

# Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines



numéro trente-et-un — Février 2015

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numéro trente-et-un — Février 2015

ISSN 1768-2959

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La *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* est publiée par l'UMR 8155 du CNRS, Paris, dirigée par Nicolas Fiévé.



# TRAILS OF THE TIBETAN TRADITION



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## Papers for Elliot Sperling

edited by Roberto Vitali  
with assistance from Gedun Rabsal and Nicole Willock



ཨ་མལ་མཚན་སྐད་རྒྱུ་སྐད་འཕེལ་བའི་འཚམས་སྦྲེལ་སྐབས་ལྟེང་གི་ཡིག་ཁག་ལུ་འཛིན་གསུང་གི་ལཱ་ལ།

Amnye Machen Institute  
Dharamshala (H.P.), India  
2014

Trails of the Tibetan Tradition  
Papers for Elliot Sperling

Edited by Roberto Vitali  
with assistance from Gedun Rabsal and Nicole Willock

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AMI Books  
are published by Amnye Machen Institute,  
McLeod Ganj 176219, Dharamshala (H.P.), India  
Email: amnyemachen@rediffmail.com  
Phone: 0091-(0)1892-221441/(0)1892-651441

ISBN 978-81-86227-72-5

Typesetting and Cover Design: Gyamtso, AMI

Printed at Archana Advertising Pvt. Ltd.  
C-78, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase I, New Delhi 110020

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མདོ་སྟོད་ཁྲིན་འདིར་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནང་ནས་མདོན་པར་འཕགས་པ་སྡེ་དགེ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་  
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## EDITORIAL

*Festschriften* can be an embarrassment for the persons who receive them—a sense of delight is often accompanied by an amount of discomfiture. Although it will definitely embarrass him, this volume for Elliot Sperling, at least in my mind, is not meant to celebrate him, to felicitate a landmark birthday in his life or to coincide with a future retirement from his academic post. After all, a thinker and writer never retires. This volume is instead a ‘bond of affinity’ (*dam tshig?*) from colleagues and friends in our field of studies for no formal reason. It is given without fanfare. It is offered with a deep sense of motivation, crafted by individuals on a shared path.

This book has been conceived with a spirit of intellectual freedom, the same one that animates Elliot and his thinking, research and writings. There were no guidelines, stylesheet or recommendations of any sort for the contributors. Authors have been given *carte blanche* to work in a completely personal manner: from the length of their contribution to the choice of transliterations or phonetics; this also applied to the organisation of their bibliography, notes and references, and even extended to the way in which authors cite their place of work or affiliation. I hope that this principle of complete liberality and respect for individual idiosyncrasies is apparent throughout.

This idiosyncrasy is also reflected in the topics chosen by the authors featured here, who have taken this volume beyond my original plans. I had tentatively suggested that this *festschrift* might focus on the three main fields of work in which Elliot specialises: Tibetan History, Sino-Tibetan Relations and Tibetan Current Affairs. Yet, articles—in Tibetan, English and Chinese of any length and style, with a preponderance for history—has wholeheartedly trespassed into other disciplines, including Bon, Indo-Tibetan studies, anthropology, linguistics, and Islamic studies on Tibet. They deal with remarkably different contexts and make use of a variety of treatments. The motivations that led contributors to offer such a diverse range of works reflect Elliot’s own wide-ranging interests.

Writers operate in absence. They retreat from mundane engagements in order to work. Elliot is an exception to the rule, for he has combined his scholarly research and writing on a vast array of documents in different Asian languages with his involvement in Tibet’s current affairs as an acute commentator. He has left an imprint during the many years he has dedicated to his areas of interest. His research and writings on the history of Tibet (both old and current) with particular reference to the Sino-Tibetan relations and the study of Khams are standards in these areas of study. His insights into the current affairs of Tibet have benefited from his studies on Tibetan and Chinese cultures like few other political writers dealing with the issue. His views have been always communicated with a frankness that can only be disputed if seen from the viewpoint of ideological antagonism in the exercise of politics. His ideas on how best to stand vis-à-vis the destiny of Tibet in these decades has led scores of Tibetans to consider him a charismatic ideologist, whose remarks are appreciated and made their own.

His ‘showing the way’ is also reflected in many years of teaching at the Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University. His aim has been to go beyond the simple passing of knowledge pertaining to the cultures he teaches to his students. Instead, Elliot has looked to develop a mindset in his students that gives them a firm footing on the path of good scholarship. Elliot’s concern for languages and their mastery has given him and his students autonomy in research and a fluency in their abilities to consult the literature—something that has been a personal trademark, shared with the school where he has been affiliated with both as a student and teacher.

Stepping back to his beginnings, Dharamsala’s role as a training camp in free thinking, aspiration to justice and commitment is the reason for the inclusion of a picture of this locality, taken by Elliot in the early seventies, on the book cover. Dharamsala has been the site for many of our generation’s first direct encounter with Tibetans and their culture, a formative starting point. It has left a mark upon many researchers and definitely upon Elliot, who is keen to remember the deep-seated influence it has had upon him. This place and its people still mean much to him despite the persistent contradictions and unsolved problems.

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One’s own memories of the many shared occasions in the life of friends are personal and will stay in the respective hearts. Expressions of scholarly appreciation may smack of stereotypedness, so instead I prefer to say here how this volume came into being, leaving aside personal anecdotes or a jotting down of a brief *rnam thar* of our man.

Soon after I became convinced by my idea to have a volume for Elliot, I decided to involve Gedun Rabsal in the project. He is a long-time associate of Elliot’s at the Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University. Friendship and mutual respect unites them to the point that I thought I could not undertake such a venture if Rabsal was not by my side. I thank him for his considerable encouragement and good advice. Rabsal asked me to coopt Nicole Willock onto the project. She is an old student of Elliot’s and wanted to collaborate in any enterprise that would result in dedicating a volume to him. I am grateful to her for her practical support and constructive ideas from the outset of the project to its end.

When, at an initial phase, I felt that the volume was going to happen, I asked Tashi Tsering Josayma if he wished to be involved. It took him an instant to tell me that he was going to publish the volume at AMI. I then thought of Jean-Luc Achard for an online version with RET. It took the time of an email reply to know that he too was enthusiastically on board.

Almost every scholar Rabsal, Nicole and I asked to contribute accepted heartedly and indeed produced a piece, a sign of the dedication everyone has for Elliot. Altogether, the articles are a forum of recent advancements in international scholars’ research. This volume for Elliot is also the contributors’ book. I am indebted to them for their care, intellectual worth and dedication. A thank you also goes to those who have been unable to contribute—very few though—on account of pressing commitments. And no less gratitude is for a few persons who did not contribute owing to a feeling of humility.

Thanks are also due to the two publishers for their commitment to the production of the volume. I cannot avoid a disclosure of family matters here, despite privacy being always commendable. My wife Ciccì Visconti has been a driving force through all phases of the work, assisting me in so many ways that she is in fact the ghost editor of the volume. She has also located the funds for publication. Tashi Tsering Josayma is the other ghost editor, because he has gone through all the Tibetan language papers.

The work by Tashi Gyamtso, the AMI graphic designer of the volume, and Ashwini Bhatia, who helped in matters visual, should also be acknowledged.

Closing these lines with a personal dedication to Elliot would amount to an exercise in self-indulgence. I end here omitting it, but not without another thank you, one due to those who have supported contributors in preparing their piece and are mentioned by them in their respective works.

Roberto Vitali  
November 2014



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## THE VIEW OF *SPYI TI YOGA*\*

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Great Perfection (rDzogs chen) teachings are generally understood as being classified into three categories of instructions known as the Mind Series (*sems sde*), the Expanse Series (*klong sde*), and the Precepts Series (*Man ngag sde*). The origin of this tripartition is traditionally credited to Mañjusrimi-tra, the main disciple of dGa' rab rdo rje.<sup>1</sup> A little later, Śrī Siṃha (8<sup>th</sup> century), a disciple of both dGa' rab rdo rje and Mañjuśrīmitra, is said to have divided the texts belonging to the Precepts Series into four cycles: outer (*phyi*), inner (*nang*), secret (*gsang*), and innermost secret (*yang gsang* or *gsang ba bla na med pa*).<sup>2</sup> A few centuries later, another classification of what are obviously works belonging to the innermost secret section started to be used in the works of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192) and later by Gu ru Chos dbang (1212–1270). In some of these works, the highest teachings of the Great Perfection were presented as being classified into: 1. *A ti yoga* (the Supreme Yoga, most obviously the works belonging to the innermost secret cycle), 2. *sPyi ti yoga* (Yoga of the Crown), 3. *Yang ti yoga* (Yoga of the Quintessence) and 4. *mTha' chen* (the Great Limit).<sup>3</sup>

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\* I would like to thank Marianne Ginalski and Windsor Viney for their suggestions and corrections on earlier drafts of this paper.

1 The historical existence of dGa' rab rdo rje has not been proved so far and the hagiographic events occurring during his life have been questioned by historians. There are elements reminiscent of the birth of 'Chi med gtsug phud in the Bon tradition, which have an allegorical (or even alchemical) meaning whose interpretation seems to have been lost (if it was ever known) by the rNying ma tradition. Upon discussing the matter of 'Chi med gtsug phud's birth with modern Bon po lineage holders, it seems that the symbolical meaning of its unfolding is totally unknown to them and that it is simply taken as face value or as a proto-historical account. In other words, the narrative is not something that needs to be interpreted but should be considered as an historical account. It should also be noted that comparing the births of dGa' rab rdo rje and 'Chi med gtsug phud with that of Moses (Guenther, *Wholeness Lost*, p.26 n. 56, the myth actually comes from the legend of Sargon the Great) only takes into account superficial narrative elements, instead of hermetic features such as the encoded meaning of their fate as children abandoned in a pit of ashes (for dGa' rab rdo rje and 'Chi med gtsug phud [on the meaning of the ash pit, see Claudine Leduc, "Mythologie, théologie,...", p.145]) and to the flow of the Niles (for Moses). From an alchemical perspective, the difference is more than pertinent. A convincing hermetic interpretation of these births still remains to be formulated with a perfect knowledge of the symbolism behind the so-called narrative elements.

2 G. Dorje & M. Kaptsein, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, pp.332-333. This fourfold classification is actually the result of a complex approach to classifying the teachings of the Great Perfection. On this theme, see also Klong chen pa, *Theg mchog mdzod*, vol. I, pp.82 *et seq.* It is interesting to note that Klong chen pa does not use the classification of *A ti*, *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti* in his exegetical works such as the *Treasury of Philosophical Tenets* (*Grub mtha' mdzod*) for instance, whereas he actually quotes the *Thig le kun gsal* (one of the major *sPyi ti* Tantras) in several of his works (*gNas lugs mdzod*, *Bla ma yang tig*, etc.).

3 In the vast majority of these works, the classification is presented as threefold (*A ti*, *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti*). In some cases, *Thod rgal* (as a Vehicle, see below) is added instead of the Great Limit, the recurrent set being that of *A ti*, *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti*.

Since the system of *sPyi ti yoga* will be the main theme discussed in this paper, I will only very briefly introduce the basics of *A ti*, *Yang ti* and *mTha' chen*. As stated above, the *A ti* class seems to correspond, in the later system of Nyang ral and Gu ru Chos dbang, to what are generally known as the *Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*).<sup>4</sup>

As to the corpus of *Yang ti*, it is generally presented as being divided into two groups: 1. the cycle of the Black Quintessence (*Yang ti nag po'i skor*), and 2. the cycle of the Brahmins' Quintessence (*yang ti bram ze'i skor*). The texts making up these two groups are to be found in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* collections.<sup>5</sup> In the course of time, several revelations pertaining to the *Black Quintessence* were made, down to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whereas it would seem that the corpus of the *Brahmins' Quintessence* remained limited to the set of Tantras of this group included in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. In other words, it would seem that all *Yang ti* revelations made from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century belong to the Black Quintessence only.<sup>6</sup>

The system of *mTha' chen* or “Great Limit” is said to be entirely “oral”, even though some mentions of the term *mTha' chen* appears here and there in the *gter ma* literature, down to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with for example reference to it in mChog gyur gling pa's *Bar chad kun sel*.<sup>7</sup> So far, I have not noticed any mention of this *mTha' chen* expression in works at my disposal, be they twentieth-century indigenous texts or original works written during these first years of the twenty-first century. Several modern masters questioned on this subject have simply confessed to not knowing anything about it.<sup>8</sup> The problem with this *mTha' chen* system is that its name seems to be used with various meanings or referents. For instance, in O rgyan gling pa, it stands for the ultimate stage, above that of *Ati yoga* and realized at the level of the eleventh *bhūmi*, Kun tu 'od kyi sa.<sup>9</sup> Still in O rgyan gling pa's

4 On these texts, see Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, pp.85-94. In this classificatory mode, *A ti* seems to cover the *Man ngag sde* (with its fourfold subdivisions) as well as *Klong sde* and *Sems sde*. Otherwise, *A ti* is sometimes considered as a generic expression covering all doxographical subdivisions of rDzogs chen, as in dGe rtse rin po che's doxographical presentation of his *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* edition. See Achard, “Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang mchog grub...”, p.48. See also Thub bstan chos dar, *rNying ma rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag gsal ma'i me long*, pp.58 *et seq.*

5 See Achard, “Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang mchog grub...”, pp.50-53 (nos. 1-34).

6 So far, I have been unable to identify any cycle of instructions associated with this second series of *Yang ti* teachings. I hope to have the opportunity to publish in the future an on-going study on the comparison of the main themes and lexicon between these two *Yang ti* traditions.

7 See gTer slob Dharma rāja, *Padma'i snying po rgyud kyi tshig don gsal byed*, p.383. In *L'Essence Perlée du Secret* (p.59 n. 22), I have attributed this work to mChog gyur gling pa when it is actually a work authored by one of his disciples (as indicated by the expression *gter slob*), gTer slob Dharma rāja about whom I have not found any information. One may venture as this being one of the multiple names used by mKhan po Karma ratna (1823-?) but this is pure speculation.

8 I will discuss the little information I have discovered about this system in a forthcoming paper provisionally entitled “The System of the Great Limit of Dzogchen — an inquiry into a possibly disappeared tradition among the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism”. To my knowledge, the first mention of the *mTha' chen* was made by Tucci in his *Minor Buddhist Texts II* (p.102), although it is unclear whether or not he understood what this was exactly referring to. The next mention appears in my *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, pp.57-59. Since then, as far as I am aware, no mention of this expression has appeared in either academic or non-academic works.

9 *Lo paṅ bka' thang*, p.382: *sa bcu gcig kun tu 'od/ a ti yo ga mtha' chen bstan/*.

*bKa' thang sde lnga*, it is clearly presented as the last of the twelve Vehicles, and it appears generally, as we have seen above, in the fourfold scheme of *A ti*, *sPyi ti*, *Yang ti*, and *mTha' chen*.<sup>10</sup>

## 1. Studies on *sPyi ti Yoga*

The system of *sPyi ti yoga* has been the object of an interesting study by H.V. Guenther, although both the rendering of the translated excerpts and the lexicon used by the author have prevented him from actually conveying the real meaning of this system of practice.<sup>11</sup> When reading Guenther's work on this subject, one has the strong impression that *sPyi ti* is an over-philosophical system with no practice whatsoever.<sup>12</sup> In fact, as in several of his works, Guenther has failed to understand the difference between the ultimate state described in rDzogs chen texts and the actual Path leading to that same state. Therefore, most of his renditions of the texts and the conclusions he draws from his readings give a very partial view of the actual teachings of the Great Perfection. I do not intend to condemn him here in any derogatory way: on the contrary, one should definitely appreciate the fact that he was one of the first individuals (in some cases more than 60 years ago) to actually use rDzogs chen texts in his researches and published works. However, one must also insist on the fact that the lexicon he used — elaborated by late-twentieth-century thinkers (heavily influenced by phenomenology and modern physics) — has without doubt totally undermined his capacity to convey the true meaning of these texts. Even though Guenther regularly criticized “ethnic” translators, he himself created and maintained his own work in a sometimes grotesque lexical cage from which barely any meaning found a way to escape, and this, despite his vast knowledge of Buddhist lore.

The next work officially published<sup>13</sup> on *sPyi ti* was my own *Le Cycle de l'Immortalité Adamantine* which represents a later stage of the *sPyi ti* teachings, organized in a mode that

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10 Even though *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti* are current doxographical representations in Nyang ral and Gu ru Chos dbang, I have yet to locate any mention of the Great Limit in their works. This will probably be easily determined when access to electronically inputted version of their Tantras become available. It is also possible that the Great Limit is the same as the *thod rgal theg pa* or *yongs rdzogs thod rgal [bla med] theg pa* that is found in some of the Nyang ral revelations (such as the *Nyi zla snying po*, fol. 21b). On the description of *thod rgal* as a Vehicle in Nyang ral works, see Achard, *Le Pic des Visions*, pp.23-25. See also the explicit mention of Nyang ral's discovery of “the cycles of *A ti*, *Yang ti*, *sPyi ti* and *thod rgal* of the Great Perfection” (*rdzogs pa chen po a ti yang ti spyi ti thod rgal gyi bskor dang/...*, in *mNga' bdag myang nyi ma 'od zer gyi nram thar gsal ba'i me long*, p.139).

11 See H.V. Guenther, *The Teachings of Padmasambhava*, Brill, 1996.

12 The same problem affects Guenther's other works (including individual papers, etc.). This recurrent straying from the actual intent of the rDzogs chen texts studied by Guenther has forced some to even create a *Guenthausorus*, in order to equate the ethnic guentherian lexicon with that used by those Guenther considered as ethnic Buddhist translators.

13 I have issued in 1995 a privately published French translation of the *Nam mkha' 'bar ba'i rgyud* (*rGyud thams cad kyi rtse rgyal nam mkha' 'bar ba'i rgyud*) which will be reprinted in the near future. I have yet to find any information regarding possibly privately published works on the subject of *sPyi ti* by other researchers or translators.

is definitely quite similar to that of the innermost secret cycle of the Precepts Section.<sup>14</sup> For instance, this cycle revealed by sPa gro gter ston introduces the main practice (*dngos gzhi*) of rDzogs chen according to the standard *sNying thig* scheme of Cutting through Rigidity (*khregs chod*) and Passing over the Crest (*thod rgal*).<sup>15</sup> *sPyi ti* Tantras do not use this terminology to describe the practice of the Great Perfection, nor do they use the very specific terminology of the *sNying thig*-related cycles, such as the “Four Visions” (*snang ba bzhi*), or the “Four (or Six) Lamps” (*sgron ma bzhi/drug*).<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to note that with sPa gro gter ston, the practice of *sPyi ti yoga* falls within the structural lines expounded in the *sNying thig* literature. Nothing of the sort was clearly evident in earlier expositions of *sPyi ti* teachings (in Nyang ral and Gu ru Chos dbang), not even in O rgyan gling pa’s *bKa’ thang sde lnga* which describes *sPyi ti* as a Vehicle (*theg pa*).<sup>17</sup>

Since the publication of these two studies a short but interesting presentation of the doxographical category of *sPyi ti* has appeared in D. Germano’s paper entitled “The Funerary Transformation of the Great Perfection”.<sup>18</sup>

Before moving on to the description of the view of *sPyi ti*, it should be mentioned that the practice texts of *sPyi ti* exhibit salient differences with the actual class of *sPyi ti* Tantras. From the practice texts, it is clear that we are on a similar ground to that of the *sNying thig*, as can be seen in sPa gro gter ston’s cycle of instructions, but also in the individual works of the *sPyi ti* category in bDud ’dul rdo rje and Klong gsal snying po revelations.<sup>19</sup> We can also see that Sog bzlog pa considered *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti* as ranges of *thod rgal* practice, which means he certainly had in mind the practice-oriented cycles, rather than the Tantras of these two classes.<sup>20</sup>

14 See Achard, *Le Cycle de l’Immortalité Adamantine*, éd. Khyung-Lung, 2009, *passim*.

15 *Id.*, pp.51-76. This includes a description of dark retreats (*mun mtshams*, pp.59-64) but this kind of practice is not restricted to the *Man ngag sde*, since there exist dark retreats in the context of *Klong sde* teachings (as well as in the Kālacakra).

16 The system of the Four Visions is included in the revelation of sPa gro gter ston (see *op. cit.*, pp.57-58) but there is no special description of the Lamps, only the Lamp of the Empty Thigles (*thig le stong pa’i sgron ma*) is mentioned in the cycle (p.62).

17 Achard, *L’Essence Perlée du Secret*, pp.54-58. In the *Lo pan bka’ thang*, O rgyan gling pa describes the View of *sPyi ti* as being beyond duality and dual classifications. It is also clearly defined as Space and Awareness not subject to union or separation (*dbyings rig ’du bral med pa*, *Lo pan bka’ thang*, chap. 31, p.381). The definition of undifferentiated Space and Awareness (*dbying rig dbyer med*) is the same as that of Emptiness and Clarity (*stong gsal dbyer med*), both classical syntheses of the View of the natural state according to Dzogchen.

18 Germano, “The Funerary Transformation of the Great Perfection” pp.21-24.

19 I will come back to these texts elsewhere with a presentation of relevant translations. Here it suffices to say that these cycles include traditional *Man ngag sde* practices such as the separation of Samsara and Nirvana (*’khor ’das ru shan dbye ba*), the training of the three doors (*sgo gsum sbyang ba*), *khregs chod*, *thod rgal*, instructions on *bar do* states, etc.

20 He says (*Collected Works*, vol. 1, p.249): «... the practice of light and darkness of spontaneous *thod rgal*, such as *sPyi ti* and *Yang ti*...» (... *spyi ti dang yang ti sogs lhun grub thod rgal snang mun gyi nyams len*). The “light practice” of *thod rgal* refers to supports (*rtan*) such as the sun, the sky, etc. the “darkness practice” refers to dark retreats (*mun mtshams*) which, as we have seen, are also included in the practice texts of *sPyi ti* (while not a single explicit mention of such a yoga appears in the *sPyi ti* Tantras).



In particular, the *sPyi ti* Tantras do not show any of the characteristics of *thod rgal* practice, either in its preliminary form or in its main practice.

## 2. The actual view of *sPyi ti*

Since Guenther's study of *sPyi ti* has baffled many a reader, I want to address here, as one of several contributions planned on the same subject, what is traditionally defined as "the View of *sPyi ti*" (*spyi ti'i lta ba*) in its own words. The notion of a View (*lta ba*) in Buddhism has nothing to do with how one envisions the world or anything else, as some modern Tibetan Lamas teach these days, but rather it concerns the actual philosophical perspective one must maintain in order to progress on the practice of the Path, without straying into deviations (*gol sa*).<sup>21</sup> In other words, what is experienced during the practice of the Path must be evaluated according to the diverse modalities composing the View or theory which precisely prevents erring into deviations. In most cases, explanations dealing with the View of Dzogchen actually describe what is defined as the natural state of the Base (*gzhi'i gnas lugs*), the Base being the actual, authentic abiding mode of the Mind. In this respect, the View explains three main modalities designated as the three wisdoms of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen gyi ye shes gsum*): Essence (*ngo bo*), Nature (*rang bzhin*) and Compassion (*thugs rje*). The undifferentiated expression of these three wisdoms is what is designated as the Great Primordial Purity (*ka dag chen po*) which is the main representation used to describe the View in *sPyi ti* Tantras. In this respect, according to the mTshams brag *Collection of Ancient Tantras* (vol. 10, p.641-642), the view of the *sPyi ti yoga* is defined as follows:

Then gSal dag rin chen asked  
The Revealer sKye med ka dag:  
«— How is the uppermost *sPyi ti yoga* (explained)?»

The Revealer replied to his retinue:  
«— *Emaho!* Ô most extraordinary marvel!  
This *sPyi ti yoga* which is the Peak of the Nine Vehicles  
Is not found from the outside but found within oneself.  
As to this particularly special and extraordinary supreme Vehicle,  
The view of the *sPyi ti* of the Great Perfection is as follows:  
The world of appearances and existence, of Samsāra and Nirvāṇa, is entirely  
Liberated as the great Primordial Purity without support  
(Within which) arises the Contemplation free from being, non-being,  
and intentions.

<sup>21</sup> The classical notion of View belongs to a fourfold scheme of specific representations concerning: 1. View (*lta ba*), 2. Meditation (*sgom pa*), 3. Conduct (*spyod pa*), and 4. Fruit (*'bras bu*). The theoretical ideas expounded in the View are thus put into practice following the applying of specific key point (*gnad*) during Meditation sessions. Then, the experiences obtained during Meditation are "boosted" through the applying of specific behaviors pertaining to Conduct, so that when reaching a non-regressive stage in which the principles of the View are totally integrated by the individual, the Fruit can be achieved (either in this lifetime, after death, or even after an ultimate rebirth).

(Therefore) abide naturally in this unaltered (state)  
 Which is devoid of action, effort and exertion,  
 Unborn, insubstantial, and transcending the mental in its result.  
*Ema!* Such an extraordinary and wonderful teaching  
 Does not come from anywhere other than the “A”.  
 Alala ho! Everything entirely liberates within this Great Primordial Purity.»<sup>22</sup>

*Thus he spoke.*

*From the Tantra of the Clear Expanse of the utterly pure Ocean, the  
 Celestial Expanse blazing with the lights of the Sun and Moon,  
 the Victorious Peak of (all) Tantras,  
 Such is the ninth chapter, revealing the Vehicle of sPyi ti.*

### 3. The text of the chapter

This short abstract has been translated using three different versions of the text, all quite close to one another, as can be seen in the annotated transcription below. I have primarily used the mTshams brag edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (manuscript), and checked the gTing skyes version (manuscript), as well as the sDe dge xylographic edition.<sup>23</sup>

*rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (mTshams brag ed., vol. 10, pp.641-642)

/de nas gsal dag rin chen gyis/ /skye med ka dag ston pa la/ /gong rgal<sup>24</sup> spyi ti ji ltar lags/ /zhes  
 zhus pas/

ston pas 'khor la bka' stsal pa/ (p.642)/

e ma ho<sup>25</sup> ngo mtshar khyad par 'phags/ /theg pa dgu rtse spyi ti yo ga 'di/ /gzhan nas mi  
 rnyed rang las rnyed/ /theg mchog ngo mtshar khyad par can/ /rdzogs chen spyi ti'i lta ba ni/ /  
 snang srid 'khor 'das ma lus par<sup>26</sup>/ /ka dag rten med chen por grol<sup>27</sup>/ /yin min rtsis gdab<sup>28</sup> med  
 pa'i dgongs pa<sup>29</sup> shar/ /bya btsal rtsol bsgrub<sup>30</sup> med pa ru//zang ka rnal<sup>31</sup> mar gnas pa'o//skye med

22 See the “translation” of this section of the chapter in Guenther, *The Teachings of Padmasambhava*, p.21. In this passage, Guenther’s ethnic lexicon simply renders the meaning incomprehensible and obviously not consistent with the original intent of the chapter. In fact, translation theory, it would be exactly a counter-example of what is expected from a translator.

23 I have used only the edition that are at my disposal. I have not searched other versions, for lack of access to them.

24 sDe dge: *brgal*.

25 gTing skyes: *ho//*.

26 sDe dge: *pa*; gTing skyes: *par*.

27 gTing skyes: *gol* (evidently a mistake which is probably due to the reproduction of the manuscript).

28 gTing skyes: *gdabs*.

29 gTing skyes: *par*.

30 sDe dge: *sgrub*.

31 The subscribed *ra* is strangely missing from *mTshams brag*. The *la* in *rnal* is barely readable in the reproduction of the gTing skyes manuscript at my disposal (although one can obviously deduce it from the context).

dngos med 'bras bur blo las 'das//e ma ngo mtshar rmad byung chos/ /gzhan nas<sup>32</sup> mi 'byung a las byung/ /a la la ho<sup>33</sup> ma lus ril por ka dag chen por grol/ /ces gsungs so/ /rgyud kyi rtse rgyal nyi zla 'od 'bar mkha' klong rnam dag rgya mtsho klong gsal gyi rgyud las/ /spyi ti'i theg pa bstan pa'i le'u ste dgu pa'o/.

#### 4. Commentary

##### Then gSal dag rin chen asked

##### The Revealer sKye med ka dag :

gSal dag rin chen is a bodhisattvic figure belonging to the retinue of the Buddha sKye med ka dag in the present text, i.e. the *Tantra of the Luminous Expanse* revealed by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer.<sup>34</sup> His name means the “Pure and Luminous Jewel”. He plays a crucial role in the *sPyi ti* teachings since he is defined as the compiler (*sdud pa po*) of some of them, as well as the main interlocutor of the Buddha revealing these texts. In the *Tantra of the Blazing Lights of the Lamps*,<sup>35</sup> he appears as a compiler of the Buddha's teachings, as well as the enunciator of all the requests made to the Buddha and forming the general structure of the Tantra itself. He is evidently the same as gSal dag khye'u chung who appears in the *Tantra of the Blazing Lights of the Lamps* (*sGron ma 'od 'bar ba'i rgyud*), as well as Rang snang gsal dag appearing in the *Tantra of the Quintessence of the Sun and the Moon* (*Nyi zla snying po'i rgyud*).

The Buddha sKye med ka dag is the Revealer (*ston pa*) of the Tantra. His name means “Unborn Primordial Purity”. He is evidently the same as dNgos med ka dag chos sku (“the Insubstantial and Primordially Pure Absolute Body”) or Ka dag dngos med chos sku of the *Blazing Lights of the Lamps* (*sGron ma 'od 'bar, passim*). This Tantra also shows that this Revealer is none other than Samantabhadra for he is sometimes designated dNgos rnal ma kun bzang, (“Samantabhadra, the Insubstantial Genuine State”).<sup>36</sup>

In fact the two figures of gSal dag rin chen and sKye me ka dag are simply symbols for the two aspects of the natural state: Clarity (*gsal ba*, with gSal dag rin chen) and Emptiness (*stong pa*, with sKye med ka dag). The entire Tantra thus appears as an atemporal dialogue between the Clarity aspect (*gsal cha*) of the natural state, and its counterpart known as the Empty aspect (*stong cha*) of this state.<sup>37</sup>

32 sDe dge: las.

33 sDe dge: ho/. Ho is missing in gTing skyes (p.542).

34 *Klong gsal 'bar ba'i rgyud*, the first of the *Klong gsal* Tantras, belonging to the category of *Yang ti* teachings. This text is also quoted in this paper under its abbreviated title as *Nyi zla 'od 'bar*. On the various *Klong gsal* Tantras and their connection to Padma Las 'brel rtsal's *mKha' 'gro snying thig*, see Achard, *Le Pic des Visions*, p.37 n. 89.

35 *sGron ma 'od 'bar ba'i rgyud*, fol. 318a.

36 *sGron ma 'od 'bar ba'i rgyud*, fol. 319a.

37 The natural undifferentiation between Emptiness and Clarity (*stong gsal dbyer med*) is the classical definition of the natural state according to Dzogchen teachings.

«— **How is the uppermost *sPyi ti yoga* (explained)?»**

The request formulated by gSal dag rin chen sets the subject matter of the present chapter. Its main theme is thus the definition of what *sPyi ti yoga* is. In general, *sPyi ti* is understood as meaning something general (*spyi*) but this is actually not the case here, since the various topics that are dealt with within *sPyi ti* Tantras are anything but general. The texts of this category clearly define *sPyi ti* as the uppermost (*gong rgal*) or highest category among all Dzogchen teachings.<sup>38</sup> This might create some doxographical confusion though, in particular when comparing its instructions with those of *Yang ti* or the Great Limit (*mtha' chen*).

**The Revealer replied to his retinue:**

This means that the rest of the chapter contains the actual explanation of the Buddha sKye med ka dag himself.

«— ***Emaho!* Ô most extraordinary marvel!**

This refers to two things: the extraordinary nature of the request which enables the Buddha to set the wheel of his teachings into action and the extraordinary nature of the contents of its teachings.

**This *sPyi ti yoga* which is the Peak of the Nine Vehicles**

In the Nyingma tradition, there are several ways of classifying the teachings of the Buddha into nine, ten, and sometimes twelve Vehicles.<sup>39</sup> Most of these classifications have not survived in practical usage, except for that into nine.<sup>40</sup> In this case, the ninth is considered to be the Vehicle of Dzogchen and its ultimate peak is represented by the *sPyi ti yoga* teachings. The instructions pertaining to that category are usually associated with Padmasambhava (8<sup>th</sup> c.) and their rediscoveries by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1136-1204) and Gu ru Chos dbang (1212-1270).<sup>41</sup>

38 The expression *gong rgal* reminds us of the famed *thod rgal* term so crucial in the standard *Man ngag sde* literature. One should remember that *thod rgal* was also conceived of as a Vehicle in the Nyang ral revelations. See Achard, *Le Pic des Visions*, pp.23-24. In the *Yang ti* and *sPyi ti* Tantras, *gong rgal* (or *brgal*) is used as an indicator of a superior layer of teachings. For instance, the *Ati yoga* system is defined as *a nu'i gong rgal*, i.e. the uppermost teaching crossing (*rgal*) over (*gong*) the Anuyoga system (see *Nam mkha' 'bar ba'i rgyud*, fol. 99b). In a similar way, the vehicle of the Great Perfection is defined as crossing (*brgal*) over (*gong*) [all] Vehicles (*theg pa'i gong brgal rdzogs chen*) in the *Blazing Lights of the Sun and the Moon* (*Nyi zla 'od 'bar*, fol. 125a). There are of course other occurrences of this expression which I have not mentioned here.

39 On these classifications, see Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, pp.54-59. The classifications in eleven and twelve Vehicles can be found in O rgyan gling pa's *bKa' thang sde lnga* (and in particular in the *Blon po'i bka' thang*).

40 See however a late, surviving classification in eleven Vehicles in rDo rje bde chen gling pa, *rTsa gsum dgongs pa 'dus pa'i dbang gi sgo 'byed theg pa'i dbang rin chen phreng ba* (=Theg pa bcu gcig gi dbang yig), in *rDo rje bde chen gling pa'i gter chos*, vol. Ga, pp. 45-83. In the case of this text, the extra vehicles do not result from a further subdivision of the *Ati yoga* class as usual, but rather from two extra initiations which are given before the initiations of the lower vehicles.

41 There are of course other *sPyi ti* lines of transmission, such as the one centered around the revelations of sPa gro gter ston Tshe ring rdo rje whose *gter ma* were included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* by Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (in volume 90, pp.373-434). On sPa gro gter ston's *gter ma* teachings, see Achard, *Le Cycle de l'Immortalité Adamantine*, Khyung-Lung, 2009, *passim*.

In the classification into twelve Vehicles (such as in the surviving proto-doxographical works of O rgyan gling pa), Dzogchen is the ninth Vehicle as usual, but it is composed of three subdivisions which are also styled Vehicles (*theg pa*). In this case, Dzogchen is equated with *Ati yoga*. Then, the tenth Vehicle is that of the *sPyi ti yoga* ; the eleventh is that of the *Yang ti yoga* ; and the twelfth is the vehicle of the Great Limit (*mtha' chen*).

Such references to higher categories of Dzogchen teachings, said to surpass those of *Ati yoga stricto sensu*, have survived at least down to the revelations of mChog gyur gling pa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, practically no one has used these unusual categories, especially that of the Great Limit which remains more than obscure.

**Is not found from the outside but found within oneself.**

This verse is actually very explicit. Its subject is given in the previous line, and is the *sPyi ti yoga* itself. In this context, this does not really refer to a doxographical element among the Nine Vehicles, but it rather refers to the state of Dzogchen as expressed in the *sPyi ti yoga*. This state is our natural, authentic condition, expressed in terms of Emptiness (*stong pa*) and Clarity (*gsal ba*). Such a state is not to be found outside oneself, in vain quests or research.<sup>42</sup> It is the true nature of the Mind which is therefore to be found within oneself. In technical terms, it is defined as the abiding mode (*gnas lugs*) of our real nature.

**As to this particularly special and extraordinary supreme Vehicle,**

The Vehicle of the *sPyi ti yoga* is said to be special, extraordinary, and supreme basically because its perspective and contents are actually superior to those of other Vehicles. Its superiorities are defined as threefold :

1. It is particularly special (*khyad par can*) because it contains the instructions through which one is directly introduced to one's true nature ; in other words, the teachings of the *sPyi ti yoga* are based on the direct introduction (*ngo sprod*) to the nature of the mind. This does not actually differ from other rDzogs chen teachings, but it describes this nature in terms which are said to be both understandable by erudite scholars and non-erudite practitioners,<sup>43</sup>

42 This idea centered on the absence of any need to seek (*ma btsal*) such a state is a *leitmotiv* of the Dzogchen Tantras. It is clearly associated with the fact that the state of rDzogs chen is to be found within oneself in numerous sources of this category. See for instance the *rDzogs pa chen po nges don 'dus pa*, fol. 220a. The very same principle is expressed in nearly identical terms in the *rDzogs pa chen po lta ba ye shes gting nas rdzogs pa'i rgyud*, fol. 166b. It is evidently the same subject that is brought about by the *Rin po che bdud rtsi bcud thigs* (fol. 282a) in verses such as “The Great Bliss which is not to be sought is found within oneself” (*btsal med bde chen rang las rnyed*). The state of *sPyi ti* that is not to be sought is clearly explained as being that of Buddhahood itself in the *sGron ma brtsegs pa'i rgyud* (fol. 332b) which says: “The Buddha to which one aspires is found within oneself” (*smon pa'i sangs rgyas rang las rnyed*), and (*op. cit.*, fol. 332b): “The Quintessence, the Absolute Body, is found within oneself” (*snying po chos sku rang las rnyed*).

43 Furthermore, in the *Tantra of Mountain Stacks* (*Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud*) the notion of being special is explicitly linked to superiority (*khyad par 'phags*). Referring to the Contemplation of all Buddhas (*sangs rgyas kun gyi dgongs pa*), it says that since (*sPyi ti*) is superior to the Nine Vehicles, it is called “*sPyi ti yoga*, the peak of the Nine” (*dgu rtse*). See *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud*, fol. 5b. In the *Tantra of the Stacked Lamps* (*sGron ma brtsegs pa'i rgyud*), similar ideas are expounded regarding the superiority of *sPyi ti*.

2. It is defined as extraordinary (*ngo mtshar*) because it describes the key points (*gnad*) of the main practice of rDzogs chen, namely *khregs chod* and *thod rgal*, in a way which is comprehensive and profound.<sup>44</sup> It does so because it is said to be entirely based on the experiences of the Buddhas and Knowledge-Holders (*rig 'dzin*) of the lineage (and in particular on Padmasambhava's teachings and instructions),<sup>45</sup>

3. It is styled as supreme (*mchog*) because there is no teaching superior to it among the Nine Vehicles<sup>46</sup> and because, through the realization of its actual meaning and its practice, the supreme qualities of the natural state are experienced by the practitioner in a way which is both swift and easy.<sup>47</sup>

**The view of the *sPyi ti* of the Great Perfection is as follows:**

This line simply announces what the View (*lta ba*) of the *sPyi ti yoga* is and how it is defined. As other doxographical components, the *sPyi ti* has a specific Meditation (*sgom pa*), a particular Conduct (*spyod pa*) and a Fruit (*'bras bu*). As explained in the next verses of the root-text, the main definition of the *sPyi ti yoga* View is that of the Great Primordial Purity (*ka dag chen po*).<sup>48</sup> This aspect of the original condition of the natural state is actually the same as the pure realm of the Youthful Vase Body (*gzhon nu bum sku'i zhing*),<sup>49</sup> namely the

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There (fol. 330a), the Buddha explicitly states that *sPyi ti* must not be envisioned through the dualistic approach of the two truths (*bden gnyis*) since it radically eradicates elaborations associated with phenomena which are dualistically grasped. This superiority of the *sPyi ti* to those teachings based on the two truths is affirmed because the actual experience of the natural state is defined as “particularly superior to the intellect and its grasping thoughts” (fol. 330a: *gnyis bzung chos rnams spros pa gcod*). Basically, *sPyi ti*, as are all other rDzogs chen teachings, is considered as superior (*'phags*) because it transcends the intellect absorbed into striving and achievement (fol. 332a: *rtsol bsgrub blo las khyad par 'phags*).

44 On should remember here that the terms *khregs chod* and *thod rgal* are not used in *sPyi ti* Tantras, except for the latter described as a Vehicle (*theg pa*) and not as a practice based on the six key points (*gnad drug*), the four Visions (*snang ba bzhi*), the four Lamps (*sgron ma bzhi*), etc. It is only in the *practice* texts of *sPyi ti* that one finds instructions pertaining to *khregs chod* and *thod rgal* in the sense these expressions are used in the *sNying thig* literature.

45 So far, I have not found any *sPyi ti* teachings which is not, one way or the other, trans-historically associated with Padmasambhava. Some people think this is also the case with *Yang ti*, but this is a mistake since some *Yang ti* teachings are explicitly associated with Vimalamitra (see for example the cycle of the *rDzogs pa chen po nges don 'dus pa* [NGB, no. 17] and related Tantras), while still others are associated with Śrī Simha (such as the cycle of the *rDzogs pa chen po ye shes gsal bar ston pa'i rgyud* [no. 28] and its various suites [nos. 29-30]).

46 This is of course to be understood in the terms of the *sPyi ti*'s self-advertising rhetoric. Doxographically, it is however surpassed by *Yang ti* and *mTha' chen*.

47. Theoretical swiftness and absence of difficulties are representations which are currently used to describe the practice of the Great Perfection. These ideas are however often misunderstood in the same way the state of rDzogs chen is misunderstood for the state of the individual. Lopön Tenzin Namdak has discussed these problems in many of his teachings; see for instance his fascinating and highly critical discussion of the current misunderstandings about rDzogs chen in the *Dogs sel 'ga'zhig gleng ba'i le'u rin chen gtsag bu*, pp.357-379.

48 This is also defined in a similar way in chapter thirteen of Nyang ral's *Klong gsal*, fol. 128b: “— Since the Great Primordial Purity of Reality/ Is free from (notions of) both purity and impurity/The View of *sPyi ti* is naturally perfect” (*chos nyid ka dag chen po la/ 'dag dang ma dag gnyis med pas/ 'sPyi ti'i lta ba ngang gis rdzogs/*).

49 Note that to my knowledge, the expression “Youthful Vase Body” does not appear in the Tantras of *sPyi ti*.

state of the Absolute Body (*chos sku*) endowed with the qualities of abandonment (*spangs*, of obscurations) and realization (*rtogs*, of the true nature of the mind). This state is defined by Klong chen pa in his *Treasury of the Supreme Vehicle* as that of the Inner Clarity (*nang gsal*) of the natural state.

In the *Tantra of the Beautiful Auspiciousness* (*bKra shis mdzes ldan gyi rgyud*), this Great Primordial Purity is defined as follows :

*What is known as the Great Primordial Purity”  
Is the state abiding before authentic Buddhas arose  
And before impure sentient beings appeared ;  
It is called the Great Primordial radiance of immutable Awareness.*<sup>50</sup>

### **The world of appearances and existence, of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa, ...**

This verse covers three different themes: 1. the world of appearances and existence (*snang srid*), 2. Saṃsāra (*'khor ba*), and 3. Nirvāṇa (*'das pa*). This threefold complex thus refers to the realm of phenomena (*snang srid* and *'khor ba*) as well as to the unconditioned state beyond conditioned phenomena (*'das pa*).<sup>51</sup>

[1]. The world of appearances (*snang ba*) and existence (*srid pa*) concerns everything that manifests as a knowable object, both in terms of relative or absolute truth. According to some interpretations, appearances refer to the universe and its display in the ten directions and the three times, while existence refers to beings living within this universe. But in a simpler way, the expression “appearances-cum-existence“ (*snang srid*) points to whatever exists and manifests as opposed to nothingness. All that manifests in this way pertains to the category of Saṃsāra or to that of Nirvāṇa, depending on its being conditioned or not. In this verse, the text actually refers to “everything” in the largest and most common usage of the term.

[2]. Saṃsāra is the conditioned mode of being. Some people regard Saṃsāra as the outside world, whereas in its actual, true meaning Saṃsāra is nothing else than dualistic grasping, ignorance and reification. The outer world is not Saṃsāra. Otherwise, when reaching Nirvāṇa

50 *bKra shis mdzes ldan*, p.218: *ka dag chen po zhes bya ste/ yang dag pa'i sangs rgyas ma byung/ ma dag pa'i sems can ma byung ba'i gnas/ rig pa ma g.yos pa'i ye gdangs chen po zhes bya'ol*. This state is however not only limited to the exposition of the principles associated with the Base (*gzhi*) but, since it defines the natural state itself, it is also associated with the actual Fruit (*'bras bu*) of the Path (*lam*). Thus, in the *Quintessence of the Sun and the Moon* (*Nyi zla'i snying po*, fol. 22b), it is said: «— The Fruit (consisting in) the freedom of Awareness/ Is the obtainment of Great Primordial Purity without birth» (*rig pa grol ba'i 'bras bu ni/ skye med ka dag chen po thob/*). This theme of the Great Primordial Purity is not very developed within the corpus of the *Seventeen Tantras of sPyi ti*; it is mentioned only a few times in this collection of texts, and each time without an explicit description or definition. The *sGron ma 'od 'bar ba'i rgyud* gives a very short explanation, describing this state as that which abides primordially since the beginning (*gdod ma ye nas gnas pa*, fol. 319b).

51 *sNang srid 'khor 'das* [*kyi chos*] is of course a thematic *leitmotiv* which is quite recurrent in traditional Tibetan Buddhist literature. It lexically connects relative truth (*kun rdzob*) represented by appearances (worlds, etc., in the sense of outer chalice [*phyi snod*]), existence (beings in the sense of inner elixirs [*nang bcud*]) and conditioned existence (*'khor ba*) to absolute truth (*don dam*) represented by the unconditioned state of Nirvāṇa. The equivalences between relative truth and Saṃsāra, on the one hand, and absolute truth and Nirvāṇa, on the other hand, has been interestingly discussed in the context of Madhyamaka in Huntington, “The System of the Two Truths”, pp.77 *et seq.*

a Buddha would leave our world. The Nirvāṇa of Buddha Śākyamuni demonstrates the contrary and illustrates the reason why there is no contradiction in having a Buddha concretely reach the unconditioned state of Buddhahood in this conditioned world.

[3]. Nirvāṇa is the non-conditioned mode of being.<sup>52</sup> It is characterized by the absence of dualistic grasping and of ignorance. Generally, “Nirvāṇa” is defined as the non-conditioned state beyond sorrow, and here it refers to the opposite of Saṃsāra since the text’s purpose in this line is to encompass all phenomena and states beyond and embracing conditioned phenomena.<sup>53</sup>

**... is entirely**

**Liberated as the great Primordial Purity without support**

In this statement, the Buddha sKye med ka dag explains that everything is already entirely liberated in its own nature. What does that mean? It means that once one abides in the real nature of one’s mind, nothing (such as passions, poisons, etc.) needs to be liberated since the non-regressing abiding in that state is entirely perfect in itself.<sup>54</sup> However, it is precisely at that point that numerous practitioners deviate from the correct View (*lta ba yang dag pa*). What the Buddha sKye med ka dag describes is the condition of the natural state of rDzogs chen, not the state of the *rDzogs chen pa* (who until realization is ultimately obtained remains conditioned by many things). As Lopön Tenzin Namdak Rinpoche has said numerous times in his teachings: «The natural state is itself perfect but the practitioner is not.» This means that the practitioner has to improve his own condition in order to reach a threshold of authentic realization from which he will not regress.<sup>55</sup>

52 There would be of course a lot of things to add here, but I want to limit the interpretation to how rDzogs chen teachings understand that traditional technical word. On the general meaning of Nirvāṇa, see Vallée-Poussin’s *Nirvāṇa*, which still remains one of the best studies on this subject. See also *inter alia* K.R. Norman, “Mistaken Ideas about Nibbāna, *The Buddhist Forum*, vol. III, London, 1994, pp.211-225.

53 The rDzogs chen view of Nirvāṇa does not differ from that of general Mahāyāna works. It is, for instance, consistent with Nagārjuna and Candrakīrti’s Madhyamaka approach, but it is also characterized by specific representations which are, to my knowledge, alien to Madhyamaka. The obtainment of the Rainbow Body (*’ja’ lus*) is one of these alien key elements occurring in the classic description of the Fruit of Buddhahood according to rDzogs chen: it is actually simply an outer sign demonstrating the realization of the Sambhogakāya but it remains frequently associated with the Fruit of the *thod rgal* path, so much so that many people identify this sign (*rtags*) with the realization (*rtogs*) of Full Buddhahood. In rDzogs chen, as shown in the *Seventeen Tantras* and other related material, Buddhahood is expressed in terms of Bodies (*sku*) and Wisdoms (*ye shes*). See Klong chen pa, *Theg mchog mdzod*, vol. 2, pp.542-591.

54 In other words, such a state does not need to be altered in any way whatsoever, since it is perfect as it is, without the need to add to it or to take away anything from it in order to give it its natural perfection. This directly echoes the classical rDzogs chen *leitmotiv ma btsal bzhag pa* (“established without having to be sought”) which one finds in numerous Great Perfection Tantras. See for instance *sKu gdung ’bar ba ’i rgyud*, p.132; *Rin chen spungs pa ’i rgyud*, p.99; *Nyi zla kha sbyor*, p.159. See also the variants *ma btsal rdzogs* or *ma btsal lhun grub* in the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs* (p.350 and 379 respectively).

55 Arriving at such a threshold without regression is totally different from having a concrete knowledge of Awareness (*rig pa*) or the natural state of the Base (*gzhi yi gnas lugs*). The concrete knowledge of the natural state is not something that can be lost once one has clearly understood its abiding mode as Emptiness-cum-Clarity (*stong gsal*). However, sustaining that knowledge so as to reach a level of experiential realization is another matter. I think that one of the best examples illustrating that difference in the history of rDzogs chen literature is the story of sGom chen ’bar ba who, after having obtained the clear knowledge of



In this respect, simply being introduced to the natural state and understanding how it “works” is far from enough. One needs to become familiar with it through actual practice, such as that of sky gazing (*nam mkha'ar gtad*),<sup>56</sup> etc., and through the integration of four things into the experience of the natural state. These four things are : 1. integrating the activities of the three doors, 2. integrating the six associations of consciousnesses, 3. integrating the specific activities of the mind, and 4. integrating the diversity of situations likely to arise during the practice and outside formal sessions.<sup>57</sup>

The Great Primordial Purity of the natural state is defined in the original verse given above as without support (*rten med*) because it does not depend on anything that might support it, create it or affect it in one way or another. This state remains entirely pure of all karma and karmic traces, and abides in its own primeval condition as the coalescence of Emptiness and Clarity (*stong gsal*).

It should be mentioned here that, even though the Great Primordial Purity (*ka dag chen po*) is the central conception regarding the View of *sPyi ti*, it is not discussed at length in the *sPyi ti* Tantras. Of course it is mentioned in some of them (in a very limited way, and not in all of them), but it is never described. Generally, it is said in these texts that the Fruit consists in obtaining the Great Primordial Purity, or some similar statements. However, no description of this state is given in these texts. In the *Commentary on the sGron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud* (pp.234-235), the Great Primordial Purity is described as the state of the primeval essence (*thog ma'i ngo bo*) abiding before any Buddha or sentient being arose. It is of course the coalescence of Emptiness and Clarity (*stong gsal*), and it is from its natural potential that the wisdom of the spontaneous Nature (*rang bzhin lhun grub kyi ye shes*) arose with all its fivefold characteristics, enabling the natural dynamism (*rtsal*) of this state to manifest in its unceasing, manifold variety. In the *Commentary on the sKu gdung 'bar ba'i rgyud* (pp.518-519), this Great Primordial Purity is conceived as the Base (*gzhi*) or essence of authentic Reality (*yang dag pa'i chos nyid*) which has primordially never experienced delusion. It is therefore the state of the Mind (*sems nyid*) existing before the arising of delusion, before the epiphanic manifestations of the Base (*gzhi snang*).<sup>58</sup>

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Awareness, simply went back to his ordinary habits of life and regressed from the level of realization he had reached during the direct introduction (*ngo sprod*). See P. Kvaerne, “Bonpo Studies”, pp.37-38; Achard, *Les Instructions sur le A Primordial*, pp.40-41. It is also interesting to note that the whole process behind the direct introduction is to reach an instantaneous (*cig car*) understanding which itself leads to a gradual (*rim gyis*) realization through the process of familiarization (*goms pa*) with this state.

56 Except for later texts such as those of the tradition of Pa gro gter ston or bDud 'dul rdo rje and Klong gsal snying po, there is no explicit description of such practice in the texts of *sPyi ti*. For the time being, I should most certainly limit that assertion to the *sPyi ti* Tantras only, and consider it as a provisional observation until the peculiarities of the practice of *sPyi ti* appear more clearly from the study of the Tantras themselves. It is however clear that the differences between the cycles of practice (*sgrub sde*, i.e. the later *gter mas* of the three *gter ston* mentioned above in this note) and the corpus of *sPyi ti* Tantras (*rgyud sde*) show a definite influence from the classical *Man ngag sde* practice on the former.

57 In general, this constitutes the program of integrating (*bsre ba*) the experience of the natural state, in the context of *khregs chod*, into every activity. This program is of course progressive and is actually performed during an eighteen months retreat.

58 In the *Tantra of the Natural Arising of Awareness (Rig pa rang shar)*, the Great Primordial Purity is defined one of the two aspects of the primordial Base itself. It says: «— It is stated that the Base is of two sorts:/ The Base of the Great Primordial Purity and/ The base of the manifoldness of Spontaneity» (p.632: *gzhi la nram pa gnyis su gsungs/ ka dag chen po gzhi dang ni/ lhun grub sna tshogs gzhi ru 'dod*).

**(Within which) arises the Contemplation free from being, non-being, and intentions.**

The state of Contemplation (*dgongs pa*) which arises by itself when one abides in the non-regressing experience of the natural state is a state of pure and total knowledge devoid of subject and objects.<sup>59</sup> It is a state in which mental projections about its own nature, etc., simply vanish by themselves.<sup>60</sup> Thus, while abiding in this state of Contemplation, the Mind is not focused on anything nor is it thinking “this state is existent” or “this state does not exist”, etc. It is even beyond intentions (*rtsis gdab*) which are simply mental elaborations incapable of “grasping” the true nature of the mind. Therefore, entrance into this state of Contemplation is direct, even though the path leading to it might be gradual, depending on the capacities of the individual.

**(Therefore) abide naturally in this unaltered (state)**

The practice leading to the access to the state of Contemplation is the core of all rDzogs chen teachings. It relies on what could actually be described as an actual *absence* of particular practice. One should just enter the state of Contemplation (*dgongs pa*) without any artifice.<sup>61</sup> This means that this practice does not rely on specific key points such as those of the Generation (*bskyed rim*) and Perfection Stages (*rdzogs rim*), although these same key points might induce in some practitioners such a state.<sup>62</sup> However, for strict rDzogs chen practitioners, Guru-Yoga and Sky Gazing are the main means enabling the access to the state of Contemplation in a totally unaltered mode.<sup>63</sup>

59 This spontaneous absence of duality is due to the fact that the Contemplation of the natural state has no objects except itself. In other words, Awareness (*rig pa*), as the knowledge of the natural state, is simply the knowledge with which that state is spontaneously endowed and which does not differ from it in any way whatsoever. This is why the definition of this state in purely rDzogs chen terms is that of the Single Thiglé (*thig le nyag gcig*). On this expression, see Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, p.118 n. 55; Achard, *L'Essence Perlée du Secret*, p.103 n. 9. See also Slob dpon bstan 'dzin nam dag, *gSang sngags bka' 'grel*, p.21 et seq.

60 This however does not imply that thoughts are automatically eliminated from that state. Such an idea would contradict that of *shar grol* (“Arising-cum-liberating”) which means that thoughts simply arise spontaneously and are automatically liberated from grasping. *Grol* here does not mean that thoughts disappear for good (since there will be thoughts so long as the aggregate of consciousness lasts), but that they are directly liberated from grasping as soon as they arise, in the same way snow flakes dissolve automatically into water. See an interesting and lively definition of *shar grol* in Namkhai Norbu, *The Crystal and the Way of Light*, p.118. In his *Theg mchog mdzod*, Klong chen pa discusses *shar grol* on several occasions, the first of which, interestingly enough, occurs in the definition of the Black Expanse of Compassion (*thugs rje klong nag*, I, p.152). In his definition, it is clear that he understands *shar grol* differently in the context of the Black Expanse in which *shar* refers to wisdom (*ye shes*) and *grol* to mind (*sems*).

61 This is possible only through or after the direct introduction (*ngo sprod*) transmitted by a qualified master. At that time, the real nature of the primordial state is pointed out and should be perfectly understood. After that, there is a period of compulsory retreat (*mtshams*) during which that state is experienced again without artifice and stabilized (*brtan*) through familiarization (*goms*). Furthermore, it is crucial that at the end of such a retreat the state experienced by the disciple be confirmed by the master.

62 For instance, in theory, the samādhi of Suchness (*de bzhin nyid kyi ting nge 'dzin*) in Mahāyoga is nothing other than the actual experience of the natural state of the mind. See for instance Kunkyen Tenpe Nyima & Sechen Gyaltsap IV, *Vajra Wisdom*, pp.40, 148-150.

63 Still such means must be applied after having received the direct introduction (*ngo sprod*) since, in rDzogs chen, all practices must be performed within the experience of the natural state.

**Which is devoid of action, effort and exertion,**

The direct experience of the state of Contemplation (*dgongs pa*) is that of the flawless flow of Reality (*chos nyid*) in which Mind itself (*sems nyid*) is both the subject and object of the Contemplation. Therefore, there is no action to accomplish in order to enter that knowledge, no effort to produce in order to experience it, and no exertion to cultivate in order to maintain it.<sup>64</sup> One should just remain in this self-discerning (*rang rig*) nature which is likely to host thoughts or non-discursive experiences.<sup>65</sup>

**Unborn, insubstantial, and transcending the mental in its result.**

When clearly experienced, the state of Contemplation is lived through as a continuity which is defined as unborn (*skye med*) because it has never been created by any cause (*rgyu*) and will never be destroyed by any circumstances (*rkyen*).<sup>66</sup> It is insubstantial because it does not exist within the confines of matter, form, color, etc., which are the characteristics of conditioned phenomena.<sup>67</sup> It transcends the mental (*blo*) because it is entirely beyond the scope and possibilities of the mind (*sems*) since the latter is entirely dependent on sense data as well as self-referential elaborations. This state of utter perfection transcends dualistic grasping characterized by ignorance (*ma rig pa*) and abides in the sapiential mode of Awareness (*rig pa*).<sup>68</sup> In its ultimate aspect, i.e. at the stage

64 In other words, there is nothing to look for since the state that one is looking for already abides within oneself. This conception is pregnant throughout rDzogs chen teachings.

65 Several other *sPyi ti* Tantras share a similar approach and wording in order to define the natural state beyond seeking, effort, etc. For instance, in the *sNang srid kha sbyor*, the Victorious Samantabhadra explicitly states: «— That which exists from the beginning within us/ Does not have to be sought through effort, exertion, or action» (fol. 216a: *rang la ye nas yod pa la/ rtsol bsgrub bya btsal mi 'tshal te/*). This primordial principle existing within each sentient being is the Sugatagarbha (*bde gshegs snying po*), on which see Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, pp.184-185. One should also note that the technical expression *bde gshegs snying po* does not occur in the *sPyi ti* Tantras themselves.

66 This unborn Essence of the primordial state is designated “the Absolute Body” (*chos sku*) in rDzogs chen literature. This is in conformity with the association of the three wisdoms of the Base (Essence, Nature and Compassion) with the three Bodies (*sku gsum*). One should note, though, that *sPyi ti* Tantras sometimes reverse the equivalences between Essence (*ngo bo*) and Nature (*rang bzhin*), so that the semantic field usually associated with “Essence” in other rDzogs chen texts is applied to “Nature”. In this respect, Nature becomes associated with Primordial Purity (*ka dag*), Absolute Body (*chos sku*), etc. See for instance *sGron ma brtsegs pa*, fol. 329a. The same inversion also occurs in the *Kun byed rgyal po*.

67 Insubstantiality (*dnogs med*) is a crucial expression recurring in *sPyi ti* Tantras often associated with the notion of Primordial Purity (*dnogs med ka dag*). See, for instance, *sGron ma 'od 'bar ba'i rgyud*, fol. 320b-321a. See also *Nam mkha' klong yangs*, chap.3, fol. 337a) and throughout that text, in which homage is paid to the Universal Lord of Insubstantiality (*dnogs med kun gvi rje*, fol. 318a).

68 As is obvious, Awareness is the most important conception of rDzogs chen teachings, and is defined as the non-discursive knowledge of the Base (*gzhi*). In the *Dri med ka dag gi rgyud*, it is defined as the Precious Clear-Light pure from the beginning (*rig pa ka dag rin po che 'od gsal*). As in other *Man ngag sde* texts in which Awareness is clearly associated with the fourth Lamp of *thod rgal* practice — the Lamp of the Self-Arisen Sublime Knowledge (*shes rab rang byung gi sgron ma*) — Awareness is also associated with *prajñā* in *sPyi ti* Tantras. For example, in the *Dri med ka dag gi rgyud*, it is said (13b): «— From the unborn and unceasing primordial Wisdom/ Radiates the impartial Sublime Knowledge/ Which itself radiates as the Single Awareness» (*skye 'gag med pa'i ye shes las/ phyogs lung med pa'i shes rab gsal/ de nyid rig pa nyag gcig gsal/*). The expression *rig pa nyag gcig* is rather rare but not unknown, appearing, for example, in the corpus of the *Seventeen Tantras* (*rGyud bcu bdun*), in which it occurs in the *Ngo sprod spras pa'i rgyud*, p.106.

of the result or Fruit of the Path, this state is experienced within the natural display of Bodies and Wisdoms which are the true expression of the natural state itself.<sup>69</sup>

***Ema!* Such an extraordinary and wonderful teaching**

With the interjection *Ema!*, the Buddha sKye med ka dag expresses his marvelous recognition of the natural splendors of this state. In the logic of these *sPyi ti* texts and instructions, there is nothing more direct and more precise in the revelation of the natural state than these extraordinary teachings of rDzogs chen.<sup>70</sup> Their nature, styled here as wonderful (*rmad byung*), is beyond the causal Paths of Sūtras and Tantras.<sup>71</sup>

**Does not come from anywhere other than the “A”.**

If one were to summarize all the texts and secret instructions of Dzogchen, then one should simply say “A”, which is the symbol of the natural state itself. It symbolizes the primordial Base (*gzhi*) of this state, as well as its visionary Path (*lam*) and perfect Fruit (*'bras bu*). In fact, all teachings of the Great Perfection are not revealing anything else than the pure essence of the natural state of the Mind, rendered here by the symbolic letter “A”, the source of everything.<sup>72</sup>

***Alala ho!* Everything entirely liberates within this Great Primordial Purity.**

*Alala ho!* is also an interjection here expressing the amazement the Buddha experiences at revealing these teachings of rDzogs chen. The primordial A which symbolizes the original, everlasting purity of the natural state, is used to illustrate the state in which everything liberates naturally without any effort, or artifice.<sup>73</sup> Simply abiding in this unadulterated condition of the

69 Bodies (*sku*) and Wisdoms (*ye shes*) are the potential (lit. “primordial”, *ye*) expression of the natural state at the level of the Base (*gzhi*). This potential is gradually made “manifest” (*mngon sum*) by the practice of the Path (*lam*), until it is entirely perfected (*rdzogs*) at the level of the Fruit (*'bras bu*). This is the theory of the three kinds of Buddhahood (Buddhahood of the Base, the Path and the Fruit).

70 Hence their inclusion on the top (*spyi*, for *spyi phud*) of the doxographical ladder of the Nine Vehicles (*theg pa rim dgu*).

71 rDzogs chen teachings are entirely based on the direct introduction (*ngo sprod*) occurring at the beginning of the Path. In this respect, it is not caused-based like teachings belonging to the Path of Renunciation (*spang lam*, i.e. Sūtras) or to the Path of Transformation (*bsgyur lam*, i.e. Tantras): it actually constitutes a whole Path in itself, designated as the Path of Liberation (*grol lam*) in which passions are naturally liberated (*rang grol*) instead of being renounced or transformed.

72 The meaning of the letter A is extensively discussed in the commentarial literature to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (V-1) and related texts. In a parallel context, see F. Rambelli, “Tantric Buddhism and Chinese Thought in East Asia”, pp.372-374. Several individual works are discussing the meaning of this letter, either as their main subject or as a section of their teachings. Some are concerned with the manner of interpreting it in a practice perspective, such as in the *Sems sde a don rab gsal* composed by mKhan po Karma Ratna (1823-?) and associated with the *rDzogs chen sde gsum* revelations of mChog gyur gling pa (1829-1870); see Karma Ratna, *Sems sde 'i nyams len a don rab gsal, mChog gyur gling pa gTer 'bum*, vol. 23, pp.391-393.

73 In other words, when one abides in this state, there is nothing to liberate intentionally, nor is there anything to alter in order to reach the utter perfection of rDzogs chen. Non-alteration or non-modification (*ma bcos*) is a key term occurring in the three contexts of the Base, the Path and the Fruit, each time with the exact same meaning discovered at the time of the direct introduction (*ngo sprod*). This means that non-modification that is experienced at the level of the Base, is cultivated without artifices during the practice of the Path, and eventually experienced in a non-regressive way at the time

natural state, not regressing from it and contemplating the natural arising of its visionary marvels, this is the true purpose of the practice of rDzogs chen.

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As we have seen, the *sPyi ti* definition of the rDzogs chen view is mostly centered on the notion of Great Primordial Purity (*ka dag chen po*), a particular representation which is consistent with the rest of the *Man ngag sde* literature in general. It must be stated though that this Great Primordial Purity should not be identified with one of the seven statements regarding the Base (*gzhi bdun*), namely the statement defining the Base (*gzhi*) of the natural state as being pure from the beginning (*ka dag*).<sup>74</sup> In his *Theg mchog mdzod*, Klong chen pa has demonstrated that this definition is partial and not consistent with the actual experience of the natural state. Indeed, this Great Primordial Purity is conceived as the undifferentiation of Emptiness and Clarity (*stong gsal dbyer med*), in which Emptiness corresponds to Primordial Purity (*ka dag*) and Clarity to Spontaneity (*lhun grub*). Therefore, the definition of the Base as the Great Primordial Purity as it is defined in *sPyi ti* Tantras fits perfectly well with that of the rest of the Great Perfection literature on the subject.

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of the Fruit. However, as exemplified by the touching mistake of the young Milarepa when he received his first rDzogs chen teaching, the practice of the Path without alteration does not entail doing nothing at all. On *ma bcos*, see in particular Klong chen pa, *gZhi ma bcos ji bzhin du ngo sprod pa’i rim pa*, pp.253-259.

<sup>74</sup> On these seven statements, see Achard, *La Base Primordiale de l’état naturel*, pp.11-44. See also Natsok Rangdrol, *The Circle of the Sun*, pp.3-5. Sources in tibetan owe much on this subject to Klong chen pa’s *Theg mchog mdzod* on this subject, vol. I, chapter 8.

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#### 3-1. *Yang ti* and *sPyi ti* Tantras

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- *sNang srid kha sbyor*: *sNang srid kha sbyor bdud rtsi bcud thigs 'khor ba thog mtha' gcod pa'i rgyud*, *ib.*, vol. Kha, fol. 204a-265b.
- *rDzogs pa chen po nges don 'dus pa*, *ib.*, vol. Ka, fol. 176b-222a.
- *rDzogs pa chen po lta ba ye shes gting nas rdzogs pa'i rgyud*: *rDzogs pa chen po ma rig mun pa rab tu sel bar byed pa lta ba ye shes gting nas rdzogs pa'i rgyud*, *ib.*, vol. Kha, fol. 147b-168a.
- *rDzogs pa chen po ye shes gsal bar ston pa'i rgyud*, *ib.*, vol. Kha, fol. 181b-187b.
- *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud*, *ib.* vol. Ga, fol. 1b-12a.
- *Rin po che bdud rtsi bcud thigs* : *Rin po che bdud rtsi bcud thigs kyi rgyud*, *ib.*, vol. Kha, fol. 277a-287a.

#### 3-2. Tantras from the Vimalamitra tradition

- *sKu gdung 'bar ba'i rgyud*, Collected Nyingmapa tantras of the Man ngag sde class of the Ati yoga, New Delhi, 1989, vol. III, pp.115-151.
- *bKra shis mdzes ldan*, in *ib.*, vol. I, pp.207-232.
- *Ngo sprod spras pa'i rgyud*, in *ib.*, vol. II, pp.77-109.
- *Nyi zla kha sbyor*, in *ib.*, vol. III, pp.153-233.
- *Rig pa rang shar*, in *ib.*, vol. I, pp.389-855.
- *Rin chen spungs pa'i rgyud*, in *ib.*, vol. III, pp.73-114.
- *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs*, in *ib.*, vol. II, pp.245-415.



# THE FIRST MONGOL CONTACTS WITH THE TIBETANS<sup>1</sup>

**Christopher P. Atwood**

## Introduction

Since the thirteenth century, the “Mongolia-Tibet interface” (Bulag and Diemberger 2007) has been a vital factor in shaping Inner Asian civilization. Brought into being by the Mongol extension of their political control and settlement to the Tibetan plateau, and by the Mongolian acceptance of Tibetan Buddhism as their dominant religion, this interface created a broad zone of a “greater Tibetan cultural community” (in Gray Tuttle’s phrase) and Mongolian khanates (Sperling 2012) that stretched from the southern foothills of the Himalayas to lake Baykal in southern Siberia and beyond. Needless to say, historians both traditional and modern have paid considerable attention to the origin of the politico-religious interface between the Tibetan and Mongolian people. Since the seventeenth century, traditional Inner Asian historians have envisioned this interface partly in terms of the origin of the Mongol royal family from that of the primal Indian Buddhist monarch, Mahasammata, via Tibet and a continuous sequence of “priests and patrons” from the time of Chinggis Khan onward.

The twentieth-century rediscovery of the *Secret History of the Mongols* revealed the late and fabricated nature of any connection between the ancestors of the Mongol khans and the lineage of the Tibetan monarchs, let alone that of the Mahasammata. Likewise Turrell Wylie’s seminal article in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1977) demonstrated that the first Mongol prince to have any demonstrable contact with Central Tibetan hierarchs was Chinggis Khan’s grandson Kōten<sup>2</sup> (Tibetan Go-dan) in 1240 and that such contact did not become significant in Mongolian religio-political history before the time of Möngke Qa’an, another of Chinggis Khan’s grandsons, who reigned 1251-59. The supposed priest-patron relation between Chinggis Khan and Kun-dga’ sNying-po of the Sa-skya order was likewise shown to be a late fabrication with no historical reality.

Subsequently, Elliot Sperling (1987, 1994) and Ruth Dunnell (1992) showed that not only was the Mongol link to the Tibetan Buddhists hierarchies rather later than seen in the traditional chronicles, but it was also dependent on previous connection of the Tangut Xia 夏 dynasty

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1 It is a great pleasure to present this work as an homage to Elliot Sperling, a mentor, colleague and friend, and one of the pioneers in the scholarly study of the Tibetan relations with China and Mongolia. I would also like to thank Eveline S. Yang and Stephen Haw for the assistance they provided in writing this paper, particularly in supplying me references and materials while working on the draft in Inner Mongolia in June and July, 2014.

2 It should be noted that both the Persian spellings and the modern cognates of this name make it absolutely indisputable that the correct Mongolian reading is Kōten with a *t* and not Kōden with a *d*. Chinese transcriptions commonly de-aspirate non-initial Mongolian consonants (thus transcribing *ba’atur* as *bādū* 拔都) but such merely transcriptional variants do not affect the correct Mongolian spelling. This and other issues of transcription will be discussed in my commentary on the *Shengwu qinzheng lu*, currently in preparation.

kings with the Tibetan hierarchs, particularly in the bKa-brgyud religious lineage. The Mongols evidently derived their early knowledge of Central Tibet from the Tangut rulers, whose kingdom Chinggis Khan destroyed in 1227. As Sperling argued, Prince Köten's dispatch of his *noyan* (commander) Dorda Darqan to Central Tibet to demand that Tibetans there send representatives to his princely appanage can be seen as an attempt to take over the Xia- bKa-brgyud religious linkage and reuse it for Mongol purposes.

Yet Dorda Darqan's 1240 expedition was not in fact the first example of Mongol-Tibetan connections. As Stephen Haw (2014) has recently shown, Mongols had come into contact with and were aware of ethnic Tibetans in the Amdo area well before that time, and indeed even during the life of Chinggis Khan. These connections were indeed related to the Mongol interaction with the Xia dynasty, but had no direct connection to known hierarchs of Tibetan Buddhism, or indeed to religious institutions at all. Instead, the early Mongol connections with Amdo Tibetans first began in the same way Mongol connections with western Central and Inner Asia first began: a series of cascading events produced as political refugees fled the Mongol conquests and sought to rebuild their dominion further away. These events thus underline how the idea that early Mongol interest in Tibetans and Tibet was purely religious is the product of Tibetan hagiographies and does not correspond at all to how the Mongols saw these emerging links.

### Ilqa Senggün and the “Böri Tibetans”

The earliest reliable evidence of ethnic Mongol links with ethnic Tibetans is found in the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄. This passage is also found, albeit with some expansionistic touches, in the Persian text of the historian Rashid al-Din in his *Compendium of Chronicles*. The Chinese and the Persian were certainly derived from a single Mongolian text. The origin and nature of the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄 and its Mongolian original has occasioned much controversy, but my research, to be published in a forthcoming critical edition with translation and commentary, has shown that the Chinese text was put together by an anonymous editor sometime after 1303 and sometime before 1320. This anonymous editor took the *Veritable Records* (*Shilu* 太祖實錄) of the first six emperors of the Yuan dynasty from Chinggis Khan (c. 1162-1227) to Qubilai Qa'an (1215-1294)<sup>3</sup> and abridged them into two *juan*. Later, the Chinese scholar Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 incorporated the first *juan*, covering Chinggis Khan and Ögedei Qa'an's reigns, into his *Shuofu* 說郛 anthology, naming it the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄 “Record of the Imperial Conquests of Chinggis Khan.”<sup>4</sup>

3 These six emperors include Chinggis Khan, Ögedei Qa'an, Tolui Khan, Güyüg Qa'an, Möngke Qa'an, and Qubilai Qa'an. Although Tolui did not actually rule, as the father of Möngke and Qubilai, he was also considered an emperor and received a *Veritable Record*. See Xie 2013: 393-96, 412-13.

4 This name was a combination of the two names of the separate *juan*, which are recorded in a Ming-era catalogue as 1) *Huang Yuan Taizu Shengwu kaitian ji* 皇元太祖聖武開天記 “Record of How Chinggis Khan, Great Founder of the Sovereign Yuan Dynasty, Initiated the State” and 2) *Qinzheng lu* 親征錄 “Record of the Imperial Conquests,” respectively. The second is said to have been mostly about conquests under Qubilai Qa'an's reign.

Comparison of this *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄 with the first chapter (*juan* 卷) of the *Yuan shi* 元史 and with the free Persian translation comprising the bulk of Rashid al-Din's "Annals of Chinggis Khan" in his *Compendium of Chronicles* shows that the now lost *Veritable Record of Chinggis Khan* (*Taizu shilu* 太祖實錄) were preserved virtually complete and verbatim in the Chinese *Shengwu qinzheng lu* 聖武親征錄. Internal evidence shows this *Veritable Record of Chinggis Khan* was compiled mostly sometime between 1266 and 1279. The record was composed in a bilingual edition, but with the Mongolian language as primary.

In my source-critical commentary to the work, however, I have identity the passage in question as part of an earlier narrative of how Chinggis Khan conquered the Kereyid kingdom, one written in the time of Ögedei Qa'an, and used by both the *Secret History of the Mongols* and by the *Veritable Records*, as well as being cited directly in Persian translation in some manuscripts of Rashid al-Din's *Compendium of Chronicles*. Thus the datum may be considered to ultimately derive from a Mongolian language text written in the 1230s.

This text, after describing how Chinggis Khan overthrew Ong Khan, ruler of the Kereyid kingdom in central Mongolia (autumn, 1203), continues to describe how his son Ilqa Senggün<sup>5</sup> fled first south and then west. Using the Chinese and the Persian to reconstruct the Mongolian, a translation of the original Mongolian would be roughly as follows:

Ilqa fled to the Tangut Kingdom, passing by Isina city<sup>6</sup> and arriving at the Böri Tibetans. Having plundered them, he still wished to live there. The Tibetans gathered their peoples<sup>7</sup> and drove him out. Scattering, he fled to the land of the Cherkesmen of Küsen city among the Sarta'ul,<sup>8</sup> and was killed by one Qilinch-Qara.<sup>9</sup>

In other words, Ilqa Senggün was fleeing from Central Mongolia southwest to the Tangut kingdom, which he entered at the Tanguts' northwestern frontier city of Idzina (Middle Mongolian Isina, modern Ejina) in far western Inner Mongolia. He then must have been received by the Xia authorities and given some form of assistance before attempting to rebuild his base among the Böri Tibetans (*Boli Tufan* 波黎吐蕃), by must be meant pastoralist Tibetans in Amdo.

5 In Chinese transcription of the *Secret History of the Mongols*, his name is read as Nilqa Senggüm. The variation between Senggün and Senggüm is one within the original Mongolian, but "Nilqa" is simply a misreading by the Ming-era transcribers of the unpointed Mongolian AILQ-A as NILQ-A.

6 Isina is the Middle Mongolian of the Tangut Idzina ("Black River") and equivalent to the modern Ejina Banner in far western Inner Mongolia. Isina city is the ruins of Khar-Khot ("Black City") or *Heishui cheng* 黑水城. On the Tangut name see Kara 2003: 40.

7 The Chinese here speaks of "tribes" (*bu* 部) and "tribal followings" (*buzhong* 部衆), but as I have shown, Middle Mongolian had no term comparable to "tribe" so it must have been introduced into the Chinese translation. There is no parallel in the Persian. See Atwood 2010.

8 Present-day Kuča (Kuqa) in Xinjiang. Mongolian *Sarta'ul* is translated into Chinese as "The West" (*xī yù* 西域), a word designating all the lands and peoples of Muslim Central Asia and the Middle East. Rashid al-Din usually has "Tajik" in the corresponding places. Cherkesmen may be the nomads in the Tianshan mountains north of Kūča.

9 This is §27.4 in my forthcoming edition; cf. Jia [1979]: 127r-128v and Wang [1926] 1962: 64v-65r (134-35). Chinese text: 亦剌合走西夏，過亦即納城，至波黎·吐蕃部，既討掠，且欲居之，吐蕃收集部衆逐之，散走西域曲先城，徹兒哥思蠻之地，為黑隣赤·哈刺者殺之。

But this attempt was unsuccessful and he fled west to Küsen (present-day Kuča, also spelled on modern atlases as Kuqa), one of the Turkestani cities of the Tarim Basin. The Cherkemen may be another mobile pastoralist people, perhaps living in the Kaidu valley of the Tianshan Mountains north of Kuča; this area has long been a major center of nomadic inhabitation. While in that area, he was killed by the local ruler, Qilinch-Qara. Rashid al-Din's parallel expands this text as follows, incorporating evidence of uncertain provenance: "An emir from among the emirs of the Qalaj tribe, named Qilij-Qarā, who was the emir and governor of that place, captured and killed him. They say that after that this emir sent the wife and child of Seng'ün, whom he had seized, in bonds to Chinggiz Khan, and he submitted and joined him." The Qalaj are a Turkic-speaking ethnic group, a remnant of whom are found today near Tehran, speaking an unusually archaic Turkic language. Exactly how a Qalaj emir ended up ruling Kuča, and how these Cherkemen were related to Kuča are both unclear, but Ilqa Senggün's execution and the handing of his family over to Chinggiz Khan were probably related to the break-up of the Qara-Khitay realm in 1215-1218, of which Kuča was a tributary city. During this break-up many tributary rulers sought to ingratiate themselves with the rising Mongols by handing over fugitives from his unification of Mongolia.

Returning to Ilqa and the Böri Tibetans, that he was initially harbored by the Xia dynasty appears from a note in the *Yuan shi*, explaining Chinggiz Khan's casus belli against the Tanguts.

In year 21, [A.D. 1226], in spring, first moon, since the Western Xia had harbored the enemy Ilaqa Senggün 亦臘喝翔昆 and not delivered hostages, the emperor personal took command of a punitive expedition against them.<sup>10</sup>

It is thus confirmed that between his entry into the Tangut Kingdom and his adventure among the Tibetans, that he had been assisted by the Xia. This assistance would in turn make it virtually certain that his subsequent activities among the Tibetans had the blessing of the Xia rulers. This likelihood is enhanced by the fact that the Kereyids were long-standing allies of the Tangut kingdom. Earlier, the Kereyid king Ong Khan, when attacked by rivals at least twice took refuge among the Xia, who also permitted him to move on either further west or back to Mongolia, when it suited him. Likewise, when Ong Khan's brother, Ja'a Gambo, was in trouble he too took refuge at the Xia court, where he received at least his title *gambo*, which is Tangut in origin, and perhaps his personal name Ja'a as well. (Rashid al-Din claims that his original personal name was Kereyidei and Ja'a Gambo was a name he assumed only during his stay in the Xia kingdom.)<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *YS* 1.23: 二十一年，春正月，帝以西夏納仇人亦臘喝翔昆及不遣質子，自將伐之。

<sup>11</sup> In a recent reading of the Tangut text, "Song of the Lawgiving Might Pacifying the Barbarians" (Liang and Yang 2008), it has been argued that the reference to a western "barbarian" ruler Ya-lyi-thay (Chinese *Yiyantai* 亦延台) giving his daughter to a prince in the Tangut royal family refers to Ja'a Gambo marrying his daughter to the Tanguts. However, the authors' argument crucially depends on assuming that when Rashid al-Din says Ja'a Gambo married his daughter to the Öng'üt prince, Öng'üt here is actually the same as Tangut (!), and that Ya-lyi-thay is also "very close" (!) to Kereyidei in pronunciation. Neither argument can be sustained. Further research is certainly needed, but Ya-lyi-thay may perhaps be a Tangut

The term “Böri Tibetans” or *Böri Töbed* in Mongolian combines the Turkic *böri* “wolf” with the old Turkic-era ethnonym *Töbed* meaning “Tibetan.”<sup>12</sup> Who exactly these *Böri Töbed* were is unclear, but the term appears to have encompassed a fairly large number of Tibetans, rather than only a small group, judging from how Plano Carpini uses it along side a number of ethnonyms.<sup>13</sup> Wolves were of course important symbols of political power among Tibeto-Mongol rulers, being conceived of both as ancestors and used as battle standards. Given the Turkic origin of the term *böri*, it is not unlikely that this term derived from the Yellow Uyghurs (*Sarigh Uyghur*), who were Turkic speakers then forming a large part of the Kökenuur pastoralist population. It is perhaps significant that in Dunhuang poetry, the Tibetans are referred to once as “wolf aliens” (*langfan* 狼蕃) (Wen 2014).

Following Haw (2014: 40), I believe these “Böri Tibetans” are to be identified with the Bi-ri who appear occasionally in Tibetan sources. These in turn, I identify in a more qualified fashion with the Biri myriarchy or chiliarchy of later Yuan and Ming Chinese records. The Bi-ri appear in Tibetan sources already used by Giuseppe Tucci and Luciano Petech. In some sources, they appear in writings from Central Tibet as fierce raiders allied with the Mongols in the 1250s (Petech 1990: 13). In the famed letter of Sa-skya Pandita supposedly sent back to Tibet after he met Prince Köten, he refers to the Bi-ri as a kind of fourth division of Tibetans, alongside mNga-ris (western Tibet), dBus (east-central Tibet), and gTsang (west-central Tibet); Sa-skya Pandita claims that he brought a body them as well into tribute-relations with the Mongols (Tucci 1949: 10-11; Petech 1990: 8).<sup>14</sup> These references make most sense if “Bi-ri” had a sense roughly equal to that of Amdo Tibetans, or nomad Amdowas. When Sa-skya Pandita was summoned to the Mongol court in 1240, he would have had to pass through nomadic Amdo territories and he and his Mongol escort would have interacted with their leaders.

Eventually, the Mongol Yuan court created two administrative units with the name Biri in it: a myriarchy (Chinese *Bili wanhufu* 必里萬戶府) around what is present-day Khri-ka (Chinese Guide 貴德) county in Qinghai province and a chiliarchy or command of a thousand called the Biri Chiliarchy (Chinese *Bili qianhusuo* 必里千戶所) somewhere in the area of present-day

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version of the Kitan imperial surname Yelü 耶律, with the Mongolic suffix -tai. (Note that the authors’ reconstruction of the Tangut name is actually Ja-lji-thsj, but given the Chinese version, I have assumed that j here represents “y” and that “s” is typographical error for a.) In that case the “western barbarians” would be the Qara-Khitay.

12 The Chinese text has *Boli Tufan* 波黎吐蕃 and Rashid al-Din’s Persian has *Būrī Tabat*. The Persian translation establishes that *Tufan* 吐蕃 was a translation of Mongolian *Töbed* “Tibetan.” As Haw (2014: 41-42) shows, the distinction drawn by Petech, whereby *Tufan* meant the Amdo area and *Xifan* meant the Khams area, is not valid for Yuan-era sources. In reality, both are more or less equivalent to each other and to “Tibet,” as used in Western languages.

13 See his Burithabet in Dawson [1955]: 23, 41 (chapters 5 and 7).

14 As Tucci (1949: 251 n. 31) points out, the name alternates between Be-ri and Bi-ri. Given the form in the letter of Sa-skya Pandita and the Chinese references to the Biri Chiliarchy, Biri would seem to be the correct form. I believe Beri appears due to a confusion of later scribes with the more prominent Beri Monastery of the Khams region, near De-dge. This is, however, far too southern to have anything to do with the word in question here.

Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture in Sichuan.<sup>15</sup> In the transition to the Ming, the Biri Myriarchy was continued and renamed the Biri Guard Chiliarchy (*Bili Wei qianhusuo* 必里衛千戶所). The seal of the chiliarch is preserved in the Khri-ka/Guide county museum.<sup>16</sup> The presence of this name in two separate regions confirms that originally Bi-ri or Böri had a fairly general signification, which later Mongol Yuan administrative usage narrowed, just as Roman administration narrowed the meaning of “Africa” to just the area of Tunisia and “Asia” to just the area of eastern Anatolia on the Aegean Sea.

In this identification, it is impossible without further research to say for sure whether Biri is the original and Böri a Tuco-Mongolian distortion, or whether Biri is a Tibetan version of Turco-Mongolian Böri “wolf.” But it is significant that the Wanli-era *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 has a note that Biri was called *Wuli* 兀里 in the “old” *Huidian*.<sup>17</sup> This would suggest an alternative form of the name as Uri or Wuri. If it is to be read as the latter, it could be a version of Turco-Mongolian *Būri*. If we assume that the nomads of Amdo had the same reputation in the twelfth-thirteenth century as they did in the nineteenth-twentieth centuries, as fearless and incessant bandits, it would be easy to see how they could end up being called “Wolf” Tibetans, most likely by a corruption of their designation as *Biri* or *Wuri*.

Tibetans were hardly the only pastoralists in the Amdo region, however. In the late eleventh century, travelers journeying west to east along the southern border of the Xia empire found the following peoples: 1) the “Yellow-Head (*Sarigh-Bash*) Uyghurs” (*Huangtou Weiwu’r* 黃頭畏兀兒); 2) the “Straw-Head Tatars” (*Caotou Dada* 草頭達鞑); 3) the Chong’ul 種糞 (a Turkic clan name still found among the modern Yogurs)<sup>18</sup>; 4) and the finally the Tibetan realm of Tsong-kha under Don-chen (*Dongzhan* 董氈).<sup>19</sup> It is likely that all of these groups were still existing in Ilqa Senggün’s time. The term Tatar should indicate Mongolic speakers and some Uyghurs, at least, had connections with the Kereyids and were to achieve high position in the Mongol empire.

15 YS 87.2197. In this citation, the myriarchy was misread as Bicheng 必呈, but *cheng* 呈 must be a mistake for *li* 里.

16 See *MSL*, *Taizu* 太祖, 69.1292, and *Taizong* 太宗 20A.356; *DMHD*, chapter *wei* 衛, 1791-1; *MS* 80.1949, 90.2222, 330.8541, 8551, 331.8580, 8588. On the seal in the museum, I would like to thank Eveline S. Yang for kindly informing me of this and supplying me with a scan of the museum pamphlet (email, July 15, 2014).

17 This “old” *Huidian* should be one of the previous editions, from the Chinghua, Zhengde, or Jiajing era compilations.

18 The Chung’ul are found in three contexts, which have not yet been viewed in a unified way by scholarship. First they are the “Chuyue” 處月 (Tang transcription value Ch’u-ngul; see Coblin 1994: §§0113, 0734) of accounts of the Western Türk empire, e.g. Du You 1998: 199.5452, 5456, 5459, 5460. Second they are the Ju-ngul and “Zhongyun” 仲雲 (late Tang transcription value Jung-ün for Jung-ül, cf. Coblin 1994: §§1156, 0862) of Tibetan and Chinese Dunhuang documents from the ninth-tenth centuries (see Hamilton 1977, Ren Xiaobo 2013). Finally they are the Chung’ül clan of the Yaghlaqar *otog* of the present-day Yogur nationality in Gansu (Saguchi 1986, p.19).

19 See Yang 1994, pp.97-101, citing the Yuanfeng 元豐 4 and 6 (1081, 1083) itineraries of envoys from the west who were passing south of Xia-controlled territory given in the *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑑長編 and *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿; cf. SS 490.14.109. On Don-chen and his family, see Petech 1983, p.178.

Given these choices, it is rather surprising that Ilqa Senggün sought allies among Tibetans, rather than the ethnically more allied Uyghurs and Tatars. How to explain this?

At the time of Ilqa Senggün's flight, the Tibetans of this region were dominated by two powerful hereditary families that had risen to power by skillfully playing off the Jin, Xia, and Song dynasties, all of whom actively sought support among them. One was the Zhao 趙 family, who from Dading 大定 9 (1169) served the Jin dynasty as “chief military administrator” (*duqianxia* 都鈐轄) of the four clan confederation of dBon-po (Chinese *Mubo* 木波).<sup>20</sup>

The dBon-po's ruling Zhao family were successors of rGyal-sras (*Juesiluo* 隴斯囉, 997-1065) of the Tsong-kha kingdom, who had supported the Song and the Ganzhou Uyghurs against the rising Xia dynasty (Petech 1983, 174-79; Iwasaki 1993). As reward for their loyalty to the Song, the dynasty later received the Song imperial surname of Zhao. After Dading 4 (1164), however, there followed a period of turmoil in which the Zhao family's “Bayang” 把羊 confederation and the Cog-ro (Chinese *Zhuanglang* 莊浪)<sup>21</sup> clan confederation supported by the Xia both broke up. They were succeeded in Dading 9 (1169) by the new dBon-po confederation ruled by the Zhao family and allied with the Jin (*JS* 91.2016-18).

This dBon-po confederation occupied an area numbered at 40,000 households, mostly pastoralists and making a living off of barley, butter, curds, and wild vegetables (*JS* 91.2016-18). As pastoralists, they had abundant horses, and during the later Jin, when the dynasty in North China had lost their pastures in Inner Mongolia, it was proposed to purchase horses for silver from among the “Raw” Qiang and the dBon-po of Taozhou 洮州 and Hezhou 河州 (*JS* 107.2369). The purchasing with silver may indicate that tea drinking—the usual article exchanged for horses on the western frontier—was not yet current among the people of the Tibetan plateau. The “Sketch of the Black Tatars,” written in the 1230s when the dBon-po had already surrendered to the Mongols, treats the dBon-po as the Mongols' main conquest in the southwest. It describes them as the “chief of the Western Borderlands tribes; they do not have any monarch.”<sup>22</sup> This reference to the lack of a monarch may refer not just to the well-known lack of centralized rulership among the Amdowa nomads, but also to the name dBon-po, which is a term not for a sovereign ruler, but rather means “fraternal nephew” or “official”—evidently the name was given to the Zhaos in light of their role as officials for Chinese dynasties.<sup>23</sup>

South of the Zhao family lands were the native rulers of the Diezhou 疊州 prefecture (modern The-bo or Diebu 迭部 county in the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture), variously said to be of Qiang or Tibetan origin. Their following numbered 43 clans of mostly Qiang origin, 14 towns, and over 300,000 households, who remained allied with the Song. But during the

20 I am grateful to Ren Xiaobo 任小波 of Fudan University in Shanghai (emails January 27<sup>th</sup> and March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2014) for his information on the correct Tibetan original of 木波.

21 I am grateful to Shen Weirong of Renmin University in Beijing (email, February 9<sup>th</sup>, 2014) for his information on the correct Tibetan original of 莊浪.

22 西蕃部領，不立君；see Xu 2014: §48, pp.194 [text], 216 [commentary]

23 It may also be a more specific reference to their status as fictive junior clansmen or “fraternal nephews” of the Song imperial house.

Mingchang 明昌 era (1190-95) the Diezhou ruler “Qingyike” 青宜可 (d. 1222; cf. *JS* 16.364) began to communicate with Jin border officials (*JS* 98.2175-76). Other groups like the “Ronglu” 容魯 or the “Lugan” 盧甘 Qiang further out from the frontier (*JS* 91.2017) were allied with the Xia and are less well known.

Until 1206, treaty agreements between the Jin, Song, and Xia enforced stability on the political alignments of these Tibetan and Qiang groups. But when the Song dynasty launched its revisionist attack on the Jin in Taihe 泰和 6 (1206), turmoil resulted immediately. The dBon-po ruler was killed in a Song invasion, assisted by Jin turncoats (*JS* 12.273), but then the Diezhou 疊州 ruler “Qingyike” and 18 tribes were brought over to the Jin side in a diplomatic coup and even helped the Jin temporarily occupy Sichuan (*JS* 12.277, 98.2176, 2182, 103.2274, 106.2340).

The turmoil associated with the 1206 war would have been an excellent opportunity for Ilqa Senggün to build up a new base, although there is no direct confirmation that he played a role in it. The Xia was nominally maintaining its peace treaty with the Jin, but was in reality still quite hostile—thus using Ilqa could cause trouble for the Jin, without directly involving the Xia court. Such political considerations would explain why Ilqa Senggün was working among the Tibetans rather than the ethnically more akin Uyghurs and Tatars. Afterwards, from Zhenyou 貞祐 3 (1215) to Yuanguang 元光 2 (1223), turmoil broke out again among Tibetans as the Xia turned openly hostile to the Jin and both sides sought to win over support of local forces (see *JS* 101.2232, 15.331, 16.359, 113.2486, 16.363, 16.372 and the Zhao family biography in *YS* 123.3028-30). This would have given a direct reason for the Xia to encourage Ilqa to make trouble for the Jin, but by this time he had almost certainly fled to Kuča.

In summary, I reconstruct the following scenario: after fleeing Mongolia in autumn, 1203, Ilqa Senggün took refuge in the Xia kingdom, which had long served as patrons and protectors for his Kereyid dynasty. Around 1206 when the Song attacked the Jin and local Tibetan commanders in what is now Gannan 甘南 began to shift their alliances and join in the conflict, the Xia rulers dispatched their ally Ilqa, probably with an entourage of Kereyid refugees, to try and build a following among the Tibetans. The aim would be both to benefit himself by building a new following among the Tibetans and also to help his Xia patrons without openly violating their treaty obligations to the Jin. Ilqa’s attempts met Tibetan opposition, however, and even the Xia may have become increasingly wary of openly harboring an enemy of the new Mongol empire. In the end he fled west and tried to build a new base in the Tianshan mountains north of Kuča.

While this first episode appears to have been minor and short-lived, it was not without implications for the future. The Mongol rulers repeatedly used the harboring of fugitives as a *casus belli*. The turmoil spread by Mongol refugees also directly weakened many of their neighbors, such as the Qara-Khitay, even before the Mongol armies first arrived on the scene. It is unclear if the Tibetans were sufficiently hostile to Ilqa Senggün to avoid the charge of harboring him, but certainly this small episode showed that just the Mongol control over their Naiman and Merkid subjects would always be uncertain until their Qara-Khitay, Qarluq, and



Qipchaq allies remained unconquered, so too the conquest of the Xia would remain dangerously incomplete as long as holdouts could take refuge among the Tibetans.

Already at this time, Chinggis Khan was aware of the Tibetans as a people living high in the mountains. In a passage whose importance has been highlighted by Stephen Haw (2014: 41-43), his conversation with the Jin defector Guo Baoyu 郭寶玉, as reported in *YSjuan* 149, shows that Chinggis Khan was well aware of Tibet. As reported in his biography, Guo Baoyu defected to the Mongol side during the initial hostilities between the Mongols and the Jin dynasty. Chinggis Khan asked Guo for a strategy on how to conquer the Central Plains (*Zhongyuan* 中原), that is, the North China heartland. Guo advocated an indirect attack:

Baoyu said, “The power of the Central Plain is great and it cannot be taken in a sudden attack. The various Fan 蕃 of the Southwest are brave and can be brought into service. If you first take them over and use them for your plans against the Jin, you will certainly achieve your ambition” (*YS* 149.3521).<sup>24</sup>

Guo Baoyu was a native of Huazhou 華州 (modern Huaxian 華縣) in Shaanxi and presumably was familiar with the “Fan” (a general term for non-Han, in context here meaning Tibetans and/or Qiang) from Jin experiences with them as allies against the Song in the 1206-08 war. He thus proposed that Chinggis Khan use the same strategy against the Jin itself. Chinggis Khan preferred the advice of other defectors who warned him not to delay but immediately attack to the Jin heartland,<sup>25</sup> but may have kept it in mind.

### Sübe’edei and the Kökenuur Border People

Something like Guo Baoyu’s strategy became a reality in *bing/xu* 丙戌 (1226) when Sübe’edei invaded from the west and subjugated the Yellow Uyghur (*Sarigh Uyghur* 撒里畏兀兒) ruler or *tigin* (的斤), and the “Chimin” 赤閔<sup>26</sup> in the Tsaidam (Qaidam) Basin in western Kökenuur, and raided the border Tibetans, seizing large numbers of horses (Saguchi 1986: 1-2). This attack was apparently directed against both the Xia and the Jin.

In a passage without a specific date, Guo Baoyu’s biography writes:

The emperor was about to launch an expedition against the Western Fan 蕃 but worried that most of their walled towns were protected by rugged mountains. He asked Baoyu for a strategy to attack them, and he replied, “If their walled towns are in heaven, then they really cannot be conquered, but if they are under heaven, then, yes, they can be conquered.” The emperor was impressed and authorized him to raid their horses and command their suppression (*YS* 149.3521).<sup>27</sup>

24 寶玉對曰：「中原勢大，不可忽也。西南諸蕃勇悍可用，宜先取之，藉以圖金，必得志焉。」

25 This was the advice for example of Shimo Ming’an 石抹明安; see *YS* 150.3556.

26 On these names see below.

27 帝將伐西蕃，患其城多依山險，問寶玉攻取之策，對曰：「使其城在天上，則不可取，如不在天上，至則取矣。」帝壯之，授抄馬都鎮撫。

Read in the context of the *YS* biography, this episode comes between an account of 1211 and 1213. But it is quite impossible that Chinggis Khan could have been thinking of an attack on the Tibetans at that time. One may assume that like all *YS* biographies the account was somewhat abbreviated and that this debate took place well after the initial consultation between Chinggis Khan and Guo Baoyu. The historical context would fit the period of 1226-27 well, and the reference to Guo Baoyu plundering Tibetan horses connects this account to that of Sübe'edei's, who indeed seized many horses in the Jin dynasty's Tibetan border prefectures.

This attack is described more accurately in the biography of the great Mongol general Sübe'edei. This biography survives in three more or less abbreviated citations, two in the different biographies of Sübe'edei included with the *Yuan shi*, and one in the biography of his grandson Aju written by Wang Yun 王恽. (This most reliable edition of this latter source is its citation in the Yuan-era blockprint of the *Yuanchao mingchen shilue* 元朝名臣史略, edited by Su Tianjue 蘇天爵). All are, however, evidently derived from a single source. Placed side by side the three accounts read as follows:

In year 21 [1226], he seized the Sarigh Uyghur, Tegin, and "Chimin" tribes and Deshunzhou, Zhenrongzhou, Lanzhou, Huizhou, and Taozhou prefectures, and presented 3,000 mares. 二十一年，取駸里畏吾特勤、赤憫等部，德順、鎮戎、蘭、會、洮等州，獻牝馬三千匹。  
YS 122.3008

In year *bing/xu* [1226], he seized the Sarigh Uyghur, Digin, and "Chimin" tribes, and also plundered the tribes on the Tibetan (*Xifan*) border. 丙戌，取撒里畏兀的斤、赤閔等部，又掠西蕃邊部。  
Su 1996: 2.24

In the year *bing/xu* [1226], he conquered the Sarigh Uyghur, Digin, and "Chimin" tribes, as well as the Lanzhou, Huizhou, Taozhou, and Hezhou<sup>28</sup> prefectures, obtaining 5,000 mares, all of which he presented to the court. 丙戌，攻下撒里畏吾特勤、赤閔等部，及德順、鎮戎、蘭、會、洮、河諸州，得牝馬五千匹，悉獻於朝。  
YS 121.2977

The account in *YS* 121.2977 contains all the information of the other two and is likely to be identical to the original text. (The inconsistency of 三千匹 and 五千匹 is presumably due to textual corruption; 三 and 五 are frequently confused in the copying of texts.) In this account the people plundered by Sübe'edei are divided into two groups: first a set of "tribes" (*bu* 部),<sup>29</sup>

28 Deshunzhou 德順州 is modern Longde 隆德 and Zhenrongzhou 鎮戎州 is modern Guyuan 固原, both in southern Ningxia. Lanzhou 蘭州, Huizhou 會州, and Taozhou 洮州, are modern Lanzhou 蘭州 city, Huining 會寧, and Lintan 臨潭, respectively, all in southern Gansu; Lintan is part of the Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. Hezhou 河州 is near the modern Dongxiang 東鄉 Autonomous County in the Linxia 臨夏 Hui Autonomous Prefecture, southern Gansu.

29 In this list only the name of the Yellow Uyghurs is immediately transparent. While it is clear that *teqin* 特勤 is Turkic *tegin* "prince" (*dijin* 的斤 is another attested transcription of the same term, based on the Turkic dialectal pronunciation of *digin*), it is unclear if this *tegin* refers to the ruler of the Yellow Uyghurs, or if he was a separate leader who was also conquered. Editors have assumed the former reading, but it is not obvious why their leader would also be mentioned for the Yellow Uyghurs. I find the latter possibility more compelling and have translated accordingly. A final puzzle is the identity of the "Chimin," which is not attested elsewhere to my knowledge and which I have not been able to identify. The transcription as

and then a set of prefectures (*zhou* 州). Wang Yun's summary of the list of prefectures as also a set of "Western Fan border tribes" (*Xifan bian bu* 西蕃邊部) is, however, not unwarranted. All of the listed prefectures were on the western frontier of the Jin dynasty and had major non-Han populations. Deshunzhou and Zhenrongzhou both had a large population of *Fan* (蕃) or non-Han (*JS* 113.2485-86). Although it is not necessary to believe that only "Fan" were plundered, certainly the large yield of horses shows that the areas Sübe'edei ravaged were primarily pastoralist, and thus likely Tibetan and/or Qiang. Since the Mongol army had long since taken the Jin as their enemies as well, Sübe'edei paid little attention to the difference between the Xia-aligned "Fan" and Jin-aligned "Fan." Both were freely plundered as Sübe'edei moved in the area at the corner where the Jin, Xia, and "raw" (or independent) Qiang and Tibetans powers all coincided.<sup>30</sup>

Combining this account with that of Ilqa Senggün and the Guo Baoyu biography, Chinggis Khan evidently had a number of separate aims in this first armed conflict with the Tibetans. It is possible that the Tibetans were seen as guilty of having harbored Ilqa and hence rendered themselves guilty. At the same time, occupying the Tibetan border prefectures could be used to attack the Jin in Shaanxi, taking advantage of their strategic position, the war-like potential of the Tibetans if drafted into the Mongol army, and the abundant herds of the Tibetans. Whether because of Tibetan recalcitrance or a change of plans, however, the Mongols do not appear to have forced Tibetans to serve in their cavalry at this point—that would come later in the Mongols' conflicts with the Song.

### Chikü's Appanage in Silingjiu

Since the fourth century, when peoples of the Mongolian plateau have expanded, Mongolian expansion has historically always spilled over into the Kōkenuur (Qinghai) region of the Northwestern Tibetan plateau. When this spillover met the imperial expansion of Tibetan language and culture northeast from the gTsang-po valley, an ethnic "Mongolia-Tibetan Interface" was created in the Kōkenuur or Amdo area. Whether in the form of Azha or Tuyuhun 吐谷渾 and the Tibetan empire, or Monguors (the Tu 土 nationality) and Amdo nomads, or the Oirats and the mGo-log nomads, this interface has continued to the present.

A similar sort of expansion of Mongolian peoples into Kōkenuur took place in the early Mongol conquest. As I have discussed, in 1227, the Mongol empire expanded its assault on the Xia into the Jin border areas, and took Taozhou 洮州 (modern Lintan 臨潭), Hezhou 河州 (near the modern Dongxiang Autonomous County), and Xiningzhou 西寧州 (*YS* 1.24). Of these conquests, the first two are attributed elsewhere to Sübe'edei's campaign (See *YS*

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presented is the most conservative possibility, but the first syllable could be closed with *-b*, *-t*, or *-q*, and the second syllable could possible end in *-l* or *-r* equally as well as *-n*.

30 "Raw" Qiang are placed along the borders of Lintaofu 臨洮府 (including Taozhou 洮州—modern Lintao 臨洮 in Gansu's Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture), Huizhou 會州 (modern Maoxian 茂县 in Sichuan's Ngawa Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture), and Jishizhou 積石州 (modern Xunhua 循化 Salar Autonomous Prefecture) prefecture in modern Qinghai. See *JS* 24.549 and 26.654.

121.2977, 122.3008 and the discussion above) to which may be added that of Xiningzhou 西寧州, or modern Xining 西寧, whose contemporary Mongolian pronunciation was Silingjiu.<sup>31</sup>

The Mongol conquest of Silingjiu involved two population movements. First at least some of the indigenous Tibetan population was deported to “Yunjing 雲京,” an obscure place designation that seems to refer to present-day Datong 大同 In Shanxi province.<sup>32</sup> Sometime before 1236 (probably well before), a son-in-law (*küregen*) of Chinggis Khan, Chikü, was sent with four thousands of the Qonggirad clan to garrison Xiningzhou 西寧州 prefecture (this is present-day Xining 西寧 in Qinghai province.) In the Persian historian Rashid al-Din he appears a number of times, but with confusing inconsistencies in his name and that of his wife (the daughter of Chinggis Khan) and parentage. I intend to address these confusions more fully in a separate article; here I will merely present the conclusions of my research. Chikü’s name was also written Shikü in an account which Rashid al-Din took from an informant of the Olqunud surname, one shared by Chinggis Khan’s mother Ö’elün. The Olqunud were a branch of the Qonggirad, and this informant was one of the subjects of Chikü’s; the *ch* to *sh* sound change appears to be characteristic of a wide variety of eastern Mongolic languages and dialects, and the Qonggirad were originally from present-day eastern Inner Mongolia.

Rashid al-Din presents his information on “Shikü” twice, once in the Register of Emirs of a Thousand (Rashid ad-Din/Smirnova 1952: 273; Rashiduddin 1999: 278; cf. Rawshan and Musawi, p.603) and once in his biography of the Qonggirad house (Rashid ad-Din/Khetagurov 1952: 162; Rashiduddin 1998: 86; Romaskevich, pp.396-97). The two accounts share common information, evidently derived from a single informant, which in the biography of the Qonggirad house was greatly expanded with new information, and occasionally altered. Some of this new information appears to be accurate, but one of the alterations, by which Shikü’s appanage is changed from “Tibet” (*Tebet*) to Tuma’ud~Tüme’üd must be due to miscopying or misunderstanding.

That Chikü (~Shikü) *Küregen* was posted to Tibet, or at least the frontier areas thereof, is confirmed by in East Asian records in which his great-grandson Janggi (章吉~昌吉)<sup>33</sup> had his main territorial appanage in Silingjiu/Xiningzhou (YS 60.1452, cf. YS 12.249 n. 15, 15.317-18; Hambis and Pelliot 1945: 160-162 n. 2, 49 n.2).<sup>34</sup> It is also confirmed by the fact that Chikü was

31 The Yuan-era Uyghur-Mongolian pronunciation is attested in Marco Polo’s Silingiu (Polo [1938] 1976: 179 [§72]). Xīníng 西寧 is known to this day as Zi-ling in Tibetan and Seleng in Mongolian.

32 See the biography of Liu Rong 劉容 in YS 134.3259. Despite his name, his family was certainly non-Han since his biography occurs in the Mongol and *Semuren* 色目人 section of the YS biographies. His grandfather’s name Aqa 阿華, Mongolian for “elder brother,” must have been given to him by the Mongol conquerors. I associate “Yunjing 雲京” with Datong 大同 as a mix of Datong’s medieval prefectural name, Yunzhongfu 雲中府 and its Jin-era designation as Xijing 西京 or “Western Capital.”

33 The name Janggi was written CANKKI. Judging from the Chinese transcriptions, the name had two pronunciations, a Mongolian one as Janggi as well as a Uyghur one as Changgi.

34 This assignment to the Tangut-Tibet borderland may be part of the background behind the enigmatic title of Prince of Qashi (*Héxī Wáng* 河西王) said in YS 118.2915 to have been granted to Chikü’s putative father Alchi Noyan in *ren/chen* (1232). As a rule, Qashi refers to the Tangut kingdom (q.v.) and Alchi Noyan has no other known association with that place.

later to participate with Prince Köten in the invasion of Sichuan,<sup>35</sup> since Silingjiu was on the western frontier of Köten's much larger appanage.

Chikü's ancestry is somewhat mysterious. The passage of Rashid al-Din calls him the son of Alchu Noyan, which appears to be an alternative pronunciation of Alchi Noyan, the well-known son of Deyi Sechen and brother-in-law of Chinggis Khan. But Chikü is nowhere else listed among Alchi Noyan's sons, and Rashid al-Din's gloss that gives Derke Küregen as an different name for Alchu Noyan seems to be an effort to reconcile an alternative tradition by which Chikü's father was actually Derge Küregen. Comparing these and other passages in Rashid al-Din, I have concluded that Chikü was actually the son of the original ruler of the Qonggirad house, Terge Amal (Terge and Derge are two readings of the same spelling in the Uyghur-Mongolian script). We know that Terge Amal was offered one of Chinggis Khan's daughters but rejected her as too ugly and was executed for his folly. The Qonggirad house was then placed under Alchi Noyan, and Alchi's Bosqur house was merged with the Qonggirad house. If my hypothesis is correct and Chikü was Terge's son, then in the end, he received Chinggis Khan's ugly daughter in a levirate marriage and received a portion of the original Qonggirads, who were then dispatched to Silingjiu.

Rashid al-Din designates Chikü's appanage as part of Tibet. Marco Polo's description of "Silingiu" (i.e. Silingjiu) says it was part of the "kingdom of Ergiuul" which in turn was part of the "Province of Tangut," which is truer to Mongol and Yuan era administrative divisions.<sup>36</sup> "Ergiuul" is probably Marco Polo's rendition of the Tangut name of Xiliangzhou 西涼州<sup>37</sup> and the "kingdom of Ergiuul" represents the appanage of Köten and his descendants. However, Marco Polo's description (Polo [1938] 1976: §72, pp.178-81) highlights yaks, musk deer (*kiüder* in Mongolian), and the Reeve's pheasant, all characteristic fauna of the eastern Tibetan plateau (Haw 2006: 90-91, 134-35, 126, and 128). Thus although Silingjiu may not have had such characteristically Tibetan fauna itself, it was known as the gateway to Tibetan areas that did.<sup>38</sup>

35 See *SWQZL*, sub anno 1236 (Wang Guowei [1926] 1962: 106r/217). Although the manuscripts here all have *Chiqu* 赤曲, i.e. Chikü, many scholars have mistakenly emended the text to match *YS* 2.35, which mentions the death of Ögedei's son Köchü (elsewhere written 曲出 in the *SWQZL*) in the same year. But as Naka Michio recognized (Naka 1915: 144), the two entries have nothing to do with each other and no emendation is necessary. Köchü played no role in the campaigns in Sichuan.

36 The "Kingdom of Ergiuul" is evidently the appanage of Köten's descendants, while the "province of Tangut" is an historical reference to the area of the Xia dynasty and to the Gansu Branch Secretariat, which was in existence by Zhiyuan 至元 19 (1282). The relationship of Chikü *Küregen's* appanage to Prince Köten's is not clear, but it is not unlikely that there was some degree of subordination of the "in-law" to the "son."

37 Present-day Wuwei 武威 in the Gansu corridor.

38 Haw (2006: 90-91) argues that Polo's Silingiu should be Xizhou 熙州, an earlier name for Lintaofu 臨洮府. Yet Xining 西寧 is known to this day as Seleng or Zi-ling in Mongolian and Tibetan, which is a perfect phonetic match with Polo's Silingiu (Polo's *-giu* represents *jiu* or the Yuan-era pronunciation of *zhou* 州 "prefecture"). And while Xizhou was used for Lintaofu in the Song and Jin it is virtually never used in that sense during the Yuan. While Marco Polo's description of Silingiu (Xiningzhou) being on the road from "Ergiuul" (Xiliangzhou) to Catai (North China) is, as Haw points out, misleading geographically, given the identity in names such a consideration would not seem dispositive, especially given the other examples of Marco Polo's tendency to get the story right, but the exact location wrong. While Haw may be correct about

These Qonggirad eventually went on to make up a significant proportion of the Mongolic people settled in the Silingjiu borderlands. Although direct connections cannot now be traced between them and the agricultural Monguor (or Tu), it is likely that they were a major factor in the linguistic “Mongolization” of this community. Among the pastoralist Yogurs of the Gansu-Qinghai borderlands, the Qonggirad surname is still found (Saguchi 1986: 18-20); these too are likely descendants of Chikū’s people.

### Tibetan Hostages in the Campaigns under Ögedei

Mongol campaigns in areas of the northwest Tibetan plateau intensified in the reign of Chinggis Khan’s successor, Ögedei Qa’an (d. 1241). In the winter of 1230-31 and the spring of 1231, Mongol armies under Ögedei and his younger brother Tolui attempted fruitlessly to break through Tongguan 潼關 Pass and enter the Jin dynasty’s final redoubt in Henan province. Stymied by the effective Jin defense of the pass, and the scorched earth resistance which stripped the provisions from Shaanxi province, the two Mongol commanders were also unwilling to allow the Mongol army they assembled to simply give up and go home, lest they be humiliated in front of the Jin generals. Thus while the two sons of Chinggis Khan went back to Inner Mongolia to consider their options, their army was ordered to stay in the field during summer and autumn of 1231, but retreated west into the Tibetan borderlands where pickings were presumably more plentiful. Even so, as the later Persian historian wrote, “Things got so bad that they were forced to eat human flesh, any-and-everything animal, and dry grass. They went onto mountains and plains in hunting circles . . .” (Rashiduddin 1999: I, 314; cf. Rashiduddin 1999: I, 385). Only in the winter of 1231-32 did Tolui return to the starving Mongol army and lead it through the Song-held Han River valley in vast flanking movement into Henan.<sup>39</sup> Did this starving army’s occupation of

Xining not being having the fauna in question, this may be another case where Polo anchors description of a broader region to a place name of its “gateway” from Mongol lands. Thus in §71, Polo attaches to the name “Mecrit” (i.e. Merkid) a description of habits and customs (including hunting, absence of agriculture, and reindeer herding) which pertains not to them, but to the Bargu (i.e. Barghu) and other people further to the north (Polo [1938] 1976: 177 [§71]). Rashid al-Din shows the beginning of this confusion when he writes that “in our times the *yūrt* of the Sūldūs house (*qawm*) [who received the Merkid’s old territory] is in the vicinity of those forests” (Rashid ad-Din/Khetagurov 1952: 59; Rashiduddin 1998: 59). What he means is that the Suldus’s territory was the steppe territory that was nearest to the forests. But one could imagine someone unfamiliar with the actual situation thus concluding that the Suldus are actually a forest people. Marco Polo seems to have made this narrative confusion here with the “Merkid” and “Barghu,” and a similar confusion may be postulated for Silingjiu and Tibet.

39 On this campaign, see Atwood 2014. The specific retreat of the army into the Tibetan borderlands, while not directly stated in a clear manner by any one source, is based on the following pieces of evidence: First, there is the biography of Chizhan Hexi 赤盞合喜 (*JS* 113.2494) which quotes Jin officials saying in response to Tolui’s advance through Song territory in Zhengda 正大 8, XI (November-December, 1231): “The Northern Army has braved ten thousand *li* of difficulties for two years and their labors have been extreme.” This would only make sense if the army had been continuously in the field for at least part of two lunar years, that is, from the initial advance in autumn, 1230, until that time. Secondly, the continuation of the *Dajin Guozhi* 大金國志 speaks of the Mongol army responding to their defeat at Tongguan Pass by retreating into Xia territory and conquering it for “several years” before getting a plan from them to pass through Song territory and enter Henan (Yuwen 2012: 26.362). While the reference to conquering the Xia

territory in the Tibetan borderlands lead to conflict with the Tibetan and Qiang inhabitants? It is not directly stated, but such a conflict would seem likely, unless the inhabitants simply vacated the army out of fear of the Mongol army.

After the final extirpation of the Jin dynasty, Ögedei launched a large-scale attack on the Song dynasty, simultaneously with the great Western campaign against the Qipchaqs, Ossetians, Ruthenians, Bolghars, and other peoples of Eastern Europe. In the spring of *yi/wei* (Jan.-April, 1235), Ökōdei gave each of his three elder sons, Güyüg, Köten, and Kōchū a theater of campaign: Güyüg with Batu and Möngke on the great western expedition against the Qipchaqs and their allies, Köten against the Song in the Qin-Gong 秦鞏 area (southern Gansu),<sup>40</sup> and Kōchū against the Song in Henan 河南 (*YS* 2.34). Since the Song dynasty attack was, relatively speaking, much less successful, it has not been widely studied. But it formed the context in which some of the earliest Tibetan commanders in Mongol service emerged.

Prince Köten was Ökōdei's second son. During the latter half of his father's reign, Köten joined his older brother Güyüg in the ranks of the major princes in the empire, they being the only two of the emperor's sons to be listed as recipients of large-scale revenue appanages in the North China plain (*YS* 2.35). Entirely apart from his revenue appanage in North China, Köten also received as his territorial appanage the area of the former Tangut (Qashi 河西 or Xia 夏) kingdom. The center of his administration was placed in Xiliangzhou 西涼州 (*YS* 125.3072).

When Köten was ordered to pacify the Qin-Gong area by his father, the Jin garrisons in the area had not yet surrendered, despite the fall of the Jin government. Köten's mandate was thus to pacify the remnants of the Jin dynasty and then supervise the invasion of Sichuan, via the upper Han 漢 river valley. Köten was given supreme command of an army already fighting in the Shaanxi-Gansu area. This army was commanded by Taghai Gambo, a Tangut general who had joined Mongol forces in 1221 and a large force of soldiers detached from the mixed *tammachi* (permanent garrison) armies that were created in 1217 and put under the command of Muqali.<sup>41</sup>

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is obviously misplaced, this too envisions a move of the armies northwest and their maintenance in hard field conditions for a long time. Finally there is the account in Rashid al-Din, which says that Tolui led his army through "Tibet" into Henan, and took over a year. Such a description could not apply to the final advance in winter, 1231-32, which is known to be through the Hanzhong area of Shaanxi and then down the Han River into Henan. This reference to a retreat into Tibet must thus apply to the summer and autumn of 1231, when Tolui and Ögedei had retired to Inner Mongolia for consultations, but in which the soldiers were still in the field.

40 Qin-Gong 秦鞏 designated the areas of the Jin dynasty's Qinzhou 秦州 (present-day Tianshui 天水 city) and Gongzhou 鞏州 or Gongchang 鞏昌 (present-day Longxi 陇西) both in eastern Gansu. Sichuan for many years during the initial Mongol conquests was ruled as an extension of this base area.

41 Taghai Gambo first joined Muqali in year *xin/si* 辛巳, sometime between moons VIII and X (mid-August to mid-November, 1221) when Muqali crossed into the Ordos area in preparation for an assault on the Jin via Shaanxi. At this time the Tangut ruler sent two *gambos*, Taghai and "Wangnuge" 汪奴哥, to present "local products" (probably camels, horses, and other livestock useful for provisioning a military campaign) and five *tümens* of soldiers to participate in Muqali's campaign (Haw 2014: 46; *YCMCSL* 1.6-7). From this time on, Taghai Gambo appears to have been served under Muqali. At least in its usual form, his name is Turco-Mongolian, but it may be an adaption or replacement of an earlier Tangut name. Under Ökōdei a large body of the *tammachi* army originally assigned to Muqali was split off and put under Taghai Gambo's command as a separate *tammachi* army to be stationed to the west in Shaanxi-Gansu area. Taghai Gambo is generally called

The references to Kōten in the *Yuan shi*, however, make little reference to any military role of his, only to his political role conferring titles and making political decisions. It seems that Taghai Gambo was his major field commander, responsible for most of the military operations.

The first stage of Kōten's military operations were completed in *yi/wei*, XII (Dec., 1235-Jan., 1236), when the last Jin commander in the area, the Öng'üt Wang Shixian 汪世顯 finally surrendered in Gongchang 鞏昌 (present-day Longxi 隴西 in Gansu province) with all his followers (*YS* 2.34, 155.3649, 121.2984, 162.3791). Wang's Öng'üt clan went on to exercise the dominant role over the area for the next seventy years as autonomous administrators over what was termed the "Twenty-Four Cities of Gongchang 鞏昌" (*Qin-Gōng èrshìsì chéng* 鞏昌二十四城).<sup>42</sup>

In the next year, *bing/shen* 丙申 or 1236, Kōten's main army invaded Sichuan via Dasanguan 大散關 pass,<sup>43</sup> while another force under the Öng'üt artillery commander "Alchur" 按竺邇<sup>44</sup> cut

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"supreme commander" (*dū yuánshuài* 都元帥) but in *YS* 150.3548, he is given the title *taishi* 太師 (q.v.), which is usually associated with Muqali's family in their role as commander of the *tammachi*. His field of conquest was the Han 漢 river valley and Sichuan. The beginning of his command is dated in *SWQZL*, *sub anno* 1234 (Wang 1962: 105a [215]) and *YS* 2.34 to the seventh moon of *jia/wu* 甲午 (1234; see also *YS* 154.3635), but most of the biographies of his subordinates have them assigned to him in the following *yi/wei* 乙未 (1235) year (see *YS* 123.3024, 132.3219, 135.3278, 149.3517). Units and commanders assigned to him form a cross-section of the *tammachi* forces originally included in Muqali's army. They included Tatars probably of Jiūn origin, i.e. former Jin border troops (*YS* 132.3219, 135.3276), Jalayirs (123.3024), Uru'ud (135.3278), Öng'üt (121.2985), and a Dörbed named Tammachi (132.3211). But Han Chinese were probably the majority of the troops. Many of these Han had been incorporated in Mongol units as prisoners or volunteers, such as Hao Heshang Ba'atur 郝和尚拔都 who was taken prisoner in Taiyuanfu and attached to the Uru'ud unit of Ke'etei, Liu Xiang'an 劉亨安 whose clan in Manchuria volunteered to join Muqali's army, and Zheng Ding 鄭鼎, an orphan from Zezhou 澤州 in Hebei, who became a chiliarch and was one of the first commanders attached to Taghai Gambo (*YS* 150.3553, 150.3560, 154.3635). Others fought in all-Han units under Han commanders, such as the *tümen* commander Liu Heima 劉黑馬 (*YS* 149.3517). Taghai Gambo's main subordinate commanders were Temür-Buqa, a Tatar who commanded the *Yeke Mingghan* "Main Thousand," and the artillery unit, and Zhuge 朱哥, the son of the Kitan commander Tughan *Wangshai* who commanded seven *tümen* of Kitan, Tangut, and Han units, including the *tümen* of Liu Heima (*YS* 132.3219, 149.3532).

42 This same unit has a wide variety of names, being sometime called simply "The Twenty-Four Cities" or "The Over Twenty Prefectures of Qin-Gong (and other areas)" *Qin-Gong (deng) ershiyu zhou* 秦鞏(等)二十餘州. The prefectures in question are listed in the biography of the Öng'üt Wang Shixian 汪世顯 in Su 1996: 6.70, as the Gongchang and Vicinity Military Commander *Gongchang deng chu zongshuai fu* 鞏昌等處總帥府, with first 32 prefectures and then 15 (*YS* 60.1429-33). For the interpretation of these differing lists as showing the initial form, expansion, and then contraction of the Wang family's territory, see Li Zhi'an 2013.

43 On the present-day railway line between Baoji 宝鸡 city and Fengxian 風縣 county, both in Shaanxi province.

44 This name is found in two forms in the *YS*, as *Ànzhúèr* 按竺邇 and *Ànzhùnù* 按住奴~*Ànzhùnù* 按主奴 (see Yao Jing'an 1982: 359b). The first character routinely represents either *an-* or *al-* in Yuan-era transcriptions, while in a non-initial position the second character might represent *-ju-* or *-chu-*; since *-j-* is very rare in Turkic languages the latter may be supposed. The third character is more problematic. It is tempting to give 邇 the archaic pre-Tang reading of *nī* and thus link both types of transcription with Jurchen *anchun* "gold." But such a reading would have not parallel in Yuan transcriptions, and *nú* 奴 is only rarely used phonetically and much more often as a well-known personal name element, forming compound names with the sense of "slave of ..." and with the reading fossilized as a late Northwest Tang pronunciation *-du* (see Zieme 1994). Most likely then the two forms are based on two different Turkic words, not different transcriptions of the same word. The first I tentatively read as Al-chur, combining two common name elements (perhaps as "reddish-golden *chur*" (an official title) and the second as Alchudu with the sense "slave of good luck."



through the Tibetan regions to the west. The two columns converged on Chengdufu 成都府 (present-day Chengdu city, Sichuan). They successfully sieged the city, but when they withdrew, Song forces recovered the city (YS 121.2984; YS 2.35-36). Not until 1241 did the Mongol forces retake the city and hold it permanently; sporadic fighting continued until 1243 (YS 121.2985; YS 155.3650).

Both sides in this campaign made significant use of native troops from the mountains around the Sichuan basin. The Song defenders enlisted troops from the present-day Guizhou area, commanded by the tributary Tian 田 and Yang 楊 family local rulers (YS 155.3649-50).<sup>45</sup> On the Mongol side, Wang Shixian and Alchur, both commanders from the Turkic Öng'üts of Gongchang also played a major role.<sup>46</sup> Not surprisingly, in view of the role that “Qingyike” had played in the Jin counter-attack against the Song in the 1206-1208 war, the Mongols also recognized the strategic importance of pacifying and using the Tibetan and Qiang populations. Thus while passing through Dangchang 宕昌, Jiezhou 階州, Wenzhou 文州, and Longzhou 龍州,<sup>47</sup> Alchur and his artillery unit forced the surrender of chieftain “Kantuo-Mengjia” 勘陶孟迦 and 10 Tibetan clans (YS 121.2984).

The most important Tibetan family forced into Mongol service at this time were the Zhaos of the dBon-po. As mentioned above, the dBon-po were a confederation of four clans, mostly pastoralists. This dBon-po confederation had come into existence in Dading 9 (1169) when the Zhao family abandoned their Song allegiance and went over to the Jin (JS 91.2016-18). The head of the family, Zhao Agechang 趙阿哥昌, was appointed by Köten as the Military Pacification Commissioner (Anfushi 安撫使) of Diezhou 疊州 (YS 123.3028). This may mark an expansion in the power of the family, since previously Diezhou was under another Tibetan or Qiang ruler, “Qingyike” who had died a little over a decade earlier. Certainly the appointment of his son, Zhao Agepan 阿哥潘, to administer Lintaofu 臨洮府 (YS 123.3028) marked an expansion of the family’s sphere of power. The Zhao family was certainly the leading Tibetan family of the frontier under Mongol rule.

Consistent with the Mongols’ usual practice, Agepan 阿哥潘 seems to have been originally recruited into the Mongol army as a hostage, and it was in this status that he originally participated in the Mongol campaigns in Sichuan. Although his hostage status is not directly stated, that is the most natural way to interpret his role as the son of a newly surrendered local ruler immediately entering the entourage of the prince who conquered his family. Agepan’s son, Chongxi 重喜 is, moreover, explicitly said to have served Köten as a bodyguard (*wei qinwei* 為親衛; YS 123.3029), a position that was filled by hostages. Presumably, Chongxi was given as a hostage when Agechang

45 The Yangs of Bozhou 播州 and the Tians of Sizhou 思州 were two dynasties of *tusi* 土司 or local ethnic rulers in Guizhou. The Tians began to rule in the Sui dynasty and the Yangs in late Tang dynasty; both continued into the late Ming. Sizhou is present-day Cengong 岑巩 in the Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture in Southeast Guizhou and Bozhou is present-day Zunyi 遵義 city. Both clans are generally seen as belonging to the Miao nationality today.

46 See Wang’s biographies in Su 1996: 6.88-91 and YS 155.3649-50 and Alchur’s biography in YS 121.2982-85.

47 Present-day Dangchang 宕昌, Wudu 武都, Wenxian 文县, and Mupi Tibetan Township 木皮藏族乡, respectively. Dangchang, Wudu, and Wenxian are all in Gansu’s Longnan 陇南 district, while Mupi is in Pingwu 平武 county in Mianyang 绵阳 municipality of Sichuan.

died and his son Agepan was sent back home to become head of the Zhao's dBon-po confederation. Agepan fought many battles with Song commanders during the Mongol invasion of Sichuan, in battles at Da'an 大安,<sup>48</sup> Langzhou 閬州,<sup>49</sup> Lizhou 利州,<sup>50</sup> Tongchuanfu 潼川,<sup>51</sup> Qingju Mountain 青居,<sup>52</sup> Chengdufu 成都, Jiadingfu 嘉定,<sup>53</sup> and the Taiping fort 太平寨 at Emei 峨眉. As a reward for his victories, Köten bestowed on Agepan golden armor and silver weapons (YS 123.3028).

As hostages, Agepan and Chongxi entered an extremely heterogeneous society in Köten's court. As mentioned, Köten's core army that invaded Sichuan under Taghai Gambo were mostly units detached from Muqali's old North China *tammachi* (permanent garrison) units, already a mix of Mongol, Kitan, Han, and Tangut elements. Köten's own personal *keshtagten* (bodyguard) army was dominated by hostages taken from the Öng'üt Wang 汪 clan and the border Tibetans. Wang Shixian's sons served as commanders of Köten's *a'uruq* or base camp (YS 155.3650, 3654). Li Jie 李節, one of Wang Shixian's subordinates, gave his son Li Qulargi 李忽蘭吉~虎闌箕 as hostage to Köten; Qulargi eventually became commander of the main thousand in Köten's bodyguard and deputy under the Wangs (YS 162.3791, 4.66). Chongxi 重喜, grandson of the Tibetan border chief Zhao Agechang 趙阿哥昌 was sent to Köten's bodyguard as hostage (*wei qinwei* 為親衛), and eventually became the Pacification Commissioner (*Xuanweishi* 宣慰使) for the "Twenty-Four Cities" (YS 123.3029).

## The Early Mongol Image of Tibetans

Together these early Mongol interactions with Tibetans on the Amdo frontier defined the Tibetans for the Mongols in ways that differed strikingly from the way Tibetans would be defined later. At one level, the Mongols appear to have continued the earlier medieval practice of seeing the Tibetans as a variety of Turco-Mongolian people. The Middle Mongolian Töböd or Töbed<sup>54</sup> derives from Old Turkic Tübüt, and associated with the musk deer (al-Kāšyarī 1985: I, 276). As with the Tanguts, who are always seen in Mongol-era Persian sources as a type of Turk, so in Old Turkic sources, the Tibetans are described as "a large tribe in the land of the Turks" (al-Kāšyarī 1985: I, 276). Thus it is not surprising that the iconic "wolf" animal was also attached to the Tibetan name in the term Bōri-Töböd, attested in both the *Shengwu qinzheng lu* and in Plano Carpini.

On the other hand, other viewpoints, according to which the Tibetans were absolutely alien peoples with customs practiced by none of their neighbors also seem to have circulated in

48 In the area of modern Ningqiang 宁强 in far southern Shaanxi province.

49 Present-day Langzhong 阆中 in central Sichuan.

50 Present-day Guangyuan 广元 city in northern Sichuan.

51 Present-day Santai 三台 in central Sichuan.

52 Near present-day Nanchong 南充 city in south-central Sichuan.

53 Modern Leshan 乐山 city in southwestern Sichuan.

54 Both forms are attested; see e.g. Dobu and Zhaonasi 1996 (line 4) and the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (Bosson 1969: chapter I, 1b).

the early Mongol empire. Although nothing survives that directly attests the Mongols' early impressions of the Tibetans, there are some descriptions which seem to reflect Mongol ideas at second or third hand. To a surprising degree, they are quite negative. Most notorious is the description given in the fifth chapter of John of Plano Carpini's account of the Mongols:

The Burithabets are pagans and who have the most miserable of customs because when someone's father passes away they all gather around their relative and eat him; we were assured that this was true. These people do not have beards; indeed they carry certain piece of iron in hand, as we saw, with which they always pluck out the beard so thoroughly that if by chance any hairs grow in it they are quite misshapen (di Piano Carpini 1996: 61).

The theme of Tibetan ugliness was an old one among their neighbors; indeed in Tang and Dunhuang Chinese sources "ugly aliens" (*fanchou* 蕃醜) was a common term for the Tibetans—the ugliness seems to have referred particularly to their dirtiness and facial tattoos (Wen 2014). The idea of cannibalism, albeit somewhat moderated, is found in William of Rubruck's account:

Beyond them lie the Tebet, a race whose practice was to eat their dead relatives, from the pious motive of providing with no other grave than their own bellies. Nowadays, however, they have abandoned this custom, since every [other] people found them abhorrent. Yet they still make fine goblets out of their relatives' skulls, so that as they drink from these they may not forget them in their enjoyment: this I was told by an eye-witness. Their country is rich in gold, with the result that anyone in need of gold digs until he finds some, takes as much as he requires and puts the rest back in the ground. This is because if he hoarded it or stored it in a coffer, he believes God would deprive him of the rest which is in the ground (William of Rubruck §26.3, trans. Jackson and Morgan 2009: 158-59).

Marco Polo also gives a qualified version of the cannibalism story. After discussing the *bacsi* (*baqshi* or "teachers") of "Tebet" and "Chescemir" (i.e. Tibet and Kashmir) and their magical skills, of which he quite disapproves, he writes:

And these same people of whom I have told you, have such a *beastly and horrible* usage as I shall tell you. For I tell you that when a man is condemned to death and is killed by the government, they take him and have him cooked and eat him; but if he were to die of his own death, they would never eat him (Polo [1938] 1976: 188-89 [§75]).<sup>55</sup>

Here the story of cannibalism is retained, but with a completely different meaning and restrictions, and now attached to the clergy, not the laity..

If Tibetan cannibalism was a stereotype, where did it come from? Plano Carpini and Rubruck explicitly say they heard it from others. Perso-Arabic sources seem to be excluded as their tropes about Tibet are quite different.<sup>56</sup> In the case of Plano Carpini, the ethnicity of the teller is suggested

55 Text in italics marks material only in the Ramusio edition.

56 See Minorsky 1970: 92-94, 254-63 (§11); Le Strange [1919] 1993: 249. However, Rubruck's story of gold sounds similar to that told of the Zhang-zhung (which omission of punctuation turned to Arabic Rang-rong) in Minorsky 1970: 92-93 (§11.1).

by the form of the name. Burithabet contains the prefix *böri* but in the common Mongolian distortion *büri* “every.” Thabet and Tebet are, however, derived from the Arabo-Persian form of *Tebbet*. It is likely then that while Plano Carpini’s information passed through Persian translators (perhaps via the “Ruthenian clerics” who supplied so much of his information) it would seem to have ultimately derived from local Turko-Mongolian neighbors who would be the only ones to call the Tibetans “Wolf-Tibetans.” Similarly, Rubruck and Polo’s versions of the cannibalism story seem to show a firmly held stereotype of Tibetan cannibalism being forced to undergo transformation as it came in contact with contrary fact. Given the close links of the Zhao family’s dBon-po with Turkic-speaking Öng’üts who were running the “Twenty-Four Cities of Gongchang” and those same Christian Öng’üts own links to the network of East Syriac Christian priests, they may be the source of such stories among Plano Carpini and Rubruck. The beardlessness stressed by Plano Carpini is also mentioned by Marco Polo a propos Silingjiu, although Polo’s account of the appearance of the “idolators” of that region, and especially the beauty of their women is highly positive, and would seem to derive from personal experience (Polo [1938] 1976: 180-81 [§72]).<sup>57</sup> However, Polo’s positive impression of people of Silingjiu did not extend to the clerics he encountered at the Mongol court whom he found both fascinating and repulsive.

It is also surprising that the Tibetans in this early period are not described as being very Buddhist. Granted, Plano Carpini’s description of the Burithabets and Marco Polo’s description of the people of Silingjiu as “idolaters” should be understood specifically as indicating Buddhism, rather than any native religion.<sup>58</sup> Rockhill in his commentary to William of Rubruck’s account speculated that the reference to cups made of parents’ skulls may refer to the custom of using skullcaps in Tantric Buddhist rituals. If so, however, it is striking to see that the clerical element has been eliminated and the custom turned into a purely family-based custom. Polo’s version would fit clerical practice better. Yet Xia stereotypes of the Tibetans held that “The Tibetans mostly revere the Buddhas and monks” (Galambos 2011: 101). This Xia image of Tibetans was presumably derived from the dBus-gTsang clerics who served the Xia court. By contrast, the local Tibetans and Qiang of the Kökenuur may be represented by the Xia stereotype, “The ‘lords of the mountains’ love to eat buckwheat” (Galambos 2011: 101). The ‘Lords of the Mountains’ is part of a set of phrases including “Lords of the Steppes,” or the people of Mongolia, “Lords of the East” or the Han, and “Lords of the West” or Tibetans (Galambos 2011: 99-102). Although the exact reference is not directly stated, I think that given Xia geography, the Lords of the Mountains can hardly be other than the people living in what is now Kökenuur and Amdo, as opposed to dBus-gTsang. The Mongol image of “Tibet” in the 1240s and 1250s was not based on the religiously-dominated society of Central Tibet, but rather on the pastoralists and farmers of Kökenuur.

57 Polo writes that “The *honorable* ladies have no hair except on the top of their head; nowhere else have they any hair... they are very well made in all respects.” (Italics mark material from the Ramusio edition.)

58 In medieval Christian and Muslim sources, native religions without written texts (“shamanism,” “animism,” and so on) are not treated as religions at all. “Idolatry” refers only to scriptural religions of Indian or East Asian origin; i.e. Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, or Daoism. Of these, only Buddhism can be in question here.

Yet the Mongols had a stronger sense than the Xia of the ethnic unity of the Tibetans as a whole. As I have shown, in their earliest contacts, they used the Turkic term Töböd, which appears to have been seen as being most archetypically referring to the Amdo Tibetans. As they expanded, however, it was extended to the people of Central Tibet. In this light, the *Yuan shi* biography of Zhao Agechang and his descendants has a very interesting description of the family's ancestry.<sup>59</sup> In this history they are described as the head of the *Duo* 掇 “clan” of the Tübös 土波思-Us-Dzang 烏思臧. Here *Duo* seems to be *mDo*, the regional term for eastern Tibet as used in *A-mDo* or *mDo-smad*. Us-Dzang 烏思臧 is obviously dBus-gTsang, the Tibet term for Central Tibet while Tübös 土波思 is an otherwise unattested Mongolian variant of Töböd “Tibetans,” with a plural in *-s*, not *-d*.<sup>60</sup> In other words, the biography of the Zhao family, probably written during the middle Yuan dynasty was establishing an equivalence between Tübös and Us-Dzang as two different ways to say Tibetan—the Mongolian way and the Tibetan way.

## Conclusion

These images of Tibet and Tibetans, formed on the Amdo border with Tangut kingdom, were eventually superseded by the more expected image of Tibet as a land of lamas, who served as religious preceptors for their Mongol princely patrons. This new image first appeared after the dispatch by Prince Köten of Dor-ta Darqan to Central Tibet in 1240. The story of how Dor-ta Darqan burned the monasteries of Rwa-sgreng and Rgyal-lha-khang and then in 1244 invited Sa-skya Paṇḍita to Köten's court in Ergiuul has been told many times (Wylie 1977; Petech 1990, esp. chapter 2). As scholars have underlined, Mongol interest in the religious figures of Central Tibet developed out of the Tangut institution of imperial preceptors or *dishi* 帝師 (Sperling 1987; Dunnell 1992).

This study has shown, however, that the Mongols were well aware of Amdo Tibetans, whom they sooner or later also identified with the Central Tibetans, from even before the expansion of the Mongol empire. Through their links to the Tangut Xia kingdom, Mongolian-speaking people were early aware of the Tibetans and already in 1226 had begun operating in areas occupied by them. From the 1230s on, ethnic Tibetans were recruited into the Mongol armies and begun campaigning under Mongol command in Sichuan. Long before Köten had ever met Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Tibetans had joined Öng'üts, Han, and Tanguts in key positions among the *keshigten* or hostage bodyguard of Prince Köten. From this perspective, Dor-da Darqan's expeditions to Central Tibet to summon Tibetan clerics and their young relatives as hostages into his entourage was simply a continuation of a trend.

Tibetan religious sources generally focus tightly on the destiny of Buddhist leaders and assume that they were the central figures. So when Prince Qubilai, later to become emperor,

59 The last person recorded in that family biography, Deshou 德壽 was known to have been active in *jia/shen* 甲申 (1344). Thus the last update of the Yuan-era original of this biography probably dates from around that time.

60 On the variation of Mongolian plurals in *-s* and *-d*, see Poppe 1955: 109.

took over Sa-skya Paṇḍita's two nephews nephews, Blo-gros Rgyal-mtshan (later famous as 'Phags-pa Lama) and Phyag-na rdo-rje it has been assumed that Qubilai's primary aim was to secure a lama-preceptor. But summoning rulers to a personal audience and requiring them to bring hostages (son, younger brother, or nephew) were both standard practices of the Mongol empire. The only thing exceptional about this invitation was that Köten felt confident enough to keep them in his own entourage, and not forward them to the emperor.

And when Köten died, his cousin Prince Qubilai temporarily took over not just his religious entourage but his whole *keshigten* army as well. Köten was still alive in the summer of year *ren/zi* (May-Aug, 1252; see *YS* 3.45), but in the following year *gui/chōu* 癸丑 (1253), we see Prince Qubilai, newly appointed as viceroy of North China, making arrangements to reappointed members of the Öng'üt Wang clan and their retainers to positions in the Köten "main thousand" and in the "Twenty-Four Cities." In the same year he also brought Köten's former Tibetan hostage Chongxi 重喜 with him on his campaign against Qarajang (*YS* 162.3791, 123.3029). Evidently with Köten's death, Qubilai assumed acting control over his *keshigten*. Qubilai still controlled it in the early years of his reign, but by Zhiyuan 20 (1283), he had returned it to the control of Köten's son Jibig-Temür (*YS* 12.258).

These facts show that well before the religious nexus of the Mongolia-Tibetan interface took shape, the Tibetans of the Kökenuur were already being incorporated in the Mongol empire. This incorporation was governed by the usual historical trends and practices elsewhere in the empire—the tendency of refugees from one conquest to spill over into more distant realms, thus giving the Mongols a *casus belli*, the occupation of new pastures by Mongol princes, and the demand that those submitting do personal attendance and give hostages. The Mongols also assimilated the prejudicial views which the Tangut and Öng'üt neighbors appear to have harbored towards the Tibetans. Not until decades after the first contact did Buddhism come to dominate the Mongol perception of the Tibetans.

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DALAI LAMA'S REPRESENTATIVE AGVAN DORJIEV  
AND ALTAIST PROFESSOR WŁADYSŁAW KOTWICZ:  
LETTERS OF 1912

**Agata Bareja-Starzyńska**

Agvan Dorjiev (Ngag dbang rdo rje) known also as Dorjjeff or Agvaandorj (1854-1938) was a well known figure of the 20th century relations between Tibet and Russia. Buryat by nationality Agvan Dorjiev studied in Tibet in Gomang College of the Drepung monastery and became the representative of Dalai Lama's interests in Russia. He was known among Tibetans as Sogpo Tsenshab Ngawang Lobsang (Sog po mtshan zhabs Ngag dbang blo bzang). He believed that Tsarist Russia was an important political power in Asia, alternative to Great Britain, and that Tibet could benefit from closer relations with Russia. Unfortunately, the First World War 1914-18 and the October Revolution in Russia of 1917 prevented these plans from happening. The Communist Russia did not develop friendly relations with Tibet. Soon Buddhism in the Soviet Republic was destroyed and Agvan Dorjiev's work on Buddhist development in Russia was ruined. However, some remnants of his strenuous efforts survived, such as the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg. Although accused by the British of being a Russian spy and not a religious figure, which was also later maintained by the Mongols, Agvan Dorjiev remained an important leader of Tibetan Buddhism in Russia. His influence in shaping Tibeto-Russian and Tibeto-Mongolian relations should not be underestimated.

Throughout many years of Agvan Dorjiev's activity in Tsarist and communist Russia he developed close relations with scholars of Oriental Studies. One of them was an Altaist, Professor Władysław Kotwicz (1872-1944), a Pole by nationality. Since Poland lost her independence and in 1795 was partitioned between the Russian Empire, the Kingdom of Prussia and Habsburg Austria, Polish intelligentsia was often educated and worked in the institutions of the respective states. It was also the case of Władysław Kotwicz,<sup>1</sup> who graduated from the Department of Oriental Languages at the University of St. Petersburg in 1895 and from 1900 was lecturing Mongolian and Manchu there. At the same time, however, he became member of the staff of the Ministry of Finance of the Tsarist government making his career there in the Eastern Department. Therefore he had direct contacts with many important figures of the Tsarist Russia, both among scholars and intellectuals, as well as among politicians and people of influence.

Władysław Kotwicz's contacts proved useful during a visit of the Mongolian delegation in the summer of 1911. Top Mongolian politicians of that time: Da-Lama Tserenchimid, future Prime Minister and Minister of Internal Affairs, Prince Qangdadorji (Khanddorj), future Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Qayisang (Khaisan), a political activist from Inner Mongolia,

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1 On Kotwicz's biography see Tulisow 1986 and Dziurzyńska 2012.

future Assistant to the Minister of Internal Affairs,<sup>2</sup> attempted to secure Russian favour in case of future Mongolian independence. On this occasion it was Agvan Dorjiev who made their initial contacts with the Russian side and who asked Kotwicz to break his holidays and take care of the Mongolian delegates in Russia.<sup>3</sup> Most probably Kotwicz, owing to his contacts, arranged their meetings. In the following year 1912 Kotwicz undertook scholarly expedition to already independent Mongolia and was received with honours in Urga by the Mongolian officials.<sup>4</sup>

Due to his true friendship with the Mongols and his sentiment towards Mongolian independence, which was probably related to the situation of his own motherland, Kotwicz became engaged in Mongolian political affairs. Both men, Agvan Dorjiev and Władysław Kotwicz had interests in keeping mutual contacts. Perhaps these relations were more than official. However, only a few letters, which are the evidence of these contacts, survived. They are kept in the Private Archive of Władysław Kotwicz at the Archive of Sciences of the PAN and PAU in Cracow.

Professor W. Kotwicz's correspondence with important figures of the political scene of the 20th century Russia and Mongolia drew attention of scholars already many years ago. Fifty-one documents from the Kotwicz Private Archive were published by the Mongolian historian Shirendev in 1972. In 2011 Kotwicz's correspondence in Russian language collected from archives in Cracow and St. Petersburg, Kalmykia and Buryatia was published by Dashdavaa et al.<sup>5</sup> Shirendev underlined (1972, p.11) the importance of Kotwicz's contacts and his role in supporting Mongols in their efforts to gain independence. He also remained an important advisor to the Mongols during their struggle to maintain this independence in the following years. Even later, the people's government of Mongolia attempted to employ Kotwicz as its advisor, these plans, however, were not fulfilled.<sup>6</sup> Agvan Dorjiev's role in shaping Mongolian history was also acknowledged by Shirendev who called him a person 'working for the Tibetan case' (1972, p.12). Therefore Agvan Dorjiev's two letters to Władysław Kotwicz were reproduced in Shirendev's book and rendered also in Modern Mongolian. They were also translated into English in the monograph on the Mongolian independence of 1911 by Onon and Pritchatt.<sup>7</sup> However, without knowing the political context of that time these letters remain hardly comprehensible.

One more field of common interest and co-operation of Agvan Dorjiev and Władysław Kotwicz was the construction of the Tibetan Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg. Dorjiev invited Kotwicz, together with two other eminent Orientalists, F. I. Stcherbatsky<sup>8</sup> and A. D. Rudnev,<sup>9</sup>

2 Tulisow 2012, p.22, note 8. See also correspondence to Kotwicz by the mentioned politicians reproduced in Shirendev 1972 and translated into English in Onon and Pritchatt 1989.

3 Tulisow 2012, p.26, note 20. Letter dated 13.08.1911 [26.08.1911 according to the Julien calendar], Private Archive of Kotwicz K III-19, 134, p.54; Dashdavaa et al. 2011, p.78.

4 On the expedition see Tulisow 2012, pp.21-129.

5 Letter by Agvan Dorjiev to Kotwicz, Dashdavaa et al. 2011, p.78.

6 Bareja-Starzyńska 2014.

7 Onon and Pritchatt 1989.

8 Famous Russian Buddhologist Fedor I. Stcherbatsky (1866–1942).

9 Andrei D. Rudnev (1878-1958) was an eminent Russian Mongolist, who lived in Finland after the Russian revolution.

to be the members of the temple construction committee.<sup>10</sup> The subject of building the temple was briefly mentioned also in one of the letters reproduced in the present article. In the Private Archive of Kotwicz there are kept unique photographs documenting the process of the temple erection. How important it was and still is to have built a Tibetan Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg one can grasp from the words written by Thubten Jigme Norbu alias Thaktser Rinpoche, who wrote in the Preface to Agvan Dorjiev's biography translated by him into English: "I was deeply impressed to find a bit of Tibet in surroundings otherwise so alien to it, but I was impressed still more by the character of the man who had had the courage to put it there" (p.7). Thaktser Rinpoche did not agree with the opinion that Agvan Dorjiev had been a Russian agent. He underlined Dorjiev's devotion to Buddhism and to Tibet. He felt personally attached to Agvan Dorjiev and he highly appreciated his work for Tibet.<sup>11</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that when Agvan Dorjiev was arrested in 1922<sup>12</sup> while on his way back to Buryatia from the visit to Ural Kalmyks on the station called Rubakha (*urbaq-a*) and was in despair expecting all the worst including death, he turned to Kotwicz with the request to help him get out. Kotwicz in turn arranged an appeal to the authorities together with other scholars, such as Oldenburg, Stcherbatsky and Vladimirtsov<sup>13</sup> stressing that Agvan Dorjiev was not involved in internal Russian politics and was engaged only in the Tibetan affairs. These efforts to release Agvan Dorjiev from prison combined with direct contact with politicians proved successful. The whole situation was described briefly in Agvan Dorjiev's autobiography (English translation by Thubten Jigme Norbu, p.43):<sup>14</sup>

"... One time I went to the Kalmuck district in order to have a look at the physicians in the teaching monastery I had established. On my way back I arrived at a juncture called Rubakha, close to Ural Kalmucks. (...) We were seized and placed in the railway prison. We were sent to Moscow and, without a careful investigation, put in the great prison Butyrskaja. (...) (p.45) I bribed the prison guard to send a letter to the great scholar Kotwicz. When he received it, several scholars made impassioned pleas, saying, "He was only involved in Tibetan affairs, not in domestic politics," and so on. It will be difficult to ever repay the kindness of the scholars Oldenburg, Kotwicz, Stcherbatsky and Vladimirtsov. I knew a minister of foreign office. I met with him and relied on his help. Since the eastern route to Buryatia was cut off by fighting, I again made my way to the Kalmuck lands."

Tibetan version of Agvan Dorjiev's autobiography written in 1923; fragment on the help from Kotwicz and other Orientalists (*Lavain egsgig* 2001, p.120, f. 32b (63)):

10 Andreev 2012, p.36.

11 Since Taktser Rinpoche (1922-2008) remained the most beloved teacher of Prof. Elliot Sperling, who also devoted his scholarly undertakings to the subject of Tibeto-Mongolian and Tibeto-Russian relations, it seemed justified to include this otherwise a bit far of the main stream of Tibetological studies subject into the present volume dedicated to Elliot Sperling.

12 According to Andreev this happened in 1918. Andreev 2012, p.80.

13 Boris Yakovlevich Vladimirtsov (1884-1931), great Russian Orientalist, Mongolist, member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union.

14 *Dorjiev: Memoirs of a Tibetan Diplomat* by Thubten J. Norbu, Dan Martin, 1990.

- [4] ... *nga las gzhan du su*  
 [5] *zhig yod || btson srung zhig la brngan pa sprad || mkhas mchog kho tha spe che la || yig bskur phyag son mkhas dbang 'ga' || lhar*  
 [6] *'joms bod don byed pa las || nang don srid la kha 'khrid med || ces sogs gdung zhus btson nas || mkhas mchog ol ting spur*  
 [33a1] *ga dang || kho tha spi che shar spad sa kho || sbal rti mar tshas rnam kyi ni || bka' drin nam yang 'khor bar dka'*  
 [2] *phyi khag blon chen ya mon gyi || blon po zhig dang ngo shes yod || de thug rogs ram bgyis par brten || shar phyogs spo rang thu ru ni |*  
 [3] *'gro lam 'khrugs pas bkag gyur bas || slar yang khal mig phyogs su phyin || ...*

Mongolian version of Dorjiev's autobiography written in 1921, p.37, ff. 13a35-13b7, *Lavain egshig* 2001, f.19b6-16:<sup>15</sup>

- [13a35] ... *kelberkei* [36] *yabudal-tu nigen jaruca-du kedün zoγos* [13b1] *ögcü qootobici-du kereg ucir-ıyan* [2] *bicijü ilgebei :* *ketürkei örösiyel-tü* [3] *propıysar merged-üd :* *keciyen medegülejü* [4] *γaryasan aci-yi :* *kejiyede γayakin* [5] *martaydamui :* *γadayadu-yin ministar-un* [6] *üilecin-ıyer :* *γar-ıyan barılcan tanılcaγad :* [7] *γadaγsi qalımay-un γajar kürüküi-dür ...*

Perhaps Agvan Dorjiev and Władysław Kotwicz had more in common that we can see from the scarce evidence which has survived. Both acted as advisors to Tibetan and Mongolian governments, respectively, and applied efforts to secure their independence. It seems that they could trust each other when necessary and that they maintained friendly relations which they did not publicise. Their correspondence was translated into English by Urgungge Onon and Derrick Pritchatt (1989). However, some of the passages translated by them arbitrarily seem to include authors' implications of what was meant in the letters rather than the actual meaning. For example a passage on the political shape of relations of the Tibetans and Mongols<sup>16</sup> with China called the 'commonwealth' (*qamturan törü*), was translated as "to serve China". Another passage mentions the concerns of Mongolian khans and nobles in taking common decisions. However, it was translated by Onon and Pritchatt as "the independence will not last much longer". Some passages were probably obscure to Onon and Pritchatt, such as the statement about sending money for erecting a certain building, which actually referred to the construction of the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg.

It should be also pointed out that Dorjiev, who was treated as a Russian spy by the British and later also by the Mongols, in the letter dated 8th February 1912 writes about the opinion of

<sup>15</sup> Mongolian version, written in verse in 1921 is a bit shorter and events are written in an abbreviated manner in comparison with the Tibetan version, which was written two years later.

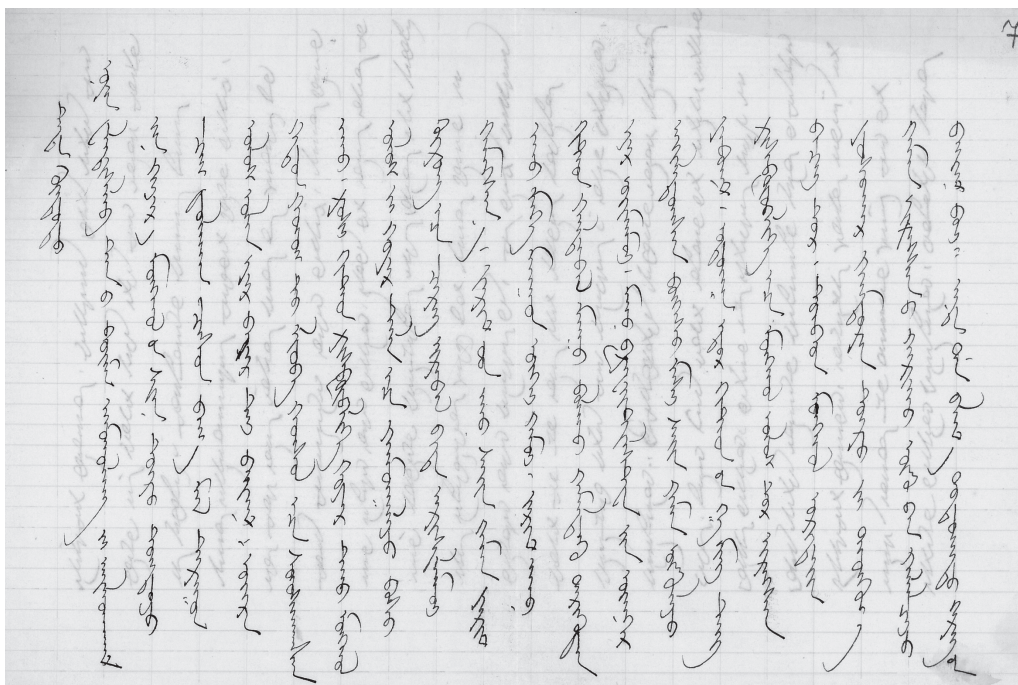
<sup>16</sup> The Tibeto-Mongolian relations were very important. This can be known in more detail from the monograph on the Tibeto-Mongolian treaty, see Sperling et al. 2013.

“our government” (*manu praviytilstva*). The question is whether he refers here to the Mongolian government or to the Russian government? It seems that Consul Lyuba turns to him with words about ‘your Mongolian state’ (*tanu mongyol ulus*) and further in the letter Dorjiev’s ‘our government’ refers to the Mongolian government. He is very concerned about such development of the political events which would be the best for the Mongols. Perhaps letters presented here can prove his loyalty towards the Mongols.

Thus with hope to shed more light on the content of the letters which document the way the political situation was comprehended by the contemporaries in 1912 and to make the relationship of Agvan Dorjiev with Władysław Kotwicz better known, their correspondence is reproduced here again with English translation and with necessary explanations.

### Letter 1

Private Archive of Kotwicz, Archive of Science of PAN and PAU, Cracow, K III-19 (243, pp.7-8) reproduced in Shirendev 1972 pp.161-163, Modern Mongolian version on p.164. Onon and Pritchatt 1989 pp.88-89.



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## Translation

Highly respected [Sir],

Noble Vladislav, I am sending you best wishes ten thousand times.<sup>17</sup>

Here new Mongolian rule was established. The weather is warm, snow is low and cattle is fat.

Majority of people are happy. Recently, a few days ago I heard the following from Consul Lyuba:<sup>18</sup> Russia and the Chinese Republic will guard your Mongolian state from two sides and in case that soldiers appear from other empires we will protect [you].

[In response] to this statement some say that it is good. Some say that it is a trick. Some are discussing that if China approaches it will be bad and they are disturbed by this and similar [matters]. As to our government's<sup>19</sup> true opinion it says that it is very good.

In the present day(s) in the document sent from the Guomintang<sup>20</sup> to the Mongolian state<sup>21</sup> it is said that it will support the commonwealth<sup>22</sup> with Tibet and Mongolia<sup>23</sup> as it was done in the past. The response to this statement is being discussed.

Here Da Lama became the Minister of Inner Affairs. Qayisang was bestowed a position of *gūng*. These two [men] decide on very important political matters. Whatever they say to the Khan, this is done. This [in turn] is not received very well by many princes and nobility. It is not known what will happen.

As to Lyuba he gave advice and discussed this [issue] with many nobles, saying [that when things are] reported by one person then in the end one cannot be sure what is going to happen. He said that even Da Lama and Qayisang should have taken council with many, but they did not comply with this saying.

People who ought to go to Petersburg: Jalkhanz Gegeen<sup>24</sup> and Dalai Vang<sup>25</sup> are waiting for orders to let them go. Governor,<sup>26</sup> who came from Barga,<sup>27</sup>

17 Lit. 'thousand times requesting your peace'.

18 Viktor Fyodorovich Lyuba was a Russian consul in Urga. See Tulisow 2012, p.34.

19 Here *praviytilstva* from Russian *pravitel'stvo*.

20 Mong. *ya ming tang*.

21 Mong. *ulus*.

22 Or 'joint-government / collaborative government', Mong. *qamturan törü*. Onon and Pritchatt (p.88) translated this passage as "... the Tibetans and Mongols should serve the Chinese nation together as they did in the past". However, it seems that they did not translate it precisely.

23 Mong. *töbed mongγol*.

24 Jalkhanz Gegeen or Khuthugtu, Damdinbazar 1874-1923 (Tib. Rgyal khang rtse) was a politically active Buddhist incarnation supporting the Jetsundampa's government, especially in western Mongolia. In 1921 he became the Prime Minister. See Atwood 2004, pp.258-259, 471. About the line of reincarnations of Jalkhanz Gegeen see Laagan 2004, p.54.

25 Dalai Vang, Mongolian aristocrat. See Pozdneev 1971, I, pp.90, 249-250. The Minister of the Army, see Onon and Pritchatt 1989, footnote 33 to Chapter Five.

26 *Janggi*, from Manchu: 'governor', 'military commander'. See Zakharov 1875, p.957. I would like to thank J. Tulisow for the clarification. Here "Forefront Hero Damdinsüren" is meant. See Onon and Pritchatt 1989, footnote 35 to Chapter Five.

27 Barga, region of Mongolia, see Atwood 2004, pp.34-35.

was granted a position of duke<sup>28</sup> and nominated a Vice-Minister<sup>29</sup> of Outer (i.e. Foreign) Affairs.

It is said that Üjümcin and Sönid<sup>30</sup> and [people of] Abaya<sup>31</sup> as well as of Alashan<sup>32</sup> are in favour of following [the Mongolian government] and they are coming [to join Mongols]. They are not rushing to put in order their inner affairs [however]. Moreover, they do not find concord<sup>33</sup> among themselves. Some of them, actually, do not even think about it.

Requesting [Your] peace, Agvang.

On the 8th of February<sup>34</sup> from Kūriye.<sup>35</sup>

Da Lama is in correspondence with Kokovtsov<sup>36</sup> as it is discussed. People are very afraid of that – it is said. Especially from the moment when he [Da Lama] knew that the last year's gold mine<sup>37</sup> of Sain Noyon was given to Lusinikov [=Lushnikov].<sup>38</sup> Lyuba said that it would be good if such cases were discussed and decided by many [people] and him. I know [about it].

With Kokovtsov [I remain in] correspondence.

### Transliteration of the Mongolian text

[1] dede kündütü

[2] noyan vladislav tan-u bümen [tümen]<sup>39</sup> amuyulang-yi [-i] ayiladqanam

[3] ene γajar<sup>40</sup>-a mongγol-un sine törü toγtoju

[4] cay dulaqan casun bay-a mal taryun

28 Mong. *güng*.

29 Here *tavarsi minister* from Russian *tovarishch ministra*, which means 'vice-minister', 'deputy minister'. I am indebted to J. Tulisow for this information.

30 Mongolian groups in Inner Mongolia. The princes of Üjümcin and Sönid were junior descendants of the Chinggisid Bodi Alag Khan (1519-47), grandson of Batu-Möngke Dayan Khan, see Atwood 2004, p.565a.

31 Mong. *Abay-a-nar* – group of Mongols living in Inner Mongolia. Ligeti 1933.

32 Mong. *Alas-a nuγud*. Mongols living in the Alashan region.

33 Mong. *eb eye* – 'harmony and kindness' Lessing 1982, p.284; 'peace, concord, amity' Bawden 1997, p.555.

34 According to the Julien Calendar it was the 21st of February 1912.

35 I.e. Uрга, modern Ulan Bator.

36 Vladimir Nikolaevich Kokovtsov (1853—1943) served as the Prime Minister of Russia (1911—1914), during the reign of Emperor Nicholas II.

37 Mong. *altan γajar* – lit. 'golden place', here stands for 'gold mine'.

38 Shirendev 1972, p.164 (followed by Onon and Pritchatt p.89) reads his name in modern Mongolian as Lyusokhov, although it was not written so. It was actually written Lusinikov. A person with a similar name was Aleksey Mikhaylovich Lushnikov (1831-1901), a famous Russian millionaire and tea trading agent who got the confidence of Russian and Chinese merchants, and his sons, including Aleksey, an engineer involved in the construction of the Trans Siberian Railway (see Kandinsky's Family Tree <http://www.kandinsky.ru/oldenglish/tree06.shtml>). However, in the letter sent by Qayisang to Kotwicz on the 20th of January 1912, Mikhail Alekseevich Lutnikov, "a native from Kyakhta and a manager" popular among the Mongols, is mentioned (Shirendev 1972, p. 116, Onon and Pritchatt 1989, p. 97). This must be wrong for Mikhail Alekseevich Lushnikov, another son of Aleksey Mikhaylovich Lushnikov. Probably one of the sons, Aleksey or Mikhail, was mentioned in the letter.

39 Forms in square brackets are correct according to the principles of the Classical Mongolian.

40 Gamma is not marked with dots which is indicated by underlined sign γ.

- [5] ulus olan-iyar bayar-tai bayinam : oyira  
 [6] kedün qonoy-tu lyuba konsul-aca sonosaysan [sonosuysan]  
 [7] anu : rosi kitad respüblika qoyar tanu mongγol  
 [8] ulus -yi [-i] qoyar tala-aca qamuγalayu busu  
 [9] gürüng-ece cereg irebel bida arisilamui [arcilamui]  
 [10] kemegsen-e . jarim-ud anu sayin kemen jarim  
 [11] anu meke<sup>41</sup> mayad ügei kemüi . jarim anu .  
 [12] kitad qaldabal mayu bolqu kemeldekü terigüten  
 [13] -iyer üyimemüi<sup>42</sup> . manu praviytilstva<sup>43</sup>-yin üneker  
 [14] ayiladuγsan bügesü masi sayin kemen öggülejü  
 [15] yabunam . odoqan edür kitad-un γa ming tang<sup>44</sup>  
 [16] respüblika-aca mongγol ulus-tur iregsen  
 [17] bicig-tür . töbed mongγol uridayin  
 [18] yosuγar qamturan törü-yi tedküy-e  
 [19] kemen iregsen-ü qariγu ögkü-ben kelelcejü  
 [20] bayinam bui : ende da blam-a dotoγadu kereg-ün  
 [p.2, 1] minister boluγad . qayisang güng jerge-tei  
 [2] bolju ene qoyar yeke erke-tei ulus törü  
 [3] -yin yabudal-i toγtoγaju qaγan-daγan  
 [4] yaγun ayiladqaγsan tegüber bolju bayinam .  
 [5] egün tus olan noyad qad-un sedkel-tü  
 [6] tung taγalamji ügei bayinam . yaγun bolqu  
 [7] anu medesi ügei bayimui . Lyuba ber olan noyad-tu  
 [8] anu jöblejü kelelcegdün nigen kümün-iyer yabudal  
 [9] -iyan medegülged segül-dür yaγun bolqu-yi  
 [10] boljusi ügei kemegsen ba . da blam-a qayisang  
 [11] qoyar-tu-cu olan-iyar jöblen jokildun  
 [12] kelelcekü kereg-tei kemegsen-i ülü kereglemüi .  
 [13] kemeldemüi : piterbüürge<sup>45</sup> yabuqu ulus jilqanca  
 [14] gegen . dalai vang qoyar odoqu ber jarliγ qariγu  
 [15] küliyen bayimui . baryu-aca iregsen janggi-yi  
 [16] güng jerge olγaju γadaγadu yamun-u tavorsi<sup>46</sup>  
 [17] mi~~n~~ister bolγabai . üjemcin sönid abay-a-nar  
 [18] alas-a-nuγud cu daγaγu sanal-tai ber  
 [19] irijü bayimui kemeldemüi . dotorki yosun  
 [p.3, 1] duram-i toγtoγaqu-ban ülü yaγaramui . ülü  
 [2] baran eb eyen cu ülü olumui . jarim-ud  
 [3] kereg-tei degere cu ülü sanaqu buyu

41 'Deceit, fraud, trick' etc. Lessing 1982, 533b.

42 'To become disturbed, to bustle, to be excited', Lessing 1982, p.1001a.

43 In Russian *pravitel'stvo*, i.e. 'government'.

44 Guomintang.

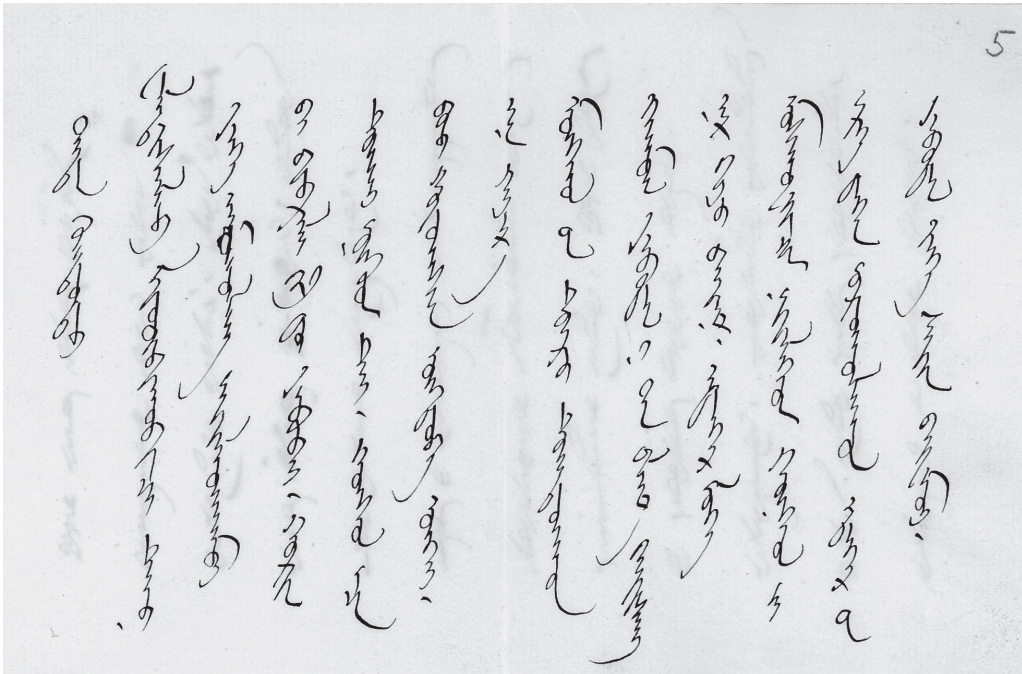
45 Petersburg.

46 In Russian *tovarishch*, however, *tovarishch ministra*, here *tavorsi mi~~n~~ister* means 'vice-minister', 'deputy minister'. I am indebted to J. Tulisow for this information.

- [4] eyin amuɣulang-yi [-i] ayiladqayci ayvang  
 [5] pibrali-yin 8-du küriyen-e-ece  
 [6] da blam-a ber koqobcob-tai bicig abulcaday  
 [7] bi[y]<sup>47</sup> kemegsen-ece ulus yekede ayuju bayimui  
 [8] kemeldenem . ilangɣui-a sayin noyan-u nituy<sup>48</sup>-un  
 [9] altan-u ɣajar-i luisiniqob-tu öber  
 [10] -iyen medejü ögkü boluɣsan-aca . lyuba bi ene eyimü  
 [11] yabudal-i olan-iyar ba . nada-luy-a cu  
 [12] jöblelden toytobal sayin kemegsen-e . bi  
 [13] medemüi koqobcob-tai bicig-iyer

## Letter 2

Private Archive of Kotwicz, Archive of Science of PAN and PAU, Cracow, K III-19 (243, pp.5-6), see Shirendev 1972, p.165, on p.168 modern Mongolian translation, Onon and Pritchatt 1989, p.89.



47 Like Khalkha *büi*.

48 According to Shirendev 1972, p.168 *nodniin*, i.e. last year's.



## Translation

Highly Respected [Sir],  
 Vladislav Lyudvikovich, I am sending my best greetings.<sup>49</sup>  
 I went on the 21st of February. With about twenty people [of assistance] we asked  
 Consul for weapon (*buu*), but we have not received (any).  
 Here, after the establishment of the Mongolian rule all affairs are managed by Da  
 Lama and Qaisang. Moskvitin became close with them and (they) subordinated  
 the consul and [therefore] their situation is very good.  
 All other khans and princes do not like it and they are very worried. Majority  
 of<sup>50</sup> khans and princes went back.<sup>51</sup> Now still they are said to be going back.  
 If it is right to be in accord with many, “what will it mean?” they seem  
 to wonder.<sup>52</sup>  
 If they get good advice from other people they do not use it. It is difficult to  
 achieve suitable solution, but similarly, they do not want to use a good adviser.  
 Indeed, [they] have not found yet understanding of the future.<sup>53</sup> Urgent matters or  
 slow make no difference [to them].  
 [Reporting] this is humble [servant] Agvang requesting your peace ten  
 thousand times.  
 On the 21st of February<sup>54</sup> from Kūriye.<sup>55</sup>  
 In the past I have sent 28 thousand.<sup>56</sup>  
 When I arrive I hope that the building<sup>57</sup> perhaps has been finished.<sup>58</sup>  
 Please send my greetings to Andrei<sup>59</sup> and to Vladimirtsov-s.<sup>60</sup>

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49 Lit. ‘requesting your great peace’.

50 Mong. *yeke baruγ*. Shirendev 1972, p.168 in his Modern Mongolian rendition wrote: *ikhenkh*, i.e. ‘majority’.

51 According to Byambaa Ragchaa it means that they came for council, but went back without taking up decisions. I am thankful for Byambaa Ragchaa for his help in translation of this passage. Onon and Pritchatt understood it similarly.

52 Onon and Pritchatt read this passage as: “It seems that independence will not last much longer”. However, there seem to be no grounds for such translation in the original text.

53 Mong. *darui alus ucir*.

54 According to the Julien calendar it was the 5th of March 1912.

55 I.e. Urga, modern Ulan Bator.

56 In 1912 Agvan Dorjiev was practically the only person feeling responsible to organize funds for building the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg. See Andreev 2012, p.53. Therefore most probably the 28 thousand mentioned in the letter refers also to the money sent for this purpose.

57 Most probably the reference was made to the building of the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg. Onon and Pritchatt wondered whether this passage concerned building of a house (p.89).

58 On the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg see Andreev 2012. The first prayer session was performed on the 21st of February 1913, on the 300th anniversary of the House of Romanov (Andreev 2012, p.69).

59 Since Kotwicz maintained close contacts with Andrei D. Rudnev, he was probably mentioned here. I am indebted to J. Tulisow for this information.

60 Written as Valadi[m]ircab. Since the family name is written in Plural (-*ud*) most probably “Vladimirtsov and his family” was meant by Dorjiev.

## Transliteration of the Mongolian text

- [1] dede kündütü  
 [2] vladislab lyudbiqobici tanu  
 [3] yeke amuɣulang ayiladqamui  
 [4] bi bebrali<sup>61</sup> 21- du yabubai . qorin<sup>62</sup>  
 [5] tuqai nököd-tei . qonsul-aca  
 [6] buu guyuysan ögdöbe ügei .  
 [7] ene ɣajar-a  
 [8] mongɣol-un törü toytoɣad  
 [9] qamuɣ yabudal-i ta blam-a qayisang  
 [10] -nar kijü bayinam . edeger-lüge  
 [11] moskoviycin niyleged qonsul-yi [-i]  
 [12] erke-degen oroɣulɣad [oroɣuluyad]\_edeger-ün  
 [13] yabudal yeke sayin bayimui.
- [p.2, 1] busu qad noyad bügüde  
 [2] taɣalaqu ügei tüng  
 [3] bacimdaju bayinam . yeke baruɣ  
 [4] qad noyad bucabai . odoo-a  
 [5] cu bucaqu kemeldemüi .  
 [6] olan-u taɣalal-iyar kelelcin [kelelcen]  
 [7] jokiyabasu yaɣutai kemen  
 [8] sanaydaqu metü . busu kümün  
 [9] -ü sobiyd<sup>63</sup> ögbesü ülü .  
 [10] kereglemüi . tokinaju [tokiyaju] toytotal-a  
 [11] berke metü sayin sobiytniq<sup>64</sup>  
 [12] keregelekü-i [-yi] ülü küsekü .
- [p.3, 1] darui alus ucir-ıyan  
 [2] oluy-a edüi<sup>65</sup> . kereg-ün yaɣaral  
 [3] -tai udayan-i ilɣal ügei  
 [4] bayimui . eyin  
 [5] tümen amuɣulang ayiladqayci  
 [6] öcüken ayvang .  
 [7] pibrali-yin 21-du küriyence  
 [8] urid qojid 28 mingɣ-a jabuɣulabai .  
 [9] minu iretel-e barily-a tegüsgeged  
 [10] bayiqu bui j-a kemen nayidanam  
 [11] Andere  
 [12] Valadi[m]jircab-ud-tu amuɣulang kürgekü-yi ɣuyubai

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61 In Russian *fevral'*, i.e. February.

62 Shirendev 1972, p.168 rendered into Modern Mongolian as *kharin*.

63 For Russian *sovet*, i.e. 'advice'.

64 For Russian *sovetnik*, i.e. 'adviser'.

65 I.e. *olooyui*.



Cracow Construction of the Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg, probably 1909 (see Andreev 2012, p.50). Photo 14626, K III-19, 160, Archive of Science of PAN and PAU.



Cracow Interior of the temple in St Petersburg with incomplete Buddha's statue. Probably 1913-14. In front of the altar Karl-August Tönnison/Tennison (1883-1962), a Buddhist from Latvia (on Tennison see Andreev 2012, p.62 and Mait Talts, *The First Buddhist Priest on the Baltic Coast*). Photo 14633, K III-19, 160, Archive of Science of PAN and PAU.





Cracow Buddhist temple in St. Petersburg. Karl-August Tönnison/Tennison sitting on the stairs. Probably 1914 (see Andreev 2012, p. 60). Photo 14634, K III-19, 160, Archive of Science of PAN and PAU,

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# INTERPRETING THE BODY *MAṆḌALA*: TSONGKHAPA VERSUS LATER GELUG SCHOLARS

**Yael Bentor**

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To Elliot, my teacher at Indiana University

## Introduction

According to Tsongkhapa writing in 1405,<sup>1</sup> deity yoga is the defining characteristic of the Mantra Vehicle, making it superior to the method of the Perfection Vehicle. The creation stage<sup>2</sup> is the deity yoga of the Highest Tantra that is superior to the deity yoga of the Lower Tantras.<sup>3</sup> In practicing the creation stage the meditators visualize themselves as deities endowed with the Buddha's three bodies, thus this meditation—like many other meditations, but perhaps even more so—presumes the creative power of the mind. Nevertheless, Tibetan scholars differ considerably as to extent of the creative power they are willing to grant to a mind engaged in meditation. Moreover, they vary in the degree they accept the reality of the vision seen by yogis when they visualize themselves as awakened beings. At one antipode, the yogis in fact see themselves as they are, since awakening is their true nature, while at the other, the yogis merely meditate on themselves as having appearance similar to the Form Body of the Buddha.

At the same time, if mere visualization is regarded as creating a true reality, it would be like a beggar boasting to be a king. For this reason the vast majority of Tibetan scholars from all schools maintain that the creation stage is 'contrived' or 'conceptual'. For example, Tsongkhapa calls the creation stage, 'contrived yoga' or 'conceptual stage',<sup>4</sup> Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–99) regards it as 'contrived yoga',<sup>5</sup> Dwags po Bkra shis nmam rgyal (1512–87) names it 'fancied creation stage',<sup>6</sup> and Dge rtse Paṇḍita Tshe dbang mchog grub (1761–1829) refers to it as 'mentally imputed'.<sup>7</sup>

These scholars assert then that since the method of the creation stage involves mental contrivance, the deity's body that arises from it is contrived too, and therefore only the subsequent steps of the path, which do not involve mental creations, can lead to true divine bodies.

1 Tsongkhapa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419), *Sngags rim chen mo*, p.21.

2 Skt. *utpatti-krama*, Tib. *bskyed rim*.

3 It is superior because it relies on the special innermost actual interconnections between the deity endowed with the Buddha's three bodies and the future birth, death and intermediate state of the meditator.

4 *Sngags rim chen mo*, pp.455–456, *bcos ma'i rnal 'byor* or *brtags pa'i rim pa*.

5 *Shes bya kun khyab*, vol. 3, p.173, *yongs su brtag pa'i rnal 'byor*.

6 *Gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i spyi don mdor bsdus pa legs bshad nor bu'i 'od zer*, 170.1, *kun btags kyi bskyed rim*.

7 *Bskyed pa'i rim pa cho ga dang sbyar ba'i gsal byed zung 'jug snye ma*, 26, *blos kun tu brtags pa*.

Thus while most Buddhist traditions emphasize the creative power of the mind, they are well aware of its boundaries. For example, Tsongkhapa states:<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, meditators on the creation stage perfect the divine body through a method contrived by the mind, and the deity's body that arises from this method is also contrived. Meditators on the completing stage perfect the body of the deity through the yoga of the winds, drops and so on—a method not contrived by the mind. On the basis of this method they realize emptiness, and finally arise in the body of the deity, that is not conceptualized by the mind.

For Tsongkhapa the true transformation takes place within the completion stage on the basis of the subtle body, when during the practice of the illusory body the actual body of perfect wisdom is attained.<sup>9</sup> Similarly for Zhe chen Rgyal tshab Padma 'gyur med rnam rgyal (1871-1926) of the Nyingma tradition,<sup>10</sup> it is when the conceptual meditation on the creation stage turns into the special realization of the completion stage and the form of the deity unfolds as the natural expression of awareness, that the true transformation occurs.

What is then the use of the creation stage? This question raised already in the *Hevajra Tantra*<sup>11</sup> received various answers, yet most Tibetan scholars agree that both the creation and completion stages are necessary since without first engaging in the creation stage, it would be impossible to later on achieve the uncontrived goals of the completion stage that are the goals of the Mantra Vehicle. According to Tsongkhapa<sup>12</sup> the unique purpose of the creation stage is to ripen the meditator towards the completion stage and the fruit. This ripening is achieved by creating roots of virtue, habituating oneself to the three bodies, and cultivating the wisdom realizing emptiness, thereby making the elements of the subtle body serviceable. Likewise, Zhe chen Rgyal tshab Padma 'gyur med rnam rgyal<sup>13</sup> states that a person, in whose continuum the wisdom of the completion stage has not arisen, first meditates on the creation stage in order to ripen for the wisdom of the completion stage. Mkhas grub rje Dge legs dpal bzang po (1385–1438) explicates this in the context of the meditation on the body *maṇḍala*:<sup>14</sup>

The main cause of enlightenment, the supreme attainment, is the completion stage, arising from the meditation by penetrating the vital points in your body. For this purpose, now [during the creation stage] you generate all the parts of your body as deities, bless them, and habituate over and over to this; thereby the channels, winds

8 *Sngags rim chen mo*, p.456.

9 *Sngags rim chen mo*, p.456, *ye shes kyi sku dngos*.

10 *Bskyed rim spyi 'i rnam par bzhag pa nyung gsal go bder brjod pa rab gsal nor bu 'i me long*, p.71.

11 *Hevajra Tantra*, II.ii.34.

12 *Sngags rim chen mo*, pp.471–472. In the same work, p.457, Tsongkhapa says: “[Qualm:] If this is the case, the meditators should create the body of the deity though the method of the completion stage alone... What is the point of the contrived method for creating the body of the deity... [Reply:] That is not so, without having been habituated to the contrived method, the meditator will not be able to perfect the uncontrived method.”

13 *Bskyed rim spyi 'i rnam par bzhag pa nyung gsal go bder brjod pa rab gsal nor bu 'i me long*, p.71.

14 *Bskyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho*, folio 125b, p.252.1-2.

and drops of your body would become serviceable. This [meditation of the creation stage] will be a special ripener for the easy arising of the realization of the completion stage when you will be meditating by penetrating the vital points in your body.

All these scholars defer the actual attainments to the completion stage, thereby relegating the creation stage to little more than a preparatory practice.

### Meditation on the body *maṅḍala* according to Tsongkhapa

In its elaborate form, the first step in the meditation on the body *maṅḍala* is the meditation on the body as the celestial mansion of the body *maṅḍala*. Then in the second step the yogis visualize deities on individual parts of their bodies that have become the palaces for these deities. We will take as an example the meditation on the body *maṅḍala* that is included within the creation stage of the *Guhyasamāja*, and ask what would be the effect of visualizing one's body as the celestial mansion of the *maṅḍala*, and of meditating on the deities that reside there. Here the same tension is found: On the one hand, for example, Lūyīpā,<sup>15</sup> in one of the authoritative works on the body *maṅḍala*, explains that when yogis set deities on their psycho-physical constituents of their bodies, these constituents are purified, in other words, transformed. Yet various Tibetan scholars agree that the impure body—a product of karma and afflictive emotions—cannot be transformed into the pure body of the Buddha through the power of the mind alone. What is the result then of the visualization of the meditator's body as the divine *maṅḍala*?

An important scriptural source for the meditation on the body *maṅḍala* of the *Guhyasamāja* is the following line of the *Vajramālā*:<sup>16</sup> “The body turns into the celestial mansion, the perfect support of all Buddhas.” Likewise in his own *Sādhana* Tsongkhapa says:<sup>17</sup> “All the parts of the body turn into the respective parts of the celestial mansion.” These sources typically present the meditation as achieving its results, creating the sense that actual transformations are indeed taking place.

However this is not what Tsongkhapa's own explanations on the *Sādhana* tell us. In his *Bung ba'i re skong*, one of his exegeses on the *Guhyasamāja Sādhana*, Tsongkhapa describes how to meditate on the body as the celestial mansion of the body *maṅḍala*:<sup>18</sup>

The way to meditate on the body as the celestial mansion of the body *maṅḍala* is to gather simultaneously the parts of the celestial mansion of the outer *maṅḍala*, such as the four corners and so on, and the parts of the yogi's body such as

15 *Bhagavad-abhisamaya*, *Dpal bcom ldan 'das mngon par rtogs pa*, Toh. 1427, folio 186b. For a study of this *Sādhana*, see Gray 2011. Skt.: *evaṃ skandha-dhatv-āyataneṣu devatā-viśuddhiḥ*. Tib.: *de dag ni phung po dang khams dang skye mched rnams kyi lha'i rnam par dag pa'o*.

16 The *Rdo rje 'phreng ba*, one of the explanatory tantras of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, Toh. 445, D. vol. 81 [ca], ch. 68, folio 275a, p.549.2: *lus ni gzhal yas khang du 'gyur*.

17 Tsongkhapa, *Sādhana*, folio 41a, p.97.2: *de ltar lus kyi cha thams cad gzhal yas khang gi cha so sor gyur*.

18 Tsongkhapa, *Bung ba'i re skong*, folio 21b, p.379.3-6. See also Mkhas grub rje, *Bde mchog dril bu lus dkyil gyi dbang du byas pa'i bskyed rim gyi dka' gnas*, folio 9a, p.781.5-6.

its front and back. Thereby through the substantial cause and the cooperative conditions, the subsequent similar moments of the body *maṇḍala* arise.<sup>19</sup> By meditating in this way, the third stage of the completion stage and the actual celestial mansion of the fruition time are attained.

In the last sentence Tsongkhapa is saying that this meditation would lead to the illusory body during the completion stage on the path, and to the actual attainment of the celestial mansion when the fruit of Buddhahood is achieved. In other words the actual role of this meditation is merely one step within the long path to enlightenment.

In the first line Tsongkhapa explains how this meditation takes place in the mental continuum of the meditator and indicates that for creating the celestial mansion of the body *maṇḍala*, the prior visualization of the outer *maṇḍala*, the *maṇḍala* in which the meditator—visualized as the deity—resides, is no less important than the body of the yogi. The first step is to gather the four sides of the outer *maṇḍala* together with the four sides of the yogi's body, its front, back, right and left parts to create the four sides of the body *maṇḍala*. In this way on the basis of each former moment<sup>20</sup> of the visualization of the outer *maṇḍala* and each part of the body, the subsequent similar moment of the visualization of the body *maṇḍala* arises.

Moreover, Tsongkhapa distinguishes between the substantial cause and the cooperative conditions for the body *maṇḍala*. Though not explicitly stated, the parts of the outer *maṇḍala*—the ones mentioned first—seem to be the substantial cause, while the parts of the yogi's body—mentioned later—are the cooperative conditions. In this case, the visualization of the outer *maṇḍala* plays a greater part than the yogi's body in creating the body *maṇḍala*.

In his '*Dod pa 'jo ba*, a commentary on the *maṇḍala* of Cakrasaṃvara according to Lūyīpā, Tsongkhapa's elaborates on the meditation on the celestial mansion of the body *maṇḍala*, emphasizing that one meditates on the body *maṇḍala* on the basis of the outer celestial mansion that one has visualized earlier.<sup>21</sup>

When it is time to meditate on the body *maṇḍala*, you do not dissolve the former visualization of the outer *maṇḍala*, rather you meditate on the basis of the celestial mansion that you have visualized earlier.

And:<sup>22</sup>

From now on, the continuum of your earlier visualization of the stacked up physical elements, Mt. Meru and the celestial mansion proceeds without being dissolved. Therefore when you begin your meditation on your body as the celestial mansion, on the basis of each former similar moment and each part of the body, a subsequent similar moment arises.

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19 Tib. *phyi ma 'i rigs 'dra*.

20 Tib. *rigs 'dra snga ma*.

21 '*Dod 'jo*, folio 121a, p.439.3.

22 '*Dod 'jo*, folio 122b, p.442.5-6.

In his own commentary on Cakrasaṃvara body *maṅḌala*, Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456) cites this passage only to object to this method,<sup>23</sup> but we will not go into this here. The important point for us is that according to Tsongkhapa the former meditation on the celestial mansion of the outer *maṅḌala* serves as a basis for the celestial mansion of the body *maṅḌala*, no less [if not more] than the yogi's body. Hence although in his own *Sādhana* Tsongkhapa instructs:<sup>24</sup> “All the parts of the body turn into the respective parts of the celestial mansion,” the nature of the transformation of the yogi's body is not all that corporeal.

### Meditation on the body *maṅḌala* according to later Gelug scholars

Paṅ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478–1554) explains this method of meditation on the body *maṅḌala* on the basis of the former visualization of the outer *maṅḌala* and the respective parts of the body, through the example of coloring a cloth:<sup>25</sup>

You meditate on the body *maṅḌala* on the basis of a continuum similar to the celestial mansion of the outer *maṅḌala*. Here is how you meditate: As for example, when you make the first moment of a woolen cloth the substantial cause, and the first moment of the lac-dye the cooperative condition, these will turn into a subsequent similar moment of a colored woolen cloth. Likewise, when you make a similar type of the first moment of the outer *maṅḌala* the substantial cause, and the propelling of the thought: ‘the individual parts of the body become the respective parts of the *maṅḌala*’, the cooperative condition, these will become the subsequent similar moment of the body—the celestial mansion of the body *maṅḌala*.

Note that in this explanation both the substantial cause and the cooperative condition are mental. The substantial cause arises from the visualization of the outer *maṅḌala* and the cooperative conditions are not the individual parts of the body that turn the respective parts of the body *maṅḌala*, but the propelling of the thought to that effect.

According to the Second Dalai Lama Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1476–1542), the individual parts of the body themselves are the cooperative conditions:<sup>26</sup>

On the basis of a previous similar moment of the former celestial mansion acting as the substantial cause, and the individual parts of the body acting as the cooperative conditions, subsequent mental moments of the similar continuum of the former celestial mansion are made into the basis of achieving the individual parts of the body [*maṅḌala*]. On this basis you visualize that [the body *maṅḌala*] is achieved in actuality.

23 *Dril bu pa'i lus dkyil gyi bshad pa*, folio 375b, p.402.2.1-2.

24 Tsongkhapa, *Sādhana*, folio 41a, p.97.2, cited already above.

25 *Mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog = Rgyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bskyed rim gyi rnam gzhag mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog*, folios 53b–54a, pp.118.5–119.1.

26 Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rim pa dang po'i lam la slob pa'i tshul*, folio 30a, p.559.1.

In any case according for these Gelug scholars who lived during the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, the substantial cause are the parts of the outer *maṇḍala* the yogis hold in their minds and the cooperative conditions are related to the parts of the yogi's body.

However when we look at the writing of some Gelug scholars from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries we discover that the substantial cause and the cooperative conditions have been reversed. For example Lcang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan (1642–1714) explains:<sup>27</sup>

By making the parts of your body the substantial cause, and making the parts of the outer *maṇḍala* the cooperative conditions, you generate the celestial mansion of the body *maṇḍala*.

Similarly, 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje (1648–1721/22) says:<sup>28</sup>

Having made the front part of the body the actual substantial cause and the corner of the outer *maṇḍala* the co-operative condition, meditate that these two gathered together arise as the eastern part of the body *maṇḍala*,” and so on.

This is the first step in the visualization of the body *maṇḍala*. The front part of the body serves as the basis for the eastern side of the celestial mansion of the body *maṇḍala*. According to 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje, this front part of the body is the actual substantial cause and the eastern corner of the outer *maṇḍala* is the cooperative condition. The result is the eastern part of the body *maṇḍala*.

In the case of the first group of scholars when the substantial cause is the visualization of the outer *maṇḍala*, the nature of the subsequent product—the celestial mansion of the body *maṇḍala*—is mental, whereas in the second case in which the substantial cause is the yogi's body, the result has a more material nature, though not necessarily physical. It seems that these later Gelug scholars felt that for the meditation on the body *maṇḍala* to have a greater impact, their actual bodies have to be the substantial cause. Such is the explanation of A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho (1803–1875):<sup>29</sup>

Taking the body as the substantial cause has greater significance, because such a meditation leaves imprints for emanating the celestial mansion from the parts of the two illusory bodies and from Vajradhara's body, during the path and resultant stages respectively.

Even if A khu ching did like to see a more substantial transformation of his impure body into the divine palace of the *maṇḍala*, he still reminds us that the only effect the meditation on the body *maṇḍala* within the creation stage can have is to ripen towards the illusory body during

27 Lcang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan, *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rim pa dang po'i lam la slob tshul gyis dmigs rim 'khrul med bla ma dam pa'i zhal las byung ba zin thor bkod pa gsang chen myur lam*, folio 21a, p.194.4.2.

28 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje, *Gsang 'dus bskyed rim khrid kyi zin bris*, folio 34a, p.83.1-2.

29 A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Mi bskyod mgon po'i zhal lung = 'Dus pa 'phags lugs lha so gnyis pa'i lam rim pa dang po'i khrid dmigs kyi brjed byang mi bskyod mgon po'i zhal lung*, folio 76a, p.155.1-5. Translated into English in Jinpa 2002: 136.



the completion stage and the Buddha's body at the resultant stage. In support of his position, A khu ching cites the scriptures we saw already, the *Vajra Garland Explanatory Tantra*<sup>30</sup> and Tsongkhapa's *Sādhana*,<sup>31</sup> that indeed convey a sense of an actual bodily transformation. A khu ching also resorts to reasoning:<sup>32</sup>

The definition of a substantial cause is this: 'That which primarily brings into being as its continuum that substance.' So nowhere is it said that cooperative conditions can become that effect.

Clearly A khu ching is keen to see an actual effect on the yogi's body. Still he is hesitant to reach a conclusion that would explicitly contradict the position of earlier masters whom he names. He says:<sup>33</sup>

In any case, it is difficult to reach a definite, conclusive position on this.

Moreover A khu ching is well aware of the limitations of logical reasoning with regard to yogic experiences:<sup>34</sup>

It is, however, vital to ensure that one does not fall into excessive analysis, for experiential realizations based on imaginative meditations both on the path and resultant stages are infinite.

It is palpable that the methods of formal debate that developed in the Gelug school had an effect on the analysis of the later scholars. Still A khu ching certainly allows the meditation to have its own operational logic. For the sake of achieving actual results the meditators have to convince themselves that their visualizations have true effects. There is a clear tension here between the limitation of mere mental imaginations and the wish of the meditators to see real bodily as well as spiritual transformations.

### Tsongkhapa versus Mkhas grub rje on the meditation on the deities of the body *maṅdala*

A similar development occurs in the second step of the meditation on the body *maṅdala*: the meditation on the deities residing in it. Here the yogis meditate on the transformation of mental and physical

<sup>30</sup> The *Vajramālā*, *Rdo rje 'phreng ba*, Toh. 445, D. vol. 81 [ca], ch. 68, folio 275a, p.549.2: "The body turns into the celestial mansion."

<sup>31</sup> *Sādhana*, folio 41a, p.97.2: "All the parts of the body turn into the respective parts of the celestial mansion."

<sup>32</sup> A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Mi bskyod mgon po'i zhal lung*, *ibid.*, folio 76a-b, pp.155.6–156.1, translated by Jinpa. For the sake of consistency in the terminology I have replaced 'material cause' with 'substantial cause'.

<sup>33</sup> A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Mi bskyod mgon po'i zhal lung*, *ibid.*, folio 76b, p.156.1. Translated by Thubten Jinpa.

<sup>34</sup> A khu ching Shes rab rgya mtsho, *Mi bskyod mgon po'i zhal lung*, *ibid.*, folio 76b, p.156.1-2; translated by Jinpa with minor changes.

components of their bodies into the deities residing in the body *maṇḍala*. The foundation of this practice is the special link between the ordinary impure psycho-physical elements of the body and their purified aspects in the forms of the thirty-two deities of the Guhyasamāja *maṇḍala*. Thus the yogis visualize that each of the five aggregates respectively becomes the corresponding Tathāgata, each of the four physical elements the equivalent Mother, each of the six senses a Bodhisattva, and so on.

With respect to the first step of this meditation, the transformation of the form aggregate into Vairocana whose seed syllable is *Om*, Tsongkhapa instructs in his *Sādhana*:<sup>35</sup>

From the crown of my head to my hair line, the essence of the form aggregate, white *Om*, completely transforms into white Vairocana.

The relations between the white seed syllable *Om* and the essence of the form aggregate is somewhat unclear here. Tsongkhapa explains this further in his *Slob tshul*:<sup>36</sup>

Here is how you meditate: For example, in the area from the crown of the head up to the hair line, the essence of the form aggregate that abides in the appearance of the seed syllable white *Om*, completely transforms and is generated as Vairocana complete with faces and arms. Later on, you need to visualize that that Vairocana is indivisible in essence from the form aggregate. Likewise meditate on the others.

There are three steps here: (1) First the essence of the form aggregate abides in the appearance of the seed syllable, (2) then it completely transform into Vairocana, and (3) finally the meditator visualizes that Vairocana is indivisible in essence from the form aggregate.

But according to Mkhas grub rje:<sup>37</sup>

For example, you meditate that your eye faculty completely transforms into the syllable *Thlīm*, and then the *Thlīm* completely transforms into Kṣitigarbha. But, if you first generate *Thlīm* in your own mind without a basis, and from that you generate Kṣitigarbha, and after that you merely visualize that Kṣitigarbha is indivisible from your own eye faculty, that is insufficient.

Apparently Mkhas grub rje offers his divergent suggestion because for him a significant transformation of all the psycho-physical elements of one's body into the seed syllables of the deities is crucial. For him merely visualizing that the essence of the psycho-physical element abides in the appearance of the seed syllable, as instructed by Tsongkhapa, is an insufficient initial step for the transformation of the impure body into a pure divine mansion. Therefore he requires a complete transformation of each psycho-physical element into the respective seed syllable *within the visualization*, before the seed syllable completely transforms into a deity. At the same time Mkhas grub rje never regards the creation stage as capable of producing true transformations.

<sup>35</sup> *Sādhana*, folio 41a, p.97.2-3.

<sup>36</sup> Tsongkhapa, *Slob tshul*, folios 16b–17a, pp.32.5–33.2. See also his *Bung ba'i re skong*, folios 21b–22a pp.379.6–380.1.

<sup>37</sup> Mkhas grub rje, *Bskyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho*, folios 125b–126a, pp.252.5–253.1.

The discrepancy between the instructions of Tsongkhapa and Mkhas grub rje did not remain unnoticed by later members of the Gelug tradition. Mkhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho (1423–1513), first presents Tsongkhapa’s method and then Mkhas grub rje’s instructions without going into discussion why they differ, but leaving it for the reader “to examine what are their intentions”:<sup>38</sup>

Taking Kṣitigarbha for example, the all knowing lord [Tsongkhapa] teaches that you need to visualize that the eye faculty is the essence of *Thlim*; then you completely transform the *Thlim* and from that you generate Kṣitigarbha and set him on your eye, then you visualize that he is in essence no different from your eye faculty; whereas Mkhas grub rje explains to meditate that your eye faculty completely transforms into the seed syllable *Thlim*, and the *Thlim* completely transforms into Kṣitigarbha. You need to examine what are their intentions.

Similarly Grags pa bshad sgrub (1675–1748) points out the difference between the instructions of the two masters, opting for the method of Tsongkhapa, for the reason that others prefer it as well, yet leaving us wondering why:<sup>39</sup>

Here is how you meditate on the deities of the body *maṅḌala*: In the area from the crown of your head up to the hair line visualize the essence of the form aggregate as white *Om*, and from its complete transformation generate Vairocana as in the *Sādhana*. Mkhas grub rje explains that at that time, for instance, the form aggregate completely transforms into *Om*, and from it you generate Vairocana. But many others explain that according to the words of the *Sādhana*, you visualize the essence of the form aggregate itself in the appearance of *Om*; therefore you should meditate in this way.

Still most Gelug scholars take no notice of this dissimilarity between these two forefathers of their tradition, though some do follow Mkhas grub rje in this matter. To this group latter group who follow Mkhas grub rje belongs the second Dalai Lama, Dge ’dun rgya mtsho (1476–1542), [who was a disciple of Mkhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho, who follows Tsongkhapa]:<sup>40</sup>

Take Kṣitigarbha for example, the yogi should visualize that the two eye faculties completely transform into the two seed syllables *Thlims*, and these seed syllables completely transform into two Kṣitigarbhas who arise at the center of the two eyeballs as a reflected image arises within a mirror.

Interestingly some later Gelug scholars distinguish, also in the present context of the deities residing in the *maṅḌala*, between the substantial cause of the deities that are the psycho-physical elements of the body and the cooperative conditions—the seed syllables of the deities. According to the first Lcang skya Rinpoche:<sup>41</sup>

38 Mkhas grub Nor bzang rgya mtsho, *’Dus pa’i bskyed rim gyi don gsal bar byed pa’i sgron me*, folio 107b3-5.

39 Grags pa bshad sgrub, *’Dus pa’i bskyed rim gyi rnam bshad gnad don kun gsal*, p.53.

40 Dge ’dun rgya mtsho, *Dpal gsang ba ’dus pa’i rim pa dang po’i lam la slob pa’i tshul*, folio 30b, p.560.2-3.

41 Lcang skya Ngag dbang chos ldan, *Dpal gsang ba ’dus pa’i rim pa dang po’i lam la slob tshul gyis dmigs rim ’khrul med bla ma dam pa’i zhal las byung ba zin thor bkod pa gsang chen myur lam*, folio 21a, p.194.4.4-6.

Here is the method for generating Vairocana: your form aggregate is the actual substantial cause, and the seed syllable *Om*, that you visualize as indivisible in essence with this form aggregate, is the cooperative condition. Having generated Vairocana, cultivate stable divine identification and clear appearance, and seal with bliss and emptiness. The meditation on the other deities is similar.

Likewise 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje explains:<sup>42</sup>

Merely meditating on parts of the body and the deities as indivisible essence is not meditation on the body *maṇḍala*. Therefore *having visualized yourself as Emanation Body Vajra Being*,<sup>43</sup> by making the form aggregate of your body the actual substantial cause, and the seed syllable *Om* and the emblem, upon which you meditate as indivisible in essence with the form aggregate, the cooperative condition, meditate on Vairocana at the crown of your head and cultivate both identification and clear appearance of him. Likewise, by making, according to the instructions in the ritual guide, *each part of your body visualized as Emanation Body Vajra Being the actual substantial cause*, and by making the seed syllables upon which you meditate as indivisible in essence with that part of the body the cooperative condition, generate the respective deities which have the nature of a body. This is a meditation on the body *maṇḍala*.

Once more it is important for these teachers that the deities of the body *maṇḍala* will be endowed with a certain bodily nature. At the same time 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje reminds us [in the passages in *italics*] over and over of the fact that the basis for this meditation is not just the body of the meditator, but the body of the meditator visualized as Emanation Body Vajra Being.

## Conclusion

Gelug scholars that followed Tsongkhapa were certainly willing to challenge, or improve upon, the explanations of their founder on the working of the Guhyasamāja Sādhana. Their modifications seem to have resulted from the internal contradictions in the notion of transforming the body by means of creative visualization. Their aim was to find a way to bridge over between the limitations that general Buddhist theoretical considerations put on the transformative power of the mind and the point of view of meditators who were seeking a more substantial transformation than visualization alone can provide.

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43 Tib. *sprul sku rdor sems*. In this system of the body *maṇḍala* of the Guhyasamāja, the body *maṇḍala* is set on the yogi visualized as Emanation Body Vajra Being.

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- . Bde dril bskyed rim, = Bde mchog dril bu lus dkyil gyi dbang du byas pa'i bskyed rim gyi dka' gnas. *Ibid.*, vol. 6, 12 folios, pp.765.1–787.2.

- . Dge bshes kon ting gug sri ba la phul ba, work no. 43 in: *Gsung thor bu. Ibid.*, vol. 9, folios 153a–169b, pp.775.1–808.1.
- Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456). Dril bu pa'i lus dkyil gyi bshad pa. *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1969, vol. 10, folios 117b–140a, pp.398.1.1–405.4.1.
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- Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419). *Collected Works*. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1975–1979. 27 vols. Reproduced from an example of the old Bkra shis lhun po redaction from the library of Klu 'khyil monastery of Ladakh. Listed here in the order found in this edition of his *Collected Works*.
- . Sngags rim chen mo, = Rgyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po'i lam gyi rim pa gsang ba kun gyi gnad rnam par phye ba, *Ibid.*, vol. 4, 441 folios, pp.1–494 and vol. 5, pp.1–530. My notes refers to the edition published in Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995.
- . Bung ba'i re skong, = Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bskyed rim blo gsal bung ba'i re skong gnad don gsal ba. *Ibid.*, vol. 10, 29 folios, pp.338–394.
- . Slob tshul, = Rdo rje 'chang gi go 'phang brnyes par byed pa'i lam la slob pa'i tshul. *Ibid.*, vol. 13, pp.1–43.
- . 'Dod 'jo, = Bcom ldan 'das dpal 'khor lo bde mchog gi mngon par rtogs pa'i rgya cher bshad pa 'dod pa 'jo ba. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, 22 folios, pp.72–460.
- . Dril dbang, = Rnal 'byor dbang phyug dril bu lugs bde mchog lus dkyil gyi dbang chog rin po che'i bang mdzod. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, 27 folios, pp.56–109.
- . Sādhana, = Gsang ba 'dus pa'i bdag bskyed, = Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bla brgyud gsol 'debs dang bdag bskyed ngag 'don bkra shis lhun po rgyud pa grwa tshang gi 'don rgyud rje thams cad mkhyen pas zhus dag mdzad pa. [n.p.], [n.d.]. 180pp. My notes refer to this publication. Partly translated into English by Robert A. F. Thurman, as “Practicing the Creation Stage.” In: *Essential Tibetan Buddhism*. San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1995, pp.213–247.
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རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་པའ་དབང་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་  
སློབ་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་དབྱེད་པ།

ཤེ་རི་འཇིགས་མེད་དབང་རྒྱལ།

སློན་དུ་སྲིད་པ།

ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་སྐུ་ལྗེ་གཉིས་པ་དག་དབང་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ནི་དགོ་ལྡན་པའི་བསྟན་འཛིན་སྐུ་ཚེན་མོད་  
ནས། འཇམ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཁྲི་རབས་བདུན་ཅུ་དོན་གསུམ་པ་དེ་ཡིན་ལ། གཞུང་དགའ་  
ལྡན་པོ་བྲང་པའི་ཚོས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་གོང་ས་སྐུ་བས་མགོན་ཚེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་སྲིད་སློབ་ཀྱི་འགན་ཁུངས་པའི་པོ་རྒྱལ་  
ཐོག་འབྲུང་དུ་ཐོན་པའི་མི་སྣ་གལ་ཆེ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན། ཁོང་གི་མི་ཚེ་ནང་ཚོས་སྐྱུ་གས་དང་། རིག་གཞུང་། ཆབ་སྲིད། དཔལ་  
འབྱོར། དམག་དོན། འཇུགས་སྐྱོན་གང་ཐད་ནས་བྱ་བཞག་དང་། ལུལ་བཞག་གི་མཛད་རྗེས་དེས་ཅན་གནང་བའི་རྒྱུད་རིམ་  
ཞིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་དཔེར། མི་ཚེ་རིང་པོ་སྲིད་གསུམ་སྐྱུ་གས་ལས། དམིད་ཉི་རིང་པོ་རྩོ་གསུམ་གྲང་གསུམ། ཟེར་བ་  
ལྟར། ཁོང་གི་སྐུ་ཚེ་བྱང་རིམ་ནང་། ལྷན་པས་འགར་སྲིད་པ་འཇག་བག་ཤེབས་ཀྱིས་གཞིས་པབ་ཅིང་། མཚམས་དེར་འབྲུག་  
སློབ་ཐོག་འབེབས་ཀྱི་ས་གཤོ་བ། ལན་དེར་དག་ཚར་རྒྱུང་འཚུབ་ཀྱིས་གནམ་སྲིབ་པའི་འཇུག་ཆ་ཏུ་ཅང་དོད་པའི་པོ་རྒྱལ།  
ཚོག་འཛིངས་དང་དོན་སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀའི་བྱང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་དུ་ཐོན་པའི་པོ་རྒྱལ་གི་བྱང་རིམ་དོ་མཚར་ཆེ་ལ་དབྱེད་རིན་ཡོད་  
པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

དེ་སློན་སྲིད་པོ་ ༡༠༠༩ ལོར་ཨ་ལྷོས་མ་ཚེན་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་གིས་གོ་སྐྱིག་འོག་ཨ་རི་བྱང་  
བརྒྱུད་ཨིན་ཏེ་ཡ་ན་གཙུག་ལག་སློབ་ལྟེ་ཆེན་ལོར་འཇམ་སྲིད་ཤར་ལྟོགས་པའི་རིག་པའི་སྤེ་ཚན་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་དུ་ལོང་  
སྐབས། དེ་གའི་སློབ་མ་ཚོར་ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་འདི་པའི་པོ་རྒྱལ་སློབ་ཁྲིད་ལུས་དོན་བཞིན། ད་དེས་འདིར་ཡང་མཁས་པ་ཚེན་  
པོ་སི་པར་མིང་ཁོང་གི་སྐྱུ་གས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་པ་སློབ་སྦྱང་བོད་ཀྱི་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཁོད་ནས་འདི་ཉིད་ཟུར་འདོན་བྱས་ཏེ། དབྱེད་  
གཞིར་རྒྱང་ཐད་ཞིག་ལུ་འདོད་རྒྱུང།

ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་པའ་དབང་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་པོ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁོག་

དགའ་ལྡན་ཁྲི་ཐོག་དོན་གསུམ་པ་ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་པའ་དབང་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནི། མདོ་སྐྱེད་ཅོ་ལོ་མཛོ་གུང་ཤར་ཞེས་  
པར་ཡལ་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་ཡུམ་རིན་ཆེན་སློབ་མ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐས་སྲ། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་རྒྱ་གྲི་ ༡༡/༢༩ ལོར་  
འཇུངས། དགུང་པོ་བཞི་བཤེང་ཡོས་ ༡༢/༢༤ ལོར་ཁྲི་ཆེན་ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་པའ་དབང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཡང་སྲིད་དུ་དོས་འཛིན་  
གཏན་འཁེལ་ཐོག་ ཁོ་ནི་དགོན་ཆེན་དུ་གདན་འདྲེན་ནས་ཁྲི་འདོན་མཛད་སློབ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བསྐྱུངས། མཚན་ཉིད་ལྟ་ཚང་གི་ལྟ་རམས་

པ་དག་དབང་ཕྱན་ཚོགས་དགོ་ཚུན་བསྐྱེད་ནས་ཡིག་འབྲི་དང། ལུ་མ་ཉུག་སྤྱོད་དུ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་ལོ་ཚེས་སྤྱོད། བསྐྱེད་ལྟ་བུ་བཅས་ལ་  
སློབ་གཉེན་མཛད། དགྲའ་ལོ་བཙོ་ལྷ་པ་མེ་སྟག་ ༡༩༠༩ ལོར་དབུས་སུ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་སེར་སྤྲོད་བྱ་ཚང་དང། ཚེས་ཁང་  
ཚན་དུ་ཚོས་ཞུགས་མཛད། བཤེས་གཉེན་མཁས་པ་དུ་མའི་བྱང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་ཚང་སློབ་ཚོ་ཉུག་སྤྱོད་སོགས་ལ་བསྐྱབས། ལྷག་པར་  
དགའ་ལྷན་ཁྲི་ཚོན་པེ་བརྒྱན་པ་མཁས་པོ་སློབ་མཚན་དགོ་ལེགས་རྒྱུད་སྤྲོད་མཁས་པོ་ལས་ཐོག་སྐབས་ཅ་བའི་ཡོངས་འཛིན་དུ་  
བསྐྱེད་ནས་གཞུང་ཚོན་པོད་ལྗེའི་སློབ་གཉེན་སུལ་དུ་སྤྱིན་པ་གནང་ནས་མི་རིང་བར་ལྷ་ལྷན་སློབ་ལམ་ཚོན་མོའི་སྐབས་དགོ་  
བཤེས་ལྷ་རམས་པའི་མཚན་གནས་བཞེས། དེ་ནས་རྒྱུད་སྤྲོད་བྱ་ཚང་དུ་ཚོས་ཞུགས་ཐོག་གསར་སྤྲུག་སྤྱོད་ལམ་ཚོན་མོའི་སྐབས་དགོ་  
ལུགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷ་སུར་སློབ་གཉེན་དང་ཐོག་ཅ་རྟུལ་ཚོན། ཚོགས་ལྷན་བཞེས། དབང་ལུང་མན་དག་སྐོར་སོགས་གསན་བསམ་  
རྒྱ་ཚང་མཛད་དེ་རིམ་བཞེན་རྒྱུད་པའི་སློབ་དབུ་མཛད་དང། མཁས་པོ། ཤར་པ་ཚོས་རྗེ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིལ་ལེབས་ནས་མདོ་  
སྤྲུགས་གཞུང་ལུགས་དུ་མའི་འཚན་ཉན་སྟེལ། དགྲའ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅ་བརྒྱན་པ་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞི་བའི་ས་ལོས་ ༡༩༡༩ ལོར་རྒྱལ་  
ཚབ་དེ་མོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཞི་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་ཚབ་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་དྲུང་མངའ་གསོལ་བ་ལྟར་བོད་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཚོན་པོའི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་  
གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བྱུག་མཚན་དུ་བསྐྱབས། དེའི་སྤྱི་ལོར་ ༡༩༢༠ མན་ཚོན་གོང་མ་ཅ་ཚེད་གིས་དགའ་ལྷན་ཤི་རལ་ལུ་ས་མ་  
ཉི་བ་ཤི་ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་བསྐྱོད་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གོང་མའི་སྐབས་ལྟར་སུལ། བོད་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཚོན་པོའི་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གི་ལས་འགན་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅ་  
ལྗེའི་རིང་བསྐྱབས། སྤྱི་དྲུང་གནང་ནས་ལོ་བདུན་སོང་རྗེས། དགྲའ་ལོ་སོ་བཞི་བའི་དུ་ ༡༩༢༥ ལོར་བཞི་སྟེ་སྤྱོད་ཚང་གི་ཉེ་  
འདབས་ཤར་ལོ་སྤྱོད་ དགའ་ལྷན་ཁང་གསར་རྒྱུད་པའི་ས་ཁོངས་སུ་སྐབ་བསྐྱེད་ཚོས་འཁོར་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ཞེས་པའི་དགོན་སྡེ་གཙུག་ལག་  
ཁང་དང་བཅས་པ་བྱུག་བཟབ། དེའི་སྤྱི་ལོར་མན་ཚོན་གོང་མ་ཅ་ཚེད་གི་སུ་ཉའོ་གོང་གིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཚོ་སློབ་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ཞེས་པའི་  
པའི་བསྐྱབས་བཅོམ་སུལ་བ་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་དགོན་པ་དང་དགོན་པ་ཁ་འཛིན་གནང་མཁས་གཉིས་ཀར་ཚོ་སློབ་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ཞེས་པའི་  
མིང་ཐོག་ །དགྲའ་ལོ་ཞེ་བྱུག་པ་མེ་བུ་ ༡༩༣༡ ལོར་དགའ་ལྷན་གསེར་ཁྲིར་ལེབས་ནས་ཁྲིའོ་བདུན་མཐར་སྤྱིན་པ་བསྐྱབས།  
དམ་ས་འདིས་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གནང་རིང་ཚོས་སྤྱི་གཉིས་ཀའི་ལས་དོན་བཅུན་འདོམས་པས་ཆེ་བ་དང། ཁྲིམས་འགལ་རིགས་མཐོ་  
དམན་སུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་རུང་ནག་ཉེས་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་ལ་གཞིགས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཚད་ནན་པོ་གནང་བ་མ་ཟད། སྤྱི་དྲུང་སུ་བོད་སྤྱོད་ཨམ་  
བན་ཕུན་ཀེན་དང། ལུ་མ་རྒྱུད། རུང་ཤལ། ཤིན་ཁོལ་ཚོན་རྒྱུད། ཀོན་ཅན་པའོ། རྩང་པའོ། ཉེ་རྒྱ་བཅས་བརྒྱན་ཅམ་འཕྲོར་བ་  
རྣམས་དང་མཐུན་སྤྱི་ལེགས་པོ་བྱུང་ཡང། སྤྱི་དྲུང་གནང་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་ཅ་ལྷ་པ་རྒྱ་ལོས་ ༡༩༣༣ ལོར་ཅེས་རྟན་ཨམ་  
བན་འཕྲོར་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་ཚང་མར་དམ་པ་འདིར་ཅེས་མེད་ཀྱིས་དབང་ཤེད་ཆེ་བ་དང་བཅས་མི་མཐུན་པའི་འགལ་རྒྱ་  
བྱུང་ཞིང། འོགས་མཚུངས་བཟུལ་ཤིས་ལྷན་པོའི་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གི་སྐབས་དབྱིངས་སྤྱོད་རི་བསྐོ་བཟང་སྤྱིན་པ་དང་པཎ་ཚོན་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་  
ལུ་སྤྱི་ལེགས་སོགས་ཞབས་འབྲིང་མཐོ་གསུམ་ཁག་གཉིས་དང། སྤྱི་གཞུང་གི་དགོན་རིགས་མཐོ་འབྲིང་ཁག་གཉིས་བཅས་  
ཚང་མ་ཁ་མཐུན་གྱིས་ཚེས་རྟན་ཨམ་བན་བརྒྱན་གོང་མ་ཉའོ་གོང་ལ་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ལོ་མིན་ཉན་གྱི་ནག་ཁ་ཞེས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཞུ་སུལ་  
བར་བཞེན་དགྲའ་ལོ་དག་སུམ་པ་ཤིང་སྤྱིལ་ ༡༩༣༥ ལོར་གོང་མས་བཀའ་པལ་པ་ལྟར་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གི་ཁྲིལ་ས་པལས་ཉེ་ཉེ་ལུང་  
ཅང་ཞིང་ཚོན་དུ་རྒྱུད་འབྲུང་ཐོག་བཙོན་འཇུག་དོ་དམ་འོག་བཞག་སྟེ་སྤྱིན་ཚང་ཡང་སྤྱི་ཅད་གཅོད་མི་ཚོགས་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཞུ་བ་  
བསྐྱབས་ཀྱང་བྱས། སྤྱི་དྲུང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཚོ་སློབ་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ནས་འཛིན་བཟུང་དོ་དམ་བྱས་རྗེས་སེར་སྤྲོད་ཀྱི་ཐེང་འབྲུགས་ཐེར་བ་



བྱུང། ལོ་ཤས་སོང་རྗེས་ཚོ་ནི་དགོན་ཆེན་གྱི་ལས་སྡེ་དང། སྲུང་མངས། དུལ་སྡེ་བཙུན་ལུ་ཡང་ཡང་ལུལ་  
བ་ལྟར། རང་དུལ་གྱི་དགོན་པར་བཞུགས་ཆོག་པའི་ཆོག་མཚན་ཐོབ་པ་བཞིན་སྐྱེ་ཆའི་སྲིད་ཏུ་ཚོ་ནི་དགོན་ཆེན་ཏུ་བཞུགས་ནས་  
མདོ་སྐད་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དགོན་ཁག་མང་པོར་མདོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འཆད་སྡེལ་གནང་བ་བྱུང། དགྲུང་ལོ་དོན་གཅིག་པ་རབ་བྱུང་  
བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་ཚུའི་ ༡༧༦༣ ལོར་སོག་དུལ་ཐོང་གོང་ལུལ་ཏུ་གནང་ཞུ་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་ཐེབས་ནས་ཆོས་འཆད་སྡེལ་འགའ་ཞིག་  
གནང་རྗེས་སུ་གཤེགས། འདིའི་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཉུང་ཟད་མདོ་སྐད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཏུ་གསལ།

རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཁྲི་འདོན་དང་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡང་སྲིད་སྲི་བྱིར་དོས་འཇིག།

རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དེ་མོ་ནི་ཐོག་སྐྱེ་མཚོ་གཞོན་མེད་མའི་ནད་ཡམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་གཞི་ཐེབས་ཏེ་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་སྲིད་དུ། ས་ཡོས་སྤྱི་ལོ་  
༡༧༡༩ རོད་ཚེ་ ༣ ཚེས་ ༣ ཉིན་ཚོ་བྱུང་ཞེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་དང། དེའི་སྤྱི་ཉིན་ནས་བཀའ་ཤེས། ཚེ་མོད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་འཁོར།  
སེར་འབྲས་དགོ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཁན་ལས་སོགས་གྲོས་ལ་དབང་བའི་མི་སྣ་ཆོག་མཚན་འཇོགས་ཀྱི་དགོངས་འཆར་ཅེ་མ་ཐུན་བྱུང་  
དོན་བཞིན། ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་ནི་མིན་ཉན་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱུང་གཤེད་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འདི་ཉིད། རོད་ལྗོངས་ཆོས་སྲིད་  
ལུགས་གཉིས་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཀྱི་གསེར་ཁྲིར་མངའ་གསོལ་ཞུ་རྒྱུའི་འདོད་པ་གཅིག་མ་ཐུན་ཏུ་བྱུང། ལྷན་པས་  
དེར་ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་འདི་ཉིད་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་མན་ཅིང་གོང་པ་ཅ་ཅིང་དགོང་ལོ་དུག་ཅུ་ལ་ཐེབས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཡེར་མཁན་པོར་ཐེབས་  
ཅིས་གནང་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་ཡིན་ཡང། རོད་ལྗོངས་ཆོས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་འགན་དབང་བཞེངས་རྒྱ་ནི་དེ་བས་གལ་ཆེ་སྐབས། སྐྱེ་  
ཡེར་མཁན་པོ་སྐྱེ་ཚབ་གཞན་ཞིག་མངགས་ཏེ། ས་ཡོས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༧༡༩ རོད་ཚོད་ཚེ་ ༣ ཚེས་ ༥ ཉིན། རོད་ལྗོངས་ཆོས་  
སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀར་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བའི་དགའ་ཐུན་པོ་མང་པའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་འགན་དབང་བཞེས། བཀའ་ཤེས་དང་ཨམ་བན་  
སོགས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་སྲིད་ནས་ཅིས་འབྲུལ་ཞུས་པའི་སྲིད་ཐམས་དང་བྲུག་ལྡེ་སོགས་ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་ལ་ཅིས་སྲོད་ཞུས། དེ་ནས་  
བཟུང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༧༩༩ བར་མི་ལོ་ཉེད་ལྷ་རིང་སྲིད་སྲོད་གནང་བའི་རྒྱུད་རིམ་ཁོད། སྲིད་འབྲོར་རིག་གསུམ་གང་ཐད་ནས་  
འཇུགས་ཆ་དོད་པོའི་འཇིག་སྲོད་དང་ཡར་རྒྱས་དེས་ཅན་གནང། འདི་ཉིད་སྲིད་སྲོད་ཆབ་གསུམ་བསྐྱོབ་འཇགས་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱས་  
ཚུལ་ཐད་ནས་ཐར་ནང། རྒྱ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཆོས་བཞི་སྟེ། དེའི་སྤྱི་ཉིན་བཀའ་ཡི་ཚོན་ཆེན་ཆམས་དང། ཚེ་མོད་ནང་མ་ལས་  
ཚན། བྱུང་བྱིངས། སེ་འབྲས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ལས་སྡེ་སོགས་སྤྱི་འཇོགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ནས། དེར་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུའི་  
གཞིགས་ཆེན་པོའི་མཚོགས་སྐྱེལ་གསེར་ཞལ་དེས་པ་མ་བརྟེན་པའི་ཁར། དེ་མོ་ནི་མིན་ཉན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཡང་སྐོ་བྱུར་ཞབས་  
པད་མ་བརྟན་པར་འདི་སྐབས་སུ་གྲུར་ཐེབས་མ་མཚེས་པས། དེས་ན་ཁྲི་ཆེན་ཨེར་ཉེ་ནི་ནི་མིན་ཉན་ (ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་) ཀྱི་སྐྱེལ་  
པའི་སྐྱེ་འདི་དེར་སྐབས་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོ་དགྲུང་ལོ་དུག་ཅུ་ལ་ཐེབས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཡེར་མཁན་པོར་ཐེབས་ཉེར་གྲུར་ནང། རོད་ཀྱི་  
ལས་དོན་ཅ་འགངས་ཆེ་གཤིས་སྐྱེ་ཡེར་མཁན་པོ་ཞིག་གཏོང་འཇུག་དང། སྐྱེལ་པའི་སྐྱེ་འདི་ཉིད་དེ་མོ་ནི་མིན་ཉན་གྱི་ལས་  
ཆབ་ཏུ་བསྐྱོབ་འཇགས་དང་བཙུན་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསེར་སྐྱེན་དུའང་སློན་བརྒྱུད་སྐྱེལ་རྒྱུ་སྐྱེལ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་དགོས་ཞེས་མཁུའི་གཅིག་གི་  
གྲོས་ལྟར། རོད་བཞུགས་ཡུའི་ཨམ་བན་དང་ཀོ་ཨམ་བན་ཆམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཡ་མོན་དུ་ཚང་མ་བསྐྱོད་དེ་སྐྱེད་འཇགས་ཞུས་དོན།  
ཏུ་ཤིན་ཆམ་གཉིས་ནས་ཀྱང་རོད་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་སྐྱེལ་འགན་ཆེ་བའི་བབ་ཀྱིས་དེ་འབྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་སྲིད་ནས་ལས་ཐམ་

ནམས་ཡ་མོན་དུ་བཞེས་ནས། སྐྱེ་ཚབ་སྐྱེ་བོ་ཆེའི་གདོང་ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་ལྷ་བྱང་དུ་འབྲུལ་བར་མངགས་ནས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལས་  
 དོན་འདི་སྤུས་ནས་འཇུག་ཤོར་བྱུང་ན་མ་འགའ་བས་དེད་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསེར་སྟོན་དུ་འདྲེས་སློན་རྒྱུ་བཀའ་  
 གསལ་མ་ལེབས་ཀྱི་བར་སྐྱེལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་ཉིད་ནས་དེ་མོ་ཉོ་ཐོག་གུའི་ལས་ཆབ་ཀྱི་ལས་དོན་གང་ཅི་གནང་དགོས་བསྐྱོ་བཞག་  
 གནང་བ་བཞེན། ཕྱི་ཉིན་ཆེས་ལྷ་ནས་ལས་དོན་ལྷུང་བཞེས་བསྐྱེད་པ། ཞེས་གསལ།

འདི་སྐྱོར་ཐམ་དེབ་ནང་། དེ་མོ་ལོ་མེན་ཉན་ས་ཡོས་ལྷ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཆེས་གསུམ་ཉིན་བསྟན་རྒྱུ་སྲིད་ཆོས་རར་སྐྱེ་  
 ག་ཤེགས། རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པའི་ཡང་སྲིད་མཆོག་སྐྱེལ་དེས་པ་མ་ཉེད་གཤེས། སྐབས་དེའི་ཨམ་བན་ཡུའི།  
 ཀོ་རྣམ་གཉིས་ནས་ཐམ་ག་ཁག་དམ་མནན་གྱི་བྱུག་ལྷེ་བཀའི་མདུན་སློན་རྣམ་བར་ཅིས་སློད་མཛད། དེ་འབྲུལ་ཆོགས་  
 འདུ་འཛོམས་ཉེ་སྲིད་འཛིན་སྐྱེལ་མདུན་སློན་སྐྱེ་མོས་ཀྱི་ཨམ་བན་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྟོན་ཞུས་ཐོག། །ཨེར་ཉེ་ནི་སྐྱེ་མ་ཉི་  
 པམྱིའི་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེ་དག་དབང་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོར་ས་ཡོས་ལྷ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཆེས་ལྷ་ཉིན་དེ་མོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དེ་  
 ཉིད་ཀྱི་དུལ་ཐམ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཐམ། རྟགས་ཐམ་བཅས་ཅིས་སློད་བསྐྱེལ་ཉེ་དེ་ཉིན་ནས་སྲིད་སློང་ལས་ཆབ་ལྷུང་བསྐྱེད་  
 མཛད་བས་ལྷ་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཆེས་བཅུ་གཉིས་བར་དེ་མོའི་དམ་བྱུག་ལེ་ཆོན་སྐྱེལ་མཛད་དེ་འཛིན་པ་གནང་ཡང་། གཏན་  
 ཆོགས་དང་། རྒྱལ་གཞོན་རིགས་ལ་མ་བསྐྱེལ། གསེར་སྟོན་སློན་གྱི་ཕྱིར་ལེབས་བཀའ་ཡི་དགོངས་དོན། རྒྱ་ཆེན་  
 ཁྲི་བཞུགས་ཉེར་བཞེ་བ་ས་ཡོས་ལོ་དེ་གའི་རྒྱ་བ་བརྒྱད་ཆེས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཉིན་ས་མ་ཉི་པམྱིའི་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེ་དག་དབང་འཇམ་  
 དཔལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁྲི་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ། ཞེས་དང་། ལྷགས་འབྲུག་ལོར་སྲིད་སློང་ཆེན་པོར། གསེར་  
 སྟོན་སློན་པའི་བཀའ་ཡི་དགོངས་དོན་ཨེར་ཉེ་ནི་ལོ་མེན་ཉན་གྱི་ཆོ་ལོ་འཇམ་ས་བཅས་ལེབས།<sup>2</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

རྒྱལ་བའི་ཡང་སྲིད་འོས་འཛིན་སློང་།

ཆེ་སློན་སྲིད་ལ་སྲིད་སློང་གཞན་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་སྲིད་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ནི། འདི་ཉིད་སྲིད་སློང་གནང་རིང་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་སྲིད་  
 ལྷ་ཕྱི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཡང་སྲིད་འོས་འཛིན་གནང་དགོས་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ཡིན། ཁོང་དགའ་ལྷན་མོ་བྱང་པའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིར་འཁོད་པའི་ཉིན་  
 དང་པོ་ནས་བྱུག་ལས་དང་པོ་མགོ་འཇུགས་གནང་ས་ཡང་། རྒྱལ་དབང་གོང་མ་ལྷུང་རྟོགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཞི་བར་གསེགས་  
 པའི་ཡང་སྲིད་འོས་འཛིན་གྱི་བྱུག་ལས་དེ་ཡིན། ཁོང་གིས་གཤམ་གནང་ཆེ་ལ་སྟོག་འཛིངས་ཆ་བའི་རྒྱལ་དབང་གོང་མའི་  
 ཡང་སྲིད་ས་བོན་འཛོལ་སྐྱེལ་ཆེད། མདོ་དབུས་སློང་གསུམ་གང་སར་མི་སྣ་ཆེད་བཏང་བུས་པའི་བྱུབ་དོན་དུ། ཀོང་  
 པོ་དང་། རིན་སྐྱེད་ས། ལྷུང་པོ། ཆབ་མདོ། ལི་ཐང་བཅས་ནས་དོགས་གཞི་ཡོད་པའི་ས་བོན་བྱུག་འདེམས་སྐྱེལ་བྱུང་བ་  
 དང་། དེའི་ནང་ནས་དམིགས་བསལ་ཁྲུང་ཆོས་ལྷན་པ་ཆབ་མདོ་དང་ལི་ཐང་ནས་ཡིན་པའི་སྐྱེ་བུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཆོན་བསྟན་  
 པའི་ཉི་མས་བྱུགས་དམ་བཅུགས་བས་བཟང་དོ་གར་བ་ལྟར། ལྷགས་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེ་ལོ་ ༡༤༣༡ བོད་ལྷ་ ༡ ཆོས་བཞེན་ཉིན་གོང་  
 མའི་ཡང་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ས་བོན་གཏན་འཁེལ་བུས། དེའི་ཕྱི་ལོ་རྒྱ་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་ལོ་ ༡༤༣༣ ལོ་བོད་ལྷ་ ༡ ཆོས་ ༡༥ ཉིན། རོར་བུ་སྲིད་

1 རྣམ་ཐར་ལོར་བུའི་བློང་། ཤོག་གྲངས། ༣༦-༣༧  
 2 རྒྱལ་རབས་གཡུ་ཡི་བློང་བར་ལྷུང་འཛིན་བྱས་འདུག



སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༡ ལོར་པོ་བྲང་དམར་པོ་སོགས་ཉམས་གསོ་མཛད་པ་དང་། ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་སྤེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༧ ལོར་དགུང་ལོ་  
 བཅུ་དགུར་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་ལས་བསྟེན་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་སྒོམ་པ་བཞེས། ལོ་དེར་ཐོང་གོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རེ་འདུན་ལྟར་ཐོང་  
 གོང་གླ་ཚང་གླ་རིགས་ཆེད་གཏོང་མཛད་དེ་བསྟན་འགྲོའི་མཛད་བཟང་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད། སྤྱིར་ཡུལ་མཆོག་རྒྱུན་དུ་སྐྱབས་ལུགས་  
 རྒྱུན་མཉམ་ཐོག་། བོད་ཀྱི་ས་ཁུལ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་དམག་ཐེང་དང་། ལྷག་པར་གཞུང་ཞབས་སྐྱོད་པོན་ཅན་ཁུལ་དམ་ཆེག་  
 ཉམས་དམས་ཆེ་བས། བོད་བསྟན་སྲིད་ཀྱི་གནས་སྤངས་ཉམས་ཞན་དུ་གྱུར་པ་སོགས་འགལ་རྒྱུན་དུ་མའི་དབང་གིས་ཁོང་གི་  
 སྐྱེ་ཆེ་གང་པོར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོས་སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་འགན་བཞེས་ཁོམ་མ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་མེ་བྱ་ལོ་སྤེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་  
 ༡༩༣༧ ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༡ ཉིན་ཅེ་པོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཉ་ལར་སྐྱབས་ལུགས་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན།<sup>4</sup>

རྒྱལ་བ་མཁས་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དོན་འཛིན་ཁྲི་འདོན་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱས་སྟོན།

རྒྱལ་དབང་གོང་མ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་མེ་བྱ་ལོ་སྤེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༧ ལོའི་ཟླ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༡ ཉིན་  
 ཅེ་པོ་བྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཉ་ལར་སྐྱབས་ལུགས་ལས་འདས་པའི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། མི་རིང་བར་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ཆེ་སྲིད་ཉོ་སྤོང་གི་སྤྱོད་  
 འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འགན་བཞེས་ནས་གོང་མའི་ཡང་སྲིད་བཅུད་གཙོད་ཀྱི་ལས་འགུལ་ཆོག་འཕྲོད་སྤེལ་ཏེ། མདོ་དབྱས་  
 སྟོན་གསུམ་སྤྱི་དང་། ལྷག་དོན་ཁམས་ཁུལ་དུ་ལྷ་སྐྱའི་ལུང་བསྟན་ལྟར་ས་པོན་འཚོལ་སྐྱབས་མི་སྣ་ཆེད་བཏང་གཞན་པའི་  
 ལྷན་དོན། ལྷགས་སྐང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༡ ལོར་གོང་མའི་ལོས་སྐྱུལ་དུ་ཉེ་ཉོར་དཀར་མཛེས་ཁང་གསར་ཚང་དང་། ཀོང་རག་  
 །མགར་ཐར་བཅས་ནས་གོང་མའི་བྱ་གཞུས་ལེ་རེ་བཞེན་དོན་འཛིན་སྐབ་པའི་དོ་མཚར་ཅན་གྱི་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་གསུམ་སྟོན་འགྲོའི་  
 ས་པོན་དུ་ཐག་གཅོད་ཐོག་། །དེས་གཞིའི་སྐབས་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུལ་ས་བསྟན་པའི་དབང་རྒྱལ་གིས་སྐབས་དམ་  
 བཟླས་པ་དང་ལྷ་སྐྱའི་ལུང་བསྟན་ཅེ་མ་སྐྱུན་བྱུང་དོན་ལྟར་ཐག་གཅོད་ཐོན་ཞུས་པ་དང་། བོད་ཟླ་ ༥ ཚེས་ ༡༧ ཉིན་པོ་བྲང་པོ་  
 ཉ་ལར་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱིན་བདག་མན་ཆེད་གོང་མའི་བསམ་པ་སྟོང་སྤྱད་གསེར་བུམ་དཀྱུགས་པའི་ཐོས་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་ཀྱང་།  
 མགར་ཐར་ནས་འཁྲུངས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་དོན་འཛིན་བྱུང་། དེའི་སྟོང་ནམ་ཐར་ལས། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༡ ལོར་ལྷགས་སྐང་ལོར་ལོས་  
 སྐྱུལ་ཁག་གསུམ་སྤྱི་ལས་ལས་གསེར་བུམ་དཀྱུག་འདོན་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱོད་སར་གདན་དྲངས་པ་ལྟར། རྗེ་འདི་ཡང་རྒྱ་བཀའ་སྲིད་པའི་  
 ཅན་མགར་ཐར་ནས་ཆེ་བས་བཏེགས་ཏེ་རིམ་གྱིས་ཐེབས་ནས་ལོ་དེའི་ཟླ་བ་ལྷ་པའི་ནང་བདེ་ཆེན་གསར་སྐབས་མཁམ་  
 དུ་ཐེབས། དེ་གར་ཀུན་གཞིགས་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ལོ་མིན་ཏན། བོད་བཞུགས་ཨམ་བན་ནམ་གཉིས།  
 གདན་ས་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱབས་ལས་སྤྱོད། བཀའི་གྲུང་སྟོན་སོགས་ཆེ་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ཐེབས་ནས་སྐྱོང་མ་ལ་ལོ་རིམ་གྱི་སྐབས་དམ་  
 རྗེ་མཚོག་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་ཉེར་སྐྱུད་སོགས་དོ་འདྲ་སྐྱུན་བསྟན་བཟླ་ཞིག་གཞན་བར་དོས་འཛིན་འཁྲུལ་མེད་མཛད།

ལོ་དེའི་ཟླ་བ་ལྷ་པའི་ཆེ་ཉེར་བཞེན་པོ་ཉ་ལར་གནས་བསྟོན་གོང་མའི་ལུང་གིས་གསེར་བུམ་དཀྱུག་བར་<sup>5</sup> མགར་  
 ཐར་གྱི་མཚོག་སྐྱུལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འདི་ཉིད་ཐོན། ཟླ་བ་དྲུག་པའི་ཆེས་འགོར་བདེ་ཆེན་ནས་གྲུང་ཐར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་

4 རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་བོད་ཡིག་དྲ་བར་གསལ།  
 5 རྣམ་ཐར་རྣམ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་སོགས་གྲངས། ༡༦

གདན་འདྲེན་ཞུས་ཤིང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་ས་བཞིའི་དུས་ཚེབ་ཉིན་ཀུན་གཟིགས་པ་ཆ་ཚེབ་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་མཚོག་གིས་ཡང་སྲིད་  
 རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་དབུ་སྐྱེས་གཙུག་ལུན་བཞེས་ནས། མཚོན་དག་དབང་བསྐྱེད་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་སློབ་མེ་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
 དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་གསོལ་བར་མཛད་པ་དང་། ཉིན་དེ་རང་ལ་གྲུང་ཐང་ནས་རི་རྒྱ་བསམ་གཏུན་སྦྱིང་དུ་གདན་འདྲེན་  
 ཞུས། གནམ་བསྐོས་གོང་མ་ཚེབ་པོར་གསེར་བུམ་བརྟག་དབྱེད་ཞུས་པའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་པོར་ནས་ཕུལ་བས་ཕྱིར་ཕེབས་  
 ལེགས་འབྲུལ་དུ། རྒྱ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ཚེས་ཉེར་གསུམ་ཉིན་གསེར་ཡིག་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་དང་། བཟ་གིས་པའི་སྤྱོད་པོས་སྲིད་དུ་རིང་  
 བ། རྫོང་འི་ཆ་ཚོར། རྒྱ་དུའི་སྤོང་བ་སོགས་སྤུལ་བ་རི་རྒྱ་བསམ་གཏུན་སྦྱིང་དུ་ཕུལ་བ་ན། པཌ་ཚེབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་  
 གཟིགས་ཚེབ་པོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཁྲི་ཚེབ་ལོ་མིན་ཉན་རིན་པོ་ཚེས་དབུས་པའི་ཤོད་བཞུགས་ཨམ་བན་ལྷན་  
 རྒྱས་བཀའ་དུག་སློབ་སོགས་ཚེ་རྒྱ་ས་དུམ་གྱི་གངས་དང་མཉམ་པའི་དབུས་སྤྱ། གསེར་ཡིག་གི་དགོངས་དོན་སྟོན་དུ་  
 ཕུལ་བར། འཛིགས་ཤིང་ཞུས་པ་མེད་པའི་ཉམས་ཀྱིས་གསལ་ཅིང་ཐུགས་སློབ་པའི་རྣམ་འགྲུབ་དུ་མ་མཛད།<sup>6</sup> ཅེས་གསལ།

རྒྱ་སྤྱུག་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༣ ལོ་ཤོད་ལྷ་ ༩ ཚེས་ ༡༥ ཉིན་པོ་གྲང་པོ་ཉ་ལར་ཞབས་སོར་འཁོད་དེ་སྲིད་སྦྱོང་འདི་ཉིད་  
 དང་ཚིན་གོང་མའི་སྤྱོད་པོར་ལྷང་སྤྱོད་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་དབུས་པས་གངས་ཅན་ཚེ་རྒྱ་སྤྱུག་འཛོམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་དབང་གོང་མའི་ཡང་  
 སྲིད་གྱི་ཁྲི་ཁོད་མངའ་གསོལ་མཛད་སློབ་རྒྱས་བྱས། དེའི་སློབ་རྣམས་ཐར་ནང་། ༡༩༥༣ ཤོད་རྒྱ་སྤྱུག་ལོའི་ལྷ་བ་བཞེ་པའི་  
 ཚེས་བཅུ་བཞེ་ཉིན་རི་རྒྱ་བསམ་གཏུན་སྦྱིང་ནས། གོང་མ་ཚེབ་པོས་བཀའ་མངགས་ཚིན་ཁལ་གྱིས་མཚོན་རྒྱ་ཤོད་ལྷ་  
 དཔོན་ཚེ་ལྷ་སོགས་སྤྱར་སྤོལ་ཚེབས་བསྐྱར་ཚེ་མོའི་ཚེབས་རྒྱལ་དང་། ཕེབས་བསྐྱེད་གཟབ་རྒྱས་བཅས་འདོད་རྒྱ་ཐང་གི་  
 བཞུགས་སྐྱར་དུ་བཞུགས་ཞབས་དང་། དེའི་སང་ཉིན་ཚེས་བཙོ་ལྷའི་སྤྱོད་པོ་ཉ་ལར་ཞབས་སོར་བཀོད། འཛོམས་སོར་བཀོད།  
 ཁྲི་ཕེབས་དངོས་གཞིའི་སློབ་རྣམས་ཐར་དང་། རོལ་ཆ་དང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རིམ་མང་སྐབས་དབྱེ་བའི་ཐོག་ལྷ་མོན་ནས་གོང་མ་  
 བདག་པོ་ཚེབ་པོའི་གསེར་ཡིག་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་མེར་སྤྱིང་གིས་སྤུན་བསྐྱེད་ཉེ་གདན་ཞུ་དང་། དེ་ནས་སྤྱུགས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་  
 ཁྲི་ཚེབ་མཚོག་དང་། ཤོད་བཞུགས་ཨམ་བན་རྣམས་གཉིས་ཚིན་ཁལ། སྤྱུགས་མེ་ལྷང་སྤྱོད་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་དཔོན་ཁག་བཅས་ཕེབས་  
 བསྟན་པོལ་ཆ་གསུམ་པ་དང་འབྲེལ་བར་སྤུན་འདྲེན་རྒྱ་སྦྱིང་དང་། རིན་རྒྱུན་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བདུན་བདད། རྒྱལ་ཚབ་རིན་པོ་  
 ཚེ་དང་ཞབས་པད་སོགས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་སྤྱོད་མཛད་དེ་ཚོམས་ཚེབ་སྲིད་ཞི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་སྤྱོད་པའི་འབྲུལ་བཞེས་དང་། གསེར་ཡིག་སྤྱོད་  
 ཤུབ་གཟིགས་ཕུས་བཅུགས་ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་པར། གོང་མ་ཚེབ་པོའི་གནང་རྟེན་འབྲུལ་བཞེས་དང་། གསེར་ཡིག་སྤྱོད་  
 ཤུབ་བསྟན་ཕུག་འཚོལ་བསྐྱེད་མེས་ཨམ་བན་སོགས་དང་མཛའ་དང་ཅེ་སློབ་བསྐྱེད་ཉེ། གསེར་ཁྲི་ཚེབ་པོར་ཞབས་  
 སོར་འཁོད་བསྟན་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ལོ་མིན་ཉན་ནས་མཛའ་དང་འབྲུལ་བཞེས་དང་། རྫོང་སྤྱོད་རིན་པོ་ཚེ་ནས་མཛའ་དང་ཕུལ་  
 བས་བཞུགས་ཁྲིར་འཁོད།<sup>7</sup> ཅེས་གསལ།

