T. 999)ཡི་བསྟོ་ཡིག་ཁ་བའི་ཡིག་ཐྲེང་ཉདང་ཉཁཉཤོ་སོགས་སུ། (ཕུཉ)བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྲས་འཕྲེའུ་དུན་བརྒན་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཡོན་དུ་བསྟོ་བའི་སྨོན་ལམ་དུ་གསོལ་པ།། (ཕུཉཁ)དང་།། ཀྱི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་སྟོགས་པ།། ལས་གང་གིས་ནད་མང་བ་དང་ཚེ་ཐུང་བར་འགྱུར་བ། བཀྲིས་པ་དང་བཀྲིད་དུ་(ཕུཉཤ)ནས། སྐྱན་ཅད་ཀྱང་སྟོམ་པར་བཀྲིའོ།། དམ་པའི་ཆོས་བསྟུང་བ་དང་།། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བྱིན་ཆེན་པའི་སྲིད་བཅའ་བ། ཞེས་གསུངས།

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24 ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙན་རིང་བཞེངས། གོང་མཚུངས། ཤཁཁཤནང་གསལ།

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་བློན་པོ་མཁར་སོགས་ལ་བཀའ་ཕབ་ནས་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཕབ་ཚུལ་དེ། དབྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་ལས།[25] དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་སྟེང་དུ་ཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་གུས་པ། ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཞིང་བློ་ཁོག་ཡངས་པ་སྟེ། མི་ཆོས་གཅོང་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་ཁྲིམས། བཙན་པོས་ཕྱག་རྒྱས་བཏབ་སྟེ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ལ། ཡང་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མི་ཏོག་སྟིང་པོ་སྦྱང་རྩི་འབྱུང་ལས།[26] དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་བཅས་ཏེ། ཞེས་གསུངས། རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་ལས།[27] ཁ་བ་ཅན་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འདི་ཉིད་དུ།། དགེ་བཅུའི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་མཁའ་ལ་ཉི་ཟླ་བཞིན།། བོད་ཡུལ་གངས་ཅན་ཁྲོད་འདིར་ཁྲབ་པར་མཛད།། ཞེས་གསུངས། ལྷོའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྒྱས་པ་ལས།[28] དུས་དེ་ཙ་ན་མི་ཆོས་བཅུ་དྲུག་གིས་སྤྱོད་ལམ་གྱི་ཁ་བཟང་། ལྟ་ཆོས་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་དོན་གྱི་དཔེ་བླངས་ནས་ལུས་ངག་གིས་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤྱད་པས་མཐོ་རིས་དང་ཐར་བའི་ལམ་སྟོན། དེ་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ཡུལ་གང་བཅས་ཤེང་། དུས་ཆོད་ཅི་ཙམ་ན་བཅས་ན། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་ཡུལ། ཞེས་གསུངས། དེབ་ཐེར་སྐྱོན་པོ་ལས།[29] བཙུན་མོ་གཉིས་པོས་ཀྱང་འཕྲུལ་སྣ་དང་ར་མོ་ཆེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། གསོད་པ་དང་བརྐུ་བ་དང་བྱི་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཆད་པ་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ལེགས་པར་བཅས། འབངས་རྣམས་ལ་འང་ཡི་གེ་དང་། མི་ཆོས་བཅུ་དྲུག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ལེགས་པར་བསླབ་སྟེ། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།

དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྟེ་སྲོག་མི་གཅོད་པ་དང་། མ་བྱིན་པ་མི་ལེན་པ་དང་། ལོག་པར་མི་གཡེམ་པ་དང་། རྫུན་དང་ཕྲ་མ་དང་ངག་འཆལ་དང་ཚིག་རྩུབ་སོགས་སྤྱོད་བ་དང་། བརྣབ་སེམས་དང་གནོད་སེམས་

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25 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དབྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས། ཤཟཟནང་གསལ།

26 ཉང་ཀྲི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མི་ཏོག་སྟིང་པོ་སྦྱང་རྩི་འབྱུད། ཤ༧པཡ་ནང་གསལ།

27 ས་སྐྱ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། ཤཔཔནང་གསལ།

28 མཁས་པ་ལྷོའུས་བརྩམས་པའི་ལྷོའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྒྱས་པ། ཤཟཡ་ཅནང་གསལ།

29 འབོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་སྐྱོན་པོ། ཤ༦ཡ་ནང་གསལ།

དང་ལེགས་ལྡ་སོགས་མི་བྱེད་པ་བཅས་གཞིར་བརྩང་ནས། ཏ་ལམ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཁ༥༧ལ་བཟོས་པའི་ཁོད་སོ་བྱག་འདི་བྱུང་། གཞན་ཡང་བཅའ་བ་བཞིའི་ཁྲིམས་[30]ནི་བོད་རྗེ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་མཛད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་སྟེ། བསད་པ་ལ་སྡོང་འདེད་པ། བརྐུས་པ་ལ་བརྒྱད་འཇལ་ངོ་དགུ་འདེད་པ། འདོད་ལོག་སྤྱད་པ་ལ་བྱི་རིན་འདེད་པ། རྫུན་སྨྲས་པ་ལ་མནའ་སྐོག་པ་སྟེ་བཞིའོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དག་ལས་དེག་བ་བཅུ་བཙན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་བརྩང་ཡོད་པའི་ཁུངས་གསལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་གོ་སྐབས།

བཞི། བོད་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་སོ་སོའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་དང་ཞལ་ལྟེས་
དེག་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་རྩ་བར་བརྩང་།

ཆོས་སྲིད་རྩང་འབྲེལ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་སོ་སོའི་ཞལ་ལྟེའི་རྩ་དོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་བརྗོད་དུ་གཞི་འཛིན་ས་བཙན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིན། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་མཐུག་རྩོགས་བར་དུ་ཆོས་སྲིད་རྩང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་ཆགས་མེད་རྒྱང་། ཆོས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་ལ་བྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཚུལ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་སྐྱང་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལ་ཁྱེ་ལྟེ་སྲོང་བརྩན་གྱིས་གནང་བའི་བཀའ་གཏོགས་དབུ་སྟོང་ཞྭ་ལྟ་ཁང་གི་རྩོ་རིང་དང་པོའི་ཆོག་ཕྱེད་ཀནས་ཨཀྱ།[31] (ཕྱ་)ཅ།། གནམ་ལྟབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། འཕྱལ་གྱི་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི (ཕྱ་)ལྟེ་སྲོང་བརྩན་གྱི། བཀས།། བན་དེ་སྐྱང་(ཕྱ་)ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན། དབུ་སྐྱང་གཙོགས་གཡུང་དྲུང་དུགནང་བ། (ཕྱ་)བན་དེ་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན་ལྟ་ཞེག། གདོད་ནས་མཐར་སྐྱིང་ཀེ་སྟེ། ང་(ཕྱ་)སྐུ་རྒྱང་དུ་རྣ། ཆབ་སྲིད་མ་བཞེས་པའི་བར་དུ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་ཀྱི་

30 ཏཻ་ཁྱུན་ཞོན་དང་ཏོ་ཌུ་ཚུན་ཆི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲིགས་པའི་ཁོད་རྒྱ་ཁབ་སྐྱར་གྱི་ཤེས་བྱའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཆོག་མཛོད། ཤ་ཀ་ཁ་ཤོནང་གསལ།

31 གཉའ་གོང་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཆོ་བཅུན་གྱིས་བསྒམས་པའི་ཁོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་སྐྱིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་། ཤ་ཀ་ཁ་ཤོནཀ་ཤ་ཀ་ཁ་ཤོནང་གསལ།

གོ་བྱསྟེ (ཕྱ་༦)ལེགས་པ་ལ་ཞེན་པར་བྱས། ཞང་རྒྱང་པོའི་གོ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྐུ་བཙས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དབུ་སྐྲ་ཞྭ་ལྷུ་ཁང་གི་རྟོ་རིང་གཉིས་པའི་ཡི་གེའི་ཚིགས་ཐེད་༡ནས་༢༤བར་དུ།[32] (ཕྱ་༧)་ཅ།། སྐྱིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷས་མཛད་པ།། འཕྲལ་གྱི་ལྷ (ཕྱ་༢)བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་སྲོང་བརྩན་གྱི། བཀས།།(ཕྱ་༣)བན་དེ་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན།། དབུ་སྐྱང་གཙོགས་སྐད་ཀྱིས་(ཕྱ་ཨ)གནང་བ།། བན་དེ་ཏིང་ངེ་འཛིན། ངའི་ཚབ་སྲིད་འདོན་(ཕྱ་ཀ)ཅིང་། ཞོ་ཤ་ཆེནཔོ་འབུལ་འབུལ་བ། གཙོགས་སྔ་མ་(ཕྱ་༦)གནང་བའི་ཚོའང་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དང་། ཞོ་ཤའི་ཏྲིན་བཞིན་(ཕྱ་ཉ)བཀའ་དྲིན་འོས་པ་ཙམ་དུ་གནང་བ་ལས། བན་དེ་ཉིད་(ཕྱ་ང)ཀྱིས། བཀའ་དྲིན་སྐྱོ་ནོད་པར་གསོལ་ནས།། གཙོགས་(ཕྱ་ཉ)རན་པར་དཔགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་ཕྱི་ཞིང་སྐད་པ་ཞོ་(ཕྱ་༡༠)ཤའི་ཏྲིན་དུ་མ་བབ་སྟེ། བཀྲ་དྲིན་ཆུངས་ཤིང་ཐམ་པར་(ཕྱ་༡༡)བྱུངས།། བམ་དེ་ཉིད་ངེ་འཛིན་གྱིས། ངའི་ཞ་སྔར་ཚབ་སྲིད་(ཕྱ་༡༢)གསོལབ་ནས། ངའི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། སྐུ་རབ་ཚབ་སྲིད་ལ་འཕྲལ་(ཕྱ་༡༣)ཡུན་གཉིས་སུ་ལེགས་པའི་བཀའ་བློས་གསོལབ་ཅིང་(ཕྱ་༡༤)སྤྱིར་དཔེན་པའི་ལས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱས་པ་དང་། བླ་འོག་ཕྱོགས་(ཕྱ་༡༥)སུ་བདེ་བ་དང་། ཐན་པའི་མདོ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་བྱེད།། སྐྱིང་(ཕྱ་༡༦)ཀེ་ཀེ་སྟེ། ཞོ་ཤ་ཆེར་ཕྱལ་བ། བཀའ་དྲིན་གཙོགས(ཕྱ་༡༧)བསྐྱེད་པར། ངའི་ཐུགས་ལ་དགོངས་ན། བན་དེ་ནི་གཙོགས་(ཕྱ་༡༨)སྔར་གནང་བས་འཆལ་ཏེ་རྒྱི་བསྐྱེད་པར་གསོལ་གྱིས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་གཉིས་ལས་གོའོ།།

བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་ཆོས་སྲིད་ཟུང་འབྲེལ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཆོས་འདི་སྲིད་ལས་ཆེ་རུང་བཙན་པོའི་ཞྱིམས་མ་ཉམས་པར་རྒྱུན་བསྲིངས། བོད་སིལ་བུའི་དུས་སྐབས་ནས་ས་སྐྱའི་དུས་རབས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཞྱིམས་སྲིད་སྐོར་མདོ་ཙམ་གླེངས། སྐྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༤ལ་ས་སྐྱ་པས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་དབང་བསྒྲུབ་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་དབང་ཐོར་ཞེག་ཏུ་སོང་ནས་སྟེ་སྲིད་ཐག་གྲུབས་བོད་ལ་དབང་བསྒྲུབ་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་དབང་དངོས་སུ་འགོ་འཛུགས་པ་དང་། ཏྲ་སི་ཏུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙའ་

32 གོང་མཚུངས། ཤ་༡༤ནས་༡༥བར་གསལ།

ཁྱིམས་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྒོག་པའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅོ་ལྔ་ཞེས་པའི་དབུས་ཀྱི་རྩ་དོན་བརྗོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ།[33] ཅེས་མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་རྣམ་སྨིན་བཟོད་གླགས་མེད་པ་གསུངས་ཏེ། མི་དགེ་བཅུ་སྤྱོང་གི་ཁྱིམས་བཅས་སོ། དཔལ་མགོན་འཕགས་པ་གླུ་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གདམས་པ་རིན་ཆེན་འཕྲེང་བ། བློན་པོ་ལ་གདམས་པ་ཞེས་རབ་བརྒྱ་པ། མི་དམངས་ལ་གདམས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོ་གསོ་བའི་ཐིགས་པ་སྟེ་མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤྱོང་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་གསུམ་མཛད་ཞེས་གསུངས།

དེབ་ཐེར་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་ལས།[34] དེ་ཡང་དཔལ་ལྡན་ས་སྐྱ་པས་བོད་ཪམ་དུ་མ་ཟད་བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་མངའ་དབང་བསྒྲུབ་ནའང་། གདུང་རྒྱུད་ཞལ་ངོ་རྣམས་ཐུགས་འདོད་ཀྱི་འཐེན་པོགས་སོ་སོར་སོང་ཞིང་། དཔོན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཉིག་མི་ཆགས་པར་སྤོ་ལེན་མང་ག་གོང་མའི་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱང་ཉོར་ཀྱི་ཤའན་ཁོར་པའི་ཉང་ཟོམ་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན། ཐང་ལྷོད་དང་མཐོ་དམའ་ཤེ་རིགས་པ་དང་། ཁྲད་པར་ཉོར་ཁྱིམས་ལ་མི་བསད་ན་སྲོག་ཚའ་ཏུ་སྲོག་གཉོང་བས་མཆོན་པའི་ཁྱིམས་རྣམས་སྤྱིག་པའི་ལས་ཤས་ཆེ་བར་བརྟེན། བོད་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གོང་མའི་ལུགས་སྲོལ་བཟང་པོ་དག་ག་བཅུས་གཞི་བཟུང་ག་འདི་ཉིད། ངྷའི་སི་ཀུས་གཙོ་བོར་མཛད་པར་བཞེད་དེ། ཞེས་གསུངས། ཡང་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་ལས།[35] ཚུལ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐྱབ་པར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཁས་ཞན་རྣམས་ཡལ་བར་དོར་ཅིང་། དེགས་པོ་རིངས་སུ་བཅུག་པ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་བདེན་རྫུན་ཐང་མར་བརྟལ་ནས། དཀར་ནག་ཤན་འབྱེད་པའི་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་རྒན་མོ་གསེར་ཁྲུར་ལྟ་བུར་བདེ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ། ༡༦ དཔའ་བོ་སྤྱག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།

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[33] ཚབ་སྦྱོལ་ཚོ་བརྒྱན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འཐབ་འཁྲུར་ནས་བསྒྱིགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤུ་རབས་ཁྱིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཚ་བདམས་བསྒྱིགས། ཤ༥ཐནང་གསལ།

[34] རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྟ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས། ཤ༧རྒཔནང་གསལ།

[35] བོད་མཛུངས། ཤ༧རྒཔནས༧༥ཨནང་གསལ།

༢།ས་མ་ཕའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༣།སྟེ་མོ་ལས་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[36] ༤།ཞུ་བཞེས་བདེན་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༥།བརྡུང་བཀྱིགས་ཞིམས་རའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༦།ནག་ཅན་ཁྲག་བཅོར་(སྲོག་)ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༧།དྲན་འཛིན་ཆད་ལས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༨།རོར་འདྲ་ཟ་ཤུང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[37] ༩། བསད་པ་སྟོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[38] ༡༠།རྣས་པ་ཁྲག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[39] ༡༡།བསྟོན་ཏོལ་(རྩོལ)མཉའ་བསྐྲག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[40] ༡༢།བརྒྱས་པ་འཇལ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[41] ༡༣།ཉེ་འབྲེལ་འབྲལ་བརྒྱམས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[42] ༡༤།བྱི་བྱས་བྱི་རིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།[43] ༡༥།ནམ་ཕར་ཚུར་[44]ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་ཞེས། ཞིམས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅོ་ལྔའི་རྣམས་བྱང་ཞིབ་ཏུ་གསུངས་ཡོད།

སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༧༤ལ་གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྲིད་དབང་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་སུ། གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོས་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་པའི་ཞིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་དབུས་རྩ་དོན་དུ།[45] ཡང་དག་པར་རྗོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་གཉེན་པོར་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་གསུངས། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཆོས་

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36 ཡས་བྱེད་པས་རང་དོན་སྒྲུབས།

37 རོར་འདྲར་དཔོན་ཁྱེར་ཀྱི་མི་ལ་བརྩི་འཇོག་དང་མི་སྣས་ཀྱང་བབས་འབྲེལ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་དགོས།

38 རོར་ལྷགས་ལ་སྲོག་ཚབ་སྲོག

39 མི་རབ་འབྲིང་ཐ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་ཁྲད།

40 སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོས་རྩྭན་བྱས་པ་ལ་མཉའ་སྐྲོག་གོ

41 སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོས་ཀུས་ན་བརྒྱད་འཇལ་དངོས་དང་དགུ་འདེད།

42 ཕན་ཚུན་བགེ་མ་གཉེར་ལེན་ཀྱི་ཐད་ནས།

43 སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོས་འདོད་ལོག་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ་རིན་འདེད།

44 ནམ་ཕྱེད་ཚུན་དང་ནམ་ཕྱེད་ཕན་ལ་ཕྱུགས་གཡར་བའི་འཆི་ལྟགས།

45 ཆབ་སྲིལ་ཆོ་བརྟན་ཕྱན་ཆོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འགན་འཁྲང་ནས་བསྐྱོགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་རབས་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། ཤཁ།ཁནང་གསལ།

རྒྱལ་མེས་དབོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམས་བཅས་ཏེ་ཞེས་གསུངས་ནས། ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། ༡༽ དཔའ་བོ་སྐྱག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༢༽ སྤྲང་མ་ཕྱེ་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༣༽ རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་ལོང་གདོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེའམ་སྟེ་མོ་ལས་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༤༽ ཞུ་བཞེས་བདེན་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༥༽ བཟུང་བཀྱེགས་ཁྱིམས་རའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༦༽ ནག་ཅན་ཁྲག་སྦྱོར་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༧༽ དྲན་འཛིན་ཆད་ལས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༨༽ ཅོར་འབྲ་ཟ་ཤང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༩༽ བསད་པ་སྟོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༠༽ རྟུལ་པ་ཁྲག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༡༽ བསྟོན་ཆུམ་མནའ་དག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༢༽ བརྐུས་པ་འཇལ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༣༽ ཉེ་འབྲེལ་འབྲལ་སྤྱམ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༤༽ བྱི་བྱས་བྱི་རིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༥༽ ནམ་ཕར་ཚུར་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༦༽ ཀླ་ཀློ་མཐའ་འཛོབ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ[46]བཅས་བཅུ་དྲུག་གོ །

དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ནི། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༤༢ལ་ཏྲ་ལའི་བླ་མ་སྐུ་ཕྲེང་ལྔ་པ་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་ཆོས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དབང་མཛད་ནས་དགའ་ལྡན་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་འགོ་བཟུང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ། ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་དུ་[47]ཏྲ་ལའི་བླ་མ་སྐུ་ཕྲེང་ལྔ་པའི་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ལེའུ་ཡི་དབྱས་ན། བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་འདིར་འཕགས་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་ཞིང་ཁམས་གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་སྟོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་དབོན་རྣམ་གསུམ་དང་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཁོང་གིས་གཏན་ཕབ་གནང་བའི་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཏུ་[48]ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་སྟོན་དུ་མཛད་ནས། ལུས་སྟེང་གི་

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[46] རྒྱ་བོད་ཅོར་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས་འཛོས་པ་རྣམས་ཚུར་བཀོད་པ།

[47] ཆབ་སྲིལ་ཆོ་བཏྲན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གཅོ་འཁུར་ནས་བསྒྲིགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་རབས་ཁྱིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། ཤ༡༩༥ནང་གསལ།

[48] བོང་མཚུངས། ཤ༡༧༧ནང་གསལ།

འཚོར་བའི་སྤྱག་བསྟལ་ཉམས་སུ་ལྷོང་བ་དེ་ཐུགས་ཀྱིས་མ་བཟོད་པར་ནག་ཆེན་ཀྱི་ལུས་ངན་དེ་རྣམས་དེ་མ་ཐག་གནས་སྐབས་ཤི་ནས་ཞེས་གསུངས་སྟེ། ཁོང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐྱ་མའི་ཞིམས་ལུགས་གཅོར་བཟུང་ནས་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚན་ཡང་ཁ་གྲངས་ཅུང་ཇེ་ཉུང་བཀང་ནས་ཞིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཏུ་གསུམ་གཏན་ཕབ་གནང་བྱུང་བ་ནི། ༡༽ རྒྱལ་པོ་མི་ལོང་གདོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེའམ་སྟེ་མོ་ལས་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༢༽ ཞུ་བཞེས་བདེན་འཛིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༣༽ བཟུང་བཀྲིགས་ཞིམས་རའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༤༽ ནག་ཆེན་ཁྲག་སྟོང་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༥༽ དྲན་འཛིན་ཆད་ལས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༦༽ ཅོར་འབྲ་ཟ་ཤང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༧༽ བསད་པ་སྟོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༨༽ རྒས་པ་ཁྲག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༩༽ བསྟོན་ཉམ་མནའ་དག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༠༽ བཤུས་པ་འཇལ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༡༽ ཉེ་འབྲེལ་འབྲལ་སྡུམ་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༢༽ བྱི་བྱས་བྱི་རིན་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༣༽ ནམ་ཕར་ཚུར་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅས་སོ།

