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Tim Myatt, Kalsang Norbu Gurung, Nicola Schneider, Alice Travers

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Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines



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Revisiting Tibetan culture and history

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

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

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The Editors.

SINGING THE NATION:
MODERN TIBETAN MUSIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY¹

Lama Jabb

*I'll sing you a song today
Not to flaunt my voice
But I'll sing to please you*
From a traditional Tibetan song²

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

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

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

Strumming Songs

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

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

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

⁴ Yangdon Dhondup 2008: 287–289.

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



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

Tibet: An Aggregate of Components

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

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

⁶ Erikson 1956: 57.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Smith 2010: 13.

¹² Renan 1990: 19.

¹³ *Ibid.*: 19.

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

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

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

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 19.

¹⁵ Weber 1994: 25.

¹⁶ Gellner 2006: 1.

¹⁷ Gellner 1998: 50–58.

¹⁸ Deutsch 1994: 26–29.

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

Savouring Songs

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

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

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

An Ingrained Dream

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



Picture 3: A Popular poster from Amdo 2007

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

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

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

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

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

²⁶ Eagleton 1999: 33–34.

²⁷ Anderson 1991: 11–12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tibetan Finery

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Traditional Tibetan overgarment.

³¹ Quoted in Ridder and Collins 2006.

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

³³ Ridder and Collins 2006; Macartney 2007.

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

Lady

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁵ Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 47.

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

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

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

The second stanza recalls a very recent event in Tibetan history—the military campaigns of Chushi Gangdrug (Chu bzhi sgang drug) against the advancing Chinese Communist forces in the 1950s and 1960s. The lyricist selects this historic movement for its evocative power as well as its association with the second Tibetan province of Kham. Its name translates as “Four Rivers and Six Ranges,”³⁹ indicating that its members were predominantly from Kham where most of these famous Tibetan landmarks can be located. This organisation is also known as Tensung Danglang Magar (Bstan srung dang blangs dmag sgar), the “Voluntary Force for the Defence of Dharma.” This guerrilla movement was initiated as a reaction against the bloody crackdown on Tibetan resistance to CCP reforms in Kham and Amdo in the mid 1950s. It was formed in 1956 and its military campaigns finally came to an end in 1974. It was partly financed by the CIA from 1957 until 1968.⁴⁰ The military operations carried out by the agents of Four Rivers and Six Ranges, former Tibetan nomads, farmers and traders, have acquired a mythic status and continue to fire the imagination of young Tibetans. Although the soldiers of Chushi Gangdrug laid down their arms long ago, this song imagines commanding its armies once more, yet again expressing an aspiration to recapture an imagined sovereign nation, through violent means if necessary.

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

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

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

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

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

That Sweet Home of Snow

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

⁴¹ Yid bzhin nor bu is an honorific term signifying reverence to a sacred entity.

⁴² Scott 1990: xii.

⁴³ Smith 2010: 13.

⁴⁴ Bulag 1998: 173–179.

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

Centre of the sky
 Middle of the earth
 Core of the continent
 Ring of snow mountains
 Source of all rivers
 High peaks, pure earth⁴⁵
 A great land where
 Men are born wise, brave and devout
 Where flourish horses ever so swift.⁴⁶

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

To the north of Eastern Bodhgaya
 Lies the Purgyal⁴⁸ land of Tibet
 High mountains like celestial pillars
 Low lakes like turquoise *maṇḍala*
 Snow mountains like crystal *stūpa*
 Golden mountains of amber meadows
 Sweet fragrance of medicinal incense

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

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

⁴⁷ Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 45–57.

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

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

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

Yes! Let me praise the lie of the solid land, the flow of the pristine rivers and the formation of the high snow mountains of Tibet—this Land of Snows. In its upper region, the Three Rings of Ngari resemble a crystal *stūpa*-like snow mountain; in its middle region, the Four Horns of U-Tsang⁵⁰ are like a snow lion flaunting its turquoise mane around its neck; in its lower region, the Six Ranges of Dokham blaze like a tigress and her cub. The majestic Machen snow mountain is like a crystal pillar soaring into the azure sky. The Snow Mountain of Ultimate Victories⁵¹ is like a silver banner fluttering in the wind. The runaway expanse of the Blue Lake⁵² is like the azure sky fallen upon the earth.⁵³

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Beneath the celestial stars, moon and sun
Lies Tibet where high mountains compete
Looking up, beholding that mountain
There in that misty mountain
Reside I, Long-necked Yedak⁵⁴
Whose tale is endless to tell
Whose deeds are never done.⁵⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁸ Gellner 2006: 55.

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

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

Homeland

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

⁵⁹ Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

⁶⁰ Gellner 1998: 53.

will nurture a new home by an old philosophy⁶¹ and will have forgotten the past intimidations, massacres and betrayals, and may speak to their children of a distant river of ancient times and a distant borrowed home of the future. Upon pondering this, those who lost their homeland may only then pay attention to their homeland. In essence, homeland is our own body and the fragmentary explanation upon which the body itself relies.⁶²

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

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

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

⁶² Ljang bu 2001: 23.

⁶³ Brooks 1959: 256.

⁶⁴ Woenser 2009: 10.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: 10.

⁶⁶ Ramble: 2009.

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

Fusing Literary and Ordinary Speech

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

⁶⁷ Kundera 1982: 3.

⁶⁸ Quoted in Eagleton 1996: 2.

⁶⁹ Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 562.

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

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

Conclusion

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

⁷⁰ Gramsci 1971: 188–190.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 10.

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

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

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

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

Gaerrang (Kabzung)

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

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

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

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

¹ Makley 2006: 2.

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

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

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

Theories of development

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

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

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

Origins of the movement

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

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

³ Li 1999: 295, 2005, 2007.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Preliminary Findings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Contested development

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

Nicola Schneider

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

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

Sources

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

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

² Hermann-Pfandt 2003: 59.

³ See for example Chayet 1999: 65–82.

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

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

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

⁵ Thub bstan nyi ma 1986.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Early years

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

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

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

¹⁰ TBRC file: P269.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹¹ His full name was Blo bzang rgya mtsho or Thub bstan blo bzang 'jigs med rgya mtsho (1897?–?). The Khangsar family occupied the seat of the Kandzes' main monastery (TBRC G500 and W1997). Concerning the ruling family of Hor Khangsar, see Khang gsar ye rdo 2000: 114–134.

¹² See for example Goré 1923: 343.

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

¹⁴ *Ibid.*: 292.

Encounters with Westerners

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁵ Bacot 1988: 36–38.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 37.

¹⁷ Kvaerne 1973: 10.

¹⁸ Goré 1923: 343, 346.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁰ Coales 2003: 204.

²¹ Note here the different financial appreciation from Jacques Bacot.

²² Teichman 2000: 69–70.

Exile and a return home

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tuttle states that they personally visited Dragkar Lama's monastery in 1928.²⁴

Dragkar Lama died at the age of 63, in 1929.²⁵

*Religious activities and
discipline in Dragkar Lama's nunneries*

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

Practice and studies

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

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

²⁴ Tuttle 2005: 111.

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ Havnevik 1995: 69.

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

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

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

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

Discipline

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jann Ronis

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

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¹ Uebach 2005.

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

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

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

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

² Li 1947.

³ *Ibid.*: 282.

⁴ Kolmaš 1968: 42.

⁵ Kolmaš 1988: 131.

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

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

Sources

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

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

⁷ Kawamura 1984: 364.

⁸ Chayet 1993: 238–239.

⁹ Gardner 2006: 131.

by Tsewang Lhamo's only son—Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin (Tshe dbang rdo rje rig 'dzin, b. 1786)—and printed the same year at the Degé Printing House (Sde dge par khang).¹⁰ Kolmaš made the entire text of the *Royal Genealogies* available to the international community through his 1968 edition of the text in Roman transcription accompanied by his detailed introduction to the political content of the work.¹¹ Smith mentioned the *Royal Genealogies* in his 1969 piece that covered Tsewang Lhamo and had already been familiar with the work for several years as Kolmaš thanked Smith in his work for lending him a photocopy of the *Royal Genealogies* in 1964.¹² Most pertinent to this essay are the sections of the *Royal Genealogies* that narrated the lives and Tsewang Lhamo's husband, Tsewang Lhamo herself, and her son, the author of the text. At the time when Li, Kolmaš, and Smith composed their works this was likely the only contemporaneous Tibetan work about her which they had access to. Since the release of their seminal essays several more relevant primary sources have been published in China and the Tibetan diaspora. The first of these is the magisterial tome *Guru Trashi's History* (*Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*), composed in 1808 by a lama from Degé. It was completed four years before Tsewang Lhamo's death and the author belonged to the sect that she patronised most liberally, the Nyingma. *Guru Trashi's History* was distributed widely for the first time in 1979 with the publication of a retracing of a rare manuscript copy of the work from a library in Bhutan.¹³

Arguably the most important sources for Tsewang Lhamo's life are found in the writings of her long-serving personal chaplain Getsé Mahāpaṇḍita Gyurmé Tsewang Chokdrup (Dge rtse Mahāpaṇḍita 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub, 1761–1829; hereafter Getsé). In 1797 Getsé composed a catalogue to a major publication sponsored by Tsewang Lhamo that included a hagiographical profile of her and was commercially published in India between 1973–1975.¹⁴ Getsé's ten-volume *Collected Works*, including his detailed *Autobiography* and several other memorial catalogues of her religious projects, became widely available only in the year 2000.¹⁵

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

¹¹ Kolmaš 1968.

¹² *Ibid.*: 8.

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

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

¹⁵ 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001a.

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

Women in Degé Politics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tsewang Lhamo the Dharma-queen

The orphaned and brotherless teenage crown prince Sawang Zangpo was chronically ill in the 1780s. The hierarch of the Sakya sect understood the prince would not live long and ordered him to quickly marry a woman who hailed from Degé²⁵ and in 1783 the sixteen year-old Sawang Zangpo wed Tsewang Lhamo.²⁶ She belonged to a prominent family in the Nyingma stronghold of Garje (*Sga rje*) in the far south of Degé and was likely to be about the same age as her husband.²⁷ In 1786 the young royals gave birth to a son and the following year they gave birth to a daughter, both of whom survived. They also lost two infants, one boy and one girl.²⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sawang Zangpo became seriously ill and passed away in 1790.³² As the prince Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin was only four years old at this time the throne passed to the dowager queen, Tsewang Lhamo. This transfer of power was strikingly reminiscent of the aforementioned regency of Yangchen Drölma. Needless to say, the fact that Tsewang Dorjé Rindzin was only four years old when his father passed discredits the claim by some twentieth century scholars that Tsewang Lhamo "usurped" power. Tsewang Lhamo simply was the only person in the royal family qualified to lead the government.

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

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

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

³¹ Gyatso 1997: 371.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁶ Cf. Achard 2003.

³⁷ Imaeda 1981; See also Mayer 1997.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴³ See note 15.

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

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

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 393.1.

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

Resilient at the turn of the nineteenth century

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

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

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

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

⁴⁹ Stein 1972: 48.

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

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

Getsé's *Autobiography* is completely silent regarding Tsewang Dorje Rindzin's reputed enthronement. Perhaps Getsé's silence is meant to express disapproval or rejection of the ritual. In fact, Getsé does not only omit any mention of the event from his life story, he was physically absent from Degé when it occurred. Soon after Getsé finished editing the *Collected Tantras of the Nyingma* in 1797, he petitioned the royal court for permission to leave Degé and go on a long pilgrimage and fundraising trip in southern Kham. It was granted and he stayed away for over a year, from late 1797 into early 1799.⁵¹ Getsé's lengthy trip abroad might be taken at face value as a much-needed escape from the capital after several years managing a complicated printing project. However, a cynical reading would suggest Getsé was unwelcome at the event, or did not wish to participate, and made himself scarce for a relatively long time. Alternatively, Getsé's silence may be simply a consequence of the inconsequentiality of the ritual, whether by design or effect. According to the *Autobiography*, when Getsé finally returned from his long pilgrimage he went directly to the royal palace for a joint audience with Tsewang Lhamo and Tsewang Dorje Rindzin, which suggests the two were on good terms.⁵²

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

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

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

⁵² *Ibid.*: 243.6.

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

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

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

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

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 249.4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁶ ’Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub 2001c: 279.3.

⁶⁷ Tshe dbang rdo rje rig ’dzin 1990: 101.

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Giuseppe Tucci and the shadow of Sir James Frazer

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

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

² Frazer 1915; Hocart 1927; and Kantorowicz 1957.

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

⁴ Snellgrove 1959; Roux 1959.

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

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

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

⁵ Tucci 1955: 199–200.

⁶ PT 1286.

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

⁸ Tucci 1955: 199.

⁹ *Ibid.*: 200.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*: 199–200.

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

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

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

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

¹¹ *Ibid.*: 197.

¹² Dotson 2009: 26–27.

¹³ Frazer 1915.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ Hazod 2007a, forthcoming.

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

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

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

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

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

²¹ de Jong 1989: 5–6.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁹ Haarh 1969: 156.

³⁰ Zeisler 2011: 106, 147–148.

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

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

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

³² Karmay 1998a: 340–341.

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

Making theory explicit: Ngar la skyes as scapegoat

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

In the brief summary of Frazer's hypotheses concerning sacred

³³ Karmay 1998a: 340.

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

³⁵ Beckwith 1987: 14–15, n. 10.

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

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

³⁶ Scubla 2005: 42, 47.

³⁷ de Heusch 2005: 34.

³⁸ *Ibid.*: 29–32.

³⁹ Lecomte-Tilouine 2005: 112.

⁴⁰ On the constellation of the functions of sacred kingship in more than one being, see also Scubla 2005: 46–47.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

⁴⁴ See Holt 1993 and 2004; and Orzech 1998.

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

Be that as it may, if we do not deign to concern ourselves with theory, we risk falling into a default position of presenting our own scholarship as merely descriptive, when it is necessarily situated not only in its own epistème (or, in Paul Veyne's terms, within its own "program of truth"), but also within a number of assumptions, some more conscious and some more articulated than others.⁴⁷ As we know from theorists of narrative such as Hayden White and Paul Ricœur, narrative is not a neutral form, but one with its own set of time-and-place-specific frames, tropes, and microforms. The arguments for and against narrative description in the humanities, particularly history, have been well documented by Ricœur, White, and Veyne in their comments, among other things, on the essentially anti-narrative *Annales* school of French historiography.⁴⁸ Ricœur and Frank Kermode⁴⁹ have also gone further and considered whether or not the narrativising impulse—to, in Ricœur's terms, prefigure our experience before it happens and refigure it after the fact, or, in

⁴⁵ Bogoslovskij 1972.

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

⁴⁷ See Veyne 1988.

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

⁴⁹ Kermode 2000.

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

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

⁵⁰ Ricœur 1989: 214.

⁵¹ See especially Barthes 1974: 15–30.

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

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

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF MGAR:
WHEN HISTORY BECOMES LEGEND

Thomas Kerihuel

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

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

A history of the Mgar family in the seventh century

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

History of the Mgar family begins in the years preceding Srong btsan Sgam po's reign (618?–649) and the unification of the Tibetan plateau around the beginning of the seventh century. In PT 1286's catalogue of principalities³ they are mentioned together with Mnyan as ministers (*blon po*) of Dgu gri Zing po rje [Khri pangs sum], lord of Ngas po. They do not however appear as such in any other Dunhuang document at my disposal, but as both Mkhas pa Lde'u and Dpa' bo Gtsug lag 'Phreng ba⁴ agree with PT 1286's

¹ Richardson 1998: 114–123.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hegemony of the Mgar family (668–695)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kokonor area as of 670.¹⁶ In the year of the Rat (676–677) Btsan snya Ldom bu himself led an army in Turkestan. It was probably around that time that the “four garrisons” (Kucha, Khotan, Kashgar, Karashahr) were conquered and that Mgar Btsan nyen Gung rton, yet another Mgar, was made governor of Khotan.¹⁷ In the meantime the *btsan po*, Khri Mang slon, died and an heir was born, and the Mgar family therefore became more powerful as a result. Two years later, the *Annals* states for the first time that Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu was great minister, and that two personalities were disgraced: one of them was Khu Khri snya Dgru zung, previously mentioned in relation with Mgar Mang zham Sum snang’s downfall more than thirty years earlier.¹⁸ The *Old Tibetan Annals* clearly show that from then on the Mgar were overrepresented in the administration of the country. Mgar Mang nyen Stag tsab held a council in 681 together with Gnubs Mang gnyen Bzhi brtsan,¹⁹ as did Mgar Sta gu Ri zung in 687 with Gnubs Mang gnyen Bzhi brtsan again and ‘bon Da rgyal Khri zung.²⁰ Mgar ‘Bring btsan Rtsang rton took care of collecting taxes with Pa tsab Rgyal tsan Thom po in 690.²¹ Mgar Btsan snya Ldom bu died in the year of the Bird (685/686), following a mysterious incident involving Mang nyen Stag tsab.²²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁴ Beckwith 1987: 54.

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

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

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

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

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

The surviving members of the Mgar family and their allies decided to flee to China and became vassals of Wu Zetian. Chinese documentation³⁰ names three Mgar among the refugees: Gongren son of Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod, Zanpo, and Mangbuzhi. The latter is probably to be identified with Mgar Mang po rje ("Mangbuzhi") Stag rtsan mentioned in a short, but damaged, passage of the *Chronicle* referring precisely to the flight of the Mgar.³¹ Zanpo protected the border against Tibetans and died soon after³² while Gongren (658–723) led a brilliant career in China.³³ During the seventh century, a dozen of members of the Mgar family are known from ancient sources. Among them, five were great minister, sometime also general (*dmag dpon*), and one was the governor of Khotan. The others were officials with unknown functions but able to perform administrative tasks or military actions.

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

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

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

³¹ See Richardson 1998: 28–36.

³² Pelliot 1961: 12.

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

Later developments on the Mgar family

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

Origins of the Mgar family

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴² Translated in Karmay 2001: 5.

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

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

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

⁴⁶ Tarthang Tulku 1986: 127, 130.

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

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

⁴⁷ Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 29–32.

⁴⁸ Sørensen 1994: 213–249.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Early Mgar as warlords in later legends

The surprisingly few written narratives concerning the family's military expeditions are usually rather short and distorted. Accounts of the aggressive careers of Mgar's sons are to be found in Lde'u Jo sras's chronicle⁵⁴: "'Gar Btsan snya Ldom bu and 'Gar Khri 'bring Btsan rgod acted ten years as ministers. Gar log and Hor were subjugated. In the north, the territory having been extended, one would enter through the Da shab hab pass."⁵⁵ The downfall of the family Mgar, despite being one of the major political events of the time, is a theme that appears to be largely ignored by later historians.

The legend of the Chinese invasion of Lhasa after the death of Srong btsan Sgam po (leading to the hiding of the Jo bo) has been extensively studied by Richardson.⁵⁶ It probably comes from a misinterpretation of Chinese documentation referring to the events of 670, when an army sent to invade Lha sa was crushed by Mgar Khri 'bring Btsan brod near the Kokonor Lake. According to Richardson's work, the earliest version is the one found in Tshal Kun dga' rdo rje's *Red Annals* (fourteenth century).⁵⁷ The *Deb ther dmar po gsar ma* (sixteenth century) is representative of such a tradition and contains an account on Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's late career and death⁵⁸: "In the time of this king [Gung srong Gung btsan], Chinese armies came to Tibet and burnt the Dmar po ri. [...] Again minister Mgar [Stong rtsan Yul zung], leading a hundred thousand of Tibetan warriors, plundered the Chinese realm. It is said that Mgar himself died in that battle."⁵⁹ The story also contradicts both the *Annals* and the *Chronicle* regarding Mgar Stong rtsan Yul zung's death.

⁵⁴ Lde'u Jo sras 1987: 119.

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

⁵⁶ Richardson 1998: 39–47.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: 39.

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

Charts

Rulers of the Seventh Century

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

The Mgar family according to old Tibetan and Chinese sources

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

Later developments

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

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Online resources

Old Tibetan Documents Online <http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/>



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

Tim Myatt

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

The Younghusband Mission to Tibet was the “end game” of the “Great Game.” The Great Game for political supremacy and influence was played out across the plains of Central Asia between British India and Imperial Russia for almost the entire duration of the nineteenth century. For reasons too complex to explore here (although excellently analysed by Alastair Lamb² and others), Lord Curzon (1895–1925), the British Viceroy in Delhi, initially dispatched an escorted delegation of diplomats to Khamba Dzong in southern Tibet to attempt to quash rumours of Russian intrigue in Lhasa. The delegation failed to conduct a satisfactory dialogue, and hawkish elements within the diplomatic and military communities persuaded the Viceroy to sanction a small expeditionary-style force

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

² Lamb 1960.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ French 1995.

⁴ O'Connor 1931: 33.

Sources

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

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

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

The “mind” of the Mission

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

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

⁶ Fleming 1961; French 1995.

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

⁸ Carrington 2003: 107.

⁹ Hicks 1988: 55.

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

Edwardian Britain (1901–1910) still held a martial spirit; the nation maintained great pride and belief in her armies and Empire. At the time of the Mission the Boer War¹³ in South Africa would have been fresh in the minds of the Edwardian thinking classes. Some newspapers went so far as to claim that this war had a redemptive quality for both factions. In an article entitled "The Blessings of War," *The Daily Mail* suggested that the war had a double blessing, "if it makes us re-examine the bases of our national life, ruthlessly dig away all that is decayed or doubtful, and place things on a sound footing [...] out of the present strife and conflict shall emerge an Empire stronger, more fully prepared, amply equipped against the worst our foes can do against us."¹⁴

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

¹⁰ Gilmour 2003.

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

¹² Priestly 1970.

¹³ The Boer War, 1899–1902.

¹⁴ *The Daily Mail* 1 January 1900.

and evolved through competition for resources and with each other.¹⁵ Likewise Karl von Clausewitz's theory that war was the legitimate means by which states conducted their policies¹⁶ was modified to the Edwardian needs: "his famous dictum that war was merely the continuation of politics by other means, was seen by at least some late Victorians and Edwardians to make war acceptable as a method of settling their differences."¹⁷

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

It was with this in the back of their minds that the officers and men of the Mission wrestled with the very real circumstances of both armed resistance and Tibet's formidable landscape. The world may have been changing around them, but high in the Himalayas, soldiers were given ample room to be soldiers, regardless of their schooling, training, and the impossibly high ideals of the period. As frontiersmen they occupied the higher echelons of the Imperial pantheon; "portrayed as strong, self-reliant, courageous and upright, he was a pioneer of European civilization. By gaining the trust of the "unruly" indigenous peoples and imposing the British concept of good order and civilization he acted for the benefit of all."²⁰ However at the same time, the thinking—and voting²¹—classes in London were becoming less confident of their dominance, legitimacy, and ability to press ever forward this Imperial agenda; those going over the Himalayas were probably out of step with public conscience and opinion at home, still harbouring Victorian values and ideas. These old colonial attitudes can be best surmised from the name of the little Pekingese dog presented to Queen Victoria from the sack of the Peking Summer Palace in 1861; "Looty."²²

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

¹⁵ Wilkinson 1998: 99.

¹⁶ Clausewitz 1976.

¹⁷ Wilkinson 1998: 104.

¹⁸ Bishop 2000.

¹⁹ McKay 1997: 190.

²⁰ *Ibid.*: 191.

²¹ The 1884 Third Reform Act gave men in rural areas the same franchise as those in the urban boroughs, and the electorate now totaled over 5.5 million.

²² Greenfield 2007: 412.

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

The gentleman collector

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

Aurel Stein was a Hungarian explorer and scholar who later became a British citizen, receiving generous funding from the British Museum for his expeditions, and later from Curzon himself after the Viceroy visited the Lahore Museum where he worked. Although he was not to discover the caves at Dunhuang till his 1906–1908 expedition, he had by the time of the Younghusband Mission already carved his name as a Central Asia explorer in his first expedition across the Taklamakan Desert. The British Library’s holdings in early Tibetan, Chinese and Tangut manuscripts were the result of his many expeditions, the finest perhaps being the oldest known dated and printed text; a copy of the Diamond Sutra. Stein famously purchased the majority of the priceless texts from the caves’ guardian for a mere £220.²⁷ A letter from Stein in Rawalpindi to Waddell dated 1902 gives some indication of his approach to collecting items for museums and libraries. The letter congratulates

²³ Hudson 1931: 114–117.

²⁴ Carrington 2003: 108.

²⁵ See also, Robb 1997.

²⁶ Kish 1984.

²⁷ Hopkirk 1984; Baumer 2000.

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

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

“Archaeologist” to the Mission

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

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

²⁹ Waddell 1912: 80–113.

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

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

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

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

³² Kipling 1901; Hopkirk 1996.

³³ Waller 1990.

³⁴ Waddell 1895.

³⁵ Younghusband, G 1910.

³⁶ Waddell 1912: 84.

³⁷ Fleming 1959.

³⁸ Allen 2004: 40.

³⁹ When the Home Department refused to supply the Rs 10,000, it was suggested that twenty-six "Scientific and Minor Departments" be debited the amount. It was also indicated that there would perhaps be an additional grant of Rs 10,000. However Carrington (*Ibid.*) could find no evidence that this additional money was ever allocated. See also, *Home (Books and Publications) A*, July 1904, proceedings number 90–96. National Archive of India.

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

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

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

⁴⁰ Waddell 1912: 85.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: 80.

⁴² Waddell 1905.

⁴³ Waddell 1912: 83.

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

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

British attitudes and accounts

While the opportunistic acquisition of loot never seems to have strayed far from the mind of some officers as recorded in their letters and diaries, some British accounts of looting hint at plain greed. At Nakartse, Kalön (*bka' blon*; “Minister”) Yutok⁴⁹ approached

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

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

⁴⁶ Carrington 2003: 206.

⁴⁷ Waddell 1912: 88.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵¹ Allen 2004: 224.

⁵² *Ibid.*: 226.

⁵³ Waddell 1905: 223.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*: 222.

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

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

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

⁵⁵ Allen 2004: 145.

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

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

⁵⁸ <http://intotibet1903-04.blogspot.com/> Accessed 4th August 2008.

⁵⁹ Waddell 1905: 85.

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

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

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

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

⁶¹ Allen 2004: 121.

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

⁶³ Allen 2004: 122.

⁶⁴ Landon 1905: 140.

⁶⁵ Newman 1937: 133.

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

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

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

Trinkets and treasures

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

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

⁶⁸ Allen 2004: 225.

⁶⁹ Narbeth 1996: 16–18.

⁷⁰ Allen 2004: 225.

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

⁷² Macdonald 1932: 42.

⁷³ *Ibid.*: 26.

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

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

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

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

⁷⁵ Waddell 1905: 100.

⁷⁶ Allen 2004: 241.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*: 241.

Aftermath

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

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

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

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

⁷⁸ *The Statesman*, Calcutta. 21 July 1904.

⁷⁹ *The Englishman*, Calcutta. 28 July 1904.

⁸⁰ Newman 1937.

⁸¹ Mitchel and Olson 1997.

⁸² *The Times*. London. 21 April 1904.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We can be sure that at least some of the items in British collections were gifts from monks, aristocrats and officials to the higher-ranking British officers. Such items were often given to win favour—for example, the Mission’s translator was often discovering that small bags of gold dust had appeared on his desk.⁸⁹ The Ganden Tripa⁹⁰ presented both Younghusband and Macdonald with bronze statues of the Buddha as they were leaving Lhasa. Younghusband was especially attached to his, keeping it with him at all times; it even rested atop of his coffin after he died in 1942.⁹¹

Museums, the Other, and the Self

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

⁸⁶ Wilkinson 1998: 105.

⁸⁷ *Daily Mail*. 7 April 1904: 4.

⁸⁸ Wilkinson 1998: 106.

⁸⁹ O’Connor 1931: 165.

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

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

⁹² Simpson 1996: 171.

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

British museums⁹⁴ I have visited, nor the websites for those that I was unable to get to, give any indication of willingness to consider the return of objects, even on loan or temporary basis.⁹⁵



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

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

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

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

Museums facing such difficult questions have a robust and vigorous defence, especially when the object has political and historical significance, as has been shown, for example, in the ongoing debate over the ownership of the Elgin marbles⁹⁶ or the Kohinoor diamond. Museums often claim the “universality” of such important objects; that they belong to no individual, organisation or state. This pan-national heritage sounds very grand, and museums point to the fact that their collections are open for all to see, often free of charge. However this claim can be refuted when one considers how many Tibetans have the opportunity to examine objects in a museum in, for example, London or Edinburgh, as opposed to a collection in Gyantse or Lhasa.

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

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

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

⁹⁶ Fitz Gibbon 2005.

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

⁹⁸ Greenfield 2007: 412.

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

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



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

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

⁹⁹ Penny 1983.

¹⁰⁰ Kreps 2003.

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

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



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

¹⁰¹ Hodge and D’Souza 1979: 251–256.

¹⁰² Hooper-Greenhill 1994: 4.

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

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

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

¹⁰³ See, for example, Ames 1985: 25–31.

¹⁰⁴ www.collections.vam.ac.uk

¹⁰⁵ Pomian 1994: 162.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: 163.

¹⁰⁷ Carrington 2003: 81.

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

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

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

¹⁰⁸ Richards 1993.

¹⁰⁹ Harris and Shakya 2003: 2.

¹¹⁰ Said 1978: 8.



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

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

¹¹¹ Crane 2000: 2.

¹¹² Pearce 1995: 310.

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

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

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

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

Alice Travers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ Petech 1973: 14.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The database

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

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

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

⁸ Petech 1973: 19 and Goldstein 1968: 186.

⁹ *Ibid.*: 184.

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

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

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



Noble families

Officials in the database

<i>sde dpon</i> (4 families)	<i>sde dpon</i> (19 officials)
<i>yab gzhus</i> (6 families)	<i>yab gzhus</i> (20 officials)
<i>mi drag</i> (18 families)	<i>mi drag</i> (69 officials)
<i>sger pa</i> (186 families)	<i>sger pa</i> (326 officials)
	other (7 officials)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

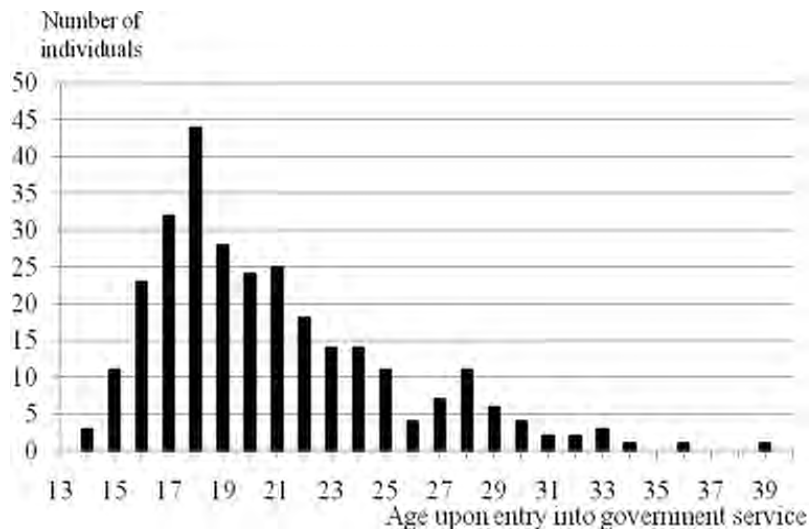
¹² For the British descriptions, see the archives files' descriptions at the end of the paper and also Bell 1906; O'Connor 1903; Richardson 1945; and Williamson 1934. For the Tibetan written descriptions, see Bshad sgra, Chab tshom, Sreg shing, and Blo bzang don grub 1991; Dge rgyas pa 1988a, b, and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

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

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

Organisation of the careers

The careers started with entry into government service, and my first point for consideration is age upon entry. The database permitted me to ascertain the age upon entry of 289 officials. The aristocratic officials of the Ganden Phodrang entered government service from the age of fourteen and apparently without any upper age limit. Over the whole period, and for all generations, the most frequently occurring age is eighteen, as is shown in Graph 3.¹⁴ A huge majority (92 per cent) of the aristocrats became officials between the ages of fifteen and twenty-eight years.

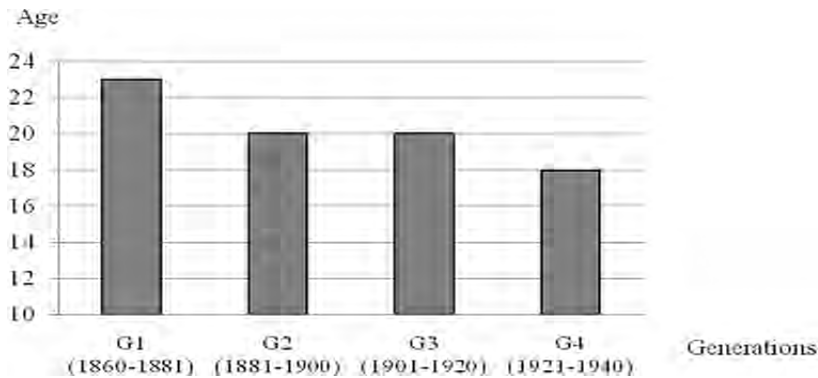


Graph 3. Age upon entry of Ganden Phodrang officials

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

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

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



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

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

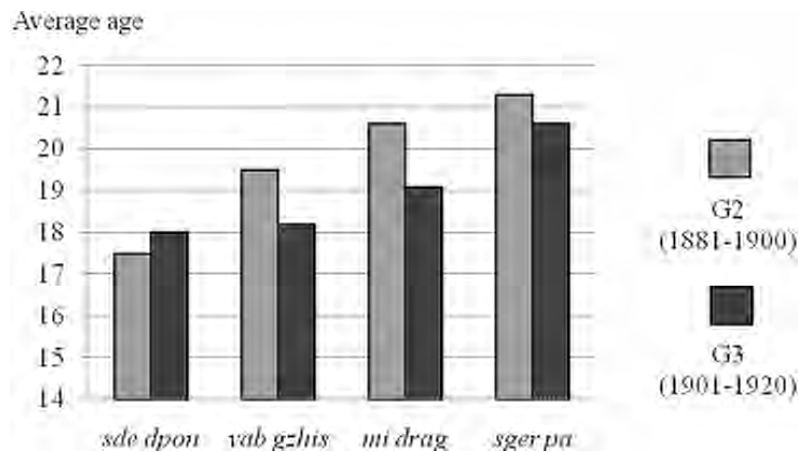
Government service had, indeed, a complex significance for aristocrats. It was compulsory and considered a duty. A noble family that could not ensure that a member would serve the government as an official could definitely be deprived of its hereditary estate(s) and lose its noble status. But, at the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

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

¹⁷ Goldstein 1968: 149.

service.¹⁸ In the Pad tshal house, Mgon po phun tshogs retired quite early, when his elder son Mgon po dbang phyug entered the government in 1938.¹⁹ When the latter fell ill, his younger brother replaced him in government service in 1939.²⁰ In other families, every male—father and sons—would serve at the same time and this occurs in all hierarchical subgroups of the aristocracy.