རྒྱལ་བ་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་མཚོག་ཞི། རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞེ་པའི་ས་པོ་ཁྲི་ལོ་སྤེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༩ ལོའི་ལྷ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༡  
 ཉིན་ཁམས་མི་ཉལ་མགར་ཐར་དགོན་པའི་ཉི་འགྲམ་དུ་ཡལ་བ་ཚེ་བརྟན་ནས་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་དང་། ཡུམ་གཡུང་དུང་བྱ་འཁྲིད་

6 རྣམ་ཐར་ལྷ་ཡི་རོལ་སོ་ཤོག་གྲངས། ༡༩

7 རྣམ་ཐར་ལྷ་ཡི་རོལ་སོ་ཤོག་གྲངས། ༡༤

གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྲིབ་སྲུ་སྐྱེ་བའུ་ལྷན་གྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༡ ལོར་དབུས་སུ་གདན་དྲངས་ཏེ་པཎ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མམ་དབུ་  
 སྐྱེ་གཙུག་ལྷན་བཞེས་ཏེ། མཚན་ལ་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཞེས་གསོལ། ཚུལ་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༩ ལོར་དབུང་ལོ་བཞི་པར་  
 ཅེ་ལོ་ཏེ་ལའི་གསེར་ཁྲིའི་མངའ་གསོལ་ཞུས། དབུང་ལོ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པར་པཎ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མ་ལས་དགོ་ཚུལ་གྱི་སྐྱོམ་པ་  
 བཞེས། དབུང་ལོ་བཅུ་བདུན་པར་བོད་ལྗོངས་ལྷ་མི་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རེ་འདོད་ལྟར་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་འགན་ལུགས་  
 རྗེས་བཀའ་འཛིན་བསྐྱེད་སྲུང་ན་ཡང་། རྒྱ་བྱུག་ཅམ་ལས་མ་སོང་བའི་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་ཤིང་ཡོས་སྐྱེ་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༥ ལོར་སྐོ་  
 ལུང་དུ་རེ་བོ་བྱེ་འཛིན་གཉིས་པའི་བོ་བྱང་ཆེན་པོ་ལོ་ཏེ་ལའི་བར་ཞི་བར་གཤེགས།

ཆོ་སྐོན་སྲིད་དགོན་པ་གསལ་སྐྱེ་བ།

དགོན་པ་འདི་ནི་ར་མོ་ཆེ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་རུབ་ངོས་སུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། བཞི་སྟེ་བྱ་ཚང་གི་འདབས་འབྲེལ་ཡིན། ཆོ་སྐོན་  
 སྲིད་ཅེར་བའི་མིང་དེ་ནི་དགོན་པ་འདི་བཏབ་རྗེས་མན་ཆེད་གོང་མ་རྒྱ་ཀོང་གིས་བཏགས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དགོན་པ་འདི་ཆོ་སྐོན་སྲིད་  
 སྐྱེ་བྱེད་གཉིས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུ་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་སྲོལ་གཙང་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་དུག་སོང་བའི་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་ཤིང་  
 ལུ་ (༡༩༥༥) ལོར་ཐོག་མར་བཏབ་ཅིང་། སེ་ར་སྐྱེད་བྱ་ཚང་གི་ཁོངས་གཏོགས་ཡིན། དགོན་པ་འདིའི་ཆགས་དབྱིབས་ནི་བྱང་  
 བས་སྐོར་གཏད་ཡོད་ཅིང་། འཇུགས་སྐྱེན་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ནི་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིམ་བཞེས་ ༤༩༧༠ ཅམ་ཡོད་ལ་ཤར་རུབ་ལྟོ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་  
 རྣམས་ཤལ་སྐོར་དང་། བྱང་ངོས་ཐོག་བཅེགས་བཞི་ཡོད་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཤར་ཤར་རུབ་གཉིས་ཡོད། ཤལ་སྐོར་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་  
 གསུམ་ནི་ཐོག་སོ་གཉིས་ལྷན་ཡིན། གྲ་ཤལ་དང་། དེའི་ཕྱིར་བར་བྲམས་སྟེང་ཤོད་གཉིས་ཡོད། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལྷེ་བའི་འཇུགས་  
 སྐྱེན་ཐད་ཤར་རུབ་གཉིས་སུ་བཅད་ནས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ལ་བལྟས་ན་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་རྗེས་གཉིས་སུ་འཇུགས་སྐྱེན་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་  
 པ་གསལ་ལོ་མཐོང་ལྟར། ཤལ་སྐོར་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དེའི་འཇུགས་སྐྱེན་དང་། བཟོ་བཀོད་ལ་བལྟས་ན་དགོན་པ་དེ་ཐོག་མར་  
 བཏབ་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བཟོ་དབྱིབས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རུབ་ངོས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སྟེང་ཤོད་བཟོ་བཀོད་ཤར་ངོས་ལས་ལེགས་པ་  
 ཡོད་པས་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མཐོང་ལྟར། ཤལ་སྐོར་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སོ་བྱང་དཀར་པོ་དང་། རུབ་ངོས་  
 ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སོ་བྱང་དམར་པོ་ཟེར། ཤལ་སྐོར་གྱི་སོ་བྱང་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ལ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིམ་བཞེས་ ༤༠༠༠  
 ཡོད་པ་དེའི་ནང་སྐྱུག་ཐག་རིང་ཚད་སྐྱེ་ཁྲི ༡༩.༧ ལོན་པའི་འདུ་ཁང་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའི་ཞེང་ཚད་ལ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲི ༡༠༠ དང་ཀ་ཀ་ཉི་ཤུ།  
 གསེང་གཡལ་མཐོངས་སྐོར་ལ་རིང་ཚད་སྐྱེ་ཁྲི ༤.༦ དང་ཞེང་ཚད་ལ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲི ༧ ལོན་པའི་རབ་གསལ་མཐོང་པོ་ཡོད། འདུ་ཁང་གི་  
 མདུན་དུ་སྐྱུག་ཐག་སྐྱེ་ཁྲི ༩.༧ ལོན་པའི་སྐོ་འཕྱོར་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེའི་གཡལ་གཡོན་གཉིས་སུ་རུང་ཁང་དང་། མཚོང་ཁང་ཡོད་  
 ཅིང་། དེ་ཚོའི་བཟོ་སྐྱེན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་ཚད་ཞན་ཅམ་ཡོད། འདུ་ཁང་གི་སྐྱུག་ངོས་ནི་མཚོང་ཁང་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའི་ནང་འཛིན་བཟོའི་ཡི་དམ་  
 ཚོས་སུང་གི་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་ཤལ་ཤལ་དང་། ཆོ་སྐོན་སྲིད་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་གཉིས་པ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུ་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལ་གདུང་དང་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་གསུམ་  
 པ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་དབུ་ལ་གདུང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་ཚད་ལ་ཐོག་སོ་གཅིག་ལོངས་པ་ཡོད། བར་ཐོག་གི་བྱང་ངོས་མགོན་  
 ཁང་ནང་འཛིན་བཟོས་ཏེ་མཁྱེན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་དགོ་ལུགས་ཚོས་སྐོར་སྐྱེད་མ་ཁལ་དུག་གི་སྐྱེ་བཟུན། བཅེགས་ལྷེབས་སུ་རས་  
 གྲིས་དང་ཆེམ་དུབ་མའི་ཐང་ཀ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་སུ་མ་ཚུགས་ཅམ་ཡོད། སྟེང་ཐོག་ཐོག་སོ་གཉིས་པ་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཁང་ནང་བཀའ་འཇུང་

དང་། བསྟན་འགྲུབ་ གསུང་འབྲུམ། ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ དེག་གནས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དཔེ་ཆ་གྲིས་མ་དང་། དཔར་མ་ཁྱོན་བསྟོན་པའོད་ཁྱི་  
 གཉིས་ལྟག་ཅམ་ཡོད། (དཔེ་མཚོན་ཁང་འདིའི་ནང་གི་དཔེ་ཆ་གསལ་ཆེ་བ་ལག་གཅིག་ལོ་ཉལ་དང་ཞོལ་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཁང་དུ་དཔོན་  
 ཟེན་) ཅེ་ཐོག་ཐོག་སོ་བཞི་པའི་དབྱིལ་ནི་ཚོམས་ཚེན་དང་། དེའི་གཡམས་གཡོན་གཉིས་སུ་གཟིམ་རྒྱུ་ཤར་ཤར་ལུབ་གཉིས། དཔེ་  
 གཟིགས་ཁང་། ཉི་ལོད། བར་ཁྲུམས་བཅས་ཡིན། ལུབ་དོས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། མོ་བྱང་དམར་པོ་ནི་ཤར་དོས་ཀྱི་མོ་བྱང་ལས་  
 སྤྱི་མཚན་ལེགས་ཤིང་། བཞོན་པ་ཐོན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དེར་བསྟུན་ན་ཤར་དོས་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྙིང་པ་ལས་ལོ་བཅུ་སྟག་ཁག་ཤིག་གི་ཕྱི་བ་  
 ཡོད། དེའི་བྱང་ཚོམ་ནི་ཀ་གཡུང་སོགས་ལ་བཞོས་དགོལ་གི་རྒྱན་རིས་མང་ལ་ཞིབ་ཚགས་ཆེ་བ། བཅུག་ལྷེབས་ཚང་མ་  
 ལྷེབས་གྲིས་ཡོད་པ། ཚོས་མདོག་རྣམས་ལ་འཕོ་ཉ་ཅང་མ་ཞིབ་ཡིན་པ་བཅས་ཤིང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དེའི་མདུན་དོས་ནི་སློ་  
 འཕྲོར་དང་། དེའི་སྟེག་ཏུ་འདུལ་དང་། འདུལ་དུ་གི་སྟེག་ཏུ་མཚོན་ཁང་། མཚོན་ཁང་གི་ཐུར་གཡམས་གཡོན་གཉིས་སུ་ལྟུང་ཁང་རེ་  
 རེ་བཅས་ཡོད། འདུལ་ཁང་སྟེག་གི་མཚོན་ཁང་དེར་ཞེན་ཚད་སྟེ་ཁྱི་ཁྱི་ ༡༥ དང་སྟེག་ཐག་སྟེ་ཁྱི་ ༡༣.༥ ལོ་བསྟེགས་ལྟ་ལྟ་ཡོད་པ་  
 བཅས་ཡིན། (མཚོན་ཁང་ནང་དུལ་ལས་བཞེངས་པའི་སྟོལ་མ་དང་། གསེར་ཟངས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ་བྱམས་  
 པ། རྗེ་ཚོང་ཁ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་མང་པོ་དང་། ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་སྐྱ་ཐོང་རིམ་ཁྱོན་གི་བཞུགས་ཁྱི་སྐྱ་ཐོང་གསུམ་པ་  
 རྗོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་། སྐྱ་ཐོང་བཞི་པ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་མཁས་གྲུབ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གསེར་གཡུང་བཅས་ཡོད།  
 བཅུགས་ལྷེབས་སུ་ལྷེབས་གྲིས་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིངས་ཡོད།) འདུལ་ཁང་གི་གསེར་གཡམས་མཚོངས་སྒྲིབ་ལ་སྟེ་ཁྱི་ ༤.༣ རིང་ཚད་སྟེ་  
 ཁྱི་ ༢.༥ ལོན་པའི་རབ་གསལ་ལ་བསྟེགས་ཡོད་པའི་འདུལ་ཁང་ནང་དུ་ཉི་ལོད་ཐོག་ཚང་ལེགས་ཤིང་། དཀར་གསལ་པོ་དོད་པོ་ཡོད།  
 འདུལ་ཁང་གི་མདུན་དོས་ཐུར་གཉིས་སུ་གསལ་སྟོ་བཏོན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནས་མཚོན་ཁང་གཡམས་གཡོན་གཉིས་ནང་འགྲོ་ས་ཡོད་པ་  
 དང་། གཡོན་དོས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་ཁང་དེར་རིང་ཚད་སྟེ་ཁྱི་ ༡༥ དང་ཞེན་ཚད་སྟེ་ཁྱི་ ༡༧ དང་ཞེན་ཚད་སྟེ་ཁྱི་ ༣.༦ ཡོད། འདུལ་ཁང་  
 རྒྱབ་ཀྱི་མགོན་ཁང་མདོ་སྟེག་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི་སྟེག་གི་སྟེ་ཁང་དང་། ཡི་དམ་ཚོས་སྤྱང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་དང་།  
 ཤར་དོས་ཀྱི་མགོན་ཁང་ནང་སྤྱང་མ་ཁག་བདུན། གཞན་ཡང་ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་སྐྱ་ཐོང་གཉིས་པའི་འདུལ་ཁང་། ལྷོ་མ་བདེ་གཤེགས་  
 བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་བརྟན་སོགས་ཡོད། འདུལ་ཁང་ཐོག་ཁྲིའི་བར་ཐོག་དུ་དགོན་པའི་ཚོགས་འདུལ་དང་། མཚོན་ཁང་ཆེ་རྒྱུ་ཚོགས་  
 ཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷོང་ཐོག་ནི་གཞི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་པའི་ཚོམས་ཚེན་ཡིན། ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་ཉི་ཐོག་སྐྱ་ལྷོ་ཕྱིས་སུ་བྱུང་པའི་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་རིམ་བྱུང་གི་ནང་  
 ལས་ཚབ་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་ཕྱགས་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་ཞིང་། མན་ཚིང་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་གི་བསྟོན་བསྟེན་དང་བཅུ་བཀུར་ཚེན་པོ་ཐོབ་པའི་འོག་ཚེ་སློན་  
 སྲིད་དགོན་པ་ཡང་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་བཞིའི་གསལ་སུ་ཚུད་པ་ཤིང་། ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་སྐྱ་ཐོང་དང་པོ་དག་དབང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནི་དུ་ལའི་ལྷོ་མ་སྐྱ་ཐོང་  
 བདུན་པ་སྐྱ་གཤེགས་ནས་པོད་ས་གནས་སུ་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་ཀྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་བརྟན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་བྱུང་པའི་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་གཉིས་  
 པ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། དུ་ལའི་ལྷོ་མ་སྐྱ་ཐོང་བརྒྱུད་པར་སྐྱ་ཐོང་སུ་ལོ་ཉི་ལུ་ཅམ་གི་རིང་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་དོན་ལུགས་ལྷོ་གནང་མཚན་པ་མ་ཟད།  
 མན་ཚིང་གོང་མ་ཚན་ལུང་གིས་བཀའ་མབ་པ་ལྟར་པེ་ཅིང་དུ་ཕེབས་ཏེ་ལོ་མང་རིང་མེས་རྒྱལ་གོང་བུ་གཅིག་གྱུར་སྐྱ་བརྟན་དུ་  
 བཏང་བ་དང་། རྒྱ་བོད་མི་རིགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མ་ཐུན་སྐྱེལ་ལ་པན་པ་ཡོད་པའི་མཚན་རྗེས་ཚེན་པོ་འཛོག་གནང་མཚན་ཡོད། ཚེ་སློན་  
 སྲིད་དགོན་པ་འདིར་ཉམས་ཚག་བྱུང་ཚུལ་སྟོར་གྱི། ཚེ་སློན་སྲིད་སྐྱ་ཐོག་གཉིས་པ་འཇམ་དབལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་  
 བཞི་པའི་ས་ཡོས་ (༡༩༡༩) ལོ་ནས་རབ་བྱུང་གོང་གསལ་གི་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ (༡༩༧༧) བར་ལོ་ཉི་ལུ་རྩ་ལྷའི་རིང་སྤྱི་དམྱོང་གི་འགན་





ཚོད་མི་འདུག་ཀྱང། སྤེལ་རྒྱུད་གཞུང་ཁོངས་ནས་སྐྱེས་ཚེས་ཁག་ལ་སྤྱི་ཚོད་མང་ཁར་གཅིག་ལ་གཉེས་འགྲུབ་གི་འདོན་ལ་འདོན་  
 བསྐྱེལ་དང། ཁྲལ་ཆག་སོགས་ལྷུ་མི་མང་བར་བརྟེན་གནས་བསྐྱོད་གོང་མ་ལྟ་སྤྱོད་དང་བདུན་པའི་ནང་བོད་འབངས་བདེ་ཐབས་སུ་  
 དགོངས་པའི་གཞུང་སྐྱེས་ཚེས་གསུམ་ཁྲལ་རིགས་འདུར་སྐྱབ་དགོས་པ་གསེར་གི་བཀའ་དབྱེད་མཚམས་མེབས་པའི་དགོངས་  
 དོན་བཞིན་མི་འདུག་ཀྱི་བོད་བཀའ་མོལ་གི་སྤྱི་དབང་ནས་མངའ་ཞབས་ཚང་མར་ཞིབ་དབྱེད་གི་འདོན་བསྐྱེལ་ཁྲལ་ཆག་སོགས་  
 ལ་སྐྱོམས་མཐར་རྒྱས་བཅད་གནང་འདུག་ཅུང་འགྲུབ་ཞིག་ནས་བཀའ་གཏན་དགོངས་དོན་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་འཁྲི་སྐྱབ་བྱས་མིན་  
 དང། ཐབས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན་རྗེས་གཞོན་མཐར་བསྐྱེལ་མཐར་བདེར་མ་གྱུར་པའི་སྤྱི་ལང་ལམ་དན་ཇེ་འཕེལ་གི་  
 ཁྲལ་གྲོགས་ཚང་མ་གཞུང་རྒྱག་དང། སྐྱེས་ཚེས་འཁོས་དམན་གྱིངས་ལ་གལ་བའི་ཉམས་གུང་ཐོར་རྒྱུ་ཅི་ཚེ་དང། གཞུང་འབབ་  
 རིམ་ཆག་གིས་གཞུང་རྒྱག་མཚོད་ཡས་མས། ཞོལ་ག། ཅམ་ལེན། ལྷ་གཉེས། ཤིང་གཉེར་སོགས་ལས་ཁུངས་ཁག་ཀྱང་ལྷན་འདུས་  
 མིན་གི་མཚོད་རྒྱུ་གལ་ཚེ་ཉམས་ཉམས་ཆག་དུ་གྱུར་ཉེ་བཅས་དེ་རྒྱར་ལ། འདི་གནས་ཀྱང་མངའ་འབངས་སྤྱི་དབྱེད་སྐྱོམས་  
 མཐར་དང། ལས་ཁུངས་ཉམས་པ་སོར་རྒྱུད་ཡོད་ཐབས་བཟུང་འདུན་ཡོད་སུས་ཐོག། བོད་མ་ཚེད་པའི་བཀའ་འབྲེལ་བོད་བཞུགས་  
 ཡམ་བན་ཚེན་སོ་ལྷན་རྒྱས་ནས་ཀྱང་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ནས་ཐང་ལུ་རིམ་པར་གནང་དོན་བཞིན་ཞིབ་གཅོད་པ་བཀའ་སྐྱོན་བཤད་སྤྱོད་བཞུགས་  
 སྤྱོད་མཚོད་དཔོན་མ་ཁག་སོ། ཅིས་དཔོན་པ་ལྷ་ག། འདི་གའི་མཐོན་བསྐྱེལ་བཟང་དག་དབང་བཅས་བསྐྱོད་བཞུགས་གི་རྒྱུ་གཞིས་  
 ཁག་གི་སྤྱོད་བཤད་ཞིབ་གཞུང། སོ་སོའི་འབྲེད་གཏན་བཅས་གོ་བསྐྱེད་ཞིབ་གཅོད་མཐར་ཕྱིན་བཟུང་བཟུགས་ཐོག་དབྱེད་  
 གཅོད་རྒྱུ་གཞིས་ཚང་མར་ཞིབ་གཞུང་བཀའ་འགྲུབ་གི་དམ་འབྲེད་རྗེ་སྤོན་དུ་བཏང་ཐིན་ཀྱང་དེ་དག་ལ་རྒྱ་འདོན་ལོར་འཁྲུལ་དང་  
 འཚེམས་ལུས། ཉེས་བསྐྱོན། སྤྱི་ཚེད་འབྲེད་འཚེམས་གཞུང་རྒྱག་ཁྲུང་བཞུང་དུ་དེ་གཉེས་ལ་སྤོང་འབབ་གཡོར་ཚེ་གལ་  
 བའི་ནད་མི་ཐེག་རིགས་དང། གཞུང་རྒྱག་གི་ས་ཞིང་སྐྱེས་ཚེས་ནས་བདག་པའི་འཁྲི་སྐྱབ་ཇེ་བཞིན་མ་གྲས་པ་སོགས་ཡོད་མེད་  
 ས་གནས་རྒྱུད་སྤོད་སོ་སོས་བཅད་གཅོད་མཐར་ཕྱིན་གི་དངོས་གནས་དག་འཕེར་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྒྱུད་སྤོད་དང་འདུ་སྤྱིའི་མཐའ་  
 འདེམས་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་འདི་གའི་བཀོད་རྒྱ་ཁུངས་སོ་སོར་ཐེམ་ནན་སོང་བ་བཞིན་དེ་འབྲེལ་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་ཀྱིས་  
 འབྲོར་རིམ་བཞིན་སྤྱི་ལང་ཞིབ་སྤྱེལ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལམ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་བཟུང་བཟུགས་ཐོག་རྒྱ་འདོན་ལ་ལོར་འཁྲུལ་དང། སྤྱི་ཚེད་འབྲེད་  
 འཚེམས་སོགས་ཚང་མར་ཞུས་དག་དང། གཞུང་རྒྱག་འབྲེད་དན་རིགས་ལ་བབས་མཚུངས་གི་ཆག་ཡང་ས་ཞིང་སྐྱེར་ཚེས་  
 ནས་འདེབས་བདག་བྱས་རིགས་ལ་རྗེས་འབྲེལ་གི་འཁྲི་སྐྱབ་འགོལ་བཀོད་ཀྱི་དོས་སོགས་ཚང་མར་ཉེ་བཀས་མེད་པའི་གཏན་  
 འཁེལ་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་འཆར་གཞིར་འདི་ནས་ཀྱང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཀན་ཏན་དང། ཡམ་བན་ལྷན་རྒྱས་ལའང་བཀའ་མོལ་གི་སྤྱི་དབང་  
 ཕྱིན་ཚད་འཁྲི་སྐྱབ་གྱི་དབྱེད་ལུགས་ཞིབ་གཞུང་སྤོན་བཏང་ལྷན་ཤིང་ཕག་པན་གི་སྤྱི་ཚེད་དང་འགས་སྤེབས། དཀྱིས་ཆག། མཚོད་  
 གཞིས་གཏོང་སྤོན་གཞུང་གཏོང་གཡོར་འདེགས་དགོས་རིགས་སོགས་ལ་ཁྲལ་རིགས་ཅིས་གཞི་བསྐྱེར་བའི་གཏོང་ཡོང་ཁ་འཐབ་  
 ཏུ་བཏང་བ་སོགས་ཆག་འོས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་དབང་སྤྱི་དབང་ལམ་ཐོག་ས་ཚེགས་ལ་གཞུང་སྐྱེར་ཚེས་གསུམ་རྒྱུང་མཉམ་འདུར་དང་རྒྱུད་  
 བསྐྱེལ་རྒྱ་ཤིང་དངོས་བཅས་གཞུང་རྒྱག་གྱིངས་རྒྱུང་དང། དཀྱིས་ཀོང་སོགས་ས་རྟེན་ཞན་པའི་རིགས་དང། གཞུང་རྒྱག་  
 སྤར་ནས་འདོན་བསྐྱེལ་ཡོད་རིགས་སྐྱེར་ཚེས་ཁག་བཅས་ཉེས་སྤོན་གཅིག་གི་སྤྱི་ལང་སྤྱི་དབང་དབྱེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་  
 གཞིས་སོ་སོར་ཞིབ་གཞུང་གཏན་འཁེལ་བཏང་བ་འདི་བཞིན་ལ་སུས་ཀྱང་ལྷན་འདུག་མེད་པ་སྤྱི་ཚེད་དགོས་

རྒྱུར་བཅས་ལ་དགོངས་བཞེས་མ་མཛད་པའི་རང་འདོད་སྟུན་ལྷན་ལུ་མཐར་སྐྱེལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་བོད་ལྷ་དཔོན་གནང་གཏང་དུ་གྱུར་ཆོ།  
 གཞུང་འདི་བསྟན་པ་མཚོན་སྤྱིན་གྱི་བདག་པོར་སོང་གཤེས་གོང་ལྷན་སེ་འབྲས་དགའ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱུན་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཐོགས་ཐོག  
 ལྷ་སྟན་ཚོགས་སྟོན་གྱི་མཚོན་པས་གཞུང་གཏོང་འཆར་འཕམ་གྱི་གཏོང་སྟོ་འགོ་ཁུངས་གང་ཡིན་གྱི་ཐོད་དང་། སྐར་ཚོས་དཔག་  
 བཅན་ལྷ་ལེ་མཛད་མི་ཁག་གི་སོ་སའི་འཛིན་ཁོངས་གྱི་དགོས་བཞེས་དང་། རྒྱུར་འདོན་འདི་ཡོད་བཅས་གྱི་ཐོད་ཐོས་གནས་  
 བཀོད་དེ་སྟུན་ལྷན་ལུ་སྐྱེལ་ཚོགས་ལྷན་རྒྱུར་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་ཀྱང་གཞུང་སའི་སྤྱིད་སྤྱུག་སྟུན་ལྷན་ལུ་འདི་དག་གོང་མ་ཆེན་  
 པོའི་གསེར་སྟུན་དུ་སྤོགས་མཚུངས་སུ་སྟོན་བརྒྱུད་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་ཅི་ནས་མཁུན་མཁུན་ཞེས་གཞུང་སའི་ཞབས་ལྷན་བཀའ་སྟོན་  
 དང་། མི་དཔག་ནང་མ་མཁུན་སྟེ་ཆུང་། རྒྱུར་འཁོར་ལས་ཚན་པས་མཚོན་སེར་སྐྱུ་དཔག་འབྲིང་དུ་གྱུས་གསུམ་བཀའ་འབྲིན་བསམ་  
 ་ཤེས་ཚང་མས་མཁུན་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྤྱུལ་བའི་ལྷ་ཐོ་ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་ལགས་སོ།།

ཞིབ་གཞུང་འདི་ནི་དེ་སྤེལ་བོད་གཞུང་གི་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཡོངས་ནས་ས་ཁུལ་ཉུང་ཤམ་ལ་དེ་རྗེས་བསྐྱར་ཞིབ་བཞུགས་  
 ཏེ་ཞིབ་གཞུང་གསལ་བཀོད་ལེ་བུང་མ་གཏོགས་དེ་བྱིངས་རྒྱ་བྱུང་ཚང་མར་ས་རིས་བདག་དབང་དང་། ཁྲལ་ལུས་སྐྱབ་  
 ཆག་འཇགས་གསུམ་གང་ཅིའི་ཐད་འདི་ཉིད་རྩ་འཛིན་གྱི་དེ་པའི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་གྱི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་སྟོན་བཀོད་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཤིག་  
 ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༩ བར་ལོ་ངོ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་དགུ་ཙམ་གྱི་རིང་རྩ་བའི་ཆུ་ལྷན་གཞུང་སྐར་ཚོས་གསུམ་ཚང་  
 མས་འདི་ལ་གཞི་བཟུང་བཞུགས་པར་བརྟེན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་རྙིང་པའི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་བདག་དབང་ལས་ལུགས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་  
 བྱ་རྒྱུའི་དབྱུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་གསལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད། ཞིབ་གཞུང་ངོ་མར་སྐྱབས་དེའི་བོད་སྟོན་ཨམ་བན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་  
 ཐམ་ག་པལ་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་ཆ་ཚང་ད་ལྷ་བོད་རང་སྟོང་སྟོངས་ཡིག་ཆ་གསལ་བདག་གཉེར་ཁང་གིས་ཀྱང་གཅིགས་སུ་བཟུང་  
 བས་དམ་ཚོགས་བྱས་ཡོད།

ཞིབ་གཞུང་འདི་བཞིན་རྗེ་ལྟར་སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཡུལ་དུ་ ཡིག་ཆ་ཨང་ ༡ མོ་ཏ་ལ་ཞོལ་འོག་སྟོ་བྱང་གི་གཞུང་རྒྱུགས་ཞིབ་  
 གཞུང་ནས། ཡིག་ཆ་ཨང་ ༦༠ རྒྱུང་ལྷན་གྱི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་བར། དབྱེ་བ་ཞིབ་ཚོགས་བྱས་ནས་སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཡོད།  
 དེ་དག་ལྷ་བདེའི་རེ་ལུ་མིག་ཏུ་འགོད་པ།

9 ལྷགས་སྤྱུག་ཞིབ་གཞུང་གི་མགོ་བརྗོད། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་།

- ཡིག་སྐད་མང་།
- ༡ རོ་ཉལ་ཞོལ་འོག་སྒོ་བྱེད་གི་གཞུང་རྒྱལ་ཁུགས་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢ རོ་ཉལ་ཞོལ་འོག་མཚོན་གཞིས་ཁག་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣ གོང་དཀར་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤ རོལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥ བྱ་ནང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༦ ལྷོ་གདོང་མངལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༧ འཕྲོངས་རྒྱལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༨ འོན་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༩ བསམ་ཡས་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༠ མལ་གུང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༡ ལྷག་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༢ མཁར་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༣ མང་མང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༤ ཟངས་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༥ ལྷན་གྲུབ་རྫོང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༦ ལྷ་ལུང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༧ ལྷོང་ལུང་ཚལ་བདེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༨ ཡངས་ཅན་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༡༩ རོད་མདོ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༠ བྱ་ཕྱི་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༡ འོལ་དགལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༢ གཡུལ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེན་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༣ མཚོ་སྐ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༤ སྤུ་ལུ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༥ དར་མ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༦ ལྷ་ཁང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༧ སེང་རྫོང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༨ རོ་རྫོང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༢༩ རྒྱ་མདའ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༠ ཞོ་ཁ་ལུན་ཚོགས་རབ་བརྟན་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།

- ཡིག་སྐད་མང་།
- ༣༡ རོ་རྫོང་གཡུལ་རྒྱལ་རབ་བརྟན་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༢ ཅེ་སྐང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༣ ལྷེ་མས་སྒོང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༤ ལྷང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༥ ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༦ ཚོས་འཁོར་རྒྱལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༧ ལྷ་གམོལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༨ སེལ་དཀར་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༣༩ རྫོང་དགལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༠ ལྷོང་ཕོང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༡ གཉལ་ནང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༢ མཁར་རྟ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༣ གཉིང་སྐེམ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༤ རིན་ཚེན་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༥ གཞིས་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༦ ལྷམ་གླིང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༧ ལྷ་བུ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༨ རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༤༩ ལྷོང་དཀར་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༠ མར་རྒྱང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༡ ལྷོ་མོ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༢ རིན་སྐྱེད་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༣ བ་རྒྱལ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༤ འདུས་བྱུང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༥ དབང་ལྷན་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༦ རྒྱལ་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༧ བག་རི་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༨ ལྷ་ཅེ་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ༥༩ ལྷོང་ཁུགས་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།

རྒྱལ་ཚབ་གནང་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་དུས་ཟིང་སྟོང་།

སྡོ་བོ་ཀམ་མཁའ་སྟེ་བའི་དུས་ཟིང་། ལྷི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༦ བོད་མེ་སྟེ་ལོར། སྡོ་བོ་ཀམ་མཁའ་སྟེ་བ་ནས་བོད་གཞུང་ལ་སྐར་ལམ་  
 ལོ་དུས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམ་རྣམས་དུས་ཚོགས་ཏུ་མ་སྤུལ་བ་མ་ཟད། བཞུགས་པའི་ལོ་ལྔ་ལྷག་ལ་ཡང་ཉན་ཤེས་མ་བྱས་པར་  
 སྡོ་བོ་ལམ་ས་བཅའ་ལམ་འཕྲང་དོག་པ་སོགས་རྣམས་འཁྲུང་བའི་བྱས་པར་བརྟེན། བཀའ་རྒྱོན་བཤའ་སྲོ་དོན་བྱུང་དོན་རྗེ་  
 རོ་ལས་དམག་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་རྫོངས་བདེ་བ་གནང་དོན། ཞི་དགའ་བྱུང་འཕེལ་གྱི་སྡོ་བོ་ལ་ཞིབ་དཔྱད་བཀོད་ཁུབ་བྱས་  
 པར་ཀམ་མཁའ་དཔོན་འབངས་ཚང་མས་སྲོད་ཕྱིན་སྲུང་བྱང་འཇོལ་མེད་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལེ་ཁས་ལེན་དམ་བཅའ་བཞག་ནས་རེ་ཞེག་  
 ལེ་འཇིགས་བྱུང་འདུག དེ་སྟོར་རྣམས་ཐར་དུའང། འདི་ལོ་སྡོ་བོ་དམག་ལམ་འཕྲོ་བྱུང་བར་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་  
 རྒྱུན་གྱིས་གཙོས་མི་དག་རྣམས་ལ་ཉོག་གནས་ཚོ་ལོ། སྡོ་བོ་དང་སོགས་བདག་རྒྱུན་འཕམ་གཅིགས་སྤུལ་བའི་ལེགས་  
 འདུལ་ལྷ་མི་རྣམས་ལ་མཇུག་བྱས་པར་སྐྱེད་པར་སྐྱེད།<sup>10</sup> ཅེས་འཁོད་འདུག་ཀྱང། དེའི་ཕྱི་ལོ་སྐར་ལང་ཁས་ལེན་དམ་བཅའ་  
 བཅེ་སྲུང་གིས་ཁྲིམ་འདུལ་སོགས་མ་བྱས་པར་སྐར་བཞེན་དཔོན་ལེན་བྱས་རྒྱུ་དཔུས་གཙང་གཞུང་དམག་དང་རྒྱ་ཁྲུབ་  
 ལས་དམག་བསྐྱེད་སོགས་རིམ་རྫོངས་བྱས་པ་མ་ཟད། དཔུང་དམག་སྤྱི་ཁྲིམ་ཏུ་བཀའ་རྒྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་དོ་ལས། དམག་དཔུང་  
 འགོ་འདོམས་སོགས་བསྟོར་གཏོང་གཞི་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཅེས་གནང་དགོས་བྱུང་འདུག་པ་རྣམས་ཐར་དུའང། མེ་བྱ་རྒྱ་བ་བདུན་པའི་  
 ལང་། འདི་སྐབས་སྡོ་དོན་སྟོར་བསྐྱུར་དུ་ཟེངས་ཤིག་ལ་བརྟེན་དམག་བསྐྱུར་ལང་གི་དཔུང་འཇུག་ཏུ་འགོ་མི་ཅེ་ཤོད་བྱུང་  
 འཁོར་དང། དམག་མིའི་འགོ་བྱེད་ཏུ་བརྒྱ་མིང་སོགས་དང། དཔུས་གཙང་དམག་མི་བྱིངས་སོགས་རིམ་ཐོན་རྣམས་ལ་  
 རྒྱག་དབང་སྐབས་འཇུག་ཐོན་གནང་རིམ་པར་སྐྱེད། བཀའ་རྒྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་ཁས་ལེན་དོན་གཅོད་དུ་བསྐྱོད་དགོས་ལ་  
 རོ་གཏོག་ལས་བྱ་དང་བཅས་པར་ཐོན་བྱས་མཇུག་ཁ་གནང། དེ་སྐབས་སྡོ་དམག་བསྐྱུར་ལང་གིས་མི་སེར་ལ་བདེ་བས་  
 བསེག་དང། གཞུང་གནས་ལ་ཡང་ཐུགས་འགོ་ཅི་ཆེ་བཅས་བྱུང་བར་ཐུགས་གཤིང་དང། ཐུགས་ཡིད་འབྱུང་བའི་  
 ཚུལ་ཡང་བཞེས།<sup>11</sup> ཞེས་འཁོད་ཅིང། དཔུང་འཇུག་བྱས་མཐར་ཟིང་སྟོང་བྱེད་གཏེ་རྣམས་མཐར་སྟོང་ནན་པོ་བྱས་ཐོག་  
 དཔོན་སྟེ་བྱིངས་ནས་སྐར་བྱས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱུར་དང་ཕྱིན་ཚད་སྲུང་བྱང་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལེ་མཐའ་འདོམས་གན་རྒྱ་བྱངས་ཏེ་འཇུག་གཙོད་  
 ལེགས་ཅེས་བྱུང་བར་བྲག་ས།<sup>12</sup>

མིང་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་གསུམ་ལ་བཅའ་འཇུག་དུས་ཟིང་།

དེ་སྡོན་ནས་མིང་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོས་ལ་དུགས་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ཁག་ལ་དམག་འཇུག་སྲུ་བྱིང་བྱས་པ་མ་ཟད། ལྷི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༧  
 བོད་ཤིང་རྟ་ལོར་ཀ་མི་སྟོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གྲུ་ལམ་མིང་ཟེར་བས་མིང་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོས་བྱས་ཏེ་དམག་དཔོན་མ་རིང་ཐོར་  
 མར་དང། ལྷ་རྟ་མིང་ལ་སོགས་དཔུང་དམག་འཁོར་ཆེན་མངགས་ནས་ཐོག་མར་ལ་དུགས་ལ་བཅའ་འཇུག་བྱས་པ་དང།

10 ལོར་ཟེང་ཤོག་གྲངས། ༡༡༩  
 11 ལོར་ཟེང་ཤོག་གྲངས། ༣༡༣  
 12 རྒྱལ་རབས་གཡུ་ལི་ཟེང་ག། ཤོག་གྲངས། ༡༧༣

སྐབས་དེར་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་སྲུང་མཁན་མཁར་དཔོན་ས་བྱུང་བཀའ་ཤིས་དབང་སྐྱབ་པ་བྱ་གཉིས་དང་། ལ་དྲགས་  
 ཀྱི་བཀའ་སློན་ཉོག་པ་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་སོགས་ནས་སིང་དམག་བཀག་འགོག་དམག་འཐབ་དཔལ་ངར་ཚེ་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་འདུག་  
 ། མཚོན་ཆ་བཟང་ཞན་སྐྱབ་པས་མཐར་ཐོང་གསལ་འགོ་དཔོན་གསུམ་ཀ་དམག་ཐོག་ཤོར་བ་དང་། རྒྱུ་ལོ་དོར་ས་  
 བྱུང་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཟེར་བ་རྣམས་སྐྱོན་པོག་ཁར་དམག་དབྱུང་གིང་ས་ཐོར་ནས་དགའ་བོར་མགོ་འདོགས་དགོས་བྱུང་བ་བཅས་  
 ལ་བརྟེན་མཐར་ལ་དྲགས་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་སིང་བས་བརྒྱུད་ཞིང་། དོར་ས་བྱུང་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོར་བསྐོས་  
 ནས་ལོ་རེ་གྲུ་ལ་བ་སིང་ལ་དུལ་སྐོར་མོ་དགྲུ་སྟོང་རེ་འབྲུལ་རྒྱ་བྱས་ནས་ལོ་ལྷ་ཙམ་རྒྱལ་བོ་བྱས་པའི་སྐོར་སོགས་ལ་  
 སིང་དམག་འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཞིབ་པ་ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐྱུ་ལ་པར་དེབ་དོས་ ༥༠ རས་ ༥༧ ཡིག་ཆ་གཞན་ལས་ཤེས་  
 པར་བྱ་ཞིང་། ལོ་དྲུག་སོང་བའི་རྗེས་དམག་དཔོན་མ་རྗེ་རྒྱུར་ཡང་ལ་དྲགས་སུ་ཡོང་། དོར་ས་བྱུང་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་ལས་  
 བཟ། མི་འགྲུར་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ལ་དྲགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོར་བསྐོས། ལ་སིང་ཕྱོགས་སྐྱིལ་གྱིས་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་  
 དུ་དབྱུང་འདུག་བྱེད་སྐབས་མ་རྗེ་གྱིས་སིང་དམག་རྗེ་ཡོད་རྣམས་མིད་པ་དང་། ལ་དྲགས་ནས་ལོ་ལོ་བསོད་ནམས་  
 དང་། བསྐོའི་བཀའ་སློན་གྱི་གོ་ལས་ཁག་གྲག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ་རྒྱུན་པོ་ས་པེ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་འགོ་བྱས་དམག་དབྱུང་བཅས་  
 མངའ་རིས་ཕྱོགས་ཐོག་ཕྱོན་བྱུང་ལ་བརྒྱུད་ཐོག་མར་ཏུ་ཐོག་བཅོམ། དེ་དུས་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ནང་ཡུལ་དམག་ལྷ་  
 བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ལས། བོད་ནས་དམག་དབྱུང་འགྱོར་མ་སྐབས་མ་རྗེ་གྱིས་དམག་དཔོན་ཚེ་བ་བྱས་ཏེ་དམག་བརྒྱབ་ནས་  
 སྐོར་གསུམ་དབང་དུ་བསྐྱུས། སྐར་དུ་དགའ་རྗེ་བཅུགས། སྐར་དང་། ཏུ་ཐོག་སོགས་ལ་སིང་དམག་དང་མཁར་དཔོན་  
 བསྐོས་ནས་བཞག་<sup>13</sup> རྒྱལ་སོགས་གསལ་འདུག

མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་དུ་ལ་སིང་གི་དམག་བཅོན་འཇུག་འགོ་ཚུགས་མ་ཐག་སྐར་དཔོན་ནས་ལྷ་སར་རྒྱ་བོད་  
 ལྟན་རྒྱས་སར་གནས་ཚུལ་འབྲུལ་བ་འགྱོར་འབྲུལ། གཙང་མདའ་དཔོན་སྤེལ་བཞེ་བ་དང་། དབྱུས་མདའ་རྒྱུར་ཁང་བ་  
 དང་ཐར་སྲིད་ཚེ་བརྟན་དབྱུང་བཅས་སྐྱུར་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་བསྐོད་ཐོག་དམག་འཐབ་བྱས་ཏེ་སྐྱུ་རང་སྐྱབ་ལ་མཁར་བསྐོར་  
 ནས་སིང་དམག་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་བསད་དེ་བོད་པས་རྫོང་བརྒྱུད། དེ་མིན་ལག་ཆ་བཟང་ཞན་སྐྱབ་པས་ས་ལེན་མ་  
 སྐབས་ལ་མ་ཟད། ལ་སིང་དམག་ས་དགའ་དང་གོ་ཤོད་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་བར་སྐྱེབས། བོད་ནས་སྐར་ཡང་དབྱུང་དམག་  
 བསྐྱུ་བསྐྱུལ་གྱིས་བཀའ་སློན་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྗེ་རྗེ་དམག་དོན་སྐྱི་བྱུང་བསྐོས་ཏེ་དཔོན་དམག་མགྲོགས་ཚད་ཀྱིས་སྟོད་  
 ཕྱོགས་ཐོན་ནས་སྐྱེད་གི་བོད་དམག་རྣམས་ཏུ་གསུམ་དུ་བགོས་ནས་པར་ཚོལ་བྱས། སྐབས་དེར་དམག་དཔོན་མ་  
 རྗེ་གྱིས་ལ་སིང་དམག་དྲག་བསྐྱུས་ཁོ་རང་གིས་དམག་སྐྱེ་ཁྱིད་ནས་སྐྱུ་རང་སྐྱབ་ལ་མཁར་ལ་བསྐོར་རྒྱག་བྱས། འོན་  
 ། གྲང་བོད་དམག་གིས་རྫོང་ནང་བཅོན་ཆ་བརྒྱུད་ཡོད་སྐབས་སིང་དམག་མང་པོ་ཤི་རྣམས་བྱུང་། སྐབས་དེར་ནས་དུས་  
 གང་སྐར་སྐྱེབས་ཁར་ཁ་བ་ཚེན་པོ་བབས་པས་སིང་དམག་གྲང་རྒྱག་མི་ཐེག་པར་བསྐྱུལ་བསྐྱོད་དཀའ་བར་བྱུང་།  
 གོ་སྐབས་དེ་དང་བསྐྱུན་ནས་འཐབ་བས་བོད་དམག་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཚེ་ཙམ་ཐོབ། ཉེན་གཅིག་ཞོགས་པ་ནས་མ་ལང་ཙམ་ལ་  
 བོད་དམག་རྣམས་སྐྱབ་ལ་མཁར་ནས་བྱིར་ཐོན་ཏེ་མ་རྗེ་གྱི་དམག་སྐར་བསྐོར་ནས་ཐན་ཚུན་མེ་མདའ་ཟམ་མི་ཆད་པ་

13 ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་དེབ་དོས་ ༥༥

བརྒྱབ་སྐྱེ་འཛིངས་པས་ཕྱོགས་གཉིས་ཀར་ཤེས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་། ཉེ་མ་རི་འཛོལ་ཤར་དུས་བོད་དམག་འགོ་བ་ (ཡ་སོར་) མིག་དམར་གྱིས་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིད་དེ་རྟ་དམག་མང་པོ་སིང་པའི་སྐར་ནང་དུ་མཛོངས་ནས་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པར་འཛིངས་སྐབས། ཨ་ ཇིར་ཁོ་རང་རར་སྐད་འདོན་བཞིན་རྟ་ཐོག་ནས་གི་གཡུགས་བཞིན་ཐོན་ཡོང་སྐྱེ་བོད་དམག་བཞི་ལྔ་ཅམ་བསད། བོད་གྱི་ ཡ་སོར་ནས་ཁོ་བ་ཨ་ཇིར་ཡིན་པ་ངོ་ཤེས་ནས་སྲོག་ལ་མ་སྐྱོས་པར་མདུང་གཟར་ནས་མདུན་དུ་བསྐྱོད་དེ་བྱང་དཀྱིལ་དུ་ བསྐྱེན་པ་ན། ཨ་ཇིར་སྐད་སྒྲ་ཡང་འདོན་མ་བྱུབ་པར་ས་ལ་ལྷུངས། ལག་ནས་རལ་གི་ཤོར། སྐར་ཡང་གི་དེ་ལེན་ཁྲལ་བྱས་ གྲང་མ་ལྷོགས། ཡ་སོར་གྱིས་མདུང་དེ་བཞག་ནས་སྐྱེད་ནས་གི་བཏོན་ཏེ་མགོ་བོ་བཅད་ནས་ཁྲེད། དེར་བརྟེན་སིང་དམག་ རྣམས་གོ་ཞིག་ བོད་པའི་རྐང་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྐར་ནང་འཛོང་། དམག་གི་འགོ་བ་དང་ལ་དྲགས་སྐྱེ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཟང་ཟེང་ དུ་གྱུར་ནས་སྲོས་ནས་ཐར་ཚད་སྲོས། དེ་ལྷག་རྣམས་བསད་ཚུལ་<sup>14</sup> སོགས་ཞིབ་ཅམ་འཁོད་པ་ལྟར་བོད་དམག་རྒྱལ་ཞིང་། ལ་དྲགས་གྱི་ལོ་ལོ་བསོད་ནམས་དང་། བསྐྱོ་བཀའ་སློབ། གོ་ལམ་ཁབ་སོགས་དང་། སིང་པའི་འགོ་བ་ཁ་ཤེས། སིང་དམག་ བརྒྱང་རིགས་བཅས་དབུས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བརྒྱུངས་འདུག།

དེ་རྗེས་ ༡༤༩༣ བོད་ཚུ་སྐྱག་ལོར་རྒྱལ་པོ་གུ་ལབ་སིང་གིས་སྐར་ཡང་དམག་དཔོན་དེ་ཕམ་ཏ་རི་ཅན་ད་དང་། ཨ་ཇིར་ཏུ་བྱ་གཉིས་ལ་སིང་དམག་བརྒྱད་སྟོང་ཅམ་བཅས་བཏར་སྐྱེ་ལ་སིང་གི་དམག་དབུང་གིས་རྒྱུར་ཚོལ་འཐབ་རེས་ ལན་མང་བྱས་པ་དང་། ཟེངས་གཅིག་སིང་པས་བོད་གྱི་དམག་སྐར་ཡོད་སར་རྒྱ་ཆེན་བརྒྱབ་ཐོག་ རྒྱར་འགྲེལ་བས་བྱས་ མཐར་བོད་དམག་པམ་ནས་དམག་དཔོན་སྐེལ་བཞི་དང་། རྒྱང་ཁང་བོད་དམག་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་བཅས་སྐབས་ཤིག་ལ་དྲགས་ སྐེལ་དུ་བརྒྱང་ཁྲིད་བྱས་འདུག་ཅིང་། མཐར་ཐུག་བོད་དང་སིང་པའི་བར་པན་རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཆིངས་མོལ་བྱས་ནས་ལ་དྲགས་ དང་བོད་གཉིས་གྱི་ས་མཚམས་ལྔར་དུས་གཞིར་བརྒྱང་སོ་སོས་བདག་གཉེར་བྱེད་རྒྱ། བོད་ནས་གཞུང་ཚོང་བ་དང་། ལ་དྲགས་ནས་ལོ་བྲག་བ་སོགས་སྤར་གྱི་ཁྲིམས་སོལ་ལྟར་གཏོང་རྒྱ། དེ་བཞིན་བོད་བྱང་པའི་ཚོང་པ་ལ་དྲགས་ལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱ་ སོགས་སྟོན་མའི་རྒྱལ་དུས་སུ་ཇི་ཡོད་ལ་ཆ་འཛོག་བྱ་རྒྱ་བྱས་པར་བྲགས་སོ།<sup>15</sup>

དེའི་སྐོར་རྣམ་ཐར་ལྟ་ཡི་རོལ་མོ་ལས། ཚུ་སྐྱག་ལོ་དེའི་རྒྱ་བ་བརྒྱ་གཉིས་པའི་ཆེས་བཙོ་ལྷ་ཉེན་ལ་སིང་དབུང་འཇུག་ དབྱེ་འཇུག་གཙང་ཚོང་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཁབ་པ་བཀའ་སློབ་ཐའི་རི་རྒྱང་ཁང་དང་། ལས་བྱ་དབུས་མདའ་དཔོན་ཆེ་བརྟན། ཅེ་བྲག་གསར་ བྱང་པ། ཉེ་ཐང་རྒྱ་མ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སོགས་སྟོན་འཁོར་རྣམས་གྱིས་འབྱོར་བྲག་དང་འབྱོར་འདུལ་སྐྱགས་མར་ཞུས་པར་ཇ་ལྔ་ལ་ བྲག་མདུད། མགོན་ཐོབ་བཅས་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ།<sup>16</sup> ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་མཇུག་འཇུག་ཆིངས་དོན་གཙོད་མཁའ་གོང་གསལ་ རྣམས་ཡིན་པར་མཛོན་ཞིང་། ༡༤༩༣ བོད་ཚུ་ཡོས་ལོའི་རྒྱ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ཆེས་དགུ་ཉེན་མདའ་དཔོན་བཤམ་བ་ཐའི་རི་ དབང་བྲག་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀའ་སློབ་ཆེ་འདོན་གྱི་མཇུག་ལ་གསོལ་རྩ་བཞེས་འབྲས་སྤྱང་མདུང་བཅས་བཀའ་དྲིན་བསྐྱེལ་ ཞིང་། ཆེས་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་ཉེན་སྟོད་དམག་སྤྱི་ཁབ་པ་བཀའ་སློབ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་དང་། ཞི་དྲག་གི་ལས་བྱ་དཔོན་འཁོར་བཅས་

14 ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་དེ་བཅོས་ ༢༦ ལྷན་ ༢༧  
 15 རྒྱལ་རབས་གཡུ་ཟེང་། ༩༣༥  
 16 རྣམ་ཐར་ལྟའི་རོལ་མོ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༩ ལྷན་ ༣༠

ལ་གྲུབ་འཛིན་དམག་སློན་ཚོགས། བོད་ས་མཚོད་ཡོན་གྱི་སྤྱི་མདུན་ས་ནས་ཕྱག་མདུད། གསོལ་ཇ་དང། བོ་བུ་གྱི་གཞུང་ཚ་  
བཅས་སྐྱལ་བར། གྲུབ་འཛིན་སློན་མོའི་སྐར་ནས་བཀའ་སློན་རྒྱུ་བཤའ་ནམ་གཉིས་དང། ལས་བྱའོ་གཡོག་བཅས་པར་ལེགས་  
སའི་མཇུག་ཕྱག་ཚོགས། བཀའ་སློན་ནམ་གཉིས་ལ་གཟེམ་སྤྱད་ཏུ་གསོལ་ཇ་བཞེས་འབྲས། བཞེས་སྤྱོད། ལས་བྱའོ་སློན་འཁོར་  
ལ་མཚོན་བརྒྱད་གྱི་མཇུག་དར་འབྲུལ་བ་བཞེས་ཚོགས་སྤྱད་མདུད་སྐྱལ།<sup>17</sup> ཅེས་འཁོར་འདུག་པ་བཞེན་དབྱུང་མཛད་དཔོན་  
བཤའ་སྤྱོད་དབང་ཕྱག་རྒྱལ་པོར་ལ་སེང་དམག་འཐབ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བྱས་ཇེས་སུ་བཀའ་སློན་མའི་རིང་གནས་སྤྱད་གནང་བ་  
དང། དེ་བྱིངས་རོ་ལས་ཚང་མར་དམག་སློན་གཟབ་རྒྱས་ཤིག་བཤམས་པ་དངོས་སུ་གསལ་ལོ།།

གཞུང་ཞབས་ལས་གནས་ཀྱི་གནས་རིམ་དང་ཚོ་གཞུང་།

ཚེ་སློན་གྲོང་རྒྱལ་ཚོགས་སྐབས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༡ ལོར་བཀའ་ཤག་ནས་སྤྱད་སློལ་གཞིར་བཞག་བོད་གཞུང་གི་སྤྱི་ནང་  
ལས་ཚོན་མཚོ་དམག་ཚེ་སློན་མཚའ་དག་བསྐྱོ་འཐེན་ཅ་འཛིན་དེ་བ་ཐེར་གཞུང་དགའ་ལྡན་ལོ་བྱང་བའི་ལས་ཚོན་གྱི་ནང་  
ཉོག་གནས་ཀྱི་བོ་རིམ་དེ་བ་ཐེར་རིན་ཚེན་མེད་བཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་གསལ་རྒྱུ་མཛད་པ་ཚ་ཚང་གཟེགས་  
འདོད་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུ་རིམ་གཤམ་ཡི་མེད་བའི་སྤྱད་ཚའི་ལོག་གྲངས་ ༢༢༦-༢༥༦ བར་གསལ་བར་གཟེགས་  
འཚལ།

ཚེ་སློན་གྲོང་གནས་དབྱུང་དང་དེ་འབྲེལ་དུས་ཟིང་སློད།

སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༥ བོད་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ལྷ་བ་བདུན་པའི་ནང། སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་ཚེ་སློན་གྲོང་ལོ་མོན་ཉན་དགའ་དབང་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚུལ་  
ཁྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སློན་གྲོང་གི་ལས་འགན་ལོ་ཉེ་ཤུ་ཅ་ལྟ་ཅམ་གནང་ཇེས། བོད་མ་ཉའོ་ཀོང་གི་བཀའ་ལླང་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གི་ཁྲི་ལས་  
པལ་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་ནང་དུ་རྒྱུང་འབྲུད་བྱས་པ་མ་ཟད། ལྷ་བྱང་གི་འཛིན་དབང་རྒྱ་ལོར་གཞུང་བཞེས་སོགས་ཉེས་ཚད་ཚབས་ཚེན་  
ཞིག་ལོག་འདུག །འོན་ཀྱང་ཉེས་པ་གང་བྱས་སློང་ཁ་གསལ་འཁོར་བའི་ཡིག་རིགས་ལག་སོན་གཏན་ནས་མ་བྱུང། ཐམ་དེ་བ་  
ནང། ཚེ་སློན་གྲོང་ནས་བོད་ཇེའི་ཁྲི་ལོ་ཤུ་ཅ་བྱུག་བསྐྱུངས་ཉེ་དའོ་ཀོང་ཁྲི་བཞུགས་ཉེར་བཞེ་བ་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ལོ་ཚའི་ཤུང་ཐང་  
ནས་གསེར་སྟོན་སློན་འབྲེལ་སྤྱི་དྲུང་གི་ཁྲི་ལས་པལ་སྟེ་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་དུ་སྤྱུགས།<sup>18</sup> ཞེས་གསལ་བ་དང། ལྷ་ཉན་ཤུང་གི་བཅུམས་  
དེ་བ་ནང། བོད་བཞུགས་ཨམ་བན་ཚའི་ཉན་དང་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ཚེ་སློན་གྲོང་ཉོ་ཐོག་ཕྱ་གཉིས་མི་མ་ཐུན་པ་བྱུང་ཇེས་བོད་  
བཞུགས་ཨམ་བན་ཚའི་ཉན་གྱིས་བོད་མ་ཉའོ་ཀོང་ལ་སྤྱི་དྲུང་འདི་རྒྱ་ལོར་ལ་བཅུམས་ཤིང་སྤྱི་དྲུང་སེམས་ཚེ་བས་གང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་  
བཀའ་འཁོལ་ཇེས་ཡུལ་ཉོང་ལུང་ཅང་དུ་རྒྱུང་འབྲུད་བཏང་སྟེ་བཀོད་སྤྱི་བྱས། རྒྱ་ལོར་ཡོད་ཚད་ཞིབ་བཤེར་གྱིས་གཞུང་  
བཞེས་དང་འབྲེལ་དབྱུང་དུ་པལ་སྟེ་དཔོན་ཁག་ཉམས་གསོ་བྱེད་རྒྱུའི་ཐོན་དབྱེད་སྤྱི་དྲུང་ལྷ་ལོན་ལྷ་ཡིན་ཞེས་

17 རྒྱལ་ཐང་ལྷའི་རོལ་ལོ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༩ ནས་ ༣༠  
18 དེ་བ་ཐེར་ལོང་བའི་དམིགས་སུ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༥

སྣལ་མེད་ལྷན་པ་འདྲ།<sup>19</sup> ཅེས་གསལ་བ་ལས་ཉེས་དོན་རོམ་གང་བྱུང་འཁོད་མི་འདུག། །དེ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཆ་ཆེན་བརྟན་བ་བསྟན་  
 པའི་ཉེ་མས་རེ་ཞིག་པོད་ཀྱི་སྤིང་སྤོང་གི་ཐུགས་འགན་བཞེས་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་ཐམ་དེ་བཞག་། ཆེད་ཀྱང་ཐང་ནས་གསེར་སྟན་སྲ་  
 རྩེད་ནས་སྤོན་པའི་བཀའ་ཡིག་དགོངས་དོན། ཀུན་གཟིགས་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་ཨེར་ཉེ་ནི་བསྟན་པའི་ཉེ་མ་ལྟ་སར་གདན་འདྲེས་ཉེ་ཤིང་  
 འབྲུག་ལོ་དེའི་རྩི་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ཆེས་འབྲུག་ནས། ཤིང་སྟུང་རྩི་བ་བཞེ་པའི་ཆེས་ཉེར་འབྲུག་བར་རྩི་བ་སྤྱིད་དགུ་ཙམ་གཞུང་ཆབ་  
 སྤིང་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་འགན་བཞེས་ཐོག། །ཆེ་སྤོན་སྤིང་གི་དམ་ཐུག་ཆེ་རྩེ་ཅིས་འབྲུལ་མཛད་པ་ལྟར་སྤིང་འགན་སྤོང་པེང་རྒྱ་ཐམ་  
 ཉོར་ཡིག་གྲུ་བཞེ་མ་གོང་སྤོན་དང་དེའི་འགམ་དུ་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་རང་ཉིད་ཐུགས་དམ་སྤོར་མོ་ཆོས་དུང་པེས་རྩེད་བ་ལུང་སྤེལ་དུ་  
 སྟུང་།<sup>20</sup> ཅེས་གསལ་བ་ལྟར་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔུས་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མར། པོ་ཉ་པའི་ཆོས་ཆེན་དུ་གོང་མའི་འབྲུངས་སྐར་  
 དང་བསྟན་པའི་ཞབས་བརྟན་མཛད་སྤོང་བསྐྱེད་སྤུངས། ཅེར་ཡཔ་སྤེལ་ཞལ་འཇོམས་སྐབས་ཀུན་གཟིགས་རེན་པོ་ཆེས། བདག་  
 ལུང་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཤིན་ཏུ་དམན་ཁར་ན་ཆས་གཟུགས་གཅོང་བབ་དང་བཅས་ཆོས་སྤིང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁ་འཇིག་ཞབས་  
 འབྲུང་འབྲུབ་དཀའ་ཡང་། གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་བཀའ་ལ་ཀྱིན་ལྟོག་ལུ་ལུས་ལྷན་བས་རྩི་བས་བར་ལུང་བསྐྱེད་ལུས་ཉེ་པོ་མིན་  
 གཅོང་དུ་ལོག་ཆོག་པ་དང་། ལས་དོན་སྤོང་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་དགོངས་བཞེད་མཐུན་ཅིང་། བདག་གི་ཡིད་སྤོན་ལྟར་འབྲུབ་པ་  
 བཅས་ཀྱི་གོང་ལ་སྟན་ལུ་རྟོན་འབྲུལ་གནང་།<sup>21</sup> ཞེས་གསུངས།

སྐབས་དེར་ཆེ་སྤོན་རྩི་བ་ལ་སྤོང་རྒྱ་དང་། སྤིང་རྩེད་ཡང་ཆེ་སྤོན་སྤིང་ཆོས་རར་རྩེད་བཀའ་གནང་ཞིང་། ཆེ་སྤོན་  
 སྤིང་གི་ཡིག་རིགས་ལ་བསྟོན་བཞེར་སོགས་སྤྱིད་སྐབས། སྤིང་རྩེད་ཀྱི་ཐོབ་ལུངས་མེར་སྤྱད་གྲུ་ཙམ་གི་ལྷ་པ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་  
 དེ་གང་འཆང་འཇུལ་བྱས་ཉེ་བཀའ་སྤོན་རྩེད་ཁར་སོགས་ལ་ཉེས་བརྟན་བཏང་བ་མ་ཟད། སྤིང་རྩེད་ཡང་བཏོན་ཉེ་རེ་ཞིག་  
 མེར་སྤྱད་དུ་ཁྱིད་པ་སོགས་འགོག་རྒྱལ་མཁེགས་བརྩུང་གི་ཐིང་ཆ་ཞིག་བྱུང་འདུག། །ལོ་དེའི་རྩི་བ་བརྟན་གཉིས་པའི་ཆེས་  
 གཅིག་ཉེན་པོད་སྤོང་ཨམ་བན་ནས་རྒྱ་པོད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་དམག་བསྟུས་ནས་མེར་སྤྱད་ལ་དཔུང་འཇུག་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་གྲ་སྤྱིག་བྱས་  
 ཐོག། །པ་ཆ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སར་བཅར་ཉེ་གོང་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཆབ་འབངས་ནས་བཀའ་ལ་བཅེ་འཇོག་མེད་པར་རང་སྤྱང་  
 གང་ཤར་འདི་འདྲ་དེ་ལམ་དུ་བཞག་ན་ཆོས་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆང་གི་ཁྱིམས་སྤོལ་དང་མི་མཐུན་སྟབས། དེད་རང་སྤྱད་པའི་  
 རྣམས་བསྟུང་ཉེ་མེར་སྤྱད་བཅོམ་དུ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུར་པ་ཆ་ཆེན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ནས་ཨམ་བན་ཀྱི་ཐམ་ག་འདི་ཅིས་བཞེས་དགོས་ཚུལ་  
 ཉན་ཏན་ལུས་པར། རྩི་ཉིད་ནས་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་མ་བཟོད་པར་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་མཁེན་པོ་སོགས་ཆེ་འགྲུ་རྣམས་དང་། སེ་འབྲས་དགོ་  
 གསུམ་གྱི་རྩི་མ་ལས་སྤེ་བཅས་འབྲེལ་དུ་བསྐོངས་ཆོགས་ཀྱིས་ཐབས་མཁེན་ཆེན་པོས་ལྟ་དམག་དཔུང་འཇུག་མི་དགོས་  
 པའི་ཀྱང་ཐང་ལ་བཀའ་མོལ་ཟབ་ནན་མཛད་པ་ལས་གསན་བཞེས་ཀྱིས་དུས་བདེ་ཞོད་འཇུགས་བྱུང་བ་རྩེ་འདིའི་བཀའ་  
 དྲིན་ཁོན་ཡིན།<sup>22</sup> ཞེས་གསུངས།

19 ལྷ་ལའི་རྩི་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར་པོད་ཡི་དེབ་ངོས་ 30༧  
 20 དེབ་ཐེར་པོད་པའི་དམིགས་ལུ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 31  
 21 པ་ཆ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉེ་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར།  
 22 པ་ཆ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉེ་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ཤོག་གྲངས་ 317



མཐའ་བསྐྱོམས།

དགའ་ལྡན་སོ་བྱང་བའི་དུས་རབས་ནང་འཇུགས་ཆ་དོད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བང་རིམ་ནང་འཇུག་མཁའ་མེད་གཞན་ལས་ཆེ་ཞིང་སྲིད་  
འཇུག་རིག་གསུམ་འཕེལ་རྒྱལ་ཡི་ཅན་ཅན་ལྟར་ཅན་ལྡན་པའི་གཞན་ཆེ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དབྱེད་གཞི་རིམ་ཐང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པས་  
འདིར་དོན་གཞན་འགའ་ཞིག་རྒྱུར་འདོན་གྱིས་དབྱེད་བརྗོད་པའི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ཞིག་སྲུང་བ་ཡིན། ལས་བྱེད་དང་ལོ་ལོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་  
གཞོན་ཅིར་བར་ནས་དུས་འགྲུངས་ཡང་ཡང་སོང་སྟེ་དུས་ཐོག་ཉག་ཉག་འབྲུལ་ལམ་ཁྲུས་མ་རྒྱུབ་པར་དགོངས་སེལ་ཁྲུ་རྒྱ་  
དང་། ད་དུང་རྒྱལ་དབང་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འདས་སློན་དང་། མན་ཆེང་ཨམ་བན་སྲ་ཕྱི་དེ་དག་གི་དོ་སྟོན། ལྷག་དོན་ཆེ་  
སློན་སྲིད་སྲིད་ཞི་ལས་གནས་དབྱེད་གཞོན་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་བཅས་ཞིབ་དབྱེད་དགོས་པའི་ཁག་ཅིག་ད་དུང་འདོད་སྟོབས་ཆེ་མ་པ་  
ཞིག་འདི་ལོར་དང་འཚོལ་ལོང་མ་བྱུང་ལ། གྲགས་ཆེ་ལ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་བའི་བཤའ་སྲོལ་ཁལ་སྲ་ནས་གོ་སྟོང་ཡོད་ནའང་དེ་རིགས་  
ཅི་གནས་སྐབས་འདི་ལོར་མ་བྱུང་བ་བཅས། དེ་ཞིག་དབྱེད་བརྗོད་འདི་ཉིད་རྗོད་གསུངས་པར་བྱས་པའི་ཁྲུལ་ཡིན།

དབྱེད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག

- རྣམ་ཐར་ལོར་བྱའི་སྲིད་བའི་སྲིད་རྒྱལ་དབང་མཁས་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།
- རྣམ་ཐར་ལོར་བྱའི་སྲིད་བའི་སྲིད་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཚུལ་སྲིམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།
- བོད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དོན་རྒྱལ་རབས། ལྷ་སྐབས་པས་མཛད་པ།
- བཅ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལྷ་ཡི་རོལ་མོ།
- དུང་དཀར་ཆོག་མཛོད།
- ལ་དྲགས་རྒྱལ་རབས།
- རྒྱལ་རབས་གཡུ་ཡི་སྲིད་པ།
- ལྷགས་སྟག་ཞིབ་གཞུང་།
- ཚུ་སྟག་ལོ་དང་ཤིང་སྐྱུལ་ལོར་རིམ་བཞོན་བཀའ་ལག་རྒྱ་དེབ།
- དེབ་ཐེང་ལོར་བའི་དམིགས་བྱ།
- མདོ་སྐད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་།



# TIBETAN “MAGICAL RITUALS” (*LAS SNA TSHOGS*) FROM THE POWER OF TSONGKHAPA<sup>1</sup>

Daniel Berounsky

There can be no doubt whatsoever as to Elliot’s immense expertise in Tibetan history and his vital contribution to Tibetan Studies. Everyone who knows Elliot personally would certainly agree that he is also a person of incomparable wit and a wonderful companion.

Such extraordinary people are often celebrated in lyrical praise in Tibetan tradition. Several years ago I came across the following prayer in the collection of Naprstek Museum in Prague. It was included in a text lacking any title or colophon, but judging from the outer appearance of the manuscript, it could be dated perhaps to the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (acquisition No. A 732, fol. 2b):

*lo rgyus rgya mtsho 'khyil ba nas/  
kun gsal nor bu shar mdzad gang/  
bye'u mchil ba'i dbyangs sgrogs pa'i/  
'jam mgon mkhas pa'i zhabs la 'dud/*

It took me a while to realize that the future appearance of Elliot was prophesized in these verses. The prayer contains the expression *bye'u mchil ba*. This means “sparrow” and, in fact, it is an allusion to Elliot (“sparrow”, *sperling* in German).

## Introduction

The fame of the renowned Tibetan master Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa /Blo bzang grags pa/, 1357-1419) is connected with the origins of the youngest school of Tibetan Buddhism known as Gelugpa or Gandenpa (dGe lugs pa/ dGa' ldan pa). He is also well-known as a great scholar of the Land of Snow.

In the Western context, Tsongkhapa is mostly seen as a “philosopher” and the author of many influential works on *madhyamaka* (tib. *dbu ma*). A number of Western academic writings—as well as Japanese—are dedicated to his interpretation of the “nature of things” (Tib. *ngo bo*, San. *svabhāva*) as being “inter-dependently originated” (*rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba*) and hence “empty” (*stong*).<sup>2</sup>

However, it is clear that Tsongkhapa himself saw *madhyamaka* as inseparable from Tantric practice. For example, his direct disciple Khedrupje remembered him in the following way (*mKhas grub rje*, fol. 3a):<sup>3</sup>

1 I would like to express my thanks to geshe Nyima Woser Choekhortshang for reviewing certain sections of the texts translated in the present paper. His suggestions, as always, were helpful and inspiring.

2 There are a number of works dealing on this topic, see, for example: Shiró 2012, Tauscher 1992, Tauscher 1995, Thakchöe 2007, and Thakchöe 2009.

3 Tib.: *thal 'gyur pa'i lta ba 'di'i lugs kyis kun rdzob rnam par 'jog pa'i pa'i tshul la sogs pa rnams kyi dpyad pa bzhin tu mdzad pa'i sa bon shin tu 'dril ba re dang/ sngags mtshan nyid kyi lam thun mongs dang/*

*He used to say that the ordinary path of characteristics—on the one hand, i.e. establishing the conventional truth by the method of *prāsaṅgika*, and on the other hand, by other similar detailed inquiries—is a seed which is very firmly connected with the extraordinary path of tantra on the other hand, namely with the nature of the ‘five stages of *Guhyasamāja*’, the firmly determined order and other main points of the extraordinary [path of tantra]...*

For Tsongkhapa himself, the tantric rituals and *madhyamaka* were parts of one whole. His tantric works<sup>4</sup> greatly outnumber those dedicated to *madhyamaka*.<sup>5</sup> Even the sections of his *Secret hagiography* written by Khedrupje do not really contribute too much to the received portrayal of the “rational philosopher.” In this text, it is stated that the main ideas of Tsongkhapa within the field of *madhyamaka*—as well as that of tantra—were formulated through a mystical dialogue with Mañjuśrī. The dialogues were facilitated by certain master Umapa (dBu ma pa dpa’ po rdo rje), who served as the interpreter.<sup>6</sup>

However, within the Tibetan milieu, the labels of “philosopher” or “tantric master” may well be irrelevant. This paper will attempt to reveal a number of particular rituals which deal with Tsongkhapa as a divinity and which have worldly goals as their aim. To my knowledge,

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*thun mong ma yin pa’i khyad par dpal gsang ba ’dus pa’i rim pa lnga’i ngo bo dang/ go rim grangs nges la sogs pa rnams kyi gnad thun mong min pa shin tu ’dril ba re gsungs/.*

4 For an example of Tsongkhapa’s tantric work translated into English, see his commentary on *Guhyasamāja* tantra (Tsongkhapa 2013).

5 Tsongkhapa authored 156 texts collected in 18 volumes on 7568 leaves of the larger Tibetan *pecha* format. Topics concerning *madhyamaka* are dealt with in roughly 6 volumes. The rest of the 12 volumes contain mostly texts dedicated to tantric topics. In the context of the present paper, it is interesting that among them there is also a text on summoning rain (see gSsung ’bum dkar chag, pp.1-17).

6 *mKhas grub rje*, fol. 2b, 4b: Precious lord [Tsongkhapa] met with him in the valley of Tsang and master Umapa served as an interpreter. Lord [Tsongkhapa] was asking many questions through him. He asked Mañjuśrī a number of questions concerning the Teaching. If he would not seek out views on *madhyamaka* from him, he would not find the vivacity of the path (...) Then, when he posed many questions concerning various doctrinal positions and inquired into them in great detail, Mañjuśrī repeated again and again: “It is absolutely inappropriate to tend excessively either to the world of appearance or to emptiness. Namely the world of appearances requires attention (...) Together with Umapa, the disciple and master retired into strict seclusion in Kyisho Gawadong. Each of them made his own abode and they met each other during [the drinking of] tea, etc. When drinking tea, master Umapa served as interpreter and [Tsongkhapa] heard from Mañjuśrī a number of teachings and was asking him an immeasurable number of questions.... Tib.: (fol. 2b) *rje rin po che ’dis gtsang rong du mjal nas/ bla ma dbu ma pas lo tstsha ba mdzad/ rje ’dis ’dri ba po mdzad nas/ rje btsun ’jam pa’i dbyangs la chos kyi dri ba mang du mdzad/ khyad par du dbu ma’i lta ba ’di ma btsal na lam gyi srog mi rnyed.../ (...)* de nas lta ba’i skor la dri ba dang/ brgal brtag mang du mdzad pas/ rje btsun ’jam pa’i dbyangs kyi gsung nas/ snang phyogs dang stong phyogs la nye ring gtan nas byed mi nyan/ khyad par snang ba la gtsig su byed dgos zhes yang gsung/...

(fol. 4b) *skyid shod dga’ ba gdong du bla ma dbu ma pa dang dpon slob gnyis po las med pas sku mtshams dam po bcad/ gnyis po ’ang gzims khang so sor mdzad nas gsol ja sogs la ’shog par mdzad cing/ gsol ja bzhes pa’i skabs su ’ang bla ma dbu ma pas lo tstsha mdzad nas/ rje btsun la chos mang du gsan cing dri ba dpag du med pa mdzad/...*

these texts have never been discussed by scholars, with the exception of an article in Italian by Elena De Rossi Filibeck (1990). However, her paper deals more with a “theological” explanation of the role of Tsongkhapa, as it appears in the text by the 3<sup>rd</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe (dPal ldan ye shes, 1738-1780).

This paper will firstly focus on the origins of Tsongkhapa’s mantra *Migtsema* (*dMigs brtse ma*) and subsequently on the “magical rituals” (*las tshogs*) based on this mantra. After an examination of their origin, two examples of such rituals are will be presented in translation. These are rituals causing rain to fall and the ritual protection of the plants of the field from disease. They were authored by a certain yogi Duntse Repa (mDung rtse ras pa), who lived probably at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the tradition of whom seems to have inspired the later flourishing of similar texts among the highest-ranking clerics of the *Gelugpa* tradition.

### *Migtsema*: the prayer and the mantra

*Migtsema* is an omnipresent prayer in the *Gelugpa* environment. Its untranslatable title is a simple abbreviation of the first verse, which is rendered phonetically in Tibetan as ‘**mig**may **tse**way terchen chanrezik’ (*dmigs med brtse ba’i gter chen spyan ras gzigs*). The particle ‘**ma**,’ added to the first syllables of the first two words, is often used for the titles of texts. The *Migtsema*, as it is known nowadays, could be translated in the following way:<sup>7</sup>

*I pray to Avalokiteśvara - the great treasure of inconceivable love,  
To Mañjuhośa - the immaculate faculty of knowledge,  
To Guhyapati (i.e. Vajrapāṇi) - the conqueror of an entire army of demons.  
To Tsongkhapa - the crown of scholars from the Land of Snow,  
I pray at the feet of Lozang Dragpa.*

Simply put, in this prayer Tsongkhapa is identified with the family of the so-called ‘triple family of lords’ (*rigs gsum mgon po*), i.e. Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi.

It is remarkable that the text of the 3<sup>rd</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama tells us that the original wording of this prayer did not contain the line dedicated to Vajrapāṇi, [*I pray*] to *Guhyapati (i.e. Vajrapāṇi) - the conqueror of an entire army of demons*. This was added to the prayer only later; several extended versions of this prayer also used to be widely known (*dPal ldan ye shes* /a/, fol. 7a; for one of the extended versions, see Filibeck 1990, p.106).

As for the origin of this prayer, it cannot be determined with total certainty. The *Migtsema* is mentioned in the two texts containing instructions on *guruyoga* and written by Tsongkhapa himself. The first of them was written for his close disciple Khedrupje (mKhas grub rje, 1385-1438); the second for Khedrupje’s younger brother Baso Choekyi Gyaltzen (Ba so Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1402-1473). Both of the texts include instructions on the worship of the master Tsongkhapa through *guruyoga*, and it is mentioned several times that the *Migtsema* should be

7 Tib.: *dmigs med brtse ba’i gter chen spyan ras gzigs/ dri med mkhyen pa’i dbang po ’jam pa’i dbyangs/ bdud dpung ma lus bcom mdzad gsang ba’i bdag/ gangs can mkhas pa’i gtsug can tsong kha pa/ blo bzang grags pa’i zhabs la gsol ba ’debs/.*

pronounced as well. Eventually, the adept should visualize the letters of *Migtsema* next to the letters of the mantra of Mañjuśrī (see Tsongkhapa /a/, Tsongkhapa /b/).<sup>8</sup> These two texts reveal, first of all, that the mantra *Migtsema* was known to Tsongkhapa himself; and secondly, that Tsongkhapa himself used *Migtsema* not only as a prayer, but that its presence next to the mantra of Mañjuśrī in visualization bears witness to the fact that it functioned as a mantra.

There is a narration, widely known, concerning the origin of *Migtsema*. It states that it was originally composed by Tsongkhapa himself, and dedicated to his master Remdawa Zhonnu Lodroe (Red mda' ba gzhon nu blo gros, 1349-1412).<sup>9</sup> Remdawa then changed the words of the prayer, and it became a vehicle for his reverence of his disciple Tsongkhapa.

One of the hagiographies of Tsongkhapa from the 19<sup>th</sup> century dates this event to when Tsongkhapa was 45 years old (*Blo bzang 'phrin las rnam rgyal* 1981); another, however, ascribes it to when he was 42 (*Blo bzang tshul khrims* 2006, p.158).<sup>10</sup> The general difficulty with such narrations resides in the fact that they are mentioned only in hagiographies of Tsongkhapa of a rather late date. One of the earliest hagiographies, composed by Khedrupje (1385-1438, see *Mkhas grub rje* 1994), does not mention *Migtsema* at all. Similarly, in the lists of the lineage of transmission of *Migtsema*, it is said that it originates from Mañjuśrī: Remdawa is not does not figure in the account (cf. *Pur bu lcog Bla ma byams pa*).

This silence of the earlier sources allowed the Bonpos to come up with their own version as the origin of the mantra. In the tradition of Bon, the prayer to Sherab Gyaltzen (Shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1356-1415)<sup>11</sup> plays a very similar role. Sherab Gyaltzen was a contemporary of Tsongkhapa's, and is—similarly to Tsongkhapa—called the “second Buddha” (*rgyal ba gnyis pa*) or the “unequaled one” (*mnyam med pa*). According to this Bonpo version, again of rather late vintage, Tsongkhapa and Sherab Gyaltzen exchanged prayers as a mark of their respect for each other.<sup>12</sup>

8 The brief text on four folios containing instructions to Baso Choeje mentions *Migtsema* six times (Tsong kha pa /a/), the other text, similar in length to that of Khedrupje's, mentions it twice (Tsongkhapa /b/). This has been noted by Filibeck (Filibeck 1990, p.104) and Wayman (Wayman 1997, p.219).

9 The original prayer by Tsongkhapa can indeed be found in his *Collected Works* in the volume *tha* (Tsong kha pa /c/, fols. 7a-7b). It reads as follows: *dri med mkhyen pa'i dbang po 'jam pa'i dbyangs/ tshad med brtse ba'i gter chen spyan ras gzigs/ gangs can mkhas pa'i gtsug rgyan red mda' ba/ gzhon nu blo gros zhabs kyi padmor 'dud* (var. *padmos 'dul/ thar 'dod bung ba bdag kyang bskyang* (var. *bskyab tu gsol/*). A slightly different version is mentioned in the 19<sup>th</sup> century hagiography of Tsongkhapa authored by Darhan Trulku (Dar han mkhan sprul sku 1981, p.275), where the last two verses read: *gzhon nu blo gros zhabs kyi padmos 'dul/ thar 'dod bung ba bdag kyang bskyab tu gsol/*.

10 Cha har dge bshes Blo bzang tshul khrims (1740-1810).

11 The prayer is known under variety of titles. It is called Dechen Gyalpo (bDe chen rgyal po), but also Dechen Gyalma (bDe chen rgyal ma) following its first verse. Its another title is Kusum lhundrubma (sKu gsum lhun grub ma). The prayer similarly identifies Sherab Gyaltzen with deities and could be translated in the following way: *I pray to Kunzang Gyalpa Du[pa] – the lord of great joy, to Sherap Maway Seng – fearless and retaining one, I pray to the feet of Sherap Gyaltzen, to incomparable crown of Bon of Jambudvīpa*. The original reads: *bde chen rgyal po kun bzang rgyal ba 'dus/ mi mjed gzungs ldan shes rab mra ba'i seng/ 'dzam gling bon gyi gtsug rgyan mnyam med pa/ shes rab rgyal mtshan zhabs la gsol ba 'debs/* (see for example *rGyun khyer bon spyod phyogs bsdu dad lhan thar lam 'dzegs pa'i them skas*).

12 This episode is described in the hagiography, dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, of Sherab Gyaltzen. The text was arranged by a certain Lungrig Thadag (Lung rig mtha' dag), according to the narration of the 23<sup>rd</sup> abbot

Thus the origin of the prayer is rather dubious. In any event, it was known to Tsongkhapa himself, and he used it as a mantra within the practice of *guruyoga*.

### The growing power of *Migtsema*

One can clearly locate *Migtsema* within Tsongkhapa’s practice of *guruyoga*.<sup>13</sup> The texts mentioned above containing references to *Migtsema* are, however, not the most wide-spread texts concerning this practice. More widespread was a later text, known as the *Hundred deities of Ganden* (*Dga’ ldan lha brgya ma*), written down in the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century, and which remains one of the most common liturgical texts within the *Gelugpa* milieu until the present day. This text is alleged to have been authored by Sherab Sengge (Shes rab seng ge, 1383-1445/6), a direct disciple of Tsongkhapa. It formed part of the oral tradition and was written down only by his disciple known as Dulnagpa (’Dul nag pa dpal ldan bzang po, 1402-1473). The version mentioned as having been recorded by Dulnagpa does not include *Migtsema* (’Dul nag pa, fol. 29); in later times, however, *Migtsema* was included, forming the conclusion of the text (see bsKal bzang rgya mtsho).

There is an interesting narration about Dulnagpa in a text written by the 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, who recorded existing oral tradition. It speaks of the famous deity Pehar, who endangered people in the locality of Sey (Srad) in Tsang (gTsang), even causing the death of several people. He was then tamed by Dulnagpa, who instructed the deity not to harm people who chant the *Hundred deities of Ganden* and *Migtsema*, according to the story (*bsKal bzang rgya mtsho*, fol. 2b-3a).<sup>14</sup>

*One of the first masters of this lineage was Dulnagpa Palden Zangpo. There was a householder in the Sey [area]. King Pehar was harming him and causing the death of many people. Moreover, [entering the body of] his beloved son, he caused the inside of his body to convulse. So, Dulnagpa tamed the harmer. As [during the taming], the deity was being instructed, Pehar pronounced a vow to not injure those people who perform the guruyoga [of Tsongkhapa] and who recite the Migtsema. It is said in the narrations of the past masters that those who perform such guruyoga and [recite] the Migtsema related to it are not subject to harm caused by deities and the demons of the eight classes in general; and king Pehar in particular...*

of Menri monastery, Nyirishel (Nyi ri shel, born 1813): it bears the title *rJe rin po che’i rnam thar mdor bdus skal ldan dwangs ba ’dren byed ngo mtshar padmo stong ldan*. Again, in the earliest hagiography available, which was authored by Dragpa Gyaltsen (Grags pa rgyal mtshan), a disciple of Rinchen Gyaltsen (Rin chen rgyal mtshan)—who was himself a direct disciple of Sherab Gyaltsen—the episode is missing. The title of this second hagiography is *Rgyal ba gnyis pa shes rab rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar ngo tshar padmo’i ’phreng ba*.

13 For general information on *guruyoga* see Lopez 1997.

14 Tib.: ’di’i brgyud pa’i bla ma gong ma ’dul nag pa dpal ldan bzang pos srad kyi nang du khyim bdag zhig la rgyal ba dpe har gyi gnod pas mi mang po gum zhing/ lhag par shin tu gces pa’i bu zhig gi khog tu brlams nas gnod pa byed pa btul/ de’i tshes ’dul nag pas bka’ bsgos pa bzhin pe har gyis bla ma’i rnal ’byor ’di dang ’brel ba’i dmigs brtse ma ’don mi la bar gcod mi byed par bro bor ba ltar/ rnal ’byor ’di dang ’brel bar dmigs brtse ma ’don pa su la’ang sde brgyad spyi dang khyad par pe har sogs rgyal gdon gyis gnod mi nus bar ’dug ces gong ma rnams kyi gsung las byung ba.../

It is hard to ascertain today if narration such as this, explaining the particular protective power of both *Migtsema* and the *Hundred deities of Ganden* within the context of the *guruyoga* of Tsongkhapa, should chiefly be considered as a retrospective attribution. Nonetheless, it might well bear witness to the very early development of viewing Tsongkhapa as a protector from worldly dangers.

The locality of Se and Dulnagpa's monastery Segyu Dratshang (Srad rgyud grwa tshang) gave the designation to the lineage of transmission of the *Hundred deities of Ganden*, which is known as the *Se lineage* (*srad brgyud*).<sup>15</sup> We should, therefore, see this place as an original source of the tradition of turning to Tsongkhapa for protection.

Almost contemporary with Dulnagpa was a very little known master who also hailed from Tsang (gTsang): he seems to be a figure directly connected to the worldly rituals which constitute the focus of this paper. Unfortunately, almost nothing is known about him. He is mentioned under the nickname *Dungtse Repa* (mDung rtse ras pa), i.e. 'The spear-head, cotton-clad one'. In the list of masters constituting the lineage of transmission, he is followed by Thonpa Yonten Gyatsho (Thon pa Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1443-1521); the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dalai Lama Gendun Gyatsho (dGe 'dun rgya mtsho, 1476-1542) is listed after him (see *mKhyen rab bstan pa chos 'phel*). Thus his life could be dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>16</sup> All that is known to me about him is contained in the extract from the *History of Vajrabhairava Tantra* (*'Jigs byed chos 'byung*) authored by the 1<sup>st</sup> Jamyang Zhepa of Labrang monastery, Nawang Tsonдру (Ngag dbang brtson grus, 1648-1721). The extract reads as follows (Phur bu lcoḡ Bla ma byams pa, fol. 8b):<sup>17</sup>

*As for Duntse Repa, master Bumpacan, he was a siddha born in the valley of Tsang... By the power [obtained through] the "wind-yoga" he remained staying in the space on the tip of a spear (mdung rtse). Cross-legged, his attire was similar to that of the 80 siddhas. Thus he was known as Duntse Repa.*

*At the markets of various places he made [people] recite the Migtsema. To those who did not recite it he pronounced: "May epilepsy be sent upon you!" If they did not start to recite it, a demon of the upper spheres actually appeared [there].*

15 For the list of the Se lineage, see Filibeck 1990.

16 The TBRC mentions him as a disciple of 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gytsho (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682), which seems therefore to be erroneous. He might have lived two centuries before the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama.

17 Tib.: *mdung rtse ras pa bum pa can ni/ gtsang gi rong du 'khrungs pa' grub thob cig ste/ chos skyong dpung pa la khur nas ma rungs ba rnams la sbir bar byed cing/ jo bo rin po che dkar mes mchod pa zhig ste/ rlung gi rnal 'byor gyi nus pas mdung rnon gyi rtse mor phur te skyil krung dang grub chen brgyad cu 'i cha byad mdzad pas mdung rtse ras par grags/ phyogs phyogs su khrom bsdus nas dmigs brtse ma thon du bcug/ sus ma bton pa 'i khar bza' nad thongs zer nas de dus ma bton na stong gdon nges par 'byung ba ste/ rin spungs su yang dmigs brtse ma 'i mdung rtser byas te de ltar lab kyang/ sde ba rin spungs pas ma bton pas kha yon song ba sus bcos kyang ma phan bar/ khong dmigs brtse mas nad mang du bcos pa grags che ba tshor nas bos pas/ khyed kyis de dus dmigs brtse ma ma bton nam gsung bar/ ma bton smras pa na/ 'on thon cig drag 'gro/ de min mi drag gsung bas/ bton ma thag drag/ yang dmigs brtse ma thon dang mtshon gyis mi chod ces grod bu sogs la sngags btab na gris chod mi srid ces srad pa rdo rje 'chang khri rin po che gnyis gsung/ dmigs brtse ma 'i las tshogs brya rtsa 'i nang nas deng dus bcu gcig 'dug pa 'di yang yin snang/.*



*He performed similar acts on the spear-head in Rinpung, pronouncing the same [words]. The lord of Rinpung did not recite the Migtsema and his face became twisted. No one was able to help him. [Dungtse Repa], felt that [Migtsema] would be better known if he were to cure many diseases by it. He exclaimed: “You did not recite it!” And said: “Recite it and you will be cured, otherwise [you will] not [be cured].”*

*Just as he recited it, he became cured.*

*Both Sepa Dorjechang and the Precious Abbot<sup>18</sup> used to say that he brought invulnerability by the recitation of Migtsema. He pronounced the mantra to the belly and the other places [of the body]. Then it never occurred that such places would be wounded by the knife. It is apparent that this is a ritual from the “Hundred rituals of Migtsema” of which nowadays only eleven are extant...*

Such is the rare narration on Dungtse Repa, known also as Bumpacan. He is described as a “mad yogi” and this story reveals his attempts to spread *Migtsema* rather forcefully among the people, and, it would seem, the Gelugpa tradition as well, with the accompanying veneration of Tsongkhapa. At the conclusion, his mastering of the ritual that protects one from weapons is mentioned. Jamyang Zhepa then concludes that he is the originator of the so-called the *Hundred rituals of Migtsema*, which were not extant even during his own life.

The so-called *Eleven rituals of Migtsema*, however, has survived until today in a text which is ascribed to Dungtse Repa. The text contains brief instructions for the following rituals (mDung rtse ras pa; dPal ldan ye shes /a/, /b/):

1. Causing rain to fall (*char dbab pa*)
2. Protection from frost (*sad srung ba*)
3. Protection from weapons by edible paper (*mtshon srung bza' yig*)
4. Protection from weapons by amulet (*mtshon srung gdog pa*)
5. Protection from pollution (*grib bsrung ba*)
6. Enhancing the life-force (*srog rlung bcos thabs*)
7. Overcoming obstacles by edible paper (*rgyal po gri thogs kyi bza' yig*)
8. Binding robbers (*jag 'ching*)
9. Enhancing crops/Protection from diseases of the plants of the fields (*zhing gi rtsa 'don/zhing gi brtsa' bsrung ba*)
10. Instructions for the ritual of bringing food (*kha zas 'ong bar byed pa'i man ngag*)
11. Protection from obstacles during travel (*rang gang du 'gro yang bar chad srung tshul*)

What follows are two examples, taken from the instructions and presented in translation. The first of them is a ritual protection from the diseases of the plants of the fields (9). It seems to be an amalgam of tantric interventions combined with popular magic. The second example is a translation of the instructions for the ritual of summoning rain (1). This ritual seems to have become the most widely used in later times.

<sup>18</sup> It is not clear who exactly is meant here. However, the appellation Sepa Dorjechang attests to it being person from the Se area, as already mentioned.

## Protection from the diseases of (the plants of) the fields

(translation, mDung rtse ras pa, pp.47-48)<sup>19</sup>

*The ninth is protection of the fields from the diseases of the plants. Recite Migtsema similarly as in [the] previous instances. [Prepare] old soil from the place; deepen by the urine of thousands of monks, and old sand. Mix the urine of a full monk, the urine of an eight-year-old boy, and the urine of an eight-year-old girl with the sand. Prepare as much sand as you can. Make as many ritual daggers as you can from [wood] which has not been stepped over by dog or woman. Inscribe the text of Migtsema on the individual daggers. Place parts of the harvest into the skin of a goat that died naturally. For remedying the imprints of bad deeds (lan chags), place both parts of the harvest and [small sacrificial cakes] lanchag into the sack of the goat skin. Recite earnestly the text “bden bdar.”<sup>20</sup> By the grace of the Master [Tsongkhapa], may all those who cause harm to the harvest dissolve into the inside [of the sack]. Pitch a tent or build a meditation hut at a place from which the fields of that country are seen. Place all the things prepared in front of the masters and disciples gathered there [in visualization]. Continue blessing them by Migtsema until the seventh day. The [following] visualization is the same as in the previous instances.*

*On the seventh day, many heroic men with weapons should be invited. They keep the sand in the tips of their clothes; brandishing their weapons they shout “kyi ho!”. Running, they throw the sand into the fields. Then all of them recite Migtsema loudly. The sack from the goat skin [which serves as a] linga is tied by a man who was conceived in the year of tiger (or another suitable person), and he drags it across the fields in front of all.*

*Each of the men recites Migtsema and throws the sand into the field. “May the diseases of the plants be destroyed! May the diseases of the plants are destroyed! May all of them depart to the other side of the outer ocean!” With this, [the sack made from the goat skin] is carried into the river of that valley accompanied by howling sound: “kyi ho, svāhā!” During the ritual of “instructing,” pronounce the following to the local deity: “Do not send the frost and diseases of the plants here! Do not violate the instructions of the unequalled master Tsongkhapa!”*

19 Tib.: *dgu pa zhing gi btsa' bsrung ba ni/ dmigs brtse ma gong ltar 'dren/ dge 'dun stong tshogs pa' chab bsil gyis/ gad gdangs rnying pa'i sa/ srid pa'i bye ma/ dge slong gtsang ma'i dri chu/ bu mo lo brgyad ma'i chu/ bu lo brgyad pa'i chu rnam bye ma dang bsres/ bye ma ci mang byed/ khyi dang bud med kyis ma 'goms pa'i phur pa ci mang byed/ phur pa de rnam yi ge 'bris/ ra'i shun bu gson ma la lo thog gi phud bsdu lan chags mang du bcos la phud dang lan chags gnyis ra rkyal nang du blug/ bden par bya/ rje bla ma'i thugs rje la bten nas/ lo thog la bar du gcod pa rnam de'i nang du thim zhing/ yul de rnam kyi zhing mthong ba'i sar sgrub khang ngam mgur ram/ dpon slob ji ltar tshogs kyi mdun du rdzas rnam bsags nas/ zhag bdun gyi bar rdzas rnam dmigs brtse mas bsnags/ dmigs pa gong ltar ro/ zhag bdun du dpa' bo mtshon cha thogs pa mang po 'bod/ bye ma thu bar gtums nas ku ho zer nas mtshon cha 'don/ bye ma zhing la 'debs shing rgyug/ de na yod tshad kyi dmigs brtse ma 'ur 'ur 'don/ ra rkyal ling ka de stag lo pa'am gang rung gcig gis thi gu btag nas/ de rnam kyi sngon du 'ded/ dmigs brtse ma tshar re 'don/ bye ma zhing la 'thor/ btsa' sod btsa' sod btsa' sod ma lus mtha'i rgya mtsho'i pha rol gyi gram der song shig ces lung pa'i chu la bskur/ ku ho svā di ri ri mang po bya'o/ 'di la btsa' sad ma gtong zhig zer nas gzhi bdag la bka' sgo byed/ mtshungs med dam pa rgyal ba tsong kha pa chen po'i bka' las ma 'da' cig zer nas tho phur pa phyogs thams cad du btsugs/ phyogs bzhir tho bzhi rgyab/ rang nyid rje bla mar sngar ltar bskyed/ bkra shis bya/ rje nyid kyis lo bdun thub pa zhal gyis bzhes so ithi/*

20 *bDen bdar* is a kind of ritual in which the adept negotiates with the deity.

*Pile up cairns in the four points of compass and thrust the ritual daggers toward the fields in all the directions. Similarly as in the previous cases, perform the ritual of generation of the precious master [Tsongkhapa] and pronounce the “good luck” prayer. The power of Tsongkhapa is granted up to seven years.*

### Summoning rain<sup>21</sup>

(translation, mDung rtse ras pa, pp.42-43)<sup>22</sup>

*The first is causing the rain to fall. (...) Perform the guruyoga of the “generation stage” and meditate yourself as being inseparable from the Lord-master [Tsongkhapa]. Think about Avalokiteśvara while reciting the first verse of Migtsema, about Mañjuhośa during the second verse, Vajrapāṇi during the third and the Lord [Tsongkhapa] himself during the fourth. The five rainbow-colored beams of light emanate from the place of your heart. With the [first verse of Migtsema] “inconceivable...” generate the white garuda, with [second verse of] “immaculate...” the variegated garuda, with [the third verse “crown of] the Land of Snow...” the red garuda, and with [the fourth verse] “Lobzang...” the black garuda.<sup>23</sup> Think that nāgas of the water-spring cannot move from there during the generation of the garudas of the four points of the compass. Recite Migtsema in the state of yourself appearing as Lord-master [Tsongkhapa]. Then pronounce the following to the nāgas of the water-spring: “Listen all you who became nāgas: kings of nāgas Nanda, Mañicunda, Sangkhapāla, Mahākāla, you of lowest status, you deaf ones, crippled ones, mute ones and lame ones!” Blow the thigh-bone trumpet three times.*

21 For details on summoning rain rituals see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956, there is a Tibetan translation of such Indian text included in Tenjurs (see Mar me mdzad). For hail protecting rituals see Klein – Khetsun Sangpo 1997 and rDo rje don grub 2012.

22 Tib.: *dang po char 'bebs pa ni/ sgrub pa po gang gis dgos pa ci 'i phyir/ sgrub pa dngos ji ltar zhe na/ rnam grol don gnyer gyi skyes bus/ mar gyur sems can thams cad kyi phan bde sgrub pa 'i phyir/ sgrub pa dngos 'di ltar bskyed rim bla ma 'i rnal 'byor/ dang po 'gro dus su/ rang dang rje bla ma dbyer med par bsgom zhing/ tshig rkang dang po spyen ras gzigs/ gnyis pa 'jam dbyangs/ gsum pa phyag na rdo rje/ bzhi pa rje nyid du bsams nas dmigs brtse ma bzla 'o/ rang gi thugs ka nas 'od zer 'ja 'tshon sna lnga ltar 'phro zhing/ dmigs med ni khyung dkar po/ dri med ni khyung khra bo/ gangs can ni khyung dmar po/ blo bzang ni khyung nag por bskyed/ khyng bzhi phyogs bzhir bskyed la chu mgo de 'i klu gar yang 'phro med par bsams/ rang nyid rje bla mar gsal ba 'i ngang nas dmigs brtse ma bzla zhing/ chu mgo 'i klu la 'di skad du klu 'i rgyal po dga 'bo/ gtsug na rin chen/ dung skyong/ nag po chen po/ gdol pa 'i rigs/ klu 'on pa dang/ zha bo dang/ lkugs pa dang/ 'iheng po dang/ klu 'i rigs su gyur ba thams cad nyon cig zer nas/ rkang dung lan gsum 'bud/ khyod la ya 'o gzung du 'ong ba ma yin/ khon 'tshol du 'ong ba ma yin/ 'dzam gling du char dkon po byung bas khyod la char slong du 'ong ba yin/ char chen po yul phyogs 'dir drag du phob cig ces chu mgor 'bod/ phyogs bzhir tho ba 'i btsigs/ dmigs brtse ma 'don/ pha' gsum brjod/ tho bzhi khyung bzhir bskyed/ yul de 'i gzhi bdag la dkar gtor bsangs mchod bya 'o/ dug sna dang ma 'dres pa 'i me tog sna tshogs dang/ sman sna tshogs gro zan dang sbyar nas/ de rnam la ril bu lug gi ril ma tsam brgya dang brgyad bcos/ mdun du bum pa legs pa cig bzhang/ ril bu de 'dra re la dmigs brtse ma rab brgya/ 'bring rang gi gang thon ril bu la phu btab nas bum pa 'i nang du blug/ ril bu ma rdzogs par du de lrar bya 'o/ bum pa 'i kha dar dmar gyis bcings/ chu mgo 'i phugs su bzhang/ de na gang tshogs kyiis dmigs brtse ma rgyun du 'don/ myur du 'bebs na zhag gnyis/ 'bring gsum/ myur du 'bebs par zhal gyis bzhes so/ char babs nas log yong ba 'i dus su bum pa 'i nang gtor ma de chu mgo 'i nang du blug/ bya khyi mi za bar 'gebs par bya/ miho bzhi sgyel/ khyung bzhi nam mkhar gshegs/ dmigs brtse ma 'i las tshogs las char 'bebs rlung nag tshub ma u ya ithi/.*

23 Note that the version of Migtsema mentioned here consists of only four verses and does not include the verse on Guhyapati.

*Exclaim the following by the water spring: “I have not come to capture you as adversaries, to put you in danger! I have not come in search of enmity! I have come to cause the rain to fall, as it has become scarce in the continent of Jambudvīpa. Make a strong and heavy rain fall!*

*Erect cairns in the four points of compass. Recite Migtsema and then pronounce “phaḥ” three times. The four cairns arise as four garudas. Perform the fumigation ritual with white sacrificial cakes to the local deity of that land.*

*Mix the plants devoid of poison and medical plants with dough. From this, make one hundred and eight pills the size of sheep dung. Place a good ritual vase in front. The best would be to recite Migtsema for each of the pills a hundred times, the middling would be as much as you can. Blow [onto the pill after it] and place it into the vase. Thus will be the pills kept until the conclusion [of the ritual]. Bind the neck of the vase with red silk and place it at the bottom of the water-spring. Recite Migtsema permanently at that place. If the rain would be summoned quickly, it will appear within two days. Middling would be in three days. It is granted that it will fall soon...*

### Later texts on “magical rituals” from the power of Tsongkhapa

The main source of information on these rituals is a large collection of texts containing various rituals performed through *Migtsema*. It was compiled by Jamyang Deway Dorje (’Jam dbyangs bde ba’i rdo rje 1682-1741), and bears the title *dMigs brtse ma’i chos skor stod smad kha skong dang bcas pa*. These texts were later reedited by Khyenrab Tenpa Chomphel (mKhyen rab bstan pa chos ’phel, 1840-1907/8) under the title *dMigs brtse ma’i be’u bum*.<sup>24</sup> These collections are arranged in 3 large volumes and contain more than 70 individual titles. Some of them are actually collections of several texts by different authors.

These texts contain also rather usual *guruyoga* texts, texts on “consciousness transference” rituals (*’pho ba*), rituals for making pills (*ril grub*), and so on. If one were to extract the ‘worldly rituals’ (*las tshogs*), the result will be the following list of texts:

#### Volume I

1. *dMigs brtse ma’i las tshogs dngos grub byung gnas* (lCags ngag dbang ’phrin las, 1861-1914)
2. *rJe tsong kha pa gsang grub kyi las tshogs dgos ’dod ’byung bas* (mDung rtse ras pa, 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century)
3. *dMigs brtse ma’i las tshogs yid bzhin nor bu* (sMan khang pa Ngag dbang chos ’phel, 1635-1707)
4. *Char ’bebs dang sad srung ba’i ’khor lo sgrub tshul* (Blo bzang thugs rje, 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century)
5. *Las tshogs dngos grub kun ’byung* (Khri chen Ngag dbang mchog ldan, 17<sup>th</sup> century)
6. *Las tshogs bcu gcig gi don bshad pa* (dPal ldan ye shes, 1738-1780, 3<sup>rd</sup>/6<sup>th</sup>/ Panchen Lama)
7. *Nag ’gros* (dPal ldan ye shes, 1738-1780, 3<sup>rd</sup>/6<sup>th</sup>/ Panchen Lama)
8. *Char ’bebs* (Khri chen Byang chub chos ’phel, 1756-1838)

<sup>24</sup> For details on *be’u ’bum* and rituals called *las (sna) tshogs*, see Cuevas 2010. For some similar Hindu ‘magical rituals’ see Bühnemann 2000.

9. *dMigs brtse ma'i las tshogs brgya dang brgyad pa mu tig phreng ba* (Don grub rgyal mtshan, ? 17<sup>th</sup> century)

### Volume III

10. *dMigs brtse ma'i las tshogs dngos grub char 'bebs* ('Jam dbyangs dga' ba'i blo gros, ?)  
 11. *rJe bla ma la brten pa'i char 'bebs kyi cho ga man ngag snyan rgyud khyer bde* (ICang skya Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, 1642-1714)  
 12. *dMigs brtse ma la brten pa'i char 'bebs bya tshul lhan thabs* (Kun mkhyen dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728-1791)  
 13. *dMigs brtse ma la sgo nas char 'bebs byed tshul gyi cho ga dngos grub gru char g.yo ba'i sprin spung* ([3.] Thu'u bkvan Dha rma badzra, 1737-1802)  
 14. *Rigs gsum spyi sgrub kyi bla ma'i rnal 'byor la brten nas char 'bebs kyi cho ga lag len gsal byed rdzogs ldan sprin gyi sgra dbyangs dge ldan snyen rgyud man ngag gi gter chen* (Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan, 1713-1793)

The editor of the volumes authored other texts as well, listing various lineages of masters who transmitted particular rituals (*brgyud tho*, see mKhyen rab bstan pa chos 'phel). However, when comparing the actual texts it becomes clear that in the most cases the transmitted texts of the various lineages mentioned in *brgyud tho* are very similar in their content. Most of them seem to stem from the rituals of Duntse Repa.<sup>25</sup>

Besides the rituals of Duntse Repa, there is only one such ritual distinctive tradition which can be traced back to Menkhangpa Ngawang Choemphel (sMan khang pa Ngag dbang chos 'phel, 1635-1707). He is reported as having travelled to “meet” the relics of Tsongkhapa, which caused him to become strongly moved. He then had a “pure vision” (*dag snang*) in which the rituals were revealed to him (see *sMan khang pa Ngag dbang chos 'phel*, fol. 10b). The collection of his rituals are contained in the text which is also known (besides the title listed above under the number 3) as the ‘*Magical rituals*’ of Migtsema from the pure vision (*Dag snang las dmigs brtse ma'i las tshogs*). These rituals can be distinguished from those ascribed to Duntse Repa. Their typical feature is the usage of the “magical protective wheel” (*'phrul 'khor/ bsrung 'khor*) and seem to adhere more closely to the usual tantric rituals when compared with those authored by Duntse Repa.

From the list above appears that these rituals flourished during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Another important feature is that these texts were not composed by some local insignificant master; on the contrary, the opposite is true.

25 The text mentions the particular lineage of *Las tshogs dngos grub kun 'byung* by Ngagwang Chogden (Ngag dbang mchog ldan, 1677-1751), the abbot of Ganden monastery near Lhasa and the teacher of 7<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. A tradition of rather similar texts, *Las tshogs dngos grub byung gnas*, stems from Cagra Ngagwang Thrinlay (ICags ra Ngag dbang phrin las, 1861-1914). Probably the most widespread and also the most extensive are the works *Las tshogs nag 'gros* and *Don bshed*, by the 6<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe (dPal ldan ye shes, 1738-1780), which contain eleven rituals ascribed to Duntse Repa. There is a tradition of a single ritual of summoning rain, *Char 'bebs*, composed by the abbot of Ganden monastery Changchub Choemphel (Byang chub chos 'phel, 1756-1838), but the ritual is almost identical with the one contained in the collections of rituals by the Panchen Lama and Duntse Repa, respectively. Also the texts on summoning rain and protection from frost, *Char 'bebs dang sad bsrung*, authored by Lozang Thugie (Blo bzang thugs rje, born 1770?) are almost identical with these aforementioned texts. Although the *brgyud tho* presents these textual traditions as separate, they evidently are not independent and stem from Duntse Repa's rituals. Some of them also include some rituals originally composed by Menkhangpa.

If Duntse Repa can be seen as the inventor of these rituals in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in Tsang (gTsang), then there was a process of appropriation of his rituals by the high-ranking clergy of the *Gelugpa* tradition. The climax of such a process can be seen in the texts written by the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe (1738-1780).

In the volume III of the list above, one may encounter the names of important Amdo masters. These are the 2<sup>nd</sup> Jamyang Zhepa of Labrang monastery, Konchog Jigmay Wangpo (1728-1791, text no. 12); the abbot of Kumbum monastery, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Thukwan Dharmabadzra (alias Lozang Choekyi Nyima / Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma/, 1737-1802, text no. 13); or the master serving the Chinese emperor in Beijing, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Cankya Ngawang Lozang Choeden (1642-1714, text no. 11). The presence of such names bears witness to the spread of such rituals from Tsang to Amdo. These elite clergy played a crucial role in spreading the *Gelugpa* sect not only in Amdo, but also in Mongolia. One can assume that these “magical rituals” through Tsongkhapa, closely connected with him since the time of Duntse Repa, served this particular purpose as well. It must be noted that these Amdo masters used the ritual of summoning rain and ritual of protection from hail and frost with great frequency.



The protective wheel of Tsongkhapa (Labrang Monastery)

## Concluding thoughts

From the fragments introduced here one can observe that the idea of magical and protective power of *Migtsema* was already present in the story about Dulnagpa and his taming of the worldly protector Pehar. But it was Duntse Repa who, in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, developed the rituals using *Migtsema* for worldly benefits; equally employed, it would seem as well, for the spread of the *Gelugpa* sect. Duntse Repa was just a local master, but his rituals were appropriated by the high-ranking *Gelugpa* elites. These rituals later became particularly popular in Amdo, and were probably used for gaining influence over the lay people in this region; this was possibly also the case in Mongolia.

One can encounter a similar text using a prayer to Sherab Gyaltzen for similar worldly goals as summoning rain, the purification of misdeeds, protection from disease, etc., in the *Bon* tradition. This text is rather concise and uses the “protection wheel” (*bsrung 'khor*), similar to the Menkhangpa’s rituals (see Khro ta wer zhi). The author of this text is mentioned in the Zhang Zhung language as Throta Werzhi (Khro ta wer zhi), which corresponds to Tibetan Throta Gyaltzen (Khro bo rgyal mtshan). A master with the latter name lived in Kham near Derge, and was the abbot of Throtshang monastery (Khro tshang) after Yeshe Tendzing (Ye shes bstan ’dzin, b. 1772, see Thar 2003, p.359). Thus we can date him to the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is rather late and one can thus assume that the rituals based on *Migtsema* formed the inspiration. This sole text cannot be compared with the flourishing tradition of such texts in *Gelugpa* school.

Certain “theological” explanations, as to why Tsongkhapa in particular is used for such magical and worldly rituals, is contained in the text by the 6<sup>th</sup> Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe, entitled *Don bshad*. His arguments are presented and translated in the article by Filibeck (1990). These explanations of the extraordinary power granted by his deep understanding of *madhyamaka* and his identification with Mañjuśrī and others might be seen as a retrospective attempt to legitimize such rituals already in use.<sup>26</sup>

We know with certainty that Padmasambhava was used as a tutelary deity (*yi dam*) in the rituals of the Nyingma (rNying ma) sect; Drenpa Namkha (Dran pa nam mkha’) or Thongyung Thuchen (sTong rgyung mthu chen) were employed in the Bonpo ones earlier than Tsongkhapa. But these masters are portrayed as magically potent semi-mythical creatures in whom the features of divinity and human are intertwined. The “magical rituals” through Tsongkhapa might be viewed in terms of the competition between the various sects in Tibet. But at the same time, it could well be the case that it was the Gelugpa sect that began using the historical master in the role of tutelary deity for the sake of attaining worldly goals for the first time. This statement would require more evidence, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

In Tibetan tradition, worldly goals were usually meant to be secured by worldly deities. Tsongkhapa is presented as having power over them and thus instead of directly addressing the worldly protector, the rituals use Tsongkhapa as an intermediary. If we put aside the various categories used for deities by monks, and try to adapt the perspective of lay

26 For some examples of folklore concerning Tsongkhapa see Fenk – Stuart 1992.

commoners in Tibet, one can envision Tsongkhapa as a procurer of worldly benefits. In this mode of thinking, his function can be compared with that of the worldly protectors. In this inclusive mode, Tsongkhapa somehow retains the features of worldly protectors, whose function dissolve into him.

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## A CONTROVERSY ON VEGETARIANISM\*

**Katia Buffetrille**

EPHE, CRCAO

Amdo, the northeastern part of Tibet, has seen important changes since the launch of the “Develop the West” campaign in 2000.<sup>1</sup> The hasty implementation of governmental programs of sedentarisation confronted pastoralists with a new lifestyle for which they are little prepared. Everywhere in Amdo, one can see numerous new settlement villages with rows of similar houses. Deprived of their herds and pastures, unable to find their place in the Chinese-dominated economy because they lack the appropriate qualifications and language abilities, most of the pastoralists are left without any means of subsistence.

But another phenomenon is taking place at the same time: a movement launched by high clerics in Eastern Tibet which is a firm desire to affirm, in what can be described as an emergent Tibetan Buddhist fundamentalism, a strong sense of Tibetaness. This movement that started some decades ago knew a new impetus after the demonstrations of 2008 that spread all over the Tibetan Plateau. The main religious figure in this movement was Khempo Jigme Phuntsok (Mkhan po 'Jigs med phun tshogs, 1933-2004), the charismatic head of the monastic camp of Larung Gar (Bla rung sgar). Several articles have been written on his life and work.<sup>2</sup> But many other monastics have contributed to this movement which is based on a new set of Ten Virtues: 1) not to butcher and sell meat; 2) not to steal and rob; 3) not to fight with weapons; 4) not to prostitute one's body; 5) not to sell guns and opium; 6) not to smoke opium or cigarettes; 7) not to drink alcohol; 8) not to gamble; 9) not to hunt and 10) not to wear skin and fur of animals. The subject has ignited the web to the point that the website Tibet Web Digest called the new Ten Virtues “the most debated topic on Tibetan blogs last year.”<sup>3</sup> Some researchers have already started to deal with the subject and published on it.<sup>4</sup>

In the following pages, I would simply like to add a small piece of work dedicated to Elliot Sperling on this topic. Elliot Sperling is, of course, well-known for his work as a historian of Tibet and Sino-Tibetan relationships, but his passion for contemporary history and his concern for the Tibetan situation are also strong, and have made him one of the few outspoken researchers

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\* I would like to thank Françoise Robin who brought this article to my attention, Sangye Tendar who always answered my many questions, Charlene Mackley for her useful comments on the communication I gave during the IATS, Ulan-Bator July 23<sup>th</sup>, 2013 “*Holier than thou.*’ *Amdo Nomads between the ‘hammer’ of sedentarisation and the ‘anvil’ of vegetarianism,*” on which a part of this article is based. Last but not least, I am deeply indebted to Matthew Akester who not only corrected the English but also helped me in the translation of difficult passages of the Tibetan text.

1 Among others, cf. Cook <http://perspectiveschinoises.revues.org/document179.html> (August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

2 Germano 1998: 53-94; Terrone 2008: 746–779; Gayley 2011: 435–502.

3 <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2014/the-impact-of-the-so-called-ten-virtues-by-jamyang-kyi/> (July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

4 On this subject, see among others Barstow 2013: 74-104; Gaerrang 2011: 31-43 and 2012; Gayley 2013: 247-284. Lafitte: <http://rukor.org/neoliberal-tibet-and-chinas-end-game/> (August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

on the subject, even when expressing his views has come at the cost of his personal interest. This is why he might be curious about an article published by Jamyang Kyi ('Jam dbyangs skyid) arguing against vegetarianism, which appeared on June 24<sup>th</sup>, 2013 on the blog of the famous writer Sangdor. His blog having recently been shut down, this article is no longer accessible. My aim is thus to provide here a translation of this article and some comments.

Jamyang Kyi was born in Amdo Tsholho (Mtsho lho). She is a renowned singer, a writer, and was for many years a news editor and producer for Tibetan language programming at the State owned Qinghai Television. She is also an advocate of Tibetan women's rights. She was arrested on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 and spent 21 days in jail, a detention she later related day by day in her blog. The text was translated in English and published in Dharamsala under the title *A Diary of interrogations. A Sequence of Tortures*.<sup>5</sup>

Jamyang Kyi published several articles on the subject of vegetarianism and the new Ten Virtues, generally under her pen name, Mindrug (Smin drug). One of these was translated for the website High Peaks Pure Earth.<sup>6</sup>

In the article translated below, the author bases her argumentation against the propagation of vegetarianism in Tibet by high monastics on the fact that Tibet is a high country with little oxygen and Tibetans have been used to a meat diet for thousands of years. She put emphasis on the case of Tibetan women, who have to give birth and therefore need nutrition sufficient to breastfeed and avoid vitamins and calcium deficiency.

One wonders to whom the author has directed this article, full of medical vocabulary with which few Tibetans can be familiar. Nevertheless, the appearance of 25 comments (two are identical) show that this article was read and not really well received, as we will see below.

### Coerced vegetarianism and the welfare of Tibetans<sup>7</sup>

(notes **8** to **13** in **bold** and underline belong to Jamyang Kyi's original text)

During these [last] years, there has been a lot of fuss in Tibet about a movement to stop eating meat. While vegetarianism may be appropriate for others, in a barren land of high mountains, where oxygen is scarce, conditions for livelihood are poor, and there are no vegetables, while yak and sheep meat are considered the best, this is more harmful than beneficial for the masses of Tibetan farmers and pastoralists who have to rely on their physical strength to do their work.

This is particularly so for Tibetan mothers. The reason is that once a child is conceived, the fetus stays at least nine months and ten days in the mother's womb, and then she has to give birth in great pain. Even if the mother is able to rest for one month after the birth,<sup>8</sup> she has to breast-feed the child ten times a day during

5 N.d. The text was translated by Pema Thinley and published by the Tibetan Women's Association.

6 <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2014/the-impact-of-the-so-called-ten-virtues-by-jamyang-kyi/> (August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

7 [http://www.sangdor.com/list1\\_c.asp?id=11861&a=menzhu](http://www.sangdor.com/list1_c.asp?id=11861&a=menzhu).

**8** In some nomadic areas, it is not even customary for the mother to rest after birth.

that time, and to clean him as often as he defecates. If unfortunately the child has a calcium (*kal*) deficiency, or if he cries a lot, the mother has even less time to rest, like a worm wriggling in the fire. Not only that, but basically, mothers must breast-feed until the child is at least one or two years old, and have their periods every month as well, while Western medical science shows that calcium levels decrease once women reach their 30s.<sup>9</sup>

Anyway, as a woman and a mother too, I well know from experience that during the nine months and ten days when the child is in the womb

1. for the first three months, the child is like a fierce poison
2. in the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> months, the body is like a heavy load to carry
3. at the time of giving birth, the pain is like having nails driven into the lower back until it is about to shatter. Then, there is all the suffering of breast-feeding, and by night the torment of being woken from peaceful sleep.

I was 38 when I gave birth to my younger daughter, and not only did I rely on an abundance of medicines and oxygen at the hospital but, terrified by the pain of delivery, I had a cesarean. During postnatal leave, I was like a carnivorous wild yak, eating and drinking everything, milk, eggs, vegetables, fruits. For a while, my husband did the shopping and I lapsed into a state of undernourishment. From the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, my heart was not well, and because of a deficiency of oxygen I could not sleep well. Then, the caesarean operation drained my reserves, and less than a week after delivery, I ran a very high fever and, unable to recover, I fell into a coma, and went a little deaf, as had happened to my mother. Thanks to my husband, who had prepared extra food in advance, I manage to slowly recover with good nutrition (*'sho bcud*) and vitamins, and because there was no delay in medical treatment, nothing serious happened to me.<sup>10</sup>

When my mother was 40 years old, the Triple Gem gave her the only son she wanted and during most of the 9 months and 10 days [of pregnancy], she suffered as if the child was a fierce poison. Her body became very weak because of the intolerable pain of childbirth. After the birth, she was not able to eat well enough, her strength became depleted, she suffered from depression and became deaf in one ear. My mother suffered for 33 years from the humiliation of being deaf, without telling anyone. She lived and died so.

Those who advocate abstaining from meat had better take care, for there is no saying that one day someone in your family, your older sisters, younger sisters or aunts, will not become disabled.

The child in the mother's womb has even more need of varied nutrition, vitamins and calcium. Fish and pulses are especially beneficial. However, even for someone like me who has gone to school 8, 9 or 10 years, and has lived 20 years in the city, it is difficult to become accustomed to such food, never mind for Tibetan villagers [who do not eat fish]. Still, we like our own food, and our yak and mutton has a lot of nutrients.

<sup>9</sup> Urban Chinese women who reach this age take calcium and vitamins (*'sho rtsi*) supplements. They compensate for the deficiency without needing so much rest. This is certainly why Chinese women look younger [than Tibetans], and the fact that pleasure-seeking young Tibetan men find Chinese women attractive can hardly be unrelated.

<sup>10</sup> The process of giving birth to a child brings so much difficulty for the mother. After recovering from the birth of my daughter Kargyen (Dkar rgyan), my husband told me that even he could not go through it again.

Yak meat contains vitamin B12, which has an important capacity to replenish the body's cells. It has even more vitamin B6, which helps the body combat infectious diseases. Albumin (*spri dkar gyi bcud*) helps in [bodily] renewal. It also contains zinc (*ti tsha*), iron (*lcags*), calcium (*kal*), magnesium (*mag*), potassium (*pod*), and the 8 kinds of amino acid (*em gzhi skyur*) essential to the human body. Yak meat is said to be more nutritious than beef.

Sheep mutton contains most of the B vitamins, and plenty of B12, as well as albumin, zinc (*ti tsha*), folic acid (*lo ma'i skyur rgyu*), organic vitamins (*skye dngos 'tsho rtsi*) and ? (*skyur langs 'tsho rtsi*). Mutton also has important regenerative capacities, and its antibiotic properties have been demonstrated by modern medical research.<sup>11</sup>

However that may be, with the policy of exterminating cattle, the sky-high market price of meat, and the system of enriching the state while impoverishing the masses, ordinary farmers and pastoralists face all kinds of hardship in making a living. For women, especially in pregnancy, this means calcium and vitamin deficiency and, after childbirth, given the lack of both the economic resources and concerned attitude needed to make up the deficiency, treatment is not given in time and children fall sick. In our village of only sixty-odd families, there are four children of this kind. On top of that, those with power in our own community are now forcing labouring farmers and pastoralists to give up eating meat, and proudly announcing this as an achievement in learned assemblies and other public gatherings. By depriving people of nutrition, what do you achieve for Tibetans other than exhausted fathers, sick mothers and handicapped children? The suitability of yak and sheep meat to the Tibetan diet can be seen just from the fact that if the mother does not eat meat and drink broth after childbirth, she will not produce milk. I found this out myself when my two daughters were born. If the mother has no milk, the newborn baby looks here and there [in discomfort] and her face and eyes turn yellow. [In that case] the child needs to be given medical attention in time, and putting her in the sun is also very beneficial. If we delay, the jaundice increases and there is a great danger of the child falling sick. Generally, mother's milk is much the best nutrition. Science has proven the necessity of breastfeeding for the first eight months.<sup>12</sup> Strangely, Chinese mothers are able to produce milk by eating rice soup and eggs and drinking milk. It is difficult to explain this other than as a result of the different eating habits of different peoples.

Nowadays, Tibetan children who come from agricultural and nomad areas [to study in urban schools] seem to be getting smaller year by year, while it is quite evident that when there is economic development and a high standard of living, as for example in Japan, young people get taller and taller. How does this come about, if not by increasing quality of life?

According to the gynaecologist Sonam Tso, rural women are increasingly suffering from high levels of salt in the body, mental anxiety and sleeplessness.

**11** If we Tibetans, who live with poor conditions of hygiene and no variety of foodstuffs, are not grateful for yak and sheep meat that make us healthy and strong, what else is there?

**12** The Tibetan medical system has shown that there is no benefit in breastfeeding a child for more than eight months, because the child loses appetite for more nutritious foods. By that time, the mother's milk is no longer really nutritious.



This is said to be a condition caused by psychological disorders and nerves. In my view, it is because [rural Tibetan] women do heavy work, are quite anxious, have vitamin, calcium and nutritional deficiencies; because under the family planning policy, women are forcibly sterilized, which is a crime; and nowadays, most foods are adulterated with chemicals, and many of the commercial products that we eat and drink<sup>13</sup> are fake and of poor quality.

Generally speaking, due to the limited variety of foodstuffs, we have become accustomed to eating yak meat and mutton for thousands of years, and if we are suddenly forced to stop, it goes without saying that Tibetans in general, and mothers in particular, will suffer protein, vitamin and calcium deficiency, which is even more damaging for the unborn child. When the child is conceived, the semen of the father and egg of the mother will be of poor quality, and then if the mother's body is undernourished, she cannot produce the nutrients necessary for the child in the womb. Once this vicious cycle is set in motion, Tibetans will surely become physically weaker and mentally duller, [biological] inheritance will be diminished and procreation tainted, and gradually we will become more susceptible to various diseases and epidemics. We shall see.

Do the advocates of vegetarianism really and truly consider animals' lives more valuable than those of humans? Or do they consider the suffering of those prevented from eating meat as a virtue or accomplishment rendered to them? Otherwise, they are simply making a fuss over following a fad inspired by Chinese Buddhists and Western vegetarians. Whatever the case may be, this wish to overcome one's given circumstances with a single step, using authority to impose one's own whims, with no consideration for the altitude and oxygen levels of the land one inhabits, and the customs and resources of one's people, is a sign of mere foolishness. It is like the proverbial 'pauper who tries to walk alongside a rich man but ends up breaking his leg', or 'picking up a corpse from the ground and carrying it on one's shoulders',<sup>14</sup> and this should be understood by all, chiefly those among us who think they know best.

Most of the 25 comments posted in reaction to Jamyang Kyi's article express strong disagreement with her views while four of them manifest some support or respect for her argument (comments 9-10-11-18) and four others defend the point of view of meat-eaters (comments 9-12-14-18). What is striking is the violence expressed by several of them, especially the four first. One wonders if the authors are not, in fact, the same blogger using various nicknames, since the content is quite similar. These violent comments call Jamyang Kyi "Demoness" (*'dre mo*), and advice her to eat her husband's or children's flesh, or even her own flesh, since she likes meat. Some also allege that as the owner of a restaurant, her only motivation for taking issue with vegetarianism is to maintain a profitable business (comments 4 and 22). Although Jamyang Kyi does not refer to the monastics by name, two comments are made in defence of Khempo Tsultrim Lodrö (Mkhan po Tshul grims blo gros), the heir of Jigme Phuntsok, one of the main active figures of this movement, refuting the accusation that he forces people to become vegetarian (comments 8

<sup>13</sup> Analysis show that nowadays most commercial foodstuffs contain harmful ingredients.

<sup>14</sup> These proverbs mean taking on unnecessary burdens (note by the author).

and 13). In fact, it seems that often the lamas ask those in their audience to raise an arm if they agree to stop eating meat, drinking, etc. This commitment made in front of their fellow Tibetans can create enormous pressure on those unable to keep their oath. Jamyang Kyi's medical knowledge is also questioned, as is her faith in the dharma, and two bloggers insinuate that she must be Christian since eating meat is a Christian and not a Buddhist custom (comments 16 and 20). Lastly, an anonymous blogger refers to a revealed teaching of the Nyingma master Guru Chöki Wangchuk (Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug, 1217-1270),<sup>15</sup> *Mahākaruṇika Who Dredges the Pit of Saṃsāra* (*Thugs rje chen po 'khor ba dong sprug*), listing the various punishments awaiting those who eat meat or drink blood (comment 17).

One day, she herself decided to answer (comments 23) just to express her view on all these comments in a very short message: "A lot of words were said. A lot of noise was made!"<sup>16</sup>

The issue of vegetarianism has been debated for centuries among the monastic community. Some lamas such as Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltzen (Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1292-1361) or Shabkar (Zhabdkar Tshogs drug rang grol 1781-1851) expressed their total opposition to eating meat. Others, like Jigme Lingpa (?Jigs med gling pa, 1730-1798), had a much more moderate point of view. Although, as shown by Barstow, Jigme Lingpa "strongly critiques meat" and praise of vegetarianism, "[he] never mandates a vegetarian diet among his students" (2013: 90). Nowadays, some lamas have a much stricter position: Hungkar Rinpoche (Hūm dkar rin po che), a golok lama said to be the reincarnation of Do Khyentse Yeshe Dorje (Mdo mkhyen brtse Ye shes rdo rje, 1800-1866), himself the reincarnation of Jigme Lingpa, has an interesting position. In contrast with his own predecessor, he defends an absolute vegetarianism as the only correct path, a path described in fundamentalist terms.

These lamas have the support of the Dalai Lama even if, affirming Jamyang Kyi's argument, he recognized, in an interview given on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2013, that "The Tibetan high altitude environment is also not conducive for sustaining fresh crops, and as it is now, the Tibetans include meat in their diet as a means of survival. Many monasteries that opt for the vegetarian lifestyle take measures to import their foods to sustain their eating habits."<sup>17</sup> He himself tried to stop, but after repeated health problems was advised by several doctors to resume eating meat.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, at a special audience during the Kālacakra held in January 2012 in Bodhgayā,<sup>19</sup> the hierarch expressed his appreciation of "the initiatives taken by many monasteries in Tibet of advising people to give up meat, saying that it was spiritually significant and should be adopted

15 On Guru Chöki Wangchuk, see Dudjom Rinpoche, vol. I: 760-770.

16 *Skad mang po bzhas 'dug / 'ur chen po brgyab 'dug / Smin drug.*

17 <http://samvidbeauty.com/2013/02/a-lesson-from-the-dalai-lama-on-meat-eating/> (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2014).  
<http://vegpeace.org/buddhistvegetariandalai.html>

18 Already in 2006, The Central Tibetan Administration appealed to the followers of Tibetan Buddhism to go vegetarian and stop animal slaughtering for a ceremony to be held in Bihar. [http://hillpost.in/2011/10/30/go-vegan-for-ritual-tibetan-exiles/33596/news-2/hp\\_news\\_networkGo](http://hillpost.in/2011/10/30/go-vegan-for-ritual-tibetan-exiles/33596/news-2/hp_news_networkGo) vegan for ritual: Tibetan exiles.

19 <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=30631&t=1> (July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2014).  
<http://tibetonline.tv/videos/925/his-holiness-the-14th-dalai-lama-kalop-at-32th-kalachakra,-bodhgaya> (June 6<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

as a gradual social move.” In the same speech, he added “that it would be better if the nomads were allowed to maintain their centuries old natural habitation and stay on the grasslands,” two positions which appear rather contradictory since the pastoralists need to sell their livestock to be able to maintain their way of life on the grassland. But for researchers such as Lafitte, the calls for Tibetans to embrace vegetarianism is « a way of mobilising Tibetans to stand strong and united, in the face of the seductions and disappointments of China’s hedonic promise of neoliberal wealth accumulation.”<sup>20</sup>

The appeal to vegetarianism is associated with an anti-slaughter movement, which started in the mid-1990 when Jigme Phuntsok requested followers to stop slaughtering animals. He was inspired by Buddhist compassion towards animals, which were suffering in transportation and slaughterhouses in the context of commodification of animal lives, which is totally at odds with the traditional Tibetan treatment of cattle. According to Gaerrang (2011: 36), this movement, which “contests and compromises the capitalist development,” has now spread in all Kham, Amdo and even Central Tibet. In Hongyuan where he did his fieldwork in 2006, all the villagers of one village took an oath not to sell yaks for slaughter for at least 3 years. “The majority of households in the village were able to keep their oaths for the initial three-year period,” (2011: 36) and half of them promised “to stop slaughtering livestock for their own consumption” (2011: 38) following a teaching made by Mkhan po Tshul khrims blo gros of Gser rta”. Only a small number of herders express reluctance to continue on this path because of the reduction in income, other ways of making a living being very limited by their lack of spoken and written mandarin. Some herders decided to abide by the State resettlement project and needed cash for housing construction (2011: 38).

These lamas were followed by some of the self-immolators, who asked their fellow Tibetans to stop eating meat and slaughtering animals<sup>21</sup>. This religiously-inspired resistance to Chinese assimilation policies is accompanied by cultural and socio-economic resistance from the herders. The construction of Chinese-run slaughterhouses in the mid 2000s led to popular protests. Not only was such industrial slaughter contrary to the Tibetans’ animal husbandry practice and Buddhist feelings, there were also numerous accusations of theft of animals by Chinese slaughterhouse owners, and of pressure on pastoralists from the local authorities to sell their animals.<sup>22</sup>

Meat is not the only target: smoking and drinking are also strongly opposed by monastics, and also the Dalai Lama.<sup>23</sup> In Golok Peyul (Dpal yul), Darthang monastery has prohibited the consumption of alcohol in the whole town and in 2011 it was impossible to find even a bottle of beer in a shop. This is because of the general advocacy of temperance by many lamas in Amdo who regularly request Tibetans to refrain from drinking —and smoking also— out of respect

20 <http://rukor.org/neoliberal-tibet-and-chinas-end-game/> (August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

21 [http://burningtibet.blogspot.in/2013\\_05\\_01\\_archive.html](http://burningtibet.blogspot.in/2013_05_01_archive.html) (July 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

Among them, Nangdröl who self-immolated on February 19<sup>th</sup> 2012, Rikyo on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

22 <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/attack-12012011141021.html> (August 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

<http://www.hrw.org/fr/news/2006/03/29/china-fears-tibetan-slaughterhouse-detainees> (August 14<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

23 <http://www.phayul.com/news/article.aspx?id=30631&t=1> (August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

for Buddhist precepts, but perhaps also to avoid fights. People listen to them and the habits of drinking and smoking are gradually declining. Unfortunately, a new habit is emerging, which does not seem to be any better, but shows how difficult it is for Tibetans to follow all these new rules. Yumtsho, a Tibetan writer, explained in a blog<sup>24</sup> that a lot of people have replaced drink with a Chinese medicine<sup>25</sup> nicknamed “The Chang that doesn’t violate the Ten Virtues” which contains a lot of alcohol and is said to be very dangerous for the health.

The issue of fighting is also often raised by the lamas. Traditionally, inter-tribal and inter-village fights often arise among the northeastern Tibetan communities, and the literature is full of narratives of conflicts and mediation. The Chinese occupation did not put an end to these internal clashes and recent studies have shown that contemporary policies such as pasture-fencing, or the collection of yartsa gumbu (*dbyar rtsa dgun ’bu*) are contributing factors in the emergence of new conflicts.<sup>26</sup> Most recently, high clerics in Tibet made regularly appeals to lay Tibetans to stop fighting between themselves. The Dalai Lama added his voice to that of the hierarchs, following a fight over yartsa gumbu that left at least two people dead and three others wounded in Rebgong on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2013.<sup>27</sup> But not a word was said about the origins of the conflict. The Dalai Lama expressed his opposition in Buddhist terms by explaining that “violence is contrary to the beliefs and conduct of all who believe in karma and in Buddhism”. Some self-immolators requested Tibetans to stop fighting in their final testaments, such as Nangdrol who self-immolated in Ngawa (Nga ba) Prefecture on February 19<sup>th</sup>, 2012.<sup>28</sup> Following Nangdrol’s death, some 1000-2000 people came to his family’s house and pledged before a photo of the Dalai Lama and one of Nangdrol never to engage in feuding within the community.<sup>29</sup>

This movement also affects aspects of daily life other than the practice of Buddhism and the respect of the Ten Virtues. In Amdo and the Golok area, the preservation of the Tibetan language is a very sensitive issue for both the monastic and lay communities. The importance people put on language was expressed during the many demonstrations that have occurred since 2010<sup>30</sup> in Amdo. Also, several self-immolators have shouted slogans demanding respect for the language and culture of Tibet, or have left messages on the subject. In Golok Peyul, small slips of paper were left in shops in 2011 requesting Tibetans to speak a pure Tibetan.<sup>31</sup> In some regions, people

24 <http://tibetwebdigest.com/?p=541>

25 “huo-xiang-zheng-qi water”

26 Among others, Pirie 2005: 1-30 and 2012: 83-107; Sulek 2009: 15-44 and 2010: 9-22; Yeh 2000: 212-226 and 2013: 318-340.

27 <http://www.rfa.org/english/news/tibet/fungus-06072013220245.html> (July 12<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

28 [http://burningtibet.blogspot.in/2013\\_05\\_01\\_archive.html](http://burningtibet.blogspot.in/2013_05_01_archive.html) (July 26<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

29 Akester 2012: 218.

30 <http://highpeakspureearth.com/2012/abolishing-tibetan-language-education-for-the-sake-of-maintaining-stability-by-woeser/> (August 16<sup>th</sup>, 2014).

31 *Bod mi rnam pa / khyod tshos bsre skad bshad na mi rigs yar rgyas kyi ma rtsa brlag pa 'i nag nyes can du gyur bas / bod skad gtsang ma re bshad rogs zhu / pha skad myur skyob tshogs pa nas / “Tibetans! if you speak a mixed language, you are guilty of ruining the foundation of the development of your people. We request you to speak pure Tibetan- from the Association for the protection of the mother tongue.”*

have reacted strongly to the issue of mixed language (*ra ma lug*, “neither goat nor sheep”). According to some informants, every time someone at Lanzhou University use a Chinese word, he is fined one yuan and when enough money is collected, teachers go for a drink together. In Tsekho (Rtse khog), those speaking *ra ma lug* are ignored and in Chigdril (Gcig sgril), people are publicly criticized.

Another subject of contention is the issue of white tents in nomad regions: in Chigdril, the lamas oppose the modern white tents used by nomads in summer, which are lighter and much easier to carry than the black ones in yak hair. Some Golok pastoralists explained to me in 2011 that from 2012 onwards, white tents would not longer be allowed because, according to the lamas, “to live in a white tent is to be sinicized, and Tibetan traditional nomad life can only exist in the usual black yak-hair tent.” The black tent is indeed a very strong symbol of Tibetan nomad (*'brog pa*) identity.

The many reactions on the web to the question of vegetarianism and the new set of Ten Virtues are not surprising if one considers that in Amdo and Golok, pastoralists and farmers are confronted with two highly demanding discourses: on one side, certain lamas, supported by the Dalai Lama and some self-immolators, request them to become pure and perfect Buddhist practitioners, totally non-violent and vegetarian, an ideal which is more suitable for a religious community than for a lay one, and one which was never traditionally imposed on lay people and rarely on the clergy. On the other side, Chinese government policies emphasise economic development and assimilation, a “path” that contrasts with official state rhetoric about multi-cultural harmony. In other words, both agendas require from Tibetans a radical change of lifestyle. In both cases, Tibetans are being told that their way of life is wrong: one has assimilation of the local population into the modern, Han-dominated society as its aim; the second promotes a new Tibetan identity based on a purist interpretation of Buddhism that is incompatible with the herders’ traditional ways. In some sense, these lamas can be perceived as indirectly accommodating state efforts to sedentarise and marketize rural Tibetans, along with other activists (development NGOs and missionaries) who help the work of the modernising state. Of course, it is Tibetans, always eager to peacefully assert their collective identity and values, who are the agents of this process, with their incitement to a generalized vegetarianism and respect for the new set of Ten Virtues.

But to whom is the discourse of these clerics directed? To the Tibetans? To the Chinese or to the West? I would say to all: To Tibetans in order for them to be united and protect their culture in the present context. To the Chinese, to show them that Tibetans are not the backward people they suppose but on the contrary are very “civilized” and enlightened, “holier” than them. And also to the Western world—at least for the Dalai Lama—who, in his modernist presentation of Buddhism, wants to promote a global image of Tibet as a non-violent and highly spiritual society, respectful of nature, the environment and all sentient beings, and therefore a society able to benefit to all mankind.

Nevertheless, the vegetarian discourse of these lamas faces some opposition from the Tibetan side, as Jamyang Kyi’s article shows. She speaks as a Tibetan woman and mother, of whose

predicament, she argues, these clerics have no idea and do not seem to be much concerned. Her argument based on medical considerations finds little echo in the readers' comments, and it should be noted that, curiously, none of these comments appear to have been written by a woman.

This raises the question of gender in the debate regarding vegetarianism, a point only touched upon in this short article and one which deserves further consideration.<sup>32</sup>

## Transliteration of Jamyang Kyi's Article

Dmar zas btsan gcod (Smin drug, 2013-6-24)

### Dmar zas btsan gcod dang bod mi'i bde thang

Ra rdza 'Jam dbyangs skyid

lo 'di tsho'i ring la bod khams su dmar zas gcod pa'i las shig spel nas tsha tsha 'ur  
'ur du gyur 'dug/dmar zas bead na gzhan rigs la ni 'os su 'tsham na thang yang/  
sa brtsan ri mtho/gso rlung nyung zhing 'tsho ba'i cha rkyen zhan pa/tshal tshod  
sngo ldum mang po med kyang kha zas kun las gnag lug gi sha ni mchog gras su  
rtsi ba/ngal rtsol yod tshad lus shugs rkyang la brten dgos pa'i bod kyi rong 'brog  
mang tshogs la mtshon na ni phan las gnod che'o//

de bzhin/des ni bod mi spyi dang sgos su bod pa'i a ma rnams la ni lhag tu nas  
gnod do//rgyu mtshan gang gis zhe na/skyes ma zhig gis phru gu gcig rang bskyed  
pa'i dbang du btang yang/ma mtha' yang zla dgu zhag bcu la mngal du sbrum dgos  
shing/de nas gzer gzug drag po'i khrod btsa' dgos/a ma gang de zla gcig<sup>(1)</sup> bang la  
'dug thub pa byung rung/de'i ring la/nyin zhag gcig nang phru gur nu ma thengs  
bcu grangs re bsnun dgos/gcig skyag kyang lan grangs de ltar sgug pho byed dgos/  
las ma bzang bar 'kal' gyis ma 'dang ba'i byis pa zhig dang yang na byis pa ngu  
kha zhig skyes pa yin na/ a ma de 'bu me nang du lhung ba ltar de bas kyang sdod  
long med pa bzo/ma zad / gzhi rim du a ma tshos ha lam phru gu lo gcig gnyis lhag  
la son pa'i bar nu ma bsnun gyi yod la/skyes ma tshor zla ba re la zla mtshan yang  
'bab kyi yod pas mi tshad/mo lo sum cu so grangs<sup>(2)</sup> la slebs pa nas lus kyi 'kal'  
sogs zad gron 'byung gi yod tshul nub lugs gso ba rig par gsal ba sogs kyis so//

De min/nga rang nyid skyes ma zhig dang lhag don a ma zhig yin tsang/byis pa  
zhig zla dgu zhag bcu la mngal du chags pa'i dus kyi dang po zla ba gsum gyi  
byis dug drag po dang/gnyis pa zla ba bdun brgyad dgu yi bar gyi lus kyi gdos  
khur/gsum pa btsa' ba'i dus kyi mtshang ra 'gad grabs gtong ba'i gzer zug/de nas  
nu zhos gso ba'i tshogs sdug dang mtshan mor skyid gnyid dkrog pa'i mnar gcod  
mtha' dag nga yis dngos su myong zhing myangs nas yong ba yin pas gsal por

<sup>32</sup> I plan to address more specifically this subject in the near future.

shes/de yang / nga rang dar lo 38 steng bu mo chung ba skye dus/ sman khang du gso sman gso rlung mod po bstén par ma zad/phru gu btsa' ba'i gzer zug la 'jigs nas gshag bcós byas te byis pa blangs pa yin/bang la sdod skabs sha gzan g.yag rgod 'dra ba gcig dang/'o ma bya sgong sngo tshal sil tog gang rigs zos shing 'thungs nas re zhig khyo gas nyo cha brgyab nas kha mi thon pa'i tshad du lung bcug na yang/phru gu mngal du chags nas zla ba drug bdun nas bzung/snying khams bde po ma byung ba dang gso rlung gis ma 'dang bas mtshan mor gnyid yag mo khugs ma thub pa dang/de nas khog pa gshags pa'i nus mtshag zad gron byung ba/de'i khar/bang nang bdun gcig ma phyin gong la lus por tsha ba drag po rgyas pa sogs kyis lus po sor chud ma thub par rlung gis khyer bas en tsam gyis a ma nang bzhin rna ba 'on/khyo gas kha zas sngar rgyas bzós pa'i drin gyis 'tsho rtsi 'tsho bcud ga ler kha gsab thub pa byung ba dang/sman bcós 'thus shor ma song bas nga la chag sgo de ma byung<sup>(3)</sup>//

yin yang/bdag gi a mas dngung lo 40 steng kun gyis dkon mchog gyis gnang bar 'dod pa'i bu kher skyes de ha lam zla dgu zhag bcu la byis dug drag pos gdung bzhin khur ba'i mod la/bzod bsran bral ba'i gzer zug khrod btsas pa'i rkyen gyis lus po nyams zhan du gyur/bang la 'dug dus zas bcud kha gsab ma thub pa sogs kyis lus zungs zad pa thal drags nas rlung nad kyis gdungs te rna ba zung gcig 'on par song/nga'i a mas mi lo 33 ring la rna 'on ma zhes pa'i dma' 'bebs bzed bzhin 'tsho ba skyel zhing tshe mjug rdzogs/dmar zas gcod pa'i las spel mkhan dag gis gzab gzab ma byas na/nyin zhig rang gi a ce sring mo sru mo gang rigs dbang po skyon can du mi gtong ba'i nges pa med do//

A ma'i lhums su gnas pa'i phru gu la ni de bas kyang 'tsho bcud 'tsho rtsi/'kal' sogs sna tshogs mkho/de dag las nya sha dang sran ma'i rigs ni mngal phrug la shin tu sman/yin yang/nya sha ni grong gseb kyí bod mi tsho phar zhog lo brgyad dgu bca' bcu la slob grwa 'grims shing grong khyer 'di ru lo ngo nyi shu rtsa grangs la 'tsho ba rol pa'i nga yang kha zas der goms lobs dka'/de lta na yang / nga tsho rang nyid za bar dga' zhing rang la yod pa'i nor sha dang lug sha'i nang du yang 'tsho bcud mang po yod pa red de/nor sha ru/'tsho rtsi B12 yod la/des ni mi yi lus po'i phra phung bskyed par nus pa gal chen 'don thub/'tsho rtsi B6 ni de bas kyang mang po 'dug/des rim nad zlog pa'i nus shugs je cher gtong la/spri dkar gyi bcud kyis rnying tshab gsar brje byed par grogs dan byed thub/de min/de dung 'ti tsha' dang 'lcags' 'kal' 'mag' 'pod' dang/mi yi lus phung la med du mi rung ba'i 'em gzhi skyur' sna kha 8 sogs yod pas na/spyir btang gi glang sha dang bsdur na nor sha la ni de bas kyang 'tsho bcud 'dzoms zhes pa dang/lug sha la/'tsho rtsi B yi ris su gtogs pa ha lam 'dzoms shing/lug sha'i nang du 'tsho rtsi B12 ni lhag tu mod po yod pa red/de min/'spri dkar' gyi bcud dang 'ti tsha' 'lo ma'i skyur rgyu' dang skye dngos 'tsho rtsi/skyur langs 'tsho rtsi sogs mang po 'dug cing/lug sha la yang rnying tshab gsar brje byed pa'i nus pa gal chen yod la/srin 'joms kyí nus pa yang yod tshul deng rabs gso ba rig pa'i zhib 'jug gi dngos 'bras<sup>(4)</sup> las bstan 'dug//

ci ste de lta yin yang/phyugs zog med par gtong ba'i srid jus dang sha gong gnam la 'phar ba'i khrom thang/rgyal khab phyug por gtong ba'i lam lugs dang/mang tshogs dbul bor 'gyur ba'i gnas stangs 'og rong 'brog mang tshogs 'tsho gnas thad dka' ngal 'dra min sna tshogs la 'phrad kyi yod pa red la/skyes ma la ni de bas kyang byis pa sbrum dus 'kal' dang 'tsho rtsis 'dang gis med cing/byis pa btsas rjes kha gsab rgyag pa'i dpal 'byor cha rkyen dang bsam blo'i 'du shes dben pas dus thog nad bcos ma thub pas byis pa nad pa chags pa'i gnas tshul byung dang 'byung gi yod pa red/mi tshang drug bcu re grangs las med pa'i nga tsho'i sde ba rkyang gi nang du byis pa de'i rigs bzhi yod/de'i khar/da cha/rang rigs kyi btsan po dbang yod dag gis lus shugs ngal rtsol byed mkhan gyi rong 'brog mang tshogs la btsan gyis dmar zas gcod du bcug rjes/mkhas pa'i lhan tshogs sogs mi mang 'du sa ru ngom 'dod chen pos rang gi grub 'bras shig tu brtsis nas khyab bsgrags byed kyi 'dug/blo pham che ba zhig la/khyed cag gis 'tsho bcud 'tsho rtsi 'thus shor byung du 'jug pa de ni/tag tag bod khams su a pha nyam thag dang a ma nad pa/phru gu skyon can bskyed pa las gzhan ci//

bod mi tshor nor lug gi sha ji 'dra'i 'phrod kyi yod pa/phru gu btsas rjes sha dang sha khu ma zos ma 'thungs na a ma mams la 'o ma 'bab kyi med pa las kyang gsal bor shes/nga yang bu mo gnyis ka skyes dus gnas tshul de 'drar phrad/gal te a ma la nu zho med pa yin na/phru gu dmar 'byar bltas bltas rig rig la ngo dang mig 'bras ser bor gyur 'gro/sman bcos dus thog byed pa'i dus mtshungs su phru gu nyi mar lde na yang phan thogs che/de ltar ma byas mu mthud 'gor 'gyangs btang ba yin na/mkhris ser gyi nad je thur phyin te phru gu nad pa chags pa'i nyen kha che/spyir phru gu la mtshon na/'tsho bcud ches yag shos ni a ma'i nu zho yin pa red/de bas/zla ngo brgyad<sup>(5)</sup> la nges par phru gu nu bzhos gso dgos tshul tshan rig gis bden dpang byas 'dug ya mtshan pa zhig la/rgya mo bang ma tshos 'bras khu dang bya sgong 'o ma 'dra zos shing 'thungs na yang 'o ma 'bab kyi 'dug/de ni mi rigs gnyis kyi kha zas goms srol ma 'dra ba'i bskyed pa'i mjug 'bras las rgyu mtshan gzhan zhig bgrang rgyu dka'//

gzhan/deng skabs/rong 'brog phyogs nas yong gin pa'i bod phru slob ma dag lo re nas lo rer gzugs bongs je chung du 'gro gin pa'i snang ba ster/yin yang/dpal 'byor dar rgyas che zhing 'tsho ba'i 'khos ka bzang ba'i 'jar pan rgyal khab la mtshon na/deng dus na gzhon tsho'i gzugs bongs je che je dar du song yod pa mngon sum mthong chos red/de ni 'tsho ba'i chu tshad dang 'tsho ba'i spus kas bskyed pa ming na ci yin/de min/mo nad ched mkhas sman pa bsod nams 'tsho lags kyis bshad na/nye lam zhing 'brog sa khul nas skyes ma skor zhig la lus por tsha rgyas pa dang sems pa 'tsha' ge 'tshig ger khur nas mtshan mor gnyid kyang yag po khugs thub kyi med pa'i nad cig 'byung gi 'dug la/de ni gtso bo sems khams dang dbang rtsa rkyen byas byung ba'i nad rigs shig yin pa red zer/ngas bsams na/de yang/gzhi rim skyes ma tshor las ka lei ba/sems tshegs che ba/'tsho rtsi dang 'kal



'tsho bcud kyis ma 'dang ba dang/'char ldan bu skye srid jus kyis skyes ma skor zhid la btsan shugs kyis srid gcod gshag bcos byas pa'i byas nyes/de'i khar/deng skabs kyi kha zas gang mang zhid la rdzas 'gyur gyi lhad 'dres yod pas dang/gzhi rim tshong khang du bza' bca' btung<sup>(6)</sup> gsum gyi rigs spus zher brdzus ma mang ba bcas kyi los yin 'dod//

spyir nga tshor kha zas sna kha nyung ba'i khar/de ni/lo ngo khri stong mang por za goms su song ba'i nor sha dang lug sha de glo bur thol rgyag tu btsan gyis gcod du bcug pa yin na/ bod mi spyi dang khyad par a ma tsho'i lus steng du sprī dkar gyi bcud dang 'tsho rtsi/'kal' la sogs pa mi 'dang ba bzhir bzhag thog mngal du yod pa'i phru gu la ni gnod tshabs de bas che ba lta ci smos/de yang/thog mar phru gu bskyed dus a pha'i khams dkar dang a ma'i khams dmar gnyis ka'i spus tshad zhan po yin pa dang/de rjes a ma'i lus steng du 'tsho bcud ma 'dang bas mngal gyi phru gu la 'tsho bcud mkho 'don mi thub pa/de ltar ngan rdzob 'khor rgyug byas nas re zhid 'das pa na/bod mi'i lus shugs je zhan dang rig stobs je rtul/mi rgyud je chung dang skye sgo je btsog tu 'gro bar gdon mi za zhing/ rims nad dang bcas pa'i nad rigs 'dra ming sna tshogs 'byung nges pa nga tsho tshang mas ga ler mthong yong rgyu red//

dmar zas gcod pa'i las spel mkhan tshos dngos gnas drang gnas dang lhad bsam mam dag gis/dud 'gro'i tshe srog ni mi yi rin thang las kyang rtsis chen por lta yi yod pa yin nam/yang na/gzhan gyi sha bcad pa'i sdug bsngal gyi rin dod de rang gi dge ba dang grub 'bras su rtsi ched dang/de min/rgya nag gi chos pa tsho dang phyi gling gi dkar zas ring lugs pa tsho la g.yam rgyug gis a gsar 'ur 'drogs byed kyi yod/gang zhid yin yang rung/rang re'i 'tsho sdod kyi sa bab mtho dma' dang gso rlung mang nyung/rang mi'i zas rigs kyi yul goms gshis lugs dang 'tsho ba'i cha rkyen gang la yang ma bltos par/btsan po dbang yod rang snang gang shar gyis bskal pa'i khugs pa gom thengs gcig gis brgal 'dod pa de ni glen rtags nyid las gnas lugs gang/der ma zad/las de ni/rgyu chen gyi 'gro ya byas na rgyu med kyi nywa rkang gcog pa'i dpe ltar 'gyur nyen che la/nyen tshabs de yang nga tsho rang gis sdug sa na yod pa thod la len pa/ro thang na yod pa phrag tu len pa yin tshul/rang re'i chen po drag por khas 'che mkhan mams kyis gtsos/mtho dman drag zhan bar ma kun gyis snga sa nas shes dgos so//

## Notes

1 'brog phyogs skor zhid tu a mar phru gu skyes rjes bang la 'dug pa'i srol yang med pa red//

2 lo tshod der slebs pa'i grong khyer gyi rgya rigs skyes ma tshos/'kal' dang 'tsho rtsi zos te 'tshor gyin pa dang ma 'dang ba kha gsab brgyab ste khom long med par gyur 'dug/rgya mo tshor de 'dra'i rgas mdog shar gyi med pa rkyen gcig de los yin/kha yang spyod yang gi bod pa pho gsar skor zhid rgya mor dga' ba yang de dag 'brel ba med pa zhid ga la yin//

3 a mas phru gu zhig bskyed pa'i go rim ni ji 'dra'i dka' khag che ba/ngas bu mo dkar rgyan skyes nas bang kha gang rjes shig la/khyo gas go rim 'di da rung thengs gcig brgyud dgos na dngos gnas nus sa ma red ces pa de las kyang mtshon//

4 nga tsho bod par 'phrod bsten gyi cha rkyen zhan zhing kha zas sna rkyang yin na yang/ltos bcas su lus po thang zhing lus stobs rgyas pa gtso bo nor lug sha'i drin min na gzhan ci//

5 zla ba brgyad kyi yan la nu zhos gsos na phan pa med tshul gso ba rig pas bstan 'dug/rgyu mtshan/phru gu'i yi ga bkag ste 'tsho bcud gzhan za ba'i gegs su 'gyur la/yang skabs der a ma'i na zho la bcud kyang chen po med pa sogs kiyis so//

6 deng dus kyi btung bca' mang che shos las mi'i lus por mi phan pa'i grub cha mang po yod pa brtags 'bras las thon 'dug//

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IMPERIAL INTEREST MADE MANIFEST:  
SGA A GNYAN DAM PA'S MAHĀKĀLA PROTECTOR CHAPEL  
OF THE TRE SHOD MAṄḌALA PLAIN

Karl Debreczeny

༄༅། ཉི་ལོག་ཏུ་གཏོགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འཇང་སོགས་དྲག་ཞན་མི་མིན་བརྗེ་འདྲུལ་གྱི་བཅས་ཀྱིས་གསན་རྒྱུ་དེ།  
བདག་འཆང་བ་ལོ་ལ་གཞོན་ཅིང་འཆེ་བར་གྱེད་བའི་ལྷ་སྲིན་སྡེ་བརྒྱུད། བྱད་ལ། རྗོད་གཏོང་། རྒྱལ་འགོང་།  
ཐེའུ་རང། དམ་ལོག་སོགས་ཀྱིས་གཞོན་ཅིང་འཆེ་བའི་རིགས་གཏན་ནས་གྱེད་མི་ཆོག  
སྐ་ཨ་གཉན་དམ་པའི་བཀའ་ལོག་འདྲི་ལ་ཅི་དགོས། ལར་མི་ཅི་མཁན་གལ་སྲིད་བྱུང་ན།  
ཆོས་སྲོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་ཆད་དྲག་པོ་བཏང་ནས། མགོ་བོ་ཆལ་བ་བརྒྱར་གས་བ་དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ།  
སྤལ་བོ་ལྷ་བའི་ཆེས་ ༥ བཟང་པོ་ལ་སྐ་ཨ་གཉན་དམ་པས་བྲིས།།

“Non-humans who conceal/disguise [themselves] by magical emanation, of such high and low [places] as 'Jang'<sup>1</sup> of the empire which comprises everything under the sun, listen [to my command]!

It is absolutely forbidden to harm those who hold my [decree] by such means as the harmful eight classes of gods and demons,<sup>2</sup> curses, invocation rituals to destroy enemies,<sup>3</sup> malevolent spirits,<sup>4</sup> poltergeists,<sup>5</sup> and oath-breakers.<sup>6</sup> [All] must heed this decree by sGa A gnyan Dam pa! However, if there are those who disobey, [I vow by] the Three Jewels that, having unleashed the fierce punishment of the Dharma Protectors, their heads will split into one hundred pieces.”

–Written by sGa A gnyan Dam pa on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month.<sup>7</sup>

1 'Jang, in northern Yunnan, was incorporated into the Mongol Empire in 1253, during Qubilai Khan's campaign against the Dali kingdom 大理國, prior to the founding of the Yuan Dynasty. Later 'Jang became associated with the Kingdom of Lijiang 麗江.

2 *lha srin sde brgyad* can refer to various types of mundane spirits who can either help or cause harm, but remain invisible to normal human beings: *gshin rje*, *ma mo*, *bdud*, *btsan*, *rgyal po*, *klu*, *gnod sbyin*, and *gza*.

3 *rbod gtong* is a ritual to invoke the presence of one's guardian deity to destroy one's enemies (also translated as “sorcery and evil mantras”).

4 *rgyal 'gong* are nasty spirits that emerge when one views one's teacher as having hatred; male mischievous spirits, a class of spirits born of the union of the *rgyal po* and *'gong po*.

5 *the'u rang* are demons that possess children / poltergeist; sky-traveling preta-demons that possess children.

6 *dam log (dam nyams)* are violators of promises.

7 This short text is only preserved as a single folio woodblock print, and probably carved for dissemination as a charm against destructive rites, and so the year of this decree by Dam pa is not known. The text is preserved in Sebasi 色巴寺 (=Seb mda' dgon pa?) in Khri 'du rdzong (Chengduo County 称多县), Yushu 玉树. (On this temple see: Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet's Outer Provinces: Kham vol.2 The Qinghai Part of Kham*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004, p.71).  
Sangding Cairan 桑丁才仁 of the China Tibetology Research Center published a Chinese translation of this text (but without providing the Tibetan original), which changes the meaning of the text to be directed at the subject peoples of those lands of the Mongol empire, and thus reads more as a political decree:

Such reads a decree and protective charm by sGa A gnyan dam pa (ca. 1230–1303), Mahākāla ritual specialist at Qubilai Khan's court, which demonstrates his willingness to mix political authority with tantric power, commanding dominion over not only the human realm but even the spirit world.

As Elliot Sperling has shown an enduring interest in imperial engagement with Tibet, explored through both Tibetan and Chinese sources, including Tibetans in service at the Mongol court such as Dam pa, a continued exploration building on his earlier work seems a topic apropos for a volume in his honor.<sup>8</sup> Here I will introduce a surviving chapel, sDe mgon khang, built by Dam pa in Khams near the Sino-Tibetan frontier under Mongolian imperial patronage, which I will argue embodies court interest in Tibetan Buddhism.

Sperling has demonstrated the root of Mongol (and broader imperial) involvement with Tibetan Buddhism lay in both the model of sacrosanct rulership, the *cakravartin*, that spanned ethnic and clan divides allowing them to unite an empire of disparate peoples, as well as the corresponding esoteric means to real physical power that could be harnessed to serve the Mongol imperium.<sup>9</sup> He further traced the roots of the Mongols' choice of Tibetan Buddhism as the Yuan imperial vehicle to the Tangut court, and especially the Mongols' potent encounter

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阳光普照之国土暨纳西等文武百官听命，不准对吾持权者有任何危害之念。必须遵从吾之语命。若有违者向三宝发誓，必遭护法神之惩处。使其头破血流。藏历十一月七日嘎。阿宁胆巴亲笔。which I translate as follows:

“In this sovereign land universally illuminated by the sun (that is by the Great Khan's benevolence), the one hundred civil and military officials of such [subject peoples] as the Naxi heed this command. Let them not even think of doing harm to anyone whom I have vested with authority. They must respectfully follow my verbal commands, and should anyone disobey, I swear by the Three Jewels that he shall suffer the punishments of Mahākāla, who shall cause his head to split open and blood to flow. Written by sGa A gnyan Dam pa on the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month.”

Sangding Cairen 桑丁才仁, “Jian jie Yushu Zangzu zizhizhou shoujie minzu wenwu zhanlan hui shang zhanchu de ji jian wenxian ziliao 简介玉树藏族自治州首届民族文物展览会上展出的几件文献资料” (A Brief introduction to a few documents exhibited at the Yushu Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture First Nationalities Cultural Relic Exhibition) in *Qinghai shehui kexue* 青海社会科学 1994 vol.4, p.118.

8 For instance: Elliot Sperling, “Some remarks on sGa A-gnyan dam-pa and the origins of the Hor-pa lineage of the dKar-mdzes region.” In Ernst Steinkellner, ed., *Tibetan history and language: studies dedicated to Uray Geza on his seventieth birthday*. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1991, pp.455-465; and “Hulegu and Tibet.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung.* Tomus XLIV (1-2) (1990) pp.145-157.

Thanks to Elliot Sperling, E. Gene Smith, Xiong Wenbin, Jigs med bsam grub, Sangding Cairen Matthew Kapstein, Pema Bhum, Tenzin Norbu, Stephen Allee, and Kristina Dy-Liacco, as well as the editor Roberto Vitali, assisted by Nicole Willock and Gedun Rabsal, and the publishers Tashi Tsering and Jean-Luc Achard for organizing this well-deserved festschrift.

9 Why the Mongols chose Tibetan Buddhism as the official state religion of the Yuan dynasty tends to be addressed by Sinologists in a cursory and often somewhat derogatory manner, adopting the distaste for both the Mongols and Tibetan Buddhism reflected in the Chinese official sources upon which they depend, observing that Tibetans were likely chosen as the imperial preceptors because they specialized in magic rituals which appealed to the unsophisticated Mongols. See for instance Franke, “Tibetans in Yuan China.” in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. John Langlois Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, p.305; and Wen Fong and James C.Y. Watt, *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996, p.267.

with Mahākāla through their military campaign against the Xixia 西夏 state (1038–1227), where Tibetans served as imperial preceptors and anointers of sacral kingship.<sup>10</sup> This link is suggested in the Gur gyi mgon po section of the *mGon po'i 'chos byung* (“The History of Mahākāla”) where Qubilai Khan’s hearing of “the manner of actually destroying one’s enemies through the wrathful activity [of Mahākāla]” is juxtaposed with the Mongol king asking ’Phags pa for initiation into Vajrayāna, and entering into a priest patron relationship with the Tibetan cleric.<sup>11</sup>

### Mahākāla at the Mongol Court

Even before the founding of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) the Mongol court began developing a divine imperial Buddhist visual vocabulary based in Tibetan Buddhism to symbolize their rule, and specifically singled out the wrathful figure of Mahākāla in the form of Gur gyi mgon po (San: Pañjaranātha) (Fig. 1) as state protector and focus of the imperial cult. Mahākāla is a powerful Buddhist protector deity, a manifestation of divine wrath used in removing obstacles, both spiritual and physical, particularly known for his military efficacy.<sup>12</sup> This is not to reduce Mahākāla to simply a war god (*dgra lha*), as the deity is so much more than that, but this was clearly the role that most interested the Mongol court. A sculpture of this emanation of Mahākāla made by the Nepalese head of the Yuan imperial atelier Anige 阿尼哥 (1244–1278/1306) for Qubilai Khan’s final conquest of the Song dynasty (960–1279) became a potent symbol of both Qubilai’s rule and the Yuan imperial lineage.<sup>13</sup> This association was so strong that even

10 Sperling, “Rtsa-mi Lo-tsa-ba Sang-rgyas Grags-pa and the Tangut Background to Early Mongol-Tibetan Relations.” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Fagernes 1992*, Vol.2 Oslo 1994, pp.801-824. By the time of the Mongol conquest, Tibetan clerics served as imperial preceptors (*dishi* 帝師) at the Xixia court, where Mahākāla was a focus of Tangut imperial Buddhism. Sperling, “Lama to the King of Hsia.” *The Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol.7, 1987, p.32; and “Rtsa-mi Lo-tsa-ba Sang-rgyas Grags-pa and the Tangut Background to Early Mongol-Tibetan Relations.” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Fagernes 1992*, Vol.2, Oslo 1994, p.818.

11 ’Jam mgon A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga’ bsod nams, p.257. The *mGon po'i chos 'byung* is a mid 17<sup>th</sup> century (1641) Sa skya history of the Mahākāla tradition in India and Tibet by ’Jam mgon A myes zhabs, Ngag dbang kun dga’ bsod nams (1597– ca. 1662), author of other texts dealing with the destruction of one’s enemies through the invocation of Gur mgon such as the *dPal rdo rje nag po chen po'i zab mo'i chos skor nams 'byungs ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa bstan srung chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed* and a history of the Sa skya ’Khon family lineage.

12 The cult of Mahākāla had already been brought to China early in the Tang dynasty, for instance in the 8<sup>th</sup> century Liang Fen (716-777) in his *Notes on the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* said: “The Big Black God (Mahākāla) is the God of War. Worshiping this god will make the worshiper succeed in every war in which he engages.” Wang Yao, “A Cult of Mahākāla in Beijing.” In Per Kvaerne, ed. *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Fagernes*, vol.2, Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research In Human Culture, 1994, p.957, footnote 2.

13 This sculpture of Mahākāla was counted among the objects of inheritance symbolic of Mongol rule alongside Chinggis Khan’s spirit banner and the imperial seal. See Atwood, “Validation by Holiness or Sovereignty: Religious Toleration as Political Theology in the Mongol World Empire of the Thirteenth Century.” *The International History Review* 23, no. 2 (2004), pp.334-35.

four centuries later when the Manchus were positioning themselves as the rightful inheritors of the Yuan legacy they installed this same statue of Mahākāla in the Manchu imperial shrine at Mukden in 1635.<sup>14</sup>

While Qubilai Khan's statue of Mahākāla disappeared again with the fall of the Qing dynasty (whereabouts currently unknown), a sculpture dated to the same period (1292) survives in the Musée Guimet in Paris (Fig. 1). The name of the artist of the Musée Guimet piece is recorded in the inscription on the back of the sculpture as dKon mchog skyabs, an otherwise unidentified sculptor thought to be a Tibetan artist trained in Anige's school.<sup>15</sup> The purpose of the commission is recorded as: "To spread the Buddha Dharma, eliminate obstacles to the lives of priests and patrons, and to end the disputations of the opponents." The donor of this statue is identified as an "A tsara Bag shi," a close disciple of the Imperial Preceptor 'Phags pa and one who enjoyed the protection of Qubilai Khan.<sup>16</sup>

There has been some speculation as to the identity of the patron of the 1292 statue, "A tsara Bag shi." Heather Stoddard's suggestion that this might have been the Second Karma pa, Karma Pakshi (1206–1283), seems unlikely, as he was never considered a disciple of 'Phags pa.<sup>17</sup>

14 This was identified as the same image made for 'Phags pa by request of Qubilai to aid in the overthrow of Southern Song in the 1638 dedicatory inscription: "'Phags pa Lama had cast the golden image of Gur Mahākāla, made the statue an offering at Wutaishan and later to the land of Xixia..." (see: Grupper, "Manchu Patronage and Tibetan Buddhism During the First Half of the Ch'ing Dynasty." *The Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol.4, (1984), p.76, footnote 19). Qubilai Khan had been recognized as an emanation of Mañjuśrī in the Yuan Dynasty, and it is by this means that the Manchus linked themselves to his lineage through Tibetan forms, thus establishing themselves as the rightful spiritual successors of the Yuan legacy. Thus the establishment of this statue can be seen as an early stage of a larger Manchu program of symbolism designed to project themselves in the line of Qubilai Khan.

15 Heather Stoddard, "A Stone Sculpture of mGur mGon-po, Mahakala of the Tent, Dated 1292." *Oriental Art* vol.31, no.3 (Autumn 1985), p.281.

16 *bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa zhes bya ba'i bka' drin gyis bskyangs shing thugs kyi bzung ba'i 'phrin las pa a tsar bag shi zhes bya bas...* For a full transcription of the inscription see Stoddard (1985), p.278.

17 The later tradition as recorded by Si tu Pan chen even suggests an acrimonious relationship between Karma Pakshi and 'Phags pa:

The *mahāsiddha* (Karma Pakshi) went to Mongolia. The year that he met with Qubilai the *mahāsiddha* himself was reaching his fiftieth year, it being the Wood Hare Year (1255/6). Since Prince Köten invited Sa skya Paṇḍita and his two nephews ['Phags pa and Phya na rdo rje] in the Wood Dragon Year (1244/5) eleven whole years had passed. Then, later, some audacious fools having thought about the male lineage of the Sa skya pa said a great deal of nonsense such as making 'Phags pa a great lama and *siddha*, which he was not, and there arose a very strange situation which was made into a rule by some similar [fools]. Those who are discerning among the Sa skya pa and know the archival record do not seem to follow after this custom.

Karma Pakshi. *The Autobiographical Writings of the Second Karma-pa Karma Pakshi*. Delhi: Lakshmi Printing, 1978.

Petech (1993, pp.647-648) notes that 'Phags pa failed to command the respect enjoyed by his uncle Sa skya Paṇḍita and that other sects, such as the Karma pa, vied for the favor and support of Mongke, and Prince Qubilai. Karma Pakshi, Petech said, was the most revered lama at the court of Mongke but his early fall from favor was to pave the way for the ascent of 'Phags pa. Furthermore, Karma Pakshi was suspected of being a partisan of Ariq-Böke, challenger to Qubilai's ascension to the Mongol throne, and was imprisoned and then banished. Qubilai had already decided that 'Phags pa was the most suitable



What makes this attribution even more unlikely for this date (aside from the fact that he was no longer living) is that Karma Pakshi previously had a falling out with Qubilai in about 1254; the latter tried to have Pakshi gruesomely murdered three times, and so would not be lauded as being under his protection.<sup>18</sup> Leonard van der Kuijp has alternatively suggested that the patron of this statue was A tsa ra dpa' shi, a scribe to 'Phags pa who later moved up in the ranks to become an important land holder and administrator (*slob dpon*) in Central Tibet.<sup>19</sup> However, van der Kuijp concedes, *a tsara* probably derives from the Sanskrit title *ācārya* and *bag shi* (or *pag shi*) derives from the Chinese loan word *boshi* 博士. This would make “a tsara bag shi” not a name but rather the polyglot title *ācārya boshi*, or “the learned scholar.” Taking van der Kuijp’s analysis as a starting point, another attribution is the A gnyan *pag shi*, sGa A gnyan Dam pa Kun dga' grags pa (ca. 1230–1303), a close disciple to 'Phags pa and often described as *pag shi* in both Yuan Chinese and Tibetan sources.<sup>20</sup> Dam pa was also the primary Mahākāla ritual specialist at Qubilai’s court, who was credited with intervening in several key battles in the Mongol’s military campaigns, including the momentous final fall of Southern Song, and building several imperially sponsored temples to Mahākāla, and thus an appropriate patron of this image.<sup>21</sup>

### sGa A gnyan Dam pa

The Persian historiographer Rashid al-Din, who wrote his famous history circa 1300 (that is within Dam pa’s lifetime), specifically mentions Dam pa as someone whose word carried great weight at the Yuan court.<sup>22</sup> Dam pa’s epitaph stele, erected in 1316, was written by the most famous Chinese calligrapher of his time and scion of the defunct Song royal house, Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322), which highlights Dam pa’s importance at the

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to his needs and declared him National Preceptor (*guo shi*) in 1260, the year of his enthronement. This rude language suggests some resentment toward the Sa skya pa for supplanting the Karma pa’s position. Calling 'Phags pa a *siddha* also implies an attempt to compare him to Karma Pakshi who is often referred to as a *mahāsiddha*. Sperling (1992, p.806) also translates this passage and explains its appearance by saying that “it should be noted that bKa' brgyud pa circles appear to have viewed the Sa skya pa position as somewhat illegitimate.”

18 Karma Pakshi, *The Autobiographical Writings of the Second Karma-pa Karma Pakshi*. Delhi: Lakshmi Printing, 1978.

19 Leonard van der Kuijp, “‘Ba si’ and Ba si-s in Tibetan Historical, Biographical and Lexicographical Texts.” *Central Asiatic Journal* 39 (1995) 2 Harrassowitz Verlag, p.287. Amy Heller, *Tibetan Art. Tracing the Development of Spiritual Ideals and Art in Tibet 600-2000 A.D.* Milano: Jaca Book, 1999, pp.87-88, accepts van der Kuijp’s identification of the patron.

20 van der Kuijp (1995), p.288. I have since discovered Elliot Sperling had already made this suggestion, buried deep in his copious footnotes. Sperling (1991), p.457, footnote 7.

21 The final wish expressed in the dedication on the back of the statue “to end the disputations of the opponents” might therefore refer to the Buddhist-Daoist acrimony at court, where Dam pa is recorded in his Chinese biography as being vehemently anti-Daoist, encouraging the burning of Daoist scriptures, and participating in debates at court.

22 Franke (1984), p.328 and (1996) pp.53-63.

Mongol court.<sup>23</sup> It has even been suggested that Zhao Mengfu's famous painting *Monk in a Red Robe* 红衣西域僧图, dated within a year of Dampa's death (1304), commemorates him.<sup>24</sup> At least one Tibetan biography of Dam pa by Ngor mKhan chen Sangs rgyas phun tshogs (1649–1705) is known to exist through its listing in the catalog of the sDe dge dgon chen printery, but until this text is made available a biography for Dam pa can be cobbled together from available Tibetan and Yuan Chinese sources.<sup>25</sup>

Dam pa was from 'Dan ma in Khams, on the 'Bri chu river, in contemporary Qinghai Province.<sup>26</sup> According to Tibetan sources, on the way to the court of Köten Khan in 1244, Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) and 'Phags pa met a young boy from Upper sGa on the northern road.

23 *Da Yuan chici Longxingsi dajue puci guangzhao wushang dishi bei* 大元敕賜龍興寺大覺普慈廣照無上帝師碑 (also called the “Imperial Preceptor Dampa Stele” *Dishi Danba bei* 帝師胆巴碑). See: Sun Zhixin, p.308, and Wang Yao, p.958. The text of this stele is reproduced in Franke (1996), pp.175-176 and discussed in German on pp.42-46. Strangely enough a rubbing of this stele is not included in the *Beijing tushuguan zang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, as Zhao Mengfu is considered the foremost calligrapher of the Yuan dynasty. The characters of the stele are only reproduced in a copy book as a model for calligraphy as the *Zhao Mengfu shu Danba bei* 趙孟頫書胆巴碑.

Previously in my dissertation (2007), Fig. 1.20, p.504, I mistakenly published the engraved image at the bottom of the Dam pa stele as “Dam-pa as a Yuan official” following the publication *Khams stod lo rgyus thor bsdus* (v. 1, p.22). However it has since been pointed out to me by several scholars that this is in fact a portrait of Zhao Mengfu added to the stele later. This can be seen by comparing very similar portraits of Zhao Mengfu, such as a hanging scroll in the Metropolitan Museum of Art “Copy of a Portrait of Zhao Mengfu” Accession Number: 1986.267.3: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/36146> Thanks to Shane McCausland for pointing this comparison out to me.

24 Hong Zaixin 洪再新, “Zhao Mengfu Hong yi Xiyu seng (juan) yanjiu” 赵孟頫《红衣西域僧(卷)》研究 [Research on Zhao Mengfu's *Red-Robed Western Monk* scroll]. In *Zhao Mengfu yanjiu lunwenji* 赵孟頫研究论文集. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 1995, pp.519-533; James C. Y. Watt, ed. *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*. NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010, p.198; Shane McCausland. *Zhao Mengfu: Calligraphy and Painting for Khubilai's China*. Hong Kong: University Press, 2011.

25 This text is listed in vol.1 of the four volume collected works of sDe dge dgon chen printery. The most detailed biography is the Yuan Chinese text *Fozu Lidai Tongzai* 佛祖历代通载 (chapter 22) written sometime before 1340 (that is within 40 years of Dam pa's death) by Nian Chang 念常, and a shorter biography found in the *Yuanshi* 202, both studied by Franke (1984, 1996); supplementary material provided in related Tibetan texts like the *Hor Chos rje sku 'phreng gong rim gyi rnam thar* (“Biographies of the Successive Hor (Mongol) Dharma-rajās”) studied by Sperling (1991); as well as two texts on one of the temples he founded, which is the focus of this paper: *sDe mgon po 'i dkar chag* (“The Descriptive Catalog of sDe mgon po”) (said to date to 1668), and a modern internal PRC government (*neibu* 内部) publication in Tibetan: *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus* (“A History of sDe mgon khang”).

On the dating of the *sDe mgon po 'i dkar chag* see page \*20-1. There was a manuscript of Dam pa's collected writings (*gsung 'bum*) which is described in the *Sa skya dkar chag*: the *Chos rje khu dbon gyi slob ma sga a gryan dam pas mdzad pa 'i mgon po 'i sgrub skor shog dril nyer gcig sogs mang du bzhugs*. There was supposed to have been a copy of this in the monastery at sKye rgu mdo (where Dam pa was from). A famous lama of his lineage, Drung Kun dga' grags, wrote extensively on the ancestral Mahākāla practices. Copies of this manuscript *gsung 'bum* were supposedly at Sa skya, Ngor and sDe dge. I would like to thank the late E. Gene Smith for sharing this information with me. See also: Ye shes rdo rje, *Gangs can mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rnam thar mdor bsdus bdud rtsi 'i thigs phreng* (lidai zangzu xuezhè xiao zhuan) Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue yanjiu zhongxin, 1996, vol.2, pp.93-98.

26 Sperling (1991), p.462, and Stein (1961), pp.46-47, and the map at the back of that book. This is not far from dKar mdzes where he later founded sDe mgon po. Dam pa also founded the temple sKal bzang dpal 'byor gling (Khri 'du skal bzang dgon; 杂藏寺) also dedicated to Gur mgon in his hometown. See note 55.

He had a face like the bSe 'bag ye shes mgon po mask of Gur mgon in the sGo rum chapel at Sa skya (the focal image of the Gur mgon cult in Tibet), and they recognized him as an incarnation of Mahākāla walking on earth.<sup>27</sup> They took him in as an attendant, bringing him along to court, and he became a close personal disciple of Sa skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags pa. He showed an early mastery of the *Hevajra Tantra* and was recommended to service at court by 'Phags pa in the Zhongtong 中統 period (1260-1264), where he became Qubilai's Mahākāla ritual specialist at court.

According to the most detailed biography of Dam pa available, the Fozu Lidai Tongzai 佛祖历代通載 ("A Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs"; written before 1340), when Dam pa first arrived in China he was ordered to reside in Shouningsi 壽寧寺 (rTag brtan bde chen gling) on Mount Wutai 五臺山 (Ri bo rtse Inga) where he was appointed abbot, raising the status of that monastery and making it what many consider to be the first Tibetan Buddhist establishment on that mountain.<sup>28</sup> Of course Wutaishan was also a popular pilgrimage site among Tibetans, so Dam pa could have had his own motivations for going there.<sup>29</sup> In 1272 Dam pa took up residence in the capital where he gave esoteric initiations to princes and lords.<sup>30</sup> While his primary title at court was state preceptor (guoshi 國師), it is suggested by this Chinese biography that Dam pa took over the role of imperial preceptor (dishi 帝師), the highest religious authority of the empire, after 'Phags pa returned to Tibet to fill the power vacuum at Sa skya with the sudden death of his brother.<sup>31</sup>

27 *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.155. The text reads: "Having also brought along the two nephews, the Dharma-rajā 'Phags pa, who was only ten, and Phyag na rdo rje, who was only six years old, in the wood-dragon year, 1244, they brought the previously mentioned religious objects (*sten*) (of Gur mgon) and left glorious Sa skya. And while they were going by way of the northern road, on the road there was a young boy from Upper sGa who became a student. As for his facial appearance, it was like the golden mask of sGo rum (at Sa skya) and so he became nicknamed "A gnyan." In truth he was seen by the two, uncle and nephew (Sa skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags pa) as an emanation of glorious Gur mgon. He was named Kun dga' grags and was taken as an attendant. Later sGa A gnyan dam pa became a close disciple of the two, uncle and nephew, Sa skya Paṇḍita (and 'Phags pa)." This account is also found in *Hor Chos rje sku 'phreng gong rim gyi rnam thar*, folio 17r, which is translated by Sperling (1991), pp.456-457.

It is this leather mask known as "bse 'bag nag po 'phur shes" ("the black mask depicting a *bse* spirit which was well known as being able to fly") that is the focal image of the early Gur mgon cult in Tibet. How this mask was transmitted to Tibet is outlined in the *mGon po 'i chos 'byung* (pp.190-194). The story of the mask is recounted in: Roberto Vitali, "Sa skya and the mNga' ris skor gsum legacy: the case of Rin chen bzang po's flying mask." *Lungta* 14 (Spring 2001), pp.5-44.

28 Li Jicheng 李冀誠, "Zangchuan fojiao yu Wutaishan" 藏传佛教与五台山, p. 18; Liu Yao 刘耀, et al., *Wutai shan lüyou cidian* 五台山旅游辞典. Beijing: Tuanjie chubanshe, 1992, p.227. He was also said to have founded temples on Wutaishan himself. See: Gao Lintao 高林涛, "Basiba yu Wutai shan" 八思巴与五台山, p.26. One of these temples may include Yul bsrung gling (Youguosi 佑國寺), founded in 1295. Dam pa's biography in *A Comprehensive Registry of the Successive Ages of the Buddhas and the Patriarchs* (chapter 22) mentions him building temples on Wutai. In 1293 a temple was built on Wutaishan in his honor for healing the emperor (Li Jicheng, "Zangchuan Fojiao," p.18).

29 On Tibetan interests in Wutaishan see: Karl Debreczeny, "Wutaishan: Pilgrimage to Five Peak Mountain." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, Issue 6 (Dec 2011), pp.1-133. <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/#!jiats=/06/debreczeny/>

30 Franke (1984), p.161.

31 Wang Yao, p.958; Petech (1980), p.199. However Dharmapalarakshita (1268-1287) is usually accredited with being appointed dishi in 1283.

Dam pa was also caught in political intrigue at Qubilai Khan's court. He was opposed by the infamous chancellor Sangha (Sangge 桑哥, d. 1291), (formerly Dam pa's pupil) whom Dam pa could not abide, and according to his shorter biography in the *Yuan shi* 元史, Dam pa was banished to Chaozhou 潮州, thus it is possible he served as imperial preceptor for less than a year.<sup>32</sup> Tibetan records provide a more graphic account of Dam pa being slandered to the throne and punished:

Then sGa A gnyan Dam pa, the close disciple of the *dharmaraja* 'Phags pa, having come to China as an attendant of the two *dharmaraja* lords, uncle and nephew (Sa skya Paṇḍita and 'Phags pa), the limitless homage of the king and his ministers having been made, they honored him with prostrations (made him their *guru*). There a minister called Mi che, harboring ill will, slandered him to the king (Qubilai Khan). Because of that, the king imposed a baseless penalty on sGa A gnyan, and the executioner, taking him, shut him in a box and cast him into the river. When it was carried to another land, those who came to fetch water discovered it. Having taken it to the riverbank [they] looked [inside]. They saw that A gnyan had a clear (unworried) complexion and was reciting the liturgy of Mahākāla. All those people were amazed and paid homage to him. At that time an epidemic having broken out in the nation, by whatever means [they tried] it was still not driven back. The king being anxious, gave the following order to his subjects: "Although that excellent one called A gnyan Dam pa did nothing wrong, I, through the sin of ignorance, by sentencing him acted unsuitably, bringing about this epidemic. Search out what place A gnyan Dam pa is now and invite him back." Everyone invited him accordingly, and because he was petitioned, the kingdom's epidemic was pacified.<sup>33</sup>

Dam pa was only able to return to court in 1290/1 after the fall of Sangha.<sup>34</sup> This exile from court leaves a seven year gap in the available accounts of Dam pa's life, when sDe mgon khang was founded.

## Dam pa's Imperially Sponsored Mahākāla Temples

Dam pa's applications of Mahākāla in the service of the Mongolian military machine is well attested to in historical sources, and in recognition many temples dedicated to Mahākāla were

32 Wang Yao, p.958; Petech (1980), p.199. However Dharmapalarakshita (1268-1287) is usually accredited with being appointed *dishi* in 1283.

33 *Yuan shi* 元史, ch. 202, p.4519; Franke (1984), pp. 163 & 173; Shen Weirong (2004): "Magic power, sorcery and evil spirit: the image of Tibetan monks in Chinese literature during the Yuan dynasty." In Christoph Cüppers, ed., *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) In Traditional Tibet*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, p.206.

Sangha was a former student of Dam pa's who persecuted him once he came to power. See: Atwood (2004), p.488; and H. Francke, "Sangha." In Igor de Rachewiltz et al. ed., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yuan Period (1200-1300)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1993, pp.558-583.

34 *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*, folios 9r-10r; *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, pp.157-158.

built throughout the empire. Numerous Mongol victories, like the fall of Xiangyang 襄陽 (Hubei) and Changzhou 常州 (Hebei), were attributed to Dam pa's summoning of Mahākāla.<sup>35</sup> Most famously in 1275 Qubilai asked Dam pa for the protector deity Mahākāla to intervene against the Southern Song, which his greatest general Banyan (Bayan; 1236-1295) could not conquer. Dam pa petitioned the throne to build a temple to Mahākāla, and a "beautiful temple with an imposing statue" was built north of the Zhuo River in Zhuozhou 涿州 (south of Beijing) with its statue facing south (i.e.: facing the Song).<sup>36</sup> According to the aforementioned *Dam pa Stele* Anige constructed the temple at Zhuozhou in the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Zhiyuan (1276) and Dam pa consecrated it.<sup>37</sup> During the campaign in the south when the Chinese petitioned the Chinese martial god Zhenwu 真武 to deliver them from the Mongol onslaught, he responded that he had to yield to the Great Black God leading the Mongol army. Mahākāla was sighted going house to house on the battlefield, sending Chinese troops fleeing, and within a short time the Song surrendered. Interestingly these accounts of the fall of Southern Song are recorded in Chinese sources.<sup>38</sup> Such stories are also corroborated in Tibetan sources such as the *rGya bod yig tshang* which records that when the former emperor of the Song and his courtiers were brought north and shown the temple, they were astonished to see the image of Mahākāla as they had seen him among the Mongol troops.<sup>39</sup>

The *Huguosi beiming* 護國寺碑銘 ("Temple for the Protection of the Nation Stele Inscription"), dated 1318 by Liu Guan 柳貫 (1270–1342), records that the Mongol Khans "took greatest success due to the blessings of Mahākāla, thus he was admired as the greatest and most powerful protector, and was worshiped by the masses in the Great Hall. ... Dam pa requested to establish a temple south-west of the capital at Zhuozhou to offer sacrifices and pray [to Mahākāla]."<sup>40</sup> This stele suggests that Mahākāla was the central image at Huguosi's main hall during the Yuan, and that Mahākāla veneration was one of the primary focuses of worship there. The stele also records that this temple's imperial patron was Grand Princess Sengge

35 Vitali (2001), p.38, note 45. Dam pa's Chinese biography records the summons to return to court was in 1295. Sangha was overthrown by the Mongol aristocrats Öchicher (1247–1311) and Öz-Temür (Örlüg Noyan) and executed for corruption in 1291. See Atwood (2004), pp.415, 488.

36 Franke (1984), pp.161-162, and Wang Yao, p.959, quoting the *Gui er ji* by Zhang Duanyi (1246-).

37 According to Wang Yao (p.958) the *rGya Bod yig tshang* (part 1, 23<sup>rd</sup> section) says that inside the temple there was a large statue of Mahākāla and smaller statues of his retinue, all made by Dam pa himself. The Chinese translation of this text, the *Han Zang Shiji* 漢藏史集 (p.173) says only that Anige was sent to Juzhou 巨州 [sic] (should be Zhuozhou 涿州) to build the temple and that Dam pa consecrated it. Perhaps Wang Yao simply confused this citation with the next one (see footnote 37 below).

38 Wang Yao, p.958. This would agree with the account in the *Han Zang Shiji* cited above in footnote 36. Shen Weirong (2004, p.204) says that it was 'Phags pa who consecrated the chapel and appointed Dam pa abbot.

39 e.g.: the *Fozu lidai tongzai*, a comprehensive chronicle of Buddhism compiled before 1340 by the Chinese monk Nian Chang; and Liu Guan's *Huguosi beiming*. Franke (1984), pp.175 & 158 and quote on pp.161-162; Sperling (1991); Shen Weirong (2004), p.204.

40 Shen Weirong (2004), p.204, citing the *rGya bod yig tshang*, p.287.

Ragi/Rabjai (Tib: Seng ge rab rgyas; Ch: Xiangelaji 祥哥剌吉; ca. 1283–1332),<sup>41</sup> sister of Külüg Khan (r. 1307–1311) and Buyantu Khan (r. 1311–1320), and a famous collector of Chinese art touted in art historical writings as a heavily Sinified Mongol who had taken on the identity of a Chinese literati.<sup>42</sup> Princess Sengge was also an avid patron of Tibetan Buddhism, Dam pa, and the state Mahākāla cult in particular, revealing that she had not given up her Mongolian identity, but rather suggests the existence of a Mongolian elite that could move skillfully in different cultural circles that composed the multi-ethnic empire they ruled.<sup>43</sup>

There are other examples of Dam pa personally involved in building temples and making statues, such as in 1290 when he built a temple on the former site of Jinglesi 淨樂寺, south of the city wall. These images were described as being “Indian,” probably a reference to the Newar style popular in Tibet and patronized at court.<sup>44</sup> Even within the Mongolian imperial palace in the Huiqing Pavilion 徽清亭, a statue of Mahākāla was housed.<sup>45</sup> In another incident, Qaidu Mongols rebelled against Qubilai in 1295, and the Khan asked Dam pa to pray to Mahākāla.<sup>46</sup> A *maṇḍala* of Mahākāla was made in the temple of Wengshan, north-west of the Gaoliang 高粱 river, at Dam pa’s request, where he performed the necessary rites, after which victory was reported. It was said that due to Dam pa’s family line diligently revering this deity, Mahākāla would answer all of his requests.

## Baochengsi

An extant metropolitan Yuan dynasty site in the cultural heartland of China related to the state cult of Mahākāla and Dam pa is a sculptural niche on the former site of Baochengsi 宝成寺,

41 Ibid, and Franke (1996), p.51. Huguosi is in Quanning 全宁, modern Liaoning province. The text of this stele is reproduced in *Liu daizhi wenji* 柳待制文集, ch. 9, 1 a-b.

42 Princess Sengge was the younger sister of Khayishan Külüg Khan (Wuzong 武宗; 1281–1311, r. 1307–1311) and Ayurbarwada Buyantu Khan (Renzhong 仁宗; 1285–1320; r. 1311–1320), the latter being famous for his promotion of Chinese culture. See: *Yuanshi* 22, p.481 (1303); 26, p.590; 35, p.782 (1331); 106, p.2700; 109, pp.2758 & 2765; 118, p.2917 (1307). Princess Sengge’s daughter Budasiri became the primary consort of Tuq-Temür Jiya’atu Khan (Wenzong; 1328/9-1332). Budasiri (dpon mo bhu dha shri) and her husband Tuq-Temür (rgyal po thug the mur) are two of the rulers depicted at the bottom of the famous silk *kesi* Yamantaka Maṇḍala in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1992.54), dateable to circa 1328-1329. See: James Watt and Anne Wardell, *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum, 1997, cat. 25, p.97; and James C. Y. Watt, ed., *The World of Khubilai Khan: Chinese Art in the Yuan Dynasty*. NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010, pp.110-114. (*Yuanshi* 114, pp.2877-2878). Ibid., p.162, and Franke (1996), p.50.

43 See: Shen C. Y. Fu, “Princess Sengge Ragi Collector of Painting and Calligraphy.” In Marsha Weidner, ed. *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting*. 1990, pp.55-80.

44 Franke (1996), p.50 and footnote 112. Other collaborative projects between Princess Sengge and Dam pa can be found in the petitions to grant amnesties for imprisoned officials as part of Buddhist observances. Franke (1996), pp.50 and 62 citing the *Yuanshi* 26, p.590.

45 See: Franke (1984), p.166.

46 Watt and Wardwell (1997), p.98, note 3, citing Zhu Yizun (1629-1709) *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考. Beijing, 1985.

located on the southeastern slope of Mount Wu 吴山 in Hangzhou (Fig. 2).<sup>47</sup> This site is composed of three sculptural niches,<sup>48</sup> of which the most interesting for our discussion is the east niche with a relatively well preserved triad of images in high relief of Mahākāla with two attendant deities. In general appearance the central deity of this niche at Baochengsi resembles the state protector Mahākāla: squatting on a human corpse with a circular scarf framing his head, flaming body nimbus, three overarching garuda-birds, a bird to top left, and a dog to top right, consistent with other period depictions. But upon closer inspection the central figure has some very unusual details when compared to the 1292 image (Fig. 1) and appears to be a strange amalgamation of Tibetan iconography and Chinese visual culture, suggesting local Chinese sculptors in Hangzhou, unaccustomed to the alien imagery requested by a Mongolian patron, fell back on familiar forms, resulting in these unusual Sino-Tibetan hybrid images.<sup>49</sup>

This site is dated by a dedicatory inscription to 1322 and names the donor as a high Yuan military official from the capital:

The official dispatched by the court, the Cavalry Generalissimo of the Guards, Left Guard, Imperial Army, Chief Military Commissioner, Bo Jianu 伯家奴, happily gives wealth [for the construction of] a hall for an imposing Mahākāla sacred image, to pray that I am one with good fortune, blessing and protection, that my mansion gates shine prominently, salary to increase and position to rise, and all times are auspicious and everything comes to me as I wish. Founded in stone on the second year of the Zhizhi 至治 reign (1322).<sup>50</sup>

That the patron of this image, Bo Jianu, was a Mongolian Yuan military official is fitting as Mahākāla was seen within the Mongol empire as the state protector. While there is not a great deal of historical documentation on Bo Jianu, we do know that he later held a court appointment in the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs (*Xuanzheng yuan* 宣政院), which also dovetails closely with his commissioning an image of this Tibetan Buddhist martial deity, as

47 On Qaidu Khan (1235-1301), heir apparent of Ögedei Khan (1229-41), and his defiance of Qubilai, see Atwood (2004), pp.444-5.

48 Su Bai (1996) pp.368-372; Xiong Wenbin (2003), pp.162-168; Shen Weirong (2004), p.207.

49 The central niche contains three free standing statues of the Buddhas of the Three Times, which were decapitated during the Cultural Revolution, and now have modern heads.

50 Mahākāla at Baochengsi appears to grasp a severed human head in both hands at his chest (one can see hair to the left by his fingertips, and a fairly realistic face with sunken eyes) instead of his traditional skull-cup and flaying knife; his face and whiskers appear human, more like that of a fierce Chinese general than the demonic face and flaming hair in typical Tibetan depictions; his crown is more like that of a Chinese bodhisattva, without his traditional five skulls; the jeweled necklace with hanging strands which run down his chest is also more typical of Chinese bodhisattva depictions, and not the wrathful bone ornaments described in his liturgy. Finally, behind the sleeves which fly out at his elbows a human head is tucked under each arm, which may stem from a misreading of his usual garland of severed heads. Usually flanking Mahākāla Pañjaranātha are the primary members of his retinue such as the goddess Tāmadhātviśvarī ŚrīDevī riding a mule with four arms holding sword, skull cup, lance, and trident; and Tiger Riding Mahākāla (Vyāghravāhana Mahākāla), wielding a club in the right hand and holding up a skull-cup at his chest in his left.

that office served military functions as well.<sup>51</sup> However, as Xiong Wenbin rightly points out, a government official paying for the creation of this image may not necessarily be a personal act of devotion, but rather may reflect a court order, and this Mahākāla niche appears to be a similar artistic creation to the stone niche carvings of nearby Feilaifeng 飞来峰 as well as the Juyongguan 居庸關 *stūpa* gate (north of Beijing), both being Yuan official projects.<sup>52</sup>

While the original subject of the west flanking niche is unknown, it has been suggested that, because of his prominent place within the imperial Mahākāla cult at this time (only nineteen years after his death in 1303), the original image was probably a portrait of Dam pa himself.<sup>53</sup> A poem about this sculpture recorded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century makes this direct connection, citing the aforementioned Dam pa epitaph by Zhao Mengfu.<sup>54</sup>

### sDe mgon po

While none of the prominent Yuan metropolitan temples founded in China proper by Dam pa survive, another protector chapel which follows a similar pattern, sDe mgon po (Fig. 3), built by Dam pa in 1284 under imperial patronage, and described as “without any differentiation from the sGo rum Protector Chapel of Glorious Sa skya,” remains in Tre shod, dKar mdzes (Ganzi 甘孜, Western Sichuan).<sup>55</sup> An account of the building of sDe mgon po, also known as Tre’i mgon khang,<sup>56</sup> is given in the *sDe mgon po’i dkar chag* (“Descriptive Catalog of

51 *chaoting chailai guan piaoqi wei shang jiangjun zuowei qinjun du zhihui shi Bojianu, fa xin xi she jing cai, zhuangyan Mahegela sheng xiang yi tang, qi fu baoyou zhaimen guang xian, lu wei zeng gao, yiqie shi zhong jixiang ruyi zhe. zhizhi er nian [ ] yue [ ] ri li shi.* 朝廷差来官骠骑卫上将军左卫亲军都指挥使伯家奴，发心喜舍净财，庄严麻葛刺圣相一堂，祈福保佑宅门光显，禄位增高，一切时中吉祥如意者。至治二年？月？日立石。 For a rubbing of the inscription see: Su Bai (1996), p.370, fig. 18-3. This title suggests that the general Bo Jianu’s post was in the Yuan capital.

52 There are few historical records on Bojianu. It is recorded in the *Yuanshi* 元史 that in 1345 he was appointed the Pacification Commissioner of the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs Vice Prefect of Liaoning Circuit, Shanbei (*Shanbei Liaoning dao fengshi xuanfu de xuanzheng yuan tongzhi* 山北辽宁道奉使宣抚的宣政院同知); and in 1356 he was appointed Commandant Grand Defender (regional commander) Administrator of Henan (*shuai bing zhenshou tong guan Henan pingzhang* 率兵镇守潼关的河南平章). Xiong Wenbin (2003), p.163. In 1288 the Bureau of Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs was re-named the Xuanzheng yuan after a Tang court institution charged with receiving Tibetan dignitaries. The Yuan institution was charged with both overseeing Buddhist affairs throughout the empire and the overseeing of Tibetan affairs, including military affairs of that region. See Franke (1981), pp.311-313.

53 Xiong Wenbin (2003), p.163.

54 Su Bai (1996), p.372. The west niche now contains a modern image of Padmasambhava dating to 1996, commissioned by a Taiwanese Buddhist society in Taipei. This is an assessment that other prominent scholars such as Xiong Wenbin ([2003], p.168) accepts. A Ming Wanli period (1573-1620) record suggests that in the west niche was an image of Avalokiteśvara (*Guanyin da shi xiang* 观音大士像) (Xiong Wenbin [2003], pp.162-163). However, another niche farther off to the side on site also has an image of Avalokiteśvara, and the record may refer to that image.

55 Ibid.

56 “dpal sa skya’i sgo rum mgron khang dang dbyer med pa,” *sDe mgon po’i dkar chag*, 242r, line 4; and *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.153. sDe mgon po is not the only temple built by Dam pa dedicated to Gur mgon along the Sino-Tibetan frontier to survive. Dam pa also built sKal bzang dpal ’byor gling



sDe mgon po”) bearing the date 1668.<sup>57</sup> However this text could not have been written the same year the preported author, Hor Chos rje, Ngag dbang phun tshogs (1668-1746), was born. Based on the long life wishes for the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682) that appear in the colophon at the end, this edition of the *dkar chag* probably dates to his lifetime in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, and it is clearly stated that it is (at least in part) a compilation of earlier sources copied by Hor Chos rje:

In general, may the teachings of the Buddha flourish in general and happiness and well-being come to sentient beings. In particular, may the teachings of the Victorious One, the great bTsong kha pa may remain for a long time. May all holy beings who are holders of the teachings and holy illustrious gurus teach during the span of more than one-hundred years of life of the learned one Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (the Fifth Dalai Lama)! Thus the *dkar chag* was compiled by the Hor chos rje, Ngag dbang phun tshogs, and ancient documents of long ago from the old people who knew these events well, when compiled together, are like this. In order to learn this I made a copy.<sup>58</sup>

Another important source is the *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus* (“A History of the Great Image which Liberates Through Sight, the Ye shes mgon po of Tre shod”).<sup>59</sup> ‘Jigs med bsam grub’s account in *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus* is based largely on this work and reproduces much of it word for word.<sup>60</sup>

According to these accounts ‘Phags pa petitioned for the molding of an image to house the sacred relics of the Mahākāla cult which Sa skya Paṇḍita brought with him to the Mongol court, and the construction of a corresponding temple to house the image, pointing out that it should be sponsored specifically by the emperor and his sons. The king (Qubilai) and prince(s) consented to fulfill ‘Phags pa’s wishes. Then ‘Phags pa loaded the relics and images onto a white mule, and gave it to sGa A gnyan dam pa, saying to Dam pa, “You should erect the image of Gur mgon,

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(尕藏寺), also known as Khri ’du sKal bzang dgon, in his hometown of Khri ’du rdzong, in present day Qinghai Province. A history of this temple and Dam pa’s involvement in Tibetan can be found in the local history *Khri ’du*, pp.189-196, a 2002 *neibu* (internal government) publication, and in *Khams stod lo rgyus thor bsodus*, vol.1, p.45. sKal bzang dpal ’byor gling was restored by a bSod nams chos ’phel in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For a short entry on the temple in English see: Andreas Gruschke, *The Cultural Monuments of Tibet’s Outer Provinces: Kham vol.2 The Qinghai Part of Kham*. Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 2004, pp.64-8.

57 A name based on the temple’s location, the Tre shod Maṇḍala Plain.

58 *Tre’i mgon khang ngam sDe mgon po’i dkar chag*, folio 247v.

59 A 16 folio hand-written manuscript in *dpe cha* format of undetermined date and authorship which cites a number of sources (folio 2b) including the *Hor dgon sde bcu gsum gyi lo rgyus* and *Khang gsar ma zur gyi lo rgyus*. While the *Tre shod ye shes mgon po’i brnyan mthong grol chen po’i lo rgyus* does not name the author or date, modern usages such as *spyi lo*, “Western year,” suggest a 20<sup>th</sup> century (post 1950s) dating. This is one of ‘Jigs med bsam grub’s main sources, who cites it as: “sku shogs lam brag nas mkho sprod byas pa’i *tre shod ye shes mgon po’i brnyan mthong grol chen po’i lo rgyus* zhes ba’i deb lag bris ma zhiḡ tu gsal/ khang dmar pas brtsams” (composed by Khang dmar pa). The *Hor dgon sde bcu gsum gyi lo rgyus* names the same Khang dmar pa as its author, and references to historical figures such as the Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757) suggests an 18<sup>th</sup> century date at the earliest for its source.

60 ‘Jigs med bsam grub also cites, without page numbers, the first volume of the so-called autobiography of Ngor mKhan chen dPal ldan chos skyong (1702-1758/59). I would like to thank the late E. Gene Smith for his assistance in locating these texts.

with these sacral objects placed inside it, wherever this mule lies down.” Having said that, they were dispatched together with a retinue. Eventually they came to the center of modern day dKar mdzes (Ganzi) prefecture, which is known as the Tre shod Maṇḍala Plain, where the white mule sat down, placing his tail into a small spring, and refused to get up. Based on this, Dam pa identified this place as that spoken of in ’Phags pa’s divination.

There is some variation in Tibetan sources on the patronage of the temple. The 1668 descriptive catalog simply states: “In the wood-monkey year (1284), the Mongol Qubilai Khan became sponsor for the erection of this *vihara*.”<sup>61</sup> The *Tre shod ye shes mgon po’i brnyan mthong grol chen po’i lo rgyus* provides an alternative narrative, initially saying that it was one of Qubilai Khan’s officials (*dpon po*) called “Wa” who was dispatched with Dam pa together with a retinue, but then goes on to say that the emperor’s son (*gong ma’i sras*) served as patron, and later in the text mentions the descendants of the imperial prince “Wang” (*gong ma’i sras wang*).<sup>62</sup> The modern history of the chapel *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus* recounts that instructions for the founding were given to both Dam pa and Qubilai’s son, “Wang” (the prince), who served as its patron and had the protector chapel built.<sup>63</sup>

The A gnyan *pag shi* (Dam pa) himself served as the principal sculptor who molded a colossal clay statue of Gur mgon (Fig. 4). Several sources add that Dam pa created the image together with skilled Chinese artisans (*rgya’i dzo bo*).<sup>64</sup> This served as the temple’s primary image among the eight Gur mgon deity forms (*Gur mgon lha brgyad*),<sup>65</sup> in which the sacred relics were placed.

61 In ’Jigs med msam grub’s account (p.158) it is Qubilai’s son “Wang” who became sponsor of erecting this *vihara*.

62 *Tre shod ye shes mgon po’i brnyan mthong grol chen po’i lo rgyus* (folio 11a, lines 4-5) says it was the patron King Sechen’s (Qubilai Khan’s) stainless official called “Wa”: *rje a gnyan dam pa dang sbyin bdag rgyal po se chen gyi gdongs dri ma med pa dpon po wa zhes bya ba ’khor tshogs dang bcas te rim gyi phebs pa na/*. However this text then goes on to say (folio 11b, lines 2-3) that the emperor’s son (*gong ma’i sras*) served as patron: *de ltar gong ma’i sras bod kyi sbyin bdag dang / rje a gnyan dam pa nyid kyi phyag bzo dngos dang / rgya’i lha bzo shin tu mkhas pa dag gi rog dang bcas ste legs par bzhengs shing /*; and later (folio 14a, lines 4-5) mentions the descendants of the imperial prince Wang: *de nas gong ma’i sras wang la gdung rgyud byung tshul dang / khang gsar mar zur gyis gdung rab byung tshul rnam ’dir ma spros par gzhan du bri bar bya’o//*

63 *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.158. “Wang” may just be a transliteration of the Chinese for prince wang 王, and not actually the name of one of Qubilai Khan’s sons. It is thus translated here as “the prince.” This prince is credited with fathering children by a local woman and thus starting the Hor (Mongol) line of Sichuan in the Ganzi area.

64 *sDe mgon po’i dkar chag* (p.91 folio 245r, line 4), and *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus* (p.158) only mentions A gnyan *pag shi* served as the principal sculptor, but no mention is made of Chinese artists. The 19<sup>th</sup> century *Hor Chos rje sku phreng gong rim gyi rnam thar* (written in 1849), p.34 (folio 17v, line 2) says “Dam pa together with Chinese artisans made the Eight Gur mgon Deity Forms” (Tib: *Dam pa nyid rgya’i dzo bo dang bcas pa Gur mgon lha brgyad yongs*); and the *Tre shod ye shes mgon po’i brnyan mthong grol chen po’i lo rgyus* (folio 11b, line 3) records that Dam pa was the primary sculptor working together with very skilled Chinese artists –see note 62 above for transcription of this passage.

65 For a description of the *Gur mgon lha brgyad*, see: Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp.49-51, and Tucci *Indo-Tibetica*, vol.III, p.122. The identity of the Mongol prince is discussed in *sDe mgon po* (2001), p.3, lines 15-25, but not included in the Chinese translation.

The dizzying number, array, and quality of relics from buddhas, bodhisattvas, *siddhas*, *paṇḍitas*, translators and great scholars of India and Tibet—especially focusing on the transmitted sacred objects at the very center of the Gur mgon cult, with the sandalwood Mahākāla image as the main relic in its heart,<sup>66</sup> and the nine-prong vajra of meteoric iron in its hair<sup>67</sup>—as well as relics of most all of the individuals in the transmission lineage of the Gur mgon teachings (including Dam pa himself), all suggest the importance of the central statue in particular and the temple as a whole:

First, in his chignon resided the nine-pronged vajra of meteoric iron which was brought from India by the *paṇḍita* Gayadhara, relics of the Seven Generations of Buddhas Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśvabhuk, Krakuccanda, Kanakamuni, Kaśyapa, and Śākyamuni an image of Akṣobhya made from the wood of the Bodhi tree, and a lock of hair of 'Phags pa Rin po che. In its third eye resided seven relics of the Buddha. In the right eye seven relics of Shāriputra, and in the left eye, seven relics of Maudgalyayanaputra (the two main disciples of the Buddha). In the head, a skull fragment of Nāropa. In the nostrils, teeth of the Buddha Kāśyapīya. In the neck, a tooth of the bodhisattva Dharmodgata. In the heart, [resides] the spontaneously arisen sandalwood Mahākāla image whose history was explained above<sup>68</sup> as the principal [consecration object] in the manner of inviting the wisdom element to reside in the image (*jnānasattva*); and an image of Gur mgon painted with the nose-blood of Ma gcig lab kyi sgron ma (1062–1149); an image of Gur mgon made from the black stone of Śītī-bhavati grove cemetery; a four-faced image (Sarvavid Vairocana?) which arose from the crystallized molten drops (from the cremation) of the reverend Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216); an image of Hevajra, tutelary deity which was the object of the Mañjuḥṣa Sa skya Paṇḍita; an image of Bhutadhara Vajrapaṇī made from gold material; an image of Four-armed Avalokiteśvara made of crystal. In his belly, the alms bowl of the Buddha Śākyamuni which was full of various precious objects.

Furthermore, blessing supports such as the bones, cremation relics (*ring bsrel*), hair, and clothes of many Indian and Tibetan scholars, *siddhas*, translators, and *paṇḍitas*: 'Phags pa Rin po che's rosary, Shariputra's belt, bones of lord Atiśa (982–1054), the monk's robes of the great *paṇḍita* Shākya-srī (b. 12<sup>th</sup> c.), bones of the *paṇḍita* Dharmāpala, a handkerchief of the

66 According to the *sDe mgon po'i dkar chag* (folio 244r-244v), this is said to be a spontaneously formed image of Mahākāla made from sandalwood from the pure Gosha Island brought by O rgyan Rin po che (Padmasambhava) and given to the Paṇḍita Dharmapala. When Dharmapala came to see Tibet's Mt. Kailash and Lake Manasarowar he gave to the great translator Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), and successively transmitted through several generations to the great Brag steng pa of mNga' ris, Yon tan tshul khrim, the great guru, the Translator of Mal, Blo gros grags pa, to Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158). For more on the history of the sandalwood Mahākāla image see: Vitali (2001), pp.15 and 38.

67 According to the *sDe mgon po'i dkar chag* (folio 244v) this was the nine pronged vajra of meteoric iron of the Brahmin Vararuci (Bram ze mChog sred) , transmitted together with the bSe 'bag nag po 'phur shes mask (the focus of the Gur mgon cult), along with the aforementioned spontaneously formed sandalwood image, which were given successively to: Sa chen Kun dga' snying po, the reverend bSod nams rtse mo (1142-1182), the venerable Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216) and the Mañjuḥṣa Sa skya Paṇḍita (182-1251).

68 See notes 66-67 above.

Mahābodhi image of Bodhgaya, hair of [Pha] dam pa Sangs rgyas (d. 1117), the meditation belt of the Indian Vajrapāṇi (1239–1267), the bones of the *paṇḍita* Kāmalashīla, the flesh of the *mahāsiddha* Savari (Śabarīpāda), the bones of the *paṇḍita* Gayadhara, the hair of the *paṇḍita* Kaladgapa, the flesh of one who has been reborn a *brahmin* seven times, the hair of the great Nepalese *paṇḍita* Mahābodhi, the hat of the Great Glorious Translator of rGa, the cremation ashes and monk’s robes of ’Brog mi Shākya ye shes, nose blood of the great translator Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), hair of the Translator of Khro phu (Byams pa dpal), hair of ’Brom ston pa (1005–1064), bones of the *kalyāna-mitra* Po to ba, bones of the *kalyāna-mitra* byang sems Zla ba rgyal mtshan (b. 11<sup>th</sup> c.), bones of the great Sa skya Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158), bones of the reverend bSod nams rtse mo (1142–1182), bones of the reverend Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), bones of the Mañjuḥṣa Sa skya Paṇḍita, the corpse salt of the Mañjuḥṣa Sa skya Paṇḍita, a skull fragment and hair of Mar pa of Lho brag (1002/1012–1097), the clothes of Mi la ras pa (1052–1135), the bones of Dwags po lha rje (sGam po pa; 1079–1153), bones of Phag mo grub pa (1110–1170), hair of U rgyan rin po che (Padmasambhava; 8<sup>th</sup> century), the meditation cord of ’Bri gung ’Jig rten mgon po (1143–1217), bones of the conqueror rGod tshang pa [mgon po rdo rje] (1189–1258), clothes of Zhang g. Yu brag pa (1123–1194), flesh of Ma gcig re ma, bones of the mahāsiddha U rgyan pa, etc.

And earth of the dharma thrones of the teacher Śākyamuni Buddha, leaves and fruit of the bodhi tree, places/sites Bodhgaya; and various earth from *vihāra* such as Vulture’s Peak, Śrī Nalendra, Nepal’s Swayambunath, Udayāna Shambala, Wutaishan, Mt. Kailash, bSam yas, and Khra ’brug of Lhasa. Various water from the four great rivers of India such as the Ganges, precious sand, and island grasses, etc. In short various earth, stones, water and dust particles and vestments of images of *vihāra*, *stūpa*, famous pilgrimage sites, snowy and rocky mountains, great lakes, and cemeteries from the countries of India, China, Nepal, Khotan, and Tibet.

Furthermore, Sangs rgyas gsang ba, having gained the *siddhi* of swiftness, collected from the four continents and eight sub-continents such as the twenty-four lands, thirty-two holy sites, and the eight great cemeteries special earth, stones, water, wood, and the essence *mantra* of the deities of the four classes of *tantra*, which were drawn in gold on blue paper, especially a scroll of Mahākāla’s own *mantra* [were placed inside]. Below the feet (in the lotus throne) also an innumerable sequence of rolls of *mantras*, such as the *cakrā* of the male and female *yakṣa* together with the principal image, the great statue of glorious Gur mgon, was well erected.<sup>69</sup>

When the temple and the images within were completed, Dam pa sent a letter to ’Phags pa, who was residing in the Mongol royal palace, requesting the consecration of the *vihāra*, together with its sacred images, with the actual entry of the wisdom being into the statue.<sup>70</sup> ’Phags pa

69 *sDe mgon po’i dkar chag* folio 245r- 246v; *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, pp.158. See Debreczeny (2007), Appendix 1 for the full translation.

70 The wisdom being, or *jnānasattva*, is the wisdom element that one invites to reside in an image, called the *saṃayasattva*, thus “animating” or “activating” the image.

made the consecration from the imperial palace in Beijing on an astrologically auspicious date. It is reported that when 'Phags pa scattered white rice from his hand in Beijing, a snow of rice fell before the image of Mahākāla in dKar mdzes and the earth before the statue became white with grain.<sup>71</sup> Many other extraordinary signs of the actual entry of the wisdom being arose; for example when a soldier threw an axe at the door of this chapel he immediately vomited blood from his mouth and then died.<sup>72</sup>

The descriptive catalog *sDe mgon po'i dkar chag* then goes on to say: "Even now, many sick people who are stricken with kinds of diseases such as leprosy which are difficult to expel, even by whatever healing rituals and medical treatment, by doing such things as prostrations and circumambulation at this very temple, it is capable of instantly curing them."<sup>73</sup>

There are a number of chronological problems with this account. Specifically 'Phags pa departed for Tibet in 1274 where he died in 1280, four years before the completion of the temple in 1284. However, if 'Phags pa was involved, then perhaps the consecration of the statue described above happened after the sculptures were erected, but before the temple was fully completed. Regardless of the details, the intentions of this story is clear, the temple and its central image had 'Phags pa's blessings, as much a reminder that it was he who had initiated its establishment. However, it should also be kept in mind that Khams lore attributes far too much to 'Phags pa (much like the Chinese princess Wencheng from the Imperial Period), and the founding of this chapel has been commonly re-attributed to 'Phags pa himself in the region.<sup>74</sup> More broadly,

71 *sDe mgon po'i dkar chag*, folio 246v; *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*, folio 13a-13b; *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.161.

The account in the modern history *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus* (p.161) elaborates:

"When the *vihara* and the sacred objects within were well completed, [A gnyan] offered a letter to the Protector of Beings, 'Phags pa, who was residing in the Mongol royal palace, requesting the consecration of the *vihara* together with its sacred images with the actual entry of the wisdom being. To that [chapel] the Protector of Beings 'Phags pa made the consecration from the palace on an auspicious date of astrological perfection. When ['Phags pa] scattered white rice from his hand (in Beijing) a snow of rice fell before the image of Mahākāla (in dKar mdzes) and the earth became white [with grain]. Many marvelous signs such as the spreading of rainbow light in the sky and the sound of divine cymbals arose, which were commonly known to the people."

72 "And in accordance with that, a soldier of Nyag le 'bum bcu previously threw an axe at the door of this chapel, and that axe thrower immediately vomited blood from his mouth and then died, such signs of the entry of wisdom being arose." *sDe mgon po'i dkar chag*, folio 246v.

73 Folio 246r-246v. To this day people come for the curative properties of the water from the spring upon which the chapel is built.

74 Local modern Chinese gazetteer accounts of the founding of *sDe mgon khang*, known in Chinese as Hanrensi 漢人寺, re-attribute the building of the protector hall to 'Phags pa himself. This was also the commonly accepted account told to me by the resident Tibetan monks when I first visited the temple in 2001. According to this alternative narrative 'Phags pa came through Ganzi on his way back from the Mongol court to Sa skya in 1274, and personally constructed a temple and molded statues in Dajintan 大金滩, he himself molding a statue of the Yuan imperial protector deity (*Yuan chao huangdi de hufa shen* 元朝皇帝的护法神) "Dinggunbao" 定棍保 or "Dingkunbao" 定坤保 (a Chinese transliteration of the temple's Tibetan name), that is Mahākāla. Because it was built by an imperial officer or built with imperial funds, these Chinese sources explain, it is called "Hanrensi," or "The Chinese Temple."

a deeper problem with this traditional account is that the chronology of Dam pa's life previously sketched suggests that the temple was founded during his banishment from court, calling into question Qubilai Khan's direct involvement. It is possible that both 'Phags pa and Qubilai have been added to the foundational narrative as eulogistic embellishments to further glorify the temple. Still, the inclusion of certain key items of the Gur mgon cult, such as the sandalwood Mahākāla sculpture and the nine-pronged vajra of meteoric iron, which were brought to China by Sa skya Paṇḍita and passed into the king's treasury after his passing, suggests some imperial involvement in the chapel's founding. It seems more likely then (based on available sources) that the objects were sent to Dam pa with instructions to found the temple, as suggested in the wording of the *dPal ldan chos skyong gi rnam thar*.<sup>75</sup>

## Brief Temple Overview

### Architecture

Having reviewed the traditional accounts of the founding of the 13<sup>th</sup> century chapel, I will now briefly outline the temple as it survives today, with reference to records of later renovation or expansion. sDe mgon po (Fig. 3) is predominantly Tibetan in its architectural structure, with flat tamped-earth roofs and sloping walls made of earth, stone, and wood. The temple sits north and faces south and occupies 3,875 square meters of land, while the area inside the temple is approximately 1,350 square meters. The three story structure is 16.35 meters tall, with a front 19 meters wide, and sides 49.3 meters long.<sup>76</sup> The building is composed of an outer circumambulatory (*phyi bskor khang*) lined with prayer wheels which surrounds the entire building, a broad front porch or gallery (*mdun khyams*), a veranda (*bar khyams*) which leads to a large outer assembly hall (*'du khang*) in front, and a smaller three story

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See: *Ganzi zhou zhi* 甘孜州志 (1997), p.313; *Ganzi Zangzu zizhizhou minzu zhi* 甘孜藏族自治州民族志 (1994), p.96; *Ganzi Zangzu zizhizhou gaikuang* 甘孜藏族自治州概况 (1986), p.41; and *Ganzi Zangzu zizhizhou shihua* 甘孜藏族自治州史话 (1984), pp.68 and 78.

One Chinese gazetteer variation of this account that follows the Tibetan account somewhat more closely, but still substitutes 'Phags pa for Dam pa, says that on his way to the Yuan capital Dadu, 'Phags pa passed through Ganzi and, having seen the good geomantic conditions of the location, intended to build a temple and mold a statue on this spot. So having arrived at Dadu, he raised the issue with the emperor, who supported 'Phags pa's wishes and dispatched a high Mongol official (Menggu *dachen* 蒙古大臣) and 'Phags pa to Ganzi to oversee the construction of a temple and the molding of statues (*Ganzi Zangzu zizhizhou shishuo* (1984), p.78). More recently in 2002 an internal *neibu* local cultural history was prepared by Tibetans in the local government in Chinese, *Jiebai meili de chuan shuo* 洁白美丽的传说 ("Pure Beautiful Traditional Sayings") which includes a small section on sDe mgon po (Degongbo 德贡波 pp.27-33), a translation of an unpublished, locally-circulated Tibetan manuscript *sDe mgon po* written by the abbot of Ganzi Monastery in 2001 (see footnote 83), which closely follows the above Tibetan accounts. However both these texts give the founding of the temple as the wood-dog year (1274), five years before the defeat of Southern Song and the founding of the Yuan dynasty.

75 "The sandalwood statue, as the main image, and the various *nang rten*-s, were loaded onto a white mule. As they were sent to sGa A gnyan pag shi, they were sent with instructions..." Translated by Vitali (2001), p.37, note 41, from the *dPal ldan chos skyong gi rnam thar* (pp.90-94).

76 For more on the physical structure see: "Degongbo 德贡波" in *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji, Yunnan fenge* 中国文物地图集, 云南分册, vol.2, p.1108.

inner structure behind, dominated by the inner chapel (*lha khang*, *srung ma khang*, or *mgon khang*) which forms the core of the temple, surrounded by an inner circumambulatory (*nang bskor*).

On the front porch to the left (west) of the main entrance to the temple is a wooden staircase that leads to the second floor which contains: a kitchen; a large sitting room (*rab gsal*) which serves as the library (*dpe mdzod khang*), woodblock printing hall (*dpar skrun khang*), and reception hall (*sne len khang*), with a large bay window that sits over the front porch supported by columns; adjoining monks communal quarters (*grwa shag*); the senior caretaker's cell; access to the inner chapel's second floor circumambulatory.<sup>77</sup>

A narrow ladder hatch in the ceiling (*gnam mthongs*) leads up to a skylight, and access to the flat tamped earth roof. Atop the roof the inner structure is surmounted by a small roof-top chapel (*rab gsal khang*) with a Chinese style clay tile roof, sloping eaves, and hip-gabled bracketing, topped with standard Tibetan temple ornaments like a gilt copper spire and victory banners.<sup>78</sup> It is probably because of the bracketing and tile roof that sDe mgon po has been called “a fusion of Tibetan and Chinese architectural styles.”<sup>79</sup>

## Records of Renovation

As the life of a temple continues after its founding, one cannot of course assume that the temple as it stands now is the same as it was at its initial founding, or that the images within date to the same time —indeed over the decade I visited the temple the façade had changed considerably. While sDe mgon po was first established as a temple of the Sa skya order in 1284, the temple has changed hands and undergone several expansions and renovations. We know from the temple's descriptive catalog (*dkar chag*), that it underwent several renovations under Mongolian sponsorship in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, which culminated in a major renovation in the Earth Monkey Year (1668), when the original catalog was presumably written. According to this text most of the woodwork was replaced; all the wall paintings of the upper, middle and lower stories were newly designed; and the statues on the upper and lower floors which had become damaged were repaired:

dNgos grub bzang po, an official (*drung*) known as an emanation of 'Phags pa himself, repaired the circumambulatory of the protector chapel and the deities (*lha* images) above and below ...

The Mongolian official Nam mkha' blo bzang repaired the paintings and statues

<sup>77</sup> This second floor circumambulatory was blocked by rubble during repeated visits in 2001-2004. A tall narrow tower-shaped outhouse was added to the east side of the building attached by a short second floor catwalk (this structure has since been torn down).

<sup>78</sup> *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*, folio 12b; *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.161.

<sup>79</sup> “rGya Bod zung 'brel gyi sgyu rtsal nyams 'gyur ldan” in *sDe mgon po* (2001), p.5, line 1; and “ronghe le Zang Han jianju fenge” in *Jiebai meili de chuan shuo* 洁白美丽的传说, p.30, an internal publication prepared by the local Tibetan government and to my knowledge the only Chinese language publication that deals with this temple.

(*bris 'bur*) of the Chapel of the Seven Generations of Buddhas (the rooftop chapel). ... The Mongolian scholar-monk Nam mkha' rgya mtsho and dPon 'bum dge rgyal, the two, having built the outer courtyard of the new assembly hall, repaired the wall paintings and the thrones of the deities within. ...

As the dilapidation intensified through the power of time so that it was near destruction... in the Earth Monkey Year (1668), the woodwork of the roof of the rooftop [Chapel] of the Seven Generations of Buddhas, upper and lower [chapels], together with the upper and lower circumambulatories were newly replaced, and all the wall paintings of the upper, middle and lower stories were newly designed. Latticework (*drwa*) together with the statues on the upper and lower floors which had become damaged were repaired. New images of the principal deity with four faces (Sarvavid Vairocana) and his retinue, the five [Supreme Buddhas], were established.<sup>80</sup>

The Mongol official Nam mkha' blo bzang was the fifth generation of the local Hor Khang gsar ruling family and the great grandfather of the author of this text, Hor Chos rje (1668-1746), so Nam mkha' blo bzang presumably dates to the end of 16<sup>th</sup>–early 17<sup>th</sup> century, providing a general time frame for these earlier renovations.<sup>81</sup> It seems that sDe mgon po was under the control of the local Hor Khang gsar family, and its conversion to a dGe lugs pa institution, and an accompanying major renovation, may have been part of Hor Chos rje's broader program to convert all of the monasteries of dKar mdzes, the so-called “thirteen monasteries of Hor.”<sup>82</sup> An interesting aspect of sDe mgon po's renovations is that Mongol patronage again becomes part of the temple's existence four centuries after its founding and ensuing neglect. The mid 17<sup>th</sup> century was also a time when Mongols were attempting to re-unite the Mongol Empire under the banner of Tibetan Buddhism, and this may have been another reason for a renewed Mongol interest in this imperially sponsored temple at this particular time. At this point many Mongolians had already been converted to the dGe lugs pa, and members of the local Mongol elite such as Hor Chos rje were striving to convert the region.

While the 17<sup>th</sup> century *dkar chag* does not deal with the temple's later history, *sDe mgon po*, a short Tibetan manuscript written by the abbot of dKar mdzes dgon pa in 2001 does provide

80 *sDe mgon po'i dkar chag*, folio 247r-247v. See Debreczeny (2007), Appendix 1, pp.395-397 for the full translation.

81 Nam mkha' blo bzang (fifth generation) is the great grandfather of Hor Chos rje (1668-1746), who is the seventh generation in the Hor Khang gsar family. Nam mkha' blo bzang's son was Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, the sixth generation. For a genealogy of the family see: Khang gsar ye rdo, “dKar mdzes khang gsar dpon khyim rgyud kyi lo rgyus mdor bsdu.” *Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig* (49) 1, 2000, pp.117; and Khang gsar ye rdo, “dKar mdzes dpon khag khang gsar tshang gi lo rgyus rags bsdu” in: *Bod kyi rig gnas lo rgyus dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs*, no. 21. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1999, p.5.

82 However sDe mgon po does not appear to be included in lists of these thirteen monasteries of dKar mdzes, such as the *Hor dgon sde bcu gsum gyis lo rgyis kun gsal me long*, where an incomplete list of ten to eleven of the thirteen monasteries is given.



some further detail.<sup>83</sup> According to his account: at the time of its founding in the 13<sup>th</sup> century sDe mgon po was only a small sixteen pillar protector chapel —that is the current structure's innermost chapel. Later, because the Qianlong 乾隆 (r. 1736-1795) and Xianfeng 咸丰 (r. 1851-1861) emperors successively paid for several expansions, it became a one hundred and two pillar temple as it appears now: with a front porch and outer assembly hall, incorporating the original protector chapel within its structure, and surrounding the entire building with an outer circumambulatory to form one large hall. Because of this imperial patronage it is also locally called rGya lha khang, meaning “the Chinese Chapel” (Hanrensi 漢人寺).<sup>84</sup>

The only dated text on site is a votive plaque, the “Nai ying lai xin” 乃應來歆,<sup>85</sup> dated to 1777, found above the second story landing, which seems to confirm this 18<sup>th</sup> century dating. It reads:

Offered respectfully by Hao 郝, commander of Fuhe 阜和 encampment in Sichuan, promoted by merit to commander of a thousand in the left patrol department, raised three times in merit, and recorded for merit fifteen times; and He 何, Ganzi *xun* 甘孜迅, Fuhe encampment in Sichuan, promoted by merit to auxiliary sentry post of the left, raised ten times in merit, and recorded for merit ten times. Erected in the 42<sup>nd</sup> Year of the Qianlong period of the Great Qing (1777), on the 15<sup>th</sup> day, full moon of mid-autumn (the eighth month).<sup>86</sup>

While the text does not specifically name donations for a renovation of the temple, this is most likely the act of devotion referred to in the title of the plaque, “to offer before a deity” (*lai xin* 來歆), and the reason for it being placed in the temple. The abbot of dKar mdzes Monastery understood this plaque as having been imperially bestowed by the Qianlong emperor.<sup>87</sup>

83 *sDe mgon po*, unpublished manuscript. In 2001 an unpublished locally circulated Tibetan text, *sDe mgon po*, was written by the abbot of dKar mdzes Monastery, citing by name (p.1) the *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, which I had given to the monks at sDe mgon po earlier in the year. (Previously the monks had followed the Chinese account that the temple had been founded by 'Phags pa –see footnote 73). Then, in 2002, an internal *neibu* publication was prepared by Tibetans in the local government in Chinese, *Jiebai meili de chuan shuo* 洁白美丽的传说 (“Pure Beautiful Traditional Sayings”), which includes a small section on sDe mgon po (Degongbo 德貢波 pp.27-33) that closely follows Tibetan accounts, largely paraphrasing this locally circulated Tibetan text (*sDe mgon po*).

84 *sDe mgon po*, p.9, lines 17-25; and *Jiebai meili de chuan shuo* 洁白美丽的传说, pp.32-33.

85 This title is difficult to translate, but an approximation might be “Made as an Offering Before the Deity.”

86 四川阜和營統領游巡左司廳功加千總功加三等紀錄十五次郝; 四川阜和營駐防甘孜迅左哨副部廳功加十等紀錄十次何,敬獻。大清乾隆四十二年歲次丁酉仲秋月望五日立。Fuhe 阜和 was the site of an important military garrison in southeastern Luding county 泸定县, present day Hualinping 化林坪, just east of Kangding. See: *Ganzi zhou zhi* 甘孜州志, p.721. *Ying* and *xun* were military offices. For more on the military organization of Ganzi and the offices of *ying* and *xun* and specifically the Fuhe Ying, the Hualin Xun 迅, and the Hualin Ying 營 in the Qing see: See: *Ganzi zhou zhi* 甘孜州志, pp.155-156. Having single character names like Hao and He in Chinese is unusual, and may indicate that these are adopted surnames by local Tibetans. This is especially common in north-eastern Tibet (Amdo), where adopted Chinese surnames like He were quite popular, however I am not aware of this being true in the south (Khams), like Ganzi.

87 *sDe mgon po*, p.9, line 19: “*ching rgyal rabs kyi Chen lung rgyal pos gnang ba'i dad bstun bde smin ...*”; and *Jiebai meili de chuan shuo* 洁白美丽的传说, p.33.

This would mean that the plaque simply records an imperial donation and the names included are simply the local officers who carried it out. *sDe mgon po* further renders the title of this plaque as “*dad bstun bde smin*,” “[acting] in accordance with faith [will cause] bliss to ripen.” It is likely the devotional act of repairing and expanding the temple that is being referred to here.

During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) *sDe mgon po* was looted and converted into a granary, and the statues were badly damaged or destroyed. Afterwards the temple became a government office. Then, after the Communist Party policy on voluntary religious belief was handed down, in 1983 local Tibetans, scraped together donations and bought back the Protector Hall from the Chinese Government. A committee was established for renovating the temple and they endeavored to build new statues exactly as they were before, and some objects surviving from the original statues were replaced. Now *sDe mgon po* is a functioning temple again, and water from the spring upon which it was first built is still valued for its healing properties. However, as renovations are ongoing, many of the wall paintings are being painted over and woodwork replaced.<sup>88</sup>

Thus we see that while *sDe mgon po* was first established as a *Sa skya* temple in 1284, the temple has undergone several expansions and renovations and the structure as it exists now seems to be primarily layers dating from the 17<sup>th</sup>, late 18<sup>th</sup>, and mid 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, after the local *dGe lugs pa* monastery *dKar mdzes bKra shis nor bu'i dgon pa* (*Ganzisi* 甘孜寺) took over its stewardship sometime between 1662 and 1668.<sup>89</sup> Thus the temple is the result of several stages of expansion, renovation, and restoration.<sup>90</sup>

## Outer Assembly Hall

The outer assembly hall (*'du khang*) is an open two-story structure supported by sixty-four pillars divided into eight rows of eight occupying sixty-three bays (*jian* 間; *khang mig*). On the central four pillars supporting a skylight (*byar ka*) are carved four Chinese characters, “*Tian xia tai ping*” 天下太平, or “Peace Under Heaven,” (referring to benevolent imperial rule) facing the main doors, said to be imperially bestowed in the Qianlong emperor’s own calligraphy after the temple’s expansion during his reign (1736-1795), circa 1771.<sup>91</sup>

88 Even in the last ten years since my fieldwork at the site (mostly consisting of five visits from 2001-2004) *sDe mgon po* has since undergone a series of dramatic renovations and expansions. A brief visit in 2010 revealed a facelift to its front exterior and new roof, cabinetry and statuary in the outer hall which block the painting program, and an additional hall nearby. However, here I focus on its appearance in 2001 before these more recent renovations.

89 *dKar mdzes dgon pa* was originally founded in 1662 by the Qoshot Mongols overlooking their castles of Mazur and *Khang gsar*, also built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Since the construction of these castles, strongholds of two of the five *Hor* (Mongol) states, the town of *dKar mdzes* (*Ganzi*) became the largest and most important in the *Trehor* region, and *dKar mdzes dgon pa* became one of the two largest monasteries in *Khams*.

90 For a brief overview of each chapel and an initial evaluation of its dating see: Debreczeny (2007), chapter 1.

91 Here we see the Manchu emperors of the Qing dynasty trying to project themselves as the inheritors of the Mongol Buddhist legacy in this temple built under the sponsorship of *Qubilai Khan*.

Lining the south, east, and west walls of the outer assembly hall are twenty-four panels of paintings, with two additional panels on the adjoining eastern and western walls of the inner circumambulatory for a total of twenty-six panels (Plate 1 Chart, nos. 1-26). Internal evidence found within the wall paintings themselves, especially the presence of historical lineage figures of the dGe lugs pa monastic order in five of the twenty-four panels (Plate 1, nos. 8–11, and 14), as well as the appearance of several deities, necessitates a later date, most likely sometime after the local dGe lugs pa institution dKar mdzes Monastery (Ganzisi 甘孜寺) took over its stewardship sometime after its founding in 1662, when the chapel presumably changed sectarian affiliations.<sup>92</sup> As the 1668 renovation record refers to “the new assembly hall,” the initial structure presumably dates to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the appearance of the paintings themselves (Figs. 6–7) suggest they are from the Qianlong (ca 1771) or Xianfeng (1851-1861) period expansions.

These panels were in the process of being cleaned and restored—with the damaged sections entirely repainted—in 2003 and 2004. The photographs of Hevajra in panel 14 (Fig. 5), and Kālacakra in panel 15 (Fig. 6) provide a good measure of the original appearance of the paintings in this gallery, for while they had been recently cleaned and repaired, these photographs were taken before any significant over-painting had begun.

## Inner Chapel

A short flight of steps at the rear of the Assembly Hall leads to the Inner Chapel. The inner structure has three floors, the first two floors of which are mostly taken up by the inner shrine, with narrow walkways for inner circumambulatories on the first and second floors. While the inner shrine is two stories in height, it is much smaller than the outer hall, being only twenty-five bays (*jian*), and is mostly taken up by a massive three-sided statue case which houses the primary images of the temple, pulled out from the wall to allow for a third innermost space for circumambulation.

## Sculpture Program

The central images of veneration for the chapel are a large set of clay sculptures of the eight Gur mgon deity forms (*Gur mgon lha brygad*) in the Inner Chapel as described in the 1668 descriptive catalog quoted above. While all of the statues were badly damaged or destroyed in 1966 during the Cultural Revolution, based on the reconstruction made in 1984 by the local Tibetan community, which is described as an exact copy of the original 13<sup>th</sup> century images, the main clay statue of Gur mgon (Fig. 4) was colossal, being one and a half stories tall,

<sup>92</sup> dKar mdzes dgon is an important dGe lugs pa monastery and was seat of the Tre hor khang gsar line. See: *dKar mdzes rdzong gi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus*, pp.3-210. In other words, the appearance of historical dGe lugs pa figures in the wall paintings indicates that those murals were painted after the temple changed from Sa skya to dGe lugs pa in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Also, the choice of such deities as gNas chung, as well as iconographic forms of deities like Vajrabharava with a circular face arrangement, further reflects a dGe lugs pa iconographic program.

approximately four meters in height. The rest of the sculptural program at sDe mgon po (see Plate 1, I-XVII), is detailed in the *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*:<sup>93</sup>

First is the principal image which faces South, Glorious Gur gyi mgon po which was born from the mind of the Highest Vairocana.<sup>94</sup> To the [central deity's proper] right is mGon po stag zhon (the Father Bhagavat Vyāghravāhana Mahākāla Riding a Tiger – [who is the representation of] Action);<sup>95</sup> in front of that facing East in sequence: the Son Mon Black Bhadra,<sup>96</sup> to the right of that the Oath-bound Mahāputra,<sup>97</sup> and to the right of that Ekajaṭā (Srin mo ral cig ma),<sup>98</sup> these three are known as “Gur mgon's Retinue of the Three Putra Siblings”:<sup>99</sup> To the right of those three are Black Mon pa Who Sounds an Animal Horn Trumpet [who is the representation of] Speech; to the right of that Mon pa sō nag Who Wields a Knife [who is the representation of] Mind; and to the right of that Black Mon pa Hanging a Corpse [who is the representation of] Body, these three are known as “The Three Mon pa of Tiger Riding Mahākāla's Retinue”:<sup>100</sup>

To the main image's [proper] left is: is dPal ldan lha mo 'Dod pa khams kyi dbang phyug ma (Śrī Devī),<sup>101</sup> in front of that, facing west, (in sequence) yum nag mo

93 *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*, folio 11b-12a; and also copied word-for-word in the *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.160. Note in Tibetan texts the convention is to give the deities' proper left and right, not the viewer's.

94 *de yang thog mar rten gyi gtso bo zhal lho gziḡs la 'og min rnam par snang mdzad kyis thugs las 'khrung pa'i dpal ldan gur gyi mgon po/*

95 Residing within the glorious Mahākāla riding a tiger: the hearts of the eight classes (of *yakṣa*), and A nyan *pag shi's* own hair, clothes, and rosary. (ibid.) For the iconography of mGon po Legs ldan stag gzhon see: *Lalitavajra*, fig. 259.

96 Beguin, cat. no. 190 (color plate p.46) He is described as holding a *dam shing* in his right hand, and lifts a heart to his mouth with his left. He wears a breast-band of black silk and a tiger skin (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp.50-51).

97 Putra nag po is described as holding a long saber in his right hand, and in his left a skull cup held to his mouth. He wears a breast-band (*ga zha*) of Mon tri fur and a dress of black silk (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, p.50).

98 The Daughter Ral gcig ma (Ekajaṭā) is described as being turquoise in color and in terrifying aspect, with a single face and two arms, sitting in *vajraparyāṅka*. She is usually depicted as holding in her hands at chest level a vase of turquoise filled with nectar (Tucci (1989), p.128) or holding a golden razor in her right hand and bowels in her left (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, p.51).

99 The Three Putra Siblings (Pu tra *ming sring sum*) have their own retinue: one hundred armed men march to the right, one hundred *bikṣu* (fully ordained monks) to the left, behind walk one hundred magicians lifting *phur bu*, and in front one hundred black women (Nebesky-Wojkowitz, p.51). This may explain the presence of the Head Bikṣu (dGe slong ru 'dren), the Tantrika, the Man, and the Black Woman that follow after the Black Mother Yakṣī and Black Father Yakṣa, who thus actually belong to the Three Putra Siblings (each standing in for the compliment of one hundred).

100 For a discussion of Mon pa, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, pp.8-11. For Tucci, the presence of the Mon pa, Western frontier people, suggests that additions were made to the original Sanskrit liturgies imported from India by the Western Tibetans like the kingdom of Gu ge. Tucci (1989), pp.123-126.

101 As for the sacred relics residing in Śrī Devī they include: an image of the reverend Tārā drawn with the nose-blood of the lord Nāropa, a Guhyasamāja Manjuvajra made from the nose-blood of Nāgārjuna, an image of Śrī Devī drawn with in nose-blood of the ācārya dMar po, and the precious treasures of the ruler, the treasures which increase the three: people, wealth, and food. (ibid.) Tāmadhātviśvarī Śrī Devī

gnod sbyin ma; to the left of that yab nag po gnod sbyin; to the left of that the Head Bikṣu (dGe slong ru 'dren); to the left of that the Tantrika (sNgags pa)<sup>102</sup>; to the left of that the General (sKyes pa); and to the left of that the Black Woman (Bud med). They are so terrifying as to make one tremble with fear, possessing the brilliance of 100,000 suns.

The statues in the left and right statue cases are slightly smaller than those in the central case, being about two meters tall. The primary members of each set of attending deities once had an impressive array of consecratory relics, including Dam pa's own hair, clothes, and rosary placed within Tiger-Riding Mahākāla.

The primary theme of the wall paintings of the inner chapel are the five primary deities of the Sarvavid Vairocana *maṇḍala*, each approximately two meters tall. These are the "new images of the principal deity with four faces and his retinue, the five, established" as part of the 1668 renovation. These appear to be based on the *Sarvadurgati pariśodhana tantra*, a practice associated with Vairocana, the celestial ruler and symbol of the *cakravartin*, a focus of royal cults going back to the very formation of Tibetan Buddhism during the Tibetan Imperial period. Vairocana is the deity that Pañjaranātha (the central image of the hall) is considered a manifestation, as stated in the previously quoted text.<sup>103</sup>

### Third Floor rooftop chapel

The third floor of the inner structure is a small rooftop chapel (*rab gsal khang*) which faces south, known as the Chapel of the Seven Generations of Buddhas (Sangs rgyas rab bdun khang), accessible from a ladder by the kitchen on the second floor of the outer chapel. The large statue case contains clay sculptures of the Seven Generations of Buddhas and lineage masters which are also detailed in the *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*:<sup>104</sup> The Unequaled Lord Śākyamuni is the principal image among them. To the [proper] right of that are: Vipaśyin, Śikhin, and Viśvabhuk. To the [proper] left of the primary image are: Kakutsunda, Kanakamuni, and Kāśyapa. At the end of the statue case on the right facing West are portrait-statues of the two primary preceptors of the Mahākāla cult at court: an image "meaningful to behold" (*mthong ba don ldan*) of the *Dharma-rajā* 'Phags pa<sup>105</sup> (Fig. 7), and to his proper left a (Female Lord of the Desire Realm) is described as turquoise in color with one face and four arms holding a sword, skull cup, lance and trident. The upper part of her body is covered by an elephant skin, the lower part by an ox skin. She wears a girdle of snakes and rides a mule (Tucci (1989), p.128).