གོང་གི་ཚོས་སྲིད་ཟུང་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ལུགས་འོག་གི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་གསལ་བའི་སྲིད་ཞིམས་འདི་དག་ཕབ་མ་ཁན་ནི་བྱང་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་པ་དེ་ཕར་ཕྱིན་དྲུག་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་ཐུབ་བྱས་ནས་ཚོས་ལུགས་གཙོགས་སུ་བཟུང་ནས་བཙུན་པའི་ཚུལ་འཛིན་པ་ལ་ཡང་ཤེན་ཏུ་སྤྱོ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉའི་སི་ཏུ་དང་། དགེ་སྤྲོང་རྣམ་དག་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ལྷ་བྱས་ཚོས་སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀཱའི་དཔོན་ས་བསྟམས་ན། འཛིག་རྟེན་ཀྱི་བྱ་བའི་ཆེས་སྟོབ་ཆེ་སའི་ཚབ་སྲིད་འདི་དག་ཏ་བཙུས་སྟོམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲུངས་ན་ཀུན་ཀྱི་ཡིད་སྤྲོན་སའི་ལམ་ལུགས་ཞིག་ཡོང་ངེས་ཡིན་སྨྲམ་ནས། ཁོང་རྣམ་པས་ཀུན་སྤྲོང་རྣམ་དག་གི་སེམས་བསྒྲིང་ཀྱིས་ཚོས་སྲིད་ཟུང་འབྲེལ་ཀྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་འདི་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱུན་བསྒྲངས་ཞིང་། སྲིད་འདིར་གཏོགས་པའི་དགེ་བཙུ་གཞིར་བྱུར་བའི་ཞིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་ཀུན་སྤྲོང་ཤེན་ཏུ་རྣམ་དག་གི་སྤྲོ་ནས་ཕབ་བྱུང་གནང་དགོས་པ་ལ་གདོན་མི་ཟའོ། དེ་བས་ན་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ཀྱི་ལེགས་ཚ་འདི་རྣམས་ད་བར་དུ་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་མ་ཉམས་པར་གསོན་འདུག།

གཉིས་པ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་འགའ།

གཅིག། ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚན་རེ་རེར་གཉན་བཅན་ཀྱི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་ལྟན།

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཅན་སྐབས་པོས་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་དོན་ཚན་སོ་དྲུག་གམ་ཁོད་[49] སོ་དྲུག་ཅེས་པ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་དགོས་པ་ནི། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་དང་ཆོ་ཐ་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས་བོད་ཡོངས་གཅིག་བྱང་བྱང་བའི་སྲིད་དབང་དེ་སྤ་བཏྲན་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་དང་། སྟོབས་དང་ལྡན་རྒྱ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་འཇགས་ཀྱི་སྐོ་ནས་ཐོན་སྐྱེས་དག་གོང་དུ་སྤེལ་རྒྱུ་དང་། མཐའ་མཚམས་བཏྲན་པོ་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་བཅས་དགོས་པ་དུ་མའི་ཆེད་དུ་ཡིན་པས་ན་གཉན་བཅན་ཀྱི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་ལྟན་དགོས་པ་སྟོས་མ་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནོ།། དཔེར་ན་ཁོད་སོ་དྲུག་གི་ནང་དོན་ཀྱི་ཆ་དང་ཕྱི་ཚོག་གི་སྟྲོར་བ་གང་ཐད་ནས་གཉན་བཅན་ཀྱི་ཁྲད་ཆོས་འཛོམས་ཡོད་པ་དེ།

གཅིག ཁོད་སོ་དྲུག་ལས་བཀའ་ཡི་ཁྱིམས་ཡིག་ཆེན་པོ་དྲུག་ནི།

༡ ཁྱིམས་རྩེ་འབྲུམ་གཞིར་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས་དང་།[50]

༢ འབྲུམ་གསེར་ཐོག་ཤ་ཅན་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས།[51]

༣ རྒྱལ་ཁམས་དཔེར་བྱང་ཀྱི་ཁྱིམས།[52] འདིའི་ནང་དུ་དབྱེ་ན་རྒྱལ་ཁྱིམས་བཅོ་ལྔ་དང་། ཁྱིམས་ཆེན་བདུན། མི་ཆོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་བཅས་བསྟོམས་པས་ཁྱིམས་ཐུན་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་བརྒྱད་བསྡུས་ཡོད་དེ།

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49 ཁོད་འདི་ཚན་པའམ་ལེའུ་ཡི་དོན་ནམ་ས་རྒྱའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག

50 ཡས་སྟེ་དང་ས་ཁོངས་དང་གོ་གནས་དང་ཡས་འབགས་དང་དམག་ཞོག་དང་ས་སྐྱང་།

51 ཐེ་སྐང་ཕུལ་ཁྱོར་ཞོ་ནམ་ས་སྐན་དང་སྐྱག་རི་གཉན་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་བློན་པོ་ཁྲི་ངོར་སྐུལ་བཙན་ཞེས་པས་བོད་དུ་ཐེ་སྐང་གི་ཚད་གཞི་ཐོག་མར་བཟོས།

52 བྱ་བར་འོས་དང་མི་འོས་སྟོན་པ།

ཀ། རྒྱལ་ཞིམས་བཅོ་ལྔའི་སྐོར་ནི། (༡)མཛད་པ་གསུམ་དང་།[53] (༢)མི་མཛད་པ་གསུམ། (༣)བསྟོད་པ་གསུམ། (༤)དམད་པ་གསུམ། (༥)མི་མནར་བ་གསུམ་[54]བཅས་ཡིན་ལ།

ཁ། ཞིམས་ཆེན་བདུན་ནི། (༡) སྲོག་མི་གཅོད་པའི་ཞིམས་གཤིན་སྟོང་དང་གསོན་སྟོང་། (༢) མ་བྱིན་པ་མི་ལེན་པའི་ཞིམས། (༣)འོག་པར་མི་གཡེམ་པའི་ཞིམས། (༤)རྫུན་སྨྲ་བ་ཞིམས། (༥)ཆང་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་དགོས་པའི་ཞིམས། (༦)ཁེང་མི་སྤྱོག་པའི་ཞིམས། (༧)བང་སོ་མི་འདྲུ་བའི་ཞིམས་དག་གོ །

ག། མི་ཆོས་གཙང་མ་བཞུ་བྱ་སྟེ། (༡)དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་སོང་ཞིང་དད་པ་དང་མོས་གུས་བྱ་བ། (༢)ཕ་མ་ལ་དྲིན་དུ་བཟོ་ཞིང་བཀུར་བསྟི་བྱ། (༣)མི་དྲིན་ཅན་དང་ཕ་ཁུ་ཚན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡིད་མི་གཅོད་པ། (༤)བཟང་ཞོ་ལ་བཟང་ལན་བྱེད་པ། (༥)མི་ཡ་རབས་དང་རིགས་བཙུན་པ་ལ་མི་ཚོལ་ཞིང་དུ་ལེན་པ། (༦)ལས་དང་སྦྱོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་བ། (༧)ལྷ་ཆོས་དང་ཡི་གེ་ལ་བློ་འཇུག་ཀྱང་དོན་ཤེས་པར་བྱ། (༨)ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཤིང་མི་དགེ་བ་འབའ་ཞིག་ལ་འཇོམ་པ། (༩)མཛའ་བཤེས་དང་ཁྱིམ་མཆོས་ལ་ཕན་འདོགས་ཤིང་གནོད་སེམས་མི་བྱ། (༡༠)གཞི་བྲང་བོར་བྱ་ཞིང་བློ་སེམས་དཔང་དུ་འཇོག་པ། (༡༡)ཟས་ཆང་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་ཅིང་། (༡༢)ཁྲེལ་ཡོད་པར་བྱ་ལོན་དུས་སུ་འཇལ་བ། (༡༣)བྱ་སྡང་ལ་གཡོ་ཟེལ་མི་བྱ་བ། (༡༤)མ་བསྐོས་ཤིང་མ་བཅོལ་བའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་རྩོག་འཇུག་མི་བྱ་བ། (༡༥)གྲོས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་བྱ་མེད་(བྱ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལ་ཉན་

53 མཛད་པ་གསུམ་ནི་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི་དུས་སུ་གཤེན་འབེའི་མཛད་པའི་མཐོ་རྩོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྲོལ་བཟང་གིས་སྐྱོང་ལུགས་བརྩེ་ཡོད་ལ། ནང་དོན་ལ་“དབུ་བཏུལ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བདེ་བར་མཛད། ནང་གི་ཆོས་མཛད་འབངས་འཚོར་སྐྱོང་། ཕྱི་མ་ཕན་ཕྱིར་དམ་ཆོས་བྱ།” ཞེས་གཤེན་ལ་ཕབས་ཡོད།

54 མི་མནར་བ་གསུམ་ནི། ལུས་སྐྱིད་ཕ་མ་མནར་བ་ན། འཕྲལ་ཕུག་གཉིས་ཀ་མ་ཡོགས་སྟིག། རང་གི་མཆན་ཀྱི་བྱ་མནར་ན། ཕྱི་རོལ་དབྱས་ཀྱང་ཞེ་ཁ་འབྱེད། བཟའ་བྱོགས་མནར་ན་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཚུས་དང་སོ་ནམ་ཡལ་བར་འཆོར།

ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཡང་ཡོད)ཀྱི་ཁ་ལ་མི་ཉན་ཞིང་རང་ཚུགས་འཛིན་པ། (།ཅ)ཡིན་མིན་ཀྱིས་མ་ཚང་བ་བྱུང་ན་ཡུལ་ལྷ་བརྟན་སྡུང་དཔང་དུ་བཙུགས་ནས་མནའ་བྱིད་པ་བཅས་སོ།

ཀ) མདོ་ལན་ཞུ་བཅད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས།[55]

ཁ) དབང་ཆེན་བཅད་ཀྱི་སྡེ་ཁྲིམས།[56]

ག) ཁབ་སོ་ནང་པའི་ཁྲིམས་བཅས་སོ།[57]

གཉིས། ཁོད་སོ་བྱག་ལས་བཀའ་བློས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་ནི།[58]

ཀ) རྩེའི་སྐུ་འཚོ་ཞིང་ཞོ་ཤ[59] སྐར་དབྱལ།

ཁ) ཆོད་ཀྱི་གཉའ་མནན་ཞིང་། ཡང་ཁེང་གི་རྒྱབ་རྟེན་པ།

ག) ཁེང་ཆོད་དུ་མི་གཏང་ཞིང་། མོ་བཙུན་བཀའ་ལ་མི་གདགས།

ཀ) སོ་མཚམས་སྡུང་ཞིང་། འབངས་ཀྱི་ཚལ་ཞིང་རྟ་དཀྱུས་ཀྱིས་མི་གཅད།

ཁ) དབྱ་འདུལ་ཞིང་། འབངས་བསྐྱངས།

ག) དགེ་བཅུ་སྐྱབ་ཅིང་། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྡུང་རྒྱུ་བཅས་སོ།

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55 ཁ་དྲག་པ་མ་སྐྱིངས་ཤིང་ཞན་པ་ཡི་མི་འཆད་པར་གཅོད་པ།

56 གཉིས་ཀ་ལན་པ་ལ་བྱམ་ཅི་དབྱུག་ཅན་ཀྱིས་གླང་གཡར་བ་བཞིན་ཕྱིར་སྤྲོད་སྐབས་སུ་མ་སྐྱས་པའི་ལྷོ་བཅད་པ་དང་མ་བཏུགས་པའི་ལག་ཏེགས་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ།

57 གཉིས་ཀ་བདེན་ན་རིགས་གཉིས་པ་ལྟར་བཅད་ཅེས་པ་བཞིན། ཁྱིམ་བདག་གི་ཁྱིའུ་ཆུང་ལྟར་ནས་ཤིད་ཅིང་ཁྱིམ་གཞན་ཞིག་གིས་བརྟེད་ནས་ཁྱིམ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བརྩད་ནས་མཐར་ཞལ་ལྷོ་ལྟར་ཁྱིམ་རེ་རེས་གསོས་ཤིང་བྱད་མེད་རེ་རེ་བློངས་ནས་ཁྱིའུ་བཙོས་ནས་ཁྱིའི་རིགས་པར་མིང་ཚགས་སོ།

58 རྒྱལ་པོར་སྲི་ཞུ་ཇི་ལྟར་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ལུགས་སྐོར་ཡིན་ཏེ།

59 དཔྱ་ཁྲལ།

གསུམ། ཁོད་སོ་བྱག་ལས་ཡིག་ཚང་བྱག་ནི། ༡།གསེར་ཡིག ༢།གཡུ་ཡིག ༣།དངུལ་ཡིག ༤། ཐུ་མན་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ ༥།ཟངས་ཡིག ༦།ལྷགས་ཡིག་བཅས་སོ།

བཞི། ཁོད་སོ་བྱག་ལས་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བྱག་ནི། ༡།སྐྱོམ་བྱ།[60] ༢།རྩ་མཆོན།[61] ༣།སྐྱ་མ་ཁར།[62] ༤།ལྕགས་།[63] ༥།སྐག་སྐྱོག[64] ༦།ཡིག་ཚང་[65]སྐྱ་བྱག་ཡིན་ལ།

ལྔ། ཁོད་སོ་བྱག་ལས་རྒྱུན་བྱག་ནི། ༡།གྲང་དང་སྐག[66] ༢། ཐ་ཁྱེ[67] ༣། ལྕ་ཆོས།[68] ༤།ཐགས་དང་བོན།[69] ༥།ཡིག་ཚངས།[70] ༦།རྒྱན་མ་[71]བཅས་བྱག་ཡིན་ལ།

བྱག ཁོད་སོ་བྱག་ལས་དཔའ་མཚན་བྱག་ནི། ༡།སྐག་སྐྱོད། ༢།སྐག་སྐད། ༣།ཅར་ཆེན། ༤།ཅར་ཆུང་། ༥།གམ་རས། ༦།སྐག་སྐོག་བཅས་བྱག་ཡིན་ནོ། གོང་རྣམས་དཔའ་པོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྱེང་བའི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མ་ཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྐོན་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པར་གསུངས་ཡོད་ལ། འདིར་བསྡུས་རྣང་

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60 གསང་ཡིག་དང་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐོད་ཁྲད་པར་ཅན་ལྟ་བུ་སོགས་ལ་བཀའ་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ལྟ་བུའོ།

61 ཁྲོམ་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།

62 ཡུལ་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།

63 ཆོས་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།

64 དཔའ་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།

65 མཐོངས་རྟགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ཚངས།

66 དཔའ་བའི་རྒྱན།

67 སྤར་མའི་རྒྱན།

68 ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན།

69 གཡུང་བོའི་རྒྱན།

70 མཐོངས་པའི་རྒྱན།

71 ངན་པའི་རྒྱན།

སྲིད་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་གཉན་བཙན་གྱི་ཁུད་ཆོས་འདི་མཐོང་སྟུ། ས་སྐྱ་གོང་མ་ནས་བརྒྱང་སྟེ་སྲིད་དཔོན་དང་ཞིམས་དཔོན་གཉིས་ཀའི་ལས་མི་གཅིག་གིས་གོ་ཆོད་པར་བཏུགས་ཀྱང་། ཆོས་སྲིད་ཟུང་དུ་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་དཔོན་ཡང་ཆོས་དཔོན་གྱིས་བྱས་པས་ན། སྐབས་འདིའི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་ཁུད་དུ་གཉན་བཙན་གྱི་ཁུད་ཆོས་ལྟན།

གཉིས། ལས་འགན་གྱི་རིམ་པ་མ་གཅིག་ན་དམིགས་གསལ་གྱི་ཁེ་དབང་ཡང་སོ་སོར་འབྲེད།

དཔེར་ན་ཁོད་སོ་སྐྱ་ལས་ཡིག་ཚང་སྐྱ་ཞེས་གསེར་ཡིག་གཡུ་ཡིག་དཔྱལ་ཡིག་ཕྱ་མན་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཟངས་ཡིག་ལྷགས་ཡིག་བཅས་སུ་དབྱེ་ནས་ཡིག་ཚང་གི་གོ་རིམ་ལྟར་སོ་སོའི་ཁེ་དབང་མི་གཅིག་པ་འདི་འབྲོག་མིའི་མི་སྟོང་གི་ཚད་ནི་ཆེ་འབྲིང་ཆུང་གསུམ་དུ་སྣང་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་མི་སྟོང་ཆེ་གྲས་ལ་དཔྱལ་རྟོ་ཚད་[72]བརྒྱ་དང་། འབྲིང་གྲས་ལ་རྟོ་ཚད་བདུན་ཅུ། ཆུང་གྲས་ནི་རྟོ་ཚད་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཡིན་པ་རེད། འདིའི་དབྱེ་སྟངས་དང་ཀུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་སྐྱེད་གི་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་ཞིམས་སུ་རི་དྭགས་རྒྱུག་པའི་སྐོར་དེ།(P.T. 1071) དང་ཁྱི་རྩོད་ནས་སྐྱི་བསད་པའི་སྐོར་(P.T. 1073) ན་གསལ་བ་བཞིན། སྟོང་གི་རིན་ཐང་གི་རིམ་པའི་དབྱེ་གཞི་ཆེ་ཁག་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཞང་བློན་དང་གཙང་ཆེན། དམངས་ཚོད་གཡུང་བཅས་དང་མཚུངས། དེར་བརྟེན། དཔལ་འབྲོག་པའི་གོམས་སྲོལ་དུ་དུང་གནའ་བཙན་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་ཐབ་བྱུང་བའི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་དག་གི་རྒྱུན་མ་ཆད་པར་བསྲིངས་ཡོད། ཞེལ་རྩོ་རིང་བྱང་ངོས་ཡིག་ཕྱེང་རེ་བརྒྱད་དུ་ཡང་།[73] (ཕྱ?) ᳚།། བློན་སྐག་སྐྱ་ཀླུ་ཁོང། (ཕྱཨ)དཀྱ་རྒྱལ་གཅིགས་གནང་

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[72] རྟོ་ཚད་ཅེས་པ་ནི་སྐར་དུས་ཀྱི་རྟོ་ཚད་ཀ་མིག་མ་ཅེས་དཉལ་ལྟ་བཞུ་གོར་བཞེས་པ་དེ་རིགས་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་། མི་སྟོང་གི་ནང་དུ་རྟོ་ཚད་ཅེས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་པ་ཙམ་ལས་དཉལ་གྱིས་མི་འཐུས།

[73] གཉའ་གོང་དཀོན་མཆོག་ཆོ་བཀྲན་གྱིས་བཙུམས་པའི་ཁོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་རྟིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མི་ལོང་། ཀ???? ནས་ ཀ???ཅ ནང་གསལ།

(ཕྲ།)བའི་མདོ་རྫོ་རིངས་ལ་ཡིག་གྱུ (ཕྲ་)བྱིས་པའ།། (ཕྲ་)ཅ།།བཙན་ཞོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ཁྲི་བསྟན་
(ཕྲ་)ཀྱི་ཞ་སྟན་དབུ་སྐྱང་གནང་(ཕྲ་)སྟེ། བློན་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་ཀླུ་ཁོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་(ཕྲ་)རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ལ་
ནམ་ནམ་ཞ་ཞར་(ཕྲ་)དཔུལ་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཆེན་ཞོ་གཅིག། (ཕྲ་)ན(ནེ)སྤྱི་དབབ་པར་གཡུང་དྲུང་།
(ཕྲ་)དུ་སྙལ་ཡར་གནང་ངོ།། (ཕྲ་)བསྟན་ཞོ་སྒས་དབོན་སྐུ་ཆོ་རབས་(ཕྲ་)རེ་ཞིང་ཡང་།
རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་(ཕྲ་)འཕེལ་ཡས་གཙོག།ཞམ་འབྲིང་(ཕྲ་)ན་ནང་ཀོར་ཡན་ཅད་དུ་གཞུག་
(ཕྲ་)རིང་ཚལ་ཐར་རྐྱ་དུ་མཆོས་པར་(ཕྲ་)གནང་ངོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་(ཕྲ་)འཕེལ་ད་
ལ་རྩེ་བླས་ཀྱི་རྗོ་ཐོག་པའི་(ཕྲ་)རྣམས་ཧོ་ཅམ་དུ་རྗོ་ཐོག་པར་བཀས་(ཕྲ་)བཀུར་ཞིང་བསྟོད་པར་
གནང་ངོ་། (ཕྲ་)རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས།། (ཕྲ་)བཙན་ཞོ་ཞ་སྟར།། བློ་བ་མ་རོབས་ན། ནོར་ས་
(ཕྲ་)སྐྱིག་གཞན་ཚོ་བྱུང་ཡང་རུང་། སོག། (ཕྲ་)སྲིད་ལ་སྤྱི་དབབ་པར།། བཀའ་ཁྲོད་ཀྱི་
(ཕྲ་)ཆོགས་ཚེ་ལ་བབ་པ་ལས།། བཀའ་ཁྲོད་(ཕྲ་)ན་གཙོག་གིས་སྨད་ཚོང་བསྒྱང་བར་ (ཕྲ་)
གནང་ངོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་(རྒྱུད་)པེལད་ལས་(ཕྲ་)ལ་ལ་ཞེག། རབས་ཆད་ན་རབས་ཆད་
(ཕྲ་)ཀྱི་ཁོལ་ཡུལ་དང་། ནོར་ཕྱུགས། བྱར་སྤྱི་(ཕྲ་)བཞེས་པར། བྱ་རྒྱ་བོ་གང་ཉེ་བ་སྨལད་
(ཕྲ་)པར་གནའོ།། བློན་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་ཀླུ་ཁོང་། (ཕྲ་)གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་པེལད། དཀྱ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་
(ཕྲ་)ལགས་ན་འཆང་འཆང་བ་ཞིག་རབས་ཆད་(ཕྲ་)དམ་བཅོན་བབ་ན་ཡང་། དབྱལ་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་
(ཕྲ་)བྱར་སྤྱི་བཞེས་པར། བློན་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་ཀླུ་ཁོང་། (ཕྲ་)དང་། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་གང་ཉེ་བ་
གཙོག་(ཕྲ་)དཔུལ་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཆེན་ཞོ་གཡུང་དྲུང་དུ་སྨལད་(ཕྲ་)པར་གནང་ངོ།། བློན་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་ཀླུ་
ཁོང་གི་(ཕྲ་)ཕ་རྒྱ་གོང་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལད་ཀྱི་རྣམས་(ཕྲ་)ཞོན་ལོན་ཡི་གེ་པའི་ཐང་དང། དམག་
སུམ་རྒྱར་(ཕྲ་)གནང་ངོ།། སྐུ་སྡུངས་འཕན་ཡུལ་བའི་(ཕྲ་)སྟོང་དཔོན་དུ་གཞན་སུ་ཡང་སྤྱི་
གཞུག་པར་(ཕྲ་)བློན་སྐྱག་སྐྱ་ཀླུ་ཁོང་གི་སྐྱེས་པོ་གསས་སྐྱེབས་(ཕྲ་)ཀྱི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་པེངད་ལས་
གང་རྩོ་ཐོག་པའ། (ཕྲ་)དམངས་འབྲང་བགཅིག སྐུ་སྡུངས་འཕན་(ཕྲ་)ཡུལ་བའི་སྟོང་དཔོན་