One of my informants believes that it was a new phenomenon, during the last period of the Ganden Phodrang's existence, that although one member of each family being in government service was sufficient, families would send more.²¹ In the Glang mthong zur pa house, two brothers—Yon ten rgya mtsho and Rig bsam—became monk and lay officials respectively on the same day in 1958.²² But it appears that the reason why Rig bsam entered government service, although it had been previously decided that he would become the family estate manager (*gzhis bzhu*gs), is that his elder brother and lay official Lhun sgrub rdo rje had accidentally passed away.²³ It seems that for aristocratic families sending a son to serve the government as a monk official was not a way to fulfill the obligation to the state. They had to provide a lay official and, if they could and wanted, they could also have a son enter as a monk.



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

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

¹⁸ *Who's Who in Tibet 1948*: 79.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 89.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Anonymous interview.

²² Anonymous interview.

²³ Anonymous interview.

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

This actually raises the question of the *mi drag* subgroup identity, which seems to have been under negotiation during the first half of the twentieth century. Some informants described the *mi drag* as comprising all families that counted a minister among their ancestors, which means that sons of new *sger pa* ministers would have to be automatically and legitimately elevated to the *mi drag* group. Other informants, however, refused this view as erroneous: technically, the *mi drag* group comprised only a fixed number of families and no new family of *sger pa* could enter it, even by producing a minister. The study of the careers shows that these two definitions of the *mi drag* group coexisted concurrently and that the system of hierarchical divisions and ranks provided a kind of flexibility. Some *sger pa* ministers' sons preferred not to enter the government service with the *sras rnam pa* rank, apparently out of respect for a fixed hierarchical order or out of humility: for instance, when 'Phrin las rnam rgyal Klu khang, son of the prime minister (*srid blon*) Klu khang, entered the government in 1947, he could have entered with the *sras rnam pa* rank due to his father's rank, but, probably because his father asked him not to, he started with an ordinary rank (*drung 'khor dkyus ma*).²⁶ It was apparently considered good manners not to try to elevate oneself above one's birth rank.²⁷ Moreover, in a few cases the government could forbid an official from bearing the *sras rnam pa* title: according to Petech, in the *sger pa* house Glang zur, the sons of the minister were not allowed to bear it because their father had been appointed minister by the Manchu while the Thirteenth Dalai Lama was in exile in India in 1910.²⁸

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ Petech 1973: 98.

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

In the British archives, numerous officials are described as being without any official duty at the time of writing the *Who's Who* or the letter, report, or diary. Most of the time, this period seems to last a few months, but sometimes a few years, without any explanation being given.³⁰ The analysis of the careers brought to light a significant amount of inactivity, which existed apart from the holidays and sabbaticals sometimes taken. The total number of officials who were officially registered in the government and who took part in the many functions did not equal the number of officials who were really in charge in the administration. To take one example, a member of the Tsha rong family, Bdud 'dul rnam rgyal, was registered in the government as an official at a very young age because his family had just received a new estate for which they were supposed to enter another official into the government service. Because he was so young, he was allowed to take leave and continue his studies first, before actually working for the government. Very often, this inactivity was not intended. When he was finally available for service a few years later, he did not get appointed. His family had to decide which course of action to take and they thought that he should receive further training in calligraphy. Therefore, they requested the council of ministers (*bka' shag*) to enrol him as an assistant scribe (*bka' shag yig 'bri*) in its office, a position he held from 1940 to 1942.³¹

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

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

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

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

³¹ Anonymous interview.

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

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

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

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

³² O'Connor 1903: 41.

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

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

³⁵ Goldstein 1968: 171.

³⁶ Anonymous interview.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The careers: replication or social mobility?

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

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

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

⁴¹ Petech 1973: 18–19.

⁴² *Ibid.*: 19.

⁴³ Goldstein 1968: 187.

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁵ Anonymous interview.

⁴⁶ Anonymous interview.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴⁹ Petech 1973: 8.

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

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

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

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

⁵¹ Anonymous interview.

⁵² Anonymous interview.

Conclusion

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

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

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

⁵³ Petech 1973: 19.

⁵⁴ Anonymous interview.

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

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བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དོ་བོ་དང་ད་ལྟོ་ལོ་གནས་སྐབས་ལ་དཔུང་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་འཇགས་

ལ་ཕན་ངེས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་འགའ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཚམས་སྲིད་བཞག་

“མེས་པོའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་འདི་ད་རུང་གསོན་འདུག”

བསོད་ནམས་ཚེ་རིང་།

སྲིད་གཞི།

དབང་ལ་རྒྱུང་རྒྱུང་སྐབས་ན་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་བདེ་སྲིད་ལས་མེད་ལ། འོན་ཏེ་དྲང་བདེན་བསྐྱེད་ན་སྤྱི་
ཚོགས་སུ་ཡུན་རིང་བའི་བདེ་འཇགས་དོ་མ་ཞིག་དངོས་སུ་སྤུང་བྱུང་ངེས་ཡིན་ཞེས་མཁའ་པ་ཞིག་གིས་
གསུངས་པ་བཞིན།¹ དབང་ལ་ལེན་རེས་བྱས་ན་སྐད་ཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་བདེ་སྲིད་ལས་མེད་ལ། དེ་བས་ཕན་
ཚུན་དྲང་བདེན་བསྐྱེད་རེས་བྱས་ན། བྱོད་ལ་གཉིས་པོ་མ་ཟད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་ཡུན་རིང་བའི་བདེ་འཇགས་
དོ་མ་ཞིག་དངོས་སུ་བསྐྱེད་བྱུང་ངེས་ཡིན། བོད་པའི་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དྲང་བདེན་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་གཤམ་
ཆེ་ཚུལ་ཤེས་པའི་སློབས་ཀྱིས་གནའ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ། ཁྲིམས་ནི་དྲང་བདེན་སྲོད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱུད་གཙོ་བོ་
ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་དོས་ཟེན་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་གནའ་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་སུ་དབྱུང་བཞེས་པ་ནས་ད་བར་
དུ་བོད་ལ་གོ་མས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་འདི་བསྐྱེད་བའི་ཡུལ་ཁ་ཤོག་པ་མ་གཅིག་ན། ལ་ལར་ཡིག་ཐོག་
གསལ་ལ་ལར་ཡིག་ཐོག་མིན་པའམ། ཡང་ན་ལ་ལས་སྤྱི་འཇམ་བྱེ་བྲག་གི་ཆ་གང་རུང་ཞིག་བསྐྱེད་སྟེ།
གང་ལྟར་ཡང་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་འདི་བོད་མི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་བཅི་སྤྱོད་བྱེད་པའི་གཞི་རྩ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ནས་ནང་
སྐྱོད་འགྱུར་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཉིང་དང་སྤྱི་རུས་པ་ལ་ཁྲུག་གདོས་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལུས་གསིང་། ཞལ་བརྗོད་པ་ངག་
གི་སྒྲོར་བའི་འགྱུར་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ཏུ་འཐིམ་འདུག་པས། ད་ལྟོ་ཀྱང་གོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདིའི་ནང་ལ་

¹ མཁའ་པ་འདི་ནི་སྤྱི་ལོ་2009 ཟླ་5པའི་ཕྱི་ལོ་ CCTV རྒྱ་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་སྐོར་གྱི་སྲིད་སྟེན་སུ་ཁྲིམས་མཁའ་པ་
ཞིག་གིས་དེ་ལྟར་གསུངས་སྟེ། གཞུག་ནས་ངས་དུ་ཚོགས་སུ་ཡང་ཡང་བཙལ་ཡང་ཁོང་གི་མཚན་དེ་བཙལ་མ་
ཤེས། མཚན་འདིའི་མ་ཡིག་གི་རྒྱ་སྐད་ནི་复仇只能带来一时的快感，而维护正义却能给
整个社会带来永久和真正的和平（安定？） ཞེས་གསུངས་སྟེ།

མཚོན་ནའང་། བོད་འབངས་སུ་གོམས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་འདི་སྟོན་དབུ་གཙང་དང་སྤྲོད་མདོ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་
 ཀྱན་དུ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གང་ཅུང་གི་ནམ་པའི་སྟོན་མ་ཉམས་པར་གནས་ཞིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱན་
 ཡུན་རིང་ཞིང་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྱད་ཚོས་འབྱུང་དུ་ཐོན་ཡོད་ཚུལ་དངོས་འདི་བོད་རང་གི་དེབ་ཐེང་
 ཁྲུངས་བཅུན་པ་དག་ཏུ་འཁོད་པ་བཞིན་ཀྱན་གྱི་སྒྲིན་ལམ་དུ་སྟོན་མེད་གཤམ་ན། རང་ཅག་གངས་རིའི་
 ར་བས་བསྟོར་བའི་ཡུལ་འདིར། གནའ་བཙན་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་དང་མི་ཚོས་
 གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དུ་ག། ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་དུ་ག་སོགས་གཞིར་གྱུར་ནས་ཁོད་སོ་དུ་ག་གཏན་ཕབ་བྱུང་བ་
 ནས་བཟུང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་རབས་རིམ་གྱིས་རང་གི་དུས་རབས་དང་དོན་དངོས་ལ་མཐུན་པའི་
 ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ལེགས་པར་ཕབ་ཡོད། ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོས་སྟོན་པོ་མགར་སོགས་ལ་བཀའ་
 ཕབ་ནས་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༡༩མ་ལ་བཟོས་པའི་ཁོད་སོ་དུ་ག་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༡༧ལ་ས་སྐུ་པས་བོད་ཡོངས་
 ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་དབང་ཐོར་ནས་སྡེ་སྲིད་ཕག་གྲུ་བས་བོད་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་
 དབང་དངོས་སུ་འཚུགས་པ་དང་། ཏུ་སི་ཏུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་བའི་བོད་
 ཀྱི་བཙའ་ཁྲིམས་གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྟོག་པའི་ཞལ་ལྷེ་བཙོ་ལྷ་ཞེས་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༤ལ་གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་
 པོས་སྲིད་དབང་སྟོང་བ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་སུ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྷེ་བཙོ་དུ་ག་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་
 པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལ་ལའི་བླ་མ་སྐུ་ཕྱིང་ལྷ་པ་སྟོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་ཚོས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དབང་
 མཚན་ནས། དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྱང་གི་འགོ་བཟུང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྷེ་བཙོ་བཙུམ་གཏན་
 འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་པ་དང་། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༡ལ་གནས་དུས་ཀྱི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་སྡེ་སྲིད་
 སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བླང་དོར་གསལ་བར་སྟོན་པའི་དྲང་ཐིག་དྲངས་ཤེས་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་
 ཡིག་དོན་ཚན་ཉེར་གཅིག་པ་ཅན་ཞིག་མཚན་ཡོད་པ་བཙས་སོ། དེ་མིན་བོད་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་བྱུང་ཟེན་
 པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིང་མོའི་ཁྲོད་འདིར་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སོ་སོའི་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་དགོས་མཁོའི་
 ཚོས་ཉིད་ལྟར། མཐའ་སྟོར་གྱི་ཁྲིམ་མཚོས་མི་རིགས་དང་སྐྱ་མི་འདྲ་བའི་འབྲེལ་བ་མང་པོ་འཚུགས་ཏེ།

རྒྱ་དཀར་ཀླུ་དང་མོག་ཡུལ་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་དང་ཚོས་ལུགས། རིག་གནས་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་བཅས་
 ཕྱོགས་ཡོངས་ནས་བསྐྱུ་ལེན་བྱས། ལྷག་པར་དུ་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་ཚོས་
 ལུགས་དང་རིག་གནས་ཐད་ནས་རྩ་བའི་གོ་གནས་བཟུང་ཚུན་ཆད་ནང་ཚོས་འདི་བོད་རང་གི་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་
 བོམས་འདྲིས་ཤིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། དུས་ཡུལ་སོ་སོའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་ནང་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱགས་རྒྱུན་རྒྱ་
 ཚེ་ཞིང་གཏིང་ཟབ་པའི་སློན་མེས་པས། ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཉིད་དེ་སྐབས་སོ་སོའི་བྱད་ཚོས་ལྡན་པའི་
 མ་ལག་ཆགས་ནས། ས་གནས་རང་བཞིན་གྱི་དམངས་ཚོད་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ཐུན་མོང་མིན་པ་རེའང་གྲུབ་
 ཡོད་ཅུང་། ནང་དོན་རིག་པ་འདི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་གྱི་རིགས་པའི་ཐུན་མོང་གི་གཞི་འཛིན་སའམ་སྲོག་
 ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར། ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་འདི་དག་ནི་དབང་བསྐྱུར་གྲུལ་རིམ་གྱི་དབང་སྐྱུར་བྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་
 དུའང་གྱུར་ཡོད་ཅུང་། འདིས་སླིང་སློབས་དང་སློ་སློབས་ཟུང་དུ་ལྡན་པའི་བོད་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་
 ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་ཡུན་རིང་ཞིང་། ཐུན་མིན་གྱི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་རིག་གནས་ཐུན་སྐྱེས་ཚོགས་པའི་རྒྱ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་
 ཁྲིམས་དགའ་ལུགས་དགའི་མིའི་རིགས་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའང་མཚོན་ལ། སྐབས་སོ་སོའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ལ་ཆ་
 རྒྱས་ཡོད་ན། བོད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་བོད་ནང་ལྷུ་དུ་བདེ་འཇགས་ཡོང་སྐྱེད་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་པ་
 མ་ཟད། བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་དང་མིའི་བར་དང་། ཡང་ན་བོད་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་དང་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན། ལྷ་ཙུ་
 ཤིང་རྩ་བརྒྱན་གཤེར་ཀྱང་གྱི་བར་ལ་ཕན་ཚུན་ཅུང་བདེ་འཇགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་དང་མཛེའ་བཅེ་ཡོང་ཡོད་སྐྱེད་
 ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ལའང་གོ་བ་གསར་པ་ཞིག་བརྟེན་སྐྱེད་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་
 འདིའི་དོ་བོད་ཕན་ཡོན་ཤེས་ནས་བེད་སྲོད་གང་ལེགས་ཤིག་བྱུང་ན། རང་རེའི་མིས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ས་
 འདི་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་གཏན་སྲུང་བྱུང་ཞིང་བཅོན་དུ་སློབ་པ་དང་། ཐན་འཛུལ་བྱ་སླིང་འདིའི་ཞི་བདེ་
 ལའང་ཕན་པ་ངེས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཐོགས་པར་གདོན་ཟུ་མི་དགོས་པའི་ཐབས་ཤིག་རེད་སྟེ། དེ་བས་ན་བོད་
 ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་རིག་གནས་གསོན་པོ་དེ་བོད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གཤིན་སར་འཐིམ་ནས་བོད་མི་
 རིགས་ཀྱི་ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་སྲོད་པའི་ཚད་གཞིར་གྲུབ་ནས་བོད་པ་འདི་འཛུལ་བྱ་སླིང་གི་

མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་ད་བར་དུ་དངོས་སུ་གསོལ་ཉམས་དོན་རྒྱ་བྱུང་ཆགས་འདུག་ལྷན་སྦྲུང་གི་
རྒྱ་དང་སྤྱིའི་རྒྱུན་གཏོག་ཞིག་ཏུ་འང་བྱུང་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གསལ་པོར་ཤེས་བྱུང་པ་རེད།

དང་པོ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་འདི་ཡབ་བྱུང་བྱུང་པའི་རྩ་བའི་རྣམ་དགའི་

གཅིག། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་སུ་འབངས་ལ་ཞབས་ཞུ་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱ་གཏོག་བོར་བཟུང་།

བོད་ཀྱི་བཙན་པོས་དམངས་ལ་བྱམས་པས་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་འབངས་ལ་ཞབས་

ཞུ་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱ་གཏོག་བོར་བཟུང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་གནའ་ནས་དར་ཞིང་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱུན་

རིང་དུ་གནས་ཡོད། རྒྱུན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དག་ལས།² དང་ཐོག་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་འདིར་མ་སང་སྤྱན་དགུས་

དབང་བསྐྱུར་བ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཡོད་ཉེ་ལྷན་ལྷ། སིལ་མ་བཞི་བཅུ། ཡང་རྒྱལ་ཡོད་ལྷན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དབང་

བསྐྱུར་བ་སོགས་བཀོད་ཡོད་པ་ལས། གངས་ཅན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་འདིར་གནའ་གཉའ་བྲི་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱུན་

ནས་དབང་བསྐྱུར་མཁན་མ་སང་སྤྱན་དགུ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཡོད་ལྷན་ཡང་དུ་མ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པས་སྤར་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་

དང་དབང་སྐྱུར་མཁན་ལ་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་ཡིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་པོར་བཀོད་མེད་

རུང་དངོས་སུ་ཡོད་དགོས་པ་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་ཏུ་ས། གལ་ཏེ་དབང་སྐྱུར་མཁན་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་གང་རུང་ལ་

སྲིད་སྲོད་གི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་གང་འོས་ཤིག་མེད་ན་དེ་དག་གི་མིང་ཅམ་ཡང་ཡོད་ག་ལ་སྲིད། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་

ཆེ་རྒྱུང་གང་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡིན་རུང་རང་རང་གི་དགོས་མཁོ་དང་བསྐྱུན་པའི་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལས་ཀའི་སྒྲིག་གཞི

² མཁས་པ་ལྷེ་ལྷོ་མ་བཙུན་པའི་ལྷེ་ལྷོ་ཚེས་འབྱུང་རྒྱུས་པ། ༡༩༢༡ནས་༡༩༢༦ ནང་གསལ། འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ཏུ་དཔལ་
གྱིས་བཙུན་པའི་དབ་ཐེར་སྒྲོན་པོ། ༡༩༣༩ནང་གསལ། ཚལ་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་དོན་རྒྱུས་བཙུན་པའི་དབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ།
༡༩༣༩ནང་གསལ། དམུ་དགོ་བསམ་གཏན་གྱིས་བཙུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀུན་དགའི་མེ་ལོང་། ༡༩༠ནང་
གསལ། ཆབ་སྲིད་ཆོ་བརྟན་ཕྱན་ཚོགས་དང་ནོར་བུ་ལྷ་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་བཙུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་
ཕྱིང་བ། ༡༩༠ནང་གསལ། ནམ་མཁའ་ནོར་བུས་བཙུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་གཤམ་དུང་
ནོར་བུའི་དོ་ཤལ། ༡༩༠ནང་གསལ།

འེ་ཡོད་པ་གོར་མ་ཆག ཡིན་ནའང་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལས་ཀའི་སློབ་གཞི་གསལ་ལ་པོར་འཁོད་པའི་ཡིག་ཆ་ལིན་ཏུ་རྟེན་དཀའ་བས། སྐབས་དེའི་གནས་རྒྱལ་གསལ་པོར་བཤད་མ་ཐུབ་ནའང་། རྗེ་འོ་སྐུམ་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་རྗེ་འོ་ཚེས་འབྲུང་ལས།³ དེ་ནས་ཡུམ་བུ་སྐྱོད་དུ་གཤེགས་ཏེ། ཡི་ནས་⁴མཐོ་བ་ལ། ཡུམ་ཚང་སྟོན་སྟེགས། དེ་ནས་ཕྱིར་བ་སྟེགས་ཅིར་བྱོན་ཏེ་དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་དགུ་རིམ་⁵བཞུགས་ནས། སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་ལ་རབས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱོར་ནས། གཙོག་ལག་གི་ཐང་ཁྲིམས་ནི་རྗེའི་ལུགས། སྐྱོད་⁶དང་རྗེ་འོ་⁷ཚེས་ནི་བྱུང་། དགོངས་པ་འཕུལ་⁸གྱི་རས་⁹ཆགས་པས། གསང་གྲོས་རྣམ་གསུམ་¹⁰གྱིས་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་དམིགས་¹¹ལྟེ། མི་ལ་ཆད་རྣམ་གཉིས་དང་བཞེད་རྣམ་ལུས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་བཙན། ཡིག་ཚང་སྟོན་དུ་དང་དཔའ་མཚན་རྣམ་བརྒྱད་བཀའ་རིམ་པར་གནང་སྟེ། འཛམ་བུ་སྐྱིད་ན་མཐའ་བཞི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞི་ཡང་དཔུ་འབུལ་ལོ། ། ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་ལས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་བ་ལ་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལས་ཀའི་སློབ་གཞི་བཙན་པོར་པ་གསལ་ལ་ཏེ། དར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་དགུ་རིམ་བཞུགས་ཞེས་པའི་ཚིག་དོན་ལ་དཔུད་ན། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཙོས་པའི་སྐྱེ་འཁོར་མཐོ་རིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཕྱིར་བ་སྟེགས་ཅིར་གནས་བཙན་ཏེ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དང་སློབ་གཞི་བཙན་པོར་བ་ལ། སྐྱོན་པོ་རྣམས་

³ རྗེ་འོ་སྐུམ་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པའི་རྗེ་འོ་ཚེས་འབྲུང་། ༡༡༠༢ནང་གསལ།
⁴ དང་པོ་འམ་ཐོག་མ་ལ་གོ།
⁵ ཁང་སྐོལ་ཡོལ་བ་དགུ་རིམ།
⁶ སྐྱོན་གྱི་ཡོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་སྲོང་།
⁷ བྱང་ཚིག་མ་ཡིན་པར་གསལ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཚིག་གིས་སྐྱོས་པ།
⁸ སྐྱོ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཕུལ་གྱིས།
⁹ མོ་སོར་རིས་སུ་བྱེ་བ།
¹⁰ གསང་ནི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་གསང་ཡིག་དང་། གསང་གྲོས་རྣམ་གསུམ་ནི་ཕྱི་ནང་གསང་གསུམ་གྱི་གསང་གྲོས་ལ་གོ།
¹¹ དམིགས་ལུལ།

གྲིས་ལྷོ་ནས་རིམ་པར་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་གཞན་གྱི་འགྲུལ་ལམ་འགོ་གཤིས་ཡོད་པའི་དོན་དུ་ངེས་ཏེ། དགུ་
 རིམ་མམ་རིམ་པ་དགུ་ཞེས་པ་ནི་རང་རེ་བོད་གྱི་ཁ་སྐད་གྱི་གོ་མས་སྲོལ་དུ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ནན་པོའི་སློན་ལས་དམ་
 རྒྱ་བྱས་པའི་དོན་སྟེ། དཔེར་ན་རྒྱ་རིམ་པ་དགུ་བཏབ། ཡོད་དགུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྟ་བུའོ། འདིར་བོད་གྱི་ལོ་
 རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་པརྟ་རྩ་གའི་ལྷེ་མིག་ཏུ་གཙུག་ལག་གི་ཐང་གིས་མེད་ལྷོ་ལུགས་ཞེས་པ་སྐར་གཡུང་བྱང་
 བོན་གྱི་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་འབེབས་བྱས་པའི་ལུགས་རྣམས་དེ་གར་རང་གཏན་འཇགས་བྱས། མི་ལ་
 ཆད་རྣམ་གཉིས་དང་བཞེད་རྣམ་ལུས་བོད་གྱི་གྲིམས་བཅས་ཞེས་པའི་ཆད་ནི་བཅད་པའི་དོན་ཡིན་པས་ན་
 བཀའ་ཡིས་བཅད་པ་གནང་བའི་དོན་དུ་གོ་དགོས་ལ། དེ་ཡང་བཟང་ལ་ཞོར་གྱི་དཔལ་དར་དང་བསྟོན་
 པའི་སྐབས་བརྗོད་བཞུགས་པའི་བཀའ་བཅད་པ་དང་། ཉེས་ཅན་དང་ངན་པར་ལུས་ལ་གཙོད་བརྟུང་དང་
 ཞོར་ལ་འཕྲོག་ལེན་སོགས་བྱེད་རྒྱུའི་བཀའ་བཅད་པ་སྟེ། ཅུ་བའི་གྲིམས་སྲོལ་གཉིས་པོའི་སྟེང་དུ་རྒྱལ་
 པོའི་སྲིད་ལ་ཕན་པའི་བཞེད་ལུངས་ལུགས་སྲོལ་ལུངས་གྲིམས་ལུགས་བྱང་ཡོད་ཅེས་¹² འབྲེལ་བ་མངོན་
 ཅོམ་དང་གྲིམས་གྱི་མིང་ཅོམ་འཁོད་པ་ལས་ཡིག་ཆ་གསལ་པོ་མ་མཐོང་རུང་འབངས་ལ་བྱམས་པའི་
 ཆེད་དུ་དཀར་ནག་བདེན་རླུན་བཟང་ངན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་འབྱེད་པའི་གྲིམས་ཐབས་བྱུང་།

བོད་བཅོན་པོའི་སྐབས་ནི་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་གྲིམས་རིག་གནས་བྱུང་འཕེལ་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁོང་གི་
 གལ་ཆེན་གྱི་དུས་རིམ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཞིང་། དང་ཐོག་གི་ཡིག་ཆ་དེ་ཏུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྩིང་འགའ་ལ་དབྱེད་ན།
 བོད་གྱི་བཅའ་གྲིམས་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་འགོ་ཁྲུངས་ནི་བོད་གྱི་རང་སའི་ལོ་རབས་སྟོང་ལྷག་དུ་མ་ལ་བརྒྱད་
 ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མི་དང་མིའི་བར་གྱི་སྤྲིག་གཞིའི་སྲོལ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཤིས་ཡིན་ཞིང་། སྲོལ་ལུགས་
 འདིའི་གཞི་རྩ་ནི་ཕན་ཚུན་བརྩེ་ཞེན་ཆགས་ས་ཞིག་ཡིན་དགོས་པ་མ་ཟད། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲིག་གཞིའི་
 རང་གི་གོང་རིམ་གྱི་འགན་འཁུར་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དབང་ཐུབ་པའི་གཞི་འདི་དམངས་ལ་

¹² ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱུ་མཐུན་པའི་བོད་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་དོན་པརྟ་རྩ་གའི་ལྷེ་མིག ༡༩༧༠ ལོ་ ༡༣་ཉན་
 གསལ།

བྱམས་རྒྱུ་བྱུག་ཡོད་པ་ཤེས་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་སྲི་ཚོགས་འདི་མ་ཐོར་བར་དུ་བར་དུ་ཆགས་ཡོད་པ་ལས་གོ་
 བྱུག། སྲི་རྒྱུ་བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དེ་ལྟར་འདོད་ནས་བཙན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཚུ་
 བའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་འབངས་ལ་ཞབས་ཏུ་བསྐྱུབ་རྒྱུ་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་ཡོད་པ་མངོན་པ་དེ་རྣམས་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་
 ལས།¹³

རྣམ་གསུམ་དུ་ནི་གནས་རིམ་པ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྤྱིང་ན། ཁྲི་བར་ལ་བདུན་ཚིག། ཤེས་བཞི།།
 གནས་གི་ལྷལས། ས་ག་དོག་དུག་དུ། །འབྲེང་འགོ་ནག་གི་རྩི་སྲིད་གི་རྩེ། །དུད་རྩོག་ཆག་སྐྱེད་ཀྱི་
 རྒྱུ། རྒྱོན་པོ་ལྷེ་རིགས། ཚེས་པོ་མཚོ་གཙོ། བྱུག་ཚང་ཤ་སྤྲུག། ། ལྷོ་རྩི་ལྷ་དང་བདུད། །དུ་བརྒྱུས་
 རས། ཡུལ་བོད་ཀ་གཡལ་ག་དུག་དུ་བྱོན་ཞེས་མཚི། །གང་ལགས་ཀྱང་སྲི་མངོན་སྟེ།། གཤུང་སྲི་བོད་དང་
 སྲི་རྒྱུ་དུ་གསོལ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་རྣམས་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་ (P.T. 1286 III) ན།
 བོད་ཀ་གཡལ་ག་དུག་གི་རྩིར་གཤེགས་སོ། ཐོག་མ་ས་ལ་གཤེགས་པ་ཡང་། གནས་མཐའ་འོག་གི་རྩིར་
 གཤེགས་པས། གནས་ཀྱི་ནི་དབུས། ས་འི་ནི་དཀྱིལ། སྤྱིང་གི་ནི་སྤྱིང་པོ། གངས་ཀྱི་ནི་རབ། ལུ་པོ་
 ཀྱུན་ཀྱི་ནི་མགོ་བོ། རི་མཐོ་ས་གཙང་། ཡུལ་བཟང་། ལྷོ་འཛངས་ཤིང་དཔའ་རུ་སྟེ། ཚོས་བཟང་དུ་
 བྱེད། རྩ་མགོ་གས་སུ་འཕེལ་བའི་གནས། ལྷལ་གྱིས་བདམས་སྟེ་གཤེགས་སོ། ལྷལ་པོ་གཞན་དང་སྲི་
 མཚུངས་པ་འཛོམས། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་རྣམས་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་ (P.T. 1287 III) ན།
 རྩང་ནས་ཟིང་པོ་རྩི་སྤྲུག་སྤྲོ་བོ་ལྷ་ཞིག། རི་ལ་ཡང་འོག་པ་གཤེན་སྤྲུགས་ཤེ་དག་བྱེད་དེ།། ཉེས་པ་ནི་
 ལེགས་པར་བཅུག། ལེགས་པ་ནི་ཉེས་པར་བཅུག་གོ། འཛངས་པ་སྤྱིང་ཉེ་ག། ལེགས་པ་འི་སྲིད་བྱས་
 རྫོབ་སྤྲུག་པ་ནི་སྲི་ཉེ་ག། ལྷོ་གཙམ་བུ་གས་གི་དོ་བོ་རི་བྱེད་པ་འཛོམས་ནི། ཚེད་དུ་ཡང་ཉེ་ག་ཏོ། ལྷོ་འདི་
 ལྷོ་བྱེད་ལྷུས་བྱུང་དོ། ལྷོ་འཛངས་པ་དང་མཚུངས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། དཔའ་བོ་རྩི་གང་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སྤྲང་སྟེ།

13 གཉའ་གོང་དགོན་མཚོག་ཚོ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བཟང་མས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྟན་ལྷུང་ཡིག་ཆ་ཚུ་ཚེན་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 ཚོག་དོན་ཀྱན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་འོང་། །ཤ་ནང་གསལ།

རིམ་བརྒྱུངས་།། མ་འོས་བའི་ཆད་པ་ནི་ནམ་ཚེ་འོ།། ལྷི་མཁོའ་བའི་ལས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གྲངས་ནི་མངས་སོ།།
 ལུང་ལྟར་ཟིང་པོ་རྗེ་སྟག་སྐྱུ་པོ།། ཚེས་ལོག་ཚིང་སྲིད་གྲུང་པས།། རྗེ་བོ་ཉེས་དགུའ་བྱེད་པའ།། ལྷི་ཚིག་
 གིས།། མཐོང་ཡང་།། ཉེ་པ་འི་སློབ་གདབ་དུ་མ་འོས་པ་འི་ཆད་པ་ནམ་ཚེས། ཚིག་དྲག་གིས།། རིག་
 ལུས་ཀྱང་སློབ་གདབ་མ་མོད་དོ།། རྗེ་བོ་ནི་སློབ་ན་གཞུག་མོ།། ཁོ་ལ་པོ་ནི་འོག་ན་སྐྱག་གོ།། རྗེ་བོ་ནི་ ལྷ་ན་སྐྱོ།།
 ཁོ་ལ་པོ་ནི་འོག་ན་གཞུག་མོ།། གཚིག་ལ་གཚིག་སླིང་ལྷི་བརྟན་ཏེ།། ཐད་དུ་སེམས་སོ།། རྗེ་བོ་ཟིང་པོ་
 རྗེ་བོ་ཞེན་ཏེ།། རིམ་ཡང་ལོག་པ་གཤེན་ཕྱོགས་ཉེས་དགུ་བྱེད་པས།། དུལ་གྱི་སྲིད་ཀྱང་དམའས་སོ།།
 ལྷི་ཡོངས་ཀྱང་རྗེ་བོ་ལ་འཁང་དོ།། ལུང་ནས་ཟིང་པོ་རྗེ་སྟག་སྐྱུ་པོ་འི་སློབ་པོ།། མཉན་འཛི་རྒྱུང་ནག་
 པོས།། རྗེ་བོ་ལ་གསོལ་བུ།། རྗེ་བོ་རིམ་ཡང་ལོག་པ་གཤེན་ཕྱོགས་མཛོད་པས།། རྗེ་བོ་ལྷི་སྲིད་ནི་སྲིད་
 དུ་མ་རུང་། ཚེས་ནི་ཚེས་སུ་མ་རུང་སྟེ། དུལ་གྱི་སྲིད་དབུལ། ཉམས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དམའ་སྟེ། མ་མོ་བརྟག་ཟེན་
 ན་རི་མོངས་ཤེས་གསོལ་ནས། ལུང་ནས། ཟིང་པོ་རྗེ་སྟག་སྐྱུ་པོ་ཉན་དུ་མ་རུང་སྟེ། འདི་སྐྱད་ཟེར་བ་ཉེས་
 སོ་ཞེས།། འཛི་རྒྱུང་སློབ་པོ་ལས་ལྷུང་དོ། ལུང་ནས་འཛི་རྒྱུང་མ་རངས་སྟེ། ཟིང་པོ་རྗེ་ཁྲི་པང་སུམ་ལ་
 ལྟས་ནས།། ནག་པོ་འཁྱུས་ཏེ། སྐྱུ་བོ་བསད། དེ་ལུ་རྒྱལ་ཏེ་བསེའ་སྐྱ་བཟག་གོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་
 དང་། ཡང་ཏུན་ཏོང་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་(P.T.1287 III)ན། ཅོང་སྐྱ་གཚིག་ལུ་ལྷི་ན་རྩུར་སྐྱ་སྟེ། ཆབ་
 ཆབ་ནི་པ་རོལ་ན།། ཡར་ཆབ་ནི་པ་རོལ་ན།། ལྷི་འི་ནི་སྐྱུ་བུ་སྟེ།། ལྷ་འི་ནི་སྐྱས་པོ་བཞུགས།། རྗེ་བདེན་
 ནི་བཀོལ་དུ་དགའ།། སྐྱ་བདེན་གྱིས་ནི་བསྟན་ན་དགའ།། ཞེས་སླིང་ལ་སེམས་པ་ཁར་ཏོར་ཚེས་ལྷུང་
 ནས།། དབྱི་ཚབ་སྐྱུན་ན་འགོ་བའི་རྣ་བར་ལྷངས་ཤེས་ཐོས་སྟེ།། དབྱི་ཚབ་གྱིས་ཚིག་དེ་ཏོག་ཅེས་སྐྱངས་
 ནས།། ཅོང་སྐྱ་གྱོད་ཟེར་བ་ལས་བདེན་པ་སྟེད་དོ།། ཁོ་བོ་ཡང་འདི་ལས་མ་རངས་པ་སྟེད་གྱིས།། རྗེ་བོ་
 སེམས་པ་དང་སྐྱི་འདྲའ་རེ་ཞེས་མཉམ་པོར་རོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པོད་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་བོད་ལ་ནང་བསྟན་
 མ་ལྷུང་བའི་གོང་ལའང་བོད་གྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་རིག་གནས་ཀྱི་འབྲུང་ཁྲུངས་རྗེ་ཡིས་འབངས་ལ་བུམས་
 དགོས་སྐྱུ་འི་ཐད་ནས་གོ་སྐྱ་བ་དང་། འདི་འང་བོད་གྱི་བཅའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱ་སྐྱུ་འི་