102 Within the Tantrika statue were placed the life *cakras* of the eight great *nāga* and a great deal of *nāga* treasure such as the five kinds of precious objects. Tucci (1989), p.129.

103 Similarly, according to the *mGon po'i chos 'byung* ("History of Mahākāla") within the classification of the Five Buddha Families Gur mgon is the mind manifestation of Mahā-Vairocana. *mGon po'i chos 'byung*, p.21.

104 *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*, folio 12a-12b; closely followed in the *sDe mgon khang gyi lo rgyus*, p.161.

105 "An image 'Meaningful to Behold' (*mthong ba don ldan*) of that very one who illumines the three realms, the white banner of renown called "the Protector of Beings Dharmaraja 'Phags pa," the Second Buddha

likeness of the temple's founder sGa A gnyan Dam pa (Fig. 8).<sup>106</sup> These statues are all part of the modern reconstruction.

## Conclusion

Central to Mongol interests in Tibetan Buddhism was the use of esoteric means to real physical power, most clearly manifested in Mahākāla rites, a practice that can be traced back from the court of Köten Khan to the imperial Tangut Mahākāla cult. The image of the Sa skya protector Gur gyi mgon po came to symbolize Qubilai Khan as the wrathful destructive power of the *cakravartin* ruler, and Dam pa, as the embodiment of this deity on earth, was at the center of Mahākāla practice at court. He was recorded as building temples dedicated to Mahākāla throughout the empire. Thus what survives at the site of sDe mgon po provides a modest window into what was a widespread phenomena of Tibetan Buddhist temples across the Yuan branch of the Mongol empire. Even after the time of Qubilai's reign the image of Mahākāla continued to hold a central role at the Yuan court. For instance, in 1323 a statue of Mahākāla was erected within the imperial palace of the Forbidden City.<sup>107</sup>

This legacy became an important model for subsequent dynasties who would rule China, such as the succeeding Chinese Ming (1368-1644), where the Yongle 永樂 emperor (1402-1424) consciously modeled many of his policies closely on Qubilai Khan—including engagement with Tibetans.<sup>108</sup> A striking continuation of this Tibetanized visual language of sacral rule in the early Ming court can be found among the objects excavated from the Prince Zhuang of Liang's (d. 1441) tomb: a large gold hat ornament in the form of Gur mgon (Fig. 9).<sup>109</sup> It is amazing to

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of this Degenerate Age” *de'i mdon phyogs kyis zhal nub gzigs la snyigs dus kyis rgyal ba gnyis pa 'gro ba'i mgon po chos rgyal 'phags pa zhes snyan pa'i ba dan dkar po srid pa gsum na gsal ba de nyid kyi sku mthong ba don ldan bzhugs/*. *Tre shod ye shes mgon po'i brnyan mthong grol chen po'i lo rgyus*, folio 12b.

106 “A likeness shining brilliant with blessings of that very one sGa A gnyan Dam pa, the one and only true meaning of Glorious Gur gyi mgon po” *de'i gyon du nges pa don gyis dpal ldan gur gyi mgon po dang gnyis su med pa sga a gnyan dam pa de nyid kyis 'dra 'bag byin rlabs kyis gzi 'od 'bar dang /*

107 This was in the Huiching Pavilion of the Life Lengthening Hall. Wang Yao, p.959.

108 See: David Robinson, “The Ming Court and the Legacy of the Yuan Mongols.” In David M. Robinson, ed. *Culture, Courtsiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368-1644)*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2008, pp.365-421.

109 “Statue of Mahakala” (大黑天), Chinese, c. 1400-41. Gold; 9.4cm x 5.4cm x 1cm (114 g.) Hubei Provincial Museum 湖北省博物館 5.25042. Excavated in 2001 from the Tomb of Zhu Zhanji, Prince Zhuang of Liang, and Lady Wei, Zhongxiang, Hubei province. Zhu Zhanji, Prince Zhuang of Liang (1411-1441) was grandson of Yongle and brother of Xuande. His second wife Lady Wei (d. 1451) was daughter of Nanchang cavalry commander; the tomb was re-opened for her burial. Publications: Craig Clunas, Jessica Harrison-Hall, eds. *Ming: 50 Years that Changed China*. London: The British Museum, 2014, p.210; Hubeisheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 湖北省文物考古研究所 and Zhongxiangshi bowuguan 鐘祥市博物館, eds., *Liang zhuang wang mu 梁莊王墓*. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007, p.185; color pl. 191; Hubeisheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館, ed., *Liang zhuang wang mu he Zhengde shidai de guibao 梁莊王墓鄭和時代的瑰寶*. Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007. While the goldsmith did not understand the form perfectly, he can be recognized by the stick (*ganḍi*) balanced across his arms.

think that Yongle's grandson prominently displayed such an image of the most potent symbol of Tibetan esoteric power in the Yuan pantheon upon his head. Subsequently, the Manchu Qing (1644-1911) made Qubilai Khan's Mahākāla sculpture a very public part of their declaration of rightful inheritance of the Yuan legacy, installing it in their own imperial shrine in 1635.<sup>110</sup>

One can learn a great deal from the available historical sources and the physical site of sDe mgon po, despite the fact that, as this brief survey reveals, little of what survives of the chapel belongs to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The visual program of this protector chapel (as documented in surviving materials *in situ* and corroborated in textual sources), from the sculptural program of the state protector Mahākāla, to the wall painting of the embodiment of the *cakravartin*, the celestial ruler Vairocana, can be seen as a kind of esoteric conduit of political power, and thus this temple embodies the very core of imperial interest in the production of Tibetan Buddhist visual culture. While questions remain about how the temple fits into the chronology of Dam pa's life, and thus the extent of actual imperial involvement, hopefully when additional sources, such as sGA A gnyan dam pa's longer Tibetan biography and collected works, become available a more complete picture can be fleshed out of the site and the larger pattern it represents.

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At least one other image of Gur mgon was found in the Prince of Liang's tomb, among golden vajra and other objects that reflect his engagement with Tibetan Buddhism.

110 See footnote 14.

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### Outer Hall

1. gNas chung rdo rje grags ldan
2. Byang nram thos sras
3. mGon po zhal bzhi pa
4. mGon po rus khrab
5. Gur gyi mgon po
6. sPyan ras gzigs phyag stong
7. Phyag rdo 'khor chen
8. rTa mgrin yang gsang
9. dGra nag gShin rje gshed
10. gShin rje gshed dmar
11. dPal rDo rje 'jigs byed
12. dPal gSang ba 'dus pa
13. Vajrakilla (?)
14. Kye rdo rje
15. dPal Dus kyi 'khor lo
16. dPal 'Khor lo bDe mchog
17. rTa mgrin
18. (yet to be identified)
19. mKha' 'gro Seng gdong ma
20. mGon po phyag drug-pa
21. Chos rgyal brkyangs brkums ma
22. dPal ldan Lha mo
23. lCam sring
24. dGra lha
25. Mañjuśrī
26. Four-Armed Mañjuśrī

### Inner Hall

#### Wall Paintings

- A. Amoghasiddhi
- B. Aksobhya
- C. Sarvavid Vairocana
- D. Ratnasambha
- E. Amitabha
- F. Bhutadamara
- G. Yama
- H. Śrī Devī

#### Statues

- I. Gur mgon (Mahākāla)
- II. mGon po stag zhon
- III. 'Dod khams bdag mo
- IV. mGon po bram ze
- V. Pu tra
- VI. Bha tra
- VII. Srin mo ral cig ma
- VIII. Ming pa dmar po
- IX. Ming pa ljang gu
- X. Ming pa nag po
- XI. E ka dza ti
- XII. gNod sbyin yab
- XIII. gNod sbyin yum
- XIV. dGe slong

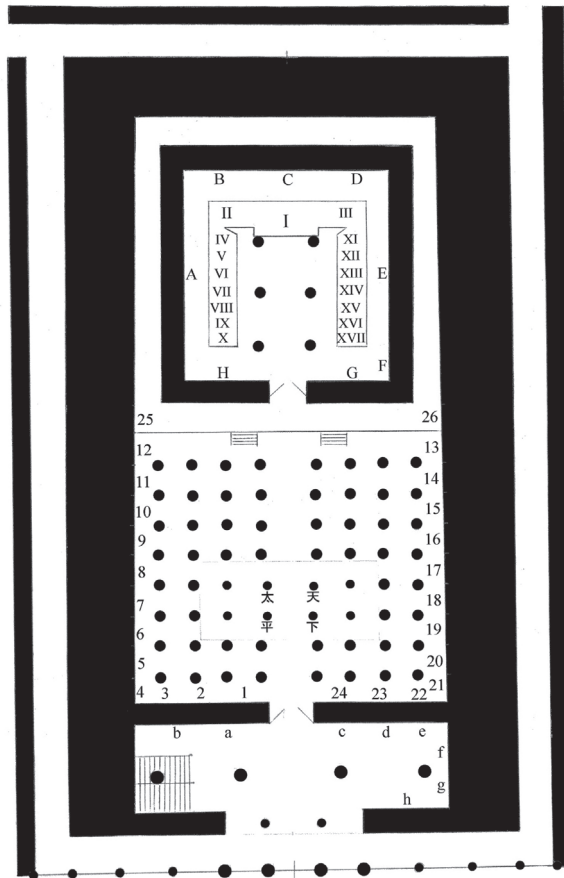


Plate 1 sDe mgon po floor plan.



Fig.1 Gur gyi mgon po (Mahākāla Pañjaranātha), dated 1292. Musée Guimet, Paris.  
(After Stoddard, p. 279).



Fig. 2 Mahākāla niche, Baochengsi, dated 1322. Wu Shan, Hangzhou.



Fig. 3 sDe mgon po Protector Chapel, founded 1284. Tre shod, dKar mdzes, Western Sichuan (2001).



Fig. 4 Gur gyi mgon po, primary image in sDe mgon po, ca 1984 reconstruction. (2004).





Fig. 5 (Panel 14): Kye rdo rje (Hevajra).  
Outer Assembly Hall, sDe mgon po. (2003).



Fig. 6 (Panel 15): dPal Dus kyi 'khor lo (Kālacakra). Outer Assembly Hall, sDe mgon po. (2003).



Fig. 7 The image “meaningful to behold” (mthong ba don ldan) of the Dharma-rajā 'Phags pa. Rooftop chapel. (2001).



Fig. 8 sGa A gnyan dam pa statue. Rooftop chapel. (2001).



Fig. 9 Mahākāla. Excavated from Prince Zhuang of Liang's (1400-1441) tomb. Chinese; c. 1400-41. Gold; 9.4cm x 5.4cm x 1cm (114g). Hubei Provincial Museum 5.25042. Photographer Yu Le (余乐).

*GTER-MA AS IMPERIAL TREASURE:  
THE 1755 BEIJING EDITION OF THE PADMA BKA' THANG*

**Matthew T. Kapstein**

In his communication to the Thirteenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, held in Ulaanbataar in July 2013, Elliot Sperling introduced a remarkable passage gleaned from the autobiography of an outstanding eighteenth-century visionary, Sle-lung Bzhad-pa'i-rdo-rje (1697-1740). It is 1719, at the height of the Zunghar invasion of Central Tibet, and Sle-lung has been ordered to appear at the offices of the Zunghar administration in Lhasa:

Once the lord ordered me to come to the Khrom-gzigs-khang. The lord and Chos-'phel-can, who was there, had many questions about the situation and whether or not O-rgyan was reliable. About the All-knowing Great Fifth, in general and in particular, to their question as to whether Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho was Rgyal-ba Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's *sprul-sku*, I responded: "What do I know? The former all-knowing Paṅ-chen and other reliable holy persons performed the recognition without error, declaring him to be the Exalted Fifth." To which they said, "It seems that the Paṅ-chen Rin-po-che did not perform such a recognition. It was the Gzims-khang-gong *sprul-sku* who was the inerrant birth of Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho. Because Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho was jealous at that he was angered and his intentions toward those who were close were not at ease. In our land, we call the Gzims-khang-gong *sprul-sku* the *Bha-ga ta-la'i bla-ma* (the 'little' [*< Mong. baya*] Dalai Lama)."<sup>1</sup>

In citing this passage, Elliot was in fact primarily interested in what followed this opening, for there we find an early discussion of the topic to which his communication was dedicated, the oft-repeated rumor of the Fifth Dalai Lama's (1617-1682) paternity of his regent Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653-1705). But my own attention was drawn above all to these initial lines, for, just a few days before, while visiting the monastery of Erdeni-zuu, I had been surprised to see there an appliqué *thang-ka* of a figure labeled as Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps

1 As given in Smith n.d., p.98 (underlined text corresponds to the use of red in Smith's transcription): *skabs shig khrom gzigs khang du dpon gyis shog zer bar/ dpon dang chos 'phel can 'dug par rang bzhin gyi dri ba shin tu mang ba dang/ o rgyan tshad ldan yin min/ kun mkhyen lnga pa chen po 'i skor spyi dang khyad par du ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho rgyal ba yon tan rgya mtaho' i skye ba yin nam min zer bar/ nged rang tsho ci shes paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa sku gong ma sogs skyes chen dam pa tshad ldan rnams kyis 'khrul med du ngos 'dzin mdzad pa ni gong sa 7 lnga pa yin par 'dug byas pas/ paN chen rin po ches ngos 'dzin de ltar mdzad med pa 'dra/ gzims khang gong sprul sku yon tan rgya mtsho 'i skye ba 'khrul med yin par de la ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtshos phrag dog gi rnam pas sdang (f. 183r) shugs dang nye rigs rnams la yang dgongs par mi bde ba mdzad 'dug/ nged tsho 'i lud [sic! to be emended to lung—MK] par gzims khang gong sprul skur bha ga ta la' i bla ma zer gyin yod zer.*

2 A guide affiliated with the Erdeni-juu with whom I discussed the *thang-ka* was convinced that it depicts the noted Sa-skyapa master Rje-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216), who is said to have prophesied his nephew Sa-skyapa Paṅḍita's mission to the Mongols. When I pointed out that the Sa-skyapa master was a layman, not a monk as seen here, I was told that "Mongol artists were ignorant of these details,"

none other than the Gzims-khang-gong-ma *sprul-sku* referred to above and the focal point of much acrimony in contemporary Tibetan Buddhism; for it was this figure who, following his suicide (1654), which was presumed to have been an outcome of his rivalry with the Fifth Dalai Lama, would later reemerge as the contentious spirit Rdo-rje-shugs-Idan.<sup>3</sup>



Appliqué *thang-ka* of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan at Erdeni-zuu. Undated, but perhaps 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In the upper register: Rje-btsun-dam-pa Zanabazar, Buddha Vajradhara, Green Tārā.

In the lower register: Yellow Jambhala, Six-Armed Mahākāla, Dharmarāja. Photo: Matthew T. Kapstein.

a response that strikes me as implausible when considering a *thang-ka* that is otherwise iconographically precise. Another suggestion is that the figure in question is Tsong-kha-pa's disciple 'Dul-'dzin Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, though the clearly tantric elements (the right hand, for instance, holds a brimming skull-cup) as well as the absence of context seems to rule that out. Besides modern images of the Gzims-khang-gong-ma Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, as seen on websites devoted to the Shugs-Idan controversy, the only early image of him of which I am aware is in a *thang-ka* of Mag-zor-rgyal-mo in which he and the Fifth Dalai Lama appear in the upper register in miniature, but as this *thang-ka* certainly dates to the youth of the subjects, when they were both resident at the 'Bras-spungs Dga'-Idan pho-brang, it probably cannot serve as a reference for the identity of the figure at Erdeni-juu. I am grateful to Amy Heller for calling my attention to the painting of Mag-zor-rgyal-mo in question, from the John and Berthe Ford Collection, which has been published in Rhie and Thurman 2000 and in Pal and Woodward 2001.

3 Dreyfus 1998 remains the best overview of the affair. See, too, Lopez, 1998: 188-201.

The testimony of Sle-lung confirms that some factions among the Mongols had decided at a relatively early date that the Gzims-khang-gong-ma Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan was the authentic rebirth of the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (1589-1617). I have not yet been able to determine whether this opinion was shared by the leading Khalkha hierarch, Rje-btsun-dam-pa Zanabazar (1635-1723), who is depicted in the upper left-hand corner of the *thang-ka* I saw at Erdeni-zuu.<sup>4</sup> Be this as it may, it is notable that in Sle-lung's text the several questions concerning the Fifth Dalai Lama are preceded by an inquiry into the reliability of O-rgyan, i.e. Padmasambhava. As this too is an issue that has arisen repeatedly in connection with the cult of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's apotheosis as Rdo-rje-shugs-ldan, it is perhaps not surprising that we should find the issue debated within the Dge-lugs-pa order and among its Mongol adherents during the same period in which the dispute concerning the Fourth Dalai Lama's true incarnation arose. It so happens, then, that a group of contested questions that might not, at first glance, seem necessarily to be connected, in due course came to be indissociably interlaced. These include the authority of the Padmasambhava traditions, the authenticity of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the status of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, as well as the paternity of the Sde-srid and the implications this had in regard to the Fifth Dalai Lama's monastic vows.

In relation to all this, the issue of Padmasambhava appears to be in some respects tangential to the rest. Its importance in this context was no doubt due to the Great Fifth's well-known Rnying-ma-pa sympathies, but perhaps more precisely to his family's ties to the old seat of the Tibetan empire in Yar-lung and the sense of historical warrant that this imparted to his claims. For these reasons, perhaps, the "reliability of O-rgyan" could serve as a clear, but still cautiously indirect, signifier of one's allegiances. For the remainder of this short essay I shall therefore be concerned primarily with an aspect of the contested question of the "reliability of O-rgyan," focusing on the well-known account of Padmasambhava, the *Padma bka' thang*. The reception of the text during the period of the Dga'-ldan pho-brang's rise reflects the fissure that the Fifth Dalai Lama's robust advocacy of devotion to the Lotus Guru aroused within some factions of the Dge-lugs-pa clergy and the countervailing determination of the Great Fifth's loyalists to uphold Padmasambhava's cult.

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Writing in 1782, the noted Mongol polymath Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes-dpal-'byor (1704-1788) listed the famed *Testament of Padmasambhava*—the *Padma bka' thang* of O-rgyan-gling-pa (var. U-rgyan-gling-pa)—among inauthentic works. As in the case of the *Mañi bka' 'bum*, which he similarly excoriated, his condemnation was not in this case directed at a marginal work preserved only by a non-mainstream sect, but at a major Tibetan revelation that had been actively promoted during the preceding centuries by leading adherents of the Dge-lugs-pa

4 It appears, in any case, that Zanabazar's relations with the Fifth Dalai Lama did deteriorate, though in fact this occurred during the period following the Fifth's death, when his passing was being concealed by Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, who seems to have been the real object of Zanabazar's misgivings. The tensions here were exacerbated by the mounting conflict between Khalkha and Zunghar, culminating in the former's assault, under Galdan's leadership, on the latter in 1695, and the subsequent Manchu intervention. On the question that concerns us here, Bawden 1998: 69 comments: "The personal antipathy of the Khutuktu [Zanabazar] for the Dalai Lama and the regent was in fact the pretext for Galdan's invasion of Khalkha."

order he championed.<sup>5</sup> The apparent oddness of the Dge-lugs-pa embrace of the Rnying-ma-pa *gter-ma* was underscored not just by Sum-pa mkhan-po. A half century ago, the great authority on the history of Mongolian printing, Walther Heissig, in commenting upon the early eighteenth century publication in Beijing of the Mongolian translation of the *Padma bka' thang*, asked just what the Dge-lugs-pa interest might have been in what he described as a *Rotmützenlegende*, a “red-bonnet tale.”<sup>6</sup> His question is precisely what concerns us here.

In naming the *Padma bka' thang* as a key example of a textual forgery, Sum-pa mkhan-po may have had it in mind that his renowned contemporary Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1717-1786), the Tibetan Buddhist tutor of the Qianlong emperor, had sponsored the publication of an edition of the work in Beijing, probably in 1755. In this, Lcang-skya was consciously following a long-established precedent and in fact reproduced in his edition, prior to his own brief colophon, a series of earlier colophons, which together allow us to reconstruct important aspects of the reception and publication history of O-rgyan-gling-pa's *gter-ma*. These are in fact derived from the Sde-dge edition, dating no doubt to the 1730s, which, as we shall see, was Lcang-skya's immediate source. There were other precedents, too, for his publication: Heissig's note on the Kangxi edition of the Mongolian translation has been mentioned above, and in 1730, the eighth reign year of the Yongzheng emperor, an imperial palace edition of the *Mañi bka' 'bum* in Tibetan had been also produced.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest of the colophons that are reproduced and translated below is taken from a well-known sixteenth-century edition published with the support of the Fifth Dalai Lama's great-grandfather, the lord of 'Phyong-rgyas under the Phag-mo-gru-pa regime, Mi-dbang Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal. He was, according to the Great Fifth, encouraged in this by his Rnying-ma-pa teacher, the famed 'Phreng-po gter-ston Shes-rab-'od-zer (1518-1584), the founder of Dpal-ri Monastery (where 'Jigs-med-gling-pa [1730-1798] would later be educated) and situated within Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal's domains.<sup>8</sup> The colophon notes that, as the state of most copies of the text was editorially poor, an effort was made to produce the best possible edition, relying upon a manuscript said to have been copied directly from an earlier manuscript written in O-rgyan-gling-pa's own hand, as well as an illuminated “archaic manuscript” (*yig-rnying*) and, most interestingly, a printed edition from the region of E in southern Tibet, that had been published by members of O-rgyan-gling-pa's own family line (*gdung-brgyud*). No trace of this early xylograph of the *Padma bka' thang* has, to the best of my knowledge, so far emerged.

5 On Sum-pa mkhan-po's critique of the *gter-ma* traditions, including the *Padma bka' thang*, see Kapstein 1989, 2000 (ch. 7).

6 Heissig 1954: 31.

7 This edition appears to have been prepared somewhat carelessly. For instance, the colophon refers to the emperor as being in his sixty-fourth year, but this calculation is clearly in error by one duodeccennial cycle: Yongzheng (1678-1735) was in fact fifty-two during his eighth reign year. And the spelling is frequently atrocious: one sees *grtags bdun* for *rta bdun*, *brjigs pa'i sku* for *brjid pa'i sku*, *migs dbang* for *mi dbang*, *zhungs dags* (!) for *zhus dag*, etc. The year of the composition of the colophon is given as *me-bya* (1717) instead of *sa-bya* (1729).

8 On 'Phreng-po gter-ston, refer to Deroche 2009, 201–1.

Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal's colophon is followed by a long poem in praise of Padmasambhava, introducing the colophon written by the Fifth Dalai Lama, in which interlinear notes (*mchan-bu*) clarify the allusions made in the poem itself to "sophists" who had discredited the teaching through false views. Those named are the Rtag-brtan sprul-sku Kun-dga'-snying-po, that is to say Tāranātha,<sup>9</sup> Rgyal-mtshan gnyug rab-'byams-pa, Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa, and Lho-brag sprul-sku Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba.<sup>10</sup> Though the first and last mentioned are of course well-known masters of the Jo-nang-pa and Karma bka'-brgyud-pa orders which the Great Fifth vociferously opposed, Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa, it emerges, was a Dge-lugs-pa disciple of the Fifth himself.<sup>11</sup> I have so far found no information concerning Rgyal-mtshan gnyug rab-'byams-pa, though his title suggests that he may have also been a Dge-lugs-pa. That the Great Fifth may therefore have been using the publication of the *Padma bka' thang* to mark a fault-line not just within Tibetan Buddhism generally, but even within his own church, is of considerable interest, given especially the later rejection of the text by some Dge-lugs-pa, such as Sum-pa mkhan-po. The Fifth's colophon concludes by reiterating the history of the Phyang-rgyas Dpal-ri edition, amplifying some details concerning the editorial history of the text,<sup>12</sup> and specifying that this new colophon is written for the publication of the work at Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling, the converted Jo-nang-pa seat, with the encouragements of Grong-smad-pa Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho. In signing, the Fifth uses his title as a *gter-ston*, Rdo-rje Thogs-med-rtsal, and notes that the place of composition is Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling, in

9 Tāranātha (1575-1634) was, of course, a major target of the Fifth Dalai Lama's ire, but it is not clear that the former's biography of Padmasambhava, *Slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam par thar pa gsal bar byed pa'i yi ge yid ches gsum ldan*, which purports to represent exclusively India traditions, was particularly singled out for criticism. Most likely the Fifth just objected to it in principle, as he seems to have done in the other cases he mentions, as being yet another effort on the part of "ordinary intellects" to rationalize the extraordinary career of Padmasambhava. Tāranātha's text, which has been published many times (e.g., in Tseten 1973), has now been translated twice into English: Ngawang Zangpo 2002 and De Falco 2012.

10 The treatment of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504-1566) here is somewhat puzzling. As will be seen below (n. 27), the placement of the *mchan-bu* mentioning him is itself unclear. And later in the colophon (see n. 32), it seems that the Fifth voices qualified approval of his work, despite his sharp (and often misplaced) criticisms of Dpa'-bo's *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* in his own history. Perhaps Dpa'-bo's association with the Karma Bka'-brgyud factions that sharply opposed the Dge-lugs-pa in the Lhasa region during the early sixteenth century plays a role here *sotto voce*.

11 Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa, n.d., is a sharp critique of the historical credentials of the *Padma bka' thang*, focusing upon, among other matters, inconsistencies of dating. The Dalai Lama's colophon demonstrates that this issue was a particular target of his rebuke. An extended response to Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa may be found in Rtse-le 1979. Despite this, Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa proclaims himself the faithful disciple of the Great Fifth in the colophon of his work, an assertion confirmed in the autobiography of the Fifth himself: Karmay 2014: 375. Further confirmation of their relationship is implied in a *thang-ka* of Mag-zor-rgyal-mo (Linrothe and Watt 2004, cat. no. 31), in which the Dalai Lama and Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa figure together in the lineage in the upper register.

12 It is of interest to note that the Fifth Dalai Lama alters Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal's modest claim that one of his sources was "said to have been copied from the treasure-discoverer's manuscript" (*gter ston gyi phyag bris las bshus zer ba shig*) in order to assert more robustly that the manuscript in question was the "son [= direct copy] of the mother, the treasure-discoverer's manuscript" (*gter ston gyi phyag bris ma'i bu yig*).

the wood hare year corresponding to 1676, that is, two years before Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho accepted his elevation to the post of *sde-srid*.

The colophon of the Sde-dge edition takes pains to note that the publication, sponsored by the Sde-dge prince and based directly upon the Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling edition, takes place under the ægis of the Ngor-pa order, founded by the “second Jina” Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456). This is significant, as the Ngor-pa, following the lead of Ngor-chen, had sometimes been hostile to the cult of Padmasambhava. No indication is furnished as to just why the publication was undertaken at the recently founded Sde-dge printery, though I think it plausible that this reflected more the interests of the Derge court than of the Ngor-pa order.

The last colophon given is that of the *daguoshi* Lcang-skya Khutughtu, i.e. Rol-pa'i rdo-rje, who cites the precedents of both the Fifth Dalai Lama's and the Sde-dge edition as the inspiration for his own efforts. Little additional information is provided, besides the year of publication, given as the earth pig corresponding to the nineteenth reign year. This is a problem, as, during the entire Qing dynasty, there appears to have been no earth pig year corresponding to the nineteenth regnal year of any emperor. My best guess, then, is that this should be emended to be the wood pig corresponding to Qianlong's twentieth year on the throne, that is, 1755. If the production of the edition had been begun during his nineteenth year, but was only completed in his twentieth, this would perhaps explain the error. About the apparently mistaken element, earth for wood, I have not yet been able to determine whether this is simply an error, or is due to an actual difference in the calendrical system used here.<sup>13</sup> However this may be, as the edition definitely belongs to the eighteenth century, and as any other explanation of the date seems even more awkward than this, I think that we may accept here, if tentatively, the “inference to the least bad conclusion” and assign the publication to the year proposed above. In any event, 1755 would be an attractive date for a Qianlong edition of the *Padma bka' thang* as there were other reasons for which the Lotus Guru may have been on the mind of the emperor and his tutor, for it was in this year that the construction of the Puningsi was begun in Jehol (Chengde). The temple was modeled on Bsam-yas and edified to celebrate the defeat of the Zunghar Mongols in Xinjiang, the same Zunghars who, thirty-five years earlier, had ordered Sle-lung to the Khrom-gzigs-khang to discuss the authenticity of O-rgyan and of the Fifth Dalai Lama.<sup>14</sup>

These last details remind us that the *Padma bka' thang* had also a history among the Mongols, some knowledge of which both complicates and advances our understanding of the material we have just reviewed. For, following the conversion of Altan Khan in 1578, though the Dge-lugs-pa emerged as the predominant Tibetan sectarian trend among the Mongols, a number of *gter-ma* traditions were soon promulgated among them as well, above all those of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and *Padma bka' thang*. The role of these works in underwriting the religio-political order of the Tibetan world was no doubt already established in Phag-mo-gru-pa times:

13 Cf. n. 7 above.

14 The campaigns of 1755 figured prominently among what Perdue 2005: 270-289 terms “the death knell of the Zunghar State.” Chayet 1985: 28-34 offers a description of the Puningsi and its relation to these events.



Mi-dbang Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal's publication of the latter perhaps supports this.<sup>15</sup> And it was in this role that their diffusion among the Mongols was advanced. That this was so is suggested by a striking passage in the *Jewel Translucent Sūtra* concerning Altan Khan's conversion, a work studied not long ago by Johan Elverskog and assigned by him to roughly the period during which the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and *Padma bka' thang* were translated into Mongolian. Here, in one crucial scene, Altan Khan's envoys arrive to extend their lord's invitation to Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho when, in front of the image of the Lhasa Jo-bo, the divinity Pehar possesses a medium:

In front of the Juu Rinpoche, the image of the Bhagavan Buddha Teacher,  
King Pehar spoke to the victorious All-knowing Dalai Lama and the  
assembled Samgha,  
To those many assembled Tibetan great and small Alms-masters,  
And particularly to the Mongol envoys.

“By decree of the Crown Jewel Master Padmasambhava,  
Which reveals the prophecy of the Superior Horse-headed Powerful King  
Entirely, the words of me, Pehar Khan, should be seen as conventional and  
ultimate truth.

The ultimate truth is particularly beyond comprehension.

The conventional truth is visualizing the deeds of the Eight Names and Five Bodies.  
I see that the helpful Dalai Lama, who by sight knows all conditions,  
And the virtuous Bodhisattva Altan Khan, when we were there, all together striving,  
Took a vow in front of Padmasambhava on the summit of the Glorious Copper  
Colored Mountain.

By the power of the blessings of the merits vowed by them together,  
The incarnation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, meritorious Dalai Lama was born  
in the West,  
The Blessed Altan Khan was born in the East in the land of the Mongols.  
A sign that the religion of the Blessed Ones will spread like the sun.

For this reason, you, the Dalai Lama, whom to behold is completely beneficial,  
You should go there according to the decree of the Mongol Khan.  
Evenly all living beings will be enlightened and the sun of the jewel religion  
will rise.”<sup>16</sup>

In the eyes of some Mongols, therefore, the authority of the Dalai Lama in relation to the Mongols had its warrant in vows witnessed by Padmasambhava himself.

As for the Mongolian *Padma bka' thang*, Heissig shows that the translation, *Badma yatang sudur-un orusiba* by Sakiya töröb kelemürči, was executed under the patronage of Erdeni Mangyus qulači bayatur tayiji, a great grand-nephew of Altan Khan through the latter's brother Mergen jinong, in the early seventeenth century (c. 1615). The xylographic edition was published

15 On the 1521 Gung-thang “Royal Print” of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, see now Ehrhard 2013. It may be noted that the Fifth Dalai Lama duly notes his ancestor's printing activities, including the publication of the *Padma bka' thang*, in his history of Tibet: Nor-brang 1993: 421.

16 Elverskog 2003: 143-5, lines 674-92.

nearly a century later in Beijing under the reign of Kangxi, at about the same time as that of the Mongolian *Mani gambu* (1712). The explicit association with the line of Altan Khan seems to further confirm the legitimating role attributed to these works in connection with the religio-political order.<sup>17</sup>

With this in mind, an additional observation seems warranted. Phreng-po-gter-ston Shes-rab-'od-zer, the guru of the Great Fifth's ancestor, was himself a noted revealer of prophetic treasures; his prophecies came to be particularly stressed in the writings of the Dalai Lama. Indeed, one of the notable innovations of the Fifth's works, and those of his regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, was their explicit political use of prophecy drawn from *gter-ma*. In this connection, the *Padma bka' thang*, with its elaborate prophecies of the *gter-ston* themselves, that is, its prophecies of the prophets, must have assumed a privileged position, the mother, as it were, of Tibetan prophetic revelations in general.<sup>18</sup> With the Great Fifth's confirmation of the exalted station of O-rgyan-gling-pa's text, it became an established treasure of the throne. Hence, its emblematic adoption, too, by rulers allied with and favoring the Dalai Lamas.

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The story of the political use of the prophetic book, as we have begun to sketch it out here, may be further clarified by a brief comparative exercise. The late Anna Seidel once undertook to survey the transformations of the notion of "royal treasure" in early China. Under the Zhou, she wrote:

[T]reasures guaranteed the ruling family's possession of the mandate. Kaltenmark has shown that these objects, called *pao* 寶, "treasures", in ancient China, were not necessarily unique or precious. They were not used in any kind of commercial exchange and only exceptionally as gifts, but they were kept hidden and their possession had the mystical value of symbolizing a clan's good fortune. In the case of the royal family, they constituted the sacra or regalia of the dynasty. Their presence testified to the possession of the mandate and to Heaven's continuing support.

[I]f the royal treasure-houses originally contained objects like stones, jade pieces, bronzes and weapons, they in time came to include talismans, magic diagrams, charts, prophetic adages, secret recipes for personal longevity and for the prosperity of the state and, finally, dissertations on moral and political doctrines. These texts soon were valued as more efficacious than the traditional object of the family treasure. [...]

When the Han order had so far decayed that people wondered whether its mandate was exhausted, the first prognostic text (*ch'an shu* 讖書) revealing divine intentions to renew the mandate was brought to court. [...] This was the

<sup>17</sup> Heissig 1954: 47-48.

<sup>18</sup> A curious example of this is the strange story of O-rgyan-gling-pa's mummified corpse, which was purloined by seekers of magical medicines who believed that the flesh was suffused with the properties attributed to one who had been born as a brahman throughout seven consecutive lives; see Dudjom 1991, vol. 1: 775-779. The basis for all this was no doubt the 102<sup>nd</sup> chapter of the *Padma bka' thang* itself, prophesying the benefits of such flesh. In all events, the condition of O-rgyan-gling-pa's corpse became eventually an affair of state, requiring the intercession of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama.

first revealed scripture to be used in Han politics. Previously the will of Heaven had been read only from natural phenomena, from auspicious objects and their occasional short inscriptions, a practice that continued under Wang Mang. [...] In the politico-religious propaganda that brought the first emperor of the Latter Han, Kuang-wu, to power, the written word of Heaven in *ch'an* texts came to be valued and utilized far more than auspicious objects or natural phenomena. [...] The real content of the apocrypha was a collection of ancient legends and omens recorded and elaborated for the legitimation of the Han.<sup>19</sup>

“The real content of the apocrypha was a collection of ancient legends”—can we imagine a description more fit for the Tibetan revelations of the life and deeds of Padmasambhava? As the warrant for imperial prophecies in general, can we imagine a more suitable treasure than that of O-rgyan-gling-pa? What is remarkable in this case is the evident congruence between the Tibetan revelation and Chinese conceptions of imperial treasure. That the prophetic books thought to be in the background of Tibetan and Mongol power were published in their Tibetan and Mongolian versions under the Manchu emperors in Beijing may perhaps be seen, therefore, as part of the ongoing response to the perpetual challenge of renewing the mandate of Heaven. Not surprisingly, the Zunghar Mongols and their supporters, who most firmly resisted Chinese power in Inner Asia, rejected the Tibetan tokens of that power as well.

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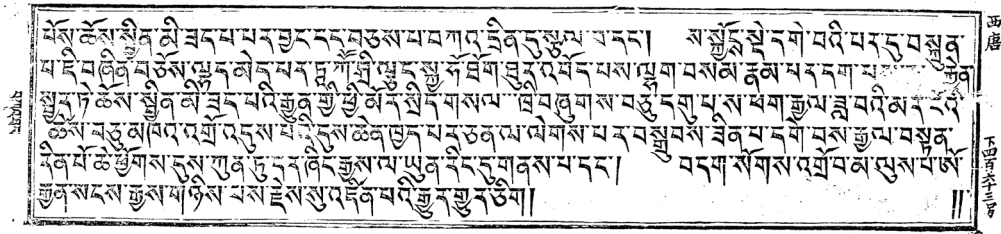
19 Seidel 1983: 299-307.











Fols. 463b. Conclusion of Leang-skya's colophon.

## Translation

### [1. The colophon of Za-hor Mi-dbang Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal, fols. 455b4-457a3.]

Among the amazing and wonderful biographies of Padmasambhava, the great master from glorious Oddiyāna, that were composed, beyond imagination, in accord with the perspectives of those to be trained, the so-called *Padma bka'i thang yig*, in particular, is universally famed. It was brought forth by the treasure-discoverer U-rgyan-gling-pa, who was the rebirth of the king of Za-hor, Gtsug-lag-'dzin,<sup>20</sup> and who was accompanied by the so-called Hor sgom-pa Shā-kya, a fortunate individual, when this royal lineage of Sa-ho-ra [= Za-hor] was residing in the pleasure garden of Gzhu, from the Lotus Crystal Cave, which is the palace on the face of the Lotus Pinnacle Fortress of the Crystal Rock Mountain of Yar-klung.<sup>21</sup> Because this version is widely distributed, in order to promote in all quarters the expansion of the enlightened activities of the great master of the *vidyādharas*, Padamsambhava, and the precious teaching of the most secret Vajrayāna according to the ancient translations, as well as the welfare and happiness of living creatures, the Lord of Men, Bsod-nams-stobs-kyi-rgyal-po of Za-hor, has, as a religious donation, multiplied it as an inexhaustible print. To this end, although the true original is in verse alone, most have [previously] produced texts according to their own assertions, so that it appears that the section breaks throughout have been lost, understandings confounded, copyists' errors multiplied, and sometimes even superfluous insertions invented by arrogant fools. For this reason, I have amassed a number of original exemplars, in particular, one said to have been copied from the treasure-discoverer's manuscript, one in archaic writing with illustrations of divinities at the beginning, and a print from E that was published by U-rgyan-gling-pa's descendants. Because these three are to some extent correct, I have left as is their common points as well as the archaicisms and provincialisms that occasionally appear. At some points, because there are various incoherencies, I have compared it with the treasure of Lord Nyang that is well known as the Copper Island Biography,<sup>22</sup> etc., and, without being careless about it,

<sup>20</sup> I.e., the father of Padmasambhava's Indian consort, the lady Mandāravā.

<sup>21</sup> The "speaking image" (*zhal-byon-ma*) of Padmasambhava said also to have been discovered there remains a treasure of Khra-'brug monastery. See Kapstein 2000: 156, figure 8.2.

<sup>22</sup> This is the *zangs-gling-ma* version of Padmasambhava's story, revealed by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (1124-1192), for an English translation of which, see Kunsang 1993.



have made efforts to correct and to purify the text. So it should be considered reliable by discerning intellects.

[2. The colophon of the Fifth Dalai Lama, fols. 457a3-462b2.]

Salutations to Padmasambhava, the consummation of Buddhas!

Your *dharmakāya*, the Omnibeneficent Limitless Light, is the essence,  
 primordially pure;  
 Your *sambhogakāya* is Lord Avalokita, the natural manifestation of the hundred  
 clans, spontaneously present;  
 You are the *nirmāṇakāya*, Padmasambhava, ceaseless compassion, transforming  
 in myriad ways—  
 A ho! May the red dust of your toenails fall on my crown so as to confer omniscience!

The form of E is the wisdom of emptiness, [Ye-shes] Mtsho-rgyal,  
 In union with the syllable WAM, the means of great bliss,  
 The pervading lord, Skull-garlanded Vajradhara,  
 Chief *cakravartin* of the ocean of maṇḍalas,

Who, like a dancer changing from one into many forms,  
 Presents an array of embodiments, the Eight Names, to disciples,  
 As when varied hues are brightened when refracted through crystal  
 And shine forth unmixed—what an amazement you are!

Wielding with compassionate hand  
 The sword of method and wisdom  
 To sever the net of sin and pollution for all beings lost in saṃsāra  
 Is the glory, Lord! of your tireless action.

Above all, in the guise of the pandits and siddhas of India and Nepal,  
 You have stolen the light of a thousand suns  
 With pervasive compassion, maintaining, increasing, protecting  
 The precious teaching of the fourth Guide [Śākyamuni].

Most particularly, with the taintless vision of the lord of the dance,  
 Born from a lotus, here in Jambudvīpa,  
 With the skill of great gnostic vows,  
 Your grace for the creatures of the Glacial Land knows no limit.

Though it may be easy to count up the sands of Ganges river,  
 Besides omniscient gnosis  
 No mirror is sufficiently clear  
 As to take the measure, Lord! of your amazing deeds.

You make manifest transformations befitting each creature's vision,  
 Changing æons into moments, and moments into æons;  
 Laughable, then, to calculate the months and years  
 As if your life were that of a common pandit or siddha!<sup>23</sup>

23 This verse is clearly aimed at those who, like Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa, criticized the *Padma bka'thang* on the basis of its treatment of chronological details.

Because with the fixed habit of rehearsing other histories,  
 Even those who are learned and discerning,  
 Uphold only what appears in later compositions  
 And so magnify the stream of mistakes,  
     now is the time to open the Dharma-eye!

With the fire of errant assertions based on sophistical speech,  
 Feeble minds who burn virtue's luxurious tree<sup>24</sup>  
 Are like those in haste to suffer indigestion<sup>25</sup>  
 From the fruit of unpleasant, evil lands.

But with heartfelt devotion to that lord,  
 Those who read, expound, or write<sup>26</sup> his *avadānas*  
 Not only arrive at the heavens and the stage of liberation,  
 But visibly dispel the harm caused by the eight classes of desirous spirits<sup>27</sup>—  
     who is your peer?

Hence, without following those who blather,  
 Or fools who take daddy's bowl to be clean,<sup>28</sup>  
 But with the faith of sharp wits, following you,  
 I am inspired to publish this print, an inexhaustible religious donation.

Having met the true face of the real Padmasambhava,  
 The intuitive awareness primordially penetrating  
     the vase body of youth in the heart,  
 There is no guru besides him;  
 Without seeking him elsewhere, but united in single essence—this is  
     the salutation.

The object of worship, the worshipper, worship itself—all these  
 Are certainly only the emanations of mind alone;  
 With this knowledge, the outer, inner and secret offerings  
 Are given as an oblation by self to self.

24 An annotation on this line, found in the Derge edition as well, reads “for example, Rtag-brtan sprul-sku Kun-dga'-snying-po, Rgyal-mtshan gnyug rab-'byams-pa, Brag-sgo rab-'byams-pa.” Refer to notes 9 and 11 above.

25 The verb *spron pa* is unfamiliar and I have guessed that it might be related to *skran*, which would at least serve to connect it to the bad fruit of the previous line (the following line in the translation). I will be grateful to readers who might be able to confirm this interpretation or to supply a better explanation.

26 Reading here 'bri for 'dri, “to question,” a common orthographic variation.

27 An annotation at this point, similarly placed in the Derge edition as well, reads: “Lho-brag sprul-sku Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba.” I am not sure that I understand the point here. Is it that the Dpa'-bo Rin-po-che is being identified with the harmful classes of worldly spirits? Or is it not more likely that the *thig-phreng*, the dots connecting the annotation with the text, have been misplaced and should lead instead to the phrase “those who blather” in the first line of the following verse. See also n. 10 above.

28 The phrase here expresses disdain for those who are so fixed in their established habitudes that they are oblivious to the merits of positive developments around them. Cf. Dudjom 1991, vol. 1: 968 and n. 1386.

As the solar orb is perpetually free from darkness,  
 So intuitive awareness is in fact untainted by the two obscurations,  
 But as in a dream, though they are unreal appearances,  
 I repent of them in relative terms.

In unlimited realms beyond counting,  
 All the Sugatas of the ten directions and four times,  
 Who are none other than Lotus Skull-Garland himself,  
 Inexhaustibly cause disciples to enter the way—in this I rejoice!

Throughout the trichiliocosm and the regions beyond this world,  
 As many as the ineffable number of particles,  
 Are Buddhas and Lotus Gurus—  
 I pray that they turn the wheel, as befits the disciples,  
 of sūtra and tantra united!

Though many of the Guides have accepted to enter nirvāṇa,  
 May you, who have attained the rainbow body,  
 the body of the great transference,  
 Unwavering from your comportment,  
 Remain firmly embodied with five certainties!<sup>29</sup>

By the virtues acquired by this,  
 May all merits throughout the three times  
 ripen so that here in the Glacial Land  
 The enlightened activity of the Lotus Vajra pervades  
 And beings enjoy the glories of well-being and happiness!

By the efforts of body, speech and mind for this publication,  
 And all reading and expounding of it,  
 May we, throughout all rebirths,  
 Vanquish hoards of enemies, demons and obstructions,  
 and rival Vaiśravaṇa in lifespan, riches and power!

Abandoning successively the fruits of taints born of affliction,  
 Reborn to see Padmasambhava's face and to hear his speech,  
 Entering, before long, the ranks of the *vidyādharas* of Camaradvīpa,  
 May we attain freedom through Creation, Perfection, and Great Perfection!

In the cool shade of the spreading leaves  
 Of the new creeper that embraces all merits,  
 May the world at large and the Tibetans in particular  
 Enjoy the fruit that is happy and secure!

Beginning with the words *svasti prajābhyaḥ*,  
 The song of the queen of the perfect spring  
 Captures the summertime youth's delight—  
 May it spread everywhere by the benedictions of virtue  
 in the beginning, middle, and end!

<sup>29</sup> The five certainties are those of teacher, retinue, teaching, place and time.

Thus, it appears that, in accordance with the aptitudes of those to be taught, there are various different biographies of the glorious second Buddha, the great master from Oḍḍiyāna, Padmasambhava, including the abbreviated and expanded versions that have come from the treasures, such as the former and later treasures, those of Ba-khal-smug-po, etc.<sup>30</sup> And among [those bearing the title] *Padma bka'i thang yig*, as well, there are several treasures such as those of Rdo-rje-gling-pa, Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa, etc.<sup>31</sup> Among them, this *Padma bka'i thang yig* of Yar-rje O-rgyan-gling-pa—the Rgyal-sras lha-rje who underwent thirteen lifetimes just as a treasure-discoverer, and who, because he revealed limitless precepts of the Dharma, beginning with the *Ocean of Dharma Gathering the Teachings* (*Bka' 'dus chos kyi rgya mtsho*), came to be famed as “treasure mad”—was brought forth as treasure on the eighth day of the fourth month of the water-dragon year (1352), when the moon was in conjunction with the constellation *dbo* (Skt. *uttaraphālgunī*), from the heart of Mahāviṣṇu [= Rahula], the gate-protector of the Lotus Crystal Cave on the face of the rock fortress of the Lotus Pinnacle of the Crystal Mountain of Yar-klungs, by Gu-ru U-rgyan-gling-pa, whose fortunate associate was Gzhu Kun-ra-ba Hor Bsgom-shāk. Because there were various copies with interpolations, in order to fulfill the intentions of the treasure-discoverer Shes-rab-'od-zer [i.e. 'Phreng-po gter-ston], who was the emanation of the great translator Vairocana, Hor Mi-dbang Bsod-nams-stobs-rgyal of the Indian royal family of the great *Sā-la-pa*, the minister of the glorious Phag-mo-gru-pa who is the king mandated by heaven here in Tibet, acted as patron, and based on a written copy that was the son of the mother, the manuscript in the treasure-discoverer's hand, and other reliable old manuscripts, he produced, with the corrections of the great pandit Ri-zangs-tog-pa, the so-called “Phyong-rgyas Dpal-ri print,” which is authoritative. Nevertheless, despite its very great beneficial activity, syllables were lost, or became unclear or separated [owing to the deterioration of the blocks]. Because, in accord with the *Religious History* of Lho-brag sprul-sku,<sup>32</sup> and with the biography of the Great O-rgyan composed by the discerning Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan,<sup>33</sup> the old exemplar of the prophecy of treasure-discoverer Rdo-rje-gro-lod obtained from an iron pen (*lcags-smyug-ma*)<sup>34</sup> and the *Signs of the Times* (*dus rtags*) of Mchog-sprul Legs-ldan-rdo-rje,<sup>35</sup> and so on, appear clear, besides some new additions there is no alteration

30 The “former and later treasures” (*gter kha gong 'og*) designate the discoveries of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer and Gu-ru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1212-1270). Ba-khal-smug-po appears to have been another early *gter-ston*, who is best known for the celebrated litany addressed to Padmasambhava entitled *Gsol 'debs bar chad lam sel*.

31 Refer to Dudjom 1991, vol. 1: 784-792.

32 I.e., Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba's *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, of which the Great Fifth tended to be otherwise quite critical (see above). Is the suggestion here that he accepts the accuracy of Dpa'-bo's transcriptions of texts, even if not agreeing always with his interpretations of them?

33 Sog-bzlog-pa 1984.

34 Unidentified.

35 This is the second Rdo-rje-brag Rig-'dzin, the younger brother of Mnga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487-1543).

[in the present text].<sup>36</sup> With the encouragements of Grong-smad-pa Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, who, being captivated by the transmissions<sup>37</sup> of the profound treasures of the great and glorious O-rgyan, suggested that new printing blocks might be carved I, too, with my thoughts guided by undivided faith, solely to benefit the inhabitants of the Land of Snows with the religious gift of an inexhaustible print, being an old mantra-adept from the clan of Za-hor called by the name Rdo-rje Thogs-med-rtsal, given by Padma, the Play Gathering the Supreme Heruka (Che-mchog 'Dus-pa-rtsal), have assembled the requisites, together with [the composition of] the print colophon, and have completed this at Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling in the year of the wood hare (1676).

[3. The Derge colophon, fols.462b3-463a4.]

Subsequently, in accord with the order of Mkhan-chen Dpal-ldan-chos-skyong,<sup>38</sup> empowered in the great, sacred Dharma-realm of the second Jina, Kun-dga'-bzang-po,<sup>39</sup> the earth-protecting Lama named Kun-dga'-'phrin-las-rgya-mtsho'i-sde,<sup>40</sup> who controls with the measureless stride of his power the entire maṇḍala of the broad earth, in the center of victory over all the quarters, the royal capital of Lhun-grub-steng in Derge, having been entrusted as the authentic original source with the Dga'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling print which was purified by triple examination, achieved an original source [i.e. the printing blocks] whereby his religious gift would flow forth continuously. Hence, may it be the basis for expansion and increase throughout all quarters, times, and conditions! Sarvamaṅgalam!

[4. Lcang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje's colophon, fols. 463a4-463b6.]

The biography of Padmasambhava—the great master from O-rgyan, the second Buddha who is the general form of all Jinas of the three times, whose kindness to the totality of the teaching and beings, in general and in particular, cannot be requited—which is well known as the *Padma bka'i thang yig*, was kindly bestowed by the Great Fifth, the Supreme Jina and Lord of Refuges, as an inexhaustible religious donation, together with the colophon of the print, and it was [re]published as a print of the Derge earth-protector. In accordance with this, without alteration or interpolation, the one addressed as *daguoshi* Lcang-skya Khutughtu, with a pure intention assembled the necessary resources for an original source [i.e. the printing blocks] whereby his religious gift would flow forth continuously, which was well achieved in the nineteenth throne year of Qianlong (Srid gsal), the earth-pig year, on the tenth day of the

36 This entire sentence is difficult to construe and I am not altogether satisfied with the present interpretation. The Fifth seems to be saying, in all events, that he has introduced some editorial changes into the *Padma bka'i thang* on the basis of the authorities here cited.

37 Or: “who has been prophesied in the transmissions...”

38 Dpal-ldan-chos-skyong (1702-1760) was the 34<sup>th</sup> Ngor mkhan-chen, a position he occupied in 1733-1740.

39 I.e. Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456).

40 This was one of the sons of the Derge printery's founder, Bstan-pa-tshe-ring (1678-1738). Also known as Bla-chen Phun-tshogs-tshe-ring, he continued his father's work above all by achieving the publication of the Tengyur under the editorship of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims-rin-chen (1697-1774).

waning fortnight of the month of Pauṣa, which is the special festival when the *dākinīs* gather. By this virtue, may the precious teaching of the Jina expand and increase in all quarters and times, remaining long present. And may I and beings without exception be taken into the following of the second Buddha from O-rgyan!

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# BÉLA SZÉCHENYI'S AMDO TIBETAN "ROOT WORDS" AND THE NAMES OF THE TIBETAN LETTERS

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In this short article we try to untangle a little puzzle found in the attachment to the "Tangut" records of a late nineteenth century traveler.

In 1877-1880 Count Béla Széchenyi (1837-1918), son of István Széchenyi, founder of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, organized and led the first Hungarian expedition to the Manchu Empire. This undertaking became appreciated mostly for the geological, paleontological and geographical investigations of one of its members, Lajos Lóczy<sup>1</sup>. The scientific results of the expedition were published in Hungarian in three volumes in 1890-1897, their German translation appeared in 1893-1899. The linguist of the expedition Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna left the group for health reasons early on in Bombay, so the linguistic observations on Amdo Tibetan were made by Béla Széchenyi himself. Though Tibet proper was on the expedition's itinerary, due to various difficulties the travelers never succeeded to get there. Nevertheless, they met Tibetans along their way in the Kukurun region and in Kansu (Amdo, Mtsho-sngon/Qinghai; Gansu). In the third volume the Count included a sizable glossary of "Tangut," i.e. Amdo words<sup>2</sup> followed by the names of the thirty free graphemes (*gsum-bcu-pa*) of the Tibetan alphabet and a list of spelling of ninety Tibetan "root words". The list entitled *In tibetanischen Schulen angewandte Übung zur Erlernung der Wurzelworte* "Exercise applied in Tibetan schools for learning the root words" is found on page 427 of the 1899 German version printed in Vienna we had at our disposal.

The "root words," actually syllables spelled<sup>3</sup> in a version of the traditional Tibetan "cumulative" way<sup>4</sup>, were arranged in the list in four columns with each new line beginning with a capital letter. Széchenyi's list is far from being exhaustive and contains quite a few errors, but it shows some Amdo features: initial clusters, [w] for *p-* and *b-*, [ɛ] for *py-*, *phy-* and *by-*, etc. In his not very consistent and often inaccurate notation Széchenyi used the letters of the Latin

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1 It was from him Sir Marc Aurel Stein learned about the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas near Dunhuang.

2 See also Róna-Tas, *Tibeto-Mongolica*, quoting some data from Széchenyi's glossary.

3 Tib. *sbyor-klog*, (Sikkim) *sbyong klog* 'spelling', Dawasamdub 1919, 744; 'spelling of words and reading', Roerich 1986, 369; *sbyor-klog byed-pa* 'to spell out', Dhongthog 1973, 452; *sbyor-klog = yi-ge 'i sngon rjes ming gsum sbyor-te klog-pa 'i ming*, Krang 2, 1985, 2077b; *sbyor-klog* 'saying a word by spelling out its letters', Goldstein 2001, 780c.

4 See Hannah 1985, 50: "Tibetan spelling may be described as a cumulative process, one only of the component parts of a syllable being taken up at a time. Next, the sound so taken up is repeated, but with the addition in advance, or by way of assumption, of the second component part. Then this second component part is pronounced by itself. Finally, the phonetic effect of *all* that has thus been taken up is pronounced together, and that effect represents the literal expression of the syllable."

alphabet mostly according to the Hungarian orthography of his time, where *cs* = [ʧ], sometimes for Amdo [tɕ], sometimes erroneously instead of *ch* for Amdo [h] or [kh]; *cz* (but also *tz*) = [tʃ], *j* = [j], *ny* = [ɲ], *ty* = [tʃ], *s* = [ʃ], *sz* = [s], but sometimes *sz* for Amdo [ɕ], etc. We reconstructed the spelling of these syllables in Written Tibetan and added Amdo equivalents (A) from Hua & Klu, de Roerich's *Le parler* (Rebkong), Haller's *Dialekt* (Themchen), Széchenyi's glossary (Sz) and other sources.

The repeated names of the four bound graphemes of vowels are the following:

i = Written Tib. *gi-gu* (Gzungs-'bum-thar has *gug-gu*), Amdo [kəɣə], Széchenyi writes *kogu*, *gogu*, *gog*, and even *ku*;

u = Written Tib. *zhabs-kyu*, Amdo [ɕaptɕə], Széchenyi writes *samsztyü*, *samszu*, *samtji*, *siamtjü*, *siamtziu*, *santzu*, *szamtju*, *szamtjü*, these seem to render [ɕamtɕə] with an anomalous nasal;

e = Written Tib. *'greng-bu*, Amdo [ndzəŋŋo], in Széchenyi's list *mdzumo*, *ndzungo* and *dzungo* or *ndjungo*, *ndjangu*; the compound letter *dz* in these forms should correspond to the Amdo retroflex affricate, while the compound *dj* seems to suggest an alveolo-palatal affricate (as in Written Tib. *gra* of *gra-ma*, Amdo [tea] 'the tip of the fur', but Written Tib. *gra* of *gra-gra* [tʃa] of [tʃa tʃa] 'fork to collect dung', see Hua & Klu, p.94b, and *ibid.*, Written Tib. *gra-'grig*, Amdo [tʃa ndzək] 'neat and clean', Written Tib. *gra-sgrig byed*, Amdo [tʃa hdzək jel] 'to arrange', cf. Das, p.238a: *sgra-sgrig*, p.297b: *'grig-'grig*), and while according to Hua & Klu, pp.97-98, the Amdo equivalent of Written Tib. *gri* 'knife' is consistently [tɕə], Written Tib. *gru* 'boat' and *gru* 'corner' appear in Amdo respectively as [tʃə] and [tɕə] (Hua & Klu, pp.98-99), cf. Themchen [tɕə] 'knife' and [tʃə] 'boat' (Haller, p.364), Written Tib. *gri-ltag* = Rebkong [tɕərtəɣ] 'dos d'un couteau ou d'une épée' (de Roerich, p.137).

o = Written Tib. *na-ro*, Amdo [naro], Széchenyi writes *naru*, *nariü*, *nara*, the first of which is the nearest to phonetic reality.

The Written Tibetan technical term *btags* (Amdo [tak], Themchen [ptaχ]) indicating the subjoined bound graphemes of the consonants *y*, *r*, *l*, appears in Széchenyi's list as *pta*, *ptak*, *ptok*, *bdok*, *pdok*, *ptorok*, *dtarok* (for *btarok*), *szta*, *rta* and *ta*. In the present list the term is also used for clusters of a surmounting bound consonantal grapheme (called traditionally *mgo*) and a free consonantal grapheme, for instance, in *szanjaptaknja* = *sa nya btags snya* instead of the traditional spelling *sa mgo nya snya*.<sup>5</sup>

### Széchenyi's notation of the "root words", their reconstruction in Written Tibetan with Amdo equivalents

Kakukó [ö for ə]

ka gi-gu ki; A ki-ti-ma [kətəma] 'cuckoo'<sup>6</sup>;

kasamsztyükö

ka zhabs-kyu ku; A ku-dir byed [kədər jel] 'to yell'

5 Cf. also Hannah 1985, 53-54. Gzungs-'bum-thar uses the term *'dogs-can* for the subjoined allographs of *y*, *r*, *l*, *w*, but in spelling they have the attribute *btags-can* or *btags* (p.25: *gsham-gyi yi-ge'ii grub-tshul ngos-'dzin dgos*, and pp.26-28: *'dogs-can sbyor-tshul*). For the three surmounting consonantal allographs he applies the traditional term *mgo-can* (pp.30-32).

6 In the dialect of Gannan Luqu = Klu-chu rdzong (on the Tao River = Klu-chu, West of Co-ne in SW Gansu).

kamdzumoké	ka 'greng-bu ke; A ke sra-no [kə ʃano] 'the best'
kanarukó	ka na-ro ko; A ko-lham [koham] 'leather boot'
Khagogukhó	kha gi-gu khi; A khi-ga [khə hga] 'he/she'
kasamtszuka	kha zhabs-kyu khu; A khu-yug [khəjək] 'cuckoo'
kamdzumokeh	kha 'greng-bu khe; A khe [khe] 'profit'
csanarukó [cs for ch = kh]	kha na-ro kho; A kho [kho] 'himself/herself'
Nágogugnoh	nga gi-gu ngi; A ngi [*ŋə] 'no. 34' <sup>7</sup>
nasamtszugno	nga zhabs-kyu ngu; A ngu [ŋə] 'to weep'
nandzungongniehnga	'greng-bu nge; A nges ma [ŋema] 'true'
nananarungó	nga na-ro ngo; A ngo [ŋo] 'face'
Csákogutszie [tszi = /tɕ/]	ca gi-gu ci; A ci [tɕə] 'what?'
csaszamtjutszü [ü for ə]	ca zhabs-kyu cu; A cu [tɕə] <i>in</i> sum-cu [səm tɕə] 'thirty'
csiandjungotié [ti = /tɕ/]	ca 'greng-bu ce; A ce-spyang [tɕe hteŋ] 'jackal'
	[The rest of the palatals, cha and ja, and the syllables nyi, nye, nyu are missing.]
njanarungó	nya na-ro nyo; A nyo [ŋo] 'to buy'
Takogutó	ta gi-gu ti; A ti [tə], cf. til [təl] 'sesame'
tasamtjüthó	ta zhabs-kyu tu; A tu [*tə] 'no. 69', cf. also gtun bu [htənbə] 'pestle'
tandjungoti	ta 'greng-bu te; A te te [tete] <i>child language</i> 'automobile'
	[Missing are: ta na-ro to and the other syllables with oral coronal initials and the syllables ni, nu, ne.]
nananarünó	na na-ro no; A no [no] <i>a grammatical particle</i> <sup>8</sup>
Vagognó [v for w; n for p]	pa gi-gu pi; A pi [pə], pír [pər] 'writing brush' Cf. pad-ma [wanma] 'lotus', pags-pa [wak kwa] 'fur', but pu-ti/po-ti [pətə] 'volume'
pasantszupüh	pa zhabs-kyu pu; A pu-ti [pətə] 'volume',
pandzungopé	pa 'greng-bu pe; A pe-cin [pətəŋ] 'Peking'
	[The rest of the syllables with oral labial initials and the syllables mi, mu, me are missing.]
manarömó	ma na-ro mo; A mo [mo] 'female', cf. mo bya [mopea], Sz samov [ɕamo] 'hen'
Tzhakogatzó	tsha gi-gu tshi; A tshi dkar [tshə kar] 'alum'
csasamtjitzü [cs for cz = ts]	tsha zhabs-kyu tsu; A tsu [*tsə] 'no. 77', cf. also gtsug [htsək] 'top of the head'
	[If Széchenyi's Tzh really renders an aspirate, the order of the letters tsa and tsha is inverted. Missing are: the series of tsa, the rest of the series of tsha; dza+gi-gu, dza+'greng-bu, dza+na-ro.]

7 This sequence of letters is only used as a mark of the number 34 when numbering volumes, etc.

8 Indicates the result of an action as in *bris-no e 'grigs-gi* 'Is what is written right?' or the doer as in *yi-ge 'bri-no de su red* 'Who is that person *there* who is writing?' (Hua & Klu 1993, 315ab).

- zandjungodzé [z for dz or ts] dza 'greng-bu dze; A dze [\*tse] 'no. 109', cf. also mdze  
[ndze] 'leprosy', and mdzes-ma [ndzema] 'beautiful woman'  
[Missing are: wa+gi-gu, etc.]
- vanarnó [mó for ruo] wa na-ro wo; A wo [\*γo] 'no. 140', cf. wod [γol], 'strike  
(a match)! < wad [γal]; wa [γa], Themchen [ka], Rebkong γa,  
Sz ra [ka] 'fox'
- Siakoguse [ea] zha gi-gu zhi; A zhi-ki [ɕəyə] 'fine' (e. g. flour) < zhib; zhi-dbe  
[ɕəpde] 'peace', cf. bzhi [hzə], Themchen [bzə], Golok [wzi],  
Rebkong ži = [zə] 'four'  
[Missing are: zha+'greng-bu, etc.; za+gi-gu, za+'greng-bu, za+na-ro.]
- szasiamtjüszü za zhabs-kyu zu; A zu [\*sə] 'no. 82', cf. zur [sər] 'corner'  
[Missing are: 'a+gi-gu, 'a+zhabs-kyu, 'a+na-ro.]
- adzungoé 'a 'greng-bu 'e; A 'e [\*e], cf. 'eb [ep] 'opportunity'  
[Missing are: ya+gi-gu, ya+zhabs-kyu, ya+'greng-bu.]
- janarujó ya na-ro yo; A yo [jo], cf. yong [joŋ] 'to come', yo-byad  
[jopɕal] 'utensils'
- Rakogureh ra gi-gu ri; A ri [rə] 'mountain'  
[Missing are: ra+zhabs-kyu, ra+'greng-bu, ra+na-ro; la+gi-gu, la+'greng-bu,  
la+na-ro.]
- lasiamtzinlü [n for u] la zhabs-kyu lu; A lu [lə] 'to cough'  
[Missing are: sha+gi-gu, sha+zhabs-kyu.]
- sandjanguszhi sha 'greng-bu shi; A shi [ɕə] 'to die'
- sanaraszó sha na-ro sho; A sho [ɕo] 'dice'  
[Missing are the syllables with initial s and h.]
- Csakogucsó [cs for ch?] ha gi-gu hi [?]; A hi [\*hə] 'no. 59'; cf. hin-chu [həntɕe]  
'male or female secretion', see also phun-tshogs [həntshok]  
'happiness'
- asamtzuó a zhabs-kyu u; A u [\*ə] 'no. 90'; cf. u-tshugs [ə tshək]  
'persistency'
- anaruó a na-ro o; A o [\*o] 'no. 150'; cf. o-le [ole] 'OK', the same in  
Themchen; Rebkong, Golok *ō-jā* [o:-ja:]
- szakaptascsa [cs for ch = /x/?] sa ka btags ska; A ska [hka], cf. skar-ma [hkarma],  
Rebkong *xkar-ma*, Golok *škar-ma*, Themchen [škarma],  
Sz szkárma [skarma] 'star'
- Szakaptarga sa ga btags rga; A sga [hga], Rebkong, Golok rga, Themchen  
[rga] 'saddle', Sz sztarga [starga] < rta-sga
- szanaptakrna [= rŋa] sa nga btags snga; A snga [hŋa] 'early, Themchen [ŋaro] and  
[sŋaro] 'morning' < snga-dro
- szanjaptakuja [u for n] sa nya btags snya; A snya [hŋa], cf. snyan [hŋan] 'ear'

szataptaksta	sa ta btags sta [ʃta]; A sta [hta] 'to untie'; cf. also sta-re [htare], Rebkong <i>xta-re</i> , Golok <i>šta-ri</i> , Themchen [ʃtari] 'ax'
Szadabdakrda [= rda]	sa da btags sda; A sda [hda], cf. sdar-ma [hdarma] 'coward'; also Themchen [ɣdan] 'mat' < gdan
szanaptokna [= na]	sa na btags sna*; A sna [hna], Rebkong <i>xna</i> , Golok <i>šna</i> , <i>xnā</i> , Themchen [ʃna, ŋa], Sz szna [sna] 'nose'
szapabdokspa	sa pa btags spa; A spa [hwa] 'tinder; wormwood', but cf. spu [hwə], Themchen [ʃsə] and [ʃpə] 'hair'
szapadtarokrba [d for b?; /rba/]	sa ba btags sba; A sba [hba/wa], cf. sbang-ma [hbaŋma, waŋma] 'dregs', but sbu-gu [wəɣə], Themchen [bzəɣə] 'tube'
Szamatoksma	sa ma btags sma; A sma-ra [hmara] 'beard'; cf. sman [hman], Themchen [ʃman/ṃan], Rebkong <i>xmen</i> , Sz szmen 'medicament'
szataptokszta	sa ta btags sta; A sta [hta], repetition, see above
rakaptokrga	ra ka btags rka; A rka [hka] 'channel, drain'; cf. rkang [hkaŋ], Sz szkunga 'foot, leg' < rkang-pa; rkang-thang [hkaŋ than], Themchen [ʃkaŋthan], Rebkong <i>xkañ-t'an</i> 'by foot'
rakaptorokrga	ra ga btags rga; A rga [hga], cf. rgan-mo [hgan mo] 'auntie; wife', Themchen [rgan mo] 'wife'; rgad-po [hgað po], Rebkong <i>ga-po</i> , <i>ga-wo</i> , Golok <i>rga-ho</i> 'old (man)'
Ranatorokgna [n/gn for ng]	ra nga btags rnga; A rnga [hŋa], cf. rnga-bong [hŋa woŋ], rnga-mong [hŋamoŋ], Rebkong <i>rña moñ</i> , Themchen [rŋamuŋ], Sz gnamung, rha mung [= ŋamuŋ/rŋamuŋ] 'camel'
radjaptokrdja	ra ja btags rja; A rja [hja], cf. rje [hdze], Themchen [rdze] 'to exchange'
ranjaptokrnja	ra nya btags rnya; A rnya [hŋa], cf. rnying [hŋaŋ] 'to grow old', Themchen [rŋuŋa], Rebkong <i>xñiñ-ña</i> 'old'
ratapdokrda	ra ta btags rta; A rta [hta], Rebkong <i>rta</i> , <i>šta</i> , <i>xta</i> , Sz szta, Themchen [ʃta] 'horse'
Rataptokrdá	ra dabtagrda; A rda [hda], cf. rdab [hdap] 'to clap', also rdo [hdo], Themchen [rdo], Rebkong, Golok <i>rdo</i> , Sz szto [sto?] 'stone'
ranaptokrna	ra na btags rna; A rna [hna], Themchen [rna], Sz rna-va [= rna-wa] 'ear', Rebkong <i>xna-loñ</i> 'boucle d'oreille'
rapaptokpa	ra ba btags rba; A rba [wa], cf. rba-rlabs [wa hlap], Themchen [rbaləp] and [rbarləp] 'wave', but rbab-rdo [ɣap hdo] 'boulder'
ramaptokrma	ra ma btags rma; A rma [hma], cf. rma-kha [hma kha], Themchen [rmaɣa] and [əmaɣa] 'wound'

Ratzaptokrdza	ra tsa btags rtsa; A rtsa [htsa], Themchen [ʃtsa] ‘artery’ < rtsa ratzaptokrdzers* ra dza btags rdza []; A rdza [hdza], cf. rdza-dkar [hdza hkar] ‘ceramic bowl’, rdza-ma, Them-chen [rdzama] ‘earthen-ware’
lakaptokrga [= rka]	la ka btags lka; A lka [*hka], cf. lkugs-pa [hkəkkwa] ‘dumb, mute’; lkog, Themchen [ʃkoχ] ‘secret, hidden’
lakaptokrgah [= rga]	la ga btags rga; A lga [hga], cf. lga-skya [hga htea] ‘ginger’, lgang-lug [hgaŋlə] ‘balloon’
Lanaptokgna [= nga]	la nga btags lnga; A lnga [hŋa], Themchen [rŋa], Rebkong, Golok <i>rŋa</i> ‘five’
lacsaptokrdza [= rca]	la cab btags lca; A lca [htea] ‘wild celery’
lacsaptoktin [tin for tia]	la jab btags lja; A lja [hdza], cf. ljang-khu [hdzangə], Themchen [rdzaŋkhə], Rebkong <i>jañ-k’i</i> ‘green’
lataptokrda	la ta btags lta; A lta [hta], Themchen [ʃta], ‘to look’, Reb-kong <i>xtē/rtē/tē-no</i> (< bltas) ‘regarder’ or la da btags lda lda [hda], cf. ldang [hdan], Themchen [rdan] ‘to jump’
Lababtokerba	la ba btags lba; A lba [ɣwa] or [hba], cf. lba-ba [ɣwa wa] ‘goiter’ and lbang-ma [hbaŋma] ‘dregs’
lapaptokspá [= ʃpa: for /ʃpa/?]	la pa btags lpa; A lpa [wa], cf. lug-lpags [lək wak] ‘sheep skin’, shun-lpags [xhən bak], Themchen [ɕənpax] ‘skin’ [lpa should precede lba]
karatacsak [csak for kcsa]	ka ra btags kra; A kra [tea], cf. skra [htea] Themchen [ʃca], Rebkong <i>škja</i> , Golok <i>šgra</i> ‘hair on the head’
karasztatah [tah for tha]	kha ra btags khra; A khra [teha] ‘falcon’
Karasztatzak [tzak for ktza]	ga ra btags gra; A gra [tea] and [tʃa], see above the name of the grapheme <i>e</i> (‘greng-bu)
karasztatah	[repetition, twice]
tarasztatah	ta ra btags tra*; A tra [tʃa*]: Das lists a few, partly Indian, words with <i>tr</i> initials, e.g. <i>tra</i> ‘ape’, <i>tram-pa</i> ‘hard’, <i>tri-shu-la</i> ‘trident’, but no similar entries are listed in Hua & Klu or in Haller. See also <i>pa-tra</i> in Mgon-po Bkra-shis, p.361
Tarasztardza [rdz for dzʔ]	da ra btags dra; A dra [tʃa] ‘net’, Themchen [tʃə] ‘odor, smell < dri, but cf. ’dra [ndza], Themchen nandza ‘similar’, Rebkong <i>dra</i>
parasztatna [tn for tr]	pa ra btags pra; A pra [tʃa] ‘medium; token (in prediction)’, see also Das; cf. also Themchen [ɕtʃə] < dpri ‘colostrum’, Sumatiratna renders it with Mong. <i>uuray</i> id.; according to Das: ‘cream also gen. porridge made of milk and rice’
parasztamcsia*	pha/bra ra btags phra/bra; A phra [tʃha] ‘fine, thin’
marasztaszmar*	ma ra btags mra; A mra [], no equivalent of Written Tib. smra ‘to speak’ in Hua & Klu and in Themchen

Kajersztastja [tja = ca for /tea/] ka ya btags kya; A kya [tea], cf. skya [hteā] 'greyish white; light in color'; Themchen [ʃtee] 'to grow' < skye	
kajertacsá [csa = tʃa for /teha/] kha ya btags khya; A khya [teha], cf. khyad [tehal] 'difference'	
kajertatjia vajertasia	ga ya btags gya; A gya [tea], cf. gyang [teŋ] 'wall' pa ya btags pya; A pya [tea], cf. spyang-khu [hteŋ khə], Themchen [ʃteŋkhə], Rebkong <i>xč'an-ki</i> , Golok <i>šuoñ-kó</i> , Sz <i>csianko</i> [teŋko] 'wolf'
Pajertasia	pha ya btags phya; A phya [ea], cf. phyags [eak], Rebkong <i>šay</i> , <i>šey</i> , Themchen [ʃeay] 'hand'
pajertasa majertamnja [=mŋa]	ba ya btags bya; A bya [ea], Rebkong <i>ša</i> , Themchen [ʃeā] 'bird' ma ya btags mya [ŋa]; A mya [ŋa], cf. mya-ngan [ŋa ŋan] 'grief and pain'; Themchen [mŋaŋ] 'to cost' < myangs
kalaptokla [= la]	ka la btags kla; A kla [hla], cf. kla-klo [hla hlo] 'uncivilized, savage'; klu [hlə], Themchen [ɣlə] 'nāga, dragon'
Kalaptokrla [= ɣla]	ga la btags gla; A gla [hla] 'wages; fee'; gla-rtsi [hlar tsə], Themchen [ɣlaʃtsə] 'musk'
palaptokrla*	ba la btags bla; A bla [hla] 'upper', bla-ma [hlama], Rebkong <i>la-ma</i> , Golok <i>wla-ma</i> , <i>la-ma</i> , Themchen [blama] 'lama priest'

### The Names of the Thirty Consonantal Letters of the Tibetan Alphabet in Széchenyi's Record<sup>9</sup>

Kazet ཀ Kha ཁ Kardun ཁ Gna ཅ | Tjalok ཅ Tsa ཆ Csiazet ཆ Nja ཉ | Taszti ཉ Tha ཎ Tasztja ཎ Na ཏ | Vakapszi ཎ Pah ཎ Vakardun ཎ Ma ཎ | Tzhá ཎ Tza ཎ Dza ཎ Ora ཎ [= ka] | Sia ཎ Sza ཎ A ཎ Ya ཎ | Ra ཎ La ཎ Sa ཎ Sza ཎ | Csa [= cha for ha] ཎ Ah ཎ

These correspond to Written Tibetan

ka zed kha ga sdum nga | ca log cha ja zed nya | ta ste'u tha da rkyā na |  
pa kha-phyi pha ba kha-sdum ma | tsa tsha dza wa | zha za 'a | ya ra la | sha sa ha a.

In Amdo Tibetan, initial *k* and *g*, *c* and *j*, *t* and *d*, as well as *p* and *b* uniformly render unaspirated voiceless stops [k], [tɕ] and [t], respectively. This is why are their letters distinguished through attributes when necessary to indicate their original values in spelling, as in Széchenyi's record. In Amdo, *zh-* > [ɕ], *z-* > [s], *sh-* > [xh] or [ç] and *s-* > [sʰ]; each of these graphemes renders a distinct phoneme and there is no need of attributes when spelling them.

Sz *Kazet* [ka zet], cf. Amdo *zed* [sel] 'chipped, broken'; according to Sumatiratna II, p.755, *zed* = Mong. *emterkei* 'chipped, nicked', *zed-po* = Mong. *semeregsen* 'frayed'. The partly Amdo-based Mongol tradition quoted by Čoyima & Bürine, p.8, has *k* = *angyarqai/qayarqai ga* 'open/broken *g*' = *ʃOarliy-un ga* 'the *g* of the Law (Tib. *bka*)'.

9 "Tibetanisches, aus dreissig Buchstaben bestehendes Alphabet" on p.427.

Sz *Kardun* = *ga sdum* [ka rdum], cf. Amdo *sdum* [hdəm], cf. *ga sdum* = *ga 'di'i ming* ‘the name of this (letter) *ga*’ in Mgon-po Bkra-shis et al., *Dag-gsar*, p.87; cf. Themchen [rdə] ‘to tidy up, to stow away’ < *sdu*. See *Dag-gsar*, p.330b (2): *sdum-pa-ste khyim dang khang-pa'i brda rnying* ‘*sdum-pa* is an old word for house’; Sumatiratna I, p.1153, translates *sdum ni khyim-mam khang-pa* with Mong. *ger inu ger buyu bayising* ‘home or house’; Jäschke, p.295a, has *sdum-pa* ‘house, mansion’, but see Ngam-rim I, p.279: *ga sdum* = *ga kha bsum-dang don-cig* ‘meaning the same as closed-mouth *g*’ and I, p.278: *ga kha bsum* = *Mdo Khams-kyi yul-gru 'gar ka dang ga gnyis-kyi sgra gdangs-gcig-tu 'bod-pas ga yig gsal-bar ston-byed-kyi tshig cig* ‘as in some corners of Amdo and Kham, (the letters) *k* and *g* have the same pronunciation, this is a word to distinguish the letter *g* (from the letter *k*)’. In the Mongol tradition *kh* = *aman-u ka* ‘the *k* of the mouth’ = *buruyu qaraysan ga* ‘reverse *g*’; *g* = *bitegüü ga* ‘closed *g*’ (Čoyima & Bürine, p.8).

Sz *Gna*, read *Nga* [ŋa]. For the Mongols, *ng* = *bičiqan ng* ‘little *ng*’ = *bey-e-yin ng* ‘personal [pronoun] *ng*’ (ibid.)

Sz *Tjalok* = *ca log* [tea lok], cf. Amdo *log* [lok] ‘rounded’, see *log* = *yul-skad la-lar dbyibs zlum-po'i don-te | rdo-log, sa-log ces lta-bu* ‘in some dialects it means rounded shape, for instance, round rock, round earth’ in *Dag-sar*, p.615b (2g). The Mongols have *c* = *qodoγodun | Oja* ‘belly *j*’ and *ch* = *qoyar gedesütei ča* ‘double-bellied *ch*’ (Čoyima & Bürine, p.9); ‘belly’ is the traditional term for a closed, round shape in writing.

Sz *Csiazet* = *ca zed* [tea zet], *zet* with [t] instead of the expected [l]; cf. *ja zed* ‘open *j*’ = *ja yig-gi ming* ‘the name of the letter *ja*’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.200a (1). For the Mongols, *j* = *čay-yin | Oja* ‘the *j* of tea’ (Tib. *ja*); *nya* = *ǰOiyasun-u ña* ‘the *ny* of fish’ (Tib. *nya*, ibid.).

Sz *Tasztı* = *ta ste'u* [ta sti]; see *ste'u* [hti], ‘small *ax*’, Themchen [štari] ‘*ax*’, cf. *ta-ste'u* = *ta 'di'i ming* ‘the name of this (letter) *ta*’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.232a. According to Ngam-rim, I, p.794: *ta sgur* = *Mdo Khams-kyi yul-gru 'ga-zhig-la ta dang da gnyis-kyi sgra gdangs gcig-tu 'bod-pas khyad-par 'byed byed-kyi tshig* ‘as in some corners of Amdo and Kham, (the letters) *t* and *d* have the same pronunciation, this is a word to make a difference between them (when spelling)’

Sz *Tasztja* = [ta stea] < *da rkya* [ta hteha], cf. *rkya-mi* [hteħamŋə] ‘mounted soldier’; *da rkya* = *da 'di'i ming* ‘the name of this (letter) *da*’ in *Dag-gsar*, p.283a; for the initial cluster, see Themchen [štea] ‘to swim’ < *rkyal*. Ngam-rim gives a different name: *da rkyang* = (1) *yi-ge da yig rkyang-pa* ‘the letter *d*, the one which is stretched out’ | (2) *Mdo Khams-kyi yul-gru 'gar ta dang da gnyis-kyi sgra gdangs gcig-tu 'bod-pas khyad-par 'byed byed-kyi tshig* ‘as in some corners of Amdo and Kham (the letters) *t* and *d* have the same pronunciation, this is a word to make a difference between them (when spelling)’ (I, 937); *rkyang-ba* ‘stretched out’, Das, p.78, < *rkyong*, perf. *brkyangs*, Das, p.80b; Amdo *rkyang* [hteħaŋ] ‘to stretch out, extend’, Hua & Klu, p.17a. For the Mongols, *t* = *bögtür da* ‘hump-back *d*’; *th* = *büsetei ta* ‘belted *t*’; *d* = *siduryu da* ‘straight *d*’; *n* = *ergigülgen na* ‘revolving *n*’ (Čoyima & Bürine, p.9).

Sz *Vakapszi* = [wa khapsi/khəpeɪ] = *pa kha-phye* ‘open *pa*’, see Amdo *kha-phye* [kha ee] perf. < *kha 'byed* [kha ndzel] ‘to open’ (e. g. a chest), in Hua & Klu, p.46; Themchen [kha ɬeɪ] < [kha ɬeɛ].



Sz *Vakardun* = [wa kha rdum] = *ba kha sdum*: it would be easier to deal with [wa rdum] in analogy with *ga sdum* above. Both graphemes *g* and *b* have a closed element, a contrastive feature distinguishing them from *k* and *p* respectively. But it is also possible that the attribute here is *kha sdom*, Themchen [rdom] 'to bind, to close', see also *kha 'dam* = Mong. *amasar-i boyoqu* 'to close the orifice' (Sumatiratna I, 154), an antonym of *kha phye/'byed*. Čoyima & Bürine, p.11, gives in Mongol: *p* = *qayarqai ba* 'broken b'; *ph* = *ečiǵe-yin pa* 'father's p' (Tib. *pha*); *b* = *biteǵüü ba* 'closed b' = *üniyen-ü ba* 'the b of the cow' (Tib. *ba*); *m* = *eke-yin ma* 'mother's m' (Tib. *ma*); *ts* = *qodoǵodun-u ja*; *tsh* = *qoyar gedesüitei cha*; *dz* = *sarbaǵar ja* 'ragged dza'; *wa* = *üneǵen-ü wa* 'the fox's wa' (Tib. *wa*); *zh* = *malayay-yin ža (ša)* 'the sh of the hat' (Tib. *zhva*); *ideǵen-ü za (sa)* 'the s of food' (Tib. *za*); ' = *sinayan 'a (a)* 'the ladle a'; *y* = *ǵurban toluyai-tu ya* 'the three-headed y' (p.12), etc.<sup>10</sup>

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10 See also Abel-Rémusat, *Recherches*, pp.153-154, based on Peter Simon Pallas' *Sammlungen historischen Nachrichten über die mongolischen Völkerschaften*, vol. II, p.361, with Abel-Rémusat's modifications, corrections and miscorrections: "Je serois encore porté à regarder comme une preuve du fréquent usage que les Mongols font de l'alphabet Tibétain, les noms vulgaires qu'ont reçus chez eux les lettres qui le composent. Pour les graver plus facilement dans la mémoire des jeunes étudiants ; on a coutume de donner à ces lettres une dénomination prise de leur figure : ainsi l'on nommera le  $\text{ᠰ}$  *ths* et le  $\text{ᠰ}$  *tchh* , *khoyar-getsen* [Pallas: *Chojorgässen* = Oirat *xoyor gesen* < *qoyar gedesün* ], ou les lettres à deux ventres ; le  $\text{ᠨ}$  *ng*, *eboudouktu* [Pallas: *Obodöktä* = Oirat *öbödöktä* < *ebüdügtü*] ou la lettre qui a un genou ; le  $\text{ᠨ}$  *dja* et le  $\text{ᠨ}$  *za*, *khourougoun* [Pallas: *Churgun*, Oirat *xurḡun* < *qurḡun* ] ; ou digitées ; le  $\text{ᠨ}$  *da*, *soumoun* [Pallas, erroneously: *Schumun* = *sumun* ], ou la flèche [Tibetan *mda* ] ; le  $\text{ᠨ}$  *tha* , *temen-tabak* [Pallas: *Tämän-Tabak*, Oirat *temän tabak* < *temegen tabay* 'camel hoof' ], la trace du chameau ; le  $\text{ᠨ}$  *ta* , *bögen* [Pallas: *Bökön* 'das starke', cf. *bökö* 'wrestler; strong' ], la robuste [cf. Tibetan *stag* 'tiger' ? ] ;  $\text{ᠨ}$  *pa* , *angarkha* [angyarqai] , l'ouverte ;  $\text{ᠨ}$  *ba* , *bouttöh* [Pallas: *Buttöh*, Oirat *bütü* < *biteǵüü* ], la fermée ;  $\text{ᠨ}$  *cha*, *makhale* [Pallas: *Machalä*, Oirat *maxalä* < *malayai* 'chapeau', here an error for Tibetan *zhva* ], l'utile ;  $\text{ᠨ}$  *ya* [for *a* or *ya* ? ], la rayée redressée, *ourotattaksan* [Pallas: *Njah* for  $\text{ᠨ}$  *nya* *Urrotattaksan* 'das verkehrt gezogne', Oirat *urü tataksan* < *uruyu tataysan* 'that is pulled down', or *örü* 'against' ? ], et  $\text{ᠨ}$  *h* ( ou plutôt le signe des voyelles longues ) *ohlinge* [Pallas: *Ohlingä* 'das hakenförmige', \**olingä*, cf. Oirat *ol'ü* 'curved' < *oliyu* ] ou la crochue ; ainsi des autres."

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# ON SOCIAL DEATH: THE SPANG MDA' TSANG FAMILY AND 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY TIBETAN HISTORY\*

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“That family is no more.” Tibetans in exile say this frequently about the Pangdatsang family. However, the Pangdatsangs were not just any family, but one important enough that their presence and power was temporally noted by other Tibetans: they were a dominant force in Tibetan society, and then they were “no more.” In the span of one generation in the first half of the twentieth century, the Pangdatsangs grew from an important trading family in eastern Tibet to the wealthiest family in all of Tibet.<sup>1</sup> Wealthy traders, Sakya sponsors, Gelukpa monastery backers, government officials, renegade politicians, local chieftains, Kuomintang sympathizers, anti-colonial Anglophiles, the Pangdatsang family should have left a deep mark on Tibetan history. Instead, their inconvenient histories have faded into obscurity for a range of reasons, some obvious and some not. What does it mean to proclaim the social death of a family? How is that categorization lived, felt, narrated? In researching the history of this family, I was told not to turn the Pangdatsangs into heroes; that is, not to resurrect their story as a redemptive counter-narrative to the standard Dharamsala narrative of what happened and who mattered in the decades surrounding the 1950s loss of Tibet.

To resurrect something is to bring it back to life after death, specifically the reanimation of an individual soul once thought dead. It is a concept indelibly steeped in Christianity. Resurrection doesn't exactly work in a Tibetan context. And yet, Tibetans know a thing or two about life after death. Reincarnation is a foundation of Tibetan society. All sentient beings are reincarnated. All are in one stage of reincarnation or the other. But this is not to come to back to life after death. Instead, reincarnation is the coming into a new life; the movement of a *sems*—one's heart-mind, which is not the same as a Christian meaning of a soul—into its next life. It is not a coming back, but a coming to.

In writing the history of the Pangdatsang family, I think about what it means to bring back to life something once thought dead. Is this a resurrection of a history or is it more of a reincarnation, that is, a new version of an earlier presence? What lies caught between Christian and Buddhist senses of life and being in these two ways of understanding histories “once dead?”

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\* Thank you to Elliot Sperling for his academic inspiration, and for his vast knowledge which he always combines with humor, political clarity, and good food and drink. It is an honor to contribute to this volume, and for this invitation I am grateful to Gedun Rabsal, Roberto Vitali, and Nicole Willock. This paper was originally presented on the “Resurrections: Revivals and Transformations in Social Life” panel at the American Anthropological Association meetings November 2013 in Chicago.

1 On the family's initial rise to power, see McGranahan 2002.

## The Pangda Brothers

In the present, when people refer to the Pangdatsang family, they usually mean the three brothers Yamphel, Rapga, and Tobgyal. Yamphel, the eldest brother, head of the family, governor of a strategic border region, and Trade Agent for all of Tibet. Rapga, the middle brother, the intellectual, the dreamer, and the political thinker scheming with both Chinese and Indian nationalists to try to envision a modern Tibet. And, Tobgyal, the youngest brother, the one who stayed at the family estate in Kham, chief of the region, swashbuckling rebel, and regional power figure. The family was so powerful that a common saying during their heyday was *sa Spang mda' gnam Spang mda'*, or “The earth is Pangda’s, the sky is Pangda’s.” Tibetans repeatedly quote this to me, often in relation to the trickle-down effect of the power of the Pangdatsang family. As more than one person has told me over the years, the full story went something like this: one of the Pangdatsang’s muleherders was caught relieving himself on the side of the trail rather than going further off-trail as was considered appropriate. Someone scolded him, and he said in return, “I am one of Pangda’s muleherders. The earth is Pangda’s, the sky is Pangda’s. Still I shit wherever I want to.” With power and with money often comes such vicarious entitlement.

In the 1940s, the Pangdatsang brothers were regrouping following both the death of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in 1933, and an armed revolt Tobgyal and Rapga had led against what they considered to be a corrupt Tibetan government in the absence of the Dalai Lama. By November 1940, they reconciled with the interim Tibetan government and Pangda Yamphel was given the rank of *rim bzhi*, or fourth level aristocratic ranking, which carried further entry privileges into aristocratic society. Gossip in the streets and parlors of Lhasa held that Pangda obtained this rank through the *ltag sgo*, or the back door, with liberal donations of gold to members of the Kashag, the National Assembly, and the Foreign Ministers. His appointment to Rimshi included the post of Tibetan Trade Agent in Yatung, and the title of *Dromo Chikyab*.<sup>2</sup> This post, equivalent to Governor of the Chumbi Valley, was one that Yamphel specifically requested, and which allowed him to fully control trade between India and Tibet, levying and collecting taxes, and creating and lifting various trade restrictions. Like his father Pangda Nyigyal, Yamphel kept close relations with the Sakya family; for those not familiar with Tibetan Buddhism, the Sakya sect is one of the four main sects, so to be close with the Sakya family was an important relationship. Yamphel was named responsible for the general upkeep of the Sakya monastery, and in 1945 was asked to restore the main hall that “was in danger of collapsing.”<sup>3</sup> In 1948, he was a member of the four-

2 In this post, Pangda was the first Tibetan government official that foreigners would meet. Lowell Thomas Jr. (1950: 77) writes about his meeting with “the Tromo Trochi of Dhomu” and states that he was an “impressive man” (Thomas 1950: 77). Ilya Tolstoy and Brooke Dolan, on an undercover U.S. Government mission to Tibet, also met with Pangda Yamphel in Dromo, and are said to have been “charmed” by him (Knaus 1999: 7).

3 “Sakya,” *Bod gyi rig gnas lo rgyus*, Volume 6, p.177. An account of Pangda’s involvement in local Sakya disputes is vividly given by Kyamdra Norzang in an article titled “About the Disruption between Sakya Center and Kyamo Dratsang” in *Bod gyi rig gnas lo rgyus*, Volume 12. In this article, Kyamdra Norzang accuses Pangda of interfering in Sakya business, and messing it up like a pig pen—*phag tshang dkrug*. He particularly points his finger at Pangda’s Dromo representative Dorje Gyalpo, who oversaw all of the restoration work, including the control of all monastery finances except for general ritual expenses.

person Tibetan Trade Mission on their way to the United States, and the mission appears to have been his idea.<sup>4</sup> This Mission was Tibet's attempt to strengthen their economy, and also to bolster political relations with the United States and England, especially as the political situation in China continued to deteriorate. Pangda Yamphel's goals were to import American goods, ensure that Tibetan wool had a market in the United States, and to acquire gold both for himself and for the Tibetan Government.

In the United States, Yamphel opened a bank account for himself (depositing dollars gained in part through Tobgyal's money-changing services for missionaries stationed in Dartsendo), marveled at sandwich vending machines, commented on the speed with which votes were tallied in the Truman election, and did indeed buy lots of gold. He saw a Joe Lewis fight, learned the word "martini," and brought a slinky back for his daughter. Consumer and trade interests aside, however, Yamphel does not appear to have been swayed by American politics nor the potential for U.S. political commitment to Tibet. In 1951, when the Dalai Lama fled Lhasa to Dromo, Yamphel was involved in Tibetan-American negotiations about what the Dalai Lama should do in response to the Chinese occupation of Tibet. The Americans were pressing hard for the Dalai Lama and his retinue, including the Pangdatsang family, to be relocated to the United States. Yamphel was staunchly against this plan, believing that it was important for the Dalai Lama to return to Tibet.

Yamphel was not the only Pangdatsang involved in political events of the day. Following his 1946 deportation from India for trumped up charges of political intrigue,<sup>5</sup> the middle brother Rapga had been living in Shanghai and Nanjing, working in the family trade business, and meeting with Chinese and Tibetan leaders, including Gyalo Thondup, the older brother of the Dalai Lama, who was twenty-six years his junior. The Pangdatsang family had close relations with the Dalai Lama's family, who were referred to as the "yabshi" (*yab gzhis*) family. In Kalimpong, for example, the best room in the Pangdatsang house was reserved for the Gyalum Chenmo, the Dalai Lama's mother. Pangda Yamphel was the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's personal courier, bringing the young boy toys, apples, and Lhasa Apso dogs among other gifts from India and throughout Tibet.<sup>6</sup> He also paid the school expenses in India for the Dalai Lama's siblings, and

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4 The Ambassador in India (Grady) to the Secretary of State, No. 353, November 21, 1947. "Mr. Hopkinson has confirmed information previously given an officer of the Embassy to the effect that the mission appears to be primarily the brainchild of Rimshi Pangda Tsang who is understood to be the richest trader in Tibet. Hopkinson says Pangda Tsang told him about a year and a half ago that he wanted to visit the United States and the United Kingdom, and it seems likely that the trade mission is an outgrowth of this desire." FRUS 1947, Volume VII, pp. 602-3. citing Based on an interview with Tsipon Shakabpa, leader of the mission, Melvyn Goldstein states that the idea for the mission came from the heads of the Trapchi Mint, who were Shakabpa, Tsarong Dzasa, and Trunyichemmo Cawtang (1989: 570-1).

5 On Rapga Pangdatsang, see McGranahan 2005, 2007.

6 Interviews, Wangmo Yuthok Pangda, Seattle, June 2000; Manang Sonam Tobgyal, Luzern, July 2000. See also the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's autobiography *Freedom in Exile*, where he writes "I was very fortunate in that I had quite a good collection of toys. When I was very young, there was an official at Dromo, a village at the border with India, who used to send up imported toys to me, along with boxes of apples when they were available" (T. Gyatso 1990: 25). The unnamed "official at Dromo" is Pangda Yamphel.

in China, Rapga arranged and paid for “*yab gzhis sras*” Gyalo Thondup’s lodging.<sup>7</sup> Rapga was distressed by the Communist victory in China, and returned to Kham to be with Tobgyal at the family home to see if he could encourage Chinese officials to proceed slowly in Tibet. His efforts were in vain.

The Chinese invasion of Tibet affected the brothers in different ways. The Chinese communist government gave Tobgyal and Rapga minor posts in Chamdo, but Rapga soon left Tibet for India. He was involved in initial plans for Tibetan resistance to the Chinese from India, offering Pangdatsang family troops and a plan for the resistance to operate out of India’s Northeast Frontier.<sup>8</sup> Yamphel continued in his post as Tibetan Trade Agent, returning from India to Lhasa in 1955 for his daughter’s wedding. In November 1956, he was awarded *dza sag*, third aristocratic rank, even further increasing the family’s social standing. In the mid 1950s, Tobgyal made the decision that he had a responsibility to stay in Tibet.<sup>9</sup> In 1956, he was publicly working with the Chinese leaders in eastern Tibet, proclaiming the standard line that Tibet was an inalienable part of China and that Khampa rebels would be violently suppressed if they disturbed the friendship between the two countries. Secretly, however, he was having political meetings with Khampas in the area.<sup>10</sup> Yamphel felt out the situation in Lhasa, deciding in late 1958 to escape to India. By this time, his movements were closely watched by the Chinese. So he told the Chinese that he had to make a trip to Sakya to check on the monastery restoration, and headed off with a very small group so as not to arouse suspicion. Upon reaching Sakya, he then borrowed mules from the Sakya leaders and headed for India via Bhutan just ahead of the Dalai Lama’s flight in March 1959.<sup>11</sup>

The stories of the three brothers after 1959 is sad and incomplete. Rapga, the consummate political intellectual, did not see any of his dreams come to fruition. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August, 1962, he went for a stroll down Kalimpong’s main street, stopping in the popular Eng Son Shoe store to buy a pair of shoes. A young Tibetan came into the store, pulled a pistol from within his clothes and fired. Luckily for Rapga, the man was a bad shot or was nervous or both. He missed Rapga, and hit instead the Chinese shopkeeper on her foot.

During the Cultural Revolution, Tobgyal was arrested, tortured, and struggled against. He was dressed as the Sakya *‘bag mo*—the witch who was one of the family’s protector deities—

7 Diary of Rapga Pangdatsang, December 13, 1948 entry.

8 Interviews, George Patterson, San Diego, January 5-6, 1999; Gyato Kelsang, New York, June 24, 1998; Jagod Se Dhonyod, Bir, March 12-13, 1999.

9 Interview, Wangmo Yuthok Pangda, Seattle, June 2-3, 2000.

10 Phupa Tsering Tobgyal writes that Tobgyal was in secret contact with his father, the Phupa dPon of Markham. Tobgyal concocted a plan whereby Phupa would go to the Pangda dzong, take all the weapons and ammunition, and make it look like they had broken in and raided the place. The plan was never carried through as a result of the chaos of the time, and in the end, all the weapons of the people under Pangda were turned over to the Chinese (Phupatsang 1998: 80-1); but, see L. Tsering 1998: 249 which states that Tobgyal tried to get some Markhampas affiliated with Chushi Gangdruk to return stolen weapons.

11 Interviews with Phurpu Tsering, Kalimpong, June 29, 1999; and Gyato Kelsang, New York, June 24, 1998. See also Kyamdra Norzang *ibid*.

and paraded in the streets. Yamphel, like several other important Tibetans, was not struggled against under orders of Zhou Enlai,<sup>12</sup> but was made to watch his brother being tortured.<sup>13</sup> Both brothers died in Lhasa, during the Cultural Revolution (in roughly 1972-3),<sup>14</sup> Tobgyal of a stroke, and Yamphel of a heart attack. In Kalimpong, Rapga lived out his days quietly, and aware of his brothers' deaths and struggles, is said to have lost his spirit. He died on February 26, 1976. This family, which had risen so high in such a short period of time, was finished. To be sure, children and grandchildren of these three are still alive, but that is another story, and not one that approximates the era of *sa Spang mda' gnam Spang mda'*, when the earth was Pangda's and the sky was Pangda's.

## Conclusion

The story of the Pangdatsang family offers unique commentary on 20<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan history. Despite, or perhaps because of this, they are left out of this history almost entirely, their family story landing instead in the realm of political name-calling and controversy. In conducting this research, some Tibetans I spoke with did not understand why I was writing about the Pangdatsang family. The Pangdatsang family, they would assert, as did a one man in Dharamsala, "didn't do anything for Tibet." Continuing, they would explain how Pangdatsang efforts for reform were not successful, or were not aligned with the dominant political figures in the early days of exile, or, worst of all, how the Pangdatsang family were Chinese Communist sympathizers. As a man in Kathmandu said to me, "Pangdatsang? They're not very important." Such arguments were built on particular and dominant interpretations of Tibetan politics, including the hegemonic politics of what and who are deemed to be historically important. These interpretations serve to mostly silence those who agree that the Pangdatsang family was an important one (including, but not only, Pangda family members in exile) or who would dare to suggest that there might have been other ways for post-1959 history to unfold in exile.

Telling histories of the Pangdatsang family in exile is a political undertaking.<sup>15</sup> In exile, placing individuals in history is often reduced to the option of two categories: patriot or traitor, pro-Tibet or pro-China. Subtleties and nuances in the categorization, especially when they involve dissenting opinions on how to be pro-Tibet, are not widely accepted. The importance assigned to persons, events, and places derives from these categories. Another Tibetan in Kathmandu claimed, "People are now trying to say that these people—Pangda, Ngabö, Baba Phuntsok Wangyal—are heroes. That's b.s." Yet, what for this man was the impossibility of

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12 *ibid.*

13 In exile, his daughter was also "struggled against" in Darjeeling and Dharamsala in 1965 for being a Pangdatsang. *Thamzing*, the Tibetan term used for Cultural Revolution struggle sessions, is the same term used for impromptu struggle sessions in the exile community.

14 Interview, Brian Tisdall, January 1999, London.

15 Telling history at all in exile is a political undertaking. In terms of Tibetan history in relation to Chinese history, Elliot Sperling's work is paramount (see Sperling 2004, 2008, 2009).

conversion from traitor to hero is itself a construct historically contingent on changing political configurations. While fifty years of exile has produced fairly rigid sociopolitical frameworks for history, these frameworks are not as stable as they may appear; one reason is that history as a politics of knowledge is a disruptive endeavor. Knowledge creation is rarely polite, and in that sense Pangdatsang history comes up against Tibetan history in almost stereotypical form: the brash Khampa versus the suave Lhasa aristocrat, straight-talk versus smooth-talk, rude and uncouth versus polite and well-mannered.

Telling and writing history is to submit the desires and intrigues of one era to evaluation by the reconfigured social and historical ideals of later eras. The past is judged through the truths and passions of the present. In the case of the Tibetan refugee community, people—individuals and families—are judged by the contemporary mantra: *what they have done for Tibet*. In my in-progress book on the Pangdatsang family, I explore these politics and histories, asking why the history of this family remains obscured, either dismissed or marginalized, within histories of twentieth century Tibet. Given the family's rise from obscurity at the turn of the century to the wealthiest family in Tibet at mid-century, their historical dismissal needs to be investigated and explained. What threat did these brothers—tycoon, revolutionary, and Khampa chief—present such that their family history has been treated as trivial and thus not of real importance? And to follow, do I tell the story as a resurrected history or a reincarnate one? Can history ever be a coming back or is it always a coming to?

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## HOW TO ADDRESS KINGS: BUDDHIST LETTERS TO INDIAN RULERS

**Richard F. Nance**

Approaching Elliot Sperling’s office door in Goodbody Hall on the campus of Indiana University, one confronts a sign on which the following verse, drawn from the *Sa skya legs bshad*, has been inscribed:

*rgyal pos go 'phang bstod drags na /*  
*de yi tha ma brlag pa'i rgyu /*  
*sgo nga mkha'la 'phangs gyur na /*  
*chag pa nyid las gzhan ci 'byung /*

No translation is provided. While I suspect that most readers of this Festschrift will not require one, here is James Bosson’s rendering of the verse:

“If a king extols someone and promotes his rank,  
it will in the end be the cause of that man’s destruction.  
If an egg is thrown up into the air,  
what happens but that it breaks?”<sup>1</sup>

I will not attempt to speculate as to why Elliot chose this particular verse to adorn his office door (though I suspect it may have something to do with his view of university administrators). Instead, I want to focus in this paper on an idea that informs the verse: because kings are potentially dangerous people, encounters with them need to be managed carefully if no one is to come to harm. In this small contribution, I wish to trace some of the ways that this idea surfaces in a particular corpus of texts, a group of letters that appears to reflect how Buddhists presented themselves to Indian kings, or wished to be seen as presenting themselves to these kings, during the first and early second millennia CE. Although these remarks will touch only briefly on matters Tibetan (and will bypass discussion of China altogether), I hope that they will serve as something of an *amuse-bouche* for the considerable *mkhas pa'i dga'ston* that the editors of this festschrift have assembled for readers, and I hope that Elliot—who has done so much over the course of a long career to enrich and transform our understanding of political history in Asia—will accept them in this spirit.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Bosson 1969:246. Bosson also notes a variant reading—*rgyal ngan go 'phang bstod drags na*—that permits a reading in which the figure of the king shifts from an issuer of praise into an evil object of praise. This reading helps to explain John Davenport’s decision (2000:144) to go with “Excessive praise of an evil king’s status eventually will lead to his destruction.”

2 A fuller study of narrated encounters between kings and figures of Buddhist authority would need to investigate salient differences in the portrayal of kings vis-à-vis (1) bodhisatt(v)a(s), in texts such as the *Rurujātaka* in its various iterations (see, for example, Āryasūra’s *Jātakamālā*, Chapter 26); (2) buddha(s), in the *Kosalasamyutta* section of the *Samyuttanikāya*; the *Rājadeśasūtra*; and two dissimilar texts preserved

Although most of these letters seem to have been composed originally in Sanskrit, or something close to Sanskrit, none of the texts on which I will focus is extant in its entirety in any Indic language. All are collected in the section of the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur* that has received the rubric *spring(s) yig*.<sup>3</sup> This is a Tibetan translation for the Sanskrit term *lekha*, a term used not only to refer quite generally to written documents but also, and more narrowly, to letters.

The corpus is small. Only thirteen texts among the forty-five that are collected in the *spring(s) yig* section of the canon are explicitly marked as letters.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, unlike the letters known to us from ancient Greece and Rome, these texts are not accompanied by any guides to letter composition and evaluation (on the model of, e.g., Demetrius's *On Style* or Libanius's *On Letter Form*).<sup>5</sup> The small size of the collection and the absence of accompanying guides make it very difficult to determine whether and to what degree the authors of these texts were aware of, and sought consciously to adhere to, specific rhetorical norms for letter-writing.<sup>6</sup> One of the thirteen letters—the *Suhṛllekha*, attributed to Nāgārjuna—is quite well-known and has received extensive attention.<sup>7</sup> The other letters remain understudied, although mention must be made here of the pioneering and altogether remarkable work that has been done on these texts by Michael Hahn and Siglinde Dietz over the past three decades, work to which the present paper is deeply indebted.<sup>8</sup>

Why were these thirteen letters preserved within the Tibetan Buddhist canonical collections?<sup>9</sup> One reason is likely to have been that they were assumed to come from eminent authors of

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under the title *Rājāvavādakasūtra* (D. 214–216), one of which appears to have been cited by Śāntideva in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*; (3) Buddhists, in (most famously) the *Milindapañha*; and (4) non-Buddhists who are given pride of place in Buddhist sūtras, as in the figure of Satyavādin in the *Satyakaparivarta* (cf. Jamspal 2010).

3 In the Derge edition (henceforth D.), the relevant section (D. 4158–4202) encompasses the whole of volume *nge*, and extends backwards into the previous volume (*ge*), beginning on folio 107a.

4 That is, only thirteen are identified with titles incorporating the term *spring yig* or some variant thereof (e.g., *spring pa*; *'phrin yig*, etc). Another seventeen texts are marked as *gtam* (Skt. (*pari*)*kathā* (“communication,” “remarks,” “sermon”)). The remaining texts bear titles that identify them as instructions (*bstan pa*, here used to translate *nirdeśa*), commentaries (*bshad pa*, here used to render *ṭīkā*), and prophetic utterances (*lung bstan pa*, *vyākaraṇa*), among other things. None of these identifying titular terms—including *spring yig*—is confined to the *spring yig* section of the canon. It thus appears that in the compiling of the Tibetan canonical collections, the category *spring yig* was used as a loose umbrella term for different sorts of text.

5 See Trapp 2003:179ff.

6 Michael Hahn notes that the letters preserved in the Tibetan canons are “not nearly as formalized and standardized as their western counterparts,” and suggests that this lack of standardization may stem from the fact that “there were many fewer epistles in Buddhist literature than in Greek or Roman traditions” (Hahn 1999: xxvi). Hahn’s reasoning here is not entirely clear to me. The fact that few letters have been preserved hardly entails that only a few were composed; and even if we grant that only a few were composed, it’s not at all clear how their relative rarity warrants conclusions regarding the standardization of their formal features.

7 Lindtner 1997 provides a useful bibliography of sources. See also Walser 2005 and Scherrer-Schaub 2007 for treatment of specifically political dimensions of the Nāgārjunian corpus.

8 Dietz 1983, 1984; Hahn 1999; Hahn and Dietz 2008.

9 Such preservation appears to have started early. The catalogs of materials that would, over time, come to be taken up into what we today know as the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur* are revealing in this regard, with the Lhan kar ma *dkar chag* registering eleven of the thirteen *lekhas*, and the *'Phang thang ma* registering nine. See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

Indian Buddhist intellectual history: Mātṛceṭa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Kamalaśīla, Jitāri, Atiśa, and Mitrayogin. Another is that their content was taken to recommend preservation: in general, the letters eschew detailed presentations of intricate metaphysical matters in favor of providing basic moral instruction. Consider, for example, the following passage, drawn from the *Mahārājakanīṣkalekha*:

The Lord of Death, who is no man's friend,  
 Will descend upon you suddenly.  
 Therefore, with great effort turn to the holy Dharma  
 And do not say, "I will do it tomorrow."  
 "I will do this tomorrow, not today"  
 Is not good for a man to say.  
 Without any doubt, that tomorrow will come  
 When you no longer exist.<sup>10</sup>

Passages of this kind are quite common in the letters, are of general applicability, and may have been believed to be worth preserving because they were held to speak to an audience that reached beyond the letters' immediate addressees.

These addressees are various, including students, teachers, sons, monks, and even the general public. Most often, however (in seven out of the thirteen extant *lekha* texts), the addressees are kings. Sometimes—as in the *Mahārājakanīṣkalekha* or *Vimalaratnalekha*—the specification of addressee is precise enough to allow us to pick out a particular individual to whom the letter is purportedly targeted. In other cases (e.g., the *Suḥṛllekha*) the specification is somewhat vaguer.

Two of the seven letters to kings fall outside the purview of this paper; they are addressed not to Indian rulers but to the Tibetan emperor Khri srong lde btsan. (The longer of the two, the "Letter Comprising Treasures" [*gCes pa'i bsdu pa'i phrin yig, Sārasaṃgrahalekha*] of dPal dbyangs, appears to have been composed originally in Tibetan.)<sup>11</sup> The remaining five letters are Mātṛceṭa's "Letter to the Great King Kaniṣka" (*Mahārājakanīṣkalekha*); the aforementioned "Letter to a Friend" (*Suḥṛllekha*), attributed to Nāgārjuna; Jitāri's "Letter Entitled 'Stages of Purification of the Jewel of Mind'" (*Cittaratnaviśodhanakramanāmalekha*), Atiśa's "Stainless Jewel Letter" (*Vimalaratnalekha*); and Mitrayogin's "Letter to King Candra" (*Candrarājalekhaka*).<sup>12</sup>

If the traditional attributions can be trusted, these letters were composed at very different times. The letters from Mātṛceṭa and Nāgārjuna both likely date from the second century. After the time of Nāgārjuna, there is a remarkable silence that spans more than seven centuries: We appear to

10 Translation Hahn 1999:35. The Tibetan (*Ibid.*:34) reads: 'chi bdag su dang mi bshes pa // glo bur dag tu 'bab 'gyur bas // sang dag bya zhes ma bzhes par // dam pa'i chos la bsnyur te mdzod // 'di sang deng 'di mi bya zhes / bya ba mi la bzang po min // nam zhig khyod ni med 'gyur ba'i // sang de gdon mi za bar 'ong.

11 For more on this letter, see Dietz 1984:85–91, 400–529; Hahn and Dietz 2008:201–248, 438–455; and note 22 below.

12 There is a further second-century work included among the *spring yig* texts that is also framed as a direct address to a king, and is quite well-known: Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*. I will not, however, be discussing this work here, as it is traditionally classified not as a *lekha* but as a *parikathā*. On this distinction, see Dietz 1984:109.

have no letters between Buddhists and Vākāṭaka or Gupta rulers; none between Buddhists and post-Sātavāhana rulers of South India; none between Buddhists and Harṣa; none between Buddhists and the early Pāla kings. It is not that *lekhas* do not exist from this interim period, but they are not addressed to Indian kings. The correspondence with kings finally picks up again in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century with Jitāri's letter, whose addressee has been tentatively identified as Mahīpāla I (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> c.). Atiśa's letter, addressed to Niryaṇā / Nayapāla, dates to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> Mitrayogin's letter appears to date from over a century later; it is addressed to a Gahadvala king, possibly Jayacandra (r. 1170). We thus have two flurries of activity—one in the second century, and one in the early second millennium—that surround a long period during which letters between Buddhists and Indian kings do not appear to have survived, at least not as letters. We will return to this point.

The corpus is, moreover, resoundingly one-sided. We hear the voices of Buddhists in these letters; we do not hear the voices of kings. At times, the letters register a sense of occasion—that is, they suggest that they are being composed for a particular purpose, or in response to a specific request made by the party to whom they are addressed. But the status of this “other party” is more complex than one might initially presume, since what is said in a letter usually has less to do with what the recipient of that letter needs or wants than it does with what the author of the letter *assumes* that the recipient needs or wants. A letter may or may not offer insight into its real-world addressee's actual dispositions and its author's true feelings. When, for example, Mātṛceṭa entreats Kaniṣka in the *Mahārājakanīṣkalekha* to “act toward animals / who are sorely troubled by sorrow, with even greater compassion than / you have shown toward human beings,” this does not entitle us to conclude either that Kaniṣka was particularly compassionate toward human beings, or that Mātṛceṭa sincerely presumed him to be.<sup>14</sup> What we are faced with in this case, as in the letters more generally, is rhetoric that has been carefully designed for the achievement of certain ends, and tailored to a particular audience.

Which audience? The answer may seem obvious: the kings to whom the letters are addressed. Yet this is not the only option. The advice proffered in the letters is routinely generalizable to audiences beyond kings, and it is possible that at least some of the letters were written with the presupposition of a wider readership in mind. If so, this would almost certainly have influenced their form and content. It is also possible that the nominal addressee of a letter was *not* actually among those targeted by the letter—that, in other words, the letter was written solely for others, with the aim of showing those others that, or how, a Buddhist intellectual might properly address a king. This possibility may seem far-fetched, but the level of rhetorical sophistication that informs these letters is sometimes striking. For instance, among the *lekhas* addressed to those who are not kings, there is a letter to a monk composed by someone who not only adopts the *nom de plume* of Avalokiteśvara, but also—in a rather Kierkegaardian authorial move—inhabits the role of the celestial bodhisattva in giving counsel.<sup>15</sup>

13 The *Vimālaratnālekha* is the most securely datable of the later letters, and appears to have been composed in 1040, while Atiśa was en route to Tibet. See Dietz 1984:67.

14 Translation Hahn 1999:45. The Tibetan (*Ibid.*:44) reads: *mi rnams la ni mdzad pa bas // sdug bsngal lhag par brtags pa yi // dud 'gro rnams la ches lhag par // khyod kyi thugs rjes mdzad du gsol.*

15 On this letter, see Dietz 1984:12–18, 132–141; Hahn and Dietz 2008:77–82, 386–388.

Regarding the matter of audience, then, there would seem to be at least three options: A letter might be written as a direct address to its nominal addressee with no presumption of wider circulation; it might be written as a direct address to its nominal addressee with a presumption of wider circulation; or it might be written as a pseudo-direct address in which the nominal addressee is no more than a rhetorical conceit. How should we decide between these options in any given case? It is tempting to think that we can read off something about the function of, or intended audience for, a text from the rhetoric it deploys. And sometimes we can—or, at the very least, we can rule out certain options as untenable. For example, the presumption that negative views *about* kings will not be expressed in exchanges *with* kings seems reasonable enough; a text that is stridently critical of kingship is not likely to have a king as its intended audience.<sup>16</sup> One occasionally does come across this sort of thing in Indian Buddhist literature, but it is hard to avoid reading such encounters as fictions.<sup>17</sup>

Consider, for example, the fourth chapter of Āryadeva's third-century *Catuḥśataka*, on the subject of pride.<sup>18</sup> In this chapter, Āryadeva specifically assails the pride of kings—and he pulls no punches.<sup>19</sup> As a riposte to the claim that the pride of kings is justified owing to the greatness of their linages, Āryadeva and his commentator Candrakīrti insist that kings today are more often than not the sons of fickle and confused women who tend to sleep around a lot with men from other castes, thereby repudiating their own.<sup>20</sup> This denunciation is framed as a direct address to an unnamed king; it is embedded in a chapter that is peppered with second-person pronouns

16 Cf., however, McDaniel 2012:45–46, which points to stories that circulate in contemporary Thailand regarding the 19<sup>th</sup>-century monk Somdet To's propensity to insult kings directly and unambiguously. Whether these stories are fictitious is not easy to determine.

17 To brand the encounters as fictions is not to say, of course, that the passages relating them could not have been composed with particular pedagogical goals in mind—a point that is emphasized by Richard Gombrich (1988:81) regarding certain passages in the Pali canon that concern kings. Gombrich's treatment is provocative, but I am less sanguine than he regarding our ability to tease apart passages that grant an unimpeded view of the Buddha's (or early Buddhist tradition's) honest take on kingship from passages that enshrine “institutionalized fantasy” (Ibid.:82).

18 The whole of the root text and the commentary on chapters 1–4 have been translated into English by Karen Lang (Lang 1986, 2003). See also Zimmermann 2006.

19 The *Bodhisattvayogacaryācatuḥśatakaṭīkā* is extant in fragmentary Sanskrit (Hariprasad Shastri 1914) and in a complete Tibetan translation (D.3865); it was translated during the late 11<sup>th</sup> century by sPa tshab Nyi ma grags.

20 See Lang 2003:204–5. This portion of the text is unfortunately not extant in Sanskrit. The Tibetan of the relevant verse by Āryadeva (Lang 1986:52) reads 'das dus shin tu ring ba dang / mi mo rnam yid g.yo ba ste / de phyir rgyal rigs zhes bya ba / rigs las 'ga' yang yod ma yin. Candrakīrti unpacks the verse's implications regarding caste repudiation in a way that presumes familiarity with the texts of *dharmasūtra* and *dharmasāstra*, some of which offer elaborate accounts of the perils of, and punishments for, inter-caste union. See Āpastamba 2.27.8–2.27.13; Vasiṣṭha 18.1–18.18; 21.1–21.5 (Olivelle 1999:70–71, 298–299, 306–307); *Manavadharmaśāstra* 8.352–8.378, 8.382–8.385 (Olivelle 2005:186–187, 730–737). We may note here that Candrakīrti's point is not that ascriptions of caste are generally and fundamentally misguided; his point is, rather, that the world is a messy place, and so one needs to be very careful in presuming that the conditions for membership in a twice-born caste have in any particular case been met. It is for this reason—and arguably not out of a desire to reject the system of caste altogether—that Candrakīrti concludes his discussion with a verse insisting that “an intelligent person in this [world] does not take pride in caste” (*mkhas pas 'dir / rigs gyi nga rgyal bya min nyid*).

and vocative forms. In a more contemporary idiom, what Āryadeva and Candrakīrti are saying amounts to, “king, you ain’t nothing; your mama’s a slut.” I take this to define one rhetorical extreme in the positioning of Buddhists vis-à-vis kings—an extreme of inventiveness, whose fictionalized nature allows for, and indeed can be inferred from, the purity of the antagonism it depicts. We are very far here from the faithful account of a real-world interaction.

Rhetoric of this kind is conspicuously absent from the letters. In its place, we find unctuous flattery. The *Mahārājakanīṣkalekha*, for example, reminds its addressee Kaniṣka of “the fragrance of your irresistible good qualities [that] has imbued every corner of the world, so that even the greatest men, fully confident in their own abilities, do not shun your friendship.”<sup>21</sup> Kaniṣka is praised as being like a god (*lha*, \**deva*) hailing from a noble solar lineage (*’phags rigs nyi ma yi / gdung rgyud*).<sup>22</sup> Such laudatory language echoes through the rest of the corpus, from the *Suḥrīllekha*’s stipulation of its addressee as “naturally possessed of good qualities [and] fit for virtue “ (*yon tan rang bzhin dge ’os*) through the *Vimalaratnalekha*’s extolling of its addressee as one whose previous virtuous practices have resulted in his present perfection—again, like a god (*lha khyod da lta phun sum tshogs*).<sup>23</sup>

Can we conclude from this flattering tone that these authors presumed that their words would have as their sole audience the nominal addressees of their letters? Can we at least conclude that they thought that their words would reach their nominal addressee among others? I think the answer to both of these questions has to be “no.” At least, nothing in the letters *requires* us to draw either of these conclusions. After all, a flattering tone might be struck by an author for whom the nominal addressee was no more than a rhetorical conceit: an author whose sole aim was to offer a lesson to fellow Buddhists on how to compose an effective letter to a king.

So where does this leave us? Perhaps with a growing sense of impatience. Surely the interpretation of these letters is a more straightforward matter than I am making it out to be. They are letters, after all. But no one has denied this. My aim has been to remind the reader of the interpretive challenges that letters present. These are challenges that we are apt to neglect or forget, assuming that a letter’s rhetorical form dictates how, and by whom, it is intended to be read. This assumption is unjustified. What we take a letter to be saying will depend on the work we take it to be doing. The work we take it to be doing will depend on the audience we take it to be addressing. And the identity of this audience is underdetermined by the text. That the reader may feel a certain impatience with the concerns raised above—and it is an impatience that I myself share—may be symptomatic of a shared desire to avoid acknowledging that the initial interpretive choices we make regarding these letters must be at once less constrained and more consequential than we might wish.

21 Translation Hahn 1999:7. The Tibetan (*Ibid.*:6) reads: *bzlog pa med pa’i yon tan gyis / phyogs rnams kun tu bsgos pas ni / mi mchog rnams kyang thugs thub par / mdza’ bshes bzhin du ’dzem pa med.*

22 Translation Hahn 1999:27, 31.

23 Cf. *Vimalaratnalekha*, verse 2: “Previously you have practiced giving and the ten virtuous actions, observed the *pośadha* and have cultivated patience and zeal. Now you, [like] a god, are perfected.” (*khyod kyis sngon chad sbyin pa dang / dge ba bcu dang gso sbyong dang / bzod dang brtson ’grus la goms pas / lha khyod da lta phun sum tshogs.*)



Whether or not these letters were composed to serve as models for other would-be letter writers, this seems to be how some of them ended up being used. The letters are treated much as other authoritative texts in Indian Buddhism were treated: they are cited in other sources, including other letters, and appropriated as the basis for exegetical commentaries.<sup>24</sup> At times, they appear also to have been appropriated wholesale as the basis for other works. As has long been recognized, Atiśa's *Vimalaratnalekha* is almost identical with another of Atiśa's works, the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī*—a text of great importance in the development of the textual tradition associated with the Tibetan bKa gdams pa order.<sup>25</sup> The texts closely parallel one another, but at certain points, each presents material that the other does not.<sup>26</sup> This raises a natural question: if one of these texts is based on the other, as clearly seems to be the case, which came first?

As Helmut Eimer has noted, the biographies of Atiśa concur in placing the letter first, with the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī* following some three years later.<sup>27</sup> Let us assume that this chronology is correct, and that the letter came first. If so, then one of the most important texts in the *bKa' gdams legs bam* is a light revision of a letter to a Pāla king: the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī* turns out to be a letter in śāstric disguise. Yet there is no way to tell this from close inspection of its rhetoric: it looks like any number of other short texts composed to provide basic instruction in moral behavior.

24 See, for example, the sprawling missive authored by the Tibetan monk sBa dPal dbyangs, mentioned above, that explicitly targets both the emperor and the people of Tibet (*bod rje 'bangs*). In this letter's opening section (Dietz 1984:402–404), dPal dbyangs notes its rationale: because relevant sources “are not comprehensible when they are expounded in an extensive way, I have therefore collected a few of them that are easy to apply and a pleasure to remember” (*rgyas par bshad na mi rtogs pas / de las bsgrub sla gzung bde rnam / nyung zad tsam zhig bdag gis bsdebs*). The resulting letter incorporates lengthy passages from the *Mahārājakanīṣkalekha* and *Suhrillekha*, and dPal byangs clearly sees these antecedent letters as continuous with the various other sources he cites (among them the *Udānavārga*, Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*, and Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*). For instances of letters being taken up as root texts for commentary, see D. 4190–4192.

25 For a translation, see Jinpa 2008:61–64. The version of the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī* that was incorporated into the *bKa' gdams legs bam* is slightly different from the one extant in the various editions of the *bsTan 'gyur*; on these divergences and what they tell us about the transmission of the text, see Eimer 1981. A history of the early transmission of the *bKa' gdams legs bam* is provided by Erhard 2002.

26 The specific forms of address that characterize the *Vimalaratnalekha* and show it to be written to a Pāla king are missing from the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī*. The *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī*, for its part, contains verses advising its audience to forsake material possessions—verses that are missing from the *Vimalaratnalekha*. The *Vimalaratnalekha* takes a king as its nominal addressee, while the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī* appears to be a brief instruction that is generally targeted.

27 Eimer 1981:324; cf. Erhard 2002:36. The priority of the letter is also affirmed by the 16<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan polymath dPa bo gtsug lag phreng ba (1504–1566), who notes in his *Scholar's Feast* (*Chos 'byung mkhas pa 'i dga' ston*) that the *Bodhisattvamaṇyāvalī* is in fact “a compilation by 'Brom [i.e., Atiśa's direct disciple 'Brom ston rgyal ba 'i 'byung gnas] of the speech of the Jo bo.” The relevant passage is cited in Erhard 2002: *byang chub sems dpa' nor bu 'i phreng ba ni 'brom gyis jo bo 'i gsung bsdus pa yin*. Intriguingly, and as Erhard also notes, dPa bo gtsug lag phreng ba goes on to note that “as this [text] and the letter to the king Neyapāla composed by Jo bo (Atiśa) arose for the most part as one and the same work, it is said that that king is of one mindstream with 'Brom” (*'di dang jo bos rgyal po nirya (=neya) pa la (=pāla) la 'phrin yig mdzad pa phal cher gcig tu byung bas rgyal po de 'brom dang thugs rgyud gcig po zhes ...*)—a claim that may have been motivated as much by concerns for political legitimation as anything else.

So what does this tell us? There are at least two lessons that might be drawn here. First, the parallelisms between the two documents suggest that Buddhist intellectuals of the late first and early second millennia CE likely did not presume teachings that were held to be suitable for Indian kings to differ very much from teachings that were held to be suitable more generally. If this is correct, then letters to kings may not be a very helpful resource for understanding the specific ways in which specific Buddhists of that time period may have sought to appeal to specific Indian kings. A second lesson amounts to a reminder of something we are often tempted to forget: we still know very little about how Buddhists in India actually used the texts that have come down to us. Few would presume, on opening a text of moral instruction, that its rhetoric had been borrowed from a document that might originally have been composed as a personal letter to a single specific addressee. There may well be other cases in which teachings nominally addressed to single individuals were surreptitiously repackaged to target more general audiences. I don't want to suggest that this sort of thing was common practice; the point is simply that we don't yet know how common it was, and we have yet to consider its potential implications.

In short: much work remains to be done. While it's perhaps regrettable to end with a reaffirmation of our ignorance, particularly in a volume designed to honor the achievements of a great scholar on the occasion of his retirement, it also seems an appropriately Buddhist way to close. *Maṅgalam!*

#### ABBREVIATIONS

D. = Digital scan of the Derge (sde dge) canon, available via the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center: <[http://www.tbrc.org/#library\\_work\\_Object-W22084](http://www.tbrc.org/#library_work_Object-W22084)> and <[http://www.tbrc.org/#library\\_work\\_Object-W23703](http://www.tbrc.org/#library_work_Object-W23703)>.

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# UNDERSTANDING SOVEREIGNTY IN AMDO

**Paul K. Nietupski**



Amye Nyenchen. Photo: Snying bo rgyal and R. Solomon Rino.



Guandi. Photo: Paul Nietupski.

## I. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The hypothesis of this essay is that the Labrang Monastery estate (*lha sde, mi sde*, etc) in Amdo was, like other such communities throughout the Tibetan Plateau, under the sovereign control of the local authority, in this case the monastery. Monastery sovereignty was moreover, in the eyes of local peoples, at least in part derived from and validated by local deities brought under the control of the Labrang religious authorities.<sup>2</sup> Control of monastery properties was thus both a religious and a practical matter

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1 Part of this essay was presented in the panel “Buddhism and Sacred Mountains” at the American Academy of Religion conference in San Francisco, 19 November 2011. At the Labrang Guandi/A mye gnyan chen Temple “A myes gnyan chen” is spelled “A mye gnyan chen.” In this paper the phonetic equivalent “Amye Nyenchen” is most often used, except where rendered in Wylie transliteration for accurate reference. In a few cases local Amdo phonetic equivalents are used, for example, “sha” for the Wylie Tibetan *bya*, etc.

2 Like all of Amdo and arguably all of Tibet, control was decentralized, properties loosely and inconsistently governed, and boundaries subject to change. These facts however did not preclude the Tibetan assumptions of sovereignty. For decentralized governance in pastoral nomadic societies see Bat-Ochir Bold, *Mongolian Nomadic Society: A Reconstruction of the ‘Medieval’ History of Mongolia* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001); David Sneath, *Imperial Statecraft: Political Forms and Techniques of Governance in Inner Asia, Sixth-Twentieth Centuries* (Bellingham: Western Washington University Center for East Asian Studies, 2006); David Sneath, *The Headless State: Aristocratic Orders, Kinship Society, & Misrepresentations of Nomadic Inner Asia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Paul K. Nietupski, “Understanding Religion and Politics in Amdo: The Sde khri Estate at Bla brang Monastery.” In *Monastic and Lay Traditions in North-Eastern Tibet*. Edited by Yangdon Dhondup, Ulrich

by which monastic authorities exercised authority over agricultural and pasture land, required tax revenues, corvée, and profits from livestock, and received a wide range of donations. Of the many Tibetan deities in Amdo under the control of monastic authorities, a key deity in the *gnyan* class (explained below) and a resident of the Xiahe/Kachu/Genjia-Dzögé Tö region, a significant part of the greater Labrang Monastery estate, is Amye Nyenchen (*a mye gnyan chen*).

In addition, several leading Amdo, including Labrang Monastery Tibetans and Mongols engaged and sought to control an aggressive outside deity, an embodiment of foreign power from nearby China, the Chinese god of war Guandi, “Emperor Guan” (關帝/关帝) (also known as Guan Gong, “Lord Guan” 關公/关公; Guanyu 關羽/关羽; Guan Yunchang 關雲長/关云长, and other names).<sup>3</sup> This attempt to control or at least appease Guandi is made evident in the liturgies written—in Tibetan language—by prominent Labrang and other writers, and by the construction of the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple (關帝廟/关帝庙/*A mye gnyan chen gyi lha khang*) on what was Labrang Monastery property.

This essay first includes mention of Guandi, and then a discussion of the local *gnyan* deities, and especially Amye Nyenchen. Then, the applications of the power of deities is discussed, with a description of the Tibetan theories of “religions of gods and humans” (*lha chos, mi chos*), and the extent to which these categories apply. This section also includes a discussion of four prominent Amdo religious experts (the Second Jamyang Zhepa, the Third Tuken, the Third Jangkya, Rolpé Dorjé, and Chahar Géshé) and their liturgies written to control local deities, and in particular the Chinese deity Guandi. The last major section is a discussion of the construction and implications of the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple in the vicinity of Labrang Monastery.

## II. Deities, what they represent, and how humans interact with them

Guandi 關帝, “Emperor Guan” and his son Prince Taizi (太子) are well known in China. There likely was a real person called Guandi (d. ca. 220) who served as a general in the Eastern Han Dynasty. Over time he became deified and is venerated in temples in Chinese communities around the world—and in a small temple a short walk down the road from Labrang Monastery.

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Pagel and Geoffrey Samuel, 67-86. Leiden: Brill, 2013. For issues of nationalism see Georges Dreyfus, “Proto-nationalism in Tibet,” in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992*, ed. P. Kvaerne (Oslo: Institute for Comparative Research, 1994) 1: 205-218; Paul Nietupski, “Nationalism in Labrang, Amdo: Apa Alo/Huang Zhengqing.” In *Studies in the History of Eastern Tibet. [PLATS 2006: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. Königswinter 2006.]* Edited by Wim van Spengen & Lama Jabb, 179-208. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2010. For early perspectives on the Tibetan world view, see Dan Martin, “‘Ol-mo-lung-ring, the Original Holy Place,” in *Sacred Spaces and Powerful Places In Tibetan Culture: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Toni Huber (Dharamsala, India: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1999), 258-304.

3 For a detailed summary of Guandi in Chinese history and culture see Prasenjit Duara, “Superscribing Symbols: The Myth of Guandi, Chinese God of War,” *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 47.4 (Nov., 1988): 778-795. For a brief identification of Guandi, see Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v. “Guandi,” accessed April 23, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/324162/Guandi>. See also the overview and references at [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guan\\_Yu#General\\_worship](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guan_Yu#General_worship), accessed 17 May 2014.

There are books, plays, movies, and video games about Guandi. He is mentioned in the Chinese classic *Records of the Three Kingdoms* and at the Guandi Temple in Xiahe he holds the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. Besides being associated with warfare, the key virtues he represents are loyalty (*zhong*, 忠), presumably to the Chinese authorities, and righteousness (*yi*, 義). He is in sum an important figure in Chinese folk religion, in Confucianism, Daoism, Chinese Buddhism, and in modern Chinese national sensibilities, noted in detail in Duara (1988).

Similarly, Tibetan *gnyan* and their retinues are in power relations with humans and other deities, resident usually if not most often on mountains. Tibetan *gnyan* in particular are place-specific deities who assert control over the elements, disease, and all negative circumstances. When properly invoked and maintained, the *gnyan* protect their communities, until they are requested to return to their former or new places of residence. The visiting deities can “eliminate outer and inner obstacles, fulfill the community’s wishes, provide for their long and prosperous lives, healthy livestock, not too much or too little rain, and bountiful crops.”<sup>4</sup> They can expedite Buddhist practice and merit making activities, and here most importantly can at least in the eyes of local Tibetans, provide grounds for political sovereignty in their designated fields of control.

The mountain home and territories of Amye Nyenchen were mapped by Joseph Rock in 1956.<sup>5</sup> On Rock’s maps Amye Nyenchen’s territory extends about forty miles east and about thirty miles west of Labrang (to Amye Nyenri, *a mye gnyan ri*) and is bordered by other *gnyan* deities’ territories. Amye Nyenchen’s primary residence is on Amye Nyenchen mountain near Dzögé Tö (*mdzod dge stod*), north of Hezuo/Tsö (合作/*gtsos*). In Rebong he is ranked below Amye Shachung (*a myes bya khyung*), Amye Machen (*a myes rma chen*), and others. However, Amye Nyenchen is also resident in several villages in Rebong (*reb gong*), e.g. Bipa (*bis pa*), Thebo (*the bo*),<sup>6</sup> Shakar Lung (*bya kar lung*), and others,<sup>7</sup> where he does assume an important tutelary role.<sup>8</sup>

4 Mentioned throughout the liturgies in Dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po. *Collected Works of Kun mkhyen dkon mchog ’jigs med dbang po*. Vol. *tha*, no. 60, fols. 1a-98a. There are many different kinds of local deities in Amdo, including *yul lha*, *gzhi bdag*, *gnyan*, *gdon*, *bgegs*, *rbad ’dre*, *rbod gong*, *klu*, and others.

5 Joseph F. Rock, *The Amnye Ma-chhen Range and Adjacent Regions: A Monographic Study*. Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1956, map sheets 2/5, 3/5.

6 Lawrence Epstein and Peng Wenbin, “Ritual, Ethnicity, and Generational Identity,” in *Buddhism in Contemporary Tibet: Religious Revival and Cultural Identity*, ed. Melvyn C. Goldstein and Matthew T. Kapstein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 121.

7 Snying bo rgyal and Rino, 239, see their list of other villages; personal communication with K. Stuart, October 2011.

8 Katia Buffetrille, in her work on Khri ka temple, has a reported similar phenomenon in oral accounts, not in actual iconography. At this point I do not have further information on the Khri ka deity, whether it is Amye Nyenchen, or a different deity. Amye Nyenchen’s influence does however extend to the Rebong region. Buffetrille wrote: “Khri ka’i yul lha (appelé aussi A myes yul lha), dieu du terroir de Sog ru. Il est identifié à Wenchang, le dieu de la littérature en Chine, mais aussi à Guan Yu, célèbre général chinois de l’époque des Trois Royaumes (220-250), appelé généralement par les Chinois Guangong ou Guandi, «Empereur Guan»” in Katia Buffetrille, “Le jeu rituel musical (*glu/klu rol*) du village de Sog ru (Reb gong) en A mdo.” *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centrasiatiques et tibétaines* 35 (2004): 3. See Kelsang Norbu 2011.

Amye Nyenchen is the prominent local *gnyan* in the Xiahe region, and the juxtaposition of Tibetan and Chinese territories and divinities is mirrored in the local labeling of the mountain residence. There are three peaks on Amye Nyenchen mountain. The first is said to be the residence of the primary deity Amye Nyenchen, the second of his consort Tsimri, and the third, and lesser, of their son, known to the Chinese faithful as Taizi, the ancient Prince thought to be a son of Guandi. Here it is notable that Guandi does not appear on Amye Nyenchen's mountain residence.

*Gnyan* are usually invisible, but embodied, deities. They establish very real parameters for the extent of community authority, limits that are applied to pasture and water rights, agriculture, and local political sovereignty. This results in, or at least amplifies assertions of land ownership. Regionally prominent deities like Amye Nyenchen, Amye Machen, Nyenpo Yurtsé (*gnyan po yu rtse*), Amye Shachung, Triké Yullha (*khri ka'i yul lha*), and others are associated with actual territories and communities. In this way the Tibetan worldview asserted an organic relationship between the invisible gods of this world, literally the "grandparents" (*a myes*), and humans.<sup>9</sup> The *gnyan* and other rituals (e.g. *klu rol*) have recently attracted much attention, particularly in studies of Rebgong and surrounding communities.<sup>10</sup>

Amye Nyenchen is in a hierarchical relationship with other *gnyan* deities, showing that here, as elsewhere a locally dominant deity can appear as a subsidiary deity in a neighboring community. Amye Nyenchen is dominant in the greater Dzögé Tö and Labrang region but is a lesser deity in neighboring places. Further, building on the work of J. Rock, R.A. Stein, and others, Katia Buffetrille has noted that the *gnyan* deities have relationships with each other, as spouses or lovers, offspring, or, in the case of Amye Nyenchen and Amye Machen, competitors.<sup>11</sup>

This competitiveness is an expression of territoriality, not of petty disagreements. Deity invocation and place-identification is a political process asserted by local lay chieftains and Buddhist leaders, who derive their authority not only from the central Tibetan or other government, but also from the invoked and resident deity or deities.<sup>12</sup> The *gnyan* deities can be thought of as patron deities, or as above, "grandparents" in control of their resident territories, in contractual or covenantal agreements with their communities. These deities are subject to rituals performed by qualified individuals, who can invoke and control the deity. For example, the Dobi

9 Nebesky-Wojkowitz, and others following him have charted the territories, rituals, and communities of the *gnyan* deities. See René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (The Hague: Mouton, 1956); see R.A. Stein, *Grottes-Matrices et Lieux Saints de la Déesse en Asie Orientale*. (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1988), 207.

10 Rnam sras, "Mtsho sngon lho shar du dar ba'i drug pa'i klu rol skor gleng ba," *Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig* 4: 154-171; see Epstein & Peng, Buffetrille 2004, 2008, *et al.*

11 Katia Buffetrille, "Reflections on Pilgrimages to Sacred Mountains, Lakes and Caves," in *Pilgrimage in Tibet*, ed. Alex McKay (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998), 20-21. Again, how this "competitiveness" or territorial prominence manifests in actual communities is evident in specific places and events, for example when the Second Jamyang Zhepa moved and re-installed a deity in Dngul rwa.

12 Buffetrille 1998, 22-23.



(*rdo sbis*) labtsé ritual could be used to dislodge a local deity and install it in a different place.<sup>13</sup> In this sense Amye Nyenchen serves as a political agency in living communities. He defines ownership of land, he establishes boundaries, and asserts his, and the community's territorial and political autonomy.

Guandi and Amye Nyenchen are housed together near Labrang Monastery in Xiahe, the town that grew out of the local market and village. The monastic authorities at Labrang were called on to invoke and control the deities Guandi and Amye Nyenchen—here understood both as embodied deities and as political and military forces—with a view to controlling territories impacted by those deities and their human followers. In this case the human followers of Guandi and Amye Nyenchen included to varying degrees local Tibetans, Mongols, Muslims, local Chinese communities and their political and military institutions.<sup>14</sup> All were brought under the control of the leading Tibetan Buddhists at Labrang Monastery. The myths and realities of Guandi, and increasingly, the *gyan* deities are well studied. What is remarkable here is their close proximity to a major Tibetan Buddhist monastery in a predominantly ethnic Tibetan environment. This proximity of deities again signals the proximity of social, political, military, and economic forces.

### III. *Lha chos* and *mi chos*: religions of gods and humans

There is much discussion about the status of local deities, here including Amye Nyenchen and Guandi. R.A. Stein (1988) argued that the *gyan* deities are engaged in human, mundane *laukika* religion (*mi chos*), as opposed to the religion of the transcendent *lokottara* tantric gods (*lha chos*). In the former sense, the *gyan* operate in this world, and are important in establishing local political sovereignty. They are often classified as “folk” religious deities, and are actors in apotropaic religious practices. As such, they are said by some to be less concerned with matters of religious insight and Buddhist enlightenment. Consistent with this view, the invocation, worship, request, and control rituals for *gyan* are usually performed outside of Buddhist monastic buildings and on mountain pilgrimage sites, though celebrations on monastery grounds (i.e. inside the *sīma*, “sacred space”) are not unheard of.

While the community is on the surface concerned with its everyday well-being and the control of local territory, these apotropaic matters are however often cast in the context of larger religious (*lokottara*) objectives. It appears that local lay people and even well-educated lamas did not strictly differentiate between the categories of the religions of gods and men. Epstein & Peng noted that local lay people did not hesitate to ask the Buddhist tantric deities for mundane favors:

13 Interviews, Machu 2004; see Kelsang Norbu, “The A mdo Tibetan Rdo sbis *lab tse* Ritual,” *Asian Highlands Perspectives* 10 (2011): 9-40.

14 See for example Duara, p. 791: “It is precisely because of the superscription over, not the erasure of, previous inscriptions that historical groups are able to expand old frontiers of meaning to accommodate their changing needs. The continuity provided by superscription enables new codes of authority to be written even while the legitimacy of the old is drawn upon. Thus symbolic media focus the cultural identities of changing social interests pursuing sectional ends, even as the symbols themselves undergo transformations.”

. . . as Samuel and others have pointed out, the Tibetan folk and more formal religious traditions have interpenetrated each other to the extent that it is difficult to disentangle them. Monks, for example, often perform readings of religious texts for laymen, which, in the eyes of the latter, accomplish the same this-worldly ends as do, say, folk rituals of purification. They also confer some degree of otherworldly merit on them. Similarly, Buddhist or Bon rituals and texts are often employed in folk rituals.<sup>15</sup>

The point here is that even if formally separated there is a conflation of the categories of religions of gods and men into what might be a third category, a fusion of religious deities (tantric and non-tantric, *lokottara* and *laukika*) and religious goals (apotropaic and transcendent).<sup>16</sup> Religious and political, temporal motives and goals are not separate in these communities, including in the Labrang community, in the recognition of Amye Nyenchen, Guandi, and the many tantric deities resident in the monastery.

The religious vision of the unity of human and divine realm, and the applications of divine power to the physical realities of economics, weather, territorial sovereignty and warfare were, as above, arguably very real in Amdo. There is concrete evidence of this in the Labrang Monastery and greater Amdo community, notably in the lives and works of four eighteenth and early nineteenth century Amdo scholars and political leaders who serve as key examples.

The four prominent and at least loosely Labrang-affiliated leaders mentioned here are the Second Jamyang Zhepa ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, 1728-1791), the Third Tuken (Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, 1737-1802), Chahar Géshé (Cha har dge bshes Blo bzang tshul khriims, aka Cha phring 'jang gсар bstan 'dzin, 1740-1810), and the Third Jangkya, Rolpé Dorjé (Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, 1717-1786). These four well known and very prolific scholars knew each other, and were often in teacher-student relationships, and often in tantric guru-disciple relationships. These bonds were powerful; such connections also extended to the relationships between these and other prominent teachers and members of the Qing court.

These four celibate monk-scholar-politician-diplomats were parts of the network of Amdo Gelukpa monasteries and communities. They all had connections to Lhasa, and all four had diplomatic and religious ties to China and Mongolia. All four were also authors of liturgies written in Tibetan and designed to invoke and control Guandi, the Chinese god of war. One was written by the Second Jamyang Zhepa, one by the Third Jangkya, Rolpé Dorjé, one by the Third Tuken, and three by Chahar Géshé, (though authorship of one of the liturgies in Chahar Géshé's collected works is attributed to Tuken). The Sixth Panchen Lama, Pelden Yéshé (1738-1780) also wrote a short liturgy to Guandi,<sup>17</sup> but he was not from Amdo. It is clear from these literary

<sup>15</sup> Epstein and Peng 1998, 121.

<sup>16</sup> Stein has shown that there are places in Tibet, for example Mt. Kailash, that are primarily residences of Buddhist tantric deities. See R.A. Stein, *Grottes-Matrices et Lieux Saints de la Déesse en Asie Orientale*. (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1988), 37-49.

<sup>17</sup> See Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po, "Ma hA tsi na'i yul gyi dgra lha chen po dmag dpon bye ba 'bum gyi sde dpon kwan lo ye gyi mchod gtor?" ["Mthu stobs kyi mnga' bdag ma hA tsi na'i yul gyi dgra lha

compositions that the Tibetans sought to control Guandi, the invisible apotheosized Chinese general/god of war, and a wide spectrum of Chinese virtues. Their biographies arguably also show that they were well aware of the power of the human Chinese government and its armies, and sought to control those as well. The liturgies to Guandi are composed in the same formats and in similar language as those for local Tibetan deities, and they carry the same implications for control of physical and metaphysical realities.

With regard to Labrang, local deities first appear in the Amdo oral traditions which record the First Jamyang Zhepa's engagements with Amye Nyenchen.<sup>18</sup> More substantially, and not unlike other Tibetan writers' mentioned here, the works of the Second Jamyang Zhepa contain about ninety-eight folios (*tha* 1a-98a) with about sixty liturgies to *gnyan* and other "local" deities, including to Amye Nyenchen.<sup>19</sup> In addition, there is a latter day account of a pilgrimage to Amye Nyenchen mountain by the Fifth Jamyang Zhepa, Apa Alo, and others.<sup>20</sup> These traditions and literary accounts show that highly educated tantric-specialist monks and teachers were deeply involved with local deities.

chen po dmag dpon bye ba 'bum gyi sde dpon kwan lo ye gyi mchod gtor/]. In *Gsung 'bum, Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*. (Bla brang par ma), 683-687, Volume 10 of Work W1KG9560. Location: ff. 21b-23b (pp.672-676). TBRC W1KG9560. (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971). [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O4CZ28036|O4CZ280364CZ298014CZ29843\\$W1KG9560](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O4CZ28036|O4CZ280364CZ298014CZ29843$W1KG9560);

Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje. "Kwan lo ye'i gsol mchod." In *Gsung 'bum, Rol pa'i rdo rje*. TBRC W28833. 5: 473 - 476. (Beijing: Krung go bod brgyud mtho rim nang bstan slob gling nang bstan zhib 'jug khang, 1995). [\\_http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00PD107753|O00PD1077537934\\$W28833](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00PD107753|O00PD1077537934$W28833); Blo bzang tshul khriims,

Cha har dge bshes blo bzang tshul khriims (Cha phring 'jang gsar bstan 'dzin). "Bkwan lo ye'i gsol mchod 'dod don kun stsol (na)." ["Bstan srung rgyal po chen po bkwan lo ye'i gsol mchod 'dod don kun stsol"].

In *Gsung 'bum, Blo bzang tshul khriims*. TBRC W23726. 6: 219-238. (Sku 'bum byams pa gling, 2002).

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2CZ5408|O2CZ54082CZ5704\\$W23726](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2CZ5408|O2CZ54082CZ5704$W23726); Blo bzang tshul khriims. "Bkwan lo ye la gser skyems 'bul tshul 'dod rgu 'gugs pa'i lcags dkyu (na phyi ma)." ["Dbang phyogs tsi na'i yul gyi dgra lha'i rgyal chen bkwan lo ye la gser skyems 'bul tshul 'dod rgu 'gugs pa'i lcags dkyu"]. In *Gsung 'bum, Blo bzang tshul khriims*. TBRC W23726. 6: 239-244. (Sku 'bum byams pa gling, 2002).

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2CZ5408|O2CZ54082CZ5705\\$W23726](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2CZ5408|O2CZ54082CZ5705$W23726); Blo bzang tshul khriims. "Dgra lha'i gsol mchod 'dod dgu'i char 'bebs (pa)." In *Gsung 'bum, Blo bzang tshul khriims*. TBRC W23726. 6: 245-

270. (Sku 'bum byams pa gling, 2002). [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2CZ5408|O2CZ54082CZ5706\\$W23726](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O2CZ5408|O2CZ54082CZ5706$W23726);

[Thu'u kwan] Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. "Rgyal chen bkwan yun chang gi lo rgyus dang gsol mchod bya tshul 'phrin las char rgyun bskul ba'i 'brug sgra" ["Khams gsum bdud 'dul rgyal chen bkwan yun chang gi lo rgyus dang gsol mchod bya tshul 'phrin las char rgyun bskul ba'i 'brug sgra"].

In *Gsung 'bum, Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma* (Lhasa: Zhol par khang gsar pa, 2000). Volume 5 (ca), ff 783-796. Work W21507.

[http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00CHZ0102865|O00CHZ01028652870\\$W21507](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00CHZ0102865|O00CHZ01028652870$W21507). In addition, Guandi appears

in a ca. 1793 temple with Gesar, near Chakpori in Lhasa, credited to the Reting Regent, Losang Yéshé Tenpa Rabgyé (1759–1815). Thanks to Gray Tuttle for reminding me of this temple. The Sixth Panchen Lama Pelden Yéshé (1738-1780) also composed a liturgy to the deity; see Dpal ldan ye shes. "rgya yul gyi gzhi bdag kwan lo ye'i gsol mchod/." In *gsung 'bum/ dpal ldan ye shes*. TBRC W2046. 4: 342 - 343.

new delhi: mongolian lama gurudeva, 1975-1978. [http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00EGS103132|O00EGS1031324CZ346914CZ347784CZ347854CZ348274CZ348384CZ348494CZ34860\\$W2046](http://tbrc.org/link?RID=O00EGS103132|O00EGS1031324CZ346914CZ347784CZ347854CZ348274CZ348384CZ348494CZ34860$W2046).

18 Interviews, Machu, Rngul rwa, etc. 2004; see also Mkharrtse rgyal, *'Jig rten mchod bstod: Mdo smad Reb gong yul gyi drug pa'i lha zla chen mo'i mchod pa dang 'brel ba'i dmangs srol rig gnas lo rgyus skor gyi zhib 'jug*. (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrung khang, 2009), 297. For the details of the First Jamyang Zhepa and Amye Nyenchen, see Nietupski 2011.

19 See liturgies to *gnyan*, 45b1 ff, 48a ff, 51b6 ff, 57b6 ff, 70b2 ff, *et al.* Some of the liturgies are very short.

20 Li An-che, "Our Pilgrimage to a Tibetan Sacred Mountain," *Asian Horizon* 2 (Summer 1949): 39-48.

The Second Jamyang Zhepa's liturgies to local deities also include many well-known bodhisattvas and tantric deities, including Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, Vajra Bhairava, and Mahākāla. The liturgies often include elaborate Buddhist visualizations; a typical formula in the liturgies is “the generation of oneself as whatever appropriate tutelary deity ...” (*yi dam gang yang rung ba'i bdag bskyed ...*).<sup>21</sup> There is often mention of Buddhist theoretical principles, like “transforming into emptiness” (*stong pa nyid du 'gyur*), “from emptiness” (*stong pa 'i ngang las*), and again of ritual processes like tantric “self-generation” (*bdag bskyed*, 73a2 ff). High level monks were well versed in and often performed tantric initiations at the same time as invoking and controlling *gnyan* deities.

As noted, the physical and non-physical worlds were not separated in Amdo and Tibet (in this respect not unlike China); *gnyan* and other local deities were associated with specific places and persons. Resident deities were clearly linked to actual community sovereignty. To local peoples, this was not simply a matter of metaphysics. It was moreover incumbent upon local authorities and communities to defend their places, properties, and boundaries.

The Second Jamyang Zhepa's liturgies are for example directed to specific places like Ngulra (*ngul rwa*, 64a2 ff),<sup>22</sup> Nangra (*snang ra*, 10a ff), Sertok (*gser thog*) Monastery in Tsongka (*tsong kha*, 10a5 ff), to the deity and the Nyenpo Yurtsé region, written from Ngawa (*rnga ba*, 16b1 ff), in Trika (*khri ka*, 16b2, 31a1 ff, 74b1 ff, *et al*), at Mugé (*dmu dge*) Monastery (19a6 ff and 41a6 ff), at Drakar (*brag dkar*) in Genjia (*rgan kya*, 26b1), at Shachung near Rebgong (32b1 ff) and in many places in Qinghai, in Métö (*rme stod*) in northern Sichuan (36a ff), Dzögé (*mdzod dge*, (51a4), Kumbum (*sku 'bum*, 58a3 ff, 64a1 ff, *et al*), Kotsé (*kho tshe*, 60b5), and so on throughout the collected liturgies. Moreover, the liturgies are linked to specific requestors and sponsors, for example: local lords, a Rongbo governor (*nang so*) (5a), the Olöd Mongol chief Jikmé Yéshé (*jigs med ye shes*, 13b2), other Mongols, and many persons in and around Labrang's extended estate.

Linking deities to places and persons was intentional and is expressed in the Second Jamyang Zhepa's liturgies as the exercise of a political process, the implementation of monastery authority in lay communities, the “unity of religion and lay” authority. There is nothing ambiguous or implied about this; it is so stated repeatedly in the liturgies (e.g. 9a1, 13a1, 22b3, 33b5, 51a2, 68b6) and was intended to secure real political control of territories and communities.

In sum, the lines between invisible deity realms and physical territories, the lines between Buddhist tantrism and local deity control, between the “religions of gods and men,” were not so clearly drawn in Amdo. Invoking a Tibetan and here a Chinese deity and identifying it with a specific place and sponsor was a mechanism for political control, the exercise of the “unity of religious and lay” life. The implication is that the Labrang and Amdo Tibetans assumed control of their homelands, even in close proximity to powerful neighbors.

21 Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. *Collected Works of Kun mkhyen dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*. Labrang edition, Vol. *tha*, no. 60, (New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1971), fol. 75b3.

22 See Paul K. Nietupski, “Labrang Monastery's Jamyang Zhepa Invokes Protective Deities.” In *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. Edited by Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Matthew T. Kapstein, and Gray Tuttle, 600-604. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

## IV. Guandi &amp; Amye Nyenchen at Labrang: the deities' townhouse



Amye Nyenchen Temple. Photo: Sandar Aung

The mountain resident deity Amye Nyenchen appears at Labrang/Xiahe together with Chinese Guandi and several other Chinese deities (see Appendix). This reflects a kind of religious and topographical border crossing, a negotiated shared space, and the deities' claims to ownership of, or at least legitimate presence in the Labrang Monastery territory. As noted, the First Jamyang Zhepa had to negotiate with Amye Nyenchen in order to build Labrang Monastery on deity property. Similarly, the site of the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple, and the Chinese community,

were also located on Labrang Monastery estate property. Negotiation between the Chinese and the monastery authorities was necessary. The relatively small temple, the *gnyan*, and the Chinese deities are outside the monastery walls, but tolerated by the monastery authorities.

The temple itself is predominantly Chinese in style, but the *gnyan*, from his mountain home asserts his claim to local authority even in the midst of many Chinese deities. The religious hierarchies are clear; the temple with its local and non-Buddhist Chinese and Tibetan deities was allowed on monastery estate property, but across the Sangchu/Xiahe River and on the far side of Xiahe town. The monastery was the dominant power, and while the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple and deities were allowed, they had less authority and power. The temple's internal iconographic arrangements give pride of place to the Chinese deities, but the Tibetan *gnyan* is also located in an important position in the central temple.

Guandi is a Chinese god of war and for some, material wealth, two forces very active at Labrang. He is again associated with Daoism and Confucianism, and among other virtues, exemplifies the Confucian virtue of loyalty (忠 *zhong*), featured in the 1930 (*geng wu* 庚午, renovated 1990) inner, which reads "loyalty forever" (*zhong yi qian qiu* 忠義千秋). The 1929 (*ji si* 己巳) outer entry sign (not to be confused with the inner entry sign) also promises respect to teachers and disciples.

The main temple houses statues of Guandi and Amye Nyenchen, and the secondary temples hold statues of Daoist divinities, also with promises of fertility and prosperity. The enduring loyalty noted here has sometimes been interpreted to mean loyalty to the political authority of the Qing or Chinese state, as well as its sense of loyalty to principles, to family, community, and so on. Indeed, the Confucian system does always not differentiate between these.

The construction of the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple reflects the plurality of Labrang's environment.<sup>23</sup> By the mid and late nineteenth century there was a matrix of diverse social, political, and religious forces at work here and elsewhere in Amdo. In those years, building on the connections established by his predecessors, the Fourth Jamyang Zhepa (1856-1916) and others became involved with the Manchu court, Wutaishan, Ulaan Baator, Lhasa, and regional monasteries. In 1884 a Russian delegation visited Labrang to promote trade in wool and hides. Also in 1884 the Labrang authorities allowed the re-construction of a small mosque (a rebuild of an 1854 original).<sup>24</sup> In 1887, the Nyingma-derived Ngakpa College was founded. The Guandi/Amye Nyenchen project was not unprecedented, but this was not a period of open-minded religious pluralism, made evident in the records of Christian missionaries who attempted to proselytize and spread the Christian teachings at Labrang. In 1892 William Christie and his colleagues were not at all well-received, and barely escaped, under a barrage of rocks.<sup>25</sup>

23 Writing of social and political pluralism in Lhasa, Emily Yeh identified "subaltern cosmopolitan" trends in some ways similar to those in Amdo. Emily T. Yeh, "Living together in Lhasa: Ethnic relations, coercive amity, and subaltern cosmopolitanism," in *The Other Global City*, ed. Shail Mayaram (Routledge, 2008), 54-85.

24 Che, Manbao 车满宝 (ed.), *Xiahe Xianzhi* 夏河县志 (Lanzhou: Gansu Culture Publishing House, 1993), 259-260; Chen, Shiming. "Xiahe xian musilin ji qi qingzhensi jianjie," *Huizu yanjiu* 4 (1993): 23-37.

25 William Christie, May 1891 to October 1907. "Christie Letters," unpublished documents, Christian and Missionary Alliance Archives, Colorado Springs, CO.

Chinese traders were present in Xiahe's markets since the late nineteenth century, with them Chinese sense of politics, law, and religion. At the same time, the location of the Tibetan mountain deity Amye Nyenchen, in the heart of the predominantly Guandi Chinese temple shows that the deities and their human communities sought to exert some presence and authority as local groups, even while all groups were under the umbrella of the monastery.

The Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple was founded in ca. 1886 by an as yet unidentified Chinese businessman from Shanxi (山西), reportedly motivated by the difficulties he was experiencing at the time, and his wish to relocate a temple from his homeland. The presently available sources provide no other details of the founder.<sup>26</sup>

This period was marked by economic, social, and religious development at Labrang, but the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were also politically turbulent, which had an impact on Guandi and the local Chinese community. By 1918, the Xiahe merchants' association had twenty-one members, all Han and Hui Muslim, but all were temporary residents. Later, from 1924 to 1927, Ma Qi's son Ma Bufang (1903-1975) occupied Labrang. Many buildings at Labrang were destroyed and the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple sustained extensive damage.<sup>27</sup>

In 1927, in a Republican Chinese movement endorsed by General Feng Yuxiang against the Xining-based Ma clan, jurisdiction of Xiahe County was taken from Qinghai and formally placed under Gansu Province. This was followed by migration of Chinese and Muslim refugees into Labrang's newly secured safe haven. In 1929 the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple was rebuilt and renovated. Shortly thereafter, in the 1930s, Labrang's Chinese population increased significantly, marked by modern advances at Labrang.<sup>28</sup> The relative stability of the late 1940s and early 1950s was followed by the chaos of the late 1950s and 1960s. The Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple was dismantled. Labrang's minorities were called on to put aside their respective heritages, lifestyles, and religions, and adopt a new, Chinese state defined identity to take their place.<sup>29</sup> To this end, the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen temple was turned into an elementary school for a new industrial production unit.<sup>30</sup>

After 1980, the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple was rebuilt and expanded, with support of the Sixth Gungthang, Jikmé Tenpé Wangchuk (1926-2000). In 1990, the Temple was renovated, and is, as of 2013, undergoing further extensive renovations and expansion. These are largely financed by Han Chinese residents, in a new stage of community history. Xiahe is now a bustling town, a magnet for tourists and new businesses. The town markets are active, with traditional livestock and wool sales, and with manufactured goods, hotels, and restaurants to serve local

26 See 红泥, "西行散记," 中国道教5 (2002), China Academic Journal Electronic Publishing House, <http://www.cnki.net>.

27 Mei Yibao 梅贻宝 (1930), *Labuleng zhi xing* 拉卜楞之行, in *Zhongguo xibei wenxian congshu* 中国西北文献丛书, ed. Zhongguo Xibei Wenxian Congshu Weiyuanhui (Lanzhou, 1991), 315.

28 See Nietupski 2010, 2011.

29 Charlene E. Makley, *The Violence of Liberation: Gender and Tibetan Buddhist Revival in Post-Mao China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

30 Mette Halskov Hansen, *Frontier People: Han Settlers in Minority Areas of China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 90-91.

residents and the increasing numbers of tourists. Amye Nyenchen is present, but his presence in the shared temple is somewhat overshadowed by the influence of the Chinese and the Chinese deities.

## V. Conclusion

Amye Nyenchen is alive and well on his mountain home, in his village properties near Rebgong, and with Guandi at Labrang. It appears that the flourishing temple will continue to be an indicator, or index of change in Xiahe, and of change in sovereign control of the region. While relations are tense at times, the predominantly Tibetan community, the Labrang monastic community, and the ethnically and culturally plural greater Xiahe community, with its Muslims, Chinese, Mongols and others live together in close proximity and in shared space. Xiahe, a regional marketplace in the early period, has grown into a bustling town. The Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple continues to grow and prosper, but it is difficult to predict what such growth signals for the coming years.

In the end, the message is one of gradually increasing ethnic pluralism and likewise gradually changing patterns of sovereignty. Beliefs in deities of any description, in the gods of industry and economic development, in Guandi, in local *gnyan* or tantric deities, or in Allah, and their abilities to assert control of the natural and human worlds all served, and still serve as rallying points and discourse for control. The levels of community control and sovereign power have changed since the mid-eighteenth century, then mostly under the control of Gelukpa monastic authorities bolstered by Mongol royalty and local nomad lords. The network of Tibetan monastic scholars and leaders, including the sample of the four given in this essay was made up of astute diplomats in their engagements with local lords, Mongol princes, and Manchu emperors. In later years their successors engaged Muslim and Chinese generals, and today the Chinese state. The result has been that the sovereign control of Amdo in general and the Labrang estate in particular, have shifted, as measured in the Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple.

## VI. Appendix

### Description of the Xiahe Guandi/Amye Nyenchen Temple

After entering the main gate, from the west, there are four main structures situated around a courtyard. The one directly in front of the entry gate is the entry hall (*guo dian* 过殿). After passing through, or if locked around the entry hall, one is in the courtyard with the main temple facing in the east, and a temple to the left and right, or north and south.

Each of the three main temples has three statues. The temple on the left/north has mural paintings in Chinese style on each side of the row of statues. The temple on the right/south has three statues, again in Chinese style and content. The main temple in front of the entry hall/east, has three statues, murals, incense tables, and decorations, primarily in Chinese art style, but in the case of Amye Nyenchen, with distinctive Tibetan components, both in artistry and in content.



The statues in the left/north temple, from left to right, are three sisters, goddesses called Sanxiao Niang Niang (三霄娘娘). Their names are Zhao Yunxiao (赵云霄), Zhao Qiongxiao (赵琼霄), and Zhao Bixiao (赵碧霄). They hold slips of wood in their hands, and have elaborate headdresses. The mural on the left flanking wall is of Sanhua (散花), and the mural on the right flanking wall is of Songzi (送子) or Songzi Niang Niang (送子娘娘). The attendant remarked that prayer to Songzi, in particular, would help one give birth to a child. The overall tenor of this temple is of prosperity and fertility in the world.

The statues in the right/south temple, from left to right, are called Tudi (土地), Huashen, and Yaowang (药王). These are all male, bearded, elderly, and exemplify Daoist themes.

The statues in the main/east temple, from left to right, are called Amye Nyenchen, Guandi, also identified as Caishen (财神) by the attendant,<sup>31</sup> and Erlang (二郎). Amye Nyenchen is mounted on his horse. Guandi holds a book in his left hand (clearly titled the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) and sits on a lion throne. Erlang is white in color, looks more anthropomorphic than the other statues, has no beard, and has his right hand outstretched with his first two fingers (index and ring fingers) extended. There is a white dog sitting in front of Erlang on his right side.

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31 See Duara 1988, 789.

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THE LHASA RIPPER  
A preliminary investigation into  
the “dark Underbelly” of social life in the holy city

**Jamyang Norbu**

*This is a preliminary and largely impressionistic overview of a neglected strata of old Lhasa society, and lays no claim to serious scholarship. The spelling of the names of the various groups and fraternities mentioned in this article have been difficult to verify. Where available the correct spelling has been provided but a basic English transliteration has been used for the rest. It is my hope that this inadequate study will provide my old and most learned and steadfast friend, Professor Elliot Sperling, an amusing diversion from his otherwise serious academic routine.*

In the annals of true crime stories, I hadn't quite expected to come across something like this from Tibet. I heard the story of the “Lhasa Ripper” from a well-known Tibetan singer who was a student of mine at the Tibetan Music, Dance & Drama Society (renamed TIPA in 1981) at Dharamshala from 1969 to 70. She insisted that every word was true. We were having a discussion on *Tö-shay* songs when she told me that her maternal uncle, Töpa Bhu Damdul of Walung, had been a very good musician and had played the Tibetan lute (*dranyen*) and the hammer dulcimer.<sup>I</sup>

Bhu Damdul was also a successful trader who had a store at Nyanam. He conducted a lot of business in Lhasa, and lived there in the twenties and thirties. It appears that he knew such Lhasa musicians as Lutsa, who later became the senior music teacher at TIPA. Damdul also knew the blind *maestro*, Ajo Namgyal, who is regarded by many as Tibet's greatest musician, and who had composed such memorable songs as “Trala Shipa”, “Dawae Shunu” and “Ajo Soetop”.

Bhu Damdul also gambled and ran with the Lhasa fast set and was a close friend of the young Lhasa playboy, Rinzin. Rinzin was a handsome man and a lover of the famous Lhalu *Lhacham* (Great Lady).<sup>II</sup> The Great Lady might not have exactly have overwhelmed with her looks (she in fact was overweight and getting on in years) but was a generous, witty and fun loving woman. Sir Basil Gould who led the British mission to Lhasa in 1936 (and in 1940 for the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's enthronement) remarked on her hospitality:

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I Most Tibetans call this instrument by its Chinese name, *yangchin* (揚琴) meaning “foreign instrument”, since it was originally an ancient Persian instrument which probably came to China in late Manchu times. You can find versions of it in Eastern Europe and even in American Appalachia. In India it is known as the *santur*, and Pandit Shivkumar Sharma of Kashmir is credited with making it a popular classical instrument. Some Tibetans incorrectly call it *gyumang*, “many strings” which is an old synonym for *dranyen*. Quite a few Chinese musical instruments as the *suona* (Central Asia) and the *sheng* (South-east Asia) are imports. For instance the two string fiddle, the Huqin (胡琴) or “Mongol (or Tartar) instrument” which Tibetans also play and call *piwang* or *tse-tse*, came to China during the Yuan dynasty.

II Yangzom Tsering Lhalu (nee Shatra or Shedra) 1880-c, 1962, was famous for her affairs. One paramour, a junior lay official (*drungkor*) Jingpa composed many loving and witty verses in her praise.

“A member of high society was a lady, connected by birth with two previous Dalai Lamas. One of the events of the Lhasa season was an annual luncheon party which she gave to the Cabinet and other high officials. Her hospitality was so urgent that often the fate of at least a few of her guests was “Where I dines I sleeps”. She had a fund of jokes and stories which were reputed to be broad. I doubt whether even in England men and women live on such natural and easy terms as in Tibet.”<sup>1</sup>

But the powerful finance secretary and political player, Tsepon Lungshar, was also a paramour of Lhalu Lhacham, and resented Rinzin’s relationship with her. Lungshar had a fine-looking wife but may have maintained his affair with Lhalu Lhacham for its political usefulness. He looked around for a way to get rid of his rival.

At that time (1926-28) Lhasa was shaken by a series of brutal, Jack the Ripper style, murder of prostitutes. A modern police force had been created by the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama in 1923-24, and it was possible that this trained modern force might have solved these crimes, but in the period when the serial murders took place the conservative/monastic faction in Tibetan politics (allied with Tsepon Lungshar) had managed to bring about the effective termination of the new police force.

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After the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama returned from exile in India in 1912, he embarked on a broad modernization program that included the creation of a strong, effective military and also a modern police force for Lhasa. This police force (*polisi*) replaced the *Korchakpa*, the old style Tibetan constabulary (*skor 'chag pa*) and the Manchu Amban’s enforcement unit called the *Thuvin*, which had carried out the Chinese style tortures and beheadings before 1911.<sup>2</sup>

The modern police force was reportedly smart and well trained along British lines. S.W. Laden La, a senior officer in the Bengal police and an ethnic Tibetan, had been sent on deputation to Lhasa to train this new unit. Laden La was appointed Police Chief by the Dalai Lama himself and also awarded the title of *Dzasa*.<sup>3</sup> Colonel Bailey, The British Political Officer in Sikkim, visited Lhasa in July 1924. In his report he mentions: “Laden La has organized a very creditable police for Lhasa city. The men are smart and dressed in thick khaki serge in winter, and blue with yellow piping in summer. They are stationed in different parts of the city (in police boxes. JN). The fact of their presence has reduced crime in the city considerably and the inhabitants appreciate this.”<sup>4</sup> The police force also had a bagpipe band (Tib: *pegpa*), which Bailey took credit for introducing. My late mother remembered that as a child she would approach the Banakshol police box close to her house, and hold out a British Guard doll (with Bearskin cap) that her father had brought her from India. The policeman on duty would give it a smart “present-arms” salute with his rifle.

But the monasteries and the conservative faction hated the new army and the police. With the help of Lungshar they succeeded in getting the commander-in-chief, Tsarong Dasang Dadul, removed from power in 1925, and over time managed to effectively emasculate the military and the police. The decline of the latter force was particularly dramatic and striking. The smart, modern, well-trained and effective police force was disbanded and terminated for good. It was replaced by a ragtag band of peasants called “Lha-Ngam-Phun Sum”<sup>5</sup> conscripted from the

districts of Lhatse, Ngamring and Phuntsokling in Tö or Western Tibet,<sup>III</sup> for which they received tax exemptions on their farmland. The untrained peasant policemen now just sat inside their police boxes chanting mantras and repairing the soles of Tibetan boots (*lham dokpa gyab*) to eke out their miserable pay.

Finally, in late 1948, the peasants were sent home and a proper police force created as a part of the Tagtra administration's broad (but inadequate) response to the emerging threat of a Chinese invasion. The Old *Zimjung Makar* the traditional "Inner Chamber" guard unit of the Dalai Lamas had been converted to an artillery unit when it was replaced by the modern Guards regiment (*Kusung Makar*) in the 1920s. This artillery unit was converted to the new Lhasa police force in 1948.<sup>6</sup> Although it never quite reached the standard of Lhasa's first modern police force, this police regiment retained the bagpipe band of its predecessor, and distinguished itself in the March Uprising of 1959, defending the Jokhang against PLA infantry, artillery and tanks. The fact that it had earlier been an artillery regiment contributed to its effectiveness. It is now stuff of legends how the famous police officer Major Rinzin Penjor (aka Rupon Gura) and some of his men, assisted by volunteer citizens of Lhasa, dragged a couple of howitzers around the Barkhor and blasted away at Chinese positions.

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After Lungshar manipulated the dismissal of Tsarong he was also able to have an interim C-in-C, Drumba, summarily dismissed. Eventually in 1925 Lungshar insinuated himself into the supreme position of commander-in-chief of the army and also of the metropolitan police force.

It was probably after this triumph that he used his position to have his rival Rinzin, and Rinzin's friend, Bhu Damdul, arrested for the murder of the prostitutes. Both Rinzin and Damdul had frequented such women, and when one day a prostitute with whom both men were friendly was murdered, Lungshar acted. Rinzin and Bhu Damdul were arrested (possibly around 1928) flogged and imprisoned. Whether the decline of the police force prevented the discovery of the real murderer is, of course, a matter of conjecture.

The case was only solved in the mid-1930s, and that too more by luck than anything else. During the Monlam festival when the monk magistrates of Drepung took over the legal duties of the Lhasa administration, a monastic disciplinarian Chabdam Ugyen arrested a minor monk official who went by the nickname of "Chonzay Serso Chenpa" or "official with the gold tooth." This official who was a *khatsara*, a Nepalese national, happened to be talking to someone else in Nepali (which Ugyen understood) at a tea-shop in Lhasa, where Ugyen happened to be present. One informant told me that earlier in life Ugyen had lived in Kalimpong as a petty trader where he picked up basic Nepali. Someone else told me that Ugyen had learnt the language when he traveled to Nepal in one of the official Tibetan government missions (*bhayul ten-sheng*) organized every four years to make offerings to the three great stupas around Kathmandu.

So Ugyen overheard the conversation that revealed Chonzay as the serial killer of prostitutes, and also that he was preparing to seek asylum at the Nepalese consulate. Ugyen immediately hit

<sup>III</sup> The peasants of Tö when properly trained and equipped could prove to be formidable soldiers. The reputation of the Dhingri regiment is second to none in the history of the modern Tibetan army.

Chonzey hard with his heavy whip handle and placed him under arrest. Chonzey cried out that he was a *khatsara* and claimed immunity.

Ugyen is supposed to have replied sarcastically “If you are a *khatsara* I am a *natsara* (*kyoe khatsara yina nga natsara yin*).” a nonsensical reply playing on the Tibetan word for mouth “Kha” and nose “Na”, meaning that he didn’t care who the man was. The arrest is said to have caused a diplomatic row with Nepal, but Chabdam Ugyen became famous because of this feat.

A New Age Tibetan friend of mine to whom I first told this story objected to the very idea of a Tibetan serial killer, but such criminals are not entirely unknown in Tibet. In the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, during the period of the “Later Transmission of Buddhism” to Tibet (*tenpa chi-dhar*) we hear of a secret society of monks called Artso Bande Chopgye (*Ar-tsho bande bco-brgyad*)<sup>7</sup> that performed savage ritual murders. Legend has it that this and other debased misinterpretations of Tantric practices led to the invitation of the great scholar Atisha from Vikramashila University to purify and revive Buddhism in Tibet.

We also have the story of the sinister “Shagdun Sangye” (Seven Day Buddha) of Ghunghang, a religious charlatan and mass murderer who promised people who undertook a seven day retreat under his guidance a complete dissolution of their corporeal self and a direct entry into nirvana. He accomplished this by dropping them into a bottomless pit normally covered by a retractable floor on his meditation cave. He was eventually exposed by the “divine madman” Drukpa Kunleg, who arranged for him to receive a poetic sort of justice.<sup>8</sup>

But a more relevant objection to the arrest of the Lhasa Ripper by Ugyen was raised by a knowledgeable scholar-friend of mine. He told me that he had creditable information that Chabdam Ugyen became famous for the arrest of a Nepalese citizen, Sherpa Gyalpo, around 1929 for smuggling tobacco and opium. But the late K. Dhondup has noted that Tsepon Lungshar ordered Sherpa Gyalpo’s arrest and used his own troops to catch this person.<sup>9</sup> Shakabpa does not mention Lungshar but writes that Sherpa Gyalpo was arrested by Nangtesha police.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that Chabdam Ugyen broke this case because he overheard incriminating conversation in Nepali between Sherpa Gyalpo and another person and attempted to arrest this miscreant. It is also certain that Sherpa Gyalpo escaped to the Nepalese Legation. Subsequently, armed Tibetan policemen and soldiers forcefully entered the premise and captured Sherpa Gyalpo, creating a serious diplomatic crisis between Tibetan and Nepal. Richardson says that Lungshar had ordered the forceful incursion into the Nepalese Legation and because of his “rash arrogance ... Lungshar’s position with the Dalai Lama was greatly discredited.”<sup>11</sup>

One other account I heard was that Chabdam Ugyen had not caught a murderer but a well-known burglar called Kuma Kentsug whose modus operandi was to “place a ladder” (*ke-tsug*) against a courtyard wall and enter houses on the other side. But the question for me was: would Ugyen have become famous in Lhasa merely for arresting a thief?

I am willing to accept that the Lhasa Ripper case study I have presented has a number of inconsistencies, but it is my hope that qualified researchers and scholars, especially those with access to Shol Laykhung or Nangtshesar criminal court records will one day unearth and publish



a full and satisfactory account of the Lhasa Ripper. In the meantime, I, as a teller-of-tales, will carry on telling this tale the way I heard it from my primary source.

### The Protector Deity Of Lhasa (& Its Criminals)

I have long been interested in what might be called the “dark underbelly” of old Lhasa society: the professional gamblers, criminals, burglars, pickpockets, forgers, bandits, beggars, scavengers and even the ladies of easy virtue, though some may object to their inclusion in this class. Granted, this particular dark underbelly wasn’t so “dark” or extensive as that of London or New York, and certainly not as exotic as that of old Peking or Shanghai, I suppose, but it was interesting in its own way because of its medieval flavor, and, as with all things Tibetan, its inevitable though nonetheless odd connection to religious life. Over the years I picked up bits of information, largely in casual conversations with older residents of Lhasa, all of whom have passed away.

My interest was first turned to this subject when as director of TIPA in 1981 I initiated the revival of the Shoton or the annual Opera (*Ache Lhamo*) Festival that took place at the Norbulingka Palace before 1959. For the first day of the Festival we planned to stage the introductory dances of all the various opera troupes that performed at the festival. When putting together the program I was told by the Opera Master, Norbu Tsering (aka Laba from the English “lover”) that the first performance on the stone-flagged stage of the Norbulingka was not opera but a program of Tantric dances (*cham*) put on by the entourage of the Karmashar oracle, who was considered the *sap-dag* or the local deity and chief protector of Lhasa.

Because of this special status the city magistrates from the Nangtsesha court would regularly offer homage to this oracle, and their constables, the Korchakpa, would organize the dance program at the Norbulingka. Although the modern police force took charge of the policing of the city in early 1924, the Korchakpa were not entirely disbanded and served as courthouse bailiffs and deputies. They wore dark wool robes and the yellow *bokto* hat of officialdom, and had a whip tucked in their belt. These constables were the principal performers of the Cham dance program, with petty criminals, pickpockets, and Ragyabpa beggars serving in the lesser roles.

### Various Criminal Fraternities

From all accounts there was a permanent class of petty criminals in Lhasa city generally referred to as *kuma*, which would mean a thief or burglar. Among burglars there were specialists. I have already mentioned our “ladder placer”, *Kuma Kentsug*. Another specialist housebreaker called the *Beeg-gyapkhen* or “penetrator” (*’begs rgyag mkhan*) would noiselessly dig holes in the rammed earth or brick wall of houses and entering the place make off with the valuables. Sometimes a “penetrator” would just scoop out a small hole and reaching in, take what he could grab.

There is a story how such a thief once tried to steal from a solitary meditator. The yogi heard the scratching on the wall of his hut and realized what was going on. He prepared a noose with

length of rope. When the thief's hand reached in through the hole he lassoed it with the noose and tied it tight to the ceiling. He then took a long switch and went outside where the thief was lying on the ground with his hand stuck in the hole. The yogi pulled down the thief's trousers and began to flog him. With each stroke the yogi recited the mantra of Jetsun Dolma (Arya Tara) "om täre tuttäre ture svahā". After twenty-one lashes and equivalent recitations, the yogi released the thief who ran off as fast as he could, finally taking shelter under a bridge. Lying down to rest the thief began to wonder why the meditator had so consistently recited the Tara mantra with each stroke. As he thought about it he repeated the mantra he had heard, the pain on his butt keeping the memory alive the whole night. Now the meditator was actually a spiritual master who had foreseen that the thief would shelter that night under a bridge haunted by a terrible flesh-eating demon. But as the thief now kept unconsciously reciting the mantra of Arya Tara, the most formidable protector and savior of sentient beings, the demon could not even come close to our lucky "penetrator".

Another criminal fraternity the *Thep-tre* (*mtheb dres*) or pickpockets, was made up of street urchins who were skilled at relieving valuables from within the *amba* or the front pouch of people's robe. Their victims of choice were peasants and pilgrims who crowded the streets of Lhasa during the many ceremonies and festivals throughout the year. Thep-tre were said to sometimes use scissors or sharp knives to cut through the fabric of the pouches. They were also much given to shoplifting from the outdoor stalls in the Barkor. When the Communist Chinese occupation force took over Lhasa, I was told that many of the Thep-tre shifted their attention to Chinese troops, relieving them of their watches, wallets and fountain pens, and in the case of the officers, even pistols.

There were no safe crackers because there were no safes in Lhasa, but there were professional lock-pickers *Dipzue-gyapkhen* (*Ide-rzus rgyag mkhan*) (literally "user of fake keys"), who could take care of the crude but tough Tibetan locks, *gochak* (*sgo-lchags*) or door-iron.

There were also criminal craftsmen who made fake *zi*-stones and forgers of coins (*ngul-zunma-zokhen*) and currency-note counterfeiters (*lor-zunma zokhen*). Bell has a photograph of a prisoner in stocks convicted of counterfeiting currency-notes.<sup>12</sup>

Then there were the *Jhagpa*, bandits or highwaymen, who were armed – with spears, swords or guns – and were dangerous. Taktser Rimpoche claims, though, that they could be chivalrous and might leave you enough food, even a mule to ride, after they robbed you.<sup>13</sup> But the chivalry of some of these bandits could be decidedly ambivalent – happily looting monasteries on the one hand while making lavish gifts to their own lamas. A case in point is the Khampa outlaw Dhonyod Dorje who was eventually captured and imprisoned by Gushri Khan.<sup>14</sup> Such bandits did not operate in Lhasa itself, but in many cases visited the city for pilgrimage, trade or even the occasional R&R. Since Lhasa was the "Holy City" I am told that there might have been some kind of unwritten rule granting temporary immunity to bandits coming on pilgrimage. Bell writes about such an informal arrangement for Golok tribesmen visiting Lhasa, but I don't think it extended to outlaws operating closer to home.

There are probably a number of sociological reasons for the prevalence of banditry in Central and Western Tibet at the beginning of the last century, but one reason may have to do with Chinese misrule in Eastern Tibet. When Heinrich Harrer was traveling through the Jhangtang and Western Tibet he refers to bandits as “Khampas” when in fact the population there is not Khampa at all. Some older Tibetans I know have objected to Harrer’s mislabeling, but in retrospect it does appear that quite a few of the major outlaws in those remote areas were Khampas who had been forced to leave Eastern Tibet because of the continual violence and oppression of Chinese administrators. These fugitives probably first started off as outlaws in Western Tibet, but over time settled down to becoming traders and local leaders of sorts. One of the leading citizens of Mustang in the 50’s was Garnag Yeshe Sangpo from Lithang in far Eastern Tibet. He had apparently started out as a bandit in the area, but through force of personality had established himself as a local bigwig at the town of Marpha.

Many of these “visitors” to Lhasa frequented the *chang* taverns which ladies of easy virtue would patronize, and gambling parlors (*bak-khang*) where professional gamblers (*bak-pa*) would oblige anyone looking for a game of *bakchen* (dominos) *sho* (dice), *takse* (cards) or most likely *mahjong*. One famous gambler from the forties and fifties known as “*Dre Kusho*” or Mr. Ghost, because of his extraordinary skills, managed to make it out to India. I saw him in a McLeod Ganj restaurant in ’69, looking very wrinkled and old, smoking a cigarette from a stylish silver cigarette holder.

In spite of the orderliness of Tibetan society in general, there were often brawls, and even shootings in these establishments. There was no restriction on ownership and carrying of guns in Tibet, and a variety of weapons and ammunition were sold freely in Lhasa shops – and even by street vendors. With the end of WWII surplus military equipment and gear (including rifles and pistols) were snapped up by enterprising Tibetan traders in Calcutta, Dhartsedo and Lijiang and distributed all over Tibet, especially Lhasa. The Tibetan government probably thought that it was all becoming too much of a good thing and issued an injunction whereby all firearms coming into Lhasa were required to be registered and all owners had to carry a special permit issued by the Lhasa magistrates. I still have the gun-permit issued to my parents when we visited Lhasa in 1949.

### “Label” Ladies Of Lhasa

In 1985 TIPA produced a musical *tableau vivant* on the Dalai Lama’s birthday, called *Lhasa Drenlu* or “Song of Lhasa Memories.”<sup>IV</sup> It depicted a street scene in the Holy City where ordinary city folk, aristocrats, lamas and so forth go about their business, while in the background a line of ten *dranyen* musicians play and sing songs related to the unfolding scenes. I had also included

IV I borrowed the name of my show from the title of the famous long poem, *Song of Lhasa Memories* written by the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama’s secretary, Shelkarlingpa. The poem was published by Gergen Tharchin at Kalimpong in 1936 at the Tibet Mirror Press as *Memories of Lhasa. Composed by H.E. Shelkarlingpa at Darjeeling in 1910,11.*

a (pantomime) donkey carrying firewood, Drekar beggars, and two of the famous singers of the time, *Shimi Lemba* (Cat label) and *Porok Lemba* (Crow Label).

I was taken to task for this production by a Dharamshala mob and later the exile-parliament, and charged with insulting the Dalai Lama on his birthday by showing donkeys and prostitutes. I attempted to argue, quite unsuccessfully, that these two famous ladies were not prostitutes but respectable entertainers belonging to the *Nangma* musical guild (*nangmae kyidug*) of Lhasa, who even performed at cabinet banquets (*kashag thogtro*) in the old days.

The term *Lemba* for the label or brands of commercial products imported into Tibet was also used to designate certain famous ladies, especially among the Lhasa demimonde, though not all women “labelled” in this way were necessarily prostitutes. For instance a Lhasa storeowner labelled *Khatak Lemba* apparently just specialised in selling *khatags*. One lady of easy virtue who is said to have worn Western style shoes (*jurta*, from the Hindi *juta*) instead of the traditional Tibetan boot *lham*, was called *Jurta Lemba*. One beauty was lauded as *Hangu Lemba* (Dove Label), while two others (perhaps less well endowed) were dismissed with the unflattering nicknames of *Longo Lemba* (Sheep Head Label) and *Naptug Lemba* (Snot Label). My mother told me of another *lemba* lady (whose name she refused to reveal) who moved to Darjeeling in the early forties and, as Miss Lily, contributed to the War effort by entertaining American GIs on leave in that hill resort.

The ethno-musicologist, Isabelle Henrion Dourey, in her study “Women in the Performing Arts”<sup>15</sup> provides further details and even a photograph of our two famous “Label” singers. But more relevant to our investigation, her study includes an account of “the most illustrious” of these female entertainers and courtesans, Chushur Yeshe Dolma. She was born probably around 1915 in the district of Chushur (at the confluence of the Kyichu and Yarlung Tsangpo) and died in Lhasa in 1992. According to Henrion Dourey “Her beauty was by all accounts irresistible, as were her kindness and generosity. Prostitution at that time did not seem to entail the same cynical commodification as in contemporary Lhasa.” But Henrion Dourey provides a popular verse<sup>v</sup> from around the fifties that is slightly at variance with her latter assertion. (The translation is partly mine).

Chushur Yeshe Dolma,  
How many silver coins do I have to spend for you?  
Even if the Sakya princess gave me a better deal  
I don't want her.

Henrion Dourey also tells us that “Not only was Chushur Yeshe Drolma a singer, but she could also play the lute.” By all accounts she was an accomplished *dra-nyan* player. I have a recording of her playing the quickstep section (*truk-shay*) of the *Tö-shay* “Draktö Karpo”. Her picking is rapid but smooth, uncluttered and melodious.

For other anecdotes on the courtesans that inhabited the Lhasa taverns (*changkhang*) I can find no better informant than the Japanese secret agent Hisao Kimura who seems to have spent a

<sup>v</sup> *Chu-shur ye shes sgrol ma/ tam kar ga tshad giong ga/ sa skya'i rje btsun sku zhab/ khan pa rgyab kyang mi dgos.*

lot of his time in Lhasa at these establishments. I met Kimura *san* in 1988 at the Tibetan New Year (*Losar*) reception of the Tibet Cultural Centre at Tokyo.

“A Lhasa *changkhang* might be frequented by members of all social strata, except for the nobility or the monks (although warrior monks were known to break this rule). It was a place to drink socially, make friends, do business, and where the most remarkable arrangements could be made for romantic liaisons.”

On Kimura’s initial venture the lady of the establishment took him in hand. “My, you are inexperienced, aren’t you? Well, we’ll soon fix that. You see, many of our Lhasa girls have no objection to spending time with a man, or to making a little extra money. Some of them are widows who might be lonely, and some are girls saving up for their marriages. You just name the lady and I’ll try to arrange something. If you have no one in mind, just leave it to me to arrange something to your satisfaction. We have rooms upstairs and a back door.’

She explained all this with a twinkle in her eyes but without a trace of lewdness. It seemed like an innocent game that everyone enjoyed. Even so, I found myself a little embarrassed as she told me how much money it would take ... Not all girls, of course would consent to such arrangements, but there seemed nothing particularly low or immoral about those who did. It all seemed remarkably friendly and healthy. It could not really be called prostitution: just good clean fun and a little money made on the side.”<sup>16</sup>

### Professional And Spiritual Beggars

The leading guild of professional beggars/scavengers/undertakers was the *Ragyabpa* that nearly every Western visitor to Tibet before 1959 has mentioned in their accounts. The duties of the *Ragyabpa* were supervising the other beggars of the city and also carrying the corpses of indigent people to the cemeteries for disposal. Some accounts maintain that *Ragyabpas* performed the actual “sky burial” or more correctly, *jha-tor*, the cutting up of dead bodies and feeding them to the vultures. But that task is more generally performed by the *Tomden* fraternity whose members do not beg and who are considered somewhat more respectable than *Ragyabpas*. *Tomdens* also perform autopsies for the courts when required. I have been told that through their traditional knowledge and experience of dissecting bodies the *Tomden* are familiar with symptoms of poisoning or other forms of unnatural death.

*Ragyabpas* claim that their actual name *rags-brgyab pa* (dam builder) derives from their original occupation during Songtsen Gampo’s time, when they were entrusted with monitoring and repairing the dykes of the Kyichu river which was then close to the city. But in later years as the river shifted its course in a more southerly direction, they took on their present duties. The leader of the guild is called the *Ragyabpa Pombo* and he wears the official *bokto* hat of respectability and the *sogchil* earring. Harrer in his *Lost Lhasa* has a photograph of *Ragyabpa* men and mistakenly explains their headgear in this way. “Here they wear round government-officer hats, which they found in the thrash.” Sarat Chandra Das met one *Ragyabpa pombo* on

his journey to Lhasa in 1882: “At present the chief of the *ragyabas* is a man of about fifty years called Abula; he wear a red serge gown and a yellow turban.”<sup>17</sup> Das tells us that Shigatse also had its Ragyabpa guild.

All visitors to Lhasa from the British mission, Chinese mission, the Nepalese and Bhutanese representatives, even visiting individuals of wealth or distinction were obliged to pay the Ragyabpa a certain (not insignificant) amount, as a mandatory tariff on entering Lhasa. This even included important visitors from Kham and Amdo as lamas, chieftains and merchants. It was said that the Ragyabpa would curse you if you didn’t pay and a Ragyabpa’s curse was considered malignant. This was essentially a kind of cultural extortion, resembling the practice of the transgender *Hijra* community in India that still derives its income from similar begging/extortion performance rituals.

The Ragyabpas lived in a suburb outside the Lingkor called appropriately enough Rako Lingka, or “field of horns”. One of the earliest Western visitors to Lhasa (Abbe Huc) has described the unique architecture of this area: “In the *faubourgs* there is a quarter where the houses are built entirely with horns of oxen and sheep. These curious buildings are extremely solid, and present a rather pleasing aspect ... these strange building materials lend themselves marvelously well to endless combinations, and form the walls designs of infinite variety. The spaces between the horns are filled with mortar. These houses are the only ones which are not whitewashed.”<sup>18</sup>

According to Charles Bell the Ragyabpa make a very good living. They also have a definite connection with the criminal elements of Lhasa since they were in charge of criminals who had just been released from jail and had nowhere to go. The Ragyabpa guild served as a kind of half-way house. Criminals released from prison were put in shackles and allowed to beg. Before the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama abolished capital punishment in circa 1896 and banned cruel punishments, it seems the Ragyapa also had the gruesome task of carrying out such punishments.

Another begging fraternity connected with the Ragyabpa were the *Peendunga*, whose women-folk were capable of unleashing a very loud and unpleasant wailing if you didn’t pay them fast enough. Other professional beggars in Lhasa were the fiddlers (*tse-tse tangyen*), beggars with performing monkeys (*trangbo-tre-tse*), one virtuoso who put on a full opera performance by himself (*michik-lhamo*) and a host of others who sang, danced, recited, joked and performed acrobatics for the entertainment and the largesse of the good people of Lhasa .

The most well known of such mendicant entertainers, indeed almost an institution in himself, is the *Drekar Sampe Thondup* “White Seeds Fulfiller of Wishes”<sup>VI</sup> who always showed up on New Year’s Day, weddings and other important occasions. The Drekar recited auspicious verses “... in a stream of extravagant language, interlarded with jests which cannot be said to border on the vulgar, for they are well across the line.”<sup>19</sup> One section of the Drekar’s monologue is the “Origin Chronicles of Tibet” (*bhod sepa chagpae chag-rap*) where short pithy verses describe the major cities, towns, and religious sites of Tibet and recount their (largely) fabulous origins.

VI Charles Bell and others refer to this beggar as the “White Devil” (*hdrae-dkar*). Rakra Rimpoche told me that the true auspicious meaning of the name was “White Seed” (*hbrae-dkar*), both pronounced the same.

Besides the extortionists and the entertainers you had an altogether different and more honored class of mendicants, who were essentially religious practitioners. Begging in general was not, of course, considered a respectable occupation in Tibet, but probably in no other society in the world was begging less looked down on. Buddhism has a long tradition of monks and nuns begging for alms (*so-nyom*) as the Buddha himself did. So you had pilgrims from Kham, Amdo and elsewhere travelling to Lhasa and Central Tibet, and making their journey entirely through begging, in order to increase the merit of their pilgrimage. Many of the pilgrims were well off and did not need to beg, but chose to so for spiritual reasons. One of the leading chieftains of Lithang, Pon Sogyal (father of the famous resistance leader, Yunru Pon) travelled to Lhasa as a beggar, as did a friend of mine Nyarong Aten whose biography I wrote in 1979.<sup>20</sup>

So in Lhasa, especially during the Monlam (Great Prayer) Festival and also during the Saga Dawa festival commemorating the Enlightenment of the Lord Buddha, the sides of the Lingkor (Outer Circuit) road were jammed with a variety of mendicant as the *Lama Mane*, who recited the lives of saints using *thangkas* as visual aid. The *Tashi Gomang* did much the same but with elaborate miniature temples behind whose many doors and windows were tiny statuettes of saints and deities. The *Deylok Shayngen* told the stories of spiritually accomplished people who we might now describe as having had “near death experiences”. Then there were the *Chanze Lama*, pilgrims who had prostrated all the way to the Holy City from many hundreds of miles away, and a host of other mendicants to whom the good citizens of Lhasa would distribute money and food.

That still left you with a large section of the beggar population, discussed earlier, who had not chosen their way of life for spiritual reasons. There were all sorts of reasons why people chose vagrancy: crop failure, inability to pay debts, desertion from the army (or from a monastery), family problems and so on. For some it was just a way of “dropping out”. I heard of someone called Tingsha<sup>21</sup>(probably a nickname) of aristocratic descent, joining a band of beggars and going around Lhasa playing the *dra-nyan* and getting drunk.

Heinrich Harrer, with his Teutonic sensibilities, says that Lhasa beggars were just lazy. Unfortunately, he wasn’t just airing an opinion here, but speaking from hard experience. When he was commissioned to build his famous dam the government rounded up seven hundred sturdy beggars as laborers. Although they received good food and pay they were all absent in a few days. “It is not lack of work or dire necessity that makes these people beggars, nor, in most cases, bodily infirmity. It is pure laziness. Begging offers a good livelihood in Tibet and no one turns a beggar from the door.”<sup>22</sup> Harrer goes on to observe “the produce of two hours ‘work’ (Harrer is being sarcastic here) keeps him going for the day.”

The historian Shakabpa says pretty much the same though he is less exact about the time. “Even the beggars of Lhasa have only to ply their trade for some time in the morning to get enough food for the day. In the evenings they are all nicely drunk.”<sup>23</sup>

On the question of how the beggars got “nicely drunk” it might be noted that they drank the best *chang* in all of Lhasa. I am not making this up.<sup>VII</sup> All the *changkang* taverns and most

VII My grandaunt Tesur Yangchen Palmo once teased me about the occasional bottle of rum I received from *kushog* Lobsang Tsering la, the late caretaker of the Palden Lhamo chapel at the Tsuklagkhang in

families in Lhasa brewed their own *chang*. The Tibetan government did not tax the production or consumption of alcohol. Big families even had their own in-house expert brewer, usually an older woman respectfully called *Ama chang-ma*. Whenever a batch was ready the initial “offering” (*changphud*) was poured into a clean pitcher and the daughter of the house or a maid, always dressed in her best, would take the pitcher to the *Pela-chog*, the chapel of the goddess Palden Lhamo (Sridevi) at the south-eastern corner of the Jokhang roof. The sacristan at the temple would pour it out into a giant vat by the side. In the evening the beggars of Lhasa would line up by a side-door and the sacristan would let each one have a full jug of this pure and consecrated ale for the token payment of a *chek-ke* coin, the equivalent of a penny.

I am not trying to suggest that the life of the average Lhasa beggar was, for all the free beer, in any way a bed of roses. Of course it wasn't. Tibet was admittedly a politically backward and industrially undeveloped society, but the account of Lhasa beggars drinking beer that was at least clean and wholesome made me think of Gustave Doré's engravings of the squalor and despair of working class London, and Hogarth's famous print of Gin Lane (in the notorious slum parish of St. Giles) where the working poor destroyed themselves and their children by drinking manufactured spirits (frequently mixed with turpentine), foisted on them by a government whose primary concern was raising revenue from alcohol sale. I wrote about something much the same happening in Lhasa from the early 1980s onwards, “a ubiquitous alcoholism fuelled by the sale of cheap Chinese rot-gut, *baijiu* and *sanjiu* ... pushing Tibetans into immediate unemployment and ultimate extinction.”<sup>24</sup>

I am not the first one to make such an observation contrasting Tibet and Britain of the Industrial Revolution. Hugh Richardson in writing about old Tibet reflected: “From fourteen years' acquaintance with it I maintain that it was not deliberately cruel or oppressive. It did not need force to maintain itself ... It had evolved a closely knit society with a balanced economy and higher standard of living with far less distance between rich and poor than obtained, say in India, (and also say in China. JN). There was a regular surplus of grain, and large reserve stocks. *No one suffered the degrading conditions of life of which we read in the industrial revolution here or in Ireland.*”<sup>25</sup>

To return to our story of the Lhasa Ripper, Rinzin and Damdul were released in late 1934, probably after the arrest of the real serial murderer. Both men had suffered much in prison. My primary informant remembers that her uncle Bhu Damdul was very resentful of the Tibetan government especially the Lhasa aristocracy, and with good reason. He died destitute.

But an element of poetic justice developed in this case. When Damdul and Rinzin were in prison, Tsepon Lungshar was arrested in May 1934 for plotting a *coup d'état* against the Tibetan government. He was put in the same prison as the two men he had framed and was still there when the two were released later that same year. Although the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama had abolished capital punishment at the turn of the century and banned all “cruel and unusual” punishment, Lungshar

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Dharamshala. He was a great opera fan and a friend of mine. She then told about the special provenance of alcohol products coming from this particular chapel.



suffered the dreadful punishment of being blinded.<sup>viii</sup> Goldstein tells us “The mutilation was terribly bungled” by the Ragyapa men, as this punishment “had not been exacted for such a long time that there was no one who had ever seen it done.”<sup>26</sup>

Subsequently, Lungshar was incarcerated at the Shachenjok prison in Shol below the Potala. Lhalu Lhacham’s did everything she could to free him. My mother remembered the lady calling at Tethong House a year or so after my grandfather Gyurme Gyatso returned to Lhasa from his duties in Kham (as governor-general) and joined the kashag as a full-fledged minister. When my mother showed Lhalu Lhacham into the living room she immediately did a full prostration (kyang-chag) before a horrified Gyurme Gyatso who hurriedly helped her up. My mother remembered the loud bump of her ample figure dropping on the wooden floor. The lady then burst into tears and appealed for the release of Lungshar. “What can he do now? He is just blind and helpless.” It would be an act of compassion (gyewa) to release him.” Most probably Lhalu Lhacham appealed to others in the kashag, for Lungshar was soon released. He lived out the rest of his life quietly with Lady Lhalu. He died in 1939. His son Tsewang Dorje Lhalu was reinstated as a government official and later became a cabinet minister and the governor-general of Eastern Tibet (do-chi) in 1947.

As for our Lhasa Ripper, aka Chonze Serso Chenba, the Nepalese national with the gold-capped teeth, I have been unable to dig up anything further on him following his arrest and presumed incarceration.

*For all the stories, facts and scraps of information I obtained and accumulated over the years for this essay I am indebted to my mother Lodi Lhawang, my uncle Tethong Sonam Tomjor, grandaunt Tesur Yangchen Palmo, uncle Rakra Rinpoche, uncle Tethong Tsewang Chogyal, Nyemo Bhonshod Bhusang, TIPA director Chitiling Ngawang Dhakpa, Music instructor Gen Lutsa, Opera Master Gen Norbu Tsering, former State Astrologer Drakton Jampa Gyaltsen, uncle Nornang Ganden la, my mother-in-law Tashi Dolma la (Mrs. Lhamo Tsering), Italian scholar Roberto Vitali and my primary informant for the “Ripper” story, Mrs. Kalsang Chukie Tethong. I must also thank Tashi Tsering la, director of the Amnye Machen Institute for many snippets of information and much sound advice. To the authors of all the articles and books cited in the Reference Notes from which I gleaned further facts and figures, my thanks.*

## End notes

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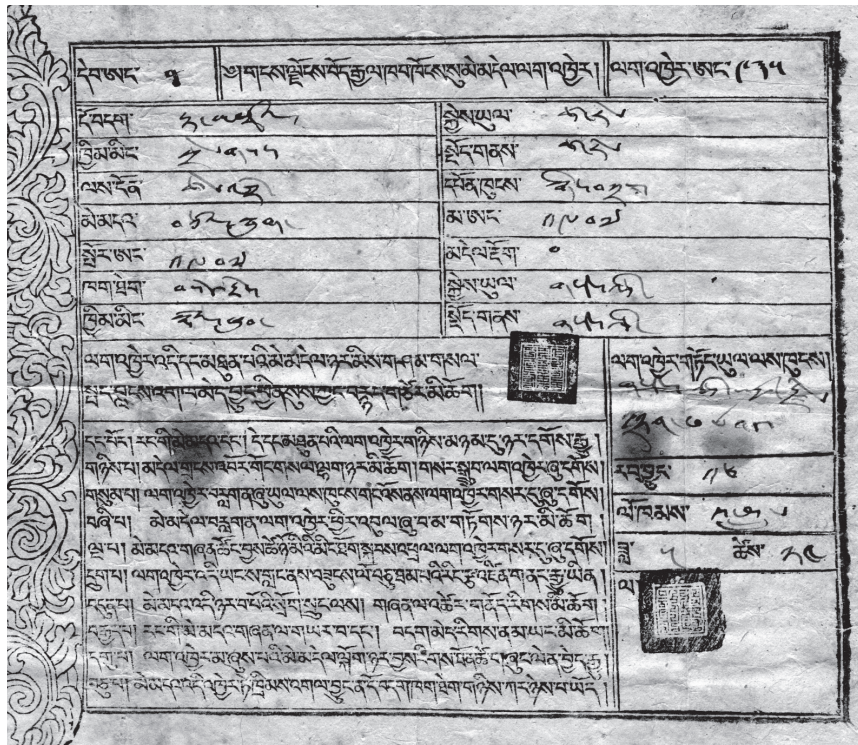
2 Jamyang Norbu, “From Darkness to Dawn: Legal Punishment in Tibet from Imperial Chinese Rule to Independence” *Shadow Tibet*, <http://www.jamyangnorbu.com/blog/2009/05/17/from-darkness-to-dawn/>

viii My uncle Sonam Tomjor Tethong told me the investigating committee had initially considered capital punishment but because of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama’s ban had recommended mutilation as a less severe alternative. Goldstein writes that the committee feared that “Lungshar might become a vengeful ghost” if he was executed.

- 3 Nicholas and Deki Rhodes, *A Man of the Frontier: S.W. Laden La –1876-1936*, Rachna Books, Kolkata, 2006, p.38-45.
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- 5 Interview with Lhasa police physician, Nyemo Bhusang, on 9<sup>th</sup> September 1991, at McLeod Ganj, Dharamshala, India.
- 6 Ibid. Bhusang interview.
- 7 I am grateful to my friend the Italian scholar Roberto Vitali for this nugget of historical information.
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- 9 K. Dhondup, *The Water-Bird and Other Years- A History of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and After*, Rangwang Publisher, New Delhi, 1986, p.77.
- 10 Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, Vol.2, trans. Derek F Maher, Brill, Leiden & Boston, 2010, p.813.
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- 19 Charles Bell, *The People of Tibet*, Oxford, 1928, p.275.
- 20 Jamyang Norbu, *Warriors of Tibet*, Wisdom Publications, London, 1986.
- 21 Conversation with T.C. Tethong in November 2012.
- 22 Heinrich Harrer, *Seven Years in Tibet*, Dutton, New York, 1954, p.257.
- 23 Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, *An Advanced Political History of Tibet (Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs)*, Shakabpa House, Kalimpong, 1976. (My translation)
- 24 Jamyang Norbu, “Lhasa Eternal City (2)” *Shadow Tibet*, <http://www.jamyangnorbu.com/blog/2013/06/01/lhasa-eternal-city-2/>
- 25 Hugh Richardson, “Tibet Past and Present”, *High Peaks Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*, Serindia, London, 1998, p.704.
- 26 Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet 1913-1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1989, p.209.



A group of itinerant fiddlers. Note the convict in leg shackles on extreme right. Photograph Charles Bell.



Gun permit issued by Lhasa magistrates in 1949. Jamyang Norbu collection.



Lhalu Lhacham partying with some members of the British Mission in Lhasa.  
Photograph Courtesy Pitt River Museum. PRM 2001.59.7.82.1.



Korchakpa constables of Gyantse town. Photograph Ernst Schafer.



Ragyabpa men soliciting “contributions”. Photograph Heinrich Harrer.



Claude White and Chinese official at Tibet-Sikkim frontier.

The four Chinese in traditional costume standing behind are possibly “Thuvin” officers. The characters on their jacket are “ching” pacification, “shi” west, and “yin” force. Photograph J.C White.



Tsepon Lungshar. Photograph Charles Bell.



Drekhar Beggars. Photograph Alexandra David-Neel.



Constable of the Lha-Ngam-Phun Sum peasant police force in 1949 just before its termination. Photograph Lowell Thomas.