གཡུང་དྲུང་དུ་སྐྱེལ་(ཕྲ་ཪ)པར་གནང་དོ།། དན་ལམ་གསས་སྐེགས་(ཕྲ་ཪ)གྱི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ། ནམ་ཞར་བྱང་སྤྱི་སྐུ། (ཕྲ་ཨ)སྤྲུངས་སུ་གནང་བ་ལས། སྤྱི་ཚ་གྱུབ་སྤྱི་སྤོའ་སྤྱི་(ཕྲ་ཀ)བསྐྱུར་བར་གནང་དོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚའ་(ཕྲ་ཀ)རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ཀྱི་ལག་ན་བྷན་ཞིང་འབྲོག་སོག(ཕྲ་ཁ)ཚལ་ལས་སྟོགས་ཏེ་དབང་དོ་ཅོག། བླར་སྤྱི་བཞེས་(ཕྲ་ཟ)སྤྱི་དབྱི་གཞན་གྱིས་སྤྱི་དཔེག་ཁོང་ཏ་བདག་སྤྱི(ཕྲ་ཀ)དགའ་ན་ཉེ་རིང་དང་བཟང་ངན་སྤྱི་བརྗེ་བར་(ཕྲ་ཀ)གནང་དོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་ལ་(ཕྲ་ཅ)ལ་ལ་ཞིག་གིས་ཤ་ཁོན་གྱི་བག་དུ་སྲོག་སྲིད་ལ། (ཕྲ་ཨ)དམའ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན། བཀའ་ཆོན་བླ།(ཕྲ་ཅ)ནས་མཇད་པར་གནང་དོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚ་(ཕྲ་ཀ)རྒྱུད་ཕེལ་ཀྱིས་བློ་མ་རོངས་ན་ཕྱ་མ་སྤྱི་གསྐྱུན་(ཕྲ་ཅ)བླན་ཀ་སྤྱི་བཙལ་སྤྱི་བཀྱོན་བར་གནང་དོ།། (ཕྲ་ཀ)བྱ་ཚ་འཕེལ་ཀྱི་རྣང་ནས་ལ་ལ་ཞིག།། བཙན་པོ་(ཕྲ་ཅ)ཞ་སྔར་ཐྲོ་བ་རིངས་ཡང་དག་པར་བྱུར་ན་གང་(ཕྲ་ཅ)ཞེས་པའི་སྒོར། བཀའ་བྱོར་རྩའོ། ཕྱ་རྒྱ་བོ་གཞན་(ཕྲ་ཀ)ཁྱེན་ང་སྤྱི་གདགས་སྤོག་སྤྱི་ལ་སྤྱི་དབབ་པར་གནང་(ཕྲ་ཀ)དོ།། (ཕྲ་ཅ)ཀ།། མདོར་ནའ་ཐྲོན་སྐྲག་སྐྲ་ཁྲག་ཁོང་གི་ཚ་རྒྱ་གོང་(ཕྲ་ཀ)གི་བྱ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་ཕེལ་སྤོག་xx དང་སྤྱི་དེར་ཐུགས་(ཕྲ་ཅ)གོང་མཇད་དེ། ཞེས་གསུངས།

གོང་གི་ཏུན་ཆོང་ཡིག་རྩིང་དང་། རྗོ་རིང་གཙོགས་ཡིག་གི་དནིགས་གསལ་གྱི་ཁེ་དབང་དག་ལ་དཔྱད་ན། རྒྱབ་གྲིང་དུ་རྒྱས་པ་ཅི་འདྲ་ཆེ་ན་འགན་ཡང་དེ་བཞིན་ཆེ་ཞེས་པའི་གཏམ་དཔེ་ལས་གོ་རྒྱུ་འགའ་ཡོད་པ་དེ། རྒྱས་པ་ལྟར་འགན་འཁྱར་དགོས་ན། རྒྱས་པའམ་འགན་གྱི་ཆེ་ཆུང་ལྟར་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཐད་ནས་ཁེ་དབང་རི་ཡོད་པའང་གནས་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེང་སང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་འགའ་རུ་དངོས་སུའང་དེའི་ལུགས་བཞིན་སྤྲོད་གྱིན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ཡང་དེ་འདྲ་མི་འདོད་པའི་ཚུལ་རྩུན་མ་འགའ་རེ་སྣང་བྱུང་ཡོད་རུང་དོན་དངོས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་ཀུན་གྱིས་གོ་སྟ།

གསུམ། ཡུལ་ཞིམས་འགས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སྤྱིལ་ལ་གནོད་འཚེ་ཐེབས་པའི་སྐོར།

བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འདི་གྲུབ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བལྟུལ་ཡམ་རིང་མོའི་ཁྲོད་གཞིགས་ན། སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་བཙན་པོའི་སྐུ་ས་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་མི་དག་གཅུན་འདོན་བྱེད་པའི་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ནི་རིས་པར་ཡོད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་དེར་ལྷོས་ན་འཐུས་ཚང་ཞིང་གོ་རིམ་ལྟར་པ། བྱེད་ནུས་ལེགས་པོ་ཅན་གྱི་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ནི་སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་གདུང་རབས་སོ་གཉིས་པ་ཞྱི་སྲོང་བཙན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གཅིག་བྱར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བཙུགས་པའི་དགོས་པ་ལ་དམིགས་ནས་ཁོད་སོ་ནྱག་གཅོ་བྱས་པའི་ཞིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་མ་ལག་འཐུས་ཚང་ཞིག་གཅིག་ལ་ཕབ་པ་འདི་ཡིན།

དུས་རབས་དང་ས་ཁོངས་མི་འདྲ་བ་ལ་རང་རང་གི་ཁྲལ་ཆོས་དང་ལྡན་པའི་ཞིམས་ཀུང་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཡོད་དེས། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་སྤྱི་ལ་བལྟས་ན་ཟུང་སྐབས་བདེ་བའི་སྐང་ཚུལ་ཡོད་མོད། བྱོ་ཞེབ་མོས་འདང་རེ་བརྒྱབ་ན་དེ་ལའང་དུས་སྐབས་གང་ལ་ཡང་བསྟུན་ནུས་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཡོངས་སུ་ཚང་དགོས་ཞེ་ན་གནས་ལུགས་དངོས་དང་འགལ་ཡོང་སྐུམ། རྒྱུ་མཚན་ནི་དུས་སྐབས་མི་འདྲ་བའི་མིའི་རིན་ཐང་ལྟ་བ་དང་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་ཚད་གཞི་སོགས་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་རེ་འབྱུང་རེས་པ་མ་ཟད། ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་ཐད་ལ་ལྷོས་ན་ཡེ་ནས་མི་འདྲ་བའི་རྣམ་པའང་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་མིན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཆ་དང་འཚོ་བའི་ཆ་རྐྱེན་སོགས་ལ་ཡང་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད་པས་དུས་སྐབས་གཞིས་ཀྱི་མིའི་རིག་གནས་དང་བསྟུན་པའི་བྱ་བྱེད་དང་དེ་ལས་ཐོན་པའི་གནད་དོན་ཡང་མི་འདྲ། དེ་བས་དོན་དངོས་གནད་དོན་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་སྐོ་ནས་དཔྱད་པར་བཀང་ན་འོས་པར་འདུག། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་དང་དེ་ཕྱིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སོ་སོའི་དགོས་མཁོ་ལྟར་ཞིམས་ཡིག་དག་གཅན་ལ་ཕབ་པ་ནི་སྐབས་དེའི་བོད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་དངོས་ལ་གཞིགས་ནས་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ། སྤྱིར་བོད་མི་ནི་གཞུང་དང་གཡེས་འཇམ་གྱི་ངང་ཚུལ་ལྟར་ལ་ལྷག་པར་ནང་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཁྲབ་གདལ་དང་བསྟུན་དམ་པའི་ལྷ་ཆོས་ལ་ལྷག་པར་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱེད་པ་ཙམ་མ་ཟད། དེ་བསྟུན་གྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་མི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གནས་ལུགས་འདིའང་མི་རིགས་སྤྱིའི་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་དུ་བཟུང་ཡོད། ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་

བོད་མིའི་བྱ་བྱེད་ལ་གནུན་འདོམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱས་པ་ལྷག་པར་ཡོད་པ་དང་ཁྱིམས་ལུགས་ལ་ཡང་ཚོམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཤུགས་ཞུགས་ནས་མི་ཚོམ་གཙང་མ་བཟུང་དྲྭག་སོགས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་བྱུང་བས། འདིར་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཁས་ལེན་ཞིང་དོན་ཏུ་འདོད་པའི་གཅིག་མཐུན་གྱི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ཚད་གཞིར་འཛིན་པའི་འདོད་པ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཡུལ་དུས་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་དུལ་ཡུལ་ཁག་ཤོག་པ་དང་དགོན་སྡེའི་བྱ་ཚང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་དེར་ཁ་གཡར་ནས། དེ་དང་ལྡོག་པའི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ངན་པའི་ཉེས་པ་བསགས་ཞིང་གསོག་འཛིན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དཔེར་ན། ལ་ལས་ཁོག་དོག་པའི་སྐོ་ནས་འཚོ་བ་ཤོག་པའི་རྩ་མཚམས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་བ་དེ་ཡོགས་ཞིན་གྱི་ཁ་ཡོགས་ངན་པ་ལ་བསྐོར་ནས་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་ངན་པ་ཞིག་ཆགས་སུ་བཅུག། འདུ་ཤེས་སྤྱིག་ཆེན་འདི་འགོས་ནད་བཞིན་དུ་གང་ས་གང་ན་ཞི་དྲག་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་ཁྲབ་ཞིང་སུ་མཐུད་ནས་ཁྲབ་པའི་ཚུལ་དེ་ཡཁད་ན། འཛའ་དྲག་གི་འཚོ་བའི་ཡྱོགས་རེའི་འདུ་ཤེས་དེ་འབུར་དུ་དོད་ན་རྣ་སོང་རེས་བྱས་ནས་མི་ལུས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བརླགས་པ་དང་། ཡང་ན་ལས་རིགས་སམ་ལས་ཁྲངས་གང་ས་གང་དུ་སྡེ་ཡོགས་འཛིན་རེས་ཀྱིས་ནང་འཁྲུག་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་ན་གྲྭབ་མཐའ་ཁ་གཡར་ནས་གཟེ་བརྗེད་ཀྱི་བོད་རྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་ལ་དྲེ་མ་ངན་པས་སྐབས་པ་དང་། དེ་བས་ན་རང་ཅག་ཁ་ཅན་གྱི་ལྷོངས་འདིར་སྐབས་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་དར་ཡོད་རུང་། གོང་གི་ཡྱོགས་ཞེན་དང་ཚུལ་འཆལ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་དེང་སང་གི་མི་སྐྱ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་སྣང་ཡུལ་དུ་བོད་ལ་གནའ་ནས་ཁྲིམས་མེད་ལུགས་མེད་དུ་རོལ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་ཇེས་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་རོལ་བའི་ལྷ་བ་ངན་པ་འདི་བྱུང་སོང་བར་སྣང། གལ་ཏེ་གོང་གི་དོན་དངོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ལྷ་ངན་ཇི་སྙེད་སེལ་ནས། བོད་ནི་ཁ་མེས་ཡང་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་དགའ་ལུགས་དགའ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའམ། བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གནའ་ནས་དཔལ་ལྡན་དུ་སྤྲོས་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་མཚོན་དགོས་ན། ཐོག་མར་དེང་སང་བོད་རྒྱན་ཁར་ཁིར་བྱིས་བཙུན་པའི་ན་བཟའ་འགེབ་བྱོན་བྱས་ནས་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་དུ་སྤྱང་ཁུལ་དང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀ་ཚོམ་རྒྱན་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ས་ཡྱོགས་ཡུལ་ཡྱོགས་ཏུ་སྡེ་ཚོ་བ་མཐའ་ན་ཁྱིམ་རྩས་ཀྱི་རྟ་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་ཁ་

གཡར་ནས་རྩ་ས་རྩོད་པ་དང་ཀུ་རས་བསོད་རྣམས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལ་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་ཁ་གཡར་ནས་མི་རིགས་གཞན་ལ་གནོད་འཚེ་མི་དགོས་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་བཏང་བ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དོན་ལ་ཁ་གཡར་ནས་འབངས་ལ་གནོད་འཚེ་བྱེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་རང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་བློ་ཚོང་མ་ཁན་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་མཚང་ཤོར་ནས་ངོ་ཚ་རྒྱུ་ཕར་བཞག། ཐ་ན་རང་དཔའ་བོར་འདོད་པ་ནི་དལ་ལྟའི་བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་གནས་གང་མང་ཞིག་གི་ཆེས་བློན་པ་སྟག་པོའི་མཚོན་སྣང་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ནམ་སྙམ་ནས། འདི་དག་གི་སྤྱོད་པ་ནི་མེས་པོའི་གདམས་ཞྱིམས་དང་རྩ་བ་ནས་འགལ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། འདི་དག་གི་སྤྱོད་དན་དང་སྟོན་པའི་ཞལ་གདམས་དང་འགལ་ཡོད་པ་ངོས་ཟིན་ནས། འདི་དག་གི་བྱ་དན་དང་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་མི་རིགས་གང་དང་ཆོས་ལུགས་གང་གི་བསམ་བློའི་ཁྲིར་ཕྱོགས་དང་སྟོག་ཡོད་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཁྱེན་པར་གྱུར་ནས། དེ་ནི་རང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོར་བྱར་གྱུར་ལ། དེང་གི་དོར་བྱར་ཡང་འགྱུར་དགོས་རྒྱུ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཕྱག་ལ་བབས་ཡོད་པར་གྱུར་ན་དགེད་གོང་གི་གནོད་འཚེ་དག་བཅོམ་ནས་རང་མི་རིགས་ཡ་རབས་དང་གཞན་གྱིས་བརྩི་བའི་གྲས་སུ་འཇུག་ཐུབ་བོ།།

གསུམ་པ། དེང་སང་བོད་ས་གནས་ཡུལ་ཞྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་གཙོ་བོ་འགའ།

གཅིག། བོད་རྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱིས་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡུལ་ཞྱིམས་ལྟ་བུའི་གོ་གནས་བརྒྱང་།

དེང་དུས་སྨྱི་ཚོགས་འདི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་དང་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ཞིན་པ་དང་བསྟུན། མིའི་རིགས་སྨྱིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་ཆུ་ཚོད་མཐོ་རུ་སོང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་སྐྱབས་སུ་བརྒྱང་དད་གུས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ནི། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་ཁོད་སོ་དྲུག་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བཟུ་དྲུག་གི་དང་པོར་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་ལས་འགོ་བསྐམས་ཡོང་བར་འདོད། དགོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་བརྒྱང་དད་ཅིང་གུས་པར་མཆོད་ཞེས་གསུངས་བྱུང་བ་ལས་བསམ་བློ་ཞེག་བཏང་ཁད་བྱས་ན། རང་ཅག་བོད་པས་དད་མོས་བྱེད་སའི་དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་བརྒྱང་ཞེང་དད་ཅིང་གུས་པར་

མཆོད་པའི་ཚོགས་ལྷགས་དང་མི་ཚོགས་འདྲེས་མའི་ཁྱིམས་སྲོལ་བྱུང་བ་འདི་ནི་བོད་པ་ཁོ་ན་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཞིག་མ་རེད། ལྷགས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་འཛམ་གླིང་འདིའི་མི་རིགས་སོ་སོ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་མང་། ཐ་ན་ཨས་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་སོ་སོར་སྣང་བའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཁག་གི་ནང་ལ་བལྟས་ན། སོ་སོའི་རང་རང་གི་ཚོགས་ལྷགས་དང་མེས་བྱེད་སའི་ཡུལ་མི་གཅིག་རྐང་ཨོ། ཚོགས་ལྷགས་འདི་གང་ས་གང་དུ་ནང་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཏིང་དུ་ཟུག་པའི་ཁྱིམས་སྲོལ་ཞིག་ཀུ་བྱར་ཡོད་པའི་ཐད་ནས་གཅིག་འདྲར་སོང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཡོ་རོབ་གླིང་གི་སྲིད་ཁྱིམས་ནང་དུ་གསལ་པོར་མཚོན་ཡོད་པ་དཔེར་ན་ཡོ་རོབ་གླིང་བའི་ཁྱིམས་ལྷགས་ནང་དུ་ཁྱིམས་ར་འགོ་འཛུགས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། བདེན་ཡོད་མེད་གང་རུང་གི་བྱོད་ཡ་གཉིས་ཀས་ཁྱིམས་ཁང་ཁྱིམས་དཔོན་དང་ཁྱིམས་ར་ནང་གི་མི་ཚང་མའི་མདུན་དུ་ལག་པ་གཡོན་པ་རང་གི་དད་མོས་བྱེད་སའི་ཚོགས་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་བམ་པོའི་ཐོག་བཞག་སྟེ་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱིམས་རའི་ཐོག་ཏཱཕད་པའི་ཆོག་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་དང་པོ་དང་ཤུང་ཡིན་ཞེས་མནའ་བསྒྱེལ་དགོས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། དེང་སང་ང་ཚོའི་ཀྱང་གོའི་ཁྱིམས་ལྷགས་ནང་དུའང་དཔང་རྒྱས་བྱེད་མ་ཁན་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིར་རྩ་ཁྱིམས་དཔང་དུ་ཁྱེར་ནས་ར་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱིམས་ཁང་ནང་དུ་ཨཁད་པའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཚང་མ་ནི་དང་པོ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་རྩོམ་གཏན་ནས་མིན་ཞེས་མནའ་བསྒྱེལ་དགོས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། དེང་སང་ཚན་རིག་རིག་གནས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཆེ་བའི་དུས་རབས་འདིར་ཆོས་ལྷགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་བསམ་བློ་དང་བྱ་སྤྱོད་རྣམས་འདོར་དུ་འཛུག་དགོས་འདོད་ན། མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱལ་སྣ་ཚོགས་སྡུང་ཡོང་ཡོད་ལ་འབྱུང་ཡང་སྲིད་པ་དེ། དེང་སང་འཛམ་གླིང་འདིར་དཔེ་ངན་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ཞིང་ལས་ངན་འབྱུང་རིས་ཡིན་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཐོང་ཞིང་། དངོས་པོ་རྒྱུ་རྐོར་ལ་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ་རུང་བསམ་བློའི་དཔལ་འདི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་སུ་འབྱོའི་ཐུབ་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཆ་གང་ཐད་ནས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཇི་འདྲ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་མིའི་བསམ་བློའི་ཆུ་ཚོད་ཀྱང་དེ་བསྟུན་དུ་མཐོ་རུ་འགྱོ་རྒྱུ་ནི་ཤེས་ཀུ་ཡིད་མོས་ས་ཞིག་རེད་སྟངས། ཚོས་ལྷགས་ལ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གང་རུང་ལ་ཁོང་ཚའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་བསམ་བྱེད་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་སྟན་པས་ན། ཚོས་འདི་བོད་

པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གནའ་སྤྱ་མོ་ནས་དེ་བར་དུ་སྲོག་རྩ་ལྟ་བུར་བཟུང་ནས་རང་སོ་སོའི་དགོས་མོས་ལྟར་དུ་འཚོ་བ་བསྒྲིལ་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་དེ། དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས་ལས།[74] གངས་རིས་སྐོར་བའི་ལྷོངས་སུ་མཆོག་གསུམ་དམ་པར་གཏན་གྱི་སྐྱབས་སུ་འཛིན་ཅིང་། ཞེས་གསུངས། དཔལ་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤྱི་མོ་ནམ་ལངས་པ་ནས་དགུང་རྩབ་གཉིད་དུ་སོང་བའི་བར་ལ་བོད་འབངས་སྐུ་སེར་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཁ་འདོན་འདོན་རྒྱུན་ཆོས་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱའི་རྒྱུན་མི་ཆད་བརྒྱས་ནའང་མི་ཆོག་རྒྱ་ཆེ་མེད་པའི་ཚུལ་སྟང་། ནང་ཆོས་སྐྱབ་སྦྱངས་ཀྱི་གོམས་གཤིས་འདི་ཉིན་ནས་ཉིན་མཐུད་དེ་བཙི་སྲུང་བྱེད་ས་འི་ལུགས་གཤེད་ཅགས་པས་ན་ཡུལ་ཞིམས་ལྷ་བྱའི་གོ་གནས་ཟིན་ཡོད།