མང་གཞི་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་ཤེས་སྟབས། རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པས་ཀྱང་།¹⁴ ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མེས་དཔོན་གྱི་འིང་
ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཡི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཚོས་བཞེན་སྲུང་པ་དང་མཐོ་བའི་གཉའ་ནས་གཞོན་ཅིང་དམའ་བ་ཐབས་
གྱིས་སྲོང་བའི་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་བཟང་པོ་འོ་འོ་སྤང་སྲིད་ཅིང་བར་དུ་ཁྲུབ་པའི་བདེ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་ཕུང་རྩེ་
ཀ་ཆེས་ཆེར་རྒྱས་པ་བར་སྐབས་སུ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་སོགས་
ལེགས་ལའག་མང་པོའི་ནང་དུ་འང་རྗེའི་ལས་ཀ་འབངས་ལ་གུམས་དགོས་རྒྱལ་སོགས་ནན་ཏུ་གསུངས་
པ་བཞེན་ནོ།

གཉིས། བོད་ཀྱི་བཅན་པོའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་སུ་ཞལ་སྟེ་དྲང་པོར་གཅོད་རྒྱ་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་།

བོད་ཀྱི་བཅན་པོས་དམངས་ལ་གཅེས་པས་ན་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་ཞལ་སྟེ་དྲང་པོར་
གཅོད་རྒྱ་གཙོ་བོར་བཟུང་། སྲོང་བཅན་སྐྱམ་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་སྲོང་ནི་འབྲོག་གུག་ཡོ་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་
ལས་དྲང་པོར་བྱེད་པའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག་པ་དང་། དྲང་པོར་གཅོད་པ་ནི་སྲིད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་ཡིན་པས་
བཅན་པོའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་གནད་དེ་ཟེན་འདུག ཏུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྩེད་(P.T. 1287 VII)ལས།
༡། རྒྱལ་འདི་འི་འིང་ལ།¹⁵ ཞང་ཞུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་དྲངས་སྟེ། ཆབ་སྲིད་མཛད་ནས། ཞང་ཞུང་
གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིག་སྟེ་རྩེད་བརྒྱལ་སྟེ། ཞང་ཞུང་ཐམས་ཆད་འབངས་སུ་བཀའ་གོ། ཞེས་དང་།
ཡང་ཡིག་རྩེད་དེ་ལས། ལྷ་ན་རྗེ་སྐྱམ་ན། ཁྲི་སྲོང་བཅུ་ན། འོག་ན་སྟོན་འཛངས་ན་སྲོང་རྩན་ཡུལ་བྱུང་།
རྗེ་ཞི་གནས་འི་སྤྱི་འུགས་། སྟོན་པོ་ནི་ས་འི་ངམ་ལེན་གྱི་རྩལ་། མངའ་ཐང་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱུན་དུ། ཇི་དང་
རིར་ལྷན་ཏེ། སྤྱི་འུགས་སྲིད་ནི་སྟོགས་བཞིར་བསྟེད། ནང་གི་ཁ་བསོ་ནི་སྟེ་ཉམས་པར་ལྷན་སྟུགས།
འབངས་མགོ་ནག་པོ་ཡང་མཐོ་དམན་ནི་བསྟུམས། དཔུ་སྟུ་ནི་བསྟུངས། དལ་དུ་ནི་མཆིས། སྟོན་དཔྱིད་

14 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤྱི་དབངས། ༡༧༡ནས་༡༧༢ནང་གསལ།

15 སྲོང་བཅན་སྐྱམ་པོ།

ནི་བསྐྱེལ།། འཁོར་བར་ནི་སྤྱད། འདོད་པ་ནི་བྱིན། གཞོད་པ་ནི་བྱེ། བཙན་པ་ནི་བཅུགས། སློབ་ནི་སྤྱད།
 འཇིགས་པ་ནི་མཚན། བདེན་བཞི་བསྟེན། འཛངས་པ་ནི་བསྟོད། དཔའ་བོ་ནི་བཀྲུ། སློན་པར་ནི་
 བཀོལ། ཚེས་བཟང་སྲིད་མཐོ་སྟེ། ལྷི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱིད་དོ། བོད་ལ་སྲུ་ན་ཡི་གེ་བྱེད་པ་ཡང་།། བཙན་
 བོ་འདི་འི་ཚོ་བྱུང་ནས།། བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་བཀའ་གྲིམས་ཚད་པོ་དང་། སློན་པོ་འི་རིམ་པ་དང་། ཆེ་
 རྒྱུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དབང་ཐང་དང་། ལེགས་པ་ཟེན་པ་འི་བྱུང་བའ་དང་། ཉེ་ཡོ་བའི་ཆད་པ་དང་། ཞིང་
 འབྲོག་གི་ཐུལ་ཀ་དང་དོར་ཀ་དང་། སྤྱངས་ཀྱི་གོ་བར་བསྐྱམས་པ་དང་། བྲེ་ཐུལ་དང་། སྤང་ལ་སྟོགས་
 པ། བོད་ཀྱི་ཚེས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་བཟང་པོ་ཀྱན།། བཙན་པོ་བློ་སྲོང་བཙུན་གྱི་རིང་ལས་བྱུང་དོ། ལྷི་ཡོངས་
 ཀྱིས་བཀའ་རྒྱུ་བྱེད་ཞིང་ཚོར་བས།། སྲོང་བཙུན་སྐྱམ་པོ་ཞེས་མཚན་གསལ་ཏོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་
 དང་། ཚེས་འབྱུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྤིང་བོ་སྤྱང་རྩེ་འི་བཅུད་ལས།¹⁶ སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་མཛད་པའི་ཐམས་ཅད་
 མགྲུ་སྟེ། ལྷི་ཡོ་འདི་བྲགས་བྱང་ལ་སྐྱམ་པ་ཞེས་འདུག་གོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ནས་མཚན་ཡང་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐྱམ་
 པོ་བྱུང་བར་བྲགས་སོ། ཞེས་གསུངས། ཞེས་དོ་རིང་ཤར་དོས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་སྤོང་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཏུ།¹⁷ (ཕྱ) ༡།
 སློན་སྐྱབས་སྐྱ་སྐྱ་(ཕྱ)འོང་། ཉང་སློན་ཚེན་(ཕྱ)པོ་དང་ཡོ་གལ་འཚོས་(ཕྱ)པ་ཚེན་པོར་། བཀའ་
 (ཕྱ)སྐྱེལ་དྲུག་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། (ཕྱ)བཀའ་ལུང་དང་འབྲ(ཕྱ)བར་རྗེ་སྐྱམ་དཀའ་(ཕྱ)དགྲ་ཉམས་སྲུ་
 སྤངས་(ཕྱ)ཏེ་སྤྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་(ཕྱ)འོང་ཆབ་སྲིད་འབ་སོ་(ལ) (ཕྱ)དཔེ་ནད་པ་དང་ཆེ་(ཕྱ)འོང་
 རྒྱུ་གཉིས་ལ་དང་(ཕྱ)ཞིང་སློམས་ཏེ། བོད་(ཕྱ)མཐོ་ནག་པོའི་སྲིད་(ཕྱ)ལ་ཕན་པ་
 ལེགས་(ཕྱ)དགྲ་བྱས་སོ།། ཏུན་ཏོང་ཡིག་རྒྱུང་(P.T. 1287 X) ཅེ། བཙན་བློ་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཙུན་
 གྱི་རིང་ལ།། ཚེས་བཟང་སྲིད་ཆེ་སྟེ། ལྷི་ཡོ་འདི་གནས་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་ཡུལ་དུ་བཙུན་ཞིང་།། འབྲེང་

16 ཉང་ཉམ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་བཙུན་པའི་ཚེས་འབྱུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྤིང་བོ་སྤྱང་རྩེ་འི་བཅུད། འགྲུ་ཉམ་གསལ།

17 གཉེན་པོ་དགོན་མཚོ་གཙུག་ལྷན་གྱིས་བཙུན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཙུན་ལེགས་ཆ་རྩེ་འི་བཅུད་ལས་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱམས་ཀྱི་
 ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཉམ་སྐོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་འོང་ནང་གསལ།

དུད་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་དང་བདག་མཛད་པ་འི་གཙུག་ལག་ཆེན་པོ། ལྷི་འི་དཔེར་རུང་བར་མཛད་དོ། ལེགས་
 ཀྱི་བྱ་དགའ་ལོ་རངས་པར་བྱིན། ཉེས་ཀྱི་ཆད་པ་ལོ་དམིགས་སུ་ཕོག་པར་མཛད་དོ། འཛེངས་པ་དང་
 དབའ་བོའི་རིམ་བསྐྱེད་དོ། ངན་པ་མ་རབས་ལོ་ཆེས་ཀྱིས་གསོས་སོའ། དེ་འི་ཆོ་གྲོན་པོ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པ་འི་
 རྣམས་ཀྱང་སློ་མཐུན་གྲོས་གཅིག་སྟེ། ལྷི་འི་དབྱའ་བྱུང་བ་ལ། ཐབས་དང་ཡེ་ལྷིག་ཆེར་བྱེད། རང་གི་
 ཆོས་བྱ་བ་ལ་དྲང་ཞིང་འགྲུས་སུ་བྱེད། འཕྲག་སྲིད་ལོག་ཉེས་སྲིད། དཔའ་འཛེངས་གཉིས་ལོ་རྒྱུག་པ་
 བཞེན་བཅའ་ཏེ། འཛེངས་པ་དཔྲ་བོ་ལོ་ཆེས་རྒྱང་སར་བསྐྱོད་ནས། ས་ས་ཡུལ་ཡུལ་དུ་བཀོད་དོ།
 འབངས་འོག་མ་དལ་ཞིང་ཡུལ་ན་འཁོད་པ་ལོ། འཛེངས་དྲང་གཉིས་སློབ་བློ། དམག་སྲི་སོའ་འཁོད་
 པ་ལོ་དཔའ་བའི་ཐབས་དང་། ཅུལ་སློབ་བོ། སློ་སྲུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱབས་ཆེད་པོས་བྱུབ་པས། ལྷང་དབྱའ་
 སྲོལ་ཡང་སྲིད་དོ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་སློབ་ལ་བརྟེན་མཛད་ནས། དབུས་མཐའ་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཙུག་
 ལག་ཁང་བཙུགས་ཏེ། ཆོས་བཙུགས་ནས། ཐམས་ཤད་ཀྱང་སྲིད་རྗེའ་ལྷུགས་ཤིང་དྲན་པས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་
 ལས་བསྐྱེད་ཏོ། གཡུང་དུང་དུ་བཏོན་ཏོ། ཞེས་གསུངས།

བྱ་བ་གང་དང་གང་ཞིག་བསྐྱབ་ཀྱང་རང་སེམས་དྲང་ཞིང་རང་སློབ་ལྟུང་པོའི་རང་ནས་འཇུག་དགོས་པ་
 རི་དེང་གི་འཛེམ་སྲིད་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུར་ལྷིང་། དྲང་བདེན་གྱི་རྣམ་གཞག་འདི་
 རི་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐུན་མོང་དུ་བསྟན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མིའི་ཕྱིའི་བྱ་
 སྲིད་ཁོར་ལ་གཙུན་འདོམས་ཅམ་མི་བྱ་བར་མིའི་ནང་གི་སེམས་ཅུ་བར་བཟུང་བ་དང་། སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་
 སློབ་དྲང་སྲོགས་ལ་འཇུག་རྒྱུར་ལུགས་རྒྱུན་ཆེན་པོ་སྲིད་དེ་ཀུན་སྲིད་ཚད་ལྡན་ཞིག་ཡོང་དགོས་ན། ཐོག་
 མར་ཁྲིམས་སྲིད་ཀྱི་དཔོན་པོས་རང་སེམས་དཔང་གཞག་དྲང་པོའི་རང་ནས་ལས་གང་རུང་ལ་འཇུག་
 དགོས་པ་དང་། གནད་དོན་ཅི་ལ་ཡང་ཐོག་མར་རང་གི་འགན་ལ་དཔེ་བཅོལ་ཤིང་རང་གི་རྒྱུར་དོས་ནས་
 བལྟས་ཏེ། འོག་པའི་སྲིད་པ་མི་བྱ་བར་རང་གཞན་གཉིས་ཀར་དགོ་བའི་ལས་བྱས་ན་ད་གཞོད་ཡང་
 དག་པའི་མི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་སྲིད་དང་ཚད་ལྡན་གྱི་སྲིད་འབངས་ཞིག་གི་རང་རྒྱུ་ལ་གྱི་བྱུབ་པའི་སྲིད་ཆོགས་བདེ་

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

གསུམ། བོད་གྱི་བཅོན་པོས་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་སྲུ་ནང་ཚོས་གྱི་དགོ་ཚུ་དམིགས་སྲུ་བཟུང་།

དང་པོ། བཅོན་པོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ཡང་ནས་ཡང་དུ་བཀའ་གཅིགས་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་གནང་བ།

བོད་གྱི་བཅོན་པོས་དམངས་ལ་དུང་པས་ན་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་གྱི་ཚུ་བའི་རང་བཞིན་དུ་ནང་ཚོས་གྱི་དགོ་ཚུ་
དམིགས་སྲུ་བཟུང་། བཅོན་པོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་གྱི་ཚུ་བར་དགོ་ཚོས་བཟུང་ཞིང་ཚོས་མི་བསྐྱབས་
པའི་ཕྱིར་བཅོན་པོ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ཡང་དང་ཡང་དུ་བཀའ་གཅིགས་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་གནང་བ་བྲི་སྲོང་ལྟེ་བཅོན་རིང་
བཞེངས་པའི་བསམ་ཡས་གྱི་དོ་རིང་ཡི་གེར།¹⁸ (ཕྱ7) ༄།། ར་ས་དང། བཀའ་མར་གྱི་(ཕྱ2)གཞུག་
ལག་ཁང་ལས་སྐྱོགས་(ཕྱ3)པར། དཀོན་མཆོག་། གསུམ་(ཕྱ4)གྱི་རྟེན་བཅུགས་པ་། དང། སངས་
(ཕྱ5)རྒྱས་། གྱི་ཚོས་། མཇེད་། པ་། འདི། (ཕྱ6)ནམ་། དུ་། ཡང་སྲི་། གཏང་། མའ་ཞིག་
(ཕྱ7)པར་། བཞི་། འོ་། །ཡོ་། བྱད་། སྐྱར་ད། (ཕྱ8)པའ་། ཡང་། དེ་ལས་། མི་། དམི་། མི་།
(ཕྱ9)བསྐྱུང་བར་། བཞི་འོ་། །ཞེ་། ཕྱིན་། (ཕྱ10)ཅད་། གཏུང་། རབས་། རེ་། རེ་། ཞིང་། ཡང་།
(ཕྱ11)བཅོན་པོ་། ཡབ་སྐུས་། གྱིས་། འདི་། ། (ཕྱ12)བཞིན་ཡི་། དམ་། བཅའོ་། ། དེ་ལས་།
(ཕྱ13)མཉམ་། ཁ་། དབུད་། པ་། དག་། གུང་། ། (ཕྱ14)མྱི་བཞི་། མི་། བསྐྱར་། བར་། ། འཇིག་
(ཕྱ15)རྟེན་ལས་། ། འདའས་། པའ་། དང་། (ཕྱ16)འཇིག་། རྟེན་། མི་། ལྷ་དང་། མྱི་མ་། ཡིན་།
(ཕྱ17)པའ་། ། ཐམས་། ཅད་གུང་། དམང་དུ། (ཕྱ18)གསོལ་། ཏེ། བཅོན་པོ་། ཡབ་། སྐུས་ཇེ་།
(ཕྱ19)རྗེ་རྟོན་ཀུན་གྱིས་དབུ་སྐྱུང་། དང་ཕྱོ་། ། (ཕྱ20)པོར་འོ་། ། གཅིགས་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཞིབ་།
(ཕྱ21)མོ་གཅིག་ནི་གུད་ན་མཚོས་མོ་། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། བྲི་སྲོང་ལྟེ་བཅོན་རིང་ཚོས་མི་བསྐྱབ་

18 བོད་མཚུངས། འཇ22 ནས་ 22ལ་ནང་གསལ། དཔའ་བོ་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་བས་བརྒྱུས་པའི་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་
སྟོན། 1927ལ་ནང་ཡང་གསལ།

པའི་ཕྱིར་རྗེ་སློན་མཁན་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བཀའ་གཅིག་དང་པོ་རུ།¹⁹ །།བཅན་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་
 བཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་རིང་ལ། །ཤོག་བྱ་མཐིང་ག་ལ་གསེར་གྱིས་བྲིས་ནས། །གསེར་གྱི་སྐྱོམ་བྱུང་བསྐྱེལ་བའི་
 བཀའ་གཅིག་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་བསམ་ཡས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་བྱུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་དཀོར་མཛོད་དུ་བཞག་པ་
 ལས་དཔེ་བཞུགས་ཏེ་བྲིས་པ། །།དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་བཏང་མ་ཞིག་པར་དགྱི་བའི་
 གཅིག་སྐྱོམ་བྱུང་ན་མཆིས་པའི་དཔེ། །ཞེས་དང་། །ཡང་བཀའ་གཅིག་དེར། །ལྷག་གི་ལོ་དབྱིན་
 རྒྱ་ར་བའི་ཚོས་བཅུ་བདུན་ལ་བརྟེན་བཅུགས་པའི་ཚོ། །ད་ནས་པན་ཆད། །བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་དཀོན་ཅོག་
 གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཅས་ཏེ། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་མཛད་པ་མི་གཞིག་པར་བཅན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་དང་སྲས་གྱི་
 ཡུམ་གྱིས་དབུ་སྐྱེད་བཟུང་ཞིང་ཡི་དམ་བཅས་པ་དང་། །སྤྱི་ནང་གི་སློན་པོ་ཆེ་སྲ་མཐའ་དག་གོ་སྐྱེལ་བའི་
 གཅིག་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་པའོ། །།ར་སའི་འཕུལ་སྐྱེད་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། །རྒྱ་བཏགས་ར་མོ་
 ཆའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་། །བྲག་དམར་གྱི་བསམ་ཡས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་བྱུབ་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་།
 །ཁམས་གསུམ་མི་སྣོག་སྣོལ་གྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་སྣོགས་ཏེ། །བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་སུ་སྤྲོ་ནས། །དཀོན་ཅོག་
 གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཅུགས་ཏེ། །བོད་ལས་ཀྱང་ཐར་བར་གཟུང་ཅིང་། །སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཚོས་མཛད་པ་འདི་ནམ་
 དུ་ཡང་། །མི་བཏང་མ་ཞིག་པར་བཞིན། །བོད་ལས་ཀྱང་ཐར་བར་གཟུང་དོ། །།གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་
 དེ་རྣམས་སུ་དཀོན་ཅོག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡོ་བྱེད་སྐྱུང་བའི་རྒྱུན་གྱང་རན་པར་འོང་བར་དཔགས་ཏེ་སྤྲོ་ནས་
 སྐུལ་པ་ལས། །ནམ་ཞར་གྱང་མི་དཔུང་བྲི་མི་བསྐྱེད་བར་བཞིན་སོ། །ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་གདུང་རབས་རེ་རེ་ཡང་།
 བཅན་པོ་ཡབ་སྲས་འདི་བཞིན་དུ་ཡི་དམ་བཅའ་ཞིང་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས་པར་བཞིན། །སློན་པོ་ཐོག་ཐོག་གྱང་
 གོ་སྐྱེལ་བར་བཞིན། །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། །ད་ཅུང་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཅན་རིང་ཚོས་མི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རྗེ་
 སློན་མཁན་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བཀའ་གཅིག་གཉིས་པའི་ཡི་གེའི་མཛུགས། །གཅིག་དུ་ན་ཡོང་གིས་བཟང་
 ལ་གཅེས། །གཉིས་ན་སློན་བཞིག་པའི་དཔེའ་བྱང་བས་བྱུགས་ཡིད་དོགས་ཏེ་བརྟན་དུ་མི་གཞིག་པར་

19 དཔའ་བོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྱིང་བས་བརྟམས་པའི་མཁས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། །༡༩༧༠ནས༡༩༧༩ལ་གསལ།

དབུ་སྐྱོད་བློ་མནལ་བོར་བ་ཡང་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་སོ།། ཕྱིན་ཆད་ཀྱང་གདུང་རབས་གཅིག་ཅིང་། ཡི་དམ་
 མཛད་པ་དང་སྐོན་པོ་མན་ཅད་ཀྱང་བློ་སྣུལ་བར་བགྲིས་སོ།། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ལྷན་མའི་བཀའ་
 གཅིགས་བྲག་བཞོས་མའི་ཡིག་ཕྱིང་། ༡༡ནས་༡༢བར།²⁰ (ཕྱ༡༡)བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ལས་ཀྱང་ཚོས་ལ་ངན་
 ཏུ་[དེའམ་དགུ་]བྱས་ན་ཡང་ལྷེས་སྐྱོན་[སྐྱོན་]ཚུན་ཅད་ནས་བཅབེད་གྲུན་ཞིང་། [བཅས་པ་དེ་གྲུན་ཞིང་]
 པ་བྱེདོ། (ཕྱ༡༢)དེ་བས་ན་སྐྱུ་ཡང་ཕྱར་ཀ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཀམ་བྱེད་ཅིག། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྤེ་
 རྣམ་རྒྱུང་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་དོ་རིང་གི་ཡི་གེ་ལས།²¹ (ཕྱ༡༣)མཚོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་དང་། ལྷ་
 བཅོན་པོ་ཁྲི་(ཕྱ༡༤)ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཅུན་གྱི་རིང་ལ་ཡང་། རྣམ་རྒྱུང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་(ཕྱ༡༥)ལས་སྐྱོགས་
 པ་བཅིགས་སྟེ། དཀོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་(ཕྱ༡༦)བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ལས་སྐྱོགས་པ། གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་
 གྲིས་(ཕྱ༡༧)འདི་ལྷར་སངས་རྒྱས་གྱི་ཚོས་མཛད་པ་འདི། རྣམ་རྒྱུ་ཡང་མ་(ཕྱ༡༨)ཞིག། མ་བཏང་
 ར། ལེགས་པ་དཔག་དུ་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར། (ཕྱ༡༩)བཏང་སྟེ། ཞིག་གམ། ལྷེད་པར་གྱུར་ན། ལྷིག་
 པ་གངས་ལྷེད་(ཕྱ༢༠)པར་འོང་བས། ད་ཕྱིན་ཆད་ནམ་ནམ་ལ་ཞེས། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་(ཕྱ༢༡)བཅོན་པོ།
 ཡབ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྷེ་བཅུན་གྱི་རིང་ལ། དཀོན་མཚོག་(ཕྱ༢༢)གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་དང་། སངས་
 རྒྱས་གྱི་ཚོས་མཛད་པ་(ཕྱ༢༣)ལྷི་གཏང་མ་ཞིག་པར། གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་གྱི་ཡི་དམ་བཅའོ་ཞེས་
 གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཁྲི་ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཅོན་རིང་ཚོས་མི་འཛིག་ལྷི་རྩེ་རྩེ་སྐོན་མནས་བསྐྱབས་པའི་བཀའ་
 གཅིགས་ཡི་གེར།²² ལྷས་ཁྲི་ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཅོན་གྱི་སྐྱུ་རིང་ལ། འོག་བྱ་མཐིང་ག་ལ་གསེར་གྲིས་བྲིས་ཏེ་
 འཕྲ་ལྷེན་གྱི་སྐོན་བྱར་བསྐྱལ་ནས། བསམ་ཡས་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྱུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དུ་ཡབ་གྱི་ལྷ་ལ་

20 གཏུའ་གོང་དཀོན་མཚོག་ཚེ་བཏན་གྲིས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བདེ་རྒྱུད་ཡིག་རྩལ་ཚུ་ཚུ་བདམས་བསྐྱབས་རྣམས་གྱི་
 ཚིག་དོན་ཀྱན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་འོང་། ༡༩༧༠ནང་གསལ།

21 གོང་མཚུངས། ༡༩༧༢ནས་༡༩༩༣ནང་གསལ།

22 དཔལ་པོ་གཙུག་ལག་ཕྱིང་བས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་སྐབས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན། ༡༩༠༩ནས་༡༩༣༣ནང་ཡང་གསལ།

བཞག་པ་ལས་དཔེ་བཞི་ཉེ་བྲིས་པ། །། ༡། དམ་པའི་ཚེས་ནམ་དུ་ཡང་མི་གཞིག་པར། དབུ་སྐྱེ་
 བོར་ནས། གཅིག་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡི་གེར་བྲིས་པ། ཡབ་ཁྱིམ་ལྗེ་བཙན་སྐྱེ་ཆུང་བའི་ཚོ་བའི་གསེ། ལྷན་ཆད་ཚེས་
 བྱེད་དུ་སྤྱི་གནང་བར། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་སུ་ཡང་བྲིས་པ་ལས། ཡབ་ཁྱིམ་ལྗེ་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུ་ལ་དངོས་བར་
 ལྷུར་ནས། སྐར་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཚེས་མཇུག་པས་སྐྱེན་པར་གྱུར་དེ། ཚེས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཆེར་མཇུག་དེ། རྣམ་
 དུ་ཡང་ཚེས་མི་གཞིག་པར། གཅིག་གསུམ་གྱང་དམ་དུ་བྲིས་པ་ལས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དཔོན་ལྷན་
 མོལ་བའི་དོན་དེ་འདྲེས་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཤེང་ལ་ནས་འདྲེས་དུ།²³ (ཕྱ་) །། འཕུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་བཙན་པོ་
 འོ་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱལ། ། ཡུལ་བྱང་ས་དོད་ཚུན་ཅད་(ཕྱ་༦)གསུང་མ་འགྲུར་བར། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་
 མཇུག་པ་ཡང་། གངས་རི་(ཕྱ་༧)མཐོན་པོའི་ནི་དབུས། རྒྱ་བོ་ཚེན་པོའི་ནི་མགོ། ཡུལ་མཐོས་གཙང་
 (ཕྱ་༨)བ་ལ་གནམ་གྱི་ལྷ་ལས། ལྷིའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་གཤེགས་ཏེ། གཙུག་ལག་(ཕྱ་༩)ཚེན་པོས་ནི་ཡུན་ད་
 ཀྱི་སྲིད་བཙུགས། ཚེས་ཁྲིམས་བཟང་པོས་ནི་(ཕྱ་༡༠)ཚུལ་གནང་། བྱམས་མའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱིས་ནི་
 རང་གི་ཚེས་སྐྱེད་(ཕྱ་༡༡)དག་ཐབས་མཁས་ནས། ལྷིའི་དག་བཏུལ་ཏེ། ཆབ་སྲིད་ནི་ལྷིའི་ཞིང་ཆེ་
 (ཕྱ་༡༢)དབུ་མོ་གཞི་སྐྱེད་ཞིང་བཙན་པ་[དེ་ཡང་]ནམ་ལྷན་[ཀྱང་]སྤྱི་འགྲུར། ལྷན་སྤྱི་(ཕྱ་༡༣)ཉམས་
 པའི་གཡུང་དུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེན་པོ་ཞི་ཆེ། དེའི་ལྷིའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་(ཕྱ་༡༤)ཀྱི་མོན་དང་རྒྱ་གར་དང་།
 ལུང་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་ཉེ་ཞིག་དང་། ལུང་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་དུ་གུ་ནི་(ཕྱ་༡༥)སྤྱོད་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལ། གཡུག་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 སྤོམ་ན་[ས་ཉོ་]ར་བུ་བུ་གྱི་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། (ཕྱ་༡༦)འཕུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚན་པོའི་དབུ་མོ་གཞི་བཙན་པོ་དང་
 [ཚེས་བཟང་]དེར་ནི་(ཕྱ་༡༧)སྤྱོད་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ལྷིའི་དེ། མན་ཚུན་དགུས་ཤིང་། བཀའ་སྐྱེལ་དོ་ཚོགས་
 (ཕྱ་༡༨)ཉམས་པ་ཡིན། འདྲེས་སྤྱོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལྷན་པ། མཚོ་ཚེན་པོའི་[ཚུན་ཅད་]ཉི་མ་(ཕྱ་༡༩)འདྲེས་པ་
 འོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱོད། ལྷོ་བལ་[སྤྱོད་པས་]གཞན་དང་སྤྱི་འདྲེས་པར་[ཡུལ་གྱི་] (ཕྱ་༢༠)ཚེས་བཟང་།

23 གཉེན་གོང་དགོན་མཚོག་ཚོ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བཙན་པས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྟན་ལོག་ཆ་རྒྱ་ཚེན་བདམས་བསྐྱོགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 ཚོགས་དོན་ཀྱན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་འོང་། འདྲེས་པས་འདྲེས་པ་ལྷན་གསལ།

གཙུག་ལག་ཆེ་བས། བོད་དང་ཡང་། འཐབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་(ཕྱེད་)ཀྱི་དོ་སྤོ། དང་པོ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལ་སར་
 ལྷགས་ནས། དེའི་ཉང་གི་སྤྱི་དེ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། མཚུར་ཕུའི་དོ་རིང་²⁴གི་ཡིག་
 བྲིང་ལ་ནས་ལའི་བར་དུ། (ཕྱེད་) ༡།བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྐུ་ལ་བ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་རིང་ལ་(ཕྱེད་)དམ་པའི་
 ཚོས་བརྟེན་ནས། གཏུང་རབས་ཅེ་ (ཕྱེད་)སྤྱ་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་གཏང་ཞིང་མཛད་པ་ཅེ་ (ཕྱེད་)ཚོས་
 གཙོ་གསུང་དང་། བཀའ་ལུང་སྤྱུ་ལ་དམ་(ཕྱེད་)ལས་འབྱུང་བ་བཞིན། ཞང་ཚོས་པོང་ཉ་སྟོས། ཞེས་
 གསུངས་པས་ནང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དགོ་རྩ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུང་པ་འདི་བཙན་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མ་བྱུང་ནས་བཀའ་
 བཏོ་གནང་ནས་ནན་ཏུ་སྤྱང་དགོས་པར་དམིགས་ནས་དང་སང་བར་དུ་ལྷགས་རྒྱུན་ཐེབས་ཡོད་པ་དེའོ།

གཉིས་པ། བཙན་པོས་དགོ་བ་བཅུའི་སྤོ་པ་རྩ་བུ་ཞེས་ཀྱི་གཞིར་བཟུང་བའི་
 དེབ་ཐེར་གྱི་འགོ་ཁྲུང་ས།

བཙན་པོའི་སྐྱབས་སུ་བྱིས་པ་ཡིག་གཏན་པ་བ་བྱུང་བའི་བཙན་དཔང་ནི་ཏུན་ཉོང་ནས་ཐོན་པའི་ཡིག་
 ཚ་ལས་གསལ་ཏེ། ཏུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྟེང་(P.T. 1288)དུ། ཡོས་ཕུའི་ལོ་[སྤྱི་ལོ་༦༣༣]ལ་བབས་
 སྟེ་ལ། བཙན་པོ་མེར་ཁོན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། རྣོན་ཆེ་སྟོང་རྩ་ལྷན་གྱིས། འགོར་ཀྱིས། བཀའ་བྱིས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གོ་
 གྲིས་པར་ལོ་གཞིག་ ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན། ཏུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྟེང་(P.T. 04)དུ། དགོ་བ་བཅུ་རྒྱུ་
 པར་བཅད་པའི་མདོའི་ཡིག་ཆ་འགའ་ད་ལྟ་འདྲ་དངོས་སུ་མཛལ་རྒྱ་སྤྱང་། (P.T. 999)ཡི་བསྟོ་ཡིག་
 ཁ་བའི་ཡིག་བྲིང་༡དང་༡༢།༡༣་སོགས་སུ། (ཕྱེད་)བཙན་པོ་ལྷ་སྐུ་ལ་བ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་རིང་ལ་ལོ་དུན་བཙན་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་དུ་
 བསྟོ་བའི་རྣོན་ལོ་དུ་གསོལ་བྲ། (ཕྱེད་)དང་། སྤྱི་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་སྤྱི་གསུང་པ། ལས་གང་གིས་ནད་
 མང་བ་དང་ཚོ་བྱུང་བར་འབྱུང་བ། བཏོ་གསུང་པ་དང་བཏོ་དུ་(ཕྱེད་)ནས། རྣོན་ཅད་ཀྱང་སྤོ་པར་
 བཏོ་འོ། དམ་པའི་ཚོས་བསྤུང་བ་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁབས་བྱིན་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྱི་དཔལ་བ། ཞེས་གསུངས།