# དགོ་དབང་སྐྱོན་དངགས་མཁན་ཞིག་ནས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ གྱུར་པའི་ལུང་ཁུངས་འཚོལ་བ།

## དགོ་འདུན་རབ་གསལ།

ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདིར་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པ་ཚེན་པོ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱས་པའི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
དགོ་དབང་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་པའི་ཚུལ་ལུགས་ཆེད་གསུངས་མོད། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་  
པ་ནས་བཅུ་བདུན་བ་བར་གྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་དུ་འདི་ལ་བཞེད་ཚུལ་རྗེ་འདྲ་ཡོད་མེད་ཀྱི་ཁུངས་ལུང་བཅུད་གཅོད་བྱས་ཏེ།  
བོད་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་སྤེལ་སྐོར་ཞིག་གིས་དགོ་དབང་ནི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་དང་སྐྱོན་དངགས་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་གཏོགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་  
ཞེས་པའི་ཐ་སྐད་མ་སྐྱར་མོད་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཀྱིས་ལྷན་འཛུགས་འབེལ་བའི་སྐོར་དང། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་  
བསྐྱར་བཙུགས་འགན་དགོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་སྐོར་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་མེད་པ་བཙུགས་ཀྱིས་ཡོད།

དང་པོ། “སྐྱོན་དངགས་མཁན་གྱུན་གྱི་གཙུག་གི་འོར་བུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོ།” ཞེས་པའི་བཞེད་ཚུལ་འཚོལ་བ།

ཐུན་གྱིས་ “བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ལེ་དབྱེད་པ་རྟོག་པའི་རི་མོ་” ཞེས་བྱ་  
བ་ཞིག་གིས་བ་དེ་ ༡༩༩༩ ལོར་སྐུ་ཆ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆེས་མཐོའི་གཙུག་ལག་སྐོབ་ཁང་གིས་དུ་ལའི་སྐུ་མའི་འཕགས་བོད་མེད་ ༢༥  
པའི་རོ་བོར་བར་སྐྱོན་བྱས་ཤིང། དེ་བ་ཚུང་དེའི་ནང་། ཐུན་གྱིས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ཅིག་ལ་གཞུགས་ཏེ་དགོ་དབང་གི་  
ལོ་རྒྱུས་གིས་ཐོག་ དགོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་པར་བསྐྱབས་མཁན་ནི་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ (1617–1682)  
ཡིན་པར་ཁ་འཕངས་འདུག་མོད། སྐབས་དེར་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པ་ཚེན་པོས་ཡིག་ཆ་གང་ཞིག་ཏུ་དགོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པར་  
གསུངས་པའི་ཁུངས་དེ་གསལ་ཁ་བཏོད་མི་འདུག།

ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པོའི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་ནི་ཐུན་གྱི་བསྐྱོན་འཇུག་དང་དེ་བཞིན་གསུང་འབུམ་ཁྲིད་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་  
དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་གི་པར་བྱང་དེ་ཡིན་ལ། དེར་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ལ་དབྱེད་ཞིབ་ནན་མོ་མཚན་  
འདུག་ཁར། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐོར་བརྗོད་སྐབས་ཀྱང་འདི་ལྟར། “སེམས་ཅད་མཁྲེན་པ་སུའི་ཚོས་འབྱུང་དུ་འདི་ཉིད་ལ་སྐོབ་དཔོན་  
གསུང་བ་ནི་སྐོབ་དཔོན་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་མི་འགལ་བའི་དབང་དུ་མཚན་པ་སྟེ། རོན་དུ་འདི་ཉིད་ས་སྐོབ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁུངས་  
ནི། དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཅོད་པན་སྐོན། ཁྲོ་བཟང་མི་དབང་ཞེས་རིགས་ལ། གཤེད་ཅན་དབང་བཞིན་ལོངས་སྐོབ་

1 ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདིའི་དབྱེད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་མང་པོ་ཞིག་བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྐྱར་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ལྟེ་གནས་ (<http://tbc.org>) ཀྱི་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ལྟེ་ཅེད་དེའི་  
མ་སྐྱར་རྒྱུ་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདི་ཐུབ་པར་གྱུར། དེ་བས་འདིར་ཆེད་དུ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་བཞིན་ཡོད། ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདི་པར་སྐྱོན་ལ་ཉེ་བའི་  
སྐབས་སུ་མཁས་དབང་རྣམས་ལ་ཆེ་རིང་ལགས་ཀྱིས་དབྱེད་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་འགའ་ཞིག་རྒྱུས་སྐོན་གནང་བ་མ་ཟད། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་  
བསམ་འཁྲིལ་བོད་དུ་འབྱུང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལམ་སྐོན་དང། དེ་བཞིན་ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདིའི་ནང་དོན་ཐད་ནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ཞུ་དག་  
གནང་བ་བཙུགས་ཆེ་ཞུ་བ་ཡིན། དེ་བཞིན་ཐུན་གྱི་མཚེད་རྟོགས་རྣམས་པར་མ་འབྲུམ་ལགས་དང་རྗེ་རྗེ་དབང་ལྷག་ལགས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་  
ཚོམ་ཡིག་འདི་ལ་སྐྱོན་པའི་དགོངས་འཆར་གནང་བ་ལའང་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ཞུ་བ་ཡིན།

ཅན། །ལོངས་སྤོང་ལྷན་པའི་དབང་པོ་བྱང་། །ཞེས་དབལ་ལྷན་ཤུག་འཛིན་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མདུན་ན་འདོན་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་མའི་  
 དབང་པོའི་རིགས་བརྒྱད་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཡང་མེས་པོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་སྲས་ས་སྤོང་རབ་གསལ་  
 དུ་གྲགས་པ་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབལ་འབྲོར་ལྷན་སྲུང་ཚོགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྲས་སུ་བལྟམས་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དགེ་བའི་  
 དབང་པོས་བསྟན་བཅོས་འདི་མཛད།<sup>2</sup> ཅས་གསུངས་འདུག །འདི་ནི་དགེ་དབང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་སྲུང་བ་  
 བེ་ཆེ་བསྟོན་གྱི་དོན་མིན་པར། །ཁོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དོ་མ་ཞེག་དང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་ཞེག་ཡིན་པར་བསྟུབས་འདུག །པར་བྱང་འདི་  
 བཅུམས་པའི་ལོ་ནི་ཤིང་མོ་སྤྱི་ཉེ་ ༡༦༦༥ ལོར་འཁེལ་འདུག

ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རང་རྣམ་དུ་ཡང་འདིའི་སྐོར་ལ་གསུངས་དོན། “ཆོས་བཅུ་བདུན་ནས་སངས་རྒྱལ་བའ་པོ་  
 ཆའི་ལུང་ལྷ་བའི་དབུ་བཅུ་གས། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དབག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་འདི་བརྗོད་བྱའི་དོན་དེ་བཞིན་གསེགས་  
 པའི་སྤྱི་ཆེ་འདི་དང་ལྷ་མའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ཡིན་ནའང་རྒྱ་གར་ཁ་སྤྱོད་ཅན་གྱི་སྐོ་ལྷགས་དམ་པས་བོད་རྒྱན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་  
 མིག་གིས་མ་ཁྲོལ་བ་པའ་ཆེར་གསལ་གཤེགས་མེད་པ་མང་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བྱང་བ་གྲགས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ཆེན་  
 མང་པོས་རྒྱལ་པོས་བཅུམས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལ་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་མི་འབྱུང་གསུངས་པ་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མ་དགོངས་པའི་སྤྱི་བ་  
 གཡོགས་ལས་དེ་ལྟར་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བྱ་ཉིས་མཚོན་པ་ལ་འབྱུང་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་མི་འབྱུང་ཞིང་རང་བྱུང་དུ་ཁས་འཚེ་བ་ཅམ་  
 གྱིས་འགངས་ཆེན་དགེ་སྤོང་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ཀྱང་རྟོགས་པར་ལུས་པས་གསུང་རིགས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་དེས་  
 གཟུང་ག་ལ་ཡོད།”<sup>3</sup> ཅས་གསུངས་ཉེ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བྱང་བ་གྲགས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ཆེན་གཞན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་དགེ་དབང་  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད་པའི་དགོངས་རྒྱུ་ལ་བསྟན་འདུག །རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་བས་ཚོད་སྤོང་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བྱང་བ་  
 གྲགས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་ནི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བཞི་བ་པོ་ཤི་གྲགས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་ (1547-1613) ཡིན་མོད། སྤྱི་བ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་ཆོང་  
 བརྒྱད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རབ་འབྱམས་ལོར་བུ་རྒྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མེད་པ་ཞེས་པར་བཞུགས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དུ་  
 །ཁོང་གིས་ལྷ་མོ་ཆོང་པའི་ཆེན་ལས་དབག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་གི་ཞལ་ལུང་དང་སྤྱི་སོགས་གསལ་རྒྱུ་ལས་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་  
 པོ་ཡིན་སྐོར་གྱི་གཏམ་མ་རྟེན་སྤྱི་བ་དུང་བརྟག་འཚེལ།<sup>4</sup>

ཡང་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་སྐོར་གཉིས་ཤུར་མའི་པར་བྱང་དུ། “དེ་ཡང་བོད་འདིར་རང་གཞན་གྱི་གྲུབ་  
 པའི་མཐའ་འཛིན་པའི་སྤྱི་ཆེན་མང་པོས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འདི་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོས་བཅུམས་པས་བྱིན་རྒྱལ་མི་འབྱུང་ཞེས་སྤྱི་བ་

2 བསྟན་འགྲུར་ (དཔེ་བསྟར་མ་) བསྟན་འགྲུར། །ཞེ། གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང། ༢༠༠༩ འོག་གངས་ ༡༡༢༥ ནས་ ༡༡༢༦  
 ཡང། པར་བྱང་འདི་ཉིད་ཁོང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ཁོང་དུ་འཁོད་པ་དཔེ་མཚན་བྱང་ལ། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དབག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་སྤོང་གཉིས་  
 ཤུར་དགའ་ལྷན་ལྷན་ཚོགས་སྤོང་དུ་བརྟེན་བརྟེན་པའི་པར་བྱང་དབྱངས་ཅན་རྒྱུད་ལས་བྱུངས་པའི་ལྷ། ཞེས་འབྱུང། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་བ་དག་  
 དབང་སྤོང་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་བཞུགས་པོ། །འོག་གངས་ ༡༤༥ ནས་ ༢༠༤ སེར་གཙུག་ནང་བསྟན་དཔེ་རྟེན་འཚོལ་བསྟུ་ལྷགས་སྤྱི་ག་  
 ཁང་གིས་བསྤིགས། གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང། ༢༠༠༤

3 དགའ་དབང་སྤོང་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྟོན་ཆ། འོག་གངས་ ༦༤༣-༤ བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང། ༡༩༩༤ ལོར་པར་བཏབ་པ།

4 སྤྱི་བ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་ཆོང་བརྒྱད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་རབ་འབྱམས་ལོར་བུ་རྒྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མེད་པ། བོད་གཉིས་ལ། འོག་གངས་  
 པ་བཅེད་དབལ་སྤོངས་པར་མ་ལས་ ༡༩༩༣ ལོར་ལྷུ་ཡིར་བསྟར་པར་བྱས་པ།



ཅི་ལྟོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞི་རྒྱུ་ཉི་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེས་དཔོན་སོགས་དམ་པ་མང་པོ་ལའང་སློང་པར་འགྱུར་པའི་  
དགེ་གི་ལས་དཔེ་གསོག་པར་ཟད་ཅིང་། མཁས་སློམ་ལ་ལ་དག་དགེ་དབང་ཡབ་སྲས་གཟིགས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་བས་བསྟན་བཅོས་  
འདིར་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་མ་ཡིན་པའི་གང་ཟག་གཞན་གྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་མང་དུ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པའི་  
རྣམ་ཐར་ཁོ་ན་མིན་ཅོ་ཞེས་སློབ་པ་ཞི་སློབ་པ་པོ་རང་ཉིད་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འདི་ལ་སློབ་པོས་ཀྱི་འདུག་པ་ཞིབ་མོར་མ་བྱས་ཤིང་།  
མདོ་ལུང་རྣམས་དང་མ་འདྲིས་པའི་རང་གི་ནང་ཆ་སྤྱིར་སྟོན་པ་ཁོ་ན་སྟེ།<sup>5</sup> ཞེས་ཀྱང་གསུངས་འདུག །ལུང་དུམ་བྱ་འདིའི་  
ནང་ནས་སྐབས་དེར་བོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་མང་པོས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ནས་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཞེད་པ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་གཞན་  
ཞིག་ནས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིའི་ཤིང་གི་བརྗོད་བྱའི་སྟོང་ “སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་མ་ཡིན་པའི་གང་ཟག་གཞན་  
གྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་མང་དུ་ཡོད་” པར་འདོད་པ་དེ་བསྟན་འདུག་མོད་སློབ་མེད་དེ་དག་སྤྱི་ཡིན་གྱི་ཁྲུང་ས་འཚོལ་བ་དེ་ལྟ་མཉེན་དོ།།

ཡང་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པོའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་གཞན་གྱི་ཁོད་ནའང་དཔེར་ན། གསལ་ཡིག་གསུང་ཆུ་རྒྱུན་ལས་ “སྣམ་དག་  
མཁན་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞུག་གི་ཉོར་བྱ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དགེ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་བྱང་རྒྱལ་མེས་པས་དཔེར་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་  
པ་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲིའི་ཡལ་འདབ་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུག། དེའི་ལ་སློང་ལེ་ལུ་གཅིག་སྲས་རྒྱ་པའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པ་དང་  
བཅས་པའི་ཡལ་འདབ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བརྒྱད་པའི་ལུང་རྒྱུད་གི་བརྒྱད་པ་ལོ།<sup>6</sup> ཞེས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིའི་ཤིང་གི་ལུང་  
བརྒྱད་འཆད་སྐབས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དང་སྣམ་དག་མཁན་ཀུན་གྱི་གཞུག་གི་ཉོར་བྱ་ཞེས་བསྟན་པ་མཛད་འདུག།

ཡང་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་པོའི་གསུང་འདུམ་ ༡༠༠༩ ལོར་པར་སྐྱབ་བྱས་པའི་བོད་ ༡༩ པའི་ནང་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་  
བསམ་འཁྲིའི་ཤིང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཚོམ་ཡིག་གསུམ་འཁོད་པ་དེའི་གཅིག་ལི་གོང་དུ་བྲངས་ཟིན་པའི་སྐད་གཉིས་འག་སྐར་  
མའི་པར་བྱང་དེ་ཡིན་ལ། གཞན་གཅིག་ལི་ “ཚོས་སྤྲེ་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲས་སྤྱངས་ཀྱི་འདུ་ཁང་ལ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་  
པོ་ཆེ་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིའི་ཤིང་གི་ལྗེ་བས་མྱིས་བྱས་སྐབས་ཞལ་བྱང་ཆོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་དོ་མཚར་དཔག་བསམ་སྟེ་མ་”<sup>7</sup>  
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་ཁོ་ན་བསྟོམས་ཤོག་དོས་ ༥༤ ཡོད་ཅིང་། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིའི་ཤིང་གི་ཡལ་འདབ་  
དེ་དེའི་སྤྱི་དོན་ཆོགས་བཅད་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པ་ཞིག་དེད། འདིའི་མཚོན་བརྗོད་དུ། “རྒྱལ་དབང་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་མཚུར་ཡི་  
སྤང་། །སྣམ་དག་གྲེ་བའི་དབྱངས་སུ་ལེན་མཁས་པ། །ཉོར་འཛིན་སློང་བ་དགེ་དབང་ཡབ་སྲས་ཀྱི། །བསོད་ནམས་ཉི་མ་  
སློང་གི་གཟི་བརྗོད་འབད།” །ཞེས་དགེ་དབང་ལ་ཉོར་འཛིན་སློང་བ་ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་ལུས་འདུག ཡང་ “རྟོགས་བརྗོད་  
རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིའི་ཤིང་གི་ཞིང་ཁམས་དོ་མཚར་བཀོད་པ་གསལ་དུ་བསྐྱབ་པའི་ཆེ་བརྗོད་སྟོན་ལས་དུ་ཟུར་

5 བསྟན་འཇུག་ (དཔེ་བསྟན་མ་) བསྟན་འཇུག། ཞེ་ གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༤ འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༡༢༦-༡༡༢༧  
6 དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གསལ་ཡིག་གསུང་ཆུ་རྒྱུན་ལས་སྟེགས་བས་དང་པོ། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པོ་དག་དབང་སློབ་མཚན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འདུམ་བཞུགས་  
སོ། །བོད་ (༡) འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༩ སེར་གཞུག་ནང་བསྟན་དཔེ་རྟེན་འཚོལ་བསྟེ་ཕྱོགས་སྟེགས་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱོད་ཁང་། གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་  
ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩  
7 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པོ་དག་དབང་སློབ་མཚན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འདུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བོད་ (༡༩) འོག་གྲངས་ ༥༤ ལས་ ༡༢༢ སེར་གཞུག་ནང་  
བསྟན་དཔེ་རྟེན་འཚོལ་བསྟེ་ཕྱོགས་སྟེགས་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱོད་ཁང་། གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩

གྱི་བཅུན་པ་ཚངས་སྐྱེས་བཞད་པའི་ཚོ་རྗེས་འགལ་བ་ཞེས་པ་ལྷགས་མོ་པག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བ་བརྒྱད་པའི་དགའ་  
 ཚའི་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་པོའི་ཉི་མ་མེ་མའི་འབྲུག་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་དུས་དགེ་བར་སྐྱུར་” ཞེས་པའི་མཚུགས་བྱང་ཅན་དེ་ནི་ལྟ་བུ་མཚོ་བ་  
 མང་པོས་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་ཞིང་བཞོད་བཞེངས་པའི་མཚུགས་བྱང་སྐོན་ཚིག་ཏུ་མཛད་འདུག། །འདིའི་ལྷགས་པག་  
 ལོ་ནི་ ༡༦༥༡ ལོ་རེད། དེར་ཡང་། “འོན་ཀྱང་སྐྱེས་རབས་འཕྲེང་དང་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་འདིའི། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་མཚོན་མདའི་གངས་  
 ཟུར་དཔག་བསམ་སྐྱོན། །སྐྱོན་དངགས་སྐྱ་ཉིག་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གཡུར་ཟ་བ། །འདི་འདྲ་མཁས་རྣམས་དགའ་བ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་རྒྱལ།  
 །ས་སྐྱོད་གཙུག་ལག་འཚང་ལ་སྐོབས་པའི་མཐུ། །ཆེས་མཐོ་དགེ་བའི་དབང་པོ་ཡབ་སྐུ་གྱི། །རྣམ་དཔྱོད་སོར་མོས་  
 བརྟུངས་པའི་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱད། །མང་པོར་འཁོལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་འདི་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྐྱེ།”<sup>8</sup> ཞེས་དགེ་དབང་ཡབ་སྐུ་ལ་ས་སྐྱོད་  
 ཅེས་མཚན་སྐྱུར་འདུག། །དེ་བཞིན་ཁོང་གིས་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱོན་འགྲེལ་དབྱངས་ཅན་དགེ་སྐྱེ་སོགས་ནའང་དགེ་དབང་ལ་  
 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་མཚན་སྐྱུར་འདུག།

ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ལས་ཀྱང་ལོ་ན་ཉི་ལྔ་ཅམ་གྱིས་རྒྱན་པའི་མཁས་པ་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བདུན་པར་ཕྱོན་  
 པའི་འཇམ་མགོན་ཨ་མེས་ཞབས་དག་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་ (1597–1659/1660) ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཁོང་གིས་མཛད་  
 པའི་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་དོན་འགྲེལ་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པ་ཚོགས་གཅིག་ལས་སྐྱུར་སྐྱུར་  
 བྱའི་ཐོང་མཛེས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དཔེ་རིང་ཤོག་ངོས་ ༡༥༩ ཅན་དེ་ནི་ས་མོ་ལོས་ཀྱི་ལོའི་ལོ་གསར་ཚེས་གཅིག་ལས་སྐྱུར་སྐྱུར་  
 གྲུབ་ཅེས་གསུངས་འདུག་སྐབས་བརྒྱུད་ལོ་ནི་ ༡༦༣༩ ལོ་ལ་འཁེལ་འདུག། དེས་ན་འདི་ནི་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བས་ ༡༦༦༥  
 ལོར་སྐྱེད་གཉིས་ཤིག་སྐྱུར་མའི་བར་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་པ་ལས་ལོ་ ༣༥ ཅམ་གྱིས་སྐྱུར་བ་རེད། བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་འདིར་དགེ་དབང་ཡབ་  
 སྐུ་ལ་རྣམ་པར་དང་ས་བཤད་སོགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་གྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་ནས་བརྒྱུད་འདུག་<sup>9</sup>

ཡང་ ༡༦༠༥ ལོར་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ས་ཚེན་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་ཞེས་བྱ་བས་པར་བཏབ་པའི་ཚོང་བ་ཀུན་དགའ་  
 རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (1432–1496) ཀྱི་གསལ་ཡིག་ཅེས་པའི་ནང་། “མཁན་ཚེན་རིན་ཚེན་རྒྱ་བ་ལས་ཐོབ་པའི་སྐོར། བྱང་རྒྱལ་  
 སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་བཤད་པ་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དགེ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པ་ཡལ་འདབ་བརྒྱད་  
 (བརྒྱ) དང་བདུན། ཁ་སྐོང་ཅ་བརྒྱད་པ་སྐུ་རྒྱ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་ལུང་གི་བརྒྱད་པ་ནི།” ཞེས་དགེ་དབང་  
 ལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་སྐྱུར་འདུག་<sup>10</sup> །འོན་ཀྱང་འདིའི་མ་ཡིག་གི་པར་མ་གཞན་མ་རྙེད་སྐབས་ད་དུང་བཏགས་འཚལ། གལ་  
 སྲིད་འདི་བདེན་དབང་དུ་བཏང་ཚེ། དེ་ནི་དགེ་དབང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་ཐ་སྐྱོད་སྐྱུར་པའི་དུས་རབས་བཅོ་ལྔ་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་  
 ཞིག་རེད།

8 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་བ་དག་དབང་སྐོར་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་འདུམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འོད་ (༡༩) ཤོག་གངས་ ༣༣༩ སེར་གཙུག་ནང་བསྐྱེད་དཔེ་  
 རྙིང་འཚོལ་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་ཀྱང་གོའི་ཐོད་རིག་བ་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༡༦༠༩

9 དཔལ་ས་སྐྱུ་ལ་ཚེན་པོ་སྐྱེགས་འཚང་རྒྱལ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཐུན་པ་དག་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་གསུམ་འདུམ། ར། ས་སྐྱུ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་གསུང་  
 རབ་སྐྱོབ་གཉེན་ཁང་གིས་ ༡༦༠༠ ལོར་བལ་ཡུལ་དུ་བཏབ་པར་བཏབ། ཡང་ཤིང་བར། <http://www.tbrc.org/? locale=bo#!rid=W2CZ6662>

10 ཚོང་བ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསལ་ཡིག་ཤོག་གངས་ ༣༩༥ རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ས་ཚེན་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༡༦༠༥



རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་དམིགས་ཀྱི་མེ་ཏོག་གསར་བའི་དོ་ཤལ། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ནི་ཚོགས་སུ་བཅད་པའི་རྣམ་པར་གྲིས་པའི་དགོ་དབང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་གྱི་དོན་དུ་འདུག་མོད། “ལྷ་ཡི་འཇིག་རྟེན་རྫོགས་པར་འདོམས་པ་ཡི། །གསེར་གྱི་བ་གས་ཚོད་པོའི་ཐོང་ཁྲེར་ལྷོ། །རྟུགས་འཇིན་འབྱོར་བའི་ཁྱད་པར་རྣམ་རྒྱས་ཤིང། །སྤྱོ་བོའི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཡོངས་སུ་གང་བ་ཡོད།”<sup>14</sup> ཅེས་ཏོག་པས་བཏགས་པའི་ཐོང་ཁྲེར་ཞིག་དོས་བཟུང་སྟེ། དགོ་དབང་ནི་ཡུལ་དེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་མང་པོས་ཁོང་གི་ཞབས་ལ་བཀུར་བ། འཁོར་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་བུའི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དང་དབྱང་སྟོབས་འཇོམས་པ། རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་མང་པོ་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་གསེར་གྱི་ཁྲི་ལ་འགྲེངས་པ་སོགས་གྲིས་འདུག་མོད། དོན་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཇི་ལྟར་ཡིན་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི་མི་གསལ་ལོ།

གོང་དུ་བྲངས་པའི་མཁས་པ་འདི་རྣམས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་དུས་ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་རྩིས་ལེན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ནི་མཁུན་གཅིག་དང་དབྱངས་གཅིག་གི་ཚུལ་དུ་དགོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་ཅམ་དུ་མ་ཟད། ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད་པ་ལྟེད། དེའི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ནི་ཉ་ཅང་མང་བས་འདིར་ཐམས་ཅད་འཇིན་པའི་ངལ་བ་མ་བྱས་སོ། །འོན་ཀྱང་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དགུ་བར་བྱོན་པའི་རོང་ཐོག་བཟང་དམ་ཚོས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1865–

1917) བརྒྱམས་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་དོན་ཉུང་དུ་རྒྱུང་བའོ་མཚར་སྤྲང་བའི་ཐིག་ལེ་དང་གྲུས་བསྐྱོ་བཞུགས་པའི་གཉེན་གཅིག་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཞེས་པ་དང་། སོག་པོ་སློབ་ཐང་ཉུང་བྲངས་མམ་སློབ་ཐང་ཉུང་མཁུན་ (1867–1937) ཀྱིས་བརྒྱམས་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་དང་བསྐྱུས་དོན་རྟགས་རིམ་ཅམ་དུ་བཀོད་པ་རིང་གསལ་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་བསྐྱུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་སོགས་ནི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ་གྲིས་ཏེ་དགོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དུ་བཞེད་པའི་དཔེ་མཚོན་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལྷ་བུ་ལྟེད། བསྟན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་མ་འདོན་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་ཁྲིད་རྒྱུན་དང་མཚན་འགྲེལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱང་གསལ་འདུག།

རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་བས་དགོ་དབང་ནི་ས་ལ་སྟོན་པ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་ནན་གྱིས་བསྐྱུབས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་བརྒྱམས་ནའང་། དགོ་དབང་གི་མི་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་བཅས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཀོད་པ་ད་བར་བདག་གིས་མ་མཐོང་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱུངས་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྟོང་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བམ་ལུང་པའི་མིང་སོགས་ཅི་ཡང་སྟོན་མེད་པ་ལྟེད། དེར་རབས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་གཞུང་ལོག་པ་མ་གཏོགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་སོགས་ལ་དོགས་སློང་ཅམ་ཡང་བྱས་མེད་པ་འདྲ། འདིའི་ཁོངས་སུ་འོང་བྱང་ཨོ་རྒྱན་གྱིས་བརྒྱམས་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་དགོ་དབང་པོ་ཡལ་སྐས་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་བ་སྟུན་དག་གི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔལ་གསལ་འཁྲིལ་གྱི་འགྲེལ་པ་དོ་མཚར་སྟེ་མའི་ཡལ་འདབ་སོ་སོའི་མཚུགས་སྟོན་པས་འདུག་ཆེགས་བཅད་ཁོལ་དུ་བྱུང་བ་སོགས་ཀྱང་འདུས་སོ།

དེས་ན་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོས་རྒྱལ་རབས་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཁུངས་བཅན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་མ་གཏུགས་པར་དགོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐྱུབས་པའི་དགོས་པ་དེ་གང་ཡིན་ནམ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བམ་ལུང་པ་གང་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་མ་བསྟན་

14 གསུང་འབྲུམ། ཅ། འོག་གྲངས་ 33 ལྟ་བུ་འཁྲིལ་པར།

པར། དགེ་དབང་ལ་སློབ་དཔོན་ཞེས་མཚན་སྦྲར་བ་ཅམ་ལའང་ཚོད་སྲོང་མཛད་དོན་གང་ཡིན་ནམ། ཟླ་བ་འདི་དག་ལ་ལན་  
སྟེར་རུས་པའི་ཡིག་ཆའང་ད་དུང་མིག་ལམ་དུ་མ་ཤར་པོ། །འོན་ཀྱང་གོང་དུ་ཞུས་པ་བཞིན་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བས་ཡིག་ཆའི་  
ཐོག་ནས་ལུང་ས་གཏུགས་ས་ནི། “དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཚོད་པན་སློན། །སློབ་མཚན་མི་དབང་ཞེས་རིགས་ལ། །གདེངས་  
ཚན་དབང་བཞིན་ལོངས་སློང་ཅན། །ལོངས་སློང་ལྷན་པའི་དབང་པོ་བྱུང་།།” ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་འདི་ཡིན་མོད། ཚིག་འདིའི་ངོ་  
གདོང་ནས་དགེ་དབང་གི་ཡབ་མེས་གཅིག་གི་མཚན་ལ། “སློབ་མཚན་མི་དབང་” ཞེས་འཕྲོད་ཅེས་པ་ཅམ་ལས་དགེ་དབང་  
ནི་མི་དབང་དང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་མི་འགྲུབ་པོ།།

ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐབས་འདིའི་ཡེགས་སྦྲར་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དག་ལ་འབྲེལ་འདྲིས་ཆེ་བ་མ་ཟད་ཁོང་རང་ཉིད་ལ་  
ཡང་ “སྐད་གཉིས་སྐྱ་བ་ཟ་ཉོར་གི་བརྗེ་དག་དབང་སློབ་མཚན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་” ཞེས་མཚན་སྦྲར་སྐབས་ཡེགས་སྦྲར་སྐད་མཁུན་  
པའང་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་ཡོད་པར་འདོད། དེས་ན་ཁོང་གིས་དགེ་དབང་ནི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་རྒྱ་གར་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་འདྲ་  
གཟིགས་ཡོད་དམ།

ཡང་ན། ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ལ་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་རེད་ཅེས་ཁོང་གི་དགེ་ཚན་ནས་ཡང་བཤེས་པའི་སློན་གི་མཁས་པ་  
དག་གིས་གསུངས་ཡོད་དམ་ཞེ་ན། དེ་ཡང་ཁ་གསལ་ཞིག་ཤེས་དཀའ་བར་གྱུར། དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་  
དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་འདི་ལྟེ་ལོ་ ༡༣༦༩ ཅམ་ལ་བསྐྱར་བ་ནས་བཟུང་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་བར་གྱི་ལོ་ངོ་བཞི་  
བརྒྱ་ལྷག་གི་རིང་ལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱད་ཆེ་ཁག་གི་སྐྱམ་དང་མཁས་པ་པོན་ཆེ་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་དང་  
གསུང་ཚོམ་ཚང་མ་ལ་འཚོལ་བའདིའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཅིག་གྲེད་པའི་ལམ་དུ་མེད་པས་ན། མཁས་པ་འདི་དང་དེས་དགེ་  
དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཞེད་པ་རེད་ཅེས་དང་། ཡང་ན་འདི་དང་དེས་རྒྱལ་པོར་མི་བཞེད་པ་ཅེས་ཁ་ཚོན་གཅོད་གྲེད་དཀའ་  
བར་གྱུར། གོང་དུ་ལུང་ལུང་ས་པ་ལྷར་ཨ་མེས་ཞབས་བཤུ་དབང་ཀུན་དགའ་བསོད་ནམས་ (1597–1659/1660) དང་།  
ཡང་ན་རྗེ་དཔལ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (1432–1496) ལྟ་བུ་ནི་ཡིག་ཐོག་ནས་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད་པ་སྐྱ་  
གས་ཡིན་ཤས་ཆེའོ།།

གཉིས་པ། “སློབ་དཔོན་སྣུན་དངགས་མཁན་ཆེན་པོ་དགེ་བའི་དབང་པོ་” ཞེས་སྐྱ་རབས་གི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་  
བཞེད་ཚུལ་སྟོན་པ།

ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་བཤུན་ཁྲིད་དང་ལུང་གི་སྐྱམ་བརྒྱད་པ་རྣམས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤུར་སྦྲར་མའི་  
མཇུག་ཏུ་བཀོད་ཡོད་པ་དེ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་བོད་ལ་བསྐྱར་བ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཡགོང་ས་ལྷ་བ་ལ་  
སྐྱག་གི་བར་གྱི་མི་ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་རགས་ལྟ་གྲེད་པའི་ཐེག་ཤིང་ལྟ་བུར་སྦྲུང་ནས། སྐྱ་བརྒྱད་དུ་འཕྲོད་  
པའི་སྐྱམ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཚིགས་དང་མཛད་པ་ལ་ཟུར་མཚན་རེ་དང་བཅས་བྲངས་ན་འདི་ལྟར། “རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རིན་པོ་  
ཆེ་འདིའི་དཀའ་བའི་གནད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞིབ་ཐོར་བཤུན་པའི་བརྒྱད་པ་ནི། བོད་སྟོན་<sup>15</sup> ལས་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་གཏུང་ལོ་

15 བོད་སྟོན་གི་སྐོང་ལ་ཐུན་གྱིས་ “བོད་སྟོན་རྟོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་བསྐྱར་དུ་འཚོལ་བ།” ཞེས་པའི་དབུང་ཚོམ་ཞིག་གིས་ཐེན་སྐབས་  
འདིར་བསྐྱར་སློབ་མ་བྱས།

ཆེན་མོ་མོས་བརྟན་པ།<sup>16</sup> ལོ་མཚོག་པ།<sup>17</sup> ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་དབང་ལོ་ཆེན་པོ། (1276–1342)<sup>18</sup> ལོ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཅེ་  
 མོ། (1303–1380)<sup>19</sup> ལོ་ཆེན་ནམ་མཁའ་བཟང་པོ།<sup>20</sup> (དུས་རབས་ ༡༧) ལོ་ཆེན་ཤེས་རབ་དབལ།<sup>21</sup> ལོ་ཆེན་ཐུགས་  
 རྗེ་དབལ།<sup>22</sup> མཚུངས་མེད་བུ་རྒྱའི་མཚན་ཅན།<sup>23</sup> གནས་བརྟན་ལེགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།<sup>24</sup> ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་ཆེན་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་  
 པོ། (1441–1527) དེའི་དཔོན་པད་དཀར་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་།<sup>25</sup> བྱངས་ཆེན་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་འཇམ་དཔལ་དོ་རྗེ།<sup>26</sup> མོན་འགྲོ་བརྗེ་ཏ་རིག་  
 གནས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཐོང་བ་འཛིན་པ་ཆེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ། རིགས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྲས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དབང་རྒྱལ་དོ་རྗེའི་<sup>27</sup>བྱང་དུ་  
 སྐད་གཉིས་སྐྱ་བ་ཟ་ཉོར་གྱི་བརྗེ་དག་དབང་སྐོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ཐོས་སོ། །ལུང་རྒྱུད་གི་བརྒྱུད་པ་ནི། ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དགེ་བའི་  
 དབང་པོ། སྲས་རྒྱ་བའི་དབང་པོ། བརྗེ་ཏ་ལ་སྐྱོ་ཀ་ར། ཤོང་ལོ་དོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། གུཅུང་མོ་མོས་བརྟན་པ། དཔོན་ཚོས་  
 སྐྱོང་དབལ། དབང་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་སྐོ་མོས་བརྟན་པ། ལོ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཅེ་མོ། ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། (1242 –1346)  
 བོ་དོང་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (1376–1451) ལྷག་ལུང་པ་དག་དབང་གྲགས་པ། (1418–1496) གུན་སྲངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་

16 ཤོང་ལོའི་གུཅུང་འདི་ནི་གཅེན་ལས་ཀྱང་མཁས་པ་ར་གྲགས་ཤིང་གཅེན་གྱི་མཚན་འཕྲིན་མཇུག་སྐྱོང་གི་ཕྱག་ལས་མཚན་པར་མངོན་ལོ།།  
 17 འདི་པའི་མཚན་ཡོངས་ལ་ “མཚོག་ལེགས་པའི་མོ་མོས་དབྱང་རྒྱུ་མཛེས་པའི་མེ་ཏོག” ཅེས་ཞུ་བ་དང་། ཤོང་སྐྱེ་མཚན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་  
 སྐོབ་མ་དང་དབང་སྐོ་མོས་བརྟན་པའི་དགེ་རྒྱན་ཡིན། འགྲོ་མགོན་འཕགས་པ་ལས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་།  
 18 ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་འདིའི་གསུང་ན་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དབལ་བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་ལ་མཚན་བྱ་བ་ཏུ་བ་དེར་དབང་ལོའི་ནག་མཚན་དུ་གྲགས་ཤིང་། ཕྱག་དཔེ་དེ་  
 རྗེ་ཙོང་ཁ་བའི་ཕྱག་དཔེའི་ཁོང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་རིམ་གྱིས་རིན་སྲུངས་པ་དག་དབང་འཛིན་གྲགས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ཡགོང་ས་ལུ་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ལའང་སྐེབས་  
 ལོང་འདུག།  
 19 འདིས་ལུང་སྐོན་པ་ཀ་ལུ་པའི་མདོའི་འགྲེལ་བ་སྐོབ་མ་ལ་བན་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བསྐྱར་ཅིང་། འདིའི་གསུང་ན་རྒྱ་མ་དམ་པ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་  
 མཚན་ (1312–1375) ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐང་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བཞུགས།  
 20 འདིའི་གསུང་ན། བསྟན་ཅིས་ལེགས་པ་འདད་འོང་གི་ཐོང་བ་ཞེས་པ་དང་། སྐད་གཉིས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་གུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་  
 བཞུགས།  
 21 འདི་བྱ་ལུལ་ལོ་ཆེན་ཤེས་རབ་དབལ་བཟང་ཞུ་བ་དེ་ཡིན་ནམ་དཔུང།  
 22 འདིའི་གསུང་ན་ཅན་པའི་འགྲེལ་ཆེན་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་དབལ་གྱིས་མཚན་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་ཅན་གྱི་ཤོད་གཉིས་བཞུགས།  
 འདིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་ཅན་ཞིག་གངས་ཅན་མཁས་བྱུབ་རིམ་བྱོན་མིང་མཛོད། ཤོག་ངོས་ ༥༥ པར་གསལ།  
 23 འདི་པའི་མཚན་གཞན་ལ་མཁས་མཚོག་སངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཅན་ཞེས་ཀྱང་འབྱུང་། ཡགོང་ས་ལུ་པའི་གསུང་ན་སྐད་དག་མེ་ལོང་གི་རྒྱ་མ་བརྒྱུད་  
 པའི་གསོལ་འདེབས་ཤིག་བཞུགས་པ་ན་འང་ལོ་ཆེན་ཐུགས་རྗེ་དབལ་པའི་སྐོབ་མ་བུ་རྒྱའི་མཚན་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་གསུངས་འདུག།  
 24 ཁོང་ནི་ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བའི་དགེ་རྒྱན་ཡིན་པ་ལས་གཞན་པའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་མ་རྗེད།  
 25 ཁོང་ནི་ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་པོའི་དཔོན་པོ་དང་སྐོབ་མ། ཕྱིས་གདན་ས་གཏང་ས་དེ་ཡིན་འདུག།  
 26 འདིའི་སྐོར་ཡང་རྒྱ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་གསལ་བ་ཅན་ལས་གཞན་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་མ་མཛོད།  
 27 མོན་འགྲོ་བ་ཡམ་སྲས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡགོང་ས་ལུ་པའི་དགེ་རྒྱན་ཡིན་པ་དང་། སྲས་ཀྱི་གསུང་ན་རྒྱལ་བ་ལུ་པའི་རྣམ་ཐང་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བཞུགས།  
 རྒྱལ་བ་ལུ་པའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ན་ཡམ་སྲས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀར་སྐྱིངས་པའི་འཕྲིན་སོགས་ཀྱང་བཞུགས།

གྲགས་པ། (1469–1530)<sup>28</sup> འབྲུམ་རབ་འབྲུམས་པ་རིན་ཆེན་ཚོས་དབང།<sup>29</sup> རབ་འབྲུམས་པ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དབང་ལྷག་<sup>30</sup>  
དཔལ་ཁང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དབྱུངས་ཅན་སྟེམས་པའི་སྟེ།<sup>31</sup> མདོ་ཁམས་པ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ།<sup>32</sup> འབྲུམ་སྤངས་པ་ཚེ་དབང་བཟླ་  
ལེས།<sup>33</sup> རྗེ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་མཁུན།<sup>34</sup> ཀུན་བཟང་ཅེ་བ་དབང་ལྷག་རྒྱལ་མཚན།<sup>35</sup> ལྷ་མ་དོ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།<sup>36</sup> དཔལ་འབྱོར་  
མྱིང་བ་དག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ།<sup>37</sup> རིགས་བརྒྱའི་ལྷན་བདག་མགོན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་ལྷན། (1603–1659)<sup>38</sup> ལུང་རྩོ་  
རྗེ་འཚང་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་རང་གྲོལ། (1604–1669)<sup>39</sup> ཡང་ན་དཔལ་ཁང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ནས། རྒྱ་སྟོན་བྱང་རྒྱལ་དབང་རྒྱལ།<sup>40</sup> འཇམ་  
དབྱུངས་ཀུན་མཁུན་ཚེ་དབང་ནས། རྗེ་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་རང་གྲོལ་གྱི་བར་གོང་བཞིན་ཏེ། དེ་ལས་བདག་གིས་ལོས་ཤིང་།  
བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱན་ལ་བསམས་ནས་ཐོས་བསམ་གྱི་ཚད་དུ་འཚད་ཉན་སློབ་གསུམ་འབད་པས་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལས་  
བཟང་རྩུ་ལུག་པ་སྟོས་པའི་འབྱིང་རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་ལེན་པ་རྣམས་དང་འདྲ་བའི་མ་ཡིན་ལོ།<sup>41</sup> ཞེས་འབྲུང་ཞིང་། ལྷ་ཚེན་པ་

28 བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ལྟེ་གནས་ཀྱི་བ་རྒྱུར་འདིའི་མཚན་ལ་ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་ཚོས་རྗེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྲགས་པར་འབོད་པ་བཤད།

29 འདིའི་གསུང་ན་མདོ་སྟེ་སྤྱིའི་རྣམ་གཞག་མདོར་བསྐྱུས་ཞེས་པ་བཞུགས།

30 ཁོང་ནི་དཔལ་འཛོལ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལག་ལྷེང་བ་དང་དཔལ་ཁང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་གཉིས་ཀའི་རྒྱ་མ་ཡིན་འདུག།

31 ཁོང་གི་མཚན་ལ་ཡོངས་གྲགས་དཔལ་ཁང་དམ་དཔལ་སྐྱང་ཚོས་མཛད་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དག་དབང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷ་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྗོད་  
སྟོན་དག་སྟོན་གྱི་འབྲེལ་པ་ཚེ་གསལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བརྟམས།

32 ཁོང་ནི་དཔལ་ཁང་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་སྟོན་མ་ཡིན།

33 ཁོང་གི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་སྟེམས་འཚང་ཚེ་དབང་བཟླ་ལེས་ལྷ་ཞེས་བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ལྟེ་གནས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཏུ་འབོད་འདུག།

34 ཁོང་གི་ཡོངས་གྲགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ལ་འཇམ་དབྱུངས་མཁུན་བཅའེ་ཅེ་མོ་ཞེས་གོང་གསལ་དཀར་ཆག་ཏུ་ཐོ་ཐོབས།

35 ལྷ་མ་འདི་རྗེ་ཚེ་དབང་ཀུན་མཁུན་པའི་སྟོན་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་གཞན་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་མ་རྟོགས།

36 ལྷ་མ་འདིའི་མཚན་ལ་གཡུ་ལོ་བཞོད་པ་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་བ་ལས་གཞན་ཡིག་ཆ་མ་རྟོགས།

37 འདི་ཡང་རྒྱ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་གསལ་བའི་མཚན་ཅན་ལས་བརྟམས་ཚོས་རིགས་མ་རྟོགས།

38 ལགོང་ས་ལྷ་པའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ཁོད་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་མ་འདིའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་པའི་མཁུན་བཅེ་རུས་པའི་རང་ག་ལུགས་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་  
གཙོ་བོ་ལྷན་བདག་རྗེ་རྟེན་མཁས་དཔལ་འཛོལ་ལོ་མགོན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་མཚོག་ལྷན་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ལོ་མཚར་  
དང་པའི་རྒྱབས་ལྷེང་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས།

39 ལགོང་ས་ལྷ་པའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ཁོད་དུ་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་མ་འདིའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལྷུང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་རང་གྲོལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཐེག་མཚོག་བསྟན་  
པའི་ཤིང་རྟེན་ལྷ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས།

40 འདིའི་གསུང་ན་གོང་དཀར་རྗེ་རྗེ་གདན་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་རྗེ་རྗེ་གདན་པ་ཚེན་པོ་ཀུན་དགའ་  
རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ (1432–1496) རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ལོ་མཚར་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གཉེར་མཛོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་འདུག །དེ་ནི་  
ལྷགས་བྱི་ལོར་ཚོས་སྟེ་ཚེན་པོ་བདེ་བ་ཅན་དུ་བརྟམས་ཞེས་འཁོད་སྟབས་ལྟེ་ལོ་ ༡༥༩༠ ལོ་ཡིན་ནམ་དཔྱད།

41 བསྟན་འབྲུང་ (དཔེ་བསྐྱར་མ་) བསྟན་འབྲུང་། ཁེ། ལྷུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟོན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ལོ་གྲགས་ ༡༡༢༥ ལོ་  
༡༡༢༥–༡༢༣༠

ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་པའི་གསལ་ཡིག་ཏུ་འཁོད་པའི་བརྒྱུད་པའང་འདིའི་ལུང་རྒྱུན་དང་པམ་ཆེ་བ་འདྲའོ། །འོན་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་མ་གཞན་པ་དཔེར་ན་གོང་དུ་བྲངས་པའི་རྫོང་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསལ་ཡིག་ལྟར་ན། བོད་དང་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟག་ལུང་ཚོས་རྗེ་དག་དབང་གྲགས་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་རྣམ་ལེས་རྣམ་གཞན་གྱི་མཚན་བུང་བ་སོགས་བརྒྱུད་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་པ་ཡོད་སྟེ་དོ།།

དེ་ནི་སྡོན་གྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་ནས་དགེ་དབང་ལ་སྟུན་དག་མཁན་ཆེན་པོ་འཇམ་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ཅམ་གྱི་མཚན་སྦྱར་བའི་རིགས་འདེན་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། གོང་གི་རྒྱ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིད་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་འོད་སྟོན་གྱིས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་འདི་ཉིད་ ༡༣༢༩ ལོ་ཅམ་ལ་སྦྱིད་ལོང་འཕགས་པ་སྟེ་ཁང་དུ་བརྒྱུད་ཅིང་། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འདིའི་ཡལ་འདབ་དང་མོ་ནས་བརྒྱ་དང་བདུན་བར་གྱི་ཡལ་འདབ་རེ་རེའི་མཚན་བྲུང་ན་འདི་ལྟར། “དགེ་བའི་དབང་པོས་བྱས་པའི་བྲུང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་” ཞེས་དགེ་དབང་གི་མིང་ཅམ་ལས་སྟུན་དག་མཁན་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྟེན་མེད་ཅིང་། ཡལ་འདབ་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་པའི་མཚན་བྲུང་དུ། “བྲུང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་དགེ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཚན་པ་ལས། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྲས་རྣམས་པའི་དབང་པོས་མཚན་པའི་སྡོན་གྱི་བཞེན་པའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པའི་ཡལ་འདབ་སྟེ་བརྒྱ་ཙུ་བརྒྱུད་པའོ།”<sup>42</sup> ཞེས་དགེ་དབང་གིས་མཚན་ཅམ་པའི་ཞེ་ཆེག་སྦྱང་འདུག

ཡལ་འདབ་བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱད་པའི་མགོ་རྟོགས་ལ་བའི་ “རྒྱལ་བའི་དབང་པོས་བསྐྱབས་པ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་དག་གི་ཆོགས། །མཚོད་རྟེན་བྱམས་སུ་གསེར་གྱི་རི་མོའི་ལུག་གི་ཁང་པར་ནི། །སངས་རྒྱས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་རྣམ་མང་མདྲ་བུང་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་འདི། །མིག་གི་བདུད་ཅི་རབ་སྦྱེད་ཡི་གེའི་རང་བཞིན་དག་ཏུ་འཁྲུངས།” ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཆོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་ ༡༥ ཡིས་དགེ་དབང་གིས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འདི་བཅམས་ཚུལ་དང་། དེ་ནས་སྲས་རྣམས་དབང་གིས་ཁ་སྐོང་བྱས་ཚུལ་སོགས་འཁོད་པའི་གསུ་སུ་ “དགེ་དབང་” ཞེས་མིང་དངོས་སུ་སྟོས་པ་ཐེངས་གསུམ་བུང་བའི་ཁྲིད། “དགེ་དབང་ཞེས་པའི་སྟུན་དངགས་མཁན་གྱི་ (གྱིས་) རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་འདི་བྱས་ནས།”<sup>43</sup> ཞེས་དགེ་དབང་ལ་སྟུན་དངགས་མཁན་གྱི་ཐ་སྟེན་སྦྱང་འདུག

ཡལ་འདབ་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་པའི་མཛུགས་བྱུ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་བུང་བའི་ “དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཅོད་བན་རྫོན།” ཞེས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཆོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་བཞི་ཡིས་དགེ་དབང་ཡབ་མེས་དང་བཅས་པ་འཆད་ཅིང་། ཆོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་བཞི་པ་ནི་འདི་ལྟར། “དེ་ཡི་བུ་ནི་དགེ་བའི་དབང། །སྟུན་དག་མཁན་དབང་རྣམ་འདེན། །གང་གི་གྲགས་པ་རྣམས་པའི་འོད། །དམ་པའི་ཡིད་ནི་རངས་པར་བྱེད།”<sup>44</sup> ཅེས་དགེ་དབང་ནི་སྟུན་དངགས་མཁན་དང་སྟུན་གྲགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པ་བསྟན་འདུག །དེ་ནས་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་འདི་རྫོགས་པའི་མཛུགས་བྲུང་ན། “བྲུང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་སྟུན་

42 བསྟན་འགྲུར་ (དཔེ་བསྟར་མ་) བསྟན་འགྲུར། ཞེ། བྲུང་གོའི་མོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ལོ་གྲངས་ ༡༡༡༡  
 43 བསྟན་འགྲུར་ (དཔེ་བསྟར་མ་) བསྟན་འགྲུར། ཞེ། བྲུང་གོའི་མོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ལོ་གྲངས་ ༡༠༢༩  
 44 བསྟན་འགྲུར་ (དཔེ་བསྟར་མ་) བསྟན་འགྲུར། ཞེ། བྲུང་གོའི་མོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ལོ་གྲངས་ ༡༡༡༣



དངགས་མཁན་ཚེན་པོ་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པ་རྫོགས་སོ།།<sup>45</sup> ཞེས་སྐྱེན་དངགས་མཁན་ཚེན་པོ་ཅམ་ལས་རྒྱལ་  
པོ་ཡིན་པའི་ཚུལ་བཀོད་མེད་དོ།།

ཡང་རྫོགས་པ་རྫོང་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་སྤར་ཐང་ཤིང་པར་མའི་དབུ་བྱང་དུ། “སྐྱེན་དངགས་མཁན་དགོ་བའི་དབང་  
པོས་མཛད་པའི་བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྫོགས་པ་བརྫོང་པ་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་བཞུགས་སྟོ།།” ཞེས་དགོ་དབང་  
ལ་སྐྱེན་དངགས་མཁན་གྱི་ཐ་སྐྱད་སྤར་འདུག་པ་དེ་པར་མ་འདྲིའི་མཛུགས་བྱང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་འདྲ། ཉའི་སི་ཏུ་བྱང་ཚུབ་རྒྱལ་  
མཚན་ (1302–1364) གྱིས་རྒྱ་གར་དང་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་བལ་ཡུལ་དང་། ལི་དང་། རྒྱའི་ཡུལ་ནས་བོད་དུ་འགྲུང་རོ་ཅོག་གི་  
བསྐྱེན་བཅོས་ཚེན་པོ་རྣམས་ཐུགས་དམ་དུ་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐོར་གསུངས་ཏེ། “བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྫོགས་པ་བརྫོང་པ་  
དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་ལས་སྐྱེན་དངགས་མཁན་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། ཉའི་སི་ཏུ་ཚེན་པོ་བྱང་ཚུབ་  
རྒྱལ་མཚན་རང་གི་ཡི་དམ་དུ་བཀྲིས་ཤིང་། གཞན་ལ་ཡང་པན་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཚོས་སོ།།<sup>46</sup> ཞེས་ཀྱང་འགྲུང་དོ།།

དེ་དག་ནི་རྫོགས་པ་རྫོང་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་གི་པར་མ་དང་དེའི་འགྲུང་བྱང་སོགས་ན་འཁོད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་  
རྣམས་ཡིན།

ཡགོང་ས་ལུ་པའི་སྤྲ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་མཚན་མེད་མོད། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་དང་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་ནང་བོན་པོའི་སྤྲ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་སྤྲ་བརྒྱུད་  
མཁས་པ་གསུམ་གྱིས་དགོ་དབང་ལ་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ནམ་ཡང་སྐྱེན་དངགས་མཁན་ཞེས་པ་ཅམ་ཞིག་མཚན་བྱང་ལ་སྤྲར་འདུག། བཅོམ་  
ལྷན་རིག་པའི་རལ་གྲིའི་ (1227–1305) གསུང་ན་ “བསྐྱེན་པ་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཉི་འོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ། མང་དུ་ཐོས་པའི་དགོ་སྐོར་བཅོམ་  
ལྷན་རལ་གྱིས་སྤྲར་བ་རྫོགས་སོ།།<sup>47</sup> ཞེས་མཛུགས་བྱང་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་བསྐྱེན་བཅོས་དབུ་མེད་གྲེས་མ་དེར་བསྐྱེན་པ་སྤྲ་དང་དང་གྱི་

45 བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་ (དཔེ་བསྐུར་མ་) བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་། ཞེ། བྱང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༡༢༢  
46 མདོ། བོ། ༣༢༤༦༥ དང་། སྤར་ཐང་བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་པར་མ་འདྲི་ནི། མི་དབང་པོ་ལྷ་བ་བསོད་ནམས་སྟོབས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་སྤྱིན་པའི་བདག་པོ་མཛད་ནས་  
བྱི་ལོ་ ༡༧༩༡ རོར་ཤིང་པར་དུ་བརྗོད་པའི་ཡིན་པ་དང་། དེ་ནི་སྤར་ཐང་བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་ལ་བྱི་མོ་བྱས་ཡོད་པར་སྤར་། སྤར་ཐང་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དང་བསྐྱེན་  
འགྲུང་གི་སྐོར་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཁས་དབང་བཀའ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་ལགས་ཀྱིས་བརྗོད་པའི་ལོ་མཛོད་དུ་རྒྱའི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་གི་སྐོར་བརྫོང་དུ་འདྲི་ལྟར་  
“བསྐྱེན་པ་བྱི་དང་དབུ་ཚུགས་ནས་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་པའི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྟོན་དུ་ལམས་མཚོག་བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིག་པའི་རལ་གྲིའི་སྐོབ་པ་སྤྲར་ཐང་གི་དགོ་བའེས་  
མཁས་པ་འཇམ་དགལ་པའི་སྤྲི་སྤྲི་ལོ་ལྷན་པའི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་བཞེངས་པའི་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་གྱི་ལོ་བྱང་མང་པོ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས། བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིག་པའི་དང་།  
དབུས་པ་སྐོག་པལ་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཡེ་ཤེས། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་བསོད་ནམས་འོད་ཟེར། རྒྱང་རོ་བྱང་ཚུབ་འགྲུང་བཅས་ཀྱིས་དབུས་པ་གཙང་མངའ་རིས་བཅས་སུ་བཞུགས་  
པའི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་གི་མ་དཔེ་ཡོད་ཚད་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱེད་དང་ཞུས་དག་མཛད་ནས་གོ་རིམ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཉེ་དཔལ་སྤར་ཐང་གི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཚན་  
པོར། བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིག་པའི་གྲིས་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དང་བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་དང་། དེ་ལས་བསྐྱེད་པ་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དཀར་ཆག་  
ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་མཛད། ཁོར་དང་འཇམ་དགལ་པའི་སྤྲི་སྤྲི་ལོ་ལྷན་པའི་སྐོབ་པ་དབུས་པ་སྐོག་པལ་བྱང་ཚུབ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དང་  
བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་གཉིས་ཀའི་དཀར་ཆག་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཞིག་མཛད་ནས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་སྤར་ཐང་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དུ་བྲགས། བོད་དུ་བཀའ་འགྲུང་  
དང་བསྐྱེན་འགྲུང་གཉིས་ཀའི་ཚེངས་པའི་ཐེངས་དང་པོ་ཡིན།” ཞེས་གསུངས་འདུག། ལམ་མཛོད་དུ་རྒྱའི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་གི་དཀར་ཆག །འོག་གྲངས་ ༡བལ་  
རྩ་རམ་ས་ལའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛད་ཁང་། ༡༩༤༣

47 བསྐྱེན་པ་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཉི་འོད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ། དབུ་མེད་གྲེས་མ། [http://tbc.org/?locale=bo#library\\_work\\_ViewByOutline](http://tbc.org/?locale=bo#library_work_ViewByOutline)  
-O1PD843031PD84312%7CW1CZ1041

དང་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དག་གིས་བསྐྱུར་བའི་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐོ་ཞིག་འདུག་མོད། འོང་སྟོན་གྱི་སྟོན་ཅམ་ལ་སློབས་སྐྱབས་ཤོག་  
 རོས་མི་ཚང་བས་འོང་སྟོན་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་འགྲུང་གི་སྟོར་མ་རྟེན། བཅོས་ལྷན་རིག་པའི་རལ་གྱི་དང་མཚམས་འཇམ་པའི་  
 དབྱུངས་ཀྱི་སྟོབ་མ་དབྱུངས་པ་སློབ་པ་ལ་གྱི་གསུང་ན “བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་བཞུགས་སོ།།” ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་གྲུང་ཅན།  
 “ཡོངས་སུ་རྩོགས་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱུངས་ཀྱིས་བདེ་བར་གསལ་གསལ་པའི་བཀའ་དང་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་རྗེ་མ་མེད་པ་  
 འགྲུང་རོ་ཅོག་ཏུ་གྲགས་པ་རྣམས་ཉེ་བར་བཞེངས་པ་ལས་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རིམ་པ་ཞི་དཀར་ཆག་ཏུ་བྱི་བར་བྱའོ།།” ཞེས་  
 མེད་སྟོང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་འཁོད་ཅིང་། མཇུག་ཏུ་འདུག “དཔལ་སྤར་ཐང་གི་ཆོས་གྲུ་ཆེན་པོར་དབྱུངས་པ་སློབ་པ་ལ་གྱིས་དཀར་ཆག་  
 ཏུ་བཀོད་ནས་བྱུག་ཏུ་ལུ་བའོ།།” ཞེས་འཁོད་པའི་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་འདིའི་ “བསྟོན་པའི་སྟོར་གྱི་ལེ་ལུ་སྟེ་དང་པོའོ།།” ཞེས་པའི་ནང་  
 དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་ཐང་འདི་ལྟར་ “ག་པ་ལ་སྟོབ་དཔོན་སྟེན་དག་མཁན་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱེས་རབས་དཔག་  
 བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་འོང་སྟོན་གྱི་འགྲུར་”<sup>48</sup> ཞེས་དགོ་དབང་ལ་སྟོབ་དཔོན་དང་སྟེན་དག་མཁན་གྱི་ཐ་སྟོན་སྤྱར་འདུག །འདི་ནི་འོང་  
 སྟོན་དང་པལ་ཆེར་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་མཉམ་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚུམ་ཡིག་ཅིག་ཏུ་བགྲངས་ཏུང་བར་སེམས།

མཁས་པ་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་ཀམ་པ་རང་བྱུང་རྗེ་རྗེ་ (1284-1339) ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་  
 “རྗེ་རང་བྱུང་རྗེ་རྗེའི་ཐུགས་དམ་བསྐྱེད་འགྲུང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་བཞུགས་སོ།།” ཞེས་པའི་ནང་། “གྱི་བ་ལ། སྐྱེས་རབས་  
 དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་སྟེན་དག་མཁན་ཆེན་པོ་རུ་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པ་འོན་ (འོང་) སྟོན་གྱིས་བསྐྱུར་བའི་ཡལ་  
 འདབ་གསུམ་པ་ཡན་ཚང་བཞུགས། སྐྱི་བ་ལ་དེའི་འཇུག་ (མཇུག་) རྗེ་གསལ་བ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་པའི་སྟེན་དག་  
 སྟོབ་དཔོན་རྟེན་དབྱུངས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ། སྟོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་པོས་འགྲུང་བའི་ལེ་ལུ་གསུམ་པ་ཡན་ཚང་བཞུགས་”<sup>49</sup> ཞེས་སྟེན་  
 དག་མཁན་ཆེན་པོ་ཅམ་ལས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་སྟོར་མི་འདུག་པ་དེ་ལྟར་ལགས།

དེའི་རྗེས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་ནི་བྱ་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ་ (1290-1364) ཡིན་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གི་ཆོས་འབྲུང་དུ་ “སྟོབ་དཔོན་སྟེན་  
 དངགས་མཁན་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱེས་རབས་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་འོང་སྟོན་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་འགྲུར་”<sup>50</sup> ཞེས་  
 སྟོབ་དཔོན་གྱི་མཚན་སྤྱར་མ་གཏོགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྱེད་མ་བཀོད་དོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཁོང་གིས་མཛད་པའི་བསྐྱེད་འགྲུང་  
 དཀར་ཆག་ཏུ་འདུག “གོ་བ་ལ། སྟེན་དངགས་མཁན་དགོ་བའི་དབང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་བྱུང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་  
 དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་། བརྗོད་ལ་སྟོ་ཀར་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་འོང་སྟོན་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་འགྲུང་བཞུགས་སོ།།”<sup>51</sup> ཞེས་འབྲུང་ཞིང་། འདི་

48 རིམ་པ་བཞེད་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 356 དང་། 454, 473 བཅས་སུ་གསལ། དབུ་མེད་ལག་བྲིས་ལ། [http://tbrc.org/? locale=bo#!rid=W2CZ7507](http://tbrc.org/?locale=bo#!rid=W2CZ7507)

49 ཀམ་པ་རང་བྱུང་རྗེ་རྗེའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། ང། འོག་གྲངས་ 245 ཡང་ཁོང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ཁོང་གི་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་འགྲུང་རོ་ཅོག་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་  
 ཅམ་པ་ནའང་ཆེག་རིས་ཅམ་མ་གཏོགས་གཅིག་མཚུངས་སུ་བཀོད་འདུག <http://www.tbrc.org/?locale=bo#!rid=O00EGS105549>

50 བྱ་སྟོན་ཆོས་འབྲུང་། བོད་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་དེབ་གསུགས་པར་ལ། འོག་གྲངས་ 345 བར་གསལ།

51 བྱ་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྲུབ། བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་འགྲུང་རོ་ཅོག་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཡིད་བཞེད་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མེད་བཞེས་བྱ་བ། གསུང་  
 འབྲུམ། ཞོལ་པར་ལ། ལ། 1063 ན

ལ་ཡལོང་ས་ལྷ་བས་ཀྱང་སློབ་དཔོན་ཞེས་མིང་སློབ་བ་མི་འགལ་བའི་ཚད་སློང་མཛད་འདུག། ཤོད་སྟོན་ནི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༣༧༣ ལོའི་རྗེས་ ཅན་ལ་ད་དུང་འཚོ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ལ་གཞི་བཅོལ་ཆེ་སྟེང་མ་ཐག་པའི་སྤྲུལ་ལོ་འདི་གཉིས་ལེ་ཤོད་སྟོན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཆའི་ རྗེས་མ་ཟིན་ཅན་ལ་འབྲུངས་པའི་སྤྲུལ་ལོ།

དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་བཞི་བ་དང་བཅོ་ལྔ་པའི་ནང་ཕྱོན་པའི་ཤོད་གྱི་མཁས་པའི་ཁོད་ནས་ཤོད་བཤམ་ཆེན་ རྟོགས་ལས་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ (1376–1451) ལེ་དབུག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་གི་སྤྲུལ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཁོད་དུ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། ཁོད་གི་རྣམ་ ཐར་དུ། ཁོད་གིས་སྟོན་དག་ལ་ཐོས་བསམ་མཛད་ཚུལ་འཆད་སྐབས་སུ་འདི་ལྟར། “སྟོན་དང་གསུམ་གྱི་མཁའ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་དགེ་ བའི་དབང་པོ་སྤྲུལ་དང་བཅས་པས་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱལ་བའི་རྟོགས་བ་བརྗོད་བ་དབུག་བསམ་གྱི་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་”<sup>52</sup> ཞེས་གསལ་ འདུག་པ་མ་གཏོགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་མཚན་སྐུར་མི་འདུག། རྣམ་ཐར་འདི་ནི་ཁོད་གི་དངོས་སྤོབ་འཕྲུལ་དགེ་ སློང་འཇིགས་མེད་འབངས་སམ། ཨ་མོ་རྣ་སི་རྟེ་ (1453–?) ཞེས་བྱ་བས་ཚུ་མོ་བྱ་སྟེ་ ༡༤༥༣ ལོར་བརྟམས་འདུག། ཁོད་ གི་གསུང་འབྲུལ་ཁོད་དུ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་རབས་བརྒྱ་དུག་ཅུ་བ་སོགས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་སྟོན་དག་མེ་ལོང་གི་འབྲེལ་བ་ སོགས་སྟེང་མོད། དེར་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་རིགས་བདག་གིས་མ་མཛོད།

ཡང་འགོས་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་གཞོན་ཏུ་དབལ་ (1392–1481) གྱི་དེབ་སྟོན་དུ་ཤོད་སྟོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་འཆད་སྐབས། “ཤོད་ གིས་སྤྲུལ་ཡང་དབུག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཞི་འགྱུར་དང་། སྤྲུལ་འགྱུར་བའི་འགྱུར་བཅོས་ཀྱང་མཛད་ཅིང་། སྤྲུལ་དབུགས། མིང་གི་མཛོན་བརྗོད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྟོལ་ལེགས་པར་བཅུགས།” ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་གལ་ལག་སྟེ་བཤམ་ཆེན་ (1299–1378) གྱི་སློང་གསུངས་སྐབས། ཁོད་གིས་ “གསུང་སུ་བ་སྟོན་གྱིས་མཚུངས་མེད་ལ་རྣམ་ཤེས་དང་། བྲམས་ཚེས་ ལྷ། སློང་འཇིགས་ཚད་མ་བུས་ས། སྟོན་དག་དབུག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་རྣམས་ཞུས།” ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་ཀམ་པ་རོལ་པའི་རྟོ་ རྗེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྐབས་སུ་ “སྤྲུལ་ཡང་ཀོར་པོར་མེབས་ལམ་དུ་འབྲེལ་ཞིང་གི་སྤྲུལ་སྤོབ་ཆེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་མཛད་ནས། ལྷ་རོ་ ཚེས་དུག་དང་། སྤྲུལ་རབས་དབུག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསུངས་པས་ཆེས་པར་མཛད།”<sup>53</sup> ཅེས་སྤྲུལ་རབས་ དང་སྟོན་དག་ཅེས་པ་ལས་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་སྟོར་མ་འཁོད་དོ།

ཡང་དུས་རབས་བཅོ་ལྔ་པ་དང་བཅུ་དུག་པར་ཕྱོན་པའི་མཁས་པའི་ཁོད་ནས། གསུང་མཛོད་གཤམ་ཆེན་འཕྲུལ་མཚན་ ལྷན་ (1428–1507) གྱིས་ ༡༤༧༤ ལོར་བརྟམས་པའི་རྗེ་བཅུན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྲེན་པའི་བཤམ་གཉེན་འཕྲུལ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ དཔལ་བཟང་པོའི་ཞལ་སྤྲུལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཐར་པ་རོ་མཚར་དད་པའི་རོལ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ན་ཡང་རོད་སྟོན་འཕྲུལ་རྒྱལ་ མཚན་ (1367–1449) དགྲུང་ལོ་བརྒྱུད་ཅུ་གྲུ་གཅིག་བཞེས་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་འཆད་སྐབས། “ཉེ་གནས་ཆེན་ མོས། རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གསུང་སྐྱེ་ཅེ་ཞུ་གང་བ་གཅིག་བཞེངས། བྲག་ཏུ་བུལ་བས། འདི་ལ་ཁོ་ལོ་གསུམ་སློང་པའི་རྟོན་འབྲེལ་

52 ཤོད་བཤམ་ཆེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། གངས་ཅན་རིག་མཛོད། ༡༥ ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༡༥ ཤོད་སྟོན་པོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༡ ལོར་ བར་བཅུ་བ་བ།

53 འགོས་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་གཞོན་ཏུ་དབལ། དེབ་ཐེར་སྟོན་པོ། སྤྲུལ་ཆ། རིམ་པ་བཞེན་ཤོག་གངས་ ༩༡༩ དང་། སྟོན་ཆའི་ཤོག་གངས་ ༩༣༠ དང་ ༥༩༩ ལ་གསལ། མི་ཁོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ༡༩༧༤

བྱེད། དེའི་རིང་ལ་བསྟན་བཅོས་མང་པོར་འཆད། ཚེས་བ་ཡང་མང་པོ་བྱེད། དུམ་རྒྱས་བ་དང། དེའི་རྗེ་ཀའོག་ལོས་བྱས་  
 བ་དང། སྟན་དགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ཡང། འཇམ་མཁའ་དཔལ་ལྡན་གྱིས་ཉི་མའི་གུང་ལ་  
 ལེགས་པར་ཐོན་ཅིག་ཅེས་གསུང།”<sup>54</sup> ཞེས་འབྲུང་ངོ། །ད་དུང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གསེར་སྲོང་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཀམ་པ་རིམ་  
 རྩོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དག་ནའང་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ངམ་སྐྱེས་རབས་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ཅམ་གྱི་མཚན་  
 བྱང་བཀོད་སྣང་ངོ།།

ལ་གོང་ས་ལུ་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱབ་བརྒྱུད་ཁོད་ནས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འདི་ལ་ལུག་ལས་ལུགས་ཆེར་གནང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་  
 ཞིག་ནི། ཞལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་ཚེས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་པོ་ (1441–1527) ཡིན་པ་དང། དེའི་སྐོར། རྗེ་དགེ་བར་མའི་མཇུག་བྱང་དུ་འདི་ལྟར།  
 “རྒྱལ་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་སྟན་དག་ཆེན་པོ་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ཞེས་བྱའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སྐད་གཉིས་བྱང་དུ་སྦྲར་བ་འདིར།  
 །ཡི་གེ་པ་དང་དག་བྱེད་པ་ཡི་སྐྱོན་ལས་ཡིག་འབྲུ་ལྷག་ཆད་བརྗོད་འཁྲུལ་བ་ཇི་སྟེད་མཆིས་པ་རྣམས། །འདི་ཡི་སྐད་གཉིས་  
 བྱང་སྦྲར་ཐོག་མར་བྱེད་པོ་འདིག་རྟོན་མིག་གུང་ཚེས་སྐྱོང་བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་བྱའི་དགེ་སྐོང་གིས། །ལེགས་སྦྲར་གཞུང་དང་སྦྲེབ་  
 རྒྱུར་བསྟན་བཅོས་པོད་སྐད་བརྗོད་ཡི་བསྟན་བཅོས་དང་བསྟན་སྐོར་གྱིས་ཞིབ་ཐོས་དག་པར་བགྱིས།”<sup>55</sup> ཞེས་གསུངས་ཏེ་ཞལ་  
 པོ་ཆེན་གྱིས་གཞུང་འདི་སྐད་གཉིས་འགྲུ་སྦྲར་དུ་ཐོག་མར་བཀོད་ཅེས་གསུངས་འདུག།

ཞལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཁོང་གི་སྐོབ་མ་སྐྱོགས་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་བཀའ་ཤིས་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་དེར། ཞལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས་  
 ཚེས་རྗེ་དགེ་བཟང་པ་ལས་ “སྟན་དག་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་ལུགས་ཀྱང་གསལ་ནོ།།” ཞེས་དང། ཡང། “[ཞལ་ལོ་  
 ཆེན་གྱིས་] དེ་ནས་སྦྲར་འགྲུར་བ་ལའང་འགྲུར་མི་བདེ་བ་དང་འགྲུར་ལོག་པ་དང་འགྲུར་ཆད་པ་སོགས་དང། ལྷིས་ཡི་གེ་  
 པས་བྲི་ནོར་དུ་བྱས་པ་སོགས། མི་བཅོས་སུ་མི་རུང་བ་རྣམས་རྒྱ་དཔེ་ལ་གཏུགས་པའི་ཞུ་ཆེན་མཛད་པ་ནི་བཀའ་འགྲུར་  
 བསྟན་འགྲུར་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཡི་གེ་མང་བའི་འདིགས་པས་འདིར་ཁ་ཅིག་ཅམ་འདྲི་ན།”<sup>56</sup> ཞེས་བསྟན་བཅོས་སྐོར་  
 གཅིག་བྱངས་པའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ “དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང། མེ་ལོང།” གཉིས་ཀྱང་འདུག་གོ།

ཡང། ལྷུལ་སྐྱེ་ཞལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཉུང་དུ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་ཅན་གྱི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཁ་ཆང་  
 བ་དེ་ན། “བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ཡིས་དུས་འཁོར་གྱི། །འགྲེལ་ཆེན་དང་ནི་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་དང། །འདུལ་བ་མདོ་  
 རྩལ་སོགས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི། །བསྟན་བཅོས་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་ཅམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དང། །འོད་སྐད་ལེགས་པར་སྦྲར་ཏེ་གཟིགས་པར་  
 མཛད།”<sup>57</sup> ཅེས་འབྲུང་བ་ལྟར་ཁོང་གིས་དཔག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་རྒྱ་ལོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་གཉིས་བསྦྲར་ནས་འགྲུར་ཞིབ་གནང་བ་

54 གསུང་འབྲུམ། ཐོད། མ། འོག་གངས་ 346 (ཨིན་ཨང་བཀོད་པ་) <http://tbc.org/?locale=bo#!rid=W23200>

55 བསྟན་འགྲུར་ (དཔེ་བསྟར་མ་) བསྟན་འགྲུར། ཁེ། བྱང་གོའི་ཐོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟན་ཁང། 300 འོག་གངས་ 1133

56 རྟོགས་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་བཀའ་ཤིས། རྗེ་བཙུན་ཞལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་བརྗོད་བྱང་ལོར་བྱའི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འོག་  
 གངས་ 3134 དང་ཡང་འོག་གངས་ 3134 <http://www.tbc.org/?locale=bo#!rid=W27407>

57 རྟོགས་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་བཀའ་ཤིས། རྗེ་བཙུན་ཞལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་བརྗོད་བྱང་ལོར་བྱའི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འོག་  
 གངས་ 3134 <http://www.tbc.org/?locale=bo#!rid=W27407>

གསལ་འདུག<sup>58</sup> །ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བའི་གསུང་ཚེས་དེ་མ་ཞིག་འདར་སྟོད་དགའ་འདུལ་དབང་པོས་ཐ་སྣང་རིག་གནས་ལྗེ་བྱང་ཚུལ་  
དུ་ལུང་བྲངས་འདུག་པའི་ནང་འདི་ལྟར། “སྐད་གཉིས་སྤྱི་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱ་ར་གཏོགས་ཚམ་འདི་སྤྱི་མའི་བག་ཆགས་དང་། ཆེ་འདིར་  
མཁས་བ་བསྟེན་པས། ཀ་ལྷ་བ་དང་ཅ་རྒྱུ་བའི་གཞུང་རྫོགས་པའི་ས་རིས་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དང་། རྒྱ་དཔེ་སློབ་ཤིང་པས་འཕགས་བ་  
བརྒྱད་སྟོང་བ་ (བསྟེན་བཅོས་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་གི་མཚན་བྲངས་རྗེས་) སྣེ་ལ་ལ་ལ་བརྒྱད་བ་སྟེ་འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དང་བོད་  
དཔེ་སྤྱིར་བཏོན་མཆོག་དོན་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་ཞུགས་པས། སྟོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཚེས་བསྐྱར་ཚུལ་། རྗེས་སུ་དབག་  
པའི་སྟོན་རྣམས་འདུལ་བ་ལགས།” ཞེས་གསུངས་ཅིང་། དཔེ་མཐོང་ཁོངས་སུ་རྟོགས་པ་རྫོང་དབག་འཁྲི་ཤིང་མེད་མོད་  
འདར་སྟོད་པས་དེ་སྟོར་ལ་འདི་ལྟར། “དེ་ལྟར་ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཞི་རིག་པའི་གནས་ལ་མཁམ་བ་དབག་བར་དཀའ་བས། དུས་  
འཁོར་འགྲེལ་ཆེན། དབག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བསྟེན་བཅོས་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་ཚམ་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དང་བོད་དཔེ་ལེགས་པར་  
སྤྱར་ཏེ། གཞིགས་རྟོག་མཚན་པ་དང་གཞན་ལ་འདོམས་པར་ཡང་མཚན།”<sup>59</sup> ཅེས་གསུངས།

དེ་ལྟར་ན་ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཚེས་སྟོང་བཟང་པོས་དབག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་རྒྱ་བོད་དཔེ་གཉིས་ཞིབ་བསྐྱར་གནང་བ་  
ཏུ་ཅང་ཁ་གསལ་མོད་སྐད་གཉིས་འཕྲ་སྤྱར་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་ལུངས་ནི་སྟེ་དགེ་བར་མའི་འགྲུང་བྱང་དུ་གསལ་བ་དེ་ཉིད་ལས་  
གཞན་ནི་མ་རྟེན་དོ། །གང་ཡོད་པ་དག་གི་ཁོད་དུ་དགོད་པར་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་སྤྱར་བ་ཡང་མ་མཐོང་ངོ། །

ཡང་། གོང་ར་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་གཞན་པན་རྗེ་རྗེ་ (1594–1654) ཡི་སློབ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཀམ་དབང་ས་ཚན་བཟང་པོ་ཞུ་བས་བཅུ་མས་  
པའི་དབག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་རྟོགས་པ་རྫོང་གི་ལུངས་ (ལུང་) གང་ནས་བྱུང་བདག་གིས་མཐོང་བ་ནི། ཞེས་འཁོད་པའི་དབག་  
བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་གི་ཡལ་འདབ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཤའ་བྱའི་ལུང་ལྷན་སྟོན་པ་ཞིག་འདུག་ཅིང་། དེའི་མཚན་ཏུ་ཁོང་གིས་འདི་ལྟར།  
“བདག་གིས་དབག་བསམ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་སྐད་གཉིས་འཕྲ་སྤྱར་བ། འོག་སུ་སུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་བྱུག་ཅུ་ཡོད་པ་སུག་གིས་སུ་བྱས་པའི་  
སློབ་པས་བཟུ་གྱི་བྱིས་བྱང་དུ་བཀོད་པ་ནི། རྒྱལ་བ་སྤྱོད་དང་བཅས་པའི་ལེགས་དབྱེད་གཏམ། །ངོ་མཚར་བརྫོང་པའི་དབྱངས་  
ཅན་ཏུ་སྤྱར། །གང་འདི་སྟོགས་པའི་མིག་ལ་དངར་ཚམ་མིན། །སློབ་པས་བཟུ་གྱི་བྱིས་བྱང་དུ་བཀོད་པའི་དབྱེད་ལས། །དིག་  
ཚུལ་འདི་ལ་སློབ་པས་མིག་གེ་བ། །ཀམ་དབང་ས་ཚན་སྟོན་པས་བཟང་པོ་ཡིས། །སྟོགས་སུ་སུ་སྟེ་མེད་བ་རབ་བཀོད་ཅེས། །རྗེ་  
དབང་མཁས་པའི་བཀའ་ལུང་སྤྱི་བོར་ཅོད།”<sup>60</sup> ཅེས་སོགས་གསུངས་འདུག་མོད། དགོད་པར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་སྟོར་མ་འཁོད།

58 སྟོགས་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་བཀའ་ཤིས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དུ་ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཞི་རིག་པའི་གསུངས་འཚོལ་ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་གསུང་  
ཚེས་ལ་ཡང་དབང་པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་སོགས་དཔེ་ཆ་སྟོར་ཞིག་གི་མཚན་བྲངས་འཁོད་འདུག་མོད་དེ་ལྟར་བཀའ་ལུང་ཡོད་མེད་ཆ་མ་འཚོལ།

59 འདར་སྟོད་དགའ་འདུལ་དབང་པོ། ཐ་སྣང་རིག་གནས་ལྗེ་བྱང་བའི་ཚུལ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་སློབ་པས་མཁམ་ལ་མཁམ་རྒྱུ་ལེགས་པ་འཕྲན་ཏེ་བྱའི་སྟེང་  
བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འོག་གངས་ 37 གངས་ཅན་རིག་མཚན། ཡང་ ༧ ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྟར་ཁང་། 1991 ལོར་བར་བཏབ་པ།

60 དབྱེད་ལེན་ལེགས་པས་འོག་གངས་ 37 གྲུ་ http://www.tbrc.org/?locale=bo#!rid=W1CZ1087 འདིའི་ཁ་བྱང་ལ། མཁས་པ་ཆེན་  
པོ་ཅན་ལེགས་པ་ཡིག་ཉེར་མཁོ་ཞེས་བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟེན་དཔེ་ཚོགས་ལྟེ་གནས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཏུ་བཀོད་མོད། དེར་དབལ་ཞ་ལུ་ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཞི་རིག་པ་ཆེན་  
པོ་ཅན་ལེགས་པ་ཡིག་ཉེར་མཁོ་བསྐྱར་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་པའི་གསུང་ཡིག་གི་མདུན་དེར་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་བསྟེན་བཅོས་འདི་འཁོད་ཅིང་།  
དེའི་ནང་དུ་ “ཀམ་དབང་ས་ཚན་སྟོན་པས་བཟང་པོ་” ཞེས་པ་ཚམ་ལས་མི་གསལ་ལོ། །

གོང་དུ་བྱངས་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་འདི་དག་གི་ཐོག་ནས་བརྟགས་ན། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ནས་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་  
 བར་བྱོན་པའི་ཐོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དང་མཁས་པ་འདི་དག་གིས་དགེ་དབང་ནི་སྣོན་དག་མཁམ་དང་སློབ་དཔོན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་  
 གསུངས་པ་དེ་ཡིག་ཆའི་ཐོག་ནས་ར་འཕྲོད་པ་རེད། ད་དུང་ཐོན་གྱིས་མཐོང་བའི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་དག་གཞི་འཛིན་བྱས་ན།  
 ཨ་མེས་ཞབས་དང་ཡང་ན་རྫོང་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་རོལ་དུ་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཞེད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཞིག་མེད་  
 པ་རེད། དེ་ལས་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་རྟོགས་བཞེད་དཔག་བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་གི་བཤད་ལུང་གི་རྒྱན་དེ་ལ་ཇི་ཅོང་ཁ་དང་བུ་སྟོན་  
 ལྟ་བུའི་མཁས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་མི་བཞུགས་པའི་ཚུལ་དེས་ཀྱང་དོགས་པ་འཕམར་མ་ཞིག་ཅི་ནས་ཀྱང་སློང་བར་བྱེད་དོ།

དེ་ནི་ཞོར་འཕྲོས་ལྟ་བུར། དཔག་བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་མ་ཤིང་པར་དུ་བརྟོགས་པའི་སློང་ལ་འང་ཇི་ལྟར་  
 དུས་ནས་ཞིག་ལ་པར་དུ་བརྟོགས་པའི་སློང་ལ་ཆོག་འགའ་ཞིག་ཞུས་ན། ལྷོང་ས་ལྟ་བུས་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་མ་པར་དུ་  
 བརྟོགས་པའི་པར་བྱང་དུ། “འཇམ་དབྱངས་ས་སྐྱ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བས་ཞལ་ཆེམས་སུ་བཞག་པ་ལྟར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཕགས་པའི་བདག་  
 རྒྱུན་ལ་བརྟེན་ཤིང་ལོས་བསྐྱར་བ་ནས་བཟུང་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་མིག་གཅིག་བྱ་རིམ་པར་བྱོན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུགས་གཅིགས་སུ་  
 མཛད་པ་དེང་སང་རྣལ་དང་སྣོན་པས་བསྐྱེད་པ་མ་བཟོད་པས་རྟོགས་བཞེད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐད་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་པར་དུ་བརྟོགས་པའི་སྣོན་གོན་  
 ཀྱིས་དཔེ་རྟོང་ཁུངས་བཅུན་མང་པོ་གོ་བསྐྱར། རྒྱ་སྐད་མ་ཚང་བ་དང་སྐྱི་ཉའི་སྐད་ཡོད་པ་ལ་བོད་སྐད་དུ་འགྲུབ་པ་ཐོར་བུ་  
 ལྷང་བ་རྒྱ་དཔེ་མ་རྟེན་ཅིང་བོད་དཔེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཆད་མཉམ་ལས་མི་འདུག་པས་དེད་རང་དང་འདར་པ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་བ་དག་དབང་སྣོན་  
 ཆོགས་ལྟུན་བྱུང་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སློབ་ཀྱིས་པ་གང་ཡོད་ཀྱིས་སྟེ་བ་སྐྱོར་བསྐྱེད་པ་འགྲུབ་བྱས་པར་སྐྱར་དཔེ་ཆོང་བ་རྟེན་ན་ཞུས་  
 དག་གཏང་ཆོག་ཅིས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་བྱ་བཏབ། མ་དཔེ་པར་བྱང་དང་བཅས་ཉོར་རྒྱ་གསུམ་པ་རྟེན་མའི་ཆོས་བཞི་ལ་དགའ་ལྡན་  
 ལུན་ཆོགས་སྤིང་དུ་བརྒྱུད་སྟེ།<sup>61</sup> ཞེས་དཔག་བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་མར་བྱས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་དུ་ཞིག་འཕྲོད་  
 པའི་ནང་ཁོང་གིས་དཔེ་རྟོང་ཁུངས་བཅུན་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གོ་བསྐྱར་བྱས་པ་གསལ་ཞིང་། ཡང་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་མའི་པར་བྱང་  
 དུ། “སྐད་གཉིས་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་གྱི་མ་དཔེ་འདི་བཞིན་རྒྱ་དཔེ་དང་བསྐྱེད་ནས་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་ལོ་ཆེན་ཆོས་སློང་བཟང་པོས་  
 ཞུས་དག་མཛད་པའི་དཔེ་རྒྱན་ཡིན་པས་འཁྲུལ་བ་ག་ལ་སྤིང་གྲང་། ལུ་དཔེ་གཅིག་ནས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བརྒྱུད་པར་ཡི་གེ་ཉོར་པའི་  
 སྟོན་འདྲ་ཡོད་འདུག་པ་ནས་རིན་སྐྱེད་ས་སྟོན་དབང་པོའི་བྱུང་དཔེ་ཁུངས་དག་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་དང་བསྐྱེད་འདར་ལོ་དག་དབང་སྣོན་  
 ཆོགས་ཀྱིས་འགྲུཞུས་དང་། དོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སར་སྤིང་དབྱེད་པས་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆོག་རྒྱུ་རེ་གཉིས་  
 ཆད་པ་སྟོན་པ་དང་བསྐྱུར་དུ་བཅུག་པེ།<sup>62</sup> སོགས་གསུངས་ཏེ་ཞུས་དག་སྣོན་སྐྱེད་ཆོགས་པ་མཛད་པར་གསུངས་མོད། དེ་ལ་  
 ཞུ་ཆེན་པ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་དང་མདོ་སྐད་པ་དགེ་འདུན་ཆོས་འཕེལ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤེས་སྐྱུར་མའི་ལེགས་སྐྱུར་  
 ལེགས་པོ་མེད་ཚུལ་གསུངས་པའི་སློང་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་རྟོགས་བཞེད་འདིར་སྟོན་གྱི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་བྱ་བཏབ་པ་  
 དང་བཅས་པའི་འཆད་ཉན་འཕེལ་རིམ་སློང་ནི་བདག་གིས་བྲིས་པའི་བྱང་ཚུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་རྟོགས་པ་བཞེད་པ་དཔག་བསམ་  
 འབྲི་ཤིང་ལ་དབྱེད་པའི་གཏམ་རྟོག་པའི་རིམ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་མདོར་བསྐྱེད་ཤིག་བྲིས་ཟེན་པས་འདིར་མ་རྣོས་སོ།

61 དག་དབང་སློབ་མཁམ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐབས་སྟོན་ཆེན་པོ་གསུངས་ ༦༤༧ བོད་སྐད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༤ ལོར་པར་བཏབ་པ།  
 62 བསྐྱེད་འགྲུབ་ (དཔེ་བསྐྱེད་མ་) བསྐྱེད་འགྲུབ་ ཁེ། བྱང་ལོ་ལོ་ཐོང་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༧ ལོ་གསུངས་ ༡༡༢༥ ནས་ ༡༡༣༡

རྟོགས་བརྗོད་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤམ་སྐྱེན་ལ་བར་སྐྱེན་བྱས་པའི་སྐོར་ལ་འདི་ལྟར། “ས་སྐོར་ཕྱག་མཚོད་ཐིན་ལས་རྒྱ་  
མཚོས་བཀོད་པས་ཁྲུབ་པར་བྱས་ནས་ཞུས་དག་པ་རབ་འབྱམས་པ་དགོ་འདུན་ཚོས་འཕེལ། ལོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཀྱན་དགའ་དབང་  
ལྷན། བར་ཡིག་པ་བྱམས་སྤིང་བ་ལེགས་ལྷན་སྐོབ་མར་བཅས་པ་བཞི་དང་། བར་མཁན་མཁས་པ་ཡོན་བདག་ཚེ་རིང་  
སོགས་པར་མཁས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལུས་དག་ཡིད་གསུམ་འབད་བས་བསྐྱེམས་ཏེ། ཁོ་མོ་ཞེས་པ་ཤིང་ཕོ་འབྲུག་ལོའི་ (1664)  
རྒྱ་བ་ལྷ་པའི་ཚེས་ལྷ་རེས་གཟའ་ལུང་བུ་དང་སྐར་མ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་འབྲུག་སྐྱོར་ཡོད་པའི་ཉིན་དབུ་བཅུགས། ཤིང་མོ་སྐྱལ་གྱི་  
ལོའི་ (1665) བ་སྐར་གྱི་རྒྱ་བའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་ལྷ་ལ་ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ་པའི་དགོ་བས་ལུས་ཅན་མཐའ་དག་རྣམ་འབྲེན་བྱ་རམ་  
ཤིང་བ་སྐོབ་པ་ལས་གྱི་གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མཚན་བ་དང་མཚུངས་པར་བསྐྱབས་ཏེ་འབྲས་བུ་ཚོས་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་མཛོན་ཏུ་  
བྱེད་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལ་སྐྱོད་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག”<sup>63</sup> །ཅེས་པར་དུ་བཞོས་པའི་ལོ་ཚིགས་ཀྱང་གསལ་འདུག་གོ།

༡༩༥༩ ལོར་ལེགས་སྐར་སྐད་དུ་བར་བཏབ་པའི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་དེའི་སྤྱིང་བརྗོད་དུ་བཀོད་པ་  
ལྟར་ན། ༡༩༩༩ ལོར་འཕར་ཅན་བླ་མ་ལྷ་མོ་ (Sarat Chandra Das) ལྷ་ས་ནས་ཞོལ་བར་མའི་མ་ཡིག་ཐོབ་པ་དེ་ ༡༩༩༩ ལོར་  
སྐད་གཉིས་ཤམ་སྐྱེན་གྱི་རོ་བོར་བར་སྐྱེན་བྱས་པ་དེ་ཅམ་ལས་རྒྱ་གར་འཕར་ཏུ་བཀོད་པའི་ལེགས་སྐར་གྱི་མ་དཔེ་  
མེད་སྐོར་གྲིས་འདུག་<sup>64</sup> །ཞོལ་བར་མ་འདི་སྐར་ཡང་ ༡༩༤༩ ལོར་རྒྱ་རམ་ས་ལའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཚོད་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱར་བར་  
བྱས་འདུག་པ་དེ་ནི་བཅོན་ལྷོལ་དུ་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤམ་སྐྱེན་དུ་བར་སྐྱེན་བྱས་པ་ཕྱི་ཤོས་དེ་ཡིན་པ་རེད། རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔག་  
བསམ་འབྲི་ཤིང་བོད་ལ་རི་ལྟར་བྱོན་ཚུལ་དང་དེ་ནས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྐད་དུ་དར་ཁྲུབ་བྱུང་ཚུལ་སོགས་ནི་སྐབས་གཞན་ཞིག་ཏུ་  
སྐོ་བོར་འདོད་དོ།

ད་ནི་འདི་ཡང་བཤད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། ད་ལྟའི་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ཏུ་དགོ་དབང་གི་མི་ཚེ་འཁོད་པའི་བསྐྱེན་བཅོས་  
སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ཡོད་པར་སྤང་། ཐུན་གྱིས་དགོ་དབང་གི་མི་ཚེ་ལ་དོ་སྤང་བྱས་ཏེ་བཅོལ་སྐབས་ཨིན་སྐད་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་བསྐྱེན་  
བཅོས་བཅུ་སྐོར་ཞིག་རྟེན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་དག་གི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ནི་དཔེར་ན། ལེགས་སྐར་ཚོམ་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་བྱ་ཀྱན་བཏུས་  
ཚིག་མཚོད་<sup>65</sup> ཅེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། ཡང་ ལུ་ལྷ། རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་རྟེས་བཅུམས་པའི་དགོ་དབང་སྟེ། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཁ་  
ཚའི་ལུལ་གྱི་སྐྱེན་དག་ལ། (ཁོང་གི་མི་ཚེ་དང་བསྐྱེན་བཅོས་ལ་སྐོབ་སྐོར་ཞིག་)<sup>66</sup> །ཅེས་པའི་དེ་ག། ཡང་འབྲུམ་རམས་པ་  
ཨར་ གེ་ ཐུན་ལྷ་ཡིས་བཅུམས་པའི་འབྲུམ་རམས་སུ་རྒྱ་ཀློའི་ཡི་དགོ་དབང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་<sup>67</sup> །ཅེས་བྱ་བ། དེ་ནས་སྐར་ལྷ་ ཁོ་  
སྐྱ་ལ་ཡི་བཅུམས་པའི་དགོ་དབང་དང་ཁོང་གི་སྐྱ་དུས་ཏེ། དགོ་དབང་གིས་བསྐྱེན་པའི་ཁ་ཚའི་ལུལ་གྱི་དཔལ་འབྱོར་དང་

63 བསྐྱེན་འབྲུང་ (དཔེ་བསྐྱེན་མ་) བསྐྱེན་འབྲུང་། ཞེ། གྲུང་བོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ལོག་གྲངས་ ༡༡༣༣ རས་ ༡༡༣༩  
64 Vaidya P. L. ed., *Avadana-Kalpalata of Ksemendra*, The Mithila Institute, 1959  
65 Bhattacharya J.N. and Nilanjana Sarkar, *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit Literature*, Global Vision Publishing House, Delhi, 2004.  
66 Chakraborty U., *Ksemendra – The Eleventh Century Kashmiri Poet (A Study of His Life and Works)*, Sri Satguru Publications, 1991.  
67 Panda R.K., *Ksemendra Studies of Dr. Suryakanta*, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2010.

ལྷི་ཚོགས་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།<sup>68</sup> ཞེས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་སོགས་རེད། འདིའི་ཕྱི་མ་གསུམ་པལ་ཚེར་དགེ་དབང་གི་མི་ཚེ་ཞིབ་  
འདུག་གསུམ་ཚུལ་ལྟར་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་བཅུམས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་རེད།

བསྟན་བཅོས་འདི་དག་ཏུ་འཁོད་པ་ལྟར་ན། དགེ་དབང་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་པའི་དུས་མཇུག་ཚམས་ལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་  
དཱེ་ (Didda) ཞེས་པས་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༧༩༠ ལྷ་ས་ ༡༠༠༩ བར་མི་ལོ་ཉེར་གཉིས་རིང་ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་ཀ་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱིད་  
བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཡུལ་དེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞིག་གི་ཁྱིམ་དུ་འཁྲུངས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཁོང་གི་ཡལ་མེས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་  
རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་མཇུག་ན་གསལ་བ་ཇི་བཞིན་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་ཡང་། ལ་རེ་རྩ་ (Narendra-སྟོ་བཟང་མི་  
དབང་) ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུད་པའི་ནང་གི་ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་ (Kashmir) ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྩ་ཡ་པི་ཏ་ (King Jayapida) ཞེས་པའི་  
སྟོན་པོའི་གསུམ་ཤིག་ཡིན། དེའི་བུ་ནི་རྩོ་བློ་རྩ་ (Bhogindra-ལོངས་སྟོན་ལྟན་པའི་དབང་པོ་) ཡིན། དེའི་བུ་སི་ལྷ་ (Sindhu-  
རྒྱ་མཚོ་) དང་། དེའི་བུ་ནི་པ་ཀ་འཕྲུག་ (Prakanendra-རབ་གསལ་དབང་) ཞེས་པ་ལྟེ་འདི་ནི་ལྷོ་མེ་རྩ་ (Ksemendra-དགེ་  
དབང་) གི་ཡལ་ཡིན། དགེ་དབང་གི་བུ་ནི་སོ་མེ་རྩ་ (Somendra-སྟོ་དབང་) ཡིན། དགེ་དབང་གིས་རྒྱུད་དུས་ནས་ཡུལ་  
དེའི་སྟོན་པོ་དཔོན་གསལ་ཅན་རྣམས་བསྟེན་ཏེ་རིག་གནས་སྟོན་གཉེར་བྱས་ཡོད་འདུག །དགེ་དབང་གིས་བསྟན་བཅོས་རྩམ་  
པའི་བུ་བཞི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༠༩༧ ལོར་མགོ་བཅུགས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༠༩༩ ལོར་མཇུག་འགྲུལ་ཡོད་འདུག

ཁོང་ནི་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་དང་བཅས་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་རྣམས་གངས་བཞི་བཅུ་ཅན་གྱི་རྩོམ་པ་པོ་  
ཡིན་པར་བཤད་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ལས་བསྟན་བཅོས་སུ་མ་རུ་སོ་བྲུག་ཅན་ཞི་དུ་ལྟོང་ཁོང་གི་གསུང་ཚན་ལྟར་དུ་བཅི་བར་  
བཤད། བསྟན་བཅོས་འདི་དག་ནི་ཚོས་དང་ལྷའི་རྣམ་འདྲུས། མིའི་སྟོན་པ། ལྷི་ཚོགས་མཚང་འབྲིན་གྱི་བཞད་གད། ཚོམ་  
རིག་དབྱེད་ཞིབ། བསྟན་བཅོས་གསལ་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་དོན་མདོར་བསྟུས། རང་གི་རྩོམ་ཡིག་བཅས་དབྱེ་བ་བྲུག་གི་ནང་  
གནས་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་དོ། ཁོལ་ཀྱང་ཁོང་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་དང་སྟན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ལས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་  
བཀོད་མེད་ཅིང་། ཁོང་ནི་ཕྱི་རོལ་པའི་ཚོས་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་འགོ་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ལས་ནང་པ་བའི་ཡིན་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་  
ཀྱང་བཀོད་མི་འདུག །དེ་དག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་དགེ་དབང་གི་མི་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤིག་ལྟར་གྱིས་སྤྱིགས་སྤྱིག་གིས་བོད་སྐད་དུ་  
མིས་ཟེན་ཡོད་པས་ལུགས་སྐད་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེར་གཟིགས་འཚལ་ཞིང་། འདིར་བསྐྱར་དུ་རྩོམ་པ་མ་བྱས་སོ།།

དེས་ན། ལ་ཤོང་ས་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་པོས་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་སྐད་གཉིས་ཤིན་ལྟར་མ་བར་དུ་བརྗོད་པའི་རྩོམ་  
པ་མཚན་དཔ་མཐད། དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་གི་གསུང་ཚོས་གནང་བ་དང་། དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་གི་རི་མོ་ལྷེ་བས་རིས་  
ཀྱི་རྒྱན་སྟེལ་བ། དེ་བཞིན་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཏུ་ཅང་ཐབ་པོ་མཚན་པ་དེ་ལྟར་འད། དགེ་  
དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་དཔལ་ག་བསམ་འཁྲིལ་ཤིང་གི་ཚོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་གཅིག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པ་དེ་  
ནི་ཏུ་ཅང་ཐབ་ཆེ་བ་མ་ཐད། དོན་ལ་ཡང་མི་གནས་པ་དང་། ལ་ཤོང་ས་ལྷ་པས་ (1617–1682) རང་ཉིད་ལས་སུ་བའི་རྒྱལ་

68 Khosla S., *Ksemendra and His Times: Socio-Religious & Economic History of Kashmir as Depicted by Ksemendra*, 2001.



ཚབ་བཞི་པ་གོ་ཤེ་གྲགས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་ (1547-1613) གིས་དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཞེད་ཚུལ་གསུངས་མོད། དེ་དག་ལ་  
འབྲེལ་ནས་སྤྲ་རབས་གི་མཁས་པ་སུ་དང་སུས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པར་བཞེད་པའི་ལུང་ས་གང་ཡིན་མ་གསུངས་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་  
ཡིན་གསུངས་བཞེད་དུའང་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་གསལ་ཁ་མ་བཏོད་པ། བོད་སྤྲ་རབས་གི་མཁས་པ་  
མང་པོས་འདི་ཉིད་སློབ་དཔོན་དང་སྣན་དང་མཁན་ཚམ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་གསུངས་པ། ད་ལྟའི་རྒྱ་གར་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ན་  
དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་པའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་མེད་པ་བཅས་ལ་བརྟེན། དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་སློབ་པ་ནི་བོད་གིས་བཟོས་པའི་  
བག་ཆ་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཟེན་དོ།

དེ་ལྟར་ན། བླ་གིས་དབྱུང་ཞིབ་བྱས་པའི་ཚེས་ལུང་འདི་དེ་ཞིག་མཚུགས་པ་ཡིན་མོད། ད་དུང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུང་  
བ་དང་གང་མཐོང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ནན་ཏན་གིས་བཞུགས་མ་ཐུབ་པ་སོགས་གི་རྒྱུ་ལས་འདིར་ལོར་བ་ཅི་མཆིས་རྣམས་  
མཁུན་ལྡན་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྲོད་ནས་འཆགས་སོ། །སྤྲད་ནས་ཀྱང་འདི་ལ་ཁ་གསལ་བ་བྱེད་འདུན་ཡོད་ཅེས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན།

ཁ་ཆེའི་ཡུལ་དུ་ལྷག་པོའི་བྱ་བ་སྤྲེས།  
སྣན་དངགས་ལ་སོགས་རིག་པའི་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་རྩལ་རྫོགས།  
བསྣན་བཅོས་ཉག་ཅིག་གངས་ཅན་བོད་དུ་སྤྲེབས།  
སྣན་དངགས་ཀུན་གི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གོ་འཕང་བརྟེས།  
སྤྲ་རབས་མཁས་པས་སྣན་དངགས་མཚོག་ཏུ་བཟུང།  
མཁས་པ་ཡིན་པས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཞེས་ཀྱང་བསྟུགས།  
ལོན་ཀྱང་དུས་གི་འཁོར་ལོ་འཁོར་བ་ན།  
དགེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོར་གྱུར་པའི་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ།



# གདོད་མའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ།

## རག་དོ་སློབ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན།

འཕེལ་རྒྱ་ལྡན་ཕྱི་རྒྱེ།  
 རབ་འབྱུངས་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཅེ་ཆེན་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་བཅུད།  
 གངས་རིའི་མདངས་སུ་སློབ་པ་གངས་ཅན་མགོན།  
 ལྷ་མ་མིག་མེ་འཇུག་ལ་གྲུས་བཅུད་དེ།  
 གདོད་མའི་གསོ་བའི་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེད་འདིར་གསལ་བྱ།

### འདས་པ་སྐྱེད་གསོ།

ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནི་མི་དང་མིས་འགོ་བ་ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་གྲུབ་འབྲས་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་ཞིག་རེད། དེ་ནི་མི་དང་མིའི་བར་གྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་  
 དང་། ཚོགས་སྡེ་མན་ཚུན་བར་གྱི་བྱ་དངོས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་བཅས་སུ་དབྱེ་རྒྱུ་རེད།  
 གདོད་མའི་མིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནི་སྤྱོད་པ་མི་ལ་འགྲུར་ཞིང་རིམ་བཞིན་ཕོག་བཞེད་གྲས་པའི་དུས་ནས་མགོ་རྒྱུས་པ་ཡིན།  
 དུས་ཚོད་དེ་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚན་རིག་སྤྱོད་པའི་བཤའ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ལྟར་ན་མི་ལོ་འབྲུམ་སྤྱོད་གསུམ་གྱི་སློབ་ཚམ་ནས་བྱུང་བར་འདོད།  
 གང་ལྟར་ཡང་ད་ལྟའི་མིའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ལྟར་པའི་མི་ཆེན་པོ་འཇུག་ཏུ་མོ་ས་མི་ཡན་སི་ (Homo Sapiens) ནི་ལོ་སློང་  
 ཐག་ལྔ་བཅུ་དང་བཞི་བཅུ་འཛེལ་ཚམ་ནས་འཇུག་གྱིང་འདིར་བྱུང་བར་བཤའ།  
 རིམ་བཞིན་དེ་དག་རྣམས་དཔྱོད་ཀྱི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་ལྲགས་ཡང་རྒྱས་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་གནས་སྟངས་ལ་འཕམ་འཛིང་  
 དང་དབང་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་པའི་མགོ་རྒྱུས། གསར་བཞེད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་གྱི་དུས་ཚོད་ནི་ཉ་ཅང་རིང་ཞིང་རྒྱུག་འཛིང་ཆེ་བ་  
 ཞིག་ཡིན།

### དང་པོ། སློབ་འགྲོ་དབྱེད་པའི་ཐབས།

དེ་དག་གི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྟོགས་པའི་ཐབས་ནི་འགོ་བ་དེ་དག་གི་གནས་ལྟུང་དང་འཛིན་ལྟུང་དུ་ལས་པའི་དངོས་རྒྱུས་དག་ལ་  
 དབྱེད་ཞེས་བྱེད་པ་དེ་རེད།

དེའང་འགོ་བ་མིའི་འཕེལ་རྒྱུར་བྱུང་བའི་ཀྱི་དབང་པོ་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་བ་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སམ་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་བྱུང་བ་  
 ཞེས་བྱ་ཞིང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་དུ་མ་འཁོད་ཅིང་བར་སྟོང་ཤོར་བ་རྣམས་ནི་གནས་རབས་ཀྱི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་ལག་ཆ་དང་།  
 ཐག་ཚེས་རི་མོ་དང་། གནས་ལྟུང་དང་། རུས་སློབ་སོགས་རྗེས་ལྷན་ཐོབ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་དབྱེད་དེ་གདོད་མའི་དུས་ཚོད་དང་།

དེའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གཞུགས་བརྟན་མིག་སྤར་སྤྱད་དུ་བསྟུན་ཐབས་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དེ་རེད། དེའང་དེར་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་ཚན་རིག་པའི་  
འདས་དུས་སྤྱད་དུ་བསྟུན་པའི་དཔང་པོ་ནི།

- ༡ གནའ་རབས་རྗེས་ཤུལ་ལས་ཐོབ་པའི་རྗེས་རིགས།
- ༢ ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་འཁོད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་བྱུང་བ།
- ༣ འགྲུལ་བཞུད་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཉིན་མོ་སོགས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན།

གཅིག །གནའ་རབས་རྗེས་ཤུལ་ལས་བྱུང་བ།

འདི་ལ་དབྱིན་སྐད་དུ་ཨར་ཁོ་ལི་ཇི་ཀལ་ (Archaeological) ཞེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་། ཚིག་འདིའི་ཨ་མ་ནི་རྟི་རིག་གི་སྐད་ཡིན་ཞིང་ཨར་ཁ་  
ཡོ་སི་ (Arkhaios) ཟེད། གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་ཡིན་པས་གནའ་རབས་རིག་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་ཞིང་། བོད་སྐད་ལ་དོན་ཐོབ་ཏུ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
རིག་པ་ཞེས་པར་གྲོ་བུ་མི་འཕུས་པ་མེད། རིག་པ་དེས་ནི་གནའ་རབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་རྗེས་ཤུལ་ནས་ཐོབ་པའི་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་  
དབྱེད་དེ་ཤེས་རྟོགས་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན།

དེའང་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་གྲོང་རམ་མཁར་ཤུལ་རྣམས་དམིགས་ཡུལ་དུ་བཟུང་སྟེ་དེ་དག་གཟབ་ནན་གྱིས་སྟོན་འདོན་  
བྱེད་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ལས་ཐོབ་པའི་ལོ་བྱུད་ཁག་གིས་གྲོན་པའི་སྟོན་པུན་གྱི་བར་དུ་ཚུན་ཆད་ལ་དོ་སྣང་ཆེན་པོས་  
འདས་པའི་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་བ་དང་དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་དཔང་པོར་བཟུང་བ་ཡིན།

གནའ་རབས་རིག་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ།

དེར་སང་མིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གདོད་མའི་མི་ཚེན་པོ་འཕམ་ཉོ་མོ་ ས་པི་ཡན་སི་ (Homo Sapiens) འཛོད་པ་  
ནི་མིའི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁོང་གི་ཤེས་ཡོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ལྟ་བུར་བཞི། དེའང་མེ་ལ་སྟོད་པ་དང་། ལྷུ་བས་  
བདེའི་ཐོན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ལག་ཆ་དང་། མཚོན་ཆ་དང་། གོས་གྲོན་པ་དང་། གྲོང་བཅིག་པ་དང་། རིགས་མ་ཐུན་པ་དག་ལྟར་  
སྟོད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་ཡོན་བཅས་ཁོང་ཚོར་བརྟེན་ནས་ཐོབ་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའང་གནའ་མིས་བཟོས་པའི་སྟུང་བས་བདེའི་  
ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ལོ་བྱུད་དང་རྗེས་ཤུལ་རྣམས་ལས་དེ་དག་གི་འཚོ་བ་དང་། འགོ་བ་མིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཡར་རྒྱས་  
དང་དེའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་གསོན་པོ་ཞིག་རྒྱུ་ཚོའི་མིག་སྤར་སྤྱད་དུ་བསྟུན་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན།

སྤྱི་བརྟན་འཇུག་ཐབས། (Radio Carbon Dating)

ཀར་རྫོན་ (Carbon) ཞི་རྗེས་རིགས་ཤིག་ཏེ། འདི་ནི་སྤྱི་དངོས་དང་སྟོན་ཆགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡིན། སྤྱི་  
དངོས་སམ་སྟོན་ཆགས་དེ་འདི་ག་ཤུལ་ས་འོག་སོགས་སུ་ད་ལྟ་བར་ལས་ལོད་ཆེ་དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་དངོས་པོ་དེ་དཔང་ལོ་  
དུས་རི་སོང་རྒྱུ་ཚུལ་ཚམས་ཤིག་ཐབས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རབ་ཅིག་ཡིན།

རིགས་རྒྱུ (DNA)

རྒྱུ་གང་ཞིག་སློབ་ཆགས་དང་སྦྲེ་དངོས་མཐའ་དག་གི་ཆ་ཤས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཉམ་བུ་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་ནས་བརྟེན་པའི་རང་རིགས་སྟོན་པའི་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱུད་འོང་བ་དེ་ལ་རིགས་རྒྱུ་མཉམ་བུ་མེད། དེར་དུས་ཀྱི་ཚན་རིག་པས་རྒྱུ་དེའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ལ་བརྟེན་ཏེ་སྦྲེ་དངོས་དང་སློབ་ཆགས་དེ་དག་སོ་སོའི་ཐུན་མོང་མིན་པའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པ་ལོན།

མི་རིགས་རིག་པ། (Anthropology)

འདི་ནི་མིའི་རིགས་ལ་དཔྱད་པའི་ཚན་རིག་གི་ཡན་ལག་ཅིག་ཡིན། དེའང་འཚོ་བ་དང་། ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་སྐོར་གཤིས། སྐད། ཡི་བོ། རྒྱུད་ལམ། ཚོང་ལས། ཚོས་ལུགས། ལེགས་བྱང་། དངོས་པོར་འཛིན་སྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་ལྟེན། འདུ་ཤེས། འཕྲིན་ལྷན་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་སོགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ལ་དཔྱད་པའི་སློབ་ཆགས་དེ་དག་གི་ཐུན་མོང་མིན་པའི་རང་བཞིན་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་སོ་སོར་ཞིབ་པར་དབྱེ་བ་སྐྱོད་དཔྱད་མི་རིགས་རིག་པ། (Medical Anthropology) ལྟ་བུ་དབྱེ་བ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་དོ།

གཉེས། ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་འཁོད་པ།

གཞན་ཡང་དེར་དུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚན་རིག་པར་སྤར་གྱི་བྱང་བ་ལ་དཔྱད་པའི་སློབ་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡོད་དེ་དཔེར་ན།

- ༡ རྒྱུ་རྩལ་ (Artifacts) རྒྱུ་རྩལ་རབས་ཀྱི་མིས་བཟོས་པའི་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཡོ་བྱང་དང་། མཚོན་ཆ། རྩ་ཆས། རྒྱུ་རིགས། ལྷེ་བ་ལྷིས་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཡོ་བྱང་དེ་དག་ལ་སྦྱོང་པའི་མི་རིགས་དང་། དེའི་དུས་རབས་སྟོན་པ་ལྟ་བུ།
- ༢ འཚར་འགོད། (Architecture) འཚར་འགོད་ལ་དཔྱད་པ་ནི་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་སྐྱེད་དུ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་སྟེ། རྒྱུད་དང་ཁང་ཆེན་གྱི་བཞོན་པ་དང་། རྒྱུ་ཆས་དང་སྦོད་ཆས་སོགས་ཀྱི་བཞོན་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ཏུ་སྦྱང་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་སོགས་ལ་དཔྱད་པས་དེ་ལ་སྦྱོང་མཁན་དང་བཟོ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་ལེགས་བྱང་རྟོགས་པ་མ་ཟད་དེ་དག་གི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་རྟོགས་ཐུབ།
- ༣ རྟེན་བཞེངས། (Monuments) དེ་ནི་རྟེན་ཁང་ཆེན་དང་། རྩ་སྦྱང་དང་། ཐམ་ག་སོགས་ལྟ་བུ་སྟེ། འདི་དག་གིས་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་བཟོ་རིག་གི་རྒྱ་རྩལ་དང་འབེལ་རིམ་གྱི་སྤར་བརྟན་སྐྱེད་བཟོ་བྱུང་བ་ལོན།
- ༤ རྩོ་རྒྱུ་ (Inscriptions) རྩོ་རྒྱུ་ནི་ཡིག་གཟུགས་སུ་བཞོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དབང་རྟོགས་ཤིག་ཡིན། འདི་ནི་པལ་ཆེར་བྲག་ལ་བཞོན་པ་དང་། རྩོ་རིང་ལ་བཞོན་པ་སོགས་སྟེ། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ལྷན་པོའི་ཉི་མམ་བཞོན་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་བཞོན་པ་དང་། ས་གནད་གལ་ཆེན་ཁག་ཏུ་བརྟུག་པའི་རྩོ་རིང་རིས་སུ་བཞོན་པའི་རྩོ་རིང་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ཡལ་སྐུ་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་བཞེད་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་གཞི་གས་རྩོ་རིང་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཆེན་གྱི་མཛད་རྗེས་བཞོན་པའི་རྩོ་རིང་། དཔེར་ན་ཅེའི་ཚོན་ཆེན་སྟག་སྐྱེད་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་གྱི་བྱས་རྗེས་བཞོན་པའི་རྩོ་རིང་ལྟ་བུ། གཞན་ཡང་སྐྱུགས་དང་ཟངས་ཀྱི་བྱང་།

- བྱུང་བྱིས་པ་དང་། རྩེལ་བྱུལ་བྱིས་པ་སོགས་བརྗོད་བྱ་སྣ་ཚོགས་པ་ཡོད། དེ་དག་ནི་སྐབས་དེའི་གནས་ཚུལ་དང་།  
 གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་བྱུང་བའི་དུས་ཚོད་བཅས་སྟོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔང་རྟགས་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན།
- ༥ རོང་ཅེ། (Coins) གསེར་དངུལ་གྱི་ཤམ་ཀ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ངོས་སུ་བྱིས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་དང་དབྱིབས་སོགས་ལས་རྒྱལ་  
 བོལ་མ་གཞུང་གང་ཞིག་གིས་དུས་དེར་ཡུལ་དེ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བྱས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་པན་ཚུན་གང་དུ་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་  
 མེད་བཅས་སྐྱར་དུ་གསལ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔང་རྟགས་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན། དཔེར་ན་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ས་འོག་ནས་ཐོན་  
 བའི་ཟངས་ཤམ་འགས་ལྷེ་རི་སིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སུམ་ཅུ་ཟམ་པས་རྒྱ་གར་ལ་དབང་སྐྱར་བྱས་པ་ཤེས་བྱུབ་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན།
  - ༦ ཡིག་ཚགས། (Manuscripts) དཔེར་ན་སྟོན་དངགས་དང་། རྫོང་གར་དང་། སྟོན་གཞུང་དང་། ཅིས་རིག་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 དང་། ཚོས་ལུགས་སོགས་བརྗོད་བྱ་ཅེ་རིགས་ཤིང་ཉ་ལའི་ལོ་མ་དང་། ཤོག་བྱ་དང་ཀོ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ངོས་སུ་བྱིས་པ་  
 ལྟེ། འདི་དག་གི་བྱུང་རིམ་ཅུང་ཟད་འཕྱི་ཅམ་ཡིན་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དཔྱོད་པའི་དཔང་རྟགས་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཉུང་  
 ཉོང་གི་ཡིག་རྩིང་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན།

གསུམ། ཉེན་ཐོད་ལམ་ཡིག

- ༡ རྩོམ་ཐོ། (Memoirs) གང་ཟག་སྐྱེར་འགས་རང་ལ་ཉེན་ཐོའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གལ་ཆེན་གང་མཐོང་དང་ཅིའི་བྱིར་བུང་བ་  
 དང་། ད་དུང་འགས་དེའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཚོར་སྣང་སོགས་ཉེན་ཐོར་བཀོད་བ་རྣམས་ནི་གང་ཟག་ཞུང་པར་བ་དེའི་བྱས་རྩེས་  
 དང་། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་བག་ཆགས་ཅམ་མ་ཟད་སྐབས་དེའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་དང་དཔལ་འབྱོར། རིག་གནས། འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་  
 སོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་སྟངས་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་བསྐྱེད་པའི་གལ་ཆེའི་དཔང་རྟགས་ཤིག་ཡིན་ཏེ་དཔེར་ན་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཟུན་  
 ཟུང་ལའི་ (Banaghatta) རྩོམ་ཐོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉར་ཤེའི་ (Harsha Chareta) དམག་དོན་ (AD 606–642) དང་། དཔལ་འབྱོར་  
 ལ་ཐོབ་པའི་བྱུབ་འབྲས་དང་། ཐང་ཚོད་ (617–808) གསར་རྟེན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐོད་དང་རྒྱའི་བར་དམག་འཁྲུགས་དང་ཐོབ་  
 ཤོར་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་གསལ་རྗེས་དུ་མ་མིག་སྲར་ད་ལྟ་ལྟགས་པ་ལྟ་བུ་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཡོད།
- ༢ ལམ་ཡིག་ (Travelogues) ལམ་ཡིག་ནི་སལ་ཆེར་ཉེན་ཐོ་ལས་མ་འདས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་མཁས་པ་ཐང་སན་  
 འཕགས་ཡུལ་དུ་བེབས་པའི་ཉེན་ཐོ་དང་། ཐོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱ་ཨོ་རྒྱན་པ་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བེབས་པའི་ཉེན་ཐོར་ལམ་ཡིག་ཏུ་  
 འཕོད་སྲོལ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་ལས་ཡུལ་དེའི་གཅན་གཟན་དང་། ལམ་འཕྲང་ཆུ་མོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་  
 དང་། ལྷག་པར་གང་དུ་རྟོལ་བའི་གནས་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། གྲེ་བགན་ལེ་རྒྱ་དང་། རོ་རྩེ་གདན་སོགས་བཤད་སྐྱུབ་  
 ཀྱི་བསྟི་གནས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐོས་བསམ་སྟོམ་པ། འཚད་ཚོད་ཚོམ་པ། ལུང་དང་རྟོགས་པ་དང་། མཁའ་མོ་སྟོ་སྟོབ་  
 དང་། མཁས་བཙུན་བཟང་གསུམ་གྱི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་བ་གསལ་བ་མ་ཟད། ཞར་དུ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཐན་ཞོད། ལོ་བྱུགས།  
 དམག་འཁྲུག་ལུ་གོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་གསལ་བ་དང་། དེ་དག་ལས་ཀྱང་ལྷག་པར་སྲ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷེ་རིག་གི་ (Greek) ལམ་  
 ཡིག་དེར་སང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཡལ་ (Fathers of History) ཏུ་འཕོད་པ་དེར་ལྷེ་རིག་གི་དམག་དཔོན་རྣམས་ལྷེ་ཡུམེ་ (Darius)  
 ཡིས་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བཅོན་འཛུལ་བྱས་ (6th Century) པ་དང་། དེ་མིན་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བཅའ་རྗོད་ལྷེ་རིག་གི་གཞུང་ཚབ་པ་

མེ་རྒྱ་སེ་ཐེ་ཞེ་སེ་སེ་ (Megasthenes) གྲི་སེ་པའི་མི་ནཱི་ཀ་ (Indica 4<sup>th</sup> Century ཅན་ལྷ་ལྷ་མོ་རྒྱའི་དུས་) འདི་ནི་སེ་  
ཁམས་དང་རྒྱ་མཚོར་སློབ་སྦྱོར་གྱི་ལུང་པའི་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

༣ དེ་མིན་ལྔར་གྱི་ལུང་བསྟན་དང་། གཉེར་བྱང་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དཔྱད་པའི་སློབ་རུང་བ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་།  
རེས་འགའ་སེ་འོག་གི་རྩ་དུམ་ཞིག་གིས་ལུང་བསྟན་མར་ཁྱེད་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་འགའ་ཆུ་ལ་བསྐྱར་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་པས་ཐབས་  
དང་བརྒྱུད་བསྐྱེལ་མཁས་པོ་དགོས་པར་སྒྲུབ་དོ། །འདི་དག་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དཔྱད་ཐབས་སྦྱིར་བསྟན་པ་ཅམ་ཡིན།

གཉིས་པ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་དངོས།

གཅིག །གདོད་མའི་བོད།

འདི་གཞེན་ཁམས་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་གཞན་དང་འབྲེལ་བར་བོད་ཁམས་སུ་འདྲེས་གདོད་མའི་མི་དང་གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བྱུང་ཡོད་  
པ་སློབ་ཅི་དགོས། བོད་ཀྱི་གདོད་མའི་མི་རིགས་དེ་དག་གིས་དུས་ལུན་རིང་པོའི་གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་གདོད་  
མའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལོ་ལོན་ (Civilisation) བསྐྱུན་ཡོད་པ་དང་། མོག་མར་བསྐྱུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལོ་ལོན་ནི་  
འདྲམ་གྱིང་མི་རིགས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལོ་ལོན་གྱི་འབྱུང་ཁུངས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་ཞེས་གྲུབ་ཤིང་།

དེ་འདྲེས་ཁམས་རྟོགས་ཞིབ་ཆེན་རིག་གིས་སློབ་ཆིག་ལྟར་ན་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ལམ་རི་བོ་ཉི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་  
སྤོངས་འདི་ནི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡ་ཐོག་སྟེ་མི་ལོ་ཁྲི་ལྷག་སུམ་ཅུ་བཞི་བཅུ་ཉེ་སྟོན་དུ་དྲུའི་ཉིན་དུའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞིན་སྟེ་  
མེར་འབྲེལ་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤོང་ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་བཞི་བ་དང་། དེ་དང་མཚུངས་པ་ཞིག་ཆོས་འབྱུང་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་  
ལས། སྟོད་ཀྱི་མངའ་རིས་སློབ་གསུམ་ཟེང་གི་ཆུལ། །བར་གྱི་དབུས་གཙང་རུ་བཞི་ཡུར་བ་འདྲ། །སྤང་གྱི་མདོ་ཁམས་སྤང་  
དུག་ཞིང་ལྟ་བུ། །ཀུན་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ལོ་རྒྱ་མཚོར་གྱུར་པའི་ནང་། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་འབྲེལ་བར་སྤང་། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་སྟོ་  
བྱང་གི་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་བཅོམ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་འཕུར་བས་མཚོ་སློབ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པའི་རི་བོ་དེ་ཉིད་རིམ་བཞིན་འབྱུར་དུ་སོན་  
ནས་ད་ལྟའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་འདི་བྱུང་བར་བཤམ། དེ་འདྲེས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་སྟོ་སྟེ་མེར་འཕོད་པར་སང་ཞོགས་ཡང་  
ལངས་དུས་གངས་རི་ཁྲོ་མས་སེ་བ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་བ་མིན་པར་མི་ལོ་ཐེང་འབྲུམ་གྱི་གངས་འཕོར་ཡོད་པར་མཁྱེན་དགོས།

དེ་དག་ནི་རྟོག་བརྗོད་ལྟ་སྤྱད་ཅམ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་མ་ཡིན་པར་སྤར་བཤམ་པའི་དབྱུང་པའི་སྟོ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་  
ཤེས་ཐུབ་ཅིང་། ང་ཚོ་ལྟ་བུ་མི་ལམ་བཤམ་ཀྱང་གཉམ་དེ་བདེན་པར་བཟུང་འོས་པ་ཡིན་ཉེ། ང་ཚོ་སྟོ་དང་རྟོ་སྟེན་འཚོལ་  
བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་རི་བོ་མཚོན་པོ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་མི་ཉར་ལྟ་སྟོད་དུག་སྟོད་བརྒྱལ་བའི་ཉི་མ་ལ་ཡའི་རི་བོ་ཞག་ལ་འཛེགས་  
སྐབས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འགྲམ་གྱི་བྱེ་མ་དང་། ཉ་དང་རྒྱ་འབྲུ་རྟོ་ལ་འཕྱུར་བ་དུ་མ་མིག་གིས་མཚོར་རྒྱ་དང་ལག་གསལ་དེག་རྒྱ་ཡོད་  
པ་ཡིན། དེ་འདྲེས་ཁམས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས། མཚོ་དེ་ཁོལ་བ་ཞི་ཞིང་རབ་ཏུ་བསིལ། །ཀོད་གི་རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་ཅེས་བྱའི་ཐོམ་བྱེ་  
བས། །རུ་བཞི་རྒྱ་ལོས་གང་བ་དེ་རུ་ཐེམ། །ཆ་གཞན་དག་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་ཐེམ་པ་ཡིས། །བོད་ཁམས་ཡུལ་གྱི་རྣམ་པ་གསལ་  
སོར་དོད། །ཅེས་གསུངས་པའདྲེས་བཤམ་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་ལོ།

རིམ་བཞིན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་ལྷངས་སུ་བྱང་བའི་བོད་ཡུལ་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་འཁོད་པའི་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
 དེར་གནས་པའི་ཚུ་གནས་ནམས་ཡིན་ཅིང། དེ་དག་ལས་འགའ་ཞིག་རིམ་བཞིན་སྐམ་ལ་འཚོ་བུས་པའི་སྲོག་ཆགས་སུ་  
 ལྷུང་བ་དང། དེ་དག་གིས་རི་ལ་སྐྱེས་པའི་འབྲུ་དང་ཤིང་ལྷུ་མ་སོགས་ལ་སྲུང་ནས་འཚོ་རྒྱུར་རྒྱབ་པས་ཚད་མི་འདྲ་བའི་  
 མོ་ནས་ལུས་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཕྱིན་པ་སྲུ་དང་སྲེའུ་སོགས་ལྟ་བུ་གོག་བསྐྱོད་ནས་ལངས་བསྐྱོད་དུ་འཕེལ་བ་དང། དེའང་  
 དབའ་མོ་གཙུག་ལག་སྐོང་བས། ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཐོས་པས་དེ་ཀྱང་མི་ཉིད་འགྲུབ། །མ་ཚོས་འབྲུ་ཟ་གོས་སུ་ཤིང་ལོ་སྲོག། །ནགས་  
 ན་རི་དྲགས་ལྟ་བུར་གནས་པ་ཡིན། །སྲོ་དང་མོན་ལྟར་སྲོད་པས་བོད་ཡུལ་གང། །ཞེས་དེ་དག་གི་འཚོ་བའི་གནས་སྟངས་  
 དང། གལ་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ནི་དེ་དག་གི་རྣམ་དཔྱོད་དམ་ཤེས་རབ་རིམ་བཞིན་འཕེལ་བས་ཐོག་མར་བགྲེས་ལྟོག་ཚོར་ཅམ་ནས་  
 དེ་དག་སེལ་བའི་ཐབས་འཚོལ་བ་དང། ཐབས་ཤེས་དེ་དག་རིམ་བཞིན་སྲུ་མ་མ་བརྗེད་པར་གསར་བ་ཁ་སྐྱོན་བྱས་པའི་སྐོ་  
 བས་མེ་འབྲུང་བ་དང། བྱིས་བཅེགས་བ་དང། གོས་སྲོག་ཤེས་པ་སོགས་བྱུང་བ་ཅམ་དུ་མ་ཟད། མ་ཚོས་བར་སྐྱེས་པའི་  
 འབྲུ་རིགས་རྣམས་གཤོད་དུ་བསྐྱས་ནས་བཏབ་ཅིང་སྐྱོད་བ་དང། རི་དྲགས་དང་གཅན་གཟན་གྲང་འཚོ་སྐྱོད་བྱས་ཏེ་རང་  
 གི་འཚོ་བའི་ལོ་བྱད་དུ་བཀོལ་བ་སོགས་བྱས་པ་ཡིན།

དེའང་བར་ལམ་ལོ་བཅུ་ལྷག་འགའི་སྐོར་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་མཚོ་སྐོན་དང། ཡུལ་ལུལ། བྱང་ཐང་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྲོག་  
 བས་ཐོན་པའི་རྩོམ་རྣམས་ལ་གནའ་རྗེས་རྟོགས་ཞིབ་རིགས་པས་དབྱུང་བ་ན་དེ་ནི་རྩོམ་རྟེང་པའི་དུས་རབས་ཀྱི་  
 ཐོན་རྗེས་ཡིན་པ་དང། ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་མི་ལོ་ཁྲི་ལྷག་ཉི་ཤུ་ནས་བཅུ་བར་བྱུང་བ་བཤད། (བོད་རྒྱུངས་གནའ་རྗེས་རྟོགས་  
 ཞིབ་སྒྲི་བཤད།) དེར་མ་ཟད་མངའ་རིས་དང་གྲུ་གོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་གནའ་རྗེས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཐོན་པ་རྣམས་ལྟར་ན་དེ་  
 ལས་ཆེས་སྲ་བའི་དུས་དང་གནས་སྟངས་དེ་དག་ལས་ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་བའི་སྐོ་ནས་གནས་དེར་དབའ་ལོན་དར་བར་མཐོང་  
 (John V. Bellezza) ལུག། དེ་ལྟར་མི་ལོ་ཁྲི་ལྷག་ཉི་ཤུ་འབྲས་དེ་ལས་ཆེས་སྲ་བའི་སྐོར་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ་དག་རྩོམ་  
 ལ་སྲོད་ཤེས་པ་དང། དེ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རི་དྲགས་རྩོན་པས་མཚོན་འཚོ་ཐབས་ལ་བསྐོལ་བ་དང། འཚོ་བའི་ཤོད་ལོན་  
 མོ་དང་ཁྲག་གསར་བ་ལ་རོལ་ཞིང། ཤིང་སོགས་རང་བྱུང་གི་རྩ་འབྲས་ལ་ལོངས་སྲོད་པའི་དུས་ཤིག་ཡིན། དེའང་བཀའ་  
 ཆེམས་བཀའ་ཁོལ་མ་ལས། མ་བྲག་སྐོན་མོ་དེ་གསུམ་པ་སྟོགས་ནས་བྱ་དེ་ཟ་བར་འདུག་པ་ན། བ་སྐྱེའུས་དེ་ཁྱར་ནས་  
 བགས་མ་བྱ་ཚོགས་ཅན་དུ་སྐྱེའུ་མང་པོའི་རྒྱར་སྐོར་རོ། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པའང་གདོད་མའི་འཚོ་བ་སྲོད་སྟངས་ཡིན་ལོ།

གཉིས། གདོད་མའི་དུས་རྒྱུད་དང་བྱིས་རྒྱུད།

སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་པས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཕེལ་རིམ་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་ལྟར་ན། གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང། དུས་བརྒྱུད་དང། བྱིས་  
 བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་དབྱེས་ཏེ་དེ་དག་གི་འཕེལ་རིམ་གྱི་གཞུགས་བརྟན་སྦྲར་ཡང་བསྐྱབ་པ་ཡིན་ཞིང། བོད་ཀྱི་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚང་རྣམས་སུ་བོད་དུ་སྐོད་ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་ལུལ་དུ་རུང་བ་ན་མི་མ་ཡིན་གྱིས་དབང་བྱས་པར་བཤད་དེ། དེ་ནི་  
 ༡ གདོད་སྤྱི་ན་དང། ༢ བྱུད་དེ་ལྷེ་མགོ་ཡག ༣ སྐོན་མོ་གཉའ་རང་ཁྲག་མེད་དང། ༤ དམར་འཇམ་ལྟ་དང། ༥ རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་  
 ཁོ་རྗེ་དང། ༦ གོག་གོག་འདྲེ་དང། ༧ མ་སངས་སྐྱེན་དགུ་དང། ༨ རྒྱལ་བོ་དང། ༩ འགོང་སོ་སྐྱེན་དགུས་དབང་བྱས་



བར་བཤད། དེ་དག་ལ་དབང་གྲེད་བཅུ་ཟེར་ཞིང་དེ་དག་ནི་མི་མ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད། དེའི་རྒྱ་མཚོན་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་  
 ཁྲིད་དུ་མི་མ་ཡིན་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་བཟང་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྲིད་ནས་གོང་གི་བདུད་དང་། སྤོང་བོ་དང་རྒྱལ་བོ་དང་འགོང་  
 བོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མིང་ཚན་གྱི་གདོད་འདྲིའི་དབྱང་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གནས་ས་བར་སྤང་ཐམས་ཅད་གང་བ་དེ་དག་གིས་མིར་འཚོ་  
 བར་སྐྱེད་ཀྱང་། དོན་དུ་གདོད་མའི་མིའི་འཚོ་བར་རོལ་སྤངས་དང་འཇམ་རྩལ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཤད་ཐབས་སུ་དེ་  
 ལྟར་བཏགས་པར་མངོན་སྟེ། ད་ལྟོ་འདི་གའི་སྤྱི་རྒྱུད་རྒྱལ་བ་ལ་བདུད་དང་། གཤེས་ངན་ལ་འདྲེ་དང་། གཤེས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་ལ་  
 འགོང་བོ་དང་། འཚོ་བ་ཚན་ལ་སྤོང་བོར་དབེར་བཟུང་ཞིང་འབོད་བས་ཤེས་པ་མ་ཟད། ལྷ་གཟིགས་རྒྱུ་དང་འཕྲོན་གྱི་  
 གཤེད་བརྒྱུད་འཆད་སྐབས་སུ་གསུམ་དེ་དག་ལས་གཞན་མེད་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་དོན་དུ་མི་མ་ཡིན་ན་དེ་ལས་རྒྱུད་དང་། འཕྲོན་  
 སོགས་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་འབྲུང་བ་ནི་རིགས་པ་ཚོས་ཉིད་ལས་འགལ་བར་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ།།

དེ་བཞིན་དུ་རྒྱལ་བ་སྤོང་བཅུ་གཉིས་དང་། སིལ་མ་བཞི་བཅུ་སོགས་རྒྱུད་བར་བཤད་པ་ནི་བཅུ་དང་བཞི་བཅུ་སོགས་  
 ཀྱི་ཁ་གྲངས་མཚན་བཞིན་ལ་དོན་ལ་གནས་མིན་ངེ་ལྟར་ཡང་ཀུན་ལངས་བྱས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་བ་དེ་དག་ཁམས་གཤེས་མ་སྤོང་བ་རྣམས་ལྷ་  
 དང་ལྷུང་འཚོ་བ་གསལ་བ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷུང་འཚོ་བ་དེ་དག་ལྷ་གཞན་དང་འགལ་རྒྱུ་འབྲུང་བ་ནི་འཚོ་བའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཡིན་པ་  
 དང་། འགལ་བ་ནི་འཐབ་རྩེད་དང་འཇུགས་འཛིང་གི་ས་བོན་ཡིན་པས་དེ་དག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཆད་སྐབས་དབེར་ན། གཙུག་  
 ལག་སྐྱེད་བས། དང་སོ་གོའི་སྤྱི་ན་ལྟ་སོས་དབང་བྱས་ཏེ། །ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་བཟང་ཡུལ་རྒྱུན་མེད་གྲགས། །མཚོན་ཆ་  
 མདའ་དང་གཞུ་ཡང་དེ་དུས་བྱུང། །ཞེས་དང་། བདུན་བ་མ་སངས་སྤོང་དགུས་དབང་བྱས་ཏེ། །དེ་ཆེ་ཡུལ་ལ་བོད་ཁམས་  
 ཉུ་བྱུག་ཟེར། །ཤལ་ཆར་དོང་རལ་གོ་ཆར་ལུབ་རྩུང་བྱུང། །ཞེས་སོགས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཏེ་ཚོ་ཁག་  
 སོ་སོར་བྱུང། ཚོ་བའམ་ཚོགས་ལྗེ་སོ་སོར་སྤྱི་ཁྲིམས་དང་། བང་ཁྲིམས་སྤོང་ཚོགས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་ལ་འདུལ་རྒྱུའི་དགྲ་  
 དང་སྤོང་རྒྱུའི་གཉེན་ཡོད་པ་ནི་ལྷ་ཅེ་སྟོན། དེས་ན་འདི་དག་ལ་གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།

དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཤས་རུས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་རྒྱུད་བཞིན་ཏེ། བཀའ་ཆེམས་ཀ་ཁོལ་མ་སོགས་ལྟར་ན། བ་སྤྱེལ་གྲོན་  
 བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་པར་འཕེལ་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་ལས་རུས་ཆེན་སེ་དང་། ལྷ་དང་། རྩོད་དང་། རྩོད་སྤེ་རུས་  
 རིགས་བཞིར་བྱས་པ་དང་། དེ་ལས་སོ་སོར་བྱས་ཏེ། སེ་ལ་རུས་ལེགས་བྱ་བཞི་སྤིད། །རྒྱ་ལས་གོ་ལེ་ཁྲི་བརྒྱུད་སྤིད།  
 །རྩོད་ལས་རུས་ཆེན་བཙོ་བརྒྱུད་སྤིད། །རྩོད་ལས་རྩེ་བཞི་ཁོལ་བརྒྱུད་སྤིད། །ཅེས་རྩེ་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རུས་རིགས་  
 གསལ་བའི་སྤོང་མེ་ལས་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་འགྲོ་བ་དེ་དག་གིས་བཟང་ལས་འདས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུའི་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་རང་བྱུང་ཁོར་ཡུག་  
 ལ་སྤོང་བའི་ཉམས་སྤོང་ལས་ལུན་སྤུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་ཤེས་རིག་མང་སོ་སོར་ཡོད་པ་ལས། ལ་རུས་ཐག་ཉེའི་སྤོང་མཚན་  
 བན་ཚུན་གཉེན་སྦྲིག་བྱས་ན་རིགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ལུས་སེམས་གཉིས་ཀའི་དབལ་ལ་གོའི་དབང་རྩོགས་ནས་རུས་བརྒྱུད་  
 དབྱེ་བ་བྱས་པ་དང་། རུས་བརྒྱུད་གཅིག་པ་ཕན་ཚུན་འཁྲིག་སྤོང་མི་བྱེད་པའི་སྤོང་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། འདིས་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཉེན་  
 སྦྲིག་ལམ་ལུགས་གཏན་ཁེལ་བྱས་པ་ཅོམ་དུ་མ་ཟད། རིགས་བརྒྱུད་རྩེས་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ཀྱི་བདེ་ཐང་། སེམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་  
 དབྱེད་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འགན་སྲུང་རྒྱ་མེད་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་སྤོང་ཁྲིམས་བཟང་སོ་ཞིག་ཡིན། སྤོང་འདི་དབང་བོད་ཡུལ་མཐའ་  
 དགུས་པལ་ཆེར་ལ་གནས་ཤིང་། ང་ཡི་རུས་འདི་ཡིན་དང་། ཁོང་གི་རུས་གང་ཡིན་ཞེས་འདྲི་སྤོང་ཡོད་ཅིང་། རུས་རིགས་

གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་ཆེ་ཁོང་འབའ་ཐང་དང་། ང་ཆབ་མདོ་སྟེ་ལེ་དབར་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་གིས་བར་དུ་ཚོད་ཅིང་དེ་རིང་ལས་སྔ་མ་སྟོང་  
 ཡང་སྟུན་མཆེད་ཀྱི་འདུ་ཤེས་བརྒྱུད་ཞིང་སྟོང་བཏེ་བར་བྱེད་པ་དང་། རིགས་བརྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་པ་ལན་ཚུན་ནམ་ཡང་གཉེན་  
 སྲིག་མི་བྱེད། རྒྱ་ལ་རུས་བརྒྱུད་གཅིག་པ་མཉམ་འབྲེས་བྱུང་ན་ཡུལ་ལ་ཐན་བྱུང་བ་སྟེ་བཟུ་མི་ཤིས་པ་དང་། ཤིན་ཏུ་ལ་  
 རབས་དང་ཐུག་པ་དུ་བཅེ་ཞིང་ལུང་པ་དེའི་ཚུལ་གཞིག་སྤྲད་དུ་གྱུར་ཏེ་འཕུང་མི་རུང་བའི་ཚོད་དུ་བྱེད་ཅིང་། དེའི་བུ་རྒྱུད་  
 འདྲ་ཡོད་ན་ཐན་སྟུག་ར་མ་ཅན་ཞེས་འབྲུ་སྟོང་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོལ་དམ་པོ་ཡོད། འོན་ཏེ་ཡུལ་དབྱུང་ལྟ་བུ་ས་  
 ཆ་འགར་སྤར་སྟོལ་བཟང་པོ་ཉམས་ཤིང་རུས་རིགས་བཅེ་སྟོལ་དང་འབོད་སྟོལ་ཆེར་མེད་པས་རང་གི་རུས་རིགས་གང་  
 ཡིན་མི་ཤེས་ཤིང་། ཐན་ཐོད་ལ་རུས་རིགས་མེད་པའི་འབྲུང་བའི་སྤྲད་ངན་ལྟ་བུ་རང་གི་མེས་པོའི་ཞབས་ནས་འཐེན་པའི་  
 ཚོམ་ཡིག་སྟེལ་མཁའ་ཡང་བྱུང་བ་དང་། སྤེམ་བརྒྱུད་གཅིག་པ་མི་རབས་འགའ་རེའི་རྗེས་ནས་སྤྲུང་དུ་གཉེན་བསྲིག་བྱེད་  
 པ་སོགས་བྱུང་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་ལས་སྤྲེལ་པའི་གང་ཐག་འགས་བར་ལམ་དུ་རང་ཡུལ་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་འགན་ཁུར་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་  
 ཤིང་བ་ན་ཚོས་སྲིད་ལུགས་གཉེས་ལ་དཔྱོད་པའི་ནམ་དཔྱོད་དབྱུང་བས་རང་ཡུལ་མི་རིགས་བསྟན་སྲིད་དང་བཅས་པ་  
 དགས་འཕྲོག་པ་མ་ཡིན་པར་དགའ་ལ་མཚོད་སྤྲིན་དུ་སྟབས་པ་འདི་ཡིན་འོ།།

གསུམ། འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་གྱི་སྟོག་མའི་དཔལ་ཡོན།

དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚན་རིག་པས་དབྱེ་ཞིབ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་ན་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་རྫོ་ཆས་གསར་བའི་དུས་རབས་ནི་འདི་ནས་  
 རྒྱུ་ལང་སྟོག་གི་ཚུལ་དུ་བགྱང་བའི་སྤྱི་ལོའི་གོང་གི་མི་ལོ་སྟོང་ལྷག་བཅུ་སྟོར་སྟོན་ནས་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་ཞིང་། མི་རིགས་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ངོས་ནས་དོན་སྟོང་ལྷན་པའི་དུས་རབས་ཤིག་ཡིན། ལོ་བཅུ་ལྷག་འགའི་སྟོན་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཆབ་མདོ་ཁ་རུབ་  
 དང་གཅོད་སྟོང་གྱི་གཉའ་འཛབ་དང་། དྲིང་རི་དང་། བཀ་ཚུའི་ཤན་ཆ་དང་། ཀོང་པོའི་ཉིང་ཁྲི་དང་། ལྷོ་ཁའི་མེ་ཉོག་རྫོང་བཅས་  
 ཀྱི་ཁུལ་གྱི་ས་འོག་ནས་སྤེལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་གནའ་རྫས་འབོར་ཆེན་ཐོན་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ནི་འཛོར་དང་། ལྷ་རེ་  
 དང་། སྤྱི་དང་། སྤྲང་བྱ་དང་། ཁབ་དང་། འུམ་པ་དང་། སྤྲང་ར་སོགས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཡོ་བྱེད་ཡིན་ཅིང་། འགའ་ཞིག་ནི་རྩ་རྒྱུན་  
 དང་། གཤམ་བུ་སོགས་རྒྱན་ཆའི་རིགས་ཡིན། རྒྱ་ཆ་ལོ་རྒྱུད་དང་། རུས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་རུ་དང་། རྫོ་རྒྱུས་སོགས་རྫོ་ཆས་ཀྱི་  
 རིགས་ཡིན་ཅིང་། མང་ཆེ་བ་ནི་རྩ་ཆས་ཡིན་པས་སྤྱི་འབོར་གྱི་བརྒྱ་ཆ་བདུན་ཅུ་ཅམ་ཟིན་པར་བཤད། (བོད་རྫོང་ས་  
 གནའ་རྫས་རྫོག་ཞིབ་སྤྱི་བཤད་) གནའ་རྫས་དེ་དག་གི་ཆེ་ཆོས་དང་སྤྱི་ཚུལ་ནི་དབྱི་རན་གྱི་བྱང་སྟོགས་ཁེ་ར་མན་ཤའི་  
 (Kermansha Historic) རིག་དངོས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་ཆོས་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ན། བོད་འདི་རྫོ་ཆས་གསར་བའི་  
 དུས་རབས་ཅོམ་ནས་ཤིང་རུབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གཞན་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པར་སྟོན་པ་ཡིན། དེའང་རྒྱ་མི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པ་  
 ཀོ་ལུ་ལྷ་ཡན་གྱིས་བོད་མི་དམངས་ཀྱིས་མེས་རྒྱལ་ལ་བཞག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་ཞེས་ (བོད་རྫོང་ས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ |ལོ།  
 1990) སྟོར་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་ཞེས་པར། བོད་མི་རིགས་ནི་མི་ལོ་སྟོང་ལྷག་ལྷག་གི་སྟོན་ནས་མཐོ་སྤྲང་དུ་གནས་ཡོད་པའི་  
 བདེན་དཔང་བཟུན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཁོ་ཆོས་དཀའ་ངལ་དུ་མས་བསྐྱུན་པའི་གནའ་བོའི་རིག་གནས་ནི་དེང་གི་དུས་སྤང་  
 གཞི་འོད་འཕྲོ་བཞེན་ཡོད། ཅས་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞི་རྒྱ་ལོག་དང་། བལ་ཡུལ། རྒྱ་གར་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་

རིག་གི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་ཏེ་ཡུལ་དེ་དག་ཏུ་ཁྱབ་སྐྱོད་བྱུང་ཡོད། (བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ 1990 རྒྱ་ཡིག་) ཅེས་  
བ་དོན་ལ་གནས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ་དུས་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་བར་གསལ་དུ་བརྟེན་པའི་ཉིན་རྒྱུད་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལོན་ (Indus Valley  
Civilisation) ཞེས་པ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ལྔ་བེ་ལྔ་བེ་གི་ལོ་ (BC 2500-1000) ལྟར་ལ་བྱུང་བར་འདོད་པའི་འཕགས་རིགས་པའི་རིག་  
གཞུང་ཐོག་མའི་མཐོ་འཇུག་ཏུ་བརྩི་བ་འདིའི་མེས་པོ་ནི་བོད་ནས་ཡིན་པར་ཚོད་དཔག་གནང་མཁན་གྱི་རྒྱབ་སྟོན་པ་  
དང་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མཁས་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅིང་། བོད་ལྗོངས་གནའ་རྫས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་སྤྱི་བཙུན་ལས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་ལྔ་བེ་ལྔ་བེ་  
ལྟར་གྱི་རྟོན་ནས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རྩ་རྒྱུང་བརྒྱུད་དེ་བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ཁྱབ་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་བརྟེན་

རིགས་པས་བསྐྱབ་ན། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཐོག་མའི་རིག་བྱེད་ཡིན་ཅིང་། རིག་བྱེད་དེ་དག་ནི་ཚངས་པ་སོགས་ལྟས་  
བྱས་པར་འདོད་པ་དང་། ལྷའི་གནས་རི་རབས་ཀྱི་ཐོམ་དང་། ལུས་ཚུ་ཚ་གསུམ་དང་། དེ་འདྲིའི་གི་གནས་སོགས་བསམ་ཡུལ་  
ལས་འདས་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་སྤྱི་ཡོད། དེ་དག་གི་རྒྱ་དཀར་ཐུབ་སྟོན་པའི་གནས་ནི་རི་སོ་གངས་ཚན་དང་། ཀེ་ལ་ཤ་སོགས་ཡིན་པར་  
ལན་གཅིག་མིན་པ་མཐོང་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤུལ་ཅེན་གྱི་གནས་ཞེས་ལྷའི་གཙོ་བོ་ཚངས་པ་དང་། དབང་སྐྱུག་ རྒྱབ་  
འཇུག་གསུམ་གྱིས་མངའ་མཛད་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་དུ་འདོད་པ་དང་། དེ་ལ་ལེགས་སྦྱར་དུ་ཉི་ཤེད་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེང་སང་དབྱིན་རྒྱུད་  
དུ་འབོད་པའི་ཏི་བེ་ཏ་ (Tibet) ཞེས་པའི་དེ་ལས་རྒྱུར་ཆག་པར་སྐྱེད། ལྷག་པར་དུ་རྒྱ་གར་བཞིག་ལ་བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་འདི་སྦྱར་  
མ་བཅོས་པར་སྟོན་བཅུག་སྤུལ་ཅེན་རང་སྐྱེད་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གདངས་ཐོན་པར་འགྱུར་བཞིན་པས་ཀྱང་ལེས་སོ།།

དེང་སང་རྒྱ་གར་བཞིག་ལ་བོད་ལ་རྟོན་དུ་འབོད་པ་ནི་བོད་ཅེས་པའི་སྦྱར་ཐོན་པར་བསྐྱབས་པ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་གཞན་  
གང་ཡང་མིན། ཐན་དེང་སང་དུ་འདྲིའི་ཀེ་ལ་ཤ་དང་མཚོ་མ་པས་ལ་གནས་བསྐྱོར་དང་ཡུལ་བསྐྱོར་དུ་འགྲོ་ཞིང་། དེ་འདྲིའི་རྒྱལ་  
ཁབ་དང་མི་རིགས་གཞན་གྱི་ཡུལ་བསྐྱོར་སྟོན་འབྲུགས་པ་སྤྱི་དང་མི་འདྲ་བའི་ཀྱུན་སྟོང་ཁྱེད་པར་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས་འགྲོ་བ་  
ཡིས་ཀྱང་དཔོག་ཀུས་སོ།།

དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ད་ལྟར་ཀྱི་གནའ་རབས་སྐོན་གཞུང་འགར་བོད་ཀྱི་ཀྱུར་ཀྱུམ་དང་སྐྱེད་དང་ལྷུམ་རྩ་སོགས་བོད་ནས་  
ཡོང་རབས་དང་། ཐང་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་པ་སོན་ལུ་མེན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་ལྷ་ལྷུས་རྩུབ་སྤེལ་ཅེས་པར་བོད་ཀྱི་  
ལུགས་ལྷར་ན་ཞེས། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཚུལ་མང་བོ་བཞོད་ཡོད་ (ཀྱུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལེས་རིག་ལོ། 1991 རྒྱ་ཡིག་)  
བ་མ་ཟེད། བོད་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་སྐོན་གྱི་བསྐྱབས་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་བརྗོད་པ་ནི་བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་གར་འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་ཞེས་  
མཐོ་བོ་དུད་དེ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་སྦྱོར་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་ལས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐོན་བཅོས་སོགས་རིག་གནས་དུ་མ་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་  
དབུ་ལོན་ལས་བྱུང་བ་རྟོགས་སྤེལ།

བཞི། གདོད་མའི་མིའི་ནད་གཞི།

སྤྱིར་གནའ་རབས་དང་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོ་སྤྱི་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཀྱང་ལས་དང་ཉོན་མོངས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་བ་སྐྱབས་པའི་ལུས་རྟེན་ཐོབ་  
པ་དང་། དེ་ནི་རྒྱལ་སྤོར་དང་། རྩེན་འབྲུང་བ་ལྟོ། །སྟོལ་རྒྱུན་སོགས་ཆགས་རིག་པའི་བརྟེན་ཆ་ལྷར་ན་ཉེས་པ་གསུམ་  
ལས་གྲུབ་ཅིང་དེའི་རྩོ་བོར་གནས་པ་དང་། གསོན་བོར་རམ་ཆེ་ནི་རྒྱུང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བཞིན་ཅིང་། དེ་གནས་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་

རྒྱལ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་སློན་སོ་སོས་སྐྱབ་བ་བཞིན་དོན་སྟོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་རང་གི་ལས་ལག་སྐྱབ་བའི་སློན་ལོ་འཛོ་  
བར་བྱེད་པའི་གཅིག་མཚུངས་ཡིན་པའི་སྲིད། དེ་ལས་ལྷུང་བའི་ལུས་སེམས་ལ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་ཚོར་བ་སྐྱལ་བལྟལ་སྲིད་  
པར་བྱེད་པའི་འབྲས་བུའི་ནད་ཀྱང་མཚུངས་པ་ཡིན། འོན་ཀྱང་གནས་སའི་ཁོར་ལུག་དང་འཛོ་ཐབས་སོགས་ནད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་  
ཀྱིས་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་ནད་གཞི་དགོན་མོད་དང་ཁྱད་པར་ཡོད་པའི་ཁབ་ལེན་བྱ་དགོས་པའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཅིག་རེད།

དེའང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱང་ཚེའི་སྤྱིང་པོ་ (སོད་སྡོད་སེམས་མེ་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང། 1998) ལས། ལོ་གཅིག་ལོན་  
ནས་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔེ་སྤྱིང་པོ་དེ་ཅི་འདྲ་ལྟར་བྱིན་པ་དང་། ཚ་བོ་རྣམས་བཤེས་ཤིང་རིད་པར་མཐོང་ནས། དབྱར་ཉི་  
མ་དང་ཆར་པས་གཏུང་། དགུན་ཁ་བ་དང་ལྷགས་པས་གཅེས། ཟས་སྒོམ་དང་གོས་ཀི་མེད། འཛོ་བའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་  
པངས་ཏེ་ཤིང་ཏོག་གིས་གསོས་པས་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀི་བྱེ། ཀྱང་ལག་ལ་ཚེར་མ་རྒྱག་ཅེས་གདོད་མའི་  
དུས་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ལུག་དང་འཛོ་བའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་དེ་དང་མཚུངས་པའི་ནད་གཞིའི་རྣམ་པའང་འབྲུང་བ་ཀི་  
ཚོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རིགས་པས་དཔོག་རྒྱས།

འོན་ཀྱང་དུས་དེའི་ནད་རིགས་གང་བྱུང་དགེ་ཞིབ་སྤྲོ་འབྱེད་དཀའ་ནའང་སྤྱི་ཅམ་ཞིག་སོད་ཀྱི་ཉིང་ཁྲི་དང་། ཤལ་  
ཚ། ཁ་རུག། མཚོ་སློ་སོགས་ནས་སྲོག་འདོན་བྱས་པའི་གནའ་རྫས་དང་། རུས་པ་དང་། འགྲུར་རྫོ་ (Fossils) དང་། ཏུང་  
ཏོང་རྣམ་ཐོན་པའི་སྐྱོན་བཅོས་ཤོག་རྒྱུ་བཅས་ཀྱིས་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ཞིག་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད། དེའང་མཚོ་སློ་སྤྱི་ཡན་གནའ་ལུས་  
ནས་ཐོན་པའི་སོ་རུས་ (C14 བརྟག་ལ་མེ་ལོ་ 6740 སྟོར་) ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་པས་བརྟག་ལ་སོད་ཀི་བྱིས་པ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་སྟོར་ཅན་  
ཞིག་གི་ཡིན་ཅིང་། སོ་དེ་བཀོལ་ཟད་དུ་སོང་བ་ལྟ་བུ་སྤང་ (མཚོ་སློན་མན་བོའི་ཤེས་རིག་རྒྱ་ཡིག་) ཞེས་པའི་དོན་ལ་  
གནས་པ་ཞིག་ཏེ་སྐབས་དེའི་འཛོ་བའི་ར་བ་དང་འབྲས་བུ་རྣམས་རྗེན་པ་དང་འབྲུགས་གོང་དུ་ལྷུང་བ་ཟ་བའི་སོ་འཛོད་སྤྱི་  
ཞིང་སོའི་ནད་རིགས་དུ་མ་འབྲུང་བའི་སློ་ཡིན་པས་སོ།།

དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཉིང་ཁྲིའི་རུས་དུམ་དང་། མཚོ་སློན་སྤྱིང་ལའི་བང་སོ་བཅས་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་སོད་རུས་རྣམས་ལས་ལག་ལ་  
ཞིག་གི་སྤྱི་དང་འགྲམ་རུས་ཆག་པ་དང་། ལྷག་རུས་གས་པ་སོགས་ལ་བརྟག་ལ་རྒྱུན་ཀྱིས་མགོ་ཆག་བྱུང་བར་རྟོགས།

དེ་བཞིན་སྤང་བའདད་པའི་གནའ་ལུས་དག་ལས་ཐོན་པའི་རུས་དུམ་སོགས་ལས་ཐོན་པ་དང་། ཅིབ་མ་དང་། སྐལ་  
ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རུས་པ་ཆག་བྱས་དུ་ལྷུང་བ་དང་། མགོ་ལ་སོ་བའདད་ལུས་ཡོད་པ་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། དེ་དག་ལས་ལག་ལ་ཞིག་  
སྤྱིང་གསོ་བྱུང་ལུས་ཡང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་བཅས་ལ་དབྱེད་ན། དེ་དག་གཞུག་བཤེ་བའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྣམས་སྤྱོད་དང་། གཅན་  
གཟན་གྱིས་གཅེས་པ་སོགས་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཆག་སློ་ཡིན་པ་རྟོགས་སྤྱོད། ཁྱད་པར་ལུང་ལའི་བང་སོ་ནས་བརྗེད་པའི་དུར་  
འཇུག་གི་བྱ་ཐབས་དང་། རུས་ཆག་སོགས་ (མཚོ་སློན་གནའ་བོའི་ཤེས་རིག་རྒྱ་ཡིག་) ལས་དེ་དག་གཞུག་པར་བྱུང་  
བའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་པ་གསལ་པོར་རྟོགས་སྤྱོད། དུས་སྐབས་དེ་དག་ཚོ་བ་དང་ཕྱོགས་ཁག་པན་རྒྱུན་དམག་འབྲུགས་  
ཀྱིས་ཤེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གནས་རྒྱལ་ཚབས་ཚེན་ཡོད་པ་སློན་པའི་སྲིད་རོ།།

དེ་མེན་ད་ཡོད་མན་རྒྱུད་སློང་རྒྱ་གསོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལག་ལེན་དང་རིགས་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་འདི་འདྲ་སྐབས་དེའི་  
སྐྱོན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལུགས་གཞན་ལ་མེད་པ་མ་ཟད། དེང་སང་ཡར་རྒྱས་དང་གསར་བཟེའི་དུས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་བཅོས་ལ་

འགྲན་བཟོད་པ་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ལས་ཀྱང་དཔོག་ལུས་སོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་མན་རྒྱུད་ཁོང་ནད་གསོ་བ་ལས། ཟས་ཀྱི་རོ་བོ་འབྲུ་  
གསར་སེར་ཅན་རུལ། །ཤ་རད་ཚིལ་བུ་འོ་རྒྱུ་རྗེན་པ་དང་། །མ་ཚོས་ཚིག་དང་ཁེངས་པོ་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེས་རྣམས། །ཞེས་རྒྱ་  
རྒྱུ་དེ་དག་ལས་གཙོ་བོ་བཞི་ཙམ་མ་ལུ་བསྐྱེ་བར་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་གནའ་དུས་གདོད་མའི་འཚོ་བ་ལ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་དེ་དག་  
ལས་མ་འདས་པས་མ་ལུ་བའི་ནད་ནི་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན་པ་སྟོན་མེད་དང་། །དེ་དག་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་འབྲས་བུ་གཙོ་བོ་ནད་གསར་  
རྒྱུ་རྣམས་ཡོད་པ་སྟོན་ཅི་དགོས།

ལྷ། གདོད་མའི་སྤྲན་བཙུགས།

དེང་སང་འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྲན་བཙུགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྟར་ན། སའི་གོ་ལ་དང་ནད་གཉིས་མཉམ་ཆགས་མཉམ་འཛིག་ཡིན་པར་  
བཤད་པ་བཞིན་འགྲོ་བའི་ལུས་ཁམས་ལྟུང་བ་ནས་ནད་ལྟུང་བ་ནི་རྒྱ་དང་རྒྱུ་བཞིན་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྒྱ་དུས་ནད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་  
ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ནི་གཅིག་ལྟར། །བདག་མེད་དོན་མ་རྟོགས་པའི་མ་རིག་ཅེས། །འགྲོ་ཀྱུང་བའི་བར་གནས་ཤིང་སྟོན་ན་ཡང་། །མ་  
རིག་ལྡན་པས་ནད་དང་འབྲེལ་མི་སྲིད། །ཅེས་མ་རིག་པས་ཉོན་མོངས་སྐྱེས་ཤིང་དེས་ལས་བསགས་ཏེ་ཁམས་གསུམ་གྱི་  
གནས་གང་ཅུང་དུ་སྐྱེ་བ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ལུས་རྟེན་དེ་ལྟར་དང་ཁ་དོག་གི་ཁྱད་པར་མེད་པར་ནད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་དང་ལྟན་དུ་གནས་  
པའི་ཕྱིར་རྒྱུ་དང་ཟད་ན་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་དུང་ཡིན་པར་གསུངས་པ་ནི་དཔོན་སུམ་གྱི་ཚན་རིག་ཡིན། དེ་མེན་ནད་དང་སྤྲན་གྱི་  
བྱུང་བ་སྤྲན་བའི་སོལ་རྒྱུན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འདོད་པ་སྤྲ་ཚོགས་པ་ཞིག་སྤྲང་བ་དག་རང་གི་ཞེ་འདོད་སྤྲང་བ་ཅུང་དུ་ཟད་དོ།།

དེས་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་མགོ་རྒྱུགས་ས་ནི་མི་ལོ་ཁྲི་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཅུག་ཅུག་གི་སྟོན་ནས་བོད་དུ་མའི་འགྲོ་བ་བྱུང་བ་  
ནས་ཡིན་པ་སྤྲང་བསྐྱེན་པའི་གནའ་མཛས་རྟོག་ཞེས་རིག་པས་དབྱེད་ན་རྟོགས་སུ་བ་པ་ཡིན།

དེའང་སྤྲང་བཤད་བཞིན་གནའ་རབས་གངས་ཅན་པ་དག་གིས་རང་ལུས་དང་གི་མ་མ་བཞིན་གནས་པའི་ནད་ལ་ཕྱི་  
ཁོར་ཡུག་དང་འབྲུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་དང་འབྲུང་པས་ནད་ཀྱི་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱེད་པ་གདོད་ལེན་དགོས་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་རབས་དང་  
རིམ་པ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་སྲོང་རིམ་བསགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལམ་བརྒྱུད་དང་། དོ་ལག་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་དུ་མི་རབས་རིམ་བར་  
བརྒྱུད་སྟོན་བྱས་ཏེ་ཕུན་སུམ་རྗེ་ཚོགས་དང་། གོ་དོན་གཉིང་ཟབ་དུ་སོང་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྲན་མོང་མིན་པའི་གསོ་བ་རིག་གི་རྩ་  
བྱུང་དང་ལག་ལེན་རྣམས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ལག་ལེན་དེ་དག་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་འགྲོ་བའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་གྱི་འཚོ་བའི་ནད་རང་ལ་མན་  
གདོད་བྱུང་བའི་དཔོན་པོ་དག་གི་སྟོང་བ་ལ་གོ་དོན་སྤྲངས་ནས་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་པ་ཅུང་དུ་མ་ཟད་རང་གི་ཁོར་ཡུག་ལ་  
འཚོ་བའི་འདབ་ཆགས་དང་། རི་དྲགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་སྤངས་ལའང་ཚོད་བལྟ་དང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱས་ཏེ་ཉམས་སྲོང་བསག་  
པ་དབེར་ན། ཁྱི་དང་སྤྲང་གི་སོགས་ཤུག་གི་སྤེ་བལ་ཆེར་རང་ལ་སྤྲན་སྟོན་སོགས་ཆེ་རང་གི་སྤེ་བལ་གསུམ་མ་སྤྲང་དུ་  
འཚོ་བ་དང་། རང་ལུས་ཀྱི་ཆ་སྤེ་བའི་སྤྲང་བའི་སྤེ་རྣམས་འཚོ་དཀའ་བར་མཚོང་བས་ཁྱི་སྤེ་བལ་སྤྲང་བའི་ཡོན་  
ཉན་ཡོད་པར་རྟོགས་ནས་ཕྱིས་སུ་རྒྱུད་དུ། ཁྱི་ཡི་སྤེ་ཡིས་སྤེ་རྣམས་འབྲུག། ཅེས་སྟོན་ཚིགས་བཀོད་པ་སོགས་དང་།

གཞན་ཡང་རི་དྲགས་ཤུག་པ་དང་། སག་ཚོད་སོགས་རང་དང་རང་གི་བྱར་སྤེ་རྒྱུན་བྱུང་ན་སྟོན་པའི་རྩ་རྒྱུ་ལ་དོན་  
འཛིན་བྱས་པ་དང་། དེའང་སྤྲན་དེ་དག་དོ་མ་དང་འབྲེལ་མེད་ཡིན་པ་རྟོགས་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་དེ་དག་གི་སྤེ་བྱུང་ནས་ཆེད་དུ་

མས་སྐྱོན་བཟོས་ནས་བཏང་བ་ཕྱིས་སྐྱེས་བཟང་ནས་དེའི་པ་མས་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་དེའི་ངོས་འཛིན་གཏན་ཁེལ་བཟོས་པ་  
 དང་། དེ་བཞིན་རི་བྱ་གྲུང་མོ་དང་། བྱ་རྩོག་དང་། བྱེའུ་ཚོ་ག་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཚང་དུ་འཇུག་ནས་དེ་དག་གི་སྐྱོང་ངར་སེར་ག་  
 བཟོས་ཤིང་ཕྱིས་བཏག་ནས་དེའི་དོན་དུ་བཀོལ་བའི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་རྣམས་མ་འབྲུགས་པར་ངོས་འཛིན་བྱས་པ་སོགས་ཕྱིས་སྐྱེས་  
 མཁས་པ་དག་གིས་སྤོགས་བསྐྱོམས་བྱས་པ་གསང་བ་སྐོ་འབྱེད་ལས། བཀའ་ལྷན་བཅད་འབྱོར་ཡུ་གུ་ཤིང་། ཞེས་དང་།  
 སྐྱེ་བ་བཅད་འབྱོར་གྱི་དུས་ལ། ཞེས་དང་། ལ་བ་བཅད་འབྱོར་སྐོལ་གོང་བ། ཞེས་དང་། བྱ་རྩོག་བཅད་འབྱོར་ཚུ་ཚོན་ལ།  
 ཞེས་དང་། ཚོ་ག་བཅད་འབྱོར་འབྲུ་སྐྱེ་དང་། ཞེས་སྐྱོན་རྣམས་དེ་དག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་དང་། རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་  
 ལ་བཞེན་ནས་ངོ་མོ་ངོས་འཛིན་དང་དེའི་མིང་འདོག་བྱས་པ་དང་། མས་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་སྐྱོན་བཏབ་པས། ཉེ་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་འཚོ་བའི་  
 ཕྱིར། རྣམས་ཀྱི་དམག་ལ་ཉམས་ང་མེད། ཉེ་མ་སྐྱོན་རྣམས་དེ་དག་ནང་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཀོལ་སྐྱོད་བྱས་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གི་གདེང་  
 ཚོད་མཐོན་པོར་མཛད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་ཐེག་པ་བསལ་ས་པས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་། བྱེ་མ་བསལ་ས་པའི་དེའུ་བཞིན་བཟངས་  
 ལས་འདས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ནམ་རྒྱ་འདས་པ་དག་ལས་ཐོབ་པའི་ཉམས་སྐྱོང་རྣམས་སྤོགས་བསྐྱོམས་དང་གོང་འཕེལ་བྱས་  
 པ་ལས་རང་གི་སྐྱོན་བཟོས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དང་ལག་ལེན་དག་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ལོ།།

དེའང་སྤེ་སྤིད་ཀྱི་ཁོག་དབུབས་ལས་འདི་ལྟར་འབྲུང་སྟེ། མི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐོག་མར་སྤྱེས་པའི་ཤིང་བྱ་ཞེས་བྱ་བས་སྤྱད་  
 པའི་བག་ཆགས་ཀྱིས་ས་ཞག་ཐོས་པ་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་མ་ཞུ་བའི་ནད་ཀྱིས་ཟུག་རྩ་དག་སོ་བཏབ་སྟེ་སྤེ་དག་བྱུང་བ་མེས་པོ་  
 ཚངས་པས་ཐོས་ནས་རང་གིས་བྱས་པར་འདོད་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་སྤྱིང་བཞེ་བའི་སྐྱོས་སམ། ལ་ལར་སྐྱོན་སངས་རྒྱས་ལྟུ་  
 ཐུབ་ཆེན་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པའི་གསོ་དབུང་འབྲུམ་སྟེ་ལས་མ་ཞུ་བའི་ནད་ལ་རྒྱ་བསྐོལ་བཏང་བའི་རྒྱལ་བློན་པར་འདོད་པ་  
 རྟེ། གང་ལྟར་ཚངས་པས་རྒྱ་བསྐོལ་ཀྱི་སྐྱོར་བ་བསྐྱེད་པས་ཤིང་བྱ་མ་ཞུ་བའི་ནད་ཞི། རྒྱ་མཚོན་དེ་ལ་དཔག་ནས་ནད་ལ་  
 རྩ་བ་མ་ཞུ་བ་དང་། སྐྱོན་ལ་སྤེ་བ་རྒྱ་བསྐོལ། སྐྱོན་ལ་སྤེ་བ་ལྟ་ཚངས་པ་ཡིན་པར་འཛིན་ཞེན་དུ་བྲགས། ཞེས་སྤེ་བྱི་  
 སྤིད་པ་ཆགས་འཛིན་གི་བྱུང་རབས་འཁོད་པ་དང་། རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་གཏམ་བརྒྱུད་དང་། དེ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་ལྟ་བའི་ཤོན་  
 བསྐྱེས་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་སྐྱོན་དུས་སྐབས་དེའི་མིའི་སེམས་ཁམས་དང་བསྐྱེན་ནས་གསུངས་ཡོད། སྤྱིར་རྒྱ་གར་བའི་གནད་  
 པོའི་རིག་གནས་རྣམས་རིག་བྱེད་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ཕྱིས་སྐྱོན་པ་ཐུབ་པའི་དབང་པོས་གསར་གཏོད་མཛད་པའི་ནད་པའི་བྱུབ་  
 མཐའི་སྤྱིང་པོ་ཞེན་འབྲུང་གི་ལྟ་བུ་འབྲུང་བའི་ཞུང་རྣམས་ནི་རྒྱ་གར་ཀྱི་ལེགས་བྱུང་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ལ་རིག་བྱེད་ཀྱི་  
 ཤོན་ལུགས་ཆེ་བས་མངོན་པ་མངོན་སོགས་སྤིད་པ་ཆགས་གནས་འཛིན་རབས་སྐྱོན་པའི་བཀའ་བསྟན་རྣམས་ལས་སྐྱོད་  
 ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་དང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འགྲོ་བ་བྱུང་རབས་དང་། དེང་གི་གནས་རིག་པ་དང་། དངོས་ཁམས་རིག་པ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འགྲོ་  
 བ་བྱུང་རབས་རྣམས་ནི་འགྲུག་པ་ལྟ་བུ་སྐྱོད་དུ་སོང་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་དག་གིས་གནད་མི་རྣམས་ནི་འོད་གསལ་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བཞིན་  
 ཞེ་ཞིང་འཚོ་བ་དང་བྲལ་བ་རྒྱ་འབྲུལ་ཀྱིས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་། ཉིང་འཛིན་ཀྱིས་འཚོ་ཞིང་ཟས་རྒྱས་པ་ལ་མི་  
 བཞེན་པས་ན་བ་ལྟ་ཅི་ནད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚམ་ཡང་མེད་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་འཚོ་བའི་གོང་དང་གོང་ཁྲེད་ནི་བྱ་གཞི་གིས་འབྲུང་རབས་མི་  
 བསྐྱེད་པར་བཤམ་པ་དང་། དེང་གི་ཚོན་རིག་སྤྱི་བ་དག་གིས་ནི་གནད་མི་རྣམས་དུང་འགྲོ་ལས་བྱུང་ཞིང་ལུས་ལ་སྤྱིས་ཁུབ་  
 པ་དང་། སྐྱོད་ལམ་དང་འཚོ་བ་ནི་དེང་སང་དགོན་པར་རྒྱ་བའི་སྤྱིའུ་དང་གཅན་གཟན་རྣམས་དང་ཁྲུང་པར་འབྱེད་ཚོས་

མེད་ཅིང་། བྲག་ལྷག་དང་རི་སྐལ་དུ་གནས་འཆའ་ཞིང་གོས་ལྷགས་སྐྱོབ་ཅན་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཁྲིམ་སྲུང་དུ་ཤིང་ལོ་མཚན་མ་ལ་འགོ་བ་པར་བཤད།

འདི་ག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་སུ་མིའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འདིར་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་དངོས་ཡོད་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་འགྱུར་བ་ལ་བསམས་ན་སྲར་གྱི་བྱུང་བ་འགའ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་རིམ་བཞིན་པར་བརྒྱུད་ན་དེ་སྲོད་པར་དུ་མ་ཞིག་སྐྱུང་ངོ། །དེ་འདྲར་སྲར་བྱུངས་པའི་ཤེད་བྱ་དང་ཚངས་པའི་རབས་ལ་དངོས་ཡོད་སྐྱེ་བའི་རྒྱུད་ཤེས་ཐོགས་ནས་བལྟས་ན་གདོད་མའི་ནད་དང་སྐྱེན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་རབས་མཐོང་ཐུག། དེ་ལ་སྲར་བཤད་པ་ལྟ་བུའི་གདོད་མའི་འཚོ་བའི་དུས་སུ་རྩ་ལོ་འབྲས་བུ། ཤ་ཁྲག་རྩ་མོད་སོགས་མཐའ་དག་རྗེན་པར་སྐྱོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་མ་ཞུ་བའི་ལྷག་རྩ་འབྲུང་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ལ་རྒྱས་མངའ་གོམས་འདྲིས་ཆེར་སོང་བས་མེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་ཤེས་པ་བྱུང་བས་རྩ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་དང་། མེ་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐོ་ནས་ཟས་ལ་རོལ་བས་འབྲུ་བདེ་བ་སོགས་ནད་དེའི་དཀའ་ངལ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སོང་བ་སོགས་པན་པ་སྐྱེན་གྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་གྱི་ས་བོན་བྱུང་བས་ན་སྐྱེན་ལ་སྲ་བའི་རྩ་ཁོལ་ཞེས་མེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱུང་བས་རྩ་མིང་འབྲས་ལ་བཏག་པ་དང་། དེ་འདྲ་གཞིན་ཀྱང་ཞིག་ལ་བརྟེན་ན་རང་ལས་ན་ཤུན་པའི་པ་མ་སོགས་ལས་ཟས་བཟའ་སྦྲངས་དང་། གོས་སྐྱོན་སྦྲངས་རྩུབ་ཚད་ཤེས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལ་ཚངས་པ་སྟེ་རྩ་ཁོལ་གྱི་སྐྱོར་བ་སྟོན་མཁན་སྐྱེན་པར་གོ་བུར་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཁམས་རིག་པ་སྐྱེ་བ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གིས་མ་ཞི་སེམས་ཁམས་གསོ་བའི་སྐྱེན་པ་ཐོག་མ་ཡིན་པར་བཤད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ། །

དུག་ཁེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་པ།

གནའ་རབས་འཕེལ་འགྱུར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ (Evolution) ལྷ་བ་རྣམས་ལྟར་ན་མེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་པའི་མེ་ལོ་བྱེ་བ་ཅན་ནས་བྱུང་བར་བཤད་ཅིང་། ད་ལྟ་བོད་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་ཆབ་མདོ་ཁ་རུབ་ཁུལ་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་རྩ་ཆས་དུད་རྟེན་ཅན་དང་། མཁར་ཤུལ་ལས་ཐལ་སྐྱེས་དང་། ཐལ་ཕྱང་སོགས་ཐོན་པ་ལ་དཔག་ན་ཁ་རུབ་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་ (Civilisation) འི་མེ་ལོ་སྐྱེད་ལྷག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་པར་ (བོད་སྐྱོངས་གནའ་རྩ་སྟོན་ཞེས་སྤྱི་བཤད་) བཤད་པས་བོད་ལ་མེ་སྐྱོད་པའི་དུས་དེ་དེའི་སྐྱོན་ལ་རིམ་ཅན་སོང་བ་ཚོད་དཔག་བྱས་པ་མེད་ཀྱང་། ཆེས་སྲ་མོ་ཞིག་ནས་བྱས་ཡོད་པའི་དབང་བྱེད་བཅུའི་བཞི་བ་དམར་འཇམ་ལྷའི་སྐབས་སུ་ལག་ཆར་རྩ་གྱི་སྐྱུང་བར་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ན་དེའི་སྐྱོན་ནས་མེ་སྐྱུང་དེ་ལྷགས་བཞུས་ནས་གྱི་བཟོ་བ་རིག་པ་པས་འགྲུབ་པ་ཡིན་ལོ། །

གང་ལྟར་གདོད་མའི་དུས་སུ་མེ་ལ་ནས་སྐྱུང་བ་ནས་བརྒྱུས་སྟེ་རང་དང་ཚོགས་སྡེ་དང་སྐྱོད་ལྷགས་སོགས་གཅན་གཟན་ལས་སྲུང་བྱུབ་པ་དང་། དག་ཇག་སོགས་རྩ་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་པན་རྩེལ་བརྟེན་ལ་བའི་ཐབས་ཤེས་བརྟེན་པ་སོགས་བདེ་སྲུང་གི་ཐབས་དང་། བྲང་ལྷགས་དང་མ་ཞུ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ནད་གཞིའི་གཞེན་སོ་ཤེས་པ་དང་། དེ་ཉིད་ལ་བརྟེན་པས་ནད་གཞི་དེ་དག་ཉུང་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐོ་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ལ་གསར་བརྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་འོ། ། མེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་ཤེས་པ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་དེ་ལ་བསྐྱེད་པས་གང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གདུངས་པ་དང་། རྩལ་གྲང་གི་དཀའ་ངལ་ལ་གཞེན་སོ་བརྟེན་པ་དང་། མེ་ལ་སྐྱོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་རིམ་ཁྲིམ་དུ་རི་དྲགས་དང་སྐྱེད་པ་ཀྱི་ཤ་རུས་དང་། གཞན་སྐྱོད་འོས་ཀྱི་རྩ་སྐྱོང་ལོ་

འབྲས་རྣམས་བཙོ་བ་དང་། བསྐྱེགས་པ་སོགས་བྱས་པས་དེ་དག་བདེ་ལྷག་ཏུ་འཇུག་བ་དང་། ལྷངས་སུ་སློབ་པས་ལུས་ཁམས་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་གྱི་ཀ་བ་ཚུགས་པ་དང་། མེས་ཚུ་བསྐྱོལ་བ་དང་ཤ་སོགས་བཙོ་བ་དེ་དག་གིས་ལུས་ལ་གཞོན་པའི་འབྲུ་སྲ་དང་དུག་རྗེས་རྣམས་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་གཙང་མར་བྱིན་པས་འགོ་ནད་རྗེ་ཉུང་དུ་སོང་བ་སོགས་མེ་ལ་སློབ་པའི་ཤེས་རིག་བརྟེན་དེ་གོང་གསལ་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་རྗེ་འབྲུལ་ལྟ་བུར་བས་མེ་ལྟ་དང་ཐབ་ལྟ་ཞེས་འབོད་སློབ་བྱུང་བ་དང་། མེ་ལ་ནད་དང་གདོན་བགེགས་སོགས་སློབ་པའི་ལུས་པ་ཡོད་པའི་ཡིད་ཆེས་བྱེད་པ་མ་ཟད་བཙོ་བ་དང་། སློབ་དང་། གྱིབ་དང་མི་གཙང་བ་སོགས་མེ་ལ་ཞིང་གཙང་མར་བྱེད་པའི་ལུས་མཐུ་ཡོད་པར་ཡིད་ཆེས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཐབ་དང་མེ་ལ་གཙང་སྲ་དང་མཚོང་བ་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་གྱི་སློབ་ཡམས་རྒྱ་མཚན་འདི་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱུང་ཞིང་། འདུ་ཤེས་དེ་དག་ལ་སློངས་དད་དང་སློབ་དཔྱད་བཅི་བ་ཞི་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་མི་ཤེས་ཤིང་དངོས་པོའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་གྱི་འགྲོ་ལྡོག་ལ་སློངས་པ་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚན་རིག་གི་ལྟ་བ་དང་བྲལ་བའི་བྱིས་སློབ་ཡིན་ལོ།།

བདུན། ལོ་རྟོག་བཏབ་པ།

རང་བཞིན་གྱི་རི་དང་ཐང་ལ་སྐྱེ་བའི་ལོ་རྟོག་ལ་མ་སློབ་པའི་ལོ་རྟོག་ཟེར་ཞིང་། དེང་སང་བོད་རིགས་རྣམས་འབྲུ་བྱེ་བྲག་བ་ཞིག་མ་སློབ་ལོ་རྟོག་ (Com) ཟེར་བ་སྐྱེ་མིང་སྐྱེར་ལ་བཏག་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེང་སང་མི་རྣམས་གྱིས་གཤོང་སོགས་ས་གཞི་གཤིན་སར་ལོ་རྟོག་གི་རིགས་བརྒྱ་བྲག་དང་སློང་སྐྱག་བཏབ་སྟེ་རོ་བ་ཚུད་ལྡན་པའི་ཁ་ཟས་གསོ་བ་དུ་བ་གཡོས་ཏེ་སློབ་པ་འདི་དག་གཤོང་མའི་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་རིང་པོ་ལས་རིམ་བཞིན་བྱུང་བ་ལས་སློབ་དང་སྟེས་དབང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེའང་བོད་དུ་ཞིང་ལས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་སློང་བཀའ་ཆེམས་བཀའ་ཁོལ་མ་ལས། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་པ་སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་ཞབ་ནས། སྟེ་སློབ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་བྱ་དང་ཚ་བོ་ཡང་ཚ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཟས་སྐྱལ་འདི་ཡིན་པས་འདི་ལ་གྱིས་ཤིག་གསུངས་ཏེ་འབྲུ་སྐྱ་བསྐྱར་བ་ཞི་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། ལས་དང་། མོ་དང་། སོ་བ་དང་། སྲན་མ་དང་། སྲན་རྩུང་དོ། །སྟེ་སློབ་གྱིས་འབྲུ་སྐྱ་ལྟ་བོ་དེ་དག་ཁྱེད་ནས་ཐོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་དབྱས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་ས་གཞི་ཉམས་དགའ་ཞིང་བཟ་ཤིས་པ། རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྱུང་བ། འབྲུ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་སྐྱེ་བ། འོ་བ། བཞེད་པ་རྣམས་དགུ་དང་ལྡན་པ། རྒྱ་གར་མ་རྟུན་འི་སའི་ཆ་འབྲ་བ་ཁ་ཅན་གྱི་སློང་པོ་དེར་བྱིན་ནས་འབྲུ་སྐྱ་ལྟ་བོ་དེར་དོར་བཏབ་ནས་བཞག་གོ། །དེ་ནས་དབྱར་རྒྱ་གསུམ་ན་ནགས་མ་བྱ་ཚོགས་ཅན་དུ་བྱུང་། ཚ་བོ་རྣམས་གསོས་ཏེ། གསེར་སློང་འབྲུ་སྐྱ་ལྟ་བོ་བཏབ་པའི་སར་བྱུ་དང་ཚ་བོ་རྣམས་མིད་དེ་བྱིན་པ་དང་། འབྲུ་སྐྱ་ལྟ་བོ་ཁམས་ཤམ་རེར་སློབ་ནས་འདུག་གོ། །དེ་ནས་ཚ་བོ་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱས་པ། ཁྱེད་ཚ་བོ་རྣམས་ལ་འཕགས་པ་ཨུལ་ལོས་གཙང་བའི་ཟས་སྐྱལ་འདི་ཡིན་ལོ། །ཚོ་དང་བྱས་པས་སྟེ་སློབ་གྱི་བྱ་ཚ་བོ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་པོ་རྣམས་ཤིན་ཏུ་དགའོ། །ཡུལ་འཛིན་པ་ལ་སྲ་བ་ཡར་སྐྱུང་ཚོ་ཐང་འདི་ཡིན་ལོ། །དེ་ནས་ཁོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐོས་པ་མ་སློབ་པའི་ལོ་རྟོག་ལྟར་ཞིས་པར་བྱུར་ནས་ཁོང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྟེ་མའི་གངས་བགངས་པས་མིའི་གངས་འདུག་པ་ན་ཡར་སྐྱུང་ཁྱི་ཐང་ཞེས་གང་བྱའོ། །དེའང་རོ་མཚོག་ཏུ་ཞིས་པར་བྱུར་པས་ཐོས་པས་རྒྱགས་པར་བྱུར་ཏེ་ཅེས་དང་བྱས་པས་ཅེད་ལོ་བཅེས་པས་ཡར་སྐྱུང་ཅེས་ཐང་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་དོ། །ཡང་ལོ་རྟོག་ཐོས་པ་རྒྱགས་པར་བྱུར་ཏེ་རྒྱག་དང་བྱས་པ་ཡར་སྐྱུང་ལོལ་ཁའི་རྒྱག་ཐང་



བྱུང་ངོ་། །ཞེས་འབྱུང་ཞིང་། འདི་དག་གི་དོན་དེ་བ་ཐེར་སྟོན་པོ་དང་། ལམས་བའི་དགའ་སྟོན་སོགས་ལས་ཀྱང་འབྱུང་བའི་གཏས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་གདོད་མའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ལས་ཐོན་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་འཕེལ་རིམ་གསལ་བར་མཐོང་ཐུབ་པ་ཡིན།

ཆབ་མདོ་ཁ་རུབ་ཀྱི་རིག་དངོས་ལས་གོང་གསལ་འབྲུ་སྒན་ལྟ་བུ་བྱུང་བ་ (བོད་སྐྱོད་ས་གནས་རྫོགས་ཉེན་ཞིབ་སྒྲིག་བཙུན་པ་ལགས་ཀྱི་ལཱ་དགའ་ལྷན་ཁག་གི་ལཱ་སྒྲིག་སྟེན་ལོ་ལྟར་སྟོན་པོ་དང་དུ་ཞིང་ལས་འདེབས་སྐྱེལ་དང་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་སྐྱེད་པའི་བདེན་དཔང་བྱས་པ་དང་། བོད་དུ་ཞིང་ལས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་དང་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ནི་སྤྲོན་བཅོས་ལས་དོན་དང་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཞེས་ལ་མཐུན་བསྟོན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་དག་ལ་བསྟེན་ནས་འཚོ་བཅུད་ (Nutrition) ཀྱི་ཞེས་བྱ་དུ་མ་དང་། གཡོས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཐབས་ལས་དུ་མ་ཞིག་རིམ་བཞིན་ཡར་རྒྱས་ཕྱིན་པ་མ་ཟད་ཆང་བསྐྱེད་བཟོ་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་རྒྱས་པ་འང་རིམ་བཞིན་རྒྱུ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་བཙུན་ལས། འབྲས་ཁེ་ཁེ་མོ་ནས་སོ་བ་དང་། །སྤེད་ལ་སོགས་པོ་དང་ལྷ་རྩེས་མངས། །རོ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཛོམས་ལུས་སྟོབས་བདེ་ཀན་བསྐྱེད། །ཅེས་གྲ་མ་ཅན་སྤྱི་ལོན་ཉན་དང་། གོང་བྱ་ཅན་འབྲུ་སྒན་མ་ལོན་སྒན་ (Dal) གཉིས། །སྐྱ་མངའ་བའི་ལ་ཡང་སྐྱ་ལ་ཅ་སྟོ་འགག། །བདེ་ཀན་ཆ་བ་སེལ་ཞིང་འཇུ་བ་གཅོད། །སྐྱུ་མ་སེལ་འགག་མཁྱིས་ཚིལ་ལ་བྱུག་པ་ལ། །ཞེས་གོང་བྱ་ཅན་སྤྱི་ལོན་ཉན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་འབྲུ་རིགས་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིབ་བར་བསྟན་པ་དང་། ཡང་དེ་ཉིད་ལས། འབྲུ་ཀུན་གསར་ཐོག་ཚོན་པ་ལྷི་བ་སྟེ། །སྤྱིན་ལྱུར་སྐྱམ་དང་རྩིང་པ་ཡང་བ་ཡིན། །རྩེན་པ་བཅོས་དང་གཡོས་སྤྱོད་བྱས་པ་ཀུན། །རིམ་བཞིན་ཡང་ཞིང་འཇུ་སྐྱ་འཕྲོད་པར་འགྱུར། །ཞེས་འབྲུ་རིགས་རྣམས་སྤིན་པ་སྤིན་དང་། གསར་རྩིང་དང་། །རྩེན་པ་དང་། གཡོས་སྤྱོད་བྱས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལོན་ཉན་གྱི་འབྲུ་བར་བསྟན་པ་སོགས་འདི་དག་གི་བསམ་བཤེན་དཔལ་ལོན་གྱི་ཐོག་མའི་རྣང་གཞི་ནི་གདོད་མའི་ཞིང་ལས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེས་མ་མཐོང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ཁམས་བདེ་ཐང་དང་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ལ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་གྱི་འབྲུ་སྟོན་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི། གོང་གི་ལུང་ཚིག་དག་གིས་བསྟན་ཏེ་ཀུན་ཀྱང་རྒྱགས་པར་བྱུང་ཏེ་རྒྱགས་དང་བྱས་པ་སོགས་དང་། དེ་དག་ལ་བཅེས་དང་བྱས་པས་ཡར་རྒྱུད་ཅེས་ཐང་གི་བྱུང་རབས་གསུངས་པས་རྒྱུ་ལུས་སོ། །དེ་དག་ཀྱང་མི་རབས་ནས་མི་རབས་སུ་ཉམས་སྤོང་རིམ་བསགས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་པ་མི་རབས་གོང་མའི་སྤོང་བ་རྣམས་རང་གི་བྱ་རྒྱུད་སོགས་ལ་བསྟན་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་གིས་དེ་ཉིད་མ་ཉམས་པའི་རྣང་གཞིའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་རང་གིས་རང་བྱུང་ཁོང་ལུག་ལས་ཐོབ་པའི་སྤོང་བ་གསར་བ་རྣམས་ཁ་བསྟོན་བྱས་ཏེ་སྤར་ལས་སུན་སུམ་རེ་ཚོགས་སུ་བཏང་བའི་སྟོན་པ་མི་རབས་རྩེས་མར་བརྒྱུད་སྟོན་བྱས་པ་སོགས་པ་ཤ་ཆེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པས། འདོད་རྒྱའི་འཕྲོར་བ་དབྱུང་གྱི་མཚོ་ལྷར་འཕེལ། །སྟོན་མེད་རིགས་ཀྱི་དལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད། །ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ཚུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་རྣམས་དང་། ཡར་རྒྱུད་གཅོད་པོ་ (Brahmaputra) དང་། རྒྱལ་མོ་རྩལ་ཚུ་ (Mekong) དང་། གཞུ་ (Ganga) སོགས་ཀྱི་ཚུ་རྒྱུད་ཆེན་པོ་རྣམས་རང་གི་ཚུ་མགོ་དོལ་ས་ནས་རྒྱ་མཚོར་སྐེལ་ཁ་མའི་གཉིད་དང་ཁ་ཞེད་མེད་བྱུང་། ཚུ་རྒྱུན་དེའི་ཐོག་ཏུ་རྒྱུན་མི་ཆད་པར་ལ་རྒྱུད་བཟང་བས་མི་ལོན་པའི་ཚུ་བོ་དང་ཚུ་ཕྱན་དུ་མས་རྒྱུན་དང་བར་མ་ཆད་པར་བྲན་པས་སྤིད་པའི་ཚུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་དག་ཏུ་རྒྱུར་པ་ལྷར་མི་རབས་ནས་མི་རབས་དང་། འོ་བྱངས་སྟོང་ཕག་ནས་སྟོང་ཕག་ཏུ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་སྤོང་བ་རྣམས་སྟོམ་ཚིག་བཀོད་དེ་རང་གི་སྤྲོན་བཅོས་ཀྱི་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས་དང་ལག་ལེན་རྣམས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ད་དུང་ཡང་འཕེལ་མེད་སོར་བཞག་ཏུ་གནས་མི་སྤིད་པར་སྤུ་མ་སྤུད་དེ་མི་རིགས་



དེའང་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཟས་དང་སྦྱོན་གྱི་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་ཤའི་པན་ཡོན་ནི་རྒྱ་ས་ཤོས་སྲུ་སྦང་ཞིང་སློབ་ཆགས་རྣམས་འཚོ་གནས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་གྱིས་སྡེ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་དབྱེ་བ་དང་། སྡེ་ཚན་དེ་དག་གི་ཤེས་རིག་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་སྦྱིར་བསྟན་པ་དང་། རྣམ་པར་དུ་དེ་དག་ནང་གསེས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དོན་སྦྱོར་དང་པགས་པ་ཚུན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་སྦྱོར་ཚུལ་ཞིབ་པར་བཤད་པ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་འབྲིའི་འོ་མ་སོགས་འོ་མ་གྱེ་བྲག་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་གསར་རྒྱུད་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཁྱད་པར་དང་། དེ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མར་གསར་རྒྱུད་གི་ལུས་སྦྱོབས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་པར་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་དར་བ་དང་སྦྱར་ཁུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་བྱེད་ལས་ཞིབ་པར་བཤད་པ་འདི་དག་སློ་བུར་ཚོས་བྱུང་དུ་ལྟ་འབྲེས་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ཉེ་ཐོན་པའི་ལ་བ་རྩོམ་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཞག་པ་ཞིག་མ་ཡིན་པར་བཤད་ལས་འདས་པའི་ལོ་དུས་དང་། བསམ་པས་དཔྱད་མི་སྲུབ་པའི་འཚོ་བ་དང་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་གྱི་དཀའ་ངལ་ལ་གདོང་ལེན་བྱས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་ལོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པས་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་འདི་དག་ལས་གདོད་མའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་སྦང་བརྟན་སྦྱར་དུ་བསྐྱེད་དགོས་པ་ཡིན།

དགུ། ཁང་པ་བརྟེན་པ་པ།

སློལ་རྒྱུན་དཔལ་ཡོན་དར་བའི་བྱུང་རིམ་ལྟར་ན། བསྐྱེད་པ་རྩོགས་ལྟན་གྱི་དུས་རབས་རྩོགས་ནས་མ་ཚོས་ལོ་རྟོག་ལ་སྦྱོར་བའི་མགོ་རྒྱུགས་པའི་སྡོན་དུ་ས་ཞག་ལ་སྦྱུང་བས་སྡེ་གསུམ་མ་འདོར་བའི་སྡོད་པོ་མའི་དབང་པོ་དོད་ཅིང་བྱུང་མེད་དང་སྦྱེས་པའི་ཐ་སྦྱང་བྱུང་། ལས་ཞིག་ན་བལྟ་བ་དང་རྟོད་པ་ལག་བཅང་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཆགས་པས་སོ་སོར་ཆེས་པའི་དུས་མཇུག་ཏུ་དབང་པོ་གཉེས་སྦྱོར་གྱི་རེག་བྱ་ལ་སྤྱིད་པའི་བག་ཆགས་བརྟན་པ་གཉེས་ཀྱིས་དབང་པོ་མན་ཚུན་སྦྱོར་བའི་ཆགས་པ་ལ་ལོངས་སྦྱུང་བ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྲུ་སྦྱོར་དང་ས་འཕོར་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དམན་པར་བྱས་པ་སྦྱང་བའི་དོན་དུ་རྟེན་གསུམ་པའི་ལག་དང་། རིམ་བཞིན་ཐོག་འབྲུབ་པའི་སློལ་སོགས་དར་བར་བཤད།

ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚན་རིག་དང་མི་རིགས་རིག་པའི་ལྟ་སྦྱངས་ལྟར་ན། གདོད་མའི་མི་རྣམས་རང་བྱུང་གི་བྲག་ལྷག་དང་གད་རོང་དང་། ཤིང་སྡོད་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལག་དང་གི་པ་མ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རང་བྱུང་གི་ཉེ་སྡེ་གསུམ་ཆར་ཞོད་སོགས་ཀྱི་དཀའ་ངལ་སྦྱོར་བ་ཐབས་བྱེད་པ་ལས་རིམ་བཞིན་ཤེས་རིག་ཡར་ཐོན་དུ་སྦྱར་ནས་ཁང་ཁྲིམ་བརྟེན་པ་དང་། དེའང་ཁང་ཁྲིམ་བརྟེན་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཅལ་བར་མ་ཆད་པར་ཡར་རྒྱས་སྤྱིན་པས་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཁང་ཆེན་དང་། ཟས་དང་ཟས་ཆེན། སྲང་ལས་དང་ལས་ཆེན། གཟེངས་དང་གནས་གུའི་ས་ཆེན་ཆེན་པོའི་བཞོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བྱུང་བར་འདོད།

དེའང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁ་རུབ་ནས་ཁང་ལྷལ་ཉེར་དགུ་དང་། རྩོལ་གྲེང་ཆ། རྩོལ་གསུམ་གྱི་དུ་བསྐྱོར་བ་རྣམས་ཐོན་པ་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་བཟོ་བཞོད་ཀྱི་འགའ་ཞིག་ས་འོག་ཏུ་ཡོད་ལ། འགའ་ཞིག་ས་སྤྱིང་དུ་ཐོན་པར་བསྐྱེད་ཡོད་ཅིང་། ས་འོག་གི་ཁང་པ་རྣམས་དབྱེ་བས་སྦྱོར་མོད་དུ་བཞེས་སོགས་སྡེ་ཆེན་ལོད་པ་བཅས་ལ་དབགས་ན་ལོ་རྩོལ་སྦྱོང་སྡེ་གི་གོང་ནས་རང་རེའི་གདོད་མའི་མི་རིགས་རྣམས་རང་བྱུང་གི་འཚོ་བ་དང་འཛིགས་པ་ལས་སྦྱོར་བའི་ཐབས་སྲུ་མཁའ་དང་གོང་བརྟེན་གསུམ་གནས་ཡོད་པ་རྟོགས་བྱུང་། མ་ཟང་བོད་ལུལ་དུ་དེང་གི་དུས་སྲུ་རིའི་སྦྱོན་དང་ཐང་གི་དེ་དུ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མགོར་རྩོལ་ལས་བཞེས་པའི་རྟེན་གསུམ་ལུལ་སྡེ་ཆེན་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། གནའ་བོའི་དགུ་རྒྱུད་དུ་རྩོལ་ཆེན་དེ་དག་མ་སངས་

ཀྱི་སློབ་ས་ཀྱིས་བརྗེས་པ་ས་མ་སངས་ཀྱི་མཁར་ཡིན་ཞེས་སྲིང་བ་ལྟར་ན་བོད་དུ་དབང་བྱེད་བཅུ་ལྔ་ལོ་སྐབས་ནས་  
 ཁང་ཁྱིམ་འབྲུབ་པའི་རིག་གནས་ཡོད་ཟེར་ན་སྐྱོན་ཀ་གང་ཡང་མི་འཇུག་པར་སེམས་སོ། །གང་ལྟར་ཁང་ཁྱིམ་སྲུབ་པ་དེས་  
 མི་རྣམས་རང་བྱུང་གི་གནོད་འཚོ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་མགོ་རྒྱུགས་པ་མ་ཟད། ལུས་སེམས་བདེ་སྟོད་དང་སོས་དལ་  
 དུ་ངལ་འཚོ་སྲབ་པའི་གནས་ཁྱད་པར་ཅན་ཞིག་བརྗེད་པ་དེས་བོད་ཀྱི་འགོ་བ་ལ་ལུས་སེམས་གཉིས་ཀའི་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་གྱི་  
 དཔལ་བསྟན་པ་ཡིན་ཅེས་བཤད་སྲབ།

བརྒྱ་གོས་གྲོན་པ།

ཚོས་འབྲུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྲིང་པོ་ལས། ཟས་དང་གོས་ནི་མེད། འཚོ་བ་ཡོངས་སློང་གིས་པངས་ཏེ་ཤིང་ཏོག་གིས་གསོས།  
 ཞེས་དང། མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ལས། ལོ་ཏོག་ཐོས་པས་དེ་ཀུན་མི་ཏུ་གྱུར། །མ་ཚོས་འབྲུ་ཟས་གོས་སུ་ཤིང་ལོ་གྲོན།  
 །ནགས་ན་རི་དྲགས་ལྟ་བུར་གནས་པ་ཡི། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་འདི་ནི་གདོད་མའི་འཚོ་བའི་གནས་སྟངས་དེང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 ཚན་རིག་སྐྱེ་བ་རྣམས་དང་གཅིག་མཚུངས་སུ་བསྟན་པར་མངོན། གོས་གྲོན་པ་ནི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐྱེ་བ་རྣམས་ལྟར་ན་  
 སྲར་ཁང་པ་འབྲུབ་པའི་སྲོལ་བྱུང་བའི་སྲིང་གཞི་དང་པལ་ཆེར་འདྲ་སྟེ། ལྷག་པར་འདོད་པ་སྲུང་དེ་སྐྱེས་མར་གྱུར་པའི་ལྟ་  
 པ་མི་སྲུག་པ་འགྲུབ་པའི་དོན་དུ་ཤིང་ལོ་སོགས་སྲུང་པ་རིམ་བཞིན་ཡང་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སྲོགས་སུ་སོང་བས་དེ་དག་ལ་ཚ་གང་  
 གི་དཀའ་ངལ་སེལ་བའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ལྟར་སྐྱོན་པ་ཚོར་ནས་ཤིང་ལོ་ནས་རི་དྲགས་ཀྱི་བགས་པ་གྲོན་པ་སོགས་བར་རིམ་བཞིན་  
 ཡང་ལྷན་དུ་གྱུར་ནས་སྲིང་པ་དང། ལྷས་བྱུང་དང། རས་དང། དར་ཟབ་ཀྱི་གོས་གྲོན་པའི་བར་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་འདི་དག་བྱུང་  
 པར་མངོན།

དེང་ས་མཚོར་གནས་པའི་གངས་ཅན་པས་གོས་ནས་གྲོན་གྱི་ལོ་ཚེགས་ལ་དེས་གཏན་ཁེལ་བ་འཁོད་པའི་ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་མ་མཚོར་ཏུང་། ཆབ་མདོའི་ཁ་ཏུ་བ་དང། དབུ་མདའ་རྒྱུང་བ་ནས་སྲོགས་འདོན་བྱས་པའི་གནའ་རྗེས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་  
 ཏུས་ཁབ་སྲ་མོ་མིག་ལྟར་འགའ་ཞིག་བརྗེད་པ་ལ་དཔག་ན་ལོ་བདུན་སྟོང་ལྷག་གི་སྟོན་ནས་ཁབ་སྲུང་སྟོད་པའི་སྐྱེ་རྩལ་  
 བྱུང་བ་དང། བགས་པའི་གོས་གྲོན་པ་ཅུ་དུ་མ་ཟང་འཁྲེང་བདེ་སྟོད་བདེའི་ཆེད་འཚེམས་བཟོ་བྱས་ནས་གྲོན་པའི་ལོ་  
 རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྲང་བརྟན་བསྟན་སྲབ་པ་ཡིན། དེ་ལྟར་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གོས་གྲོན་ཤེས་ནས་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་  
 ཀྱི་ཚ་གང་ཉི་ལྷགས་ཁ་བ་བྱ་ཡུག་སོགས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་བ་དང། བདེ་འབྲུ་རིམས་དུག་སོགས་ནད་འགོག་གི་ལས་དོན་ལ་དོན་  
 འབྲས་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ་ཁ་རྒྱུན་དུ། མི་མོའི་ལྷ་ཁང་གོས་ཡིན། །ཞེས་གོས་གྲོན་པ་དེ་ལུས་སེམས་གཉིས་ཀའི་འཕྲིགས་  
 པ་ལས་སློབས་པའི་མགོན་དབུང་བརྗེས་པའི་དཔག་གདོང་ཐོབ་པ་ཅུ་དུ་མ་ཟད། བདེ་གིས་མཚན་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བདེ་  
 བཅོས་འཚོ་གནས་ལའང་མན་རུས་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོན་ཡོད་དེ། རྒྱུད་ལས། བགས་པའི་གོས་དང་ལྷན་ནི་རྟོག་ཏུ་བགོ། །ཞེས་  
 དང། དཀྱི་སྲུང་བགས་པའི་སྲུ་དུགས་ཤེད་པར་བསྟེན། །ཞེས་སོགས་གསུངས་པ་ལས་རྟོགས་སྲབ་པོ།

བརྟུ་གཅིག་། དབྱུང་བཙུག་པོ།

དབྱུང་གི། ཆ་བྱུང་གང་ཡང་རུང་བ་ཞིག་བཀོལ་ཉེ་ནད་ཀྱིས་མ་རུང་བར་བྱས་པའི་གནོད་བྱ་ཁམས་སམ་ལྟས་བྱུངས་ཕྱིར་  
འབྲིན་པའི་སློབ་པ་ནད་ཀྱི་བརྟེན་ལས་བ་ཟུག་པོའི་དབྱུང་དང་། དེ་མིན་ལྟས་ཀྱི་ཆ་གསལ་འགའ་ཞིག་ལས་འོང་བའི་ཁམས་  
དང་། རྒྱུང་འགའ་ལས་དུ་འབྲིལ་བའམ། དགོས་སར་མ་འགྱོར་བ་དང་། འཕྲུང་ཁུངས་ནས་བསྐྱུན་མ་རྩལ་བ་དག་ལ་དེ་དག་  
གནས་སོ་སོར་ཆ་བྱུང་གང་རུང་སྐྱུང་དེ་དམིགས་བསལ་གྱི་གནས་དེའི་ཚོར་ཤེས་སློང་པའི་སློབ་པ་འབྲིལ་བ་གཤམ་བ་དང་།  
དགག་པ་སློང་བ་དང་། ཟད་པ་བསྐྱུན་ནས་འཁོར་རྒྱ་གསལ་དང་། འབྲིན་རྩལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་མ་ལག་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བ་རྣམས་རིམ་དང་  
གཅིག་ཅུར་ཀྱི་སློབ་པ་འགག་ཐོགས་མེད་པར་སྐྱུབ་པའི་རྒྱུར་འབྲུང་བའི་ལག་ལེན་ཞིག་ལ་འཇམ་དབྱུང་ཅེས་བྱ་སྟེ། རྒྱུང་  
ལས། ལྟས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ནས་ནད་རྣམས་འབྲིན་པ་དང་། །ཞེ་བར་བྱེད་པ་གང་ཡིན་དབྱུང་ཅེས་བྱ། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་ཡིན་ལོ།།

ལྟ་བུ་དེའི་མེ་འོང་ཐོགས་ནས་གདོད་མའི་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེན་བཙུན་བྱེད་སྐྱུངས་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་བརྟུན་ཞིག་བསྐྱུན་ན།  
དེའང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སྐྱམ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོང་སྐབས། རྫོ་ཆས་རྣམས་པ་སློབ་པའི་དུས་རབས་ (40,000 BC) དང་། རྫོ་ཆས་  
གསར་མ་སློབ་པའི་དུས་མགོ་འོ་ (10,000 BC) ཚེ་ན་རང་བྱུང་གི་རྫོ་ཅེ་ལུར་ཅན་དང་། བརྟུང་བཙུག་ཀྱི་རྫོ་ཅེ་ཚོན་པོ་དག་  
གིས་ན་སར་བསྐྱུན་ནས་ཁྲག་བཙུག་པ་དང་། རྟག་འདོན་པ་སོགས་བྱས་ནས་ཐོབ་པའི་ཚོར་བ་ལ་གདེངས་འཇོག་བྱས་ཉེ་  
སྐྱམ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་བཙུན་ཐབས་མགོ་ཚུགས་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་རིམ་བཞིན་དར་བའི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་ནང་ཟངས་  
དང་ལྷགས་རིགས་སོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་བྱུང་སྐྱུང་དེ་ཡང་རྒྱས་བྱུང་བར་བཤམ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ས་མཐོར་འཚོ་བའི་གདོད་མའི་  
བོད་ཀྱི་མི་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མེ་ལ་སློབ་ཤེས་པ་ན་མེར་བསྐོས་པས་གང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་གདུང་བ་ལ་ཚོར་བ་མིམ་བ་སྟེར་  
བའི་སློང་བ་ལས་མེ་བཙུན་རིག་པ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཉེ། དེའང་མེར་བསྐོས་པའི་སྤྱི་ཅམ་ཀྱི་ཚོར་བ་བདེ་བ་དེ་བྱེ་བྱུག་ལྟ་ལྟ་  
ལྟ་བའི་ས་དམིགས་ཤིག་ཏུ་བསྐོས་པས་གནས་དེར་ལྷག་ལྟ་ཞི་ཞིང་བདེ་བའི་ཚོར་བ་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ལོ་བྱུང་ཀྱང་སྐྱུབ་  
དང་། ཤིང་དང་། རྩ་དང་། རྫོ་དང་། ལྷགས་རིགས་བཀོལ་བ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་འགྲོ་བའི་རྒྱུད་  
རིམ་བཞིན་འཕྲུང་བ་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་པ་སློབ་ཅེ་དགོས། དེ་བཞིན་མེ་དམིགས་ཀྱང་ཐོག་མར་གང་ན་སར་མེ་འདེབ་  
པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་གནས་དང་ནད་གཞིའི་སློབ་པ་ད་ལྟའི་མེ་གསར་རྣམས་གཏན་འབེབ་སྐབས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཉེ།  
རྒྱུད་ལས། མེ་དམིགས་ནད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུན་དང་སྐྱུན་པས་བཙུག་པ། །ནད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུན་པ་ན་བའི་དམིགས་ཡོད་པ། །མཚན་ན་  
མན་ཉམས་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ན་ཡིན། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་འདིས་དབྱུང་འདིའི་བྱུང་བ་བསྐྱུན་པ་ཡིན་ལོ། །དེའང་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་མེ་བཙུན་  
རིག་པ་འདི་ཉིད་བོད་ནས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཉེ། མཁས་དབང་སྐལ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱིས། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སྐྱེན་གཞུང་དུ་དང་བོ་  
གཏར་ག་ཚམ་ལས་མེ་བཙུན་མེད་ལ། ད་ནི་མི་ལོ་ཉེས་སློང་ལྷག་གི་སློབ་ཉེ། ཉན་རྒྱལ་ལུ་མའི་ཁྲི་རབས་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་  
ཁྲབ་སྟེལ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། སློབ་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་གཞུང་གོང་མ་སེར་བོའི་ནད་བསྐྱུན་ཞེས་པར་གསང་དམིགས་ལ་ཨ་ལུ་གསང་ཞེས་པ་  
སྟེ་གང་ན་སར་གསང་དམིགས་སུ་འཛིན་པ་འདི་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྟུང་ལྷགས་སོལ་ཁོ་ནར་དེས། ཨ་ལུ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ཨ་ན་ཞེས་  
པའི་བོད་སྐད་ལུང་ཆག་པ་དང་། ཨ་ན་ཞེས་པ་ནི་ན་ལྷག་ཆེ་བའི་སྤྱི་རྒྱགས་འདོན་པའི་སྤྱི་ཡིན་ལོ།། (བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་བྱུང་  
འཕེལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས། P51) ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ནི་དོན་ལ་གནས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་ཚོན་པོ་ཡིན་ལོ།།

གཏར་ཁ་འདེབས་པ་ནི་ལུས་ཁམས་སུ་སྤང་གསོག་ཐེབ་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་དང་། དུག་རྩལ་གཙང་མེལ་བཟོ་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་ཐབས་ལམ་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཆབ་མདོ་ཁ་རུབ་ཀྱི་གནའ་ལུས་ལས་ཐོན་པའི་རུས་ཆས་སུ་རུས་འབྲིགས་དང་། རུས་ཁབ་དུ་མ་ཐོན་པ་ལས་རུས་འབྲིགས་ནི་རྟག་རྟེན་བཟང་ཞུགས་གཏར་གྲུང་ཡིན་པ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གདེང་འཇོག་མཛད་ (བོད་རྒྱུངས་གནའ་རྩལ་རྟོག་ཞིབ་སྤྱི་བཙུན་) ཡོད། དེས་ན་མི་ལོ་ལྷ་རྟོང་ལྷག་པའི་སྤོང་ནས་བོད་དུ་གཏར་ག་གདབ་སྟེ་ནད་བཙོན་གྲེད་པའི་ཐབས་ཤེས་དང་ལག་རྩལ་ཡོད་པར་བསྟན་ཡོད། རྒྱུང་ལས་ནད་གཞི་དང་། དེའི་གནས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་ནས་གཏར་གསར་རྣམས་བསྟན་ཏེ། འོན་ཀྱང་གང་ཉེ་གང་རྒྱས་གཏར་བ་ཤེས། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་འདི་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་གདེང་འཇོག་མཐོན་པོ་དང་། ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་དགོས་སོ། །དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱུ་མཉེ་དང་། དུགས། ལུས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རང་བཞིན་དང་ལག་ལེན། སྤག་སོ་འདྲལ་གཙོད་འབྲུང་དང་འབྲིན་པ་བཞི། ཞེས་ཤེས་པ་མཚོ་ཀྱིས་འདྲལ་བ་དང་། འབྲུང་བ་གཙོད་པ་དང་། རུས་སྤོང་གསོན་གཤིན་བར་འབྲུང་བ་དང་། ལུག་རྩུ་རྒྱལ་པས་འབྲིན་པ་སོགས་དབྱེད་ཀྱི་ཆ་བྲུང་དང་། དེ་དག་ལག་ལེན་བྱ་ཐབས་རྣམས་ལ་བརྟག་ན་གནའ་རབས་སྟན་བཙོན་ཀྱི་གཞུགས་བརྟན་གསར་བ་ཞིག་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་སོ་སོའི་མིག་སྒྲར་བསྐྱེད་ཐུབ་པ་ཡིན་ལོ། །

བརྩ་གཉིས། རུས་བཙོན།

ཉེ་ཆར་མཚོ་སྤོང་ལུང་ལའི་བང་སོ་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་མགོ་རུས་འགའ་ཞིག་ལ་དབྱེད་ན། བང་སོ་དེ་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་གནའ་རྩལ་རྣམས་ནི་རྫོང་ཆས་གསར་བ་སྤོང་བའི་དུས་ཉེ་མི་ལོ་ལྷ་རྟོང་ལྷག་གི་སྤོང་ནས་ཡིན་པར་གདེང་འཇོག་བྱས་ཡོད། དེས་ན་དེ་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་མགོ་རུས་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་སོ་སོར་དབྱེད་གཞིའི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ནི། གཅིག་ལ་སྤྲང་དཀྱིལ་གཡམས་གཡོན་དུ་བྱ་གཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷག་པའི་མཐའ་ནས་སྤྲང་གཡོག་ཙམ་ཀྱི་སེའུ་ (རུས་པ་གསར་པ་) སྤྱི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། གཉིས་ནི། རྒྱ་སྤྲབ་གཡམས་སྤྲང་ལ་བྱ་གཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷག་རྒྱལ་ལ་ངོས་འཇམ་པ་དང་། མཐའ་གས་ཆག་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་ཆོས་ལ་བརྟགས་ན་ཆེད་དུ་འབྲུགས་རྟེན་གྲས་པ་རྟོགས་ཐུབ། གསུམ་པ་ནི། རྒྱ་སྤྲབ་གཡམས་སྤྲང་དུ་བྱ་གཡོད་ཅིང་། ལྷག་རྒྱལ་ལ་ངོས་སྤོང་པ་དང་། རུས་པའི་སེའུ་སྤྱི་ལྷུ་ལེན་མེད་ (མཚོ་སྤོང་ལེའུ་སྤོང་། རྒྱ་ཡིག་) ཅེས་སོགས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ལུས་འདིར་མི་ལོ་ལྷ་རྟོང་སྤོང་ནས་མགོ་ལ་བྱ་བཙོན་གྲེད་པའི་ཐབས་དང་རྒྱ་རྩལ་ཡོད་པ་གསལ་སྟོན་བྱས་ཡོད།

དེའང་འཇམ་གླིང་སྟན་བཙོན་སྤྱི་ཡི་སྟན་ལྷ་ Prunières and Brocard 1875 ལྟར་ན་སྤྲང་རུས་འབྲིག་པའི་བཙོན་ཐབས་ནི་རྫོང་ཆས་གསར་པའི་དུས་ཀྱི་རྒྱན་མཐོང་གཤམ་བཙོན་ཀྱི་ལག་ཐབས་ཤིག་ཡིན། འདི་ནི་བདེན་དཔང་ར་སྤོང་བྱུང་བའི་ཆེས་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་ལག་རྩལ་ཞིག་ཡིན། འདིའི་དམིགས་ལུས་གཙོ་བོ་ནི་རུས་ཆག་ལེན་པ་དང་། སྤྲང་པར་གདོན་ལྷགས་པ་དང་། འབྲུ་ལྷགས་པ་འདོན་པ་བཙུག་ཡིན། གཤམ་བཙོན་ཀྱི་གནས་པལ་ཆེད་ཐོད་པ་དང་། ལྷག་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་གཙུག་གཡམས་གཡོན་ཀྱི་རུས་པ་བཙུག་ཡིན། ལག་ཐབས་ནི། རྫོང་ཆས་རྫོན་པོས་འབྲིགས་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། འདི་ནི་འཇམ་གླིང་གི་ས་གནས་གང་སར་མཐོང་རྒྱ་ཡོད། (འཇམ་གླིང་གསོ་དབྱེད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་) ཅེས་དང་། འདི་དག་པལ་ཆེ་ཡོ་རོབ་གླིང་གི་འཇམ་མན་སོགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དུ་མའི་རྫོང་ཆས་གསར་པའི་གནའ་ལུས་དུ་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མང་། (མཚོ་སྤོང་

ལེ་ལུ་ཡན་ཞེས་པའི་དབྱུང་གཞི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྤར་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་སློབ་པ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་དུ་ཐེབས་པའི་  
འཚོ་བྱེད་གཞོན་ཏུ་གསོས་ཐོང་ཁྲེང་རྫོང་འཛོགས་ཏུ་ཐེབས་ནས་མགོ་བོའི་གཤག་ལས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཅུལ་སློབ་སྦྱོང་དང་། དེ་ནས་  
རང་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐེབས་ནས་ཉམས་ལེན་མཛད་པར་འཁོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བདེན་དཔང་དུ་འང་འགྲོ་བར་སྤང་ངོ་།།

བཅུ་གསུམ། གདོད་མའི་གསོ་དབྱུང་དང་ཚོས་ལུགས།

དེའང་གདོད་མའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ནི། གདོད་མའི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རང་ཉིད་འཚོ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ལུག་ལས་  
ཐོབ་པའི་ཉམས་སྤོང་རིམ་བསགས་ཀྱིས་གནས་ཚུལ་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་ཡེ་མ་རྟོགས་ཀྱང་རང་བྱུང་ཁམས་འགའ་བག་  
ཡོད་བྱེད་དགོས་པའི་འདུ་ཤེས་རིམ་བཞིན་འཕེལ་བས་ཤེས་རིག་གི་དུས་རབས་མགོ་རྒྱུགས་པ་དང་། དེའང་རང་གི་བདེ་  
སྤུག་ལ་ཐད་ཀར་ལུགས་རྒྱུན་ཡོད་ཅིང་རང་གི་དེ་ལ་བཙོས་བསྐྱར་བྱེད་མི་ཐུབ་པ་དག་ལ་རེ་དོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སློབ་སྤྱོད་  
འགའ་བན་པའི་ལྷར་བརྐྱེད་ནས་མཚོན་འདུལ་སྐྱབས་གསོལ་བྱེད་པ་དང་། འགའ་ཞིག་ལ་གཞོན་པའི་བདུད་དུ་བརྐྱེད་ནས་  
ཡས་དང་གཏོ་བསྐྱེལ་བ་སོགས་བྱས་ནས་རང་ལ་དགོས་པ་འབྱུང་བར་རེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ཐེར་བ་ཡིན།

དེའང་འབེལ་གཏམ་ལུང་གི་སློང་པོ་ལས། དེ་རྗེས་བདུད་དང་སྲིན་མོས་དབང་བྱས་ཤིང་། རྒྱག་རི་དམར་ནག་  
ནགས་ཁྲིད་ལ་གནས་བཅས། །འགྲོ་བ་མི་ལ་གཞོན་སྲིན་དངོས་སུ་ཟ། །མི་རྣམས་དུད་འགྲོ་ཤ་ཟ་གདོང་བ་དམར། །ལྷུལ་  
མིང་བདུད་ལུལ་ནག་པོ་དགུ་ལུལ་ལམ། །ཁ་རག་སྒོ་དུ་ལྷ་སྲིན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལུལ། །མི་དང་སྲིན་འབྲེལ་སྲིན་པོའི་ཚ་བོ་མང་།  
།འགལ་རྒྱུན་བྱུང་ན་ལུལ་ལྷ་དམར་ཀྱིས་གསོལ། །ཞེས་བོད་ཀྱི་གདོད་མའི་དབང་བྱེད་བཅུའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་བའི་གཟུགས་  
བརྗེས་མིག་ལས་དུ་རྗེན་བར་འཆར་བའི་ཁྲིད་དུ་རང་ལ་འཚོས་མི་རུང་བའི་འགལ་རྒྱུན་འབྲེལ་སྐབས་ལྷ་ལ་མཚོན་པ་འདུལ་  
བ་དང་། དེའང་གྲེ་ཐག་ཏུ་རང་གང་ལ་གནས་པའི་ལུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་དང་། མཚོན་རྗེས་ནི་རི་དྲུགས་སོགས་དམར་གསོད་བྱས་  
ནས་དེའི་ཤུགས་དབྱུགས་གསུམ་ཀྱིས་མཚོན་པར་གསལ་བས། དེའི་ཚེ་ན་མཚོན་པའི་དགོས་པ་དང་། མཚོན་ལུལ་དང་  
མཚོན་རྗེས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཟུགས་བརྗེས་དེ་བས་ཀྱང་གསལ་བ་ཐུབ་པ་ཡིན། དེའང་ཁོར་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་པའི་ལུལ་ལྷ་ནི་ཕྱིས་  
སུ་བརྗེས་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཡ་གྲུལ་ཁ་རག་བྱུང་བརྗེས་མར་གསོལ་བ་འདི་ཡིན་ནམ་སྟེ།

དེ་བཞིན་རྒྱ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་རྒྱས་པ་ལས། འོ་དེ་གྲུང་རྒྱལ་བྱ་བ་དེ། བས་མཁའ་འཕྲུལ་ཅམ་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་གནམ་  
ཀྱི་ཐང་ད་དགུ་དང་བཞོས་པའི་སྲས་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཅ་གཅིག་འཁྲུངས་སོ། །ཆར་བབ་ཀྱི་གངས་ལས་མང་བའི་ལྷ་བྱན་ཀུན་གྱི་  
ཡབ་མཛད་དོ། །བར་གྱི་ཐང་ད་དགུ་དང་བཞོས་པའི་སྲས་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཐན་བས་མང་བའི་ལྷ་བྱན་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡབ་མཛད་  
དོ། །ཞེས་དང་། ལྷ་རྗེ་གྲུང་བཅན་དང་སྟོང་བཟའ་འཚོ་སྐྱོན་དང་བཞོས་པའི་སྲ་མཚེད་བདུན་ལས། མཐོ་ལ་བཅའ་ཀྱི་ལྷ།  
དམའ་གྲུ་བཅའ་ཀྱི་ལྷ། ལུལ་གྱི་ལུལ་ལྷ། མཁར་གྱི་ཅེ་ལྷ། ཕྱི་ལྷ་དང་ནང་ལྷ། སློ་ལྷ་དང་བདུན་ལོ། །ཞེས་དང་། ལྷ་རྗེ་ཐེན་  
བདག་དང་གསལ་འཛོན་མ་བཞོས་པའི་སྲས། ཞིང་ལྷ་ཚངས་པ། རྒྱ་ལྷ་བྱུང་ལུ་གདོག་ལྷ་མོན་བྱ། ཀ་ཡ་བཅན་པོའི་ནང་ལྷ།  
སུ་ཡ་བཅན་པོའི་ནང་ལྷ། ཚོས་ལྷ་མང་པོ་སུ་ཡི་ལྷ་ལོ། །ཞེས་རང་གི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁྲིད་དུ་རྟོག་ཏུ་འབྲལ་ཐབས་མེད་ཅིང་མཐུན་

ཕྱིན་གང་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཡུལ་ཕལ་ཆེར་ལ་ལྷན་མིང་གིས་བཏགས་པ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་འགོ་བའི་ལྷ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ས་ལྷ་དང་། ཞང་ལྷ།  
 དག་ལྷ། ཡུལ་ལྷ་སོགས་ལྷར་མིང་བཏགས་ཏེ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཁོང་དུ་རང་གང་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཡུལ་ལ་བག་ཡོད་དང་གྲུས་པ་བྱ་  
 དགོས་པ་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་རང་གི་མ་ཕྱོགས་དང་། སའི་ཕྱོགས་སྟེ་སྟེ་བརྒྱད་དང་། དམག་གི་མགོ་དབྱུང་སོགས་ལ་གྲུས་  
 པ་དང་། མཐུན་ཐབས་བྱ་དགོས་པ་སོགས་དོན་ལ་གདོད་མའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་གང་ཟག་སྐར་གྱི་ཚོར། རང་གི་འཚོ་བའི་  
 ཁོར་ཡུག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ལྷ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལྷ་ཚུལ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ལོ། །དེའང་ཁ་རུབ་ཀྱི་གནའ་ལུལ་ལས་ཁང་པའི་སློ་འགམ་  
 ཏུ་མཚོད་པ་འབྲུལ་སའི་སྟེགས་བྱ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དེའི་སྟེང་དུ་ཐལ་རུལ་ཡོད་ (བོད་ལྗོངས་གནའ་ཇུས་རྟོག་ཞིབ་སྤྱི་བཤའ་) པ་  
 བཅས་ལ་དབྱུང་ན་ཁ་རུབ་རིག་དངོས་ཀྱི་ (ལོ་ལྷ་སྟོང་ལྷག་) མེན་ནས་ཀྱང་ལྷ་གསོལ་མཚོད་འབྲུལ་གྱི་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པ་  
 རྟོགས་ཐུབ་པ་ཡིན།

དེའང་རིམ་པས་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཅེས་ཏེ་ཉི་མེད་གཟའ་སྐར་གྱི་འགོས་དང་། ལོ་དང་སྤར་སྟེ་སོགས་བཅུ་སྟོལ་བྱུང་  
 ཞིང་། དེ་དག་ལ་བསྟེན་ནས་པན་པའི་ལྷ་དང་གཞོད་པའི་གདོན་བྱེ་བྲག་ཏུ་ངོས་བཟུང་ཞིང་ལྷ་ལ་མཚོད་པ་དང་། འབྲེལ་  
 ཡས་དང་གཏོ་བསྟེལ་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྟོན་ནས་སེམས་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ནད་གཞི་བཅོས་ཐབས་རིམ་བཞིན་ཡར་རྒྱས་དང་གོང་  
 འཕེལ་གྱི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བསྐྱོད་པས་དེང་རབས་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཁམས་རིག་པའི་བར་གོང་འཕེལ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ལོ། །

དེ་ལྟར་གདོད་མའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་འདི་ནི་འགོ་བའི་ལུས་ཀྱི་འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་ལ་པན་ཐོགས་དང་ཞབས་འདེགས་ཆེན་  
 པོ་སྦྱབ་ཡོད་དེ། ལུས་ཀྱི་ནད་གཞི་པལ་ཆེར་ལུས་ལ་མ་ཚོང་རྒྱ་མེད་པའི་དཀའ་ངལ་ལ་བཟོད་དཀའ་བ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་སེམས་  
 ཀྱི་སྲོང་བྱ་ཁོ་ནར་ཡོད་པ་དང་། སེམས་ཀྱིས་ལུས་ངག་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ནི་ཤེས་ཡོན་དང་སློབ་གསོ། འཕྲོད་  
 བསྟེན་དང་མཐུན་སྦྱིལ། བདེ་བ་དང་སྦྱག་བསྐྱེལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་རྩ་ཡིན་པས་དེ་བདེ་བ་དང་རྣམ་མཐར་གནས་པའི་  
 ཐབས་ལས་ལྷག་པ་སྦྱབ་བྱ་གཞན་གང་ཡང་མེད་དོ། །དེ་ཅམ་དུ་མ་ཟང་ལྷ་ཚུལ་འདི་བཟུང་ནས་རང་ཉིད་གནས་སའི་  
 གནམ་ས་བར་སྐྱང་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤང་སྟོབས་དང་གཅོང་མར་ཉར་སྦྱབ་ཅིང་། མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་སྟོག་ཆགས་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གི་ཆེ་  
 སྟོག་ལ་འགན་ལེན་བྱེད་ཐུབ་པ་བྱུང་ཡོད། ཉམ་ཞིག་ན་འདི་ཉིད་མོངས་དད་དུ་བཟུང་ནས་ལྷ་ཚུལ་འདི་དག་ཡར་རྒྱས་དང་  
 འཕྲོད་བསྟེན་གྱི་བར་ཆད་དུ་བཟུང་བའི་ལྷ་བ་དར་ཞིང་། འདི་དག་ལ་གཏོར་བཤེག་བཏང་བའི་མགོ་བཅས་པ་ནས་རང་བྱུང་  
 ཁོར་ཡུག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གཏོར་བཤེག་ཚད་ལས་འདས་པ་བྱུང་སྟེ་ཆུ་ལོག་དང་ཐབ་སྟོན། ས་ཡོམ་དང་མཚོ་ཡོམ། ཆར་  
 དང་གངས་ཞོད་སོགས་ཀྱི་གཞོད་སྟོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲབ་པ་བྱུང་བ་མ་ཟད། འཛིག་རྟེན་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་དང་རྒྱང་ཁམས་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་འབག་བཅོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ནས་དབྱུགས་དང་སྟོན་ཚུན་ཆད་ཅི་དགར་འོངས་སུ་སྟོན་རྒྱ་མེད་པར་གྱུར་ནས་བཟང་  
 ལས་འདས་པའི་སྟེ་འགོ་མང་སོ་དུས་མིན་དུ་འཆི་བ་དང་། འགའ་ཞིག་རིགས་བརྒྱད་རྩ་བཤག་དང་བཅས་པ་སྟོངས་པར་  
 གྱུར་པ་དང་། བཅོག་རུལ་གྱིས་ཁྲབ་པའི་རྫོད་ཀྱིས་ཡུལ་ཁམས་དང་འགོ་བ་དུ་མར་ཆོད་སུལ་གྱི་སྦྱག་བསྐྱེལ་ཆེ་འདིར་  
 མྱོང་བ་དང་། འབྲུག་དང་གངས་ལ་གནས་པའི་ཡུལ་དང་འགོ་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་པ་སྐྱིད་དང་དབྱུང་གཉེན་མེད་པར་གྱུར་པ་  
 སོགས་བསམ་ཡོད་པལ་ཆེར་གྱིས་ཤེས་ཐུབ་པའི་ཡང་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་འདི་དག་བྱུང་བ་ལགས་སོ། །



བརྗེ་བཞི། བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས།

སྤར་བཤད་པའི་གདོད་མའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱོན་བཙོ་བའི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པའི་ཚ་བ་ཡིན། གནའ་དེང་གི་མཁས་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གིས་ཚུ་མགོ་གངས་ལ་ཐུག་པ་བཞིན་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བའི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ལ་བརྟུག་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་ཞང་ཞུང་བོན་ལ་ཐུག་པར་དོས་འཇིན་མཛད་པ་སོགས་ནི་སྨོན་པའི་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བ་དབྱེད་ཉིལ་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཚོན་ཐུག་པའི་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

དེའང་སངས་རྒྱས་ཚོས་ལུགས་ནི་དུས་རབས་བདུན་པ་དང་བརྒྱད་པར་བོད་དུ་གསར་དུ་དར་བའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཤིག་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའི་སྐོར་ནས་བོད་ལ་སྐྱོན་བཙོ་བའི་དམ་ཅན་སྐྱོན་བཙོ་བའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཚལ་གྱི་ཚུ་ཚད་ཀྱང་མཚོན་པོར་སྤེལ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཚེད་ལས་པ་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་དངོས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་གྱིས་བདེན་དཔང་གཏེར་ཐུག། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བོན་གྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དར་ནས་བྱུང་བའི་དེའང་གཤེན་རབ་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པ་དང་དབྱེད་བྱ་སྤེལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བའི་གསོ་བ་རིག་པ་མགོ་ཚུགས་པར་བཤད་པ་ནི་སྤར་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། གནས་ཚུལ་དངོས་ནི་སྤར་བཤད་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་དང་། དངོས་རྗེས་ཤིང་ལྷོ་མ་མེ་རིགས་བྱུང་བ་ནས་མགོ་ཚུགས་པ་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་བ་མ་ཟད། སྤྱིར་བཏོན་པ་སོགས་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ནམས་ནི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དབུ་ལོན་གོང་འཕེལ་མི་དམག་པ་སོང་བའི་རྗེས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་འབྲས་ཡིན་པས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་གོ་ལོ་ལྷོ་ལ་ཏུ་སོང་བ་དང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དབྱེད་པ་མ་རྒྱུས་པར་གཞུང་དང་ལག་ལེན་གྱི་བྱུང་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གྱིས་སྤྱི་ལ་རྒྱས་འཕེལ་བྱས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འདི་འདྲ་རྒྱན་དུ་མཚོང་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པའི་བྲལ་དུ་བཅེས་ན་འཚོམས་པར་སྤྲང་། བར་ལམ་བྲན་གཤམ་ལམ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སྐབས་སུ་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་ལྷ་བྲལ་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་དང་ཁྲུལ་ཆེ་བའི་དབང་གིས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་འཁྲུལ་སྤར་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཤིག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་དངོས་གཙོ་སྤྱི་པའི་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལ་བརྒྱུད་ནས་དབྱེད་ན་བོན་དང་སངས་རྒྱས་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀས་བོད་ཀྱི་གསོ་བའི་གསོ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་ཐུག་རྗེས་དང་ལུགས་སྤེན་ཆེན་པོ་ཐེབ་ཡོད་པ་ཁས་ལེན་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། འབྲུང་ཁུངས་ཡིན་མི་དགོས་པའི་ཁྲུང་པར་བྱེད་གོས་སོ།།

བཙོ་བྱ། ཞང་བྱུང་ཏུང་ཏོང་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་སྐོན་ཡིག

ཏུང་ཏོང་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞི་མོང་ལྷེ་འཕེན་བཙོན་སྐབས་ཤིང་སྨོན་པའི་སྨོན་པའི་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཚུ་ཚུ་མཚན་མངའ་འབངས་སུ་བྱས་པའི་བྲལ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤོང་བོད་འབངས་དབྱེད་མང་མང་འགོལ་བའི་བྲལ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོས་གང་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་ལུལ་དེར་བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་བརྒྱུད་དང་ཚོས་ལུགས་སྤེལ་ནས་འབངས་རྣམས་མར་བཀྲུག་པའི་སྤྱིད་རྒྱས་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་ལུལ་དེར་དགོན་པ་དང་དཔེ་མཛོད་དུ་མ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་བོད་དབྱེད་སུ་དར་རྒྱས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་རིག་གནས་དུ་མའི་གཞུང་འདྲ་བའུས་གསོག་འཛོག་དང་བེད་སྤོང་བྱས་པ་ལས། བམ་ཞིག་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཐབས་ལ་ཆགས་སྤོང་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་བའི་གོ་སྐབས་བརྒྱུད་ནས་རྒྱ་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བྱེན་ལངས་བྱས་ཏེ་ལུལ་དེའི་སྤྱིད་གཞུང་དང་དམག་མི་

ཞུས་པ་གནས་ནས་བསྐྱད་པ་སོགས་བྱས་པ་དང་། དཔེ་མཛོད་དང་དགོན་པ་ཞུས་མི་ལོ་སྤོང་ཚོ་ལ་ཉེ་བར་བདག་མེད་དུ་  
 གྱུར་ཏེ་ས་འོག་ཏུ་གཟེམ་པ་དུས་རབས་ཉི་ཤུ་བའི་མགོར་དབྱིན་རིས་རྒྱ་ནག་ལ་ཐེ་ཏུ་སྤོང་མོ་བྱེད་སྐབས་སེ་ཐན་དབྱིན་  
 (Aurel Stein) གྱིས་ (༡༩༠༥) བཞེད་དེ་བྲག་ཕྱག་ལགའི་དཔེ་ཆ་ཞུས་ལོན་ཏོན་དུ་བྱེད་པའི་འདྲ་བ་ཤུས་ལགའ་ཞིག་  
 འཛེས་སྤྱོད་གང་སར་བྱས་པའི་གྲས་ནས་གསོ་རིག་སྐོར་གྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་གསུམ་པེ་ཅིང་ནས་པར་བསྐྱབ་བྱས་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་རིན་ཐང་ཚད་མེད་ལྡན་པའི་མེ་བཅའི་བཅོས་ཐབས་གཉིས་དང་། དབྱེད་ཡིག་གཞན་བཅས་ཡིན།

དེ་དག་གི་བརྗོད་ཐབས་སྐད་གསར་བཅད་ཀྱི་འགྲོས་དང་མི་མ་ཐུན་ཡང་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་མ་བཅོས་པའི་ཉམས་  
 འགྱུར་ལྡན་པས་ནང་དོན་གཉིད་ཐབས་བཅད་། བརྗོད་བྱའི་ཐད་ནས་ཐོད་ཀྱི་ཐུན་མིན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་རྗེས་ཞུས་གཙོ་རྩལ་  
 བཏོན་གྱི་སྐོན་བཅོས་ལ་བཀོལ་བ་སོགས་ཞེས་འདྲུག་གི་རིན་ཐང་ཚེན་མོ་ལྡན་ཡོད། དཔེ་བུ་སྤོང་མོ་བཅོས་ཐབས་  
 ལྷ། མི་སྤོང་མོ་གཡམས་སུ་ལྷེ་ན་སྤོང་མོ་ལགའ་སུ་ཐོབ་ཤིགའའོན་ལྷེ་ན་གཡོན་པར་ཐོབ་ཤིགའོ་ཟེན་པར་ན་དང་སྤོང་གཡམས་  
 གཡོ་སྤོང་སྤོང་མས་ཏེ་ཤིགའོ་ཅེ། ཞེས་མི་སྤོང་མོ་ཅན་ཅན་ལ་གཏར་ག་གདབས་ཏེ་བཅོས་ཐབས་དང་། འོ་འཚལ་དང་། རི་  
 དགས་ཐམ་ཤད་ཀྱི་སྤོང་མོ་དང་བྱ་ཐམ་ཤད་ཀྱི་སྤོང་མོ་དང་བྱ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་སྤོང་མོ་བཅས་དེ་ཞུས་ཆང་ཉིང་ཁུང་ལ་སྤྱེད་འཚལ་ན་ཅེ།  
 ཞེས་སྤོང་མོ་ཅན་ཅན་གྱིས་བྱ་དང་རི་དྲགས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་མོ་ཡོད་ཚད་ལྷེ་མར་བྱ་ཏེ་སྤོང་མོ་ཆང་དང་སྤྱར་ཏེ་འཐུང་ན་སྤོང་མོ་ལ་མན་ཞེས་  
 དང་། སྤོང་མོ་ཤིད་ཚིག་གི་ནང་དུག་གིས་འཛིགས་ན་ནང་པར་འགོ་ཁར་དུང་ལྷེ་དང་ཡུངས་དཀར་དང་ཆ་རོང་དང་དེ་ཞུས་  
 མི་ཅེ་རེ་ཆུ་དང་སྤྱར་ཏེ་འཐུང་ན་དུག་གིས་ལྷགས་སྤྱི་སྤིད་དོ། །ཞེས་དུག་སྤྱང་རམ་དུག་འཛེད་དེ། དེ་འདྲ་སྤོང་མོ་དང་འདས་  
 མཚོད་སོགས་ལ་འགོ་སྐབས་དུག་ཡོད་པར་དོགས་ཏེ་སྤྱག་ན། དུག་འཛེད་དུ་ནང་པར་ཏེ་ལྷོ་སྤོང་དུ་དུང་དར་པའི་ལྷེ་མ་  
 དང་། ཡུངས་དཀར་ (ནག་གི་ས་ཐོན་གང་ཡང་ལོ་དགུར་ལོན་པ་) དང་། ཆ་རོང་ལྷེ་དཔེ་བོ་ཞུས་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་མ་སོ་སོར་གྱི་  
 ཅེ་གང་རེ་སྤེ་ཐུན་ཆུང་རེ་ཆུ་གཙང་དང་སྤྱར་ཏེ་འཐུང་ན་དུག་གིས་མི་ཚུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་སོགས་གདོད་མའི་གསོ་རིག་  
 ཡར་རྒྱས་བྱེད་ཏེ་དེར་རབས་གསོ་རིག་གི་སྤྱོད་ལོ་བའི་ལགའ་ལེན་པན་ཐོགས་ཅན་རབ་བཏགས་དང་ཚིག་རྒྱན་གྱིས་མ་  
 བསྐྱབ་པའི་གཅེར་མཐོང་གི་སྐོན་བཅོས་ལགའ་ལེན་མང་དུ་ཡོད་དོ།།

སྤྱི་པ།

- དོན་གྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ལགའ་ལེན་འདེབ་པ་དང་།།
- སྤོང་མོ་སྤྱང་བས་ཤེས་བྱའི་བརྗོད་ཆལ།།
- རྒྱས་པར་བྱེད་འདི་དོན་ཚེན་ལགས་མོད་ཀྱང་།།
- སྤོན་བྱེད་གནས་ལ་དཔྱོད་པའང་དོན་མེད་མིན།།

སྟོང་ལོ་ཐེང་འབྲུམ་འཆོ་བའི་མི་ཀན་མེད།།  
 བསྐྱལ་བ་ཆགས་འཛིག་མཐོང་བའི་བྲང་སྟོང་མེད།།  
 འདས་པའི་སྟོད་བུཅད་འཇམ་བའི་མངོན་ཤེས་མེད།།  
 ཆོས་སྲིད་མ་སྦྲད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚང་མེད།།

གཡོ་རྒྱུའི་དར་བོས་ཆོས་ལུགས་འི་བཟང་དང་།།  
 ལྷན་ངག་མཛེས་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་མ་སྦྲིབ་པའི།།  
 ལྷ་ཆོགས་དངོས་ཇུས་རང་བཞིན་མཛེས་མའི་གཟུགས།།  
 གཅེར་མཐོང་གནའ་ཇུས་དཔྱོད་པ་འདི་ཀོ་མེད།།

དུས་གསུམ་གསལ་བའི་མངོན་ཤེས་བདག་ལ་མེད།།  
 གང་བྲན་སྦྲུ་བའི་སྟོང་སྟོང་སྟོང་སྟོང་བདག་ལ་མེད།།  
 ལོ་རྒྱུར་དཔྱོད་པའི་དུས་ཆོད་བདག་ལ་མེད།།  
 མེད་གསུམ་གདོ་བས་དབྱུད་པ་འདི་ཙམ་མོ།།

རབ་དོས་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་མཛེས་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༧ ཟླ་བ་ ༡༠ ཚེས་ ༠༡ ལ་གྱིས།།



LETTERS TO THE KHANS  
Six Tibetan Epistles of Togdugpa Addressed to the Mongol Rulers  
Hulegu and Khubilai, as well as to the Tibetan Lama Pagpa<sup>1</sup>

**Jampa Samten**  
Sarnath

**Dan Martin**  
Jerusalem

It has been known for a very long time that the Mongolian kings of Persia known as the Ilkhans had close connections with some Tibetan monks during the last half of the 13th century. It has been known that some Tibetan monks, not yet identified by name, were physically present there near the Caspian Sea. But views about the nature and significance of this relationship have developed, especially in more recent decades as relevant texts on the Tibetan side have come to light. In this essay in honor of Elliot Sperling, author of one of the truly eye-opening and even game-changing essays in this area of concern written 24 years ago, today we venture a rather modest goal of introducing and translating just a few interesting letters from a collection that has only very recently been made available to the world at large. This is in effect a footnote to Elliot Sperling's "Hulegu and Tibet," utilizing materials that were not available at the time he composed his essay.<sup>2</sup> A thorough coverage for this body of letters is something we propose to do neither now nor in the future, but we do nourish the hope that there will be a number of studies by Tibetanists, Mongolists, Iranists and so on that will take these fascinating documents into account. We introduce the letters by looking first at what can be known about the letter writer, then say a little about letter writing in general in those times, ending with a brief discussion about the particular set of letters that we have chosen to translate into English. One of our aims along the way is to emphasize the importance of letters as highly useful sources for Tibetan history. As one means toward this end we have appended a small bibliography of letter translations and studies that we know to exist.

### The Letter Writer, Togdugpa

While we will concern ourselves with only one of them, there are two different Tibetan letter collections from the period of the mid-13th century that have appeared quite recently. To the best

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1 This essay began and was nearly completed during our tenure as fellows at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies, Jerusalem, during the academic year of 2013-2014. While there we particularly benefited from our meetings with Choi Soyung who shared our interest in Hulegu's connections with Tibet, the subject of her thesis listed in the bibliography below.

2 We ought to add that, within the general field of Tibetan-Mongol relations during the time of the Yüan, some exemplary work is being done by Karl-Heinz Everding. For an introduction to his most recent work in this area, see now Everding, "Introduction to a Research Project." Although some reference is made to it below, we haven't had the opportunity to closely study a new book by Olaf Czaja, *Medieval Rule in Tibet*, although it has a very important chapter about the first half of the 13th century that is much recommended (ch. 3, pp.89-108).

of our knowledge, these had their first public notice in an academic essay thanks to Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp of Harvard University.<sup>3</sup> The authors of these two letter collections were in fact closely related to each other. The author of the one, Chenga (1175-1255),<sup>4</sup> who became the 4th abbot of Drigung Monastery in 1234, was the paternal uncle as well as the ordinator of the author of the other, Togdugpa.<sup>5</sup> The life of the former is relatively well known, but here it is the latter letter writer that concerns us. So it is discouraging to find that there seems to be no full biography available for Togdugpa. Although short and weak on details, there are three fairly good sources for information about him in the *South Gorge Dharma History*,<sup>6</sup> *A Thousand Eye-Opening Lights*,<sup>7</sup> and the *Blue Annals*. For present purposes it would suffice to summarize what these three sources say, but we will begin with information from a recent history of the Drigung Kagyu School.

According to this modern source, his full and more standard name is Gyelwa Rinpoche Dragpa Tsondrü.<sup>8</sup> It says he was born as the son of the brother of the Chenga himself, and took ordination at the feet of that same Lord (Chenga). Later on while Chenga was occupying the abbot's chair of Drigung, he appointed his nephew to the headship of Densatil.<sup>9</sup> Once when

3 See Leonard Kuijp, "Faulty Transmissions," p.449, where he makes reference to something in a letter by Togdugpa contained in his letter collection at p.225, as well as a letter written to one Dus-'khor-ba (apparently the Imperial Preceptor by that name) at pp.228-229. Occasional mention has been made of the letter writer; as a recent example see Yoeli-Tlalim, "Islam and Tibet," p.9.

4 I.e., Spyan-snga Grags-pa-'byung-gnas. We supply here a few names that are often repeated in their phonetic forms, preferring to use short forms of the names in order to make the reading easier for non-Tibetanists. His works have been published under the title *The Collected Works (Gsung-'bum) of Grags-pa-'byung-gnas (1175-1255), a Chief Disciple of the Skyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon*. This volume is very rich in letters, although we haven't been able to determine how its contents may or may not correspond to the (same?) letter collection recently published in the 151-volume *Drigung Collection*. The story of this very same person, there called Chenga (Spyan-snga), is told briefly in Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, p.88. Some of Chenga's letters have now been made use of in Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, pp.90-91 *et passim*.

5 Thog-brdugs-pa is one of several ways his name may be spelled in the Tibetan sources (more on this below). Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, p. 88, says they were "half brothers." Here Petech definitely means Togdugpa when he mentions "rGyal-ba Rin-po-c'e (1203-1267)," since the more official form of his name is Rgyal-ba Rin-po-che Grags-pa-brtson-'grus. There is a brief passage on him in English in Shakabpa, *Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. 1, p.251: "Yönchen Sangyé Kyap's son, Gyelwa Rinpoché Drakpa Tsöndru or Gyelsé Tokdukpa, held the seat at Tel Monastery. His relative, Nyené Dorjé Pel, who was the leader of Kazhi, was designated as the myriarch upon being called to service by Gyelwa Rinpoché. Since he held the seat at Tel, he was called Pakdrupa, and since his capital was at Nedong, he was called Nedongpa. Lang Lhasik's descendents mainly became monks and made great efforts to learn about religion. They took the name Chenna upon ascending to the seat of Tel, becoming lords of religion and politics. Some of them received authorization from Sakya to be myriarchs and thus implemented laws."

6 See the listing of "Tibetan Histories Cited by English Titles" below, just before the final bibliography. This history was composed in 1446-1451.

7 *Mig 'byed 'od stong*. For this work and more information about it, see Per K. Sørensen & Sonam Dolma, *Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet*, Lumbini International Research Institute (Lumbini 2007), pp.15-20 [introduction], 59-103 [text]. It was composed in 1418.

8 Rgyal-ba Rin-po-che Grags-pa-brtson-'grus. This modern history of the Drigung School calls him Phag-gru Rgyal-ba Rin-po-che; see 'Bri-gung Dkon-mchog-rgya-mtsho, *'Bri gung chos 'byung*, p.357.

9 Here spelled Gdan-sa-thel, although Gdan-sa-mthil is a frequent spelling. It was very common in those days for young people to begin their monastic careers under the direction of their uncles. It was likewise common that the position of abbot was passed from uncle to nephew.

lightning struck in the monastery's courtyard he remained wrapped up in the Dharma teachings, and for this they nicknamed him Togdugpa. Because of the honors and services he received from the Upper Hor,<sup>10</sup> his activities were extensive, but nowadays only a few works by him remain, including his *Sandalwood Rosary of Questions and Answers*.<sup>11</sup> He accomplished an edition of the sermons of the *Three Past Masters*, and composed a table-of-contents for them.<sup>12</sup> For details about how he personally obtained the myriarchy of Pagmodru (Phag-gru Khri-skor) and so on, the modern author tells us to have a look at two earlier works, the *South Gorge Dharma History* and *A Thousand Eye-Opening Lights*.

It is indeed true that *A Thousand Eye-Opening Lights*, composed in 1418, contains a brief sketch of Togdugpa's life.<sup>13</sup> So does *The South Gorge Dharma History* composed somewhat later, in 1446-1451. If we put these two together with the account in the *Blue Annals*, dated 1476-1478, we may accept that these supply practically the entire sum of 'general knowledge' about his life. In the end it is clear that not all that much is known, although of course the testimony of his letters, and of his other works if they were available, could add further details.

Togdugpa was born in eastern Tibet, the first of four eminent sons of the Great Donor Sangs-rgyas-skyabs and his wife named Bram-ze Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal in the Water Female Pig year, or 1203 CE.<sup>14</sup> He took his first vows in his 15th year (1217) and received his monastic name Grags-pa-brtson-'grus. It is said that when he went to Central Tibet to meet his uncle a year later, he was given a blessing whereby the realization dawned on him that all *dharmas* are in a state of equality. At age 19 (1221) he went to Drigung to receive the vows of full monkhood. He continued staying with his uncle and did spiritual practices that resulted in an ability to transform external appearances. In his thirty-third year, a Wood Female Sheep year, or 1235, he went to serve as the head of the Headquarters, and remained there at Densatil for thirty-three years. He was able to manifest miraculous powers, as for example when a thunderbolt with a meteor came down he wrapped it up in his robes. For this he received the nickname Lightning's Conqueror or Lightning's Equal.<sup>15</sup> He had a number of visionary experiences, until finally his fame filled

10 Stod Hor, of Upper Hor is a way of referring to the western parts of the Mongol world.

11 *Zhus lan tsan dan gyi phreng ba*. This is not the title of our letter collection, and in any case a letter collection would not be called a questions-and-answers text, a distinct genre of Tibetan literature. It would appear that this text is available to the author of the modern Drigung history, but it doesn't seem to have reached publication to the best of our knowledge.

12 The *Three Past Masters* most definitely means the founder of the Drigung Kagyu named 'Bri-gung Chos-rje 'Jig-rten-mgon-po Rin-chen-dpal (1143-1217), together with the two most prominent of his immediate disciples, the already-mentioned Chenga along with Sphyan-snga Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (1187-1241).

13 The relevant passage is published in Per K. Sørensen & Sonam Drolma, eds., *Rare Texts from Tibet*, at p.74.

14 The spelling for the mother's name supplied in the *South Gorge Dharma History* seems more likely to be correct: 'Brom-za Ye-shes-mtsho. Here, too, instead of being called a Great Donor (Yon-chen) the father is called a *nephew* (*dbon*), which could of course be read as *chief* (*dpon*). For an alternative sketch of the life of Togdugpa, one may see now Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, pp.93-94, note 18.

15 The two nicknames are just two different spellings of the same: Thog-brdugs-pa and Thog-thub-pa.

the earth, and the King Hulegu became his primary sponsor, giving an immeasurable amount of offerings.<sup>16</sup> Then the Kings of Singala, Tirhut and Yatsé<sup>17</sup> offered him many gifts including a Five Family initiation crown made of conch shell and so on. He died on the eighteenth day of the eleventh Mongolian month of the year Fire Female Hare, or 1267.<sup>18</sup> At his cremation there were many signs of saintly death. His followers included the Siddha Smon-lam-'bar, who demonstrated the prodigy of bleeding milk instead of blood, and a number of others. Togdugpa was succeeded in the abbot's chair by his younger brother with the name that means *twelve*, Bcu-gnyis-pa Rin-chen-rdo-rje.<sup>19</sup>

Togdugpa has a special importance in the field of Tibetan art history. His monumental tomb chorten, the first in a series of eight such chortens, was a magnificently ornamented structure that took twelve years to complete. Dismantled during the Cultural Revolution, the images of deities, Dharma protectors and offering goddesses that once covered them nowadays command exceptional interest in the world of Asian art. Many of these sculptures were recently displayed in an exhibition in New York, and a huge and richly detailed book about them has been published.<sup>20</sup>

## The Letters

The letter collection of Togdugpa contains nearly 70 letters of various lengths. We believe that the collection is arranged roughly in the order in which they were written. It is at least possible to see that earlier letters mentioning Mongke Khagan are near the beginning, with letters closer to the end of the letter author's life being located near the end. There are neither a lot of dates nor so much immediately datable information in these letters, and our impression that they are chronological arranged will need to be tested in a more complete study in the future.

16 We choose to use the form Hulegu (without any diacritic marks), although of course the 'g' is silent or nearly so, as is proven by the more usual Tibetan form Hu-la-hu, and the forms found in European sources such as Ulaui and Alau, these last-mentioned being among the many forms discussed by Paul Pelliot, "373: Ulaui."

17 The Tibetan spellings here are Sing-ga-gling, Ti-ra-hu-ti and Ya-tse. The first is the island of Ceylon, the second is Tirhut, located in the area of upper Bihar, while the third is a kingdom in western Tibet, although its territory is now in the northwestern corner of Nepal.

18 Or, since the date is quite late in the Tibetan year, it is likely he died early in the year 1268, although we are not sure of it.

19 He was abbot from 1267 until his death in 1280. Just as an interesting side issue, we think it was likely his name that inspired the name of the Ilkhan Gaikhatu who ruled great Persia from 1291 until his death in 1295. On some coins, in Arabic and Uighur script, we find the name Irenčin Turci or Iranjin Durji. This name that appears on coins of the Ilkhan Gaikhatu (d. 1295) is one he received from the Bakhshis. It has been understood, quite reasonably, to be the Tibetan name Rin-chen-rdo-rje. Grupper, "The Buddhist Sanctuary," pp.50-52, has a slightly differing, but not necessarily contradictory explanation, concluding that the name can be explained as a Guhyasamāja initiatory name (they ought to end in *-vajra*), and that the initiation would have taken place simultaneously with his royal consecration performed on June 29, 1292.

20 The artworks were on display at the Asia Society Museum from February to May of 2014, in an exhibition co-curated by Olaf Czaja and Adriana Proser. For the book, see Olaf Czaja, *Medieval Rule in Tibet*.



That letter writing was common in those days perhaps goes without saying, but it does seem likely that with the new establishment of a postal relay system in Tibet, and at a date very close to the time when Togdugpa's letters were written, would have not only facilitated but even encouraged the writing of letters. According to Petech, the only recent academic we know of who wrote about Tibet's Mongol-period postal system in any detail, the first postal stations were in place in Amdo area by the late 1250's, while they were established in Central Tibet in 1269.<sup>21</sup> This postal relay system was called in Tibetan *'jam*, and the postal stations were called *'jam-sa*.<sup>22</sup> We believe that the postal system must have been in place in western Tibet when Togdugpa was writing his letters.

It would be interesting to delve more into the history of letter writing, both in Eurasia at large as well as in Tibet in particular. Not very many studies have been done on Tibetan epistles, unless we count the Tibet-language translations of Indian letters that are included in the Tibetan canon, covered by the excellent work of Siglinde Dietz.<sup>23</sup> Still, there have been some studies of particular letters or small bodies of letters.<sup>24</sup> It would of course be desirable to have a general study of Tibetan letters considered in tandem with Tibetan texts on the subject of letter writing. Texts on letter writing are known on the Persian side from around the middle of the 13th century.<sup>25</sup> It would therefore be good to know if any Tibetans had the idea to write one of these manuals at such an early date. Our general impression is that all the readily available examples of the letter-writing manuals called *Yig bskur rnam gzhag*, were written during the last three centuries, which does tend to lessen their relevance for our present concerns.<sup>26</sup> We should say, too, that our two letter collections, together with the two collections of Sakya Paṇḍita and Pagpa of course,<sup>27</sup> rank among the earliest extensive examples of their kind.

21 See Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, pp.61-68. It only stands to reason that the setting up of an efficient mail system through the greater part of Eurasia would have encouraged and facilitated more frequent writing of letters. Bear in mind that the letters to Hulegu translated below would have needed to travel over 2,600 miles to reach their destination.

22 For various spellings of the term in other parts of the Mongol Empire, see the discussions by Paul Pelliot, "255: Iamb" and Paul Pelliot, "Sur *yam* ou *jam*."

23 Siglinde Dietz, *Die Buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens*. Also worthy of mention are the English translations of some of these Indian Buddhist letters, based on their Tibetan versions, as part as a more general treatment of Indian epistles, in Shyamalkanti Chakravarti, *Patralekha*.

24 For a listing of works in western languages, see the Appendix below. It might seem to some that the most celebrated letters ever received from a Tibetan were the Mahatma Letters, which certainly caused much discussion in various parts of the world in their day, although we do not propose to discuss them here. Firstly and most importantly, they were not written in Tibetan. The appended bibliography contains everything we could find at this moment about epistles written in Tibetan. Added together, they hardly amount to a significant beginning for a genre that we believe ought to be one of the most important sources for understanding Tibetan history.

25 Rypka, "Poets and Prose Writers," pp.620-621, makes reference to two Persian treatises about letter writing from approximately the same period, one of them written by Hulegu's close adviser the famous astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī (1200-1273). An earlier one, *An Exploration of the Approaches to Letter-Writing* by Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Mu'ayyadal-Baghdādī dates to around 1182 to 1184.

26 A survey of the genre may be found in Hanna Schneider, "The Formation of the Tibetan Official Style."

27 Six of Sakya Paṇḍita's letters have been translated by the late Jared Rhoton as *addenda* to Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyaltsen, *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes*, pp.201-270.

Without pretending to adopt any technical procedures of diplomatics, a task we leave for others, we could still make a few simple observations about the letter collection as we have it.<sup>28</sup> First of all, it is not a collection of the original physical letters. This may seem to go without saying, but the fact of the matter is that information is lost, or even possibly deliberately transformed, in the process of transferring the words from one medium to another. That is to say that the physical aspects of the original letter could have had things of importance to say to us if the original physical letter were available (depending on how it was folded, sealed, marked on the outside and so on; the possibility of scientific testing of the material elements). Although we believe the letters are essentially untouched as far as their content is concerned, we have no way of proving this to persons of unusual skepticism. That the letters as we have them are not entirely complete is proven by an interesting *mchan*-note that someone added to the collection at p. 230 saying how some pages were lost. As mentioned already, we believe they are likely to be in chronological order. Apparently somebody was keeping a record of these letters as they were sent, and it is this record, or a secondary copy of it, that was passed on to us.

According to an appended list found at the end of the collection, during the first centuries it was transmitted by a select lineage of persons. This lineage spans eight generations, beginning with no. 1 being none other than Togdogpa himself, as follows:

1. Rgyal-ba Rin-po-che. 2. Grub-thob Smon-lam-mgon. 3. Bla-ma Zhang-ston Seng-ge. 4. Bla-ma Rdor-'dzin-pa. 5. Bla-ma Rin-chen-gzhon-nu. 6. Nyer-gnyis Rin-po-che. [i.e. Nyer-gnyis-pa 'Dzam-gling-chos-kyi-rgyal-po (1335-1407), abbot of Drigung]. 7. Gnam-gang Rin-po-che. 8. "Myself," A-nanda.

This last-mentioned "A-nanda" is without a shadow of doubt in our minds the renowned Drigung abbot Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475-1527).<sup>29</sup> We might extract from this lineage information the reasonable probability that it was Grub-thob Smon-lam-mgon who compiled the original letters into the collection now available.

The letters share certain formal characteristics. After a title indicating their content, presumably added by someone other than the letter writer himself (perhaps by the just-mentioned Grub-thob), they very frequently open with verses of praise, in some part and at some point praising the addressee more or less directly. Often the individual verses follow a particular order in their subject matter, such as Buddha, Dharma and Sangha; or Body, Speech and Mind [perhaps adding Quality and Activity]. We will point out in our footnotes (or in square brackets) these themes, since this is likely to help readers to better see what these mildly poetic and therefore somewhat

28 For approaches that involve the formal analysis of documents, what is often known as *diplomatics*, see for examples, Dieter Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben*, pp.158-176; and Hanna Schneider, "The Formation of the Tibetan Official Style."

29 One reason for our certainty is the fact that a nearly identical lineage may be found for the Golden Manuscript of the collected works of Phag-mo-gru-pa Padma-rdo-rje, where we find, in vol. 3, fol. 192v, the following: 1. 'Gro-mgon (i.e., Phag-mo-gru-pa). 2. Skyu-ra (i.e., 'Jig-rten-mgon-po). 3. Rje Sp[y]an-snga (i.e., Spyan-snga Grags-pa-'byung-gnas). 4. Rgyal-ba (i.e., Togdogpa). 5. Bcu-gnyis-pa. 6. Dbang-bsod. 7. Grags-she-ba. 8. Tshul-rgyal-ba. 9. Grags-byang-ba. 10. Slob-dpon Shes-don-pa. 11. Gnam-gang Rin-po-che. 12. *Bdag* ('myself,' meaning Kun-dga'-rin-chen).

opaque verses are about. The verse section is followed by prose that may be divided, most usually, into three parts. The first part reminds the addressee of their good relations in the past, of earlier encounters, of gifts once received or friendly cooperations that have linked their larger groups. The second part actually contains the request. It is impressive to see how directly these requests were made, reflecting a considerable degree of temerity or, indeed, *chutzpah*, bearing in mind the awesome power of the rulers to whom they were made. Finally, there is the *letter support* (*yig-rten*) section enumerating the desirable objects sent along with the letter. Perhaps we ought to add a fifth section for ‘good wishes,’ but these are so brief and perfunctory it hardly counts as a section, and even if sometimes we find a bit of colophon information (again, presumably written by the compiler rather than the letter author), there seems to be no rule.

It will be an interesting task for the future for someone to generalize about these letters in light of letters written throughout Eurasia during the time of the Mongol Empire. The letters exchanged between Mongolian rulers and their European counterparts have a particularly long history of study.<sup>30</sup> While by no means the first of these letters, the letters associated with Hulegu are the more interesting for present purposes. One such letter was sent by Hulegu from his residence in Maragha to Louis IX, King of France in 1262.<sup>31</sup> In it Tibet is explicitly mentioned as part of a listing of peoples whose rulers had been forced to submit to Mongol power. In fact, Tibet is listed twice in a row with two different spellings, the likely explanation being that the second was written only as a correction of the first one after it had been misspelled: “Teubets” and “Tubets.” As usual with such letters sent by the Mongol rulers, one thing that *was* spelled out quite clearly was the fate of peoples who had resisted them in the past, and by implication the necessity for cooperation in the present. Surely the alliance forming in the same year between the Mamluks and the Golden Horde to the north was making plain to Hulegu the importance of making his own alliance with the Franks.

In this letter written on his own initiative Hulegu emphasizes his successes, particularly the taking of Baghdad, boasting of killing “two thousand[s of] thousand[s of the Caliph’s] men.” Although that would seem to work out to two million, the usual estimates place the number of deaths somewhere between one hundred thousand and one million.<sup>32</sup> He boasts of his conquest of Aleppo and Damascus, and of hanging their rulers’ heads at the gate of Tabriz as an example to others. For obvious reasons he doesn’t even mention the defeat suffered by his own army two years earlier at the hands of the Mamluks at Ain Jalut.<sup>33</sup> To call attention to it would not

30 The earlier studies were reviewed in Denise Aigle, “Letters of Eljigidei,” pp.144-145. These letters, with only a few notable exceptions, are available to us today only in their Latin translations, although presumably first composed in Mongolian. The early studies listed therein include most notably a work by Laurent Moshem published in 1741 and one by Abel-Rémusat published in 1824.

31 We rely here on the edition of the Latin letter by Paul Meyvaert, “An Unknown Letter of Hulagu,” pp.252-259, and the English translation of Malcolm Barber, *Letters from the East*, pp.156-159.

32 The Latin text reads *duo milia milium pugnatorum necauimus*, where it is clear that the overly high number covers only the fighters killed, without including any civilian population. The civilians would need to be added in order to come up with a complete number of people who lost their lives, so it seems quite sure that the number of two million is at best an exaggerated estimate.

33 On this, see Peter Jackson, “The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260.”

have been very politic. Indeed, this defeat may have been his immediate reason for proposing a mutually beneficial alliance with European powers against the Mamluks. Letters of similar alliance-forming intentions would continue to be sent by his royal Ilkhanid successors for the following half century.

We are also fortunate to have a reply to Hulegu from Pope Urban IV dated 1263. This letter was regarded as a kind of Papal Bull, with its title based on its *incipit* being *Exultavit cor nostrum*.<sup>34</sup> This letter seems to respond to the very same letter that had been sent to the King of France. In his reply, the most interesting thing for present purposes is that the Pope had been given to understand — either from the letter itself, or from the words of the envoy, or both — that Hulegu was inclined to accept baptism into the Christian faith. This may bear some significance for something we will look into presently, which is the question of the nature and extent of Hulegu's Buddhist identity.

So we invite the readers of these letters to ponder how the alliance between Buddhist lamas and Mongol rulers may have worked out in real practice. It may be difficult to comprehend how a man like Hulegu, undeniably responsible for the violent deaths of so many people, could hope for absolution. In the popular image of the Mongol armies, people are likely to imagine ruthless killers free of conscience. But we think that, like all humans, they tended to feel regret for their misdeeds. For the early Chinggisid period, we have very interesting arguments and evidence of regret in a recent study, and to this we send the interested reader.<sup>35</sup> Regret and the possibility for redemption could have swayed Hulegu's mind in favor of Buddhism, or at least we can find reasons in these letters to think so.

## Hulegu and Buddhism

There was a time not so long ago when it was usual to regard religion as a matter of extreme ambivalence or disinterest among the early Mongols. Although there may be something to this idea, two recent books, Johan Elverskog's *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road*, especially its chapter 3, and most recently Mostafa Vaziri's *Buddhism in Iran*, demonstrate that the spirit of our age is changing, and people are more willing to accept that some of these early Mongol rulers took their Buddhism quite seriously on some level or another. At least some see indications the khans had a degree of personal interest. An essay by Sam Grupper has made an impressive case against the once-prevailing view by arguing for Hulegu's acceptance of a Buddhist identity.<sup>36</sup> This identity is indicated perhaps above all by his patronage of Buddhism, in particular his building during the years 1261 to 1265 of

34 For this, see Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste*.

35 See Humphrey & Hürelbaatar, "Regret as a Political Intervention."

36 Grupper, "The Buddhist Sanctuary," in fact argues for a Buddhist orientation of Hulegu's father Mongke before him. See Kedar, "Multilateral Disputation," for an interesting discussion of the interreligious debates of 1254 and after, although it ends with the conclusion that Mongke regarded his own Mongol belief in the sky god, and not Buddhism, as the supreme truth behind other religions.

a highland monastery of Labnasagut in Armenian lands, with a land grant made in 1259.<sup>37</sup> And in agreement with Grupper, we would say that he must have taken his Buddhism seriously enough to pass on that identity to the Ilkhans, his own descendents, for three more generations. With only a brief hiatus, the Ilkhans reigned as Buddhists into the first decade of the 14th century. Hulegu passed his Buddhism on to his son and successor Abaga, who passed it on to his son Arghun, who passed it on to his son Ghazan. These rulers continued their Buddhist identity under circumstances inimical enough that it must have meant a great deal to them.

Among the matters that seem to be settled by the letters we have translated, one is this: There is indeed positive evidence that Hulegu became a Buddhist in a formal way, as a Buddhist layperson.<sup>38</sup> To follow Grupper, Hulegu's early contact with Buddhism may be confirmed by an inscription dated 1255 that demonstrates his attendance at teachings of a Ch'an monk named Hai-yün (1202-1257 CE), and his subsequent donations toward the reconstruction of a temple. This attitude of support and patronage of Buddhism was normal among other contemporary members of the ruling family. And Hulegu continued his contacts (or attempted contacts) with Hai-yün during the time he was battling the Assassins. Clearly his interest was much more than a casual one-time attendance at Buddhist teachings.

Our letters demonstrate that there was one particularly widespread Buddhist lay practice that Hulegu was taught to observe by his Tibetan Buddhist teacher Togdugpa. This is the *uposatha* observance, something common to Buddhists of all countries.<sup>39</sup> Some scholars think it comparable to the *sabbath day* in monotheistic religions, although the connection is a rather feeble one without very much to recommend it, beyond both being regularly recurring days for special religious observances. On particular days of the month, Buddhist believers for a day keep eight vows that bring them somewhat closer to the lives of the monastic community. In effect, it is a renewal of the ordinary vows of a lay Buddhist, only with the addition of just a few among the many vows required of the monks. These vows are usually taken formally albeit simply, perhaps repeating the words after they are pronounced by a monk, starting with the Refuge and continuing with a line for each of the eight vows (this is clarified in letter no. 39). Although there is a degree of variation in local practices, Buddhist laypersons are more likely on those special days to visit monasteries and involve themselves in activities such as offerings or chanting and perhaps listen to readings or teachings given by the monks, or engage in devotional and meditative practices.

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37 Although the general location of this monastery appears to be quite well known, I haven't heard that there have been any attempts to excavate the site. There are other places in the Persian realm that have been understood in the past to have been Ilkhan Buddhist establishments, but about this connection there is very little that seems to be conclusive. For the latest word on these sites, see Azad, "Three Rock-Cut Cave Sites."

38 Cf. the statement of Spuler, "Although there is no definite evidence that the Ilkhan was a formal Buddhist, he was at any rate well disposed toward that religion" (as quoted by Grupper, p. 8).

39 We choose to use the Pāli version of the name *uposatha*, if just for the reason that this form may have greater recognition value. The Sanskrit may be *upoṣadha*, the Tibetan being *bsnyen-gnas*.

The main text quoted in our letters for the practice of the *uposatha* is one called the *Vasiṣṭha Sūtra*,<sup>40</sup> or in Tibetan, the *Gnas'jog pa'i mdo*.<sup>41</sup> The Tibetan text was translated by a pair of translators consisting of the Indian Sarvajñadeva and the Tibetan-born translator of the Ska-ba clan named Dpal-brtsegs. These translators were known to have been active in the late Imperial Period, in the first two decades of the 9th century.<sup>42</sup>

We have not translated the several-page-long citation from the *Vasiṣṭha Sūtra* in letter no. 39. Our reasons for not doing so are firstly that the quotation, although seemingly identical in subject matter, differs in some other ways that will require closer study in the future. Perhaps it represents an independent translation of the same Indic text, we simply do not know yet. This issue deserves a separate study of its own by someone specializing in Buddhist *sūtra* literature.

The most surprising thing in all this for the historian is that this same *Vasiṣṭha Sūtra* is one of only a few that were explicitly used a half century later at the beginning of the 14th century by the celebrated historian Rashid al-Din.<sup>43</sup> This, along with the *Maitreya Prophecy* to be mentioned presently, must have had a continuing significance during the early Ilkhanid rule. Long ago, in 1982, Gregory Schopen wrote an article about these scriptures on the basis of a still earlier work by Karl Jahn,<sup>44</sup> and it is to these that we refer the interested reader.

As for the *Maitreya Prophecy*...<sup>45</sup> it can be no accident that in letter 39, almost immediately after the very lengthy citation from the *Vasiṣṭha Sūtra*, we find a brief quotation from a *Maitreya Prophecy*. This particular quotation is precisely on the subject of the *uposatha*, and especially concerns which days of the months it ought to be performed. Rashid ad-Din quoted other verses

40 The Derge canonical version of the text does not have the Sanskrit title in Tibetan transliteration, so the Sanskrit title ought to be regarded as a reconstruction. The reader should not let our use of a Sanskrit title give them the impression that there is a Sanskrit version easily available. This is not the case, and like Schopen, “Hīnayāna Texts,” p.227, we have no knowledge of the existence of a Sanskrit text.

41 There are two scriptures in the Pāli canon that are called *Vāseṭṭha Sutta*, but neither one of them is relevant, since they do not mention the *uposatha* observance. Their message is that Buddha regards as a true Brahmin a person of good qualities, that one is not a Brahmin simply by virtue of birth or name. Yet we do find the practice of *uposatha* featured in other Pāli scriptures like the *Dhammika Sutta*, to name a particularly significant one.

42 It is of some interest to note that our letters have a slightly different version of the title, calling it the *Gnas mchog gi mdo*, but *Gnas-mchog* may be superior to *Gnas-jog* as a rendering of the Sanskrit personal name Vasiṣṭha. We see no special significance in this, except that it might create unnecessary confusion in someone's mind.

43 Jahn, “Kamālaśrī,” pp.100-102, gives his own abridged description of the content of the *sūtra* on the basis of the Arabic.

44 As Jahn, “Kamālaśrī,” p.82, points out, the *Life of the Buddha* was composed in 1305 or 1306 based almost entirely on information from his resident informant, a Kashmiri teacher named Kamalaśrī. The latter has sometimes been identified with the Indian (moreover probably a South Indian Andhran) Buddhist teacher Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas (d. 1105 or 1117), who did indeed have Kamalaśrī as one of his ordination names. For obvious chronological reasons there is no way they can possibly be identified one with the other. Still other Kamalaśrīs are known to history.

45 Grupper, note 87 on p. 37, says that Schopen, in his “Hīnayāna Texts,” p.232, identifies the particular text of the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* intended. For the latest edition see Li & Nagashima, “*Maitreyavyākaraṇa*.”

in translation from the same text that relate to the coming of Maitreya.<sup>46</sup> The conjunction of these two texts does surprise us because it fits with evidence we have from widely disparate 'outside' sources.

It is known to us from a nearly contemporary Armenian source, the historian Kirakos Ganjakec'i (1203-1275 CE, writing in around 1267 about events of 1261-1265) reporting that the Buddhist monks "worship everything, but most of all Šakmoni [Śākyamuni] and Madrin [Maitreya]."<sup>47</sup> We may draw from this that the present and future Buddhas were very likely there to be seen, in the form of images, in temples of the Ilkhans.<sup>48</sup>

It is very interesting that our letter no. 16, addressed to Hulegu, brings Ajātaśatru into the picture as an example of a person who committed evil deeds, yet was redeemed by confessing and taking refuge in Buddha. A contemporary of the historical Buddha, Ajātaśatru was the heir and successor of Bimbisāra as king of Magadha who managed through warfare to expand his father's realm considerably. Along the way he not only responsible for the death of his own father, in collusion with Siddhārtha's arch-nemesis Devadatta, he plotted to kill the Buddha himself. Buddhists are hardly of one accord about the level of his subsequent attainment as a Buddhist. He still had to suffer from the karmic consequences when he was killed at the hand of his own son. Some even go so far as to say that he had to go on to suffer through three rebirths in the hells. Still, our letter makes him a Bodhisattva of the sixth Ground, a very high attainment indeed, falling just short of the three pure Grounds that precede complete Enlightenment. Clearly Hulegu, who might easily identify with a king who fought for the expansion of his territory, was meant to consider his chances for achieving a clear conscience as superior to those of the patricidal Ajātaśatru.<sup>49</sup>

## Political Relations in and out of Balance

Although we do not wish to overly predispose anyone's interpretation ahead of time, we should say a few words about political aspects.

46 Schopen's article, pp.228-229. Schopen believes the Arabic / Persian verses must have been directly based on an Indian or even Kashmiri original, but now it seems to us more likely the Tibetan text would have been the one available there in Persia. Still, this problem of the texts and their languages needs a fresh and thorough study.

47 Quoting Grupper, p.31. In *circa* 1269 yet another Armenian historian wrote similarly, although in a more hostile vein; see Grupper, p.33. Evidently Hulegu had images of both the historical Buddha and the future Buddha sculpted as icons for Buddhist worship in the temple of Labnasagut (Grupper, p.35).

48 Although this point would require more investigation, it has been usual in Tibetan monastic temples to have a separate chapel for the future Buddha Maitreya, and it does not seem likely that there would be, in one single temple chamber, two centrally located images of the present and future Buddhas. However, it can indeed sometimes be found that the main icons for worship are three figures representing the Buddhas of past, present and future. In any case, triadic groupings of icons are much more common than dyadic groupings in general (outer door-protecting dyads being exceptions), and for what may after all be largely aesthetic reasons.

49 There are scholars who argue that Ajātaśatru was never really a Buddhist, but became rather a Jainist. For what is probably the best manageable summary of sources on his life, see Zeyst, "Ajātasattu."

In *The Testimony of Situ* (at p. 110), Tai Jangchub Gyaltzen proclaims, with the sense of pride often detectable in his work as a whole, in this case pride in the accomplishments of his own school,

“After the departure of Mongke Khan to the heavens [in 1259], Secen Khan (Khubilai) was still dwelling in the capital of China when all the land-protectors stationed in Tibet were made to withdraw except for those of the Pagmodrupa. On account of the cordial relationship between the brothers Hulegu and Khubilai our land-protectors were left in place here.”<sup>50</sup>

The letters presented below do tell us significant things about the politics of the age. Here and there, given the general (but not uniform) tendency of the Mongol rulers to grant to full-time religious renunciates, regardless of their religion, exemption from conscription and taxation, the price of these privileges was to remember the rulers in their prayers, particularly prayers for health and longevity.<sup>51</sup> Assurances that such prayers are being done are frequently found in the letters. The Mongols may well have believed in the effectiveness of prayer, but we think they also recognized a method of extracting professions of support and loyalty from the clergy, and by consequence the goodwill of the people who respected the clergy.

Togdugpa was the medium through whom Hulegu was able to retain his political commitments in Tibet, including what was for him a significant tax base in the form of his appanages. Togdugpa on his part surely had the welfare of his own school in mind, hoping to gain privileges and support for the Pagmodrupa. Both sides were making use of each other, each one conscious of his own political position, of their mutual needs as well as their disparate aims. One is impressed on the one side by what would seem the most servile obsequiousness, but in the last letter in particular, one wonders instead at Togdugpa’s *chutzpah*. Perhaps *chutzpah* is not the right word exactly, since he was no doubt aware that for Hulegu he was indispensable. In fact, what most impresses us in this letter is the sense that Togdugpa was able to balance and make use of what he knew about the interrelations between the three most powerful figures standing above him, Khubilai, Pagpa and Hulegu.<sup>52</sup>

It would appear that later historians, writing well after Khubilai had risen to the position of Great Khan, did not very much appreciate Togdugpa’s position, important as it was, just because

50 We understand that the *yul-bsrungs*, here translated as ‘land-protectors,’ mean not only the head of the military force, but the military force itself, although Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, p.88, translates “resident commissioner.” According to Petech (p.88, but see also p.16), the *yul-bsrungs* served as the local secular representative of the various Mongol rulers who received appanages in Tibet.