དཔལ་ས་སྐྱོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཁྲིན་ཀུའུ་གོང་ཁྲེར་གྱི་ཨ་འུ་ཨིགཆོ་（武侯祠）ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་རྒྱའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གྲགས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་འདིའི་ཉེ་འདབ་ཀྱི་སྡང་བར་ཁག་ཏུ་བོད་བརྒྱད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་གྱི་ཚོང་རྩར་བའི་ཚོང་ཁང་ཧིན་ཏུ་མང་ལ། དེ་དུང་ཇི་མང་དུ་འགྲོ་བའི་ཚུལ་ཡང་སྣང་། འདིས་བོད་པ་ལ་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་དད་པའི་ཤུགས་ཇེ་ཆེའི་ཚུལ་དང་གྲངས་ཇེ་མང་གི་ཚུལ་ཡང་མཆོན། དེ་ལྟའི་བོད་འབངས་སོ་སོའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་གོ་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་མི་འདྲ་རྩང་། ཚང་མར་ཆོས་ལུགས་དང་མོས་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཟཁད་ནའང་མི་ཆོག་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་མི་འདུག་པའི་ཚུལ་སྣང་།

ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གོམས་གཤིས་འདི་ལེགས་པར་བེད་སྤྱད་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་ཕན་པ་དཔེར་ན། མགོ་ལོག་ཙ་སྐྱོང་གོང་མའི་མ་ཁན་པོ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཉི་མ་མཆོག་གིས་དེ་ལོར་དཀའ་བ་ཁྲད་དུ་བསད་ནས་མགོ་ལོག་གི་འཚོ་བ་ཆེ་ཁག་གཉིས་བར་ཀྱི་ལོ་མང་བར་ཀྱི་བྱོད་ངན་སྤྱི་རྐ་བཅུ་ཐུག་ཁ་ཤས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་འབྲིག་གི་བཅུག་པས་ན། འཚོ་བའི་བར་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡོང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། སྲིད་གཞུང་གི་ལས་ཀར་ཡང་ཕན་ཏེ་རྩོང་རིམ་པའི་སྲིད་གཞུང་གིས་སྐོར་ཁྲི་གསུམ་དང་ཞང་རིམ་པའི་སྲིད་གཞུང་གིས་ཀྱང་སྐོར་ཁྲི་གཅིག་གི་བྱ་དབུལ་ཕུལ་ཡོད། འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་ལ་ཕན་ཆེན་པོ་དངོས་

74 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས། ལོ་༢༠༡ ནས་༢༠༢ ནང་གསལ།

སུ་ཞོན་ནས་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྟ་བུར་བྱུར་ཡོད་པའི་ཚུལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་མིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་པོར་ཤར་ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ།།

གཉིས། བོད་ཡུལ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་ལ་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་ཕན་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོགས་སྲིད།

དེང་སང་བོད་ཡུལ་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཤ་རུས་གཅིག་གི་སྤུན་རྒྱའི་མཛའ་བཤེ་དང་སྤྱིའི་བདེ་འཇགས་ཡོང་སྐྱུད་ལ་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་ཤུགས་རྐྱེན་ཐེབས་མེད་ས་མེད་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་འགའ་ལ་དཔྱད་ནས་བློ་སྐྱོ་རེ་འབྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་དེ། རང་ཅག་ཁ་བའི་ལྟོངས་འདིར་སྤང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་དང་ཡོད་པ་འདིས་དེང་སང་མི་སྣ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་སྣང་ཡུལ་དུ་བོད་ལ་གནའ་ནས་ཁྲིམས་མེད་ལུགས་མེད་དུ་རོལ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་རྟེས་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་རོལ་བའི་ལྟ་བ་དོན་དངོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པ་ཇི་སྙེད་སེལ་ནུས་ཤིང་། བོད་ནི་ཞ་མེས་ཡང་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་དབུའ་ལུགས་དབུའ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའམ་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གནའ་ནས་དཔལ་ལྟན་དུ་སྤོས་པའང་ཞོར་ནས་མཚོན་ཐུབ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ་རང་གི་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་བྱིས་བཞིག་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་འདི་དག་སྟེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རིག་གི་དབུའ་འཚལ་དུ་སྐྱེངས་མེད་བཞད་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད།

དེང་སང་གི་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་དག་གི་མ་གཞི་ཡང་བཙན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་སུ་བཀོད་པའི་དགེ་བ་བཟུ་དང་མི་ཚེས་གཙང་བཟུ་བྱ་སོགས་ཡིན་ལ། ད་ལྟའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུའང་ལྷག་ཆེན་ཐེབས་ཡོད། ཆུལ་ཁབ་གང་དང་མི་རིགས་གང་གི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་གང་ཡིན་ཡང་ཉེས་མཁོ་གཅེན་རྒྱུ་དང་ཡ་རབས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱུ་ནི་ཀུན་མཐུན་ཡིན་པས་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་གནའི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུན་དེ་དེང་སང་གི་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་སོ་སོའི་ཡར་རྒྱས་གོང་སྤེལ་ལ་ལྷག་ཆེ་ཐེབས་སུ་མཐུད་དུ་ཐོན་པས་བོད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་དང་དཔལ་ཡོན་ལ་སྤུང་སྐྱོང་བྱེད་དགོས་ནའང་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུན་འདིའི་སྐོར་ལ་འཛིན་སྐྱོང

་སྒེལ་གསུམ་བྱེད་དགོས། ཐ་ན་དེང་གི་ཀྱང་གོའི་ཞྭིམས་རིག་གམ་འཛོམ་གྱིང་ཞྭིམས་རིག་ཀུའང་གཞན་གྱིས་ཚབ་མི་ནུས་པའི་གོ་གནས་ངེས་ཅན་ཞེག་ཟིན་ཡོད།

འདིར་འབྲོག་པའི་འཚོ་བར་མཚོན་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་དབང་ཆེན་པོ་ནམ་མཁའི་ནོར་བུས། རྫ་ཆུ་ཁ་དང་མགོ་ལོག་གསེར་ཐར་སོགས་ལ་ཕེབས་ནས་བརྩམས་པའི་བྱང་འབྲོག་གི་ལམ་ཡིག་ཞེས་པའི་གླིང་གཞིར།[75] བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པ་ནི་སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ། བར་དབུས་གཙང་རྒྱ་གཞི། སྨད་མདོ་ཁམས་སྐམ་བྱུག་སོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་འཚོ་བར་གནས་ཡོད་པས་ས་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེག་ཟིན་ཡོད། ཁོ་བོས་དངོས་ཡོད་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་སྟེའི་གནས་སྐྱངས་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་བསམ་སྤྱོད། ཚ་ལུགས། གོམས་གཤིས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དེ་དག་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་མཐོང་ཞེང་། དེ་དག་དང་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ཐད་ཀར་བྱུང་བའི་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་མིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། དཔའ་བོ་གྲིང་གེ་སར་ཀྱི་སྐྱང་རྣམས་ལས་བོད་མིའི་བསམ་སྤྱོད་སོགས་ཇི་སྙིད་ཅིག་བསྟན་པ་དེ་ཀུན་རང་བྱོར་གསལ་བར་འཆར་ཐུབ་པ་ཞེག་དང་། དེ་དག་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡིན་པའི་སྐོར་མངོན་སུམ་ཚད་མའི་སྤྱོན་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་བསྟན་པ་དེ་ཀུན་རང་བྱོར་གསལ་བར་འཆར་ཐུབ་པ་ཞེག་ཟིན་ཡོད། འབྲོག་པའི་རྩོན་ཞྭིམས་ནི་ཡུལ་སོ་སོའི་བློ་རིང་གཞི་བདག་གམ། ཡང་ན་དགོན་པ་ཁག་གི་བཀག་རི་རྣམས་ནས་རི་དྭགས་ཆེ་ཐུ་མཐའ་དག་བསད་མི་ཆོག་ཅིང་། འབྲོག་པའི་རི་རྒྱུ་ནི་འབྲོག་ཡུལ་གྱི་བློ་རི་དང་གཞི་བདག་རྣམས་ནས་སུས་ཀྱང་རི་དྭགས་བསད་མི་ཆོག་པར་མ་ཟད་ཐུ་ཡུང་དང་། དབྱར་རྩྭ་དགུན་འབྲུ་དང་། དཀར་མོག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བརྩེ་འདོན་བྱེད་མི་ཆོག་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ནི་འབྲོག་མིས་ཤོད་སྲོལ་དུ་དབྱར་རྩྭ་དགུན་འབྲུ་དང་དཀར་མོག་ནི་གཞི་བདག་གི་སྐྲིང་ནོར་རིད། ཅེས་

75 ནམ་མཁའི་ནོར་བུའི་གསུང་རྩོམ་ཕྱོགས་བསྒྲིགས། ཤ།།ང་ནས།།རྩ།།ནང་གསལ།

དང་། ཇ་ཡུང་ནི་གཞི་བདག་གི་སྐྱིང་རེད། མི་སྡུས་བཤོ་འདོན་བྱས་ན་དེའི་མི་ཕྱུགས་ལ་ནད་ཡམས་དུག་པོ་འབྱུང་ཞིང་། དེའི་ཆུན་གྱིས་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ལ་ནད་ཡམས་འབྱུང་གི་རེད། ཅས་ཅིར་ཞིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཀྱང་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད། འབྲོག་པའི་རི་བཞིར་ནི་འབྲོག་པའི་ཡུལ་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་ཤུང་འཛིན་དང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་སྲུང་སྐྱོང་གི་ལས་འཁྲུར་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ནི་རི་བཞིར་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་འདུག། དེའི་འགྲོ་མ་ཁན་ནི་ཡུལ་སོ་སོའི་ཞོ་གཞོན་བཞོན་རྐྱ་བཅང་བྱས་རྣམས་ཡིན་པ་རེད། དེའི་ལས་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་རྩོན་པ་དང་། རི་རྒྱ་བཞིག་མ་ཁན། ཇག་རྐྱབ་དང་། ཉིས་རྩོད་མ་ཁན་ནམ་དེ་དག་གི་སོ་ཉུལ་སོགས་ཡོད་མེད་རྟོག་ཞིབ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དག་ཡིན་འདུག འབྲོག་པའི་ཇག་ཁྱིམས་ནི་འབྲོག་མི་སུ་ཞིག་གིས་དེ་སྤྱོན་འཁོན་གཞི་བྱུང་མེད་པའི་མི་སྤེ་གང་རུང་དང་། མི་སྤེ་ནང་ལྷུལ་བཅས་པར་ཇག་པ་རྒྱུག་མི་ཆོག་ཅིང་། གལ་ཏེ་ཁྱིམས་འགལ་བྱེད་མ་ཁན་བྱུང་ན་གླང་རྒྱའི་བཞི་རྒྱུལ་ལམ་སྐྱག་རྒྱའི་འདུ་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་གང་འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱས་པའི་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་རྩིས་ལེན་བྱེད་དགུམ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དཔེར་ན་མགོ་ལོག་གམ་འགུ་ལོག་ལྟ་བུར་མཆོག་ན། ༢༠༠པལྟེའི་དབྱར་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ། ང་རང་མགོ་ལོག་སྐྱ་གསར་དགོན་དུ་ཐོན་པ་ན། དགོན་པའི་མ་ཁན་པོ་མཁར་ཚང་གི་བླ་མ་བློ་ཚུར་གྱི་མདུན་དུ་བཅའ་རྒྱ་གཞིས་བར་ལ་བཅའ་འཁོན་བྱུང་ནས་ཁྱོད་ཞུ་གི་ཡོང་འདུག། མ་ཁན་པོས་ཁྱོད་ཡའི་གཏམ་གསན་རྗེས་སུ། ཐོག་མར་བཅའ་རྒྱ་གཞིས་ཀྱི་སྐྱི་ལྷུང་ས་སོའི་རུས་ལྷུང་ཞིབ་ཆའི་སྐོར་ནས་མགོན་པོ་རིའི་སྐྱིའུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་དང་བྲག་སྲིན་མོ་ལས་རུབ་བྲག་གྱིས་ཚུལ་ལ་གཏུགས། དེ་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོས་དགེ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྱིམས་བཅས་ཚུལ་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་བོད་བཙན་པོའི་ཁྱིམས་དང་མགོ་ལོག་གི་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་གསུང་། དེ་ནས་མགོ་ལོག་གི་ཁྱིམས་དང་རུ་སྤེ་འདིའི་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་ལ་སྒུར་ནས་བཅའ་རྒྱ་འདི་གཞིས་ཀའི་ཀྱོད་བཤད་པས་ན་ཕན་ཚུན་འཛིངས་རེས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བྱས་ཏེ་ཀྱོད་དེ་ལགས་སོ་ལགས་སོ་ཞེས་སྒུར་མོར་བཤད་སོང་བའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བརྗོད་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས། བོད་ཡུལ་གང་ས་གང་ན་ཡུལ་ཁྱིམས་ཀྱིས་འདི་བཞིན་ཕན་ཡོན་ཐོབ་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དེ་གསལ་ཞིང་མང་ངོ་།།

གསུམ། འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ཞི་བདེ་ལའང་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་འགའི་བྱས་རྟེས་བཞག་ཟིན།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་གཞན་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་དང་བསྡུར་ན་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ལྟག་པར་འབྱར་དུ་དོད་པའི་ཚ་ཞེག་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཏེ་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་འདུ་ཤེས་འཛིན་སྐྱངས་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྲོག་རྩ་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ཡིན། འཕགས་པ་ལྷས། ཆོས་ནི་མདོར་ན་མི་འཆོ་བ། །དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གསུངས།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དད་མོས་བྱེད་སའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྣོང་པོ་ནི་བྱམས་དང་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཡིན་པས་བོད་པའི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་ཡང་ཆོས་ལུགས་འདིས་ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་ཞིབས་ཡོད་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་འདིའི་རྩ་བ་ནི་མི་རྣམས་ལ་སྙིང་བཟང་གི་ལམ་སྟོན་པའི་ཐབས་ཤེགས་ཡིན་པ་ལས་ཉེས་ཚད་ཆུང་ཆུང་གཅོད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྲིག་ཞིམས་ཤེགས་གཏན་མོན་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཁྱེན།

དཔེར་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་དུ་སྲོག་མི་གཅོད་པའི་གསོན་སྟོང་གཤེགས་སྟོང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཞིམས་ལུགས་ཞབ་ནས་ཚོང་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ལྷག་འགོར་ཏེ་དུས་རབས་ཉེར་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྐྱེབས་པ་ན་དབུས་བཙོད་དཔལ་ཡོན་གྱིས་ཁེངས་པའི་ནུབ་གླིང་དར་ཆུས་ཆེ་བའི་ཆུལ་ཁབ་ཁུ་སྲོག་ཚབ་ལ་སྲོག་མི་གཏོང་བའི་ཞིམས་གསར་བཅད་པའི་ཆུལ་ཁབ་ནི་དཔེར་ན། དབྱིན་ཇི་(England) དང་། འཇར་མན་(Germany) ཨོ་སི་ཏྲ་ལི་ཡ་(Australia) ཏེན་མཱག(Denmark) ཕིན་ལན་(Finland) དབྱི་ཐ་ལི་(Italy) ཧོ་ལན་(The Netherlands) མོ་རོ་ཀོ(Morocco) འཇུགས་གླིང(Iceland) ཕོར་ཐིའུ་གཱལ་(Portugal) པར་ཙིར་(Brazil) ནེའུ་ཛི་ལན་(New Zealand) སོགས་ཆུལ་ཁབ་སུམ་བཅུ་ལྷག་ཡོད་ལ། སྲར་སུའུ་ལེན་(Soviet Union)གྱིས་སྲོག་ཞིམས་ཐེངས་གཉིས་དོར་ཡང་གཞུག་ནས་སླར་དུ་གསོས། སྲོག་ཞིམས་མེད་པར་བཙོ་ཆུའི་ཐད་ལ་འཇའ་པིན་(Japan)གྱི་འབངས་མང་ཆེ་བས་ཀྱང་འཐད་པ་མི་བྱུང་།

བོད་ལ་འདི་འདྲའི་ཁྱིམས་སྲོལ་བཟང་པོ་ཤིག་ཆགས་ཐུབ་པའི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་ཞིག་ནི། རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་
ཡིད་ཆེས་ཞིང་སྦྱིག་པའི་ལས་ལ་འཇིམ་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་ཡིན། རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ཀྱི་ལྟ་བ་ནི་ནང་པ་སངས་
རྒྱས་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་བ་དང་མྱང་འདས། དགེ་སྦྱིག་དང་སྡུང་བླང་སོགས་ཐུན་མོང་གི་རྣམ་བཞག་
ཐམས་ཅད་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་བསམ་བློའི་གཞི་འཛུགས་ས་གཅོ་ཙེ་ཞེག་ཡིན། ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་
ཀྱི་རིག་པ་འདི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མི་རིགས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་ཀྱང་ཁས་ལེན་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་
ལ་དུས་ད་ལྟ་སྨིན་པ་དང་ཕྱི་མར་སྨིན་པ། མ་འོངས་པར་སྨིན་པ་བཅས་རིགས་མང་པོར་དབྱེ་རྒྱུ་འདུག།
དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆོས་ལ་དད་མོས་ཅན་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་འཛིན་པ་དང་། མཐར་ཐུག་
གི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་འཛིན་པ་སོགས་སྟ་ཚོགས་ཡོད། གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་ཅན་ཀྱིས་ཆེ་འདི་
ཙམ་ལ་རྒྱུ་དགེ་བ་མང་པོ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་དང་། མཐར་ཐུག་གི་དམིགས་ཡུལ་འཛིན་མ་ཁན་ཀྱིས་དགེ་བ་རྒྱུ་
ཆེན་པོ་བསྒྲིད་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་དགེ་བ་བསྒྲུབ་ཞིང་འཚང་རྒྱ་བར་འདོད་པ་དེ་ཡིན།
ནང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ཁས་མ་བླངས་ན་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་དོར་བ་དང་
འདྲ་བས། བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་བརྟེ་སྡུང་བྱ་ཞིང་དེ་ལེགས་པར་སྡུང་ཐུབ་ན་
འབྲས་བུ་ཡང་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་སྨིན་ཐུབ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པ་དེ་ཡུལ་ཁྱིམས་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར། དཔེར་ན་
ཡུལ་ཕ་མ་དང་ཁྱིམ་མཆོས་རྟགས་གཞོན་ལ་བརྟེ་བཀུར་དང་རོགས་རམ་བྱས་ན་རང་གི་བུ་བ་ལམ་འགྲོ།
ཁ་ལས་རྒྱུང་རུ་དར་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཕན་ཡོན་ཡོད་པ་བཞིན། གཞན་ཡང་ལས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་དང་འགལ་ན་
བྱ་བ་ཅི་ཡང་ལམ་ལ་མི་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ཀུན་གྱི་དམའ་འབེབས་དང་གཉའ་བཀོན་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་
ཀྱི་གྲོས་སུ་མི་ཚུད་པ་སོགས་གནས་ཚུལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད། མདོར་ན། བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ལུས་རིན་པོ་
ཆེ་ཐོབ་དཀའ་བ་དང་། ཐོབ་པ་དོན་སྙིང་ཆེ་བ་ཤེས་ནས་མི་བཟང་པོ་ཞེག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཤེས་བྱའི་བློ་ངོ་
ལ་འབད་རྩལ་མཁས་མཛངས་ཅན་ཞེག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ཏེ་ཐུབ་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལྷོ་གོས་ཁོ་ན་ཙམ་གྱི་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་
རྒྱུ་དེ་དུད་འགྲོ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཤེས་རྒྱུ་དང་། དེ་བས་དུད་འགྲོ་དང་ཁྱད་འབྱེད་པའི་རིན་ཐང་ཡོད་པའི་

བྱ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་འབད་དགོས་ན། མིག་སྔར་གྱི་ཕན་བདེ་ཙམ་གྱི་དོན་མ་ཡིན་པར་ཕྱགས་རྒྱང་རིང་པོར་ཕན་པའི་དོན་ལ་འབད་པ་དང་། རང་དང་རང་གི་གཉེན་ཉེ་དུ་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། རང་གི་མི་རིགས་དང་མེས་རྒྱལ། ཐ་ན་རང་གི་དབྱ་དང་བཅས་པའི་མར་གྱར་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཕན་དོན་ལ་འབད་དགོས་པ་སོགས་ནི་ནང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་གི་ཀུན་སྤྱོད་དང་ཡུལ་ཞིམས་ལྟ་བུའི་བསྟུང་བྱ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་འདོད།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་རྒྱུད་བཟང་པོས་མ་གྱར་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཚེད་དུ་སེམས་བསྒྲིད་ཆེན་པོས་ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྩ་བ་ཟིན་པ་འདིས་རང་ཅག་ཁ་བའི་ལྟོངས་འདིར་སྐར་ནས་ཞིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་དར་ཡོད་པ་མཚོན་ཐུབ། བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་རྒྱུད་ཚུགས་པའི་རྩ་བ་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོར་གཏུགས་ཡོད་པ་འདིས་མི་རིགས་ཁོ་ནའི་ཁེ་དབང་མ་ཟད་མིའི་རིགས་སྤྱི་ལ་ཕན་པའི་སྙིང་སྟོབས་བསྒྱེད། དེ་མིན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིམས་རྒྱུད་དུ་སེམས་ཅན་ཡོངས་སུ་གཅེས་པའི་ཁོག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྟར་རྒྱུའི་རིགས་པའི་རྩ་བ་འདི་ནང་དོན་རིག་པའི་ནང་གི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་འགྲོ་བའི་ཕྱིར་གང་དུ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་། ཡང་ན་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་དམན་གང་དུ་བབས་རུང་། ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བཞིའི་ནང་དུ་མ་འདུས་པ་མེད་པའི་ཐད་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་མིའི་རིགས་ཀུན་འདུ་མཉམ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད་པ་འདིས་ད་ལྟའི་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་དེ་སྤུ་དང་གང་ཡིན་རུང་ཞིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ནས་འབྲ་མཉམ་གྱིས་བྱང་ཡོར་གཙོད་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་རྩ་དོན་དང་རིགས་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་བབས་ཡོད།