24 ཞི་གཙུག་ལྷེ་བཙན་རིང་བཞེངས། གོང་མཚུངས། ༡༢༢༠ནང་གསལ།

ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོད་བཙན་སྐྱེས་པོས་སློན་པོ་མགར་སོགས་ལ་བཀའ་པཎ་ནས་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་པཎ་ཚུལ་དེ།
 དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྤྱོད་དབངས་ལས།²⁵ དགོ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དུ་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་གྲུས་པ།
 ཐེག་པ་ཆེ་ཞིང་སློབ་ཁོག་ཡངས་པ་སྟེ། མི་ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་ཁྲིམས། བཙན་པོས་ཕུག་རྒྱས་
 བཏབ་སྟེ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ལ། ཡང་ཚོས་འབྲུང་མི་ཏོག་སླིང་པོ་སྤྱང་རྩེའི་བཅུད་ལས།²⁶ དགོ་བ་བཅུའི་
 ཁྲིམས་བཙན་ཏེ། ཞེས་གསུངས། རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་ལས།²⁷ ཁ་བ་ཙན་པའི་རྒྱལ་
 ཁམས་འདི་ཉིད་དུ། དགོ་བཅུའི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་མཁའ་ལ་ཉི་ཟླ་བཞེན། བོད་ཡུལ་གངས་ཅན་ཁྲོད་འདིར་
 སྲབ་པར་མཛད། ཞེས་གསུངས། སྤྱུ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་རྒྱས་པ་ལས།²⁸ དུས་དེ་ཙམ་མི་ཚོས་བཅུ་དྲུག་
 གིས་སྲོད་ལམ་གྱི་ཁ་བཟུང་། ལྷ་ཚོས་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་དོན་གྱི་དཔེ་སྤྱངས་ནས་ལུས་ངག་གིས་དགོ་བ་
 བཅུ་སྤྱད་པས་མཐོ་རིས་དང་ཐར་བའི་ལམ་སྟོན། དེ་ལ་ཁྲིམས་ཡུལ་གར་བཙན་ཤིང་། དུས་ཚོད་ཅི་ཙམ་
 ན་བཙན་ན། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲོད་བཙན་སྐྱེས་པོས་ཡུལ། ཞེས་གསུངས། དེབ་ཐེར་སྲོན་པོ་ལས།²⁹ བཅུན་མོ་
 གཉིས་པོས་ཀྱང་འཕྲུལ་སྤྲང་ར་མོ་ཆེའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། གསོད་པ་དང་བརྟུ་བ་དང་གྱི་བྱེད་
 པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཆད་པ་དང་བཙན་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིགས་པར་བཙན། འབངས་རྣམས་ལ་འང་ཡི་གོ་དང་། མི་
 ཚོས་བཅུ་དྲུག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཡིགས་པར་བསྐྱབ་སྟེ། ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།

དགོ་བ་བཅུ་སྟེ་སྲོག་མི་གཙོད་པ་དང་། མ་གྱིན་པ་མི་ལེན་པ་དང་། ལོག་པར་མི་གཡེམ་པ་དང་།
 རྩུན་དང་ཕྲ་མ་དང་ངག་འཆལ་དང་ཚིག་རྩུབ་སོགས་སྲོད་བ་དང་། བརྟུ་བ་སེམས་དང་གཞོད་སེམས་

25 རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་མཚན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྤྱོད་དབངས། ༡༢༣༤་ནང་གསལ།
 26 ཉང་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་བརྒྱུ་མས་པའི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་མི་ཏོག་སླིང་པོ་སྤྱང་རྩེའི་བཅུད། ༡༡༧་ནང་གསལ།
 27 ས་སྐྱ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་བརྒྱུ་མས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། ༡༧༧་ནང་གསལ།
 28 མཁས་པ་སྤྱུ་ཚོས་བརྒྱུ་མས་པའི་སྤྱུ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་རྒྱས་པ། ༡༢༧་ནང་གསལ།
 29 འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་རྒྱ་དཔལ་གྱིས་བརྒྱུ་མས་པའི་དེབ་ཐེར་སྲོན་པོ། ༡༦༧་ནང་གསལ།

དང་ལོག་ལྟ་སོགས་མི་བྱེད་པ་བཅས་གཞིར་བབྱུང་ནས། ཉལ་མ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༤༧༡ལ་བཟོས་པའི་ཁོད་སོ་
 བྱུག་འདི་བྱུང་། གཞན་ཡང་བཅའ་བ་བཞིའི་ཁྲིམས་³⁰ནི་བོད་རྗེ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐུ་མ་པོས་མཛད་པའི་
 ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཡན་ལག་སྟེ། བསད་པ་ལ་སྟོང་འདེད་པ། བརྟུས་པ་ལ་བརྟུད་འཇལ་ངོ་དགུ་འདེད་པ།
 འདོད་ལོག་སྤྱད་པ་ལ་གྱི་རིན་འདེད་པ། རྩོན་སྐྱོམ་པ་ལ་མནའ་སྒོག་པ་སྟེ་བཞིའོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཡོད་
 པ་དག་ལས་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་བཙན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་བབྱུང་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྱེད་ས་གསལ་པོ་ཡིན་པ་གོ་སྟོན་པོ།

བཞི། བོད་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་སོ་སོའི་ཞལ་ལྷེ་དང་ཞལ་ལྷེས་

དགོ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་རྩ་བར་བབྱུང་།

ཚོས་སྲིད་བྱུང་འབྲེལ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་བོད་ས་གནས་ཀྱི་དུས་རབས་སོ་སོའི་ཞལ་ལྷེའི་རྩ་དོན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 མཚོན་བཅོམ་དུ་གཞི་འཛིན་ས་བཙན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དགོ་བ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིན། བོད་བཙན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་
 རབས་མཇུག་རྗེས་བར་དུ་ཚོས་སྲིད་བྱུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་ཆགས་མེད་རུང་། ཚོས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་ལ་
 བྲོགས་ཀྱི་རྩལ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་རྩལ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་དེ་སྤྱང་ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་ལ་བྲི་སྟེ་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱིས་གནང་བའི་
 བཀའ་གཅིགས་དབུ་སྟོན་ཞུ་ལྟ་ཁང་གི་དོན་དང་པོའི་ཚིག་གྲང་ཉམས་ལྟོ།³¹ (ཕྱ) ༡༥༥། གནས་
 ལྷེ་བཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། འཕུལ་གྱི་བཙན་པོ་ཁྲི (ཕྱ)ལྷེ་སྲོང་བཙན་གྱི། བཀའ་༥༥༥། བན་དེ་སྤྱང་
 (ཕྱ)ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན། དབུ་སྟེང་གཅིགས་གཡུང་བྱུང་དུ་གནང་བ། (ཕྱ)བན་དེ་ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་ལྟ་ཞིག།
 གདོད་ནས་མཐར་སྦྱིང་ཉེ་སྟེ། ང་(ཕྱ)སྐྱུ་རྒྱུང་དུ་སྐྱེ། ཆབ་སྲིད་མ་བཞེས་པའི་བར་དུ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་

30 ཉལ་མ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྔ་ལྔ་ཚེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱིགས་པའི་བོད་རྒྱ་ཡིག་སྐད་ཀྱི་འགྲེལ་བྱེད་རྣམས་ལྟར་གསུངས་ཀྱི་ཚིག་
 མཛོད། ༡༧༧ལ་ནང་གསལ།

31 གཉའ་གོང་དགོན་མཚོག་ཚོ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བཙན་པོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྟན་ལོག་ཆ་རྩ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 ཚིག་དོན་ཀྱན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་འོང་། ༡༧༧༩ནས་༡༨༠༥ནང་གསལ།

གོ་བྱ་སྟེ (ཕྱལ)ལིགས་པ་ལ་ཞེན་པར་བྱས། ཞང་རྩུང་པོའི་གོ་བྱ་སྟེ་ཉེས་བཅས་། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་
དང་། དབུ་སྟོང་ལྷ་ལྷ་ཁང་གི་དོན་འགྲིམ་པའི་ཡི་གེའི་ཚིག་གི་དང་འཇམ་པར་བྱ།³² (ཕྱ) ༡༥༥༥
སྲིད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ས་མཛད་པ། འབྲུལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ (ཕྱ)བཅའ་པོ་སྲིད་སྲོང་བཅའ་གྱི། བཀའ་།(ཕྱ)བཀ་
དེ་ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན། དབུ་སྟེ་གཅིག་སྲིད་གྱིས་(ཕྱ)གནང་བ། བཀ་དེ་ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན། དའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་
འདོན་(ཕྱ)ཅིང་། ཞོ་གཞེན་པོ་འབྲུལ་འབྲུལ་བ། གཅིག་སྲིད་སྲིད་(ཕྱ)གནང་བའི་ཚོའང་ལྟེ་དཔེ་
དང་། ཞོ་གཞེན་བཞིན་(ཕྱ)བཀའ་འདོན་འཇམ་པ་ཅམ་དུ་གནང་བ་ལས། བཀ་དེ་ཉིད་(ཕྱ)གྱིས།
བཀའ་འདོན་སྲིད་པར་གསོལ་ནས། གཅིག་སྲིད་(ཕྱ)རན་པར་དཔགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་སྲིད་སྲིད་པ་ཞོ་
(ཕྱ)འའི་རྒྱུན་དུ་མ་བབ་སྟེ། བཀའ་འདོན་རྒྱུང་ས་འའི་པམ་པར་(ཕྱ)ལྟེ་བྱུང་། བམ་དེ་ཉིང་དེ་འཛིན་
གྱིས། དའི་ཞ་སྲུང་ཆབ་སྲིད་(ཕྱ)གསོལ་དེ་ནས། དའི་སྲིད་པོ་ལ། ལྷ་རང་ཆབ་སྲིད་ལ་འཕྲལ་
(ཕྱ)ཕྱན་གཉིས་སུ་ལེགས་པའི་བཀའ་གྲོས་གསོལ་དེ་ཅིང་(ཕྱ)སྲིད་དཔེན་པའི་ལས་ཆེན་པོ་
བྱས་པ་དང་། ལྷ་འོག་སྲོགས་(ཕྱ)སྲིད་བེད་པ་དང་། བཀ་པའི་མདོ་ཆེན་པོ་བྱེད་བྱེད། ལྷིང་
(ཕྱ)ཉེ་གཉིས། ཞོ་གཞེན་ཕུལ་བ། བཀའ་འདོན་གཅིག་སྲིད་(ཕྱ)བསྟེན་པར། དའི་བྱུགས་ལ་དགོངས་
ན། བཀ་དེ་ཉི་གཅིག་སྲིད་(ཕྱ)སྲིད་གནང་བས་འཆལ་ཉེ་སྲིད་བསྟེན་པར་གསོལ་གྱིས། ཞེས་གསུངས་
པ་གཉིས་ལས་གོའོ།

བསྟན་པ་གྱི་དང་ཚོས་སྲིད་བྱུང་འབྲེལ་ནས་བྱུང་སྟེ་ཚོས་འདི་སྲིད་ལས་ཆེ་རྩུང་བཅའ་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་
མ་ཉམས་པར་རྒྱུན་བསྲིད་སྐབས་། བོད་སིལ་བུའི་དུས་སྐབས་ནས་ས་སྐུའི་དུས་རབས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་
སྲིད་སྟོར་མདོ་ཚམ་གྱི་དང་། ལྷི་ལོ་༡༢༧༧ལ་ས་སྐུ་པས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་
དབང་ཐོར་ཞིག་དུ་སོང་ནས་སྲིད་པའི་ལྷ་བམ་བོད་ལ་དབང་བསྐྱུར་བྱེད་པའི་སྲིད་དབང་དངོས་སུ་
འགོ་འཛུགས་པ་དང་། དུ་སི་དུ་བྱང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བཅའ་

32 གོང་མཚུངས། ༡༡༤ ཞན་པ་ལྷ་ས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དོན་དང་ད་ལྟོ་འགན་སྒྲུབ་སྐབས་ལ།

ཁྲིམས་གཤམ་འབྲུག་སློབ་པའི་ཞལ་ལྷེ་བཙུ་ལྷ་ཞེས་པའི་དབུས་ཀྱི་རྩ་དོན་བརྗོད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ³³ ཅེས་
 མི་དགོ་བ་བཅུའི་རྣམ་སྤྲིན་བཟོད་སྐྱབས་མེད་པ་གསུངས་ཏེ། མི་དགོ་བཅུ་སྟོང་གི་ཁྲིམས་བཅས་སོ།
 དཔལ་མགོན་འཕགས་པ་རྒྱ་སྐྱབ་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གདམས་པ་རིན་ཆེན་འབྲེང་བ། རྒྱན་པོ་ལ་
 གདམས་པ་ཤེས་རབ་བརྒྱུ་པ། མི་དམངས་ལ་གདམས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོ་གསོ་བའི་ཐིགས་པ་སྟེ་མི་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་
 སྟོང་བའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་གསུམ་མཛད་ཞེས་གསུངས།

དེབ་ཐེར་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མའི་སྐྱེ་དབུངས་ལས།³⁴ དེ་ཡང་དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་སྐྱེ་པས་བོད་ཅམ་དུ་མ་
 ཟད་བོད་ཆེན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་མངའ་དབང་བསྐྱར་ནའང་། གཏུང་རྒྱུད་ཞལ་ངོ་རྣམས་ཐུགས་འདོད་
 ཀྱི་འཐེན་སྲོགས་སོ་སོར་སོང་ཞིང་། དཔོན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཏིག་མི་ཆགས་པར་སྟོ་ལེན་མང་བ་གོང་
 མའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱང་རྟོར་གྱི་ཤམ་ཤོར་པའི་ཉང་ཚོམ་སོགས་ལ་བརྟེན། ཐང་ལྷོད་དང་མཐོ་དམའ་ཅི་རིགས་
 པ་དང་། རྒྱད་པར་ཉོར་ཁྲིམས་ལ་མི་བསད་ན་སློབ་ཚབ་དུ་སློབ་གཏོང་བས་མཚོན་པའི་ཁྲིམས་རྣམས་
 སྤྲིག་པའི་ལས་ཤེས་ཆེ་བར་བརྟེན། བོད་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གོང་མའི་ལུགས་སོལ་བཟང་པོ་དགོ་བ་བཅུས་གཞི་
 བཟུང་བ་འདི་ཉིད། ཏུའི་སི་ཏུས་གཙོ་བོར་མཛད་པར་བཞེད་དེ། ཞེས་གསུངས། ཡང་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་
 མའི་སྐྱེ་དབུངས་ལས།³⁵ རྒྱལ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐྱབ་པར་བྱེད་པ་ལ་ཁས་ཞན་རྣམས་ཡལ་བར་དོར་ཅིང་།
 རྟོགས་པོ་རིངས་སུ་བཅུག་པ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་བདེན་རྒྱུན་ཐང་མར་བརྟེན་ནས། དཀར་ནག་ཤམ་འབྲེད་པའི་
 ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་རྒྱན་མོ་གསེར་ཁུར་ལྟ་བུར་བདེ་བའི་ཆེད་དུ། ༡༽ དཔལ་པོ་སྐྱབ་གི་ཞལ་ལྷེ།

³³ ཆབ་སྟེལ་ཚོ་བརྟན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འགན་འཁུར་ནས་བསྐྱིགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བས་ཁྲིམས་སོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་
 བདམས་བསྐྱིགས། ༡༧༧ནང་གསལ།
³⁴ རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ཆེན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མའི་སྐྱེ་དབུངས། ༡༧༢ལནང་གསལ།
³⁵ གོང་མཚུངས། ༡༧༢ལནས་༧༠ནང་གསལ།

༢༽སྐྱེ་བའི་ཕྱི་ལུང་། ༣༽ཕྱི་མོ་ལས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།³⁶ ༤༽ལུང་བཞེས་བདེན་འཛིན་གྱི་
ཞལ་ལྷོ། ༥༽བཟུང་བཀྲིགས་ཁྲིམས་རའི་ཞལ་ལྷོ། ༦༽ལྟ་བུའི་བྲག་བཅོམ་(སྲོང་)གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།
༧༽དུན་འཛིན་ཆད་ལས་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ། ༨༽རྟོན་འདྲ་ཟ་ཀང་གི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།³⁷ ༩༽བསཏ་པ་སྟོང་གི་
ཞལ་ལྷོ།³⁸ ༡༠༽རྣམ་པ་ལྟོན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།³⁹ ༡༡༽བསྟོན་ཉལ་(ཉལ་)མཐོང་བསྐྱབ་གི་
ཞལ་ལྷོ།⁴⁰ ༡༢༽བསྐྱབ་པ་འཇལ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།⁴¹ ༡༣༽ཉེ་འབྲེལ་འབྲེལ་བསྐྱེལ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།⁴²
༡༤༽ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ལྟོ་ལྟོ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།⁴³ ༡༥༽རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།⁴⁴གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ།ཞེས། ཁྲིམས་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷོ་བཅོ་
ལྔ་འཛིན་ལྔ་གྲངས་ཞིབ་ཏུ་གསུངས་ཡོད།

སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༧༤ལ་གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོས་སྲིད་དབང་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་སུ། གཙང་པ་རྒྱལ་པོས་
གཏན་འབེབས་གཞན་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྷོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་དབུས་ཚད་རྟོག་དུ།⁴⁵ ཡང་དག་པར་
ཇོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱིས་མི་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིད་པོར་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་གསུངས། དེ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཚོས་

36 ལས་བྱེད་པས་རང་དོན་སྟངས།
37 རྟོན་འདྲར་དཔོན་ལུང་གྱི་མི་ལ་བཅི་འཛོག་དང་མི་སྐུས་ཀྱང་བབས་འབྲེལ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་དགོས།
38 རྟོན་ལུགས་ལ་སྲོལ་ཚབ་སྲོལ།
39 མི་རབ་འབྲིང་ཐག་སུམ་གྱི་ལྷོ།
40 རྟོན་བཅོན་སྐྱེས་པོས་རྟོན་ལྷོ་པ་ལ་མཐོང་སྟོན་གོ།
41 རྟོན་བཅོན་སྐྱེས་པོས་རྟོན་ལྷོ་པ་ལ་མཐོང་སྟོན་འཇལ་དང་དགུ་འདེད།
42 མན་རྟོན་བག་མ་གཏོང་ལེན་གྱི་ཐད་ནས།
43 རྟོན་བཅོན་སྐྱེས་པོས་འདོད་ལོག་སྲོད་པ་ལ་རིན་འདེད།
44 རྣམ་བཤེད་རྟོན་དང་རྣམ་བཤེད་མན་ལ་ལྷགས་གཡང་བའི་འཛིན་ལུགས།
45 ཚབ་སྲོལ་ཚོ་བརྟན་ཕྱན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་བོར་འབྲུང་ནས་བསྐྱིགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་
བདམས་བསྐྱིགས། །༡༧༧༤ལ་གསུངས།

རྒྱལ་མིས་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་བཅས་ཏེ་ཞེས་གསུངས་ནས།
 ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། ༡ ། དཔལ་པོ་སྟག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།
 ༢ ། ལྷ་ར་མ་ལུང་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༣ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་མི་ལོང་གཏོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ལྷོ་མོ་ལས་འཛིན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།
 ༤ ། རྒྱ་བཞེས་བདེན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༥ ། བཟུང་བཀྱིགས་ཁྲིམས་རའི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༦ ། རྟག་ཅན་
 ཁྲག་སྟོར་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༧ ། དྲན་འཛིན་ཆད་ལས་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༨ ། རྟོན་འབྲུམ་རྟུ་རྟུ་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།
 ༩ ། བསད་པ་སྟོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༠ ། མས་པ་ཁྲག་གི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༡ ། བསྟོན་ཅམ་མནའ་དག་གི་
 ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༢ ། བརྟུས་པ་འཇལ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༣ ། ཉེ་འབྲེལ་འབྲེལ་སྟུམ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༤ ། འབྲེལ་གྱི་བྱས་
 བྱི་རིན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༥ ། རྟམ་པར་རྟུར་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ། ༡༦ ། ལྷ་སྟོ་མཐའ་འཁོབ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྟེ།⁴⁶བཅས་
 བཅུ་དྲུག་གོ །

དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་གི་སྐབས་སུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ནི། སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༦༧༧ལ་
 ལྷ་ལའི་གླམ་སྐྱ་ཤིང་ལྷ་པ་སྟོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོས་བོད་ཡོངས་ལ་ཚོས་སྤིད་གྱི་དབང་མཛད་ནས་དགའ་ལྷན་
 པོ་བྲང་གི་འགོ་བཟུང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ། ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གཏན་འབེབས་གནང་ཡོད་
 པའི་ནང་དུ་⁴⁷ལྷ་ལའི་གླམ་སྐྱ་ཤིང་ལྷ་པའི་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞལ་ལྟེ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་ལུ་
 ཡི་དབུས་ན། བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་འདྲིའ་འཕགས་པ་འཛིག་རྟེན་དབང་ལྷུག་གི་ཞིང་ཁམས་གང་ལ་གང་
 འདུལ་གྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་སྟོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མིས་དཔོན་རྣམས་གསུམ་དང་ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། ཁོང་གིས་གཏན་
 ཕབ་གནང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དུ་⁴⁸ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་སྟོན་དུ་མཛད་ནས། ལུས་སྟོང་གི་

46 རྒྱ་བོད་རྟོན་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་འོས་པ་རྣམས་རྟུར་བཀོད་པ།
 47 ཆབ་སྲིལ་ཚོ་བརྟན་ཕྱན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འགན་འཁུར་ནས་བསྐྱིགས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་རབས་ཁྲིམས་སྟོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་
 བདམས་བསྐྱིགས། ༡༩༧༦ནང་གསལ།
 48 བོད་མཚུངས། ༡༩༧༧ནང་གསལ།

འཚོར་བའི་སྐྱབས་བསྐྱེད་ཉམས་སྲུང་བའི་བྱུགས་ཀྱིས་མ་བཟོད་པར་ནག་ཆེན་གྱི་ལུས་ངན་དེ་རྣམས་
 དེ་མ་ཐག་གནས་སྤངས་ཞེས་གསུངས་སྟེ། ཁོང་གི་སྐྱབས་སྲུང་བའི་སྲུང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་
 གཙོ་བོ་བཟུང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚན་ཡང་ཁ་གངས་ཅུང་ཇི་ཉུང་དུ་བཏང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཞེས་ལུ་བུ་
 གསུམ་གཏན་པོ་བཏང་བུང་བའི། ༡༽ རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་ལོང་གཏོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྷུང་མ་སྤོ་མོ་ལས་འཛིན་གྱི་
 ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༢༽ ལྷ་བཞེས་བདེན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༣༽ བཟུང་བཀྱིགས་ཁྲིམས་རའི་ཞལ་ལྷུ།
 ༤༽ རྣམ་ཆེན་ཁྲིམས་སྤྲོད་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༥༽ དན་འཛིན་ཆད་ལས་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༦༽ རྩོམ་འབྲུ་ཟུར་གྱི་
 ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༧༽ བསའ་པ་སྤོང་གི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༨༽ རྣམ་པ་ཁྲིམས་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༩༽ བསྐྱོན་ཉམས་མཉམ་འདུག་
 གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༡༠༽ བརྒྱུས་པ་འཇལ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༡༡༽ ཉེ་འབྲེལ་འབྲེལ་སྐྱུ་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༡༢༽ བྱི་
 བྱས་བྱི་རིན་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ། ༡༣༽ རྣམ་པར་རྒྱུར་གྱི་ཞལ་ལྷུ་བཅས་སོ།

གོང་གི་ཚེས་སྲིད་བཟུང་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ལུགས་འོག་གི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་གསལ་བའི་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་འདི་དག་
 ཕབ་མཁའ་ནི་བྱང་ལེམས་ཀྱི་སྲོད་པ་དེ་ཕར་ཕྱིན་དུག་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཉམས་ལེན་གང་བྱས་ཀྱིས་ཚེས་
 ལུགས་གཙོགས་སྲུང་བཟུང་ནས་བཅུན་པའི་ཚུལ་འཛིན་པ་ལ་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྲོ་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཏའི་སི་ཏུ་དང་།
 དགེ་སྲོང་རྣམ་དག་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ལྷ་བྱས་ཚེས་སྲིད་གཉིས་ཀའི་དཔོན་ས་བསྐྱེད་ས་ན། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་
 བྱ་བའི་ཆེས་ལྷོག་ཆེ་སའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་འདི་དག་བ་བཅུས་སྤོམ་པའི་ཚེས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱུངས་ན་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡིད་སྤོམ་
 སའི་ལམ་ལུགས་ཞིག་ཡོང་ངེས་ཡིན་སྟེ་ལྷོ་ནས། ཁོང་རྣམ་པས་ཀུན་སྲོང་རྣམ་དག་གི་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་
 ཀྱིས་ཚེས་སྲིད་བཟུང་འབྲེལ་གྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་འདི་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་རྒྱུན་བསྐྱུངས་ཞིང་། སྲིད་འདིར་གཏོགས་
 པའི་དགེ་བཅུ་གཞིར་གྱུར་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་ཀུན་སྲོང་ཤིན་ཏུ་རྣམ་དག་གི་སྤོམ་པ་ལྷུང་གནང་
 དགོས་པ་ལ་གདོན་མི་ཟེའོ། དེ་བས་ན་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་གྱི་ལུགས་ཆ་འདི་རྣམས་ད་བར་དུ་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་
 ཚོགས་སྲུང་བའི་ཉམས་སྲུང་པར་གསོན་འདུག།

གཉིས་པ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱན་སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་འགའ།

གཅིག། ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་དོན་ཚན་རེ་རེ་གཉན་བཅོན་ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་ལྟན།

ཚོས་རྒྱལ་སྲོང་བཅོན་སྐྱམ་པོས་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དོན་ཚན་སོ་རྒྱལ་གམ་ཁོད་⁴⁹ སོ་རྒྱལ་ཅེས་པ་གཏན་ལ་པབ་པའི་དགོས་པ་ནི། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཕྱན་དང་ཚོ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱུས་ནས་བོད་ཡོངས་གཅིག་གྲུང་གུང་བའི་སྲིད་དབང་དེ་སྔ་བཏན་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་དང་། སྟོབས་དང་ལྡན་རྒྱ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་བདེ་འཇགས་ཀྱི་སྐོ་ནས་ཐོན་སྐྱེས་དག་གོང་དུ་སྤེལ་རྒྱུ་དང་། མཐའ་མཚམས་བཏན་པོ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་བཅས་དགོས་པ་དུ་མའི་ཆེད་དུ་ཡིན་པས་ན་གཉན་བཅོན་ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་ལྟན་དགོས་པ་སྤོས་མ་དགོས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནོ།། དཔེར་ན་ཁོད་སོ་རྒྱལ་གི་ནང་དོན་གྱི་ཆ་དང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གི་སྤྱོད་བ་གང་ཐད་ནས་གཉན་བཅོན་ཀྱི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་འཇོམས་ཡོད་པ་དེ།

གཅིག་ཁོད་སོ་རྒྱལ་ལས་བཀའ་ཡི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་ཚེན་པོ་རྒྱལ་ནི།

༡༽ ཁྲིམས་རྩེ་འབྲུམ་གཞེར་གྱི་ཁྲིམས་དང་།⁵⁰

༢༽ འབྲུམ་གསེར་ཐོག་ལ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་ཁྲིམས།⁵¹

༣༽ རྒྱལ་ཁམས་དཔེར་སྒྲངས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས།⁵² འདིའི་ནང་དུ་དབྱེ་ན་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་བཅོ་ལྔ་དང་།

ཁྲིམས་ཚེན་བདུན། མི་ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་རྒྱལ་བཅས་བསྐྱོམས་པས་ཁྲིམས་ཕྱན་སུམ་ཅུ་སོ་བརྒྱད་བསྐྱུས་ཡོད་དེ།

49 ཁོད་འདི་ཚན་པའམ་ལེའུ་ཡི་དོན་ནམ་ས་རྒྱའི་དོན་ལ་འཇུག།
50 ལས་སྤྱེ་དང་ས་ཁོངས་དང་གོ་གནས་དང་ལས་འགན་དང་དམག་ཤོག་དང་ས་སྤང་།
51 རྩེ་སྤང་ཕུལ་ཁྲོར་ཞོ་ནམ་སོ་སྔན་དང་སྤྱག་རི་གཉན་གཞིགས་ཀྱི་སྐོན་པོ་ཁྲི་ངོར་སྐུལ་བཅོན་ཞེས་པས་བོད་དུ་བྱེ་སྤང་གི་ཚད་གཞི་ཐོག་མར་བཅོས།
52 ལྷ་བར་འོས་དང་མི་འོས་སྟོན་པ།

ཀ། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་བཙུགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ནི། (༡)མཛད་པ་གསུམ་དང་།⁵³ (༢)མི་མཛད་པ་གསུམ།
 (༣)བསྟོད་པ་གསུམ། (༤)དམངས་པ་གསུམ། (༥)མི་མནར་བ་གསུམ་⁵⁴བཅས་ཡིན་ལ།
 ཁ། ཁྲིམས་ཆེན་བདུན་ནི། (༡) སྲོག་མི་གཙོ་བོ་ཡི་ཁྲིམས་གཤམ་སྟོང་དང་གསོན་སྟོང་།
 (༢) མ་བྱིན་པ་མི་ཡིན་པའི་ཁྲིམས། (༣)ལོག་པར་མི་གཤམ་པའི་ཁྲིམས། (༤)རྒྱན་སྟོང་གི་
 ཁྲིམས། (༥)ཆང་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་དགོས་པའི་ཁྲིམས། (༦)ཁེང་མི་ལྟོག་པའི་ཁྲིམས། (༧)བང་སོ་
 མི་འདུ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་དག་གོ།

ག། མི་ཚོས་གཙོ་བོ་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་སྟེ། (༡)དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་སོང་ཞིང་དང་པ་དང་
 མོས་གུས་བྱ་བ། (༢)པ་མ་ལ་རྒྱན་དུ་བཟོ་ཞིང་བཀུར་བསྟོད་བྱ། (༣)མི་རྒྱུ་ཅན་དང་པ་ཁྲུ་རྒྱན་གསུམ་
 ཀྱི་ཡིད་མི་གཙོ་བོ་ཡི། (༤)བཟང་བོ་ལ་བཟང་ལམ་བྱེད་པ། (༥)མི་ཡ་རབས་དང་རིགས་བཅུན་པ་ལ་
 མི་རྒྱུ་ཞིང་དང་དུ་ལེན་པ། (༦)ལས་དང་སྟོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་འབྲིང་བ། (༧)ལྷ་
 ཆོས་དང་ཡི་གེ་ལ་སྟོན་འཇུག་ཀྱང་དོན་ཤེས་པར་བྱ། (༨)ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་ལ་ཡིད་ཆེས་ཤིང་མི་དགོ་བ་
 འབའ་ཞིག་ལ་འཛོམས་པ། (༩)མཛད་པའི་དང་ཁྲིམ་མཚོས་ལ་ཕན་འདོགས་ཤིང་གཞོད་སེམས་
 མི་བྱ། (༡༠)གཞི་བྱང་བོར་བྱ་ཞིང་སྟོན་སེམས་དཔང་དུ་འཛོམས་པ། (༡༡)ཟས་ཆང་ལ་ཚོད་འཛིན་ཅིང་།
 (༡༢)ཁྲིམ་ཡོད་པར་བུ་ལོན་དུས་སུ་འཇུག་པ། (༡༣)བྱི་སྐང་ལ་གཡོ་ཟོལ་མི་བྱ་བ། (༡༤)མ་བསྟོས་
 ཤིང་མ་བཙོལ་བའི་བྱ་བ་ལ་རྟོག་འཇུག་མི་བྱ་བ། (༡༥)གྲོས་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་མེད་(བྱ་མེད་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལ་ཉན་

⁵³ མཛད་པ་གསུམ་ནི་སྟོང་བཙན་གྱི་དུས་སུ་གཏན་འབབས་མཛད་པའི་མཐོ་རྒྱུ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་སྲོལ་བཟང་གིས་
 སྟོང་ལུགས་བརྗོད་ཡོད་ལ། རྣམ་དོན་ལ་“དབང་བཏུལ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བདེ་བར་མཛད། རྣམ་གྱི་ཆོས་མཛད་འབངས་
 འཁོར་སྟོང་། ཕྱི་མ་ཕན་ཕྱིར་དམ་ཆོས་བྱ།” ཞེས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབས་ཡོད།

⁵⁴ མི་མནར་བ་གསུམ་ནི། ལུས་སྐྱེད་པ་མ་མནར་བར། འཕྲལ་ཕུགས་གཉིས་ཀ་མ་ཡོགས་སྟེ། རང་གི་མཚན་གྱི་
 བུ་མནར་ན། ཕྱི་རོལ་དབང་ཀྱང་ཞེ་ཞེ་འབྱེད། བཟའ་གྲོགས་མནར་ན་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་རྒྱལ་དང་སོ་ནམ་ལལ་བར་འཚོར།

ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཡང་ཡོད)ཀྱི་ཁ་ལ་མི་ཉན་ཞིང་རང་རྒྱལ་འཛིན་པ། (༡༦)ཡིན་མིན་གྱིས་མ་ཚང་བ་

བྱུང་ན་ཡུལ་ལྗང་བཏན་སྲུང་དཔང་དུ་བཅུགས་ནས་མནའ་བྱེད་པ་བཅས་སོ།

༧༥ མདོ་ལན་ཞུ་བཅད་ཀྱི་བྲིམས།⁵⁵

༧༦ དབང་ཆེན་བཅད་ཀྱི་བྲིམས།⁵⁶

༧༧ ཁབ་སོ་ནང་པའི་བྲིམས་བཅས་སོ།⁵⁷

གཉིས། ཁོད་སོ་དུག་ལས་བཀའ་གོས་ཆེན་པོ་དུག་ནི།⁵⁸

༡༽ རྗེ་རྣམས་འཛོལ་ཞིང་ཞོ་བ་⁵⁹ སྤར་དབུལ།

༢༽ རྟོན་ཀྱི་གཉའ་མནན་ཞིང་། ཡང་ཁིང་གི་རྒྱབ་ཏེན་པ།

༣༽ ཁིང་རྟོན་དུ་མི་གཏང་ཞིང་། མོ་བཅུན་བཀའ་ལ་མི་གདགས།

༤༽ མོ་མཚམས་སྲུང་ཞིང་། འབངས་ཀྱི་ཚལ་ཞིང་རྟ་དཀྱུས་ཀྱིས་མི་གཅད།

༥༽ དགྲ་འདུལ་ཞིང་། འབངས་བསྐྱངས།

༦༽ དགོ་བཅུ་སྐྱབ་ཅིང་། མི་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་སྐྱབ་རྒྱ་བཅས་སོ།

55 ཁ་དུག་པ་མ་སྐྱངས་ཤིང་ཞན་པ་ཡི་མི་འཆད་པར་གཅོད་པ།

56 གཉིས་ཀ་ལན་པ་ལ་བྲམ་ཟེ་དུག་ཅན་གྱིས་སྲུང་གཡར་བ་བཞིན་ཕྱིར་སྲོད་སྐབས་སུ་མ་སྐྱས་པའི་ལུ་བཅད་པ་དང་
མ་བཏགས་པའི་ལག་བྲེགས་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ།