51 For the best general discussion of this we know of, see Peter Jackson, “The Mongols and the Faith of the Conquered,” especially pp.264-268.

52 One may well wonder what happened to Togdugpa after these letters were written. Although, as we said before, the dates of the letters (the ones we have translated) are mostly not secure (roughly 1259 through 1265), it seems he did not live for very long, perhaps only a year or two longer. Togdugpa’s life story, while emphasizing as is typical for hagiographical accounts the signs of saintly death that occurred during his funerary rites, says nothing about the cause of death. This is true of many saintly biographies, so we ought to hesitate to make conclusions on that basis. From other sources, studied in Sperling, “Hülegü” p.131 and Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, p.104, we learn that Togdugpa died in the 18th day of the eleventh month (i.e., February 13th) of the year 1267, cause of death unspecified, just 17 days after receiving a gift-bearing delegation from Hulegu (and Hulegu, we ought to point out, had died in 1265!).



history eventually turned in a different direction. Togdugpa's plan to bring more territory and subjects under the power of Hulegu and his own Pagmodrupa school would finally fail.<sup>53</sup> It is likely for these reasons that the history writers of later generations have had little to say about him. In fact, this information doesn't come through so clearly in the histories as it does in our letters. It is for this very reason that these letters are so important for historical understanding. The letter itself can be an agent, can have formative power, in the creation of the political conditions the letter writers will have to live with, or not.

#### THE SIX LETTERS IN TRANSLATION

### 13. A Prayer of Aspiration Made for King Mongke and Prince Hulegu

*Mo mgo rgyal po dang rgyal bu hū la hu la smon lam btab pa*, pp.148.1-150.2

Om svasti!

By the blessings of the Three Jewels,  
the Yidam and the lama,  
may we enjoy auspiciousness, prosperity,  
long life, good health, and general welfare.

For King Mongke and the Bodhisattva Prince Hulegu, for the sons and brothers both elder and younger along with the entire family lineage, may there be long live, good health and general welfare.

In the presence of the one who has become  
lord of this great earth, the Bodhisattva Prince  
Hulegu, the Rinpoche Pagmodrupa<sup>54</sup>  
makes this petition.

After completed the accumulation of merit, in order to gain Awakened Buddhahood fully, the Bodhisattva Prince who has gained control over many kingdoms, has given two large *bre* of gold each,<sup>55</sup> and a golden bowl each to glorious Pagmodru and precious Drigung

53 Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, p. 89, with reference to the period following Togdugpa's death: "The original appanage of Hülegü was indeed enormous. In the west it included a large tract in mNa'-ris... The *dpon c'en* Kun-dga'-bzañ-po proposed to rDo-rje-dpal an exchange of this vast but remote estate with the much nearer sNa-dkar-rtse in Ya-'brog. The proposal was rejected, whereupon the *dpon c'en* eliminated by poison the mNa'-ris administrator... [and] that region passed under Sa-skya rule." The *dpon c'en*, or *dpon chen*, mentioned by Petech held that position in *circa* 1270-1275. Compare now Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, pp.102-103, note 47, where this episode is considered in much greater detail.

54 Rin-po-che Phag-mo-gru-pa is name of the position that was occupied by the letter writer himself, as abbot of Phag-mo-gru. Our letters are fairly consistent in spelling the name of Hulegu as Hu-la-hu.

55 Tibetans usually used the word *srang* as the practical weight measure for precious metals. One *bre* of silver ought to equal eight *srang* of silver, or four *srang* of gold (since gold had double the value of silver in recent Tibetan times; but during the Mongol period silver is likely to have been more like one tenth the value of gold). Later in our letters on we will find more mentions of "large *bre*," which probably means the *balish*. *Balish* (Persian for *pillow*) was a large unit for precious metals, evidently cast in ingots, used in the Mongol empire, an amount of very approximately two kilograms. For further discussion see Henry Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 1, p.116.

Thel.<sup>56</sup> Specifically, at Pagmodru, to my humble self,<sup>57</sup> a Great ‘Ja’-sa for the worship of Heaven<sup>58</sup> and a walking stick with gold decorations topped by a rock crystal knob arrived. Then, to the monastic community staying at the glacial mountain Ti-tse,<sup>59</sup> four great *bre* of silver arrived as financial support for the worship of Heaven. For all the great lamas (*bla-chen*) you had temples built and for the building of monastic institutions you have given many *bre* of gold. We keep these things in mind.

As a ritual service for the Prince’s physical health (*sku*) and in order to have an unceasing flow of virtues for as long as the eon lasts, we have dedicated in front of the statue of Pagmodru perpetual butterlamps. For regular food support of the monastic community, for the building of the many-doored Drigung *chorten*, you have given a *bre* of gold. And in front of the many-doored *chorten*, the silvered copper butterlamps are perpetually burning, dedicated to the good health of the princely father and sons.

In general these days, being born into a lineage of princes, you are one of great merit, but this is the result of having accumulated a great store of merit in past lives. Such roots of virtue have made you the lord of all the monks who are following Śākyamuni, and more specifically by taking ownership of this precious Kagyü school you have accumulated a great wave of accumulated merit. Even more specifically you have taken the ownership of Pagmodru, and keep it in your heart. Keeping virtue in the beginning, middle and end, the ritual services for the bodily health of the princely father and sons will result in great merit, such that there will be a transmission of only wheel turning kings,<sup>60</sup> and it will serve as cause of one day becoming a completely awakened Buddha.

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56 I believe that part of the reason for our confusion about the value of the *bre* is the fact that it was originally supposed to correspond to the Indian *drona*, perhaps adopted during the early 9th century reign of Emperor Ral-pa-can (although some date its adoption in the early 7th century), while the Mongols originally based their monetary standards on those of China, but went on to use their own as a standard against local standards (both continuing to exist simultaneously, thus explaining why our letters have to emphasize that they are talking about *large bre*, meaning the Mongolian standard).

57 We think *nga’bu* is just another spelling for *ngan-bu*, a humilific self-reference, literally meaning ‘bad son.’ But perhaps the literal meaning of *nga’bu* is intended, since it means, when analyzed syllable-by-syllable as ‘I worm,’ and this, too, would seem to work as a perfectly fine humilific.

58 ‘Ja’-sa is borrowed from *jasa*, the Mongolian word for their own *customary law* in general, but also for edicts (the more usual Tibetan understanding of it), tribute and still other meanings. The expression *gnam mchod-pa* means the making of ‘offerings to Heaven,’ in other words, to the ruler.

59 Westerner sources, following Indians, most often refer to this holy mountain as Mount Kailash. Usually Tibetans spell the name Ti-se, and its identification with Kailash has generated much controversy among the traditional scholars. But here we seem to find a more authentic old spelling Ti-tse, more closely corresponding to the Zhang-zhung name that can be interpreted in that language as meaning ‘Water Summit.’ Since Zhang-zhung *ti* could mean not only water but also *river*, the name may demonstrate awareness that most of the rivers of South Asia have their sources nearby (the Indus, Sutlej, Ganges, Brahmaputra, etc.).

60 What this seems to be saying is that Hulagu will in future take rebirth as wheel turning kings exclusively.

As an accompaniment for the letter, please find one blessed image of Rje Rin-po-che,<sup>61</sup> one golden *vajra*, a cloak that once was worn by the lama, as well as a protection wheel.<sup>62</sup>

This letter was written at the time when the offerings of a walking stick and so on were received from the Bodhisattva Prince Hulegu.<sup>63</sup>

## 16. Epistle to the Bodhisattva Prince Hulegu

*Rgyal bu byang chub sems dpa' hu la hu la springs pa*, pp.153.5-156.5

Oṃ svasti!

Supreme glory of glories, glory of all beings,  
without equal, unequalled, equal to all Buddhas,  
unsurpassed supreme lama, supreme over all,  
may all beings be overcome by the King of Dharma.

King of might, source of all needs and desires,  
Indra among sages, embodiment of compassion  
who does away with sangsaric suffering in the Three Realms,  
we pay homage to this source of happiness.

To one who has completely crossed over and become free  
from the quagmires of sangsara's Three Realms,  
who has made fully clear the solar rays of the Three Precious  
and dispelled the darkness of sangsara, to you we pay homage.

To the Bodhisattva Prince Hulegu, who has become a master of the Buddha's teachings, the Rinpoche Pagmodrupa makes his request.

The great Bodhisattva Prince who has a firm faith in the precious Kagyü, first and foremost among the royal line who made offerings to the Lord Chenga Rinpoché,<sup>64</sup> is skilled in making the Three Precious flourish, has the eye of Dharma, is unconfused in causes and effects of deeds both virtuous and nonvirtuous. Yet the deeds a king must perform are extensive like a great wave, so if some small injury occurs to his opponents — [whether] done with affection [or with] intolerance

61 Here as elsewhere in our letters *Rje Rin-po-che* surely refers to the letter writer's uncle Chenga, mentioned in our introduction. It seems likely, but not sure, that he had already died by this point. He most definitely died before letter no. 16 was written.

62 Here the word translated as 'cloak,' *phyam*, must be short for *phyam-tshe*, as we find on the next page of our text, at p. 151.4. The 'protection wheel' mentioned here must mean some type of amuletic diagram. The gift of a golden *Vajra* is significant here, since it, too, belongs to the realm of Buddhist Vajrayāna. Under some circumstances, the gift of a *Vajra* may even signify recognition of the right to teach Buddhist *tantra* and confer initiations. Or at the very least it indicates the recipient must be a tantric initiate.

63 It is likely the compiler who is responsible for this last sentence. We imagine this letter, written well after Togdugpa had attained the rank of abbot in 1235, dates to soon after his first contacts with the Mongol rulers. Since Mongke must have still been alive when this letter was addressed to him, the letter dates before Mongke's death in 1259 (as should letter no. 16 as well).

64 This means his uncle Chenga who had died in 1255.

— there is no sinful deed and nonvirtue that cannot be purified if confessed in accordance with the sermons of the Teacher.

When the Buddha was abiding in the world, the King Ajātaśatru committed the four or five inexpressible sins.<sup>65</sup> Then he suffered from the sickness of the pox called *Me-dbal-nag-po*.<sup>66</sup> A voice came from the sky saying, “You, O Great King, on the eighth day of the coming month, the ground will split open and swallow you up,<sup>67</sup> and in your next life you will go to hell.” Then in the presence of the Buddha Blessed One who was accompanied by that king of physicians named Jīvaka, he confessed his sins, his sins were purified, and he found acceptance for a suitable Dharma teaching, becoming a Bodhisattva of the sixth ground.

The Bodhisattva Prince, thinking along these lines, confessed all sins in the presence of the Three Precious, and then engaged in a great wave of virtues motivated by exceptional altruism. As part of this general great wave of virtuous deeds you made an offering of incalculable *bre* of gold and *bre* of silver for meritorious constructions, with the building of the worship support Auspicious Many-Doored *chorten* being foremost among them.<sup>68</sup> You made your instructions in accordance with the religious principles of Śākyamuni and the legal system of the king, and also made offerings to this place [to Pagmodru] of *bre* of gold. In general the Buddha’s teachings, and specifically Pagmodru, you took under your care. Bear these things in mind.

In conformity with the instructions of the Bodhisattva Prince, we need to engage in the practice of the profound Dharma by following after these: the scriptures of the Buddha Blessed One, and the life stories of these three ‘fathers and sons’, the Dharma Lord Pagmodrupa, the Dharma Lord Precious Drigungpa, and the Dharma Lord Chenga Rinpoche.

In order to engage King Mongke (Mo-go) and Bodhisattva Hulegu, the elder and younger brothers, with yet other descendants of the royal line in the cultivation of virtue,<sup>69</sup> we have made an

65 The translation *inexpressible* is normal, however the *mtshams-med lnga* are perhaps more accurately called the five types of sin that call for immediate punishment in the lowest of hells. These five are: 1. patricide, 2. matricide, 3. killing an Arhat, 4. creating divisions in the monastic community, and 5. drawing the blood of a Tathāgata with evil intent.

66 *Me-dbal-nag-po* is a name describing the pustules of a particular type of contagious disease, most likely the plague or an equally serious type of pox. The name means ‘black flame tips’, or ‘hot dark peaks’, probably meant to describe the shape of the pustules. One book, Yeshi Dhonden’s *Healing from the Source*, p. 202, identifies *me-dbal* with Sanskrit *visarpa*, and identifies this as *erysipelas*, more popularly known as St. Anthony’s fire.

67 The syllables *sas bar mthongs phye nas* were emended to read *las thar mthongs phyi nas*, although this is uncertain. Generally *mthongs phye* ought to mean *opened the skylight* or something similar. We may see the phrase in its context in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (ACIP version): *chos thams cad 'byung ba med par bstan pa las kyang, byang chub sems dpa' rgyal ba'i blo gros la sas par mthongs phye nas de 'chi ba'i dus byas pa dang sems can dmyal ba chen por ltung ste | de ni stong pa nyid la ma dad cing stong pa nyid [006a] du smra ba la khong khro ba byas pa yin no zhes gsungs so.*

68 The Auspicious Many-Doored *chorten* mentioned here is very likely the one made at Drigung for Togdugpa’s uncle Chenga who died in 1256. For the several Auspicious Man-Doored *chortens* located at Gdan-sa-mthil, including one made for Togdugpa himself, see Olaf Czaja, “The Commemorative Stupas at Densathil, a Preliminary Study,” Christian Luczanits, “Mandala of Mandalas,” and of course Olaf Czaja, *Medieval Rule in Tibet*.

69 We have read *slob* here in place of the text’s *sleb*. Mongke’s name is spelled as Mo-go here.

all-out effort in the Dharma teachings and virtuous practices. As we said above, motivated by an exceptional aspiration for supreme Enlightenment, one accumulates the accumulations of merit and full knowledge, goes for refuge to the Lama, keeps the vows of the *uposatha*, moral discipline, virtuous deeds done under the influence of the altruistic thought to attain Enlightenment, acting for the sake of sentient beings, cultivating the life of the Bodhisattva, visualizing the deities in the generation stage after receiving tantric empowerments of the Great Vehicle, while understanding the un-generated nature of the deity in the completion stage, and then meditating on the two stages as indistinguishable, this being the profound significance of empowerment, it being the mantra recitation that brings clarity to it...<sup>70</sup> For putting into practice the true purpose of these the most important thing is veneration for the Lama. If these things are taken to heart and practiced, it becomes a Dharma for becoming Buddha in full Awakening in one body and one lifetime, so please do take them to heart. As a ‘letter support’ gift we have sent one set of all four types of relics from the Lord Rinpoche (Rje Rin-po-che).<sup>71</sup>

### 39. Precepts for the Bodhisattva Prince Hulegu on the Ritual for the Eight-Limbed Uposatha

*Bsnyen gnas yan lag brgyad pa'i cho ga rgyal bu byang chub sems dpa' hu la hu la gdams pa*, pp.187.3-196.3, but notice that the quoted passage from p. 191 to 195 has not been translated here.

Om svasti!

We begin by prostrating with veneration to the Indra among sages, the King of the Śākya clan, who began by making the aspiration for supreme Awakening, then practiced the way of Awakening for three incalculable eons actualizing the two accumulations until he at last became Buddha.

Whoever aspires to higher rebirths among humans or gods, whoever aspires to the realization of Awakening or ultimate peace, must keep the eight-limbed *uposatha*.

Bringing an end to all the suffering of worldly life, this practice will serve as the lamp for animate beings, bringing Enlightenment to the world.

For a person who has complete and perfect faith, one who aspires to do away with the sufferings of sangsara, the limitless benefits of keeping the *uposatha* have been taught in the *Sūtra of Brahmin Vasiṣṭha's Request*.

<sup>70</sup> In this long and breathless sentence Togdugpa starts with the initial refuge taking that generally defines being a Buddhist and then ascends on to the three vows: those of ethical disciplines, bodhisattvic altruism, and tantric practice. We put the three dots here just because it seems as if the author could have gone on and on, but held himself back from doing so.

<sup>71</sup> Here again, this surely means the letter writer's uncle, Spyan-snga, who died in 1255. For the four-fold set of types of relics, see Yael Bentor, "Tibetan Relic Classification."

At the right time for taking the *uposatha* vow, which is to say on such days as the 15th, 30th and 8th of the month or during the Month of Buddha's Miracles, one must think the following: 'I must attain complete Buddhahood for the benefit of all sentient beings. In order for that to happen, I must take the precious vows of the *uposatha* and keep them.' Then place the palms together and perform the repetition of these words pronounced by the teacher:

"Teacher, think upon me!

I who bear the name *so-and-so*, starting from this very moment  
and for as long as life continues, take refuge  
in the best of all those who walk on two feet,  
the Enlightened One.

I take refuge in the best of all that is free of desire,  
the Dharma.

I take refuge in the best of the assembly,  
the Saṅgha.

Teacher, please think upon me!

I who bear the name *so-and-so* ask you, the teacher,  
please accept me for the *uposatha* rite."

Repeat this three times,. Then the teacher says,  
"This is the way," to which the student responds,  
"So be it."

"Teacher, think upon me!

Just as the holy Arhats of the past,  
for so long as they lived gave up killing  
and abstained from killing,

I, the one named *so-and-so*, shall do likewise  
starting now and each and every month  
on the 15th, the 30th and the 8th  
or on one or the other.

Through this first branch I follow the advice of the holy Arhats, I complete their practice and will do as they did.

Furthermore, "Just as the holy Arhats for as long as they lived  
did not take what was not given them,  
did not perform unchaste sexual actions,  
did not speak in lies, and also gave up the following:  
intoxicants such as grain beer and prepared beer,  
circumstances of indecency, song and dance,  
instrumental music;  
the wearing of garlands, perfumes, jewelry and colors;  
large thrones and seating cushions,

high thrones and seating cushions,  
and also gave up eating food after the noonday heat,  
abstaining from food after the midday meal.

Like them, I who am named *so-and-so* shall also,  
starting now and each and every month from now on,  
on the 15th, 30th and 8th,  
or on one or the other,  
shall give up taking what is not given to me,  
shall not perform unchaste sexual actions,  
shall not speak in lies, and will also give up the following:  
intoxicants such as grain beer and prepared beer,  
circumstances of indecency, song and dance,  
instrumental music;  
the wearing of garlands, perfumes, jewelry and colors;  
large thrones and seating cushions,  
high thrones and seating cushions,  
and will also give up eating food after the noonday heat,  
abstaining from food after the midday meal.  
Through these eight branches I follow the advice of the holy Arhats,  
I complete their practice and will do as they did.  
This is the way. May it be so.”

Hereby you obtain the precious vows of your *uposatha*. Whether it is the 15th, the 30th or 8th of the month, you rise up early in the morning and wash yourself. In the presence of a receptacle of the Precious Ones, imagine in the space in front of you all the Lamas, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and perform the seven-limbed offering starting with prostration, then offerings, confession of sins, rejoicing in the roots of virtuous acts performed by others, making a prayer requesting the turning of the wheel of Dharma, making a request to the Buddha not to pass beyond the world of suffering and finally, to dedicate the roots of virtue of this act to the attainment of complete Awakening. Then think how you must obtain complete Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings, and with this aim in mind you will keep the vows of the *uposatha*. For the length of a full day and night, abandon killing any sentient being that exists. Taking what is not given, non-celibate activities, and telling lies are abandoned. There must be no drinking intoxicants, singing or dancing. There is no smearing of fragrances on the body and no application of cosmetics. One must neither sit nor sleep on a large platform decorated with such things as gold and silver. One must neither sit nor sleep on a platform with legs any higher than one cubit. One must not eat after the noon meal. For one full day one must strive for all roots of virtue on the side of the good. For the period later in that day until the next morning, you should dedicate the merits by saying, “By the roots of virtue for keeping the moral discipline like this, may I obtain complete Awakening.”

If this moral discipline is kept it will result in auspiciousness in the present live, and in the future all the glory of comfort and goodness will be utterly complete, and after death one will not be reborn in the three lower realms, but on that occasion will be reborn among the gods or humans instead, and finally through realizing supreme Awakening will become an Enlightened One.

According to the *Questions of Vasiṣṭha Sūtra* ...

...

...<sup>72</sup>

Teacher Saint<sup>73</sup> says,

“If you are equipped with these eight limbs,  
then grant the vows of the *poṣadha* to men and women alike  
so that they may achieve bodies of the gods that act as they wish.”

According to Maitreya, if you observe this eight-limbed *uposatha* on the 14th, 15th, or likewise at half-month or the eighth day, or in the Miracle month, you will be exceptional in my [future period of] teaching.<sup>74</sup>

On the day of keeping the *uposatha* vows, you must think, “I will obtain complete Enlightenment for the sake of all sentient beings.” The vows of the *uposatha* restore the moral precepts vows of the Bodhisattva. When you recite the essence mantra after visualizing the *yi-dam* deity, it becomes an observance of the vows of the tantric Wisdom Holder (Vidyadhāra).

Your own mind is from the beginning not formed by anything.  
In the middle it abides in no particular place.  
Finally it will never cease anywhere.  
Therefore the mind is devoid of production, ceasing and abiding.  
It is the center of space unadulterated by interfering thoughts (*vikalpa*). If you practice in this way, if you realize the generation and completion as being inseparable, these are the precepts for becoming Buddha. Therefore please practice them.

These key instructions for practice  
were written at the monastery of Pagmodru.  
By whatever roots of virtue result from this  
may all beings obtain Awakening.

Advice addressed to Prince Hulegu. Completed.<sup>75</sup>

72 The quote that continues from p. 191 line 4 through p. 195, line 3, has not been translated here.

73 Here the Teacher Saint (*Slob-dpon 'Phags-pa*) most definitely means Nāgārjuna. In his *Letter to a Friend*, Derge Kanjur version from Vienna site, we find: *dgra bcom tshul khrims rjes su byed pa yi/ /yan lag brgyad po 'di dag dang ldan na/ /gso sbyong 'dod spyod lha lus yid 'ong ba/ /skyes pa bud med dag la stsol bar bgyid.*

74 This text was discussed in the introduction.

75 This last line is presumably an addition by the original editor of the collection.



#### 40. A Request to Lama Pagpa

*Bla ma 'phags pa la zhus pa*, pp.196.3-199.2

Oṃ svasti!

[Buddha]

Oh Blessed One, relative of the sun, an Indra among sages,<sup>76</sup>  
may the lightrays of your compassion fill the ten quarters of the universe,  
banishing the darkness of the six types of beings in sangsara.  
May the Śākya King be victorious over all beings.

[Dharma]

The holy and immaculate Dharma free of passions  
is identified with scripture and clear understanding.  
A peace beyond all *prapañcas*,<sup>77</sup> this mother of the Victors of all time  
may it prove victorious over the qualities of peace and liberation.

[Saṅgha]

Well versed in the precious source of Victors of the three times,<sup>78</sup>  
and making real the Path of the saintly ones,  
the treasure mine of qualities of the supreme sons of Munīndra,  
may the learned monastic assembly be victorious.

[prosperity]

The teachings of Buddha are the shared wealth of beings,  
while you are like the supreme king of the island of jewels  
fulfilling the hopes of beings, whatever they need and desire,  
oh best of men, like the king of *nāgas*.<sup>79</sup> May Pagpa be victorious.

[learning]

Of unlimited knowledge and talent, well versed in all the five sciences  
that are the butter-like essence of the scriptures and treatises  
drawn out from the milk ocean of the Teacher's sermons.  
May Pagpa be victorious!

[fame]

Your banner of renown spreads in all directions  
in the kingdoms of the great kings and owners of the world,  
lama of the king and protector of all beings, like a wishgranting tree.  
May Pagpa be victorious!

<sup>76</sup> This line is composed of common epithets for the historical Buddha.

<sup>77</sup> A difficult term in both Hindu and Buddhist sources, it might be understood as ego-based mental tendencies to interfere with our experience of the external world, in order to make palatable illusions out of it. We find the word used again in the next letter we have translated, below.

<sup>78</sup> Our text reads *sems gsum*, where we believe *dus gsum* was intended.

<sup>79</sup> Nāgas are mentioned in this context for their role as guardians of mineral deposits and hidden wealth.

[morality]

With the pure sandalwood incense of your perfect moral conduct  
you dispel the odor of sins, the faults and three poisons of libertines,  
pure and beautiful lotus with stamens  
free of any mud of fault. May Pagpa be victorious!

[body]

Your body well formed through incalculable merit accumulation,  
just as the moon is ornamented by the constellations of stars,  
entirely beautified by the marks of virtuous qualities,  
source of all benefits. May Pagpa be victorious!

[speech]

With a fine voice like the Kalapiñka bird, with Brahma melody,  
like the roaring of the lion or the thunderclap,  
showering down a steady rain of the nectar of holy Dharma  
well spoken. May all beings be victorious through Pagpa!

[mind]

In the *maṇḍala* of your mind as pure as the sky,  
all knowables of the three times without exception  
are clearly illuminated like the rays of the sun, such is  
your limitless wisdom. May Pagpa be victorious!

Your knowledge unlimited and imponderable as it is,  
your actions are like the sky with neither center nor circumference  
such that even if I cannot comprehend them in their entirety,  
still, by praising them just slightly may I attain Awakening.

Further to that, in the hallowed presence of the teacher Pagpa, the protective lord of all sentient beings, the master of the precious teachings of our blessed teacher the Buddha, I, the Śākya Bhikṣu Pagmodrupa have a request to make. We ask the Teacher Pagpa to recall how the Lord Great Sakya and the lord Pagmodrupa were teacher and disciple, how the Dharma Lord [Sakya Paṇḍita] with a group of attendants met us in the Yarlung valley and from then on became of one mind. At the time when the Dharma Lord with his disciples were on their way to Mongol lands they met the Lord Rinpoche at Drigung and had discussions and so on.<sup>80</sup> Of these things Lama Pagpa is surely aware. When the Dharma Lord Chenga Rinpoché went to benefit others [i.e. passed away], in the matter of the construction of icons of Buddha's Body, Speech and Mind, these were accomplished both publicly and privately by both the

80 Here our author wants to remind Pagpa of two historic connections between their two schools. The first was the Pagmodrupa founder's discipleship and study of *Goal Including Path (Lam-'bras)* teachings under the Sakya master Kun-dga'-snying-po. I believe the second incident alluded to here may be the 1225 meeting in Samyé Monastery between Sakya Paṇḍita and Dbon Shes-rab-'byung-gnas. However, Yarlung Valley and Samyé are not in the same place, so this isn't certain. Still other incidents demonstrating cordial relationship between the two schools are discussed in Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, pp.95-96. Yet another encounter, a much less cordial one, is said to have occurred in around 1234; for this see Martin, "Crystals and Images," p.185.

*presence of Pagpa*,<sup>81</sup> the Dbon-chen Shākya-bzang-po and their disciples. We,<sup>82</sup> too, would repay their kindness and make offerings with reverence to those icons. Now we pray that you would keep we residents of Pagmodru in mind and favor us in the future. At present someone is being sent for an audience with the King, one named Chief Rin-chen-shes-rab, and we ask that you would take charge of arranging this audience.<sup>83</sup> As an accompanying gift I am sending for your devotions a miraculous Indian volume of the holy *Eight Thousand* scripture made in gold.<sup>84</sup> May we obtain complete Buddhahood!

#### 47. Request for Lama Pagpa on the Occasion of his Visit [of 1265]

*Bla ma 'phags pa byon dus su zhus pa*, pp.211.3-214.3

Oṃ svasti!

[body]

Personage well endowed with a supreme body  
adorned with hosts of good qualities,  
one cannot get enough of looking at you.  
All beings who see you find it fruitful. To you we prostrate.

[speech]

Your voice, melodious and loud as the lion's roar,  
overcomes the wrong views of your opponents in debate.  
With the constant flow of stainless Dharma's nectar  
you serve the needs of beings. To you we prostrate.

[mind]

Fully freed and pure is the *dal* of your mind,<sup>85</sup>  
devoid of all *prapañcas* and made of sky-like purity.  
With the rays of the sun that is your wisdom  
you vanquish the darkness in the three realms. To you we prostrate.

81 It isn't sure if our author is saying that Pagpa was physical present at these proceedings or not. Dbon-chen is of course Dpon-chen, title for the secular arm of the Sakya school based in Tibet. The particular Dpon-chen mentioned here was appointed in 1243 and died in 1270. He was responsible for major building projects at Sakya Monastery.

82 Here we have *nga-'byag*, later spelled *nga-'jag*, but in both cases we interpret it as *nga-cag*, the first-person plural pronoun.

83 We haven't managed to identify who this Dpon Rin-chen-shes-rab might be.

84 The usual word is used here as elsewhere in these letters, *yig-rten*. It literally means *letter support*. It was normal Tibetan practice to send gifts along with letters. The volume mentioned here would have been made with letters of golden ink. For many examples of these Indian palm-leaf manuscripts, see the recent study by Jinah Kim, *Receptacles of the Sacred*. The majority of the surviving examples by far are of the *Eight Thousand*.

85 A syllable may be missing in the first line of the verse, so it is perhaps fixable as *dal-du 'gro*, or *dal-'gro-du*... On the other hand, it seems more likely *dal* is short for mandala, as we find in other writings, such as one by Red-mda'-ba written 150 years later.

[qualities]

Hence your talents are unlimited  
and have subdued the owners of the world with Dharma.  
To beings tormented by the emotional afflictions (*kleśas*)  
you offer respite. To you we prostrate.

[actions]

Your actions are completely effortless and unforced.  
Just as the sun eliminates darkness without any bias,  
your deeds, equal to the sky, civilize beings.  
To you the king of Dharma we prostrate.

The supreme king of men, with the crown of his head,  
bowed down at your feet.<sup>86</sup>

Like the king of *nāgas* you brought down the rain of Dharma.  
After ripening countless postulants, have you not  
come to the Land of Snow that now forms the center of the Teachings  
in order to protect beings with your compassion?

Was your travelling unimpeded, without any harm?  
Did you arrive well and in good health?  
Were you not troubled by the length of the journey?  
Was your precious body not worn out?

Have you not served to spread the teachings of the Sage  
in all the regions of the world where you have gone?  
In Dbus-gtsang that is the center for spreading the Victor's teachings,  
you are the very personification of affection, like our dear mothers,  
serving the needs of sentient beings. Your arrival is most welcome.

Writing from the glorious Pagmodru, the precious headquarters, a chorten of the Victor, to  
one who serves as refuge of all the worlds including the gods, one graced by the ornaments of  
precious learning in both scripture and commentary, in both *mantra* and *sūtra* philosophy, and in  
both scriptural authority and reasoning, to the great teacher Pagpa, I the Śākyabhikṣu and *bandhe*  
beggar-man have a matter to discuss.<sup>87</sup>

All of the efforts by the Great Personage Himself, under the leadership of the King and the  
royal lineage, to bring beings in Jambu Island to maturation through the holy Dharma, and mature  
those capable of spiritual advancement by means of the four things that attract followers,<sup>88</sup> if you  
have not grown weary of these efforts it would be a favor to us.

86 The Tibetan expressions might not be intended to be read literally, but just as a way of saying that the Mongol ruler became his follower, accepting him as his teacher.

87 In the letter itself, it isn't clear what matter the letter writer wished to discuss

88 The traditional explanation of these four things is to give what is needed in terms of both material goods and teachings, to speak nicely and with a pleasant voice, to help others with their aims, and to act in ways consistent with your words.

In general you have served as master of all who have entered the door of the teachings in the land of Tibet and more specifically we would recall the deep connections between the past masters in the form of teacher-disciple relations. Once again, you have made via A-san-dog-min-pa<sup>89</sup> a gift of an official decree and some amazing incense of China. Now we understand that you have returned up [toward Central Tibet], that you are on your way. We were quite delighted and send as gifts to accompany our request three items: a fine robe made of *ther-ma*, a *si-gla*<sup>90</sup> and a superior horse.

Through the virtue of these gifts indicating a mountain of merit,  
 may each and every being without exception equal to the sky  
 leave the ocean of sangsaric sufferings behind  
 and attain the supreme perfect Awakening!

### 67. Offered to the Great King Khubilai

*Rgyal po chen po go pe la phul ba*, pp.233.6-236.5

Oṃ Svasti!

Through the blessings of the Lamas,  
 the divine Yidams and Three Precious,  
 may the Prince be of good health  
 and all the kingdom be at peace.

To all the affectionate Buddhas of  
 the fields of Victors in the ten directions  
 and to all the Bodhisattvas  
 I make my prayer with veneration.  
 and ask that they bless us.

All the Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas,  
 all who engage in vowed behavior,  
 may they have perfect auspiciousness and happiness  
 through the great blessing of truth.

Because there is no one to rival you in the great earth of Jambu Island you have been made lord of all who are born and move. Because of your perfectly full faith and wisdom you possess the great light of Dharma. You have become lord of the completely enlightened Buddha's teachings. In your presence, Great King, I Rinpoche Pagmodrupa make my request.

89 This is evidently the name and/or title of the envoy. It seems to contain the Turkish word Dökman/Dökmen. Soyoung Choi suggests the Dog-min element could be *tümen*, with meaning of a ruler of 10,000. Perhaps A-san would be the Mongol name A-san (perhaps Aslan?), but this isn't sure. It would be good to identify this person, but so far we have not succeeded.

90 We assume that in place of *si-gla*, *si-hla* was meant. The Tibetan word is a borrowing from Sanskrit *silha*, meaning olibanum, most likely meaning frankincense or a closely related type of aromatic resin. *Ther-ma* is a kind of handwoven woolen cloth. A particularly good quality was made in Tsethang.

By force of the merit and aspirations of past lives, this royal line of Chingis Khan<sup>91</sup> has become ruler of the great earth, so that all beings have come to rely on them. More particularly, his royal highness during the time he was a Bodhisattva Prince as well as after the enthronement as king, has at all times shown his favor to the animate beings and the teachings. On a more private level he has also shown favor to all of our envoys. For this all of our teachers are in your debt. On our part, too, we shall make aspiration prayers for all the royal line on the Mongol side. To the best of our abilities we shall obey the law in all sincerity of heart. As far as Tibet is concerned, we shall do whatever is of benefit to the general good without getting involved in any of the impassioned rivalries (*chags-sdangs*) of the *bande*.<sup>92</sup> We have done whatever we could to be of service to the teachings. Particularly, we know the importance of the royal person (*sku*), His Highness the Great King, for the teachings as well as for all the human communities, and so we have been strenuous in performing rituals for the health of the royal person.

Now we have a matter for the future we wish to ask of you. In past times the Lord Sakyapa and the Lord Pagmodrupa have been in teacher-disciple relationships, such that meanwhile through the present time we have had a profound connection and good mutual relations. More specifically, in this the current year the Lama Dharma King has been in good health and arrived with an easy path in the territory of Central Tibet.<sup>93</sup> As teacher-disciple we held meetings with him and furthermore improved our relationship of teacher-disciple. In every respect we requested his favor and he granted it. We had a number of discussions.

From then until now we have asked that you keep us in your favor in every area. Particularly in the area of the human community, Hulegu's share here is the community of one myriarchy.<sup>94</sup> However, at present there are under our power only five chiliarchies. Bearing in mind that this is the case,<sup>95</sup> we have remained in our task of serving as court priests who continuously make

91 Our text gives the name as Ji-'gir Rgyal-po, using the Tibetan word for 'king' (*rgyal-po*).

92 The term *bande* is usually used to mean monastics who are wandering far from their monasteries, and although it does mean *monastic* (although likely not a fully ordained monastic), it doesn't carry the sense of respect that is usually accorded to monks. This is so even though it probably is a borrowing of Sanskrit *vandya* or *bhadanta*, which we believe to have been quite respectful. The Tibetan word may have some connection with the similarly sounding Japanese-derived term *bonze*, in the sense that the words probably share a common origin (see the entry "*bonze*" in Henry Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, p.105).

93 Here "Lama Dharma King" means Pagpa ('Phags-pa). The date of Pagpa's arrival in Tibet, as well as the date of the letter, would have to be 1265, or perhaps the following year 1266 CE. The letter writer died in 1267, so that is the latest possible date of composition.

94 The term *mi-sde* is here translated 'human community,' meaning secular affairs in general. It is generally contrasted with *lha-sde*, meaning the religious affairs, particularly the monastic community. In some contexts *mi-sde* may mean governmental estates, while *lha-sde* may refer to the estates belonging to monasteries. The word translated here as 'myriarchy' is *khri-skor*, meaning *circle of ten thousand*, while the word 'chiliarchy' translates *stong-skor*, meaning *circle of a thousand*. If we do the math, the letter writer is saying that the Pagmodrupa at that time only had under their power half the territory that they were supposed to have. Compare Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols*, p. 90: "It had the name of a myriarchy, but in reality was not even equivalent to half a chiliarchy." For a study of the geographical extent of Pagmodrupa rule, see now Czaja, *Medieval Rule*, p.97, note 37.

95 Here we are reading *bzhed-pa* in place of *bzhing-pa*, although this is not sure.

aspiration prayers on behalf of the royal brothers, both the elder and younger brothers. So we ask for a human community<sup>96</sup> that has not been assigned to another. If this is found acceptable, we shall make the request ourselves to the side of Hulegu. If the request is found unreasonable, then this school of ours will have a large name but a small body. We will not keep up with our counterparts and appear not to be capable. So these two chiliarchies ought not be split off, and we request that the power over them be assigned to our headship.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, all those who are related to us as disciples should be under our rule. We request your favor in this matter.

May whatever virtues have been done by all creatures,  
that will be done and likewise are being done,  
whatever is good in pure ground such as this,  
may it all serve for the good in every way.

#### APPENDIX ONE

### A Bibliography of Studies and Translations Related to Tibetan-language Letters and Letter Writing in Post-Imperial Times

Note: Certain classes of letters of Tibetan origins were not intended to include here, such as the letters received from Tibetan Mahatmas, as for instance Koot Hoomi, by early members of the Theosophical Society and its offshoots. These were apparently put to paper without the prior existence of any Tibetan-language original, as was a curious document called “A Letter from Do-Ring, Scribe of the 9th Panchen Lama of Tibet to Wing-On, His Friend, concerning the Inner Life.” While described as “The Urga Manuscript,” its original language, if there ever was one apart from English (frequent use of words such as ‘cosmic,’ ‘cosmos,’ ‘astral’ and ‘etheric’ strongly suggests composition by a western occultist of Neo-Platonist inspiration), is never clarified. However, we base ourselves on the versions of this document made available on the internet, having no way at present to make reference to the original publication (of 1949?). Another internet phenomenon is the making available of authentication letters signed by Tibetan lamas identifying persons as reincarnations. These have often been interpreted or translated, but we have still not made any reference to them. The same goes for letters associated with the Karmapa reincarnation controversies. These would be interesting subjects for separate studies. Even in view of these exceptions, this list should not be regarded as a complete one despite our efforts. In particular, letters from archives have been made available (the Kundeling Archives [Bonn, Germany] especially comes to mind), but these remain in large part untranslated and unstudied, and in any case are not supposed to be included in this list.

96 Reading *mi-sde* for *mi-bde*. The reasons why there were only half the number of chiliarchies needed to make a myriarchy is given in *The Testament of Situ*, p.113, although we will not go into the complicated geographical here.

97 Here the unusual terms *mgo-bu* and *she-mo* (*she-mong?*) are used, so our understanding is tentative.

- Anonymously translated, "Translation of a Letter from the Tayshoo Lama to Mr. Hastings, Governor of Bengal, received 29th of March 1774," appended at pp.196-198 to John Stewart, "An Account of the Kingdom of Tibet," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. 47 (1778), pp. 188-198. Of course Tayshoo Lama is here an interesting spelling for Tashi Lama (the Lama of Tashilhunpo Monastery), meaning the Panchen Lama.
- Bray, John, and Tsering D. Gonkatsang, "A Letter from the Dalai Lama," *Ladakh Studies*, vol. 26 (November 2010), pp.24-30.
- Cüppers, Christoph, "A Letter Written by the Fifth Dalai Lama to the King of Bhaktapur," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, vol. 12 (2001), pp.39-42.
- Engelhardt, Isrun, "Mishandled Mail: The Strange Case of the Reting Regent's Letters to Hitler," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 37 (2008), pp.77-106.
- Funnell, Victor, "Cecil Polhill-Turner and Tibet," *Asian Affairs*, vol. 33, no. 2 (July 2001), pp.238-241. Tharchin delivered his letter to the Dalai Lama XIII, who wrote a letter in response (translation supplied) dated Dec. 31, 1927.
- Ishihama Yumiko, "An Aspect of the Tibet, Mongol and China Relationship in the Late 17th Century from the View of Tibetan Letter Format—Based on the Letters of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Regent Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho, and the Mongolian Prince Galdan," *Journal of Asian & African Studies*, vol. 55 (1998), pp.165-189. In Japanese, with English abstract on pp.165-166.
- Jackson, David, "Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Letter to the Tibetans: A Late and Dubious Addition to his Collected Works," *Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol. 6 (1986), pp.17-23.
- Jagchid, Sechen, "A Mongol Text Letter from a Tibetan Leader to the Manchu Ministers," *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 17 (1973), pp.150-163.
- Jampa Samten, "Notes on the Thirteenth Dalai Lama's Confidential Letter to the Tsar of Russia", in Roberto Vitali, ed., *The Earth Ox Papers, Tibet Journal*, Special Issue, vol. 34, no. 3 to vol. 35, no. 2 (Autumn 2009 to Summer 2010), pp.357-370.
- , & Nikolay Tsyrempilov, *From Tibet Confidentially: Secret Correspondence of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama to Agvan Dorzhief, 1911-1925*, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives (Dharamsala 2012). This contains texts, facsimiles and translations of twenty-four letters.
- Jaqa Cimeddorji, "Die 14 Briefe Galdens an den 5. Dalai Lama und an die Fürsten von Köke Nor," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 24 (1994), pp.146-170. This is about 14 letters written by the Mongol chief Galden's to the Fifth Dalai Lama and to the leaders in the Kokonoor region. These are in Manchu, presumably translations from Mongolian-language originals, and may not therefore belong in this list, although we believe they are worthy of notice.
- Kapstein, Matthew, "Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa's Advice to a Mongolian Noblewoman," *Historical and Philological Studies of China's Western Regions*, vol. 3 (2010), pp.135-143. It may not technically speaking be a letter that is translated here, but it is surely a response,



- written in 1280 at Sakya Monastery, to a letter from a member of the Mongolian ruling family named Lady Pundari whose husband had recently died.
- Kaschewsky, Rudolph, "Briefe Tsongkhapa's an Geistliche und Laien," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 2 (1968), pp.15-40.
- Mullin, Glenn, "Three Letters from the Seventh Dalai Lama," *Tibetan Review*, vol. 16, no. 3 (March 1981), pp.9-12.
- Nornang, N.L., & Larry Epstein, "Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Tibetan War of 1888," *Journal of the Tibet Society*, vol. 2 (1982), pp.77-104.
- Rhoton, Jared, tr., Sakya Paṇḍita Kunga Gyaltsen, *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes*, State University of New York Press (Albany 2002), pp.201-270. Here six of Sakya Paṇḍita's letters have been translated by the late Jared Rhoton.
- Schneider, Hanna, "The Formation of the Tibetan Official Style of Administrative Correspondence (17th-19th Centuries)," contained in: Alex McKay, ed., *Tibet and Her Neighbours, a History*, Edition Hansjörg Mayer (London 2003), pp.117-125.
- Schuh, Dieter, "Ein Rechtsbrief des 7. Dalai Lama für den tibetischen Residenten am Stupa von Bodhnath," *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 8 (1974) 423-453. Addressed to Tibetans residing at Bodhanath, it would seem that the content could better qualify it as an edict than a letter. Note that the original document appears to be kept in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.tibet 716 (we have not attempted to verify this).
- , *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Urkunden des tibetischen Mittelalters und ihrer Diplomatie*, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag (St. Augustin 1977).
- , *Herrscherurkunden und Privaturkunden aus Westtibet (Ladakh)*, International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (Halle 2008).
- , & L.S. Dagyab, *Urkunden, Erlasse und Sendschreiben aus dem Besitz sikkimesischer Adelshäuser und des Klosters Phodang*, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag (St. Augustin 1978).
- , & J.K. Phukhang, *Urkunden und Sendschreiben aus Zentraltibet, Ladakh und Zanskar. Teil II: Edition der Texte*, VGH Wissenschaftsverlag (St. Augustin 1979).
- Shakya, Tsering W., "Tibet and The League of Nations with Reference to Letters Found in the India Office Library, under Sir Charles Bell's Collections," *Tibet Journal*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Fall 1985), pp.48-56. Although delivered in English, these letters may have been drafted in Tibetan, so they are included here.
- Stoddard, Heather, *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Orchid Press (Bangkok 2008), 2nd edition, first published in 1975. A few letters are translated here, most notably a letter of Tsongkhapa declining the invitation of the Ming Emperor Chengzu, at pp.71-72.
- Takeuchi Tsuguhito, "A Group of Old Tibetan Letters Written under Kuei-I-Chün: A Preliminary Study for the Classification of Old Tibetan Letters," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, vol. 44, nos. 1-2 (1990), pp.175-190.
- Townsend, Dominique, "Epistles of Interdependence: Preliminary Reflections on the Fifth Dalai Lama's Letters to Terdak Lingpa," contained in: Benjamin Bogin & Andrew Quintman, eds.,

*Himalayan Passages: Tibetan and Newar Studies in Honor of Hubert Decler*, Wisdom (Boston 2014), pp.301-318. We understand the same author has completed a dissertation at Columbia University, in part on the same set of letters.

Turner, Samuel, *An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet*, Mañjuśrī Publishing House (New Delhi 1971, reprint of London 1800), pp.449-456. Here are two Tibetan letters written to Warren Hastings translated into English.

Walsh, Ernst, *Examples of Tibetan Letters: A Collection of 8 Letters Received from Officers of His Holiness the Tashi Lama and 2 Orders of the Tibetan Gov't at Lhasa* (Calcutta 1913).

## APPENDIX TWO

### A Complete List of the Epistles of Togdugpa

Source: *Phag gru'i spyan snga rgyal ba thog brdugs pa'i bka' 'bum las: 'Bri gung du slob dpon rnam gnyis la springs pa*, in: *'Bri gung bka' brgyud chos mdzod chen mo*, vol. 43, pp.135-237.

Note: Even though this is a collection of letters, the cover title supplies the title of the first letter only (this means that here there is no proper title that covers the collection as a whole). The entries in bold are the ones that we have translated into English entirely or in part.

- 1 'Bri gung du slob dpon rnam gnyis la springs pa, pp.136.1-138.5.
- 2 'Gro ba'i bla ma chos rje rin chen la 'di jo bo la tse ba la spring pa, pp.138.5-140.1.
- 3 Mkhan po brag mgo ba la spring pa, p.140.1-.5.
- 4 Rig pa gsum por bas zhus pa, pp.140.5-141.5.
- 5 Bla ma lho pa la spring pa, pp.141.5-142.4.
- 6 Slob dpon sgom rin la spring pa'i mchod brjod, p.142.4-.6.
- 7 Dge bshes dbyar thang pa la spring ba'i mchod brjod, pp.142.6-143.5.
- 8 Dbon ston pa dar ma seng ge la springs pa, pp.143.6-144.2.
- 9 Dge ba'i bshes gnyen brtson 'grus seng ge la, p.144.2-.5.
- 10 Dpon ston dar ma la springs pa, pp.144.5-145.4.
- 11 Rgyal bu'i gur rtsar bzhugs pa'i bla mchod rnams la springs pa, pp.145.4-146.1.
- 12 'Dzog khyim tshul khirms mgon po gnyis la spring ba, pp.146.1-148.1.
- 13. Mo mgo rgyal po dang rgyal bu hū la hu la smon lam btab pa, pp.148.1-150.2.**
- 14 Rgyal bu cho ma 'khar la spring ba, pp.150.2-151.4.
- 15 Slob dpon ldum ra ba la spring ba, pp.151.4-153.5.
- 16. Rgyal bu byang chub sems dpa' hu la hu la springs pa, pp.153.5-156.5.**
- 17 Bka' yig ri pa spyi la gdams pa yin, pp.156.6-160.4.
- 18 Rnge [~rje?] tsha ba slob dpon sgom gzhon la springs pa, pp.160.4-161.5.
- 19 Tsa par ba slob dpon grags rin la springs pa, pp.161.5-164.6.
- 20 Chos rje brtse ba xxx zhes bya ba rtsa par ba slob dpon grags pa rin chen la gdam pa, pp.164.6-165.4.

21. Gtor gnyer ba la gsungs pa, p.165.4-6.
22. Ti tser mang skol skol ba'i mchod brjod, pp.165.6-166.3.
23. Ti tser ri pa rnams bzhud dus su mdzad pa'i gsol 'debs, p.166.3-6.
24. Mkhan po gung ldem la springs pa'i mchod brjod, pp.166.6-168.3.
25. Bla ma mtsho brang ba rnam gnyis la springs pa, pp.168.3-170.1.
26. Dge ba'i bshes gnyen chen po la springs pa, pp.170.1-171.6.
27. Dge ba'i bshes gnyen shes rab seng ge la springs pa, pp.171.6-173.1.
28. Dri ma med pa'i 'od 'di shes rab byang chub la gdams pa, pp.173.1-176.2.
29. Chos rje spyen snga rin po che la gsol ba 'debs pa, p.176.2-6.
30. 'Bal zhus pa, pp.176.6-178.1.
31. Yang 'bal dbus pa, p.178.1-4.
32. Bla ma yul skyong la springs pa, pp.178.4-179.1.
33. Slob dpon jo sras la springs pa, pp.179.1-181.6.
34. Slob dpon rin chen seng ge la springs pa, pp.181.6-183.6.
35. Dge bshes chus pa la, pp.183.6-184.6. End title: Dge bshes mtshus pa la.
36. Sprul sku ting nge 'dzin la, pp.184.6-185.3.
37. Tshong dus kyi sa gzhi byin gyis brlab pa rkyang chung la kar mdzad pa, pp.185.3-186.3.
38. Dpon brtson la springs pa, pp.186.3-187.3.
- 39. Bsnyen gnas yan lag brgyad pa'i cho ga rgyal bu byang chub sems dpa' hu la hu la gdams pa, pp.187.3-196.3.**
- 40. Bla ma 'phags pa la zhus pa, pp.196.3-199.2.**
41. Tshong 'dus kyi rmang 'jog pa'i dus su mdzad pa, pp.199.2-200.4.
42. Ri pa rnams bzhud dus su mdzad pa, pp.200.4-201.3.
43. Rgyal po a nan ta'i bla mchod zhu ba la byung dus mdzad pa, pp.201-207.1.
44. Dbon po e ban dog xx [~li/yi?] la springs pa, pp.207.1-208.2.
45. Springs yig 'ga'i mchod brjod [poetic prefaces to several letters], pp.208.2-210.2.
46. Slob dpon sgom gzhon la springs pa, pp.210.2-211.3.
- 47. Bla ma 'phags pa byon dus su zhus pa, pp.211.3-214.2.**
48. Rgyal bu cho ma 'khar la springs pa, pp.214.1-215.1. It is addressed to Jumqur.
49. Jo bo rgyal chen la springs pa, pp.215.1-220.3. Colophon title: Shākya'i dge slong phag mo gru pas // dbon dge ba'i bshes gnyen rdo rje 'byung gnas la gdams pa'o.
50. Slob dpon lha chen la gdams pa, p.220.3-4.
51. Dpon thugs rje yon tan la springs pa, p.220.4-5.
52. Bla ma chos kyi rgyal po la zhus pa, pp.220.5-221.4.
53. Dge ba'i bshes gnyen chu mig pa la springs pa, pp.221.4-222.4.
54. Bla ma rin chen la spring ba, pp.222.4-223.3.
55. Rin po che lha pa la spring ba, p.223.3-6.
56. Rgyal bu hu la hu la spring ba, pp.223.6-225.6. This is a letter to Hulegu but we did not translate it.

57. Bcom ldan 'das rnam par snang mdzad kyi bstod pa slob dpon rgyal mtshan dpal gyis zhus pa, pp.225.6-226.6.
58. Slob dpon rgyal ba dpal la spring pa, pp.226.6-227.1.
59. Byang grags la, p. 227.1-2.
60. Slob dpon jo sras gnyis la springs pa, pp.227.2-228.3.
61. Slob dpon dus 'khor ba la springs pa, pp.228.3-229.4.
62. Slob dpon phyag na la springs pa, pp.229.4-230.1.
63. Slob dpon yul skyong la spring pa, pp.230.1-231.1.
64. Dpon mo e re gan lags spring pa, p.231.1-231.3.
65. Dpon mo ol ca dang mo 'ge de mur la spring ba, pp.231.3-232.1.
66. Bla ma chos kyi rgyal po dbus gtsang gis sa cher byon dus rin po che nyid mjal du byon nas 'bul ba mchod pa'i dus mdzad pa, pp.232.1-233.6.
- 67. Rgyal po chen po go pe la phul ba, pp. 233.6-236.5.**
68. Smon lam ma rig mun sel, pp.236.5-237.4. Not a letter, this is an aspiration prayer, for dedicating merit.
69. [Incipit] Rgyal ba'i bka' 'bum gyi brgyud pa ni. Not a letter, this is a transmission lineage, its content discussed in our introduction.

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ACIP = Asian Classics Input Project.

Vienna site = Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies.

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# A DOCUMENT ON THE POLICY ON FOREIGNERS IN TIBET AFTER THE ANGLO-CHINESE CONVENTION OF 1906

**Peter Schwieger**

## Introduction

On the order of Lord Curzon (1859-1925), the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and with the approval of the British government in London, Colonel Francis Younghusband (1863-1942) started his infamous military expedition to Tibet in December 1903. Aware of the lack of Qing imperial power and influence in Tibet and driven by fears of possible Russian influence in Tibet, and thus a threat to British India, the mission sought to enforce direct negotiations with the authorities in Tibet about trade agreements. Although Younghusband had been instructed to insist on negotiations in a place close to the Sikkimese border, and not to enter deeply into Tibet, the refusal of the Dalai Lama to follow Qing orders to participate in negotiations with the British and the futility of the British demonstration of military power caused Younghusband to gradually move toward Lhasa, breaking down all Tibetan resistance on the way through his armed forces.<sup>1</sup>

By the time Younghusband arrived in Lhasa in the summer of 1904, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama Thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876-1933) had fled to Urga in Mongolia. Thereupon the Qing government declared the Dalai Lama deposed. It would not be until the end of 1909, after a long stay abroad during which he also visited the imperial court in Beijing that the Dalai Lama would return to Lhasa.<sup>2</sup> At that time the authority of the *amban*, the imperial representative in Lhasa, was widely ignored by Tibetan officials. The British invaders looked instead for a Tibetan authority to start negotiations. In the absence of the Dalai Lama the abbot of dGa' ldan monastery acted as regent. The British brought him together with the representatives of the Tibetan council of ministers, the three monasteries Se ra, 'Bras spungs and dGa' ldan, and the Tibetan National Assembly to sign a treaty by which earlier conventions on the Sikkimese-Tibetan border were confirmed, the opening of trade marts were stipulated, the Tibetan government largely abstained from levying dues from the British-Tibetan trade, the payment of reparation for breaking earlier treaty obligations was fixed, the removal of any Tibetan fortification along the road from the southern border to rGyal rtse and Lhasa was determined, and finally—most important for the British side—no foreign powers should be allowed to exercise control over parts of the Tibetan territory or to intervene in Tibetan affairs or even to send their representatives to Tibet without British consent. The terms of the treaty were phrased in ten articles. Article Nine concerns the regulations for foreign powers, consisting of five provisions:

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1 For a biography describing the various facets of Younghusband's character see French 1994. For comprehensive descriptions of Younghusband's expedition to Lhasa see for instance Allen 2004 and Mehra 2005.

2 Richardson 1984: 97.

The Government of Tibet engages that, without the previous consent of the British Government,—

- (a) No portion of Thibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation, to any Foreign Power;
- (b) No such Power shall be permitted to intervene in Thibetan affairs;
- (c) No Representative or agents of any Foreign Power shall be admitted to Thibet;
- (d) No concession for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights, shall be granted to any Foreign Power, or the subject of any Foreign Power. In the event of consent to such Concessions being granted, similar or equivalent Concessions shall be granted to the British Government;
- (e) No Thibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to any Foreign Power, or to the subject of any foreign power.<sup>3</sup>

Neither in this article nor in the entire treaty was there any mention of Qing authority in Tibet. By contrast, the convention seemed to turn Tibet into a further British protectorate and exclude China as a foreign power from exerting any influence in Tibet. Thus, the Qing government was displeased with this purely Tibetan-British treaty and insisted towards the British on the acknowledgement of Tibet as a Chinese dependency. Seeing that the convention was of no value in the eyes of the Qing government, the British conducted—first in Calcutta and then in Beijing—new talks with Qing representatives to get the acceptance of the Qing government for the Lhasa convention of 1904.<sup>4</sup>

The result was the *Convention between Great Britain and China Respecting Tibet, April 27, 1906*. Article one confirms in principle the treaty of 1904. By adding now China as a signatory it puts also responsibility for the adherence to the convention on the Qing government:<sup>5</sup>

I. The Convention concluded on September 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet, the texts of which in English and Chinese are attached to the present Convention as an annexe, is hereby confirmed, subject to the modification stated in the declaration appended thereto, and both of the High Contracting Parties engage to take at all times such steps as may be necessary to secure the due fulfillment of the terms specified therein.

In particular, the following two articles of a total of six clarified what had aroused Qing suspicions:

II. The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet.

III. The Concessions which are mentioned in Article 9 (d) of the Convention concluded on September 7th, 1904 by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any state or to the subject of any state other than China, but it has been arranged with

3 For the entire text of the treaty see Bell 1924: 284-287, Richardson 1984: 268-271.

4 See Deepak 2005: 25-28; Lamb 1986: 249; Richardson 1984: 93.

5 See Lamb 1986: 266.

China that at the trade marts specified in Article 2 of the aforesaid Convention Great Britain shall be entitled to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India.<sup>6</sup>

From the Qing perspective, these amendments confirmed that China was not to be regarded as a foreign power in Tibet and that the government of China was the highest authority in Tibetan affairs.<sup>7</sup> Richardson commented on the results of the treaty of 1906 that it nullified the advantages for the British gained two years before by the treaty of Lhasa. As stated by Richardson:

We had broken down Tibetan exclusion and stubbornness, and had encouraged the deposition of the Dalai Lama by the Chinese, only to withdraw from Lhasa and later, without consulting the Tibetans, to sign terms which acknowledged China's right to preserve the integrity of Tibet, without seeking to limit Chinese interference in Tibetan internal affairs to the suzerainty she had enjoyed before 1904. We ourselves were bound not to interfere in Tibetan internal administration; and the Tibetan Government, without a proper head and with shaken morale, continued to refer all questions to the Dalai Lama, deposed and an exile in China.<sup>8</sup>

In their efforts to keep the Russians out of Tibet, the British had finally helped the government of China to strengthen their influence in Tibet. By the convention of 1906 the Qing government saw its position confirmed that China has sovereignty over Tibet.<sup>9</sup> This also encouraged the Qing government to reduce British influence in Lhasa and to continue military campaigns into Eastern Tibet which had started the year before and by which the entire area of East Tibet should be subjected to direct Chinese rule.<sup>10</sup>

According to Richardson the "Tibetans were neither consulted nor informed about the new Anglo-Chinese Convention."<sup>11</sup> Be this as it may, as will be shown below, at least afterwards Tibetan officials had to be informed, because they were the ones who had to implement some of its provisions into practice.

### The Implementation of the Treaties' Provisions Affecting Foreign Powers

Soon after, the government of China began to avail itself of the treaties to control Tibet's relations with foreigners. But how have the corresponding directives of the government of China been implemented in Tibet? Who were the local Tibetan agents who executed this policy?

These questions are answered by an official document that is currently preserved in the Archives of the Tibetan Autonomous Region in Lhasa and that was originally in the archives of the Kun bde gling monastery in Lhasa. The document is a report of the *dza sag bla ma*

6 For the entire text of the treaty see Bell 1924: 287-289, Richardson 1984: 271-273.

7 See Deepak 2005: 27.

8 Richardson 1998: 537.

9 Richardson 1998: 537.

10 Bell 1924: 88f, 91, 94, 98; Teichman 2000: 11-13, 19-34; Shaumian 2000: 141-145.

11 Richardson 1984: 94.

(*jasak lama*)<sup>12</sup> or manager of Kun bde gling monastery to Zhang Yintang 張蔭堂, who acted as High Commissioner for Tibet stationed in Lhasa since autumn 1906<sup>13</sup> and to *amban* Lianyu 聯豫, who had resided in Lhasa from 1905 until the very end of the Qing dynasty, first as assistant *amban*, and from 1906 as *amban*.<sup>14</sup> The document below shows the red imprint of the *dza sag bla ma*'s seal. The *dza sag bla ma* was in charge of all administrative and financial affairs of the Kun bde gling *bla brang*, including its numerous estates scattered over various parts of Tibet. The *bla brang* was the household of the head of Kun bde gling monastery, the rTa tshag *rje drung qutuqtu*.

The report was submitted on May 6th, 1907 in reply to a previous letter. Following the customs of official correspondence, the content of the previous letter is summarized in the beginning. There we learn that the Qing government in Beijing had not only instructed the authorities of various Chinese provinces to prevent foreigners from traveling to Tibet, but had also channeled these instructions to Tibetan authorities, apparently including lower administrative levels in Tibet, such as the manager of the Kun bde gling *bla brang*. The government explicitly refers to the Anglo-Tibetan and the Anglo-Chinese conventions and their provisions concerning foreigners who tried to enter Tibetan territory. The actual purpose of the letter is to offer the *dza sag bla ma*'s assurance to adhere to the instructions received from Beijing and to take care that these directives will be applied in the estates belonging to the jurisdiction areas of the Kun bde gling *bla brang*, in particular in such areas north of Lhasa.

That which I, the *dza sag bla ma* and treasurer, report to the feet of both, the investigator of Tibetan matters and great minister Krang *rd'a rin* (Zhang *daren* 張大人), who wears the head ornament of the great emperor's orders, and the great *amban* Lan (Lianyu 聯豫), who was sent by the order (of the emperor) and who analyzes Tibetan affairs:

Recently an official letter was sent by road. Concerning its content, the Great Minister Zhang had said:

In the past foreigners again and again roamed around Tibetan territory. With regard to these, in the fifth topic of the ninth article of the attached treaty between Tibet and the foreigners<sup>15</sup> which was once more signed in the thirty second throne year of Kang zhu (Guangxu 光緒, 1875–1908), on the 4th day of the 4th month,

12 On the introduction of that clerical rank by the Qing see Rawski 1998: 254f.

13 Bell 1924: 88. Lamb (1986: 274f) described officials like Zhang Yintang as “a new phenomenon in Tibet”. “They were representatives not of the Lhasa Ambans, who continued to operate in their traditional way the old patterns of Sino-Tibetan relationships, but of the central Chinese Government in Peking.” However, Zhang stayed in Lhasa only for the short period of nine months, starting from November 27th, 1906 (Ho 2008: 214, 215). By contrast, Shaumian (2000: 146) states that he resided in Lhasa until the end of 1906, and Kolmaš (1994: 465) lists him as assistant *amban* for the period from 1906 to 1908. Ho (2008: 216) states that on December 8th, 1906, Zhang had indeed been appointed assistant *amban*, but had asked the government already two days later to annul the appointment and that, therefore, “Lianyu assumed the role of both *amban* and assistant *amban*, and Zhang was allowed to remain a wildcard official whose job it was to tilt the balance of power in the Qing's government favor.”

14 Kolmaš 1994: 465. On the activities of both figures in Lhasa and the strained relationship between them see Chen 2003: 98-100, Shaumian 2000: 145f, Ho 2008.

15 See above. Apparently this remark does not refer to point 5 or *e*, but to point 3 or *c* of article IX of the arrangement concluded by Younghusband in Lhasa 1904.

or in accordance with the foreign calendar on the 27th day of the 4th months of 1906 in the court in Beijing, it is stated that it is not allowed for any foreign country—no matter which one—to appoint and send authorities or send substitute persons and that they then travel to Tibetan territory.

Therefore, with regard to this matter a telegram has been delivered to the various branches of the government dealing with the affairs of the outside (i.e. the dependencies):

For those who deal with the affairs of the provinces, it was said by decree: Whenever in the future someone of the foreign people appears who roams around the northwestern territories of China, as long as the subject Tibet is not mentioned in the whole travel document, the treaty applies in full.

In accordance with that telegram received on the 6th day of the month, the news has been sent to the various provinces that it is not allowed to give travel documents to roam around Tibetan territory. Similarly, the great minister and the [*amban*] Lan together have said by [their] orders to Tibetan officials:

Together with the requirement to send them back, it is necessary whenever foreigners appear who go off to roam around Tibetan territory, to prevent [them already beforehand from traveling].

Correspondingly, *the dza sag bla ma* has to give importance to it in the whole area (under Kun bde gling).

Correspondingly, [we] have [already] in the past requested that in the spirit of the order foreigners who arrive via Nag tshang,<sup>16</sup> are completely sent back. Concerning the prevention of Europeans<sup>17</sup> who arrive in Nag chu, the council of ministers has later given an official order to the two leaders of gZhis (ka) rtse district. In conformity with this, an official order was [also] sent to the leaders and common people in the north who belong to this very (Kun bde gling) *bla brang*.

Moreover, now, in accordance with the content of the letter which we have received from the great *ambans* together, we will satisfactorily, with great insistence, and immediately apply the order that in whatever way foreigners arrive in areas belonging to [our] *bla brang*, they all have to be sent back or prevented [from entering the area].

[We] will ask as before for compassionate advice from both great *ambans* with regard to any kind of duties.

For that purpose it was submitted on the 24th day of the 3rd month of the fire sheep [year], the thirty third throne year of Kang zhu (May 6th, 1907).

16 Nag tshang was a nomadic area, located in the northern part of gTsang province (Tshe ring don grub et al. 1991, I: 69) and to the west of gNam ru and Nag chu.

17 By the loanword *phyi gling* the Tibetans denoted the Europeans, later also in particular the English. However, in the present context it refers to Europeans or Westerners in general. On the origin of the term see Petech 1976: 224f n. 19.

## Conclusion

But how—one might ask—does the policy on foreigners in Tibet differ before and after the convention of 1906?

Already in the nineteenth century Tibet had been regarded as a closed country. Thus, British India had to make use of native explorers, the famous “pundits”, to secretly collect detailed information on the topography of the Transhimalaya.<sup>18</sup> Also eastern and north-eastern access to Tibetan territory was persistently denied.<sup>19</sup> This situation did not change until the time when Younghusband set out on his expedition to Lhasa. In 1897 the English explorer Henry Savage Landor harrowingly experienced the Tibetan officials’ persistent refusal to let any foreigner enter Tibetan territory.<sup>20</sup> And still in January 1904 the German traveler A. Genschow, who passed through Far Eastern Tibet on his way from China to India, was informed about the rigid Tibetan denial of entering the country and about the torture and threat of death which expected those who nevertheless tried to gain access.<sup>21</sup>

However, before 1906 it was the Tibetan government and not Tibet’s suzerain, the government of China, which insisted on the closure of Tibet. And in doing so, the Tibetan administration even repeatedly and consciously overrode imperial orders and Chinese official documents according to which foreign travelers were permitted to enter Tibet, thus demonstrating impressively the weakness of Chinese imperial authority over Tibet at that time.<sup>22</sup>

One might assume that at least Tibetan institutions—such as the Kun bde gling *bla brang* in Lhasa—that traditionally had strong ties with the imperial court in Beijing were willing to cooperate with the Qing government in this regard. But the opposite is demonstrated by the case of a Hungarian traveler who tried to enter Tibet in 1879 with a Chinese passport. At that time the head of Kun bde gling *bla brang*, i.e. the rTa tshag *rje drung qutuqtu*, was standing as regent at the top of the Tibetan government. By ignoring that passport as well as the authority of the *amban*, he together with the Tibetan ministers decided to deny access to Tibet.<sup>23</sup> Thus, it seems that it had been a general accepted attitude in Tibet to close the country for the protection of its religion, and that this autonomous decision even ranked higher than all orders of the emperor.<sup>24</sup>

After 1906, during the very last years of the Qing dynasty, also the government of China strictly pursued the policy to prevent foreigners from entering Tibet. To the government of China this policy was a tool to demonstrate Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. As the above document from the Kun bde gling *bla brang* proves, this policy was at that time nevertheless readily implemented by Tibetans.

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18 See for example MacGregor 1970: 251-277.

19 Petech 1976.

20 Landor 1998: 358-428.

21 Genschow 1905: 299-302.

22 Petech (1976) has collected quite a few striking cases in this regard.

23 Petech 1976: 233-236.

24 Petech 1976: 228, 245, 246.

As later reports of foreign travelers testify, the Tibetan government and its officials adhered to this policy after the fall of the Qing dynasty and then again independently from any authority of the Chinese government. Still in 1944, when Peter Aufschnaiter and Heinrich Harrer escaped from India to Tibet, the officials in Tibet's provinces were following directives of the Tibetan government not to allow foreigners to enter the country and to travel to Lhasa. And after both travelers had finally nevertheless managed to reach Lhasa, the Tibetan government did in the beginning not intend to tolerate a long stay. Only after their skills had proved beneficial to the government, they were no longer requested to leave the country.<sup>25</sup> Thus it is evident that with instructing Tibetan officials to respect the restrictions on foreigners agreed upon by the treaties of 1904 and 1906, the Qing government was not aiming to enforce a policy which already since long had been pursued by the Tibetan government. The only purpose of the order sent to Tibetan officials was the demonstration of Chinese sovereignty in Tibet. The government of China merely wanted to be perceived by Tibet and the foreign countries as the highest authority in Tibetan affairs.

## APPENDIX

ID 39<sup>26</sup>

Note on transliteration conventions:

(...) mark denotes the full-length rendering of contradictions in the Tibetan text.

{...} mark denotes emendations.

1. gong ma chen po'i bka'i lung gi cod pan 'chang ba bod don zhib gcod blon chen krang rd'a rin dang/\_ bkas mngags bod kyi bya ba'i dbye 'byed du bzhugs pa lan am ban
2. chen po (lhan rgyas) mchog gi zhabs drung du
3. phran dza sag bla ma phyag mdzod pa nas zhu ba/\_ nye char
4. rgya lam brgyud wang shu<sup>27</sup> rtsal {stsal} dgongs/ blon chen krang nas sngon phan yang rin<sup>28</sup> mi rigs bod sar yang yang skor nyul de dag kang zhu'i khri bzhugs so gnyis pa zla 4 tshes 4 nyin dang/\_ phyi lo chig stong dgu brgya dang drug zla 4 tshes 27 nyin pi cing rgyal khab tu
5. bskyar 'jog bgyis pa'i bod phyi'i 'ching yig zur 'khod don tshan dgu pa'i brjod don lnga par phyi rol rgyal khag ji 'dra yin rung tshang mas dpon rigs bskos mngags dang/\_ mi tshab mngags te bod sar bskyod 'gro mi chog pa gsal gshis de don
6. phyi rgya'i las don mdzad po'i sbyor khang khag la lcags skud phul te zhing chen gyi las don mdzad por bka' khyab kyi rjes sor phyi rol mi rigs nas krung go'i nub byang sa char skor nyul bskyod mi nam byung la lam yig tshang ma'i nang bod

25 Brauen 1983: 33, 82, 83; Harrer 1955: 30, 79.

26 The ID no. refers to the *Digitized Tibetan Archives Material at Bonn University*.

27 *wang shu* is the transcription of the Chinese term *wenshu* 文书, "official correspondence".

28 *yang rin* is the transcription of Chinese *yangren* 洋人, "foreigner".

7. kyi brjod cha {bya} ma 'khod pa byung phyin 'ching yig dang mthun pa yong gnas zhes zhus par 'di zla'i tshes 6 nyin leags skud phebs gsal zhing chen khag la bod sar skor nyul du thon rgyu'i lam yig sprad mi chog pa'i gnas tshul btang ba dang
8. de mtshungs blon chen lan dang mnyam sbrel gyi bod dpon rigs la bkod khyab kyis bod sar skor nyul du bskyod mi'i yang rin nam byung la phyir slog dgos pa'i chab cig bkag 'geg dgos rgyu zhes phebs pa ltar dza sag bla ma nas rgya
9. khyab tshang mar brtsi 'jog dgos rgyu zhes phebs pa ltar sngon du nag tshang brgyud 'byor pa'i phyi rol mi rigs bka' don phyir slog thus {'thus} tshang zhus pa dang/\_ de rjes nag chur 'byor pa'i phyi gling mi rigs bkag 'geg skor bka' shag
10. nas gzhis rtse rdzong sbrel la bka' rgya gnang 'dug pa dang phyogs mthun 'di kha bla brang khongs kyi byang rigs 'go dmangs thog bkod rgya btang zin pa ma zad/\_ da lam am ban chen po (lhan rgyas) nas wang shu ji ltar gnang 'byor dgongs
11. don yang rin mi rigs bla khongs sa gnas ji 'drar 'byor rung phyir slog bkag 'geg thus {'thus} tshang dgos rgyu'i bkod khyab thus {'thus} nan 'phral du zhus chog par am ban chen po (lhan rgyas) nas byed sgo gang ci'i thad la sngar bzhin bka' slob
12. thugs rje che ba zhu rgyur/\_ de'i ched kang zhu'i khri bzhugs so gsum pa/\_ me lug zla 3 tshes 24 la phul/





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# CENTRAL ASIAN MUSLIMS ON TIBETAN BUDDHISM, 16<sup>TH</sup>-18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES<sup>1</sup>

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## Prelude

In his brief study of the *Ziyā' al-qulūb* (“Shining of the Hearts”), a collection of anecdotes from the life of Khoja Ishāq Valī (d. C. 1600), Joseph Fletcher suggested that the “adversary” of Muslim missionary efforts among the nomads during the khoja’s lifetime may have been “Buddhism imported from Tibet.”<sup>2</sup> Khoja Ishāq Valī, a son of Makhdūm-i A‘zam, the prominent Naqshbandi shaykh from Samarqand, was the founder of the Black Mountain khoja sect in Yarkand. He is best remembered as one of the most active Sufis proselytizing in East Turkestan in the second half of the sixteenth century.

At first glance, Fletcher’s idea seems peculiar – was Tibetan Buddhism such a major factor among the Turks in seventeenth-century Central Asia, centuries after its alleged disappearance from the region? While Turkic nomads – particularly, Kirghiz and Qazaqs – seem to have been favored targets for Muslim conversion activities, it is difficult, relying on the sources in our possession, to establish the nomads’ religious affiliations and practices during that era.<sup>3</sup> What we can do, is to try and determine the image and reputation of alleged advocates of Tibetan Buddhism in contemporaneous Central Asian Muslim sources and to find out more about some of these diverse “frontier-zone” interactions and confrontations.

Among the most commonly known Muslim observations and historical reporting on Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries we may note the writings of Kashmir’s governor (and Bābur’s cousin), Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, in the *Ta’rīkh-i rashīdī* (1540s) and the reports of Maḥmūd b. Amīr Valī, written in Balkh and recorded in the *Baḥr al-asrār* (1630s).<sup>4</sup> In addition, accounts of the alleged contacts in the 1670s and 80s of the Naqshbandi

1 A preliminary version of this article was read at an international workshop on ‘The Tibetan Buddhist world and other Asian polities,’ convened at UCLA’s Asia Institute in May 2012. I am grateful to the workshop’s participants – especially Johan Elverskog, Kurtis Schaeffer, and Gray Tuttle – for their comments.

2 Joseph Fletcher, “Confrontations Between Muslim Missionaries and Nomad Unbelievers in the Late Sixteenth Century: Notes on Four Passages from the ‘Ḍiyā’ al-qulūb’,” in *Tractata Altaica*, ed. W. Heissig (Harrassowitz, 1976), 167-74 (169).

3 On the problematics of Inner Asian nomads’ religious conversion, see Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 21-59.

4 Both works concern, for the most part, developments in so-called Little Tibet, also known as Baltistān (the area between Gilgit and Ladakh), and in Dūghlāt’s case also the author’s obsession – that was never fulfilled – to conquer Lhasa (Ursang). For the Islamization of Baltistān and Ladakh see Wolfgang Holzwarth, “Islam in Baltistan – Problems of Research on the Formative Period,” in *Past in the Present: Horizons*

shaykh, Āfāq Khoja, with the Zünghar khan, Galdan Boshugtu, mediated, as it were, by the Dalai Lama and leading to the extension of Zünghar rule over the Tarim river basin until 1757, attracted much attention. But as will become evident below, the actual treatment of Tibetan Buddhism in these and other sources tended to be formulaic and mechanical and reveals little to no Muslim interest in Buddhism. Perceived adherents to Tibetan Buddhism were described in broad terms, typically quite negatively. Central Asian Muslim authors were much more concerned with the actual relations – at times productive, at times devastating – with the Zünghars, nomadizing between the Altai and the Tian Shan mountain ranges, and the Kalmyks, nomadizing east of the Volga. In essence, realpolitik trumped theoretical and doctrinal matters.

### Central Asia in the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries

‘Central Asia’ in this essay corresponds to the territories of the khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and Khoqand in the nineteenth century. It extends to the Balkh area (northern Afghanistan) in the south and to East Turkestan in the east (Xinjiang, as far east as Turfan), and is framed in the north by the steppe belt (Dasht-i Qīpchaq).

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, massive migrations of Turkic nomads (Uzbeks and Qazaqs, governed by Chinggis Khan’s descendants) from the steppes instigated considerable socio-political, linguistic and demographic changes in the region. Central Asia’s *ancien régime* was dismantled and its most prominent representative – Zahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur – was forced to leave in search of greener pastures; new Turkic and Chinggisid rulers pushed agendas and policies aimed at securing their positions and at cultivating alliances with emerging Sufi orders and other regional powers; they patronized new cultural projects, including the development of an extensive and multifaceted production of indigenous historiography in Turkic and Persian; the city of Bukhara developed into the most powerful and centralized sedentary center in the region. New boundaries – both real and perceived – between the region and other surrounding, expanding, foreign polities led by emerging dynasties (most notably, the Romanovs to the north, the Safavids to the South-west, the Mughals to the south, and later the Qing to the east) served to intensify Central Asia’s distinctiveness.

The relative void in the steppe regions, formed by the disintegration of the political scraps of the former Golden Horde, the sizeable Turkic migrations to the south, and the expansion of the Russian Empire beyond the Urals into Siberia, was filled with mostly nomadic Turkic speakers, including Qazaqs, Tatars and Bashkirs. Mongolian-speaking peoples in the region were designated in the Muslim (and subsequently in the Russian) sources simply as Qalmaqs (Rus., ‘Kalmyks’), to be found as far west as the Yayıq (Ural) River since the early seventeenth century.

In East Turkestan – or, Altīshar (Turk., ‘six cities’), the six oasis “city-states” of Aqsu, Turfan, Khotan, Kashghar, Yarkand, and Kucha – the settled, Muslim Turkic population seems to have

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*of Remembering in the Pakistan Himalaya*, ed. Irmtraud Stellrecht (Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 1997), 1-40; for a somewhat challenging view of Holzwarth see Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nurbakhshiyā between Medieval and Modern Islam* (University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 247-55.

formed the majority. Between 1678 and 1759, they were governed by the Khojas, descendants of the Naqshbandi Sufi master from Samarqand, Makhdūm-i A‘zam (d. 1542). The Khojas entertained political (and marital) connections with powerful Turkic military chieftains and the Chaghatayid ruling house. One of Makhdūm-i A‘zam’s sons, Ishāq Khoja, set the foundations in the late sixteenth century for the formation of strong powerful networks (political, economic, and spiritual) in the region, and his descendants founded the Black Mountain (*Qarā-tāghliq*) faction of the Khojas, centered in Yarkand. Half a century later, another Makhdūm-i A‘zam descendent, Khoja Muḥammad Yūsuf, would found the White Mountain (*Aq-tāghliq*) faction. Muḥammad Yūsuf wielded influence with the Chaghatayid khans in Kashghar and the faction was responsible for proselytizing missions in China from the mid-seventeenth century. More localized Sufi groups managed religious centers in other areas of the region. Muḥammad Yūsuf’s son, Khoja Āfāq (also known as Hidāyat Allāh, d. 1694), who was married to a Moghul princess, convinced the Zünghar Galdan Boshugtu – with the aid of the Dalai Lama, according to a story in Muḥammad Šādiq’s early nineteenth-century *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* – to conquer Altishar and install the White Mountain Khojas as governors of the territory of Khotan, Yarkand, Kashghar, and Aqsu.<sup>5</sup> The Zünghars, who had converted around 1615, were standing at the vanguard of Tibetan Buddhism at least since 1640 and remained in control of the area to the north. The Khojas paid the Zünghars heavy tribute and the latter held Khoja family members as hostages to ensure their cooperation.<sup>6</sup> Other forces in the region included powerful Kirghiz chieftains to the west and Qazaqs to the north-west. The Zünghar campaigns against the Qazaqs in the late seventeenth – early eighteenth century, and in particular, in the years 1722-23 resulted in what has been considered the worst disaster of the Qazaqs before the Soviet era, and had further blemished Zünghar reputation in the eyes of some of their Muslim neighbors (a reputation that was already not favorable given their “infidel” status).

## Central Asian Muslims and Tibetan Buddhists

We have a great deal of information in Muslim sources about the political circumstances in Central Asia during the period under discussion, but much less materials that address clear Muslim–Buddhist, rather than, for example, political and economic Zünghar–Bukharan dealings.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the purported Muslim–Buddhist interface has been attracting considerable (and a bit inflated, perhaps) attention recently.<sup>8</sup>

5 The story of the Dalai Lama’s involvement (and even alleged conversion to Islam) has been dealt with by Robert Shaw already in the late nineteenth century in his “The History of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan” (Calcutta, 1897). For a more recent treatment of this and other related stories, see Thierry Zarcone, “Between Legend and History: About the ‘Conversion’ to Islam of Two Prominent Lamaists in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries,” in *Islam and Tibet: Interactions Along the Musk Routes*, ed. Anna Akasoy et. al. (Ashgate, 2010), 281-92.

6 On the relationship between the Oirats and the sedentary realm in East Turkestan see David Brophy, “The Oirat in Eastern Turkistan and the Rise of Āfāq Khwāja,” *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 16 (2008/2009), 5-28.

7 It remains to be discussed whether such a distinction is useful.

8 For a summary of Tibet in Muslim sources see, M. Gaborieau et al., “Tubbat, Tibbat, Tibet,” *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2nd ed.), 10:576. For different discussions of Muslims (and Muslim “influences”) in Tibet, see the recent

Although this paper sets as its title a supposedly clear-cut ‘Tibetan Buddhism’ versus an equally unambiguous ‘Central Asian Islam’, it is important to emphasize the fluidity of such terminologies. Central Asia at the time was the scene for constant competition between different representatives of Islam (and their diverse followers) who were struggling for material and spiritual resources and contesting each other’s authority. Even with the ascent of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, one hesitates to speak of a definite, cohesive Central Asian Islam. It is unclear how coherent was a “Tibetan-Buddhist” world. Zünghars, Oirats and Tibetans seem to have been subject to mutual praise and criticism – not to mention (at times) widespread violent conflicts – regarding their practice and interpretation of Buddhist doctrines.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time, even if the tendency – if not the mission – of academic inquiry is to unearth the diversity of different phenomena, it seems that the representations of Buddhists that have been preserved in the Muslim sources were fairly one-dimensional. The internal debates, conflicts, and dissents within followers of Tibetan Buddhism neither reached nor seemed to be of interest to the Buddhists’ Central Asian Muslim neighbors. Muslim authors and their sponsors continued to treat the entire Tibetan–Buddhist sphere as a relatively uniform being as late as the twentieth century, and stuck to characterizing it in the same manner they would typify other non-Muslim groups and individuals in the region.<sup>10</sup> Muslims referred to the Buddhists in generic terms – as they did other non-Muslims – as infidels (Arabic/Persian = *kuffār*, Turkic = *kāfirlār*),<sup>11</sup> or in a variety of other terms ranging from apostates or deniers (*munkir*) to sinners (*badkīsh*).<sup>12</sup>

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*Islam and Tibet.* For an overview of the diverse meetings between Buddhism and Islam across the region, see Johan Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam on the Silk Road* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

9 Regarding the Buddhists’ internal “civil wars” see Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 217-226. Other instances, beyond the physical violence, included for example, the Torghuds of Xinjiang criticizing the Zünghars for being arrogant, excessively proud in their lineage, and fetishizers of the Vinaya to the point of blocking enlightenment (Todd Gibson, “A Manuscript on Oirat Buddhist History,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 34, 1990, 84-97); The Dörböds of western Mongolia censured Galdan Boshugtu for placing temples in inauspicious places, which caused their sacking by the Qazaqs and ultimately brought about the Zünghars’ ruin (this explanation was provided in the course of different attempts to explain the destruction of the Zünghars). The Tibetans, in turn, condemned Oirats for being “bigoted sectarians,” oppressors of the Gelugpa, for excessive pride, and for forgetting the supremacy of the Tibetans (Christopher Atwood, “A New Source on Oirat History,” a paper read at the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Mongolia Society Meeting, Bloomington, Indiana, July 2011.) On the other hand, in his treatment of portions of Jimbadorji’s *Bolor toli* (1837) that seem to have been translated from an as yet unidentified Tibetan source, Atwood also finds a very favorable discussion of the Zünghars. The text praises their building of Buddhist institutions and likens the Zünghar rulers to the Tibetan kings of old in their practice (ibid.). Conversely, one finds also a Tibetan disapproval of Galdan Boshugtu in Zaya Pandita’s biography (Radnabhadra, *Lunnyj svet*, translated from the Oirat by G. N. Rumiantsev and A. G. Sazykin, St. Petersburg, 1999).

10 One could embark here on a very different type of paper in line with Elliot Sperling’s “‘Orientalism’ and Aspects of Violence in the Tibetan Tradition,” in *Imagining Tibet: Perceptions, Projections, and Fantasies*, ed. Thierry Dodin and Heinz Räther (Wisdom Publications, 2001), 317-330.

11 This is also evident in other parts of Central Eurasia, for example, among the Tatars and the Bulgars. Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia: The Islamic World of Novouzensk District & the Kazakh Inner Horde, 1780-1910* (Brill, 2001), 94.

12 For other unkind designations, see Alexandre Papas, *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan: étude sur les Khwajas Naqshbandis du Turkestan oriental* (Paris, 2005), 101.



Furthermore, in a late nineteenth-century Muslim work from the region, the designation “Qalmaq,” used often to describe all Mongolian-speaking peoples in both Muslim and Russian sources, was also perceived as a religious category comprising all Tibetan Buddhists, including both Mongols (Oirats, Zünghars, Moghuls) and Tibetans (*Tibet Qalmūqlarī*).<sup>13</sup> “Qalmaq” thus signified not only an “ethnic” designation, but also a religious one, a designation that culminated in a recurring phrase in Muslim sources to describe Qalmaqs as the *ūrūgh-i kuffār*, namely, the clan of the infidels,<sup>14</sup> perhaps also in an attempt to distinguish them from other types of infidels (Russians, “shamanists”) or worse, heretics (Shi’ites, Isma’ilis, etc.).

### Islamic writing and surrounding cultures

Rashīd al-Dīn, the illustrious vizier of the Mongol Ilkhans in Iran in the beginning of the fourteenth century, seems to have produced the last comprehensive Muslim history that emphasized an interest in neighboring civilizations on a substantial scale before the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> The Mongol courts also provided arenas for multi inter-religious encounters, encounters that yielded Muslim commentary on other religious doctrines and practices, such as ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Simnānī’s deliberations with “*bakhshīs*” in Arghūn’s court in the late thirteenth century.<sup>16</sup> And yet, to the best of my knowledge, there are no Central Asian Muslim accounts of what the “idolaters” did or thought, whether doctrine- or practice-related, from later pre-modern eras, comparable to the materials that had survived from the Mongol era.<sup>17</sup> Most of the Islamic sources in the following centuries would concentrate only on topics of immediate relevance to the Muslims and not a grander general exploration of their surrounding cultures.<sup>18</sup> Keeping this in mind, it is, perhaps, not surprising to find hardly any treatment of Tibetan Buddhism (or a Tibeto–Buddhist

13 Allen J. Frank, “The *Monghōl-Qalmāq Bayānī*: a Qing-era Islamic Ethnography of the Mongols and Tibetans,” *Asiatische Studien / Etudes Asiatique* 63/2 (2009), 323-48. We will return to this work below.

14 Muslim hagiographies in East Turkestan also relate the following maxim: “The Sufi has three enemies: the first is sleep; the second – woman; and the third – the Qalmaq.” (Papas, *Soufisme et politique*, 100).

15 Cf. with Nathan Light’s discussion of Muslim histories of China and the gap in the production of such histories between the fourteenth and the late nineteenth centuries. Nathan Light, “Muslim Histories of China: Historiography across Boundaries in Central Eurasia,” in *Frontiers and Boundaries: Encounters on china’s Margins*, ed. Zsombor Rajkai and Ildikó Bellér-Hann (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 151-176 (159).

16 About Simnānī, see Jamal Elias, *The Throne of God: The Life and Thought of ‘Ala’ Ad-Dawla As-Simnani* (State University of New York Press, 1995). Simnānī’s debates with Buddhist monks from India, Kashmir, Tibet, and the Uyghur lands are detailed in a recent study by Devin DeWeese, “‘Alā’ al-Dawla Simnānī’s Religious Encounters at the Mongol Court near Tabriz,” in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Brill, 2014), 35-76 (esp. 63-72).

17 Rashīd al-Dīn’s own efforts also seem to have been forgotten or disregarded by his intellectual successors, particularly between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. See my “Rashīd al-Dīn’s Historiographical Legacy in the Muslim World,” in *Rashid al-Din. Agent and Mediator of Cultural Exchanges in Ilkhanid Iran*, ed. A. Akasoy et. al. (The Warburg Institute, 2013), 212-23.

18 The ethnographically rich genre of Islamic travel literature does not contribute much to our understanding of such topics in Central Asia in the period under discussion.

“worldview”) in the Central Asian Muslim sources in the period under discussion.<sup>19</sup> Most of the sources offer no descriptions of the social and religious institutions of the Tibetans or the Mongols (including Oirats, Zünghars, and Qalmaqs) and, as noted earlier, typically suffice with depicting them as “infidels” or “idolaters” without further qualifications.

Scholars like Allen Frank, for example, assumed that the cause for such perceived indifference was rooted in the political developments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as more and more Muslim communities in Central and Inner Asia found themselves under non-Muslim rule with the growth of the Russian Empire, the Qalmaq momentum, and the later expansion of the Qing. Under such circumstances, Frank suggested, Muslims tended to limit their discussions to political circumstances and stay away from other, potentially more contentious issues.<sup>20</sup> This proposition would seem plausible had we had at our disposal relevant accounts from independent – and, in some cases, quite affluent – Muslim realms in the region. The problem is, we do not.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, a parallel disinterest in Muslim neighboring cultures seemed to characterize contemporaneous Tibetan-language sources as well.

Moreover, even in areas with large concentrations of Buddhist communities, such as the Volga-Ural region, the Muslim trend to avoid any “ethnographic” descriptions of them persisted. The aforementioned late-nineteenth-century *Monghöl-Qalmāq Bayānī* seems to be an exception to the rule. Composed by Qurbān-‘Alī, a Tatar resident of northern Jungaria (the area stretching between the Gobi and Lake Balkhash), the work relies heavily on accounts by contemporary Muslim merchants who had returned from the lands of the Qalmaqs, including Tibet. In explaining the usage of the term “Qalmāq” as a religious category comprising all Tibetan Buddhists, the author claimed that the term’s etymology was based on a religious definition, and had been used historically among the Muslims to refer to Mongol and Tibetan Buddhists collectively. It was allegedly based on the verb “qalmaq” (Turk., ‘to remain’), arguing that the Mongols’ ancestors had been given the choice to convert to Islam and some chose to “remain” in the old faith.<sup>22</sup> Qurbān-‘Alī’s discussion of Buddhism is detailed but often erroneous, conflating Buddhism with Zoroastrianism and Manichaeism, and the works that he claims as his literary sources have not been identified.<sup>23</sup> The *Monghöl-Qalmāq Bayānī* was a product of the late nineteenth century and remains unusual in the space allotted to discussing alleged Buddhist practices. Earlier considerations of the topic in Muslim sources from the region sufficed with generic allusions to “infidels,” even if many of these “infidels” were not

19 The description of Tibet by Kashmir’s governor Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (d. 1550-51), most recently treated in Elverskog, *Buddhism and Islam*, 175-79, has been well-known and need not engage us here. To this account, we may add the *Dabistān-i madhāhib* (*School of Religious Doctrines*), the seventeenth-century Persian work, written in Hindustan, most likely in Zoroastrian circles, which included a short chapter about Tibetans (*Qarātabbatiyān*).

20 Frank, “The *Monghöl-Qalmāq Bayānī*,” 324.

21 The reasons for such a lack of interest are beyond the scope of this paper. Frank’s expertise in the Tatar-Muslim Volga-Ural areas under Russian rule may have shaped his hypothesis.

22 Frank, “The *Monghöl-Qalmāq Bayānī*,” 329-30.

23 *Ibid.*, 333 n. 29.

Buddhists but rather followers of other traditions, usually grouped together by scholars under the rubric “Shamanists.”

### The Buddhist “adversaries”

Let us now return to Fletcher’s study of the *Ziyā’ al-qulūb* and the idea that “Buddhism imported from Tibet” may have impeded or challenged Muslim missionary efforts among the nomads.<sup>24</sup> In this hagiographical source, readers are informed of Ishāq Valī’s campaigns among the Kirghiz and the Qalmaqs, where Ishāq destroyed 18 *but khāna* (Fletcher translates this term as “idol sanctuaries”)<sup>25</sup> and converted 180,000 *kāfir-i butparast* (Fletcher translates this term as “idol-worshipping infidels”)<sup>26</sup> to Islam. One of Khoja Ishāq’s disciples, who had arrived from Kashghar to Samarqand, continued his master’s activities and “converted 18,000 idol-worshipping infidels into Muslims and destroyed eight idol sanctuaries.”

In another incident, four-hundred troops of a certain Kirghiz chieftain, having witnessed one of Ishāq Khoja’s miracles, converted to Islam by throwing away their idols (*buthā*). In a third passage, one of Ishāq’s disciples was sent to an ailing Kirghiz chief. The chief’s men were trying to cure him by “offering food to a silver idol” hanging from a tree, with about one-thousand lesser idols of stone or wood around it.<sup>27</sup> Ultimately, all idols were gathered and brought before Ishāq Valī; he and his disciples prayed for the health of the Kirghiz chief, who miraculously recovered, stood up, uttered the *shahāda*, and ordered all the idols to be destroyed (the silver was then shared with the Sufis).

Lastly, in an encounter between four of Ishāq’s disciples and some “fire-worshipping” Mongols (Qalmaqs), the Sufis were callously thrown into the fire. But then Ishāq appeared, called upon Allāh, and a sudden gust of wind blew the fire in the direction of the Mongols and burned many of them to death. The rest converted to Islam.<sup>28</sup>

Can anyone argue, with any degree of certainty, that the “infidels” in this source were Shamanists or proponents of “Buddhism from Tibet”? The *Ziyā’ al-qulūb* was studied by Devin DeWeese, but with an eye to exploring the meanings of literary tropes (competition, miracles, trial by fire, etc.) that had been part and parcel of conversion narratives in Muslim Central Asia.<sup>29</sup>

24 Fletcher, “Confrontations Between Muslim Missionaries and Nomad Unbelievers.”

25 *But-khāna*, or “house of idols,” or “house of the Buddha,” became a generic term for any infidel temple with images of sorts. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa referred to Hindu temples in the fourteenth century as “*but-khānas*.” In the nineteenth century, pagodas and churches were described in the same manner as well. (As John Wood explained in his 1841 *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, his Muslim guide referred to the Greek-Orthodox churches of the Russians as “*but-khānas*” because of the “number of pictures they contain”).

26 *Butparast* was an idolater (but was used in medieval Persian poetry as a synonym to a “shaman”).

27 That setting is described in the text as “the *but khāna* of the Kirghiz.”

28 The Sufis, in turn, emerged unharmed from the fire (Fletcher, 172).

29 DeWeese, *Islamization*, 251. This perceived lack of attention to detail – or indifference – in the Muslim sources concerning concrete assessment of “infidels” seems to have led scholars to recognize and catalog literary topoi, mainly in the sphere of conversion, a dominant theme in the hagiographical literature. Here, again, the emphasis has been on the qualities of the convertor rather than those of the converted.

In a recent work, Alexandre Papas engaged Fletcher's suggestion,<sup>30</sup> first citing the Russian ethnographer Saul Abramzon, who had viewed these passages as proof of the Kirghiz "shamanic" and "fetishistic" tendencies. Papas noted that the territory that was, allegedly, the locus for the stories, had been the ancient seat of Buddhist presence before the region's Islamization, and that a small Uyghur Buddhist settlement had existed there as late as 1680. This may indicate, Papas suggested, that the idolaters' identity was indeed Buddhist. The conclusions remain unsubstantiated, but they are indicative of the kind of scholarly attempts to evaluate religious identities based on insufficient evidence. Other examples of converting – or simply, massacring – Zünghars were recorded in Muslim hagiographies from the region, with similar formulaic descriptions.<sup>31</sup> The emphasis in the hagiographical traditions rested on the converting saint and his virtues, and not on the specific characteristics of the converted.

The picture is somewhat similar in other types of sources from the region, sources that have been described, by and large, as epic traditions. In the legendary biographies of Tīmūr (Tamerlane), a corpus of extensive biographies in Persian and Turkic that emerged in Bukhara in the early eighteenth century, the Qalmaqs are sometimes presented as the Central Asian Muslims' most defiant enemies (together with different heretical sects within Islam, mostly Shi'ites and Isma'ilis).<sup>32</sup> The unknown compilers of the biographies often relied on older written traditions, sometimes very famous ones, and wove many of their protagonists into the tapestry of the old stories, giving them new meanings. Perhaps because of the Buddhist reputation of the Qalmaqs and the prominence of elaborate images in the process of worship – as opposed to the supposed denial of image-worship in Islam<sup>33</sup> – the Qalmaqs play a pivotal role in some of the stories. For instance, when Tīmūr embarks on a journey to locate certain artifacts or sacred sites, he is guided by Qalmaq infidels who take him to sanctuaries full of images of bygone kings. The assumption conveyed in the story is that only the heathen would know their own world well enough to guide the Muslim hero through it. Naturally, Tīmūr destroys the infidels once he is done with his tasks.

To this array of historiographical and epic materials, one might add oral traditions, recorded much after the events supposedly occurred. For example, in describing the colossal defeat of the Qazaqs to the Zünghars in 1722-23, later Muslim historians provided oral testimonies of the event that downplay any religious backdrop that the conflict may have had. Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī, writing in the early twentieth century, noted: "About two hundred years ago the wicked Qalmaq named Khungtaiji suddenly appeared and captured and conquered Tashkent and Sayram, appointing in Sayram a Qalmaq leader and leaving some Qalmaqs as advisors, and

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30 Papas, *Soufisme et politique*, 45-49.

31 See, for example, the story of the mass killings of infidels by Hasan Khoja in the *Hidāyat-nāma*, the most comprehensive eighteenth-century hagiography dedicated to Khoja Āfāq (ibid., 207).

32 Ron Sela, *The Legendary Biographies of Tamerlane: Islam and Heroic Apocrypha in Central Asia* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

33 See in this regard, Mika Natif, "The Painter's Breath and Concepts of Idol Anxiety in Islamic Art," in *Idol Anxiety*, ed. Josh Ellenbogen and Aaron Tugendhaft (Stanford University Press, 2011), 41-55.

returned to Qulja. The inhabitants of Sayram killed those Qalmaqs and rejected obedience to Khungtaiji. After this, some people escaped and told Khungtaiji in detail what had happened, and he, uttering a solemn oath, returned to Sayram and mastered it again, killing many people and submitting the city to pillage.<sup>34</sup> Other testimonies speak in similar terms and make no mention of a religious divide between attackers and victims.<sup>35</sup>

### Shrine and pilgrimage: The landscape of martyrdom

Similar to the earlier types of sources mentioned, evidence from shrines in the region – primarily from East Turkestan – suggests that it was not so much the encounter with actual Buddhists that rendered them somewhat suspect in the eyes of the local Muslim populations, but rather the legacy of the story of Islam’s triumph over the Buddhists – and the many sacrifices that such triumphs entailed – that may have survived in popular imagination. Tales associated with such triumphs had been recorded in travel guides and in shrine registers, and made their way also into public celebrations and commemorations. In addition, many existing shrines and mosques that drew on and perpetuated such tales had been built on older Buddhist sites, thus granting the stories also a distinct material dimension. The sacred Muslim landscape thus dominated over the defeated Buddhist one and benefitted from its existence.

Among many such examples, the *mazār* (shrine) of Tuyuq Khojam near Turfan was built on an ancient Buddhist monastic complex and has been associated with story of the ‘People of the Cave’ and the legend of the ‘Seven Sleepers’ where (in this version of the story) Muslims found refuge from persecuting “infidels” (Buddhists).<sup>36</sup> Pilgrimage to this, and other shrines, was – consciously or not – an act of defiance against an imagined enemy from the past, but also against existing foes from the present (Zünghars, and gradually also Qing, and Han Chinese) and seems to have been sanctioned by Muslim scholars (‘*ulamā*’).

If the ‘*ulamā*’ disputed anything, it was neither the association of the infidels with Buddhism nor the necessity to commemorate the sacrifice of Muslim martyrs. Generally speaking, the ‘*ulamā*’ were not even concerned with approving or rebuking the alleged restorative, healing, and or sanctifying properties of the *mazārs*. The dispute was over the validity of pilgrimages to such shrines as substitutions for the more important pilgrimage to Mecca (the well-known *hajj*).<sup>37</sup>

Stories about historic *jihads* against Buddhists were plentiful in East Turkestan, as Western travelers (Aurel Stein was probably the most famous of them) also attested.<sup>38</sup> They still abound in the

34 *Materialy po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV-XVIII vekov* (Alma-Ata, 1969), 486-87.

35 *Istoriia Kazakhstana v russkikh istochnikakh* (Almaty, 2005), 170-71.

36 Thierry Zarcone, “Pilgrimage to the ‘Second Meccas’ and ‘Ka’bas’ of Central Asia,” in *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz*, ed. Alexandre Papas et. al. (Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012), 256.

37 As argued, for instance, by Mūsā Sayrāmī (ibid., 257). This is an issue that concerned the ‘*ulamā*’ in many other parts of Central Asia since the Mongol era.

38 Cf. with Minoru Sawada, “Pilgrimage to Sacred Places in the Taklamakan Desert: Shrines of Imams in Khotan Prefecture,” in *Central Asian Pilgrims*, 284.

region today. The numerous shrines in Xinjiang (over 200, in some estimates) and the accompanying oral traditions, collected, for example, by the Uyghur ethnologist Rahilä Dawut,<sup>39</sup> portray a variety of sites of active pilgrimage dedicated to Muslim martyrs who had been killed, according to tradition, at the hands of Buddhists. Even if the majority of the battles commemorated allegedly occurred in the tenth century C.E., it is their surviving and developing reputation that needs to engage us here. For instance, the Töt Imam Mazar (Shrine of the Four Imams) introduces the story of four Muslims who had ventured from Bukhara to aid the Qarakhanid troops in their “holy war” against the Khotan kingdom only to be martyred by the Buddhist infidels.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, the nearby shrine of Imam Ghazzali maintains the story of the Imam, a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad, who had traveled from Arabia to help the Muslims, only to be martyred by their Buddhist enemies.<sup>41</sup>

Pilgrimage to such shrines has been associated also with the celebration of festivals. The Ordam, Xinjiang’s largest shrine festival, is held at the tomb of ‘Alī Arslan Khan. This eleventh-century Qarakhanid martyr died during the long war against the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan and his martyrdom is still mourned and commemorated in the region today.<sup>42</sup> How far back does this tradition go? Dawut and Harris are unclear about the origins of the festivals, and suffice with citing Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish explorer and diplomat, who had described the Ordam back in 1929. However, we find that the Ordam was mentioned by almost every Western traveler to the region in the nineteenth century.

Accounts of what has been arguably the most famous conversion to Islam in the region, that of Satuq Bughra Khan in the eleventh century, have been persistently circulating in East Turkestan since the thirteenth century. The accounts themselves vary, but all include elements of physical battles against the infidels.<sup>43</sup> Ultimately, although identifying commonalities or mutual sources of inspiration between Islam and Buddhism in the region may serve some purpose,<sup>44</sup> it seems that for the Muslims communities in the region, the demarcation of boundaries was much more natural, evident, and significant.

## Muslims and Buddhists in court-sponsored sources

Thus far, we have touched on hagiographical and legendary sources, as well as popular practice and imagination. These sources offer little by way of examining Buddhist social and religious institutions.

39 And published in her *Uyghur Mazarliri* (Urümchi: Shinjang Khalq Nashriyati, 2001).

40 Sawada, “Pilgrimage to Sacred Places in the Taklamakan Desert,” 286.

41 In 1874, Ya‘qūb Beg himself had dedicated a bronze cauldron to the shrine in honor of the late martyr (ibid., 287).

42 Rachel Harris and Rahilä Dawut, “Mazar Festivals of the Uyghurs: Music, Islam and the Chinese State,” *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 11/1 (2002), 102.

43 See my translation of the story from the thirteenth-century Arabic version in *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, ed. Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela (Indiana University Press, 2010), 73-76.

44 For such a “syncretic” approach, see for example, Ildikó Bellér-Hann, “Making the oil fragrant: dealings with the supernatural among the Uyghurs in Xinjiang,” *Asian Ethnicity* 2/1 (2001), 9-23.

What about the official, court-sponsored sources? Most sources from the khanate of Bukhara, for example, where the majority of texts were produced during the era that concerns us here, do not shed light on these issues. Some exceptions are found in the historiography from the khanate of Khiva.

Abū'l-Ghāzī, the khan of Khiva in the mid-seventeenth century (r. 1644-63), described two separate types of interactions with Qalmaqs. The first, during his sojourn with them in the course of his ten years of exile from Khiva, where he claimed to have learned Qalmaq customs and language. Abū'l-Ghāzī mentioned this as a way to confirm his knowledge of Mongolian and give credence to his statement that only one such as he was capable of writing down the history of the Turks and the Mongols without distortion.<sup>45</sup>

The second interaction had to do with the military encounters with the Qalmaqs. When Qalmaqs invaded Khivan territory in the year 1652,<sup>46</sup> captured people and loot, and caused much damage, Abū'l-Ghāzī set out in pursuit of the invaders. He gave chase and finally managed to corner the nomads. Realizing that they had no chance, the Qalmaqs laid down their weapons and begged for mercy, claiming that they had arrived in Khiva by mistake. In response, Abū'l-Ghāzī admonished them, saying, “Your fathers and elder bothers had never been the enemies of our state.” The Qalmaqs retorted that they did not know they were entering the lands of Abū'l-Ghāzī Khan and apologized for their error. The khan forgave them and sent them back to their lands loaded with gifts.<sup>47</sup> In these passages, the Qalmaqs are not spoken of as infidels or idolaters. The only thing that betrays some kind of a “clash of religions” is Abū'l-Ghāzī's report of the battle itself. Accordingly, when his men charged forward to attack the invaders, they cried out “Allāh” “Allāh” and this instilled fear in the hearts of the Qalmaqs.

Qalmaq (Kalmyk) relations with the Khanate of Khiva – the closest Central Asian sedentary state to them – were multi-faceted. For instance, the Qalmaqs assisted Yādigār Muḥammad Khan to conquer Khiva and restore his position as head of the khanate. As Yādigār himself wrote to Czar Peter the Great in 1712, when the exiled prince was returning to Khiva, having performed the *ḥajj* and having concluded his stay at the Ottoman court, he and his close retinue approached the lands of the Qalmaqs: “When we came to the country (*yurt*) of Ayuka Khan, he was properly obliging and sent us off, having placed at our disposal fourteen princes (*töre*) under a prince named Dorji, with numerous troops.” This enabled Yādigār to retake the throne, and as he states: “It was in our ancestral country – the Dome of Islam, Khorezm... that the crown and throne of the caliphate were glorified by our person...”<sup>48</sup>

Qalmaqs were not only enemies or partners on the battlefield, but also occupied many other positions in the sedentary and nomadic Muslim realms. For instance, Qalmaqs were kept as slaves

45 Aboul-Ghāzi Bèhādour Khân, *Histoire des Mongols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghāzi Bèhādour Khân*, ed. and transl. by Baron Desmaisons (St. Petersburg, 1871–74).

46 On the date see, Shir Muhammad Mirab Munis and Muhammad Riza Mirab Agahi, *Firdaws al-iqbāl: History of Khorezm*, translated from Chaghatay & annotated by Yuri Bregel (Brill, 1999), 563 n. 263.

47 Aboul-Ghāzi, *Histoire des Mongols*, Chaghatay text, 327.

48 Yuri Bregel, ed. and tr., *Documents from the Khanate of Khiva (17th-19th centuries) (Papers of Inner Asia 40, 2007)*, 47-49.

in the khanate of Khiva, particularly in the capacity of slave bodyguards, and were referred to as *altun-jilaw* (lit. “[of] golden bridle”).<sup>49</sup>

Conversely, in the mid-eighteenth century, Qazaqs made use of Qalmaq services to correspond with the Qing authorities. Indeed, the first letters from Qazaq sultans to the Qing, dated as early as 1757, were written in “Oyirad,” presumably by Qalmaq captives in Qazaq service. Much of the Qazaq communication with the Qing down to the early nineteenth century continued in Oyirad.<sup>50</sup>

### The *History* of Churās: a neglected chronicle

Little is known of the author, Maḥmūd, a member of the Churās who had replaced the Barlas and the Dughlat as the leading tribe in the military elite of seventeenth-century Moghulistan. Maḥmūd, however, did not embark on a career in the military but remained in the administration, having acquired knowledge of Persian, Arabic, and the Islamic sciences (his native tongue was apparently Turkic).<sup>51</sup> The chronicle was written in the mid-1670s, as the power of the Khojas of East Turkestan was on the rise and Chaghatayid rule was on the decline, and sheds light on political circumstances in the region throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>52</sup> The work’s patron, a Muslim Turkestani *amīr* by the name of Erke Bek, was a descendant of a long line of local governors of Sayram, going back to the late fifteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

In a biographical passage about his patron, Churās writes that when Erke Bek was twenty years old, he left Sayram and set out toward the Horde of the Khungtaiji<sup>54</sup> and Sengge.<sup>55</sup> At the time, Sengge gathered his followers and kinsmen and moved to wage war on the Chakhar.<sup>56</sup> After a six-months long journey, they reached their destination and fell upon the Chakhar. The description of the battle portrays Erke Bek’s incredible bravery, where his “courage put to flight the Chakhar troops and reduced them to become one with the black dust.” Churās explains that Sengge elevated Erke “from obscurity to prominence” and then sent him off – a Muslim Turk in command of (Buddhist) Qalmaq warriors – to raid Russian settlements, presumably in southern Siberia.

49 Other foreigners served in that capacity, as *altun-jilaw*, including Russians and Persians. In other words, the Khivan khans did not make a religious distinction other than a generic non-(Sunni) Muslims. See also, *Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 584, n. 381. Another way to relate to Qalmaq slaves was to refer to them as “Chinese-born” – they made for excellent gifts (*Firdaws al-iqbāl*, 180). Qalmaq slaves in other parts of the region are noted in additional sources.

50 With the Russians such communication was carried out in Turkic. See, *A Collection of Documents from the Kazakh Sultans to the Qing Dynasty*, ed. Jin Noda and Takahiro Onuma (Tokyo: Research Center for Islamic Area Studies, 2010), 3.

51 The chronicle was written a rather simplified Persian dialect.

52 Shah Mahmud Churās, *Khronika*, ed. and trans. O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1976).

53 Entries from the *History* of Churās in my translation from the Persian appeared in *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, 237-39.

54 A reference to the Zūnghar Baatur Khungtaiji (1634-1653).

55 Baatur Khungtaiji’s son.

56 Some elements of independent Mongols, probably in Qinghai.



When they reached Russian territory, Churās relates, Erke Bek left the camp at night with only twenty men, and raided his enemies with great success.

And Erke Bek, trusting in the protection of the Glorious Lord, brought plunder upon the heads of his enemies. Having gained victory, he continued to raid and pillage his enemies. Several had surrendered before him, but the remaining were killed. Erke Bek's companions went to the Russian castle, while he set out in pursuit, on foot, of those who had fled, and having gained on them, made them one with the black dust. He then followed the Qalmaq̄s to the fortress, and saw that they were standing at a distance. He reprimanded and scolded them [for standing idle] and, assaulting the castle, reduced its inhabitants to naught.

Interestingly, in the service of the Qalmaq̄s, the actions (raiding and pillaging) usually attributed to them in the Muslim sources, were carried out by one of their Muslim protégés. Regardless, Sengge was so impressed with Erke Bek's deeds and with the amount of spoils from the Russian campaign that he decided to send a share of the spoils to China, with Erke as an envoy.<sup>57</sup> The biographical passage ends as follows,

Sengge elevated Erke Bek to the highest rank. And God most High enthused light in Erke Bek's heart, so that at all times he strove to build the lands of Islam. In the year 1080 [1669-70], as he was building in the lands of Islam, the honorable *amīr* attained his greatest reputation. With praiseworthy and laborious good work, he repaired the way stations and the reservoirs and bridges and mosques that had fallen into ruin. And in this manner he renovated the kingdom. May the vestiges of that *amīr*'s good deeds remain forever and ever, if it pleases God."

Under infidel rule, a Muslim *amīr* was able to invest the most in the rebuilding of Muslim lands and in contributing to the success and flourishing of Islam. Throughout his *History*, Churās cites numerous episodes that contribute to our understanding of the complex relationship between the Muslims and their Qalmaq̄ neighbors. Diverse examples attest to gory fighting and constant battles between Muslim troops and Qalmaq̄ warriors, described as "infidels" (for example, "thanks to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's courage, possession of Khotan was kept from the infidels");<sup>58</sup> but also of Muslim alliances with Qalmaq̄s against other Muslims (when, for instance, Tseren and Eldan-taishi of the Qalmaq̄s ally with Ibrāhīm Khan against 'Abdallāh Khan); and when one khan and his troops were overpowered by the Kirghiz, the chronicler concluded, "the army of Islam has been defeated."

One episode stands out, but unfortunately the text is unreadable. According to the story, that revolves around the disputed control over the fortress of Djalish,<sup>59</sup> Ibrāhīm Khan, Ismā'īl Khan and Eldan-taishi left the fortress in the direction of the outskirts of the province. 'Abdallāh Khan continued towards the fortress, when a man by the name of Shāh Bāqī Bek informed him that,

<sup>57</sup> Churās concludes that, "Erke Bek, placing himself at the service of the Judge of the needs of mankind [i.e., God], performed the embassy, and returned safely and in full honor." Many other commercial enterprises of 'Bukharan' merchants under Qalmaq̄ patronage are described in Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans: A Dynastic, Diplomatic and Commercial History, 1550-1702* (St. Martin's Press, 1997).

<sup>58</sup> Churās, *Ta'rikh*, 69.

<sup>59</sup> Djalish is Chalish or Qarashahr.

“a *lama* and several \_\_\_\_<sup>60</sup> were climbing up from the valley to the highlands of Djalish.”<sup>61</sup> The khan dispatched Shāh Bāqī Bek with another person to meet them and in the commotion that followed, it turned out that Shāh Bāqī Bek and the other unnamed person had grabbed the lama’s possessions and hid them. When subsequently the khan found the lama’s possessions, he ordered to grab hold of them and keep them.<sup>62</sup> The author goes on to describe how the khan’s troops became disorganized and unruly, with the implication that robbing the lama of his possessions was key to the misfortune. This seems to be the only incident of this sort reported by Churās. The usage of the word *lama* is also very rare in this text. The term was used also in Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt’s *Ta’rīkh-i rashīdī* in his discussion of Tibet. Since the *Ta’rīkh* of Maḥmūd Churās was originally intended to be a continuation of Mīrzā Ḥaydar’s work (and the first half of the text is a reproduction of the *Ta’rīkh-i rashīdī*), Churās may have borrowed the term from his precursor, and therefore may have referred specifically to a Tibetan lama. However, this is the only occasion that lama appears in the *History*.

## Conclusion

Central Asian Muslim textual sources from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries displayed a general lack of interest in and disengagement with the characteristics of religious institutions, doctrines, and practices of adjoining cultures. The diversity of source materials at our disposal does not contribute to a better understanding of such matters, and attempts to grasp the religions of non-Muslims based on generalized, disapproving stereotypes that the Muslim sources offer are usually destined to fall short. As shown in this essay, the postulation that “Buddhism imported from Tibet” somehow stood between Muslim missionary efforts and their proposed targets needs to be discarded. Similarly, the assumption that champions of Tibetan Buddhism (Zūnghars, for example) somehow stopped, delayed, or suppressed the flourishing of Islam in Central Asia, is also erroneous. Just like most other periods in Islamic history, foreign (“infidel”) rule usually contributed significantly (either in the course of said rule or subsequently) to the spread and growth of Islamic laws, customs, and practices in the governed areas and beyond. Relations among Muslims and Buddhists – both terminologies used here in their broadest sense – in Central Asia were complex and multidimensional, and ranged across shared and disputed political, economic, and cultural realms. Accounts of bloodshed, hostility and distrust on the one hand, and of alliances, collaboration and goodwill on the other, are abundant in the Muslim sources from the era. And yet, beyond commenting on utilitarian traits couched in a religious garb, the Muslim sources are tongue-tied. Given this reticence, this paper underscores the limitations of the Muslim hagiographical sources in offering helpful or reliable ‘ethnographic’ data. Above all, perhaps, this paper questions the usefulness of the analysis of this period in the region’s history along supposed Muslim–Buddhist intersections.

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60 The text here is entirely illegible.

61 Djalish is at an altitude of 3,000 ft.

62 Churās, *Ta’rīkh*, 80.

# GARGYA 'GRAM NAG: A BANDIT OR A PROTO-REBEL? THE QUESTION OF BANDITRY AS SOCIAL PROTEST IN NAG CHU<sup>1</sup>

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The Tibetan notion of *jag pa*, which has the same meaning as the term 'bandit' in English, is widespread in Tibetan society and literature, but has rarely been researched. Anyone who has lived in Tibetan society would have heard stories of bandits. Sometimes these stories are based on true events; often they have no identifiable characters and have acquired mythic status. We find encounters with bandits described in numerous *rnam thar* or biographies and in other literary sources, as well as in reports left by traders, travellers and pilgrims on the Tibetan plateau, including many by Western travellers in the early years of the last century. The incidence of banditry in Tibetan society thus seems to be well documented. But who were these bandits in Tibet and why was their profession so prevalent in Tibetan society? Is the *jag pa* to be understood as a criminal menace to society, a kind of folk hero similar to Robin Hood, or a prototypical form of the revolutionary?

One of the most famous cases involves a group led by *Jag pa 'gram nag* (Black Cheek Bandit) who is said to have terrorised much of the Nagchu area to the northeast of Lhasa, which lies on the Sino-Tibetan trade route, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Black Cheek and his men were said to have robbed many on this important trade route and can be said to have virtually held siege to it. The Lhasa government is reported to have dispatched an expeditionary force in 1942 to suppress Black Cheek and his men, led by a young monk official named Phala Thupten Woden (Pha' lha thub bstan 'od ldan), who went to become the Lord Chamberlain (*drung yig chen mo*) to the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and organised his escape from Tibet in 1959.

In this paper, I want to explore the background to the framing of Gargya Dramnak (if we use a phonetic form of his name) ('Gram nag) as a bandit. One of the most detailed accounts that describes him as a *jag pa* is an oral history interview with Pala Thupten Woden after he went into exile in India,<sup>2</sup> in which Phala positions himself as a restorer of peace, eliminating the scourge of banditry in Nagchu. In his narrative, Gargya's actions represent criminality. But to assert this as an accurate representation of social reality in Nagchu in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is problematic, and raises questions on the framing of the bandit narrative in Tibetan social history. Like any derogatory social category, the meaning of the term is positioned through engagement with prejudice and the denigration of the other. In the use of the term *jag pa* in Tibetan, the label

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1 I would like to thank Dechen Pemba and Robbie Barnett for reading a draft of this paper and for their valuable suggestions. I also like to thank Sonam Chogyal and Dondrup Lhagyal of TASS for providing me with sources on Hor Sogu.

2 *Sku tshé'i lo rgyus hrag bsdu: mgron gnyer che mo pha lha thub bstan 'od zer*, Oral History Series No 2. Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, 1996, p.107 (hereafter cited as Phala, 1996).

serves both as a legal category describing a form of criminality, where certain actions are deemed banditry and legal remedies are prescribed, and as a form of meta-language, where it is not a particular action that describes banditry but an individual or group that is classified as bandits. The latter use is similar to the contemporary practice of using the term “terrorist” to depict an enemy of the state where there is no action involved, but only a characterization of an individual or group. This distinction is important to bear in mind when discussing banditry in Tibet, and people in central Tibet often use the term *jag pa* in a similar sense to refer to Khampas (those from the south-eastern part of the Tibetan plateau), people from Nagchu, or, as in this case, for certain groups that are nomadic. The uncritical acceptance of the term *jag pa*, especially when used by the privileged classes, reflect class and social prejudices rather than an actual knowledge of specific actions or behaviour.

Similarly, the characterisation of bandits as a form of the Robin Hood archetype is also based on selective memory, valorising bandits for their courage and audacity. Besides its other connotations, the term *jag pa* also carries inherent associations of courage and audacity. A bandit is defined by bravery (*blo khog*), in contradistinction to a common *rkun ma* or “thief,” who is defined by lack of courage, since he perpetrates his crime at night and unseen, while a bandit confronts his victims face to face.<sup>3</sup> Among the people of his broader community, the group of nomads living on the northern Tibet grasslands, known as the Hor Sogu (Hor tsho ba so dgu), and to some degree amongst his co-religionists, the followers of the Bon po religion, Gagya has become a folk hero and a symbol of Bon po’s resistance to Buddhist colonization. This narrative involves forgetting that many of the victims of Gagya’s raids were not Buddhists but fellow Bon pos and members of other clans among the Hor Sogu. His folk hero status is thus a revisionist projection based on remembering only his death at the hands of Buddhists, conveniently forgetting his wider history.

The British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm coined the influential term “social bandits”, arguing that banditry is epidemic in rural areas when such regions are irreversibly transformed by their incorporation into a capitalist economy and the legal framework of the nation state. In this view, the actions of bandits are essentially a form of social protest and resistance to structural injustice, a universal phenomenon that is a product of social conditions. Hobsbawm differentiates between several types of social bandits. One is the “noble robber”, typified by Robin Hood, righting wrongs and driven by concern about the “social redistribution” of resources, while another is the “social bandit” driven outside the law by injustice, exacting revenge and redressing grievances.<sup>4</sup> Banditry is seen here as an expression of contempt and resistance to hegemonic power.

3 This seems to be a common differentiation in many societies and culture. In European history, English Highwaymen were seen as “an icon of national courage and resistance”. Gillian Spraggs. *Outlaws and Highwaymen: The Cult of the Robber in England from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*. London: Pimlico, 2001, p.5.

4 Eric J. Hobsbawm first used the term in *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959). The term was further detailed in *Bandits*, London, Liedfeld and Nicholson, 1969.

Following from Hobsbawm's work, social historians have sought to provide a more nuanced understanding of banditry by placing it in the context of "agrarian protest and rural violence",<sup>5</sup> and by seeing it as a common form of peasant resistance in the face of oppression and economic hardship. Hobsbawm's thesis has been vigorously criticised by some social historians and notably by the social anthropologist Anton Blok, who argued that it relies on a notion derived from the Robin Hood story and other fictional heroes and folk tales.<sup>6</sup> Scholars of Latin America, for example, have argued that real flesh and blood bandits do not correspond to the mythic caricatures depicted by Hobsbawm, and that social bandits do not exist in reality.<sup>7</sup>

It is difficult, if not impossible, to conduct a comparative study of the type of banditry found in Tibet with banditry in other societies, since we simply do not have enough sources on the Tibetan cases. In the case of Gagya Dramnak, we see some of the elements identified by Eric Hobsbawm as typical of banditry by "social others", namely events occurring at a transformative period during incorporation into the framework of a nation state, and the transformation of Gagya Dramnak's image today into a type of folk tale, similar to that of a fictional hero.

However, we see less overlap with the descriptions of banditry given by scholars in Europe, China and Latin America, which tend to stress its emergence among the peasantry and its associations with the economically marginalized and landless, mostly young unmarried men who have come to sever their ties with their kinsmen and the larger community. Phil Billingsley, for example, writing about bandits during the Republican period in China, noted that the majority were property-less men or peasants with very little land who were forced to supplement their income by banditry.<sup>8</sup> But the type of banditry practiced in Tibet is not caused by economic deprivation or by actions taken by a particular social or outcast group, and, at least in the Nagchu cases, poverty is not the main reason for the raids. Gagya came from a wealthy and influential family in Nagchu. Among the nomads in that area, the term *jag rgyab* (to rob) does not have negative moral connotations, being very similar to the English words "to raid" or "raiding". In this context, the practice of *jag rgyab* has a similarity with reciprocal cattle raiding amongst pastoralists in pastoralist communities in Africa, where reciprocal cattle raiding is seen as a form of exchange or redistribution during times of severe ecological hardship.<sup>9</sup>

Among the Nagchu nomads, two forms of violent raid are found. Some of Gagya's raids were a form of retribution or retaliation against prior attacks or to reclaim debts. In these incidents, the

5 Gilbert M. Joseph, "On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance," *Latin American Research Review* Vol. 25, 3 (1990), pp.7-53.

6 Anton Blok, "The Peasant and the Brigand: Social Banditry Reconsidered", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 14:4. September 1972, pp.494-503.

7 Richard W. Slatta, "Eric J. Hobsbawm's Social Bandit: A Critique and Revision", *A Contracorriente, A Journal of Social History and Literature in Latin America*, 2004, 1:2, pp.22-30.

8 Phil Billingsley, "Bandits, Bosses, and Bare Sticks: Beneath the Surface of Local Control in Early Republican China", *Modern China* 1981, 7, p.237.

9 Michael L. Fleisher, *Kuria Cattle Raiding: Capitalist Transformation, Commoditization, and Crime Formation Among an East African Agro-Pastoral People*, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2000, 42:4, p.746.

victims are known and there is a history of feud that has to be settled by violent means. He and his men also took part in predatory raids that were aimed at accumulating wealth and resources, where some victims were known and others were unknown, but such predatory raids were not documented and we have to rely on oral sources for knowledge of those.

To understand the framing of Gagya as a *jag pa*, we need to explore the social and political situation of the Nagchu area in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was a particularly turbulent time in Tibetan history, during which the Lhasa government sought to transform the Nagchu region by eliminating the local political structure and, in effect, colonizing the area, thus generating resistance. But the assertion of Lhasa hegemony alone cannot explain the emergence of banditry in that time or the general prevalence of banditry among Tibetan nomadic groups. The act of carrying out raids against neighbouring clans and trading caravans is common practice, a tradition tied to local survival strategies and associated with a culture of machismo and manliness. It is equally related to the culture of revenge (*dgra lan* or *dgra sha*), according to which all actions taken against you and your kinsmen must be avenged, and failure to do so will result in severe loss of status: a man's honour (*lags rgya*) is judged by his ability to avenge wrong done to him or his kinsmen. We will see that all these socio-cultural elements are present in our story, and that the depiction of Gagya Dramnak as a bandit conceals a complex situation that was emerging at his time in the Nagchu area. We thus need to understand some of the background from which Gagya Dramnak emerged, and the socio-political milieu in which his actions unfolded.

### Hor Sogu: the 39 Tribes of Hor

The community which Gagya belonged to was known as the Hor Sogu (Hor tsho ba so dgu) or the 39 Tribes of Hor.<sup>10</sup> The Hor Sogu occupied areas which are today known as Drachen (Sbra-chen), Driru ('Bri-ru), Nyenrong (Snyan-rong), and Sog (Sog) counties in Nagchu Prefecture, and Tengchen (Steng cheng) county in what is now Chamdo Prefecture, all within what is today referred to as the Tibet Autonomous Region. The Hor Sogu, whose members are known as Hor pa, are divided into two groups: the Upper Tribe (Tsho stod), occupying the Drachen, Driru and Nyenrong areas, and the Lower Tribe (Tsho smad), which lived in the Tengchen area in present-day Chamdo Prefecture. The Lower Tribe is also known as the Khyungpo, though they are strictly speaking not considered as members of the Hor Sogu.<sup>11</sup>

The two groups claim different identities. The Upper Tribe traces their origins to descent from the clan of Genghis Khan. The Lower Tribe or Khyungpos were not regarded as Hor pas but seem to have been incorporated into the Hor Sogu through conquest so that by the early

10 The term Hor in Tibetan generally refers to Mongols. The Hor Sogu of Nagchu should not be confused with Five States of Hor (Hor khog lnga or Hor ser khag lnga) located in what today is called in Chinese the Ganzhi prefecture (Tibetan: Dkar mdze), made up of Hor Rta 'u, Hor dKar ,mdzes, Hor Brag 'go, Hor sTong skor, Hor Tehore. See *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, p.2140.

11 Samten Karmay, "The Thirty-Nine Tribes of Hor: A Historical Perspective", in *The Arrow and the Spindle: Studies in History, Myths, Rituals, and Beliefs in Tibet*, Vol. 2, Kathmandu, Nepal, Mandala Book Point, 2005, pp.181-204.

part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century they had come to be regarded as a part of it.<sup>12</sup> The size and strength of each tribe differed greatly. The Drong Shog ('Brog shog), the largest tribe, consisted of 636 families in the 1920s, while the smallest group, the Ral sum, (Ral gsum) had only 27 families.<sup>13</sup> The two groups were also marked by differences in their modes of livelihood, as the Upper Tribes were predominantly nomads, while the Lower Tribes, as their name suggests, were sedentary agriculturalists. The territory of the Hor Sogu was relatively wealthy in resources, and it was the largest centre of wool production in Tibet, with wool from the region being exported as far as India and China. The territory was located on the main trade routes to Lhasa from Xining in the north-east and Dartsedo (today known as Kangding) in the east. The trade routes were a lucrative target for raids by the nomads of the Hor Sogu and, as we will see later, these raids were the cause of friction between Lhasa and the Muslim rulers of Qinghai. The Hor Sogu was held together by a loose confederation under the nominal leadership of the *Hor sphyi khyab rgyal po* (The King of all Hor). At the time of Gagyā Dramnak, the King of Hor Sogu was Norbu Wangyal, (Nor-bu dbang-rgyal), the head of the Yi tha clan, who became the King of Hor Sogu in 1907. His family became the most powerful one among the Hor tribes after civil war between them led to the royal family of the Hor Sogu being destroyed and to the loss of all its power.

The main centre of the Hor Sogu was at Bachen (Sbra chen rdzong or sBra gur chen po, the Great Black Tent) where the monastery of Akar (A dkar) is situated along with the fort or castle (*rdzong*) where the King of the Hor Sogu resided. Each tribe had its own hereditary chief, who often served as ministers (*blo chen* or *blo po*) in the King's court, but was headed in practice by an elder (*rgan po*) who had the most contact with ordinary members of the group and made most of the day-to-day decisions. Each tribe acted as an autonomous community and the primary loyalty and identification of the members were with their own tribe.

The people of the Hor Sogu assert a unique history and identity. The term Hor generally refers in Tibetan to Mongols and the Hor Sogu claim they are descendants of a wandering Mongol Prince and his men, who were themselves from the line of Genghis Khan. Local tradition divides their history into three periods, the Mongol period (*Sog dus*), the Chinese period, (*Rgya dus*) and lastly the Tibetan period (*Bod dus*). The Mongol period dates from 1637 to 1728, when the Chinese period began as a result of the posting by the Qing emperors of Ambans to Lhasa, under whose jurisdiction the region was administered. The Tibetan period refers to the years from 1912 to 1942, when, following the collapse of the Qing, the whole of Nagchu came under the control of Lhasa government and was administered by the Hor sphyi khyab, the Governor of Hor.<sup>14</sup>

12 For a full list and division of the tribes see, bKra ba, "Hor tsho pa so dgu'i snga physis'i lo rgyus rag tsaṃ gleng ba" [A Brief Account of the History of the Thirty-Nine Tribes of Hor], in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Selected Cultural and Historical Materials of Tibet], Vol. 3 (1990), pp.180-187.

13 bKra ba, 1990, pp.180-87. The list of number of families is based on a census conducted by the Tibetan government in 1924 during the time of Hor Chikyab Yuthok Khenchung Wangdu Norbu, (G.yu thog Mkhan chung Dbang 'dus nor bu).

14 bKra ba, 1990, p.178.

For the purposes of this paper, I am only concerned with the period which the locals call *Bod dus*, the Tibetan period, as it corresponds to the life of Gagyā Dramnak.

Another very important factor that has to be highlighted is that the population of the Hor sogu not only claim separate historical origins, but are also marked as distinct by religion, being mostly Bonpo or followers of the Bon religion. The region formed one of the strongholds of Bon tradition in Tibet. One of the most sacred mountain ranges of the Bonpo, the Nangchen Thangla range, is situated in the southern part of the Hor Sogu.<sup>15</sup> Most of the monasteries in the Hor Sogu were Bonpo establishments, except in Khyungpo areas where there were a few monasteries affiliated with the Kagyupa (Bka'-brgyud-pa) and Nyingmapa (Rnying-ma-pa) schools of Tibetan Buddhism. The people of the area were the main source of patronage for Bonpo monasteries throughout central Tibet, and it appears that many Bonpo lamas moved into the Hor Sogu area because of the lucrative sources of patronage and resources that it offered.<sup>16</sup> What is interesting to our story is that the region never had strong penetration by the Gelukpa (Dge-lugs-pa), the Buddhist school associated with the Lhasa government. The only Geluk monasteries of any significance were Sog Tsan dan *dgon* and Rab brtan *dgon* in Rongpo, which were founded in 17<sup>th</sup> century at the time of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, and which are located in the Khyungpo region, not in the heartlands of the Hor Sogu. Religion as well as political and social organization thus marked the uniqueness and separate identity of the population of the Hor Sogu.

In 1904, in the aftermath of the British invasion of Tibet, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama fled Lhasa to Mongolia. During his flight, he passed through Nagchu. In the Dalai Lama's biography, he gives a description of his journey and describes an incident when he and his party encountered a group of brigands, but, as the brigands approached the party, a cloud of mist descended and the travellers were concealed from a possible attack. Evidently, even the Dalai Lama and his entourage shared a fear of raids from hostile groups when travelling in the territory of the Hor Sogu. The region did not owe allegiance to the Dalai Lama's government, nor did they hold religious reverence for the Buddhist lama. There existed strong religious hostility between these groups, and the Lhasa government viewed the region as a *Mun nag*, "dark land" (not yet civilised by Buddhism).

Another fact that drew conflict between the Lhasa government and the Hor Sogu was the Hor's allegiance to the Qing, rather than to Lhasa. The region had come under Qing control in 1725, when a High Commissioner based in Khyungpo Tengchen had been appointed. Although no Qing garrisons were stationed within the five areas of the Upper Tribe, known as the Tsho pa stod shog lnga, they were subject to the orders of the High Commissioner in Tencheng.<sup>17</sup> The garrison there was not under the authority of the Amban in Lhasa, but that of the Qing

15 The five holy mountains of the Bonpos are known as the *Bon gyi ngas mchog rangs ri chen po lnga*. The range is also holy to the Buddhists, who know it as the *Lha chen rdorje 'bar ba rtsal*.

16 Dondrup Lhagyal, "Bonpo family lineages in Central Tibet", p.422. In Samten G. Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano (eds.) *New Horizons in Bon Studies. Bon Studies 2* (Senri Ethnological Reports 15), 2000, pp.429-508. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

17 Shes rab rgya mtsho. "*Hor tsho so dgu'i nang tshan Khyung po dkar nag ser gsum dang de'i ya gyal nag ru dpon tshang gi lo rgyu rags bsdus*" [A Brief Account of the Three Tribes Known as White, Black and Yellow Tengchen of the Thirty-Nine Tribes and a Brief History of the Family of the Chief of Black Tencheng] in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs* [Selected Cultural and Historical Materials of Tibet], vol. 8.



High Commissioner stationed in Xining, and it was only in 1851 that the administration of the Hor Sogu was transferred to the Amban in Lhasa.<sup>18</sup>

The Hor Sogu's allegiance to the Qing was demonstrated in two tax obligations to the Amban in Lhasa. To fulfil that obligation, the Hor Sogu sent annually a number of horses and men to serve in Qing garrisons that were stationed in Central Tibet.<sup>19</sup> In 1907, in a memorial to the Emperor, the Amban Lian Yu sought to strengthen the Qing position in Tibet by increasing the number of soldiers and proposed that the number of Qing armed forces in Tibet should be increased to six thousand, with 40% of the soldiers recruited from among the Hor Sogu; the Amban specifically mentioned the assured loyalty of the Hor Sogu. In 1909, the Qing army under Zhao Erfeng could not have reached Lhasa without the additional troops he mustered from the Hor Sogu, who fought alongside the Chinese troops. The Hor Sogu remained loyal to the Chinese even after the collapse of the Qing and continued to support the new Republican government.

After the Dalai Lama returned from exile in India in 1912, the collapse of the Qing was marked by the expulsion of the Qing garrisons from Tibet. The Dalai Lama instituted a series of reforms that sought to strengthen the country and bring different parts of Tibet under the direct control of the Lhasa government. In his 1932 statement, regarded as his Last Testament, the Thirteenth Dalai Lama even stressed the need to bring outlying areas of Tibet under the strong control of Lhasa. The 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's attempt at nation-building and at instituting direct rule by Lhasa in such outlying areas was one of the sources of conflict in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century between the centre and peripheries.<sup>20</sup> The best-known example of that tension was the conflict between Lhasa and Shigatse, the fiefdom of the Tashilhunpo monastery, which led in 1923 to the flight of the Panchen Lama to China, where he and his successor remained for the next quarter-century. Much less known were the attempts of Lhasa government to bring other outlying territories under its control, which also led to long and complex conflicts.<sup>21</sup>

The territory of the Hor Sogu was one of the regions over which Lhasa sought to extend control at this period. As noted, territories under the control of the Hor Sogu were under the nominal administration of the Amban in Lhasa and during this time were virtually autonomous. The Qing presence in the region was manifested through the garrison at Tencheng area until 1912, but in all other respects The King of Hor had absolute jurisdiction in settling disputes. Lhasa's extension of its authority in the region happened in three stages. Firstly, in 1912, the Tibetan army dispatched five senior Depons (*mda'dpon*) headed by Depon Ragashag (*Mda'dpon*

18 Dungkar Lobsang Trinley, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (Pe cin: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2002). Also, Shatra Gaden Paljor, Chabtsom Chime Gyelpo and Seshing Lobsang Dondrub, "De snga'i bod sa gnas srid gzhung gi srid 'dzin sgrig gzhi," Vol. 4, 87, *Xizang zizhi qu gaikuang*.

19 At the Simla conferene, Shatra's notes mentions that the only tax obligation to the Amban was the annual tribute of two horses. At the meeting Shatra also presented three documents showing that the Lhasa government levied taxes in the Khyungpo region. See: Bshad sgra dpal 'byor rdo rje, Shing stag, Rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul du dbyin Bod Rgya gsum chings mol mdzad lugs kun gsal me long. This is Shatra official account of the Simla Convention of 1914, (Shing stag, Wood Tiger year).

20 *The Political Testment of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama*, Kalimpong, 1958, pp.7-8.

21 Tsering Shakya, "The 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama, Thupten Gyatso," Martin Brauen (ed.), *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, Serindia Publications, 2005, pp.136-161.

Ra ga shag) to expel the Qing garrison from Tencheng and to capture Qing soldiers who had fled from Lhasa. The expulsion of Qing troops meant that in principle the Hor Sogu's territory had come under the effective control of Lhasa. The Tibetan troops met with fierce resistance and Lhasa's assertion of power was not a smooth transition. When the Tibetan troops entered Tencheng, the Gang ri (Sgang-ri) and Ga-tha tribes sided with the Chinese, while the Karu (Dkar-ru) tribe fought on the side of the Lhasa troops.<sup>22</sup> It was not until 1915 that an army led by Kalon Lama Jampa Tendar, who headed one of the best trained and equipped sectors of the Tibetan army at the time, managed to gain total control of the Hor Sogu.

After the pacification of the region, Lhasa granted the whole of the territories of Hor Sogu as a *choe zhi* (mchod gzhis) or "religious estate" to Sera Monastery. This meant that Sera monastery had absolute authority to exert revenue from the inhabitants and to administer the law. This had far-reaching repercussions and was to become one of the main sources of tension and conflict in the region. As noted earlier, the majority of the population were followers of the Bon religion, and the contempt in which adherents of Bon were held by the Gelukpas was well known. Sera monastery was one of the most important centres of Gelukpa orthodoxy and it was impossible not to expect its members to be deeply contemptuous of the Bonpos. For the Sera leaders, the region offered not only a lucrative source of revenue but also an opportunity for proselytising the teachings of the Gelukpa school, and in 1914, they dispatched a number of monk officials to administer the region. When the party reached Gare Yutso (Ga-re'i g.yu-mtsho) to the north of the Khyungpo territory, they were ambushed and the abbot and his escort were killed.<sup>23</sup> Sera made repeated attempts to gain control of the region but the local people refused to submit to their authority and repelled them. Sera was finally forced to abandon the land bequeathed to it. Similar problems faced the Lhasa government when in 1916 it created the post of the Hor sphyi khyab (the Governor of Hor), who was to serve as the main civil and military authority in the region. From the very beginning the actions of the Lhasa government were unpopular with the local population. They were seen not only as usurping the power of local tribal leaders and the authority of the King of Hor, but as an attempt to destroy the Bonpo faith.

Another source of the contention was the treatment of the Hor King. In 1916, the Lhasa government created the position of Governor of Hor, as we have seen, but later in 1940s changed the title from Hor sphyi skyab to Jang Chikyab (*Byang sphyi skyab*), the Governor of the North. With this, the whole of the northwestern area of Nagchu, including an important trade route, came under the jurisdiction of the Chikyab. During the time when the Lhasa aristocrat Yuthok served as Hor Chikyab in 1916,<sup>24</sup> a census (*sa rta zhib gzhung*) of the households (*them dud*) of the Hor Sogu was carried out; a second census was conducted in 1924. The first found that there were 6,367 households in the Hor Sogu territory, and that at that time the Gar khong

22 *Hor tsho so dgu'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha rtsom sgrig khang, 1990, pp.26-27.

23 *Bod ljongs nag chu sa khul gyi lo rgyus rig gnas*, Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha rtsom sgrig khang, 1990, p.27.

24 Full Name Khenchung Wangdu Norbu, (Mkhan chung Dbang 'dus nor bu).

(*Sgar khongs*) was the largest tribe with 516 households, with the group divided into four bands, each headed by a gen po (*rgan po*) or elder. The smallest tribe at that time was the Tapa Norma (Rta pa nor ma) which had only 16 households and was without a tribal leader.<sup>25</sup>

Between 1916 and 1942, ten Lhasa officials of the fourth rank (*rim bzhi*) served under one or other of these titles as the Governor of Nagchu.<sup>26</sup> A monk-official and a lay official always shared the governorship, with one or other serving as the leading figure according to seniority. They were supported by two thousand Tibetan soldiers. During the time of the first Governor, a monk official called Khenchung Dragpa Namgyal (Mkhan chung Grags pa rnams rgyal),<sup>27</sup> the King of Hor was stripped of his powers and was reduced to the status of a tribal leader of the Drong shog. The loss of the King's status was marked by the removal of the King from his official residence and by the installation of the Governor in the castle.<sup>28</sup> Dragpa Namgyal was noted as the most brutal of all governors. He is said to have executed scores of tribal leaders and amputated the hands of those who fought against the Tibetan army.<sup>29</sup> He was equally brutal in the treatment of his soldiers. When touring the Zogang (Mdzo sgang) area near Chamdo, he executed a Gya Pon (*brgya pon*, Commander of One Hundred Men) called Tenzin Legshe (Bstan 'dzin legs bshad) and amputated the legs of nine Chu Pon (*chu dpon*, Commanders of Ten Men) for negligence in fighting against the Chinese.<sup>30</sup>

The rule of Dragpa Namgyal is remembered today by the local people as a pogrom against the Hor Sogu. He sought to eliminate the last remnants of Chinese rule in the region, as well as to exact retribution on the population for the killing of the officials from Sera Monastery. He began by searching for the tribal leaders who had sided with the Chinese and then executed or mutilated them and their chief followers. Those families who had supported the Qing were executed and their estates confiscated. In one village, Gat Tha, it was reported that of 47 families, only 28 survived the campaign, and in some oral accounts I received it was said that in some areas the entire male line of a family was executed.<sup>31</sup> Besides this, the governors also sought to convert all the Bonpo monasteries into Gelukpa establishments.<sup>32</sup>

25 *Bcings 'grol sngon du nag chu sa khyul gyi tsho gshog so so'i ming dang them grang 'go dpon mi grang bcas kyi tho byang*, Bod ljongs nag chu sa khul gyi lo rgyus rig gnas, deb dang po, pp.117-152. Later Tapa Norma was absorbed into the Yi tha Tribe.

26 bKra ba, 1990, p.189.

27 Biographical detail of Dragpa Namgyal, see: Shag ru shes rab rgya mtsho, *mkhan chung grags pa rnams rgyal gyi 'byung khungs dang des hor spyi byas pa'i lo rgyis rags bsdus shig*, Bod kyi lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha bdams bsgrigs, 2003, Vol. 23, pp.122-135.

28 bKra ba, 1990, p.191.

29 *Hor tsho so dgu'i lo rgyus lo rgyus mdor bsdus*, Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha rtsom sgrig khang nas bsrin, (no date cited), pp.52-59.

30 Shag ru shes rab rgya mtsho, 2003, p.124.

31 This account could be highly plausible, after the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama's return from India in 1911, a number of Lhasa officials were executed, most notably is Tsarong Shape was accused of collaborating with the occupying Chinese force and was brutally beheaded along with his son at the foot of Potala. Another five government officials were executed in the same manner.

32 bKra ba, 1990, p.201.

Nicholas Roerich, the Russian explorer and Tibetologist who stayed five months in the region in 1928, observed the tension between Lhasa officials and the local people, writing that local people resented Lhasa's intrusion and were reluctant to perform corvée labour.<sup>33</sup> At the time the Governor was Kabshopa Chogyal Nyima, (Ka shod pa Chos rgyal nyi ma), of whom it is written in an unpublished biography that when he came to take up his post, "he soon discovered that the real power in the area lay with the local tribal chieftain called Gagya Tendar."<sup>34</sup> During Kabshopa's time there, a popular uprising took place in Hor under the leadership of Gagya Tendar, as a result Kabshopa was recalled to Lhasa.<sup>35</sup>

The local people came to view Lhasa's rule with terror; they were cowed into submission. But they also faced harsh tax obligations that were imposed on them by these new governors. These included every household having to send a man to serve in the army. The governors met with strong resistance – Dragpa Namgyal and the Governor in 1935, Khenchung Thupten Pema (*Mkhan chung* Thub bstan padma), were both assassinated. The Lhasa appointees never succeeded in pacifying the Hor Sogu.

In 1941, when the post of Hor Chikyab was abolished and the new administrative region of northern Tibet was created, the Governors attempted to break up the territory of the Hor Sogu by putting it under a new system of dzong (*rdzong*) or district administration. It was divided into six dzongs,<sup>36</sup> each administrated by a lay and a monk official who were under the command of the Jang Chikyab. It was during this situation of tension and change that Gagya Dramnak came into prominence as the central figure in the region's history.

## The Gagya Tsang

Between 1912 and 1943, it was not only the attempts of Lhasa to extend its control, with the resultant fracturing of traditional power and structure, that dominated politics in Hor Sogu. A second underlying strain was the intense rivalry between prominent families and the inter-tribal conflict that resulted. After the Tibetan government eliminated the King of Hor, the Gagya tsang or family of Gagya rose to become one of the most powerful families among the Hor Sogu. We know a great deal of the family's history because the house of Gagya produced two of the most important figures to emerge in the Bonpo community in Hor in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. One was Gagya Dramnak's elder brother, Khyungtrul Jigme Namkha Dorje, (Khyung sprul 'jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje, 1899-1955) who became one of the outstanding

33 Nicholas Roerich, *Heart of Asia: Memoirs from the Himalayas*, Rochester, Inner Traditions International, 1990, p.64.

34 I would like to thank Kabshopa Jamyang Chogyal for allowing me to read the manuscript.

35 Kabshopa had Gagya Dramnak's father arrested and subjected to public whipping. There are conflicting accounts of Kabshopa's conflict with Gagya family. According to local sources, Kabshopa wished to have a precious gem owned by Gagya Tendar. When the latter refused to sell it to Kabshopa, the Governor accused him to be a bandit.

36 Tengchen dzong, Setsha dzong (Ser tsha rdzong), Tridodzung (Khri rdo rdzong), Bachen dzong, Nyenrong dzong and Driru dzong.

Bon scholars and masters of the period and founded Gur gyam monastery in Ngari in far western Tibet. His biography (*rnam thar*) contains a wealth of history about the Gagyatse family. It belonged to the Gagyaru tribe (Ga rgya ru tsho ba) who consisted of the eight tribes known as the Upper Tribe. The group was originally based in the Drong Shog area and in earlier times, the head of the family, Gagyatse Dragpa, who was Gagyatse Dramnak's grandfather, had occupied a leading position in Amdo (north-eastern Tibet) as a Tongpon (*stong dpon*). Later, when the Gagyaru tribe was forced out of their home territory, the family migrated to Bachen, where the seat of the Hor King was based. One of the daughters, Trigyal Jechen (Khri rgyal rje chen), married the 12<sup>th</sup> King of Hor, and from then on a member of the family held the position of Lonpo or minister at the court of the King. On the mother's side, the family could also claim noble lineage, since she was descended from a Mongol tribal leader known as the Red King (*Rgyal po dmar po*), who had fled to the Hor region and ruled the Jangthang (Byang thang) or northern grasslands area of Tibet.<sup>37</sup>

According to their own legends, the family has a strong spiritual connection with the local Bonpo protective deity and is said to produce a man of super quality every third generation. In fact, the family produced two sons who are remembered and valorised by Bonpos from that area today. Gagyatse Dramnak was one of seven sons born to Gagyatse Sonam Tendral and his wife Namtso, who also had one daughter. They had married into the Patsang family, one of the longest and distinguished Bon po families.<sup>38</sup> Gagyatse Dramnak was born in 1908 and given the name of Konchok Gyaltzen (Dkon mchog rdo rje), but he came to be commonly known as Gagyatse Dramnak on account of a black mole the size of a thumb on his cheek. His elder brother, Khyungtrul Jigme Namkha Dorje, later to become an outstanding Bon scholar, should have succeeded the father and become the head of the tribe to serve at the Hor royal court, according to family traditions; however, from an early age Khyungtrul wanted to follow a spiritual path and refused to take responsibility for the family. The family's original plan was for Gagyatse Dramnak as the younger son to follow a spiritual path. He was enrolled at Akar monastery during his early teens.<sup>39</sup> In fact, at birth Konchok Gyaltzen was said to be the son of the local mountain deity (*yul lha'i rdzus bu*), Pawa Dragnag Dorje Dradul (*Spa ba brag nag rdo rje dgra 'dul*). He certainly possessed the wrathful character of the spirit. Those who knew Gagyatse Dramnak portray him as a ruthless and cunning figure. He is described as "a man who envied those in power and bullied others," and he was also said to be "faithful to his friends and defiant of authority." The Lhasa officials depicted him as a *jag pon* or bandit leader. Recent writings about him based on oral sources describe

37 *The Biography of Khyung sprul 'jigs med nam mkha'i rdo rje, Being the text of "khyab bdag 'khor lo'i mgon mkhas grub 'jigs med nam mkha'i rnam thar bad brgya'i rman bya rnam par rtse ba"*. Dpal ldan tshul khrims & Zal gdams, Nams mgur of Khyung sprul, Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, Solan, HP, India, 1972, (here after cited as Khyung sprul, 1972). I would like to thank Dr. Charles Ramble for providing a copy of this biography to me.

38 See: Dondrup Lhayal, 2000, pp.456-460. Pa (sPa) is one of the five great lineages of Bon. The Pa lineage was original based in Ngari (Mnga' ris) and Tsang. The family was driven out of their home territory during the reign of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama. In the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Pa masters founded the some of the most important monasteries in the Hor region.

39 Akar monastery was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution; only ruins remain.

him as “fond” of banditry and “delighted” at the opportunity to lead raiding expeditions against other tribes. The Gagma family is said to have deeply resented the Tibetan government’s usurping of the power of the Hor King. Thus, from the very outset of Lhasa rule, Gagma Dramnak found himself in opposition to Lhasa.

On the surface, it would appear that this opposition to the Lhasa government should have found widespread support among the Hor Sogu. However, despite the general unpopularity of Lhasa rule, the Hor Sogu was infected with internal feuds. In the complex web of conflicts that marked inter-tribal relations, Gagma Tsang was at the centre of internecine feuding that led to a general mistrust of the family. He earned his reputation for fearlessness during his youth, but at the same time sowed the seeds for many of the feuds that he was later entangled in. When he was only sixteen years old, he was sent by his father to collect a debt from Jo Butra (*’Jo ’bru khra*), the tribal chief of the Dongtoe clan (*’Brong stod*). Jo Butra, thinking that the elder Gagma had sent a boy to do a man’s job, hoodwinked the boy by telling him that his father was mistaken and that the debts had been paid. Gagma Dramnak returned to his father’s camp empty-handed and was admonished by his father with the remark, “the Gagma family does not seem to have a son,” meaning that Dramnak had acted like a woman. In a society where manliness is highly prized, the father’s remark deeply humiliated the young Dramnak. He vowed to exact revenge on Jo Butra for this humiliation. The following year (1924), when Dramnak was sent by his father to Dongtoe area, he saw this as an opportunity to exact revenge on Jo Butra and killed him. Only 16 years old at that time, his fame quickly spread throughout the Nagchu area and marked him as a man of importance.

If we examine the cases where Gagma Dramnak was involved in raids, they mostly fall into three types: retributory, restorative and predatory. As noted before, in the usage found amongst the Hor Sogu, the term *jag* is used both for predatory raids, which can be defined strictly as banditry, and for the other types. I define retributory raid as mostly connected to restoring honour, while restorative raids are concerned with revenge or redressing balance in cases of what are perceived as unjust past actions. Predatory and opportunistic raids are purely driven by greed and are a means of acquiring wealth and goods through violent means. All three types of raids are connected with the nomadic culture of the Hor Sogu and values of manliness (*pho rab kyi ngag tshul*), where a man is judged by his bravery (*dpa’i ngar*) in carrying out retributory or restorative actions. Another source of feud and conflict was the loss of livestock: for a nomadic community, where livestock are the most prized possessions and their protection is paramount, the loss of livestock affected not only wealth but threatened the prestige of a family. Many of Gagma Dramnak’s raids on other tribes and families were in retaliation for prior attacks on him or his family. These attacks generated a circle of violent feuds that had in turn to be settled by the exaction of retribution. This is not to say that Gagma was not involved in predatory raids, but these are less well documented and often the victims were unable to identify the attackers. In the cases that we know of concerning Gagma Dramnak, we find that notions of prestige, honour and revenge were important motivational factors.

Two well-documented raids carried out by Gagya Dramnak were illustrative of the raiding culture among the Hor Sogu.<sup>40</sup> The Gagyatsang family was involved in a long-festering feud with another tribal leader, Pon Mingyur (Dpon Mi 'gyur) of the Gegye Ribar tribe (Dge rgyas ri bar). According to oral sources, this originated from an incident when men from Gegye Ribar, under the instruction of Pon Mingyur, robbed a herd of horses belonging to the Marshok clan who were members of the Drongshok ('Brog shog) tribe. In the ensuing fight, the Marshok clan killed Pon Mingyur's men including his cousin Samdup. For the killing of his men and his cousin, Pon Mingyur ordered a raid on a tea caravan belonging to the Drongshok tribe and his clan staged further raids on the Marshok clan by stealing livestock belonging to them.

Gagya Dramnak's family did not suffer particularly from Pon Mingyur's raid, but the Marshok clan belongs to the same confederation as the Gagyatsang, and the raids were said to have been accompanied by insults and ridicule towards the Drongshok tribe. When the Drongshok met to discuss what actions to take, Gagya Dramak volunteered to lead a revenge raid against Pon Mingyur. This led to a series of attacks and counter-attacks between the two groups. Each attack increased the number of clans involved and the issue became more and more complex. During the ensuing raids and attacks, different clans would be accused of aiding one side or the other and would themselves become targets of raids. The inter-group raiding lasted for decades without any resolution and the retaliatory attacks destroyed the Ribar clan.

The second documented case of inter-family conflict involving the Gagyatsang was the long-running dispute between the family and Tshabshi Anam (Tshab shis a nam).<sup>41</sup> This feud, legendary throughout the Hor Sogu, and the tense relationship that ensued, affected social order in Nagchu throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The origin and the source of the feud are complex and go back to disputes over taxes and loans. Tshabshi Anam was a member of a wealthy and aristocratic family from the Wontha clan and a member of the Kharmar tribe, who was said to be clever in speech and courageous, but full of "bad intentions" and "secret plans".

The dispute had not begun as one involving the Gagyatsang. Tshabshi Anam was said to owe some money to the Wonthatsang of the Dukju clan, but this family, unable to obtain repayment from Anam, sold the loan to Gargya Tendar. After repeated failure to obtain their money from Anam, the Gagyatsang appealed to the Lhasa-appointed governor, Kabshopa Chokyi Nyima, who adjudicated in their favour. During the judicial hearing, it was said that Tshabshi Anam humiliated the Gargyatsang with his oratory skills, leaving Gagya Tendar speechless and disgraced. Gagya Tendar thus vowed to take revenge on Anam, saying that peace would not be restored until his (Anam's) death. On his deathbed, Gagya Tendar made his son promise to avenge the slights inflicted on them by Anam in order to restore the honour of the family.

40 "Rib a dang Ga rgya 'krugs pa'i skor", in *Hor ga rgya 'gram nag gi lo rgyus rags bsdu dang ga tshab 'bkrugs pa'i skor*," Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha rtsom sgrig khang nas bsrin, (no date cited), pp.129-55.

41 "Tshab shis Ga rgya dgra lan slog pa'i skor", *Hor ga rgya 'gram nag gi lo rgyus rags bsdu dang ga tshab 'bkrugs pa'i skor*," Nag chu sa gnas srid gros lo rgyus rig gnas dpyad gzhi'i rgyu cha rtsom sgrig khang nas bsrin, (no date cited), pp.104-113.

After the death of his father, Gagya Dramnak fulfilled the deathbed promise made to his father and raided Tsabshi Anam's camp. When, he found that Anam had already fled, leaving his seventeen-year-old son and seventy-year-old father at the camp, Gagya and his men killed both the son and the father. It is said that Gagya left a note saying that he had not meant to kill the father and that his death had been an accident. He left 10 dri – ('bri) or female yaks – as payment. The Gagyatsang feuds with Pon Mingyur and Tsabshi Anam permeated throughout Hor Sogu society and, because of the web of tribal alliances, drew all groups into retaliatory raids, where the raiding parties were made up of kinsmen and clan members. None of these raids were directed against Lhasa authority, nor were they expressions of social discontent.

The imposition of Lhasa authority, although it was greatly resented, in fact presented the local tribes with a complex situation. On the one hand, as we have seen, when convenient the families were willing to submit their disputes to the Lhasa-appointed governor for adjudication. But at other times, more often than not, they ignored the authority of the governor. The Lhasa rulers found themselves in a difficult situation and were unable to provide effective security or to coerce tribal leaders into submission. Under successive governors, relations with the tribal leaders remained precarious. There were attempts to incorporate the prominent ones into the military and the administration of the region: the Drongshog Pon ('Brog shog *dpon*), the head of the Drongshog tribe, was appointed as a Datsab (*mda' tshab*) or Honorary General by Lhasa because he belonged to the family of the Hor King; other tribal leaders were appointed as Gya Pon, a lower rank.<sup>42</sup> However, these were merely symbolic titles, and the tribal leaders and their men remained separate from the Tibetan army.

This situation was exacerbated by the fact that Lhasa officials saw their appointment to the Hor Sogu as a source of self-aggrandisement and as an opportunity to enrich themselves. The governors exerted high tax obligations, leading to resistance from the local population which in turn was used to justify the confiscation (*gzbug bzhes*) of property and imprisonment. The draconian measures taken by the governors prompted the tribal leaders to appeal to the Lhasa government directly, and the reports reaching Lhasa forced the government to recall two governors back to Lhasa to face investigation. But this failed to change the situation, and the habitual venality of the Lhasa officials meant that all their decisions were viewed as self-serving. Accordingly, they were in no position to resolve intertribal disputes. With the failure of successive governors to pacify the Hor Sogu, retaliatory raids between the tribes became endemic between 1930 and 1940.

As noted, there were many raids that were of a different type: attacks on trading caravans passing through the territory of the Hor Sogu. These predatory raids often attacked caravans coming from Qinghai, with merchants who were mostly Muslims. This had serious repercussions for Lhasa, as the Muslim traders appealed to Ma Bufang, the Muslim warlord ruler of Qinghai, who had been fighting with the Tibetan army in North Kham. Ma, on the pretext of securing the trade route, began to send troops into the Nagchu region. This was a major problem for the Tibetan government, as it did not want to face a war with Ma Bufang so close to Lhasa.

<sup>42</sup> bKra ba, 1990, p.197.



Gagya Dramnak was at the centre of this growing mesh of problems facing Lhasa. He was by this time in his thirties and at the height of his power, both within his family and his tribe, but also among the Hor Sogu in general, to whom he had become a strong man who could impose his demands at will. For the Lhasa authorities, Gagya posed a security threat both in terms of refusal to accede to Lhasa's rule and as the seeming source of internecine feuds in Hor.

### The Killing of Gagya

As Gagya defeated family after family, many of the smaller ones either sought his protection or fled. As his raiding became increasingly troublesome for other tribes who resented his growing power, they began to seek the support of Lhasa troops to eliminate him. But Gagya commanded three hundred well-armed men (*a phrug*) and for years, the Governors of Hor repeatedly failed to arrest Gagya because of fear of reprisals from his men.

In 1941, under Lhasa's new administrative system, Phala Thupten Woden became the first Governor of the North (*Byang spyi*), based at Nagchukha. Phala was one of the rising monk officials in Lhasa and the governorship was his first senior appointment. He arrived in Nagchu determined to bring order, and, in the interview recorded after he came into exile in 1959, Phala states that Gagya Dramnak "was the bandit general of the region, [and] commanded three to four hundred followers who killed and robbed both nomads and travellers. Although Gagya caused tremendous hardship to the people and created chaos in the region, due to the ruthlessness of Gagya and his men, all the people of the region remained mute and the officials in the region could not resolve the problem."<sup>43</sup> Phala claims that soon after arriving in Nagchu he wrote a letter to Gagya promising amnesty as long as he agreed to abide by the law. A few days later, Gagya visited the Governor with gifts. The meeting was a disaster: Gagya declared that he could not change his way of life and that raiding was part of his livelihood. Phala's attempt to assuage him had been unsuccessful. For the next year, Phala plotted to eliminate Gagya's influence and isolate him.

In late 1941, Gagya and his men raided the Tibetan garrison in Bachen and pillaged the surrounding nomadic camps. Tsedrung Karkhang (*Rtsi drung Dkar khang*),<sup>44</sup> the head of the garrison in Bachen, sent an urgent message seeking reinforcements. Phala's response was to wait and see: he told the garrison not to retaliate, since Gagya had the support of the local people. In an interview, he claimed that he had decided to wait for an opportune time to attack Gagya. As to how that moment came, there are two slightly differing accounts. One is the lengthy oral account given by Phala, while the other is eyewitness testimony of the final days of Gagya. According to an eyewitness, Phala invited Gagya to the garrison at Bachen Dzong on the pretext of gambling. During a night of gambling Gagya became intoxicated; as he went down the stairs, Tibetan soldiers ambushed him. During the scuffle Gagya was stabbed to death. Phala gives a

43 Phala, 1996, p.107.

44 His full name was *rTsi drung Dkar khang ngag dbang thar pa*.

very different version, which may be more accurate. It also reveals something of the thinking surrounding the execution of Gagya. According to Phala, Gagya had only been wounded during the scuffle, but not killed. He was imprisoned in Bachen Dzong, and during his time there Phala demanded his submission. Gagya, however, remained defiant.

Phala claims that he was advised to execute Gagya by a monk officer named Zhalngo Lobsang (*Zhal ngo Blo bzang*).<sup>45</sup> Phala recalled that, as soon as he agreed to have Gagya executed, Lobsang replied, “It is already done”.<sup>46</sup> But Phala includes another detail about the thinking of the Lhasa officials concerning their prisoner. At one point, he recalls, during his incarceration, Gagya asked for drinking water. Phala notes that, knowing that Gagya was a Bonpo, he ordered the guards to give him water to which had been added Chinten (*byin rten*), materials sacred to followers of Buddhism.<sup>47</sup> In the statement, Phala emphasizes Gagya’s faith, implying that he was finally defeated not just in terms of politics, but in terms of religion too.

At the time of his death, Gagya was thirty-seven years old. His body was displayed at the gate of Bachen Dzong to intimidate the locals, and the execution of Gagya did not bring immediate retaliations for the Lhasa appointees. However, it created a lasting resentment of Lhasa authority in the territory of the Hor Sogu. According to the Lhasa government Gagya was a troublesome bandit, or, as Phala called him, a “Bandit General” (*jag pa’i sde dpon*).<sup>48</sup> The people of the Hor Sogu and the Bonpos had an ambivalent view of him, seeing him on the one hand as representing the resistance of the people of the Hor Sogu to the imposition of Lhasa’s rule and occupying the position of a “primitive rebel”. Few of his raids, as far as we know, were against the Lhasa government or its representatives, apart from the one against Bachen Dzong; he *represented* opposition, but mainly in the form of defiance rather than attacks. He was, however, no Robin Hood. Many of the raids occurred in retaliation to prior attacks in order to reacquire stolen livestock or reclaim unpaid loans. These types of the raids were very common in Tibetan nomadic communities. The raids were not simply the action of a single bandit group but carried out by groups of young men who were united by close ties of kinship or by tribal alliances sanctioned by their elders. The targets and victims of Gagya’s banditry were thus the local population, and his raids were not motivated by any wish to redistribute of wealth, or by robbing the rich to give to the poor.

But Lhasa’s primary problems, however significant Gagya and his raids seemed at the time, were in large part of its own making. Before Lhasa imposed its rule, disputes and feuds in the area had been settled by the King of Hor. But the elimination of the King by the new regime had left a power vacuum among the Hor Sogu and this contributed to the tremendous and long-running political upheaval experienced there throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By creating fractures in the traditional tribal structure and destroying the social hierarchy, Lhasa’s

45 *Zhal ngo* is generally the term used for the monk who is the chief disciplinarian in a monastery. In Tibetan army, the term is used for the commander of twenty-five men.

46 Phala, 1996, p.113.

47 Phala, 1996, p.112.

48 Phala, 1996, p.107.

colonisation of the region left space for an opportunistic strong man to emerge. Its rule was unpopular, and there were a number of small uprisings which were ruthlessly suppressed. Even long after Gagya's death, there were signs that deep-seated resentment was still rife: when the Chinese Communists entered Nagchu from the north in 1950, the majority of the local population supported the People's Liberation Army and the Communists found fertile recruiting grounds there. Even today, a half-century later, we find that many of the elite Tibetans in the upper ranks of the Communist Party in the Tibetan Autonomous Region come from the Nagchu region.

The bandit raids of Gagya and other Hor pa leaders came to be framed locally as part of the history of widespread resentment towards domination by Lhasa in the early decades of the last century. This greatly helped those who later came through Nagchu on their way to depose that government, in turn. But the record shows that at the time the practice of raiding largely reflected internal local tensions, practices and reputational concerns within the community of Hor Sogu, and had little to do with social protest or redistributive justice. The image of the proto-rebel, like that of Robin Hood, accrued over time through processes of memory and re-imagination.



# རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་གི་དམག་འཐབ།

## ཆབ་མདོ་ཤེས་རབ།

ད་རེས་གང་བཤད་རྒྱ་བ་དེ་ནི་དངོས་ལྷན་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསོན་པོ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་དམག་མིའི་མེན་མོ་དང་མེན་གྲིས་འདྲ་པོའི་ནང་འཁོད་ཡོད་ན་མ་གཏོགས། སྤྱི་རབོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་ཡང་སྐོས་ཆབ་མདོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གང་ན་ཡང་འབྲུ་ཅན་ཞིག་འགོད་སྲོང་མེད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན། ལོ་རྒྱུས་འདི་ཀན་རབས་ཚོས་ཁ་ནས་བཤད་པ་ལས་གཞན་ཁྲུང་ས་ལུང་གང་ཡང་བྲངས་རྒྱ་མེད་ཅིང་། ཀན་རབས་དེ་བྱང་ལྷག་ཡོད་པ་ན་མས་ལ་ཡང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་གལ་གནད་ཆེ་བའི་ལོ་ཚིགས་སོགས་ཉན་ཉན་ཞིག་བཤད་རྒྱ་མེད་པས་ད་སྐབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆ་ཚང་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་མི་སྲུབ་ཀྱང་། ཀན་རབས་རྣམས་མ་རྗེས་གོང་དེར་གང་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་མ་གྲིས་བ་ཡིན་ན། རྗེས་སུ་བཤད་མཁན་དང་ཤེས་མཁན་སུ་ཡང་མེད་པ་ཆགས་རྒྱ་ཡིན་སྐབས། ཚེས་གྲངས་དང་རྒྱ་ཚོད་སོགས་ཞིབ་མ་བཤད་རྒྱ་མེད་ཀྱང་གང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་གྲིས་བཞག་པ་ཡིན་ན། གལ་སྲིད་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱ་དམག་གི་སྐབས་དེའི་མེན་གྲིས་སྣམ་མོ་འདྲ་པོ་བཏོན་ཡོང་ཆེ། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བཤད་པའི་ཚེས་གྲངས་རྣམས་རྒྱ་ཁ་ཁ་བས་བྲེད་ཆོག་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་ཕྱོགས་ནས་གང་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ཡིན་མིན་གཤེབ་བསྐྱར་བྲེད་པ་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཆགས་སྟེ། སྐབས་དེར་རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆ་ཚང་ཞིག་བཟོ་སྲུབ་པ་འདུག་སྟེ། རྣམས་འདི་འབྲི་བའི་ངལ་བ་དང་དྲུ་བྲངས་པ་ཡིན།

རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ནི་ལུང་གཤོང་དེར་བོད་པའི་ཡུལ་དམག་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་ཞིག་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་རྩ་མེད་གཏོང་བའི་སྐོར་དེ་ཡིན་ལ། ལུང་གཤོང་དེར་རོ་འགག་ཐོགས་དོན་ནི། ཉ་ཅང་གི་འགག་དོག་པོའི་དོན་ཉེ། མི་རོ་ཞིག་རྟ་དང་མཚོ་ལ་བཀལ་ཉེ་སོང་ན་ཐོགས་ནས་ཐར་མི་སྲུབ་པར་འགག་ནས་སྤྲོད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་དང་། ཡང་སྐབས་དེར་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་བོད་པ་མང་པོ་བསད་ནས་རོ་ཡིས་ལུང་གཤོང་དེ་ཡོངས་སུ་འགག་ནས་ཡོད་པས་རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་ཞེས་ཤིས་སུ་ཐོགས་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་བཅས་བཤད་སྲོལ་མི་འདྲ་བ་གཉིས་འདུག། །བོད་པའི་དམག་སྐར་ཨ་མ་དེ་ཙུ་སྟོ་ཐོ་ཞེས་པའི་རི་རྩེར་ཡོད་པར་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་འཇབ་ཆོལ་རྩ་གཏོར་བཏང་བ་ཡིན་མོད། ཡུལ་དམག་མང་ཆེ་བ་གཤམ་གྱི་རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་ལ་བསད་ཡོད་པས་རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་གི་དམག་འཐབ་དང་རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་གི་རྩུ་མ་ཉེས་ཞེས་འབོད་སྲོལ་ཡོད།

རོ་འགག་ལུང་གཤོང་ནི་སྤྱི་དྲུས་ཆབ་མདོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁག་ཉུ་བྱིའི་རྫོང་ཁག་དྲུག་དང་ནང་གི་བརྒྱ་ལོག་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་ཅེས་གསལ་བ་ནས་སྐོར་རྗེས་ཀྱི། བརྒྱ་ལོག་ཅེས་པའི་ཁོངས་གཏོགས་ཡིན་ལ། དེར་སང་གི་དབང་དྲུ་བྲུས་ན་བོད་རང་སྲོད་ལྗོངས།

1 འདི་ལ་རྗེ་དང་རྗེ་དེ་ཅེས་གྲིས་པ་ཡང་འདུག་མོད། ཡུལ་གྱི་བསང་ཡིག་རྙིང་པ་འགའ་ཞིག་ནང་རྗེས་ཞེས་གྲིས་པ་དག་པ་འདྲ་སྟེ་སྟེ་དེ་ལ་རྗེ་ཞེས་གྲིས་པ་ཡིན།

ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ཁུལ། ཆབ་མདོ་རྫོང་། རྟོགས་གཤིས་ཤང་<sup>2</sup> བོ་ཁོངས་སུ་གཉོགས་པ་དང་། སྐར་དུས་ཆབ་མདོ་མཐེལ་ནས་ཤང་  
ཕྱོགས་སུ་སློན་རྟོགས་བརྒྱ་ལོག་གི་རྟ་ཟམ་ས་ཚུགས་བར་རྒྱ་ཚུགས་གཅིག་ཡིན་ཀྱང་དེང་སང་མོ་ཏ་ཚུ་ཚོད་གཅིག་ཅམ་ལས་  
འགོར་གྱི་མེད།

སློན་རྟོགས་ཞེས་པ་ནི་སློན་སྡེ་དང་རྟོགས་གཤིས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་མིང་ཡིན་ལ། དེ་གཉིས་ཅ་བའི་ལུང་བ་སོ་སོར་  
ཡིན་ཀྱང་བརྒྱ་ལོག་ཅིས་སྐྱབས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བཟངས་སོལ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཁྲམ་བསྐྱེད་རྟ་ཟམ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་འདྲིན་སློང་ས་  
ཚིགས་གཅིག་གི་ལོག་ཏུ་ཡོད་པ་འདྲ། ལུང་བ་དེ་གཉིས་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡུན་རིང་ལྡན་པའི་ཁྲིམ་དུད་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། གཉི་  
ཟུ། ལྷག་གཟེག་། ལྷག་ཚུང་། ལྷག་སློང་། ལྷག་བརྒྱད། ཨ་ཀོང་། ལྷག་ཀོང་། ཉ་ཚེན། སྤྱེ་བ། དེ་ཉེ། ལྷོད་རྫོ། ཐང་མགོ་ཁྲོ་  
མགོ་། འབག་མགོ་། ཉིང་མགོ་། ཁྲོ་ཁང་། གྲེན་སློང་། རྟ་ཟམ་། འབག་བ། སློན་སྡེ་ཆེ་ཆུང་། ས་ཅིབས་ཆེ་ཆུང་། འདའ་ཆེ་ཆུང་།  
མོ་རོང་། གནས་པོ་ཚང་སོགས་མིང་དུ་གྲགས་པ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཅིང་། སྐར་དུས་ཁྲིམ་དུད་གཚོད་ཡོད་པ་ནི། རྒྱ་སྐྱེལ་སྤྱོད་  
མའི་ཆབ་མདོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༩ བར་། མོང་ལུ་རྟ་ཟམ་དང་སློན་སྡེ་རྟ་ཟམ་གཉིས་ལ་ཁྲིམ་དུད་ ༡༥༠ ལྷོད་ཡོད་པ་  
གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཆབ་མདོ་དུང་ཡིག་དཀོན་མཚོ་གདོན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡༧༩ བར་། སློན་རྟོགས་བརྒྱ་  
ལོག་ལ་ཁྲིམ་དུད་ ༡༠༠ ལྷོད་ཞེས་ཅེས་བཤད་འདུག་པ་ནི་སྐར་དུས་ཁྲིམ་དུད་ཀྱི་ཁ་གྲངས་ཡིན་ནམ་དུའདྲ་དགོས་འདུག།

ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༥༥ ལོ་ཅམ་ནས་ཤང་ནས་ལེ་རི་དང་། ལྷོ་ནས་བྲག་གཡམ་འཁོར་ར་བཅས་ཀྱིས་དམག་བསྐྱེད་ནས་རྒྱ་  
དམག་ལ་འཛིང་ཅེས་ཡོད་པ་གོ་ཐོས་བྱུང་བ་སོགས་ལས། ལྷག་གཟེག་མཁས་མཚོ་གསོགས་ཀྱིས་འགོ་ཁྲིད་ནས། ལོ་  
དེའི་བོད་རྒྱ་བདུན་པའི་ནང་གི་ལ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྐྱ་གཟམ་ཞེས་གི་ཉིན་ (ཆེས་གྲངས་མ་དེས) རྟ་ལོ་སྟེང་ཟེར་བའི་ཐང་  
དུ་སློན་རྟོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དམག་སྐར་ཐོག་མ་དུ་བཅུགས་པ་དང་། དམག་སྐར་སྤྱི་ཐོག་ནས་དམག་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་བ་ལ་གཉི་ཟུ་  
ལུ་བོ་དང་དམག་སྤྱི་གཞོན་པ་སྣམ་གཟེག་མཁས་མཚོ་གཉིས་བསྐྱོས་ཤིང་། ད་དུང་བརྒྱ་ལོག་དང་བཅུ་ལོག་བཟོས་ཉེ་དེ་  
དག་གི་འགོ་དཔོན་ཡང་བསྐྱོ་བཞག་བྱས་འདུག། །དེ་ནས་ལེ་རི་དང་བྲག་གཡམ་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་ཐན་ཚུན་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་གྱེད་  
བདེ་ཡོད་ཆེད་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱ་བུ་ཞེས་པའི་འབྲོག་སྟེའི་ས་ཆ་ལ་རྒྱ་བ་ (སློན་སྡེ་བྲག་དཀར་གྱི་རྒྱ་བ་དོས་) ཞེས་པར་རྒྱ་བ་  
གཉིས་ཅམ་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་། དེ་ནས་ཅེ་ཡུ་སྟོ་ཐོ་ཞེས་པར་དམག་སྐར་སློན་ནས་རྒྱ་བ་དཀྱུ་ལྷག་བསྐྱད་ཡོད་འདུག།

སློན་རྟོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁྲབ་ཁོངས་ནས་བཙུང་བརྒྱད་དུ་ལུ་ཅུའི་དམག་མི་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་པ་ལས། ལུལ་དམག་ ༤༠༠ ཅམ་  
འཛོམས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དམག་རྒྱགས་ཆེད་ཁྲབ་ཁོངས་ཁྲིམ་དུད་དེ་ལེ་ནས་ཁས་བཞི་དུ་ལུ་ཟེར་བའི་ཁྲམ་བསྐྱེད་ཤིང་། ཁྲིམ་  
གཞེས་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་དམག་རྒྱགས་ཆེད་སློར་འདུལ་གྱེད་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ཚང་ཡང་མང་པོ་ཞེས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། མི་ཚང་མང་པོས་  
བཟའ་མ་ལུས་འཁོར་བཅས་ཡོང་སྟེ་དམག་སྐར་གྱི་འདབས་སུ་བསྐྱད་ནས་དམག་སྐར་ལ་ཞོ་མར་སོགས་དུས་ཐོག་མཁོ་སློང་  
བྱས་ཡོད་འདུག། །གཞན་ཡང་དམག་ལ་འགྲོ་མཁན་མིང་པའི་དུད་ཚང་ལེ་རི་བཞིན་ནས་རྟ་ལོག་དང་གི་རིང་ཡོད་ཚད་ཁྲམ་  
བརྒྱབ་ནས་ཁྲམ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ད་དུང་ཉེ་འཁོར་རྟོགས་སུ་སོགས་ནས་ཀྱང་དམག་རྒྱགས་ཆེད་ཞལ་འདེབས་བསྐྱེད་བྱས་

2 སྐར་དུས་སློན་རྟོགས་བརྒྱ་ལོག་གི་ཡ་གྲུལ་རྟོགས་གཤིས་ལས་དེང་སང་རྒྱ་ནག་གཞུང་གིས་བཙུང་བགོས་བྱས་པའི་རྟོགས་གཤིས་ཤང་གི་  
རྒྱ་ཁོན་ཁྲབ་ཁོངས་ཆེ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད།

པར་རྟོག་མང་པོ་རག་ཡོད་འདུག །སྤྱིར་སྐབས་དེར་བོད་ལ་ཁྱོད་ཡོངས་ནས་དྲག་པོའི་འགོག་ཚོལ་བྱས་ཤིང་། སློབ་རྗེ་གས་  
དང་ས་འབྲེལ་གོང་ལྷན་པེ་རི་དང་འཁོར་བ། ད་དུང་རྗེ་གས་སུ་དང་ཚོལ་བྱ་བྱ་བ་ཅས་ནས་མི་རྟོག་དྲག་བསྐྱུས་ནས་འགོག་  
ཚོལ་བྱས་ཚུལ། རྒྱ་སྐད་གཙོ་བོའི་རྒྱ་ཉི་ལེ་རྒྱ་སྐད་ལ་སྤུལ་བའི་ཚིག་ཐོ་ཤོག་གྲངས་ནང་ ༡༯༦ བཀོད་འདུག་ལོད། ད་  
ཐེངས་ནི་རྩོམ་གསུམ་གྱི་དམག་འཐབ་སྐོར་ཁོ་ན་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡིན།

རྒྱ་བ་དྲུག་ཙམ་རྗེ་སུ་ལེ་རི་དམག་དང་རྒྱ་སྤྱིལ་གཏོང་ཆེད་ལེ་རི་དམག་གི་འགོ་དཔོན་ལ་ཅ་ཆེ་རྣམ་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་  
བྱས་པར། ལ་ཅ་ཆེ་རྣམ་འོ་མ་སློམ་རྗེ་གས་དམག་སྐར་ནང་ཡོང་ནས་ཞག་གཅིག་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་། ལེ་རི་ས་དམག་གིས་རྒྱ་  
དམག་དང་ལམ་མང་འཛིང་ལུགས་དང་། ད་ཆ་མི་རེར་མདེུ་བ་རྒྱ་སྤྱིལ་ཁ་ཤས་ལས་མེད་ལུགས། ཁ་ལག་གྲང་འདྲང་ལེས་  
རག་གི་མེད་པ། ཁོ་རང་རྒྱ་བ་དྲུག་ཙམ་རིང་སྐྱོད་རག་གྲང་མ་དགོལ་བར་སྡོད་དགོས་བྱུང་ལུགས་སོགས་མང་པོ་བཤད་  
དེ། ད་ཆ་རྒྱ་དང་འཛིང་ནས་ཐོབ་པའི་རེ་བ་མེད་པ་དང་། ལེ་རི་མི་མང་པོ་ལ་སྡོན་མ་ལྟར་གྱི་འཛིང་འདོད་མེད་པ་ཆགས་  
འགྲོ་གི་འདུག་པས། ང་རང་དང་མཉམ་ཤི་བྱེད་མཁན་སུ་ཡིན་པ་དེ་དག་ལས་གཞན་པ་ཚང་མ་རང་ལུལ་དུ་ལོག་བཟུག་  
རྒྱ་ལས། དམག་ཁྲལ་བསྐྱུ་ནས་བཅོན་པོ་དབང་ཡོད་བྱེད་རྒྱ་མིན་ལུགས་བཤད་དེ། འོན་ལ་དམག་སྐར་རྒྱ་སྤྱིལ་གཏོང་རྒྱ་  
ཁས་ལེན་མ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་འདུག།

དམག་སྐར་བརྒྱབ་ནས་ལོ་གཅིག་མ་ཐེན་ཙམ་གྱི་རིང་རྒྱ་དམག་དང་ཐེངས་གཉིས་ཙམ་མེ་འཕེན་བྱེད་ལེས་བྱུང་བ་  
དང་། ཐེངས་དང་པོ་དྲུག་པ་རི་ཐེར་བཤེར་མེ་འཕེན་བྱེད་ལེས་བྱས་པ་ཚུར་རྟོག་ཅིག་བསམ་དཔལ་མི་ལ་རྣམས་སྐྱོན་སོགས་མ་བྱུང་  
ཞིང་། ས་ཐག་རིང་བས་པར་ཡང་གཞོན་བསམ་སྤྱད་བྱུང་ཡོད་མེད་སོགས་ཤེས་རྟོག་མེད་པ་ཡིན་འདུག །འོན་ཀྱང་མཐར་དཔལ་  
བོས་རང་ཚོད་བརྒྱབ་ནས་སོ་སོར་གྲེས་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་དམག་ནང་འགྲོ་སྤོང་མཁན་ཚོས་བཤད་སློབ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དམག་ཐེངས་གཉིས་པ་དེ་ནི་རྩོམ་གསུམ་གྱི་དམག་འཐབ་དུ་བརྒྱབ་པ་དང་། སློབ་རྗེ་གས་ཀྱི་དམག་རྣམས་ཙོ་ལུ་སྤྱོ་ཐོའི་  
རི་ཅེའི་སྤྱང་ས་ན་བསྐྱད་པའི་སྐབས། ཉིན་ཞིག་<sup>3</sup> རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་མཚན་མོ་མཐའ་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐོར་ནས། ལམ་གསལ་བ་  
དང་མཉམ་དུ་སྤོགས་པའི་མཚན་ས་བརྒྱད་ནས་མེ་མདའ་སེར་བ་འབབ་པ་ལྟར་བརྒྱབ་ནས། དམག་སྤྱི་གཉི་སུ་ལུ་གཤེ་  
རྐང་བ་རྣམས་གྲང་གོས་ཐར་<sup>4</sup> བ་སོགས་གོས་ཐུབ་པ་ཉུང་ཤས་ཤིག་དང་། རྣམ་ནས་འཛིན་བརྒྱབ་བྱས་པ་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཞིག་  
ལས་གཞན། དམག་སྤྱི་གཞོན་པ་སྟག་གཟིག་མཁས་མཚོག་སོགས་ལུལ་དམག་ལྟ་བུ་རྒྱག་བསམ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། པར་མེ་  
མདའ་ལེ་ཙམ་འཕེན་མཁན་བྱུང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་དམག་བསམ་ཡོད་མེད་མཐོང་སྐབ་མེད་པ་ཡིན་འདུག །རྒྱ་དམག་འགྲོ་ཚར་  
རྗེས་ནང་མི་སྤུན་མཆེད་ཚོ་དེར་ལྟ་བར་འགྲོ་སྐབས་འགའ་ཞིག་ཉལ་ས་རང་ན་ཉལ་བ་ལྟར་ཤི་འདུག་ཅེས་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་

3 རྩོམ་གསུམ་གྱི་དམག་འཐབ་དེ་ནི་ནས་དུས་ ༡༩༥༩ ལོའི་དབྱར་སྤྱད་ཙམ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་ལས་རྒྱ་དང་ཆེས་གྲངས་ཤེས་མཁན་སུ་  
ཡང་མེད་པས། གལ་སྲིད་སྐབས་དེའི་རྒྱ་མིའི་ཉིན་ཐོ་འདྲ་མཐོང་ན་ཁ་སྐོར་བྱེད་ལོས།

4 གཉི་སུ་ལུ་གཤེ་རྐང་བ་ཚབས་ཆེན་རྣམས་གྲང་གོས་ཐར་ནས་ནང་དུ་རྣམས་བཙོས་བྱས་ནས་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་། རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱ་མིས་རྟོག་པོ་འཛིན་  
བརྒྱབ་བྱེད་པར་ཡོང་སྐབས་རྒྱ་དམག་ནང་དུ་མ་སྐྱེབས་ཙམ་དེར་འདས་གོངས་སུ་སོང་བས་ཁོང་ནི་སྤྱི་འཚི་ལ་རང་དབང་ཡོད་མཁན་རེད་འདུག་  
ཅེས་བཤད་སློབ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དང་། དམག་སྐར་སྐྱེད་མ་ན་ཡོད་པར་ས་གང་མཐོ་ས་ཚང་མ་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་ཟེན་ནས་མཐའ་ཡོངས་སུ་བསྐྱོར་ཡོད་སྟབས།  
གཤམ་གྱི་རོ་ལག་ལུང་གཤོང་ལས་གཞན་སྟོས་ས་མེད་པ་དང་། དེར་རྒྱ་མིས་སྲ་ས་ནས་གྲ་སྟེག་གིས་སྟུག་བརྒྱབ་ནས་  
ཡོད་པ་ལས་པོད་དམག་མང་ཆེ་བ་ལུང་གཤོང་དེར་སྟོས་ཡོང་སྐབས་བསད་ཡོད་འདུག །དེ་རྒྱབ་དགོ་བཤེས་ཀར་རྫོ་  
ལགས་གྱི་གསུང་ལ་མ་ཉན་ཏེ་དམག་སྐར་གཞན་དུ་མ་སྟོས་པར་བསྐྱེད་པ་ནི་དུ་གའ་ཡིན་པའི་ཤོད་སྟོས་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

ཐག་རིང་གི་ས་ན་འགྲོག་དུད་མི་ཚང་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ཚོས་རང་རང་གི་མཚོང་ཚུལ་བརྗོད་སྐབས། ཞོགས་བ་ནས་གསལ་ལ་  
མ་གསལ་ཞིག་ལ་དམག་སྐར་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་ནས་མཁའ་དེར་སང་གི་ཤོག་པག་འབྲ་བ་དམར་པོ་འགའ་ཞིག་བཏང་ཡོང་བ་  
དང་། ཞོགས་བ་ཐོག་བཞོ་མཁའ་ཚོས་མཚོང་ནས་དེ་ཅི་ཡིན་ནམ་ཞེས་པར་ཚུར་བརྗོད་དེས་བྱེད་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས། གང་འཚམས་  
ནས་མི་མདའ་དང་མི་སྟོགས་ཀྱི་སྟེང་ལོན་ལས་གང་ཡང་གོ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པར་གྱུར་པ་དང་། དེ་ནི་སྟོམ་རྟེན་གསལ་དམག་སྐར་དང་རྒྱ་དམག་  
ཐུག་འགྲོ་བཤེས་ཀྱང་སྐྱོ་བ་དཀོན་མཚོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་བཞིན་འདུག་རྒྱུ་ལས་མི་འདུག་ལ། ཞིབ་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གང་  
ཡང་ལམ་སངས་ཤེས་རྟོགས་ཐུབ་མ་བྱུང་བེད། རིང་པོ་མ་ཐོག་པར་བྲག་གཡམ་གྱི་ཡུལ་དམག་རྣམས་འདྲེན་སྟབས་ཡོད་འདུག་ཀྱང་  
རྒྱ་དམག་རྣམས་ལོག་ཟེན་པ་དང་ཁེལ་བས་འཐབ་རྩོལ་གྱི་རྒྱ་དངོས་རྣམས་ཁུར་ནས་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་འདུག།

ཡང་སྐབས་དེར་རྟེན་སུ་ཕྱོགས་གྱི་གྲ་བཅུན་རྣམས་རི་ལ་བྲོས་གའ་བྱེད་བཞིན་པའི་སྐབས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཁོང་ཚོའི་ནང་  
གི་མིས་ང་རང་ལ་དངོས་སུ་བརྗོད་སྟོང་བ་ནི། ཁོང་ཚོ་ཡང་སྐབས་དེར་སྟོམ་རྟེན་གསལ་དམག་སྐར་རྩ་ཉེས་བྱུང་སྐབས་ཉེ་འབྲེལ་སུ་  
ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཞོགས་བར་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་སྟོམ་རྟེན་གསལ་དམག་སྐར་ལ་པར་ཚོལ་བྱེད་བཞིན་པ་མཚོང་བ་ན་ལམ་སངས་གྱུར་རྣམས་  
བསྐྱུས་ནས་རྟེན་འཁོར་ཏེ་ལུང་གཤོང་བརྒྱད་སྟོས་པའི་སྐབས། རེ་ལུག་ཆེ་འཕེལ་གྱི་རྩེ་རང་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཁམ་ཐུབ་པར་སྐར་  
ཟེལ་ཤོར་བ་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་མཚོང་ནས་མི་མདའ་མེར་བ་འབབ་པ་ལྟར་བརྒྱབ་སྟེ་ཁྲིམ་བྲག་འཕགས་ཚོས་གྱི་རྩེ་དམར་ཚུང་བསད་  
ནས་རྩེ་ཐང་དུ་གྱུར། འོན་ཀྱང་འཕགས་ཚོས་ནས་རྟེན་པའི་ལས་རྟུག་བལྟས་ཏེ་ཁུར་ནས་ཡོང་བ་རྒྱ་དམག་འབྲེལ་སུ་སྟེབས་ཏེ་མི་  
མདའ་མང་པོ་བརྒྱབ་ཀྱང་མཚོན་མ་སོང་བས་རྒྱ་དམག་རྣམས་ལུ་ཐུག་སྟེ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་པ་རེད་ཟེད། དེ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་ཁྲིམ་བྲག་འཕགས་  
ཚོས་ལ་སྟོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ལ་རྒྱ་རྟུག་ཀྱང་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་པའི་ཤོད་སྟོས་བྱུང་འདུག།

ད་དུང་ཁོང་ཚོས་བཤད་པ་ཞིག་ལ། དེ་རྒྱབ་དགོང་རྫོ་གྲ་བཅུན་སྟོས་སྟོལ་བ་ཚོའི་ནང་གི་དགོ་བཤེས་ཀར་རྫོ་ལགས་  
ནས་མོ་དང་གཞི་བདག་གི་བརྟེན་ཏུ་གསལ་མཚན་གང་ལ་བལྟས་ཀྱང་དོ་རྒྱབ་སྟོམ་རྟེན་གསལ་དམག་སྐར་སྟོས་ན་ཡག་བ་  
འདུག་ཅེས་བང་ཆེན་ཞིག་བཏང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དམག་སྟེ་གཉི་ཐུ་ལུ་གོ་མས་སྲར་གྱི་འཁོན་འཛིན་<sup>6</sup> ཡོད་པའི་ཐོག་ནས།

5 བྲག་གཡམ་གྱི་ཡུལ་དམག་བསྐྱུས་ནས་རྒྱ་དམག་དང་འཛིང་བ་ལས་ཁ་འཐོར་ནས་འགོ་བྱེད་མེད་པའི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཡུལ་མི་ཚོས་བྲག་  
གཡམ་དམག་ལོག་ཅེས་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་དེ་རྣམས་ཡིན་འདུག།

6 དགོ་བཤེས་ཀར་རྫོ་ལགས་ཆབ་མདོ་དགོན་པའི་ཚོགས་ཆེན་ཞབ་རོ་གནང་བ་དང་། གཉི་ཐུ་ལུ་གོས་ཆབ་མདོའི་སྟེ་སོ་གནང་བ་དུས་མཉམ་  
ཁེལ་བ་དང་། སྐབས་དེར་གཉི་ཐུ་ལུ་གོས་ལོ་ལུགས་རྒྱ་ལུགས་རོམས་ནས་དཔོན་གཡོག་ཁལ་དགོན་པའི་ནང་རྟུག་ཐུག་ཐུག་ནས་ཡོང་བ་བརྟེན།  
ཚོགས་ཆེན་ཞབ་རོ་ནས་དགོ་གཡོག་རྫོ་རྫོ་བ་ཚོ་བརྒྱད་བཏང་ནས་འཛིན་བརྒྱུད་གིས་རྟུག་ལུང་སྟོ་མ་གང་སྟེ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས་རྫོ་གཏལ་གཞུང་  
གི་ལུ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ (དགོན་པའི་ཕྱོགས་དང་ཕྱོགས་མཚམས་སུ་དར་མོ་ཆེ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ནས་རྫོ་གཏལ་གཞུང་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་དར་མོ་ཆེ་དེ་རིང་ཤོས་  
ཡིན་པས་དེའི་མིང་ལ་ལུ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཐེངས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་འདུག) ལ་ཉིན་གཅིག་རིང་བཏགས་ཡོད་འདུག། །དེ་རྗེས་གཉི་ཐུ་ལུ་གོས་ལུ་བལྟུག་གཞུང་ལོ་



ཁོ་སྐྱེ་མི་ (སྐྱེང་པོ) ཀར་རྫོང་མས་ཅི་ཤེས་ལེ་རེད། ལྷ་རང་མགོ་མི་ཐོན་པར་འདྲེ་དམ་བཏགས་ཡོང་གི་མ་རེད། ར་ཚོ་རྒྱ་དང་  
གདོང་བཏགས་ནས་འཛིན་མཁན་ཡིན། རྒྱ་དང་མ་ལུག་པར་བསྐྱད་ཡོད། ཁྱོད་ཚོ་ཐོས་ནས་སྡོད་མཁན་རེད། ཐོས་དགོས་  
ན་ཁྱོད་རང་ཚོ་ཐོས། རྒྱ་མི་ཡོང་གི་འདུག་ཟེར་གོ་བ་དང་ཐོས་སོང་ཟེར་ནས་སློམ་རྗེས་དམག་སྐྱར་ལ་མིང་ཆད་བཟོ་  
བསམས་པ་རེད། མ་གཞི་ནས་ཁྱོད་རང་རྒྱ་མིའི་སོ་བ་ཡིན་ན་ཅི་ཤེས། ཞེས་བཤད་པ་དང་། བང་ཆེན་ལ་རྟ་ལྷག་ལྟ་བུ་  
གཞུས་ཏེ་ད་དུང་སང་ཉིན་སྐྱོད་ཅེས་རྒྱ་ཡོད་ཅེས་དམག་སྐྱར་གྱི་འདབས་སུ་ཁྱི་ལྟ་བུ་བཏགས་ཡོད་འདུག།

སྐབས་དེར་བང་ཆེན་འགོ་མཁན་སློ་ཚོས་ནས་བརྗོད་པར། སྐབས་དེར་རྟ་ལྷག་གཞུས་པའི་ན་ལུག་དང་རྒྱ་ལག་ཐག་  
པས་བསྐྱམས་པའི་ན་ལུག། །ད་དུང་སང་ཉིན་ག་རེ་བྱེད་ཡོང་སྐྱམ་ནས་སྐྱབ་སྐྱང་གིས་གཉིད་མ་ལུག་པར་མཚན་གང་སློམ་  
མ་འདོན་ནས་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་། ཉན་གསལ་པ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་དམག་སྐྱར་དེར་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་ནས་མེ་མདའ་བྲག་ཆར་འབབ་  
པ་ལྟར་བརྒྱབ་ཡོང་བ་དང་། རི་ཅམ་གྱིས་གྲུར་ཆེ་བ་དང་རྗེས་ལ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཅམ་གྱིས་དེར་མེ་མདའ་མང་བ་བརྒྱབ་ཡོང་  
ནས་ཐལ་སྤང་བྲག་ཆར་གྱིས་རྒྱང་བ་ལྟར་གང་མཚམས་ནས་གྲུར་ཡང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་ཆགས་འགོ་གི་འདུག་ཟེད། ཁོ་  
རང་དམག་སྐྱར་དང་འདོམ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཅམ་གྱི་འགྲུང་བྱེད་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ད་དུང་འཁྲིས་སུ་མདེའུ་མང་པོ་ཤོག་ཡོང་གི་འདུག་པས་  
དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་ནས་འཁྲུམ་སྟེ་བསྐྱད་པ་དང་། རྒྱ་ཚོད་གཅིག་ཡས་མས་མཚམས་དེར་རྒྱ་དམག་རྣམས་  
གྱིས་མེ་མདའ་བརྒྱབ་མཚམས་བཞག་པ་དང་། ཕྱོགས་བཞི་མཚམས་བརྒྱད་ནས་རྒྱ་དམག་སྡོད་སྐབས་མང་པོས་མེ་མདའི་  
ཚེ་གི་མདུན་ཕྱོགས་སུ་བཏང་ནས་ཡོང་སྟེ་ཐབ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཞིབ་བཤེར་བྱེད་སྐབས། མི་འགའ་ཞིག་ལ་རྒྱ་དམག་གིས་དོག་ཐོ་  
བཞུས་རྗེས་དམག་མི་གཉིས་ཅམ་གྱིས་སྐྱོར་ནས་ཁྱིང་འགོ་སྐབས་ཡང་གོ་མ་བ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་འགོ་བ་མཐོང་བྱུང་ཟེད།

གང་མཚམས་ནས་དམག་མི་གཅིག་གིས་ཁོ་རང་མཐོང་ནས་སྐྱད་བརྒྱབ་པ་དང་དམག་མི་བཅུ་གངས་ཞིག་གིས་མེ་  
མདའི་ཚེ་གི་བསྟན་ནས་བཅར་བྱུང་བ་ཏུ་ཅང་སྐྱག་བྱུང་ཡང་། ཁོང་ཚོས་ང་རང་བསྐྱམས་ནས་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་མཐོང་རྗེས་  
སྐྱད་བསྐྱར་འདོད་དེ་རྒྱ་མཚན་སྐྱད་ཆ་འདྲིས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་བྱུང་པོ་བཤད་སྐབས་ཁྱོད་རང་སོང་ནས་  
དགོ་བཤེས་ཀར་རྫོང་གཅོས་བྱས་པའི་སྐབས་ལྟན་དེ་ཚོ་མགོ་བཏགས་ན་གྲུ་ཡངས་ཡོད་ཅེས་ལོ་བཤོག་ཅེས་སྐྱོད་བྱུང་ཟེད།  
དེ་ནས་བསྐྱོད་སློམ་རྗེས་དམག་སྐྱར་ཡོངས་སུ་རྩ་མེད་ཕྱིན་པ་དང་། གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་ཡང་དེ་ལས་ལྷག་པ་བཤད་ཤེས་  
མཁན་ཞིག་པལ་ཆེར་ད་སྐབས་མེད་པ་རེད།

སློམ་རྗེས་དམག་གིས་རྒྱ་དམག་གཅིག་རང་བསད་ཡོད་པ་ལྟེ། ཉིན་ཞིག་སློམ་རྗེས་དམག་ནང་གསེར་སྐྱབ་ཁ་  
ཤོ་ཟེར་བ་བཅའ་གྱི་བྱར་གྲགས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དང་རེན་ཆེན་ཆེ་ཆེ་རིང་གཉིས་སོ་སྤང་ལ་ཁེལ་ཞིང་། ཁོང་གཉིས་གྱིས་  
རི་ཚེ་ནས་བསྐྱམས་སྐབས་རྒྱ་དམག་ལྟ་བུ་སྐྱོར་ཞིག་ཤར་རོས་ནས་ཏུ་བ་ཕྱོགས་ཆབ་མདོའི་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཁ་བཏང་ནས་ཡོང་  
བ་མཐོང་བ་དང་། ད་རེས་ལམ་སྐྱབ་བརྒྱབ་ན་རྒྱ་དམག་ཚང་མ་སོང་བ་འདུག་ཅེས་དམག་སྐྱར་ལ་ལན་བསྐྱེལ་སྐབས།  
དམག་སྐྱི་གཉི་བྱ་ལུ་གོ་ནས་ “རེ་ཞིག་དམག་ཕྱིར་འཐེན་ཡིན།” ཞེས་དོན་དུ་ཤོ་བག་ལ་དབྱིངས་འཕར་ནས་བསྐྱད་ཡོད་

སྐྱེ་གི་བསྐྱམས་ནས་མཐུ་གཏང་མང་པོ་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དགོ་བཤེས་ལགས་ནས་དེར་ཁ་བཏང་རི་ལྟར་གཅོག་པའི་སྐོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིང་པོ་ཞིག་  
ཀྱང་བཤད་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

འདུག། འོན་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཤོན་ས། ད་རེས་རྒྱ་དམག་སྒོ་ཁར་སྤེལ་ས་དུས་མ་འཛིང་ན་ག་དུས་འཛིང་ཞེས་མཉམ་ཐད་དུ་སྤེལ་ས་པ་  
 བ་མེ་མདའ་རྒྱག་ཅིས་བྱེད་སྐབས་རྒྱ་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོན་པ་ས་མདོག་ཡིན་པས་སོ་ཁ་ཡག་པོ་མ་མོན་པའི་སྲུང་སྒོ་སྲུང་  
 དུ་རྒྱ་དམག་རྣམས་ངམ་གསོས་ཤིང་། རྒྱ་དམག་གཅིག་ཡང་ཡངས་ནས་གཏམ་བཤད་བྱེད་སྐབས་གཞོགས་གཡམས་ངོས་  
 བ་འོད་མེང་མེང་གི་དངོས་པོ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་དེར་སོ་ཁ་བཏང་ནས་འཕངས་པའི་རྒྱ་དམག་དེ་བསད་ཡོད་འདུག།

གསེར་ཤོན་བསད་པའི་རྒྱ་དམག་དེ་ནི་དམག་དཔོན་གྱི་གྲས་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། དེས་རྒྱུན་པས་ཁ་ཤོན་མང་བཅོན་  
 འདུག་བྱས་<sup>7</sup> ཞིང་། ཕྱིས་སྒོད་གྲོལ་ཐོབ་རྗེས་རྒྱ་དམག་བསད་སྐབས་གནས་ཚུལ་ག་རེ་བསམས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ག་རེ་བཤད་  
 ཡོད་པ། ག་རེ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་ཁོ་རང་ངོ་མས་བཤད་པ་གོ་སྤོང་ཡོད་པས་འདིར་བྲིས་པ་ཡིན། གང་ལྟར་སྒོམ་རྗེས་དམག་སྒར་  
 བརྒྱབ་ནས་རྒྱ་དམག་དངོས་སུ་བསད་པའི་བདེན་དཔང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་གཅིག་སུ་ཡིན་འདུག་ཅིང་། དམག་དཔོན་དེར་མེ་མདའ་  
 སོག་ནས་རིལ་མ་ཐག་རྒྱ་དམག་ཚོས་སྤྱོད་པས་གང་ནས་མེ་མདའ་བརྒྱབ་པར་ཉ་མ་གོ་བར་རི་རྩེ་དང་རྩོད་པོ་བར་གང་ཡོད་ལ་མེ་  
 མདའ་ཚོད་མེད་བརྒྱབ་རྗེས། དམག་དཔོན་དེའི་སྲུང་པོ་ཁྲུང་ནས་ཆབ་མདོའི་སྤྱོད་པས་སུ་ཕྱིན་ཡོད་འདུག། ཉིན་དེར་རྒྱ་དམག་  
 རྣམས་ཐད་ཀར་ཆབ་མདོར་བྱིན་ན་ཡང་། ཁོང་ཚོས་དེ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་སྒོམ་རྗེས་དམག་ལ་སྤང་བྱུག་གིས་དམིགས་འབེན་དུ་  
 བརྒྱུད་ནས་དམག་དཔུང་ཁྲོན་ཆེ་བཏང་སྟེ་མགོ་བཏགས་དགོས་པའི་ཉེན་བརྒྱུ་ཅམ་ཡང་མ་བཏང་བར་དེ་ལྟར་བྱས་འདུག་བྱེད་  
 རྒྱུའི་རྒྱུ་བྱས་པ་རེད་ཅེས་བཤད་མཁན་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

སྒོམ་རྗེས་དམག་གིས་རྒྱ་དམག་གཅིག་ལས་མ་སོད་པར་ཡུད་ཅམ་གཅིག་གིས་མི་གངས་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ་ལྷག་ཙམ་  
 མེད་སོང་བ་ནི་རྩ་བའི་དམག་འཐབ་གྱི་ཉམས་སྤོང་དང་གོ་ལག་བཟང་ངན་ལས་ཀྱང་ཡིན་སྲིད་མོད། རྣོར་འབྲུལ་ཀྱང་མང་  
 པོ་བྱས་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ།

གཅིག། ཁམ་ཚང་མང་པོས་རྒྱ་ལོར་ཡོངས་རྗོགས་དམག་སྒར་ལ་སྤྱོད་འདུལ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་དོན་ལ་བཟའ་མི་སུ་  
 སུག་ཚང་མ་དམག་གི་མཉམ་དུ་ཡོང་ནས་དམག་སྒར་གྱི་འདབས་སུ་བསྐྱད་པ་ལས་དམག་མི་ཞིག་གིས་དམག་སྒར་དང་  
 རྣང་མིའི་ལས་དོན་མཉམ་དུ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ།

གཉིས། དམག་ནང་ཡོང་མཁན་ཚོས་རྒྱུན་ཆ་དང་རྟ་སྐྱ་ཆས་གང་ཡག་ཁྲུང་ཡོང་ནས་བན་ཚུན་རྒྱ་ངོམས་བྱེད་རེས་  
 བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཤོ་བག་སོགས་རྒྱུན་ཅེད་དང་རེས་བསྐྱོར་གྱི་སྟོན་མོ་ལ་རོལ་བ་ལས་འགོ་དམག་སུ་ལ་ཡང་དམག་གི་ཉམས་  
 སྤོང་མེད་བཞིན་དུ་དམག་སྤོང་ཡང་བྱེད་གྱི་མེད་པ།

གསུམ་པ། སོ་སྲུང་སྒོར་གཡེང་བས་ཉེ་འཁོར་ན་རྒྱ་མིའི་རྐང་རྗེས་<sup>8</sup> རྗེད་པ་ནི་གནས་ཚུལ་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་གི་ཁྲུངས་  
 ལྗེ་རྗེད་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། དམག་དཔོན་ཚོས། རྒྱ་དམག་ཨི་འདུག་བལྟ་དགོས་པ་ལས་རྒྱུའི་རྗེས་ཨི་འདུག་སྟོས་ཤོག་ལ་བ་མེད་

7 གསེར་ཤོན་དམག་སྒར་གཏོར་ཉེན་སྒོས་ཐར་པའི་གྲམ་ནས་གཅིག་ཡིན་པ་དང་། ཤོ་ཤམ་རི་ལ་སྒོས་ནས་བསྐྱད་པ་ལས་མགོ་བཏགས་ན་གུ་  
 ཡངས་ཡོད་ཅེས་བཤད་རྗེས་མགོ་བཏགས་ཞུས་པ་མི་ལོ་བརྒྱ་བདུན་ཅམ་བཅོན་དུ་བརྒྱག་ཡོད་འདུག།

8 སྐབས་དེར་རྗོག་པ་གཡག་གོ་བྱས་པའི་བོད་ལྷན་གྱི་རྗེས་དང་མི་འདྲ་བས་མགྱིག་གི་བཅོས་པའི་རྒྱ་ལྷན་གྱི་རྗེས་ལ་རི་མོ་ཡོད་སྐབས་རྒྱ་  
 བོད་སྲུའི་རྗེས་ཡིན་པ་ལས་སངས་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

ཅེས་འགའ་ཞིག་ལ་རྟ་ལྷག་གཞུས་པ་དང་། འགའ་ཞིག་ལ། རྒྱ་མིའི་རྗེས་ལ་དེ་ཙམ་སྐྱབ་ན་དོ་དགོང་ངས་རྩམ་ཚོག་ །ཅེས་  
འབྲུ་སྒོད་ཀྱང་བྱས་པ།

བཞི། བེ་རིའི་གྲ་བ་འགའ་མིར་པ་ལུལ་དུ་ལོག་སྐབས་འདི་ན་བརྒྱུད་གིས་རྒྱ་མིའི་སོ་བ་མེད་ཅེས་བཅའ་དངོས་འཛོག་  
པ་དང་། གལ་སྲིད་དམག་སྐར་ནང་བསང་གསོལ་འདོན་མཁན་སླ་གྲུ་ཚོས་དོ་ཤེས་པ་མ་གཏོགས་གསོད་གྲབས་བྱས་པ་  
སོགས་དབྱུད་ལོང་མེད་པར་བོད་པ་ནང་ཁུལ་འགའ་རྒྱ་བཟོས་པ།

ལྷ་པ། དམག་ལ་འགོ་སྐབས་བཞོ་ཚོག་པའི་འགྲི་དང་མཛོ་མོ་དང་། བཀའ་ཚོག་པའི་མཛོ་གཡག་རྣམས་ལས་གཡལ་  
ལྷག་དང་པ་སྲང་འདེད་རྒྱ་མ་རྒྱུ་པ་ལས་མི་ལོ་ནས་འགྲི་སྐམ་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུད་ཆགས་ནས་བཞོ་བེད་མེད་པར་གྱུར་པ་སོགས་སོ།།

དབྱུད་གཞི་ཡིག་ཆ།

ཆབ་མདོའི་ཡིག་ཆར་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲིག་ །དེ་བ་སྲེང་དང་སོ། ༡༠༠༥ ལོར་འབགས་ལུལ་ཆབ་མདོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་ཁང་  
ནས་སྒྲིག་

ཆབ་མདོའི་ཡིག་ཆར་ཕྱོགས་སྒྲིག་ །དེ་བ་སྲེང་གཉིས་པ། ༡༠༠༥ ལོར་འབགས་ལུལ་ཆབ་མདོ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་  
ཁང་ནས་སྒྲིག་

ངག་རྒྱན་འཚོལ་སྤངས།

སྒོམ་རྗེས་དམག་ནང་ཞུགས་ཕྱོད་མཁན་གསེར་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཤོ་དང་། གནས་ཚུལ་དེ་དངོས་སུ་མཐོང་ཕྱོད་མཁན་གྲ་  
ཚེ་དོར་སོགས་མི་གསུམ་ལས་ང་རང་གིས་དངོས་སུ་ཐོས་པ་ཁག་དང་། སྐབས་དེའི་དམག་སྐར་གྱི་དམག་སྒྲི་གཞོན་པ་  
སྣག་གཟིག་མཁས་མཚོག་གི་ཆ་ལོ་བྱམས་པ་ནས་གོ་ཐོས་བྱུང་བ་བཤད་པ་ཁག་དང་། ཁོང་བརྒྱུད་སྐར་ཡང་སྒོམ་རྗེས་  
དམག་ནང་ཞུགས་ཕྱོད་བ་དང་ད་སྐབས་བོད་ནང་བཞུགས་བཞིན་པའི་མི་རྣམས་གཉིས་ལ་འབྲེལ་བ་བྱས་ནས་གསུངས་པ་  
ཚོག་ཐོ་བཞོད་ནས་སྒྲིག་ཡོད།

ཆབ་མདོ་ཤེས་རབ་ནས། ༡༠༡༤/༠༥/༠༣/ཉིན།



## ORIGINS OF THE MIDDLE WAY POLICY

**Warren Smith**

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The Dalai Lama and the Tibetan Government in Exile's Middle Way policy was officially announced at the European Parliament in Strasbourg in 1988. However, its origins are to be found farther back in the history of Sino-Tibetan relations.<sup>1</sup> The announcement of the Middle Way policy in 1988 caused consternation among many Tibetans, who imagined that the Tibetan cause was still about independence, even though they were well aware that Tibetan envoys had negotiated with China in the early 1980s on the basis of an autonomous status for Tibet within the PRC. Many foreign supporters of Tibet and the international community in general were more welcoming of the Strasbourg Proposal because of its seemingly pragmatic character. The conciliatory nature of the proposal was in fact cited in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in 1989, which confirmed the wisdom of the policy for many of its proponents. The distress and demoralization experienced by many Tibetans was temporarily overshadowed by the international acclaim received by the Dalai Lama and the increased attention to the Tibet issue due to the Nobel Prize. Nevertheless, the Strasbourg Proposal and the Middle Way created a division in Tibetan society that has only widened as the policy has failed to produce any resolution with China. Tibetan society is now deeply divided between those who maintain that Tibet should hold out for independence and those who follow the Dalai Lama's policy that Tibet must accept a status of autonomy within the PRC.

As a non-Tibetan I feel that this is a debate in which only Tibetans have any right to take a position. Nevertheless, I have argued elsewhere<sup>2</sup> that China will never allow any "genuine autonomy" in Tibet of the type sufficient to preserve Tibetan cultural or national identity, which is what the Middle Way is all about. Current Chinese policy in Tibet is apparently aimed at the elimination of Tibetan national identity because of the separatist threat it poses. Chinese leaders seem to have determined that the most fundamental aspects of Tibetan culture must be eliminated, or assimilated to Chinese culture, in order to repress Tibetan national identity. Ultimately, China believes that it has no need to negotiate with Tibetan exiles because it already has the solution to the Tibetan problem by means of political repression, economic development,

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1 In this paper I use Tibetan Government in Exile (TGiE) rather than Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) because the latter term has no meaning in relation to Tibet's status within the People's Republic of China (PRC), which is what the Middle Way is supposed to address. Central Tibetan Administration is a term adopted to refer to the administration of the Tibetan refugee settlements in India and was intentionally meant to exclude any claim to be a government in exile. This change was made reportedly in order to avoid offending India, or China, or both, but it did not change the character of the Dharamshala government, which remains for all intents and purposes a government in exile. I also use Middle Way rather than Middle Way Approach (MWA) because "Way" and "Approach" are essentially the same thing.

2 *China's Tibet: Autonomy or Assimilation* (Boulder, Rowman and Littlefield, 2008); *Tibet's Last Stand: The Tibetan Uprising of 2008 and China's Response* (Boulder, Rowman and Littlefield, 2010).

colonization and assimilation. Many Chinese seem to believe that the demise of the Tibetan political issue will be simultaneous with that of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama.

The debate among Tibetans may thus have little ultimate consequence if Chinese policy remains so intolerant of Tibetan aspirations and so relentlessly aimed at assimilation. The independence advocates maintain that in this eventuality their position would at least preserve the historical claim to Tibet's independence and national identity that the Middle Way would forever abandon. Despite its possible irrelevance to Tibet's actual future, the debate between the two sides in Tibetan politics has become increasingly virulent and the TGiE has become increasingly less tolerant of criticism of its policy. The Dalai Lama's age has seemingly increased his desire to achieve some success for his policy before he departs the scene. Despite his declaration of intention to withdraw from politics, he has recently played an even larger role in the promotion of the Middle Way. His subordinates have gone further in attempting to impose conformity to the policy among Tibetans in exile and to ostracize critics.

For many Tibetans who went into exile or who were born in exile, the Strasbourg Proposal was regarded as a betrayal of what they thought was their legitimate goal of Tibetan independence. However, the Strasbourg Proposal merely made official what was already TGiE policy. In response to questions about the origins of the Middle Way policy, the Dalai Lama eventually dated its inspiration to the year 1973. He did not specify why he chose that date but it was presumably because that was when the US and China reestablished relations and the US abandoned its covert support for the Tibetan Resistance. However, the policy could as easily be said to date to 1959, when Gyalo Thondup was obliged to abandon the claim to independence in the Tibetan appeal to the United Nations due to the lack of American or international support. It could even be said to be inherent in the 17-Point Agreement whose provisions ostensibly perpetuated much of Tibet's traditional autonomy. The most fundamental difference was that Tibet had to formally acknowledge Chinese sovereignty.

Ultimately, the origins of the Middle Way are to be found in Tibet's concept of its traditional relationship with China, or actually with Mongol Yuan (1260-1358) and Manchu Qing (1642-1912) dynasties of China. This relationship was formalized by the Tibetan side as *Cho-Yon*, in which *Cho* is Tibetan Buddhism and *Yon* is the political patron of the Tibetan Buddhist establishment in its role as the political authority in Tibet. The *Cho-Yon* relationship was established by Sakya Pandita and his nephew Phagspa as a means to forestall a Mongol invasion of Tibet in the mid-thirteenth century. Sakya Pandita's goal was also to promote the authority of his own sect within Tibet by means of Mongol patronage and to promote Buddhism further abroad among the Mongols and their subjects. Tibetan Buddhism thereby gained Mongol patronage while the Mongol Khans gained Tibetan spiritual legitimization as *chakravartins*, or universal Buddhist kings. Sakya Pandita's nephew Phagspa, who formalized the *Cho-Yon* system under Khubilai, declared Khubilai an incarnation of Manjushri.

Contrary to modern Tibetan claims that this system was unique, or *sui generis*, this sort of relationship was not unique to Tibet within the Mongol Empire. The Mongols favored religious

practitioners of all types in all the countries they conquered. This was due not only to their interest in all manifestations of religion, and, no doubt, to their fear of the supernatural, but also to a policy of using local religious authorities to impose and legitimate Mongol rule. Patronage of religious authorities could be manipulated to defuse discontent among subject populations while at the same time preventing the rise of any secular authority around which resistance might coalesce.<sup>3</sup>

The *Cho-Yon*, as elaborated by Phagspa, was a theory of universal empire of both spiritual and secular realms, which were regarded as equal, as were the rulers of each. The relationship was conceived as personal, between equal representatives of complimentary realms, or as the Mongols were more likely to have interpreted it, between lord and distinguished subject. Phagspa's theory was dependent upon the extraordinary personal relationship between himself and Kubilai. It was not a theory or a practice at this time of state to state relations, despite later Tibetan attempts to interpret it as such. During the era of Phagspa and Khubilai, the idealized *Cho-Yon* relationship may have been realized to some extent, but, dependent as it was upon personal relationships, the idealized form of the relationship lasted only so long as did Phagspa and Khubilai themselves. Phagspa's theory of the *Cho-Yon* was extremely sophisticated in its understanding of the cultural and political needs of the Mongols, but extremely naïve in anticipating political implications for Tibet. A serious flaw of the *Cho-Yon* relationship was that it established the Buddhist church, with its inherent dependence upon foreign patronage, as the dominant political authority in Tibet.

Although the *Cho-Yon* relationship did not survive the era of Phagspa and Khubilai, except in theory, its effects on Tibetan politics were more permanent. Mongol patronage, not only of the Sakyapas, but of all Buddhist sects, was instrumental in establishing the political dominance of the Buddhist church in Tibet. Because the church was universalist rather than nationalist, Tibetan Buddhist sects had less reluctance than the aristocracy to accept foreign patronage. Sakya Pandita and Phagspa were more pragmatic than the secular aristocracy in accepting Tibet's submission to the Mongols. Their primary interest was not the political status of Tibet but the propagation of Buddhism. Phagspa's theories of the equality of the two sides in the *Cho-Yon* relationship obscured the Sakyapas' political dependence upon foreign patrons and the implications of that dependence on Tibet's political status.

Phagspa achieved the potential of the relationship with the Mongol Khans envisioned by Sakya Pandita. The compromise with the Mongols also created some degree of political unity in Tibet under the Sakyapa. However, the Mongol Yuan dynasty established a political administration for Kham and Amdo separate from that of central Tibet that set the precedent for later Chinese divisions of Tibet along the same lines. The Manchu Qing dynasty was content with the nominal submission of the Fifth Dalai Lama in 1650, until the Dzungar Mongol invasion of 1720 and the Gurkha invasions of 1788-91, after each of which it imposed more direct administration.

3 Turrell Wylie wrote, "The exploitation of religious leaders at the expense of secular lords in order to subjugate foreign populations was a sociological pattern not unknown to the Mongols. Therefore, given the fragmented and dichotomous nature of Tibetan society at the time, it was logical that Prince Kotan would select a lama than a layman to surrender Tibet." Turrell Wylie, "The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1977), 112.

The Tibetan relationship with China was almost exclusively through the Mongol and Manchu empires and dynasties, but these foreign conquest dynasties had a different conception of their relationships with frontier dependent states than did native Han Chinese dynasties, although there were also similarities. Both aimed to establish dependent states on their frontiers as the first step toward actual administration of those areas. However, Chinese dynasties differed in that they aimed at the ultimate annexation of frontier territories, achieved by colonization and cultural assimilation. While native Han dynasties allowed autonomous political entities to exist on their frontiers, at least temporarily, autonomy was never considered to be a permanent situation. Political incorporation and cultural assimilation was always the ultimate goal because only in that way could the frontier be made secure. That this process had no ultimate limit was consistent with the conception of universal Chinese rule.

The Later Han dynasty of the first two centuries of the modern era (25-220 AD) developed a system of dependent states (*shu-kuo*), ruled by native chieftains, known as *Tu-shi*, to govern areas created by Han expansion into the former territory of, among others, the frontier Chiang peoples, some of whom fled to the highlands of Tibet to become one of the progenitors of the Tibetans. The *Tu-shi* system was the first step in the ultimate goal of the establishment of Chinese political authority and assimilation to Chinese culture. A characteristic of the Chinese frontier feudalistic system was the award of official titles and seals of office to the indigenous rulers. These titles and seals were often employed by native rulers to legitimate their authority over their own people. Native rulers thus became dependent upon Chinese patronage. Although initially allowing a great deal of autonomy, the *Tu-shi* system aimed at the political and eventually cultural assimilation of barbarians through their elites. As Han colonization increased, native officials were replaced by appointed Han officials and finally the *shu-kuo* states were incorporated within the Chinese provincial system. This traditional strategy of Chinese expansion and assimilation was eventually applied to Tibet, particularly to Kham after the conquest of Chao Er-feng in the early twentieth century and even under the Chinese Communists, who gave honorific social and political positions to upper class secular and religious leaders during the 1950s under the United Front system, only to deprive them of all but symbolic authority as Chinese control increased.

The Tibetan conception of Tibet's traditional relations with China, as exemplified by the Middle Way proposal, is an idealized version of that relationship that differs in significant respects from the Chinese version. The Mongol and Manchu conquest dynasties of China treated Tibet, or at least Central Tibet, as something like a dependent state. However, native Han dynasties regarded Tibet not as a dependent state but as a frontier territory that had entered the traditional process of incorporation and assimilation. The vagueness of Tibet's relationship with China, which allowed for differing interpretations, was a characteristic of the era of empires with indefinite boundaries and feudal-type relationships with surrounding states. However, the era of feudal relationships and autonomous dependent states ended with the industrial revolution and the development of modern political nationalism.



The industrial revolution facilitated infrastructure development, like roads and railroads, that allowed formerly decentralized states to directly administer previously loosely controlled territories. Tibetan nationalism was aroused by the British invasion of 1904 and the Chinese invasion in response from 1905-1910. Chinese nationalism was characterized by the desire to throw off the alien Manchu rule while at the same time retaining all the territory of the former Manchu Empire.

The British invasion of Tibet forced the Tibetans to reexamine their political status and their relationship with China. Tibet had previously sought Chinese protection and assistance when necessary, against the Gurkhas for instance, and denied any Chinese control when convenient, as when Tibet denied that China had the right to grant British trade relations with Tibet. When the British invaded Tibet, supposedly to secure those trade relations, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama sought refuge in Mongolia and then in China. When the Chinese demanded greater control over Tibet, and invaded eastern Tibet and reached Lhasa, the Dalai Lama then sought refuge with the British in India. The British invasion forced the Dalai Lama to seek Chinese patronage against the British, but when the Chinese invaded he sought British patronage against the Chinese. The complimentary invasions by both the British and the Chinese forced the Tibetans to redefine their political status and stimulated the development of Tibetan national identity.

Under British patronage the Dalai Lama was emboldened to declare Tibet's independence of China and to take steps to defend that independence by creating a Tibetan Army. The influence of the Buddhist church was temporarily diminished, since it no longer had a powerful foreign patron, while that of the secular nationalist aristocracy increased under British patronage. Tibet successfully defended its independence against the Chinese in eastern Tibet and increased the territory under the administrative control of the Lhasa government. Only when the aristocracy attempted to establish a system of secular education did the monasteries react and move to force the Dalai Lama to curtail secular reforms. He was also forced to downplay the confrontation with China, leaving Tibet at his death in 1933 with a poorly defined political status. British policy toward Tibet was also unhelpful in defining Tibet's status since Britain was willing to support only Tibetan autonomy under Chinese "suzerainty," a term the last British resident in Tibet, Hugh Richardson, admitted was indefinable.

After the death of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama and during the minority of the 14<sup>th</sup>, Tibet resisted Kuomintang Chinese attempts to force it to acknowledge Chinese sovereignty. In negotiations with China after the Dalai Lama's death, Tibet was willing to acknowledge some Chinese influence but demanded a degree of autonomy much like what Tibetans considered traditional in relation to previous Chinese dynasties. However, the Chinese Nationalists were not content with the vague political relationships of the past, and the Chinese Communists even less so even though their nationalities doctrine professed otherwise. The Nationalists were unable to establish actual Chinese administration of Tibet, but the Communists were determined to do so.

The 17-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet imposed by the Chinese Communists, after their invasion of eastern Tibet, appeared to grant Tibet, or at least that part

of Tibet under the Lhasa government's administration, an autonomous status compatible with the Tibetan conception of Tibet's traditional relations with China. The Agreement promised no changes in the political system of Tibet, including the status and powers of the Dalai Lama. Freedom of religion was guaranteed and monasteries were allowed to keep their traditional sources of income. This last promise was sufficient to secure the approval of the monasteries. Tibetan support for the 17-Point Agreement came primarily from the monastic establishment, while opposition came mostly from secular nationalists, mostly of the aristocratic class, including members of the Dalai Lama's own family.

The 17-Point Agreement was contradictory in promising no changes while at the same time speaking of certain reforms, which would be undertaken only if the Tibetans themselves were to raise demands for such reforms. While Tibetans imagined that the 17-Point Agreement guaranteed that nothing would change in Tibet, the Chinese planned that almost everything would change according to their program for "democratic reforms" and "socialist transformation." The Chinese Communists had no intention of allowing the traditional Tibetan social or political system to continue to exist indefinitely. Tibetans had no idea that democratic reforms meant class warfare, or that socialist transformation meant communization, and they did not know that "national regional autonomy" actually meant total Chinese control. While the Middle Way is sometimes compared to the sort of autonomy China promised in the 17-Point Agreement, the Chinese never considered such autonomy as a permanent status for Tibet.

Mao once said that either Tibetans would reconcile themselves to Chinese rule or they would revolt. Either scenario, he said, would be favorable to China. Revolt would be embarrassing, even without the unanticipated escape of the Dalai Lama, but China would gain a free hand in Tibet without the need to even pretend to cooperate with an "autonomous" Tibetan government. After the revolt the Dalai Lama repudiated the 17-Point Agreement at Lhuntse Dzong on the Indian border, with the intended effect that this would reestablish Tibet's rightful claim to independence. In India he expressed his intention to declare Tibetan independence, which the Indian Government advised against. According to a CIA eyewitness report, the Dalai Lama expressed his dissatisfaction with the advice he had been given by Indian Prime Minister Nehru to return to Tibet in 1956 and to try to work with the Chinese, saying that he and all Tibetans were now convinced that attempts to gain autonomy were useless, that Tibetans were fighting for complete freedom and independence, and that he was determined to struggle for this goal no matter how long it took regardless of the opinion of the Government of India.<sup>4</sup>

This resolve lasted only until Gyalo Thondup presented Tibet's case, with American support, to the United Nations in September 1959. The Tibetan appeal referred to Tibet's previous 1950 appeal to the UN in regard to a violation of Tibetan independence by China, which had been shelved contingent upon the possibility of a peaceful resolution of Tibet's status, which the 17-Point Agreement ostensibly was. The Dalai Lama informed the UN that no peaceful resolution had been achieved, implying that the 17-Point Agreement had been coerced, and appealed again for a restoration of Tibet's legitimate independence. However, the US, after discussing the issue

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4 See *Tibetan Nation*, 460.

with other UN delegations, determined that there was no support for a resolution on Tibet's political status and instead advised the Tibetans to appeal only on the basis of the violation by China of Tibetan human rights.<sup>5</sup> Gyalo Thondup was reportedly distressed at this news, particularly at the lack of support from Asian countries, but had to reconcile himself to the realities of international politics. He was told that only on the basis of human rights issues would Tibet receive a hearing at the UN at all.

From 1959 to 1973 the Tibetan exile position was theoretically that Tibet was deprived of its rightful independence, while realistically Dharamsala knew that it had little international support for that position. Hopes lay with American support, particularly through the CIA for the Tibetan Resistance operating out of the Mustang region of Nepal. However, by 1968 that support had dwindled to almost nothing due to CIA dissatisfaction with the inability of the resistance to operate inside Tibet. Tibetan hopes remained for US support for Tibetan independence until the US rapprochement with China in 1973, which is presumably why the Dalai Lama later dated the origins of the Middle Way to that year. However, the choice of this date seems to have been made only in retrospect, since some statements by the Dalai Lama after that time implied that independence was still the goal. No announcement of an official change in policy was made to the Tibetans in exile, with the result that they were surprised by the Strasbourg Proposal in 1987. Even though Tibetan delegations negotiated on the basis of autonomy in the early 1980s, the popular belief among Tibetans in exile was that they were still striving for the restoration of Tibetan independence.

The Tibetan delegation visits and negotiations of the early 1980s were initiated by a meeting between Gyalo Thondup and Deng Xiaoping in December 1978 in which Deng reportedly said that "anything but independence can be discussed." This was interpreted by the Tibetan side to mean that Tibet's political status up to but not including independence was open to discussion; that is, that the terms of Tibetan autonomy could be negotiated. However, in actual negotiations the Chinese were unwilling to discuss Tibetan proposals in regard to Tibet's autonomous rights within the PRC. This leads to the conclusion that what Deng actually meant by his use of the word "independence" was the entire issue of Tibet's political status as a part of China. Presumably, Deng used "independence" as shorthand for the political issue, given that the essence of that issue is Tibet's claim to have formerly been independent of China. Whatever the interpretation, the dialogue went nowhere, but the Tibetan exile representatives did negotiate with China on the basis of an autonomous status for Tibet within the PRC.

The Dalai Lama's 1988 Strasbourg Proposal was meant to revive negotiations by formally accepting Deng Xiaoping's condition that he "give up the idea of Tibetan independence." It was the first official acknowledgment that he would accept the reality of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet in exchange for well-defined autonomous rights. It elaborated some of the conditions proposed by Tibetan negotiators in the early 1980s and was again based upon the "one country, two systems" status that China had offered to Hong Kong and Taiwan. It also attempted a legal definition of Tibet's autonomous status within the PRC. Tibet's status in relation to China was

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5 See *Tibetan Nation*, 493.

defined as one of “association,” with Tibet having a democratic political system and some international legal identity and international rights. The Strasbourg Proposal and the Middle Way policy were based upon the Tibetan contention that Tibet had been independent before 1950 and might be independent again, to be decided by a referendum of the Tibetan people. The Dalai Lama’s acceptance of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet thus appeared to the Chinese to be temporary and conditional and failed to satisfy their demand that he give up the “idea of independence,” past, present and future.

The status of “association” meant to define Tibet’s relations with China was proposed by the Dalai Lama’s Dutch legal adviser, Michael van Walt, in his book, *The Status of Tibet*,<sup>6</sup> which was, essentially, a legal brief commissioned by Dharamsala. The “associative status” argument is based upon the 1960 United Nations Resolution 1514, “Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples,” and the accompanying Resolution 1541, which set out the means by which a non-self-governing territory might reach a full measure of self-government, including independence, free association, or integration with another state. Application of this UN resolution to Tibet would require that Tibet be defined as a non-self-governing or colonial territory, which the PRC would of course never admit. The status of “free association” was claimed to be the means by which Tibet might achieve self-determination, if a majority of Tibetans voted to accept an autonomous status within the PRC. However, the flaw in this argument is that self-determination is not a one-time choice; self-determination implies that a population might choose a different status at any time. Tibetans’ acceptance of autonomy by referendum at one time does not mean that they could not choose independence at another time.

The Strasbourg Proposal may represent an overestimation by Tibetans of their leverage at the time, given international pressure and the unrest within Tibet, combined with the ostensible Tibetan acceptance of Deng Xiaoping’s conditions for a resolution of the Tibet issue. The status of free association was described by van Walt as similar to the protectorate relationship, but different in that the associated state would have the unilateral power to alter the association at any time by exercise of a democratic choice. Associative status was therefore claimed to offer a pattern for the future for the transition to self-government of formerly dependent or colonial states. But he also claimed that the status was particularly appropriate to Tibet’s situation since it “bears significant similarities to the traditional *Cho-Yon* relationship.”<sup>7</sup> This assertion reveals the archaic rather than progressive nature of the Strasbourg Proposal as well as the Middle Way policy.

By means of van Walt’s legal arguments, Dharamsala appeared to be attempting to undo its acceptance of the 17-Point Agreement and to return to a traditional relationship with China of an earlier political era. However, despite the attempts to characterize this sort of relationship as modern and progressive, rather than archaic, the era of empires and dependent states had

6 Michael van Walt van Praag, *The Status of Tibet: History, Rights and Prospects in International Law*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987).

7 van Walt, *Status of Tibet*, 202.

long ago given way to the modern era of national states that exercise uniform sovereignty and administration over all their territory. Despite Van Walt's attempt to characterize autonomous "associative" status as relevant to the modern world and as the solution to other issues of disputed sovereignty, the world was moving in the opposite direction, toward resolution of such disputes by means of independence, gained usually after violent conflict, or total absorption and integration by the dominant state.

Needless to say, the Strasbourg Proposal and the Middle Way policy have not resulted in a resolution of the Tibet issue. China has instead resorted to its own traditional policy for the resolution of frontier issues by means of colonization and assimilation. China engaged in two series of "dialogues" with Tibetan representatives, who it characterized as personal representatives of the Dalai Lama, in which it refused to talk about any issues except the personal status of the Dalai Lama. China is now apparently uninterested in any more dialogue; its policy appears to be to await the demise of the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, which many Chinese leaders seem to think will resolve the issue once and for all in China's favor. China has scornfully and repeatedly rejected the Middle Way as the basis for dialogue and it has further curtailed autonomy in Tibet after the uprising of 2008 demonstrated the persistence of Tibetan national identity and dissatisfaction with Chinese rule.

The Middle Way having apparently been rejected by Beijing with finality, its only lasting effect is a tragic division among Tibetans. That division was once just a difference of opinion but has increasingly become an attempt by one side to silence the other. Some Middle Way supporters seem to think that they must follow the Dalai Lama and that to oppose him is equivalent to disloyalty or even treason against the Tibetan cause. This type of loyalist Tibetan fails to make the distinction between the incarnate deity and the nation he represents. Others maintain that China would dialogue with exile representatives and perhaps accept the suggestions of the Middle Way policy if only they could believe that all Tibetans in exile had truly given up independence. Chinese officials may be suspected of having suggested as much in talks with Tibetan exile representatives. Or perhaps they had no need to do so, since Tibetans in exile might logically assume that China would negotiate if it believed that Tibetans had given up independence. Samdhong Rinpoche has led the effort to silence critics of the Middle Way policy, first by suggesting that Tibetans not demonstrate against Chinese leaders on their foreign visits, then by organizing seminars on the Middle Way in Tibetan settlements that include the suggestion that opposition to the policy is equivalent to opposition to the Dalai Lama himself.

Proponents of the Middle Way see it as the only reasonable choice and also as acceptable to China because it is, for the most part, in compliance with the Chinese Constitution and the Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law (formerly National Regional Autonomy Law). It differs only in demanding more, or "genuine," autonomy over a unified Tibetan nationality territory. However, the demand for "genuine" autonomy implies that the autonomy Tibetans now supposedly enjoy is not genuine. A unification of all Tibetan autonomous regions and districts into one Greater Tibetan Autonomous Region also seems reasonable since all the territories involved are already

designated as autonomous Tibetan (or combined Tibetan/Mongol or Tibetan/Kazakh) territories. However, the PRC divided Tibetan autonomous territories based upon historical justifications dating from the divisions of Tibet by the Mongol Yuan dynasty, even though historical divisions were theoretically not supposed to be taken into account. Autonomous regions were supposed to be based upon “contiguous occupation” by the minority nationality in question, which would make all Tibetan areas part of one autonomous region, except that political reasons were the real justification for the divisions.

The Memorandum on Tibetan Autonomy submitted to Chinese officials in 2008 is indeed reasonable assuming that China actually wants to allow Tibetan autonomy and to permit Tibetan culture and Tibetan national identity to survive. However, it is increasingly apparent that this is not what China wants. The Chinese Communists in the early 1950s imagined that Tibetan separatism would last only for a short time after Tibet’s “peaceful liberation.” However, they underestimated the strength of Tibetan culture and they overestimated the efficacy of CCP nationality policies. They have been continually surprised at the persistence of Tibetan culture and Tibetan resistance to Chinese rule, most recently during the liberalization era of the 1980s. And they are perpetually angered and irritated that Tibet has remained an international issue. They deny that there is really any discontent among Tibetans and imagine that international support for Tibet is nothing but Western interference aimed at denigrating China and preventing its legitimate rise to a position of leadership in world affairs. They are aware that Tibetan culture is the basis for Tibetan separatism, so they are unsympathetic to demands for any increased or “genuine” Tibetan autonomy. Tibetan national identity and Tibetan nationalism are thus what China is determined to eradicate, not perpetuate.

Middle Way proponents typically fail to understand China’s motives in regard to Tibet as they characterize the Middle Way as beneficial to both Tibetans and Chinese due to its potential to promote harmony. However, ethnic harmony is not so much a Chinese priority as is national unity, territorial integrity and the elimination of Tibetan separatism. In any case, what China means by “harmony” is enforced conformity and suppression of dissent. Tibetans also tend to dismiss as propaganda or even as “negotiating tactics” all of China’s denunciations of the Dalai Lama, its refusal to negotiate about Tibetan autonomy and its rejection of the Middle Way. They do not understand that for the Chinese Communists propaganda is actual policy. They fail to realize that international pressure is no longer sufficient to move China on Tibet or any other issue, if it ever was. The Middle Way policy has been successful in gaining international support for dialogue about Tibet and its proponents are therefore reluctant to give up that support despite the lack of any progress with China.

Some of those who oppose the Middle Way do so because they realize that China will never negotiate on that basis since it has no intention of allowing any “genuine” Tibetan autonomy. Their promotion of Tibetan independence, or *Rangzen*, may be unrealistic, but they maintain that it is less unrealistic than the illusion that China will ever allow Tibetan autonomy sufficient for the survival of Tibetan national identity. The difference between the two sides among Tibetans often comes down,

as it always has to a large extent, to their relative religiosity and loyalty to their spiritual leader, the Dalai Lama. As was the case during the debate over accepting or rejecting the 17-Point Agreement, the religious establishment and the more religious among the population has preferred compromise with China even at the expense of Tibetan independence, while the more secular nationalists have preferred a policy of no compromise on the fundamental issue of independence.

Tibetan history is replete with examples of the anti-nationalist, universalist interests of the Buddhist establishment in contrast to the more nationalist interests of the secular aristocracy. The Tibetan Empire, the only era of a unified and independent Tibet, was the creation of a secular aristocracy, united for the first time by the kings of Yarlung. The Empire was sustained by the Bon religion, not by Buddhism, which overcame Bon in influence only during the latter part of the Empire. However, Buddhism may well be responsible for its demise. Modern research by Samten Karmay has revealed that Lang Dharma, characterized in Tibetan Buddhist history as a persecutor of Buddhism, was actually only trying to curtail the excess privileges granted to the clergy by his predecessor, and brother, Ralpachen.<sup>8</sup> The Tibetan Empire, then, may well have been brought down by a reaction from Buddhist monks denied the privileges to which they had become accustomed. With the collapse of the Empire came the collapse of organized Buddhism as well, given that the clergy had also benefitted from the patronage of a centralized state.

Tibet was unified again only four hundred years later, when Sakya Pandita submitted to the Mongols. Submission may have been the only alternative to an all-out Mongol invasion, but Sakya Pandita and his nephew Phagspa willingly sacrificed Tibetan independence for the sake of Buddhism. They were primarily interested in promoting Buddhism to the Mongols and Chinese and they were amazingly successful in doing so, but they forever compromised Tibetan independence. The Fifth Dalai Lama established the political supremacy of the Buddhist Church only with the foreign military patronage of Gushri Khan, who was declared “King of Tibet.” For the subsequent two and a half centuries of the Manchu Yuan dynasty of China, the religious establishment was far more willing to accept Manchu patronage, and generous gifts to monasteries, than was the secular aristocracy, which made some attempts to maintain Tibetan autonomy, if not independence, in relation to the Manchu.

The Thirteenth Dalai Lama took advantage of the collapse of the Manchu Yuan Dynasty to declare Tibetan independence, but he did so only with British political patronage and British support for secular reforms, like creation of an army and establishment of a more representative political system. His secular reforms were fatally compromised by the opposition of the monasteries, which had long prospered under Chinese patronage and were more interested in the opportunities for the promotion of Buddhism in China than in Tibetan independence. Secular reforms, including the creation of an army and secular governmental institutions, were a direct threat to their control over culture and polity in Tibet. After the Chinese invasion of 1950, it was the religious establishment that favored accepting the 17-Point Agreement while several of the secular nationalist aristocracy opposed it.

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8 Samten G. Karmay, “King Glang Dar-ma and his Rule”, *The Arrow and the Spindle, Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, Vol II. (Mandala Publications, Kathmandu, 2005).

Despite his previous experience that Tibetan autonomy under China was not possible, the Dalai Lama has become the foremost proponent of compromise with China. He, like Tibetan lamas before him since Sakya Pandita and Phagspa, seems more interested in the promotion of Buddhism than Tibetan nationalism. The Buddhist doctrine is in its essence universalist and anti-nationalist. Buddhism has no national identity or national boundaries; its goal is human enlightenment rather than the more narrowly constricted goal of national political independence. The Dalai Lama has said that Tibetan “happiness” is the ultimate goal and that he would accept autonomy under China if that were achieved. He has often said that Tibetans could benefit economically by being part of a prosperous Chinese state. He has said that all Tibetans, himself included, would prefer independence, but that independence is an unrealistic goal. This of course implies that he thinks autonomy is not an unrealistic goal, which means that he does not understand why China rejects “genuine” Tibetan autonomy of the type he proposes. It also implies his lack of understanding of the need for an independent state within which to exercise genuine Tibetan human rights, especially the most fundamental right of national self-determination.

The Dalai Lama has repeatedly said that more and more Chinese are supporting Tibet and that many are becoming Buddhists, which he apparently assumes to mean that they would be more sympathetic to Tibet. As for Chinese support for Tibet, the TGiE has researchers constantly looking through Chinese websites for any positive comments about Tibet and they report all such evidence to the Dalai Lama, who has cited ever increasing numbers of such expressions of support. However, this is an exercise in self-deception. In fact, since 2008 Chinese society has become more anti-Tibetan than ever before. The Chinese reaction to the uprising and the protests against the International Olympic Torch Relay was one of the main sources of a new Chinese anti-Tibetan, anti-Western nationalism. Many Chinese regarded the uprising in Tibet as an attempt, supported by anti-China foreigners, to denigrate China just as it was trying to present its new face to the world via the Beijing Olympics.