དེར་བཀྱེན། གཞི་ནང་བསྟན་དང། ཡུལ་བདེ་འཇགས། སྤྱིའི་ཞི་བདེ་ལ་ཕན་ཡོན་འབྱར་དུ་ཐོན་པ་ནི་དེང་སང་གི་ཡུལ་ཞིམས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན། འདིས་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་བྱ་བ་གང་རུང་གི་སྐབས་དངོས་སུ་རང་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་སྐྱིང་རྗེ་སྤུད་མེད་ཞིག་བསྒྲིད་ན། སོ་སོས་རང་གཤིས་དང་པོའི་སྐོ་ནས་ཞིམས་མཐུན་གྱི་བྱ་ཀུན་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཞིག་སྤྱད་ཐུབ་པའི་རིགས་པའི་ཁུངས་བསྟན། ཡང་ན་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་སྐྱིང་རྗེ་སྤུད་མེད་ཞིག་བསྒྲིད་ཐུབ་ན། སོ་སོས་རང་གཤིས་དང་པོའི་སྐོ་ནས་བྱ་བ་

གང་རུང་ཞིག་ལེགས་པོར་སྒྲུབ་ཐུབ་པའི་དོན་དངོས་སུ་སྒྲུབ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་བསྟན། འདིར་མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཐུན་མོང་གི་དམིགས་པ་བེད་བཅད་ནས་ཚོད་པའི་རྟ་དོན་གྱི་འབྲུང་གཞི་བསྟན་ཡོད། འདིས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་འདི་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ཞི་བདེའི་གྲྭབ་ཆར་གྱུར་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་རྣབས་ཆེ་བ་ཞེག་ཡིན་པ་མཚོན་ཡོད། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རིགཔ་ལེགས་པོ་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་དལྡའི་ཡུ་རོབ་གླིང་གི་མཐུན་ཚོགས་(European Union) ལྟ་བུས་ལགཔ་ལེན་དངོས་སུ་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་འབྲས་བུ་བཟང་པོའང་སྤྲོང་བཞིན་ཡོད་པར་སྣང། བོད་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་འདི་ཁ་ཅཤད་ལགཔ་ལེན་གསེར་བཞིན་ཐུབ་ན་བྱ་བ་མི་འབྱུབ་རྒྱུ་གང་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཡོད། དེའི་ཕྱིར། ང་ཚོའི་བོད་མི་རིགས་ནི་མིའི་རིགས་གཞན་གྱིས་དད་མོས་དང་བསྟི་བཀུར་བྱ་འོས་པའི་མི་རིགས་རྣབས་ཆེ་བ་ཞེག་ཡིན།

རྒྱང་ལྟའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག།

མ་ཁས་པ་ལྷའུ། ལྷའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྒྱས་པ། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༧ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་མོ། དམྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་གླུ་དབྱངས། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༨ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ། དེབ་ཐེར་སྤྱོན་པོ། ཁྲིན་ཏོ་འུ། མི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

ཆབ་སྤེལ་ཆོ་བཏུན་ཕྱུན་ཆོགས་དང་ནོར་བྱང་ཞུ་རྒྱུན། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རབགས་རིམ་གཡུ་ཡི་ཁྲེང་བ། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༩ལོའི་རྒྱ་༡༠བའི་དཔར་མ།

ཆབ་སྤེལ་ཆོ་བཏུན་ཕྱུན་ཆོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འཐུན་འཁྱུར་ནས་བསྒྲིགས། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་རབས་ཞྭིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༩ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

ཉང་ཀི་མ་འོད་ཟེར། ཆོས་འབྱུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྒྲིང་པོ་སྦྱང་རྩིའི་བཅུད། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༨ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

གཉའ་གོང་དགོན་མཆོག་ཆོ་བཏུན། བོད་ཀྱི་བརྡ་སྐྱིང་ཡིག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོག་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མི་ལོང་། ཡན་ཏོའུ། ཀན་སུའུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་བསྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༠༡ལོའི་པར་ཟེངས་དང་པོའི་དཔར་མ།

ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཕྱུན་ཚོགས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་པbecུ་ད་གའི་ལྗེ་མིག་པེ་ཅིང་། མི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༧ལོའི་རྒྱ་ཅབའི་དཔར་མ།

ལྷའུ་རྡོ་སྐས། ལྷའུ་ཆོས་འབྱུང་། ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཆེན་མོ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྷའུ་རྡོ་སྐས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༧ལོའི་རྒྱ་ཉཤའི་དཔར་མ།

ནམ་མཁའ་ནོར་བུ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ནོར་བུའི་དོ་ཤལ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཁྲིན་ཏོའུ། མི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༩ལོའི་རྒྱ་ཡབའི་དཔར་མ།

དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྱེད་བ། མ་ཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་གིས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༦ ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

ནམ་མཁའི་ནོར་བུའི་གསུང་རྟོམ་ཕྱོགས་བསྒྲིགས། ཀུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྐྱན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩ཨ་ལོའི་ཟླ་༡༢པའི་དཔར་མ།

དམ་དགེ་བསམ་གཏན། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀུན་དགའི་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས་སོ། རྗ་བ་བོད་རིགས་ཆའང་རིགས་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྷུལ་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔྱད་ཡིག་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས་སྤྱི་འི་དེབ་ལྟ་ཐའམ་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དེབ་གཉིས་པ། འབར་ཁམས། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨ཝ་ལོའི་ཟླ་༡༠པའི་དཔར་མ།

ཚལ་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྡོ་རྗེ། དེབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ། དེབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དང་པོ་ཀུ་ལན་དེབ་ཐེར་འདི་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩ཅ་ལོའི་ཟླ་༢པའི་ཡར་ཐེངས་གཉིས་པའི་དཔར་མ།

ས་སྐྱ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༢ ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

ཏཱའོ་ཕྱན་ཚེན་དང་ཏོའུ་རྒྱན་ཆི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲིགས། བོད་རྒྱ་ཨན་སྒྲུང་གྱི་ཞེས་བྱའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཆོག་མཛོད། ཐེ་ཚིང་། མཆོ་སྟོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨ཝ ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

གཞུང་ས་དབགའ་ལྷན་ཚོང་བོ་བྱང་གི་ས་གནས་སྲིད་འཛིན་བྱང་སྨྱི་དང་བྱང་སྨྱི་སྲིད་ཁག་གི་
ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ལ་དཔྱད་པ།

རྩོ་སྒྲིས་ཆོ་རིང་རྒྱལ།

ནང་དོན་མདོར་བསྡུས།

བྱང་སྨྱི་ནི་གཞུང་ས་དབགའ་ལྷན་ཚོང་བྱང་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་རིམ་པའི་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཞེག་
ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་ནི་བོད་རབ་བྱུང་བཅོ་ལྔ་པའི་མི་འབྲུག་ལོ་སྟེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་༡༩༡༦ལོར་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་བོད་
བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རོར་ཚོ་བས་དགུའི་དབང་འཛིན་འགན་ཡེན་གྱིས་དངོས་སུ་རོར་སྨྱི་ཞེས་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་རིམ་པའི་
ས་གནས་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཁྲུང་ཁོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་དུ་བཙུགས་པ་ལས་རིམ་པར་འཕེལ་ཏེ་བོད་རབ་བྱང་བཟུང་བའི
་ཆུ་རྟ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༢ལོར་བྱང་སྨྱི་དངོས་སུ་བཙུགས། རོར་སྨྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་
རྒྱལ་ནས་སྤྱ་གཞུག་ཏུ་རོར་སྨྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དགུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་གཞུང་ས་ནས་མཁན་རིམ་རེས་མོས་ཞེས་མཁན
་ཆུང་དང་རིམ་བཞིའི་གོ་མིང་ཡོད་པའི་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་པ་ལོ་བཞི་རེའི་མཚམས་སུ་བསྐོ་བཞག་གིས་རེས་མོས་སུ
་གཏོང་སྲོལ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་འོག་ལས་བྱ་རྩེ་ཤོད་བྱང་རིགས་གཅིག་རེ་དང་། རྒྱ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་
སྤུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་ཕྲ་བཅུའི་གྲྭབ་པའི་གཞུང་སའི་ཞབས་སྲོད་སོ་ལས་འཛིན་པས་རོར་ཚོ་བས་དགུའི་
སྲིད་དོན་དང་། ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན། ས་སྤུང་དམག་དོན་སོགས་ཀྱི་འགན་དབང་དོ་དམ་བྱས།
སྨྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༢ལོར་དེ་སྔའི་རོར་ཚོ་བས་དགུའི་སྲིད་འཛིན་སྨྲིག་གཞི་གནས་ལྟ་པའི་རྩོང་འགོ་ཁག་བྱུག་
ཏུ་བགོས་ཏེ་རྩོང་སྲོད་སེར་སྐྱ་ཉིས་སྨྲེལ་རེ་བསྐོ་བཞག་གིས་གཏོང་བ་དང་། དེ་ཐོག་ནག་ཚང་ཤན་རྩོང་དང་། གནམ་རྩ་སོགས་བྱང་རིགས་སྲོད་བཞི། རྩ་བྱུག་དཔོན་འགོ་བཅས་བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྨྱི་འདོམས་སུ་གནས་བཞི་པའི་མཁན་རིམ་སྨྲེལ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱང་སྨྱི་མཁན་ཆུང་གིས་དང་། རིམ་བཞི་གིས་སྲིད་རྩེ་ཤོད་བྱུང་རིགས་ཉིས་སྨྲེལ། ལས་བྱ་སེར་སྐྱ་མི་གཉིས། ས་སྤུང་འགོ་འདོམས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་གིས།

དང་སྲུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཡོད་པ་ནག་ཆུ་རྩོང་དུ་སྦྱི་ལྷག་ལས་ལྷུངས་གསར་འཛུགས་ཀྱིས་སྟོད་ནག་ཚང་ནས་སྨད་ལྷུང་པོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་བར་ཀྱི་རྩོང་གཞིས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དུ་བྱགས་པའི་ས་ལུལ་ལ་འགོ་འདོམས་བྱེད། དམིགས་བསལ་གྱི་ལས་དོན་ཆེ་ཁག་མ་གཏོགས་རང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཞི་དྲག་ལས་དོན་ཚང་མ་བྱང་སྦྱི་རང་ནས་ཐག་གཅོད་དགོས། བྱང་སྦྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་ཤ་ལྟ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འོད་ལྡན་དང་རིམ་བཞི་གསུམ་མདོ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན་ཉིས་སྒྲིལ་ནས་སྤྱ་གཞུག་ཏུ་བྱང་སྦྱི་ལས་ཐོག་ལྟ་བྱུང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་གཞུང་ས་དཀའ་ལྡན་ཐོ་བྱང་གི་ས་གནས་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཞིག་གི་ཐད་དུ་བྱང་སྦྱི་ནས་ཡར་འབྱལ་མར་གཏོང་གི་གཞུང་ཡིག་འབོར་ཆེན་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ། དཔལ་ལྡན་ཆགས་པའི་ཚོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྷོང་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་བྱང་སྦྱི་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ལེགས་སྒྲིག་བྱས་ཟིན་པ་ཁྱོན་བསྡོམས་ཡིག་གྲངས་བཞི་སྟོང་ལྔག་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ལ་བྱང་སྦྱི་སྡེ་ཁག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཞེས་སྡེ་ཁག་ཅིག་ཏུ་དམིགས་སུ་བཀར་ཏེ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་ཡོད། བྱང་སྦྱི་སྡེ་ཁག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ལས་ལོ་དུས་སྡུ་ཁོས་བོད་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཆུ་ཕོ་རྟའི་ལོ་སྟེ་སྦྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༤ལོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཡིན། བྱང་སྦྱི་སྡེ་ཁག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་གཅོ་བོ་བྱང་སྦྱིའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་འབངས་བའི་སྡུག་དང་། ནོར་སྲིད་གཏེར་ཡོང་། ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྲིམས་གནོན། ས་སྲུང་དམག་དོན། ཚོང་དོན། སྲིད་དོན། ཆོས་ལུགས་ལས་དོན། དངུལ་རྩ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུག ལས་ཚན་བསྐོ་འཐེན། རང་བྱང་གནོད་འཚེ། ཞིང་འབྲོག་ཆུ་ནགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ཡིན་ལ། གཞན་ཡང་དུས་སྐབས་མི་འབྲ་བར་གོང་ས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཀླུ་ལའི་བླ་མ་མཆོག་དང་། པཾ་ཆེན་ཞེར་ཀི་ནི། སྲིད་སྐྱོང་། བོད་བཞུགས་ཞམ་བན་སོགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་མང་པོ་གླུབ་ཡོད།

ཅོར་སྨྱིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རབས་རིམ།

བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱད་ནི་གནའ་སྤུ་མོ་ནས་མིའི་རིགས་འཚོ་སྤོང་བྱེད་བའི་གནས་ཤིག་ཡིན་ལ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུན་རིང་ལྟན་ཞིང་རིགེ་གནས་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པ་གྲུབ་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། དུས་རབས་སྔོན་མའི་ལོ་རབས་བདུན་ཐུའི་ནང་གནའ་ཇུས་རིགེ་པ་མཁས་ཅན་གྱིས་ཤན་རྩ་དང་། མཚོ་གཉིས་ཁྲལ་ནས་རྣེད་པའི་གཞོག་ཀྱི་རྩོ་ཆས་དང་རྩོ་ཆས་ཞིང་མའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཕྱི་མའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཡིན་ཚོད་དུ་བཤད་པ་[1]དང་། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་སུ་སུམ་པ་སྟོང་གི་བྱ་ཆུང་ཅེར་བའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་བྱེ་བག་དང་། དུས་ཕྱིས་ཞང་ཞུང་སྤོ་ཕུག་བར་གསུམ་དུ་འབོད་པའི་སྤོ་བ་ཤེལ་ལེ་རྒྱ་དཀར་ཅེར་བ་དེང་སང་གི་སྟོང་ཆེན་རྩོང་གི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པ་ངོས་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྦྱ་བས་བཤད་པ་[2]ལྟར་བྱགས། ཅོར་ཆོ་བའམ་ཅོར་ཤོག་ཁ་སོ་དགུར་འབོད་པའི་ཡུལ་འདིའི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སྒྲུང་ལུགས་ཀྱང་དུས་རབས་རིམ་བྱང་གི་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་ཁྲོད་དུ་ལུ་གུ་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཟམ་མ་ཆད་པར་རིམ་གྱིས་བྱང་ཡོད། གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཤིག་ནི་ས་ཕག་རིན་གཙང་སོགས་སྲིད་དབང་རིམ་བྱང་གི་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་ཁྲོད་དུ་ས་གནས་རང་གི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཆོས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་གནས་སྟངས་དང་། སྨྱི་ཆོགས་ཀྱི་སྨྲིག་གཞི། ཡུལ་ཁམས་ཁོར་ཡུག ཐོན་སྐྱེད་བྱེད་སྟངས་ལ་གཞིགས་ཏེ། གང་ལ་གང་འཚམ་གྱི་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ལྷིམས་གཅོན་གྱི་བྱེ་སྨོ་ཁག་གཅོ་བོར་བྱང་བའི་སྲིད་འཛིན་གྱི་སྨྲིག་གཞི་ཞིག་ཆགས་ཐུབ་ཡོད། གཞུང་ས་དབུའ་ལྟན་ཞོ་བྱང་གི་དུས་མཇུག་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་1951ལོར་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཅོར་ཆོ་བ་ས་དགུའི་དབང་འཛིན་འགན་ལེན་གྱིས་དངོས་སུ་ཅོར་སྨྱི་ཞེས་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་རིམ་བྱང་ཞོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་དུ་བཙུགས། དེས་ན་ཅོར་ཆོ་བ་ས་དགུ་ནི་གང་དག་ཡིན་པར་འདྲེན་ལུགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་རེ་

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[1] 安志敏等, 1979.

[2] བཀྲ་བ་ས་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ཅོར་ཆོ་ས་དགུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས། ཤེར་དང་། ནག་ཆུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། ཤེར་༢༠༡ སྒང་གསལ།

གཉིས་བྱང་ཡོད་མོད། འདིར་གཞི་བྱེད་པའི་རྟོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུ་ནི་རྟོར་སྐྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་དབང་འདུད་ནོར་བུས་ཤེང་བྱི་ལོ་སྐྱ་སྐྱི་ལོ་༡୧୨୯ལོར་བཅོས་པའི་ཞེབ་གཞུང་དུ་རྟོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགུའི་ཁལ་དུད་དང་། ཤོག་མིང་། དུད་གྲངས་བཀོད་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་ཡིན་པ་སྟེ། རྡོར་སྟོད། རྡོར་སྨད། དཀར་སྟོད། དཀར་སྨད། སྐར་ཁོངས། ནག་རྩ། ཉིན་ཐ། ཉིན་མོ། དམར་རོང་། བྱེ་ཅེ། དམར་རྩ། སྲིབ་ཐ། འདྲེ་དག རལ་གསུམ། ཁྲི་རྩ། ཁྲོམ་ཚང་། ནེམ་ཚ། ཡང་པ། ཡེ་ཐ། དྲུག་རྩ། སྟོམ་པ། སྐང་རྩ། བོན་ཐ། སེར་ཚ། བོམ་ཁན། འབྲོག་ཤོག བྱ་རྡུང་། སྐག་དྲུག སོག་སྟེ། ནག་རོག འབྲི་རྩ། རབ་ཤེ། ཤེས་ཐ། ཤངས་སྟོད། ཤངས་སྨད། གེ་མོ། འགོམ། ཇ་དམར། བྱ་ཙོ་བཅས་ཚོ་བའམ་ཤོག་ཁ་སོ་དགུ་ཡོད། མེ་འབྲུག་སྐྱ་སྐྱི་ལོ་༡୧୬ལོར་སྐྱི་ཁྲབ་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་མདོ་སྨད་སྐྱི་ཁྲབ་ཀྱི་ལས་བྱ་མཁན་ཆུང་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བཏང་སྐྱེ་རྟོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགུར་གཅིག་བྱུར་ཀྱི་བཀའ་འདོམས་མཛད་པའི་སྲོལ་བཞེས། རྟོར་སྐྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་བྱགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ནས་སྐྱ་གཞུག་ཏུ་རྟོར་སྐྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དགུ་བྱང་ཞིང་གཞུང་ས་ནས་ལོ་རིར་མཁན་རིམ་རེས་མོས་ཞེས་མཁན་ཆུང་དང་རིམ་བཞིའི་གོ་མིང་ཡོད་པའི་སྐྱི་ཁྲབ་པ་ལོ་རིར་བསྐོ་བཞག་གིས་རེས་མོས་སུ་གཏོང་སྲོལ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ལ། དེ་འོག་ལས་བྱ་རྩེ་ཤོད་བྱང་རིགས་གཅིག་རེ་དང་། རྒ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་སྡུང་དམག་དོན་སོའ་ཀྱི་འབག་དབང་དོ་དམ་བྱས། རྟོར་སྐྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་བྱགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་ནས་སྐྱ་ཕྱིར་ལས་ཐོག་དགུ་བྱང་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གཤམ་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་རེའུ་མིག་དང་པོར་གསལ། རྟོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་ས་ཁོངས་ནི་ཤར་ཆབ་མདོ་དང་། རི་བོ་ཆེ། བྱང་ནང་ཆེན་དང་ཇ་སྟོད་འབྲི་དམར་སོགས། ནུབ་བྱང་རིགས་ཨ་མདོ་དང་། ནག་ཆུ། ལྷོ་ལྷ་རི་དང་། དཔལ་འབར། ལྷོ་ཇོང་སོགས་དང་ས་མཚམས་སུ་བཀར་ཡོད། དུ་ལྟའི་སྲིད་འཛིན་དབྱི་ལུགས་ལྟར་ན།

ཅོར་ཆོ་སོ་དགུའི་ས་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཚབ་མདོ་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྟེང་ཆེན་རྩོང་དང་། ནག་ཆུ་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྤུ་ཆེན་རྩོང་དང་། འབྲི་རྩྭ་རྩོང་། སྐྱན་རོང་རྩོང་ཁཐ་བཞི་ཡིན།[3]

ཅོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་སྐབས་སུ་ཁུལ་བསྡུ་ཁྲིམས་གནོན་གྱི་བྱེད་སྟོ་གཅོ་བོར་གྱུར་བའི་སྲིད་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་ལུགས་ཐད་ནས་ཨཱཁད་ན། གཅིག་ནས་སྔ་མོའི་ཁུལ་ཞུལ་ལམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྣང་གཞིའི་སྟེང་ཅོར་ཆོ་སོ་དགུའི་ཐེམ་དུད་ལ་ཞིབ་བཤེར་གྱིས་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་སྟོ་ཁྲ་མིང་གཞུང་དང་། ས་རིགས་བདག་ཐོག་ཀྱི་ས་དེབ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ཐོ། ཤོ་འབབ་བསྡུ་གཞུང་། གཡུང་། ཞིབ་གཞུང་སོགས་བཟོས་ཏེ་གཞུང་འབབ་ཁབ་ཐེག་བྱས། ཅོར་སྤྱི་བྱགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་སུ་མི་འབྲུག་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་བཟོས་པ་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་ན་ཅོར་ཚོར་ཐེམ་དུད་དགུ་སྟོང་ལྷག་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཅོར་སྤྱི་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་དབང་འདུད་ནོར་བུའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཤིང་བྱི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་བཟོས། དེ་ལྟར་ན་ཅོར་ཚོར་ཐེམ་དུད་ཁྲི་གཅིག་དང་ཉིར་བཞི་ཙམ་ཟིན། ཅོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་བརྒྱད་པ་རིམ་བཞི་ཇི་ཁྲུང་རམ་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྱག་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པའི་ཀ་ཅང་ཞིབ་ཚགས་པ་ཞིག་བཟོ་འཆར་ལྟར་བཟོས་མ་ཚར་པར་ལུས་པར་གྱགས།[4] གཉིས་ནས་ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དར་གྱི་མདུད་པ་འཇམ་ལ་དམ། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་གསེར་གྱི་གཉའ་ཤིང་སྤྲིད་ནོན་ཆེ། རང་ཁྲིམས་ཐེག་པ་ཁུར་བློན་ཡོན་ཏན་ལྡན། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་དར་བའི་ལྟ་ཆོས་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་དང་། མི་ཆོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་བྱུག ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅོ་ལྔ ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་བྱུག ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་བཅས་གཞུང་གིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཆའི་རྣང་གཞིའི་སྟེང་། ས་གནས་རང་གི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་དུ་དར་ཁྲབ་ཆེ་བའི་ཉེས་ཚད་ལ་རྒྱུ་ཐོག་ཚད་པ་དང་། ལུས་ཐོག་རྩ་རངད། དེ་མིན་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་ཁ་མཆུ་བྱོད་གཏུགས་བྱང་པར་དཔྱད་མཚམས་ཁྲ་སོང་བའི་ཡི་གེ ཕན་ཚུན་