57 གཉིས་ཀ་བདེན་ན་རིགས་གཉིས་པ་ལྟར་བཅད་ཅེས་པ་བཞིན། བྲིས་བདག་གི་བྲིས་ལྟར་ལྟར་ནས་ཉམ་མིད་ཅིང་བྲིས་
གཞན་ཞིག་གིས་བརྟེན་ནས་བྲིས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཅད་ནས་མཐར་ཞལ་ལུ་ལྟར་བྲིས་རེ་རེས་གསོས་ཤིང་བྱད་མིད་རེ་
སྐྱངས་ནས་བྲིས་བཅས་ནས་བྲིས་རིགས་པར་མིང་ཆགས་སོ།

58 རྒྱལ་པོར་སྲི་ཞུ་ཞི་ལྟར་བྱ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྲོད་ལུགས་སྐོར་ཡིན་ཏེ།

59 དཔྱ་ཁལ།

གསུམ། ཁོད་སོ་རྒྱལ་ལས་ཡིག་ཚང་རྒྱལ་ནི། ༡ ། གསེར་ཡིག་ ༢ ། གཡུ་ཡིག་ ༣ ། དུལ་ཡིག་
 ལ། ལྷ་མཚན་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ ༤ ། ཟངས་ཡིག་ ༥ ། ལྷགས་ཡིག་བཅས་སོ།
 བཞི། ཁོད་སོ་རྒྱལ་ལས་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་རྒྱལ་ནི། ༡ ། སློམ་བྱ།⁶⁰ ༢ ། རུ་མཚོན།⁶¹ ༣ ། སྐྱུ་མཁའ་⁶²
 ལ། ལྷ་ཁང་།⁶³ ༤ ། ལྷག་སློབ།⁶⁴ ༥ ། ཡིག་ཚང་⁶⁵སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་ལ།
 ལྷ། ཁོད་སོ་རྒྱལ་ལས་རྒྱུན་རྒྱལ་ནི། ༡ ། ལྷ་ཁང་སྤྱི་གྲྀ་⁶⁶ ༢ ། ལྷ་ལྷ།⁶⁷ ༣ ། ལྷ་ཚོས།⁶⁸
 ལ། ཐགས་དང་བོན།⁶⁹ ༤ ། ཡིག་ཚངས།⁷⁰ ༥ ། རྒྱུན་མ་⁷¹བཅས་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་ལ།
 རྒྱལ། ཁོད་སོ་རྒྱལ་ལས་དཔལ་མཚན་རྒྱལ་ནི། ༡ ། ལྷག་སློབ། ༢ ། ལྷག་སྤྱི་གྲྀ་ ༣ ། ཟེ་ཟེ་ཚེ་
 ལ། ཟེ་རྒྱུ་ལྷ། ༤ ། གསེར་རས། ༥ ། ལྷག་སློབ་བཅས་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་མོ། གོང་རྣམས་དཔལ་ལོ་གཙུག་
 ལག་ཤིང་བའི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་མཁའ་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་དུ་རྒྱས་པར་གསུངས་ཡོད་ལ། འདིར་བསྐྱུས་རུང་

60 གསལ་ཡིག་དང་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སློབ་ཁྲིམས་ལ་བཞག་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ལྷ་བྱུང་།
 61 ཁོམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།
 62 ཡུལ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།
 63 ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།
 64 དཔལ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ།
 65 མཚངས་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཡིག་ཚངས།
 66 དཔལ་བའི་རྒྱུན།
 67 ལྷ་མཚན་རྒྱུན།
 68 ལ་རབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན།
 69 གཡུང་བོའི་རྒྱུན།
 70 མཚངས་པའི་རྒྱུན།
 71 རུ་མཚན་རྒྱུན།

སྲིད་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་གཏན་བཅན་གྱི་བྱུང་ཚེས་འདི་མཐོང་སྟེ། ས་སྐྱུ་གོང་མ་ནས་བཟུང་སྟེ་སྲིད་དཔོན་དང་
 ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་གཉིས་ཀའི་ལས་མི་གཅིག་གིས་གོ་ཚོད་པར་བཅུག་ཀྱང་། ཚོས་སྲིད་བྱུང་དུ་འབྲེལ་བའི་
 ལྟོབས་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་དཔོན་ཡང་ཚོས་དཔོན་གྱིས་བྱས་པས་ན། ལྷན་པས་འདིའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་བྱུང་དུ་
 གཏན་བཅན་གྱི་བྱུང་ཚེས་ལྟན།

གཉིས། ལས་འགན་གྱི་རིམ་པ་མ་གཅིག་ན་དམིགས་གསལ་གྱི་ཁྲིད་བང་ཡང་སོ་སོར་འབྱེད།
 དཔེར་ན་ཁོད་སོ་དུག་ལས་ཡིག་ཚང་དུག་ཞེས་གསེར་ཡིག་གཡུ་ཡིག་དངུལ་ཡིག་སྤྲུལ་མན་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་
 ཟངས་ཡིག་ལྷགས་ཡིག་བཅས་སུ་དབྱེ་ནས་ཡིག་ཚང་གི་གོ་རིམ་ལྟར་སོ་སོའི་ཁྲིད་བང་མི་གཅིག་པ་འདི་
 འབྲོག་མའི་མི་སྟོང་གི་ཚད་ནི་ཆེ་འབྲིང་རྒྱུ་གསུམ་དུ་སྟངས་སྟེ། དེ་ཡང་མི་སྟོང་ཆེ་གསུམ་ལ་དངུལ་རྩོ་
 ཚད་⁷²བརྒྱ་དང་། འབྲིང་གསུམ་ལ་རྩོ་ཚད་བདུན་ཅུ། རྒྱུ་གསུམ་ནི་རྩོ་ཚད་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཡིན་པ་རེད། འདིའི་དབྱེ་
 ལྟངས་དང་རྟུན་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་གི་བོད་བཅན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་སུ་རི་དྲགས་རྒྱག་པའི་སྐོར་དེ་(P.T. 1071)
 དང་བྱི་རྩོད་ནས་སྤྱི་བསད་པའི་སྐོར་(P.T. 1073) ན་གསལ་བ་བཞིན། སྟོང་གི་རིན་ཐང་གི་རིམ་
 པའི་དབྱེ་གཞི་ཆེ་ལག་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ཞང་སྟོན་དང་གཅོད་ཆེན། དམངས་ཚོད་གཡུང་བཅས་དང་
 མཚུངས། དེར་བརྟེན། ད་ལྟའི་འབྲོག་པའི་གོ་མས་སྲོལ་དུ་དུང་གནའ་བཅན་པོའི་དུས་རྒྱུས་སུ་
 གཏན་མཐུན་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་དག་གི་རྒྱུན་མ་ཚད་པར་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཡོད། ཞོལ་རྩོམ་འབྲེལ་བའི་ཡིག་
 བྲིས་རེ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་ཡང་།⁷³ (ཕྱ) ༄། རྩོམ་སྟེན་སྐྱེ་བྱུ་ཁོང་། (ཕྱའ)དཀྱུ་ལ་གཅོགས་གནང་

⁷² རྩོམ་ཚེས་པ་ནི་སྤྲུལ་དུས་ཀྱི་རྩོམ་ཚེས་ལྟར་མིག་མ་ཅས་དངུལ་ལྔ་བཅུ་གོ་རེ་བཅོས་པ་དེ་རིགས་ཡིན་འདུག་ཀྱང་། མི་སྟོང་
 གི་ནང་དུ་རྩོམ་ཚེས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་པ་ཅས་ལས་དངུལ་གྱིས་མི་འབྲེལ།

⁷³ གཏན་བཅོད་དཀོན་མཚོ་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བཅུ་མས་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བརྟན་ལྷིང་ཡིག་རྩལ་ཆེན་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་
 ཚོགས་འདུན་གྱི་ནས་ཁོལ་བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་། ༡༩༧༢ ལོ་ནས་ ༡༩༧༦ ལོ་བར་གསལ།

(མྱེ)བའི་མདོ་རྩི་རིང་ལ་ཡིག་གུ། (མྱེ)བྱིས་པའ།། (མྱེ)།།བཅའ་པོ་ཁྲི་སྲོང་གྱེ་བཅུན་
(མྱེ)ཀྱི་ཞ་སྡེ་ལ་དབུ་སྤྱང་གནང་(མྱེ)སྟེ། རྫོན་སྟག་སྟག་ལྷོ་ཁོང་གི་བྱ་ཚེ་(མྱེ)རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དུ་ལ་
ནས་ནས་ཞ་ཞར་(མྱེ)དདུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཅིག། (མྱེ)ན་(ནི)ཀྱི་དབབ་པར་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་།
(མྱེ)དུ་སྤྱུལ་དཔར་གནང་དོ།། (མྱེ)བཅུན་པོ་སྤྲུལ་དབོན་སྟེ་རབས་(མྱེ)རི་ཞིང་ཡང་།
རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་(མྱེ)འཕེལ་ལས་གཅིག།ཞུ་འབྲིང་(མྱེ)ན་ནང་ཀོར་ཡན་ཅད་དུ་གཞུགས་
(མྱེ)ཅིང་ཚལ་ཟར་རྟག་དུ་མཆིས་པར་(མྱེ)གནང་དོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་(མྱེ)འཕེལ་དུ་
ལ་རྗེ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་རྩོ་ཐོག་པའི་(མྱེ)རྣམས་རི་ཅམ་དུ་རྩོ་ཐོག་པར་བཀམས་(མྱེ)བཀམས་ཞིང་བསྟོན་པར་
གནང་དོ། (མྱེ)རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱིས།། (མྱེ)བཅའ་པོ་ཞ་སྡེ།། རྫོན་ལ་རིང་ས་ན། རོང་ས་
(མྱེ)ཀྱི་གཞུག་ཞུག་ཅི་རྒྱུད་ཡང་རྒྱུད་། རྫོན་གཞུག་། (མྱེ)སྲིད་ལ་སྲིད་བབ་པར།། བཀའ་སྲོད་ཀྱི་
(མྱེ)ཚོགས་ཅི་ལ་བབ་པ་ལས།། བཀའ་སྲོད་(མྱེ)ན་གཅིག་གིས་སྤྱད་ཅིང་བསྐྱུང་བར་ (མྱེ)ལ་
གནང་དོ།། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚེ་(རྒྱུད་)འཕེལ་ལས་(མྱེ)ལ་ལ་ཞིག། རབས་ཆད་ན་རབས་ཆད་
(མྱེ)ཀྱི་ཁོལ་ཡུལ་དང་། རོང་ཕུགས། རྫོན་ཀྱི་(མྱེ)བཞེས་པར། བུ་རྩེ་པོ་གང་ཉེ་བ་སྤྱུལ་དུ་
(མྱེ)པར་གནང་དོ།། རྫོན་སྟག་སྟག་ལྷོ་ཁོང་། (མྱེ)གི་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དུ་ དཀྱུ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེའ་
(མྱེ)ལག་ན་འཆང་འཆང་བ་ཞིག་རབས་ཆད་(མྱེ)དམ་བུ་ཉེན་བབ་ན་ཡང་། དདུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་
(མྱེ)རྫོན་ཀྱི་བཞེས་པར། རྫོན་སྟག་སྟག་ལྷོ་ཁོང་། (མྱེ)དང་། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་གང་ཉེ་བ་
གཅིག་(མྱེ)དདུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཡུང་རྒྱུད་དུ་སྤྱུལ་དུ་(མྱེ)པར་གནང་དོ།། རྫོན་སྟག་སྟག་
ལྷོ་ཁོང་གི་(མྱེ)པ་རྒྱ་གོང་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལ་དུ་ཀྱི་རྣམས་(མྱེ)ཞང་ལོན་ཡི་གེ་པའི་ཐང་དང་། དམག་
སུམ་རྒྱུད་(མྱེ)གནང་དོ།། རྒྱ་སྤྱངས་འཕན་ཡུལ་བའི་(མྱེ)སྲོང་དཔོན་དུ་གཞུགས་སུ་ཡང་སྲི་
གཞུགས་པར་(མྱེ)རྫོན་སྟག་སྟག་ལྷོ་ཁོང་གི་སྲི་པོ་གསལ་སྤོབས་(མྱེ)གྱི་བྱ་ཚེ་རྒྱུད་པོང་དུ་ལས་
གང་རྩོ་ཐོག་པའ། (མྱེ)དམངས་འབྲང་བགཅིག་ རྒྱ་སྤྱངས་འཕན་(མྱེ)ཡུལ་བའི་སྲོང་དཔོན་

གཡུང་རླུང་དུ་སྐྱེལད་(པྱ༧)པར་གནང་དོ། ངན་ལམ་གསལ་སྤེལས་(པྱ༨)གྱི་བུ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་
 འཕེལད། ཉམ་ཞེར་གྲང་སྤེསྤ། (པྱ༩)སྤྱངས་སུ་གནང་བ་ལས། སྤེ་ཆ་ལུ་ལྷི་སྤོའ་ལྷི་
 (པྱ༡༠)བསྐྱར་བར་གནང་དོ། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བུ་ཚ་ལ་(པྱ༡༡)རྒྱུད་འཕེལད་གྱི་ལག་ན་བཟན་ཞིང་འབྲོག་
 སོག་(པྱ༡༢)ཚལ་ལས་སྤོགས་ཏེ་དབང་དོཅོག། རྒྱར་ལྷི་བཞེས་(པྱ༡༣)ལྷི་དབྱི་བཞེས་ལྷི་ལྷི་དཔྲོག་
 ཁོང་ཏ་བདག་ལྷི་(པྱ༡༤)དགའ་ན་ཉེ་རིང་དང་བཟང་ངན་ལྷི་བརྗེ་བར་(པྱ༡༥)གནང་དོ། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་
 བུ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་འཕེལད་ལ་(པྱ༡༦)ལ་ལ་ཞིག་གིས་ཤུ་ཁོན་གྱི་བག་དུ་སྤོག་སྤིང་ལ། (པྱ༡༧)དམའ་བར་
 བྱེད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན། བཀའ་ཉོན་ལྷ།(པྱ༡༨)ནས་མཚན་པར་གནང་དོ། རྒྱ་གོང་གི་བུ་ཚ་(པྱ༡༩)རྒྱུད་
 ཕེལད་གྱིས་སྤོའ་བ་མ་རིངས་ན་པར་ལྷི་གསྐྱུ་(པྱ༢༠)སྤྱན་ཀ་ལྷི་བཅལ་ལྷི་བཀྲོན་བར་གནང་དོ།
 (པྱ༢༡)བུ་ཚ་འཕེལད་གྱི་ནང་ནས་ལ་ལ་ཞིག། བཅོན་པོ་(པྱ༢༢)ཞུར་སྤོའ་བ་རིངས་ཡང་དག་པར་
 ལྷུར་དན་གང་(པྱ༢༣)ཞེས་པའི་སྤོར། བཀའ་བྱོད་མའོ། ལུ་ལྷ་བོ་གཞན་(པྱ༢༤)ཞིན་ང་ལྷི་གདགས་
 སྤོག་སྤིང་ལ་ལྷི་དབབ་པར་གནང་(པྱ༢༥)དོ། (པྱ༢༦) ། མདོར་ན་ལྷོན་སྤྱན་སྤྱུ་ཁོང་གི་
 ཚ་རྒྱ་གོང་(པྱ༢༧)གི་བུ་ཚ་རྒྱུད་ཕེལད་སྤོག་XX དང་སྤིང་དེར་བྱུགས་(པྱ༢༨)གོང་མཚན་དེ། ཞེས་
 གསུངས།

གོང་གི་ལུ་ལྷ་ཉོང་ཡིག་རྙིང་དང་། རྫོང་གཅིགས་ཡིག་གི་དམིགས་གསལ་གྱི་ཁེ་དབང་དག་ལ་
 དཔྱད་ན། ལུ་ལྷི་དུ་ལུ་པ་ཅི་འདྲ་ཆེན་འགན་ཡང་དེ་བཞིན་ཆེ་ཞེས་པའི་གཏམ་དཔེ་ལས་གོ་རྒྱུ་
 འགའ་ཡོད་པ་དེ། ལུ་ལྷི་པ་ལྷུར་འགན་འཁུར་དགོས་ན། ལུ་ལྷི་པ་ལྷུར་འགན་གྱི་ཆེ་རྒྱུ་ལྷུར་སྤིང་ཁྲིམས་
 ཐད་ནས་ཁེ་དབང་རེ་ཡོད་པའང་གནས་ལུགས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེང་སང་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་
 འགའ་རུ་དངོས་སུ་འང་དེའི་ལུགས་བཞིན་སྤོང་གྱིན་ཡོད་ཀྱང་ཁ་ཐོག་ལུ་ཡང་དེ་འདྲ་མི་འདོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་
 རྒྱན་མ་འགའ་མེས་ལྷུང་ཡོད་རུང་དོན་དངོས་ལ་གཞིགས་ན་ལུ་ལྷི་གིས་གོ་སྤ།

གསུམ། དུལ་ཁྲིམས་འགས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མཐུན་སྦྲིལ་ལ་གཞོན་འཚོ་ཐབས་པའི་སྐོར།

བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འདི་གྲུབ་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བལྟལ་ལམ་རིང་མོའི་ཁྲོད་གཞིགས་ན། སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་
བཅོན་པའི་སྲུ་ས་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་མི་དག་གཞུན་འདོན་བྱེད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ནི་དེས་པར་
ཡོད་མོད། འོན་ཀྱང་དེར་ལྟོས་ན་འཇུག་ཚང་ཞིང་གོ་རིམ་ལྡན་པ། བྱེད་ཚུས་ལེགས་པོ་ཅན་གྱི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་
རྣམ་པ་ནི་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་གདུང་རབས་སོ་གཉིས་པ་བྲི་སྲོང་བཅོན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གཅིག་གྱུར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་བཙུགས་
པའི་དགོས་པ་ལ་དམིགས་ནས་ཁོད་སོ་དུག་གཅོད་བྱས་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་མ་ལག་འཇུག་ཚང་ཞིག་
གཏན་ལ་ཐབས་པའི་ཡིན།

དུས་རབས་དང་ས་ཁོངས་མི་འདུ་བ་ལ་རང་རང་གི་ཁྲུང་ཚོས་དང་ལྡན་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མི་འདུ་བ་
ཡོད་དེས། བོད་བཅོན་པའི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྤྱི་ལ་བསྟུན་ན་ཚུང་སྐབས་བདེ་བའི་སྤྱི་རྒྱལ་ཡོད་མོད།
ཐོ་ཞིབ་མོས་འདད་རེ་བརྒྱབ་ན་དེ་ལའང་དུས་སྐབས་གང་ལ་ཡང་བསྟུན་ཚུས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་ཡོངས་སུ་
ཚང་དགོས་ཞེན་གནས་ལུགས་དངོས་དང་འགལ་ཡོད་སྟེ། རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི་དུས་སྐབས་མི་འདུ་བའི་
མིའི་རིན་ཐང་ལྟ་བུ་དང་ཀུན་སྲོད་ཚད་གཞི་སོགས་ལ་ཁྲུང་པར་རེ་འབྱུང་དེས་པ་མ་ཟད། ཁ་གསལ་གྱི་ཐད་
ལ་ལྟོས་ན་ཡོ་ནས་མི་འདུ་བའི་རྣམ་པའང་བྱུང་ཡོད། དེ་མིན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཚད་འཚོ་བའི་ཆ་རྒྱུན་
སོགས་ལ་ཡང་ཁྲུང་པར་ཡོད་པས་དུས་སྐབས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མིའི་རིག་གནས་དང་བསྟུན་པའི་བྱ་བྱེད་དང་དེ་
ལས་ཐོན་པའི་གནད་དོན་ཡང་མི་འདུ། དེ་བས་དོན་དངོས་གནད་དོན་ལ་དམིགས་པའི་སྐོར་ནས་དཔུང་
པར་བཏང་ན་འོས་པར་འདུག། བོད་བཅོན་པའི་སྐབས་དང་དེ་ལྷིས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སོ་སོའི་དགོས་མཁོ་
ལྟར་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་དག་གཏན་ལ་ཐབས་པ་ནི་སྐབས་དེའི་བོད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་དངོས་ལ་གཞིགས་
ནས་བྱུང་ཡོད་དེ། སྤྱི་བོད་མི་ནི་གཞུང་དང་གཤེས་འཇམ་གྱི་རང་ཚུལ་ལྡན་ལ་ལྷག་པར་ནང་པའི་ཚོས་
ཀྱི་ཁྲུབ་གཤལ་དང་བསྟུན་དམ་པའི་ལྷ་ཚོས་ལ་ལྷག་པར་མཐོང་ཆེན་བྱེད་པ་ཙམ་མ་ཟད། དེ་བསྟུན་གྱི་
འཇིག་རྟེན་མི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་གནས་ལུགས་འདིའང་མི་རིགས་སྤྱིའི་ཀུན་སྲོད་དུ་བབྱུང་ཡོད། ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་

བོད་མིའི་བྱ་བྱེད་ལ་གཙུག་འདོམས་ཀྱི་རྣམས་པ་ལྷག་པར་ཡོད་པ་དང་གྲིམས་ལུགས་ལ་ཡང་ཚོས་ལུགས་
 ཀྱི་ཤུགས་ཞུགས་ནས་མི་ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དྲུག་སོགས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་བྱུང་བས། འདིར་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་
 ཀྱི་ཁོངས་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་ཁས་ལེན་ཞིང་དྲང་དོན་ཏུ་འདོད་པའི་གཅིག་མཐུན་གྱི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ཚད་གཞིར་
 འཛིན་པའི་འདོད་པ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། ཡུལ་དུས་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་ད་ལྟའི་ཡུལ་ཁག་ཤོག་པ་དང་དགོན་སྡེའི་གྲ་
 ཚང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་དེར་ཁ་གཡར་ནས། དེ་དང་ཕྱོག་པའི་བྱ་སྤྱོད་ངན་པའི་ཉེས་པ་བསགས་ཞིང་གསོག་
 བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་དེ་དཔེར་ན། ལ་ལས་ཁོག་དོག་པའི་སྒོ་ནས་འཚོ་བ་ཤོག་པའི་རུ་མཚམས་ཀྱི་དབྱེ་བ་དེ་
 ཕྱོགས་ཞེན་གྱི་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་ངན་པ་ལ་བསྐྱོར་ནས་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་ངན་པ་ཞིག་ཆགས་སུ་བཅུག། འདུ་ཤེས་སྡིག་
 བྱེད་འདི་འགོས་ནད་བཞིན་དུ་གང་ས་གང་ན་ཞི་དག་སྒྲོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ནས་བྱུང་བ་
 པའི་ཚུལ་དེ་བཤད་ན། འཛུལ་དུག་གི་འཚོ་བའི་ཕྱོགས་འདི་འདུ་ཤེས་དེ་འབྱུང་དུ་དོད་ན་རྣམས་ཚོ་དེ་མེས་
 བྱས་ནས་མི་ལུས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བརྒྱགས་པ་དང་། ཡང་ན་ལས་རིགས་སུ་ལས་ཁུངས་གང་ས་གང་དུ་ས་
 ཕྱོགས་འཛིན་མེས་ཀྱིས་ནང་འཁྲུག་སྒྲོ་ཚོགས་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་། ཡང་ན་བྱུང་མཐའ་ཁ་གཡར་ནས་གཞི་
 བརྒྱན་གྱི་བོད་རྒྱུད་ནང་བཟུན་ལ་ངེ་མ་ངན་པས་སྤྲུགས་པ་དང་། དེ་བས་ན་རང་ཅག་ཁ་བ་ཅན་གྱི་སྤོངས་
 འདིར་སྤར་ནས་གྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་དར་ཡོད་རུང་། གོང་གི་ཕྱོགས་ཞེན་དང་ཚུལ་འཆལ་གྱི་
 སྤྱོད་པའི་སྤྱབས་ཀྱིས་དེང་སང་གི་མི་སྒྲ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་སྤྱང་ཡུལ་དུ་བོད་ལ་གནའ་ནས་གྲིམས་མེད་ལུགས་
 མེད་དུ་འོལ་བའི་གྲིམས་སྤྱིད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་རྗེས་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་འོལ་བའི་ལྷ་བ་ངན་པ་འདི་བྱུང་བ་
 སོང་བར་སྐྱེས། གལ་ཏེ་གོང་གི་དོན་དངོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ལྷ་ངན་རྗེས་སེད་སེལ་ནས། བོད་ནི་པ་མེས་
 ཡང་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ནས་གྲིམས་དགའ་ལུགས་དགའ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའམ། བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གནའ་ནས་
 དཔལ་ལྷན་དུ་སྲོལ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག་མཚོན་དགོས་ན། ཐོག་མར་དེང་སང་བོད་རྒྱུན་ཁར་ཁར་གྱིས་བཅུན་
 པའི་ན་བཟའ་འགོ་བ་ཕྱོན་བྱས་ནས་གོང་གི་དྲུང་དུ་སྤྱང་ལུལ་དང་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་ནང་གཉིས་ཀ་ཚོས་རྒྱན་
 བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱིས་ས་ཕྱོགས་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་དུ་སྤྱོད་ཚོ་བ་མཐའ་ན་གྲིམ་རུས་ཀྱི་རྩ་འཛིན་རྒྱུ་ཁ་

གཡམ་ནས་རྩ་ས་ཚོད་པ་དང་རྒྱ་རས་བསོད་མས་བྱེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཤམ་གྱིས་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ལྗང་
 འཛོན་རྒྱུ་ཁ་གཡམ་ནས་མི་རིགས་གཞན་ལ་གཞོན་འཛོན་དཔོན་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་བཏང་བ་དང་། གཞན་
 ཡང་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དོན་ལ་ཁ་གཡམ་ནས་འབངས་ལ་གཞོན་འཛོན་བྱེད་པ་ལྟ་བུ་རང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོད་མཁམ་
 འདི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་མཚང་ཤོར་ནས་དོ་ཚུ་ཕར་བཞག། ཐ་ན་རང་དཔའ་བོར་འདོད་པ་ནི་ད་ལྟོའི་བོད་
 ཡུལ་གྱི་གནས་གང་མང་ཞིག་གི་ཚེས་སློན་པ་སྟུག་པོའི་མཚོན་སྣང་ཞིག་ཀྱང་ཡིན་ནམ་སྟེ་ནམ་ལ། འདི་
 དག་གི་སྐྱོད་པ་ནི་མེས་པོའི་གདམས་སྲིམས་དང་རྩ་བ་ནས་འགལ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། འདི་དག་གི་སྐྱོད་པ་
 དང་སྟོན་པའི་ཞལ་གདམས་དང་འགལ་ཡོད་པ་དོས་ཟེན་ནམ། འདི་དག་གི་བྱང་ན་དང་འཛོན་སྐྱིད་གི་
 མི་རིགས་གང་དང་ཚོས་ལུགས་གང་གི་བསམ་སློབ་ཁྲིམ་སྲོགས་དང་སྟོན་ཡོད་པ་ཀྱང་གྱིས་མཁམ་པར་
 བྱུར་ནམ། དེ་ནི་རང་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་མེས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དོར་བྱུར་བྱུར་ལ། དེང་གི་དོར་བྱུར་ཡང་འགྱུར་
 དཔོན་རྒྱུ་ཀྱང་གྱིས་ལ་བབས་ཡོད་པར་བྱུར་ན་ད་གཞོན་བོད་གི་གཞོན་འཛོན་དག་བཅོམ་ནས་རང་མི་
 རིགས་ལ་རབས་དང་གཞན་གྱིས་བརྩི་བའི་གསུ་ལྟུག་བྱུང་བོ།

གསུམ་པ། དེང་སང་བོད་ས་གནས་ཡུལ་སྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་གཙོ་བོ་འགལ།

གཅིག། བོད་རྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱིས་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡུལ་སྲིམས་ལྟ་བུའི་གོ་གནས་བཟུང་།

དེང་དུས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་འདི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་དང་འགྱུར་ལྡོག་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ཟེན་པ་དང་བསྟུན། མིའི་རིགས་
 སྤྱིའི་ཤེས་ཡོན་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཚོད་མཐོ་རུ་སོང་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དཀོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་སྐབས་སུ་
 བཟུང་དང་བྱས་བྱ་རྒྱ་ལྡི། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྐྱམ་པོས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་ཁོད་སོ་དུག་གི་ནང་ནས་མི་
 ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དུག་གི་དང་པོར་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་ལས་འགོ་བརྩམས་ཡོད་བར་འདོད། དཀོན་མཚོག་
 སྐབས་བཟུང་དང་ཅིང་གསུ་པར་མཚོད་ཞེས་གསུངས་བྱུང་བ་ལས་བསམ་སློབ་ཞིག་བཏང་ཁད་བྱས་ན།
 རང་ཅག་བོད་པས་དང་མོས་བྱེད་སའི་དཀོན་མཚོག་གསུམ་ལ་སྐབས་སུ་བཟུང་ཞིང་དང་ཅིང་གསུ་པར་

མཚོན་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་མི་ཚོས་འབྲེས་མའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་བྱུང་བ་འདི་ནི་བོད་པ་ཁོ་ན་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་
 གནས་ཚུལ་ཞིག་མ་རེད། ལུགས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ནི་དེང་དུས་ཀྱི་འཛམ་གླིང་འདིའི་མི་རིགས་སོ་སོ་དང་རྒྱལ་
 ཁབ་གང་མང་། ཐ་ན་ལས་རིགས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་སོ་སོར་སྤང་བའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཁག་གི་ནང་ལ་བལྟས་ན། སོ་
 སོའི་རང་རང་གི་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་མོས་བྱེད་སའི་ཡུལ་མི་གཅིག་རུང་། ཚོས་ལུགས་འདི་གང་ས་གང་
 དུ་ནང་སེམས་ཀྱི་གཏིང་དུ་བྱུག་པའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ཞིག་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཡོད་པའི་ཐད་ནས་གཅིག་འབྲར་སོང་ཡོད་
 པ་དང་། བྱུང་པར་དུ་ཡོ་རོབ་གླིང་གི་སྤྱི་ཁྲིམས་ནང་དུ་གསལ་ལ་པོར་མཚོན་ཡོད་པ་དཔེར་ན་ཡོ་རོབ་
 གླིང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ནང་དུ་ཁྲིམས་ར་འགོ་འཇུགས་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། བདེན་ཡོད་མེད་གང་རུང་གི་
 སྲོད་ལ་གཉེས་ཀས་ཁྲིམས་ཁང་ནང་ཁྲིམས་དཔོན་དང་ཁྲིམས་ར་ནང་གི་མི་ཚང་མའི་མདུན་དུ་ལག་པ་
 གཡོན་པ་རང་གི་དང་མོས་བྱེད་སའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་བས་པོའི་ཐོག་བཞག་སྟེ་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིམས་རའི་
 ཐོག་ཏུ་བཤའ་པའི་ཚིག་ཐམས་ཅད་ནི་དང་པོ་དྲང་རྒྱང་ཡིན་ཞེས་མནའ་བསྐྱེལ་དགོས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། དེང་
 སང་ང་ཚོའི་ཀྱང་གོའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ནང་དུ་འང་དཔང་ཉལ་སྟེད་མཁའ་གྲིས་སྤྱིར་སྤྱོད་ཁྲིམས་དཔང་དུ་
 བྱུང་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཁྲིམས་ཁང་ནང་དུ་བཤའ་པའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཚང་མ་ནི་དང་པོ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་རྒྱན་གཏན་
 ལས་མིན་ཞེས་མནའ་བསྐྱེལ་དགོས་པ་ལྟ་བུ། དེང་སང་ཚན་རིག་རིག་གནས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཆེ་བའི་དུས་
 རབས་འདིར་ཚོས་ལུགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོད་པའི་བསམ་སློབ་དང་བྱ་སྤྱོད་རྣམས་འདོད་དུ་འཇུག་དགོས་
 འདོད་ན། མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲུག་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སྲོད་ཡོང་ཡོད་ལ་འབྱུང་ཡང་སྲིད་པ་དེ། དེང་སང་
 འཛམ་གླིང་འདིར་དཔེ་རན་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ཞིང་ལས་རན་འབྱུང་ངེས་ཡིན་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཐོང་ཞིང་། དངོས་
 པོ་རྒྱ་ནེར་ལ་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ་རུང་བསམ་སློབ་དཔལ་འདི་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་སུ་འགོ་མི་བྱུང་བའི་གནས་ཚུལ་བྱུང་
 ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཆ་གང་ཐད་ནས་འཕེལ་རྒྱས་ཇི་འདྲ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ན་མིའི་བསམ་སློབ་
 རྒྱ་ཚོད་ཀྱང་དེ་བསྟུན་དུ་མཐོ་རུ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་ནི་ལོན་ཏུ་ཡིད་མོས་ས་ཞིག་རེད་སྟེངས། ཚོས་ལུགས་ལ་སྤྱི་
 ཚོགས་གང་རུང་མཁོ་བའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་དང་ཡོན་ཏན་བསམ་གྲིས་མི་བྱུང་པ་ལྟར་པས་ན། ཚོས་འདི་མོད་

པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གནའ་སྤྲོ་མོ་ནས་ད་བར་དུ་སྲོག་ཅུ་ལྷ་བུར་བརྒྱུང་ནས་རང་སོ་སོའི་དགོས་མོས་ལྟར་དུ་
འཚོ་བ་བསྐྱེལ་བཞིན་ཡོད་པ་དེ། དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྤྱད་བྱུང་སྤྲོད་ལས།⁷⁴ གངས་རིས་སྒྲོར་བའི་
སྤྲོང་ས་སུ་མཚོག་གསུམ་དམ་པར་གཏན་གྱི་སྤྱབས་སུ་འཛོན་ཅིང་། ཞེས་གསུངས། ད་ལྟོ་བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་
སྤྲོ་མོ་ནས་ལངས་པ་ནས་དགུང་རྩལ་གཉིད་དུ་སོང་བའི་བར་ལ་བོད་འབངས་སྐྱེ་སེར་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཁ་འདོན་
འདོན་རྒྱུ་འཕུལ་ཆོས་བསྐྱབ་རྒྱུའི་རྒྱུན་མི་ཚད་བརྒྱས་ནའང་མི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྲོད་། རང་ཚོས་
སྤྱབ་སྤྲངས་ཀྱི་གོམས་གཤེས་འདི་ཉིན་ནས་ཉིན་མཐུད་དེ་བཅི་སྤྱད་བྱེད་སའི་ལུགས་གཏན་པོར་ཆགས་
པས་ན་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྟ་བུའི་གོ་གནས་ཟེན་ཡོད།