Supporters of the Middle Way point out its reasonableness and its compatibility with already existing Chinese law and argue that China will eventually see its advantages. However, China has failed to see its advantages for quite some time since it was formally proposed in 1988. And, since the Middle Way’s origins lie farther back in Tibetan history and Sino-Tibetan relations, particularly in the 17-Point Agreement, China may think that it has already tried such an arrangement and that it failed because of Tibetan resistance. In fact, China was never sincere about the promises of autonomy to Tibet contained in that agreement, but it did learn that Tibetan resistance was more persistent than it imagined, a lesson it had to relearn during the period of liberalization in the 1980s. The persistence of Tibetan nationalism and separatism is the reason that China now fears to allow any real autonomy at all and why it sees no advantage in negotiating with the Dalai Lama about allowing even more autonomy in Tibet.

The Dalai Lama’s Middle Way Policy is essentially a proposal by Tibetans in exile to reverse history and return to an earlier era when China’s authority over Tibet was mainly symbolic. The Middle Way is an attempt to restore a sort of Tibetan autonomy that was already an anachronism



in 1950 when China was finally able to substantiate its historical claim to sovereignty over Tibet. It proposes a return to a type of political relationship between China and Tibet that existed only in a previous era. Tibetan autonomy existed only because the Mongol and Manchu empires did not have the ability to actually control and administer Tibet, or the need to do so except in the case of threats from outside powers. Modern China had more nationalistic ambitions to exercise actual sovereignty over Tibet and a greater ability to do so. Republican China was unable to achieve actual administrative control over Tibet, although it claimed to the world that it did. British support for Tibetan autonomy under Chinese “suzerainty” was an attempt to perpetuate a type of political relationship of an era that had already passed. The nationalist and anti-imperialist Chinese Communists were not about to allow any such vague status of a former imperial era to survive into the “New China” of their creation.

The Chinese Communists were determined to establish actual Chinese sovereignty and administration over Tibet and they had the means to do so with a veteran army and the absence of any outside power capable of opposing them. They promised a system of autonomy for Tibet almost equivalent to Tibet’s previous status of *de facto* independence. However, they considered Tibet’s “peaceful liberation” and its “return to the Motherland” as the achievement of China’s long-held ambition to exercise actual sovereignty over Tibet. What was promised in the Seventeen-Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet, and what the Middle Way would like to restore, was for the CCP only a temporary arrangement until actual military and political control could be established. For the Chinese Communists to allow Tibetan autonomy such as the Dalai Lama proposes, or even that they themselves once promised, would be contrary to what they have proclaimed as a natural and inevitable “merging of nationalities,” and a reversal of what they regard as one of their greatest accomplishments.

The Chinese typically think of Tibet more as a territory than as a people with any rights to the land itself or to any of its resources. Current Chinese activities in Tibet are incompatible with any Tibetan rights to their own territory or their own natural resources. China’s policy is that all land and resources are the property of the Chinese state, which is a clear expression of China’s conquest mentality in regard to Tibet. China’s primary development efforts in Tibet are now devoted to mining and tourism. Both are essential aspects of China’s plan for Tibet’s economic development and its integration within the Chinese economy. Both have important assimilative purposes and effects.

Tourism is aimed at turning Tibet into something like a theme park where Chinese can go to indulge their fantasies about primitive Tibetan society and where they can be entertained by Tibetans singing and dancing in gratitude for their liberation from their own backwardness. Theme parks and cultural performances are being developed in Lhasa where Chinese tourists can experience an unthreatening version of Tibetan culture and an altered version of Tibet history in which Tibet has “always” been a part of China. Fake Tibetan “model villages” are being built in lower areas of eastern Tibet like Nyingtri in Kongpo where Chinese tourists can live in Tibetan houses and be entertained by Tibetan singers and dancers. Tourist numbers reached almost

13 million in 2013 of whom 99 percent were Chinese. The perpetual presence of so many Chinese tourists in Lhasa significantly alters the population balance and cultural dynamic.

Chinese mining in Tibet is also contradictory to any concept of Tibetan autonomous rights to their own natural resources as proposed by the Middle Way policy. Tibetans currently receive no economic benefits from Chinese mining activities, whether in jobs or profits, but they suffer all the negative environmental consequences. Chinese mining in Tibet is for the benefit of China, not Tibet. Contrary to the typical assumption that China has already extensively mined all the mineral resources of Tibet, mining on the scale necessary to exploit most mineral resources is only just getting underway due to the previous lack of infrastructure like roads, railroads and hydroelectric power. Mining, like tourism, increases the numbers of Chinese in Tibet and creates isolated enclaves of Chinese where large mines are located. Mining is particularly contrary to any Tibetan autonomous rights in regard to resources or exclusive Tibetan rights to inhabitation.

There is no indication that China wishes to give up its full sovereignty in favor of Tibetan autonomy, or any logical reason that it should do so, especially when any such autonomy is contrary to China's economic and political interests. China has no intention of abandoning its rights to exploit Tibet's natural resources when mining on a large scale is finally becoming feasible. China has no intention of giving Tibetans the right to exclusive inhabitation of their own land when the Chinese regard Tibet as a relatively empty part of China open for Chinese colonization and exploitation. And China has no intention of allowing any autonomy in Tibet that would perpetuate a separate Tibetan culture and national identity and the consequent Tibetan separatist threat to China's territorial integrity and national security.

China's response to the Middle Way, and specifically to the Memorandum on Tibetan Autonomy, leave little doubt that China has no intention of allowing any "genuine autonomy" of the type proposed. Given the lack of any positive Chinese response to the Middle Way proposals, the only question is how long will the Tibetans in exile maintain this position? The meetings that China has conducted with Tibetan exile representatives cannot be said to have been a genuine dialogue since the Chinese side refused to talk about Tibetan autonomy at all. Their invitation to the Tibetan side in July 2008 to explicate what they meant by "genuine" autonomy appears in retrospect to have been either a mistake by a junior official or a ploy to defuse international criticism and Tibetan protests just before the Olympics. The scorn and finality with which the Memorandum on Tibetan Autonomy was rejected after the Olympics left little hope for any further dialogue and, indeed, to this point there have been no further meetings.

The most recent series of meetings seem to have been little more than a delaying tactic by China, one that also served to persuade the world that China was open to dialogue and thus to satisfy foreign critics' constant demands that it do so. China now seems to not care enough about foreign criticism to even make a pretense of willingness to dialogue. Chinese policy now appears to anticipate a time when the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama has departed and a 15<sup>th</sup> has been named by the CCP. This timing may also be the answer to the question about how long Tibetans will support the Middle Way policy. Presumably, only after the demise of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama will a realistic

reappraisal of the policy be possible. Much of the support for the policy at the present is based upon loyalty to the Dalai Lama, a condition that will be lessened with his departure. Even then, Tibetan loyalty to his legacy will be an important factor.

There is a remote possibility that the Dalai Lama could renounce his own policy at the end of his life, given his realization that the Chinese would be less likely to negotiate after he is gone than before. But, to renounce the Middle Way would be to renounce much of his own legacy. However, he could, by renouncing his own failed policy, create a new legacy. He might rationalize that he had tried to be conciliatory, as in the 1950s, but now, as after the 1959 revolt, had decided that autonomy under China was impossible. He might then revive the claim for Tibetan independence. Certainly, this would be the best way to defy the Chinese expectation that his demise would be the end of the Tibet problem and it would also be the best way to provide a continued inspiration for Tibetans. The aspiration for independence may be all that Tibetans ever get, but, as the independence advocates have pointed out, it is the abandonment of that aspiration that is the most demoralizing aspect of the Middle Way. Only a repudiation of the policy by the Dalai Lama himself would heal the rift in Tibetan society caused by that policy. Tibetan independence may be unlikely, but the claim to rightful independence is essential for the preservation of Tibetan national identity. The claim of Tibetan independence in the past as well as the legitimate right of independence in the present is essential for the sake of a truthful and authentic Tibetan history as opposed to one rewritten and falsified by the Chinese.



# THE FUNCTION OF AUXILIARY VERBS IN TIBETAN PREDICATES AND THEIR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT\*

**Tsuguhito Takeuchi**

## 1. Introduction

The most important tasks for our understanding of sentence structure in Modern Tibetan are a) the analysis of noun case markers and b) the description of the structure and function of predicates. The former involves clarifying the functions of noun case markers as well as the ways in which the properties of predicates and other conditioning factors dictate their choice. The latter involves an analysis of the structure and function of predicates centered around the auxiliary verbs found therein, which play an especially important role. It goes without saying that these two issues are deeply related.

I began my research on Tibetan language under the guidance of Professor Tatsuo Nishida at Kyoto University, and in my master's thesis I attempted to describe Tibetan sentence structure, focusing on these two points. At the time there were few linguistic treatises on these issues.<sup>1</sup> From around 1980, the structure of predicates, especially verb predicates, began to receive attention, and many studies specifically focused on the subject have appeared.<sup>2</sup> These works and my master's thesis are for the most part in agreement with one another, but they do contain some differences. In this paper, I would like to present a description of the functions of predicates and auxiliary verbs, revising some of my previous arguments by referring to these various studies.

The greatest benefit of the development of Tibetan linguistics in the past ten years has been the increase in the amount of available data. This can first be seen in the area of dialectology. Due to the progress in dialect surveys—particularly those carried out in China—we now have access to information regarding not only the phonology but also the morphology and grammatical constructions in dialects, such as Ngari and Amdo, besides that of Lhasa and the Central dialect. Second, this increase in data can be seen in the area of Old Tibetan philology. Due to progress in philological research on the texts unearthed in Dunhuang and East Turkestan, information that can be used as linguistic data has increased. As a result, it is becoming possible for us to trace the transformation of the structure of predicates and the development of auxiliary verbs from Old Tibetan to the various modern Tibetan dialects. Thus, in the latter half of this paper, I would like

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\* This is an English translation of my article published in Japanese: “Chibetto-go no jutsubu ni okeru jodōshi no kinō to sono hattatsu katei チベット語の述部における助動詞の機能とその発達過程” in Sakiyama and Sato (eds.), *Asia no Syo-gengo to Ippann-gengogaku*, アジアの諸言語と一般言語学, Sanseido, Tokyo (1990): 6–16. The author thank Crimson Interactive Pvt. Ltd. (Ulatu) for their assistance in manuscript translation.

1 The major works from this period are Jin Peng (1956) and Yukawa (1975).

2 For example, Jin Peng (1979) (1983), Xi (1982), Qu (1985), Nishida (1979, 1983), Chang (1983), Nagano (1984), and DeLancey (1985).

to present a hypothetical model of the developmental process of auxiliary verbs. Naturally, there are many aspects yet to be explained concerning this important problem, and thus I will not go further than presenting my thoughts as an outline of research at its early stage.

## 2. The Structure of Predicates and the Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs in the Modern Central Tibetan Dialect<sup>3</sup>

### 2.1 The Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs in Noun Predicate Sentences

Two kinds of auxiliary verbs (i.e. descriptive and existential) are connected to nouns.

#### 2.1.1 Descriptive (Copular) Auxiliary Verbs

*Yin* and *red* are descriptive (or copular) auxiliary verbs that connect to nouns. *Yin* is normally used when the speaker is describing himself: ex. (1). However, there is no need for the speaker to be the subject: ex. (2).

- |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) <i>nga bod pa yin</i>       | I am a Tibetan.            |
| (2) <i>'di za mkhan nga yin</i> | I am the one who ate this. |
| (3) <i>khong bod pa red</i>     | He is a Tibetan.           |

On the other hand, *red* is normally used when the speaker is describing someone other than himself: ex. (3). Thus, the usage of *yin* and *red* appears to correspond to the grammatical person at first glance. As can be seen in (4), however, in the case that the speaker is describing his children or wife, *yin* is used even though the sentence is in the third person. This is because they are seen as belonging to the speaker or as being under his will.

- |                                   |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (4) <i>nga'i bu mo bod pa yin</i> | My daughter is a Tibetan. |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|

In the case of parents or friends, even though there is a close relationship, not *yin* but *red* is used since they are considered as being independent of the speaker. If the speaker were to use *yin* instead of *red* in (3), it would take on the nuance that the other person belongs to the speaker's group or that the situation is under the speaker's control. Therefore, in a case like (5) in which the speaker is describing something unrelated to him, *yin* cannot be used.<sup>4</sup>

3 The data analyzed in this chapter is based on my transcription of Tshul-khrim skal-bzang's spoken words. He was born in 1942 in Zur-tsho near Ding-ri and first learned the Ding-ri (Zur-tsho) dialect. However, he was educated at the Sera Monastery in Lhasa from the age of 10, and thus speaks the so-called Central Tibetan dialect that is used as the *lingua franca* in Central Tibet. In terms of the usage of auxiliary verbs that this paper discusses, the Central dialect usage appears to correspond to that of the Lhasa dialect. Regarding the Central Tibetan dialect, see Miller (1995) and Kitamura and Nishida (1960). The example sentences in this paper are notated in written Tibetan format.

4 The analysis in this chapter was carried out by limiting the body of data to the spoken words of one informant and using the informant's own reflective analysis. Therefore, it applies only to the colloquial style of the Central Tibetan dialect to which his speech belongs. Data can be found in published scholarship that do not conform to this paper's analysis. For example, there are also examples like (5) in which *yin* is used (cf. Nishida 1983: p.13). As will be seen in Chapter 3, these variations are presumably due to dialectal differences or differences in formalities that reflect various stages of historical development. When we attempt to describe these subtle semantic differences, it is essential to start by limiting the linguistic corpus.

(5) *lha sa bod kyi rgya sa red*                      Lhasa is the capital of Tibet.

Conversely, the use of *red* in a sentence relating to the speaker is limited to cases in which a situation is expressed objectively without relation to the speaker's will. For example, (6) is a possible reflexive answer to the question "Whose book is this?" (*deb 'di su 'i red*).

(6) *deb 'di nga 'i red*                                      This book is mine.

However, if there is the speaker's will or claim that it is his, *yin* is necessarily used.

As can be seen from above, the use of *yin* and *red* is determined by the relationship (attitude) of the speaker to the situation expressed in the sentence, and not simply by the grammatical person. In other words, *yin* shows that the speaker sees the situation or the people therein as belonging to him or under his will; he sees it as being what could be called "internal." On the other hand, *red* shows that the speaker sees the situation as being independent of him; he sees it as being "external."

In the case that the speaker refers to the listener (in other words, a sentence in the second person), *red* is normally used in affirmative sentences (7), and *yin* is used in interrogative sentences (8). Conversely, *red* is used in interrogative sentences even if they are in the first person (9).

(7) *khyed rang mkhan po red*                      You are the head of the monastery.

(8) *khyed rang su yin*                                      Who are you?

(9) *nga su red*    Who am I?

In other words, the center of judgment moves from the speaker to the listener in interrogative sentences. When the situation is seen as "internal" to the listener (more exactly, if the speaker judges so), *yin* is used, and when it is seen as "external" to the listener, *red* is used. It should also be noted that (8) is an utterance that is directed to an interlocutor. When the speaker says to himself "Who were you?" (i.e. a self-directed question), not *yin* but *red* is used. That is, for the listener to become the focus of a sentence, in addition to the sentence being interrogative in form, the speaker must also be asking the question to an actual person. This clearly shows that the "internal/external" distinction expressed by *yin/red* is a deictic concept that relies on the context of the utterance.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1.2 Existential Auxiliary Verbs

*Yod*, *'dug*, and *yod-ba-red* are auxiliary verbs that connect to nouns to express the existence or ownership. *Yod* shows that the speaker (or in interrogative sentences, the listener) sees a situation of existence, ownership *etc.* as being "internal" (10, 11).

(10) *ngar deb mang po yod*                              I have many books.

(11) *'dir nga 'i bu gnyis yod*                              My two sons are here.

In contrast, *'dug* and *yod-ba-red* express existence or ownership that is "external" to the speaker.

5 Chinese scholars call this concept "yuqi 語氣" and consider the opposition between *yin* and *red* as being one between the "主觀意志 (確知) 語氣" and the "客觀陳述 (非確知) 語氣." Cf. Xi (1982).

- (12) *khong la deb mang po 'dug* He has many books.  
 (13) *khong la deb mang po yod-ba-red* (Same as above)  
 (14) *bod la g.yag 'dug* There are yaks in Tibet.  
 (15) *bod la g.yag yod-ba-red* (Same as above)

Next, let us look at the difference between *'dug* and *yod-ba-red*. While (12) is an expression used in a case in which the speaker has confirmed with his own eyes that there are many books in someone's house, (13) is an expression used when the speaker knows this having heard it from other people. In other words, it can be said that *'dug* expresses that the speaker has directly cognized a situation based on his own perception or experience, while *yod-ba-red* shows that the speaker has indirectly perceived a situation, so to speak, through hearsay or what is generally known.<sup>6</sup> Thus, (14) is limited to cases in which the speaker is or was in Tibet. As for interrogative sentences, the listener becomes the subject of judgment concerning the difference between *'dug* (direct perception) and *yod-ba-red* (indirect perception). In other words, the center of perception moves from the speaker to the listener. This is parallel to the above-described distinction between internal and external situations.

### 2.1.3 Summary

The above-described functions of auxiliary verbs connected to nouns are shown in the table below (see footnote 4).

	Internal	External	
		Direct Perception	Indirect Perception
Descriptive	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>	
Existential	<i>yod</i>	<i>'dug</i>	<i>yod-ba-red</i>

## 2.2 The Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs and the Semantic Classification of Adjectives in Adjectival Predicate Sentences

In the Lhasa / Central dialects of Modern Tibetan, an adjectival predicate is composed of an adjective and an auxiliary verb. As is the case with nouns, *yin*, *red*, *yod*, *'dug*, and *yod-ba-red* are auxiliary verbs that can be connected to adjectives. In other words, in an adjectival predicate, a descriptive or existential auxiliary verb is attached to an adjective, a structure similar to the phrases *kireida* (*kirei+da*) and *hanayakanari* (*hanayakani+ari*) in Japanese. As is the case when they are connected to nouns, these auxiliary verbs indicate the attitude of the speaker (in the case of an interrogative sentence, the listener) with regard to the situation expressed by the sentence. That is to say, *yin* and *yod* show that the speaker considers the situation as being internal to him (16, 17).

- (16) *nga 'i skra dkar bo yin* My hair is white.  
 (17) *nga 'i khang pa gya chen po yod* My house is spacious.

On the other hand, *red*, *'dug*, and *yod-ba-red* show that the speaker considers the state or circumstance as being external to him (18, 19, 20).

6 In Jin (1983), this is expressed as the “techen yuqi 特陳語氣” and the “fanchen 泛陳語氣”. In Xi (1982), this is expressed as the “tezhi yuqi 特指語氣” and the “fanzhi yuqi 泛指語氣.”



- |                                       |                     |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (18) <i>deb 'di nag po red</i>        | This book is black. |
| (19) <i>deb 'di yag po 'dug</i>       | This book is good.  |
| (20) <i>deb 'di yag po yod-ba-red</i> | (Same as above)     |

Furthermore, *'dug* shows that the speaker directly perceived the situation: (19) is an expression of the opinion of the speaker after he has actually read the book. *Yod-ba-red* expresses indirect perception: (20) is an expression of the speaker basing his utterance on hearsay or general knowledge, without actually reading the book. Also, expressions in which *'dug* is attached to an adjective have an emotional nuance of wonder, surprise *etc.* such as “it sure is nice” and “it sure is pretty.”

Here, an issue arises of the semantic difference between adjectival predicates in which a descriptive auxiliary verb is attached to an adjective and those in which an existential auxiliary verb is attached. Let us compare the examples of the former (16, 18) and the latter (17, 19, 20). (16) and (18) express that my hair is white and that this book is black, respectively. These sentences describe the form or quality of certain specific objects, and thus they are objective descriptions that do not particularly rely on the subjective judgment of the speaker. In contrast, (19) and (20) reflect the subjective judgment of the speaker. In the case of (17), while the statement “my house is spacious” appears at first glance to be describing the form of a house, in fact it is nothing but an expression of the speaker’s judgment that has been arrived at through comparison. Whether the speaker “perceives” a certain house to be spacious or cramped is based on his own criteria of judgment. In contrast, in the case of adjectives that express color or shape such as “white” or “square,” there is no need for comparison. In this sense, they can be called “absolute adjectives,” whereas “spacious/cramped,” “big/small,” “long/short,” *etc.* can be called “relative adjectives.”<sup>7</sup>

In this way, Tibetan adjectives can be divided into two groups depending on whether they take descriptive auxiliary verbs or existential auxiliary verbs. The former express the objective quality of a specific object such as its color and form. In addition to the previously mentioned color adjectives and form adjectives (e.g. “square” *gru-bzhi* and “circular” *sgor-sgor*), this group includes adjectives such as “new” (*gsar-ba*), “old” (*rnying-ba*), “healthy” (*bde-bo*), “fresh” (*sos-pa*), “rotten” (*rul-ba*), and “rare” (*dkon-po*). The latter group expresses the subjective judgment of the speaker regarding an object, and includes adjectives such as “beautiful” (*mdzes-bo*), “difficult” (*khag-po*), “hot” (*tsha-po*), “damp” (*rlon-po*), “big” (*chen-po*), and long (*ring-po*). This opposition corresponds to the opposition between absolute adjectives and relative adjectives.<sup>8</sup> That is, the opposition between absolute adjectives and relative adjectives manifests itself by the choice of auxiliary verbs in Tibetan.

Although absolute adjectives take a descriptive auxiliary verb in their unmarked usage, it is also possible for them to take an existential auxiliary verb. In that case, the state expressed by the adjective has the marked nuance of being temporary and only appearing as such. For example, if *yod* were to be used instead of *yin* in (16), the sentence would come to have the nuance that the

7 Regarding absolute adjectives and relative adjectives, see Suzuki (1973: pp.61–65).

8 This is close to the opposition between the *ku* (objective qualities) and *shiku* (emotion) conjugations of Japanese adjectives, although there seem to be some differences.

speaker's hair is not simply white but that it, for example, has chalk on it and thus temporarily appears to be white, or that the speaker feels that it is particularly white when compared to other people (or its normal state).

In what kind of cases does a relative adjective take a descriptive auxiliary verb? Let us look at the following examples.

- |  |                                 |
|--|---------------------------------|
| (21) <i>khyags pa grang mo red</i>                 | Ice is cold.                    |
| (22) <i>rta chen po red / khyi chung chung red</i> | Horses are big, dogs are small. |
| (23) <i>deb log yag yag po red</i>                 | Reading books is good.          |

(21), (22), and (23) share the fact that they are describing the overall quality of the set expressed by the noun or noun phrase: "Ice is something that ..." "Horses are animals that ..." "Reading books is an act that ..." To put it in logical terms, they are universal propositions. On the other hand, the example sentences considered so far have all been particular propositions. Incidentally, the particular propositions that correspond to (21), (22), and (23) are as follows:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| (24) <i>khyags pa 'di grang mo 'dug</i> | This ice sure is cold.  |
| (25) <i>rta 'di chen po 'dug</i>        | This horse sure is big. |
| (26) <i>deb 'di yag po 'dug</i>         | This book is good.      |

In these examples, the speaker is comparing a specific member of a set with other members of that set and making a judgment regarding it. Accordingly, they take existential auxiliary verbs.

Auxiliary Verbs \ Adjectives	Descriptive <i>yin</i>	Existential <i>yod</i>
Absolute Adjectives	Unmarked (Objective)	Temporary State (Subjective)
Relative Adjectives	Universal Proposition (Objective)	Unmarked (Subjective)

In this way, absolute adjectives and relative adjectives respectively take descriptive auxiliary verbs and existential auxiliary verbs when unmarked. When this pairing is reversed, the expression takes on a marked nuance. The above table illustrates these possible combinations and their meanings.

Absolute Adjectives	Color (red <i>dmar-po</i> , white <i>dkar-po</i> , etc). Shape (circular <i>sgor-sgor</i> , rectangular <i>gru-bzhi</i> , etc.) new <i>gsar-ba</i> , old <i>rnying-ba</i> , healthy <i>bde-bo</i> , rare <i>dkon-po</i> , fresh <i>sos-pa</i> , rotten <i>rul-ba</i>
Relative Adjectives	beautiful <i>mdzes-po</i> , delicious <i>zhim-po</i> , happy <i>dga'-bo</i> , difficult <i>khag-po</i> , easy <i>las-sla-po</i> , numerous <i>mang-po</i> , hot <i>tsha-bo</i> , cold <i>grang-mo</i> , big <i>chen-po</i> , small <i>chung-chung</i> , long <i>ring-po</i>

	Internal	External	
		Direct Perception	Indirect Perception
Objective State	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>	
Subjective Judgment	<i>yod</i>	<i>'dug</i>	<i>yod-ba-red</i>

In summary, Tibetan adjectives can be classified as ‘absolute’ or ‘relative’ depending on whether in the case of a particular proposition they take descriptive auxiliary verbs or existential auxiliary verbs in their unmarked usage (principal examples are given in the above table). Auxiliary verbs show how the state or quality expressed by an adjective is connected to its object. In other words, by connecting the adjective and its object by equality, descriptive auxiliary verbs show that the former expresses an objective state that is unique to the latter. Therefore, they are unmarked when connected to absolute adjectives that normally express an objective state, and when they are connected to relative adjectives, they markedly emphasize that the state is an objective one. It is for this reason that the latter combination is limited to universal propositions. On the other hand, existential auxiliary verbs indicate that the state or quality expressed by an adjective exists (temporarily) with regard to its object, and that the recognition of the existence of the particular state or quality is based on the subjective judgment express a subjective judgment, and when connected to an absolute adjective that normally expresses an objective state, they emphasize in a marked manner that the state is temporary. In the table above, I have summarized the functions of auxiliary verbs when they are connected to adjectives in a way that mirrors the previous table that summarized their functions when they are connected to nouns of the speaker. Therefore, they unmarkedly connect with relative adjectives that normally

### 2.3 The Semantic Function of Auxiliary Verbs in Verbal Predicate Sentences

Verbal predicates in Modern Tibetan are characterized by the simplification of verbal stem forms that is compensated by compound structures accompanied by affixes and auxiliary verbs that express temporal and aspectual distinctions. Their basic form is V + (Particle) + Auxiliary. However, there is a distinction between perfective (pf) and imperfective (imf) aspects to the verbal stems.<sup>9</sup> Since discussing in detail the forms and functions of verbal predicates is outside the scope of this paper,<sup>10</sup> I would like to focus on the role that descriptive and existential auxiliary verbs play in verbal predicates, as they are the main theme of this paper. Their primary forms can be categorized as follows:

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the perfective and imperfective, see Chang (1983).

<sup>10</sup> Research on the structure of verbal predicates includes Jin (1979), among others.

		Internal (First Person)	External (Second and Third Person)	
			Direct Perception	Indirect Perception
Non-continuous Aspect (Descriptive)	Past	(pf) + <i>ba</i> + <i>yin</i>	(pf) + <i>song</i>	(pf) + <i>ba</i> + <i>red</i>
	Non-past	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>yin</i>	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>red</i>	
Continuous Aspect (Existential)	Past	(pf) + <i>yod</i>	(pf) + ' <i>dug</i>	(pf) + <i>yod</i> + <i>ba-red</i>
	Non-past	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>yod</i>	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + ' <i>dug</i>	(imf) + <i>gi</i> + <i>yod</i> - <i>ba-red</i>

As can be seen in the table above, descriptive auxiliary verbs and existential auxiliary verbs correspond to aspectual distinctions that are non-continuous and continuous, respectively. The continuous aspect in the past expresses a situation in which the result of a completed action or process continues to exist in the present (27). The non-continuous aspect in the past is a form that expresses without any reference to the present an action or process that occurred in the past (28). The continuous aspect in the non-past expresses an action or process that is currently in progress or is repetitive and habitual (29). The non-continuous aspect in the non-past is a form that expresses an action or process in the future, or those deemed constant or invariant (30).

- (27) *ngas rtsam pa bzas yod*                      I ate *tsampa*. (Presently satiated)  
 (28) *ngas rtsam pa bzas pa yin*                      (Same as above—unrelated to the present)  
 (29) *nga da lta za gi yod*                              I am eating now.  
 (30) *nga sang nying za gi yin*                        I will eat tomorrow.

In this way, the difference between descriptive and existential auxiliary verbs materializes as the difference between the non-continuous and continuous aspects when they are attached to verbs.

What about, then, the distinction between internal and external? As was the case when connecting auxiliary verbs to nouns and adjectives, this is expressed by the opposition between *yin*, *yod* and *red*, '*dug*, *yod-ba-red* (the opposition between direct and indirect perception is expressed likewise, but I will not touch upon this). However, when connecting to a verb, as a general rule *yin* and *yod* are limited to the speaker's (in interrogative sentences, the interlocutor's) actions and processes (in other words, sentences in first-person). In this sense, it is safe to say that the choice of an auxiliary verb corresponds to grammatical person in verbal predicate construction. In other words, verbs take *yin* or *yod* if the sentence is in first person, and *red*, '*dug*, or *yod-ba-red* if it is in second or third person (28, 31). However, in interrogative sentences, verbs take *yin* or *yod* in the case of a second-person sentence, and *red*, '*dug*, or *yod-ba-red* in the case of a first and third person sentence (32, 33).

- (31) *khos rtsam pa mang bo bzas pa red*      He ate a lot of *tsampa*.  
 (32) *khyed rang ga re gnang gi yod*              What are you doing?  
 (33) *nga ga par 'gro dgos kyi red*                Where do I have to go?

However, in the case of verbs like “to be sick,” “to feel good” or “to have forgotten,” they take an external auxiliary verb (*red*, *'dug*, or *yod-ba-red*) even if the sentence is in first person (34, 35).

- (34) *nga mgo na gis* (= *na gi 'dug*)                      My head hurts.  
 (35) *nga deb nang la brjed bzhag* (= *brjed 'dug*) I forgot my book at home.

Since these verbs express a non-volitional action that does not have an agent, they are unable to take internal auxiliary verbs. This nicely corresponds to my description of how internal auxiliary verbs express the will of the speaker, discussed in the section on auxiliary verbs connected to nouns.

In this way, descriptive and existential auxiliary verbs consistently express the different ways in which the speaker relates to the situation expressed in a sentence, be it internally (as being under the speaker’s will) or externally (as being outside of the speaker’s will) through their connection to nouns, adjectives, and verbs—in other words, an ancillary concept. Now I would like to consider how auxiliary verbs with these functions have developed historically, focusing on *yin* and *red*.

### 3. The Historical Transformation of Predicate Structure and the Development Process of Auxiliary Verbs

#### 3.1 Predicate Structure and Auxiliary Verbs in Old Tibetan Documents

The predicates in Old Tibetan documents from the 7th to 9th century A.D. are comprised of a noun, adjective, verb, and a “terminative particle” *-o* that marks the end of the sentence (called *rdzogs-tshig* in Tibetan grammar). The form of this particle is invariable regardless of the grammatical person of the subject (36, 37, 38).<sup>11</sup>

- (36) *myi yongs kyis kho bo la snyan du myi brjod pa yang bden no*  
 It is also true that no one praised me. (P.t. 1287: 1.209)  
 (37) *zu tse glob a nye 'o*    Zu-tse is loyal. (P.t. 1287: 1.1990)  
 (38) *slan cad gyang nye zho dag myed par smon to//*  
 I am hoping that [you] continue to be in perfect health. (M. Tagh. b.i. 0096)

This “terminative particle” *-o* probably carried out a function similar to that of *so* in Old Japanese nominal sentences, which expressed affirmative judgment.<sup>12</sup> That is, it fulfilled a copulative function that appositionally connected the subject and complement.<sup>13</sup> However, while there are not many expressions that use the auxiliary verb *yin* in predicates can be found in Old Tibetan texts. The usage of *yin* in these texts can be divided into two types. One is a usage for negation, *ma yin* (39).

11 Regarding the text numbers for Old Tibetan texts, see Takeuchi (1986: p.594, n. 14).

12 For example, *tawa ya onna no kokoro midarete nueru koromo* so たわや女の心乱れて縫える衣そ.

13 A similar view can be found in Yamaguchi (1986: pp.723-726). In addition, Yamaguchi proposes *\*-bo* as the origin of the “terminative particle” *-o*.

- (39) *bde ba'i gnas skabs / sdug bsngal ba'i gnas skabs / sdug bsngal yang ma yin*  
*bde ba yang ma yin ba'i gnas skabs*  
 State of comfort, state of suffering, state of neither suffering nor comfort  
 (P.t. 1261: 1.70)

This form was probably introduced because there was originally no negative form of the terminative particle *-o*. We should pay attention to the fact that *yin* is used only in the case of a negative form in the example above (This is similar to how “*ni ari*” and “*ni arazu*” were introduced into Old Japanese). Another usage of *yin* can be seen in the following examples:

- (40) *zhang klu bzang gi yi ge la nad cabs che rab ches byung nas / sman snga ma*  
*skur ba //yin no/*  
 Since it was [written] in Zhang-klu-bzang's letter that [your] sickness is very serious, I will immediately send medicine. (BTT: 1.2)
- (41) *sngon ji 'i nang du yang ma zhugs pas // gdod 'jug par gsol ba yin no zhes byas so/*  
 [He] said, “Since I have not entered anything until now (i.e., no chance was given), I am asking so that I will be able to enter for the first time.” (P.t. 1287: 1.212)
- (42) *'di ltar nye zhin gnyen pa yin na*  
 If [the Tibetan and Tang royal families] are close and in a kinship relation (*Tang fan hui meng bei* 唐蕃會盟碑 The Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription: E. 33)
- (43) *g. yag sgal can 'di ni myi'i phyugs yin bas 'di gar 'gro ba'i phyi bzhin du 'dong ngo zhes*  
 [He] said, “This yak carrying a load must be somebody's domestic animal, so let's follow wherever it goes.” (IOL Tib J 598: fol. 3.1)

These examples all emphasize the speaker's judgment and will. In contrast, the form without *yin* that only has a “terminative particle” is used more generally and widely. I would like to speculate that this is a reflection of the following situation.

At the stage before Old Tibetan, nominal sentences were always constructed by the terminative particle *-o* that expressed affirmative judgment (Stage I). Then, the auxiliary verb *yin* was introduced for negative expressions. Furthermore, the auxiliary verb *yin* came to be used in affirmative sentences as an expression to emphasize the writer's will or assertion (Stage II). As a result, predicates that included *yin* and predicate sentences that only had *-o* came to have contrastive meanings (Stage III). These changes in nominal predicate structure are summarized in the following table.

Stage I: Proto-Tibetan (Pre-Old Tibetan)

-o: copulative (*-o < \*-bo?*)

Stage II: Old Tibetan

□ -o: copulative  
 □ *yin-o*: speaker's will; negation

Stage III: Post-Old Tibetan

□ -o: copulative + outside of the speaker's will (external)  
 □ *yin*: copulative + within the speaker's will (internal)

### 3.2 The Development Process of Auxiliary Verbs in Modern Dialects

The Stage III scheme above nicely matches the scheme for nominal predicate structures in modern Lhasa and Central dialects described in Chapter 1 (Section 2.1.3). The only difference is the existence of the auxiliary verb *red*. This suggests that the auxiliary verb *red* was introduced as a replacement for the “terminative particle” *-o*. In fact, this is supported by the fact that *red* and *-o* share the same syntactic distribution: for example, neither of them is found in subordinate clauses (e.g., \**red tsang* / \**red na*), where their function is carried out by *yin* (*yin tsang* / *yin na*) or the conjunction *ste* (verb + *ste*).

If so, when and in which region did the auxiliary verb *red* begin to be used? It would be very difficult to philologically attest its use in documents because almost all documents came to be written in Classical Tibetan ever since it was established as the literary language in the late stage of Old Tibetan, and the linguistic changes that were progressing at the level of spoken language were not well reflected in them. One document that is considered to portray the early usage of the auxiliary verb *red* is an 18<sup>th</sup> century text (sermon) written in the spoken form of the Amdo dialect.<sup>14</sup> In this text, the auxiliary verb *red* is frequently used instead of the “terminative particle” *-o* (44, 45). The fact that it is often used in an interrogative form like *chi red* and *e red* suggests the possibility that *red* was introduced to construct an interrogative or negative form:

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| (44) <i>ya a rgya chi red</i>               | Yes Father, what is it? (151.1)     |
| (45) <i>gsung gi yod ni e red</i>           | Is he saying? (151.1)               |
| (46) <i>nga de ring mgon po rdo rje yin</i> | I am today Mgon-po rdo-rje. (153.5) |

This text clearly indicates that the use of the auxiliary verb *red* had already taken root in the spoken language of the Amdo region in that period. Furthermore, if one looks at the usage of *yin* and *red* in the modern Amdo dialect, the scope of *red*'s use has expanded to first person sentences where *yin* was originally used (47, 48):<sup>15</sup>

- |                               |                    |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| (47) <i>nga amdowa red</i>    | I am from Amdo.    |
| (48) <i>kyod amdowa e red</i> | Are you from Amdo? |

These facts might be an indication that the use of the auxiliary verb *red* first began and took root in the Amdo region, and then spread to Kham and Central Tibet.

On the other hand, there are dialects that do not possess the auxiliary verb *red* form in their current state. Those are found among the various dialects of Western Tibet. For example, in the Ding-ri dialect, the internal/external opposition is expressed by the form *yin/yinda*?.<sup>16</sup>

- |                              |                |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| (49) <i>nga phöpa yin</i>    | I am Tibetan.  |
| (50) <i>kho phöpa yinda?</i> | He is Tibetan. |

14 *Gung thang dkon mchog bstan pa'i gron me*: “Phal skad zab chos,” in *Collected Works (gsung-'bum)*, vol. 10, pp.150-158. Cf. Norbu (1983).

15 These Amdo dialect materials are based on Jin (1983b) and my field survey at Sku-'bum in the Qinghai Province in the summer of 1987.

16 These forms of the Dingri dialect are based on Takeuchi (1979). However, I have omitted tone notations.

Also, in the Sgar, Ru-thog, Spu-hreng, and Rtsa-mda' dialects from the western part of the Nga-ri region, this opposition is marked by *yin* and *ntaʔ*.<sup>17</sup>

- (51) *nga phȫ pa yi:n* I am Tibetan.  
 (52) *kho pao: ntaʔ* He is a hero.

These *yindaʔ* and *ntaʔ* forms can be analysed as affixes expressing uncertainty that have been introduced to compensate for the loss of the terminative particle *-o*. These dialects are located in the southwestern edge of the Central dialect group. Western dialects such as Sbal-ti and La-dwags located further west appear to lack the *red* form and always use the *yin* form.<sup>18</sup>

Let us now summarize the above analyses. Modern dialects can be divided into four types with regard to the use of the auxiliary verbs *yin/red* and the mode by which the internal/external distinction is expressed. The type that can be seen in the Lhasa, Central, and Kham dialects directly inherit the Stage III structure and express the internal/external opposition by *yin* and *red*, substituting the terminative particle *-o* with the auxiliary verb *red* (Type B). In the case of the Amdo dialect, due to the expanded scope of usage for the auxiliary verb *red*, which was newly introduced as a substitution for the “terminative particle” *-o*, the usage distinction between it and *yin* has become unclear, and as a result the internal/external opposition is disappearing (Type A). The type represented by the dialects such as Ding-ri and Sgar does not have the auxiliary verb *red*, and has introduced an affix to express uncertainty as a replacement for the “terminative particle” *-o* (Type C). In the Western dialects such as Sbal-ti and Law-dwag, there is no internal/external distinction and *yin* is uniformly used (Type D). These four types can be illustrated in the following way:

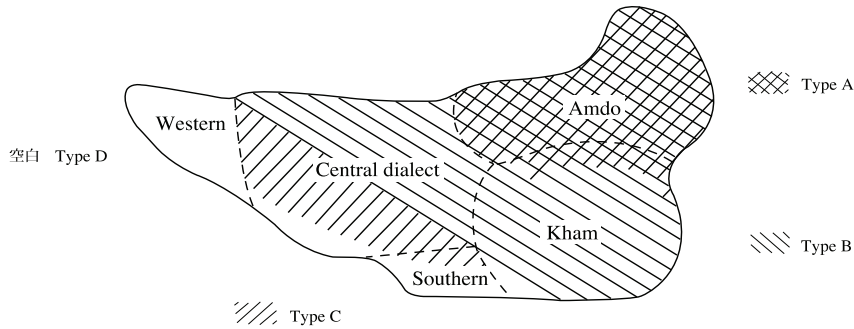
- Stage IV Type A: Amdo
  - red, yin*: copulative
- Stage IV Type B: Lhasa, Central Tibetan, Kham
  - *red*: copulative + outside of the speaker's will (external)
  - *yin*: copulative + within the speaker's will (internal)
- Stage IV Type C: Ding-ri, Sgar, Ru-thog, Spu-hreng, Rtsa-mda'
  - (*yin*) *taʔ*: copulative + uncertainty (external)
  - *yin*: copulative + certainty (internal)
- Stage IV Type D: Sbal-ti, La-dwag
  - yin*: copulative

Geographically, the types A, B, C and D are distributed from the northeast to the southwest. The further northeast a dialect is located, the more frequently it will be for *red* to be used (see the diagram below).

<sup>17</sup> Based on Qu (1980) and Qu and Tan (1983). However, I have omitted tone notations.

<sup>18</sup> Based on Bielmeier (1985), Koshal (1979), and my survey in Ladakh in 1988.





I would like to consider the relationship of changes that occurred in the four types of dialects in the following way: As a replacement for the loss of the “terminative particle” *-o* in Stage III,<sup>19</sup> the auxiliary verb *red* began to be used in the northeastern region of Amdo (Type A), and spread to the Kham and Central dialects. However, it has not yet reached the various dialects of Western Tibet (Type C and D). In Amdo, the expanded scope of usage for *red* and its replacement of *yin* lead to a new unification of forms. It is an interesting question regarding the future of the Tibetan language as to whether this will progress further and all dialects will converge into Type A (Amdo dialect-pattern), or the opposition between *yin* and *red* in the Lhasa dialect will become fixed and develop as an indicator for grammatical person.<sup>20</sup>

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19 The honorific form *yin ba noo* (Kitamura 1977: p.24) in the Lhasa dialect and *nok* in Ladhaki and Sherpa (Koshal 1979: p.38; Schöttelndreyer 1973: p.57) could be the vestiges of the terminative particle *-o*.

20 As I discussed in the section 2.3, the choice of auxiliary verbs corresponds to the difference in grammatical person in verbal predicate sentences of the Lhasa and Central dialects. Regarding the development of grammatical person indicators, see Nishida (1983: pp.12–17).

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༡༡། །མདོ་སྟོང་ཁྱོད་འདིར་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོད་ནང་ནས་མདོན་པར་འཕགས་པ་སྡེ་དགེ་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཆེད་གཏེ་ཡིག་ཚང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཇི་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་མོ་དགས་རིམ་  
 ཅམ་བཀོད་པ་སྐྱེ་རེད་ས་གསར་པའི་འཇུག་བག་ཅེས་པ་བཞུགས་ལགས།

རོ་སྐུལ་བཀའ་ལུགས་ཆེ་རིང་།

ཨོ་བདེ་ལེགས་སུ་གྱུར་ཅིག། །དེ་ཡང་དང་བོ་སྡེ་དགེ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡབ་མེས་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྤྱད་ཆ་ནས་བཟུང་གཏུང་  
 རབས་མཚན་སྲེང་བསྟར་བ་དང་ཆབས་ཅིག་དབྱུང་གཏུང་སྤྱད་ཅམ་སྟོན་དབང་དུ་བཏང་ནང་། བོད་མི་མཚོག་རྒྱུད་ལུས་མེད་  
 ཁོ་བོ་ལྟ་བུས་ཆེ་གཏུང་བཅོན་གསུམ། འཕེན་སྤྱད་དར་གསུམ། གཞན་བས་ཁྱད་དུ་འཕགས། རིགས་རྒྱུད་བཟང་། ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 རིང་། བྱས་པ་ཆེ། ཡིག་ཚང་མང་། ཨ་སྟོན་གནམ་གྱི་སྐར་མ་ལས་གངས་མང་པའི་བཤད་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་གདན་ས། དོག་མོ་ས་ལ་  
 མི་ཤོང་ལེ་མཁས་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ཁྲུངས་སྡེ་དགེའི་ཡུལ་ལུང་སྤྱི་དང་། གྲེ་བག་སྡེ་དགེའི་རུས་མཚོད་དང་གཏུང་རབས་ཡིག་  
 རྟེན་ཡུལ་དུས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱུན་དང་མཚོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་སྟབས་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་གང་དང་ཅི་ཡང་མ་མངལ་ཞིང་། ད་ལྟའི་ཆར་སྐུ་ཤོས་ལྟ་བུར་  
 ཏུང་ཡིག་ཨོ་རྒྱན་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་ ༡༧༡༩ ལོར་བརྟམས་པ། འབྲུམ་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་མཚོང་ན་མདོན་པར་དགའ་བ་ལས། “ཚོག་  
 མར་བོད་ཀྱི་འཕྲོ་བ་འདིར། །རྒྱ་(སྐྱ་) འབྲུ་དབྱ་གདོང་(ལྷོང་) བཞི་ལས་ཆད་མོད་ཀྱང་། །དེ་རྣམས་ཀུན་གྱི་ཁང་པོའི་ས་པ་ཡི།  
 །ཆེ་རིང་གནམ་གྱི་མཚོངས་ནས་འོད་གསལ་ལྟ། །བསམ་བཞིན་མི་ཡི་རྗེ་བོར་ཤེབས་པ་ཡི། །ཁང་པོ་ལྟ་སྡེ་དཀར་པོ་སྟོར་རིགས་  
 ལས། །ཆས་ཉེ་སྟོང་སྟོང་ཕོགས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་། །དུ་(རྩ་) ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ལས། །མགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་  
 བཟང་དང་མགར་དམ་པ།”<sup>1</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

ཀུན་མཁྱེན་མི་ཉུ་བའ་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་ (1700–1774) ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ ༡༧༣༤ ལོར་མཚན་པ། སྡེ་དགེ་  
 བགའ་འབྲུར་དཀར་ཆག་རྒྱ་འོད་གཞོན་རུའི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ལས། “དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་མིའི་དབང་པོ་འདིའི་རིགས་བརྒྱུད་  
 (རྒྱུད་) ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་པར་ནི། མི་དབང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་ཡིག་འཇམ་དབྲུངས་དགའ་བའི་སྟོ་གོས་ཀྱིས་ཡིག་ཚང་ཁྲུངས་མ་ལས་  
 བཏུས་པའི་གཏུང་གྱི་སྟོར་བ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་འགོད་ན། དེའང་བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་སྟོངས་འདིར་སྤྱིར་སྐྱེ་ (དབྱ་) འབྲུ་སྟོང་ (ལྷོང་) སྐྱ་  
 སྡེ་རུས་ཆེན་བཞི་དང་། སྟོ་སྟེ་སྡེ་དཀར་པོའི་རིགས་ཉེ་མི་རིགས་སུ་བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་པ་ལས་ཕྱི་ལ། དེ་ལས་ཀྱང་གྲེ་བག་ཉུ་  
 རྩ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དུ་གྲགས་པ་འགར་ཀུ་འཕོ་ལ་གསུམ། གསུང་གསེར་འཕྲོམ་གསུམ། ཅི་འབྲུ་གཞག་གསུམ།  
 ཤོལ་སྟག་ཕྱང་གསུམ། གཅེ་སིང་རམ་གསུམ། ལྷག་པོ་བྱ་གསུམ། རྣམས་ལས་འགར་གྱི་རིགས་འགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་  
 དང་། འགར་དམ་པར་གྲགས་པ་སྐྱེ་མཚོད་གཉིས་བྱུང་སྟེ།”<sup>2</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “འགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོས་སྤང་མདོ་བྱུག་གི་

1 སྡེ་དགེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་རྒྱ་འོད་གསལ་དཔེ་མེ་ལོང་། ལུབ་བསྟན་སྤྱད་ཆོགས། (1955 ལོར་སྐྱེ་འབྲུངས་) བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དབྱུང་  
 གཞིའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས། འདོན་ཐེངས་ ༣༩ པ། བོད་རང་སྟོང་སྟོངས་སྤྱི་དོན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་སྟོང་སྟོང་ལུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་། བོད་  
 རྟེན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༡༠ ཤོག་གངས་ ༢༠༩

2 བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་བགའ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་བརྟམ་དངས་པའི་ཕྱི་མོའི་ཆོགས་ཇི་སྟེད་པ་པར་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ལས་ཉེ་བར་བརྟམས་

སའི་ཆ་བདག་གི་ར་མཛད་དེ། དེའི་སྐུ་སྤྲེལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པའི་ཞབས་པད་བརྟེན་ནས་གསོལ་དཔོན་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་བརྩུང་།<sup>3</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

ལྷན་མ་ཞུ་ཆེན་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་ (1678–1774) ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ ༡༧༤༤ ལོར་མཛད་པ། ལྡེ་དགོ་བསྟན་འགྲུང་དཀར་ཆགས་མཚར་ཚུ་བཀའ་འདེལ་བའི་རྒྱ་བ་གསར་བ་ལས། “སྤྱིར་བོད་ཆེན་པོར་གྲགས་པའི་མིའི་འགྲོ་བ་པོའི་ཆེ་བ་དག་ཅི་སྟེ། (དབང་) འགྲུབ་སྟོན་ (སྐྱེ་སྟོན་) ཞེས་བྱ་བ་སྟེ་ཏུ་ས་ཆེན་བཞེད་དེ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀུན་གྱི་ཞབས་པོར་འོས་པ་སྟོན་ལྟ་སྟེ་དཀར་པོའི་རིགས་ཉེ་མི་རིགས་ལྟར་བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་པ་ལས་འདི་ཕྱི་མ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དེ་ལས་མཚན་པ་སྟོན་སྟེ་དེ་གྱི་སྟོབས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་གསུམ་རྩ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་བཙེན་བརྒྱུད་ཏུ་གྲགས་པ་བྱུང་དོ། །དེ་འདྲི་ལྟར་ཞེས། འགའ་ཤེས་འཕོའ་ (གོང་དུ་འགོལ་བྲིས་འདུག) གསུམ་དང་། གསུང་གསེར་འཕྲོམ་གསུམ་དང་། འོལ་སྟག་འཕྲུང་ (གོང་དུ་བྱུང་བྲིས་འདུག) གསུམ་དང་། ཅི་འདུག་ཞེས་གསུམ་དང་། གའ་ཅི་མིང་རམ་གསུམ་དང་། ལྷག་སོ་བུ་གསུམ་སྟེ་ཆོ་བཙེན་བརྒྱུད་དེ། དེ་དག་གི་ཡ་གྲུལ་དུ་གྲུང་པའི་འགར་གྱི་རིགས་སོ། །རིགས་དེའི་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྐྱེས་པ་བྱུང་བ་འགར་ཆེན་ལེ་ལེས་བཟང་པོ་དང་། འགར་དམ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མཚན་གཉིས་བྱུང་དོ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པོ། །ཞེས་དང་། “འགར་ཆེན་ལེ་ལེས་བཟང་པོ་ཉི་སྟོན་སྟོན་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་དང་མཐུ་ཚལ་མཛད་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ཞིག་སྟེ། དེས་སྤྲུང་མཛོད་རྒྱག་གི་ནོར་འཛིན་མའི་ཆ་ཡངས་པ་བདག་གི་ར་མཛད་དོ། །དེ་ནི་སྤྱི་ནང་པའི་དབང་ཐང་གི་ལྡོན་པ་རབ་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པའི་གྲིབ་མ་ལ་འབངས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་ས་མཐུང་དག་ལས་བསོད་སྟོན་ཅིང་བཀའ་ལུང་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱན་བཟང་པོ་ལྟར་དུ་བསྟེན་པ་བྱུང་དོ། །དེ་ལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་སྤྲེལ་གཉིས་བྱུང་བའི་དང་པོ་ཉི་སྟོན་སྟོན་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་དང་། གཉིས་པ་རྩ་རྒྱ་ཏུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་གཉིས་ཉེ་”<sup>4</sup> ཞེས་གསུལ།

གོང་དུ་ལུང་བར་ས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ནས་ཏུར་ཏུ་རར་བགྱིས་ནས་བསམ་ཚུལ་བརྟོན་དགོས་པ་གང་ལ་སྟེ། དང་པོ་དུང་ཡིག་མོ་རྒྱན་དོ་རྗེ་དང་། སི་ཏུ་པཏ་ཆེན། རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་རྣམ་གསུམ་ནས་སྡེ་དགོ་ཆང་ལོ་སྤྱིར་སྟོན་སྟེ་དཀར་པོའི་རིགས། རྩེ་བཀ་ཏུ་རྩ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་ ༡༩ ཏུ་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་གསུམ་འགར་ཡིན་ཞེས་གསུལ། འདིའི་ནང་མགར་སྟོན་བཙེན་ལུལ་བཟུང་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པ་གང་ཡང་བཀོད་གཞན་མི་འདུག།

པའི་གཏམ་བཟང་པོ་སྟོ་ལྷན་མོས་པའི་ཀུན་ཡོངས་སུ་ཁ་བྱེ་བའི་རྒྱ་ཚོད་གཞོན་ཏུའི་འཁྲིའི་ལེན་ལས་རྒྱལ་བའི་གསུང་རབ་གངས་རིའི་ཁོང་དུ་དེང་སང་རི་ཅོ་མ་སྤང་བ་མར་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བྱུང་བ་དངོས་ལེགས་མར་བཤད་པའི་ཡལ་འདབ་སྟེ་རྒྱལ་པོ། །(སྡེ་དགོ་བསྟན་འགྲུང་དཀར་ཆགས་) སི་ཏུ་པཏ་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འགྲུང་གནས་ཀྱིས་ ༡༧༣༤ ལོར་མཛད་པ། དཔལ་སྤངས་དཔེ་རྙིང་གསར་བསྐྱབ། སི་ཏུ་ཆོས་འགྲུང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུག། ༡༡ དཔལ་སྤངས་གསུང་རབ་སྐྱར་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ཤེས་རབ་སྤྱི་དཔ ༢༠༡༠ འོག་ལྡེ་བ ༡༤༧ནལ།

3 གོང་གསུལ་འོག་ལྡེ་བ ༡༤༧བལ།

4 ཀུན་མཁྲིན་ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་གྱི་བཀའ་ལུང་གི་དགོངས་དོན་རྣམས་མར་འབྲེལ་བའི་བསྟན་བཙེན་གངས་ཅན་པའི་སྐྱུང་དུ་འགྲུང་དོ་འཚལ་གྱི་ཆོས་སྤྱིན་རྒྱན་མི་འཚན་པའི་དོ་མཚར་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ཕྱི་མོ་རྗེ་གསུམ་ལྷན་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིན་པུང་རྒྱས་པར་དགྲིགས་པའི་ཚུལ་ལས་བརྟེན་ལས་པའི་གཏམ་དོ་མཚར་ཚུ་བཀའ་འདེལ་བའི་རྒྱ་བ་གསར་བ་ལས་བསྟན་པ་གནས་པའི་ཆེད་དུ་དགོངས་འབྲེལ་པར་དུ་བསྐྱབ་པར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐྱོ་སྟེ་ལུ་པོ། །(སྡེ་དགོ་བསྟན་འགྲུང་དཀར་ཆགས་) རྒྱ་ཆེན་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་ ༡༧༤༤ ལོར་ལྷན་བྱེད་སྟེ་གི་ཆོས་ལྟར་གྲེས། ལྡེ་དགོ་བསྟན་འགྲུང་པོད་སྟེ། འོག་ལྡེ་བ ༡༦༣ནལ།

5 གོང་གསུལ་འོག་ལྡེ་བ ༡༦༣ནལ།

དང་མོག་དུས་རབས་བརྒྱད་པའི་ནང་མཛད་པར་གྲགས་ཤིང་ཕྱིས་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པར་ཞལ་སྐོང་མཛད་དམ་སྟེ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་མཛོད་དབུ་ནག་མིའུ་འབྲུ་ཆགས་ནང་། “ནང་ཁམ་ (ཁམས་) བོད་བྱ་སྟེན་བདུན་ལོ། །དབ་འབྲུ་སྐོང་གསུམ་སྐྱ་དང་བཞི། །ཁུ་བོ་དབལ་ (དབལ་) ལྷ་ (ལྷ) གཉིས་དང་མི་ཚོ་དུག །ཞང་པོ་སྐོ་ལྷ་སྟེ་ལྷེ་ (སྐོ་ལྷ་སྟེ་ ?) དཀར་བོ་དང་བདུན།”<sup>6</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “དེ་ལ་ཕྱའི་སྲིད་པ་སྐོས་དུག་གི་སྲིད་ཐབས། །གཏུང་དུག་མིའུ་བྱང་ལྷང་། (ལྷངས་) །མི་བྱ་རྒྱས་དུག་གི་ཞིབ་ཅིས། །བོད་བྱ་སྟེན་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ཅིས། །གཉེན་ཚོ་སྟེན་བཞིའི་ཆེ་ཅིས། །ཞང་པོ་སྐོ་ལྷ་སྟེན་ཅིས་ལ་སོག་(སོགས་) མང་དུ་གྲིང་ (གྲིང་) ཡང་། །ལས་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གང་ (གོང་) བ་མ་ཤོར་བ། །མི་རྗེ་ལྷས་མཛད་སྟེན་པོ་སྐོང་། །མལ་ར་གཤའ་གི་སྐྱ་སྐྱད་མ་ཆད་བ། །མི་མཚོག་སྟེས་བྱ་མེ་ (བམེ་) ལྷང་དག། (དབ་) །དཔའ་རྒྱ་སྟེན་གི་མཆེ་སྲིད་མ་གྲུག་བ། །ལྷང་མ་ཡ་མེད་ཨ་ལྷག་འབྲུ། །སྟེན་གོར་ (དགོར་) མཛོད་ཀྱི་བང་བ་མ་སྐོང་བ། །ཡིག་ཚངས་ (ཚང་) ཅན་གྱི་དམ་ཚ་སྐྱ། །བརྒྱན་ (བཅུན་) དར་དཀར་ལ་རྗེ་མས་མ་གོས་བ། །ཆེ་བརྒྱན་ (བཅུན་) གཉན་པོ་ཞང་པོ་སྐོ།”<sup>7</sup> ཞེས་བ་ཅམ་ལས་ཞང་པོ་སྐོ་ལྷེ་རྒྱུ་ཀྱི་འཆད་རྒྱལ་ནང་གསེས་དབེ་བ་གངས་འདྲེན་སོགས་ཞིབ་ཆ་མ་གསལ།

དབུ་ནག་མིའུ་འབྲུ་ཆགས་དང་། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་དགུ་པའི་ནང་མཛད་པའི་བོད་མི་བྱ་གདོང་ (གཏུང་) དུག་གི་རྒྱུ་མཛོད་ལེ་ཉོག་སྐྱེད་ཚལ་གཉིས་ནང་སྐབས་དབ་རིགས་འཆད་སྐབས་ནང་གསེས་མགར་རམ་འགར་ཞེས་པ་མ་གསལ། གཅིག་བྱས་ན་ནང་གསེས་ཞིབ་ཉོག་མ་བྱེ་བའི་དབང་གིས་སལ། ལྷ་གཞིགས་རྒྱངས་ཀྱང་དབ་རིགས་ཡིན་སྟེ་སྐབས་རྒྱངས་ཀྱི་བོ་ཉི་བམེ་རུའི་ནང་ལའང་དབ་འམ་ལྷ་རིགས་དབེ་སྐབས་མགར་གྱི་སྐོར་གང་ཡང་མ་གསལ། ལྷག་ལྷང་ག་ཟེ་ཡང་དབ་རིགས་ནང་ནས་ཁ་བོ་བྱ་དགུའི་གས་སྐྱམ་ལྷང་གི་ག་ཟེ་ཡིན། བར་ཁམས་ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་དགུའི་ལྷང་པོ་དཀར་ནག་སེར་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱད་ཡང་དབ་དཀར་ལྷང་པོ་ཡིན་ཡང་ལྷང་རབས་ནང་མགར་གྱི་སྐོར་གང་ཡང་མ་གསལ། མདོ་ཁམས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་བ་རོང་གི་ཁྱོ་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་པོས་གཙོས་རྒྱལ་ཁག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་དབ་རིགས་ལྷང་ཁ་ཡིན་ཡང་རྒྱུ་མཛོད་མཛལ་བས་ནང་མགར་གྱི་སྐོར་མ་གསལ། མདོ་དོན་མ་འོངས་པར་དབ་དཀར་གཅིག་ལུའི་རྒྱུ་མཛོད་རྒྱུ་མཛོད་ལུའི་ལྷང་པོ་དགོས་པ་སྣང་ཞིང་། དེ་མིན་རུའི་རྒྱུ་མཛོད་རྒྱང་མ་ཡོད་ན་དེ་ལའང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་མཛད་རྒྱུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་བྱ་གལ་ཆེ་ལོ།

ཕྱོགས་གཞན་ཞིག་ནས་བོད་དབུས་རྫོ་བར་གཤུ་རྒྱ་ལུ་བཅན་པོའི་སྐྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་བྱོན་པ་དོན་དམ་སྐྱ་བའི་སེང་གས་དུས་རབས་ ༡༩ སྐོང་ཆར་མཛད་པའི་བཤད་མཛོད་ཡིད་བཞིན་ཅོར་བྱ་ལས། “སྐྱ་ (རྒྱ) ལ་གོ་ལའི་ (གོ་ལའི་) ལྷ་བརྒྱད་ཟེར་ཅོ་ན། །ལུལ་གཅིག་ལྷ་ལུལ་གྱང་ཐང་ན། །ལྷ་ཆེན་ཁྱི་ཤེལ་དཀར་པོ་ཡིས། (ཡི་) །ཕྱོགས་ལས་སྐྱལ་པའི་ཁྱེའུ་གཅིག་ །རྒྱ་ཡི་ལུལ་དུ་གོ་ལེ་ཆགས། །དེས་ནི་རྒྱ་ཡི་རྗེ་མཛད་པས། །མཚན་ནི་རྒྱ་རྗེ་གོ་ལ་པོར་བཏགས། །རྒྱ་རྗེ་གོ་ལ་པོ་དེ། །མི་ཡི་ལུལ་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་སྟ། །དེ་དང་རྗེ་མོ་ལྷག་ཚོས་སྟེན། །སྐྱར་མོ་བསིལ་དང་གཤོས་ (བཤོས་) པའི་སྟེན། །རྒྱ་ལ་གོ་ལོ་”

6 The Call of the Blue Cuckoo, An Anthology of Nine Bonpo Texts on Myths and Rituals, Bon Studies 6, Edited by Samten G. Karmay, Yasuhiko Nagano, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, 2002 འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༣༤ (24b)

7 བོད་གསལ་ The Call of the Blue Cuckoo, An Anthology of Nine Bonpo Texts on Myths and Rituals, འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༣༤ (25b)

(ལེ་) ལྷ་བརྒྱུད་བྱུང། །ངམ་དང་སྐྱབས་དང་གཞུང་དང་གསུམ། །འགར་དང་དཀར་དང་སྐྱོན་དང་གསུམ། །སྐྱོས་དང་ངམ་  
ལམ་གཉིས་ཏེ་བརྒྱད། །རྩ་གོ་ལེ་ལྷ་བརྒྱུད་ཟེར་བ་ཡིན།”<sup>8</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

ལྷ་དྲུགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་འཆི་མེད་གཏེར་ལས། “ད་ནི་འབངས་མི་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་བགྱིས་ན། སྤྱིར་  
འདི་ག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་འདི་ན། མི་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི་ཡོད་དེ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁོག་བ་དང། མགོ་རྒྱུས་དམ་  
ཆད་ (བརྒྱས་འཆད་ ?) དང། མི་རབས་ཤིང་ཅ་དང། སྣང་སྤྲེ་མིའི་འབྱུང་སྤིང་དང་བཞི་ཡོད།”<sup>9</sup> ཞེས་དང། “དེ་ལ་སྣོ་འཛེམ་  
བྱ་སྤྱིང་བའི་མི་ནི། རིགས་མི་མ་ཐུན་བ་ཁྲི་དུག་སྣོང་ཡོད་བ་ལས། རིགས་བཞི་ཡོད་དེ། དེ་ལ་གནམ་བབས་བཞི་དང། ས་  
སྣོང་གི་མི་བཞི་དང་བརྒྱུད་དུ་གྲུས་སོ། །དེའི་སྤིང་ལུགས་ནི། དང་པོ་ཅེ་ཡང་མེད་པའི་སྣོང་བ་ལས། སྤིང་བའི་མཚོ་མོ་མེ་  
ལོང་དང་འབྲ་བ་ཅིག་སྤིང་དོ། །མཚོ་མོ་དེའི་ནང་དུ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་སྣོང་པོ་ཡལ་ག་བཞི་དུ་གྲུས་བ་ཞིག་སྤྱིས་སོ། །དེའི་རྒྱབ་  
ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཡལ་གའི་སྤིང་དུ་གསེར་གྱི་བྲུང་གཡུའི་གཤོག་བ་ཅན་ཅིག་ལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཚུ་སྤེར་ཅན་ཅིག་བྱུང་སྟེ། དེ་  
ལས་མགར་དང། ལྷུང་པོ་དང། མང་བེར་དང་སྤྱི་ནམ་ལ་སོགས་བ་ཞང་ཞུང་རྒྱལ་རིགས་དང་རྗེ་རིགས་དང་རྒྱང་རིགས་  
དང་གསུམ་ནི་གནམ་ལས་བབས་སོ།”<sup>10</sup> ཞེས་དང། “སྤྱིར་ཆ་མེད་ཁངས་མེད་ཀྱི་རུས་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་ཡོད། གནམ་གྱི་རུ་  
བཞི་ངན། སའི་ནང་བཞི་ངན་ལོ། །བར་ན་གཡུང་པོ་མི་བཞི་ངན་ལོ། །སྤྱོད་ལམ་རུས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། །མིང་རུས་སུ་  
སོང་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། །ཡལ་རུས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ། །མགོ་རྒྱུས་ཟེར་བ་ནི་མི་ཡིན་ལ། །དམ་ཆད་ཟེར་བ་ནི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
ཡིན་ལོ། །མགོ་རྒྱུས་དམ་ཆད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་སོ།”<sup>11</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

8 བཤད་མཚོན་ཡིད་བཞིན་ཞོར་བྲ། ཀུན་བཟང་སྐྱབས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ ༡༩༧༦ ལོར་སྣོ་འབྱུག་མེམ་ལུར་སྤྱད། དེའི་རིའི་ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩༩

9 ལྷ་དྲུགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་འཆི་མེད་གཏེར་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བསོད་ནམས་ཆེ་བརྟན་ཡོ་སོ་བ་དག་ཚན་ (1878-1946) ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༩༠ ལས་  
བརྒྱུང་འབྲི་འགོ་བརྩམས་བ་དང། ལྷུས་བསོད་ནམས་སྐྱབས་ལྡན་དགོ་ཚན་ (1904-1981) ཀྱིས་ཞུ་བསྐྱོགས་བགྱིས་པ། Sterling Publishers  
Private Limited, New Delhi, 1976 ཤོག་གངས་ ༩

10 ཤོང་གསལ་ཤོག་གངས་ ༧

11 ཤོང་གསལ་ཤོག་གངས་ ༩

མིའུ་གདུང་དུག་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རུས་མཚོན་སྣོར་གཤམ་གསལ་དུ་བྱུང་ཅོམ་རྣམས་ལའང་སྤྱན་རས་ཡུང་ཅོམ་གཡོ་བར་མཚོན་ཅིག །  
རྫོགས་བཀའ་མཛུགས་ཆེ་ཡིང། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཟོ་སྐྱེད་བཞིན་གཞི་ཁག་གསུམ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཟོ་སྐྱེད། ཆོམ་གསུམ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤེ་ཆོན་  
ནས་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱོགས། བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཚོན་ཁང་། རྣ་རམས་ས་ལ། ༢༠༠༡ ཤོག་གངས་ ༩༩-༡༠༥

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Samten G. Karmay, ‘The Appearance of the Little Black-headed Man’, (Creation and procreation of the Tibetan people according to an indigenous myth) *Journal Asiatique*, Tome, CCLXXIV, 1-2, Paris, 1986. pp.79-138; Translated from French by Veronique Martin, Samten G. Karmay, *The Arrow and the Spindle Studies in History, Myths, Rituals and Beliefs in Tibet*, Mandala Book Point, Kathmandu, 1998, pp.245-281;  
Stein, R. A., *Les tribus anciennes des marches Sino-Tibetaines; legendes, classifications et histoire*, Bibliotheque De l’Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Volume xv, Paris, 1961, Presses universitaires de France, pp.1-105;  
Hermanns, P. Matthias (SVD, Amdo, Nordost-Tibet) (Übersetzt Und Erklärt), ‘Überlieferung Der Tibeter, Nach



རི་རྐྱན་དུ་བོད་མི་བྱ་གདོང་ (གཏུང་) རྒྱག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཉོག་སྦྱིད་ཆལ་ལས། “བོད་ཀྱི་རུས་མཛོད་ཡིག་ཁུངས་  
དག་མོ་དགོན། །ཚོམ་ཡིག་འབྲི་མཁན་སྤྲོགས་རིས་མེད་པ་དགོན། །ལྷ་སྦྱང་དག་འབྲས་ (འབྲུལ་) ལ་བསྐྱད་དེ་བ་ཐེར་དགོན།  
།དེང་རབས་དུས་འདྲིར་འཚོས་ (འཚོམས་) པའི་རྒྱལ་རབ་ (རབས་) དགོན། །འདི་འདྲི་དགོན་ལ་བཞི་ཡིས་མཛར་བ་ན།  
།མགོ་རྩ་མེད་པའི་རུས་མཛོད་འདི་ཅམ་ཡང་། །དལ་བ་བརྒྱ་ལྟོ་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་བཞིན་དུ། །ཨ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་སྦྱོར་བ་འདི་  
རྣམས་མིས།”<sup>12</sup> ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ཅེས་མི་བདེན།

ཕྱི་དགོན་ཚང་གི་མི་རབས་གོང་མ་འགར་དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་ (1180–1240) སྐྱད་བོན་ (འགར་) ལྷ་རྒྱན་  
(1239–1313)<sup>13</sup> གྲིས་ (འཕེང་མོ་ལུག་གི་དབྱེད་རྒྱ་ར་བའི་ཆེས་བརྗོད་ལྟུང་། དཔལ་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་ཆོས་གྲ་ (གྲ་) ཚོས་  
སྤྲིངས་རིན་ཆེན་སྦྱངས་པའི་དགོན་པར་ཐེག་པ་མཚོག་གི་དགོ་སྦྱོང་འཕྲུ་རྒྱན་པས་སྦྱར་བའོ། ཞེས་) གྲི་ལོ་ ༡༢༤༥  
ལོར་མཛོད་པའི་རྩེ་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལས། “སྦྱལ་སྦྱུ་བརྒྱ་ལ་སྦོལ་མ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ནང་ནས་  
ཉེ་བའི་སྤས་བརྒྱད། དེའི་ནང་ནས་སྦྱལ་སྦྱུ་རྒྱལ་ (བ་) མཚོག་དབྱངས་དང་། ཁོན་ (འཁོན་) ལ་ག་རྩོ་རྩེ་དང་། གཡུལ་  
སྦྱ་སྦྱིང་པོ་དང་གསུམ། གྲུབ་པ་ཐོབ་པ་དང་། མཁས་པ་གཡེར་ཐོན་ཚོད་པ་དང་བལ་བ་གསུམ་བྱོན། དེ་གསུམ་ལ་དབ་  
ཀར་གྱི་དྲངས་མ་འཕྱར་ (འགར་) ལྷ་རྩེ་དཔལ་གྱི་བྱམས་པས་གཏུགས་སོ། །འགར་ལ་འང་རྒྱད་བཞིའི་སྟེ། ལྷ་རྩེ་དཔལ་  
བྲམས་གྱི་ཚོས་རྒྱད། སྦྱངས་ (སྦྱོང་) བཅོན་ཡུལ་བཟུང་གི་འབྲུལ་རྒྱད། བཅོན་བཟུང་པའི་དཔལ་རྒྱད། སྦྱེ་རང་པག་  
མཛུག་གི་ཀལ་རྒྱད་དང་བཞིའོ། །འབྲུལ་རྒྱད་ནི། དབྱས་ཅང་། མོན། འོ་པོ་ཚོན་ལ་བྱུང། དཔལ་རྒྱད་ནི་རྒྱ་འཛོང་  
(འཛང་ ?) ལས་ས་མ་འདར་རྣམས་སྟུ། ཀལ་རྒྱད་ནི་བྲག་ར་གྲིང་ཆེན་ལུ་ (མི་) ཉག་སྦོད་སྦྱང་ཀུན་ལས་བྱུང། ཚོས་རྒྱད་

Einem Manuskript Aus Dem Anfang Des 13. Jahrh. N. Chr., Monumenta Serica (Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking), Vol xiii, 1948, pp.189–203;

Hermanns, P. Matthias (SVD Sining, Prov. Tsinghai, Nordost-Tibet), ‘Schöpfungs- und Abstammungsmythen der Tibeter’, *Anthropos* Vol. 41–44 (1946–9), pp.275–298, pp.817–847.

དགའ་ལྷན་ལའར་རྩེ་མོ་སྦྱ་མེད་བཞི་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་བྱུ་བ་སྦྱན་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1805 ལོར་སྦྱ་འབྲུངས་) མཛོད་པའི་རུས་མཛོད་ལས་འབྲོས་པའི་  
གཏམ་དུ་བསྐྱད་པ་ལུ་ཉིག་འབྲི་ཤིང་ཞེས་པ་དང་། རས་ཚང་སྦོམ་སྟེ་ནང་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབྱ་ལྷ་ཁག་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྲུལ་བྲམས་མེ་ལྷ་མཚོག་སྦྱ་མེད་  
གསུམ་པ་ཚོས་དཔལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་མཛོད་པའི་བོད་མི་ལུ་གཏུང་དུག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་གཉིས་པོ་འཚོལ་ཞིབ་དགོས་གལ་ཆེ།

12 མགོ་ལོག་གི་རུས་མཛོད། བོད་མི་བྱ་གདོང་ (གཏུང་) རྒྱག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཉོག་སྦྱིད་ཆལ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཕྱི་ལོ་ཆེག་སྦྱང་དགུ་  
བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་གྲ་བྱངས་ནང་མགོ་ལོག་ (?) ཞུལ་ནས་སྦྱར་གྲིས་སྦྱུ་སྦྱར་དེ་བ་གཞུགས་ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༤༢

13 མཁས་དབང་སྦྱ་ཞབས་ར་མེ་དགོན་མཚོག་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ (1968 ལོར་སྦྱ་འབྲུངས་) མཚོག་གིས་ལོ་མང་ཡིང་འཚོལ་བསྟུ་ལྷ་བསྐྱིགས་མཛོད་ཅིང་  
༡༠༠༤ ལོར་སྦྱར་བསྐྱེད་བཀྲིས་པའི་དཔལ་འབྲི་གྲང་བཀའ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོའི་བོད་མི་པར། རྩེ་མགར་དབོན་ (ལྷ་རྒྱན་) གྱི་བཀའ་  
འབྲུལ་ལས། བཀའ་བརྒྱད་ཡིད་བཞིན་ཚོར་བུ་ཡི་མེད་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལས། རྩེ་རྩེ་འཚང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༣༡ ལས་ ༦༣༤ བར། རྩེ་བཅུན་ཉེ་ལོ་པའི་  
རྣམ་ཐར། ༦༣༤ ལས་ ༡༤༣༡ བར། རྩེ་བཅུན་ལྷ་ལོ་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༤༣༡ ལས་ ༡༥༡༣ བར། རྩེ་མང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༥༣༣ ལས་ ༡༥༣༡ བར།  
རྩེ་བཅུན་མིང་ལ་རས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༥༣༡ ལས་ ༡༥༤༡ བར། རྩེ་དུགས་པོ་ལྷ་རྩེའི་རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༥༤༡ ལས་ ༡༥༤༡ བར། རྩེ་པག་གྲུའི་  
རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༥༤༡ ལས་ ༡༥༤༡ བར། རྩེ་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དགོ་སྦྱོང་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པས་སྦྱར་བ། ༡༣༡ ལས་ ༡༠༣༥ བར།  
རྩེ་བཅུན་མགར་གྱི་དབོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། ༡༣༡ ལས་ ༤༣༥ བར།

ནི་ཡངས་པ་ཅན་ནས། དོལ་མོར་ནས། ཡི་ཡུལ་ཀུན་ལ་བྱུང་ལ། ལྷན་པར་དུ་ལྷ་རྩེ་ནི། འདན་དུ་ཕྱོག་སྐྱུབ་པ་བྱས་པས་ཡི་  
 དམ་སྒྲིལ་ཞལ་མཐོང་། མགོན་པོ་བྱམས་པས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས། བྱམས་པའི་ཚོས་ལྷ་གསལ། མཚན་ཡང་འགར་ཨ་སྐྱེ་  
 དཔལ་གྱི་བྱམས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་ཐོགས། འདིག་ཉེན་གྱི་དག་ལྷན་ཐམས་ཅད་འདྲ་དུ་བཀོལ། རིགས་ (རིག་) འདིན་གྱི་  
 སྤངས་མ་གསེར་ཁབ་ཅན་གྱིས་བྱན་བྱེད། དེ་ལུ་ (དེལ་བྱ་) སེར་པོ་རྩ་སྐད་འཆེར་བསྐྱོལ་ (དཔོལ་) བའི་དུས་ན་ཞི་མེད་  
 དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མདུན་དུ་འཕྱོན། དེལ་བྱ་ནག་པོ་རྩྭ་སྐྱ་སྐྱོགས་པ་བསྐྱོལ་ (དཔོལ་) བ་ཅམ་གྱིས་དཔལ་སྐྱོང་ (སྤང་) གི་མིག་  
 ཐང་ལ་འབྲུལ་བ་ཅམ་བྱུང། བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་དང་རུས་པ་མཐུ་དང་རྩ་འབྲུལ་བྱུག་ན་རྩེ་རྩེ་ལ་འབྲུན་པ་ཅིག་ཕྱོག་སྐྱེ། དཔུང་  
 བརྒྱ་དང་བརྒྱ་ཅུ་ཅུ་བཞི་ལོན་པ་ན་དེལ་བྱ་སེར་པོ་རྩ་སྐད་འཆེར་བསྐྱམས་ (བསྐྱམས་) ནས་སྤང་པོ་ལྷག་མེད་དུ་མཁའ་  
 སྐྱོད་དུ་བཞུད་དོ། །དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན། དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་གྱི་ཕྱར་བྲ། དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་གྱིས་ (གྱི་) འབྱུང་གནས།  
 དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་གྱི་བཟའ་ལེས་དང་ལྷོ། །དཔལ་ལྷའི་ཆེ། དེལ་བྱ་ནག་པོ་རྩྭ་སྐྱ་སྐྱོགས་ཀྱང་ཡོད་དོ། །མཐུ་དང་རུས་པའང་  
 ལོང་དང་འབྲ། དེ་ནས་དཔལ་གྱི་བཟའ་ལེས་གྱིས། དེལ་བྱ་ནག་པོ་རྩྭ་སྐྱ་སྐྱོགས་ནས་སྤང་པོ་ཅན་དུ་བཞུད་དོ། །དེའི་  
 སྐས་དཔལ་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ། དེའི་སྐས་བཟའ་ལེས་སྐྱ་མ། དེའི་སྐས་ཡོན་ཏན་སྐྱ་མ། དེའི་སྐས་ལེས་རབ་སྐྱ་མ། དེའི་སྐས་བྱང་ཆུབ་  
 སྐྱ་མ་དང་ལྷོ། །དེའི་སྐས་བྱགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྐས་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྐས་དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱལ་  
 མཚན། དེའི་སྐས་བྱམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྐས་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་ལྷོ། །དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་གྱི་བྱམས་པ་ནི།  
 བྱམས་ཀྱི་སྐུལ་པ་མནའ་ནས་དཔུང་རྒྱུ་ (བརྒྱུ་) དང་བརྒྱ་ལོན་པ་ནི་དགའ་ལྷན་དུ་བཞུད་ཟེར་དོ། །དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་  
 འབྲུལ། དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་བྱགས། དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་གདོད། (རྫོང་ ?) དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་ལྷན་མ་དང་ལྷོ། །དེའི་སྐས་དཔལ་  
 གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། དེའི་སྐས་བཞིལ། གཙུག་ཉོར་འབྲུལ། ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུལ། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུལ། ལྷ་འབྲུག་ཀྱང་ཟེར་ ཕྱར་བྱ་འབྲུལ་  
 དང་བཞིལོ། །དེལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུལ་ནི་གནས་བྱུག་ཏུ་ལེ་སྐད། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུལ་ནི་རྩེ་བཅོན་བཞི་དང་ (འགར་དམ་པ་  
 ཚེན་ཚོས་སྤྱིངས་) དོ། །གཤུང་རྒྱུད་འདི་རྣམས་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་དཔོན་བརྒྱན་སྐྱུལ་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཟམ་མི་ཆད་དེ། མཐུ་དང་རུས་  
 པའི་ཅལ་ཐོན་པ། ལྷགས་བྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ལ་མཁས་པར་ཐག་ཚོད་པ། བཀའི་ལྷ་མ་སྤོན་སྤོན་བརྒྱུད་འདྲ་དང་པོ་ཉར་མངག་པ།  
 འཕྲིན་ལས་རྣམས་ (རྣམ་) བཞི་ལ་ཐོགས་པ་མེད་པ་འབའ་ཞིག་ཕྱོག་པ་ཡིན་གསུངས། གཤུང་རྒྱུད་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་ཡོན་  
 ཏན་གྱི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་པར་ཐར་པ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་དེ། ཡི་གེ་མང་གིས་འདིགས་པས་མ་གྱིས་སོ། །སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་བརྒྱ་འབྲུང་གནས་  
 ནས་སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཟམ་མ་ཆད། ལྷ་རྩེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྐྱ་མ་ནས་བསྐྱོལ་ (སྐྱོལ་) ལྷོན་གཙུག་ཉོར་ཡན་ཆད་དུ། གཤུང་རབ་  
 (རབས་) ཉི་ཤུ་ཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་མཁུན་པ་དང་བྱིན་རྒྱབས་འདོམ་ (འདོམས་ ?) བ་ཅིག། །མཐུ་དང་རུས་པའི་ཅལ་ཐོན་ནས་  
 བདུད་དང་དཔལ་པོ་ཐོག་རྩེ་གྱིས། རྩེ་བཅོན་ཚོས་སྤྱིངས་ (སྤྱིངས་) པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལས་གཤུང་རྒྱུད་སྐྱོས་པའི་སྐབས་ཉེ་  
 གཉིས་པའོ། །དེ་ནི་འགར་རྒྱུད་བཞིའི་ལ། ལྷ་རྩེ་བྱམས་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱུད་ལ་སྐྱུ་འབྲུངས་པར་མཚན་པ་རྩེ་བཅོན་ཚོས་སྤྱིངས་  
 པ་དེ། ཡལ་ནི་སྐྱོས་སྐྱོན་དཔལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། ཡུམ་ནི་ཚོ་བོ་ཟ་ (བཟའ་) དགེའ་མཐར་ཞེས། བྱ་སྐྱེ།<sup>14</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

14 དཔལ་འབྲི་གུང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་ཚོས་མཚོད་ཆེ་མོ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོད་མི་པ། ༡༠༠༧ ལོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡༩-༣༣༡  
 བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ཡི་སྤོང་བའི་དབུ་ཕྱོགས་བཞུགས་སོ། ། Published by S.W. Tashigangpa, Leh, Ladakh, 1972

དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༡༥-༤༡༦ བར་ལའང་གསལ། དེ་བ་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་པོའི་མཚན་དང་སློང་བཟོད་བཅས་ནང་ཚོས་པ་པོ་གྲུབ་མོ་བའི་རྒྱན་པ་  
རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ (1230-1309) ཡིན་ཞེས་ངོས་འཛིན་བཀོད་ལོར་བྱུང་འདུག།

ཇི་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཞུགས། །བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་བསྡེགས་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤུ། (73) དཔལ་བཟེགས་བོད་ཡིག་  
དཔེ་རྒྱུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་གིས་བསྡེགས། མཚོ་སྡོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སླུབ་ཁང་གིས་པར་དུ་བསྐྱུན། ༡༩༧༣ དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༠༡-༤༠༤

ཇི་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཞུགས། །བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་བསྡེགས་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤུ། (74) དཔལ་བཟེགས་  
བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་གིས་བསྡེགས། མཚོ་སྡོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སླུབ་ཁང་གིས་པར་དུ་བསྐྱུན། ༡༩༧༣ དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་

༡-༦ ལོང་གསལ་རྣམ་ཐར་གཉིས་པོའི་མ་དབེ་ནི། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཡིད་བཞེན་ལོར་བྱུ་ཡི་སློང་བའི་དབུ་ཕྱོགས་བཞུགས་སོ། །Published by  
S.W. Tashigangpa, Leh, Ladakh, 1972 ཞེས་པ་དེ་རེད། ༡༩༧༣ མ་དབེའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གྱི་མར་མཚན་བྱང་མེད་སྐབས་ད་ལན་ ༡༩༧༣ སྤར་

མར་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་པོའི་མཚན་བྱང་བལྟས་ནས་བཀོད་ལོར་མཛད་འདུག། །བོད་དངོས་རྣམ་ཐར་ཕྱི་མ་ཉི་ཇི་བཅུན་འགའ་ཀྱི་དབོན་འགའ་སྟོན་དར་  
མ་འབྲུམ་མམ་དར་མ་ཡོན་ཉན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དེད་ལགས།

བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྣམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་བསྡེགས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་བཞུགས་སོ། །(67-10) དཔལ་བཟེགས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་ནས་  
བསྡེགས། མཚོ་སྡོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སླུབ་ཁང་། ༡༩༧༣ དཀར་ཆག་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣ ལན། གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ། ཞེས་དང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡

ལན། གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་། ཇི་བཅུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་། དབུ་ཅན་གྲེས་མ། ༡༩ གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་  
རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་གྱི་གསུང་། ཇི་བཅུན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་། དབུ་ཅན་གྲེས་མ། ༣༡ ཞེས་དང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ 67 ལན། མཛད་པ་པོའི་

རྣམ་ཐར་ལང་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་པ་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ (1230-1309) ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་བཀོད་གནང་འདུག། །བོད་དུ་ཞུས་ཟེན་པ་བཞེན་འགར་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་ས་  
པ་དང་དབོན་འགའ་སྟོན་དར་མ་འབྲུམ་རྣམ་ཐར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཚོས་པ་པོ་ནི་འགར་དབོན་ལྷ་རྒྱན་ (1239-1313) ཞབས་ཡིན་ལ་རྣམ་ཐར་བྱུང་དུ་

ཞིག་གྲང་ལྷོ་རོང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། བོད་སྤོངས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྒྱུང་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུན། ༡༩༤༤ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༤༠-༤༤༡ བར་ནང་གསལ་  
བར་དེར་གཞིགས་འཇོག།

དཔལ་འཕྲི་གུང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེ་མོ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བོད་མི་པ། (འགར་དབོན་) ལྷ་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ (གྲུས་ལྷན་འགའི་དོན་དུ་ལྷ་རྒྱན་  
པས། ཤིང་པོ་འབྲུག་གི་ལོ། དབྱར་རྒྱ་འབྲིང་པོའི་ཚོས་ཉི་ལུ་ལ་དཔལ་རིན་ཆེན་སྤངས་པའི་དགོན་པར་བཀོད་པ་ཞབས་མཚུགས་ལེ་འུ་སྟེ་ཉི་ལུ་གཅིག་

པའོ། །ཞེས་) ༡༣༠༤ ལོར་མཛད་པའི་ཇི་བཅུན་འགའ་ཀྱི་དབོན་ [འགར་སྟོན་དར་མ་འབྲུམ་མམ་དར་མ་ཡོན་ཉན་ (1222-1293)] ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཞེས་  
པ་དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༡༤-༤༡༥ བར་ལས། ‘རིགས་མཐོ་བ་དབྱ་ཀར་གྱི་དྲངས་མ་འགར་ལ་སྐུ་འབྲངས་པ་སྐུལ་པའི་སྐུ་ལྷག་མ་མེད་

པར་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་དུ་བཞུད་པ་ལ་སྟེ་དཔལ་གྱི་བྲམས་པ། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་ཡོན་ཉན། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་བྲུང་བ། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས།  
དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་ཤེས་རབ། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་བཏུ་ཤེས་དང་དཔལ་ལྡན། །དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་སྒྲུབ། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་སྒྲུབ་ལ། དེའི་སྤུས་ཡོན་

ཉན་སྒྲུབ། དེའི་སྤུས་ཤེས་རབ་སྒྲུབ། དེའི་སྤུས་བྱང་རྒྱལ་སྒྲུབ་དང་ལྡན། །དེའི་སྤུས་གྲགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྤུས་དགོན་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན།  
དེའི་སྤུས་དགོན་འབྲུན་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྤུས་བྲམས་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་སྤུས་ལེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་ལྡན། །དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་བྲམས་པ། དེའི་

སྤུས་དཔལ་འབྲུམ། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྲགས། དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གཏོར། (རྫོང་ ?) དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་ལྷན་མ་དང་ལྡན། །དེའི་སྤུས་དཔལ་གྱི་རྗེ་མོ། །དེའི་  
སྤུས་གཏུག་ཉོར་འབྲུམ། །དེའི་སྤུས་དར་མ་འབྲུམ་མོ། །བརྒྱུད་པ་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་ཡོན་ཉན་དཔལ་ཉུ་མེད་པ་མཁའ་སྟེ། ཇི་ཚོས་སྤྱིང་ས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གྱི་

སྐབས་སུ་བསྟན་ཟེན་པས་འདིར་མ་གྲིས་སོ། །སྐྱུལ་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཟམ་མ་ཆད། ཡོན་ཉན་མཐའ་ལས་བཟོད་མི་ཡོད་སྟེ། སྟེགས་མའི་དུས་འདིར་མང་བྱུང་  
བ། །འཕྲོ་བའི་སྐབས་གཅིག་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། །ངོ་མཚར་བ་བས་ཀྱང་མང་དུ་བྱུང་། །ཚང་མེད་ལྷགས་ཇིའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཡིས། །བདག་སོགས་འཕོར་བའི་འདམ་

ནས་དངས། །ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་གནས་སུ་བཞག། །སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་འགྲོ་བའི་མགོན། །ཕྱག་འཚལ་ཉེ་བར་སྐབས་སུ་མཆི། །གཤེད་རབ་  
(རབས་) སྟོས་པའི་ལེ་འུ་སྟེ་བཞི་པའོ། །དེ་ནི་སྐུ་བལྟམ་ (བལྟམས་) པའི་ཚུལ་བཤམ་དེ། དེ་ལ་དཔལ་བསོད་དང་། དཔལ་རྒྱལ་སྤྱན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ།  
དཔལ་བསོད་ཀྱི་སྤུས་དཔལ་ཅེ། དེ་ལ་སྤུས་བཞིག་སྟོས་སྟོན། སྟོས་སུར་སྐུ་འབྲུག་གྱང་ཟེར། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་གྱང་ཟེར་བ་དང་གསལ། དཀར་མོ་

དང་། ཉག་གྱེ་ལོང་གི་མ་ཡང་ཟེར། །མ་དང་མིང་སྤིང་ལྡོ། །སྟོས་སྟོན་ལ། སངས་རྒྱལ་འབྲུམ། རྗེ་ཇི་འབྲུམ། སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐབས། དགོན་མཚོག་འབྲུམ།



དེ་དགའ་ལོ་གྲ་བཞིའི་དུས་སྤྱིའི་ལུ་སེར་པོ་བསྐྱམས་ནས་མཁའ་སྔོན་དུ་གཤེགས། དེའི་ཆོ་བོ་དཔལ་གྱི་བཀའ་ལུས་གྲིས་ཀྱིས་  
 དེའི་ལུ་ནག་པོ་རྩྭ་ལྷ་ཅན་བསྐྱམས་ནས་ལྷང་ལོ་ཅན་དུ་གཤེགས། དེའི་སྤྲམ་བསོད་ནམས་འབྱུང་བུ་ཉུང་པའི་གཞོན་ནུ་རྩོ་  
 རྗེ་ཟེར་བ་ཡང་འགར་དམ་པ་ཡིན་ལ་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་ཆེས་བརྒྱུན་སྐར་མ་རྒྱལ་ལ་འབྱུངས་པ་ཡིན་ལ། ས་སྐྱ་  
 དཔྱེག་ཅིན་པོ་ཆེས་ (ཆེ་ལས་ ?) ཆོས་སྣ་དགུ་ཞེས་ (ལུས་) ཉུང་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་ན་འགར་དམ་པ་དེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་གསུམ་ལ་འབྱུངས་  
 པ་ཡང་གསུངས་ལ། འདི་སྐབས་སྣོ་རོང་ཆོས་འབྱུང་དང་། ཕྱེ་དགོའི་ཡིག་ཚང་གཉིས་མི་མཐུན་ལོ།།<sup>15</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བྱང་ཡིག་དུས་རབས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་པར་བྱོན་པའི་ཞེ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཡིག་བསྟན་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་  
 མཚན་དཔ། མདོ་སྤང་འོང་ལྷན་གྱི་དཔྱད་འཁོར་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་ས་དབང་སྤེད་པའི་གདུང་རབས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་  
 བཤད་རོ་མཚན་ཚིག་གི་གཏེར་མཚན་ལས། “... ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུང་རབས་ཀྱི་ཅ་བཞི། འོད་གསལ་ལྷུའི་གདུང་བརྒྱད།  
 འཛིག་ཉེན་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བརྒྱད། བྲལ་བ་ཐོབ་པའི་ཆོས་བརྒྱད། རིགས་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་མཁས་བརྒྱད་སོགས་ཐོག་མ་ཉིད་ནས་སྤིང་བའི་  
 རྩུན་ཚོགས་སྟོབས་འབྱོར་མ་ཉམས་པའི་བརྒྱད་པ་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་ཐོག་མར་པོད་འདིར་མིའི་འགོ་བ་ཆགས་ནས་དེང་ཞེགས། ཤར་  
 མེ་ཉག་བཞག་”<sup>16</sup> དཀར་པོའི་རི་རྩེ་ལ་སྤེད་འོད་གསལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཞིག་བབས་པ་ལས་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ (གྲིས་) གནམ་ནས་བབས་  
 པའི་མཚན་ལ་མགར་གནམ་ཚོ་འབྲུག་ཅེས་བཏགས་པ། དེའི་བརྒྱད་པ་མགར་ལྷ་མཁུན་ཆེན་ལོ། དེའི་སྤྲམ་མགར་སྟོང་མེས་ཀྱི་  
 ཆགས། ༡ དེའི་སྤྲམ་མགར་སྟོང་བཅན་ཡུལ་བཟུང་དམ་ཆོས་ཚོན་རིག་པ་ཅན་དུ་གསལ་པ་སྟེ། འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཚུལ་དུ་སྐྱའལ་པ་སྲོང་བཅན་སྐམ་པོའི་དུས་མེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་རྫོན་པོ་བཞིའི་ཡ་གྲུལ་བྲག་ན་རྩོལ་སྤྱའལ་འབྲུལ་རྫོན་  
 རིག་པ་ཅན་འདི་དང་། འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱལ་བ་ཐོན་མི་སམ་རྫོ་ར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་བལ་ནས་འཕགས་མ་རྣམས་གཉིས་དང་། རོ་  
 བོ་རྣམ་གཉིས་སོགས་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས་བོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་འགོ་བ་རྣམས་དཀར་པོ་དགོ་པའི་ལམ་ལ་བཀོད་པས་དུས་དེར་འཕགས་  
 མཚོག་རིགས་གསུམ་མགོན་པོ་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་པའི་རྒྱལ་བ་སྤྲམ་དང་བཅས་པ་མང་པོ་དངོས་སུ་ཞལ་འཛོམས་པའི་དུས་ཡིན་  
 ཞིང་། ཆོས་རྫོན་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཡུལ་སོགས་སུ་རིག་པའི་འབྲུལ་ལ་མཚན་པ་མཚན་པའི་ཚུལ་ལྷ་མི་ཀུན་ལ་དང་སོང་ (སང་) གི་  
 བར་དུ་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་དུ་གཞུང་བཤད་པ་འདི་དག་བྱུང་བའོ། ༢ འདིའི་སྤྲམ་བཅན་པོ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱལ་བ་བཟུང་ནས། ༣ ལྷ་གཅིག་ཉན་ལྷེ་  
 ལ། ༤ ཁྱི་བུ་ལ་དུམ་ལུ་འདི་ལ་སྤྲམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མགར་ཨ་སྤེད་པོ་བ་དཔལ་ཉི་འོག་ནས་འཆང་འགྲུར་གྱི་སྤེད་པའི་གདུང་རབས་  
 ཀྱི་ཐོག་མའི་གྲིས་མཚན་ལ་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དེའི་མཚན་ཡ་ཁྱི་གཉེར་ཁྱི་སྐྱབས་ནས། སྟོང་མེད་ཁྱི་སྟོང་སྟོང་བཟུང་། རྫོན་ཆེན་  
 ཆེན་པོ་སྟོང་བྱ། ཁྱུ་བཟུང་དང་འཕགས་གཟིགས། མགར་ཐོག་ཡང་རྒྱལ། རྒྱལ་ལོ། མགར་རྒྱལ་བ་འབྱུང་གནས་རྣམས་ལྷ་མ་སྤེ་

15 པོད་མི་བུ་གདོང་ (གདུང་) དུག་གི་དུས་མཚན་མ་ཉེན་གྱི་རྫོན་ཆའལ་ཞེས་བྲལ་བ་བཞུགས་ལོ། མཚོ་རྫོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱབས་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༣  
 འོག་ཁང་ས་ ༡༩-༡༡

16 རིག་བསྟན། སྤྱི་རྒྱ་གཉིས་པའི་གནས་མཚོག་ཁམས་མི་ཉག་བཞག་བྲ་ལྷ་རྩེའི་རྩོད་། མི་རིགས་༡༩༩༥ (༣) ལུང་གྲུང་མི་ཁྱིན་ཤེང་ལུའི་མི་  
 རིགས་ལས་དོན་སུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་། ཁིང་ཏུ་ལུ། འོག་ཁང་ས་ ༣༡-༣༤

རིག་བསྟན། གནས་རི་བཞག་བྲ། བངས་དཀར་རི་བོ། ༡༩༩༩ (༡) དཀར་མཛེས་ལུལ་རིག་ཅལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས། མི་ཁྱིན་དར་མདོ།  
 འོག་ཁང་ས་ ༩༩-༩༩

མའི་སྲས་ཕྱི་མ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ཞིང། མགར་རྒྱལ་བ་འབྲུང་གནས་འདི་དང་ཞང་ཚལ་བ་འགྲོ་བའི་མགོན་པོ་<sup>17</sup> གཉིས་ཡོན་མཚོད་དུ་  
 གྲུབ། དེ་གོང་དུ་སློབ་པ་ལྟར་དབྱས་ལ་ཁྲིད་པོན་དུ་གཡོད་པའི་ནང་ནས། ཞང་ཚལ་བ་དང་། འཕྲི་གུང་པག་གྲུ་གསུམ་ཁྲིད་པོན་ཆེ་  
 བོས་ཡིན་པ། དེ་ནང་ནས་ཚལ་བ་ཁྲིད་པོན་ཐོག་མ་ཞང་འགྲོ་བའི་མགོན་པོའི་དབྱས་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ་པལ་ཆེ་བ་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་  
 བའི་གདན་རབས་གསུམ་གྱི་མཚམས་འགར་རྒྱལ་བ་འབྲུང་གནས་ལ་ཞང་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་ཁྲོད་ལ་སྲས་ཕྱུན་སྲུམ་ཚོགས་པ་ཞིག་  
 འཁྲུངས་པར་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་བཞིན། འགར་ཁྲིད་པོན་སངས་རྒྱས་དངོས་གྲུབ་འཁྲུངས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། སྲིས་སུ་ཚལ་བའི་གདན་སར་  
 བསྐྱོམ་པས་བསྟན་པའི་གཞི་རྒྱུགས། དེའི་སྲས་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་ཡང་། གོང་མ་སེ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུང་དང་ལས་ཀ་ཆེན་པོ་  
 གནང་། འདི་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་ཡོད་པའི་ཆེ་བ་ཉི་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པའི་ཞབས་པད་བརྟེན་ནས་འཇུག་  
 ས་དང་ལུང་ལྡངས། གཉིས་པ་དཔོན་དགའ་བདེ་ཆོས་སྦྱོང་བྱ་རོག་གདོང་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་པར་གྲགས་ཤིང། ཚལ་བའི་དཔོན་སྡེའི་དོན་  
 དུ་རྒྱ་ནག་གོང་དུ་ལན་བསུན་བྱོན། མི་ཆེན་ཟམ་ཁ་ལྟ་ས་ (ས་ ?) ཞེས་པས་ཞེན་གྲུས་པས། རྒྱ་ནག་གོང་དུ་བབ་ཀྱི་སྐྱེན་སྦྱོན་  
 ཕྱལ་བར་གོང་ནས་བདག་རྒྱུན་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱག་རྟགས་ལ་གོང་མའི་ན་བཟའ་ཞིག་གནང་བ། དཔོན་དགའ་བདེའི་སྡེ་གོས་ཀྱི་འོག་དུ་  
 མན་བས་ཏེ། ཟམ་ཁ་པ་ལ་ཁྱད་གསོད་མཛད་པས། ཟམ་ཁ་བས་དགའ་བདེ་བཟུང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་རར་ཁྲིད་དེ་སྡེ་གོས་བུས་པས་  
 ལ་གོང་མའི་ན་བཟའ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁོས་བརྟུས་མ་པོད། སྲིས་སུ་ཟམ་ཁ་པ་ལ་ནག་པོ་གནས་པམ་སར་མཛད། དགའ་བདེའི་གཙུང་རིན་  
 ཆེན་དབང་སྐྱེལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང། དགའ་བདེའི་སྲས་ཆེ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་སེང་གོ་དང། རྩུང་བ་སློན་ལམ་རྩོམ་སྟེ་ཉེ་གྱིས་རྩོམ་པོ་རིན་པོ་  
 ཆེ་དང་ཐུགས་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་ལྷག་ཏུ་གསེར་རྩོག་དང། འབྲུམ་མོ་ཆའི་གཞུང་། དབྱས་སྦྱིང་འོད་གསལ་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཁང་  
 བཞེངས་པ་སོགས་མངའ་ཐང་ཕྱག་རྩེས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ། འདིའི་སྲས་ཚལ་བ་ཀུན་དགའ་རྩོམ་སྟེ་ཞེ་ལྷ་ཆོས་མི་ཆོས་རིག་པའི་གནས་ཐམས་  
 ཅད་ལ་མཁས་པའི་ཕྱལ་དུ་བྱིན་ཞིང། རྒྱ་ནག་གོང་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་ཕྱིར་ལོ་བས་ཏེ་རི་བོ་དགོ་འཕེལ་གྱི་དཔོན་པ་འདེབས་པ་སོགས་  
 རྣམ་དཀར་གྱི་མཛད་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཞིང། དེང་སང་ཞང་ཚལ་བའི་དེ་བ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྩོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་འདི་མཛད་མཁན་  
 ཡིན་ཞིང། སྤྱི་ཆེ་སྤྱད་ལ་རབ་དུ་བྱུང་ནས་མཚན་དུང་ཆེན་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྲེན་པ་དགོ་བའི་སློབ་པོས་སུ་གྲགས། བཀའ་འབྲུང་དང་  
 བསྟན་འཇུག་པའི་ཞངས་པ་ཞང་ཚལ་བའི་བཀའ་བསྟན་འབྲུང་ཞེས་གངས་ཅན་སྤྱད་པོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཁྲུངས་སུ་བྱི་ཕྱི་མོ་བྱེད་པ་  
 བྱུང། རྟེན་བཞེངས་ཀྱི་རབ་གནས་ལ་གངས་ཅན་མཁས་པའི་དབང་པོ་བྱ་སྟོན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གདན་དྲངས་པའི་ལམ་ནས་སངས་ཉིན་ཆལ་  
 པ་དཔོན་པོའི་ཁ་ལ་བྱེད་དགོས་པས་དཔེ་ཆ་ལྟ་དགོས་གསུངས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཅས་དེ་བྱིན་གྱི་གདུང་རབས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་ཆོས་  
 དང་སྲིད་ཀྱི་མངོན་པར་མཐོ་བཤུགས་བྱུང་བ་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་འདི་ལས་དབྱས་ཀྱི་ཚལ་བ་ཁྲིད་པོན་སོགས་ཆད་ཚུལ་འགྲོས་ཅམ་  
 ཡིན་ཞིང། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུང་རབ་ (རབས་) དངོས་གཞི་ནི། གོང་དུ་སློབ་པ་ལྟར་འབྲུལ་སྟོན་མགར་སྡེ་བཅན་  
 ཕྱལ་བཟུང་ནས་གདུང་རབས་ལྟ་བུ་ ༥ མགར་ཨ་ཕྱེ་དགོ་བདའ་ལ་གྱི་ ༦ སྲས་ལྟ་རྩེ་བྱམས་པ་དཔའ་སྟེ། (ཉེ་) འདི་ཉིད་བྱིས་  
 སུ་ཁམས་ལ་ལེབས་ཏེ་འདན་གྱི་བྲག་རྒྱིང་ཆེན་དུ་གདན་ཆགས་པ་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་གདུང་རྒྱུད་ཁམས་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན།  
 དེའི་ ༧ སྲས་མགར་དཔའ་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན། དེའི་ ༨ སྲས་མགར་དཔའ་གྱི་སྤར་བྲ། དེའི་ ༩ སྲས་མགར་དཔའ་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས།  
 དེའི་ ༡༠ སྲས་མགར་དཔའ་གྱི་ཤེས་རབ། དེའི་ ༡༡ སྲས་མགར་དཔའ་གྱི་བཀའ་ཤིས། དེའི་ ༡༢ སྲས་མགར་དཔའ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ལ། དེའི་

17 གུང་ཐང་རྒྱ་མ་ཞང་བརྩོན་འགྲུས་གྲགས་པ། (1122/23-1193)

༡༣ རྣམས་མགའ་བཀྲའི་སྐབས་སྒྲིལ་། དེའི་ ༡༧ རྣམས་མགའ་ཡོན་ཏན་སྐབས་། དེའི་ ༡༥ རྣམས་མགའ་ཤེས་རབ་སྐབས་། དེའི་ ༡༩ རྣམས་མགའ་བྲང་རྒྱུ་སྐབས་། དེའི་ ༡༨ རྣམས་མགའ་བྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་ ༡༥ རྣམས་མགའ་དཀོན་མཆོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་ ༡༧ རྣམས་མགའ་དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་ ༣༠ རྣམས་མགའ་བྲམས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་ ༣༡ རྣམས་མགའ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། དེའི་ ༣༣ རྣམས་མགའ་དབལ་གྱི་བྲམས་པ་རྒྱེ་མ། དེའི་ ༣༣ རྣམས་མགའ་དབལ་འབྲུག་། དེའི་ ༣༧ རྣམས་མགའ་དབལ་བྲགས་། དེའི་ ༣༥ རྣམས་མགའ་དབལ་གྱི་རྗེ་རྒྱལ་། དེའི་ ༣༧ རྣམས་མགའ་དབལ་འབྲུག་། དེའི་ ༣༦ རྣམས་མགའ་དབལ་གྱི་ཆེ་མོ། འདི་ནས་བཟུང་དམེ་འོད་མེ་མའོ་ཐང་པ་འདི་རྒྱགས་གཞིས་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན། དེའི་ ༣༤ རྣམས་བསོད་ནམ་ (ནམས་) འབྲུ་མམ་མགའ་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ། དེའི་ ༣༧ རྣམས་དབུ་ (རྩ་) རྒྱ་ཅུ་རྩེ་འདི་ནས་དབུ་ (རྩ་) ས་དམར་སྟོང་དཔོན་ཏུ་བྲགས།<sup>18</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཐེན་པ་སྤེལ་ཆེན་པོས་ ༡༧༦༣ ལོར་མཛད་པའི་གངས་ཅན་ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་ལ་སྟོང་པའི་མཚོ་ཅིང་རྒྱལ་མོན་གཙོ་བོར་བརྗོད་པའི་དེ་བཟེ་རྗོད་པ་ལུགས་ལྡན་གཞིའི་ཏུའི་དགའ་སྟོན་དཔྲིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྤྱད་བྲུང་སྤྱི་ཞེས་པ་ལས། “དཔོན་སངས་རྒྱལ་དངོས་བྲུབ་ནི་གནམ་གྱི་མཚོར་ (མཚོ་སངས་) ལྟ་བུ་ཡུལ་དུ་བབས་པས། མགའ་ཆེ་ནམ་ (གནམ་ ?) ཆེ་འབྲུག། དེ་ནས་མགའ་སྤྱི་མ་མཐེན་ཆེན་པོ། མགའ་སྟོང་མེས་ཀྱི་ཆགས། དེའི་རྣམས་མགའ་སྟོང་བཅོན་ཡུལ་བཟུང་གི་སྤོངས་རྒྱལ་སྟོང་བཅོན་སྤོངས་པོའི་རྒྱུན་བོ་མཛད། ལྷགས་གཉེས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པས་རྗེའི་ཞབས་ཏོག་དང་བོད་འབངས་ལ་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཆེ། དེའི་རྣམས་བཅོན་བོ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱལ་བཟུང། དེ་ནས་ཅིང་བཞེན་ལྷ་གཅིག་སྟོན་ལྷེ་མ་སྤ། བྱི་ཟངས་དུ་མ་སྤ། བྱི་གཉེར་བྱི་སྐྱབས། དེའི་རྣམས་སྟོང་མེས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱང། བྱི་སྟོར་སྤྱག་གཟུང། རྒྱུན་ཆེན་ཆས་པ་སྟོང་བྲུག། དེའི་རྣམས་སྤྱད་བྲུང་འབྲུགས་གཞིགས། དེ་ནས་ཅིང་བཞེན་མགའ་ཐོག་ཡང་རྒྱལ། རྒྱལ་ལེ། མགའ་རྒྱལ་བ་འབྲུང་གནས། འདི་དང་ཞང་ཅིན་པོ་ཆེ་མཚོད་ཡོན་ཏུ་བྲུང་ཏེ། རྣམས་བྲུན་སྤོངས་ཆོགས་པ་འབྲུང་བའི་ལུང་བསྟན་དང་མཐུན་པར་དཔོན་སངས་རྒྱལ་དངོས་བྲུབ་འབྲུངས་པ་དཔོན་ཏུ་བསྐྱོས། དགེ་འདུན་ཆལ་པའི་བསྟན་པའི་ར་བ་བཙུགས། དེའི་རྣམས་དཔོན་ཆེན་ཅིན་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དཔོན་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་བཟུང་སྟེ་པོད་ཏུ་བྲོག། སེ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྤྱིད་པོད་སྟོན་སྤྱང། སྟོང་ལུང། བྲུའོལ། (དོལ་ ?) འབྲོང་པོ། རྒྱལ་སྤོང། ཨེ་དྲགས་གཉལ་གསུམ་སོགས་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞིག་གསོས་བྲེད་པའི་མེ་སྤེལ་སྤེ་ཆུག་གི་འཇའ་ས་གནང། ལུང་ཐང་ཏུ་བྲོན་ཏེ་གཟིམས་ཁང་འཕར་དང་འབྲུག་གི་ཆེན་མོ་བཞེས། འདི་ལ་རྣམས་གསུམ་ལས་ཆེ་བཞི་མེ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས་འཕྲོ་མགོན་འབྲུགས་པའི་བྲུག་བྲུང་ཏེ་འཇའ་ས་སྤྱངས།<sup>19</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

པོད་གསལ་ཞེ་ཆེན་ཏུ་ཡིག་བསྟན་འདི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་འགའ་དམ་པ་ཆོས་སྤྱངས་པའི་རྣམས་ཐང་ (འགའ་དཔོན་) ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་དེ་དང་། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་སས་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་རྗོགས་ལྡན་གཞིའི་ཏུའི་དགའ་སྟོན་ནང་གི་ཆལ་པ་ཀྱི་དཔོན་གྱི་སྤྱད་མགའ་སྟོང་བཅོན་ཡུལ་བཟུང་གི་རྩས་རྒྱུད་གཉེས་མཉམ་བསྐྱེས་ལྷུང་བསྐྱེགས་ནས་བཞོད་

18 མདོ་སྤྱད་ནོར་ལྷན་གྱི་དཔྲིལ་འཁོར་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་པའི་ས་དབང་སྟེ་དགེའི་གཏུང་རབས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏུམ་བཤའ་དོ་མཚན་ཆོག་གི་གཏེར་མཛོད་ཅེས་བྲུ་བ་བརྒྱགས་སོ། །དབུ་མེད་གེས་མ་ཤོག་ལྡེ་བ་ ༤༧-༤༨-༤༩ ན

19 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་དང་འགའ་དམ་པ་ཆོས་སྤྱངས་འབྲུག་བརྒྱགས་སོ། །དེ་བཞེད་ ༣༣ སེ་ར་གཙུག་ནང་བསྟན་དཔེ་རྩེད་འཚོལ་བསྐྱེ་ལྟོགས་སྤྱིག་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེགས། ལུང་པོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྤྱད་ཁང། པེ་ཅིང། ༢༠༠༧ ལོག་གངས་ ༤༧-༤༩

འདུག་སྐྱེས། དེས་གྲང་མི་ཚད་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྡེ་བས་ “གནམ་གྱི་མཐོང་ (མཐོངས་) ཉམ་མི་ལུལ་དུ་བབས་པས། མགར་ཆེ་  
 ཉམ་ (གནམ་ ?) ཚོ་འབྲུག།” །ཅེས་པ་དེར་ “ཤར་མེ་ཉམ་བཞག་ར་དཀར་པོའི་རི་ཅེ་ལ་སྟེང་འོད་གསལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཞིག་བབས་  
 བས་མི་རྣམས་གྱི་ (གྱིས་) གནམ་ནས་བབས་པའི་མཚན་ལ་མགར་གནམ་ཚོ་འབྲུག་ཅེས་བཏགས་པ།” ཞེས་བསྐྱེད་  
 བཅོས་པར་བསྟོན་གསལ་སྐྱོར་མཛད་འདུག་སྐྱེས།

སྟེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་འཛིན་མི་འད་བ་གཉིས་འདུག་སྟེ། རྒྱུད་ཡིག་ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དང་། ལུག་གཟིགས་  
 སི་ཏུ་བཏ་ཆེན་རྣམ་གཉིས་ལྟར་ན་སྟེ་དགོ་ཚང་ནི་ཞང་པོ་སྐོ་ལྷ་སྟེ་དཀར་པོ། དེ་ལ་འད་རྩ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་ ༡༩ གྱི་བྱེ་བྲག་  
 འགར་ཡིན་ཞེས་གསལ། སྟེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མེས་པོ་ཡིན་ལ་རྣམ་ཐར་མཛལ་དུ་ཡོད་པ་ནི་འགར་དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤོངས་པའི་  
 རྣམ་ཐར་དཔོན་པོ་ (འགར་) ལྷ་རྒྱལ་པས་མཛད་པའི་ནང་། “དབ་ཀར་གྱི་དངས་མ། འགར་ལྷ་རྩེ་དཔལ་གྱི་བྱམས་པ་” ཞེས་  
 དང་། “འགར་ལ་འད་རྒྱུད་བཞེད་སྟེ། ལྷ་རྩེ་དཔལ་བྱམས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་རྒྱུད། སྤངས་བཅན་ལུལ་བཟུང་གི་འབྲུལ་རྒྱུད། བཅན་བ་  
 རེད་པོའི་དཔལ་རྒྱུད། སྟེ་རང་མག་མཚུག་གི་ཀལ་རྒྱུད། དང་བཞེདོ།” ཞེས་དང་། “ཚོས་རྒྱུད་ནི་ཡངས་པ་ཅན་ནས། རོ་ལ་  
 རོར་ནས། ལི་ལུལ་ཀུན་ལ་བྱུང་ལ། རྒྱུད་པར་དུ་ལྷ་རྩེ་ནི། འདན་དུ་སྟོན་སྐྱབ་པ་བྱས་པས། ཡི་དམ་ལྷའི་ཞལ་མཐོང་། མགོན་  
 པོ་བྱམས་པས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས། བྱམས་པའི་ཚོས་ལྷ་གསལ། མཚན་ཡང་འགར་ཨ་སྟེ་དཔལ་གྱི་བྱམས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་  
 བར་ཐོགས།” ཞེས་གསལ། ད་དུང་ (འགར་དཔོན་) ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ལྟར་ན་འབྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཅན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྟེ་བཅན་ (742-797)  
 གྱི་སྐུ་དུས་གདན་འདྲེན་ཞུས་པའི་ཨོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྟོབ་དཔོན་བརྒྱ་འབྲུང་གནས་གྱི་ཡང་སྟོབ་དབ་དཀར་གྱི་དྲངས་མ་འགར་  
 ལྷ་རྩེ་དཔལ་གྱི་བྱམས་པའི་ཚོས་རྒྱུད་ནས་འདྲེན་པར་བྱེད་ལ། འབྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཅན་པོ་སྲོང་བཅན་སྐུ་མོ་ (617-650)  
 དང་། དགྲུང་སྟོན་ཆེན་པོ་འཇལ། མེད་ཐབས་མེད་པའི་འབྲུལ་སྟོན་སྟོང་ལུང་རམ་པར་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་<sup>20</sup> མགར་སྟོང་བཅན་  
 ལུལ་བཟུང་ (?-667)<sup>21</sup> རྣམ་གཉིས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རིགས་རུས་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གཙོ་ར་འདོན་མཛད་མི་གདལ།

20 དུང་དཀར་ཆོག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ། རྒྱུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། པེ་ཅིང་། ༢༠༠༢ འོག་གངས་ ༤༢༢

21 མགར་ཁྲི་སྐུ་འཛིན་རྒྱལ། མགར་མང་ཞང་སུམ་སྤང་། མགར་སྟོང་བཅན་ལུལ་བཟུང་ (?-667) དང་། ཁོང་གི་སྐུ་ལྷ་སྟེ། མགར་བཅན་སྐུ་  
 སྟོང་བྱ། (?-685) མགར་ཁྲི་འབྲིང་། མགར་བཅན་སྟོང་། (?-699) སྟོན་ཟེ་མདོ་ཡེ། སྟོན་འབལ་ལོན་བཅས། དེ་མིན་མགར་བཅན་ཉེན་གྲང་རྟོན།  
 (?-695) མགར་སྐྱག་ར་ཁོང་ལོད།

མཐའ་བ་བཏམ་དོན། མགར་སྟོང་བཅན་ལུལ་བཟུང་གི་གདུང་རྒྱུད་པོད་ན་ཡོད་མེད་ལ་དབྱེད་པ། མདོ་སྐད་ཞེས་འཇུག། ཁྲིགས་བམ་གསུམ་  
 པ། ཀན་སུའུ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞེས་འཇུག་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་སྤེལ། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༤ འོག་གངས་ ༤༡-༥༤ དབྱེད་ཚོམ་འདིའི་ནང་  
 རྟོགས་སྟོང་ཚོན་གཏན་འདུག། སྟེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རུས་རྒྱུད་ནི་རྣམས་རྩ་ཡིན་ལ་རྩ་མིན། མདོ་སྐད་པེ་བཤོང་མགར་ཅེ་ནི་མགར་ཚོས་སྤོངས་  
 པའི་ (1180-1240) གཞུང་མགར་ཨ་བྱར་དང་མགར་ཟེ་བྱར་སྟོང་བཅན་གཉིས་ཡིན་ཚུལ་ལུང་དངས་འདུག་ནའང་། མགར་དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤོངས་  
 པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་ཡབ་སྐོན་སྟོན་དཔལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ་ལ་སྐུ་བཞེད་དང་སྐུ་མོ་གཅེག་སྟེ། སྐུ་བཞེད་གཏོར་འབུམ། ཡེ་ཤེས་འབུམ། བསོད་ནམས་  
 འབུམ་མམ་འགར་དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤོངས། གཞུང་ལུང་བུ་འབུམ། སྐུ་མོ་དཀར་མོ་དང་མིང་སྤོང་ལྷ་འཁྲུངས་ཞེས་དང་། འགར་དཔོན་དར་མ་འབུམ་  
 མམ་དར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་ (1222-1293) གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་སྟོན་སྟོན་གཏོར་འབུམ་ལ་སྐུ་བུག་དང་སྐུ་མོ་གཉིས་ཏེ། སྐུ་མངས་རྒྱུས་འབུམ།  
 རྩེ་རྩེ་འབུམ། མངས་རྒྱུས་སྐྱབས། དཀོན་མཚོག་འབུམ། ལུང་བུ་འབུམ། དར་མ་འབུམ་དང་སྐུ་བུག་ལྷུག། ལུང་བུ་ལྷུམ། ཉམས་འཛིན་དང་སྐུ་མོ་  
 གཉིས་བཅས་མིང་སྤོང་བརྒྱུད་འཁྲུངས་པར་གསལ།



ཀུན་མཁུན་སི་ཏུ་བཏ་ཆེན་ལྟར་ན་ “འགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་དང་འགར་དམ་པར་གྲགས་པ་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་གཉིས་  
 བྱུང་།” ཞེས་དང་། ཞེ་ཆེན་བྱུང་ཡིག་ལྟར་ན་ “བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་མམ་མགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་” ཞེས་དང་། ཀུན་  
 བཟུང་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ནང་། “མགར་དཔལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། འདི་ནས་བཟུང་དེམ་ཤོད་དེམ་མདོ་ (དམ་ཤོད་དམ་མདོ་)”<sup>22</sup> ཟེར་བ་  
 འདིར་བཞུགས་གཞིས་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན། དེའི་སྐོར་བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་མམ་མགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་དེའི་སྐོར་དུལ་  
 (རྩ) སྐྱེ་བུ་སྐྱེ་འདི་ནས་དུལ་ (རྩ) སྐྱོང་དཔོན་དུ་གྲགས།” ཞེས་གསལ། འགར་དམ་པར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་  
 བྱུང་། “དེའི་སྐོར་དཔལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། དེའི་སྐོར་བཞི། གཞུག་ཏོར་འབྲུམ། (?-c.1235) ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུམ། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་  
 མམ་སྐྱེ་འབྲུག། །ཕྱར་བྱ་འབྲུམ་དང་བཞེདོ། །དེ་ལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུམ་ནི་གནས་དུག་<sup>23</sup> ཏུ་ཤི་སྐྱད། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་ནི་རྗེ་  
 བཟུང་བཟུང་ (འགར་དམ་པར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་) དོ།།” ཞེས་གསལ། འགར་བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་མམ་སྐྱེ་འབྲུག་ནི་འགར་དམ་  
 པར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མེད་ཡིན། དམ་པར་འགར་ཞེས་པ་འདི་གྲུང་སྐྱོབ་པས་སྐྱེ་ལ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་མཚན་གཞོན་ཏུ་རྗེ་རྗེ་  
 དང་ཤུག་དཔལ་ཡིན་ཞེད། དམ་པར་འགར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་པ་ནི་རྗེ་རབ་བྱུང་ཡིན། འགར་དམ་པར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་  
 འགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་པ་འགར་དམ་པར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་མཚན་གྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་སྐྱུང་འགར་  
 ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་ཏུ་སྐྱེད་མི་འདུག།

ཡང་ཕྱི་དགོ་ཡབ་ཆེན་ཆེ་དབང་རྗེ་རྗེ་རིག་འཛིན་གྱིས་ ༡༩༩༩ ལོར་མཚན་པའི་ཕྱི་དགོ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐོན་རྒྱུ་ཐར་  
 འདོད་དགུ་རབ་འཕེལ་སྟར་ན། དཔལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོར་སྐོར་གསུམ། འགར་ཆོས་སྤྲིངས་པ། གཞུང་མགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ།

22 རྩེད་མའི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་སྐོར་གསུམ་པར་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཕྱི་བསྐྱེད་འོད་གསལ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མམ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་  
 ཁང་། ༡༯༯༩ ཆགས་བུ་ཉི་ལྔ་གསུམ་སྐྱེད་འབྲུག་པ་བྱུང་བསྐྱེད་འོད་གསལ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཉི་མམ་གྱི་ལོ་ ༡༯༩༩-༡༯༩༩ བར་ནས་སྐར་  
 ཤིང་བརྗོད་ནས་མདོ་ཁམས་ནག་ཤོད་སྤྲིང་རྗེ་འོད་གསལ་སྐྱེད་སྤྲིང་སྐར་ཤིང་བཞུགས་པ་དེ་དག་བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་  
 རས་བསྐྱར་སྐར་སྐབས་སྐར་བྱང་སྐོན་ཆེན་ཉི་སྐྱེད་འབྲུག་པས་མཚན་པ་དེས་གྲུར་བཟུང་ཆོས་འབྱུང་ཆ་ཆར་ཉི་སྐྱེད་འབྲུག་པས་མཚན་ལྟར་  
 རྩེད་པའི་མཚན་བཞོད་ཏོར་གྲུར་འདུག། །དེ་བཞུགས་པའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༤:༡༩ བྱུང་། “དེའི་སྐོར་མགར་དཔལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། འདི་ནས་  
 བཟུང་དེམ་ཤོད་དེམ་མདོ་ཟེར་བ་འདིར་བཞུགས་གཞིས་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན།” ཞེས་བཞོད་ཏོར་བྱས་འདུག། བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐོར་པོ་གསལ་ཆེན་སྐྱེ་  
 འབྲུང་དེས་དོན་ཟབ་མོའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་བ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ལེགས་བཤད་མཁས་པ་དག་འབྱེད་ཏོ་མཚན་གཏམ་གྱི་ལོ་མཚན་ཞེས་བྱ་  
 བ་སྐོར་བཟུང་བཞེད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Published by Ugyen Tempai Gyaltsan, Paro, Bhutan (རིན་ཆེན་གཏེར་མཚོ་དབྱེད་ཆོས་པོ་ད་  
 ལ) ༡༯༩༩ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༤:༩ “འདི་ནས་བཟུང་དེམ་ཤོད་དེམ་མདོ་ཟེར་བ་འདིར་བཞུགས་གཞིས་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན།” ཞེས་དག་པར་  
 བཞོད་གནད་འདུག།

རོར་བུ་ཆོས་འཕེལ། བོད་བཅན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་མགར་རྒྱུད་མོན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཅམ་བཟོད་པ། མདོ་སྐད་ཞེས་འདུག། སྐོར་གསུམ་པར་  
 གཉིས་པ། ཀུན་སྐྱེད་པོ་ཤི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞེས་འདུག། ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་པ། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༧ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༡-༢༠ བར་ལའང་སྐྱེད་  
 རས་གཡོ་བར་མཚོད་ཅིག།

23 བོད་མདོ་ཁམས་ནང་ཆེན་དགོ་འཕྲོད་ལུལ་གྱི་སྐོར་བཞུང་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་མཚོད་པའི་དེ་བཟེར་གངས་ཆབ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེད་ཐེགས་མ་ཞེས་བྱ་  
 བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །སྐོར་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན་ཉི་མམ་བཅུ་གསུམ། ཀུན་སྐྱེད་པོ་ཤི་ཤེས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༢༠༡༩ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༤:༡༩ བྱུང་། “མདོ་ཁམས་གནས་  
 དུག་ཞི་སྐོར་གཏམ་མཁར་སྐྱེ་ཆམ་མཁར་དམར་ཇ་བྱིང་ཐང་། ཕྱི་དགོ་སྐྱེ་རྗེ་ཏོན་ཤོད། འདན་རྒྱུ་ཐག་སྐྱེ་གཞིས་གཞུག་སྐྱེ་བར་བྱས་པའི་ཞི་  
 སྐོར་ཡིན་པར་གྲགས།” ཞེས་གསལ།

སྐོམ་སྐོམ་གཞུག་གཏོར་འབྲུམ། གཞུག་གཏོར་འབྲུམ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་བྱུང་བ། དར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན། གཞུང་སྐོམ་སྐོམ་དབལ་གྱི་  
 རྒྱལ་མཚན། དབལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་པ། ཨོ་རྒྱལ་བ། བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན། རྩ་བ་གྲུ་བ། ཞེས་  
 གསལ།<sup>24</sup> འོན་ཀྱང་འགར་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་། “དེའི་སྲས་དབལ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོ། དེའི་སྲས་བཞེད། གཞུག་ཏོར་འབྲུམ།  
 ཡེ་ཤེས་འབྲུམ། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ། ལྷ་འབྲུག་ཀྱང་ཟེར་ སྤྱར་བྱ་འབྲུམ་དང་བཞེདོ།” ཞེས་གསལ། འགར་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་  
 (དཔོན་) འགར་སྐོམ་དར་མ་འབྲུམ་མཐར་དར་མ་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ནང་། “དབལ་བསོད་གྱི་སྲས་དབལ་ཅེ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་  
 བཞེད། སྐོམ་སྐོམ། སྐོམ་སྤྱར། ལྷ་འབྲུག་ཀྱང་ཟེར། བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ་ཀྱང་ཟེར་བ་དང་གསུམ། དཀར་མོ་དང་། འགྲེ་  
 མོང་གེ་མ་ཡང་ཟེར། །མ་དང་མིང་སྲིང་ལྟོ། །སྐོམ་སྐོམ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱལ་འབྲུམ། རྫོ་རྫོ་འབྲུམ། སངས་རྒྱལ་སྐྱབས། དཀོན་  
 མཚོག་འབྲུམ། སྤྱར་བྱ་འབྲུམ། དར་མ་འབྲུམ་དང་སྲས་བྲུག་གོ། །སྤྱར་བྱ་ལྷུམ། འགས་འཛིན་དང་སྲས་མོ་གཉིས། མིང་སྲིང་  
 བརྒྱུད་གྱི་རྒྱུང་ཤོས་དར་མ་འབྲུམ་ཡིན་ལོ།” ཞེས་གསལ། རྣམ་ཐར་གོང་ལོག་གཉིས་ནང་འགར་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པར་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་  
 མིང་སྲིང་ལྷ་བྱུང་བའི་ནང་འགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོ་ལྷ་བ་བྱུང་མེད་ལ། སྐོམ་སྐོམ་གཞུག་གཏོར་འབྲུམ་ལའང་མིང་སྲིང་  
 བརྒྱུད་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་ལའང་སྐོམ་སྐོམ་དབལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལྷ་བ་འཁྲུངས་མི་འདུག་ན་མི་རྟོག་སྤྲེས་འཛོལ་མེད། འཁྲུངས་  
 གཤེགས་ལོ་ཆིག་གྲུང་བསྐྱིགས་མིན་དུང་དུང་ཞེས་ལོ་ལ་བསྐྱར་ནན་ཏན་བྱ་གལ་ཆེ་སྟེ།

མོད་མི་ལྷ་གདུང་བྲུག་གི་ཞང་པོ་སྐོ་ལྷ་སྤེ་དཀར་པོ་ལས་འཆང་བ་རྩ། དེ་ལའང་ནང་གཤེས་རྩ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆོ་ ༡༩  
 ཡོད་ཁོངས་འགར་ཡིན་པར་འདོད།

དེ་ཡང་འགར་དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤྲིངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་དུ་བསྐྱུང་བའི་འགར་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོར་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ་སྐོམ་  
 སྐོམ་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་དང་། རྩ་བ་སྐྱ་བུ་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས་པར་བཤད། རྩ་བ་སྐྱ་བུ་ནས་མི་རྟོག་ལྷ་པར་རྩ་བ་ཚོས་གྱི་  
 རྫོ་རྫོ་འཁྲུངས། རྩ་བ་སྐྱ་བུའི་དེ་མ་ཐག་པའི་སྐྱེ་མཚེད་ཨོ་རྒྱལ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་གཉིས་ལ་རྩ་བ་མི་འབོད་པའི་རྒྱ་  
 མཚན་ཅེ་ཡོད་དམ། རྩ་བ་སྐྱ་བུ་ནས་རྩ་བ་ཚོས་གྱི་རྫོ་རྫོའི་བར་ཁྱོན་པའི་གདུང་རབས་རྣམས་གྱི་རྩ་བ་གྱི་ལྷ་དྲུགས་རྩ་བ་  
 འབོད་སྟོལ་མི་འདུག་པ་རྒྱ་མཚན་གང་ཞེས་ཡོད་དམ། དེ་ཡང་རྩ་བ་ཚོས་གྱི་རྫོ་རྫོ་འི་གཞོག་དང་སྤང་ཚང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་  
 གྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ཉམས་བཞེས་མཛད་མཁན་ཞེས་ཁྱོན་འདུག་པ་ལོག་ནས་འཆང་དོ།། <sup>25</sup>

24 རྫོ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་རབས། མོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༩ འོག་གྲངས་ ༥-༦

25 སྤང་བ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ལོགས་སྤྱིག་ །ཁན་བྱ་མ་རྫོ་རྫོ་ནས་སྤྱིག་ །མི་ཁྱོན་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཆོགས་པ། མི་ཁྱོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཁང་།  
 ༢༠༠༦ འོག་གྲངས་ ༢༡-༩-༢-༣ རྫོང་བརྗོད་གྱི་འོག་གྲངས་ ༩ བང་། “སྤོགས་སྤྱིག་འདིའི་ནང་ཡོད་པའི་གཞུང་ཞོག་གི་རྫོང་གཞི་དང་དམངས་  
 ཁྱིམ་གྱི་ཐ་སྐྱོད་སོགས་རང་སྟོལ་བཞག་པ་ལས། རང་འདོད་ཀྱི་ལག་རིང་བརྒྱུད་སྤོགས་སྤོམ་བརྒྱུར་བཅོས་གྱི་ལས་ལ་བཅོན་མེད།” ཅེས་བཀོད་  
 འདུག་ནའང་། འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༡:༣ “ཁམས་གོང་པོ་ལ་བྱོན།” ཞེས་དང་། འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༣༦:༡༩ “ཁམས་གོང་པོ་དང་ཅ་རི་རྣམས་སྤུ་འཕྲོ་  
 འོན་སྤོགས་མེད་སྟོང་།” ཞེས་དང་། འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༦:༢ “རྒྱ་ཡུལ་ནས་རྫོ་པོ་ཡིད་བཞེན་ནོར་བུ་ཡུལ་དབུས་སུ་སྐྱུན་དངས་ཞོད། མི་ཉལ་ །མི་  
 ཐང་། འཇངས། ཁ་བ་དཀར། སྤང་ཁམས། རྒྱལ་ཡུལ། གོ་ལོ། རྫོ་དགོ། །སྤང་བ་སོགས་ཁམས་ཡུལ་གྱི་འཕྲོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ། རྫོ་པོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་  
 མཛལ་བྲུག་མ་རྟོག་པ་མེད་པར་ལྷ་བྱ་མཛད།” ཅེས་དང་། འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༢༡:༡ “མོད་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པ་རྫོ་རྫོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གོ་འཛོད་དང་། རྫོ་  
 དགོའི་བརྒྱུད་དབུས་གཅོང་སྤོགས་སུ་བཞུགས།” ཅེས་དང་། འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༥༩:༡༩ “གདན་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱུང་བའི་རྒྱ་པོའི་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ སྤང་རྒྱ་

དེ་ནི་དབུ་རྒྱལ་སྤུ་འཇུག་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་འབྲི་གུང་སྐྱོབ་པ་འདྲིལ་རྟོན་གསུམ་མཐོན་ (1143–1217) གྱི་དངོས་སློབ་འགའ་  
དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤྲངས་པའི་ (1180–1240)<sup>26</sup> སྐྱ་ཆ་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་ས་རྟོར་མཚོད་ཡོན་སྐབས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱའི་འགྲོ་

རོང་། འཛངས་ཐང་། རོང་ཁ་བ་དགས། ཚ་བ་རོང་། མི་ཉག །ལི་ཐང་། འབའ་ཐང་། ལོ་ལོ་རོང་། ལོ་རྫོ། ཐག་ཡལ། དཔལ་ལྷལ། བརྒྱ་གོ། གནས་ཅ་  
རྟེ། ཀོང་མོ་སོགས་ལ་དར་བྱུང་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་།” ཞེས་གསལ་འདུག་ཀྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༠༮–༡༩༡༡ བར་ཨམ་བན་ཡའོ་ཨར་ཤུང་གི་ས་མི་སེར་སློབ་ལུལ་  
གྱི་འདོད་ཚུལ་དང་། བྱེས་པ་བཅོན་རློབ་པ་ཨ་རོགས་ཁམས་པ་ཁག་ཅིག་གིས་ ༡༩༢༤ ནས་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ཉི་འོ་འོ་འབྲུང་ཐབས་ཨ་རྟོ་གོང་པོ་  
ཁམས་ཁོངས་ཡིན་ཟེར་བའི་དྲན་གཏམ་གསར་སྟེ་ས་གནས་དུས་ཚོད་ཅིས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་ཀ་བསྟུན་གཏེར་བྱུང་བར་བྱིས་ ༡༩༠༦ ལོར་རྟན་བྱ་ཀླུ་རྩོ་  
རྟེས་མཇུག་སྐྱོང་ལྟ་བུས་དུས་རབས་ ༡༣ པའི་ནང་ལ་འང་ཁམས་ཀོང་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་མ་སྟོན་ཡོད་ཁྲུལ་གྱིས་གསལ་མཇུག་བྱིས་པ་དང་། བྱི་ལོ་  
༡༠༩ ནས་དུས་རབས་ ༡༣ པའི་སྤྲང་ཆའི་ནང་ལ་འང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ལུལ་སྤེའི་མིང་བྲག་གཡལ་བ་དང་། ཕྱི་དབུ་ །འབའ་ཐང་། བརྒྱ་བཀོད་ཅེས་པའི་མ་  
སྟོན་མེད་ན་བྲག་དེ་བ་སྟེ་ག་མཁན་རྟན་བྱ་ཀླུ་རྩོ་རྟེས་ལག་རིང་བརྒྱུད་ནས་རྟན་བྱ་ལོ་སོ་ལོ་ག་ཡལ་རང་འདོད་སྟུག་ཚང་གི་ས་སྐྱོན་འབྲི་བ་སྟེ་ལྷན་  
མང་དག་བཅུག་འདུག།

དེས་ཀྱང་མི་ཚང་སྤྲང་བ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་བསྟེན་ཞེས་པའི་ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༥༥–༡༥༧ བར་གོ་འཛོལ་དག་དགོན་མཚོགས་སུལ་བུལ་བསྟན་  
བཤད་སྟུག་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1879–1962) མཛོད་པའི་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྤྲང་བ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྟུག་མཚོའི་མིང་བ་སྤྲང་སྟུན་ཕྱོགས་སྟེན་སྐབས་སྟུག་མཚོའི་མིང་  
པའི་ཚབ་ཏུ་སྟུག་མཚོའི་མིང་བ་ཞེས་དང་། དབུ་རྒྱུ་བ་བསོད་ནམས་ལེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཚབ་ཏུ་བུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་བ་བསོད་ནམས་ལེ་ཤེས་ཞེས་དང་། རྒྱ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྩོ་རྩོ་ལ་རྒྱ་ཚོས་  
ཀྱི་རྩོ་རྩོ་ཞེས་དང་། རྒྱ་བྲག་ཅེས་པར་ཏུ་བྲག་ཅེས་དང་། རྟོར་པོ་བྲག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ལ་རྟོར་མོ་ཞེས་དང་། མཚེས་ནམ་མཁའ་འགགས་ལ་མཚེས་ནམ་མཁའ་  
འགགས་ཞེས་དང་། བྲུབ་ཐོབ་བསམས་འབྲུབ་ཉག་སེ་རིན་ཆེན་ལ་ཉག་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་ཞེས་སོགས་ཡིག་རྟོར་མང་དག་བཅོས་འདུག་པ་སྟོ་པམ་ཚེ།

*Tibetan Studies in Honor of Samten Karmay*, edited by Françoise Pommaret and Jean-Luc Achard, Amnye Machen  
Institute, Dharamshala, 2009 ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༤༩

ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤུ་འཇུག་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུང་དུར་བསྟུས་པ་དག་གི་ས་བོན་ལྷན་རྒྱུན་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཀྱུ་རོང་རྒྱུགས་སངས་བརྟེ་འཛམ་  
དཔལ་མཚང་པོས་ (1901–c.1984) ༡༩༥༡ ལོར་མཛོད་པ། དབུ་མེད་གྲིས་མ་ཤོག་གྲེབ་ ༣  
རྒྱལ་བཀའ་ཚོགས་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མཛོད་བསྟུས། འཛམ་དབྱུངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་མཛོད། མི་ཚོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུག་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༤ ཤོག་གངས་ ༤༡

26 དཔལ་འབྲི་གུང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོའི་པོད་ཆེ་བ་པ། ཚོས་རྟེ་མགར་ཚོས་ལྗེངས་པའི་བཀའ་འབྲུག་ལས། ཚོགས་ཚོས་  
མཛོད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱུན་གྱི་སྟེང་པོ་ལོར་ལུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བཀོད་པའི་རྒྱན་དགོ་སྟོང་ཚོས་པམཐང་གིས་ཡི་གེར་བཀོད་པ། ༡༣༡ ནས་ ༡༡༡ བཟ བར། སངས་  
རྒྱལ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཡི་ཤེས་རང་གི་སེམས་ལ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཤེས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་སྟོན་མེད་རྒྱལ་པོ། ༡༡༡ བཟ ནས་ ༡༡༡ བཟ བར། སངས་  
གམེར་མེད་རོལ་བ་སོགས་བསྟོད་པའི་ཚོགས་རྒྱ་མ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་བསྟོད་ཆེན། རྩོ་འབྲི་གུང་པར་བསྟོད་པ། ཡང་རྩོ་འབྲི་གུང་པར་བསྟོད་པ། རྩོ་  
འབྲི་གུང་པར་དུ་ཡི་དམ་བསྟུང་མར་བསྟོད་པ། ལྷ་བརྒྱུད་གསོལ་འདེབས། ཡན་ལག་བདུན་པ་བཟུ་ཤེས་དང་བཅས་པ། དཔལ་ལྷན་སྟེས་འཁོར་  
པོ་བདེ་མཚོགས་ཀྱི་དེའི་འཁོར་ལ་བསྟོད་པ། དཔལ་གསལ་བའི་བདག་པོར་བསྟོད་པ། དཔལ་རྩོ་རྩོ་འཛིགས་ལྗེད་པ་བསྟོད་པ། བྲུབ་ཆེན་རྣམས་  
ཀྱི་བསྟོད་པ། འོད་དཔག་མེད་འཁོར་བཅས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ། དེའི་འཁོར་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ། དུག་འཛོལ་བདུད་རྩི་མེད་སོགས་ཞལ་  
གདན་ས། བྱང་མི་ཉིར་ཕྱོགས་པོ་འགའ་ལ་གསུངས་པ། ཚོས་རྩོར་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ། ཚོས་རྩོ་ཡི་རྣམ་ཐར། བསྟན་ཚོས་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་ལ།  
གདན་ས་བྱ་རྩོ་ཚོས་སྤྲངས་ཀྱི་འདུས་པའི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས། དཔལ་ཚོས་སྤྲངས་པའི་བཀའ་ཤོག་གི་མཚོད་བརྩོད་མོར་བྱ། རོན་ཡི་ཤེས་སྟོན་མ་སྟོ་  
ཡམ་ལ། སྟོ་མོར་གསུང་བའི་ཞལ་ཆེས་ལ། འདིར་ཆད་དམ་སྟུམ་མཚམ། ཐབ་ཚོས་མན་དག་གི་སྟོར། རྩོ་རང་བྱུང་ཆེན་པོ། ཀལ་ལྱེ་རྩོ་ཨ་ལ་ལ། སྟེ་  
གསུམ་ཡིད་བཞིན་མཉམ་མེད། འགྱུར་མེད་བདེ་ཆེན། མཐའ་བྲལ་འོད་གསལ། རྩོ་ཐམས་ཅད། ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ། པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁེན། བཟུ་ཤེས་གང་  
ཞེག །ན་མོ་རྒྱ་གྲུ་བ། རྩོ་ཚོས་སྟོ་འོད་སྟེ་གས། བདེ་ཆེན་ཚོས་སྟེ་འོད་སྟེ། རྩོ་རང་བྱུང་ཆེན་པོའི་ཞལ་ལ། ན་མོ་རྒྱ་གྲུ་བ། རྩོ་ཀ་ལ་ལོ།  
༡༡༡ བཟ ནས་ ༡༡༤ བཟ བར། དཔལ་ལྷན་པག་མོ་བྲུ་བ་ཡལ་ལྷས་ཀྱི་གསུམ་ཚོས་སྟེ་རྣམས་མའི་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་བྱུང་འདེབས། ༡༡༤ བཟ ནས་  
༡༡༤ བཟ བར། སྟེ་བསྟུང་ཞལ་ལ་ཞལ་ལྟེ་གསར་བསྟུང་བྲུ་འོད་དགོ་སྟོང་ཚོས་གདེངས་པའི་ཡི་གེར་སྟུང་བ། ༡༣༡ ནས་ ༡༣༤ བར།

མགོན་ཚེས་རྒྱལ་འབགས་པའི་ (1235–1280) ལྷ་དུས་ཆེན་པོའི་ལས་ཚན་བརྒྱལ་ལྷན་ཁྲིའི་ལོ་ལྟར་བཟང་བ་  
 དང་། རྫོང་གི་སྐུ་རྒྱ་བ་བཟང་པོས་ས་དམར་དུ་གཞིས་ཆགས། ལྷོང་དཔོན་གྱི་ལུང་ལས་ཀ་བཟང་། བདེ་ཆེན་བཟང་པོའི་ལྷ་དུས་  
 རྒྱ་མཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་ཀམ་པ་བདུན་པ་ཚོས་གྲགས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ (1454–1506) ལུང་གིས་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཞིགས་པས་ལུང་བསྟན་  
 བཞེན་ལུགས་རྒྱུང་དཔོན་ཆེན་པོ་བདག་དུང་གི་སློབ་པོར་གྱུར། བྲིས་མིང་བདེ་དགེར་གྲགས། དེ་སྐུས་བདེ་དགེ་བོ་ཐར་རམ།  
 བཀྲ་ཤིས་སེང་གེས་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ལུགས་ཐམས་པར་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ (1385–1446/1458)<sup>27</sup> ལྟན་འཛིན་ཆོས་  
 ལྷེ་ཆེན་པོ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྟེང་བཞེངས།<sup>28</sup> ལྷ་ཆེན་བྲམས་པ་ལུན་ཚོགས་ (?–1667) ལྷ་དུས་བསོད་ནམས་དང་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་

27 Tashi Tsering, ‘On the Dates of Thang stong rgyal po’, *The Pandita and the Siddha, Tibetan Studies in Honour of E. Gene Smith*, edited by Ramon N. Prats, Amnye Machen Institute, Dharamshala, 2007, pp.268–278.

28 དཔལ་གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ལྷན་བཞུགས་འཇུག་འཇུག་བཟང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ཀུན་གསལ་ཞོར་བུའི་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྲུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། (ཐང་རྒྱལ་རྣམ་  
 ཐར་) འཇུག་ཐེང་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱིས་ ༡༤༠༤ ལོར་བཟུམས། མི་ཁྲི་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༩ འོག་གྲངས་ ༩༩༥ ལས། “དེ་ནས་མདོ་  
 ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལ་བྱོན། མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་དུ་ག །འོད་དུ་ག །རྫོང་དུ་ག །ལྟོ་དུ་ག །འཇུག་ལ་མཐོང་དུ་ག །ལོ་སོགས་པ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས། རྩ་  
 རྩ། འབྲི་རྩ། ལྷ་གྲུ་སོགས་ལ་ལུགས་ཐམས་འཇུགས་པ་དང་། ཐམས་ལོ་སྐང་དང་། ལི་ཐང་ལ་སྐྱེ་གསུང་གྲགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྤྲིགས།  
 རྒྱུང་དུ་མེབས།” ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་བྲུང་། “འདིའི་རྒྱུང་ཞེས་པ་མདོ་ཁམས་སྤེ་དགེའི་མངའ་ཞབས་ལུགས་རའི་རྫོང་འདི་རྒྱུང་གིས་འཇིན་པའི་སྐབས་  
 ཡིན་ལ་དེ་སྐབས་བོད་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་དགོན་པ་དོར་ན་ལེན་སོགས་ལ་རྒྱུང་པ་ཁང་ཚོན་ཟེར་བ་ཡང་འདི་དུས་སྟོང་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ཐམས་ལོ་སྐང་དུ་སྐྱེ་གསུང་  
 གྲགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་མཚན་གསུངས་པ་ནི་ད་ལྟོ་ཡོངས་གྲགས་རྩ་འབྲི་ཐམས་ལོ་སྐང་ཞེས་སྤེ་དགེ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྟེང་གི་སྤྲིབ་དཔོན་ཐང་སྟོང་ལྷ་ཁང་ཞེས་  
 པ་འདི་ཉིད་ཡིན་འདུག་ཅིང་། འདི་ལོ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་དགུང་གྲངས་བྱ་དུ་ག །པའོ། །མཚན་འདི་རྣམ་ཐར་འདི་ཉིད་ལྷན་དག་སྐབས་སྐྱེ་གསུང་འཇིན་བསྟན་འཇིན་  
 རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་སྐུ་བཏུགས་པའོ།།” ཞེས་གསལ།

གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དངོས་སྟོབ་ལ་སྟོང་བྲང་པ་ཤེས་རབ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་མཚན་པའི་རྩེ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོ་ལུགས་ཐམས་པའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་  
 པ་དོ་མཚན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྲུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Thang stong rgyal po*, Vol. 1, National Library  
 of Bhutan, Thimphu, 1984. དབྱེན་རིའི་འོག་གྲངས་ ༩༩༧ བྲང་། “མདོ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལ་བྱོན། མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་དུ་ག །འོད་དུ་ག །རྫོང་དུ་ག །ལྟོ་  
 དུ་ག །འཇུག་ལ་མཐོང་དུ་ག །ལོ་སོགས་པ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས། རྩ་རྩ། འབྲི་ (འབྲི་) རྩ། ལྷ་གྲུ་སོགས་ལ་ལུགས་ཐམས་འཇུགས་པ་དང་། ཐམས་ལོ་སྐང་དང་། ལི་ཐང་  
 ལ་སོགས་པར་སྐྱེ་གསུང་གྲགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞེངས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྤྲིགས་ནས། རྒྱ་ལག་རི་བོ་རྩེ་ལ་བྱོན་པས་” ཞེས་དང་།

གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དངོས་སྟོབ་དགོན་མཚོག་དཔལ་བཟང་དང་མོན་སྤྲོ་བ་བདེ་བ་བཟང་པོ་ལུང་གིས་མཚན་པ་རྒྱ་མ་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་  
 པོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་གསལ་བའི་སྟོན་མེ་བཞུགས་སོ།། *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of Thang stong rgyal po*, Vol. 2, National  
 Library of Bhutan, Thimphu, 1984. དབྱེན་རིའི་འོག་གྲངས་ ༩༡༥ བྲང་། “དེ་ནས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོས་མདོ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ལ་བྱོན་པས།  
 མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་དུ་ག །རྫོང་དུ་ག །འོད་དུ་ག །ལྟོ་དུ་ག །འཇུག་ལ་མཐོང་དུ་ག །ལོ་སོགས་པ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ལུགས། (བཅགས་) རྩ་རྩ་འབྲི་རྩ་ལ་ལུགས་ཐམས་དང་།  
 ཐམས་ལོ་སྐང་དུ་སྐྱེ་གསུང་རྟེན་བཞེངས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྤྲིགས།” ཞེས་གསལ།

གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དངོས་སྟོབ་གྲགས་སྐུ་དམ་པ་ཇི་ལྷ་མེས་རབ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐུ་སྤྲུག་ལས་ཐམས་པ་ཀུན་དགལ་བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་  
 པ་དཔལ་བཟང་གིས་ལྷ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོའི་གཏུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་མ་མེད་པ་སྟོ་གྲོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་པའི་བགས་བསྐུལ་ནས་མཚན་དཔ། གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ལྷན་ཆེན་པོ་  
 ལུགས་ཐམས་པར་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་ཐར་པ་ཀུན་གསལ་སྟོན་མེ་བདུད་རྩིའི་འཕྲེང་བ་མཚན་བས་ཡིད་འདྲོག་བཞུགས་སོ།། National Archives,  
 Ramshahpath, Kathmandu, reel number AT 85/11. དབྱེན་རིའི་འོག་གྲངས་ ༩༩༩ ལས། “དེ་ནས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོས་མདོ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་  
 ལ་བྱོན་པས། མདོ་ཁམས་སྐང་དུ་ག །རྫོང་དུ་ག །འོད་དུ་ག །ལྟོ་དུ་ག །འཇུག་ལ་མཐོང་དུ་ག །ལོ་སོགས་པ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ལུགས། (བཅགས་) རྩ་རྩ་འབྲི་རྩ་ལ་ལུགས་ཐམས་དང་།  
 ཐམས་ལོ་སྐང་དུ་རྟེན་མཚན་བཞེངས་པའི་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྤྲིགས།” ཞེས་གསལ། །གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དངོས་སྟོབ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ “རྒྱུང་དུ་མེབས།” ཞེས་པ་



ས་ཆེན་པོ་རྫོགས་ཆེན་དགོན།<sup>32</sup> གསལ་སྤྲུལ་ཐབས་ལོ་རྒྱུ་མེད་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་འཛིན་བ་དཔལ་ཡུལ་དགོན།<sup>33</sup> ལྷ་འགྲུང་ཆེ་བ་

ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩༠ བཞུགས།

ལུ་བཟའི་ཆོས་འགྲུང་། ལྷ་དགོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། བེ་ཅེང་། ༡༩༩༠ ཤོག་གངས་ ༢༥༠-༢༥༩ བར། གཞོག་དགོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
དང་གདན་རབས་བརྗོད་པ།

དཔལ་ལྷན་པ་གཞོག་པའི་གདན་རབས་བརྗོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་པ་བརྗོད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མེད་བཟུ་བུའི་གཏམ་ཞེས་བུ་བཞུགས་སོ།།  
༡༩༤༤ ལོར་མཇུག་རྫོགས་པར་བྱ་བའི་མངས་རྒྱུས་རྫོང་རིན་པོ་ཆེས་ (1913 ལོར་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས་) མཛད་པ། དབུ་མེད་བྱིས་མ་དཔེ་གཟུགས་ཤོག་  
ལྷེ་བ་ ༡༩༣ བཞུགས།

“ཁྱད་པར་བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་རྫོངས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་ལེར་རྫོབས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་སྐྱུར་བ་ལྟེ་དཔེ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མངའ་ཁུལ་འདིར་ནི། ལྷ་འགྲུང་གྱི་བསྟན་  
པ་ཁོ་ན་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ་བས་དགོན་གནས་ཆེ་སྲུང་མང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་བ་གཞོག་པ་དང་། ལུ་བཟའི་རྫོགས་ཆེན་པའི་  
ཐེན་ལས་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ལ་སྟེ་ཡིན་པས། དེའི་རྒྱལ་མདོ་ཅམ་བརྗོད་ལ།” གངས་ཅན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཕྱོན་པའི་གསལ་སྤྲུལ་གསལ་རྫིང་གི་གདན་  
རབས་མདོར་བསྟུས་དོ་མཚན་བརྗོད་པའི་ཆེད་ཞེས་བུ་བཞུགས་སོ།། །འཇམ་དབྱངས་མཁའ་བཟུང་བའི་དབང་པོའི་ (1820-1892) གསུང་འབྲུམ་  
སྲར་སར། བོད་ཆོས་ལ་འབྲས་བུ་སྲུང་ཏོག་རྫོང་སར་སྲུང་སྲུང་ལ། ༡༩༤༠ ཤོག་ལྷེ་བ་ ༡༡ནན-༡༩ན།

འཇམ་གྲིང་ཤེས་རིག་རོ་སྤྱོད། གདན་ས་ཆེན་པོ་གཞོག་པོ་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་། བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༤ ས་སྤྱེལ་རྒྱ་ ༣ ཆེས་  
༩ གྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༤ གྱི་རྒྱ་ ༥ ཆེས་ ༩ རྫོང་གྲིང་བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསལ་ཁང་དུ་དབར། ཤོག་རོས་ ༣

32 རྫོགས་ཆེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་བསམ་གཏན་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུས། ལྷ་འགྲུང་རིག་འཛིན། རྫོང་དུས་དེའ། ལྷིའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་དུག་པ། གྱི་ལོ་  
༡༩༡༣ ལོའི་ལྷ་བཟུ་གཅིག་དང་བཟུ་གཉེས། Lausanne ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩-༣༠

ལྷ་འགྲུང་རྫོགས་ཆེན་ཆོས་འགྲུང་ཆེན་ལོ། (ལྷ་འགྲུང་ལུ་བཟའི་རྒྱལ་བ་ལྷོ་རྫོགས་ཆེན་པའི་གདན་རབས་ཆོས་བརྗོད་དང་བཅས་པའི་རྒྱུད་པ་བརྗོད་  
པའི་གཏམ་ཡིད་བཞིན་དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མེད་བཟུ་བུ་བཞུགས་སོ།། བསྟན་འཛིན་ཀུན་བཟང་ལུང་རྫོགས་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མས་བཟུམས། ལྷ་དང་  
གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། བེ་ཅེང་། ༡༩༠༩ ཤོག་གངས་ ༤༢༤ བཞུགས།

ལྷ་འགྲུང་རྒྱལ་བ་རྫོགས་ཆེན་དགོན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་བརྗོད་པ་ཡོངས་འདུས་ལྷོ་རྫོགས་པའི་སྤྱོད་ཆལ་ཅེས་བུ་བཞུགས་སོ།། །འཕགས་ཡུལ་རྫོགས་ཆེན་ཨོ་  
རྒྱན་བསམ་གཏན་ཆོས་གྲིང་། ཀོ་ལི་རྩལ། ༡༩༠༣ ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩༠ བཞུགས།

མདོ་ཁམས་རྫོགས་ཆེན་དགོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། རྒྱལ་དབང་ཉི་མས་བཟུམས། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༣ ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༣༩ བཞུགས།

ལུ་བཟའི་ཆོས་འགྲུང་། ལྷ་དགོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། བེ་ཅེང་། ༡༩༩༠ ཤོག་གངས་ ༢༥༥-༤༡༢ བར། རྫོགས་ཆེན་ཨོ་རྒྱན་བསམ་  
གཏན་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གདན་རབས།

སྐལ་བཟང་ནས། རྫོགས་ཆེན་དགོན་དང་རྫོགས་ཆེན་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། གངས་དགའ་རི་ལོ། ༡༩༤༥ (༡) དགར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་རིག་ཆལ་མཉམ་  
འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཆོག་ས། སི་ཁྲོན་དར་མདོ། ཤོག་གངས་ ༩༣-༡༤

33 དཔལ་ཡུལ་རྩམ་རྒྱལ་བུ་རྒྱལ་ཆེས་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུས། ལྷ་འགྲུང་རིག་འཛིན། རྫོང་དུས་དེའ། ལྷིའི་འདོན་ཐེངས་ལྷ་ལ། གྱི་ལོ་  
༡༩༡༣ ལོའི་ལྷ་བཟུ་བུ་དང་བཟུ་བུ། Lausanne ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༢-༡༩

དཔལ་ཡུལ་རྩམ་རྒྱལ་བུ་རྒྱལ་ཆེས་གྲིང་། ལུ་པོ་ནས། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༡༩༠༩ ཤོག་གངས་ ༩༡༢ བཞུགས། ཡང་གོང་གསལ་ཤོག་  
གངས་ ༩༡༩ བར། ལྷ་ཁང་མཚོགས་སྐུ་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བཞེས་ལུ་བཟུ་བུ་དཔལ་བཟང་ (1936 ལོར་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས་) ལྷོ་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱལ་དབང་དཔལ་  
ཡུལ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུས་ཡོངས་འདུས་ལྷོ་རྫོགས་བཟང་ལོར་བུའི་དོ་ལལ་ཞེས་པ་ཡོད་ཅེས་གསལ།

ལུ་བཟའི་ཆོས་འགྲུང་། ལྷ་དགོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། བེ་ཅེང་། ༡༩༩༠ ཤོག་གངས་ ༢༥༩-༢༦༥ བར། དཔལ་ཡུལ་བུ་རྒྱལ་གྲིང་  
གི་གདན་རབས།

དཔལ་ཡུལ་ཆོས་འགྲུང་གདན་རབས་རྒྱ་མ་རིམ་ཕྱོན་གྱི་རྩམ་ཐང་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུའི་མེད་བཟུ་བུ་བཞུགས། དག་མགོ་མཚོགས་སྐུ་བུ་བསྟན་

བྱུག་ལྷན་རྒྱུན་མ་བཞེ་ཆེན་དགོན་<sup>34</sup>བཅས་པའི་ཐོག་ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ན་རིམ་གྱི་གདན་སའི་གཙོ་བོ་ཕྱེ་དགོ་དགོན་ཆེན་དཔལ་  
ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྐྱེད་<sup>35</sup>གིས་གཙོས་ས་དགོན་ ༤༦ རྣམས་དགོན་ ༤༦ བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་དགོན་ ༤༥ དགོན་དགོན་ ༩༩ རོན་དགོན་ ༡༤<sup>36</sup>

བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1879–1962) བཀའ་འབྲུག་ བོད་མི། Published by Ven. Pema Norbu Rinpoche, Nyingmapa Monastery, Bylakuppe, 1985 དེའི་ཕོག་གངས་ ༩-༩༨ བར་དང་། དེའི་ཕོག་གངས་ ༩༤-༩༧ བར་རྒྱུག་སངས་རྒྱ་རབས་གསལ།  
ལྷུག་དབང་དཔལ་ལུལ་པའི་གདན་རབས་ངོ་མཚར་ཡོངས་འདུའི་ལྷོ་ལའི་ཐོག་བཞེད་བཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཆོ་རིང་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ ༡༩༩༩ ལོར་མཛད་  
ད། པལ་ཆེར་ ༡༩༩༤ ལོར་བྲུབ་དབང་བདེ་ལོ་ལོ་ཆེས་རྒྱ་གར་རྩོམ་སྐྱོད་ལྷོ་ཀོ་བོ་ཏུགས་པ་ལྷན་དཔལ་བཞེད་ཕོག་གྲུབ་ ༤༦ བཞུགས།  
*A Garland of Immortal Wish fulfilling Trees, The Palyul Tradition of Nyingmapa*, by Ven. Tsering Lama Jampal Zangpo, translated by Sangye Khandro, Snow Lion Publications, Ithaca, New York, 1988, 187 pages.

འཛམ་གླིང་གེས་རིག་དོ་སྐྱོད། དཔལ་ལུལ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་བྱུང་རྒྱུད་ལྷོ་ལའི་རྒྱུས། བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༩༠༥༥ ལ་སྐྱེལ་རྒྱ་ ༩ ཆོས་ ༡༦ ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༡༩༦༤  
ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༥ ཆོས་ ༡༩ རོན་གླིང་བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསར་ཁང་དུ་དབུ་བཞུགས་སོ།

34 ཞེ་ཆེན་བསྐྱབས་གཉིས་དར་རྒྱས་གླིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུན། ལྷ་ལྷུང་རིག་འཛིན། རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་དུས་དེའི་སྤྱི་ལོ་འདོན་ཐེངས་བདུན་པ། ལྷོ་ལོ་  
༩༠༡༩ ལོའི་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་དང་བོད་གཉིས་པ། Lausanne ཕོག་གངས་ ༩༡-༩༨

35 ཕྱེ་དགོ་དགོན་ཆེན་དགོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ།། (ས་སྐྱོང་ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་མོ་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གདན་ས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྐྱེད་གི་ཆོས་གྲུ་  
ཆེན་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐལ་ལྷན་དབྱེས་པའི་འཛམ་གླིང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།) མཁན་པོ་སྐལ་ལྷན་ཆེ་རིང་གིས་ ༩༠༠༡ ལོར་མཛད་དུ་དེབ་  
གཞུགས་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་ ཕོག་གངས་ ༩༤ བཞུགས།

རྩོ་ཆེ་རིང་། ཕྱེ་དགོ་དགོན་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྐྱེད་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། ཆོས་དུང་དཀར་པོ། ས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཆོས་རིག་དུས་དེའི་ Gongkar Choede Monastery,  
Dehra Dun ༩༠༠༤ ལྷོ་ལོ་འདོན་ཐེངས་ ༥ ཕོག་གངས་ ༦༠-༦༤

ཀམ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ས་དགོན་ཉིང་ལྷོའི་མ་དགོན་ལྷ་བུ་མདོ་ཁམས་ཕྱེ་དགོ་དགོན་ཆེན་དགོན་པའི་བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཅན་བཛོད་ད། བོད་ལྷོངས་ཞེས་  
འབྲུག་ ༡༩༩༤ (༩) གཙོ་གཉེར་ལས་ཁུངས་ལོ་དེའི་ལྷོངས་སྤྱི་ཆོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་། ལྷ་ས། ཕོག་གངས་ ༡༩༩-༡༩༠  
“བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་ལྷོངས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ལེ་པལ་མོ་ཆེར་བསོད་ནམས་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་འཕྲོད་ལོས་སྐྱུར་བ། ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གདན་ས་དཔལ་  
ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྐྱེད་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་མེ་ཏོག་རྒྱུགས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ན་དཔལ་འཛོལ་བའི་ཉིང་ལྷོ།” གངས་ཅན་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷུང་བུ་བྱོན་པའི་གསང་གྲགས་  
གསར་རྒྱུད་གི་གདན་རབས་མདོར་བསྟུན་ངོ་མཚར་བསྐྱོད་དགའ་ཚལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འཛམ་དབྱུངས་མཁའ་བརྒྱུད་བརྗེད་དབང་པོའི་ (1820–  
1892) གསུང་འབྲུག་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེད་ བོད་ཆོ་བ། འབྲུག་ལྷོངས། ལྷན་ཏོག་རྫོང་སར་རྒྱ་བྱང་སྐྱེད་པ། ༡༩༩༠ ཕོག་གྲུབ་ ༤༩བཅུ་-༤༩བཅུ་

འཛམ་གླིང་གེས་རིག་དོ་སྐྱོད། ཕྱེ་དགོ་དགོན་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྐྱེད་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་། བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༩༠༥༥ ལ་སྐྱེལ་རྒྱ་ ༩ ཆོས་ ༡༩  
ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༡༩༦༤ ལྷོ་ལོ་ ༤ ཆོས་ ༡༡ རོན་གླིང་བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསར་ཁང་དུ་དབུ་བཞུགས་སོ།

སྤྱི་རབས་ཤེས་བྱ། བོད་མདོ་ཁམས་ཕྱེ་དགོའི་མངའ་ལུལ་གྱི་གསར་སྐྱེད་གསལ་བསྐྱེད་དགོན་ཆེན་ལྷན་གྲུབ་སྐྱེད་གི་གདན་རབས་ བོད་  
མིའི་རང་དབང་། Tibetan Freedom ལོ་ ༡ ཡང་ ༡༩༧ བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༩༠༥༤ ལོ་དེའི་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༦ ཆོས་ ༩༩ 19/8/1965 བོད་ལྷོངས་མི་མངའ་རང་  
དབང་གསར་ཤོག་ །བར་འབྲེམས་ཕྱེད་པོ་བཀའ་བྱོ་རྩོ་ཆེ་གླིང་། ཕོག་གངས་ ༩ ལྷོངས་ ༩ ཆོས་ 29/8/1965 འདོན་ཐེངས་བར་གཤིགས་འཚལ།

36 ཕྱེ་དགོ་རྫོང་དགོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། *Temple Records of Dege County* ཕྱེ་དགོ་རྫོང་དགོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆོས་སྐྱོག་ལྷོ་ལོ་རྒྱུན་ཆོགས།  
མིང་གོས་ཕྱེ་དགོ་རྫོང་ལྷོ་ལོ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། མི་རིགས་དཔལ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༩༠༡༡ ཕོག་གངས་ 2+2+2+3+2+3+611+2+3 བཞུགས།  
ཕྱེ་དགོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་རྒྱུད་དཔལ་པའི་མེ་ལོང་། ལུབ་བསྐྱབས་སྐྱེད་ཆོགས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དབྱུང་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བདམས་  
བསྐྱོགས། འདོན་ཐེངས་ ༩༩ ལ། བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྷོངས་མིང་གོས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་སྐོབ་སྐྱོང་ལྷོ་ལོ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། བོད་ལྷོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔལ་  
སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༩༠༡༠ ཕོག་གངས་ ༡༦༥-༡༧༠

རང་ལུལ་ཕྱེ་དགོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུན་ཅན་སྐོབ་སྐྱོང་། ལུག་ལག་ཁོང་གི་བོད་མི་ཞིག་གི་མི་ཆེ། ཤིང་ལ་ལྷན་གྲུབ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ (1939 ལོར་སྐྱེ་





ཕྱི་དགོན་མགོ་ ༣<sup>38</sup> མཐུན་འཁོར་ ༧༣ དཔོན་སྐུ་ ༧ རྟོར་འབྲུ་ ༤༧ རོང་ཕྱེ་རྫོང་ཁག་ ༣༣ བྱང་ཕྱེ་འབྲོག་པ་རྩ་ཚུ་  
ཁའི་དཔོན་འགོ་ ༣༧ ཡིད་ལྷུང་སྤྱོད་སྤྱེ།<sup>39</sup> ཁྲིམ་ཐང་ཤོག་ཚེན་ ༧ ལྷོ་ཕྱེ་འབྲོག་ཁག་ ༧ ལུ་བ་ཕྱེ་སེ་ཚ། སོག་ཏུ། བསམ་མ་

ཕྱི་དགོན་མངའ་ཞབས་རྟོར་ཨ་མ་ཐུབ་དཔོན་ཚང་དང་དེའི་སློབ་ཚེན་ནམ་བུ་དཔོན་བཞེསྤེ། ལ་དཀར་ཚང། ཐུག་སྐྱུགས་ཚང། གང་ཚོག་ཚང། རྟག་སོ་ཚང།  
སོགས་གང་ལྟར་ཡང་སྤྱོད་རོང་བ་ཚང་དང་སྤྱི་ཚང་ཤོག་བཞེསྤེ་དགོན་ཚབ་འབངས་ནས་ཁག་གིས་འདུག་ལགས། བཀའ་བློན་ཁི་ཐུང་ཕྱི་དགོན་འདུ་ཚེན་ཐུབ་  
བསྟན་ནམ་བུ་གི་སྐྱེ་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བཀའ་བློན་ཁི་ཐུང་ཕྱི་དགོན་འདུ་ཚེན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ནམ་བུ་ལ་ (1930-2011) གྱིས་བཅུམས། དེབ་གསུམ་པ། ༢༠༡༧  
Juchentsang White House, Chauntra ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༢༥ ༣ ལ་འད་གཞིགས་འཚེལ།

རྩི་རྩི་འཚང་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབང་པོ། མཚོ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱལ་མཁའ་བཞེན་བཅེའི་གཉེར་ཚེན། བཟུང་གར་དབང་སློབ་ལྟེ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཏེ་མཁས་གྲུབ་  
རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཙོ་མཚོ་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་དུལ་སྤྱི་ལོས་བཞེན་ (བཞེན་) པའི་བུ་ཀྱའི་དགོ་སློང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཚོས་དབལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དབལ་བཟང་པོས་  
(ཉེ་རྟོར་ལེ་རིའི་གྲུང་ལུང་དགོན་གྱི་འབབ་ཕུག་ ཀྱུ་ལུང་ལོར་བྱ་ སྐུལ་སྐྱེ་ཚོས་དབལ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཞབས་ཡིན་ནས་སྐུམ། ལིང་མོ་བྱ་ ༡༩༤༤ ལོར་  
མཚན་པའི་ལུས་རྒྱས་པ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་སྤྱེགས་བམ་རྣམས་པར་སྤེལ་བའི་ཕྱི་མོར་བསྟན་པའི་ཚུལ་ལོ་མཚན་གཏམ་གྱི་སྤྱིང་བྱ། (ལ་དཀར་ཚང་གི་འབྲུམ་  
གྱི་དཀར་ཚལ་ ?) ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ (Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the library of Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, Series  
1, New Delhi, p.418:5) ཤོག་ལྡེབ་ ༢༤ན། ལས། “དེ་ལས་བྱེ་བྲག་གི་ལུལ་འདི་ནི་རྟོར་སེ་ཚེན་གན་གྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ལས་བྱོན་པའི་རྒྱལ་  
རབས་རིམ་བས་དབང་མཚན་ཅིང། འགོ་མགོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འབགས་བས་ཞབས་བཀའ་ལིས་ཀྱི་རི་མོ་རྣམས་པར་གོང་ནས་ལུལ་ཡོན་ཉན་གྱི་སྤྱོད་  
པོ་ཅན་དུ་བསྟན་པའི་མངོན་རྟགས་སུ་འབྲས་སུ་ལུའི་ཚང་བུས་ལུ་ཅམ་དུ་བབ་པས་རྟོར་འབྲས་ཤོད་ཅེས་མངོ་སྤྱད་ཤོད་ཚེན་བཞེའི་ཡ་གྲུལ། ཚུ་  
བོ་ཚེན་པོ་བཞེ་ལས་འདྲི་དང་རྒྱ་ལྷུང་གཡམ་གཡོན་ནས་འབབ་པའི་བར་སྤྱང་དུག་གི་ནང་ཚན་འདྲི་རྒྱ་ཐལ་མོ་སྤྱང་གི་སའི་ཚ། སྤང་མི་ལམ་མགོན་  
པོ་དང་རྩི་དུས་གསུམ་མཁའའི་བ་དང། དབང་སྐྱུག་རྩི་རྩི་སོགས་གྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དུ་མས་སྤྱིང་བ་ཉེ་བར་བཟུང་ཞིང། གཞན་ཡང་ལོ་ཚེན་པོ་རོ་རྩ་  
ན། བྱང་སེམས་རྒྱ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚོན། དགོ་བཤེས་ཤར་བ། སྐུན་སྤེ་བ། མཁའ་ཚེན་བྱང་ཚུབ་རྒྱ་མ་སོགས་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུས་པོ་དུ་མ་ལེབས་ཏེ། རི་སྐུལ་  
ལས་ཚེར་བསྐྱུབ་སྤེས་བཀའ་ནས་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྣམས་གཉིས་བརྟེས་པའི་གང་ཟག་མཐའ་ཡས་པ་བྱུང། ད་ལྟོ་འདྲུམ་བུ་ལོར་ཁ་བཞེན་པོའི་ཕྱིན་ལས་  
གྱི་འདུག་པ་ཤར་བའི་དགོན་སྤེ་ཚེ་ཁག་བཅུ་གསུམ་དང། ས་རྩིང་ཀར་སོགས་ཀྱི་དགོན་སྤེ་དུ་མ་རྣམས་སུ་སྐྱུག་སྤངས་ (གསུང་) ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་  
ཁྱད་འབགས། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་སྤེ་རྩི་ཐུག་ཏུ་ཉེ་བ་དང་ལུང་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཤའ་དབྱེས་ཀྱིས་སྤོང་ཞིང་མཁས་དང་གྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཡང་དུ་  
མ་བྱོན་དང་བཞུགས་བཞེན་པའོ། །ལུལ་དང་སྤེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་མ་གཞི་ཁ་རྒྱ་ཚེ། ས་སྤྱད་བཟང་རྒྱ་འཛོམས། མཐའ་བཞེའི་རོང་སྐུ་མང། རྒྱ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོང་  
འདུས་ཚེ། ཐུག་པོས་སྤོངས་སྤྱེ། མེད་པོས་བཅའ་སྤྱེ། ཉེ་ཚོང་གིས་བསྐྱུབ་སྤྱེ། མཚོན་པ་དང་སྤྱིན་པ་སོགས་རྒྱ་ཚེར་བའི་དཔེ་འདྲུམ་གྱི་རོལ་  
ལས་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས་ཤིང་བྱིན་གྱིས་བརྒྱབས་པའི་སྐུབ་གནས་གྲག་རི་ལུལ་མཁར་གྱི་ཉེ་ཞོལ་ས་སྤོང་སྤེ་དགོན་མངའ་འབངས་སུ་གཏོགས་  
པ་རྒྱལ་རི་ཁྱེད་ཚེན་ཕྱིང་བ་ལྟ་བུ། མཐུན་རི་སྤྱོད་ཚེན་ཉལ་བ་ལྟ་བུ། ཤར་ནས་ཁྱེད་ལོར་གྱི་ཡོ་བྱང་འདུ་བའི་ལམ་སྤོལ་དོད་པ། ལྷོ་ནས་གསེར་ལྷན་  
གྱི་རྒྱན་གསུམ་འཕྲུག་འཕྲེལ་བའི་ཚུལ་དུ་འབབ་པ། སྤེས་པ་དང་བྱང་མེད་དང། ཁྱེ་ལུང་དང། ལུ་མོ་དང། བཟན་དང། ཟམ་དང། འབྲུད་དང། གོས་དང་  
དང། ཉན་དང། བ་ལང་དང། རིན་པོ་ཚེ་སོགས་འཕྲོར་པའི་གོང་པ་དུ་མས་བརྒྱན་པའི་ཕྱིང་གི་དབྲུས་ན།” ཞེས་གསལ་བ་ལས་མཁའ་ལྷན་ལུ་སོ།

38 རྩི་རྩི་སྐུ་སོག་མོ་དཔོན་དང། རྟག་གཤེས་སེ་ཚང་དཔོན། བསམ་འབྲུབ་གཞུང་བསམ་སོག་དཔོན།

39 ཡིད་ལྷུང་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་རབས་བརྒྱ་དཀར་པོའི་ཕྱིང་བ། རྒྱ་ཚོས་ 11/17/13 ཚོམ་པ་པོ། ར་ལུལ་འཕྱུར་མེད་བསྟན་འཛིན། ཕྱི་དགོན་པ།  
༡༣/༡༠/༢༠༡༧ ཉེན་བཟོ་བསྐྱུགས་བྱས།

རྩི་སྐྱུག་ཚེ་རིང་འཇུར་མེད། ཕྱི་དགོན་ཡིད་ལྷུང་སྐུ་མཚོའི་སྐུབ་གནས་ཁྱེད་པར་ཅན་གྱི་གཏམ་ཐོས་པ་དོན་ལྡན། དུང་རི། ༢༠༠༠ (༡) སི་ཁྲིན་མི་  
རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༧༩-༧༩

ཚོང་བར་ནས་ཕྱིས། ཕྱི་དགོན་ཡིད་ལྷུང་སྐུ་མཚོ། གངས་དཀར་རིའོ། ༡༩༤༧ (༢) དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་རིག་ཚལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས། སི་  
ཁྲིན་དར་མཛོ། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༤༧-༤༩

ལྷུ་བ་གཞུང་། བར་གི་སྒྲིབ་བཅའ་དགོན་ཁག་བཅས་ཡོད་པ་བྱེད་གདན་དུ་བཏིངས། གནམ་བྱེད་སྒྲིབ་ཤོན་པའི་ས་སྐྱོང་གཡེར་གྲགས་ཅན་པའི་བར་བྱོན་པར་གདའ་ལོ།

སྡེ་དགའི་ས་འབྲེལ་ཁམས་ཁུལ་གྱི་གཏམ་དཔེར་ཡང་། “ས་ཡུལ་སྡེ་དགའི་ཡིན་ན་ཆེ་རྒྱ་དང་། ཉལ་ས་ལྷ་ཁང་ཡིན་ན་རྫོ་མེད།”<sup>40</sup> ཅེས་བཤད་སྲོལ་བྱུང་འདུག །འདི་ནི་སྡེ་དགའི་མངའ་རིས་ཞིང་ཁམས་ལ་འཁང་རའི་གཏམ་ཅམ་དུ་ཟད།

གཉིས་པ་སྡེ་དགའི་སྐྱེད་དོས་སྡེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་རང་ལུགས་བརྗོད་པའི། སྡེ་དགའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྐོ་གོས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1722–1774) ༡༧༥༠ ལོར་རོང་མཁའ་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྷན་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ (1702–1758) མཚོག་ལ་སྐུལ་བས་འབྲུལ་ཐོལ་ས། “དེ་ཡང་མཚོད་ཡོན་རྟོན་རྟེན་པར་རྟེན་བཤད་གསལ་བ་ལུ་མ་དགོས་ཀྱང་། གཞན་དག་དང་བ་འབྲེན་པའི་བྱིར་དུ་ཞར་བྱུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཅུང་ཟད་ཅམ་ལུ་ལྷ་ལྷུ་མེད་བྱ་རམ་ཤིང་པའི་གདུལ་ཞིང་མི་མཛེད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཅེས་སྤིང་བཞི་པའི་བདག་ཉིད་ཅན་གྱི་སྐོ་རོས། ཤིང་རྫོགས་ཤིག་ལེ་སྐྱེད་ལས་འཛམ་བུ་སྤིང་ཞེས་བོད་ (འབོད་) པའི་བྱེ་བྲག །རྒྱལ་བ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ལུང་བསྐྱེད་པ་བཞིན་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་སྐོངས་ལས་བོད་དང་བོད་ཆེན་པོར་གྲགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདྲིར་སྐྱེ་དགུ་མ་ལུས་པ་དེས་ལེགས་ཀྱི་ལས་དུ་འགོད་བྱིར་རྒྱལ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་རོལ་གར་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་པས་སྐུལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྐོན་དང་ལོ་པཎ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བཟུང་ནས། མཐའ་འཁོབ་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐོན་མེ་སྤར་ཉེ་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉེ་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན་མཛད་པ་ནས་བཟུང་། རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་འཇིན་སྐོང་སྡེ་ལ་གསུམ་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱེས་ཆེན་དམ་པ་དག་གྲུབ་མཐའ་རིས་སུ་མ་ཆད་པར་བྱོན་པ་ལ་སྐྱེག་ལགས་གང་། དེ་དག་གྲུབ་ལས་ཆེས་ཁྲུང་པར་དུ་མའི་སྐོན་ལས་ལགས་པ། བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བདག་པོ་གཅིག་ལུང་གྱུར་ཅིང་མཁའ་རབ་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་དང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་རྒྱུད་དུག་མཚོག་གཉིས་ལ་འབྲན་པར་གྱུར་པ། མཚོན་ནས་བརྗོད་པར་དགའ་བ་དཔལ་ས་སྐུ་བ་ཞེས་ཉེ་མ་དང་རྒྱ་བ་ལྷར་གྲགས་ཤིང་། ཞབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་སྐྱེས་དམར་པའི་མདངས་ཅན་ས་གསུམ་ཆེ་དགུ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཞུག་ཏུར་གྱི་ཅེ་མོར་མཛོན་པར་བཀོད་པ་མཚོན་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་གདུགས་དགའ་པོ་སྤིང་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཅེ་མོར་འཁོར་བ། ཁམས་གསུམ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བོ་དཔལ་ས་སྐུ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཚོས་རྗེ་པའི་ཉ་ལྷ་དཔོན་རྣམས་མ་རྩ་ཅི་ནའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐོན་མེ་སྤར་ཉེ། བོང་མ་གོ་དན་སེ་ཆེན་གན་གྱི་སྤིང་མཚོད་གནས་སུ་སྐྱེན་པར་ས་ལྷུང་པའི་སྐྱབས་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་དེད་ཀྱི་ཡབ་མེས་གོང་མའི་རིང་ནས་ཞབས་ཏུ་གདངས་མི་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པ་ལ་སྐྱེག་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་གང་ཞེན། བོད་མི་འབྲུག་དུག་ཏུ་གྲགས་པའི་རུས་ལ་མ་གཏོགས། རྫོང་བཅའ་སྐོ་རིགས་ལྷ་སྡེ་དགའ་པོ་ལས་ཆད་པའི་རྩ་ཆེན་བརྒྱ་ཚོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། ཚོ་ཡན་གཉིས་དང་ཉེ་ལྷན་གྲགས་པའི་ནང་ནས། རོག་མའི་མཚོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་འགར་དམ་པ་ཚོས་སྤིངས་པ་ཞེས་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ལྷ་རྩ་དེ་མའི་རྣམ་འབྲུལ་དུ་གྲགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་། འགར་ཆེན་ལེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོའི་སྐུ་ས། ས་དམར་དཔོན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་ཡུལ་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ལྷ་དཔོན་གྱི་གསོལ་དཔོན་གྱི་ལས་ཀ་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ནང་འཁོར་དུ་བྱུང་བ། ཕྱིས་སུ་ཡགོང་མ་སེ་ཆེན་གན་འཁོར་བཅས་འགོ་མགོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འབྲུག་པ་སྐོ་གོས་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་དཔལ་བཟང་

40 ལག་རྒྱུའི་དམངས་ཚིང་གཏམ་དཔེ། བོད་སྐོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༣ ལོག་གངས་ ༦-༣ བར་ “ཉལ་ས་ལྷ་ཁང་ཡིན་ན་རྫོ་མེད་མེད། ས་ཡུལ་སྡེ་དགའི་ཡིན་ན་ཆེ་བྱེད་མེད།” ཅེས་གསལ།

པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གཤམ་བྱུང་གྱུར་ཏེ་གསང་ཆེན་རྫོང་ཆེ་མེད་པའི་དགྲིལ་ལའོར་དུ་མངོན་པར་དབང་བསྐྱར་ནས་སློབ་བྲོའི་གྱི་ལམ་ལ་  
 བཀོད། དེའི་དུས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀྱང་ལུས་ལོངས་སྡོད་བདོག་པའི་དངོས་པོ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལུས་པའི་འབྲུལ་ཆེན་ལན་གསུམ་ལ་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕྱི་མ་བོད་ཆོལ་ཁ་བཅུ་གསུམ། (གསུམ་) རྒྱའི་མི་ཡུར་ཆེན་མོ་དང་བཅས་ལུས་པའི་སྐབས་དེར། བརྒྱ་དཔོན་སྟོང་  
 དཔོན་སོ་སོར་བསྐོས་འཇགས་གནང་བའི་ཆོ། མཚོད་ཡོན་གཉི་གས་ཐུགས་ལ་བཏགས་ནས། ས་དམར་དཔོན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་  
 རིན་ཆེན་ས་དམར་ཡང་དགོན་དུ་འཚོགས་པ་སྟོང་ཟླ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་འཇུག་པའི་བྱ་བ་མང་དུ། དཔོན་སྟོང་དཔོན་རྒྱ་བ་བཟང་  
 པོ་ལ་སྟག་མགོ་ཉོར་བུ་གསུམ་ལ། ཤེལ་ཐམ་ལེ་ཆེ་དགུ་པའི་འཇུག་ས་བཅས་གནང་ནས་རྒྱ་པའི་སྟོང་དཔོན་དུ་བསྐོས། དེའི་  
 དཔོན་རྒྱུད་ལས་བདེ་ཆེན་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་པོ་ལ་དམ་བ་མང་པོས་ལུང་བསྐྱར་ནས་མངོན་འཇགས་ཀྱི་ས་པལ་ཆེར་རིམ་པར་  
 བདག་གིར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཆོས་ལོར་འདོད་ཐར་ཏེ་སྡེ་བཞི་དང་དགོ་བཅུ་ཆང་བའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཐ་སྟོད་དམ། བསོད་ནམས་ལས་རང་  
 བྱལ་ཏེ་ (སྡེ་) སྡེ་དགོ་ཞེས་པའི་གྲགས་པ་ཐོབ། དེའི་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་བྱལ་ཐོབ་དཔལ་ལྡན་སེང་གོས་བྱལ་པའི་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཐང་སྟོང་  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་གདན་འདྲུས་ཏེ་མཚོད་ཡོན་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་སྟོར་དང་འགྲིགས་སུ་གྱུར་ནས། བྱལ་ཐོབ་ཆེན་པོས་རྒྱ་འབྲུལ་གྱིས་མཚོ་  
 བསྐྱབས་ཏེ་སྡེ་བ་དགོན་དུ་གཙུག་ལག་གི་གཞི་བཏོང་ནས་རྩུབ་བྱལ་སྟོང་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་དང། དཔལ་ལྡན་སེང་གོ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་  
 ཉིན་རིང་གཙུག་ལག་བཏབ་སྟེ་ཉིན་དགོན་དུ་གྲགས་པ་བྱུང་ཞིང། དེའི་དཔོན་མཚོག་ཀྱན་དགའ་རིན་ཆེན་གྱིས་ས་སྐུའི་བསྟན་  
 འཛིན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་མཚོག་ཏུ་གྱུར་པ་དོར་ཨེ་མི་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་རིམ་མེད་པ་འཛིན་ཏེ། རོར་ཨེ་མི་གཙུག་ལག་གི་ཚང་  
 ཀྱིས་སྤྲུལ་བཏབ་སྟེ་སྡེ་དགོ་ལྷ་ཁང་པ་ཞེས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་གྲགས་པ་དང། སྡེ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་གསུང་བདག་གི་སྐྱེལ་པ་ས་སྟོང་ལྷ་མ་  
 བུམས་པ་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་ས་སྐུའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཆེན་མོའི་ཚང་གིས་སྤྲུལ་བཞེངས་ཏེ་དགོ་འབྲུན་གྱི་སྡེ་དང་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་  
 བཏབ། རིམ་མེད་བསྟན་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བདག་པོ་ལྷ་བྱུང་གྱུར་པས་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མས་མ་ཁྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱེ་འགྲོ་རྒྱ་ཚོད་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་རྟོག་དུ་གྲུས་སུ་འཇུག་པ་བཞིན་དགོ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བསོད་ལྷ་ནས་ལྷར་རྗེ་ཆེར་མཐོ་བ་དེར་  
 སོང་ (སང་) དངོས་ཅག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་བྱུང་བ་འདི་ཉིད་དོན་ལ་མཚོག་གསུམ་སྟེ་དང་བྲེ་བཀའ་དཔལ་ལྡན་ས་དོར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་  
 ཐུགས་རྗེ་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ཞིང། དེ་ཡིན་ནས་ཡིན་བཞིན་ཐུག་ཅག་གི་སྤྲུང་བས་དཔོན་རབས་པོང་མ་ནས་བཟུང་ད་ལྟའི་བར་  
 དུ་ས་དོར་གྱི་བསྟན་པའི་སྐྱིན་བདག་ཏུ་གྱུར་བས་དམ་ཚོག་ལ་སེལ་མ་ཞུགས་ཤིང། གསེར་དུལ་གྱི་རང་མདོག་མ་འགྱུར་  
 བས། དཔལ་ཨེ་མི་སྐབས་བསྟན་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཆེན་པོར། རྫོང་འཆང་ཆེན་པོའི་བཞུགས་ཁྲི་བརྒྱ་རྒྱ་གཞི་མངས་ཅན་གྱི་བ་  
 གས་དུ་མངོན་པར་མངའ་གསོལ་བའི་རྣམ་འབྲེན་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ལྟོངས་འདིའི་སྐབས་མགོན་དུ་རིམ་པར་མེབས་པ་དག་སྐྱེ་རྒྱ་  
 གཅིག་ལས་གཅིག་ཆེ་ཁོན་ལགས།<sup>41</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

གསུམ་པ་སྡེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་མངའ་ཐང་དང་འབེལ་སྟོར་གཞན་སྡེ་མི་འབྲུ་སྟོས་ཚུལ་ལ། ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྲེན་པ་ལྷ་བ་ཆེན་པོས་མཇུག་པའི་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སྟོན་འཕམ་བྲེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་ལས། “མི་ལུག” (1667) ལྟོ་འབྲུག་

41 གངས་མེད་ཆེ་རབས་དུས་ནས་དཀར་ནག་སྐྱགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱི་ས་པོན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཅིར་སྐྱང་འཁྲུལ་བའི་བག་ཆགས་ཨར་འཐས་སུ་རང་  
 གིས་རིམ་ལྟོང་བའི་རྟོགས་པ་བཟོད་པ་སྤྲུལ་སྟོན་པ་སྐྱག་པོའི་འཁྲི་ཕིང་ཞེས་བྲལ་པ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པམ་གཉིས་པ་བཞུགས། The Sungrab  
 Nyamso Gyunpel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community, Tashijong, 1975 ལོག་གངས་ 366-367

པའི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁུར་ལེན་པ་མངོན་སྲིད་ལ། བད་མོན་གསོལ་དཔོན་པད་དཀར་རབ་རྒྱལ། མོས་དབང་བྱང་ཆེན་ལྷེ་ལེབ་སོགས་  
འགའ་འགས་དང་། ཁམས་བདེ་དགའི་སྐྱོ་དཔོན་ལུག་ཚོགས་རྣམས་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་རོལ་གྱི་ལྷ་དམོར་སོང་བའི་ཆེ། ལྷ་མ་ཡི་  
དལ། ཚོས་སྤངས་རྣམས་ལ་གཏོར་མའི་རི་པོ། ལྷན་རག་གི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སོགས་མཚོད་པའི་བྲེ་བྲག་གྲོལ་པ་དང་བཅས་  
གཏང་རག་གི་ཐོག་ལུལ་བའི་སྤྲོད་དང་ཞལ་བྱང་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་དར་ཆེན།<sup>42</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་སྐྱེ་བྱུག་པ་སློབ་ཐང་རིན་ཆེན་ཚངས་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ (1683-1706)

རྣམ་ཐར་རབ་གསལ་ལ་གསེར་གྱི་སྒྲེ་མ་ལས། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༦༨༤ ལོར་ “དཔལ་འབད། ལྷ་ཅེ་དགོན། དཀར་མདའ། དེས་མེད་  
དགོན་བཟུ། མིང་བྲག་བཅན། རག་སྐྱོར་དགོན། སྤེར་ཁེ་ (སྤེ་དགེ) བཅས་པའི་རྒྱ་མ།<sup>43</sup> གཉེར་པ། རོ་ཚབ་དང་། ཀ་བཞི་  
རོ་གཤོག། རྣམ་ཐར་རྫོང་པའི་ལེགས་འབྲུལ་བའི་མི་སྣ།<sup>44</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

ཆབ་མདོ་རྫོང་རྫོང་སྐྱེ་བའི་དབང་སློབ་ཐང་ (1719-1805) གིས་མཛད་པའི་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱི་ན་བདག་བྱུང་ཚུལ་གྱི་  
མིང་གི་གྲངས་བཞུགས་སོ། ཞེས་པ་ལས། འཕྲོ་མགོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་འཕགས་པ་ “ཡར་བོད་དུ་མེབས་སྐབས་སུ་མདོ་ཁམས་  
བརྒྱུད་དེ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྤེ་རྣམས་ཅེས་བཞེས་མཛད་ཅིང་། བརྒྱ་དཔོན་དང་སྟོང་དཔོན། ཁྲི་དཔོན་སོགས་བསྟོན། ཆེབས་ཁ་པ་  
བྱ་ཚུང་ལུས་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་སྤེ་དུས་ཞིག་གི་ནི་པས་ད་ལྟ་ཁམས་སྤེ་དགེར་གྲགས།<sup>45</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

ཨ་མདོ་ཚོང་ལ་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་བཅན་པོ་ལོ་མོན་ཉན་སྐྱེ་བའི་བཞེ་བ་བསྟན་འཛིན་འཕྲིན་ལས་ (1789-1836) གིས་

༡༩༣༠ ལོར་མཛད་པའི་འཛུལ་སྤྲིང་རྒྱས་བཤད་ལས། “སྟོ་ཆབ་མདོ་དང་བྲག་གཡལ་འབྲུལ་སོགས་ནས་བྱང་དུ་སྤེ་དགེ་

42 སྐྱེ་གསུང་སྐབས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚོད་རྣམས་དང་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ལུང་དེབ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱངས་  
སྤེ་བཞེས་སྐོ་འཕར་བྲེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་གི་སྤྲེགས་བམ་གསུམ་པ་བཞུགས། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལུ་པའི་གསུང་འབྲུལ་པོད་ཚེས། འབྲས་སྤངས་དགའ་ལྡན་  
རོ་བྱང་སྐར་མ། འོག་སྤེབ། ཀ་ ༡༠༩ན།

དགའ་དབང་སློབ་ཐང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར། (མ་རྟོར་གྱི་བན་དེ་དགའ་དབང་སློབ་ཐང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འདི་སྤང་འབྲུལ་པའི་རོལ་ཅེད་རྟོགས་བཞོད་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་  
བཞོད་པ་དུ་ཀུ་ལའི་གོས་བཟང་ལས་སྤྲེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ་བཞུགས།) དགའ་དབང་སློབ་ཐང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བཅུམས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྟེན་  
ཁང་། ༡༩༩༡ འོག་གྲངས་ ༥༠ ལས། ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༥ རྟོར་སྐྱབ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ “ཆེས་བཅུ་བཞེ་ལ་འབྲུག་པའི་སྟོན་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་སྟོན་པོ། ཁམས་སྤེ་  
དགའི་སྐྱོ་དཔོན་ལུག་ཚོགས་གཉིས་འཇིག་རྟེན་པ་རོལ་གྱི་ལྷ་དམོར་སོང་བར་ཚོམས་ཆེན་དུ་སྤྲོད་གཞིགས་གཟུལ་རྒྱས་སུ་བཤམས། གསར་དུ་  
དམར་བྲེ་གཤོག་པའི་ཁབ་གོས་གཤམ་མ་རྫོག་བཅས་ལེགས་པ། གཏོར་མའི་རི་པོ། ལྷན་རག་གི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། མཚོད་པ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྟར་  
ཉེ་ཉེན་བཞེས་པར་བན་བདེ་ལེགས་བཤད་སྤྲིང་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཏང་རག་གི་མཚོད་པ་རྒྱས་པར་བྲུལ་ཞིང་སྤྲོད་དང་ལ་ལས་བསྐྱབས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་  
བཅད་བཞོད།” ཅེས་གསལ།

43 སྤེ་དགེ་ཁྲི་ཆེན་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པ་ (1628-1700) ཡིན་ནམ་དབྱང་།

44 ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་སྐྱེ་བྱུག་པ་སློབ་ཐང་རིན་ཆེན་ཚངས་དབྱངས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་མཐུན་མོང་ཕྱི་ལོ་རྣམས་པར་ཐར་པ་དུ་ཀུ་ལའི་འཕྲོ་འབྲུད་རབ་གསལ་  
གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱོ་མ་སྤྲེགས་བམ་དང་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ། །སྤེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་མཛད། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྟེན་ཁང་ནས་པར་དུ་  
བསྐྱབ། ༡༩༩༩ འོག་གྲངས་ ༥༡༡

45 སློབ་ཐོས་དགའ་དབང་སློབ་ཐང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུལ། གངས་ཅན་རིག་མཛད། ༡༡ སྤྲེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཔེ་སྟེན་  
ཁང་། ༡༩༩༡ འོག་གྲངས་ ༩༩༩

ཟེར་བའི་དཔོན་ཁག་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་དཔོན་ཁག་གི་ནང་ནས་ཕྱེ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ཡིན། ཁམས་པ་དག་གིས་བོད་ཁྱིམ་རྒྱུ་  
བཅུ་གསུམ། ཕྱེད་པོ་ལོ་བྲང་བཅུ་གསུམ། རྒྱ་ནག་ཞིང་ཆེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་སོགས་ཟེར། ཕྱེད་པོའི་མངའ་འོག་གི་ཆར་རྩ་  
རྩོགས་ཆེན་དགོན་དང། ཞེ་ཆེན་དགོན་དང། སྤ་ཡུལ་ (དཔལ་ཡུལ་) ཀའོག་པ་དང། སི་ཉུའི་དགོན་ (དཔལ་སྤུངས་)  
དང། ཕྱེད་པོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁོ་རང་གི་དགོན་པ་ས་ཀར་རྩིང་གསུམ་གྱི་དགོན་གནས་མང་པོ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཕྱེད་པོའི་སའི་གཞུང་རང་  
དུ་དགོ་ལུགས་སའི་དགོན་པ་མེད་ཟེར་བ་མོས།<sup>46</sup> ཞེས་གསལ།

ཆོ་བ་དཔལ་ཤོད་རག་ར་ཁྱི་ཆེན་དག་དབང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་(c.1770/71–c.1835/36)ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༣༩ ལོར་མཛད་  
སའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ཤེལ་དཀར་མེ་ལོང་མཁས་སའི་མགུལ་རྒྱན་ལས། “དེར་མི་རིང་བར་ (འགོ་མགོན་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་  
འཕགས་པ་) བོད་སྤོགས་སུ་ཞལ་བསྐྱོད་པར་ལས་ཚན་བཅུ་གསུམ་སོགས་ཆེན་པོའི་བསྐྱེད་པ་གོང་གིས་མཛེས་པའི་  
འཁོར་ཆོགས་དཔག་མེད་དང་བཅས་པ་མདོ་ཁམས་ནས་བཟུང་སྡེ་རྣམས་ཞིབ་བཤེར་ཅིས་བཞེས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་  
སྣོད་དཔོན་ཁྱི་དཔོན་སོགས་བསྐྱོར་བར་མཛད་ཅིང། ཨ་བྲུང་བུ་རྒྱུང་ལུས་བདེ་ཞིག་ལ་ཕྱེ་ཆོ་གཅིག་གཞུང་བས་ཕྱེ་དགོར་  
གྲགས།<sup>47</sup> ཞེས་དང། “སྤེས་གྲགས་ཆེ་བའི་ས་སྐོང་ཕྱེ་སྡེ་ (དགོ) བྱི། འགོ་མགོན་འཕགས་པའི་ཨ་བྲུང་དཔོན་རིགས་  
རྒྱུད་པར་གོང་དུ་བཤད་ (ས་) ལྟར་དེ་བཞིན་ཡིན་ཆོད་ཀྱང། སྤར་དུས་ལེ་རི་དང་སོག་པོ་སོགས་མངའ་ཐང་རྒྱས་སྐབས་  
བག་ལ་ཞ་བའི་རྩལ་གྱིས་མཛོན་མི་ཆེན་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུང་དུ་ལོན་ཕྱི་ལྟེང་པ་པོ་ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཆོ་  
མ་དང། བསྟན་པ་ཆེ་རིང། དེའི་བུ་བསོད་ནམས་མགོན་པོར་གོང་སའི་ལུ་སྤང་མ་བསྐྱུལ་ཞིང། འདི་གཉིས་དུས་སོག་  
ཕྱེ་དུས་འབྲུང་སྐབས་གོང་མ་བདེ་སྤྱིད་ཆེན་པོ་<sup>48</sup> ལས་བྱང་ཕྱེ་སྡེར་ (དགོ) ཅེ་སྣོད་སྤྱད་སྣོད་གྲག་གསུམ་ལྟག་ཅམ་བཀའ་  
བསྟན་སྤར་སོགས་བཞེངས་སའི་སྤར་ (སྤར་) ཡེར་<sup>49</sup> ལ་བསྐྱུལ་ཞིང། གཞན་ཡང་གྲིང་སོགས་སྣོད་བས་ཤད་ (ཤེད་) ཀྱིས་  
ལྷངས་པ་དང་མགོ་འདོག་བྱང་བ་བཅས་སྣོད་བྱང་ཕྱེ་ཁག་མང་ཞིང། རྒྱའི་བྱར་ཉོག་སྣོད་མངས་ (མདོངས་) དཔོན་ས་བཟང་

46 འཛེས་སྤྱིང་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་བཤད་སྣོད་བཅུད་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Calligraphed from ancient manuscript from the library of Burmiok Athing, published by the Chhentse Labrang, Palace Monastery, Gangtok, 1981 ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༠༩

༡༩༣༠ ལོར་བཅོན་པོ་ཉོ་མོན་ཉན་གྱིས་ཁ་བསྐྱོང་མཛད་པ། འཛེས་སྤྱིང་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་བཤད་སྣོད་བཅུད་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Edited from a cursive manuscript from Mongolia by Tashi Tsering, published by Ngawang Sopa, New Delhi, 1980 དེ་ཕྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༣༣

འཛེས་སྤྱིང་རྒྱལ་བཤད། འཛེས་སྤྱིང་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་བཤད་སྣོད་བཅུད་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། བཅོན་པོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱིང་བཞེས་བསྟན་པ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུང་འཕྲིན་ལས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱིས་མཛད། མཚོ་སྔོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང། ༡༩༠༤ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༠༡

47 རྒྱལ་རབས་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ཤེལ་དཀར་མེ་ལོང་མཁས་སའི་མགུལ་རྒྱན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་དེ་བཅེར་ཁག་ལ། གངས་ཚན་རིག་མཛོད། ༤ བོད་རྒྱུང་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྩིང་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུན། ༡༩༤༠ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༣༡༡

48 རྒྱ་ནག་མན་རྒྱའི་གོང་མ་ཁྱི་རབས་གཉིས་པ་བདེ་སྤྱིད་དམ་ཁང་ལེ། (ཁྱི་ལོ་ 1661–1721) ཡིན་ནའང་ཕྱེད་པོའི་བཀའ་བསྟན་སྤར་མ་ ༡༧༩༤– ༡༧༩༩ བར་བཞེངས་སྐབས་མན་རྒྱའི་གོང་མ་ཁྱི་རབས་བཞེས་པ་སྤྱི་རྒྱུང་མཚན་ལུང་ (ཁྱི་ལོ་ 1736–1795) ཡིན་དགོས་འདུག་པ་དབྱུང་འཛེས།

49 སྤ་ཡེར་ཞེས་པ་བྱི། བན་རྩལ་ལས་སོག་པོའི་སྤྱད་དོད་དམ། བཟོས་སྣོད་བདག་རྒྱུན་གྱི་དོན་ནས།

པོའི་གོ་ས་བཅས་སྡེ་དགེ་རྒྱལ་པོར་གྲགས། འདི་པོའི་ཚོ་འབྲང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མི་ཉུ་གོ་ངའ་མའི་བཀའ་འགྲུང་དཀར་ཆག་ན་རྒྱས་  
པ་ཡོད། དེང་སང་ས་དཀར་ (ཀར་) གཉེས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིན་བདག་ཚེན་པོའོ།<sup>50</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

ཉེ་ཤིང་པོའི་ཤུར་ལུང་དགོན་གྱི་འབའ་ཕུག་ཀུ་ལུང་ནོར་བུ་སྤུལ་སྤྱོད་དཔལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ ༡༩༤༥ ལོར་མཛད་པའི་ཡུམ་  
རྒྱས་པ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་སྡེ་གས་བམ་རྣམ་པར་སྡེལ་བའི་ཕྱི་ཚོར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་རོ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་སྤིང་བུ་ (ལ་དཀར་ཚང་གི་འབྲུམ་  
གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ ?) ལས། “དེ་ལ་སྟོང་མངའ་རིས་སྟོར་གསུམ་རྗེ་ལྟ་བུ། བར་དབུས་གཙང་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། སྤྱོད་མཛོད་ལས་  
སྤང་བུ་གཞི་ས་ལྟ་བུར་གྲགས་པ་ལས། ཕྱི་མའི་མའི་ཚར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་དཔོན་གྱི་མཛད་པའི་རྒྱན་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་འབྲུན་ལྡོ་  
བུལ་བའི་མཛོད་ལས་སྡེ་དགེ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་སྟེ། དེ་ཞི་འོད་གསལ་ལྟ་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མགར་ཚོན་རིག་པ་ཅན་གྱི་གཏུང་  
བརྒྱུད་རིམ་པར་སྟོན་པ་ལས་གཏུང་རབས་སོ་བཞེ་བ་བདེ་ཚེན་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་པོ་ལྷགས་ར་བསམ་བློ་རྩེ་ལེབས། དེའི་  
སྤུལ་བཀའ་ཞུས་པའི་གས་སྡེ་དགེ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ། བཞེ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་ཚེན་བུམས་པ་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཉིད་བསོད་ནམས་  
གྱི་ལས་ལྷགས་ཆེས་ཆེར་བདོ་བས་མཛོད་སྤྱད་པལ་ཆེར་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་ཞིང་རིས་མེད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྡེ་མང་པོའི་བདག་པོར་གྱུར་ཉེ་  
གངན་རབས་དང་པོ་མཛད། དེ་ནས་གངན་རབས་བཞེ་བུ་ལྟ་བུ་རོའི་རྣམ་འབྲུལ་ཞི་ཚེན་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དང་། ལྷད་པར་བྱག་  
པ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཆེ་རིང་། བདུན་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་གངས་ཅན་ལྗོངས་ན་བཀའ་འདང་བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་འགྲུང་  
རོ་འཚལ་པལ་ཆེར་སྤར་འཁོད་པ་དང་། སྤྱུག་སྤུང་ཕུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་དང་བརྟེན་པ་དུ་མ་བཞེངས་མཚོགས་གསུམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་བསྐྱེད་  
བཀའ་བ་སོགས་རྒྱལ་བའི་བསྐྱེད་ལ་བདག་སྤྱོད་ལྡོ་མེད་པར་མཛད་ཅིང་། དེང་སང་གཏུང་རབས་ཞེ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་བར་རྒྱལ་ལས་  
ཚོས་ཀྱིས་སྤོངས། རྒྱལ་ཞིམས་ལ་འཕོ་འགྲུར་མེད། བདེན་པ་རང་དབང་དུ་བཏང་། ཉེས་ཅན་ཚང་པས་བསྐྱེད་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་  
འདུ་བའི་སྡེ་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་བཞེན་དགོན་མཚོགས་ལ་ལེ་བས་དད་གུས་དང་བསྐྱེད་བཀའ་མི་དམན། རང་ནོར་ལ་ཕོངས་པ་  
མེད་པས་གཞན་ཚོར་ལ་འཕྲོག་བཅོམ་མེ་བྱེད། སེམས་རྒྱུད་འཇམ་ལ་དུལ་བས་ནང་འབྲུགས་དང་བསལ་དེས་མི་དར་བ་སོགས་ལ་  
རབས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་ཚུལ་དུ་མས་བརྒྱན། མཚོད་གནས་དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཚོང་དང་འཕམ་ཚོང་སོགས་ལ་མི་བརྟོན་པར་རྒྱལ་  
བསྐྱེད་བཤའ་སྤུལ་གྱིས་སྤོངས་བའི་མཐུས་ལའས་པའི་སྤྱེས་བུ་དུ་མ་དང་བཤའ་བའི་བབས་སོ་སྤུལ་པ་ཉམས་ལེན་བྱེད་པའི་གང་  
ཟག་གིས་རི་སྤུལ་གང་ཞིང་དམ་པ་ལྟ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ལུངས་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་པའོ།<sup>51</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

སྤར་འོད་གོ་འཛོར་གང་གོན་མཚོགས་སྤུལ་བུལ་བསྐྱེད་བཤའ་སྤུལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1879–1962) མཛད་པའི་དཔལ་ལྷན་སྤར་  
པ་བཀའ་འགྲུང་གི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྤུལ་རྟེན་ལེབས། འཕེང་མཐོ་བ་དགོན་མཚོགས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (1340–1417) གྱི་ “སྤོབ་མ་གཞན་  
དོན་ལུས་པ་ཡང་། བརྒྱུད་པ་ཐེན་བཞི་རྩ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་རྗེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ཉེ། འདི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་བཅན་ཚོན་པོ་མགར་སྤོང་བཅན་གཡུ་ས་  
(ཡུལ་) བཟུང་ནི་གཏུང་བརྒྱུད་ (རྒྱུད་) མགར་ཡེ་ཤེས་བཟང་པོའི་རིགས་བརྒྱུད་ (རྒྱུད་) ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྡེ་དགེའི་རིགས་ལས་འབྲུངས།

50 རྒྱལ་རབས་ཚོས་འབྲུང་ཤེས་དཀར་མེ་ལོང་མཁས་པའི་མགུལ་རྒྱན་ཞེས་བུ་བ། འོག་གྲངས་ 364

51 འདུགའི་དགེ་སྤོང་བུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཚོས་དཔལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས་མཛད་པའི་ཡུམ་རྒྱས་པ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་སྡེ་གས་བམ་རྣམ་པར་སྡེལ་བའི་ཕྱི་ཚོར་བསྐྱེད་  
པའི་ཚུལ་རོ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་སྤིང་བུ། འོག་ཕྱེབ་ 369 Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa, Series 1, New Delhi, p.417:5.

དཔལ་ཀའོག་གི་བརྟན་སྐོར་ཞུགས་ནས་མདོ་སྐྱེ་སེམས་གསུམ་སོགས་ཞུས། དབུས་སུ་བྱོན་ནས་ཚོས་འབྲེལ་ཐོབ་པའི་སྐྱེ་མ་འཁོར་བཅུ་ཅད་ཀྱི་མདོ་རྒྱུད་མན་དག་གི་བཤའ་བ་སྐྱེ་མ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལས་ཐོབ། ཉམས་ཁྲིད་ཞུས་པའི་སྐྱེ་མ་ལྗེའི་ཞབས་ལ་གཏུགས་ནས་ཟབ་མོའི་ཚོས་ཁྲིད་དཔག་མེད་ཞུས། རྒྱུད་པར་འགྲོ་མགོན་ཤིང་མགོ་བ་དཀོན་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་གྱི་ཅ་ (ཅུ) རིང་མཇལ་བ་ཅམ་གྱིས་རང་དབང་མེད་པར་དད་བ་སྐྱེས། གསུང་རི་རིགས་བ་ཐོས་བ་ཅམ་གྱིས་སྐོས་བྲལ་རྟོགས་བ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཤེད། ལྷུ་མཐའི་ལྷ་སྐོར་སྐྱོད་པའི་ཁས་ལེན་ཞེ་འདོད་ཐམས་ཅད་ནམ་མཁའི་མེ་རྟོག་བཞིན་རྟོགས། གོ་ཡུལ་དང་སྲོང་ཞེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཤུན་རྒྱུན་བ་ལྷང་སོང་ནས་རང་སེམས་སངས་རྒྱལ་སུ་ངེས་པའི་ཐག་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་ཚོད། ལྷམ་སངས་རྒྱལ་སུ་མཚོད། རང་དོན་དུ་དུས་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་སྤེམ་ཐར་རྗེས་ཤེས་ཐང་མ་ཕྱིན་བར་དུ་སྤ་བ་ཡང་སྤའི་གཤམ་ཚུལ་གྱི་གཅུན་ཐབས་རྣམས་ཞིབ་རྒྱས་སུ་གསུངས། གཞན་དོན་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བསྐྱེགས་ཐབས་ཞལ་ལྷ་ (ཉ) མང་དུ་མཇུང། ཁོ་ལོ་དང་སྲོད་རི་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་བར་སྐྱད་ཅིག་ཅམ་ཡང་འབྲལ་བ་མེད་གསུངས། ལུང་བརྟན་རྗེས་གནང་མཇུང། ཚོས་དོར་འདི་ལ་རྒྱུད་མ་རྣམ་ཡའི་མངའ་བདག་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་ཀྱི་རི་པའི་སྐྱེ་མ་བ་ཡིན་པར་བཤེད། སྐྱེ་ཆེ་སྲིད་ལ་སྐྱུབ་གནས་རྣམས་སངས་པའི་རྩ་སྤྱུག་གྲུབ་བར་བཞུགས། གསུང་ཚོས་དུསྤེལ་ལུང་རྒྱུན་བཅས་བཞུགས། སྐྱོབ་མཁའ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་དོ། །འདི་ལས་ཀའོག་བ་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ (1395-c.1458) ཀྱིས་སྐྱར་ཚང་བུག་ཚེན་གསན་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ་<sup>52</sup> ཞེས་དང།

མདོ་ཁམས་རས་ཚང་སྐོར་སྤེན་ཚེན་འཕོང་སར་བེ་རུའི་སྐྱེ་ཆ་ “གངས་ཅན་མགོན་པོ་ཡལ་སྐས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེས་སྐྱོད་པའི་བཅོན་རྒྱལ་འབྲེལ་པོ་སྐྱེ་མ་དབང་ཚེན་ནམ་ཀམ་ཐིན་ལས་” (1931 ལོར་སྐྱེ་འབྲུངས། ཕྱིས་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཀམ་པ་རང་བྱུང་རིག་པའི་དོ་རྗེ་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༢༩ ལོར་སྐྱར་ཚེན་ཚོས་རྗེ་སྐྱེ་མ་དང། ༡༩༢༥ ལོར་ཀམ་པའི་ཐིན་ལས་བཞི་བར་ངོས་འཛིན་དབུགས་དབྱུང་སྐལ་) ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༢༥ ལོར་མཇུང་པའི་གངས་ལྗོངས་མདོ་སྐྱེད་ནང་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་རབས་དང་འབྲེལ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱེས་ལ་རབས་རྣམས་ཅམ་པའལས། “རྩ་ཚེན་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཚོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་ལ་རྒྱལ་ (གྲུལ་) འགར་གྱི་གདུང་ལས་ཤེད་ཕྱོགས་སའི་ཚངས་བ་སྤེད་པོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་པའི་སྐས་མོ་གཡུ་སྐོན་བཅུན་མོར་བསུས།”<sup>53</sup> ཞེས་དང།

སྤེལ་སུ་ས་བསྐྱེད་གདུང་འཚོབ་ཉམ་ཨ་རི་ཏ་རོང་གི་བྱ་བྲལ་སངས་རྒྱལ་དོ་རྗེའི་ཞབས་ (1913 ལོར་སྐྱེ་འབྲུངས་) ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༤༤ ལོར་མཇུང་པའི་དཔལ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཀའོག་པའི་གདན་རབས་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན་དང་བཅས་པའི་བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་སྲོང་བ་ལྷ་སུའི་གཏམ་ལས། “དེ་ནི་བརྒྱུད་པ་མན་དག་བརྒྱུད་པའི་རིམ་བཤག་ཞིག་འཚད་པ་ལ། དག་ཚབ་སྐྱེ་ཆ་དགོ་འདུན་འབྲུམ། ཉམ་རོང་ཨ་གཞི་བསོད་ནམས་འབྲུམ། ཕྱི་དབུ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་རྩ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དོ་རྗེ། འདི་ནི་མཁས་གྲུབ་བྲའོ་

52 དག་མགོ་མཚོག་སྐྱལ་བཀའ་འབྲུམ། བོད་མི། Published by Ven. Pema Norbu Rinpoche, Nyingmapa Monastery, Bylakuppe, 1985 དབྱིན་རིའི་ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩༥-༡༩༦ དག་མགོ་མཚོག་སྐྱལ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་མདོར་བསུས། དཔལ་ཡུལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བྱུང་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་སྤིང། ལྷ་པོ་ནས། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ཤོག་གངས་ ༣༡༩-༣༡༦ བར་གཞིགས་འཚོལ།  
སྐར་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྱིག་། ཀུན་བུ་ཀམ་དོ་རྗེ་ནས་སྤྱིག་། མི་ཁྲིན་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས་པ། མི་ཁྲིན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ ཤོག་གངས་ ༢༣༩-༢༤༠

53 Important Events and Places in the History of Nangchin Kham and E. Tibet, by Lama Wangchhim (Karma Thinley) མེད་ཀྱིས་དོ་སྤྱོད། ༡༩༢༥ ཤོག་གངས་ ༥༡

ཆོས་འབྲུམ་དང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གཉིས་ལས་སློན་མོས་གདམས་པ་གསལ་ནས་བསྐྱབས་པས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཏེ་གནས་ཆེན་མོ་བརྟུན་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་དཔལ་ཀ་ཚོགས་ཏུ་བཞུགས་ཏུ་ས་ཤིག་ལ་ཁོང་དང་གདུང་ཏུ་ས་གཅིག་ལ། འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ལས་བབས་པའི་མགར་གནས་ཆོ་འབྲུག་གི་གདུང་རབས་སོ་བཞི་བ་བདེ་ཆེན་བསོད་ནམས་བཟང་པོ་ཉིད་ལྷམ་གསལ་གསལ་པའི་དགོངས་ཇོགས་མཚོན་འབྲུམ་ཏུ་གདུང་ས་འདིར་མེབས་ནས་ཁྱ་བོ་དང་མཇལ་བའི་ཆེ། ཆོ་བོ་ལ་ཁྱོད་འདི་ནས་ཡར་ཕྱིན་ཏེ་དདུལ་མདར་བཞུགས་ན་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལེགས་ཚུལ་ལུང་བསྟན་བསྐྱེད་བ་ལྟར། ལྷགས་ར་བསམ་འབྲུབ་ཅེར་མེབས། སྐར་བོ་ཐར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སེང་གེས། མྱིང་དག་ལྷའི་གདུང་བརྟུན་གྱི་མཚན་ལྷན་མ་ཞིག་ཁབ་ཏུ་བསྐྱས་ཏེ། གྲུབ་པའི་དབང་ལྷག་ཆེན་པོ་ཐར་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཡི་མཚོན་གནས་སུ་བཀྱར། དདུལ་མདའི་སྲིབ་དགོན་ཚོགས་མར་བཏབ་སྟེ་སྟེ་དགོ་སྟོན་གྲུབ་སྟེང་ཞེས་པའི་མཚན་གསལ་ཏུ་ཆགས་པ་ནས་རིམ་བར་དར་ཏེ། ས་སྟོང་སྟེ་དགོ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་སྟོན་གྱི་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་དགོན་རྣམ་གསལ་ལ་འགྲན་བཟོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་ཡོངས་ཇོགས་གྱི་བསྟན་པའི་སྤྱིན་བདག་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་གྲུང་བ་ཡིན།<sup>54</sup> ཞེས་སོགས་གསལ་ཡོ།

བཞི་བ་སྟེ་དགོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསལ་རྟེན་རྒྱུས་བསྐྱེད་ཅི་རིགས་ད་ལྟ་མཇལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པའི་མཚན་མོ་རགས་རིམ་ཅན་བཟོད་ན།

- 1 བདེ་བར་གསལ་གསལ་པའི་བཀའ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་བདམས་བྲངས་པའི་ཕྱི་མོའི་ཆོགས་རྗེ་སྟེད་བ་པར་ཏུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ཚུལ་ལས་ཉེ་བར་བརྩམས་པའི་གཏམ་བཟང་པོ་སྟོ་ལྷན་མོས་པའི་ཀུན་ཡོངས་སུ་ཁ་གྲེ་བའི་རྒྱ་འོད་གཞོན་ལུའི་འཁྲི་ཤིང་ལས་རྒྱལ་པའི་གསུང་རབ་གངས་རིའི་ཁོད་ཏུ་དེར་སང་རྗེ་ཅན་སྤང་བ་པར་ཏུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་གྲུང་བ་དངོས་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པའི་ཡལ་འདབ་སྟེ་དུག་པོ། (སྟེ་དགོ་བཀའ་འབྲུར་དཀར་ཆག) སི་ཏུ་བའ་ཆེན་ཆོས་གྱི་འབྲུང་གནས་(1700-1774) གྱིས་ 1733 ལོར་མཇེད་པ། དཔལ་སྤངས་དཔེ་རྟེན་གསལ་བསྐྱེད། སི་ཏུ་ཆོས་འབྲུང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། 9 དཔལ་སྤངས་གསུང་རབ་སྤར་སྤྱན་ཁང་། ཤེས་རབ་མྱིང་། 3070 ཤོག་ལྡེབ་ 145-3076
- 2 ཀུན་མཁྲེན་ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་གྱི་བཀའ་ལུང་གི་དགོངས་དོན་རྣམ་པར་འབྲེལ་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་གངས་ཅན་པའི་སྐྱད་ཏུ་འགྱུར་འོ་འཆལ་གྱི་ཆོས་སྤྱིན་རྒྱུན་མི་འཆད་པའི་འོ་མཚར་འབྲུལ་གྱི་སྟེ་མོ་ཇོགས་ལྷན་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་གྱི་སྤྱིན་ལུང་རྒྱུས་པར་དགྲིགས་པའི་ཚུལ་ལས་བརྩམས་པའི་གཏམ་འོ་མཚར་ཆུ་གཏེར་འཕེལ་པའི་རྒྱ་བ་གསལ་བ་ལས་བསྟན་བ་གནས་པའི་ཆེད་ཏུ་དགོངས་འབྲེལ་པར་ཏུ་བསྐྱབ་པར་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐྱེ་ལྟ་པོ། (སྟེ་དགོ་བསྟན་འབྲུར་དཀར་ཆག) ལུ་ཆེན་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་(1698-1774) གྱིས་ 1733 ལོར་སྤྱན་གྲུབ་སྟེང་གི་ཆོས་གྲུང་གིས། སྟེ་དགོ་བསྟན་འབྲུར་པོད་ལྷོ། ཤོག་ལྡེབ་ 145-3076
- 3 མདོ་སྤང་འོར་ལུན་གྱི་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་པའི་ས་དབང་སྟེ་དགོའི་གདུང་རབས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་བཤད་འོ་མཚར་ཆོག་གི་གཏེར་མཚོད་ཅེས་གྲུབ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཨེ་མི་པའི་བསྟན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་ལུགས་པའི་མིང་བསྟན་འདིན་

54 དབྱ་མེད་མིས་མ་ཤོག་ལྡེབ་ 145-3076



རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་། ས་དབང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་འདྲིན་གྱིས་འཚོ་བའི་མིང་ཞེ་ཆེན་དུང་ཡིག<sup>55</sup> ཅེས་བསྐྱི་བས་མཛད་པ།  
དབུ་མེད་ཟེས་མ་ཤོག་ལྟེན་ ༡༠༩ བཞུགས།

༤ ཀའ་ཚོགས་དགེ་ཅེ་བཞིན་འཇུག་མེད་ཆེ་དབང་མཚོགས་ཀྱི་བའི་ས་དོན་བསྟན་འཕེལ་དཔལ་བཟང་བོས་ (1761-?) ལྷོ་ལོ་  
༡༧༧༧ ལོར་མཛད་པའི། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྤྱིང་པོ་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་སྡེ་སྡོད་རྟོལ་ཐེག་པ་  
སྤྱེ་འཇུག་རྒྱུད་འབྲུམ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྟོགས་པ་བཞེད་པ་སྤྱིའི་རྩ་བོ་ཆེའི་གཏམ། དགེ་ཅེ་མ་ལྷ་བཞིན་འཇུག་འབྲུམ་བཞུགས།  
༡༩༠༡ ལོར་རྒྱ་ལག་གི་འཁྲུང་ལོ་ལྷོ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ལག་སར་བོད་ཉམ་གྱི་ཤོག་ལྟེན་ ༡༩༤༤-༡༩༥༣<sup>56</sup>

55 ལེགས་པར་སྦྱར་བ་ལྟེན་སྐད་དང་གངས་ཅན་པའི་བཅའ་འཁུར་སྦྱར་བ་དེ་བྱལ་ལོར་བྱའི་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས། Namgyal Institute of  
Tibetology, Gangtok, Sikkim, 1962 ཤོག་ལྟེན་ ༣༡༤༡ པའ། “ཅེས་པ་འདི་ནི་བཅའ་སྡོད་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་པོ་ཀའ་ལྷ་པོ་འདིའི་  
མདོའི་ཆོག་སྒྲ་གཞུང་གཞན་ལྷ་བྱའི་རྣམས་དབྱེ་རྣམས་ཐར་ཆགས་མེད་པར། ཆོ་ག་རིས་མ་ཐུན་ཕྱོགས་བསྡེ་བས་མཛད་པ་སོགས་གཞུང་འཚོར་  
བལ་བཞེན་ནས། ཀའ་ལྷ་པོའི་རི་མོས་སོང་ཐེང་བ་འགའ་ཡེ། རྟགས་མཐའ་འདི་ལ་རྣམས་དབྱེ་འདི་བྱེན་ན་ཅེ་འདྲ་འོང་བྱིས་ཆེ་བཞེད་རྒྱ་མེད་པ་  
ལྷ་བྱས་ལག་ལེན་ཐེབས་དཀའ་བ་བྱུང་འདུག་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཐན་པའི་བསམ་པས། བཞེད་ཀྱི་ཁུར་ཆེན་ཉིད་ལེ་བཞེན་འཕྲོར་བ་དང་སྦྱར་ཅིག །སྤོ་  
མོས་ཀྱི་ལོ་བྱུང་རིམ་པས་དབུལ་བའི་གནས་སྐབས་ཅན་སྤྱེ་འཇུག་བསྟན་པའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཞུགས་པའི་བཏགས་མིང་པད་མ་རྣམས་དག་གས། མིང་  
གཞན་བསྟན་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་སུ་འབོད་པའི་རྫོང་ས་རྒྱལ་པས། གཞུང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མོད་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་ལྷི་ཀ་དང་། སྤྱེ་གཞུང་གཞན་ནས་  
ཡུང་མེད་ཀ་མེད་ཐུན་བྱས་ལྷུང་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། སྤྱེ་མོགས་རྣམས་ཆོག་ལྷུང་པར་རང་ཉིད་འབམ་ནད་ཀྱིས་ཟིན་པའི་དལ་ཁོམས་ལ་བཞེན་ནས་སྤྱེ་  
མོ་ཞིག་ཤེས་ (ཤེས་) པའི་འགྲོ། སྤར་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་ལྷོ་ས་ལྷན་ (1771) གནས་ལོ་གསར་ཆེས་སྐབས། ལྷུག་བཀའ་ཚོགས་མཚོགས་  
སྤྱེ་འཇུག་མེད་ཆེ་དབང་མཚོགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུམ་ལྷེས་གཟིགས་པའི་ (དཔེའི་) ཆེད་དུ་མཚུགས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་དུས་པའི་དགེ་བས། ལྷུག་ས་  
མཚོགས་སྤམ་དམ་པའི་ཞབས་པད་བསྐལ་བརྒྱར་བཞེན་ཅིང་། དེ་བལ་བཅུ་ལྷག་རིག་པའི་གཞུང་ལྷུགས་ཕྱོགས་མཐར་རྒྱས་པའི་རྒྱུར་ཡུར་ཅིག”  
ཅེས་དང་།

སྤོ་ལོ་མ་པོ་བྱང་བདག་ཁྱི་དྲག་ལྱལ་འཕྲིན་ལས་རིན་ཆེན་ (1871-1936) ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ། དཔལ་ས་སྤྱེ་པའི་གཏུང་རབས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཕྱོན་ཚུལ་  
འཛམ་མཐོན་ཨ་མེས་མཛད་པ་དང་། ས་ཆེན་ལྷ་མ་རྟོ་རྗེ་འཚང་ཀུན་དགའ་སྤོ་ཤོས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་སྐོང་ལྱིས་ཕྱོན་གཏུང་རབས་  
རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་མཛད་ཚུལ་རོ་མཚར་རིན་ཆེན་ཀུན་འཕེལ་སྤིད་ཞེའི་དཔལ་འཕྲོར་སྤྱོད་སྤྱེ་ལེ་ལྷུག་ལེ་ལྷུག་ལེ་བྱུང་བཞུགས་སོ། །སི་ཁོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་  
སྤྱོད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༠ ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༥༩ པའ། ས་ཆེན་ཀུན་དགའ་སྤོ་ཤོས་ (1729-1783) ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྐབས་ ༡༧༤༩ ལོར་ “དེ་མཚམས་ནས་  
རྗེ་རྟོ་རྗེ་འཚང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་རྣམས་དུ་བྱུང་བས། གདན་ས་ཆེན་པོ་འདིར་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་སྤོ་བ་ལྷུགས་བཞེད་རིང་མོ་ཞིག་ནས་འཇུངས་པ་  
དེ་ཉིད་ལྷག་ཏུ་སོན་ཏེ། མཁས་དབང་ཞེ་ཆེན་དུང་ཡིག་འཕྲོར་ཞིང་ཆོས་སྤྱོད་ནས་གངས་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཐོག་མར་སྤོ་བ་བྱུང་བཀའ་མངགས་ཏེ་འཕགས་  
ཆེན་མཚོགས་ལྷོ་དཔར་ཐུགས་གཞོལ་བའི་སྐབས་སོ། །” ཞེས་གསལ།

སྡེ་དགེ་པར་ཁང་ཆོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོའི་ཤིང་པར་ལྷ་རིས་དང་དེའི་གསལ་བཤམ། སི་ཁོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྤྱོད་ཁང་། ༡༩༠༩ ཤོག་གངས་  
༡༧༩ ཏེ། ཆེ་རིང་རྣམ་དུག་རྒྱུད་ལ། ཅེས་པའི་སྤྱེ་སྤར་སྤར་བྱུང་དུ། “ཅེས་གནས་ཁང་མཚོགས་ལལ་གང་དུ་ཡང་ཆེ་བསོད་རྒྱས་པའི་རྟོན་འབྲེལ་  
ཀྱི་བཤོད་པར་འདི་བར་ལོས་པའི་ཆེ་རིང་ལྷོངས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་བྱུང་ཁུངས་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་འདི་བཞེན་ཀྱིས་ཞེས་པར་དཔོན་དགེ་སྤོ་ལྷུན་རྣམས་ལྷུགས་  
གསུངས་བཞེན་རྫོངས་རྒྱལ་ཞེ་ཆེན་དུང་ཡིག་སྤྱེ་པ་དགེའོ། །” ཞེས་དང་།

ལ་དྲགས་ཏོག་རྒྱལ་མཁར་ཀྱི་ལྷེ་བས་རིས་ཆེ་རིང་ལྷོངས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་བྱུང་། བཤོད་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ལོ་བོད་ཁང་གི་རྒྱན་ལྷན་དཔེ་བཤམ་། ལྷུག་ ༥ ༡༩༠༩  
ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༠༣-༡༠༥ པར་ལའང་གཟིགས་འཚལ།

56 ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཆོས་དཔལ། སྡེ་དགེའི་སྤོད་དབང་མོས་བཞེད་པའི་རྗེའི་རྒྱུད་འབྲུམ་གྱི་མཚམས་སྤོད་ གུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ ༡༩༩༩ (༣)  
གུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྷེ་གནས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་གཉེན་བྱས། པེ་ཅིང་། ཤོག་གངས་ ༡༩༠-༡༩༡

ལ འུ་རབས་བཅུ་དགའི་མགོ་ལོག་འབྲུམ་པ་ཁག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡ་གྲུལ་བརྒྱ་འབྲུམ་ཁོངས། གྱི་ལྷང་ཕྱེ་བའི་སྐོང་པོ་ན་  
བྱང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ལྷང་བཀའ་ལེན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་གྱི་ལྷང་ཐུགས་མཚོ་གཞི་ཆེ་<sup>57</sup> སྐུ་མཚེད་བྱང་གིས་བཅུ་མས་པ་པོ་དང་

རྗེ་མ་རྒྱུད་འབྲུམ་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་ཚོས་དར་གྱིས་བཅུ་མས། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། པེ་ཅིང་། ༢༠༠༠  
ལོ་གྲངས་ ༣༠༥ བཞུགས།

57 རྒྱལ་བ་གཞོན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྡུས། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་གྱིས་མཛད་པ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༦ ལོ་གྲངས་  
༡༣༩ ལས། “འགྲུ་ལོག་གྱི་ལིང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་ཆེ་ནི། དགོ་ཅེ་མ་རྩ་བ་ཆེ་ཉིད་ཐུགས་སྐུ་ལྷན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོ་ལྷ་བྱ་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ལྷན་དང་ཁྲུང་བར་གསལ་བ་སྤྱིང་བོའི་  
བསྐྱེད་པ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་ཆའམ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རྣམ་འབྱོར་བརྒྱུ་ལྷན་གྱི་སྤོང་པས་ལོག་སྤྱིང་ཅན་གྱི་འགྲོ་བ་མང་པོ་དབང་སྤྱད་དང་འགྲུ་  
པོའི་ལས་གྱིས་ཚར་བཅད་པ་སོགས་མཛད་དེ་གསལ་ཆེན་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱེད་པ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པའི་མ་ཐུ་དང་ཐུན་པའི་ཐུབ་ཐོབ་ཞིག་ཕྱོད་པ་ལས་དཔེ་སྐྱུལ་  
བརྒྱུད་དང་སྤོང་བརྒྱུད་འགྲུ་ལོག་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་བཞུགས་སོ།།” ཞེས་གསལ།

འཇམ་མགོན་ཀོང་སྐུལ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ (1813–1899) ཆབ་ཤོག་། རང་དང་བཀའ་བཞུགས་ལྷན་གྱིས་རོང་གིས་པའི་ཡིག་བསྐྱར་ཆོག་སུ་བཅད་པའི་བྲེང་བ་  
མཚོ་བྱང་མགོན་པའི་རོལ་ཅེད་ལས། “འགྲུ་ལོག་གྱི་ལིང་སྐུལ་སྐུ་ཐུགས་རྗོངས་ལ་ལུལ་བའི་ཆབ་ཤོག་” (དཔལ་སྤྱད་པའི་རྗེ་དགས་ར་བསྐྱེད། ཐུན་མིན་རྒྱ་  
ཚོན་བཀའ་མཛོད། དཔལ་སྤྱད་པ་གསུང་རབ་སྐར་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ལེས་རབ་སྤྱིང་། ༢༠༡༠ པོད་ཆ་བ། དབྱིན་རིའི་ལོ་གྲངས་ ༥༠༦) ཅེས་གསལ།

ཐག་དཔོན་ཞབས་དྲུང་བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་ (1801–1866) གྱིས་ ༡༩༣༣–༡༩༦༥ བར་མཛད་པ། མདོ་སྐྱེད་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། (ལུལ་མདོ་སྐྱེད་གྱི་  
ལྗོངས་སུ་ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འི་རྣམ་དར་བའི་ཚུལ་གསལ་བར་བཞེད་པ་དེ་བ་ཐེར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།) ཀན་སུ་འུ་མི་དམངས་  
དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༣ ལོ་གྲངས་ ༣༣༧ ལས། “བརྒྱ་འབྲུམ་གྱི་སར་དུ་སྐྱོན་ཐུགས་མཚོ་གཞི་ཆེ་ཆེ་ལྷེ་བ་དཀོན་མཚོ་གྱི་ཐུབ་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱ་མཚོས་  
བཏབ་པའི་སྤྱིང་ལྷང་འི་ཁྲོད་དམ་སྤྱིད་པའི་དཔོན། གྱི་ལྷང་སྐུལ་བའི་སྐུ་ཉིད་མགོ་ལོག་དཔོན་རྒྱུད་དུ་འབྱུངས། ལོ་བརྒྱུད་དགུ་ནས་དཔལ་ཅལ་ལུན་  
སུམ་ཚོགས། བཏུ་བའི་དུས་རྗེ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ལས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། དགོ་ཅེ་འབྱུར་མེད་ཆེ་དབང་མཚོ་གྲུབ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་རིག་གནས་ལ་སྤྱདས། སེར་  
བྱེད་ (བྱེས་) དགོ་བའི་ས་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་ལ་ལམ་རིམ་ཆེ་ཆུང་སོགས་གསལ། བཀའ་ལེན་འབྲེལ་དུ་གྲུང་ཐང་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་གྱི་དྲུང་  
ནས་བསྐྱེད་པར་རྫོགས། མར་ཕྱིན་བཤམ་པ་དང་འཇིགས་བྱེད་དབང་སོགས་ལུས། གཤམ་ཆེན་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ལས་རྗེ་བཀའ་མང་པོ་  
དང་། ཨ་མཚོ་གདགོ་བའི་ས་ལམ་ཡང་ཚོས་མང་དུ་གསལ། རྗེ་ཆེ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ཟེར་བའི་རི་ལས་གཉེར་བཏོན།” ཞེས་གསལ།

རྗེ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཉི་རྗེ་གྲུབ་ཆེན་འཇིགས་མེད་འབྲིན་ལས་འོད་ཟེར་ (1745–1821) ཞབས་དང་། དགོ་ཅེ་འགྲུང་མེད་ཆེ་དབང་མཚོ་གྲུབ་  
ནི་གཞོན་དགོ་ཅེ་པ་རྗེ་ཉིད་འགྲུང་མེད་ཆེ་དབང་མཚོ་གྲུབ་པའི་དོན་བསྐྱེད་འཕེལ་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ། (1761–?) གྲུང་ཐང་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱངས་  
ནི་རྗེ་གྲུང་ཐང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་སྐོན་མེ་ (1762–1824) གཤམ་ཆེན་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ནི་དཔལ་ལུལ་གསེར་ཉིད་གཞི་ཆེན་མཁའ་དམར་  
གསལ་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱས་སྤྱིང་གི་གཞི་ཆེན་སྐུ་བས་མགོན་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྷན་ནས་རིག་འཇིག་འཇམ་དཔལ་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལྷུ་བ་ཁོང་ཡིན།  
ཨ་མཚོ་གདགོ་བའི་ས་ལུ་བ་འདི་ནི་རྗེ་ལྷར་འཇམ་མགོན་ཀོང་སྐུལ་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཆབ་ཤོག་། རང་དང་བཀའ་བཞུགས་ལྷན་གྱིས་རོང་གིས་པའི་  
ཡིག་བསྐྱར་ཆོག་སུ་བཅད་པའི་བྲེང་བ་མཚོ་བྱང་མགོན་པའི་རོལ་ཅེད་ལས། “ཨ་མཚོ་གདགོ་བའི་ས་ཆེན་པོར་རྗེ་བསྐྱེད་། ཀུན་ཉིད་ཉིད་སི་  
ཏུ་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་ ༩ བརྒྱ་ཉིན་བྱེད་དབང་པོ་ (1774–1853) གསུང་ཆབ་ཏུ་བྱིས་པའོ།།” (དཔལ་སྤྱད་པའི་རྗེ་དགས་ར་བསྐྱེད། ཐུན་མིན་རྒྱ་ཚོན་  
བཀའ་མཛོད། དཔལ་སྤྱད་པ་གསུང་རབ་སྐར་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ལེས་རབ་སྤྱིང་། ༢༠༡༠ པོད་ཆ་བ། དབྱིན་རིའི་ལོ་གྲངས་ ༥༡༣) ཞེས་དང་། “ཨ་  
མཚོ་གདགོ་བའི་ས་གསུང་ལན།” (དཔལ་སྤྱད་པའི་རྗེ་དགས་ར་བསྐྱེད། ཐུན་མིན་རྒྱ་ཚོན་བཀའ་མཛོད། དཔལ་སྤྱད་པ་གསུང་རབ་སྐར་སྐྱེད་  
ཁང་། ལེས་རབ་སྤྱིང་། ༢༠༡༠ པོད་ཆ་བ། དབྱིན་རིའི་ལོ་གྲངས་ ༥༣༠) ཞེས་བཞེད་ཡིན། ཨ་མཚོ་གདགོ་བའི་ས་དཀོན་མཚོ་གྲུབ་བསྐྱེད་  
པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚོན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་ (1799–1847) མཚོ་གཡིན་ལ་དེད་ཨ་མཚོ་གཡིན་ཉིད་དཔོན་གྱི་གཞུང་འབྲེལ་གདན་དཔལ་ལྷན་ན་ཨ་  
མཚོ་གསུལ་སྐུ་སྐུ་ལྷེད་གཉིས་པར་བཟང་བར་བྱེད། ཁོ་བོས་ ༡༩༤༩ ལོར་གྱིས་ལིང་ ༡༩༩༣ ལོར་སྐར་བསྐྱེད་འབྲེལ་སྤེལ་བཞུགས་པའི་  
སྤྱིང་ཆེད་རྒྱལ་དབས་སྤྱིང་བསྐྱེད་སྐོན་འགོ་ལམ་སྐོན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དགོ། ཞེས་པའི་ *Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the 5th Seminar*  
of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989, Narita 1992 ལོ་གྲངས་ ༢༩༤ གྱི་མཚན་བུ་ཨང་གྲངས་ ༡༩

མི་བུ་གཤོང་ (གཤུང་) རྒྱག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱེད་ཚལ་ཞེས་བུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །མཚོ་སྤོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་  
སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༣ འོག་གྲངས་ ༩-༡༧

6 ཕྱེ་དགོ་ས་སྐྱོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གཤུང་རབས་བཛོད་པ། ཕྱེ་དགོ་ལ་བཞི་འཛིང་པ་ཆགས་ཏུ་ཉི་གྲགས་ཚོས་  
བརྒྱུད་སྐབས་ལོ་སྐྱོང་གི་ཚོས་རྗེ་མཁས་དབང་གྲུ་ཏུ་བཀའ་ལོན་པ་མཁའ་དབང་སྐོ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་ ༡༩༠༧-༡༩༣༡ བར་  
ནས་མཛད་པ། གྲུ་བཀའ་ལོན་འབྲུང་། གངས་སྐོང་ས་ཤེས་རིག་གི་ཉིང་བཟུང། གྲུང་གོ་འཛི་མོང་གི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་  
སྐྱེད་ཁང་། བེ་ཅིང་། ༡༩༩༠ འོག་གྲངས་ ༩༣༣-༩༣༥

༧ དཔལ་ས་སྐྱོང་ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་ཆེ་ཕྱོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དགོ་ལེགས་ཞོར་བུ་འཛི་མོང་བ་འདོད་དགུ་རབ་  
འཕེལ་ཞེས་བུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་དབང་རྩོམ་རིག་འཛིན་ (1786-1842) ཀྱིས་ ༡༩༣༩ ལོར་  
བཅུམས། ཕྱེ་དགོ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་འཛིན་མར་འོག་གྲེབ་ ༥༩ བཞུགས།<sup>58</sup>

ནང་། “ཨ་མཚོག་མཚན་ཉིད་དགོན་གྱི་ཨ་མཚོག་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་གསུམ་པ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་མཁའ་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འཛིན་ལེགས། (པལ་ཆེར་ 1847 འབྲུངས། པལ་  
ཆེར་ 1941 ལེགས།)” ཞེས་བཀོད་ཞོར་བུ་འབྲུག་པ་ལོ་བསྐངས་བྱེད་པ་དང་ཆབས་ཅིག་བཛོད་གསོལ་ལ།

མགོ་ལོག་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེང་། ཡུལ་མགོ་ལོག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེབ་ཐེང་བསྐྱེད་དཀར་པོ་འཛིན་ལོ་ཞེས་བུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །དོན་གྲུབ་དབང་རྒྱལ་  
དང་ཞོར་ཕྱེ་ཡིས་བཅུམས། མཚོ་སྤོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༣ འོག་གྲངས་ ༣༩-༣༩༩ བར། གྱི་ལུང་བཀའ་ལོན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དང་གྱི་  
ལུང་ཐུགས་མཚོག་རྩོམ་རིག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་སྐྱེད་ཅན་གསལ།

དབུས་སྐབས། །བསྐྱེད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། མགོ་ལོག་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས། དེབ་དང་པོ། མི་དགོས་མགོ་ལོག་ལུགས་ལུ་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱ་ཆ་  
ཞེས་འབྲུག་ལུ་ཡོན་སྐྱེད་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེད། ༡༩༩༡ འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༩-༡༩༩

མདོ་སྐྱེད་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཆེན་མོ་ལས། (6) ལོ་རྒྱུས་མི་སྤེལ་རྒྱུ་ བཅོན་པོ་འཛིན་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཇུག་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཨ་མཛོད་ལྷི་འཇུག་ལུར་པ་  
མཁས་དབང་ཉོར་གཅེད་འཛིན་མི་ལགས་ཀྱིས་བཅུམས། མོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་། རྩ་རམ་ས་ལ། ༢༠༠༩ འོག་གྲངས་ 6-66

ཐོད་མི་བུ་གཤོང་ (གཤུང་) རྒྱག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱེད་ཚལ་ཞེས་བུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །The treasure of the ancestral clans of Tibet:  
Bod kyi mi bu gdong drug gi rus mdzod me tog skyed tshal zhes bya ba bzhugs so, Gyilung Tashi Gyatso and  
Gyilung Thugchok Dorji, translated by Yeshe Dhondup, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamshala, 2009

མོགས་ཀྱི་མོ་ཤེད། འཕེར་ཤེད་སྤྱི་འཇུག་ཆེན་མོས་སྐྱེད་ལུགས་ལེ་ཤེས་དོན་གྲུབ་ལགས་ནས་གནང་འབྲུག་པ་དེར་ལ་གཞེགས་འཚོགས། ཁོ་མོ་ཅག་དང་  
སྐལ་མཉམ་ལས་དང་མོ་བཞོས་ཐོད་མི་བུ་གཤོང་ (གཤུང་) རྒྱག་གི་རུས་མཛོད་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱེད་ཚལ་ལྷ་བུ་བཞུགས་པུ་སོག་གྲངས་ལེ་འཛིན་ལེ་འཛིན་ཆེན་  
དོན་མ་སྐྱེད་མི་ཤེས་པ་སྤྱི་མང་ཡོང་འབྲུག་པས་མཚང་ ༡༩༩༣ ལོའི་སྐྱེད་ཁང་དེར་ཡིག་ཞོར་ཡང་མང་དག་འབྲུག་པ་ཞོར་འཕྲོས་སོ། །

58 ཕྱེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་རབས། མཛོད་པོ་ལོ། ཕྱེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་ཆེ་དབང་རིག་འཛིན། སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༢༠༡༣ ལོར་ཕྱེ་དགོ་བུ་རྒྱ་གྲོས་རས་བར་སྐྱེད་ལུགས། ཕྱེ་ལི།  
འོག་གྲངས་ ༡༣༣ བཞུགས།

Smith, E. Gene, *Tibetan Catalogue*, Volume 1, University of Washington, Seattle, 1969, pp.48-50.  
Martin, Dan, *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*, Serindia Publications, London, 1997, p.156.