[3] གོང་མཆུངས། ཤ་ དང་། ཤ་2017 ནང་གསལ།

[4] བཀྲ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ཅོར་ཆོ་སོ་དགུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས། ཤ་37 ནང་གསལ།

ཀུ་ཛག་མི་རྒྱག་པའི་མནའ་གན། མི་བསད་འཕྲོག་འཕྲེར། ས་མཚམས་དང་རྩྭ་སའི་དཔྱད་མཚམས། ས་སྡེ་དང་མི་རྩའི་བཟློས་སྐོར་གྱི་ཁྲམ་སོགས་གཞིར་བཅས་ཏེ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གནོན་ཤེམ་བགྱིས། དཔེར་ན། ཧོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་འདུད་ནོར་བུའི་སྐབས་སུ་བཟོས་པའི་ཆུ་ཁྱི་ལོ་ནང་གི་དཔྱད་དེབ་ཅེས་པ་སྟེ། ཆུ་ཁྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༢༢ལོ་དང་། ཆུ་ཕག་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༢༣ལོ། ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༢༤ལོ་གསུམ་རིང་ཧོར་ཚོ་ཁུལ་དུ་ཁ་མཆུ་གྱོད་དོན་གཏུགས་གཞིར་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་དཔྱད་ཁྲ་ཁྲོན་བསྡོམས་༧༩ཕྱོགས་བསྒྲིགས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་ཧོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་ཁུལ་དུ་ཁྲིམས་དོན་བྱུང་བ་གང་དག་ཧོར་སྤྱི་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་འདུད་ནོར་བུས་སྤྱི་འདོམས་འོག་ཁྱུང་པོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་དུ་གནས་པའི་ཧོར་སྤྱི་ལས་རབ་ཁང་གིས་ཁྲིམས་དོན་མཐའ་འདོམས་བྱས་ནས་གྲུབ་པའི་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཧོར་སྤྱི་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་འདུད་ནོར་བུ་ནི་ཧོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། བོད་ཆུ་ཁྱི་ལོའི་ཟླ་དྲུག་པའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཉིན་སྤྱི་གསར་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ནས་སྤྱི་སྙིང་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྤེལ་བས་ཧོར་སྤྱི་འཁྱུར་རིང་ངོ་ལས་ནས་ཧོར་ཚོ་ཁུལ་དུ་བརྡབ་གསིག་གིས་ཕན་ཚུན་བཟློས་རྩོད་བྱུང་པ་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་ཧོར་ཚོ་སྤྱི་འཐུས་སྐྱོང་འཁུགས་བྱས་ཏེ་དོན་གནད་དག་སྐྱིལ་བྱུང་དོན་ལྟར་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྤེལ་བ་འཕོས་ལེན་གྱིས། གསར་པ་འགྲོ་རེས་མཁན་ཆུང་རིམ་པའི་སེར་མོ་བར་འཁེལ་གཞིས་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་འདུས་ནོར་བུ་བསྐོ་བཞག་སྩལ། ཆུ་ཕོ་ཁྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༢༢ལོའི་བོད་ཟླ་༦པའི་ཚེས་༡༨ཉིན་སྤྱི་གསར་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ནས་ལས་ཐམ་རྩིས་ལེན་ཟིན་འབྲེལ་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་གཞུང་དོན་ཞུ་སྒོ་སྤྱི་དང་། ཁྲིམས་འདོམས་རྗེས་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ཁྲིམས་ཤུགས་བཅས་ཁུར་བླངས་ཀྱིས་ཧོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་པ་མཛད། མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ནས་ཧོར་སྤྱི་འཁྱུར་རིང་གཞུང་བསམ་འབངས་བྱམས་ཆེ་བས། ཧོར་སྤྱི་སེར་སྐྱ་ངོ་ལས་རེས་འཁོར་ཐོག་ས་སྣུང་རྩ་དམག་ཡང་དབུས་གཙང་འགྲོ་རེས་ཀྱིས་བསྟུད་རྒྱུན་ལོ་བཞི་རེའི་མཚམས་གསར་རྙིང་བརྗེ་ལེན་མཛད་རྒྱུའི་རྒྱུས་དཔྱད་བཞིན་མཁན་ཆུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པས་ཧོར་སྤྱི་གནང་

པའི་ལོ་དུས་རྩོམས་མཚམས་སུ་ཅོར་ཆོ་སོ་དབུ་སྤྱི་མཐྱིམ་ནས་གོང་ས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཕྲེང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་རྒྱ་མཚོར་སྐྱན་ཞུ་ཕྱལ་ཏེ་མ་ཁན་རྒྱང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ཅོར་སྤྱི་ནས་བརྩེ་ལེན་མ་དགོས་པར་སུ་མཐུད་ལོ་བཞིའི་རིང་རང་གནས་དགོས་ལུགས་ཞུས་པ་བཞིན། བོད་ཞིང་གླང་༡೮༢༥ ལོའི་རླུ་ཧཆོས་༡༢ཉིན་གོང་ས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོར་སྐྱན་ཞུས་དོན་འབྱེལ་དུ་མདོ་སྨད་སྤྱི་ཁྲབ་ཀྱིས་ཅོར་སྤྱི་མཁན་རྒྱང་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ལ་ལོ་གསུམ་རིང་ལས་གནས་སུ་མཐུད་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་དགོས་རྒྱའི་བཀའ་རྒྱ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བཏང་བ་རླུ་ཧཔའི་ཆོས་༡༦ཉིན་ཀྱི་དགོང་དྲོ་ཁར་ཁྱུང་པོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་དུ་སྤྱི་ཐོར་ཕེབས། ཤིང་གླང་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡೮༢༧ལོའི་ཐོད་རླུ་༡༢པའི་ཆོས་༢༧ཉིན། ཅོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཁན་རྒྱང་གཡུ་ཐོག་དབང་འདུས་ནོར་བུ་ལགས་བྱད་གཏོད་འཆོའི་ལྷ་བྱའི་མཆེན་མཆེར་གཟེར་ལངས་ནད་མནར་གྱིས་ཆོ་ལས་འདས། གསུམ་ནས་ཅོར་སྤྱི་རྩེ་ཤོད་མ་ཁན་རིམ་རེས་འཁོར་ངོ་ལས་ཐོག ལས་བྱ་རྩེ་ཤོད་བྱང་རིགས་གཅིག་རེ་དང་། རུ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་སྡུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་ལྷ་བཅུ་ས་གནས་སུ་ཕེབས་བསྐྱོད་ཐོག ས་གནས་རང་གི་དཔོན་ཁག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་དཔོན་གནས་ལྷ་པ་དང་། བྱུག་པར་བསྐྱུར་པ་སྟེ། ཅོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་འདུད་ནོར་བུའི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་ཅོར་ཆོ་སོ་དབུ་ས་གནས་རང་དུ་དེ་སྔའི་ཅོར་ཕྱུལ་པོའི་མི་ཕྱུད་དང་། དཀར་རྩ། སྐག་བྱུག་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོང་དཔོན་རྣམས་བཏུ་དཔོན་ཀྱི་བྱས་སུ་ཕབ་སྟེ་དཔོན་གནས་རིམ་པ་ལྷ་པར་བསྐྱུར་བ་དཔོན་ཁག་བཅུ་བཞི་དང་། ཆོ་པ་ཆེ་ཁག་གི་དེ་སྔའི་བཏུ་དཔོན་ཁག་དཔོན་གནས་རིམ་པ་བྱུག་པར་བསྐྱུར་བ་དཔོན་ཁག་ཉིར་ལྷ། དེ་མིན་བཏུ་དཔོན་འོག་གི་དཔོན་འགོ་ཁག་ཅིག་རིམ་པ་བདུན་པའི་ལྷོད་དཔོན་དུ་བསྐྱུར་པའི་དཔོན་ཁག་ཞུས་པ་བཞིའི་ཤོད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས་རིམ་པ་བདུན་པའི་ལྷོད་དཔོན་བར་དུ་ཚགས་སུ་ཆུད་པར་བཅོས།

རེའུ་མིག་དང་པོ། རྩོར་སྨྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རེའུ་མིག (སྨྱི་ལོ་༡๙༧ནས་༡๙๙༢)

རྩོར་སྨྱིའི་ལས་ཐོག	རྩེ་ཁོད་དྲྭང་རིགས།	སྨྱི་ཁྲལ་པ།	ལོ་དུས།	སྤར་གནས་ལས་ཚན།	འཕོ་ལེན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་མཚན།
ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ།	རྩེ་དྲྭང་མ་འབན་ཆུང་།	བྱགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ།	མེ་འབྲུག་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ ๑๙๧๧ལོ་ནས་ལྷགས་བྱ་ ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་๑๙๧๧ལོ།	མདོ་སྨད་སྨྱི་ཁྲལ་གྱི་ ལས་བྱ།	ནད་མནར་གྱིས་ཁྱྲང་པོ་ སྐྱིང་ཆེན་དུ་འདུས།
ལས་ཐོག་ གཉིས་པ།	ཁོད་དྲྭང་རིམ་ བཞི།	སྨན་སྨིལ་བ་བསོད་ ནམས་རྒྱལ་པོ།	ལྷགས་བྱ་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ ๑๙๧๧ལོའི་བོད་ཟླ་ ๖ ཚེས་๧๨ནས་ཆུ་ཁྱི་ལོ་སྐྱེ་ སྨྱི་ལོ་๑๙๨๨ལོའི་བོད་ཟླ་ ๖པའི་ཚེས་๧๨ཉིན།	ཤིང་ཁྱི་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ ๑๙๨๙ལོར་རང་ ལོ་༡༣ཤིང་ལུག་ལོ་སྐྱེ་ སྨྱི་ལོ་๧๨๙ལོར་ ཞབས་སྟོད་ཞུས། ད་ལྟ་རིམ་བཞི།[5]	རྩོར་སྨྱི་ངོ་ལས་ནས་རྩོར་ ཚོ་ཁྲལ་གྱི་མི་སེར་ཐོག་ འབམ་ཚོང་སོགས་བརྟན་ གསིག་གིས་བཟློས་རྩོད་ བྱང་ཅྱེན་ཕྱིར་འཐེན།
ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ།	རྩེ་དྲྭང་མ་འབན་ཆུང་།	གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་ འདྲུད་ནོར་བྱ།	ཆུ་ཁྱི་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་๑๙๨๨ ལོའི་བོད་ཟླ་ ๖པའི་ཚེས་ ๧๨ནས་ཤིང་གྲང་ལོ་སྐྱེ་ སྨྱི་ལོ་๑๙๨๙ལོའི་བོད་ ཟླ་๧๨པའི་ཚེས་๨๙ཉིན།	※	ནད་མནར་འདས།
ལས་ཐོག་བཞི་ པ།	ཁོད་དྲྭང་རིམ་ བཞི།	ཀ་ཁོད་པ་ཚོས་ རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་མ།	མེ་སྦྲག་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ ๑๙๨๖ལོ་ནས་ ※	ཤིང་ཁྱི་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི་ལོ་ ๑๙๨๙ལོར་རང་ ལོ་๨๨ས་ལུག་ལོ་སྐྱེ་སྨྱི ་ལོ་๑๙๑๙ལོར་ཞབས	ཕྱིར་འཐེན།

[5] Petech 1973: 241.

				་སྡོད་ཞུས། ད་ལྟ་གསང་རྩོད་རྩོད་ སྡོད།[6]	
ལས་ཐོག་ ལྟ་བ།	རྟེ་བྱང་མ་ཁན་ ཆུང་།	བྱགས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ།	※	※	ལས་འཁྱར་ལོ་དུས་ རྩོགས།
ལས་ཐོག་ བྱག་པ།	ཁོད་བྱང་ རིམ་བཞི།	སྤྱི་མོ་མདོ་མ་ཁར་ བ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚེ་ བཏུན།	※	ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༢ཤ་ལོར་ཟླ་ ལོ་୨୩ ཟ་རྟ་ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ ལོ་༡༩༧ལོར་ཞབས་ སྡོད་ཞུས། ད་ལྟ་ རྩ་རྩིང་རྩོང་ སྡོད།[7] ཏེར་སྤྱིའི་སྡོན་དུ་ སྤྲུགས་སྤྱི་བྱས་སྐྱོང་།	འཕོས།
ལས་ཐོག་ བདུན་པ།	རྟེ་བྱང་མ་ཁན་ ཆུང་།	ཐུབ་བསྟན་པ།	ཤིང་ཁག་ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩୨୮ལོའི་བོད་ཟླ་༦ པའི་ཚེས་୮ནས་ ※	※	ནག་ལོག་རིད་རྟ་ལྷའི་ས་ གནས་སུ་གོང་ས།
ལས་ཐོག་ བརྒྱད་པ།	ཁོད་བྱང་ རིམ་བཞི།	ཐའི་ཇི་ཁྲུང་རམ་པ་ དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོ།	※	མེ་འབྲུག་ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༦ལོར་རང་ ལོ་୨୨ཀྱང་ཞྭའི་ཁྲི་ བཞུགས་୩୮ ས་ཁག་ ལོ་ཞབས་སྡོད་ཞུས།	སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩୧୦ལོ་བོད་ སྤྱོངས་ཆོགས་འདུ་ཅུག་ བསྡུས་རྒྱལ་པའི་དོན་ གནད་རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ སྐུ་ཕྲེང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་

[6] གོང་མཆུངས། ཤ ୨୧୮ ནང་གསལ།

[7] གོང་མཆུངས། ཤ ୨୧୬ ནང་གསལ།

				དཀྱུ་གཙང་མདའ་དཡོན།[8] ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་སྦྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩ ༢༠ལོར་རང་ལོ་༥༡ ས་ཕག་ལོ་སྦྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༨༩༩ལོར་ཞབས་ སྤོད་ཞུས། དཀྱུ་ གཙང་མདའ་དཡོན།[9]	ཡང་སྤྱིད་བཙན་འཚོལ་ གྱིས་འཁྲུལ་བྱལ་དེས་ རྣེད་ཡུ་སར་གདན་ཞུ་ ལེགས་གྲུབ་བྱུང་བའི་ གཟེངས་བསྟོད་དུ་ཐའི་ཇི་ ཁྲུང་རམ་པ་སྤྱིད་སྐྱོང་རུ་ སྐྱིང་ལ་མཛད་རྗེས་ གཟིགས་བཅོས་གང་ཆེ་ གནང་རྒྱུའི་གྲོས་ཕྱོགས་ དང་མ་མཐུན་པས་རུ་སྤྱིང ་གི་ཕྱོགས་གཏོགས་ སྐབས་དེའི་རྩིས་དཔོན་ ལས་འཛར་ཀ་ཝོད་པ་ ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཉི་མས་རོང་ཀྱི་ མི་སེར་འབག་ངན་འབྲུག ་གིས་རོང་ཆོ་སོ་དགུའི་མི་ ས་སྤྱི་མཐིན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ ཁོན་མཚན་འཛིད་ཀྱི་བའི་ སྤྲུག་སྐན་ཞུའི་ཞུ་གཏུགས ་རྩན་མ་བཅོས་ཏེ་བཀའ་

[8] མེ་འབྲུག ཤོད་བྱང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོ་དགེ བཀྲིང་ཡིག ངོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྷོར་མ་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་ཡོད།

[9] Petech 1973: 241.

					ཤག་ལ་གཡོ་རྩྭན་མགོ་སྐོར་བཏང་ནས་ཐའི་ཇི་ལྟུང་རམ་པ་ལས་ཞལ་གནས་དབྱུང་བཏང་ཞིང་། ལྷ་སའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ལྷོ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཙོན་ཁང་དུ་བཅུག་པ་དང་རྒྱ་ཐོག་རྩོད་ཡིན་མི་ལྟོག་པའི་རྒྱང་ཕྱད་བཏང་སྟེ་མཐར་སྐུ་ནའི་བབ་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་ཐོག་རང་དུ་ནད་འདས་སུ་བྱུང།
ལས་ཐོག་དགུ་པ།	རྩེ་དྲུང་མ/བན་ཆུང།	སྤྱག་བྱག་གཅིམ་དཔོན་ནམ་ཡང་ན་སྤྱག་བྱག་བྱ་བྱང་།	※	※	སྤྱི་ཁྲབ་ལས་འཁྱར་ལོ་གཉིས་ལས་མ་སོང་རྒྱང་དབོང་པ་ཕྱལ་འཁྲོལ་དང་། རོར་སྤྱི་ངོ་ལས་སྤྱང་དམག་དང་བཅས་བསྐོ་བཙོང་མ་དགོས་པར་བྱང་སྤྱིར་བསྡུར།

གསལ་བཤད། རེཊ་མིག་ཏུ་རྟགས་※བགོད་པ་ནི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་མ་འཁེལ་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་ཡུས།

བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།

བྱང་སྤྱི་ནི་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱི་འདོམས་ཞེས་པའི་བསྟུས་མིང་སྟེ། གཞུང་ས་དབའ་ལྡན་ཐོ་བྱང་གི་དུས་མཔྱག་ཏུ་བྱང་པའི་བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཁྲབ་རིམ་པའི་ས་གནས་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཞེག་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་རྟོར་ཚོ་བསུམ་ཅུ་སོ་དགུའི་སྤྱི་འདོམས་རྟོར་སྤྱི་ལས་རིམ་བྱིས་འཛེལ་ཏེ་བྱང་བ་ཡིན། རྟོར་ཚོ་ཁྲལ་དུ་རྩོང་ཁག་གནར་བསྐོའི་འཆར་གཞིའི་[10]ཡིག་ཆ་ལྟར་ན། བྱང་སྤྱི་ནི་བོད་རབ་བྱུང་བཅོ་ལྔ་པའི་ཆུ་ཕོ་རྟའི་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༢ལོར་དངོས་སུ་བཙུགས་པ་ཡིན། བོད་ལྷགས་སྤུལ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༧ལོར་རྟོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགུའི་ས་སྟེ་མི་གསུམ་གྱི་ཆུ་ཁྲོན་ཆེ་གཤེས་རྟོར་སྤྱི་ངོ་ལས་དང་བཅས་ནས་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྱིམས་གཞོན་ཀྱི་ཁྲབ་འདོམས་ཚུལ་བཞིན་དུ་དཀའ་བ་དང་། གཞུང་གནས་སུ་འབབ་ཡོང་ཀྱང་དེ་ཙམ་མ་མཆིས་པར་གཞིགས་ཏེ། བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ཡོངས་འཛིན་སྤུག་བྱག་ལ་རྟོར་སྤྱི་མེད་པ་བཟོས་ཏེ། ས་གནས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཇོང་ཁ་ཤས་འཛུགས་ཀྱིས། བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་འདོམས་བྱང་སྤྱི་འཛུགས་རྒྱུའི་འཆར་གཞི་ཕུལ་བར་དེ་འཐུས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྟགས་གནང་བས། དེ་ནས་བཟུང་རྟོར་སྤྱི་ངོ་ལས་སྤུང་དམག་དང་བཅས་བསྐོ་བཇོང་མ་དགོས་པར་མཁན་ཆུང་ཚ་ལྷ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འོད་ལྡན་དང་། རིམ་བཞི་གསུམ་མདོ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན་གཉིས་རྩེ་ཤོད་མཁན་རིམ་སྤེལ་པོའི་ཐོག ལས་བྱ་སེར་སྐྱ་མི་གཉིས། ས་སྤུང་འགོ་འདོམས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་སྤུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་བསྐོ་བཇོང་གིས། བྱང་བརྒྱུད་འདུ་གནད་ཆེ་བའི་ནག་ཆུ་ཇོང་དུ་གནས་སྤོར་ཏེ་བྱང་སྤྱི་དངོས་སུ་བཙུགས། རྟོར་སྤྱིའི་ལས་

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[10]རྟོར་ཚོ་ཁྲལ་ཇོང་ཁག་གསར་བསྐོའི་འཆར་གཞི་ཟེར་ཨང་། ཁ་བྱང་རྒྱས་པར་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་རྟོར་སྤྱི་མེད་པ་བཟོས་ཏེ་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཇོང་ཁ་ཤས་དང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་གསར་འཛུགས་བྱ་རྒྱའི་སྐོར་སོགས་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ལ་ཕུལ་འཆར་ཞེས་ཅེར། འཆར་གཞི་འདི་ནི་ལྷགས་སྤུལ་ལོར་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་རྟོར་སྤྱི་མེད་པ་བཟོས་ཏེ་སྲིད་འཛིན་ཇོང་ཁ་ཤས། བྱང་སྤྱི་གསར་འཛུགས་བྱ་རྒྱའི་སྐོར་སོགས་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ལ་ཕུལ་འཆར་ཞེས་ཅེར་ལ་ཕུལ་བའི་འཆར་གཞི་ཞེས་པ་ཡིན་ལ། ལྷགས་སྤུལ་བོད་རྫ་ཤའི་ཚེས་༢༦ཉིན་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་གིས་ཞེབ་འཇུག་སོང་།