ད་ལྟོ་སི་ཁོར་ཞིང་ཆེན་གྱི་ཁྲིན་ཏུ་ལུ་ཤོང་ཁྲོར་གྱི་མེ་ལྷུ་མིག་ཚོ་ (武侯祠) ཞེས་བུ་བའི་རྒྱུའི་
ལྷ་ཁང་གསུམ་ཅན་ཞེག་ཡོད་པ་འདིའི་ཉེ་འདབ་ཀྱི་སྤང་བར་ཁག་ཏུ་བོད་བརྒྱུད་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་སྤྱད་གསུང་
ལུགས་ཉེན་གྱི་ཚོང་རྒྱས་གཙོར་གྱུར་བའི་ཚོང་ཁང་ཤིན་ཏུ་མང་ལ། ད་དུང་ཇི་མང་དུ་འགྲོ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཡང་
སྤང་། འདིས་བོད་པ་ལ་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་དད་པའི་ལུགས་ཇི་ཅེས་རྒྱལ་དང་གངས་ཇི་མང་གི་རྒྱལ་ཡང་
མཚོན། ད་ལྟོ་བོད་འབངས་སོ་སོའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་གོ་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་མི་འདྲ་རུང་། ཚང་མར་ཚོས་
ལུགས་དད་མོས་ཡོད་ཅེས་བཤད་ནའང་མི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་མི་འདྲུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྲོད་།

ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གོམས་གཤེས་འདི་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་སྤྱད་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ལ་ཕན་པ་དཔེར་ན། མགོ་
ལོག་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཤོང་མའི་མཁན་པོ་སྤྱབ་བསྟན་ཉི་མ་མཚོག་གིས་ད་ལོར་དཀའ་བ་བྱུང་དུ་བསད་ནས་མགོ་
ལོག་གི་འཚོ་བ་ཆེ་ཁག་གཉིས་བར་གྱི་ལོ་མང་བར་གྱི་གྲོད་ངན་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་བཅུ་ལྷག་ཁ་ཤས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་འགྲིག་
གི་བཅུག་པས་ན། འཚོ་བའི་བར་བདེ་སྤྱིད་ཡོང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད། སྲིད་གཞུང་གི་ལས་ཀར་ཡང་ཕན་ཏེ་
རྫོང་རིམ་པའི་སྲིད་གཞུང་གིས་སྒྲོར་ཁྲི་གསུམ་དང་ཞང་རིམ་པའི་སྲིད་གཞུང་གིས་ཀྱང་སྒྲོར་ཁྲི་གཅིག་
གི་བྱ་དགའ་སྤུལ་ཡོད། འདི་ལྟ་བུའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་ལ་ཕན་ཆེན་པོ་དངོས་

⁷⁴ རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་མཚན་མོས་མཛད་པའི་དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྤྱད་བྱུང་སྤྲོད་། ༡༩༠༡ ནས་༢༠༢ ནང་གསལ།

སུ་ཐོན་ནས་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་ཡོད་པའི་རྒྱལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་མིག་ཐོག་ཏུ་གསལ་པོར་
ཤར་ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ།།

གཉིས། བོད་ཡུལ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་ལ་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་ཕན་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོབ་གསུངས་སྲིད།

དེར་སང་བོད་ཡུལ་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཤར་བུས་གཅིག་གི་སྐྱེ་བུའི་མཇུག་བརྗེ་དང་སྲིད་བདེ་འཇགས་ཡོང་སྲུང་
ལ་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་ཐོབ་མེད་པ་མེད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་འགའ་ལ་དཔུང་ནས་སློབ་སྦྱོར་འབྲེད་
རྒྱ་ཡོད་དེ། རང་ཅག་ཁ་བའི་སྤོངས་འདིར་སྤར་ནས་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་དར་ཡོད་པ་འདིས་
དེར་སང་མི་སྣ་ཁ་ཤས་ཀྱི་སྲུང་ཡུལ་དུ་བོད་ལ་གནའ་ནས་ཁྲིམས་མེད་ལུགས་མེད་དུ་རྩོལ་བའི་ཁྲིམས་
སྲིད་ཀྱི་དཔལ་ཡོན་རྗེས་ལུས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་རྩོལ་བའི་ལྷ་བདོན་དངོས་དང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་སྤྱི་དཔལ་
ལུས་ཤིང་། བོད་ནི་པ་མེས་ཡང་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ནས་ཁྲིམས་དགའ་ལུགས་དགའ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པའམ་བོད་
པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་གནའ་ནས་དཔལ་ལྷན་དུ་སྲོལ་བའང་ཞོར་ནས་མཚོན་ཐུབ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སུ་རང་གི་
མེས་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཞག་ཡོད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་འདི་དག་སྟེ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རིག་གི་དགའ་འཚལ་དུ་
སྤོངས་མེད་བཞག་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཟད།

དེར་སང་གི་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་དག་གི་མ་གཞི་ཡང་བཅོན་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་སུ་བཞོན་པའི་དགེ་བ་བརྟུ་དང་མི་
ཚོས་གཙང་བརྟུ་དུག་སོགས་ཡིན་ལ། ད་ལྟའི་བོད་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་འདྲུགས་རྒྱུན་ཐོབ་ཡོད། རྒྱལ་
ཁབ་གང་དང་མི་རིགས་གང་གི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་གང་ཡིན་ཡང་ཉེས་མཐོ་གཞོན་རྒྱ་དང་ཡ་རབས་སྤོང་རྒྱ་
ནི་ཀུན་མཐུན་ཡིན་པས་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་གནའི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུན་དེ་དེར་སང་གི་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྤུགས་སོ་
སོའི་ཡར་རྒྱས་གོང་སློལ་ལ་ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་སུ་མཐུན་དུ་ཐོན་པས་བོད་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་འཇགས་
དང་དཔལ་ཡོན་ལ་སྲུང་སྤོང་བྱེད་དགོས་ནའང་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུན་འདིའི་སློང་ལ་འཛིན་སྤོང

སྲོལ་གསུམ་བྱེད་དགོས། ཐན་དེང་གི་ཀྱང་གོའི་ཁྲིམས་རིག་གམ་འཛམ་གླིང་ཁྲིམས་རིག་ཏུ་འང་
གཞན་གྱིས་ཚབ་མི་རྣམས་པའི་གོ་གནས་ངེས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཟེན་ཡོད།

འདིར་འབྲོག་པའི་འཚོ་བར་མཚོན་ན། བོད་ཀྱི་མཁའ་དབང་ཆེན་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལུས། ཇུ་
ཁ་དང་མགོ་ལོག་གསེར་ཐར་སོགས་ལ་ཕེབས་ནས་བརྩམས་པའི་བྱང་འབྲོག་གི་ལམ་ཡིག་ཞེས་པའི་
གླེང་གཞིར།⁷⁵ བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་པ་ནི་སྟོན་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ། བར་དབུས་གཙང་ཅུ་བཞི།
སྤྲོད་མདོ་ཁམས་སྐམ་དུག་སོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་འཚོ་བར་གནས་ཡོད་པས་ས་སྐྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ཟེན་ཡོད།
ཁོ་བོས་དངོས་ཡོད་བོད་ཀྱི་འབྲོག་སྲིད་གནས་སྤངས་དང་། དེ་དག་གི་བསམ་སྦྱོང་། ཆ་ལུགས།
གོམས་གཤིས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དེ་དག་མདོན་སྲུང་དུ་མཐོང་ཞིང་། དེ་དག་དང་འབྲེལ་ལམ་ཐད་ཀར་བྱུང་
བའི་རྒྱུ་གྱིས་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་མིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས། དཔའ་བོ་གླིང་གི་སར་གྱི་སྤྲོད་རྣམས་ལས་བོད་མིའི་བསམ་
སྦྱོང་སོགས་ཇི་སྟེན་ཅིག་བརྟན་པ་དེ་ཀྱང་རང་གློ་བུ་ལ་བར་འཆར་བྱུང་བ་ཞིག་དང་། དེ་དག་ཇི་ལྟར་
ཡིན་པའི་སྐོར་མདོན་སྲུང་ཚད་མའི་སྐོར་བདེན་པ་ར་འབྲོད་པའི་གོ་བ་གཏིང་ཚུགས་པ་ཞིག་ཆགས་
བྱུང་བ་བྱུང་ངོ་། ཞེས་གསུངས། དེར་བརྟེན། འབྲོག་པའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་འདི་དག་ནི་བོད་ཀྱི་གནའ་རབས་
ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་མེད་དུ་མི་རུང་བའི་དཔུང་གཞིའི་འགྲུར་རྩོད་གསོན་པོ་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་
པ་གདོན་མི་ཟེ་མོད། འབྲོག་པའི་རྩོད་ཁྲིམས་ནི་ཡུལ་སོ་སོའི་སྤྱི་དང་གཞི་བདག་གས། ཡང་ན་
དགོན་པ་ཁག་གི་བཀག་རི་རྣམས་ནས་རི་དྲགས་ཆེ་ཕྱ་མཐའ་དག་བསལ་མི་ཚོག་ཅིང་། འབྲོག་པའི་རི་
རྒྱའི་འབྲོག་ཡུལ་གྱི་སྤྱི་དང་གཞི་བདག་རྣམས་ནས་སྲུང་གུང་རི་དྲགས་བསལ་མི་ཚོག་པར་མ་ཟད་རྩ་
ཡུང་དང་། དབྱར་རྩུ་དབྱུག་འབྲུ་དང་། དཀར་མོག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་བཞོ་འདོན་བྱེད་མི་ཚོག་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ནི་
འབྲོག་མིས་ཤོད་སྲོལ་དུ་དབྱར་རྩུ་དབྱུག་འབྲུ་དང་དཀར་མོག་ནི་གཞི་བདག་གི་སྤྱི་དང་ཞོར་རེད། ཅེས་

75 རྣམ་མཁའ་འཁོར་ལུས་གསུང་རྩོམ་སྲོགས་བསྐྱོད་གས། ༡༩༤ནས༢༣༢ནང་གསལ།

དང་། ཇུ་ཡུང་ནི་གཞི་བདག་གི་སྤིང་རེད། མི་སྲུང་བཞོལ་དོན་བྱས་ན་དེའི་མི་སྲུང་གསལ་ལ་ནད་ཡམས་
 དྲག་པོ་འབྱུང་ཞིང་། དེའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེས་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ལ་ནད་ཡམས་འབྱུང་གི་རེད། ཅེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་
 གྲང་བྱེད་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད། འབྲོག་པའི་རི་བཤེར་ནི་འབྲོག་པའི་ཡུལ་གྲིམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་དང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་
 བདེ་འཇགས་སྲུང་སྐྱོང་གི་ལས་འཁུར་གལ་ཆེ་ཤོས་ནི་རི་བཤེར་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཡིན་འདུག། དེའི་
 འབྲོག་ཁམས་ནི་ཡུལ་སོ་སོའི་ཕོ་གཞོན་བཞོན་ཏེ་བཟང་བྲས་རྣམས་ཡིན་པ་རེད། དེའི་ལས་དོན་གཙོ་
 བོ་ཞེ་རྩོན་པ་དང་། རི་རྒྱ་བཤེག་མཁམ། ཇུ་རྒྱུན་དང་། ཉིས་རྩོད་མཁམ་ནམ་དེ་དག་གི་སོ་རྒྱལ་སོགས་
 ཡོད་མེད་རྟོག་ཞིབ་བྱེད་དགོས་པ་དག་ཡིན་འདུག། འབྲོག་པའི་ཇུ་གྲིམས་ནི་འབྲོག་མི་སྲུང་གིས་དེ་
 སྲོན་འཁོན་གཞི་བྱུང་མེད་པའི་མི་སྲུང་གང་ཅུང་དང་། མི་སྲུང་ནང་ཁུལ་བཅས་པར་ཇུ་གྲིམས་མི་ཚོ་ག་
 ཅིང་། གལ་ཏེ་གྲིམས་འགལ་བྱེད་མཁམ་བྱུང་ན་སྤང་སྤེལ་བཞི་རྒྱུ་ལ་ལམ་སྟག་སྤེལ་འདུ་བའི་སྐབས་
 སྲུང་གང་འབྲོག་བཅོམ་བྱས་པའི་དངོས་པོ་རྣམས་ཚུལ་ལེན་གྱིས་དགའ་ལ་རྩོད་འདུམ་བྱེད་གྱི་ཡོད་པ་རེད།

དཔེར་ན་མགོ་ལོག་གསལ་འགྲུ་ལོག་ལྟ་བུར་མཚོན་ན། ༢༠༠༧ལོའི་དབྱར་གྱི་དུས་སུ། ང་རང་མགོ་
 ལོག་སྐྱོ་གསལ་དགོན་དུ་ཐོན་པ་ན། དགོན་པའི་མཁམ་པོ་མགས་ཚང་གི་སྐྱོ་སྐྱོ་རྩེ་གྱི་མཁམ་དུ་བཟུང་
 རྒྱ་གཉིས་བར་ལ་བཟུང་འཁོན་བྱུང་ནས་གྲོད་ལྷ་གི་ཡོང་འདུག། མཁམ་པོས་གྲོད་ཡིད་གཏམ་གསལ་
 རྩེ་སྐྱོ། ཐོག་མར་བཟུང་རྒྱ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་ཁུངས་སོ་སོའི་རུས་ཁུངས་ཞིབ་ཆའི་སྒོ་ནས་མགོན་པོ་རི་
 སྤྱི་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་མེས་པོ་དང་དང་བྲག་སྤིན་མོ་ལས་རུས་དུག་གིས་རྩེ་ལ་གཏུག། དེ་ནས་བོད་གྱི་
 བཅོན་པོ་སྤོང་བཅོན་སྐྱེས་པོས་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་འི་གྲིམས་བཅས་རྩེ་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་བོད་བཅོན་པོའི་
 གྲིམས་དང་མགོ་ལོག་གི་གྲིམས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་གསུང་། དེ་ནས་མགོ་ལོག་གི་གྲིམས་དང་རུ་སྤྱི་འདིའི་
 ཡུལ་སྤོལ་ལ་སྲུང་ནས་བཟུང་རྒྱ་འདི་གཉིས་ཀའི་གྲོད་བཤེད་པས་ན་ཕན་རྩེ་འཛིང་རེས་གཅིག་གྲང་མ་
 བྱས་ཏེ་གྲོད་དེ་ལགས་སོ་ལགས་སོ་ཞེས་སྲུང་མོར་བཤེད་སོང་བའི་ཕན་ཡོན་བརྗོད་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས།
 བོད་ཡུལ་གང་ས་གང་ན་ཡུལ་གྲིམས་ཀྱིས་འདི་བཞིན་ཕན་ཡོན་ཐོབ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་དེ་གསལ་ཞིང་མང་ངོ་།།

གསུམ། འཛམ་གླིང་གི་ཞི་བདེ་ལའང་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་འགའི་བྱས་རྗེས་བཞག་ཟེན།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་གཞན་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་དང་བསྟུང་ན་ཁྱད་ཚོས་ལྷག་པར་འབྱར་དུ་དོད་
པའི་ཆ་ཞིག་ཡོད། དེ་ནི་དམ་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཏེ་བོད་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་དང་འདྲེ་ཤིང་འཛིན་
སྐབས་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྲོག་རྩ་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར་ཡོད་པ་འདྲི་ཡིན། འཕགས་པ་ལྷན་ཚོས་ནི་མདོར་ན་མི་འཚོ་བ།
ཏེ་བཞིན་གཤེག་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གསུངས། ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན་བོད་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དད་མོས་བྱེད་
སའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་པོ་ནི་བྱམས་དང་སྤོང་རྗེ་ཡིན་པས་བོད་པའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་ལ་ཡང་ཚོས་ལུགས་འདིས་
ཤུགས་རྒྱུན་ཐེབས་ཡོད་པས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་འདིའི་རྩ་བའི་མི་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྱོད་བཟང་གི་ལམ་སྟོན་པ་
འི་ཐབས་ཤིག་ཡིན་པ་ལས་ཉེས་ཆད་རྒྱུད་གཅོད་བྱེད་ཀྱི་སྲིག་ཁྲིམས་ཤིག་གཏན་ནས་མིན་པ་ཀུན་
གྱིས་མ་ཁྲིན།

དཔེར་ན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་དུ་སྲོག་མི་གཅོད་པའི་གསོན་སྟོང་གཤེན་སྟོང་ལྟ་བུའི་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་
ཕབ་ནས་ལོ་ངོ་སྟོང་ཕྱག་ལྷག་འགོར་ཏེ་དུས་རབས་ཉེར་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྐབས་པ་ན་ད་བཟོད་དཔལ་ཡོན་གྱིས་
ཁེངས་པའི་ལྷོ་སྤྱི་དང་རྒྱ་སྐྱེ་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཁག་ཏུ་སྲོག་ཚབ་ལ་སྲོག་མི་གཏོར་བའི་ཁྲིམས་གསར་
བཅད་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ནི་དཔེར་ན། དབྱིན་ཇི་(England) དང་། འཇར་མན་(Germany)
ཨོ་སི་སྤྱི་རི་ཡ་(Australia) ཏིན་མག་(Denmark) རྫོན་ལན་(Finland) དབྱི་ཐ་ལི་(Italy)
ཉོ་ལན་(The Netherlands) མོ་རོ་ཁོ་(Morocco) འབྲུགས་གླིང་(Iceland) ཕོར་ཐིུ་
ཀལ་(Portugal) པར་ཅོར་(Brazil) རྟེ་ཅོ་ལན་(New Zealand) སོགས་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་
སུམ་བཅུ་ལྷག་ཡོད་ལ། སུར་སུའུ་ལེན་(Soviet Union)གྱིས་སྲོག་ཁྲིམས་ཐེངས་གཉིས་དོར་ཡང་
གཞུག་ནས་སྤྱི་དུ་གསོས། སྲོག་ཁྲིམས་མེད་པར་བཟོ་རྒྱུའི་ཐད་ལ་འཇའ་ཕིན་(Japan)གྱི་འབངས་
མང་ཆེ་བས་ཀྱང་འཐད་པ་མི་བྱུང་།

བོད་ལ་འདི་འདྲའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་བཟང་པོ་ཤིག་ཆགས་ཐུབ་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཞིག་ནི། རྒྱ་འབྲས་ལ་
 ཡིད་ཆེས་ཞིང་སྤྲིག་པའི་ལས་ལ་འཛེམ་པའི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་ཡིན། རྒྱ་འབྲས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བཞི་ནང་པ་སངས་
 རྒྱས་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་བ་དང་སྤང་འདས། དགེ་སྤྲིག་དང་སྤང་བྲལ་སོགས་སྤོང་མོང་གི་རྣམ་བཞག་
 ཐམས་ཅད་གཏན་ལ་འབབས་བྱེད་ཀྱི་བསམ་སློབ་ལེའི་གཞི་འཇུགས་ས་གཙོ་བོ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་
 ཀྱི་རིག་པ་འདི་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་དང་མི་རིགས་མང་པོ་ཞིག་གིས་ཀྱང་ཁས་ལེན་བཞིན་ཡོད། ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་
 ལ་དུས་ད་ལྟ་སྤྲིན་པ་དང་སྤྱི་མར་སྤྲིན་པ། མ་འོངས་པར་སྤྲིན་པ་བཅས་རིགས་མང་པོར་དབྱེ་རྒྱ་འབྲས་
 དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཚོས་ལ་དད་མོས་ཅན་གྱིས་ཀྱང་གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་ལུལ་འཛིན་པ་དང་། མཐར་ཐུག་
 གི་དམིགས་ལུལ་འཛིན་པ་སོགས་སྒྲུ་ཚོགས་ཡོད། གནས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་དམིགས་ལུལ་ཅན་གྱིས་ཚོ་འདི་
 ཅམ་ལ་རྒྱ་དགོ་བ་མང་པོ་བསྐྱབ་པ་དང་། མཐར་ཐུག་གི་དམིགས་ལུལ་འཛིན་མཁན་གྱིས་དགོ་བ་རྒྱ་
 ཚེན་པོ་བསྐྱེད་ནས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་དགོ་བ་བསྐྱབ་ཞིང་འཚང་རྒྱ་བར་འདོད་པ་དེ་ཡིན།
 རང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཕྱིན་ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་ཁས་མ་སྤངས་ན་ཚོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གཞི་རྩ་དོར་བ་དང་
 འདྲ་བས། བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་བཅི་སྤྱད་བྱ་རྒྱུར་སློབ་ཞིང་དེ་ལེགས་པར་སྤྱང་བྱུང་ན་
 འབྲས་བུ་ཡང་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་སྤྲིན་ཐུབ་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་མེད་པ་དེ་ལུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྟ་བུར་གྱུར། དཔེར་ན་
 ལུལ་པ་མ་དང་ཁྲིམ་མཚོས་རྒྱན་གཞོན་ལ་བཅི་བཀྱར་དང་རོགས་རམ་བྱས་ན་རང་གི་བྱ་བ་ལམ་འགྲོ།
 ཁ་ལས་རྒྱུང་ཏུ་དར་བ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཕན་ཡོན་ཡོད་པ་བཞིན། གཞན་ཡང་ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་དང་འགལ་ན་
 བྱ་བ་ཅི་ཡང་ལམ་ལ་མི་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ཀུན་གྱི་དམའ་འབབས་དང་གཉའ་གཞོན་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་
 ཀྱི་གྲོས་སུ་མི་ཚུད་པ་སོགས་གནས་རྒྱལ་མང་པོ་ཡོད། མདོར་ན། བོད་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མི་ལུས་རིན་པོ་
 ཚེ་ཐོབ་དཀའ་བ་དང་། ཐོབ་པ་དོན་སྤིང་ཆེ་བ་ཤེས་ནས་མི་བཟང་པོ་ཞིག་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཤེས་བྱའི་རྒྱུང་དོར་
 ལ་འབད་ནས་མཁས་མཛེས་ཅན་ཞིག་ཏུ་འགྱུར་ཅི་བྱུང་བྱ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལྷོ་གོས་ཁོ་ན་ཅམ་གྱི་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་
 རྒྱུ་དེ་དུད་འགྲོ་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཤེས་རྒྱུ་དང་། དེ་བས་དུད་འགྲོ་དང་ཁྱད་འབྱེད་པའི་རིན་ཐང་ཡོད་པའི་

བྱ་བ་ཞིག་ལ་འབད་དགོས་ན། མིག་སྲར་གྱི་ཕན་བདེ་ཙམ་གྱི་དོན་མ་ཡིན་པར་ཕྱགས་རྒྱུ་འདི་པོར་ཕན་
པའི་དོན་ལ་འབད་པ་དང་། རང་དང་རང་གི་གཉེན་ཉེ་དུ་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། རང་གི་མི་རིགས་
དང་མེས་རྒྱལ། ཐུན་རང་གི་དགའ་དང་བཅས་པའི་མར་གྱུར་སེམས་ཙན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྱི་ཕན་དོན་ལ་
འབད་དགོས་པ་སོགས་ནི་ནང་པ་སངས་རྒྱུས་པ་ཞིག་གི་ཀུན་སྲོད་དང་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ལྟ་བུའི་བསྟུང་བྱ་
ཞིག་ཡིན་པར་འདོད།

བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་བཟང་པོས་མ་གྱུར་སེམས་ཙན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་སེམས་བསྐྱེད་ཆེན་པོས་
ལུས་ངག་ཡིད་གསུམ་གྱི་སྲོད་པའི་རྩ་བ་ཟེན་པ་འདིས་རང་ཅག་ཁ་བའི་ལྗོངས་འདིར་སྲར་ནས་ཁྲིམས་
སྲོལ་ལེགས་པོ་ཞིག་དར་ཡོད་པ་མཚོན་ཐུབ། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་ཚུགས་པའི་རྩ་བ་སྦྱིང་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོར་
གཏུག་ཡོད་པ་འདིས་མི་རིགས་ཁོ་ནའི་ཁེ་དབང་མ་ཟད་མིའི་རིགས་སྤྱི་ལ་ཕན་པའི་སྦྱིང་སྟོབས་བསྐྱེད།
དེ་མིན་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་དུ་སེམས་ཙན་ཡོངས་སུ་གཅེས་པའི་ཁོག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྡན་རྒྱུའི་རིགས་པའི་རྩ་
བ་འདི་ནང་དོན་རིག་པའི་ནང་གི་སེམས་ཙན་ཐམས་ཅད་འགོ་བའི་རིགས་གང་དུ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱང་། ཡང་ན་
རིགས་ཀྱི་མཐོ་དམན་གང་དུ་བབས་རུང་། ཕྱག་རྒྱ་བཞིའི་ནང་དུ་མ་འདུས་པ་མེད་པའི་ཐད་ནས་སེམས་
ཙན་ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་མིའི་རིགས་ཀུན་འདུ་མཉམ་ཡིན་པར་འདོད་པ་འདིས་ད་ལྟའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་དེ་སྤུ་
དང་གང་ཡིན་རུང་ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སློན་ལུ་འདུ་མཉམ་གྱིས་དང་པོར་གཅོད་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་རྩ་དོན་དང་
རིགས་པ་གཅིག་ཏུ་བབས་ཡོད།

དེར་བརྟེན། གཞི་ནང་བསྟན་དང་། ཡུལ་བདེ་འཇགས། སྤྱིའི་ཞི་བདེ་ལ་ཕན་ཡོན་འབྲུང་དུ་ཐོན་པ་ནི་
དེང་སང་གི་ཡུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྲོགས་གཙོ་བོ་ཡིན། འདིས་བོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཚོ་བའི་ཁོད་དུ་བྱ་བ་
གང་རུང་གི་སྐྱབས་དངོས་སུ་རང་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་སྦྱིང་རྗེ་སྤྱད་མེད་ཞིག་བསྐྱེད་ན། སོ་སོས་རང་གཤེས་
དང་པོའི་སློན་ལུ་ཁྲིམས་མཐུན་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ཀུན་ལ་ཕན་པ་ཞིག་སྐྱབ་ཐུབ་པའི་རིགས་པའི་ཁྱེད་སྤངས་བསྟན།
ཡང་ན་སོ་སོའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་སྦྱིང་རྗེ་སྤྱད་མེད་ཞིག་བསྐྱེད་ཐུབ་ན། སོ་སོས་རང་གཤེས་དང་པོའི་སློན་ལུ་བ་

གང་ཅུང་ཞིག་ལེགས་པོར་སྐྱབ་ཐུབ་པའི་དོན་དངོས་སུ་སྦྱར་ཚོགས་པའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཀྱི་རྩ་བ་བསྟན། འདིར་
 མིའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཐུན་མོང་གི་དམིགས་པ་བཅད་བཅད་ནས་ཚོད་པའི་རྩ་དོན་གྱི་འབྲུང་གཞི་
 བསྟན་ཡོད། འདིས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་འདི་འཇམ་གླིང་གི་ཞི་བདེའི་གྲུབ་ཆར་གྱུར་བའི་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་
 ལེགས་པོ་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མཚོན་ཡོད། བོད་ཀྱི་ཁྲིམས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རིག་པ་ལེགས་པོ་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ད་
 ལྟའི་ཡུ་རོབ་གླིང་གི་མཐུན་ཚོགས་(European Union) ལྟ་བུས་ལག་ལེན་དངོས་སུ་བྱེད་བཞིན་
 ཡོད་ཀྱང་འབྲས་བུ་བཟང་པོ་འང་སྲོང་བཞིན་ཡོད་པར་སྟམ། བོད་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཁྲིམས་སྲོལ་
 ལེགས་པོ་འདི་ལ་བཤད་ལག་ལེན་གསེར་བཞིན་ཐུབ་ན་བྱ་བ་མི་འགྲུབ་རྒྱ་གང་ཡང་མེད་པར་ཡིད་ཆེས་
 ཡོད། དེའི་ཕྱིར། ང་ཚོའི་བོད་མི་རིགས་ནི་མིའི་རིགས་གཞན་གྱིས་དད་མོས་དང་བརྩི་བཀྱར་བྱ་འོས་
 པའི་མི་རིགས་རྒྱབ་སྐྱོར་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན།

ཟུར་ལྟེན་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག།

མཁའ་པ་སྐྱེའུ། སྤྱི་ཚེས་འབྲུང་རྒྱུ་ལ། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་དཔར་མ།
རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྡེ་པ་ཚེན་མོ། དཔྱིད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་སྐྱ་དབྲུངས། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་

དཔར་མ།

འགོས་ལོ་གཞོན་ལྷན་དཔལ། དེབ་ཐེར་སྐོན་པོ། ཁྲིན་ཏོ་ལྷ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་དཔར་མ།
ཆབ་སྐྱེལ་ཆོ་བརྟན་སྐུན་ཚོགས་དང་ཉེར་བྲང་ཡུ་རྫན། བོད་ཀྱི་སློལ་རྒྱུན་རྣམས་རིམ་གཤམ་ཡི་མེད་པ། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་

དཔེ་རྒྱུ་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་ཟླ་༡༠འཕེའི་དཔར་མ།

ཆབ་སྐྱེལ་ཆོ་བརྟན་སྐུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་འགན་འཁུར་ནས་བསྐྱིགས། བོད་ཀྱི་སློལ་རྒྱུན་ཁྲིམས་སློལ་ཡིག་ཆ་བདམས་
བསྐྱིགས། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

ཉང་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར། ཆོས་འབྲུང་མེ་ཏོག་སྐྱིད་པོ་སྤྲོད་མི་བཅུད། ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་
༡༩༧༧ལོའི་དཔར་མ།

གཉའ་གོང་དགོན་མཚོག་ཆོ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་བདེ་སྐྱིད་ཡིག་ཆ་ཚུ་ཆེན་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཚིག་དོན་ཀུན་ནས་ཁྲོལ་
བར་བྱས་པ་རབ་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་། ལན་གོ་ལྷ། ཀན་སུ་ཉུ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་བསྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༢༠༠༡ལོའི་པར་ཐེངས་
དང་པོའི་དཔར་མ།

ཐུབ་བསྐྱུན་སྐུན་ཚོགས། བོད་ཀྱི་སློལ་རྒྱུན་སྐྱིད་པོ་བརྒྱ་པ་གའི་ཕྱེ་མིག་པེ་ཅིང་། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་
༡༩༧༧ལོའི་ཟླ་༧འཕེའི་དཔར་མ།

སྤྱི་ཚེས་སྐྱེ། སྤྱི་ཚེས་འབྲུང་། ཆོས་འབྲུང་ཆེན་མོ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སྤྱི་ཚེས་སྐྱེས་ཀྱིས་མཚན་པ་བཞུགས་མོ།
ལྷ་ས། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་ཟླ་༧འཕེའི་དཔར་མ།

ནམ་མཁའ་ཉེར་བྲུ། བོད་ཀྱི་སློལ་རྒྱུན་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ་གཤམ་དུང་ཉེར་བྲུའི་དོན་ལ་བཞུགས་མོ། ཁྲིན་ཏོ་ལྷ།
སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༧ལོའི་ཟླ་༧འཕེའི་དཔར་མ།

དཔལ་བོ་གཞུག་ལག་མེད་པ། མཁའ་པའི་དགའ་སྐྱོན། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྲུན་ཁང་གིས་ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༧༦ ལོའི་
དཔར་མ།

ནམ་མཁའ་འོ་མ་གྱི་ལྷ་སྐྱོད་ལྷོ་ལྷོ་གསལ་བསྐྱིགས། གུང་གོ་འོ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༩༧ལོའི་
རྒྱ་ལོ་འཛིན་པ་ལས་ལ།

དམུ་དགོ་བསམ་གཏན། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དགའ་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས་སོ། ར་བ་བོད་རིགས་ཆའང་རིགས་རང་རྒྱུང་ལྷོ་ལོ་
ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔུང་ཡིག་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས་སྤྱི་འོ་དེབ་ལྷ་པའམ་བོད་ཡིག་གི་དེབ་གཉིས་པ།
འབར་ཁམས། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༩༧ལོའི་རྒྱ་ལོ་འཛིན་པ་ལས་ལ།

ཚལ་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་འོ་རྒྱུ། དེབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ། དེབ་ཐེར་དམར་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དང་པོ་རྩ་ལན་དེབ་ཐེར་འདི་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།
པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༩༩ལོའི་རྒྱ་ལོ་འཛིན་པ་ལས་ལ།

ས་སྐྱུ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྒྱལ་རབས་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༩༡
ལོའི་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ལ།

ཉེ་ལྷན་ཞོན་དང་ཉོ་ཚུན་ཆེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱིགས། བོད་རྒྱ་ཤར་སྐྱུར་གྱི་ཤེས་བྱའི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ཀུན་བཏུས་ཚོགས་མཛོད།
ཟི་ལིང་། མཚོ་སྐོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། ལྷོ་ལོ་༡༩༩༧ ལོའི་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ལ།