དཔལ་ས་སྐྱོང་ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་ཆེ་ཕྱོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དགོ་ལེགས་ཞོར་བུ་འཛི་མོང་བ་འདོད་དགུ་རབ་འཕེལ་ཞེས་བུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །  
Published by D. Tsondu Senghe Yoreytsang, Bir, District Kangra, 1994, 111 pages.

ཕྱེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་རབས། (དཔལ་ས་སྐྱོང་ཕྱེ་དགོ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་ཆེ་ཕྱོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དགོ་ལེགས་ཞོར་བུ་འཛི་མོང་བ་འདོད་དགུ་རབ་འཕེལ་ཞེས་བུ་  
བ་བཞུགས་སོ།) ཐོད་སྐྱོང་ས་མི་དབངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༩ འོག་གྲངས་ 11 བཞུགས།

༡༩༩༥ ལོར་མི་ཐོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་གི་སྐར་མར་མཁས་དབང་མཚོག་སྐལ་བུ་བཞུགས་ཉི་མས་ལྷོ་སྐྱིག་མཛོད་པ་ཡོད་འབྲུག་ཀྱང་མ་མཛལ།

- 6 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཕྱེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཞུགས་སོ། །འཇམ་མགོན་ཀོང་སྤྱལ་གྱི་གསུང་འབྲམ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་བཀའ་ཡི་  
མཛོད་བཞུགས་སོ། ཀོང་སྤྱལ་རྫོ་ཤོས་མཐའ་ཡས་ (1813–1899) གྱིས་བཅམས། དེབ་མེང་ 30 བོད་ལྗོངས་  
བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཔེ་སྐྱེད་ཁང་། 3073 འོག་གངས་ 346–363<sup>59</sup>
- 7 “བྱུང་བར་བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་འཛིན་གྱི་ཁྱོད་འདིར་རང་རང་གི་མངའ་རིས་བདེ་བར་སྐྱོང་ཞིང་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་  
ཕྱི་ཞུས་མཚོན་པའི་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་རྗེ་སྟེང་བ་ལས། གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར་བ་ལྟ་བུ་བཅོན་པོ་མེས་དཔོན་  
གསུམ་གྱི་བྱལ་རྗེས་ལ་འགྲན་པར་ལུས་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོས་སྐྱུར་བ་ས་སྐྱོང་ཕྱེ་དགའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་  
རྒྱལ་རབས་ནི།” དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་བཛོད་པ་ལས་གཙོ་བོར་བཅམས་པའི་གཏམ་སྐུལ་བཟང་ལྷ་བའི་བཅུད་  
ལེན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འཇམ་དབྱུངས་མཁྱེན་བཅའི་དབང་པོའི་ (1820–1892) གསུང་འབྲམ་སྤྲར་སུ། བོད་  
རྫོང་གི་འབྲས་ལྗོངས། སྐར་ཏོག་རྫོང་སར་སྐྱབས་ལ། 7410 འོག་ལྗེབ་ 367–373
- 8 ཕྱེ་དགའ་དཔལ་ལྷལ་གྱུར་དབང་པད་ཅོར་སྐྱ་མེད་གཉིས་པ་རིག་འཛིན་དཔལ་ཆེན་འབྲམ་པའམ། བསྐྱུ་ཀུན་བཟང་  
བསྟན་འཛིན་ཅོར་བུའམ། ལུབ་བསྟན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐང་པོས་ (1887–1932) 7433 ལོར་མཛོད་པ། ས་སྐྱོང་ཕྱེ་དགའི་  
རྒྱལ་རབས་མདོར་བསྐྱུས་བེ་ཏུ་འདི་དོ་ལལ་བཞུགས། དབུ་མེད་འོག་ལྗེབ་ 2 བཞུགས།<sup>60</sup>
- 9 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཕྱེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཉུང་ཉུང་བསྐྱུས་པ་དག་གི་ས་བོན་ལྷན་ལྷན་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཀུ་  
རོང་རྒྱགས་སངས་བརྗེ་འཇམ་དབལ་བཟང་པོས་ (1901–c.1984) 7437 ལོར་མཛོད་པ། དབུ་མེད་མེས་མ་  
འོག་ལྗེབ་ 30 བཞུགས།<sup>61</sup>
- 10 སྐུ་འོག་ཕྱེ་གཞུང་ལུང་རིགས་སྤྱལ་སྐྱུ་བུམས་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མས་ (1906–1987) 7462 ལོར་  
མཛོད་པ། ཚོས་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཕྱེ་དགའི་གསུང་རབས་ཀྱི་མཚན་མེད་རིན་ཆེན་མེད་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །འོག་  
གངས་ 72<sup>62</sup> བཞུགས།

59 ཕྱེ་དགའ་དཔལ་སྤྲུངས་གདན་པའི་སྤར་རྙིང་རྒྱ་ཆེན་བཀའ་མཛོད་པོད་བཅུ་པོའི་ནང་མ་བཞུགས་ཀྱང་ཕྱིས་བོད་ལྗོངས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཔེ་  
སྐྱེད་ཁང་ནས་འཇམ་མགོན་ཀོང་སྤྱལ་གསུང་རྫོམ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་བཀའ་མཛོད་ནང་མ་བཞུགས་པའི་གསུང་རྫོམ་རྣམས་བསྐྱུ་ལུབ་འཁྱོང་མཛོད་འདུག

60 དཔལ་ལྷལ་པད་ཅོར་ལུབ་བསྟན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐང་པོའི་བཀའ་འབྲམ། ཀ་པ། Published by the Padnor Rinpoche, Nyingma Monastery, Bylakuppe, 1983 དབྱིན་རིའི་འོག་གངས་ 723–744 ལུབ་དབང་པད་ཅོར་སྐྱ་མེད་གཉིས་པ་ལུབ་བསྟན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐང་པོའི་བཀའ་འབྲམ་བོད་  
བཅུན་ 743–744 བར་སྤར་སྐྱེད་ཞུས་འདུག

61 རྒྱགས་སང་ཆེ་རིང་སྐྱ་མའི་གསུང་འབྲམ་བོད་གཅིག་ Published by the Padnor Rinpoche, Nyingma Monastery, Bylakuppe, 1984 ཀོང་གསལ་གསུང་འབྲམ་བོད་གཅིག་དེའི་ནང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཕྱེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཉུང་ཉུང་བསྐྱུས་པ་དག་གི་ས་བོན་ལྷན་ལྷན་པོ་དང་།  
ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་དཔལ་ལྷལ་པའི་གདན་རབས་ངོ་མཚར་ཡོངས་འདུའི་ལྗོན་པའི་མེད་བ་གཉིས་ཚུད་མེད།

62 ཕྱེ་གཞུང་ལུང་རིགས་སྤྱལ་སྐྱུ་ཀུན་དགའ་བསྟན་པའི་ཉི་མའི་གསུང་རྫོང་བུ་ལྗོགས་བསྐྱུས་བཞུགས། བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་། རྟ་རམ་ས་ལ།  
3004 འོག་གངས་ 263–264 བར། *Dezhung Rinpoche's Summary and Continuation of the Sde-Dge Rgyal-Rabs*, Josef Kolmaš (Prague), Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLII (1), (1988), pp.119–152.

- ༡༣ “ལོ་སྐྱེཏུ། དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་ཡི་ཚངས་པ་མི་ཡི་རྩེ་བོ་ཕྱི་དབུ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོའི་གདུང་རིགས་ནི།” དཔལ་སྐྱེད་ས་  
 དཔོན་ལྷན་སྐྱེད་བཞེ་བ་ཀུ་མ་བདེ་ཆེན་རེས་དོན་བསྟན་འདིན་ (1926–1987) མཚོག་གི་ས་ར་ནས་ཐོབ་པ།  
 འབྲུག་གིས་ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༤ བཞུགས།
- ༡༤ རྒྱ་ཨའི་གནས་ཚུལ། མདོ་ཁམས་རྒྱ་བཞེ་སྐད་དུག་གི་ནང་ཆེན་ཕྱི་དབུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་། Tibetan  
 Freedom ལོ་ ༩ ཨང་ ༡༩ བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༩༠༤༩ ལེ་རྟ་རྒྱ་ ༩ ཚེས་ ༤ རེས་གཟའ་ལྷག་པ། བོད་སྐྱོད་ས་མི་མང་རང་དབང་  
 གསར་ཤོག །བར་འབྲེམས་ཕྱེད་པོ་བཀའ་བོ་ །རྩི་རྒྱུ་། Edited, printed and published by Bhagto Lama at the  
 Tibetan Freedom Press, Darjeeling, India ཤོག་ཐོས་ ༤ རྩེད་བསྟར་ ༩ བཞུགས། བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་། ལོ་ ༩ ཨང་  
 ༡༥༤ བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ ༩༠༤༩ ལེ་རྟ་རྒྱ་ ༤ ཚེས་ ༤ རེས་གཟའ་ལེག་དམར། བོད་སྐྱོད་ས་མི་མང་རང་དབང་གསར་ཤོག  
 །བར་འབྲེམས་ཕྱེད་པོ་རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་མིང་སྒོ་བོས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྩི་རྒྱུ་། ཤོག་ཐོས་ ༤ བར་ཆ་ཚང་གཞིགས་འཚུལ།
- ༡༥ ཕྱི་དབུ་རྒྱལ་བཟང་དབང་འདུས། དས་དམག་དབང་བྱིད་ནས་ལོས་ལངས་བྱས་པའི་རྒྱུད་རིམ། བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་  
 གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དབུང་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྐྲིགས། འདོན་ཐེངས་དང་པོ། བོད་སྐྱོད་ས་ཆབ་སྐོས་རིག་གནས་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་དབུང་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱུལ། ༡༩༧༥ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༧༥–༩༨༤
- ༡༦ ཀུ་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཕྱི་དབུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་སྐྱོད་པ། ཡུང་གོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ ༡༩༩༩ (༩) ཡུང་གོའི་  
 བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ལྷེ་གནས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་གཉེར་བྱས། ཤེ་ཅིང། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༨༠–༨༨
- ༡༧ ཕྱི་དབུ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། (མདོ་སྐད་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཕྱི་དབུའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་རྒྱལ་མདོ་ཚམ་  
 བཞོན་པ་གཟུང་གནས་སྒོ་ལྷན་དཔྲེས་པའི་ཉ་སྐྱར་ལེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།) ཀུ་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཀྱིས་བསྐྲིགས།  
 ཉང་ཁོང་ཡ་སྐྱོད་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ༡༩༩༤ ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༤༤ བཞུགས།
- ༡༨ ཕྱི་དབུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། (མདོ་ཁམས་ས་སྐོར་ཕྱི་དབུ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དབུང་དཀར་མེ་  
 ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།) སྲིད་ཕྱོས་ཕྱི་དབུ་རྩོད་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱ་ཆ་བསྐྲིག་ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་  
 གནས། ༡༩༩༥ ལོའི་རྒྱ་བ་ ༡༩ པར། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༠༧ བཞུགས། ཤོག་གྲངས་ ༩༠༨ ལས། “ཅེས་པའང་  
 སྲིད་ཕྱོས་ཕྱི་དབུ་རྩོད་སྐབས་བྱུག་པ་ཐེངས་གསུམ་པའི་ཕྱོས་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱི་དབུའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
 འབྲི་རྒྱའི་ཚོད་དོན་བཞེན། ༡༩༩༤ ལོའི་རྒྱ་གསུམ་པའི་ནང་སྐོར་ནས་དབུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཆ་བསྐྲུ་བྱས་པ་  
 དང་། ༡༩༩༥ ལོའི་སྐྱི་རྒྱ་བཞེ་པའི་འགོ་ནས་སྲིད་ཕྱོས་ཕྱི་དབུ་རྩོད་ལྷ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་གི་འགོ་ཁྲིད་འོག །རིག་  
 གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཆ་བསྐྲིག་ཁང་གིས་གཙོ་འགན་བཞེས་ཏེ། ཚེས་འབྲི་འགོ་བཙམས། དོས་སུ་བསྐྲིག་  
 པ་སྒོ་བོས་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྐྲིག་པ་གཙོ་བོའི་འགན་བཞེས་པ་དང་། བསམ་གཏམ། ཚེ་དབང་བཀའ་ཤིས།  
 བྱང་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་འཕེལ། བདུད་འདུལ། རྒྱུས་ཤེས་པ་དག་དབང་བསྟན་འདིན་དང་བསྐྱེད་བདུད་འདུལ་བཙམ་ཀྱིས་  
 བསྐྲུ་བསྐྲིགས་དང་། འབྲི་བ། ལུ་དག་སོགས་འབད་བཙོན་བྱས་པར་བརྒྱུད། བོད་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་བདུན་པའི་ཕྱིང་  
 པག་ལོའི་རྒྱ་བ་ ༨ པའི་ཚེས་ ༩༨ རྒྱུ་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༥ ལོའི་རྒྱ་བ་ ༩ པའི་ཚེས་ ༩༡ ཉིན་རྩོགས་པར་གྱིས། སྐར་རྩོད་

- མིན་པོས་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཤེས་ལྡན་མི་སྣ་བཅས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་བ་ ༤ པའི་ཆེས་ ༡༩ ལྷི་རྩ་ ༡༠ པའི་ཆེས་ ༡༩ ཉིན་  
 བཟོ་བཅོས་ཞིབ་བཤེར་བྱས་ཏེ་གཏན་ལ་འཕེལ་དགོ་ལེགས་འཕེལ།” ཞེས་གསལ།
- ༡༩ བྱང་དགལ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་ཆེ་རིང་མཚོག་ལ་བསྟུགས་པར་བརྗོད་པ། གངས་དཀར་རི་པོ། ༢༠༠༩ (༡)  
 དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་རིག་ཅུལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས། སི་ཁྲོན་དར་མདོ། འོག་གངས་ ༥༤
- ༢༠ རང་ལུལ་སྡེ་དགའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུས་ཅམ་སྟོས་པ། ལུན་ལག་ཁོང་གི་བོད་མི་ཞིག་གི་མི་ཚོ། འིར་ལ་ལྷན་  
 ལུབ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ (1939 ལོར་སྐྱེ་འབྱུངས་) གི་སྤོང་ཚོར་དོས་ལ། བྲག་གཡལ་བྲགས་པས་ཚོམ་སྡིག་བྱས།  
 printed at Sherig Parkhang, 2004 འོག་གངས་ ༢༥-༢༧
- ༢༡ ཡར་འགོ་བསོད་ནམས་སྣ་རྒྱལ་གི་དྲུང་ཡིག་དཀོན་མཚོག་། །འམི་རྒྱ་ཤར་ལུབ་དབྱེ་རྗེས་འམི་རྒྱ་ལུང་རྒྱུད་ལུལ་  
 གི་ཁྲལ་རིགས་རྒྱགས་ཚོགས་སྐོར་ལོགས་གི་གནས་རྒྱལ་རགས་རིམ། བོད་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དབྱུང་  
 གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྡེགས། བོད་རང་སྤོང་ལྗོངས་མིན་པོས་གི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་མི་རིགས་ཚོས་ལུགས་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་ལྷུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་གིས་ཚོམ་སྡིག་བྱས། ལྷི་འེ་འདོན་ཐངས་ ༢༥ མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་།  
 ལེ་ཅིང་། ༢༠༠༥ འོག་གངས་ ༡༠༤-༡༡༩
- ༢༢ བསོད་རྒྱུང་། རྗེ་དགོ་སྐལ་བཟང་དབང་འདུས་གི་རོ་མཚར་ཆེ་བའི་ཆེ་གང་། ལྷུང་གོའི་བོད་ལྗོངས། ༢༠༠༢ (༥)  
 ལྷུང་གོའི་བོད་ལྗོངས་དུས་དེབ་ཁང་། ལེ་ཅིང་། འོག་གངས་ ༤༩-༥༥
- ༢༣ ལུབ་བསྟན་ལུན་ཚོགས། རྗེ་དགོའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་དང་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐོར་རགས་ཅམ་སྟོས་པ། བོད་ལྗོངས་ཞིབ་  
 འཇུག ༢༠༠༧ (༡) གཙོ་གཉེར་ལས་ཁུངས་བོད་ལྗོངས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་། ལྷ་ས། འོག་གངས་ ༡-༡༠
- ༢༤ ཁམས་སྡེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་བོའི་སྤྱི་དོན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་པོ། །ལྷ་ལྷུང་འཆེ་མེད་རྗོད་དང་། རྒྱ་གཡལ་གཉེས་ཀྱིས་  
 བརྟམས། ལྷུང་གོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ལེ་ཅིང་། ༢༠༠༤ འོག་གངས་ ༢༩༢ བཞུགས།
- ༢༥ རྗེ་དགོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་རྒྱ་འོད་གསར་པའི་ཕེ་ལོང་། ལུབ་བསྟན་ལུན་ཚོགས། བོད་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དབྱུང་  
 གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྡེགས། འདོན་ཐངས་ ༢༩ པ། བོད་རང་སྤོང་ལྗོངས་མིན་པོས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་སྟོར་བསྤོང་ལྷུ་  
 ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། ༢༠༡༠ འོག་གངས་ ༢༤༤ བཞུགས།
- ༢༦ རྗེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་རབས་རིན་ཆེན་སྤོང་མཛེས། དགོ་ལེགས་བསམ་པས་བཀོད་པ། (?)<sup>63</sup> འོག་གངས་ ༥༧༠ བཞུགས།
- ༢༧ བཀའ་སློབ་ཁྲི་རྒྱར་སྡེ་དགོ་འཇུ་ཆེན་ལུབ་བསྟན་ནམ་རྒྱལ་གི་སྐུ་ཆེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བཀའ་སློབ་ཁྲི་རྒྱར་སྡེ་དགོ་འཇུ་  
 ཆེན་ལུབ་བསྟན་ནམ་རྒྱལ་ (1930-2011) གིས་བརྟམས། དེབ་གསུམ་པ། ༢༠༡༤ Juchentsang White House,  
 Chauntra འོག་གངས་ ༡-༥༩༤ བར་སྡེ་དགོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གསལ།

63 འོག་གངས་ ༥༥༩-༥༦༠ བང་། “གུས་སྟོབ་པ་སྐལ་ལྷན་ཆེ་རིང་ནས་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པ་བཞིན་” ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་འོག་གངས་ ༥༧༠-༩  
 བང་། “རིས་དོན་གིས་” ཞེས་པ་ནི། ལུང་མ་ལས་སྐུ་མ་དགོན་བཤམ་ལུང་ལུབ་བསྟན་མིན་གསུམ་ནམ་རྒྱལ་གི་ལྷིང་གི་མཁམ་པོ་རིས་དོན་མཚོག་གསལ་ པས་  
 ཆེར་ ༢༠༡༩ ལོར་སྤར་རེས། སྤར་སྟུན་གནང་མཁམ་དང་སྤར་ཁང་མིང་བྱང་ས་གནས་སོགས་མ་གསལ། ཡལ་ཆེར་བལ་ལུལ་རྒྱལ་སར་སྤར་རེས། ལུག་  
 དེབ་འདིའི་རྒྱུས་སྟོན་བཅོན་ཚོལ་བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཇུས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་འཇུས་གཞི་དགོ་བཤེས་ཆེ་རིང་པོ་ལགས་ནས་གནང་བྱུང་བར་ལུགས་ཇེ་ཆེ་ལྷ།

ཞོར་འཕྲོས་ཕྱི་ས་བྱུང་ཕྱི་དབུལ་ཆོས་སྲིད་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་དབྱུང་ཚོས་རིགས་ལ་འད་གཞིགས་འཚལ།

- 1 སྐྱིད་བཏང་ཤེས་བྲ། བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ལས་ཕྱི་དབུལ་དཔལ་ཁང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་། Tibetan Freedom ལོ་ 3 ཡང་ 317 བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ 3047 མེ་ལུག་ལྷ་ 13 ཚེས་ 12 རེས་གཟའ་བ་སངས། 16/2/1968  
བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསར་ཁང་གི་དབུ་འཛིན་ཚོགས་རྒྱུང་གིས་ཆེད་བཅུགས་ཤོད་སྟོད་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་  
ཀྱིས་གསར་བསྐྱོགས་བྱས་པ། རྫོང་བཟང་བསམ་གཏན་གྱིས་རྫོང་གི་བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསར་ཁང་དུ་དཔལ་  
ཏེ་སྐྱེལ་འབྲེལ་ས་ཞུས་པའོ། །འོག་འོས་ 3
- 2 སྐྱིད་བཏང་ཤེས་བྲ། བོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ལས། ཕྱི་དབུལ་བཟོ་རིག་ལག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་།  
Tibetan Freedom ལོ་ 3 ཡང་ 314 བོད་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ 3047 མེ་ལུག་ལྷ་ 13 ཚེས་ 33 རེས་གཟའ་ལྷག་པ།  
21/2/1968 བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསར་ཁང་གི་དབུ་འཛིན་ཚོགས་རྒྱུང་གིས་ཆེད་བཅུགས་ཤོད་སྟོད་བསྟན་འཛིན་  
ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཀྱིས་གསར་བསྐྱོགས་བྱས་པ། རྫོང་བཟང་བསམ་གཏན་གྱིས་རྫོང་གི་བོད་མིའི་རང་དབང་གསར་ཁང་  
དུ་དཔལ་ཏེ་སྐྱེལ་འབྲེལ་ས་ཞུས་པའོ། །འོག་འོས་ 3
- 3 ཀོ་བཙོ་བཟུ་ཤིས་རྩོམ་བཟུམས། ཕྱི་དབུལ་པར་ཁང་། (ཕྱི་དབུལ་པར་ཁང་རིག་གཞུང་གུན་འདུས་གཞུང་མེད་  
ཁང་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་བཟུ་ཤིས་རྩོམ་པར་གི་དཀར་ཆག་རྩོམ་པའི་ཚོས་བཟུ་ཤིས་པའི་ཕྱེལ་མིག་ཅེས་བྲ་བ་  
བཞུགས་སོ།) སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱུབ། 1997 འོག་གངས་ 344 བཞུགས།
- 4 རྫོང་གོས་ལུན་ཚོགས་ནས་བཟུམས། ཕྱི་དབུལ་པར་ཁང་དུ་རིན་ཆེན་དུལ་ཚུའི་སྐྱོར་བའི་རྟོགས་པ་བཟོད་པའི་  
གཏམ་རྒྱུ་ཆེ་བཅུད་ལོ་བའི་སྐྱེད་བྱུངས་ཞེས་བྲ་བ། གངས་དཀར་རི་བོ། 1994 (1) དཀར་མཛེས་ཞུས་  
རིག་ཅལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས། སི་ཁྲོན་དར་མདོ། འོག་གངས་ 137-138
- 5 འཆི་མེད་རབ་བཞུག་གིས་བྲིས། ཕྱི་དབུལ་སྤར་ཁང་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ་ཡང་བསྐྱར་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་སྟོན་  
རྣམས་ཅེས། གངས་དཀར་རི་བོ། 1996 (1) དཀར་མཛེས་ཞུས་རིག་ཅལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས། སི་ཁྲོན་  
དར་མདོ། འོག་གངས་ 41-43
- 6 ལུབ་བསྟན་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བྲིས། ཀམ་སི་ཏུན་རིམ་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་དབྱུང་གཞི་མདོར་བསྟུས།  
གངས་དཀར་རི་བོ། 1996 (1) དཀར་མཛེས་ཞུས་རིག་ཅལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་ཚོགས། སི་ཁྲོན་དར་མདོ།  
འོག་གངས་ 43-62
- 7 ཞི་རྒྱུད་ཚོགས་ཆེན་ལ་གོ་སར་གྱི་འཆམ་སྲོལ་དར་ཚུལ། མི་རིགས། 1994 (1) གུང་གུང་སི་ཁྲོན་མེད་ལུང་མི་  
རིགས་ལས་དོན་ལྷན་ལྷན་ཁང་། ཁྲིང་ཏུའུ། འོག་གངས་ 34-36
- 8 ཕྱི་དབུལ་པར་ཁང་ཚོས་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོའི་ཤིང་བར་ལྷ་རིས་དང་དེའི་གསལ་བཤད། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། 2003
- 9 ཀམ་སི་ཐུལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བསྐྱོགས་བསྐྱར་བྲིས། ཕྱི་དབུལ་པར་ཁང་གི་པར་ཤིང་དཀར་ཆག་བོད་རྒྱ་ཤེས་སྟུང་། སི་  
ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྟུན་ཁང་། 2007

- ༡༠ བྱ་མོད་སྟོབས་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་གང་པོ། (སྟོན་ཆ་) བོ་ཉ་ལ། ༢༠༠༥ (༦) གཙོ་གཉེར་དེར་དུས་ཤུང་གོ་དུས་དེབ་  
ཁང་། བེ་ཅིང་། འོག་གངས་ ༦༠-༦༡
- ༡༡ བྱ་མོད་སྟོབས་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་གང་པོ། (སྟོན་ཆ་) བོ་ཉ་ལ། ༢༠༠༥ (༧) གཙོ་གཉེར་དེར་དུས་ཤུང་གོ་དུས་དེབ་  
ཁང་། བེ་ཅིང་། འོག་གངས་ ༦༠-༦༡
- ༡༢ ཆེ་རིང་དབལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་དབལ་སྤྱངས་དཔོན་ཚན་ན་རིམ་གྱི་མཛད་ཚུལ་མདོར་བསྟུན། དབལ་སྤྱངས་འོད་  
སྤང་། འདོན་ཐེངས་ (༤) ༢༠༠༦ དབལ་སྤྱངས་གསུང་རབ་ཉམས་གསོ་ཁང་། འེས་རབ་སྤྱང་། འོག་གངས་ ༣༦-༣༧
- ༡༣ རྗེ་དགེ་དབལ་བཟང་། མྱིང་རྗེ་གེ་སར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྗེ་དགེའི་པར་ཁང་བར་གྱི་བཟང་འབྲེལ། གངས་དཀར་རི་པོ།  
༢༠༠༦ (༡) དཀར་མཛེས་ཁུལ་རིག་ཚུལ་མཉམ་འབྲེལ་སློབ་ཚོགས། སི་ཁྲོན་དར་མདོ། འོག་གངས་ ༥༤-༥༥
- ༡༤ ལྷག་འོད་དབལ་བསྟུན། རྗེ་དགེའི་མཉམ་གྲོགས། གངས་རིའི་རང་གདངས། སི་ཁྲོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་བོད་ཡིག་སློབ་མཉམ་  
རིག་གཞུང་དུས་དེབ་ ༦ ༢༠༠༧ འོག་གངས་ ༥-༩
- ༡༥ འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚོས་སྟོན། རྗེ་དགེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་མྱིང་གེ་སར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་དེ་བཞིན་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་མི་སྣ་  
ཁག་ཅིག་གི་སྐོར་མིན་རིག་གནས་གནའ་བུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དོ་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་བསྟུན། མདོ་སྐད་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ སློབ་མཉམ་བཅའ་བཞེ་  
པ། ཀན་སུ་འོད་ཀྱི་འེས་རིག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སློབ་ཁང་། ༢༠༠༩ འོག་གངས་  
༤༡༩-༤༢༤
- ༡༦ གནས་སྐྱུ་ ཁམས་རྫོགས་ཆེན་དགོན་པའི་གེ་སར་གར་འཆམ་དང་དེ་དགོན་རྗེ་གཞན་དུ་དར་ཚུལ་སྐྱེར་བ། མང་  
ཚོགས་སྐྱུ་རྒྱལ། ༢༠༡༡ (༡) བོད་ཀྱི་དམངས་སྲོལ་རིག་གནས། མཚོ་སྟོན་ཞིང་ཆེན་རིག་གནས་ཐིན་གྱིས་གཙོ་  
གཉེར་བྱས། འོག་གངས་ ༤༧-༥༠
- ༡༧ འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚོས་སྟོན། རྗེ་དགེའི་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པའི་མྱིང་གེ་སར་གར་འཆམ་དང་འེབ་འོད་སྐོར་རྒྱུ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཚུལ་སྐྱེར་བ། བོད་  
སྐོར་ཞིབ་འཇུག ༢༠༡༡ (༢) གཙོ་གཉེར་ལས་ཁུངས་བོད་སྐོར་སྐྱེ་ཆེན་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་། ལྷ་ས། འོག་  
གངས་ ༧༠-༧༤
- ༡༨ འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཚོས་སྟོན། རྗེ་དགེའི་རྫོགས་ཆེན་གྱི་གེ་སར་གར་འཆམ་སྐོར་ལ་དབྱེད་པ། བོད་སྐོར་སྐྱུ་རྒྱལ་  
ཞིབ་འཇུག ༢༠༡༢ (༡) བོད་སྐོར་མི་རིགས་སྐྱུ་རྒྱལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་ནས་གཙོ་གཉེར་བྱས། ལྷ་ས། འོག་  
གངས་ ༤༦-༥༦
- ༡༩ སྐྱེ་ཆེ་གསེར་ལྷང་དགོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གནས་ཡིག། །རབ་བརྟན་དགེ་ལེགས་སྤྱན་རློབ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྐྱེག་བྱས།  
དགེ་ལེགས་འདོད་འཇོའི་དཔེ་ཚོགས། དེབ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སློབ་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་པ། ༢༠༡༣  
འོག་གངས་ ༢༥༧ བཞུགས།<sup>64</sup>

64 མཁས་དབང་མཁན་པོ་རབ་བརྟན་དགེ་ལེགས་སྤྱན་རློབ་ཚོགས་ (1981 ལོར་སྐྱུ་འབྲུངས་) ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྐྱེག་བྱས་པའི་དགེ་ལེགས་འདོད་འཇོའི་  
དཔེ་ཚོགས། དེབ་དང་པོ། འབྲི་རྒྱུད་ཡིན་དགོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་། ལུབ་བསྟན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་རབ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་རྩམ་ཐད།



དེས་བཞི་ལ། བྱལ་དབང་བྱལ་བསྟན་འཕེལ་རྒྱ་ས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར།  
 དེས་བསྟན་ལ། མཐུན་རབ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད་ཟེར་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་། གསུང་མོང་བྱའི་སྐོར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྲིག་བྱས་ལ།  
 དེས་བཞི་ལ། འཕྲི་རྒྱུད་རབ་བརྟན་དགོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས།  
 དེས་ལྷ་ལ། ལྷ་རི་བདེ་ལྷན་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་དང་བྱལ་དབང་དབལ་ཚོས་ཡབ་སྐུས་ཀྱི་གསུང་སྐོར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྲིག་བྱས་ལ།  
 དེས་བྱུག་ལ། འཛིགས་མེད་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གཏེར་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྲིག་བྱས་ལ།  
 དེས་བརྟན་ལ། བྲག་རའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་མགུར་འབྲུམ་འཇམ་རྒྱལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སོགས་སྐྱེ་བ་གཞན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་སྐོར་ཕྱོགས་སྤྲིག་བྱས་ལ།  
 དེས་བརྒྱུད་ལ། ཁམས་པའི་དམངས་ཁྲིད་ཀྱི་ཁེད།  
 དེས་དགུ་ལ། མདོ་ཁམས་སྡེ་དབུའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་རུང་ཁ་ཤོར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག།  
 དེས་བརྟན་ལ། རོར་མེ་མི་ཁང་སར་མཁལ་པོ་དག་དབང་ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར།  
 དེས་བརྟན་གཉིས་ལ། བྲག་ར་འཇམ་དབྱུང་ས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མའི་རྣམ་ཐར་དང་། དབལ་ལྷན་མཁར་མདོ་དགོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས།  
 དེས་བརྟན་གཉིས་ལ། མདོ་ཁམས་སྡེ་དབུའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དར་བའི་ཞབས་ཤིང་རྣམས་པར་བཞག་པ་ལེགས་སྟོན་ན་དའི་རིམ་ལོ།  
 དེས་བརྟན་གསུམ་ལ། འཕྲི་རྒྱལ་གཉན་འདོད་གི་གནས་ཡིག་དང་གནས་བསྟོད་བཅས་ཕྱོགས་སྤྲིག་བྱས་ལ།  
 དེས་བརྟན་བཞི་ལ། ཕྱེ་དབུའི་དམངས་ཁྲིད་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་སོགས་དམངས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་མང་བ་ཞིག།  
 དེས་བརྟན་ལ། ཕྱེ་དབུའི་མདུན་ཤོ།  
 དེས་བརྟན་བརྟན་ལ། འཇམ་གྲིང་མེད་ཆེན་སྐྱེས་བུའི་ཕྱོགས་པ་བརྗོད་པ་འཇམ་གྲིང་སྐྱེས་བུའི་དགའ་ཚལ་དང་རྣ་ས་བརྗོད་དང་དཀར་གྱི་མདུད་པ་བཅས་  
 ལེགས་སྤྲིག་བྱས་པ་ཡོད་དུག་ཀྱང་ད་བར་མ་མཇུག་ལ། འདིས་ཀྱང་མི་ཚང་ད་དུང་ཕྱེ་དབུའི་བྲ་བ། ༡༣༡༠༡༣༠༧ ཉིན་བལྟ་བུ་གསུངས་སྐབས་མཁལ་  
 དབང་མཁལ་པོ་དགེ་ལེགས་ལུག་ཚོགས་པ་རབ་བརྟན་མཚོགས་པ་གཤམ་གསལ་རྣམས་ཚོས་སྤྲིག་མཚན་འདུག །འཇམ་ཆེན་བསྟན་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་  
 འཛིན་པའི་ཚོས་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་དབལ་ལྷན་ཡེ་ན་དགོན་གྱི་བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པ་བདེན་གཏམ་སྐྱེ་ལྡེ་སྤྲུང་བྱུང་སྤྲུང་། དབལ་བཅེ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རིང་ལུགས་འཛིན་  
 པའི་ཚོས་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕྲེ་རྒྱུད་རབ་བརྟན་དགོན་གྱི་བྱུང་བ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་རབ་དཀར་པེལ་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་། དབལ་ལྷན་མཁར་མདོ་དགོན་སྐབས་བསྟན་  
 ལུག་ཚོགས་གྲིང་གི་བྱུང་བ་གསལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་ཉིན་བྱེད་གསར་པའི་འོད་སྣང་། མཁར་མདོ་ཆེན་མཚོགས་གཡུ་ཤིས་འོད་འབར་གྱི་བྱུང་ཚུལ་གཏེར་འབྱུང་  
 ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་ལས་རྒྱ་ས་པར་བརྟན་པ་བསྟན་འཕྲོར་སྟེན་པའི་བརྟན་ལེན། གཙང་རོང་ལྷེ་ཁྱེ་རྒྱ་མཁར་ཆེན་མོའི་དཀར་ཆག་རྩོད་ཤོས་ལས་ཞབས་བུས་ལ།  
 མཁར་མདོ་སྐོབ་བྱ་བའདད་སྐབས་བསམ་སྤྲིང་གི་སྤྲིགས་ཡིག་ལེགས་ཉེས་རང་ཞབས་བུ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། ལྷ་རི་བདེ་ལྷན་གཉིས་པ་ལྷ་འབྲང་སྐབས་སྡེའི་  
 བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པ་རོ་མཚར་དེ་རྗེའི་སྤྲུང་བྱུང་སྤྲུང་། འཕྲི་རྒྱུད་དཔོན་སྟོད་རབ་བརྟན་ལྷན་པོ་ཆའི་བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པ་དུས་ལྷན་གསལ་བའི་ཉི་མ། དཔོན་སྟོད་  
 བཟུ་ཤིས་སྤང་དགོན་བདུད་དབྱང་ཟེལ་གོན་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་བསྟན་ཉེ་བརྗོད་པ་སྟོན་བྱུང་གསལ་བའི་ཉི་མ། དབལ་ལྷན་རྩི་མོག་མདོ་སྐབས་ཐེག་  
 ཆེན་བསམ་གཏུན་ཚོར་བུའི་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་ཁུངས་ལྷན་གཏམ་གྱི་རོལ་ལོ། དབལ་མེ་མི་དགོན་མདོ་སྐབས་ཐེག་མཚོགས་དང་རྒྱ་ས་གྲིང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་  
 རྩེད་ཐང་བརྗོད་པ་གཟུར་གནས་སྟོ་ལྷན་དབྱེས་པའི་རྩ་སྐྱ། བཟུ་ཤིས་དགོན་དང་། འཕྲིས་ཐོག་དགོན། ཤོར་སྤྲེད་རོ་དགོན། རང་རྩི་ཐོག་དགོན། རབ་  
 བརྟན་དགོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ས་སྤྲུང་བསྟན། མཛེས་ལུ་ལྷ་རིག་བའདད་བྲ་བཟུ་ཤིས་རབ་བརྟན་གྲིང་གི་རོ་སྟོད་མདོར་བསྟན།  
 མདོ་ཁམས་སྡེ་དབུའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་རུང་ཁ་ཤོར་གྱི་ལྷ་རི་བདེ་ལྷན་པ་ལས་བཅས་པ་ཉེ་ཚུང་ཐང་གི་རོ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་སྤྲིང་ལོ།  
 ཁམས་ཀྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་བྱ་རུང་ཁ་ཤོར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་བསྟན་པ་སྐལ་བ་མཐར་དགའ་ལྟོན། མདོ་ཁམས་སྡེ་དབུའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཚོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་རུང་  
 ཁ་ཤོར་ཞེས་བྲགས་པའི་རོ་སྤྲིང་། (འདི་རྩོད་པ་བརྟན་ལོང་) མཁལ་ཆེན་རྩི་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་དག་དབང་བསམ་གཏུན་རྫོང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་གསུང་དུ་  
 བསྤྲིགས་པའི་ཚོས་ཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་བྱུང་ཚོར་བུའི་མེད་ལ། ས་སྟོད་སྡེ་དབུའི་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོའི་མདུན་ལ་འདོན་ཆེན་པོ་མཁར་མདོ་འཆེ་  
 མེད་མགོན་པོའི་མཚན་རྗེས་འགའ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་པ་སྟོན་བྱུང་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་།  
 འཇམ་དབལ་སྐྱེའི་གནས་མཚོགས་འཇམ་ཆེན་རྩི་བྲག་གི་གནས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་མདོར་བསྟན་སྐབས་སྤྲུང་བྱུང་བྱུང་། འཕྲི་རྒྱལ་གཉན་འདོད་ཆེན་པོ་ཉེ་འཁོར་  
 དང་བཅས་པའི་གནས་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཚུང་ཐང་བརྗོད་པ་ལྷ་གཉེར་དབྱེས་པའི་མཚོད་སྤྲིང་། འཕྲི་རྒྱལ་གཉན་འདོད་གི་གནས་ཡིག་མདོར་བསྟན།

30 རྗེ་དགའི་མདུན་གྲོ། རབ་བརྟན་དགོ་ལེགས་ཤུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྤྲིག་བྱས། རྗེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་  
 དབུས་སྤྲི་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་ལས་ཁང་ནས་པར་སྐྱོན་དང་འབྲེམས་སྤེལ་ཞུས། རྗེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དེ་བ་  
 སྲིབ་དང་པོ། Majnu Ka Tila, Delhi, 2014 འོག་གངས་ 399 བཞུགས།

31 རྗེ་དགའི་མོ་ཆེན། རབ་བརྟན་དགོ་ལེགས་ཤུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྤྲིག་བྱས། རྗེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་  
 དབུས་སྤྲི་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་ལས་ཁང་ནས་པར་སྐྱོན་དང་འབྲེམས་སྤེལ་ཞུས། རྗེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་ཡོངས་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་དེ་བ་  
 སྲིབ་གཉིས་པ། Majnu Ka Tila, Delhi, 2014 འོག་གངས་ 390 བཞུགས།

གཞིས་པོད་ནང་སྤྱི་སྡེ་དུས་དེ་བ་མི་འདྲ་བ་ཏུ་ལས་བརྒྱུ་ཤལ་བརྒྱལ་བ་འདོན་སྤྲོད་ཡིན་ནའང་བྲེས་བ་སྤྲིག་  
 འཇུགས་གཞུང་སྡེ་རྒྱ་མདུན་དུས་དེ་བ་ཆ་ཚང་ཐོབ་ཐབས་འབད་ཚོལ་བྱས་མེད་སྟབས་ད་དུང་རྗེ་དགོ་དང་  
 འབྲེལ་བའི་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་མང་དག་ཡོད་དེས་པའི་སྤྲུགས་སྤང་ཅན་ཚོས་རྟག་ཏུ་སྤྲུགས་འཁྲུང་རྗེས་མང་དག་ལ་ཆེ།

གཉན་འདོད་གནས་བསྐྱོད་དགོ་ལེགས་དཔལ་སྟེ་དུ། ལྷ་རི་བདེ་ལྷན་གཉིས་པའི་གནས་ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་མདོ་ཅམ་དང་། སྤྲུག་བསྐྲོད་པའི་ལོན་བཅས་  
 ལ་མཚན་དུ་བཏང་བ་བྱས་པའི་ཞལ་ལུང་། གཞི་རིའི་གནས་ཡིག་ལ་ལུར་རྒྱན། ཡིད་ལྷུང་ལྷ་མཚོའི་གནས་ཀྱི་དོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་ཅམ་བརྗོད་པའི་བྲལ་  
 རོར་བུའི་མེ་ལོང་།

མདོ་ཁམས་སྤེ་དགའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དར་བའི་ཞབས་སྲོའི་རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པ་ལེགས་སྤོན་དེ་དོལ་མོ། རྗེ་དགའི་མདུན་གྲོའི་སྐོར་ལ་སྤོ་སྤྲིམ་བརྒྱ་རེ་  
 དགྲ། མདའ་དར་བའདད་པ་མདོར་བསྟུགས། གཉེན་སྦྱོན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་དར་བའདད་མེས་པོའི་ཞལ་རྒྱན། མདོ་ཁམས་ཨ་ལྷུག་ཡུལ་གྱི་གཉེན་དར་གྱི་  
 བའདད་པ། བག་མའི་རྟལ་ལེན་དུས་ཀྱི་བའདད་པ། མེས་པོའི་གུང་སྤྲོ་ཁུ་བྱུག་མཁུན་སྤྲོ། བག་བའདད་བསྟུས་པ་དགོ་ལེགས་ཀྱན་འབྱུང་། སོ་ནམ་ལས་  
 ཀ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་བའདད་པ། འུ་བའདད་མེས་པོའི་འགགས་འདེབས། མེ་གོ་ཚེ་རྩལ་གྱི་མོའི་ལག་སེལ། གཟེངས་བཅའ་ཞིང་འདེན་རྩལ་གྱི་ཡི་གོ། རྗེ་  
 དགའི་དམངས་ཚོང་གཏམ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་འདྲ་མེན་དགས་ལ། ཁམས་པའི་གནའ་རབས་ཀྱི་ཟེར་སྲོལ་འགའ་ཞིག་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བརྗོད་པ་མེས་  
 པོའི་ཞལ་ལུང་། སྤྱིང་པ་འདོག་སྤྱོ་སོགས་འུའི་རྟལ་དང་།

མདོ་ཁམས་སྤེ་དགའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཁ་མོ་སྤྱིང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རྗེས་འགྲུལ་འགའ་ཞིག་གསལ་བར་བརྗོད་པ་མེད་ཆེན་དཔེས་པའི་དོལ་མོ། འདྲ་སྤྱིང་  
 གོ་སར་རྒྱལ་བའི་འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་ས་སྤྱིད་ལྷོ་སོས་ཡག་གིས་གཙོས་རྗེ་རྩེའི་རྒྱུད་ན་སྤྱིད་རྗེའི་མཚན་རྗེས་རི་ལྷར་བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་  
 ཏུ་བརྗོད་པ་དོ་མཚན་གཏམ་ཀྱི་མཚན་སྤྲིན། མདོ་ཁམས་འདན་མའི་ཡུལ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྤྱིང་དཀར་པུ་རྟལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གནའ་འགྲུང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་  
 གཏམ་སྦོན་རྒྱུང་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། འཁྲུངས་སྤྱིང་ལས་གསལ་བའི་འགོག་ཡུལ་གང་ཡིན་བའདད་པ་འགོག་ཡུལ་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། སྤྱིང་རྗེ་  
 སེང་ཆེན་མི་ཡི་ཉི་མའི་འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་ས་སྤྱིད་སྤྱིད་སོས་ཡག་ལ་རྩེད་ཟང་བསྟུགས་པ་དོན་འབྲུབ་མེད་མ་དཔེས་པའི་མཚན་སྤྲིན། གོ་སར་སྤྱིད་གི་  
 ས་མིང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བསྟུགས་པའི་ཞར་ལ་ཤོར་བའི་གཏམ་མ་དག་རྣམས་པའུང་པའི་ཀུ་ཏ་ཀ། ཁམ་ཡུམ་འགོག་བཟའ་ལྷ་མོའི་འབྲི་མོ་བཞོན་དུངས།  
 ལྷག་དོང་ཚང་གི་སྤྱོད་བའདད། ཁ་མོ་སྤྱིང་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གཞི་བདག་གསོལ་མཚན། སྤྱིང་སྤྱིང་པ་གསལ་ཅན་སྤྱིང་སྤྱིང་འཇུག་མེད་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་འབྲེལ་  
 དབྱུངས་གསལ་བའི་དོ་སྤོང་། སྤྱིང་གོ་སར་རྒྱལ་བའི་རིགས་དང་འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་དབྱུང་པ་ཞེས་པ་ལ་ལན་དུ་བརྗོད་པ་གཟུང་གནས་  
 དཔེས་པའི་དོལ་མོ། སྤྱིས་མཚོག་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་པའི་སྤྱིང་རྗེ་གོ་སར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཚོས་སྐོར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ལྷན་ལའི་ཤེང་བ། མདོ་  
 ཁམས་ས་ཡི་རྗེ་པོ་སྤྱིང་དཀར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་རྗེ་ལྷར་ཤོད་རྩལ་འདིག་རྟེན་ཡུགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་བཞག་དང་བཅས་པ་རྩེད་ཟང་བའདད་  
 པ་སྤྲུལ་བཟང་ལྷ་ཡི་དགའ་ཚལ། སྤྱིང་དཀར་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཆེན་པོའི་རིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་པར་དང་གཏུང་རབས་བཅས་མདོར་ཅམ་བརྗོད་པ། སྤྱིང་  
 གཏེར་རྗེ་དུང་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བརྒྱ་གར་དབང་འགོ་འདུལ་རྣལ་གྱི་ཟབ་ཚོས་སྐོར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག། སྤྱིང་གཏེར་བརྒྱ་བཞག་པ་རྣལ་ལས་ས་སྤོང་གཏེར་  
 ཆེན་ལྷ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་དབང་ཆེན་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཆེ་ཡུམ་ཅན་སྤྱིའི་ཚོས་སྐོར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་སོགས་ཡོད་དོ། ཞེས་གསལ་བར་གཞིགས་  
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ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༤༧ བར་སྡེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱིས་གཙོས་སྡེ་དགའི་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་དཔེ་དེབ་དཔྱད་ཚཱ་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནང་ཇི་ཡོད་སྐོར་  
*A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge, sDe-dge'i rGyal-rabs*, Tibetan text edited with historical introduction by  
 Josef Kolmaš, published by the Oriental Institute in Academia, Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy  
 of Sciences, Prague, 1968 སོག་གངས་ ༡༧༦ རང་གསལ་བ་དེར་གཞིགས་ལ། ༡༩༤༩ རས་ད་བར་སྡེ་དགའི་སྐོར་རྒྱ་ཡིག་  
 རང་ཇི་བྲིས་མ་འོངས་བར་ཐུགས་སྦྱང་ཅན་གྱི་སློབ་གཉེར་བ་རྣམས་ནས་གསར་བསྐྱོན་ཁ་སྐོང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་གཤམ་ཆེ་ལགས།

ཕྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༩ ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༩ རང་རྩ་རམ་ས་ལའི་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་རིག་གཞུང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་བ་རོང་ཆེན་གཉི་སྐུལ་སྐུ་  
 མཚོག་གིས་ (གུས་བ་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་རིག་གཞུང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ལས་རོགས་ཀྱིས་བཅར་འདི་གོ་སྒྲིག་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་ས་  
 མཚོན་པའི་ཐུག་རོགས་ཞུས་) ༡༩༧༩ ལོར་རྒྱ་གར་དུ་བཅའ་བྱོལ་དུ་ལོ་ལོ་བས་ནས་སྐུས་ལུལ་འབྲས་མོ་ལྗོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ས་  
 སྐང་ཉིག་དུ་ཐར་བ་དོན་གཉེར་སློབ་གསུམ་བྱ་བ་དགའི་སློབ་ཐུགས་དམ་གོང་འཕེལ་ལ་བཅོན་བཞེན་པའི་སྡེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་  
 རློན་པོའམ་མདུན་འཁོར་སྐུ་ཞབས་ཉོ་ཚོ་ཨ་འཇམ་ [འཇམ་དབང་ས་མེང་གོ་ (1919–1987)]<sup>65</sup> དང་། སྐུ་ཞབས་ཕུ་མ་རིན་  
 རྣམ་ [རིན་ཆེན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (1925–1986)]<sup>66</sup> རྣམ་གཉིས་ལ་སྡེ་དགའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྐོར་ཚོགས་བཅར་འདི་ཇི་ཞུས་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་  
 མཛོད་ཁང་གི་དག་རྒྱུན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྡེ་ཆོན་གྱི་ཉེ་བ་ཐག་ཁོངས་སུ་བཞུགས་ཡོད་ལགས།

ལྷ་ས་ད་བར་བདག་གིས་མིག་དབང་གི་བསོད་ནམས་དང་ལོངས་སྤོད་དུ་མ་གྲུར་བའི་སྡེ་དགའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཇི་  
 ཡོད་བྲིས་ན། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་བཀའ་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་བདམས་བྲངས་པའི་ཕྱི་མོའི་ཚོགས་ཇི་སྡེ་ད་བ་པར་དུ་བསྐྱབས་

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65 བཀའ་རློན་ཁི་ལུང་སྡེ་དགའི་འཇུ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་བསྐྱན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐུ་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བཀའ་རློན་ཁི་ལུང་སྡེ་དགའི་འཇུ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་བསྐྱན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་  
 (1930–2011) ཀྱིས་བཅུམས། དེབ་གསུམ་ལ། ༢༠༡༩ Juchentsang White House, Chauntra སོག་གངས་ ༣༧༧–༣༧༩ བར་མདུན་ཉོ་  
 ཚོ་ཚང་གི་མི་རིའི་རྒྱུད་མདོར་བསྐུས་གསལ།

66 བཀའ་རློན་ཁི་ལུང་སྡེ་དགའི་འཇུ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་བསྐྱན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐུ་ཚེའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། བཀའ་རློན་ཁི་ལུང་སྡེ་དགའི་འཇུ་ཆེན་ཐུབ་བསྐྱན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་  
 (1930–2011) ཀྱིས་བཅུམས། དེབ་གསུམ་ལ། ༢༠༡༩ Juchentsang White House, Chauntra སོག་གངས་ ༣༧༩–༣༨༧ བར་མདུན་ཕུ་མ་  
 ཚང་གི་མི་རིའི་རྒྱུད་མདོར་བསྐུས་གསལ།

པའི་ཚུལ་ལས་ཉེ་བར་བརྩམས་པའི་གཏམ་བཟང་པོ་སྐོ་ལྷན་མོས་པའི་ཀྱུན་ཡོངས་སུ་ཁ་བྱེ་བའི་རྒྱ་ཡོད་གཞིན་ཀྱི་འབྲི་  
ཤིང་ལས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གསུང་རབ་གངས་རིའི་ཁྲོད་དུ་དེང་སང་རི་ཅམ་སྤང་བ་བར་དུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བྱུང་བ་དངོས་ལེགས་  
བར་བཤད་པའི་ཡལ་འདབ་སྟེ་བྱུག་པ་ལས། “མི་དབང་ (བསྟན་པ་ཆེ་རིང་) འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བྱང་ཡིག་པ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དགའ་  
བའི་སྐོ་ལྷོས་ཀྱིས་ཡིག་ཚང་ཁུངས་མ་ལས་བརྱུས་པའི་གཏམ་གྱི་སྦྱོར་བ་བྱས་པ་ལྟར་འགོད་ན།”<sup>67</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

མདོ་སྤང་ལོར་ལྷན་གྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱར་བའི་ས་དབང་སྟེ་དགོའི་གསུང་རབས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་  
བཤད་པོ་མཚར་ཆོག་གི་གཏེར་མཛོད་ནང་། “རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་ཉིད་ (སྟེ་དགོ་) ཀྱི་བྱང་ཡིག་པ་ལྷན་ཚོགས་ཚོས་གྲགས་  
ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་བུ་བསྐྱབས་པའི་ཡིག་ཚང་།”<sup>68</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

སྟེ་དགོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སམ་གསུང་རབས་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་གསུང་བཟུམ་ཚོས་འབྱུང་ནང་། “བྱང་ཨ་ཏ་རོང་གི་དེབ་ཐེར་  
དུ་གྲགས་པའི་སྟེ་དགོའི་གདན་རབས་གཅིག་ལ།”<sup>69</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

དབལ་ས་སྐྱོང་སྟེ་དགོ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་ལྷན་ཐར་དགོ་ལེགས་ལོར་བྱའི་ཐེང་བ་འདོད་དགུ་རབ་འཕེལ་  
ནང་། “བྱང་ཡིག་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དཀར་ཆག་དང་། འབྲུབ་དབང་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་གསུང་། འཚོ་བྱེད་  
དམ་པ་གུ་རུ་འཕེལ་<sup>70</sup> ཀྱི་དག་བརྩམས་དང་དག་སྐོས་ཁུངས་ལ།”<sup>71</sup> ཞེས་དང་།

མདོ་ཁམས་ས་སྐྱོང་སྟེ་དགོ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དུལ་དཀར་མི་ལོང་ནང་།  
“འབྲུམ་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པ།”<sup>72</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “སྐྱགས་ར་སྤྱི་དཔོན་གྱིས་བཞེངས་པའི་

67 དབལ་སྤུངས་དཔེ་རྒྱུད་གསར་བསྐྱབ། སི་ཏུ་ཚོས་འབྱུང་གི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། ༩། དབལ་སྤུངས་གསུང་རབ་སྤར་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ཤེས་རབ་སྤྱི་དང་།  
༡༠༡༠ འོག་ཕྱི་བ་ ༡༩༢༥

68 དབལ་ཕྱི་དགོའི་སྐོ་ལྷོས་ལ། འོག་ཕྱི་བ་ ༡༠༤༦

69 བྱང་གོའི་པོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ༡༩༤༠ འོག་གངས་ ༢།༤༣:༡༤

70 སི་ཏུ་བཏུ་ཆེན་ (1700–1774) དང་འབེ་ལོ་ཆེ་དབང་ཀུན་ཁུབ་ (1718–?) རྒྱུད་གི་དངོས་སྐོབ་སྟེ་དགོའི་བྱང་ཡིག་དབྱེད་འཚོ་གུ་རུ་འཕེལ་གྱིས་  
མཛད་པའི་སྤྱི་དགསུམ་གཙུག་རྒྱུ་སི་ཏུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་ལུང་དུལ་རྒྱ་བཙོ་ཆེན་དང་རིན་ཆེན་རིལ་བུའི་སྐོར་སྟེ་རྒྱ་བ་བདུད་རྩིའི་  
ཐེག་ལེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་མི་རྩ་ཏ་ལྟེ། སྟེ་དགོའི་བྱང་ཡིག་གུ་རུ་འཕེལ་གྱི་ཐེན་བྲིས། ཞེས་དང་།

སི་ཏུའི་སྐྱབ་རྒྱུད་ཞལ་གདམས་གུ་རུ་འཕེལ་གྱིས་བཟེད་ཐོར་བཞོད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཞེས་དང་།

སྟེ་དགོའི་འཚོ་བུ་རུ་འཕེལ་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་བརྩམས་དང་གཤམ་མིང་འགའ་ཞིག་བཞོལ་བ་སྐོ་གསལ་མཐོན་པའི་རྒྱུ། ཞེས་དང་།

རྩེ་བཙུན་སྐོ་མ་སི་ཏུ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ལྷན་ཐར་དང་པའི་ས་ཐོན་སྐྱེད་པའི་བདུད་རྩིའི་ཐེམ་ཆར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ་བཅས་ལའང་  
སྐྱབ་རས་གཡོ་བར་མཛོད།

71 སྟེ་དགོ་རྒྱལ་རབས། བོད་རྒྱུངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱབ་ཁང་། ༡༩༤༤ འོག་གངས་ ༤༢:༡–༤༢:༤

72 སྟེ་དགོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། སྤྱི་དགོའི་སྟེ་དགོ་རྩོད་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱ་ཆ་བསྐྱེད་ལོན་ལྷན་ཁང་ནས། ༡༩༤༤ ལོའི་རྒྱ་བ་ ༡༡ བར། འོག་  
གངས་ ༡༠༤:༡༤ མཁས་དབང་འབྲུབ་བསྟན་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་སྟེ་དགོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་རྒྱ་ཡོད་གསུང་པའི་མེ་ལོང་གི་འོག་གངས་  
༡༦༡ ནང་། འབྲུམ་དཀར་ཆག་མཛོད་ན་མཛོད་པར་དགའ་བ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་བྱང་ཡིག་ཨོ་རྒྱལ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༢༡༤ ལོར་བརྩམས་ཞེས་གསལ།

འབྲུམ་རྗེ་དང་པའི་དཀར་ཆག་<sup>73</sup> ཅེས་པ་རྣམས་གཤམ་པ་མངོན་དུ་སྤྱད་པའམ་འཆོལ་བསྐྱའི་འབད་བཅོལ་སྤྱོད་མེད་ཡོང་བའི་  
འབོད་བསྐྱའ་ལྷ་བ་ལགས་སོ།།

དེད་འདྲིར་སྐྱར་བ་བོད་པ་ཚང་གི་ཚོས་དང་རིག་གཞུང་། མཐའ་ན་མི་རིགས་ཚུན་ཆད་མོར་གཞིག་ཅུ་བརྒྱལ་འགྲོ་གྲམས་འདྲིར་ཁ་ཅིག་སྐྱམ་  
བཟང་ལུགས་བཟང་གི་དུས་ལྡར་འཛམ་གླིང་ཞི་བདེ། ཚན་རིག་གོ་རྟོགས་གོང་མཐོར་གཏོང་བ། འཆེ་མེད་ཞི་བར་བསྐྱེད་ནས་བོད་མི་ལྷུབས་པའི་  
ལས་འགུལ་སྤེལ་བ་ལ་ཁ་ཞེ་གཉིས་མེད་ཀྱིས་མི་འགོག་པའི་སྐབས་འདྲིར་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས། རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་གཤམ་གོ་མོའི་གདུང་རབས་ཡིག་  
ཚང་སོགས་བཤད་པའི་སྐབས་སྤེལ་བ་བསམ་པ་ལྟ་བུར་མངོན་པ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་ཡང་དེད་སང་ཚོས་ལ་མི་རྟོན་གང་ཟག་ལ་རྟོན་པའི་དུས་འདྲིར་  
ངན་བུ་བདག་ལྟ་བུས་ཉེས་ཀྱིས་དགའ་ལ་སྤྱན་ཅོག་རྒྱ་ཤོག་ལས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཆེ་བཅོན་སྤྱོད་པོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་ལམ་དུ་འཇུག་མིན་སོམ་ཉིའི་གནས་  
དང་། ཁ་གསལ་འོ་དག་འཛོངས་དང་རི་བོད་ཅའ་སྤྱོད་གི་གོ་མས་གཤམ་བྱེད་ཆུབ་པའི་བོད་མི་ཚན་གཞིན་རྣམས་ལ་ཞི་དེ་བས་པན་འབྲས་ཨ་ཡོད་  
སྤེལ་པའི་སློབ་སློང་སློང་མོར་གྱུར་ཅིང་གནས་དུས་འདྲི་འབྲར་གྱུར་པ་ཅེ་དང་གང་གིས་རོངས་སམ། ལས་ངན་ཅི་བསགས་སམ། ཇི་སྐད་དུ་ཨ་མ་དོ་  
མཁས་དབང་རྗོང་གྲག་དགེ་འདུན་ཚོས་འཕེལ་གྱིས། གྲེ་མ། ཁ་བ་ཅན་དུ་མི་གྲགས་པའི། ཁ་གཏམ་འདྲི་འབྲེལ་ནའང་། ཁ་སྐབས་བཟོ་རྟེན་དམན་  
པའི་ཕྱིར། ཁ་ལ་ཉན་མཁན་ཡོང་དོགས་མེད། ཅེས་གསུངས་པ་ཅེས་མི་བདེན། ཨ་ཅ་མ། གུ་རུ་མཁའ་ལ། ཨོ་མ་ཞི་བརྟེན།

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལྷ།

དབྱེད་ཚོམ་ཐབ་ཐུན་འདྲི་འཕྲི་སྐབས་བཞུགས་སྐྱར་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་འཛོད་ཁང་གི་བོད་ཡིག་ཕྱག་དཔེའི་དོ་དམ་པ་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཤེས་ལྡན་སྤྱོད་ཞབས་  
བསྟོད་སྤོངས་ལགས་དང་རྗོང་འཛོམས་ཆེ་རིང་རྣམ་གཉིས་ནས་དཔེ་ཁྲུང་ལུང་འདྲིན་བསྐྱོབ་ཆེད་དཔེ་དེབ་རྗེ་དགོས་མཁོ་འདོན་གཡུར་སྤོལ་  
མ་ཐུན་འབྲུར་ལམ་འཕྲལ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་། འདྲི་ག་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་གི་ལས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་དགའ་བདེ་ཆེན་དང་ལུང་བུ་གཡུ་མཚོ་གཉིས་ནས་ཀམ་ལུ་  
ཁར་ཡིག་འཇུག་གནང་བ། ལས་བྱེད་བཟའ་ཤིས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལགས་ནས་སྐྱར་གཞི་རྒྱས་འགོད་བྱས་པ། སྤོགས་པོ་ཆབ་དོམས་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཉི་མ་ལགས་  
ནས་མ་ཕྱིར་ལུ་དག་མེད་ས་གཅིག་མངོད་པ་བཅས་ལ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལྷ། མཐོང་རྒྱ་དང་མོས་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་མིག་ལྡར་སྤེལ་བསྐྱེད་འགུལ་འཛོལ་ལོར་  
འཇུག་རིགས་ལ་བཟོད་གསོལ་ལྷ་བ་དང་དབྱེད་ཚོམ་འདྲིར་ལན་དེས་ཀྱི་ལུང་རིགས་སྤོན་མ་ཡོད་ན་དང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་གོང་མཐོར་གཏོང་  
བའི་བཀའ་སློབ་དགོངས་འཆར་སྤུག་སྤོལ་གནང་མཁན་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཐག་པ་ནས་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལྷའོ།།

ཆེད་དུ་བསྐྱོད་པ།

ཨ་རིའི་བོད་རིགས་མཁས་དབང་སྤྱོད་ཞབས་ཨེ་ཡི་ཡེ་ཉི་ སི་པར་ཡིར་ (Prof. Elliot Spelling) མཚོག་ (དབྱིན་མོད་རྒྱ་གསུམ་དང་པ་རན་སི་  
བཅས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡིག་ལེགས་མཉམ་) རྟོག་མར་གུས་ནས་ ༡༩༨༧-༡༩༨༩ ལོར་རྒྱ་རམ་ས་ལ་སྤྱོད་། མེག་ལོ་ཉ་བཞུ་རིའི་ཀེ་ལའི་གསོལ་མཚོན་ཁང་  
(Tibetan Kailash Hotel) དུ་མཇུག་སྤོང་། དེ་དུས་ཁོང་པ་མེ་ཀོན་ཨོ་ཤ་ (Mackintosh) སྤྱོད་གོས་དམར་པོ་ཞིག་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཡོད་པ་དང་། དཔར་  
མར་པོ་བསྐྱོན་མཁན་རྒྱ་སྐད་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ཤེས་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དུ་ལྟ་འདྲི་ལྡང་དེར་གསལ་པོ་བྲན། གུས་རྒྱུང་ ༡༩༨༩-༡༩༩༩ བར་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་  
ཁང་གི་ཕྱོགས་བསྐྱོད་ཉམས་ཞིབ་པར་ཀ་དོར་སྐྱར་གསུམ་ཁུལ་བསྐྱོད་རིང་སྤྱོད་ཞབས་སི་པར་ཡིར་བཞུགས་སྐྱར་རྒྱ་རམ་ས་ལ་པར་མེད་ས་འགའ་ཕེབས་  
ཡོད་ཀྱང་ ༡༩༩༠ ལོ་འགོ་ནས་དོར་ས་སྤོང་ཤེས་སྤྱོད་པ་ཅམ་མ་ཐད་དེད་གཉིས་པན་ཚུན་བོད་རིག་པའི་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སྐོར་སྤོང་ཡང་དག་ཐོད་  
འགོ་རྟོགས་ལུས་པ་བྲན། ཇི་ཅམ་ཕོགས་འདིས་བྱུང་བ་དེ་ཅམ་གྱིས་ཞབས་ལོ་བརྟན་ཅིང་། ཕྱི་ཐག་རིང་ལ་གཞུང་བཟང་ཕོགས་པོ་རྫོས་ཐུབ་ཅིག་ཏུ་གྲུ་  
༡༩༩༩ ནས་བཟུང་གུས་པར་བོད་ཡིག་དང་དབྱིན་ཡིག་གི་དཔེ་དེབ་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཐུན་འབྲུང་གནང་བ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་ ༡༩༩༩ ཕྱི་ཟླ་ ༩ ཚེས་ ༡༩  
ཉིན་ལྷར་བཅས་སྤིང་ཞིའི་གཞུག་རྒྱན་ལ་ལོང་ས་ལ་སྐབས་མཐོན་ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཉམ་གཞིགས་སྤྱོད་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཆེན་པོ་མཚོག་དང་།

73 སྤྱི་དགའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། སྤིང་གོས་སྤྱི་དགའི་རྫོང་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱ་ཆ་བསྐྱེད་ལུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་ནས། ༡༩༩༩ ལོའི་ཟླ་བ་ ༡༩ པར། ཤོག་  
གངས་ ༩༠༩: ༡༩







ALTAN QAYAN (1507-1582) OF THE TŪMED MONGOLS  
AND THE STAG LUNG ABBOT  
KUN DGA' BKRA SHIS RGYAL MTSHAN (1575-1635)\*

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This article introduces new sources on Altan Khan's encounters with the Stag lung abbot Kun dga' bkra shis, simultaneous with his better-known meeting with Bsod nams rgya mtsho, to whom he gave the title Dalai Lama. Tāranātha's 1601 biography of his teacher Kun dga' bkra shis and that written in 1609 by the Stag lung hierarch's heir to leadership, Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1571-1626), detail the invitation Altan Qayan of the Tūmed Mongols extended to Kun dga' bkra shis in 1576 and its aftermath.

This narrative starts with an ethnic Tibetan, born in Kha rag on the Dbus-Gtsang border and better known as Tāranātha<sup>1</sup>, Kun dga' snying po bkra shis rgyal mtshan (1575-1635)<sup>2</sup>, as his name in religion reads in full, who recorded aspects of the religious legacy that his Indian teachers had transmitted to him in a work titled the *Seven Instruction Lineages*.<sup>3</sup> This precocious

\* Written in celebration of our fellow traveler E. Sperling and of his efforts to unravel portions of the complex history of the Tibetan people, this paper to some extent weaves a further pattern on his well known essay on Tibetan-Mongol relations during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries [see below n. 22]. We wish him many more years of following our common passion.

1 The otherwise elusive Indian Paṇḍita Jvālanātha had apparently given him this “nickname” during one of Tāranātha's visionary experiences; see his undated *Gsang ba'i rnam thar chung zad rgyas pa, Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 2/45, Mes po'i shul bzhang, vol. 44, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe mnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 268. In the early 1590s, he received a letter, written in Sanskrit, from a south Indian king by the name Palabhadra in which he was apparently addressed as Tāra guru; see *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa'i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod [stod cha]*, *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 1/45, Mes po'i shul bzhang, vol. 43, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe mnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 107.

2 Still in need of confirmation, the possibly exact date of his passing, “the twenty-eighth day of the nag-month of the wood-female-pig year”, is given in Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa's (1920-1975) *Jo nang chos 'byung zla ba'i sgron me*, ed. Btsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khriims and She Wanzhi (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1992), 59, and, probably not independently, in Re sa Dkon mchog rgya mtsho, “Jo nang kun mkhyen tā ra nā tha'i rtogs brjod nyung ngu,” *Bod ljongs nang bstan* 1 (1998), 33. This would correspond to May 15, 1635. In this essay, all dates are calculated with the aid of the *Tabellen* in D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplement Band 16 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973).

3 *Bka' babs bdun ldan gyi brgyud pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba rin po che'i khungs lta bu'i gtam, Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 33/45, Mes po'i shul bzhang, vol. 75, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe mnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 370 ff. [= D. Templeman, ed. and tr., *The Seven Instruction Lineages. Bka' babs bdun ldan* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1983), 75 ff.]. See also his undated translation-cum-paraphrase of the \**Vajrasū-marga* by \*Māhasukhavajra, \*Śāntiguṇṇa and others in [*Bka' babs bdun*

treatise deals with seven important lineages along which tantric lore and teachings had been handed down in India and Nepal, and subsequently transmitted to the Tibetan cultural area. He had completed this work in Rnam rgyal rab brtan, in 1599, when he was “close to twenty-five.” At this time, Tāranātha stood on the cusp of transitioning to become a famous and prolific scholar of truly astonishing breadth and genius, who belonged to the Jo nang pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. Rnam rgyal rab brtan is variously called a hermitage (*dben sa*) or a religious citadel (*chos rdzong*) and it was located on the grounds of Stag lung, the mother monastery of the Bka’ brgyud pa school’s Stag lung sect. Earlier, in 1573, Kun dga’ bkra shis rgyal mtshan [we will henceforth refer to him as Kun dga’ bkra shis], Stag lung’s sixteenth abbot, had embarked on a project to enlarge his monastery and Rnam rgyal rab brtan was part of this grand plan. Towards its realization, he had hired numerous Tibetan and Newar artisans and craftsmen, but it was a long drawn-out process and Rnam rgyal rab brtan was still being refurbished and refurbished in the late 1590s.

To be sure, the south Indian Buddhaguptanātha (?1520-?1600) and several other visitors from the Indian subcontinent, including Nirvāṇasrī and Purnavajra, were the main sources of inspiration and information for Tāranātha’s *Seven Instruction Lineages*.<sup>4</sup> During their stay with him, they had related orally much of the subcontinent’s religious lore to which they had been privy and this ultimately served to inform a variety of his studies, including his celebrated religious history of the Buddhism of India of 1609, for which he was to gain great fame. In late 1590, he had met and received in his hermitage of Byang chub chen po the itinerant yogi Buddhaguptanātha. The latter apparently enjoyed simplicity, for Tāranātha pointedly remarks that Buddhaguptanātha had been averse to staying with the local landed aristocracy.<sup>5</sup> He does

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*dang ldan pa’i man ngag gi gzhung*] *Rdo rje lam bzang po, Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha’i gsung ’bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 20/45, Mes po’i shul bzhag, vol. 62, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib ’jug khang (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 217-229. A similar, undated work that was indirectly composed by him consists of notes taken by his student Ye shes rgya mtsho on six such transmissions; see *Bka’ babs drug ldan gyi khrid yig ’phags yul grub pa’i zhal lung, Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha’i gsung ’bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 39/45, Mes po’i shul bzhag, vol. 81, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib ’jug khang (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 102-178.

4 For much of what follows, see the first part of his autobiography that extends to the year 1604, *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa’i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa’i rtogs brjod [stod cha]*, 124-133. Finally, for Tāranātha’s connections with various Indic travelers, see Lobsang Shastri, “Activities of Indian Paṇḍitas in Tibet from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies I. PIATS 2000: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. H. Bleezer et al. (Brill: Leiden 2000), 136-140, and now also D. Templeman, “‘South of the Border’: Tāranātha’s Perceptions of India,” *The Tibet Journal [The Earth Ox Papers]* XXXIV-XXXV (2009-10) ed. R. Vitali, 231-242. And for Buddhaguptanātha, see D. Templeman, “Buddhaguptanātha: A Late Indian Siddha in Tibet,” *Tibetan Studies*, ed. H. Krasser et al., vol. II (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 955-965.

5 See his biography of Buddhaguptanātha of circa 1601 in *Grub chen buddha gupta’i rnam thar rje btsun nyid kyi zhal lung las gzhan du rang rtog dri mas ma sbags pa’i yi ge yang dag pa, Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha’i gsung ’bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 34/45, Mes po’i shul bzhag, vol. 76, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib ’jug khang (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 119 ff. See also *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa’i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa’i rtogs brjod [stod cha]*, 72-74.

not divulge how long he had hosted the aged master, but he did record that he had received a very considerable number of instructions and initiations from him. Buddhaguptanātha ended up living in the south Tibetan town of Skyid grong for some three months, then went for pilgrimage to the Kathmandu Valley, and that done, left for the subcontinent proper. Tāranātha writes at the end of his narrative proper, that he was still alive and well when he was writing his master's biography: "I heard it said that he presently lives in a place near Devikoṭa." After a little less than six years, Tāranātha met a certain Nirvāṇaśrī in early October of 1596 and this yogi from India's eastern regions stayed with him for about one and half months. During this time, he was able to help Tāranātha understand some unidentified historical and doctrinal details that had remained unclear or incomplete from what Buddhaguptanātha had told him earlier.<sup>6</sup> Tāranātha adds that this visit "came to be of exceedingly great benefit" (*shin tu thogs che bar byung*).

Subsequently, two Bengali paṇḍitas, Gang ba kun dga', that is, Purṇānanda, and Byams pa kun dga', that is, Prayamānanda/Pryamānanda (*sic*)<sup>7</sup>, then paid him a visit and they had many unspecified conversations about various topics, including of course religion. Tāranātha points out, no doubt with some satisfaction, that they were quite delighted at how knowledgeable he was and also appeared to have used the term *paṇḍita* for him! In 1598, they met again, in Byang chub chen po, and conversed "day and night" for some ten days; he writes that:

de dag grub mtha' nang par 'dug kyang pha mes kyi chos rig la yang zhen che bar  
'dug cing phyi rol pa'i lha gcig gnyis bsten gyin 'dug pas dbang chos sogs ni ma  
zhus / rig pa'i gnas thams cad la shin tu mkhas par 'dug pas dogs gcod mang du  
bgyis shing bstan bcos than thun 'dra bsgyur / bha ra ta dang rā ma ya na la sogs  
pa'i lo rgyus kyang mang du thos /

Although they were of the insider [Buddhist] philosophical persuasion, they were also quite attached to the Vedic religion of their paternal ancestors, and since they relied on two unique external [non-Buddhist] deities, I did not request empowerments and religious instruction of them. Since they had quite an expertise in all the domains of knowledge, I effected multiple eliminations of doubts and translated a few tracts. I heard a great deal about the chronicles (*lo rgyus*) of the [*Mahā*]bharata, the *Rāmāyana*, etc. as well.

One result of having listened to tales from the latter two was that he had concrete visions of their main protagonists, Hanuman, as a monkey as large as the mountain at which his retreat was built, and Bhīma. Hanuman is of course one of the central characters of the *Rāmāyana* and, among many other things, is known to have moved a mountain, and the *Mahābharata*'s Bhīma was the second of the five Paṇḍava brothers, who is well-known for his strength and military prowess.

6 He also mentions them in this vein in his biography of Buddhānāthagupta where he calls them this man's spiritual brothers (*mched grogs*); see *Grub chen buddha gupta'i rnam thar rje btsun nyid kyi zhal lung las gzhan du rang rtoḡ dri mas ma sbags pa'i yi ge yang dag pa*, 123.

7 The reading "Pryamānanda" is found in the Rtag bstan phun tshogs gling xylograph of the autobiography; see *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (Leh: C. Namgyal and Tsewang Taru, 1982), 137. Whether or not either Sanskrit name translates Tibetan *byams pa kun dga'* is moot. Indeed, *pryama/ā* is a virtual ghost word and Tāranātha may very well have originally intended \*Priyānanda. Tibetan *byams pa* renders among several other Sanskrit terms the more common *maitri*.

A native of India's western regions, Purnāvajra arrived at his residence of Bsam sdings around the middle of 1597.<sup>8</sup> The year before, the ruler of Rgyal mkhar rtse – his name seems to have been Nam mkha' lhun grub - and his wife gifted Tāranātha a place for meditation (*sgrub sde*) in Bsam sdings as well an estate for its maintenance. Tāranātha, who was staying there as well, was able to ask him many questions, the nature of which he, again, unfortunately does not specify. He writes in his autobiography that before the completion of the *Seven Instruction Lineages*, Kun dga' bkra shis, his beloved master and “abbot”, who had ordained him a novice and a monk, had given him the oral transmission (*lung*) of what had remained of an earlier, unfinished transmission of Phag mo gru Rdo rje rgyal po's (1110-1170) collected writings as well as the same for most of Rje Ri bo che's writings – Rje Ri bo che is to be identified as Sangs rgyas dbon Grags pa dpal (1251-1296), who founded the Stag lung monastery of Khams Ri bo che in 1276.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, young Tāranātha left for Rnam rgyal rab brtan where he also met one whom he simply calls the Sprul pa'i sku or “the Re-embodiment” – he seems to have been the great artist Sman thang pa Blo bzang rgya mtsho.<sup>10</sup>

Tāranātha was a regular visitor of Stag lung and, as we now know, wrote several important studies at or near this institution. For example, when he was staying in Rnam rgyal rab brtan, he also composed a very large, two-volume commentary on his very own versified study of a praise of the tantric deity Cakrasaṃvara.<sup>11</sup> He completed this tract on May 25/26 or June 24/25, 1597<sup>12</sup>, and registers its title immediately after what he calls his *Bka' babs bdun ldan gyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*. Indeed, the monastery and Kun dga' bkra shis occupied special places in his life as well as in the lives of, for example, Jo nang Kun dga' grol mchog (1507-1566), Tāranātha's pre-embodiment, and those of his teachers Jo nang Kun dga' dpal bzang po (1513-1595), the erstwhile abbot of Jo nang monastery, and Byams pa lhun grub, to name but a few. Kun dga' grol mchog, too, had been a frequent visitor of Stag lung and had served in the capacity of “confessor” when Rnam rgyal bkra shis (1524-1563), the fifteenth abbot of Stag lung, was ordained a monk in 1542 and, similarly, he was also at Stag lung giving instructions

8 Inspired by Purnāvajra, he wrote his versified praise of the tantric deity Cakrasaṃvara sometime between eighth and tenth day of the *sa ga* (\**vaiśākha*) month, April 24/25-16/27, of 1597; see his *Bde mchog bstod chen Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vols. 17/45, Mes po'i shul bzhag, vols. 59, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 1-30.

9 *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa'i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod [stod cha]*, 161-2.

10 For various painters called Sprul sku Sman thang pa, see D.P. Jackson, *A History of Tibetan Painting* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1996), index, 443.

11 See his *Bde mchog bstod chen gyi rang 'grel phan bde'i rgya mtsho* [Stod/Smad cha], *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vols. 17-8/45, Mes po'i shul bzhag, vols. 59-60, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008). The versified praise is found in vol. 17/45 [59] as a preface to this work (on pp. 1-30).

12 The colophon of the text states that he completed it on the tenth day of the *snron* (*jyaiṣṭha*) luni-solar month [= month no. 5], whereas the autobiography dates its completion to the tenth day of the *sa ga* (*vaiśākha*) luni-solar month [= month no. 4]! For the latter, see *Rgyal khams pa tā ra nā thas bdag nyid kyi rnam thar nges par brjod pa'i deb gter shin tu zhib mo ma bcos lhug pa'i rtogs brjod [stod cha]*, 128.

to his successor Kun dga' bkra shis and had even served as his “abbot” when the latter received his lay person's and novitiate vows in 1543. There is indeed plenty of evidence to suggest that Kun dga' bkra shis had a special interest in doctrines associated with the Jo nang school, ideas that were to play such crucial roles in Tāranātha's intellectual development. Indeed, on August 23 or 24, 1582, the seven year old Tāranātha had journeyed to Chos lung Byang rtse, the institution Kun dga' grol mchog had founded near Jo nang monastery, where he received his first ordination as a novice from Kun dga' bkra shis, who had come to this institution for this purpose. This was the beginning of a relationship that was to last some twenty-three years.

It was at the age of twenty-six, some four years before Kun dga' bkra shis' passing on March 19, 1605, that Tāranātha paid his ultimate respects to his master by writing the story of his life.<sup>13</sup> In many respects, this work adds greater depth and detail to some of the narratives we encounter in the biographical study of Kun dga' bkra shis that was written by Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (1571-1626), his successor and the seventeenth abbot of Stag lung, who included it in his large 1609 history of the Stag lung sect.<sup>14</sup> There is no evidence that Ngag dbang rnam rgyal used Tāranātha's earlier biography and this would explain why they differ in many places where details are concerned. Needless to say, these biographies surely deserve an in-depth study on their own terms, but this would obviously fall beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, we will focus on their narratives of the invitation Altan Qayan<sup>15</sup> of the Tümed Mongols extended to him in 1576 and its aftermath. In so doing, we will take as our point of departure the much better known account of the meeting of Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-1588) – some contemporaries called him “the supreme re-embodiment (*sprul sku*)”, the “all-knowing re-embodiment of 'Bras spungs monastery”, or simply “the re-embodiment of 'Bras spungs” - and Altan Qayan. This meeting resulted in Bsod nams rgya mtsho being given the Dalai Lama title and marked the onset of the rise of the institution of the Dalai Lama, which Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) fully consolidated during his tenure as Dalai Lama V.

The usual Tibetan source for this is found in Bsod nams rgya mtsho's biography that was written, we can be sure, without much disinterest by Dalai Lama V in 1646.<sup>16</sup> This biography

13 See *Dpal ldan bla ma'i rnam thar 'phrin las rgya mtsho rnam par rgyas pa, Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 38/45, *Mes po'i shul bzhag*, vol. 80, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 72-149.

14 See *Stag lung chos 'byung*, ed. Thar gling Byams pa tshe ring, *Gangs can rig mdzod 22* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1992), 531-555. To be noted is that Ngag dbang rnam rgyal registers Tāranātha first among Kun dga' bkra shis rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's disciples, and refers to him as 'Jam mgon Mchog gi sprul pa'i sku [Kun dga' snying po]. This suggests that Tāranātha was already a famous scholar at this time, which is the implication of the epithet 'Jam mgon.

15 We follow his biography—see below n. 20—in designating him Qayan instead of simply Qan. The Tibetan sources that we have used for this paper call him, when using a Mongol loanword, Khan, Khān, and Gan, where only Khān might be a reflex of Qayan rather than of Qan.

16 See his *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta* (Dolanji: Tashi Dorje, 1982), 1-217 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, vol. 11 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 1-160], and also Z. Ahmad, *Sino-Tibetan Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, Serie Orientale Roma XL (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1970), 86-98, and especially the analysis in Satō Hisashi,

is itself based on several others sources that are no longer, or not yet, available to a present-day reader; these are<sup>17</sup>:

1. Sprul sku 'Phreng kha ba Dpal ldan blo gros bzang po's *Rnam thar lha'i rgyal po zhus pa'i skal ldan shing rta*, up to the year 1570.<sup>18</sup>
2. Sprul sku 'Phreng kha ba Dpal ldan blo gros bzang po's biography-in-verse up to Bsod nams rgya mtsho's fifteenth [= fourteenth] year.
3. Bsod nams ye shes dbang po's (1556-1592) itineraries (*lam yig*) in verse and prose of Bsod nams rgya mtsho's voyage to Mdo khams.
4. Mkhar nag Lo tsā ba Dpal 'byor rgya mtsho's complete biography of Bsod nams rgya mtsho.
5. Gzhu khang Rab 'byams pa Dge legs lhun grub's *Rnam thar dad pa'i go 'byed*.

Of these, only an incomplete manuscript of Mkhar nag Lo tsā ba's chronicle of the Dge lugs pa school is extant, and it includes a very brief, capsule biography of Bsod nams rgya mtsho and provides no details about the preliminaries to and the events that transpired during his stay at the Qayan's encampment.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps not entirely insignificant is the circumstance that he does not indicate pre-embodiments. A place called Mkhar nag is found in Rnga ba County in Khams, Sichuan Province, and it is quite possible that the *lo tsā ba*-translator hailed from this place. In his biography, Dalai Lama V adds that his sources did have conflicting chronologies (*lo tshigs*) of events, that he took the one given in 'Phreng kha ba's writings as his point of departure, and that he also relied upon the oral information given to him by his teachers, such as 'Khon ston Dpal 'byor lhun grub (1561-1637)<sup>20</sup>, Zhang mkhar Lo tsā ba 'Jam dpal rdo rje, and others.

In the entry for the year 1571 of the Dalai Lama V's work, "Altan Qayan" is variously written and/or designated as *al than rgyal po* and *al than chos kyi rgyal po*, the latter of which of course anticipates his "conversion" to Buddhism. And it is there related that the aging Qayan awoke to the Buddhist faith in 1571 through the influence of a certain 'Dzo dge [= Mdzod dge] A seng bla ma - we do not know the identity of this lama - though Mdzod dge is an area in what is now northern Rnga ba county [A ba xian], which itself is located in southern Amdo.<sup>21</sup> This was the

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"Daisansedai darairama to arutanhan no kaishū no tame ni [The Meeting of the Third Dalai Lama and Altan Qan]," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 42 (1983), 79-109.

17 Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 216-217 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe mying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 160].

18 He was affiliated with 'Bras spungs - he calls the monastery the "divine realm (*zhing khams*) of Avalokiteśvara" - and appears to have been a disciple of Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1475-1542), who was posthumously recognized as Dalai Lama II, and the famous artist Sman bla Don grub. He wrote at least two short pieces on iconometry, an ornate *ka-'phreng* poem, and a work on technology, the *Bzo rig pa'i bstan bcos mdo rgyud gsal ba'i me long*. These were published in *Bde bar gshegs pa'i sku gzugs kyi tshad kyi rab tu byed pa yid bzhin nor bu* (Leh: T. Sonam and D.L. Tashigang, 1985), 49-56, 56-58, 58-60, 61-83.

19 See his *Dga' ldan chos 'byung dpag bsam sdong po mkhas pa dgyes byed*, tbc.org, no. W18611, 33b-35b.

20 For a brief study of this man, see J.I. Cabezón, "The Life and Lives of 'Khon ston dpal 'byor lhun grub," *The Tibet Journal [The Earth Ox Papers]* XXXIV-XXXV (2009-2010 [2010]), R. Vitali, ed., 209-230.

21 See also the relevant passages in K. Kollmar-Paulenz, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur. Die Biographie des Altan qayan der Tümed-Mongolen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der religionspolitischen Beziehungen zwischen der Mongolei und Tibet im ausgehenden 16. Jahrhundert*, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 142 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 116-117, 266-267, n. 314, and J. Elverskog, *The Jewel Translucent Sūtra*

very year in which he had also negotiated a richly rewarding peace with Ming China for the first time. Thereafter, sometime in 1574, the Qayan sent envoys to invite Bsod noms rgya mtsho, who considered the offer, but did not make definite arrangements at the time. The only envoy in this embassy to be mentioned by name was a certain minister (*blon po*) Na ga tse bo<sup>22</sup>, who does not appear in any of the other sources that we were able to use for this essay. Leaving his Dga'ldan pho brang residence in 'Bras spungs sometime in the eleventh luni-solar month of 1577, Bsod noms rgya mtsho met en route the Hor-Mongol chieftain (*dpon*) Karma dpal in the 'Dam gzhung area where they had previously met some twenty years ago in 1558<sup>23</sup>—the chieftain was no doubt given his name by a Karma Bka' brgyud pa hierarch and he thus figures, to little surprise, in *inter alia* the biographies of Rgyal tshab IV Grags pa don grub (1547-1613) and Karma pa IX Dbang phyug rdo rje (1556-1601/3).<sup>24</sup> He then in a rather leisurely fashion traveled onward until he arrived at the Qayan's encampment. The two men finally met on June 19, 1578, and the rest is relatively well known history.

Truth be told, whatever talents and charisma Bsod noms rgya mtsho may have had, it cannot really be said that these are in any way reflected by his pen, for his writings, very few as they are and collected in one volume, suggest that he was mainly keen on composing short manuals on ritual practice.<sup>25</sup> He himself does not seem to have left behind a record of his meeting with the Qayan, but his oeuvre does contain two short texts that are of marginal importance to this event. The first is a brief religious instruction to a Rgya le Chos mdzad Chos bzang 'phrin las, which he wrote in Rwa sgreng monastery while he was en route to Sog yul, "Mongolia", and the other, dated October 4, 1582, is a kind of versified obituary of Altan Qayan, which Bsod noms rgya mtsho composed when he was staying at Byams pa gling monastery in Chab mdo.<sup>26</sup> This was a bit after the fact, for the Qayan's passing appears to have taken place on January 13, 1582. Finally, he must have felt quite at home in the area. He traveled far and wide in Khams, Amdo,

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(Leiden: Brill, 2003), 129-130, n. 204. For Mdzod dge and A Seng bla ma, see Lha mo'i ngag dbang sbyin pa, *Mdzod dge gling dkar stod kyi bzahag sdom pa'i lo rgyus srid zhi'i legs tshogs 'phel tshul bkra shis sgo mang 'byed pa'i rin chen gser gyi lde mig* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 80.

22 Ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 129, wrongly has *na gtso bo*. This man is not mentioned in Altan Qayan's biography, for which see above n. 20.

23 For this place and this Western Mongol (*hor stod*) chief, see E. Sperling, "Notes on References to 'Bri gung pa-Mongol Contact in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2, Ihara Shōren and Yamaguchi Zuihō, eds., (Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 741 ff.

24 See, for example, Si tu Pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas and 'Be Lo tsā ba Tshe dbang kun khyab, *Sgrub brgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba* [*History of the Karma Bka' brgyud pa Sect*], vol. 2 (New Delhi, 1972), 123, 158, 178. Karma Dpal resided well to the northeast of Lhasa in the 'Dam Ko khyim and Dkar po sgo areas.

25 See his *Gsung 'bum*, ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2010).

26 *Gsung 'bum*, 353-354, 363-364. For the latter, see Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod noms rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 202-203 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 149-150]. The passing of the Qayan is noted as follows: "He intuited with clarity that Altan Qayan had passed beyond the world." (*al than rgyal po 'jig rten pha rol tu gshegs pa mngon par mkhyen pas gzigs te /...*).

and what is now Inner Mongolia, and never returned or perhaps even really felt inclined to return to Central Tibet given the political situation in Central Tibet, with the Gelukpa under siege. One of his teachers in Central Tibet was Bod mkhar ba Maitri don grub (1526-1587)<sup>27</sup>, who, in 1572, had transmitted to him the Tshar tradition of the Sa skya pa “path-and-result” (*lam ’bras*) precepts that had been formulated by Bod mkhar ba’s own master Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-1566). And Mi pham chos kyi rgya mtsho recorded in his 1596 biography of Bod mkhar ba, in an entry for the years 1586 to 1587, that the latter was visited by a series of auspicious, premonitory dreams in which Bsod nams rgya mtsho and Altan Qaγan played important parts.<sup>28</sup>

In late 1587, Bsod nams rgya mtsho was invited by the Qan of the Khar chin (< Mon. Qaračın) Mongols whom he then met at a place where, as we are told, there were still traces to be found of the old Yuan summer capital of Shang to (< Ch. Shangdu). There, in distant Inner Mongolia, he ultimately passed away on the twenty-sixth day of the *nag* (\**caitra*) month, that is, on April 22, 1588. We learn from the biography of Karma pa IX, who was present for this occasion, that funerary ceremonies were held in ’Bras spungs in 1589.<sup>29</sup>

Kun dga’ bkra shis and Bsod nams rgya mtsho did not have much to do with one another even though they moved in similar circles. Indeed the Stag lung pa abbot figures only once in the Dalai Lama V’s biography of Bsod nams rgya mtsho. There we read in an entry for the year 1582 that, earlier, when Bsod nams rgya mtsho was staying in Dga’ ldan chos ’khor gling, Kun dga’ bkra shis had paid him a visit.<sup>30</sup> The Stag lung abbot was somewhat despondent and at a loss, because things were not going very well with him and he was not having much success with his travels. But after Bsod nams rgya mtsho had publicly praised him and his Stag lung pedigree, things went much better “on account of having opened a gateway for his work” (*’phrin las kyi sgo phye bas*). It would thus appear that, at some unspecified time, Kun dga’ bkra shis had arrived at some sort of an impasse and that Bsod nams rgya mtsho was able somehow to comfort him and perhaps use whatever influence he may have had on the communities in the area. As we will see below, it may very well be that this particular meeting was noted in the relevant narrative of Kun dga’ bkra shis’ travels in Amdo and beyond in the biographies that we will discuss below.

27 Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho’i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho’i shing rta*, 169 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying ’tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 123].

28 *Rje btsun rdo rje ’chang chen po mai tri don grub rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po’i rnam par thar pa dad pa’i spu long rab tu gyo ba, Lam ’bras slob bshad*, vol. 4 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983-1985), 107-109. Bod mkhar ba is mentioned twice more in Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho’i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho’i shing rta*, 197, 208 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying ’tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 145, 154]; the first occurs in an entry for the year 1579, where we learn that he was among those individuals, including A seng Bla ma, who tried to persuade him to return to Central Tibet.

29 Si tu Paṅ chen and ’Be Lo tsā ba, *Sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che’i rnam par thar pa rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 2, 201.

30 Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho’i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho’i shing rta*, 203 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying ’tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 150]. We believe that both texts wrongly have *sngar ldan chos ’khor gling* – *sngar ldan* is indeed meaningless.



Bsod nams rgya mtsho's subsequent busy travel schedule may of course be interpreted as refractions of the politics of religion and its economic aspects. Aside from monasteries that belonged to his school of the Dge lugs pa and were built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many of the places that he visited had also been locales where his alleged precursors such as 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280) and Byams chen Chos rje Shākya ye shes (1354-1436) had stayed at one time or another.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, something very similar can be observed when we examine the itinerary of Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340-1383) when he journeyed to the distant Yuan court in the early 1360s, for we notice that he visited most of the places where especially his immediate predecessor Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) had stayed, had taught, and had created bonds of religious affiliations.<sup>32</sup>

Dalai Lama V used two sources in support of his contention that there existed a special spiritual relationship between 'Phags pa and Byams chen Chos rje, on one hand, and Bsod nams rgya mtsho, on the other. The first was allegedly made by Paṅ chen Dge 'dun grub pa (1391-1474), himself posthumously recognized as Dalai Lama I, which Dalai Lama V had come across "in some" ('ga' zhig tu) unspecified study of his life<sup>33</sup>, and he recovered the other from Sprul sku 'Phreng kha ba's biographical sketch of Bsod nams rgya mtsho. The "unspecified study" of Dge 'dun grub's life cites "many early, reliable documents" (*sngon yig tshang khungs ma mang po*) in which it was stated that, when 'Phags pa met Qubilai Qayan, he had foretold him their future connection as one "a king who has 'gold' as his name" and himself as having the name of "made of water"; to be sure, these names point to Mongol *altan* and Tibetan *rgya mtsho*, as in Bsod nams rgya mtsho! And in the second, Dalai Lama V writes that the Sprul sku<sup>34</sup>:

...rje btsun sa skya pa chen po'i rnam 'phrul du bshad cing zhal gyis kyang bzhes  
pa yin par 'dug / 'phags pa rin po che ni glang ri thang pa dang se ston ri pa sogs  
kyi sku'i skye ba dang / sku tshe phyi ma thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgyal  
mtshan se ra byams chen chos rje sogs su 'khrungs pa'i rim pa 'dug ...

31 For the places where 'Phags pa stayed, see especially the colophons of his writings that are indicated in Ishihama Yumiko and Fukuda Yoichi, *A Study of the Grub mthaḥ of Tibetan Buddhism, vol. 4, On the Chapter on the History of Mongolian Buddhism of Thuḥu bkwan's Grub mthaḥ*, Studia Tibetica, No. 11 (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1986), 52-72. For a study of Byams chen Chos rje's biography, which includes the places he had visited en route to and during his return voyage from the court of the Yongle Emperor (r. 1402-1414), see Laba punzuo [Lhag pa phun tshogs], *Daci fawang shijia yeshi* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2012).

32 See, for example, the routes taken by them, including the ones of their earlier re-embodiment Karmapa II Karma Pakshi (1204/6-1283), when they traveled to China as delineated in their biographies that are contained, for example, in Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje's (1309-1364) *Deb ther dmar po*, ed. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1981), 87 ff.

33 We find nothing of the kind in Shen Weirong's excellent study of his life, *Leben und historische Bedeutung des ersten Dalai Lama dGe 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po (1391-1474). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der dGe lugs pa-Schule und der Institution der Dalai Lamas*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XLIX (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2002).

34 Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 175-176 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 128-129]. See also the translation in *Yishi – sanshi dalai lama juan*, tr. Chen Qingying and Ma Lianlong (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2006), 224-225.

...had stated [ʔBsod nams rgya mtsho] to be an emanation (*rnam 'phrul*) of the great lord Sa skya pa, Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158) and this appears to have been acknowledged by him as well. The precious 'Phags pa was a re-birth (*sku'i skye ba*) of Glang ri thang pa Rdo rje seng ge (1054-1123) and Se ston Ri pa etc., and his later re-births (*sku tshe phyi ma*) appear to be a succession of such re-births (*'khrungs*) as the All-knowing Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Se ra Byams chen Chos rje, etc...

He goes on to say that there may indeed be some *prima facie* problems relating to the idea that Sa chen, Zhang 'Gro ba'i mgon po (1121-1193), and Mnga bdag Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124-1192) appeared at the same time and that theirs was a re-birth sequence that did not follow from one life to another. Fortunately, a passage from scripture comes to the rescue. The Buddha himself had taught in the *Avataṃsakasūtra*<sup>35</sup> that just as the single moon can reflect itself simultaneously in different pools of water, so there could also be simultaneous re-embodiments that have one single origin, in this case, Avalokiteśvara!

In contrast, the versified biography of Altan Qayan, which is the primary Mongol source for the events leading up to the meeting between him and Bsod nams rgya mtsho and the meeting itself, lists four envoys, including a certain Stag lung Nang so<sup>36</sup>, who had been sent to invite Bsod nams rgya mtsho sometime in 1574. Possibly a speaker of Central Tibetan, the Stag lung Nang so was perhaps connected in one way another with Stag lung monastery, although we cannot rule out the possibility that "Stag lung" was simply a toponym of an area in Amdo and that it would not therefore necessarily indicate such a connection with the Central Tibetan monastery. Indeed, Ngag dbang rnam rgyal nowhere mentions this office in his large history of the Stag lung tradition. The interpretation of the term *nang so* and the competence associated with this office are not easily determined. As an institution, the *nang so* appears to have had its origins during the Mongol occupation of Tibet, when, according to L. Petech, it designated something like the position of secretary in the hierarchy of the proxy government at Sa skya monastery.<sup>37</sup> Recently, Rin chen sgrol ma examined it as a title for a high, governing official as used in, but certainly not specific to, the Amdo region, but we should be aware that *nang so* can also indicate a place, an office, to which one can go.<sup>38</sup> Even though the text states that the party "went diligently and

35 Van der Kuijp thanks his student Ian MacCormack who kindly informed him of the relevant passage in the *Avataṃsakasūtra*; see *Bka' 'gyur*, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 35 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 822.

36 See Kollmar-Paulenz, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur. Die Biographie des Altan Qagan der Tümed-Mongolen*, 279-281, and Elverskog, *The Jewel Translucent Sūtra*, 139-140, who has "1575", a confusion that is discussed by Kollmar-Paulenz.

37 See *Central Tibet and the Mongols: the Yüan Sa-Skya period of Tibetan history*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. LXV (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente. 1990), 132.

38 See her "Lo rgyus dang 'brel nas mdo smad nang so'i skor rags tsam gleng ba," *Mtsho sngon mi rigs slob chen rig deb* 1 (2011), 35-49, and, more specifically for the office of the *nang so* in the Reb gong/Re skong region, her "Mdo smad reb gong rong bo nang so dang der 'brel yod kyi lo rgyus skor la gsar du dpyad pa," *Krung go'i bod rig pa* 1 (2010), 63-81. For an example of *nang so* used in the sense of an office or bureau, see Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes' (1453-1524) biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481) of 1517 in *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i*

without delay”, we are also told that while en route the members found ample time to aid in the construction of a temple in Čabčiyal [Tib. Chab cha].<sup>39</sup> They then arrived, again “without delay”, in Central Tibet, which must have taken place in 1575. So, where was the urgency? It had taken them ten months in all to reach the Tibetan monk, which does not suggest that they really traveled as fast as we could have expected from the narrative! Upon their arrival, they were able to secure Bsod nams rgya mtsho’s agreement to make the long voyage and returned to the Qayan’s encampment in the fifth month of 1576. Thereupon, the Qayan and his relations prepared for the event and sent envoys, again including the Stag lung Nang so, back to Tibet in the eleventh month of the same year. This embassy arrived in Tibet in the sixth month of 1577 – seven months also seems to be an excessively long period of time and its veracity needs to be questioned - and the final arrangements for the meeting were settled. They then met in Čabčiyal for their famous and well known, historic meeting. According to the Qayan’s biography, they met a second time in Čabčiyal, in probably 1579. There we learn that Bsod nams rgya mtsho had recommended that the Mongol ruler take Mañjuśrī Qutuγtu as his representative while he was away.<sup>40</sup> Dalai Lama V obliquely mentions this event in an entry for the year 1579 in his biography of his predecessor, where he identifies this Qutuγtu as Stong ’khor II Yon tan rgya mtsho (1556-1587). The latter was born not far from Shigatse and from his biography, which is contained in the recently published capsule biographies of this series of re-embodiments, we learn that Bsod nams rgya mtsho had ordained him a monk in Čabčiyal’s Theg chen chos ’khor gling monastery and that he had told him to stay put as his representative for the land of the Sog po Mongols while he was away in Li thang.<sup>41</sup> Bsod nams rgya mtsho’s wherewithal that enabled him to decree that Yon tan rgya mtsho act as his stand-in resided of course precisely in the fact that the latter was his ordinand and that he had developed such extraordinary ties to the Qayan.

At first glance, the fact that the envoys listed in these two accounts do not overlap seems unremarkable. However, Tāranātha’s and Ngag dbang rnam rgyal’s biographies of Kun dga’ bkra shis reveal some details that shed an interesting light on the sources that Dalai Lama V used for his version of this narrative.<sup>42</sup> Not mentioned in the available literature is the quite striking

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*mchog tu rgyas pa’i ljon pa*, *Collected Works*, ed. Yangs pa can dgon ris med dpe rnying myur skyob khang, vol. 1 (Beijing: Krung go’i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 557.

39 For the monastery, evidently called Theg chen chos ’khor gling, that was burned by the Ming Chinese in 1591, see Kollmar-Paulenz, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur. Die Biographie des Altan Qagan der Tümed-Mongolen*, 280, n. 401.

40 Kollmar-Paulenz, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur. Die Biographie des Altan Qagan der Tümed-Mongolen*, 310-311, and Elverskog, *The Jewel Translucent Sūtra*, 170-171.

41 See respectively, the anonymous *Stong ’khor zhabs drung ’jam pa’i dbyangs rim byon gyi ’khrungs rabs rnam thar baiḍū rya’i me long*, *Stong ’khor zla ba rgyal mtshan sku phreng rim byon gyi rnam*, ’Jigs med bsam grub, ed. (Beijing: Krung go bod rig pa’i dpe skrun khang, 2005), 155-156, and Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho’i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho’i shing rta*, 197 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying ’tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 146].

42 What follows is based on Tāranātha, *Dpal ldan bla ma’i rnam thar ’phrin las rgya mtsho rnam par rgyas pa*, 110-121, and Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *Stag lung chos ’byung*, 544-546. *Dpal ldan bla ma’i*

and inexplicable fact that the author of the Qayan's biography, and the same holds for Dalai Lama V's study of Bsod nams rgya mtsho, does not breathe a word about the invitation of Kun dga' bkra shis to the Mongol ruler's residence, let alone their actual meeting and his travels in the area. The one exception is the passage to which we referred in the above. Be this as it may, Kun dga' bkra shis' biographies relate details that will bring us closer to understanding how exactly the Central Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs came into contact with the Ordos and Tümed Mongols. In the first place, they have it that Altan Qayan's envoys arrived in Stag lung in 1576 and even appear to give us the name of this Stag lung Nang so, namely, Grags pa 'od zer. In addition, the narratives of Kun dga' bkra shis' two trips to Amdo are full of details that are not readily available in other sources, and these provide us with names of places and individuals in Amdo that suggest that the contact between Central Tibetans and Mongols may well have been mediated by the Tibetan Buddhist communities of uncertain ethnicity that were present in Amdo. In the hopes of making a small contribution towards closing the gaps in our understanding of the religious exchanges between Tibetans and Mongols in the late sixteenth century, we will now briefly summarize and discuss the relevant passages from Kun dga' bkra shis' biographies.

As stated, according to both sources, the year 1576 marks the first contact between the Qayan's envoys and Stag lung monastery in Central Tibet. This could very well mean that the envoys had paid a visit to Stag lung while they were en route to 'Bras spungs for the second time towards the end of 1576. In this year, these men and a certain Grags 'od pa, that is, Grags pa 'od zer, made "inconceivable" offerings of gold, silver, silk and cotton cloth, tea, horses, mules, and camels to Kun dga' bkra shis. This Grags pa 'od zer is styled "one who offered the silk arrow" (*mda' dar 'bul dpon*), where a *mda' dar*, as B. Gerke has shown, is an important auspicious symbol.<sup>43</sup> In Amdo, the *Mda' dar 'bul dpon* is actually the title of an official who is associated with the protocol, and in charge, of inviting and hosting important individuals. In other words, then, he seems to be the counterpart of the Central Tibetan *mgron gnyer/dpon*. Apparently, Kun dga' bkra shis agreed to come to meet the Qayan at this time, but, as fate would have it, he was unwell and was thus not able to leave Central Tibet until sometime in the beginning of the fourth *hor*-Mongol month, that is, sometime around the middle of April, of 1578, but not before, as tradition and custom dictated, he had said his prayers and requested blessings from the Jo bo statue in Lhasa's Jo khang temple. In any event, he thus followed not too closely on the heels of Bsod nams rgya mtsho, who had left Tibet for Amdo just a few months before. One cannot help but wonder what might have happened had he been able to leave immediately and thus arrive at the Qayan's encampment before Bsod nams rgya mtsho! Tāranātha writes that a veritable rain of flowers and rainbows accompanied his departure, causing the Mongol escorts to be rightfully amazed. Like Bsod nams rgya mtsho, though *apparently* on a much smaller scale, Kun dga' bkra shis was met en route by successive waves of Mongol welcoming parties.

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*rnam thar 'phrin las rgya mtsho rnam par rgyas pa*, 132-136, and *Stag lung chos 'byung*, 549-551, detail Kun dga' bkra shis' second trip to the Amdo area from 1589 to 1593. In this essay, we will make sporadic reference to it but refrain from a full discussion.

43 See her *Long Lives and Untimely Deaths: Life-Span Concepts and Longevity Practices among Tibetan in the Darjeeling Hills, India* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 265-266.

According to Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, Kun dga' bkra shis and his party forded the 'Bri chu [Yangzi River] at the Sdang Pass (*sdang la*) through a display of his magical powers (*rdzu 'phrul gyi bkod pa*). We do not know where this pass may be found and Tāranātha himself is silent on the location of their river crossing. Having received an invitation from the Mongols at Tshwa kha in 'Bri, he was met by a Mongol *rgyal po*—king—Ngag dbang rnam rgyal calls him a *dpon po*—official—by the name of A rbal (< Mon. Abai)<sup>44</sup> at a place called Chagan u su (< Mon. Čayan usu), which in Tibetan would be Dkar chu, that is, “White Water”. Tshwa kha is located slightly north of Lake Tshwa kha and to the southwest of Lake Kokonor. The two men obviously felt very comfortable with one another and entered into an intimate “patron-priest” (*mchod yon*) relationship. Bsod nams rgya mtsho had met Lord (*no yon* < Mon. *noyan*) Abai during the lunar month (\**caitra*), sometime between April 8 and May 6, of 1578, who had also honored him with many gifts when the Tibetan hierarch visited his camp.<sup>45</sup> Both recensions of Tāranātha's work follow this detail with the phrase: *swog yul du phebs tsam nyid nas dwangs /*, which makes little sense, for *dwangs* is not a verb. If we were instead to read *drangs*, then we could interpret this phrase as sentence meaning something on the order of: “When was he about to be taken/escorted to Sog-land.” This line is missing from Ngag dbang rnam rgyal's narrative. Then, residing on the shores of Dbu'i<sup>46</sup> tshwa Lake, Kun dga' bkra shis was met by a party of the Qayan's men who were charged with escorting him to their lord's encampment. The next leg of his journey took him to the area where Abai's family lived. There he was warmly received and “the offering of things passed beyond reckoning.” Here, Ngag dbang rnam rgyal's account appears to be a bit more specific, for he writes that Kun dga' bkra shis went to Mtshal dmar where Abai's encampment (*ru thog*) was located. Later, in 1589, he was to meet Abai's wife (*a rbal dpon mo*) in Chal phyi, an area that was apparently located not far from the source of the Yellow River in the Ba yan rlang ma range, between the Skya rengs and Sngon rengs lakes<sup>47</sup> in Yul shul prefecture, as well as Abai himself, and was also able to cure one of their sons (*rgyal bu*) who

44 The sources variously give his name as A rbal, A sbal, and even A dpal. For some notes on him in the immediately accessible secondary literature, see E. Sperling, “Tibetan Buddhism, Perceived and Imagined, along the Ming-Era Sino-Tibetan Frontier,” *Buddhism between Tibet and China*, M. Kapstein, ed. (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), 179, n. 50, suggests that he was a nephew of a Čing Batur, who himself was a nephew of Altan Qayan. Abai is mentioned several times in Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's (1552-1624) *Sog bzlog bgyis tshul gyi lo rgyus*, *Collected Writings*, vol. II (New Delhi, 1975), 243-244. This work also demonstrates that there was a great deal of Tibetan-Hor and Sog po interaction during the second half of the sixteenth and the first decade of the seventeenth century.

45 Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 187 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe nying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 138]. On this occasion, some three hundred horsemen led by Jo rog thu tha'i ji (< Mon. Joriyru Taiji) and Ching Bā dur (< Mon. Čing Bātur/Bayatur) paid him a visit.

46 Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *Stag lung chos 'byung*, 545 has a slightly different hydronym, namely, Dwa'u tshwa Lake, where, to be sure, *tshwa* renders “salt” and *dwa'u'i* [and *dbu'i*] are self-evidently not Tibetan.

47 For these two lakes, located at some distance to the southwest of Lake Kokonor and the source of the Yellow River, see Wang Yao, “Huanghe yuan shang dahu – zhaling, eling mingcheng weizhi kaoshi [The Upper Source of the Yellow River – Skya rengs, Sngon rengs]” *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 3 (1979), 163-168.

had been struck by a very serious but unspecified illness (*bro tshabs chen po*).<sup>48</sup> But Ngag dbang rnam rgyal relates the latter detail somewhat differently, for it was Abai and his entourage who had greeted him in Chal phyi<sup>49</sup>:

*kho de gong srog rlung gi nad drag pos thebs te sman dpyad rim gro gang gis  
kyang ma phan par yod pa bya ba khrus dang rjes gnang kha yar gnang ba tsam  
gyis gsos/*

He, the king, had been struck with a severe *srog rlung* nervous disorder prior to their meeting. No medicine or ritual had been of any benefit, but he was cured by bathing and the giving of a few blessings.

He then left for the Qayan's encampment on the shore of Gu gu no'i mtsho/Khri shog rgyal mo mtsho [= Lake Kokonor] and his arrival there was marked with numerous auspicious signs and omens that had been preceded by his appearance in the Qayan's dreams. Kun dga' bkra shis proceeded to perform what his audience considered to be miracles as well as teach the basics of Buddhism. Ngag dbang rnam rgyal adds that he implanted the Qayan with the seed of awakening (*byang chub*), who in turn reciprocated by offering him uncountable "things". At this point, 'Bum skyabs dar of the Wa shul nation, located to the southeast of the lake, invited him and paid him his respects.<sup>50</sup> The invitation seems to have been prompted by his host being troubled, since Kun dga' bkra shis' visit involved him settling a dispute (*'khrugs pa bsdums pa*). Then, responding to the invitation of the patron-priest pair of Be thu/Bed thu Qayan<sup>51</sup> of the Or rus pa/Or dhus<sup>52</sup> (< Ordos) and one Karma bla ma – the latter is styled "the great son/disciple of the person from 'Dzam thang"<sup>53</sup> - in 1579, Kun dga' bkra shis travelled due north from the

48 Tāranātha, *Dpal ldan bla ma'i rnam thar 'phrin las rgya mtsho rnam par rgyas pa*, 134.

49 Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *Stag lung chos 'byung*, 550, where he makes no mention of Abai's wife.

50 The Wa shul tribe is located in the region of Mang ra (< Chi. Mang la chuan) where [= Ch. Jenxiang], one of Altan Qayan's nine sons, was said to reside; see H. Serruys, "Pei-lou fong-sou: Les coutumes des esclaves septentrionaux de Siao Ta-heng suivi des Tables genealogiques," *Monumenta Serica* 10 (1945), 182 n. 30a. For a detailed study of the area, see Bla nag pa Ye shes bzang po, *Mang ra'i lo rgyus* (Hong Kong: Tianma tuanshu youxian gongsi, 2001), which even includes a brief bilingual Sog-Tibetan glossary on p. 283.

51 This is no doubt Bingtu (?-1588); see also *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 194 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 143], where his name is given as Bin du. A Be thu rgyal po chin rgyal is tentatively identified as King in Sperling, "Tibetan Buddhism, Perceived and Imagined, along the Ming-Era Sino-Tibetan Frontier," 179, n. 50. In an entry for the year 1588 in the biography of Karma pa IX, Abai and Bindu are recorded to have sent the Karma pa gifts and a "golden letter" (*gser yig*), an edict of sorts; see Si tu Paṅ chen and 'Be Lo tsā ba, *Sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rab byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, vol. 2, 196.

52 The reading or *dhus* is given in Ngag dbang rnam rgyal, *Stag lung chos 'byung*, 545.

53 This 'Dzam thang pa should most probably be identified as the influential 'Dzam thang Chos rje II Rgyal ba seng ge (1509-1580), who also entertained patronage connections with several Ming courts and several Sog po chieftains including Abai, Be thu (< Bingtu), and others; see his biography in Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa, *Jo nang chos 'byung ba'i sgron me*, Dbyang can seng ge, ed. (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1992), 127, which is also cited in Sperling, "Tibetan Buddhism, Perceived and Imagined, along the Ming-Era Sino-Tibetan Frontier," 165.

glacial slopes (*gangs kyi mgul*) of the Rma chen spom mountain range and magically traversed an area that had not been trodden before. But he did not meet with them. Priorities are priorities. En route, he was received by the Qayan himself at a place called Chu mig ring mo. Tāranātha styles Altan Qayan a *chos kyi rgyal po*, “religious king” at this juncture of his narrative, which just may indicate a nod in the direction of recognizing that in one of the earlier meetings of the Qayan and Bsod nams rgya mtsho, the latter had given the Qayan this title.

Like Bsod nams rgya mtsho, Kun dga' bkra shis was offered a title, namely that of “De bzhin gshegs pa [\*Tathāgata] Stag lung pa chen po” and a seal of office (*ja'sa ka'o ming*) (*ja'sa* < Mon. *jasay*; *ka'o ming* < Ch. gaoming, possibly: 高名 famed or 高明 superior) and a seal of office (*tham ka* < Mon. *tamy-a*) that was made of 85 *srang* units of silver, as well as many thousands of silver pieces. The silver seal stands in interesting contrast to the seal that was made of *srang* gold that evidently accompanied the title of “Dalai Lama Vajradhara”.<sup>54</sup> The De bzhin gshegs pa title was no doubt aimed at echoing the very same title that the Yongle Emperor (r. 1402-24) had given Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa (1384-1415) in 1407. The name in religion he was given when he received his novice vows was Dharma shrī bhadra [\*Chos dpal bzang po] and this did not change when he was ordained a fully-fledged monk.

On this occasion, Bsod nams rgya mtsho and his disciples had also invited him to their encampment where he was greeted by a large assembly. Following this important meeting, Kun dga' bkra shis proceeded to a place called the New Stag lung Pass (*stag lung la gsar*), which is said to be located in the Tsong kha area near Kokonor. In this place, which will be discussed in more detail below, he was received by three local leaders, the spelling of their names of which our sources leave something to be desired:

Tāranātha:	Zi ling nang so	Drangs ti lnga mchod pa
Ngag dbang nram rgyal:	Zi na nang so	Bra ti nang so
Both sources:	Chinese governor ( <i>mi dpon</i> ) of Zi ling [Xining] <sup>55</sup>	

We would like to suggest the possibility that some or all of these local leaders might not have been Chinese or Tibetan, but rather Monguors, for reasons which we will detail below. For the purposes of simplicity, the local non-Chinese and non-Tibetan populace will be designated by their modern name, Monguors, to accommodate the variety of their ethnic origins, mainly Mongol and Shato Turk, though there are some Chinese and Tibetans among them, and to distinguish them from the Mongols reorganized under Dayan Qayan as the Six Tümen. The Monguors had moved into this region during the Yuan period, in the wake of the destruction left by the decades of warfare that had crisscrossed this territory since the twelfth century. Having for the most part peacefully acknowledged Ming sovereignty, these Monguors were left to rule themselves, independent of taxation or interference in internal affairs by the Ming government. It seems that

54 For the title and gifts he received from the Qayan, see *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i nram thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 188, 192-193 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 138-139, 142].

55 Tāranātha, *Dpal ldan bla ma'i nram thar 'phrin las rgya mtsho nram par rgyas pa*, 110-121; Ngag dbang nram rgyal, *Stag lung chos 'byung*, 545-6.

the Ming dynasty's attempts to control this region, which had started with their recognition of the local leaders, the establishing of a large garrison in Xining, and the attempt to colonize with Chinese farmers had failed to yield positive results by the end of the Ming. A census of the Chinese in the region from 1573 to 1620 records only 440 civilian families and 2,560 official and military families. These figures reflect the fact that this region was merely a military outpost—one whose garrison had indeed decreased by two thirds from the beginning of the Ming.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, rather than administering this region solely through Han Chinese officials, the Ming frequently granted authority to native leaders, often through Chinese military titles bestowed on the native chieftains (*tuguan*). The only evidence of a Chinese military title that we can decipher from the Tibetan is appended to another “Chinese official” (*rgya'i mi dpon*) called a *mchan chang*, a term that probably reflects Chinese *qianzhang*, “chiliarch”. Moreover, Schram notes that in the 20th century, the title *qianzhang* was used among the Monguors to designate the highest military commander of a village. Despite the fact that the titles were often only honorary, from the perspective of the local officials, their authority was confirmed and supported by the Ming dynasty, and they were its local representatives. In fact, the local sources demonstrate that, from the beginning of the Ming, the leadership of the Monguor clans maintained a continuous rule over their subjects, which was basically uninterrupted until well into the Qing dynasty.<sup>57</sup> Thus, it is likely that these local leaders, who did consider themselves officials of the Ming dynasty, were also involved in the contact between Central Tibetans and the Ordos and Tümed Mongols that took place in their territory in the sixteenth century. For this reason, it is legitimate to wonder whether the appellation of *rgya'i mi dpon* reflects the ethnic origin of the official or merely the state from which his authority was granted.

Aside from the secular and military grants of authority, the Ming also recognized the authority of religious figures over the local populace, as represented by the title *nang so*. As indicated, the institution of the *nang so* had its origins in Yuan times, when it designated the position of secretary in the Sa skya hierarchy.<sup>58</sup> However, by Ming times this usage had changed. At the beginning of the Ming, the title of *nang so* and an accompanying grant of territory was conferred upon some eighteen lamas in the Xining area. This position consisted of “the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship.”<sup>59</sup> The title Zi na nang so (sometimes Ji na nang so) occurs both in the fifth Dalai Lama's biography of the third Dalai Lama and in Louis Schram's *The Monguors of Kansu*. Among the waves of envoys sent to escort Bsod nams rgya mtsho to his famous meeting with Altan Khan in 1578, one group of a hundred horseman was led by Zi na gu shri. In contrast to all the other envoys, who are generally affiliated with different Mongol tumen such as the Ordos or Tümed, this figure is distinguished as being from China.<sup>60</sup> Again, we would suggest that this description

56 Schram, I 34.

57 See Schram, I 11, 17, 22, 50, 51, 129, II 34 35. Serruys 1955, 255, 265.

58 Petech, 132.

59 Schram, II 18.

60 DL5, 187 ln. 6.



(*Rgya nag nas*) reflects an administrative territorial origin, not an ethnic one. Schram seems to suggest the Zi na (he calls them Sina), a group who submitted to the Ming in 1380 and lived 60 li north of Xining, were Monguors. In addition, the local Chinese gazetteer indicates that the lama of this group had received the title *guo shi* (Mon. *gu shri*), as is found in the third Dalai Lama's biography. Schram also discussed the survival of a "Zina nang so" after the 1723 clash with the Qing, and the *Stag lung chos 'byung* demonstrates that such a title was already attested in the late Ming.<sup>61</sup> However the origin of this title seems to date back to the Sa skya influence in this region during the Mongol imperial period. The first Zi na *dpon po* (official) was Zi na *dge bshes*, and he acquired power through Bla ma 'Phags pa and the Mongol khan Se chen (Qubilai), under whom he served. Later, the Zi na Nang so was the leading official of the Sku 'bum tsho drug (the six Sku 'bum tsho ba) communities and later he ruled these communities together with the monastery. The Zi na *dpon po* chiefs received titles and seals from the Dalai Lamas, in addition to the those received from the Ming and Qing dynasties.<sup>62</sup>

As for the Bra ti nang so, this title seems to indicate the ruler of the area of the 'Ju lag (Ch. Datong) River, north of Xining. When the Dalai Lama VI—according to a Mongol tradition that originated in the Helanshan mountains—survived his deportation from Lhasa under Qing escort in 1706 - arrived in the Dpa' ris region of northeastern Amdo, he was welcomed by the Bra ti and the Bri' gung (Ch. Zhigong) *nang so* who controlled the "thirteen meditation centres (*sgom sde*) of the six *tsho* (community divisions) of Jakrung."<sup>63</sup> The Bra ti leaders had been consistent in their support of Tibetan Buddhism in this area, as demonstrated in the early 1600s by the fact that one of the two local leaders who came up with the idea for going to central Tibet to seek support for founding the important Monguor monastery of Dgon lung was Bra sti Sgar ba Nang so Shes rab grags.<sup>64</sup> In fact, this may even be the same person who welcomed the Stag lung leader to this area.

While the *Stag lung chos 'byung* provides no further details of the interactions between Kun dga' bkra shis and these local leaders, as mentioned above, the Mongol biography of Altan Khan does mention another *nang so*, the Stag lung nang so, who played a major role in arranging the meeting between Bsod nams ryga mtsho and Altan Khan. In relation to this Stag lung nang so, we would like to explore the place name with which he is most often

61 Schram, II 18. The origin of this group's name is apparently the locality of Editsa.

62 See Hor gtsang 'jigs med, *Mdo smad lo rgyus chen mo las sde tsho'i skor glegs bam gsum pa* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 2009), 516-548.

63 See as cited in M. Aris, *Hidden Treasures and Secret Lives: A Study of Pemalingpa (1450-1521) and the Sixth Dalai Lama (1683-1706)* (Simla-Delhi: Indian Institute of Advanced Study-Motilal Banarsidass, 1988), 203.

64 See Thu'u bkwan (< Ch. Tuguan) Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma's (17-18) 1775 study of Dgon lung monastery, *Dgon lung dkar chag*, 1775, p. 6. See reprint in Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma. *Chos sde chen po dgon lung byams pa gling gi dkar chag* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988). Another figure with the same place-name designation as part of his name, Bra ti Zhabs drung Bstan pa 'od zer (Zhatai xianzhuong Danpa wose) established Bkra shis lung ri bo dge 'phel ri khrod in Dpa' ris/ Tianzhu county 1679 but the tribe moved away from area in the Republican period (1911-1949) probably due to pressures from other ethnic groups. *Tianzhu zangchuan fojiao siyuan gaikuang*, 209.

associated, Stag lung la gсар, the New Stag lung Pass. The *Stag lung chos 'byung* definitely indicates that this place is in Tsonḡ kha near Kokonor. Given the association of this site with the Zi na nang so and the Xining official, we might place it somewhere to the northeast of Xining. This place name might designate the area over which this Stag lung nang so had been granted jurisdiction from the Ming authorities, like the other *nang so* in the region. In any case, the Stag lung master of offerings apparently resided in this locale. On both occasions of Kun dḡa' bkra bshis' visits to Amdo (in 1579/1580 and again in 1590/1591), the Stag lung master of offerings received him at Stag lung la gсар. If this Stag lung *nang so* did receive recognition from the Ming government for territory in this region, then his residence there would explain how Altan Qayan would have come into contact with the Stag lung sect during his raid on the Kokonor area in 1573.

Although there is no further evidence that the Stag lung sect maintained a presence in Amdo at this time, Kun dḡa' bkra shis did visit several places that may safely be assumed to have maintained active Tibetan Buddhist communities after the fall of the Yuan Dynasty. In Pag ras (Dpa' ris) Kun dḡa' bkra shis visited a monastic community "from before" (sḡar gyi grwa rgyun). Although the *Stag lung chos 'byung* is not specific about the origins of this community, Kun dḡa' bkra shis did visit a set of temples established by the Sa skya. After receiving an invitation to the palace of Gōden—Guyuk Qayan's younger brother whose Yuan relations with the Sa skya are so famous—he went to see the four temples established in the four directions around Lǎ ju (< Ch. Liangzhou) by Sa skya Paḡḡita.<sup>65</sup> In addition to these temples, this text mentions offerings coming from a Karma lha kang.

Two other prominent men of the region with whom both Central Tibetan lamas met were described as officials of China (*rgya'i mi dpon*) or ethnic Chinese officials. One intriguing figure with whom both Kun dḡa' bkras shis and Bsod nams rgya mtsho had relations was the great official with authority over thirteen myriarchies, Gan ju du thang (< Ch. Ganzhou dutong). This is confusing because it was only in the Qing dynasty that a banner commander-in-chief was called a *dutong* 都統, and as far as we know that system had not been imposed on the region yet. This full title is given in the fifth Dalai Lama's biography of his predecessor where it is also reported that about a hundred prisoners under the jurisdiction of the *du thang* were released and ordained as monks by Bsod nams rgya mtsho. The Stag lung abbot's account of this figure, spelled Kǎ chu dus thang, who he calls a Chinese official, is extremely brief, but because he is listed as part

65 Ngag dbang rnam rgyal 1992, 546. See Bhi kshu ma sho wa ti si rya's *Dkar chag rnam dag me long*, translated into Chinese by Wangqian Duanzhi in *Zhongguo zangxue*, 1988, no. 4: 109-116; Wangqian Duanzhi and Jiang Zengli, "Saban yu Liangzhou si da fo si" *Xizang yanjiu huixun* (*Newsletter on Tibetan Studies*), 1993, 9-13; Ma ni Zhabs drung, *Lan jus sde bzi'i rten rnam kyī dkar chag dang lam yig rab gsal sgron me*, 1884, described in: *Lan jus sde bzi sogs kyī dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs* (*Liang zhou si bu shi ji tian zhu si zhi*) 1988 (original Tibetan with Chinese translation); Su Bai, "The Yuan Dynasty's Remains of the Tibetan Buddhism in the Region of Wuwei [Liangzhou], Gansu (in Chinese)," *Zangchuan fojiao siyuan kaogu* [*Archaeological Studies on Monasteries of the Tibetan Buddhism* (sic)], Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1996, 275-291; Fan Baoling and Shui Tianchang, *Kuoduan yu Saban Liangzhou huitan*, Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1997; Cairang, "Sajia pai zai Anduo Zangqu de chuanbo gaishu," *Zangxue yanjiu luncong*, vol 5. (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1993), 56-71.

of the abbot's itinerary we can locate him along the lama's route between Dpa' ris and Liangzhou. A final "Chinese" official, Gu yeng tsong chi da'i ching is mentioned in connection with Kun dga' bkra shis's second visit to A mdo. From the name Daiqing (Tib. Da'i ching) we might guess that this is actually a Mongol serving the Ming dynasty, and the title *zongqi* (Tib. *tsong chi*) means battalion commander. Although Bsod nams rgya mtsho's biography also frequently mentions Chinese officials, there is never any mention of names or further titles that could illuminate these problems.

In conclusion, Kun dga' bkra shis' biography reveals the active involvement of specific Chinese state officials with Tibetan Buddhism, and suggests that Tibetan Buddhist—specifically Stag lung—clerics may have had some (possibly long term) relationship with these figures. Furthermore, the details available in this text allow us to link these Chinese officials to some Monguor leaders of this region as well. Why were such details omitted in the fifth Dalai Lama's account? Even more significant is the absence in his account of the Stag lung role in Tibeto-Mongol religious contact. Why was the role of the Stag lung Nang so carefully avoided in the standard Dge lugs pa sources on these events?

The Stag lung sect does seem to have been on at least neutral, if not friendly, terms with the Dge lugs pa prior to the Dge lugs pa's rise to power. Indications of this are, first, Bsod nams rgya mtsho's reception by a former abbot of Stag lung in 1558<sup>66</sup> and, second, the Dge lugs pa school's request for the mediation of Stag lung in 1610, when the fourth Dalai Lama's monastery was attacked by the Gtsang king.<sup>67</sup> It seems that the Stag lung role was simply eliminated from the narrative once Dge lugs pa ascendancy was secured.

#### APPENDIX

### The Travels of Dalai Lama III Bsod nams rgya mtsho: Winter of 1578-1588

This chronology of Dalai Lama III's travels and the names of the important places and individuals he met after his historic meeting with Altan Qayan for the first time on June 19, 1578, is solely based Dalai Lama V's narrative of his life.<sup>68</sup>

1578 (winter) Left for the Ordos at the invitation of Prince Bin du [= Bingtū tayiji (?-1588), a son of Altan Qayan]. Constructed a new monastery in the Ordos named Phun tshogs gzhan phan sde. And then left for the governor's (du thang (< Ch. Dutang) in Gan cu (< Ch. Ganzhou) having been invited by the Chinese governor (*rgya'i mi dpon*) who controlled "the thirteen myriarchies" of this area<sup>69</sup> and a return to Theg chen chos 'khor gling.

66 Sperling 1992, 747.

67 Snellgrove and Richardson 1995, 193.

68 Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, 194-210 [= ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, 143-157]. See also the Chinese translation in *Yishi – sanshi dalai lama juan*, tr. Chen Qingying and Ma Lianlong (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2006), 238-248.

69 See *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, 148

- 1579 Meeting with the Prince of Nying shwa (< Ch. Ningxia) from China. Travels to Li thang and met Lord Abai en route. The Wanli Emperor (r.1572-1620) His financial secretary was given a title. Appointed Chos rje Brtson 'grus bzang po as the of Phun tshogs rnam rgyal gling in Hang nge.
- 1580 Meeting with the king of 'Jang sa tham. Beginning on the twelfth day of the fifth lunar month, the construction and consecration of the monastery of Thub bstan byams chen phyogs thams cad rnam par rgyal ba'i sde. In the eleventh lunar month, he left for Dmar [= Smar] khams.
- 1581 Invited by the Chab mdo community and met Rje drung Lha dbang chos kyi rgyal mtshan. Invited to Ldan chos 'khor gling by Chos rje Lung rigs pa.
- 1582 Stayed at the Gling thang Sgron ma temple. People of Dran thang gave him offerings.
- 1583 Left for Sku 'bum and established there a new college (*bshad grwa*). Then he went on to Bya khyung brag, Ri bo Dan tig, and Mdzo mo mkhar, the earlier residence of Byams chen Chos rje.
- 1584 'Phags pa Shing kun [= Lintao] where 'Phags pa had resided. Then to Tsong kha and Pag ras and on to Mtsho kha (Qinghai) where he was honored by the official 'Kho lo che. Met Lord Da yan (< Mo. Dayan) and left for the ?residence (*sde thog*) of the Ordos governor Se chen hong tha'i ji (< Mo. Sečen Huangtaizi).
- 1585 Constructed a new monastery and built up a religious community in the Ordos and named the monastery Phun tshogs dar rgyas gling. The Ju nang (< Mong. Jinong) King, Lord of the White Tent of the forty great Sog po tribes invited him and once again he constructed a new monastery and built up a religious community. The King handed over the reign to his son and took his vows.
- 1586 Invited by King Du ring, the eldest son of Altan Qayan. Went to Mtsho sngon po [= Kökeqota]. Met Na mo tai hong thai ji [< Mo. Namudai Huangtaizi] who had come from Cha dkar (< Mo. Čahar), possibly he Namudai sečen qayan, a grandson of Altan Qayan?
- 1587 Left for the left wing of the Tūmed Mongols and officiated at the funerary ceremonies of King Du ring. Met the Khar kha King Rdo rje and U reng Khan Jo 'khor No yon. Invited by a relative of Altan Qayan who was staying at the White Stūpa. Invited by the Qan of the Qarč'in and stayed in Shangdu where he passed way on April 22, 1588.

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# THE THIRTEENTH DALAI LAMA ON WARFARE, WEAPONS, AND THE RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE

**Federica Venturi**

*I would like to express sincere gratitude to the colleagues and friends who have contributed in various ways to bring this article to completion. The topic of the subject was inspired by a talk given by Dr. Shun Hidaka of Otani University at the XIII Seminar of the IATS in Ulaan Baatar. Gedun Rabsal helped with the translation of the passages that were most cryptic. Frank Drauschke of the historical research institute Facts & Files, in Berlin, provided an advance copy of documents he has collected for his forthcoming publication *Who was Who in Tibet*. Dr. Alice Travers of the French National Center for Scientific Research helped with the translation of several Tibetan terms identifying weapons. Last but not least, I would like to thank the editor of this volume, Roberto Vitali, assisted by Gedun Rabsal and Nicole Willock, for much patience and collaboration.*

One of the recurrent themes of Professor Sperling's lectures on the different aspects of Tibetan history highlighted the existence of mechanisms for sanctioning violence in every religion, including Buddhism. Today this religion is considered the paradigm of a nonviolent and pacifist mindset, particularly in its Tibetan manifestation. Similarly, Tibet's spiritual leader, the XIV Dalai Lama Tenzin Gyatso, symbolizes the commitment of Tibetan Buddhism to nonviolence, both on account of his Nobel Peace Prize and as a constant champion of the Tibetan cause of "true autonomy" within the People's Republic of China through *ahimsā*. However, throughout its history, even Tibetan Buddhism has not been immune from the use of violence or warfare, activities that are in conflict with the fundamental Buddhist precept of abstaining from killing any living being.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, these activities were both perpetrated and endorsed in various ways by the higher echelons of the Tibetan Buddhist hierarchy.

One of the most well known examples of religiously sanctioned assassination in Tibet is the murder of King Glang Darma by the monk Lha lhung dPal kyi rdo rje in 842,<sup>2</sup> but a number of other episodes in virtually every century of Tibetan history have entailed inter-sectarian violence, aggression with the aim of annexing other territories, and even the targeted assassination of enemies.<sup>3</sup> In particular, Elliot Sperling remarked on one such episode of violence in his article

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1 The five precepts (Skt. *pañca-sīla*) apply to all Buddhists, including lay people, and the abstention from killing is the first of the list (the others being abstention from stealing, sexual misconduct, lying and intoxication).

2 On the justification of this episode in the eyes of Tibetan historiographers, see Meinert (2006) and Schlieter (2006).

3 Examples of inter-sectarian violence are the most numerous in Tibetan history, and they include, to name the most well known episodes, the sack and arson of the monastery of 'Bri gung by the Sa skya pa in 1268 and the wars between the dGe lugs pa and the gTsang pa sde srid in the 16th and 17th century, which culminated

entitled “‘Orientalism’ and Aspects of Violence in the Tibetan Tradition”,<sup>4</sup> in which he focused on the rationale employed by the V Dalai Lama to justify the elimination, perpetrated by his ally’s troops under orders from the Great Fifth himself, of enemies of his newly established government, the dGa’ ldan pho brang. In that article, Sperling showed that scholars often neglect such violent episodes of Tibetan history and instead present an image of Tibet that is consistent with the current Dalai Lama’s emphasis on nonviolence, depicting “Tibetan Buddhism to the present-day world as an eternal store of teachings on nonviolence and peace”.<sup>5</sup> Contrary to this romanticized idea, Sperling proceeded to also illustrate that some Dalai Lamas, although teaching kindness and compassion, had no compunction about resorting to violent means when necessary, particularly if they deemed such measures as the lesser among evils or as a last resort to protect their religion.

In this article I would like to reprise this thread by looking at a set of four documents by the XIII Dalai Lama Thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876-1933) that memorialize four different government ordinances decreed in 1916. The first three concern the issue of three different manuals to be supplied to the bureau of the Tibetan Army: a catalogue of weapons produced in Tibet; an inventory of other variously acquired weapons, and a list of weapons obtained from the United Kingdom. The fourth ordinance, seemingly of more substance when judging it by the title, but scarce in detailed information when looking at the text itself, concerns the taxation of goods to fund the supply of weapons and uniforms for the Tibetan Army.

The significance of these texts is not in the content of the ordinances themselves, which is generic and uninformative on the particulars of their implementation, but rather in the window these documents open on the logic progression employed by the XIII Dalai Lama in order to arrive at his conclusions. In these writings it is possible to discern the XIII Dalai Lama’s considerations and methods of reasoning regarding the necessity for Tibet to arm itself, to be able to engage in self-defense, to successfully compete with foreign nations, and to implement a reliable taxation system capable of providing for an efficient military.

The XIII Dalai Lama Thub bstan rgya mtsho’s more combative stance on the necessity to defend the territorial integrity of Tibet is well known, especially through his famous political testament.<sup>6</sup> However, these documents provide a rare insight into his decision-making process

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in the forceful conversion and near annihilation of numerous perceived enemies of the dGe lugs pa orthodoxy, including the Bon po and the Jo nang pa sects. Aggression against other territories is most egregiously exemplified by the military campaign against Ladakh in 1679-1683, which was approved by the dGa’ ldan pho brang and commanded by a lama from bKra shis lhun po, dGa’ ldan Tshe dbang dpal bzang po. As for targeted assassinations, these were, in Tibet as everywhere else in the world, one of the most effective tools to get rid of political rivals and were used in multiple instances, likely including the occasion of the juvenile deaths of the series of Dalai Lamas from the IX to the XII, who were all probably disposed of by their regents, high dGe lugs pa hierarchs loath to lose their share of power on the coming of age of the Dalai Lama.

4 See Sperling (2001).

5 See Sperling (2001: 320).

6 This speech, given at Rwa sgreng in 1932, the year before his death, exhorted Tibetans to be wary of foreign powers and to remain united in the face of adversities. It is translated in its entirety in Bell (1987: 426-432).



on an important set of plans for the future of Tibet as a state on the verge of modernization and self-reliance. Unfortunately for the ability of Tibet to engage in self-defense, by the mid-1920s Thub bstan rgya mtsho succumbed to the pressures of ecclesiastical vested interests within the dGe lugs pa hierarchy and reneged on his support for the military.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, these brief texts provide an insight into his reading of the world around him and of Tibet's position vis-à-vis its neighbors in a period when the Dalai Lama was still focused on the necessity to prevent, or, in the worst-case scenario, to react appropriately to foreign aggressions such as those of 1904 and 1910-1912. In addition, they illustrate an alternative avenue of dissent against the predominant brand of Buddhist modernism extolled by the current Dalai Lama, and show that Tibetans, including high lamas, have historically thought in terms of decisive action against impending danger, rather than resigning themselves to passive but virtuous acceptance of the situation.

The texts selected refer to decisions taken in 1916, the Fire-Dragon year. They are all brief, between one and two folios each, written in a terse language sometimes marred by spelling idiosyncrasies. A common trait to all these texts is the importance of precedent, i.e. of the existence of a previous similar occasion in which a certain solution was employed, thus justifying the use of the same solution in the current situation. There are two types of precedents employed in the logic of the XIII Dalai Lama. They may be categorized into "historical" and "traditional" or "customary" precedents.<sup>8</sup> The former type consists of examples provided by historical figures, such as the V Dalai Lama and Gushri Khan, personages whose decisions in regard to warfare and government logistics are considered worthy of imitation. The latter type employs references to traditionally accepted sources of wisdom such as the sutras and other major Buddhist canonical texts, as well as the *Sa skya legs bshad*, the popular and standard repository of proverbial acumen in Tibet.

As it is customary, all texts open with a poetic preamble that sets the tone for what is to follow by entreating the appropriate deities. Thus, in addition to prayers to Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, it is notable that the three texts concerning the Tibetan Army's supply of weapons invoke wrathful protectors of Buddhism (Mahākāla, Heruka, Beg tse, Yama) and employ consequently fierce language, beseeching these deities' help in destroying the enemy and protecting the dGa' ldan pho brang. In the same way, the text on the use of taxation for the army's supplies invokes Vaiśravaṇa, the protector of Buddhism regarded as the deity of wealth.

7 For a detailed account of the series of junctures that spurred rivalry between the faction supporting a stronger military, headed by Tsha rong, and the faction of monks and monastic officials who saw a danger in the growth of the Tibetan Army and strongly opposed it, see Goldstein (1989: 89-138). Eventually the XIII Dalai Lama's views on the Tibetan Army became ambivalent, and fearing that this institution could pose a political threat to his own power, in 1925 he elected to weaken the Army.

8 The use of historical precedent by the XIII Dalai Lama is well documented by his request to the IX Pan chen Lama to pay one-fourth of the military expenses for the war against China during the period of the Dalai Lama's exile. This request was based on a payment to the dGa' ldan pho brang by the VII Pan chen Lama, who covered one-fourth of the expenses of the 1791 war with Nepal. As is well known, the demand for this payment, in addition to subsequent requests to increase the levies paid by Tashilhunpo, caused a major rift between the two religious leaders and the flight of the IX Pan chen Lama from Tashilhunpo and into China, an event that still has repercussions today. On this conflict see Goldstein (1989: 110-120) and especially Jagou (2004: 65-107).

Finally, all the texts mention specific events that the Dalai Lama himself experienced and that precipitated the resolution set down by the ordinance. These include the attempted subjugation of Tibet by foreign enemies (mentioned in generic terms, and thus likely referring both to the British sortie of 1904 and the Chinese invasion of 1910), the inability of the Tibetan Army to oppose them with the means at its disposal, the damage inflicted by Tibetan forces to the Chinese troops in the Water-Mouse year (1912) and the acquisition of 5,000 pieces of artillery from the British government at the conclusion of the negotiations of the Simla convention of 1914.<sup>9</sup>

In sum, these texts provide a useful window into the thought process of the XIII Dalai Lama at this point in time. For this reason, they are valuable in challenging the widespread perception that the Tibetan historical experience has been perpetually oriented toward a peaceful stance, and that religious hierarchs, and especially the Dalai Lamas, never compromised their religious integrity by endorsing or even considering forceful actions, including violent responses to external threats. This false assumption, common both among westerners and Tibetans, is fostered by enmeshed relationships between Tibetans and western acolytes enamored with the idea of Tibet as a repository of sacred, secret, and universal knowledge, as well as adamant hopefuls for a pacifist solution to the impasse of occupied Tibet.<sup>10</sup> However, not only does this idea clash with historical reality, but it also contributes to stultify a more assertive Tibetan response to the current situation vis-à-vis the Chinese occupation. The passive acceptance on the part of the Tibetans of this pacifist narrative sets a counterproductive and potentially damaging precedent for the interests of Tibetan territorial integrity and independence.

#### TEXT 1

The first text memorializes the issue of a manual on weapons produced in Tibet, likely an inventory of sorts,<sup>11</sup> to be provided to the commanding officers at the bureau of the Tibetan Army (*bod ljongs dmag sgar spyi khyab las khung*). This is possibly the most significant of the four texts, since its treatment of the material offers more specific details, both in the introductory poetic invocation and in the narrative section providing the historical background for the ordinance. In the invocation, it is especially notable that the six-armed Mahākāla, a wrathful protector of Buddhism known for conferring supramundane powers to rulers initiated into his

9 The British government apparently sold the rifles together with half a million rounds of ammunition. See Goldstein (1989: 77).

10 On the notion that Tibetans in exile have accommodated the often-fanciful ideas of outsiders about their culture and society, see Donald Lopez (1998), who showed that Tibetans see themselves in a mirror reflecting Western imagination of Tibet and tend to fit and imitate that mirror image, consequently losing their more composite, less unitary, more contradictory, and ultimately more human, rather than super-human, identity.

11 Documents stored at the Tibetan Army headquarters included proposals and petitions approved by the XIII Dalai Lama, registers of soldiers, manuals of rules and “four thick registers of weapons and other items of military equipment deposited at Dorjeling armory”; see Wangdue (2012, vol. I: 38).

esoteric rites,<sup>12</sup> is petitioned with a remarkably strong prayer. This is worded in such a way that rather than inviting the deity to protect Buddhism, it asks the god to annihilate the enemy. The language includes expressions such as entreaties to “devastate the evil forces” (*log 'dren rngam*) and “leave only the names of the hosts of unsuitable demons” (*ma rung bdud sde ming gi lhag mar mdzod*), as well as a quatrain which directly requests the deity to produce “warfare with shields and machine guns piercing holes that cause crumbling into thousands of pieces and fragments, entangling the bodies of the enemy from far away” (*phas rgol lus kyi 'khri shing rgyang ma nas / dum bu tshal pa stong du lung 'gyur ba'i / 'bigs byed me yi 'phrul 'khor go cha'i mtshon*). Such directly vehement and graphic expressions are not of the kind that is usually associated with a Dalai Lama today, but they are strong testimonials to the full ability of Tibetan Buddhism to endorse violence when deemed necessary, an ability that the current trend toward Buddhist modernism and its universal values preferred by the XIV Dalai Lama has restricted, contributing to the creation of a Tibetan identity matching the image created by western fantasy, as shown in Donald Lopez’s terse analysis.<sup>13</sup> However, this image is not faithful to the reality of Tibet as a country inhabited by people subject to the same desires, aspirations, flaws, and impulses as the rest of humanity. The final stanza of the poetic invocation expresses the XIII Dalai Lama’s conviction that when the ability of Tibet to produce its own weapons will be known to its enemies, it will contribute to their defeat by inducing fear, presumably driven by an awareness of Tibet’s superiority.<sup>14</sup> The direct wording of the invocation is matched by an equally straightforward narrative section, which provides a historical background to the situation that rendered the ordinance necessary. This core section of the text starts with the statement that the administration of the dGa’ ldan pho brang is “the main essence of service” (*srid zhu bsgrub bya'i don gyi gtso bo*) and proceeds to prove it by presenting a condensed history of military governance in Tibet from the time of the V Dalai Lama to the period of writing. The V Dalai Lama is portrayed as an example to emulate, and his “pursuing the pinnacle of cyclic existence by hoisting the white silk military banner” (*ru mtshon dar dkar 'phyar ba*

12 On Mahākāla and the historical consequences of the belief that initiation into his rites bestowed powers that could be used toward political goals, see Franke (1981) and Sperling (1991, 1994 and 2004).

13 See n. 10 above.

14 The program to produce weapons directly in Tibet had to be implemented when it became clear that the British government, considered as an ally by the Dalai Lama after his exile in India in the years 1910-1912, was opposed to selling weapons to Tibet. In 1915 Zla bzang dgra 'dul Tsha rong, the commander in chief of the Tibetan Army and a protégé of the Dalai Lama, asked Charles Bell, the British Political Officer in Sikkim, for a supply of machine guns and for the loan of three or four mechanics who could teach Tibetans how to build their own ammunition. In spite of Bell’s support for these requests, London instructed the government of India to refuse to offer guns for purchase. As a consequence of this refusal, Tsha rong then attempted to buy older model guns through private Calcutta gunsmiths, but even this attempt met with the disapproval of the government in Delhi. Tibet continued to press, unsuccessfully, for Britain to sell them more weapons, and it finally had to resort to building its own. A factory was established at Grib, just to the south of the gTsang po. On the history of this factory see Wangdue (2012, vol. I: 46). On the numerous attempts by Tsha rong and the Dalai Lama to purchase British weapons see Goldstein (1989: 77-83) and Bell (1996: 174-175 and 1987: 144). Charles Bell finally convinced the British government to sell more weapons and ammunitions to the Tibetans only in 1921, and a total of three shipments of such materials were sent to Tibet between 1921 and 1931. See Goldstein (1989: 120).

*srid rtser bsnyegs*) is not seen as detrimental, but rather as commendable. His willingness to “employ warfare with machinery, artillery fire and the arrows of skilled archers” (*dpag chen mda’ dang ’phrul sgyogs me yi mtshon*) is mentioned not as a problematic intention from a Buddhist viewpoint, but rather as a patriotically emboldening stance. As in the poetic section, the use of fierce language directly and graphically describing violent acts, and at the same time inciting to commit them, is remarkable, and includes expressions such as an incitement to “tear out the heart of the enemy from its casing to the throat” (*dgra snying shubs nas lkog mar thon*).

The chronological narrative proceeds with the mention of Gushri Khan and his role in chasing away the foes of the Dalai Lama’s government, a function that is also viewed with a benevolent eye, as it was responsible for introducing “the dominion of whichever omniscient Padmapani (i.e. Dalai Lama) and the benefits of self-government” on Tibet (*rang srid longs spyod dang bcas pa kun mkhyen phyag na pad mo gang nyid kyi chab ’og tu btsud pa’i skal bzang rmad byung gi dpal la sbyor par mdzad*). The XIII Dalai Lama then nonchalantly explains that the main reason for waging war in the past was to conquer whatever may be needed, and lists the sets of weapons and other supplies used for military operations of the dGa’ ldan pho brang, and stored in the armory called rDo rje gling,<sup>15</sup> at the base of the Potala. These materials, including rather antiquated coats of mail, barding for horses, and lances, though unfit for modern warfare were deposited there and kept in use for a long time, as is demonstrated by several early 20th century photographs of Tibetan army soldiers in full medieval garb.<sup>16</sup>

The list of weapons stored in the armory by his predecessors leads the Dalai Lama to discuss the more recent situation, when foreign armies, having “greater experience and deception” (*sbyangs rtsal dran ’phrul che ba*) attempted to subjugate Tibet. Since the Tibetan army proved unable to successfully rival them with the weapons at its disposal, the Dalai Lama, inspired by a quatrain by Sa skya pandita on the importance of striving for perfection by practicing, suggests the creation of a factory capable to produce weapons directly in Tibet. The Dalai Lama assigns supervision of this factory to *Dā lama* bsTan ’dzin chos grags<sup>17</sup> and Bhrum pa sras Tshe brtan dbang phyug,<sup>18</sup> who employed knowledge acquired from masters of the craft and augmented by

15 A description of the rDo rje gling armory in Shol, which was still in use in the mid-20th century, may be found in Wangdue (2012, vol. I: 47).

16 It is to be noted that one of the reasons for keeping these ancient armors and weapons was that they were used at least once a year during the celebration of the Tibetan New Year or sMon lam chen mo, where soldiers would parade through Lhasa wearing traditional uniforms and weapons. See Wangdue (2012, vol. I: 15-16). Manufacturing details of these armor, and some photographs illustrating their use during pre-1951 Lhasa festivals, can be found in La Rocca (1999).

17 *Dā lama* is a title reserved for high monastic officials, and especially conferred to the most senior *drung yig chen mo* in the ecclesiastic office. This official does not appear in the British files of the so-called “Who’s Who in Tibet” compiled between 1907 and 1950. He is not the same person as bKa’ lon bsTan ’dzin chos grags, who was appointed to office by the Manchu ambans during the 1910-1912 occupation of Lhasa and who was disgraced and imprisoned by Zla bzang dgra ’dul Tsha rong in 1912. However, because he is mentioned in conjunction with ’Bhrum pa sras Tshe brtan dbang phyug, it seems possible he was the Joint Director of the Lhasa Arsenal together with him.

18 According to Petech (1973: 124-125) he was born ca. 1880 and appointed to government service in 1910. He belonged to the most prominent family of Dwags po, the Bhrum pa. According to the British

the use of modern foreign techniques for the production of new weapons that are “wondrous, especially ingenious and excellent” (*ngo mtshar khyad 'phrul phul byung gi mtshon cha*). Notwithstanding the Dalai Lama’s apparent enthusiasm for the project, evidenced by the use of these adjectives, the effort to produce weapons in Tibet did not prove as successful as Thub bstan rgya mtsho would have hoped. The bullets made in Tibet did not work well and actually turned themselves 90° during their trajectory, thus hitting flat on their target.<sup>19</sup> The British gunsmiths consulted to evaluate the reasons for this failure apparently listed twenty-seven different manufacturing mistakes that affected the trajectory of the bullets. The road towards Tibet’s armament was still in its infancy, but the interest of the Dalai Lama in the matter is palpable in this text, as well as the absence, in his logical argument, of any qualms regarding his government’s use and endorsement of violence.

#### TEXT 2

Similarly to the first text, the second preamble (*'go brjod*) memorializes the production of an inventory of weapons. In this case, the arms catalogued were modern, automatic, and likely of Russian, Chinese or Japanese manufacture, since the text indicates that they were “produced mechanically by craftsmen of the four corners” (*mtha 'bzhi 'i bzo pos 'phrul stobs*). These weapons had been acquired through various means. Some were undoubtedly purchased by Tibetan officials, since apparently there was a fertile arms market in Tibet at the time and, according to Charles Bell, it was not unusual to see even Chinese soldiers and officials selling guns and munitions to the Tibetans. Moreover, it is known that Khri smon Nor bu dbang rgyal and Byams pa bstan dar bKa' blon, following classified orders received from the exiled Dalai Lama, arranged for local merchants to secretly buy weapons for them.<sup>20</sup> However, from this text it is apparent that

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files of the “Who’s Who in Tibet” he was: “Master of the Horse (Chhik-pön Chhem-po) to the Dalai Lama and Joint Director of the Lhasa Arsenal” (1915: 20 and 1920: 11). I am grateful to Frank Drauschke for making this information available to me in advance of publication of his biographical dictionary of Tibetan officials in the first half of the 20th century.

19 Bell briefly mentions this in his biography of the XIII Dalai Lama (1987: 236-237). Also, according to bSam pho bsTan 'dzin don grub, interviewed by M.C. Goldstein in 1981, “As for the guns they made, the shape was kind of the same as the 303 English carbine, but when they shot them, they didn’t work well. Instead of the point of the bullets hitting the target, in some cases the side of the bullets hit the target. While making the guns, a 303 English carbine and some bullets were sent to India to the British to show to the gun factory. They explained the problem we had saying, ‘This is the gun we are able to make in Tibet and these are the bullets that we have been able to make. Please advise us what is wrong, what mistakes we have made and tell us what advise (sic).’ That was sent to India for expert opinion from the British because at that time, Tibet had a good relation with the British. The British replied to the Tibetan government saying, ‘There are twenty-seven faults in the manufacturing of your guns. So it would be better if you stop producing the gun’. They simply said there were twenty-seven and did not mention this and this. So the government stopped making the 303 English carbine.”

See the website of the Tibetan Oral History Archive Project, Interview H0205: with Sambo, Tenzin Dondrub, part 2. <http://tibetoralhistoryarchive.org/resource.xqy?q=English%20carbine&uri=%2F1scoll%2Ftohap%2Floc.natlib.tohap.H0205.xml&index=1&segment=seg02>

20 See Bell, (1996: 193); Shakabpa (1984: 239).

some other weapons were gained as war loot during the clashes that erupted between Tibetans and the Chinese army in the wake of the collapse of the Manchu empire in October 1911.<sup>21</sup>

The Dalai Lama seems to have approved of this action, viewing the confiscation as “a sign of bravery” (*dpa’rtags*) of the Tibetan forces, which he likened, using a cliché formula, to an “army of gods” (*lha dmag*). In the same vein, he compared the Chinese soldiers to “black demons” (*nag po bdud*) and described their actions during the battles of the Water-Mouse year (1912) with the customary expressions indicating the destruction of the doctrine, doctrine holders and dominion. While this narrative abounds in standard Buddhist rhetoric, it lacks any kind of information on a tally of the damages inflicted.

In fact, rather than on historical data, the attention of the Dalai Lama in this preamble seems to be focused on showing that the efforts of the Chinese soldiers that invaded Tibet in the period between 1910 and 1912 were doomed from the start, because the karmic retribution of their actions caught up with them even before they could conclude them. The core of the text, both in the poetic introduction and in the narrative section, is devoted to asserting that the Chinese brought “self-destruction” (*rang nyid phung ba*) upon themselves from the moment in which they decided to engage “as an adversary with a mischievous mind”, (*ma rung yid kyis rgol bar*), and that their heinous actions will ripen into karmic results in this very lifetime. The Dalai Lama’s words of disapproval for the enemy also refer to the Chinese army’s “supporters” (*rjes brang*), likely to be identified with the monks of bsTan rgyas gling and of the gsal gling college of ’Bras spung, that famously sided with the Chinese during those years.<sup>22</sup>

The overall style of this text is not as belligerent as the first one. The Dalai Lama seems to rejoice in the victory of the Tibetan forces and in the humiliation of the Chinese army, that “accepted defeat and surrendered sharp blades as weapons” (*lag cha’i mtshon rnon dor nas pham blangs*), and simply invites the wrathful guardian Beg tse, god of war and protector of the dGe lugs pa, to defend the government of the dGa’ ldan pho brang.

Finally, the XIII Dalai Lama provides in the text a partial list of the weapons<sup>23</sup> confiscated by the Tibetans. The list is noteworthy in view of the fact that it provides a small sample of the variety of neologisms that were being created in the Tibetan language in order to identify the various new types of foreign automatic weapons. These include words of possible foreign derivation, such as *me-mda’ U-u-shang*, *cu’u shang*, *ru shang*, *hri rtse lan gru*, and *’ber btang*. Responsibility for the compilation of an exact inventory of these rifles, to be kept at the Tibetan Army’s headquarters, rested with the chief commanding officer of the Tibetan Army, Tsha rong.<sup>24</sup>

21 A photograph of a mountain gun captured from the Chinese at the battle of Jyekundo in 1916 is shown in Tsarong (2000: picture 9).

22 See Goldstein (1989: 63-64), Bell (1996: 120-121 and 1987: 347).

23 Apparently weapons of Russian and Japanese manufacture were fairly easy to find on the Asian markets, and could be purchased at a reasonable price; for example see Bell (1996: 221) and Shakabpa (1984: 239).

24 Though this figure is well known, it might be useful to provide a brief summary of his life here. His given name was gNang gang, and he was born in 1884 from a peasant family in Phan po. As a young

## TEXT 3

The third preamble introduces the catalogue of weapons supplied by the British. It is the shortest and most succinctly worded of the three introductions to weapons inventories. It starts with prayers to Mañjuśrī and Yama, and enjoins the Dalai Lama himself, who is designated with a series of poetic and honorific attributes (*zhabs sen, zla ba gsar, phyi mtha'i yul skyong rje bo chen po*), to illustrate the best among the weapons (*mtshon cha'i nang nas ches rab mtshon*). Of the three introductions to weapons inventories, it is the one providing the least historical documentation. It includes only a single reference to the Simla convention (*rgya bod zhi ching*), and gives the names of the two well-known Tibetan officials appointed to represent Tibet there, bShad sgra dPal 'byor rdo rje and Khri smon pa Nor bu dbang rgyal. The purchase of 5000 automatic firearms from the British, which occurred at the conclusion of the convention, is also mentioned, and it is likely that these weapons were included in the catalogue in question.

It is only possible to speculate as to the reasons why Tibetan-made weapons, British weapons and weapons made in other foreign countries were stored and catalogued separately by the Tibetan administration. One reason that may be suggested is that the sorting was done according to quality, reliability, and modernity of the weapons. In fact, the bloodbath of Tibetan troops, inadequately armed with antiquated muskets at sGu ru on March 31, 1904, must have given a fairly adequate measure of the lethal power of British firearms.<sup>25</sup> On the contrary, Tibetan weapons, which included gingalls and matchlocks, as well as the aforementioned traditional swords, etc., performed poorly, and other foreign-made weapons seem to have been obsolete

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boy he became the pupil of a monk official of the Tibetan government who was also an attendant of the Dalai Lama, and at the age of twelve he became part of the Dalai Lama's personal domestic staff. In 1904 he followed the Dalai Lama in his flight to Mongolia. He eventually became a favorite of the Dalai Lama, and was known as *spyang gsal* gNang gang (Bell consistently refers to him as "Clear Eye"). In 1910, when the Dalai Lama was fleeing Lhasa toward India with Chinese cavalymen in pursuit, he succeeded in holding the Chinese troops at ICags zam for two days with a small contingent, allowing the Dalai Lama to arrive safely at the Indian border. In 1912, on the Dalai Lama's return to Lhasa, he was made senior commander in chief of the Tibetan Army. Soon after, he married both the widow and the daughter of the Tsha rong *bka'blon* he had put to death for collaboration with the Chinese, and acquired the Tsha rong family name. Later he was also charged with the responsibility of Mint Master and of *bka'blon*. In 1920, his proposal to increase the size of the army from 5,000 to 15,000 troops encountered open hostility from the less progressive government officials and especially from the three monastic seats of bKra shis lhun po, Se ra and dGa'ldan. The situation of tension and instability in Lhasa in those days is well described in Goldstein (1989: 94-104). Tsha rong, aware of the opposition to his ideas, attempted repeatedly to resign from all three of his posts, but without success. In 1925, his decision to amputate the leg of one of his soldiers as punishment for having murdered a policeman, led to his downfall. He was demoted from his role as *bka'blon* and never really regained his political power. A full English biography of his, written by his son, is in Tsarong (2000).

25 British soldiers in sGu ru were armed with Maxim guns, at the time the most advanced type of automatic rifle. According to colonel Younghusband, during the skirmish, which was over "in a few minutes", the British "only fired thirteen rounds per man" (1910: 176-179). Still, at the end of the confrontation there were hundreds of fatalities among the Tibetans and only a few among the British. The figures for the casualties of the battle at sGu ru vary widely, from "at least 300 Tibetans" in Richardson (1984: 86), to "over 500", as reported by Tibetan government records viewed by Shakabpa (1984: 213), and "nearly 500" according to a report the British telegraphed to the Adjutant General in India (*ibid.*). What is certain is that the number of Tibetan casualties was disproportionately higher than the British, testifying to the chilling power of the new weapons, unheard of in Tibet.

or possibly of inferior quality and reliability.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it is not surprising that British guns were seen as the superior standard in weaponry, and that, as a consequence, they were stored and catalogued separately from the others.

From the indications provided in the preamble, it seems that the catalogue itself classified the British-supplied armament depending on characteristics such as their price and size, as well as by providing descriptions of each different sample. The astonished appreciation of the XIII Dalai Lama for these British-made arms is evident in the description of their power and incalculable worth: “one artillery machine of meteoric iron, to which cannot be applied a measure of comparable value, can shoot many rounds simultaneously” (*gnam lcags sgyogs me'i 'phrul 'khor gcig gis skad mdel mang po gcig car du 'byin par nus pa zhe mtshungs rin thang gzhal gyis mi spyod pa*).

Notwithstanding the scarce amount of hard historical data, this text is useful as an illustration of the Dalai Lama's view on the chronological trajectory of Tibet vis-à-vis its neighbors. Part of this trajectory is highly predictable, illustrating a glorious past in the period when Buddhism was at its apex and a decline in recent times. The fading of Buddhism is amplified by the foreigners' ways, which are seen with suspicion and considered responsible for turning people, including important political figures, away from it (*sa 'dzin pa'i rje blon rnams kyang chos la dad snang nub pa'i phyi rgya'i lugs 'dzin*).

However, the text makes clear that the XIII Dalai Lama thought that his efforts to disseminate the Buddhist message had contributed to curtailing the loss of traditional religious values. Specifically, he believed that at the conclusion of the Simla convention the British envoys had offered political and economic help to Tibet, including the 5,000 automatic weapons, on account of their attraction to the morals and values of Buddhism. The XIII Dalai Lama thought that it was ultimately Buddhism, and specifically the success of his own preaching efforts, that turned the British into sympathetic counterparts.

In one last note about this preamble, it should be mentioned that it proved to be the hardest to understand, possibly because of its extremely condensed language. The translation below represents my best attempt at the moment, but it is by no means certain, and certainly not elegant. Hopefully other interested scholars will be able to clarify and disentangle some of the thorniest passages.

#### TEXT 4

The fourth text varies slightly from the preceding ones because its stated intent is to introduce a manual establishing a change in the taxation system. However, since the reason to introduce the new levy structure was to create sufficient revenue to supply the army with weapons and uniforms, the subject of this preamble is pertinent to the former ones. Moreover, a number of discourses commenced in the first three texts are continued and expanded here. They include thoughts on the role of Tibet among its neighbors both in the past and at the time of writing, on the function of Buddhism in helping Tibet place itself in a new position as country engaged in “current affairs”,

<sup>26</sup> For example, the British at sGu ru seized two breechloaders of Russian make. See Shakabpa (1984: 213).



and on war in general. As for details of the inner workings of the new taxation system, none are to be found here. These, presumably, were contained in the booklet itself, that was composed by Tsha rong and entitled: “The treasury of the four classes, source of every wish and granting all desires”. As the commander in chief of the Tibetan Army, Tsha rong would have been well positioned to indicate how much extra revenue was needed by the overhauled Tibetan military he envisaged.

In lieu of practical details on the implementation of the new tax system, this preamble justifies the decision to execute such changes by referring to a variety of quotations from important Buddhist texts, such as the *Abhidharmakoṣa*, the *Puṇḍarīka* sutras, the *bKa' gdam glegs bam*, the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* and the *Prajñāparāmitā* in one thousand lines. The selections from these texts are used in two ways. On one hand they illustrate how Buddhism was mainly responsible for the historical influence Tibet exercised on its neighbors, and on the other they provide authoritative advice and practical examples of how the Tibetan government should operate vis-à-vis its enemies in the present situation.

Concerning Tibet's historical influence, the narrative outlined here asserts that the Dharma flourished in Tibet and spread to neighboring countries thanks to the compassion of Avalokiteśvara. The trajectory of Tibetan history is illustrated as a continuous stream of Buddhist influence from Tibet onto the countries along its borders, countries that paid homage to Tibet's rulers in return for partaking in Buddhist teachings. As the embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, the XIII Dalai Lama thought of himself as successfully renewing the protection of that bodhisattva on Tibetan plateau. Moreover, he saw himself as incarnating a golden *cakravartin*, (*chos srid gser gyi rtsibs stong 'bar ba phyag mtshan du bzhes pa*), the highest form of universal ruler, whose enemies spontaneously surrender to him (*mtha' bzhi'i rgol ngan rje 'bangs kyi mgo bo ngang gis smad par gyur*).<sup>27</sup>

In hindsight this seems an overestimation, possibly driven by the fact that in 1916/17 Tibetan forces, also partially aided by the chaotic situation in China, were reconquering territories lost to the Chinese in Khams.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the British appeared to have turned a favorable eye on Tibet and were not considered to represent a danger.<sup>29</sup> Possibly prematurely emboldened by the Tibetan Army's recent successes, the Dalai Lama sets up to conclude his discourse with a series of quotations exhorting the Tibetan Army and Tibetans in general to gather their courage, sharpen their skills and train “to rid oneself of physical and mental fatigue” (*lus sems ngal ba ring*

27 According to the *Abhidharmakoṣa*, depending on the extent of the power and influence they wield over nonbelievers, there are four types of universal rulers. The highest one, or golden *cakravartin*, easily triumphs over non-believing rulers, who plead with him to govern their districts. The silver *cakravartin* begins a military advance against them, but receives full surrender before his attack. The *cakravartin* by the copper wheel also advances towards the nonbelievers, who prepare to defend themselves, but still submit to him before coming to war. Finally, the iron *cakravartin* is victorious over the nonbelievers only after having fought them. Interestingly, none of these *cakravartin* has to ever resort to killing. See L. De La Vallée Poussin (1926: 202).

28 See Goldstein (1989: 82-83), Tsarong (2000: 53).

29 The British had provided multiple and ample demonstrations of the fact that they were not interested in a physical occupation of the Tibetan territories. See, for example, Bell (1987: 114, 143-144 and 156). Also, in Text 3 above, the Dalai Lama explicitly describes Tibet's foreign counterparts at Simla as having turned toward “the virtuous direction” of Buddhism.

*spang gi rtsal sbyong*) in order to damage the enemy. He confidently asserts that in addition to the new, modern weapons, it is necessary that the Tibetans' general approach be geared toward courage and strength in order to fight foreign enemies. At this point in 1916, the XIII Dalai Lama's stance on Tibet's self-defense was still strong and confident.

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

These four preambles provide a glimpse of the historical outlook of the Dalai Lama on the course of events that precipitated the situation in Tibet during his lifetime. He surveys Tibetan history from the origins of his government to the most recent events, showing admiration for the other strong Dalai Lama in Tibet, the Fifth, and evaluating his own efforts as a continuation of what the Great Fifth had started (text 1). However, he also illustrates a trajectory of decline in Tibetan history, a decline that he believes can be reversed by acting as a *cakravartin* (text 4) and by implementing reforms such as the ones introduced in these four texts. In fact, he views the meeting of British officials with Tibetan representatives at the Simla convention of 1914 as the first sign that he had already begun to stem such decline. These texts also show a certain admiring astonishment of the XIII Dalai Lama towards the new techniques in weaponry, as well as his sense of urgency in modernizing and equipping the Tibetan army. In addition, they show the decision-making process of the XIII Dalai Lama in the face of an adverse situation.

More importantly, a combined analysis of these four texts illustrates that the idea of equipping an army, fabricating weapons, excising taxes in order to finance the military, and ultimately waging war in order to defend the territorial integrity of Tibet and its religion was not problematic for the XIII Dalai Lama. On the contrary, he employed several major tenets of Buddhism, such as the law of Karma and the concept of *cakravartin*, to build and support his case.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, his invocations to wrathful guardian deities are emblematic of an established mechanism for protection from, and suppression of, the enemy. The existence of such a mechanism is not a new discovery, as there are multiple and well-known historical examples of its use, including the subjugation of local deities opposed to the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet by Padmasambhava in the 8th century, and the invocation of Mahākāla as a powerful ally in battle.<sup>31</sup> Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that such a mechanism, and the use of violence that it entails, was wholly unquestioned and constituted the natural reaction of the Dalai Lama to aggression from his neighbors, showing that Buddhism and violence are not, as it is often assumed today, two distinct and completely irreconcilable notions.<sup>32</sup>

30 On the different Buddhist rationales that may be employed to justify war, see Demieville (2010: 38-43). Primary among these is the notion, also employed by the XIII Dalai Lama, that the Dharma should be protected from its enemies. On the discourses employed by the V Dalai Lama to justify war, see also Maher (2010).

31 On the invocations and rituals dedicated to Mahākāla during battles between the Tangut and the Mongols, see Sperling (2004, especially 10 and 16-19). On devotion to Mahākāla at the Yuan court and the employment of his powers to serve Mongol troops see also Sperling (1991 and 1994).

32 A number of viewpoints on the question of Buddhism and violence and the related issue of Buddhism and warfare are discussed in Zimmermann (2006) and Jerryson and Juergensmeyer (2010).

By attempting to show that “values and policies practiced by the Dalai Lamas cannot be wholly separated from their contemporary and historical milieu”,<sup>33</sup> it is hoped that this article may contribute to demystifying the current, highly romanticized, but fashionable view of Tibet, which asserts that the introduction of Buddhism on the plateau transformed Tibet from a country where warfare, prevarication and suffering were paramount to a “peaceful, colorful, cheerful realm of pleasant and meaningful living”.<sup>34</sup>

The idea that Tibetans are pacifists just by virtue of being Buddhists has now become the common perception worldwide, but it does not solely reflect Tibet’s historical experience. Ultimately, the myth of Tibetan ultra-pacifism is not a Buddhist or even Tibetan Buddhist creation, but rather a modern invention, the fruit of the union of a universalistic Buddhist message and a penchant for distortion of Tibetan history in order to fit imaginary Western fantasies about Tibet.<sup>35</sup> Familiarization with the realities of their historical past would give Tibetans other options to confront the challenges they face today.

TEXT 1<sup>36</sup>

*//me 'brug bod ljongs dmag sgar spyi khyab las khung<sup>37</sup> gi bod bzos  
'khrul mda'i debs<sup>38</sup> kyi 'go brjod dag/ /*

Ohm swa sti/ blo

chen rgyal kun yab gcig smra ba'i lha / bzang po'i bskal par lung rtogs dri med  
bstan / 'dzin mkhas snyan pa'i grags pas gsum khyab / 'jam dpal snying po'i zhabs  
sen gtsug na bsnyen /zab gsal 'gyur med mi

bskyod rdo rje'i gtso / rigs lnga yab yum sems dpa' khro bo'i tshogs / lhan skyes  
rab spangs gsang 'dus dkyil 'khor lhas / mchog thun dngos grub char chen deng  
'dir bobs / thugs rje'i sgyu 'phrul sgeg cing

dpa' ba'i gzugs / ha ha'i gad bryangs<sup>39</sup> drag pos log 'dren rngams<sup>40</sup> // myur  
mdzad mgon pos rnam bzhi'i 'phrin las khyis / ma rung bdud sde ming gi lhag mar  
mdzod / phas rgol lus kyi 'khri shing rgyang ma nas / dum

33 See Sperling (2001:327).

34 Robert Thurman, as quoted in D. Maher (2010: 89, n.3).

35 On western fantasies about Tibet and the tendency of Tibetans in exile to accommodate them, see Lopez (1998, especially pp.183-187 and 200-201).

36 The text begins on p.699 of volume 4 of Lokesh Chandra's edition of the *Collected Works of Dalai Lama XIII*. Although the set is fairly easy to find, the quality of the print makes it hard to read, and this is the reason why a transliteration of the texts is provided here. The title of each text is given in italics; uncertain readings are followed by a question mark; spelling clarifications are given in footnote whenever possible. Underlined words represent instances in which Tibetan words are marked with a circle.

37 Read: las khungs.

38 Read: deb. This word is consistently spelled “debs” throughout the four texts.

39 Read: gad rgyangs.

40 Read: rngam.

bu tshal pa stong du lhung 'gyur ba'i / /'bigs byed me yi 'phrul 'khor go cha'i  
mtshon // sngon med rig pa'i rtsal gyi shugs las thon / da ni bskal pa'i rlung dang  
'grogs pa'i mes // sog ma'i phung po bsreg par sla ba bzhin //

'jigs rung g.yul gyi cha lag gsar bskrun pa'i / gtam tsam gyis kyang dgra sde'i  
tsi Tata 'gas // zhes bstod phyag gis dge legs bye ba'i 'jug sgo yangs por phye ste  
/ de yang rgyal thabs 'phrin las rnam bzhis / gnam

bskos dga' ba brgya ldan pa'i lugs zung chab srid dbu rmog gi gdugs dkar btsan  
po sa gsum gyi bla na mngon par 'degs pa ni / sri zhu<sup>41</sup> bsgrub bya'i don gyi gtsa  
bor song gshis / kun mkhyen lnga pa chen po kyang

[p.700] ru mtshon dar dkar 'phyar ba srid rtser bsnyegs / dpag chen mda' dang  
'phrul sgyogs me yi mtshon/ ral gri'i 'od sngon 'phro la dpung rgyan du / spud pas  
dgra snying shubs nas lkog mar thon / zhes ji skad bka' stsal ba zhin rgyal

khab chen po'i bstan srid bya bzhag la gzi ldan drag po yan lag bzhi ba'i g.yul  
dpung stobs rtsal ngoms ches cher ldan pa zhig med du mi rung ba'i yan lag la  
brten mi'i dbang po gau shrī bstan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal pos brlang por

spyod pa'i bod ljongs kyi rgol ngan mtha' dag cham la phabs te / rang srid longs  
spyod dang bcas pa kun mkhyen phyag na pad mo gang nyid kyi chab 'og tu btsud  
pa'i skal bzang rmad byung gi dpal la sbyor par mdzad cing / gnam

bskos dga' ba brgya ldan pa'i gzhung bstan chab srid kyi dbu brnyes pa nas  
bzung gna' bo'i dus kyi mda' mtshon rgyu rnying shugs nus che ba gang ci'i  
mkho rgu dbang du bsdu te pho brang chen po'i go mdzod rdo rje gling du bsdu  
pa'i gsos

go'i rim pa/ drung 'khor gyi gyon khrab rta go dang bcas pa / dbus tsho chen  
bzhi'i gzab 'phyor<sup>42</sup> dang / thag ring du bgrod pa'i yang chas kyi go cha / gzhung  
skyong gi hor sog khams 'brog gi go cha / mdor na ral gri / mda' mdung

me mda' sogs mtshon cha / dkyil sgar gyi gur chen / yol gor / lding gur / lding  
zangs sogs dang / bod rje mi dbang gi dus kyi dbang mda' dang / dzam grags zhes  
pa rnam kyis gzhan sde rnam par gnon gnon pa'i yo

byad bstar chags pa byas snang yang / dus phyis phyi rgyal rnam pha rol g.yul  
gyi dbang du bsdu ba'i sbyangs rtsal dran 'phrul che bas bod phyi bde gzar skabs  
rang re nas 'phrul mda' sna tshogs kyi do zlar ji bzhin ma pher bas /

[p.701] slar yang 'gran zla dan 'gran zla'i phul du son ched/ ji skad du / legs  
bshad las / dngos po gang dang gang la yang / goms na dka' ba ci yang med / ces  
gsungs pa bzhin spyangs

pas mi 'grub pa'i shes bya rig pa'i gnas gang yang med gsis gzhung sa rang nas  
bzo grwa gsar 'dzugs bskyang te / do dam tā bla ma bstan 'dzin chos grags dang /  
chibs dpon bhrum pa sras tshe brtan dbang phyung ngo / gnyis

nas 'go 'doms kyis bzo ba'i slob dpon mkhas pa las lag rgyun bslab shes rim par  
'phel ba skyes bu'i rtsol ba la cher ltos ma dgos pa'i phyi rgya'i lugs kyi bzo 'chun  
rnam mang 'phrul 'khor gyi 'du byed las ngo mtshar khyad

'phrul phul byung gi mtshon cha sna tshogs bzo bskrun gyis gsar byung rnam  
dang / da dung lag shes blo rtsa la je 'phel gyis 'thon 'gyur rigs rab tshes me 'brug  
lo nas bzung slad rtsa 'dzin bde ba'i debs gzhung phas rgol snying rtsa

lkog mar 'byin ba'i gnam lcags shas rab kyi ral gri bstar chag<sup>43</sup> tu 'god pa la //

41 Read: srid zhu.

42 Read: gzab mchor.

43 Read: chags.

*Fire-Dragon year. Preamble to the book of Tibetan-made machine guns,  
for the Tibetan Army commanding officers' bureau.*

Blessings!

[May] The great mind, all-victorious, only father, deity of speech (i.e. Mañjuśrī),  
Teach the pure scriptures and realization [of the Dharma] in the good *kalpa*.  
[He] encompasses the three: upholding, knowing and spreading the word;  
[I] pay respect with the crown of the head [to] the feet of the essence of Mañjuśrī.<sup>44</sup>

The profound, brilliant and unchanging, main figure of Akṣobhyavajra,  
The assembly of the five Buddha families and their consorts, bodhisattvas and  
fierce beings;  
The deities of the mandala of Guhyasamāja spontaneously renounced;  
Here today fell the heavy rain of supreme and ordinary realization.<sup>45</sup>

Form of a hero mesmerizing through an illusory display of compassion;  
With a fierce “Ha, ha” roar devastate the evil forces!  
Six-armed Mahākāla, through the four kinds of activities,  
Leave just the names of the hosts of unsuitable demons!

Produce, with the strength of an unprecedented power of understanding,  
Warfare with weapons and machine guns piercing holes  
That cause crumbling into thousands of pieces and fragments,  
[And even] from a distance, entangle the bodies of the enemies!

Today, as it is easy to burn heaps of straw  
With the fire and the wind of the *kalpa*,<sup>46</sup>  
By merely mentioning that we produced instruments of war,  
Terror shatters the hearts of the hosts of enemies.

Thus, opening wide the gateway to millions of blessings through praise and  
homage, and through the four kinds of activities<sup>47</sup> of the kingdom, concerning the  
hoisting in evidence, on top of the three realms, of the sturdy white umbrella of  
rank of the spiritual and temporal administration that possesses the hundred joys  
mandated from heaven (i.e. the dGa’ ldan pho brang), it is the main essence of  
[public] service. Even the Omniscient Great Fifth

[p.700] “Pursued the pinnacle of cyclic existence by hoisting the white silk  
military banner;

Warfare with machinery (*’phrul*), artillery fire and the arrows of skilled archers;  
The glowing blue light of swords as ornament of the troops;  
With [these] adornments, tear out the heart of the enemy from [its] casing to  
the throat!”

44 The equivalence between Mañjuśrī and Tsong kha pa is evident in the Tibetan text, where the words “blo”, “bzang”, “grags” and “pa” are underlined with circles to emphasize the connection between the two. In the transliteration above, I have marked these words by underlining them.

45 The translation of this quatrain is far from certain. The image presented is that of a mandala of Guhyasamāja Akṣobhyavajra, with the figure of the central deity surrounded by the five Buddhas with their consorts, as well as by bodhisattvas and other beings.

46 It is traditionally believed that the end of the current *kalpa* will be brought about by the conjunction of a fire fueled by a strong wind.

47 The four kinds of activities (*’phrin las rnam bzhi*) are: pacification (*zhi ba*), growth (*rgyas pa*), power (*dbang*) and subjugation (*drag po*).

Having thus spoken, accordingly, for the religious and political activities of the main government, depending on the attributes that are indispensable, [such as] having ever-greater sufficiently strong war troops with the four branches of fierceness [and] brilliance,<sup>48</sup> the lord of men, Gushrī [Khan], holder of the doctrine [and] *dharmarāja*, annihilated all the ill-intentioned foes of Tibet that acted aggressively. He applied [these war efforts] to the glory of the excellent fortune of introducing the dominion of whichever omniscient Padmapani (i.e. Dalai Lama) together with the benefits of self-government.

Starting from the founding of the government, teaching, and dominion of the [administration] that possesses the one hundred joys mandated from heaven (i.e. the dGa' ldan pho brang), the old cause for warfare with arrows in former times [was] subjugating everything needed with any superior force or ability. At rDo rje gling, the armory of the great palace, the series of well maintained armors that are stockpiled [include]: the coats of mail worn by lay government officials and the barding for the horses; the elaborate attire of the four great counties of dBus;<sup>49</sup> light armor, for travelling far; the armor of the nomads of Hor, Sog and Khams, who protect the government; in brief, swords, lances, rifles, etc., as weapons; [and as supplies] a large tent of the central camp; vessels, [other] canopies; large copper cauldrons, etc.

At the time of the lords of Tibet and [local] rulers,<sup>50</sup> it appears that instruments called “empowered arrows” (*dbang mda'*) and *dzam grags* were regularly made to completely suppress extraneous groups.<sup>51</sup> Later, foreign enemies have had greater experience, as well as deception to subjugate [us] with warfare. Therefore, at [this] time of turmoil between Tibet and the foreign [world], because we have not been able to actually oppose [them] with various machine guns,

[p.701] again, in order to attain excellence over the enemy and (be a competitive) enemy, it is said thus, from the *Good sayings*: “In whatever [one applies to], if one practices it is not difficult at all”! In accordance with [this] saying, [since] there is not even one object of knowledge that cannot be accomplished through practice, the government estates themselves created and maintained factories [fabricating weapons].

The two leaders, the commissioner Dā lama bsTan 'dzin chos grags and the cavalry chief Bhrum pa sras Tshe brtan dbang phyug gradually increased the

48 In Tibetan literature the ideal army is traditionally described as possessing four branches, which are derived from the Indian treatises and include not only cavalry and infantry, but also elephant mounted troops and troops attacking from chariots. The latter two are evidently an impossibility in Tibet, because of its geography and terrain.

49 The Tibetan *dbus tsho chen bzhi* possibly represents an alternative form of dBus gTsang ru bzhi, “the four horns of Central Tibet”, namely the valleys of the sKyid chu (i.e. dBu ru skyid shod and g.Yas ru nam shod) and the region of Lho kha in dBus and the areas of gTsang ru lag shan 'khyed and g.Ye ru nang chu shung in gTsang.

50 The Tibetan expression: “*bod rje mi dbang gi dus*” seems merely to refer to generic lords and rulers of Tibet, and it is uncertain to which specific period of Tibetan history it may refer. The use of the term “*mi dbang*” might be interpreted to refer to Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas (1689-1747), the secular ruler of Central Tibet in the first half of the 18th century, to whom such epithet is often referred. However, the indications in the text are too vague to pinpoint with certainty this reference to him.

51 The name *dzam grags* designated a specific type of gun. See Wangdue, (2012, vol. I: 16, n.2 and 46).

knowledge [with] practice from the learned masters of the craft, having put together many kinds of disciplines and techniques of the foreigners' methods and machines, without need to consider much the effort of people, introduced new production of various weapons that are wondrous, especially ingenious and excellent.

Moreover, beginning from the year of the fire-dragon (1916), of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle, by increasing more and more the skills in craftsmanship, [our] potential became evident. Henceforth, a government manual of good protocol shall regularly register swords of the very best meteoric iron to take out the hearts, veins and throats of the enemy...

## TEXT 2

*Bod ljongs dmag spyi las khung gi spus sgrub zhus pa'i 'phrul mda'i debs<sup>52</sup> kyi 'go brjod/*

Ohm swa sti / dbang sngon zhun ma brtsegs pa'i lhun po

la/ rab dmar mtshams sprin ma dangs kyis 'khyud pa bzhin // chos kun bde chen dbyings su ro gcig pa'i / He ru ka dpal yab yum la phyag 'tshal / sher phyin dga' ma 'jigs rung srin mo'i gzugs/ snam mtha'i

ye shes las bshan bektse dang / yab yum lcam dral gri thogs dang bcas pas // dga' brgya'i chab srid yun du brtan par mdzod // ma rung yid kyis rgol bar brtsams pa'i las / rang nyid phung ba'i rgyur song rang rtags kyi /

[p.702] lag cha'i mtshon rnon dor nas pham blangs pa'i / gtam grags rgyal nga phyogs kyi bu mos brdungs // zhes mchod par brjod de / gzhung bstan chab srid la log par 'khu ba'i rgya dmag rjes 'brang dang bcas nas chu srin gyi rgyal

mhsan lag tu thogs pa'i nag po bdud kyi rtsa lag snying gi gdon du ches cher brlams te / chu byi lo bstan pa bstan 'dzin chab srid dang bcas pa log can gyi rang dbang du gzhom par gzhug pa'i log smon gyi rig byed lus ngag

tu thon pa'i sgyor ngan snga phyir brtsams kyang byad ma rang gshed rang thog tu dbab pa'i byed pa po rang nyid kyi 'di phyi'i bde legs dang thar pa bla na med pa'i dge srog gi rtsa ba gcod pa tsam las ci yang byar med pa ma zad / tshe 'dir

yang phye ma leb me nang du lceb pa'i ngang tshul las ngan gyi myong 'bras mthor chos su smin te / gzhung sa chen po'i lha dmag gis tshar bcad phyir skrod skabs dgra bo'i lag cha dpa' rtags su blangs pa'i go mtshon gyi rigs rnam

dang / mangga lha sogs mtha' bzhi'i bzo pos (?) 'phrul stobs/snyobs kyis bskrun pa'i me mda' U 'u shang / cu'u shang / ru shang / hri rtse lan gru / 'ber btang / krob mda' sogs me mda' che chung sna tshogs gzhung gnas nas

spus sgrub bskyangs pa rnam phyogs gcig tu bsdus te / rab byung bco lnga pa'i me 'brug lor bod ljongs dmar<sup>53</sup> sgar yongs kyi spyi khyab che ba bka' blon tsha rong pas gtsos dmag spyi las khungs nas 'go 'doms zhabs 'degs

kyi slad phyi gyar mi 'byung pa'i rtsa 'dzin gyi debs<sup>54</sup> gzhung ngo mtshar mu tig gyi do shal dpa' bo'i mgul rgyan du bstar ba la //

52 Read: deb.

53 Read: dmag.

54 Read: deb.

*Preamble to the book of automatic weapons  
acquired by the Tibetan military headquarters.*

Blessings!

On mount Meru, stacked with molten sapphires;  
Similar to the embrace of radiant, intensely red sunset clouds;  
I pay respect to glorious Heruka and his consort,  
[that have] the same flavor as the realm of great bliss, all phenomena.

The shape of the ogress, frightening mother of Prajñāparāmitā;  
From knowledge of the limits of appearance, the butcher Beg tse  
And the sword-wielding deities, their consorts and retinue  
Support forever the dominion of the hundred joys! (i.e the dGa' ldan pho brang)

The activity of starting as an adversary with a mischievous mind;  
Became the cause of self-destruction.

[p.702] The drum of victory  
Rings in all directions the news  
That [the Chinese] accepted defeat and surrendered sharp blades as weapons;  
Thus are the offering verses.

The Chinese army and its supporters,<sup>55</sup> who raged against the [Tibetan] government, teachings and dominion, were increasingly possessed as evil spirits of the mind, companions of the black demons that gather in their hand the crocodile victory banner.<sup>56</sup> [In] the water-mouse year (1912), the rebels participated freely in the destruction of the doctrine, doctrine holders and dominion; undertaking successive evil actions that occurred as physical and speech [activities] motivated by perverse aspirations. [These] very agents who precipitated self-destructive black magic on themselves, not only nothing can be done apart from cutting the root of the life-virtues of supreme happiness and liberation in this life and the future ones, [but], as it is a moth's natural inclination to seek death in the fire even in this life, the experience of [their] evil actions will ripen to results in this lifetime.

When the army of gods of the great [Tibetan] government annihilated and banished [the enemy], the kinds of weapons that were taken as a sign of courage [were] the weapons of the enemy, and armaments which are produced mechanically (*'phrul stobs*) by craftsmen of the four corners (*mtha' bzhi*), such as Magadha:<sup>57</sup> *me-mda'*

55 This may refer to the Blo gsal gling college of 'Bras spung, that during the fights to free Lhasa from Chinese occupation in 1911-1912 sided with Chinese troops, angering the Dalai Lama. Another monastery of the Lhasa area that supported Chinese troops was bsTan rgyas gling, whose monks had allowed refuge to Chinese troops within the grounds of their monastery, thus forcing the Tibetan soldiers to a lengthy siege of the complex. The XIII Dalai Lama ordered the destruction of bsTan rgyas gling soon after his return to Lhasa, in 1913. See Bell (1987: 64, 141) and Goldstein (1989: 63-64, 104). On bsTan rgyas gling see Ferrari (1958: 93, n. 67).

56 "The crocodile victory banner (Skt. *makaradhvaja*) refers to the ancient Indian practice of mounting on a pole the head and skin of a crocodile when going to battle in order to intimidate the enemy. See Beer (2003: 173).

57 In the text the name of this region is poorly spelled as "*Manggadha*".



*U-u-shang*,<sup>58</sup> *cu'u shang* (unidentified), *ru shang* (unidentified), *hri rtse lan gru*,<sup>59</sup> *'ber btang* (unidentified), pistols (*krob mda'* = *krom mda'*), etc.; guns of various sizes. The acquisition and preservation of [these] goods from the government is concentrated in a single direction.

In the fire-dragon year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle (i.e. 1916), the great commanding officer of all the Tibetan regiments (*dmag sgar* = *dmag sgar*), the minister Tsha rong, in order to serve as leader chiefly from the military headquarters, has threaded as a necklace of pearls, an ornament of a hero's neck, a wondrous government manual of protocols that are not to be leaked...

## TEXT 3

//Bod ljongs *dmag spyi las khung gi dbyin ji rgyal khab nas phul ba'i 'phrul mda'i debs kyi 'go brjod/*

[p.703] / Ohm swa sti / don dam rgyal kun mkhyen brtse'i bzhin lag gang / /khams gsum za bar nus pa'i rngams brjid can // 'jam dpal dus<sup>60</sup> dgra'i dbang po'i mthu stobs kyi / /bdud bgegs

log 'dren ma lus tshar gcod mdzod / /bka' nyan legs nyes shan 'byed las gshin rjes / /bstan dgra'i mgo po<sup>61</sup> 'gems byed thod dbyug dang / /bdud zhags nag pos bstan 'dzin bsrung ba dang / /bstan dgra sgrol

ba'i zhal bzhes rtag tu dgongs // gangs can mgon po'i zhabs sen zla ba gsar / phyi mtha'i yul skyong rje bo chen pos kyang / /khengs pa bskyungs te ral pa'i cod pan kyi // rgyan du blangs nas mnangs chen nor rdzas dpyid //

mtshon cha'i nang nas ches rab mtshon / /gya noms<sup>62</sup> mchod pa'i mdun bdar nas // dam pa'i zhing la bsod nams kyi // dge tshogs dpag med de yis thob / /rin dang tshad dang dpe'i dngos pos //gzhal min khyad nor

g.yul gyi chas // mi 'chol ri mo'i rgya bsdams kyi // debs ther sngon med mdzes rgyan spel // zhes shis brjod kyi dbyangs las drangs te // de yang \* gong sa rnam 'dren chen po bka' drin mtshungs zla ma mchis pa gang gi thugs

bskyed rmad du byung ba'i gsang gsum gyi nus mthu ni dpag par dka' ba'i rang bzhin te // rgya gar gyi yul dang yul chen rnam su sngon tshe bad bar gshegs pa'i 'phrin las kyi 'od snang shar pa'i gnas rten khyad

'phags sha stag yin snang yang / dus phyis phal cher mun gling du gyur te sa 'dzin pa'i rje blon rnam kyang chos la dad snang nub pa'i phyi rgya'i<sup>63</sup> lugs 'dzin snying rje'i gnas su 'os pa 'ba' zhid yin rung // phyogs de

58 This is a list of weapons, but I am unable to translate all but a few of them. Dr. Alice Travers of the CNRS in Paris graciously helped me with many of them. For the time being, *mda' U-u-shang* remains an unidentified type of firearm; Alice Travers was able to locate *U shang* as a name for a weapon but could not find more specific descriptions.

59 *Hri rtse lan gru* seems to be a compound uniting a Chinese term meaning "ten cartridges/bullets", transcribed in Tibetan as *hri rtse*, and the Tibetan term "lan kru'u", which indicated a weapon between the size of a pistol and a rifle, manufactured either in China or in Russia. I am indebted to Alice Travers for this suggestion.

60 Read: *bdud*.

61 Read: *mgo bo*.

62 Read: *gya nom*.

63 Read: *phyi rgyal ba'i*.

[p.704] dang de dag tu mgon po gang gi \*zhabs sen gyi pad mo rnam par bkod  
pa'i skal ba bzang du mdzad pa nyid tsam nas chen po dag gi snying la byin rlabs  
bdud rtsi gсар pas bran pa lta bur dga' dad gus sgsum bang gis 'phel

bar gyur cing/ / de rjes chab srid 'phrin las kyi 'tsho 'dzin bka'i srid blon bshad  
sgra ba dpal 'byor rdo rje dang / / bod ljongs dmag sgar yongs kyi spyi khyab  
chung ba tha'i ji khri smon pa nor bu dbang rgyal can don gcod ser

skya rgya pod<sup>64</sup> zhi ching phebs mdun / /ji ltar mkha' la nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor shar  
ba dang sa steng gi pad ma'i 'dab phreng dbang med du lhug par grol ba bzhi na  
phyi rgya'i rje bo rnam kyang rgyal bstan dkar phyogs dar ba'i mtshan gzis

khyab pa'i mthus yid dge ba'i phyogs su dbang med du 'phrog pa'i mthu las gcig  
tu rang ste rang lugs dang bstun pa'i srid 'byor gya noms pa'i dngos 'bul rgya cher  
bstar khongs nas / /gnam lcags sgyogs me'i

'phrul 'khor gcig gis skad mdel mang po gcig car du 'byin par nus pa zhe mts-  
hungs rin thang gzhal gyis mi spyod pa bcu phrag lnga brgya tham pa phul 'byor  
rnam mngon rtogs rtsa 'dzin bde khyad rab tshes me 'brug lor

slad rtsa 'dzin sgrigs 'chug las byed rdo lag rgyud<sup>65</sup> du rgyal bstan chab srid nam  
gnas par rkyen gang gis kyang gzhom shigs<sup>66</sup> bral ba'i debs<sup>67</sup> gzhi mtha' bzhi'i srid  
gsum rnam par gnon pa chos chig gis phyed ba'i bod yul

rdor gdan gyi dbus ljongs 'dir sngon me das (?) gsum mngon par dga' ba'i mdzes  
rgyan tshar du dngar ba bsgrigs ba la /

*Preamble to the book of automatic weapons given from the country of England,  
[kept] in the bureau of the Tibetan commanding officer.*

[p.703] Blessings!

Whatever form and shape of wisdom and compassion is the ultimate reality of  
the All-Victorious,

The one whose splendor can devour the three regions,

Mañjuśrī, enemy of the demons, through the effectiveness of [your] power,

Annihilate all obstructions and negative forces!

Yama, attendant who distinguishes good and evil,

Continuously think of [your] promise to liberate the enemies of the doctrine,

And to protect the doctrine holders with the demons by the black noose

And the skull-ornamented staff [that] destroys the head of the enemies of the doctrine!

Toe of the lord of the Land of Snows, new moon,

And supreme lord, king [up to] the borders,

Discarding arrogance, having received as an ornament of the crown of matted  
hair

The glory of great riches and wealth,

Show the very best among the weapons!

Having presented offerings of excellence,

64 Read: bod.

65 Read: brgyud.

66 Read: gzhom gzhig.

67 Read: deb.

Obtain, through a measureless multitude of virtues,  
Merits in the field that is holy.

Through concrete things such as price, size and samples,  
The equipment of war, of incalculable exceptional value,  
Was circulated [in] an unprecedented book, ornament of beauty,  
Bound by a seal with an unmistakable pattern.  
Thus I offered, from the speech of auspicious words.

Also, regarding the efficacy of the three secrets of magnificent aspiration of the sovereign great bodhisattva, whose kindness is incomparable, their nature is difficult to fathom. In the country of India and in the great countries, in the past, it seems there was a simply magnificent world that arose [from] the brilliance of the activities of the Tathāgata.

Recently, the majority became as lands of darkness, and also the ministers of the king [by] holding the traditions of the foreigners that vanish the faith in the Buddhist religion, deserve to be objects of pity only.

[p.704] In all those directions, the Full Benefactor, by simply acting as a worthy one who completely set the lotus of the toe, disseminated the three: joy, faith and devotion, through messengers; similar to giving blessings in the heart of the great ones with new nectar.

After that, the curator of political activities, the prime minister of the *bka'* [*shag*] bShad sgra dPal 'byor rdo rje<sup>68</sup> and the assistant (*chung*) commanding officer of the entire Tibetan army, Thai ji Khri smon pa Nor bu dbang rgyal,<sup>69</sup> commissioners of the clergy and laypeople, departed from the peace treaty [negotiations between] China and Tibet. At that time, just as in the sky the orb of the sun arises, and on earth, a garland of lotus petals effortlessly discloses in the four types of liberation, also the foreign leaders,

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68 bShad sgra dPal 'byor rdo rje bKa' blon is most famous for having been the plenipotentiary representative of Tibet at the Simla convention. In one of his first appointments involving a foreign policy role he was sent to Darjeeling to assess the trade and border situation soon after the 1893 Trade Regulation pact between the British and the Qing empire. He soon became pro-British and sent to Lhasa reports that favored opening dialogue with the British. These reports were not well received in Lhasa and were to put him in a difficult condition in 1903, when advance British troops were making their way into Tibet. His advice to come to terms with the British was seen as threatening and he was imprisoned with the accusation of having received bribes from them during his sojourn in Darjeeling. On the return of the Dalai Lama from his exile in China and Mongolia, in 1907, he was appointed Blo chen in a triumvirate that also comprised Chang khyim and Zhol khang. He was then appointed full and sole plenipotentiary at the Simla convention. He died in 1923.

69 Khri smon Nor bu dbang rgyal bka' blon (1874-1945) participated in the Simla convention as an assistant of bShad sgra. Starting from 1911, when the Dalai Lama was still in exile in Kalimpong, he helped to secretly "set up a War Department and to prepare for military action" in Lhasa, on orders from the Dalai Lama himself. His contribution to this effort included having Tibetan merchants buy weapons in his behalf and secretly recruiting soldiers. See Shakabpa (1984: 239). Later, when it became apparent that the Chinese forces in Lhasa were about to capitulate, he organized the resistance and, together with Zla bzang dgra 'dul Tsha rong, arrested or executed a number of collaborators of the Chinese. He received the title of Tai ji soon after the return of the Dalai Lama from his Indian exile, and, on his return from the Simla convention, he was appointed bka' blon. Between 1923 and 1926 he was appointed governor of Khams, and he continued to be a powerful man both during the last years of the Dalai Lama's life and in the period immediately following his death. He was the uncle and mentor of Tsepon Shakabpa. Information on both bShad sgra bka' blon and Khri smon zhabs pad is variously drawn from Bell (1987,1996) Goldstein (1989), Richardson (1984), Shakabpa (1984).

by virtue of the encompassing splendor, symbol that spreads the virtue of the teachings of the Victorious One, thought of extensively applying the actual gift of excellent political and economic [resources] in accord with their own traditions and our own as one, because their mind was spontaneously captivated in the direction of virtue.

[Among the resources they offered is] One artillery machine of meteoric iron that can shoot many rounds simultaneously, to which cannot be applied a measure of comparable value. In total, 5,000 [of these] were offered and accepted. [Therefore were created,] good blueprints of clear understanding, in the year of the Fire-Dragon of the 15th cycle (1916). So that these blueprints, arranged [without] mistakes [for] employees [to] transfer from hand to hand, [may] remain as long as the teachings and dominion of the Victorious [One] and [may] not be destroyed by whatever circumstances, [this] book, in the country at the center of the vajra seat, Tibet, which opened the subjugation of the four border regions in the three worlds through the only Dharma, was well arranged and composed as an ornament of beauty that manifestly delights the three realms as never before...

## TEXT 4

// *Bod ljongs dmag spyi las khung gi 'go dmag rnams kyi go cha dang / gyon bzo'i thebs 'bru dngul sogs*

[p.705] *'bab rigs debs kyi 'go brjod / Ohm swasti / ngag dbang zur phud lnag pa'i blo chen nor 'dzin bzang po'i gzahir / thub pa'i bstan skyong 'grol thugs rje'i rgya mtsho gting zab cing / 'jigs bral*

*bdud sde phyer 'thag mthu stobs dbang phyug gsang ba'i bdag / phyogs las rnams rgyal<sup>70</sup> gang gi bka' drin bsam kyin lhag par dang / gdong lnga'i khri la rab tu brjod pa'i sku / dran pas srid zhi'i dbul ba drung 'byin pa'i*

*rin chen mang sprul rgyal chen nmam sras kyis / snod bcud phyag yang<sup>71</sup> dpal gyis gtams par mdzod / kun khyab chab 'bangs yongs nas nor 'bru sogs / dus las mi yol sgrigs bcad dngos po'i dpya / rgya mtsho chel*

*chu phran kun 'dus ltar / 'du ba'i 'bab debs 'dod rgu'i gter 'di spel / zhes mchod par brjod cing dngos po nges par bstan pa'i dge legs kyi tshigs su bcad pas sngun bsus<sup>72</sup> te / ji skad du / mdo sde pad ma dkar po*

*las / dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyis kyang 'dul byar ma 'gyur pa'i gnas / 'dre srin du mas gang ba'i mtha' 'khob kha ba can gyi zhing khams der ma 'ongs pa'i dus su dam pa'i chos nyi ma lta bu zhig rgyas par / 'dug*

*ste / mtha' 'khob de 'dul ba'i gnyen po ni 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yin no // zhes gsungs pa ltar / 'phags pa'i thugs rje'i sgyu 'phrul gyis mi'i 'gro rgyud (?) spel / gser dngul nor 'bru longs*

70 The underlined words form the full name and titles of the XIII Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang Thub bstan rgya mtsho 'jigs bral dbang phyug phyogs las rnams rgyal, "the fearless *isvara* victorious in all directions Ngag dbang blo zang Thub bstan rgya mtsho". See, for example, Chuluun & Bulag (2013: 21). It should also be noticed that the first verse refers to Mañjuśrī (ngag dbang), the second to Avalokiteśvara (thugs rje'i rgya mtsho) and the third to Vaiśravaṇa (gsang ba'i bdag).

71 Possibly to be read as: *phyang yar*.

72 Read: *sngun bsus*.

spyod kyi gter kha phyees / mi 'ug<sup>73</sup> dung<sup>74</sup> drug tu gyes pa sogs kyi skabs bsod  
nams kyi skya rengs mdon par shar / mang bkur rgyal rgyud gnya' khri btsan po'i  
dus rgyal bstan gyi dbu brnyes pa nas rgyal rabs rim par brgyud pa rnams

[p.706] dang / chos rgyal mes dpon rnam gsum gyi sku'i ring la mtha' bzhi bskor  
ba'i rgyal po bzhis btud / skor gsum / ru bzhi / khams gsum du dbye / phyis sgang  
drug / chol kha gsum / khri skor bcu gsum du grags pa'i gangs can

gyi ljongs 'dir bstan pa'i nyi ma ches cher gsal bar gyur cing / lhag par bka'  
gdams glegs bam rin po che las / spyir sems can yongs kyi mgon po ste // sgos  
gangs ri'i yul du rgyal srid skyong / mi khyod kyi thugs rjes

su skyong ba / bdud sdig ho can gyis g.yo mi nus / zhes gsungs pa ltar / deng 'dir  
dus gsum rgyal ba'i spyi gzugs sngon byon gong ma na rim las thugs bskyed dam  
bca'i mthu dpung mgon par btsan pa rgyal dbang 'jig rten

gsum mgon sku phreng bcu gsum pa chen po gang nyid nas lha mi'i che rgu'i  
gtsug gi lan bus btegs pa'i rin chen dang po'i khri 'phang mthon por zhabs sen  
mandha ra ba'i phreng ba rnam par bkod cing / chos srid gser gyi rtsibs

stong 'bar ba phyag mtshan du bzhes pa nyid tsam nas mtha' bzhi'i rgol ngan rje  
'bangs kyi mgo bo ngang gis smad par gyur pa ni / mdzod las / phas bsu rang 'gro  
g.yul bshams dang / mtshon brtsams pas rgyal gnod pa med //

ces 'khor bsgyur g.yul las rgyal thabs las kyang che khyad par 'phags pa'i ngang  
tshul dpag par dka' ba'i rnam thar lags shing / mtshan snyan nyin mor byed pa'i  
dkyil 'khor gcig gis rtsod dus mun pa'i smag rum

ni ming gi lhag mar byas / rgyal bstan chab srid 'dab brgya'i phreng ba ni dus  
gcig car du bshad / phan bde'i snang ba dam pas ni 'jig rten gyi khams kun tu  
khyab par mdzad lags gshas / bka' drin rjes su dran pa'i

[p.707] sri zhu kho nar dmigs pa ni 'jam dbyangs sa pañ byis / gal te dgral gnod  
'dod na / rang nyid yon tan ldan par bya / de yis dgra yang sems bsreg cing / rang  
yang bsod nams 'phel

bar 'gyur / zhes pa'i don ltar / dbus gtsang rgya sbyong dpung dmag sngar yod  
thog 'phar 'dzugs dang 'brel / mngon par 'byung ba'i mdo las / 'gro dang ldog  
dang kun nas 'ongs gyur pa'i / bdud dpung ma lus

'jigs par byed pa ste / dpa' brtan 'byor pa'i dpung dang bcas pa yis / dmag dpon  
rin chen dam pa / zhes dang / shes rab stong ba las / brtson 'grus brtul phod brtan  
pa dang // stobs dang blo gros pha rol gnon //

'bad rtsol yon tan drug ldan pa / de la lha yang 'jigs pa skye // zhes pa ltar gyi  
dpa' rtsal yon tan gyi gnas la lus sems ngal ba ring spang gi rtsal sbyong bstan don  
snying bcang gis 'go byings tshang mas dam don hur /

bskyed zhus ste / go mtshon dang bcas pa gzhan sder rgol ba'i dpa' shugs thon  
nges kyi lugs bsgyur thog / bod ljongs dmag sgar yongs kyi spyi khyab khang gsar  
tshugs las khungs su 'go dmag rnams kyi go cha dang / gyon

bzo'i dmigs thebs 'bru dngul sogs 'bab rigs yi ger bkod de slad rtsa 'dzin bde  
khyad rab byung bco lnga ba'i me 'brug lor gangs ljongs dmag sgar yongs kyi spyi  
khyab che ba bka' blon tsha rong pas gtsos dmag spyi

las khungs nas zhabs 'degs su byas te / 'bab debs sde bzhi'i bang mdzod bsam  
'phel 'dod rgu'i 'byung gnas 'god pa la //

73 Read: 'u.

74 Read: gdung.

*Preamble to the book on the kinds of taxation, such as grains and silver,  
for the uniforms and armors of officers and soldiers of the bureau of the Tibetan Army.*

[p.705] Blessings!

On the basis of the good earth, great intellect, which has the five-knotted locks  
of hair, Mañjuśrī,  
The ocean of compassion protecting and releasing the doctrine of Muni is profound;  
The lord of the esoteric almighty power grinds to dust the hordes of demons  
without fear;  
Considering the graciousness of whichever conqueror of all directions, have even  
more faith!

Body that is utterly splendid on the throne of Maheśvara,  
Great king Vaiśravaṇa, producing many jewels  
Which remove the presence of poverty from samsara and nirvana with mindfulness;  
Fill up the world and its inhabitants with the glory of [your] activities!

Arranging and separating without delay the taxes on property  
Such as wealth and grains, from all the dependents everywhere;  
This booklet on taxation that is collected as the composite streams fall into the ocean,  
[May it] augment the treasure with whatever one may desire!

Thus uttering the offering, I lead the way, with verses of good virtue that  
manifestly illustrate the wealth. As it is said, from the sutra class of the Puṇḍarīka:  
“Even all the Buddhas of the Three Times [may] dwell in a place that is unsuitable to  
the disciples. In the future, in the regions of Tibet, [up to the] borders that are filled  
with many demons and *rākṣasa*, the holy Dharma will be wide like the sun. As for  
the remedy that conquers the borderlands, it is the Almighty Ārya Avalokiteśvara.”

Through [his] miraculous display of noble compassion, the human race will  
proliferate. Reveal a treasure of possessions of gold, silver, wealth and grains! At  
the time of the spreading of the six clans [of Tibet], the dawn of virtue clearly arose.  
From the time of the founding of the teachings of the Victorious One, the time of  
gNya khri btsan po of the lineage of king Mang bkur,<sup>75</sup> to [the period] during the  
lineages of the successive royal dynasties and the lives of the three ancestral rulers,

[p.706] the Dharma kings,<sup>76</sup> the four kings who surrounded the four borders  
[of Tibet] payed tribute. In this Land of Snows divided into three areas, four  
ranges, and three realms; later on into the six ridges, three regions, and Thirteen  
Myriarchies, the sun of the doctrine became increasingly clear. Moreover, from  
the precious *bKa'gdam glegs bam*:

“In general, he is the lord of all the sentient beings;  
In particular, in the country of the snowy mountains he protects the realm;  
Those protected by your compassion,  
Mara, the evildoer, cannot deceive.”

Similarly to this quote, today, from among the succession of High Ones appeared  
in the past, the embodiment of the Victorious of the Three Times, [with] the strength  
of the bodhisattva vow [and] evidently powerful; the king of the Victorious Ones,  
lord of the three worlds, the great thirteenth incarnation, fully arranged the garland

75 Tib. Mang po bkur ba; Skt. Mahāsammata.

76 This refers to the three great Buddhist kings of Tibet, Srong btsan sgam po (r. 620?-649), Khri srong lde brtsan (r. 755-797) and Ral pa can (r. 815-838).

of celestial *mandha ra*<sup>77</sup> flowers to the height of the golden throne that is supported by gods and noblemen with the braid at the top of their head. Just by taking as a scepter the radiance of the thousand spokes of the golden [wheel] of the political and religious [system], the heads of lords and subjects of [our] ill-intentioned enemies from the four borders regions were automatically bowed down. [Quoting] from the Abhidharmakośa:

“The enemy welcomes [the *cakravartin*] prepared for war,  
and by commencing warfare, there is victory without injury”.<sup>78</sup>

More than the kingdom [obtained] from the war of a *cakravartin*, complete liberation is difficult to fathom, its nature [being] especially noble. Through [his] fame, [as a] single orb that shines in the daytime, the darkness of the age of strife is only a name. As for the lotus garland of the dominion and the teachings of the Victorious One, it bloomed simultaneously. As for the excellent occurrence of welfare, indeed [its] ultimate nature pervades all the regions of the world.

[p.707] Therefore, [concerning] the concept of honoring solely the memory of a kindness received, ’Jam dbyangs Sa pañ said:

“If you wish to harm your enemies,  
Collect your own skills;  
Thus the enemy will burn [its] mind,  
And you will increase your own merits”

[Thus], on top of the existing Chinese-trained troops of dBus and gTsang, additional forces [were created]. From the sutra of Perfect Renunciation (Skt.: *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*):

“The hosts of demons that came from everywhere,  
With beings and their contrary, completely instilled terror,  
But with an army having firm courage and wealth,  
A precious army commander [will arise].”

Also, from the Prajñāparāmitā in one thousand lines:

“Diligence, steadfastness and bravery,  
Power, intelligence, subjugation of the enemy.  
Having the six attributes of exertion,  
In such instance, also the gods originate fear.”

Similarly to this saying, as a basis of attributes of bravery, all the troops and their leaders, training to rid oneself of extensive physical and mental fatigue, taking to heart the intent stated, asked to make a great effort to be diligent. Along with their weapons, they transformed their approach toward courage and strength to combat extraneous forces.

For the purpose of creating a document on the kinds of taxation, such as contributions, grains and silver, aimed at [procuring] weapons and uniforms for the officers and soldiers in the office established in the new building of the commander in chief of the Tibetan Army, in the Fire-Snake year of the fifteenth sexagenary cycle, (1916), the *bka'blon* Tsha rong pa, supreme commander in chief of all the regiments of the Land of Snows, worked on an excellent manual from the main military headquarters. He composed “the treasury of the four-classes, source of every wish and granting all desires”...

77 Also spelled *man dā ra*. It is the name of a heavenly tree and its celestial flowers.

78 See Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1926: 202) and (1914: 27).

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# THE *BOOK OF NAMES OF NYANG STOD BLA MA-S*: MASTERS AND EVENTS OF THE YEARS 997-1354

**Roberto Vitali**

*It is a consolidated practice that contributors to a Festschrift write on themes of research favoured by the savant to whom the volume is dedicated. I first wrote an article on the relations between Mongols and Tibetans for my friend Elliot who is an expert of these topics. But then I dropped it, for I thought I should opt for a change of horizon and venture into a different theme. Elliot's focus on the history of Khams has led me to consider writing about a little known Khams pa author, member of an eminent family of the region, which renewed its glory by moving to gTsang where it founded two of the most important establishments of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. This author, celebrated as an outstanding grub chen, wrote about the way religion in gTsang benefitted from great—yet sometimes obscure—masters. I deal here with his text. With this short piece of mine (inadequate in comparison with Elliot's many contributions to Tibetan history) I still hope to connect my work to his interest vaguely and, at the same time, to introduce a personal perspective within the guidelines of his past literary output.*

On the fifteenth of the summer month of the earth male dog 1418, the princely monk Kun dga' blo gros (Kun blo) (1365-after 1439), completed his text on the eminent people of Nyang stod, the region over which his noble clan extended authority. Most of these personalities had lived during the previous centuries. Others, however very few, were his contemporaries.

Kun dga' blo gros was a seasoned member of the noble Shar kha pa family when he wrote his work on the *bla ma*-s of Nyang, the territory within gTsang, to which his people had transferred from sGa yul/IDan ma in Khams during the late 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup>

His text is found in the *dPal brtsegs* collection of historical sources. It is a fifteen folio *dbu med* manuscript, entitled *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*. In his colophon, in which he defines himself as a *rnal 'byor pa* rather than a *grub chen* as is done in other documents, Kun dga' blo gros calculates that, when he completed his work, 3,551 years had elapsed from the Buddha *nirvana* to 1418 according to the calendrical system of the Sa skya pa, which fix the event, as is well known, to 2,134 BCE.

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1 *rGya Bod yig tshang* (p.373,9-13): "IDan ma dbon po bZang po rgyal mtshan, father and son, escorted by some retinue, decided to migrate to the pure land of dBus gTsang and in particular to the [seat of the] Sa skya pa. They set out upwards (i.e. westwards)".

*Shar ka pa'i gdung rabs* (p.55,6-p.56,2): "[dBang rgyal rin chen] did not appear in his actual form to both his *dbon sras*, dpon yig bZang po rgyal mtshan and the latter's son bZang po (p.56) dpal ba. However, he did appear various times in their dreams, giving this prophecy: "I am the *pho lha* ("tutelary deity of the [Shar kha clan's] paternal side"). I became a *lha* after I died as a man". According to the prophecy given to the two of them at that time, they went to dBus gTsang, and so they arrived at Ser Idings (spelled so)".

### The *deb ther*

Until the reappearance of *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*, the religious history of the Nyang/Myang region in gTsang was mostly known from *Myang chos 'byung*, a text extraordinarily rich in material on a plethora of people, events and holy places. This textual situation has changed. Grub chen Kun blo's work, despite its brevity, takes on a prominent place, not so much because it is one of the few works on the religious history of Nyang, but because it is intrinsically important to the point that it gives the impression that any other work on the subject, especially *Myang chos 'byung*, could not do without it. The treatment of the history of the region and its people in *Myang chos 'byung* is much more expanded than *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*. The *deb ther* is written succinctly but mentions a good number of masters from the region and touches a number of topics. However, it lacks the detail of *Myang chos 'byung*.

The latter text takes up *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* and expands it by making use of local documents for various temples and monasteries (full-length *gnas yig*, *rnam thar-s* and other material, exemplified by the brilliant summary of *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam ky'i rnam thar*, aka *Gyen tho chen mo* by bSwi gung nyams med Rin chen). It arranges the entries in a rather stricter geographical order. Despite providing a more structured sequence of institutions and people based on their location, it does not change substantially the chaotic conception adopted by grub chen Kun dga' blo gros.

Intentional disorder and conciseness are the conceptual basis of grub chen Kun blo's *deb ther*. It is as if the *grub chen* had written down references to great people, events, temples, monasteries and localities of Nyang, as they came to his mind with no concern for structuring his material. This compositional chaos makes his work intriguing.

In his book, Kun dga' blo gros mostly concerns himself with people—as his title indicates—than religious institutions (much less secular ones) or the geography of the land, which are given great importance in *Myang chos 'byung*.

The *deb ther* provides the reader brief historical notes on the great people of Nyang stod (and smad) in several cases without too much relations between them, as if Kun dga' blo gros was putting together scattered notes he had collected. This obliges the reader to perform some mental acrobatics in order to jump from one personality to another, from one period to another, and one holy place to another. He mentions the masters he deems worthy of being remembered and adds a few biographical touches about them. It is up to the reader to make out why he mentions them and why he focuses on some aspects of their lives. The work tends to include people who left a mark on Nyang with reference to their affiliation to its monasteries. The inclusion of some and exclusion of others indicates whom grub chen Kun blo considered major actors in these institutions, and consequently, when the most important periods in their history occurred.

Kun dga' blo gros has an almost complete disregard for dates. Despite writing almost exclusively on (religious) history, the only one he mentions in his work is the completion year of his *deb ther*. To judge the writer's personality through his work, the impression is of a remarkable brain too busy with his thoughts to bother with diligence. This approach is quite distinct from

that of the authors that contributed to *Myang chos 'byung*, meticulous in providing the maximum amount of information.

This leads me to a short digression. *Myang chos 'byung* is anonymous, and going through it, one realises why no one claimed authorship. The impression is that it was based on a root text that underwent additions (and revisions?) in the course of time. On the one hand, reference is made to 'Brug pa Padma dkar po (1527-1592) at least twice in the text (p.97,14-16 and p.99,4-6), which is a *terminus post quem* for its most modern layer. On the other hand, the text makes no mention of rGyal rtse sKu 'bum, a most important monument of the region, construction of which was commenced in fire sheep 1427.

By focusing on people rather than monasteries and holy places, and therefore dealing with *bla ma-s* individually rather than compacting those affiliated to the same religious institutions, grub chen Kun dga' blo gros could be supremely selective. He does not need to trace the history of major temples, monasteries or holy places systematically (when this would be possible, i.e. when textual evidence was sufficient), but picks up people and, consequently, historical situations according to his judgement.

Some of Kun dga' blo gros's underlying ideas emerge from this chaotic treatment. Although he concentrates on *bla ma-s*, he gives limited attention to monasteries and temples inasmuch as they are major institutions of Nyang. Those about which he spends more words are gNas rnying, 'Chad mang, rKyang po/bu, lCang ra, rTsis gNas gsar, dGa' ba sdong, Thar pa gling, rGyan gong and Zhwa lu. The remainder focuses on *bla ma-s*.

Although little is said about the secular developments in Nyang during the period (late 10<sup>th</sup> century to mid 14<sup>th</sup>), the author does refer to well known clans. The major historical families mentioned in the *deb ther*, those which left a mark on the local events are the rGya (rather than the mGos), lCe, 'Bre, dPyal and Shar kha (before the beginning of the Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags's rule when *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* was concluded). More marginally important clans in the region were the Gru,<sup>2</sup> Cog ro, Khyung and Bran.

2 Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros dedicates a few biographical notes to three members of the Gru clan: (*Deb ther* p.471,3-6): "Gru Go cha went to [hold] yul sMad bu lung. He had a vision of Phyag rdor. He greatly benefitted sentient beings. He was given Gru'i sPe'u mo che. Some people, such as Gru'i bla ma Ratna and gTum mo, were [then] offered it [and] went there. Gru rGya gar built the *spe'u* ("turret") of rGya gNas lha khang [note: above rGyang ro'i lha khang]. dPon chen rGyal bzangs invited him to Shangs.

Gru ston Shakya 'bum went to [hold] Gra ma lung dgon pa. He received many [teachings on] *mDo* [and] *rGyud*. He learned *gSang sngags gsar rnying*, two in all, and became a master [of these scriptures]. His mind was clear and was virtuous. He later became a disciple of 'Gu ru Chos dbang, and benefited *Zhi byed*".

▪ *Myang chos 'byung* has quite a long passage dedicated to what the text defines as a lineage of the Gru (p.74,1-p.75,1), however this is rather more a biography of Gru Go cha, one of the Gru members mentioned by grub chen Kun blo: "The lineage of the Gru *bla ma-s* first resided at Klong thang sGrol ma'i lha khang. They were a line of *dge ba'i bshes gnyen-s* of *gSang [sngags] rnying ma* for many generations, subsequently invited to be the officiating *bla ma-s (mchod gnas)* of the Bod *rgyal btsad po-s*. Then, in stages, they [came] to reside in Myang stod rGyang ro. As for their lineage, Gru Tshul khirms chos kyi 'byung gnas was extremely learned in *gSang sngags rnying ma*. He gathered many monks in Myang stod rGyang ro and gave them teachings. He built a *gtsug lag khang*, namely lHa khang dmar po. He had three sons, the line of one of them being that of Gru nag Byang chub rgyal mtshan. Bla ma Gru Go cha rdo rje received the *dbang* and *lung* of Phyag rdor

## A few conceptual considerations

I will generally follow the path chosen by grub chen Kun dga' blo gros in presenting some of the contents of his *deb ther*. His text is anthological in approach, i.e. inclusive but not exhaustive, and I will be even less exhaustive, for many Nyang stod *bla ma*-s he cites are little more than mere names to me.

The *deb ther* is rich in names but disorderly; *Myang chos 'byung* follows suit. They are deeply intertwined. Reading one compels the reader to tackle the other. This has led me to use *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* as the root source and *Myang chos 'byung* to support and expand on it, for the latter is the natural development of the former.

Using the criterion of representativeness, I have selected those who help me trace the unfolding of the religious history in Nyang from *bstan pa phyi dar* until before the author's period. I deal with their lives and deeds when these are related to the religious history of the region, omitting other activities.

My treatment deviates from the conception of the *deb ther*, adopted in *Myang chos 'byung*. Having found the history of Nyang fundamentally deconstructed in the *deb ther*, my intent has been to reconstruct a historical flow of sort from the mass of material provided by grub chen Kun dga' blo gros and—more systematically and comprehensively—by *Myang chos 'byung*. It may seem that I ended up using *Myang chos 'byung* more than *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*, but this is not so if one looks at the material I had forcibly to omit from the former text. Nonetheless, one basic aspect of my commitment to *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* is my overall adherence to its conceptual foundation—the preeminence given to people—in order to outline an embryonic history of a core area of Tibetan culture, such as Nyang.

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[and] mGon po from Tsha Hor po at the lower side of Nya ri sgo phu. Having spent a span of fourteen years in Myang stod rGyang ro, he took residence at the rocky gorge of Zer mo lung and performed meditation. Moreover, he met bla ma rTa sgom at Mid pa dgon pa, also known as rGod khung of rGyal rtse or rGod lung, otherwise Ngo bo ri khrod dGe ldan, and became a *grub thob* dedicated to Phyag rdor. Moreover, bla ma Gru Go cha rdo rje had many visions of his *yi dam lha*. Since Phyag rdor actually appeared [to him] in the midst of green and red flames of wisdom, he sung melodies and [song] lines. Furthermore, he spent a time performing meditation at rGyang ro Brag dmar rdzong chung.

Moreover, Gru ban Nam mkha' rdo rje had a vision of the five deities of 'Phags pa Don yod zhabs at rGyang ro Bu lung dben rtsa ("hermitage"). Lum the ba, a *pandi ta* from rGya gar, came to rGyang ro. He met Gru ban Nam mkha'. There is an extensive account [of this Indian master] telling him he was a great *grub thob* of Tibet [note: he received bDe mchog from this [Indian] *siddha*]. (p.75) Gru jo bSod built sPe mo che in rGyang ro".

Elsewhere (p.47,5-10), *Myang chos 'byung* reiterates Gru Go cha's encounter with lHa sgom (spelled so for rTa sgom) dKon mchog 'byung gnas at Mid pa dgon pa, the hermitage-temple known as Ri khro dga' ldan in Shar kha times. He meditated there for three years and for other three years at Dug lung phu, where he had spiritual realisations.

▪ As for the Cog ro clan, three divisions are recognised in the literature: the Cog ro of dBus, the Cog ro of Shangs and the Cog ro of Nyang. The latter's ancestral place in Nyang was Nor bu khyung rtse, the birth place of Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan. Here a *dgon pa* of this clan was located in pre-*bstan pa phyi dar* times (*Myang chos 'byung* p.112,10-19). Nor bu khyung rtse became a Shar kha pa stronghold, together with rGyal mkhar rtse and 'Brong rtse (ibid. p.113,1-3).

### Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros (prince, writer, mystic)

With his *deb ther*, grub chen Kun blo sealed a long season in his life. The dates in his career could not have been more significant for his own people; he was born in wood snake 1365 (*Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* p.12,21-p.13,2), when the Shar kha family had recently laid the foundations of both rTse chen and rGyal rtse, their main seats at the two edges of their vast fertile plain that was the heart of their possessions. Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros belonged to rTse chen branch of the Shar kha family. Wood snake 1365 was one year after the foundation of rTse chen by his father ta'i swi tu 'Phags pa dpal bzang (1318?-1370). In the same year of his birth, rGyal rtse was founded, again by his father.

During the course of grub chen Kun blo's life (from the time of his birth in 1365 to 1418 when he wrote the *deb ther*) his family, the princes of Shar kha, left a deep mark upon Nyang.

Earth dog 1418 was another eventful year in the history of rGyal rtse. It marked the first step towards the realisation of the family's ambition for a major monastic seat, rGyal rtse dPal 'khor chos sde, the grandest such project attempted in Nyang for centuries. During the summer when he completed his text, work began at the dPal 'khor chos sde complex. It would seem that the completion of the *deb ther* was as a sort of trait-d'union between the glorious past of Nyang stod and the commencement of another great enterprise in the region. The glory of Nyang stod ran uninterrupted, the text being a sign of the continuity between past and future. If such triumphalism animated his entourage, however, none transpires from grub chen Kun blo's text. His work is a barrage of names (people, teachings and localities) without elaboration beyond the minimum. He takes the reader's knowledge of his subject for granted.

*Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* was written at the behest of Shar kha princes chos rgyal ta'i swi tu bSod nams dpal and ta'i swi tu Rab brtan [kun bzang] 'phags, respectively from rTse chen and rGyal rtse.<sup>3</sup>

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros was the son of the Shar kha ruler 'Phags pa dpal bzang's wife bSod nams 'bum (*Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* p.12,21-p.13,2) and not of

3 Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros writes as follows in his colophon:

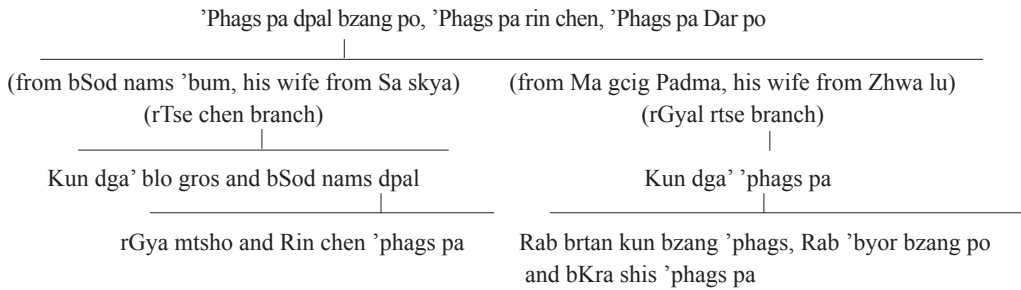
(*Deb ther* p.477,1-4) "At the behest of ta'i swi tu drung chen bSod nams dpal and ta'i swi tu Rab brtan 'phags, uncle and nephew, two in all, ... rnal 'byor pa Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po completed this [work] at the new monastery lHun grub bde chen (i.e. rTse chen) on the fifteenth of the *dbyar gnas* month of the year earth male dog 1418, known as *rnam 'phyang*, which falls 3,551 years after the Buddha *nirvana* according to the *bstan rtsis* system of the Sa skya pa".

Earth dog 1418 is also mentioned in a *bstan rtsis* of *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* (p.63,5-12), meant to introduce the foundation date of dPal 'khor chos sde and again based on the Sa skya pa calculation of the Buddha *nirvana*. Two entries in this chronological calculation are credited to Kun dga' blo gros. The second one echoes the calculation appearing in the colophon of his text: "Thereafter bla ma ti shri Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po calculated that 3,455 years elapsed [from the Buddha *nirvana*] to water male dog 1322, the year of the introduction of the *bsnyen rdzogs* [vow] in Tibet (?). In earth male dog, called *rnam* (spelled so for *rnam*) 'phyang by the Indians, the time of laying the *chos sde*'s foundations occurred one sexagenary cycle plus thirty-six years after the latter date (= 1418) or, calculated in a comprehensive way, 3,551 years after the Buddha *nirvana*. The foundations were laid during the middle summer month, following a gathering at rGyal phu on the second day of the summer month of *chu stod zla ba* (i.e. the sixth month). The estate for its support was transferred from lCang ra to here (i.e. rGyal rtse)".

dPal ldan 'bum, as the short biography in the *dkar chag* of the *dPal brtsegs* edition claims. She was from Sa skya, and with her progeny—her other son was the secular ruler Hor bSod nams dpal (b.1366) (*Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* p.14,6-7) I have mentioned above—began the rTse chen branch of the Shar kha pa family.

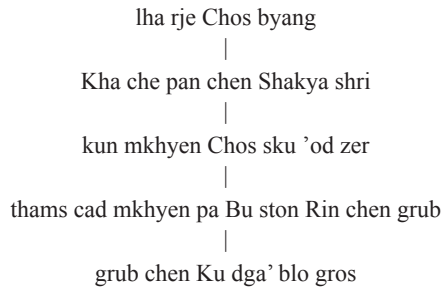
Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros was born at lCang ra. It seems that lCang ra was the seat of the Shar kha pa before they split into the branches with the foundations of rTse chen in wood dragon 1364 and rGyal rtse in wood snake 1365.<sup>4</sup>

The genealogical tree of three Shar kha pa generations in this period is:



In an interlinear note, *Myang chos 'byung* (p.93,14-15) refers to a *rnam thar* dedicated to grub chen Kun dga' blo gros, a text I have not seen but I suppose it is still available in Tibet. Hence, references to the life and deeds of the rTse chen *grub chen* are available to me in a scattered and non-systematic manner.

Grub chen Kun blo belonged to a line of rebirths (*skyes rabs*) of extraordinary significance for the religious history of Tibet (ibid. p.94,4-6):



At the age of eight (1372), he was given the monastic vow (*rab tu byung*) by his main teacher, the Sa skya pa bla ma Nya dbon Kun dga' dpal (1345-1439) (ibid. p.136,1).<sup>5</sup> Nya dbon, a disciple

4 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.89,17-p.90,2): “Later, dpon yig nang chen 'Phags pa dpal was appointed *nang chen* of bZhi thog bla brang [note: [inclusive of the Khams pa divisions of] Gon gyo, Gling tshang, Shar kha and 'Dan ma] by rTa'i dbon Blo gros rgyal mtshan. Aged thirty-three (1350? b.1318?), he married Pad ma, the daughter of Zhwa lu sku zhang Hor rtsa Kun dga' don grub. It is said that lCang ra's estates, *gsug lag [khang]* and religious objects (p.90), these being the main [properties], were given in dowry to bu mo Padma. ['Phags pa dpal bzang's] younger brother 'Phags [pa] rin [chen] was lCang ra's keeper”.

5 Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa, *Jo nang chos 'byung zla ba 'i sgron me* (p.40,11-25) has a biography of Nya bon, in which he gives different dates. It says he was born in wood bird 1285 (exactly one sexagenary



of bla ma dam pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), had much to do with the Nyang region: he was the *slob dpon* of the contiguous dGa' ba sdong (in the area of Pa snam rdzong) (ibid. p.135,19-21) and, more than that, the abbot of the newly founded rTse chen *dgon pa*. The years of his tenure of the rTse chen religious throne are not clarified, but one should presume that he was appointed abbot soon after the foundation of the monastery in fire male horse 1366, attached to the rTse chen secular establishment (ibid. p.93,5), and held the post until wood male tiger 1374, when he chose his disciple Kun dga' blo gros to be his successor (ibid. p.94,2-4).<sup>6</sup> The rTse chen prince received a composite education from him (*Phar phyin*, *Tshad ma*, *mNgon pa*, *'Dul ba* and *dBu ma*) and especially theory and practice of Dus 'khor (Ngag dbang blo gros grags pa, *Jo nang chos 'byung zla ba'i sgron me* p.41,17-18). Like his teacher Nya bon and several other masters of the previous generation, such as Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364), Kun dga' blo gros embodied the doctrinal closeness between the Sa skya pa and Jo nang pa of that period.

The little else that it is known about Kun dga' blo gros from the sources at my disposal refers to various consecrations he performed in holy places around the region. One that stands out is the *rab gnas* of the famous flying Jo bo statue of Mag dGe sdings, which had been consecrated by his two previous rebirths, i.e. kun mkhyen Chos sku 'od zer (1225/6?-1289/90?) and Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) (*Myang chos 'byung* p.108,4-6: interlinear note). He is remembered for another *rab gnas*, that of Gangs kyi Gangs ro gtsug lag khang (ibid. p.92,4-5).

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cycle earlier than the date indicated by *Myang chos 'byung*) and died in earth sheep 1379. He achieved familiarity with the Dus 'khor doctrine owing to his long attendance of Phyogs las rnam rgyal. Another deviance of the same short *rnam thar* from *Myang chos 'byung* is that it attributes the foundation of rTse chen *chos sde* to him around when he was sixty years of age (i.e. around 1345, which makes his birth date untenable and thus his death date, too). He is also attributed the making of a portrait of Dol po pa in the rTse chen temple's premises and the composition of *Phar phyin* and *Tsad ma ti ka-s*. He had Tsong kha pa among his other disciples.

6 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.94,11-p.95,13) outlines events in grub chen Kun blo's life and his uncommon personal qualities in a few paragraphs: "Owing to his graciousness, grub chen Kun dga' blo gros, the rebirth of Bu ston, extensively received teachings—a concentration of *mDo* [and] *sNags*—from [masters], such as the most excellent *bla ma*, Nya dbon—thanks are due to his kindness—and then from the *dpal ldan bla ma dam pa* [bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375)]; Khyung po lHas pa, [master of] the entire corpus of Zus teachings; the Dus 'khor gong gsum bDe chen pa; the Jo nang phyogs pa (i.e. Phyogs las rnam rgyal), follower of the Jo nang pa system; 'Khon rDo rje rin chen; chos rje Jo bzang pa chen po; lo tsa ba Rin chen rnam rgyal; sPos khang pa 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan; dPyal ston Kun dga' rgyal mtshan and the Theg chen *chos rje*. While staying at rGod khung, pan chen Nags rin dreamt in his night time dream that grub chen Kun blo was staying at dgon lHun grub bde chen (i.e. rTse chen). He went there. Past a small bridge (p.95), [he saw] the *chos rje grub chen* sitting as the main person in the centre of the Dus 'khor [*mandala*], surrounded by the people of the *dgon pa* [note: people sitting in the *gzhal yas khang* and the cycle of the Dus 'khor deities]. Pan chen Nags rin received the *dbang* of Dus 'khor. He had wondered: "Did I actually go to receive the *dbang* from lHun grub [bde chen] Kun blo whom I saw from outside? For instance, grub thob O rgyan pa received the *dbang* of Dus 'khor from rGod tshang pa in a dream". Moreover, pan chen Nags rin perfected *sByor drug*, *Sems nyid ngal gso* and *sNying po don grub* under grub chen Kun blo. He received many religious oral instructions such as *Tshe khrid*. Again, the Khams pa *bla ma kun spangs pa*, wondering about the great fame of grub chen Kun blo, having turned in his dream on his body's side, did not see the *rje*. After a while, he saw him sitting on his bed at the edge of a rainbow in the body *mandala* of bDe mchog. He then saw him in the great *mandala* of Phyag na rdo rje. He said: "I have travelled to many countries but there is no one better than this *chos rje* who lives in the land of snows Tibet?". The episode of their meeting at rTse chen is repeated in abridged form elsewhere in the same text (see ibid. p.48,1-6) but, on line 1, the name of the visiting master is spelled Nags kyi rin chen mid pa.

Grub chen Kun blo's sphere of activity also touched rKyang po/bu, the monastery in rGyang ro, the south-western part of Nyang stod, where he had numerous, profound realisations, of which he wrote in a praise (partially? completely?) reproduced in *Myang chos 'byung* (p.68,2-10). He also was responsible for the foundation of a locality, rGyal byed tshal above 'Brong rtse, later developed into gTsang rang gi Klu sdings (ibid. p.97,17-p.98,3). In this passage he is defined as a *mkhas grub gnyis*, an erudite and a spiritually accomplished person (i.e. “both being a *mkhas [dbang]* and a *grub [chen]*”).

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros was still alive in earth sheep 1439, for he consecrated, immediately after completion, the *gos sku* repaired by dpon mo che bSod nams dpal 'byor, the artist who redrew the *skya ris* (“basic outlines”) of the images which had deteriorated, and completely remade ten Bodhisattva, finishing them in the third month of the same year (*Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* p.244,13-p.245,3). He thus survived the death year earth bird 1429 indicated for him in the *mDzad pa po'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus* in *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs kyi dkar chag* of the *dPal brtsegs* edition of his *deb ther*. Relics of his body after cremation were installed in dgon pa Sho ma, below rTse chen (*Myang chos 'byung* p.97,8-10).

The reasons for being considered a *grub chen*—clairvoyance, levitation, manifesting himself in divine form, invisibility, ubiquity—are briefly indicated in one more passage of *Myang chos 'byung* (p.95,14-19):

“Grub chen Kun blo's behaviour was extraordinary. Like a *dgra bcom pa*, he effortlessly perceived clairvoyance without need of mental scrutiny. Sometimes people could actually see that his feet did not touch the ground. Sometimes they saw that his appearance was that of the body of a god. Sometimes they could not see him at all. Sometimes everyone saw that his body was imparting teachings at different *dgon pa*-s at the same time”.

## THE NAMES OF NYANG STOD *BLA MA*-S

### The geography of Nyang

The *deb ther* opens with a brief geographical section (*Deb ther* p.451,7-p.454,2), which is soon dropped in favour of attention to the *bla ma*-s. After spending a few words on 'Dzam bu gling and Tibet in general, the text goes on to a brief classification of the regions composing the dBus gTsang *ru bzhi* before it gets to Ru lag, of which Nyang was part in pre-Chinese days (ibid. p.451,7).<sup>7</sup> The focal point of Ru lag is Mang mkhar Myu gu lung, the monastery of 'Brog mi

<sup>7</sup> *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* (p.452,1-2) says that Ru lag consisted of the *lung pa ming can lnga* (the “five famous lands”): Nyang ro, Shab, Bo dong, Sa skya and Grom pa. The composition of Ru lag in the *deb ther* is remarkably curtailed in comparison with the extension of the region during the dynastic period when Srong btsan sgam po's *yul dpon tshan* and *stong sde* were established (e.g., *mkhas pa lDe'u chos 'byung*, respectively p.256,21-p.257,6 and p.258,7-10). These classifications show that Ru lag included more distant lands, such as Mang yul, sNya nam and sPa gro.

lo tsa ba Shakya ye shes (993?-1077?) (ibid. p.452,1), this initial choice confirming the author's penchant for the Sa skya pa, which not always transpires from the rest of his text.

In its geographical section, the *deb ther* divides Nyang into three areas which Kun dga' blo gros calls *gzhung dang po*, *bar* and *'og ma*. The *gzhung dang po* corresponds to Nyang stod. Its three main holy places are sKye gNas rnying, 'Chad mangs dgon pa and lCang ra (ibid. p.453,3-5). The three main holy places of *gzhung bar* are 'Dol [chung], rKyang [dur] and rTsis gNas gsar (ibid. p.453,5-6). The *gzhung 'og ma's* main holy places are Thar pa, Zhal lu (spelled so) and dGa' ba gdong (ibid. p.453,6-p.454,1). The treatment in the geographical section of the *deb ther* has been adopted in *Myang chos 'byung* but with a broader scope (ibid. p.2,11-p.11,21).

In the main part of his text, grub chen Kun dga' blo gros abandons this classification and divides Nyang into *stod* and *smad*, although this division is only implicit. *Myang chos 'byung*, which goes for *stod*, *bar* and *smad*, also refers to a division into *stod* and *smad* (ibid. p.123,21), contradicting its own title and description of the region as having three areas. Similarly, the *deb ther* does not deal with Nyang stod exclusively, but extends to both Nyang bar and smad, and to other areas of gTsang and to 'Bri mtshams occasionally.