ལུགས་དེ་རྩོང་འགོའི་ཡན་ལུགས་སུ་བསྒྲུབ་རྩེས་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྱིམས་གཞོན་གྱི་བཀྱི་བ་དག་ཀྱང་གོང་གསལ་ལྟར། ས་སྤེ་མི་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ལ་གཞིགས་པའི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་བཟོས་ཏེ་ཁྲལ་འབབ་བསྡུ་གཞུང་གཏན་འགེལ་དང་། བྱས་ཀེས་ཁྱིམས་གཅོད། ཁ་མཆུ་བརྒྱོས་རྩོད་ཞུ་གཏུགས་ལ་སོང་བའི་དཔྱད་མཚམས་ཁྲ་མ་སོགས་གཞུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་གཏན་དུ་ཕབ་ཟིན་པའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ་དང་སྨུག་དམ་ལག་འཁྱེར་རྩ་ཚོག་འབྲུ་དོན་ལ་གཞིར་བཅས། ས་གནས་རང་གི་ལག་སྟེལ་གན་རྒྱ་སོགས་ཁྱིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཚ་ཁག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཁྱིམས་འདོན་པ། གཞན་ཡང་བྱང་སྤྱི་མཁན་རིམ་སྟེལ་པོ་དང་། ལས་བྱ་སེར་སྐྱ་མི་གཉིས། ས་སྡུང་འགོ་འདོམས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་གཅིག སྡུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཐོག རྩོང་འགོ་བསྐོ་བཞག་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས་ཐད། དཀར་སྨོད་ཚོག་དང་། དཀར་སྨད་ཚོག ནག་ཏུ་ཚོག རྩོ་སྨོད་ཚོག རྩོ་སྨད་ཚོག་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྱིམས་གཅོད་བྱེད་པོ་ཁྱུང་དཀར་སྨེང་ཆེན་དུ་གནས་ལྟ་བའི་རྩོང་སྤྲོད་སེར་སྐྱ་ཀེས་སྟེལ། ཁྱུང་སེར་བྱ་ཅེ་ཚོག་དང་སྐར་ཁང་ཚོག་གཀེས་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྱིམས་གཅོད་བྱེད་པོ་གནས་ལྟ་པ་རྟོང་སྟེ་ཆེན་རྩོང་སྤྲོད་སེར་སྐྱ་ཀེས་སྟེལ། ཨར་སྨད་ཚོག ཨར་སྤྲོད་ཚོག སོག་སྤེ་སྤྲོད་སྨད་ཚོག རྩ་གཞུང་ཚོག དབའ་ཚོག གེ་མོ་ཚོག བེ་ཏུ་ཚོག་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་ཁྱིམས་གཅོད་བྱེད་པོ་གནས་ལྟ་པ་ཨར་རྩེ་བ་སོག་འགོ་པ་སེར་སྐྱ་ཀེས་སྟེལ་སོགས་གཏེར་གསོལ་བཞེན་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་འཛིན་རིམ་པ་བཞེན་དུ་ཚགས་ཆུད་པར་བཙུགས། དེ་ནས་སྤུ་ཕྱིར་བྱང་སྟེལ་ཐོག་རིམ་པ་ལྟ་བྱུང་། གོང་དུ་བརྩོད་ཟིན་པ་ལྟར། བྱང་སྟེལ་དེ་དག་ནི་རྟོར་སྟེལ་དང་མི་འདྲ་བར། རྟོར་སྟེལ་མཁན་རིམ་རེས་མོས་གཏེར་སྲོལ་ལས་བྱང་སྟེལ་མཁན་རིམ་སྟེལ་པོ་ཞེས་རྩེ་བྱང་མཁན་ཆུང་དང་ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞེའི་གོ་གནས་ཡོད་པ་སྟེལ་པོ་གསར་བསྐོ་བཏྲིས་ཏེ་གཏེར་བ་དང་། རིམ་བཞིན་དུ་དེ་འོག་ལས་བྱ་རྩེ་བྱང་དང་། ས་སྡུང་མགོ་འདོམས་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྟེག་གཞིན་

འགྱུར་བ་བཏང་བའི་ཐོག དེ་སྐབས་བྱང་རིགས་སྡེ་བཞི་[11]དང་། རྩ་དབུག་[12]གི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ས་གནས་རྣོང་འགོ་ཁག་དབུག་ཏུ་བགོས་ཏེ་ཁུལ་འབབ་བསྡུ་ལེན་དང་། སྨྱིག་ཁྲིམས་གནོན་སྡེམས་ཀྱིས་སྟོང་ནག་

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[11]སྐར་ཀྱི་བརྒྱད་སྒོལ་ཞིག་སྟེ་ད་ལྟའི་ནག་ཆུ་རྩོང་དང་ཞა་མདོ་རྩོང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་སའི་ཚར་དེ་སྐྱ་ཆུ་བྱང་རིགས་སམ་ཡང་ན་བྱང་རིགས་སྡེ་བཞིར་འགོད། ཨཞད་སྒོལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་གཞུང་སོག་ལྷོ་བྱང་དང་། བར་ཐ་ཞ་མདོ། གསང་གཞུང་བཅས་བཞིར་འདོད། ཡང་ལ་ལས་གཞུང་སོག་ལྷོ་བྱང་དང་སྐིར་པ་ཕྱད་པའི་གསང་གཞུང་དང་། བར་ཐ་ཞ་མདོ། ཆོར་སྐད་བཅས་བཞིར་བརྗི་མ་ཁན་ཡང་ཡོད་པར་སྣང་། ཆུ་བྱང་རིགས་ཞེས་འབོད་པའི་ཆུ་མཚན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་མོ་རྩེ་ལ་ཆུའི་ཆུ་ཕུག་སྐེ་ནག་ཆུ་གཅང་པོའི་རྩེ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་བྱང་རྒྱུད་ལ་གནས་ཡོད་པས་མིང་དེ་ལྟར་ཐོགས་པའོ།

[12]དེ་སྐབས་བྱང་རིགས་ས་ཁུལ་དུ་ཁོག་ཁའམ་ཚོ་ཁོག་ལྟ་བཅུད་པ་དེ་རྣམས་རྩྭ་དབྱུག་དུ་ཟིས་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། རྩ་དང་པོ་ནི། བར་ཐ་སྐེར་གཞུང་དགུ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་ནས་སྡེ་གསར་ཁོག་དང་། འབྲ་ཐར་ཁོག རྩ་ཆེན་ཁོག དབྱིས་ཆེན་ཁོག དབྱིས་ཆུང་ཁོག་བཅས་གཞུང་སྡེ་ཁག་ལྟ་དང་། གྲང་སྐོར་ཁོག སྐག་སྡེ་ཁོག གཡུ་ཐོག་ཁོག རིག་སྤྱི་ཁོག་བཅས་སྐོར་སྡེ་བཞི་བཅས་དགུའོ། དེར་སྐོར་གཞུང་འབོད་པའི་ཆུ་མཚན་ནི་སྐོར་པ་ཅར་བ་སྐུ་དུག་དང་དགོན་སྡེ་ཁག་གི་མི་སེར་ལ་ཅར་བ་དང་། གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་བོད་ས་གནས་སྲིད་གཞུང་གི་མི་སེར་ལ་ཅར་བ་དང་། གསང་གཞུང་སྐོར་གཞུང་དགུ་ཡོད་ནང་ལས་འ་བ་ཁོག སོ་དྲུག་ཆེ་བ་ཁོག རྩར་ཡོང་ཁོག ཐོག་རྩ་ཁོག སེམས་དཔའ་ཁོག བཀས་སྒྲོངས་ཁོག་བཅས་གཞུང་ཁོག་དྲུག་དང་། རྩེ་གསེར་གདུང་དཀར་རྩ་ཁོག སེམས་དཔའ་རྟ་ཇི་མ་ཁོག དགའ་ལྡན་རྩ་བ་ཁོག་བཅས་སྐོར་ཁོག་གསུམ་ཡིན། རྩ་གསུམ་པ་ནི། གཞུང་སོག་སྒྲོང་ཁོག་ལ་བཅུག་གཉིས་སྟེ་སྒོ་མ་ཁོག་དྲུག་དང་བྱང་མ་ཁོག་དྲུག་ཡིན། དེ་དག་ནི་ཞི་ནི་རྩ་བ་ཁོག སྒོ་མ་རང་ཁོག ནང་སོ་རྩ་བ་ཁོག མེ་མདེལ་རྩ་བ་ཁོག ཁོག་སྐྱིང་མ་ཁོག ཡོངས་འཛིན་རྩ་བ་ཁོག་བཅས་སྒོ་མ་ཁོག་དྲུག་དང་། སྐག་རིང་ཁོག སྐག་གསར་ཁོག ཞ་གོང་རྩ་བ་ཁོག བརྒྱ་དཔོན་རྩ་བ་ཁོག བྱ་རིགས་རྩ་བ་ཁོག་བཅས་བྱང་མ་ཁོག་དྲུག་ཡིན། རྩ་བཞི་པ། སྐེར་པ་ཁོག་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཞུ་ཏོག་ཁོག ཁྲི་པ་རྩ་ཁོག བསྐན་རྒྱས་གྲིང་རྩ་ཁོག ཀུན་བདེ་གྲིང་རྩ་ཁོག ཚ་ཚང་རྩ་ཁོག གསེར་ཁང་རྩ་ཁོག རྒྱ་མ་རྩ་ཁོག རྡོ་རིང་རྩ་ཁོག་བཅས་ཡིན། རྩ་ལྔ་པ། ཆོར་སྐད་ཁོག་བཞི་ ཡོད་པ་ནི། རྩ་རྐིང་ཁོག རྩ་གསར་ཁོག ཆེ་འབྲམ་ཁོག འཁོར་མང་ཁོག་བཅས་ཡིན། རྩ་དྲུག་པ། ཞ་མདོ་ཁོག་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཞ་མདོ་སྟོད་མ་ཁོག ཞ་མདོ་སྨད་མ་ཁོག

ཚང་ནས་སྨད་ཁྲྱང་པོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་བར་ཀྱི་རྩོང་གཞིས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དུ་གྱུགས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ལ་འགོ་འདོམས་བྱས། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་ནི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མཁན་ཆུང་ཤ་ལྷ་བ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འོད་ལྡན་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་གསུམ་མདོ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན་སེར་སྐྱ་རྒྱང་སྤྲེལ་ཡིན། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གཉིས་པ་ནི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མཁན་ཆུང་ལྷའུ་རྩ་ར་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བསྟན་དར་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་ཞྭ་སྐབ་པ་བློ་གསལ་དོན་གྲུབ་སེར་སྐྱ་རྒྱང་སྤྲེལ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་ནི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མཁན་ཆུང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བཟང་པོ་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་ར་ས་རྒྱ་རྐན་པ་ཕུན་ཚོགས་དབང་རྒྱལ་སེར་སྐྱ་རྒྱང་སྤྲེལ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་བཞི་པ་ནི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མཁན་ཆུང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བྱང་ཆུབ་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་སྤྲོན་གྱིང་པ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སེར་སྐྱ་རྒྱང་སྤྲེལ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་ལྔ་པ་ནི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མཁན་ཆུང་ཐོན་པ་བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་སྤྲན་སྤྲོད་པ་བློ་བཟང་དབང་འདུས་སེར་སྐྱ་རྒྱང་སྤྲེལ་བཅས་ཏོད་རབ་བྱང་བཅུ་བདུག་པའི་ས་མོ་ཡག་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༩ལོ་བར་དུ་སྡུ་ཕྱིར་བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་ལྔ་བྱང་། དེ་དག་གི་རྒྱུ་མཚན་གསལ་པོ་གཤའམ་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་རེའུ་མིག་གཉིས་པ་བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རེའུ་མིག་ཏུ་གསལ།

རེའུ་མིག་གཉིས་པ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རེའུ་མིག(སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༥༢ནས་༡༩༥༩)

བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག	རྩེ་ཤོད་བྱང་རིགས།	སྤྱི་ཁྲབ་པ།	ལོ་དུས། (སྤྱི་ལོ)	སྐར་གནས་ལས་ཚན།	འཛོམ་ཡེན་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་མཚན།
ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ།	རྩེ་བྱང་མཁན་ཆུང་།	ཤ་ལྷ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འོད་ལྡན་ལྷན།	༡༩༥༢ ནས་ ༡༩༥༦	རྩེ་མགོན་ཐོག་མགོན་གཉིར་ཆེན་མོ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ངག་དབང་མཆོག་གི་ལས་ཚབ་	མེ་ཡག་ལོར་མགོན་གཉིར་ཆེན་མོར་གནས་སྐར་བསྐོ་བཞག་བྱས།

སེར་དོར་རྩ་བ་ཤོག ཁག་རྩ་ཤོག ཤོག་ཆེན་མ་ཤོག རྒྱ་མཆོ་རྩ་བ་ཤོག ཤོག་རྒྱ་རྩ་བ་ཤོག གཡས་ཡིན།

				ཏུ་ནག་ཆུ་ཁར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡང་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཕེབས་བསུར་བསྐྱོད།	
	ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི།	གསུམ་མདོ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན།		ཤིང་རྟ་ལོ་སྦྲེ་སྤྲི་ལོ་1೮೪೮ ལོར་རང་ལོ་ཅ೮དང་། མི་བློང་ལོ་ལས་ཚན་ཆུང་བའི་གདན་ཐོབ་སྡུལ་ཐོག་ལྷགས་སྤུལ་ལོ་ཞབས་སྟོད་ཞུས། ལས་མིད་རིམ་བཞི།[13] སྤ་ཕྱིར་རིན་སྤུངས་རྩོང་སྟོད་དང་། ཕག་རི་བལ་ཤོ་མོགས་བྱས་སྐྱོང་།	※
ལས་ཐོག་གཉིས་པ།	རྩེ་བྱང་མ་འབན་ཆུང་།	ལྷའུ་རྩ་ར་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བསྟན་དར།	1೮ཅ೬ ནས་ 1೮೪೦	ས་སྟག་ལོ་སྦྲེ་སྤྲི་ལོ་ 1೮རྩ ནས་ཤིང་བྱ་ལོ་སྦྲེ་སྤྲི་ལོ་ 1೮ཅ೪་ལོའི་བར་རྩེ་མགོན་ལོ་བརྒྱད་བྱས།	ཡྱགས་སྟག་ལོ་སྦྲེ་སྤྲི་ལོ་ 1೮೪೦ལོར་བྱང་ཡིག་ཆེ་མོ་དང་། ཐོད་ལྷོངས་དམག་སྤྲི་ཁང་གི་སྤྲི་འདོམས། གཞུང་རྩིས་ཞིབ་ཁང་རིག་ཁང་དོ་དམ་པ་ཞོར་ལྷོགས།
	ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི།	ཞ་སྐྱབ་རྐན་པ་བློ་གསལ་ལ་དོན་		ཤིང་རྟ་ལོ་སྦྲེ་སྤྲི་ལོ་1೮೪೪ ལོར་རང་ལོ་ཅ೮དང་།	※

[13] ཤིང་རྟ། ཤོད་བྱང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོ་དགེ་ གཞུང་ཡིག་ ཐོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྷོངས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་ཡོད།

		བྱེད།		ཆུ་ཞག་ལོ་ཞབས་སྟོད་ཞུས། དཔལ་རྡོ་གཉིར་རིམ་བཞི།[14]	
ལས་ཁོག་གཤུམ་པ།	རྩེ་དྲུང་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་།	ཐུབ་བསྟན་བཟང་པོ།	༡୭୮୦ ནས་ ༡୭୮୨	※	མི་སེར་ལ་འཕར་བརྡབ་བ་དང་ཅིན་ཡིར་འཐེན།
	ཤོད་དྲུང་རིམ་བཞི།	ར་སྐ་རྒྱ་རྐན་པ་ཕུན་ཚོགས་དབང་རྒྱལ།		ཤིང་རྟ་ལོ་རང་ལོ་ཅ୭ ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡୭୨ཅ ལོར་ཞབས་སྟོད་ཞུས།[15]	ཤིང་རྟ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡୭୮ཅལོར་ལས་མེད་རིམ་བཞི།[16]
ལས་ཁོག་བཞི་པ།	རྩེ་དྲུང་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་།	ཐུབ་བསྟན་བྱང་ཆུབ།	༡୭୮୨ ནས་ ༡୭୮୬	གཤས་བཞི་པ་ཞབས་འཕར་དོ་དམ།	※
	ཤོད་དྲུང་རིམ་བཞི།	སྨོན་གྲིང་པ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན།		གཤས་དྲུག་པ་བཀའ་དྲིང་རས་དམིགས་བསལ་ལ་གཤས་སྤར།	※
ལས་ཁོག་ལྔ་པ།	རྩེ་དྲུང་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་།	ཁོན་པ་བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན།	༡୭୮୬ ནས་ ༡୭୮୭	※	※
	ཤོད་དྲུང་རིམ་བཞི།	སྨན་སྟོད་པ་བློ་བཟང་དབང་འདུ།		ཤིང་རྟ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡୭୮ཅ ལོར་ཟང་ལོ་༣୬ དང་། ཤིང་ཁྱི་ལོ་ཞབས་སྟོད་ཞུས། དཔལ་བྷ་བྱང་ཕུག་མཛོད།[17]	※

གསལ་ཡང་འགྲེ། རེའུ་མིག་ཏུ་རྟགས་※བཀོད་པ་ནི་གཤས་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་མ་འཁེལ་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་ཡུས།

14 ཞོང་མཚུངས།

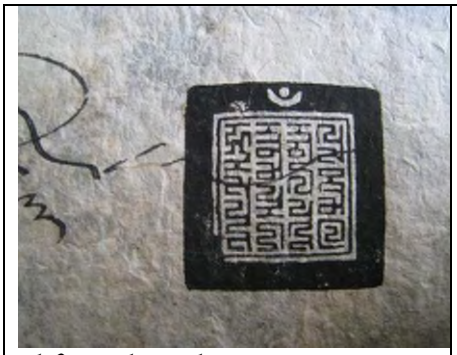
15 ཞོང་མཚུངས།

16 ཞོང་མཚུངས།

17 ཞོང་མཚུངས།

རྒོར་སྨྱི་དང་བྱང་སྨྱིའི་འཕོ་ལེན་བསྒོ་བཙོང་ལམ་ལུགས།

རྒོར་སྨྱི་སྟེ་རྒོར་ཆོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་ཀྱི་བསྒོ་བཞག་ནི་གནས་བཞི་པའི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་དང་ཤོད་དྲུང་རིམ་བཞི་རེས་འཐོར་དང་། བྱང་སྨྱི་སྟེ་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་སྨྱི་འདོམས་ཀྱི་བསྒོ་བཞག་ནི་གནས་བཞི་པའི་རྩེ་དྲུང་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་དང་ཤོད་དྲུང་རིམ་བཞི་སྟེང་ཡོར་བསྒོ་བཙོང་བྱེད་དགོས། རྒོར་སྨྱི་དང་བྱང་སྨྱི་གཉིས་ཀ་རྒྱས་དཔྱད་འཚར་གཞི་ཕྱག་རྟགས་བཞིན་ལོ་བཞི་རེའི་མཚམས་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་པ་གསར་རྙིང་བརྗེ་ལེན་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ལས་ཐམ་དང་སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་པ་ངོ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཐབ་རྟེན་སྐྱེས་ལེན་གྱིས། རྒོར་སྨྱི་རྩེ་ཤོད་རིམ་བཞི་ངོ་ལས་ས་སྡུང་རུ་དམག་དང་བཅས་གཞུང་ས་ནས་གསར་དུ་བསྒོ་བཙོང་། བྱང་སྨྱི་ལས་བྱ་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་དང་བཅས་གཞུང་ས་ནས་གསར་དུ་བསྒོ་བཙོང་བྱེད་དགོས། ཞར་དུ་རྒོར་སྨྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་གཉིས་པ་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྨེལ་བའི་ལས་ཐམ་བགོད་པ་གཤའམ་གསལ་དུ།



རྒོར་སྨྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལས་ཐམ།

རྒོར་སྨྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གཉིས་པ་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྨེལ་བ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལས་ཐམ།

དེ་བཞིན་དུ། རྒོར་སྨྱི་དང་བྱང་སྨྱིའི་འཕོ་ལེན་གྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་ནི། རྒྱལ་དཔྱད་འཚར་གཞི་ཕྱག་རྟགས་བཞིན་ལོ་གསུམ་སོང་བཞི་འགྲོའི་མཚམས་སོ་སོར་འཕོ་ལེན་བསྒོ་བཙོང་སྐབས་སུ། བཀའ་ཤག་ནས་དོན་གནད་དག་སྐྱེལ་མི་སྣ་ཚེད་ཇོང་གིས་དངོས་དོན་གསལ་ཁ་ཐོན་རྗེས། སྨྱི་ཁྲབ་པ་གསར་རྙིང་

དབང་རྩེས་ལེན་སྤྲོད་ཐུབ་འདུ་གཉིས་བགོད་དེ། སྤྱི་གསར་བྱིས་གཞི་སེལ་མཛད་རྒྱུ་དང་སྤྱི་རྩིང་གིས་ སྤྱི་གསར་ལ་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པའི་ཐུངས་སྐྱེལ་ཞུ་འཛིན་བགོད་དེ་འཚོ་ལེན་བསྐྲི་བཙྫོང་བྱུབ་ཟིན། འདིར་ འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་གཉིས་དཔེར་མཚོན་ཙམ་དུ་བགོད་ན།

དཔེར་བརྗོད་དང་པོ།

སྤྲོད་ཐུབ་འདུ་གཉིས་སྤྱི་གསར་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྤེལ་བ་ནས་ཉར་རྒྱུ།