དང་སྲུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་ཤོད་ཡོད་པ་ནལ་ཆུ་རྫོང་དུ་སྤྱི་ཁྱབ་ལས་ཁུངས་གསར་འཛུགས་ཀྱིས་སྟོད་
 རྒྱུ་ཚང་ནས་སྤྲོད་ཁྱེད་ཆེན་བར་གྱི་རྫོང་གཞིས་བཙོ་བརྒྱད་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ལ་འགོ་
 འདོམས་བྱེད། དམིགས་བསལ་གྱི་ལས་དོན་ཆེ་ལག་མ་གཏོགས་རང་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཞིབ་ལས་དོན་ཚང་
 མ་བྱང་སྤྱི་རང་ནས་ཐག་གཅོད་དགོས། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་མཁན་རྒྱུ་ལ་སྤྲོད་པ་སྤྲོད་པ་སྤྲོད་པ་
 ལྡན་དང་རིམ་བཞིན་གསུམ་མདོ་བརྒྱུ་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན་ཉིས་སྤེལ་ནས་སྤྲོད་པ་སྤྲོད་པ་སྤྲོད་པ་
 བྱང་། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་གཞུང་ས་དགའ་ལྡན་པོ་བྱང་གི་ས་གནས་སྤིང་འཛིན་ཞིག་གི་ཐད་དུ་བྱང་སྤྱི་ནས་ཡར་
 འབྱུང་མར་གཏོང་གི་གཞུང་ཡིག་འབོར་ཆེན་བྱང་ཡོད་དེ། ད་ལྟ་སྤྲོད་པ་ཆགས་པའི་བོད་རང་སྤྲོད་
 རྫོང་ས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་བྱང་སྤྱི་དང་འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ལེགས་སྤྲོད་ཀྱིས་ཟུང་བ་
 རྫོང་བསྐོས་ཡིག་གྲངས་བཞི་སྟོད་ལྷག་ཡོད་ཅིང་། དེ་དག་ལ་བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤྲོད་ལག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་
 ཞེས་སྤྲོད་ལག་ཏུ་དམིགས་སྤྲོད་བཞག་ཏེ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་ཡོད། བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤྲོད་ལག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་
 ཚགས་ལས་ལོ་དུས་སྤྲོད་པོ་བོད་རང་བྱང་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཆུ་ཕོ་ཉེའི་ལོ་སྤྲོད་སྤྲོད་ལོ་༡༧༠༢༠༢༥དང་སྤྲོད་པོ་
 རང་བྱང་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་ས་ཕོ་ཉེའི་ལོ་སྤྲོད་སྤྲོད་ལོ་༡༩༣༤འའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཡིན། བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤྲོད་ལག་
 གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཀྱི་ནང་དོན་གཙོ་བོ་བྱང་སྤྱིའི་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཆབ་འབངས་བདེ་སྤྲོད་དང་།
 རོར་སྤིང་གཏོང་ཡོང་། ཁྱལ་བསྐྱེད་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་སྤྲོད་པོ་
 ལུགས་ལས་དོན། དུལ་ཕྱོད་ལྷོ་རྒྱུག་ལས་ཚན་བསྐོར་ལེན། རང་བྱང་གཞོན་འཛོལ། ཞིང་འབྲོག་
 ཆུ་ནགས་ཀྱི་སྤོང་ཡིན་ལ། གཞན་ཡང་དུས་སྤྲོད་པོ་འདྲ་བར་གོང་ས་སྤྲོད་པོ་འདྲ་བར་གོང་ས་སྤྲོད་པོ་
 མཚོག་དང་། པའ་ཆེན་ཨེར་ཏི་ནི། སྤིང་སྤོང་། བོད་བཞུགས་ཨེམ་བན་སོགས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་
 ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ཡོད།

ཉོར་སྤྱིའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུས་རིམ།

བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ནི་གནའ་སྔ་མོ་ནས་མིའི་རིགས་འཛོལ་སྤོང་བྱེད་པའི་གནས་ཤིག་ཡིན་ལ། ལོ་རྒྱུས་རྒྱུན་
 རིང་ལྷན་ཞིང་རིག་གནས་ལྷན་སྐྱུ་ཚོགས་པ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པ་སྟེ། དུས་རབས་སྔོན་མའི་ལོ་རབས་བདུན་
 ཅུའི་ནང་གནའ་རྗེས་རིག་པ་མཁས་ཅན་གྱིས་ཤུར་ཅོད་དང་། མཚོ་གཉིས་ཁུལ་ནས་སྟོན་པའི་གཞོག་
 གཏུབ་ཀྱི་དོ་ཚམས་དང་དོ་ཚམས་ཞིབ་མོད་དག་ནི་དོ་ཚམས་སྟོང་མའི་དུས་སྐབས་ལྷི་མའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཡིན་ཚོད་
 དུ་བཤད་པ་¹དང་། བོད་བཅའ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་སུ་སྐུམ་པ་སྟོང་གི་བུ་རྒྱུང་ཟེར་བའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་བྱེ་
 བྲག་དང་། དུས་ཕྱིས་ཞང་ཞུང་སློབ་ཕྲུག་བར་གསུམ་དུ་འབོད་པའི་སློབ་ཤེལ་ལེ་རྒྱ་དཀར་ཟེར་བ་དེར་
 སང་གི་སྟེང་ཆེན་རྒྱུང་གི་མངའ་ཁོངས་སུ་ཡོད་པ་དོས་འཛིན་རྒྱ་ཡོད་པར་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྤྱི་བས་བཤད་པ་²
 ལྟར་བྲགས། ཉོར་ཚོ་བའམ་ཉོར་ཤོག་ཁ་སོ་དགུར་འབོད་པའི་ཡུལ་འདིའི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་ལུགས་ཀྱང་
 དུས་རབས་རིམ་བུར་གི་འཕེལ་འགྲུར་ཁོད་དུ་ལུ་བྱ་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཟམ་མ་ཆད་པར་རིམ་གྱིས་བྱུང་ཡོད། གལ་
 ཆེ་ཤོས་ཤིག་ནི་ས་ཕག་རིན་གཅོད་སོགས་སྤྱི་དབང་རིམ་བུར་གི་འཕེལ་འགྲུར་ཁོད་དུ་ས་གནས་རང་
 གི་ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཆོས་སྤྱི་དུ་གནས་སྟངས་དང་། སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་གཞི། ཡུལ་ཁམས་
 ཁོར་ཡུག་ ཐོན་སྐྱེད་བྱེད་སྟངས་ལ་གཞིགས་ཏེ། གང་ལ་གང་འཚམ་གྱི་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱུ་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་གྱི་
 བྱེད་སློབ་ཁག་གཅིག་ལྟར་བའི་སྤྱི་དབང་འཛིན་གྱི་སྤྱི་གཞི་ཞིག་ཆགས་བྱུང་ཡོད། གཞུང་ས་དགའ་ལྷན་
 མོ་བྱང་གི་དུས་མཇུག་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༡༦ལོར་སྤྱི་ཁྲུལ་བཀའ་ཤག་གིས་བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་
 དགུའི་དབང་འཛིན་འགན་ལེན་གྱིས་དངོས་སུ་ཉོར་སྤྱི་ཞེས་སྤྱི་ཁྲུལ་རིམ་པའི་ས་གནས་སྤྱི་དབང་འཛིན་ཁྲུང་
 པོ་སྟེང་ཆེན་དུ་བཅུགས། དེས་ན་ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུ་ནི་གང་དག་ཡིན་པར་འབྲེན་ལུགས་མི་འབྲེན་བ་རེ་

¹ 安志敏等, 1979.

² བྲག་བསོགས་གྱིས་བཅུ་མས་པའི་ཉོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྐྱུས། ༡༩༩༤། ནག་རྒྱའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་
 དཔྱད་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས། ༡༩༠༡ ནང་གསལ།

གཉིས་ལྷན་ཡོད་མོད། འདིར་གཞི་བྱེད་པའི་ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུ་ནི་ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་མཁན་
 རྒྱུ་གཡུ་ཐོག་དབང་འདུད་ཉོར་བུས་ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༨༧ལོར་བཟོས་པའི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་དུ་ཉོར་ཚོ་
 སོ་དགུ་འི་ཁྲུལ་དུད་དང་། ཤོག་མིང་། དུད་གངས་བཞོད་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་ཡིན་པ་སྟེ། རོར་སྟོད། རོར་སྟོད།
 དཀར་སྟོད། དཀར་སྟོད། སྐར་ཁོངས། རག་ཅུ། ཉིན་ཐ། ཉིན་མོ། དམར་མོད། བྱེ་བྲེ། དམར་ཅུ།
 སྲིབ་ཐ། འདྲེ་དག། སལ་གསུམ། ཁྲི་ཅུ། ཁྲིམ་ཚང་། རེམ་ཚ། ཡང་པ། ཡེ་ཐ། རུག་ཅུ། སྟོམ་པ།
 སྐར་ཅུ། ཐོན་ཐ། སེར་ཚ། ཐོམ་ཁན། འཕྲོག་ཤོག་བརྒྱུ་ཁྲ་མིང་། རྟུག་དུག་སོག་སྟེ། རག་མོག་
 འབྲི་ཅུ། སག་ཤི། ཞུར་སྟོད། ཞུར་སྟོད། བོ་མོ། འཕོ་མ། རྩ་དམར།
 བུ་ཐོ་བཅས་ཚོ་བའམ་ཤོག་ཁ་སོ་དགུ་ཡོད། མི་འབྲུག་སྤྱི་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༦ལོར་སྤྱི་ཁྲུབ་བཀའ་འགག་གིས་
 མདོ་སྟོད་སྤྱི་ཁྲུབ་གྱི་ལས་བྱ་ལམ་རྒྱུ་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱུལ་བཏང་སྟེ་ཉོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགུར་གཅིག་གྲུབ་གྱི་
 བཀའ་འདོམས་མཛད་པའི་སློབ་བཏོད། ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱུལ་ནས་སྤྱི་གཞུག་ཏུ་
 ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དགུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་གཞུང་ས་ནས་ལོ་རེར་མཁན་རིམ་རེས་མོས་ཞེས་མཁན་རྒྱུང་དང་རིམ་
 བཞིའི་གོ་མིང་ཡོད་པའི་སྤྱི་ཁྲུབ་པ་ལོ་རེར་བསྐོ་བཞག་གིས་རིས་མོས་སུ་གཏོང་སློབ་ཆགས་ཡོད་ལ།
 དེ་ལོག་ལས་བྱ་རྩེ་ཤོད་དུང་རིགས་གཅིག་ཤེ་དང་། ཅུ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་སྤྱི་བྱ་དམག་མི་ལྔ་བཅུ་འི་གྲུབ་
 པའི་གཞུང་སའི་ཞབས་སྟོད་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལས་འཛིན་པས་ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུ་འི་སྲིད་དོན་དང་། ཁྲུལ་བསྟུ་
 ཁྲིམས་བཞུགས། ས་སྤྱི་དམག་དོན་སོའི་གྱི་འགན་དབང་དོ་དམ་བུས། ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་
 གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱུལ་སྐབས་ནས་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དགུ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པའི་གནས་ཚུལ་གསལ་དུ་བཞོད་པའི་
 རེ་བྱུ་མིག་དང་པོར་གསལ། ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུ་འི་ས་ཁོངས་ནི་འར་ཆབ་མདོ་དང་། སི་བོ་ཆེ། བྱང་
 རང་ཆེན་དང་རྩ་སྟོད་འབྲི་དམར་སོགས། རུབ་བྱང་རིགས་ཨ་མདོ་དང་། རག་ཅུ། ལྷོ་ལྷ་རི་དང་།
 དཔལ་འབར། ལྷོ་རྫོང་སོགས་དང་ས་མཚན་ས་སུ་བཀའ་ཡོད། ད་ལྟའི་སྲིད་འཛིན་དབྱེ་ལུགས་ལྟར་ན།

ཉོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགའའི་ས་ནི་ཕལ་ཆེར་ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྤྱིང་ཆེན་རྫོང་དང་། རག་རྩ་ས་ཁུལ་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཆེན་
རྫོང་དང་། འབྲི་རུ་རྫོང་། ལྷན་རོང་རྫོང་ཁག་བཞི་ཡིན།³

ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་སྐབས་སུ་ཁུལ་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད་ལ་གཞི་བཟུངས་ཤིང་གྲོ་བོ་རྒྱུ་བའི་སྤྱི་
འཛིན་རྫོང་ལུགས་ཐད་ནས་བཤད་ན། གཅིག་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོའི་ཁུལ་ལུགས་ལས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་བཞི་ལྟར་
ཉོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགའའི་ཐེམ་དུད་ལ་ཞིབ་བཤེར་གྱིས་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་གཞུང་
དང་། ས་རིགས་བདག་ཐོབ་གྱིས་དེབ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ཐོ། འོ་འབབ་བསྐྱེད་གཞུང་། ག་གཞུང་།
ཞིབ་གཞུང་སོགས་བཟོས་ཏེ་གཞུང་འབབ་ཁག་ཐོག་བྱས། ཉོར་སྤྱི་བྱུགས་པ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་སྐབས་སུ་མི་
འབྲུག་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་བཟོས་པ་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་ན་ཉོར་ཚོར་ཐེམ་དུད་དགའ་རྫོང་རྣམས་ཡོད་པ་དང་།
ཉོར་སྤྱི་གསུམ་པ་མ་ཁན་རྒྱུང་གཡུ་ཐོག་དབང་འདུད་ལོར་བྱེད་སྐབས་སུ་ཤིང་གི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་
བཟོས། དེ་ལྟར་ན་ཉོར་ཚོར་ཐེམ་དུད་ཞི་གཅིག་དང་ཉེར་བཞི་ཅམ་ཟེན། ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་བརྒྱུད་པ་
རིམ་བཞི་ཐའི་རི་ཁྲུང་རམ་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་སྐབས་སུ་སྤྱི་ཚོ་ཞིབ་གཞུང་ཞེས་པའི་ཉ་ཅང་ཞིབ་
ཚགས་པ་ཞིག་བཟོ་འཆར་ལྟར་བཟོས་མ་ཚར་པར་ལུས་པར་བྲགས།⁴ གཉིས་ནས་ཚོས་སྤྱི་ཚོས་དར་གྱི་
མདུད་པ་འཇམ་ལ་དམ། རྒྱལ་སྤྱི་ཚོས་གསེར་གྱི་གཉེན་འཛིན་ལྷིད་ལོན་ཆེ། རང་སྤྱི་ཚོས་ཐོག་པ་ཁྲུང་
རྒྱུང་ལོན་ཏན་ལྷན། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར། བོད་བཅོན་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྐབས་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་དར་བའི་
རྩ་ཚོས་དགོ་བ་བཅུ་དང་། མི་ཚོས་གཙང་མ་བཅུ་དུག ཞལ་སྤྱེ་བཅོ་ལྷ། ཞལ་སྤྱེ་བཅུ་དུག ཞལ་སྤྱེ་
བཅུ་གསུམ་བཅས་གཞུང་གིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པའི་སྤྱི་ཚོས་སྤོལ་ཡིག་ཆའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་བཞི་ལྟར་། ས་གནས་
རང་གི་དམངས་ཁྲོད་དུ་དར་ཁྲུབ་ཆེ་བའི་ཉེས་ཆད་ལ་རྒྱ་ཐོག་ཆད་པ་དང་། ལུས་ཐོག་རྩ་རྒྱུ་དང་། དེ་
མིན་དུས་སྐབས་སོ་སོར་ཁ་མཚུགས་གྲོད་གཏུགས་བྱུང་པར་དཔྱད་མཚམས་ཁྲུ་མ་སོང་བའི་ཡི་གེ་ བན་རྩེན་

³ བོད་མཚུངས། བཟ 55། 4207 རང་གསལ།

⁴ བྲག་བསོགས་གྱིས་བརྒྱུ་མས་པའི་ཉོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགའའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྐྱེད། 427 རང་གསལ།

པའི་ལོ་དུས་རྒྱུ་གས་མཚམས་སུ་རྟོ་ཚོ་སོ་དགུ་སྤྱི་མགིན་ནས་གོང་ས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆུལ་དབང་སྐུ་ཤིང་
 'བཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ཐུབ་བསྟན་རྒྱ་མཚོར་སྟན་ལྷ་སྤུལ་ཏེ་མཁན་རྒྱུད་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་རྟོ་སྤྱི་ནས་བཞེ་ལེན་མ་
 དགོས་པར་སུ་མཐུན་ལོ་བཞིའི་རིང་རང་གནས་དགོས་ལུགས་ལྷན་པ་བཞིན། བོད་ཤིང་གྲང་། ༡༩༢༡
 ལོའི་རྒྱ་ལོ་ཚེས་༡༩ཉིན་གོང་ས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཆེན་པོར་སྟན་ལྷ་ས་དོན་འབྲེལ་དུ་མཛད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལུགས་ཀྱིས་
 རྟོ་སྤྱི་མཁན་རྒྱུད་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་ལ་ལོ་གསུམ་རིང་ལས་གནས་སུ་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་དགོས་རྒྱུའི་བཀའ་
 རྒྱ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་བཏང་བ་རྒྱ་ལོ་ཚེས་༡༩ཉིན་གྱི་དགོང་ཚོ་ལོ་ལྷུང་ཆེན་དུ་སྤྱི་བོར་ཕེབས། ཤིང་
 གྲང་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༢༡་ལོའི་བོད་རྒྱ་༡༩༢༢ལོའི་ཚེས་༢༡་ཉིན། རྟོ་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་མཁན་རྒྱུད་
 གཡུ་ཐོག་དབང་འདུས་ཞོར་དུ་ལགས་བྱུང་གཏད་གཞོད་འཚའི་ལྷ་སྤུལ་མཚན་མཚར་གཟེར་ལངས་ནད་
 མནར་གྱིས་ཚོ་ལས་འདས། གསུམ་ནས་རྟོ་སྤྱི་ཚེ་ཤོད་མཁན་རིམ་རེས་འཁོར་རོ་ལས་ཐོག་ལས་བྱ་
 ཚེ་ཤོད་དུང་རིགས་གཅིག་རེ་དང་། ཅུ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་སྤུང་བྱ་དམག་མི་ལྔ་བཅུ་ས་གནས་སུ་ཕེབས་
 བསྐྱོད་ཐོག་ས་གནས་རང་གི་དཔོན་ཁག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་དཔོན་གནས་ལྷ་པ་དང་། དུག་
 པར་བསྐྱར་པ་སྟེ། རྟོ་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་གཡུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་འདུས་ཞོར་དུ་ལོ་གསུམ་སུ་
 རྟོ་ཚོ་སོ་དགུ་ས་གནས་རང་དུ་དེ་སྤྱི་རྟོ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མི་རྒྱུད་དང་། དཀར་ཅུ། ལྷག་དུག་སོགས་ཀྱི་
 ལྷོང་དཔོན་རྣམས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་གྱི་གས་སུ་ཕབ་སྟེ་དཔོན་གནས་རིམ་པ་ལྔ་པར་བསྐྱར་བ་དཔོན་ཁག་བཅུ་
 བཞི་དང་། ཚོ་པ་ཆེ་ཁག་གི་དེ་སྤྱི་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་ཁག་དཔོན་གནས་རིམ་པ་དུག་པར་བསྐྱར་བ་དཔོན་ཁག་
 ཉེར་ལྔ། དེ་མིན་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་འོག་གི་དཔོན་འགོ་ཁག་ཅིག་རིམ་པ་བདུན་པའི་སྤྱིང་དཔོན་དུ་བསྐྱར་པའི་
 དཔོན་ཁག་ཞེ་གསུམ་ཡོད། དེ་འོག་རྣམ་པོ་དང་། ལྷོན་པོ་རང་འཇགས་ཀྱིས་རིམ་པ་བཞི་པའི་
 རྟོ་སྤྱི་ནས་རིམ་པ་བདུན་པའི་སྤྱིང་དཔོན་བར་དུ་ཚགས་སུ་རྒྱུད་པར་བཟོས།

རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལམ་ཐོག་འཛིན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལམ་ (སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༦ནས་༡༩༩༢)

ཉོ་སྤྲོད་ལས་ཐོག་ཐོག་ཐོག	ཚེ་འོད་རློབ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་	སྤྱི་ལམ་ལྟར་	ལོ་རྒྱུ་	སྤྲོད་གནས་ལས་ཚན་	འཕྲོད་ལེན་གྱི་སྤྱི་ལམ་ཚན་
ལས་ཐོག་དང་ཕོ་	ཚེ་འོད་རློབ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་	གྲགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་	མི་འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༦ལོ་ནས་ལྷགས་བྱ་ ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༢ལོ་	མདོ་སྐྱོད་སྤྱི་ལམ་གྱི་ ལས་བྱ།	ནད་མནར་གྱིས་ལྷུང་པོ་ སྤྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ལྷུང་པོ་
ལས་ཐོག་གཉིས་པ།	འོད་རློབ་རིམ་ བཞི།	སྤྲོད་སྤྱི་ལོ་བཟོ་སྤོང་ ནམས་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་	ལྷགས་བྱ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༢ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ཚེས་༡༢ནས་ཚུ་བུ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་ སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༣ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་	འོད་རློབ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༣ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༣ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་	ཉོ་སྤྲོད་རིམ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ཚོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ འབྲུག་ཚོང་སྤྲོད་ལོ་ལོ་ གསལ་གསལ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་ལོ་ལོ་
ལས་ཐོག་གསུ་ མ་པ།	ཚེ་འོད་རློབ་རྒྱུ་ རྒྱུ་	གསུ་ཐོག་པ་དབང་ འདུད་ལོ་ལོ་	ཚུ་བུ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༣ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ༡༩ནས་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༩༣ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་	✘	ནད་མནར་ལོ་ལོ་
ལས་ཐོག་བཞི་ པ།	འོད་རློབ་རིམ་ བཞི།	ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལྷུང་ལོ་ལོ་	མི་འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༣ལོ་ནས་ ✘	འོད་རློབ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༩༣ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་	ལྷུང་ལོ་ལོ་

⁵ Petech 1973: 241.

				ཕྱོད་ལྷན། ད་ལྟ་གསལ་རྫོང་རྫོང་ ཕྱོད། ⁶	
ལས་ཐོག་ ལྗེ་པ།	ཕྱི་རྒྱུང་མ་ཁམ་ རྒྱུང་།	གྲགས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ།	✘	✘	ལས་འཁུར་ལོ་དུས་ རྫོགས།
ལས་ཐོག་ རྒྱལ་པ།	ཤོད་རྒྱུང་ རིམ་བཞི།	སྒྲིམ་མཛད་མཁམ་ བ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚེ་ བརྟན།	✘	ཤིང་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༢༧ལོར་རང་ ལོ་༢༢ ས་རྟེ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ ལོ་༡༩༧༤ལོར་ཞབས་ ཕྱོད་ལྷན། ད་ལྟ་ ཅ་མེད་རྫོང་ ཕྱོད། ⁷ རྟོར་སྤྱི་ལོ་སྟོན་དུ་ རྒྱགས་སྤྱི་དུས་ཕྱོད་།	འཕྲིམ།
ལས་ཐོག་ བརྟན་པ།	ཕྱི་རྒྱུང་མ་ཁམ་ རྒྱུང་།	ལྷུ་བ་བརྟན་པ་སྤྱི།	ཤིང་པག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༢༥ལོའི་བོད་རྒྱ་ པའི་ཚེས་༥ལ་རྟེན་ མཛོ་	✘	ནགས་ཤོད་རག་ཤིང་ས་ གནས་སྤྱི་ཕྱོད་སྤྱི།
ལས་ཐོག་ བརྟན་པ།	ཤོད་རྒྱུང་ རིམ་བཞི།	ཐའི་ཇི་ལྷུང་རམ་པ་ དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་པོ།	✘	མི་འབྲུག་ལོ་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༦ལོར་རང་ ལོ་༢༢ལྟར་ལྷུ་ལོ་ བཞུགས་པ་ས་པག་ ལོ་ཞབས་ཕྱོད་ལྷན།	སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༧༠ལོ་བོད་ རྫོང་ས་ཚོགས་འདུ་རྒྱལ་ བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུས་པའི་དོན་ གནད་རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ སྤྱི་ཕྱོད་བརྟན་གསུམ་པའི་

⁶ བོད་མཚན་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༧ ལོར་གསལ།

⁷ བོད་མཚན་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༧༦ ལོར་གསལ།

			<p>དཀྱིལ་གཙུག་མཛུགས་ དཔེ་སྟོན།⁸ ལོར་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུ་གྱི་ལོ་⁹ ༢༧ ལོར་རང་ལོ་༧ ས་པལ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་གྱི་ལོ་ ༡༥༧ལོར་ཞབས་ རྩོད་ཞུས། ད་ལྟོ་ གཙུག་མཛུགས་དཔེ་སྟོན།⁹</p>	<p>ཡང་མཁོ་དེ་ལོ་འཇུག་ ལྟོས་འཇུག་ལུང་ལོ་སྟེང་ རྩོད་ལྟོས་སྟེང་ག་དེ་ལྟོ་ ལོ་གསར་གྱི་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལོ་གསར་ལོ་གསར་གྱི་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་ ལྟོས་ལོ་ལྟོས་ལོ་</p>
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⁸ མི་འབྲུག་ འོད་དུང་ རྩམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོད་ལོ། གཞུང་ཡིག་ ཐོད་རང་གློང་གློང་ས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་
 ཡོད།

⁹ Petech 1973: 241.

					<p>གཤམ་ལ་གཤམ་རྒྱུ་མགོ་ རྒྱུ་བཏང་ནས་ཐའི་ཇི་ རྒྱུ་རམ་པ་ལས་ཞབས་ གནས་དཔྱད་བཏང་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་སའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ གི་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཅོམ་ཁང་ ཏུ་བཅུག་པ་དང་ཏུ་ཐོག་ རྒྱུ་བརྒྱུད་མི་རྒྱུ་པའི་ རྒྱུ་བཏང་བཏང་སྤྱེ་མཐར་ རྒྱ་མའི་བབ་ཀྱིས་ཏུ་ཐོག་ རྒྱུ་བཏང་འདས་སྤྱེ་ རྒྱུ་།</p>
<p>ལས་ཐོག་ དགུ་པ།</p>	<p>རྒྱུ་བཏང་མ་ཁམ་ རྒྱུ་།</p>	<p>རྒྱུ་བཏང་གཞི་མ་ དཔོན་མམ་ཡང་ན་ རྒྱུ་བཏང་ལྷ་བྱང་།</p>	<p>✘</p>	<p>✘</p>	<p>རྒྱུ་བཏང་ལས་འཁྱུར་ལོ་ གཞི་ལས་མ་མོང་རྒྱུ་ དཔོན་པ་ལུ་ལ་འཁྱུར་ དང་། རྒྱུ་བཏང་ལས་ རྒྱུ་བཏང་དང་བཅས་ བསྐྱོ་བཏང་མ་དཔོན་པར་ རྒྱུ་བཏང་བཏང་།</p>

གསལ་བཤད། རེ་མི་གཏུ་རྒྱུ་བཏང་མ་མོང་དཔོན་པ་ནི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་མ་འཁེལ་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ལུས།

བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས།

བྱང་སྤྱི་ནི་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱི་འདོམས་ཞེས་པའི་བསྐྱབས་མིང་གྲེ། གཞུང་ས་དགའ་ལྗན་ཕོ་བྲང་གི་དུས་
མཇུག་དུ་བྲུང་པའི་བོད་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཁྲབ་རིམ་པའི་ས་གནས་སྤྱིད་འཛིན་ཞིག་ཡིན། དེ་ནི་རྒྱ་ཚོ་བོ་
སུམ་ཙུ་མོ་དགའ་སྤྱི་འདོམས་རྒྱ་ལས་རིམ་གྱིས་འཕེལ་ཉེ་བྱུང་བ་ཡིན། རྒྱ་ཚོ་ཁྲུལ་དུ་རྫོང་ཁག་
གསར་བསྐྱོང་འཆར་གཞིའི་¹⁰ཡིག་ཆ་ལྟར་ན། བྱང་སྤྱི་ནི་བོད་རབ་བྲུང་བཙོ་བུ་པའི་རྒྱ་ཕོ་རྟའི་ལོ་ལྟ་
སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༤༠ལོར་དངོས་སུ་བཙུགས་པ་ཡིན། བོད་ལྷགས་སྤྱུལ་ལོ་ལྟ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༤༠ལོར་རྒྱ་ཚོ་
ཕོ་དགའ་ལོ་ལྟ་སྤྱི་ལོ་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ཆེ་གཤིས་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་དོ་ལས་དང་བཅས་ནས་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱུ་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་
གྱི་ཁྲབ་འདོམས་རྒྱུ་བཞེན་དུ་དཀའ་བ་དང་། གཞུང་གནས་སུ་འབབ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་དེ་ཙམ་མ་མཚེས་པར་
གཞིགས་ཏེ། བཀའ་ཤུག་གིས་སྤྱི་དབྱེད་ཡོད་མ་འཛིན་སྟག་བྲག་ལ་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་མེད་པ་བཙོས་ཏེ། ས་
གནས་གྱི་སྤྱིད་འཛིན་རྫོང་ཁ་ཤས་གསར་འཛུགས་གྱིས། བྱང་བརྒྱུད་གྱི་སྤྱི་འདོམས་བྱང་སྤྱི་འཛུགས་
རྒྱུའི་འཆར་གཞི་ལུང་བར་དེ་འབྲས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་ཏུགས་གནང་པས། དེ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་དོ་ལས་སྤྱང་
དམག་དང་བཅས་བསྐྱོད་རྫོང་མ་དགོས་པར་མཁུ་རྒྱུང་པ་ལྷ་ལྷ་བསྟན་འདྲི་རྣམས་དང་། རིམ་བཞི་
གསུམ་མདོ་བརྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན་གཉིས་ཙེ་ཤོད་མཁན་རིམ་སྤྱུལ་པའི་ཐོག ལས་བྱ་སེལ་སྤྱི་
གཉིས། ས་སྤྱང་འགོ་འདོམས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་གཅིག་དང་སྤྱང་བྱ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་སྐྱོར་བསྐྱོར་བཞུང་གིས།
བྱང་བརྒྱུད་འདུ་གནད་ཆེ་བའི་ནག་རྒྱུང་དུ་གནས་སྐྱོར་ཏེ་བྱང་སྤྱི་དངོས་སུ་བཙུགས། རྒྱ་སྤྱིའི་ལས་

¹⁰རྒྱ་ཚོ་ཁྲུལ་རྫོང་ཁག་གསར་བསྐྱོང་འཆར་གཞི་(༧༨-༨༩) ། ཁ་བྱང་རྒྱས་པར་བཀའ་ཤུག་གིས་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་མེད་པ་བཙོས་
ཉེ་སྤྱིད་འཛིན་རྫོང་ཁ་ཤས་དང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་གསར་འཛུགས་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་སྐྱོར་ཕོགས་སྤྱིད་རྫོང་ལ་སྤུལ་འཆར་ཞེས་ཟེམ།
འཆར་གཞི་འདི་ནི་ལྷགས་སྤྱུལ་ལོར་བཀའ་ཤུག་གིས་རྒྱ་སྤྱི་མེད་པ་བཙོས་ཉེ་སྤྱིད་འཛིན་རྫོང་ཁ་ཤས་དང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་
གསར་འཛུགས་བྱ་རྒྱུའི་སྐྱོར་ཕོགས་སྤྱིད་རྫོང་སྟག་བྲག་དག་དབང་གསུང་རབ་མཐུ་ལྷོ་བས་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་
ལ་སྤུལ་བའི་འཆར་གཞི་ཞིག་ཡིན་ལ། ལྷགས་སྤྱུལ་བོད་ཟླ་༡༩༥༥ལོར་༡༩༥༦ལོར་སྤྱིད་རྫོང་གིས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་སོང་།

ལུགས་དེ་རྗེས་འགོ་འཛམ་ལུགས་སུ་བསྐྱུར་རྗེས་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་གྱི་བཟླ་བ་དག་གྱང་གོང་གསལ་ལྟར། ས་སྤྱོད་མི་གསུམ་གྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲོན་ལ་གཞིགས་པའི་ཞིབ་གཞུང་བཅོས་ཏེ་ཁྲུལ་འབབ་བསྐྱེད་གཞུང་གཏན་འཁེལ་དང་། བྱམ་ཉེས་ཁྲིམས་གཙོད། ཁ་མཚུ་བསྐྱོད་ཚོད་ལྷན་ཁུགས་ལ་སོང་བའི་དཔུང་མཚམས་ཁ་མོགས་གཞུང་གནས་གྱིས་གཏན་དུ་ཕབ་ཟེན་པའི་ཞལ་སྤྱི་དང་སྤྱུག་དམ་ལག་འཁྱེར་ཚ་ཚོག་འབྱུང་དོན་ལ་གཞིར་བཅས། ས་གནས་རང་གི་ལག་སྤྱིལ་གན་རྒྱ་སོགས་ཁྲིམས་སྤོལ་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཁྲིམས་འདོན་པ། གཞན་ཡང་བྱང་སྤྱི་མཁན་རིམ་སྤྱིལ་པོ་དང་། ལས་བྱ་སེར་སྤྱོད་མི་གཉིས། ས་སྤྱོད་འགོ་འདོམས་བརྒྱུད་པོན་གཅིག་སྤྱོད་བྱ་དམག་མི་བརྒྱ་རྩེད་ཐོག་རྗེས་འགོ་བསྐྱོད་བཞག་བྱེད་སྤྱོད་པས་ཐད། དཀར་སྤོད་ཤོག་དང་། དཀར་སྤོད་ཤོག་མག་ཚུ་ཤོག་རྩོད་ཤོག་རྩོད་ཤོག་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་བྱེད་པོ་ལྷུང་དཀར་སྤོད་ཚེན་དུ་གནས་ལུ་པའི་རྗེས་སྤོད་སེར་སྤྱོད་ཉེས་སྤྱིལ། ལྷུང་སེར་བྱ་ཟེ་ཤོག་དང་སྤྱོད་པོན་ཤོག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་བྱེད་པོ་གནས་ལུ་པའི་རྗེས་སྤོད་སེར་སྤྱོད་ཉེས་སྤྱིལ། ཡེ་ཐ་ཤོག་དང་། ལྷན་ཚུ་ཤོག་ཉོར་འབྲོག་ཤོག་བོན་ཐ་ཤོག་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་བྱེད་པོ་གནས་ལུ་པའི་རྩོད་སྤོད་ཚེན་རྗེས་སྤོད་སེར་སྤྱོད་ཉེས་སྤྱིལ། ལམ་སྤོད་ཤོག་ལམ་སྤོད་ཤོག་སོགས་སྤོད་སྤོད་ཤོག་རྩ་གཞུང་ཤོག་བའོ་ཤོག་གོ་མོ་ཤོག་བེ་རུ་ཤོག་བཅས་ཀྱི་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱེད་ཁྲིམས་གཞོན་བྱེད་པོ་གནས་ལུ་པའི་ལམ་སྤོད་ཤོག་འགོ་པའི་སེར་སྤོད་ཉེས་སྤྱིལ་སོགས་གཏོང་དགོས་སྤོལ་བཞིན་ས་གནས་གྱི་སྤྱི་འཛིན་རིམ་པ་བཞིན་དུ་ཚགས་རྒྱུད་པར་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་སྤྱི་དང་བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་པ་ལྟར། བོད་དུ་བརྗོད་ཟེན་པ་ལྟར། བྱང་སྤྱི་དེ་དག་ནི་རྩོད་སྤྱི་དང་མི་འབྲ་བར། ཉོར་སྤྱི་མཁན་རིམ་རིམ་མོས་གཏོང་སྤོལ་ལས་བྱང་སྤྱི་མཁན་རིམ་སྤྱིལ་པོ་ཞེས་ཅེ་བྱུང་མཁན་རྒྱུད་དང་ཤོད་དུང་རིམ་བཞིན་པོ་གནས་ཡོད་པ་སྤྱིལ་སོགས་བསྐྱོད་བཟླ་ཏེ་གཏོང་བ་དང་། རིམ་བཞིན་དུ་དེ་ལོག་ལས་བྱ་ཅི་བྱུང་དང་། ས་སྤྱོད་འགོ་འདོམས་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་གཞིར་