#### THE EARLY MONASTIC OBSERVANCE (THE A MDO LINK)

##### Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug's proselitism (from Nyang smad to Nyang stod)

Kun dga' blo gros begins his treatment of Nyang stod *bla ma-s* from early *bstan pa phyi dar*. He ignores the foundations by the *chos rgyal mes dbon rnam gsum* in gTsang, only to record them with reference to later activities at those religious establishments. He briefly mentions Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug from mGur mo Rab kha (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* p.472,11; Mang thos lHun grub rgya mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* p.65,14) and Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge from Shab sGo lnga (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* p.472,11-12; Mang thos lHun grub rgya mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* p.65,15) already in his introduction dedicated to the geography of Nyang, as if out of urgency. He does so with an exaggeration concerning the monastic community Lo ston gathered at rGyan gong:

(*Deb ther* p.452,6-7): "Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug established a *dge 'dun pa rang 'bum rang tshogs* (an "assembly of his own 100,000 monks") at rGyan gong of Zhal lu".

Lo ston's rGya gong in Nyang smad is appraised as the earliest temple foundation in gTsang, most commonly dated to the year of the bird 997 (*Myang chos 'byung* p.148,19-p.149,2 and p.156,5-9). If one looks at similar events in dBus, one cannot fail to note that the inception of *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs* was not synchronous in dBus and gTsang. rGyan gong preceded by almost one duodenary cycle the earliest foundation in dBus—that of La mor 'gyel/gyel gtsug lag khang in the year of the bird 1009, credited to Klu mes (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* p.474,2-3; Mang thos lHun grub rgya mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* p.69,12-13).

The reasons for linking the beginning of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism in dBus gTsang to foundations of temples are not made explicit in the literature. One could suggest that the construction of a temple resulted in establishing firm grounds to religious practice. The beginning of *bstan pa phyi dar stod lugs* was different, for it was proclaimed by royal decree, while in Khams and A mdo it was consequent to the bestowal of vows.

In the next sentence dedicated to Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug,<sup>8</sup> Kun dga' blo gros keeps the focus on his followers and, in his typically reductive style, introduces a group of twenty-four disciples who established monastic schools, without naming a single one. He first says they were twenty-four, as is often held, but obliquely refers to only eight, indicating the monastic schools they founded or ran:

(*Deb ther* p.452,7-p.453,1): “Each one of his (i.e. Lo ston’s) twenty-four direct disciples at La stod, rGyan mkhar, Thang spe, sTag lung, sBre lha khang, Ang (p.453) yig, Rong and Sa phug established a monastic community”.<sup>9</sup>

8 In lieu of involving his disciples in the care of the newly created *'Dul ba* centres, as was his custom (see p.523-524), Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug from Tshong 'dus mgur mo did not delegate control of his native place to any of them, but reserved it for himself. He made a point to include Tshong 'dus mgur mo, whose *gtsug lag khang* had been founded by Khri srong lde'u btsan's minister lCe lHa bzang, among the places where he undertook his teaching activity (*Myang chos 'byung* p.145,1-7). The foundation of its 8<sup>th</sup> century temple confirms that the area of Tshong 'dus mgur mo, where Zhwa lu was built centuries thereafter, was a stronghold of the lCe at least since *bstan pa snga dar*.

9 I compact here a few facts about the monastic institutions attributed to Lo ston's disciples by grub chen Kun dga' blo gros.

- The *'Dul ba* temple in La stod was Mar la thang, as indicated in *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p.477,21-22: “rGya Shakya gzhon nu built La stod Mar la thang”). Ne'u pandi ta attributes La stod Seng ge rtse to the personal control of Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug. *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phrang ba* (p.40,17-19) reads: “Lo [ston] ran Las (spelled so) stod Seng ge rtse. Having founded many holy places, this [division] is [composed of] the communities of Las stod sTag tsho”.

- *Myang chos 'byung* assigns rGyang mkhar to Srong btsan sgam po. This source adds that this happened during *bstan pa snga dar*, but the introduction of the Earlier Spread is commonly attributed to one century later. The text (p.109,8-10) reads: “King Srong btsan sgam po founded a *lha khang* in the valley known as rGyang mkhar, [situated] in the upper part of 'Dus chung, during *bstan pa snga dar*. At the very beginning it was named Ba 'ug lha khang (“the temple of the cow and the owl?”).

Ibid. (p.109,14-18): “In the valley known as rGyang mkhar near Thug gu is Thug gu sPre'u zhig which was the residence of bla ma kun mkhyen 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho. At sPe'u zhig (sic for sPre'u zhig), Bu [ston] rin po che obtained from him complete *Yo ga* [teachings], *Tantra*-s, commentary and instructions (*man ngag*), such as the two gSang 'dus systems and 'Dus khor according to the 'Gro tradition transmitted by the *kun spangs pa*”.

- Little is known about Thang spe. A master, namely Thang spe ba, born at Mag (*Myang chos 'byung* p.109,6-7), is of difficult historical placement. The lineage of Thur la masters includes one from Thang spe, but he must have lived remarkably after *bstan pa phyi dar*. This lineage was composed of one Bya khang pa, who was buried there; Tshul khriims skyabs; the same Thang spe ba, i.e. 'Phags pa skyabs, I have just mentioned; Ser sdings gZhon nu 'od; kun mkhyen Chos sku 'od zer; 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho and Bu ston rin po che (*Myang chos 'byung* p.111,5-9).

- The history of sTag lung is traced in *Myang chos 'byung* in a few words about the work of mthu stobs Phan grags, leading to the creation of the local monastic division, the gZu tsho. This is perhaps the phase at sTag lung, associated by grub chen Kun blo with a disciple of Lo ston. sTag lung was then taken over by lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas who ferried this monastery from the observance of the A mdo vow to the Ma ga dha vow he brought from the Gangetic plain (see below p.529). The concerned passage (p.109,10-14) reads: “At rGyang mkhar sTag lung, mthu stobs Phan grags ruled rGya mkhar (sic for rGyang mkhar) sTag lung. Later, the ordained [community] multiplied and, having greatly increased, [rGyang mkhar sTag lung] was known as gZu tsho.

This may not be due exclusively to his elliptical manner of writing, for there indeed exists a tradition that classifies Lo ston's disciples as eight: Sum ston 'Phags pa rgyal mtshan, lCe ston Shes rab 'byung gnas, Glang ston Byams pa, Zhu/gZhu ston gZhon nu brtson 'grus, rGya Shakya ban dhe, rDar (spelled so) ston Shakya blo gros, sKyo ston Shes rab rdo rje and Kyi a tsarya Ye shes dbang po (*Myang chos 'byung* p.155,20-p.156,2). This is the classification favoured by Ne'u pandi ta, an authority on *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs*,<sup>10</sup> on which that of *Myang chos 'byung* is possibly styled. The *grub chen* has manifestly merged the two traditions into one.<sup>11</sup>

The introduction of *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs* and the *tsho* network in gTsang had pacification effects on Nyang smad, where strifes between clans living side by side in contiguous territories and internal dissent were not uncommon before the creation of the local 'Dul ba communities. After an initial conflictual phase, amounting to a personality clash rather than an institutional problem, Lo ston's settling down in Nyang smad due to the construction of rGyan gong was no more obstructed and the situation turned peaceful.<sup>12</sup>

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Thereafter, the tradition of the vow at rGyang mkhar sTag lung dgon pa was lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas's sdom pa rGya gar ma".

The change in the monastery's denomination (from rGya mkhar to rGyang mkhar) may reflect a loss of control on the part of the rGya in favour of the proponents of the *tsho* system of monastic conduct.

- Ang yig is assigned in the literature to lCe btsun dKar po, active during *bstan pa phyi dar*, for this attribution is textually contiguous to a passage in which the activity of lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas is also described (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* p.478,21-22, *Myang chos 'byung* p.105,19-20).
- Tshong btsun's disciple Ra (spelled so) Blo gros bzang po took hold of Rong Ngur smrigs (*Myang chos 'byung* p.117,7). He was also given Nyang tsho'i lha khang in Nyang sTag rtse in cohabitation with an associate, named simply the Khams pa (ibid. p.117,5-7).
- The founder of Sa phug during *bstan pa phyi dar* was rBad btsun chung according to a speech of bla ma mKha' skya sGyul chung, a master of Bran ston mTha' bral (*grub chen Kun blo's deb ther* p.469,1-2 and below n.68).

10 *sNgon gyi gam me tog phreng ba* (p.40,8-12): "His eight disciples were Sum ston 'Phags pa rgyal mtshan, lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas, Glang ston Byams pa, Zhu ston gZhon nu brtson 'grus, rGya Shakya ban dhe, Dhar (spelled so) ston Shakya blo gros, sKyo ston Shes rab rdo rje and Kyi a tsarya Ye shes dbang po".

11 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.156,18-p.157,16) enlists twelve of Lo ston's twenty-four disciples (numbers are mine): "His (Lo ston's) twenty-four disciples were 1) rGya Shakya gzhon nu who built La stod dMar la thang, known as rBa tsho inasmuch as [this division] expanded to 'Bri mtshams [with the addition of] Bul tog lha khang. 2) sTag lo gZhon nu brtson (p.157) 'grus who built sTag lo lha khang; [this division] then proliferated and became known as sTag tsho. 3) A mes Zhu gcig ma ruled 'Phrang and Brag dmar; [this division] then proliferated and became known as Zhu tsho. 4) 'Dar Shakya yon tan ruled gZus po; [this division] then proliferated and became known as 'Da' (spelled so for 'Dar) tsho. 5) Li Blo gros gzhon nu built Jo mo; [this division] then proliferated and became known as Li tsho. 6) Glag Byang chub rgyal mtshan built Chu mig; [this division] then proliferated and became known as Glag tsho. 7) Chag pa'i dGa' Shes rab bla ma built bsNyems. 8) rNgog Ye shes 'byung gnas built sPang dkar lHa lung. 9) Glag btsun Byams pa built 'On phug; he then ran gTsang 'Gram, and then Bum thang, Chag pa, Tri gong and Khrom ma [of] 'Gos ston, which became known as Glang tsho stod smad. 10) mGo ba [Ye shes] g.yung drung ran 'Dre lha khang; he also ran Zhwa lu; then [Zhwa lu's] *ka bzhi gdung drug* proliferated and became known as Zhwa lu *brgya skor*. 11) Kyi Ye shes dbang po built Shangs kyi mKhar lung; he then built Gyo re glang ra; [this division] proliferated from Glang ra and became known as Glang ra skor; it split from Nyug gi U lung and became known as U tsho; these two are known as Kyi tsho smad. Thereafter, 12) A me's (spelled so) disciple Zhang ston Tshul 'bar ran Bya rgyud".

12 Following the construction of rGyan gong, Nag po thog 'bebs from the dPyal clan of nearby sMan lung and Lo ston had a severe disagreement that ended up in a exchange of black magic curses meant at

The political system adopted in dBus gTsang following the *kheng log-s*, whereby Tibet's overall authority of the *lha sras btsan po-s* was substituted by the local authority of various clans, was, in turn, paradoxically antagonised by the subjects of the clans themselves. The acceptance of the practitioners of 'Dul ba smad lugs by the big and small potentates of dBus gTsang was not always spontaneous in that it helped remove confrontations of various kinds, such as internal turmoil. Following the foundation of rGyan gong, lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas fled for his life and sought shelter with Lo ston after his clan was exterminated by its subjects.<sup>13</sup> lCe btsun passed to Lo ston control over his dominions, represented by the donation of an ancient text, an old time property of the lCe.

Lo ston laid the foundations of rGyan gong—it was his brainchild (*Myang chos 'byung* p.156, 3-4)—but the bulk of the work fell upon his *nye gnas*, lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas, who undertook its construction and brought it to completion (ibid. p.156,4-5).<sup>14</sup> Like the related monastery of Zhwa lu, built sometime after it, rGyan gong was ruled by an abbot and a chieftain, not necessarily secular, the latter looking after mundane affairs (see below p.531-532). Sum ston was the one chosen to be the *dpon* of rGyan gong (ibid. p.156,2-3).

### Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge and some features of *bstan pa phyi dar* in gTsang

As to the diffusion in Nyang of the network of schools practising monastic observance Khams and A mdo style by the other “man from gTsang”, namely Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge, and his disciples, Kun dga' blo gros is even more elusive. He only mentions three monasteries they are associated with:

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destroying the rival. The unsettled situation led Lo ston to dedicate his temple to rDo rje Rab brtan ma for protection, and she annihilated Lo ston's enemy (*Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus* p.5,8-p.7,8). Confrontations sorted out, the local communities (both religious and secular) found an *entente* induced by monastic practice. This is just one sign that the diffusion of the *tsho* network, carried out at the grassroots level, brought about a change to the lands of dBus gTsang, whose scale and importance should be stressed.

13 *Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus* (p.4,3-5) reads: “At that time (i.e. when rGyan gong was founded), inauspicious omens [against the lCe family] manifested at Zho chu mKhar mo che. dPyal Ratna shri performed protection rituals (*rim 'gro*) which blocked [negative effects] for seven years”.

The same source (ibid. p.4,8-11) adds: “[Thereafter], on one occasion, the subjects of the lCe revolted and most lCe [people] were assassinated. lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas fled to stay with Lo ston. [lCe btsun] presented the *lCe 'Bum* text to him. He was ordained to the monastic vow (*rab tu byung*) and became [Lo ston's] *nye gnas*”.

Different attitudes towards their neighbours (Lo ston and the lCe) prevailed among members of the dPyal clan. Ratna shri supported the lCe, probably in view of reestablishing superior authority over subjects as a ruling principle. Nag po thog 'bebs nurtured hostility for Lo ston, a local like him but perhaps considered as an intruder and innovator of his own (different) religious practice (see the note immediately above). Despite observing monastic discipline, Lo ston did not disdain to use magical curse when threatened. He was indeed recognised as a specialist of protective methods (see below n.17).

14 *Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skyes bu dam pa 'ga'zhig gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* (*Zha* (spelled so) *lu mkhan rabs* f.10b,4-5) gives a time frame for Lo ston's involvement at rGyan gong: “Occurring in fire female bird 997 before *bstan pa phyi dar*, Lo ston laid the foundations of nearby rGyan gong in one year; his *nye gnas* lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas brought it to completion”. Hence rGyan gong underwent two building phases, the second one of unknown duration. Also see *Myang chos 'byung* (p.156,5-9).

(*Deb ther* p.453,1-2): “The keepers of the vow of Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge [note: he was from Shab] maintained *dgon pa-s* at sKyegs gNas rnying, Rong,<sup>15</sup> and sTag tshal”.<sup>16</sup>

Grub chen Kun blo’s allusions to both Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug and Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge’s students being involved in the activity of temple foundation carry some weight in detecting the nature and significance of these events. This involvement, however vague its formulation is, exemplifies the typical manner whereby the *tsho* network was conceived and functioned.<sup>17</sup> Lo ston and Tshong btsun (as well as their colleagues with whom they went to get the vow from lha chen dGongs pa rab gsal) delegated to them the task of running the newly established monastic community and their temples. That was a practical solution, for they had to redistribute control of many monastic schools which they could not run themselves. This was done for the sake of proselitism, for the expansion of the *tsho* networks could not remain a personal enterprise, but depended on the work of the masters’ students. The example of

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15 Ne’u pandi ta mentions Ngur smrig as the monastic school in Rong during *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs*. He attributes this event to disciples of Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge without specifying their identity. *sNgon gyi gtam me tog phrang ba* (p.39,19) reads: “His (i.e. Tshong btsun’s) disciples diffused [‘*Dul ba* teachings] from Rong Ngur smrig and Tshe dmar”.

16 sMon ’gros lo tsa Mar pa rDo rje ye shes, allegedly a disciple of Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge, ran Bya chos mkhar po che at sTag tshal and protected its school (*Myang chos ’byung* p.113,14-16). However, a master by the name of Mar pa rDo ye, a native of sMon ’gro in the area of sTag rtse (ibid. p.115,16-17), was a disciple of Zangs dkar lo tsa ba ’Phags pa shes rab (ibid. p.115,16-17). The latter Mar pa rDo rje ye shes lived and was active towards the last quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and the first part of the 12<sup>th</sup>. If he indeed was a disciple of Zangs dkar lo tsa ba, the transfer of sMon ’gro from Tshong btsun to Mar pa rDo rje ye shes was impossible, for no less than one generation separated the former from the latter.

Manifestly during *bstan pa phyi dar*, A mes Phyug mtshams built sTag tshal dKyus thang and offered it to Mar pa rDo rje ye shes. Mar pa, himself, built Bran ma sgang po (ibid. p.113,18-20). The Phyug ’tshams, associated with Dor te and sTe ’dzom as components of the *stong sde-s* of dBu ru during the dynastic period, were involved in the conquest of Central Asia during the reign of Khri srong lde’u btsan. On their deeds see *lDe’u Jo sras chos ’byung* (p.110,13); O rgyan gling pa, *Blon po bka’ thang* (p.438, 22-23); Chapter VIII of the *Tun-huang Chronicles* (line 386; *Tun hong nas thon pa’i Bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha* p.56; and also my “From Sum ru to the great Central Asian “sea of sand”: hints on the role of mThong khyab in the state organisation of dynastic Tibet”).

A number of important masters graced sTag tshal with their activity. The site is ancient, for it goes back to the time of the *chos rgyal mes dbon rnams gsum*. Some of these masters were Ting nge ’dzin bzang po; Zangs dkar lo tsa ba’s disciple sMon ’gro lo tsa ba Mar pa rDo ye; Mar pa’s disciple gTsang Rong Mes ston chen po; sTod lung rGya dmar ba and Rong mNgon pa; Byams sems Zla ba rgyal mtshan’s disciple Nyi phug pa Chos kyi grags pa; Chag lo tsa ba Chos rje dpal who met pandi ta Dā na śri there; and Man lung pa bSod nams dpal.

17 The assignment of tasks to his students is contained in the well known message allegedly passed on by lha chen dGongs pa rab gsal to them (*Nyang ral chos ’byung* p.450,18-p.451,1: “When five men [of dBu gTsang] were on the verge of going upwards [to Central Tibet], the *mkhan po* (i.e. lha chen dGongs pa rab gsal) sent this message with appointments: “Klu mes, who is learned and follows monastic discipline, should be the *mkhan po*; ’Bring, who is a master in offering protection, should be the *gnas brtan*; Lo ston, who is powerful, should be the protector of the teachings; Tshong Seng, who has a brilliant mind, should be the teacher and preach the doctrine; and [you] Sum pa! (p.451) you should attain spiritual realisations”). The implementation of these ideas was undertaken by the men from dBu gTsang when they chose territories which became their sphere of competence.

sTag tshal, one of the three holy places, where—according to grub chen Kun blo—Tshong btsun’s disciples operated, is symptomatic: whoever Tshong btsun’s disciple Mar pa rDo rje ye shes was (whether his actual follower or Zangs dkar lo tsa ba’s, unless these were two persons with the same name), the monastic community at this locality was not kept by the master but transferred to a disciple (*Myang chos ’byung* p.113,17-18).

Another fundamental principle that characterised the creation of monastic schools within the *tsho* networks is apparent from the opening of the *’Dul ba* school at sTag tshal. A rather mysterious *yon bdag mo* (“female sponsor”), namely Mar shul sa (spelled so for *za*) sMyos mo, offered sMon ’gro to Tshong btsun in the first place. Grants such as this were common throughout Central Tibet during those years. The *tsho* networks benefitted of donations of localities, where *’Dul ba* schools were established, by local (small and big) potentates, when these old families did not yet have members who had embraced monastic observance. This must have been especially common in the initial years of *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs*, as in the case of this grant to Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge.

#### FROM RAL PA TO A TI SHA

#### The rGya of gNas rnying (the *bstan pa snga dar* paradigm)

Grub chen Kun dga’ blo gros’s attribution of a control of sKyegs gNas rnying by an unspecified disciple of Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge does not correspond with the available records of this monastery. Instead there are minimal signs of interaction between the gNas rnying people and Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug. An initial step, antecedent to the transfer of gNas rnying from the older period to *bstan pa phyi dar*, was taken by Jo sras Phur pa skyabs, who belonged to the rGya line of gNas rnying descending from rGya ’Jam dpal gsang ba (see n.18 and 21). He was given the *dge bsnyen* vow by Lo ston at rGyan gong and received the name rDo rje dbang phyug (*Myang chos ’byung* p.121,6-9).<sup>18</sup> This may have not influenced the direction that sKyegs gNas rnying kept to during the successive decades (rGya Phur pa skyabs left for lHo brag mKhar chu in his old age, which is another indication that his brother Phur pa ’phel was in charge of the monastery’s affairs). It is a fact that the gNas rnying people, too, participated in the new flourishing brought to Nyang by disciples of lha chen dGongs pa rab gsal and were also open to successive religious movements.

Grub chen Kun blo’s (personal? textual?) closeness to the anonymous gNas rnying *drung chen* whom he cites as a source on a few occasions, did not lead him to deal with this monastery more

18 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.5b,5-f.6a,1): “The elder brother [rGya Phur pa skyabs] retired to meditate from an early time [in his life]. He meditated on *rDzogs pa chen po* at the neck of Glang pa Thag byam. In all his life he did extensive work for the benefit of sentient beings. If a detailed account about him is to be mentioned, Jo sras Phur ba skyabs went from Tshe spongs to Zha lu rGyan gong to meet Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug. He received the *dge bsnyen* vow [from him]. His name was changed into rDo rje dbang phyug, the same as his *mkhan po*’s [in the ordination]. He learned much religion. In particular, he became a master of *Yang Phur*. (f.6a) He was sixty-seven [when he went to get the vow] and did not have an offspring”.



accurately or more comprehensively. He says extremely little on gNas rnying after its founder rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba, the *sngags pa* master of two *chos rgyal*-s, Khri srong lde btsan and Khri Ral pa can, was granted by royal decree the area in Nyang stod, where he built this religious institution.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of his succinct treatment of gNas rnying, grub chen Kun blo does not omit mention of its Sa skya pa affiliation. This lasted from mkhan po Rin chen dpal (1221-1279, in office 1255-1279), during whose abbacy the *khri skor bcu gsum* system was enforced (*gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam kyī rnam thar* f.27,3-f.28a,1), until after the *grub chen* completed his *deb ther* in 1418, when the presence of rGyal tshab rje (1364-1432) at gNas rnying and then of mKhas grub rje (1385-1438) turned it into dGe lugs pa. This is a statement I read as underlining which school controlled the monastery:

(*Deb ther* p.455,1) “Chos rje Sa pan’s throne is still kept there at present, side by side with the religious throne [of 'Bre Shes rab 'bar]”.

### Jo sras Phur pa 'phel (gNas rnying is donated to Yol Chos dbang)

Besides mentioning its founder, whom he names 'Jam dpal gsang ldan, grub chen Kun blo has no assessment of what happened at gNas rnying during mid-*bstan pa phyi dar*, when the monastery was donated by jo sras Phur pa 'phel, a successor of rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba, to Yol Chos dbang, a disciple of Jo bo rje A ti sha (982-1054).<sup>20</sup>

19 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam kyī rnam thar* (f.4b,1-2) attributes to rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba several other foundations besides gNas rnying: “At first, rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba founded rTsis kyī lha khang, Nyan tsho lha khang, Bye mda' lha khang, Chos phu lha khang and lHag phyung lha khang”.

As for rGya family, a résumé in *Myang chos 'byung* (p.25,17-p.26,11) says: “The extraordinary noble human beings, holders of this [lineage], are as follows. The greatness of the family of gTsang pa rGya ras is as follows (sic). During the time of Srong btsan sgam po, the names of the two excellent athletes who brought the Jo bo from China were lHa dga' and Klu dga'. Among the descendants of lHa dga' in the following generations there was rGya Sang shī [who lived] during the time of Khri srong lde btsan, and gSal snang, who made a strenuous effort to translate Buddhist texts. (p.26) He was the beloved one in the eyes of the king. He was given the name of Swa (sic for sBa). After sBa gSal snang's ordination to the *rab tu byung* vow, he became the *gdan sa*'s abbot and the *bla ma* of the king of Bod. The nephew (*tsha bo* sic, it could not be a *tsha bo* if he was a rGya) was rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba [who lived] during the time of Khri Ral and attended upon [masters], such as slob dpon chen po Padma. It happened that he rose to the peak of the *sngags 'chang* lineages (*rigs*). This one founded sKye gNas (sic for sKye gNas [rnying]) of dpal sKye gNas in Myang stod, presently known as gNas snying (spelled so). Thereafter, due to the power of the times (i.e. implying a subversion of the situation), his descendants were transferred to sTag tshal. During *bstan pa phyi dar*, [rGya] brTson 'grus seng ge was the one who brought mkhas pa Jo bo rje to Tibet. [Among] the successors, this *chos rje* (i.e. gTsang pa rGya ras) was born in the lineage which migrated to Khu le”.

20 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam kyī rnam thar* (f.10a,5-7): “In that period, Jo sras Phur pa 'phel thought: “I am very old. I do not have an offspring to continue the lineage”. While he was pondering how best to complete the tasks of the rGya (*rGya'i las thabs*), Yol Chos kyī dbang phyug requested Jo sras Phur pa 'phel: “Have you any objection if I introduce a monastic community at your *dgon pa*?”. The *jo sras* was extremely pleased. He said: “My wish is fulfilled, the son has arrived in time when the father has become old. This is excellent”.”.

The event marks the end of the centuries-old control of gNas rnying by the local rGya, whose lineage is found in the related literature.<sup>21</sup>

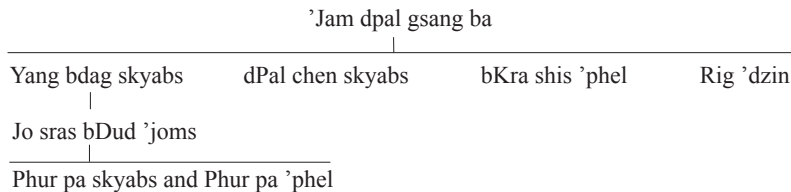
This shows that gNas rnying has a history during *bstan pa phyi dar* that deviates from that of most other holy places in Nyang. gNas rnying did not go through a *tsho* phase entailing the involvement of Lo ston or Tshong btsun's disciples but passed directly from a *bstan pa snga dar* situation, epitomised by the rGya family's control, to A ti sha and his followers, who somewhat reformed the situation in Central Tibet.

This state of affairs is evinced from *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*, aka *Gyen tho chen mo*, which was in this case the main source for *Myang chos 'byung*, rather than *Nyang stod bla ma 'i mtshan gyi deb ther*.

#### A CASE OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY OF THE MNGA' RIS SKOR GSUM CULTURE rKyang po/bu Chos blo (lo chen Rin chen bzang po's teachings in Nyang)

An openness to the multiple expressions of the newly introduced *bstan pa phyi dar* teachings in Nyang is exemplified by the fact that the mNga' ris skor gsum religious system reached the region and put roots locally. Disciples of Rin chen bzang po made a point to return to their land Nyang at an early stage of Lo chen's preaching, bringing it with them. These teachings remained insular since the school practising the mNga' ris skor gsum doctrine was concentrated in rKyang po/bu, a monastery of rGyang ro near gNas rnying (showing that different traditions could coexist effortlessly), owing to the endeavours of rKyang po/bu Chos blo, one of Lo chen's disciples of the first hour.<sup>22</sup> Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros says the following about him:

21 An incomplete genealogical line of the rGya clan of gNas rnying from the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century to the mid 11<sup>th</sup> is:



*Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skyes bu dam pa 'ga' zhig gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* (gNas rnying mkhan rabs f.11b,5-6) says: "Yang dag Shes [rab], Phur pa and dPal chen, these being three from the rGya [clan], were subsequent abbots of gNas snying (spelled so)".

The Yang dag Shes rab of the *bstan rtsis* is Yang dag skyabs of *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*. He passed the religious leadership of the monastery to his brother dPal chen skyabs. He would have been succeeded by his grandnephew Phur pa 'phel. The gNas rnying text is not too profuse on the abbatial succession of the period. It details the transmission of the monastery's possessions, specifying the estates and the people connected with the institution (ibid. f.5a,1-f.5b,5), but lets one realise that Jo sras bDud 'joms held the abbatial chair before his son Jo sars Phur pa 'phel (ibid. f.10a,7-f.10b,1).

22 rKyang po/bu Chos blo attended upon lo chen Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) after the latter came back from Kha che the first and second time (*Myang chos 'byung* p.66,6-10 and p.66,12-14). Did he remain in sTod from 987 (the date of Lo chen's return to his land after his first journey to Kha che) to 1000/1001 (when he went back after his second journey to Indian lands)? Or did he go to mNga' ris skor gsum

(*Deb ther* p.471,7-p.472,3): “rKyang po Chos blo emerged in mNga’ ris as a powerful disciple of lo chen Rin chen bzang po. (p.472) He rendered service in the subjugation of Klu dKar (spelled so) rgyal. He learned *rDor dbyings*, *rTse mo* and gSang ’dus, three in all, and also dByangs (spelled so) chen. rKyang po’i rab ’byams pa rGya mtsho and rDo rje brag thog were [its abbots]. A lineage of the *dbang* existed in succession [at rKyang po]. [Chos blo] built rKyang po lha khang. He offered a golden *mchod rten* of the *bkra shis sgo mangs* [type] as a *nang rten* of Lo chen inside the [local] *gtsang khang lho ma*. It is said that remains of Lo chen,<sup>23</sup> his *rdo rje* and *dril bu* and his walking stick in a *ka ru* [wood] were kept there”.

Grub chen Kun blo fails to highlight that rKyang po/bu was the centre of *bstan pa phyi dar stod lugs* in gTsang. Originally founded by Srong btsan sgam po, Chos blo added sPre’u dmar lha khang there, a temple conceived in accordance with the tradition he inherited from his teacher (*Myan chos ’byung* p.66,4-10). He also established a school of *Yoga* and gSang ’dus there, based on the method of Ye shes zhabs (*ibid.* p.66,14-16). By this move at rKyang po/bu, he secured strong grounds for the practice of *stod lugs* in Nyang stod.

Zangs dkar lo tsa ba ’Phags pa shes rab worked at the *smad ’grel* of *De nyid ’dus pa* with Bal po Thugs rje chen po in its premises (*ibid.* p.67,5-9).<sup>24</sup> He also composed a *’grel pa* on *rTse mo* there (*ibid.* p.67,1), these being literary classics of the *stod lugs* tradition. Rather than these historical milestones, Grub chen Kun dga’ blo gros chos instead to concentrate on mentioning that Rin chen bzang po’s relics and personal objects were looted during the 14<sup>th</sup> century (see below p.566).

The *deb ther* is too concise to say which of his late disciples brought Rin chen bzang po’s relics and personal objects to rKyang po/bu after his death. No indications are provided in the various *rnam thar* of Lo chen, so that one can only attempt an educated guess. Given the presence of Zangs dkar lo tsa ba ’Phags pa shes rab at rKyang po/bu, although he did not study with Rin chen bzang po but with his associate lo chung Legs pa’i shes rab (Lo chen had just died when he came to meet him), he might have brought Lo chen’s remains and personal belongings to the south-eastern corner of Nyang stod, where the tradition of the great *lo tsa ba* was vibrant.

## lCe Zhar (the one-eyed disciple of Lo chen)

The case of another Lo chen’s early disciple from Nyang was different; lCe Zhar, despite his affiliation to a local clan which left an important mark in the history of the region, did not

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on both occasions? Chos blo studied under Rin chen bzang po, Dol po sgom chen and lo chung Legs pa’i shes rab (*ibid.* p.66,10-12).

23 A very small quantity of Lo chen’s remains must have been kept at rKyang po/bu, for *Rin chen bzang po’i rnam thar ’bring po* (Dharamsala ed. p.32,5-9) says that very little of his body—not bigger than sesame seeds—was found in the ashes after cremation.

24 It seems that the translation took place at the *dgon gnas* (“monastery”), spelled g.Yar thang and dByar thang in the Bell edition of *Myang chos ’byung* (*ibid.* respectively f.62b,1 and f.62b,3; but see their variants in *Myang chos ’byung* p.67,1-14) under the patronage of Jo sras lCe ’bar. These spellings generate some confusion with g.Ye dmar, but the placement of these events in the section dedicated to rKyang po/bu seems to be a decisive factor to dismiss that they took place at the former locality.

undertake the construction of any major institution, which would have followed the tenets of the mNga' ris skor gsum's system of teachings. Grub chen Kun blo mentions the name of his residence in Nyang before moving to sTod mNga' ris skor gsum, and Lo chen's passion for beautiful objects:

(*Deb ther* p.465,1-3): "lCe Zhar went first to Sri'u chung, which is below [Chos sdings]. When he received the *dbang* of rDor dbyings from Lo chen in mNga' ris [skor gsum] he gave him, as a token, gold powder for a *dkyil 'khor*. Being made of solid gold, the receptacle was to [his teacher's] satisfaction".

### rTsis gNas gсар (from imperial patronage to *rNal 'byor rgyud*)

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros deviates from his customary focus on *bla ma*-s to deal with the important temple complex of rTsis gNas gсар, called rTsis kyi lha khang by him (the latter being a different religious building in the neighbourhood of the former). He concentrates on the foundations undertaken there by the *lha sras btsan po*-s who were *chos rgyal*-s, but in doing so, neglects the earliest one, established by Srong btsan sgam po (*Myang chos 'byung* p.99,21-p.100,3, p.100,11-14 and p.102,1-5). He says:

(*Deb ther* p.464,7-p.465,1): rGyal po Khri srong lde btsan built rTsis kyi lha khang stod ma, [while] mnga' bdag Khri Ral pa can built [rTsis kyi lha khang] 'og ma.

What concerns *bstan pa phyi dar* rather than the imperial period at this temple complex is that rTsis gNas gсар, during the Later Diffusion, became partially conceived as a religious institution of the mNga' ris skor gsum tradition. The temple founded by Khri Ral pa can was restructured to contain four addorsed rNam par snang mdzad statues (similarly to the main image at Ta po in Pi ti) and the cycle of thirty-seven deities of rDor dbyings kyi *dkyil 'khor*, based on the first of the four chapters of *De nyid 'dus pa'i rtsa rgyud* (*Myang chos 'byung* p.102,5-12). This is a text associated, for its translation and practice, with the mNga' ris stod tradition. Hence rTsis gNas gсар, at least for the season that corresponded with *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs* (if not for a longer time), can be assimilated, although on a lower scale, to rKyang po/bu as a stronghold in Nyang of the religious system which had been developed in mNga' ris skor gsum by the local royal house and their *bla ma*-s.

It seems more than coincidental that these temples bearing signs of the mNga' ris stod pa doctrine were founded by sPu rgyal dynasty rulers in the first place. Besides a criterion of provenance (Chos blo was indeed from rKyang po/bu), I wonder whether the claim of the mNga' ris skor gsum royalty to the heritage of the *lha sras btsan po*-s was instrumental in the choice of sites. Was this claim a motivation for the representatives of the mNga' ris skor gsum doctrine in Nyang to take over temples of imperial origin?

## THE VOW: FROM A MDO TO RGYA GAR (ZHWA LU AND THE MA GA DHA LINK)

## lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas (and sdom pa rGya gar ma)

lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas was the closest collaborator of Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug. He was his *nye gnas* and the disciple who engaged in personally building Lo ston's rGyan gong, dedicated to rDo rje Rab brtan ma. In typical style, grub chen Kun blo says little about him and his famous establishment of Zhwa lu in fire hare 1027. He just mentions lCe btsun as the founder of its monastic community and attributes the construction of its *lha khang* to him:

(*Deb ther* p.473,7-p.474,2): "Lo ston rDorje dbang phyug's *nye gnas*, lCe btsun (p.474) Shes rab 'byung gnas, was the abbot of Zhal lu (spelled so) [note: he built its *lha khang*. He founded Zhal lu]. Later, his younger brother was [the abbot]. Thereafter, at the territorial enclosure (*ra ba*) in Nyang stod, when g. Yu thog sgra gSer zangs was the abbot, a son (i.e. lCe 'Bum me) was born to him, who ruled as *dpon sa* of Zhal lu. [lCe btsun] gave the *gdan sa* to mGo ba [/'Go ba] [Ye shes g.yung drung], to 'Dre [and] Khyung".

Grub chen Kun blo omits the developments that followed soon after the foundation of Zhwa lu in 1027 (bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* f.12b,2-f.13b,3). lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas's intention was to receive a monastic vow purer than the one bestowed by lha chen dGongs pa rab gsal and transmitted by the latter's disciples in dBus gTsang (ibid. f.14a,3-4; *Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus* p.5,3-4). He journeyed to rDo rje gdan, having left Zhwa lu, as is well known, to the care of 'A zhwa/mGo ba Ye shes g.yung drung.<sup>25</sup> He got his Indian vow from slob dpon A bha ya ka ra (bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* f.14b,1-2).

That was the origin of lCe btsun's vow from Gangetic India, known as sdom pa rGya gar ma (*Myang chos 'byung* p.160,16-p.161,15). It also marked the introduction in dBus gTsang of the system of obtaining the vow from the Noble Land, as the *bstan pa phyi dar* masters from mNga' ris stod had done, rather than from north-eastern Tibet, as had happened till then in dBus gTsang.

Hence lCe btsun embodied the double *phyi dar* phase that came to dBus and gTsang: first from A mdo and then from India. After being a disciple of Lo ston (and thus a typical master of A mdo *phyi dar*), he was among the earliest Tibetans from dBus gTsang to have had an Indian teacher.<sup>26</sup>

25 mGo ba (aka 'A zha) Ye shes g.yung drung ran 'Dre lha khang. *Myang chos 'byung* (p.105,10-14) says: "There were many extraordinary *dgon gnas* in the four directions of 'Dul chung in earlier times. In the south is [lacuna]; in the west is rKyang dur lha khang; in the north Ngang skya lha khang; in the east Dre (spelled so) lha khang. 'Dre'i lha khang (spelled so) is a *bstan pa snga dar gtsug lag khang*. In the vicinity of 'Dul chung is 'Dre lha khang (sic). This is the *lha khang* where mGo ba Ye shes g.yung drung, one of the twenty-four disciples of Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug, protected teaching and learning. When lCe btsun went to India, he entrusted Zhwa lu to mGo ba Ye shes g.yung drung. Following this, he ran 'Dre lha khang of 'Dul chung and protected teaching and learning".

26 lHo brag Mar pa (1012-1097?) and gNyos lo tsa ba Yon tan grags (b.973) were two dBus gTsang Tibetans who went early to rGya gar. In 1028, when he was fifty-six years old (b.973), gNyos lo tsa ba Yon tan grags left for Gangetic India in a group which included lHo brag Mar pa, aged seventeen

While in Ma ga dha, lCe btsun obtained a statue of Ka sar pā ni, eventually installed inside Zhwa lu gtsug lag khang as its main receptacle.

One more sign of the openness and mobility of religious practice in Nyang was that lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas brought his sdom pa rGya gar ma to rTsis gNas gсар, the important monastery of Nyang, which bore tangible signs of the presence of the sTod mNga' ris skor gsum doctrinal system (see above p.528). lCe btsun held rTsis gNas gсар even before he went to Ma ga dha, for he left it, like Zhwa lu, to the care of 'A zha/mGo ba Ye shes g.yung drung.<sup>27</sup>

### rTsis kyi lha khang (an exemplary temple for vow observance)

Developments at rTsis kyi lha khang, in the vicinity of rTsis gNas gсар, epitomise the religious fragmentation that took place in Nyang during *bstan pa phyi dar*, which remained a salient feature of the region throughout the centuries dealt with by grub chen Kun blo. rTsis kyi lha khang was founded by Khri srong lde'u btsan's minister lCe Khri bzang lha byin (*Myang chos 'byung* p.103,14-16, but *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* attributes it to rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba; see above n.19). After the end of the *lha sras btsan po* dynasty and the dark period between the two diffusions, rTsis gNas gсар passed to Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge, then to his disciple sBa (spelled so) btsun Blo gros yon tan, thus becoming part of the rBa tsho (one of Tshong btsun's *tsho-s*). rTsis kyi lha khang was run subsequently by A ti sha's disciple Yol Chos dbang (ibid. p.103,17-19) but not before lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas held it.

### A ti sha at Zhwa lu (consecrations and *tsa tsa-s*)

In his quest for a pure doctrine, lCe btsun managed to invite Jo bo rje A ti sha to Zhwa lu (presumably around fire dog 1046). The Bengali master, a specialist of *rab gnas* which he was called to carry out often on Tibetan soil, at Zhwa lu performed it in front of the famed image of Yum chen mo (*Myang chos 'byung* p.161,15-18). This shows lCe btsun's intentions well; he saw India as the proper source of a pure vow and a correct consecration.

At Zhwa lu, A ti sha was responsible for identifying another holy image for the temple. He had a notion of a self-originated statue of sPyan ras gzigs at the bank of River Sing dha

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at the time (b.1012). *Kha rag gNyos kyi gdung rabs* (f.2b,2-3) writes: "gNyos, who was fifty-six, was the oldest. rJe Mar pa, who was seventeen, was the youngest. Twenty children of Tibet went to rGya gar. They stayed for many days at the place called La stod Cung pa sa. Then they went to Gu lang gser kha to search for gold".

27 *Myang chos 'byung* (Bell ed. f.95a,5-f.95b,1; lHa sa ed. p.104,2-6): "Until lCe btsun returned from rGya gar to this rTsis gNas gсар, the outstanding disciple of lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas who founded Zhwa lu, i.e. his follower mGo ba Ye shes g.yung drung held rTsis kyi lha khang (i.e. rTsis gNas gсар in this case). From then on, the tradition of the vow of the rTsis gNas gсар monks was sdom pa rGya gar ma (f.95b) exclusively".

This indicates that at rTsis gNas gсар, too, the A mdo vow of lha chen dGongs pa rab gsal, introduced to gTsang by the Lo ston and Tshong btsun, was abandoned in favour of the vow from rGya gar in the span of one generation. See above (n.9) for a similar situation at rGyang mkhar.

(*Myang chos 'byung* p.161,18-21; bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* f.15b,3-4 spells Sidhu). The search caused an acrimonious incident with the Chu mig pa,<sup>28</sup> who tried to steal the statue.<sup>29</sup> The statue spoke, manifesting its preference, and eventually was installed at Zhwa lu Ri sbug (ibid. p.164,4-7). It was in this way that Zhwa lu's two main statues came to the monastery, separated by some fifteen years (from soon after 1027 to around 1046). Zhwa lu remained a foremost religious centre of Nyang smad, but another dispute—this time internal—caused a major contention that took a bitter turn.<sup>30</sup> The running of the monastery caused a squabble between the *dpon sa* (g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs/zangs) and the abbot (Khyung po Grags se/Grags seng), which reached a nasty conclusion with the intervention of troops from rGya gong, summoned by the secular ruler; the religious head decided to leave for lHa sa, to return to Zhwa lu sometime later (bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* f.17b,4-f.18b,4).

The stir between its secular and religious heads confirms that Zhwa lu, and rGyan gong, too, had a divided administration. Following g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs/zangs's release of the

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28 There were two Chu mig in gTsang (see below n.48). One was in sNying ro/sGo bzhi of Nyang (Nying ro is above the course of the sGo bzhi river; see *Myang chos 'byung* p.34,19), the other, Chu mig ring mo, in the area of sNar thang, whose control was assigned by Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug to his disciple Zhu ston gZhon nu brtson 'grus (*sNgon gyi gtsam me tog phreng ba* p.40,14-15). Nyang Chu mig was visited by rNgog lo tsa ba's Indian teacher 'Bum phrag gsum pa (see below the same n.48), who came to Tibet as a consequence of his disciple's return to the highlands in the early 1090s. His visit acts as a *terminus ante quem* for its foundation. The two Chu mig may have to be assigned to different but not too distant foundation times.

I tend to think that the Chu mig pa of this episode were those from Chu mig ring mo for the centrality the monastery gradually assumed, which culminated with its proclamation as one of the *khri skor-s* and the famous *chos 'khor* organised by 'grom mgon 'Phags pa in fire rat 1276. The exorbitant number of 70,000 monks would have participated in the religious council (Tshe tan zhabs drung, *bsTan rtsis kun las btus pa* p.191).

29 Typically, the Chu mig pa failed to steal the statue because it became too heavy to lift it (*Myang chos 'byung* p.163,15-18). The Zhwa lu pa and Chu mig pa eventually had a parley and the matter was solved in favour of the former. No reasons for such a choice transpire from the sources. The contention is ignored in bKra shis don grub's *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs*.

30 g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs/zangs, the son of sTag gi rgyal mtshan, who received the monastic vow from lCe btsun (was it sdom pa rGya gar ma?) and became his *nye gnas*, was appointed Zhwa lu abbot (*Myang chos 'byung* p.129,18-21). He was the successor to lCe btsun's brother lCe Shes rab ye shes (ibid. p.162,19-20). Subsequently g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs/zangs left the vow and originated the Zhwa lu *dpon rgyud*.

However, *Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skyes bu dam pa 'ga' zhig gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* says that the Zhwa lu *dpon rgyud* was first assigned to g.Yu thog dgra gSer bzang/zangs's father lCe sTag gi rgyal mtshan. The concerned passage (*Zha* (spelled so) *lu mkhan rabs* f.11b,1) reads: "g.Yu thog dgra gSer bzang was the son of the elder brother sTag gi rgyal mtshan. The two (he and his father) were known as *bla dpon*".

g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs/zangs had a fallout with Khyung po Grags se/Khyung po Grags seng, the new *gdan sa* who had taken his place, over the petty issue of Zhwa lu's boundary wall and well (*Myang chos 'byung* p.162,16-p.163,3). Matters precipitated, for g.Yu thog sgra brought troops from rGyan gong. Khyung po Grags se/Khyung po Grags seng was displeased and left for lHa sa where he ran a school on lCags po ri (ibid. p.130,3-7). He eventually returned to Zhwa lu and was reinstated to the abbatial chair (ibid. p.130,7-8). For the segment of the genealogical tree of the Zhwa lu pa from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> see below (p.556).

religious chair in compliance with the requirements of 'Dul ba discipline, the lCe, significantly, called in an external abbot but kept the secular control in their family, so that matters, in keeping with the tribal organisation of old, remained in their own hands.

These events (the strife with the Chu mig pa and this internal contention, not to mention the revolt of the subjects against their lCe lords in 997) show that coexistence in Nyang, despite being steadfast and spontaneously adopted, was not always possible, as seems inevitable. Acrimony against the lCe and Zhwa lu materialised again in a few subsequent cases, which is an indication that, among the families of Nyang, this clan was keen to seek an assertive position.

### THE BKA' GDAMS DOCTRINE COMES TO NYANG

#### The three Yol brothers (Jo bo rje's teen disciples of the first hour)

The introduction of the bKa' gdams pa school, which established A ti sha's teachings on a larger scale in dBus gTsang than mNga' ris skor gsum, was a task assigned in Nyang stod by the Bengali master to the three Yol brothers.<sup>31</sup> Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros deals with them in typically elliptical style:

(*Deb ther* p.458,2): "Yol Chos dbang, one of the three Yol brothers, was a direct disciple of Jo bo rje. He held Nyan 'tsho (spelled so). Yol Thog 'bebs and [Yol] Drang srong held lCang ra".

Nyan tsho'i lha khang at sTag rtse goes back to the *bstan pa snga dar* phase of foundations in Nyang by rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba (see above n.19) and promoted by Khri Ral pa can,<sup>32</sup> whose temples were invariably reformed according to teachings introduced during *bstan pa phyi dar*. The name Nyan tsho'i lha khang raises the question whether *tsho*-s already existed during the imperial period, or whether this name was given during the Later Spread. This seems to be an isolated case, which suggest that a revision occurred.

Before coming to A ti sha's disciple Yol Chos dbang, Nyan tsho'i lha khang was given to Tshong btsun who passed it to his disciples Ra (spelled so) Blo gros bzang po and the Khams pa (*Myang chos 'byung* p.117,5-7). Like several other religious institutions, control of Nyan tsho'i lha khang was transferred from the masters of 'Dul ba, organised in the *tsho* system, to a follower of Jo bo rje.

31 The miraculous powers of the Yol brothers are often mentioned in the literature. I cite here a passage of *Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skyes bu dam pa 'ga' zhig gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* (*gNas rnying mkhan rabs* f.12a,1-2): "The eldest brother Yol Chos dbang hanged his robe on a sunbeam. The middle [Yol] brother, Thog 'bebs, struck the rock of the mountain to the south of gNas snying with a thunderbolt. The youngest Drang srong pierced a rock with his iron *rdo rje*, and blood spilled from its navel".

32 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.3a,2-3): "At that time (i.e. during the reign of Khri Ral pa), gNas gsar lha khang at Nyang stod dKris tsha, Nyan tsho lha khang, Bye mda' lha khang, lHag chung lha khang and rTing po lha khang were built in gTsang (i.e. Nyang?), when rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba came to supervise [appropriate localities], given his expertise in examining the [features of the] landscape [in order to found temples]".



The Yol brothers were born at Yol lCags of sTag tshal in Nyang (*Myang chos 'byung* p.114,12-13). They met A ti sha at sTag rtse, where Nyan tsho'i lha khang was located, after a premonition Jo bo rje had in a dream. The master paid particular attention to them, especially to the eldest one, Yol Chos dbang, who was just sixteen years old at the time (ibid. p.118,13-p.119,1). A ti sha gave Yol Chos dbang the *grub thabs* of the four cycles of *rTa mgrin Shā na* he had refused to major followers, such as Nag tsho lo tsa ba Tshul khriims rgyal ba (1017-?), lha btsun Byang chub 'od (984-1078) and 'Brom ston rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004 or 1005-1064) (ibid. p.119,1-4).

It seems that the Yol brothers concentrated their activity upon their own land of Nyang rather than on dBus, where most of A ti sha's followers were active. Jo bo rje prophesied that Yol Chos dbang should take hold of sKyegs gNas rnying. The appearance of A ti sha's disciple was taken as a karmic sign by Jo sras Phur pa 'phel, the rGya family member who was running the monastery. Phur pa 'phel's decision to appoint Yol Chos dbang as the new abbot (*gNas rnying skye bu dam pa'i rnam thar* f.9b,3-7) meant that the authority over gNas rnying was no longer in the hands of the rGya family.<sup>33</sup> Hence by mid-*bstan pa phyi dar*, the old system of control of religious institutions and territories existing from the imperial period was modified, at least for some areas of Nyang stod.

## The rGya estates in rGyang ro

With this in mind, those imperial appanages the rGya were able to preserve in Nyang stod are a matter of some significance. Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros provides clues on them:

(*Deb ther* p.471,2-3): "It is said that Sa lu rGya gNas,<sup>34</sup> rGya and rKyang po Drang chung, three in all, were the communities of mGos yul stod [gsum]. It seems that they likewise were the *gnas gzhi* ("estates") of the rGya.<sup>35</sup> They were held by the lHo pa subsequently".

33 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.7b,3-4): "Jo sras Phur pa 'phel, the younger brother of rGya ban rDo rje dbang phyug (aka Phur ba skyabs) followed in the footsteps of his father. At that time, he said quoting the words of his father: "I am older than an old horse, and as for my dwelling place, I wish to stay on the nose of the dBus lung thang khugs mountain, this being a place where I can see gNas rnying from above". He built a *gzims khang* here, where he resided and died". Ibid. (f.7b,5-6): "[Jo sras Phur pa 'phel] renovated the *lha khang* and *tshogs khang* of Ba ga rGya grong, all those. He renovated gNas rnying *lha khang* and built its *las khang* and *rdo khang*. He rendered a great deal of service to the *lha khang*-s built by the kings".

34 rGya gNas at Sa lu was near rKyang po/bu in rGyang ro (*Myang chos 'byung* p.68,18).

35 All grub chen Kun dga' blo gros says about rGya brTson seng, an illustrious son of the Nyang soil from this clan, is as follows:

(*Deb ther* p.458,4-5): "In *Jo bo'i rnam thar* it is said that rGya brTson 'grus seng ge was from sTag tshal". rGya brTson seng, A ti sha's *nye gnas* when the Bengali master was still in Ma ga dha, was born at Phum bu ri of sTag tshal, which was rGya stod (*Myang chos 'byung* p.115,12-13). If rGya stod was sTag tshal and surroundings as it seems, which area of Nyang was rGya smad? Was it their ancestral land in rGyang ro, known during *bstan pa snga dar* as mGos yul stod gsum? A transfer of a group of the rGya to sTag tshal occurred, owing to an unspecified subversion of the status quo, after the foundation of gNas rnying but before *bstan pa phyi dar* (ibid. p.25,17-p.26,11 and above n.19). At Bye mda', A ti sha declared that, on the way, he had spotted Phum bu ri from distance. He bitterly added that his disciple rGya brTson seng ge was no more and wept (ibid. p.64,1-4).

His reference to the estates of the rGya manifestly goes back to the imperial period when this stretch of land was named mGos yul stod gsum (i.e. from south of gNas rnying to the Phag ri rdzong area), after blon chen Khri bzang yab lhag, a minister of Khri srong lde'u btsan from the mGos clan, was awarded this territory by the *lha sras btsan po* (gNas rnying *skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* f.3b,3-f.4a,6, and Vitali, “The history of the lineages of gNas rnying summarized as its “ten greatnesses” in the sources” p.82-85). Kun blo's passage hints at a disintegration process of the rGya pa power in that he adds that unidentified lHo pa took hold of these fiefs, which may indicate that people from the south (i.e. from stretches of present-day Bhutan) took over, but no time frame is given. It may refer to the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, a period taken into special consideration by grub chen Kun blo (see below p.566-569), which would mean that the rGya had steadfast control of their land possessions (did they lose it for a short period?).

The donation of gNas rnying to Yol Chos dbang around 1046 was preceded by a different grant by Phur pa 'phel's relatives, rGya A rya de ba, a descendant of 'Jam dpal gsang ba, and his son rDo rje bla ma. This concerned Sa lu sPe sar and rGya gNas lha khang (aka rGya gNas Tshe dpag med lha khang, see *rGyang ru Sa ma mda' khul gyi dgon pa lha khang khag gi lo rgyus* p.36,9-p.37,4), both being areas and monasteries under the control of the rGya (*gNyos kyi gdung rabs* respectively f.3b,4-6 and f.3b,7-f.4a,1). They were offered to gNyos lo tsa ba Yon tan grags (b.973) in return for teachings. This happened soon after gNyos lo tsa ba came back from his spiritual journey to rGya gar initiated in wood dog 1034. The donation indicates that the rGya also controlled lands in lHo Kha bzhi (i.e. future Bhutan), for they granted them to the same master.

rGya ston A rya de ba was probably the ultimate expression of the religious and secular complexity of the period. He belonged to the rGya clan, locally empowered by the *lha sras btsan po*-s, but he himself was the founder of a *tsho*, for he established the division named rGya tsho at sPo ru sna (spelled so in *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* p.479,2-3; *Bu ston chos 'byung* p.197,10-11 has sGo ru ru sna).<sup>36</sup> He thus had adopted the religious system brought from A mdo by the men of dBus gTsang before searching for teachings coming from India.

## The Yol brothers again

Returning to Yol Chos dbang after this short digression, the *grub chen*'s statement that he controlled Nyan tsho and nowhere else,<sup>37</sup> is, once again, reductive. Yol chen po had a wider

36 rGya ston A rya de ba was a disciple of A mes who studied under Kyi ston Ye shes dbang po. The Khyi tsho division was originated from the latter. rGya ston A rya de ba's rGya tsho was one division under the Kyi tsho stod pa. *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p.479,1-4) says: “At that time, of the four [A mes's] disciples of sTod, Khri ston brTson 'bar held Shong sna; Sa rbad bTsun chung held Brang chung; rGya ston Arya de wa held sPo ru sna; and 'Dar Shakya bzhon nu held Sar phug. These are known as Khri tsho, Bra tsho, rGya tsho and Sar tsho. [Altogether,] they were called the Kyi tsho stod pa and became four tax-paying communities”.

Grub chen Kun blo has variant assessments concerning two of these monastic centres. He says (*Deb ther* p.469,1-2) that Shong snar (spelled so) was built by rBad btsun chung (rather than Khri ston brTson 'bar), who was also responsible for the construction of Sa phug (spelled so) (on both see n.68 below).

37 Yol Chos dbang's tenure of Nyan tsho is not confirmed by another passage in *Myang chos 'byung* (p.117,9-12), which only says that A ti sha turned the wheel of the teachings at this locality for three

ranging sphere of influence in the region. Besides gNas rnying, he also took charge of rTsis kyi lha khang (*Myang chos 'byung* p.103,21). Whether this abbatial office was contemporary with that of gNas rnying is not clarified in the documents.

Yol Chos dbang's passing was in a most dedicated manner for a Buddhist master. He died on his throne while imparting teachings on a commentary to *brGyad stong pa*. His entire body was buried inside a *mchod rten* built at sTag tshal for the purpose (ibid. p.114,14-16).

His two younger brothers, too, left a prominent religious mark. While residing at Bye mda' with his siblings (*Myang chos 'byung* p.65,7-8), Yol Thog 'bebs founded dGe rgyas there (ibid. p.65,9). This was not all; *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.11a,2-4) credits a conspicuous number of holy places to Yol Thog 'bebs's activity in the Khu le area of Nyang stod: 'Chad mang,<sup>38</sup> Ze thang and Gra thang.<sup>39</sup>

Yol Drang srong added more holy places to those under the family's control. He focused his attention upon lCang ra, a locality originally controlled by rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba (*Myang chos 'byung* p.89,3-5), where he built a 'du kang, lCe spe lha khang, and a boundary wall. He established a 'Dul ba community there.<sup>40</sup> The fortunes of lCang ra from the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the days of rGya 'Jam dpal gsang ba, to around the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century are undocumented, a historical lacuna that corresponds with the dark period between the two diffusions, but a similar course of events to those at gNas rnying may have occurred there, given the same actors at play.

The pattern of the early bKa' gdams pa diffusion in gTsang differed from that in dBus, where A ti sha's best disciples were concentrated. They all engaged in building personal monasteries in honour of their teacher after Jo bo rje's demise, except for the expansion of sNye thang, the Bengali master's historical residence. In gTsang, A ti sha's disciples—the Yol brothers were important but less prominent than 'Brom ston pa, rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab and Khu ston brTson 'grus g.yung drung—did not establish large scale bKa' gdams centres, such as Rwa sgreng or gSang phu Ne'u thog. The Yol brothers either took over preexisting monasteries, founded during *bstan pa snag dar*, or added new temples and monastic communities to them.

The relative chronology of the early bKa' gdams pa diffusion in dBus and gTsang cannot be established beyond doubt. Dates are known for the bKa' gdams monasteries in dBus; they

months, where he met mGos lo tsa ba Khug pa lhas btsas who received instructions from the great Bengali master.

38 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.37,21-p.38,2): "This 'Chad mang [originally] was part of the Bhe po division. They were followers of rNgog Byang chub 'byung gnas, who belonged to the group of the four main disciples of Klu mes. With Bhe acting as *mkan po* and ...Yam shud acting as *slob dpon*, Grwa pa mNgon shes (p.38) was given the monastic vow (*rab tu byung*). He then founded g.Yo ru Grwa thang. Grwa pa mNgon shes's disciple, 'Be (spelled so) g.Yo rong btsun, founded Myang stod 'Chad mang".

39 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.38,5-9): "[note: In *Gyen tho* of the gNas rnying people [it is written that], when Yol Thob 'bebs repeatedly travelled between Phye mda' (sic for Bye mda') and rMog pa, he stopped at Gra ma a few times for his lunch break. Having said: "There is need of a place for meals", he founded Grwa thang. Having said: "There is need for a place for resting", he founded both 'Chad mang and Ze thang]".

40 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.89,5-8): "Thereafter, Jo bo A ti sha's disciple Yol Drang srong built lCe sPe lha khang. He introduced a monastic community at lCang ra, and constructed the 'du khang and the *lcags ri*. In the *gtsug lag khang* there is a *nang rten* of the Yol brothers, which bestows blessings".

can only be tentative in gTsang. At least one case is indicative of the situation in Nyang; the account of Yol Chos dbang's takeover of gNas rnying lets one to presume that it happened quite early in his life, for it was consequent to a premonition A ti sha had in a dream of around fire dog 1046, while he was in gTsang and before moving to dBus, but this is not definite evidence (Yol Chos dbang may have not followed the Bengali master's instructions immediately). This takeover would have predated the foundation of major bKa' gdams pa monasteries in dBus.

#### RNGOG LO TSA BA'S SPIRITUAL INHERITANCE

New waves of religious insemination were brought about by the activity of important masters who were either from the land or active locally. An account describes rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109) listening to the teachings of the Kha che master Dznya na shri at an unspecified locality of Nyang (perhaps in the surroundings of Pa snam rzung) in the presence of Khyung po Grags se/Khyung po Grags seng (*Myang chos 'byung* p.129,14-17). I suggest that this happened before the Tho ling *chos 'khor* of fire dragon 1076 and that, consequently, the young rNgog lo tsa ba may have travelled to Gu ge to attend the great religious council in the train of this Tibetan master, who was elder to him. Terse passages celebrate their respective contribution and personal interaction. 'Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu 'dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* says that *Tshad ma rnying ma* was that of Khyung po Grags se/Khyung po Grags seng and *Tshad ma gsar ma* was taught by rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (*Deb ther sngon po* p.97,13-16; *Blue Annals* p.70).

His frequentation of Nyang in his earlier years may have been behind rNgog lo tsa ba's return there, after the seventeen years he spent in Kha che for his studies. An interlinear note in *Myang chos 'byung* (p.105,8-10) tells that, upon returning to Tibet, rNgog lo tsa ba turned the wheel of the teachings first at Myang stod 'Dul chung, then at 'Jad Bo dong, then at lHa sa and finally at localities in dBu ru and g.Yo ru.

His presence in Nyang seems to have led him to accept two major masters of the soil as his disciples. Among rNgog lo tsa ba's *bu chen bzhi* one finds 'Bre/'Dre chen po Shes rab 'bar and Khyung po Rin chen grags. The former, especially, left an important mark on the religious history of Nyang. The two together opened a school practising rNgog lo tsa ba's system at Zhwa lu. This is the last reference to activities at this monastery found in grub chen Kun blo's *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* for quite sometime.

Hence one can envisage four phases in the early history of Zhwa lu: 1) its foundation and lCe btsun's practice of Lo ston's 'Dul ba observance; 2) sdom pa rGya gar ma; 3) A ti sha's *rab gnas*; and 4) 'Bre Shes rab 'bar and Khyung Rin chen grags's *chos grwa* (see p.538-539).

#### 'BRE CHEN PO AND THE CONFLUENCE OF RNGOG'S AND BKA' GDAMS TEACHINGS

A new phase came about in Nyang during the late 11<sup>th</sup>-early 12<sup>th</sup> century owing to 'Bre Shes rab 'bar, one of the foremost religious personalities active in the region and beyond (he was abbot of

rGyal lha khang; *Deb ther sngon po* p.402,11-12; *Blue Annals* p.330). A two-fold transmission source was behind the monastic inheritance of 'Bre chen po Shes rab 'bar, a versatile master of many doctrines. Being the best disciple of Yol Chos dbang, the monastic communities and temples that had passed under the control of the Yol brothers owing to Jo bo rje's religious charisma were transferred to 'Bre chen po.<sup>41</sup> Disciples gathered around him because he was a great master, a follower of Kha che 'Bum phrag gsum pa and the *dBu ma* tradition of the latter's disciple rNgog lo tsa ba (*gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* p.13,6-7), who learned it during his seventeen year sojourn in Kha che.<sup>42</sup> 'Bre chen po was not only a major disciple of his but also one of the earliest to have studied under him, given rNgog lo tsa ba's teaching activity in Nyang before moving to dBus (see above p.536).

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros pays homage to the master's life and deeds with one of his syntheses. 'Bre chen po is the first personality to be cited in his section on the Nyang stod *bla ma-s*. This choice affirms which one of them grub chen Kun dga' blo gros considers as preeminent.<sup>43</sup> He first mentions his birth place—an information he does not fail to pass when possible, perhaps showing some amount of local pride—and his being the most gifted of rNgog lo tsa ba's disciples:

(*Deb ther* p.454,6-7): “Dre (aka 'Bre) Shes rab 'bar, together with Khyung Rin chen grags, was the most eminent of the four great disciples of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab. He was born at lHa ri mo, the mountain on the other side of the river, in front of rTse sman”.

41 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.81,1-7): “Among the many followers of Yol Chos kyi dbang phyug, 'Bre chen po Shes rab 'bar was his most distinguished disciple. He attended upon many *mkhas grub* of rGya [gar and] Tibet, such as bla ma 'Bum phrag [gsum pa] from rGya gar [and] rNgog Blo ldan shes rab. He was appointed abbot [of gNas rnying] after he was given the *gdan sa* of the twenty-four rBa tsho by Yol Chos dbang, the great human being who was accepted (*rjes su bzung ba*) by Byams pa mgon po, and was given the land, power and his family by Jo sras Phur pa 'phel”.

42 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* has an abridged biography of 'Bre chen po. I focus here on the earlier part of this account (f.13a,2-6): “As for the greatness of 'Bre Shes rab 'bar's abbotship, 'Bre chen's native place was gTsang po Nang pa. In his youth, he went to see Yol ston Chos kyi dbang phyug and was ordained by him. He received exhaustive teachings from the Yol brothers and mastered them. This noble being was an adept of rje btsun Byams pa mgon po since many previous lives. Although Yol chen po had many excellent students, this one was the most illustrious master. He was given the *gdan sa* of mkhan po Yol, the twenty-four rBa tsho [and] all the lands and properties offered [to Yol chen po] by Jo sras Phur pa 'phel. As for his residence, he mainly stayed at Shod 'gur (spelled so). He held all the *gdan sa*. Moreover, he studied under outstanding *bla ma-s*, such as pandi ta 'Bum phrag gsum pa, rNgog lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab, and many *mkhas grub* of India and Tibet. He was a master of all texts and in particular of *Byams chos lnga*”.

43 According to *Deb ther sngon po* (p.122,11-p.123,1; *Blue Annals* p.93), 'Bre chen po went to Khams together with Khu ston and rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab. This is in disaccord with Las chen's *bKa' gdams chos 'byung* which says that the three who went to Khams to study under Se btsun were Khu, rNgog and Bang ston (ibid. Indian ed. vol.1 p.216,2). Las chen (ibid. p.219,2-3) adds that rNgog returned to dBus in the year of the bird 1045, one year after 'Brom left Khams to meet Jo bo rje. This contradictory statements do not help to assess when 'Bre should be placed. He could have hardly gone to Khams in the early 1040s and then to have been a disciple of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, who was born in 1059 and began his career in Tibet as a fully fledged master in the early 90s of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to die in 1109. 'Bre did not go to Khams with Khu and rNgog. 'Gos lo tsa ba gZhon nu dpal—or his source—seems to be wrong in this.

Grub chen Kun blo goes on to introduce, among the many deeds ascribed to him, 'Bre chen po's work at gNas rnying, where he engaged in an intensive teaching activity but also mentions its founder 'Jam dpal gsang ba's construction work that appears in an interlinear note (was it written by him or added on?):

(*Deb ther* p.454,7-p.455,1): “[’Bre chen po] was offerered the locality [where] rGya ’Jam dpal gsang ldan (aka ’Jam dpal gsang ba) founded gNas rnying [note: the latter made its *dbu rtse rnying ma* and the central *lcags ri*].<sup>44</sup> (p.455) The throne of Sa pan is still kept there alongside with ’Bre chen po’s. The latter created the conditions for the existence of a religious institution at Bye mda’, which was beneficial for sentient beings, and also held Nying ro Shong gur”.<sup>45</sup>

He then says that veneration for him did not cease to exist in his days:

(*Deb ther* p.455,4): “[’Dre’s] books, bowl and robe are kept here (at gNas rnying) still at present”.

In the gNas rnying *mkhan rabs* written by one Shar Mi nyag pandi ta Kirti badzra (f.12a,3; also see f.7b,7) and found in *Jo bo yab sras las ’phros pa’i skyes bu dam pa ’ga’ zhid gi byon pa’i tshul bstan rtsis*, ’Bre Shes rab ’bar is credited with the foundation of Gog mo in the upper valley (*phu*) of gNas rnying (ibid. f.11b,6). *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* calls it gNas Gog (i.e. gNas rnying Gog mo) and attributes it to La stod dKon mchog mkhar (ibid. f.14a,5-6). This was one of the targets of Mongol wrath during the Sa skya pa/Yuan period (see *Jo bo yab sras las ’phros pa’i skyes bu dam pa ’ga’ zhid gi byon pa’i tshul bstan rtsis* f.11b,7 and below p.552-555).

Grub chen Kun blo also associates Bye mda’ with ’Bre Shes rab ’bar who turned the wheel of the teachings extensively there (*Myang chos ’byung* p.64,13-15). Earlier, the Yol brothers had elected residence at this holy place (ibid. p.65,7-8), which goes back to *bstan pa snag dar*: its *lha khang* was built by Khri Ral pa can, following a piece of advice given to him by rGya ’Jam dpal gsang ba (ibid. p.64,12-13; also see above n.19 and 32). Hence Bye mda’ was another place entrusted by the Yol brothers to ’Bre chen po. One may infer that the same transmission from rGya ’Jam dpal gsang ba to one of the Yol brothers which took place at gNas rnying and lCang ra occurred at Bye mda’.

The sphere of ’Bre chen po’s activity was extended to Nyang smad when he was called to Zhwa lu together with Khyung Rin chen grags, a disciple of rNgog lo tsa ba like him, but also his own disciple. The member of the lCe family who invited them was the son of that g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs/zangs who had been involved as secular chieftain in the dispute with the abbot Khyung po Grags se/Khyung po Grags seng (see n.30 above). The *grub chen* talks about the invitation extended to ’Bre and Khyung twice in his *deb ther*, which led to the creation of a monastic school at Zhwa lu. I repeat here what he says:

44 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.4a,5-6) attributes to rGya ’Jam dpal gsang pa the patronage of his yon bdag rGya Khyung rgod rtsal, the construction of a *lha khang* and *gzim khang* surrounded by the central *lcags ri* at sKyebs gNas rnying, and a hermitage and a meditation place nearby.

45 *Myang chos ’byung* (p.65,8-9) follows suit and says that it was one of ’Bre chen po’s main residences.

(*Deb ther* p.474,1-2): “When g.Yu thog sgra gSer bzangs was the abbot of Zhal lu, he had a son (i.e. lCe ’Bum me). So he held the *dpon sa* of Zhwa lu”.

(*Deb ther* p.474,2): “[Zhwa lu’s] *gdan sa* was given to mGo ba (i.e. Ye shes g.yung drung), ’Dre [and] Khyung”.

(*Deb ther* p.455,6): “’Dre and Khyung, two in all, established the Zhal lu *chos grwa*”.

Besides communicating the reason that led lCe g.Yu thog sgra to abdicate the abbatial chair and embrace a secular career, these passages contain historical inexactitudes. It was lCe btsun Shes rab ’byung gnas who called ’A zha/mGo ba Ye shes g.yung drung to be an interim *gdan sa* of Zhwa lu. It ensues that grub chen Kun blo favours an untenable postponement of events in the history of Zhwa lu. This casts a shadow of doubt about inclusion of ’Bre and Khyung in its abbatial line, for they do not appear among its throne holders in other documents (*Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe’i gdung rabs*; *rGya Bod yig tshang*; *Myang chos ’byung*; *Zha lu dgon gyi lo rgyus mdor bsdus*). On the contrary, there are no points to dismiss the fact that they opened a *chos grwa* at Zhwa lu. This means that ’Bre and Khyung would have brought the rNgog lo tsa ba religious system to the *dgon pa*.

A branch monastery of Bye mda’ was another locality chosen by ’Bre Shes rab ’bar to be the theatre of his teaching activity. Here, ’Bre chen po gave extremely extensive instructions and a great flower rain fell in celebration of that. The tradition holds that there was no other place in which ’Bre chen po gave as many teachings, for this reason the locality was named ’Chad mang (“many instructions”) (*Myang chos ’byung* p.38,2-5).<sup>46</sup> It then seems that ’Chad mang was lost to associates of ’Be g.Yo rong btsun, its founder and a transmission holder of a line of Klu mes’s disciples from dBus, who manifestly had control of some holy places in gTsang.

Possibly because it was part of the bloc of monastic schools inherited by him from the Yol brothers, ’Bre Shes rab ’bar also turned the wheel of the teachings at lCang ra (*Myang chos ’byung* p.90,10-11). This shows fairly well that ’Bre Shes rab ’bar’s religious exertions were characterised by a conspicuous amount of mobility. He also was at rGod po lung (earlier known as rGyan dkar gong ma) which was renamed as rGod po khung, since ’Bre chen po received *rGod kyi khung* there.<sup>47</sup>

Further proving the extent of his presence in Nyang, a speech delivered by Bu ston Rin chen grub at Nyang stod Chu mig reveals that ’Bre chen po had resided at this monastery too. The omniscient Zhwa lu pa master also mentioned the past presence of the Kha che erudite

46 *Myang chos ’byung* (p.37,18-21): “[note: ’Chad mang was given this name [because] ’Bre gave instructions (’*chad*) on *mNgon pa* many times (*mang*) [here]. This is a branch monastery of Bye mda’. The so called *Bla ’Bum skya pod sgam bzhi* (“the four boxes of *Bla ’Bum* books on white paper”), abridged by ’Bre [Shes rab ’bar] into the *’Bum* in four sections hand-written [by him], are presently preserved at Nying ro gShong mgur”].

47 rGod po khung then was Rab brtan kun bzang ’phags’s hermitage, which led to rename it Ri khrod dGa’ ldan (*Myang chos ’byung* p.46,6-9). Bla ma Gru Go cha rdo rje stayed there after ’Bre Shes rab ’bar (ibid. p.47,5-6).

'Bum phrag gsum pa at Chu mig in his speech,<sup>48</sup> which makes one wonder whether 'Bre chen po Shes rab 'bar received this monastery not from the Yol brothers but through the rNgog lo tsa ba's spiritual inheritance.

#### RENEWED INDIVIDUALITY: 'BRE CHEN PO'S CONTEMPORARIES

##### IHa rje Chos byang (rebirth, physician, temple founder)

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros dedicates no more than one line to IHa rje Chos byang, a contemporary of 'Bre chen po, although this master belonged to his own *skyes rabs*:

(*Deb ther* p.471,2): "IHa rje Chos byang, the previous birth of pan chen Shakya shri, built dBen dmar lha khang".

This was g.Ye dmar lha khang,<sup>49</sup> a temple complex I have dealt with in my *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (Chapter Two). Given his placement in the *skyes rabs* (*Myang chos 'byung* p.94,4-6), Iha rje Chos byang must have still been alive and active in the second quarter of 12<sup>th</sup> century. I hardly believe that he died around fire pig 1127, a commonly accepted birth year of Shakya shri (see, e.g., *Deb ther sngon po* p.1238,14-15; *Blue Annals* p.1064). I favour iron male monkey 1140 for the birth of Kha chen pan chen, as given by Rin chen sde in his *Yar lung Jo bo'i chos 'byung* (p.178,1-3: also see my "The Manjushri mountain and the Buddha tree: a history of the dPyal clan (7<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)", forthcoming).

rGyang ro Gru'i lha chen rDo rje sems dpa' performed the *rab gnas* of g.Ye dmar. During the ceremony, *srin po*-s poured ambrosia from their hands (*Myang chos 'byung* p.69,18-20).

*Kha rag gNyo*s *kyi gdung rabs* (f.4a,2-3) calls this temple complex E ma ra'i bDud 'dul lha khang,<sup>50</sup> in reference to a monumental scene of the attack by the Mara demons that was its

48 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.38,21-p.39,10): "A little below it (i.e. 'Chad mang), Myang stod Chu mig is where rGya gar pan chen 'Bum phrag gsum pa came [to visit]. rGya 'Dul 'dzin acted as the holder of dgon pa Chu mig [and] its area. He turned the wheel of many basic teachings (*chos gzhis* for *chos gzhi*). [Here] he gave extensive discourses on 'Dul ba. (p.39) Ne rings pa Kyi ston Chos grags bowed to the feet of rGya 'Dul at Chu mig ring po (spelled so). Ka mo Ze'u ston pa of Khu le held Chu mig, and it happened that it was greatly expanded. It is likely that Chu mig dgon pa existed beforehand (i.e. before Ze'u ston pa expanded it). At the age of sixty-two in iron female hare (1351), Zhwa lu Bu ston rin po che went to mediate the strife between both g.Ya' [bzang] and Phag [mo gru]. On the way east to *nyi ma* dBus *rgyal khams*, he imparted many teachings on *Theg pa che chung* at Myang stod Chu mig. [Bu ston rin po che] said: "I am pleased to be here [at Chu mig]. It is a very long time after I came to the monastery of the rGya gar *pan chen* ('Bum phrag gsum pa) and mkhas pa 'Bre [Shes rab 'bar]". He spent the period of one month [there]. [This Chu mig] should not be mistaken with Chu mig nearby sNar thang, which is called Chu ming (sic for Chu mig) ring mo".

49 g.Ye dmar should not be confused with dBen dmar, the seat of the Rong pa family in gTsang, with which great religious personalities, such as Rong pa rGa lo the younger and his son Rong pa Shes rab seng ge, are associated.

50 *Kha rag gNyo*s *kyi gdung rabs* (f.4a,2-3): "Given that IHa rje Chos byang had built E ma ra'i bDud 'dul lha khang [note: this is called Kyang po], he asked the *lo tsa ba* (i.e. gNyo lo tsa ba Yon tan grags) to consecrate it. Moreover, he offered the *lo tsa ba* all the monastic quarters and places of mGos yul stod gsum and 'Bri mtshams".



most famous image. The text then equivocates, for it confuses g.Ye dmar with nearby rKyang po/bu, this possibly due to the presence of a similar scene at the latter temple.

### The two rGya 'Dul 'dzin (a new phase of 'Dul ba observance is introduced)

Elsewhere in the region, new activities indicate that the flourishing of 'Dul ba did not lose momentum entirely in Nyang after Lo ston, Tshong btsun and their disciples. This tradition could boast of important exponents well after the introduction of the *tsho* network, because of the religious direction given locally by several contemporaries of 'Bre chen po, who made of these holy places vibrant school of learning and practice. dGa' ba sdong was certainly one of them, where the two great rGya 'Dul 'dzin (older and younger) found fertile grounds for their activity. Grub chen Kun blo differentiates them thus:

(*Deb ther* p.457,1-3): “Drung mkhan chen gNas rnying pa says that rGya 'Dul 'dzin pa chen po was from sTag gi rGya ma ra ba in the surroundings of rBa brCad. When the [gNas rnying] *drung chen* says that he was from Shal gyi Ma ra in the west of the 'Dol chung river, he refers to the later [rGya 'Dul 'dzin]. He subsequently was the abbot of dGa' ba gdong”.<sup>51</sup>

rGya 'Dul 'dzin dBang phyug tshul khirms 'bar (i.e. rGya 'Dul 'dzin the elder) (1047-1131), a native of Myang stod Mang ra ba (spelled Mang rab in *Myang chos 'byung* p.134,5-6),<sup>52</sup> preceded rGya 'Dul 'dzin the younger at dGa' ba sdong, originally founded by Khri srong lde'u btsan.<sup>53</sup> He belonged to *sMad 'Dul* line that descended from Klu mes who had Rlung, sKyogs and gZus among his disciples. gZus rDo rje rgyal mtshan, in turn, had three disciples.

51 The gNas rnying *drung chen* often mentioned by grub chen Kun dga' blo gros in his *deb ther* could have been 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (1364-1422), the gNas rnying abbot contemporary to the author, whose biography in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.41b,1-f.46a,3) was penned by one Grags pa rgyal mtshan in an unspecified fire ox year (1457? or 1517?). This is just one sign that this text on gNas rnying is a compilation, which benefitted from contributions of various writers in different periods. When Kun blo mentions the gNas rnying *drung chen*, he often uses the verb *gsung*, which may not be read in its secondary meaning of “to write”. What the rTse chen *grub chen* incorporated in his work may have been personal communications with 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan.

52 *rGya Bod yig tshang* talks about the relocation to this locality of families of the Dung reng from Mon yul, defeated by the Shar kha princes of rGyal rtse and rTse chen in the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century (see below n.97). The passage (ibid. p.380,15-16) says: “The descendants of the [Shar] Dung reng are [still] settled at Nyang stod Mang rab at present”. The time when this happened fell around wood tiger 1434, the year in which dPal 'byor bzang po's *rGya Bod yig tshang* was completed.

53 The tradition of the *Byaspyod rnal 'byor pa-s* was introduced at this holy place by the spiritual successors to Sangs rgyas gsang ba. Khri srong lde'u btsan founded this monastery, following his well known failed attempt to invite Sangs rgyas gsang ba, who was at Ti se. One of the envoys sent to the Indian master was Pa tshab lo tsa ba Tshul khirms bzang po. Sangs rgyas gsang ba sent books and imparted teachings meant for the king and the monastic population instead of proceeding to Central Tibet (*Myang chos 'byung* p.131,12-p.132,1). The king did not give up and sent a second invitation brought by dBas The len, slob dpon Bran ka Mu rti (see the spelling Mu ru ti in n.71 below) and 'Jam dpal Madznu shri to summon Pa tshab Tshul khirms rgyal po from dGa' ba sdong. They eventually received *gSang sngags gsar rnying*, including *sPyod rgyud*, from Sangs rgyas gsang ba. Pa tshab Tshul khirms rgyal po, who hailed from sTag rtse, was the *lo tsa ba* for Sangs rgyas gsang ba in those circumstances. Pa tshab mainly stayed at dGa' ba sdong sNam rdzong rtse to impart teachings (*Myang chos 'byung* p.132,12-p.133,1).

rGya 'Dul 'dzin dBang phyug tshul khriims 'bar attended upon sKam gSang ba'i snying po, one of those three. He spent fifty-one years imparting teachings at dGa' ba sdong, from his thirty-fifth year of age to his eighty-fifth (1075-1125) (ibid. p.133,10-18).

rGya 'Dul 'dzin brTson 'grus 'bar (i.e. rGya 'Dul 'dzin the younger) attended upon Sog 'Dul 'dzin Tshul khriims bla ma in his early years. During the intermediate period he went to dGa' ba sdong and followed the instructions of rGya 'dul 'dzin dBang phyug tshul khriims 'bar. In his later period he studied under rMa tsho Byang rdor (ibid. p.134,9-12).<sup>54</sup>

The work of the two rGya 'Dul 'dzin at dGa' ba sdong is a sign of the continuity of the *Vinaya* practice in Nyang. One wonders whether the various regions of dBus went through a similar situation. The persistence of the transmission lineage, to which rGya 'Dul 'dzin belonged, indicates that the bestowal of the vow descending from lha chen dGongs rab gsal carried on unabated in both dBus and gTsang. In particular, the one in Nyang went on side by side with sdom pa rGya gar ma introduced by lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas in the monasteries he controlled. In dBus the situation was different. A new season would take place there with the foundation of sKyor mo lung by sBal ti dGra bcom pa in earth ox 1169, which marked the (re)introduction of a pure vow. Hence the phases whereby *'Dul ba* flourished in Nyang were: 1) the *tsho* network of Lo ston, Tshong btsun and their disciples; 2) sdom pa rGya gar ma; 3) the work of the two rGya 'Dul 'dzin at dGa' ba sdong. A fourth phase, promoted, as is well known, by the presence of Kha chen pan chen Shakya shri occurred subsequently (see below p.547).

#### 'BRE CHEN PO'S OWN SPIRITUAL INHERITANCE

##### Khyung Rin chen grags ('Bre's long-time associate)

Younger contemporaries of 'Bre Shes rab 'bar carried on the traditions that had been introduced in Nyang during the momentous one hundred years from the last quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the last quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. 'Bre chen po had numerous disciples,<sup>55</sup> some of the best brains of

54 rGya 'Dul 'dzin brTson 'grus 'bar gave sTeng lo tsa ba both the *rab tu byung* and *bsnyen rdzogs* vows at dGa' ba sdong, when the latter was respectively fifteen and nineteen years old. rGya 'Dul 'dzin the younger advised sTeng lo tsa ba to go to rGya gar, which he did (*Myang chos 'byung* p.134,12-16).

Rwa lo tsa ba rDo rje grags (1016-?), too, was at dGa' ba sdong which benefitted from one of his legendary donations. He gave a 'Bum to rGya 'Dul 'dzin (ibid. p.135,17-18), but it remains unclear to which one of the two. The reliability of Rwa lo tsa ba's biography is disputable to the point that I rather omit a perusal to find confirmation on this topic (and others). The *rnam thar* is filled with historical fantasies rather than facts. Among a plethora of other ones, I mention here a few historical absurdities, such as that he repulsed the Du ru ka from rDo rje 'jigs byed lha khang at rDo rje gdan (Rwa Ye shes seng ge, *Rwa lo tsa ba'i rnam thar* p.75,2-3); that he sojourned at 'Ba' rom (ibid. p.117,9-10) or that he drove back the sTod Hor from dBus gTsang (ibid. p.135,3-7).

55 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.81,7-10): "Khyung Rin chen grags, Ar Byang chub ye shes, gNyal pa bSregs ston, mDog pa Byang chub grags and Bya 'Dul ba 'dzin pa brTson 'grus 'bar were the outstanding disciples of 'Bre chen po along with some exemplary 1,000 monks scattered around".

Among those cited in the passage above, grub chen Kun dga' blo gros spends two words for Bya 'Dul 'dzin brTson 'grus 'bar (1091-1166):

(*Deb ther* p.455,5): "Bya 'Dul was given the monastic vow (*rab tu byung*) by 'Dre chen po at Rong".

the period, but Khyung Rin chen grags was the closest to him. Besides being 'Bre Shes rab 'bar's student, Khyung and his teacher were co-disciples of rNgog Blo ldan shes rab. Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros gives, as usual, a minimum of information about him:

(*Deb ther* p.455,5-6): Khyung Rin chen grags was born at Glang. He was a master of *Tshad ma*. He held Byang 'chad. The Sa skya pa (i.e. Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158)) learned *Tshad ma* at Byang 'chad [under him]."

The *grub chen* adds that Khyung founded the monastic school of Zhwa lu with his associate 'Bre/'Dre chen po, a fact I have briefly introduced above (*Deb ther* p.455,6: "'Dre and Khyung, two in all, established the Zhal lu *chos grwa*"), which seems to have marked the induction of rNgog lo tsa ba's teachings at one of the most prestigious institutions of Nyang, although its greatest splendour in terms of teachings and endowments to the monastery were to come in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Khyung Rin chen grags, a holder of rNgog lo tsa ba's *dBu ma* and *Tshad ma* transmissions, mainly stayed at Glang pa 'Phang thang, situated in his native area, where he engaged in imparting instructions. There, his principal disciples sTod lung rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags and rTag pa Kha che came to sit at his feet, for this was the locality where they could benefit from their teacher's knowledge (*Myang chos 'byung* p.72,17-19).<sup>56</sup>

Again at Glang pa 'Phang thang, Nyi phug pa, the great *bsnyung gnas* master from Zhang zhung, received the name Chos kyi grags pa after ordination to the *rab tu byung* vow from Khyung Rin chen grags (ibid. p.72,19-21; on Nyi phug pa see Vitali "The transmission of *bsnyung gnas* in India, the Kathmandu Valley and Tibet (10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century)").

### Gangs pa Se'u (the supreme teachers' disciple)

Gangs pa She'u was a master of some importance, at least inasmuch as he belonged to prestigious transmission lines. The *grub chen* says about him:

(*Deb ther* p.455,6-7): "Gangs pa She'u was a *grub thob* of *dBu ma* and *Tshad ma* at Gangs phu'i sKyi thang. He also received teachings from rNgog lo [tsa ba]".

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The *grub chen* seems to imply that this happened at Ngur smrig (on his ordination see *Deb ther sngon po* p.109,4-5; *Blue Annals* p.80).

Among his lesser known followers, Chu mig pa Shes rab grags pa, a master from Nyang stod, is dealt with in *Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skeyes bu dam pa 'ga' zhig gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* concerning his ties with 'Bre and Khyung and the latter's disciples. The text (f.4b,4-5) says: "Gro's *bla ma* was [the sNar thang abbot] Chu mig pa Shes rab grags pa. He was born at sDza ra in the Ze'u clan. When he was twenty-eight, he was ordained to the monastic vow by 'Bre chen po Shes rab 'bar and Khyung Rin chen grags, these two. For six years he studied *brTags* ("process of mental examination") under Shes rab grags and *Phar phyin* under 'Bre. He studied *dBu ma*, *Tshad ma* and *sPyod* under Khyung, Zhar chos pa and the two known as rGya [and] sTag".

56 *Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skeyes bu dam pa 'ga' zhig gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* (f.4b,5): "sTod lungs rGya dmar ba Byang chub grags and sTag pa Kha che ba were called rGya sTag gnyis" (see the note immediately above). sTod lung rGya dmar, also a disciple of Gro lung pa, chose, among the places of Nyang, to turn the wheel of the teachings at sTag tshal (*Myang chos 'byung* p.114,4-6).

Gangs pa She'u could boast of being a follower of another major master of the previous generation; besides having studied under rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, he was also one of Pa tshab lo tsa ba Nyi ma grags's four main disciples.<sup>57</sup> This indicates that the influx of Pa tshab lo tsa ba's religious system into Nyang could count on a few adepts personally trained by the master and, thanks to them, it put roots in the region.

Gangs pa She'u's main residences were gTsang Brag (*Myang chos 'byung* p.73,14-15), a monastery subsequently converted to the dGe lugs pa, as well as his own *dgon pa* and cave above lCang ra, where he studied and imparted teachings. It was at 'Ban grong that a funerary *sa 'bum* ("earth mound/*stupa*") was erected to house his full body (ibid. p.43,7-8 and p.92,2-3). More than anywhere else, his sphere of activity unfolded at rGyang ro Gangs pa (ibid. p.91,21-p.92,1).

### La stod dKon mchog mkhar ('Bre chen po's favoured spiritual son)

The post *bstan pa phyi dar* phase in Nyang was characterised by the absence in the territory of any of the major religious schools—mostly the bKa' brgyud pa after Dwags po lHa rje Zla 'od gzhon nu (1079-1153)—which were taking shape elsewhere in Central Tibet and other regions of the plateau through the foundation of large scale monasteries.

In this panorama, where the religious environment carried on along the same lines as in previous periods, gNas rnying, a most illustrious institution of the region, continued to be run with a typically individualistic style. This was due to 'Bre Shes rab 'bar's choice of his heart disciple La stod dKon mchog mkhar (probably 1084-1171; see Vitali, "The history of the lineages of gNas rnying summarized as its "ten greatnesses" in the sources" p.96-97) as his successor. Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros deals with their earliest meeting, when La stod dKon mchog mkhar was not yet a monk and 'Bre chen po was an established master. This is a welcome addition, for *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* begins its treatment of dKon mchog mkhar only after he took the robe and became a fully fledged disciple of 'Bre chen po (ibid. f.13b,2-f.14a,2). The *deb ther* reads:

(*Deb ther* p.455,1-4): "While ['Dre] was imparting teachings, a numerous group of bad laymen gathered. La stod dKon mchog mkhar had gone there for trade. A head of a frog appeared to him and he also had a vision that there was a fire in the market of Bye 'da' (spelled so). Having grown instant faith in ['Dre/'Bre chen po], he loaded [his merchandise on] a donkey and left to see 'Dre who tonsured him, made him a monk and trained him in *Phar phyin*".

57 Mang thos lHun grub rgya mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* (p.116,14-16): "His (i.e. Pa tshab lo tsa ba's) four disciples were Gangs pa She'u, master of verbal formulations; gTsang pa 'Bre snur, master of their meaning; rMa bya Byang brtson, master of both; and Zhang thang Zag pa, master of both, four in all". Grub chen Kun blo includes a different disciple—a native of Nyang—among Pa tshab lo tsa ba's *bu chen bzhi*: (*Deb ther* p.455,7-p.456,1): "lCang ra ba gTsang pa Sar sbos was one of the *bu bzhi* of Pa tsab (sic) lo tsa ba. (p.456) He founded a *dgon sde* west of lCang ra. He also founded a *chos gzhis* (spelled so) at rTa bres, given to him by a *sngags pa* of the rTa bres pa".

As for the circumstances surrounding dKon mchog mkhar's ordination, 'Bre chen po bestowed the monastic vow (*rab tu byung*) upon dKon mchog mkhar and his two brothers, the children of Jo mo Chung ba, in the presence of their father sngags 'chang Rin chen 'byung gnas, who had met the master in Shangs where the *sngags 'chang* was studying *Yang phur* (*Myang chos 'byung* p.64,15-19). The ordination took place at Bye mda'.<sup>58</sup> Eventually, 'Bre chen po assigned a most prestigious engagement to his disciple:

(*Deb ther* p.455,4): "Afterwards 'Dre gave [La stod] dKon mchog mkhar the throne of gNas rnying".

*Jo bo yab sras las 'phros pa'i skyes bu dam pa 'ga' zhid gi byon pa'i tshul bstan rtsis* (gNas rnying *mkhan rabs* section f.11b,6-7) adds an abbot who does not appear in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*:

"His (i.e. 'Bre's) disciple Nyang stod pa dKon mchog mkhar held both [*gtsug lag khang*] *rnying ma* and 'Bre's *gdan sa*. The younger brother of dKon mchog mkhar was their *gdan sa*".<sup>59</sup>

dKon mchog mkhar made remarkable contributions to 'Bre chen po's holy places: 'Chad mang, Ze thang, Grwa thang, Shong mgur and rMog po (*Myang chos 'byung* p.38,9-11). He also restored Bye mda' lha khang, and an unidentified female disciple of his built a temple at this locality, which she offered to her teacher. He told her to make a boundary wall and reside there. dKon mchog mkhar also founded a *lha khang* at Shong mgur (ibid. p.65,5-7).<sup>60</sup>

58 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.12a,7-f.12b,4): "At that time, sngags 'chang Rin chen 'byung gnas, this one, went to Shangs kyi Gad (f.12b) phu ra to receive many religious instructions, such as *rDo rje phur bu*. He was accompanied by the sons from his younger wife, i.e. dKon mkhar and his brothers, three in all. The fame of 'Bre chen Shes rab 'bar having spread all over dBus gTsang in that period, the father had the three brothers, including dKon mkhar, ordained by the *mkhas btsun chen po* (i.e. 'Bre Shes rab 'bar). On the occasion, 'Bre chen was staying at Nyang stod Bye mda' to turn the wheel of the teachings. The three brothers went to see him. Following the undertaking of the ordination, they got fully absorbed into reading, learning and pondering. They received all the teachings of their *mkhan po* [in ordination] in an excellent manner. Due to the power of La stod pa chen po's learning during many lives and his karmic accumulation, he became proficient in all knowledge of *mkhan po* 'Bre chen po not longafter [his ordination] by making of himself a recipient of it. Hence he became a reputed master".

59 This is not the view of *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*. The text (f.15a,3-4) mentions a different personality as the next gNas rnying abbot: "La stod dKon mchog mkhar gave *mkhan po* dBang phyug rin chen what was offered to Yol ston Chos kyi dbang phyug by Jo sras Phur ba 'phel, such as the *lha khang*, the *gnas dgon* ("holy place and monastery"), the Ru lag kha gsum on the upper part and, in addition, the twenty-four rBa tsho, the Khu le Bod 'brog, which had come to include Gyin khung. [dBang phyug rin chen] was appointed *gdan sa*".

It is possible that grub chen Kun blo's confusion depended on the kinship among the dByil family of La stod dKon mchog mkhar (see below n.62). dBang phyug rin chen was the son of this gNas rnying abbot's stepbrother. *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.14b,1-2) says: "mKhan po dBang phyug rin chen had slob dpon Khyi mkhar for father, a master of *sngags rnying ma* and a powerful individual".

60 La stod dKon mchog mkhar's eminent disciples were a sign of his greatness. Three are mentioned in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.14a,2): "La stod pa dKon mchog mkhar's disciples were people beyond common comprehension, such as dpal Phag mo gru pa, grub thob Nyi phug pa Chos kyi grags pa, and [gNas rnying] *mkhan po* dBang phyug rin chen".

'Bre chen po gave his thirteen most noble possessions (*khyad 'phags bcu gsum*), possibly his clan's belongings rather than his own, to dKon mchog mkhar.<sup>61</sup> I see in these moves a wish by the master to secure continuity to his holy places, realising that this was possible if they were entrusted to the clan of his disciple and his brothers. Indeed this is what grub chen Kun blo means to say with his next statement about La stod dKon mchog mkhar:

(*Deb ther* p.455,4-5): "From then on, up to now, the succession in [gNas rnying's] noble abbatial lineage is the manifestation of sPyan ras gzigs".

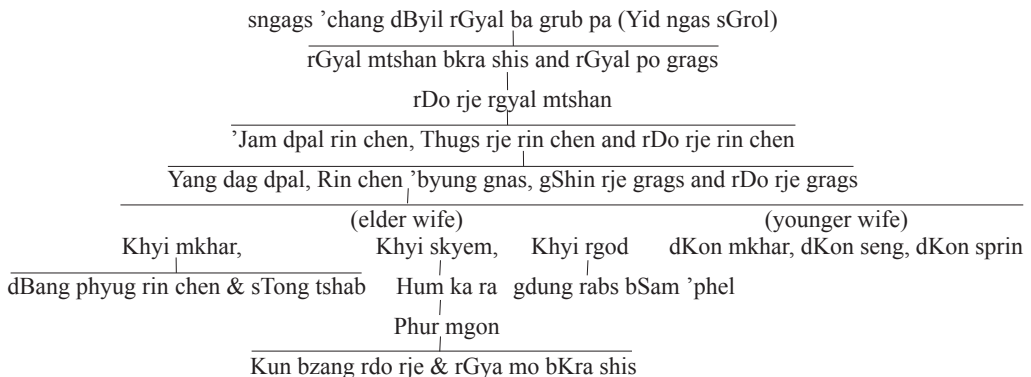
These "manifestations of sPyan ras gzigs" were dKon mchog mkhar's family members, the dByil clan from La stod Byang,<sup>62</sup> the lineage of gNas rnying's successive throne holders. They are one of the ten greatnesses of gNas rnying enlisted in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* and the subject of one long section in this text, dedicated to their proximity to the deity (ibid. f.14a,5 ff.). They appear in the next chapters of this source, as many of its members sat on its abbatial chair.

#### NYANG MARGINALLY BKA' BRGYUD PA

A conceptual evolution took place among the bKa' brgyud pa subschools in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and early 13<sup>th</sup> century. These schools rose from an emphasis on the hermit lifestyle to becoming

61 *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.13b,3-5) (numbers are mine): "The *khyad 'phags bcu gsum* are: 1) the golden statue of Thub pa dbang po; 2) the four *Bla 'Bum* volumes in black ink on white paper; 3) the *gSer 'bum* bestowing blessings like a rainfall; 4) the white umbrella belonging to the 'Bre *bla ma*-s; 5) the auspicious religious conch with a scarf on the handle; 6) the incomparable *bla yol* ("curtain"); 7) the cymbals [whose sound can be heard] at the distance of one day; 8) the auspicious vase with a long neck; 9) the staff with a lion on its neck; 10) the bowl in which the moon is reflected [like] in a small well; 11) the carpet like the blue sky; 12) the lacker saddle shining with light; and 13) the horse which is a flying camel". Also see *Myang chos 'byung* (p.83,12-18).

62 The lineage of La stod dKon mchog mkhar's ancestors in the dByil family from La stod Byang (*gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.11b,3-f.12a,6) was:



The gNas rnying abbots after dKon mchog mkhar until the time of writing *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* were, according to *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*, dBang phyug rin chen, Zang zang pa Padma rin chen, Chos kyi dBang phyug, Chos kyi rin chen, Rin chen dpal, 'Jam dbyangs shes rab rin chen, Rin chen bzang po, Rin chen 'byung gnas, Rin chen dbang phyug dpal, Rin chen blo gros and 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan.

religious powerhouses. They established diplomatic relations with kingdoms around the plateau and outside it.

These efforts seem to have opened a new perspective for the Tibetans in their relations with various centres of power that went beyond the religious sphere and, at the same time, allowed these potentates to avail themselves of the services the religious schools could offer in a typical *do ut des* situation. The bKa' brgyud pa strategy opened up new vistas in the activity of its subschools. Religious diplomacy entailed a somewhat new model, juggling their role as religious masters, prone to dwell in the solitude of hermitages, with their presence at the courts of both great and petty rulers.

### Thar pa gling and Rwa lung (bKa' brgyud hermitages in Nyang)

Unlike elsewhere, the bKa' brgyud pa of Nyang did not favour this strategy, perhaps because there was no potentate in the region with which to establish contacts. A limited number of new monasteries were founded in Nyang, the bKa' brgyud pa ones of Thar pa gling and Rwa lung being among the most important. Rather than being large size monastic centres populated by a conspicuous community like elsewhere in Central Tibet, they were hermitages. Masters who belonged to various great monastic schools mainly carried out their endeavours at preexisting institutions, but they were also active in Nyang at these freshly established holy places.

Thar pa gling, the dPyal family monastery added to their older stronghold sMan lung, was a product of Kha che pan chen's interaction with his Tibetan followers. dPyal Chos bzang, who claimed to be the heart disciple of the Kashmiri *pandi ta* in sheer antagonism with Khro phu lo tsa ba Byams pa dpal (1173-1225), was Thar pa gling's founder, an event that took place sometime after wood rat 1204, when Shakya shri reached gTsang, and before fire hare 1207 (*lHo rong chos 'byung* p.332,21-p.333,3; 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi grags pa, *dPyal pa'i lo rgyus kyi yi ge* p.412,4-5; *dPyal gyi gdung rabs Gangga'i chu rgyun* p.15,31-32).<sup>63</sup>

By promoting the purity of the monastic vow, Kha che pan chen captivated the devotion of great masters belonging to the Khro phu and dPyal bKa' brgyud pa, who became his best disciples, but an equally important interaction was with the major Sa skya pa exponent of the period. Shakya shri's bestowal of the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow to Sa skya pandi ta Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) is a milestone of Tibet's religious history.<sup>64</sup>

63 Another major religious institution in Nyang to be credited to the impulse to 'Dul ba observance given by Kha che pan chen was one of Jo gdan *tshogs pa bzhi*, established in the wake of the activity of Shakya shri's disciple Jo gdan gTsang po ba. Chos lung tshogs pa in the area of mKhar kha was founded around the end of the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century by mkhan chen Byang chub dpal who was ordained to the monastic vow by Kha che pan chen at Khro phu in 1204. Byang chub dpal also founded rGyal gling tshogs pa in Grwa thang in 1224 and dGe 'dun sgang tshogs pa in gZhu sNye mo in 1225 (Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*, forthcoming). He was the abbot of Chos lung tshogs pa for eight years (*rGya Bod yig tshang* p.512,14-15).

64 Sa skya pandi ta (1182-1251), a disciple of both Ko brag pa and Bran ston mTha' bral (*Myang chos 'byung* p.116,10-11), is one master who did not concentrate exclusively on the tradition of his own school and family. He showed openness towards bKa' brgyud pa teachings, one more sign of the liberality

### gTsang pa rGyas ras (sTod 'Brug identity in twenty-one images)

Rwa lung, founded c. 1207 by gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161-1211) and thus almost contemporary with Thar pa gling, originally consisted of a cave and *mchod khang*, but eventually became the major seat of the sTod 'Brug (Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*, forthcoming). This is possibly why grub chen Kun dga' blo gros turns his attention to it in order to introduce a few masters of this school. He does so with a minimal amount of words, as ever.<sup>65</sup> Among them he tells the basics in the life of gTsang pa rGya ras, inasmuch as he was a major master born and mainly active in Nyang stod:

(*Deb ther* p.458,7-p.459,1): “Chos (p.459) rje gTsang pa rGya ras was born a happy child as a Khu le 'brog pa in lower Ra lung [note: his name was Shes rab 'khor lo bdud rtsi]. He benefited sentient beings in both dBus [and] gTsang [note: he founded 'Brug and Ra lung, two in all] and performed boundless deeds for the sake of people to be trained”.

(*Deb ther* p.459,2-3): “His disciples were as many as the stars. They included rgyal ba rGod tshang pa and Lo ras pa. [gTsang pa rGya ras] is known as the rebirth of Nā ro pa. Twenty-one sPyan ras gzigs appeared on his remains”.

The highlight in grub chen Kun blo's account of gTsang pa rGya ras, besides the foundation of Rwa lung and 'Brug in sKyid smad (the monastery from which the school derives its name, where he resided and died), concerns the remains found after his cremation. As customary, he only says that twenty-one sPyan ras gzigs appeared on his remains, without specifying that they spontaneously appeared, etched into the master's twenty-one intact vertebrae. Although he does not state so expressly, grub chen Kun blo cannot avoid implying that this was an extraordinary event among all cases of relics found in the ashes of *bla ma*-s after cremation—a not uncommon happening.

A combined reading of *Myang chos 'byung* (p.18,19-p.19,1) and 'Brug pa Padma dkar po's *Rwa lung gi dkar chag* (p.185,1-p.186,1) helps trace their whereabouts at an unspecified time in the centuries of 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud history: 1) 2) 3) Three of gTsang pa rGya ras's vertebrae were kept at Rwa lung just as they had been found; 4) 5) 6) another three were installed inside receptacle holders at the same monastery; 7) 8) two were at 'Brug in dBus, not far from lHa sa; 9) 10) one each was placed at mDo mkhar and Chos rdzong; 11) 12) one was at Byang U ri and another at mKho 'thing in lHo brag, subsequently moved to gSal rje in

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and coexistence of several schools which influenced the attitude of eminent *bla ma*-s from Nyang. Sa skya pandi ta did not establish any monastery in Nyang but he received the *bsnyen rdzogs* vow from Kha che pan chen Shakya shri (1140-1225; see p.542) at rGyan gong. This event is famous for being the last episode in the transmission of a pure monastic vow in Tibet. Kha che pan chen was the *mkhan po* in the ordination and sPyi bo las pa Byang chub 'od the *slob dpon* (*Myang chos 'byung* p.158,1-3).

65 *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* (p.458,6-7) says:

“Grub thob Gling chen ras pa [note: Padma rdo rje] (1128-1188) was born in Phad khur. His benefit for sentient beings is well known. He is reputed for having attained [the status of getting on] the Path of Vision (*mtshong lam*). He built a *dgon pa* at sNa phu Chos lung”.

*Myang chos 'byung* (p.44,1-2) confirms that Chos lung was one of Gling ras pa's *dgon pa*-s. It adds that in the area there was a Gling ras pa cave carved out in the rock, where he meditated for three years.



'Byar yul; 13) one was kept at sPu tra in La stod lHo; 14) one was installed at sNe'u rings in lHo brag; 15) one was at dKar dum in Pu hrang, then moved to Gu ge; 16) one each was preserved at gNas rnying and Chos lung tshogs pa, both in Nyang; 17) one was placed inside a *mchod rten* at 'Bras mo; and 18) one was at lHo dgon of the Yon rdzong pa, eventually sent to Khams Rong (alternative version: sent to the Mongol emperor Tho gan the mur); 19) 20) 21) three are unaccounted for.

Among the vertebrae kept in Nyang besides those at Rwa lung, 'Bras mo was in sGo bzhi and thus not to be confused with Sikkim, as I did in my "Glimpses of the history of the rGya clan with reference to Nyang stod, lHo Mon and nearby lands (7<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century)" (p.17), a historically incorrect possibility; whereas the lHo dgon of the Yon rdzong pa people refers to sKyid sbug, a Karma pa monastery.<sup>66</sup> One of the two vertebrae, kept at these localities, ending up in the hands of Yuan emperor Tho gan the mur (r. 1333-1368) constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for their installation in Nyang stod and lHo Mon.

### Dran/Bran ston mTha' bral (the first major master at Nyang Man lung)

Other practitioners from Nyang leaning towards the bKa' brgyud pa were active with an individual approach that was somewhat independent from their monastic headquarters. Among the many less famous masters of Nyang who kept to a non-comformist path, preserving the Nyang pa approach of pluralism and coexistence, a place of relevance is reserved by grub chen Kun dga' blo gros for a not so famous personality who belonged, nonetheless, to one of the great historical clans of Tibet. The *grub chen* writes:

(*Deb ther* p.461,6-7): "At Man lung, having learned both *sNgags* [and] *mTshan nyid* in a proficient manner, Dran ston mTha' bral, nicknamed Dran 'phrang ("Dran, difficult to negotiate"), dismissed all *bla ma* who were masters skilled in debate with his exposition of the teachings. He said that there were some 1,000 residents there, with 600 male and female *yogin*".

(*Deb ther* p.462,2): "[Dran ston] was a master of *sNgags* and *mTshan nyid*".

The passage shows that Man lung at sTag rtse, a monastery that received superior literary attention due to its next incumbent (see p.559-561), was already a major religious institution in the

<sup>66</sup> *Myang chos 'byung* (p.35,13-21): "As for the major [gTsang pa rGya ras's disciples] during the intermediate period, i.e. rGya and 'Bras, there existed the *dgon pa* of the 'Bras mo ba [in sGo bzhi]. Twenty-one [images of] sPyan ras gzigs appeared on gTsang pa rGya ras's twenty-one vertebrae. Two of them were in the possession of 'Bras mo jo *btsun*. When [his division] was called the *tsho* of 'Bras mo dgon pa, one was installed inside a *mchod rten* at 'Bras mo, the other was installed as a consecrational object inside the statue of Sangs rgyas. Nowadays this is known as the Jo bo of 'Bras mo. Concerning those two, when [the division] was called the *tsho* of the Rwa lung pa, one was kept being inside a *mchod rten* at 'Bras mo, the other was in the hands of the Yon rdzong pa in the land of lHo dgon pa (i.e. sKyid sbug, a Karma pa monastery). The one owned by dpon Grags pa ye shes, this being his inheritance, ended up in the hands of the Mongol emperor Thog gan the mur. It became known under the name Swa khrab".

For an extremely concise biography of 'Bras mo ba Sangs rgyas 'bum see *dPal ldan 'Brug pa'i gdan sa chen po Ra lung thel gyi gnas kyi bshad pa dang gdan rabs* (p.61,3-15).

days of Bran/Dran ston mTha' bral,<sup>67</sup> a disciple of rNgog mDo sde (1090-1166) (*Deb ther sngon po* p.493,12-16; *Blue Annals* p.408). In those days, the monastery excelled in the practice of *Yoga*, in the best bKa' brgyud pa tradition, having formerly been a centre of 'Dul ba observance, for it had been founded during the 11<sup>th</sup> century by disciples of ā tsarya Ye shes dbang po, an adept of Lo ston's vow.<sup>68</sup> Bran ston himself interacted with important bKa' brgyud masters of his day.<sup>69</sup>

A long interlinear note in *Myang chos 'byung* talks about Dran ston mTha' bral's birth place, his family's monastery sKyid khud ("coat of happiness") and ancestors.<sup>70</sup> It goes on to mention the strained relations with Rwa lung, which did not prevent the hair of gTsang pa rGya ras from being kept at sKyid khud. The note then goes on to highlight the merits of the great Bran clan, in particular of Bran ka Mu ru ti, for he went to invite Sangs rgyas gsang ba who was meditating at Gangs Ti se during the reign of Khri srong lde'u btsan, and Bran ka dPal gyi yon tan, the chief minister of Ral pa can, who faced the same destiny as his ruler. The next member of the Bran clan mentioned in these lines was mTha' bral's father, bla ma mi snyon ("bogus") Bran chung.<sup>71</sup>

67 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.31,1-4) shows that Man lung was another important locality of sTag rtse, the area also comprising sMon 'gro, sTag tshal and mKhar kha: "Nowadays the descendance of Bran ston mTha' bral is at [a place in] sTag rtse, namely Man lung. On account of the fact that Bran ston mTha' bral's rebirth, Man lung gu ru, was its abbot, it is called Man lung".

68 I cannot establish the antiquity of Man lung (not to be confused with the dPyal monastery sMan lung). It definitely existed during *bstan pa phyi dar* (around the mid 11<sup>th</sup> century), for it is said to have been run by the second generation of 'Dul ba practitioners in Nyang after Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug. *Myang chos 'byung* (p.115,17-21) says: "As for Man lung *dgon pa*, at the very beginning, Man lung was held by Mon btsun g.Yu ston and Phug ston Ye shes yon tan, two in all, who belonged to the group of the four later disciples of ā tsarya Ye shes dbang po, a disciple of Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug".

69 Bran ston mTha' bral met Mi tra dzo ki at Tshong 'dus mgur mo. He also met Khro phu lo tsa ba (1173-1225) there (hence during the late 12<sup>th</sup>-early 13<sup>th</sup> century) (*Myang chos 'byung* p.115,4-6). A master of Bran ston mTha' bral is mentioned in the *deb ther*:

(*Deb ther* p.468,7-p.469,2): "West of upper Rin chen gling, bla ma mKha' skya sGyul chung learned *Zhi byed*. (p.469) His temporary name was A spyi mo [when] he was an occasional servant, for he was a *sbas pa rnal 'byor*. He became a *bla ma* of Dran ston. [He said:] "I hold Sa phug and rGyang ro Shong snar built by rBad btsun chung".

70 Grub chen Kun blo documents an episode in Bran ston mTha' bral's life. He moved to 'Bri mtshams to meet a great *rnal 'byor ma*:

(*Deb ther* p.459,6-p.460,1): "It seems that the great *rnal 'byor ma*, namely sNang tsha 'Od de 'bum, went to make [a statue of Kye rdor]. She was able to manifest the actual body of Kye rdo rje at sNgo tsha gling bu (in 'Bri mtshams). Dran ston mTha' bral, likewise, in order to bow his headcrown to her feet, (p.460) went to [see] the sNgo tsha Chos sku".

71 Dran ston mTha' bral, mentioned by grub chen Kun da' blo gros, is spelled Bran ston mTha' bral in a note of *Myang chos 'byung* about him and his family. Rather than on the modern lHa sa edition (p.29,21-p.30,15), I base myself of the Bell edition of *Myang chos 'byung* (f.27a,3-f.27b,4): "[note: sKyid khud, the *dgon pa* of bla ma Dran/Bran, is in the vicinity of Chu tshan, below where the *sgom [chen]* (i.e Bran ston) was born at the [family's] residence. Chu tshan is in the area of Pho rog rkang chag (the "crow with a broken leg"). "Given that Bran ston meditated there, this was especially beneficial for the fracture of the [crow's] leg. Collectors, like in lHa sa, are placed to collect taxes at this locality in ruins with a triangular crack on the surface of the bridge. In particular the people of Rwa lung are extremely harmful. The 'Brug pa teachings are eighteen-day journey away; (f.27b) sGo bzhi half a day journey". So it is said. gTsang pa rGya ras's hair is kept in a spot below the threshold of sKyid khud lha khang. The 'Brug divisions do not stomp their boots [here]. Later, a *sku gnyer* devoted to the 'Brug pa was transferred to north sGo [bzhi] but never went for a circumambulation [of sKyid khud]. Inside this *lha khang*

The text goes on to talk about the receptacles kept at sKyid khud, some of which personally made by Bran ston mTha' bral and the murals in Newar style depicting the life of his rebirth Man lung pa, a master of conspicuous importance (about him see p.559-561 and Vitali, "In the presence of the "diamond throne": Tibetans at rDo rje gdan (last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century to year 1300)" p.176-187). Finally *Myang chos 'byung* comes to talk about the event in Bran ston mTha' bral's life which again attracted grub chen Kun dga' blo gros's interest:

(*Deb ther* p.462,1-2): "[Dran/Bran ston] issued a prophecy that Man lung 'Gu (spelled so) ru would appear as his progeny. He would be born to his son rNgog Shes rab seng ge".

These events taking place at Man lung document that, in the Bran family of Nyang, the system of direct lineal succession, followed since the ancient period, changed to the rebirth system in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Given the unfriendliness with the Bran clan (see above p.550), I hypotise that the foundation of Rwa lung might have led to the transfer of these people to sTag rtse. In view of its foundation time, all this may have happened during the life of Dran/Bran ston mTha' bral (for an assessment of the period of his existence see that of his grandson Man lung pa bSod nams dpal p.559-561), sometime after the early years of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. He is, indeed, defined as Man lung Bran ston mTha' bral in a passage of *Myang chos 'byung* (p.30,21-p.31,1), which would indicate that his actual residence was the latter locality, but this is far from being proved.

## THE DEFENSE OF NYANG

### Pho rog mDo sde mgon po (the magician)

Pho rog mDo sde mgon po (1195-1257), aka Bya skyungs pa from the name of the monastery where he lived, embodied the versatility of the religious approach popular in Nyang even during the period when schools, such as the Sa skya pa and bKa' brgyud pa, had begun to pursue more evident secular ambitions. As for the bKa' brgyud pa, he was one in the plethora of disciples of Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1182-1261) (*Deb ther sngon po* p.853,4 and p.853,16-18; *Blue Annals* p.728),<sup>72</sup> but grub chen Kun blo, given his own scholastic affiliation, prefers to talk about Pho rog mDo sde mgon po's Sa skya pa links and to refer to an episode to which he owes his nickname:

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the speaking statue of Bran ston told thams cad mkhyen pa dGe 'dun grub: "I order [you to strive for] Bran mTha' bral's [same] purpose". [dGe 'dun grub] could not understand for a while. [The statue] exclaimed: "Please keep on going to mDo smad!". He said he had similar perceptions [as if he was there]. During the time of mnga' bdag Khri srong [Ide btsan], Bran ka Mu ru ti went to invite [Sangs rgyas] gsang ba and returned (sic) from Ma pham mtsho. Moreover, the Bran *chen po*, Bran ka dpal gyi yon tan was the name of the clan member during the time of Khri Ral [pa]".

72 Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan is associated with Nyang owing to a few places where he resided and worked. A Ko brag pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan's cave was Chu mig dmar, on top of Byang ri bSe brag (*Myang chos 'byung* p.121,12-13). Another one of his caves was located above Pa snam Zhol po (ibid. p.123,8-9).

(*Deb ther* p.460,7-p.461,2): “Pho rog mDo sde mgon po went to [take charge of] Bya skyungs. He held sTe ra dngos gzhi (“main” sTe ra). (p.461) He was a disciple of Sa skya rje btsun chen po,<sup>73</sup> and a master of *Yo ga* and *gTsug sku*. He also was a master of both *sNgags gsar rnying*. He had visions of many *yi dam*. He could exercise control over many affairs. He is known as Pho rog (“raven”) because he sent a fleet of crows against enemies. At present, his descendants are in lHo dPa’ gro”.

Pho rog pa’s religious inclinations were thus wide ranging. A further evidence of the openness to various religious expressions, at Bya skyungs as well, is that after Pho rog pa’s death it was taken over by the dPyal, famous for their peculiar combination of different traditions.<sup>74</sup>

Other evidence supports grub chen Kun blo’s idea about Pho rog mDo sde mgon po’s powers. At Bya skyungs, by pouring blessings from his body while holding a vase of plenty in his hand, he made crops ripen during the first month of winter (*Myang chos ’byung* p.116,11-13).

The reference to his sending a fleet of crows against unspecified enemies has significance for the secular history of the region. Besides proving Pho rog pa’s power over animate and inanimate nature, the flight of ravens seems to indicate that he could command the services of Maha ka la (Bya rog sdong can). Considering Pho rog mDo sde mgon po’s dates, the enemies against whom he acted were manifestly the Mongols. Several Mongol campaigns were undertaken against Tibet during his lifetime, the best known being those by Dor ta in iron rat 1240, by Do be ta in iron dog 1250 and by Hur ta in the next year. The latter two targeted dBus, while there is little known evidence that Dor ta’s campaign was also directed against gTsang, and Nyang in particular.

### Dor ta’s invasion of Nyang

Secular events hardly find their way in the *deb ther*. However, two of them are recorded, none of which personally witnessed by the author, but important enough to have left a mark in a text that deals with religious people. One was the military campaign undertaken by Dor ta in 1240 that touched not only dBus and the lands to the south along the Himalayan range, but was also aimed at gTsang, as just said. The other was the looting of the relics of Rin chen bzang po from rKyang po/bu in the years immediately preceding the author’s birth (see below p.566).

Concerning Dor ta’s invasion of 1240, he gives an account of the efforts made by local *bla ma*-s to avoid the incoming devastation. One target was gNas rnying which was torched by the Mongols. A description of the damage done and the effort of one of their *bla ma*-s in particular to repair it is found in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* (see n. 76, 78 and 79). However, it is obvious that other monasteries suffered havoc or felt the pressure of the Mongol army’s presence, although they are neither indicated in the *deb ther* nor in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*. Kun dga’ blo gros says:

73 Was this Sa skya rje btsun either Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1167-1216), normally addressed in such terms in the literature, or Sa skya pandi ta Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan (1282-1251), who lived closer to the time of Pho rog mDo sde mgon po?

74 Slob dpon dBang phyug, the first son of dPyal Ba rtag, who, in turn, was dPyal Chos bzang’s eldest son, was appointed to run Bya skyung, Pho rog mDo sde mgon po’s *dgon pa* (*Myang chos ’byung* p.116,14-17).

(*Deb ther* p.462,2-5) “Before chos rje Sa pan went to brGya (sic) yul, splinter Hor groups belonging to the Hor troops (sic), mostly bad people, were creating grave disturbance (*gnar* spelled so for *snar*). When the times were not peaceful, religious exponents of Nyang stod as far as ’Bri mtshams confronted them for talks. The head of the mission to meet them, when they met at Za ri in the area, i.e. Man lung rin po che, Ka la drug rin po che, ’U brag rin po che and sNgo tsha rin po che from ’Bri mtshams,<sup>75</sup> those four, were the main leaders. It appears in old documents that [personalities], such as the gNas rnying mkhan po Chos [kyi] rin [chen] and the lHo pa’i *bla ma*, having worked [at the problem] locally, met the Hor, and this was when they laboured for a conciliation”.

It seems that two attempts were made in succession to neutralise the impending disaster. The first was by *bla ma*-s of the Nyang stod and ’Bri mtshams regions, the best known of them being Man lung pa Dran/Bran mTha’ bral (on him see p.549-551). The other was by local masters, manifestly when the matter boiled down to an attack to their own monastery gNas rnying, which confirms that this was the main target of the action described in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar*.<sup>76</sup> That the events refer to the Dor ta invasion is meant by the reference that they took place before Sa skya pandi ta left for Hor yul (wrongly mentioned as rGya yul in the source), who began his journey to Byang ngos to meet Go dan in wood dragon 1244.

The involvement of ’U brag rin po che is telling, given the location of the homonymous monastery in the sGo bzhi area. ’U brag rin po che may have intervened for humanitarian reasons but it is probable that he felt threatened, like the others, by the impending appearance of the Mongols.<sup>77</sup> If the latter state of affairs was true, one cannot rule out that Dor ta entered Nyang

75 The territorial extension of Dor ta’s campaign in gTsang can be inferred owing to the involvement in the parleys of sNgo tsha rin po che from ’Bri mtshams, a land probably affected by the invasion. The border between Nyang stod and ’Bri mtshams was demarcated at a locality known as ’Bri mtshams sMug po during the reign of Khri srong lde’u btsan who bestowed these lands (the mGos yul stod gsum) to the mGos clan (*Myang chos ’byung* p.77,16-18).

76 *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.19a,4-f.19b,4): “When the Hor troops went on a rampage (*sdang pa*, lit. “became hostile”) in dBus gTsang, Dor to (spelled so) seized sKyegs gNas gsar mkhar [attacking it from] the side of Cor. Many people were killed. Everyone went to Dur khrod gling (“i.e. the cemetery of gNas rnying). People who travelled on the rGya road (i.e. the road from Nyang stod to lHo Mon), did not dare to leave unless accompanied by a few others. At that time, everyone heard that even various kinds of animals were lamenting. After all [kinds of] *mi ma yin*-s of Hor Bod appeared, and when everyone was in terror, [gNas rnying Chos kyi rin chen] subjugated these *mi ma yin*, and so he planted the seeds of liberation. He blessed all the places in order to restore peace. Having thought to protect all the people of the realm of Nyang po’i *rgyal khams* from fear, he spent three days at Dur khrod gling. He blessed some corpses with *mantra*-s and carried others on his body (*glo skyor*). By being there, [Chos kyi rin chen], taken by compassion for those who were spared, was responsible for three miracles, by which he made all the phenomenal gods to appear [against] the *mi ma yin*-s of Hor Bod. He behaved like a rje btsun Mi la’s *yogi* [throughout the territory] all the way to ’Brin chu. Likewise, inconceivable miracles took place”.

77 Grub chen Kun blo records a modicum of activity concerning ’U brag and its founder dMar sgom ras pa gZhon nu shes rab:

(*Deb ther* p.462,5-7): “The earlier founder of ’U brag, dMar sgom ras pa, was from dBus. One should verify whether there were four [sets of] *sTong phrag brgya pa* (i.e. *Yum*) [with him at the monastery]”.

dMar sgom ras pa was one of those neglected personalities who lived across two centuries at the end of *bstan pa phyi dar* when Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas settled in Ding ri for the last years of his life.

from sGo bzhi. Legends focus on this Mongol chieftain reputed for his ferocity that was new to the Tibetans. To the well known story that a rain of stones caused by sPyan snga rin po che (1175-1255) befell him at 'Bri gung might be added another, told by the *grub chen*: being attacked by a fleet of ravens sent against him by a *bla ma* from Nyang.

*gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* confirms that violence was a major aspect of the campaign. The castle of sKyebs gNas gsar was seized and its temple damaged. The Hor troops, together with unspecified Tibetan allies, pillaged the place for three days, leaving behind a number of dead. Even animals were killed. This reminds one of the typical pattern of Mongol destruction, obliterating every form of life from a besieged site.

Neither Zang zang Padma rin chen, the incumbent on the gNas rnying throne at that time, nor his immediate successor Chos kyi dbang phyug took charge of repairing the damage. On the fourth day when the marauders left, Chos kyi rin chen (1199-1255, in office at gNas rnying 1247-1255) who succeeded his brother Chos kyi dbang phyug on the abbatial throne years later, was active in relieving suffering and performing rituals in the cemetery. He later reconsecrated the whole area.<sup>78</sup>

The fact that *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar* attributes the reconstruction of the monastery to Chos kyi rin chen,<sup>79</sup> who ascended its throne seven years after the invasion,

*Myang chos 'byung* (p.29,1-17) records dMar sgom's major deeds briefly. It is unclear when he came to settle in sGo bzhi, the north-eastern part of Nyang, to hold 'U brag dgon pa. The text says that dMar sgom ras pa gZhon nu shes rab was a disciple of Pha dam pa Sangs rgyas. He practised meditation for a long time before coming to run the *dgon pa* at 'U brag. He promoted the teachings by gathering the exorbitant number of 2,800 monks there and an equal number of texts. Among them it seems there were legendary sets of the longest version of *Pha rol tu phyin pa*, about the existence of which grub chen Kun blo manifests some scepticism. *Myang chos 'byung* concludes that in no other monastery (of Nyang?) there were as many books. dMar sgom ras pa had a disagreement with a local Bon po who harmed him, infecting him with a disease, of which he was able to get rid. He extracted textual treasures from the sMan river. The Seng ge rtse pa invited him with an offer of a gold nugget. He resided at the local dBu rtse. There were rumours that he was responsible for the lineage of the Seng ge rtse pa to become extinct.

78 *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar* records (f.19b,2-4): "After three days, [Chos kyi rin chen] bound all *mi ma yin* to a vow. He bestowed ordinary material needs. People requested him for religious ties. He freed all sentient beings from the fear of the *mi ma yin*-s. Four days later, people went to 'Pros, taking the corpses to the mountains. After he interrupted his meditation, [Chos kyi rin chen]'s deeds became vast as the sky. In general, being responsible for finding a solution to the cause of all unrest in the realm of Nyang ro, he restored peace for everyone".

79 *gNas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar* (f.19b,5-f.20b,2) adds: "Having gone to the *gtsug lag khang* at gNas gsar, [Chos kyi rin chen] made a fourteen *mtho* high statue of Thub pa chen po with a *torana* as the main receptacle. Many relics—extraordinary and unconceivable objects—were placed inside it, such as the bowl of bram ze Dri med snying po, the *dung dkar g.yas su 'khyil ba* of mkhan chen dBang phyug rin chen, the robe that Yol Chos dbang appended to a ray of sun, the *rdo rje* being the *rdo rje* with which Yol Drang srong drew forth blood after piercing it [into a rock], the crystal *mchod rten*, one *khru* high, that Yol Thog 'bebs extracted [from a rock]. [The statue was placed] in the dBu rtse so ma. Later, he had [texts] made, such as a '*Bum* written in gold. He [also] made over seventy volumes of '*Dul ba lung* written in black ink. Moreover, (f.20a) he made inconceivable manuscripts and images for the gods. At gNas gsar he repaired earlier existing manuscripts. Having offered a '*Bum* written in gold to 'Bri khung, he gave uncountable gifts to it, such as over 200 bags of brown sugar, along with gold, turquoise, brocade and silk, and handwoven woollen cloth. He built a '*bum mo che* at gNas gsar as *phyi rten* of mkhan po Chos dbang. He built a *gzims khang* at 'Phang thang, a *dkar phigs* (spelled so) at Grong chung, and hermitages at Phur sdings and lHa do. He practised the three vows without interruption".

casts doubt on the chronology of the episode and its association with Dor ta. But a postponement to another, unrecorded phase of Mongol military presence in Tibet is rather improbable, for the matter seemingly boils down to a hiatus of years in the rebuilding activities at gNas rnying, probably owing to practical circumstances.

One wonders, since the text stresses the violence and destruction of the attack to the extent that hardly anyone was spared, how much of the temple structures was damaged. One would imagine that the religious treasures going back to gNas rnying's foundation in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century and the successive periods were pillaged or demolished. However, this may not have been entirely so, for the life-size crystal *mchod rten*, extracted from a rock by Yol Thog 'bebs by means of throwing nine bolts of lightning against it, was taken away subsequently by the Mongols and placed on the roof of Se chen rgyal po's T'ai-tu palace.

*Myang chos 'byung*, which manifestly derives information from the above source, accepts the attribution of the devastation of gNas rnying to Dor ta (see *ibid.* p.86,3-6).

The monastery may have been targeted by the Mongols for its strategic location on the route that links Nyang stod, one of the core areas of gTsang, to the Himalayan borderlands (the hills of lHo Mon and the territory that will be later known as 'Bras ljongs), and Bengala farther away.

The allusion to splinter groups of Hor warriors being in charge of the military action is a clue that the tactics adopted were to split the Mongol army and to assign them to the multiple fronts of the campaign. One can conjecture that Dor ta's campaign, said by t'ai si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan to have targeted a wide area from Kong po to Bal po (*Si tu bka' chems* in *Rlangs kyi Po ti bse ru* p.109,2-19), was a military action articulated along several fronts rather than a single one of improbably huge extension. After the Mongol warriors reached the centre of dBus in undescribed circumstances, where they attacked Rwa sgren and then rGyal lha khang, their campaign split into at least three different fronts. One was in the direction of lHo kha, and affected areas such as bsNyal and Kong po. Another was directed towards lHo brag and must have reached as far as lHo Mon. This seems to indicate that Dor ta's Mongols did not advance so far south. A third front of the invasion moved into gTsang and perhaps advanced towards Bal po eventually, as mentioned in *Si tu bka' chems*, but this is denied by a statement in *Deb ther sngon po* that Lo ras pa and disciples, on that occasion, did not suffer at the hands of the Mongol troops when they were at Jo mo lha ri (*ibid.* p.792,8-10; *Blue Annals* p.675).

#### THE ZHWA LU WOMEN'S MARRIAGES

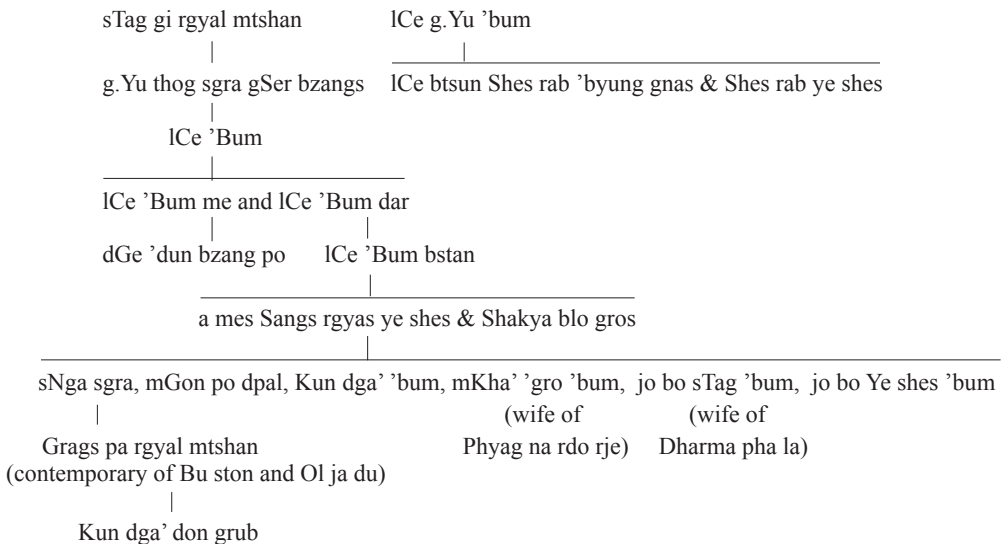
New times were coming to Nyang. The historical features of religious practice in the region continued unabated, but with a changing situation in Tibet on the background. With the bKa' brgyud pa also active locally, the Sa skya pa were surging to unprecedented importance, although they refrained from a dominant exercise of power in Nyang, at the door of their religious and secular headquarters.

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros returns to Zhwa lu to introduce the well known historical circumstances under which its princes were granted the title *sku zhang* in the shadow of their Sa skya pa overlords:

(*Deb ther* p.474,2-4): “His (i.e. lCe 'Bum bstan's) son, the fourth generation in the lineage, was named [note: A me] Jo jo Sangs rgyas ye shes. His daughter ma cig mKha' 'gro 'bum was the wife of 'Phags pa's younger brother Phyag na [rdo rje]. The birth of their son Dharma pa la rakshi ta was the origin of their designation *sku zhang bla ma* [note: sku zhang mGon po dpal ba was the first one]”.

The *grub chen* provides a precise chronological framework that helps to find out when exactly the title *sku zhang* was first conferred upon members of the lCe from Zhwa lu. Its grant is not associated with the earliest marriage of a lCe princess—mKha' 'gro 'bum with Phyag na rdo rje—but with the birth of their son Dharma pa la rakshi ta in earth dragon 1268, after the death of his father in the previous year. 1268 was the year of the official enforcement of the *khri skor* system in Central Tibet. Hence, it seems that the appointment of the Zhwa lu princes to the title *sku zhang* occurred close to the choice of 'gro mgon 'Phags pa as imperial tutor and his fellows from Sa skya as the overlords of Tibet.

This is confirmed by a less precise calculation by *mi rabs*.<sup>80</sup> The lCe lineage of Zhwa lu from *bstan pa phyi dar* to the late 13<sup>th</sup> century is as follows:



80 bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* (f.24a,2-5): “A mes chen po Sangs rgyas married jo mo Tsha tsha btsun ne. sKu zhang rNga sgra, sku zhang mGon po dpal and sku zhang Kun dga' 'bum, three sons in all, were born, and ma gcig mKha' 'gro 'bum, jo jo sTag 'bum and jo jo Ye shes 'bum sde, three daughters in all, were born, which makes altogether six brothers and sisters”. A mes chen po Sangs rgyas ye shes's daughter jo mo sTag 'bum, the sister of ma gcig mKha' 'gro 'bum, was summoned to Sa skya. She married Phyag na rdo rje's son Ratna pha la rakshi ta (*Myang chos 'byung* p.165,9-13).



The *sku zhang*-s were called by Se chen rgyal po to enforce the Mongol law in their area. A mes Sangs rgyas ye shes received the sMon 'gro *stong skor*. His son sNga sgra was given an unidentified share of power,<sup>81</sup> while mGon po dpal was granted superior authority (the Zhwa lu *khri skor*).<sup>82</sup> The post of Zhwa lu *dpon sa* in the organisation internal to the lCe family went to sNga sgra before it was taken over by mGon po dpal (bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* f.26a,4-f.26b,2). These conferrals indicate that the empowerments the various Zhwa lu *sku zhang*-s received from the emperor fell within the traditional sphere of competence that their lCe family had had for some 250 years beforehand. The Zhwa lu pa did not rise to a particularly dominant power in Nyang, despite being the only *khri skor* of the region. Around the time they had been assigned to enforce the Hor *khirms*, their dominions were indeed raided by their neighbours, the 'A zhwa (spelled so),<sup>83</sup> whom I take as the people descending from 'A zha (aka mGo ba) Ye shes g.yung drung, holders of nearby 'Dre lha khang.

#### THE DPYAL/RONG PA RELIGIOUS CLUSTER

##### Later abbots of Thar pa gling (masters in the orbit of the Shar kha family)

Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros's treatment of the dPyal is once again too short to be representative of these people's composite and steadfast contributions to many fields of Tibetan culture (see my "White dPyal" and "The Manjushri mountain and the Buddha tree: a history of the dPyal

81 The text has a lacuna before the word *mtshams* that has been arbitrarily filled up by Tucci (*Tibetan Painted Scrolls* vol.2 p.659b) to read Bri (sic for 'Bri) *mtshams*.

82 A deviant classification of the *khri skor*-s of gTsang in *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam ky'i rnam thar* is the prelude to a more detailed identification of the units composing two of them (ibid. f.27b,3-7). The six *khri skor* of gTsang, according to this source, were mNga' ris skor gsum (sic for mNga' ris smad?), La stod Byang, La stod lHo, Chu mig, Zhwa lu and sBra 'Bre Khyung, the latter three making together one *khri skor*. Chu mig's four *stong skor* were Khro phu, sNar thang, Bar sdings and, finally, dPal sdings and Grang phu making together one of them. The four *stong skor* of Zhwa lu were Thar pa gling, Phag, gNas rnying and one more composed by dGa' ba gdong and 'Byar.

The unconventional inclusion of the sBra 'Bre Khyung, clans of Nyang where gNas rnying is located, shows that the list of the components of the *khri skor*-s has variants. Leaving aside the existence of the sBra 'Bre Khyung *khri skor*, which may betray a literary focus on local realities, the topic of the actual extension of the Yuan administrative system in Tibet and the chronology of the creations of the *khri skor*-s need further research.

83 bKra shis don grub, *Zha lu gSer khang gi bdag po lCe'i gdung rabs* (f.23a,5): "The 'A zhwa (spelled so) rebels took away most of the dominions of the Zhwa lu pa".

Ibid. (f.23b,1-f.24a,2): "At that time, the [head of the rebels] became known as the 'A zhwa *rgyal po*. After A mes chen po Sangs rgyas ye shes reached an agreement with the Chu mig pa, the Zhwa lu pa subdued them. He reduced under his sway the subjects who had revolted. Having made conscriptions against the 'A zhwa, he repulsed their troops. At that time, he enforced the Hor *khirms*. Not having allowed hindrance by the troops of the rebels, he demarcated the *khri skor*-s and *stong skor*-s. A mes chen po Sangs rgyas ye shes said: "This Hor *khirms* may go on for fifteen years so that, (f.24a) later, we will be called the subjugated people under their control, or else it may last for one year, but then the rebels will be subdued"."

Another passage in the same text explains that the Zhwa lu pa had been involved, in the same period, in one more contention with the Chu mig pa, this time concerning rights of access to pastures for their cattle, which were eventually composed by fixing boundaries (ibid. f.23a,1-5).

clan (7<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century)", forthcoming). He omits the foundation of Thar pa gling and its most important masters,<sup>84</sup> preferring to concentrate on a collateral line of the dPyal family that allows him a rare exercise of self-indulgence, for he focuses on his own kin. Before doing so, he introduces important abbots of the monastery, active before his own time but well after the foundation:

(*Deb ther* p.460,3-4): "Gangs pa mkhan chen gZhon yes was the abbot of Thar pa. [Incumbents of the] *gdung rgyud* were the heads of ritual chanting. He was the *bla ma* of mkhan chen Thar lo. He made a *phyi rten*, *nang rten* and a great golden statue at Thar pa".

gDus ba gZhon nu ye shes, also abbot of Gangs pa, was an uncommon case of a Thar pa gling abbot who did not belong to the dPyal. He was from the 'Khon family but trained in all dPyal religious traditions. This possibly was the reason why, around the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, he was chosen to be its *ad interim* abbot for six years.

He was a teacher of Thar pa lo tsa ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, a prominent personality of the monastery, who did not belong to the dPyal family either. Thar pa lo tsa ba was a reputed master of his time, a Sanskritist emeritus and one of the two Tibetans who were abbots of rDo rje gdan in Ma ga dha (see Vitali, "In the presence of the "diamond throne": Tibetans at rDo rje gdan (last quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century to year 1300)" p.170-171). These masters from Thar pa were predecessors to the few dPyal masters the *grub chen* introduces elsewhere in his text:

(*Deb ther* p.467,6-7): "sPrul sku Sangs rgyas 'byung gnas, the son of dPyal Ha ri pa Chos kyi bzang po, was born at Ro skams. He held Bya skyungs and Grags nas. He did much for Nyang stod [note: his (i.e. dPyal Ha ri pa's) sons were Sangs rgyas 'byung gnas and mkhas btsun Kun legs, two in all".

### dPyal 'Phags rgyal bzang po (the guru of the early Shar kha princes of Nyang)

dPyal 'Phags rgyal bzang po's part in Shar kha pa affairs is dependable information, for one recipient of the separation of roles among brothers was grub chen Kun blo's father:<sup>85</sup>

84 With a historical jump of several centuries, *Myang chos 'byung* connects the dPyal member of the Sad na legs's period with the Thar pa lineage which came to exist several centuries later, for it identifies in bZang pa dpal, the oldest of the three sons of Sad na legs's minister dPyal g. Yu sgra dpal legs, the ancestor of the Thar pa branch.

Besides bZang dpal, dPyal g. Yu sgra dpal legs's had two other sons: the middle one Nag po dpal legs phan, whose descendants were the Kon drug pa, and the youngest Phra bo 'Phen legs brtsegs, whose descendants were the sDong gi lCang ra at sKyer and the Rwa rdza g.yu lung pa (*Myang chos 'byung* p.180,2-6).

Various branches of the dPyal split off during the imperial period. The dPyal had settled in Nyang during the reign of Sad na legs (see my "The White dPyal: early evidence (from the 7<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of *bstan pa phyi dar*)" and *Myang chos 'byung* p.68,10-17). dPyal g. Yu sgra dpal legs built his own palace at rKyang bu. His three sons were born there.

85 dPyal 'Phags rgyal bzang po is called bCal Chos 'phags in *rGya Bod yig tshang* (p.375,11-16). The text recounts the event that led this master to play some role in the life of the Shar kha prince: "Father, mother and son went upwards. At Thar pa dgon, the *dge bsnyen* [vow], blessing and the dignity of the *bla ma*'s name were bestowed upon the son in the presence of bCal (spelled so for dPyal) Chos 'phags. [The son] was given the name 'Phags pa dpal bzang".

(*Deb ther* p.467,7-p.468,1): “[Sangs rgys ’byung gnas’s] son dPyal ’Phags rgyal bzang po, divided the secular rule between ta’i swi tu ’Phags pa dpal and his two brothers, (p.468) and gave them the name ’Phags pa”.

The acquisition of the name ’Phags pa for all three Shar kha brothers—’Phags pa dpal bzang (1318?-1370), ’Phags pa rin chen (1320-1376) and ’Phags pa dar po (1326-?)—depended on dPyal ’Phags rgyal bzang po’s role as their guru. They were named after him.

### Man lung pa bSod nams dpal (the pilgrim to India and China)

Grub chen Kun dga’ blo gros deals with the next great master in the Bran lineage of Bran ston mTha’ bral in an unusually longer excursus:

(*Deb ther* p.462,7-p.463,7): “The rGya stod’s daughter, (p.463) Pad ma [rin chen], born in a *mkha’ ’gro* family, [bore] Dran ston’s rebirth Man lung ’Gu ru, his name [at birth] being Mar me mdzad. [Man lung pa] learned all teachings without hindrance. He taught *Byams chos lnga*, bDe [mchog], dGes [rdor], Mahā ma ya, *gDan bzhi*, gSang ’dus and other [teachings]. He received Dus ’khor and *sByor drug* from bla chen Rong pa dGa’ lo and went through all struggles in meditation. His ordained monk’s name was bSod nams dpal. Rong pa Shes rab seng ge was his associate. [Man lung pa] eventually went to rGya gar and proceeded to dpal ldan ’Bras spungs mchod rten and lHo phyogs dPal gyi ri. He met Mi tra dzo ki. He proceeded to Ri bo rtse lnga. In rGya gar yul he saw the shadow of four eminent bodily forms. In rGya gar he upheld the *dbang*, *rgyud* and *man ngag* of Dus ’khor, gSang ’dus, bDe [mchog] and dGes [rdor]. He went to rGya nag [Ri bo] rtse lnga together with one companion. Dressed in a *dzo ki* attire, he went to Ri bo Po ta la [note: in the presence of sPyan ras gzigs]. Having attained outstanding siddhic power, even now his fame endures. Thereafter the *gdan sa* was given to the sNgo tsha’i *gdung rgyud*”.

The initial lines of a interlinear note in *Myang chos ’byung* (p.31,4-17), a brief biography, explain the terms of Bran ston mTha’ bral’s rebirth as Man lung pa bSod nams dpal (or Man lung gu ru) (1235 or 1239-?) and that the latter belonged to the prestigious Bran [ka] family. As prophesied by Bran ston mTha’ bral, his son Bran Shes rab seng ge had a *mkha’ ’gro ma* (Padma rin chen) in the garb of a nun at sTag rtse, who was like a wife to him. She said she would give birth to a child, which she did. He was Man lung pa. He was born at sTag rtse sTag lung.

The *grub chen* relates his life and deeds along the same lines as *Man lung pa’i rnam thar*, from which the information in the *deb ther* may have derived. The biography mentions his kaleidoscopic education ranging from training in the ’Bri gung pa tradition to the practice of deities associated with Rwa lo tsa ba (1016-?).<sup>86</sup> It also encompassed the system of the

86 After receiving the *rab tu byung* vow in fire sheep 1247, Man lung pa’s training in the ’Bri gung pa tradition included *Na ro’i chos drug*, imparted upon him at the main monastery of this bKa’ bgyud pa school, where he met gCung rin po che rDo rje grags (1210-1278, on the throne of ’Bri gung from 1255) (*Man lung pa’i rnam thar* f.3b,2-4).

dPyal clan masters—he studied the teachings of dPyal Chos bzang—and their associates, which led him to get in touch with the dBen dmar family of Rong after his appointment to the abbatial chair of Man lung (*Man lung pa'i rnam thar* f.3b,8).

Man lung pa is reputed for having been a student of Rong pa rGa lo rNam rgyal rdo rje (1203-1282) (i.e. rGa lo the younger; for a short biography of him see 'Khon ston dPal 'byor rgya mtsho, *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung* p.63,4-p.71,2), who imparted upon him his method of Dus 'khor and *sByor drug* along with the black gShin rje gshed according to the system of Rwa lo tsa ba and the red gShin rje gshed according to the system of dPyal Chos bzang.

Becoming learned in the doctrinal system of the dPyal clan members might have been a stimulus to follow in their footsteps. This accounts for his first journey to the south (1264-1268), where he concentrated on Bal po and rGya gar, as dPyal family members had done historically. He then diverted to Ya rtse, where he met the local king A sog lde, and finally reached his main destination, rDo rje gdan.

He repeated the journey during the years 1270-1276, returning first to Ya rtse and then to Bodhgaya. He travelled to South India for a fraction of water monkey 1272 and much of water bird 1273. This was due to the fact that his previous birth Bran ston mTha' bral had received a *Po ta la'i lam yig* during his interaction with Khro phu lo tsa ba.<sup>87</sup> In this light Man lung pa's pilgrimage to the Po ta la abode of sPyan ras gzigs, narrated in legendary terms in his biography (*Man lung pa'i rnam thar* f.9a,3-8), assumes the features of a fulfilment of his family destiny.

He obtained the power of transforming his body into rainbow and the ability to fly (ibid. f.10a,4). Extraordinary visions occurred to him, including that of the land of sTag gzig (ibid. f.10a,6). These deeds are described in a work by pandi ta Bi ma la shri, entitled *Chos 'byung rab gzigs* (ibid. f.10a,7-8). He finally returned to Tibet in 1276.

His third journey (?-1299) is not well accounted for. He returned to Tibet in earth pig 1299, where he received the recognition of contemporaries such as Thar pa Nyi ma rgyal mtshan and other major masters. These included his disciples bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri and Rong pa Shes rab seng ge, the son of Rong pa rGa lo the younger, and an expert in Dus 'khor according to the system of the dPyal.

The last part of his biography finds him at Ri bo rtse lnga. It is possible that, besides the mystical implication of this pilgrimage, his decision to go there was influenced by a scholastic interest in this holy mountain at a time marked by the contacts between Sa skya and the

87 *Myang chos 'byung* (p.115,21-p.116,10): "The earlier birth of Man lung gu ru, Myang stod sTag tshal's Man lung pa bshes (p.116) gnyen chen po Bran ston mTha' bral attained great knowledge and the highest spiritual experiences. Possessing unhindered clairvoyance, he had the vision of Nā ro pa coming [to see him] in his dream. The next morning a messenger was sent to him. Both father and son went to see rje Mi tra chen po upon his arrival at Tsong 'dus mgur mo. They received blessings and secret instructions. Brag (sic for Bran) ston also went to meet Khro phu lo tsa ba Byams pa dpal. On that occasion, he obtained a *Po ta la'i lam yig* and extensively established the practice of the accumulation [of merit]. His successive rebirth (i.e. Man lung pa) held the *dgon pa* of Man lung and proceeded to Po ta la. The monastery called Man lung, belonging to a great being such as Bran ston, and its estates are owned by Bran ston's descendants".

Yuan dynasty. It is in this sense that the *grub chen* mentions the Ri bo rtse Inga pilgrimage of the sMad 'Brug master 'Jam dbyangs mgon po:

(*Deb ther* p.469,2-4): “Jam dbyangs mgon po was the one who engaged in opening the door of the ancient, profound meaning of gCod at Chos yul. He circumambulated Ri bo rtse Inga. He became a direct disciple of 'Phags pa's”.

Man lung pa's wondrous life in Tibet, Ya rtse, Bal po, Ma ga dha and South India was depicted on the walls of the temple of sKyid khud according to an art style dominant in 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century gTsang (see above p.551).

### Rong pa Shes rab seng ge (master of eclectic practice)

The close ties between Rong dBen dmar and Man lung were renewed through Man lung pa's interaction with Rong pa Shes rab seng ge (1251-1315), the son of his teacher rGa lo rNam rgyal rdo rje. In his treatment of Bran ston mTha' bral's rebirth, grub chen Kun blo says that they were associated by a common religious background:

(*Deb ther* p.463,7-p.464,2): “[Rong pa Shes rab seng ge], known as the *kun mkhyen rin po che*, had good heart and great fame. He mastered *mTshan nyid* (p.464) and became an outstanding master of *gSang sngags*. He held Man lungs (spelled so). Thereafter, [the succession of its abbots] went on unhindered [even] last year”.

The skeletal information on Rong pa Shes rab seng ge in the section of the *deb ther* dedicated to him is a *summa* of his activities. He indeed received, practised and taught an array of important teachings. In a short biography found in his *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung*, 'Khon ston dPal 'byor rgya mtsho describes other sides of Rong pa Shes rab seng ge's life and deeds, which help to expand understanding of his religious involvement with Sa skya pa and bKa' gdams pa *bla ma*-s, such as 'gro mgon 'Phags pa and mChims Nam mkha' grags, and his mastery of the dPyal system, to which he was exposed at Thar pa gling since a young age. The spectrum of his knowledge spanned from systems such as gShin rje gshed and Dus 'khor, which he learned at Rong dBen dmar and Thar pa gling, to *Tshad ma*. 'Khon ston dPal 'byor rgya mtsho also lists the many monasteries where he was active as teacher (Khro phu, bSam yas, sTag lung, gZhu Kun dga' ra ba, Shangs rTse gdong, Chu mig, sTon mo lung and g.Yus dGa' ldan) reflecting his eclectic approach.<sup>88</sup> His interaction with Man lung pa bSod nams dpal must have been at

88 'Khon ston dPal 'byor lhun grub, *gShin rje gshed chos 'byung* (p.71,5-p.73,3): “The second son [of rGa lo], Rongs (spelled so for Rong) pa Shes rab seng ge, was born in iron female pig 1251. In his youth, after learning to read and write, (p.72) he studied the gShed cycle and Dus 'khor. He taught Dus 'khor aged sixteen (1266). He went to Thar pa when aged twenty (1270) and received dPyal pa teachings, such as gShed dmar according to the dPyal system. Aged twenty-two (1272), he went in the presence of sTag sde Seng rgyal and learned *Phar [phyin]* and *Tshad [ma]* for five years (1272-1276). In particular, he became a master of *Tshad ma*. Aged thirty (1280), he was ordained to the *rab tu byung* and *bsnyen par rdzogs* vows by bla ma chos rgyal 'Phags pa and mkhan po mChims. He was invited by lo tsa ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan and received the *dbang* of *rDo rje 'phreng ba* and Tantric teachings, such as '*Jam dpal rtsa rgyud*, and *sMan dpyad Yan lag bryad pa*. He held the *gdan sa* of dBen dmar. He taught the gShed cycle and

the basis of his appointment to the abbatial chair of his colleague's monastery, but it is unclear whether he was his immediate successor.

Another abbot of Man lung is mentioned by the *grub chen* in his work:

(*Deb ther* p.464,2): “Gu ru Shes rab dpal, the seventh generation in the lineage of the *dbang* of Nā ro pa and a master of all rNgog's tradition, went [to Man lung] to benefit sentient beings greatly”.

The transmission lineage to which 'Gu ru Shes rab dpal belonged is not clarified by grub chen Kun blo, but the *dbang* of Na ro pa could have been the one transmitted to the 'Pham thing pa brothers, which was eventually transferred to members of the dPyal clan and therefore to Gu ru Shes rab dpal, who had ties with the Dran/Bran people from Man lung and their associates.

#### IN THE SHADOW OF THE SA SKYA/YUAN ALLIANCE

##### gNye ba Grags seng (a Sa skya pa in the erstwhile Tangut borderland)

The season that followed saw the Sa skya/Yuan interaction reaching its acme. Still, Nyang participated marginally in the turn of events that ensued. The involvement of Nyang pa masters occurred on an individual basis and in just a few cases. This is what can be gleaned from the scant instances of Sa skya pa proponents from Nyang, who are said to have had a nonessential role in relation with the Yuan dynasty. One is definitely worth noting:

(*Deb ther* p.469,3-6): “gNye ba Grags seng [note: from Brag sram] became a master of *Tshad ma*, Dus 'khor and *rTsis* at Nyung chung in the lower part of Gam sad [belonging to] upper Brag sram in Gam ro. He was a follower of chos rje Sa pan's multiple vow. He was invited to rGya yul to be the *mkhan po* in 'gro mgon 'Phags pa's *bsnyen rdzogs* ordination. He stayed at Ling chu gSer khab. He composed many schemes for *rTsis* calculation. There is a saying that 100 *lha khang*, 108 *mchod rten* and 100 bridges came into being at rGyang ro”.

The change of fortunes following the fall of the Byang Mi nyag kingdom led to a decrease in the influence of the bKa' brgyud pa subschools in the borderland of the erstwhile Tangut country, substituted by an influx of Sa skya pa adherents in the wake of the meeting between 'gro mgon 'Phags pa with Go pe la (the future Se chen rgyal po) in wood bird 1253.<sup>89</sup>

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Dus 'khor for a long time [there]. Moreover, he imparted teachings at many monasteries, such as Khro phu, bSam yas, sTag lung, gZhu Kun dga' ra ba, Shangs rTse gdong, Chu mig, sTon mo lung and g.Yus dGa' ldan. (p.73) Aged forty-one (1291), he entrusted the *gdan sa* of dBen dmar to bla ma rDo rje rgyal mtshan and went to dMu ru. He founded Sha 'bar and built [its] *gtsug lag khang*. He made a *rGyud 'bum* and a *'Dul ba lung*. He thus laboured for the benefit of sentient beings. Finally, after empowering chos rje bSod nams rgyal mtshan as soon as he was born, he died in wood female hare 1315”.

89 *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p.1419,1-5): “In water ox 1253, when he was nineteen years old, bla ma 'Phags pa met Mu gu du la, Go dan's eldest son, and rgyal bu Go pe la Se chen. Se chen realised that 'Phags pa rin po che had excellent body, speech and mind, and was pleased. He said: “I accept the

Soon after their meeting and in the same border area, 'gro mgon 'Phags pa became a fully ordained monk. 'Gro mgon 'Phags pa received the *bsnyen rdzogs* ordination in wood hare 1255 (Tshe tan zhabs drung, *bsTan rtsis kun las btus pa* p.187). The abbot of sNye thang, Grags pa seng ge—the *mkhan po* in the ceremony—and Jo gdan pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan—the *slob dpon*—were the *bla ma*-s who bestowed it upon him (Don rdor and bsTan 'dzin chos grags, *Gangs ljongs lo rgyus thog gi grags can mi sna* p.326,17-20).

Ling cu (also spelled Leng cu and Ling chu) was the outpost in the Sino-Tibetan borderland prominent from the sPu rgyal period onwards. It was where Khri srong lde'u btsan brought successful warfare against the Chinese, documented in Chapter VIII of the *Tun-huang Chronicles* (lines 381-385; *Tun hong nas thon pa'i Bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha* p.56) and in particular in the entry for the year 758 in the *Tun-huang Annals*.<sup>90</sup> It is a locality mentioned in the documents relating the activities of sMri ti Dran pa ye shes grags pa (e.g. *Bu ston chos 'byung* p.202, 16-17 for sMri ti in Ling chu where he composed *sMra sgo*) and, later, events centred around the Tangut kingdom of Byang Mi nyag. Ling cu is to be located to the north-east of mTsho sNgon. In reference to the activities of Ti shri ras pa (1164-1236), *IHo rong chos 'byung* (p.214,15-16) associates Tsong kha with Ling cu in the itinerary that led Ti shri ras pa to Byang Mi nyag in the year of the monkey 1200.

Ling cu stands for Chinese Ling-zhou, Tibetan Byang ngos of Sa skya pandi ta's fame (see Sperling, "Further Remarks apropos of the 'Ba'-rom-pa and the Tanguts" n.49).<sup>91</sup>

As for regional matters concerning Nyang, the *grub chen*'s other statement about endowments in rGyang ro (the south-eastern stretch of Nyang) seems to imply a state of affairs that cannot be ascertained by a modern reader. I wonder whether the proverb concerning rGyang ro that the *grub chen* connects to sNye ba Grags seng somewhat reflected, despite the hyperbole, a Sa skya pa engagement in civil work in areas of Nyang, given the empowerment they received from the Yuan dynasty. If so, this could suggest a particular concern for making the routes across the Himalaya south of Nyang stod practicable for travel and trade a long time before Thang stong rgyal po.

### Chos sku 'od zer (and the temple of a flying image)

The norm of religious coexistence with little or no involvement in current and wider-ranging secular affairs seems to have continued to be a feature of the region. This is at least what one

Sa skya pa [as the Tibetan under my aegis]!", and asked him to stay on. ['Phags pa] became his *bla ma* when Se chen was thirty-nine years of age".

90 *Tun-huang Annals* (line 107, 29-32; see *Tun hong nas thon pa'i Bod kyi lo rgyus yig cha* p.31): "The year of the dog: ... the winter council of mDo smad was convened at gTse nam yor. A calculation of the losses was made. The ministers Khri bzang and sKyes bzang (line 33) stag snang led troops against Khar btsan in the direction of Leng cu".

91 Ling cu/Leng cu is not Tibetan for Liang-zhou as indicated by R.Stein, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines* (p.73); Rong, "mThong-khyab or Tongjia: A Tribe in the Sino-Tibetan Frontiers in the Seventh to Tenth Century" and, after the latter, by Uray, "The Location of Khar-can and Leng-chu of the Old Tibetan Sources" and Richardson "The Province of the bde blon of the Tibetan Empire, 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Centuries". Both Ling-zhou and Liang-zhou were important localities in the 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century kingdom of the Tangut.

gleans from the activities of a few major religious masters of the period. The *deb ther* includes a historical prelude to the life and deeds of Chos sku 'od zer (b. after 1240?-d. before 1290?),<sup>92</sup> of whom grub chen Kun dga' blo gros was a successive birth, in a few words dedicated to the former's father:

(*Deb ther* p.469,6-p.470,3): “Bla ma gZhon nu 'od was a great *grub thob*, master of gSang 'dus and Phyag rdor at gSer sdings. His son kun mkhyen Chos sku 'od zer, an even greater *grub thob*, was pan chen (p.470) Shakya shri's rebirth. [The latter] received gSang 'dus, Dus 'khor and *sByor drug* from chos rje 'Jam dbyangs gsar ma. He built a *dgon pa* at Mag dGe sdings. He benefitted sentient beings. He dreamt about 'gro mgon 'Phags pa at Chu mig and received teachings from him. He was delighted. He accompanied him up to lHa sa. The Jo bo rin po che spoke to him. His heart disciple was dam pa Jo nang Kun spangs [pa] chen po”.

gZhon nu 'od, founder of Ser sdings, met Kha che pan chen at his monastery, who revealed to him a prophecy about his own future life. Shakya shri said he would be reborn there as the son of gZhon nu 'od (*Myang chos 'byung* p.70,18-21). Nine years after the foundation of Ser sdings,<sup>93</sup> gZhon nu 'od's son Chos sku 'od zer was born to the sister of his father's disciple mGar Grags pa dbang phyug. He would be an eminent source of knowledge on gSang 'dus (ibid. p.70,13-18).

Apart from his leaning towards the Jo nang pa, proven by his disciple kun spangs pa Kun tu bzang po's proximity to him, and the bKa' brgyud pa, several doctrinal poles contributed to his eclectic religious inclinations. One pole was Sa skya pa with focus on rKyang dur, where Sa pan imparted teachings on Kye rdor upon him,<sup>94</sup> and sprul sku 'Jam dbyangs gsar ma trained him in gShed dmar, *dBu ma*, *Tshad ma*, Byams pa *chos lnga* and Dus 'khor (ibid. p.71,4-19 and p.110,8-10). Others were more individualistic, for he studied under such eminent people as Chag lo tsa ba (1197-1264), a recipient of the teachings of the Indian A bhayā kā ra;<sup>95</sup> Rong pa rGa lo, reputed for his links to the dPyal; and Lo ras pa dBang phyug brtson 'grus (1187-1250), the great sMad 'Brug master, rebirth of rje btsun Mid la (ibid. p.157,18).

The lHa sa Jo bo spoke to Chos sku 'od zer and told him that he would achieve command over Tantric instruction and eventually attain enlightenment. The statue also said he should perform 100 *sbyin bsreg* rituals, obtain a depiction of the Jo bo itself from Gangetic India, and build 100 *mchod rten*. He founded Mag dGe sdings gtsug lag khang and placed a statue of Jo bo

92 His dates are hypothetical, based as they are on the death year of his previous birth Kha che pan chen Shakya shri (1240) and the birth date of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290), his next life.

Chos sku 'od zer is assigned the dates 1204-1282 in *rGya Bod chos 'byung rin po che* (p.253,3-4), completed in wood horse 1474 by dGe ye ba Tshul khriims seng ge (b.1428). Were they true, this would be another case of how succession of rebirths in the same *skyes rabs* defy biology and chronology: Chos sku 'od zer would have been born before Kha che pan chen's passing.

93 Was Ser sdings founded around 1217-1218, if Chos sku 'od zer was born soon after 1225?

94 Sa pan received *rNam nges* at rKyang 'dur (*Myang chos 'byung* p.110,5-6), which shows that he had a steadfast frequentation of this Sa skya pa monastery of some importance in Nyang, both in his days as a student and as a teacher.

95 This A bhayā kā ra should not be confused with the master who bestowed sdom pa rGya gar ma to lCe btsun Shes rab 'byung gnas (see above p.529).



Shakya mu ni there, which came flying (*'phur sbyon*) from rGya gar. The spot where it landed became known as 'Phur lung (the “place where it flew”) (ibid. p.108,16-17 and Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*, forthcoming). Chos sku 'od zer performed its consecration which was repeated by his next two rebirths, Bu ston Rin chen grub and grub chen Kun dga' blo gros, facts mentioned in the biography of the latter.

The full heart of Chos sku 'od zer was kept at Mag dGe sdings, while most of his remains were buried inside a local *mchod rten*. His disciple kun spangs pa chen po Kun tu bzang po made a golden statue of Thub pa as his teacher's *nang rten* and a rNam rgyal *mchod rten* as *phyi rten* (on all this see *Myang chos 'byung* p.108,3-20).

### 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho (Bu ston rin po che's spiritual advisor)

The last religious master in my reductive analysis of the Noble Religion in Nyang is 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho (b.1260), a specialist of Dus 'khor and abbot of Jo nang for seven years (dGe ye ba Tshul khri ms seng ge, *rGya Bod chos 'byung rin po che* p.253,9-10). He was a main teacher of Bu ston rin po che. Grub chen Kun blo dedicates several lines to him, while he says next to nothing in his text about his own previous birth, the great Zhwa lu abbot:

(*Deb ther* p.474,4-p.475,1): “Kun mkhyen 'Phags 'od, whose qualities were like an ocean, went to Jo mtsho.<sup>96</sup> He was a master of 'Phags ['khor], *Yoga* and Dus ['khor], three in all, and had wide [knowledge of] *gSang sngags*. He was the main *bla ma* of Bu ston. He was the heart disciple of kun spangs Jo nang pa. He stayed at bSam grub bde chen for a long time. He passed away at Mon mkhar of 'Grons pa Gangs phu: mKhas grub lHa dbang blo gros was overwhelmed by grief. He was a master of *Tshad ma*. He was the abbot of sGrog gling, bDe [chen] and 'Dol chung. When Khams pa troops came for looting, he developed sorrow, sat in one-pointed meditation at Jo nang Sa bzangs and had a vision of sGrol ma. He made an iron sGrol ma [statue]. Meditation water leaked out [from it]. Incomparable realisations were born in him. (p.475) When he went here (where?) (p.475), ta'i swi tu 'Phags rin revered him as his *bla ma*”.

A short biography of 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho is found in 'Gos lo tsa ba gZho nu dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* (p.507,17-p.510,5; *Blue Annals* p.422-425), which deals with his interaction with Bu ston Rin chen grub when the latter was already a celebrated master and abbot of Zhwa lu. Bu ston rin po che mainly received *gSang 'dus* and *Phyag rgya chen mo* from him (*Deb ther sngon po* p.1011,8-9; *Blue Annals* p.866). He was encouraged by kun mkhyen 'Phags 'od to engage in a life of teaching rather than meditation—Bu ston rin po che was the abbot of Zhwa lu for thirty-seven years (1320-1364)—a corner-stone decision that shaped the course of his life irreversibly.

96 Jo mtsho, the native place of 'Phags 'od Yon tan rgya mtsho, a disciple of the son of sNur Ye shes rgyal mtshan (*Deb ther sngon po* p.433,19-p.434,2; *Blue Annals* p.355-356) and Chos sku 'od zer (*Deb ther sngon po* p.444,3-8; *Blue Annals* p.365), is to be located in the area between sGo bzhi and rGyal rtse (see *Myang chos 'byung* p.45,15-19, where, nonetheless, there is no reference to 'Phags 'od).

THE RISE OF THE FIRST DOMINANT POWER (THE OLD PERIOD ENDS)

The other secular episode that found its way in *Nyang stod bla ma 'i mtshan gyi deb ther* was one that sealed the seminal 350 years of Nyang pa history. Its inclusion is probably due to the fact that it records a great achievement of grub chen Kun dga' blo gros's father, 'Phags pa dpal bzang. The Shar kha prince fixed the damage done to a historical temple of Nyang stod, the foundation of which is assessed by his son in the lines preceding this incident. Its founding, some three centuries earlier, has been described above (p.526-527). The *grub chen* writes:

(*Deb ther* p.472,3-4): “When the Dung reng [note: lHo brag pa] A ra seized and looted [rKyang po], they carried [the remains of Lo chen and his personal objects] away [from] the *chos 'khor*. Later, the great *ta 'i swi tu* (i.e. 'Phags pa dpal bzang) made a restoration by installing replacements. [rKyang po] has nine *lha khang*, a *'khyams* and *mgon khang*. 900 monks and laymen stay there”.

The Dung reng who looted rKyang po/bu could have belonged to the U ra group settled in lHo Mon (if the name A ra is missing a *shabs kyu*, and thus refers to the lHo Dung [reng]), were it not for the interlinear note adding lHo brag pa to their name, which would make the marauders Shar Dung [reng]. However the addition of the interlinear note “lHo brag pa” is not beyond doubt, and could be the work of a later editor who mistook the lHo Dung for lHo brag pa. Indeed the accounts of the war show that it was the lHo Dung rather than the Shar Dung who marauded Nyang.

The event documented in the *deb ther* must refer to the years before the military expeditions against the Dung reng, led by the Shar kha brothers, which eliminated them. They are mentioned in *rGya Bod yig tshang*,<sup>97</sup> and refer to the campaigns of the years water dragon 1352 and

97 *rGya Bod yig tshang* (p.376,17-p.380,1): “At that time, the Sa skya pa were exercising control over dBus gTsang and Khams, three in all, (p.377) but they could not subdue the lands of lHo Mon. Many Dung reng, known as the Shar Dung and lHo Dung, seized most lands in the southern ranges, up to 'O yug Gos sngon and Shangs sDong po thang [in the north]. A *gser yig pa* of Hor Bod (Mongols in charge of Tibet?) came to exercise the law. The road being unsafe, the *bla ma* advised: “With Khams pa dGe 'dun rgyal mtshan at their head, seven brave persons belonging to the group of secretaries should be selected. In order to subjugate the Dung reng, after going to Nyang stod, they should [put together] as many men as possible. Each [secretary] should send many [people to war]”. In consideration of the purpose [of the enterprise], six men together said: “On this occasion, we request to send 'Phags pa dpal bzang as our companion, a literate person who can give [us] good advice. [The need] of realising what action should be taken may arise”. [The *bla ma*] said: “Take him along”. He went along with them as their companion. They travelled to the camping places of the seven men, at 'Thil, bShol and Lungs. When the Dung reings (spelled so) came to Gong la phyga 'i gzhung in the eastern direction, the [Shar kha pa] dared to pitch their camp [in its vicinity]. The camp was in the centre of the area [delimited], in the north, by Sa dmar gong kha; in the south, by Phra gong ka and, in the east, by Dhe lung gong ka. Therefore they became known as the Gong gsum Shar (p.378) kha pa. Events precipitated after that. The Khams pa having kept their positions for a long time, ['Phags pa dpal bzang] stood firm against the Dung reng in order to subjugate them, but when he came to conscript the men of mGo (sic for mGos) yul stod gsum, 'Bri mtshams Gang sang dkar po and Phag sGang tsho drug [available] at that time and administer the law, Khams pa dGe 'dun rgyal mtshan died at Bong nag mdo chen. In his will he said: “You all should now meet at Kha ma rong and behave with no disunion. dPon yig 'Phags pa dpal will be useful as supreme leader. He should be appointed my successor, following which you must render service to the dpal ldan Sa skya pa”. After that, headed by lHa jo Khrid and Nam mkha' dpal ldan shri, six chieftains got together. They said: “We must follow

water snake 1353-wood horse 1354, respectively terminating the intrusions of the lHo Dung and the Shar Dung.<sup>98</sup>

The Dung reng campaign was a fully fledged war between dBus gTsang against lHo Mon and parts of lHo brag. Otherwise it should be considered another warring episode in the troubled relations between the two, the significance and political extent of which has been conspicuously

[the advice of] the Khams pa. Being necessary to subjugate the Dung reng, owing to a favourable *mo*, we should choose our leader". At the meeting place between the [locality of] A mo, the great keeper of the Chu Mag lineage, Shel mgo and Ri chu thang, they made a *mo* and a little bird [landed] on the shoulder of 'Phags pa dpal, a laughter [was heard] and a handful of white flowers fell on bCu gsum la. This indicated that he should be the chieftain. The others bowed to his feet. He focused on gathering a meeting (p.379) and took steps to [prepare] what was needed, [to explain the mission] target and to remove obstacles. This was the beginning of the dpal ldan Shar kha ba's *bstan pa* ("period", "rule"), which was established henceforth. Eventually, given that they had plundered all the dBus gTsang *khri skor*, [people] gathered to hold a consultation [how] to subjugate the Dung rens (spelled so). Troops of the dBus pa *khri skor*-s were gathered at the flat area of A 'brog pho ma. 'Phags pa dpal's retinue pitched a camp with the Gong gsum Shar kha. With sKu zhang Kun dga' don grub at their head, the troops of the gTsang *khri skor*-s drove the Dung reng out of 'O yug Gos sngon. The [Dung reng] came to Ri dpal ldan zur gsum ("triangular"), at the border inside the Rong mountains that lead to the Shar ra gTsang kha pass, at the side of gTsang Bye ma dkar nag, and gathered there. The Dung reng chieftain Don grub dar rgyas said: "[You] should follow me!". Having marched against the camp of the Zhal lu ba (spelled so), he proceeded across the Gam [pa] Byang sBud ri pass and reached Gur gZha' ri. The Gong gsum [Shar kha] camp planned to chase the advancing Dung reng till the end. Don grub dar's message sent to [the Shar kha chieftain] said: "'Phags pa dpal! Although you think big, I will show [you] no less than my customary handling of [your] men and horses. Within the next month I will come to engage [your] men and properties with all the Shar Dung who are available. So what (p.380) do you think of my serious plans?".

Despite being boisterous about his strength, the head of the Shar Dung eventually went for a parley in order to find an agreement with the troops led by 'Phags pa dpal (ibid. p.380,6-p.381,12): "At the end of the period of one month, Don grub dar gathered the best men of the Shar Dung and took them along. He came bringing good gifts and said: "You must be good with [my] men. I, too, will be good [with your's]. I bow to your feet from now on". All the impregnable castles and lands, high up, from Chu skyed lung gsum, lHo brag Gya ba bzhi and 'A lungs skyogs mo and lower down to Tsag sa wa bzhuks were captured. All the people and possessions of the powerful families were taken over. The dignitaries of the Shar Dung, who submitted, were given *las 'dzin* ("officers") posts. Having settled down, Dung reng families are still at present staying at Mang rab in Nyang stod. After that, ['Phags pa dpal bzang], thinking of subjugating the lHo Dung, went to Phag ri Rin chen sgang. He invited sTag 'od, the chieftain (*slob dpon*, see Ardussi, "The gDung lineages of Eastern and Central Bhutan" n.16) of the sPas 'gro (spelled so) Ban 'phrang pa, (p.381) with a gentle speech and with pleasant offers of food, *chang*, hats and clothes on various occasions (*rim par*). Moreover, despite being his enemies, the most hostile chieftains (*slob dpon*) of the lHo Dung were invited to Phag ri. They were deceived with food and *chang*. Having gathered their most dangerous men, ['Phags pa dpal] assassinated some 160 of them. Their heads were severed and put below the thresholds of the doors of Rin chen sgang *mgon khang*. He built Phag ri rNam rgyal gyi rdzong in accordance with the *bla ma*'s instructions. All localities of the lHo Dung, such as sPa 'gro (spelled so) and Had sTag lung, were reduced under his control. He introduced small and big trade marts (*las sgo*) at Phag ri. He appointed his younger brother Phag (sic for 'Phags) rin to be its earliest *rdzong dpon*. Likewise he subjugated the Shar Dung and the lHo Dung in stages. The communities from Sa skya to the postal relay at the border of [La stod] lHo Byang lived in peace [since then]".

98 Whereas *rGya Bod yig tshang* is profuse in describing the campaigns against the Dung reng but without a precise chronology of events, *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* is concise but provides the dates of the military actions. The latter text (p.8,12-17) reads: "In water male dragon 1252, ... the lHo Dung were exterminated at Phag ri Rin chen sgang; the next year (water snake 1353), Shar Dung Don grub dar was decapitated".

Ibid. (p.8,19-21): "In wood male horse 1354, the younger brother 'Phags pa rin chen went to lHo brag and subjugated the Shar Dung. People should be immensely grateful to the dBus gTsang [alliance]".

underrated in the historiographical literature of Tibet, despite the space given to it in *rGya Bod yig tshang*. It seems that several Dung reng groups scored successes that allowed the lHo Dung from lHo Mon to loot and take hold of Nyang and the Shar Dung from lHo brag to establish control over areas contiguous to lHo brag all the way to Shangs beyond the northern bank of the gTsang po. This led the Dung reng to bring their sway over a huge area of Tibetan territory, such as hardly took place at any other time in the history of the highlands.

The seriousness of the situation required an alliance between dBus and gTsang—a surprise coalition given the bad relations prevailing between Sa skya and Phag gru in those years. This development led to a two-pronged campaign. The Shar Dung were defeated by allied troops of dBus gTsang led by Shar kha Phags pa rin chen, and one needs to wonder who were these troops from dBus (Phag mo gru pa?). On the southern front, the Tibetan forces were unable to get rid of their dangerous neighbours from lHo Mon, owing to the weakness of Sa skya pa in those years. Hence two campaigns occurred: a successful one against the Shar Dung all the way north of the gTsang po, undertaken by dBus pa and gTsang pa troops; and another (less successful), undertaken by Sa skya against the lHo Dung.

The contention against lHo Mon ended up being a war between Nyang (i.e. the Shar kha pa) and the lHo Dung, whose victorious conclusion in water male dragon 1352 was achieved by the Shar kha pa not through a military campaign but through treachery, for it seems the gTsang pa were unable to defeat the lHo Mon marauders in any other way.

The Dung reng's campaigns and their eventual defeat had no effects upon the dispute between Sa skya and Phag gru despite the remarkable extent of the marauders' advance into Central Tibet,<sup>99</sup> but had important consequences for the land of Nyang. The war against the lHo Dung brought a significant change in its history.

It is only apparently a historical paradox that the rise of the Shar kha pa family coincided with the downfall of their Sa skya pa mentors. Although the Phag mo gru pa took over from the vacuum of power they themselves had being instrumental in creating, inner strength and good diplomacy led the princes of rTse chen and rGyal rtse to exercise a limited power over Nyang and contiguous lands. This was the embryo of future developments that set the conditions for other rulers in gTsang to vie for supremacy in the confrontation with the dBus pa.

The root of Shar kha power over Nyang is to be found in their victory in the war against lHo Mon and the lHo Dung, which coincided with the loss of Sa skya supremacy at the hands of ta'i swi tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan's Phag mo gru pa. It is difficult to say how much the Phag mo gru pa's victory over Sa skya contributed to the Shar kha pa surge to prominence in Nyang, but it is a fact that the end of Sa skya pa control over the Tibetan highlands left a power vacuum that local principalities were quick to fill. This could not have been possible in Nyang, where, for centuries, neither a religious nor a secular entity had come to exercise

<sup>99</sup> The Phag mo gru pa exercised a loose control over Eastern Tibet, West Tibet and Upper West Tibet after they took over from the Sa skya pa in wood horse 1354 (see my "The introduction of Tsong kha pa's doctrine in the region of river Sindhu: a study of its secular implications", a paper presented at the XII Colloquium of the International Association for Ladakhi Studies, Leh July 2009; and also Czaja, *Medieval Rule in Tibet* vol.I p.196-218).

a predominant role. The IHo Mon war catapulted the Shar kha pa princes into a position whereby these Khams pa relative newcomers could fulfil their ambitions and surge to a commanding status in Nyang.

The foundations of Phag ri rNam rgyal dkar po in the year of the hare 1251 and Gan pa lHun grub rdzong in the year of the dragon 1252 (*Myang chos 'byung* p.90,2-3) occurred before those of rTse chen rdzong in 1364 and rGyal mkhar rtse in 1365. The locations of the former ones indicate that they were constructed to protect Nyang from aggression by their neighbours to the south and east, and that the latter two, the main Shar kha seats, were built after the enemies had been defeated.

The Shar kha-Dung reng war marks the end of the old phase of Nyang pa history and the beginning of a new one. Going back to the dates in grub chen Kun dga' blo gros's life mentioned at the beginning of this article, it is his birth year 1365 that marks the turning point, taking shape with the foundation of rTse chen and rGyal rtse. These enterprises sanctioned the enhanced status of grub chen Kun blo's father, owing to his victory on a war that should be considered as a major event in the history of 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century Tibet. The other poignant date in grub chen Kun blo's life (1418) marks the definitive annointment of the Shar kha pa with their capital rGyal rtse becoming the religious centre of Nyang. From secularism to religion, the steps to ascendancy were complete.

## FINALE

During the centuries dealt with in *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*, Nyang as a whole was not controlled by any of the great families of the region or those who came to settle there. Religious and secular centres of the region seem not to have indulged in expansionism.

Among the many religious institutions founded during *bstan pa phyi dar* and thereafter, very few (possibly gNas rnying and Zhwa lu) surged to lasting importance through the centuries before the advent of the Shar kha pa. Religious institutions rather rose to preeminent status owing to the individual exertions of charismatic *bla ma*-s. Once those great masters were gone, they went back to a position of relative anonymity, while other religious institutions took on importance owing to the appearance of other great *bla ma*-s there.

The activity of Lo ston rDo rje dbang phyug, Tshong btsun Shes rab seng ge and their disciples in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century was crucial for the diffusion of the religious approach that prevailed in Nyang for centuries to come. Coexistence was a main feature of Nyang, which reflected the initial organisation of the region, based as it was on the network of *tsho* communities, observant of the '*Dul ba* vow.

As for the presence of A ti sha's followers in Nyang, the diffusion of the doctrine of Jo bo rje was not as vibrant as in dBus. Jo bo rje's heart disciples were concentrated in dBus, where their relations were, in some cases, torn by personal rivalry. This did not occur in gTsang. Although they did not have the same weight as 'Brom, rNgog, Khu or Bang had in dBus in the fields of the

doctrine or temple foundations, the three Yol brothers engaged in a remarkable activity of diffusion of the bKa' gdams pa school in Nyang, by taking over older monasteries or adding new temples.

The conducive atmosphere established in Nyang during the 11<sup>th</sup> century was still lively during the first part of the 12<sup>th</sup>, when the rNgog lo tsa ba and Pa tshab lo tsa ba's philosophical traditions were spread in the territory by 'Bre Shes rab 'bar, one of the most brilliant sons of the soil, and his associates.

The salient feature of the religion in this period continued to be fragmentation, with a number of centres scattered in the territory and held by individual masters. Major 12<sup>th</sup> century monastic schools with a network of institutions under their "mother" monastery did not find popularity in Nyang. On the secular side, historical clans of the region exercised control but without, again, a dominant power.<sup>100</sup>

The same state of secular affairs carried on in the next century and remarkably during its second half. Major monasteries of Nyang, some of them (Zhwa lu, sMan lung) run by great historical families (lCe, dPyal), pursued their individual traditions as before. Despite Sa skya's dominance, the religious centres of Nyang retained their own religious specificities. Owing to

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100 None of the Nyang clans surged to any steadfast condition of power, besides the prestige and importance deriving from their great *bla ma*-s. Not even the Sa skya pa or their major feudatories, such as the Zhwa lu pa, came to exercise overall control in line with their superior status, but it goes without saying that clans active in Nyang grew in importance or lost it during different periods.

The rGya and mGos had a remarkable influence over the lands in the south-eastern stretch of Nyang during *bstan pa snga dar*. Later, the rGya kept having a moderate charisma in rGyang ro, whereas no masters of the mGos seems to have left a significant mark in the religious field.

Among all other clans active in Nyang, the lCe had a steadfast importance from the imperial period onwards through the centuries, especially during *bstan pa phyi dar* and the Sa skya pa overlordship, when, unlike most other clans, they faced revolts of their subjects and were involved in disputes with neighbours. Their apogee in the region depended mostly on the towering personality of Bu ston rin po che, who was not a lCe, and their policy of marrying their women to the Sa skya pa, to lose a bit of momentum after the demise of the great Zhwa lu abbot.

The dPyal were the other local clan which, owing to a highly individual and complex religious practice, continued to exercise a steady and distinctive role in Nyang and beyond its borders, all the way to Bal po and Ma ga dha.

The 'Bre, on the contrary, although being originally from Nyang like the lCe (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston* p.187,6: "Nyang ro and Grom pa are the [ancestral] lands of the 'Bre and the lCe"), surged to preeminence occasionally, when a great master—I think of 'Bre chen po—left a mark over an entire period.

Sa skya pa power or, rather, Sa skya pa weakness was the trampoline to prominence for the Shar kha pa, immigrants rather than natives and thus less used to coexistence among equals, typical of Nyang.

Other great clans of Nyang, despite their status and history, played a more marginal role, owing to changes of fortune and contributions to the religion of uneven excellence. The Khyung's most remarkable season was the late 11<sup>th</sup> century and the first part of the 12<sup>th</sup>, when Khyung Rin chen grags trained followers in disciplines ranging from rNgog lo tsa ba's system to *Tshad ma*.

The importance of the Cog ro in Nyang, like the mGos, seems to have been confined to the pre-*bstan pa phyi dar* period.

The Gru who settled in Nyang were originally from 'Dan yul, where they resided at Klong thang sGrol ma'i lha khang. Their area in Nyang was rGyang ro, a land traditionally controlled by the rGya. They are reputed for their contribution to the teachings particularly during the 12<sup>th</sup> century. They also came to be active in the area where rGyal rtse was subsequently built (on them see above n.2).

The Bran [ka] surged to moderate prominence in Nyang bar (at Man lung) rather than at their ancestral monastery sKyid khud in sGo bzhi, owing to the work of major proponents in the family during the late 12<sup>th</sup> century and the 13<sup>th</sup>. They were eclectic bKa' brgyud pa, open to a wide array of other traditions.

the 'Bre/'Dre tradition, gNas rnying carried on (after having been controlled by the rGya and A ti sha's disciples) with a succession of abbots in the dByil family from La stod Byang, to which his disciple dKon mchog mkhar belonged.

Insularity persisted even during the Sa skya pa domination of Tibet. The religious institutions of Nyang were not coopted into the system of this school. This goes to the credit of the Sa skya pa approach—liberal in religious practice—rather more than any inner strength on the part of the religious communities of Nyang. A more decisive inclusion of religious institutions of Nyang into the Sa skya pa fold occurred after the appointment of Shar kha 'Phags pa dpal bzang to the bZhi thog palace.

If an overall idea of the history of Nyang be given in a nutshell, it reflects, on the one hand, the general trends that characterised life in Tibet for centuries: the region indeed went through the plateau's main historical phases, such as the imperial period of the sPu rgyal's *lha sras btsan po-s*, *bstan pa phyi dar* and the Sa skya pa supremacy; but on the other hand, there were traits remarkably distinctive from the common framework. The history of Nyang from the year of the bird 997 that marked the local inception of *bstan pa phyi dar smad lugs* to the Dung reng-Nyang war of 1352-1354 (the 350 years recorded in *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*) was a single, long phase in the name of multiplicity, versatility and coexistence, promoted by a succession of great religious masters in an array of different expressions and events.

It was in the span of grub chen Kun dga' blo gros's life that the ambitious policy of both Shar kha pa branches (rTse chen and rGyal rtse) reached a status that went beyond the boundaries of Nyang and projected the region into a new phase, thus becoming part of the overall game among the potentates of the plateau. Both bSod nams dpal and Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags, who had commissioned *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*, were members of the cabinet of the Phag mo gru pa rulers (*Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* p.86,10-11). This marks Nyang's definitive loss of its multiple independent insularity, which had been preserved even during the time of the Yuan dynasty's Sa skya pa plenipotentiaries, for it became a land whose fortunes depended on those of dBus gTsang at large.

## ADDENDUM

### TEXTUAL FILIATION

As for the issue of textual filiation in reference to the literature on Nyang used here, it appears that *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* is the text on old Nyang like no other, for it falls short of mentioning rTse chen and rGyal rtse, but for a marginal citation.<sup>101</sup> It is the earliest dated so far known document which ends its treatment around the mid 14<sup>th</sup> century, earlier than any other text on Nyang. In this way, the *deb ther* is somehow the *ma yig* of all other texts which, therefore, are its *bu yig*.

101 *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther* talks about a master active at rGyal rtse before the foundation of dPal 'khor chos sde:

(*Deb ther* p.465,5-6) "Chos kyi dpal ba went to [hold] Gong gsum bDe chen [note: he was a teacher of Tsong kha pa]. He also went to [settle at] rGyal rtse".

The chapters dedicated to early gNas rnying in the monographic work *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam kyi rnam thar*, however, may long predate it. This is a multi-layered work, to which several biographies of a succession of local abbots were added over time, so that it is difficult to credit Swi gung nyams med Rin chen solely for its authorship. It seems feasible from the passages in the *deb ther* dedicated to gNas rnying that grub chen Kun dga' blo gros made use of this work or its sources.

The case of *Myang chos 'byung* is similar yet different from *gNas rnying skyes bu dam pa rnam kyi rnam thar*. It is the ultimate text on what I define as the new history of Nyang but, at the same time, it has incorporated and developed the material in the *deb ther* that was used as its guidelines. Hence, it is indebted to the *deb ther* for the earlier textual parts, more from a conceptual viewpoint than from the incorporation of historical material. *Myang chos 'byung* manifestly drew material from an array of local texts (*gnas yig-s*, *dkar chag-s*, *rnam thar-s* etc.), not used in the *deb ther*. But the inspiration for its writing is derived from grub chen Kun blo's work.

sTag sna rdzong pa dPal 'byor bzang po, the author of *rGya Bod yig tshang*, must have known and possibly made use of the *deb ther* or an early version of *Myang chos 'byung* for his geographical part of Nyang he has incorporated in his work to introduce the lCe family of Zhwa lu. But when he gets to discussing the lCe, he significantly deviates from the two sources. In his monograph on the Shar kha princes, the chapter on them neglects all activities in Nyang that are not connected with the princes of rTse chen and rGyal rtse. It is, thus, a chapter entirely different from *Nyang stod bla ma'i mtshan gyi deb ther*.

More complex to decode is the possible relation of *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* and the *deb ther*. Both works are the outcome of the same cultural and family milieu, but Rab brtan's biography, in spite of its plethora of material, misses a good chance to trespass the limits of events focused on rGyal rtse and to expand its treatment to a wider context. There is an embryo of that, but I think it is purely topical rather than intentional.

Finally, the modern rGyang ro *gnas yig*, entitled *rGyang ru Sa ma mda' khul gyi dgon pa lha khang khag gi lo rgyus dad ldan mgu ba'i rna rgyan*, by S.S. Wangyal is a good document on the monasteries of this area. It is styled after *Myang chos 'byung*, and does not add much to it.

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# THU'U BKWAN'S LITERARY ADAPTATIONS OF THE LIFE OF DGONGS PA RAB GSAI

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The story of Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal looms large in Tibetan historiography. In many Tibetan texts,<sup>1</sup> Dgongs pa rab gsal is revered for his pivotal role in preserving and then transmitting the *smad 'dul*, the “lowland” or *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, in eastern Tibet (mdo khams) during a period of religious repression in Dbus Gtsang. Dgongs pa rab gsal's life story is interesting for many reasons: it bridges historical periods (the division between the Early Diffusion of Buddhism [*bstan pa snga dar*] and the Later Diffusion of Buddhism [*bstan pa phyi dar*]),<sup>2</sup> and geographical space (uniting eastern Tibet with Central Tibet through transmission lineages of the vinaya).<sup>3</sup> Yet, scholars still wrestle with many features of this historical era, sometimes referred to as “rekindling the flame” (*me ro 'bar*), including: a lack of congruence on the dates of ordination transmission of the eastern vinaya monks, locations of ordinations, the dates of Dgongs pa rab gsal's life as well as other historical figures involved.<sup>4</sup> I do not attempt to

1 Heather Stoddard categorizes two main groups of historical sources according to the time of composition. The earlier group consists of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'Od zer (1124-1192)'s *Chos 'byung me tog snying po 'i sbrang rtsi 'i bcud*; *Mkhas pa lde 'us mdzad pa 'i rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* (later than 1261); and the *Lde 'u chos 'byung*. The second group of historical sources covers the 14th to 20th century and includes diverse works as follows: *Bu ston chos 'byung* (1322); *Yar lung jo bo 'i chos 'byung* (1376); *Deb ther sngon po* [=Blue Annals] (1476-1478); *Rgyal rabs gsal ba 'i me long* (1368), trans. Per Sørensen. *The Mirror Illuminating Royal Genealogies* (Wiesbaden 1994); *Bod sog chos 'byung pad dkar phreng mdzas* (1992), by Shing bza' skal bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan; *Ka thog Tshe dbang nor bu's Yid kyi me long* (1745); *Mkhas pa 'i dga' ston* by Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba (ca. 1566); *Myang chos 'byung* by Tāranātha (1575-1634); *Dpag bsam ljon bzang* (1747) by Sum pa Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1788); *Mdo smad chos 'byung* by Brag dgon zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1801-1866); *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism* [= *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung* by Bdud 'joms Jis bral ye shes rdo rje (1904-1987)] translated by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein (2002); and *bZo gnas skra rtse 'i chu thigs* (Beijing 1994) by dKon mchog bstan 'dzin (b. 1949); See Heather Stoddard, “Rekindling the Flame: A Note on Royal Patronage in Tenth Century Tibet. The Princely Descendants of Lang Dar Ma, the Six Sog Mo of Khams, the Ten Men of Dbus Gtsang and the Founding of Temples in Central Tibet in 10th and 11th C.,” in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet: Proceedings of a Seminar held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2000*, ed. Christoph Cüpper (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 49-104.

2 The collapse of the Tibetan empire is often pinpointed at Langdarma's assassination in 842/846; there are also larger discrepancies in dating the birth of Langdarma; cf. Stoddard, *Rekindling the Flame*, 54; Ronald Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 85.

3 The beginning of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism (*bstan pa phyi dar*) is often marked by the return of the “Ten Men” to Central Tibet, most notably Klu mes, in 978. According to many sources these men reestablished the Sangha or Buddhist community in ca. 978, approximately 64 years before the arrival of Atisha at Bsam yas in 1042; cf. Stoddard, *Rekindling the Flame*, 53-55; Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 84-116.

4 Among western Tibetologists Hugh Richardson found it spurious, or in his words “pious fiction,” that Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal could have been both ordained by The Three Great Scholars in the mid-9th

solve this historical puzzle, but rather focus on Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma's (1737-1802) literary adaptations of the life story of Dgongs pa rab gsal. This author penned one of the few *rnam thar*<sup>5</sup> devoted to Bla chen—"the Great Guru". He also wrote on Dgongs pa rab gsal within the *rnam thar* on his teacher, Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786). This essay examines Thu'u bkwan's literary adaptations of a historical narrative on Bla chen. It is divided into three main parts. The first section is devoted to close textual analysis of select passages on the life of Dgongs pa rab gsal in three texts. While establishing *Deb ther sngon po*; hereafter, *The Blue Annals*, as one of the main sources for Thu'u bkwan's biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal, I analyze select biographical details from this text on Bla chen's life, in order to show Thu'u bkwan's adaptations of this historical narrative. In the second section of this essay, I look to the dates of composition of Thu'u bkwan's two texts on Bla chen and propose both were written contemporaneously. Finally, I bring these sections together to argue that although Thu'u bkwan's texts didn't provide new historical information on his proposed subject—Dgongs pa rab gsal, these texts nonetheless reflect a historical moment—that of the author's devotion to his teacher, Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje.

## I. Textual Analysis: Thu'u bkwan's Literary Adaptations

In order to illustrate Thu'u bkwan's adaptations of Bla chen's life story, I compare *Bla chen byang chub sems dpa' dgongs pa rab gsal gyi rnam thar mdo tsam gnam du brjod pa rin po che'i phreng mdzes*;<sup>6</sup> hereafter, *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*, and the section on Dgongs pa rab gsal found in *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ngo bo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan*;<sup>7</sup> hereafter, *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography*, with sections from one of

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century and also responsible for the ordination of the Ten Men from Dbus at the end of the tenth century; Hugh Richardson, "A Tibetan inscription from Rgyal lha-khang; and a Note on Tibetan Chronology from A.D. 841-A.D. 1042," *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1957.

5 On the topic of Tibetan-language auto/biography, see Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 101-123.

6 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, "Bla chen byang chub sems dpa' dgongs pa rab gsal gyi rnam par thar pa mdo tsam du brjod pa rin po che'i phreng mdzes [=The beautiful bejeweled rosary: an exposition of a brief biography of the great guru, Bodhisattva Dgongs pa rab gsal]," in *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum* [Biographical writings recounting the lives of Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal, Bogdo chagan lama Bkra shis rgya mtsho, and Thu'u-bkwan Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho], vol.1 (New Delhi: Tibet House, 1983), 1-15. See also, Craig Earl Watson, "The Second Propagation of Buddhism from Eastern Tibet According to the *Short Biography of Dgongs-pa Rab-gsal* by the Third Thukvan bLo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737-1802), *Central Asiatic Journal* 22, no. 3-4 (1978), 263-285.

7 Ngawang Gelek Demo, ed. *Collected Works of Thu'u-bkwan-blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma*, vol. 1, with introduction by E. Gene Smith (New Delhi: Jayyed Press, January 1969), folio 23-33; see also E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Himalayan Plateau* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 133 and 149-150 and Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan s'u mi rigs dpe krun khang, 1989 [Reprint]).

Thu'u bkwan's main historical sources, *The Blue Annals*. I neither attempt to establish a textual genealogy nor do I argue that *The Blue Annals* is the sole Urtext, but rather I aim to prove that *The Blue Annals* was one of Thu'u bkwan's main historical sources for his own compositions. Then I selected two sections from Bla chen's life story for closer analysis: 1) Bla chen's conversion of *the'u rang* spirits at Dan tig and 2) Bla chen's place of death. By comparing these three texts, Thu'u bkwan's significant innovations in his retelling of Dgongs pa rab gsal's life story come into focus. Sometimes, Thu'u bkwan copies and paraphrases his source text; in other sections, he inserts new details elaborating upon the narrative in *The Blue Annals*. The other type of Thu'u bkwan's adaptations may be better described as one of innovation. The author deviates so widely from the historical narrative as to create a new ending for the life story for Dgongs pa rab gsal. In the final section of this essay, I propose some reasons for this creative adaptation.

In order to establish *The Blue Annals* as a blue print for Thu'u bkwan's works, I look both at the biographical details on Bla chen and the framing of the narrative. "Biographical details" refers to events reported to have happened during the life of the historical person, Dgongs pa rab gsal. "Framing of the narrative" constitutes how the biographical details are ordered, developed and presented in the text.<sup>8</sup> Fitting to *The Blue Annals* as a historical genre, the material on Bla chen's life story, in point of fact, does not start with data on Dgongs pa rab gsal, but rather his story is framed within the "roots" (*rtsa ba*) of the history of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism.

*The Blue Annals'* account begins with the Three Great Scholars: G.yo dge 'byung, Dmar Shakyamūni, and gTsang rab gsal, who carried scriptures with them when they fled from their meditation hermitage, Chu bo ri, in order to escape the wrath of the Glang dar ma, a king reported to have persecuted Buddhists in Central Tibet. So at first, Bla chen is not explicitly mentioned in *The Blue Annals*, rather the historical scene of the Later Diffusion of the Dharma is set with the following passage, which is also included in Thu'u bkwan's *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*. *The Blue Annals'* passage is as follows with the text that is also found in Thu'u bkwan's text printed in bold:

bstan pa phyi dar gyi rtsa ba nyid gang yin pa bshad par bya ste| **dar ma** 'U dum  
btsan gyis **bstan pa bsnuvs pa**'i dus su **dpal chu bo ri**'i **sgom grwa na**| g.yor  
stod kyi **dmar ban sha' kya mu ne** dang| drang chung mdo'i **g.yo dge 'byung**  
dang| rgya rab pa'i **gtsangs rab gsal dang**| **gsum gyis karma sha tam la sogs**  
**pa'i 'dul** mgnon gyi **dpe cha dgos rnam** spyen drang nas| dang por stod phyogs  
la bros tes<sup>9</sup>

8 This approach to literary-historical analysis is inspired by both Gerhard Theuerkeuf's approach to hermeneutics of medieval texts and Andrew Quintman's approach to interpretations of Milarepa's biographical corpus; see G. Theuerkauf, *Die Interpretation historischer Quellen: Schwerpunkt: Mittelalter* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1991) and Andrew Quintman, *The Yogin and the Madman: Reading the Biographical Corpus of Tibet's Great Saint Milarepa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

9 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, vol. kha (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, Reprint from Kun bde gling bla brang gi par khang, 1974), folio 58; 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984 [Reprint]), 89. This history was composed between 1476-1478, see George Roerich, "Introduction" in *Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Ltd., 1996 [Reprint]), ii.

As to the roots of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism, it should be explained that when Emperor Dar ma 'U dum suppressed the Dharma, the monks of the glorious Chu bo ri: Dmar ban sha' kya mu ne of Upper G.yo; G.yo dge 'byung of Drang chung mdo; Gtsangs rab gsal of Rgya rab pa took the necessities—scriptures of the Vinaya and Abhidharma, such as the *Karmaśataka*, and fled, first of all, to Western Tibet.

The beginning of this historical time period is set with The Three Great Scholars fleeing Central Tibet. We know this is important to Bla chen's life story because Thu'u bkwan copied this section of *The Blue Annals* in his biography on Bla chen, but the framing of the narrative is different. The text from Thu'u bkwan's biography that overlaps with this part of the *The Blue Annals* is shown in bold:

dus de'i tshe na bod du rgyal po glang dar mas **bstan pa bsnubs pas| dpal chu bo ri'i sgom grwa na bzhugs pa dmar ban sha' kya mu ne| g.yo dge 'byung| gtsang rab gsal dang gsum gyis karma sha tam sogs 'dul ba'i dpe cha dgos rnam** bsnams nas...<sup>10</sup>

Thu'u bkwan clearly paraphrased and condensed this part of *The Blue Annals*' narrative in crafting this section of his *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*. With the exception of the first phrase, "At that time in Tibet, the King Glang dar ma," Thu'u bkwan uses the same words found in *The Blue Annals*. Besides minor variances in the name and title of Glang Dar ma/ Dar ma 'U dum, no striking differences stand out here. Clearly *The Blue Annals* is a blueprint for Thu'u bkwan's text. Despite this, the framing of the narratives vary significantly between the two texts. Unlike *The Blue Annals* which started the section on the Later Diffusion of the Dharma (and thus the historical information on Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal) with the Three Great Scholars' departure from Central Tibet, Thu'u bkwan did not begin his biography of Bla chen with this information.

*A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* opens with a five stanza eulogy.<sup>11</sup> This praise poem uses epithets, such as the "Dharma-holder of Tibet" (*bod kyi bstan 'dzin*), and elaborate *kāvya* style verse to praise Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal for his deeds. This section, absent from *The Blue Annals*, then concludes with Thu'u bkwan's authorial intention:

bstan pa'i me ro mdo smad nas gsos te bod yul kun tu dar shing rgyas par mdzad pa'i bka' drin can bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal zhes grags pa'i sems dpa' chen po nyid kyi rnam par thar pa mdo tsam 'god par bya ste<sup>12</sup>

I shall compose this condensed biography of the Mahāsattva, famously known as Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal, whose benevolent deeds flamed the embers of the Dharma from Mdo smad to Bod.

10 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 4.

11 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 2-3.

12 Ibid., folio 3.



The author's homage to Bla chen emphasizes his achievements in rekindling the Buddhist doctrine in eastern Tibet and spreading the Dharma through his deeds as a "great being" to Central Tibet. This can be read metaphorically because there is no evidence that Bla chen travelled to Central Tibet to actually spread the Dharma—this was accomplished by his later disciples, but here in Thu'u bkwan's version this is attributed to Bla chen's deeds more directly. In contrast, *The Blue Annals* offers no panegyric in honor of Bla chen, nor does this history elaborate on Bla chen's achievements in terms of bringing the Dharma from eastern Tibet to Central Tibet.

*The Blue Annals'* narrative continues to follow the Three Great Scholars' journey until they finally settled in Mdo smad. Upon arrival in eastern Tibet, they meet a young boy who is considered the reincarnation of a prime minister called 'Bro stag snang khri gsum rje. Upon meeting the Three Great Scholars, the boy requests ordination, and he is given the name Dge ba gsal,<sup>13</sup> a name comprised from the syllables in the names of those who ordained him. After travelling extensively in order to receive various teachings, Dgong pa rab gsal contemplates going into retreat. Then he is invited to the mountain hermitage of Dan tig,<sup>14</sup> which is near his birth place. I now take a break from following the narrative in *The Blue Annals* to take a closer look at this particular passage in *The Blue Annals* as compared with Thu'u bkwan's *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*.

### I.1. Bla chen's Conversion of the *The 'u rang* Spirits at Dan tig<sup>15</sup>

Bla chen's invitation to the mountain hermitage of Dan tig from non-human spirits called *the 'u rang* is found in *The Blue Annals* as well as in Thu'u bkwan's two texts on Dgongs pa rab gsal. This episode tells how the Great Guru is able to teach non-humans about Buddhism, communicating to entities from a lower realm about the Dharma—an almost impossible feat, that serves to demonstrate Bla chen's spiritual power. The passage from *The Blue Annals* reads as follows, with the words also found in Thu'u bkwan's *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* in bold:

**ri dan tig dang nye ba na thi'u rang spun dgu zhes bya ba mi ma yin pa stobs  
dang ldan pa de rnam bla chen po mthong ba dang dad pa skyes te| bdag  
cag gi sa phyogs gang dang gang na dgon po chen po dngos grub brnyes pa  
mang du byung| rtsa ba dang 'bral bu la sogs pa rnyed sla ba der 'byon pa rtsi  
gnang| bdag cag gis kyang khyed kyi grogs dang dge bsnyen du yang byi'o  
zhes zhus pas| gnang nas dan tig du byon no**<sup>16</sup>

Near Mount Dan tig, powerful non-humans known as "the nine mighty th[e]'u rang relatives" saw Bla chen po and were filled with devotion. "Please

13 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984 [Reprint]), 90.

14 Ibid., 91.

15 On The 'u rang class of deities, see Réne De Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet: The Cult and Iconography of the Tibetan Protective Deities* (Varanasi: Book Faith India, 1996 [Reprint]), 282-283.

16 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal, *Op. cit.*, 91.

come to our region with its retreat hermitages all over, where it is easy to attain the roots and the fruits, and many have attained spiritual accomplishments! Let us be your friends and lay supporters!” Then they went to Dan tig.

As almost the entire Tibetan passage in bold print above indicates, Thu’u bkwan seems to have copied this passage verbatim from *The Blue Annals*. This can also be illustrated by turning to *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*, with the words found in *The Blue Annals* in bold:

**[8] ri tan tig dang nye ba na the’u rang spun dgu zhes bya ba mi ma yin stobs  
dang ldan pa de rnams bla chen po mthong ba dang dad pa skyes te| bdag  
cag gis phyogs gang dang na dgon pa chen po dngos grub brnyes pa mang du  
byung| rtsa ba dang ’bras bu la sogs pa rnyed sla ba der ’byon par ci gngang|  
bdag cag gis kyang khyed kyi grogs dang dge bsnyen du yang bgyi’o zhes zhu  
bas| gngang nas dan tig tu byon no|<sup>17</sup>**

With the exception of the alternate spellings of Dan tig/ Tan tig and the spirits known as *thi’u rang/ the’u rang*, Thu’u bkwan copied this section of *The Blue Annals* word for word. This again proves *The Blue Annals* was an important textual source for Thu’u bkwan, but his copying of the text does not show how this polymath adapted the Bla chen story.

In order to see Thu’u bkwan’s adaptations, I turn to his other account of Bla chen included in *Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje’s Biography*. In the section on *skyes rab*, “successive rebirths,” Thu’u bkwan sketches out fourteen previous lives of the Lcang skya lamas and includes Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal as the first in the incarnation lineage. This invention is not found in previous narrations of the successive lives of Lcang skya lamas.<sup>18</sup> From this list of fourteen previous incarnations, Thu’u bkwan wrote three detailed biographies on important previous lives. The first of the three is on Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal;<sup>19</sup> the other two are Mar pa Chos kyis blo gros and Gtsang myon He ru ka Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan.<sup>20</sup>

Interestingly, this section of *Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje’s Biography* contains the above passage on Dan tig (found in both *The Blue Annals* and *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*),<sup>21</sup> but the biography of Lcang skya frames this section of the Bla chen story markedly different. After Thu’u bkwan briefly introduced the text as Lcang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje’s past life as Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal,<sup>22</sup> he began this narrative with Bla chen’s conversion of *the’u rang* spirits. This beginning is unlike *The Blue Annals* which was framed in the historical context of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism and dissimilar from *A Brief Biography of*

17 Thu’u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 8.

18 Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 145-146.

19 Ngawang Gelek Demo, ed. *Collected Works*, folio 23-33; and Thu’u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa’i rdo rje rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan s’u mi rigs dpe krun khang, 1989 [Reprint]), 19-24.

20 Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 135.

21 Thu’u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa’i rdo rje rnam thar* (1989), 20.

22 *Ibid.*, 15.

*Dgongs pa rab gsal* which began with a praise poem and authorial intentions. This section of *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography* starts off with:

bla chen tan tig tu bzhugs skabs the'u rang mang po la chos gsungs pas de rnams  
kyis dad pa thobs ste<sup>23</sup>

When Bla chen was residing at [D]an tig, many *the'u rang* listened to Dharma teachings and had faith.

This opening sentence succinctly sums up the more elaborate passage on Dan tig detailed above,<sup>24</sup> and then continues to focus on the connection between Dgongs pa rab gsal and his future incarnations:

ma 'ongs pa'i du su mdo smad kyi ljongs 'dir chos sde che chung du mar gtsug lag  
khang la gser thob g.yu thog 'gel| dge ba bshes gnyen mang pos mdo sngags kyi  
bshad nyan byed cing sang rgyas kyi bstan pa la bya ba byed par smon lam btab|  
the'u rang gcig ci byas kyang dad pa ma thob par de lta bu'i dus su rgyal phran  
zhig tu skyes nas gtsug lag khang rnam bsregs cing bshigs| dge 'dun rnams bskrad|  
dam pa du ma bkrong ba sogs bstan la gnod pa byed pa'i log pa'i smon lam btab|  
bla chen gyis de lta bu'i dus su dge ba'i bshes gnyen zhig tu gyur nas rgyal phran  
des bstan pa bsnuks pa slar yang gong 'phel du gtor ba'i thugs bskyed dang smon  
lam rgya chen po mdzad do| dus phyis rgya'i dmag dpon nyen gung gis mdo smad  
kyi dgon sde rnams bshigs pa rje bla ma ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho'i bka  
drin las gong ma chen pos slar yang gso bar mdzad na'ng<sup>25</sup>

At a time in the future, in the territory of Mdo smad, gold and turquoise roofs were placed on temples of small and large monastic communities. And prayer aspirations were made for many *geshe* to explain sutra and tantra and for the teachings of the Buddha to spread. One *the'u rang*, no matter what, would not have faith and made negative aspirations; and so was reborn in a kingdom, where he razed temples to the ground, expelled all the monks and destroyed the teachings, of whatever faithful were left standing. Then Bla chen made great prayer aspirations and mind-generations to become a *geshe* in that kingdom at that time and to reverse the growing destruction of the Dharma. In those days, the Chinese General Nyen Gung [*< Chi. Nian Gengyao*] destroyed many monasteries in Mdo smad. Then by dint of the emperor's kindness, even greater than that of [the Second Thu'u bkwan] Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, the temples were once again repaired.

This passage, absent from *A Brief Biography on Dgongs pa rab gsal*, is an overt reference to the destruction of the author's own monastery, Dgon lung, in 1724, when Nyen Gung, that is the Chinese General Nian Gengyao mentioned above, led his troops in retaliation against local allegiances to the anti-Manchu, Khoshud Mongol leader, Lubsangdanjin (Tib. Bstan 'dzin

23 See also Ngawang Gelek Demo, ed. *Collected Works*, folio 23-24.

24 See above notes 16 and 17.

25 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje rnam thar*, 15-16; Ngawang Gelek Demo, ed. *Collected Works*, folio 23-24.

ching wang, 1692-1759).<sup>26</sup> Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho (1680 -1736) can be identified as the author's previous incarnation, the Second Thu'u bkwan. The emperor referred to here seems to be Yongzheng (reigned 1722-1735), because he reigned during the life time of Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho. In *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography*, Thu'u bkwan drew further connections between Bla chen and Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, on one hand, and the wayward *the'u rang* and Nian Gengyao, on the other:

da lta'i bar thabs mkhas kyi mdzad pa rgya chen pos yun ring du bskyangs te chos srid gnyis char nas n.ya gro dha'i ljong pa bzhin du rgyas par byed pa po ni rje btsun bla ma dam pa 'di nyid yin pas na| log pa'i smon lam 'debs mkhan ni nyen gung dang gzhan rnams des bkrong ba'i bla ma 'ga' zhid dang bla chen ni rje btsun dam pa 'di nyid yin no zhes phyogs 'di'i bstan 'gro'i dpal mgon du gyur pa'i dam pa mang po zhid zhal mthun par gleng ba thos so!<sup>27</sup>

Until this day, the act of *upaya*, skill in means, has been maintained for a very long time; the one, who propagated the combination of the secular and the religious like a grove of fig trees, is the honorable holy lama himself [i.e. Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje]. And because of this, it is so discussed and agreed upon that the person who planted perverted intentions is Nyen gung [=Nian Gengyao], and he is the one who killed lamas, etc.; and that Bla chen is this holy lama [Lcang skya] and as such he is protector of the teachings and all sentient beings.

Thu'u bkwan ascertained that the wayward *the'u rang* was reincarnated as the Qing general Nian Gengyao, the man responsible for the destruction of Dgon lung Monastery in 1724 and Bla chen's reincarnation is Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, Thu'u bkwan's teacher and the subject of this biography. In creating this narrative, Thu'u bkwan added to the information in *The Blue Annals* and his own text, *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*, which had the skeletal story of Bla chen's conversion of *the'u rang* siblings to protectors of Buddhism. It remains unclear whether Thu'u bkwan created this idea for this narrative or if these past life connections were based upon popular lore as he stated that these were "...discussed and agreed upon."

## I.2. Bla chen's Death

The second section that I selected for close textual analysis in order to show Thu'u bkwan's literary adaptations of the Bla chen narrative concerns the site of Bla chen's death. The narration of this important part of Bla chen's life story is found in *The Blue Annals* and Thu'u bkwan's two texts: the biography on Dgongs pa rab gsal and the passage on Bla chen within the Lcang skya biography. Before proceeding forward, I should mention that I will not analyze the section of

26 See Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 136; on the rebellion, see also Paul Nietupski, *Labrang Monastery: A Tibetan Buddhist Community on the Inner Asian Borderlands, 1709-1958* (Lanham: Lexington Books, a division of Roman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 9.

27 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje rnam thar*, 16; Ngawang Gelek Demo, ed. *Collected Works*, folio 24.

these texts that deal with Bla chen's role in the further transmission of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* ordination lineage as this has been the focus of other scholarship.<sup>28</sup> While deserving of further research, this is not the focus of this work. Here I have selected passages where Thu'u bkwan's adaptations of the Bla chen biography are evident. One of Thu'u bkwan's most interesting literary innovations concerns the location of Bla chen's death at Dmar gtsang.

In *The Blue Annals'* version, Bla chen passes away at Dan tig at the age of eighty-four in the wood-female-boar year [975/6 C.E.], after residing there for 35 years. Here I provide *The Blue Annals'* text with words highlighted in bold that are also found in *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*. *The Blue Annals* states:

**|'khor rnams** kyis zhus pa| **mdang** snang ba 'di lta bu **snang bas| bla chen po**  
de ni **nges par sprul pa lags sam zhus pas| lan du| sprul pa ma yin gyi| bdag**  
**ni theg pa chen po la zhugs pa'i sbyor ba'i lam pa snang ba thob pa la zhugs**  
**pa'i ban de dge ba gsal yin zhes gsungs so| yang skabs gzhan du| dang po bud**  
**med sog 'tshong ma| bar du stag sna khri sum rje| tha ma mu zu dge ba gsal|**  
**zhes** kyang gsung so| de lta bla chen pos lo bzhi bcu rtsa dgu la dan tig tu byon|  
lo gsum cu rtsa lnga dan tig tu bzhus **brgyad cu rtsa bzhi pa shing mo phag gi**  
**lo** la dga' ldan du gshegs| shing phag 'di bstan pa bsnubs pa'i lcags bya nas bdun  
cu rtsa lnga pa yin|<sup>29</sup>

His disciples asked, "Last night, did you manifest such an illumination? Bla chen, you really are an emanation, aren't you?"

He answered, "I am not an emanation; I am the *bande Dge ba gsal*, I have practiced The Culmination of Light (*snang ba thob pa*; [*< Skt. ālokapalabdhi*]),<sup>30</sup> the Path of Application in the Mahayana." On another occasion [he stated], "At first I was a female garlic seller, then I was Khri sum rje, and now I am Mu zu dge ba gsal." Bla chen was forty-nine years old when he went to Dan tig. He resided there thirty-five years and passed into Tushita Heaven when he was eighty-four in the female wood-boar year. This wood-boar year was the seventy-fifth year after the destruction of the Dharma in the iron-bird year [841/2 C.E.].

This passage from *The Blue Annals* provides evidence of Bla chen's spiritual achievements, demonstrates that Bla chen had a following of disciples, and places his death at Dan tig Monastery.

Thu'u bkwan's *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* follows this section of *The Blue Annals* in some aspects and simultaneously creates a new ending to Bla chen's life story. Thu'u bkwan paraphrased and condensed the content that concerns demonstrations of Bla chen's spiritual achievements, such as his extraordinary abilities to recall past lives and to manifest light. On the other hand, Thu'u bkwan deviated from the source text and inserted a lengthy passage on Bla chen's death at Dmar gtsang, not at Dan tig. He provided elaborate explanations

28 For example: Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*; Watson, "The Second Propagation," 264-265; Stoddard, "Rekindling the Flame;" Richardson, "Tibetan Inscription," all cited above.

29 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 93.

30 This seems to be the third stage in the tantric practice of the three stages of the illumination of light. See Jamgon Taye, *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Six, Part Four: Systems of Buddhist Tantra* (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2005); chapter 14, note 1, 486-487.

on Dmar gtsang Temple and other sites along the river valley, perhaps reiterating local legends, that are completely absent in *The Blue Annals*. The following is the corresponding passage in *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* with text the overlaps with *The Blue Annals* in bold:

[10]phyi nyin 'khor rnam kyis **mdang** ya mtshan pa'i **snang ba 'di lta bu** mthong bas **bla chen po nyid nges par sprul pa lags sam zhus pas| sprul pa ma yin gyi| bdag ni theg pa chen po la zhugs pa'i sbyor ba'i lam pa snang ba thob pa la zhugs pa'i bande dge ba gsal yin zhes gsung| yang skabs gzhan du| dang po bud med sgog 'tshong ma| bar du stag sna khri sum rje|da lta mu zu dge ba gsal zhes** bya ba'i skyes rabs kyang gsungs so|| mkhas pa mi gsum ni re zhig gi bar dan tig tu bzhugs nas sku tshe'i smad du dmar dang gtsang gynis tsong chu chen po'i 'gram gyi ri brag dmar po zhig la khang su brkos te bzhugs pa| ri de la dmar gtsang brag ces grags sang der chags pa'i grong ba'i ming la yang dmar gtsang zhes bod do| |g.yo dge 'byung de dad thag mi rang ba zhig tu bzhugs pas lung pa de la g.yo dge lung pa zhes grags ba deng sang zur chags pas dbyi dge lung pa zer ro| mthar gsum ka da lta'i zi ling mkhar yod pa'i gnas 'dir phebs nas sku mya ngan las 'das pa'i gdung la mchod rten bzhengs pa physis tu rgya mkhar gyi nang du tshud pas bsnyen bkur sogs ma byung bas sa 'bum tsam du gyur ba dus physis kyi bar du yod zer ro| bla chen kyang sku che'i smad du dmar gtsang du byon| [11] der gtsug lag khang dang rten mang du bzhengs| brag la brkos pa'i khang bu zhig tu bzhugs nas dgung **lo brgyad cu rtsa bzhi pa shing mo phag gyi lo** mya ngan las 'das so<sup>31</sup>

The next day, his disciples witnessed an amazing light like that of the night before and then asked, “Bla chen, you really are an emanation, aren't you?”

“I am not an emanation; I am the *bande Dge ba gsal*, I have practiced the Culmination of Light, the Path of Application in the Mahayana.” Furthermore on another occasion, he spoke about his series of past lives, “At first I was a female garlic seller, then I was Khri sum rje, and now I am Mu zu dge ba gsal.”

The Three Great Scholars resided at Dan tig for a while, and towards the end of their lives, Dmar and Gtsang stayed in a room carved out of the red sandstone cliff that was near the Greater Tsong River [*< Chi. Huangshuai River*]. This crag was called Dmar gtsang Cliff and today the villagers here carry the name “Dmar gtsang”. G.yo dge 'byung dwelled not too far from there; the name of this valley having been corrupted is [now] called Dbyi dge Valley.

In the end, all three went to a place in what is now called Zi ling, where they passed away and where a reliquary shrine (*sku gdung*) was erected. Later this was contained within the Chinese citadel, and it was not venerated, but then became a clay stupa (*sa 'bum*), which remains there today. Bla chen at the end of his life also went to Dmar gtsang and built a shrine room and many religious objects, and remained alone in the room carved out of the red cliff; he passed away when he was eighty-four in the female wood-boar year.

This account provides a rich description of some of the most famous Buddhist sites along the Huangshui River valley, which is inserted between passages on Bla chen's spiritual achievements

31 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 10-11.

and death taken from *The Blue Annals*. Despite this overlap with *The Blue Annals*, this section marks a considerable deviation from the source text which does not even mention Dmar gtsang Temple, much less this site as Bla chen's place of death.

Dmar gtsang Temple, named after two of the Three Great Scholars: Dmar Shakyamūni and Gtsang rab gsal, was a branch of Thu'u bkwan's Dgon lung Monastery for a period of time; it is known in Chinese as Baimasi (in today's Huzhu County, Qinghai Province).<sup>32</sup> In another section of *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*, Thu'u bkwan drew attention to the spiritual efficacy of Bla chen's reliquary statue housed there. This statue was said to contain the "pure remains" of Bla chen, as well as to speak and change colors according to the deeds of people at the time—black in times of war, and luminescent white in times of prosperity. "All of these miracles appear palpably today (thams cad khyab pa sogs kyi ya mtshan da lta'i bar du dngos su snang ngo)," wrote Thu'u bkwan.<sup>33</sup> Dmar gtsang as the site of Bla chen's death is an innovation that I couldn't find in any other texts on Dgongs pa rab gsal. Before presenting my hypotheses on the reasons for Thu'u bkwan's adaptation of Bla chen's life story, it is first important to establish the composition dates for Thu'u bkwan's two texts on Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal.

## II. The Dating of Thu'u bkwan's texts on Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal

In order to understand the possible reasons for Thu'u bkwan's adaptations and elaborations of the Bla chen narrative, it is important to look at the dates of composition for his texts. The composition date for *Bla chen byang chub sems dpa' dgongs pa rab gsal gyi rnam thar mdo tsam gnam du brjod pa rin po che'i phreng mdzes*; referred to as *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* above, remains unclear. Based on both internal textual evidence and external biographical details on Thu'u bkwan, the text was likely written after 1763 and likely before 1794.<sup>34</sup> This can be narrowed down further to two time periods either between 1768 and 1771 or between 1792 and 1794; the latter date is contemporaneous with his biography of Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje and I believe the most likely time period. This wide-range of possible composition dates is based on information in the colophon of *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*:

rang gis kyang dad pas mtshams sbyar la brten nas 'jam dbyangs gong ma chen  
po'i lung gis jing zi'u chen zhi zhes rnam dag bslab ldan bsam gtan slob dpon du  
bsngags pa sha' kya'i btsun pa blo bzang cho kyi nyi mas bshad sgrub bstan pa'i  
'byung gnas chos sde chen po dgon lung byams pa gling gi bla brang bkra shis

32 Pu Wencheng, *Gan Ging Zangchuan Fojiao Siyuan* (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 1990), 78-79.

33 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 11-12.

34 Gene Smith remarked that *Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* was likely composed before Thu'u bkwan's biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje which was composed between 1792 and 1794; *Among Tibetan Texts*, 133, 308, note 483. Yet he does not give reasons for this. The biography of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje was composed between 1792 and 1794; *Among Tibetan Texts*, 133.

'od 'bar du sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni Or du su dbyod ldan dge slong ngag dbang bstan 'phel gyis bgyis pa dge legs su gyur cig<sup>35</sup>

So be it that I, Buddhist monk, Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, extolled as “*jing zi'u chan zhi*” (< Chi. jingxiu chanshi 静修禅师)—a meditation master with pure practice—by means of a directive from the great Manjughosa Emperor, compose this with faith and that the monk, Ngag dbang bstan 'phel, copy this at Bla brang Bkra shis 'od bar of Dgon lung byam pa gling, the major teaching center, the origin of teachings of explanation and practice!

The Manjughosa Emperor refers to Emperor Qianlong (b. 1711), who passed away in 1799, which indicates that this biography was written during the reign of Qianlong (reigned, 1735-1798/9). Furthermore, Thu'u bkwan mentioned that Qianlong granted him the title “*jing zi'u chan zhi*.” I read this as the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese *jingxiu chanshi* (静修禅师), a title that had been awarded to the Second Thu'u bkwan Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho by Emperor Kangxi in 1720.<sup>36</sup> It remains unclear as to when this title was granted to the Third Thu'u bkwan because he could have inherited this from his predecessor upon recognition as the Third Thu'u bkwan or this title could have been reinstated to him by the Emperor Qianlong when he was older. In the biographies available to me, Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma was summoned to Beijing for the first time in 1763, where he was bestowed titles and resided at the Yellow Temple.<sup>37</sup> It seems likely that the titles of his predecessor could have been reinstated at this time. If that is the case, this text would have had to be written after 1763 and before 1799, the year of Emperor Qianlong's death. Finally, the colophon also states that the Third Thu'u bkwan completed *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* while at Dgon lung Monastery. As the Third Thu'u bkwan travelled to and from his home monastery at Dgon lung frequently, it is difficult to determine the exact time period that this text was written. However, he spent some time in retreat at Dgon lung over a three year period between 1768 and 1771 and then he returned again to Beijing. He travelled extensively over the next ten years, taking over as 35th abbot of Kumbum Monastery between 1789 and 1792/3.<sup>38</sup> The next extensive period at Dgon lung Monastery was when he wrote the biography of Lcang skya. In sum, the composition dates of *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* remain unknown, but further comparison with the colophon of *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography* may shed some light on this.

35 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 15.

36 Pu Wencheng, *Qinghai fojiao shi* [=History of Buddhism in Qinghai] (Xining: Qinghai renmin chubanshe, 2001), 251.

37 See Jackson, *Crystal Mirror*, 5; Pu, *Qinghai fojiaoshi*, 251; and Danzhu Anben, ed. *Zangzu dacidian* (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2003), 77.

38 Nor brang o rgyan, “Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma,” In Nor brang o rgyan gyi gsung rtsom phyogs bsdu (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang; Gansu Nationality Press Editorial Staff, 2006) 673-676; See also “Tshom pa po mtshams sbyor mdo bsdu” [A brief introduction to the author, Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma] in Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje rnam thar* (Lanzhou: Kan s'u mi rigs dpe krun khang, 1989), 1-2.



The dates of composition for *Khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ngo bo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan*; that is *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography*, are clearly laid out in the colophon. The composition began in the summer of the male water-mouse year (1792/3)<sup>39</sup> at the requests of Har chin wang Ratnasiddhi and the abbot of Dgon lung, Wang zhabs drung rin po che Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas.<sup>40</sup> The composition was delayed due to Thu'u bkwan's other engagements, but was completed in the male wood-tiger year (1794/5).<sup>41</sup> The names of several sponsors are provided in the colophon and it mentions that the humble student, Thu'u bkwan, was appointed to compose this work. Thu'u bkwan is styled with the same title as in the colophon of *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*: 'Jam dbyangs gong ma'i lung gis jing zi'u chan zhi thu'u bkwan hu thog thu. Finally, the colophon states that it was written at Dgon lung Monastery's bla brang called Bkra shis 'od 'bar and the copyist (*drung yig*) was the monk, Ngag dbang bstan 'phel.<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, according to the colophon of *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*, the copyist for this text was also named, Ngag dbang bstan 'phel.<sup>43</sup> Although Gene Smith remarked that *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* was likely composed before Thu'u bkwan's biography of *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje*,<sup>44</sup> the commonalities in Thu'u bkwan's titles, the names for the copyist and place of composition as well as content lead me to think that these two texts were composed roughly contemporaneously.

### III. Suppositions on Thu'u bkwan's Literary Adaptations

This essay has established that Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma adapted biographical details on Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal found in *The Blue Annals* through copying, paraphrasing and adding new information in his composition of *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*. Thu'u bkwan also elaborated on ideas found in these two texts in his writing of the *skye rabs* in *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography*. In considering Thu'u bkwan's literary adaptations of the narrative on Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal, one striking innovation stands out—the establishment of a past life connection between Bla chen and Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje. In linking the life of Bla chen with that of Lcang skya, Thu'u bkwan brings the past to the time of writing. In doing so, the author can praise his teacher with accomplishments that are similar to those of Lcang skya's previous incarnation as Bla chen, especially in his ability to “rekindle the embers” of Buddhism and to spread Buddhist teachings far and wide. Ultimately, Thu'u bkwan's teacher, Lcang skya

39 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya'i rnam thar*, 772.

40 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya'i rnam thar*, 771; See also Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 133.

41 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya'i rnam thar*, 772.

42 Ibid., 773.

43 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 15.

44 Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts*, 133, 308, note 483.

*hutuktu*, triumphed over the rogue *the'u rang*, General Nian Gengyao, who despite his egregious offenses against Buddhism did not succeed with his destructive plans. Dgon lung Monastery was rebuilt and the flames of the Dharma rekindled due to Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje's magnanimous spiritual power to overcome the *the'u rang*. This hyperbolic rhetoric serves to praise the author's teacher in the highest possible way.

Thu'u bkwan's other main literary innovation—Bla chen's death at Dmar gtsang—at first may seem unrelated to the theme of praising Lcang skya's ability to rekindle the Dharma; yet upon further examination, there is some textual evidence to support such an interpretation. As mentioned above, the reasons for Thu'u bkwan's innovation of Dmar gtsang as the site of Bla chen's death, at first, are not completely transparent. One possible interpretation is to satisfy his requesters. The colophon to *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* stated that Thu'u bkwan wrote this piece out of faith and that the requesters of this text included the local leader of Dmar gtsang, lamas and lay people, as well as the caretaker (*dkon gnyer*) of the reliquary statue at Dmar gtsang.<sup>45</sup> So perhaps, Thu'u bkwan emphasized Dmar gtsang as Bla chen's place of death for their benefit—to show the import of this site in Buddhist history or to honor them. Yet there may be another reason for the importance of Dmar gtsang. Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma's first reading teacher was likely from Dmar gtsang because his name was Dmar gtsang Dpon chung blo bzang chos 'dzin,<sup>46</sup> and as Thu'u bkwan's *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal* pointed out above the people living around Dmar gtsang Temple carry the name 'Dmar gtsang'.

I could not locate further biographical information on this teacher, but an interesting passage in *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography* likely refers to this person. In this text, Dmar gtsang nang so Dbon chung blo bzang chos 'dzin had pleaded to the young Lcang skya to ask for clemency for a few of the *nang so*<sup>47</sup> of the thirteen monastic establishments (Tib. *zi yon* < Chi. *si yuan* 寺院)<sup>48</sup> of Mdo smad, who had been imprisoned in the aftermath of the 1724 rebellion. Before leaving for Beijing, the young Lcang skya took it upon himself to raise this issue with the general (Tib. *cang jun* < Chi. *jiangjun* 将军) and he was able to secure their release before arriving in the capital.<sup>49</sup> This same Dmar gtsang Dbon chung blo bzang chos 'dzin could have been the Third Thu'u bkwan's first reading teacher, although he would have been elderly when appointed

45 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma wrote: *spyin bdag dmar gtsang dbon po ser skya rnam dang gzhan yang don gnyer pa mang pos yang yang bskul pa dangl rang gis kyang dad pas mtshams sbyar ba la*, in *Bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal sogs kyi rnam thar khag gsum*, folio 15.

46 Nor brang o rgyan, "Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma," 673; See also "Tshom pa po mtshams sbyor mdo bsdu" in Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje rnam thar*, 1.

47 See Gray Tuttle, "An Overview of Amdo (Northeastern Tibet) Historical Polities" *Tibetan Himalayan Library* as of January 6, 2015; See <http://www.thlib.org/places/polities/>

48 See also Elliot Sperling, "Notes on the Early History of Gro-tshang Rdo-rje-'chang and its Relations with the Ming Court" in *Lungta: Aspects of Tibetan History*, Vol. 14, R. Vitali ed. (Dharamsala: Amnye Machen Institute, Spring 2001), 82.

49 Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma, *Lcang skya'i rnam thar*, 86-87.

to this position.<sup>50</sup> This short passage in *Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje's Biography* describes a moment where Thu'u bkwan's two teachers met and where Lcang skya successfully gained the release of lamas, who had been imprisoned, thereby rekindling the embers of the Dharma—a quality that he shared with Bla chen. Although the reasons for Thu'u bkwan's innovative move to locate Bla chen's death at Dmar gtsang may have been his penning of local lore, this textual evidence supports the possible interpretation that Dmar gtsang is associated strongly with Thu'u bkwan's teacher and that magnanimous ability to support Buddhist teachings.

In sum, although Thu'u bkwan's writings did not succeed in providing new information on the historical figure of Dgongs pa rab gsal, close textual analysis of his texts brings to light Thu'u bkwan's literary adaptations of a historical narrative. Thu'u bkwan's innovative retelling of Bla chen's life, therefore, reflects an important historical moment, one in which he lauds his teacher's many accomplishments.

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50 Another possibility is that this “Dmar gtsang nang so” was the same as the requester, “Dmar gtsang dpon po,” but this doesn't seem likely due to the fact that this text was written a few years after Lcang skya's death, and thus possibly long after Dmar gtsang Dbon chung blo bzang chos 'dzin's passing (who must have been at least 15 years older than Lcang skya). Therefore, it seems improbable that the requester, Dmar gtsang dpon po mentioned in the colophon to *A Brief Biography of Dgongs pa rab gsal*, is the same as Dmar gtsang Dbon chung blo bzang chos 'dzin. Until further information comes to light, this can't be ruled out entirely because the colophon didn't state when this request was made.



# 记埃利亚特·史伯岭

## 唯色

1、

有一次——我不太记得是这几年的哪一次，因为埃利亚特·史伯岭这几年都来过北京，除了不能去拉萨，北京他还是来过好几次——他拿着一本很厚的英文书，对我说这是曼德尔斯塔姆夫人的回忆录。

那时，这本书还没有中文译本。不过我读过曼德尔斯塔姆的诗歌和散文，埃利亚特因此很满意。我们便一起复习了那首给诗人带来厄运的诗：“我们生活着，感受不到脚下的国家，/十步之外就听不到我们的话语，/而只要哪里有压低嗓音的谈话，就让人联想到克里姆林宫的山民……”

想起来了，那是2011年3月刚结束。16日那天，20岁的僧人彭措在安多阿坝为抗议三年前的屠杀，以身浴火，惨烈牺牲。数日后，我见到了一位与彭措同属格尔登寺的僧人洛桑次巴，他含泪讲述了彭措的自焚，但他很快就失踪了，直到两年后我才得知他是被警察从北京的一所教授汉语的学校带走了。

我给洛桑次巴写了一首诗。其中转载了曼德尔斯塔姆的两行诗句，并写到：“这诗句，来自死于斯大林之手的一位良心诗人，/却也是盛世华夏之写照。”我还在诗中记录了与埃利亚特在Skype上的对话：

“深夜，我语无伦次地吐露：  
‘我不知道有没有用，但我还是说了。  
我其实知道，说了也没有用……’

来自‘让旺隆巴’<sup>1</sup>的友人，语调铿锵：  
‘他们企图让人以为说话没用。  
但我们必须不停止地说！’”

2、

第一次见到埃利亚特的情景是清晰的。

那是2009年的夏天，埃利亚特顺利地在北京机场抵达受邀参加会议的住处后，放下行李就直接打车来东郊的通州看我。虽然他是少有的通晓中文的藏学家，但他很少、很少对我说中文。我的意思不是说我的博盖<sup>2</sup>多么流利，都知道我的博盖水准，而埃利亚特是为了帮助我的博盖更加进步才不说加盖<sup>3</sup>的，我这么认为。

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1 让旺隆巴：藏语，自由世界。

2 博盖：藏语，藏语。

3 加盖：藏语，汉语。

当晚，我带埃利亚特去了建国门附近的藏餐馆“玛吉阿米”。这是个有着歧义名字因而对图伯特造成更多误读的藏餐馆，不过说实话，菜肴的味道还不错，虽然不完全是纯正的图伯特风味。而且，还有从拉萨运来的“青稞啤酒”，多少安慰了埃利亚特对于拉萨久年不见的感情。年轻的男女博巴<sup>4</sup>表演的那种风情歌舞，则让这个城市越来越多的“西藏粉丝”虚构起东方主义的想象，我记得埃利亚特与我谈到过这点。

这以后，好像我们的见面常常与吃有关，去了北京不少餐馆：图伯特风味的餐馆、印度风味的餐馆、墨西哥风味的餐馆。当然去的最多的还是中国餐馆——辣得过瘾的火锅店，等等。其实不只是吃喝。我们还去过书店、美术馆，还去过圆明园、国子监、南锣鼓巷、宋庄，有两次差点中暑（似乎他来北京的时间常常是在盛夏）。

我们还看过歌剧。有一次，埃利亚特（鉴于他的长相越来越像列宁，我有时会称他是“列宁同志”）请我在北京的国家大剧院（被人们戏谑为“巨蛋”）观看了歌剧《卡门》，他是那种几乎对所有的古典歌剧都烂熟于心的全才型学者，穿一身白色的麻质西装，一边轻声哼着一边微微打着拍子。有一次，是我和好友的生日，但当天在国家大剧院只有来自朝鲜歌剧院的歌剧《卖花姑娘》，这是我小时候饱受共产主义意识形态洗脑教育的革命文艺经典，王力雄便请埃利亚特与我和好友度过了一个“忆苦思甜”的生日，当晚北京暴雨成灾，似乎比朝鲜的眼泪还多。

### 3、

我爱开玩笑叫埃利亚特“格啦”，你知道，这是拉萨敬语，先生的意思。

有一次，我们去承德参观满清皇帝给他的佛法上师达赖喇嘛和班禅喇嘛修建的行宫（俗称“小布达拉宫”和“班禅行宫”），在埃利亚特漫不经意的指点下，我写的有关承德的文章也显得有些水准了。

其实那一路的所见所闻很有趣，我们遇见所谓的“西藏师傅”行骗，给排着队的男女游客每人一盏需付钱的蜡烛灯，埃利亚特就用博盖彬彬有礼地向他问话，让假扮博巴的骗子很是慌乱。除了个人行骗，政府也在行骗，重新叙述被政治篡改的历史。比如，把十八世纪末蒙古土尔扈特部落的东迁渲染成“回到祖国怀抱”，且有专门的展览和崭新的浮雕。埃利亚特拍了照片发给一位蒙古学家，得到幽默的回复：看来在承德发现了很重要的新资料。

再讲一个可笑的细节，当然也是埃利亚特发现的。“小布达拉宫”有道“五塔门”，城门上矗立着五座色彩各异的佛塔，符合佛教的解释应该是以此代表中央、南方、东方、西方、北方的五方佛，可是立在门前的牌子上写的中英文解说错误百出，不但将五座塔说成是代表藏传佛教的五大教派，如黄塔代表“黄教”即格鲁派，黑塔代表“黑教”即“笨波派”，而且这个“笨”是中文“笨蛋”的“笨”，于是英文解说依照中文翻译为Stupid，于是原本在正确的解释中并不存在的笨教便写成了the stupid wave sends。

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4 博巴：藏语，藏人。

## 4、

作为中国政府讨厌的异见人士，我和王力雄经常会被限制自由，遭到软禁。我被限制更多，体现在王力雄可以得到护照（但有时候连护照、签证都没用，国家安全警察可以在你临上飞机之前，宣布你的旅行作废），而我从来得不到护照。我们都认为这与我们的民族身份不同有关。

有一段时间，危险似乎已经迫在眉睫，我真的不知道侥幸躲过的成分会有多少，就像曼德尔斯塔姆夫人所写：“另类，话多，对抗……这些特性似乎就足以构成被逮捕和被消灭的理由了。”于是，埃利亚特每天上午都会在Skype上呼我，看我是否又度过了安全的一日，然后，他会开心地、大声地用博盖和汉语各说一遍：“不错！”

就像曼德尔斯塔姆夫人所写：“我们生活在这样一些人中间，他们后来消失于另一个世界，被送往流放地、集中营和地狱……”是的，我说的是伊力哈木·土赫提，我们的挚友，维吾尔学者，于2014年1月15日当着两个幼子的面，被几十个警察野蛮地从北京家中带往乌鲁木齐囚禁，至今未获自由。而在他被消失的七天前，我和王力雄还与他在民大附近的维吾尔餐厅见面，还去他家见到了他瘦弱的妻子和多病的母亲。

在他被消失的两年前，同样是在这家维吾尔餐厅，埃利亚特与伊力哈木一见如故，在我们四个人的合影中，这种真诚与信任显露无遗。伊力哈木的女儿菊尔说埃利亚特是世界上最好的人，不只是因为他安排伊力哈木去印第安纳大学做访问学者，当伊力哈木赴行时却在北京机场被扣留，使得18岁的菊尔心惶惶地独自远去美国，但并未在后来的日子遭遇困厄，原因是她一直被父亲托付的这位友人照顾着。

实际上不只是对朋友才会付出关切，不是这样的。我曾在一篇文章中写过一段话：“正如我的藏学家友人Elliot Sperling，尽管他的研究在于西藏历史和中藏关系，但他同时对西藏的政治问题、人权问题等现实问题非常关注。他曾这样解释他对西藏问题（他会修正说是“图伯特问题”）的关心，乃基于对公民社会的根本价值予以认可并捍卫的立场，而这与民族与国别无关，却因此支持图伯特救存亡图的斗争事业。”而这种行动，正如加缪所说，“不会止于个人的义愤，又具有对他者的关怀。”

在此仅举两个事例：去年5月，鉴于中国政府对拉萨老城以改建为名进行破坏的事实，埃利亚特在国际藏学界发起呼吁，130多位各国藏学研究者联署，在“致习近平及联合国教科文组织的公开信”上指出：“此种毁坏……不仅仅是西藏的问题，也不仅仅是中国的问题。这是一个国际性的问题”，将使得“拉萨变成一座21世纪初的旅游城市而失去了它的独特性和固有的传统文化”，并要求立即停止对拉萨的破坏。尽管呼吁未能起效，但足以表明中国政府的行为多么糟糕。

另一件事是中国独立电影人王我摄制的纪录片《对话》于今年3月完成，这是一部有关西藏问题、新疆问题等民族问题的纪录片，其中有尊者达赖喇嘛与几位中国知识分子通过网络进行对话，以及主持这一对话的王力雄对民族问题的思考。埃利亚特不但帮助修订全片的英文字幕，并在印第安纳大学最先放映。

## 5、

有一次，埃利亚特的女儿蔻琳也来北京了。他的女儿才是真正的美人呢，相信见者都会有惊艳之感。埃利亚特就会面露得意，用博盖说“有其父必有其女”。我就会做出怀疑的表情，小小地打击一下列宁同志。

其实埃利亚特年轻时的嬉皮士风采还是很帅气的，尽管如今从外表上看，嬉皮士显然已经成功转型为学者形象，但我觉得他是嬉皮入骨。不然，他不会在前年的一个酷夏之夜，与我和两个博巴在墨西哥风味的饭馆喝得大醉，抱头痛哭。王力雄听说后笑叹史伯岭可真是老嬉皮，居然跟年龄跨度不一的你们喝酒还喝醉。

我很喜欢他的女儿，不只是因为她的美貌，还因为1995年春天，埃利亚特携7岁的蔻琳去拉萨（他总共去过八次，最近一次是2004年去的），他教了女儿一句博盖：“博格达波博弥应”<sup>5</sup>。于是，无论是去拜访主人早已流亡数十年的布达拉宫，还是去凭吊文革被毁成大片废墟的甘丹寺，长得像天使一样的女儿会对遇见的僧人，或者朝圣的老人和妇女，用清脆的声音、用他们听得懂的语言轻喊“博格达波博弥应”，博巴们无不惊讶、感动甚至流泪，我第一次听到这个故事时也差点哭了。

## 6、

原本以为我们在这个夏天又能见面的。我提前从亚马逊网购了两本中文书：《曼德尔斯塔姆夫人回忆录》和《雪域求法记——一个汉人喇嘛的口述史》，这是送给嗜书若命的埃利亚特的礼物。还想到了这次要带他去另一家藏餐馆品尝具有图伯特风味的美食。但又担心他这次进不来。

6月间，我和王力雄在南蒙古旅行时，听埃利亚特说他顺利拿到了签证，这还真是出乎意外，毕竟有太多的藏学家、汉学家、新疆学家等等国际学者，因为不同于中国政府的观点而遭到排斥，不予签证。也许埃利亚特·史伯岭是统战对象？

但显然不是。而是一个类似于猫玩老鼠的游戏。7月5日下午，当埃利亚特经过十几个小时的飞行抵达北京首都国际机场，不但被拒绝入境，还被中国警察带到小房间拍照、盘问，禁止使用手机，上厕所被跟，被扣留1个半小时，且被修改原机票的返回日期。当我第二天在Skype上见到他时，他已坐在他纽约的家中，这让我感觉魔幻。

不提所耗费的时间和精力，仅机票和签证费共损失近两千美元，这难道是中国政府故意折腾他吗？伊利亚特倒是很幽默，把被打上醒目黑叉的签证照片发给我说：“热烈恭贺史伯岭获得中共授予外国人的人权奖！”

我自是忿忿不平，当即将这一事件在推特和博客上做了曝露，引起了诸多媒体的重视。纽约时报采访了伊利亚特，引述了他的话：“我很清楚自己为什么被拒绝入境。我认为，这明显与伊力哈木有关。中国试图压制那些声援伊力哈木的人，迫使他们保持沉默，或者至少是孤立他们。”而对于是否还能去中国，伊利亚特说“我不会为了获得签证而遵从专制规则。”——看看，埃利亚特绝不是列宁同志。

王力雄转过头来对我说：“看来你俩往后只有在Skype上见面了。”

5 博格达波博弥应：藏语，意为图伯特的主人是藏人。