ཆུ་ཁྱི། ཏོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་སྤྱི་ཁྲབ་རྩེ་ཤོད་རིམ་བཞི་ངོ་ལས་རེ་འཁོར་ཐོག་ས་སྡུང་རུ་དམག་ཡང་དབུས་ གཙང་འབྲོ་རིས་ཀྱིས་བསྡད་རྒྱུན་ལོ་བཞི་རེའི་མཚམས་གསར་སྐྱེང་བརྩེ་ལེན་མཛད་རྒྱུའི་རྒྱས་བཅད་ བཞིན་ཐོག་མའི་ཏོར་སྤྱི་མ་ཁན་ཆུང་གྲགས་རྣམ་འདས་ཚབ་གསར་པ་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྤེལ་བར་གོང་ གསལ་རྩེས་མཇུག་ནས་སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན། ཡིག་རིགས། ཁང་དངོས། རྟ་ནོར་ཟ་ལུག་སོགས་སྤྲོད་ རིགས་སྤྱི་དང་། གསར་སྐྱེང་སྤྲོད་མཚམས། གཞུང་རྩིས་ཞུ་ལུགས་བཅས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ཁྲབ་འབྲུ་གཉིས་ བཅོད་པར། སྤྱི་གསར་རིམ་བཞི་སྨན་སྤེལ་བ་ནས་ལྷགས་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཅརྩོས་༡༢ཉིན་ལས་ཐམ་དང་། ངོ་ལས་ ཀྱི་ཐབ་རྟེན་ས་ཞིང་བཅས་རྩིས་ལེན་ཟིན་འབྲེལ་གཞུང་དོན་ཚེ་ཕྱ་དང་། ཁྲིམས་འདོམས་མཛད་དེ་ ཁྲིམས་ཤུགས་རྩིས་ཞུ་བཅས་གསར་པས་མཛད་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཆུ་ཁྱི་༡ཚོས་༡ནས་བཟུངས་ཁྲལ་ཁྲིམས་གང་ ཅི་གསར་པས་མཛད་གཤིས་རྩིང་པར་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་མཛད་རྒྱུ། ལྷགས་བྱ་ལོའི་གཞུང་འབབ་ལོ་ ཁྲལ་ཆེ་ཕྱ་གང་ཅི་རྩིང་པའི་རྩེས་མཇུག་ནས་བསྡུ་ལེན་རྒྱིས་སྤྱི་གསར་ངོ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཡོགས། གསར་པའི་ ས་སྡུང་གྲ་ནི་ཞིང་རྒྱུས་གཏན་ཚིགས་ཐོབ་བཅས་ཆུ་ཁྱི་རྒྱ་༡༠ཚོས་༢༧་བར་རྩིང་པས་སྤྲོད་རྒྱག་དང་འབྲེལ་ གཞུང་འབབ་རྩིས་ཞུ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་མཆུངས་དེ་ལོའི་སྤྲ་ཆེན་གྱི་གཏེར་འབབ་ཇི་ཡོད་རྩིང་པས་བསྡུས་ འབྲེལ་དགོས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་ཕེབ་གཏེར་སྒོ་སོགས་གོང་མཚམས་བར་གསར་པར་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་རྩིང་ པས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ། དེ་འབྲེལ་མི་འབྲུག་སྤྲོད་ཐོ་ནང་གསལ་གྱི་ཇ་དང་། འབྲུ་རིགས་དང་ལམ་གསར་པར་རྩིས་ སྤྲོད་མ་བྱང་གཤིས་བསྡད་སོང་གཞུང་རྩིས་པས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་སྤྲོས་མེད་ཐོག་སྐུ་རྟེན་མཆོད་ཆས། ཕྱ་

བརྒྱན། དངོས་རིགས་བཅས་སྤྲོད་བའེར་སྐབས་ཚད་རིགས་ལ་བཀའ་དགོངས་བཞིན་རིན་འབབ་གཞུང་འབྲལ་ཞུ་དགོས་ཐེབས་པ་ལྟར་ཆད་ཁྲ་ཟུར་གསལ་རིན་འབབ་ཇི་ཐོབ་གསར་པར་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་སྐྱིང་པས་མགོ་དཀྲུས་གདོང་དགུ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཟིན་པ་བཅས་ཕྱུད། དེ་བྱིངས་ཡིག་རིགས་དཀར་ཆག་གསར་སྐྱིང་ཞིབ་འབྲུར་ནང་གསལ། ཇོང་ཁང་ལེ་ལག འཛིན་དངོས་འཆར་འཕར། རྟ་ནོར་ཤ་ལུག་སྤྲོད་ཐོ་ཟུར་གསལ་ལྟར་བཅས་སྐྱིང་པས་གསར་པར་སྐྱེས་སྤྲོད་ཟིན་སྒྲུབ་གསར་པས་ཁྲུངས་སྐྱེལ་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་བཅས་སྤྱི་གསར་རིམ་བཞི་སྒྲན་སྤེལ་བའེ་རྟགས། སྤྱི་སྐྱིང་རྩིས་མཇུག་ངོ་མ་ཚོ་དབང་གི་རྟགས།

དཔེར་བརྗོད་གཉིས་པ།

ཅོར་སྤྱི་སྐྱིང་པ་ཀ་ཁོད་པས་དངོས་གཞུང་ལྟར་སྤྱི་གསར་ལ་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་ཁྲུངས་སྐྱེལ་ཞུ་འཛིན། གཱ་རྒྱའི་འབྲི་རུར་དངོས་པོ་ལགཱ་ཡོད་གཞུང་ཁྲ་ཤང་༥༡ནང་གསལ་སྐྱིད་གྱི་རྩེ་སགཱ་ཤྲཱད་སྐྱིང་སོང་འཕྱུར་ཐུ་ཚུང་དུ་ཡོད་པ་གཅིག་ཆད་པ་རིང་མིན་དངོས་མདོག་རྩིས་འབྲལ་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་མ་ཟད། བོན་ཐ་དཔོན་རྒྱལ་ཚེའི་དངོས་པོ་ལགཱ་ཡོད་གཞུང་ཁྲ་ཤང་༥༢འཛོད་གསལ་གཏུ་ནང་གི་བོན་ལུགས་མ་ཁབ་འབྲོའི་སྐུ་ལི་མ་གཅིག་ཞེས་པ་དུ་ལམ་ཆད་སོང་བ་སྐུ་དེ་གཱ་གསང་བྱགས་ཀྱི་འབྲི་རུར་དངོས་པོ་ལགཱ་ཡོད་གཞུང་ཁྲ་ཤང་༦༢འཛོད་གསལ་རཨ་འཕོར་ཤང་༡འཛོད་པའི་ཀོ་དམར་ལགཱ་སྐམ་ནང་དཏུལ་གྱི་སབྲལ་པང་རྐཱ་བརྒྱད་ཚ་གསེར་ཅན་བྱིན་རྟེན་རང་འགྱིགས་ཞེས་པ་དེའི་ནང་ནོར་འབྲུལ་གྱིས་འཇུམ་ཐལ་བྱུར་བདུན་པ་སྐྱར་དངོས་པོ་ཞེབ་བའེར་སྐབས་གོང་གསལ་གཏུ་ནང་ནས་སྐུ་འདི་ལོན་ན་སྐྱོས་མེད། དེ་མིན་སྤྱི་གསར་མཆོག་ལ་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་ཁྲུངས་བསྐྱེལ་གྱིང་མེད་ཞུ་འཛིན་དུ། ཅོར་སྤྱི་སྐྱིང་པ་རིམ་བཞི་ཀ་ཁོད་པས། ས་སྐྱལ་རྒྱ་ ༡༡ཚོས་༡ལ།

བྱང་སྤྱི་དང་བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤེ་ལགས་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས།

བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤེ་ལགས་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར།

༡ གཞུང་སའི་སྤྱིད་དོན་ཀྱི་སྐོར།

༢ ལས་ཚན་བསྐོ་འཐེན་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ། ཆོར་སྤྱི་མ་ཁན་རིམ་ལས་རིས་དང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་མ་ཁན་ནང་སྤེལ་པོ། ལས་བྱ་སེར་སྐྱ་ཉིས་སྤེལ། ལས་བྱ་སྤྱང་དམག་དང་བཅས་པ། ས་སྤྱང་འགོ་འདོམས། ས་སྤྱང་དམག་དཔོན། ས་སྤྱང་རྩ་དཔོན། ས་སྤྱང་བརྒྱ་དཔོན། ཆོར་ཁྲལ་ཁྲལ་བསྡུའི་དོ་དམ། བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ཡོགས་འབྲུ་དོ་དམ་མགོན་ལས། ནག་ཆུ་འགོ་སྤེལ། ནག་ཚང་འགོ་སྤེལ། སྤུ་ཆེན་རྩོང་སྤེལ། འབྲི་རྩ་རྩོང་། གཞམ་རྩ་འགོ་པ། བྱང་རིགས་རྩ་དྲུག་འགོ་དཔོན། ལྷ་རི་རྩོང་སྡོད། ཆོར་ཁྲལ་ཁྲལ་བསྡུ་དོ་དམ། ཕྱོ་རྩོང་བརྒྱ་དཔོན། ཕྱོ་རྩོང་རྩོང་སྡོད་སྤེལ་པོ། རྒན་པོ།

༣ ཚབ་འབངས་བདེ་སྐྱག་གི་སྐོར།

༤ ས་མཚམས་སྤྱང་འདོམས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ། ས་འགག་འདྲ་གནད་ཁག་ཁྲ་སྤྱང་འདོམས། ཆུ་རྩེ་སོ་སྤྱང་། སེར་ཚ་ས་སྤྱང་གཙང་མདའ་མཆོ་སྤོ་བ། ལྷགས་ཟམ་ས་སྤྱང་། རེ་ལྷགས་ས་སྤྱང་། ཕོད་རྐ་ས་སྤྱང་། ཉི་ན་སོ་སྤྱང་། མཆོ་ལྷའི་སོ་སྤྱང་། བོན་ཐ་ས་སྤྱང་། ཁྲ་བོ་ཐ་ལམ་ཁྲལ་གྱི་ས་སྤྱང་། ཚ་སྐྱ་ཐ་ལམ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ས་སྤྱང་གནས་ཆུལ།

༥ བྱས་ཉེས་ཁྱིམས་འདོམས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ། རྒྱུ་དངོས་འཕྲོག་འཁྱེར། སྤོ་ཕྱོགས་ཐག་འདེད། མི་བསད་བྱོད་དོན། འབམ་ཆོང་སྤྱས་སྤྱུར། འབྱ་སྤྱུས་ཆོང་གི་བྱོད་དོན། ས་མཚམས་དང་རྟ་སའི་དཔྱད་མཚམས། ཕན་ཚུན་ཀུ་ཐག་མི་རྒྱག་པའི་མནའ་གན། མི་རྟའི་རྩོས་སྐོར་ལ་བཏང་བའི་དཔྱད་ཁྲ། ས་སྟེའི་རྩོས་གཞི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཁྲ་མ། དཔྱད་མཚམས་ཁྲ་མ། འདུམ་ཁྲ། དཔྱད་ཟིན། འབྲ་བའུས། བྱས་ཉེས་འཁྲུན་གཅོད། དཔེར་ན། བོད་རབ་བྱང་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་ཆུ་སྟྲིལ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡೯རཀ་ལོར་ཆོར་ཚོའི་ཁོངས་ནག་ཆུ་དང་། འདམ། གཞམ་རྩ། འབྲི་གུང་། ལྷ་རི་སོགས་ནས་ཕན་ཚུན་དབྱ་ཐག་སོགས་མི་བྱ་བའི་བློང་དོར་སྤྱི་བསྡིགས་གནས་རྩུ།

৬ དམག་དོན་གྱི་སྐོར།

৮ ནོར་སྲིད་གཏེར་ཡོང་གི་སྐོར། རྟོར་ཆོ་ལྷུལ་གྱི་ལོ་ཚེའི་ཞིབ་གསལ་ལྷལ་འབབ་གཞུང་འབྲལ་སྐོར། འབབ་ཡོང་རྩིས་ལྷ། ཚུ་འབབ་བྱུང་འཛིན། འབྲུ་འབབ་བསྡུ་ལེན། ལོ་འབབ་ཇ་འབྲུ། ཞོ་འབབ་བསྡུ་གཞུང་། གཞུང་སའི་འབབ་འབྲུ་བསྡུ་གཏེང་། ཞོ་ལྷལ། ཚུ་བོགས། ཚུ་ཞོ ཆོང་ཟོག་ཞོ་ལྷལ། བྱ་ལྷལ། རྟོར་ཆོ་ལྷུལ་ནས་གཞུང་འབབ་ཚུ་ཞོ་བལ་ཇ་དང་། རྒྱ་སྨན་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལྷལ་བསྡུའི་དོ་དམ།

৯ ཆོས་ལུགས་མཛད་སྒོའི་སྐོར། རྒྱལ་མཆོག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཞབས་བཏུན་རིམ་གྱོ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ཕྱལ་སྐན། ཞབས་བཏུན་རིམ་གྱེའི་འགྱོ་སོང་གི་ཐོ། དགོན་ཁག་ལ་ཞབས་བཏུན་བཅོལ་ཡིག དབུང་ཀེག་ཞབས་བཏུན། དབུང་རྩོགས་ཞབས་བཏུན། ཞབས་རིམ་སྒྲུབ་ཐོ། དགོན་པའི་ཆོས་ལྷིམས་འབག་ལ་མེད་སྤང་བླང་ཞུ་རྒྱའི་གན་རྒྱ།

དཔྱད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག

ནག་ཆུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྒྲིགས། འདོན་ཞིངས།༡༨༤། སྲིད་ཁོས་ནག་ཆུ་ས་གནས་ཡུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་གིས་བསྒྲིགས། གཙོ་སྒྲིག་པ། བསོད་ ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཀཱརྦ་ཀྱེན་ཁྲབ། བསྟན་འཛིན་སྒྲོལ་མ། རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་འགན་འཁྱེར་བ། རྡོ་སྒྲིས་ཆོ་རིང་རྡོ་རྗེ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༡༠ལོའི་ཟླཔཡའི་དཔར་མ།

མེ་འབྱུག ཤོད་དྲུང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོ་དགེ ཀཱཁྲང་ཡིག བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་ཡོད།

བཀྲ་བ་སོགས། ཅོར་ཚོས་དཀྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས། ནག་ཆུ་ས་གནས་སྲིད་ཁོས་དབུ་བརྙེས་ནས་ལོ་སུམ་ཅུ་འཁོར་བར་རྐེན་འབྱེལ་ཞུ་བའི་ཚེད་བསྒྲིགས། ནག་ཆུ་ས་གནས་སྲིད་ཁོས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱུ་ཆ་རྩོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་ནས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྲུན།

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Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines

Déjà parus

Numéro 1 — Octobre 2002

Pierre Arènes

"Herméneutique des *Tantra* : les "Six extrêmes (ou possibilités alternatives)" (*saṭkoṭi ; mtha' drug*). A propos d'un exemple de prégnance des modèles exégétiques des *sūtra*", p. 4-43.

Jean-Luc Achard

— "La Base et ses sept interprétations dans la tradition rDzogs chen", p. 44-60.

— "La liste des Tantras du *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* selon l'édition établie par Kun mkhyen 'Jigs med gling pa", p. 62-89.

❖

Numéro 2 — Avril 2003 — Numéro spécial **Lha srin sde brgyad**

Pascale Dollfus

"De quelques histoires de *klu* et de *btsan*", p. 4-39.

Françoise Pommaret

"Etres soumis, Etres protecteurs : Padmasambhava et les Huit Catégories de Dieux et Démons au Bhoutan", p. 40-66.

Samten Karmay

"Une note sur l'origine du concept des huit catégories d'esprits", p. 67-80.

Brigitte Steinmann

"Les *Lha srin sde brgyad* et le problème de leur catégorisation — Une interprétation", p. 81-91.

❖

Numéro 3 — Juin 2003

Anne Chayet

"A propos des toponymes de l'épopée de Gesar", p. 4-29.

Brigitte Steinmann

"La naissance de Lhasin Devge Dolma : une genèse affective du social", p. 30-42.

Jean-Luc Achard

"Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang mchog grub (1761-1829) et la constitution du rNying ma rgyud 'bum de sDe dge", p. 43-89.

❖

Numéro 4 — Octobre 2003

Pierre Arènes

" De l'utilité de l'herméneutique des Tantra bouddhiques à propos d'un exposé de l'appareil des "Sept Ornements" par un doxologue

érudit dge lugs pa dBal mang dKon mchog rgyal mtshan (1764-1863)", p. 4-60.

Dan Martin

"Bon Bibliography : An Annotated List of Recent Publications", p. 61-77.

Jean-Luc Achard

"Contribution aux nombrables de la tradition Bon po : L'Appendice de bsTan 'dzin Rin chen rgyal mtshan à la Sphère de Cristal des Dieux et des Démons de Shar rdza rin po che ", p. 78-146.

❖

Numéro 5 — Avril 2004

Brigitte Steinmann

" The Lost Paradise of the Tamang shaman — Origins and Fall", p. 4-34.

Anne Chayet

"A propos d'un premier inventaire des monastères bon po du Tibet et de l'Himalaya. Notes de lecture", p. 35-56.

Jean-Luc Achard

"bsTan gnyis gling pa (1480-1535) et la Révélation du Yang tig ye shes mthong grol", p. 57-96.

❖

Numéro 6 — Octobre 2004

Zeff Bjerken

"Exorcising the Illusion of Bon "Shamans": A Critical Genealogy of Shamanism in Tibetan Religions", p. 4-59.

Françoise Pommaret

"Rituels aux divinités locales de Kheng 'Bu li (Bhoutan central)", p. 60-77.

Nathan Hill

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❖

Numéro 7 — Avril 2005

Cathy Cantwell

"The Earth Ritual : Subjugation and Transformation of the Environment", p. 4-21.

Françoise Robin

"Tagore et le Tibet", p. 22-40.

Santiago Lazcano

"Ethnohistoric Notes on the Ancient Tibetan Kingdom of sPo bo and its Influence on the Eastern Himalayas", p. 41-63.

Jean-Luc Achard

"Le mode d'émergence du Réel — les manifestations de la Base (*gzhi snang*) selon les conceptions de la Grande Perfection", p. 64-96.

❖

Numéro 8 — Octobre 2005

Ester Bianchi
"Sådhana della divinità solitaria Yamåntaka-Vajrabhairava — Traduzione e glossario della version cinese di Nenghai (Parte I)", p. 4-39.

Daniel Scheiddeger
" Lamps in the Leaping Over ", p. 40-64.

Oriol Aguillar
" Los linajes de transmisión de Nyag bla Padma bdud 'dul ", p. 65-83.

Ferran Mestanza
" La première somme philosophique du bouddhisme tibétain. Origines littéraires, philosophiques et mythologiques des "Neuf étatpes de la Voie" (*theg pa rim pa dgu*)", p. 84-103.

❖

Numéro 9 — Décembre 2005

Anne Chayet
"Pour servir à la numérisation des manuscrits tibétains de Dunhuang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale : un fichier de Jacques Bacot et autres documents", p. 4-105.

❖

Numéro 10 — Avril 2006

Ester Bianchi
Sådhana della divinità solitaria Yamåntaka-Vajrabhairava — Traduzione e glossario della version cinese di Nenghai (Parte II), pp. 4-43.

Bryan Cuevas
Some Reflections on the Periodization of Tibetan History, pp. 44-55

Cathy Cantwell& Rob Mayer
Two Proposals for Critically Editing the Texts of the *rNying ma'i rGyud 'bum*, pp. 56-70

Anne Chayet
Pour servir à la numérisation des manuscrits tibétains de Dunhuang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale : II. Un fichier de Marcelle Lalou, pp. 71-88

Nathan W. Hill
The Old Tibetan Chronicle — Chapter I, pp. 89-101

❖

Numéro 11 — Juin 2006 **— The sGang steng-b rNying ma'i rGyud 'bum manuscript from Bhutan**

Cathy Cantwell & Rob Mayer
Introduction, pp. 4-15.

Cathy Cantwell, Rob Mayer, Michael Kowalewky & Jean-Luc Achard
The Catalogue section, pp. 16-141.

❖

Numéro 12 — Mars 2007

Guillaume Jacques
Le nom des *nakṣatrāṇi* en tibétain, pp. 4-10.

Oriol Aguillar
La Roca Blanca de Lhang lhang — Un santuario en Nyag rong, pp. 11-23

Daniel Scheiddeger
Different Sets of Channels in the Instructions Series of Rdzogs chen, pp. 24-38

Brigitte Steinmann
De la cosmologie tibétaine au mythe de l'Etat — Historiographie rnyingmapa tamang (Népal), pp. 39-70.

Thubten Gyalcen Lama
— *Tamang jātibāre sangkshipta śabda citra* « Traité sur l'origine de la caste tamang » (trad. Brigitte Steinmann), pp. 71-102.
— Book List of Tibetan History for Tamang Study, pp. 103-105.

Shen-yu Lin
The Tibetan Image of Confucius, pp. 105-129.

❖

Numéro 13 — Février 2008

Guillaume Jacques
Deux noms tangoutes dans une légende tibétaine, pp. 4-10.

Etienne Bock
Coiffe de paṇḍit, pp. 11-43.

Richard W. Whitecross
Transgressing the Law: Karma, Theft and Its Punishment, pp. 45-74.

Jean-Luc Achard
L'irruption de la nescience — la notion d'errance saṃsārique dans le rDzogs chen, pp. 75-108.

❖

Numéro 14 — Octobre 2008 **— Tibetan Studies in Honor of Samten G. Karmay — Part I. Historical, Cultural and Linguistic Studies — Edited by Françoise Pommaret and Jean-Luc Achard**

Préface
Françoise Pommaret, pp. iii-v.

David Snellgrove
How Samten came to Europe, pp. 1-6.

Françoise Pommaret
"The Messed Up Books"(*Pecha trok wa la*). A personal recollection of Samten G. Karmay and the O rgyan chos gling catalogue (Bhutan), pp. 7-11.

❖

***Numéro 15 — Novembre 2008* — Tibetan Studies in Honor of Samten G. Karmay — Part II. Buddhist & Bon po Studies — Edited by Françoise Pommaret and Jean-Luc Achard**

❖

Numéro 16 — Avril 2009

❖

Numéro 17 — Octobre 2009

❖

Numéro 18 — Avril 2010

❖

Numéro 19 — Octobre 2010

❖

Numéro 20 — Avril 2011

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