འགྲུང་བ་བཏང་བའི་ཐོག་ དེ་སྲིད་བྱང་རིགས་སྡེ་བཞི་¹¹དང་། ཅུ་དྲུག་¹²གི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་ས་གནས་
ཚོར་འགོ་ཁག་དྲུག་དྲུག་བཞོས་ཏེ་ཁྲལ་འབབ་བསྟུ་ལེན་དང་། སྤྲིག་ཁྲིམས་གནོན་སྡེམས་ཀྱིས་སྟོང་ནག་

¹¹སྲིད་ཀྱི་བཟོད་སྟོལ་ཞིག་སྟེ་ད་ལྟོ་འདི་ནག་ཚུ་ཚོར་དང་ཨ་མ་དོ་ཚོར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཁོངས་སུ་གཏོགས་པའི་སའི་ཚར་དེ་ལྟ་ཚུ་
བྱང་རིགས་སམ་ཡང་ན་བྱང་རིགས་སྡེ་བཞིར་འབོད། བཤད་སྟོལ་གཞན་ཞིག་ནི་གཞུང་སོག་ལྟོ་བྱང་དང་། བར་ཐ།
ཨ་མ་དོ། གསང་གཞུང་བཅས་བཞིར་འབོད། ཡང་ལ་ལས་གཞུང་སོག་ལྟོ་བྱང་དང་སྐར་པ་ལྟ་པའི་གསང་གཞུང་
དང་། བར་ཐ། ཨ་མ་དོ། ཉོར་སྐད་བཅས་བཞིར་བཙུ་མཁན་ཡང་ཡོད་པར་སྐད་། ཚུ་བྱང་རིགས་ཞེས་འབོད་པའི་
རྒྱ་མཚན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་མོ་རྩལ་རྩལ་རྩལ་ལྟ་བུ་སྟེ་རྩལ་ལྟ་བུ་གཅོད་པའི་ཚུ་སྟོང་ཀྱི་སྟོང་བྱང་རྒྱལ་གནས་ཡོད་པས་མིང་དེ་ལྟར་
ཐོགས་པའོ།

¹²དེ་སྲིད་བྱང་རིགས་ས་ཁྲལ་དུ་ཤོག་ཁའམ་ཚོ་ཤོག་ལྟ་བུར་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་རྣམས་ཅུ་དྲུག་དྲུག་ལོད་པ་སྟེ། ཅུ་
དང་པོ་ནི། བར་ཐ་སྐར་གཞུང་དགྲུ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་ནས་སྡེ་གསང་ཤོག་དང་། འབྲུ་ཐར་ཤོག ཅུ་ཚེན་ཤོག དབྱིས་ཚེན་
ཤོག དབྱིས་རྒྱང་ཤོག་བཅས་གཞུང་སྟེ་ཁག་ལྟ་དང་། ལྷང་སྐར་ཤོག ལྷག་སྟེ་ཤོག གཡུ་ཐོག་ཤོག སྤྲི་སྟེ་ཤོག
བཅས་སྐར་སྟེ་བཞི་བཅས་དགྲུ་འོ། དེར་སྐར་གཞུང་འབོད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་ནི་སྐར་པ་ཟེར་བ་སྐྱུ་དྲུག་དང་དགོན་སྟེ་ཁག་
གི་མི་སེར་ལ་ཟེར་བ་དང་། གཞུང་ཞེས་པ་བོད་ས་གནས་སྟོང་གཞུང་གི་མི་སེར་ལ་ཟེར། ཅུ་གཉིས་པ་ནི། གསང་
གཞུང་སྐར་གཞུང་དགྲུ་ཡོད་པའི་ནང་ལས་འབ་ཤོག སོ་དྲུག་ཚེ་བ་ཤོག ལྷར་ཡོང་ཤོག ཐོག་ཅུ་ཤོག སེམས་
དཔའ་ཤོག བཀའ་སྟོང་ཤོག་བཅས་གཞུང་ཤོག་དྲུག་དང་། ཚེ་གསེར་གསུང་དཀར་ཅུ་ཤོག སེམས་དཔའ་
རྟ་རྟེ་མ་ཤོག དགའ་ལྷན་ཅུ་ཤོག་བཅས་སྐར་ཤོག་གསུམ་ཡིན། ཅུ་གསུམ་པ་ནི། གཞུང་སོག་ལྟོ་བྱང་ཤོག་ཁ་
བཅུ་གཉིས་སྟེ་སྟོལ་ཤོག་དྲུག་དང་བྱང་མ་ཤོག་དྲུག་ཡིན། དེ་དག་ནི་ཨོ་ནི་ཅུ་ཤོག ལྟོ་མ་རང་ཤོག ནང་སོ་ཅུ་བ་
ཤོག སེམས་དཔའ་ཅུ་ཤོག ཤོག་རྟེན་མ་ཤོག ཡོངས་འཛོན་ཅུ་ཤོག་བཅས་སྟོལ་ཤོག་དྲུག་དང་། ལྷག་རིང་ཤོག
ལྷག་གསང་ཤོག ཨ་མོང་ཅུ་ཤོག བ་རིང་ཅུ་ཤོག བརྒྱ་དགོན་ཅུ་ཤོག བྱང་རིགས་ཅུ་ཤོག་བཅས་
བྱང་མ་ཤོག་དྲུག་ཡིན། ཅུ་བཞི་པ། སྐར་པ་ཤོག་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ལྷ་ཉོག་ཤོག ཁྲི་པ་ཅུ་ཤོག བསྟན་རྒྱས་
སྐར་ཅུ་ཤོག ཀུན་བདེ་སྐར་ཅུ་ཤོག བྲ་ཚང་ཅུ་ཤོག གསེར་ཁང་ཅུ་ཤོག རྒྱ་མ་ཅུ་ཤོག
རྟོ་རིང་ཅུ་ཤོག་བཅས་ཡིན། ཅུ་ལྔ་པ། ཉོར་སྐད་ཤོག་བཞི་ ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཅུ་རྟེན་ཤོག ཅུ་གསང་ཤོག ཚེ་འབྲུ་ཤོག
འཁོར་མང་ཤོག་བཅས་ཡིན། ཅུ་དྲུག་པ། ཨ་མ་དོ་ཤོག་བརྒྱད་ཡོད་པ་ནི། ཨ་མ་དོ་སྟོང་མ་ཤོག ཨ་མ་དོ་སྐད་མ་ཤོག

ཚང་ནས་སྤྱད་ལྷུང་པོ་སྤྱོད་ཆེན་བར་གྱི་རྫོང་གཞིས་བཙེ་བརྒྱུད་དུ་གྲགས་པའི་ས་ཁུལ་ལ་འགོ་འདོམས་བྱས། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོའི་ཆེ་བྱང་མཁར་རྒྱུང་པ་སྤྱད་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་གསུམ་མདོ་བརྒྱུད་མཚན་ཡོན་ཏན་སེར་སྤྱུ་རྒྱུང་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཡིན། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གཞིས་པ་ནི་ཆེ་བྱང་མཁར་རྒྱུང་ལྷུ་རྟ་ར་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་ལྷ་སྤྱད་པ་སྤྱོད་གསལ་དོན་བྱུང་སེར་སྤྱུ་རྒྱུང་སྤྱི་ལོ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་གསུམ་པ་ནི་ཆེ་བྱང་མཁར་རྒྱུང་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་ར་ས་རྒྱ་ཆུ་ཆུ་པ་སྤྱད་ཚོགས་དབང་རྒྱལ་སེར་སྤྱུ་རྒྱུང་སྤྱི་ལོ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་བཞི་པ་ནི་ཆེ་བྱང་མཁར་རྒྱུང་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་སྤོན་གླིང་པ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སེར་སྤྱུ་རྒྱུང་སྤྱི་ལོ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་ལྔ་པ་ནི་ཆེ་བྱང་མཁར་རྒྱུང་ཐོན་པ་སྤོན་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ཤོད་བྱང་རིམ་བཞི་སྤོན་པ་སྤོན་བཅུ་དབང་ལྷུས་སེར་སྤྱུ་རྒྱུང་སྤྱི་ལོ་བཙས་པོད་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་ས་མོ་ཕག་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༧༧ལོ་བར་དུ་སྤྱི་ལོ་བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་ལྔ་བྱུང་། དེ་དག་གི་རྒྱ་མཚན་གསལ་པོ་གཤམ་དུ་བཤོད་པའི་རུ་མིག་གཞིས་པ་བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རུ་མིག་ཏུ་གསལ།

རུ་མིག་གཞིས་པ། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་རིམ་བྱོན་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རུ་མིག་(སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༧༧༧ནས་༡༧༧༩)

བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ།	ཆེ་བྱང་རིམ་སྤྱོད་ལོ།	སྤྱི་ལྷུང་པ།	ལོ་དུས། (སྤྱི་ལོ་)	སྤྱད་གནས་ལས་ཚན།	འཕོ་ལོན་གྱི་རྒྱ་མཚན།
ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ།	ཆེ་བྱང་མཁར་རྒྱུང་།	པ་སྤྱད་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དང་།	༡༧༧༢ ནས་ ༡༧༧༦	ཆེ་མཁོན་ཐོག་མཁོན་གཉེར་ཆེན་མོ་བཅུ་བཅུ་ལོ་སྤྱོད་དབང་མཚོག་གི་ལས་ཚན་	མི་ཕག་ལོར་མཁོན་གཉེར་ཆེན་མོར་གནས་སྤྱད་བསྐོ་བཞག་བྱས།

སེར་དོར་རྒྱ་བཤོག་ བཟུ་ཤོག་ ཤོག་ཆེན་མ་ཤོག་ རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྒྱ་བཤོག་ ཤོག་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་བཤོག་ ག་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་བཤོག་ བཙས་ཡིན།

				དུ་ཉམ་ཚུ་བུ་ལྟུང་བའི་ ཡང་ཤིང་གི་ཕེབས་བསྟར་ བསྟོན།	
	ཤོད་རླབས་རིམ་ བཞི།	གསུམ་མདོ་པ་ ཚུལ་མཚན་ ཡོན་ཏན།		ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་༡༩༣༤ ལོར་རང་ལོ་༡༩༥༥། མེ་ གུང་ལོ་ལས་ཚན་རྒྱུ་ལའི་ གདན་ཐོབ་སྐུལ་ཐོག་ལྷགས་ སྐུལ་ལོ་ཞབས་སྟོན་ལྷན་ ལས་མེད་རིམ་བཞི། ¹³ སྟེ་སྟེ་རྩ་རྒྱུང་སྟོན་སྟོན་ དང་། མག་རྩ་བལ་ཤོ་ སོགས་བྱས་སྟོན།	✘
ལས་ཐོག་ གཉིས་པ།	ཚེ་རླབས་མཁན་ རྒྱུང་།	སྐུ་ཉམ་རྩ་ ཐུབ་བསྟན་ བསྟན་དཔ།	༡༩༤༦ ལས་ ༡༩༣༠	ས་སྐུལ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་ ༡༩༢༥ ནས་ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་ ༡༩༤༣་ལོའི་བར་ཚེ་མགོན་ ལོ་བརྒྱུད་བྱས།	སྐུགས་སྐུག་ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༠ལོར་རླབས་ཡིག་ཆེ་ མོད་དང་། ཤོད་སྟོང་ས་ དམག་སྟེ་ལྷན་གྱི་སྟེ་ འདོམས། གཞུང་རྩིས་ ཞིབ་ཁང་དོ་དམ་པ་ཞེས་ སྟོན།
	ཤོད་རླབས་རིམ་ བཞི།	ཞུ་སྐུལ་མཁན་པ་ སྟོགས་ལ་དོན་		ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་སྟེ་སྟེ་ལོ་༡༩༣༤ ལོར་རང་ལོ་༡༩༥༥།	✘

¹³ ཤིང་རྩ། ཤོད་རླབས་རིམ་གྱི་མཚན་ཐོད་གི་ གཞུང་ཡིག་ ཤོད་རང་སྟོང་སྟོང་ས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་ཉམ་ཚུ་བུ་བྱེད་
ཡོད།

		གྲུབ།		ཚུ་ཕག་ལོ་ཞབས་སྟོན་ལྷུས། ད་ལྟ་རྩ་གཉེར་རིམ་བཞི། ¹⁴	
ལས་ཐོག་ གསུམ་པ།	ཚེ་རླུང་ཕལ་མན་ རྒྱུང་།	ལྷུབ་བསྟན་ བཟང་པོ།	༡༩༣༠ ན་མ་	✘	མི་སེར་ལ་འཕམ་བཟུང་བ་ ཏང་རྒྱུན་ཕྱིར་འཐེན།
	ཤོད་རླུང་རིམ་ བཞི།	ར་ས་རྒྱ་རྟན་པ་ ལྷན་ཚོགས་ དབང་རྒྱལ།	༡༩༣༢	ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་རང་ལོ་༧༩ ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་སྟོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༢༧ ལོར་ཞབས་སྟོན་ལྷུས། ¹⁵	ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་སྟོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ ༡༩༣༧ལོར་ལས་མེད་ རིམ་བཞི། ¹⁶
ལས་ཐོག་ བཞི་པ།	ཚེ་རླུང་ཕལ་མན་ རྒྱུང་།	ལྷུབ་བསྟན་རྒྱུང་ རྒྱལ།	༡༩༣༢ ན་མ་	གནས་བཞེ་པ་ཞབས་འཕམ་ དོད་མ།	✘
	ཤོད་རླུང་རིམ་ བཞི།	སྟོན་རྒྱུང་པ་ འཇམ་དབྱེང་ས་ རྒྱལ་མཚན།	༡༩༣༦	གནས་དྲུག་པ་བཀའ་རྒྱུང་ ནས་དམིགས་བསལ་གནས་ སྟེང་།	✘
ལས་ཐོག་ ལྔ་པ།	ཚེ་རླུང་ཕལ་མན་ རྒྱུང་།	ཐོན་པ་སློབ་བཟང་ བསྟན་འཛིན།	༡༩༣༦ ན་མ་	✘	✘
	ཤོད་རླུང་རིམ་ བཞི།	སྟོན་རྒྱུང་པ་སློབ་ བཟང་དབང་ འཕྲུལ།	༡༩༣༩	ཤིང་རྩ་ལོ་སྟོ་སྟེ་སྤྱི་ལོ་༡༩༣༧ ལོར་རང་ལོ་༣༦ དང་། ཤིང་བྱི་ལོ་ཞབས་སྟོན་ལྷུས། ད་ལྟ་རྩ་བཟང་ལྷུག་མཛོད། ¹⁷	✘

གསལ་ལའད། རིུ་མིག་ཏུ་རྟགས་✘བཞོན་པ་ནི་གནས་སྐབས་སུ་གཏན་མ་འཁེལ་བར་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བྱེད་རྒྱུར་ལུས།

14 བོད་མཚན་ལས།

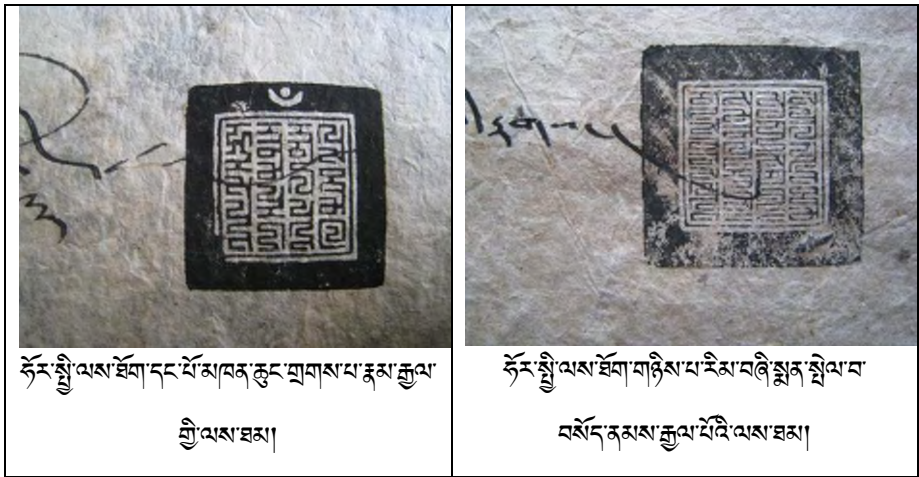
15 བོད་མཚན་ལས།

16 བོད་མཚན་ལས།

17 བོད་མཚན་ལས།

ཉོར་སྤྱི་དང་བྱང་སྤྱིའི་འཕོ་ལེན་བསྐོ་བཞུང་ལམ་ལུགས།

ཉོར་སྤྱི་སྤེ་ཉོར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་སྤྱི་བྱུང་གི་བསྐོ་བཞུང་གི་གནས་བཞི་པའི་ཕྱི་རྩེ་དུང་མ་ཁན་རྒྱུང་དང་
 ཤོད་དུང་རིམ་བཞི་རིམ་འཁོར་དང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤེ་བྱང་བརྒྱུད་སྤྱི་འདོམས་ཀྱི་བསྐོ་བཞུང་གི་གནས་བཞི་
 པའི་ཕྱི་རྩེ་དུང་མ་ཁན་རྒྱུང་དང་ཤོད་དུང་རིམ་བཞི་སྤྱིའི་ཕོར་བསྐོ་བཞུང་གྲེད་དགོས། ཉོར་སྤྱི་དང་བྱང་སྤྱི་
 གཉིས་ཀ་རྒྱུས་དཔུང་འཆར་གཞི་ཕུག་རྟགས་བཞིན་ལོ་བཞི་རེའི་མཚམས་སྤྱི་བྱུང་པ་གསལ་རྟོག་བཞེ་
 ལེན་གྲེད་པ་དང་། ལས་ཐམ་དང་སྤྱི་བྱུང་པ་དོ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཐབ་རྟེན་ས་ཞིང་རྩིས་ལེན་གྱིས། ཉོར་སྤྱི་ཕྱི་ཤོད་
 རིམ་བཞི་དོ་ལས་ས་སྤྱི་རྩེ་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་གཞུང་ས་ནས་གསལ་དུ་བསྐོ་བཞུང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་ལས་བྱ་
 བརྒྱ་དཔོན་དང་བཅས་གཞུང་ས་ནས་གསལ་དུ་བསྐོ་བཞུང་གྲེད་དགོས། ཞེས་ཉོར་སྤྱི་ལས་ཐོག་དང་པོ་
 མ་ཁན་རྒྱུང་གྲགས་པ་རྣམ་རྒྱུལ་དང་གཉིས་པ་རིམ་བཞི་སྤྱི་སྤེ་ལེན་ལེན་ལས་ཐམ་བཞོད་པ་གཤམ་
 གསལ་དུ།



དེ་བཞིན་དུ། ཉོར་སྤྱི་དང་བྱང་སྤྱིའི་འཕོ་ལེན་གྱི་ལམ་ལུགས་ནི། རྒྱུས་དཔུང་འཆར་གཞི་ཕུག་
 རྟགས་བཞིན་ལོ་གསུམ་སོང་བཞི་འགྲོའི་མཚམས་སོ་སོར་འཕོ་ལེན་བསྐོ་བཞུང་སྐབས་སུ། བཀའ་ཤམ་
 རས་དོན་གཞན་དག་སྤྱིའི་སྤྱི་ཚེད་ཚོང་གིས་དངོས་དོན་གསལ་ཁ་ཐོན་རྒྱུ་སྤྱི་བྱུང་པ་གསལ་རྟོག་

དབར་ཕྱིས་ལེན་སྒྲོད་ཁ་འདྲ་གཉིས་བཀོད་དེ། སྤྱི་གསར་གྱིས་ག་སེལ་མཛད་རྒྱ་དང་སྤྱི་རྒྱུ་གིས་
སྤྱི་གསར་ལ་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པའི་ཁྱད་སྤྱོད་ལྟ་འཛིན་བཀོད་དེ་འཕོ་ལོན་བསྐོ་བཞེད་བྱུང་བཞིན། འདིར་
འབྲེལ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཆ་ཁག་གཉིས་དཔེར་མཚོན་ཅམ་དུ་བཀོད་ན།

དཔེར་བཞེད་དང་པོ།

སྒོད་ཁ་འདྲ་གཉིས་སྤྱི་གསར་རིམ་བཞི་སྐོར་སྤྱིལ་བཙས་ཉར་རྒྱ།

ཅུ་ཁྲི། ཉེར་ཚོ་བ་སོ་དགུའི་སྤྱི་ཁྲི་རྩ་ཕྱེད་ཤོད་རིམ་བཞི་དོ་ལས་རེ་འཁོར་ཐོག་ས་སྤང་རུ་དམག་ཡང་དབུས་
གཙང་འགོ་རིམ་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་ལོ་བཞི་རེའི་མཚམས་གསར་རྒྱུ་བཞེ་ལེན་མཛད་རྒྱུའི་རྒྱས་བཙད་
བཞིན་ཐོག་མའི་ཉེར་སྤྱི་མཁན་རྒྱུ་ལྷགས་རྣམ་འདས་ཚབ་གསར་པ་རིམ་བཞི་སྐོར་སྤྱིལ་བཙས་པོད་
གསལ་རྗེས་མཚུགས་སྐྱེ་གསུང་བྱུགས་ཉེན། ཡིག་རིགས། ཁང་དངོས། ཉེར་རྩ་ལུགས་སོགས་སྒྲོད་
རིགས་སྤྱི་དང་། གསར་རྒྱུ་སྒོད་མཚམས། གཞུང་ཕྱི་ལུགས་བཙས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ཁ་འདྲ་གཉིས་
བཀོད་པར། སྤྱི་གསར་རིམ་བཞི་སྐོར་སྤྱིལ་བཙས་ལུགས་བྱ་རྒྱ་ཆོས་ཉེར་ལས་ཐམ་དང་། རོ་ལས་
ཀྱི་ཐབས་ཉེན་ས་ཞིང་བཙས་ཕྱིས་ལེན་ཐོག་འབྲེལ་གཞུང་དོན་ཆེ་སྤྱད་དང་། ཁྲིམས་འདོམས་མཛད་དེ་
ཁྲིམས་ལུགས་ཕྱི་ལུགས་བཙས་གསར་པས་མཛད་རྒྱ་དང་། ཅུ་ཁྲི་ཉེར་ཉེས་བཟུངས་ཁྲུལ་ཁྲིམས་གང་
ཅི་གསར་པས་མཛད་གཤིས་རྒྱུ་དང་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་མཛད་རྒྱ། ལུགས་བྱ་ལོའི་གཞུང་འབབ་ལོ་
ཁྲུལ་ཆེ་སྤྱད་ཅི་རྒྱུ་དཔེ་རྗེས་མཚུགས་བསྐྱེད་ལེན་གྱིས་སྤྱི་གསར་དོ་ལས་ཀྱི་ཐོགས། གསར་པའི་
ས་སྤང་བྱ་བཞི་རུ་དམག་གི་ཐོགས་ཐོབ་བཙས་ཅུ་ཁྲི་རྩ་ཕྱེད་ཤོད་པས་སྒྲོད་རྒྱུ་དང་འབྲེལ་
གཞུང་འབབ་ཕྱི་ལུགས་ཉེན། ལུགས་མཚུངས་དེ་ལོའི་སྤྱི་ཆེན་གྱི་གཏོང་འབབ་ཇི་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་དང་ལས་བསྐྱེས་
འབྲེལ་དགོས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་ཐོབ་གཏོང་སྐོ་སོགས་པོད་མཚམས་བར་གསར་པར་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་རྒྱུ་
པས་བྱེད་རྒྱ། དེ་འབྲེལ་མེ་འབྲུག་སྒྲོད་ཐོན་གསལ་གྱི་ཇ་དང་། འབྲུ་རིགས་ད་ལས་གསར་པར་ཕྱིས་
སྒོད་མ་བྱང་གཤིས་བསྐྱེད་སོང་གཞུང་ཕྱི་ལུགས་རྒྱུ་སྐོར་མེད་ཐོག་སྐྱེན་མཚོད་ཆས། སྤྱ

བརྒྱུད། དངོས་རིགས་བཅས་སྤོང་བཤེར་སྐབས་ཆད་རིགས་ལ་བཀའ་དགོངས་བཞིན་རིན་འབབ་གཞུང་
 འབྲུལ་ལྷན་པོའི་མེད་པ་ལྟར་ཆད་བྱུང་བའི་ལཱ་རིན་འབབ་ཇི་ཐོབ་གསལ་པར་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་
 རྒྱུད་པས་མགོ་དགུས་གདོང་དག་བྱེད་རྒྱ་ཟེན་པ་བཅས་ལུང། དེ་བྱིངས་ཡིག་རིགས་དཀར་ཆག་གསལ་
 རྒྱུད་ཐེངས་འབྲུར་ནང་གསལ། རྫོང་ཁང་ལེ་ལག་འཛིན་དངོས་འཆར་འཕམ། རྩོམ་པ་ལྷན་སྤོང་ཐོབ་པར་
 གསལ་ལྟར་བཅས་རྒྱུད་པས་གསལ་པར་རྩིས་སྤོང་ཟེན་དོན་སྤྲོད་གསལ་པས་ཁྲུངས་སྤོང་བྱེད་རྒྱ་བཅས་
 རྒྱུ་གསལ་རིམ་བཞི་སྤོང་སྤོང་བའི་རྩལ། རྒྱུ་རྒྱུད་རྫོང་མཚུགས་མཚོ་དབང་གི་རྩལ།

དཔེ་བཞུགས་གཉིས་པ།

ཉོར་སྤྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཀའོད་པས་དངོས་གཞུང་ལྟར་སྤྱི་གསལ་ལ་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་ཁྲུངས་སྤོང་ལྷན་པོ་
 ག་རྒྱུད་འབྲི་རྩལ་དངོས་པོ་ལག་ཡོད་གཞུང་ཁྲུང་ལྷན་པོ་ལྟར་གསལ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 འབྲུར་སྤོང་རྩལ་ལྷན་པོ་ལག་ཡོད་པ་ལྟར་ཁྲུང་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 རྒྱུ་ལེ་མ་གཅིག་ཞེས་པ་ད་ལམ་ཆད་མོང་བསྐྱེད་པ་གསལ་བྱེད་གསལ་བྱེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 གཞུང་ཁྲུང་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 སྤོང་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 ཐལ་གྱུར་བདུན་པ་སྤོང་དངོས་པོ་ཞེས་བཤེར་སྐབས་གོང་གསལ་གཞུང་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 མེད། དེ་མིན་སྤྱི་གསལ་མཚོགས་ལ་ཁ་འཕངས་མེད་པ་ཁྲུངས་སྤོང་སྤོང་མེད་ལྷན་པོ་ལྷན་པོ་
 པ་རིམ་བཞི་ཀའོད་པས། ས་སྤོང་ལྷན་པོ་ ༡༡ཚེས་༡ལ།

བྱང་སྤྱི་སྤྲེལ་ཁག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར།

- ༡ གཞུང་སའི་སྤྱི་དོན་གྱི་སྐོར།
- ༢ ལས་ཚན་བསྐོ་འཐེན་གྱི་སྐོར་ལ། ཉོར་སྤྱི་མཁའ་རིམ་ལས་ཤེས་དང་། བྱང་སྤྱི་མཁའ་ནང་སྤྲེལ་པོ།
ལས་བྱ་སེར་རྒྱ་ཉིས་སྤྲེལ། ལས་བྱ་སྤྱང་དམག་དང་བཅས་པ། ས་སྤྱང་འགོ་འདོམས། ས་སྤྱང་
དམག་དཔོན། ས་སྤྱང་རུ་དཔོན། ས་སྤྱང་བརྒྱ་དཔོན། ཉོར་ཁུལ་ཁུལ་བསྐྱུ་འདོད་པ། བྱང་བརྒྱད་
ཕོགས་འབྲུ་དོད་མ་མཁོན་ལས། རག་རྩ་འགོ་སྤྲེལ། རག་ཚང་འགོ་སྤྲེལ། སྤྱ་ཚེན་རྫོང་སྤྲེལ།
འབྲི་རྩ་རྫོང་། གནམ་རུ་འགོ་པ། བྱང་རིགས་རུ་རྒྱལ་འགོ་དཔོན། ལྷ་རི་རྫོང་རྫོང་། ཉོར་ཁུལ་
ཁུལ་བསྐྱུ་དོད་མ། ལྷ་རྫོང་བརྒྱ་དཔོན། ལྷ་རྫོང་རྫོང་རྫོང་སྤྲེལ་པོ། ཅན་པོ།
- ༣ ཆབ་འབངས་བདེ་སྤྱད་གི་སྐོར།
- ༤ ས་མཚམས་སྤྱང་འདོམས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ། ས་འགག་འདུ་གནད་ཁག་རུ་སྤྱང་འདོམས། རྩ་ཕྱི་སོ་སྤྱང་།
སེར་ཚ་ས་སྤྱང་གཙང་མདའ་མཚོ་སྐོབ། ལྷགས་ཟམ་ས་སྤྱང་། རི་ལྷགས་ས་སྤྱང་། ཕོད་རྩ་
སྤྱང་། ཉིན་སོ་སྤྱང་། མཚོ་ལའི་སོ་སྤྱང་། བོན་ཐ་ས་སྤྱང་། ལྷ་ཕོང་ལམ་ཁུལ་གྱི་ས་སྤྱང་། ཚ་ལྷ་
ང་ལམ་རྒྱུད་གྱི་ས་སྤྱང་གནས་ཚུལ།
- ༥ བྱས་ཉེས་ཁྲིམས་འདོམས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ། རྒྱ་དངོས་འཕྲོག་འཁྲུང་། ལྷོ་སྤྱུགས་ཇག་འདོད། མི་བསད་
གྱོད་དོན། འབམ་ཚོང་སྤྱས་སྤྱུར། འབྲུ་སྤྱས་ཚོང་གི་གྱོད་དོན། ས་མཚམས་དང་རྩ་སའི་དབྱེད་
མཚམས། ཕན་ཚུན་རྒྱ་ཇག་མི་རྒྱལ་པའི་མནའ་གན། མི་རྩའི་རྫོས་སྐོར་ལ་བཏང་བའི་དབྱེད་ཁ།
ས་སྤྲེལ་རྫོས་གཞི་སྐོར་གྱི་ཁ། དབྱེད་མཚམས་ཁ། འདུམ་ཁ། དབྱེད་ཟིན། འདྲ་བལྟས།
བྱས་ཉེས་འཁྲུན་གཙོད། དཔེར་ན། བོད་རབ་བྱུང་བཅུ་དྲུག་པའི་རྩ་སྤྲེལ་ལོ་སྤྱི་སྤྲེལ་ལོ་༡༩༣༢ལོར་
ཉོར་ཚའི་ཁོངས་ཞག་རྒྱ་དང་། འདམ། གནམ་རུ། འབྲི་བྱུང་། ལྷ་རི་སོགས་ནས་ཕན་ཚུན་
དབྱེད་ཁ་སོགས་མི་བྱ་བའི་བྱང་དོར་སྤྱི་བསྐྱིགས་གན་རྒྱ།

༦ དམག་དོན་གྱི་སྐོར།

༧ རོར་སྲིད་གཏོང་ཡོང་གི་སྐོར། རོར་ཚོ་ཁྲུལ་གྱི་ལོ་ལོ་འི་ཞིབ་གསལ་ཁྲུལ་འབབ་གཞུང་འབྲུལ་སྐོར།
 འབབ་ཡོང་ཕྱི་ཁ། ལྔ་འབབ་བྱུང་འཛིན། འབྲུལ་འབབ་བསྐྱུ་ལེན། ལོ་འབབ་ཇ་འབྲུ། ཤོ་འབབ་བསྐྱུ་
 གཞུང་། གཞུང་སའི་འབབ་འབྲུ་བསྐྱུ་གཏོང་། ཤོ་ཁྲུལ། ལྔ་བོགས། ལྔ་ཤོ་ ཚོང་ཚོག་ཤོ་ཁྲུལ།
 ལྷ་ཁྲུལ། རོར་ཚོ་ཁྲུལ་ནས་གཞུང་འབབ་ལྔ་ཤོ་བལ་ར་དང་། ལྔ་སྐྱོན་སོགས་གྱི་ཁྲུལ་བསྐྱུ་འདོད་མ།

༨ ཚོས་ལུགས་མཛད་སྐོར་སྐོར། རྒྱལ་མཚོག་རིན་པོ་ཆེར་ཞབས་བརྟན་རིམ་གྱོ་སྐྱུབ་པའི་ལུལ་སྐྱོན།
 ཞབས་བརྟན་རིམ་གྱོ་འི་འགོ་སོང་གི་ཐོ། དགོན་ཁག་ལ་ཞབས་བརྟན་བཅོལ་ཡིག། དགྲུང་ཀིག།
 ཞབས་བརྟན། དགྲུང་རྫོགས་ཞབས་བརྟན། ཞབས་རིམ་སྐྱུབ་ཐོ། དགོན་པའི་ཚོས་ཁྲིམས་འགལ་
 མེད་སྲུང་བྱང་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་གན་རྒྱ།

དབྱུང་གཞིའི་ཡིག་ཚགས།

ནག་ཚུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དབྱུང་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་བདམས་བསྐྱིགས། འདོན་ཐེངས་༡༥༥། སྤྱི་གྲོས་
ནག་ཚུ་ས་གནས་ལྷུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་གནས་དབྱུང་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་ཁང་གིས་
བསྐྱིགས། གཙོ་སྤྱི་གཤམ་ བསོད་ ཉམས་སྐྱེལ་མཚན། ཀམ་ཀུན་ཁྲུབ། བསྟན་འཛིན་སྐྱོལ་མ།
ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་འགན་འཁུར་བ། རྫོགས་ཚེ་རི་རྩེ། བོད་ལྗོངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་།
སྤྱི་ལོ་༢༠༡༠ལོའི་ཟླ༡༥འི་དཔར་མ།

མི་འབྲུག་ བོད་བྱང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཐོད་གོ གཞུང་ཡིག་ བོད་རང་སྐྱོང་ལྗོངས་ཡིག་ཚགས་ཁང་དུ་
ཉར་ཚགས་བྱེད་ཡོད།

བཟང་བ་སོགས། ཉོར་ཚོ་སོ་དགུའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མདོར་བསྟུན། ནག་ཚུ་ས་གནས་སྤྱི་གྲོས་དབྱུང་བརྟེན་ནས་
ལོ་སྟུམ་ཅུ་འཁོར་བར་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་ལྷུ་བའི་ཆེད་བསྐྱིགས། ནག་ཚུ་ས་གནས་སྤྱི་གྲོས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་རིག་
གནས་དབྱུང་གཞིའི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་ཁང་ནས་དཔར་དུ་བསྐྱེན།

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